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978-0-521-64002-2 - Barbarism and Religion: Narratives of Civil Government, Volume Two

J. G. A. Pocock

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BARBARISM AND RELIGION

Volume Two

Narratives of Civil Government

The second volume in the sequence of *Barbarism and Religion* explores the historiography of Enlightenment. John Pocock assesses a series of major authors who wrote Enlightened histories on a grand narrative scale, were known to Edward Gibbon and were important in the latter's own work: Giannone, Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, Ferguson and Adam Smith. In different ways they were concerned to write the history of the 'Christian millennium', and then to recount the emergence from the latter of that enlightened 'Europe' of which they believed themselves a part, and which reached its apogee between the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 and the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776. Edward Gibbon's historical trajectory is similar but at points crucially distinct from this essentially Latin narrative, and John Pocock shows how the decade prior to the appearance of the *Decline and Fall* witnessed an important development in Gibbon's thinking, prompting the recognition that his subject demanded treatment of the patristic as well as the papal church. The volume is also informed by the perception that the integration of philosophy and erudition with narrative is central to the development of enlightened historiography: once again John Pocock shows how the *Decline and Fall* is both akin to but distinct from the historiographical context within which Gibbon wrote his great work.

Born in London and brought up in Christchurch, New Zealand, J. G. A. POCKOCK was educated at the Universities of Canterbury and Cambridge, and is now Harry C. Black Emeritus Professor of History at the Johns Hopkins University. His many seminal works on intellectual history include *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (1957, second edition 1987), *Politics, Language and Time* (1971), *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975), and *Virtue, Commerce and History* (1985). He has also edited *The Political Works of James Harrington* (1977) and Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1987), as well as the collaborative study *The Varieties of British Political Thought* (1995). A Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and of the Royal Historical Society, Professor Pocock is also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society.

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alla memoria di Arnaldo Momigliano

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Note on usages

I have continued the practice of supplying translations of passages quoted in languages other than English. These are from eighteenth-century translations where possible; my own only where no other is available. When citing French or Italian from eighteenth-century editions, I have followed contemporary spelling and accentuation; in some cases, however, I have used modern editions and their orthography.

'*Decline and Fall*' in italic refers to Gibbon's work; 'Decline and Fall' in roman to the process it describes; 'decline and fall' without capitals to the concept in Gibbon and other authors.

Since Gibbon's memoirs are of less importance in this volume than in its predecessor, I have not retained the practice of citing John Murray's 1896 edition of the *Autobiographies* in addition to Georges Bonnard's 1969 edition of the *Memoirs*.

The notes throughout the book are numbered by section.

Abbreviations

- Bury J. B. Bury (ed.), *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon. With introduction, notes and appendices. In seven volumes. London: Methuen and Co., 1909. Reprinted by AMS Press Inc., New York, 1974
- EE Patricia B. Craddock (ed.), *The English Essays of Edward Gibbon*. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1972
- EEG J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Volume I: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon*. Cambridge University Press, 1999
- EGLH Patricia B. Craddock, *Edward Gibbon: Luminous Historian: 1772–1794*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1989
- EM René Pomeau (ed.), *Voltaire: Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*. In two volumes. Paris: Garnier, 1963
- Essay Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995
- History William B. Todd (ed.), *David Hume: The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution of 1688*. In six volumes. By David Hume, Esq. Based on the Edition of 1778, with the Author's Last Corrections and Improvements. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1983
- Ist. civ. Pietro Giannone, 1723: *Dell'Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli libri XL. Scritti da Pietro Giannone, Giureconsulto, ed Avvocato Napoletano; Napoli, per lo Stampatore Niccolo Naso*. In four volumes. Naples
- Journal A D. M. Low (ed.), *Gibbon's Journal to January 28th, 1763: My Journal, I, II and III, and Ephemerides. With introductory essays*. London: Chatto and Windus; New York: W. W. Norton, 1929
- Journal B Georges A. Bonnard (ed.), *Le journal de Gibbon à Lausanne*,

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- 17 *Août 1763–19 Avril 1764*. Lausanne: Librairie de l'Université, 1945
- Journal C* Georges A. Bonnard (ed.), *Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome: His Journal from 20 April to 2 October 1764*. London and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961
- Letters* J. E. Norton (ed.), *The Letters of Edward Gibbon*. In three volumes. London: Cassell and Company, 1956
- Library* Geoffrey Keynes (ed.), *The Library of Edward Gibbon*. Second edition. N.P.: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1980
- LJ* R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael, and P. G. Stein, 1982 (eds.), *Adam Smith: Lectures on Jurisprudence*; Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1982. Reprint of volume v of the Glasgow edition of *The Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978
- Low D. M. Low, *Edward Gibbon, 1737–1794*. London: Chatto and Windus; New York: Random House, 1937
- LRBL* J. C. Bryce (ed.), *Adam Smith: Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres*. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985. Reprint of volume iv of the Glasgow edition of *The Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983
- Mém. l'a litt.* *Mémoires littéraires de la Grande Bretagne. Pour l'an 1767*.
Memoirs Georges A. Bonnard (ed.), *Edward Gibbon: Memoirs of My Life*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969
- Miller Eugene F. Miller (ed.), *David Hume: Essays Moral, Political and Literary*. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985
- MW* Lord Sheffield (ed.), *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Memoirs of his Life and Writings, Composed by Himself: Illustrated from his Letters, with Occasional Notes and Narrative. A new edition, with considerable additions, in five volumes*. London: John Murray, 1814
- Nugent, 1752 Thomas Nugent (trans.), *The Age of Louis XIV: Translated from the French of M. de Voltaire*. London
- Nugent, 1759 Thomas Nugent (trans.), *An Essay on Universal History, the Manners and Spirit of Nations, from the Reign of Charlemagne to the Age of Louis XIV. Written in French by M. de Voltaire*. Third edition. Dublin
- Ogilvie *The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples, in Two Volumes . . . Translated into English by Captain James Ogilvie*. London, 1729

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Abbreviations

- OH* René Pomeau (ed.), *Oeuvres Historiques de Voltaire*. Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, vol. cxxviii, 1962
- Smollett Tobias Smollett (trans.), *History of Russia under the Reign of Peter the Great*, in Voltaire, *Works*, 1906, vol. xxiv. Boston
- Womersley David Womersley (ed.), *Edward Gibbon: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. In three volumes. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1994
- Works* *The Works of William Robertson, D.D., with an Account of his Life and Writings*. In nine volumes. London, 1824. Reprinted Bristol: Thoemmes, 1996
- YEG* Patricia B. Craddock, *Young Edward Gibbon: Gentleman of Letters*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982