

ABSTRACT

TITLE: Textual and Editorial Conflict in Pascal's *Pensées*.

CANDIDATE: William John Dinning, St Edmund Hall

DEGREE: Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Oxford.

Trinity Term, 2016

The history of publication of Pascal's *Pensées* is one of conflict and contention at many levels. This is studied in relation to four editions which have emerged from engagement with the fragmented text, each marking a milestone in the evolution of editorial practice and mastery over the work of the dead author. The text is presented as target, bystander, and agent of conflict. The first two chapters deal with motivation to publish, target readership, and the sources of conflict themselves. Chapter three examines these issues with respect to the original edition (*L'Édition de Port-Royal*), and the subsequent three chapters examine respectively the editions of Prosper Faugère, Léon Brunschvicg, and Louis Lafuma.

The narrative charts the gradual approach to the currently accepted presentation of the fragments, and the long persistence of efforts to imagine Pascal's plan for an apology for Christianity, against a reluctance to take account of the authority of existing documents. The reception of these editions provides clues to why the *Pensées* have an eternal youthfulness and a constant appeal to editors. I argue that the apology lies in the fragments, however they are arranged, that all editors have accepted their apologetic intent, and that their universal significance springs from the deep sensibility they express about the human condition.

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INTRODUCTION

The introduction recounts what led to my decision to study conflict in relation to Pascal's *Pensées*, and contains a resumé of Pascal's life and social background. The various editions of the *Pensées* are the result of their editors' imagination and their assessment of probabilities, driven by a desire for tidiness and closure, and a longing for something that never was, namely a book by Pascal in defence of Christianity. I will argue that the larval form of such a book, in the form of the fragments left behind by Pascal on his death, and arrested on the trajectory of its ontogeny, has a vitality which it (probably) will retain eternally, against all interference. The study is built around examination of four editions of the *Pensées*, the first edition of 1670, known as the *Édition de Port-Royal*, the edition of Prosper Faugère of 1844, that of Léon Brunschvicg of 1897, and that of Louis Lafuma of 1951. All are landmarks in the history of publication of the *Pensées*. I have located the *Pensées* in three positions in relation to conflict, first as a bystander, then as a target, and finally as an agent, and will conclude the exercise by defining the *vérités* which emerge from it.

The general issues of conflict in the special contexts of editorship and of apology are discussed in the first two chapters, before a close examination of the chosen editions. The thesis is in two parts, the first part concluding with discussion of the original *Édition de Port-Royal*, and the second part dealing with what I refer to as the ‘modern era’ of publication of the *Pensées*.

CHAPTER 1 The Editorial Dilemma

The thesis opens with an examination of the sources of conflict, which began in the choice between publishing the documents or leaving them as a memorial of ‘remains’. This local conflict continued as preparation for publication progressed against the wider political and religious conflict in which Pascal and the Jansenist movement were involved. General reasons for publication are discussed, together with potential targets for the hypothetical work. The concept of the conflict in publication between loyalty to the fragments or to the presumed intention of Pascal is introduced. I argue that the object of successive editors, with the exception of Condorcet, has always been to produce an apology for Christianity from the fragments, and that given the texts of the fragments, that objective is difficult to avoid. Moreover, the wide definition of apology, and what is expected of it, makes it difficult to understand how some commentators believe that the editors of Port-Royal, and others, abandoned this objective.¹

From the point of view of making a text from the fragments, there was probably no precedent for Pascal’s inheritors to follow, and even today the fragments form a genre on their own. The *Pensées* have been described as a deconstructed text,² which is exactly what they are not.

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- 1 Antony McKenna, *Entre Descartes et Gassendi* (Paris: Universitas, 1993), p. 145: ‘En renonçant à l’intention apologétique, les éditeurs ne s’obligent plus à agencer les preuves selon ce statut primordial de la volonté et abandonnent ainsi un des principes de l’ordre de l’apologie pascalienne’.
 - 2 Louis Marin, *Pascal et Port-Royal*, ed. Alain Cantillon (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997), p. 12: ‘Les *Pensées* sont un texte déconstruit, en puissance de “délit” [...]’

CHAPTER 2 Levels of Conflict

Background conflict of a personal or political nature, with the text as bystander, is discussed first, followed by conflict with the text as object, essentially with regard to order of publication and assumption of authority over the text. Tangential to this is the conflict of loyalties between the integrity of the text and what Pascal had wished it to become, namely, an apology. Finally, attention turns to personal/psychological conflict within the text, but the principal source of conflict emanating from the text itself is Pascal's use of rhetoric, his vocabulary and stylistic practice, and this is examined in detail. In addition, I discuss the issue of order at the end of this chapter.

CHAPTER 3 The *Édition de Port-Royal*

The story of the production and printing of the first edition, the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and the biographies of those involved, is related with attention to its composition and structure, and an assessment of what the editors achieved. It appears to have had a good reception, gaining a place in the canon of French literature and establishing a style of presentation which persisted for almost two hundred years. A change in emphasis occurred with Condorcet's edition of 1766, as a result of his selection of fragments. This edition, together with that of the Abbé Bossut, which was current when Faugère's edition appeared in 1844, are briefly considered. In an appendix, the titles of the sections of Bossut's edition are given with those of the Port-Royal edition, to show their basic similarity.

CHAPTER 4 The Edition of Prosper Faugère.

Faugère made a careful study of the manuscripts and published all known fragments, separating out those not directly related to an apologetic project, and publishing them with other pieces of Pascal's writing, letters, and related documents in the first volume of his edition, the *Pensées* occupying the whole of the second volume. All fragments are

presented separately. Faugère worked among powerful political figures, whose biographies are outlined with his own, as they are relevant to the origin and reception of his edition, and illustrate the intimate relation between government and academia at the time.

Faugère changed the way the fragments were presented and, in publishing many fragments for the first time, he exposed aspects of Pascal's thought which had not previously been appreciated and which were unpalatable to many, arousing a polemic around Pascal's pyrrhonism. He also made a deliberate attempt to structure the apology as he considered Pascal would have done, thus bringing forward order as a preoccupation for future academic studies.

Faugère's edition did not become established as the 'authorised' one, and the edition of Ernest Havet carried forward the old pattern of presentation until replaced by Brunschvicg's edition of 1897. This edition is discussed in view of its innovation of a scholarly commentary, and introduces a brief assessment of the role of the *Pensées* in education.

CHAPTER 5 The Editions of Léon Brunschvicg

Brunschvicg's three editions represent not only a considerable literary achievement, but a complete assumption of authority over the fragments. He did not believe that there was any reliable guide to the order in which Pascal would have used the fragments, and he published them in 1897 according to his own logic, accompanied in the first part of the volume by letters and other pieces of Pascal's writing, arranged chronologically.

Brunschvicg's life and career are discussed, together with his philosophy and the lasting influence of his teaching. His edition originated as a commercial proposition, and it was a commercial success, as well as stamping his name on every fragment by his consecutive numbering of them.

CHAPTER 6 The Editions of Louis Lafuma

This is the logical edition with which to end the survey, and it is the next milestone in the history of the *Pensées*. It ushered in the era of current academic enquiry, returning the fragments to an order in which they are believed to have been found, and closing a circle of editorial practice. It might have appeared as the final stage in the evolution of the manner of presenting the fragments, and was the inevitable result of the acceptance of the *Copies*³ as records of the order in which the fragments were found, together with Zacharie Tourneur's appreciation of the significance of the *liasses*.⁴ Both Tourneur and Lafuma produced editions partly based on the order given by the *Copies*, but it was not before two earlier editions that Lafuma eventually produced an edition in which the fragments were presented in the exact order of the first *Copie*. However, return to the original order did not close a circle of evolution, and new editors continue to claim to have uncovered an authentic plan, with a return to Brunschvicg's style of presentation.

CONCLUSION

The unavoidable question is why, after 350 years, commentators still engage in fresh struggles with these fragments to force them into a book, when, in the absence of an authentic plan, the exercise seems futile. In this final section I look particularly to the reception of the several editions to explain the enduring appeal of the *œuvre*, but also to the fragments themselves, imbued as they are with the presence of a real person.

What truths (*vérités*) emerge from this survey of conflict? The *Pensées* are resilient to editorial attack, and the religious or philosophical views of editors, which appear occasionally in their commentaries, do not obscure the moral lessons implicit in what Pascal wrote. The history demonstrates early nineteenth-century conservatism in

3 These manuscripts, Bnf Fn 9203 and Fn 12449, are in the same hand and almost identical in the order they present.

4 Groupings of fragments believed to have been made by Pascal himself.

the reluctance to accept a new style of presentation. The polemic provoked by Faugère's new edition brought interest to bear on Pascal the person and idealized religious icon. The growth in academic rigour and respect for the integrity of texts accompanied the adoption of the work by the academic community, represented fully by Brunschvicg's edition. The notion that only Catholic writers should edit the text was firmly countered by the fact that two of the most successful editions discussed were by atheists, neither of whom questioned the objective of Pascal, and both of whom produced apologies.

In terms of *fond*, the *Pensées* speak to man about the human condition, and to that extent the subject matter is eternally and universally significant. Moreover, Pascal's rhetoric has an arresting vitality. In terms of *forme*, the fragment, lacking any physical stabilizing framework, exists as though suspended above the normal course of time. The fundamental answer may be that the fragments, in their rough state of unfulfilled promise, enter into dialogue with individuals whatever their social or political environment, a quality they would probably lose if the 'promise' were ever realized.

**TEXTUAL AND EDITORIAL CONFLICT
IN PASCAL'S *PENSÉES***

Ainsi dans le jeu, ainsi dans la recherche de la vérité: on aime à voir dans les disputes le combat des opinions, mais de contempler la vérité trouvée, point du tout. Pour la faire remarquer avec plaisir, il faut la faire voir naître de la dispute.*

**Thesis presented for the degree
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by

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St Edmund Hall
Trinity Term 2016**

* Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, fragment S 637

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Acknowledgements..... | ii |
| Explanatory Notes..... | vii |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Uniqueness of the <i>Pensées</i> | 5 |
| Definition of apology | 8 |
| Plan of the thesis..... | 10 |
| PART I 1669-1844..... | 12 |
| CHAPTER 1: MOTIVATION FOR PUBLICATION, AND THE EDITORS’ DILEMMA | 13 |
| The first editors | 13 |
| Successive editors..... | 16 |
| The target readers | 17 |
| Conclusion..... | 21 |
| CHAPTER 2: LEVELS OF CONFLICT, THE CHALLENGE OF THE TEXT, AND THE ISSUE OF ORDER | 23 |
| Levels of conflict..... | 23 |
| Textual Sources of Conflict..... | 24 |
| <i>Forme</i> | 24 |
| The challenge of the fragment | 34 |
| <i>Fond</i> | 40 |
| Mood | 43 |
| Conclusion | 45 |
| Order..... | 46 |
| Conclusion | 60 |
| CHAPTER 3: <i>L’ÉDITION DE PORT-ROYAL</i> | 61 |
| Introduction | 61 |
| Pascal’s personal relation with Jansenism..... | 62 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Pascal and Port-Royal | 64 |
| The role of the <i>Formulaire</i> | 66 |
| The Peace of the Church | 67 |
| THE PUBLICATION..... | 68 |
| The Comité | 70 |
| “Violence” done to the text on delivery | 73 |
| Correspondences with indications in the <i>Préface</i> , and with the fragments..... | 74 |
| Apology | 75 |
| RECEPTION | 79 |
| L’Affaire Beurrier | 79 |
| Contemporary criticism..... | 80 |
| Modern Opinions..... | 82 |
| CONDORCET AND VOLTAIRE..... | 83 |
| L’ABBÉ BOSSUT (1730-1814) | 86 |
| Conclusion..... | 90 |
| PART II 1844-1951 | 92 |
| CHAPTER 4: THE EDITION OF PROSPER FAUGÈRE | 93 |
| POLITICAL BACKGROUND | 93 |
| BIOGRAPHIES..... | 94 |
| Victor Cousin (1792-1867)..... | 94 |
| François Guizot (1787-1874)..... | 104 |
| Abel Villemain (1790-1870)..... | 105 |
| Armand Prosper Faugère (1810-1887) | 106 |
| THE EDITION OF PROSPER FAUGÈRE | 109 |
| The Book Itself | 109 |
| Faugère Volume I | 111 |
| Review of Faugère’s Introduction to Vol I..... | 112 |
| Faugère Volume II | 116 |
| Footnotes to Volume II | 120 |
| Reception | 121 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| CHANGES IN EDITORIAL PRACTICE | 125 |
| THE EDITION OF ERNEST HAVET | 128 |
| The Edition..... | 130 |
| Reviews of Havet's edition | 133 |
| PASCAL IN EDUCATION | 134 |
| Conclusion | 136 |
| CHAPTER 5: THE EDITIONS OF LÉON BRUNSCHVICG | 138 |
| INTRODUCTION..... | 138 |
| The editions of the Pensées..... | 138 |
| The Contract..... | 139 |
| BIOGRAPHY | 141 |
| Philosophy of Brunschvicg..... | 144 |
| Political success of Brunschvicg..... | 149 |
| Influence of Brunschvicg..... | 150 |
| Criticism of Brunschvicg | 153 |
| Atheism..... | 158 |
| THE EDITIONS..... | 162 |
| BRUNSCHVICG MINOR..... | 162 |
| Introduction..... | 163 |
| Suite logique des Pensées | 166 |
| Footnotes..... | 176 |
| BRUNSCHVICG MAJOR..... | 179 |
| THE FACSIMILE | 193 |
| Criticism of Brunschvicg's edition of the Pensées | 196 |
| Conclusion | 199 |
| CHAPTER 6: THE EDITIONS OF LOUIS LAFUMA | 201 |
| INTRODUCTION..... | 201 |
| THE EDITION OF ZACHARIE TOURNEUR..... | 201 |
| THE TOURNEUR/ANZIEU EDITION | 207 |
| Louis Lafuma (1890-1964) | 208 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| THE EDITIONS | 209 |
| Edition of 1947 | 210 |
| Second edition in one volume, 1952..... | 213 |
| New edition 1951 | 215 |
| Le manuscrit des Pensées de Pascal, 1962..... | 217 |
| Paperback edition 1962..... | 220 |
| Conclusion | 221 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 223 |
| APPENDICES | 243 |
| 1. Le Comité..... | 243 |
| 2(a) Titles of the ‘Titres’ of the first edition | 245 |
| 2(b) Titles of the ‘Articles’ of Bossut’s edition..... | 246 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 249 |
| Reference texts | 249 |
| Primary texts..... | 250 |
| Secondary texts..... | 253 |

Explanatory Notes

Note 1: All footnote references to ‘Mesnard, *OC*’ are to Mesnard, Jean, *Blaise Pascal, Œuvres complètes* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1964 (vol.I), Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1970 (vol.II), 1991 (vol.III), 1992 (vol.IV)).

Note 2: All footnote references to ‘Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées, etc.*’ are to Pascal, Blaise, *Les Provinciales, Pensées et opuscules divers*, ed. Gérard Ferreyrolles and Philippe Sellier (Paris: La Pochothèque, 2004), and text references to fragment numbers are to Sellier’s numbering.

Note 3: The 1897 edition of Blaise Pascal, *Opuscules et Pensées*, ed. by Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1897) is referred to as “Brunschvicg Minor”, and the 1904 edition of the *Pensées* in *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, ed. Léon Brunschvicg, 14 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1904) vols XII-XIV, is referred to as “Brunschvicg Major”.

Note 4: Except for the titles of publications, all spelling has been modernised.

Note 5: Abbreviated references to Sainte-Beuve’s *Port-Royal* are given as in the following example: Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 354. The arabic numeral indicates the number of the *livre* in Sainte-Beuve’s text, and the roman numeral indicates the volume of the edition from which the quotation has been taken.

INTRODUCTION

Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) was the only son, and second-born of the three children of Étienne Pascal and his wife Antoinette (née Bégon), a wealthy Auvergnat bourgeois family. His mother died when he was three, and he was raised and educated personally by his father, who was a lawyer and an esteemed mathematician and public figure in their native Clermont and, eventually, in Rouen, where he held the high office of Commissioner of Taxes. Blaise showed a genius for mathematics and geometry as a child, and corresponded with some of the most important scientists of his age. His collaborative scientific work led to the understanding of atmospheric pressure, and the foundation of the science of fluid mechanics. He had a strict religious upbringing and his religious belief developed under the influence of the Jansenist tendency, whose members advocated a rigid interpretation of the teaching of Saint Augustine. The Jansenists were constantly under attack from both church and state authorities. Blaise became associated with the nucleus of the movement at the abbey of Port-Royal, near Paris, and in defence of their leader, Antoine Arnauld, he wrote a series of satirical letters, the *Lettres Provinciales*, which pilloried Jesuits and casuistry. These eventually made Blaise known to the general public. Towards the end of a life plagued by abdominal colic and headaches he seems to have intended to write an apology for Christianity, and among the writings found after his death were almost eight hundred fragments of notes apparently collected for this purpose. These fragments have been published many times in various forms, and it is with a period in the history of this publication, known as the *Pensées*, that this thesis is concerned.

By following the evolution of editorial practice, the thesis aims to chart the history of conflict associated with the *Pensées*. An understanding is expected to emerge of the complexity of the challenge the *œuvre* presents to editors, and why they continue to take it up. The key term of the title of the thesis, ‘conflict’, is interpreted broadly. In the scope of the thesis attention is first paid to the role of the reaction the content and style of the *œuvre* might arouse in the reader. This is referred to as ‘textual’ conflict and is discussed in Chapter 2. The second adjective in the title, ‘editorial’, embraces, on the one hand, the conflict between the author, through his text, and the editors, and, on the other, the personal, social and political conflict which has often arisen around the *Pensées* in their long history of publication. The *Pensées* thus occupy, respectively, the role of agent, victim, and bystander in this schema of conflict.

The thesis follows a chronological course, structured around the first edition and three subsequent stages in the process of publication, marked by editions of the *Pensées* which are landmarks in the evolution of editorial approach. The pattern established in 1670 by the first edition, *l'Édition de Port-Royal*, was followed for almost two hundred years before it was challenged by Prosper Faugère’s edition of 1844, in which each fragment was published individually. Order of presentation became established as a primary concern. The next landmark is the 1897 edition of Léon Brunschvicg, which represented a complete assumption of authority over the text, and established the system of consecutive numbering of the fragments of which the *œuvre* is composed. The final stage is marked by Louis Lafuma’s edition of 1951, which established the practice of publishing the fragments in the order in which Pascal is believed to have left them, as recorded in a copy made soon after his death. There are two such copies whose authenticity is widely accepted, but they are not identical. Each of these three editions may be described as having had the most significant influence on editorial practice, all the effects of which are embodied in Lafuma’s final edition. They are examined in

detail. Two more recent editions, that of Philippe Sellier of 1976 and that of Michel Le Guern of 1977, both conform in principle to Lafuma's example, and for that reason detailed discussion is not carried forward to them. Sellier has based his order on the second of the two copies of the fragments, while Lafuma and Le Guern use the first. In academic circles, the use of Lafuma's numbering of the fragments has been largely replaced by that established by Sellier. Hence, Sellier's numbering is used in this thesis, and his edition is discussed briefly at the end of Chapter 6.

The conflicts surrounding the production of the first edition were marginal to the turbulent time into which it was delivered, but for subsequent editions the conflict has been a recurring struggle between editors and text, particularly over order and authority. The threads of apology and order run through the many aspects of conflict that emerge as the thesis progresses, and I argue that while it is generally accepted that the *Pensées* constitute the basis of an apology for Christianity, the conflict over order in publication seems currently unresolvable.

From my earliest exposure to the *Pensées* I acquired the impression that the notes were not simply made to convince others of the truth of Pascal's religion, but also a way he used, perhaps unconsciously, to explore his own religious doubts, and that an inner conflict was in play. Subsequently I learned that others have also expressed this view. It has remained with me as a prejudice, but it fed into a general interest in communication and in particular how mood is expressed in literature. An observation more amenable to exploration came on better acquaintance with the text and with various editions, namely the conflictual environments from which they emerge. From this grew the proposal to examine a period of publication history of the *Pensées* through the theme of conflict. Finally, I realised that Pascal's writing itself adopted an aggressive and challenging style, making the *Pensées* not only victim and bystander of conflict, but also agent. Indeed, at its conception as a growing mass of quickly noted ideas, and in its difficult

delivery, the collection has been associated with a wide range of disagreement of all levels, academic, religious, and political. Referring to the work of the first editors, Faugère described the handling of some fragments as an act of mutilation:

Ces fragments, que la maladie et la mort avaient laissés inachevés, subirent, sans cesser d'être immortels, toutes les mutilations et les altérations qu'une prudence exagérée et un zèle malentendu pouvaient suggérer [...] ¹

An American reviewer of Faugère's 1844 edition of the *Pensées* summarises some aspects of the conflicts waged around Pascal and his works:

As a mere mathematician, metaphysician, theologian, controvertist, satirist, critic, or fine writer, he might have enjoyed the applause of his own order, but at the expense of being despised or overlooked by all the rest. But it is Voltaire, who hated Pascal's Christianity, that gives him his place at the very head of French prose writers. It is Cousin, who sneers at his 'convulsive devotion', that insists upon a new edition of his posthumous works and laboriously prepares the way for it. The very Jansenists, who glorified in the name of Pascal, were afraid of him, disapproved some of his notions, and disfigured his remains. Some of his most enthusiastic admirers are Protestants, who never can approve his popish principles and practices, and on whom he has showered condemnation and contempt. Thus we might go on to show that every sect and school and party in the republic of letters has a quarrel against Pascal, and yet all read and admire him.²

This remarkably comprehensive comment highlights the ambivalence of feeling among scholars of Pascal's writing, and the admixture of psychological and linguistic interests which contribute to it.

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- 1 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées fragments et lettres*, 2 vols, ed. Prosper Faugère (Paris: Andrieux, 1844), I, p.XIII. In a similar tone, a later edition, that of Fortunat Strowski, was described by Zacharie Tourneur as a 'massacre' (Zacharie Tourneur, 'Le Massacre des "Pensées" de Pascal', *Mercur de France*, 249, January 15, 1934, 285-301 (p. 298)).
 - 2 Joseph Addison Alexander, 'Pensées, Fragments, et Lettres de Blaise Pascal, publiés pour la première fois conformément aux manuscrits originaux en grande partie inédits, par M. Prosper Faugère', *Princeton Review*, vol.17, Issue 2, Apr.1845, 252-68 (p. 267).

The thesis examines the changing nature of conflict around four published expressions of the fragments, the *Édition de Port-Royal*, the edition of Prosper Faugère, the editions of Léon Brunschvicg, and those of Louis Lafuma. The conflicts surrounding the production of the first edition were marginal to the turbulent time into which it was delivered, but for subsequent editions the conflict has been a recurring struggle between editors and text, over order and authority.

Uniqueness of the *Pensées*

From the point of view of making a text from the fragments, there was probably no precedent for Pascal's inheritors to follow. In the context of fragmented, uncompleted or abandoned literary works, the body of fragments left by Pascal seems to occupy a place of its own. It does not fit into any classical literary genre, and defies many of the formal analytic approaches. The instrumentalist approach falls on the problem that the words as tools are limited to an imaginary literary context, and deconstruction has limited application in the absence of a definitive text, although Louis Marin does regard it as a deconstructed text.³

Apart from the problems of how to publish fragments remaining from works substantially lost, many authors have left uncompleted works, to be constituted or reconstituted by editors from fragments. The publication of texts from writers of our own time has presented great challenges, the works of Ludwig Wittgenstein and Mikhail Bakhtin being prime examples. '[N]early every book that has been published under Wittgenstein's name has called for extensive and far-reaching decisions about how to select and arrange the source material in order to produce a conventional text.'⁴ As for Mikhail Bakhtin's works, there is evidence that some of the published texts

3 Louis Marin, *Pascal et Port-Royal*, ed. Alain Cantillon (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997), p. 12: 'Les *Pensées* sont un texte déconstruit, en puissance de "délit" [.]'

4 Hans Sluga and David Stern, *The Cambridge Companion to Wittgenstein* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1996) p. 446.

never really existed, and that, rather than editing established texts, the first editorial efforts involved actually writing the texts from archival material.⁵

A step back to Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* raises the issue of distinguishing between works deliberately incomplete, and those interrupted by fate. It appears to be deliberately incomplete, but Derek Pearsall comments that 'whatever the case, the unrevised and fragmentary state of the *Canterbury Tales* has not inhibited those who have rushed to complete Chaucer's scheme for him'.⁶ He also makes the point, relevant to editors of the *Pensées*, that 'A study of the *Tales* must therefore respect what there is of completed sequences without straining to impose upon the work theories of order and unity which distort the nature of what we have'.⁷ And of general application, he alludes to the relevance of historical context and target audience in the life of any work of literature.⁸ These two considerations may conflict, as in Condorcet's *Éloge et Pensées de Pascal* of 1776, in which Condorcet appears to accommodate Pascal to the intellectual climate of the late eighteenth century by emphasising appeals to reason and evidence of scepticism in his writing over reference to revelation and grace, but at the cost of even greater manipulation of the posthumous text than that represented in the *Édition de Port-Royal*.⁹

On the other hand, the *Summa Theologiae* of St Thomas Aquinas appears to have been arrested by illness, part way through the consideration of the sacraments, but up to that point it has 'a linear and carefully articulated structure',¹⁰ unlike Pascal's

5 Ken Hirschkop, *Mikhail Bakhtin, An Aesthetic for Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford, 1999) p. 119.

6 Derek Pearsall, *The Canterbury Tales* (London and New York: Routledge, 1985) p. 27.

7 Derek Pearsall, *The Canterbury Tales*, p. 50.

8 Derek Pearsall, *The Canterbury Tales*, p. 28.

9 Richard Parish summarizes the many ways in which Condorcet failed to respect the integrity of fragments. See his critical edition of the 1778 version of the text: Blaise Pascal, *Éloge de Pascal, édition établie par Condorcet, annotée par Voltaire*, ed. Richard Parish (Oxford: Voltaire, 2008), pp. 28-9.

10 Bernard McGinn, *Thomas Aquinas's Summa theologiae* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 66.

fragments. The problem of order is widespread amongst translations and editions of the classics, and is complicated by the problem of accuracy of ancient sources. Those building an edition of the *Pensées* act upon their understanding of the corpus, as Charles Kahn has done in ordering his edition of Heraclitus according to an initial understanding of meaning:

I have worked on the assumption that, if Heraclitus' own order was a meaningful one, it is the interpreter's task to present these incomplete and shattered fragments in the most meaningful order he can find. How close I have come to duplicating Heraclitus' own order may depend in part upon how successful I have been in grasping his meaning.¹¹

As for Aristotle, the edition of Andronicus Rhodius, from which much of our concept of Aristotle is derived, was made by composing the works in much the same way as the editors composed the *Édition de Port-Royal*, that is, from fragments. Of all these examples it is perhaps the Aristotelian corpus that most resembles the *Pensées*, except that the fragments left to us were once part of real texts, even if only in the form of notes made by Aristotle's students. However, the *Pensées* do seem to be a unique corpus and this may justify editorial liberty, and perhaps even necessitate it, if it is to be published at all.

This thesis will offer no challenge to the accepted belief that the fragments were substantially notes for a projected apology for Christianity, and as editors have also worked with that goal in mind, we should know what they expect to produce from the fragments. The word *apologie*, however, does not appear in any of the fragments, but, in the words of Philippe Sellier, '[c]e mot d'*apologie* se révèle indispensable pour

¹¹ Charles H. Kahn, *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979), p. 8.

désigner, au sein des *Pensées*, le massif des textes orientés vers la défense et illustration de la vision catholique du monde'.¹²

Definition of apology

Furetière, in the *Dictionnaire Universel* of 1690, describes 'apologie' as 'livre ou discours fait pour justifier quelqu'un', and in the 1798 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* it is defined as 'discours par écrit, ou de vive voix pour la justification, pour la défense de quelqu'un, de quelque action, de quelque ouvrage'. This broad definition matches that conveyed by the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, which does not have a separate entry for 'apologie', but deals with it under 'apologétique'¹³ and 'apologistes'¹⁴. It informs the reader that 'si l'apologétique est une science relativement récente, l'apologie est aussi ancienne que le christianisme, la forme essentielle et primitive de la théologie, et le premier des apologistes est Jésus', and as an early example it gives two apologies delivered by Saint Justin about AD 150 or 155 to the emperor Antoninus Pius and others in the Roman senate 'pour établir l'innocence des chrétiens et la vérité de la doctrine qu'ils professaient'¹⁵. As examples from Pascal's time, it gives Pierre Charron's *Les Trois Vérités* of 1593, and Daniel Huet's *Démonstration évangélique*, published in 1678. Charron, a friend of Montaigne, published another defence of Christianity in 1601, the *Traité de la Sagesse*. Both scholars were sceptics, and Huet refuted Cartesianism. Richard Popkin says of Huet that 'in *Traité philosophique*, in his correspondence, and in his marginalia, especially in his copy of Blaise Pascal's *Pensées*, an extreme fideism appears, in which it is denied that

12 Philippe Sellier, in Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées, etc.*, p. 758.

13 *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1899), I, columns 1511-1580. (Hereafter, *DTC*.)

14 *DTC*, I, columns 1580-1602.

15 *DTC*, I, column 1534. The title 'Apologistes' is followed by 'les Pères', in parenthesis.

there can be any defence of religion. [...] Faith, and faith alone, could lead to any religious views'.¹⁶

The Latin word 'apologia' is a transliteration of the Greek, a term of rhetoric for the defence in legal trials in classical Greece. It is synonymous with 'defence', but it is difficult to know when it began to be used as such. In the Vulgate, Saint Jerome translates his Greek source in Philippians 1,7 as 'et in defensione et confirmatione evangelii'¹⁷, but there can be no doubt that Saint Paul is referring to an apologetic act. An apology need not carry the word in its title. The first chapter of the *Édition de Port-Royal* of the *Pensées* bears the title 'Contre l'indifférence des Athées', and it is difficult to imagine that anyone reading it would not expect an apology for religion to follow, despite the absence of the word from the title of the work. Nor could anyone reading chapter 20, in which seven Sellier fragments are combined, including S 699 - 'Le Dieu des chrétiens est un Dieu qui fait sentir à l'âme qu'il est son unique bien [...] – have any doubt that at issue is Christianity and the centrality of Christ.

The editors of the editions of the *Pensées* discussed in this thesis all had access to the same source material, although they took different views of its authenticity. The manuscript was, of course, available for the first editors in its original condition, but the fragments have only been available for subsequent editors as later trimmed and collected in a volume in 1711, now known as the *Recueil Original*. The *Recueil* contains most of the fragments (741), but the next source, the two *Copies*, believed to have been made as soon as the fragments were found, record more fragments, and it

16 Richard H. Popkin, *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Donald M. Borchert, 10 vols (Detroit: Thomson, 2006), IV, p. 470.

17 *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibel Gesellschaft, 2007), p. 1815.

appears that about eighty fragments were dispersed and lost before the *Recueil* was assembled.¹⁸

Plan of the thesis

The thesis is in two parts, the first taking the discussion from the origin of publication of the *Pensées* up to the early part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of what I refer to as the modern era, the second spanning the following one hundred and fifty years and bringing the history up to the present time. In Chapter 1 matters of editorial motivation and reader expectation are examined, in the context of loyalty to the author's presumed intention to write an apology for Christianity. The challenge of publication has been met by various manipulations of the text, which is a manner of usurpation of the authority of the writer. This is one of the levels of conflict which are discussed in chapter 2, others being textual sources of conflict, and controversy over the order in which the fragments should be presented. Chapter 3 is entirely devoted to the history of the first edition and its subsequent modifications, which preserved its style for almost two hundred years.

Chapter 4 begins Part 2 with an examination of the first edition of the modern era, that of Prosper Faugère, its political context, and the revolution in editorial practice which it inaugurated. Chapter 5 deals with the editions of León Brunschvicg and the authority they held over the publication, which persisted until the final landmark edition of the modern era, that of Louis Lafuma in 1951, which is the subject of Chapter 6.

The Conclusion draws together the threads of fragmentation, apology, and the assessment of probabilities in the production of editions, and explores reasons for the eternal appeal of Pascal's fragments.

18 These are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the *Recueil Original* as Fn 9202, the first *Copie* as Fn 9203, and the second *Copie* as Fn 12449.

The discussion now opens with an exploration of why editors should want to publish the fragments, and for whom their efforts were intended, before passing to consideration of the vexed issue of order, and an examination of the 'text' itself.

PART I
1669-1844

**CHAPTER 1:
MOTIVATION FOR PUBLICATION,
AND THE EDITORS' DILEMMA**

The first editors

Leaving aside speculation about all the reasons Pascal may have had to make the notes in the first place, and accepting they were for an apology, our concern is pragmatically with publication: whether to publish or not, and if to publish, in what form. Against the difficulties of deciphering Pascal's writing, the absence of a plan for a work, and family opposition, the motivation to publication must have been strong in some quarters.

Presumably it was Gilberte Périer, Pascal's next of kin, who had authority over his remains, but there is evidence that sometimes he confided his letters to others, his friend Jean Domat for example.¹ It has been a convention to regard Gilberte's opposition to publication as an expression of her treating the fragments as a sacred relic, not to be subjected to the manipulations contingent on publication. She was persuaded to agree to publication, but continued to resent the process because she felt that nothing was capable 'd'approcher [...] la perfection formelle, rhétorique, intellectuelle et spirituelle par laquelle le livre de son frère se serait très certainement caractérisé'.² It seems that other works found after Pascal's death were published promptly,³ but the *Pensées* may have been reserved purely for political reasons until the conflict with the

1 Mesnard, *OC*, I, p. 1159. In the *Mémoire sur Domat*, attributed to Père Guerrier, is the statement: 'Personne ne fut plus parfaitement uni de sentiments avec M. Pascal sur les affaires de la religion que M. Domat; c'est sans doute ce qui engagea M. Pascal à lui confier, préférablement à tout autre, quelques écrits qu'il avait faits sur la signature du formulaire. Mlle Périer m'a dit que son oncle avait prié M. Domat, en lui remettant ces papiers, de les brûler, si les religieuses de Port-Royal se soutenaient dans la persecution qu'elles souffraient à ce sujet, et de les rendre publics, si elles pliaient.'

2 Marie Pérouse, *L'invention des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Champion, 2009), p. 461.

3 For example, the paper *De l'équilibre des liqueurs* was published in 1663.

Jesuits cooled. Work on an edition began within a few years of Pascal's death, possibly before the *Privilège du Roi* was granted to print in December 1666. The very gathering up of the fragments was a step towards rationalisation of the relics. Three reasons to publish can be identified.

- 1) The first is loyalty to Pascal. His sister Gilberte may have faced the dilemma of whether to preserve the fragments as a memorial 'as found', or to carry out her brother's wish to write an apology, also out of loyalty, and to resolve or rationalise the fragments into a 'temple', secular or sacred (preferably the latter). Would she gain spiritual satisfaction from having carried out his wishes? Extant correspondence indicates that she remained resolved against major interference with the text. So if it was from motives of loyalty, then how did that motive impinge on the production: loyalty to the fragments, or to the wishes of the deceased author? This may yet be an oversimplified view of Gilberte's position, and Marie Pérouse has put a somewhat different complexion on Gilberte's attitude, since her loyalty may have been to nothing but her own image of her brother. She suggests that '[p]our les Périer, persuadés que l'alliance du génie et de la sainteté incarnée par leur parent devait *de droit* engendrer une merveille de perfection à tous les niveaux, le fantasme du livre achevé devait forcément servir de comparant nuisible à leur jugement des fragments, conçus comme "restes" infimes d'une merveille perdue'.⁴ In support of her view she draws attention to the fact that Gilberte 'se livre en effet, dans la *Vie*, à une vaste entreprise de dénigrement systématique de ces bribes informes, qui, pense-t-elle, ne méritent pas même de figurer au titre de *restes* de la pensée de son frère'.⁵ Nonetheless the question of loyal response remains alive with Pascal's friends and admirers, who

4 Ibid., p. 103 (emphasis original).

5 Ibid., p. 460 (emphasis original).

did not take such a negative view of the body of fragments. Filleau de la Chaise, for example, is particularly enthusiastic in his *Discours*.⁶ The story of the lecture Pascal gave to his friends must be accepted as a fact accurately recorded if this act of ‘loyalty’ is to hold. However, it is in fact impossible to be loyal to the ‘as found’ idea, not least because the fragments will have been moved somewhere to be deciphered and copied, perhaps by several persons, before the clean *Copies* were made. Since they could not have been made straight from the autograph, the basis of loyalty is itself a subject of conjecture.

The holes in some of the remnants in the *Recueil original* support the notion that Pascal had at least begun to sort the papers, tying them together in bundles, the *liasses* referred to by his nephew, Étienne Périer, in his *Préface* to the first edition,⁷ but chronological details are lacking about when he stopped this process, and why he did not get someone to continue it. He had already used amanuenses.

- 2) A second reason to publish may have been a growing public demand to see the papers, as knowledge of their existence spread, particularly as Pascal’s intention to write an apology was no secret. Étienne Périer claims that for a long time no thought was given to printing the fragments ‘quoique plusieurs personnes de très grande considération le demandassent souvent avec des instances et des sollicitations fort pressantes’.⁸
- 3) Finally, the political desire of Port-Royal and the Jansenists to add Pascal’s authority to their cause may have played a part. That public renown was part of his posthumous social capital, at least by the time of publication, is attested to by

6 Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours sur les Pensées*, in Brunshvicg Major, XII, pp. CXCIX-CCXXXVIII.

7 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Louis Lafuma, (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 24.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

the reaction of the Archbishop of Paris to the publication, to which reference will be made later.

Successive editors

The concern for textual loyalty arose in the nineteenth century with the work of Victor Cousin,⁹ combined with an overt drive to imagine the order in which Pascal might have used them in an apology for Christianity. An unconscious desire for ‘structure’ probably underlies all editing, and the drive to publish new editions acquires new sources.

Certain more specific motives to publish, which may have influenced editors in the modern era, are discussed in the following list.

- 1) Academic advancement would follow the production of an edition of such an important work, one of canonical status.
- 2) Piety was probably the motivation for many editions from churchmen in reaction to the *Lumières* and in the re-establishment of Church authority after the Revolution and the Empire, but the trend persisted, and Lafuma lists six new editions produced by churchmen in the twenty-five years leading to Brunschvicg’s edition.¹⁰
- 3) The commercial motive comes into sharp focus with Brunschvicg’s edition, but in fact it goes back further than that, because Lafuma tells us that the publisher Hachette approached Sainte-Beuve in 1850 for an edition of the *Pensées*, which was not pursued because of the appearance of Havet’s edition in 1852.¹¹ Hachette had an *Œuvres complètes* from 1858 by Charles Lahure, who claimed that he had based the *Pensées* on Havet’s edition, but he fell short of this in not including

9 See Chapter 4, The Edition of Prosper Faugère.

10 Louis Lafuma, *Histoire des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Luxembourg, 1954), pp. 40-41. These were: 1873, ed. Victor Rocher, *chanoine* d’Orléans; 1881, ed. M. l’abbé Drioux; 1886, ed. M. l’abbé Augustin Vialard; 1896, ed. A. Gutlin, *ancien vicaire général et chanoine* d’Orléans; 1896, ed. M. le *chanoine* Jules Didiot, *doyen de la faculté de théologie de Lille*; 1897, ed. l’abbé Margival.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

complete fragments, and excluding the commentary.¹² It is not surprising that Hachette was seeking to publish a new edition (of complete works) by the end of the century.

- 4) Brunshvicg's interest in producing his editions is likely to have been more academic than commercial, but personal interest, without academic pretention, appears to be the essential drive behind Lafuma's editions, which are discussed when considering what followed in Brunshvicg's wake.

The target readers

Authorial intention influences both the form and the content of a text, and speculation about Pascal's intention is a dominant influence on the order in which editors present the *Pensées*. Authorial intention implies a target audience, and it is believed that Pascal intended his Apology for his *libertin* friends.¹³ Antoine Adam quotes from "un manuscrit janséniste" the comment that 'M. Pascal a fait ses fragments contre huit esprits forts du Poitou qui ne croyaient point en Dieu'.¹⁴ In this interpretation much weight is given to Fragment S 680 *Infini rien*, a title which defines with extreme precision Pascal's view of man's condition, as he wanders in ignorance between the two incomprehensible 'horizons' of infinity and nothingness: 'Car enfin qu'est-ce que l'homme dans la nature? Un néant à l'égard de l'infini, un tout à l'égard du néant, un milieu entre rien et tout[.]'¹⁵ This fragment, otherwise known as "*le Pari*", is an attempt to convince the reader that he has nothing to lose and everything to gain by betting, as it were, on the existence of God, and is taken to imply that Pascal was thinking of his

12 Ibid., p. 63.

13 Jean Mesnard, *Les Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: SEDES, 1976), p. 120.

14 Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la Littérature Française au XVIIe Siècle*, 5 vols (Paris: Domat, 1957), II, p. 273.

15 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, fragment S 230.

friends, the *libertins*, with whom he associated beyond Jansenist circles. One of these, Damien Miton (1618-1690), is named in three of the fragments.¹⁶

This narrow view of a target audience need not apply generally to the whole *corpus*. Moreover, it has been suggested, by Paul-Louis Couchoud for example, that Pascal might not have intended to include the *Pari* in his apology.¹⁷ Furthermore, this is a simplistic interpretation of intention, because his friends would already know his thoughts by word of mouth. Some of his wider acquaintance may also have been present at his talk outlining his plan to a group in 1654 or 1655. He is unlikely to have kept his views to himself, and despite the picture of a cold, reclusive individual which was painted of him by his sister in her *Vie*, there is evidence that he kept up social contacts even in his last years, not only from existing correspondence but from his involvement with plans to drain marshes in Poitou, and his part in establishing a public transport service in Paris.

Jean Filleau de la Chaise, who describes in his proposed preface for the Port-Royal edition the plan for an apology, referred to above, which was presented by Pascal

16 Miton and his unbelief are evoked in fragments S 433, S 494, and S 529 bis. Pascal met Miton and his gambling friend the chevalier de Méré about 1648-50. He is described as ‘possibly the clearest example of a seventeenth-century *bourgeois honnête homme*, a man in whom transcendant [sic] social qualities were blended with bourgeois virtues and tempered with powers of keen observation and just analysis based upon a solid sense of reality’ (Henry A. Grubbs, *Damien Mitton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 63). Brunschvicg places great importance on Pascal’s association with Miton: ‘[A]vec Miton le chrétien mesure l’abîme du doute tranquille et de la négation [...] [...] Comment faire naître dans cette âme l’inquiétude de la destinée, qui est le ferment de la foi? comment faire surgir de ce fond de scepticisme et de pessimisme le souci de la vérité éternelle et l’attente de la béatitude? ce problème tragique qui donne aux *Pensées* leur accent incomparable, c’est Miton qui l’a posé à Pascal’ (Léon Brunschvicg, *Brunschvicg Major*, XII, pp.LXXXI-LXXXII). With Miton and Méré and their associates, Adam tells us that ‘[c]e qui du moins est sûr, c’est que Pascal acquit alors une connaissance directe de l’incrédulité où s’étaient fixés certains de ses contemporains. Une incrédulité très différente de celle qu’il avait pu rencontrer dans les milieux érudits. Des gens du monde, spirituels, de relations infiniment agréables, indulgents, capables de respecter la foi des autres pourvu que ces autres leur permettent de rester incrédules. N’ayant pas du tout l’idolâtrie de la raison. Mais pas davantage disposés à s’incliner devant une foi’ (Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au XVIIe siècle*, 5 vols (Paris: Domat, 1957) II, p. 233). Adam suggests that Pascal may have felt the attraction of this ‘scepticisme élégant’, this ‘humanisme indévot’ (ibid., II, p. 234), and if his conjecture is correct, Pascal may have gained an understanding of atheism.

17 Paul-Louis Couchoud, *Discours de la Condition de l’Homme* (Paris: Alban Michel, 1948), p. 12.

to a group of friends in 1654 or 1655,¹⁸ identifies another target group, though perhaps by chance rather than by intention: '[Il] est cependant comme assuré qu'il n'y en aura que très-peu qui en profitent, ce ne sera que pour les vrais Chrétiens qu'il aura travaillé en s'efforçant de prouver la vérité de leur Religion.'¹⁹ This comment suggests that Filleau saw little value in Pascal's attempt to set aside obstacles to the reception of God's grace, should it come to the seeker after faith. However, the thought is taken up again by David Wetsel, who believes that 'Pascal has no illusions about the limits of apologetic discourse. The ultimate end of Christian apologetics, he believes, is to vindicate the faith of those who already believe'.²⁰ But it is the seeker – *le chercheur* – that David Wetsel identifies as the true target of Pascal's apology.²¹ Pascal ranks the seeker between the believer and the indifferent non-believer:

Il n'y a que trois sortes de personnes: les uns qui servent Dieu l'ayant trouvé, les autres qui s'emploient à le chercher ne l'ayant pas trouvé, les autres qui vivent sans le chercher ni l'avoir trouvé. Les premiers sont raisonnables et heureux, les derniers sont fous et malheureux, ceux du milieu sont malheureux et raisonnables.²²

But he has good news for him:

Mais ceux qui cherchent Dieu de tout leur cœur, qui n'ont de déplaisir que d'être privés de sa vue, qui n'ont de désir que pour le posséder et d'ennemis que ceux qui les en détournent, qui s'affligent de se voir environnés et dominés de tels ennemis, qu'ils se consolent. Je leur annonce une heureuse nouvelle: il y a un libérateur pour eux.²³

18 Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours sur les pensées de M. Pascal où l'on essaye de faire voir quel estoit son dessein* (Paris: Desprez, 1672), p. 13, or Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. CCIII.

19 Ibid., p. 117, or Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. CCXXXIV.

20 David Wetsel, *Pascal and Disbelief* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1994), p. 350.

21 Ibid., p. 328.

22 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, fragment S 192, in Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées etc.*, p. 927.

23 Ibid., fragment S 300, p. 977.

It is unlikely that Pascal would have used all the fragments in an apology, and it is also improbable that they were all recorded with the single objective of communication with others,²⁴ although the suggestion that Pascal may have been ‘conversing with paper’ in a personal exploration finds little place in the traditional hagiography. But Pascal did not complete a conventional apology and that he might have changed his mind is never considered by his exegetes. Nonetheless, the notion that he himself was an important member of an audience for an apology, in the sense that making these notes of a broadly apologetic nature was a way of talking to himself as well as to others, was raised as early as 1669 by Père Rapin,²⁵ who states ‘qu’il [Pascal] travailla à instruire les autres de la vérité de la religion, en s’en instruisant lui-même, par ce bel ouvrage des *Pensées*’.²⁶ Prosper Faugère²⁷ felt that Pascal’s greatest loss was not having had time to work out his own doubts, and the source of this idea must lie in Pascal’s own writings. The empiricism of his scientific activities and his constant searching for ‘the truth’ may have been matched by an equivalent current at work at the deep psychological level, although it does seem that he took scripture literally and on trust. As he says, ‘[j]e n’entreprendrais pas de vous porter ce secours de mon propre, mais comme ce ne sont que des répétitions de ce que j’ai appris, je le fais avec assurance en

24 In fragment S 520 he refers to the pleasure of writing well, presumably for others to read: ‘[E]t moi qui écris ceci ai peut-être cette envie [d’avoir bien écrit]’. In contrast, fragment S 540 tells of an indirect benefit Pascal derives from writing, namely that when his thoughts escape him while he is recording them he is reminded of his own weakness, a lesson more valuable than the lost thought.

25 Père Rapin (1621-1687), a Jesuit and contemporary of Pascal, is not entirely reliable, as Léon Aubineau points out (René Rapin, *Mémoires 1644-1669*, ed. Léon Aubineau, 3 vols (Paris: Gaume & Duprey, 1865), I, p. 215, fn 4). Rapin suggests that in association with Méré and Miton he explored magical practices (Ibid., p. 214). He describes Pascal’s alliance with Port-Royal as ‘une grande conquête pour le Port-Royal’, and presents Pascal’s influence on the duc de Roannez as a sort of deliberate seduction ‘en contrefaisant le sévère’ (Ibid., p. 216). Sainte-Beuve is unequivocal: ‘Et pour ce qui est de Pascal notamment, le Père Rapin est faible, inexact, mensonger, à la merci des *on dit*.’ (Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1954), 3, in II) p. 958).

26 René Rapin, *Mémoires 1644-1669*, ed. Léon Aubineau, 3 vols (Paris: Gaume et Duprey, 1865), I, p. 215.

27 Prosper Faugère, ‘Des Pensées de Pascal. Rapport à l’Académie française sur la nécessité d’une nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage, par M. V. Cousin’, *La France Littéraire*, 1843, 2^e série, t.12, 170-74 (p. 174).

priant Dieu de bénir ces semences [...]’.²⁸ There is also good evidence for his enquiries into religious matters, for example, the opening of fragment S 691: ‘Dans cette recherche, le peuple juif attire d’abord mon attention’. In that research he has studied ‘des faiseurs de religions en plusieurs endroits du monde et dans tous les temps’, as he writes in fragment S 694, finding the stamp of truth no more in one religion than in another, until he came to the Jews.

Étienne Périer’s comment that his uncle ‘ne l’écrivait [sa pensée en peu de mots] que pour lui’²⁹ must not be taken out of context to support the above suggestion, although in context it does indicate that Pascal’s fragments were regarded as aides-memoire, and their wording as quite provisional. However much Pascal may have explored his own questions through his jottings, the target for his apology is likely to have been all-embracing. ‘[I]l voulait bâtir un temple colossal, aux proportions harmonieuses, à la décoration splendide, dans lequel il rassemblerait tous les hommes, les chrétiens et les non chrétiens, les fidèles et les incrédules, et en particulier les indévots indifférents’, in the words of the historian of Jansenism, Augustin Gazier.³⁰

Conclusion

In summary, many reasons can be advanced for the initial publication, and these are relevant also for later editors, despite their having their own agendas. So, too, are the various levels of readership, but although the editors of Port-Royal must have expected their work to be subjected to severe criticism, they would not have foreseen its being subjected to modern academic exegesis. The issues of loyalty to Pascal and to his text remain paramount, and once the whole corpus of fragments is presented without modification, contention settles around the order of publication. I argue that an apology

28 Blaise Pascal, *Lettre sur la mort de son père*, in Mesnard, *OC*, II, p. 860.

29 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 23.

30 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Augustin Gazier (Paris: Société Française d’Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1907), p. 3.

lies in the fragments, and that it will be present in whatever arrangement is made of them. In that sense the issue of loyalty to Pascal's (assumed) wishes fades before that of loyalty to the text. Indeed, with the possible exception of Condorcet, all editors appear to have aimed to present the fragments under the rubric of an apology for Christianity. 'Violence' may have been appropriate to describe the manipulations of the fragments by early editors, but it is no longer so, the legitimacy of editorial actions being judged according to social evolution and attitudes to authorial rights, a particular problem with dead authors, and especially with works which never existed. Constant editorial conflict with order is, however, only one of several levels of conflict represented in the publication history of the *Pensées*.

**CHAPTER 2:
LEVELS OF CONFLICT, THE CHALLENGE OF
THE TEXT, AND THE ISSUE OF ORDER**

Levels of conflict

The fragments were from the outset a witness to conflict within Pascal's family and friends about whether or not to publish them, and how this might be done. At the time the conflict between the Jansenists and the Jesuits was to some extent a symptom of the King's desire for total control and absence of dissent. Faugère's edition appeared at a time of political controversy which affected its reception, and it provoked a polemic in response to the new light it cast on the complexity of Pascal's thought. The fragments became the object of conflict as soon as editing began, on the issue of authority over how to publish, which is principally a matter of order. In exerting authority over the work, editors have, to varying degrees, maintained the weight of Pascal's own authority, to preserve a measure of authenticity for their editions. These issues are elaborated as the four editions are examined, but common to all is the text itself as an agent of conflict, presenting both the challenge of the fragment, and an aggressive rhetoric, acting in some ways as a provocation. Affirmation of such an hypothesis was made by the editors of the first edition of 1670, who recognised textual elements likely to provoke conflict in their own time, and took care not to publish them.¹ Before exploring the conflicts around the production of the first edition, the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and the fortune of the later editions of Faugère, Brunschvicg, and Lafuma in greater depth, a study of the original text follows, in order to identify potential sources within it of

¹ The most significant of these are fragments bearing taints of Jansenism, and those relating to Pascal's possible scepticism, which, when added to the whole published corpus by Faugère, aroused a polemic which is discussed in chapter 4.

disharmony at its reception. The *forme* will be examined first, and later the *fond*. The following review takes no account of intratextual inconsistencies or apparent conflicts, nor of any personal, emotional or spiritual conflict which might be read from the text. Study of these matters would require a depth of textual analysis which is beyond the planned scope of this thesis.

Textual Sources of Conflict

The first challenge issued by the text is the deciphering of Pascal's handwriting, which has been a source of ongoing academic disagreement.² However, once a decision is taken to publish, it is the fragmentation which raises the more contentious issue of order, and that, in turn, confronts the authority of Pascal as author.

Forme

The significance of form in the composition and presentation of texts is well recognized as 'its most significant operation and manifestation', and authorial intention is normally intrinsic to it.³ The fragments composing this particular body of Pascal's writing do not represent authorial intention as if in a complete text, and this particular case of fragmentation seems actively to resist all the conceptual forms of linguistics. In particular, the gaps between fragments are different from the quiet or empty spaces in a

2 For example, in the *Préface* to his edition of the *Pensées* (Blaise Pascal, *Les Pensées de Blaise Pascal*, ed. Auguste Molinier, 2 vols (Paris: Lemerre, 1877, 1879), Auguste Molinier emphasizes the inaccuracies in Faugère's readings of certain words. His new readings are identified in his text and discussed in the notes in vol. II, and many of these are now accepted. Zacharie Tourneur refers to Molinier's corrections in his edition (Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Zacharie Tourneur, 2 vols (Paris: Cluny, 1938), I, p. XLII), and he himself made the most striking attack on erroneous readings in a series of articles in the *Mercure de France* in 1934 'où je m'efforce de montrer, par des exemples nombreux et typiques, combien le manuscrit de Pascal a été mal déchiffré par les auteurs des éditions qui se sont succédé, depuis celle de Faugère, souvent infidèle[...] Il m'avait semblé que l'édition Brunschvicg contenait plus de trois cents leçons erronées' (Tourneur, I, p. L). A particularly interesting and important series of changes has occurred in the sentence from the *Édition de Port-Royal* of 1670, section VIII, part 1: 'Je vois **des multitudes** de Religions en plusieurs endroits du monde, & dans tous les temps', which is repeated in Bossut's edition (Bossut, II, p. 240). It becomes '**des foisons**' in Faugère's edition (Faugère, II, p. 185), which is perpetuated by Brunschvicg in fragment B 619 (Brunschvicg Major, XIV, p. 59), and is read as '**faiseurs**' in Lafuma's fragment L 454 [emphases added].

3 D. C. Greetham, *Theories of the Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 127.

fully articulated text, the *Leerstellen*, the blanks, gaps and spaces in texts, as described by Wolfgang Iser,⁴ which (in reader response theory) are filled in by the reader in the act of concretisation of the text⁵ and affect aesthetic interpretation. These blanks are fixed in location in completed texts, and concretisation is linear. In any one edition of the *Pensées* such *Leerstellen* have been created, but each different ordering of the fragments has its own blanks, their connection to Pascal is tenuous, and, as far as the corpus is concerned, the concretisation is non-linear. In fact, little concretisation is possible in all but the *Édition de Port-Royal* and its imitators, the fragmentation being preserved and emphasised in other editions. In the *Édition de Port-Royal* the fragments composing each “Titre” are not separated by a line space, but identified by a small decorative curved leaf symbol (*fleuron*) and a paragraph indent, thus disguising, to a degree, the fragmentary origin. Havet’s edition groups the fragments into “Articles”, akin to Port-Royal’s “Titres”, but separates each fragment by a wide space containing the number it occupies in the “Article”. Faugère separates the fragments by short horizontal lines within a wide space, and Brunschvicg simply puts the fragment numbers in a two-line space.

The fragments are described as being found in a state of chaos, but apparently partly collected into 27 *liasses*, although more than half of the fragments were not so arranged. It is now accepted that they were all collected into *liasses*, only twenty-seven of which bore titles. No order was perceived within each *liasse*.⁶ Papers other than those

4 Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 182: ‘What we have called the blank arises out of the indeterminacy of the text, and although it appears to be akin to Ingarden’s “place of indeterminacy,” it is different in kind and function. The latter term is used to designate a gap in the determinacy of the intentional object or in the sequence of the “schematic aspects”; the blank, however, designates a vacancy in the overall system of the text, the filling of which brings about an interaction of textual patterns. In other words, the need for completion is replaced here by the need for combination.’

5 See Iser’s discussion of Roman Ingarden’s ‘Concept of Indeterminacy’ in Iser, *The Act of Reading*, p. 170.

6 Étienne Périer, *Préface de l’édition de Port-Royal*, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 24.

of the *Pensées* which were found after Pascal's death were essentially completed works,⁷ but the scattering of fragments related to the *Provinciales* suggests that this was at least in part his way of working. However, he wrote the *Provinciales* quickly, which possibly left little time for collection and sorting in this way. Taking at face value the statement that what his family first did was to have them copied 'tels qu'ils étaient, et dans la même confusion qu'on les avait trouvés',⁸ the *liasses* and other fragments were not examined separately, but if they were, were they replaced in an initial order? There are two copies, with differences in the order in which certain groups of fragments are found, and Jean Mesnard affirms that they were made in 1662 or 1663 as the preliminary to making an edition.⁹

For Pascal's devoted sister Gilberte the fragments were a memorial to her brother. She wanted no interference with them, and in view of their confused state, opposed publication.¹⁰ Her wishes would only have been served by closing the door on them forever. Pascal must have had many visitors in the last four years of his life, after he moved back to Paris from the neighbourhood of Port-Royal-des Champs, where he had been living with others of the so-called *solitaires* in a farm ("les Granges"), but there is no record of him at work on the papers. He appears to have first gone to Port-Royal-des-Champs in January 1655 and was there again in October. It was then that he started work on the *Provinciales*. From Port-Royal he went to Clermont, staying with his sister Gilberte from May to September 1660. He died in Paris in his sister's house, having

7 For example, the 'Traitez de l'équilibre des liqueurs, et de la pesanteur de la masse de l'air', which was published in Paris by Desprez in 1663.

8 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 24.

9 Jean Mesnard, 'Aux Origines de l'Édition des "Pensées": Les deux copies', in *Les "Pensées" de Pascal ont trois cents ans* (Clermont-Ferrand: De Bussac, 1971), p. 22. The question of copy texts is discussed by Jerome J. McGann in *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 113, and one wonders if the *Copies* might not be regarded as the earliest editions of the *Pensées*.

10 Jean Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, 2 vols (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965), II, p. 887.

moved there on June 29th, 1662,¹¹ from a rented house near the Palais du Luxembourg. Presumably his papers were at the latter house.

If Pascal carried these papers around with him in his moves, that is a sign that he continued to work on them, or hoped to do so when time allowed. After his death Gilberte Périer appears to have moved the papers first to her own home, and then to Clermont, and it is not clear where the copying took place. Nevertheless, the considerable mass of papers was moved several times, and the ‘original’ order may well have been disturbed more than once. Étienne Périer reports that they were found ‘tous ensemble’, but this refers specifically to the fragments of the *Pensées*.¹² Other papers were found with them, and these were promptly published.¹³ In 1663 the two *Traitez*, as indicated in footnote 7, were published with a preface probably written by Florin Périer.¹⁴ In it he explains that they had not been published because of Pascal’s disdain of such studies:

C’est pourquoi encore que ces deux traités fussent tout prêts à imprimer il y a plus de douze ans, comme le savent plusieurs personnes qui les ont vus dès ce temps-là, il n’a jamais néanmoins voulu souffrir qu’on les publiât, tant par l’éloignement qu’il a toujours eu de se produire, qu’à cause de peu d’état qu’il faisait de ces sciences.¹⁵

He writes simply that they were found ‘dans ses papiers’,¹⁶ and there is no indication of where they were at the time of Pascal’s death, nor, indeed, whether they were all together in one place. Étienne Périer’s *Préface* to the 1669/1670 edition of the *Pensées* sheds no light on this matter. These questions notwithstanding, one can only speculate

11 Mesnard, *OC*, I, p. 597.

12 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 24.

13 Jean Mesnard, *Les Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: SEDES, 1976), p. 13.

14 Mesnard, *OC*, II, p. 1036.

15 Florin Périer, *Préface*, in Blaise Pascal, *Traitez de l’Equilibre des Liqueurs et de la Pesanteur de la Masse de l’Air* (Paris: Desprez, 1663), p. 3 of unnumbered *Préface*.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 20 of unnumbered *Préface*.

on the lamentable picture they presented to Gilberte, the reproach of hundreds of fragments of unfinished work augmenting her grief.

The *liasses* suggest that a selection had been made by Pascal, and by inference that these were to be the basis of an apology for Christianity. These two are the most probable of all assertions of Pascal's intentions.

The fragment is more than an index of *forme*, it is the essence of the collection. Pascal had himself cut many from larger sheets of paper, and so *ab initio* there were portions of writing on pieces of paper of various sizes, and Pascal himself separated thoughts recorded on the same sheet by cutting them up. This 'end state' did not survive the trimming in 1711 by his nephew Louis Périer and his household (Gilberte had died in 1687), and collage into a book twenty years later, and cannot be recreated from it. However, the persona of the fragment was not destroyed by that manipulation, nor its command of the *œuvre-événement*¹⁷ known as the *Pensées de Pascal*. Fragmentation makes order into a conflict for editors, and survives all conflicts by proclaiming itself from the pages of all publications, although perhaps least of all in the first edition.

Despite Gilberte Périer's first reaction to this legacy, the fragments were finally published, and, as stated before, many reasons can be advanced for this. Étienne Périer mentions a certain public demand to see the fragments published,¹⁸ and memorializing Pascal's life may have been an objective. But publishing the fragments without order might present Pascal as somewhat insane and disorganized. The notion that they were the notes for an apology for Christianity, an objective they would not fulfil in a state of disorder, is linked to a desire to complete Pascal's presumed plan. The expectation of

17 J.-L. Vieillard-Baron, *La Philosophie française* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2000), p. 13.

18 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 24.

supporting the cause of Port-Royal by the work of a famous scientist might also have a role.¹⁹

The American philologist Thomas Tanselle points to another challenge to editors, one which became a subject of contention at the time of Faugère's edition, namely the issue of total respect to the legacy in detail:

Textual criticism – the textual way of thinking – adjudicates between the competing claims of a basic dilemma: the feeling, on the one hand, that all artifacts, by their survival, deserve our respect, either because they put us in touch with what has gone before or because we feel a social obligation to pass along intact what we have received; and, on the other, the realization that they may fail to represent, for a variety of reasons, what their producers intended or what we feel we need, and that without correction or repair they may be misleading guides to the past, and without innovative changes they may seem unsatisfying.²⁰

Haunting the *forme* of the *Pensées* is the spectral presence of the notion of authorial intention. This is the source of much of the editorial controversy surrounding Pascal's fragmented legacy, and its importance is magnified because of what the fragments are not. The fragments are not a text in the conventional sense, and should perhaps be referred to as 'work' rather than as 'text', to avoid ambiguities. Pascal's nephew Étienne insists that they were not written in a state intended for public viewing.²¹ Most appear to have been quite spontaneously recorded and relatively undeveloped statements, as evidenced by the relative absence of accidentals and

19 For a discussion of the relationship between printed media and public debate, although not specifically dealing with France, see Roeland Harms, '“All the World is Led and Rul'd by Opinion”: the relationship between printed news and public opinion', in *Not Dead Things. The dissemination of popular print in England, Wales, Italy and the Low Countries, 1500-1820*, ed. Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, and Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013), Ch.12, pp. 275-297.

20 Thomas Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), p. 21.

21 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 27.

punctuation, and only a few are extended discourses.²² They are unlikely to be definitive of Pascal's intentions, neither independently, nor as a body of writing found, grouped without apparent internal order, into a number of *liasses*.²³ Furthermore, Pascal has not written an apology for Christianity. His text has only a virtual representation in the discussion of his proposals before a group of friends in the course of 1654 or 1655.²⁴ In addition, the two non-identical *Copies* are a confounding presence, and neither is in Pascal's hand.

A nascent revolution to approaches to textual criticism, brought to a head by Michel Foucault²⁵ and Roland Barthes²⁶ in the nineteen-sixties, shifted the whole burden of authorship from the putative static author to the global event of the performance. The focus of attention was moved away from the facts of context towards the actions of context:

L'Auteur, lorsqu'on y croit, est toujours conçu comme le passé de son propre livre: le livre et l'auteur se placent d'eux-mêmes sur une même ligne, distribuée comme un *avant* et un *après*: l'Auteur est censé *nourrir* le livre, c'est-à-dire qu'il existe avant lui, pense, souffre, vit pour lui; il est avec son œuvre dans le même rapport d'antécédence qu'un père entretient avec son enfant. Tout au contraire, le scripteur moderne naît en même temps que son texte; il n'est d'aucune façon pourvu d'un être qui précéderait ou excéderait son écriture, il n'est en rien le sujet dont son livre serait le prédicat; il n'y a d'autre temps que celui

22 In the 1962 Seuil edition of Louis Lafuma's publication of the *Pensées*, only 4% of the *Papiers classés*, and 5% of the *Papiers non classés* are forty or more lines in length. There is no preponderance of longer pieces of writing in the group of fragments from the titled *liasses*, which might be understood to have been selected for the proposed apology.

23 On the other hand, Sainte-Beuve recognizes a particular note of authenticity in the fragments which, 's'ils ne découvrent pas mieux les vérités que Pascal avait à cœur de produire, nous font mieux voir et plus à fond Pascal lui-même' (Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1954), 3 in II, fn. p. 355).

24 Thomas Tanselle remarks that '[It] has often been pointed out that a literary work is not lost through the destruction of every handwritten, printed and recorded copy of it, so long as a text remains in someone's memory' (*A Rationale of Textual Criticism*, p. 17).

25 Michel Foucault, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?', *Bulletin de la Société française de Philosophie*, 63^e Année, No 3, Juillet-Septembre 1969, 73-104.

26 Roland Barthes, *La mort de l'auteur*, in *Le Bruissement de la Langue* (Paris: Seuil, p.1984), pp. 61-67. This was originally published in 1968, but had already been published in English in 1967.

de l'énonciation, et tout texte est écrit éternellement *ici* et *maintenant*.²⁷

Ainsi se dévoile l'être total de l'écriture: un texte est fait d'écritures multiples, issues de plusieurs cultures et qui entrent les unes avec les autres en dialogue, en parodie, en contestation; mais il y a un lieu où cette multiplicité se rassemble, et ce lieu, ce n'est pas l'auteur, comme on l'a dit jusqu'à présent, c'est le lecteur: le lecteur est l'espace même où s'inscrivent, sans qu'aucune ne se perde, toutes les citations dont est faite une écriture; l'unité d'un texte n'est pas dans son origine, mais dans sa destination, mais cette destination ne peut plus être personnelle: le lecteur est un homme sans histoire, sans biographie, sans psychologie; il est seulement ce *quelqu'un* qui tient rassemblées dans un même champ toutes les traces dont est constitué l'écrit.²⁸

But it is the author as institution that is metaphorically dead, and Barthes still experiences the author in a spiritual way: '[M]ais dans le texte, d'une certain façon, je désire l'auteur: j'ai besoin de sa figure (qui n'est ni sa représentation, ni sa projection), comme il a besoin de la mienne[.]'²⁹ Barthes's dogmatism and hyperbole in his paper *La Mort de l'auteur* invited a reactive misinterpretation. He simply opened up to scrutiny the many contextual aspects which bring a text to life, particularly focussing on the reader's role. As Michael Moriarty explains, the author's authority over the text is loosened:

It asserts the reader's freedom to do more than simply absorb a meaning pre-packaged by the author, to participate himself or herself in the process of producing meaning from the text. [...] Essentially, the concern of 'La Mort de l'auteur' is to combat the attempt to set a priori limits on interpretation: what is at stake is not just authorship, but authority.³⁰

27 Ibid., p. 64.

28 Ibid., p. 66.

29 Roland Barthes, *Le degré zéro de l'écriture* (Paris: Seuil, 1972), p. 16, (first published in 1953).

30 Michael Moriarty, *Roland Barthes* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), p. 2.

But the author, having been deprived of an unchallenged proprietorial dominance of writing, is replaced by a nameless authorial presence of which he or she is only a part.

Foucault in fact explores the areas of writing now occupied by authorial presence:

On en arriverait finalement à l'idée que le nom d'auteur ne va pas comme le nom propre de l'intérieur d'un discours à l'individu réel et extérieur qui l'a produit, mais qu'il court, en quelque sorte, à la limite des textes, qu'il les découpe, qu'il en suit les arêtes, qu'il en manifeste le mode d'être ou, du moins, qu'il le caractérise.³¹

This seems a very reasonable description of Pascal's spectral presence among his fragments.

In his discussion of Barthes's achievement in freeing the text to enjoy a degree of autonomy, Seán Burke remarks that

[a] text viewed as the achievement of a particular representational aim is necessarily tethered to its author in that it must pass through his figure to be referred to its alleged objects. A scene of representation is thus predicated of the text which becomes its adjunct and often the model by means of which commentary or explication is judged to have succeeded or failed in its operations.³²

Distancing the text from the author reduces its obligatory content, and allows its content to be judged, as it were, on its own merits. If the author is separated from the 'text', and, in fact if the text is not always seen essentially in the frame of known authorial intention, then it can be assessed for significance as a text, and in this manner, one could ask what is to be made of the *Pensées*, without 'knowing' that the fragments were intended to evolve into an apology for Christianity. In this lies part of the collection's timelessness. Unfortunately, the idea of the apology is so widely held that it seems unlikely that the body of fragments could ever be subjected to this sort of examination.

31 Michel Foucault, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?', p. 83.

32 Seán Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 43.

The editors whose editions have been studied for this thesis never appear to have questioned that premise, and my own conclusion, that the apology is the unmistakable end point of the trajectory for the fragments, is influenced by this received opinion. Only if the significance of the text were assessed by those who knew nothing of Pascal could this prejudgment be validated.

As for the author's "death", Burke goes on explain that '[i]f a text has been 'unglued' from its referentiality, its author need not die; to the contrary, he can flourish, become an object of biographical pleasure, perhaps even a 'founder of language' '.³³

To the extent that the author's role in the construction of the *Pensées* as a book is diminished, because it is reduced to a few clues, so is his authorial presence increased, and for exactly the same reason, because it is behind the enigma of *ordre*. And, because of this, the author is eternally present in all editions. Once an editor or a reader decides to order the fragments according to his own 'logic', that is, not by apparent fellowship by theme, or physical proximity, but by logic, which is personal, the text produced is simply an appropriation by the editor. He is making within his publication his own version of an apology, using someone else's words. And so there is always a silent authorial presence in all reproductions of this body of writing. The fragment is not silent. It is *doxa*³⁴ as fragment, and has identity by the words it bears. It is a sort of transubstantiation of the author. The only meaning is in the fragment, and putting them together does not fundamentally alter their 'meaning' or significance. Confining the discussion to order neglects many of the questions raised by the issue of the fragment as fragment. What is the significance of the fragment?

33 Ibid., p. 47.

34 So named by Erec Koch (see below).

The challenge of the fragment

The very existence of the fragments might have induced discomfort in Pascal's circle.

There is a natural tendency to 'tidy things up', to make assemblies from parts, which may be related to the innate property of seeing patterns in our fields of perception.

Studies of the processing of local or global aspects of visual stimuli provide theoretical support for this behaviour.³⁵ Apophenia³⁶ may be a manifestation of this phenomenon.

The psychiatrist Simon Lesser has suggested that in writing, 'form has but a single objective: the communication of the expressive content in a way which provides a maximum amount of pleasure and minimizes guilt and anxiety'³⁷ and, in relation to pattern perception, order (that is, in the physical sense) 'has a reassuring influence'.³⁸

The publication of the *Pensées* might involve a measure of taking control of chaos and making order from it, though not consciously. However, the universal applicability of this principle in literature is open to doubt, particularly because of the influence of context.³⁹

But from the opposite point of view, that of stylistic fragmentation in a completed text, deliberate fragmentation in narrative arrests the reader and draws attention to specific points in the narrative.⁴⁰ Nicholas Hammond applies this principle in general to

35 For example, see Maryanne Martin, 'Local and global processing: The role of sparsity', *Memory and Cognition*, 1979, vol. 7 (6), 476-484, on input-driven and concept-driven processing of visual stimuli, and Karen Gasper and Gerald L. Clore, 'Attending to the Big Picture: Mood and Global Versus Local Processing of Visual Information', *Psychological Science*, Vol.13, No.1, January 2002, 34-40, on the effect of affect on perception.

36 Apophenia refers to the habit of seeing patterns in unrelated stimuli, such as faces in cloud formations.

37 Simon O. Lesser, *Fiction and the Unconscious* (London: Peter Owen, 1960), p. 125.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 126. Lesser is principally concerned with the reception of fiction, but on page 197 he draws Pascal into his discussion of what he refers to as the "spectator" reaction, with a quotation from fragment S 680: 'It is basically concerned with perception and understanding. "The heart has its reasons which reason knows not," and the unconscious can immediately and effortlessly understand certain things which our conscious intelligence would find puzzling and even inexplicable.'

39 Elizabeth Wright, *Psychoanalytic Criticism: Theory in Practice* (London: Methuen, 1984), p. 63.

40 See the study of Catherine Emmott et al. of fragmentation as an 'attention-capturing device': Catherine Emmott, Anthony J. Sanford, and Lorna I. Morrow, 'Capturing the attention of readers?'

the *Pensées* themselves, although in the following quotation his implication that Pascal's imagined text would have this fragmentary plan is questionable.

I have discussed elsewhere how the way in which we read the text and are forced to make sense of it for ourselves is central to the persuasive process of the *Pensées*. The fragmentary nature, or open-endedness, of the text is deemed to be more effective as a persuasive tool, because the reader, far from being fed truths or being told what to believe by someone else, is encouraged to search or fill in the gaps for himself or herself. As Pascal stresses in another fragment, "on se persuade mieux pour l'ordinaire par les raisons qu'on a soi-même trouvées que par celles qui sont venues dans l'esprit des autres" (fragment S 617). Here the reader's own memory must be used to grasp intuitively ("sentir") a truth. [...]

Indeed, the reader's memory plays a crucial part in the dialectician's persuasive design, for he is seeking to write in a way which will be remembered most effectively by his reader.⁴¹

Many commentators have suggested a quasi-deliberate role for the fragmentation, either on the part of Pascal or some transcendental agency, and Lucien Goldmann, conceiving the writing as a tragic work, uses Pascal's fragment S 457⁴² in support of his view that 'il n'y a, pour une œuvre tragique, qu'une seule forme d'ordre valable, celui du fragment', and that 'il [Pascal] a su trouver et manier les deux formes d'expression littéraire exigées par sa propre philosophie, le paradoxe et le fragment, et fait ainsi des

Stylistic and psychological perspectives on the use and effect of text fragmentation in narratives', *Journal of Literary Semantics* 35 (2006), 1-30.

41 Nicholas Hammond, *Fragmentary Voices. Memory and Education at Port-Royal* (Tübingen: Narr, 2004), p. 107.

42 'J'écrirai ici mes pensées sans ordre, et non pas peut-être dans une confusion sans dessein: c'est le véritable ordre, et qui marquera toujours mon objet par le désordre même. Je ferais trop d'honneur à mon sujet, si je le traitais avec ordre, puisque je veux montrer qu'il en est incapable.' However, Pascal may be alluding here to another order, the higher one of 'charité', which through Christ and Saint Paul [and St Augustine] arouses man to the reality of his fallen state. (Fragment S 329: 'Jésus-Christ, saint Paul ont l'ordre de la charité, non de l'esprit, car ils voulaient échauffer, non instruire.') The verb 'échauffer' appears in relation to *divertissement* in fragment S 168 and again in S 464, both apparently in the sense of awakening the individual's spirit or intelligence. Lafuma interprets this word as 'rabaïsser' (L 298), however, which is certainly a reasonable interpretation of the written word as found on p. 59 of the manuscript. See p. 22, fn. 2 for another of Lafuma's variations.

Pensées ce qu'elles sont en vérité, un chef-d'œuvre paradoxal, achevé de par son inachèvement'.⁴³

Louis Marin treats the body of fragments as

a sort of text-laboratory that permits the production of a text to be tested against its form which is the fragment, against its discursive mode which is interruption, and against its own logic which is digression. It manifests the operation by which a text signifies or indicates, functioning by signifying itself.⁴⁴

Furthermore, '[t]he conditions of emission constitute the very content of the message',⁴⁵ and '[i]n Pascal's case discontinuity is not the means of information, but the information itself[.] [...] The Pascalian text is made up of silences and of empty spaces. [...] [I]nformation in Pascal tends to a maximal effect in proximity with its cancellation to the extent that the function of surprise is almost total because the matrix of expectancy is almost nil'.⁴⁶

Marin's analysis of the 'meaning' embodied in the fragmentation is quite distinct from that of Laurent Thirouin, who proposes that the disorder within each *liasse* represents a part of a deliberate order which is only to be found across the whole collection of fragments destined for an apology.⁴⁷ He recognises the difficulty posed by finding indications of the same theme scattered among different *liasses*, but overcomes it by postulating a sort of *mise en abîme* of reception, the same word or phrase taking on different meanings according to its surroundings: 'C'est l'éclatement du thème dans diverses liasses – représentant autant de perspectives – qui établit peu à peu sa

43 Lucien Goldmann, *Le Dieu caché* (Paris: Gallimard, 1959), p. 220.

44 Louis Marin, '“Pascal”: text, author, discourse...' trans. by Mária Minich Brewer and Daniel August Brewer, in *Yale French Studies*, No.52 (1975), 129-151 (p.133).

45 Ibid., p. 133.

46 Ibid., p. 134.

47 Laurent Thirouin, 'Les premières liasses des *Pensées*: architecture et signification', *XVIIe siècle*, 177 (1992), 451-468 (p. 451).

signification.’⁴⁸ He quotes Pascal in support: ‘Ceux qui ont l’esprit de discernement savent combien il y a de différence entre deux mots semblables, selon les lieux et les circonstances qui les accompagnent.’⁴⁹

Anthony Pugh elucidates the internal coherence of the whole corpus, and he emphasises the relationship between the contradictions that may be found separated within the groups of fragments. He feels that uniting one ‘sentiment’ without incorporating its opposite fails to recognise the unity in the work. Thus, as Peyre and Topliss have already pointed out,⁵⁰ Brunschvicg’s grouping the *misères de l’homme sans Dieu* all together in section II, without balancing them with their *contrariedades*, gives a special impression to the reader.⁵¹

Grouping fragments into thematic parcels opens up a conflict between the claims of logical sequence on the one hand, and that of internal unity of the corpus on the other. The latter is strongly advocated by Anthony Pugh, although it is doubtful that the casual reader, for example, someone who had bought the book as one of Lubbock’s “Hundred Books”,⁵² would be able to appreciate this without Pugh’s help. ‘The coherence I claim to have found in the way the fragments were sorted by Pascal is thus no sleight-of-hand, no clever trick to attempt to fabricate unity where none existed. We have to dig in to the *liasses* to find their coherence, but the coherence is reflected, nearer the surface, in all other aspects of the *Pensées*.’⁵³ This opens wider into the issue of

48 Ibid., p. 455.

49 Blaise Pascal, *De L’Esprit géométrique*, in Mesnard, *OC*, III, p. 422. The same thought occurs in fragment S 575.

50 Henri Peyre, ‘Pascal et la critique contemporaine’, *Romanic Review*, XXI, Jan. 1, 1930, 325-340 (p. 330), and Patricia Topliss, *The Rhetoric of Pascal* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), p. 157.

51 Anthony Pugh, *The Composition of Pascal’s Apologia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 432.

52 Basil Kennet’s English translation of the *Pensées* was first published in 1704, and made its final appearance in 1893, as number 47 in the series ‘Sir John Lubbock’s Hundred Books’, entitled *Thoughts on Religion and other subjects*. Tr. Basil Kennet D.D. (London: Routledge, 1893).

53 Pugh, p. 445.

meaning and significance. What does it all mean, and has it a significance, and if so, is it that of an apology? The issue is a general one. With care it may be possible to discern what was the significance of the work (or any work, for that matter) to the editor/writer. Once the object has changed from arranging fragments into ‘logical’ sequences, with the assumed intention of making an apology for Christianity, to that of reproducing them accurately and exhaustively, the light of apology seems to die. And this apart from the effect of an ever larger added paratext.

Finally, Erec Koch describes the fragment as inhabiting three levels of significance, the third being the most fundamental:

Indeed, on the one hand, the positive hand, the fragmentary nature of the *Pensées* would just be an unfortunate historical accident on the way to the completed apology, and the text could be reconstructed with some measure of success as a meaningful whole. On the other hand, the negative hand, the fragment becomes the necessary form of expression of the contradictions and subversions that underlie and structure the *Pensées*. These contradictions and subversions make the constitution of the text as a meaningful whole impossible and void the text of determinate meaning. But on the third hand, the third, nondialectical hand, at issue is the noninterpretable rhetorical status of the fragment as first force, first *doxa*. This third predicament determines the fundamental problem of the interpretation of meaning of the text as the undoing of language as meaning, whether positive or negative, in the *Pensées*.⁵⁴

In summary, the fragment presents challenges at several levels to readers and editors alike. Within the global challenge to make a book of them is the challenge of understanding and of going beyond meaning to significance, influenced by the unusual aesthetic experience of the perception of such a body of writing.

54 Erec Koch, *Pascal and Rhetoric* (Charlottesville, VA: Rookwood Press, 1977), p. 138.

Sainte-Beuve does not lament Pascal's ideas being left substantially in their embryonic state. The following quotation is an appropriate one to lead from the discussion of *forme* on to that of *fond*:

Tout grand homme qui pense, si on saisissait sa pensée comme elle s'élançait en naissant, on le trouverait grand écrivain; mais souvent la source, à quelque distance du jet, s'embarrasse dans les marécages, et il faut du temps et de l'effort pour qu'elle redevienne limpide. [...] Pascal, admirable écrivain quand il achève, est peut-être encore supérieur là où il fut interrompu.⁵⁵

All these commentators, in particular Hammond and Koch, would find support in the educational implications of the theoretical concepts of epistemological constructivism, which describes knowledge as a dynamic process, and can be applied to a fragmented text in so far as an individual's understanding is best served by his putting the fragments together for himself. Larochelle and Bednarz explain that '[c]onstructivism makes us "inventors" in which case we see ourselves as participants in a conspiracy for which we are continually inventing the customs, rules, and regulations',⁵⁶ and that '[k]nowledge cannot be transmitted; it cannot be neutral either. Instead it is constructed, negotiated, propelled by a project, and perpetuated for as long as it enables its creators to organize their reality in a viable fashion'.⁵⁷

The foregoing discussion is relevant to the fragments as they exist, but it is unlikely that Pascal's completed apology would have been a fragmented text. David Wetsel has argued convincingly against such a notion, with the support of an analysis of the fragments themselves.⁵⁸

55 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3 in II, p. 413.

56 Marie Larochelle and Nadine Bednarz, in *Constructivism and Education*, ed. Marie Larochelle, Nadine Bednarz, and Jim Garrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 5.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

58 Wetsel, *Pascal and Disbelief*, pp. 24-39.

Fond

There are two general influences on the content of Pascal's writing, namely Jansenism and the Christocentricity of his religion, both of which might invite doctrinal objections.⁵⁹ Pascal's recurrent emphasis on Christ as Redeemer and 'l'objet de tout et le centre où tout tend' (fragment S 690) can be said to obscure the fact that Christ is God, as well as understating the triune nature of the godhead. However, few are likely to be moved by such considerations, whereas many would be struck by Pascal's challenging vocabulary.

The fragments are peppered with words with a negative or conflictual connotation, such as *haine*, *mépris*, *combat*, *violence*, and *misère*. Despite the counterbalance suggested by fragment S 40, 'Misère de l'homme sans Dieu. Félicité de l'homme avec Dieu', the division by which Faugère chose to arrange the fragments in his edition of the *Pensées*, the one-hundred-and-twenty-one occurrences in the text of the word *misère* are balanced by only twelve occurrences of *félicité*. There are, however, seventy-four occurrences of *grandeur*, another counterpoise of *misère*, although founded on man's *misère*. *Bonheur*, *beatitude*, and *joie* together add a further sixty-two words into the balance against *misère*.⁶⁰

A brief examination of a few charged words leads to the key question of what Pascal understood by these words when he used them. Were it possible, for example, to discriminate between hatred of the person and hatred of 'concupiscence' as an immanent property, and determine that Pascal always had the latter in mind, it would go far to soften posterity's judgement of his misanthropy. Fragment S 151, 'Je voudrais bien qu'il haït en soi la concupiscence', might be taken to answer this question. The

59 Jean Lhermet exemplifies the influence of Jansenius on Pascal's writing by comparing passages from his *Commentarii* with passages in Pascal's *Mystère de Jésus (Pascal et la Bible)* (Paris: Vrin, 1931), pp. 166-7).

60 These statistics are derived from *A Concordance to Pascal's Pensées*, ed. Hugh M. Davidson and Pierre H. Dubé (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), as are later statistical references to the *Pensées*.

effect of the forceful nature of his dogmatic statements and his apparent denial of any qualities to postlapsarian man contrasts with the soft approach of the casuists against whom he railed, and militates against his own plan to make religion attractive.

Fragment S 637, quoted at the head of the thesis, leaves no doubt of the primacy of combat in Pascal's thought: 'Ainsi dans le jeu, ainsi dans la recherche de la vérité: on aime à voir dans les disputes le combat des opinions, mais de contempler la vérité trouvée, point du tout. Pour la faire remarquer avec plaisir, il faut la faire voir naître de la dispute.' Finally, fragment S 544 leaves no doubt of the place of conflict in Pascal's theology: 'La grâce sera toujours dans le monde, et aussi la nature, de sorte qu'elle est en quelque sorte naturelle. Et ainsi toujours il y aura des pélagiens, et toujours des catholiques, et toujours combat.'⁶¹ Therefore, one might expect the mood of a hypothetical apology to be combative.

The fragments contain many statements which might challenge the reader and arouse emotions ranging from puzzlement to frank hostility. Prominent among these are references to self-hate; Pascal asserts that hatred is fundamental, and regards Christianity's emphasis on self-hate as one of its validating attributes, for example in fragment S 253, where he writes 'Nulle autre religion n'a proposé de se haïr'. Personal and doctrinal objections can be raised to some of his statements, and his dogmatism becomes hectoring at times. Readers might object to his dismissive remarks about Descartes and Montaigne, and, in fragment S 556 his provocative comment about the pope has a hint of a challenge to authority: 'Le pape hait et craint les savants qui ne lui sont pas soumis par vœu'. Occasionally a perverse and impatient character is revealed, and his frank annoyance at those who, in his opinion, do not pay enough attention to the issue of their afterlife, surfaces in fragment S 681, in which Pascal declares that 'Cette

61 Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées, etc.*, p. 1126.

négligence en une affaire où il s'agit d'eux-mêmes, de leur éternité, de leur tout, m'irrite plus qu'elle ne m'attendrit'.

In interpreting these statements, account should be taken of the anti-Jansenist climate of Pascal's time, which would colour the contemporary reaction to his writing. Pascal himself reminds the researcher to respect all aspects of historical context in his commentary: 'Quand on veut reprendre avec utilité et montrer à un autre qu'il se trompe, il faut observer par quel côté il envisage la chose' (fragment S 579). Moreover, the reception and interpretation of a fragment in isolation may be altered when it is incorporated in an edited text.

Pascal's hypothetical apology would presumably have had a target audience, his *libertin* friends for example,⁶² and their reception of words, phrases, and general style of writing would reflect their own experience. The text would be read also by other educated, privileged, and critical people, and non-believers might not be offended by words which would be abrasive to the faithful. In addition, reception of a work known to be written in good faith by a fellow *honnête homme*, who has one's interest at heart, is likely to be warmly received, whatever its content. Such an action in the mid-seventeenth century need not have been anxiogenic or the work of a '*misanthrope sublime*'.⁶³

A hostile reaction on the part of the Jesuits to Pascal's words of criticism, and inflammation of the anti-Jansenist mood of the Church and the State, would be expected, and it is not surprising that Pascal's conflict with the Jesuits is a major theme in the text. Some of the fragments also appear to be notes for the *Provinciales*, indicating a degree of overlap between the two projects. The final complete *Provinciale*

62 Nicholas Hammond, 'Pascal's *Pensées* and the art of persuasion', in *Cambridge Companion to Pascal*, ed. Nicholas Hammond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 242.

63 Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques*, ed. Frédéric Deloffre (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), p. 156. (First published as: Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques* (Amsterdam: Lucas, 1734), p. 274.)

appeared in March 1657 and it is thought that Pascal began collecting his *Pensées* in 1657 or 1658, at about the time he is believed to have outlined his plans for an apology to a group of friends.⁶⁴

One would also expect Pascal's text to arouse hostility among the Jewish community, although in his time this would be subliminal. His attitude to them is fundamental to the apology itself, but there is ambivalence in Pascal's writing about the Jews, and, even allowing for the possibility that they reflect common attitudes of his time, his words are contentious. Ernest Havet quotes fragment S 342 in presenting his view that Pascal regarded Jews as utilitarian, 'étant nécessaire pour la preuve de Jésus-Christ'.⁶⁵ Pascal may have had no contact with Jews, and concern for their sensibility is difficult to conceive of at a time when they were starting to return to France after a succession of expulsions. Even at the time of the Revolution there were few Jews in Paris. Esther Benbassa explains that '[I]a capitale demeure en principe interdite aux Juifs jusqu'en 1789. Toutefois, à la veille de la Révolution, on y trouve quelque 500-600 Juifs. Ils sont quasiment invisibles dans une ville d'environ 800,000 âmes'.⁶⁶

Mood

J.-R. Carré's statement encapsulates the issues under review: 'Il n'en reste pas moins qu'à condition de lire l'ensemble des *Pensées*, on **sent se dégager** de leur lecture un certain nombre d'**impressions** dominantes et qu'autour de chacune d'elles peut s'organiser un **débat**'⁶⁷ [emphases added], and it identifies the task of mood assessment as one difficult to conceptualise.

64 Blaise Pascal, *les Provinciales, Pensées, etc.*, p. 771.

65 Ernest Havet, *Sur les Pensées de Pascal*, p. xxxiii, in *Blaise Pascal, Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Ernest Havet (Paris: Dezobry et Magdeleine, 1852).

66 Esther Benbassa, *Histoire des Juifs de France* (Paris: Seuil, 1997), p. 116.

67 J.-R. Carré, *Réflexions sur l'Anti-Pascal de Voltaire* (Paris: Alcan, 1935), p. 17.

The mood of the *Pensées* is combative and psychologically negative. The first edition was well received, and it was for much later generations to turn their attention to the man behind the words. Voltaire may have initiated this tendency by identifying Pascal as a ‘*misanthrope sublime*’,⁶⁸ and Victor Cousin’s studies, which will be discussed in relation to Faugère’s edition, provoked heated discussions about Pascal’s personality. Paul Valéry’s comment: ‘Si tu veux me séduire ou me surprendre, prends garde que je ne vois ta main plus distinctement que ce qu’elle trace. Je vois trop la main de Pascal’⁶⁹ is an extreme reflection of this trend.

The semantic contribution to the mood of the texts can be summarised in the use of words with a negative or conflictual connotation, the presence of contentious statements, and the repeated use of the verbal imperative mood. The word ‘faut’ appears almost three hundred times in the text, and other forms of the verb *falloir* almost sixty times. Variations of the verb *devoir* occur more than two hundred times. The fragments are believed to have been written in and after 1658, that is, some years after Pascal’s epiphanic experience on November 23rd, 1654. The latter (cf. the *Mémorial*⁷⁰ ‘Certitude, certitude, sentiment, joie, paix’) is interpreted as his feeling the presence of God, and being finally ‘converted’ from his doubts. If this is so, then there can be no equivocation in his *apologie*. He cannot say ‘this is what I think’, because he is now stating the absolute truth. Dogmatism is obligatory, and it might not have conflicted with the expectations of a seventeenth-century reader. Wilson and Sperber suggest that semantic imperatives are linked to the notions of achievability and desire: ‘We claim that imperative sentences are specialised for describing states of affairs in worlds

68 Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques*, 1986, p. 156.

69 Paul Valéry, *Sur Une Pensée*, in *Œuvres de Paul Valéry*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), I, pp. 459-473 (p. 465). (First published as: Paul Valéry, ‘Variation sur une “Pensée”’, *La Revue hebdomadaire*, 14 July 1923, p. 164.)

70 Blaise Pascal, in Mesnard, *OC*, III, pp. 50-51, and also fragment S 742.

regarded as both potential and desirable.’⁷¹ This notion is particularly apt for Pascal’s assumed goal of an apology. They also suggest a possible bridge between the semantic and psychological aspects of mood in their emphasis on the influence of context in the meaning of sentences.⁷²

Sainte-Beuve remarks on Pascal’s ‘verve de colère’⁷³ which he sees particularly in fragments relating to his polemic against the Jesuits, for example S 744 and S 746, in which Pascal accuses the Jesuits of misleading the Pope and falsifying the principles of Christianity, and of being, with the Inquisition, one of the two scourges of truth. Ernest Havet refers to the force of Pascal’s rhetoric, giving his use of ‘abêtissement’ as an example of his ‘disposition habituelle à faire violence aux esprits’, and continues by claiming Pascal’s methods as those of war.⁷⁴ Current judgements of conflict and gloom in Pascal’s writing follow the historical trend. Graeme Hunter’s recent book is replete with references to conflict and pessimism in Pascal’s writing,⁷⁵ and one is particularly outstanding: ‘Much of his political thought must be gleaned from isolated fragments of explosive character, scattered like landmines throughout the *Pensées*.’⁷⁶

Conclusion

In summary, the fragment presents challenges at several levels to readers and editors alike. Within the global challenge to make a book of them is the challenge of understanding and of going beyond meaning to significance, influenced by the unusual aesthetic experience of the perception of such a body of writing.

71 Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, ‘Mood and the Analysis of Non-Declarative Sentences’, in *Pragmatics: Critical Concepts*, ed. Asa Kasher, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1998), II, p. 274.

72 Ibid., p. 269.

73 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3 in II, p. 151.

74 Ernest Havet, *Étude sur les Pensées de Pascal*, p. xxiv-xxv, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Ernest Havet (Paris: Dezobry et Magdeleine, 1852).

75 Graeme Hunter, *Pascal the Philosopher* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 18, 37, 49, 73, 75.

76 Ibid., p. 64.

The many areas that are open to dispute in the *forme* of the work divide into those inherent, and those that appear when publication is attempted. Of the latter, intention and order dominate the field; the more mundane issues associated with physical presentation of a book have been passed over in the preceding discussion. Likewise, the interpretation of meaning has not been considered under *fond*, as it a subject of contention in all writing. The abrasive and dogmatic rhetoric of its language, the controversial nature of many of its themes, such as Jansenism and its close proximity to Calvinism, and the Christocentricity of Pascal's personal faith, the ambiguous place of the Jews in its plot, the repetitive emphasis on man's wretched state, and the gloomy atmosphere of the work offer countless loci of contention and combat.

Order

The problem of order is especially complex because it is difficult to keep separate the **fact** of the order in which Pascal left the fragments from the **conjecture** of how he might have used them in an apology. The documents now accepted as authentic, namely the two *Copies*, may well represent the order in which the fragments were found, but they are sometimes used as a reproach to editors who have not followed their order, but have presented the fragments in an order which to them better represents the structure of an apology. Moreover, the order of the *Copies* might be quite misleading, the first piece in a *liasse* may be the last one included in it, and so the *liasse* order may represent the reverse of the historical sequence of events in their composition.⁷⁷ The physical position may thus be accidental in relation to Pascal's intended usage. By studying the paper used by Pascal, Pol Ernst has shed light on the chronological order of composition,⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Jean Mesnard, *Les Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: SEDES, 1976), p. 25. This observation is also made by Louis Lafuma in 1952, in his second edition of the *Pensées* (Paris: Delmas, 1952), pp. 25-6.

⁷⁸ Pol Ernst, *Les Pensées de Pascal: géologie et stratigraphie* (Paris: Universitas, 1996).

but this is of doubtful relevance to the subsequent history of the fragments, had Pascal completed his project. Nor should it be assumed that all the fragments would be included; Pascal would certainly have marshalled his thoughts quite precisely.

Are there clues to the order the fragments may have occupied in an apology, and how should these clues be evaluated?

The search for order, according to Domna Stanton, has been pursued against the ‘existence of a moral prohibition against dis-order, which has been implicitly shared by all editors, including the most recent’.⁷⁹ She holds Brunschvicg responsible for ‘impos[ing] on the reader the ideal of “un écrivain essentiellement systématique”’, quoting in support of this his statement that ‘[I]a plus grande trahison qu’on puisse commettre avec Pascal ce serait, en effet, de considérer le désordre des fragments comme définitif’.⁸⁰ She draws attention to Goldmann’s observation⁸¹ that Lafuma, in accepting the authenticity of the *Copie*, ‘creates the illusion of a legitimate order that approximates the definitive, albeit unknown, order’.⁸² This goes to the issue of a reader or editor constructing a Pascal to suit his own concepts or desires: a ‘disorderly’ Pascal is out of the question. Such *a-priori* positions establish the necessary basis for exegetical studies, but they should not then go unacknowledged. The urge to satisfy a desire for ‘structure’ is probably an unrecognised motivation for all editors; Michel Foucault has suggested that a fear of disorder is hidden behind the formal constraints on discourse, so that its ‘richesse soit allégée de sa part la plus dangereuse et que son désordre soit organisé selon des figures qui esquivent le plus incontrôlable [...]’⁸³

79 Domna Stanton, ‘Pascal’s fragmentary thoughts: Dis-order and its overdetermination’, *Semiotica* 51-1/3 (1984), 213.

80 Brunschvicg Minor, p. 267.

81 Goldmann, p. 226.

82 Stanton, p. 213.

83 Michel Foucault, *L’ordre du discours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), p. 52.

Clues to a possible order

With the exception of the ‘selection’ of *Pensées* in Condorcet’s edition, the question of the order of the fragments received little notice until almost 180 years after Pascal’s death, additional fragments being incorporated wherever it seemed appropriate into the body of the *Édition de Port-Royal*. For example, in the 1678 revision of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, sometimes referred to as the ‘definitive’ edition, forty-one fragments were added. This has been studied in detail by Antony McKenna, who points out that most of them relate to matters of Christian morality and the authority of the Scriptures and the Church, without, however, introducing new thematic material.⁸⁴ Two bear on the issue of *ordre*: the first is fragment S 575, in which Pascal states that the novelty of his work lies in ‘la disposition des matières’; this, in the sense of *dispositio* of classical rhetoric, refers to the arrangement of arguments, rather than to the words in which they are expressed. His remark is borrowed from Epictetus, by way of Montaigne.⁸⁵ The second is fragment S 740, a truism of typical Pascalian counterpoise but which is not found in any of the authentic Pascal documents: ‘La dernière chose qu’on trouve en faisant un ouvrage est de savoir celle qu’il faut mettre la première’. Filleau de la Chaise’s *Discours*, rejected as a preface to the edition of 1669/70, was included in this edition, thus juxtaposing it with Étienne Périer’s *Préface* and providing the reader with Filleau’s commentary on the work.

It was accepted that Étienne Périer gave a credible account of Pascal’s objective and campaign plan for an apology for Christianity in his *Préface* to the edition, and this view persists. However, the subversive suggestion that this plan was constructed by those responsible for the production of the edition, and after a perusal of the original fragments, also has some merit. There is little doubt that the *liasses* were not kept

84 McKenna, *Entre Descartes et Gassendi*, pp. 180-81.

85 Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, II, ch.X : ‘Qu’on ne s’attende pas aux matières, mais à la façon que j’y donne.’

together, and some, at least, were taken apart.⁸⁶ Moreover, no clue is given as to the source of the information in the *Préface*. The objection has also been made that Périer's linear framework, and the similar one of Filleau de la Chaise, are incompatible with the multidimensionality that can be read in the collection of fragments. Particularly obscured by this plan is the dialogic and dramatic nature, noted briefly by Sainte-Beuve⁸⁷ and Brunschvicg⁸⁸ and envisaged by Karlheinz Stierle as the fragments of an inner conversation with changing 'partners', essentially regarding the paradoxical material in the sphere of the human condition as objections to answers, while those in the sphere of belief are answers to objections.⁸⁹

There are three sources of suggestions about how Pascal might have ordered the fragments in a publication of an apologetic nature. Two of them, that of Étienne Périer's *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and the *Discours sur les Pensées* by Filleau de la Chaise, seem to have the same basis in an anonymous description of a lecture that Pascal gave sometime in 1658 to a group of friends. Étienne Périer refers, in his *Préface* to the original edition (1669/70), to an occasion 'il y a environ dix ou douze ans' on which Pascal spoke of his plans at the request of a group of friends. Périer's words 'et à la prière de plusieurs personnes [...]'⁹⁰ suggest that Pascal's thoughts were no secret at that time. Périer recounts a logical order of argument through which Pascal would pass to convince people of the truth of the Christian religion, and this maps imperfectly upon

86 On 27 December 1666 Florin Périer obtained the *privilège du roi* for the publication, and Marie Pérouse suggests that he did this in order to secure the text from publication by anyone else. While not implying that work on the edition had not begun before this time, it raises the possibility that many had access to the text, perhaps as a result of parts being separated and sent for editing by different persons (Marie Pérouse, *L'invention des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Champion, 2009), p. 23).

87 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 383.

88 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p.LV.

89 Karlheinz Stierle, 'Pascals Reflexionen über den 'ordre' der *Pensées*', *Poetica*, 1971 vol.2, 167-196 (p. 173).

90 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. by Louis Lafuma (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 16.

the list of *liasse* titles in fragment S 1.⁹¹ The third source is Pascal's references to 'ordre' recorded in the fragments themselves.

Before passing to an examination of what Pascal himself has to say about order, it is well to acknowledge the evidence that he may have often discussed his thoughts with his fellows, and that many, including those making the first edition of the *Pensées*, may have had some understanding of his intentions. The duc de Roannez and Pierre Nicole, for example, may have known Pascal's plan, without having to have been the unnamed witnesses of the aforementioned hypothetical lecture. The similarity of certain expressions between the *Pensées* and Arnauld and Nicole's *Logique ou l'art de persuader*, published in 1662, just before Pascal's death, suggest to Antony McKenna that Nicole and Pascal discussed matters together.⁹² McKenna also points out that Gilberte Périer, in her *Vie de M. Pascal*, quotes Pascal's maxims as though she had heard them from his lips.⁹³ Most convincing of the oral spread of Pascal's ideas is the statement of T. Fortin in his *approbation* of the first edition: 'L' étroite liaison que j' ai eue avec M. Pascal durant sa vie m' a fait prendre un singulier plaisir à lire ces pensées, que j' ai autrefois entendues de sa propre bouche.'⁹⁴

In the fragments the word 'ordre' appears in many different senses. Firstly, several comments appear to refer to the order of conduct of the apologetic process. This is particularly true of the first *liasse*, which bears the title 'ordre', and contains fragments S 37-46. Peter Bayley has shown that when this *liasse* is read sequentially the pattern of a classical exordium appears, in which the reader's interest is engaged and the

91 The fragment S 182, bears the title A.P.R., which appears three times in the whole fragment and is followed in two by the words 'pour demain'. Some, including Jean Mesnard, believe it stands for 'à Port-Royal', and is a note for Pascal's exposition; its contents correspond roughly with the first column of fragment S 1.

92 McKenna, *Entre Descartes et Gassendi*, p. 42.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

94 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets* (Paris: Desprez, 1670) unpaginated.

plan of the discourse is indicated.⁹⁵ Sellier fragments 38 and 39 are in a dialogical form, and the former bears the title ‘*Ordre par dialogues*’ which may indicate a plan to punctuate an apologetic text with dialogues introducing each step in the development of the argument. Pascal had already departed from the restraints of classical rhetoric in the use of dialogue in the *Lettres Provinciales* of 1657-58, and with great effect. In S 38 the questioner says: ‘*Toutes choses changent et se succèdent*’, to which the reply comes: ‘*Vous vous trompez, il y a ...*’. Philippe Sellier suggests that this reply, if completed, might refer to the continuity of Christianity.⁹⁶ The next fragment, S 40 takes the form of question and answer, in two matching pairs of lines of balanced opposites. The first pair:

‘*Première partie: Misère de l’homme sans Dieu.*

Deuxième partie : Félicité de l’homme avec Dieu.’

provides a firm plan on which to build an apology, and is clear evidence of the intention to do so. As we will see, Faugère based his ordering of the fragments on the dichotomy of *misère* and *félicité*. The second pair of lines, separated from the first by the word ‘*autrement*’, repeats the dichotomy in the form of causation, and indicates that man will be convinced of his corruption by arguments from his own nature, and of his salvation by the Scriptures:

‘*Première partie: Que la nature est corrompue, par la nature même.*

Deuxième partie: Qu’il y a un Réparateur, par l’Écriture.’

The symmetry of these lines, in the manner of Pascal’s oppositional writing style, suggests that an apology brought to print by Pascal might have been more symmetrical in plan and emphasis than the linear model suggested by the *liasse-table*. In

95 Peter Bayley, ‘A Reading of the First Liasse’, in David Lee Rubin and Mary B. McKinley, eds, *Convergences: Rhetoric and Poetic in Seventeenth-Century France: essays for Hugh M. Davidson* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), pp. 196-207 (p. 201).

96 Sellier, in Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées, etc.*, fn. 5, p. 843.

consequence, the assumption that the titled *liasses* were left in an intended order of publication could be challenged by the suggestion that it was simply the order in which Pascal worked on the various topics, *Ordre* being the last. Francis Kaplan goes further, suggesting that Pascal may have gathered papers together simply to avoid losing them.⁹⁷

Fragments S 45 and S 46 together contain a complete sketch of how the apology might proceed, namely by first convincing man that he must seek God, then by removing obstacles to belief and showing that religion is not contrary to reason, and, finally, by making religion desirable, inducing in man himself the will to seek God. Fragment 45 begins: ‘Ordre. Après la lettre qu’on doit chercher Dieu, faire la lettre d’ôter les obstacles [...]’, suggesting that Pascal would have presented many of his arguments in letter form, complementing his dialogues. Indeed, fragment S 43 refers to ‘la lettre de l’injustice’, and Philippe Sellier has given the extended fragment S 681 the title ‘Lettre pour porter à rechercher Dieu’. Fragment S 704 indicates the intention to follow the theme of corruption with a statement that all may recognise their corruption, but that not all should see the means of their redemption. Fragment S 575 has been noted above as an addition to the 1678 edition of the *Pensées*. In fragment S 573 Pascal gives an example of an order his discourse might have followed ‘pour montrer la vanité de toutes sortes de conditions: montrer la vanité des vies communes, et puis la vanité des vies philosophiques, pyrrhoniennes, stoïques’, but the essential theme is the instability of order, except in mathematics. The fragment ends: ‘Nulle science humaine ne le peut garder [l’ordre]. Saint Thomas ne l’a pas gardé. La mathématique le garde, mais elle est inutile en sa profondeur.’ Fragment S 329 refers to the orders of the heart, of the mind, and of charity, the latter being the order of Christ, Saint Paul and Saint Augustin. The fragment continues: ‘Cet ordre consiste principalement à la digression

⁹⁷ Francis Kaplan, *Préface*, in Blaise Pascal, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Francis Kaplan (Paris: Cerf, 1982), p. 39.

sur chaque point qui a rapport à la fin, pour la montrer toujours'. This appears to be an allusion to the order of good writing, from which Pascal confesses he derives pleasure,⁹⁸ and presumably indicates writing in such a way as always to keep the object in view. At the end of fragment S 681 Pascal refers to an order that he himself has only followed 'à peu près':

Mais pour ceux qui y apportent une sincérité parfaite et un véritable désir de rencontrer la vérité, j'espère qu'ils auront satisfaction, et qu'ils seront convaincus des preuves d'une religion si divine, que j'ai ramassées ici, et dans lesquelles j'ai suivi à peu près cet ordre...[.]

Secondly, as for the ordering of the fragments in the collection, which represent his thoughts, there is only one reference in the whole corpus, fragment S 457, which has already been quoted in footnote 42, page 35, and in which Pascal denies order in the recording of his thoughts:

J'écrirai ici mes pensées sans ordre et non pas peut-être dans une confusion sans dessein. C'est le véritable ordre et qui marquera toujours mon objet par le désordre même.

Je ferais trop d'honneur à mon sujet si je le traitais avec ordre puisque je veux montrer qu'il en est incapable.

This fragment bears the heading 'Pyrr', conventionally published as 'Pyrrhonisme',⁹⁹ and the second part of the above quotation links pyrrhonism with the concept of sequential order. The other fragment headed 'Pyrr', published by Brunschvicg as B 378 and Lafuma as L 518, but combined by Sellier into S 452 with other fragments from the same sheet of paper (MS p.109) to which it bears no relation, relates pyrrhonism to a different type of order, that of position or rank: 'Rien que la médiocrité n'est bon [...]

98 See fragment S 520. See p. 20, fn. 24.

99 Fragment S 457 is number 472 in Michel Le Guern's edition of the *Pensées*, and in this instance he reads 'pyrr' as 'prin', believing it to be an abbreviation for 'Principes de la philosophie' (see Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Michel Le Guern, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), II, p. 748, and note, p. 1489).

C'est sortir de l'humanité que de sortir du milieu. [...] La grandeur de l'âme humaine consiste à savoir s'y tenir tant s'en faut que la grandeur soit à en sortir qu'elle est à n'en point sortir.'¹⁰⁰

This raises the question of whether there might be a deliberate confusion in the sequence of the fragments in the *liasses*. Lucien Goldmann argues against the notion that Pascal had any deliberate plan for the disposition of his *Pensées*.¹⁰¹ He regards the body of work itself as a paradox overlying its contents of paradoxical fragments, whose integrity as a paradox would be lost if it were submitted to order. He concludes:

Chercher le “vrai” plan des *Pensées* nous paraît ainsi une entreprise antipascalienne par excellence, une entreprise qui va à l'encontre de la cohérence du texte, et méconnaît implicitement ce qui constitue aussi bien son contenu intellectuel que l'essence de sa valeur littéraire.¹⁰²

Goldmann's concept might be extended to imply that the body of fragments is, in fact, the completed and definitive 'work'. However, arrangement into *liasses* is an act of choice, an embryonic sign of a plan, and is difficult to reconcile with Goldmann's interpretation, which seems to rely on the agency of chance.

These reservations notwithstanding, Pascal's concern with *dispositio* and clear articulation of thematic development make it very likely that he would have had a plan, and, whatever it might have been, it would have found cogent expression in his apology.

A third sense in which '*ordre*' is used is in respect to law or rule, as in fragments S 735, in which Pascal quotes the command of God in relation to sacrifice (Jeremiah

100 Sellier breaks this part of S 452 into two parts, which is not justified by the MS. Lafuma publishes it as a separate fragment L 518, with a break, but Brunschvicg publishes it as a continuous paragraph, B 378.

101 In his 1852 edition of the *Pensées*, Ernest Havet writes that 'quant à moi, je crois que l'ordre véritable des fragments est impossible à retrouver, par une raison souveraine, qui est que cet ordre n'a jamais existé, même dans l'esprit de l'auteur' (*Étude sur les Pensées de Pascal*, p. lvi, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Ernest Havet). The significance of the *liasses* was not yet appreciated.

102 Goldmann, p. 220.

7.21), and in S 669 and S 670, in which the difference between *l'esprit de géométrie* and *l'esprit de finesse* is discussed in terms of different reactions to principles, the first being instinctual, the second reductive, 'à ne raisonner qu'après avoir bien vu et manié leurs principes'.

Order also appears in the sense of place, position, limit, as in fragments S 91 and S 92 in which tyranny is discussed as a desire to dominate 'hors de son ordre', that is, beyond its reasonable limit or place. Order in the sense of rank is evoked in fragment S 230: 'Notre intelligence tient dans l'ordre des choses intelligibles le même rang que notre corps dans l'étendue de la nature.' This fragment bears the heading '*H Disproportion de l'homme*' which is added in the MS in another hand, and apparently as an afterthought.

Many references are to classification by rank, level, or inherent quality. The heart and the mind, for example, are of different orders: 'Le cœur a son ordre, l'esprit a le sien...' (fragment S 329), and Christ's order is the 'ordre de sainteté' (fragment S 339). In the latter fragment one also finds that 'un mouvement de vraie charité, cela est impossible et d'un autre ordre, surnaturel', and that there are 'trois ordres différents, de genre', which are not at that point specified, but possibly are the 'Trois ordres de choses. La chair, l'esprit, la volonté' referred to in fragment S 761.

Finally, the word is used in the sense of the 'natural order of things', as in fragments S 690 ('l'ordre du monde') and S 691 ('l'ordre naturel des choses'). Fragment S 563 promotes the order of nature above that of the art of man, and fragment S 562 asks a profoundly pyrrhonist question about the validity of order made by man and not nature.

This analysis arrives at five loose categories of meaning for the word *ordre*, emphasis falling on the thematic and stylistic order of the conduct of the apologetic process, the other categories being the order of place, rank, limit, including the several

“three orders” (such as heart, mind, and charity), the order of law or rule, the order of nature, and, finally, the order of the fragments. Approaching from a semantic viewpoint, Hammond has arrived at a somewhat different categorisation of the use of the word in the *Pensées*, but one which can be reconciled with the above.¹⁰³

In summary, most of the references to *ordre* do not bear on the possible sequence of fragments, and it is noteworthy that only six of the twelve fragments in the *liasse* ‘*Ordre*’ are related to order in any sense. Of the twenty-seven occurrences of the word in the titled *liasses*, thirteen cluster in fragments S 329 and S 339. The word occurs thirty-nine times in the untitled *liasses*.¹⁰⁴

As a guide to order, Étienne Périer’s *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal* is uninformative. In it he says: ‘[I]l n’a presque rien écrit des principales raisons dont il voulait se servir, des fondements sur lesquels il prétendait appuyer son ouvrage, et de l’ordre qu’il voulait y garder[.]’¹⁰⁵ He goes on: ‘Au reste, il ne faut pas s’étonner si, dans le peu qu’on en donne, on n’a pas gardé son ordre et sa suite pour la distribution des matières’,¹⁰⁶ thus acknowledging the editors’ own limited selection and order of presentation. The titles of the thirty-two sections of the *Édition* touch only occasionally on the order of Pascal’s presentation to his friends, as reported by Étienne Périer. A particular deviation is the location after the middle of the text of titles dealing with the nature of man, which Pascal appears to have discussed near the beginning of his presentation.

The third source of clues for a possible order, the *Discours sur les Pensées*, by Filleau de la Chaise, may have been written as early as 1664 as an introduction to the

103 Nicholas Hammond, *Playing with Truth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 50. Hammond’s categories are: arrangement, plane of understanding, divine and world order, orderliness, command, and priestly succession.

104 These figures are derived from a study of *A Concordance to Pascal’s Pensées*, ed. Hugh M. Davidson and Pierre H. Dubé (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975).

105 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 16.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

first edition, but it was not used, and was published in 1672. In terms of order it adds little to Etienne Périer's *Préface*, but Filleau does allude to an order in the fragments in the following passage, which refers to an earlier comment that Pascal 'voulait rappeler les hommes à leur cœur et leur faire commencer par se bien connaître eux-mêmes.'¹⁰⁷ He remarks: 'C'est ce qui paraît par tout ce qu'on voit dans ces fragments et par diverses choses qu'on en a retranchées, comme trop imparfaites et qui ne marquaient que l'ordre qu'il se proposait de garder.'¹⁰⁸ As for attempts to devine what Pascal would have eventually published, had he continued, Filleau issues the following warning: 'D'ailleurs, comme la plupart se sont voulu figurer par avance ce que ce pourrait être que cet ouvrage et que chacun s'est imaginé que M.Pascal aurait dû s'y prendre comme il aurait fait lui-même, il est certain que bien des gens y seront trompés'.¹⁰⁹

Having expressed the view that 'ce ne sera que pour les vrais chrétiens qui'il aura travaillé, en s'efforçant de prouver la vérité de leur religion',¹¹⁰ he also claims that because of man's habits 'il est aisé de voir combien il y en aura peu qui emploient seulement quelques moments à la lecture de ce recueil; et parmi ceux-là combien peu sont capables de l'entendre et d'en être touchés!'¹¹¹ This general opinion is repeated at the end of the text, and anticipates modern discussion about a target audience and the efficacy of Pascal's arguments. A major objection to Pascal's conjectured Augustinian schema, for example, is the unbridgeable gulf between reason and faith, which would seem to make futile any appeal to his apology.¹¹²

107 Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours*, in Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. CCII.

108 Ibid., XII, p. CCIII.

109 Ibid., XII, p. CCI.

110 Ibid., XII, p. CCXXXIV.

111 Ibid., XII, p. CCXXXIV.

112 This issue is discussed in detail by Hélène Bouchilloux in 'Apologie et théologie dans Les *Pensées* de Pascal', *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, 2002/1, 3-19.

Filleau's *Discours* appears to refer to a book already produced. His comment suggests that, in contrast to our modern impression that the mass of fragments left behind by Pascal constitutes a large amount of work, the editors of the *Édition de Port-Royal* thought them 'matériaux informes et **en petite quantité**' [emphasis added].¹¹³ Moreover, and corresponding with the selection of longer fragments for the *Édition*, is the setting aside of various things which were imperfect or '**qui ne marquaient que l'ordre qu'il se proposait de garder**' [emphasis added].¹¹⁴ Filleau refers to 'un petit article qu'on a laissé exprès dans ces fragments, et qui n'est qu'une espèce de table des chapitres qu'il avait dessein de traiter',¹¹⁵ which is presumably the list of twenty seven titles which now constitutes fragment S 1 in Sellier's edition of the *Pensées*. Three copies of this list exist, in the same hand but not Pascal's, one at the beginning and one at the end of the first *Copie* (Fn 9203), one of which is on the same type of paper as the *Copie* itself, and one at the beginning of the second *Copie* (Fn 12449). The list is in two columns of unequal length, and Philippe Sellier suggests that this may be because the *liasses* were found collected into two groups.¹¹⁶ The titles match those found at the head of each *liasse* in the *Copies*, and are believed to be just as Pascal wrote and placed them. The *Édition de Port-Royal* uses some of the titles in this list, but does not follow its sequence. However, Hammond notes the caveat issued by Philippe Sellier 'that we should consider the list of titles not as the order in which Pascal would have placed his *liasses*, but rather as "un simple récapitulatif de dossiers, un outil commode qui permettait à l'écrivain de trouver aisément la liasse dont il avait besoin, dans le dispositif d'une bureaucratie assez compliquée".'¹¹⁷

113 Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours*, XII, p. CCI.

114 Ibid., XII, CCIII.

115 Ibid., XII, p. CCXVII.

116 Sellier, in Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées, etc.*, p. 831.

117 Hammond, *Playing with Truth*, p. 60, fn. See: Philippe Sellier, 'L'ouverture de l'apologie pascalienne', *XVIIe Siècle*, 177, (octobre-décembre 1992), 437-449 (p. 437).

Thus, the search reveals scattered clues about the sequence of the arguments of an apology, but nothing about the order of the individual fragments in that plan. The subtitles found in modern editions are of limited help and do not always match the manuscript, but rely for authority on the *Copie*. For example, fragment S 563 is headed ‘*Ordre*’, but this is not found in the manuscript, presumably having been excised in tailoring the fragments.¹¹⁸ Lafuma adds the word at the beginning of the fragment (L 684), yet it is a distinct heading in the first *Copie*,¹¹⁹ on which he based his edition.

Most of the editions of the *Pensées* published before the middle of the twentieth century aspired to make of the fragments an apology for Christianity, but from the middle of the nineteenth century this has become yoked to, and to an extent obscured by, a desire to present them in an order Pascal might have chosen. Unless the fragments are published in an order corresponding to an authority independent of the editor, for example the *Copies*, the order is free to mediate the editor’s views on meaning and significance, not only of the fragment but also the whole. In other words, the order chosen represents more than a simple ‘guess’ at an order Pascal might have used, but is an order based on the meaning as interpreted by the editor. This may be a conscious and deliberate approach. Order gives a role to the space between fragments when this has not been obliterated by combination into *Articles*, as with early editions of the *Pensées*, and determines its scope, for example as a space for contemplation, or for expectation. It also tends to impose a past and a future on open-ended fragments, in the sense of raising questions in the reader’s mind as to what might have gone before, and what might follow. This reverse side of order is taken up by Louis Marin, with the notion that meaning is embodied in fragmentation.¹²⁰ A further point is emphasised by Michael

118 Manuscript Fn 9202, *le Recueil Original*, p. 428.

119 First *Copie* Fn 9293, p. 373.

120 Louis Marin, ‘“Pascal”: text, author, discourse...’ trans. by Mária Minich Brewer and Daniel August Brewer, in *Yale French Studies*, No.52 (1975), 129-51 (p. 134).

Moriarty in his study of the Wager fragment (S 680), namely, the importance for an individual fragment of where it is placed in the whole sequence.¹²¹

Conclusion

In chapters 1 and 2 the conflicts in which the fragments of the *Pensées* have been, and still are involved, have been reviewed under the categories of bystander, victim, and agent. The enduring source of conflict is the text itself, in the challenge represented by its fragmentary character, and the aggressive nature of Pascal's rhetoric. A surprising finding is that many modern commentators regard fragmentation as essential to an apology that Pascal would have written. The study continues with the exploration of how so many of these challenges have been engaged, and how hotly, around the publication of the first edition of the *Pensées*, the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and locates Pascal in the lengthy conflict in the middle of the seventeenth century between the State and Church and the Jansenist movement within the Church. The first edition of the *Pensées* appeared in 1670, a few preliminary copies having been distributed late in 1669. Its gestation was troubled, and it was delivered into a troubled world.

121 Michael Moriarty, 'Pascal: the Wager and Problems of Order', in Nicholas Hammond and Michael Moriarty, eds, *Evocations of Eloquence: Rhetoric, Literature and Religion in early Modern France: essays in honour of Peter Bayley* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 99-115 (p. 115).

CHAPTER 3:
L'ÉDITION DE PORT-ROYAL

Introduction

A smouldering religious conflict within orthodox Catholicism had a profound influence on the publication of this, the first edition of the *Pensées*. Pascal's active involvement in this conflict, which developed around the difference between the attitudes to Grace and Redemption held by the Church authorities and those held by members of the Jansenist movement,¹ did not begin until 1656, with the publication of the first of his *Lettres Provinciales* which were written in defence of the leader of the movement, Antoine Arnauld. While making the writer, initially anonymous, a figure of public interest, they marked him as an enemy of the establishment.

The movement which came to be known as Jansenism owed its origin to the teaching of Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, who, in his posthumous book *Augustinus*, published in 1640, promoted an austere form of Catholicism on Augustinian principles. However, Jansenius's teaching was brought to Port-Royal by his friend and collaborator Saint-Cyran,² many years before the book was published. Saint-Cyran first preached there in 1625. He attacked the Jesuits on intellectual, political, social and religious grounds. From 1633 he wrote against them under the name of Petrus Aurelius.³ It appears that his insistence on contrition before communion

1 It was only first identified by this title in 1651, in Jesuit polemical writing.

2 Jean-Ambroise Duvergier de Hauranne (1581-1643). Alexander Sedgwick emphasizes Saint-Cyran's close relationship with Cardinal de Bérulle, which he feels was of greater importance than that of Jansenius on the formation of his religious beliefs (Alexander Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), p. 21).

3 Jean Orcibal, *Saint-Cyran et le jansénisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1961), p. 15.

was germane to his arrest at the orders of Richelieu,⁴ and he was imprisoned at Vincennes in May 1638.⁵ The Jansenists were suspected of complicity in the Fronde,⁶ and their suppression became a political issue for Richelieu's successor as First Minister, Cardinal Mazarin. Antoine Adam takes the view that Port-Royal did not adhere to the monarchical regime in France, but rather submitted unwillingly to it.⁷ Pascal entered the lists when Port-Royal was under attack as the centre of Jansenism, and in particular when claims were made that Jansenius's book contained heretical statements. The Jansenists saw this as an attack on Saint Augustine and the doctrine of efficacious grace.

Pascal's personal relation with Jansenism

The town of Clermont is said to have had a well-developed religious culture when Pascal spent his childhood there, but it may have been untroubled by the Jansenist controversy.⁸ On the other hand, the Jesuits were unpopular.⁹ However, when the family moved to Paris in 1632 they moved in Jansenist circles, and Charles de Hillerin, curé of the church of Saint Merri, local to the rue Brisemiche where their final home was before they moved to Rouen in 1640, had been a friend of Arnauld d'Andilly, through whom he came under the influence of Saint-Cyran.¹⁰ Pascal's sister Gilberte is reported as saying that '[T]oute sa famille était aussi bien réglée comme si c'eût été une

4 The Council of Trent (1545-63) taught that the sinner may receive the Sacrament of Penance so long as he has the wish not to sin, even if he acts from personal motives. This is the state of attrition, or imperfect contrition. True contrition, however, arises from a love of God and is selfless.

5 Orcibal, *Saint-Cyran*, p. 32.

6 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3, in II, p. 52.

7 Antoine Adam, *Du Mysticisme à la révolte* (Paris: Fayard, 1968), p. 192.

8 Francine Leclercq, and others, *Clermont Ville de Pascal* (Clermont-Ferrand: Volcans, 1962), p. 169.

9 The Jesuits were disliked in Pascal's circle in Clermont, as Père Guerrier tells us: 'Les jésuites le regardaient [Jean Domat, Pascal's closest friend], dans la province, comme leur grand ennemi; il l'était en effet, non de leurs personnes, mais de leur mauvaise doctrine, de leur morale corrompue et de leurs pratiques dangereuses; aussi ne voulut-il jamais leur confier l'éducation de ses enfants' (Père Guerrier, *Témoignages*, in Mesnard, *OC*, I, p. 1162).

10 Constant Baloche, *Église Saint-Merry de Paris: histoire de la paroisse et de la collégiale, 700 – 1910*, 2 vols (Paris: Oudin, 1911), I, p. 267.

maison religieuse sous la conduite de M. le président qui faisait l'office d'un bon père, et d'un bon supérieur chrétien'.¹¹

It therefore seems likely that the events in Rouen fell upon those already familiar with Jansenist teaching. The brothers Deschamps, who looked after Étienne Pascal when he broke his hip in 1646, had come under the influence of Jean Guillebert, Pastor of Rouville, who was an associate of Saint-Cyran. Blaise was first to fall under the spell of Guillebert, and carried his father and sisters with him deep into the Jansenist fold. This event is regarded as one of Pascal's conversions.¹² After returning to Paris in 1648 Étienne is known to have visited Port-Royal and heard the sermons of Antoine Singlin, who had become spiritual director of the monastery of Port-Royal on Saint-Cyran's death in 1643.

Pascal's younger sister Jacqueline became a *religieuse* at the monastery of Port-Royal-de-Paris in 1652. Her letters indicate that Pascal came increasingly to confess his thoughts to her; she noticed the beginning of his detachment from the world towards the end of November 1654,¹³ and since then she reports that: 'Si je racontais toutes les autres visites aussi en particulier, il faudrait en faire un volume; car depuis ce temps elles furent si fréquentes et longues que je pensais n'avoir plus d'autre ouvrage à faire.'¹⁴ Pascal withdrew to Port-Royal-des-Champs for three weeks in January 1655,

11 Père Beurrier, *Mémoires*, in Mesnard, *OC*, I, p. 870.

12 Jean Mesnard regards this as the first of Pascal's conversions, dating others to 1654, 1659, and 1661. See: Jean Mesnard, 'Les Conversions de Pascal', in *Pascal, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris: Minuit, 1956), pp. 46-77, (p. 48). He does not consider this a conversion to Jansenism, because it was not constituted at that time, but Saint-Cyran had been spreading its doctrines for many years. Roger Zuber, on the other hand, states simply that 'sous l'empire de diverses circonstances, la famille jusque-là traditionnellement chrétienne, se convertit (1646) à la doctrine de l'abbé de Saint-Cyran'. See: Roger Zuber, 'Ferveur religieuse et création littéraire; le cas de Pascal', in *Précis de littérature française du XVIIe siècle*, ed. Jean Mesnard (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1990), p. 193. However, I have mentioned above the presence of Jansenist influence in the area of Paris to which Pascal moved as a child from Clermont in 1632, and so I question the conclusion that the doctrines of Jansenism were unknown to Pascal before 1646.

13 The time of his epiphany, recorded in the *Mémorial*, see Mesnard, *OC*, III, pp. 50-51.

14 Jacqueline Pascal, *Lettre à Madame Périer, sa Sœur*, 25 janvier 1655, Mesnard, *OC*, III, p. 71.

living in a nearby farm, and thus inaugurating his historical association with the core of the Jansenist movement.¹⁵

Pascal and Port-Royal

Opposition of Church and State to the Jansenist movement had involved its leader Antoine Arnauld in a dispute with the Theology Faculty of the Sorbonne, from which he was eventually expelled. In 1655 he wrote letters of protest at the refusal of absolution to the duc de Liancourt in February 1655 because he was an associate of Port-Royal, was condemned by the Theology Faculty, and went into hiding. His difficulties had begun years before with his publication in 1643 of *De la Fréquente Communion*, in which he argued that the sinner should show true repentance before confession, and contrition before communion.¹⁶ The previous year Pope Urban VIII had issued the papal bull *In Eminenti*, condemning Jansenius's *Augustinus*, and in 1653 his successor, Pope Innocent X, issued a condemnation of five propositions extracted from the *Augustinus*. The French Jansenists, with Antoine Arnauld at their head, accepted the condemnation of the propositions, but Arnauld argued that, as formulated in the book, they were not heretical. This raised the question of church infallibility, and led to the argument among leading Jansenists that the Church was infallible in matters of doctrine

15 Mesnard, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, p. 355.

16 This position is analogous to that which appears to have led to Saint-Cyran's imprisonment, referred to above. Arnauld's response is to a letter by someone who promotes frequent communion by '*ceux qui sont remplis de l'amour d'eux-mêmes, & attachés prodigieusement au monde*', and that '*enfin qu'il paraissait visiblement, qu'il avait entrepris de s'opposer à l'Esprit de Pénitence*' (Antoine Arnauld, *De la fréquente Communion* (Paris: Antoine Vitry, 1643), page 3 of unnumbered *Préface*). He supports his argument for true penitence from quotations from the Fathers of the Church, of which the following from Saint John Chrysostom is representative: '*Car lors qu'il [le diacre] prononce publiquement ces paroles; LES CHOSES SAINTES SONT POUR LES SAINTS; C'est autant que s'il disait; SI QUELQU'UN N'EST PAS SAINT QU'IL NE S'APPROCHE PAS DE CETTE TABLE. Il ne dit pas seulement; SI QUELQU'UN N'EST PAS PURGÉ DE SES PÉCHÉS, MAIS S'IL N'EST PAS SAINT; Car ce n'est pas la simple rémission qui rend un homme Saint, mais la présence du Saint Esprit dans son âme, ET UNE RICHE ABONDANCE DE BONNES OEUVRES. [...] Et il ne faut pas se persuader que quarante jours de pénitence (c'est à dire les quarante jours de Carême, qui est un temps de Pénitence établi par l'Église pour se disposer à la Communion de Pâques) suffissent pour purger les Péchés de toute l'année. [...] [U]n petit espace de temps, ne pourra pas suffire pour cet effet, si notre Pénitence n'est une Pénitence forte, & non pas une Pénitence faible, & dans le relâchement.*' (p. 677, typography original).

(*droit*), but not in matters of fact (*fait*). Questions of the authority of the Church and the Pope were also relevant to the independence of the Gallican Church, and so interest in the conflict was not confined to Jansenist circles.

Pascal's collaboration with Arnauld began in Paris in 1656, when Arnauld was in hiding. Arnauld was urged to write a public memoir to make the scandal of his condemnation more widely known. Marguerite Périer reports that Arnauld's efforts were not well received by his circle, and that Pascal was asked to help.¹⁷ The result was Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*, published clandestinely from January 1656 to March 1657, which aroused widespread opposition to the casuistry of the Jesuits, and stirred a reaction to alleged laxism among the curés of Paris and Rouen. Later in 1657 a response by the Jesuits to the *Lettres Provinciales* was published in Paris,¹⁸ and Pascal, Arnauld and Nicole worked on the production of a series of *Factum*¹⁹ in reply to this, which were issued by the curés during 1658. James Franklin remarks that '[o]pposition to these lax tendencies was remarkably late in coming'. He singles out for comment the *Disputation on the Practice of Opinions*, written in 1642 by the Jesuit Bianchi,²⁰ and Antoine Arnauld's *Theologie morale des Iesuites. Extraict fidellement de leur livres. Contre la morale chrestienne en general*, of 1643.²¹ However, by the time of the *Provinciales* there were many anti-Jesuit works in circulation, and many Jesuit works to which to respond, as Olivier Jouslin remarks. He believes that Pascal's role in the fall of

17 Mesnard, *OC*, I, p. 1126.

18 *Apologie pour les Casuites [sic] contre les Calomnies des Jansenistes* (Paris, 1657).

19 See Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales*, ed. by Louis Cognet and Gérard Ferreyrolles (Paris: Garnier, 1992), pp. LXV-LXX, for a discussion of this event. The *Factums*, 'Pour les Curés de Paris, contre un livre intitulé: Apologie pour les Casuistes, contre les Calomnies des Jansénistes, et contre ceux qui l'ont composé, imprimé et débité', are reproduced in this volume, pp. 404-459.

20 Bianchi is found variously as André Bianchi, Blancus André, André Le Blanc, and Candidus Philalethes. In the *Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique*, ed. A. D'Alès (Paris: Beauchesne, 1922), vol IV, column 318, he is noted as a *probabiliorist* among a small group of dissidents from the practice of probabilism who, apart from Protestants and Jansenists, 'ne représentent qu'une minorité négligeable'.

21 James Franklin, *The Science of Conjecture. Evidence and Probability before Pascal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), p. 84.

the Jesuits tends to be overestimated because his work is the only one still extant.²² In 1657 the *Provinciales* were published in small format editions. New editions appeared well after Pascal's death, provoking violent reactions, including being burned in Paris. The *Pensées* were thus born into an ongoing conflict which Pascal had helped to inflame.

The role of the *Formulaire*

In 1661 Louis XIV ordered all members of the church to sign a formulary (the *Formulaire*) swearing adherence to the two papal bulls already issued against five propositions extracted from Jansenius's *Augustinus* which, as has already been mentioned, the French Jansenists, with Antoine Arnauld at their head, held were not in the book. This was seen as an attack on the doctrine of efficacious grace, and Pascal appears to have insisted that to sign the *Formulaire* without the express exception of 'la grâce efficace et le sens de Jansénius' was to condemn them, although he did not believe it was in fact the popes' intention to condemn efficacious grace. Antoine Arnauld championed the argument that the pope had authority over doctrine but not over fact. The resistance of Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole to signing the *Formulaire* eventually softened, and Pascal appears to have reacted dramatically to this,²³ leading to a rumour that he had broken with the leaders of the Jansenist movement, and with Jansenism itself. Marguerite Périer firmly denies this.²⁴ In a move to separate the authority of Pascal from Jansenism, Hardouin de Péréfixe, Archbishop of Paris from 1664, tried to establish this as fact, at the time of publication of the *Pensées*.

22 Olivier Jouslin, "Rien ne nous plaît que le combat", *Pascal et le dialogue polémique* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University Paris-IV Sorbonne, 2004), p. 1019. (Copy in the Bibliothèque de Port-Royal, Paris)

23 Marguerite Périer, *Sur Monsieur Pascal*, Mesnard, OC, I, p. 1071.

24 Ibid., I, p. 1072.

Philippe Sellier identifies the fundamental nature of the conflict as the opposition of the rule of intelligence, represented in the last *Lettres Provinciales* and the controversy over the *Formulaire*, to the tyrannical manoeuvres of the combination of the power of Rome and that of the royal police.²⁵ Feelings ran high, and Alexander Sedgwick provides a concise summary of what made Jansenists the object of conflict in Pascal's time:

This research has convinced me that the Jansenists' emphasis on the spiritual and intellectual integrity of the individual, their rejection of worldly values, and their willingness to suffer persecution in behalf of the truth as they understood it brought them inevitably into conflict with the absolutist pretensions of crown and papacy. Their preoccupation with the nature and limitations of authority caused the Jansenists to adopt a rebellious attitude of a unique sort, which became apparent during the era of the Fronde in the middle of the century. Furthermore, their ideas about the structure of the Church, as well as about the rights and responsibilities of clergy and laity, ran counter to the dominant trends in Church and state. Finally, the political opinions and personal associations of the Jansenists were not favourably regarded by influential political and ecclesiastical officials.²⁶

The Peace of the Church

Pope Clement IX worked to end the disputes, and 'forbad further discussion of the issues arising out of the Augustinus',²⁷ bringing into effect early in 1669 what was known as the *Paix de l'Église*. This relaxation of tension corresponded with the publication of the first edition of the *Pensées*.

It is the challenge to authority that underlies the atmosphere of conflict which existed before the publication of the *Pensées*. The Jansenists saw the campaign against

25 Philippe Sellier, *Port-Royal et la Littérature. Pascal* (Paris: Champion, 2010), p. 406.

26 Alexander Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), p. xiv.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Jansenius's *Augustinus* as a challenge to the authority of Saint Augustine, and the Church saw the refusal to sign the *Formulaire* as a challenge to the authority of the Pope. The theme of conflict of authority recurs at several levels in the publication, and will emerge from the following discussion.

THE PUBLICATION

Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion et sur autres suiets, qui ont esté trouvées après sa mort parmy ses papiers (Paris: Desprez, 1670)

Some, Brunschvicg among them,²⁸ have regarded the initial copying of the fragments²⁹ as a step in the preparation of the published text. The *privilège* to publish was granted to Florin Périer on 27 December 1666. Brienne's letters to Gilberte Périer during the production are all from 1668. It would seem, therefore, that work on the publication began within four years of Pascal's death, and long before the *Paix de l'Église* early in 1669. That the book should be published at the end of that year might be entirely fortuitous, as the editors were not to know that the Pope would engineer a calming of the conflict. On the other hand, they may have felt that publication in the less inflamed atmosphere would arouse less hostility.

Apart from the challenge of the fragments, inviting some kind of editing, and complicated by what his executors thought was Pascal's intention, differences arose among family and friends, and the authority of his family over the fate of the work appears to have been largely overridden by the *comité* that took up the task of publication. As mentioned before, Étienne Périer in his *Préface* gives the impression that publication was not primarily at the family's instigation, but in response to public demand. When they examined the copy,

ils parurent d'abord si informes, si peu suivis, et la plupart si peu expliqués, qu'on fut fort longtemps sans penser du tout à les

28 Blaise Pascal, Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. V.

29 *Copies* FN 9203 and FN 12449.

faire imprimer, quoique plusieurs personnes de très grande considération le demandassent souvent avec des instances et des sollicitations fort pressantes.³⁰

That notwithstanding, Pascal's friends may have felt obliged out of interest and loyalty to secure the publication, and this is suggested by Filleau de la Chaise's comments.³¹ Harnessing the authority of an apology for Christianity by a famous natural philosopher to the cause of Port-Royal might also have been a motive for publication.

Le duc de Roannez had almost completed his work of constructing the text of the book when Étienne Périer told his mother Gilberte about what had been done. She objected strongly to the changes Roannez had made to the fragments as found. The comte de Brienne wrote reassuringly to her:

Mais comme ce qu'on y a fait ne change en aucune façon le sens ni les expressions de l'auteur, mais ne fait que les éclaircir et les embellir, et qu'il est certain que s'il vivait encore il souscrirait sans difficulté à tous ces petits embellissements et éclaircissements qu'on a donnés à ses pensées, [...] je ne vois pas que vous puissiez raisonnablement [...] vous opposer à la gloire de celui que vous aimez.³²

In the same letter he suggests that Étienne Périer had been assiduous in challenging the decisions taken by the committee, presumably in defending his mother's views. Jean Mesnard regards the family's concerns as driven by sentiment: 'N'allons pas attribuer l'attitude des Périer à un scrupule d'objectivité: pour eux, les *Pensées* sont tout simplement les reliques d'un saint; y toucher est presque un sacrilège.'³³

30 Étienne Périer, *Préface de l'édition de Port-Royal*, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. by Louis Lafuma (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 24.

31 As Filleau de la Chaise remarks: 'Ses amis de leur côté n'en avaient pas moins [d'impatience] de le publier, [...] il ne faut pas douter qu'ils ne se soient sentis pressés de rendre ce dernier devoir à un homme dont la mémoire leur est si chère, & de faire part au monde d'une chose qu'ils croyaient avec raison lui devoir être si utile.' See: Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours sur les pensées de M. Pascal. Où l'on essaye de faire voir quel estoit son dessein* (Paris: Desprez, 1672), p. 2. See also Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. CXCIX.

32 Louis-Henri, comte de Brienne, *Lettre à madame Périer*, September 7, 1668, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées Fragments et Lettres*, ed. Prosper Faugère, 2 vols (Paris: Andrieux, 1844), I, p. 393.

33 Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, II, p. 887.

The first idea was to publish the fragments as found, but Étienne Périer's account betrays a prevailing desire for order and completeness: '[I]l y avait tout sujet de croire [...] que l'on considérerait ce volume, grossi inutilement de tant de pensées imparfaites, que comme un amas confus, sans ordre, sans suite, et qui ne pouvait servir à rien.'³⁴ This plan was abandoned, and they worked for some time on trying to produce what they thought Pascal would have wanted, by clarifying doubtful passages and completing others. Realizing that this would inevitably produce something other than a work of Pascal, they settled on a middle ground, choosing to include in the publication only those fragments which appeared to them most comprehensible and fully developed. Étienne Périer states that 'on les donne telles qu'on les a trouvées, sans y rien ajouter ni changer', and then goes on to list the exceptions.³⁵

The Comité

The duc de Roannez is generally held to be the major contributor to the work of producing the first edition,³⁶ but Étienne Périer is also likely to have been closely involved.³⁷ The comte de Brienne wrote to Gilberte Périer on November 16, 1668: 'M^r de Roannez est très content, et assurément l'on peut dire que lui et ses amis ont extrêmement travaillé.' The head of the family, Florin Périer, appears to have delegated the task of supervision to his son Étienne, and Jean-Robert Armogathe regards Étienne as the essential leader of the group of workers, referred to conventionally as the *Comité*. As he says:

L'expression de "petit comité", souvent utilisé depuis Sainte-Beuve pour désigner ce groupe de personnes, peut prêter à confusion et semble anachronique. L'essentiel de la révision semble avoir été assuré par Étienne Périer (1642-1680), alors un

34 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 25.

35 Ibid., p. 25.

36 Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, II, pp. 881-889.

37 Marie Pérouse, *L'invention des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Champion, 2009), p. 37.

tout jeune homme (26 ans), qui a demandé des avis à de proches amis et des autorités: pour assurer l'orthodoxie du texte, les théologiens Antoine Arnauld "le docteur" (1612-1694) et Pierre Nicole (1625-1695), mais aussi des "hommes du monde", puisque ce recueil leur était destiné.

C'est ce qui explique l'intervention de plusieurs personnes de qualité, dont deux, le duc de Roannez (1627-1696) et le comte de Brienne (1636-1698), étaient de très haute naissance.³⁸

It is Sainte-Beuve who designated the working group as the *comité*, but the idea of a fixed group meeting regularly to discuss and organise should be dispelled. Moreover, the members joined at different times over a period, and seemed to have performed different functions in relation to the publication, for example Brienne as mediator.

The committee concluded that the fragments were notes for the apology they believed Pascal was writing. They then set about making of it the most convincing apology they could, guided but not constrained³⁹ by an order they appear to have remembered from Pascal's discussion of his plans in 1658. This is discussed in Étienne Périer's *Préface de l'édition de Port-Royal*,⁴⁰ although Filleau de la Chaise may be the main, if not the only source of knowledge about Pascal's plans for an apology. Filleau had hoped that his *Discours sur les pensées de M. Pascal*⁴¹ would be used as the preface for the Port-Royal edition of the *Pensées*. Filleau's *Discours* does not identify any witness to the account of his plan that Pascal is supposed to have delivered in 1658, and Lafuma suggests that the "witness" may have been an invention of Filleau to give veracity to his *Discours*, and points out that Filleau follows the order presented in the

38 Jean-Robert Armogathe, *Introduction*, in Jean-Robert Armogathe and Daniel Blot, *Blaise Pascal, Pensées sur la religion et quelques autres sujets. Étude et édition comparative de l'édition originale avec les copies et les versions modernes* (Paris: Champion, 2011), p. 13.

39 Étienne Périer, in his *Préface* (p. 25), says that they manipulated the fragments as they did because they were an assortment varying from 'les pensées plus parfaites' to 'quelques-unes même presque inintelligibles à tout autre qu'à celui qui les avait écrites'.

40 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 16.

41 Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours*. This appears to have been written during 1667 (Lafuma, *Histoire des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Éditions du Luxembourg, 1954) p. 33).

Copie Fn 9203⁴², which he had at his disposal.⁴³ On the other hand, Mesnard suggests that the duc de Roannez was, in fact, the witness to Pascal's outlining of his plans for an apology.⁴⁴

Lafuma suggests⁴⁵ that Étienne Périer took his account from Filleau de la Chaise's *Discours sur les Pensées*,⁴⁶ which does not identify any witness. On the other hand, if Mesnard's surmise is true, that the duc de Roannez was the mystery witness of such a talk by Pascal,⁴⁷ then he will have been the source for both Étienne Périer and Filleau de la Chaise. Pol Ernst has argued that both Périer and Filleau were independently using a separate unique source.⁴⁸ The most convincing 'evidence' of Pascal's intention is the fact that he had himself assembled several hundred fragments of his notes onto large sheets of paper, and grouped them into *liasses*, the first twenty-seven with titles. David Wetsel's critical analysis of fragment S 40 also makes a convincing case for the legitimacy of assuming Pascal's intention, and he claims that '[t]his fragment [is] the best internal evidence of Pascal's plan for organising his projected *Apology*'.⁴⁹ This is the fragment upon which Faugère based his ordering of the fragments in his edition.

42 This is the copy of Pascal's notes, thought to have been made by Étienne Périer in exactly the order in which they were found after his death. It is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. There is reason to believe, however, that the copy referred to by Étienne Périer in the *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal* is in fact an earlier one than FN 9203, and is now lost. See Armogathe and Blot, Introduction, p. 11.

43 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 33.

44 Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, II, p. 885.

45 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 13.

46 Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours*, p. 13.

47 Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, II, p. 885.

48 Pol Ernst, *La trajectoire pascalienne de l'Apologie* (Paris: Archives des lettres modernes, 1967, no.84), p. 49.

49 David Wetsel, *L'Écriture et le Reste* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1981), p. 99 et seq. The words of this short fragment are:

Première partie: Misère de l'homme sans Dieu.

Deuxième partie: Félicité de l'homme avec Dieu.

autrement

Première partie: Que la nature est corrompue, par la nature même.

Deuxième partie: Qu'il y a un Réparateur, par l'Écriture.'

The committee, with the duc de Roannez at its head, consisted also of Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Nicole, Goibaut du Bois, Filleau de la Chaise, Louis-Henri de Brienne, Henri-Joseph de Peyre (Tréville) and Étienne Périer.⁵⁰ Thus the composition was exclusively Jansenist. Whatever Pascal's personal religion might have been, he has, as an associate of Port-Royal, left his posterity to bear the epithet of Jansenism.

“Violence” done to the text on delivery

Accordingly, the edition resulted from a major selection of fragments, with some excision, addition and combination into a quasi-narrative form. Armogathe has examined these changes in detail, dividing them into corrections of style and vocabulary, clarifications of meaning, and interventions to modify the ideas expressed.⁵¹ A few copies of an edition were printed in 1669 and distributed to friends and selected churchmen for approval, but some changes were made as a result of this consultation, delaying the actual publication. Prosper Faugère appears to have been the first to notice this, having found a copy of the 1669 impression and made the comparison. In this regard, Sainte-Beuve highlights the excision of a passage in which Pascal affirms his error in believing that ‘notre justice était essentiellement juste’.⁵²

The book finally appeared in January 1670 as a modest 12^o volume, and it was immediately pirated. It was re-edited many times, the most important new edition being that of 1678, to which thirty-nine fragments were added. It is divided into thirty-two ‘Titres’, a list of which appears in Appendix 2, to allow comparison with the titles of ‘Articles’ of the late-eighteenth-century edition of the abbé Bossut.

50 See Appendix 1, *Le Comité*.

51 Jean-Robert Armogathe, *Introduction*, Armogathe and Blot, pp. 21-35.

52 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 346, fn *.

Correspondences with indications in the *Préface*, and with the fragments

A perusal of the concordance in Brunschvicg's edition⁵³ shows that fewer than half the 924 fragments published by Brunschvicg are represented in any way in the Port-Royal edition. Armogathe points out that 406 fragments are represented in the edition, and that 386 of them reproduce more or less exactly the texts found in the *Copies*.⁵⁴ The 1678 edition contains 379 of the 709 fragments recorded in the *Première Copie*.⁵⁵ The concordance also enables the structure and composition of the text to be easily disclosed, showing that the fragment structure is quite closely preserved, although the overall order appears to owe more to the stages of Pascal's oral outline, as reported in the *Préface*, than to the order of the *Copies*. Most of the *Titres* consist of a string of individual fragments, each clearly identified by a small decorative symbol, a *fleuron*, and many conforming exactly to the fragment as recorded in a *Copie*. Such is *Titre II*, made of thirteen fragments. On the other hand, a few *Titres* are continuous texts, for example *Titre I*, which is essentially the long and developed fragment S 681. Some *titres* are a composite: *Titre XXI* is made up of parts of ten fragments in Sellier's classification, but only three of them are given integrally and identified by the *fleuron*.⁵⁶ Similarly, *Titre XXVI* is composed from the whole of *liasse IX*, of which fragment S 168 occupies the major part, but only two of the separate sections of S 168 are separately identified in the *Titre*.

Thus the composition of the Port-Royal edition is not without reference to the fragmentation, and it is principally in its selection that it does violence to the work. It seems at first surprising that the components of the *Édition* were not all drawn from the twenty-seven titled *liasses*. For example, in the *Première Copie* the titled *liasses* end at

53 Brunschvicg Minor, pp. 749-773.

54 Jean-Robert Armogathe, *Introduction*, Armogathe and Blot, p. 10.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

56 S 18, 19, and 29.

page 187, but many of the fragments reproduced in the Port-Royal edition are taken from later in the *Copie*,⁵⁷ and so belong to Louis Lafuma's *papiers non classés*. However, in his reconstitution of the *Discours de la Condition de l'Homme*, P.-L. Couchoud designates the unclassified fragments into thirty-four *liasses* (I to XXXIV) on the basis that the first *Copie* appears to have been made *liasse* by *liasse*, each in a separate cahier of paper, amounting to sixty-one sections.⁵⁸ Jean Mesnard has also pointed out that more than half the fragments used in the *Edition de Port-Royal* come from these groups.⁵⁹

Apology

With regard to the title of the edition itself Étienne Périer remarks that 'on ne donne pas ce livre-ci simplement comme un ouvrage fait contre les athées ou sur la religion, mais comme un recueil de *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets*'.⁶⁰ Thus it was not envisaged simply as an apology for Christianity, but it incorporated at the end, in chapter XXIX *Pensées Morales*, in chapter XXX *Pensées sur la mort*, which are extracts from Pascal's letter on the death of his father,⁶¹ in chapter XXXI *Pensées diverses*, which include fragments discussing the *esprit géométrique* and the *esprit de finesse*, and in chapter XXXII the *Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies*.

The word "apologie" does not appear in the title or the *Préface* to the first edition, but this objective is clear in the description of Pascal's intentions, allegedly outlined to his friends some years before. Étienne Périer states in the *Préface* :

57 For example, the one hundred pages from 300 to 399 contain at least ninety of the fragments used in the Port-Royal edition.

58 Paul-Louis Couchoud, *Discours de la Condition de l'Homme* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1948), p. 10.

59 Mesnard, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, p. 23.

60 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 29.

61 Blaise Pascal, *Lettre de Monsieur Pascal à Monsieur Périer, son beau-frère*, Mesnard, *OC*, II, p. 851.

Après qu'il eut fait voir quelles sont les preuves qui font le plus d'impression sur l'esprit des hommes, et qui sont les plus propres à les persuader, il entreprit de montrer que la religion chrétienne avait autant de marques de certitude et d'évidence que les choses qui sont reçues dans le monde pour les plus indubitables.⁶²

Furthermore, 'tout homme raisonnable' would be influenced by Pascal's recitation of the important truths 'qui font le fondement de la religion chrétienne, qu'il avait dessein de persuader'.⁶³ Finally, 'M. Pascal entreprit de prouver la vérité de la religion par les prophéties'.⁶⁴ Armogathe regards the edition as a classic apology, with a definite appreciation of the structure adopted to this end by the editors:

Le caractère fragmentaire et inachevé de l'ouvrage est ainsi clairement annoncé. L'ordre retenu suit une présentation classique de l'apologétique catholique: apologétique générale en premier lieu, apologétique spéciale (par les preuves de l'Écriture) en second lieu, discours sur l'homme en troisième lieu et pièces diverses regroupées à la fin. Cette disposition classique ne met pas en relief l'originalité de la démarche anthropologique de Pascal.⁶⁵

The political situation of Port-Royal itself had a great influence on the content of the edition. For example, hints of Jansenism and of Pascal's relation to Port-Royal were suppressed. A letter from Antoine Arnauld in November 1669, explaining to Étienne Périer the need for further adjustments to the text, illustrates the editors' concerns.

Mais souffrez, monsieur, que je vous dise qu'il ne faut pas être si difficile ni si religieux à laisser un ouvrage comme il est sorti des mains de l'auteur, quand on le veut exposer à la censure

62 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 17.

63 Ibid., p. 20.

64 Ibid., p. 21.

65 Jean-Robert Armogathe, *Introduction*, Armogathe and Blot, p. 20. Marie-Rose and Michel Le Guern emphasise Pascal's own plan to begin his apology with a study of man, rather than with a discourse on religious dogma: 'Pascal se garde donc bien d'adopter une attitude théologique, son étude de l'homme est conçue comme une véritable anthropologie fondée sur l'expérience et le raisonnement' (Marie-Rose Le Guern and Michel Le Guern, *Les Pensées de Pascal. De l'anthropologie à la théologie* (Paris: Larousse, 1972) p. 77).

publique. On ne saurait être trop exact quand on a affaire à des ennemis d'aussi méchante humeur que les nôtres. Il est bien plus à propos de prévenir les chicaneries par quelque petit changement, qui ne fait qu'adoucir une expression, que de se réduire à la nécessité de faire des apologies.⁶⁶

The apology would only support the cause of Port-Royal if it did not appear to be its mouthpiece. Sainte-Beuve acknowledges 'l'esprit de scrupule qui présida à cette première édition', and believes that 'elle fut faite jusqu'en ses altérations selon un esprit de sincérité chrétienne, sinon de sincérité littéraire'.⁶⁷

The fragments of Pascal's notes, whose potential to provoke conflict has been explored above, lay as a bone of contention until the issue of publication arose. This immediately established a conflict of authority between Pascal's family, in particular his sister Gilberte, and those desiring publication. Gilberte's opposition, first to publication and then to the way the publication was carried out, set her in a constant opposition to the *comité* of those who did the work. Her views are not specifically recorded, but her position is inferred from the mollifying letters written to her by the comte de Brienne, and the latter's reference to the vigilance and stubbornness of her son Étienne,⁶⁸ who, more so than the head of the family, his father Florin, represented it on the *comité*. The conflict evolved from a simple issue of fact with regard to the manuscript, that is, what might be done with it, into the details of how it might be manipulated. Full authority appears to have been assumed by the *comité*, who proceeded according to their

66 Antoine Arnauld, *Lettre CCXXX* in *Œuvres d'Arnauld*, 43 vols (Paris: Sigismond d'Arnay, 1775) I, p. 643 (facsimile: Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1964). Quoted by Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal 3*, in II, p. 344. Arnauld refers here to *apologies* in the sense of defences that the editors might be compelled to mount against complaints levelled at the work.

67 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal 3*, in II, p. 343.

68 *Lettre de M. de Brienne à madame Périer, 7 septembre 1668*, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Faugère, I, p. 399.

combination of expertise, Antoine Arnauld for example having authority in theological matters.⁶⁹

At this point another issue of authority arises, namely that of the author. The authority of the dead writer lies entirely in the writing itself, and his expressed intention for its future. In so far as he appears to have intended to write a work which would draw people to Christianity, any form of apologetic construct would admit his authority, but in all other ways authority was assumed by the editors, in manipulation of the writing and selective use of it. Marie Pérouse has examined this issue, and, despite the obvious manipulations of the original writings that have been made, she emphasises how important it was for the publication to be believed to have none other than Pascal's authority.⁷⁰ No reader should have been in any doubt, however, that the edition of Port-Royal bore little resemblance to the disorderly collection of fragments described very clearly by Étienne Périer in his *Préface*.

However, aspersions of culpable behaviour on the part of the editors of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, for example those made in Victor Cousin's sharp criticism (discussion of which will follow), lose their force when the work is considered in the context of its time, as explained by Stéphane Zékian, who reminds us that the 'rights of the author' is a relatively recent concept:

En un temps où la sacralité aujourd'hui attachée à la lettre du texte n'a rien d'une évidence (et où le droit d'auteur et l'idée même de propriété intellectuelle n'en sont eux-mêmes qu'à leurs balbutiements), il est admis et même banal d'amender certaines œuvres des auteurs les plus admirés, tout en continuant à publier sous leur nom la version modifiée.⁷¹

69 Note, for example, Arnauld's letter of 8 November, 1669 to Florin Périer about objections made by the Abbé Le Camus, and the changes he has accordingly made to the text (Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Faugère, p. 403).

70 Marie Pérouse, '“Discerner ce qui est de l'auteur”': Une querelle de l'autorité à la naissance des *Pensées*', *Littératures*, 55/2007, 33-46 (p. 40).

71 Stéphane Zékian, *L'Invention des Classiques* (Paris: CNRS, 2012) p. 161.

Zékian also quotes Joseph de Maistre's comment that if Pascal had known of the annotations made to his text he would undoubtedly have 'traîné Condorcet et Voltaire devant les tribunaux'.⁷²

RECEPTION

L'Affaire Beurrier

The behaviour of the Archbishop of Paris three years after Pascal's death suggests that Pascal had acquired posthumous public celebrity.⁷³ There would otherwise have been little purpose in the Archbishop's attempt to show that he had abandoned the Port-Royal fellowship, and, presumably, the Jansenist movement, unless his allure lent power to the Jansenist cause. Hardouin de Péréfixe interrogated Père Beurrier, curé of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, who assured him that Pascal had died with the appropriate sacraments, and mentioned that he had had a difference with Arnauld and had thought that the Port-Royalists carried the argument about grace too far. Péréfixe had him sign a document,⁷⁴ and subsequently wanted entries referring to these facts inserted in the first edition of the *Pensées*. Étienne Périer would not allow this, and the text of the document is lost.⁷⁵ From this the rumour spread that Pascal had distanced himself from Port-Royal.⁷⁶ The senior Périer, Florin, visited Beurrier in 1671 and explained to him what trouble the statement had caused. Beurrier wrote a letter to clarify his statement and counter the rumour, and repeated it in 1673 at the request of Étienne Périer. The rumours

72 Ibid., p. 83. Joseph de Maistre, *Observations critiques sur une édition des Lettres de Madame de Sévigné, Œuvres complètes de J. de Maistre*, 14 vols (Lyon: Librairie générale catholique et classique, 1884) VIII, p.2. De Maistre was writing against the treatment of Mme de Sévigné's letters by Ph.-A. Grouvelle (*Lettres de madame de Sévigné à sa fille et à ses amis*, 8 vols (Paris: Bossange, 1806), I, p. liv).

73 Jean Mesnard believes that Pascal was little known in his lifetime (Mesnard, *OC*, I, p. 41).

74 Marguerite Périer, Mesnard, *OC*, I, pp. 1066-7.

75 Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, II, p. 902.

76 René Rapin, *Mémoires*, ed. Léon Aubineau, 3 vols (Paris: Gaume et Duprey, 1865) III, p. 188.

continuing, Gilberte Périer asked Arnauld, Nicole, Roannez and Domat to attest to the truth of Pascal's position at his death.⁷⁷

A second edition appeared in 1678, with thirty-nine additional fragments, and it continued to be printed in this form until 1776, when Condorcet's edition appeared. The *Pensées* avoided censure by the Church, and was not put on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* until 1789.

Contemporary criticism

A very early published refutation of the *Pensées* as published appeared in 1671, written by the abbé de Villars in the form of a conversation.⁷⁸ Pascal is represented by the character 'Paschase'. The abbé de Villars selects fragments for criticism to support an anti-Jansenist agenda. Dominique Descotes's note on Villars reminds us of how selection and quotation of fragments out of context influences perception of meaning, a topic that appears again with Condorcet's edition of the *Pensées*.

Villars ne se rend donc ici coupable d'aucune falsification caractérisée des textes; mais la manière dont il les contamine déforme discrètement, mais gravement, la pensée de Pascal. Cette méthode consistant à rapprocher entre eux des passages n'ayant aucun rapport direct se retrouve constamment chez les critiques qui ont voulu faire de l'auteur des *Pensées* un sceptique, ou même le taxer d'incohérence.⁷⁹

Sainte-Beuve quotes a letter of ecstatic admiration written to Étienne Périer by the historian Le Nain de Tillemont, who compares Pascal with Saint Augustine:

Ce dernier Écrit a surpassé ce que j'attendais d'un esprit que je croyais le plus grand qui eût paru en notre siècle; et si je n'ose pas dire que saint Augustin aurait eu peine à égaler ce que je vois, par ces fragments, que M. Pascal pouvait faire, je ne

77 See also extract from *Mémoires de Beurrier*, Mesnard, *OC*, I, p. 874.

78 L'abbé de Villars, *Traité de la délicatesse* (Paris: Barbin, 1671).

79 Dominique Descotes, *La Première critique des Pensées* (Paris: CNRS, 1980), p. 14.

saurais dire qu'il eût pu le surpasser: au moins je ne vois que ces deux que l'on puisse comparer l'un à l'autre.⁸⁰

Madame de Sévigné expressed her appreciation of the *Édition de Port-Royal* in a letter of 9 August, 1671 to her daughter Madame de Grignan:

Ce que vous dites sur les inquiétudes que nous avons si souvent et si naturellement sur l'avenir, et comme insensiblement notre inclination se change et s'accommode à la nécessité, est la plus juste matière d'un livre comme celui de Pascal. Rien n'est si solide, rien n'est si utile que ces sortes de méditations.⁸¹

Another contemporary view of the *Pensées* was expressed to the marquis de Sévigné by Pierre Nicole, with regard to both form and content:

Car après ce jugement si précis que Mad. De la F. [Fayette] porte que *c'est méchant signe* pour ceux qui ne goûteront pas ce livre [that is, *Les Pensées*], nous voilà réduits à n'en oser dire notre sentiment, et à faire semblant de trouver admirable ce que nous n'entendons pas.[...] Car, pour vous dire la vérité, j'ai eu jusques ici quelque chose de ce *méchant signe*. J'y ai bien trouvé un grand nombre de pierres assez bien taillées, et capables d'orner un grand bâtiment, mais le reste ne m'a paru que des matériaux confus, sans que je visse l'usage qu'il en voulait faire. Il y a même quelques sentiments qui ne me paraissent pas tout à fait exacts, et qui ressemblent à des pensées hasardées que l'on écrit seulement pour les examiner avec plus de soin.

The letter ends:

Je pourrais vous faire plusieurs autres objections sur ces *Pensées* qui me semblent quelquefois un peu trop dogmatiques, et qui incommodent ainsi mon amour-propre, qui n'aime pas à être régenté si fièrement.⁸²

80 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 354.

81 Madame de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, ed. Roger Duchêne, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972,74,78), I, p. 315.

82 Pierre Nicole, *Essais de morale*, 11 vols (Paris: Desprez, 1715), VIII, pp. 179-181, p. 182.

Modern Opinions

Victor Cousin made a damning criticism of the Port-Royal edition, which will be discussed in relation to Prosper Faugère's work, but his contemporary, Sainte-Beuve, counters any suggestion of criticism made against the Port-Royal editors: 'Il y aurait beaucoup à dire en leur faveur, à leur décharge et à titre de circonstances très atténuantes.'⁸³ Moreover, he says he could not imagine an edition such as Faugère's being published in 1670: 'Il faudrait en conclure du moins que cette première édition des *Pensées* était telle que le grand siècle pouvait l'admettre, et qu'il n'en aurait pu porter davantage: conclusion dont le retour ne laisse pas d'être infiniment flatteur pour nous.'⁸⁴ He returned to the defence in his *Port-Royal*:

Mon seul soin est d'absoudre les premiers éditeurs d'un reproche que de tout autres qu'eux auraient plus ou moins encouru en leur place. Le livre étant destiné surtout à la conversion ou à la confirmation des lecteurs, on évite tout ce qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, pouvait l'*accrocher* [emphasis original].⁸⁵

Sainte-Beuve, in the middle of the nineteenth century, recognises the work as an apology, and defines its target. Criticism of the editors of the Port-Royal edition has now turned from disapproval to praise: in his recent reassessment of the original edition, Armogathe acknowledges the effort that was made to provide an apology for Christianity appropriate for its time, and also to avoid attracting the disapproval of the Jesuits and other opponents of Port-Royal and Jansenism, and he concludes his *Introduction* with undisguised praise:

Le travail soigneux et attentif accompli par les réviseurs (qui montre l'importance qu'ils attachaient à la publication de ces

83 Sainte-Beuve, 'Pensées, Fragments et Lettres de Blaise Pascal, publiés pour la première fois conformément aux manuscrits, par M. Prosper Faugère', *Revue des Deux Mondes* 1 July 1844 (Juillet 1844, Première quinzaine, pp. 107-125), p. 114.

84 Ibid., p. 117.

85 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 351.

textes), avec des remaniements et additions, que l'on ne peut pas tenir pour des mutilations ou des ajouts factices, ont surtout permis au texte de Pascal de connaître le succès auprès des lecteurs, pendant deux siècles.⁸⁶

In the *Introduction* to his 1907 revision of the Port-Royal edition, Augustin Gazier states that his edition is not for

l'usage des travailleurs, littérateurs ou philosophes; elle s'adresse au commun des lecteurs, à ceux qui ouvrent un livre pour le plaisir de lire, pour s'instruire et pour devenir meilleurs. Les amis et les confidents de Pascal n'avaient pas d'autre objet en vue quand ils ont donné au grand public ses *Pensées* posthumes, et ce ne sont pas les écoliers ou les étudiants des universités qui ont fait en 1670 le succès de cet ouvrage si admiré.⁸⁷

By implication, he regards the Port-Royal edition as giving the general reader easier access to the *Pensées* than other editions. Moreover, he says that the *Pensées*

sont avant tout un livre de chevet, c'est-à-dire qu'on peut les prendre, les laisser, les reprendre, et ne pas s'astreindre à les étudier méthodiquement. Les *Pensées* partagent avec l'*Imitation de Jésus-Christ* le beau privilège de pouvoir être ouvertes au hasard, le lecteur ayant la certitude d'y trouver quelque chose qui répond aux secrets besoins de son intelligence et de son cœur,⁸⁸

which is no small achievement on the part of the *Comité*.

CONDORCET AND VOLTAIRE

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, this in the age of the Enlightenment, a second attack on Pascal's fragments was made by Condorcet, representing a profound appropriation of authority, not only with regard to the selection of fragments, but in that

86 Jean-Robert Armogathe, *Introduction*, Armogathe and Blot, p. 37.

87 Augustin Gazier, in *Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Augustin Gazier (Paris: Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1907), p. 1.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

the selection made challenged the very notion of an apology for Christianity. Sainte-Beuve says of the edition that it ‘ressemblait moins encore à un siège en règle qu’à une prise de possession’.⁸⁹ Entitled *Éloge et Pensées de Pascal*, Condorcet’s edition appeared in 1776, and a new edition with notes by Voltaire appeared in 1778.⁹⁰ It presented a selection of fragments different from the *Édition de Port-Royal*, which, in Lafuma’s opinion, ‘invite le lecteur à penser que l’auteur était un sceptique, même un athée’.⁹¹ However, Condorcet maintained the Port-Royal pattern of connecting fragments together into a series of numbered articles. Voltaire had launched his attack on Pascal’s *Pensées* in the twenty-fifth of his *Lettres Philosophiques* in 1734, taking, he says ‘le parti de l’humanité contre ce misantrophe sublime’.⁹² His notes in Condorcet’s edition now appear punctilious and mean-spirited,⁹³ but his attack on Pascal helped keep Pascal’s name alive in the public domain, although that may not have been part of Voltaire’s intention. Brunschvicg remarks: ‘la critique de Voltaire l’emporta devant l’opinion au XVIIIe siècle, et ce triomphe fut consacré par l’édition de Condorcet’.⁹⁴ Lafuma also comments that ‘Le *Pascal-Condorcet* convenait à l’esprit de l’époque, puisque son succès, si l’on en juge par les rééditions, s’est maintenu jusqu’en 1820’.⁹⁵ That Condorcet (1743-1794), an Enlightenment humanist philosopher and mathematician, and an atheist, should have engaged with the work raises the question of his own objectives. Brunschvicg remarks:

89 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 371.

90 Condorcet, *Éloge et Pensées de Pascal, Nouvelle Édition, Commentée, corrigée & augmentée. Par Mr. De **** (Paris: 1778).

91 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 47.

92 Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques* (Amsterdam: Lucas, 1734), p. 274.

93 For example, he says that ‘Pascal a peur, & il se sert de toute la force de son esprit pour inspirer sa peur’ (Condorcet, *Éloge, etc.*, 1778, p. 215). He accuses Pascal of ‘toujours le même sophisme’ (Condorcet, *Éloge, etc.*, 1778, p. 240), and elsewhere he comments: ‘La nature ne nous rend pas toujours malheureux. Pascal parle toujours en malade qui veut que le monde entier souffre’ (Condorcet, *Éloge, etc.*, 1778, p. 230).

94 Brunschvicg *Minor*, p. 263.

95 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 49.

Non qu'il y ait lieu de prêter à Condorcet la moindre intention de dénigrer, ou de défigurer Pascal. Il admire l'écrivain, il approuve sa méthode, qui s'adresse au cœur et passionne les hommes pour la vérité [...]. Mais il juge Pascal de haut, en toute bonne foi et en toute certitude, avec le droit que lui donnent cent ans de progrès dans la culture et la raison.⁹⁶

Perhaps he wished to expose a humanism in Pascal that was independent of the latter's Christianity. He shared with Pascal a mathematical genius, and a hatred of the Jesuits. He also shared interests with Voltaire, but it is unjust to regard him simply as a disciple of Voltaire. He admired Pascal as a mathematician and philosopher, and it is not surprising that religious aspects of Pascal's writing were eclipsed in his selection of fragments for his edition. As Dinah Ribard remarks: 'La plupart de ceux qui veulent défendre Pascal le font, comme Condorcet, à partir de son œuvre scientifique'.⁹⁷ She uses the work of the historian Alexandre Savérien⁹⁸ to illustrate how classification can influence what is written about a philosopher. Savérien classifies Pascal among the 'Restaurateurs de sciences', yet, paradoxically, the *Pensées* occupy the greater part of his discussion of Pascal.⁹⁹ For Sainte-Beuve: 'Il y eut un moment où l'édition de Condorcet parut la meilleure; et elle n'est pas si mauvaise en effet, dès l'instant qu'on se place à un point de vue franchement philosophique'.¹⁰⁰ If Condorcet's edition represents the Enlightenment's grasp on Pascal, it did not entirely corrupt the essential trajectory of Pascal's thought. As Richard Parish concludes in his study of the edition:

Car même si la dimension des preuves chrétiennes est réduite à une seule section, elle n'a pas pour autant été entièrement supprimée en faveur d'une immanence globale, ni objectivement

96 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. xxii.

97 Dinah Ribard, *Raconter Vivre Penser* (Paris:Vrin/EHESS, 2003), p. 361, fn.1.

98 Alexandre Savérien, *Histoire des Philosophes modernes*, 7 vols. (Paris: Brunet, 1760-1769)

99 Ribard, p. 361.

100 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 352, fn.

déformée au point que le *telos* de l'original s'en trouve manifestement occulté ou trahi.¹⁰¹

Three years later Condorcet's friend Bossut published his edition, much more in conformity with the Port-Royal edition.

L'ABBÉ BOSSUT (1730-1814)

Charles Bossut was born of a farming family in a village near Lyon. He was educated in Lyon, and became an eminent mathematician and engineer.¹⁰² In 1752 he was named professeur de mathématiques at the École du Génie de Mézières,¹⁰³ and became a member of the Académie des Sciences in 1775. He worked with d'Alembert and Condorcet on research into hydraulics, and so will have known Pascal's work in this field. Turgot¹⁰⁴ charged Bossut to give a course each year of public lectures on the science of hydraulics, public education being a priority for this group of associates.¹⁰⁵ He supervised the reedition of the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert. It appears that he took minor orders in 1750, but was never ordained priest.

The Abbé Bossut's edition of the complete works of Pascal appeared in 1779.¹⁰⁶ In it he set apart the fragments related to religion,¹⁰⁷ but Victor Cousin comments that

101 Blaise Pascal, *Éloge et Pensées de Pascal, édition établie par Condorcet, annotée par Voltaire*, ed. by Richard Parish (Oxford: Voltaire, 2008), p. 38.

102 Antoine Picon, *L'Invention de l'ingénieur moderne* (Paris: École nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, 1992), p. 58, p. 223.

103 The École royale du Génie de Mézières was founded in 1748 by the comte d'Argenson to train a corps of engineers for the king's service, and was the precursor of the École Polytechnique. See: René Robinet, 'L'École royale du Génie de Mézières (1748-1794)', *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*, 1949, vol. 2, issue 2-3, 267-270, and Bruno Belhoste, 'L'alliance entre théorie et pratique', *300 ans de science, La Recherche*, mensuel no. 300, July 1997, 40-46.

104 Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727-1781) became Contrôleur-général des Finances under Louis XVI. He was a pioneer of the science of economics, but his liberal reforms of taxes, agriculture and other industries were completely obstructed by parliament and those with vested interests. He contributed to the *Encyclopédie*.

105 Elizabeth Badinter and Robert Badinter, *Condorcet* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), p. 108.

106 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal* ed. Charles Bossut, 5 vols (La Haye: Detune, 1779). The *Pensées* occupy vol. II.

107 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 49.

many of the fragments in the edition were not found in the manuscript that he, Cousin, had used:

[N]ous dirons: 1^o que celle de Bossut comprend à peu près un tiers de pensées qui certainement n'appartiennent pas aux Pensées proprement dites, ne se trouvent pas dans notre manuscrit, et quelquefois même sont d'un style qui contraste étrangement avec celui de Pascal; 2^o que l'édition *princeps* elle-même, celle de Port-Royal, contient aussi, tantôt le disant, tantôt ne le disant pas, près de cinq chapitres qui ne tiennent pas le moins du monde aux Pensées.¹⁰⁸

Jean Mesnard is unflattering of Bossut's work:

[A]u point de vue du texte, cette édition ne représente aucun progrès. Bossut se contenta de reprendre le texte de 1670 en y ajoutant les inédits publiés depuis. Ayant en mains le manuscrit de l'abbé Périer et la copie communiquée par Guerrier de Bezance, il ne chercha même pas à restituer les fragments dans leur état originel. Le sens critique de Bossut n'était pas aussi grand qu'on l'a parfois prétendu.¹⁰⁹

The edition contains the *Pensées* in volume 2. The volume begins with a short *Avertissement*, followed by a *Table des Matières*. The *Pensées* are divided into two parts, the first containing twelve *Articles*, the second containing nineteen.¹¹⁰ Twenty-three of the titles are taken verbatim, or almost so, from the titles of the Port-Royal edition, and similarly the texts, with minor variations in punctuation, some relocation of segments, and the addition of new material. Noteworthy is the fact that Bossut had the *Seconde Copie* in his possession.¹¹¹

After the *Pensées* themselves there are almost 150 pages of documents including *Lettre touchant la possibilité d'accomplir les Commandements de Dieu; Dissertation*

108 Victor Cousin, 'Rapport à l'Académie française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle édition des Pensées de Pascal', *Journal des savants*, June 1842, p. 335.

109 Mesnard, *Pascal, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris: Boivin, 1951), p. 132.

110 The titles of the *Articles* are given in Appendix 2.

111 Victor Cousin, *Études sur Pascal* (Paris: Didier, 1857), pp. 113-114.

sur le véritable sens de ces paroles des saints Pères & du Concile de Trente: Les Commandements ne sont pas impossibles aux justes [...]; Discours où l'on fait voir qu'il n'y a pas une relation nécessaire entre la possibilité et le pouvoir; Comparaison des anciens Chrétiens avec ceux d'aujourd'hui; and Sur la conversion du pécheur. The *Mémorial* is the final piece of Pascal's writing in the volume.

In the *Avertissement* Bossut comments that '[I]es premiers Éditeurs, qui connaissaient ce grand homme, & avaient vécu avec lui, supprimèrent plusieurs choses qui leur parurent étrangères à son objet principal, & les Pensées trop incorrectes, trop peu développées, ou qui pouvaient présenter un sens équivoque & susceptible d'interprétations fâcheuses'.¹¹² On the contrary, he states that 'nous n'avons pas même cru devoir retrancher les Pensées qu'on pourrait trouver répréhensibles'. He refers to Montaigne as the source of many of Pascal's thoughts,¹¹³ but does not indicate this in the text itself. As for the additions to his new edition, he states that he 'n'a pas cru devoir indiquer en particulier chacune de ces augmentations, pour éviter la multitude des notes, ou des caractères propres à les désigner. Mais le Lecteur peut être assuré que nous ne donnons rien, que d'après des manuscrits qui méritent toute confiance'.¹¹⁴ Finally he indicates that he has included part of the dialogue of Pascal with Saci.¹¹⁵

Each *Article* comprises one or a few narratives, sometimes containing the theme of a single fragment, as, for example, *Seconde Partie, Article III*, which is, with modifications, *Infini rien (le Pari)* (fragment S. 680). Sometimes one or more fragments

112 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres*, ed. Bossut, II, p. iii.

113 *Ibid.*, p. iv.

114 *Ibid.*, p. v.

115 Lemaistre de Saci was Pascal's spiritual director at Port-Royal. The *Entretien de M. Pascal et de M. de Saci sur la Lecture d'Épictète et de Montaigne* is part of the *Mémoires* of Nicolas Fontaine, de Sacy's secretary. It represents a conversation between Pascal and de Sacy imagined to have taken place in 1655. It is believed to have been constructed by Fontaine from texts written by Pascal, possibly letters (see Pascale Mengotti-Thouvenin and Jean Mesnard, eds. *Pascal. Entretien avec M. de Sacy sur Épictète et Montaigne* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1994), p. 46), the role of de Sacy being added from Fontaine's knowledge of de Sacy's style (*Ibid.*, p. 53).

are simply combined, but often Pascal's thoughts, garnered from several fragments, are run together into a narrative. At other times the *Article* contains as many as 66 small fragments, for example Première Partie, Article IX, which are mostly identifiable with separate *Pensées* as they are known today. Footnotes are few.

Each *Article* is a transposition of a section of the Port-Royal text, sometimes with additions, and the following examples of manipulations of the fragments, while here indexed to the edition of Bossut, are those made by the original Port-Royal editors.

- 1) Article VII of the Première Partie,¹¹⁶ *Misère de l'homme*, is, except for the additions at the end, a transfer of the corresponding section, *Misère de l'homme*, from the Port-Royal edition,¹¹⁷ itself a composite of rearranged parts of fragment S 168, *Divertissement*, with additions and deletions.
- 2) The final paragraph of the Seconde Partie, Article premier,¹¹⁸ is an example of a combination of one fragment (S 163) with parts of another (S 164):

(S 164, L 131, B 434) 'Quelle chimère est-ce donc que l'homme? Quelle nouveauté, quel chaos, quel sujet de contradiction? Juge de toutes choses, imbécille [*sic*] ver de terre, dépositaire du vrai, amas d'incertitude, gloire et rebut de l'univers: s'il se vante, je l'abaisse; s'il s'abaisse, je le vante; et le contredis toujours, jusqu'à ce qu'il comprenne qu'il est un monstre incompréhensible (S 163, L 130, B 420).

As in the previous example, the whole of this Article is a copy of the corresponding part of the Port-Royal edition,¹¹⁹ with minor additions.

116 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres*, ed. Bossut, II, pp. 92-106.

117 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, 1670, pp. 197-216.

118 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres*, ed. Bossut, II, p. 188.

119 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, 1670, pp. 156-169.

- 3) Article IX of the *Seconde Partie* begins with the simple running together of two separate fragments, S367 and S364, in that order.¹²⁰ This Article is a copy of Titres XII and XIII of the Port-Royal edition.¹²¹

The kinship of Bossut's plan with that of Condorcet becomes evident in a second edition, as it includes a list of notes from Condorcet's original edition of 1776 and those added by Voltaire to the 1778 edition. These are numbered to correspond with numbers in parentheses in the text of the *Pensées* to which they apply.¹²²

The spirit of this edition was perpetuated by Ernest Havet, who maintained Bossut's classification in his edition of 1852, but adapted Faugère's text to it. Bossut was a friend of Condorcet's, and, like him, a mathematician. They worked together with Turgot and D'Alembert on the science of fluid mechanics. Noteworthy is the projection forward of scientific and mathematical prowess from Pascal to his late eighteenth-century editors.

Conclusion

A group of Pascal's close friends and family, an essentially Jansenist coterie, took authority over his unpublished papers and fragments, and from the latter composed an apology for Christianity, known as the *Édition de Port-Royal*. Their efforts with his engaging and sometimes imperious manner of expression were well received, and set the style for presentation of the *Pensées* for almost two hundred years. The first significant change, not in style but in selection and order, was an edition produced by Condorcet in 1776, which was adopted by Voltaire, and had a brief popularity. The emphasis on Christianity of the *Édition de Port-Royal* soon returned with Bossut's edition of 1779, which remained a reference text for the next sixty-five years, still

120 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres*, ed. Bossut, II, p. 259.

121 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, 1670, pp. 92-105.

122 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres*, ed. Bossut, II, pp. 461-500.

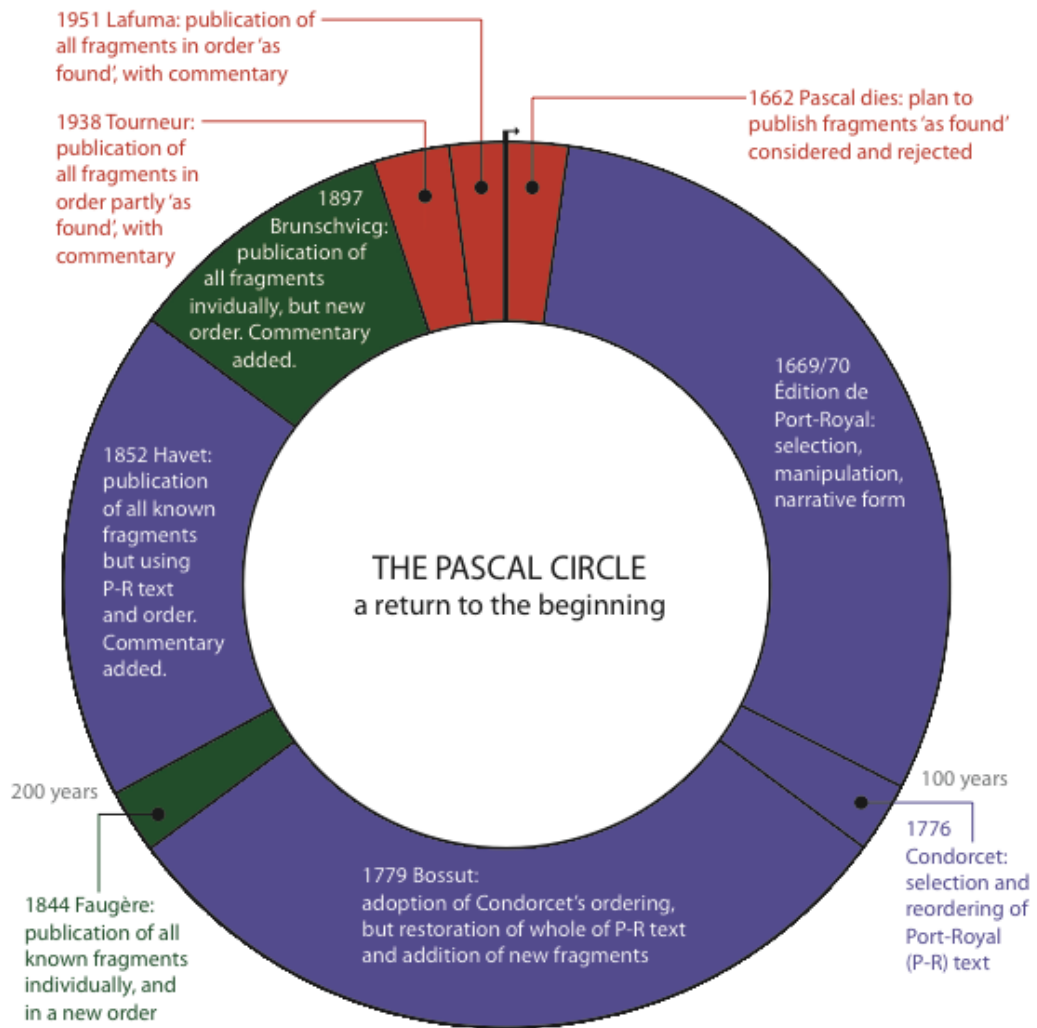
containing many direct transpositions from the original edition of Port-Royal. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Port-Royal editors were being severely criticised for what was perceived as culpable manipulation of Pascal's legacy. Sainte-Beuve, however, saw the virtue of the first editors' effort, taken in its context, and their work has been rehabilitated, with praise, in the twentieth century. Their decipherment of Pascal's autograph was alone a great achievement, even if questions over readings still remain.

The *Préface* to the original edition states that the fragments were copied as they were when found. Two early *Copies* exist, at least one of which was available to the editors discussed so far, but none made an attempt to order the fragments according to either of them. However, the *Préface* contains a broad guide to an order of the argument that Pascal might have followed. The fragments never lost their identity in any of the early editions, all of which referred back to the authority of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, where they can be discriminated from each other without difficulty. The period dominated by theorising over "order" was yet to come.

Sixty-five years after the publication of Bossut's edition, fundamental changes occurred in the presentation of Pascal's work, represented by Prosper Faugère's edition of 1844, and the veritable explosion in commentary represented by Ernest Havet's of 1852. The following chapter takes the editorial history of the *Pensées* up to the end of the nineteenth century with the analysis of these two almost contemporary editions.

PART II

1844-1951



**CHAPTER 4:
THE EDITION OF PROSPER FAUGÈRE**

**Blaise Pascal, *Pensées Fragments et Lettres*, ed. Prosper Faugère,
2 vols (Paris: Andrieux, 1844)**

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Prosper Faugère's edition of the *Pensées* appeared in 1844, towards the end of the constitutional monarchy of Louis-Philippe (1773-1850), which lasted from 1830 to 1848. The regime was becoming more repressive, as a consequence of attempts against the king's life, and it was losing support in times of economic crisis. François Guizot was leader of the government for much of the reign, had strict religious views, and was supported in many of his policies by his fellow professors Abel Villemain and Victor Cousin. These two cooperated in politics but differed particularly over educational policies at a time when the control of public education was in the hands of the University. This became very evident when Cousin, supported by Guizot, planned to establish regional universities, as was happening in Germany, but this policy was opposed and its implementation prevented by Villemain and others who promoted centralisation.¹

In his study of Villemain, Vauthier reports that

Malgré leur prudence, les trois professeurs ne laissent pas d'être
attaqués. Cousin, disent les catholiques, enseigne une
philosophie qui ne semble ni vraie ni chrétienne; Guizot fausse
des leçons de l'histoire, et ne comprend pas l'histoire de son

¹ Patrice Vermeren, *Victor Cousin. Le Jeu de la philosophie et de l'état* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), p. 163.

temps; Villemain porte dans la critique littéraire des opinions qui ruinent le système de l'autorité en matière de goût.²

It was from this tangle of political issues, and from Faugère's own proximity to collaborators in conflict with each other, that his edition emerged. Furthermore, education and philosophy are the two areas of general interest which will link this discussion with the interests of Léon Brunschvicg. Two levels of conflict emerge: firstly the conflict in the University, represented by Cousin and the Church; and secondly that between Cousin and Faugère. Through the controversies surrounding the *Pensées* Cousin thrust Pascal indirectly into the University conflict.

A brief biography of Faugère follows studies of the powerful figures in whose shadow he moved.

BIOGRAPHIES

Victor Cousin (1792-1867)

Personal

Cousin's father was a watchmaker, a follower of J-J Rousseau, and an atheist, and wanted Victor to become an apprentice. His mother, a staunch Catholic, had him baptised.³ He was a brilliant pupil at the local free school, and was taught Latin and Greek by a relation who was a priest. From the age of 12 he went to the Lycée Charlemagne, a Jesuit college in Paris, where Villemain was a professor. In 1810 he entered the *École Normale sans concours*, by right of the *prix d'honneur*, and by 1814 was *maître de conférences*.⁴ He was appointed to the *chaire d'histoire de la philosophie moderne* at the Sorbonne at the end of 1815. He made several visits to Germany, being arrested and imprisoned on one of them, accused of affiliation with secret societies. In 1820 he fell from favour and lost his position at the *École Normale*, which was closed

2 G. Vauthier, *Villemain* (Paris: Perrin, 1913), p. 84.

3 Eugène de Mirecourt, *Cousin* (Paris: Havard, 1856), p. 12.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

for 7 years. His return to teaching in the years 1828-1830 is described by Mignet as the ‘grande époque de l’enseignement de M. Cousin’.⁵ He was elected to the Académie Française in 1830, and to the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques in 1832. John Brooks describes Cousin and Guizot as amicable collaborators in their major achievement, the establishment of a state system of primary education in 1833, and highlights Cousin’s long association with the École Normale Supérieure, where he was director from 1835 to 1840, and also his role on the *jury d’agrégation* and the *jury de doctorat*.⁶ On becoming prime minister in 1840, Guizot appointed him minister of public instruction. Mignet describes Cousin as a great conversationalist, vivacious and full of enthusiasm, though he could be led to exaggerated language and judgements.⁷ However, Eugène de Mirecourt, known for his biting criticism of many celebrated literary figures of the time, claims in his book that Cousin was never a popular person,⁸ and was in fact a mean, manipulative individual, always favouring those who agreed with him, and blocking the progress of those who did not.⁹

Eclecticism

Eclecticism was the philosophy that Cousin taught, claiming that it was not simply an amalgamation of parts of other philosophical systems, but that it was a response to the times. ‘L’éclectisme est la philosophie nécessaire du siècle, car elle est la seule qui soit conforme à ses besoins et à son esprit, et tout siècle aboutit à une philosophie qui le représente.’¹⁰ He also claimed that his politics had its origin in his love of the French

5 M. Mignet, *Notice Historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Victor Cousin* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1869), p. 19.

6 John I. Brooks, *The Eclectic Legacy. Academic Philosophy and the Human Sciences in Nineteenth-Century France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), p. 36.

7 Mignet, p. 29.

8 de Mirecourt, p.6, p. 20.

9 Ibid., p. 63.

10 Victor Cousin, *Cours de Philosophie. Introduction à l’histoire de la philosophie* (Paris: Pichon et Didier, 1828), XIIIe leçon, p. 43.

Revolution, and that: ‘Ma philosophie même n’a guère été que la réflexion appliquée à ses instincts et le résumé de ses maximes.’¹¹ In the thirteenth of the course of lectures given in 1828 Cousin lays out his conception of eclecticism:

Après l’idéalisme subjectif de l’école de Kant, l’empirisme et le sensualisme de l’école de Locke, développés et épuisés dans leurs derniers résultats possibles, il n’y a plus d’autre combinaison nouvelle, selon moi, que l’union de ces deux systèmes dans le centre d’un vaste et puissant éclectisme.¹²

J’ai donc dû m’engager successivement, et ce qui, vers 1816 et 1817, n’avait été qu’une faible et pâle tentative de conciliation entre les éléments renfermés dans le cercle de la psychologie, peu à peu devint un projet plus étendu et plus significatif, une théorie véritable qui, avec la psychologie, embrassa la métaphysique, la logique, l’ontologie tout entière, et un peu de cosmologie; c’est cette théorie affermie et développée qui préside encore à mon enseignement. Qu’est-ce en effet que la philosophie que j’enseigne, sinon le respect pour tous les éléments de l’humanité et des choses? [...] C’est une philosophie essentiellement optimiste, dont le seul but est de tout comprendre, et qui par conséquent accepte tout et concilie tout.¹³

He also makes reference to common sense, reflecting the influence of the Scottish ‘common sense’ school of Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart, claiming that ‘le sens commun est le point de départ et la fin nécessaire de toute saine philosophie’.¹⁴ Félix Ravaisson regards Cousin’s system as progressively coming to resemble their philosophy. They had adopted the general principle of modern science, that all

11 Victor Cousin, ‘Des Principes de la Révolution Française et du gouvernement représentatif’, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1er avril, 1851, p. 7.

12 Cousin, *Cours de Philosophie*, XIIIe leçon, p. 13.

13 Ibid., p. 15.

14 Ibid., p. 16.

knowledge comes from experience,¹⁵ which had been the principle behind Pascal's work on the vacuum a century before them.

Cousin and his philosophy had profound effects on French academic philosophy, as John Brooks emphasises:

Nineteenth-century French academic philosophy was created almost single-handedly by Victor Cousin, whose own philosophy, which he called eclectic spiritualism, pervaded the syllabus. The name was not chosen lightly. Cousin's philosophy claimed to be *eclectic* in that it attempted to incorporate and reconcile elements from all philosophical doctrines, however opposed they might be. It was *spiritualist* in that it recognized the existence of thinking substance. And it also claimed to be *scientific*, in that it pretended to be a science of observation. These three features of French academic philosophy – eclecticism, spiritualism, and scientism – had important consequences both for the shape the human sciences took and the way in which academic philosophy reacted to the human sciences.¹⁶

While he points out that philosophy was already part of the syllabus of the *lycées* before Cousin assumed authority, Émile Durkheim (writing at the beginning of León Brunschvicg's career) acknowledges the profound changes he instituted:

Mais s'il n'eut pas à créer de toutes pièces cet enseignement, il en transforma complètement l'esprit, en lui assignant pour la première fois une fonction sociale et pédagogique de la plus haute importance.¹⁷

Durkheim explains that, before Cousin's intervention, philosophy had a feeble presence in education, restrained from upsetting the beliefs which were responsible for national moral unity. Cousin, however, felt that national moral unity could no longer rely on any established religion, but that fundamental common beliefs were essential to support that

15 Félix Ravaisson, *La Philosophie en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), p. 19.

16 Brooks, p. 18.

17 Émile Durkheim, 'L'Enseignement philosophique et l'agrégation de philosophie', *Revue philosophique*, N° 39, 1895, 121-147 (p. 124).

unity. He hoped to found a new ‘church’ based on reason and not on religious authority: ‘Or cette Église, c’est principalement par l’enseignement de la philosophie qu’il projeta de la fonder.’¹⁸

If the creation of the typical French philosopher owes much to Cousin, Patrice Vermeren reminds us that state politics were at work through Cousin.

L’idéal français du professeur de philosophie, qui s’illustrera ultérieurement avec Alain et Simone Weil, naît dans l’épreuve du Second Empire, et doit paradoxalement tout à Cousin. Le caractère exagérément public du professeur de philosophie en France jusqu’à aujourd’hui n’est que l’autre face du secret – celui d’un État désireux de philosophie – à l’œuvre dans la politique de la philosophie de Cousin. “Sincère ou menteuse”, écrit Joseph Ferrari, “la philosophie donne toujours le secret de ceux qui gouvernent”.¹⁹

From four administrative and teaching appointments²⁰ Cousin imposed his own philosophy of eclecticism, with the result that all the effort of the students was channelled into questions of philosophical erudition.²¹ But for all his power in the University, he faced a strong opposition, summarised briefly by Patrice Vermeren:

Les catholiques et le clergé, dans leur lutte contre le monopole et pour la liberté de l’enseignement, prennent donc pour cible privilégiée les témérités de la philosophie de l’Université. Mais ils ne sont pas les seuls à dénoncer Victor Cousin et sa doctrine. D’autres, du côté des républicains, des socialistes, et même de l’intérieur de l’Université, lui font grief au contraire de sa faiblesse et sa lâcheté. Pierre Leroux lui reproche de s’abandonner lui-même, en écartant les contemporains de la liste des ouvrages autorisés aux professeurs et dont le corpus règle l’esprit de leur enseignement, par arrêté du Conseil royal du 12

18 Ibid., p. 124.

19 Patrice Vermeren, *Victor Cousin. Le Jeu de la philosophie et de l’état* (Paris: Harmattan, 1995), p. 348. See Joseph Ferrari, *Les philosophes salariés* (Paris: Sandré 1849, reedition Paris: Payot, 1983).

20 *L’École normale, Le concours d’agrégation, Le conseil royal de l’Instruction publique, and L’Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.*

21 Vermeren, p. 197.

août 1842; et plus fondamentalement de ne pas oser avouer le panthéisme de ses professeurs, tandis que celui-ci est constitutif de la philosophie.²²

His status as a philosopher was also challenged, for example, by such influential persons as the historian and philosopher Ernest Renan: 'M. Cousin appartient encore plus à la littérature qu'à la science. C'est avant tout un écrivain, un orateur, un critique, qui s'est occupé de philosophie.'²³ His unpopularity thus stemmed from opposition to his philosophy, and from the type of nepotism he exercised by way of his hegemony. Vermeren points out that under Cousin the appointment of teachers depended more upon their political allegiance than their competence, and that from 1840 until 1854 all prize-winners in the *concours de philosophie* were orthodox Cousinians.²⁴

His influence fell after the 1848 revolution and he gradually withdrew from public life. His eclecticism was already in decline: 'Par toutes ces causes diverses et d'autres encore, l'éclectisme, dans ces dernières années, quoique encore en possession presque partout de l'enseignement public, avait beaucoup perdu de son crédit et de son influence.'²⁵

Role in Pascal studies

Victor Cousin, as both historian and educator, had been interested in Pascal for many years and had studied the *Pensées* fragments extensively. He did not produce an edition himself, but his book *Des Pensées de Pascal* first appeared in 1843, in which he discussed his findings. He used the *Seconde Copie* (Fn 12449) for reference, and it was as an educator that he started the 'modern era' of Pascal studies. As part of his plea for a re-examination of the national literary heritage he singled out the *Pensées*, with a damning criticism of the editors of the original edition of 1670 (1669) in a series of

22 Ibid., p. 284.

23 Ernest Renan, 'M. Cousin', in *Essais de morale et de critique* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1859), p. 70.

24 Vermeren, pp. 163-4.

25 Ravaisson, p. 32.

Rapports read at the Académie Française during 1842.²⁶ In the last of these rapports Cousin issued the challenge to which Prosper Faugère responded:

Recueillir et faire connaître ces matériaux dans l'état où ils nous sont parvenus est une tâche pieuse que nous avons commencée, qui reste encore à accomplir, et à laquelle nous convions quelque jeune ami des lettres. *Exoriare aliquis!* Il nous suffira de lui avoir montré et frayé la route.²⁷

Faugère also had a long-standing interest in Pascal. He had delivered an *Éloge de Pascal* at the Académie Française in 1842, for which he was awarded the *Prix d'Éloquence*. In 1843 he published a short paper about Cousin's *Rapport* to the Académie. 'Parmi les travaux qu'a suscités le concours ouvert sur l'éloge de Pascal [...] l'attention de l'illustre académicien [Victor Cousin] s'est reportée sur l'auteur des *Provinciales* et des *Pensées*, auquel déjà, dans son cours de 1828, il avait consacré quelques belles pages.'²⁸ He examines Cousin's view that the *Pensées* should only be composed of fragments relating to an *apologie*, while at the same time Cousin admits all those found in the manuscript copy (Fn 9202), and he acknowledges Cousin's many contributions to the study of the fragments. Cousin's stimulus to Faugère's own work on the *Pensées* is clear: 'Une véritable édition des *Pensées* est encore à faire, et le livre de M. Cousin est le manuel indispensable de quiconque voudra entreprendre ce travail qu'attend la mémoire de Pascal.'²⁹

26 Victor Cousin, 'Rapport à l'Académie française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle édition des *Pensées* de Pascal', *Journal des savants*, April, June, July, August, September, October and November, 1842. Collected in: Victor Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Ladrangé, 1844).

27 Cousin, 'Rapport', November 1842, p. 691.

28 Prosper Faugère, 'Des *Pensées* de Pascal. Rapport à l'Académie française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage, par M. V. Cousin', *France Littéraire*, 1843, 2^e série, t.12, 170-74 (p. 170).

29 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Faugère brought many hitherto unpublished fragments into his edition,³⁰ including those indicated by Cousin, and in this preliminary paper he anticipates the effect of this: ‘M. Cousin [...] met en lumière pour la première fois des pensées [...] dont plusieurs serviront à faire mieux connaître les péripéties quelquefois si tragiques de ce drame intérieur qui agita et consuma les dernières années de Pascal.’³¹ Cousin states: ‘Déjà en 1828, nous l’avons trouvé plus sceptique encore dans le manuscrit autographe; et, malgré la vive polémique qui s’est élevée à ce sujet, notre conviction n’a pas été un seul moment ébranlée: elle s’est même fortifiée par des études nouvelles.’³² But at the same time he clarifies his view: ‘[C]’est en philosophie que Pascal est sceptique, et non pas en religion.’³³

Faugère finds that in Cousin’s publication

Pascal apparaît à la fois plus rigide dans son attachement à la religion révélée et plus désolé dans son doute de la raison humaine. Son scepticisme et son catholicisme s’y montrent avec une nouvelle force. Disciple de Montaigne, et en même temps des plus austères docteurs de Port-Royal; désespérant de la raison humaine et enfonçant dans la foi de toute la profondeur de son doute, Pascal présente dans l’histoire de l’esprit humain, le spectacle le plus intéressant et le plus douloureux qui puisse jamais s’offrir aux regards du philosophe. Sa plus extrême douleur ne fut pas de mourir sans avoir terminé le grand ouvrage qu’il méditait: ce fut de quitter la vie sans avoir achevé l’œuvre de régénération intérieure qu’il faisait en lui-même, dans l’intimité de son cœur et de son intelligence; ce fut de succomber dans le plein travail de sa pensée, avant peut-être d’avoir pu trouver sa dernière conviction et de se dire à lui-même son dernier mot.³⁴

30 Previously unpublished fragments or parts thereof are marked in the edition by an asterisk. For example, in the fourteen pages of Chapter I, *Divertissement*, there are fifteen asterisks.

31 Faugère, *France Littéraire*, 2e série, t.12, p. 174.

32 Victor Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Ladrangé, 1844), *Avant-propos* to the second edition, p. IV.

33 *Ibid.*, p. V.

34 Faugère, *France Littéraire*, 2e série, t.12, p. 174.

A reflection of this assessment appears in the *Introduction* to Faugère's edition;³⁵ since in the short paper quoted here he does not challenge it in any way, it is reasonable to assume that it also represents his own assessment of Pascal. "Douleur", the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual conflict, will in time take this discussion back to the very origins of the *Pensées*.

But by the time of publication of his edition in 1844, Faugère's attitude to Cousin had cooled, and a polemic developed between them. The text of Faugère's two-volume edition is preceded by an acknowledgement of Villemain's patronage in the form of a copy of his authorisation, as *Ministre de l'instruction publique*, for Faugère to publish Pascal's texts and matters concerning him from the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale. At the end of the *Introduction* Faugère again expresses his gratitude to Villemain.³⁶ By contrast, Faugère's treatment of Cousin is ungenerous, if not sarcastic. On p. V of the *Introduction* he refers to Cousin as 'un brillant critique', and on p. LX as 'un écrivain célèbre', in both cases, however, identifying Cousin only in a footnote. In the latter reference, he accuses Cousin of having misunderstood the character of the *Discours sur les passions de l'amour*, which Cousin was first to publish.³⁷ He turns against him his representation of Pascal as being 'en proie à un *scepticisme désolé*, à une dévotion *ridicule et convulsive*',³⁸ and in a footnote on the same page dismisses Cousin: 'Pascal *ridicule!* Voltaire s'était contenté de l'appeler *fou sublime*.'

Faugère's confident language in the *Introduction*, for example, his blank claim that his edition meets Victor Cousin's demands,³⁹ aroused criticism, and Alain Cantillon has recently commented on Faugère's 'orgueil', particularly in his later edition for

35 Prosper Faugère, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées Fragments et Lettres de Blaise Pascal*, ed. by Prosper Faugère, 2 vols (Paris: Andrieux, 1844), I, p. LXXVII.

36 *Ibid.*, I, p. LXXXVI.

37 Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal*, pp. 383-414.

38 Faugère, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXXVI. [italics original]

39 *Ibid.*, I, p. VI: 'C'est cette édition que nous donnons aujourd'hui.'

schools.⁴⁰ Faugère claims that Cousin ‘sans le remplacer, fait disparaître de nos bibliothèques un des plus beaux ouvrages de notre langue.’⁴¹ He does not mention Cousin as having added to the known *pensées*.⁴² He comments on the ‘mutilations’ made to the original manuscript (p.XIII) and criticises Bossut, whose *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal* had appeared in 1779, for not consulting the original manuscript, and for making changes to the new fragments he had published (p.XXXV).

Cousin retaliated by ignoring the edition: ‘Un *fac-simile* n’est point l’édition, à la fois intelligente et fidèle, que j’avais demandée et que je demande encore.’⁴³ He ridiculed Faugère’s acceptance of Pascal’s amorous intentions,⁴⁴ and criticised his enthusiasm for finding the old man in Clermont, M. Bellaigue, who had preserved unpublished the *manuscrits Guerrier*.⁴⁵

Cousin’s response to Faugère’s edition mirrors a conflict in approaches to textual criticism, against a background of personal animosities among educators and politicians struggling to preserve the University’s control over public education, against the efforts of the Church to regain it, and, furthermore, in a nation struggling to find stability and resolution in the wake of the Revolution of 1789. From an apparently localised conflict about the text of the *Pensées*, the scale of conflict widens into the social and political realm. Thus Cousin thrust Pascal into the political struggle between the University and the Church in its effort to regain control of the University, and in particular its teaching of philosophy, and education in general. Even if, as it has been suggested, Cousin aimed

40 Alain Cantillon, *Le Pari-de-Pascal* (Paris: Vrin, 2014), p. 221. Cantillon refers to *Pensées choisies de Blaise Pascal, publiées sur les manuscrits originaux et mises en ordre à l’usage des lycées et des collèges, par Prosper Faugère* (Paris: Delalain, 1848), pp. X and XI.

41 Faugère, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. VI.

42 See: Victor Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal, Avant-propos* to the first edition, p. X, on which Cousin summarizes his own contributions to study of the *Pensées*.

43 Victor Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal, Avant Propos* to the second edition, p. III.

44 See: Faugère, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, pp. LXV-LXVIII., and discussion, p. 108 and p. 112 below.

45 The *manuscrits Guerrier* contain copies made by père Guerrier of documents now lost, which had been given by the Périer family into the charge of the Oratorians at Clermont-Ferrand.

to detach the prestige of Pascal from the Church,⁴⁶ it seems unlikely to have been the basic stimulus for his interest in Pascal, which had a long history and had resulted in many revelations, such as his publication of the “Wager” fragment.

François Guizot (1787-1874)

Guizot was a man of strict religious views, although his Protestantism is described by Douglas Johnson as ‘luke-warm’.⁴⁷ He was appointed to his chair at the University of Paris in 1812, at the age of twenty-five, but his ministerial duties often necessitated his replacement by a *suppléant*,⁴⁸ who for one short period was Villemain. He was dismissed from the *Conseil d’État* in 1820, after the assassination of the duc de Berry. His lectures at the University were suspended in 1822, and it was not until 1828 that he, Cousin and Villemain began their lectures again. He was elected to the Académie Française in 1836 and after the July Revolution he was successively minister of education, ambassador to London and foreign minister, and finally prime minister for 5 months before the fall of Louis-Philippe. He became an exile in London, and on his return to France in 1850 he avoided involvement in government, having a poor opinion of Napoléon III. As minister of education, his reforms of 1833, making the teacher an authority in his community, failed to provide a stipend sufficient to maintain the teacher’s independence and the respect of the community.⁴⁹ He was conservative in opposing expansion of electoral franchise, and his support of universal education came

46 André Monchoux, ‘La polémique des années 1840 autour de V. Cousin et de Pascal’, *Romantisme et Religion* (Paris: PUF, 1980), 377-385 (p. 384).

47 Douglas Johnson, *Guizot. Aspects of French History 1787-1874* (London; Routledge, 1963), p. 5.

48 A ‘*suppléant*’ was a person appointed officially to act in the place of another, for example, someone whose ministerial duties prevented his giving his formal course of lectures. Many of the *dramatis personae* in this history entered official university circles by becoming *suppléants*.

49 Johnson, *Guizot*, p.137. Guizot discusses the preliminaries to this reform in his memoirs: François Guizot, *Mémoires* (8 vols) (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1860), III, p. 60 et seq.

with the condition that it be tailored to social class.⁵⁰ Guizot describes his approach to primary education in his memoirs, where the role of religion is paramount:

En même temps que l'action de l'État et l'Église est indispensable pour que l'instruction populaire se répande et s'établisse solidement, il faut aussi, pour que cette instruction soit vraiment bonne et socialement utile, qu'elle soit profondément religieuse. [...] Il faut que l'éducation populaire soit donnée et reçue au sein d'une atmosphère religieuse[.]⁵¹

Abel Villemain (1790-1870)

The son of a silk merchant, and with a grandfather who had moved from Lorraine to Paris after having bought the office of *officier du gobelet du roi*, Villemain studied from 1806 at the Pension Planche, and moved on to his law studies at the Lycée Impérial (Louis-le-Grand). He taught later at the Lycée Charlemagne, and Michelet⁵² was in his class. In 1811, at the École Normale, he became *répétiteur de poésie latine et de littérature française*. In August 1812 he was appointed *Professeur titulaire de rhétorique* at the Lycée Charlemagne⁵³ and received the *diplôme de docteur ès lettres* the day after this appointment. He was promoted by Louis Fontanes⁵⁴ during the Empire,⁵⁵ and succeeded him at the Académie Française in 1821. He translated English newspapers for Napoléon.⁵⁶ However, he also flourished under the Restoration, became

50 Johnson, *Guizot*, p. 111.

51 François Guizot, *Mémoires* (8 vols.) (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1860), III, p. 69.

52 Jules Michelet (1798-1874) was a French historian, from a Protestant background, anticlerical and a staunch republican. His greatest work is his *Histoire de France*, which took 30 years to complete. He received his *doctorat* in 1819, taught at the Lycée Charlemagne and the École Normale Supérieure, and was tutor to Princess Clémentine, daughter of Louis-Philippe.

53 Vauthier, *Villemain* p. 15.

54 Louis, marquis de Fontanes (1757-1821), was brought up as a Catholic in a Protestant family, and was a poet and politician. From 1804-1815 he was president of the legislative council under Napoléon, but he resisted Napoléon's desire to reduce the domination of the clergy in public education (see Eileen Wilson, *Fontanes* (Paris: Boccard, 1928), p.260). He was *grand-maître* of the Université Impériale from its inauguration in 1808 until 1815. He supported the Bourbon restoration and was made marquis in 1817. He met Chateaubriand in 1789 and formed a lifelong and close friendship, later helping him to have his *Génie du Christianisme* published in France.

55 Vauthier, *Villemain*, p. 16.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

suppléant to Guizot in the chair of modern history at the University, also giving lectures in literature. He defended press freedom, losing his position on the *Conseil d'État* because of this, and resigned his chair at the Sorbonne in 1829. But in 1830 he was made permanent vice-president of the *Conseil royal de l'Université*. He assumed the position of *ministre de l'Instruction publique* in 1839, which carried with it the role of *Grand-maître de l'Université*, and made him head of the Sorbonne. He became a member of the *Chambre des pairs* in 1832, and was permanent secretary of the Académie Française, a position he retained after resigning others in December 1844, as a result of 'troubles nerveux'.⁵⁷ He was treated as a lunatic after throwing himself from a window, but until this time his career had been consistently brilliant. He was not a Christian, and always fought to lessen the Church's control over education.

Armand Prosper Faugère (1810-1887)

Faugère was a native of Bergerac in the Périgord, where he studied until going to Paris to study law. By 1839 he was working under Villemain as *chef du secrétariat* of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and when Villemain left this post, Faugère went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as deputy director of the Office of External Relations, where he remained. In 1866 he became director of its archives. Armand Baschet suggests that Faugère aspired to higher political office, and that this latter appointment may have caused him some bitterness.⁵⁸ His literary career began in 1835 with the biography *Vie et Bienfaits de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt*, and with contributions to religious journals. He also published political articles and he received the *Prix d'Éloquence* of the Académie Française for his *Éloge de Gerson* in 1838, and his *Éloge*

57 Ibid., p. 117.

58 Armand Baschet, *Histoire du dépôt des archives des Affaires Étrangères* (Paris: Plon, 1875), p. 535.

de Blaise Pascal in 1842.⁵⁹ Villemain, as official reporter on the concours for the latter, remarked:

Il y a moins de science, moins de lecture, moins de force, mais on sent une âme qui, émue d'un respectueux effroi devant celle de Pascal, a cherché, a souffert avec elle, et qui s'en approche par cette égalité d'une douce et humble douleur. Le jeune homme qui a écrit ces pages remplies d'une tristesse naturelle et sans effort, est M. Faugère.⁶⁰

He was made commandeur de la Légion d'honneur in 1861.⁶¹

Faugère would have been horrified by the suggestion of any impropriety in his ordering of Pascal's fragments. His admiration of Pascal was boundless. He regarded him as 'un des plus beaux génies qui aient honoré la France et l'humanité',⁶² and spoke of the fragments with reverence: 'Aujourd'hui que cette gloire est consacrée, les moindres reliques de ce rare et grand esprit devaient [*sic*] être recueillies avec un soin religieux.'⁶³ He was also a passionate defender of Pascal against allusions of worldliness: 'Ses pieds se posèrent un moment sur la fange de cette société corrompue,⁶⁴ mais ses ailes divines n'en furent jamais souillées.'⁶⁵ The animosity between Cousin and Faugère may have begun before Cousin's *Rapport à l'Académie*⁶⁶ in 1842, and, if so, it may be that Faugère's reaction might have been less aggressive had the remarks been made by someone else. Perhaps he was also working on an edition

59 *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, vol.13, ed. Roman D'Amat (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1975), p. 700.

60 Baschet, p. 537 fn.

61 Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle*, 17 vols (Genève: Slatkine 1982), VIII, première partie, p. 143.

62 Faugère, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXXXVII.

63 *Ibid.*, I, p. LXXV.

64 This refers to Pascal's moments of *mondanité*.

65 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXIII.

66 Victor Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal. Rapport à l'Académie française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage* (Paris: Ladrangé, 1844).

before Cousin issued his ‘challenge’. This personal conflict is enveloped in the larger conflict already mentioned between the University and the Church.

Acerbic references to Cousin are to be found in the preface to Faugère’s edition of the *Pensées*, but the following two extracts from his *Lettres, Opuscules et Mémoires* of 1845 are examples of the causticity of Faugère’s reaction to Cousin. In the first he is commenting on the inauthenticity of a manuscript, referring to Cousin in a mocking tone as ‘un écrivain d’une érudition brillante’:

Un écrivain d’une érudition brillante et facile donne à ce manuscrit l’épithète d’*excellent*: nous ne pouvons, comme on voit, être de son avis; et, pour que nos propres assertions soient sans réplique, même à ses yeux, nous avons indiqué au bas des pages, dans le cours de ce volume, la plupart des altérations que le deuxième copiste a commises en transcrivant les manuscrits du P.Guerrier, altérations que M. Cousin a reproduites dans sa publication récente des lettres et opuscules de Jacqueline Pascal.⁶⁷

In a long footnote he counters Cousin’s interpretations of the *Discours sur les passions de l’amour*:

En publiant à notre tour le *Discours* de Pascal, nous fîmes remarquer (c’était notre devoir d’éditeur) que M. Cousin avait entièrement méconnu le caractère de cet écrit: Pascal, l’homme de la pensée pure, ce génie tout spiritualiste, se trouvait transformé en une sorte de petit maître épicurien et donnant avec plus de délicatesse qu’un Ovide il est vrai, des préceptes de galanterie.⁶⁸

Armand Baschet, looking back thirty years, remarked that: ‘Cet épisode rappelle d’ailleurs le très-bon temps où, si la politique comptait, il est vrai, de terribles combattants, la littérature n’avait, du moins, rien à lui envier’, and that Faugère was

67 Prosper Faugère, *Lettres, Opuscules et Mémoires de Madame Perier et de Jacqueline, sœurs de Pascal, et de Marguerite Perier, sa nièce* (Paris: Vatou, 1845), p. vii.

68 Ibid., pp. xiv-xvi, fn.

defending Pascal against Cousin.⁶⁹ Cousin and Faugère were not lone participants in the conflict, many more taking up the matter on either side.⁷⁰

Publications of Faugère

Besides the complete edition of Pascal's *Pensées*, Faugère published in 1848 a selection of *Pensées* for use in schools 'qui contiendrait seulement un choix des passages les plus remarquables tant sous le rapport de la forme que sous celui de la pensée. [...] Enfin nous avons en plusieurs endroits ajouté des notes qui servent à l'intelligence du texte et indiquent des citations utiles ou de curieux rapprochements'.⁷¹ He published little relating to a career in diplomatic circles, his main interest as a writer being the Pascal family and Port-Royal.⁷² At the end of his life he also published an edition of the *Lettres Provinciales*. In 1867 he tried to expose as false some letters presented to the Académie des Sciences by the mathematician Michel Chasles, purporting to establish Pascal as the discoverer of universal gravity.⁷³

THE EDITION OF PROSPER FAUGÈRE

The Book Itself

Faugère's work was the first modern edition to have been compiled from the original sources,⁷⁴ although at that time the *Recueil Original* was the copy thought to have been made immediately after Pascal's death. All known fragments are included, and the

69 Baschet, p. 538.

70 See Monchoux, 'La polémique', pp. 377-381.

71 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées choisies de Blaise Pascal... mises en ordre à l'usage des lycées et des collèges*, ed. by Prosper Faugère (Paris: Delalain, 1848), p. x.

72 Other publications of Faugère relevant to Pascal: 1) *Lettres, opuscules et mémoires de Madame Périer et de Jacqueline, sœurs de Pascal, et de Marguerite Périer, sa nièce, publiés sur les manuscrits originaux*, M. P. Faugère (Paris: Vatou, 1845). 2) *Lettres de La Mère Agnès Arnauld: Abbessse de Port-Royal* (Paris: Duprat, 1858).

73 *Défense de B. Pascal et accessoirement de Newton, Galilée, Montesquieu, etc. contre les faux documents présentés par M. Chasles à l'Académie des Sciences*, M. P. Faugère (Paris: Hachette, 1868).

74 These were the manuscript autograph (the *Recueil Original*, Fn 9202), and the two *Copies* (Fn 9203 and Fn 12449). See: Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, pp. XL-XLVIII.

edition is in two volumes, the first consisting of *Lettres, Pensées diverses, Pensées sur l'éloquence et le style, Pensées et notes relatives aux jésuites, aux jansénistes et aux Provinciales*, and *Pensées sur le Pape et L'Église*. The second volume is headed *Fragments d'une apologie du Christianisme ou Pensées sur la Religion*, and its text is divided according to fragment S 40, the first part *Misère de l'homme sans Dieu* being much shorter than the second, *Félicité de l'homme avec Dieu*, but the order bears little relation to the order of dossiers labelled fragment 1 by Sellier. There is a general preface to the whole volume, and separate prefaces to each of the two parts.

In the Introduction, found at the beginning of the first volume, Faugère makes the very important point that '[une] observation qui doit être comme le commentaire perpétuel de cet ouvrage, c'est que la plupart des fragments dont il se compose n'étaient pas destinés à voir le jour'.⁷⁵ It is reasonable to postulate that, had Pascal written an apology, his notes would have been rewritten and might even have formed a seamless discourse, thereby removing much of the ground for speculation. Furthermore, the meaning that an editor, commentator or other interpreter derives from the fragments is not necessarily what Pascal would have understood from them. Étienne Périer's remark in the *Préface de l'édition de Port-Royal* is apt: '[C]e qui doit bien convaincre de ce que j'ai dit, que M. Pascal ne les avait écrits en effet que pour lui seul, et sans aucune pensée qu'ils dussent jamais paraître en cet état.'⁷⁶ The writer's words bear his meaning, but only to him.

Faugère assumes authority over order, first by establishing 'order' as an academic priority, and challenging the authority of the original editors in this matter. This is particularly manifest in the ordering of his chapters. However, Faugère in one sense restores to Pascal some authority over his work, in that he acknowledges signs of

75 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LX[X]V.

76 Étienne Périer, *Préface de l'édition de Port-Royal*, in *Blaise Pascal, Pensées*, ed. by Louis Lafuma (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 27.

Pascal's intention and chooses his pattern of order of the fragments according to a logical division indicated in the work itself. On the other hand, he establishes the issue of order, which would be the prevailing area of disagreement for the next century or more. Secondly, he makes a formal division between apologetic and non-apologetic fragments, which was not done in previous editions. In his publication the fragments he regards as not pertaining to an apology occupy 158 pages, while the apologetic ones occupy 399. This effectively sets aside several hundred fragments and prioritises the collection as an apology.

Faugère Volume I

An initial point of special interest is the portrait drawing of Pascal, supplied as a frontispiece with each volume of the edition, which may be the only portrait made from life.⁷⁷ It is said to have been made when Pascal was twenty-five or twenty-six years old (see Frontispiece). There is, however, an air of someone much younger about it, and the moustache may have been added to give it a measure of *gravitas*. This moustache varies in prominence in various reproductions in other publications. Immediately preceding the *Introduction* is the copy of the letter acknowledging Villemain's patronage, which is referred to above.⁷⁸

After the Introduction comes a series of letters, followed by the *Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies*, the *Écrit sur la conversion du pécheur* (whose authenticity Faugère accepts), the *Préface sur le traité du vide*, the *Discours sur les passions de l'amour* (whose authenticity he also accepts), the *Traité de l'Esprit géométrique*, and finally *De L'Art de persuader*.

The fragments in volume I are in four parts, numbered separately. One hundred and eighty nine are grouped together as *Pensées diverses*, and the *Mémorial* is

77 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXXIII.

78 See p. 102.

unnumbered at the end of this section. The next section is entitled *Pensées sur l'Éloquence et le style*, followed by the section *Pensées et notes relatives aux Jésuites, aux Jansénistes et aux Provinciales*, and the final section is *Pensées sur le Pape et l'Église*. Each is preceded by a short introduction, mainly bibliographic in content.⁷⁹

The end of volume 1 contains the *Discours sur la condition des grands*, the *Entretien de Pascal avec Saci*, and a collection of fragments describing conversations of Pascal, with an appendix of letters mainly about publication of his work. Faugère includes a page of facsimiles of Pascal's signatures, and a facsimile of the second part of the manuscript (MS p. 100) of fragment S 746, which illustrates the difficulty of deciphering Pascal's writing.

Review of Faugère's Introduction to Vol. I

The *Introduction* in volume I serves for both volumes, and is where most of Faugère's commentary is found. It occupies 82 pages, and contains a review of previous editions and Faugère's conjectures about Pascal, his thoughts and intentions. Before a general survey, two features deserve special comment. The first is part of the discussion of the manuscripts Faugère used for the edition, and is the story of how he discovered two of the *Manuscrits Guerrier*, carefully guarded by an elderly judge in Clermont, M. Bellaigue de Rabanesse, a Jansenist whose family was connected with Pascal's.⁸⁰ The key to his confidence in Faugère was provided by the fact that he had written his *Éloge de Gerson*, which Bellaigue knew of, being himself an admirer of Gerson.

The second feature is the several pages devoted to the *Discours sur les passions de l'amour*, which Victor Cousin found in a manuscript in 1843. Cousin was

79 An exception is I, p. 264, in the introduction to the section 'Pensées sur les Jésuites et les Jansénistes', in which Faugère opposes the idea that the *Provinciales* were the result of Pascal simply responding to the ideas of others. The fragments he is about to present 'montrent que Pascal écrivant les *Lettres au Provincial* n'était pas [...] l'instrument de la pensée d'autrui. Elles attestent avec quel soin il étudiait par lui-même des doctrines qu'il a combattues'.

80 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. XLIX.

immediately convinced that it was the work of Pascal.⁸¹ Faugère recognises the uncertain attribution, but is led to conjecture, as does Cousin,⁸² that the author was someone who had experienced love, and asks if it might reflect Pascal's own experience. Cousin suggests that Pascal may have met someone of high rank in the fashionable circles in which he moved. Faugère, on the other hand, ends his series of conjectures by specifying Mlle de Roannez as the object of Pascal's amorous feelings. Referring to Pascal's letters to her, he says: 'Sous les formes graves et sévères que revêtent les exhortations religieuses qu'il lui adresse, on sent une tendre sollicitude que la charité seule n'expliquerait point.'⁸³

The following comments follow the course through the *Introduction* of Faugère's thoughts about Pascal and the editions of his work.

He discusses briefly the climate hostile to Pascal that persisted after Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*, and the powerful influence of the Jesuits at Court: 'Ce nom devait éveiller bien des susceptibilités et bien des rancunes, et les jésuites n'auraient pas manqué de saisir le moindre prétexte pour taxer d'hérésie les opinions d'un homme qu'ils avaient déjà accusé de partager les doctrines de Luther et de Calvin.'⁸⁴ Of previous editions of the *Pensées* he remarks 'qu'il n'y a jamais, soit dans la première édition, soit dans les éditions postérieures, vingt lignes qui se suivent sans présenter une altération quelconque'.⁸⁵ Later he expresses his hopes for the future of his edition, and emphasises that all he has learned from a meticulous reading of the manuscript (Fn 9202) has been incorporated in the new edition.⁸⁶

81 Mesnard, *OC*, IV, p. 1629.

82 Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal* (Paris: Ladrangé, 1844), p. 384.

83 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXV.

84 *Ibid.*, I, p. VIII.

85 *Ibid.*, I, p. XXII.

86 *Ibid.*, I, p. LX[XIV].

After a critical remark about Condorcet's failure to use the autograph manuscript, to which he had access, in order to correct textual errors in previous publications, he passes to the *Mémorial*,⁸⁷ which Condorcet was the first to publish. Condorcet referred to it as an *amulette mystique*, and it does appear that Pascal carried it on his person in the way of an amulet. Faugère regards it as the record of '*une méditation extatique*', and interprets Condorcet's comments as inferring that it was 'une faiblesse de l'esprit d'un grand homme'.⁸⁸ In fact Condorcet appears to view it as symbolic of the paradoxical difference between Pascal the writer of the *Pensées* and Pascal the scientist.⁸⁹

Faugère makes the comment that: 'Comme Montaigne l'a dit de lui-même avec plus de coquetterie que de vérité, Pascal *parlait au papier*, sans autre désir que celui de soulager une tête pleine d'idées, et un cœur d'où le sentiment débordait.'⁹⁰ Beyond the allusion to the image of Pascal throwing thoughts suddenly onto any paper at hand,⁹¹ this comment raises the issue of Pascal's purpose in writing. René Rapin in 1669 remarked that Pascal was instructing himself in the truth of religion while instructing others through the agency of the *Pensées*.⁹² The statements by Étienne Périer that he wrote only for himself⁹³ do not necessarily imply that his writing played a part in the resolution of his doubts, but Faugère comes back to this issue when he refers to Pascal's not having been granted time to complete his 'œuvre intérieure':

La foi et la raison peuvent également revendiquer Pascal. Si elles paraissent quelquefois se heurter dans son âme, c'est que le temps lui a manqué, non seulement pour terminer l'ouvrage

87 Mésnard, *OC*, III, p. 55. Here are two accounts of this document, which was found after his death sewn into one of Pascal's doublets. One is by Pascal's nephew, l'abbé Périer, the other by père Guerrier.

88 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. XXIX.

89 Condorcet, *Éloge et Pensées de Pascal* (Paris, 1778), p. 312.

90 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. XLI [emphasis original].

91 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 23.

92 René Rapin, *Mémoires 1644-1669* (3 vols.) ed. Léon Aubineau (Paris: Gaume & Duprey, 1865), I, p. 215.

93 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, pp.23 and 27.

qu'il méditait, mais surtout pour achever son œuvre intérieure, sorte de seconde création que le génie opère en soi-même, et pour fondre dans un tout harmonieux les éléments divers de sa pensée.⁹⁴

This notion is also discussed by Brunschvicg; for Pascal, not having been granted time to resolve his own conflicts was a greater tragedy than his not being able to produce his apology.⁹⁵

Reference has already been made to the highly overcharged statement in which Faugère alludes to a period before Pascal is believed to have withdrawn from the world: 'Ses pieds se posèrent un moment sur la fange de cette société corrompue, mais ses ailes divines n'en furent jamais souillées.'⁹⁶ The 'Pascal' constructed by Faugère is an angel, fallen admittedly, but still close to God, in the same manner that Chateaubriand, writing earlier in the same period of post-Revolutionary religious revival, made a frustrated Prometheus of him.⁹⁷ Such sanctification warns the modern reader of a lack of objectivity in Faugère's comments, which might not have been the case in the mid-nineteenth century. Commentary is not, however, a feature of this edition. A second observation is that Faugère's imagery becomes an allegory, perhaps unintentionally, of man's divided nature.

Finally, the extreme prejudice represented in the use of the word 'fange',⁹⁸ which casts a contemptuous slur on society in general, perpetuates the harsh judgment implied in the Périers' reference to Pascal's friendships beyond the Jansenist circle. Faugère may not have been a Jansenist himself; he makes no specific reference to Jansenism, but

94 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXXVII.

95 Faugère, *France Littéraire*, t.12, p. 174.

96 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXIII.

97 Chateaubriand, *Le Génie du Christianisme*, 2 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1844), I, p. 397: 'Si Dieu ne lui a pas permis d'exécuter son dessein, c'est qu'apparemment il n'est pas bon que certains doutes sur la foi soient éclaircis, afin qu'il reste matière à ces tentations et à ces épreuves, qui font les saints et les martyrs.'

98 The word was used to refer to people of low birth, and also to 'une vie honteuse, d'une conduite déréglée' (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, 5th ed. 1798).

he speaks of Port-Royal in the light of piety, and says that for Pascal a new light dawned when he read the writings of Arnauld and Saint-Cyran.⁹⁹

Faugère is convinced that Pascal himself did not know the final form his work would take, and he points out the lack of a common theme or literary form in fragments preceded by the word ‘ordre’. In addition, he reminds the reader that most of the fragments contained in his edition were never meant to be made public: ‘Une observation qui doit être comme le commentaire perpétuel de cet ouvrage, c’est que la plupart des fragments dont il se compose n’étaient pas destinés à voir le jour’.¹⁰⁰ But, as for the *apologie* which he has no doubt Pascal intended to develop from these fragments, Faugère believes it would be aimed at all men: ‘Or, Pascal écrivait pour tout le monde et non pas seulement pour les métaphysiciens. Il jugeait que comme le bon sens la religion doit être l’apanage de tous les hommes; et, en effet, sous certains rapports, qu’est-ce que la foi, sinon le sentiment et le bon sens élevés à leur plus haute puissance?’¹⁰¹

Faugère Volume II

Faugère bases the order in which he presents his choice of fragments around the two parts, *Misère de l’homme sans Dieu*, and *Félicité de l’homme avec Dieu*, as in fragment S. 40. Both Lafuma and Sellier begin their editions with *Ordre*, but Faugère puts fragments related to ‘ordre’ at the end of the volume. The *Première Partie* consists of four chapters, and the *Seconde Partie* of ten. His prefatory editorial note contains nothing interpretive. He uses as a *Préface générale* the first chapter of the Édition de Port-Royal, *Contre l’Indifférence des Athées*. Each chapter is preceded by a short

99 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXXIX.

100 Ibid, I, p. LXXI.

101 Ibid., I, p. LXXXIII.

editorial preface. The fragments are numbered, but only chapter by chapter, and in Roman numerals.

His first chapter is *Divertissement*, and he explains in his preface that he has put this first, because it applies to the human condition, and the reason of man considered in relation to error and the limits of his ability to understand and to know. This chapter contains fourteen fragments, or *pensées*, to many of which he has added titles found in the manuscript. When Faugère has given a fragment a title not previously applied to it, he indicates it with an asterisk. He explains that he has omitted parts that do not appear in the manuscript or the *Copies*, and he asks what better way there can be to show that man needs diversion to stop his thoughts becoming fixed on himself.

This is followed by *Des Puissances trompeuses*, in eight fragments, with a piece on *amour-propre*, found only in a small separate manuscript. Faugère expresses his confidence in his selection and believes he is following Pascal faithfully.

The third chapter is *Disproportion de l'homme*, in which he unites fragments about the two infinities, which were dispersed in earlier editions. There are only three fragments in this chapter, but the final one is in five parts.

The final chapter in Part I is *Grandeur et Misère de l'homme: Systèmes des philosophes*, containing twenty-seven and twenty-nine fragments, respectively. Faugère explains that he has united these with fragments about the philosophers, because they serve as a transition to the exposition of Christian religion. He outlines for the reader's benefit Pascal's plan: after exposing all one can know of man, he asks the philosophers, and, finding no satisfactory answer from them, he goes on to the Christian religion. This preface is the most explicative of all his prefaces, in the way it takes a brief but broad sweep through Pascal's conjectured plan, up to the point where it turns specifically to Christianity and its proofs.

Almost every page has a footnote, mostly brief and relating to cancelled passages, to differences between the autograph and the *Copies*, or to passages apparently written in by Arnauld (so he believes), and to some passages for which he has found no authority in the autograph or copies, but has left in.

Many fragments have been given titles he has found in the autograph, and he informs the reader that he sometimes uses titles that have not been used before, but which will orientate the reader.¹⁰² His choice is loyal to the manuscript whenever there is a discrepancy with the *Copies*, and is rarely inconsistent in excluding fragments not found in the manuscript or *Copies*.¹⁰³

The longer *Seconde Partie* contains ten chapters. Each, as before, is preceded by a short preface. Before *Que l'Homme sans la Foi ne peut connaître le vrai bien ni la justice*, Faugère says he has united fragments scattered in the manuscript which belong to the idea: '[Q]ue la religion seule peut nous donner la connaissance parfaite du vrai bien et de la véritable justice.' He points out that a great part of the fragments gathered here are borrowed from the *Apologie de Raymond Sebonde*, of Montaigne. 'Ces rapprochements, pleins d'intérêt sous le rapport purement littéraire, montrent surtout que le livre de Montaigne était pour Pascal un répertoire des opinions humaines et comme une sorte d'histoire de la philosophie ancienne.' Throughout the book, all 'borrowings' from Montaigne are indicated in footnotes, but Montaigne's texts are not reproduced.

102 Faugère, in Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, II, p. 55 fn.

103 In one such exception, Faugère includes a paragraph which is in neither manuscript nor *Copie*, but in which he recognises Pascal's hand, and which appeared in the *Édition de Port-Royal* (Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, II, pp. 86-87). Fragment XXV (Ibid., p.100) is also in neither, but is included as a concession to established convention. Curiously, in a footnote (Ibid., p.102) he reports two long fragments from the manuscript which he does not elevate to the status of *pensées*, presumably because they are not directly related to religion. But they certainly do apply to the 'state of man', being about dreams, and ending with the statement 'Car la vie est un songe[.]'. Sellier includes them in fragment S 653.

The next chapter, *Caractères de la Vraie Religion*, gathers together fragments showing the characteristics of true religion. Faugère explains Pascal's plan, that, having shown that philosophical systems do not satisfy the needs of man's heart and make sense of human nature, he now explains that the true religion corresponds to our nature and explains it, and teaches man not only the knowledge of God, but the love of God. Only Christianity meets both these demands, which are not met by philosophical systems or other religions.

Before the next chapter, *Moyens d'arriver à la Foi*, Faugère explains that Pascal gave no indication as to where to put this chapter in the sequence of the apology. He says that the fragment *Infini rien* is being published for the first time in perfect conformity to the manuscript. He remarks on how spontaneous and confused the notes to this fragment are, and conjectures that it is a fragment which Pascal would have developed further.

In his short preface to the next chapter, *Du Peuple Juif*, he says that if the Old Testament is used to prepare the New, and to be the foundation of Christianity, the knowledge of the Jewish people should precede the exposition of the proofs of Christianity.

In the next four chapters of the *Seconde partie*, from *Des Miracles*, to *Des Figuratifs*, *Des Prophéties*, and *De Jésus-Christ*, Faugère continues to follow the sequence of subjects given in Étienne Périer's *Préface* to the Port-Royal edition¹⁰⁴. In the introduction to *Des Prophéties*, he quotes Périer's statement that Pascal expounded longer on this than on any other part of the plan¹⁰⁵, and explained his personal views in a very comprehensible manner. Faugère concludes that Pascal had 'une nature d'esprit éminemment mystique.' In *De Jésus-Christ* he includes *Le Mystère de Jésus*, which he

104 Faugère includes the relevant extract from the *Préface* on pp. 372-79 in vol. I of his edition: Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère.

105 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, II, p. 268.

likens to a conversation, and compares it to *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*. In the second part of *Le Mystère de Jésus* the writer appears to see Christ. He hears Christ's words and responds to him, just as Book Three of *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ* of Thomas à Kempis consists of a series of dialogues between Christ and the soul of Man. Faugère was first to publish this fragment.

The penultimate chapter, *De la Religion Chrétienne* collects together all the fragments which 'ont pour objet de faire connaître l'esprit, la doctrine et la morale de la religion chrétienne; de résumer les preuves de sa vérité, ou d'exposer les circonstances de son établissement'.

Finally, in *Ordre*, Faugère assembles dispersed fragments concerning the plan, in Pascal's hand, most of which have the title '*Ordre*'. He recognises by this that Pascal may have got as far as arranging the fragments into the two main parts, but not with regard to secondary divisions and details. Thus it is impossible to arrange the fragments absolutely rigorously.

Footnotes to Volume II

As in volume I, footnotes are brief and mainly bibliographic. They refer to variations and cancellations in the manuscript, indicate references to Montaigne's *Essais*, and alterations in other hands in the manuscript. There are three noteworthy exceptions to the lack of elaboration in the footnotes, in the first of which 'abêtir' is discussed.¹⁰⁶ Attitudes to animals, in particular Pascal's agreement with Descartes's view of animals as *automates*, is discussed in another footnote,¹⁰⁷ and in a long footnote on *la machine*¹⁰⁸ Faugère rehearses Pascal's plan to 'préparer la machine' or 'incliner l'automate', and he explains:

106 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, II, p. 169, fn.

107 Ibid., II, p. 174.

108 Ibid., II, p. 390.

Il y a dans la religion des choses qui ne se prouvent qu'à ceux qui les pratiquent. Descendre de l'esprit aux pratiques extérieures, remonter des pratiques extérieures à l'esprit, c'est le mouvement qui entretient la religion dans les âmes.[...] Tout cela c'est l'œuvre de l'homme; qu'il s'aide, Dieu l'aidera. Qu'il prépare *la machine*: Dieu y mettra le principe moteur et le souffle immortel.

The volume ends with a letter and some thoughts of Pascal's friend Jean Domat, a counterpoise to Domat's portrait of Pascal used as frontispiece to the volumes.

Thus Faugère's response to the corpus is composed of three elements, which exert their influence beneath his conviction that an apology for Christianity lies within the mass of fragments, and that it can best be assembled by strict loyalty to Pascal's text. Firstly, he bases his plan on the bipartite and antithetical scheme provided by Pascal in fragment S 40; secondly he follows a thematic sequence indicated in the record of an outline believed to have been given before friends by Pascal in 1658; and, thirdly, he makes his own judgement of how to order the fragments to follow a logical sequence. He uses fragments from the whole collection, not only from the twenty-seven titled *liasses*. His short prefaces to each section guide the reader through them, and although the chapter headings unavoidably influence the reader's expectations, the prefaces and footnotes only occasionally contain explicative or interpretive material. This is in stark contrast to the edition of Ernest Havet, which followed in 1852.

Reception

The edition was warmly received, except by Victor Cousin. In an allusion to Faugère, written in December 1844,¹⁰⁹ Cousin remarked: 'Il ne faut pas [...] adorer superstitieusement tous les restes d'un grand homme. La raison et le goût ont un choix à faire entre des notes quelquefois admirables, quelquefois aussi dépourvues de tout intérêt dans leur état actuel. Un *fac-simile* n'est point l'édition, à la fois intelligente et

109 See p. 103.

fidèle, que j'avais demandée et que je demande encore.'¹¹⁰ It seems that the subsequent edition of Ernest Havet met Cousin's expectations,¹¹¹ but one might wonder just what Cousin wanted, since Havet continued the classification of Bossut (1779) and added the fragments first published by Faugère, believing that Pascal had no order in mind.¹¹² Perhaps Cousin had forgotten his earlier criticism of Bossut's edition in his *Rapport* to the Académie Française in 1842 and reproduced in his *Études sur Pascal*: '[I]l passe même pour l'avoir accomplie avec succès. Il n'en est rien, et l'édition de 1779 est tout aussi défectueuse que celle de 1670.'¹¹³

Lafuma suggests that Cousin's coolness towards Faugère was the result of Faugère's acknowledging Villemain as his patron, instead of Cousin.¹¹⁴ At various times in the governments of Guizot and Thiers, they both occupied the post of *Ministre de l'Instruction publique*. Eugène de Mirecourt informs us that 'Villemain et Cousin se détestent cordialement.'¹¹⁵

Sainte-Beuve, on the other hand, was fulsome in praise of Faugère's edition:

Enfin, voici une édition de Pascal, de ces *Pensées* tant discutées, tant contestées en ces deux dernières années; voici une édition des plus exactes, la seule exacte même, tout-à-fait telle qu'on la veut aujourd'hui, reproduisant le texte original avec toutes [*sic*] ses ellipses, ses audaces, ses sous-entendus, ses lacunes; voici les brouillons immortels dans leur premier jet, dans tout le complet de leur incomplet, pour ainsi dire. Il n'a pas fallu à M. Faugère moins de quinze mois de travail et de soins scrupuleux pour mener à fin cette entreprise délicate, pour restituer avec certitude, sur tous les points, ce texte primitif réputé

110 Victor Cousin, *Des Pensées de Pascal, Avant Propos* to the second edition, p. III. Cousin's complaint was repeated in his *Études sur Pascal* (Paris: Didier, 1857), p. 38.

111 Victor Cousin, *Études sur Pascal* (Paris: Didier, 1857), p. 38, fn. 1: 'Un digne élève de l'École normale, devenu un maître plein d'autorité, M. Havet, a enfin donné l'édition savante et critique que nous avons demandée.'

112 See Lafuma's discussion, in Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 59.

113 Cousin, *Études sur Pascal*, p. 116.

114 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 55.

115 de Mirecourt, p. 80.

indéchiffrable, pour environner la publication de toutes sortes d'éclaircissements, d'additions et d'ornements (y compris un portrait de Pascal par Domat) qui achèvent de remettre en lumière une sainte et sublime figure.¹¹⁶

En résultat, grâce à cette édition qui fixe le texte et coupe court aux conjectures, on a droit de dire, si je ne me trompe, que nous avons reconquis le premier Pascal, mais nous le possédons aujourd'hui par des raisons plus entières et plus profondes.¹¹⁷

He does say, however, that:

Quelques réflexions peut-être seraient propres à tempérer ce zèle qui nous a pris pour les *fac-simile* complets des écrivains. Trop de littéralité judaïque pour l'impression des œuvres posthumes est, qu'on y songe, un autre genre d'infidélité envers les morts: car eux-mêmes, vivants, auraient, en plus d'un cas, avisé et modifié.¹¹⁸

These comments of Sainte-Beuve's preceded Cousin's by several months. Sainte-Beuve's studies on Port-Royal are contemporary with Prosper Faugère's edition of the *Pensées*, and he alludes in *Port-Royal* to the change in approach to the work, religious faith having given way to literary devotion, applied, perhaps inappropriately, to a work 'conçu pour la pensée et pour le cœur'.¹¹⁹ This had unexpected results: '[O]n l'a véritablement ruiné en un certain sens.'¹²⁰ Reference has already been made to his opinion that the work, as restored to fragments, has lost its apologetic force.¹²¹ But Faugère had not only reduced the work to fragments, he had introduced a great number of hitherto unpublished fragments, whereas the original editors, working under political constraints, had also published mainly the longer and more developed fragments for

116 Sainte-Beuve, 'Pensées, Fragmens et lettres de Blaise Pascal, publiés pour la première fois conformément aux manuscrits, par M. Prosper Faugère.' *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Juillet 1844, Première quinzaine, p. 107.

117 Ibid., p. 125.

118 Ibid., p. 117.

119 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 352.

120 Ibid., II, p. 373.

121 Ibid., II, p. 374.

fear of giving any impression of disorderly thought on Pascal's part. In the words of John Barker, the result of opening up of the whole corpus is that, '[p]resent opinion has come to hold in highest esteem Pascal's evaluation of man's perplexity in his search for salvation', whereas 'the emphasis in the Port-Royal edition lay heavily upon dogmatic proofs for the validity of the Christian religion itself'.¹²² These considerations open onto the discussion of the influence of style and presentation on interpretation and assessment of significance of texts, which will be taken up in the conclusion of the thesis.

A review, published in April 1845, by the American biblical scholar and Presbyterian minister Joseph Addison Alexander (1809-1860), who was professor at the Princeton Theological Seminary, has already been quoted in Chapter I. It reflects a great respect for Faugère's work:

The specimens which we have already given of the editor's ingenuity, candour, taste and judgement, may excite a feeling of regret, that he has not undertaken a complete view of the life, character, and works of Pascal, instead of limiting himself to a few incidental observations, and apologizing even for these, as out of place in an introduction meant to be simply bibliographical.¹²³

Finally, Charles Lahure in his *Œuvres complètes* comments on both Faugère's and Havet's texts. His views are not particularly original, rather reflecting Victor Cousin's position. He praises Faugère for having worked 'avec une patience de bénédictin', but believes that he has carried fidelity too far, and has produced a work difficult to read for the ordinary person and unattractive for scholars. A facsimile would have served better. Moreover, he feels that Faugère has diverted attention onto editing

122 John Barker, *Strange Contrarities. Pascal in England during the Age of Reason* (Montreal-London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 100.

123 Joseph Addison Alexander, *Princeton Review*, 1845, p. 259.

and the editor himself. He is much more impressed with Havet's edition, praises it for features which are retrogressive, and judges it to be definitive:

M. Havet est très-savant en toutes sortes de sciences, et il est surtout profondément versé dans tout ce qui concerne l'histoire littéraire; et il avait, en outre, pour mener à bonne fin son entreprise, deux qualités indispensables: un goût très-juste, et un esprit très philosophique. Son texte est désormais le texte définitif des *Pensées*. L'ordre qu'il a suivi, en se rapprochant le plus possible de Condorcet, est à la fois le plus commode et le plus sûr. Son commentaire ne s'introduit pas violemment dans le contexte de l'auteur; mais il le suit page par page en l'éclairant toujours.¹²⁴

The Cambridge theologian and French scholar F. D. Stewart published in 1950 an edition of the *Pensées* with an English translation, and dedicated it to Faugère.¹²⁵ Louis Lafuma, in praising Faugère's achievements, wrote of this dedication:

Cela suffit à sa gloire, car déchiffrer quarante pages manuscrites de Pascal est un tour de force que bien peu de chartistes seraient capables de réaliser.

L'hommage rendu à P. Faugère par le Dr. Stewart était donc bien mérité.¹²⁶

Faugère's edition remained in print until 1897.

CHANGES IN EDITORIAL PRACTICE

Stéphane Zékian, in his book *L'Invention des Classiques*, identifies changes in editorial practice in the nineteenth century which are well illustrated by the studies of Victor Cousin and Prosper Faugère, and the exegetical work of Ernest Havet.

Le premier XIX^e siècle fait en effet l'expérience d'une durée désormais étagée: face aux classiques, le sentiment de

124 Charles Lahure, *Œuvres complètes de Blaise Pascal*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1858) I, pp. VI-VII.

125 H. F. Stewart, *Pascal's Pensées with an English translation brief notes and introduction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950).

126 Louis Lafuma, *undated manuscript*, Paris, Bibliothèque de Port-Royal, Archive Lafuma, AL 1.2.10, p. 3.

familiarité se double (et se complique) d'une évidence nouvelle, celle d'une étrangeté réclamant d'urgence l'invention de nouveaux modes d'appropriation. L'air de famille s'altère. [...] Dans ces conditions, l'impact de la distance temporelle sur les modes de réception se mesure d'abord à un certain flottement éditorial. Signe d'une mutation de la condition classique, l'émergence d'un discours érudit représente ici un tournant digne d'attention.¹²⁷

Alexander remarks in his review of Faugère's edition:

In nothing has the general taste and judgment of the literary world experienced a greater revolution, than in the disposition to prefer even the carelessness and weaknesses of genius to the studied uniformity of editors and pedagogues.¹²⁸

Three interacting trends can be identified in the change in approach to editing practice in the early part of the nineteenth century.

First is the growth of emphasis on the person of the writer, which gives this aspect of context a greater influence on the interpretation of the words. Sainte-Beuve says of the time from which Faugère's edition emerged: 'En un mot, ce n'était plus le texte seul de Pascal qu'on mettait en cause, c'était l'homme même et le chrétien.'¹²⁹ Alain Cantillon regards Havet's edition as marking the beginning of the University's taking charge of the Pascalian *persona*.¹³⁰ The increasing prominence in the text of the editorial process itself, and with it of the presence of the editor, which accompanies this trend, has been mentioned above, in relation to Charles Lahure's criticism of Faugère's edition.¹³¹

The second trend is towards faithfulness to the original, which culminated much later with Brunschvicg's publication of the photographic reproduction of the *Recueil*

127 Stéphane Zékian, *L'Invention des Classiques* (Paris: CNRS, 2012), p. 176.

128 Joseph Addison Alexander, *Princeton Review*, 1845, p. 254.

129 Sainte-Beuve, 'Pensées, etc.', *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, juillet 1844, p. 108.

130 Alain Cantillon, *Le Pari-de-Pascal* (Paris: Vrin, 2014), p. 325.

131 See p. 124.

Original, making the ‘original’ widely accessible. Sainte-Beuve’s complaint in 1844 against the tendency has already been mentioned.¹³² This abolished occult commentary by way of the manipulation of texts, and the separate scholarly commentary may have taken its place.

Many others who praised Faugère for the quality and value of his work also expressed a certain regret at its consequences, displaying a nostalgia for the old familiar pattern of presentation and an ambivalence to change. Faugère himself remarks that Cousin’s activity had deprived readers of a familiar friend:

[C]ar si le travail de M.Cousin a rendu un important service aux lettres, par cela seul qu’il a appelé l’attention publique sur la réparation due à la mémoire de celui de nos écrivains classiques qui est le premier en date comme un génie; d’un autre côté, il avait, sans le remplacer, fait disparaître de nos bibliothèques un des plus beaux ouvrages de notre langue.¹³³

Sainte-Beuve goes a step further in suggesting that the new edition has not the edifying power of the original edition.

En voulant restituer le livre de Pascal et le rendre à son état primitif, on l’a véritablement ruiné en un certain sens. [...] Le livre évidemment, dans son état de décomposition, et percé à jour comme il est ne saurait plus avoir aucun effet d’édification sur le public. Comme œuvre apologétique, on peut dire qu’il a fait son temps.¹³⁴

The attraction of conforming to the accustomed style of presentation is also reflected by Havet in his *Étude sur les Pensées de Pascal*, quoted below.

The third trend was towards commentary. Havet’s introduction of the scholarly commentary moves the balance of interest away from Pascal’s words and the apologetic agenda, and makes for a weightier and more daunting tome. Moreover, commentaries

132 See p.123.

133 Prosper Faugère, Pascal, *Pensées, etc.*, ed. Faugère, I, p. VI.

134 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 373.

usually refer to Pascal's substantial borrowings, particularly from Montaigne, and this clouds the appreciation of Pascal's originality. On the proliferation of commentaries Zékian remarks that they did not prevent the emergence of the more objective study of classical texts.

Pour le dire d'un mot, l'objet d'admiration devient aussi matière à expertise. Cette évolution suit un rythme assez lent. Pratiqués dans une relation de plein-pied idéalement atemporelle, les exercices littéraires de commentaire ou de glose demeurent majoritaires, mais il n'empêchent pas l'émergence d'un regard plus distancié, propice à la dissection scientifique.¹³⁵

This leads directly to the discussion of the edition of Ernest Havet, whose commentaries will again be a bridge to the following chapter, dealing with the editions of Léon Brunschvicg.

THE EDITION OF ERNEST HAVET

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Ernest Havet (Paris: Dezobry et Magdelaine, 1852)

Ernest Havet was educated in Paris at the Lycée Saint-Louis and the École Normale and became professor of rhetoric at the Collège de France. From 1852 to 1862 he was professor of French literature at the École Polytechnique, and in 1880 was elected to the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. His appointment at the École Polytechnique established a personal and academic succession between two editions of the *Pensées*. As an atheist, he expressed his opposition to Christianity by studying its origins, which resulted in the book *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, which was published in four volumes from 1871 to 1884. He argued that Christianity owed more to Greek philosophy than had been previously thought.¹³⁶ Havet challenged received

135 Zékian, p. 177.

136 Ernest Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, 4 vols (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1871-1884): 'Je suis arrivé au moment où le ruisseau toujours grossissant du judaïsme vient tomber dans le grand fleuve hellénique et s'y absorber, tout en donnant aux eaux qui le reçoivent une teinte nouvelle. Je dois remonter maintenant à la source même d'où il est sorti, et le suivre dans son cours jusqu'au

opinion about the origin of the books of the prophets and the psalms, dating them as late as the Roman period, and writes that '[o]n obtient alors une explication facile de ce qui autrement paraît extraordinaire, je veux dire l'accent chrétien des prophètes et des psaumes. Si ces livres sont en effet moralement si près du christianisme, c'est qu'en réalité ils en étaient aussi près chronologiquement'.¹³⁷ This is an interesting challenge to the historical interpretation of the prophecies made by Pascal two hundred years before. Of the martyrs Havet writes: 'Ils mouraient pour amener le règne de Dieu sur la terre, et ils n'ont amené que le règne de l'Église, qui en a été bien loin',¹³⁸ and of the hopes of the Jews he remarks:

En particulier ils attendaient un Oint ou un Christ, qui devait descendre du ciel pour ouvrir le règne du dieu des Juifs à la place de celui des Romains. Vers les premiers temps du principat de Claude, il se répandit que ce Christ était venu, que c'était Jésus, mis en croix sous Tibère; qu'il était ressuscité, et qu'il allait à son tour ressusciter tous les justes morts, pour les réunir dans une vie éternelle à ceux qui vivaient encore et faire disparaître les pécheurs. Cela était difficile à croire, mais cela flattait toutes les passions d'une multitude souffrante et irritée. On se murmura d'abord à l'oreille, puis on se répéta tout haut "la bonne nouvelle".¹³⁹

In spite of his views on Christianity, Havet was respected in his time, even by such as Barbey d'Aurevilly, a fierce defender of Catholicism:

Barbey lui dédiera en 1887 les *Sensations d'histoire* et sa dédicace témoigne d'une complicité intellectuelle qu'il a rarement si chaleureusement exprimée: "Opposés absolument en ce que nous croyons l'un et l'autre la vérité religieuse, nous nous sommes tendu la main et nous nous sommes unis de cœur

confluent, je veux dire jusqu'au Christianisme' (II, p. 331). 'La foi nouvelle gagna ainsi jusqu'à des gentiles non judaïsants. Ce judaïsme épuré s'épura de plus en plus en s'étendant parmi eux, et se pénétra de la philosophie hellénique; les deux esprits en vinrent avec le temps à se confondre' (IV, p. 486).

137 Ernest Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, IV, p. VI.

138 Ibid., IV, p. 481.

139 Ibid., IV, p. 485.

dans ce sentiment de la conscience qui est au-dessus de tout et auquel Dieu doit tout pardonner, même erreur.”¹⁴⁰

Havet’s son Louis is reported to have remarked that his father always left him free to follow his own thoughts and that as a result ‘c’est que le jeune esprit qui cherche la vérité... ne se soit jamais senti intimider par un respect pernicieux de l’inconnu ou de l’incertain, qu’il n’ait jamais appréhension ni pour hésiter loyalement, ni non plus pour conclure, et que jamais on ne lui ait insinué que le doute soit coupable, qu’il y ait un mérite à croire ce dont on n’est pas sûr’.¹⁴¹

The Edition

Havet’s edition, entitled *Pensées de Pascal publiées dans leur texte authentique avec un commentaire suivi et une étude littéraire*, was published in 1852.¹⁴² Although Faugère’s edition was a landmark in Pascal studies, the *Pensées* continued to be presented in the style of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and the edition of Ernest Havet was a composite of the fragments as published in Faugère’s text, presented in the traditional way, and accompanied by a massive commentary. This chapter concludes with an examination of this transitional edition, and a review of Pascal’s role in education at the end of the nineteenth century.

From the start Havet acknowledges his debt to Faugère: ‘La nouveauté de cette édition n’est pas dans le texte qu’elle contient. Ce texte est celui que M. Faugère, mettant à profit les découvertes de M. Cousin, et répondant à son appel, a fait paraître en 1844’,¹⁴³ but he emphasises that it is only in terms of the ‘*texte de chaque fragment*

140 Jules Barbey D’Aurevilly, *Correspondance générale IX (1882-1888)* (Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1989), p. 60.

141 Maurice Holleaux, ‘Notice sur la Vie et les Travaux de M. Louis Havet’, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1939, vol. 83, issue 5, 527-46 (p. 528).

142 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Ernest Havet (Paris: Dezobry et Magdelaine, 1852).

143 Ernest Havet, *Avertissement*, p. v, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Ernest Havet (emphasis original).

pris à part’ that his edition conforms to Faugère’s work.¹⁴⁴ He follows almost exactly the order and the mode of presentation of Bossut: ‘C’est par respect pour ces habitudes que j’ai préféré, parmi les anciennes distributions, celle de Bossut, qui est celle à laquelle on est le plus accoutumé.’¹⁴⁵ However, he dismantles Bossut’s division into two parts and eliminates the titles to the *Articles*, so as to dispel any illusion that there was ‘une véritable distribution méthodique, réglée sur la pensée de l’auteur’.¹⁴⁶ By using Faugère’s text he discards Bossut’s textual alterations. A study of Brunshvicg’s concordance to earlier editions, as it is laid out on the page, illustrates at a glance the kinship of Bossut’s ordering with that of the Port-Royal edition, and the manner in which it was carried forward by Havet, without division into two parts, but with the additions of the fragments added by Faugère.¹⁴⁷

Havet’s book opens with an *Avertissement* and an *Étude sur les Pensées de Pascal* which occupies 53 pages. This is followed by Gilberte Périer’s *Vie de Blaise Pascal*, with 16 pages of notes about it, then the *Entretien de Pascal avec M.de Saci*, and finally *Trois discours de Pascal sur la condition des grands*. Havet’s comments in the *Étude* on Pascal and Jansenism are noteworthy, and the four quoted here underline his belief in the primacy of Jansenism in Pascal’s thought. Moreover, they suggest that Havet regards Pascal as Jansenist in the strictest detail, whereas there is evidence that Pascal, while living within the standards of Jansenist morality, had his own personal beliefs. The first quotation is revelatory: ‘Pascal n’y est plus sceptique parce qu’il est sectaire, et que ces deux choses étant au fond, comme le dit Charron, incompatibles, le janséniste

144 Nevertheless, Havet’s division into separate *pensées* does not always conform exactly to Faugère’s.

145 Havet, *Étude sur les Pensées de Pascal*, p.lvi, in Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Havet.

146 *Ibid.*, p. lvii.

147 Brunshvicg Major, XII, pp. CCLXXV-CCCIV.

a fait évanouir le pyrrhonien'.¹⁴⁸ It embodies an extreme judgement and almost certainly reflects Havet's thoughts about the results of religious belief in general.

Havet also expresses the view that Pascal's apology is specifically in support of Jansenism,¹⁴⁹ and then suggests that beyond Jansenism, Pascal's apology for Christianity in general is weak:

Je vois deux esprits disputant sur une pensée singulière, et l'un dit, Cela n'est pas vraiment chrétien, l'autre, Cela est chrétien tout à fait: ils s'accorderont en disant, Cela est janséniste. Là est l'originalité des *Pensées*, mais aussi là est le danger. Si notre raison, ainsi poussée au bout, résiste; si Pascal ne peut nous retenir jansénistes, il n'a plus de force pour nous retenir chrétiens.¹⁵⁰

However, he states that despite the Church's condemnation of Jansenism, it is 'un catholicisme conséquent et rigoureux',¹⁵¹ and it is reasonable to assume that when he refers to Pascal as 'un sectaire' it is without the odium commonly attached to the term.¹⁵²

The *Pensées* occupy 396 pages, in twenty-five untitled *Articles*. The final article contains 'Pensées publiées depuis 1843'. At the end Havet has added *Le Mystère de Jésus*, 113 pages of *Opuscules*, and a short *Appendice* of 14 pages of 'fragments à peine ébauchés, et demeurés si imparfaits qu'ils ne nous ont pas semblé pouvoir être compris parmi les *Pensées*.'¹⁵³ Most *Articles* consist of several numbered sections, each representing a separate fragment. *Article VI*, for example, has 63 sections in 28 pages, but article IX is the complete fragment S 681, *Lettre pour porter à rechercher Dieu*. Notes, in a smaller font, often occupy the greater part of the page.

148 Havet, *Étude*, p.xix, in Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Havet.

149 Ibid., p. xxxiv.

150 Ibid., p. xxxv.

151 Ibid., p. xxxvii.

152 See definition of 'sectaire' in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1798.

153 Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Havet, p. 519, fn.

Havet provides a *Table des matières* of twelve pages, and a *Table des Articles* on which are listed his and Bossut's *Articles* in two parallel columns. Havet's *Articles* I-XXIV correspond consecutively to *Articles* IV-X of the first part of Bossut's text, and then to *Articles* I to XVII of the second part. Havet's final Article XXV includes the fragments newly discovered by Cousin and Faugère.

Commentary is Havet's original editorial contribution to editions of the *Pensées*, and as much of it lies in the footnotes, these will be reviewed in the next chapter in relation to Brunshvicg's. Havet's unique tendency to criticise Pascal is noteworthy but it cannot be overemphasised that he makes no attempt in his commentary to the *Pensées* to refute his religion.

Reviews of Havet's edition¹⁵⁴

Havet's friend Barbey d'Aurevilly wrote with extreme praise:

J'oserai même dire que, dans l'état actuel de la pensée du dix-neuvième siècle sur Pascal, personne n'est encore allé plus avant que M. Havet dans ce clair-obscur étonnant, - plus étonnant que celui de Rembrandt, - qui s'appelle l'âme et le génie de Pascal.[...] [L]es opinions qui donnent la vie à son étude sur Pascal, et qui n'ont été jusqu'ici dépassées par aucune vue nouvelle méritaient l'attention d'une Critique, qui a bien le droit de se demander si ce sont là les derniers mots qu'on puisse dire sur Pascal [...]¹⁵⁵

Léon Brunshvicg praises Havet's commentary, but has reservations about the work as a whole, particularly its order of presentation, which strongly reflect his own philosophical views.

154 Charles Lahure's favourable opinion of Havet's edition has been mentioned on page 125. A further approbation is found in Moritz Kaufmann's English translation of a selection of the *Pensées*, published in 1908 and based on Havet's edition, which he regarded as 'best adapted for an epitome of devotional reading in the present day' (Blaise Pascal, *Blaise Pascal Thoughts*, ed. and trans. Moritz Kaufmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. viii).

155 Barbey d'Aurevilly, *Œuvre Critique, I, Les Œuvres et les Hommes, Première série (volume 1)* (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 2004) p. 143.

Quant au commentaire sur le fond des *Pensées*, il fut donné avec le succès qu'on sait par M. Ernest Havet (1851). Érudit et penseur, M. Havet d'une part s'est attaché à entourer chaque fragment de tous les rapprochements qui peuvent en montrer la genèse dans l'esprit de Pascal, ou en faire apprécier l'intérêt littéraire; d'autre part, avec son admirable sincérité, il n'a pas cru devoir cacher son jugement sur la valeur et même sur la vérité des *Pensées* de Pascal: discussion remarquable, qui aurait eu seulement plus de poids et de portée si M. Havet, au lieu de critiquer des fragments isolés, les avait envisagés suivant un plan d'ensemble, dans leur rapport à l'unité de la doctrine, et s'il avait lui-même développé le rationalisme qu'il opposait à Pascal, au lieu de s'appuyer sur la base ruineuse de l'éclectisme.¹⁵⁶

After Faugère's edition, Havet's appears somewhat anachronistic in style, but it kept to a pattern familiar to readers of earlier editions, and that is perhaps why it does not appear to have aroused, as did Faugère's, the criticism of having deprived the *Pensées* of any of their edifying and moral value. Although it was a denser and physically less elegant production than Faugère's, as a reference volume for education its commentary was of immense value to students.

PASCAL IN EDUCATION

Pascal was recommended for study throughout the nineteenth century, but emphasis was placed initially on the *Lettres Provinciales*.¹⁵⁷ However, in his *Cours de Littérature*, which is derived from lectures published between 1799 and 1805, La Harpe goes on to say of the *Pensées* that '[l]a liaison des idées est nécessairement perdue [...] mais celle de pensée et d'expression suffirait pour l'immortaliser. *Ex ungue leonem*: on voit l'ongle du lion'.¹⁵⁸ Thereafter, examples from the *Pensées* appear in many texts

156 Brunschvicg Minor, p. 265.

157 See Eugène Geruzez, *Cours de Littérature, rédigé d'après le programme pour le baccalauréat* (Paris: Delalain, 1845) p. 336, in which *l'éloquence* in the *Provinciales* is emphasised, and Jean-François de La Harpe, *Cours de Littérature*, 2 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1840), II, p. 46.

158 La Harpe, *Cours de Littérature*, II, p. 46.

devoted to writing style,¹⁵⁹ preparation for examinations, and general edification,¹⁶⁰ frequently with commentary in hyperbolic language, as in Nicolas-Auguste Dubois's 1826 description of Pascal as an 'athlète de l'éternité' in his analysis of part of fragment S 681, *De l'immortalité de l'âme*.¹⁶¹ Pascal is also analysed under the rubric of French classics.¹⁶² None of the works quoted specifies a reference edition of the *Pensées*, but Bossut's was probably the best known in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Particularly informative about how Pascal's texts were used in schools towards the end of the century is a book by Lhomme and Petit, which contains questions set in examinations from various centres in France, and some model answers. Pascal features in both. Questions involve interpreting a *pensée*, comparing Pascal with other writers such as Bossuet and Montesquieu, and discussing his opinion on such things as literary style. The quotations from Pascal are accompanied by reference to their place in Havet's edition of the *Pensées*.¹⁶³ The appearance of a subject on a syllabus tells us nothing about how thoroughly it was taught, but answers to the questions related to the *Pensées* clearly required a good understanding of the subject.

At the end of the century the study of Pascal's texts does not appear in the national syllabus until the *Classe de seconde* in the *Programmes de l'enseignement secondaire classique*.¹⁶⁴ As reference, Havet's edition is still given until 1909, but from

159 Théodore-Henri Barrau, *Méthode de Composition et de Style* (Paris: Hachette, 1851), see pages 82, 127, and 237.

160 Théodore-Henri Barrau, *Livre de Morale Pratique* (Paris: Hachette, 1883), see pages 76 and 172.

161 Nicolas-Auguste Dubois, *Corrigés des Exercices sur l'analyse et la composition à l'usage des maîtres* (Paris: Delalain, 1826), p. 28.

162 Gustave Merlet, *Études littéraires sur les chefs-d'œuvre des classiques français (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Hachette, 1876), pp. 327-336.

163 F. Lhomme and Édouard Petit, *La Composition française aux examens du baccalauréat de l'enseignement secondaire moderne, d'après les programmes de 1891, aux examens de l'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles et aux concours d'admission aux écoles spéciales* (Paris: Nony, 1892).

164 *Recueil de Réglemens relatifs à l'enseignement secondaire* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), p. 454, p. 466.

1913 Brunshvicg's becomes the edition of reference.¹⁶⁵ This it remained for the next fifty years.¹⁶⁶

Thus, for a century two editions held authority over Pascal's *Pensées*, and both were the work of atheists. In his *Observations critiques sur une édition des Lettres de Madame de Sévigné* (1806), Joseph de Maistre remarks that Pascal, had he known of their annotations to his work, 'aurait traîné Condorcet et Voltaire devant les tribunaux'.¹⁶⁷ He says that anyone who wants to edit the work of an important deceased author should submit his credentials to a tribunal for approval, without which any intervention would be considered an offense.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, he adds that '[il] faut en effet, dès qu'il s'agit de notes et d'additions, qu'il y ait entre l'auteur et l'éditeur certains rapports indispensables: il faut, s'il est permis de s'exprimer ainsi, qu'il y ait entre eux une certaine parenté de goûts, de sentiments et d'opinions'.¹⁶⁹ He might not have approved of the intervention of Havet or Brunshvicg.

Conclusion

Prosper Faugère was a civil servant in a subordinate position to many powerful political figures, and may not have been surprised at Victor Cousin's dismissive reaction to his efforts. Accurate presentation of all the fragments individually would seem to answer Cousin's appeal for a reexamination of Pascal's *œuvre*. However, acceptance of such a complete break with the traditional presentation of the *Pensées*, reaching back to the first edition, was not immediate, but the next important edition, that of Ernest Havet,

165 André Chervel, *L'Enseignement du français à l'école primaire. Textes officiels concernant l'enseignement primaire de la Révolution à nos jours*, 3 vols (Paris: Éditions Économica, 1992, 1995, 1995), II, p. 420, II, p. 421.

166 Brunshvicg's classification is still used in the 1963 edition of the instruction manual by André Lagarde and Laurent Michard, *XVIIe Siècle. Les grands auteurs français du programme* (Paris: Bordas, London: Harrap, 1963); see p. 139.

167 Joseph de Maistre, *Observations critiques sur une édition des Lettres de Madame de Sévigné, Œuvres complètes de J. de Maistre*, 14 vols (Lyon: Librairie générale catholique et classique, 1893), VIII, p. 2.

168 *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 1.

169 *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 1.

while perpetuating the old style, benefitted from Faugère's other original contribution, that of a meticulous study of the manuscript. Faugère's edition also made the order of presentation of the fragments into a major controversy, and, together, these editions signal the growing engagement of the secular academic community with the *Pensées*. A survey of teaching material shows Pascal's *Pensées* and *Lettres Provinciales* as constant texts for study throughout the nineteenth century, and when, towards the end of the century, an edition of the *Pensées* is recommended, it is Havet's that is mentioned.

In following previous patterns of presentation, Havet did not stamp his mark on order as had Faugère, but in his great commentary he added an additional level of authority over Pascal's work. Further consideration of the themes of education and commentary continue in the next chapter, in which the theme of authority reaches its apogee.

CHAPTER 5: THE EDITIONS OF LÉON BRUNSCHVICG

INTRODUCTION

In 1897 a new edition of Pascal's *Pensées* appeared, in an inexpensive volume, accompanied by a selection of his other writings. Its density, with its small format and great thickness, symbolizes the authority its editor, Léon Brunschvicg, was to exercise for the next half-century over this part of Pascal's body of work.

The editions of the *Pensées*¹

Léon Brunschvicg published two editions of Pascal's *Pensées*, and supervised the publication of a full-sized photographic reproduction of the *Recueil Original* (Fn 2092), as follows:

- 1) Blaise Pascal, *Pensées et opuscules*, ed. Léon Brunschvicg (Hachette, 1897). This is the small 'popular' edition. Its classification of the fragments was carried over to the larger edition (2), with a few alterations such as the division of certain fragments and the collection of the newly created fragments at the end of section XIV.²
- 2) Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, in *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, ed. Léon Brunschvicg, 14 vols (Paris: Hachette, vols. XII-XIV, 1904). This was published in the collection of *Les grands Écrivains de la France*; the titular subscript, 'publiées suivant l'ordre chronologique', refers to the order in which the editors believe Pascal

1 Throughout this chapter the edition of 1897 will be referred to as **Brunschvicg Minor**, and that of 1904 as **Brunschvicg Major**.

2 Alain Cantillon, 'L'institution des Œuvres-complètes-de-Blaise-Pascal; à propos des éditions de Léon Brunschvicg (1897-1914)', *Les Dossiers du Grihl* [Online], <http://dossiersgrihl.revues.org/3660>, section 8 and footnote 15.

wrote the various works, and not to any such order within the *Pensées*. By this logic, the *Pensées*, believed to be Pascal's last writings, come in the final volumes of the series. As they were published first, the paradoxical situation arises that the 'earlier' volume XI, published ten years later, contains additions and corrections pertaining to the *Pensées*. Pierre Boutroux³ joined Brunschvicg in producing volumes I-III, published in 1908, and they were joined by Félix Gazier⁴ in the final volumes IV-XI, published in 1914.

- 3) *Original des Pensées de Pascal*. Fac-similé du manuscrit 9202 (*Fonds français*) de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Phototypie de Berthaud Frères). Texte imprimé en regard et notes par Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1905).

The Contract

There is a single contract with Hachette et Cie for both Brunschvicg Minor and Brunschvicg Major, dated 2 December 1893.⁵ Article 1 of the contract is for an edition of the *Pensées de Pascal* in two volumes for their collection of *Les Grands Écrivains de la France*, for a fee of fr.1000 per volume, half on receipt of the manuscript and the rest when on sale. The publisher had the intention of coming to an understanding with Brunschvicg afterwards for the edition of the scientific works, and for a *Lexique de la*

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- 3 Pierre Boutroux (1880-1922) was a philosopher whose special interest was the history and philosophy of mathematics. He was the son of the philosopher Émile Boutroux, and nephew of Henri Poincaré. He taught at the universities of Montpellier, Nancy and Poitiers, and before his death he held the chair of the history of sciences at the Collège de France. He revived interest in the contribution to science and mathematics made by Pascal's associates Roberval and Mersenne. Brunschvicg says of him: 'Ainsi, contre l'interprétation vulgaire du cartésianisme, contre l'intention peut-être de Descartes, Pierre Boutroux relève que, dans le domaine pourtant privilégié de l'analyse, la séparation n'a pas été complètement réalisée entre l'intelligible et le sensible, que les idées mêmes de la mathématique impliquent un appel à l'imagination, et posent ainsi, jusque dans ce qui aurait dû être le foyer lumineux de la doctrine, un cas particulier du problème, ou de l'énigme, que constitue pour elle l'union de l'âme et du corps' (Léon Brunschvicg, 'L'Œuvre de Pierre Boutroux', *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, A29, N3, 1922, 285-288 (p. 285)).
- 4 Félix Gazier (1878-1916) belonged to a family of well-educated Jansenists. After gaining the *agrégation de lettres classiques*, he was appointed to the *lycée* of Valenciennes. He was a prominent historian of Jansenism, and helped found the Bibliothèque de Port-Royal in Paris. He died on the Somme. See: Frédéric Cépède and Gilles Morin eds., *Albert Gazier. Autour d'une vie de militant* (Paris: Harmattan, 2006), p. 18.
- 5 IMEC (Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine), Caen, Archive Hachette, Brunschvicg, Dossier BRN 34.1.

langue de Pascal. An official letter of 24 November, 1944 from Hachette to Brunschvicg's widow states that this was amended on the margin in pencil by the publisher, M. Guillaume Bréton, to three volumes.⁶

Article 2 is for 'une édition classique des *Pensées de Pascal* qui formera un volume de la collection petit en-16 de la librairie Hachette & Cie'. The fee is fr 75 per 32-page section, and for reimpressions, 5% per copy of the catalogue price.

Thus it appears that the publishers addressed two markets, the popular and possibly student one, with the small volume for their established series, and the institutional one, with the elaborate complete works. It was the inexpensive small volume that was published first. The general public has probably always included those who tend to add new items to their own collection of series such as Hachette's 'collection petit en-16', and who thus form a reliable initial market for such publications. The English translation of this edition similarly found itself into a publisher's popular and inexpensive collection.⁷

A further contract was signed on 1 December 1905 for three volumes of Pascal's works up to the year 1655, and on 14 September 1908 for five or six volumes of works after 1655. Contracts with Pierre Boutroux were signed for collaboration on the scientific works on 7 December 1893, and on 1 January 1905. Small changes were made in the many editions of Brunschvicg Minor, and on 14 January 1942, four days before he died, corrections were requested from Brunschvicg for a new edition.

This was a quite remarkable event in the history of editing the *Pensées*, probably being the first instance of a realised commercial commission. One of France's most important publishers had offered the task to a young philosopher, weeks after his

6 IMEC, Archive Hachette, Brunschvicg, Dossier BRN 34.2.

7 This was in the Everyman's Library, which was established in 1906, as *Blaise Pascal, Pascal's Pensées*, trans. W. F. Trotter (London: Dent, New York: Dutton). The translation first appeared in 1904 under the imprint of Gollancz.

twenty-fourth birthday, and who was working on his doctoral thesis.⁸ The commission was prestigious, with the potential to secure the editor's career, and it suggests that the young Brunschvicg was already respected as a Pascal scholar.

BIOGRAPHY

León Brunschvicg was born in Paris in 1869 into a family of Alsatian origin without academic background, his father being a manufacturer of furniture trimmings, and he was one of the first people in France of Jewish origin to seek an academic career.⁹ He was educated at the Lycée Condorcet, where he met Marcel Proust¹⁰ and Élie Halévy¹¹, and as youths they belonged to a group who met regularly in the Champs-Élysées. Brunschvicg is thought to have been the model for the character Bloch, in Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*.¹² In the early 1890s Proust and Brunschvicg met with others on summer Sundays at the Halévys' 'long white country-house' at Suzy,¹³ and, at the École Normale Supérieure, Brunschvicg spent two years with Halévy. When in 1891 Brunschvicg became *professeur* at the lycée de Lorient, leaving Halévy in Paris, they wrote in a diary a daily thought to an absent friend, and exchanged the diaries at the end of 1892. Brunschvicg sent Halévy's to his widow when Halévy died in 1937, and received his in return, and in 1942 he added to each day a thought in

8 The title of the thesis was *La Modalité du jugement*, and it was published as: Léon Brunschvicg, *La Modalité du jugement* (Paris: Alcan, 1897). The contract with Felix Alcan for this publication was signed on 13 December, 1893, and a contract for a second edition had already been signed on 28 November 1896. There is no mention of Pascal in Brunschvicg's thesis.

9 Cristina Chimisso, *Writing the History of the Mind: Philosophy and Science in France, 1900 to 1960s* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 25.

10 George D. Painter, *Marcel Proust. A Biography*, 2 vols (London: Chatto, 1961 vol.1, 1967 vol.2), I, p. 71, footnote. Proust later enrolled in the Faculté de Droit at the Sorbonne, where he attended lectures by philosophers such as Paul Desjardins and Henri Bergson. In 1891 Bergson married a niece of Marcel Proust's mother (Painter, I, 80).

11 Élie Halévy (1870-1937) is remembered as an historian of nineteenth-century England, and particularly of social radicalism. His doctoral thesis was entitled '*La Formation du radicalisme philosophique*'. His was a wealthy Protestant family, his father Ludovic a famous librettist, and his mother, Louise Breguet, from the celebrated family of horologists.

12 Painter, I, p. 43.

13 Painter, II, p. 108.

response, fifty years after the initial entry. One such thought is of interest in showing an opening out from a specific statement onto a broad echo of his own philosophy. For October 19, 1892, he wrote: ‘Combien ont compris qu’on ne peut utiliser Dieu, qu’à la condition de ne pas mettre le mal sous son patronage?’, and in 1942 he added below this: ‘Le vrai Dieu sera non une cause, mais un but.’¹⁴

He passed the *agrégation de philosophie* examination in 1891, obtaining a prize from the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques* for a paper on Spinoza, and the following year he accepted the proposal, referred to above, for an edition of Pascal’s works, made to him by the publisher Hachette.¹⁵ On 19 March 1897 he was granted the rank of *docteur ès lettres* from the *Faculté des Lettres* of the Sorbonne. Earlier, Brunschvicg, Halévy and Xavier Léon¹⁶ had founded in 1893 the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, in collaboration with their teacher Alphonse Darlu. He married Cécile Kahn, daughter of a wealthy merchant, who was a feminist and a member of the Radical party, and the first woman to enter the French cabinet, as junior minister for education in the Léon Blum government.¹⁷

Brunschvicg became professor at several colleges outside of Paris and eventually at the Lycée Condorcet. In 1909 he was appointed to the chair of the history of modern philosophy at the Sorbonne and lectured there until he sought safety in the Unoccupied Zone of France in 1940, in Provence. In 1932 he was elected *Président de l’Académie des sciences morales et politiques*. When the Germans occupied the whole of France he went into hiding. He continued writing until his death in Aix-les-Bains in 1944.

14 Léon Brunschvicg, *Agenda retrouvé* (Paris: Minuit, 1948), p. 191.

15 Marcel Deschoux, *Léon Brunschvicg ou l’idéalisme à hauteur d’homme* (Paris: Seghers, 1969), p. 178.

16 Xavier Léon (1868-1936) was a wealthy and philanthropic philosopher who also founded the Congrès international de philosophie in 1900.

17 Chimisso, 2008, p. 28.

His thesis, *La Modalité du jugement*, in which there is no mention of Pascal, is dedicated to his teacher at the Lycée Condorcet, Alphonse Darlu, and Brunschvicg was among many who remembered him there. Marcel Proust, the most famous of them all, always referred to Darlu with great warmth as ‘le grand philosophe dont la parole inspirée, plus sûre de durer qu’un écrit, a, en moi comme en tant d’autres, engendré la pensée’.¹⁸ Proust incorporated him in his early and unfinished autobiographical novel *Jean Santeuil* as the character M. Beulier.¹⁹ Darlu (1849-1921) taught at the École Normale Supérieure of Fontenay-aux-Roses, became professor of philosophy at the Lycée Condorcet in 1885 and was *Inspecteur général de l’Instruction publique* from 1900 to 1919. He gave the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale* a rationalist and moralist agenda as a reaction to the materialist positivism of the time. He wrote little, giving himself entirely to teaching.²⁰

Darlu’s emphasis on reason and science in his teaching is reflected in Brunschvicg’s own philosophy. Darlu appears to have envisaged God as a metaphysical representation of truth, not accessible in itself to science, although science could progressively reveal the truths of nature. This appeal to science matches Brunschvicg’s rationalistic philosophy in which there is no place for metaphysics, and in which truth is revealed by judgement. Moreover, Darlu was not a supporter of the Church. Some thoughts that Darlu expressed while discussing religious intolerance in a public lecture in 1899 are summarized by Bonnet:

La vérité est une grande et sainte chose, mais c’est à la raison de la découvrir. Darlu n’hésite pas à la rattacher à Dieu, conçu comme “un esprit de vérité” et comme “un Etre mystérieux caché au fond des choses au bord duquel, pour ainsi dire, toute science humaine vient expirer”. Mais les secrets de la nature se

18 Marcel Proust, quoted by Henri Bonnet in *Alphonse Darlu (1849-1921) le maître de philosophie de Marcel Proust* (Paris: Nizet, 1961), p. 9.

19 Henri Bonnet, *Alphonse Darlu*, p.57, p. 65.

20 Ibid., p. 9.

laisseront, pense-t-il, peu à peu déchiffrer par l'esprit humain, la science s'étendant indéfiniment. "Cela s'entend et sanctifie notre pensée. Mais la religion catholique transporte le principe de la vérité de Dieu à l'Eglise".²¹

Philosophy of Brunschvicg

Brunschvicg was a Jew, but also an atheist. His position in relation to Jewishness is described by Emmanuel Levinas, one of his students who disagreed fundamentally with him, and who owed him little gratitude for assistance in his career: 'L'assimilation chez Brunschvicg ne procédait pas d'une trahison, mais d'une adhésion à un idéal universel qu'il était de taille à revendiquer en dehors de toute appartenance particulariste.'²²

Levinas preceded this comment with an assessment of the source of the optimism, or, perhaps, the idealism of philosophers of Brunschvicg's generation:

Parler de l'homme Brunschvicg, c'est parler de toute la génération dont à la fois il faisait partie et qu'il résumait, de ceux qui luttèrent pendant l'Affaire Dreyfus. Ils gardèrent moins le souvenir du fait qu'en pleine civilisation une injustice ait été possible que du triomphe remporté par la justice. Ce souvenir les a marqués. On les trouvait dans toutes les chaires de l'enseignement supérieur jusqu'au milieu de la période dite d'entre les deux guerres. De leur face émanait comme un rayonnement. Hommes qui avaient prouvé l'existence de la justice – c'était cela leur état civil. Dans leurs cerveaux, les idées, depuis lors vulgarisées, se pensaient avec acuité: puissance de la vérité et son déploiement par la preuve et non pas par la propagande – ce terrorisme de l'esprit; et son mobile dans la justice et non pas dans la volonté de puissance; et son critère dans la conscience morale et non pas dans le prestige horrible du sacré.²³

However, Brunschvicg's idealistic philosophy had its origins almost a generation before the resolution of the Dreyfus injustice, in the aftermath of eclecticism and in the

21 Ibid., p. 28.

22 Emmanuel Levinas, *Difficile Liberté* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1976), p. 67.

23 Ibid., p. 66.

anti-materialist movement at the end of the nineteenth century. His philosophy excluded transcendence, and so had no role for God. In Bernard Elevitch's²⁴ interpretation,

the answer seems to be that recognition of universal mind occurs on an entirely natural plane: "total knowledge" of the positive record allows one to recognize an immanent "rhythm of progress" operating throughout the history of intellectual achievement. Thus because the question is epistemological, and not metaphysical, there is no reason to look toward a power superior to that of humanity at its best.²⁵

Brunschvicg denies the absolute. Mind is regarded as both individual and universal, the latter an immanent accompaniment of all intellectual achievement: 'L'universalité est un attribut du sujet [...]'²⁶ He is opposed to systemisation, as it restricts intellectual activity and the comprehension of the workings of understanding itself: 'En d'autres termes, le fondement du concept c'est ce que nous appelons un jugement, et l'on pourrait dire sans paradoxe que concevoir c'est juger.'²⁷ In Bernard Elevitch's assessment: 'Brunschvicg maintains that the interwoven histories of science and philosophy disclose the inventive vitality of mind as it immanently and progressively constitutes knowledge and moral self-awareness.'²⁸ Elevitch continues:

Although he and Parodi agreed that reason in science is not to be considered "a deductive system that closes on itself," Brunschvicg seemed to believe that even a "philosophical systematization" would misrepresent science's dynamic vitality. In fairness, it should be added that for Brunschvicg the future of science, however open to innovation, would be a rational future. Thus his philosophy, ambiguous as it may be, resists mysticism and intuitionism as strongly as it does logical methodology. (He

24 Bernard Elevitch (1928-2009) specialised in Modern Philosophy and taught at Boston University. The title of his Ph.D. thesis at Columbia University, in 1961, was *The Critical Idealism of Léon Brunschvicg*.

25 Bernard Elevitch, *Brunschvicg, Léon*, in *Encyclopedia of Modern French Thought*, ed. Christopher John Murray (New York: Dearborn, 2004), p. 108.

26 Léon Brunschvicg, *La Modalité du jugement* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), p. 11.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

28 Elevitch, p. 107.

was proud, however, to share his emphasis on creative spontaneity with the intuitionist Henri Bergson.)²⁹

Many of the themes that occupied him throughout his career can be identified in his thesis, *La Modalité du jugement*, presented in 1897, and published the same year. He writes, for example, about judgement, the cornerstone of his teaching, arguing that, fundamentally, thought is the exercise of judgement, and that it is man's privilege to be able to pass from the particular to the general by the exercise of judgement, and thereby 'aboutir à la science':

Si cette thèse est vraie, le jugement universel, en tant qu'universel, serait l'acte fondamental de la pensée; la nature de l'activité intellectuelle serait exactement définie par la quantité logique du jugement.³⁰

He attributes a type of universality to mathematical judgement:

Les mathématiciens, en effet, ne sont pas des psychologues; ils se proposent, non pas de réfléchir exactement le travail véritable de l'esprit, mais de donner aux produits de ce travail une forme telle qu'elle puisse s'imposer à tous; ce qu'ils veulent, c'est que leur raisonnement soit universellement légitime.³¹

However, he then discusses in detail the uncertainties of judgement beyond the mathematical sphere. 'Pour l'esprit de finesse, il en est tout autrement', he remarks, and concludes:

Tandis que le jugement mathématique peut être intégralement résolu en éléments intelligibles, le jugement de finesse ne l'est jamais que partiellement; il y a un au-delà qui résiste à tout effort de décomposition, qui est impénétrable à l'esprit, et qui empêche d'en déterminer entièrement la vérité. Mais, du moins, dans la mesure où ils sont tous deux intelligibles, ils sont de même nature.³²

29 Ibid., p. 108.

30 Léon Brunschvicg, *La Modalité du jugement*, p. 10.

31 Ibid., p. 83.

32 Ibid., p. 85.

Although his conclusion about mathematical judgement would not survive the Einsteinian revolution, Brunschvicg's extended discussion, from which the above quotation is taken, embodies many ideas relevant to the reception of written and verbal communication, and which are developed in current reception theory. Brunschvicg appears to be making the same distinction as Pascal between the *esprit de finesse* and the *esprit de géométrie*, but stops short of investing the former with the nature of intuition. Pascal would not regard the *esprit de finesse* as 'intelligible'. In fragment S 670 he writes: 'Mais dans l'esprit de finesse, les principes sont dans l'usage commun et devant les yeux de tout le monde. [...] On les voit à peine, on les sent plutôt qu'on ne les voit; [...] Il faut tout d'un coup voir la chose d'un seul regard et non pas par progrès de raisonnement, au moins jusqu'à un certain degré.' But perhaps he and Brunschvicg are not far apart on this point, since in S 671 he writes that 'la finesse est la part du jugement'.

Gary Gutting contrasts Brunschvicg with Bergson, stressing his intellectualism: 'Bergson is not an anti-rationalist, but he is an anti-intellectualist, particularly in contrast with Brunschvicg, whose insistence on the centrality of judgement and the priority of science make his philosophy aggressively intellectualist.'³³ Highlighting Brunschvicg's distance from Bergson in their respective concepts of time, Gutting continues: 'Moreover, Brunschvicg maintains that duration itself has no reality apart from its constitution by intelligence', and he then quotes Jules Lachelier's formulation of the notion: 'Il n'y a de temps et, par suite, de souvenir que pour une intelligence qui n'est pas elle-même dans le temps.'³⁴

33 Gary Gutting, *French Philosophy in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 73.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 74. The quotation from Lachelier is found in: Jules Lachelier, 'La Personnalité humaine', *Séances et travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, 54, 1900, p. 697. Jules Lachelier (1832-1918) preceded Alphonse Darlu as *Inspecteur général de l'instruction publique*, and, like Brunschvicg, opposed the ideas of Victor Cousin.

Laurent Fedi's remarks on Brunshvicg's conception of truth and knowledge, and, in particular, his idea of *l'esprit*, make a pertinent end to this section.

De Brunshvicg et de Bachelard jusqu'aux philosophies de l'hétérogène et du multiple, la saisie de l'événement au cœur de la vérité scientifique paraît se substituer à la recherche des conditions de possibilité de la connaissance en général.³⁵

Selon Brunshvicg, la tâche unique de la philosophie réside dans la connaissance de l'esprit. L'esprit se définit essentiellement par sa spontanéité, sa puissance indéfinie de création, son aptitude à dépasser en permanence ses propres résultats. Toujours engagé dans ses productions, mais toujours capable de s'élancer vers de nouvelles conquêtes, l'esprit est une activité intellectuelle, un souffle vivant doublement caractérisé par son ouverture à l'infini et par son universalité.³⁶

Fedi concludes that Brunshvicg conceived of mind or intellect as the whole living activity of our understanding and intelligence, the 'totalité de l'intelligence vivante'.³⁷ He also regarded truth not as some unchallengeable proof, but as the labour of resolving and proving, which constituted the fundamental task of science.³⁸

Such a philosophy, although difficult to define, would not explain Brunshvicg's attraction to Pascal's work. It had no place for metaphysics and was idealistic and rationalist and, put simplistically, was, in its optimism for life, the opposite of Pascal's pessimistic view. Whatever were the qualities of Brunshvicg's atheism, it clearly did not prevent his engagement with Pascal, and the warmth of this engagement implies a sensibility shared with Pascal, and a sense of the relevance of the *Pensées*. He may not have been offended by Pascal's appearing to view the Jews as having been preserved by

35 Laurent Fedi, 'L'esprit en marche contre les codes: philosophie des sciences et dépassement du kantisme chez Léon Brunshvicg', in *Les philosophies françaises et la science: dialogue avec Kant*, ed. Laurent Fedi and Jean-Michel Salanskis (Paris: ENS, 2001), p. 119.

36 Ibid., p. 120.

37 Ibid., p. 120, and see Léon Brunshvicg, *Écrits philosophiques*, 3 vols (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951-1958), II, (1954) p. 80.

38 Ibid., p. 121.

God essentially in order to provide the prophecies fulfilled by Christ, rather he may have been charmed at having a proprietorial right to what Pascal used as proof of his religion. It is to what is shared that one must look to explain Brunschvicg's enthusiasm for 'l'actualité permanente du recueil des *Pensées*',³⁹ and this lies in Pascal's recognition of 'l'ordre spécifiquement spirituel'.⁴⁰

Political success of Brunschvicg

It cannot be overstated that Brunschvicg's philosophy is integral to his political standing. In identifying with the ethos of the institutions of the Third Republic he would in turn be attractive to the politicians administering those institutions, and Ethan Kleinberg explains that Brunschvicg's neo-Kantian rationalist philosophy had more appeal to the government than the sociological positivism of Émile Durkheim, although both men taught that mankind progressed towards an agreement on the specific principles upon which republican institutions were based.⁴¹ Kleinberg continues:

The fact that neo-Kantian rationalism prevailed in the end can be attributed to its compatibility with the ideology of the government, which placed Brunschvicg at the head of the *jury d'agrégation* and gave him the power to determine the syllabus for philosophy departments throughout France. Brunschvicg's academic position is essential to our understanding of the educational background of the generation of 1933, who took their exams in philosophy guided by Brunschvicg's syllabus.⁴²

Brunschvicg's political significance, even if he had not specifically sought it, is to be compared with that of Victor Cousin, and it is ironic that, in a eulogy of Jules Lachelier, he accuses Cousin of having allowed philosophy to degenerate into an instrument of government. He remarks that 'Lachelier ne rencontra jamais sur son

39 Léon Brunschvicg, *Écrits Philosophiques*, I, (1951) p.8.

40 Ibid., I, p.8.

41 Ethan Kleinberg, *Generation Existential. Heidegger's Philosophy in France, 1927-1961* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 5.

42 Ibid. p. 5.

chemin l'influence de l'éclectisme', and scathingly continues 'du moins l'attention soutenue à la clarté transparente de l'expression était la meilleure précaution contre la fièvre romantique et effusion oratoire dont Cousin avait répandu la mode, avant de laisser dégénérer la philosophie en instrument de gouvernement'.⁴³ His secularity would also ally him with the aims of a secular state, a quality Christina Chimisso relates to his being Jewish:

The Jewish background of three of them [professors of the history of philosophy] is an important factor, including in their relationship with the republican institutions. They favoured the secular character of the republic, and may have felt that they had reached their positions thanks to a meritocratic system, without the advantage of social connections which their peers from 'mainstream' intellectual families had enjoyed.⁴⁴

His insistence on the importance of knowledge, '*la science*', also fitted well with the materialism of the Third Republic.

Influence of Brunschvicg

Brunschvicg's great influence in the world of letters in France before the Second World War, especially in the teaching of philosophy, owed as much to his official appointments as adjudicator in education syllabuses, especially those related to the training of future teachers, and as chairman of the *jury d'agrégation*, as it did to his prestige as philosopher. His ideas were also propagated through his students, in particular Gaston Bachelard⁴⁵ and, in turn, Pierre Bourdieu.⁴⁶ Moreover, his edition of

43 Léon Brunschvicg, in *Œuvres de Jules Lachelier*, 2 vols (Paris: Alcan 1933), I, p. XX.

44 Chimisso, 2008, p. 27.

45 Gaston Bachelard (1884-1962) rose from an artisan background to become one of France's leading epistemologists, and professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne. His concept of 'epistemological breaks' in the progress of science opposed Auguste Comte's view of science as a continual process, and allied him with the views of other philosophers of the 1950s, such as Karl Popper's historical indeterminism and his concept of 'leaps in the dark'. For Bachelard, the dialectic between reason and experience in science is an open and constantly evolving process; in this he reflects Brunschvicg's influence.

46 Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), whose philosophical strength was as a sociologist, is responsible for the extension of the concept of capital to categories such as the social and cultural.

the *Pensées* remained a standard reference seventy years after its publication. Cristina Chimisso indicates that ‘Bachelard’s reception of Brunschvicg’s philosophy was crucial in the development of his own doctrine, and in the development of historical epistemology’,⁴⁷ and she explains: ‘To obtain his doctorate in 1927, Bachelard wrote two theses: the main one, *Essai sur la connaissance approchée*, under the direction of Abel Rey, and the complementary one, *Etude sur l’évolution d’un problème de physique: la propagation thermique dans les solides*, supervised by Léon Brunschvicg. Supervisors obviously had a great impact on the subsequent career of a student. According to Pierre Bourdieu, the influence of Brunschvicg could be felt as late as the Seventies [...]’⁴⁸ At this point Chimisso gives a summarized translation of the following quotation of Bourdieu’s own words:

La réussite d’une carrière universitaire passe par le “choix” d’un patron puissant, qui n’est pas nécessairement le plus fameux ni même le plus compétent techniquement; c’est ainsi que les carrières les plus prestigieuses, pour les “philosophes”, de la génération qui accédera à la maîtrise dans les années 70-80 passaient par le dépôt d’un sujet de thèse auprès d’un des professeurs de la Sorbonne des années 50-60 qui étaient eux-mêmes retrouvés trente ans plus tôt autour d’Émile Bréhier et de Léon Brunschvicg.⁴⁹

Louis Pinto has the following comments on Brunschvicg’ influence on Bachelard:

S’il est vrai que cette posture épistémologique se retrouve à quelques nuances près chez plusieurs auteurs, c’est surtout Gaston Bachelard (avec Jean Cavaillès) qui n’a cessé de proclamer le caractère foncièrement historique des objets de la science et qui a été porté dans une certaine mesure à pratiquer une histoire de type “discontinuiste” privilégiant les “moments

47 Chimisso, 2008, p. 6.

48 Cristina Chimisso, *Gaston Bachelard: Critic of Science and the Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 107.

49 Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo academicus* (Paris: Minuit, 1984), p. 124.

solennels” (Léon Brunschvicg) de rupture révolutionnaire et de réorganisation du savoir.⁵⁰

Bourdieu and colleagues reflect a similar view:

Il [Bachelard] est assurément plus près d’une position qu’on pourrait dire, avec précaution, cartésienne – en pensant à la distinction de l’entendement et de l’imagination – position commune, sous certains rapports, à Alain et à Léon Brunschvicg, selon laquelle la science se constitue en rupture d’avec la perception et comme critique de celle-ci. Mais plus proche de Brunschvicg que d’Alain en ceci qu’il se sent tenu d’accepter et de célébrer, comme le premier, la subordination de la raison à la science, l’instruction de la raison par la science.⁵¹

A specific influence on the trends of French philosophical study was Brunschvicg’s promotion of the historical study of philosophy and science. Cristina Chimisso associates his name with that of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl in the development of the French intellectual tradition:

[M]any projects in this tradition, and in particular those aimed at writing the history of the mind, did have their roots in the work of historians of philosophy, in particular of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and Léon Brunschvicg. These two scholars, however, brought into the history of philosophy approaches that many of their colleagues resisted.⁵²

She also points out that ‘[h]is student Gaston Bachelard, who developed many of his central ideas, did not become a professor of history of philosophy, but rather of history and philosophy of the sciences, and Director of the Institut d’Histoire des Sciences et Techniques’.⁵³

50 Louis Pinto, *Pierre Bourdieu et la théorie du monde social* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), p. 24.

51 P. Bourdieu, J.-C. Chamboredon, J.-C. Passeron, *Le métier de sociologue* (Berlin, New York, Paris: Mouton, 1983), p. 110.

52 Chimisso, 2008, p. 11.

53 Ibid., p. 83.

Criticism of Brunshvicg

As an individual Brunshvicg appears to have been an exemplary teacher whose students were, among his many other obligations, his prime concern. The criticisms of Tourneur and Rougier, discussed below, do, in a manner, allude to his academic integrity, but he is generally celebrated with unstinting praise. René Boirel has collected many eulogistic comments in his book *Brunshvicg. Sa vie et son œuvre*,⁵⁴ and those of Henri Gouhier, from a meeting in homage to Brunshvicg,⁵⁵ are representative:

Il fut aussi un professeur exerçant son métier avec un goût et un zèle que les années n'ont jamais atténués. Il fut aussi un homme très bon. Plus exactement, il n'aurait pu concevoir un vrai professeur qui n'eût pas été un homme très bon. Son secret était simple: il aimait les jeunes et savait le prouver de toutes les manières.

Henri Gouhier, who visited him before he died, emphasises the point that Brunshvicg strove to maintain his objectivity in his exile:

[T]ous ses propos signifiaient qu'il voulait rester objectif, même lorsqu'il n'est pas permis d'être impartial: dans le cas où l'impartialité serait une lâcheté; l'objectivité demeure un devoir de la raison. De là l'émouvante sérénité de ce véritable honnête homme.

On the other hand, his philosophy and his academic rigour were often criticised, sometimes with aspersions on his integrity.⁵⁶ Louis Rougier, in an article in the *Mercure de France*, took up the cause of one M. Félix Mathieu, who had submitted evidence that the experiment of *le vide dans le vide* should be attributed to Adrien Auzoult and not to Pascal, but this had apparently been dismissed by Brunshvicg. Mathieu had let the matter rest. Rougier reports that Mathieu challenged Pascal's report of the experiment of *le vide dans le vide*, because, for technical reasons, the experiment could not have

54 René Boirel, *Brunshvicg. Sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), pp. 7-27.

55 Henri Gouhier, 'Témoignage de M. Henri Gouhier', *Les Études philosophiques*, 1945, p. 19.

56 Zacharie Tourneur's criticism is discussed below.

been done as reported by Pascal at that time. Rougier accuses Brunschvicg of inscrutable subtlety in his writing: ‘sa dialectique, vraiment talmudique, défie toute tentative quelque peu sincère d’y voir clair.’⁵⁷ He concludes: ‘Nous avons voulu montrer, par l’étude de la méthode littéraire de M. Brunschvicg, que les arguments de sa défense en faveur de Pascal, reposant sur de mauvaises lectures de textes et des usages que la probité littéraire réprouve, portent en eux-mêmes l’aveu de leur partialité et de leur faiblesse.’⁵⁸ Mathieu Marion, in his article on Rougier, discusses his antagonism to Brunschvicg. He is unsure of its origins, and points out that Brunschvicg was on Rougier’s doctoral committee and that his thesis owed ‘some of its orientation to Brunschvicg’.⁵⁹ It appears that Rougier held Brunschvicg responsible for his failure to achieve ‘a prestigious position at the Sorbonne’. Marion, however, ranks him highly: ‘The clarity and scope of Rougier’s writings, on Poincaré’s conventionalism and on modern physics, should suffice to place him alongside the great figures of French scientific philosophy in the first half of the twentieth century.’⁶⁰

In passing, Marion expresses the following opinion on Brunschvicg:

Surely, Brunschvicg, who could best be labelled as neo-Kantian, profoundly disliked both empiricism and formal logic; he had argued in 1912 against Russell and Couturat in *Les étapes de la philosophie mathématique* (Brunschvicg 1947 [p.408]). It is clear that Brunschvicg’s opinions in these matters had a deleterious influence on the course of French philosophy in the twentieth century, which is still to be felt today [2004].⁶¹

Beyond France, Brunschvicg’s works sometimes received detailed and damning criticism, as in Morris R. Cohen’s review of *Les Étapes de la Philosophie*

57 Louis Rougier, ‘L’Affaire Pascal et la méthode littéraire de M. Brunschvicg’, *Mercur de France*, 1-XI-1931, 550.

58 Ibid., p. 553.

59 Mathieu Marion, ‘Investigating Rougier’, *Cahiers d’Épistémologie*, 2004-02, p. 14.

60 Ibid., p. 13.

61 Ibid., p. 14.

mathématique, a review which undermines Brunschvicg's authority in the field of the history and philosophy of science.⁶² Cohen (1880-1947), a Russian, educated at the College of the City of New York and Harvard University, became a philosopher and lawyer. He was Professor of Philosophy at the College of the City of New York and lectured in Law at the major American universities. He had a reputation for amusing but often sarcastic demolition of unsound reasoning, and this is evident in the review:

M. Brunschvicg does, undoubtedly, give us many ingenious suggestions as to how reflection on the problems of mathematics determined the philosophy of Plato, Descartes and Kant, but he never asks the question why reflective thought, or the dogmatic tradition, arises at all? If he had, he might not have so readily accepted the prevailing misology which regards all dogmatic or philosophic systems as bodies of death, shutting up spontaneous thought, and having no function except the 'bookish' or pedagogic one.⁶³ [...] I have tried to show that his refutation of previous philosophers like Russell, is flagrantly inadequate.⁶⁴

The communist philosopher Paul Nizan (1905-1940) was educated at the École Normale Supérieure and became friends with Jean-Paul Sartre at the Lycée Henri IV. He left the French communist party in 1939 when a pact was signed between Germany and Russia (Molotov-Ribbentrop pact 1939). In his book *Les Chiens de garde* he accuses the French philosophic establishment of bourgeois complacency and a position

62 Léon Brunschvicg, *Les Étapes de la Philosophie mathématique*, Review by Morris R. Cohen, *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 24, no.1, Jan., 1915, 81-94 (p. 81).

63 Ibid., p. 82.

64 Ibid., p. 91. In his book *Reason and Nature*, Cohen enlarges on this comment and continues in a footnote:

In a number of impressively rigorous demonstrations, Veblen, Pieri, Frege, Russell and Whitehead have actually demonstrated the purely logical derivation of the fundamental theorems of arithmetic and geometry. But though no one has successfully attacked the carefully wrought chains of reasoning by which this thesis has been established, it has not yet won universal recognition.

p. 183 footnote 14: 'Poincaré, (*Science and Method*, Bk. II, Chs. 3-5) seems to have set the fashion of denying the identity of logic and pure mathematics on the grounds of impressionistic psychology rather than on the basis of rigorously logical or mathematical demonstration. I have tried to indicate this in a review of Brunschvicg's *Les Étapes de la Philosophie Mathématique* (in the *Philosophical Review*, Vol. XXIV, 1915, p. 81).' (Morris R. Cohen, *Reason and Nature*, (New York: Dover, 1978) p. 183, first published 1931).

of privilege which keeps them apart from the realities of vulgar life. As the most prominent of them at the time (the book was published in 1932), Brunschvicg bears the brunt of Nizan's attack:

Quand la philosophie de M. Brunschvicg se déroule comme si les hommes ne souffraient pas, n'avaient point ces histoires triviales, cruelles, accablantes que peuvent être leurs vies particulières, les élèves de M. Brunschvicg ne pensent pas que les hommes existent. Ils se laissent aller à l'illusion rassurante pour leurs scrupules de disciples que n'importe quel homme, n'importe quelle abstraction de l'Homme, peuvent embrasser la philosophie de M. Brunschvicg.⁶⁵

The American historian Stefanos Geroulanos goes to the root of the criticism of such as Paul Nizan, which lies in Brunschvicg's apparent detachment from social realities:

Brunschvicg's lack of any doubt in humanism reflects a culturally conservative position in so far as it suggests a lack of socio-political interest. His idealism may translate (as it did) to contemporary educational policy, but it hardly made for convincing social policy, and it clearly evaded the political or engaged intellectual realm.⁶⁶

He draws a parallel with the views that Julien Benda exposes in his book *La Trahison des clercs*, but, unlike Benda, Brunschvicg does not actively preach against political involvement of the intellectual.

Nizan's comments find a contemporary echo in Simone de Beauvoir's *Mémoires d'une jeune fille rangée*, in which she expresses the mounting dissatisfaction, influenced by communist ideology, with the teaching of what was regarded as a 'bourgeois' philosophy, unresponsive to current social reality:

A la Sorbonne, mes professeurs ignoraient systématiquement Hegel et Marx; dans son gros livre sur "le progrès de la conscience en Occident", c'est à peine si Brunschvicg avait

65 Paul Nizan, *Les Chiens de garde* (Paris: Maspero, 1976), p. 95.

66 Stefanos Geroulanos, *An Atheism that is not humanist emerges in French thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 46.

consacré trois pages à Marx, qu'il mettait en parallèle avec un penseur réactionnaire des plus obscurs. Il nous enseignait l'histoire de la pensée scientifique, mais personne ne nous racontait l'aventure humaine.⁶⁷

Paul Ricœur points out that Brunschvicg's recourse to history is the support for his reflexive philosophy. In his assessment, Brunschvicg departed from the Kantian notion of history 'par sa conviction qu'une téléologie ferme anime cette histoire; elle est vraiment l'histoire "du progrès de la conscience"', and believed that the intellectual principle of Man is not only to be found in history, but it is the objective of history.⁶⁸ In addition, Man's humanity resided in his universality and concern with tangible problems rather than metaphysical speculations about an absolute beginning and end.⁶⁹ Ricœur finally asks whether Brunschvicg's 'rationalisme tempéré' and his emphasis on judgment had not ignored the mounting nihilism which attacked its spiritual roots in Platonism and Christianity. Ricœur's oblique criticism of Brunschvicg's intellectualism echoes, in more subtle terms, the complaint of Nizan, quoted earlier, while focussing rather on its failure to address spiritual needs, than on the social ones which concerned Nizan: 'Mais cet intellectualisme est-il capable [...] simplement de rendre raison des démons qui habitaient l'homme européen et qui le terrassèrent à la fin de ce premier tiers du vingtième siècle?'.⁷⁰

The decline of Brunschvicg's fame and influence, described above, contrasts with the permanent celebrity of Pascal, and the 'actualité' of his *Pensées*, and it is ironic that the name of Brunschvicg is now only recognised through his having numbered the fragments.

67 Simone de Beauvoir, *Mémoires d'une jeune fille rangée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), p. 227.

68 Paul Ricœur, 'L'Humanité de L'Homme', *Studium Generale* 15 (1962), 309-323 (p. 311).

69 Ibid., p. 311.

70 Ibid., p. 312-3.

Atheism

Writing in 1928, Brunschvicg described his concept of religion appropriate to a philosopher in the following terms:

Du point de vue de la philosophie occidentale, l'effort proprement religieux consistera donc à maintenir jusqu'au bout dans toutes les démarches de la conscience humaine, cette attitude d'entier détachement de sa propre personne, d'entière dévotion à l'idée, qui est l'ascèse propre du savant.⁷¹

His reflection in 1942, '[l]e vrai Dieu sera non une cause, mais un but', expresses the same sentiment in a different idiom.

Apart from the objection by some French bishops and other churchmen, such as Henri Bremond, to Brunschvicg's being given charge of the prestigious publication of Pascal's works in the collection *Les grands Écrivains de la France*, because he was not a Christian,⁷² an allegation that his presentation of the *Pensées* had an atheist agenda does not appear to have been made. However, the role of his atheism in the formation of his philosophy is open to question. In the latter half of his career the basis of Third Republic atheism, dating from the nineteenth century, was replaced by new influences, communism and the reaction to the First World War among them. Stefanos Geroulanos explains how nineteenth century atheism was replaced by an atheism devoid of principle:

This critique essentially destroyed the progressivist, teleological, and utopian hopes nineteenth century atheism had associated with science as an objective representation, and it suggested the humanism of early twentieth century idealists, realists, and

71 Léon Brunschvicg, *La querelle de l'athéisme*, in *De la vraie et de la fausse conversion* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), p. 245.

72 Nathan Edelman, ed., *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature, Vol. III, The Seventeenth Century* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961), p. 418. An example is a comment made by Louis Maisonneuve in 'Pascal Apologiste', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique de l'Institut catholique de Toulouse*, janv.-fév. 1923, 54-73, (p. 60): 'Sans mettre en doute la perspicacité du philosophe Brunschvicg auquel fut confiée cette tâche, on a le droit de se demander si ce membre de l'Institut est convenablement désigné par sa religion israélite, pour comprendre et commenter une œuvre dont le christianisme est la raison et la fin.'

positivists to be theoretically obsolete, scientifically false, and ethically disastrous. In this context, Kojève, Sartre, and Bataille specifically sought an atheism for which the human subject did not simply “overcome” religion and institute a divine humanity that dominates this otherwise godless universe, but instead remained lost in a world without God, constructing gods over and over – whether in religions or in ideologies – and striving to understand this realm that exceeds it.⁷³

The appeal of Brunschvicg’s philosophy faded under the combined effect of this movement, and the reaction to its perceived bourgeois complacency and detached idealism. Brunschvicg’s authority over education long outlived his domination of French philosophical thought, and a parallel can be drawn with the fate of Victor Cousin’s influence, although Cousin’s philosophical legacy was much less enduring than Brunschvicg’s.

Brunschvicg’s appreciation of Pascal is displayed in the following quotation, which is taken from a lecture given by him at the École des Hautes Études Sociales in the winter of 1927-28. Stephanos Geroulanos draws attention to it in his book.⁷⁴

Ainsi, malgré son dessein de maintenir contre l’alternative philosophique de la matière et de l’esprit la seule alternative théologique de la nature et de la surnature, d’escamoter donc, pour ne considérer que les termes antithétiques du doute et de la foi, la sagesse humaine d’un Descartes “inutile et incertain”,⁷⁵ Pascal s’est trouvé amené, par la profondeur et la gravité de sa recherche à reconnaître, entre la chair et la charité, l’indépendance de l’ordre spécifiquement spirituel. N’est-ce pas là ce qui fait avant tout l’actualité permanente du recueil des *Pensées*? Pascal n’a pas borné son horizon à l’image superficielle de l’homme simplement *double*; il a posé le problème de sa religion dans une humanité à *trois dimensions*, où se rencontrent, sans se confondre, le plan de la critique naturaliste, le plan de la philosophie de l’esprit, le plan de la

73 Geroulanos, p. 8.

74 Ibid., p. 43.

75 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, fragment S 445.

révélation surnaturelle. Or cette humanité *triple*, c'est, depuis trois siècles, *notre humanité d'Occident*, et l'on pourrait ajouter, d'un Occident chrétien, puisque Montaigne et Descartes furent, comme Pascal, des catholiques pratiquants, qu'aujourd'hui encore leur œuvre continue d'inspirer des tentatives d'apologétique.⁷⁶

This judgement of Brunschvicg's is by no means out of sympathy with Pascal's religious belief. No critique appears to be implied in his own presentation of the *Pensées*, rather simply his personal judgement of how best to arrange the fragments into a logical narrative. He plainly states:

Notre unique, mais légitime ambition, c'est de présenter les fragments de Pascal de telle manière qu'ils puissent être compris par le lecteur moderne; c'est [...] d'en faire suffisamment voir la continuité logique pour que la pensée du lecteur puisse suivre celle de l'auteur, s'y attacher, et en tirer le profit qu'il convient.⁷⁷

Moreover, in the *Introduction* to his edition he refers frequently to 'l'Apologie de Pascal', leaving no doubt that he regards the fragments as destined for an apology.

Despite being atheist, Brunschvicg, with his educated Jewish background, will have had an intimate knowledge of the principles of Judaism and of Christianity, and will have had a conception of what an apology for Christianity entails. He is unlikely to have belonged to those targeted by Pascal in fragment S 681: '...Qu'ils apprennent au moins quelle est la religion qu'ils combattent, avant que de la combattre'.

He ought, therefore, to have been in a position to make of the *Pensées* the apology that he imagined, from a relatively objective standpoint, to be most convincing, rather than one tailored to fit a particular dogma. Brunschvicg's prefaces show him in no doubt that the fragments were the basis of an apology. However, having removed the religious constraints, there remain social and political ones, and parts of the corpus

76 Léon Brunschvicg, *Écrits Philosophiques*, I, (1951) p. 8 (typography original).

77 Blaise Pascal, *Opuscules et Pensées*, ed. by Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1897), p. 269.

which make immediate appeal to the editor might find themselves privileged, for example by being listed first. Brunschvicg's fragment no.1 is about geometric proofs; this may reflect his scientific interests and his concern with truth, the mathematical sciences being still believed at that time to represent absolute truth. Pascal's practice of experimentation, and that part of his reasoning that is inductive rather than deductive, is likely to have appealed strongly to Brunschvicg. Nevertheless, as he is dealing with the whole corpus, he cannot apply the sort of selection and exclusion practised by Condorcet a century before. That has not protected his own ordering from criticism, as expressed in Patricia Topliss's echo of a comment previously made by Henri Peyre⁷⁸:

By grouping the fragments on man's wretchedness, and dispersing those on his greatness, Brunschvicg does much less than justice to the balance Pascal strives to maintain in his analysis of the duality of human nature; by distracting attention from his appeal to reason, he unduly emphasises his fideist tendencies; in his effort to exhibit logical continuity in the fragments, he distorts his synthetic method.⁷⁹

However, Brunschvicg had already answered this criticism, at least in part, in the *Introduction* to his 1897 edition, where he states that

[i]l y a donc une différence radicale entre l'exposition didactique qui nous sert à comprendre aujourd'hui les fragments posthumes de Pascal et l'ordre suivant lequel il aurait disposé son ouvrage, toute la différence qui sépare la méthode analytique suivant laquelle doit nécessairement procéder le lecteur d'un ouvrage inachevé, et la méthode synthétique dont l'auteur seul a la puissance et par suite le droit d'user.⁸⁰

78 Henri Peyre, 'Pascal et la critique contemporaine', in *Romanic Review*, XXI, Jan.1, 1930, 325-340 (p. 330).

79 Patricia Topliss, *The Rhetoric of Pascal* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), p. 157.

80 Brunschvicg *Minor*, p. 286.

THE EDITIONS

The task of making a new edition offers the editor two challenges, the first being how to present the fragments, the other being how to exceed in erudition the work of precursors. Brunschvicg's edition represents a combination of the loyalty to the manuscript shown by Prosper Faugère's edition with the erudite commentary of Ernest Havet's. Its success lies not only in the accessibility of the inexpensive 1897 version, but in the fact that Brunschvicg numbered the fragments consecutively from start to finish, never renumbering in any of the many reeditions that followed, thereby converting the fragments into a sort of currency and stamping his authority on them. Moreover, the prompt translation of the edition into English, published in a popular series, introduced Pascal to a large English-speaking public, and drew Brunschvicg's name to its notice.⁸¹

BRUNSCHVICG MINOR

Blaise Pascal, *Opuscules et Pensées*, ed. Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1897)

The *Pensées* in Brunschvicg's initial edition occupy about two thirds of the bulk of a thick 12^{mo} volume, bound in hard cover. It contains two facsimiles, pages 347 and 87 of the *Recueil Original*,⁸² and sold for fr.3.50. In this format it suffers from unavoidably small font size and density on the page, a problem from which the 1904 edition is free. It gained Brunschvicg the *Prix Saintour*, a prize for literature and philosophy, from the Académie Française in 1898.

81 This translation by W.F.Trotter first appeared in 1904 as *The Thoughts of Blaise Pascal* (London: Gollancz), and subsequently as *Blaise Pascal, Pascal's Pensées* (London: Dent, New York: Dutton).

82 The first facsimile is the page bearing the title "Disproportion de l'homme" and is inserted in front of the so-named fragment S 230 (B 72) in the volume, and it shows Pascal's extensive cancellations. The second facsimile is the first part of fragment S 749, *Le Mystère de Jésus*, and is inserted opposite the beginning of this fragment (B 553). A specific purpose, beyond that of simple illustration, is not identified, and they were deleted after the first few editions. However, they indicate Brunschvicg's interest in the photography of the manuscript, many years before the publication of the photographic reproductions in 1905.

The first one third of the volume contains the *Opuscules*, arranged chronologically in three sections: “Pascal jusqu’à la mort de son père”, “La “période mondaine” et l’entrée à Port-Royal”, and “Les dernières années de Pascal”.

The remainder of the volume is devoted to the *Pensées*, and begins with an **Introduction** of forty-seven pages in three parts, “Histoire des Pensées”, “Suite logique des Pensées”, and “L’Auteur des Pensées”. This is followed by the *Préface de Port-Royal*. The *Pensées* then follow in fourteen sections. Finally, there is a **Table de Concordance** with the *Manuscrit*, the First and Second *Copies*, and the editions of Port-Royal, Bossut, Faugère, Havet, Molinier, and Michaut.

Introduction

This short section is of vital importance to the edition as a whole, because it contains the essential points of Brunschvicg’s commentary, and the logic of his presentation.

In the first part of the *Introduction* (Histoire des Pensées) Brunschvicg quotes at length Sainte-Beuve’s approbation of the work of the editors of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, ‘pour fortifier encore l’impression du lecteur et effacer au besoin des traces qu’aurait pu y laisser le trop éloquent réquisitoire de Victor Cousin contre les éditeurs de Port-Royal’.⁸³ Against the background of the many editions published up to the time of his own, he emphasises the perpetual moral youthfulness of the *Pensées*:

[L]a richesse et la profondeur de ces fragments sont telles que les esprits les plus divers y ont trouvé, sinon de quoi satisfaire, du moins de quoi répondre à des préoccupations que le XVII^e siècle semblait n’avoir pas connues, qu’ils se sont imposés à la méditation de tous, non comme un livre classique et à titre de document rétrospectif, mais comme un ouvrage actuel autant et plus que la plupart des ouvrages contemporains.⁸⁴

83 Brunschvicg *Minor*, p. 260.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 262.

Brunschvicg mentions Frantin's edition of 1835 as the first attempt to publish the fragments in an order that Pascal might have used, and describes it as an "édition chrétienne". He summarises Victor Cousin's role in reorientating the publication of the *Pensées*. Ernest Havet's edition is described as one

qui renouvelle, avec un esprit plus large et plus profonde, l'édition philosophique du XVIII^e siècle, [against which] s'opposent les éditions chrétiennes, mais faites dans un esprit dogmatique qui n'est pas celui du jansénisme de Pascal: l'édition protestante de M. Astié et les éditions catholiques dont la première en date et la principale est due à l'abbé Rocher; elles essaient de reconstituer l'ordre des fragments et d'adapter à l'usage du lecteur contemporain l'apologie du Christianisme que Pascal s'était proposé d'écrire.⁸⁵

This suggests that Brunschvicg appreciated Havet's not presuming to predict Pascal's intentions; he would do the same. The words 'adapter' and 'contemporain' reflect back to the previously quoted passage which expresses his reception of the *Pensées* as timeless. Nowhere does Brunschvicg deny that the fragments embody an apology for Christianity. Brunschvicg's assessment of Havet's edition is also found in this section.⁸⁶

The second part of the *Introduction* (Suite logique des *Pensées*) begins with a consideration of the original manuscript and the two *Copies*, none of which Brunschvicg regards as a basis for reconstituting the *Apologie* conceived by Pascal. He dismisses both alternative approaches to publication, either publication in complete (authentic) disorder, or reconstruction of an *Apologie* on the basis of vague and

85 Ibid., p. 265.

86 Ibid., p. 265. 'Quant au commentaire sur le fond des *Pensées*, il fut donné avec le succès qu'on sait par M. Ernest Havet (1851). Érudit et penseur, M. Havet d'une part s'est attaché à entourer chaque fragment de tous les rapprochements qui peuvent en montrer la genèse dans l'esprit de Pascal, ou en faire apprécier l'intérêt littéraire; d'autre part, avec son admirable sincérité, il n'a pas cru devoir cacher son jugement sur la valeur et même sur la vérité des *Pensées* de Pascal: discussion remarquable, qui aurait eu seulement plus de poids et de portée si M. Havet, au lieu de critiquer des fragments isolés, les avait envisagés suivant un plan d'ensemble, dans leur rapport à l'unité de la doctrine, et s'il avait lui-même développé le rationalisme qu'il opposait à Pascal, au lieu de s'appuyer sur la base ruineuse de l'éclectisme.'

insufficient internal indications from Pascal himself, and from doubtful external indications, provided in the writings of Étienne Périer, Gilberte Périer, and Filleau de la Chaise.⁸⁷ Moreover,

[N]ous n'avons pas le droit, surtout nous ne saurions sans impertinence nous attribuer le pouvoir d'achever le temple que Pascal a laissé inachevé; d'autre part nous avons le devoir de ne pas abandonner à eux-mêmes les matériaux de l'œuvre, de ne pas les laisser à l'état de chaos inaccessible et inintelligible.⁸⁸

This leads Brunschvicg to propose a new edition which preserves the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts and follows a logical sequence that will be comprehensible by the modern reader:

[N]ous avons cherché comment, en ne tenant compte que des indications que Pascal lui-même nous a laissées et de leur signification intrinsèque, il était possible de les grouper de façon, sinon à en faire un tout cohérent, du moins à ne jamais laisser échapper le fil de la pensée qui les relie [...] Mais, pour prévenir toute confusion dans l'esprit du lecteur, nous nous permettons d'insister [...] [que] nous n'avons aucune prétention à l'objectivité historique [...] ⁸⁹

He continues, with complete candour: '[N]ous serions même sûr que Pascal n'aurait pas développé son *Apologie* suivant l'ordre que nous indiquons [...]'

Then follows a detailed discussion of each of the fourteen sections into which Brunschvicg divides the *Pensées*.⁹⁰ This discussion is transferred *verbatim* into the 1904 edition.⁹¹ The following is a review of this section of the *Introduction*. The titles given

87 Ibid., p. 267.

88 Ibid., p. 268.

89 Ibid., p. 269.

90 Ibid., pp. 269-286.

91 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, (14 vols.) ed. Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1904) XII, pp. CCLV-CCLXXIII '*Argument logique des Pensées dans la présente édition*'. (**Brunschvicg Major**)

to the sections in the *Introduction*, as used below, do not accompany the sections of the text of the *Pensées* in either edition, which are simply headed ‘Section I, II,’ etc.

Suite logique des Pensées

I Pensées sur l’Esprit et sur le Style

The very first *pensée* bears the title ‘Différence entre l’esprit de géométrie et l’esprit de finesse’, and in this section Brunschvicg collects related fragments which elaborate on this distinction. The *esprit de géométrie* represents the process of deduction,⁹² and that of *finesse* the actions of instinct: ‘le monde est doublement infini, il a une infinité de principes qui ont chacun une infinité de conséquences; la seconde de ces infinités est accessible à l’esprit des géomètres; la première est sentie par l’esprit de finesse’.⁹³ In his discussions of his concept of thought as judgement he makes a comparable distinction in using the expressions *jugement mathématique* and *esprit de finesse*, the latter dominated by ‘inspiration’ and ‘sentiment’ and irreducible to comprehensible elements. The prominence of this subject has no equivalent in the *Édition de Port-Royal*, nor in Faugère’s thematic selection, and might be seen to reflect a questionable personal bias. However, it provides a background to Pascal’s argument that much that is beyond our reason is accepted by instinct. The other theme of this section is Pascal’s rhetoric:

L’éloquence repose sur le sentiment, elle consiste à prendre conscience de la pensée qui vit au dedans de nous et se développe spontanément suivant ses lois propres: l’orateur doit reproduire ce mouvement intérieur de la pensée et engendrer

92 Brunschvicg also appreciates Pascal’s power of induction from observation, in his work in the physical sciences. Brunschvicg Minor contains an admiring account of Pascal’s method of proceeding from observation: ‘aux yeux de Pascal, les expériences persuadent mieux que les raisonnements’ (p. 73).

93 Brunschvicg Minor, p. 270.

ainsi la vérité dans l'esprit de l'auteur, il ne persuade pas autrui, il fait qu'autrui se persuade soi-même.⁹⁴

II Misère de l'Homme sans Dieu

Brunschvicg focuses on Pascal's persuasive technique of associating himself in a second person narrative with his audience and of speaking to the *libertin* directly about the *libertin's* own existence, rather than didactically about religious truths. 'Toute l'expérience de sa [Pascal's] vie mondaine, multipliée par l'étude assidue de Montaigne et de la lecture de Charron, devait être versée dans l'*Apologie*, où, selon les indications de Pascal, elle eût fourni la matière d'une *Première Partie*.'⁹⁵ Fragments about *divertissement*, *misère*, and *imagination* are gathered in this section. The result of man's condition is that '[l]'homme en est réduit à se fuir lui-même, parce qu'il fuit ainsi la misère, et la pensée de la mort'.⁹⁶

III De la Nécessité du pari

This section contains the fragments in which Pascal dwells on the triviality of life, and urges the non-believer to search for God. It includes fragment B 233, *Infini rien* (S 680), and fragment B 194 (S 681) which begins: 'Qu'ils apprennent au moins quelle est la religion qu'ils combattent, avant que de la combattre.'

Brunschvicg summarises the argument of *Infini rien*: '[L]a vie présente, si on se connaît exactement soi-même, n'est rien, de telle sorte que, dût-on être trompé dans son espérance, on n'aura rien à regretter, et c'est là ce qui fait la force triomphante de l'argument du pari.'⁹⁷ Beyond this, he makes no comment about the logic or efficacy of Pascal's argument, neither in the introduction nor in the footnotes to the fragment.

94 Ibid., p. 170.

95 Ibid., p. 271.

96 Ibid., p. 272.

97 Ibid., p. 274.

He identifies this section with the stage in Pascal's apologetic plan intended to make religion pleasing or acceptable, stating that 'l'intérêt bien entendu ne nous donne pas la foi, mais il tourne vers la religion notre volonté et notre attention; elle nous agrée; or l'art d'agréer est, en raison de l'infirmité de l'homme, le commencement de l'art de persuader'.⁹⁸

IV Des Moyens de croire

The next stage of Pascal's plan would be to remove obstacles to the access to man's heart of God's grace, should it be offered. In Brunschvicg's words:

Il s'agit maintenant de le persuader des vérités de la religion, ce qui eût été la *Seconde Partie* de l'ouvrage de Pascal. Dans la *Préface* de cette seconde partie, Pascal devait écarter les raisonnements par lesquels les philosophes et les théologiens essaient de prouver Dieu à l'aide de la nature, du ciel et des oiseaux; il les condamne à la fois en savant qui en mesure la pauvreté, en janséniste qui en pénètre le caractère rationaliste et naturaliste,⁹⁹

and again:

[L]'œuvre de l'homme, c'est d'éclairer les esprits afin d'écarter les obstacles qui s'opposeraient au sentiment. Elle dissipe les objections des athées qui détourneraient leurs âmes de Dieu, et les prépare à recevoir la grâce et à en profiter, si Dieu veut leur envoyer la grâce.¹⁰⁰

V La Justice et la Raison des Effets

Here are gathered the fragments which demonstrate Pascal's political pragmatism. Custom is obeyed because it is backed by force (fragment B 303, S 463), and earthly justice is an illusion. But the Christian knows of a higher justice:

Le sage, le sage chrétien surtout, vise plus haut que le monde; de là cette sérénité supérieure avec laquelle il considère l'ordre qui

98 Ibid., p. 274.

99 Ibid., p. 274.

100 Ibid., p. 275.

règne dans la société et l'illusion de la justice qui en est à la fois le plus misérable et le plus solide appui.¹⁰¹

Moreover: 'Il faut avoir une pensée de derrière, et juger de tout par là, en parlant cependant comme le peuple' ('Raison des effets', B 336, S 125).

VI Les Philosophes

Philosophers teach that man's 'dignité' lies in the power of his thought, but man's momentary high flights of thought are in contrast with his *misère*:

Ainsi il est à la fois vrai que la pensée est souveraine dans l'homme, et que la pensée est impuissante à s'assurer la possession de son objet, qui est la vérité. C'est pourquoi il y a entre les philosophes une perpétuelle opposition; cette opposition est l'effet et la preuve de la double nature de l'homme, grandeur et misère tout ensemble. Entre l'instinct qui l'élève et l'expérience qui le déprime, entre la raison et les passions, les philosophes ont choisi, et par là ils ont exclu; ils ont été dans l'erreur, n'ayant vu qu'une partie de la vérité.¹⁰²

In this section Brunschvicg has gathered fragments on pyrrhonism and the *grandeur de l'homme*, but *grandeur* in Pascal's oppositional style always implies *misère*, as in fragment B 416 (S 155): 'En un mot, l'homme connaît qu'il est misérable; il est donc misérable, puisqu'il l'est; mais il est bien grand, puisqu'il le connaît.' Brunschvicg's philosophy embodies the concept of the efficacy of thought and judgement in Man's progress towards truth, and he would neither share Pascal's view, nor his specific notion of truth as the Redemption of Jesus Christ.

VII La Morale et la Doctrine

This is a large section of 130 fragments, and the introduction begins by referring back to the previous section: 'L'analyse philosophique suffit pour attester que

101 Ibid., p. 277.

102 Ibid., p. 278.

l'homme sans foi ne peut connaître ni le vrai bien ni la justice.'¹⁰³ Fragments dealing with original sin and redemption through Christ are here, together with those explaining the unique answer to man's searching after truth, which is represented in the Christian religion. Brunshvicg summarises much of the argument in the following quotations:

La charité atteste la grâce venue du Créateur, le médiateur qui a réconcilié Dieu avec les hommes. Adam et Jésus-Christ, le péché d'origine et la rédemption, la concupiscence et la charité, cette unique opposition constitue toute la foi, et elle en manifeste la vérité.¹⁰⁴

L'homme participe à Dieu en s'unissant à lui, union extatique, faite de charité et d'humilité, de certitude et d'angoisse, qui arrache à Pascal les sanglots du *Mystère de Jésus*.¹⁰⁵

A facsimile of fragment B 553 (S 749 and 751), *Le Mystère de Jésus*, is attached in the volume opposite its text, between pages 574 and 575. Brunshvicg writes in a footnote to it:

Le Mystère de Jésus défie tout commentaire. Nulle part peut-être n'éclate d'une façon plus profondément touchant le caractère unique et incomparable du christianisme: la concentration autour d'une personne réelle des sentiments les plus élevés et les plus universels qu'il y ait dans le cœur de l'homme, l'esprit de renoncement et l'esprit de charité.¹⁰⁶

VIII Les Fondements de la Religion chrétienne

In this short section, Brunshvicg has gathered the fragments relevant to the concept of the *Dieu caché*. God does not want total obscurity or total clarity:

Mais il a fait qu'il y eût assez de lumière pour éclairer les élus; assez d'obscurité pour aveugler les réprouvés. Ce mélange est essentiel à la doctrine catholique: les faits historiques, pour

103 Ibid., p. 278.

104. Ibid., p. 279.

105. Ibid., p. 279.

106. Ibid., p. 574, fn.

devenir les “fondements” du catholicisme doivent porter en eux le caractère de ce mélange; il faut qu’ils soient assez obscurs pour justifier toutes les objections des hérétiques ou des athées; mais cette obscurité, loin d’ébranler celui qui a de la foi, le confirme.¹⁰⁷

IX La Perpétuité

The greatest historical fact that can be invoked in favour of religion is perpetuity. By way of its foundation in Judaism, ‘le christianisme remonte aux origines même de l’humanité’.¹⁰⁸ The fragments comparing the religion of the Jews with other religions, and which proclaim its continuity with Christianity, are gathered in this section, leading directly to the next. The last fragment in the section, B 641 (S 736) begins: ‘C’est visiblement un peuple [the Jews] fait exprès pour servir de témoin au Messie.’

X Les Figuratifs

The first *pensée* in this section, B 642 (S 305) is headed: ‘Preuve des deux Testaments à la fois’ and is accompanied by a footnote quoting Jansenius: ‘le Nouveau est caché dans l’Ancien: l’Ancien est manifesté par le Nouveau.’

Pascal expose lui-même le sens et l’importance qu’il attache aux *Figuratifs*. En effet le passage de l’*Ancien Testament* au *Nouveau* se fait au moyen des prophéties; si ce qui est prédit par l’un se vérifie dans l’autre, alors les deux *Testaments* sont justifiés en même temps.¹⁰⁹

The literal sense is a veil, and the true sense is a spiritual one. ‘La victoire sur les ennemis que Dieu a promis à son peuple est la mort du péché.’¹¹⁰

107. Ibid., p. 280.

108. Ibid., p. 281.

109. Ibid., p. 282.

110. Ibid., p. 283.

XI Les Prophéties

Fragments relating to overt prediction and prophecy follow the '*figuratifs*' in the logic of Brunschvicg's scheme: 'La doctrine des *Figuratifs* permet d'appliquer à Jésus-Christ les prophéties contenues dans l'*Ancien Testament*'.¹¹¹ In addition to stressing the crucial role of prophecies in the apologetic plan, and their setting apart of Christianity from other religions, Brunschvicg suggests that it was in a religious context that Pascal interpreted history. He supports this with a paraphrase of fragment B 700 (S 737): 'Beau de voir par les yeux de la foi l'histoire d'Hérode, de César.'¹¹²

XII Preuves de Jésus-Christ

Pascal continues to offer the Jews, as portrayed in the New Testament, as proof that Christ is the Messiah. According to Brunschvicg, Pascal concludes that '[c]elui que les Juifs auraient reconnu n'aurait pas été le vrai Messie, car il n'aurait point libéré du péché, il n'aurait point vaincu la concupiscence. Mais celui qu'ils ont méconnu, ils l'ont prouvé en le faisant mourir ignominieusement'.¹¹³

XIII Les Miracles

Brunschvicg believes that miracles would lie at the centre of the *Apologie* of Pascal to which all else would relate. In the introduction to this section he provides a useful summary of the role of miracles as developed in the text of the *Pensées*, but despite its penultimate position in the Sections of the edition, it leaves the impression that miracles would be, in the apology, 'le centre auquel tout se rapporterait'.¹¹⁴ Brunschvicg seems to have taken little account of Pascal's

111. Ibid., p. 283.

112. Ibid., p. 284.

113. Ibid., p. 284.

114 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. CCLXXII.

setting aside of miracles from ‘les fondements de cette religion chrétienne qui sont indubitables’ (fragment S 694). However, he says that it is prophecies that distinguish Christianity from other religions and that for Pascal they constitute the historical foundation of the faith.¹¹⁵ The more recent studies of Pol Ernst do not support Brunschvicg’s conclusion that miracles would be central to Pascal’s argument.¹¹⁶

XIV Appendice: fragments polémiques

Here he says that there are fragments which lie between the *Apologie* and the *Provinciales*, because the doctrine of the miracles sets Pascal against the autocratic politics and the probabilist morals of the Jesuits.

It is clear that Brunschvicg saw the fragments as the basis of an apology for Christianity; the fourteen divisions therefore represent the deployment of Pascal’s material to that purpose according to Brunschvicg’s logic. He begins with consideration of thought and the nature of *l’esprit de finesse* as the faculty of judgment. However, much of the first section reads like a collection of instructions on the rhetoric of persuasion. From there he proceeds to explain that man’s search for distractions stems from the fact that he will not face the reality of his wretched state, consequent on his fall from grace. Because of man’s infinite smallness, he loses little if he puts his hope in the possibility of eternal joy, and is mistaken. The next task of the apology is to set aside attempts to prove the existence of God by appeal to reason, and to clear the way to the heart for God’s grace, should it be granted. The following section focuses on Pascal’s

115. Ibid., XII, p. CCLXXI.

116 The palaeographic studies of Pol Ernst have led him to the conclusion that at the beginning of writing and sorting his thoughts Pascal had already relegated miracles to an important but secondary role, intending to found the apology on prophecies. He writes: ‘[C]ontrairement à ce qui est dit et répété, nous découvrons que l’argument du miracle est éliminé sans appel, sans équivoque aucune, vigoureusement et de façon définitive. Pascal récusé les miracles. Seule est privilégiée l’argumentation fondée sur les prophéties ou, plutôt, sur l’accomplissement de toutes les prophéties. Dès la strate “RC/DV” [the paper believed to have been used for the earliest fragments], et non pas en fin de parcours. Pascal n’a jamais eu l’intention de se servir des miracles à des fins apologétiques’ (Pol Ernst, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, p. 209).

political pragmatism, his arguments for submission to human justice and custom, while Christians know of a higher order of justice. Man's duality is then emphasised, and at this point his *grandeur* is recognised. Faith is essential for man to know truth and justice. Section VII deals with how Christian doctrine and morality explain the oppositions in man's nature and how man is weak through sin but great through the redemption of Christ. The final part outlines in several sections the proofs of Christianity as the true religion, which lie in the hidden nature of God, the eternal existence of Christianity, through Judaism, to the origin of man, and the hidden meanings beneath the literality of the Testaments which identify Christ as the fulfilment of the prophecies. Miracles come at the end of the list of proofs, being God's means of speaking to the elect.

In the third part of the *Introduction* (L'Auteur des Pensées) Pascal is discussed as a writer, a thinker, and a Christian. As a writer 'La transparence du style est chez Pascal l'effet immédiat, le reflet de cette sincérité absolue'.¹¹⁷ Moreover, 'au-dessus de la vivacité de l'imagination, au-dessus de la rigueur du raisonnement, il y a une troisième grandeur: la grandeur de la charité. Pascal engage dans ses idées non seulement son esprit mais son cœur; non seulement il vit avec ses idées, mais il sent vivre en elles l'humanité'.¹¹⁸ This assessment suggests that Brunschvicg might be reading Pascal's words into the frame of his own attitude to religion for a philosopher.¹¹⁹

As a thinker, 'il essaie de faire tourner en profit moral pour le lecteur la connaissance de soi qu'il lui révèle'.¹²⁰ Brunschvicg sees a strict didactic purpose in what he frequently refers to as Pascal's 'Apologie': 'Tout est sincère en Pascal, tout est intérieur; l'ironie parfois cruelle et saisissante n'a pas moins de pitié que d'indignation;

117 Brunschvicg Minor, p. 289.

118. Ibid., p. 290.

119 See Léon Brunschvicg, *Écrits Philosophiques*, I, (1951) p. 8.

120 Brunschvicg Minor, p. 291.

il ne se soucie ni d'amuser, ni de briller; il veut convaincre et entraîner.'¹²¹ The question of Pascal's scepticism is discussed. Brunschvicg believes that Pascal was not a sceptic, and after an extended discourse he concludes that Pascal's philosophy 'est une dialectique fondée sur des antinomies qui a mérité et qui mérite d'être comparée aux grands systèmes philosophiques de l'école kantienne'.¹²² This section ends with Brunschvicg's assertion that Miton was the most important influence on the development of Pascal's thought.

While noting that Pascal does not follow Jansenius's historical point of view, as a Christian 'la conformité de doctrine est manifeste: Pascal ne fait que de déterminer les conséquences du récit de l'*Augustinus*; il transpose, pour ainsi dire, le jansénisme dans son actualité'.¹²³ The essential role of God's grace in the gift of faith is summarized: 'La grâce, quand elle pénètre dans l'homme, en même temps qu'elle lui apporte la révélation de Dieu et la force de l'aimer, l'éclaire sur la misère de sa nature propre, sur la dépravation de sa nature, sur l'injustice de sa concupiscence.'¹²⁴ Brunschvicg explains the value of an *Apologie* in the context of the Jansenist doctrine as the means of overcoming the resistance of human nature to 'mouvements de grâce que les mérites de Jésus attirent sur ceux qui ont reçu le baptême, d'ôter les obstacles',¹²⁵ thus allowing two means of believing, custom and reason, to be acquired in preparation for the third, namely divine inspiration. Brunschvicg asserts that the *Pensées* are above all a prayer, and concludes: 'ces fragments épars, qui révèlent un écrivain tel que la France n'a pas

121. Ibid., p. 292.

122. Ibid., p. 298.

123. Ibid., p. 299.

124. Ibid., p. 300.

125. Ibid., p. 301.

eu de supérieur, un penseur tel que les temps modernes n'en ont pas eu de plus profond, attestent en même temps le plus noble et le plus héroïque effort de charité.'¹²⁶

The introductory parts of the 1904 edition of the *Pensées* in the series *Les Grands Écrivains de la France* follow the same sequence as the 1897 edition and contain the same information, but are rewritten and expanded. However, the third part of the *Introduction*, 'L'Auteur des Pensées', discussed immediately above, is suppressed, and replaced in the 1904 edition by the section *Conception générale des Pensées*.¹²⁷ References to the *Édition de Port-Royal* in the *Concordance* have been slightly revised in the 1904 edition.

Footnotes

Brunschvicg's interpretations and explanations make up the bulk of the footnotes, and they are equally extensive in the 1897 and 1904 editions. The sources of Pascal's allusions are described, peculiarities in his expression are explained, and the referent of isolated personal and relative pronouns is identified. The following footnote, from B 99, is an example: 'La volonté s'oppose à l'esprit, c'est-à-dire à l'intelligence proprement dite; le sens où Pascal prend ce mot est assez différent de l'usage ordinaire, comme de l'usage de Descartes qui attribuait le jugement à la volonté.'¹²⁸ Variations,¹²⁹ cancelled passages, and marginalia are identified in footnotes, as are alternative interpretations by others, particularly Ernest Havet. Only in the 1897 edition are all Latin quotations translated into French. Acknowledgement is given to Pascal's sources, especially Montaigne, and to the work of his editorial predecessors.

Although forming a basis for the footnotes of the 1904 edition, they were substantially rewritten for the new edition, and did not all make the transition into it.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

127 Brunschvicg Major, XII, pp. CIII-CXLII.

128 Brunschvicg Minor, fn. 4, p. 375. This is found unchanged in Brunschvicg's 1904 edition.

129 For example, the many variations of fragment B 72, '*Disproportion de l'homme*' are all noted.

Some of the changes clearly show a change of opinion in the time between the two editions, for example B 6, and the suppression of B 16 from the later edition.¹³⁰ Moreover, footnotes are not necessarily attached to corresponding points in any given *pensée* in the two editions, and are frequently applied to different points, and many of the footnotes in the 1904 edition are completely new. When transferred, the footnotes from the 1897 edition may comprise a full footnote in the 1904 edition, or they may be transferred but expanded with additional material, or they may be entirely recast, all of which is evidence that the revision of the earlier text was thorough.

Brunschvicg's editions combined the innovations of Faugère's having published the fragments individually, and of Havet's adding a scholarly commentary.¹³¹ Much of the commentary of both Havet and Brunschvicg lies in footnotes, and their footnotes have different emphases. Havet's footnotes tend to be longer and more elaborate than Brunschvicg's, and he offers more explanations and interpretations, amplified by references to sources and literary associations. He gives in full the biblical texts to which Pascal refers, and speculates often on Pascal's reasoning. At first sight Havet appears to have more footnotes, but this is because he tends to be more discursive than Brunschvicg; both editors make approximately the same number of footnotes, but they have a different composition, in so far as Havet is thorough in noting Port-Royal's manipulations, while Brunschvicg notes the possible variations in the text. They tend to insert different numbers of footnotes in corresponding sections of text. For example, in the section corresponding with '*Infini rien*' (fragment S 680) Brunschvicg Major has 76

130 Fragment B6 (S 658) deals with the role of conversation in the development of thought and feeling. After reference to a relevant passage in Montaigne's *Essais* (III,8) the footnote in the 1897 edition continues with a comment on the important role of conversation in France after the sixteenth century, and Pascal's enjoyment of it in the company of Méré and in the *salon* of Mme de Sablé. This is replaced in the 1904 edition with a reference to fragment B 536 (S 132), and to Pascal's words on Christian solitude and internal conversation. Fragment B 16 first appeared in Bossut's edition, but Brunschvicg had found its origin in a passage from a book published in 1752 on the history of the Abbey of Port-Royal, which had been adapted by Bossut. Accordingly, he deleted it from the 1904 edition.

131 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Blaise Pascal*, ed. Ernest Havet (Paris: Dezobry et Magdeleine, 1852).

footnotes, and Havet has 94, but Brunschvicg has added a thirteen-page Appendix about Pascal's debt in this section to the *Théologie naturelle* of Raymond Sebon, the wisdom of the Port-Royal editors in the way they published the fragment, and the attack mounted by l'abbé de Villars, who deemed the discussion puerile and of too low a register for the 'plus importante vérité du monde'.¹³² In the sections of the '*Disproportion de l'homme*' (fragment S 230) Brunschvicg Major has twice as many footnotes as Havet (175 against 89), but more than half of these are brief indications of textual variations. Many of Havet's refer, as usual in his edition, to variations introduced by Port-Royal. Furthermore, their notes on the same text are usually not on the same feature of that text, and when they are, they make entirely different comments. For example, on the word 'abêtira' Havet discusses Montaigne's and Arnauld's use of it, and Pascal's use of such terms in order to shock or surprise the reader.¹³³ Brunschvicg, on the other hand, claims that Port-Royal feared to reproduce the word. He quotes Victor Cousin's commentary on the first publication of the word, and explains that it means giving up habitual beliefs, and a return to childhood in order to acquire the higher truths inaccessible to the 'courte sagesse des demi-savants'.¹³⁴ Brunschvicg remarks that Havet tended to criticise Pascal at times. Havet comments on certain expressions which he feels could have been better formulated. In his discussion of fragment S 738 he makes ironical remarks about Pascal's appearing to read God's mind in giving the prophesies a hidden meaning: 'Alors, voilà Dieu bien empêché pour se faire croire, suivant Pascal!',¹³⁵ and after Pascal's sentence 'Voilà donc quelle a été la conduite de Dieu', Havet remarks: 'Dieu a-t-il donc mis Pascal dans sa

132 Brunschvicg Major, XIII, p. 169.

133 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Havet, p. 152, fn.5.

134 Brunschvicg Minor, p.441, fn., Brunschvicg Major, XIII, p. 154, fn.1.

135 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Havet p. 200, fn.6.

confidence?'.¹³⁶ In criticizing Pascal's argument in fragment S 480 about the reasonableness of belief in something uncertain, like religion, Havet says that Pascal's argument 'mènerait jusqu'à l'absurde'.¹³⁷ Overall, however, both editors address similar issues in their footnotes. Details of the manuscript are noted, including Pascal's deletions, replacements and marginalia, and parts in a hand other than Pascal's. Connections with other fragments and other works of Pascal's are noted.¹³⁸ Sources are noted, and short quotations in the text are often expanded in the footnotes, particularly from Montaigne's *Essais*, and the Vulgate. As Havet acknowledges debts to Victor Cousin and Prosper Faugère, so, too, does Brunshvicg to Havet.

BRUNSCHVICG MAJOR

Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, ed. Léon Brunshvicg, 14 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1904). *Pensées* vols XII-XIV

The *Pensées* and related material occupy the last three volumes of this fourteen-volume edition of the complete works of Pascal, in the series '*Les Grands Écrivains de la France*'. The chronological plan of the edition resulted in the posthumous works occupying the final volumes, although they were the first to be published.¹³⁹ In 8° format, on better paper, and with a slightly larger font size, they are easier to read than the 'popular' 1897 version, but much more expensive, at fr.7.50 per volume in 1904. As already noted, the 'earlier' volume XI, published ten years later, contains additions and corrections pertaining to the *Pensées*.

136. Ibid., p. 201, fn.3.

137. Ibid., p. 350, fn.3.

138 For *Œuvres complètes* Brunshvicg uses an edition by Charles Lahure. This was published in 1858 in 2 volumes, by Hachette, but later spread over 3 volumes (Paris: Hachette, 1869,1871,1872).

139 The titular subscript 'publiées suivant l'ordre chronologique' does not refer to any such order within the *Pensées*.

Introduction

In volume XII the text of the *Pensées* themselves is preceded by an *Introduction* of 139 pages, in three sections, with, in Brunschvicg's words, '...seulement ce triple objet: 1° résumer l'histoire complexe de la publication du livre; 2° étudier le manuscrit original qui est la base de la présente édition, et par là chercher à justifier la méthode que nous y avons suivie; 3° retracer les conditions intellectuelles dans lesquelles les *Pensées* ont été écrites, et la conception générale qu'elles expriment.'¹⁴⁰ This is a clear indication that beyond the core of Pascal's own writing, Brunschvicg's judgement will play a major role in what is to follow.

The *Première Partie* of the *Introduction* is an expanded and recast version of its 1897 counterpart, in which the main observations had already been presented. Brunschvicg does not question Étienne Périer's account¹⁴¹ of the findings and proceedings after Pascal's death, and identifies the copy made of Pascal's fragments, to which Périer refers, as the *Première Copie* (Fn 9203). If this is true, then 'cette copie constituerait en fait la première et la plus fidèle édition des *Pensées*, d'une autorité supérieure, pour *l'ordre des pensées*, au manuscrit autographe',¹⁴² the autograph being constructed no earlier than 1711. Publication of the *Pensées* must begin with a study of this *Copie*.

He recognises the *table des matières*, in which the fragments up to page 188 of the MS (Fn 9202) are grouped under a number of titles 'borrowed' from Pascal, and giving a plan for an edition. This is now listed by Philippe Sellier as fragment S 1.¹⁴³ He also mentions the *Seconde Copie* (Fn 12449). Brunschvicg suggests that the '*double disposition*' of fragments grouped in the *Table* up to MS page 188, along with the

140 Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, (14 vols.) ed. by Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1904) XII, p.I. (referred to hereafter as 'Brunschvicg Major')

141 in the *Préface* to the *édition de Port-Royal*.

142 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. III.

143 Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées, etc.*, p. 830.

greater number after this remaining unordered, suggests that an attempt had been made to publish the *Pensées* between 1662 and 1669.¹⁴⁴

Jean Mesnard finds that in explaining his failure to respond to his hypothesis about the importance of the *Première Copie* Brunschvicg has used ‘des arguments médiocres dont on peut douter qu’ils l’aient trompé lui-même.’¹⁴⁵ He suggests that this is either from loyalty to his successful 1897 edition, which would be found faulty if he followed his hypothesis in the 1904 edition, or because he was unable to find a principle of coherence in the order of the *Copie*.¹⁴⁶ Mesnard thus concludes:

La vérité est sans doute à mi-chemin de ces deux hypothèses. Mais dans tous les cas le résultat reste le même. Brunschvicg s’est trouvé à deux doigts d’ouvrir une ère nouvelle dans le problème du classement des *Pensées*. Son attitude a retardé ce progrès de cinquante ans.¹⁴⁷

Following a discussion about the members of the original ‘editorial committee’ responsible for the *Édition de Port-Royal*, Brunschvicg deals very sympathetically with their efforts and the result obtained:

[I] nous suffit que les amis de Pascal aient obéi scrupuleusement à un devoir de conscience. En prenant avec l’écrivain des libertés qui nous paraissent aujourd’hui incompatibles avec les obligations de l’éditeur probe, ils n’ont pas cessé de se sentir en communion d’esprit avec l’homme qu’ils avaient connu, avec le chrétien qui avait voué toute sa vie à la défense de la religion vraie et qui jamais n’avait consenti à être “séparé d’autel”, à désavouer l’autorité de l’Église.¹⁴⁸

He gives examples of Port-Royal’s embellishments and simplification of Pascal’s text, but does not accuse the original editors of wrongdoing: ‘Mais au moins ont-ils tiré parti

144 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. V.

145 Jean Mesnard, ‘Histoire secrète de la recherche pascalienne au XX^e siècle’, in *Pascal/New Trends in Port-Royal Studies* (Tübingen: Narr, 2002) p. 16.

146. Ibid., p. 16.

147. Ibid., p. 17.

148 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. XIII.

de ce sacrifice pour donner aux *Pensées* un caractère d'onction sereine qui devait lui concilier les lecteurs du XVII^e siècle.’¹⁴⁹ His judgement is that the editors had made ‘un livre qui respire l’apaisement et presque la sérénité mystique, un livre largement chrétien, propre à nourrir également toutes les âmes pieuses’.¹⁵⁰

Brunschvicg’s discussion then touches briefly on editions prior to his own. He describes Condorcet’s as ‘un choix de pensées [...] plutôt qu’une édition proprement dite’, and remarks that its interest lies in its plan, conforming to the systematic idea Condorcet had of Pascal.¹⁵¹ Bossut’s edition of 1779 abandoned Port-Royal’s plan, but conserved most of Port-Royal’s titles, without seeking another plan which might have had some agreement with an apology planned by Pascal. However, for Brunschvicg, Bossut had made the text appear like two volumes, one profane and the other sacred: ‘Pourtant par son caractère l’édition de Bossut semblait faite pour offrir une base plutôt que pour mettre un terme au travail des éditeurs. En brisant l’unité du recueil des *Pensées*, pour en faire comme deux volumes, l’un profane et l’autre sacré, elle défigurait aux yeux des familiers de Pascal l’aspect général et comme l’allure du livre qu’ils aimaient.’¹⁵² Commenting on Frantin’s work of 1835, Brunschvicg considers that he had presented Pascal’s philosophy ‘comme une conciliation entre la foi et la raison, et il la met à cet égard en opposition avec le cartésianisme pour la rapprocher du kantisme’.¹⁵³

In an extended consideration of Victor Cousin’s part in the *intrigue* concerning the *Pensées* in the nineteenth century, Brunschvicg quotes from Cousin’s *Rapport* read at the Académie Française from April 1st to August 1st, 1842: ‘Un pareil monument eût

149. Ibid., XII, p. XVII.

150. Ibid., XII, p. XVIII.

151. Ibid., XII, p. XXIV.

152. Ibid., XII, p. XXIX.

153. Ibid., XII, p. XXXI.

peut-être convenu à un siècle malade tel que le nôtre; il eût pu attirer et recevoir René et Byron convertis, des hommes longtemps en proie aux horreurs du doute et voulant s'en délivrer à tout prix.'¹⁵⁴ This rhetoric, which ascribes to the *Pensées* a therapeutic role in assuaging social sickness, is a recurrent one, notably in T. S. Eliot's frequently quoted 1932 introduction to W. F. Trotter's English translation of Brunschvicg's edition,¹⁵⁵ and underlines the relevance of social and political factors to the reception of texts.

With Prosper Faugère's edition, Brunschvicg remarks that Pascal's text had arrived at the end of its trials and tribulations – almost – and he acknowledges Faugère as the first to take full account of the manuscript.¹⁵⁶ He describes Ernest Havet's edition as 'un monument', but laments Havet's tendency to judge and often contradict Pascal, and also the 'cadre artificiel que Havet emprunte à l'abbé Bossut'.¹⁵⁷ Of the many editions following these, he remarks upon their almost uniformly dogmatic claim to follow the plan desired by Pascal,¹⁵⁸ and the tendency among Catholic editors to suppress fragments marked by Jansenism, or to break Pascal's connection with the movement.¹⁵⁹

The ordering of the fragments is the main topic considered in the *Seconde Partie* of the *Introduction*. Brunschvicg does not believe that there is any evidence with sufficient authority from which Pascal's plan for the disposition of the fragments can be drawn. Moreover, he raises the possibility that many fragments might not have been intended for the *Apologie*,¹⁶⁰ for example the polemical fragments and the translations of Isaiah and Daniel. He dismisses the possibility of classifying the fragments by date,

154. *Ibid.*, XII, p. XXXIII.

155 Thomas Stearns Eliot, *Introduction to Pascal's Pensées*, in *Blaise Pascal, Pensées*, trans. W. F. Trotter (London: Dent, New York: Dutton, 1932), p. xviii.

156 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. XXXIII.

157. *Ibid.*, XII, p. XXXIV.

158. *Ibid.*, XII, p. XXXVIII.

159. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII.

160. *Ibid.*, XII, p. LI.

on account of changes in paper and ink occasioned by Pascal's movements, and the presumption that he snatched any piece of paper at hand to record his thoughts at any moment.¹⁶¹ With regard to this last point, the work of Pol Ernst has shown that this was by no means always the case, and that Pascal often wrote on particular batches of paper.¹⁶² The MS (Fn 9202) does not present the fragments as found in 1662, and its binding dates from 1711. Were it published, 'nous risquerions de rendre les *Pensées* inintelligibles et inaccessibles à neuf lecteurs sur dix; nous ferions taire la voix de celui qui a dit: *Le silence est la plus grande persécution.*'¹⁶³ In addition, there are many difficulties in accepting the report of Pascal's *conférence* in 1658, in which he outlined to a number of friends his plan for an apology. It is reported by Filleau de la Chaise, in his *Discours sur les Pensées de M. Pascal*,¹⁶⁴ but this, published eight years after the *conférence*, could not take account of fragments written after 1658, and memories of an event eight years before would be unlikely to be precise. In a footnote¹⁶⁵ Brunschvicg comments on a marginal note found in the manuscript ('Transposer après les lois, au titre suivant') that '[I]es indications de ce genre, qu'on trouve dans le manuscrit de Pascal, suffisent pour démontrer que Pascal était loin d'avoir arrêté d'une façon définitive l'ordre de l'*Apologie*, et combien il serait téméraire d'en prétendre donner une reconstitution.' Finally, as mentioned before, Brunschvicg regarded the *table des matières* (fragment S1) as something produced in the course of an abortive attempt at publication.

In consequence, Brunschvicg makes no pretence at imagining the plan Pascal may have had, but simply orders the fragments according to his own logic. Nonetheless, he

161. *Ibid.*, XII, p. XLVIII.

162 Pol Ernst, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, pp. 129-133. Ernst refers to 'paquets de feuilles homogènes'.

163 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. LI.

164 Jean Filleau de la Chaise, *Discours*.

165 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. 93, fn. 6.

believes there are clues within the fragments themselves: ‘L’ordre vrai, celui qui engendre la conviction, est un ordre synthétique; en apparence il rompt le discours, en réalité il va droit au but: “Cet ordre consiste principalement à la digression sur chaque point qu’on rapporte à la fin, pour la montrer toujours”’ (fragment B 283, S 329).¹⁶⁶ Pascal indicates a general disposition into two parts, the first about man and his corruption, the second about Jesus Christ and redemption, but the ordering within these parts is unknown. Brunschvicg says that he would have accepted Havet’s classification but for its preservation of the fragmentation made by Bossut: ‘Il faut se résigner à un classement, et puisqu’il est inévitable, le choisir le moins mauvais possible. Or le moins mauvais en l’occurrence, n’est-ce pas celui qui est consacré par l’usage, celui de Bossut, complété par Havet?’¹⁶⁷ This statement signals the legitimising role of perpetuity, and its effect on reception. Commercial considerations are another similar influence, neither having any true relationship to the intrinsic value of the text. Louis Lafuma remarks that Havet gained a commercial advantage for his edition by retaining Bossut’s existing classification.¹⁶⁸

Finally, he believes that within the fragments there are indications left by Pascal which can serve as guides to the ordering of certain fragments, and that particularly in technical parts, such as *Figuratifs*, *Prophéties*, and *Miracles* the chapters indicate themselves.

Dans l’exécution de cette tâche, Pascal devait être notre seul guide: non seulement à maintes reprises, il avait marqué lui-même par l’indication d’un titre le chapitre auquel le fragment devait se rapporter, et il avait ainsi commencé le travail que nous avons à compléter; mais il avait aussi jeté quelques points

166. Ibid., XII, p. LVI.

167. Ibid., XII, p. LVII.

168. Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 59, and see reference to Ernest Havet’s edition, discussed earlier.

de repère qui nous renseignent sur le but du chapitre et sur la liaison des fragments qui le composent.¹⁶⁹

He arrives thus at fourteen sections and hopes that the reader will find its justification within it, and will follow the continuity as it appears to Brunschvicg's logic. However, he gives the reader the following warning:

Mais, si l'existence même de cette continuité logique nous assure de n'avoir pas été absolument infidèle à Pascal, nous voudrions aussi qu'on ne s'en exagérât pas le caractère ou la prétention. Nous n'avons pas échappé à l'arbitraire et nous n'avons pas évité toute incertitude; nous savons en particulier qu'il n'y a pas de distinction expresse entre certains fragments de la section II qui visent à établir par la psychologie la misère de l'homme et certains fragments de la section VI qui tirent des oppositions entre les philosophies la preuve de sa double nature, ou encore entre ceux de la section VII sur Jésus-Christ rédempteur, et ceux de la section XII sur Jésus-Christ personnage historique. Nous avons conscience que nous publions, non un ouvrage de Pascal, mais ses écrits posthumes. Nous tenons par-dessus tout à respecter le caractère fragmentaire que la mort leur a imposé, limitant le contenu, et masquant ainsi la portée, d'une "digression" que l'ordre du cœur devait pousser jusqu'à la fin commune.¹⁷⁰

Of the two parts of the *Troisième partie* of the *Introduction* the first is identified in the *Table des Matières* as 'Lectures et influences'. Under this heading Brunschvicg briefly discusses the issue of fragmentation, and alleges that the opinion of his time about the fragments is that '[la brièveté] est plus émouvante et plus pathétique; elle a moins de force doctrinale, mais elle leur parle de plus près, elle leur révèle plus directement, selon l'expression de Vinet, *Pascal non l'auteur, mais l'homme*'.¹⁷¹ He challenges the notion that Pascal read little, and suggests that Montaigne's *Essais* and

169 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. LVIII.

170. Ibid., XII, p. LXV.

171. Ibid., XII, p. LXVIII (typography original). In this regard, Sainte-Beuve, in his review of Prosper Faugère's edition, claims that in his day the literary criticism stirred by Victor Cousin's intervention and his allusion to Pascal's scepticism indicated a shift of interest to Pascal the person (Sainte-Beuve, *Revue des deux mondes*, juillet 1844, première quinzaine, p. 108).

the *Apologie de Raymond Sebond* among them ‘marquent avec netteté les contours du plan que l’Apologétique de Pascal devait remplir.’¹⁷² Montaigne heads his list of influences on Pascal, followed by Charron and Méré. The four stages of Augustinian doctrine,¹⁷³ as taught by Jansenius, are elaborated, and Brunschvicg tells how Pascal wrote a text after Jansenius to reconcile the discordances in the Evangelists, and how he applied himself to establish correspondence between the two testaments. Brunschvicg raises no doubts that the fragments were intended to form the basis of an apology:

Le libertin, auquel s’adresse Pascal et qui aurait été comme le héros de son *Apologie*, c’est l’homme des temps nouveaux qu’après la renaissance des lettres antiques et le réveil de la pensée libre la science moderne commence de former, l’homme qui s’attache à la nature et qui prétend se développer suivant les lois de la raison.¹⁷⁴

He regards his fragment B 62 and fragment B 242 (both of which are combined by Sellier as S 644) as what Pascal would have used in the prefaces for the two parts of the *Apologie*, namely Man and corruption, Jesus Christ and redemption. The second part would seek to ‘démontrer la vérité de la religion’.¹⁷⁵ Brunschvicg ends this section with the following assessment:

Pour avoir porté trop haute l’exigence de Dieu, Pascal demeure sans postérité philosophique, sans postérité religieuse. L’hommage que nous lui devons n’est pas de transformer en émule ou en disciple quiconque n’a pas été indifférent ou étranger à l’ascendant de son génie, c’est d’oser le suivre sur le rocher solitaire qui est un des sommets spirituels de l’humanité.¹⁷⁶

172. Ibid., XII, p. LXXI.

173. Ibid., XII, p. LXXXV (avant la loi, après la loi, l’état de grâce, l’état de gloire).

174. Ibid., XII, p. XCVII.

175. Ibid., XII, p. XC.

176. Ibid., XII, p. CII.

The second part of the *Troisième partie* of the *Introduction* is identified in the *Table des Matières* as ‘La conception générale des *Pensées*’. Brunschvicg explains how, beginning with La Vérité, Pascal shows that even geometry does not fulfil the demands of the rational method, because of an infinite recession of necessary previous terms, but that ‘sans doute cette impuissance n’est pas un obstacle pour le géomètre; il se sent soutenu par un instinct qui lui fait apercevoir, avec une clarté supérieure à toute explication logique, les principes auxquels devra se suspendre la chaîne des définitions et des démonstrations; il y a un esprit géométrique qui equivaut à une intuition du cœur’ (ref. fragments B 1 and B 282).¹⁷⁷

In the *Troisième partie* of the *Introduction*, Brunschvicg has produced a narrative of Pascal’s account of reason and its limitations, and of the solution to man’s dilemma in the revelation of the *Messie rédempteur*, which acts not by opening a path by reason to the truth, as proposed by Malebranche, but which begins by establishing man ‘dans son état de péché et corruption’,¹⁷⁸ according with the views of Saint Augustine and Jansenius. But in Pascal’s eyes, this fundamental truth of Christianity goes unheeded by most of the faithful and the authorities of the Church.

Drawing on the fragment S 655 (B 245), ‘Il y a trois ordres de croire: la raison, la coutume, l’inspiration’, Brunschvicg identifies three superimposed orders of knowledge for Pascal, *imagination*, *raison*, *sentiment*, and he likens Pascal’s philosophy to that of Spinoza in this regard.¹⁷⁹ Brunschvicg equates *sentiment* with *inspiration*, that is, a gift from God to the elect.¹⁸⁰

177. Ibid., XII, p. CV.

178. Ibid., XII, p. CXII. This statement corresponds with Brunschvicg’s description of the effect of God’s grace in the *Introduction* to Brunschvicg Minor, p. 300, to which reference has already been made.

179. Ibid., XII, p. CXIV.

180. Ibid., XII, p. CXIII.

He regards the argument of fragment S 680 (B 233), *le Pari*, as representing the absolute limit of human striving for truth, and he stresses its inefficacy as essential to it:

L'argument du pari, à le borner à lui-même, est dépourvu de toute efficacité; et il faut bien qu'il en soit ainsi, puisque cette efficacité serait la justification de l'apologétique utilitaire et, dans le triomphe apparent d'une Église, l'irréfutable démonstration de l'athéisme pratique – nous n'avons pas à nous demander ce que l'auteur des *Provinciales* penserait de pareilles conversions.¹⁸¹

Here Brunschvicg refers to fragment S 410 (B 470): 'Ils s'imaginent que cette conversion consiste en une adoration qui se fait de Dieu comme un commerce et une conversation telle qu'ils se la figurent. La conversion véritable consiste à s'anéantir devant cet être universel'. He then explains how it is that man's own sense of justice leads him to seek justice in his own terms in the search for truth, which for Pascal is a moral problem.¹⁸² Miton and Méré reject religion because they remain attached to human justice and Pascal attacks human justice because he has a more profound understanding of justice, which Brunschvicg illustrates with reference to fragment S 237 (B 489):

Il est donc impossible de découvrir la justice dans la conduite de Dieu vis-à-vis des hommes. [...] L'idée de justice ne subsiste donc plus dans notre esprit que pour nous conduire à l'alternative que Pascal pose sans trembler: "il faut que nous naissions coupables, ou Dieu serait injuste."¹⁸³

In the final section the discussion is on the Church, and Brunschvicg begins by discussing the relationship of the two Testaments, comparing Pascal's analysis with that

181. Ibid., XII, p. CXVII.

182. Ibid., XII, p. CXVIII.

183. Ibid., XII, p. CXIX.

of Spinoza: ‘L’Évangile de Jésus n’est absolument intelligible et absolument vrai qu’en rapport avec l’Ancien Testament [.]’¹⁸⁴

The miracle of the Holy Thorn¹⁸⁵ is for Pascal confirmation of his election:

Les larmes que Pascal a versées dans la nuit d’extase et devant le feu de la certitude intérieure se renouvellent au miracle de la Sainte Épine; dans un “éclair” s’est manifesté le Dieu vivant, qui a discerné ses vrais adorateurs et les a marqués du sceau des élus. Pascal répète la parole de saint Augustin: “Je ne serais pas chrétien sans les miracles.”¹⁸⁶

Brunschvicg believes that this miracle was the inspiration for the writing of an apology:

‘Les *Pensées* sont nées du miracle; c’est de lui qu’elles reçoivent l’unité de leur inspiration en même temps que l’espoir de leur efficacité. Les *Pensées* sont un hymne de reconnaissance, et une prière ardente pour le salut des hommes.’¹⁸⁷ Brunschvicg’s conjecture may be true, but Pascal has expressed his own reservations about miracles in general: ‘Il ne faut pas juger de la vérité par les miracles, mais du miracle par la vérité. Donc les miracles sont inutiles’ (fragment S 442), and he does not wish to use miracles as a foundation for the truth of Christianity: ‘Je ne parle point ici des miracles de Moïse, de Jésus-Christ et des apôtres, parce qu’ils ne paraissent pas d’abord convaincants et que je ne veux que mettre ici en évidence tous les fondements de cette religion chrétienne qui sont indubitables’ (fragment S 694). Furthermore, ‘La plus grande des preuves de Jésus-Christ sont les prophéties’ (fragment S 368).¹⁸⁸ Richard Parish has summarized Pascal’s approach to miracles, as expressed in the *Pensées*, and in relation

184. Ibid., XII, p. CXXXII.

185 Pascal’s niece had a severe infection of the tear duct, which resolved after the affected area was touched by a relic believed to be of Christ’s crown of thorns. This appears to have been interpreted by Pascal, his family, and Port-Royal associates as a sign of God’s personal patronage.

186. Ibid., XII, p. CXL. The reference here is to fragment S 200 (B 812).

187. Ibid., XII, p. CXL.

188 Already noted are Pol Ernst’s palaeographic studies, which support the conclusion that Pascal may have relegated miracles to a secondary place early in the genesis of his apology (Pol Ernst, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, p. 209).

to the miracle of the Holy Thorn.¹⁸⁹ He indicates the purposefulness of miracles, which ‘exist in order to point to something beyond themselves’,¹⁹⁰ as in fragment S 421: ‘les vrais miracles donnent de la vérité, qui est la fin principale des miracles’. Miracles also support doctrine: ‘Les miracles sont pour la doctrine et non pas la doctrine pour les miracles’ (S 428). Moreover, in fragment S 434 Pascal emphasises that miracles are the work of God alone: ‘Ce ne sont point des hommes qui font ces miracles par une vertu inconnue. C’est Dieu même, [...]’, and again in fragment S 419 : [R]ien n’étant couvert à Dieu, qui est le seul auteur et opérateur des miracles, quels qu’ils soient, pourvu qu’ils soient vrais miracles’.

In the final paragraph of the *Introduction* Brunschvicg remarks that Pascal’s Christian cannot rest in the joy of Heaven, but must greet it with tears and anxiety, and it is this anxiety that makes Pascal’s thoughts communicate so well with readers:

Même illuminé par la flamme d’un bonheur céleste, le chrétien ne peut pas se reposer dans ce bonheur, et le faire sien; il doit l’accueillir dans les larmes et dans l’anxiété. Voilà sans doute le dernier secret des *Pensées*; voilà pourquoi ces Fragments, destinés pour la plupart à une *Apologie du christianisme*, tournés contre les libertins et les mauvais chrétiens, sont pleins pourtant de l’âme même de Pascal; c’est de lui qu’ils nous entretiennent et c’est vers lui qu’ils dirigent notre esprit; c’est l’angoisse d’un drame intérieur qui de l’auteur se communique aux lecteurs.¹⁹¹

In highlighting the magnetic power of Pascal’s ‘angoisse d’un drame intérieur’ which radiates from the *Pensées*, Brunschvicg touches upon one of the most important reasons for the timeless appeal of the work.

Brunschvicg makes no attempt to interpret the fragments in any way inimical to the project of an apology. His readings often reconcile parts that seem contradictory or

189 Richard Parish, *Pascal’s Lettres Provinciales. A Study in Polemic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 164-72.

190. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

191 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. CXLI.

questionable, an example being his brief interpretation of *le Pari*, mentioned above. Although his inference that if such an argument were efficacious, it would in effect be an argument for non-belief might be questioned, his making it the nemesis of the *esprit de géométrie* and the threshold to the *esprit de finesse* brings it into line with other of Pascal's arguments for the limits of the power of reason. An extensive commentary on this fragment accompanies it in the main text.¹⁹²

The next part of volume XII, pages CXLV to CCLIII, consists of 'Pièces justificatives pour la première partie de l'Introduction'. This contains the text of the *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal*, Filleau de la Chaise's *Discours sur les pensées de M. Pascal*, and a plan for the apology according to Gilberte Périer, taken from Jérôme Besoigne's *Histoire de l'abbaye de Port-Royal*, 6 vols (Cologne: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1752), IV, p. 469. Several letters are reproduced, including those from Brienne to Gilberte Périer, a letter from Antoine Arnauld to Florin Périer about changes to be made to the published text, which resulted in the suppression of the fragment about justice on page 293 of the 1669 printing, and letters relating to the misinterpretation of the dispute Pascal had with Arnauld and Nicole over the signing of the *Formulaire*.

Then follow the 'Pièces justificatives pour la deuxième partie de l'Introduction', consisting of a first part of the 'Argument logique des *Pensées* dans la présente édition', in which Brunschvicg gives reasons for the thematic choice of each of the fourteen sections of his ordering of the *Pensées*. The second part is a table of concordance between the manuscript, the two *Copies*, the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and the editions of Bossut, Faugère, Havet, Molinier, Michaut, and his own.

192. Ibid., XIII, pp. 141-155.

The fourteen sections have already been discussed in relation to Brunschvicg Minor, from which they are transferred *verbatim*.¹⁹³

After the 310 pages of Introduction and accompanying documents in volume XII, the *Pensées* themselves begin, and at their head is the *Mémorial*, unnumbered. Volumes XIII and XIV consist entirely of *Pensées*. There is an index at the end of volume XIV and a *Table Sommaire* of the fourteen sections and their thematic contents.

THE FACSIMILE

Original des Pensées de Pascal, Facsimile du manuscrit 9202 (Fonds français) de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Phototypie de Berthaud Frères). Texte imprimé en regard et notes par Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1905)

This is an *in folio* collection of photographic reproductions of the pages of the *Recueil Original*, containing 260 pages of photography. Its production depended upon adequate subscription, which opened at 125 fr. per copy, and rose to 200 fr. after 25 May 1904. It could be bought by fascicle, at 10 fr. each.

Introduction

In the introduction Brunschvicg reviews the history of the original fragments.¹⁹⁴ He doubts that it is exactly the collection kept by Louis Périer, because the attestation, which certifies the authenticity of the manuscript that l'abbé Périer deposited in the Bibliothèque des Bénédictins de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, is incomplete. The part of it which notes the beginning of the first page and of the last page of the item deposited is blank. It is shown in Folio A (see below).

Brunschvicg appears to believe that the publication will aid detailed research:

Pour notre compte, nous dirions qu'après plusieurs éditions diversement mais également intelligentes, diversement mais également fidèles, il est nécessaire de publier le *fac-simile*.

193 See pp. 166-73.

194 Blaise Pascal, *Original des Pensées de Pascal*, ed. by Léon Brunschvicg (Paris: Hachette, 1905), pp. I-II.

Certes nous entendons le reproche que Cousin faisait à Faugère, avec une sévérité qui n'était pas tout impartialité: "Il ne faut pas adorer superstitieusement les restes d'un grand homme." Nous retrouvons l'écho de ce reproche dans une étude qu'un spirituel critique anglais, particulièrement autorisé à parler des choses de la littérature française, M. Edmund Gosse consacrait à notre édition des *Pensées*: il opposait à l'humilité de Pascal les soins dévotieux d'un commentateur qui paraît traiter comme un objet miraculeux la moindre ligne, la moindre rature du manuscrit. Mais nous devons l'avouer ici: nous voyons les choses autrement. Pour nous, la superstition est ce qui arrête l'effort pour comprendre; la chose présumée miraculeuse est celle qu'on n'ose point regarder en face, ni étudier de près, avec la familiarité que suppose la méthode critique.¹⁹⁵

On page V is a reproduction of the publisher Hachette's announcement of the subscription to support the publication, which would not go ahead unless enough subscriptions were received. A note on page VI indicates that the *Ministre de l'Instruction publique* was in the forefront of the subscribers. The *Ordre de Planches* is found on page IX and page X contains the *Avertissement pour le texte* and the *Avertissement pour les notes*. Before the fragments proper there are three folios labelled A, D and E. Folio A is Louis Périer's letter of deposition at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which leaves blank the number of pages of the deposit, and the starting words of the first and last page. Folio D is Pascal's copy of the *Mémorial*, with a note that on its verso is Louis Périer's attestation that it is in Pascal's hand, and Folio E is the copy of it made by Louis Périer.

In each folio is a copy of one page of the collection, the text with adjacent notes is given in parallel columns on the left page, the photograph of the page is given on the right. The notes are those from *Brunschvicg Major*, but from which all added biblical references, commentary or interpretation has been deleted. They each bear the number of the fragment in *Brunschvicg Major*.

195. Ibid., pp. IV-V.

At the end of the collection there is a copy of a letter from Pascal to Huygens of 6 January 1659, a copy of a letter from Gilberte Périer to M. Vallant, of 1 April, 1670,¹⁹⁶ and of folios 83 and 84 of the *Copie*, which Marguerite Périer gave to Jean Guerrier. They are reproduced because they have corrections in manuscript which Faugère attributed to Pierre Nicole, and which support Brunschvicg's contention that the *Copie* was a work-in-progress document made by the *Comité d'examen*.¹⁹⁷

It is interesting that Brunschvicg used this publication to support the above contention, when, according to Jean Mesnard, there was reason to abandon it, but, perhaps for commercial motives, Brunschvicg was unwilling to do so.¹⁹⁸ Despite his eminence as a philosopher, and despite the success of his editions of the *Pensées* (or perhaps because of it) Brunschvicg appears to have generated much antagonism in academic circles on account of these editions of the *Pensées*. On the other hand he numbered the fragments consecutively in his edition, which Havet had only done within each of the *Articles* in his edition, which still reflected the plan of the Édition de Port-Royal. This made the corpus more easily studied, and may have contributed to the success of his 1897 edition (Brunschvicg Minor). Moreover, in publishing the photographic reproductions, he made the originals widely accessible, and in leaving the accompanying text free of commentary he provided a genuine reference work. In retrospect, however, his textual 'errors' of reading, as emphasised by Tourneur, might have led to a few misunderstandings.

196 Noël Vallant was a successful doctor, and secretary to Madame de Sablé. He attended the sick at Port-Royal, and one such event is recorded in Nicolas Fontaine, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port-Royal*, 2 vols (Utrecht: la Compagnie, 1742), II, p. 217 et seq.

197 Blaise Pascal, *Original*, ed. Brunschvicg, 1905, p. VII.

198 Mesnard, *Histoire secrète*, p. 16.

Criticism of Brunschvicg's edition of the *Pensées*

At the time of its publication in 1897 Désiré Mercier¹⁹⁹ hailed the edition as 'bien près d'être l'édition classique définitive'.²⁰⁰ However, it subsequently survived much serious criticism before its eclipse by the editions which follow the order of the *Copies*.

Jean Mesnard is highly critical of Brunschvicg and has alleged that through the authority of his edition, Brunschvicg's failure to respond to the evidence of the *Première Copie* effectively stifled new studies on the order of the fragments for fifty years.²⁰¹ A major complaint is in relation to the effect the order chosen by Brunschvicg might have on the reader. For example, Henry Peyre saw a bias towards the expression of man's wretchedness in the ordering of fragments:

[C]'est ainsi que l'édition [...] rassemble dans la section II tous les fragments où est proclamée l'infirmité de l'homme et de son intelligence, tandis que l'autre aspect de l'antithèse pascalienne, la grandeur de l'homme, n'apparaît que dans les pensées dispersées ça et là dans le reste du livre.²⁰²

Patricia Topliss repeated this complaint, adding that Brunschvicg's 'logical continuity' distorted what she regarded as Pascal's 'synthetic method'.²⁰³

Anthony Pugh is not surprised at the success of the edition, because 'Brunschvicg did take care to group fragments according to rational principles, and the reader has an impression of coherence which he does not find in the Lafuma-type edition',²⁰⁴ but he counters this by criticising the order on hypothetical grounds:

The most clear-cut example of Brunschvicg's order distorting the subtlety of Pascal's thinking would be the historical proofs,

199 Désiré Mercier (1851-1926) was a Belgian cardinal who fostered the revival of the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas. He taught philosophy in the early part of his career.

200 Désiré Mercier, 'Léon Brunschvicg, *Blaise Pascal, Opuscules et Pensées*', *Revue Néo-scholastique*, 1900, vol.7, no. 26, 258-59 (p. 258).

201 Mesnard, *Histoire secrète*, p. 17.

202 Peyre, p. 330.

203 Topliss, p. 157.

204 Pugh, p. 431.

which he places at the end, after he has given the *pensées* on the psychological reasons for accepting Christianity. By putting the historical proofs into what is effectively an appendix, Brunschvicg both minimizes and maximizes their importance, for a reader must assume one of two things: either that they are of little importance, as the main work has been completed, or else that they are the corner-stone on which Christianity either stands or falls.²⁰⁵

This complaint seems a little hollow when one considers that the ‘proofs’ are considered towards the end of the lecture Pascal is believed to have given to his friends, as described by Étienne Périer in the *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal*. Moreover, four of the fourteen sections of the edition are devoted to *figuratives*, *prophéties*, *preuves de Jésus-Christ*, and *miracles*, admittedly at the end of the text, but hardly an ‘appendix’.

Zacharie Tourneur was highly critical of Brunschvicg for inaccuracies in his edition. In the *Mercure de France* in 1934 he wrote a scathing article, ‘Le Massacre des “Pensées” de Pascal’ about various editions; nine pages of the text were devoted to a list of errors he found in the editions of Brunschvicg and Strowski.²⁰⁶ There is an element of resentment in Tourneur’s writing, and in his later description of finding three hundred errors in Brunschvicg’s edition, he expresses his feeling that his work was not given due credit.²⁰⁷ Brunschvicg did, however, give some acknowledgement to his work, for example in an *Avant-propos*: ‘En plus d’un passage nous avons mis à profit les utiles corrections qu’a proposées M. Z. Tourneur.’²⁰⁸ Paradoxically, Jean Grenier follows his appreciative reception of Tourneur’s own edition with the statement: ‘Cette

205. Ibid., p. 432.

206 Zacharie Tourneur, ‘Le Massacre des “Pensées” de Pascal’, *Mercure de France* 249, January 15, 1934, 289-98.

207 Zacharie Tourneur, *Une Vie avec Blaise Pascal* (Paris: Vrin, 1943) pp. 18-20.

208 Léon Brunschvicg, *Descartes et Pascal lecteurs de Montaigne* (Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1945) p. 10.

édition ne pourra certainement pas remplacer l'édition claire et commode de Léon Brunschvicg [.],²⁰⁹

Similar sentiments are found in a review of Louis Lafuma's 1951 edition. Morris Bishop, former professor of Romance Literature at Cornell University, spoke for the general reader when he asked:

But is it an edition for the general reader who merely wants to know Pascal? Why no; its scholarly apparatus would be intolerably distracting. Whoever wants a reconstructed Apology for Christian Religion should choose the editions of Jacques Chevalier²¹⁰ or H. F. Stewart; and whoever wants simply to know the Pascal everyone knows will find still nothing better than Brunschvicg.²¹¹

Nonetheless, although the inexpensive nature of the 1897 edition, and the spread of Brunschvicg's name through the English translation, were germane to its success, it is Brunschvicg's own authority in education and his minting a currency out of the *Pensées* by numbering them consecutively that the longevity of the edition is mainly due. In the early 1950s Lafuma claimed that the edition had been swept away,²¹² but Brunschvicg Minor still sold well into the 1960s,²¹³ and an edition was still available in 2007.²¹⁴ The opinion that for the general reader it is still an effective choice has often been expressed.

209 Jean Grenier, 'Zacharie Tourneur; *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la Religion*', *Esprit*, Septembre 1939, p. 773.

210 Jacques Chevalier (1882-1962) was Professor of Philosophy in Grenoble. He was a friend and follower of Henri Bergson, but was opposed to Léon Brunschvicg's rationalism. A devout Catholic, he published in 1925 his edition of Pascal's *Pensées* with the title *Pensées sur la Vérité de la religion chrétienne*.

211 Morris Bishop, 'Blaise Pascal: «Pensées sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets» (Introduction et notes de Louis Lafuma). Paris, Éditions de Luxembourg, 1951. 3 vols.', *Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures*, Vol.7, Issue 2, 1953, 415.

212 Louis Lafuma, *undated manuscript letter*, Paris, Bibliothèque de Port-Royal, Archive Lafuma. AL 1.2.16. ' [...] Cette édition a fait trop de bien pour en dire du mal et fait trop de mal pour en dire du bien. [...] Ainsi que l'a dit un éminent universitaire [...] "...à la suite des dernières découvertes faites sur les *Pensées* l'édition B. a été balayée"'.

213 For example, 1,848 copies of Brunschvicg Minor sold in 1959, 1,850 sold in 1964 (Copy statements of sales from 1949 to 1964, IMEC, Caen, Archive Hachette, Brunschvicg, Dossier BRN 34.2).

214 *Pascal Pensées*, ed. by Léon Brunschvicg, présentation par Dominique Descotes (Paris: Flammarion, 2007).

Conclusion

Apart from the decision of how to present the fragments, an editor of a new edition might be challenged to exceed in erudition the work of precursors. Brunschvicg's edition represents a combination of the loyalty to the manuscript of Prosper Faugère's edition with the erudite commentary of Ernest Havet's. He freed the *Pensées* from the style of the Port-Royal edition,²¹⁵ and numbered them consecutively throughout. He accepted the report that in 1658 Pascal had outlined to a select audience his plan to write an apology for Christianity, and that Filleau de la Chaise's report was trustworthy, but not reliable evidence for the details of the plan. He does not question the belief that the fragments found after Pascal's death were the notes for the apology, and he incorporates them all in his version, reordering according to his own logic how to present them most convincingly as an apology. Nowhere does he reproach Pascal for his religion. Despite the criticisms of Brunschvicg's ordering of the fragments, the edition has been regarded as most accessible for the general reader, a judgement which appears not to have resulted simply from Brunschvicg's powerful position in education.

Brunschvicg's commentary differs from that of his predecessor Havet more in emphasis than in content, in that he expresses his enthusiasm for Pascal with less hyperbole, and he is not so meticulous in signalling associations with Jansenism. But he takes authority over the text more fully than other editors. By his frank disclaimer of any intention to emulate a hypothetical plan for the *Pensées*, Brunschvicg absolves Pascal of any responsibility for faults that critics may find in his edition, and this opens onto the global issue of judgements about all editions. Pascal cannot be criticized at all for any aspect of any edition, because there is no evidence that he ever wrote one. The fragments are not a book by Pascal, but, at best, a builder's yard of components, each of

215 Prosper Faugère had done this in 1844, but numbered the fragments only within each of the chapters in which he had chosen to order them.

which is capable of modification, and whose nature would be modified or modulated according to the context in which it finally found itself, if used by him to build a text.

CHAPTER 6: THE EDITIONS OF LOUIS LAFUMA

INTRODUCTION

Just as it was appropriate to review some of the editions published before Brunschvicg's, so should Zacharie Tourneur and his edition be discussed in relation to that of Louis Lafuma. Lafuma, after criticising the errors in Tourneur's edition, makes a grudging acknowledgement of his importance: ' Il n'en a pas moins fait faire un pas décisif aux éditions des *Pensées*.'¹

THE EDITION OF ZACHARIE TOURNEUR

Zacharie Tourneur (1877-1944) was a professor at the Collège de Melun. The psychoanalyst Didier Anzieu studied there under him, and assisted with the publication of his 1938 edition of the *Pensées*. A new edition was published in 1961, the Tourneur-Anzieu edition. Tourneur was the first to recognise the importance of the *liasses*, and of the *Première Copie* (Fn 9203). He also observed the watermarks in the paper, allowing fragments to be identified as having been cut from the same sheet. This form of study has since been extensively expanded by Pol Ernst, allowing, among other things, a distinction to be made between papers cut by Pascal, and cuttings made after his death.² According to Nathan Edelman 'This ed. [edition], better than any other, displays P's [Pascal's] successive corrections, progress of his thought and style. One may listen to P. [Pascal] changing his mind.'³ Tourneur wrote his doctoral thesis on a study of Pascal's

1 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 83.

2 Pol Ernst, *Les Pensées de Pascal*.

3 Nathan Edelman, ed., *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature, Vol. III. The Seventeenth Century* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1961), p. 420.

early life, and the foundations of his literary style, which is the basis of his book *Une Vie avec Blaise Pascal*. In the *Table* Tourneur describes himself as ‘un paysan de Saintonge, ancien élève de l’Institut Catholique de Paris et de la Sorbonne, qui a consacré ses loisirs de professeur au déchiffrement, à l’étude et à l’édition du manuscrit des *Pensées*’.⁴ The tone of his writing is sometimes sharp, even bitter,⁵ and he is highly critical of the errors of other editions of the *Pensées*. In that of Brunschvicg, ‘la moins fautive’, he found more than three hundred misreadings of the text. As for Strowski’s edition, ‘c’est un véritable massacre’.⁶ He is equally intolerant of the hyperbole found in critical studies. In *Une Vie avec Pascal* he singles out for comment Brunschvicg’s remark: ‘Pascal est, à la lettre, le dernier prophète d’Israël’,⁷ and he is resentful that his work on finding errors in Brunschvicg’s edition was ignored.⁸ Later in the book he gives his personal view of Pascal:

Je crois que je ne me serais pas entendu longtemps avec ce dernier [Pascal], grincheux, autoritaire, à l’esprit systématique, à l’humeur changeante et agressive. Je doute fort qu’en dehors de Rouanès, à qui le liait une affection baignée de larmes, il ait eu beaucoup d’amis, de vrais amis, prêts à lui donner des conseils, au risque de lui déplaire, et à se sacrifier pour le servir.⁹

And his assessment of Pascal is summarised in the last three entries in the *Table* at the end of the book:

4 Zacharie Tourneur, *Une Vie avec Blaise Pascal* (Paris: Vrin, 1943), *Table*.

5 For example, in ‘Le Massacre des “Pensées” de Pascal’, *Mercure de France*, 249, January 15, 1934, 285-301 (p. 285) he remarks that ‘Prosper Faugère, un érudit qui avait des loisirs, se précipita sur le grand in-folio de 253 pages’. In the same manner he refers to Ernest Havet, ‘également érudit et libre’. In this article he lists nine pages of errors from Brunschvicg’s and Strowski’s editions, after which he states (p.298): ‘L’édition Strowski apparaît donc comme un véritable massacre du ms. 9202. Omissions considérables, additions fantaisistes, étranges lectures, solécismes et barbarismes: voilà le bilan de ce qu’on nous a présenté comme une “édition définitive”, sous le signe de “La Pensée Française”.’

6 Tourneur, *Une Vie*, p. 18, footnote 2.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 12. The reference is to Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. XCIV.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Sa conduite morale présente des variations, des exagérations et des simagrées inquiétantes. Ce n'était ni un héros ni un saint, non plus qu'un sage. Mais ce fut un artiste, poète et orateur, incomparable, au langage pittoresque et rythmé, surtout à la fin de sa vie. Conclusion: C'est à ce domaine que je réduis mon admiration pour Pascal, mais sans réserves.

Frank Olivier recalls how Tourneur's 1934 articles in *le Mercure de France* came as a 'véritable révélation' to him, after sixty years of reading the *Pensées* in an 1887 version of Ernest Havet's 1852 edition.¹⁰ He continues:

L'édition critique des *Pensées* procurée par Z. Tourneur n'est pas facile ni surtout agréable à lire; mais M. L. Lafuma n'eût très probablement pas pu produire la sienne sans elle. Il l'a d'ailleurs reconnu dans le P.S. (très discret) de la p. 20 de son édition (Delmas, 1947) en avertissant que, pour le texte, il s'était rallié en général, pour les passages controversés, aux lectures indiquées par Tourneur.¹¹

In his introductory discussion of the enterprise of publishing an edition of the *Pensées* ordered according to their date of writing, Pol Ernst acknowledges Zacharie Tourneur's primary role in the essential study of watermarks, and remarks that in his edition of 1938 he had drawn attention to 125 fragments with a watermark.¹² In 1933 Tourneur had written:

Si l'on sait que tel papetier était de telle ville et qu'il ne s'est établi qu'à partir de telle année, c'est une preuve certaine que les notes écrites sur du papier marqué à son filigrane et à ses initiales ne sont pas antérieures à cette date. D'autre part, si la même marque se retrouve sur un certain nombre de fragments, il y a fort à parier qu'ils ont été écrits vers la même époque.¹³

10 Frank Olivier, *Essais*, (Genève: Droz, 1963), p. 315.

11 Frank Olivier, p. 315.

12 Pol Ernst, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, p. 4.

13 Zacharie Tourneur, *Beauté Poétique. Histoire critique d'une "pensée" de Pascal et de ses annexes* (Melun: Rozelle, 1933), p. 18.

A result of this work was the conclusion that the *Recueil Original* could not have been bound together before 1731.¹⁴ In addition, Ernst signals the other of Tourneur's important contributions to Pascal scholarship:

A la suite de ce grand éclat, Tourneur fut le premier (en 1938) à publier une édition des *Pensées* inspirée par le classement pascalien donné par la première Copie (C¹). En outre, il procura une *Edition paléographique* (1942), fruit d'un long travail de déchiffrement des originaux.¹⁵

As Tourneur says:

Reste la première Copie, dont les éditeurs ne se sont guère servis que pour éviter la peine de déchiffrer eux-mêmes le manuscrit original. Et pourtant, si, comme l'avait soupçonné L. Brunschvicg et comme je le crois, le groupement qu'elle reproduit est de Pascal lui-même, il a une valeur incomparable. C'est pourquoi, le premier entre les éditeurs de *Pensées*, je m'en suis inspiré de très près, quoique sans m'y astreindre servilement dans les moindres détails, quand l'intelligence et l'homogénéité du texte m'ont paru devoir y gagner.¹⁶

The above lines signal the persistence in Tourneur's work of major editorial interference in the order of presentation of the first *Copie*, despite the rigour of his reading: 'Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait en moyenne dix lignes de suite où je n'aie pas eu à reprendre une ou plusieurs fautes commises par les éditeurs.'¹⁷ He incorporated all the variations and deletions, corrections and additions into the printed text, using different forms of parenthesis or changes of typeface, which makes for an uninviting appearance on the page. This Tourneur acknowledges, but his arguments for this practice are cogent.¹⁸

14 Zacharie Tourneur, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Pascal*, 2 vols, ed. Zacharie Tourneur (Paris: Cluny, 1938), I, p. XXVII.

15 Pol Ernst, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, p. 2.

16 Zacharie Tourneur, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, I, p. LVII.

17. *Ibid.*, I, p. LI.

18. *Ibid.*, I, p. LII.

However, despite having decided on the authority of the first *Copie*, Tourneur separated the fragments into four groups, publishing them within each group according to the order of the *Copie*, with minor transpositions. The edition is published in two volumes. In the Première Partie, which occupies the first volume, he publishes pages 1 to 186 of the *Copie* as the sketch for an apology. This is what Lafuma called the *papiers classés*. In volume II the Seconde Partie begins with Section I, texts not recorded in the *Copie*, which Tourneur has attempted to arrange chronologically. He suggests these were not copied because they were not considered destined for the apology. Section II contains fragments from pages 313 to 472 of the *Copie*, which Tourneur himself believes unrelated to the apology. Section III contains 78 fragments from pages 191 to 308 of the *Copie*, belonging to the apology, but not yet having found their place there.¹⁹

Volume I opens with an introduction, which is essentially a publication history containing, in places, detailed criticism of the defects of earlier editions, as Tourneur discusses how he has dealt with the text. The *Pensées* are grouped consecutively under the headings given in the first *Copie*, and accompanied by footnotes which fall into the following groups:

- 1) References to the sources of Pascal's words, especially Montaigne and the Bible, texts being given in full.
- 2) Explanation and elaboration of isolated phrases and sentences, often preceded by the words 'c'est-à-dire' or 'entendez', especially where pronouns are separated from the subject to which they refer.
- 3) Errors of reading made by previous editors.
- 4) Remarks about details of the manuscript text.
- 5) Attention to texts apparently written on the same sheet.

19. Ibid., I, pp. LVII-LVIII, and see also Lafuma, *Histoire*, pp. 79-80.

At the end of volume I there is a concordance of Tourneur's numbering with the page on which the original fragment is found in the *Recueil Original* (Fn 9202), followed by notes relating to the original fragments themselves.

Volume II follows a similar pattern and ends with a similar concordance. Tourneur numbers a total of 539 fragments, whereas Lafuma numbers 993 in the 1951 edition.

Whatever may be the defects in his edition of the *Pensées*, Tourneur should be acknowledged as the first to comply essentially with the order of the first *Copie*, and as a pioneer in the study of the papers on which the fragments are written, recognising this as a clue to the time of composition. The philosopher Jean Grenier gives an appreciative reception to the edition in his contemporary review, praising Tourneur's management of all the variations in the original:

Enfin cette édition a un autre mérite incontestable: elle imprime suivant des caractères différents les additions, les corrections et les surcharges; elle signale par des artifices typographiques les ratures, les abandons, les reprises, etc... bref elle donne à bon marché l'équivalent d'une reproduction photographique. A notre avis cela est inestimable parce que cela permet de suivre le mouvement même de la pensée de Pascal.

However:

Cette édition ne pourra certainement remplacer l'édition claire et commode de Léon Brunschvicg [...] Mais elle donnera de grandes joies aux pascaliens et de nouvelles lumières.²⁰

Tourneur, 'cet érudit minutieux et passionné',²¹ has used the *Pensées* as a vehicle for his obsessive attention to detail, and has carried into it a type of combativeness

20 Jean Grenier, 'La Pensée Engagée. Zacharie Tourneur: Pensées de M. Pascal sur la Religion, édition critique', *Esprit*, September 1939, p. 773.

21 Jean Mesnard, 'L'Original des *Pensées de Pascal* avant et après Victor Cousin', *Travaux de Littérature*, XI, (1998), 121-48 (p. 137).

against other editors, particularly Brunschvicg and Strowski, which is manifest in the footnotes.

In 1942 Tourneur published another edition in which he included only those fragments found in the *Recueil original* (Fn 9202), but ordered according to the *première Copie*. It is known as the *Édition paléographique*.²² In the first part are the fragments not found in the *Copie*. Next is a group from the end of the *Copie*, including the *Pensées sur les miracles*. Finally are found the *Pensées sur la religion*. All the alterations in the original are given as in the 1938 edition.

THE TOURNEUR/ANZIEU EDITION

In 1960 Tourneur's student the celebrated psychiatrist Didier Anzieu published an improved edition.²³ He remastered Tourneur's edition according to instructions left by him, and incorporated advances made by Louis Lafuma, who cooperated fully with him. He replaced Tourneur's *Introduction* by essays on *La Vie de Pascal*, *Les Pensées*, and *La Publication des Papiers de Pascal*. Anzieu claims Pascal as the precursor of existentialism,²⁴ and writes with authority about the origins of his *angoisse*.²⁵ The typography of the publication is simplified and is much easier to read, Lafuma's corrections to readings of the autograph are incorporated, and the language is modernised. Volume I contains Lafuma's *papiers classés*, essentially in the order followed by Lafuma in his edition of 1951,²⁶ that is, the order of the first *Copie*, but Anzieu's numbering is slightly different. Here, however, the correspondence with Lafuma's edition and the sequence of the *Copie* ends, and volume II contains the

22 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Blaise Pascal*, ed. Zacharie Tourneur (Paris: Vrin, 1942).

23 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Zacharie Tourneur and Didier Anzieu, 2 vols (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960).

24. Ibid., I, p. L.

25. Ibid., I, p. LI.

26 The three-volume *Édition du Luxembourg* of 1951.

remaining *Pensées*, those described by Lafuma as *papiers non classés*, grouped into three sections, *Pensées sur quelques autres sujets*, *Fragments divers*, *Mélanges*, and *Pensées sur les miracles*. This is entirely different from volume II of Tourneur's edition of 1938, and Anzieu has added as *Annexes* Étienne Périer's *Préface* to the edition of Port-Royal, Filleau de la Chaise's *Discours*, and the *Entretien avec M. de Sacy*.

Louis Lafuma (1890-1964)

Louis Lafuma was the second of eleven children of Émile Lafuma and Sophie Giraud. His father was head of the Papeterie Lafuma, which was later absorbed into the Navarre Group of paper manufacturers. Louis was born in Voiron (Isère), a centre of paper manufacture, and died in Paris. After secondary study in Grenoble, he went to Paris to the École supérieure des sciences économiques et commerciales at the Institut Catholique de Paris, and then joined the Navarre group. In the First World War he was decorated with the Croix de Guerre, and afterwards rejoined the Group as commercial director.²⁷ It appears that his focus on Pascal grew out of a long-standing interest in the literature of the early seventeenth century,²⁸ and it was greatly stimulated when he found a manuscript believed to contain fragments that the editorial committee of the first edition of the *Pensées* had eliminated.²⁹ He constructed for his use a copy of the original manuscript, guided by Brunshvicg's photographic reproductions and Tourneur's erudition. Jean Mesnard met him in 1949 and came to know him well. He describes Lafuma as an

homme simple et discret, doué d'humour, mais capable d'avoir la dent dure, [et qui] était en même temps très ouvert, non seulement accueillant, mais recherchant la compagnie, non sans

27 *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, vol.19, (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 2001), pp. 234-35.

28 Anon. *Louis Lafuma 1890-1964, Chroniques de Port-Royal* (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1966, no.15-16), p. 6.

29 This document is known as the *Manuscrit de l'abbé Périer* (Pascal's nephew), which came into Lafuma's hands in 1944.

la choisir. Grand industriel, fabricant du célèbre papier Lafuma, il fut contraint à la retraite, en 1940, par la guerre et l'occupation. Pour employer ses loisirs et surmonter la dureté des temps, il se mit à l'étude de Pascal. Il ne partait pas de rien, étant, un peu par profession, amateur de manuscrits et bibliophile consommé.³⁰

Lafuma's own words of introduction to a booklet that he published in 1940 tell of his enforced change in activity:

Des malheurs qui se sont abattus sur notre patrie rares sont ceux qui n'en ont pas eu leur part. Pour nous, contraints inopinément à une inactivité commerciale absolue, nous nous sommes évadés trois siècles en arrière. Cet opuscule en est le témoignage.³¹

In an obituary notice, Bernard Dorival is quoted as commenting on Lafuma's 'exquise urbanité qui était, [...] chez lui, une forme [...] de la modestie et de la charité', and on his generosity with all who sought his advice.³²

THE EDITIONS

Lafuma's first publication of the *Pensées* appeared in 1947 in two volumes.³³ In this edition Lafuma added to each *liasse* further fragments which he considered that Pascal himself would have added in time. The ordering is not strictly that of the *Première Copie*, the result, as Jean Mesnard points out, of relying on the authority of Tourneur's edition.³⁴ Improved editions of this version appeared in 1952 and 1960. But in 1951 he published another edition in which the fragments were ordered exactly as indicated by

30 Jean Mesnard, 'Histoire secrète de la recherche pascalienne au XXe siècle', in *Pascal/New Trends in Port-Royal Studies* (Tübingen: Narr, 2002), p. 20.

31 Louis Lafuma, *Les Histoires Dévotes de J.-P. Camus, Évêque de Belley* (Paris, 1940), facing title page. J.-P. Camus became vicaire général in Rouen, and 'C'est à ce titre qu'en 1647 il s'efforça d'apaiser le conflit survenu entre Pascal et Saint-Ange' (p. 13).

32 Anon, *Louis Lafuma 1890-1964, Chroniques de Port-Royal*, 1966, p. 8.

33 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées sur la religion*, ed. Louis Lafuma, 2 vols (Paris: Delmas, 1947).

34 Jean Mesnard, *Histoire secrète*, p. 22.

the first *Copie*. Lafuma labelled those in the *liasses* as ‘papiers classés’ and the rest as ‘papiers non classés’.

In 1962 he published the folio edition of the fragments arranged according to the order of the *Copie*, at the tricentenary of Pascal’s death. Lafuma’s publications are confined essentially to the subject of Pascal.³⁵

Edition of 1947

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées sur la religion* (2 vols), ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Delmas)

The edition of 1947 begins with a short *Avant-Propos* of fourteen pages and three pages of related notes. In it Lafuma refers to some of his earlier studies, and in particular his establishment that the *Recueil Original* was not the work of a ‘*relieur illettré*’, but of an intelligent amateur. He outlines the history of the manuscripts: ‘Cette histoire a son importance et c’est elle qui justifie la présentation des *Pensées* telle que nous allons la proposer.’³⁶ He says that Faugère’s results were disappointing, and claims that the delay in publishing the fragments in the order they were found was because ‘deux éditeurs, Michaut et Brunschvicg, avaient barré cette voie avec une hypothèse’, namely, that the *Copie* (Fn 9203) was only a preliminary work prior to a publication.³⁷ He reasons against the idea that the fragments not gathered into the *liasses* were intended to be eliminated from the apology, and notes that some of them have annotations in the hand of Pierre Nicole or of Antoine Arnauld. However: ‘Nous verrons donc plus loin comment et dans quelle mesure il semble qu’il soit permis de classer ces textes non classés par l’auteur sans trahir ses intentions.’³⁸

Lafuma resolves confusion about the dating of the *Recueil Original* by suggesting that it was a complete but unbound collage that l’abbé Louis Périer deposited on 25

35 A full bibliography is found in *Chroniques de Port-Royal*, 1966, no.15-16, pp. 10-12.

36 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées sur la religion*, ed. Louis Lafuma, 2 vols (Paris: Delmas, 1947), I, p. 8.

37. *Ibid.*, I, p. 10.

38. *Ibid.*, I, p. 12.

September 1711 at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, and that the present binding was done after 1731, as indicated by Tourneur's study of the fly-leaf paper.³⁹ The sheets to which the fragments are attached are of an Auvergnat source; Lafuma suggests that Périer himself may have made the collage, at the Périer home at Bienassis, near Clermont.⁴⁰

He explains how parts of the *Recueil Original*, in following precisely the order of certain *liasses*, confirm the indications of order given in the *Copie*. He fixes the date of the *liasses* before the end of 1658: 'Ce sont en fait des dossiers que Pascal avait commencé à constituer en vue de son ouvrage avant que son état de santé ne le contraigne à une inactivité intellectuelle presque absolue.'⁴¹

Finally, he indicates his handling of the fragments not included in the *liasses*:

Nous incorporerons d'abord – en les mettant à la suite – dans les chapitres ou dossiers existants tous les textes qui peuvent s'y rattacher, ces textes étant pris soit dans la partie non classée de la *Copie*, soit dans d'autres sources.⁴²

This swells the number of fragments under the titles on the list found with each of the *Première and Seconde Copies*, now known as fragment Sellier 1, to more than 700. Sellier's current edition has 414 fragments in this section. This, Lafuma's *papiers classés*, was reduced to 382 fragments when he dismantled the arrangement in the new 1951 edition, and it persists in the popular edition published by Éditions du Seuil.

39 Zacharie Tourneur, in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed Tourneur, I, p. XXVII.

40 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Lafuma, 1947, I, p.13. On the next page Lafuma argues that 'un ouvrier de métier' would not have cut up the papers so badly, before putting them into the *Recueil*, but his belief that this was done by Pascal's nephew l'abbé Louis Périer bears the same objection. The complete jumble of folios 7 and 8 (Brunschvicg, photographic facsimile of *Recueil Original*), with fragment S 680 (part) upside down, suggests more than one hand at work. Later, in *Le manuscrit des Pensées de Pascal*, Lafuma suggests it may have been done by Louis and Marguerite Périer, using their domestic staff (p. 24).

41 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Lafuma, 1947, I, p. 16.

42. Ibid., I, p. 16.

The Avant-Propos is followed by Gilberte Périer's *Vie de M. Pascal*, the *Préface de l'Édition de 1670 de Port-Royal*, a Note sur la "Préface de l'édition de 1670", and an Extrait du Privilège du Roi, of 27 December, 1666.

Section I of the *Pensées* then begins with a list of twenty-nine sections of the apology, A, B, and 1-11, C, 12-26, 'C' representing *l'Argument du pari* which was replaced by '*Commencement*' in subsequent editions. Thus there is correspondence with the twenty eight titles of Sellier's fragment 1, except that '*La nature est corrompue*' is combined with '*Fausseté des autres religions*'. Section II follows, with nine parts on diverse subjects. The divisions are given in the footnote.⁴³ The fragments are not numbered consecutively, but are preceded with Michaut's numbering (that of the *Recueil Original*) and Brunschvicg's in brackets. Texts cancelled in the manuscripts are reproduced in brackets.

At the end of volume I are short notes on Gilberte Périer's *Vie de M. Pascal* and the *Préface de l'édition de 1670*.

The *Pensées* are printed without footnotes, brief notes being collected in eleven pages at the end of the fragments. They are almost entirely biblical and classical references, most of the latter by way of Montaigne. Lafuma acknowledges Tourneur for his decipherment of certain passages. There follows a brief *Addenda* and a *Table des Matières* for volume I.

Volume II contains Section II of the *Pensées* under the following headings:

- Notes personnelles

43 Dossiers of Section I:

[A Avant-propos]

[B Introductions]

Ordre—Vanité—Misère—Ennui—Raison des effets—Grandeur—Contrariétés—Divertissement—Philosophes—Le souverain Bien—A Port-Royal

[C Argument du pari]

Soumission et usage de la raison—Excellence de cette manière de prouver Dieu—Transition de la connaissance de l'homme à Dieu—Fausseté des autres religion—Religion aimable—Fondements de la religion et réponse aux objections—Loi figurative—Rabbinage—Perpétuité—Preuves de Moïse—Preuves de Jésus-Christ—Prophéties—Figures particulières—Morale chrétienne—Conclusion

- Note pour le *Traité du Vide* (1651)
- Notes pour les *Écrits sur la grâce* (1657-1658)
- Notes pour les *Provinciales...*, etc. (1656-1658)
- Notes pour un *Écrit sur le miracle opéré sur Mademoiselle Périer* (1656-1657)
- Notes pour la préface d'un *Traité de Géométrie ou de Logique*
- Notes pour les *Trois discours sur la condition des Grands* (1660)
- Notes diverses (sur des lectures, sur les contradictions apparentes, rhétorique, etc.)
- Propos attribués à Pascal

These are fragments remaining of the *papiers non classés*, after Lafuma has fitted many into the twenty-nine sections of Part I. The *Mémorial* is the first of them.

At the end of the volume there is a *Table Analytique*, a list of 296 words and the volume and section in which are found the associated *pensées*. This is followed by short articles about previous editions of the *Pensées*, and concordances, the first between the *Première Copie*, Michaut's edition, and the pages of the *Recueil Original*, and the second between the present edition and that of Brunschvicg.

Finally, there is a *Table des Matières* for volume II.

Second edition in one volume, 1952

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées sur la religion*, ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Delmas)

The second edition is essentially a combination of the two volumes of the first edition, but the fragments are reordered, and numbered consecutively from beginning to end. Page and fragment references are appropriately revised, and the notes are expanded.

The *Avant-Propos* of the second edition is taken almost verbatim from the first edition, with the exception of an explanation of the reclassification of the *l'argument du pari* into a new dossier, *Commencement*, which is at number 12, and thus results in the renumbering of later dossiers up to a total of 27, instead of 26. In addition, the note about miracles on pp. 17-18 is expanded, a quotation from Pierre Nicole is added to the eulogy of Pascal, and a note added to the final postscript that, in the second edition, the texts are given in their original presentation, 'en respectant les alinéas'. The *Notes de*

l'Avant-Propos contain an acknowledgement of Jean Mesnard's finding the exact location of Pascal's home in Paris, in note 11, and an expansion of conjectures about paper used by Pascal, in note 12.

The *Avertissement de la Deuxième Édition*, pages 25-6, signals new conclusions from Lafuma's continuing research, namely the existence of a *liasse* 'Commencement', that series XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII formed a *liasse* made by Pascal at the end of 1657, and so should be kept together, and that the first fragment of each of the 27 *liasses* would be the last to be so filed by Pascal.

However, although under the 27 titles the sequence of the *Copie* is observed, it is repeatedly broken by the insertion of *papiers non classés*, and by their addition at the ends of sections. The fragments are therefore not presented in the order of the *Copie*.

The fragments are presented under the same order of titles as in the first edition, with the addition of *Commencement*, but the contents of each section have been altered by additions or subtractions, rearranged, and entirely renumbered. Those in the sections *Avant-propos* and *Introductions* are numbered 1 to 23, and *Ordre* begins at number 24.

Some notes contain details of the writing of the fragment, many give relevant biblical references, and others identify classical sources, as in the previous edition. There are occasional notes of misreadings by predecessors, but Lafuma makes no attempt at interpretation. In note 309-I (p. 429) he states that Filleau de la Chaise's report of Pascal's conference at Port-Royal towards the end of 1658 is 'purement imaginaire', and in note 388 (p. 430) he explains why he believes that the *Discours sur les passions de l'amour* is not the work of Pascal.

The *Table Analytique* contains the same words as in the first edition, but now refers to a fragment number. The consecutive numbering of the fragments makes this edition more accessible.

Lafuma's first version of the *Pensées* closes the period during which the authority of the *Copie* was acknowledged, yet still subjected to major manipulation by the editors. His exercise grew not out of an academic background, but from an amateur leisure interest in paper and manuscripts, and he appears to have been led along many byways before facing the consequences of trusting the authority of the *table des matières* at the beginning of the *Copie*. He resolved all his hesitations in the three-volume edition of 1951.

New edition 1951

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées sur la religion*, ed. Louis Lafuma, 3 vols (Paris: Luxembourg)

Volume I Textes

Volume II Notes

Volume III Documents

Volume I

A photograph of a crucifix belonging to Pascal is the frontispiece.

The volume begins with a short *Introduction*, with notes, which is different from that of the earlier Delmas edition. The contents of the three volumes are outlined. Then follows a summary of the life history up to that time of the manuscripts and the *Copies*.

In short:

Grâce aux travaux de Faugère, Havet, Molinier, G. Michaut, L. Brunschvicg, F. Strowski, J. Dedieu, Z. Tourneur et de beaucoup d'érudits, l'établissement d'un texte à peu près correct semble un fait acquis.

Il en est de même pour l'indication des sources.

La délimitation des textes que l'on englobe sous la dénomination générique de *Pensées* semble aussi définitivement arrêtée.

Reste le problème de la présentation.⁴⁴

The history of the editions follows, with a summary of his conclusions resulting from 'l'étude minutieuse des manuscrits':

- 1 *La Copie 9.203* n'est pas un premier état de l'édition de Port-Royal; elle est la *Copie* dont parle Étienne Périer et elle nous donne l'état dans lequel ont été trouvés les papiers de Pascal;
- 2 Le classement en vingt-sept chapitres, présenté par cette *Copie* jusqu'à la page 188, est l'œuvre de Pascal lui-même;
- 3 Si ce classement n'est pas plus poussé c'est parce qu'à fin 1658 une maladie accablante l'a contraint de l'interrompre brusquement et l'a mis dans l'impossibilité de le reprendre.⁴⁵

From page 191 to page 472 of the *Copie* Lafuma identifies 33 series of texts, the *papiers non classés*, only the last three of which were grouped together by Pascal, for a piece on the subject of miracles. Following this are found the fragments not registered in the *Copie*, grouped according to source, and the sequence ends with fragments attributed to Pascal. The whole is numbered consecutively from 1 to 993, the attributed fragments numbered separately 1000 to 1008. All numbers are accompanied by the number of the fragment found in his earlier edition (Delmas, 2nd edition, 1952).

Section I (*papiers classés*) is preceded by a page summarising details about the presentation which complement those in the Introduction, and a page of the 27 titles on the list found with the *Copie* (fragment S1). The fragments are then listed in order under these titles. The *Avant-propos* and the *Introductions* of the Delmas editions no longer exist. A concordance of the fragments in each group with the numbering of his earlier edition, with Michaut's and Brunschvicg's editions, and with the pages on which they

44 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées sur la religion*, ed. Louis Lafuma, 3 vols (Paris: Luxembourg, 1951), I, p. 9.

45. Ibid., 1951, I, p. 13.

are found in the *Copie* and the *Recueil Original*, appears at the beginning of each titled section. Parts struck out by Pascal are given in italics in parentheses in each fragment.

Section II (*papiers non classés*) is divided into 33 *Séries*, each provided with a concordance. Lafuma believes that the last three would form a *liasse* concerning miracles.

Section III contains fragments not listed in the *Copie*, but found in the *Recueil Original*, the *Seconde Copie*, the Édition de Port-Royal (1678), the Portefeuilles Vallant, the Manuscrit Périer (1710), and the Recueils manuscrits Guerrier.

Finally there are nine fragments attributed to Pascal, and a list of contents.

Volume II

The notes occupy Volume II. The frontispiece is a photograph of the recto and verso of one of the *papiers classés*. Every fragment has a note of its location in the *Recueil Original*, and the first and second *Copies*. The notes are not simply transferred from the earlier edition, but are new or rewritten and much more extensive.

Volume III

In Volume III Lafuma gives, in chronological order, documents concerning Pascal's life, and those relating to the edition of Port-Royal, several concordances, and tables of contents of representative editions of the *Pensées*. The frontispiece is a portrait of Gilberte Périer.

Le manuscrit des Pensées de Pascal, 1962 ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Les Libraires Associés)

On the third centenary of Pascal's death Lafuma published his final edition of the *Pensées*, in a lavish *in folio* volume in which are reproduced the fragments in the order of the first *Copie*. They were dissected photographically from the *Recueil Original* and cleared of extraneous marks, in order to improve definition and legibility.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Blaise Pascal, *Le manuscrit des Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Les Libraires Associés, 1962).

In his preface, Jean Guitton,⁴⁷ in an allusion to Lafuma, indicates the important part played in Pascal studies by those outside the academic community:

Intervinrent des érudits d'un nouveau genre, possédant par métier, plus que les professeurs, cette patience artisanale que Pascal avait acquise lorsqu'il faisait à Rouen sa fameuse machine. Leur découverte consista à redemander si Pascal n'avait pas composé lui-même les liasses. Désormais, le problème de l'édition change de sens.⁴⁸

The Introduction begins with a description of the three principal manuscripts of the *Pensées*, the *Recueil Original*, the *Première Copie* (Fn 9203), and the *Seconde Copie* (Fn 12.449). Lafuma explains the lack of success of Tourneur's edition of the *Pensées*: 'Les circonstances (la guerre de 1939-1944), le caractère un peu polémique de son édition de 1938, le manque de clarté de ses exposés ne lui ont pas permis d'atteindre le but escompté. En matérialisant l'hypothèse de P. Faugère, il a, en tout cas, ouvert la voie pour de nouvelles recherches que sa mort, survenue le 15 décembre 1944, ne lui a pas laissé le temps de poursuivre'.⁴⁹ He tells the story of his own work with the *Pensées*, and how he undertook to make a copy of the *Recueil Original*, when it was not available for consultation because of the war, in order to be able to compare 'les places respectives occupées par les fragments sur ce manuscrit et la *Copie* et d'établir des statistiques qu'il s'agirait d'interpréter'.⁵⁰ This he did with the aid of Brunschvicg's photographic reproductions and by comparing the order of Michaut's edition of the *Pensées* with that of Tourneur's. He found 60 fragments not registered in the *Copie*, and 78 of which the originals had disappeared.

47 Jean Guitton (1901-1999) was a professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne. As a Catholic philosopher and theologian he became a friend of Pope Paul VI.

48 Jean Guitton, in *Le manuscrit des Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Les Libraires Associés, 1962), p. 11.

49 Blaise Pascal, *Le manuscrit*, ed. Lafuma, p. 21.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Comme notre qualité d'amateur ne nous permettait pas de jongler avec des hypothèses de travail, nous nous sommes trouvés dans l'obligation de nous cantonner dans des recherches purement matérielles.⁵¹

Lafuma tells us that

[A]u préalable nous avons lu avec attention la préface de l'édition de P.R. [Port-Royal]. C'est en effet le seul document qui donne des renseignements sur la manière dont les *Pensées* ont été écrites, recueillies et publiées.⁵²

He then lists seven conclusions he has drawn from the *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal*,⁵³ and over the next four pages of the *Introduction* he discusses his conclusions about Pascal's way of working, and the history of the production of the *Recueil Original*. He divides the *Recueil* into 41 *cahiers* (with a *XV bis*), and the *Copie* into 27 *liasses* and 34 *séries de textes non classés*. He believes that the fragments rejected from the original edition (*les Pensées retranchées*) were collected together by Gilberte Périer, and that the *Seconde Copie* was made for her. He also believes that 25% of the fragments were written or dictated between 1659 and 1662, and that they were on papers that Pascal had not cut up. He remarks on the large number of pages of the *Recueil* that contain fragments grouped as in the *Copie*,⁵⁴ and thinks that the collage of the *Recueil* was done by Louis and Marguerite Périer, with the aid of their domestic servants.

Each fragment is accompanied by a note of its number in Lafuma's manuscript edition, and those of Brunschvicg, Anzieu and Steinmann, and the page of the *Recueil* on which it is found. All other notes are grouped at the end (pp. 373-397) and correspond with those of Lafuma's 1951 edition. However, as most of the commentary

51. Ibid., p. 21.

52. Ibid., p. 22.

53. Ibid., p. 22.

54. Ibid., p. 26.

and references to other works are edited out of these notes, they are fewer and shorter than in that edition.

There are ten *Annexes*:

- 1) Les fragments perdus du Recueil Original
- 2) Textes tombés à la découpe
- 3) Textes de fragments tombés à la découpe
- 4) La Seconde Copie MS 12449
- 5) L'Édition de Port-Royal
- 6) Les Portfeuilles Vallant.
- 7) Le Manuscrit Périer 1710
- 8) Les Manuscrits Guerrier
- 9) Propos attribués à Pascal
- 10) Pensées inédites découvertes par M. Jean Mesnard

An *in folio* concordance with the editions of Brunschvicg (1904), Tourneur and Anzieu (1960), and Steinmann (1961) is loose in the volume.

Paperback edition 1962

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Seuil, Collection *Points*)

The popular paperback edition published since 1962 by Éditions de Seuil contains only the text of the 1951 edition, without notes. There is a brief introduction which outlines in four pages Lafuma's conclusions about Pascal's way of working, the fate of the fragments, the importance of the *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and the significance of the *Copie*, as representing Pascal's own ordering of his notes. The text of the *Préface* is given before the fragments. At the end of the volume is a note about a portrait of Pascal made in 1664, a *Chronologie*, and an *Index*. The latter differs from the *Table Analytique* which occurs in the 1947 and 1952 Delmas editions, being based upon a different choice of key-words. Such a table or index is absent from the three-volume Luxembourg edition.

Conclusion

Lafuma seems to have been shackled by the belief that all the fragments were destined for a single publication, and for this reason his Delmas editions showed little advance on that of Tourneur in the return to the order of the *Copie*. Jean Mesnard reports that ‘dans ses plus belles découvertes sur le classement des *Pensées*, je le trouvais trop peu sûr de lui’.⁵⁵ His professional background and his education outside the *grandes écoles*, might account for the impression he made on Mesnard the professional academic, of being unreliable in his judgement:

Car cet esprit fort distingué, et fourmillant d’idées, ne faisait pas toujours bien le départ entre l’accessoire et l’essentiel. [...] Il lui arrivait de mettre en doute ce qui me paraissait évident, par exemple l’attribution à Pascal de la table des matières précédant la première partie de *la Copie*, qu’il n’a jamais fait entrer dans aucune de ses éditions, et, à l’inverse, de prendre feu et flamme pour des hypothèses sans fondement.⁵⁶

Brunschvicg’s major effort in Pascal studies occurred in his late 20s, Lafuma’s in his late 50s, and there was a generation between them. They both left Paris in 1940, for different reasons. Brunschvicg was ailing, and his decline intersected Lafuma’s ascent into the realm of Pascal studies. They appear to have had different primary concerns with the publication of the *Pensées*, Brunschvicg publishing all the fragments in an order he felt best suited to comprehending them under the rubric of an apology, Lafuma being concerned at first with both the apology and the order, but, finally, principally with the order. Brunschvicg was approached by a publisher to produce an edition of the *Pensées*, Lafuma was wealthy enough to support the publication of his own editions. Lafuma’s final edition of the photocopies of the fragments in the order of the *Copie* may be seen as a formalisation of his work in World War II in making his own copy, as described above, and it does not have the significance for scholarship that

55 Jean Mesnard, *Histoire secrète*, p. 21.

56. Ibid., p. 20.

Brunschvicg's photographic copy of the *Recueil Original* had. On the other hand, his work led to the simple edition published by Seuil from 1962, in which the reader is left to draw his own conclusions, as he can from Brunschvicg's photographs.

Lafuma's lead was followed by Michel Le Guern, whose edition of 1977 repeats the order of the first *Copie*, although, because it combines certain fragments that Lafuma had numbered individually, the numeration falls progressively ahead of Lafuma's.⁵⁷ However, in 1976 Philippe Sellier had published an edition following the order of the second *Copie*.⁵⁸ Sellier believes that this copy is a more trustworthy record of the initial state of the fragments because it is continuous, without blank leaves between the record of each *liasse*, and he believes it was compiled at the request of Gilberte Périer, Pascal's sister. The difference between the two *Copies* is due to the transposition of certain groups of *liasses*. Sellier's defence of the authenticity of the *Copies* is referred to below in footnote 5, page 227.

A feature of Sellier's edition is that he presents as fragment 1 the table of titled *liasses* which was found with both of the *Copies*. Lafuma did not publish this table, but it lists the *liasses* containing the fragments that he designated as *papiers classés*. Le Guern also publishes the table, unnumbered, at the head of the *Pensées*. Sellier has greatly augmented the critical component of his published edition, and this has been used for reference in this thesis.⁵⁹

57 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Michel Le Guern (Paris: Gallimard, 1977).

58 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Philippe Sellier (Paris: Mercure de France, 1976).

59 Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales, Pensées et opuscules divers*, ed. Gérard Ferreyrolles and Philippe Sellier (Paris: La Pochothèque, 2004).

CONCLUSION

After an examination of the achievements of the original editors of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, and a leap of almost two hundred years, this study has covered a century in the life of the *Pensées* which begins with the first challenge to the familiar edition of Port-Royal and its modifications, and ends with the onset of the current academic approach to the *Pensées*. It has focussed on Faugère's edition of 1844, Brunschvicg's of 1897, and Lafuma's of 1951, which are hallmarks in the stuttering return to the initial thoughts on publication of the first editors. These remarkable individuals played out their roles against a background occupied by others of the highest political influence in the turbulent history of modern France. Prosper Faugère was a civil servant whose edition represented a metamorphosis in the presentation of the *Pensées*, but whose influence was obtunded by the neglect of the man wielding influence in education at the time, Victor Cousin, who shared a mutual dislike of Faugère's patron and employer, Abel-François Villemain. Léon Brunschvicg was an ambitious and influential professor at the Sorbonne, whose edition, produced while a young man, combined positive features of the works of his predecessors, Faugère and Havet, and became a reference work for 50 years. He was a 'professional'. Louis Lafuma was a wealthy amateur who established to his satisfaction the primacy of the *Copie*, but who in his first edition showed the same incomplete loyalty to it as had Zacharie Tourneur some years before. However, he soon published an edition conforming, without manipulation, to the order of the *Copie*, thus signalling the second metamorphosis in the publication of the *Pensées*, one hundred years after Faugère had produced the first. All three are principally remembered because of their engagement with the *Pensées*.

The first challenge resulting from the decision to publish the fragments was clearly the deciphering of Pascal's handwriting, often spidery, unpunctuated, and full of abbreviations and cancellations. Some disagreement remains over the interpretation of a few words, but that is a minor secondary conflict. The work of the original editors was thorough. The next challenge concerned which parts were to be published, but once political constraints were removed, a complete presentation became feasible. However, always at issue was the order in which to present the fragments, and that became a focus of contention among editors. This order depends upon the editor's judgement of probability, and this is discussed further under 'Probabilism' on page 233. The history of the publication of the *Pensées* shows how this question of order has gradually evolved with the discovery of fresh sources and with academic study. The weight of certain opinions has increased but they remain opinions nonetheless. One that all editors take for certain is that the fragments are essentially the notes for an apology for Christianity.

The first edition of a work establishes conditions which influence the response of the next person who decides to edit the work. The editorial response is also determined by the expectations of the time plus the objectives of the new editor, which are likely to be different from those of the original editor. Also, successive editors have different access to supporting materials. In this way the history of editions takes on a type of *évolution créatrice*, the term used by Henri Bergson to describe his notion that evolution is multidimensional and that the principles applicable to stages of evolution also evolve.¹ The various conflicts growing up around each new edition of the *Pensées* are examples of this phenomenon. With this in mind, an overview of how the editors of

1 Henri Bergson, *L'Évolution créatrice* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1948), p. 240: 'Quand nous replaçons notre être dans notre vouloir, et notre vouloir lui-même dans l'impulsion qu'il prolonge, nous comprenons, nous sentons que la réalité est une croissance perpétuelle, une création qui se poursuit sans fin'. Bergson's philosophy of time and movement has little in common with Brunschvicg's of intellect as the exercise of judgement, but they are complementary in the insights they provide for the study of the *Pensées*.

each of the four landmark editions responded to the challenge of the corpus exposes a paradox in evolution.

How did the editors attack the corpus? The first editors produced an edition which was accepted in its day as a work of apology and morality and escaped Church censorship until the Revolution. Their ‘commentary’ is represented only by the *Préface* and their arrangement of the *Titres* in which they grouped their selection of fragments. Their religious movement, Jansenism, was under attack by Church and State, but at home the nation was at relative peace.² The plan of the edition followed the order suggested by the report of Pascal’s lecture to his friends in 1658, rather than the order of the *Copies*. It sat comfortably in libraries for almost two hundred years, accepting additional portions of text, while Pascal and his writing ascended into the national pantheon.

The next stage, identified by the appearance of Faugère’s edition in 1844, occupied most of the period of the July Monarchy, because the philosopher-politician Victor Cousin, who called in 1842 for a new edition of the text, had studied the *Pensées* from the 1820s, although never publishing an edition of his own. Faugère made a careful study of the original documents and unpicked the *Titres* of the first edition, publishing each fragment separately. He separated the fragments into two volumes, the second of which contained those he regarded as destined for an apology for Christianity, and published in an order he judged Pascal might have used. While on the one hand Faugère left the fragments firmly in the context of an apology, on the other hand they were individually decontextualised, and commentary was minimal. Publication resulted in two new areas of conflict, firstly in the reception of the edition itself, and secondly with new ideas about Pascal which were sparked by the publication of the complete

² The disturbances of the *Fronde* had settled by 1653, and the major war with Spain ended in 1653, but France continued to oppose Spain in the Netherlands, and invaded Holland in 1672.

corpus for the first time. Faugère ushered in the era of obsession with order, and awakened interest in Pascal the person. He established the principle that a publication of the *Pensées* should contain all fragments, and should present them in their fragmentary form. He also established the principle that the presentation should correspond ideally to one Pascal might have used. These two objectives have guided most editions since Faugère's, noteworthy exceptions being those of Ernest Havet and Léon Brunschvicg. In that he made an effort, however vain it may have been, to meet Pascal's hypothetical ordering of the fragments, Faugère minimised his appropriation of authority over the work. Brunschvicg, on the other hand, took the whole authority for order upon himself.

The political arena in Faugère's day was full of bitter opposition to Cousin and his philosophy (eclecticism), and of the attempts of the Church to wrestle control of education from the University. The religious revival continued for the rest of the century, as did the opposition to Cousin's eclecticism, well into Brunschvicg's early years, and he made no secret of his dislike of eclecticism and of Cousin himself.

Brunschvicg the philosopher-educator developed his idealist philosophy in the milieu of scientific expansion and the optimism of the Third Republic. He was effectively empowered by his taking complete authority over the corpus and his consecutive numbering of the fragments, and he took full responsibility for the way he presented them, still under the rubric of apology. His advance on Faugère's edition was the incorporation of a scholarly commentary with the individual presentation of all the fragments. Tourneur's list of errors in Brunschvicg's edition, which were gradually corrected in the many reeditions of the 1897 work, suggests that Brunschvicg may not have been so assiduous in his examination of the original documents as his precursor, but his edition remains one judged to be most accessible to the general reader. However, his eventual engagement with conflict of an entirely different order gave the lie to all that had gone before: his youthful success, his fame as a philosopher and teacher, his

confidence in justice, and his life as a secular Jew. The German invasion of France sent him into hiding until he died in 1944. The same invasion deprived Louis Lafuma of his employment, and resulted in his editions of the *Pensées*.

Lafuma made every effort at accuracy, and after what might be described as a false start, he arrived, in his 1951 three-volume edition, at a complete presentation of all fragments in the order of the first *Copie*. The first volume contained only the texts, and all notes and supporting documents were confined to the other volumes, leaving the reader free to exercise his own judgement on the *Pensées*. Lafuma's numbering replaced Brunschvicg's, but in academic circles the numbering of Philippe Sellier's later edition, based on the second *Copie*, is now preferred.

And therein lies the paradox. The presentation of the *Pensées* currently in favour is one which was considered by the editors of the Port-Royal edition, but not pursued.³ Doubts about the authenticity of the *Copies* notwithstanding, one would have thought that after a circular journey back to an original state the issue of order would have been put to rest (see illustration 'The Pascal Circle', facing page 93). But the circle has not closed, and new editions have continued to appear, with reversion to the Brunschvicg pattern, and with claims to have finally found Pascal's plan. One such is that of Francis Kaplan,⁴ who does not accept the authority of the *Copies*, or the *Préface* of Filleau de la Chaise,⁵ and who has devised his own order of presentation. He bases his claim of authenticity on the fact that he has taken his overall plan from fragment S 46 (L 14), and interpreted certain expressions in various fragments as indications of a logical plan that

3 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 25.

4 Blaise Pascal, *Les Pensées de Pascal*, ed. Francis Kaplan (Paris: Cerf, 1982).

5 While acknowledging the value, in principle, of Kaplan's identification within the corpus of the *Pensées* of indications of Pascal's intended plan for his *Apologie*, Philippe Sellier mounts a strong defence of the authenticity of the *Copies* (see Philippe Sellier, 'Indications d'Ordre et Dossiers Pascaliens', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 93 (2009/1), 145-154). He quotes Jean Mesnard's reasons for believing that the *Copies* were produced soon after Pascal's death, and that they constituted working manuals, and not sketches for the *Édition de Port-Royal* (Jean Mesnard, 'Aux origines de l'édition des "Pensées": les deux copies', in *Les "Pensées" de Pascal ont trois cents ans* (Clermont-Ferrand: de Bussac, 1971), pp. 22-23).

Pascal would have followed. In the preface he argues that the most logical edition would be the correct one, without specifying criteria of judgement. With similar ambiguity he alleges that a comparison between ‘subjective’ editions, of which Brunshvicg’s is the model, lends them an objectivity if one is looking for the best ‘subjective’ edition. He appears, in effect, to be making a wager: ‘Un plan qui en assure la cohérence n’a-t-il pas toutes les chances d’être *ipso facto* le plan authentique de Pascal?’.⁶ It should be stressed that within Kaplan’s scheme the apologetic objective is preserved.

The failure of this circle to close reflects the absence of a plan for what editors are attempting to produce, and indicates that the search for order is a response only to part of the much wider appeal of the fragments. Furthermore, Kaplan’s contrivance at objectivity is unlikely to end the search. The movement remains dynamic so long as an authentic plan is not discovered, and so the system remains open.

Conclusion 1

Editorial conflict with the text of the *Pensées* arises from its fragmentary state, which makes the decision about the order in which to publish the fragments a critical challenge for editors. Centuries of engagement with the fragments have not exhausted the power of this challenge, and fresh editors continue to take it up.

Apology

The *Édition de Port-Royal* was regarded as a work of Christian piety. Voltaire’s criticism of the *Pensées*,⁷ and the opposition it provoked, kept interest in the work alive; this continued in the atmosphere of religious revival late in the eighteenth century, and Chateaubriand rose to its defence in the early nineteenth century, in his *Génie du Christianisme* of 1802. But with the arrival of Faugère’s edition the question arose as to

6 *Pensées*, ed. Kaplan, pp. 54-5.

7 Voltaire, ‘Vingt-cinquième lettre[.] [S]ur les Pensées de M. Pascal’, in Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques* (Amsterdam: Lucas, 1734), pp. 273-354. See also Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques*, ed. Frédéric Deloffre (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), pp. 156-184.

whether it was now more a work of general morality, rather than one of Christian apologetics.

If Pascal wanted to write an apology for Christianity he would have been attempting what is perhaps the most important Christian act after the proclamation of the love of God and of one's neighbour,⁸ namely the conversion of sinners.⁹ From this perspective, more important than the issue of the order in which his fragments might appear in his apology is whether or not editorial practice has honoured his intention. That is, are the editions themselves truly defences of Christianity? The original edition appears to have been regarded as such, but Victor Cousin's virtual demolition of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, followed by Faugère's radical new representation of the work was greeted by some as a departure from that objective. This view was forcibly expressed by Sainte-Beuve, whose criticism of the editorial approach has already been noted.¹⁰ For him, the work in its new guise 'n'est plus qu'une preuve extraordinaire de l'âme et du génie de l'homme, un témoignage individuel de sa foi. Pascal y gagne, mais son but y perd', and he asks 'Est-ce comme cela que Pascal l'aurait entendu?'.¹¹ This raises the issue of a religious work versus a work of morality, or even a work of aphorism or of maxim.

Reference has been made above to the way history and tradition have influenced the hermeneutics of understanding and interpretation of the *Pensées*. Unfortunately, the third stage of classical hermeneutics, namely application or significance, approached by an assessment of efficacy, faces the problem of chronovariance. It is an entirely individual process, since editorial behaviour reflects the social and political constraints

8 Mark 12. 30-31.

9 *Holy Bible*, New Revised Standard Version (London: SPCK, 2008), The Letter of James, 5. 20: '[Y]ou should know that whoever brings back a sinner from wandering will save the sinner's soul from death and will cover a multitude of sins.'

10 See p. 123.

11 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 374.

of the editor's time and also his interpretation of the expectations of his readership. However, his readership continues to evolve with time. Moreover, assessment of efficacy should not be influenced by a knowledge of the writer's life, and this is virtually impossible because all editions contain the *Préface* and, frequently, Gilberte Périer's *Vie* of her brother.¹² A knowledge of Pascal's behavioural responses to his religion might not enhance its appeal to a twenty-first century reader, who is likely to regard mortification and abstinence as aberrations, but this may not have been so in Pascal's time, as Arnoud Straudo points out:

[M]algré l'aspect 'merveilleux' de quelques aspects de la vie de Pascal, la conduite de l'auteur des *Pensées* est un sérieux argument en faveur de la religion, comme Bayle avait déjà eu l'occasion de le dire quelques années auparavant. Et c'est en ce sens qu'interpréteront l'article du *Dictionnaire*¹³ de nombreux écrivains de la génération postérieure à 1750, quand Bayle sera revenu en grâce auprès des apologistes.¹⁴

Apart from the purely informative role of Gilberte Périer's *Vie* as a preface to many editions is its effect on conditioning the reader's approach to the text that follows. Louis Marin has pointed out that it legitimises the idea of an ideal book in preparation. The presence of the *Vie* as preface to most editions of the *Pensées* means that each reading, even before reading the fragments

est potentiellement située par la biographie de Pascal au lieu immobile de la vérité du livre *inexistant*, en une position où *l'idée essentielle du livre absent* se trouve liée à une *existence réelle, celle de l'auteur*. Ainsi l'idée du livre est réalisée dans l'existence de l'individu Blaise Pascal tout comme, par un mouvement inverse, cette existence est idéalisée dans la vérité du livre "à venir". Le livre manquant trouve une existence pour

12 Alain Cantillon draws attention to the importance of the inclusion of the *Vie* in the edition of 1686, in giving the *Pensées* the authority of a real person, and of presenting Pascal for the first time to the public (Alain Cantillon, *Le Pari-de-Pascal* (Paris: Vrin, 2014), p. 102).

13 Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 2 vols (Rotterdam, 1697).

14 Arnoux Straudo, *La fortune de Pascal en France au dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire, 1997), p. 13.

son projet, celle d'un individu qui aurait été son auteur, mais par là même, cette existence conquiert son idéalité dans le projet interrompu.¹⁵

He goes on to say that the reader holds in his hands the book of a life, substitute for another book lost, and the life is claimed to be exemplary.

Both Faugère and Brunschvicg appear to have ordered the fragments with no other purpose than to make an apology of them. Moreover, neither criticises Pascal or the notion of apology, nor passes judgement on the quality or efficacy of Pascal's apology. When the whole corpus of fragments is published, as in both editions, it is difficult to imagine a reasonable arrangement of these fragments into any pattern of mosaic in which Christ does not occupy the focal point. With this in mind, a close examination of Sainte-Beuve's criticism, quoted above, may help understand why he thought that the original edition was more edifying than what was provided in the new approach to the work.

The apology is not annulled by the presence in the volume of *pensées* unrelated to it. It is therefore a great surprise to find that Antony McKenna believes that the editors of the original edition abandoned the idea of an apology:

En renonçant à l'intention apologétique, les éditeurs ne s'obligent plus à agencer les preuves selon ce statut primordial de la volonté et abandonnent ainsi un des principes de l'ordre de l'apologie pascalienne.¹⁶

He is referring to the fact that the editors did not follow the order of the titled *liasses*, which would have given them 'une apologie pascalienne', but have produced instead 'un ouvrage de dévotion et de méditation adressé aux fidèles' because 'ils ne parlent donc pas du point de vue de l'incroyance, mais de celui de la foi'. This nuance seems to be more a judgement of efficacy than of genre. But contemporary opinion recognised its

15 Louis Marin, *Pascal et Port-Royal*, ed. Alain Cantillon (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997), p. 34.

16 Antony McKenna, *Entre Descartes et Gassendi* (Paris: Universitas, 1993), p. 145.

apologetic quality; note, for example, the words of the *Approbation des Docteurs*, one of the *Approbations* which follow the *Préface* in the initial unpaginated section of the edition:

Le public a beaucoup perdu de ce que l'auteur n'a pas eu le temps de donner à cet ouvrage toute sa perfection. Les Athées en eussent encore été plus pleinement convaincus; la Religion Catholique plus puissamment confirmée, & la piété des fidèles plus vivement excitée[.]

Moreover, Voltaire had attacked it as an apology for Christianity, and editors took care to publish separately the fragments related to other topics.¹⁷

The notion behind McKenna's criticism of the *Édition de Port-Royal*, that variation of a plan can turn an apology into a work of simple morality, brings the discussion back to Sainte-Beuve's criticism of Faugère's edition. For him, Faugère's new edition did not preserve the qualities of the old, but his reaction undoubtedly owes something to shock at discovering what Pascal actually wrote. Perhaps Cousin's vehement discrediting of the Port-Royal edition may have drawn a veil over the general apologetic quality of Pascal's writing, but it appears to be the change of format which provoked Sainte-Beuve's description of the new edition as a no longer edifying 'decomposition'. Sainte-Beuve appears to suggest that Faugère's style of presentation has restored a measure of authority to Pascal, but also that his particular style does not favour the manifestation of an apologetic quality. But is that very quality really in an editor's gift? One editor may aim purely at the accurate publication of an artefact, another, to impose on the artefact a judgement of significance, but it is on the significance of what is already there that the judgement is made. The motivation of successive editors appears to have moved from the religious to the academic field,

17 'Notre premier soin a été de faire deux parts des matériaux que nous avons à employer: d'un côté, tous les fragments que Pascal avait écrits pour son grand ouvrage apologétique de la religion chrétienne; de l'autre, les traités, lettres et fragments de toute sorte étrangère à cet ouvrage.' (Faugère, Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXX).

Francis Kaplan excepted. This does not imply a secularisation of the text, but rather a distancing from the general reader. While deformation is avoided, the reader is denied the comfort of a quasi-narrative text, and anthologising is prevented. Pascal's 'builder's yard' of fragments contains the discussion of a christocentric religion driven by a belief in God and the immortality of the soul, irrespective of what editors and readers expect from an apology. Despite the academic atmosphere around the Lafuma and Sellier style of edition, their adhesion to an order deemed to be authentic would presumably have restored to them the particular Pascalian approach to the apology for Christianity that McKenna feels the original editors failed to communicate.

Conclusion 2

Conflict to produce an apology from the corpus is a minor affair, because the apology lies in whatever arrangement of the fragments is made, although it could be selected out. All editors appear to have agreed that Pascal's aim was to produce an apology, and have presented the fragments as they felt best served this goal. This conclusion, accurate though it may be, is rendered unavoidable for reasons I have discussed.¹⁸

Probabilism

In the examination of his thesis '*La Modalité du Jugement*', Brunschvicg was accused of being probabilist, an epithet he accepted, but not in the sense of one who makes a judgment on the basis of insufficiently searching reasoning and who has no criteria for truth. He would no doubt wish to maintain his distance from casuistry. He proposes that human thought has within it a '*principe de vérité*' against which it can measure the concrete conclusions it reaches, while knowing that it cannot arrive at that absolute truth.¹⁹ Unconvincing though this explanation may be, it suggests a parallel with Pascal's notion of a residuum within man of a prelapsarian state of absolute *souverain*

18 See p. 32.

19 Brunschvicg, *La Modalité du Jugement* (Paris: PUF, 1964), p. 306.

bien which makes him aware of a failing or incompleteness in his earthly condition. Editors' repeated claims to have approached a plan Pascal may have had for the ordering of his fragments implies the existence of a *souverain bien* of order, but which exists only in their imagination. In other words, like Brunschvicg's inner sense of a reference standard of real truth which is created by man's own judgement, the existence of a plan is created by the editors' own judgement. From the high probability that the fragments represented notes assembled in preparation for the writing of an apology for Christianity, to the variously judged probabilities of the order in which Pascal left the fragments, to the order and selection he may have made of them, every edition of the *Pensées* is built upon editorial assessment of probability. In this way, probability takes revenge on Pascal for his polemic against casuistry and related probabilism, driving every assault made on the fragments Pascal left behind.

Pascal's attack on the probabilism of the casuists is summarised in Fragment S 451:

Probabilité. Ils ont quelques principes vrais, mais ils en abusent.
Or l'abus des vérités doit être autant puni que l'introduction du mensonge.²⁰

The first and last parts of fragment S 746, also directed at the Jesuits, stress further the fallibility of human judgment:

S'ils ne renoncent à la probabilité, leurs bonnes maximes sont aussi peu saintes que les méchantes, car elles sont fondées sur l'autorité humaine.

Probabilité

Ils ont plaisamment expliqué la sûreté. Car après avoir établi que toutes leurs voies sont sûres, ils n'ont plus appelé sûr ce qui

²⁰ This fragment is on page 344 of the manuscript and begins as shown above.

mène au ciel, sans danger de n'y pas arriver par là, mais ce qui y
mène sans danger de sortir de cette voie.²¹

The manner in which Pascal's editors arrange the publication of the *Pensées* is driven by probability, as judged by each individual editor.

The stages in this history compare with an analogy drawn between literature and architecture by the Italian Renaissance rhetorician Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457). According to Roy Eriksen, Valla regarded rhetoric as 'a perfect science ("perfecta sapientia") and an instrument to restore Holy Writ, on an analogy with the restoration of the Temple of God'.²² The editors of the *Édition de Port-Royal* built a temple from the building blocks, which Faugère dismantled, reusing the blocks to build another temple. Brunschvicg then built a new temple, but this in turn has been demolished. Contemporary academic opinion prefers to leave the building blocks stalled out in the builder's yard. Kaplan, however, restores the temple again. The analogy helps to formulate two essential questions. The first is whether the temple gives the same message as the builder's yard, or, more particularly, are the temples actual apologies, and is the builder's yard something else, just a source of maxims, *bons mots* and morally edifying comments. The second question is whether more violence to Pascal lies in arranging the pieces into a temple, or leaving them without attempting to take forward his avowed plan to write an apology.

It may have been knowledge of Valla's analogy that resulted in the vignette found variously in the first edition, on a frontispiece, or at the head of the *Pensées* themselves. Under a ribbon bearing the words "pendent opera interrupta" is a triptych, the central medallion a drawing of an imposing building, resembling the central portion of what is

21 The first part is on page 99 of the manuscript, and the second part is on page 100. They are on different pieces of paper, and appear to have been written at different times because the line length and size of the writing are both smaller in the second part.

22 Roy Eriksen, *The building in the text; Alberti to Shakespeare and Milton* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 56.

now known as the *Institut de France*, to its left a noble edifice under construction, and to its right a mass of various pieces of masonry, surveyed by a standing figure, which might be meant to represent a statue waiting to be put in place. To be read as an evocation of Pascal's *restes* the right hand image must be interpreted as a builder's yard, rather than the pile of ruins which it resembles, perhaps because of the artist's attempt to represent the complete confusion of the fragments.

Conclusion 3

Editorship of the *Pensées* remains dominated by the assessment of probability.

Eternal youthfulness of the *Pensées*

Why editors might take up the task of making new editions of the *Pensées* has been discussed in Chapter 1. A more challenging question is why so many commentators claim to find the *Pensées* appropriate to their own time. This sentiment is often expressed, but rarely elaborated.

Comments on Condorcet's edition illustrate the appeal of the *Pensées* to a particular philosophy, the scientific one of the *Lumières*, which is able to find compatible thoughts in the work. For Sainte-Beuve, 'Il y eut un moment où l'édition de Condorcet parut la meilleure; et elle n'est pas si mauvaise en effet, dès l'instant qu'on se place à un point de vue franchement philosophique'.²³ Lafuma also comments that 'Le *Pascal-Condorcet* convenait à l'esprit de l'époque, puisque son succès, si l'on en juge par les rééditions, s'est maintenu jusqu'en 1820'.²⁴

Faugère believes that Pascal shows a profound understanding of human nature in founding his apology on common sense and common experience.²⁵ Moreover, 'ce qui

23 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 352, fn.

24 Lafuma, *Histoire*, p. 49.

25 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Faugère, I, p. LXXXIV.

fait son éminente originalité, [...] c'est le sentiment moral. C'est par là qu'il est sans égal et que son nom si haut placé est pourtant si populaire'.²⁶

Joseph Alexander settles on a particular historical and social point of interest: 'The intense interest felt at this moment in the character and history of that society [the Jesuits], in Pascal's native country, gives to his book a new assurance of immortality[.]'²⁷

Of all the writers inhabiting the previous chapters it is Ernest Havet who most fully explains why he finds the *Pensées* so universally relevant. After describing Bossuet as the guide to the belief of the people during the reign of Louis XIV, Havet says:

Mais les temps sont bien changés, et peut-être que Pascal reprend aujourd'hui l'avantage. La foi était alors l'état commun des esprits; aujourd'hui c'est le doute.[...] Ce n'est pas un évêque qu'ils veulent entendre, c'est un homme qui n'ait d'autorité que sa raison, et qui ait essayé sur lui-même, suivant le mot de M. Villemain, les doutes qu'il tâche de résoudre.²⁸

He praises the *Pensées* for their influence on French literature: 'Depuis la grande révolution par où a fini le dernier siècle, l'influence des *Pensées* sur notre littérature est évidente: nos plus beaux génies en ont reçu la vive impression, et à leur tour, ils nous disposent à les mieux goûter et à les mieux comprendre'.²⁹ He adds further praise for the strength of their rhetoric: 'Mais Pascal est le plus excellent des modèles, [...] son éloquence n'est qu'à lui, mais tout le monde peut prendre sa part de sa rhétorique'.³⁰ Havet, the atheist, remarks that 's'il ne nous est pas possible de nous reposer dans la théologie des *Pensées*, recueillons-y du moins, pour ne le perdre jamais, l'idéal moral',

26. Ibid., I, p. LXXXV.

27. Joseph Addison Alexander, *Princeton Review*, 1845, p. 265.

28. Havet, *Étude*, p. xlii, in Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Havet.

29. Ibid., p. xliii.

30. Ibid., p. xlvi.

and, in an affirmation of the value of Pascal's lessons for every age, he concludes: '[C]e sectaire, qui semble être encore du moyen âge par sa théologie sombre et ardue, est cependant l'homme de l'avenir; il le porte tout entier en lui'.³¹

In his assessment of Havet's edition, Brunshvicg remarks that it revives 'avec un esprit plus large et plus profond, l'édition philosophique du XVIII^e siècle', whereas the 'éditions chrétiennes', both protestant and catholic, 'essaient de reconstituer l'ordre des fragments et d'adapter à l'usage du lecteur contemporain l'apologie du Christianisme que Pascal s'était proposé d'écrire'.³² That is, Havet continues to appeal to the philosophy of the *Lumières*, but others deliberately reorder the fragments to make the apology appeal to the late nineteenth century reader. Brunshvicg therefore assumes that the editors to whom he refers judge what the people want at that time.

Against the background of the many editions published up to the time of his own, he describes the perpetual moral youthfulness of the *Pensées*:

[L]a richesse et la profondeur de ces fragments sont telles que les esprits les plus divers y ont trouvé, sinon de quoi satisfaire, du moins de quoi répondre à des préoccupations que le XVII^e siècle semblait n'avoir pas connues, qu'ils se sont imposés à la méditation de tous, non comme un livre classique et à titre de document rétrospectif, mais comme un ouvrage actuel autant et plus que la plupart des ouvrages contemporains.³³

Thus, critically, Brunshvicg attributes an ability of the *Pensées* to enter into conversation with people whose cares are quite different from those of the time the collection was written, and gives it an *actuality*. As already quoted, he regards the '*actualité permanente du recueil des Pensées*' as residing in Pascal's recognition of the independent spirituality in man and his vision of humanity in three dimensions, 'où se

31. Ibid., p. xlii.

32. Brunshvicg Minor, p. 265.

33. Ibid., p. 262.

rencontrent, sans se confondre, le plan de la critique naturaliste, le plan de la philosophie de l'esprit, le plan de la révélation surnaturelle'.³⁴

The American author T. S. Eliot writes to this effect at the end of his introduction to the 1932 English edition of the *Pensées*, but, as with similar remarks in general, reasons are not specified. But these statements are not all simply delivered as truisms; strands of thought can often be teased from the words of approbation surrounding them. Eliot seems to have found in Pascal a kindred spirit. Writing in 1931, in the Great Depression, and perhaps in one of his own periods of depression, Eliot's enumeration of misery³⁵ points to a personal level of appeal, even if he also had in mind a more general moral scope, and the specific social problems of his time. He finds Pascal's distinction of three orders, nature, mind, and charity 'much about which the modern world would do well to think', and he knows of 'no religious writer more pertinent to our time'.³⁶

A final example, and one more incisive than any of the aforementioned, is David Wetsel's observation that 'Pascal's appeal for the modern reader could be said to reside in a dark and even "tragic" view of the human condition which resembles our own'.³⁷

Conclusion 4

The themes which emerge from this review are the contemporaneity and the moral strength of the *Pensées*, which latter contributes to the former, independently of the role as Christian apologetic, to which it lies as substrate. Indeed, Havet saw Pascal as the man of the future. It is difficult to understand Sainte-Beuve's view that publication of

34 Léon Brunschvicg, *Écrits Philosophiques*, I, (1951) p. 8 (typography original).

35 T. S. Eliot, *Introduction*, in Blaise Pascal, *Pascal's Pensées*, trans. W. F. Trotter (London: Dent, 1932), p. xviii. 'But I can think of no Christian writer, not Newman even, more to be commended than Pascal to those who doubt, but who have the mind to conceive, and the sensibility to feel, the disorder, the futility, the meaninglessness, the mystery of life and suffering, and who can only find peace through a satisfaction of the whole being.' This mirrors Sainte-Beuve's picturesque evocation of Pascal's lecture to his friends: 'Pascal recommence donc à résumer, à entre-choquer, comme s'il ne l'avait pas fait encore, la misère de l'homme, son ennui perpétuel, son effroi de repos, sa distraction insensée, cette vaine et tumultueuse fuite de lui-même' (Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3, in II, p. 390).

36. Ibid.

37 Wetsel, *Pascal and Disbelief*, p.4.

the fragments as such destroyed their moral value, and, moreover, their value as apology,³⁸ since the moral message lies in the fragments and follows them into whatever arrangement an editor pleases.

Brunschvicg's reference in the above quotation to "un ouvrage actuel" introduces the element of life into the discussion of eternal youthfulness, and leads to consideration of something not explored by commentators, namely the contribution of *forme* to the contemporaneity of the *Pensées*. There is life in the *œuvre* in the existential sense of movement and also in the sense of germination, and both are founded in fragmentation.

Pascal's intention has a trajectory, and many scholarly comments on fragmentation are based implicitly on the premise that the fragments are the end of the trajectory of Pascal's intention. However, as found, they were (and still are) somewhere or other on the trajectory, but very unlikely to be the end, unless Pascal had actually abandoned the presumed plan. Notwithstanding their appearance of having stopped on the path of their development, which itself implies movement, the *œuvre* of fragments has a sense of becoming, a vitality of its own, aggressive and powerful, which fights against attempts to domesticate and even kill it between the covers of a book. And it refuses to behave according to a pattern imposed upon it by an editor. This has been the objective of all editors in the period under discussion. The word "delivery" has been used in a biological sense to refer to the presentation of this *œuvre* to the public, and to the violence done to the text in these efforts, but the analogy falls short in that all that has been delivered is a simulacrum of a book, while the swarming family of offspring remains alive *in embryo*. The notion of vitality has been carried to the extreme of investing the fragment with a transubstantive property. Marc Escola quotes the passage

38 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* 3, in II, p. 374.

in the *Préface* to the *Édition de Port-Royal*: ‘Et comme il avait une mémoire excellente [...] il ne craignait pas que les pensées qui lui étaient venues lui pussent jamais échapper’³⁹ in a way to make Pascal’s body the place of the text, and he goes on to quote Louis Marin’s statement: ‘le fragment pascalien est une eucharistie’.⁴⁰ The *Pensées* speak to us not from the grave, but from the womb. Their eternal youthfulness depends on a transcendent quality given by the aggressive rhetoric and the fact of fragmentation, which resist any sort of (en)closure. Escola uses the *Approbations* in the *Édition of Port-Royal* to show how the fragments became regarded as ‘véritables énoncés autonomes’ with freedom from *dispositio*, and to which no form of *dispositio* applied by the editor could add sense. He argues that an interpretation, based on the original plan, is necessary to justify the work.⁴¹ As there is no plan for the *Pensées* there cannot be an authorised interpretation, so there can be no definitive edition, no true realisation of the work. In Escola’s scheme, ‘realisation’ remains, at best, at the level of questionable interpretation. Nevertheless, new editions will continue to be attempted.

I have suggested that the *Pensées* may have had a quite personal appeal to Eliot, and the personal drama encapsulated in the work goes to the heart. Brunschvicg’s remarks have already been noted: ‘ces Fragments, destinés pour la plupart à une *Apologie du christianisme*, tournés contre les libertins et les mauvais chrétiens, sont pleins pourtant de l’âme même de Pascal; c’est de lui qu’ils nous entretiennent et c’est vers lui qu’ils dirigent notre esprit; c’est l’angoisse d’un drame intérieur qui de l’auteur se communique aux lecteurs’.⁴² This personal appeal springs out of the underlying

39 Étienne Périer, *Préface*, p. 16.

40 Marin, *Pascal et Port-Royal*, p. 66.

41 Marc Escola, *La Bruyère*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 2001), II, p. 167.

42 Brunschvicg Major, XII, p. CXLI.

broad approach to the human condition which is embodied in the apology.⁴³ Pascal writes to the eternal enigma of the human condition, which, perhaps more than any other factor, is responsible for the eternal youthfulness of his collection of fragments.

43 André Malraux wrote of his *La Condition humaine*, 'Le cadre n'est pas l'essentiel, l'essentiel est l'élément pascalien' (quoted by Monique Gosselin, in *La Condition humaine, roman de l'anti-destin*, ed. Jean-Claude Larrat (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), p. 134, and in the same volume, on page 21, are found the words of Jean Guéhenno, written in 1933 in an article about the book: 'La condition humaine, c'est tout ce que nous avons voulu connaître, tout ce que nous avons voulu définir, éclairer, et en la définissant, affranchir. Si c'est une prison, c'est une prison dont nous ne voulons pas sortir. Notre pensée, jamais, ne nous parut valable que si elle se rapporte à cela, la condition humaine.'

APPENDICES

1. Le Comité

Pascal met the leader of the committee, Artus Gouffier, duc de Roannez (1627-1696), as neighbours in Paris in their childhood, and they remained friends all their lives. He shared Pascal's interest in mathematics, and they worked together on many projects.¹ Roannez became governor of Poitou in 1651. He travelled widely in France as an administrator and businessman, and sometimes Pascal accompanied him. A pious man, under Pascal's influence he decided in 1654 to withdraw from worldly affairs and devote himself to spiritual contemplation. He resigned his governorship, and at about that time declined an advantageous marriage. Pascal became the spiritual guide to the duke's younger sister, Charlotte,² who had suddenly resolved to become a nun in August 1656, on a visit to Port-Royal de Paris. Roannez had many *libertin* friends, including Damien Miton and the chevalier de Méré. He worked with Pascal to establish the *Société des carrosses à cinq sols*, a public transport system in Paris.³

Jean Filleau de la Chaise (1631-1688), the source of information about Pascal's plan for an apology, discussed above, was another Poitevin. He was an historian and his major work was his *Histoire de S. Louis*, published in 1688.

Louis-Henri Comte de Brienne (1635-1698) was Secretary of State for foreign affairs, sharing the post with his father, until 1663. In 1665 he became an Oratorian, embraced the Jansenist persuasion, but left the order in 1674, and spent much of the rest of his life in prison, apparently because of his indiscretions with state secrets, and the incompatibility of his social behaviour with his rank. He wrote poetry, and was an associate of the much older Claude Lancelot, who was a *solitaire* of Port-Royal.⁴

1 Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, II, p. 766.

2 Pascal's letters to Charlotte are found in Mesnard, *OC*, III, pp. 1029-1047.

3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 763.

4 Louis Cognet, *Claude Lancelot, Solitaire de Port-Royal* (Paris: Sulliver, 1950), p. 22.

Brienne was an intermediary between Gilberte Périer and the working group. Two of his letters to her were first reproduced in Faugère's edition of the *Pensées*.⁵

Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694) matriculated from the Sorbonne in 1632, where he was an intimate of Guillebert.⁶ He received his doctorate in 1641 and was ordained in the same year. On Christmas Eve in 1639 he had written to Saint-Cyran, announcing his conversion, and asking him to be his spiritual director. His book *De la fréquente Communion* of 1643 aroused controversy with the Jesuits, which his *Théologie morale des Jésuites*, against Jesuit casuistry, served to inflame. He was dismissed from the Sorbonne in 1656, and went into hiding for many years. Mère Angélique, abbess of the monastery of Port-Royal from 1602, was his sister. Marvin O'Connell tells us that he had a 'sharply combative, if not belligerent temperament, which had more than once annoyed the established order'.⁷

Pierre Nicole (1625-1695) was regarded by Sainte-Beuve as a sort of script writer for Pascal: 'Nous venons d'entendre Pascal; voulons-nous voir Nicole là-dessus? C'est le second de Pascal, un second que les Jésuites appelaient le *copiste* de Pascal.'⁸ His best-known book is the fourteen-volume collection of *Essais de morale*, much praised by Madame de Sévigné.

Philippe Goibaut du Bois (1629-1694) was another native of Poitou. He entered the circle of the Roannez in Paris in 1660, and was introduced to Pascal and Huygens. Filleau de la Chaise published his *Discours sur les pensées de M.Pascal* under du Bois's name ('M. Du Bois de la Cour'). He was a competent musician and neighbour of Marc-Antoine Charpentier. He formed powerful connections and was tutor to the duc de Guise. He became an Académicien shortly before his death. Jean Mesnard records that, in a manuscript which he entitles '*Recueil de choses diverses*', belonging to Monmerqué: 'Il souligne d'ailleurs la dépendance particulièrement étroite de ces deux Poitevins [Filleau de la Chaise and Goibaut du Bois] par rapport à Pascal.'⁹ He may have been the most competent and experienced of them all in producing an edition.

5 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées fragments et lettres*, ed. Faugère, II, Appendice, p. 390 and p. 393.

6 Marvin R. O'Connell, *Blaise Pascal. Reasons of the Heart* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 53.

7 Ibid., p.53.

8 Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal, Le Cours de Lausanne (1837-1838)*, (Paris: Droz, 1937), part I, p. 61.

9 Mesnard, *Pascal et les Roannez*, II, p.653.

Henri-Joseph de Peyre, comte de Troisville (Tréville) (1640-1708) is mentioned as suggesting corrections in the editing of the *Pensées*. He was only twenty-one years old when Pascal died, and is unlikely to have known him. He died in 1708, having retired to a life of study and prayer in 1670.

Étienne Périer (1642-1680) was Pascal's nephew. He was Conseiller à la Cour des aides de Clermont. Briennes's letter of September 7, 1668, to his mother Gilberte attests to his assiduity in pursuing her concerns about the publication of the *Pensées*. 'Je vous dois dire, madame, que Mr votre fils est bien aise de se voir bientôt au bout de ses sollicitations auprès de moi et de vos autres amis, et de n'être plus obligé à nous tenir tête avec l'opiniâtreté qu'il faisait [...]'¹⁰

**2(a) Titles of the 'Titres' of the first edition
of the *Pensées*: *Pensées sur la Religion et sur quelques autres Sujets*
(Paris: Desprez, 1670)**

| | | |
|-------|------|---|
| Titre | I | Contre l'indifférence des Athées |
| | II | Marques de la véritable Religion |
| | III | Véritable Religion prouvée par les contrariés qui sont dans l'homme, et par le péché originel |
| | IV | Il n'est pas incroyable que Dieu s'unisse à nous |
| | V | Soumission, et usage de la raison |
| | VI | Foi sans raisonnement |
| | VII | Q'il est plus avantageux de croire que de ne pas croire ce qu'enseigne la Religion Chretienne |
| | VIII | Image d'un homme qui s'est lassé de chercher Dieu par le seul raisonnement, et qui commence à lire l'écriture |
| | IX | Injustice, et corruption de l'homme |
| | X | Juifs |
| | XI | Moïse |
| | XII | Figures |
| | XIII | Que la Loi était figurative |

¹⁰ Louis-Henri comte de Brienne, *Lettre à madame Périer*, September 7, 1668 in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées fragments et lettres*, ed. Faugère, I, p. 399. This letter is in the *II^e Recueil MS du père Guerrier*, p. 72.

- XIV JÉSUS-CHRIST
- XV Preuves de JÉSUS-CHRIST par les prophéties
- XVI Diverses preuves de JÉSUS-CHRIST
- XVII Contre Mahomet
- XVIII Dessein de Dieu de se cacher aux uns, et de se découvrir aux autres
- XIX Que les vrais Chrétiens et les vrais Juifs n'ont qu'une même Religion.
- XX On ne connaît pas Dieu utilement que par JÉSUS-CHRIST
- XXI Contrariétés étonnantes qui se trouvent dans la nature de l'homme à l'égard de la vérité, du bonheur, et de plusieurs autres choses.
- XXII Connaissance générale de l'homme
- XXIII Grandeur de l'homme
- XXIV Vanité de l'homme
- XXV Faiblesse de l'homme
- XXVI Misère de l'homme
- XXVII Pensées sur les Miracles
- XXVIII Pensées Chrétiennes
- XXIX Pensées Morales
- XXX Pensées sur la mort, qui ont été extraites d'une lettre écrite par M. Pascal sur le sujet de la mort de Monsieur son Père
- XXXI Pensées diverses
- XXXII Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies

2(b) Titles of the 'Articles' of Bossut's edition first published in 1779: Blaise Pascal, *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, ed. Charles Bossut 5 vols (Paris: Lefèvre, 1819) II, p. 550-51

Première Partie. Contenant les Pensées qui se rapportent à la Philosophie, à la Morale et aux Belles-Lettres.

- Article I. De l'autorité en matière de Philosophie
- II. Réflexions sur la Géométrie en général

- III. De l'Art de persuader
- IV. Connaissance générale de l'homme
- V. Vanité de l'homme; effets de l'amour-propre
- VI. Faiblesse de l'homme; incertitude de ses connaissances naturelles
- VII. Misère de l'homme
- VIII. Raisons de quelques opinions du peuple
- IX. Pensées morales détachées
- X. Pensées diverses de Philosophie et de Littérature
- XI. Sur Épictète et Montaigne
- XII. Sur la condition des Grands

Seconde Partie. Contenant les Pensées immédiatement relatives à la Religion.

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| Article | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I. Contrariétés étonnantes qui se trouvent dans la nature de l'homme à l'égard de la vérité, du bonheur, et de plusieurs autres choses II. Nécessité d'étudier la Religion III. Quand il serait difficile de démontrer l'existence de Dieu par les lumières naturelles, le plus sûr est de croire IV. Marques de la véritable Religion V. Véritable Religion prouvée par les contrariétés qui sont dans l'homme, et par le péché originel VI. Soumission et usage de la raison VII. Image d'un homme qui s'est lassé de chercher Dieu par le seul raisonnement, et qui commence à lire l'Écriture VIII. Des Juifs considérés par rapport à notre Religion IX. Des Figures; que l'ancienne loi était figurative X. De Jésus-Christ XI. Preuves de Jésus-Christ par les Prophéties XII. Diverses preuves de Jésus-Christ XIII. Dessein de Dieu de se cacher aux uns, et de se découvrir aux autres |
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- XIV. Que les vrais Chrétiens et les vrais Juifs n'ont qu'une même religion
- XV. On ne connaît Dieu utilement que par Jésus-Christ
- XVI. Pensées sur les Miracles
- XVII. Pensées diverses sur la Religion
- XVIII. Pensées sur la mort, qui ont été extraites d'une Lettre écrite par Pascal, au sujet de la mort de M. son Père
- XIX. Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies

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