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The Binary of Rousseau

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION
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This dissertation began as a study of the relatively conventional, 18th century method of literary composition by rewriting the sentences of other writers. Rousseau imitated sentence structure to compose with diverting rhythms and appropriate ideas from the literary canon. The term “the binary of Rousseau” broadly means two writers coming together to make a passage; and words being defined in a way that contradicts their common signification. The dissertation is essentially comparative because classical and modern writers were compared to Rousseau’s works. From this perspective, Rousseau is understood as an Enlightenment author: his oeuvre encompasses the standard philosophy of empiricism, rationalism, materialism and sensationalism, political theory and history.

My theory of composition with archetypes and prototypes is technical in the context of criticism about 18th century literature. The first chapter evaluates Rousseau’s translation of Tacitus’s *Le premier livre*, a Roman historian. Principles from the posthumously published *Essai sur l’origine des langues* are applied to aesthetics and linguistics. In Chapter Two, more sentences of Rousseau’s translation of Tacitus are compared to *Les confessions*. The formulaic practice of prototypal composition mystifyingly resembles that of translation which entails the systematic substitution of French words for Latin ones. These chapters relied upon Genette’s *Palimpsestes*, a critical explanation of literature having to do with authors erasing words of original writers to compose over them. Aristotle’s *Poetics* was an influence on Rousseau’s binary procedures, we know, because of his response to D’Alembert. The third chapter about

Romanticism, the epistolary novel, and sentimentality again takes up copying of the literary canon. It compares *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* to *The Gallic Wars* of Julius Caesar. In the fourth chapter, I take Chomsky and other linguists into account with portions of *Du contrat social* and Rousseau's translation of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*. The final chapter about Dom Joseph Cajot's *Les plagiats* and *L'Émile ou de l'éducation* describes how Rousseau digested Plato, Plutarch, Locke, Defoe, Condillac, etcetera and provides perspective about Rousseauian criticism from the 18th century to the present.

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Note about Editions and Authors' Names

I have studied various editions of the works of Aristotle, Plato and Rousseau in preparation for this Dissertation. Rousseau read Aristotle's *The Poetics* and Plato's *The Republic* in Latin.¹ I have cited Livre de Poche and Garnier-Flammarion editions of Rousseau's works as well as the Gallimard Folio Essais and Gallimard Pléiade editions, depending upon their pertinence to *The Binary of Rousseau*. In the body of the dissertation, I quote English translations of Plato and Aristotle instead of French translations. Early on I decided not to translate French citations or titles. Since I write in English, I spelled the names of Greek and Roman people according to English conventions. In the notes however, the names of classical authors are spelled in French or English, depending upon the edition. I give the complete bibliographical information in the footnotes the first time a book is cited. Thereafter, I only provide the last names of authors and editors, the title, then indications of tomes, volumes, books, parts, chapters, numbers of letters and page numbers.

¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre à d'Alembert*, ed. Michel Launay (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1967), 82, 225.

Introduction

This dissertation about 18th century French literature emphasizes one author, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose prose is known for its musicality. Numerous linguists, literary critics and scholars of Rousseau have used the word “binary” to describe the use of pairs to classify ideas. In linguistics, when something specific is compared to a general category, they form a binary couple. Rousseau’s penchant for composing with pairs of words, such as using two adjectives to modify a noun, instead of one or three, or defining a term in a specific way and then considering an alternative version of it by modifying the term with one adjective, is summed up in his translation of a fragment of Plato. “car tout à l’heure d’un je faisais deux par la réunion, et maintenant d’un je fais encore deux par la division.”¹ Plato described the value of keeping relationships between ideas very simple: he limited to two the number of variables that philosophers, composers and writers of literature should think about at any one time.

Pierre-Maurice Masson initiated the study of Rousseau’s composition with lexical blueprints with the 1909 essay “Contribution à l’étude de la prose métrique dans *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.” Masson considered Rousseau composition of metrical prose in relation to lyricism and the emotional sensitivity of romanticism. The identification of metrical prose, which is to say clauses composed of irregular eight-syllable and twelve-syllable lines, supports the theory that Rousseau wrote passages of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* as if he were composing a poem. According to the essay, octosyllabic lines are the most lyrical of the French language. The very popular novel is long and consequently was very time consuming for Enlightenment readers. Masson thought

¹ Platon, *Traduction de divers fragments de Platon*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, eds. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, trans. Rousseau (Paris: Gallimard, “La Pléiade, 1995), 1297.

lyrical couplets in the letters of Saint-Preux and Julie accounted for the tone of amorous, delirious, emotional outpourings of joy and despair.² Masson compared a poem attributed to Rousseau to a passage of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.

Au point de vue de la technique métrique et du sentiment, il est impossible de contester la parenté évidente de ces deux morceaux: ce n'est pas seulement le même thème, c'est le même rythme, le même mètre, le même balancement antithétique, et souvent les mêmes mots.³

The poem in question, Masson observed, was constructed like the prose of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and appeared to be very authentic. Possibly an imitation by another author, it was published by Belin in 1817 and Musset-Pathay in 1824.⁴ More recently Henri Gouhier, Peter Jimack and many editors of scholarly editions have written about Rousseau's poetic method of composition by evaluating the rewriting of his own sentences.

Since the 1960's and 1970's critics have written about binary in the context of Rousseau. Although the subject extends to other authors and theories, there has yet to be a comprehensive account of what binary meant to Rousseau. In the 18th century, with the French Enlightenment progressing from the formalism of the 17th century, binary was a musical concept and a philosophical one. To my knowledge, Michel Launay, Paul de Man and James Swenson have published scholarship that specifically applies the word "binary" to the works of Rousseau. Jacques Derrida and Jean Starobinski also come to mind when accounting for concepts of binary and unity in relation to Rousseau's literature. Launay and Swenson described the rhythm and patterns of words composed into sentences by acknowledging pairs of nouns, verbs and

² Pierre-Maurice Masson, "Contribution à l'étude de la prose métrique dans la *Nouvelle Héloïse*," *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 5 (1909): 259-60.

³ *Ibid.*, 266-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 267.

adjectives. Following Saussure, while Greimas and de Man both use the word “binary” to talk about linguistic structure and signification, their definitions of it are different. More than oppositional contrast, in this dissertation, the binary of Rousseau describes his methods of composition and his transformation of literary sources.

Prose style and the way Rousseau organized ideas are studied in three categories. The first is a theory of literary templates; the second is semantic; the third is concerned with literary periodization. Rousseau’s paradoxes function with ideas that could be said to face each other, like “L’homme est né libre, et par-tout il est dans les fers.”⁵ According to de Man’s conceptualization of binary as two mutually exclusive entities, liberty stands at one side of a schematic axis, whereas man being in chains stands at the other. A broader sense of comparison breaks with the usual types of couplings: these are nuances, near synonyms and causal relations. The idea that valuable knowledge is produced when two things are compared belongs to a philosophic tradition that, for the purposes of this dissertation, is defined by Greimas’ *La sémantique structurale*, Descartes’ *Discours sur la méthode* and Plato’s *Republic*.

Rousseau wrote about language and music in *Essai sur l’origine des langues*. The chapter “De la mélodie” suggests that the arrangement of words into patterns can change the character and thought of the people who read them. This philosophy of the potential influence of a writer upon readers is based upon esthetic theory. The idea is that materials affect humans, such as the physical sound wave of a melody upon the ear, or a painting’s line and color upon eyes. Humans are also affected by the emotion of music and painting. According to Catherine Kintzler, for 18th century composers, the principle that mathematically quantifiable relationships between sounds alter human sensation and thought is called the process of mechanical combination. Although

⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1964), book I, chpt. I, 173.

Rousseau did not think emotion could be reduced to physics, he incorporated the theory of mechanical combination with prose composition. He carefully emulated sentence structures of canonical writers in his own works so that some of the emotion and ideas would be transmitted like the physical transmission of rhythm and melody.

A philosopher, political theorist and novelist, the popularity of Rousseau's literature can be accounted to its breadth: many of his writings are useful for the information they contain, especially his musical dictionary and encyclopedia articles. The breadth of Rousseau's creative energies fans out to sociology and education. He learned a technical method of literary composition by doing translations as well as writing letters in numerical code when employed in the French Foreign Service. One of his translations is of Tacitus, a historian of the Roman Empire. Linguists and scholars debate about the precise syntactical patterns of the prose of Tacitus, which is recognizable by its binarity, as if he arranged words into simple, prearranged patterns. Since Diderot and D'Alembert also translated Tacitus, his works were obviously part of the body of literature considered necessary to Enlightenment philosophers. Translation is akin to composing music with mathematical formulas in the sense that Rousseau wrote a version of Tacitus by substituting French words into nearly the same prearranged lexical patterns of the original.

This dissertation evaluates the extent to which Rousseau copied the lexical formulas of other authors, and composed his own, because verbal patterns influenced the sensation and the signification of the words. In theory, if an author simply arranged the words of another writer into different patterns, the new rhythms and sounds would produce different sensations. If Rousseau wrote his ideas in a template from Tacitus, readers would see the ideas with the same subtle shades as those of the Roman historian. Initially, it appears improbable that Rousseau

could have written such a voluminous oeuvre by painstakingly organizing words into the patterns of other sentences, as if each word were a box into which only the same type of word could fit. On the other hand, his *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique* proposed that people could read music written with numbers. The numbered sentences at the beginning of *Les confessions*, the activity of copying music, rewriting manuscripts and comparison of variations in the manuscripts diminishes resistance to the theory.

While there were fewer books in the 18th century than today, and many of the philosophes read and wrote about the same authors, isolation and coincidence played a part in Rousseau's literary output. Rousseau's arduous work of writing books and copying music is apparent in an anecdote from *Les confessions*. Long before Rousseau began signing his name to essays about music and politics, a man in Lyon hired him to copy music. By coincidence, Rousseau had been walking down a street singing a song of which the man, Mr. Rolichon, needed a personal copy in three or four days. The likelihood of this occurrence metaphorically stands for the role of coincidence in definitive knowledge about Rousseau's sources. In the same way that two men in Lyon could have the same song on their minds, Rousseau probably wrote some ideas in his literature which were popular then, even though in our time, scholars consider one or another author to be their original author.

Copying music and writing scores for commercial reasons required a systematic technique. According to *Les confessions*, when the young Rousseau was supposed to be working on his musical copying, he made frequent mistakes due to distractions. The story about copying music in Lyon delineates two elements of his musical education: one was about rote exercises and the other, the isolation of working alone with nothing but pen and paper. When Mr. Rolichon interviewed Rousseau for the work, he asked him how much he knew about drafting

musical scores. Rousseau responded that he knew a lot. “Et cela était vrai; ma meilleure manière de l’apprendre était d’en copier. ‘Eh bien, me dit-il, venez avec moi; je pourrai vous occuper quelques jours, durant lesquels rien ne vous manquera, pourvu que vous consentiez à ne sortir de la chambre.’”⁶ The text is vague about why Rousseau could not leave the room. It may have been because of the amount of copying to do, or Mr. Rolichon’s desire for secrecy, since he did not want to appear too obsessed with music. In any case, music was a social activity for Mr. Rolichon. Although Rousseau was paid a nominal sum, he was blamed for poor work. The copies were, “... pleines d’omissions, de duplications et de transpositions.”⁷ Soon after Rousseau finished the work, Madame de Warens sent him a message that he could return to Chambéry.

If rearranging another’s prose into different rhythms could make it have a different signification, and if the same were true for changing its sound by carefully choosing synonyms for some of the words, then translating an author into French, or even copying and paraphrasing passages of French writers, could technically create original works. Rousseau’s genius was in his ability to adapt old literature and foreign literature into a modern form that was marketable to his bourgeois contemporaries. The binarity of Rousseau is also lexical in the sense that he redefined very common words so that they would be *double entendres*. For 18th century readers of *Du contrat social*, words like “prince” and “sovereign” no longer signified what they signified before 1762. Rousseau’s technical definitions built obsolescence into them, forcing people to reflect upon their meaning. The difficulty of Rousseau’s abstraction is that one must occasionally plug various definitions into the context to make the literature meaningful.

To justify putting his name on the book, Rousseau boldly stated his attitude about imitation and appropriation in the preface to *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. His method of literary

⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Jean Guéhenno, vol. I (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1965), book IV, 267.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 268.

composition was a mixture of humility and pride. In the case of the epistolary novel, the fictional editor/author acknowledged that some of its words were not entirely original.

“Quiconque veut se résoudre à lire ces lettres doit s’armer de patience sur les fautes de langue, sur le style emphatique et plat, sur les pensées communes rendues en termes ampoulés;”⁸ For Enlightenment authors, mimesis or literary imitation entailed the notion of common ideas. The fictional editor, whose job was to transform correspondence into a novel, put borrowed structure into their sentences and simultaneously illuminated the images of the correspondents to effectuate their dissemination to readers. To edit a sentence so its syntax mirrored the word pattern of a passage of Tacitus could require the addition or subtraction of essentially meaningless nouns, verbs and adjectives. At the same time, readers familiar with Tacitus might see a glimmering of his style in Rousseau’s narrative voice.

The magnificent and almost obsessive appeal of Rousseau is in part attributable to his emulation and imitation of classical history and in part a result of its utility. 18th century readers had access to collections of letters dating to the middle-ages, picaresque narratives such as *Don Quixote*, somewhat fictional journals like Defoe’s *Journal of the Plague Year*, but the masses still did not really understand the genre of the novel. Some novels were called histories. Plutarch, Tacitus and Caesar provided models for political literature and for the novel; and these two combined generated the beginnings of Rousseau’s appeal and then his longevity. Caesar’s and Plutarch’s writing of history provided models of accessible narrative voice, depiction of great characters with minute human details, such as a man being nick-name after a garbanzo bean. Their factually correct accounts have exotic and local settings, as the Caesars and their armies travelled to foreign lands and came back home to Rome. Violent physical conflict between soldiers in bloody battles resulted from strategy and deceit. The people of mountainous

⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Michel Launay (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1967), 3.

tribes felt small joys when they discovered some ingenious technological weapon of the invaders. 17th century French writers had already translated these Greek and Latin historians. 17th and even 16th century French authors had written about them in the form of political philosophy and even historical commentary but it was people like Rousseau who managed to make them authentically French and useful.

People bought Rousseau because *L'Émile* informed them about education and gave them ideas to think about without boring them with tedious facts and pedagogical dogma. *Du contrat social* is a rewriting of Rousseau's archetypal encyclopedia article *Discours sur l'économie politique*. The first was published as a pamphlet and is more pragmatic than the original in Diderot's great compendiums because of its clarity and concision. Most chapters of *Du contrat social* are neatly organized into short, one and two page entries whereas *Discours sur l'économie politique* is written into a longer form suitable for readers seriously inquiring into government. The style in Rousseau's narrative is balanced between informal and formal. He employed common words to express abstract ideas, as did the historians he imitated. While much of Rousseau is taken from classical and French precedents, the mechanical composition of the rational voice became symbolic of a dominant, detested and severely criticized literature. Nevertheless, it was there to stay, along with the preromantic sentimental voice, because Rousseau stood for progress toward a natural French language literature.

Some Enlightenment authors criticized Rousseau for reversing the essential information of Greek and Latin texts. While Cajot argued this point in the context of *L'Émile*, and made a case that it was a problem, Rousseau's ability to reverse the ideas of great writers can be considered the foundation of romantic genius. Rousseau was a transitional writer between the Enlightenment and Romanticism because of his progressively diminished emulation of the

classics and the publication of a few monuments of preromantic fiction. This phenomenon is most apparent in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Before its publication, various novels set the standards for the acceptable sequence of narrative presentations which differentiated a good, high quality, professional presentation from an acceptable but mediocre one, however much mastery the novelist had of fictional technique. Two novels exemplary of the powerful presentation of Enlightenment fictional structure are Marivaux's *La vie de Marianne* and Richardson's *Pamela*. Each of them describes the relationship between relatively lower class female characters with relatively higher class male ones.

This dynamic is reversed in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* because Saint-Preux has the status of a domestic in the household of the Baron d'Étange. Comparison of the novel to the history of Caesar establishes that the character of Julie is a feminine equivalent of Julius Caesar. This argument essentially stands on two points. First, *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is an epistolary novel and Julius Caesar corresponded in letters. Second, Caesar is a model for the sensitivity and power inherent to French Romanticism. The Roman emperor embodies the keen intelligence of a general who will cry to show compassion and garner support; who travels internationally and wins battles because of his mathematical mind, and who can deliver a rousing rhetorical speech. Unlike Saint-Preux who was a proud creature of habit, when Julie refuses to marry him, it is out of concern and respect for her parents. The novel is an original work of fiction that is inspired by real letters that Rousseau rewrote and edited into the final literary form. Scholarship and criticism show that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between real people and the characters. Instead, Rousseau took advantage of years and years' worth of letters and well known literature to make characters who were a composite of details from many people.

Rousseau translated Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* from Latin into French. Evaluation of his translation brings many details to light that radiate in the oeuvre. Passages of *Du contrat social* and *Discours sur l'origines des langues* draw on Seneca so much that a count of the words shows an almost exact fit. It has to be said, however, that the *Apocolocyntosis* was presented orally to an audience who would understand the allusions and history of Seneca's satire. While Rousseau must have memorized or in some other way rewritten it, like composing over it, the primary subject which drives his passages transforms the literature and allows for the claim that he copied Seneca to be cast out. *Du contrat social* and *Discours sur l'origine des langues* are about something different than the *Apocolocyntosis*.

The dissertation uses Chomsky's articulation of generative grammar to get perspective on this one of Rousseau's methods of writing. Chomsky thought that if words were appropriately defined and the parts of speech categorized with respect to the grammar, then algebraic formulas with brackets, symbols, and plus and minus signs could describe most sentences of a language. I chart the words from some of the passages of *Du contrat social* which correspond to the *Apocolocyntosis* into boxes to illuminate the uncanny correspondence between the authors. Linguistic diagrams are intended to quantify the numerical link between them. These and other literary recurrences, when for example Rousseau said something resembling what Tacitus had written long before him, are effectively instances of literary *déjà vu*. The deep changes of subject within mysteriously similar lexical structures account for the time elapsed between their eras.

Joseph Cajot accused Rousseau of plagiarism in *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*. Using his study to further analyze Rousseau's compositional method and sources, I argue that Enlightenment techniques of literary imitation were based on classical techniques. It

seems Plutarch himself would have been a proponent of Rousseau's mechanistic and emotional transformation of ideas. He claimed that books were to educators as shovels were to farmers because they allowed teachers to reorganize the ideas of other books.⁹ Emphasizing Rousseau's "pensées communes" with Plutarch and others, Cajot shunned Rousseau because he misunderstood the genre of *L'Émile*.¹⁰ As if seen through a foggy window, Rousseau's novels and essays can produce the illusion of ancient writers as if they were in dialogue. His texts present ideas which may have been theirs in a fresh tone characteristic of Enlightenment rationalism and early romanticism.

Rousseau's formal method of composition represents an attitude about the relationship between structure and content. The propriety of his texts results less from the originality of themes and more from their coherence and organization. Since many authors wrote about the same ideas, the originality of Rousseau's books is found in his variations on them. The musically of his sentences, the symmetrical patterns of words and his knowledgeable yet relatively informal tone stand in contrast to his sources.

⁹ Plutarch, *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, vol. I (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 37.

¹⁰ Joseph Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation* (Paris: Durand, 1766), 25.

Chapter 1

Theory of Archetypes, Prototypes Translation and Music

The theory of archetypes and prototypes attempts to account for thematic and structural influences upon Rousseau, in terms of esthetics and compositional methodology. His meticulous imitation of lexical patterns becomes evident when his sentences are compared to sentences of others. Rousseau's practices of writing transformed the signification of words and the "essence" of literature. For this chapter, *Palimpsestes* by Gérard Genette and notes by Catherine Kintzler in the 1993 Garnier-Flammarion edition of Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues* frame the debate about copying and originality. Genette's paratextual principle systematically describes the history and varieties of authorship upon literary models. When applied, it can explain many similarities between Rousseau's sources and his oeuvre. In *Palimpsestes*, Genette did not specifically address questions about paratextuality and the musicality of language. The rhythm and sounds of prose inevitably have some effect, persuading readers rationally and emotionally. This chapter melds the paratextual principle to compositional methods informed by musical theory. When the content is most obviously gleaned from Classical and Enlightenment authors, Rousseau's musical originality becomes apparent. The prose of Rousseau changed with esthetic trends and influenced the trends themselves, due to some extent upon his ability to make concrete words abstract within systematic texts.

In the notes to *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, Kintzler juxtaposed the musicology of Rameau to that of Rousseau. Her explanation of the chapter "De la mélodie" asks if the "essence" of music resides in human sensitivity or the musician's "grammatical" procedures of composition. According to Rousseau, physical properties of painting, music and literature

produce sensational effects whereas codes of signification produce moral effects. I claim Rousseau constructed sentences upon the lexical patterns of other authors for the effect it would have upon readers who recognized the structural allusion, and because he thought the physical qualities of syntax had sensational effects. The second part of the chapter, “Prototypes, formulaic rationalism and the rational style,” synthesizes Genette’s principle with Kintzler’s evaluation of mechanical combination then ties Rousseau’s use of templates to the literary quality of his works.

The second chapter, “Imitation of Classical Sources,” takes into consideration the age-old relationship between poetry and music as it applies to Rousseau. The oeuvre is thoroughly imbued with classical material yet the account of authorial influence must be differentiated from an explanation of the musical effect. Rousseau invested his oeuvre with identifiable forms because mechanical substitution produced an esthetic result. The more structured and abstract Rousseau made a literary text, the more reading it would resemble listening to music. Henri Gouhier, Ernst Cassirer and Peter Gay have used word-for-word repetitions to argue that Enlightenment philosophers were especially formal in their tastes and methods. By means of Aristotle’s *Poetics*, Plato’s *Republic* and Rousseau’s musical theories, I attempt to answer questions posed by James Swenson in “The solitary walker and the invention of lyrical prose” about the correlation between literary formalism and the transition to romanticism.¹ Since personal sentiment had a high value for Rousseau, appropriation of metrical patterns, which is to say lexical formulas, only explain part of his esthetic. This portion of the chapter is oriented around Rousseau’s imitation of Plato, Tacitus, Virgil, Caesar and Plutarch.

¹ James Swenson, “The solitary walker and the invention of lyrical prose,” *The Nature of Rousseau’s Rêveries: physical, human, aesthetic*, SVEC 03 (2008): 225-244.

Barthes began *S/Z* with the comparison of narrative structure to a grain of rice. According to the analogy, since Buddhist monks can imagine a landscape by meditating upon a grain of rice, a literary structure could contain the seed of an epic or a novel. An author expands upon it and ornaments it, producing literary variety.

C'est ce qu'auraient bien voulu les premiers analystes du récit: voir tous les récits du monde (il y en a tant et tant) dans une seule structure: nous allons, pensaient-ils, extraire de chaque conte son modèle, puis de ces modèles nous ferons une grande structure narrative, que nous reverserons (pour vérification) sur n'importe quel récit: tâche épuisante ("*Science avec patience, Le supplice est sûr*") et finalement indésirable, car le texte y perd sa différence.²

This chapter applies Barthes's ideas of a structure to recurring cadences and lexical patterns in Rousseau works. At times, to write a new passage, he used the exact pattern of words of a passage he translated. Some are as short as a sentence, others as long as a paragraph. Episodes of *Émile ou de l'éducation* and *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* elucidate this method of writing. The narrator of *Émile* brings up one of the most spectacular instances of lexical substitution for the purpose of teaching language and translation to children. Julie learned to imitate an Italian manner of singing by reciting Italian poetry with her music teacher, Regianino. Recitation prepared her subconscious to copy linguistic forms and facilitated a traditional interpretation of music. This chapter evaluates to what extent Rousseau grasped the syntax of one piece, and then by a process of substitution, transmitted ideas via an established, prototypical pattern. Binary writing also enabled him to reproduce structures he himself had previously formulated. Some of his most memorable, lexical phrasings can be attributed to it.

² Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1970), 9.

In *Les confessions*, when Jean-Jacques recounted his first appeal to Louise-Éléonore de Warens, his new benefactress, he referred ironically to the method of composition with templates: "... et je fis une belle lettre en style d'orateur, où, cousant des phrases des livres avec des locutions d'apprenti, je déployais toute mon éloquence pour capter la bienveillance de Mme de Warens."³ Rousseau wrote upon a model for two reasons, to impress her with his knowledge and out of strategic self-interest. The style of public discourses, among 18th century philosophers, was respected. While Jean-Jacques's letter would sound like the "sentences of books," the mellifluousness of spoken language was suited to formal address and resonated with republican ideals. Although the appeal to Mme de Warens contained the verb "to deploy," with connotations of readiness and tactics, the tone Rousseau would eventually achieve with the method was ambulatory and patient. At the time, he intended the textual structure and vocabulary to affect his reader, a patroness connected to the king of Sardinia, the large Mediterranean island to the south of Corsica.

In *Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré*, Genette used the terms *hypertexte* and *hypotexte* to describe similar, textual transformations.⁴ According to Genette, any text could be considered the second form of pre-existing literature. *Paratextuality* encompasses the perception of similarities between literary forms. Two sorts of sequences are outlined in the introduction: critical and literary. To explain them within the scope of this dissertation, the insight Rousseau expressed in the *Lettre à d'Alembert* about Racine's *Bérénice* constitutes critical paratextuality. When Rousseau wrote about the characters, Titus and Bérénice, who could make the spectators

³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Jean Guéhenno (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1963), book II, 85.

⁴ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), 11.

cry without themselves showing emotion, he quoted Racine by name.⁵ With the *Lettre à d'Alembert*, Rousseau made no attempt to imitate the dramatic structure of *Bérénice*.

Literary paratextuality entails modification of a text and putting one's own signature onto the work. In comparison to straight forward commentary, allusion to literature and transformation of it make up literary rewriting. To compose *Du contrat social*, Rousseau rewrote sentences of Montesquieu and sentences of Plato without making it a book about *De l'esprit des lois* and *The Republic*. He produced a different form of binarity because he transformed components of their philosophies into his own brand of political literature. *Du contrat social* is an original literary form; the passage of *Lettre d'Alembert* about Racine is critical commentary.

Structural similarities exist in slight proportions and on the grand scale. Rousseau alluded to Caius Julius Caesar in the title of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* by naming Julie after Julius. The allusions to Caesar of the 1st century, as well as to Pierre Abelard, the philosopher known for his love letters to Héloïse at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, are two instances of paratextuality in a single title. In this slight case, the literary relation is limited to the words Julie and Héloïse.

In other cases, an author rewrites an entire story or poem into a new text. Formulated mostly upon *The Republic*, Rousseau made a prose version of Plato's philosophy of dramatic writing, actors and theater. According to the bibliographical notice by Bernard Gagnebin, it was first published as "De l'imitation théâtrale" in 1763, one year after *Du contrat social*.⁶ The annotations in the Appendix I by André Wyss indicates the parallel passages of book X of *The*

⁵ Rousseau, *Lettre à d'Alembert*, ed. Launay, 122.

⁶ Bernard Gagnebin, ed., "De l'imitation théâtrale," in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond and André Wyss (Paris: Gallimard, "La Pléiade," 1995), 1831-1832.

Republic, and extracts from book III of *The Republic*, *The Laws* and *Gorgias*.⁷ To make the authority of Plato comply with the esthetics and attitudes of Rousseau, most of Plato's ideas were recast in the French work. "De l'imitation théâtrale" results from paratextual relations on the grand scale. As will be explained in another chapter, when Rousseau transformed the dialogue into an essay, he left out and modified some of the details, especially symbols of government and religious concepts. The reformulation of ideas in "De l'imitation théâtrale" blurs the lines of literary paratextuality because, according to Rousseau's *Avertissement*, its similarity to Latin translations of Plato nearly qualified it as a paraphrased selection of Platonic texts.⁸

Rewriting a list of Romans and making substitutions to it is the starting point of "César à Bossey: le palimpseste antique au Livre I des *Confessions*" by Jean-François Perrin. His theory refers to Rousseau's "dialogue avec l'Histoire antique."⁹ With what Perrin called "compositions cycliques," Rousseau developed the theme of pride and "amour propre" in the *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, *Émile ou de l'éducation* and *Les confessions*.¹⁰ According to the latter, reading Plutarch in Geneva formed the character of Jean-Jacques. Rousseau named the Romans he admired as a boy in Geneva, then, about twenty pages later, at Bossey. Citing the 1995 Pléiade edition, Perrin evaluated the first series of characters Rousseau admired. "... je préférerai bientôt Agésilas, Brutus, Aristide, à Orodante, Artamène et Juba" (*OC I*, 9).¹¹ At Bossey, when Jean-Jacques and his cousin engineered an aqueduct to a walnut sapling, he felt like a different character from *The Lives of Plutarch*. Perrin cited the palimpsest which occurs later in book I.

⁷ Wyss, ed., "De l'imitation théâtrale," in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, 1804-1805.

⁸ Rousseau, "De l'imitation théâtrale," in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Wyss, 1195.

⁹ Jean-François Perrin, "César à Bossey: le palimpseste antique au livre I des *Confessions*," *Annales de la société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 48 (2008): 317.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 322.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 324.

Jusque-là j'avais eu des accès d'orgueil par intervalles quand j'étais Aristide ou Brutus. Ce fut ici mon premier mouvement de vanité bien marquée. Avoir pu construire un aqueduc de nos mains, avoir mis une bouture en concurrence avec un grand arbre, me paraissait le suprême degré de la gloire. A dix ans j'en jugeais mieux que César à trente (*OC I*, 24).¹²

For Genette and Perrin, fairly precise lexical substitutions make palimpsests identifiable, and then via allusions and motifs, they encompass themes. In the context of autobiography, Perrin observed, palimpsests operate in terms of reading, memory and identity. Not only did Jean-Jacques feel as if he experienced the actions of characters he read about, Rousseau understood other people by comparing them to historical figures. To communicate this idea, Perrin again cited *Les confessions*: “Le pasteur Lambercier aura donc été Caton le Censeur pour les deux fripons de Bossey; ...”¹³ Rousseau’s knowledge of literature complicates questions about composition with prototypes because, at times, he may have consciously rewritten another text, whereas at other times, he may have unconsciously rewritten a text he had repeatedly read since his childhood.

Using traditional epistemological and structuralist techniques, Perrin counted repetitions of individual words: in a Pléiade edition of Amyot’s translation *Vies des hommes illustres*, *Jules César*, “aqueduc” is italicized seven times.¹⁴ In addition to Plutarch, Perrin explained that, two words “César” and “Laridon” of book I made allusion to a fable of La Fontaine. Perrin cited the 1995 Pléiade edition of Rousseau:

“... et jamais César si précoce ne devint si promptement Laridon (*OC I*, 31).”¹⁵

¹² *Ibid.*, 322.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 329.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 329.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 335.

And La Fontaine:

“O combien de Césars deviendront Laridon.”¹⁶

The autobiographical dialogue with antiquity functions on two levels. “César à Bossey: le palimpseste antique au Livre I des *Confessions*” provides one instance in which translators of the 16th and 17th centuries, Jacques Amyot and Jean de La Fontaine, formed the identity Jean-Jacques and influenced the literature of Rousseau.

Michel Launay compiled a thematic index of words in *Le vocabulaire politique de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. Following the linguistic current of Saussure, he intended the book to facilitate the understanding of Rousseau by comparison of the same word at different places in the oeuvre. He based the investigation upon the principle of words having multiple significations which depend upon context.¹⁷

... l’un des aspects du travail de l’écrivain est l’art d’utiliser les mots, de les combiner entre eux, de définir, critiquer ou transformer leurs sens, et de tirer parti de leur forme ou de leur contenu pour atteindre certains buts artistiques ou idéologiques ...¹⁸

To choose one noun relevant to the discussion of Julius Caesar, “empire” figures 6 times in *Du contrat social* and 38 times in *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*. *Le vocabulaire politique de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* can be used to identify repetitions of lexical patterns in sentences throughout the oeuvre. In *Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle de M. l’abbé de Saint-Pierre*, Rousseau combined a substantive with “empire” seven times: “les membres d’un même empire,” “la dissolution de l’empire,” “l’autorité de l’empire,” “officiers de l’empire,” “le sacerdoce de l’Empire,” “la destruction de l’empire” and “cette constitution de l’empire.”¹⁹ To study

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 335.

¹⁷ Michel Launay, *Le vocabulaire politique de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: Champion, 1977), 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

Rousseau's compositional methodology, the sentences with these pairs of words can be evaluated to determine if in any of them, Rousseau rewrote the same sentence or paragraph, to reproduce effective, lexical patterns and allusive rhythms.

Rousseau arranged ideas into two types of compositional forms. If the prose pattern comes from of another piece of writing, like French sentences of Montesquieu or Latin translations of Plato, the relation is prototypal. Archetypes are syntactical patterns, whose rhythm and vocabulary render them identifiable as an invention of Rousseau. Archetypal relations, for instance, can be established between sentences of *Du contrat social* and *Discours sur l'Inégalité*. A prime example discussed by Henri Gouhier is when Rousseau compared the martyrdom of Socrates to the crucifixion of Jesus in a letter to M. de Franquières and again in *La profession de foi*.²⁰ As well as analyzing prototypal and archetypal relations between Rousseau's published texts, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* takes his correspondence into consideration.

The rhythm of language is one way to express emotional moods. According to the *Poetics* of Aristotle, meter corresponds with dramatic effects: some patterns of recurring accents in spoken language were formal and appropriate for the serious events of tragedies whereas playwrights composed with the more informal iambs for the common actions of comedies, because the range of iambic pentameter went from ironic to ridiculous. "The appropriate meter was also here introduced; hence the measure is still called the iambic or lampooning measure, being that in which people lampooned one another."²¹ Since satirical cadences of speech make an audience laugh at characters, it is more appropriate for comic situations than the emotional

²⁰ Henri Gouhier, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1970), 201.

²¹ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics*, trans. S. H. Butcher (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), chpt. IV, 56.

grandeur of tragedies. Rousseau's knowledge of the *Poetics* begins to explain the patient, arduous task of writing with the lexical formulas of other authors.

In addition to agreement between the subjects and themes of plays – serious events for tragedies and quotidian and villainous acts for comedies – the *Poetics* holds that language pronounced with iambic rhythms is easier to dance to and sounds more natural.²² While the oeuvre of Rousseau is generally considered earnest and sentimental, he used formal methods to achieve an easy conversational style. Serious yet natural, Rousseau's attention to patterns of prose corresponds with Aristotle's characterization of the spoken language of comedic playwrights. “For the iambic is, of all measures, the most colloquial: we see it in the fact that conversational speech runs into iambic lines more frequently than into any other kind of verse; rarely into hexameters, and only when we drop the colloquial intonation.”²³ The prose of *Les Discours* and *Du contrat social* is formally structured and earnest while at the same time, the narrative voice seems sensible. Rousseau also used archetypes and prototypes because the rhythmic pattern of certain models matched the thematic content of his texts.

When Rousseau's translations are considered as templates, they have qualities of both prototypes and archetypes. To the extent his translation of Tacitus is original, the syntactic structure of the French version is attributable to Rousseau. To the extent Rousseau maintained the same type and the same number of words as the Latin version, the syntactic structure is attributable to Tacitus. The arrangement of words in a translation does not necessarily reproduce the original patterns of sounds, as evinced by prose and verse translations of the same poem. Depending upon the intent of translators and their sensibilities, even translations of prose stylistically resemble or differ from originals. The similarities and dissimilarities of the

²² *Ibid.*, chpt. IV, 57.

²³ *Ibid.*, chpt. IV, 57.

languages must be considered: a translation from Latin to French is likely to have more stylistic similarities than a translation from Latin to English. As much as the translation of *Le premier livre* is imitative, it is original because Rousseau departed from the Latin blue print and modified Tacitus's template with French grammar and a French lexicon. As literary as the translation may be, inevitably, the new text only reproduces certain qualities of the former.

In "De l'alienatio à l'aliénation par l'apallotriôsis: Rousseau débiteur d'Aristote," Bruno Bernardi investigated the source of one sentence of *Du contrat social*: "Aliéner c'est donner ou vendre."²⁴ Not only did Bernardi convincingly identify Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as its origin, he discovered Rousseau's path to the sentence via a footnote by Barbeyrac in his translation of *Du droit de la guerre et de la paix* of Grotius. In the passage, Grotius evaluated to what extent a king is to a people as a master is to a slave.

"Le savant Barbeyrac," comme aime à dire Rousseau, donne en note de sa traduction, ce que ne fait pas l'édition originale latine de Grotius, la référence précise: *Rhétorique*, Livre I, chap. 5, 523b, "de l'édition de Paris." Il cite même le texte grec d'Aristote: *To de oikéïon einai, hê mê [oros] otan eph' autô hê apallotriôsai*, que l'on devrait traduire plus littéralement: "Être propriétaire d'une chose, selon ma définition, c'est pouvoir l'aliéner de son chef." Or, qui veut bien se reporter au texte d'Aristote, constatera que la proposition suivante affirme très exactement: *Legô de apallotriôsîn dosin kai prasin*, "J'appelle aliénation le don et la vente."²⁵

²⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Essais," 1964), book I, chpt. IV, 177.

²⁵ Bruno Bernardi, "De l'alienatio à l'aliénation par l'apallotriôsis: Rousseau débiteur d'Aristote," *Annales de la société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 48 (2008): 70.

Rousseau could have read the original Greek text, Bernardi posited, with the aid of a Latin or French translation. He cited three 17th century, French translations which Rousseau may have read.

Robert Estienne: “par cette aliénation j’entens la donation et la vente.”²⁶

Cassandra: “j’appelle aliéner la vendre ou la donner.”²⁷

Baudoin de Neufville: “or toute aliénation se fait ou par donation ou par vente.”²⁸

Although Bernardi did not speculate upon which translation Rousseau read, comparison of them illuminates two transformations of rewritten and translated texts. Like Aristotle, Estienne and Neufville translated nouns with nouns: “aliénation, donation, vente.” Cassandra and Rousseau formulated the definition of “alienation” with infinitive verbs: “aliéner, donner, vendre.” Unlike Cassandra, who reversed the order of the verbs, Rousseau maintained the original word order. Although nouns function most frequently as substantives, adjectives and verbs can also be subjects and objects. As is apparent in Cassandra’s translation, an infinitive verb can be a subject and an object.

I evaluate more of these variations between the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca and the incipit of *Du contrat social* in Chapter Four. Definite articles added to adjectives like “prudent” and “conventional” can be acceptable as subjects and objects when written “the prudent” and “the conventional” because a noun is implied. When composing with a prototype, Rousseau did not always keep the same number of substantives, adjectives and verbs in one syntactical order. The interchangeability of parts of speech has implications about the theory formulaic writing.

The *A. Bailly dictionnaire grec français* defines the noun ἡπαλλότριος “qui passe en d’autres mains.”²⁹ The definition pertains to the debate about the alienation of property or a

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

person's liberty because, as Bernardi underlined, among the Enlightenment philosophers, Rousseau most explicitly articulated a position against slavery.

Le second argument est que la vie et la liberté ne sont pas des biens dont on peut se défaire: ce sont des *dons de la nature* et non des acquisitions humaines. L'idée sous-jacente est qu'il n'y a de possession que par acquisition et de propriété que par institution de cette possession.³⁰

As much as Rousseau borrowed from Aristotle, Yves Touchefeu pointed out, Rousseau did not idealize everything about classical societies. "R. ne pouvait pas oublier la réalité de l'esclavage, si fortement ancrée dans la réalité antique."³¹ Although Rousseau copied the definition from Aristotle and a translator, Bernardi qualified his use of it as "l'invention," and a "refondation conceptuelle."³² In "De l'esclavage" of *Du contrat social*, Rousseau "restructured" his argument from *Le manuscrit de Genève*.³³ Bernardi compared and contrasted Rousseau's theory about the individual and society to theories of Hobbes and Grotius. Also discussing Pufendorf, Locke, Barbeyrac and Elie Luzac, "Rousseau débiteur d'Aristote" is a concise exposé of copying and literary invention during the Enlightenment.

In *Tacite et la littérature française*, Louis Delamarre established the eminence of Tacitus as a political historian among the Enlightenment philosophers. About fifteen French translations of his works between the Renaissance and the 19th century testify to his influence on French literature.³⁴ Delamarre's description of the style of Tacitus is pertinent to Rousseau's emulation

²⁹ L. Séchan and P. Chantraine, eds., *Dictionnaire grec français* (Paris: Hachette, 1950), 201.

³⁰ Bruno Bernardi, "De l'alienatio à l'aliénation par l'apallotriôsis: Rousseau débiteur d'Aristote," *Annales de la société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 48 (2008): 74.

³¹ Yves Touchefeu, "Antiquité," *Dictionnaire Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, eds. Raymond Trousson and Frédéric Eigeldinger (Paris: Champion, 1996), 44.

³² Bernardi, "De l'alienatio à l'aliénation par l'apallotriôsis: Rousseau débiteur d'Aristote," *Annales de la société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 72, 73.

³³ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁴ Louis Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française* (Paris: Bonvalot-Jouve, 1907), 36.

of symmetrical, noun dense prose. “La netteté, la précision, l’éclat, la concision, la gravité, la force et la puissance suggestive sont des qualités si évidemment particulières au style de Tacite.”³⁵ Studies of Rousseau’s translation of *Le premier livre* are an especially fruitful domain for knowledge about Rousseau’s syntax and lexicon. An article by Jürgen von Stackelberg, “Rousseau, D’Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite” began the debate about the originality of Rousseau’s phrase structure by taking issue with an earlier critic, Préchac.³⁶ Raymond Trousson brought up the theme of lexical repetitions in another article, “Jean-Jacques Rousseau traducteur de Tacite” and concurred with Stackelberg about the musicality of Rousseau’s translation.³⁷ In order to make a new translation with specific linguistic, stylistic and philosophical attributes, the studies of Stackelberg and Trousson suggest, 18th century writers worked from previous translations and the Latin original.

Stackelberg and Trousson repeatedly referred to the prose of Rousseau’s translation as musical. Stackelberg wrote of, “... les efforts de Rousseau pour rendre plus harmonieux le style de Tacite ...”³⁸ Trousson wrote, “... et Rousseau d’ajouter à sa lyre une corde d’airain:” and a page later, “Même souci de l’harmonie.”³⁹ A more pressing theme of their articles is an evaluation of Rousseau’s syntax. Imitation of the style of Tacitus led to the creation of what I call archetypes, or patterns of words unique to Rousseau. Stackelberg wrote, “... car ce qui caractérise cette traduction, toujours du point de vue de la syntaxe, c’est précisément qu’elle est souvent symétrique, là, où Tacite est ‘asymétrique,’ ...”⁴⁰ While musical, Rousseau also left words out and made other mistakes.⁴¹

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

³⁶ Jürgen von Stackelberg, “Rousseau, D’Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite,” *Studi francesi* 6 (1958): 399.

³⁷ Raymond Trousson, “Jean-Jacques Rousseau traducteur de Tacite,” *Studi francesi* 41 (1970), 242.

³⁸ Stackelberg, “Rousseau, D’Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite,” 401.

³⁹ Trousson, “Jean-Jacques Rousseau traducteur de Tacite,” 240, 241.

⁴⁰ Stackelberg, “Rousseau, D’Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite,” 399.

⁴¹ Trousson, “Jean-Jacques Rousseau traducteur de Tacite,” 238.

Although they are not always in agreement, Stackelberg and Trousson reveal a paradox about the style of Rousseau's translation. In general, the original work by Tacitus and Rousseau's *Le premier livre* have pronounced patterns of nouns and verbs. When compared sentence to sentence, the patterns are often different, with Rousseau's being more balanced. Trousson reiterated Stackelberg's observation about the symmetry of Rousseau's translation.

Il arrive qu'il double sans motif les expressions latines: *Haud dubiae iam in castris omnium mentes* (XXXVI: dans le camp les sentiments de tous les soldats n'étaient plus douteux) devient: 'dans le camp les sentiments de tous les soldats n'étaient plus douteux ni partagés.'⁴²

Trousson remarked the concise, symmetrical sentences of *Du contrat social* which was published eight years after Rousseau translated *Le premier livre*.

Toujours est-il que, s'il avait voulu apprendre à écrire, sa peine ne fut pas infructueuse: son texte, par sa concision, sa force, son énergie, atteste la maîtrise acquise par la contrainte et le style observé chez Tacite brillera plus d'une fois dans le *Contrat social*.⁴³

Rousseau's first serious interest in Tacitus coincided with his presentation in 1742 of *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique*.⁴⁴ The relationships between chords and chord progressions, for example, make musical composition systematic and mathematical. In fact, according to Catherine Kintzler, in the 18th century, knowledge about the physical properties of sound led to a more scientific understanding of music. In about 1752, "... Rameau développa une conception dans laquelle la musique devenait non seulement le modèle de tous les arts, mais

⁴² *Ibid.*, 239.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁴⁴ Sidney Kleinman, ed., introduction to *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique*, vol. V of *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, L.

encore celui de toutes les sciences.”⁴⁵ The theory of prototypal writing borrows from the connection between human sensation and the physical nature of harmony and melody. The precise imitation and reproduction of syntactical structures endowed Rousseau’s prose with esthetic qualities.

Technical and mechanical considerations make two types of translation possible: word-for-word translations and stylistic translations. The first is made by the systematic, or programmatic, substitution of words from one language to another with as near exactness as possible.⁴⁶ The second emphasizes stylistic qualities such as meter and consonance which a translator could not achieve by sequentially translating words. In *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand*, Volpilhac-Auger concluded that d’Alembert feared interpretation of the original text; and, she called him a “timorous translator.” She synthesized articles by Stackelberg and Trousson and posed new questions about translations, formulaic templates and vocabulary. In her judgment, Rousseau did not make a Latinate translation.

Le critique relève un parti-pris de hardiesse, aussi bien dans le choix de vocabulaire, souvent décalqué du latin, que dans la syntaxe, parfaitement indépendant de l’original, ce qui dans les deux cas l’oppose aux traducteurs timorés comme d’Alembert.⁴⁷

Stackelberg, to be precise, articulated a theory of the “lexical dependence” of Rousseau’s translation. Instead of a discrepancy between Rousseau’s choice of words and the Latin, he

⁴⁵ Catherine Kintzler, ed., introduction to *Examen de deux principes avancés par M. Rameau, Essai sur l’origine des langues*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1993), 188.

⁴⁶ If a translator consistently used the same word to replace a foreign word, as J. Hardy did in his translation of *La poétique*, then readers of the bilingual edition can learn Greek with more facility. A reader of *La poétique* can see that τὰ ἤθη means “des caractères” and ἡ ἀναγνώρισις means “la reconnaissance.” Cf. Aristote, *La poétique*, trans. J. Hardy (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008), 50, 52. The difference between a translator’s use of bilingual dictionaries with a one-to-one correspondence between words, like those of textbooks, and dictionaries that list synonyms, will be explained later in the context of Rousseau’s annotated copy of Virgil and Paul Shorey’s note about his translation of *The Republic*. Cf. Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Paul Shorey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), liii-liv.

⁴⁷ Volpilhac-Auger, *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1993), 54.

thought Rousseau tended to replace the words of Tacitus with French cognates. Stackelberg wrote:

Indépendant dans la construction des phrases de sa traduction, Rousseau préfère souvent choisir des mots français tellement proches, si étroitement apparentés des mots latins, qu'on serait tenté de parler de dépendance lexicale, s'il n'était pas prouvé que ce traducteur 'traite son émule d'égal à égal.'⁴⁸

The theory of lexical dependence has serious ramifications for prototypal writing. To compose a rhythmic sentence, Rousseau occasionally added words to the translation. He none-the-less needed to find one word to express an idea when multiple words would diminish the structure. Rousseau's sentences depended upon his ability to compose by ear, Stackelberg showed, and the effect was a grandiose style. He compared the vocabulary of Tacitus, Rousseau and D'Alembert.

<u>Tacite</u>	<u>Rousseau</u>	<u>D'Alembert</u>
<i>Saeculum</i>	siècle	temps
<i>manifestum</i>	manifeste	clair
<i>magna ingenia</i>	grands génies	grands écrivains
<i>res publica</i>	république	état
<i>servitus</i>	servitude	esclavage
<i>amor</i>	amour	amitié
<i>materia</i>	matière	histoire ⁴⁹

Stackelberg's observation is not exactly without precedent. When Rousseau translated by ear, he demonstrated his understanding of Tacitus's poetic and one could say musical philosophy of prose. As will be shown later from other of Rousseau's texts, he thought the physical properties of sounds effected human sensation, so his attempt to maintain the sound of the original is not surprising. In a section about phrases in *Tacite et la littérature française*, we see the depth of a poetics of concision. Delamarre cited Thomas.

⁴⁸ Stackelberg, "Rousseau, D'Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite," 399-401.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 400.

Qu'on imagine une langue, dit-il, rapide comme les mouvements de l'âme, une langue qui, pour rendre un sentiment, ne le décomposerait jamais en plusieurs mots; une langue dont chaque son exprimerait une collection d'idées; telle est presque la perfection de la langue romaine de Tacite.⁵⁰

In at least one instance, Rousseau's attention to the sonorities of Latin compelled him to take poetic liberties, making a perfect discrepancy between the translation and the original. "Car là, où Tacite écrit *virtutum*, Rousseau dit *crimes*, et où Tacite écrit *sterile*, Rousseau dit *fertile*. Ainsi, les valeurs négatives et positives étant entre-croisées, la somme totale reste la même."⁵¹ Although omitting a word or adding one would break the original pattern, the comparative studies about Rousseau's translation clearly demonstrate his preoccupation with the form of the sentence.

According to Stackelberg, "Rousseau rend Tacite grandiloquent, D'Alembert le rend accessible à tous, Diderot le dramatise."⁵² In as much as fidelity to the original, choice of words and syntax account for these differences, the *Dictionnaire de musique* informs us about the duality of Rousseau's stylistic philosophy. "... mais avec les seules règles de l'Harmonie on n'est pas plus près de savoir la *Composition*, qu'on ne l'est d'être un Orateur avec celles de la Grammaire."⁵³ In the way a musician must add personal feeling to a composition, Rousseau took the liberties with the original to write with more emotion.

⁵⁰ Antoine Léonard Thomas, cited by Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française*, 87. An 18th century professor, Thomas is best known for *Essai sur les éloges, ou Histoire de la littérature et de l'éloquence à ce genre d'ouvrage* (1812).

⁵¹ Stackelberg, "Rousseau, D'Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite," 398.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 407.

⁵³ Rousseau, "Composition," *Dictionnaire de Musique*, vol. V of *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, Eigeldinger, Baud-Bovy, et al., 720.

Replication of Latin syntax is not the same as reproducing the metrical qualities of Tacitus's prose. According to Delamarre, the grammatical structure and terseness of Tacitus were unique among Latin historians.

Pour exprimer toute une foule de pensées dans le moins de mots possibles, Tacite fait appel à toutes les ressources de la langue qui font la phrase plus courte et en augmentent le relief: les verbes substantifs, les infinitifs de narration, les participes, les cas absolus s'y multiplient, afin de ramasser les idées dans le cadre le plus restreint.⁵⁴

Syntactical and grammatical transformations of a text inevitably occur when rewritten. A translator may substitute an infinitive verb for a verb in the gerund case, or re-punctuate a long sentence into shorter ones. Rousseau intended the musicality of the translation to be prototypical, because the rhythm of *Le premier livre* is part of its style. Rousseau indicated in the "Avertissement," "... je ne cherchois pas à rendre les phrases de Tacite, mais son style..."⁵⁵ While he did not specify what he meant by style, as well as irony and metaphor, Rousseau's knowledge of music indicates he would have considered meter and what Aristotle called the "song" of tragedy to be among the stylistic qualities of Tacitus. Aristotle wrote in *The Poetics*, "Of the remaining elements Song holds the chief place among the embellishments."⁵⁶ It becomes apparent that Rousseau's method of composition relied upon syntax to achieve musical prose.

Although Rousseau's translation did not always replicate the constructions of Tacitus, as Trousson remarked, sentences of *Du contrat social* sound like *Le premier livre*. The syllabic construction of French words and the rules of French grammar would make it difficult to imitate

⁵⁴ Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française*, 86.

⁵⁵ Rousseau, *Traduction du Premier livre de l'histoire de Tacite*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, 1227.

⁵⁶ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics*, trans. Butcher, chpt. VI, 64.

the Latin rhythm of *Le premier livre* in a translation. By dint of being French, the translation established a style unique to Rousseau. The metrical and melodious prose of Rousseau's later works comes in part from the unconscious repetition of lexical patterns and a conscious, sometimes meticulous effort to reconstruct sentences of other authors.

Delamarre, Stackelberg, Trousson, Volpilhac-Auger and Jacob Soll wrote about the translation of Tacitus as a learning process.⁵⁷ In the *Avertissement*, Rousseau made the distinction between learning from a model and emulating a model. "Tout homme en état de suivre Tacite, est bientôt tenté d'aller seul."⁵⁸ The juxtaposition of "following Tacitus" and "going alone" does not suggest a meticulous process of formulaic writing. The idea of an "état de suivre" and "d'aller seul" implies a competence: possession of structural agility and vocabulary, i.e. the ability to reformulate an idea in different ways. While Rousseau may have continued to emulate the verbal patterns of Tacitus without consciously referring to the Latin, because it became ingrained in his mind, many of the poetic devices of *Le premier livre* do not depend solely upon the structure of the sentence.

The interest in the mechanics of language, characteristic of many Enlightenment philosophers, appears early in Rousseau's works and continues through the later ones. He already conceptualized language in the *Second discours* as a foot path that leads from one thought to another.

Je m'arrête à ces premiers pas, et je supplie mes juges de suspendre ici leur lecture; pour considérer, sur l'invention des seuls substantifs physiques, c'est à dire, sur la partie de la langue la plus facile à trouver, le chemin qui lui reste à faire pour exprimer toutes les

⁵⁷ Jacob Soll, *Publishing the Prince: History, Reading & the Birth of Political Criticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 122.

⁵⁸ Rousseau, *Traduction du Premier livre de l'histoire de Tacite*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, 1227.

pensées des hommes, pour prendre une forme constante, pouvoir être parlée en public, et influencer sur la société. Je les supplie de réfléchir à ce qu'il a fallu de temps et de connaissances pour trouver les nombres, les mots abstraits, les aoristes, et tous les temps des verbes, les particules, la syntaxe, lier les propositions, les raisonnements et former toute la logique du discours.⁵⁹

In the context of compositional methodology, the association of numbers with abstract words and verb tenses, suggests a systematic process, yet as soon as natural man acquired the logic of speech, he was only capable of making the same connections between ideas as other natural men who were, according to the analogy, following the same linguistic path. Simply reading a book, Rousseau affirmed in the preface to *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, could change a person. “Celle qui, malgré ce titre, en osera lire une seule page est une fille perdue; mais qu'elle n'impute point sa perte à ce livre, le mal était fait d'avance.”⁶⁰ Reading *Le premier livre* may have influenced the way Rousseau thought, and consequently the way he wrote. At times he wrote in the style of Tacitus, via a prototype, and at other times he wrote in French with the archetype of his translation.

Tacite et la littérature française is informative and exceptionally concise. Catherine Volpilhac-Auger's *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand* makes a more expansive, theoretical and up-to-date account of his influence upon French writers and translators. Doing the translation had repercussions beyond compositional practice.

On comprend peut-être mieux alors pourquoi en même temps Rousseau traduit un ouvrage aussi différent des *Histoires* que l'*Apocoloquintose* de Sénèque; dans les deux cas c'est le pouvoir monarchique qui est mis en question, historiquement chez Tacite,

⁵⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Jacques Roger (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1971), 208.

⁶⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Michel Launay (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1967), 4.

sous forme de la dérision chez Sénèque; dans les deux cas, la confusion se résout en pérennisation de l'absolutisme; le chaos débouche sur l'arbitraire.⁶¹

Political attitudes carried over to the more-or-less contemporaneous *Discours sur l'inégalité* then to *Émile, ou de l'éducation* and to *Du contrat social*.⁶²

The activity of translation, substituting French words for Latin ones lends itself to other kinds of substitutions. The patterned sentences of Tacitus also accentuate the exchangeability of nouns. In the context of political literature about liberty, military service, tribunes, emperors and the people, it is not surprising that Rousseau thought to redefine words like prince and sovereignty. In the context of Othon's wars and Galba's conquests, "soldier" could replace "general;" and "general" could replace "emperor." While the military campaigns described by Tacitus depended upon a hierarchy between the divisions of the army and their tribune, the volatility and the precariousness of life brought the standing of men into doubt.

On a vu quelquefois des Légions se révolter contre leurs Tribuns. Jusqu'ici votre gloire et votre fidélité n'ont reçu nulle atteinte, et Néron lui-même vous abandonna plutôt qu'il ne fut abandonné de vous. Quoi! verrons-nous une trentaine au plus de déserteurs et de transfuges à qui l'on ne permettroit pas de se choisir seulement un Officier, faire un Empereur ?⁶³

The dynamic between Nero and his legions is one of exchange and equality: the legions could abandon him and he could abandon them. Then, if as few as thirty men were to desert Nero, and agree among themselves, they could designate another emperor. One can easily see how Rousseau derived the method of composition with templates from the possibilities of substitution

⁶¹ Volpilhac-Auger, *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand*, 59.

⁶² Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française*, 107-109.

⁶³ Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1243.

between legions, officers and emperors. As a consequence of the rational spirit and formal technique of using a formula, content may have transferred residually to the works. By influencing his thought processes, the emulation of model sentences led to theoretical positions.

Rousseau's version of *Le premier livre* has a double rapport to the structures and verbal equivalencies of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois*. The substitution of only one word can create significant changes in meaning. With an example from Balzac, Genette showed how Balzac turned the aphorism "le temps est un gran maître" into "le temps est un grand maigre."⁶⁴ The following palimpsest of Tacitus combines renaming with an algebraic prose structure.

Tacitus wrote,

Car traitant les crimes de remèdes et donnant de faux noms aux choses, il appelle la barbarie sévérité, l'avarice économie, et discipline tous les maux qu'il vous fait souffrir.⁶⁵

And Montesquieu wrote,

... ce qui était maxime, on l'appelle rigueur; ce qui était règle, on l'appelle gêne; ce qui y était attention, on l'appelle craint.⁶⁶

Both phrases address the philosophical repercussions of lexical substitution and naming upon the truth of logical sequences. Different words represent the same thing: in Tacitus's sentence, a "crime" is called a "remedy" whereas in Montesquieu's, "attention" is called "fear."

Enlightenment authors, literary historians claim, strove for clarity, yet the ability of Tacitus and Montesquieu to give two names to the same thing obscures reason. If lawyers, judges and a jury make a rational decision to punish someone for a crime, the redefinition of one word makes it a

⁶⁴ Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré*, 15-16.

⁶⁵ Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1246.

⁶⁶ Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, ed. Laurent Versini, vol. I (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Essais," 1995), book III, chpt. 3, 117.

remedy. Rousseau learned this stylistic combination of analogies and definitions from Tacitus and Montesquieu.

Paradoxically, the style of Tacitus made readers consider him both clear and difficult. According to Delamarre, from the Renaissance to Bayle and Voltaire, the critical debate about his style hinged in part upon its concision.⁶⁷ The effect of constructions also depends upon vocabulary, Stackelberg observed. “Nous avons parlé de la syntaxe et du vocabulaire. Cette distinction est, évidemment, artificielle, car tout langage est essentiellement un.”⁶⁸ The verbal equivalencies of “crimes” being “remedies” and “avarice” being “economy” undoubtedly make it hard to arrive at a definitive interpretation of *Le premier livre*. Diderot compared Tacitus to Rembrandt, Stackelberg remarked, calling his difficulty “le clair-obscur.”⁶⁹ Delamarre quoted two other critics who compared the style of Tacitus to painting. La Harpe wrote, “... il peint avec des couleurs vraies ...,”⁷⁰ whereas for Gaston Bossier, “... il lui arrive de forcer les couleurs pour obtenir des reliefs plus puissants ...”⁷¹ Along with Rousseau who wrote mostly about painting and images in “De la mélodie” of *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, esthetic theories about 18th century arts, often included music, writing and painting.

Since *le clair-obscur* divided truth from reason, we must ask to what extent Rousseau could randomly insert words into the structures of templates? Rousseau addressed the problem of signification most succinctly in *Lettre sur la musique française*. Rousseau thought vocal fluctuations from high to low and syllables without a concrete signification produced a strong emotional effect:

⁶⁷ Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française*, 84.

⁶⁸ Stackelberg, “Rousseau, D’Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite,” 401.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 404 n. I.

⁷⁰ Jean-François La Harpe, cited by Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française*, 83. An 18th century critic, La Harpe wrote *Lycée ou cours de littérature* (1799) and plays.

⁷¹ Gaston Boissier, cited by Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française*, 84. A 19th century historian and member of the Collège de France, Boissier wrote *Cicéron et ses amis: étude sur la société romaine du temps de César* (1884) and *Tacite* (1903).

... cette extravagante criailerie qui passe à chaque instant de bas en haut et de haut en bas, parcourt sans sujet toute l'étendue de la voix et suspend le récit hors de propos pour *filer de beaux sons* sur des syllabes qui ne signifient rien et qui ne forment aucun repos dans le sens!⁷²

If Rousseau inserted sufficiently abstract or nebulous words into the lexical pattern of Tacitus, it is possible the new sentence would appear meaningful.⁷³ Aristotle may be Rousseau's source for this idea about beauty and the absence of signification. The *Nicomachean Ethics* insists men "... admire those who proclaim some great thing that is above their comprehension."⁷⁴

According to Aristotle, incomprehensible speech creates admiration among listeners, whereas Rousseau accorded beauty to the empty words of songs.

Volpilhac-Auger demonstrated that in Rousseau's mind, a connection existed between the prose of Tacitus and the absence of meaning or the ambiguity of truth. Between 1740 and 1743, when Rousseau wrote the *Mémoire à M. de Mably*, he had an unfavorable opinion of the mysteriousness of Tacitus and favorable one of Caesar's indifference.⁷⁵ Rousseau's judgment of Tacitus and Caesar, Volpilhac-Auger remarked, were in accord with a long standing educational tradition. "Le jeune Rousseau – il a moins de trente ans – répète ici l'opinion que les théoriciens formulaient à la fin du dix-septième siècle."⁷⁶ Unlike the *Mémoire à M. de Mably*, the narrator of *Émile ou de l'éducation* thought Tacitus had a profound understanding of men and women,

⁷² Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique française*, ed. Kintzler, 175.

⁷³ According to the *Webster's Dictionary*, mathematical formalism is "... a doctrine, which evolved from a proposal of David Hilbert, that mathematics, including the logic used in proofs, can be based on the formal manipulation of symbols without regard to their meaning." *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1996), 752. French teachers know this is occasionally true for fill-in-the blank tests.

⁷⁴ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Sir David Ross (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990), 5.

⁷⁵ Volpilhac-Auger, *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand*, 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

Volpilhac-Auger noted, however, in the judgment of the instructor, the obscurity of Tacitus was grounds for his rejection from *Émile*'s curriculum.⁷⁷

As well as the rationality of Tacitus, often criticized for its obscurity, Rousseau made the same judgment of *Du contrat social*. In "Du droit du plus fort," he derived a principle of contextual abstraction from defining words in a system. "On voit donc que ce mot de droit n'ajoute rien à la force; il ne signifie ici rien du tout."⁷⁸ The word becomes meaningless due a previous juxtaposition of ideas in the passage. This definition of force as a physical power undergoes a transformation into right. However Rousseau does not make the claim that the word "right" is always meaningless; it is only meaningless "ici," or in the context of "Du droit du plus fort."

Learning to emulate Tacitus's style by translating him is very different from mathematically constructing phrases within a French archetype of *Le premier livre*. Rousseau's system of musical notation, none-the-less, sets the foundation for writing prose via mechanical substitution. Consider this melody according to Rousseau's system: "d 1 2 3 4 2 4 3 4 5 5 1 4 / 1 2 3 4 2 4 3 4 5 5 1."⁷⁹ While a musical scale and notes designate pitch and time, the numbers of Rousseau's system of musical notation only designate pitch. As will be explained later in this dissertation, Rousseau followed the Greeks who thought melody and rhythm of songs were the same thing because the syllabic value of words and their intonation inherently designated the time. As well as sound, Rousseau wrote in *L'essai sur l'origine des langues*, rhythm communicated signification. "... et l'on parlait autant par les sons et par le rythme que par les

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁸ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. III, 176.

⁷⁹ Rousseau, *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Kleinman, 141.

articulations et les voix.”⁸⁰ A continuous and regular rhythm was essential to the composition of phrases that readers could easily understand.

The system of musical notation can be applied to composing sentences of prose. Seven numbers represent the musical notes *A* to *G* and coincide with the seven parts of speech: articles, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and nouns. Rousseau could simplify the sentence of another author by parsing his syntax, noting only verbs with the number “1,” and nouns with the number “0.” If Rousseau designated the lexical pattern of a few sentences with numbers, he could easily compose new sentences with the same patterns of verbs and nouns. It would simply require substituting enough words into a pattern to emulate its tempo.

Leo Damrosch provided evidence, in fact, to support my thesis that the 1742 *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique* was a disguised treatise about prose composition. Rousseau listened to Italian music and worked at the French Embassy in Venice from 1743 to 1744.⁸¹ According to Volpilhac-Auger, Rousseau read Tacitus from 1740 to 1743 and translated *Le premier livre* in 1754.⁸² *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius* included details about a secret form of communication used by the Venetian embassy. One of Rousseau’s responsibilities was to systematically transpose words into numbers.

His main duty was drafting and editing routine dispatches, including weekly reports to ambassadors in other cities and to headquarters at Versailles. Some of these has to be translated into code, using a far from impenetrable system that represented each letter of the alphabet by a numeral and had standard equivalents for some of the commoner words (“Spain” was 208, “army” was 506, “honor” was 592).⁸³

⁸⁰ Rousseau, *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XII, 103.

⁸¹ Leo Damrosch, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 180-181.

⁸² Volpilhac-Auger, *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand*, 4 -5.

⁸³ Damrosch, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius*, 170.

Rousseau's proclivity for copying music lends itself to methodical forms of syntactic transposition. Writing with numerical code at the Embassy prepared him to erect literary systems like *Du contrat social* with very close lexical and syntactical resemblance to an archetype.⁸⁴

The simplest and most feasible procedure of textual reproduction, however, would be to only copy one part of speech. He could have opened a book to a passage he wanted to emulate, and then matched nouns pertinent to one subject with nouns of the original. This method is binary and imitative since the second text replaces the corresponding substantives of the first without the encumbrance of proportional reproduction. A noun-rich, patterned list, such as a few clauses of the concluding sentence of *Du contrat social*, exemplifies the unitary form of binary transposition:

	1		2		1
...		ce qui comprendroit	le droit des gens,	le commerce,	le droit de la guerre,
	2	A	1	2	3
		et les conquêtes,	le droit public,	les liguees,	les négociations,
	4				
		etc.			

The pattern of the nouns has two binary couples, then a key word with four examples. Earlier in *Du contrat social* Rousseau composed another passage with the unitary method. It is in "Que la souveraineté est indivisible:"

⁸⁴ Damrosch argued that Rousseau's substitution of numbers for letters in a letter about giving up his first child for adoption was an indication of his distress. "Rousseau's deep anxiety about the whole subject is indicated by the fact that his copy of the letter to Mme de Francueil was transcribed in code ('of a charming simplicity,' Leigh comments, since the numeral 1 represented the letter A, 2 was B, and so on)." *Ibid.*, 194.

⁸⁵ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book IV, chpt. IX, 292.

1	2	1	2
... ils la divisent en force et en volonté, en puissance législative et en puissance			
A	1	2	3
exécutive, en droits d'impôts, de justice et de guerre, en administration			
4			
intérieure et en pouvoir de traiter avec l'étranger: ⁸⁶			

The two sets of clauses are near archetypal replicates. Patterned lists of nouns without many verbs resemble the style of *Le premier livre*. Stackelberg called it, “le caractère nominal et monumental du style de Tacite.”⁸⁷ The textual phenomena of composing one text upon another text, when Rousseau only paired one noun with another, increases the likelihood of the first influencing the word choice of the second. Both of these sentences include the words “droit” and “traiter.” Rousseau modified the nouns marked with “3” and “4” of the first sentence “les traités, etc.” into “traiter avec l'étranger :” “et cetera” is nearly a homophone of “étranger.” If two synonymous nouns express one idea, and one synonym is a cognate of a word of the initial text, Rousseau would be more likely to choose that word.

More cerebral and less chronological, the theoretical approach of Tacitus to writing history is difficult for readers unfamiliar with the subject. Manipulation of the names of political leaders brings to mind an expression from *Du contrat social*, “les tours de gobelets de nos politiques.”⁸⁸ The mechanics of Tacitus's prose represent the complexity of political actions. It forces readers to pay attention so as not to confuse which action was attributed to which person. In the following paragraph, the sequence of proper names: Piso, Magnus, Claudius, Crassus and Nero, creates confusion about the antecedent of the pronoun “lui-même.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, book I, chpt. II, 191.

⁸⁷ Stackelberg, “Rousseau, D'Alembert et Diderot traducteurs de Tacite,” 405.

⁸⁸ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book II, chpt. II, 192.

Pison finit ainsi la trente-unième année d'une vie, passée avec moins de bonheur que d'honneur. Deux de ces frères avoient été mis à mort, Magnus par Claude et Crassus par Néron. Lui-même après un long exil, fut six jours César, et par une adoption précipitée, sembla n'avoir été préféré à son aîné, que pour être mis à mort avant lui.⁸⁹

Since Tacitus described the interrelated events of many people, the pronoun “lui-même” causes confusion for readers unfamiliar with the history. Who was Caesar for 6 days? Was it Piso, Nero, Galba, Magnus, Claudius or Crassus?⁹⁰ The number of people in the sentence account for the ambiguity of the statement: “Lui-même après un long exil, fut six jours César.” Tacitus implicitly recognized this source of error for historians by using the literary device of the charlatan’s bean game. Translating theoretical history, *Le premier livre* of Tacitus, prepared Rousseau to write with templates because of its lexical abstraction and processes of substitution.

When Tacitus wrote rational prose in a mechanical way, he made clockwork of the names Piso, Magnus, Claudius, Crassus, Nero and Caesar. How many contemporary readers, non-specialists of Roman history, would notice if in a translation, Rousseau substituted Otho for Nero, Galba for Crassus or Vitellius for Claudius? Theoretically, Caesar the man could be mistaken for any of the men, such as Piso and Claudius, whom Tacitus called Caesar.

Doing a translation of Tacitus also honed Rousseau’s ability to equivocate with systematic paragraphs and perfected his skill of giving a binary quality to individual words. The multiple significations of the word “Caesar” in *Le premier livre* brings to mind the words

⁸⁹ Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1251.

⁹⁰ It was Piso, although, according to Kenneth Wellesley’s English translation, Piso was dictator for 4 days, not 6. “He himself was an exile for a long time, and for four days a Caesar.” Tacitus, *The Histories*, trans. Kenneth Wellesley and Rhiannon Ash (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 31. Part of the confusion stems from the unusual volatility, and violence of the years A.D. 68 and 69. After the suicide of the emperor Nero in June of 68, Galba, then Piso governed until troops supporting Otho murdered them on January 15 and the 19th or 21st of 69. Otho ruled Rome and led the military for about 4 months until April 16, 69 when he killed himself. Senators then named Vitellius emperor on April 19 of that year. *Ibid.*, Wellesley and Ash, vii-ix.

“prince” and “sovereign” of *Du contrat social*. For Crassus, Magnus, Claudius, Nero and Tacitus, Caesar was a person, a title of authority and a deity. According to Goldsworthy, the Romans deified Caesar the same year they killed him.⁹¹ The words “prince” and “sovereign” signify individual people in some passages of *Du contrat social*. The narrator then redefines them to mean “the governing body” and “the general will.”

A *double entendre* has a primary definition and a suggested meaning. The binarity of Rousseau is the explicit redefinition of a word like “sovereign.” Rousseau pushed the old primary definition “king” into the realm of suggested meaning and brought “general will” to the forefront. The confusing duality of words, which, because of their stated definitions, are not exactly *double entendres*, attests to the literary inventiveness of *Du contrat social*. Words and music can both be expected to express feelings. The *Dictionnaire de musique* describes the abilities of a composer to redefine the meaning of sound. The definition Rousseau gave to the musical term “contre-sens” aptly describes the lexical binary of “sovereignty” and “Prince.” “Contre-sens, *s.m.*: Vice dans lequel tombe le Musicien quand il rend une autre pensée que celle qu’il doit rendre.”⁹² The entry ends with a person affinity, “J’aime encore mieux que la Musique dise autre chose que ce qu’elle doit dire, que de parler et ne rien dire du tout.”⁹³ Instead of sensational, i.e. physical responses, the definition of *contre-sens* attributes conventional signification to musical sounds.

When Rousseau named a Roman hero or, less obviously, when he emulated the logic of Greek and Latin texts, readers recognize the imitative spirit lauded by the Age of Reason. In conclusion of this section, Rousseau borrowed two things from antiquity: historical themes and

⁹¹ Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: Life of a Colossus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 523.

⁹² Rousseau, “Contre-sens,” *Dictionnaire de Musique*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, Eigeldinger, Baud-Bovy, et al., 733.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 734.

esthetic models. With his knowledge of music, he imitated other writers, knowing that in antiquity, authors imitated each other. To prove this point, Delamarre cited Marc-Antoine Muret, who thought the syntax of Tacitus was not his own. “J’ose assurer qu’une partie des mots et des constructions de Tacite, que l’on croit être de nouvelle date, est tirée de Caton, de Varron, de Salluste et de Cicéron même.”⁹⁴ The need to create an illusion of insight and feign clarity with nebulous words demonstrates Rousseau’s distrust of the relationship between reason and truth. Words, combined with a logical system of formal substitution, communicated only what the readers previous knowledge enabled them to communicate.

Prototypes, formulaic materialism and the rational style

A debate between Catherine Kintzler and Jean Fisette about the linguistic theories of Rousseau provided a starting point for this section. Kintzler focused on music and language to identify emotion as the key to Rousseau’s break from Enlightenment materialism. Although emotional, Rousseau was a systematic and mathematical thinker. Kintzler clearly established the principle of “l’aspect mécanique, combinatoire” of Rousseau’s comparative process in the notes to the 1993 Garnier Flammarion edition of *Essai sur l’origine des langues* and “Lettre sur la musique française.”⁹⁵ As she read the chapter “De la mélodie,” the material, i.e. the sound of music and the color of paintings, affects human *sensation*. *Emotion* however is something different and cannot be reduced to material and physical laws.

Le dualisme s’enrichit en outre ici d’une distinction entre deux sortes de *plaisir*: le plaisir de sensation ou d’organe, purement mécanique, et le plaisir d’émotion et de

⁹⁴ Marc-Antoine Muret, cited by Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française*, 85. A Humanist and one of Montaigne’s teachers, most of Muret’s writings are in Latin. There is a recent edition of a play he wrote: Marc-Antoine Muret, *La tragédie de Iulius César*, ed. Pierre Blanchard (Thonon-Les-Bains, France: Alidades, 1995).

⁹⁵ Kintzler, ed., *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, by Rousseau, 105 n. 63.

signification, plaisir moral ou psychique, éprouvé lorsque le sens vient animer la matière.⁹⁶

In the vocabulary of Kintzler, the emotion of music is “psychic or moral,” whereas the qualities of sounds are on the order of sensation. For Rousseau, the meaning of the word “moral” denotes the recognition of signification. As for sensation, the feeling of the note “G” played on a piano is different from the same pitch of “G” played on a clarinet due to the physical properties of a piano’s vibrating cord or a clarinet’s vibrating reed.

It would be an oversimplification to clearly divide the problem into theorists who think the essence of music resides in the physicality of sound and those who think the essence of music depends upon human reception. Rousseau insisted that the moral impression cannot be attributed to a single note. Imitation and the conjunction of notes transmit signification to listeners who are familiar with a traditional code. The necessity of a sequence of notes pertains to the theory of literary templates because readers hear syntactical echoes when an author writes using the pattern of words from another text. According to Rousseau, colors also have inherent physical, which is to say sensational effects. The signification of colors is first arbitrary and then comes to be established and conventional. It follows that the meaning of patterns of words are first arbitrary and then become conventional in literature.

The scientific and mechanical imitation, or mechanical fabrication, of emotions by Enlightenment musicians raises questions about the nature of sounds. In *Rousseau: A Very Short Introduction*, Robert Wokler evaluated musical representations of night and sleep.⁹⁷ The Italian composer Antonio Vivaldi represented spring, summer, fall and winter in the 1725 concertos, the *Four Seasons*. Since humans have the same emotions without the stimulus of

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 105 n. 63.

⁹⁷ Robert Wokler, *Rousseau: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 138.

music, Kintzler explained the idea of a mechanical illusion by differentiating between “les phénomènes relevant de la nature humaine” and “ceux du monde physique.”⁹⁸ Rameau, on the side of materialism, thought mechanistically, whereas Rousseau was on the side of sensitivity.

L’erreur de Rameau est d’avoir cru que tout plaisir est réductible à – est intelligible par – une combinaison d’ébranlements mécaniques: il examine le processus qui va d’une vibration matérielle (un corps résonnant) à une membrane (le tympan) et néglige celui qui va d’une instance affective à une autre.⁹⁹

Instead of according a predetermined signification to notes, and listening to music as a physical language of universal signification, as the materialists did, among certain societies, conventions cause audiences to misinterpret the meaning of sounds. Their traditions and collective memory are responsible for the arbitrariness of meaning, and a departure from the natural sensation of the material. Culture produced what could be called the second definitions of sounds. When sounds are understood as symbols, theorist from the school of sensitivity, like Rousseau, thought their meaning was essentially arbitrary. In Kintzler’s words, for Rousseau, the attribution of all signification to materiality was a “mechanical illusion.”¹⁰⁰ In the *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, he wrote, “... nous donnons trop et trop peu d’empire aux sensations; ...”¹⁰¹ The mechanical illusion theory allows for a clear polemical debate about music. Not only did Kintzler provide the philosophical background about the origin of signification, she differentiated between a sensational theory and a moral one.

Rousseau paraphrased Quintilian to explain the classical relationship between music and language. “Était-il étonnant que les premiers grammairiens soumissent leur art à la musique, et

⁹⁸ Kintzler, ed., *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, by Rousseau, 105 n. 63.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 105 n. 63.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 105 n. 63.

¹⁰¹ Rousseau, *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt XIII, 105.

fussent à la fois professeurs de l'un et de l'autre?"¹⁰² Kintzler understood Rousseau as a transitional author who departed from 18th century, systematic thought. According to her analysis, he falls away from the musical theorists and linguists who emphasized the scientific study of language.

Les grammairiens, qui s'acharnent à vouloir comprendre le principe signifiant des langues en scrutant et en analysant la chaîne sonore, commettent aux yeux de l'auteur la même erreur que les musiciens qui pensent avoir compris l'essence de la musique en exhibant la décomposition du 'corps sonore.' C'est l'illusion mécaniste, qui conjugue une forme de fétichisme pour la matière et l'intellectualisme du siècle de Louis XIV.¹⁰³

Adjusting the musical principle of “mechanical combination” to literature leads to a better understanding of Rousseau’s compositional methods. In the context of rhetoric, Rousseau expressed the idea of a “fetishism for material,” by which the mechanics of sound transform into human sensation. “Un orateur se sert d'encre pour tracer ses écrits, est-ce dire que l'encre soit une liqueur fort éloquente?”¹⁰⁴ The comparison of ink to alcohol emphasizes the physical effect of rhetoric upon audiences. Since sentimental qualities are correlated to literary structures, Rousseau looked to model sentences to imitate the emotion of narrative voices. Rousseau erected the lexical structures of rational authors to produce sentences which accorded with a rational frame of mind and copied the linguistic mechanics of hot-headed authors to produce hot-headed feelings. As well as natural properties, lexical patterns have cultural attributes acquired from earlier publications. Sentences formulated in the manner of established authors are interpreted by readers as allusions.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, chpt. XII, 103.

¹⁰³ Kintzler, ed., *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, by Rousseau, 105 n. 63.

¹⁰⁴ Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIII, 106.

The principle of mechanical combination describes how signification is associated with the materials of music and painting. While the singular pieces of either art only affect people via sensation, systematic assembly of the parts makes them function with cultural meaning.

Le son (matière sonore) est ici à la musique ce que la couleur est à la peinture:
l'aspect mécanique, combinatoire; le dessin est à la peinture ce que la mélodie est à la musique: c'est le moment animé ou pneumatique ("la vie et l'âme") par lequel la moralité s'empare de la matière pour la rendre signifiante.¹⁰⁵

Two analogies from the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* demonstrate Rousseau's practice of archetypal composition. To the ears of contemporary readers, their concision may sound cacophonous and rhetorical. They resemble each other syntactically and semantically, thereby suggesting more similarity than mere composition with pairs of words.

1	2	3
La <u>mélodie</u> fait précisément dans <u>la musique</u> ce que fait <u>le dessin</u> dans <u>la</u>		
4		
<u>peinture</u> ; ¹⁰⁶		

And,

1	2	3
Ces <u>gens-là</u> raisonnaient de <u>la nôtre</u> précisément comme <u>nous</u> raisonnons		
4		
de <u>la musique des grecs</u> . ¹⁰⁷		

Both sentences are modifications of the same Word-Pattern, which is noun, verb, noun, conjunction, and then, noun, verb, noun. In addition to the repetition of the adverb "précisément" each of them repeats one verb. In the first it is "faire" and in the second

¹⁰⁵ Kintzler, ed., *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, by Rousseau, 105 n. 63.

¹⁰⁶ Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIII, 105.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, chpt. XIII, 106.

“raisonner.” The words “la nôtre” and “nous” of the second sentence also create a pattern because of their phonetic resemblance.

A similar, archetypal structure occurs in the following sentences of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* and *Du contrat social*. In the first sentence, since two of the nouns are the same, there are only three total nouns:

1	2	3	4
<u>César</u> ,	envoyât-t-il un cartel à <u>Caton</u> ,	ou <u>Pompée</u> à <u>César</u> ,	pour tant d'affronts
réciproques, et le plus grand capitaine de la Grèce fut-il déshonoré pour			
s'être laissé menacer du bâton? ¹⁰⁸			

And,

	1	2	3	4
...	le peu de résistance que firent <u>Marius</u> à <u>Sylla</u> ,	et <u>Pompée</u> à <u>César</u> ,		
montra bien ce qu'on pouvoit attendre de l'autorité du dedans contre la force				
du dehors. ¹⁰⁹				

These two analogies are variations of the formula: A is to B as X is to Y. Production of sentences upon the same framework required Rousseau to balance the four nouns of the first sentence with the same pattern of nouns in the second sentence. The arrangement of words then has a mechanical similarity like the notes of a plagiarized melody. The sentences with “nous” and “la nôtre” of the first set, as well as the sentence with “Caesar to Cato” and “Pompey to Caesar” have the linking trademark of this practice of writing. In the first case it is A is to B as

¹⁰⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond, Henri Coulet, Bernard Guyon (Paris: Gallimard, “La Pléiade,” 1961), part I, letter LVII, 155.

¹⁰⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, vol. III of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Gallimard, “La Pléiade,” 1964), book IV, chpt. VI, 457.

B is to C, in the second it is A is to B as C is to A. In the following clause, when a noun is doubled by a text built upon templates, the sound of the pattern is noticeable.

/dans Rome même,
 “les fers de Rome ne seroient point forgés
 \mais dans ses armées:”¹¹⁰

By having a sentence end and a new one start, so that the pattern was divided into two sentences, Rousseau occasionally obscured the formulaic quality.

Instead of separating Rousseau from grammarians, Jean Fisetite recognized that when the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* established music as the “archetype” for language, Rousseau paved the way to 20th century semiotics.¹¹¹ He saw Rousseau’s project as a re-conceptualization of musical esthetics and linguistics.¹¹² The specific comparison of musical theory to the study of grammar was a stepping stone for my theories about archetypal and prototypal writing. Fisetite built the argument that the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* constitutes the “prehistory” of semiotics upon the following sentence.¹¹³

Les sons dans la mélodie n’agissent pas seulement sur nous comme sons, mais comme signes de nos affections, de nos sentiments; c’est ainsi qu’ils excitent en nous les mouvements qu’ils expriment et dont nous y reconnaissons l’image.¹¹⁴

Although Fisetite referred to Pierce and Derrida, his observation must also take into consideration Ferdinand de Saussure. Rousseau’s curious explanation for the physical and the conceptual qualities of language in terms of an image evoked by sounds anticipates a very similar sentence in the *Cours de linguistique générale*. One might think Saussure revised Rousseau’s sentence

¹¹⁰ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais, 1964), book IV, chpt. VI, 279.

¹¹¹ Jean Fisetite, “La genèse du sens chez Rousseau,” *Musique et langage chez Rousseau*, SVEC 08 (2004): 41.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 40.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 41. Fisetite cited the Pléiade edition. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, vol. V of *Oeuvres Complètes*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 417.

about the image of a melody to cobble together the first school of semiotics. “Le signe linguistique unit non une chose et un nom, mais un concept et une image acoustique.”¹¹⁵ A sound only has meaning for a person familiar with the code, Saussure reiterated, and for this reason, the connection between the sound-image and signification is arbitrary.

Uniquely for Saussure, sound-images are both letters which represent phonemes and mental images of things. If two people hear the sequence of sounds “t-r-e-e,” and only one of them speaks English, then the image of a tree is only evoked in the mind of one of them. An auditor can have sensual impressions of acoustic images, i.e. hear the phonemes of words, or silently recite words composed of letters, each of which is a sound-image.¹¹⁶ “L’oreille perçoit dans toute chaîne parlée la division en syllabes, et dans toute syllabe une sonate.”¹¹⁷ Saussure may have come to the idea of a sound-image in a different way. A dialogue about the relationship between music and language in Book III of Plato’s *Republic*, published in 400 B.C., includes a few chapters about their technical rules.¹¹⁸ It describes the “image” of letters “in water or in a mirror.”¹¹⁹ Although Fisette described the *Essai sur l’origine des langues* as a bridge to 20th century semiotics, he underlined its esthetic inconclusiveness. “Il faut bien prendre acte ici d’une difficulté majeure, peut-être insoluble: comment une image simple, semblable à un dessin, pourrait-elle représenter des affections, des sentiments et des mouvements?”¹²⁰ To effectively answer Fisette’s question for American readers, more information is needed about Rousseau’s lexicon and 18th century, European art.

¹¹⁵ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. Tullio de Mauro (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1972), 98.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹¹⁸ Platon, *La république*, vol. VI of *Oeuvres complètes*, trans. Émile Chambry (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1943), book III, 398d.

¹¹⁹ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. R. E. Allen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), book III, 402b.

¹²⁰ Fisette, “La genèse du sens chez Rousseau,” *Musique et langage chez Rousseau*, 44.

Formal similarities between paintings show how composition upon models combines emotion with form. According to *The History of Art* by H. W. Janson, Hogarth's scene 3 of *The Rake's Progress*, painted in 1734 inspired *The Village Bride*, painted by Greuze in 1761.¹²¹ Although published posthumously, Kintzler indicated in the chronology that Rousseau wrote the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* between 1756 and 1761, so his essay and Greuze's painting were completed the same year.¹²² A portrait of Rousseau has been attributed to Grueze, which raises the possibility of their knowing each other.¹²³ Due to a problem of false cognates, Rousseau's distinction between the sensational effects and the moral effects of paintings may not be fully recognized by an English speaking reader.

For 18th century French readers, if some element of art conveyed signification, by definition, it had a "moral effect." Rousseau wrote, "... nous ne voyons pas que souvent elles ne nous affectent point seulement comme sensations, mais comme signes ou images, et que leurs effets moraux ont aussi des causes morales."¹²⁴ At this point in the essay, Rousseau added precision to the categories of artistic effects: shape as well as color determined the sensation of a painting; signs and images communicated meaning. Hogarth was known as a "moral" painter because his paintings commented on good and bad behavior. Janson wrote: "The earliest of these painters, William Hogarth (1697-1764), made his mark in the 1730's with a new kind of picture, which he described as 'modern moral subjects... similar to representations on the stage.'"¹²⁵ Janson called Hogarth's work "literal minded" because people in the paintings represented the story of a play.¹²⁶

¹²¹ H. W. Janson, *The History Of Art*, ed. Anthony F. Janson (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 604, 619-620.

¹²² Kintzler, ed., *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, by Rousseau, 274.

¹²³ Wokler, *Rousseau: A Very Short Introduction*, 20.

¹²⁴ Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIII, 105.

¹²⁵ Janson, *The History Of Art*, 604.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 604.

The *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* responded to a question about “les moeurs” not “la morale.” In the thesis statement of a paragraph about the dangers of children learning argumentation, foreign languages and poetry, Rousseau stated: “Si la culture des sciences est nuisible aux qualités guerrières, elle l’est encore plus aux qualités morales.”¹²⁷ The first moral problem relates to knowledge, because when an educator emphasizes foreign languages, children neglect to learn their native language. They learn to write poetry in languages they do not fully understand. The next set of moral problems essentially pertain to social mores and legal authority. According to Rousseau, these raise doubts about telling “l’erreur de la vérité,” and identifying feelings about religion.¹²⁸ Since linguistic interpretations about signification, which is to say “moral” interpretations, are also connected to authoritative judgments about virtue and vice, the noun “la morale” extends to the domain of good and bad conduct, or “les moeurs.”

To the extent judgments of signification rest on evidence and reason, human pride compels people to arrange evidence into the rational arguments, best suited to the purposes of their self-esteem or *amour propre*.¹²⁹ Refining the cognitive denotation of the word “moral,” a sentence of *Les confessions* uses it as an adverb with a meaning akin to “certainly.” At one point, Isaac Rousseau and Mr. Rival went in search of Jean-Jacques. “Voilà, je crois, pourquoi, venu d’abord à Annecy sur mes traces, il ne me suivit pas jusqu’à Chambéri où il était moralement sûr de m’atteindre.”¹³⁰ They were morally certain to catch-up with him because they travelled by horseback whereas Rousseau travelled on foot.

¹²⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, vol. III of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond, François Bouchardy (Paris: Gallimard, “La Pléiade,” 1964), part II, 24.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, part II, 24.

¹²⁹ According to *Google Translate*, <http://google.com>, the French expression “amour propre” means “self-esteem.” “Amour de soi” is “self-love.” Nov. 7, 2011.

¹³⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions*, vol. I of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Gallimard, “La Pléiade” 1959), book II, 55-6.

A description of Hogarth's painting elucidates Rousseau's conception of moral and sensational causes. The character to the center-right of *The Rake's Progress*, Scene 3, is a refined man at a reddish table with ten women and one other man. His parents look on from the dimly lit background. The father holds a candle whose yellow light is reflected by a tarnished silver platter. Its presence contrasts to the table which has no food on it except sections of an orange with a slight white remnant of the peel. The main character, who is the rake, wears blue pants and a white shirt. He leans back in a chair while an attractive woman talks to him and caresses his neck and chest. One of his feet is on the table and it appears the left shoe is on the right foot, indicating a state of inebriation. They all wear fine clothes. Superficially described as a play, the women at the table represent previous girlfriends, with the exception, perhaps, of one who lights a map of the world on fire. The rake's curvilinear sword has a red sheath and its tip rests comfortably on the ground. Nearby are a broken glass and a pile of clothes whose shadow mysteriously looks like a hole in the floor from which the head of a young boy appears. The moral quality of the painting is twofold. The English title indicates that it first concerns the issue of right conduct. Then, evaluation of the lines and inquiry into the colors as if they were the scene of a play requires the viewers to find some signification for the painting.

William Hogarth: scene 3 of *The Rake's Progress*, oil painting, 1734.

In *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times*, Ronald Paulson made an informed interpretation of *A Rake's Progress*, Scene 3. Comparison of it to Hogarth's corpus, knowledge of verifiable

artistic and literary models, recognizing the history surrounding them distinguishes Paulson's informed interpretation from the previous, superficial one. The works of Jonathan Swift and Mrs. Davy, who published *The Accomplish'd Rake* in 1727, influenced Hogarth.¹³¹ In April 1732, Hogarth completed an earlier series of six prints entitled *A Harlot's Progress*.¹³² According to Paulson, scene 3 of *A Rake's Progress* depicts a brothel, not a dinner party; the man is named Tom Rakewell; the women are prostitutes, not girlfriends.¹³³ Paulson saw a similarity between the facial expression of Tom Rakewell and a sculpture at the Bethlehem hospital, *Melancholy Madness* by Caius Gabriel Cibber.¹³⁴ As well as moral paintings which depict characters on a stage, Hogarth painted "Conversation Pieces." They combined portraiture with pictures of ceremonies and royal symbols.¹³⁵ Although naïve and informed interpretations operate in the realm of signification and both require the articulation of suggested meaning, only informed interpretations rest on verifiable facts or evidence.

In "De la mélodie," Rousseau theorized about painting's moral and sensational effects. If a painter does not make the physical elements of paints fit within a pattern of signification, then they will not inflame the passions. "L'intérêt et le sentiment ne tiennent point aux couleurs; les traits d'un tableau touchant nous touchent encore dans une estampe; ôtez ces traits dans le tableau, les couleurs ne feront plus rien."¹³⁶ In effect, one year after the 1734 oil painting, Hogarth published a black and white engraving of the same scene.¹³⁷ The "moral" understood by a spectator who looks at the tableau of an ill-fated aristocrat can still be understood because the engraving depicts the same people and a nearly identical signification. When viewers evaluate

¹³¹ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 324.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 241.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 332-3.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 323, 326.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 312.

¹³⁶ Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt XIII, 105.

¹³⁷ Janson, *The History Of Art*, 604.

the people in the painting and attach meaning to the forms, they have a moral and an emotional response.

William Hogarth: scene 3 of *The Rake's Progress*, engraving, 1735.

Rousseau's analogy between the line and color of paintings to time, pitch and quality of sounds establishes melody as the dominant, imitative instrument of musicians. The relationships between sounds effect human emotions – Rousseau wrote “le sentiment” and “la passion,”¹³⁸ – because a musician can only effectively make a representation of “moral” elements of life with a series of notes, or to use the terminology of Kintzler, with “the sound-chain.”¹³⁹

More precisely, musicians can imitate in two ways, emphasizing the nature of sounds or the melody. The first pertains to the science of sound waves whereas the second is connected to the musician's imitation of notes the audience recognizes. Singers qualitatively express emotion with their voices. Rousseau wrote in the chapter “De l'harmonie,”

La mélodie, en imitant les inflexions de la voix, exprime les plaintes, les cris de douleur ou de joie, les menaces, les gémissements; tous les signes vocaux des passions sont de son ressort. Elle imite les accents de langues, et les tours affectés dans chaque idiome à certains mouvements de l'âme; elle n'imite pas seulement, elle parle, et

¹³⁸ Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIII, 105.

¹³⁹ Kintzler, ed., *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, by Rousseau, 105 n. 63.

son langage inarticulé, mais vif, ardent, passionné, a cent fois plus d'énergie que la parole même.¹⁴⁰

While the imitation of a cry of pain or a moan should only require one note, melodies of songs, from the beginning to the end, have hundreds or thousands. Rousseau called the qualities of voice “inflections.” They are designated in musical notation with words such as *vivace* and *allegro*. Rousseau considered the quality of sounds to be physical, as he indicated at the incipit to “De l’harmonie.” “La beauté des sons est de la nature; leur effet est purement physique; il résulte du concours des diverses particules d’air mises en mouvement par le corps sonore et par toutes ses aliquotes, peut-être à l’infini.”¹⁴¹ Saussure would employ a similar vocabulary of mechanisms and chains of phonemes in the *Cours de linguistique générale*. In contrast to Rousseau’s speculation about the potentially infinite number of sounds and their effects, Saussure thought linguists could mathematically quantify and describe them.

Pour rendre compte de ce qui se passe dans les groupes, il y a à établir une phonologie où ceux-ci seraient considérés comme des équations algébriques; un groupe binaire implique un certain nombre d’éléments mécaniques et acoustiques qui se conditionnent réciproquement; quand l’un varie, cette variation a sur les autres une répercussion nécessaire qu’on pourra calculer.¹⁴²

Knowledge of mathematical systems allowed Rousseau to unify categories of music and language in the *Les confessions* and *Du contrat social*.¹⁴³ Rousseau thought the “essence of music” depended upon three things: the physical properties of individual sounds, the physical

¹⁴⁰ Rousseau, *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIV, 109.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, chpt. XIV, 109.

¹⁴² Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. de Mauro, 79.

¹⁴³ Cf. Stuart A. MacNiven, “Politics, language, and music in the unity of Rousseau’s system,” *Musique et langage chez Rousseau*, SVEC 08 (2004): 166-174.

effect of combinations of notes, and the effects of imitation. Memories from hearing them before were necessary to understand them as information.¹⁴⁴

In the case of harmony, the emotional sum of the “sound chain” is greater than the individual parts. “C” can be part of a minor chord or a major chord. It sounds neither happy, like in a major chord, nor sad, as in a minor chord, until the other notes of the chord are played. Starobinski’s interpretation of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* differentiated between the sensation of harmony and the moral effect of melody. “Car la mélodie a le pouvoir de toucher le coeur à coup sûr: proposition capitale dans la théorie musicale de Rousseau, et qui justifie sa prédilection pour la mélodie, sa méfiance pour l’harmonie.”¹⁴⁵ The culture and tradition of an audience determine their proclivities for harmony, even though its effects are physical.¹⁴⁶

Although Rousseau thought the materialist reduction of the essence of music to physics was a “mechanical illusion,” his mathematical understanding of music should not be underestimated. The entry “Système” of the *Dictionnaire de musique* demonstrates the dynamic between mathematics and some essential qualities of melody and harmony.

Cela n’auroit dû, ce semble, produire que quinze Sons dans le Genre Diatonique: il y en avoit pourtant seize. C’est que la disjonction se faisant sentir, tantôt entre le second et le troisième Tétracorde, tantôt entre le troisième et le quatrième, il arrivoit, dans le premier cas, qu’après le Son *la*, le plus aigu du second Tétracorde, suivoit en montant le *si* naturel qui commençoit le troisième Tétracorde; ou bien, dans le second cas, que ce même Son *la* commençant lui-même le troisième Tétracorde, étoit immédiatement suivi du *si* Bémol:

¹⁴⁴ Rousseau, *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt XIII, 107.

¹⁴⁵ Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: La transparence et l’obstacle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 111.

¹⁴⁶ Rousseau, *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIV, 108.

car le premier Degrè de chaque Tétracorde dans le Genre Diatonique, étoit toujours d'un semi-Ton.¹⁴⁷

Due to the wavelengths of the vibrations, one against the other, in the ancient Greek notation of notes with tetra-cords, an audience perceived, “felt” Rousseau wrote, an additional note.

Comparison of the seven notes of the octave, A – G, which can be divided into 12 chromatic half steps, to the four part tetra-cord of ancient Greece, demonstrate how perceptions of dissonance depend upon early modern culture. An 18th century, French audience may have considered some of the sounds produced by the tetra-cord dissonant or out-of-tone.

One passage of “De la mélodie” in *Essai sur l'origine des langues* reads like a dialogue in prose about painting and music. By considering questions from the perspectives of multiple people with indications of “Ces gens-là,” “Messieurs, leur dirait-il,” “Moi,” “Que dis-je,” “Que dirions-nous,” Rousseau produced the impression that, at the end of a dinner party, each guest made a concise, concluding statement of opinion.¹⁴⁸ To recompose the various opinions into a continuous argument, Rousseau reassembled them with a cohesive rhythm. The structure of a prototype made the chapters of the *Essai* sound reasonable even though the narrative fluctuates from one perspective to another. The following chapter, “De l'harmonie,” begins with the statement: “La beauté des sons est de la nature; leur effet est purement physique; ...”¹⁴⁹ It sounds like the perspective of one of the third person statements of “De la mélodie,” the previous chapter, but it is the first person narrator who makes it. The musicality of the prose is more consistent than the narrator's opinion.

¹⁴⁷ Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, et al., 1072.

¹⁴⁸ Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIII, 106-107.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, chpt. XIV, 108.

The *Lettre sur la musique française* goes one step beyond the connection between melody and emotion. Since Rousseau compared notes of melodies to words of sentences, the analysis of sentences allows for, in fact, parts of speech to be arranged with a formula, and for them to evoke certain emotions. Patterns of musical sounds and patterns of words in a sentence influenced human consciousness, because imitative significance resided in relationships between notes. “La mesure est à peu près à la mélodie ce que la Syntaxe est au discours: c’est elle qui fait l’enchaînement des mots, qui distingue les phrases et qui donne un sens, une liaison au tout.”¹⁵⁰ Imitation of previous scores perpetuates musical tradition because the qualities of notes in melody, and the composer’s arrangement of them in time, make the sounds cohere for certain audiences.

The chapter “Que nos plus vives sensations agissent souvent par des impressions morales” of *Essai sur l’origine des langues* describes one physical effect of melodic imitation. Supposedly music was a remedy to a tarantula’s poison, if and only if recognition of lyrics was incorporated with the recognition of melody, by the victim.¹⁵¹ If he or she had previous knowledge of them both, then the curative principle of mechanical combination was guaranteed to function. It follows that if a tarantula stung an American child, the “Happy Birthday Song” would suffice as a remedy whereas the same song would be ineffective for a French child. Robert Wokler wrote that the *Dictionnaire de musique* facilitated the recognition of melodic allusions for composers and audiences. “His transcription of an ‘air chinois’ in his *Dictionary of Music*, adapted from Jean-Baptiste Du Halde’s *Description de la Chine* of 1735, was to figure in both Weber’s overture to *Turandot* and Hindemith’s *Symphonic Metamorphoses*.”¹⁵² For an

¹⁵⁰ Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique française*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Pot, 293-294.

¹⁵¹ Rousseau, *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XV, 112.

¹⁵² Wokler, *Rousseau: A Very Short Introduction*, 138.

individual or an audience who comprehends an allusion, the composer's imitation of the "sound-chain" produces psychic and physical effects.

Condillac addressed similar questions about the essence of thought and the materiality of sensation in the *Art de penser*. The ubiquity of the question shows the interest of Enlightenment philosophers in the physical world and the operations of the human mind. "De quelle couleur est la pensée, demandent-ils, pour être entrée dans l'âme par la vue? De quelle odeur, pour être entrée par l'odorat? Est-elle d'un son grave ou aigu pour être entrée par l'ouïe, etc.?"¹⁵³

Painting was a privileged theme among Enlightenment philosophers who wanted to make a better map of thought. Of all the information available to the human brain, the first subdivision occurred between *knowledge* and *understanding*. "Necessary" and "eternal" truths, such as three lines composing a triangle, belong exclusively to the domain of ideas and knowledge.¹⁵⁴ The idea of a triangle, and all information that can be known, is not dependent upon human sensation.

Unlike *knowledge* of a geometric truth, Condillac explained that only over time do people combine *understanding* with *knowledge* of a painting. Impressions, sensations and perceptions make-up *understanding*. The sensation of the colors and lines of a painting on the eyes give people a good or bad impression of its subject matter.¹⁵⁵ According to the theory, the first time people see a painting, their eyes see every color and shape but they do not yet have *knowledge* of it. If it is only glanced at, its impression upon the memory is slight. With repeated viewing and reflection, viewers better perceive the details, and with the same sensory information, they will have a better understanding and perception.¹⁵⁶ Once an esthetic philosopher has reflected upon thousands of paintings, his perception of the same impressions allow him to understand a

¹⁵³ Étienne de Condillac, *Art de penser, Œuvres complètes*, t. V (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 6.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

painting in a way another person could not. To compare the *Art de penser* to the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, sensory impressions do not communicate signification, whereas the mind and memory can make moral judgments of perceptions.

Diderot's *Essay on Painting*, Cassirer wrote in *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, asks questions about form and sensation that echo Rousseau's essays about language and music.¹⁵⁷ How do paintings affect human emotion? Diderot wrote the *Essais sur la peinture* in 1766.¹⁵⁸ The beginning of Chapter II, "Mes petites idées sur la couleur," sounds remarkably similar to Rousseau's 1761 ideas about drawing and color. Rousseau wrote:

C'est le dessin, c'est l'imitation qui donnent à ces couleurs de la vie et de l'âme, ce sont les passions qu'elles expriment qui viennent émouvoir les nôtres: ce sont les objets qu'elles représentent qui viennent nous affecter.¹⁵⁹

And then Diderot wrote:

"C'est le dessin qui donne la forme aux êtres; c'est la couleur qui leur donne la vie. Voilà le souffle divin qui les anime."¹⁶⁰

Paul Vernière, editor of the 1965 edition of *Oeuvres esthétiques* attested that Diderot's ideas about drawing and color were derived from the 3rd and 4th discourses of Helvétius's *De l'esprit*.¹⁶¹ As similar as Diderot was to Rousseau, Kintzler's expression of the "le sens vient animer la matière" marks the difference between them because "De la mélodie" says the moral

¹⁵⁷ Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 299.

¹⁵⁸ Paul Vernière, ed., introduction to *Essais sur la peinture, Oeuvres esthétiques*, by Denis Diderot (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1965), 661.

¹⁵⁹ Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, ed. Kintzler, chpt. XIII, 105.

¹⁶⁰ Diderot, *Essais sur la peinture, Oeuvres esthétiques*, ed. Vernière, 674.

¹⁶¹ Vernière, *Essais sur la peinture, Oeuvres esthétiques*, by Diderot, 674 n. I.

sense of a painting depends upon imitation whereas Diderot's "Mes petites idées sur la couleur" accords it to "le souffle divin" of color. While at first glance, it sounds like Diderot nearly plagiarized Rousseau, due to the similarity of syntax and vocabulary, they make nearly opposite arguments about color theory and the essence of a painting.

Comparison of Hogarth's painting to one by Grueze shows that formal imitation produces visual echoes. According to Janson, Diderot admired the "noble and serious human action" of *The Village Bride* or in the native language of Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *L'Accordée de village*.¹⁶² Diderot wrote about the painting in the *Salon de 1761*.¹⁶³

Jean-Baptiste Grueze: *L'Accordée de village*, oil painting, 1761.

Diderot described the composition of the painting in a vocabulary reminiscent of "De la mélodie." Instead of "la chaîne sonore," it is "l'enchaînement des figures." "Il y a douze figures; chacune est à sa place, et fait ce qu'elle doit. Comme elles s'enchaînent toutes!"¹⁶⁴

From the left to the right of the canvas, Grueze painted people crouching, standing and sitting, all closely listening to the words of the father together.

According to Janson, "His [Grueze's] pictorial sermon illustrates the social gospel of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: that the poor, in contrast to the immoral aristocracy, are full of 'natural'

¹⁶² Janson, *The History Of Art*, 619.

¹⁶³ Diderot, "Grueze," *Oeuvres esthétiques*, ed. Vernière, 517-524.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 519-520.

virtue and honest sentiment.”¹⁶⁵ Diderot’s description of the moral qualities of the painting is equivocal. Urban aristocrats would have likely interpreted his description of the *L’Accordée de village* differently than the rural bourgeoisie. The groom is “vêtu à merveille;” the bride is “vêtue à merveille;” her mother is also “vêtue large et à merveille.”¹⁶⁶ The colors of the clothes determine their sensational effect, whereas the signification of being “marvelously dressed” depends upon the reader’s attitudes and conventions. In comparison to the clothes of Hogarth’s painting, which are more refined, the repetition of the expression “marvelously dressed” accentuates its ambiguity. Aristocratic readers may have thought Diderot was being ironic whereas provincial readers could have interpreted the essay as a condemnation of luxury.

While Diderot’s description of *L’Accordée de village* calls to mind *The Rake’s Progress*, he did not cite Hogarth in the essay about Grueze. Diderot did acknowledge another French painter. “Teniers peint des mœurs plus vraies peut-être.”¹⁶⁷ The word “mœurs” is a closer equivalent to the English word “moral” in Diderot’s essay about family and marriage. It distinguishes him from Rousseau on questions of good and bad conduct. Janson did compare scene 3 of *The Rake’s Progress* to *L’Accordée de village*. “What distinguishes it from earlier genre paintings is its contrived, stage-like character, borrowed from Hogarth’s ‘dumb show’ narratives.”¹⁶⁸ The compositional and thematic similarities between the two paintings could be said to affect Janson “morally” because he recognized the second painting as a modified copy of the first.

Formal resemblance between the paintings clarifies the process of prototypal composition. *L’Accordée de village* imitates the structure of *The Rake’s Progress*. Grueze could

¹⁶⁵ Janson, *The History Of Art*, 619.

¹⁶⁶ Diderot, “Grueze,” *Oeuvres esthétiques*, ed. Vernière, 521-522.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 523.

¹⁶⁸ Janson, *The History Of Art*, 619.

have made it by painting directly over Hogarth's work. The groom, to the center-right, also appears to have his shoes on the wrong feet. Replacing the dining table from Hogarth's painting, the groom stands behind a nearly empty, oval space. With his left hand, he accepts a bag of money. It is the dowry from the bride's seated father. The same bag of money figures in the same place in *The Rake's Progress*. In Hogarth's painting, a solitary woman holds it. She leans forward with her neck cricked back as she looks across the table at another woman who makes a fist with her left hand and holds what oddly appears to be a hunting knife almost vertically in her right. The groom of Greuze's painting has the heavy, swollen hands of a manual laborer. The rake of Hogarth's painting has fine, nimble hands. A boy in *L'Accordée de village* replaces the woman with the knife. He is kneeling behind a chair, as if praying. He tilts his head back, like Hogarth's woman holding the dowry money. A hen and some chicks in *L'Accordée de village* replace the broken glass and clothes of *The Rake's Progress*. These shapes and colors are the signifying and sensational objects of the paintings: they more-or-less fit into the same compositional pattern.

In the same way Greuze copied Hogarth, the syntax of some of Rousseau's phrases resembles too closely those of Montesquieu to claim they are arbitrary constructions. One can be designated with the formula: $Sx \text{ then } O; Sy \text{ then } \sim O$, when S signifies the subject of a sentence, and adjectives or nouns x and y qualify S . O is the direct object or indirect object. Montesquieu used this structure in *De l'esprit des lois*, for instance in the sentence,

S	x	O	S
Plus les causes physiques portent les hommes au repos, plus les causes			
y	$\sim O$		
morales <u>les en doivent éloigner</u> . ¹⁶⁹			

¹⁶⁹ Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, ed. Robert Derathé, vol. I (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1973), book XIV, chpt. V, 251.

S in this sentence is the word *causes*, and *x* and *y* are the qualifiers *physical* and *moral*. *O* is *inaction* and negative *O* is to be estranged from *inaction*. Paying tribute to Montesquieu by emphasizing the verbal sense of obligation with “devoir” in the final clause, Rousseau composed upon the model of *De l’esprit des lois* and wrote in *Du contrat social*,

	<i>S</i>	<i>x</i>
C’est précisément parce que la force des choses tend toujours à détruire		
<i>O</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>y</i>
l’égalité, que la force de la législation doit toujours <u>tendre à la maintenir</u> . ¹⁷⁰		

Rousseau’s sentence has nearly the same pattern as Montesquieu’s. Montesquieu qualified *causes* with two adjectives: *physical* and *moral*, whereas Rousseau qualified *force* with two nouns: *of things* and *of legislation*. Rousseau completed the paradox with a pronoun and a sense of verbal opposition. In Montesquieu’s sentence, the verbs are “incline mankind to inaction” then “ estrange them from it,” whereas Rousseau created a sense of contrast with “always tends to destroy” and “should always tend to maintain.” The resemblance between the number of dualities, and the spatial dynamic among the parts of speech, reduces the likelihood of simply composing with pairs of words.

Rousseau used the word “chose” to modify the word “force” for musical reasons. Unlike “la force de la législation” in which the word “législation” makes a meaningful contribution to the sense of the word “force,” the “la force des choses” signifies nothing much more than force itself, the idea of force. To compose with a prototype, Rousseau needed the word “chose” as a rhythmic substitute and for its simple abstraction. R. E. Allen used it the same way in his translation of *The Republic*. There are two kinds of justice, according to Cephalous and

¹⁷⁰ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book II, chpt. XI, 214.

Socrates. The first is the category of monetary or golden justice which requires debts to be paid and forgiven. The second kind of justice is the obligation to tell the truth.

x

But speaking of this very thing, justice, shall we say simply and without qualification that it is truthfulness and returning what one has received from someone? Or is it in fact sometimes just to do these things, but sometimes unjust?¹⁷¹

Émile Chambry also used “choses” to translate the pronouns “that” or “the one” which refer to antecedents. Technically, Chambry and Allen translated “these things” instead of “these ones.”

Mais cette vertu même, la justice, la définirions-nous simplement comme toi, le fait de dire la vérité et de rendre à chacun ce qu'on a reçu, et ces deux choses mêmes ne sont-elles pas au contraire tantôt justes, tantôt injustes?¹⁷²

Since Socrates and his peripatetic interlocutors arrive at knowledge by systematically comparing variables, occasionally confusion arises about the antecedent of a pronoun.

While ambiguity can diminish the conclusiveness of a Platonic argument, philosophizing about “things” emphasizes the method of expression. The narrator of *Du contrat social* calls an idea a “thing” because it brought out his common sense demeanor. It gives his narrator the narrative chiaroscuro of Socrates and the gravitas of Tacitus. Kintzler alluded to the relationship between the essence of music and the pattern of sounds: “la même erreur que les musiciens qui pensent avoir compris l’essence de la musique en exhibant la décomposition du ‘corps

¹⁷¹ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Allen, book I, 5, 331c.

¹⁷² Platon, *La république*, vol. VI of *Oeuvres complètes*, trans. Émile Chambry (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1943 – 1946), book I, 9, 331c.

sonore.”¹⁷³ Although the word “thing” is used to hold a place in a pattern, its contribution to a matter of fact narrative tone and rhythmic effect means the essence of texts cannot be limited to the lexical structure or vocabulary.

The notes and variations of *Le manuscrit de Genève* demonstrate another form of archetype. Sometimes Rousseau crossed out a line in a first draft and then rewrote it with nearly the same number of words.

I

“Je dis ce qu’il est et non ce qu’il fait.”¹⁷⁴

Was rewritten to make:

I

“Je le fais vivre et non pas agir (c).”¹⁷⁵

Although Rousseau reproduced the syntactic metricity, when he replaced “non ce qu’il fait” with “non pas agir,” he removed the “ce que,” a substantive in the rough draft. It became the infinitive verb form of *agir* in *Le manuscrit de Genève*.

The comparison of Rousseau’s sentences to ones he had previously written to sentences of Montesquieu shows that the theory of archetypes and prototypes is essentially one of imitation or mimesis. The ancient practice of imitation described by Plato begins with writers imitating nature, then once they have a longer literary tradition, there can be mimesis of an established author. The first chapter of this dissertation has intended to demonstrate that Rousseau emulated vocabulary and lexical structure in a more formulaic, meticulous way than is generally and necessarily accepted by critics. Like other Enlightenment authors, Rousseau wanted to understand the human mind. His *Essai sur l’origine des langues* touched upon two central

¹⁷³ Kintzler, ed., *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, by Rousseau, 105 n. 63.

¹⁷⁴ Rousseau, *Du contrat social, première version, Manuscrit de Genève*, vol. III of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, 1410.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, book I, chpt. I, 281.

components related to literary structure: the realm of music and the realm of painting.

Explanation of Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress*, Scene 3 and *L'Accordée du village* by Grueze help to elucidate the difference between the effect of sensation upon visual and auditory organs and the mind's understanding of allusion. According to Janson, *The Rake's Progress* appears to be a prototype for *L'Accordée du village* because Grueze modeled his painting upon Hogarth's.

In conclusion, the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* demonstrates the first binary principle of Rousseau's method of writing: it is rooted in the relationship between music and language. Sounds of words and patterns of notes have sensational effects on people; and also powerful moral ones, because structures transmit and alter traditional signification. Sounds like a shriek or a groan, Rousseau wrote, have physical effects on humans and communicate signification: shrieks are associated with pain not pleasure. Catherine Kintzler emphasized in the notes to the 1993 Garnier Flammarion edition of the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* that Rousseau was not strictly a materialist.

The Poetics of Aristotle and *The Laws* of Plato hold that rhythms and sounds correspond to emotional states. Iambic pentameter is ironic and comedic whereas other cadences and forms of diction sound virtuous or cowardly. When Rousseau's musical theory is conceptualized as a literary one, the dynamics of natural sounds and recognizable melodies hold true for patterns of words and phrases. On the one hand, the beauty of music has a converse relationship to the meaning of words. According to Rousseau, an audience experiences more pleasure when the lyrics do not have a precise signification. On the other hand, Rousseau redefined words in elaborate linguistic systems so that their new meanings would educate and enlighten readers. The musicality of language applies to the definitions of words and patterns of them. Bernardi explained the epistemology and transformations of the word "alienation" from Aristotle's

Rhetoric via Grotius and Barbeyrac to Rousseau's *Du contrat social*. Fisettes saw that the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* was a precursor to the semiotics of Saussure. The principle in *Cours de linguistique générale* about the arbitrariness of sounds and the signification of words is especially pertinent to texts written musically which, as will be described in later chapters, would pose a threat to the authority of economic institutions.

As much as poetic prose is structured into a system like a logical sequence in philosophy or a mathematically defined chord progression in music, it is necessary for one step or idea to be placed before another. The second principle of archetypes and prototypes relates to systematic substitution and problems of signification. In the *Art de penser*, Condillac developed a theory of truth and language that represents the paradox about signification, and lack thereof, produced by sentences composed with methods of substitution.

Une proposition identique est celle où la même idée est affirmée d'elle-même, et par conséquent toute vérité est une proposition identique. En effet, cette proposition, *l'or est jaune, pesant, fusible, etc.*, n'est vraie que parce que je me suis formé de l'or une idée complexe qui renferme toutes ces qualités. Si par conséquent nous substituons l'idée complexe au nom de la chose, nous aurons cette proposition: *ce qui est jaune, pesant, fusible, est jaune, pesant, fusible.*¹⁷⁶

Valid thought patterns require connections between complex ideas without a thing being defined by itself. Analysis of *Du contrat social* and other works, shows that when Rousseau defined words with systems of substitution along the lines described by Condillac, he arrived at definitions that were only true in the context of the book. Although brass is yellowish, heavy and can melt, it is only golden in color. In the same spirit of accumulating knowledge by

¹⁷⁶ Condillac, *Art de penser, Oeuvres complètes*, t. V, 98.

creating systems of words and definitions, Rousseau composed books by rewriting the ideas of other authors.

His translation of *Le premier livre* set the foundation for the third principle of the theory of archetypes and prototypes. Translation itself necessarily requires the substitution of words from one language to another and arrangement of them into patterns. Delamarre most explicitly articulated the attention Tacitus paid to the organization of ideas into prose. There is a poetics on the surface level or face of the text even when readers do not search for deeper meaning. Reading and studying the history of Tacitus improved Rousseau's ability to think systematically because understanding his prose involved the exchange of various definitions of a word into a passage until it made sense. Rousseau described doing a compositional version of this when writing a letter to Mme de Warens. To emulate *le clair obscur* of *Le premier livre*, he copied the formulaic quality of its sentences, and the register of vocabulary unique to the narrative voice of Tacitus. Music and language, systems of substitutions and translations will be developed at more length in the next chapter of this dissertation.

Chapter 2

Imitation of Classical Sources: Finding a Style for Political Literature in Historical Translation

This chapter evaluates of the esthetics of Rousseau's prose and the problems of mechanistic composition for the communication of ideas. With *Émile* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, the concentration is more upon fiction and educational theory than upon philosophy and linguistics. The work of 20th century editors of Rousseau, especially their attention to its genesis, comes into the discussion: Robert Derathé for *Du contrat social*, Daniel Mornet, Bernard Guyon and Michel Launay for *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Each of the scholarly editions stands as a monument to Rousseau. Their introductions and notes are informative about the history of the works, preparing the foundation for theories to be built upon real letters and manuscripts as well as critical and historical scholarship. For this reason, questions about Rousseau's effect and his influence, especially in terms of educational philosophy, can be gauged by their reactions to his literature.

Rousseau's attention to the technical qualities of prose, such as the numbers of nouns and almost architectural patterns of words, is no less important to his sentimental literature than to his systematic explanation of political and musical ideas. Throughout this chapter, I write about Rousseau's reading of history and his emulation of historians. History provided a model for governmental institutions and for the liberty of each of the people who could otherwise be perceived as the most minute cogs of governmental organizations. Up to this point, formal qualities of prose and the philosophical rationalism of Enlightenment authors has been attributed to classical influence. To what extent Rousseau departed from historical models, and to what extent he imitated other qualities of historians remains to be discussed. Many critics and editors have approached the genesis of *La nouvelle Héloïse* from the perspective of Rousseau's

correspondence with Mme de Warens, Mme d'Houdetot, Duclos, Diderot and Rey. Rousseau's authorship of the novel is melded with his fictional account of editing real letters. In theory at least, authentic letters can be understood as prototypes for fictional ones. Some of them could be mistaken for hand-written, first drafts of the myriad, machine printed editions of the novel. The *Correspondance complète de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, edited by R. A. Leigh and published by the Institut et Musée Voltaire at Les Délices in Geneva allows for the comparison of the epistolary style of Rousseau's contemporaries to the sentimentalism of the novel.

Rousseau was a pivotal figure in the transition from the Enlightenment to Romanticism. *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, *L'Émile* and *Les confessions* are set in regions that Rousseau was familiar with since childhood. The places he described had their own traditions and customs which dated to Roman times. *Le premier livre* of Tacitus and Julius Caesar's *The Gallic War* record the interactions between Roman leaders and the people who fought against them in Central and North Western Europe. Although Rousseau looked to classical history as a source, it was a source of Helvetian, German, French and English history as well as Italian history. The best passages of Caesar, Tacitus and Plutarch almost produce the literary effects that Rousseau and other 18th century writers produced with fiction. Without attaining the psychological depth of personal identity that Rousseau achieved in novels and autobiography, Tacitus and Plutarch were adept at character description.

While reading and translating classical history prepared Rousseau to imitate the structures of Tacitus and Caesar, since their work was in Latin and from the distant past, imitation of it would risk to produce unusual and archaic forms. Questions about French authenticity had been of interest since before Rousseau wrote and they were posed again by 19th century critics, notably Pierre Fontanier, who informs contemporary, literary theory. Mostly set

in the countryside, characters of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Émile* struggled with the true nature of French literature in regard to the cosmopolitan writing of Parisians and the styles of classical philosophers. As well as writing about education, Rousseau's works symbolize the Enlightenment because he wanted to educate and bring light about politics, music and language to readers who were more rooted in the natural world of rural France and Switzerland. Rousseau had to balance the benefits of imitating classical rhythms with the necessity of creating a genuine sounding narrative voice.

Rousseau's ability to transform historical ideas into a literary form is especially apparent in *Du contrat social*. His study of history enabled him to establish principles for government which he arranged into complex rational systems. In so doing, he learned to emulate the authority of historical narrative and to juxtapose the allure of common sense with the shortcomings of reason. Since patterns of prose correlate to emotional states, sentence structure also determines the effect of specific words upon readers. Not only did copying sentence patterns facilitate the creation of an identifiable, narrative tone, it provided an opportunity for Rousseau to add ambiguity to governmental ideas. When signification becomes sufficiently uncertain, because of specific redefinitions of vocabulary, the patterns of the words must be evaluated in conjunction with the semantic project. Rousseau's reading of Plato, Aristotle, Caesar and Plutarch, and his translations of Seneca and Tacitus provided many models for him to emulate. His intention however was not to rigorously impose their ideas about government onto modern times.

On the contrary, in *Du contrat social*, the description of the sovereign acts of magistrates is drawn from both canonical writers and the government of France since the Renaissance. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* is an infamous historical model for Rousseau. Lycurgus was king of

Sparta for a less than a year before he transferred the title of king to the baby Charilaüs. As the guardian of Charilaüs, he retained the ability to make political decisions, without the vulnerability of being king. In this respect, Lycurgus was a model for the magistrates of *Du contrat social*. They are civil servants of different ranks and capacities whose powers determine social affairs. They also hold the reins of power during the absence of consensus among citizens.¹

While the French Revolution ended royal absolutism, government by magistrates was not without precedent during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV. Mazarin essentially ruled France from 1643 to 1661 because Louis XIV was crowned at the age of five. By coincidence, when Louis XIV died in 1715, Louis XV was also five years-old. The Duke d'Orléans and then André Hercule de Fleury presided from 1715 to 1743. Rousseau's governmental philosophy is parallel to Plutarch's history of Sparta because Mazarin, d'Orléans and de Fleury resembled Lycurgus. Instead of using classical history to imagine a new form of government, Rousseau had found a literary model that resembled the history of 17th and 18th century France.

Translating Tacitus and Seneca taught Rousseau that implementing a form of representational government with elected officials in the 18th century would benefit the people and reduce the vulnerability of royalty. People vying for power in *Le premier livre* were only victorious over one authority figure by democratic means. "... et Néron même fut expulsé par des rumeurs et des bruits, plutôt que par la force des armes."² The works of Tacitus show that rising to power was a misfortune for many Romans. Since Galba had nominated Piso as his successor, after Galba's murder, Piso became emperor. He only survived the position for six

¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Essais," 1964), book II, chpt. II, 191.

² Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, eds. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, trans. Rousseau (Paris: Gallimard, "La Pléiade," 1995), 1275.

days; and it was a death sentence for his brother and his wife.³ Representational forms of government, by comparison, offer the advantage of a change of leadership without the death of a king.

Rousseau's translation of Tacitus reinforced his understanding and fear of regicide. At the same time, it demonstrates his knowledge that the ideal of democracy was not frequently a reality in Rome. *Le premier livre* ends with Tacitus speaking about the military dictatorship of Othon who strengthened his own power by nominating council men. Instead of a republic of equals, the people enthusiastically and disingenuously praised the dictator. "... les Citoyens n'étoient que de vils esclaves flattant leur maître par intérêt."⁴ While the writing and publication of *Du contrat social* was in its own right a significant event in the era of the French Revolution because it represents a philosophy of political equality, Rousseau signaled that people could transform governments without violence. "Quelquefois on peut tuer l'Etat sans tuer un seul de ses membres..."⁵ To the extent that *Le premier livre* of Tacitus was a source for *Du contrat social*, it is more in terms of style and ideas than a lexical template.

The short rule and demise of Piso parallels the murder of Lycurgus's brother. People competing for the throne had assassinated Polydectes, the older brother of Lycurgus. His father, when king, was fatally stabbed, the accidental victim of a knife fight between other men.⁶ Anxiety about regicide as much as principles of equality and service explain why Lycurgus conferred the crown to his nephew, Charilaüs, soon after the beginning of his reign. "And so he

³ *Ibid.*, 1251.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1275.

⁵ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. IV, 179-180.

⁶ Plutarch, "Lycurgus," *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, vol. I (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959), 209.

was king only eight months in all.”⁷ Somewhat like Piso and his wife, 31 years after the publication of *Du contrat social*, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were executed in 1793.

Although *De l'esprit des lois* and *Du contrat social* frequently name real people, they are political literature, not history. Emphasis on abstract ideas such as the prince, the sovereign, democracy and monarchy sets Montesquieu and Rousseau apart from Tacitus and Plutarch who emphasized the description of historical people in specific circumstances. The principles of Montesquieu's “D'une république qui conquiert,” for example, apply the history of Hannibal and Hanno, and a Mediterranean island ruled by Italy to the system of Swiss government.⁸ The principles of Rousseau's “Des premières sociétés” are derived from other authors: Aristotle, Grotius and Hobbes; classical literature: Caligula, Ulysses and Saturn; biblical figures, Adam and Noah; and modern fiction, Robinson Crusoe.⁹ He wrote about real people, who were frequently authors themselves, without making them the subject of his books. Rousseau made the distinction between history and historical literature by citing Montesquieu. “L'Auteur de *l'Esprit des lois* a montré dans des foules d'exemples par quel art le législateur dirige l'institution vers chacun de ces objets.”¹⁰ Although the style in which Rousseau conveyed abstract ideas is similar to theirs, *Du contrat social* only imitated the works of Tacitus and Plutarch to a certain extent. Instead of writing history, he generalized historical information and used precise examples from it to write political literature.

Barthes elaborated upon the notions of measure and extent of structural transformations in *S/Z*. He used the term “plural texts” to describe the similarities and differences of literature.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 211.

⁸ Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, ed. Robert Derathé, vol. I (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1995), book X, chpt. VI, VII, VIII, 306-309.

⁹ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. II, 174-176.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. XI, 215.

Tout ceci revient à dire que pour le texte pluriel, il ne peut y avoir de structure narrative, de grammaire ou de logique du récit; si donc les unes et les autres se laissent parfois approcher, c'est *dans la mesure* (en donnant à cette expression sa pleine valeur quantitative) où l'on a affaire à des textes incomplètement pluriels, des textes dont le pluriel est plus ou moins parcimonieux.¹¹

Barthes's idea of measure, and of complete and incomplete plurality, accounts for the differences between literary histories and factual ones. Especially in the eighteenth century, when novels could be called histories, one must differentiate between the resemblances of fictional characters to real people and correct records of historical figures.

During Rousseau's life, the resemblance between ideas he formulated in rational, sequential patterns and the formulations of other authors resulted in accusations of plagiarism. Critics since usually study his use of sources to describe the genesis of a work or to answer other scholarly questions about criticism and reception. Repetition of key words, especially unusual ones, is one way to identify copied, translated or paraphrased sentences. The most ubiquitous words of *Du contrat social*, however, like "election," "deputy," "economy" and "pact" are so frequent that the continuity of the book diminishes the possibility of claiming one specific book as its plural text. Since the exchange of even one word in a paraphrased sentence can transform its signification, a nearly plural text can represent a substantial conceptual innovation. If Rousseau simply paraphrased other books, how do we account for the unity and coherence of *Du contrat social*?

While Rousseau rarely if ever relied upon syntactical formulas to summarize preconceived and culturally accepted ideas, his commentary and syntheses of classical and modern literature fits in with the intellectual currents of the 18th century. Although the

¹¹ Barthes, *S/Z* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1970), 12.

accumulation of structural and contextual clues amount to evidence of composition with prototypes, frequent recurrence in a vast body of literature eliminates the certainty of a correspondence between a key word and a template with the same word. As will be demonstrated, consistency of voice in Rousseau's fiction strongly, yet erroneously, suggest the extent of authorship by the exchange of words into phrases of other authors.

Since they provide structure for a passage, the emphasis of lexical patterns to obfuscate signification distinguished the emulation of reason from the voice of reason. The narrator of *Du contrat social* speaks in the vernacular to come across as a common man. He is none-the-less a specialist who redefines words. He not only creates the illusion of reason while structuring prose into a rational style, he effectively casts the confidence of readers into doubt. Although this is especially true for *Du contrat social* because of its system of principles and definitions, Rousseau noted it in *Émile*. "J'ai fait cent fois reflexion en écrivant qu'il est impossible dans un long ouvrage de donner toujours les mêmes sens aux mêmes mots."¹² When multiple redefinitions and a network of substitutions make it difficult to understand Rousseau's text as a continuous discourse, if the structure makes the passage seem organized, one tends to give Rousseau the benefit of the doubt, and trust his authority.

When words become sufficiently abstract and metaphorical, the musicality of the prose produces a sensational effect. Rousseau referred to the effect of this compositional method in *Lettre sur la musique française*.

... c'est à ces morceaux extravagants que nos femmes se pâment d'admiration; et la preuve la plus marquée que la musique française ne sait ni peindre ni parler, c'est qu'elle

¹² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Pierre Burgelin and Charles Wirz (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Essais" 1969), book II, 181.

ne peut développer le peu de beautés dont elle est susceptible que sur les paroles qui ne signifie rien.¹³

The esthetic qualities of literature excite readers emotionally. Rousseau's often repeated maxim about the beauty of an enigmatic sentence may originate in *Le premier livre* of Tacitus. "Othon, suivant le penchant qu'a l'esprit humain de s'affectionner aux opinions par leur obscurité même, prenoit tout cela pour de la science et pour des avis du destin, et Ptolomée ne manqua pas, selon la coutume, d'être l'instigateur du crime dont il avait été le Prophete."¹⁴ Readers cannot readily disagree with an opinion composed in an oracular style because they cannot be sure what the speaker meant. Instead, they tend to accept and even admire equivocal, abstract language. By extension, people have affection for orators whose speeches are inscrutable.

In the way an audience is receptive to the consonance and harmony of musical phrases, readers of complicated, rational prose, can only attach a concrete meaning to each word by rereading it slowly, and specifically interrogating the text, perhaps drawing diagrams of the principles and ideas, to evaluate its signification. Questioning the text permits readers to differentiate between allusion and signification. While mechanical composition produces favorable esthetic results, because an author can more easily substitute abstract, essentially meaningless words into a template, than specific concrete ones, the process simultaneously obviates signification. What a text gains in beauty is lost in common sense. In his Introduction to *Lettre à d'Alembert*, Michel Launay observed the attention Rousseau paid to the style and form of his prose.

¹³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique française*, ed. Catherine Kintzler (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1993), 171.

¹⁴ Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1240.

Si l'on se reporte au texte dont Jean-Jacques affirmait que l'harmonie en était détruite par la simple adjonction d'une *s* et la substitution d'un pluriel au singulier, on s'aperçoit que l'harmonie du passage en question n'est pas la traditionnelle euphonie, ni, non plus, l'allure poétique de la prose. Il s'agit d'une harmonie conforme à la définition qu'il en donnait dans ses écrits sur la musique: la véritable harmonie, celle qui "émeut le coeur et enflamme les passions," épouse "l'impression successive du discours, qui frappe à coups redoublés;" elle a pour effet premier d'accroître l'énergie du discours.¹⁵

Rousseau's minute attention to detail may have surpassed the bounds of poetics unless he intended the "s's" of plural words to be pronounced. In *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Claire related to Julie how some readers pronounced every letter of prose.

Ils semblent lire en parlant, tant ils observent bien les étymologies, tant ils font sonner toutes les Lettres avec soin. Ils articulent le *marc* du raisin comme *Marc* nom d'homme; ils disent exactement du *taba-k* et non pas du *taba*, un *pare-sol* et non pas un *parasol*, *avan-t-hier* et non pas *avanhier*, *Secrétaire* et non pas *Segretaire*, un *lac-d'amour* où l'on se noye et non pas où l'on s'étrangle; par tout les *s* finales, par tout les *r* des infinitifs; enfin leur parler est toujours soutenu, leurs discours sont des harangues, et ils jasant comme s'ils prêchoient.¹⁶

Rousseau may have objected to changes from plural to singular because in his mind, each letter was pronounced and contributed to the poetics of the *Lettre à d'Alembert*. According to Bernard

¹⁵ Michel Launay, ed., introduction to *Lettre à d'Alembert*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1967), 35.

¹⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Daniel Mornet, vol. IV (Paris: Hachette, 1925), part VI, letter V, 210-211. Derrida wrote about Rousseau's expression "lire en parlent," however he cited it from chapter V, "De l'écriture" of *Essai sur l'origine des langues*. Jacques Derrida, *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1967), 398.

Guyot, an editor of the 1961 Pléiade edition of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau was equally meticulous about the rhythm of the epistolary novel.

Fidèle à sa doctrine, pendant la correction des épreuves de *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, il sacrifie à la musique même la vérité historique et refuse de modifier une allusion aux libérateurs de la Suisse parce qu'il faut, dit-il, "que ces noms barbares passent comme un trait, et que la phrase est tellement cadencée que l'addition d'une seule syllabe en gêteroit toute l'harmonie."¹⁷

When Rousseau musically wrote texts, he did not necessarily deplete words of signification in order to give them a specific, alternative definition. To influence political decisions, it is enough for political words to be tinged with ambiguity. Either way, he accomplished a very effective form of poetic action. If songs are most beautiful and sensational when the words signify nothing, then the same holds true for prose.

In *Lettre à d'Alembert*, Rousseau cited *The Poetics* of Aristotle to criticize the confusion of truth with falsity. "Mais qu'importe la vérité de imitation, pourvu que l'illusion y soit?"¹⁸ A factually incorrect word makes a statement false whereas an equivocal one depletes a passage of specific, literal meaning. In keeping with the political themes of Rousseau's literature, an insight of Aristotle is a stepping stone to an author's ability to change the way people act with a text. "... thought and character – are the two natural causes from which actions spring..."¹⁹ Although character is pre-established, Rousseau could modify their thought by depleting a political word of signification. After reading *Du contrat social*, an 18th century bourgeois reader and subject of the Monarch, could legitimately be confused and at a loss about the meaning of the words

¹⁷ Bernard Guyon, ed., introduction to *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, in *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond and Bernard Guyon (Paris: Gallimard, "La Pléiade," 1961), LXVII.

¹⁸ Rousseau, *Lettre à d'Alembert*, ed. Launay, 82.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics*, trans. S. H. Butcher (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), chpt VI, 62.

“prince” and “sovereign,” even though Rousseau insisted upon precise, technical definitions for them.²⁰ Since songlike prose obscured the meanings of words, subjects reevaluated their submission to the king.

Rousseau used a single prototype to write multiple phrases in diverse parts of the oeuvre. Thematic similarities between texts support this hypothesis. When Rousseau repeated nearly the same phrase in two texts, critics like Genette and Gouhier attributed the syntactical construction of both to a third source. Although it is unknown whether these formulaic constructions were memorized and reproduced, or simply copied from a book, Rousseau unquestionably wrote with formulas. *Les confessions* describes his proclivity for Virgil.

Tous les matins, vers les dix heures, j’allais me promener au Luxembourg, un Virgile ou un Rousseau dans ma poche, et là, jusqu’à l’heure du dîner, je remémorais tantôt une ode sacrée et tantôt une bucolique, sans me rebuter de ce qu’en repassant celle du jour je ne manquais point d’oublier celle de la veille.²¹

If a few of Virgil’s odes and bucolics had been committed to memory, the recitation of them would seemingly influence his thinking. If Rousseau wrote something in prose after reciting the lines of an ode, it would more likely have the meter and cadence of an ode than a bucolic. His phrases would likely retain some of Virgil’s lexicon.

A statement by Julie in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* corroborates speculation about the effect of recitation upon Rousseau. Julie read Italian poetry in preparation to sing Italian music because she thought the rhythm of poetry resembled the rhythm of a song. Instead of the mechanical, systematic approach to formulaic writing, reading and recitation left a psychological residue in her mind, an almost unconscious pattern of words.

²⁰ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book II, chpt. I, 191; book III, chpt. I, 218.

²¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Jean Guéhenno (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1963) book VII, 441.

J'attribue la facilité avec laquelle j'ai pris le goût de cette musique à celui que mon frère m'avait donné pour la poésie italienne, et que j'ai si bien entretenu avec toi, que je sens aisément la cadence des vers, et qu'au dire de Regianino j'en prends assez bien l'accent. Je commence chaque leçon par lire quelques octaves de Tasse ou quelques scènes du Métastase; ensuite il me fait dire et accompagner du récitatif; et je crois continuer de parler ou de lire, ce qui sûrement ne m'arrivait pas dans le récitatif français.²²

The “octaves” do not refer to measures of pitch, like in English. They are eight line stanzas. Since reading prepares her to sing, the poetic template must be similar to the melodic one of the Italian duo. By reading verses of Torquato Tasso, the Renaissance author whose *Jerusalem Delivered* Rousseau made a partial translation, and dialogues of the plays of Pietro Metastasio, an 18th century Italian writer, she familiarizes herself with poetic and musical patterns.²³ Accordingly, the vocabulary of historical passages of *Du contrat social* bear resemblance to the vocabulary of Tacitus's *Premier livre*. The legal passages bear more similarity to legalistic authors like Montesquieu.

Earlier, lexical patterns of Rousseau's sentences were compared to those of Montesquieu. The rigor of the analogy suggested Rousseau used a process of mechanical composition, punctiliously composing in a prototype. While Julie does not compose scores by meticulously imitating structure, her process of learning rhythm and melody relates to Kintzler's observations about the principle of mechanical combination and human nature: like Rousseau, Julie does not understand music as a purely grammatical phenomenon. The same templates were used to compose poetry and music, Julie's letter suggests, yet, instead of painstakingly learning a melody

²² Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part I, letter LII, 94.

²³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Traduction du chant I de *La Jérusalem délivrée* du Tasse,” and “Olinde et Sophronie tiré du Tasse,” in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond and Jean Starobinski (Paris: Gallimard, “La Pléiade,” 1995), 1277 – 1285, 1287- 1295.

by mathematical division of the time-frame, like the syntactical analysis of literature, she learned the meter by hearing and remembering similar poetic meters.

While these chains of attribution are necessarily convoluted, and founded on hypothesis and analysis more than proof, they help lay down a fundamental notion about the conscious and subconscious composition of prose within pre-established structures. If recitation of poetry prepared Julie to sing in an Italianate manner, then the same could be true for writing prose. In a broader sense, since grammarians base the rules of grammar upon chosen precedents, an author who obeys their rules, inevitably, and usually unconsciously, arranges words according to models. To write in a prototype or an archetype, is not so much a different activity than to compose grammatically correct sentences without any intention of structural imitation, than it is a more conscious, a more controlled, and a more intentional way of arranging words into patterns.

Rousseau's education was informal. *Les confessions* provides clues to how he learned to write and support himself with literature. Although his father Isaac did not provide Jean-Jacques with a formal education on par with that of Parisian aristocrats, Jean-Jacques got a compositional head-start on them by reading novels aloud while Isaac made clocks. In addition to novels, while still at home in Switzerland, he read *Histoire de l'Église et de l'Empire* and Plutarch.²⁴ Rousseau apparently read in French while living with his father. "Nous fûmes mis ensemble à Bossey, en pension chez le ministre Lambercier, pour y apprendre avec le latin tout le menu fatras dont on l'accompagne sous le nom d'éducation."²⁵ It was not until Rousseau was 37 that he began to learn Greek.

²⁴ Jean Le Sueur, *Histoire de l'église et de l'empire depuis la naissance de Jesus Christ jusqu'à la fin du Xe siècle* (Amsterdam: Pierre Moitier, 1730).

²⁵ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Guéhenno, book I, 32.

In *La musique des lumières*, Beatrice Didier cited a 1749 letter from Rousseau to Mme de Warens about his education in Greek.²⁶ Rousseau spent 10 years writing *Le dictionnaire de musique*, Didier observed, from 1755 to 1765.²⁷ Didier listed the Greek authors cited in the “Musique” article of the *Encyclopédie*: “Chiron, Demodocus, Hermès, Orphée, Thalès, Lasus, Hermionensis, Melnippidès, Timothée, Lysandre, Diodore, etc.”²⁸ According to Didier, Rousseau was more of a specialist in Greek song than Greek instrumental music. “La musique greque, pour Rousseau, est essentiellement une musique vocale; mais, comme toute musique, elle a dégénéré à mesure que la langue est devenue plus parfaite et plus abstraite.”²⁹ Being a specialist in song, implies a knowledge of the lyrics. In addition, Rousseau thought the accents of Greek words complemented the rhythm of Greek music whereas the accents of French words detracted from French music.³⁰ Only if he read the music in Greek could he have been able him to compare the accents of Greek words to those of French. If Rousseau began learning Greek in 1749 and studied the language by reading Greek music for 16 years until 1765, when *Le dictionnaire de musique* was published, his knowledge of music would seemingly be accompanied by linguistic competence.

In “Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque,” however, Raymond Trousson asserted that in 1758, when Rousseau began to work on the *Apolocolocytosis* for the second time, he could not competently read Greek. “Le texte de Sénèque contenait un certain nombre de brefs passages en grec, inaccessibles à Rousseau.”³¹ One year earlier, he claimed to have no knowledge of the

²⁶ Béatrice Didier, *La musique des lumières: Diderot – L’Encyclopédie – Rousseau* (Paris: PUF, 1985), 43. The letter can be found in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Correspondance complète*, ed. R.A. Leigh, vol. 2 (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1965), 113.

²⁷ Béatrice Didier, *La musique des lumières: Diderot – L’Encyclopédie – Rousseau*, 42.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

³¹ Raymond Trousson, “Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque,” *Travaux de littérature offerts en hommage à Noémi Hepp* (Paris: Adirel, 1990), 141.

language.³² Rousseau only slightly revised a medieval French translation of the Greek passages that he used when working on Seneca. They remained in the text when it was posthumously published in 1782.³³ Although Rousseau needed a translation in 1758 for the *Apocolocyntosis*, *Le dictionnaire de musique* was published in 1765, leaving seven more years for him to study the language.

The theme of rhetoric in ancient history and his education in Latin may have gotten the ball rolling towards Rousseau's methods of composition. Plutarch's the "Life of Cicero" describes an orator's training in elocution with a purpose of manner. Not monotonous, fluctuations in pitch characterized Cicero's oral delivery. Delivery of a speech to the public is described as a performance. Plutarch related the physical health of Cicero to his pronunciation of Greek and Latin.

He was in fact very thin and underweight and had such a poor digestion that he could only manage to take a little light food late in the day. He had a good strong voice on the other hand, though it was harsh and untrained, and since in the violence and heat of his oratory he was always raising it very high, there was some reason for feeling anxiety about his health.³⁴

In addition to attention to high and low pitch in formal Latin, Plutarch differentiated between those who shouted and those who "knew how to speak."³⁵ Since the speakers and poets of classical times had to project their voices naturally, if their speech was not songlike, then it sounded like shouting. The influence of Plutarch's histories upon Rousseau is apparent in the musicality of his prose.

³² *Ibid.*, 140.

³³ *Ibid.*, 141.

³⁴ Plutarch, "Cicero," *Fall of the Roman Republic*, trans. Rex Warner and Robin Seager (London: Penguin, 2005), 326.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 328.

Greek and Latin are musical languages because their case systems allow for more variations and syntactical permutations than French. The ability to add conjunctions and prepositions to a line of poetry also aided classical poets in the construction of metrical and syllabic verses. A choice of synonymous adverbs and prepositions with various syllabic counts facilitates the ability to compose metrical poetry. Early Greek texts had little punctuation, only semi-colons and question marks. The absence of periods increased the fluency of writing intended for oral performance. The preponderance of accented vowels on Greek words makes their pronunciation songlike.

In *Émile*, it is only with reservations that the narrator recommends the study of Latin for young men. Latin is necessary to appreciate classical literature and to communicate effectively.³⁶ “Il faut apprendre le latin pour savoir le françois; il faut étudier et comparer l’un et l’autre pour entendre les règles de l’art de parler.”³⁷ Differences between classical and modern literature, the tutor claims, are appreciable in terms of genre: 18th century publications included dictionaries and journals whereas the ancients mostly wrote epics, political philosophy, history and drama. Although the tutor would need to instruct *Émile* in Latin, in order for him to competently speak French, he warned readers of being inebriated by classical languages. “Je veux bien que le langage de l’amour te plaise mais non pas qu’il t’égare.”³⁸ Knowledge of Latin was necessary for *Émile*; however, it was to be studied in moderation. In the same way, according to the tutor, it is more educational to have conversations with Parisian writers than to reads their books.³⁹

³⁶ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book IV, 512.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, book IV, 511.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, book IV, 513.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, book IV, 510.

As an adolescent, via simple dialogue, two priests at the Catechumen hospice in Turin taught Rousseau methods for the organization of thought. Treating ideas systematically elevated his interlocutors ability to prove a point above his own, Jean-Jacques acknowledged, “Cela faisait qu’il mettait dans sa manière d’argumenter une méthode que je ne pouvais pas suivre ...”⁴⁰ Systematic argumentation had been of interest to the precursors of the French Enlightenment. The 1662 *Avis* of Arnauld’s and Nicole’s *La logique ou l’art de penser* humorously indicates that the book was put together to teach a man, “... en quatre ou cinq jours tout ce qu’il y avait d’utile dans la logique.”⁴¹ Carrying on a religious tradition, the priests of the Catechumen hospice represent an intellectual current established by Arnauld, Nicole, Descartes and Pascal. These 17th century philosophers made significant advances in argumentation and literary methodology. Pascal wrote more about questions of technique as they applied to persuasion, whereas Descartes wanted to systematically verify knowledge. That philosophies of mechanical composition were not new to the Enlightenment is apparent in *De la méthode* which compares the construction of a machine to the organization of ideas.

Their philosophies about persuasion, definitions, principles, substitutions and mechanisms none-the-less culminate in the literary style of *Du contrat social*. The lyrical prose and loosely methodical ways of *Les confessions* mark a transformation of attitude about systems in the works of Rousseau. A very rigorous method results in the rational style. Emulation of too many sources could be detrimental to the flow of literature. The narrative fluency of *Les confessions* and its peripatetic content implicitly make this admission. Less rational and less philosophical, Rousseau’s memoirs do not attempt to appropriate structures from classical literature in order influence governmental systems or otherwise arrogate power from authority.

⁴⁰ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Guéhenno, book II, 111.

⁴¹ Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, *Logique de Port-Royal*, ed. Charles Jourdain (Paris: Hachette, 1861), 1.

Methods of systematic composition were learnt by exercises such as translation and from teachers. Rousseau identified the method of the priests in Turin with Catholicism; and, he learned Latin from the Protestant minister Lambercier. He imitated their procedures with professional objectives.⁴² Knowledge could be taken from books and composed in a poetic, songlike way to appeal to bourgeois readers. Necessity for shelter may have motivated Rousseau's confinement at the Catechumen hospice. What he learned from the priests laid the foundations for his literary output. "... quelque religion qui fût la vraie, j'allais vendre la mienne."⁴³ *Les confessions* tell of Rousseau's repudiation of his Protestant heritage followed by an incorrect baptism. Although mistakes of protocol and procedure invalidated his conversion, he thought the performativity of literary sentences was universal. Rousseau's intent to sell his religion, first by pragmatic conversion, then by application to literature of communicative methods he learned from priests and ministers, depended upon readers who would be receptive to it. The oeuvre required that he balance difficult procedures of stylistic imitation with rational thought and personal emotion.

The formalism of 18th century philosophers

Ernst Cassirer down played thematic concerns for 18th century esthetics and elevated in *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* the importance of formalism.⁴⁴ "The real emphasis now falls more and more on the expression than the content of the thought."⁴⁵ According to Cassirer, two dominant philosophies came together and mixed during the 18th century, rationalism and

⁴² Incidentally, Rousseau's familiarity with Aurelius Augustine was from Le Sueur's engravings, not Augustine's *Confessions* of 397-401 A.D. Rousseau's autobiography also has another French predecessor: Théodore Agrippa D'Aubigné, *Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy*, *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Eug. Réaume and De Caussade (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1877), 275-373.

⁴³ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Guéhenno, book II, 107.

⁴⁴ Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 275 – 360.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 301.

empiricism. Rationalists define principles and establish truths with mathematics and reason. Writers and artists could none-the-less hide the truth in esthetic works. In other words, they could make the truth metastasize into many conflicting truths. The content of thought became tinged with irrelevancy to formalists because individual words and facts have vastly different significations. Depending upon their arrangement into arguments, the same elements of content produced different truths. Since virtuoso philosophers could argue both sides of a point, the style of expression took on greater proportions. Empiricists, by contrast, rely upon observation and description to make hypotheses and scientifically test them.

Due to its fluctuations and progressions, critics cannot come to a consensus about the importance of literary structure to Enlightenment philosophers. Cassirer called the problems of lexical binary and the transformation from truth to truths “subjectivism.”⁴⁶ Paradoxically, Enlightenment philosophers, Jean-Jacques Rousseau following the lead of others such as Pierre Bayle and John Locke, brought about the subjectivism of reason with formal esthetics. Structuring ideas with a mathematical and rational form, Cassirer held, came to two ends: the estheticism of philosophers produced doubt about the relationship of ideas to reality, and eventually, philosophers like Dubos turned to sentimentalism.⁴⁷ We know that Rousseau emulated many Latin and Greek authors. Although form was important to Enlightenment writers, it was less important to most of them than to writers of antiquity. According to Peter Gay, “One consequence, on the whole a fortunate one for the Enlightenment, was that the philosophes were less obsessed by form than the ancients.”⁴⁸ Trends of 18th century theater coincide with Gay’s observation about philosophy. After the verse drama of Voltaire, Marivaux

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 303.

⁴⁸ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, The Rise of Modern Paganism*, vol. I (New York: Norton, 1966), 191.

wrote one and three act plays in prose. Unlike *Le mariage de Figaro* and *Le Barbier de Séville*, plays in verse by Beaumarchais, Marivaux did not rigorously stick to unity of time and place, traditional, Aristotelian theatrical forms.

Principles of classical rhetoric generally affected 18th century literary style without dominating it. As in the work of Beaumarchais and Marivaux who wrote in verse, the esthetic tastes of the period entailed intricate processes and yet were a liberation from oppressive form. *La prose nombreuse* is one such case. The prose of authors who could emulate the philosophical sentences of Socrates and Cicero was called “numerical” because its harmony corresponded to mathematical principles.

Le *nombre* pouvait entrer aussi dans la prose des Anciens; et ils disaient que le style était *nombreux*, lorsque certains pieds, certains mesures s’y rencontraient habilement disposés, ou lorsqu’on savait y combiner savamment et à propos les brèves et les longues, enfin et surtout, lorsque la chute de la période se faisait d’une manière harmonieuse.⁴⁹

Although this definition is from a 19th century dictionary, it pertains to a description of numerical prose written more than a century earlier. An anonymous article in the *Mercure de France*, “Lettre à M. sur la Poésie française” from November 1737 compares numerical prose to French poetry on the grounds that authors of both do syllabic counts.⁵⁰ The *Mercure de France* made an analogy between the rhythm of numerical prose and waves of the ocean.⁵¹ The author emphasized the patience and time it took to compose “des Vers sans rime.”⁵² “... mais les Auteurs qui travaillent leurs Ouvrages, qui comptent leurs mots et non pas leurs feuillets, font de

⁴⁹ Th. Bachelet and Ch. Dezobry, “Nombre,” *Dictionnaire général des lettres, des beaux arts, et des sciences*, vol. 2 (Paris: Dezobry & Tandou, 1862), 1311.

⁵⁰ Anonymous, *Mercure de France* (Paris: Cavelier, Pissot, de Nully, 1737), 2382-2383.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2388.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 2393.

la prose nombreuse, et ils le savent bien: ...”⁵³ Like the *Dictionnaire général des lettres, des beaux arts, et des sciences*, the *Mercure de France* also attributed the style to Cicero.⁵⁴

Philosophers can distort the truth with subjective logic. A painter can distort reality, and even produce a *trompe l’oeil* with the rules of perspective and color. Visual deception makes an object in the foreground or background appear smaller or larger than in reality. Likewise, an object appears different in water than it does in air. According to Plato’s *Republic*, natural illusions are the counterpart of artistic illusions.

And the same things appear bent and straight when viewed in water and out of it, and again, both concave and convex through wandering of vision about colors. Indeed, scene painting is nothing short of witchcraft in exploiting this affection of our nature, and so is conjuring and many other devices of the sort.⁵⁵

Although a person can be mistaken in their observation of nature and in their understanding of esthetic works, with the advent of empiricism, 18th century philosophers especially used subjectivism to cast a shadow of untruth onto rationalism.

The philosophical dialogue about lexical binary that is manifest in the rational style of formalists amounted to a referendum on truth. As is implied by Cassirer’s account of Bouhours, a critic and philosopher of thought, the use of logic to create an “aesthetic illusion,” simultaneously increased the appeal of empiricism.⁵⁶ Since a philosophical argument could

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 2393.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2393.

⁵⁵ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. R. E. Allen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), book X, 336. Chambry’s interpretation of γοητεία: witchcraft or delusion is less accusatory than Allen’s. “Et les mêmes objets paraissent brisés ou droits, selon qu’on les regarde dans l’eau ou hors de l’eau, concaves ou convexes suivant une autre illusion visuelle produite par les couleurs, et il est évident que tout cela jette le trouble dans notre âme. C’est à cette infirmité de notre nature que la peinture ombrée, l’art du charlatan et cent autres inventions du même genre s’adressent et appliquent tous les prestiges de la magie.” Platon, *La république, Oeuvres complètes*, trans. Émile Chambry, vol. VII (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1943 – 1946), book X, 95. Obviously, it is more dangerous to be accused of witchcraft (Allen) than of charlatanism (Chambry).

⁵⁶ Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Koelln and Pettegrove, 302.

prove the same principle true or false, the empirical philosophers of the Enlightenment placed their trust in human observation. The formal prose of books like *Du contrat social*, which obscured the meaning of simple words, inclined readers to seek truth for themselves, via observation, description and evaluation. In *Émile*, the Man of Reason makes an argument for a philosophical middle ground when he asks the Inspired Man: “Et de quel genre seront vos preuves pour me convaincre qu’il est plus certain que Dieu me parle par votre bouche que par l’entendement qu’il m’a donné?”⁵⁷ Rousseau’s depiction of the Inspired Man as a person who would make logical proofs, is not surprising, since, as Henri Gouhier observed, Rousseau had a strong opinion about the historical inclusion of Aristotle and Plato in church doctrine.⁵⁸ Cassirer’s description of the philosophical and esthetic course from rationalism to empiricism and sentimentalism is apparent in the attitudes of *Du contrat social* and *Émile*. According to Rousseau, observers of nature and readers of philosophy can compare the truth of various perspectives to arrive at the conclusion most beneficial or pragmatic for them.

Sensations Rousseau identified with lexical arrangements provided another compulsion to compose with archetypes and prototypes. For this method to function, patterns of words would have to affect humans with a power the Greeks ascribed to music. The measure of a march with a fife and a snare drum can be made to sound bellicose; a song sung with a harp can be more lyrical; and yet another score is festive. Plutarch wrote about this relationship of music and battle in the history of Lycurgus.

In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the

⁵⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, ed. Michel Launay (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), book IV, 392.

⁵⁸ Henri Gouhier, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1970), 194-195.

accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes, he will conclude that Terpander and Pindar were right in associating valour with music.⁵⁹

Plutarch thought the flute and the harp made soldiers courageous and aggressive. Instead of instruments, lexical patterns caught Rousseau's attention. Many Enlightenment philosophers, in fact, made the connection between musical composition and states of mind.

Rousseau read the works of his contemporaries who were interested in the nature of music and its reception. In the Pléiade edition of *Lettre sur la musique française* and *Examen de deux principes avancés par M. Rameau*, Olivier Pot noted the interests of Rameau and Marmontel in the punctuation of musical phrases. Rameau published a book about music in 1726 and Marmontel, another in 1759.⁶⁰ The first edition of Rousseau's *Lettre sur la musique française* was published in 1753, situating it in the same era. Rousseau cited Rameau as a source. "Je me souvins alors d'avoir lu dans quelque ouvrage de M. Rameau que chaque consonance a son caractère particulier, c'est-à-dire une manière d'affecter l'ame qui lui est propre; que l'effet de la tierce n'est point le même que celui de la quinte, ni l'effet de la quarte le même que celui de la sixte."⁶¹ While Rousseau seriously analyzed the physical qualities of sound, he thought too much attention to musical theory limited the freedom of musicians to express emotions. A calculating mind produced French music whereas Italian music was more passionate. As much as Rousseau praised the feeling of Italian music, comparison of his literature to his sources demonstrates his understanding of the complex tonalities of lexical patterns.

⁵⁹ Plutarch, "Lycurgas," *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Perrin, vol. I, 273.

⁶⁰ Pot, ed., *Lettre sur la musique française*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Pot, 294 nn. 1, 2.

⁶¹ Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique française*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Pot, 312.

If sounds have individual characters and specific sensational effects, then the same was true for literary musicality. Rousseau's admiration for the feeling of music and acknowledgement of its theory coincides with the more rational style of *Du contrat social* and the more sentimental style of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Les confessions*. Although he found them restrictive, to some extent Rousseau's methods of writing borrowed from Rameau's philosophy of sensation. Rousseau did not only imitate the *Le premier livre* because it would make readers associate his texts with the authority of Tacitus, but because the rhythm and the meter of *Le premier livre* communicated sensations he wanted the readers to feel.

Rousseau probably read about meter and emotional states when studying *The Laws* of Plato. According to an Introduction to *The Laws* by Auguste Diès and Louis Gernet, Plato attributed moral characteristics to musical composition. The musical theory of Plato likely influenced Rameau.

Il y a, en effet, des mélodies qui sont, plus que d'autres, expressives des affections de l'âme, et celles qui exprimeraient des affections non vertueuses sont évidemment à rejeter du programme.⁶²

The Laws is about education, so when Diès and Gernet wrote "programme," they meant "curriculum." According to Rameau, sounds themselves had character. Plato ascribed virtue and vice to melodies, as if the character of a musician would naturally resonate in his arrangements. Part of Rousseau's genius was his ability to imitate patterns of words to make otherwise insipid ideas sound innocent or dangerous.

While *The Laws* unites musical patterns with moral frames of mind, *The Republic* makes the next step, relating forms of music to literature. The Greek word *ποιέω* from which

⁶² Auguste Diès and Louis Gernet, introduction to *Les lois, Oeuvres complètes*, by Platon, ed. Édouard Des Places, vol. XI (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951), LXI.

grammarians derive “poet” and linguists get “poetry” most frequently translates as “to make.” Dialogues about specialists and generalists between Adeimantus, Glaucon and Socrates illustrates the similarity of poets and musicians. Socrates and Adeimantus extend poets into the discussion of instructors of children and teachers of soldiers. Since poets imitate the diction of specific characters and emotional states, such as a brave diction or a lamenting tone, when any teacher speaks, his pronunciation expresses inner feelings such as anxiety, anguish, anger and contempt. “Now, all poets, and indeed everyone who says anything, fall into one pattern of diction or the other, or combine something from both.”⁶³ The terms tutor, poet and musician are nearly interchangeable in these dialogues because each of them exemplified correct diction and musical forms appropriate to their lessons and performances. Rousseau reiterated this concept in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, when Julie read Italian poetry to get in the swing of Italian music.

The dialogue about poets leads into Plato’s discussion of musicians because the verse forms of fables and songs are metrical. Glaucon used the word “modes” to signify styles of music dependent upon chords and chord progressions.⁶⁴ Since melodies and rhythms affected students, the rulers selected teachers upon the type of poetry they knew, the primary qualification being whether they could inspire aggression in the face of danger or diminish resistance to reason. Glaucon’s tribe praised poets who could imitate both Homeric characters and others, and then sent them away, whereas they kept less versatile poets as teachers.⁶⁵

And leave me again another mode, that of a man engaged in peaceful action, action not constrained but voluntary, either persuading someone and asking for something, or praying to a god or instructing and admonishing a man, or conversely, submitting himself

⁶³ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Allen, book III, 85.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, book III, 86-87.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, book III, 85-86.

to instruction or persuasion by another, and in consequence acting reasonably and without arrogance but with temperate restraint in all this, and accepting of the outcome.⁶⁶

Plutarch's opinion of Spartan poetry resembles the gist of the passage from *The Republic*. The Greeks thought the pronunciation of words and the rhythms of songs could ignite the flames of imprudence and valor among soldiers. Other forms of song and discourse prepared audiences to listen to reason and submit to authority.

Plato's philosophy about the imitation of diction and rhythm establish a reason for Rousseau to compose with mechanical techniques. Scholars generally agree that the prose of Rousseau is musical; and his literature consistently asks political questions and takes up social issues. Did he consciously or unconsciously imitate the rhythms of *Le premier livre*, like the modes described by Glaucon and Socrates, by replicating the lexical structure of Tacitus to affect readers in one way or another? Tacitus was a historian. The imitation of his narrative tone would make Rousseau's prose sound reliable, knowledgeable and authoritative. The sincerity of *Du contrat social's* narrator has its origins in the manner of Tacitus. As well as the cadences, Rousseau's precise definitions of words, and their ambiguity in certain contexts, can be traced to the era when he translated *Le premier livre*.

Structural composition resembled writing verse and doing translations because Rousseau reconfigured ideas into a predetermined textual pattern. The rules of meter and rhyme traditionally govern the expressions of poets. As a translator of Tacitus, Rousseau rearranged words from the syntactical and grammatical system of Latin to that of French and selected French words to convey the same register of language. Due to its concision and simplicity, lexical patterns are especially apparent in the prose of *Le premier livre*.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, book III, 87.

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
Mais <u>l'émotion</u> n'étoit pas la même dans toutes <u>les Légions</u> . Il régnoit un si grand	
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
trouble dans <u>la première</u> et dans <u>la cinquième</u> , que quelques-uns jetterent des	
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
pierres aux images de Galba. <u>La quinzième</u> et <u>la seizième</u> , sans aller au-delà du	
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
<u>murmure</u> et des <u>menaces</u> , cherchoient le moment de commencer la révolte. ⁶⁷	

Unyielding composition with pairs of words raises questions about the historical reliability of *Le premier livre*. We know from this passage that there were at least sixteen legions. If a “grand trouble reigned” in fewer or more than two legions, the first and the fifth, he could not have stated it so succinctly. If members of the first and fifth legions attempted to vandalize images of Galba, how likely is it that only the members of the fifteenth and sixteenth legions vocalized their discontent and were attentive to the possibility of a revolution?

The use of numbers in prose increases its formulaic quality because Tacitus could have substituted other numbers into the sentence and it may have still been factually correct. If members of the fourteenth as well as the fifteenth and sixteenth legions were whispering criticism of Galba, Tacitus could not include the fourteenth and maintain the same rhythm. Even if Tacitus does not write comprehensive history, he composed in the manner of historians who have thoroughly evaluated the material: the structure of *Le premier livre* produces an authoritative narrative tone because the structure reinforces the conceptual distance between the historian and the facts.

Only comparative analysis of the events produces the type of historical knowledge that would put Tacitus in a position to articulate the details in exact lexical patterns. The

⁶⁷ Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1256.

recognizable, syntactical patterns of *Le premier livre* were observed by Delamarre who cited Juste-Lipse.

Ce n'est pas seulement une histoire, c'est comme un champ qu'il sème de sentences et de préceptes politiques, sans que pour cela il interrompe jamais l'ordre et la suite de sa narration, semblable à ceux qui brodent des étoffes, lesquels entremêlent si adroitement les perles et les diamants avec l'or et la soie, que tout y est placé sans confusion.⁶⁸

The prose of *Du contrat social*, like the passages of *Le premier livre* cited above seem to be the culmination of a process of preparation: graphs, charts, definitions of key words, comparisons, lists and outlines.

The tone of Tacitus is lofty without being encumbered by an esoteric vocabulary.

Following the example of *Le premier livre*, Rousseau was a common sense philosopher. Instead of coining terms that sound like jargon, *Du contrat social* creates a technical vocabulary by redefining common words. When Rousseau emulated the formulaic, numerical style, instead of numbers, he juxtaposed words with very different meanings as if they were nearly synonymous. The structure for the following sentence is: "The members of the body are called 1 or 2, which is to say 3, and the entire body has the name 4." "Les membres de ce corps s'appellent Magistrats ou Rois, c'est-à-dire Gouverneurs, et le corps entier porte le nom de Prince."⁶⁹ Rousseau's unique definition of sovereignty as the general will places any individual who makes sovereign acts in a position subordinate to the people.⁷⁰ Although emulation of the narrative voice of a historian required an arduous process, Rousseau was able to write ironically with it. Of all the names he could have used for the body of government officials, he must have foreseen that redefining "the Prince" to mean "civil servants" would be divisive.

⁶⁸ Juste-Lipse, cited by Louis Delamarre, *Tacite et la littérature française* (Paris: Bonvalot-Jouve, 1907), 68.

⁶⁹ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book III, chpt. I, 218.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. I, 190.

A musical theorist and professional copyist of sheet music, Rousseau was attentive to the relationship between sound and emotion. Rousseau's scores are meticulously neat and artistic. Although the occupation of copying music does not produce original work, it entailed the transposition of notes and lines. According to the entry "Copiste" in *Dictionnaire de musique*, it was the responsibility of the copyist to correct the mistakes of previous copies.⁷¹ It is not surprising that for Rousseau, copying sheet music required interpretation, and was an opportunity for him to clarify and perfect the material. According to its definition, only a musician could competently transpose a score into a new *paratext*.

Il y a bien des intermédiaires entre ce que le Compositeur imagine et ce qu'entendent les Auditeurs. C'est au *Copiste* de rapprocher ces deux termes le plus qu'il est possible, d'indiquer avec clarté tout ce qu'on doit faire pour que la Musique exécutée rende exactement à l'oreille du Compositeur ce qui s'est peint dans sa tête en la composant.⁷²

Rousseau suggested that composers are not necessarily competent in the craft of musical notation: the symbols they mark on the page do not always correspond with the signification they intended. As in "De la mélodie" of *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, the *Dictionnaire de musique* metaphorically compares sounds to the images of paintings. The composer imagines specific sounds and "paints" a signification for each musical phrase. The scores described in *Le dictionnaire de musique* sound as if they were unfinished, either leaving leeway for personal adaptations or direct, verbal communication from the director. To a degree, the binary formalism of musical copying resembles translation because the copyist intends to reproduce an original work and at the same time modifies the work.

⁷¹ Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, Eigeldinger, Baud-Bovy, *et al.*, 739.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 742.

In 18th century music, rhythm and melody were two very different things. The first depends upon the symbolic division of time upon a horizontal axis; whereas musical copyists delineate the second, pitch, upon a vertical axis. These two qualities, rhythm and accent, were still considered to be inherent to poetic work. The accents of diction and the syllabic meter can be derived from poetry written in verse without a score. According to Rousseau's *L'origine de la mélodie*, rhythm and melody were also usually one and the same thing in Greek and Latin music.

Que le rythme ou la mesure fut une des parties constitutives de la melodie, c'est ce qui se déduit de la seule notion de cette mélodie qui n'étoit que l'expression forte, soutenue, et appréciée de l'accent grammatical et oratoire: car cet accent ne consistoit pas moins dans la *durée relative* des sons que dans leurs degrés et le nombre n'y étoit pas moins essentiel que l'intonation.⁷³

The diction and the modes Glaucon discussed with Socrates were the same for poets and musicians. In the context of Rousseau's *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique*, the numerical system of musical notation did not make an indication of rhythm. Although pitch and rhythm of speech are conventional and depend upon regions and eras, according to Rousseau, melody and rhythm in Greek music had metaphysical qualities.⁷⁴

The entry "Composition" of the *Dictionnaire de musique* evaluates how composers employ the rules of harmony. Since those of music and literature are derived from models, musicians and writers could imitate one and another by studying the same sources. Rousseau specifically compared the musical rules of harmony to oratorical rules of grammar: "... mais avec les seules règles de l'Harmonie on n'est pas plus près de savoir la *Composition*, qu'on ne

⁷³ Rousseau, *L'origine de la mélodie*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Duchez, 336.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 336.

l'est d'être un Orateur avec celles de la Grammaire."⁷⁵ In spite of them, according to Rousseau, feelings give rise to musical beauty. "Tous nos Artistes savent le remplissage, à peine en avous-nous qui sachent la *Composition*."⁷⁶ While the filling-in of musical prototypes provides composers a simple way to imitate the structures of a musical phrases, unless they add personal sentiment, according to Rousseau's tastes, the music lacks beauty.

The Enlightenment trend of imitating patterns of words from established texts came into disfavor among some critics in the 19th century. Pierre Fontanier argued for the recognition of a French style independent of foreign influences. His *Les figures du discours*, a style manual, established criteria for a literary taste specific to the French language. Arranged like an encyclopedia of literary terms with examples and citations from canonical literature, it was published between 1821 and 1830, and subtitled, "Éléments de la science du sens des mots."⁷⁷ While *Les figures du discours* represented a different literary taste, it is a continuation of the scientific and progressive spirit of the Enlightenment.⁷⁸ Fontanier divided the manual into two parts: the first is about tropes, or turns of phrase; the second is about non-tropes or what he called figures of construction, figures of elocution, figures of style and figures of thought.

In principle, prototypal theories relate to the discussion of formulaic writing in two ways, on the small scale and on the grand scale. Rousseau rewrote sentences of other authors to reproduce rhythmic or otherwise musical patterns of words. He also emulated rhetorical structures to capture poetic effects. Like a model sentence with a desired order of arrangement, literary devices and figures of speech can be understood as systems of substitution. If a few words or a turn of phrase can be identified as a rhetorical structure, Fontanier classified them by

⁷⁵ Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, Eigeldinger, Baud-Bovy, et al., 720.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 720.

⁷⁷ Gérard Genette, introduction to *Les figures du discours*, by Pierre Fontanier (Paris: Flammarion, 1977), 6.

⁷⁸ Fontanier, *Les figures du discours*, 19.

their effects, their nature and appropriateness in French literature. To express something metaphorically, for example, a word that literally signifies a thing is exchanged for a word that only represents it in some way, like scepter for king. In the same vein, other critics since Fontanier, such as Genette and Charles, are of the opinion that literary production in general involves rewriting, and that for instance every sonnet can be considered the rewriting of another sonnet, or an ideal sonnet. Since longer texts, like translations and adaptations of plays and novels are also imitations of entire pieces, even a genre such as a dramatic comedy or the epistolary novel can be comprehended from the perspective of substitution.

Fontanier's definition of a "discours," limited the length of a construction to about a sentence. While his approach to writing about literature was modern and ostensibly scientific, the rigor of the treatment stands in contrast to a metaphysical conception of human understanding. The mechanics of words in sentences and their definitions in dictionaries set up a physical line for the transmission of meaning from the book to readers. At the same time the brain is attentive to the "intelligence du corps," readers must balance the literal meaning with that of the "intelligence de l'âme."⁷⁹ However orderly a writer is, and however much command he has over the language, meaning is inevitably lost and obscured. To complete any "discours" of writer, readers evaluate it with their own reason, sentiment, taste and judgment.⁸⁰ For Fontanier, the word "discours" was much more limited than for Enlightenment authors such as Rousseau. Judging from the titles of some of Rousseau's works, Rousseau thought of a discourse as an essay prepared as if to be read standing face to face with an audience. To avoid uncertainty and confusion, in the 19th century, a "discourse" was principally a very small part of a text, in fact, the smallest part that still had identifiable characteristics.

⁷⁹ Fontanier, *Les Figures du discours*, 63.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

Non pas un ouvrage entier, si court d'ailleurs qu'on le suppose; non pas même une suite, un enchaînement de phrases ou de périodes sur un même sujet; mais une phrase ou une période exprimant une pensée à-peu-près entière et complète en elle-même, quoique tenant peut-être à d'autres pensées qui précèdent ou qui suivent.⁸¹

In his vast compendium of information about the literary conventions of rewriting, Genette focused on Fontanier in *Palimpsestes*. Genette's brief summary of Fontanier's chapter "Des figures de construction" which includes the entry "Imitation" is most pertinent to the theory of archetypes and prototypes. There are three variations: adding words to a construction, subtracting words from it and modifying the arrangement of words without deleting any of them.⁸² Since each of the possibilities entails an author making some difference to a lexical model, we can assume that whenever an author rewrites a text from the distance of another era, regardless of their differences, the two authors are somehow essentially melded.

Imitation, or technically mimeses, was important to Aristotle. A fundamental concept of *The Poetics*, writers imitate specific language and events whether they originate in experience or other poetry. Prototypical sentences provide an effective way for playwrights to allude to the language of previous playwrights and lay claim to their effects. Aristotle wrote:

So, again, if we take a strange (or rare) word, a metaphor, or any similar mode of expression, and replace it by the current or proper term, the truth of our observation will be manifest. For example, Aeschylus and Euripides each composed the same iambic line. But the alteration of a single word by Euripides, who employed the rarer term instead of the ordinary one, makes one verse appear beautiful and the other trivial.⁸³

⁸¹ Fontanier, *Les figures du discours*, 279.

⁸² Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), 97.

⁸³ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics*, trans. Butcher, chpt XXII, 103.

In the vocabulary of this dissertation, Euripides composed a sentence in a prototype of Aeschylus. The pattern of words was the same and as Aristotle commented, both sentences were in the colloquial, spoken form of an iamb.

Since Fontanier organized *Les figures du discours* into categories of literary forms such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, personification, allegory, allusion, metalepsis, irony, dialogism, and periphrasis, the precise nature of the undertaking enabled him to redefine “imitation” itself as a literary construction.⁸⁴ First and foremost, imitation is “... une construction qui n’est plus d’usage.”⁸⁵ According to Fontanier’s tastes, when a French author fills in the blanks of foreign prototypes, especially from languages whose case system allows for more syntactical variations than French, the author’s exaggerated imitation of unusual arrangements of words is most suitable to genres that caricature imitation. His attitude about imitation is a reaction against the literary formalism of the Enlightenment. Due to the resemblance of *Les figures du discours* to *The Poetics*, the entry “Imitation” is an ironic rejection of methodologies similar to Rousseau’s.

Grammatical rules define the acceptability of some patterns of words, convention defines others. Although many foreign lexical constructions are not syntactically incorrect, the norms and regulations of good taste render them inappropriate for all but the most sober usage. Fontanier distinguished the syntax of a sentence from its construction. The rules of syntax determine agreement between parts of speech. To give an example of a literary convention dependent upon lexical arrangements, with rare exceptions, the subject precedes the verb in declarative sentences of French prose. If a French novelist regularly wrote sentences in which verbs preceded subjects, the unconventionality of the syntax would sound like a form of parody.

⁸⁴ Fontanier, *Les figures du discours*, 288-293.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 288.

Types of constructions can be imputed to styles and ascribed to genres.⁸⁶ Figures of speech that Fontanier classified as constructions are identifiable by a physical difference in the arrangement of words instead of a difference in signification, like tropes. Syntactical inversion is the most common literary construction, and although frequent in 17th and 18th century works by Racine and Voltaire, to Fontanier, literary inversions seemed ornamental. According to *Les figures du discours*, figures of construction have a foundational yet misunderstood place in literature. Misuse of them resulted in very severe, negative judgments, making the literature of Racine, Voltaire and Rousseau beacons of unacceptability. As well as inversion, appositions are figures of construction. Greek and Latin authors composed appositions by stating a name followed by a comma, then a very brief, terse statement of information: “Homère, le poète des poètes, Ciceron, le prince des orateurs romains.”⁸⁷ Another construction is pleonasm, such as seeing it with my own eyes, my very own eyes, which, according to Fontanier was to be expelled from French prose because of its redundancy and because it did not fit in with the national character of French literature.⁸⁸ The ellipse as well as some more esoteric constructions, attracted less opprobrium than inversions and pleonasms because they are harder to identify and characterize.

Fontanier’s comparison of texts to buildings elucidates the notion of a construction. “C’est en effet par cet assemblage que s’élève, se forme, et enfin se *construit* l’espèce d’édifice dont le discours nous offre l’image.”⁸⁹ Instead of attributing the greatness of art to the artist, as Rousseau did to the person who combined mastery of artistic rules with emotional expression, Fontanier attributed greatness and beauty to languages and regions. The genius of the language

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 299-300.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 283.

and the genius of taste make some constructions acceptable in one language and unacceptable in French. Fontanier defined the style of good French by excluding the imitation of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, English or German.⁹⁰ If a critic could attribute the pattern of words to a foreign language, then the literature broke the stylistic code of acceptable French.

Fontanier designated Marot as a literary scape goat, an author who wrote with archaic sentence constructions and unusual vocabulary.⁹¹ In principle, if one author has a characteristic turn of phrase or a linguistic affectation, like Marot did, then another author can apostrophize him by formulating words in his manner. Fontanier gave two examples of *Marotisme*, one by Voltaire, the other by J.-B. Rousseau. Readers do not know if Fontanier meant Jehan Marot, who lived from 1463 to 1523, or his son, Clément Marot, who lived from 1496 to 1544 because Fontanier did not cite either of them.⁹² Stackelberg and Trousson have shown that Jean-Jacques Rousseau conscientiously imitated the lexical patterns of Tacitus in his translation of *Le premier livre*. Their binary quality which transferred into Rousseau's literature would be considered *Marotique*.

One case of *Marotism* which is frequent in Roman literature is an arrangement that depends upon the division of qualities into singular and plural. In the following sentence, “désirs” is plural whereas “bonheur” is singular. Fontanier simplified Delille's Latinate, “Commun sont nos désirs, notre bonheur commun” to a correct French expression, “Nos désirs sont communs.”⁹³ Voltaire's Latinate or inverted word-order and unusual vocabulary also qualify as a *Marotisme*. “Fit sans billet sa visite connaître” and the use of the word “confabuler”

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁹¹ Cf. Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré*, 98.

⁹² Louis XII protected Jehan Marot who wrote *Le voyage de Gênes* and *Le voyage de Venise*. Clément Marot is known today for *Recueil inédit offert au connétable de Montmorency en Mars 1538*. Clément Marot was imprisoned and exiled for religious reasons. By comparison, the Protestant Martin Luther lived from 1483 to 1546; John Calvin from 1509 to 1564.

⁹³ Fontanier, *Les figures du discours*, 289.

are deemed archaic.⁹⁴ Voltaire's style resonates with informal genres of the "conte, l'épigramme, l'épître badine, etc."⁹⁵ Despite his preeminence, the *Marotisme* of Voltaire qualified these pieces as antiquated literature, out of fashion.

Although it became distasteful in the 19th century to write one sentence with a prototype of Marot, theoretically a complete text could be composed with a generative grammar of Marot. If an editor were to rephrase Jehan Marot's *Le voyage de Venise* into conventional, novelistic prose, similar to the way D'Alembert translated Tacitus, an author could then use the edited version as a prototype. A French work could be written in imitation of a modernized *Le Voyage de Venise* without sounding archaic.

From practicing composition by translating *Le premier livre* to emulating the tone of Tacitus in *Du contrat social*, there is the elevation and descent of reason. On one side, reason of the mind is the individual's ability to process information gathered by the senses. The literary qualities that produce reason of the mind are organization, concision and short, active sentences. On the other side, the equivocal significations of vocabulary, especially when an author methodically splits words with logical patterns, allow pragmatic reason to function. This reason is a construction and can be called the rational style. Its prose sounds like the expression of clarity or insight, although when made with a prototype and abstract words, the complexity and frustrating simplicity of the interworking parts tend to set the author on a rung above the reader. The latter accepts the former as an authority without fully comprehending the information.

Among Greek philosophers, concentration on diction and cadences was an integral element of musical and rhetorical education. This included the oral presentation of instructors to their pupils as well as the oral performances of poets and politicians. *Le Dictionnaire de*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 292.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 292.

musique offers an alternative approach to binary composition with the explanation of *remplissage*, an essentially grammatical method of writing music that Rousseau claimed was unable to reproduce human emotion. The benefit of *remplissage* is its formalism which emphasizes style and taste over content.

These arguments are intended to demonstrate the binary of literary structure which preceded Rousseau and was unique to his works. The historical scope shows that authors have repeated similar ideas with similar lexical patterns for hundreds, even thousands of years. Political ideas culminated in Tacitus, Montesquieu and Rousseau because each of them had their own slant: historical, legalistic and literary. As close as Rousseau was to a near contemporary or a distant author, his appropriation of ideas, and reformulation of them, sparked fierce debate about his originality and the subjects themselves.

Chapter 3

Julius Caesar and Julie de Wolmar

The method of writing with archetypes and prototypes was a conscientious imitation of canonical authors. To put a writer's structure into a work entailed repeating and altering their ideas and reflecting upon their texts. Prototypal composition with classical models has implications for literary history. The rationality of Enlightenment authors is most frequently attributed to classical influence. The consensus has been that later in the century Romantic authors quit imitating the grammatical structures of heroes and statesmen from antiquity. Since emotion does not require models, the lyricism of the Romantics is thought to be derived from individual feeling. In his seminal work of 1925, *J.-J. Rousseau: La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Daniel Mornet emphasized this opinion: "Encore une fois, c'est de lui-même que son roman est sorti tout entier."¹ Without denying personal identity and natural sources of emotion, classical models do exist for Rousseau's sentimental literature. Rousseau probably first read the stories of Caius Julius Caesar in *The Lives* of Plutarch. When writing *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau transferred the political abstraction of Tacitus to a sentimental theme and he simultaneously imitated the declarations of friendship between Caesar and his Swiss counterparts, and their eventual weeping, as described in book I of *The Gallic War*.

Rousseau is believed to have almost exclusively composed *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* between 1756 and 1761, when he and Thérèse Levasseur lived at the Hermitage. The novel, which was a great financial success, would have taken about five years of regular work. During this time, in 1758, Rousseau published the *Lettre à D'Alembert*, his condemnation of comedians

¹ Daniel Mornet, ed., vol. I of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (Paris: Hachette, 1925), 99. Note: part I of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* begins in volume II of Mornet's Hachette edition. Since the entirety of volume I is authored by Mornet, Rousseau's name is not in the bibliographical information.

and luxury. Jean le Rond D'Alembert's encyclopedia article "Genève," to which Rousseau was responding, provides evidence that the histories of Caesar were traditionally read in the 18th century. "Jules-César parle de *Genève* comme d'une ville des Allobroges, alors province romaine; il y vint pour s'opposer au passage des Helvétiens, qu'on a depuis appelés *Suisses*."² Both authors wrote about the government of Geneva by weighing the economic advantages and disadvantages of its citizens and inhabitants. Geneva was unique because it was governed by bourgeoisie, not nobles. The political power lay in the hands of people who resided in the stone houses described by D'Alembert, and who accumulated enough wealth and social respect for the magistrates to entitle them with the rights of the bourgeois.³

I previously mentioned that Rousseau alluded to the history of the Roman, Julius Caesar in the title of his epistolary novel. Julie is the French form of the Latin, Julia, itself the feminine form of Julius. In the terminology of Genette, the character *Julie* is a "transvalorisation" of Julius because Rousseau alluded to an original source and exchanged a woman for a man.⁴ In this part of the chapter, Genette's categories of *paratexte* and *metatexte* will be applied to Paul de Man's evaluation of Rousseau's referential and figural language. The general category of *paratexte* includes specific internal indications, such as chapter headings and footnotes which are not limited to a single genre.⁵ Rousseau used the *paratexte* to organize letters into parts, add information in footnotes and indicate the authors and recipients of letters. The history of Caesar is divided into books and reads as a continuous narrative whereas Rousseau's novel is divided into parts and the many fictional authors of the letters describe the events. The two prefaces, annotations, and Rousseau's descriptions of the illustrations formally distinguish the epistolary

² Jean le Rond D'Alembert, "Genève," in *The Encyclopédie of Diderot and D'Alembert*, ed. J. Lough (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 83.

³ *Ibid.*, 87, 92.

⁴ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), 514.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

novel from a history book. Textual transformation or the *paratextualité* of literature also includes *métatextualité*, genre specific indications on the title page such as the words “novel” or “poems.”⁶ The title page of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* states it is composed of “Lettres de deux amants / habitants d’une petite ville au pied des Alpes / recueillies et publiées par / Jean-Jacques Rousseau.”⁷ According to the *métatextual* indications, two lovers ostensibly wrote the first draft of what critics unanimously consider to be an epistolary novel.

In early modern literature, there were ample precedents for *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, published in 1761. Mornet elaborated upon two types of literary models: the English epistolary novel and a wide variety of French literature. He thought many of the philosophical ideas came from *De l’esprit* of Helvetius, and to a lesser degree, from Spinoza, Diderot, La Mettrie and Condillac.⁸ He also listed *L’Astrée*, *Mille et une nuits*, *Le temple de Gnide*, *Tanzai*, *Le sultan Misapouf*, *Angola* and *Grigri*.⁹ Rousseau, Mornet wrote, avoided the conflict at the heart of many novels and instead wanted *La Nouvelle Héloïse* to be a simple story about two lovers, told in a naive language. Mornet and other critics consider Rousseau’s work as an adaptation of Richardson’s *Clarissa*. “L’excellent Hickmay ressemble, si l’on veut, à M. d’Orbe; et le colonel Marden, brave, loyal et sincère comme milord Edouard, tente d’unir Clarisse à Lovelace, comme milord Edouard s’efforce de marier Julie et Saint-Preux.”¹⁰ To the extent that Rousseau modeled his novel upon other literature, the abundance of sources detracts from the theory of a single prototype. As well as some of these titles, Paul de Man compared it to Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews*, published in 1742.¹¹

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Michel Launay (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1967), title page.

⁸ Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 83-84.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 91-92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹¹ Paul de Man, *Allegories of Reading* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 189, 195, 196.

Three other models are Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, published in 1721, Marivaux's *La vie de Marianne*, composed of 11 books and published between 1731 and 1742, and Richardson's *Pamela*, published in two volumes in 1740 and 1742. Travel and cultural differences are significant themes of Montesquieu's epistolary novel. While cultural differences are only a minor theme of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Saint-Preux is friends with an Englishman, milord Edouard Bomston, and he eventually makes a voyage around the world. The plots of *La vie de Marianne* and *Pamela* both revolve around relationships between socially inferior women and socially superior men. Rousseau reversed the dynamic of status and gender: Saint-Preux is relatively lower class than Julie, an aristocratic woman.

While the novel is not about historic people, Rousseau made Julie a metaphor for the oppressive force of Caesar's army. In this way the novel is a literary commentary on aristocracy and monarchy. While by dint of being a military leader and emperor, Caesar was a model for kings, Roman society valued the principles of democracy. Julius Caesar himself was not a new literary subject for French authors or unique to the works of Rousseau during the Enlightenment. In the 17th century, Corneille wrote *Cinna* which was probably first staged in 1642.¹² It is a love story between Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, and *Émilie* who was the daughter of an instructor to Octavio Augustus Caesar. Voltaire made a French translation of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in 1731 which was entitled *Jules César*. Five years later, in 1736, he wrote and published *La Mort de César*, a different version of the play.¹³ Stylistically, compared to the plays of Corneille and Voltaire, Rousseau's interpretation of the theme is less rigidly classical because of its prose, free-form expression.

¹² Georges Forestier, ed., "Cinna à la scène," in *Cinna*, by Pierre Corneille (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Classique," 2005), 142.

¹³ André M. Rousseau, ed., introduction to *La mort de César*, by Voltaire (Paris: Société D'Édition D'Enseignement Supérieur, 1964), 39.

In the 18th century, words derived from Caesar, the German *kaiser* and the Russian *czar* still meant “king.” *The Lives* of Plutarch and *Le premier livre de l’histoire de Tacite* describe the murder of various Caesars by conspirators. Rousseau transformed the motif of regicide in *Du contrat social* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. In his political literature, he emphasized the death of sovereignty instead of the death of a king. “De la monarchie” of *Du contrat social* claims, “Si donc le peuple promet simplement d’obéir, il se dissout par cet acte, il perd sa qualité de peuple; à l’instant qu’il y a un maître il n’y n plus de Souverain, et dès lors le corps politique est détruit.”¹⁴ In his epistolary novel, Rousseau raised the land-owner’s control over employees to the level of life and death by rewriting the battles of Julius Caesar into the domestic realm. The political and economic similarity between Julius Caesar and Julie d’Étange, then Wolmar, becomes manifest in the strategies used by land-owners to manage their employees. Family and social obstacles impeded a marriage between an instructor and the daughter of a Baron. Consistent with the *transvalorisation* of Julius Caesar, when Julie d’Étange is interpreted as a metaphor for social iniquity, her father, the Baron d’Étange, and their aristocratic mentality bears the responsibility for Saint-Preux remaining a bachelor and childless.

Saint-Preux was ostensibly as kingly as any natural man, yet Rousseau made him the antithesis of a general. A victim of her status, Saint-Preux resembled the servants at Clarens, who were discouraged from having relations. He wrote in a letter to milord Edouard, “On ne leur défend pas de se voir, mais on fait en sorte qu’ils n’en aient ni l’occasion ni la volonté.”¹⁵ Although the Wolmar family professed to encourage servants to marry, by organizing dances for them, they usually remained single. “Les hommes qui nous servent sont tous garçons, et, parmi

¹⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1964), book II, chpt. I, 191. Cf. “De la monarchie,” book III, chpt. VI, 233; “De l’abus du gouvernement et de sa pente a dégénérer,” book III, chpt. X, 244-5.

¹⁵ Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part IV, lettre X, 336.

les femmes, la gouvernante des enfants est encore à marier.”¹⁶ In the span of the novel, the Étange family and the Wolmar family do not fight any battles, yet the practice of hiring adolescent workers whom they maintain in a state of life-long celibacy, effectively reduces their humanity.

The family is a model for government in the works of Rousseau. Diderot and Rousseau departed together from Latin and Greek models of government by imagining an earlier time when people lived in a state of “nature.”¹⁷ The rights of the natural man can be juxtaposed to conventional laws of society: in the first, people behave according to their needs and force; in the second, privilege, law and private property also determine social dynamics. Both the *Discours sur l'économie politique* and *Du contrat social* establish family as a model of government.

Economie ou oeconomie, (*Morale et Politique.*) ce mot vient de οἶκος, maison et de νόμος, loi, et ne signifie originairement que le sage et légitime gouvernement de la maison, pour le bien commun de toute la famille. Le sens de ce terme a été dans la suite étendu au gouvernement de la grande famille, qui est l'état.¹⁸

Rousseau more explicitly articulated the tie between government and an authority figure in *Du contrat social*. Julius Caesar, the general and dictator, was a model of patriarchal authority for monarchies. In the description of power relations, Rousseau established artificial boundaries between fiction and political literature, designating males as authorities in natural governments, and females as authorities in political societies. This is true to the extent that Julie is a metaphor for political power, since Saint-Preux and the servants at Clarens are dedicated to her.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, part IV, lettre X, 343.

¹⁷ Denis Diderot, “Genève,” in *Encyclopédie*, vol. III (Paris: Hermann, 1976), 24-29.

¹⁸ Rousseau, *Discours sur l'économie politique*, ed. Derathé, 63.

Encore les enfans ne restent-ils liés au pere qu'aussi longtems qu'ils ont besoin de lui pour se conserver. Sitôt que ce besoin cesse, le lien naturel se dissout. Les enfans, exempts de l'obéissance qu'ils devoient au pere, le pere exempt des soins qu'il devoit aux enfans, rentrent tous également dans l'indépendance.¹⁹

For Julie and Saint-Preux, each of the steps towards equality between the sexes, described in *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, comes at a cost. As an enlightened instructor among aristocrats, Saint-Preux's non-noble status alienated him. While Julie fared better, since she married and became a mother and matriarch at Clarens, she could not marry the man she loved. In *Rousseau and the Politics of Ambiguity: Self, Culture and Society*, Morganstern claimed that the model of the state upon the family allowed Rousseau to envision a more egalitarian government.

The third source supporting a more moderate approach to Rousseau's understanding of the relationship between the family and the State is Rousseau's open reliance on the family to be the origin of the revolution against what he views as the contemporary depravity and oppression in eighteenth-century France.²⁰

Much of Morganstern's critique of the inequality and oppression at Clarens is directed toward the paternal authority of M. de Wolmar. None-the-less, she described the admiration and love of the servants at Clarens for Julie, and consequently, her ability to govern them. In a note about Wolmar's "desire to achieve total control," she wrote, "To an extent, even Julie is guilty of this. She uses her concern for her servants to get them to better serve her."²¹ Morganstern's description of Wolmar allows for comparison to a military leader. He loves order and teaches

¹⁹ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. II, 174.

²⁰ Mira Morganstern, *Rousseau and the Politics of Ambiguity: Self, Culture, and Society* (University Park Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 196.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 217 n. 123.

servants virtues necessary to be patriotic soldiers.²² When possible, Wolmar kept servants in the condition of dependence upon the estate, like children upon a father, by paying them in commodities instead of money.²³ Caesar, on the other hand, notoriously rewarded soldiers for service with plunder and property.

Julie and Saint-Preux correspond about Caesar and Brutus as well as other historical figures from antiquity, such as Cato and Nero.²⁴ Rousseau elaborated upon and amplified this *paratextual* theme by having Lord Bomston and Saint-Preux travel to Rome. “Les Amours de Milord de Edouard Bomston” tells of Bomston’s love for a Roman woman, a marquise from Naples. Instead of imitating the events of *The Gallic War*, such as Caesar’s innovative engineering and battles to extend the borders of the Roman Empire, Rousseau emulated the emotional character of Caesar to portray historically insignificant people. Not only did the characters of Rousseau’s novel resemble and write about Caesar, as will be shown, the personality of the characters as well as the structures of the texts connects *La Nouvelle Héloïse* to *The Gallic War*.

The allusion of the name Julie to Julius is fitting for an epistolary novel because Caesar wrote letters. *The Gallic War* emphasizes Caesar’s activity of writing correspondence when under duress. When on the shores of England, tribes attacked Caesar and a storm damaged his fleet of boats. “He therefore picked out artificers from the legions, and ordered others to be fetched from the Continent; and wrote to Labienus to construct as many ships as possible by the help of the Legions he had with him.”²⁵ Plutarch’s history of Caesar portrays the eventual general and dictator as a literary person. Early in his career, when captured by pirates, “He also

²² *Ibid.*, 207-208.

²³ *Ibid.*, 212.

²⁴ Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part II, letter XI, 157.

²⁵ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, trans. H. J. Edwards (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), book V, 249.

wrote poems and speeches which he read aloud to them ...”²⁶ Later, his military success depended upon his rhetorical competence as well as his ability to build towers, trenches, trestles, bridges and walls. An orator renowned for his style, Caesar could reputedly dictate letters to two scribes at once, while on horseback. “It was said too that Caesar was the first to arrange for what amounted to conversations with his friends by letters, when, owing to the number of things he had to do or because of the very size of the city, he could not spare the time to see them personally on matters that required a quick decision.”²⁷ In theory, the scribes, and the people responsible for delivering Caesar’s communications, could have added a slant to them. Writing correspondence by dictation poses problems of authorship that recur in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.

The narrative form of Plutarch’s *Lives* makes ancient history accessible to a wide readership. Compared to the conceptual rigidity of Tacitus, elements of Plutarch’s histories read like fables and describe the personalities of eminent, historical people. Plutarch demonstrated the mythical aspect of Greek and Roman history with expressions like “It was said too that Caesar was the first to arrange...”²⁸ Remarkably, the recognition of hearsay “it was said” increases Plutarch’s credibility. He acknowledged the dearth of hard evidence about Caesar being the first orator to communicate via correspondence. Julius Caesar was born on July 12 of 100 B.C. and assassinated on March 15 of 44 B.C. The line of Caesars, or Roman emperors, described by Plutarch and continued by Tacitus therefore coincides with the advent of Christianity whose *New Testament* includes “epistles.”

At the time, distant regions were difficult to govern because news travelled slowly. One factual example described in *Le premier livre* simply attests that letters did not always arrive at

²⁶ Plutarch, “Caesar,” in *Fall of the Roman Republic*, trans. Rex Warner and Robin Seager (London: Penguin, 2005), 256.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 271. For more about Caesar’s letters, Cf. 278, 285.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

their intended destination. “Les Suisses irrités, intercepterent des lettres que l’armée d’Allemagne écrivoit à celle de Hongrie, et retinrent prisonniers un Centurion et quelques soldats.”²⁹ Rousseau’s translation of Tacitus provides examples of sentimental, epistolary styles in antiquity. After the death of the Roman Emperor Galba, the emotional character of the correspondence between Othon and Vitellius resembles *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.

Cependant, Othon écrivoit à Vitellius lettres sur lettres qu’il souilloit de cajoleries de femmes, lui offrant argent, graces, et tel asyle qu’il voudroit choisir pour y vivre dans les plaisirs. Vitellius lui répondoit sur le même ton; mais ces offres mutuelles, d’abord sobrement ménagées et couvertes des deux côtes d’une sottise et honteuse dissimulation, dégénèrent bientôt en querelles, chacun reprochant à l’autre avec la même vérité ses vices et sa débauche.³⁰

The military dictators had to be well educated and good speakers. For sentiment and emotion, Othon cited and borrowed from various writers. In the final speech of *Le premier livre*, “...Othon consultoit Suétone, Paulin et Marius Celsus sur la guerre, ...”³¹ The description by Tacitus of historic letters and speeches is both vague and precise because a few pages can include all of the events and oratory of a few years. Occasionally, use of irony and understatement suffice to give a complete account of momentous actions.

Since letters did not always arrive, the authority of Cecina, one of Vitellius’s generals, was not respected in Switzerland: the local people were ignorant of Galba’s death. As a result of tensions and hostages taken by the Swiss, Cecina and two armies massacred thousands of people and destroyed Swiss towns. Similar to the history of Caesar, according to *Le premier*

²⁹ Tacite, *Premier livre de l’histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1262.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1265.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1275.

livre, fear for one's life and family was conducive to a lamenting, oratorical style in which a speaker would weep for mercy. Tacitus described Claudius Cossus, a Helvetian, as speaking forcefully, skillfully and fearfully. "De sorte qu'après beaucoup de pleurs ayant imploré grace d'un ton plus rassis, ils obtinrent le salut et l'impunité de leur ville."³² Tacitus used the word "impunity" ironically and in an obscure way because their crime was the meager Swiss resistance to Cecina, when they did not have previous notification of his authority. In such a dense manner, intense emotions are frequently described. When their cohorts abandon them, military leaders are overcome with misery. *Le premier livre* is full of animosity, suicide, murder and corruption. The emotions fluctuate between feelings of virtue and vice, physical cruelty in battles and friendship between tribes, terror and famine among the people. Yet sentiment is more abstract in *Le premier livre* than the *Lives* of Plutarch because Tacitus attributed emotional atmosphere more to historical consequences than to heroic personalities.

According to Peter Gay, Pliny the Younger, a Latin writer who lived from 62 to 113 A.D., wrote letters which he expected to be passed from one reader to another. "There was the younger Pliny, for one, who sought immortality with Latin poetry and speeches of merely mortal caliber, and achieved immortality with his letters written for private as well as public consumption."³³ For practical reasons, Caesar wrote letters to friends and used them to pass on information to other people within the military. Pliny the Younger wrote them as a form of publication so that his ideas could be adopted by people in distant places. In the 18th century, authors of epistolary novels invented the idea of an extended fiction told by multiple correspondents.

³² *Ibid.*, 1263.

³³ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: an Interpretation, The Rise of Modern Paganism*, vol. I (New York: Norton, 1966), 115-116.

In *Allegories of Reading*, Paul de Man analyzed the “Préface de Julie ou Entretien sur les romans” of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* to develop theories of referential status and readability. His explanation of “elaborate substitutive patterns involving the polarities of self and other” and his use of the word “binary” in the context of figurative language inform this chapter.³⁴ De Man was one of the starting place for my more syntactical theories about Rousseau’s compositional method. Readers of the novel, de Man remarked, do not know if the narrative voices belong to real people or are figments of Rousseau’s imagination, a problem called the “referential status” of authorship.³⁵ In the interview about novels, de Man wrote, one of the interlocutors, N., asks the other interlocutor R., if the epistles are fictional.

At the onset of the text, “tableau” and “portrait” were associated with author and editor respectively: if the work was imaginary, then Rousseau had to be the author; if it were to be an actual collection of letters, the portrait or copy of a written text, then Rousseau was merely the editor.³⁶

Imagining this process of copying and editing accounts for what de Man called instances of “unreadability.”³⁷ Instead of verifying its originality by comparing the novel to Rousseau’s correspondence, de Man concentrated on the novel’s imaginary or fictional qualities, especially on the nuances of figurative language and narrative voice. His theory of referential status raises questions relevant to prototypal composition because re-writing real letters resembles rewriting passages of other authors.

Unlike passages which can be understood literally and figuratively, some passages of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* are purely figural. Any passage that does not make sense could be called

³⁴ Paul de Man, *Allegories of Reading* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 188.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 196.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 199.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 216.

“unreadable.” According to de Man, each of the abbreviations N. and R. is a metaphor for a real person, N. could be Marmontel, R. could be Rousseau.³⁸ Since Rousseau wrote the novel, his statement in the preface that he does not know if the correspondence is fictional sounds dishonest. “What can it mean, in this context, for the author of a text to claim that he doesn’t know whether or not he is its author?”³⁹ Another interpretation is that “R.” is not Rousseau. In the same way that the metaphor “R.” creates an impossible situation, the abstract language of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* consists of euphemisms and precious vocabulary such as virtue, integrity and heart whose meaning depends upon the interpretation of the reader.

De Man’s theory builds upon an idea from the *Essai sur l’origine des langues* that all language was initially figural, especially language about love. As in the most beautiful phrases of songs, whose words according to Rousseau sometimes mean nothing, de Man’s theory about unreadable sentences is another perspective about language and signification. Taken to an extreme degree, all language can become meaningless.

It becomes an aberrant trope that conceals the radical figurality of language behind the illusion that it can properly mean. As a result, the assumption of readability, which is itself constitutive of language, cannot only no longer be taken for granted but is found to be aberrant.⁴⁰

At times in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, it is difficult for readers to know which character is writing. Since readers do not know if the letters are real, the identity of the characters is one source of confusion. In the terminology of de Man, “inside readers” are the Baroness d’Étange, the Baron d’Étange, milord Édouard Bomston, M. de Wolmar, M. d’Orbe, Julie, Claire, Saint-Preux, Fanchon Regard, etc. “Outside readers” are people who read the novel as fiction. According to

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 197, 199.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 202.

Allegories of Reading, since the characters are not described physically and the narrative voice is uniform, “man” is a metaphor for people in general. While some problems about figural language remain unsolved, “universal” qualities and “common traits” of people mitigate the differences between the representation of real and imaginary people.⁴¹

Daniel Mornet, editor of the 1925 Hachette edition, and Bernard Guyon, editor of the 1961 Pléiade edition, evaluated the probability of a derivation from non-fictional letters. While ideas for *La Nouvelle Héloïse* came from real letters, real people and various literary texts, Mornet concluded that Rousseau was the sole author. “On pourrait dire sans doute que ce sont les souvenirs d’un roman déjà rédigé qui conduisent inconsciemment la plume de Jean-Jacques, et non pas les lettres authentiques qui se reflètent dans le roman.”⁴² For Guyon, the obvious literary sources comprised the strongest argument that *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was a work of fiction.

Les citations de poètes italiens, les emprunts à Plutarque, à Montaigne, à la Bible, les références explicites à Richardson, plus encore les allusions – inconsciente peut-être mais évidentes – à Racine, tout nous est signe que cet adversaire de la littérature était “bourré jusqu’à la gueule” de souvenirs littéraires.⁴³

Referring to the account of writing *La Nouvelle Héloïse* at L’Ermitage in book IX of *Les confessions*, and other scholarship, Guyon says Julie was primarily inspired by Mme de Warens and to a lesser extent, Sophie D’Houdetot; M. de Wolmar bears some resemblance to Saint-Lambert; Saint-Preux is similar to Rousseau; and milord Edouard Bomston could be loosely

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁴² Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 87.

⁴³ Bernard Guyon, ed., introduction to *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, in *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond and Bernard Guyon (Paris: Gallimard, “La Pléiade, 1961), XXIII.

modeled upon Diderot.⁴⁴ While the degree of concordance between Denis Diderot the person and the fictional Edouard Bomston depends upon interpretation, Diderot read a draft of the novel and may have given Rousseau suggestions for improving it.⁴⁵ Referring to E. Ritter, Guyon wrote in the “Chronologie:” “Le premier a remarqué la concordance d’âge entre Saint-Preux et J.-J. Rousseau qui ont tous les deux vingt ans en 1732, et certaines coïncidences de dates et d’événements entre leurs deux existences.”⁴⁶ Two historic dates in the novel suggest that it was composed with notes written well before Rousseau moved to L’Ermitage in 1756: one is the sickness of Louis XV in 1744, another a visit by Fontenoy to Lausanne in 1745.⁴⁷

Although de Man did not mention Claude Anet, he figures in *Les confessions* as well as *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, and therefore further confuses the problem of genre.⁴⁸ His name in the novel suggests it was at least partially based on real life. According to the notes of Guyon, Rousseau may have sought revenge on the real Claude Anet by giving his name to an inconsequential character in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. “Le fait est qu’il retourne ici totalement la situation, en faisant de Claude Anet un garçon sans importance, obligé de Saint-Preux et plus tard traître à Fanchon.”⁴⁹ Since Claude Anet was in no way obliged to Jean-Jacques in *Les confessions*, naming a minor character in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* after him who is obliged to Saint-Preux does not make the novel any less fictional. The detail does not explain Rousseau’s equivocation about authorship.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II., XXX, XXXI, XLVII.

⁴⁵ Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 85.

⁴⁶ Guyon, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, 1825.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1828, 1829.

⁴⁸ Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part I, letters XXXIX - XLI, 75 – 77. Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Guéhenno, books III - V.

⁴⁹ Guyon, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, 117 n. 2.

The time Rousseau spent copying music at L'Ermitage seems to have influenced the prose of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.⁵⁰ Guyon cited correspondence with the novelist Duclos, who read an early draft of the novel and Rey, Rousseau's Dutch publisher, to explain his attention to unity of tone and lexical harmony.⁵¹ Rousseau made at least three hand-written copies, a personal copy, one for Sophie D'Houdetot and another for the Marshal of Luxembourg. Each draft included changes and additions.⁵² Mornet observed that the handwriting of some corrections on the Personal Copy was not the careful script characteristic of the author. "On remarquera la diversité d'écriture témoignant que ce feuillet était déjà une mise au net et que les feuillets assemblés dans ce Brouillon appartiennent à des rédactions différentes."⁵³ While it is unclear from one photograph of the manuscript if the writing is Rousseau's, since the corrective marks on the page are slight, one can only guardedly use them as evidence of multiple authorship.

The emotional breadth of Rousseau's correspondence with people who gave him political and financial assistance suggest their letters were models for the fictional work. In the introduction to the Pléiade edition, Guyon insisted that Rousseau and Sophie d'Houdetot had a strictly platonic relationship. "Non, l'on ne met point au feu de pareilles lettres," a-t-il écrit dans les *Confessions*, à propos des lettres d'amour qu'il avait écrites à Mme d'Houdetot et qu'elle lui disait avoir brûlées."⁵⁴ If they were not in love, they may have written love letters in preparation for *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Personal letters written at night, by candle light, and in the comfort of their homes do not necessarily have the substance which Rousseau and his publisher would want to purvey to young readers without revision.

⁵⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, notes by Catherine Koenig (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Classique," 1973), book IX, 488.

⁵¹ Guyon, ed., introduction to *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, in *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, LIX, LXVII.

⁵² *Ibid.*, LXIV, LXV.

⁵³ Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, insert between pages 144-145.

⁵⁴ Guyon, ed. introduction to *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, in *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, LVI.

Guyon wrote in the notes that a real letter from Rousseau to Mme d'Houdetot resembles a letter from *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and a sentence of *Les confessions*. After the lovers are separated, Saint-Preux wrote to Claire, "Cette immortelle image que je porte en moi me servira d'égide, et rendra mon ame invulnérable aux coups de la fortune."⁵⁵ Being abstractly vague and uncommon, the word "égide" makes the sentence identifiable as an archetype. Guyon cited a passage about a visit from Mme d'Houdetot to L'Ermitage described in *Les confessions*: Rousseau used the same word to describe a letter from Saint-Lambert. "J'avois la lettre de St. Lambert dans ma poche; je la relus plusieurs fois en marchant. Cette lettre me servit d'égide contre ma foiblesse ..." ⁵⁶ Furthering the argument, Guyon cited an actual letter from Rousseau to Mme d'Houdetot with the same word, "Quoi qu'il en soit, j'irai diner avec vous; je vous porterai un coeur tout nouveau, dont vous serez contente; j'ai dans ma poche une égide invincible qui me garantira de vous."⁵⁷ The similarity between epistolary novel and autobiography is credible evidence that the fiction is at least partially based on real life.

Comparison of these sentences from *Les confessions* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse* highlights de Man's problem of referential and figurative speech. The "aegis" of Jean-Jacques is a physical object, a letter, whereas the "aegis" of Saint-Preux is an "image" in his mind. It may refer to an image of his friends, especially of Claire since an earlier paragraph of the letter designated her as the "parfait modèle d'amitié."⁵⁸ Saint-Preux's "immortelle image que je porte en moi me servira d'égide," is necessarily figural because the context does not provide a precise, unambiguous referent for it. While Guyon's humorous evaluation of the archetype suggests that there may

⁵⁵ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, part II, letter X, 220.

⁵⁶ Rousseau, cited by Guyon, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, 220 n. 2.

⁵⁷ Guyon, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, 220 n. 2.

⁵⁸ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, part II, letter X, 220.

have been a real model for Saint-Preux's fictional sentence, in the second case there was no real referent for the word "aegis." Although the correspondence has a specific date, the novel does not.

Pour qui veut établir des liens entre le roman et la passion amoureuse de Jean-Jacques pour Sophie d'Houdetot, quelle aubaine que cette métaphore! Mais dans quel sens s'est établi le transfert? Rien ne permet de croire que cette lettre est postérieure à 1756.⁵⁹

Rousseau's letter to Mme d'Houdetot could have been written after he wrote the letter in the novel. At times, Rousseau's letters to Mme d'Houdetot are romantic and sentimental. The real correspondence clearly indicates Rousseau's deep feelings for her. A letter dating to the beginning of July 1757 describes the pain of their separation.

Je commence à ressentir l'effet des agitations terribles que vous m'avez si longtemps fait éprouver. Elles ont épuisé mon coeur mes sens tout mon être, et dans le supplice des privations les plus cruelles j'éprouve l'accablement qui suit l'excès des plus doux plaisirs.⁶⁰

His feelings resemble those of Saint-Preux in the beginning of Part II, when he goes to Paris without Julie, although the violence of Saint-Preux's pain is more visceral. Rousseau used a bloody metaphor to express the psychological difficulty of having lost his young lover. "O Julie! Plain-moi, plain ton malheureux ami. Quand mon sang en longs ruisseaux auroit tracé cette route immense, elle m'eut paru moins longue, et je n'aurois pas senti défailir mon ame avec plus de langueur."⁶¹ Since the authentic writing and the fictional writing has a similar emotional

⁵⁹ Guyon, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, 220 n. 2.

⁶⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Rousseau à Elisabeth-Sophie-Françoise Lalive de Bellegarde, comtesse d'Houdetot," *Correspondance complète*, ed. R. A. Leigh, tome IV (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1967), letter 509, 225.

⁶¹ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, part II, letter XIII, 228.

character, the narrative voice of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* would potentially have produced an effect of verisimilitude upon readers. Rousseau's correspondence with Mme d'Épinay in 1757 describes feelings of unease and anxiety, whereas letters from Deleyre to Rousseau have a more matter of fact tone.⁶²

One letter from Deleyre is about a French battle with the English for the Island of Aix.⁶³ Although it bears little resemblance to the letter of milord Edouard about finding employment for Saint-Preux on a British battleship, Deleyre addressed two points of French anxiety: the affinities between Bordeaux and England and the possibility of food shortages in Paris.⁶⁴ With a much less sensational tone, Deleyre described his tears upon seeing Diderot's *Le fils naturel*. "J'étois à la première représentation où je pleurai beaucoup, quoique sans dessein."⁶⁵ The letter shows that preoccupations of Rousseau's oeuvre were pervasive subjects in his life. Deleyre called Rousseau "citoyen" and also wrote about dreaming of him at a grape harvest.

In 1756, the same year Rousseau began writing the novel at the Hermitage, he also wrote the "Lettre sur la Providence" to Voltaire. Mornet and Guyon remarked the similarity between religious vocabulary and the language of Saint-Preux.⁶⁶ Rousseau's August 18, 1756 "Lettre sur la Providence" also reflects upon Julius Caesar. "Si quelque accident tragique eût fait périr Cartouche ou César dans leur enfance, on aurait dit: Quel crime avaient-ils commis? Ces deux brigands ont vécu, et nous disons: Pourquoi les avoir laissés vivre?"⁶⁷ Rousseau's 1756

⁶² Rousseau, "Rousseau à Louise-Florence-Pétronille Lalive d'Épinay, née Tardieu d'Esclavelles," *Correspondance complète*, ed. Leigh, t. IV, 248.

⁶³ Alexandre Deleyre, "À Rousseau," *Correspondance complète*, ed. Leigh, t. IV, 272.

⁶⁴ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, part III, letter XXV, 395.

⁶⁵ Alexandre Deleyre, "À Rousseau," *Correspondance complète*, ed. Leigh, t. IV, 272.

⁶⁶ Guyon, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, 219 n. 2.

⁶⁷ Rousseau, "Rousseau à François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire," in *Correspondance complète de Jean Jacques Rousseau*, ed. Leigh, t. IV, 46.

correspondence with Voltaire about Caesar supports the theory that Julie is named after Julius and that Rousseau intended to metaphorically compare dictatorship to the monarchy.

Daniel Mornet divided the novel into parts, the “roman rêve” and the “roman vécu.”⁶⁸ Of the six parts of the final work, he indicated that Sophie d’Houdetot had the strongest influence on the fifth part. He cited a letter to her from Rousseau, “Voilà la seconde partie de la Julie ... Mon dessein est d’achever cet ouvrage, et de l’achever pour vous seule; car quand même les quatre parties faites verraient le jour, la cinquième, que je vous destine, ne le verra jamais.”⁶⁹ Later the same year, according to Mornet, Rousseau wrote to Rey about a six part novel. Mornet compared the epistolary style of Mme d’Houdetot to that of Julie. Instead of a theory of co-authorship, he suggested that Rousseau imitated her style when he wrote the letters of Julie.

Mais c’est Mme d’Houdetot même à l’occasion qui écrit comme la Julie de Rousseau, dont elle n’avait pas lu les lettres. Toutes sortes de détails des trois dernières parties du roman fictif sont liés à ceux du roman vécu. L’explication la plus simple, parfois même l’explication nécessaire est que celui-ci a suggéré celui-là.⁷⁰

An intention of co-authorship of a first draft of the final parts of the novel by Mme d’Houdetot however would explain Rousseau’s frustration with her epistolary style. Guyon cited a letter from 1758, “Je vous demande de trois choses l’une: ou changez de stile, ou justifiez le vôtre, ou cessez de m’écrire.”⁷¹ It comes to the front that some letters written with the intention that Rousseau would transform them into a fictional form, such as the “love letters,” and a general

⁶⁸ Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 390.

⁶⁹ Rousseau, cited by Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 84. The citation is from: H. Buffenoir, *La comtesse d’Houdetot, sa famille, ses amis* (Paris: Leclerc, 1905), 242.

⁷⁰ Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 87.

⁷¹ Rousseau, cited by Guyon, ed., introduction to *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, in *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, LVII.

basis in truth of letters like Deleyre's, legitimate Rousseau's eventual avoidance of the question of authorship.

Rousseau may have been evasive about authorship because in the 18th century, novels were traditionally published under pseudonyms and anonymously. In 1762, one year after the publication of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, when the French Parliament issued a warrant for Rousseau's arrest, his name upon *Émile ou de l'éducation* was considered a crime. "On me reprochait d'avoir mis mon nom à l'*Émile*, comme si je ne l'avais pas mis à tous mes autres écrits, auxquels on n'avait rien dit."⁷² If *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is semi-fictional, Rousseau avoided the question of authorship to protect people who could be perceived as co-authors from negative repercussions.

In *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius*, Leo Damrosch has perceived similarities between real people and the characters of the novel, although in his judgment, literature came first and influenced Rousseau and his friends. "Rousseau himself acknowledged that the affair with Mme d'Houdetot was essentially a projected fantasy in which he translated the novel he was writing into real life."⁷³ The similarities between Saint-Preux and the young Rousseau, Julie and Mme de Warens, complicate this theory. If the affair between the young Saint-Preux and Julie is modeled on Rousseau and Mme de Warens, then, according to Damrosch's theory, Rousseau would have had to relive his affair with Mme de Warens with Mme d'Houdetot. On a more technical side, even though the lexical patterns of some of these letters resemble the sentence structures of classical texts, they may result from unconscious habits Jean-Jacques formed by reading Plutarch, Plato, Tacitus and Plato as an adolescent. Otherwise, when revising the novel, he may have arranged words of real letters to fit into lexical patterns of prototypes.

⁷² Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Koenig, book XI, 683.

⁷³ Leo Damrosch, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 288.

The *paratexte* of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, which is to say the re-organization of letters into the form of a novel, accounts for some of the abstraction and confusion about identity. De Man's problem of readability and the ambiguity surrounding authorship extends to the internal authorship of the letters. Unless a letter is a "Réponse" or a "Réplique," the heading indicates the recipient. If a letter does not have an indication of authorship, then the letter is assumed to be written by Saint-Preux. One affectation of Saint-Preux is to call Claire "cousine" even though she is Julie's cousin. In Part II, the first time he does this, Rousseau made a note at the bottom of the page, "À l'imitation de Julie, il l'appelait ma cousine; et à l'imitation de Julie, Claire l'appelait mon ami."⁷⁴ In Part II, when Saint-Preux writes to Claire from Paris, he begins, "C'est à vous, charmante cousine, qu'il faut rendre compte de l'Opéra..."⁷⁵ The word "cousine" may eventually confuse some readers about the identity of the writer. The confusion stems from Rousseau's inversion of metaphor. Instead of a speaker substituting the name of one thing for another, Rousseau calls a person her correct name, Claire is legitimately a "cousine," but Rousseau substitutes one speaker for another, Saint-Preux for Julie.

Although de Man emphasized the uniformity of narrative voice and ambiguity about identity, differences in social standing are described very precisely.⁷⁶ Since Claire did not deign to consider Saint-Preux her real friend, she only called Saint-Preux "ami" in imitation of Julie. Milord Edouard thinks disdainfully of the music teacher, referring to him as if he were an inferior and a child. "Pour Régianino, je vous le rendrai en repassant et ne le reprendrai qu'à mon retour d'Italie, tems où, sur les progrès que vous avez déjà faits toutes deux, je juge qu'il ne

⁷⁴ Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part II, letter X, 152.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, part II, letter XXIII, 201.

⁷⁶ De Man, *Allegories of Reading*, 189.

vous sera plus nécessaire.”⁷⁷ The accentuated feelings of pathos in Rousseau’s prose defined the consequences of class difference. Julie herself writes she would have been ashamed to marry Saint-Preux.⁷⁸

Another letter addressed to Madame d’Orbe in Part V begins, “Où êtes-vous, charmante cousine?”⁷⁹ Until something alerts readers to the contrary, they may think Julie is the writer of the letter. Although the letter begins “charmante cousine,” a couple of pages later, the author writes, “Je crus voir la digne mère de votre amie dans son lit expirante, et sa fille à genoux devant elle, fondant en larmes, baisant ses mains et recueillant ses derniers soupirs.”⁸⁰ Since the information pertains to Julie’s mother, Julie cannot be its author. Readers who remembered the footnote from Part II, 314 pages earlier in the Garnier-Flammarion edition, may have already known Saint-Preux was the author. The “charmante cousine” letter ends with an appeal to both Julie and Claire, “O Julie! ô Claire!” reiterating Saint-Preux’s expectation that Claire would circulate the letter.⁸¹ While the words “la digne mère de votre amie” and “sa fille à genoux” would not have been a source of confusion for Julie, because she would have understood the letter was written to Claire, de Man’s point about pronominal aberrations is clear.

Multiple responses to a single letter demonstrate that one letter circulated among the characters. In one instance, Madame d’Orbe, responds to a letter from Saint-Preux and then M. de Wolmar writes a response to the same letter.⁸² To complicate matters, M. de Wolmar responds to Saint-Preux by writing to milord Edouard. “J’écris à milord Edouard, et je lui parle de vous si au long qu’il ne me reste en vous écrivant à vous-même qu’à vous renvoyer à sa

⁷⁷ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, part II, letter IX, 216.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, part II, letter VII, 210.

⁷⁹ Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part V, letter IX, 464.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, part V, letter IX, 466.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, part V, letter IX, 468.

⁸² *Ibid.*, part V, letters, IX, X, XI, 464 - 471.

lettre.”⁸³ The complexity of the *paratextual* system allows M. de Wolmar to address a letter to Lord Edouard, and for the “vous” of the first sentence to refer to Saint-Preux. The stated and unstated recipients of the letter make the sentence prone to confuse readers of the novel whereas M. de Wolmar, Mme d’Orbe, Saint-Preux and Lord Edouard would necessarily have understood the antecedent of the pronoun. In the sense that reality is stranger than fiction, M. de Wolmar’s begrudging response and pronominal aberration creates the impression of epistolary verisimilitude.

Reading over real letters and editing them for mistakes, Rousseau may have added a personal metaphorical quality to other people’s expressions of identity and simultaneously diminished the literal meaning. The binary quality of letters written by other people and then edited into fictional form by an authoritative editor exacerbates the problem of identity. Instances of narrative uniformity, as perceived by de Man, suggest different ways of self-expression were rare in the novel. One letter written after the death of Julie attests to multiple authorship even before being edited and published. The letter under scrutiny is *Commencée par Made d’Orbe et achevée par M. de Wolmar*.⁸⁴ Taking into consideration Rousseau’s literary education of translating Tacitus, we know that he dressed his version to suit his own vision. The complexity of multiple responses to letters coupled with stylistic revisions increases the ambiguity about the identity of each narrative voice. When *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is read as real letters which were significantly edited by a literary authority among the *philosophes*, it is hard to deny that the authority’s personality becomes visible in the identity of the characters.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, part V, letter XI, 470.

⁸⁴ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Mornet, vol. IV, part VI, letter X, 282.

Rousseau's Imitation of Caesar's Sentimentality

Writers of real letters do not narrate information which they expect their correspondents to know. Readers of an epistolary novel, who are essentially spying on the characters, need to know facts to understand the events of a chronological storyline. When the form of an epistolary novel is compared to that of comedies and tragedies, we realize that the creation of verisimilitude involves a balance between putting fictional people into realistic costumes without influencing the individual identities of the letter writers. In the semi-fictional annotations, Rousseau the editor remarked in a note that some letters were missing, "On voit qu'il manque ici plusieurs lettres intermédiaires, ainsi qu'en beaucoup d'autres endroits."⁸⁵ By leaving material out, the potentially confusing holes create an impression of voyeurism. When readers searching for a literal meaning end up scrutinizing a banal sentence of fact that refers to a missing letter, they do not know the abstraction is a circumlocution. The impossibility of outside readers understanding everything paradoxically increases the novel's verisimilitude. If some letters were lost, the responses might remain, whose content would inevitably be difficult to understand.

As the editor, it would have been reasonable for Rousseau to emphasize the figurative and sentimental quality of the letters. In an introductory note to Part II, he acknowledged its abstraction, "Je n'ai guère besoin, je crois, d'avertir que dans cette seconde partie et dans la suivante, les deux amants séparés ne font que déraisonner et battre la campagne; leurs pauvres têtes n'y sont plus."⁸⁶ This is precisely the language which, according to *Allegories of Reading* only has figurative meaning. De Man calls the language of Saint-Preux and Julie chimerical and illusory. "The unproblematic figurality of the metaphor restores its proper meaning, albeit in the

⁸⁵ Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part V, letter VI, 452.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, part II, letter I, 131.

form of a negating power that prevents any specific meaning from coming into being.”⁸⁷ Love can be expressed in figures of speech without problems of interpretation because emotion does not, or cannot, have a single referential meaning.

Considered as a work of fiction, metaphors in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* resemble the subtle complexity of equivocal words and statements in Tacitus’s *Le premier livre*. In the first chapter of this dissertation, I wrote about studies by Stackelberg and Trousson. Their observance of an occasional mistake and syntactic difference between Rousseau’s translation of *Le premier livre* and the original suggest Rousseau made a literary revision of an earlier version of the translation. In the works of Tacitus, the vocabulary has a binary quality; a single act could be a crime or a remedy. Tacitus took the liberty to simply define one thing as something else. Another example of second definitions in *Le premier livre* demonstrates why Tacitus resonated with 18th century readers. “L’on s’avisa, pour leur pardonner, de changer le mot de *rapine* en celui de *Lese-Majesté*, mot odieux en ces temps-là, et dont l’abus faisoit tort aux meilleurs loix.”⁸⁸ The sentence refers to Othon’s and Vitellius’s pardon of Rufus, Blaesus and Promptinus who had misused or stolen governmental funds. The change of *theft* to *treason* could only function as a pardon because they had stolen funds from a previous government. Although treason is now considered a more severe crime than theft, the irony of this sentence for Rousseau’s contemporaries was that during the eighteenth-century, theft was a capital offense.⁸⁹ Historical and political themes expressed in thoughtful, rhythmic prose produced the *clair obscur* effect. With exchanges such as the word “cousin” for “Claire” in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau

⁸⁷ De Man, *Allegories of Reading*, 198.

⁸⁸ Tacite, *Premier livre de l’histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1267.

⁸⁹ Isser Woloch, *Eighteenth-Century Europe: Tradition and Progress, 1715-1789* (New York: Norton, 1982), 173.

transferred the ambiguity of history to passionate, emotional language about more quotidian subjects.

De Man's theory of readability has consequences for composition upon historical models. As either editor or author, Rousseau is responsible for the name of the female protagonist and the novel's title. To project a metaphor of the military power of Julius Caesar onto the aristocratic power of the Étange family, as an editor, Rousseau could have changed the names of Mme de Warens and Mme de Houdetot to Julie. The over-arching parallels between *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *The Gallic War* can none-the-less be attributed to the correspondents. To the extent the letters have a basis in reality, the similarities between Julie and Julius Caesar attest to the influence of stories about Caesar upon an 18th century readership. To use the framework of de Man, when *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is read as the portrait of real people, the similarities between the novel and classical history suggest Swiss aristocrats and the bourgeoisie emulated the *clair-obscur* of Tacitus and the sentimentality of Caesar in their own writing and language.

The theory of referential status extends to the grammatical esthetics of Rousseau's literature. Following the centuries-old use of the word "binary" among musical theorists and philosophers, this dissertation uses the word to strictly indicate a pair, especially when Rousseau imitated another author, or when Rousseau allowed for two words to signify the same thing. De Man used the word "binary" in the most limited way of structural linguistics. The adjective "binary" does not describe near synonyms or causal relations for de Man, and could not be used to describe a sentence constructed with two synonyms qualifying one noun. I would call the structure of the following clause of *Du contrat social* "binary" whereas de Man would not. "La premiere et la plus importante conséquence des principes ci-devant établis est que ..." ⁹⁰ Even though "la premiere" and "la plus importante" have nearly the same meaning, since they both

⁹⁰ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book II, chpt. I, 190.

qualify “conséquence,” I consider the clause to be built with a binary construction. De Man would not consider the words to be in what linguists call a binary relation because they cannot be differentiated by a single quality. In *Allegories of Reading*, he made this point about structures of the language and metaphorical usage. “The couple grammar/rhetoric, certainly not a binary opposition since they in no way exclude each other, disrupts and confuses the neat antithesis of the inside/outside pattern.”⁹¹ Greimas explained in *Sémantique structurale* the historical conception of the term binary.⁹² Among linguists, the idea of binary relations is a method of producing knowledge by comparing two things. Most often, practitioners of structural linguistics associate it with the semantic axis.

For the purposes of classification, things can be defined as being the same or different according to absence and presence of a single trait. Structural linguists categorize signification according to the semantic axis if they have or do not have a trait, and if they are or are not of a certain quality.

“L’articulation peut alors être exprimée par

s vs non s.

Ce sont ces deux types d’articulation sémiques que retient principalement Jakobson.”⁹³

Nonetheless, the complexity of phenomena is such that often two things considered to be opposites do not oppose each other on a semantic axis. Greimas attributed the linguistic description of this problem to Brøndal.⁹⁴ He used tripartite diagrams to add a middle category

⁹¹ De Man, *Allegories of Reading*, 12.

⁹² A.-J. Greimas, *Sémantique structurale: recherche de méthode* (Paris: Larousse, 1966), 22-29.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

which could be either “neutral” or “complex.”⁹⁵ Greimas wrote that Jakobson’s articulation of meaning via an axis of absence and presence was insufficient in some instances.

“... mais ce schéma ne s’applique plus à l’opposition binaire
garçon (masc.) vs *fille* (fém.),
 car il ne suffit pas de constater l’absence du sème “masculinité” dans le terme-objet *fille*: ce terme possède en propre le sème “féminité.”⁹⁶

Jakobson’s definition of binary relations according to a semantic axis of absence and presence diminishes the types of properties that can be compared. Since this dissertation uses the word “binary” to signify pairs of things, whether they are related by exclusive qualities or complex ones, they can include other sets of things like causal relations and near synonyms.

Instead of a plot driven story line, like *Manon Lescaut* or *La religieuse*, abstract language and emotional vocabulary communicate the sensitivity and emotional state of the correspondents. According to Mornet, the language of Rousseau is closer to the “romans d’analyse galante” of Marivaux and Duclos, and before them, of Madame de Lafayette.⁹⁷ To the extent Rousseau wrote *La Nouvelle Héloïse* with a sentimental pen, the letters absorbed the feeling produced by its language.

Deux amants qui s’aiment et qui causent ne disent rien qui ne soit en apparence indifférent ou parfois stupide; mais ils y trouvent et ils y goûtent mille saveurs cachées.

Le ‘sentiment’ peut colorer les vaines banalités de la vie.⁹⁸

The “radical figurality” and “unreadability” of Saint-Preux strikes Mornet as “parfois stupide.” Like Tacitus, Rousseau’s prose is a noun-rich network of words such as “l’amour, la misère, le

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁹⁷ Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 38.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

coeur, le cruel, la violence, les hommes, les femmes, la raison, la philosophie, la perfection, le mal, le bonheur, le feu, la vertu, la honte, l'âme, la vice, une larme” and “les pleurs.”

Formulation of complex ideas into philosophical categories, which can be named with a single word, allowed Rousseau to make rhythmic patterns of nouns.

Rousseau's method of composition that employs archetypes and prototypes comes from the rationalistic tradition. It is a continuation of the geometric spirit of Descartes and Pascal. Romanticism, in contrast, drew from the mathematical structuring of language to produce texts in which signification was equally vague. Fontanier wrote in *Les figures du discours* that the compulsion of authors to use a single word figuratively, in its second sense, is properly termed catachresis.⁹⁹ The desire for emotional abstraction in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was accomplished with metonymic usage of words such as “virtue” or “shame.” These are causal metonyms because when Saint-Preux made a virtuous act in regard to Julie, the “act of virtue” was reduced to the causal part, “virtue.” Likewise, instead of Saint-Preux's “feelings of shame,” the correspondents were accustomed to think of a more concise: “shame.” From a rationalistic perspective, it is easier to fit a single metonym into a syntactic pattern. The earliest works of Romanticism also benefitted from catachresis because the abstraction of the language produced an emotional effect that was simultaneously within the linguistic borders of bourgeois usage, i.e. not too serious and refined. Incontestably the most frequent form of metaphor that Rousseau wrote in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Fontanier considered catachresis an abuse of the language.¹⁰⁰

Attention to the lexical code of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* suggests that form was as important as content. In a chapter on “Semiology and Rhetoric,” de Man wrote, “The structural moment of concentration on the code for its own sake cannot be avoided, and literature necessarily breeds its

⁹⁹ Pierre Fontanier, *Les figures du discours* (Paris: Flammarion, “Champs Classiques,” 1977), 80.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

own formalism.”¹⁰¹ De Man’s theory of readability is in accord with Rousseau’s theory about the beauty of song: when signification decreases, its emotional expression increases. While the language about love is particularly figural, Mornet listed Rousseau’s “chimerical” language in a wide range of subjects when summarizing de Bruny’s 1780 *Lettre sur J. J. Rousseau*. “On y raisonna des lectures qui conviennent aux jeunes filles, du duel, du théâtre, de l’Opéra, du suicide, de l’éducation, du mysticisme, des moeurs des Valaisans, de celles des Parisiens ou des Genevois.”¹⁰² Rousseau’s statement at the beginning of Part II that from then on, the lovers “ne font que déraisonner et battre la campagne” is an esthetic approach to a literary treatment of serious themes.¹⁰³

The subject matter of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is distinguishable from the histories of Tacitus and Plutarch, and Rousseau’s essays about politics because the letters are about everyday life, not strategies for battle and ceremonies in the senate. In fact, even before the 18th century, literary authors claimed rights to political discourse, which the aristocracy had long tried to monopolize. The writings of authors like Montesquieu and Rousseau affected social issues. Jacob Soll attributed this step toward democracy to Amelot de la Houssaye, a 17th century translator and publisher of Tacitus. “Amelot’s critical project marks the moment when the knowledge of political history and historical criticism became public and widely accessible.”¹⁰⁴ When knowledge about government became accessible, regular people could form an educated opinion about it. To the extent that writing about government was a dangerous activity, and could bring about persecution, Rousseau may have tempered threatening ideas by expressing

¹⁰¹ De Man, *Allegories of Reading*, 4.

¹⁰² Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 99.

¹⁰³ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse, théâtre – poesies, essais littéraires*, vol. II of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Guyon, part II, letter I, 189.

¹⁰⁴ Jacob Soll, *Publishing the Prince: History, Reading, & The Birth of Political Criticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 9.

them in an esthetic of nonsense and rambling. *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is far from a direct critique of governmental institutions. Peter Gay claimed Cicero was a favorite author among the Enlightenment philosophers because he wrote more about human concerns than military campaigns.

Voltaire thought *De natura deorum* “perhaps the best book of all antiquity;” his only other claimant to the title was Cicero’s *De officiis*. With rare unanimity, the philosophes endorsed Voltaire’s claims for these works and accepted Diderot’s estimate that Cicero was indeed “the first of the Roman philosophers.”¹⁰⁵

Gay was reserved about the influence of Caesar upon the philosophers. He contrasted Caesar to Cicero, reminded readers of how he died, took note of his dangerous ambition and eventual status as a dictator.¹⁰⁶ Twice, Gay referred to “Caesar’s time” in the context of education.¹⁰⁷ While the Empire expanded, the Romans were knowledgeable about Greek literature and supposedly tolerant of other religions.

La Nouvelle Héloïse is a novel about two lovers, passages of which can be read as a critique of political institutions. Without going so far as to claim the epistolary novel was a *roman à clef*, Daniel Mornet, editor of the 1925 Hachette edition, annotated the novel as if it were much more than a structured system of meaningless words. Mornet’s close, comparative reading of the various editions, including Rousseau’s personal copy, and the notes he made about their differences, only rarely encounters the problem of referential status. The definitions Mornet found for uncommon words and scholarship about Rousseau’s correspondence suggest a sincere intent to explain content. In one letter, Saint-Preux writes to Milord Edouard about an acrimonious situation involving M. and Mme de Wolmar. “... il porte au fond de son coeur

¹⁰⁵ Gay, *The Enlightenment: an Interpretation, The Rise of Modern Paganism*, vol. I, 109.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 35, 57, 107, 108.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 96, 167.

l'affreuse paix des méchants.”¹⁰⁸ Mornet cited a real letter from Rousseau to M. d’Offreville, written on October 4, 1761, containing the same sentiment. “Il est sûr encore que les méchants sont tous misérables, quel que soit leur sort apparent ...”¹⁰⁹ Since Rousseau wrote to d’Offreville in October of the year *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was published, it seems Rousseau’s correspondence echoed his literature more than the reverse.

The philosophers, Rousseau included, are generally considered to have been enamored of Greek and Latin culture. It is notable however that Julie felt literary models from antiquity were foreign to Switzerland. Saint-Preux eventually adopted her attitude. In the 1925 Hachette edition, Mornet remarked that Saint-Preux’s use of the word “simulacra” in Part Six went against Enlightenment conventions because it expressed sarcasm and disdain for antiquity. “Chère amie, ouvrez-moi votre maison sans crainte; elle est pour moi la temple de la vertu; par tout j’y vois son simulacre auguste, et ne puis servir qu’elle auprès de vous.”¹¹⁰ Since the imagery of a statue and a temple represent prevalent themes of 18th century writers, Mornet wrote, “C’est donc une audace ou inadvertance de Rousseau.”¹¹¹ It was out of character for a philosopher to suggest that Julie’s house, a “temple of virtue,” and perhaps its furniture, were august and fake. The sentence was audacious because Enlightenment philosophers, following Voltaire, were thought to associate religion with superstition. The *philosophes* are supposed to respect “temples of virtue” which look like Greek and Roman ruins, not ridicule them.

In his book about *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Mornet cited Rousseau’s letter to Vernes to explain why an adversary of novels would write a novel. Admiration and respect for classical writers was juxtaposed with skepticism about religion.

¹⁰⁸ Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Mornet, vol. IV, part. V, letter V, 101.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, part V, letter V, 101 n. 2.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, part VI, letter VII, 239.

¹¹¹ Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, by Rousseau, vol. IV, part VI, letter VII, 239 n. 2.

En juin 1761 “l’objet” que Rousseau s’est proposé, c’est de “rapprocher les parties opposés par une estime réciproque; d’apprendre aux philosophes qu’on peut croire en Dieu sans être hypocrite, et aux croyants qu’on peut être incrédule sans être un coquin.”¹¹²

The title of Peter Gay’s *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, The Rise of Modern Paganism* demonstrates his perspective about the religious attitudes 18th century writers. Plato and Aristotle aside, most of the classical authors that influenced Enlightenment philosophers were from the same era as the advent of Christianity: Virgil, Livy, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Plutarch and Tacitus wrote between 70 B.C and 120 A.D. The Gospels were written in about 75 A.D.

Jacob Soll’s *Publishing The Prince* is informative about the religious implications of Rousseau’s contradictory associations with Tacitus. Although the narrator of *Émile* thought Tacitus was too difficult for children, Rousseau’s intention to learn to write by translating him suggests that the style of Tacitus represented a standard of good writing. Whether Rousseau approved or disapproved of Tacitus, a writer in 18th century France needed to have knowledge of Tacitus to pass as being politically informed. Soll wrote, “Some humanists, such as Guillaume Budé, called him ‘the most wicked of writers,’ due to his harsh attitudes toward Christians, but most saw Tacitus as a political moralist.”¹¹³ In terms of style, the august simulacra or imitation of many classical writers would not technically sound so different from the literary style of the most prevalent religious texts in 18th century Switzerland and France.

Rousseau’s method of emulation to create a narrative voice eventually was offensive to sections of religious authorities. In *Les confessions*, he talked about his fear of Jesuits impeding the publication of *Émile*. “Je me figurai que les jésuites, furieux du ton méprisant sur lequel

¹¹² Mornet, ed., *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. I, 86. Mornet’s citation is from “Lettre à Vernes,” *Oeuvres et correspondance inédites*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Paris: Streckeisen-Moultou and Calman-Levy, 1861), 260.

¹¹³ Soll, *Publishing the Prince*, 31.

j'avais parlé des collèges, s'étaient emparés de mon ouvrage; ..."¹¹⁴ Rousseau's fear was not of having criticized the religion of the Jesuits, but of having criticized their educational system. As will be discussed at more length in the next chapter, some of Rousseau's difficulties as a writer resulted from his precarious position in regard to the hierarchies of education and politics. Ironically, knowledge of the history of early Christianity, such as how Tacitus, or other classical authors, expressed harsh attitudes towards Christians, potentially contributed to Rousseau's mentality.

Even if the expression "august simulacra" is only applied to literary style, Rousseau foresaw that the content of *Du contrat social* could be offensive to authorities in France. As if it needed to pass clandestinely into Holland, where Rey would publish it, the final draft of the manuscript was written in small letters and securely packed. None-the-less, a customs officer intercepted it and gave it to a Dutch Ambassador. The Ambassador initially praised *Du contrat social*, Rousseau conceded in *Les confessions*. "... ce qui le mit à portée de le lire lui-même, comme il me marqua naïvement avoir fait, avec force éloges de l'ouvrage, et pas un mot de critique ni de censure, se réservant sans doute d'être le vengeur du christianisme lorsque l'ouvrage aurait paru."¹¹⁵ It is not known if the Ambassador did not read the final two chapters about censorship and civil religion which are usually cited as having offended religious authorities. Perhaps it was only after readers saw a pattern that they reacted against Rousseau's religious beliefs. *La profession de foi du vicaire savoyard* also caught the attention of religious officials in Paris and Geneva.

¹¹⁴ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, Koenig, book XI, 673.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, book XI, 666.

In 1970, Gouhier analyzed an earlier instance of the word “simulacra” in Part II of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.¹¹⁶ Julie advises Saint-Preux to abandon Plato and to find sentiment in the heart of his soul.

Laisse, mon ami, ces vains moralistes et rentre au fond de ton âme: c'est là que tu retrouveras toujours la source de ce feu sacré qui nous embrasa tant de fois de l'amour des sublimes vertus; c'est là que tu verras ce simulacre éternel du vrai beau dont la contemplation nous anime d'un saint enthousiasme, et que nos passions souillent sans cesse sans pouvoir jamais l'effacer.¹¹⁷

According to Rousseau, in the capacity of a fictional editor, characters from Plato are the “vains moralistes,” cited in the first line above.¹¹⁸ With a quotation from Montaigne, Gouhier defined the meaning of “simulacra” as “the image of a god” and a “model.”¹¹⁹ While these statements by Julie and Saint-Preux about “simulacra” support the theory of a trend in literature away from imitation of classical forms in the latter part of the 18th century, the sentiment, the *clair-obscur* and the epistolary form can be still be traced to classical authors.

The lexical permutations of Rousseau's writings coincided with his own stylistic preferences and social currents. The rise of the bourgeoisie made the reading public ripe for the binary of *Du contrat social*. In Plutarch's *Lives*, “Caesar” connotes a military leader whose charisma and ambition threatened democratic society. “But what made Caesar most openly and mortally hated was his passion to be made king.”¹²⁰ Rousseau's writings mark a period in history when the perception that hereditary sovereigns were the legitimate leaders of nations

¹¹⁶ Henri Gouhier, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1970), 153.

¹¹⁷ Rousseau, *Julie ou La nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part II, letter XI, 157.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, part II, letter XI, 157.

¹¹⁹ Gouhier, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 153.

¹²⁰ Plutarch, “Caesar,” *Fall of the Roman Republic*, trans. Warner and Seager, 311.

began to decline. According to T.C.W. Blanning, various factors blurred the lines of the French aristocracy, such as wealthy people buying titles and relatively poor aristocrats who had little political power. “No one knows just how many nobles there were, estimates ranging from as low as 100,000 to as high as 400,000.”¹²¹ It follows that Caesar’s domination of Switzerland, almost two millennia earlier, resonated with 18th century readers’ attitudes about royal and aristocratic oppression.

Two points of comparison between *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and the Helvetii described in book I of Caesar’s *Gallic War* allow me to elaborate upon the paratextual relations between Rousseau’s novel and Roman history. The sentimental temperament of characters in both books is the first. The religious connotations of the names Saint-Preux and Diviciacus, a Helvetian leader, are the second. In the year 58 B.C., Caesar and his troops went on a “C” shaped itinerary beginning in Ocelum to a town called Vienna on the Rhone River. He was in Geneva, then continued across the Rhone and the Saône from the Helvetian territory into Gaul, passing through Toulon-sur-Arroux, Bibracte, into the Lincones, down to the South-East to Vesontio and up to Milhausen.¹²² Rousseau set the beginning of the epistolary novel in the same location. Julie’s parents, the Baron and Baroness d’Étange reside in Vevey, near Geneva.

Unlike the complexity of *Le premier livre*, the events of the *Gallic War* are described in a more chronological order. When Caesar was in the region that is now Switzerland, he and his counterparts expressed their feelings for each other. Caesar’s sensitivity first becomes apparent in his relations with Diviciacus. Two brothers, Diviciacus and Dumnorix were prominent leaders of the Helvetii. Diviciacus played the friendly, diplomatic role with Caesar while Dumnorix made allegiances with the Sequani. Instead of directly battling the Helvetii, Caesar

¹²¹ T.C.W. Blanning, *The French Revolution: Class War or Culture Clash?* 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 13.

¹²² Caesar, *The Gallic War*, trans. Edwards, campaign map, insert.

claimed only to be taking the Roman troops through Further Gaul. Caesar then destroyed a bridge near Geneva, while promising to protect the Helvetii from the Aedui. To punish Dumnorix for making an allegiance with the Sequani, Caesar caught and imprisoned him.

At the height of the hostilities between them, Caesar and Diviciacus eschewed cold reserve for affectionate sensitivity. "... for Caesar apprehended that the punishment of Dumnorix might offend the feelings of Diviciacus."¹²³ Instead of a rational argument, on the grounds of Helvetian sovereignty, Diviciacus appealed to his friendship with Caesar and reminded the Roman general of his attachment to his brother Dumnorix.

With many tears, Diviciacus embraced Caesar, and began to beseech him not to pass too severe a judgment upon his brother.¹²⁴

Appealing to Caesar's compassion, Diviciacus overflowed with emotion and won a favorable response. Accordingly, "... Caesar took him by the hand and consoled him ..." ¹²⁵ Rousseau rewrote Caesar's anxieties about the feelings of Diviciacus into the character of Julie. The sentimental appeal of Diviciacus is a prototype for a sentence of Saint-Preux. At the very beginning of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau framed the passionate relationship between Saint-Preux and Julie in nearly the same terms as those of Diviciacus and Caesar. The ardor of Saint-Preux's love elevates their affair to the level of life and death. He asks her for a pardon and he verges on tears.

Cent fois le jour je suis tenté de me jeter à vos pieds, de les arroser de mes pleurs, d'y obtenir la mort ou mon pardon.¹²⁶

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹²⁶ Rousseau, *Julie ou La nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part I, letter II, 12.

In Caesar's sentence, the order of these three elements is tears, embrace, then pardon. Rousseau reversed the first two, making the order: embrace (or act of submission), tears and then request for a pardon.

Since there are different standards for writing letters to friends and writing novels for the public, the question of genre is pertinent to literary abstraction and incongruities. When the literal meaning is de-emphasized, then readers are at liberty to understand the work as an expression of feeling. As Volpilhac-Augier noted, in the *Mémoire à M. de Mably*, Rousseau thought Caesar could be read with ease, whereas Tacitus was more difficult.¹²⁷ The abstraction and sentimentality of the letters of *la Nouvelle Héloïse* combines the occasional emotion of Caesar with the obscurity of Tacitus, whose work has more instances of irony while concisely recording major events. As much as Rousseau imitated their models, the themes and the illusion of a collaborative effort to write *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is not copied from either of them.

In *Rousseau and the Politics of Ambiguity: Self, Culture, and Society*, Mira Morgenstern evaluated the cry for help in the context of interpersonal psychology, natural man and imagination. She interpreted the complex dynamic of crying as it applies to romantic sensibility in *Discours sur l'inégalité* and *Discours sur l'origine des langues*. A communicative sign, crying acknowledges a binary hierarchy between a strong person and a weak one.

First, from the point of view of the person requesting help, the evocation of pity establishes the spirit of cooperation and the achievement of practical assistance.

Second, from the point of view of the person rendering this aid, it brings people

¹²⁷ Catherine Volpilhac-Augier, *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1993), 4.

together, by fulfilling the equally pressing emotional need of the powerful to feel needed.¹²⁸

Application of Morgenstern's idea to *La Nouvelle Héloïse* reinforces Julie's role as the powerful character because Saint-Preux requests her pardon. Her elevated class and family eventually lead her to reject a proposal for marriage from a social inferior. Since they do not live in a state of nature, the principle of "practical assistance" cannot exactly explain the relationship between Julie and Saint-Preux. Other factors, namely ties to her parents, determine how she responds to his cry for help. Despite the offer of an estate from Bomston, Julie rejected Saint-Preux. She explained her decision to Milord Edouard.

Moi leur unique enfant, je les laisserais sans assistance dans la solitude et les ennuis de la vieillesse, quand il est temps de leur rendre les tendres soins qu'ils m'ont prodigués! Je livrerais leurs derniers jours à la honte, aux regrets, aux pleurs? La terreur, le cri de ma conscience agitée, me peindraient sans cesse mon père et ma mère expirant sans consolation, et maudissant la fille ingrate qui les délaisse et les déshonore?¹²⁹

The affection between Diviciacus and Caesar cannot be explained only in terms of friendship. Instead of social inequality, the main story of *The Gallic War* hinges upon military force and strategy. The narrator of *Émile*, by the way, compared the style of Thucydides, Caesar, Herodotus and Livy. He thinks at least some of Caesar's writing is dry. "Malheureusement il [Thucydides] parle toujours de guerre, et l'on ne voit presque dans ses recits que la chose du monde la moins instructive, savoir des combats. La *Retraite des dix-mille* et les *Commentaires* de César ont à peu près la même sagesse et le même défaut."¹³⁰ In addition to the comparative

¹²⁸ Morgenstern, *Rousseau and the Politics of Ambiguity: Self, Culture, and Society*, 65.

¹²⁹ Rousseau, *Julie ou La nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. Launay, part II, letter VI, 145-146.

¹³⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Pierre Burgelin and Charles Wirz (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Essais," 1969), book IV, 365.

strength of Caesar's army to the weakness of the Helvetii, Caesar drew upon his ability to control the corn supply.

The Helvetii were compelled by lack of all provision to send deputies to him to treat of surrender. These found him on the march, and, throwing themselves at his feet, in suppliant tones besought peace with tears.¹³¹

Suggested by the Helvetian cry for assistance is a long standing culture of sensibility among the people from Geneva. After a later military loss, the Sequani distinguish themselves from the Helvetii, because they do not weep.¹³²

Plutarch also commented upon Caesar's volatile temperament and tendency to cry. According to Plutarch, political and social circumstances determined the benefits and potential problems of sentimentality. The benefits were limited to when Caesar was indisputably the leader. Early on, Romans liked his "boyish playfulness."¹³³ When he spoke at funerals, "It brought him much sympathy from the people, who regarded him as a tender-hearted man, full of feeling, and liked him for it."¹³⁴ Once, when reading about Alexander, he "burst into tears."¹³⁵ Caesar's successes and humanity won the admiration of soldiers and foreign leaders. "His ability to secure the affection of his men and to get the best out of them was remarkable."¹³⁶ In contrast to Morgenstern's theory about the cry for help in the works of Rousseau, Caesar's excessive emotion disrupted the formal hierarchy among senators. At a ceremony in the years following the civil wars, Caesar refused awards from senators and made an emotional display of humility, making a plea to be struck on the neck.¹³⁷ In a ceremony with senators, his sensitivity

¹³¹ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, trans. Edwards, 41.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³³ Plutarch, "Caesar," *Fall of the Roman Republic*, trans. Warner and Seager, 256.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 265.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 312.

was perceived as a lack of respect for other governmental officials. Although remorse for the foreign victims of war led Romans to perceive of Julius Caesar's humanity, according to Plutarch, many of them could not forgive him the death of Pompey's son who was Roman.¹³⁸

The sentimentality of the *Gallic War* is a model for Romantic sensibility. Since Diviciacus and the Helvetii wept in public, Romantic sentiment may originate in Switzerland. In *Les confessions*, Rousseau rewrote the sentence cited above again about the submission of Diviciacus to Caesar and the request for pardon. Jean-Jacques makes a cry for help to Ms. Lambercier.

Être aux genoux d'une maîtresse impérieuse, obéir à ses ordres, avoir des pardons à lui demander, étaient pour moi de très douces jouissances, et plus ma vive imagination m'enflammait le sang, plus j'avais l'air d'un amant transi.¹³⁹

Although the themes are the same, of the weak submitting to the strong and requesting pardon, Rousseau did not write this sentence upon the same lexical template. Otherwise the sentence from *La Nouvelle Héloïse* would have been an archetype for this sentence of *Les confessions*.

As described in his memoirs, Jean-Jacques's education revolved around Latin and literature, systematic thought, music and engraving. The idea of producing emotional effects by structuring language into certain forms was built upon the 17th century practice of philosophers arranging statements into the steps of a rational proof. In the following chapters, I will make a fuller account of the French tradition in the art of thinking. For now, it suffices to say that having a method for composition was a standard practice among Enlightenment writers. Daniel Mornet and Bernard Guyon, editors of two of the most eminent editions of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*,

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 308.

¹³⁹ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond and Koenig, book I, 47.

agree that Rousseau's novel is derivative: Rousseau walked a fine line between rewriting classical and modern sources while simultaneously creating the impression of epistolary verisimilitude. The most confusing, complex details, such as M. de Wolmar responding to Saint-Preux by writing to Milord Edouard convince many readers that *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is a real correspondence, not a fake one composed of borrowed scenes.

In this case, Rousseau's organizational strength lay in his ability to assume the persona of an editor of real letters. While ostensibly revising the personal statements of real correspondents, Rousseau brought out their feelings in such a way that mirrored the culture of the Swiss Alps from the time of Julius Caesar. Instead of the character of Julie being an early modern imitation of Julius Caesar, the expression of her emotion belongs to the authentic Swiss tradition of the Helvetii. Furthermore, the personal correspondence between Rousseau and Mme d'Houdetot proves that his contemporaries were as much a sentimental model for the novel as were the histories of Tacitus, Caesar and Plutarch. Rewriting and copying the first drafts of the novel until he reached a cohesive, standard form is compatible with the idea of using structural prototypes. It follows that if the French word for novels, "roman," comes from the sentimentality of Roman heroes in the histories of Plutarch and Tacitus, then the French could just as well have called novels "Helvetians" because the Swiss has the same culture of pouring out their emotions to friends.

Rousseau's writing about education demonstrates the influence of classical authors upon 18th century society. The instructor of *Émile* for example is well versed in Latin and Greek authors. *Les confessions* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse* reinforce the impression that Rousseau's contemporaries knew canonical texts from antiquity. As discussed in chapter one, Jean-François

Perrin has discussed Jean-Jacques's comparison of himself to the heroes of Plutarch.¹⁴⁰ Setting words into classical templates for metrical reasons understandably produced sentences whose cadences sounded natural to his contemporaries because their education accustomed them to classical prose.

For centuries, the curriculum established a despotism of classical form to which Rousseau prudently complied: if he wanted to please and enlighten his audience, he had to obey the strictures of his era. Rousseau emulated Plato and Aristotle because they wrote the authoritative texts on education, philosophy and politics. In the course of expressing his own ideas, Rousseau paid tribute to the histories of Tacitus, Plutarch and Caesar because convention required it. Stories of great men were told in classical history. Virtually every time, when the powerful Roman military murdered and massacred people from the region of the Alps, their leaders ended the hostilities with persuasive weeping. Rousseau was only at liberty to transpose accounts of battles into the more banal suffering of two lovers. The painstaking necessity to rephrase sentences with archetypes and prototypes, similar to authors who composed sentences according to the esthetics of *la prose nombreuse*, testifies to the constraints 18th century norms placed on the freedom of writers.

The ill-fated love affair between the classless Saint-Preux and Julie, the daughter of a Baron, metaphorically represents the conflict between Rousseau's desire for literary authenticity and the iron clad rules of the literary establishment. Saint-Preux is a modern subject in an epistolary novel, an individual feeling, thinking lover who wishes to make himself understood to Julie. She is the literary embodiment of classical literature, whose power is handed down from generation to generation and unattainable to Saint-Preux. Repetitions in the oeuvre prove to

¹⁴⁰ Jean-François Perrin, "César à Bossey: le palimpseste antique au livre I des *Confessions*," *Annales de la société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 48 (2008): 324.

what extent one of the most innovative authors could only say what had already been said. The theory of binary writing supposes that authorship of *Du contrat social*, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, *Lettre à D'Alembert*, and the other original literature resembled an editor's task of preparing already existing texts to be published in the form required by his contemporary society. Since thinking and writing necessarily entails repeating grammatical structures, the slightest rebellion against literary tyranny, such as an unconventional spelling or a colloquialism brought down upon Rousseau the disapprobation of critics.

Study of Rousseau's sources and its genesis show that the ideas and the method of composition were rooted in the traditions of France and Switzerland. As much as the narrator of any passage sounds like a common man or woman only means that educated men and women of the era would have recognized the real identity of his allusions and would have absorbed enough of the acceptable literary mannerisms to pass for being educated. Imitation then, for Rousseau, was an act of standardizing his texts not erecting revolutionary and inflammatory monuments to the classical tradition. This is why the emotion of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and the beauty of *Les confessions* were composed in the same rhythmic flow as the unequivocal definitions of *Du contrat social*.

Chapter 4

Seneca and the Stylistic Genesis of *Du contrat social*

Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* stands as a model for the theory of Rousseau's prototypical composition in two ways: on structural and semantic levels. According to the seminal 1957 monograph, a grammatical structure can describe the formation of every phrase. Like Fontanier, whose *Figures du discours* limited the object of study to about a sentence, Chomsky's grammatical evaluation occurs within the unit of the phrase, preferably simple ones upon which complex ones can be built.¹ This dissertation has already discussed how the musicality of Rousseau's prose resulted from a rational method of composition and sometimes coincided with what de Man termed "referential unreadability." While sentences have an underlying structure, which allows for their formation by a process of substitution, their comprehensibility is another area of evaluation.

Throughout *Syntactic Structures*, Chomsky compared the production of comprehensible sentences to nonsensical ones.² In the domain of linguistics, the understanding of suggested meaning, or the ability for sense to be made of unusual words arranged into correct patterns, is different from the evaluation of an underlying structural model. Readers of Rousseau's literature should not try to state the intuitive meaning of a sentence as soon as they perceive its structure. Since some semantic information is derived from the formal structure, immediate semantic interpretation could interrupt understanding the continuity of an entire passage arranged according to it.

Chomsky used the "Markov process model" to explain simple transformations of sentences. A Markov process model is a diagram of two sentences, the second of which only

¹ Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 13.

² *Ibid.*, 15, 94.

requires a small alteration from the first in order to satisfy the required conditions. Out of a sentence with a singular subject such as “The man comes,” the Markov process model shows that only two words need to be cut and another two added, according to the verbal pattern, to generate “The men come.”³ Since the formulaic sentence has no object, it generates correct sentences with either transitive or intransitive verbs. Although Chomsky quickly discounted Markov process models because of their limited use for the description of more sophisticated sentences, they are well suited for the explanation of genetic transformations in Rousseau’s literature.

The fifth book of *L’Émile* is about Sophie, the ideal woman for the protagonist. We see in the editorial notes of Pierre Burgelin how Rousseau rewrote one phrase about Sophie’s personality in order to make them fit the idea he had of her. By substituting words within an archetype of the Neuchâtel manuscript, Rousseau revised the original sentence then rearranged them again in the Favre and Paris manuscripts, only keeping the structure in outline. Since transformations of the sentence occurs on the semantic level while its structure was somewhat retailored, the transformation only satisfies the condition of semantic comprehension and not that of structural transformation. The sentence under consideration is about the “esprit” of Sophie.

³ *Ibid.*, 19.

Neuchâtel Manuscript:

“On ne trouve jamais à Sophie ni plus ni moins d’esprit qu’on n’en a”⁴

Corrected Neuchâtel Manuscript:

“Personne ne trouve jamais l’esprit de Sophie ni au dessus ni au dessous du sien”⁵

Favre and Paris Manuscripts:

“Sophie a l’esprit très agréable, quoiqu’il ne soit pas fort orné selon ...”⁶

A Markov process model could nearly describe the transformation from the first to the second sentence because both of them include a negation of the verb “trouver,” and many of the same words: “esprit,” “jamais,” “Sophie,” “ni.” The third version only maintains the semantic content. Although a Markov process model cannot describe the structure of these sentences, even before reading the definitive version, its semantic essence in the passage seems to have become clear. Readers intuit from the passage that the narrator evaluates Sophie’s intelligence through a sartorial lens. The description of her “esprit” or intelligence is primarily about her ability to make dresses and her sense of fashion. She rigorously follows rules about color; her clothes are simple and Rousseau remarked that she shuns shiny and glimmering accessories.⁷ He also said Sophie was good at helping her mother keep track of household finances which could pertain to buying materials and using fabrics judiciously.⁸ Nonetheless, one should not yet state the semantic interpretation before reading the definitive sentence.

⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, eds. Pierre Burgelin and Charles Wirz (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1969), book V, 585 n. a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, book V, 585 n. a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, book V, 585 n. a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, book V, 583.

⁸ *Ibid.*, book V, 584.

Sophie a l'esprit agréable sans être brillant, et solide sans être profond, un esprit dont on ne dit rien, parce qu'on ne lui en trouve jamais ni plus ni moins qu'à soi.⁹

The definitive sentence of *Émile* makes a fairly large change of emphasis which is mostly esthetic. Rousseau obviously pushed for a sentence with more rhythmic balance, accentuating that Sophie is “agreeable” and “solid.” To whatever extent her spirit is demonstrated, according to *Émile*'s instructor, one says nothing about it. In terms of an ongoing literary discussion of sentence structure and transformation, just because the suggested meaning seems to be obvious, critics cannot immediately state it because a different structure or semantic value may be demonstrated in the definitive rewriting.

Chomsky's linguistic method of phrase structure grammar does away with tree diagrams and parsing for a more programmatic method of describing sentences. Better than Markov process models, phrase structure grammar operates with something like an algebraic representation of speech. Algebra uses letters to represent each variable number in an equation. Similarly, letters of Chomsky's equations designate a part of speech or another transformation. More sophisticated and able to generate correct English sentences, equations of phrase structure grammar maintain traditional, algebraic form. “If we have two sentences $Z + X + W$ and $Z + Y + W$, and if X and Y are actually constituents of these sentences, we can generally form a new sentence $Z - X + \textit{and} + Y - W$.”¹⁰ To operate within the exclusive bounds of the linguistic system of one language, it is imperative that the linguist only exchange a correct substitution for each symbol.

The purpose of *Syntactic Structures* was not to prove that a phrase structure grammar could produce individual sentences. While Chomsky theorized about a complete system of

⁹ *Ibid.*, book V, 585.

¹⁰ Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 35.

structures which could potentially generate all of the sentences in a language, he left the task of a complete description to subsequent grammarians.¹¹ In the course of the monograph, chapters incorporate the history of linguistic transformation, explain derivations and theorems of phrase structure, and distinguish the differences between kernel sentences and full scale transformations. Chomsky also wrote specifically about English transformations and answered questions about semantics. Remarkable for their scholarly rigor and precision, Chomsky's grammatical syntactic formulas or "devices" for the generation of sentences only resemble to a certain extent the prototypes along whose lines Rousseau more or less composed sentences. The idea of a complete phrase structure grammar raises questions about the percentage of Rousseau composition which may have been written with formal patterns.

Numbered sentences in the manuscript of *Les confessions* demonstrates its composition was admirably meticulous. Although Rousseau had a mathematical conception of music, his musical theory combined mechanical French theories with more passionate Italian ones. Chomsky's grammar describes sentences in a more mathematical way. In the following phrase structure model, "NP" generates a definite article and a noun. "VP" generates a verb and another "NP." "T" stands for the definite article. "N" stands for a noun.

Sentence

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| <i>NP + VP</i> | (i) |
| <i>T + N + VP</i> | (ii) |
| <i>T + N + Verb + NP</i> | (iii) |
| <i>the + N + Verb + NP</i> | (iv) |
| <i>the + man + Verb + NP</i> | (v) |
| <i>the + man + hit + NP</i> | (vi) |

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

the + man + hit + T + N (ii)

the + man + hit + the + N (iv)

the + man + hit + the + ball (v)¹²

Notice that instead of eight steps, there are only six. After the sixth step, Chomsky returned to the second because “VP” generates a verb plus a definite article and a noun. The transformation of “NP” had already been shown in the second step.

The same equation can generate many straight forward, declarative sentences. In theory, we could replace “woman” with “man,” “hit” with “drove,” and “ball” with “car.” Instead of “The man hit the ball,” this phrase structure grammar generates, “The woman drove the car.” Unless another qualification limits the selection of words, the equation generates nonsensical sentences such as “The parkway listened to the radio,” or “The toll booth signaled the horn.” The combination of a phrase structure grammar with a dictionary could generate many of the most common sentences of a language.

Rousseau employed a similar process of substitution to generate new ideas. In 18th century France, for example, Louis XIV issued edits to 13 *Parlements* which were courts of law. Wealthy magistrates heard cases and made legal decisions.¹³ A reader of 18th century political literature would consider the following sentence semantically and structurally correct. “Nous avons vu que la puissance législative appartient au Roi et aux Magistrats, et ne peut appartenir qu’à eux.” *Du contrat social* states nonetheless, “Nous avons vu que la puissance législative appartient au peuple, et ne peut appartenir qu’à lui.”¹⁴ Such substitution as “people” for “magistrates” and “king” that Rousseau made between accepted ideas and revolutionary ideas

¹² *Ibid.*, 27.

¹³ Isser Woloch, *Eighteenth-Century Europe: Tradition and Progress, 1715 – 1789* (New York: Norton, 1982), 327.

¹⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1964), book III, chpt. I, 217.

threatened the power of the traditional system. He chose to emulate authors such as Tacitus and Seneca because their sentence structures were considered to be of the highest quality. Since the correctness of some sentences depends upon context, especially when words have technical or academic definitions, two categories of structural and semantic combinations arise: normal daily usage and infrequent usage. Some sentences will be acceptable to linguists who understand their technical context which native speakers would consider unacceptable. According to *Syntactic Structures*, however, native speakers ultimately judge if a linguistic model qualifies as a functional model of a language.¹⁵

With another model of phrase structure grammar, Chomsky evaluated phonetic changes between present tense and past tense verbs. Equations and symbols represent transformations of pronunciation like “hits” becomes “hit,” “takes” becomes “took” and the sound of “ed” is voiced at the end of verbs like “walk.” The following model explains the very unusual generation of the most frequent phonetic transformations.

- (i) $walk \rightarrow /w\acute{o}k/$
- (ii) $take + past \rightarrow /tuk/$
- (iii) $hit + past \rightarrow /hit/$
- (iv) $/...D/ + past \rightarrow /... D + /id/$ (where $D = /t/$ or $/d/$)
- (v) $/... Cunv/ + past \rightarrow /...Cunv/ + /t/$ (where $Cunv$ is an unvoiced consonant)
- (vi) $past \rightarrow /d/$.
- (vii) $take \rightarrow /teyk/$ ¹⁶

Notice that (i) and (vii) describe pronunciation of the present tense; (ii), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) describe the past tense. While the first group and the second group together complete the

¹⁵ Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 50.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

description, the capital “D” in (iv) signifies unusual transformations, like verbs ending in *t*. “She lets him do it.” → “She let him do it.” The small “d” of (vi) signifies the addition of “ed” on the end of a present tense verb. We observe that the first Markov process model and the first phrase structure grammar involved the generation of new sentences with substitutions of parts of speech. In this model, Chomsky described his theory of the transformation of phonemes, involving what he called “voiced” and “unvoiced” consonants.

Although the shortest sentence must only have one subject and one verb, the longest sentences can theoretically have an infinite number of clauses. Only if linguists limit the number of words in sentences, Chomsky affirmed, could a generative grammar describe every correct sentence of a language. “Hence the grammar cannot simply be a list of all morpheme (or word) sequences, since there are infinitely many of these.”¹⁷ For a group of sentences with a limited number of words, a linguist could potentially make an equation for every transformation. The intention of phrase structure grammarians would be to classify every variety of transformation according to the vocabulary. “If the processes have a limit, then the construction of a finite state grammar will not be literally out of the question, since it will be possible to list the sentences, and a list is essentially a trivial finite state grammar.”¹⁸ Of descriptive grammars, Chomsky thought the strongest practical drawback was the complexity and infinite number of required phrase structures.¹⁹ Chomsky’s more limited list of generative structures resembles a series of sentences from the *Apocolocyntosis* that Rousseau used as a prototype for *Du contrat social*.

Authors have a tendency to allude to other authors in their introductions so that their contemporary text approaches as much as possible the desired quality of another text. Since Rousseau closely read some of the Seneca’s literature and translated the *Apocolocyntosis*, its

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

stylistic and thematic influence upon *Du contrat social* is not surprising. Without exactly replicating them, the first five sentences of *Du contrat social* nearly mirror the first four sentences of the *Apocolocyntosis*. Robert Derathé alluded to classical texts in his “Introduction” to *Du contrat social*. Rousseau’s political treatise includes, “... des traces d’une pensée plus ancienne – ce que, pour notre part, nous n’oserions affirmer - ...”²⁰ A dialectical process governed what Rousseau copied From Seneca and what he invented. Unlike the exact link between a phrase structure grammar and a sentence, Rousseau usually maintained a distance of two or three words between his sentences and Seneca’s.

*Apocolocyntosis**Du contrat social*

1. Je veux raconter aux hommes	-	1a. Je veux chercher si dans l’ordre civil
ce qui s’est passé dans les Cieux	-	il peut y avoir quelque règle d’administration
Le treize Octobre	-	
sous le Consulat d’Asinius Marcellus-		légitime
et d’Acilius Aviola,	-	et sûre
dans la nouvelle année qui commence-		en prenant les hommes tels qu’ils sont
cette heureux siècle.	-	et les loix telles qu’elles peuvent être.
	-	2. Je tâcherai d’allier toujours dans cette recherche ce que
	-	le droit permet avec ce que l’intérêt prescrit
	-	afin que la justice et l’utilité ne se trouvent point divisées.
3. Je ne ferai ni tort ni grace;	-	3a. J’entre en matière sans prouver l’importance de mon sujet.
mais si l’on demande comment	-	On me demandera

²⁰ Derathé, ed., introduction to *Du contrat social*, by Rousseau, 13.

je suis si bien instruit?	-	si je suis prince ou législateur pour écrire sur la politique?
4. Premièrement je ne répondrai rien, - s'il me plaît; car	-	4a. Je réponds que non, et c'est pour cela
qui m'y pourra contraindre?	-	que j'écris sur la politique.
5. Ne sais-je pas que me voilà devenu libre par la mort de ce galant-homme	-	5a. Si j'étois prince ou législateur,
qui avait très-bien vérifié le proverbe,- qu'il faut naître	-	je ne perdrois pas mon temps à dire ce qu'il faut faire;
ou monarque ou sot?" ²¹	-	je le ferois, ou je me tairois." ²²

At first glance, the passages appear very similar. For a comparative structural analysis, we will look at two lexical qualities: on the one hand, nouns and verbs, the most necessary components of sentences, and on the other, adjectives. In most of these sentences, when adjectives are counted, Rousseau kept nearly the same number of words as Seneca. The numerical similarities between them suggest that Rousseau rewrote Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* to compose *Du contrat social*. The following schematization of *Du contrat social* designates substantives, verbs and adjectives with the letters S, V and A. For the sake of simplicity, articles and prepositions have been ignored.

²¹ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, eds. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, trans. Rousseau (Paris: Gallimard, "La Pléiade," 1995), 1213.

²² Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, intro., 173.

<i>Apocolocyntosis</i>		<i>Du contrat social</i>	
1. S1 – V1 – S2	-	1a. S1 – V1 – S2 – A1	
S3 – V2 – S4 – S5 – S6	-	S3 – V2 – S4 – S5 – S6	
S7 – S8 – S9	-	A2	
S10 – S11	-	A3	
S12 – A1- S13 – V3	-	V3 – S7 – S8 – V4	
A2 - S14 (19 total)	-	S9 – S10 – V5 (18 total)	
	-	2. S11 – V6 – S12 – S13	
	-	S14 – V7 – S15 – S16 – V8	
	-	S17 – S18 – V8 – A4 (13 total)	
3. S15 – V4 – S16 – S17	-	3a. S19 – S20 – V9 – S21 – S22	
S18 – V5	-	S23 – S24 – V10	
S19 – V6 – A3 (9 total)	-	S25 – V11 – S26 – S27 – V12 – S28 (14 total)	
4. S21 – V7	-	4a. S29 – V13	
S22 – S23 – V8	-	S30 – V14 – S31	
S24 – S25 – V9 (8 total)	-	S32 – V15 – S33 (8 total)	
5. V10 – S26 – S27 – S28	-	S34 – V16	
V11 – A4 – S29 – A5 – S30	-	S35 – S36	
S31 – V12 – S32	-	S37 – V17 – S38 – V18	
S33 – V13	-	S39 – V19	
S34 – S35 (16 total)	-	S40 – V20 – S41 – S42 – V21 (15 total)	

The *Apocolocyntosis* begins “Je veux raconter aux” and *Du contrat social* begins “Je veux chercher si.” It is remarkable that the phrase structure of the *Apocolocyntosis* is reproduced without the same words. Rousseau replaced the conjunction *aux* after the verb *raconter* with the *si* of the verb *chercher*. Then he rewrote the long the clause “le treize Octobre sous le Consulat

d'Asinius Marcellus et d'Acilius Aviola" into a more streamlined: "règle d'administration légitime et sure." Since two entities qualify the objects of verbs in both sentences, they seem to have been built upon the same framework. Their binary quality can be schematized in the following way.

/ sous le Consulat d'Asinius Marcellus
Le treize Octobre
\ et d'Acilius Aviola.

/ légitime et
Règle d'administration
\ sur.

The satirical virtuosity of Seneca has a frivolous quality, recognized in the near homonyms, Asinius and Acilius, which are phonetically the same except for an "n" and an "l." The voice of Rousseau's narrator is simpler yet magisterial. With only the words "legitimate" and "certain," its musical qualities are more sober; its rhythm is slower. Rousseau's rendition does not have the alliteration and consonance of Seneca.

When Rousseau had more to say than fit within the bounds of a prototype, he probably wrote an additional sentence with binary style, arranging his prose into the balanced, Latinate style of canonical authors. The second sentence of Rousseau is without precedent. "Je tâcherai d'allier toujours dans cette recherche ce que le droit permet avec ce que l'intérêt prescrit afin que la justice et l'utilité ne se trouvent point divisées."²³ This sentence constitutes their tonal difference. It prepares for a serious discussion of authority, natural right and convention which approaches the tone of tragedy in *Du contrat social* because of the grandeur of the subject and

²³ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book. I, intro., 173.

fatal flaws of existence within political institutions. Seneca treated the same themes humorously in a mythological court of law on Mount Olympus.

Three of the sentences of *Du contrat social* are very near replications of the *Apocolocyntosis*. The first clauses of the third sentence provides an interesting case of substitution: Whereas Seneca's first person narrator begins, "Je ne ferai ni tort ni grace," Rousseau's narrator states, "J'entre en matière sans prouver l'importance de mon sujet." Although Rousseau added a noun to the phrase structure, if the two nouns of "l'importance de mon sujet" had been conceptualized as only one: "un sujet important," then the number of nouns of the prototypal sentence would have been reproduced. The decision to compose with two substantives instead of one is in emulation of the noun-dense style of Tacitus and demonstrates one generative structure of Seneca's sentence which Rousseau abandoned.

The events of the *Apocolocyntosis* begin with the death of Claudius who was Emperor of Rome from A.D. 41-54. According to P. T. Eden, the title ἄποκολοκύντωσις likely means "gourdification" or "metamorphosis into a gourd."²⁴ After his death in 54 perhaps from poison, the narrator describes the arrival of Claudius at Mount Olympus where the gods, who mostly speak Latin, debate if a man with such dubious achievements should be deified.²⁵ According to the story, he does not know he is dead. Claudius first meets with Jupiter and Hercules. Hercules asks Claudius where he is from in his native tongue of Greek. Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* portrays Claudius as being able to read and recite Greek but not speak it. Instead of answering Hercules, Claudius recites a verse from Homer, giving the impression he was from Ilium. Fever, a Roman goddess, recognizes Claudius and tells Hercules and Jupiter that Claudius is from Lyon.

²⁴ P. T. Eden., ed. and trans., introduction to the *Apocolocyntosis*, by Seneca (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1.

²⁵ Marcel Le Glay, Jean-Louis Voisin, Yann Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*, eds. David Cherry and Donald G. Kyle, trans. Antonia Nevill, 3rd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 234.

Claudius then addressed them in a language they do not understand, probably a dialect of French. In the ensuing scenes, Hercules arranges for Claudius to be judged, and either admitted to Mount Olympus or rejected. Diespiter, for example, voted for his deification and wanted his transformation from human to god to be included in the stories of Ovid.²⁶ Two previous Caesars, Augustus and Caius Caligula take into consideration the moral ramifications of his violence toward northwestern Europeans and even Romans.²⁷ The gods eventually reject Claudius. He descends to Rome and then to the underworld where he is enslaved. Rousseau probably chose to begin writing *Du contrat social* in both structural and narrative emulation of the *Apocolocyntosis* because Seneca's farce could be understood as a metaphor for many of the themes of Rousseau's political treatise. Rousseau made the point in "De la religion civile" that the people of antiquity had different gods and different governments.

Mais c'est de nos jours une érudition bien ridicule que celle qui roule sur l'identité des Dieux de diverses nations; comme si Moloch, Saturne, et Chronos pouvoient être le même Dieu; comme si le Baal des Phéniciens, le Zeus des Grecs et le Jupiter des Latins pouvoient être le même; comme s'il pouvoit rester quelque chose commune à des Etres chimériques portans des noms différens!²⁸

Even among the Greeks who had the same gods, readers of Homer and Plutarch know that the Spartan men had different customs and laws than the men of Athens or Thebes. The women of Phoenicia had attitudes unlike those of Laconian women. Instead of rewriting Seneca's stories about deification, Rousseau substituted its dramatic form to a political treatise.

²⁶ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1220. Rousseau's translation says "fils de Vica-Pota." The name "Diespiter" is in Eden's translation, "a collation of all of the manuscripts." ix, 47.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1220 – 1221.

²⁸ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book IV, chap. VIII, 282.

Dynamics between religion and government were a reality in 18th century France, and of interest to the often persecuted *philosophes*. The *Apocolocyntosis* produced seeds for many of their theoretical treatises. We know from *Les confessions* that when exiled from France, Rousseau recognized that King Frederic of Prussia decided upon the religion of the territories of Berne and Rousseau necessarily submitted to it.

Cependant, après ma réunion solennelle à l'Église réformée, vivant en pays réformé, je ne pouvais, sans manquer à mes engagements et à mon devoir de citoyen, négliger la profession publique du culte où j'étais rentré: j'assistais donc au service divin.²⁹

While there was an official religion of the state, the situation was more complex than it might seem. Thérèse Levasseur attended Catholic services in the Territories of Berne. Ironically, not only were Rousseau's true religious allegiances questioned, he began to wear Armenian clothes and was recruited to help Emet Ullah convert to Christianity.³⁰ While Voltaire stationed himself for a time in England to observe the British religious liberties, and wrote about them in *Lettres philosophiques*, D'Alembert did not ignore that in Geneva, Catholicism was outlawed. "On voit encore entre les deux portes de l'hôtel de ville de Genève une inscription latine en mémoire de l'abolition de la religion catholique."³¹ The *Apocolocyntosis* was a model for Rousseau and Diderot because Seneca described the strife of other people's religious questions in a way that was sufficiently different that its humorous character made it palatable.

As much as Rousseau looked to Seneca, *Du contrat social* is a different form of literature than the *Apocolocyntosis*. Seneca told a chronological story in a fictional environment. It begins

²⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond, and Catherine Koenig (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Classique," 1973), 715.

³⁰ Raymond Trousson, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau : Heurs et malheurs d'une conscience* (Paris : Hachette, 1993), 217.

³¹ Jean le Rond D'Alembert, "Genève," in *The Encyclopédie of Diderot and D'Alembert*, ed. J. Lough (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 85.

on the 13th of October, the real day historians believe the Emperor Claudius died, and unfolds in the Apian Way, Mount Olympus, Rome, the Forum, the Campus Martius, the Tiber, the Arcade and the underworld. The many characters of the *Apocolocyntosis* give it stylistic qualities of drama. As will be discussed later in the chapter, although *Du contrat social* is entirely theoretical, its prose imitates qualities of dramatic monologue. Unlike drama, *Du contrat social* is encyclopedic in nature, its narrator provides little information about himself, except that he is: “Né citoyen d’un Etat libre, et membre du souverain.”³² The only other characteristic of Rousseau’s narrator is that he is a writer. The writer’s acknowledgement of and compliance with authoritarian power, and the consequences of non-compliance are a productive area of study.

Unlike the names of historical people, the names of fictional people and mythological gods are apt to substitution because their meaning is arbitrary. An example in the *Apocolocyntosis* is a woman related to Silanus: “Parce qu’ayant une soeur d’une humeur charmante et que tout le monde appelloit Vénus, il aima mieux l’appeller Junon.”³³ This one woman had two names, Venus and Juno, the second of which was an affectionate nickname given to her by Silanus. The binary quality of her name is a precedent for Rousseau’s ability to obscure simple truths with equivocal terms.

On the level of names, Tacitus and Seneca provided models of lexical substitution within a body of literature. In *Le premier livre*, Tacitus composed many names into systematic, patterned prose so that only readers familiar with the people would know the signification of the sentence. The *Apocolocyntosis* has more models of binary naming. In addition to the binary of Venus and Juno, the narrator discloses that there are not one but two men named Silanus, Appius and Lucius. The first is a father-in-law of Claude; the second is someone in his family.

³² Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, intro. 173.

³³ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1219.

Rousseau learned a literary method from both Tacitus and Seneca allowing him to build momentum in a story or essay via the ambiguity surrounding a certain person or thing. If two things have one name, or one thing has two names, or two things have two names each of which is composed of two words, one of which is the same, such as Appius Silanus and Lucius Silanus, readers continue reading and evaluating the text until the confusion is resolved.

Ferdinand de Saussure wrote about the long term relationship between the written word and the pronunciation of words, some of which are names. The crux of the issue revolves around rare cases of the written language disfiguring the language, as people speak it. Occasionally unusual spellings which distress the eye for their oddity, such as when a medieval scribe put a “v” where a “u” would be put today, caused people to pay special attention to its pronunciation. Saussure referred to these as “les graphies irrationnelles.”³⁴ Commenting about instances of irrational spellings in the *Cours de linguistique générale*, Jacques Derrida would ask: “Pourquoi déterminer cette opération comme une violence, et pourquoi la transformation serait-elle seulement une déformation?”³⁵ According to Saussure, to argue that the written names “Lefèvre” and “Lefèbvre” were different spellings of the same family name would be begging the question.³⁶

Naturally, before standardization of the written language, a name or a word could have unusual spellings. Linguists who carefully consider these problems cannot always be sure if two different spellings point to differences in the original pronunciation or if a change in the writing of the word resulted in a pronounced disfiguration. Whoever spelled “Lefèvre,” “Lefèbvre” did it for reasons of cultural richness: the second was thought to be more “savant.”³⁷ Because of the

³⁴ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. Tullio de Mauro (Paris: Payot, 1972), 51.

³⁵ Jacques Derrida, *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1967), 61.

³⁶ Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. De Mauro, 53.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

disfiguration of the written word, the spoken word was also affected. “*Lefèbvre* a été lu *Lefébure*, avec un *b* qui n’a jamais existé réellement dans le mot, et un *u* provenant d’une équivoque.”³⁸ We know that all of the variations are derived from the Latin word *faber* which means “blacksmith.”³⁹ These transformations between the written word and the spoken word were given the term “les effets de désaccord” by Saussure and include silent letters.⁴⁰ Some of the letters or sound images of words like “mais” and “fait” are unvoiced in spoken French.⁴¹ Silent consonants were part of the written tradition, Saussure suggested, and were occasionally due to changes in pronunciation.

Derrida’s contention about disfigurations of the language, “Où est le mal? dira-t-on peut-être. Et qu’a-t-on investi dans la ‘parole vive’ qui rende insupportable ces ‘agressions’ de l’écriture?”⁴² is answered by Saussure’s point about the irrational writing of double vowels. In English, the long “e” sound could be written with “ee” or “ea.”

L’anglais du moyen âge avait un *e* fermé (par exemple dans *sed* “semence”) et un *e* ouvert (par exemple dans *led* “conduire”); l’alphabet n’offrant pas de signes distincts pour ces deux sons, on imagina d’écrire *seed* et *lead*.⁴³

While the disfiguration of the family name “Lefèbvre” was considered culturally richer, this instance of what Saussure called “disaccord,” the doubling of letters of the English words resulted from the poverty of the alphabet, which does not have one letter for each sound. It was irrational because in one of the words, “seed,” the long “e” sound was made long with a double vowel “e + e,” whereas the long “e” of “lead” only has one “e” and the scribe inserted an “a.”

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴² Derrida, *De la grammatologie*, 61.

⁴³ Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. De Mauro, 50.

In attempt to answer questions about translations and templates, this chapter relies upon “Jean-Jacques Rousseau, traducteur de Sénèque,” by Léon Herrmann and “Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque” by Raymond Trousson. Herrmann determined that although Rousseau must have consulted numerous versions of the *Apocolocyntosis*, he mostly used the Saint-Gall manuscript.⁴⁴ Comparison of Rousseau’s translation to one by L’abbé Esquien led him to laud the structure of Rousseau’s prose and the fragments of poetry in it. “De plus, ce qui est plus important, l’ordre de la phrase latine *Pusillum perturbatur*, etc., est bien plus fidèlement suivi par Rousseau que par l’abbé Esquien, de sorte que le pittoresque de l’apparition de Cerbère est mieux sauvegardé.”⁴⁵ A close reading of the Latin and French translations shows that Rousseau and L’abbé Esquien had alternative visions of the real *Apocolocyntosis*: “...si aucun des deux traducteurs ne se pique de rendre littéralement le texte, J. J. Rousseau est quand même très supérieur à son rival?”⁴⁶ According to Herrmann, the vocabulary of Rousseau elevated the humor and visual qualities of Seneca. Raymond Trousson also cited a Latin original and two French translations to show that Rousseau interpreted sentences differently than Waltz, who translated the 1966 Les Belles Lettres edition. Detrimental to the literal meaning, Rousseau sometimes added a word for the sake of the rhythm or style, as he had when translating Tacitus.⁴⁷ Additions to the text were elaborations and the fruit of his imagination.

Trousson was concerned with individual sentences of Rousseau’s translation which communicated the correct sense of the Latin original without technically being correct. “... il comprend l’ensemble sans pouvoir rendre compte du détail.”⁴⁸ “... se contenant de capter

⁴⁴ Léon Herrmann, “Jean-Jacques Rousseau, traducteur de Sénèque,” *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 13 (1920-1921): 217.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁴⁷ Raymond Trousson, “Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque,” in *Travaux de littérature offerts en hommage à Noémi Hepp* (Paris: Adirel, 1990), 146.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

approximativement le sens.”⁴⁹ “... peu fidèle à la lettre.”⁵⁰ “... peu soucieux du détail.”⁵¹

Despite its mistakes, Trousson thought Rousseau successfully recreated the satirical tone of Seneca, choosing informal language such as “consul grippe-sou” compared to “modeste changeur de monnaie” of Waltz.⁵² According to the characteristics outlined in *L’Encyclopédie*, which distinguish between literal and non-literal translations, Trousson deemed Rousseau’s work more concerned with Seneca’s ideas than their exact form.⁵³

The *Apocolocyntosis* is especially interesting for a study of lexical substitutions, such as those of translations, because Seneca envisioned the problem of linguistic barriers on Mount Olympus. As the Roman Empire expanded, the gods of Mount Olympus spoke Greek, Latin and various dialects. When Claudius cannot make himself understood to Hercules, Fever and Jupiter, Trousson noticed that although Rousseau’s translation of Hercules’s response includes a slight mistake, his sentence conveys the comedic essence of the passage and its familiar language.

Sénèque: ‘*Tum Hercules : ‘Audi me, inquit, tu desine fatuari.’*

Waltz: ‘Écoute-moi, dit alors Hercule, et cesse de radoter.’

Rousseau: ‘Oh, oh! l’ami, lui dit Hercule, ne va pas faire ici le sot.’⁵⁴

Rousseau translated *Audi me*, “écoute-moi” with a homophone, “Oh, oh! l’ami.” I call this phonetic act of translation an “entendre,” like a “double-entendre” without the “double,” because Rousseau translated what he heard instead of the literal signification. As discussed in Chapter One, Stackelberg noticed that Rousseau’s translation of *Le premier livre* of Tacitus was

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 148.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 149.

identifiable by its vocabulary. Since Rousseau translated by ear, and replaced Latin words with etymologically similar French words, readers could see the relationship between the two texts.

In the “Oh l’ami! écoute-moi” sentence spoken by Hercules to Claudius, Rousseau increased the number of nouns whereas Waltz decreased them. Eden’s English translation has the same number of substantives as Rousseau’s. “Then Hercules said ‘Listen to me! You stop playing the fool!’”⁵⁵ In terms of word-order, Waltz followed Seneca closely, translating “Audi me” with “Écoute-moi,” and “tu desine fatuari” with “cesse de radoter.” Eden also used an imperative. Instead of using the pronoun “moi,” Rousseau translated the beginning of the sentence from a different perspective, “lui dit Hercule.” The sentence demonstrates that at times Rousseau escaped from constraints of the original prototype. Rousseau identified with Claudius and captured his incomprehensible language with the colloquial “le sot” whereas Waltz paid closer attention to what Hercules must have been thinking, “cesse de radoter.” The number of substantives changes between the original and each translation. Seneca used three: *Herculus, me, tu*. Waltz used only two: *moi, Hercule*. Rousseau used four: *l’ami, lui, Hercule, le sot*.

Although Rousseau surely translated Seneca for a literary education, Trousson saw Seneca as model for political commentary.⁵⁶ The first stint of work on the *Apocolocyntosis* predates the publication of *Discours sur l’origine de l’inégalité* in 1755 and the second stint is contemporaneous to the writing of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse*. As well as the *Premier discours*, Trousson thought the *Apocolocyntosis* influenced *Du contrat social*. Diderot was one of the first to observe similarities between Seneca’s literature and Rousseau’s: “... le citoyen de Genève, disait déjà Diderot dans l’*Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron*, nous rappelle Sénèque en

⁵⁵ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. and trans. Eden, 39.

⁵⁶ Trousson, “Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque,” 151.

cent endroits.”⁵⁷ The scholarship of Trousson and other critics he summarized, suggests that Seneca informed Rousseau philosophically as well as stylistically.

Conversely, it becomes evident that Rousseau’s political philosophy and historical circumstances influenced his translation of Seneca. Rousseau’s reliance upon the concept of natural man instead of classical societies allows for a debate about the principle of fairness and egalitarianism. In the next couple of paragraphs, Rousseau’s description of legal theory in *Du contrat social* is compared to various translations of a sentence about law in the *Apocolocyntosis*. In “De la loi” of *Du contrat social*, Rousseau acknowledged that every individual might not receive an equal hearing at court.

Ainsi la loi peut bien statuer qu’il y aura des privileges, mais elle n’en peut donner nommément à personne; la loi peut faire plusieurs Classes de Citoyens, assigner même les qualités qui donneront droit à ces classes, mais elle ne peut nommer tels et tels pour y être admis; elle peut établir un Gouvernement royal et une succession héréditaire, mais elle ne peut élire un roi ni nommer une famille royale; en un mot toute fonction qui se rapporte à un objet individuel n’appartient point à la puissance législative.⁵⁸

Once privilege has been written abstractly into law, then the laws could be disadvantageous to any individual or group who does not belong to the privileged classes. According to the passage, however, only the general will makes the laws. Rousseau’s argument means that if the decisions of a judge at court were perceived as unjust by the people, then the judge would have used legal powers incorrectly.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁵⁸ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book II, chpt. VI, 201.

In “*Rêveries of Idleness*,” Pierre Saint-Armand claimed Rousseau’s attitude was the antithesis of a prevalent, Enlightenment work ethic.⁵⁹ During the 18th century, forced labor was thought to be a legitimate punishment for crime. Rousseau and Waltz made very different translations of one sentence in the *Apocolocyntosis* about this issue. When the gods debate the deification of Claudius, Augustus Caesar argued that since the Emperor Claudius had murdered his father-in-law and two sons-in-law, he should be expelled from Mount Olympus.⁶⁰ Trousson recognized the difference between Rousseau’s and Waltz’s translations.

Sénèque: . . . *placet mihi in eum severe animadverti nec illi rerum iudicandarum vacationem dari.*

Waltz: . . . mon avis est qu’on lui applique un chatiment sévère, qu’il ait à juger des procès sans replit.

Rousseau: . . . j’opine qu’il soit sévèrement puni, qu’on ne lui permette plus de siéger en justice.⁶¹

Rousseau’s sentence seems to set him apart from prevalent 18th century attitudes about justice. According to his translation, it would not make sense to punish an Emperor by assigning him the task and obligation to judge cases. None-the-less, Trousson claimed Rousseau mistranslated the sentence. “Cette fois, dans un passage pourtant fort simple, l’intuition est en défaut et le contresens complet: si Rousseau interprète correctement *vacationem* (exemption, dispense), il oublie la fonction négative du *nec* qui modifie le sens de la phrase.”⁶² In his bilingual edition,

⁵⁹ Pierre Saint-Armand, “*Rêveries of Idleness*,” in *Approaches to Teaching Rousseau’s Confessions and Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, Eds. John C. O’Neal and Ourida Mostefai (New York: Modern Language Association, 2003), 127.

⁶⁰ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1222.

⁶¹ Trousson, “Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque,” 144.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 144.

Eden translated the same Latin words with, "... my proposal is that he be severely punished and not given exemption from due process of law ..."⁶³ Waltz thought the gods were going to impose forced labor upon Claudius, that of judging cases. Eden thought Augustus Caesar was referring to the Olympian court of law in which each of the various gods were currently testifying about the deification of Claudius. The context supports Eden's translation because in the following sentences, the gods come to unanimous agreement. They effectively banish Claudius from Mount Olympus and he descends to Rome and then to the underworld.⁶⁴

Trousseau thought that the long process of translating Seneca taught Rousseau to imitate the dramatic sense of the *Apocolocyntosis*. According to him, Rousseau's translation reproduced its farcical, burlesque qualities. "... il rend le texte plus animé, plus proche du théâtre, caractérise avec netteté les personnages de cette farce..."⁶⁵ In 1754, Rousseau translated passages which use rhetorical questions and changes in subject or person at the beginning of each sentence to give the impression of dialogue in soliloquy. In 1758, four years later, he worked on the translation again.⁶⁶ Rousseau's ability to compose sentences that give the impression of additional narrative voice in prose probably originated in the informal testimony of gods on Mount Olympus.

When the case headed by Jupiter about the deification of Claudius increased in tension and size, Augustus Caesar agreed to speak about the crimes of Claudius because they concerned his family. The speech uses vocatives "O Peres Conscripti!" to give the impression of a speaker with a captive audience.⁶⁷ Augustus delivered the heaviest blow of the witnesses by beginning sentences with the personal pronoun and names of other people.

⁶³ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. and trans. Eden, 50-51.

⁶⁴ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1222, 1224.

⁶⁵ Trousseau, "Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque," 150.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁶⁷ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1220.

Les désastres de ma famille me laissent-ils des larmes pour les malheurs publics? Je n'ai que trop à parler des miens. Ce galant homme que vous voyez protégé par mon nom durant tant d'années, me marqua sa reconnaissance en faisant mourir Lucius Silanus un de mes arrières-petits-neveux et deux Julies mes arrières-petites-nieces, l'une par le fer, l'autre par le faim. Grand Jupiter, si vous l'admettez parmi nous, à tort ou non, ce sera sûrement à votre blâme.⁶⁸

The impression of dialogue in a monologue is achieved by sentences and clauses beginning with alternating subjects. The sentences begin with the words: Les désastres, Je, Ce galant homme, and Grand Jupiter. Although only one person is speaking, readers imagine the discourse as if it were a drama with many characters. Rousseau's *Discours sur l'économie politique* was published in 1755, one year after his first attempt to translate the *Apocolocyntosis*. In 1760, within two years of the second translation, Rousseau transformed the *Discours sur l'économie politique* into the *Manuscrit de Genève*, passages of which imitate the dramatic monologue of the *Apocolocyntosis*. The sentence of Augustus has more dramatic subjects, so to speak, than the following sentence of *Du contrat social*. It was published in 1762, four years after the final translation of Seneca. It only uses two dramatic subjects: "je" and "le peuple," to produce dramatic interaction in prose.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1221.

1	2
Si je ne considérais <u>que</u> la force, et l'effet qui en dérive, je dirois; tant <u>qu'</u> un	
3	4
Peuple est contraint d'obéir et <u>qu'</u> il obéit, il fait bien; sitôt <u>qu'</u> il peut secoüer le	
5	
joug et <u>qu'</u> il le secoüe, il fait encore mieux; car recouvrant sa liberté par la même	
droit qui la lui a ravie, ou il est fondé à la reprendre, ou l'on n'étoit point à la lui	
ôter. ⁶⁹	

The rhythm of the phrase is derived from these two conceptual subjects, the “je” and “le peuple.” For comparison, the back and forth between them seems balanced whereas in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Bayle arranged similar ideas and words in a non-dramatic way. Bayle put two nouns together “la loi de Mahomet” and “l’homme” without creating dramatic monologue.

1	2
C'est donc se faire illusion <u>que</u> de prétendre <u>que</u> la loi de Mahomet ne	
3	4
s'établit avec tant de promptitude, et tant d'étendue, <u>que</u> parce <u>qu'</u> elle ôtait à	
	5
l'homme le joug des bonnes oeuvres et des observances pénibles, et <u>qu'</u> elle lui	
permettait les mauvaises moeurs. ⁷⁰	

Previous chapters of this dissertation observed how Rousseau emulated the binary structure of Montesquieu's analogies. In this case, the clichéd usage of a “yoke” in regard to law, liberty and force connect the two texts. Pierre Bayle wrote the article “Mahomet” in the 1696 *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. To describe human submission to legal authority, Bayle used the

⁶⁹ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. I, 174.

⁷⁰ Pierre Bayle, “Mahomet,” *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, ed. Alain Niderst (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1974), 92.

metaphor of a wooden crosspiece fastened onto the shoulders of oxen 66 years before the 1762 *Du contrat social*. In Bayle's opinion, the religious and social laws of Islam removed the obligation of good works from those who submit. According to him, the laws of Muhammad let Muslims wander aimlessly – without a yoke and a driver - and let them break some cultural laws with impunity.

The sentences of Bayle and Rousseau have syntactic similarities as well as lexical and thematic ones. Both sentences use the conjunction “que” five times. Bayle used the verb “être” only once; Rousseau used it three times. To arrange the sentence with alternating active and passive clauses, Rousseau placed a noun before the verb “être,” and then before an active verb: “je dirois” (active); “Peuple est contraint d’obéir” (passive); and “il obéit,” (active). Bayle repeated “que” in a convoluted way: “se faire illusion que de prétendre que...” and “que parce qu’elle....” Modification of a verb with another verb made Bayle's prose more complex. As similar as it is to Seneca, Rousseau's balanced usage also resembles the descriptive concision of Tacitus and even Platonic dialogue. Plato attracted the attention of readers because two people engaged in a formal discussion about simple ideas is more easily understood than one person speaking.

The narrator of the *Apocolocyntosis* describes the apprehension of a scribe who risks confusing words when taking dictation. As was demonstrated in *Le premier livre* of Tacitus, it was also true that when Claudius ruled during the first century A.D., politicians alluded to canonical speeches and may have memorized formulaic speeches so as to be able to fall back on them in a reformulated form. Before written texts, it would seem to be harder for an audience to hold speakers accountable for any perceived discrepancies or plagiarism. When the god Janus spoke about the deification of Claudius, the meaning of his eloquence which seemed to

emphasize structure over meaning, occasionally was lost upon his listeners. Having been elected consul for only one afternoon, Janus represents the quandary of those whose position of power obliges them to speak even when they do not necessarily know the specifics of a case.⁷¹ His speech was eloquent, abstract and spoken with the intent to please.

Since it is a satire, when the *Apocolocyntosis* describes the difficulty of a scribe who writes Janus's speech, Seneca put a strong dose of humor into the vocabulary. Janus "... regardant à la fois devant et derriere: en vrai pilier de barreau il se mit a débiter fort disertement beaucoup de belles choses que le scribe ne put suivre, et que je ne répéterai pas de peur de prendre un mot pour l'autre."⁷² The beauty or the color of Janus's eloquence was in his capacity to recognize and appreciate accepted truths, such as the importance of being deified and to formulate them into palatable metaphors. "'Once' he said, 'it was a great thing to be made a god: now you have made it a 'Bean' farce."⁷³ Seneca sensitively projected the exceptional capacity of Janus for eloquence to the scribe who fears exchanging one word for another. Unable to repeat what Janus said, the narrator summarized the gist of his argument.

We see in the speech of Janus that de Man's problem of "unreadability" was also pertinent in the first century. A public speaker presumably intends to influence the thoughts and behavior of an audience for the better. To the extent the structural quality of a speech is modeled upon a prototype, the syntactic allusion should increase its value as long as the public considers the prototypal speech authoritative. If one sounded like Cicero, when speaking to Romans, they would recognize it. Alternatively, if an audience recognized lexical patterns of a speech they did

⁷¹ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1219.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 1219.

⁷³ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. and trans. Eden, 45.

not like, the speech would go over less well. Abstract eloquence raised concerns for scribes and historians, whose reputations depended upon their clarity and sound judgment.

Herrmann and Trousson remarked differences between translations and Latin versions. The *Apocolocyntosis* is humorously confusing. Some passages may have been intentionally obscure. This is in fact the very first thing Eden remarked in the preface to his edition. “In a number of places the text presents grave difficulties, and an obelus, which properly signifies a considered suspension of judgment, might seem to be called for.”⁷⁴ Translators are likely to have a personal interpretation of a text that is fundamentally vague, especially of passages whose incongruities provoke readers to read between the lines for a deeper meaning. Some pages are missing from the *Apocolocyntosis*. After the missing pages, it is difficult to discern the exact story, mentioned earlier, of Lucius Silanus, Venus, Jupiter and Claudius.⁷⁵ Information was withheld and the truth came out slowly. We learned a few pages later of the two men named Silanus whom Claudius had killed.⁷⁶ Inviting further interpretation, on Mount Olympus, identity is in a state of flux; Caius Caligula Caesar takes the form of Augustus Caesar.⁷⁷ Consistent with paintings and other representations of numinous existence, the entire satire has a dreamlike quality.

According to tradition, since Julius Caesar, Caesars were deified at death. Early in the story, Claudius recognizes that he is talking to gods. He addressed Hercules, “... ô le plus fort de tous les Dieux!”⁷⁸ Five pages later in Rousseau’s fourteen page translation, just after being rejected from Mount Olympus, Claudius finally understands that he has died. “Claude en voyant

⁷⁴ Eden., ed. and trans., Preface to the *Apocolocyntosis*, by Seneca, ix.

⁷⁵ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1219.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1221.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1221.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1218.

ses funérailles comprit enfin qu'il étoit mort."⁷⁹ Seneca pokes fun at Claudius's intelligence in that he could participate with the gods in a debate about his deification without yet understanding he was dead.

I have already mentioned the problem of linguistic barriers on Mount Olympus. On a first reading, history in this case would seem to contradict Seneca because Claudius authored books in Latin and Greek.⁸⁰ However, what originally appeared to be humor about Claudius's native dialect may in fact be the description of a real physical disability. At the time of his death, Claudius was 64 years-old and may have been hard of hearing. In Rousseau's translation, twice Claudius does not speak, he grumbles or growls, "grogner."⁸¹ Eden translated his act of speaking as "muttering."⁸² Addressing Apollo, Jupiter, Hercules and the goddess Fever, Seneca indicated that Claudius was either unable to speak loudly or that he could not raise his voice to a high pitch.⁸³ Fearing the incomprehension of the gods, Claudius resorts to making gestures with his hand. Le Glay mentioned in *A History of Rome* that Claudius spoke with a stammer.⁸⁴ Maybe this is why his speech perplexed his interlocutors. The narrator observed, "Voyant qu'on ne l'entendoit point," and "... autant qu'on put l'entendre il sembla parler ainsi."⁸⁵ The motif of "entendement," understanding or hearing, in the *Apocolocyntosis* pertains to the evaluation of Rousseau's education about political speech and its consequences.

Each of the Caesars governed as general and head of state. As leaders of the army, one could say Augustus and Claudius were both responsible for countless deaths. The strongest

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1223.

⁸⁰ Le Glay, Voisin, Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*, eds. Cherry and Kyle, trans. Nevill, 233.

⁸¹ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, vol. V, 1217, 1218.

⁸² Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. and trans. Eden, 39.

⁸³ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1217.

⁸⁴ Le Glay, Voisin, Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*, eds. Cherry and Kyle, trans. Nevill, 233.

⁸⁵ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1217, 1218.

accusations of Augustus against Claudius are the death sentences he handed down to family members, without real or sufficient evidence. When Augustus Caesar testified against Claudius, he charged him with a lack of understanding. “... ô divin Claude, pourquoi tu fis tant tuer de gens sans les entendre, sans même t’informer de leurs crimes?”⁸⁶ Whether Claudius was not informed about their crimes because of a hearing impediment or perhaps a court system which operated on hearsay instead of evidence, the accusations weighed heavily against him. If seen and interrogated from a contemporary perspective, Augustus himself seems to have the blood of Romans on his hands. During his era, as many as 10,000 gladiators and soldiers battled each other in magnificent stadiums for Roman games and mock battles.⁸⁷

Close study of Seneca taught Rousseau the importance of convention. In “Sujet de ce premier livre” of *Du contrat social*, Rousseau stated “Mais l’ordre social est un droit sacré, qui sert de base à tous les autres. Cependant ce droit ne vient point de la nature; il est donc fondé sur les conventions.”⁸⁸ Convention permitted a Roman gladiator to be pitted against another Roman gladiator whereas a Caesar could not have someone with the privileges of his family sentenced to death. In the minds of the other Caesars, the Romans Claudius had put to death for personal reasons counted more heavily than the thousands who died as a form of entertainment. Claudius was judged by his peers, as presumably, Augustus had been judged earlier. Had the families of the gladiators judged Augustus, including evidence gleaned from surveillance, as the goddess Fever did on Claudius, Augustus himself may not have been deified.

When Claudius descends from Mount Olympus, there is increasing evidence of deafness. He mystically appears as in a vision before the Romans, who are parading in the streets, mourning his death and celebrating his greatness. “Le bruit des trompettes, des cors, des

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1221.

⁸⁷ Le Glay, Voisin, Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*, eds. Cherry and Kyle, trans. Nevill, 215.

⁸⁸ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. I, 174.

instruments de toute espèce et sur-tout de la foule, étoit si grand que Claude lui-même pouvoit l'entendre."⁸⁹ The problem of "entendement" must be understood from the inside and the outside. The inside "entendement" is the ability of Claudius to hear and to make himself understood. The outside "entendement" is his ability to understand what others are saying. Since he recognized that Hercules spoke Greek, we know that Claudius is not at a loss as to what the other gods say. The inside problem of "entendement" provides more mileage for an evaluation of it, since he became angry, shouted and gesticulated when the gods did not understand him. Scribes at this point are most likely to modify and interpret his words, rewriting them according to their own thoughts.

It still remains to be answered why Rousseau chose Seneca as a model. It appears that his literature was a commodity among Enlightenment philosophers. Diderot's book about Claudius and Nero supports the hypothesis that Seneca was widely read. Peter Gay's *The Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Paganism* established the influence of Seneca along with Cicero and Plutarch upon European authors. Seneca was read by Petrarch in the 14th century, and then, after the invention of the Gutenberg Printing Press in the 15th century, he had many more famous readers: Montaigne, Charron, Saint Evremond and Hume.⁹⁰ According to Gay, Seneca was popular among the Stoics, such as the Dutchman, Dirck Coornhert who translated him.⁹¹ Grotius admired Seneca because his philosophy was systematic without being too religious.⁹² Voltaire's article about superstition, Gay recognized, owed a debt to Seneca.⁹³ Was

⁸⁹ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1222.

⁹⁰ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Paganism*, vol. I (New York: Norton, 1966), 267, 281, 288, 303, 308, 64, 55.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 299.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 299.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 51.

Seneca in vogue and his writing a “currency” that Rousseau could “counterfeit,” so to speak, so that his own ideas would sound enough like Seneca to attract the attention of readers?

There is surprising evidence about the extent to which canonical writers effected the personalities of Enlightenment authors as well as their literature. Gay observed this about Diderot. “In his analysis of Seneca’s *Epistles*, Diderot merges into Seneca until we can no longer separate the ancient from the modern philosopher.”⁹⁴ Damrosch recognized a similar problem of narrative indeterminacy in Rousseau, who wrote in *Les confessions*, “for I became Tasso for the time being.”⁹⁵ Scholars now know from Rousseau’s correspondence about the *Apocolocyntosis* that he followed the Latin text as closely as he could and that he contacted others to obtain translations of Seneca’s Greek citations.⁹⁶ After closely reading Seneca over a period of years, so much so that his own perspective about society was shaped by Seneca’s, Rousseau seems to have consciously alluded to him in the introduction to *Du contrat social* as a form of acknowledgement. In other passages, Rousseau’s style may resemble Seneca’s even when he did not intend to draw attention to it.

Writers, Historical Authority and the Government

The Enlightenment is often understood to be an era when the rise of an urban bourgeoisie and the prevalence of literature lead to the transformation of monarchies into democratic republics. When literacy rates were low and current events rarely published, only a limited number of institutions, the nobility, the military, the judicial branches of government and the clergy knew the facts necessary to make political decisions. As well as the *Encyclopédie* and books like *De l’esprit des lois* and *Du contrat social*, more journals and pamphlets were

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁹⁵ Leo Damrosch, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 197.

⁹⁶ Trousson, “Rousseau traducteur de Sénèque,” 141.

published in 18th century Europe. In the 1720's, the infamous author of *Robinson Crusoe*, Daniel Defoe, wrote and published the *Review* as well as pamphlets about riots and religious differences.⁹⁷ Since some French books were published in Holland and Belgium, and sold illicitly in France, to some extent, French authors could write and publish literature about politics, such as history, without royal or aristocratic permission.

In theory, for the first time in French history, anyone who could read could be informed about the events and decisions that affected society. T.C.W. Blanning argued in *The French Revolution: Class War or Culture Clash?* that by the middle of the 18th century, "There is also plenty of evidence that contemporaries made the connection between the right of the public to judge aesthetics and the right to judge politics."⁹⁸ Since many of the ideas in Rousseau's books have classical and previous 18th century counterparts, it was partially their literary form that made them original and controversial. The musicality and style of his prose increased the public's ability to think about their relationship to government. The ability to know contemporary political information enabled the public to participate in government and decide upon its own fate.

In 1762 after the publication of *Du contrat social* and *Émile*, the *Parlement* of Paris issued a warrant for the arrest of Rousseau. *Les confessions* posits various causes for his disfavor among the ruling body. Rousseau probed the possibility of having insulted the monarchy and important people connected to him with ideas he had written and published. At one point, the Duke of Luxembourg asked Rousseau if he had insulted Choiseul. "Avez-vous parlé mal de M. de Choiseul dans le *Contrat social*?"⁹⁹ Before choosing to precipitously flee

⁹⁷ Anthony Burgess, introduction to *A Journal of the Plague Year*, by Daniel Defoe (London: Penguin, 1966), 12.

⁹⁸ T.C.W. Blanning, *The French Revolution: Class War or Culture Clash?* 2nd edition (London: Macmillan, 1998), 29.

⁹⁹ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, and Koenig, book XI, 684.

Paris the very morning he expected to be summoned to court, Rousseau considered incarceration at the Bastille.¹⁰⁰ We know from the *Apocolocyntosis* and *Le premier livre* that ramifications of publishing political literature existed for millennia. As early as A.D. 54, Seneca and Tacitus struck down the notion that an author could publically criticize authority without danger.¹⁰¹ Since Tacitus prudently choose to recognize the powerful autonomy of rulers of state, whereas the narrator of the *Apocolocyntosis* speaks flippantly as if he is invulnerable to consequences, Seneca and Tacitus represent two poles of what can be termed the issue of Choiseul.

In imitation of these classical writers, Rousseau acknowledged in *Du contrat social* the precarious relationship between writers and state authorities. The Issue of Choiseul was addressed directly and indirectly. The narrator of *Du contrat social* states that he is a citizen in the first book. The fourth book includes a chapter about censorship. According to Rousseau, while the censor is a government official, only the people themselves can decide what they want to read.¹⁰² More profoundly, Rousseau established in the second book that “...cette volonté déclarée est un acte de souveraineté et fait loi...”¹⁰³ Since the law is established by whoever’s statements form public opinion, authors bear the responsibility of their words which can be as powerful and cruel as those of kings. In antiquity as well as the Enlightenment, to a large extent, the power of authority lay in the ability to disseminate information. People whose position authorized them to talk or write determined right and wrong conduct for others, including conventions, agricultural practices, and foreign policy.¹⁰⁴ According to the conclusion of *Du contrat social*, these parts of government are within the purview of the rights of all the people of

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, book XI, 686.

¹⁰¹ For the date, Cf. Eden, ed. and trans., introduction to *Apocolocyntosis*, by Seneca, 4.

¹⁰² Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book IV, chpt. VII, 280.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. II, 191.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Woloch, *Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 259-270.

a state.¹⁰⁵ From the perspective of writing with textual models, this section of the chapter evaluates the transformation of political speech from the exclusive right of the elite to the inclusive right of the public.

Before the completion of *Du contrat social* and being forced into exile, Choiseul, a Minister of State, offered to help find Rousseau employment in the foreign service.¹⁰⁶ Rousseau acknowledged his respect for Choiseul because he had written the “Pacte de famille,” a treaty which united members of the Bourbon family in Spain, Parma and Sicily.¹⁰⁷ Henri IV, who ruled from 1553 to 1610, was the first Bourbon King. Louis XIII, Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI were also from the Bourbon family. Since Choiseul could plausibly have found a place for Rousseau in a foreign embassy, Rousseau revised *Du contrat social* to criticize his opponents.

Prévenu d’estime pour ses talents, qui était tout ce que je connaissais de lui, plein de reconnaissance pour sa bonne volonté, ignorant d’ailleurs totalement dans ma retraite ses goûts et sa manière de vivre, je le regardais d’avance comme le vengeur du public et le mien, et mettant alors la dernière main au *Contrat social*, j’y marquai, dans un seul trait, ce que je pensais des précédents ministères, et de celui qui commençait à les éclipser.¹⁰⁸

His respect for the minister was somewhat unfounded because due to his ignorance of some of his political opinions. Rousseau later admitted his regret about certain statements which created obstacles to his social life and career. During the early stages of his exile, Rousseau went to Yverdon. After the first banishment, Rousseau moved to Moitiers, a town in the territories of Berne which were under the jurisdiction of the Prussian King Frederick.

¹⁰⁵ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book IV, chpt. IX, 292.

¹⁰⁶ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, and Koenig, book XI, 658.

¹⁰⁷ Koenig, ed., *Les confessions*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, and Koenig, book XI, 658 n. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, and Koenig, book XI, 659.

In the privacy of his home at Montmorency, Rousseau had written a few lines of poetry beneath a portrait of Frederick, ending with the line: “Il pense en philosophe, et se conduit en Roi.”¹⁰⁹ Rousseau feared that the interpretation of this and other of his publically known attitudes about Frederick would damage the health of their relations. The precariousness of Rousseau’s situation is evident in the fact that he was never truly independent. On the contrary, he had to seek the protection of people whom he had criticized. Frederick eventually granted Rousseau an allowance of wood and coal for his place of residence at Moitiers. “Sans accepter aucune des deux, je regardai Frédéric comme mon bienfaiteur et mon protecteur, et je m’attachai si sincèrement à lui, que je pris dès lors autant d’intérêt à sa gloire que j’avais trouvé jusqu’alors d’injustice à ses succès.”¹¹⁰ Outside of Geneva, Rousseau had to live in a country that was technically the property of one or another king. *Les confessions* document the problems of publishing politically adversarial books at a time when authors could not escape the authority of the people they criticized.

Due to the expression of ideas in *Du contrat social*, Rousseau was forced to give up his Genevan bourgeois rights, including his right to vote.¹¹¹ Instead of hearing the accusation made against Rousseau in a court of law, Tronchin, the Attorney General of Geneva, violently attacked him outside of the courts in *Lettres écrites de la Campagne*.¹¹² Since the Attorney General would write a tract against him, it would be unreasonable to expect a fair hearing about the rights of expression and publication. *Lettres de la Montagne*, Rousseau’s response to Tronchin’s booklet, raised the public ire against him to the point that the townspeople of Neuchâtel

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, book XII, 702.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, book XII, 710.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, book XII, 721.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, book XII, 722.

threatened him in streets.¹¹³ Although Parisian and Genevan authorities destroyed copies of *Émile* and *Du contrat social*, and Rousseau was accused of crimes, since he could write and publish a response to Tronchin, we see that conventions about freedom of press were in a state of flux. While Rousseau maintained a some degree of freedom of expression during the years of exile, magistrates and ministers more effectively made public opinion.

Jacob Soll's *Publishing The Prince: History, Reading & The Birth of Political Criticism* explains that political prudence reached its adolescence before the Enlightenment philosophers attained mastery of it. Amelot de La Houssaye was remarkable for rechanneling the authority of royalty and aristocrats by editing Tacitus and Machiavelli.¹¹⁴ In 1677, the reaction to La Houssaye's *History of the Government of Venice* taught him the urgency kings felt to relieve themselves of their critics. Although he waited through a month and a half of imprisonment, interest in his political literature did not go down.¹¹⁵ Instead of writing, Soll observed, in the earliest days of the Enlightenment, writers with a political standpoint learned the necessity to deny their status as writers, to wade through the accepted historical compendiums, and to redirect their energies into commentary that would clarify the essence of histories for the current times.

As it happens, a profound knowledge of political literature enabled King Frederick of Prussia to criticize both the interior and the exterior of governmental philosophy. Soll developed an idea in *Publishing the Prince* of which Frederick had a vague yet inchoate grasp. Frederick's contention was that the commentary of editors could persuade bourgeois readers that free speech about politics was not necessarily the exclusive right of Kings. "While his friend had seen Amelot's works as a refutation of the treacherous prince, Frederick saw him as a promoter of

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, book XII, 738.

¹¹⁴ Jacob Soll, *Publishing "The Prince: History, Reading, & The Birth of Political Criticism* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 8.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

treachery and, perhaps, of republicanism.”¹¹⁶ Since he was under the impression that political literature – for his case, La Houssaye’s editions of Machiavelli and Tacitus – could potentially confuse the hierarchies within monarchies, Frederick wrote a *Critical Essay on Machiavelli*.¹¹⁷

Even before the Enlightenment, writers feared the surveillance of governmental authorities. It is understandable why Rousseau took pains to surreptitiously package a manuscript of *Du contrat social* and hand it off to couriers, who travelled by carriage from France to Holland, so that Rey could print it.¹¹⁸ It is more of a mystery why the King of Prussia sent his *Antimachiavel*, with a preface by Voltaire, across national borders to a foreign editor. Soll observed that Frederick was “the most famous royal reader of the Enlightenment.”¹¹⁹ Even though he was the personification of the very authority writers and authors feared, as a reader of the Enlightenment, along with their words, he had irrationally internalized their fears. Since the *Antimachiavel* included a picture perfect copy of La Houssaye’s notes to Machiavelli, Soll perceived that the dissemination of Frederick’s critique as far as England and Spain concurrently disseminated the ideas of La Houssaye.¹²⁰

Description of historical methodology was of great interest to the writers of the *Apocolocyntosis*, *Le Premier livre*, the *Manuscript de Genève*, and *Du contrat social*. Seneca and Tacitus perceptibly influenced Rousseau’s admiration for the secret channels through which historical methodology passed from one historian to another. The narrator of the *Manuscrit de Genève* pays credit to the historians who have treated the material, beginning with the phrase, “Tant d’auteurs célèbres ont traité des maximes du Gouvernement et des règles du droit civil

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹¹⁸ Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, and Koenig, book XI, 666.

¹¹⁹ Soll, *Publishing “The Prince:” History, Reading & The Birth of Political Criticism*, 115.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

qu'il n'y a rien d'utile à dire sur ce sujet qui n'ait été déjà dit."¹²¹ Rousseau understood the relationship between the packaging of ideas and their potency: since everything had already been said, then the impetuous was to reconfigure the same ideas into short, apparently common sense chapters which would appeal to the taste of 18th readers for instruction and diversion. The acknowledgement in the *Manuscript de Genève* of the value added to history by the fame of historians, who were purveyors of political philosophy, is nearly the same as a sentence from Tacitus's *Le Premier livre*. "Les 720 premières années de Rome ont été décrites par divers Auteurs avec l'éloquence et la liberté dont elles étoient dignes."¹²² With a tone of erudition, Tacitus set himself above the common reader, for he was in possession of knowledge which they were not.

According to Le Glay's *A History of Rome*, at the end of the first and through the second century, it had become a convention for historians to reformulate the materials of well-known histories. "The Italian literary vein dried up: men compiled, summarized, and began to repeat the ideas of former times."¹²³ Breaking down histories and recomposing them in new ways, for aesthetic reasons, entailed methodologically seeing the events from different perspectives, and even losing original details and truths. In the *Avertissement* to his translation of Tacitus, Rousseau admitted to the problems of methodology. "... entendant médiocrement le latin, et souvent n'entendant point mon Auteur, j'ai dû faire bien des contre-sens particuliers sur ses pensées..."¹²⁴ If Rousseau did word-for-word translations, then stylistically revised them with a literary methodology, the potential for erroneously changing the meaning in the second text

¹²¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Manuscrit de Genève*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Essais," 1964), 103.

¹²² Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1128.

¹²³ Le Glay, Voisin, Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*, eds. Cherry and Kyle, trans. Nevill, 314.

¹²⁴ Rousseau, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, by Tacite, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, 1227.

increases. Lexical substitutions within a pattern could confuse and complicate Seneca's signification so that ideas were published even though Rousseau was mistaken.

Le premier livre established the relationship between Tacitus and political authorities in its introduction. Although he strove to only tell the truth, Tacitus described his relationship to Emperors in order to disclose the position from which he saw politics. The book begins with an acknowledgement of powerful Roman statesmen. "Je commencerai cet ouvrage par le second Consulat de Galba et l'unique de Vinius."¹²⁵ By stating in the next few sentences that he was impartial to Galba and other Generals and Emperors, while saying nothing about being impartial to Vinius, it is implied that Tacitus may be either positively or negatively prejudiced toward Titus Vinius, who was a commander under Galba. "Quant à moi, Galba, Vitellius, Othon ne m'ont fait ni bien ni mal: Vespasien commença ma fortune, Tite l'augmenta, Domitien l'acheva, j'en conviens; mais un historien qui se consacre à la vérité doit parler sans amour et sans haine."¹²⁶ Vespasian was Emperor from A.D. 69 to 79; followed by Titus, who ruled from A.D. 79 to 81; before Domitian held power between A.D. 81 and 96.

A senator, Tacitus was married to Julia Agricola, which made him the son-in-law of the General Agricola who served terms as the Roman Governor of Britain and modern day Turkey. Instead of pure objectivity, Tacitus thought that the purest record of historical truth could be achieved by stating one's vantage point to history. Since the success of Tacitus began and came to fruition with the Emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, his disclosure of a relationship to them informs readers about how to read his works.

The narrator of the *Apocolocyntosis* is more defiant than was Tacitus. Not an ignorant defiance, Seneca's narrator speaks with a bitter tone about authority. There is only one condition

¹²⁵ Tacite, *Premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1228.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1228.

that insures him of this liberty. The narrator asks, “Ne sais-je pas que me voilà devenu libre par la mort de ce galant-homme qui avoit très-bien vérifié le proverbe, qu’il faut naître ou monarque ou sot?”¹²⁷ According to Eden, the narrator of the *Apocolocyntosis* was modeled on Seneca. “The author was a man of exceptional artistic virtuosity, with a detailed knowledge of the events of Claudius’ reign, and a malicious animosity towards Claudius himself.”¹²⁸ Le Glay’s remarked in *A History of Rome* that Claudius allowed for considerable freedom of press. “This erudite emperor, who spent much of his time in the study and the office, where he kept company with the freedmen who worked there, was held to ridicule by early writers.”¹²⁹ Although Voltaire did not ridicule King Frederick when he was his chamberlain, the relationship between a man of letters and a head of state has this parallel to Seneca and Claudius.

A statesman as well as an author, Seneca had personal relationships with Claudius, Nero, and Piso. From the perspective of first century Emperors, some of whom were murdered by people vying for power, Seneca represents the dangers of freedom of expression. However, before he employed his verbal talents against Claudius, he was banished for something else. “In 41 Claudius succeeded Caligula, and then, at the behest of his third wife Valeria Messalina, banished Seneca to Corsica on charges of adultery with Caligula’s sister Julia Livilla.”¹³⁰ Similar to the narrator of the *Apocolocyntosis*, which was composed for Nero, the death of Claudius did liberate Seneca who was back in Rome at the time.¹³¹ Compared to Tacitus who attributed his fortune to Emperors, the misfortune of Seneca’s exile could be attributed to the Emperor Claudius.

¹²⁷ Sénèque, *Apocolocintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1213.

¹²⁸ Eden, ed. and trans., introduction to the *Apocolocyntosis*, by Seneca, 12-13.

¹²⁹ Le Glay, Voisin, Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*, eds. Cherry and Kyle, trans. Nevill, 233.

¹³⁰ Wikipedia, “Seneca the Younger,” <http://en.wikipedia.org>, February 2, 2012.

¹³¹ Eden, ed. and trans., introduction to the *Apocolocyntosis*, by Seneca, 13.

To return to questions of compositional methodology and the evaluation of what Rousseau took from the original, and what he abandoned, it is not immediately apparent how Chomsky's transformational structure would represent the clause: "... il faut naître ou monarque ou sot."¹³² In Rousseau's translation of Seneca's original text, the noun "monarque" is coupled with the word "sot." The latter is either a noun or an adjective: to be silly, stupid or foolish or to be a fool or a blockhead. This minute part of the chain of words could be scientifically symbolized in two ways: *NP**Pron* + *Verb* + *NP* + *ADJ* or *NP**Pron* + *Verb* + *NP* + *NP*. It is debatable to what extent it matters if the word "sot" describes a temporary condition, like the adjective "foolish," or a permanent condition, like the noun "a fool." According to *Syntactic Structures*, a sentence must be understood on multiple levels in order to devise a transformational structure that linguistically represents it.

To understand a sentence, then, it is first necessary to reconstruct its analysis on each linguistic level; and we can test the adequacy of a given set of abstract linguistic levels by asking whether or not grammars formulated in terms of these levels enable us to provide a satisfactory analysis of the notion of 'understanding.'¹³³

Generalizing Chomsky's scientific models to a practice of literary imitation proves that many possibilities stem from a single sentence. Evaluation of Rousseau's drafts show that virtually any part of speech can be incorporated into another sentence. In the first chapter, I demonstrated from a genetic standpoint how Rousseau corrected a sentence from the first draft of the *Manuscrit de Genève*. He cut out a pronoun and a verb to replace them with an infinitive verb. In the following case we see that Rousseau took structures from the *Apocolocyntosis* and elaborated upon them in *Du contrat social*.

¹³² Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1213.

¹³³ Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 87.

/ ou monarque
 ... qu'il faut naître
 \ ou sot.¹³⁴

/ je le ferois,
 ... ce qu'il faut faire
 \ ou je me tairois.¹³⁵

While Seneca's words are not a grammatical model for Rousseau's, the structure of the first clearly generated the second. The clause of *Du contrat social* breaks the grammatical rules of Verb + NP + NP or Verb + NP + ADJ because of its symmetrical formation with Verb + NP + NPpron. + Verb, conjunction + NP + NPpron. + Verb. Originally, only two nouns were associated with the word "naître." Typical of the liberties taken by Rousseau to appropriate structure, in this sentence of *Du contrat social*, following the verb "faire," it was more to Rousseau's liking to recompose it by doubling the nouns and adding verbs.

The narrators of *Du contrat social* and the *Apocolokintosis* express similar concerns about recording the truth. As stated earlier, when Claudius rises to Mount Olympus, he announces that he is Caesar. Of course, among the gods, Claudius is no longer a dictator. Out of frustration, Claudius orders them to put him to death but no-one listens. "Mais il n'étoit non plus écouté que s'il eût parlé encore à ses affranchis."¹³⁶ This statement represents Seneca's pole of the Choiseul issue. Instead of words being persuasive for a reason, they are persuasive because of the speaker's authority. As long as a speaker or author can enforce their orders, their words form public opinion. Reason and eloquence made Seneca persuasive whereas force can make an Emperor persuasive, even if his words are not especially eloquent.

¹³⁴ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1213.

¹³⁵ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, intro., 173.

¹³⁶ Sénèque, *Apocolokintosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1217.

In A.D. 49, 8 years after Seneca was banished, Claudius married Agrippina who had a 12 year-old son named Nero from a previous marriage to Domitius Ahenobarbus. The same year, Seneca returned from exile to Rome to be Nero's instructor. It has become a tradition to speculate that Agrippina was involved in the death of Claudius. According to *A History of Rome*, the day Claudius died, Nero read a speech to the senate that was written by Seneca.¹³⁷ In this way Nero became Emperor instead of Britannicus, an older son by blood of Claudius. Rousseau added in a note to the sentence about freedmen not listening to Claudius, "Il est étonnant que Seneque ait osé dire tout cela, lui qui étoit si courtisan; mais Agrippine avoit besoin de lui, et il le savoit bien."¹³⁸ Agrippina presumably needed Seneca because of his ability to persuade the senators to support Nero. Incidentally, in A.D. 59, five years after Nero's rise to power, Agrippina was murdered. Seneca eventually turned against Nero and was complicit in Piso's conspiracy. He committed suicide in A.D. 65.

The narrator begins the *Apocolocytosis* by juxtaposing the importance of verifiable and non-verifiable events to a historian. Seneca described the frustration of a man who discredited himself by recording a non-verifiable event, the ascension of Drusilla to Mount Olympus. Seneca's narrator aims at the credibility of historians with a rhetorical question. "Demanda-t-on jamais caution à un Historian-juré? Cependent, si j'en voulais une, je n'ai qu'à citer celui qui a vu Drusille monter au Ciel; il vous dira qu'il a vu Claude y monter aussi tout clochant."¹³⁹ With hyperbole, the narrator supposes that if the historian had seen the deification of one person, he must see everyone else who dies and rises to Mount Olympus.¹⁴⁰ If historians stand by a statement for which there is no empirical evidence, and declare its truth, then people will think

¹³⁷ Le Glay, Voisin, Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*, eds. Cherry and Kyle, trans. Nevill, 235.

¹³⁸ Sénèque, *Apocolocytosis*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1217.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1213.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1213 – 1214.

they cannot differentiate between imagination and reality. Since the historian was deemed unreliable for confusing myth with history, he later claimed he would not even record verifiable events.

Mais ne l'interrogez que tête-à-tête, il ne dira rien en public; car après avoir juré dans le Sénat qu'il avoit vu l'ascension de Drusille, indigné qu'au mépris d'une si bonne nouvelle personne ne voulût croire à ce qu'il avoit vu, il protesta en bonne forme qu'il verroit tuer un homme en pleine rue qu'il n'en diroit rien.¹⁴¹

Both of the authors Rousseau translated deal head on with the problem of historical objectivity. The authority of a historian depends in part upon freedom of speech and in part upon the credibility of the event. Instead of asking which version of the truth, they ask who has the authority to establish truth. Plutarch questioned the veracity of Caesar being the first General to communicate with letters, thereby questioning the veracity of his sources whereas Seneca questioned the possibility of possessing physical evidence. While Seneca and Tacitus provided models for writing about history, Rousseau imagined a political system in which an author would have a very different relationship to the sovereign.

In a democratic state where sovereignty is determined by popular opinion, the foundation of political authority rests upon the people, not favor and providential power. Rousseau reversed qualifications for historical authority in *Du contrat social* by positioning the narrator against the assumption that only a Prince or Legislator is fit to compose a political discourse. “On me demandera si je suis prince ou législateur pour écrire sur la politique? Je réponds que non.”¹⁴²

The originality of a citizen writing about government is necessary to the dynamics of suffrage: the right to vote creates the obligation for a political education. “... le droit d'y voter suffit pour

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1214.

¹⁴² Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, intro., 173.

m'imposer le devoir de m'en instruire."¹⁴³ The identity of the narrator, and the author's relationship to the political system were none-the-less serious considerations for Rousseau.

The original title page of *Du contrat social* indicated that Rousseau was a citizen of Geneva. Like many key words of *Du contrat social*, "citizen" and "bourgeois" meant something then that they do not mean today. It is ironic that Rousseau was a resident of France when he wrote *Du contrat social* and its publication not only forced him into exile but it led to the renunciation of his bourgeois rights in Geneva. In the first century described by Tacitus and in 18th century Geneva, the term "bourgeoisie" signified an elite group who could participate in government. *Le premier livre* uses the word "bourgeoisie" as a title that extended to foreign territories. "Les Gaules conservoient le souvenir de Vindex et des faveurs de Galba, qui venoit de leur accorder le droit de Bourgeoisie Romaine, et de plus, la suppression des impôts."¹⁴⁴ In *Du contrat social*, Rousseau indicated that D'Alembert correctly defined "citizen" as it was employed in the Genevan political system.

M. D'Alembert ne s'y est pas trompé, et a bien distingué dans son article *Genève* les quatre ordres d'hommes (même cinq en y comptant les simples étrangers,) qui sont dans notre ville, et dont deux seulement composent la République. Nul autre auteur François, que je sache, n'a compris le vrai sens du mot *Citoyen*.¹⁴⁵

According to D'Alembert's article, the title of citizenship was only granted to the sons of some Genevans. "On distingue dans *Genève* quatre ordres de personnes: les *citoyens* qui sont fils de bourgeois et nés dans la ville; eux seuls peuvent parvenir à la magistrature ..."¹⁴⁶ While men

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, book I, intro., 173.

¹⁴⁴ Tacite, *Le premier livre de l'histoire*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, by Rousseau, eds. Gagnebin and Raymond, trans. Rousseau, 1232.

¹⁴⁵ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. VI, 183-184.

¹⁴⁶ D'Alembert, "Gèneve," in *The Encyclopédie of Diderot and D'Alembert*, ed. J. Lough (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 87.

from foreign countries, whose parents were citizens or bourgeois in another place, could attain Genevan bourgeois rights, they could never attain Genevan citizenship. The sons of immigrants had the status of “natives,” whereas their fathers had the status of “inhabitants.”¹⁴⁷ Neither of them could participate in government. According to Leo Damrosch, during the 18th century, the natives and the inhabitants of Geneva were in the majority.¹⁴⁸ Although Rousseau was a bourgeois citizen when *Du contrat social* was published, his elevated status did not put his ideas on par with the opinion of Genevan magistrates.

Unlike Pierre Fatio whom Genevan magistrates condemned to death for his political theories at the beginning of the 18th century, Rousseau was at more liberty to write about government.¹⁴⁹ Questions about rights to publish raised by the issue of Choiseul must be divided into two parts. The first is Rousseau’s right to emulate the structures and the ideas of historians from the first century after Christ. His right to criticize sovereignty is the second. Since the introduction to *Du contrat social* took from the *Apocolocyntosis*, to the extent the structure belonged to Seneca, then by lack of citation, Rousseau did an injustice to him. The encyclopedia article “Droit naturel,” by Diderot established, “Mais qu’est-ce que la justice? *c’est l’obligation de rendre à chacun ce qui lui appartient.*”¹⁵⁰ Earlier evaluation of the complex, syntactic structures of *Du contrat social* proved beyond a reasonable doubt that Seneca wrote the prototype. Rousseau nonetheless added to and modified the material, greatly diminishing the quality of incontestable proprietorship that Seneca would have of a verbatim citation. In addition, more writers than Seneca influenced Rousseau’s passage, as is proven by the discussion about the relationship between political authority and historians. Although from a formal,

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

¹⁴⁸ Damrosch, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius*, 16.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁵⁰ Denis Diderot, “Droit naturel,” in *Encyclopédie*, eds. John Lough and Jacques Proust, t. III (Paris: Hermann, 1976), 25.

aesthetic standpoint, we now know the structure came from Seneca, the *Premier livre* of Tacitus provided Rousseau with a similar model.

Rousseau's alleged attack on the sovereign must have appeared to the magistrates of Paris as a premeditated action. If so, according to Diderot, it lay within their natural right to condemn him. "Si mon bonheur demande que je me défasse de toutes les existences qui me seront importunes, il faut aussi qu'un individu, quel qu'il soit, puisse se défaire de la mienne, s'il en est importuné."¹⁵¹ Even though it was never verified by a court of law that *Émile* or *Du contrat social* truly attacked sovereignty, some members of the *Parlement* called for capital punishment for Rousseau.¹⁵² His survival may be attributed to what Diderot called the "general volition."¹⁵³ At the time, Rousseau was a citizen of Geneva and the author of the highly acclaimed *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Nonetheless, ascertaining that the majority of people in power were against him, Rousseau complied with the advice of his friends to flee Paris. Again in Moitiers, when the towns people turned against Rousseau, he acquiesced and fled to the Ile de Saint-Pierre.

When charged with crimes or harassed by anonymous neighbors, he did not contradict the majority with his personal opinion. To comply with Diderot's notions of general volition, Rousseau necessarily suffered the hardship of flight. "Les volontés particulières sont suspectes; elles peuvent être bonnes ou méchants, mais la volonté générale est toujours bonne: elle n'a jamais trompé, elle ne trompera jamais."¹⁵⁴ Diderot thought written law only comprised half of

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁵² Rousseau, *Les confessions*, eds. Gagnebin, Raymond, and Koenig, book XI, 684.

¹⁵³ Diderot, "Droit naturel," in *Encyclopédie*, eds. Lough and Proust, t. III, 27-28.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

the general volition. The tacit law of the masses combined with emotional movements meant that the other half of the general volition was established by social action.¹⁵⁵

Greek political philosophy, such as *The Republic* uses the relationship between fathers and sons as a model for democratic and monarchic governments. Using Greek words, which can make the ideas they represent seem more abstract and general in a French text, Rousseau began the *Discours sur l'économie politique* by comparing family rules to governmental laws.¹⁵⁶ He used the comparison in both *Discours sur l'économie politique* and *Du contrat social* to critique the benevolence of monarchs. The argument is that since fathers naturally love their children, they are less likely to abuse the power they hold over them whereas it is not inconceivable for a king to treat his subjects in a way he would not treat his children. The following sentences of *Discours sur l'économie politique* and *Du contrat social* pertain to this issue.

Les devoirs du père lui sont dictés par des sentimens naturels, et d'un ton qui lui permet rarement de désobeir. Les chefs n'ont point de semblable règle, et ne sont réellement tenus envers le peuple qu'à ce qu'ils lui ont promis de faire, et dont il est en droit d'exiger l'exécution.¹⁵⁷

The sentences is composed in *Du contrat social* to another rhythm,

Toute la différence est que dans la famille l'amour du pere pour ses enfants le paye des soins qu'il leur rend, et que dans l'Etat le plaisir de commander supplée à cet amour que le chef n'a pas pour ses peuples.¹⁵⁸

The similarity of the ideas in these sentences indicates the importance of formal qualities to Rousseau. The sentence of *Du contrat social* is in some ways that of the *Discours sur*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁵⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'économie politique*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Essais," 1964), 63.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁵⁸ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. II, 174.

l'économie politique in a different key, or set to a different tempo. Rousseau did not only formulate his ideas into the syntactic patterns of classical authors so that his literature would appeal to the bourgeois public. *Du contrat social* is a rewriting of his own *Discours sur l'économie politique*.

Not so long after the publication of *Du contrat social*, Rousseau would be a resident of the Territories of Berne, a region governed by one of the great Enlightenment readers, King Frederick. Frederick was one of the few people in a monarchy for whom domestic government and civil government were the same. Frederick's decision to protect and provide for Rousseau suggests that at least one King was more lenient than the members of the Parisian *Parlement* who advocated giving him the death penalty. In contrast to the *Apocolocyntosis*, Rousseau ignored two of essential facts from Seneca. The gods on Mount Olympus rejected Claudius from their midst because he had Lucius Silanus and other members of his family executed. Before his own death, Claudius was preparing to hand the power over to his son Britannicus and his step son Nero. Rousseau's theory about the love for children by the head of a family is contradicted by Claudius's example because he acted viciously toward his own family and promoted his stepson Nero.

In conclusion of this chapter about the stylistic influence of Seneca upon Rousseau, we first saw the utility of a structural transformation, which was his rewriting of the *Apocolocyntosis*. Then, relying upon Herrmann, Trousson and Eden, translation was considered as a model for literary substitutions. Finally, on thematic and linguistic levels, following Saussure, Derrida and Chomsky, I evaluated the consequences for political writers who attached new ideas to canonical structures. Formal methods of composition were balanced with what society considered an expression of the truth.

Peter Gay recognized that the literature of Seneca passed as being the among the most authentic sources for Enlightenment authors. Its utility to Rousseau was founded partially upon reputation since Rousseau's name would be associated with Seneca's. The idea behind imitating the *Apocolocyntosis* was that if he reproduced the structure, its content would follow. Seneca's farce was a symbol for the most elite form of government, the politics on Mount Olympus, where only gods had a say in the debate and judgment of Claudius. *Du contrat social* was a deregulation of the political system it symbolized since it taught any literate person to judge the authenticity of leaders. Rousseau created doubt about the nature of sovereignty, and in so doing he wrote a treatise which had moral utility for 18th century readers. It was morally useful because it taught them to understand the signification of sovereignty.

Compared to Seneca who was a statesman and advisor to emperors, Rousseau's status was more trivial and he wrote for the public. He did not have the proximity to kings as did Choiseul and Lord Keith. Unlike Molière and La Fontaine in the 17th century, Rousseau's status as a philosopher was a product of his critical attitude toward the monarchy. In this respect, Rousseau's translation of Seneca can be understood both as a training in literature and a symptom of Enlightenment popularization. Written in French, Rousseau's *Apocolocyntosis* would be accessible to many more readers. The connection has been made between the substitution of words from one text to another and Chomsky's linguistic theories of substitution known as generative grammar. Herrmann and Trousson observed the poetic and literary language of Rousseau's translation. Following the structural transformation of the *Apocolocyntosis* in the introduction to *Du contrat social*, Rousseau translated the enchanted world of the 1st century into natural philosophy of the 18th century. He took the political content and essence from Seneca's farce and reproduced it in musical prose.

It is remarkable that Chapters One and Two centered upon and revolved around Rousseau's translation of Tacitus, who recorded the lives of Caesars. Chapter Three was about Rousseau's revisions in *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* of the sentimentalism of Julius Caesar, who officially governed Rome from B.C. 48 to 44. Chapter Four also touches upon a Caesar, the Emperor Claudius who was Caesar from A.D. 41 to 54. The writer's studying of Tacitus and Seneca had great importance to his career as a professional author. *The Gallic War* and Tacitus's *Le premier livre* are recognized as the work of professional historians because their authors recorded verifiable events: the tactics, strategy, battles and catastrophes of war. While Seneca's elevated position in the literary canon has never been questioned, the *Apocolocyntosis* is not history because the events took place in the realm of the unknowable: Mount Olympus. Rousseau very effectively appropriated the history in Seneca by transforming it into political literature.

Chapter 5

Plagiarism and Dom Cajot

Les plagiats de M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation by dom Joseph Cajot criticized Rousseau's rewriting of Latin and Greek authors as well as modern ones. A theologian, and not a literary critic, Cajot deemed myriad instances of originality in *L'Émile* to result from misquotation. If the fictional instructor of *De l'éducation* articulated an idea that was once expressed by another writer, it was unacceptable imitation. If Émile's instructor refined an idea, meaning that he elaborated on, modified or argued an opinion contrary to a source, Cajot accused Rousseau of incorrect citation and misrepresentation. He chastised him for lack of preoccupation with correct, scholarly citation. Cajot's antagonism toward Rousseau represents an 18th century method of literary debate that operated in terms of thesis and anti-thesis. *Les plagiats* embodies the traditional Enlightenment respect for classical literature. A pre-romantic, as much as Rousseau was informed by the classical canon, he was interested in the transformation of classical and European literature to a contemporary, provincial French identity. The charge of plagiarism turns out to be false because Rousseau used structures and even exact words of classical writers to make literary allusions to them, and not to plagiarize.

Most scholars agree that at least to some extent Rousseau transformed philosophical scholarship into a novelistic form. My argument holds that Émile's instructor is a fictional character. His ability to recite passages of classical authors, nearly verbatim, is a realistic, believable character trait for an 18th century pedagogue. Like readers of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* who presumed the characters were real people, Cajot did not distinguish between Rousseau the author and Jean-Jaques, the character of the instructor. Although misguided, Joseph Cajot made

one of the first major studies of *L'Émile*, another being the 1764 *Anti-Émile* of H. S. Gerdil.¹ The great value of *Les plagiats* resides in its erudition, scope and detail.

Despite his combative posture, Cajot's comparative method is conducive to comprehension of the relationship between rewriting and structural reproduction. *Les plagiats* culled together an army of citations from canonical authors and set them against sentences of *L'Émile*. By identifying hundreds of Rousseau's sentences which are similar to those of previous writers, he created persuasive and almost irrefutable evidence that Rousseau composed with prototypes. Cajot's comparison of Latin citations to Rousseau's French sentences provides further material for the evaluation of Rousseau's method of writing as a form of creative translation. The syntax of the paired sentences is often close enough for readers to see how Rousseau composed his novel by substituting French words into the sentences of a Latin author. For this reason, although unintended, *Les plagiats* is exemplary for its systematic demonstration of the binary principle.

Although dom Joseph Cajot was somewhat inconsistent in his use of italics and abbreviations, in regard to 18th century conventions about plagiarism, he usually indicated authorial information after citations much as we do today, referencing titles, individual books of oeuvres and page numbers. He noted his edition of *L'Émile* in the *Avertissement*. "...je me suis servi d'une Edition contrefaite à Lyon, sur celle de Jean Néaulme, à Amsterdam 1762, 4. Vol. in-12."² In general, Cajot provided the precise bibliographical information of modern authors, including the publishing house or bookseller and the city of publication. His citations of

¹ H. S. Gerdil, *The Anti-Emile*, ed. and trans. William A. Frank (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2011).

² Joseph Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation* (Paris: Durand, 1766). This citation is from an unnumbered page after the preface. I have modernized the spelling of citations from Cajot. His publisher, Durand, used three s's: capital S, small s and a tall s that looks like an f without the horizontal mark on the right side. The f-like s represent a pronounced s; and the small s is silent.

classical works only include abbreviations of titles, books and page numbers. He drafted three forms of plagiarism: copying an author's words without acknowledgement, taking credit for another's ideas, and rearranging words or paraphrasing without citation.³ Rousseau withstood Cajot's charges almost as if each attack were a tribute. This is first because of the originality of the overall form of *L'Émile* and second because of the long established tradition of literary composition by imitation and substitution.

Censored and abridged texts make up another alleged fault of Rousseau. This is when he made an impartial account of another author. This "plagiarism" is very much along the lines of Genette's imitation by subtraction described as marotism. In one instance, lexical indications allowed for Cajot to see a resemblance between Quintilien and Rousseau. "Ce que notre Genevois cite de cet Orateur est réellement de lui; mais ce n'est qu'une partie de ce qu'il dit."⁴ From Cajot's perspective, authors do not recognize an incomplete citation or an altered rewriting as a valid representation of their work. In a fictional work whose protagonist is a preceptor, the liberal repetitions and discussion of canonical 18th century ideas are to be expected. While the character of the preceptor may have had an incomplete knowledge of the writers he discussed, he also engaged in dialogue with them, so to speak, stating their ideas as he understood them and arguing something different. Examination of Cajot's scholarship demonstrates that Rousseau frequently changed the ideas he allegedly plagiarized. Besides its thematic originality, *L'Émile* is composed with the bonhomie unique to Rousseau's literary voice, making the overall form of the expression substantially different from his predecessors. The mimetic process of prototypical imitation produced an informality of tone well suited to the character of the provincial preceptor.

³ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

The inspiration Rousseau found in other writers is uncontested. He emulates Aristotle, Seneca, Plutarch and Plato as well as Locke, Defoe, Crousaz and Condillac. Being inspired by another author and plagiarizing him are different things because, in principle, a source could be found for every idea. Even though syntactic imitation is a clear indication of influence, when ideas appear to be refined from a classical source, it is always possible that they came to Rousseau from contemporaries. Joseph Cajot recognized that Rousseau read widely and copied many authors, some of whom are lesser known today. “Je dissimulerais en vain mon embarras, à poursuivre M. Rousseau, dans un labyrinthe entrecoupé de mille sentiers divers.”⁵ Since a significant number of modern European authors such as Diderot, and before him Descartes, were writing about philosophical, scientific and educational ideas, many of which correspond to the ideas of classical writers, Rousseau’s own version of them may not originate solely from classical texts.

It can be deduced from *Le discours sur les sciences et les arts*, *L’Émile* and “De l’imitation théâtrale” that Rousseau read and studied at least four books by Plato: *The Apology*, *The Republic*, *The Laws* and *Gorgias*. Although Cajot charged Rousseau with plagiarism in 1766, four years after the publication of *L’Émile*, and mounted a very thorough attack against him, literary historians do not ignore similar instances of paraphrasing and unattributed citation by Diderot and other of Rousseau’s contemporaries. Cajot’s own “thousand diverse paths” theory attenuates the accusation of plagiarism because even if an idea was taken up by Montaigne, Montesquieu or a more-or-less contemporary author such as Jean-Pierre de Crousaz, then even though Plato and Aristotle had claim to a similar idea, Rousseau’s perceived imitation of Greek and Latin authors takes on more complicated dimensions.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

The problem is frequently resolved by saying that 18th century literary convention permitted some plagiarism as long as well-educated readers would recognize its source. Cajot himself can be credited with participating in the establishment of this notion, although he did not consider it a convention. Debating the Platonic origin of Rousseau's advice about exercise and hunting, he wrote, "Cela devait être ainsi; son modèle était au même Livre des Lois de Platon, que M. Rousseau s'est dispensé de citer, bien persuadé que les Lecteurs ne s'en douteraient point."⁶ About 200 years later, in a critical guide, *Rousseau: Emile*, Peter Jimack reiterated the same sentiment about the conventions of attribution.

Much of what Rousseau said in the first two books was in fact commonplace in treatises of the period, and there are even some quite long passages of Book 2 which are copied almost literally from the French translation of Locke's *Some Thoughts on Education* (1693).⁷

Cajot wrote that Rousseau's philosophy of physical education, i.e., his advice about medicine, food and alcohol, sleep, exercise, rewarding children with luxurious objects and how much attention parents should give to a crying child originated in the philosophy of Locke.⁸ Nonetheless, Cajot criticized Rousseau's attribution to Locke of the idea to teach the alphabet with dice because Quintilian and Plutarch had written about it.⁹

Before Cajot accused Rousseau of plagiarism, he had been accused of claiming to have composed music that was written by other people. In *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius*, Leo Damrosch remarked that people perceived and criticized the similarity of *Le devin du village* to previous operas. "But the public had an appetite for simple and melodious singing, and

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷ Peter Jimack, *Rousseau: Emile* (London: Grant & Cutler Ltd., 1983), 74.

⁸ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 159-180.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

Rousseau was suddenly being hailed as a leading composer, even if a few ill-wishers still charged that his work must have been plagiarized from Italian sources.”¹⁰ Peter Gay evaluated the problem of plagiarism by various 18th century writers, including Diderot, in *The Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Paganism*. Instead of plagiarism, when it came to Diderot, Gay called his copying a passage of Horace a tribute. “And so when Diderot quoted Horace without identifying him – and that in the *Encyclopédie*, aimed at a wide public – he was flattering the public’s learning, not subverting its faith.”¹¹ The Enlightenment philosophers adopted the ideas of other authors versed in the traditional canon, and reformulated them with different nuances, knowing that the literary canon was itself repetitious. Horace’s *The Art of Poetry*, for example, resembles *The Poetics* of Aristotle which itself borrows from Plato’s *Republic*. Theoretically, a passage of Diderot that could be identified as a piece of Horace could have originated in the *Republic*.

In a previous chapter, I summarized the critical debate about the authorship of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* and the problems of Rousseau’s adoption of ideas from Greek and Latin sources. In *Rousseau and His Reader: The Rhetorical Situation of the Major Works*, Robert J. Ellrich makes a very different argument about the authorship of *L’Émile*. After the publication of *L’Émile* and *Du contrat social* in 1762, authorities in Paris and Geneva confiscated the books from bookstores. Instead of insisting upon its originality, Ellrich showed that Rousseau attempted to deny his claim to authorship.

Similarly, in his defense of the *Emile* he will frequently point out the “unfairness” of the authorities in condemning him *personally* for the ideas in the “Profession de foi”

¹⁰ Leo Damrosch, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Restless Genius* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 226.

¹¹ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Paganism*, vol. I (New York: Norton, 1966), 39-40.

when, presumably, they had no way of knowing whether he or a real Savoyard vicar was in fact the author of that section of the *Emile*.¹²

Notice that Ellrich does not claim a complete renunciation of authorship by Rousseau. He simply remarked the lack of proof that Rousseau wrote it. In a different context, Ellrich saw a structural resemblance between the expression of Rousseau's mentality and that of the Savoyard vicar. Quoting the Gallimard, La Pléiade, *Oeuvres complètes* edition of *L'Émile*, he cited two sentences, the first by the narrator Jean-Jaques and the second by the Savoyard Vicar:

Lecteurs, souvenez-vous que celui qui vous parle n'est ni un savant ni un philosophe, mais un homme simple, ami de la vérité, sans parti, sans système (p. 107).¹³

An archetypal rewriting of it is in the "Profession de foi,"

Mon enfant, n'attends de moi ni des discours savants ni de profonds raisonnements. Je ne suis pas un grand philosophe, et je me soucie peu de l'être. Mais j'ai quelquefois du bon sens, et j'aime toujours la vérité (p. 320).¹⁴

The form of both citations is syntactically similar. They begin in the imperative and the character is qualified with two parts of speech. In the first it is "ni un savant ni un philosophe." In the second it is "ni des discours savants ni de profonds raisonnements." The more concise description of *L'Émile*'s narrator is accomplished with adjectives, whereas the Savoyard vicar described himself with substantives. The same rule is true in the second part. To rewrite the first sentence, Rousseau broke the archetype into two sentences and added words: a subject "je," the adjective "grand," the verbs "être," "se soucier," "avoir," and "aimer." Despite their structural similarity, the copy is significantly different from the original. The first sentence is not

¹² Robert Ellrich, *Rousseau and His Reader: The Rhetorical Situation of the Major Works* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 60 n. 24.

¹³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, cited by Ellrich, *Rousseau and His Reader: The Rhetorical Situation of the Major Works*, 49 n. 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49 n. 7.

especially verbose and it gives the impression of an author in direct communication with his reader. The second sentence is more matter of fact. It portrays a man who takes pleasure in language and personal interpretation. Cajot also criticized *L'Émile* for being repetitious, both of itself and about the education of women. According to *Les plagiats*, Rousseau reiterated himself in *L'Émile* and he copied sentences from *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.¹⁵

Cajot's accusation of plagiarism is seen in a different light if Rousseau repeatedly rewrote similar sentences in different contexts. Either Rousseau frequently copied the same passages or he remembered the words associated with certain ideas then repeated them in nearly the same pattern. In *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Henri Gouhier gave evidence that Rousseau expressed nearly the same sentiment in *La profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard* of *L'Émile* and again later in correspondence with M. de Franquières. Citing the 1969 Pléiade edition of Rousseau's works and Théophile Dufour's 1924-1934 *Correspondance générale* of Rousseau, Gouhier analyzed the following two sentences which compare Socrates to Jesus. First, criticizing the *Profession de foi*, Gouhier observed,

“Quelle distance de l'un à l'autre!” l'exclamation du Vicaire était aussi une question; la comparaison dicte la réponse: c'est la distance de l'humain au divin. “Oui, si la vie et la mort de Socrate sont d'un sage, la vie et la mort de Jésus sont d'un Dieu.”¹⁶

In 1769, seven years after the publication of one of the books that led to his expulsion from France, the other being *Du contrat social*, Rousseau made a similar yet and more profound statement in private correspondence. Gouhier observed,

Certes, Rousseau reprend presque mot pour mot quelques lignes de la *Profession de foi*, mais la différence est intéressante: “Il s'éleva contre les sophistes comme Jésus contre

¹⁵ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 351-352.

¹⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, cited by Henri Gouhier, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: Vrin, 1970), 201.

les Prêtres, avec cette différence que Socrate imita souvent ses antagonistes, et que, si sa belle et douce mort n'eût honoré sa vie, il eût passé pour un sophiste comme eux.”¹⁷

Repetition of the sentence from the *Profession de foi* in correspondence with M. de Franquières is an example of archetypal writing. Were Cajot to have read the letter to M. de Franquières, one would expect him to consider it another instance of faulty attribution: Rousseau appears to have copied the original sentence, and added a few ornamental details, either to please his own taste or that of its recipient. Comparing the literary corpus to the correspondence, Gouhier indicated that the philosophical pertinence of word-for-word composition hinges upon difference. Socrates and Jesus were both put to death for their teaching. Compared to the more-or-less unknown sophists of antiquity, Rousseau attributed the longevity and fame of Socrates to his death by capital punishment. The difference is that the Savoyard vicar thought Jesus was a God; whereas Rousseau thought Socrates was a philosopher. The observation that Socrates imitated the philosophers with whom he debated justifies the Enlightenment method of composition by rewriting.

Readers of *L'Émile* recognize that Rousseau's method of composition was in emulation of what previous writers wrote in canonical books and that Rousseau sometimes resorted to writing about himself. An episode in Book II is about Rousseau's childhood education, we know, because he mentions something he did when a student of the minister Lambercier.¹⁸ Describing the causes of youthful anxiety, Rousseau told of being sent to a temple at night to get a Bible and then fleeing.

La porte ouverte je voulus entrer: mais à peine eus-je fait quelques pas que je m'arrêtai. En appercevant l'obscurité profonde qui régnoit dans ce vaste lieu, je fus saisi

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Pierre Burgelin and Charles Wirz (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1969), book II, 221.

d'une terreur qui me fit dresser les cheveux; je retrograde, je sors, je me mets à fuir tout tremblant.¹⁹

On the one hand, Rousseau referred to classical texts, and on the other hand he explained his personal experience, making *L'Émile* a unique form of fiction. Instead of writing about the anxiety of youth in the form of an essay or a discourse, the narration is distinct and presented with an amusing anecdote. As this chapter will evaluate later, the narrative structure of *L'Émile* is modeled upon the adventures of Robinson Crusoe on his island as well as the ideas of Plato.

The problem with Cajot's charge of plagiarism is that he evaluated *Émile ou de l'éducation* only as if it were a work of educational scholarship. He failed to recognize its literary form, and the difference of signification Rousseau produced by rewriting small details. Rousseau balanced the personality of the characters with ideas derived from academic works. During the 18th century, Plato, Plutarch, Tacitus, Seneca, Caesar, Aristotle and other French and English authors represented various domains of institutional education: military strategy, geometry, history, music, philosophy and religion. As described previously, Rousseau's method of literary composition by emulation dated at least to Aristotelian times. The literariness of *L'Émile* is that Rousseau gave a face and a personality to educational theories which, with a few exceptions, had until then been faceless. By writing about education in a fictional form, and imagining many entertaining scenes of Émile and his instructor, Rousseau blurred the lines to Plato, Seneca and many other authors which had until then guaranteed them proprietorship of ideas.

Far from being conventional, there is every reason to believe that Rousseau's creative mimicry of canonical authors and the occasional mockery of ancient philosophers by provincial literary characters were inflammatory and offended 18th century scholars. Cajot spoke of

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, book II, 221.

“indignation” and “outrage.”²⁰ Rousseau’s depictions of a fictional preceptor who repeats and reverses some classical ideas do not necessarily qualify as plagiarism. The increasing demand among French readers for the new genre of the novel permitted Rousseau to produce a derivative form of literature without strictly obeying the rules of scholastic reference. The philosophical mistakes, such as getting one of Seneca’s or Plato’s ideas a little bit wrong, and the alleged plagiarism of concepts instilled the novel’s preceptor with personality. It made him a believable character.

Genette demonstrated in *Palimpsestes* that the paratextuality of fiction, which is its format, such as division into chapters and the use of certain registers of language, is different from the paratextuality of scholarly essays. As well as carefully regulated standards of correctness, academic books traditionally have an index, footnotes, a table of contents and citations. The textual method of transcription by which an author takes possession of another writer’s words determines a book’s literary genre or identity. The absence of formal, academic attributions and scholarly citations, which would identify the words as belonging to classical writers, allowed Rousseau to write a novel about education. Differences between editions of *L’Émile* demonstrate the relationship between plagiarism and paratextuality. Rousseau named the fictional school master of *De l’éducation* “Jean-Jaques.” The 1969 Gallimard Folio Essais edition maintained the 18th century spelling “Jean-Jaques” without the letter “c.” The 1966 Garnier-Flammarion edition modernized the orthography to “Jean-Jacques” with a “c.” The title pages of both books spelled Rousseau’s first name with a “c.”²¹ One letter, the slight difference between the spelling of the author’s name and the preceptor’s name in the 18th edition is recognition of difference between Rousseau and the preceptor.

²⁰ Cajot, *Les plagats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 15.

²¹ Cf. Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 168. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, ed. Michel Launay (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), book II, 120.

Regardless of the uniqueness of *L'Émile*, even during the Enlightenment, Cajot's antagonism is surprising because modern precedents did exist for fiction heavily influenced by canonical sources, such as Fénelon's 1699 *Télémaque* and Marivaux's *Homère travesti* of 1714. According to Genette, the *Homère travesti* exemplifies the practice of rewriting part of an oeuvre while discarding with epic forms to replace them with modern fictional ones characterized by burlesque.²² Whereas Marivaux and Fénelon openly imitated one Greek author, Homer, in order to describe the preceptor's character, Rousseau occasionally rewrote classical writers without formal recognition of them. Nonetheless, since Jean-Jaques cited John Locke in the preface and *The Republic* almost immediately in the first book, and a smattering of other writers throughout, one has the impression of a narrator who has become acquainted with a significant number of writers pertinent to the educational debate.²³ The informality of the narrative voice makes it seem like he talks about them from memory in a more fluent form than formal written essays. When Rousseau's originality is considered in the context of fiction instead of scholarly essays, Rousseau also had precedents. In 1759, three years before the publication of *L'Émile*, Voltaire published *Candide*, a fictional account of an instructor and his student.

In *Emile ou les figures de la fiction*, Laurence Mall carefully weighed multiple arguments about the genre of *L'Émile*. According to Mall, the myriad critical opinions about *L'Émile* fit into three categories: some perceive it as educational science, others see it as a philosophical essay, and still others read it as novelistic work.²⁴ Mall's scholarship helps to appraise the value of Cajot's accusations in respect to the history of literary criticism about Rousseau. She showed that since the 19th century, questions of genre have produced a heated debate in France and

²² Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), 66.

²³ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book I, 77, 86.

²⁴ Laurence Mall, *Emile ou les figures de la fiction* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 2002), 9.

America. Many of the most illustrious critics have given their expert opinions.²⁵ Whether Rousseau is cleared of the charge of plagiarism, on the grounds of *L'Émile*'s novelistic material, or whether Rousseau is deemed guilty of illegitimately copying, ornamenting and polishing the property of famous predecessors, depends upon which critics one reads. Mall did not come to a decisive conclusion about the literary identity of *L'Émile*, except to declare it “un ouvrage atypique.”²⁶ In contrast to the murkiness of the her assessment and that of other literary historians, this dissertation claims that prose structures Rousseau learned from Tacitus and Seneca melded with the presence of fictional settings, characters and dialogues conclusively allow for the book to be classified as a novel.

To the extent *L'Émile* resembles its sources, the well-known philosophy which had been talked about for generations, it usually resembles them by subject. After the first book in which Rousseau described the education of infants, or children too young to speak, he took up at greater length the philosophical subject of man's suffering. It is by mastery of narrative technique that Rousseau successfully drew out philosophical ideas in novelistic form. A theoretical discussion of happiness and suffering could be done without reference to any fictional characters, and most philosophers limit themselves to one narrative voice, the third person. Rousseau described the contentedness and suffering of natural man, who only once experiences the feeling of death, with novelistic prose structure.²⁷ According to *L'Émile*, centuries after man claimed property for himself, and became accustomed to modernity, his relationship to his country caused suffering and, in a sense, frequent experiences of death. Rousseau evoked this philosophic idea in novelistic form by describing the distress of a man receiving a letter.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 32-37.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁷ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 144.

Vient une lettre de la poste; l'homme heureux la regarde; elle est à son adresse; il l'ouvre, il la lit. A l'instant son air change; il pâlit, il pleure, il s'agite, il gémit, il s'arrache les cheveux, il fait retentir l'air de ses cris, il semble attaqué d'affreuses convulsions. Insensé, quel mal t'a donc fait ce papier?²⁸

Dissimilar to natural men, when modern men read a letter with sad news, it can cause a prolonged feeling of distress. Rousseau's style was to write about the theory of natural men by emphasizing characters, which he referred to in this passage as "natural man" and the "happy man." With a narrative about a dramatic event happening to a character, Rousseau transformed philosophy into literature.

Philosophical essays are written with a consistent narrative voice, the third person singular: he, she and it. The interaction between multiple people is a characteristic of theatrical pieces and the novel because they include dialogue between characters who enter into conflict and come to a resolution. By translating Seneca, Rousseau learned a method for creating the illusion of character interaction in the context of an essay. Seneca used alternative pronouns at the beginning of each sentence in some passages of the *Apocolocyntosis*. By emulating the *Apocolocyntosis*, Rousseau rewrote philosophy into a multiple-character-prose so that passages of *L'Émile* that are long soliloquys and do not involve Émile still resemble a novel.

Rousseau's description of the sadness of modern man after he reads a letter uses all six pronouns: "l'homme heureux," "en toi-même," "l'état où je te vois," "son malheur, direz-vous," "J'entends," "Nous existons," "Ô homme," "ton existence," "Ceux qui," "ta famille, ou les tiennes propres, ces visirs, ces courtisans, ces prêtres, ces soldats, ces valets, ces caillètes, et jusqu'à des enfants, quand tu serois un Themistocle..."²⁹ The difficulty Cajot had as a theologian

²⁸ *Ibid.*, book II, 144.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, book II, 144.

in accepting Rousseau's originality was that he recognized sources by their ideas without understanding Rousseau's technique for modernizing their form. When the narrator of *L'Émile* speaks in the first person and engages in dialogue with the imaginary character of "the happy man," calling him "you" and makes an apostrophe to readers, calling them "you," he used knowledge of Seneca's narrative structures to treat the subject as if it were not a philosophical essay. Similar rhetorical structures of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* showed Rousseau how to write philosophy in the form of an educational novel.

Cajot's examination of *L'Émile* for plagiarism is almost scientific in its systematic approach to finding illicit sentences in the vast tome. Assuming the supervisory authority of a censor, his attitude was that of a purist who wanted to catch Rousseau for each infraction against the classical body of literature, as if it were a crime to dilute the experience of reading Platonic ideas in the original. In one of his counts of plagiarism, Cajot observed that Jean-Jaques talked about ideas that he could have found in Montaigne or Plato. The passage proves that Montaigne and Rousseau read the same passage of *The Republic* although, according to Cajot, Montaigne correctly paraphrased his source whereas Rousseau did not.

En vain, pour livrer avec quelque prétexte l'enfance à la dissipation, M. R. appelle à son secours la République de Platon, comme n'imposant de devoirs aux enfants que le choix des plaisirs. Montagne qui l'a guidé, ne rend point son erreur excusable. *C'est merveille (dit celui-ci) combien Platon se montre soigneux en ses lois, de la gaieté et passetemps de la jeunesse, et combien il s'arrête à leurs jeux, chansons, sauts et danses.* Ainsi s'exprime Montagne L.1 c. 25. Trop confiant sur la bonne foi de ce Sceptique, M.

R. répète mot à mot que ‘Platon n’élève les enfants qu’en fêtes, jeux, chansons et passe-temps.’ *Emil. l. 2, p. 242.*³⁰

Note that in Cajot’s somewhat erratic documentation style, Montagne’s citation is in italics, followed by a non-italicized reference with a capital “L” and a small “c.” His citation of Rousseau has regular letters in quotation marks and he italicized the reference with a lower case “l” and “p.” Comparison to the 1969 Gallimard Folio Essais edition demonstrates that the confusion in this instance may be due to Cajot’s counterfeit copy of *L’Émile*. The sentence in *L’Émile* edited by Pierre Burgelin is as follows:

Platon (a) dans sa république qu’on croit si austère n’élève les enfans qu’en fêtes, jeux, chansons, passetems; on diroit qu’il a tout fait quand il leur a bien appris à se réjouir; et Sénèque parlant de l’ancienne jeunesse romaine: elle étoit, dit-il, toujours debout, on ne lui enseignoit rien qu’elle dut apprendre assise.³¹

In one of the cases that Rousseau actually cited Plato and Seneca, it seems that Cajot incorrectly cited Rousseau because he left out the words “dans sa république qu’on croit si austère.”

However, it may be due to a difference in his counterfeit edition because, according to Burgelin, the entire sentence about Plato and Seneca, and the following sentence, were written in the margins of the Paris and Geneva manuscripts.³² Burgelin reiterated Cajot’s point about Rousseau being inspired by Montaigne because the sentence in the *Éssais* included the same information about Seneca.³³ When Rousseau’s common sense narrator provided this professional advice, he used four nouns “fêtes, jeux, chansons et passe-tems.” Montaigne had paraphrased Plato with six qualities: “gaieté, passetemps de la jeunesse, jeux, chansons, sauts et

³⁰ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 7.

³¹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 180.

³² Burgelin, ed., *L’Émile ou de l’éducation* by Rousseau, book II, 180 n. (a).

³³ *Ibid.*, book II, 180 n. 1.

dances.” Only three of the nouns are the same, “passetems,” “jeux” and “chansons.” In the place of Montaigne’s “sauts” and “dances,” Rousseau wrote “fêtes.”

The similarity of their sentences suggests that Rousseau researched his novel and chose material that would most appeal to noble and bourgeois readers. The substitution of “parties” for Montaigne’s “leaps” and “dances” crosses the line from the serious, pedagogical atmosphere of physical education or gym into the realm of sarcasm. Using hyperbole to make the classroom into a party, Rousseau encouraged readers to perceive the character of the instructor in an entirely new way. A work of fiction and not a straight forward educational manual, it is the responsibility of readers to think critically about the characters, and even to distrust the erudite pedagogue. The product of a culture thoroughly imbued with Platonic doctrine, the pedagogue exceeded the limits of acceptable educational philosophy. Moving away from the Enlightenment reverence for Plato and toward Romanticism, Rousseau’s hyperbolic imitation expressed a cynical perspective about supposed classical perfection.

In a novel about education, it is to be expected that the fictional instructor repeats some maxims of great writers without making a significant change to them. Instead of mocking Seneca’s wisdom about the frustration of desire and waiting for death, Jean-Jaques reiterated in the 18th century a sentiment Seneca expressed in the 1st. Cajot preferred the rigorous education that would enable children to read classical languages to Rousseau’s 18th century, French version of them.

On ne pouvait choisir un plus mauvais moyen pour obtenir le titre d’Auteur original. Car M. Rousseau n’a pas plus de part à cette manière de raisonner, qu’à toutes

les précédentes. Il jette une gaze légère sur les sujets qu'il traite pour en déguiser le principe: celui-là n'échappera pas à ma critique.³⁴

Although readers got a diluted expression of the same principle, characteristic of Enlightenment philosophers, Rousseau used his own judgment to rephrase the idea. As a critical authority, essentially policing Rousseau's novelistic activity, Cajot readily recognized the impurity of the ideas Rousseau was distributing. Rousseau honestly admitted to this compositional method in the preface to *De l'imitation théâtrale*.

Ce petit Écrit n'est qu'une espèce d'extrait de divers endroits où Platon traite de l'Imitation théâtrale. Je n'y ai guère d'autre part que de les avoir rassemblés et liés dans un forme d'un discours suivi, au lieu de celle du Dialogue qu'ils ont dans l'originale.³⁵

Rewriting literary texts had been a standard compositional procedure for centuries. During the 17th century, the Monarchy granted playwrights and philosophers the permission to publish, and judges began to frame copyright laws. Cajot did acknowledge that Rousseau made the ideas of classical authors enjoyable for his contemporaries. "Son art se réduit non à penser, mais à présenter les pensées des autres sous un coloris conforme au goût du siècle."³⁶ In some unusual cases, Rousseau rewrote culturally accepted ideas for an audience who would enjoy the effect produced by noticeable differences. Had Cajot chosen to critique a natural scientist instead of a social philosopher, he could have argued that Galileo's idea of a heliocentric universe was a plagiarism of Aristotle's geocentric universe.

In addition to the archetypal sentences Ellrich observed in *L'Émile*, Rousseau rewrote sentences of *Du contrat social*. Since Rousseau had thoroughly analyzed his political philosophy

³⁴ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 38.

³⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *De l'imitation théâtrale*, in *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, vol. V of *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond (Paris: Gallimard, "La Pléiade," 1961), 1195.

³⁶ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 211.

in his own mind, to such an extent that he had decided upon exact definitions of terms, it stands to reason that when he addressed governmental theory in *De l'éducation*, he would establish definitions in the same way. His descriptions of physical force and the institution of slavery are consistent and reliable. He differentiated between natural man's pursuits of virtually innumerable liberties and then, once he came into possession of private property, the limitations on civil liberties. In the two books, he differentiated between citizens and subjects when defining the general volition. For this reason, it is not surprising that the *Avertissement* of *Du contrat social* is almost exactly the same as a note of *L'Émile*.

Ces questions et propositions sont la plupart extraits du traité *Du contrat social*, extrait lui-même d'un plus grand ouvrage entrepris sans consulter mes forces, et abandonné depuis longtems. Le petit traité que j'en ai détaché, et dont c'est ici le sommaire, sera publié à part.³⁷

Pierre Burgelin, who annotated the Folio Essais edition, meticulously accounted for many differences in the articulation of an idea in *De l'éducation* and in *Du contrat social*. Frequently stating passages nearly word-for-word, Rousseau rewrote the essence of books one and two of *Du contrat social* in about twenty pages toward the end of the fifth book of *L'Émile*. From books three and four of *Du contrat social*, Rousseau added concise summaries of elections, the forms of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy. The short version of Rousseau's political principles in *L'Émile* alternates between a copy of the long version and an alternate rewriting of it. Its fluidity suggests that Rousseau essentially knew *Du contrat social* by heart and that he abandoned some of the philosophy about language and the more detailed descriptions of government.

³⁷ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book V, 678-679.

In both books, Rousseau described a social pact between individuals, a social contract and the possibility of renunciation. The social pact precedes the social contract in the progression of society towards a state established for the common good. Only a small addition to the articulation of the concept, that at least two people form the general will or the sovereign, demonstrate that the sentence in *Du contrat social* is an archetype for *L'Émile*.

On voit par cette formule que l'acte d'association renferme un engagement réciproque du public avec les particuliers, et que chaque individu, contractant, pour ainsi dire, avec lui-même, se trouve engagé sous un double rapport; savoir, comme membre du Souverain envers les particuliers, et comme membre de l'Etat envers le Souverain.³⁸

Rousseau nearly rewrote this sentence about an association of individuals and an engagement in the final stages of Émile's education.

Nous remarquerons que cet acte d'association renferme un engagement réciproque du public et des particuliers, et que chaque individu, contractant, pour ainsi dire, avec lui-même, se trouve engagé sous un double rapport; savoir comme membre du souverain envers les particuliers, et comme membre de l'Etat envers le souverain.³⁹

The sentences about the engagement of an individual with the state for the social pact, and the relationship between the individual and the sovereign, only differ in the narrative perspective of “on voit” and “nous remarquerons,” a few commas and the capitalization of “s” in “Souverain.” Comparison of the sentences preceding and following these two sentences shows that in *L'Émile* Rousseau left out a discussion about the formal use of language and the interchangeability of terms.⁴⁰ As Rousseau stated in the previously cited footnote, the short version is very much a

³⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Robert Derathé (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1964), book I, chpt. VII, 184.

³⁹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book V, 676.

⁴⁰ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book I, chpt. VI, 184.

summary of the long version. It appears that he composed this passage by carefully reviewing *Du contrat social* in order to decide upon what would make the cut. Then he ignored some of the technical distractions so as to have a complete abridged version for the political instruction of Émile.

While these differences are nominal, some passages of the short version of Rousseau's political philosophy demonstrate that slightly rewritten ideas produce very different results. A note by Rousseau to *Du contrat social* suggests that the long version is directed toward careful readers. "Lecteurs attentifs, ne vous pressez pas, je vous en prie, de m'accuser ici de contradiction."⁴¹ A prevalent Enlightenment subject, education about political societies was one thing for parents concerned with the education of their children and another for politically active readers who could potentially form new governments. While the social pact was the same, in *L'Émile* Rousseau significantly changed the concept of renunciation of a social contract.

In the long version, Rousseau raises the possibility of breaking the social contract only after individuals come together to form the state, and their common interests have produced a general will or a sovereign. Renunciation of the social contract in the short version is considered in the context of Émile's birthplace. In *Du contrat social*, Rousseau essentially wrote that once people agree to the social contract, they are married to the state, so to speak; whereas in *L'Émile*, since the young man must decide if he wants to remain in the country of his parents, he has the choice of making different associations. One sentence from *Du contrat social* describes renunciation with the vague term of a "true renunciation."

Ces distinctions une fois admises, il est si faux que dans le contrat social il y ait de la part des particuliers aucune renonciation véritable, que leur situation, par l'effet de ce contrat se trouve réellement préférable à ce qu'elle étoit auparavant, et qu'au lieu

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. IV, 195.

d'une aliénation, ils n'ont fait qu'un échange avantageux d'une manière d'être incertaine et précaire contre une autre meilleure et plus sûre, de l'indépendance naturelle contre la liberté, du pouvoir de nuire à autrui contre leur propre sûreté, et de leur force que d'autres pouvoient surmonter contre un droit que l'union sociale rend invincible.⁴²

According to *Du contrat social*, for people who have formed a state, it is disadvantageous, if possible, to destroy the ties of their union. The question of renunciation is very different when described in the context of education. It is up to the young Émile to decide if he wants to officially enter the state of his parents or join a different one.

Il faut pour cela qu'il commence par étudier la nature du gouvernement en général, les diverses formes de gouvernement, et enfin le gouvernement particulier sous lequel il est né, pour savoir s'il lui convient d'y vivre: car par un droit que rien ne peut abroger, chaque homme en devenant majeur et maître de lui-même devient maître aussi de renoncer au contrat par lequel il tient à la communauté, en quittant le pays dans lequel elle est établie.⁴³

For Émile, it is a question of renouncing the social contract of his parents and grand-parents which is only that of his birth place. *Du contrat social*, on the other hand, describes the state as a body-politic with different people being the legs, the stomach, the head; and the people mutually contributing to the entire body in their own way.⁴⁴ Problems or “contentions” arise when individuals want different things.⁴⁵ By definition, a sovereign act is when every person of a state wants the same thing.⁴⁶ “Tant que les sujets ne sont soumis qu'à de telles conventions, ils

⁴² *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. IV, 197.

⁴³ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book V, 669.

⁴⁴ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, ed. Derathé, book II, chpt. IV, 194.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. IV, 195.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. IV, 197.

n'obéissent à personne, mais seulement à leur propre volonté...⁴⁷ As long as there is equality among the individuals, described by Rousseau as equal rights and obligations, once they have common interests and reside in the same place, they are better off overcoming their differences. If a person becomes a danger to the state, instead of a renunciation of the social contract, the state revokes his or her citizenship.⁴⁸ Somewhat later in the long version, Rousseau considered the illegitimacy of a contract and the potential destruction of the state when the general will of a foreign state is imposed upon it.⁴⁹

Sources for Rousseau's Idea of Natural Man

Looking to a different set of sentences, Rousseau established a general category and a category within a category by modifying an archetypal sentence with an adjective. In the first book of *L'Émile*, Jean-Jaques said that *The Republic* is the greatest educational book. In the third book, *Robinson Crusoe* is said to be the greatest. This is an example of Rousseau's archetypal composition by qualification.

Lisez la *République* de Platon. Ce n'est point un ouvrage de politique, comme le pensent ceux qui ne jugent des livres que par leurs titres. C'est le plus beaux traité d'éducation qu'on ait jamais fait.⁵⁰

In the third book, Rousseau rewrote the same sentence to praise Daniel Defoe.

Puis qu'il nous faut absolument des livres, il en existe un qui fournit à mon gré le plus heureux traité d'éducation naturelle. ... Est-ce Aristote, est-ce Pline, est-ce Buffon, Non; c'est *Robinson Crusöé*.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. IV, 197.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, book II, chpt. V, 198.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, book III, chpt XVI, 254 & book IV, chpt. I, 260.

⁵⁰ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book I, 86.

The first sentence is a Rousseauian archetype. The second sentence is a rewriting of it. Rousseau substituted *Robinson Crusoe* for *The Republic*, and then he replaced the adjective “beautiful” with the adjective “happy.” He qualified the statement with the indication that *Robinson Crusoe* was a book of “natural education” whereas *The Republic* was simply an educational book. If it is not happenstance, either Rousseau or an editor spelled “traitté” in the second sentence with an extra “t,” so as to accentuate archetypal reproduction. Incidentally about half a century earlier, a *Traité de l’éducation des enfans* by Jean-Pierre de Crousaz was published in the Hague.⁵²

Crousaz was a theologian and philosophy professor in Lausanne. With *Crusöé*, Rousseau used homophones to allude to Crousaz and his 1722 *Traité de l’éducation des enfans* when he described *Robinson Crusoe* as “le plus heureux traitté d’éducation.” Before I address the relationship between *Robinson Crusoe* and *L’Émile*, I will first describe the ways in which Cajot thought Rousseau plagiarized Crousaz. According to *Les plagiats*, Jean-Pierre de Crousaz was the primary source for two of Rousseau’s ideas. The first has to do with self-perfection and the second concerns teaching children about religion by having them memorize and recite sentences. Crousaz and Rousseau both accepted the Platonic notion that instruction should be enjoyable and that, by avoiding its difficulties, teachers should make the educational environment as much like a game as possible.

Before Rousseau wrote about the human ability of self-perfection in *L’Émile*, he wrote about it in *Le discours sur l’origine de l’inégalité*. Like animals that do not perfect themselves, Rousseau thought healthy, vigorous, young savages were essentially in a state of mental

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, book III, 290- 291.

⁵² Burgelin, ed., *Émile ou de l’éducation*, by Rousseau, 86 n. 2.

somnolence.⁵³ The human ability to self-perfect had both physical and mental components since men had a tendency toward thought and reflection when they were sick, depraved and physically weak.⁵⁴ In *Le discours sur l'inégalité*, Rousseau described the exceptionally keen eye-sight of the Hottentots and the comparatively poor eye-sight of Dutch sailors.⁵⁵ According to *L'Émile*, if instructors intended to educate children to be good hunters, they could perfect children's sense of smell so that it was as good as that of dogs.⁵⁶ For Rousseau, self-perfection was an Enlightenment idea because human reason and thought provided the greatest capacity for improvement: "... l'homme sauvage, privé de toute sorte de lumières, n'éprouve que les passions de cette dernière espèce; ses désirs ne passent pas ses besoins physiques..."⁵⁷ The historical progression of humans described in *Le discours sur l'inégalité* attributed intellectual self-perfection to agriculture societies and language. Once people began to farm, they learned the importance of foresight.⁵⁸ Increased human interaction led to knowledge acquired by comparison and categorization, then to the study of grammar and the expansion of the imagination.⁵⁹

Cajot could accuse Rousseau of plagiarizing Crousaz because of the similarity of their phrasings. Not only did Rousseau break the convention about giving credit to a previous author for their ideas, at first glance, he appears to have nearly copied the words of Crousaz. If nothing else, *L'Émile* discusses a concept about self-perfection that is in Crousaz's study of logic. Cajot's comparison of their sentences about children being born with no knowledge, and their

⁵³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Jacques Roger (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1992), 182.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 180, 182.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 182

⁵⁶ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, ed. Launay, book II, 201-202.

⁵⁷ Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Roger, 195.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 206-207.

minds being like blank pages, strengthens the theory that Rousseau modeled his books upon those of previous philosophers. Crousaz wrote:

Les hommes naissent sans aucun savoir, ils n'acquièrent de connaissances qu'à mesure qu'on les leur procure, & l'on ne peut leur en procurer que très peu dans les premières années de leur vie. Mais si les hommes naissent avec tant d'imperfections, ils naissent avec des facultés capables de se perfectionner elles-mêmes.⁶⁰

Cajot cited similar sentences by Rousseau:

Nous naissons capables d'apprendre, mais ne sachant rien. L'âme enchaînée dans les organes imparfaits & demi-formés, n'a pas même le sentiment de sa propre existence. *Emil. l. 1. p. 86.* A mesure que l'Être sentif devient actif, il acquiert un discernement proportionné à ses forces. *Emil. l. 2. pag. 280.*⁶¹

As much as Crousaz's ideas appear to be a model for Rousseau, Cajot's annotations indicate that at the very least Rousseau divided and significantly reorganized the ideas of the original author. Cajot indicated pages 86 and 280 in one citation, putting together two sentences about the mental capacities of a child at birth and during the early years of infancy that were about 200 pages apart in *L'Émile*. Although both authors agree that infants are born without knowledge, Rousseau emphasized the relationship between knowledge and the physical growth of organs whereas by self-perfection, Crousaz emphasized the faculty of young people learning to generate knowledge.

While the subject is only touched upon in regard to Sophie's education, Cajot attributed the idea of self-perfection for young women to Boudier de Villemert's 1759 *L'ami des femmes*. According to Cajot, Rousseau thematically imitated Villemert, rewriting ideas about feminine

⁶⁰ Jean-Pierre de Crousaz, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 85.

⁶¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 84-85.

beauty and the respective behavior of men and women.⁶² “C’est ainsi, poursuit *L’Ami des Femmes* & M. Rousseau, sur sa trace, que les deux sexes doivent être perfectionnés l’un par l’autre, &c.”⁶³ The two sources Cajot found for the idea of self-perfection would seem to raise a problem because, if Crousaz really was the first to grasp and express the idea, Rousseau could have taken it from him, instead of Villemert, and applied it to the education of women.

Despite the similarities between Villemert and Rousseau, whose books were published only 3 years apart, the two writers are none-the-less very different: Rousseau’s writing about Sophie is only thematically similar to *L’ami des femmes*. Both Rousseau and Villemert asked which educational subjects are appropriate for girls. Villemert tried to establish standard, female identity, saying the capriciousness of a woman made her beautiful.⁶⁴ The wording of *L’ami des femmes* occasionally sounds like Rousseau’s *Discours sur l’inégalité*.⁶⁵ “Le caprice est fils du loisir et de la mollesse. Les femmes qui mènent une vie molle et oisive, doivent être en proie à quelque genre de folies, ou les prendre toutes successivement.”⁶⁶ With a vocabulary reminiscent of the Enlightenment, Villemert preceded Rousseau in spelling out attitudes about finery. “... la nature a fait tous les frais de leur parure.”⁶⁷ Even though Villemert’s *L’ami des femmes* addressed similar points about the education of girls, in *L’Émile*, Rousseau contemplated issues of conventional 18th century behavior, and he wrote about them with his own perspective.

He thought preceptors could teach girls obedience by making them experience discrimination, “... elle doit apprendre de bonne heure à souffrir même l’injustice, et à supporter les torts d’un mari sans se plaindre...”⁶⁸ While girls were to be taught to be submissive,

⁶² Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 349.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 349.

⁶⁴ Boudier de Villemert, *L’ami des femmes* (London: Unknown, 1775), 73.

⁶⁵ Cf. Rousseau, *Discours sur l’origine et les fondements de l’inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Roger, 182.

⁶⁶ Villemert, *L’ami des femmes*, 73.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁶⁸ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book V, 546-547.

according to Rousseau, mothers were unyielding.⁶⁹ The difference between the experience of girls and the character of mothers incorporates Rousseau's binary principle. After the preceptor says one unfair thing about girls, he defines mothers in the opposite way.

The subject of memorization demonstrates how both Crousaz and Rousseau accepted the principle that teachers needed to make educational subjects interesting for students. Both of them were in agreement about age-specific education, meaning that more advanced subjects were appropriate for older students, whereas younger students should only attempt to learn subjects suitable for their age. Cajot cited Crousaz:

Il gémit de ce qu'on abandonne à des gens d'un esprit borné, la première éducation des enfants. Ils croient faire merveille de leur faire réciter en perroquets, des prières où ils n'entendent rien. On les en dégoûte si bien, qu'ils ne manquent jamais d'y renoncer dès qu'ils sont maîtres d'eux-mêmes.⁷⁰

Cajot observed that Rousseau expressed a similar perspective in *L'Émile*:

Veut-on les rendre pieux (dit M. R.) on les mène s'ennuyer à l'Eglise, en leur faisant incessamment marmotter des prières, on les force d'aspirer au bonheur de ne plus prier Dieu. *Emil. T. 1. p. 227.*⁷¹

The comprehensiveness of Cajot in this case detracts from his accusation of plagiarism. Earlier he claimed that Rousseau and Montaigne copied Plato's philosophy about appealing to the curiosity of children when they advised instructors to compose information into a simple song, or to reward students with parties and treats. In the chapter about Crousaz, Cajot noted that other educational philosophers such as Malbranche and Fleury thought along similar lines.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, book V, 547.

⁷⁰ Crousaz, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 89-90.

⁷¹ Rousseau, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 89.

Incidentally, in Crousaz's "Discourse concerning Pedantry," which was given at a college in Lausanne, he gave a different perspective about the principle of rewriting. Although pedants and pedagogues could scientifically test something, according to Crousaz, when they do not have a good answer to an intellectual problem, they ingeniously rephrase the knowledge of the writers they know, to the best of their ability.

By having neglected to study things from their principles, and to advance their knowledge regularly, by confining themselves only to reading and loading their memory and collections with what they find there, all their knowledge becomes only a repetition of what others have already said: Indexes therefore are of a singular use to such.⁷²

The "Discourse Concerning Pedantry" brings to light the general character of 18th century instructors who relied on Aristotle, Plato, Caesar and Tully.⁷³ The speech is directed toward students preparing to be teachers and those who wanted to be military officers, whom Crousaz advised to study math and rhetoric.⁷⁴ More of a prototype for Cajot's *Les plagiats*, Crousaz's "Discourse Concerning Pedantry" expresses many ideas that Cajot then applied to Rousseau. Tacheron's 1760 English translation of Crousaz demonstrates the prevalence of educational discourses during the 18th century.

Plato's narrative structure and philosophy influenced Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Rousseau's *L'Émile*. *The Republic* exemplifies Socratic dialogue which is implicitly associated with the social condition of people. Plato's governmental philosophy presupposed an education of people living together whereas *Robinson Crusoe* describes the education of a man living alone

⁷² Jean-Pierre de Crousaz, *New Maxims Concerning the Education of Youth and a Discourse Concerning Pedantry*, trans. George Tacheron (London: Unknown, 1760), 17.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 12, 31.

in nature. A literary manifestation of something similar to the solitary, natural man, Robinson learns by observation of natural phenomenon and experiment instead of imitation. The contrived situation of a man shipwrecked on an island may be Defoe's critique of the idea that man was ever naturally solitary. Reversing the Platonic conditions of learning, i.e. of imitation of other humans and dialogue, Defoe insinuated that the idea of man living alone in nature, hollowing out a cave for shelter and hunting with his rifle by day, was no more plausible than imagining the solitary existence of any other herd animal. Even on a deserted island, it would not be long until other people accompanied Robinson.

In 1719, when Defoe wrote *Robinson Crusoe*, the idea of natural man was already in the air, so to speak. Defoe's description of Robinson's life on the island set-up the circumstances of natural man differently than Rousseau would approach it in the second half of the century. Crusoe considered himself the owner of the island and its sheep, both of which he forcefully ruled when other people arrived because he had rifles. By contrast, according to *Le discours sur l'inégalité* of 1754, people in the state of nature did not have the concept of property. Since Robinson loved his island and considered it his *property*, he had what Rousseau would call *amour-propre*. A probable source of this idea was Aristotle's *The Politics*. Aristotle had made the distinction between "love for oneself" and "selfishness" in *The Politics*.⁷⁵ According to Aristotle, the first is part of being human and whereas the second, like generosity, is a feeling only experienced by people who live in society.

In *The Politics*, Aristotle described categories of social organizations which appear to be a source for Rousseau's idea of natural man. Aristotle described a different sort of natural men than Rousseau. Aristotle famously thought humans naturally lived in villages. "From these things, therefore it is clear that the city-state is a natural growth, and that man is by nature a

⁷⁵ Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1944), book II, 89.

political animal...”⁷⁶ The word “political” is derived from the Greek “πόλις” which means city or town. Aristotle wrote that there are two natural associations of people, first between a man and a woman, and second between a slave and a master. Although villages are the natural condition of people, *The Politics* claims that some men choose to live alone and outside of cities whereas others live in small gangs of males. People who lived in villages were more peaceful than those who did not. One category of violent communities was composed of “sons and sons’ sons.”⁷⁷ These allegedly dangerous men are excluded from the city-state. By contrast, according to Rousseau, the solitary natural man was gentle and fearful, an idea he attributed to Cumberland and Pufendorff in *Le discours sur l’inégalité*.⁷⁸

Although Aristotle conceived of societies other than the city-state, he concluded that it was natural for people to live socially and that village life was the original condition of human existence. “Thus also the city-state is prior in nature to the household and to each of us individually.”⁷⁹ Since the city-state existed before the household, in Aristotle’s mind, the two parent family was a social convention. He imagined states without the financial and social laws of marriage.⁸⁰ Aristotle thought people were naturally more social than bees because they had the capacity for speech.⁸¹ According to Cajot’s rules about the plagiarism of ideas, a convincing argument cannot be made that Rousseau plagiarized this passage from *The Politics* because Rousseau thought slavery was unnatural whereas Aristotle thought it was natural. Rousseau thought humans were naturally unsociable whereas Aristotle thought they were originally sociable. Even if Rousseau used many of the same words as Aristotle to describe the origins of

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, book I, 9.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, book I, 7.

⁷⁸ Rousseau, *Discours sur l’origine et les fondements de l’inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Roger, 176.

⁷⁹ Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Rackman, book I, 11.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, book II, 71.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, book I, 11.

political institutions, he made a substantially different argument. Aristotle is not the only source for Rousseau's conception of political organizations.

In the 1754 *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* Rousseau constructed his philosophy about the invention and development of languages upon Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*. Condillac's ideas about methodical systems, such as language, and the historical progression of mankind from a natural state to a modern one, influenced Rousseau. This influence is apparent in the *Discours sur l'inégalité*, where the first language was man's "cry of nature."⁸² Although Rousseau thought males were essentially solitary, infants presumably learned some words from their mothers before they were old enough to feed themselves, at which point adolescents left their mothers in order to fend for themselves.⁸³ Since languages were not standardized, when the need arose, men and women invented their own languages.⁸⁴

Rousseau's description of linguistic development takes into consideration a transition from natural men to social men during which time, thousands of centuries, people learned to think abstractly and metaphysically, differentiating between specific objects and general categories.⁸⁵ Rousseau acknowledged his intellectual debt to Condillac while maintaining that his writings expressed his own perspective on the philosophy of language and thought, notably that society corrupts humanity. "Je pourrais me contenter de citer ou de répéter ici les recherches que M. l'abbé de Condillac a faites sur cette matière, qui, peut-être, m'en ont donné la première

⁸² Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Roger, 205.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.

idée.”⁸⁶ Rousseau may have started thinking about how language provided a framework for thought during conversations with Condillac during the 1740’s.

Condillac’s *Essai sur l’origine des connaissances humaines*, which was published in 1746, held that thought began with sensation. When linguistic structures and precise vocabulary developed, they enabled the brain to express ideas with subtle divisions.⁸⁷ The English philosophers Newton and Locke, especially a translation of the latter’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* influenced Condillac.⁸⁸ Rousseau was familiar with Locke’s essay, his *Treatises on Government* and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. He commented upon Locke’s theories of the social behavior of carnivorous and herbivorous animals in *Le discours sur l’inégalité*.⁸⁹ Only after men left the state of nature and entered a stage of society with conventionally established correlations between sound and meaning could language facilitate complex thought.

While Rousseau imagined the possibility of a philosophical savage, the capacity for self-perfection depended upon learning historically accumulated knowledge that could be gained only by communicating via speech and imitating other people.⁹⁰ Long before Enlightenment writers questioned the origins of language, Aristotle philosophized about the transition between primitive people and social people. He wrote in *The Poetics* that the innate capacity for melody and rhythm eventually led to the composition of poetry.

Imitation, then, is one instinct of our nature. Next, there is the instinct for “harmony” and rhythm, meters being manifestly sections of rhythm. Persons, therefore, starting with this

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁸⁷ Roger LeFèvre, *Condillac ou la joie de vivre* (Paris: Seghers, 1966), 16.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁸⁹ Rousseau, *Discours sur l’origine et les fondements de l’inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Roger, 199-203.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 198.

natural gift developed by degrees their special aptitudes, till their rude improvisations gave birth to poetry.⁹¹

The historical progression of harmonious and rhythmic language as described in *The Poetics* demonstrates that the idea of forms of language changing in societies existed for centuries before Locke, Condillac and Rousseau. The Enlightenment philosophers differed from Aristotle in terms of what was natural and learned by imitation.

Condillac went to Italy in 1757, where he was hired to be the private tutor of Don Ferdinand of Parma, five years before the 1762 publication of *L'Émile*. Thirteen years later in 1775, Condillac published his *Grammaire*. Its narrative structure is purely philosophical, although Condillac does include an occasional historical anecdote about his lessons with Don Ferdinand. Even though the *Grammaire* was published after *l'Émile*, similarities between the books suggest that Condillac and Don Ferdinand, whom Condillac refers to as “the prince,” were an inspiration for the characters of the instructor and Émile, making Rousseau’s novel a *roman à clé*. According to Roger LeFèvre, scholars believe that Condillac did not learn to read until he was 12 years-old.⁹² Since Rousseau read voraciously at a young age, his education of reading may have been based upon Condillac.

In some cases Rousseau’s ideas are so obviously different from the ones Cajot accused him of plagiarizing that the accusations seems more like *ad hominem* attacks than legitimate

⁹¹ Aristotle, *Aristotle’s Poetics*, trans. S. H. Butcher (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), IV, 56. Butcher presumably put the word “harmony” in quotation marks because it is closer to Aristotle’s original text than Hardy’s French translation. “L’instinct d’imitation étant naturel en nous, ainsi que la mélodie et le rythme (car il est évident que les mètres ne sont que des parties des rythmes) dans le principe ceux qui étaient le mieux doués à cet égard firent petit à petit des progrès et la poésie naquit de leurs improvisations.” Butcher translated “instinct for ‘harmony’ and rhythm,” whereas Hardy translated “ainsi que la mélodie et le rythme.” Butcher’s sounds closer to the Belles lettres Greek text: “καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ.” Aristote, *La poétique*, trans. Hardy, chpt. IV, 33. Incidentally, by comparison to *The Republic*, Chambry translated μελῶν, of τό μέλος, as melody. ὠδῆς is the word for “song” in the Platonic text. ὠδῆς sounds like ὠδῖς which means “pains of child birth” or “labor pains.” The similarity of these words suggests that the idea of song in Plato’s book III resemble the sounds of a woman giving birth. Platon, *La République*, in t. VI of *Oeuvres complètes*, trans. Chambry, book III, 110.

⁹² LeFèvre, *Condillac ou la joie de vivre*, 10.

instances of rewriting the sentences of another writer. According to Cajot, Aristotle advised that only after puberty should teachers force children to learn one thing or another.⁹³ The instructor of *L'Émile* infamously held that adolescents should not read books before the age of twelve. “A peine à douze ans Émile saura-t-il ce que c’est qu’un livre.”⁹⁴ Aristotle’s advice for the age at which children should begin a rigorously disciplined education coincides with Rousseau’s modern concept that Émile should begin reading books in early puberty. Cajot disapproved of Rousseau’s advocacy of an outdoor education however similar it was to the peripatetic method of Socrates.⁹⁵

Les plagiats remarked that Seneca advised parents to teach young children subjects presumably described in books. “Séneque aussi précis que Platon sur la nécessité d’assujettir de bonne heure aux objets louables, les penchants de l’homme, enseigne au second Livre *de la Colère*, que l’on ne peut les étudier trop tôt.”⁹⁶ Comparable to books, the “objets louables” or “praiseworthy objectives” are the productivity of good habits, the value of order, and knowledge about religion and mythic people.⁹⁷ Compared to Rousseau’s private, natural education, Cajot was a proponent of an institutional form of learning that associated Seneca’s objectives with books. He thought learning to read at an early age was beneficial for young boys. As reasonable as Rousseau’s application of peripatetic, Socratic instructional wisdom to his time may have seemed, Cajot perceived it as revolutionary and condemned it as such.

Condillac wrote one letter to Rousseau on September 7, 1756. It is the only known correspondence between them during the general era of *L'Émile*’s composition. Condillac asked Rousseau if he knew about the publication of a pamphlet of “L’économie politique,” his

⁹³ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 4.

⁹⁴ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 193.

⁹⁵ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 10 – 12.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8, 9.

encyclopedia article.⁹⁸ The letter included the commentary of another contributor to the *Encyclopédie*, Georges Le Roy, about theories on natural history in *Le discours sur l'inégalité*. Rousseau's letters to Le Roy about how much time carnivorous and herbivorous animals spent eating compared cats and wolves, which could kill other animals and eat in minutes, to cows and horses, which spent more time grazing. Le Roy questioned the plausibility of Rousseau's theory of a solitary natural man, with the assumption that people had to cooperate to hunt and survive. At one point in the letter, Condillac asked Rousseau if he wanted to write a public discourse for another friend. "On vous communiquera le sujet, le lieu des discours, et même à peu près ce qu'on aura à dire."⁹⁹ Condillac's offer is exemplary of their method of composition, since both of them intensely researched a subject and mastered the canonical literature about it before writing their own interpretations.

Condillac and Rousseau described the progression of stages of children's thought, including the awareness of pain and pleasure and the child's ability to use reason, then the acquisition of foreign languages and the relationship between the student's milieu to the subjects best suited for him or her to learn. Some passages of *L'Émile* seem to be fictional accounts of Condillac's lessons with Don Ferdinand, which were later published in the *Grammaire*. This is not arbitrary since both of them applied the principles of Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* to practical education. Rousseau could have learned about Condillac's teaching in Italy from his older brother, M. de Mably, whose children Rousseau had taught, or their mutual friends such as Diderot and d'Alembert. Condillac's account of the prince learning about farming is one detail in the *Grammaire* which historically prefigures *L'Émile*.

⁹⁸ Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, "L'abbé Etienne Bonnot de Condillac à Rousseau," in t. IV of *Correspondance complète de Jean Jacques Rousseau*, ed. R. A. Leigh, (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1967), 99.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

Ce fut alors que M. de Keralio lui fit commencer un petit cours d'agriculture, dans un jardin qui tenait à l'appartement. Le prince bêcha son champ, sema du blé, le vit croître, le vit mûrir, et le moissonna. Plus curieux de son jardin, depuis qu'on en avait arraché les fleurs, il désira de semer d'autres grains, et il voulut voir croître des arbres de différentes espèces. Il était alors à peu près au même point où se trouvèrent les hommes, lorsqu'ils eurent pourvu aux besoins de première nécessité.¹⁰⁰

In Condillac's mind, since the prince's experiments in agriculture are analogous to primitive men, children progress from infancy to adulthood in proportion to the progression of natural man to modern man. Similar to Ferdinand of Parma who planted wheat and then trees in his own garden, Émile planted beans in Robert's melon patch which the narrator compared to Nunez Balboa putting up a Spanish flag in Latin America for the king of Spain.¹⁰¹ If it were not for this allusion to Charles III, a later King of Spain and the father of Don Ferdinand of Parma, it would seem plausible that Condillac read Rousseau's pedagogical novel and tailored Don Ferdinand's education to it. Charles III and his son Ferdinand of Parma were members of the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family.

Analysis of the two passages proves their similarities and differences. The words "semer" and "croître" of the third sentence cited above are indicative of a lost prototypical letter which was rewritten in *L'Émile*. "Il n'aura pas vû deux fois labourer un jardin, semer, lever, croître des légumes qu'il voudra jardiner à son tour."¹⁰² Unlike Ferdinand of Parma who tore up "arracher" flowers to plant wheat, Émile has the unpleasant experience of discovering that the gardener destroyed his bean patch. "Ô spectacle! ô douleur! toutes les fèves sont arrachées,

¹⁰⁰ Condillac, *Grammaire*, in t. VI of *Œuvres complètes* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 279.

¹⁰¹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 167.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, book II, 166.

tout le terrain est bouleversé, la place même ne se reconnoit plus.”¹⁰³ More detailed in the fictional version, the gardening episode of *L'Émile* essentially includes the same people, who represent Keralio, Condillac and Don Ferdinand. Rousseau transformed Keralio into Robert, the gardener, in the dialogue with the instructor and Émile. Despite the similarities, Condillac and Rousseau differed on a political level. Whereas the one garden implicitly belonged to Don Ferdinand, whose royal education entailed studying politics and history, in the fictional version, Émile learned that property is not simply inherited. Farmland is acquired by doing physical work on it and by improving it.¹⁰⁴

Rejecting the idea that complex verbal communication was an innate quality of humans, Condillac thought language began with gesture, which he called “le langage d’action.”¹⁰⁵ People substituted sounds for gestures in society, such as saying “à” instead of pointing to the place where a thing went “to,” and saying “de” to replace a gesticulation signifying “from.”¹⁰⁶ The language of action, according to Condillac, required a person to pay attention to visual sensation, whereas verbal language required attention to auditory sensations.¹⁰⁷ The philosophical relationship between language and thought is the ultimate concern of the *Grammaire*. Condillac wrote that every language was a different form of one mechanical system of thought which was the same for all humans. “Or la pensée, considérée en général, est la même dans tous les hommes. Dans tous, elle vient également de la sensation; dans tous, elle se compose et se décompose de la même manière.”¹⁰⁸ The mental structures and words of languages allowed for

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, book II, 167.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, book II, 167-168.

¹⁰⁵ Condillac, *Grammaire*, in t. VI of *Œuvres complètes*, 410.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 411.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 413.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 402.

the composition and decomposition of ideas. According to LeFèvre, Condillac's method of thought can be described in the following way.

Elle permet de décomposer l'ensemble des sensations, d'apprécier leurs différences, de saisir leurs relations, de fixer précisément celle qui est à l'origine de l'affirmation du monde que toutes les autres répètent, de recomposer ainsi dans leur unité vivante, à partir de l'élément simple, le lien du sujet et de l'objet, l'action de l'âme dans l'univers.¹⁰⁹

Condillac thought words were the equivalent of ideas and languages the equivalents of methods of communication.¹¹⁰ Since every language had a dynamic relationship to the one system of human thought, Condillac differentiated between “la grammaire générale” and “la grammaire particulière.” General grammar described rules for all languages, whereas particular grammars described the exact rules for a specific language.¹¹¹

L'Émile and the *Grammaire* apply the idea of a single, foundational system of thought, or “language,” to the instruction of foreign languages. Émile's instructor described “prodiges” who had learned German, Italian, Latin and French words but arranged all of them into German syntax. “En un mot, donnez aux enfans tant de synonymes qu'il vous plaira; vous changerez les mots, non la langue; ils n'en sauront jamais qu'une.”¹¹² Only “prodiges” learned more than one language before the age of twelve, because average children had not yet advanced to the age of reason when ideas are compared and contrasted.¹¹³ While Émile's instructor thought there was only one structure for language, he attributed very numerous and disorderly variations of idiom

¹⁰⁹ LeFèvre, *Condillac ou la joie de vivre*, 34.

¹¹⁰ Condillac, *Grammaire*, in t. VI of *Œuvres complètes*, 271, 287.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 403.

¹¹² Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 183.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, book II, 182.

and permutations of grammar to distinct national spirits.¹¹⁴ Rousseau took this idea of a foundational language from Condillac and applied it to a novelistic form.

Since Condillac believed thought was derived from sensation, human experience gained by reading raised different philosophical questions. A child could learn things vicariously by reading for which he was unprepared by personal experience.¹¹⁵ In the *Grammaire*, when writing about children memorizing words of foreign languages, Condillac designated exceptional students with the word “prodigy.” “Je conviens que l’éducation qui ne cultive la mémoire peut faire des prodiges, et qu’elle en fait. Mais ces prodiges ne durent que l’enfance.”¹¹⁶ This statement is not only a parallel to *L’Émile*, it is a response to a sentence about Condillac in Rousseau’s novel. According to LeFèvre, Rousseau directly referred to Condillac when he wrote in *L’Émile*:

J’ai vu dans un âge assez avancé un homme qui m’honorait de son amitié passer dans sa famille, et chez ses amis pour un esprit borné: cette excellente tête se mûrissait en silence. Tout à coup, il s’est montré philosophe, et je ne doute pas que la postérité ne lui marque une place honorable et distinguée parmi les meilleurs raisonneurs et les plus profonds métaphysiciens de son siècle.¹¹⁷

Whereas child prodigies were only a “flash in the pan,” Condillac would be recognized as a great Enlightenment philosopher for centuries. As for memorizing words of foreign languages, Condillac remarked that when children learn languages, sometimes they recite words whose meaning they do not fully understand. Condillac wrote, “Cependant on se récrie et on admire, lorsqu’un enfant récite sans intelligence de longs morceaux d’histoire, ou qu’il parle plusieurs

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, book II, 182

¹¹⁵ Condillac, *Grammaire*, in t. VI of *Œuvres complètes*, 269.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 270.

¹¹⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, cited by Lefèvre, *Condillac ou la joie de vivre*, 10.

langues, sans savoir encore ce qu'il dit dans aucune."¹¹⁸ Rousseau wrote about parents who encouraged a boy to recite a passage about Alexander the Great, adding that it was customary in France.

A table on ne manqua pas selon la méthode françoise de faire beaucoup babiller le petit bon homme. La vivacité naturelle à son âge, et l'attente d'un applaudissement sûr, lui firent débiter mille sotises, tout à travers lesquelles partoient de tems en tems quelques mots heureux qui faisoient oublier le reste.¹¹⁹

Burgelin noted that the story of Alexander the Great is from Plutarch and had been retold by Montaigne in the *Essais*.¹²⁰ According to the methods Condillac outlined in the *Grammaire*, children could learn "... en peu d'années ce que les hommes n'ont appris qu'en plusieurs siècles."¹²¹ The *Grammaire* and *L'Émile* both apply this educational idea from *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaine*. Rousseau's fictional tutor thought that sometimes children memorized Latin literature without knowing what the words meant.¹²² According to Condillac, if children do not understand a passage they have memorized, they should be punished.¹²³ Although Rousseau's method of prototypal composition suggests that he nearly memorized passages of canonical literature, the subtle changes and reversals he made to them when rewriting demonstrates his ability to evaluate the literature and produce a different form of it.

It is plausible to claim, as Peter Jimack does, that Rousseau's belief in the goodness of natural man and society's corruption of him, as described in *Le discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* is an extrapolation from the Bible.¹²⁴ The story of the serpent and the tree of

¹¹⁸ Condillac, *Grammaire*, in t. VI of *Œuvres complètes*, 271.

¹¹⁹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 185.

¹²⁰ Burgelin, ed., *Émile ou de l'éducation*, by Rousseau, 185 n. 1.

¹²¹ Condillac, *Grammaire*, in t. VI of *Œuvres complètes*, 268.

¹²² Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 183.

¹²³ Condillac, *Grammaire*, in t. VI of *Oeuvres complètes*, 269.

¹²⁴ Jimack, *Rousseau: Emile*, 14.

knowledge in Genesis cannot be ruled out as an influence. Rousseau wrote in *Le discours sur l'inégalité*, “La religion nous ordonne de croire que Dieu lui-même ayant tiré les hommes de l'état de nature, immédiatement après la création ...”¹²⁵ *The Anti-Emile* of Gerdil makes the case that people are not naturally solitary because they need each other to learn sciences and arts and to survive. He strayed somewhat from the point to argue that modern people who are not naturally sociable live a cloistered life.

What is said in this place with respect to the advantages of society will by no means count against those religious who retreat from the world. Those who would flee from the corruptions of the age are still united to the society of the faithful whom they edify by their examples.¹²⁶

With respect to European travels and the colonization of America, he followed *L'Émile* to state that Peruvian and Chilean Indians benefitted from the increased linguistic competency of knowing foreign languages. Knowing Spanish allowed them to learn many useful things from the colonists.¹²⁷ While to a certain extent, Gerdil's criticism of Rousseau's natural man seems to be a continuation of Aristotle's *Politics*, *The Anti-Emile* fundamentally juxtaposed the instruction of a natural boy, Émile, to the education of Christian children. He claimed the philosophical approach of *L'Émile* to education was designed for a natural person which stood in opposition to the education of Christian children.

According to Cajot, the idea that society corrupts men came to Rousseau from Francis Bacon, 1561 – 1626, a contemporary of William Shakespeare. Cajot cited *L'Émile*, “L'homme est de tous les animaux, celui qui peut le moins vivre en troupeaux.”¹²⁸ *Les plagiats* considers

¹²⁵ Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. Roger, 169.

¹²⁶ Gerdil, *The Anti-Emile*, ed. and trans. Frank, 12 n.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹²⁸ Rousseau, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, xvi.

Rousseau's sentence to be a less complex form of an idea by Bacon about the difficulty of human co-existence.

Quand on considère que les hommes se corrompent & s'empoisonnent mutuellement, croirait-t'on qu'ils sont faits pour habiter ensemble? D'où vient que dans tous les lieux d'assemblée publique, on est sujet aux pamoisons? C'est que les hommes soufflent une peste subtile. Les troupeaux n'éprouvent pas ces altérations dans leurs étables. Tom., 2. p. 329.¹²⁹

Instead of Bacon, Pierre Burgelin, the editor of the 1969 Gallimard Folio Essais edition, cited Arbuthnot's *Essai des effets de l'air sur le corps humain* as a source for this passage.¹³⁰ Whereas Bacon imagined social corruption in terms of sickness, Rousseau thought the solution to it was for people to independently farm plots of land.¹³¹ Bacon's metaphor of "breathing the plague" had a more literal equivalent in the same passage of *L'Émile*, where Rousseau wrote of vice and physical weakness. "L'haleine de l'homme est mortelle à ses semblables: cela n'est pas moins vrai au propre qu'au figuré."¹³² Rousseau's commentary about literal and figurative language gives credibility to Cajot's epistemology. Corruption in Rousseau's mind, or the human ability to communicate with speech, results literally from a "toxic breath" leading to physical weakness and death whereas Bacon's expression of it is figurative because he used the metaphor of breathing the plague which troubled people, causing them to pass out.

According to Cajot, Rousseau had his choice from among many classical and modern authors for his ideas about child rearing. Along with those previously mentioned, they included Caesar, Sainte-Marthe and Desessarts. Rousseau was not the first to have strong opinions about

¹²⁹ Bacon, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, xv-xvi.

¹³⁰ Burgelin, ed., *Émile ou de l'éducation*, by Rousseau, 113 n. 1.

¹³¹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds Wirz and Burgelin, book I, 112.

¹³² *Ibid.*, book I, 113.

the effects of hot and cold air on children, and how they should be nursed and dressed. Cajot disagreed with many of Rousseau's attitudes on these subjects, and argued that Rousseau wrote with a "ton outrageant des insultes" instead of "persuasion."¹³³ Cajot attributed Rousseau's taste for brisk country life to ancient Swiss history. "... je serais tenté de l'associer non aux paisibles Genevois d'aujourd'hui, mais aux Allobroges, qui gouvernaient Genève quand César asservit les Gaules; ..." ¹³⁴ A contemporary of Rousseau, Desessarts published a *Traité de l'éducation corporelle des enfans en bas âge* in 1760.¹³⁵ Informed by travel or travel writing, Desessarts described the physical health of children in the Congo of which Rousseau, according to Cajot, dishonestly took possession.¹³⁶

According to Michel Launay, preparations for *L'Émile* began in 1757 when Rousseau wrote passages of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* in which Saint-Preux was the teacher of Julie's children.¹³⁷ To the extent writing *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was a necessary step toward *L'Émile*, we must take into consideration Julie's advice to Saint-Preux to trim away some of the influence of Plato, so that his thought would be more natural. Rousseau's extensive reformulation of parts of *The Republic* outraged Cajot because they were in a totally different style. Whereas Cajot's insistence upon meticulous citation firmly situates him in the camp of 18th century scholars, *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *L'Émile* demonstrate that although Rousseau was a great reader of Greek and Latin authors, he was also a pre-Romantic. As such, he was somewhat repelled by the *lux*, or light, from Plato and Aristotle. He had in mind a literary and philosophical style that would resonate with provincial France, Geneva and Italy.

¹³³ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 74.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹³⁷ Launay, ed., *Émile ou de l'éducation*, by Rousseau, 7.

Translation of Classical Authors and *L'Émile*

Cajot tried to substantiate his argument about plagiarism by suggesting Rousseau essentially translated Plutarch and Seneca and only reversed a few of their ideas. He referred to one passage of *L'Émile* as “sa sublime traduction des paroles de Plutarque.”¹³⁸ Rousseau’s inventiveness however was precisely his ability to reevaluate some of the most ubiquitous ideas of canonical authors and then to rewrite them in the form of a French novel. My chapter “Seneca and the Stylistic Genesis of *Du contrat social*” showed that Rousseau methodically rewrote passages of classical texts and that he composed highly imitative, structured prose with his model. Were a skillful critic such as Cajot to take a few of these sentences out of context, and compare them to the translation, he could give the impression that Rousseau nearly made a copy. The authoritative tone of *Du contrat social* and its character as a political treatise, compared to the frivolous tone and satirical character of the *Apocolocyntosis*, demonstrate that an esthetic transformation compelled Rousseau’s mimetic process as much as the ideas of Seneca. As similar as a few sentences may be, when they are not taken out of context, the books are fundamentally different.

Cajot demonstrated that the educators of antiquity feared the long term, detrimental effects of overbearing pedagogues who forced young children to learn information as a disciplined task. Instead of tyrannical teaching, Plato, Aristotle and numerous 17th and 18th century educational philosophers promoted the enjoyable pursuit of curiosity. Children could begin to learn by observing their parents at work. While Rousseau gives voice to these sentiments, unlike Genette, who considered the imitation of eminent writers and the reversal of some their ideas to be a good literary practice, Cajot generally disapproved of the unique way

¹³⁸ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 27.

Rousseau disseminated canonical ideas and prepared them for French tastes. Occasionally Rousseau's modification of very important, standard instructional ideas essentially dissolved long established traditions.

Cajot was sensitive to the pervasive influence of Plutarch and his Latin translator Amiot on Rousseau's educational attitudes, especially the disinclination of the instructor to firmly say "no" to Émile and to physically punish him. Their friendly rapport allows the pupil to feel like the master until he learns to depend upon the tutor. Book II is replete with examples of this philosophy, such as when a boy breaks something, and the tutor advised his parents to pretend not to notice.¹³⁹ Referring to advice not to beat children with a cane or have them memorize plays, Cajot called the effect of Rousseau's plagiaristic composition his "pensées communes" with Plutarch.¹⁴⁰

Je remplirais aisément plusieurs pages, des pensées qui leur sont communes, sur l'importunité du caquet de certains enfants à qui l'on permet de tout dire; sur la sottise vanité des parents qui songent plus à les faire briller dans les cercles, qu'à les former en particulier.¹⁴¹

Cajot talked about the implications of diet on civility in relation to Plutarch's and Rousseau's philosophies of nutrition. The passage about meals differs from others such as discipline and reading because at this moment, Cajot accused Rousseau less of plagiarism than of imitation and development of Plutarch's principles. *Les plagiats* took into consideration Rousseau's discussion of the age when children should begin to eat meat.¹⁴² Cajot provided sources for

¹³⁹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 159.

¹⁴⁰ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 25.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 27.

Rousseau's belief that meat had worms in it whereas vegetables did not.¹⁴³ Indicative of the connection between 18th century science and religion, Cajot referred to the story of Cain and Able when summarizing the debate among 18th century doctors about diet.¹⁴⁴ Considering the relationship between diet, personality and mood, Cajot thought that the savage character of an Englishman described by Rousseau resulted more from the isolation of England than his being a meat-eater.¹⁴⁵

We know from *Du contrat social* and *Les confessions* that Plutarch's histories were a source for Rousseau. Cajot noticed numerical relations between nouns in sentences of Rousseau's *Émile* and Plutarch's *Moralia*. The observation suggests that Rousseau wrote in a template because as well as thematic similarity, the structure indicates syntactical imitation. Amiot's translation of Plutarch suggested that the instruction of virtue entailed three parts: usage, reason and nature. "Pour faire un homme parfaitement vertueux, il faut que trois choses y soient concurrentes, la nature, la raison, l'usage."¹⁴⁶ This notorious sentence is in the first few pages of Plutarch's *Moralia* which is about education. "... there must be a concurrence of three things in order to produce perfectly right action, and these are: nature, reason, and habit."¹⁴⁷ The first volume of the *Moralia* is about teaching virtue, poetry and friendship with another chapter on listening comprehension. Plutarch begins the book by stating that it is a theory of education for parents who want their children to be "notable."¹⁴⁸ For the sentence in question, he precisely defined two of the terms and explained the third by analogy. "By reason I mean the act of learning, and by habit constant practice."¹⁴⁹ Good instruction requires educators to include

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁴⁶ Plutarch, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 19.

¹⁴⁷ Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, vol. I (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 9.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

well defined principles in their lessons. Children learn best when their teachers organize the lessons progressively, in a way that students work on the same sorts of problems in class after class.

Although what Plutarch meant by “nature” is more vague, the context implies that the word designated the innate abilities and temperament of the students. In the preceding paragraphs, Plutarch made two points about the inherent qualities of children, one of a king who had short children because he married a short wife; and another of an “emotional and crack-brained” child whose parents were drunk at his conception.¹⁵⁰ The Greek word that Babbitt translated as “nature” is ἡ φύσις which means “birth, origin; nature, inborn quality, natural parts; temper, disposition; stature; sex; natural order; creative power; the universe; creature.”¹⁵¹ Plutarch insisted that the education of students who were to become notable required a good teacher and talented children. In addition to skillful educators and lots of practice, the students had to be intelligent and disposed to learning.

Despite admitting the appeal of Rousseau’s vivacious and energetic French prose, Cajot argued that Rousseau dangerously transformed traditional, established ideas, such as those of Plutarch. Instead of Plutarch’s usage, reason and nature, *Émile*’s instructor thought the education of virtue consisted of knowing nature, things and men. According to Cajot, Rousseau’s transformation promoted vice not virtue. To show that Rousseau plagiarized Plutarch, Cajot cited *L’Émile*, “l’éducation vient de la nature, ou des hommes, ou des choses.”¹⁵² While Cajot is correct that the two authors limited the expression of their ideas to three substantives, the first of which is “nature,” in this case, *L’Émile* changed Plutarch’s “reason” to

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵¹ Karl Feyerabend, *Langenscheidt’s Pocket Greek Dictionary* (Berlin: Langenscheidt, ?), 408.

¹⁵² Rousseau, cited by Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 19.

“the education of men” and Plutarch’s “usage” to “things.” In the following sentence, Rousseau defined his terms to have a unique and more limited meaning.

Le developement interne de nos facultés et de nos organes est l’éducation de la nature; l’usage qu’on nous apprend à faire de ce developement est l’éducation des hommes; et l’acquis de nôtre propre expérience sur les objets qui nous affectent est l’éducation des choses.¹⁵³

According to the passage, Émile’s growth and the physical transformation of his mind qualify as natural education, which makes sense in the Rousseauian context of herbivorous and carnivorous diets. He clarified in the preface that a uniform, classical education could not be imposed on all children, regardless of culture and class.¹⁵⁴ In the paragraph following the alleged plagiarism of Plutarch, Émile’s teacher says that a person’s customary behavior determines their character and personality. “La nature, nous dit-on, n’est que l’habitude.”¹⁵⁵ To the extent Plutarch’s theory presupposes that one child is fundamentally disposed to learning art and another to biology, Rousseau’s statement is a critique of the educational element of practice or usage in the *Moralia*.

While a short child could not be made tall, a lazy child can be made active. Writing about the health of children, Rousseau thought circumstances determined a child’s nature, which is to say the activities he did with teachers in class or at home. The narrator proved this idea by organizing races for children and rewarding them with cakes.¹⁵⁶ The pedagogue begins with a boy disposed to be inactive. With careful supervision, lots of jogging and cakes, the boy’s level of physical fitness improves. When the pedagogue stated, “l’usage qu’on nous apprend à faire de ce developement est l’éducation des hommes,” he also differentiated between the lessons

¹⁵³ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l’éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book I, 83.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, book I, 79.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, book I, 83.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, book II, 229.

appropriate for a noble child in Paris and those best suited for the child of a provincial, bourgeois family. Compared to Plutarch's principle about "usage," Rousseau's "education of things" changes the emphasis to an individualized learning style because practice forms "notre propre expérience sur les objets." Instead of plagiarizing Plutarch, Rousseau used his passage as a starting point for the fictional instructor's own theories about education.

While *Les plagiats* compared *The Laws* of Plato to *L'Émile* in the vicinity of the argument about virtue, Cajot wrote nothing about *The Republic* in which Plato made a similar statement about 400 years before Plutarch.¹⁵⁷ According to Socrates, craftsmen have more knowledge about things than poets and painters: for example, carpenters know more about beds and tables, cobblers know more about shoes, and smiths know more about bits for horses than do painters who produce images of these things.¹⁵⁸ The dialogue about imitation and craftsmanship includes what could have been a prototypal sentence for both Plutarch and Rousseau. "That in each case there are these three arts, of using, making, and imitating?"¹⁵⁹ Whereas Amiot's translation of Plutarch had three parts "usage," "reason," and "nature," the three elements of Socrates' dialogue with Glaucon were "usage," "fabrication" and "imitation." According to Socrates, there is only one idea of a bed or a table. The nearly infinite designs carpenters and craftsmen make with various materials are all derived from one idea. Painters can imitate beds and tables from different angles, such as looking at a table from the end or from above, but instead of making them, their colors and shapes are only an imitation of the real objects. In a similar way, poets imitate the language of tradesmen, like doctors, without knowing very much about medicine.

¹⁵⁷ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation*, 18.

¹⁵⁸ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. R. E. Allen (New Haven, Connecticut, 2006), book X, 334.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, book X, 334.

Socrates thought Homer never established himself in a city because the townspeople perceived the recitation of poetry as ultimately detrimental to virtuous behavior. “If Homer was able to benefit men in the matter of virtue, would his contemporaries have allowed him or Hesiod to wander around reciting poems?”¹⁶⁰ Not residing in any one town, poets were itinerant. Socrates’s perspective that poets taught vice and simultaneously grappled with the rights of kings to express political ideas refers to the example of King Lycurgus who was renowned in Plato’s time for his efficient leadership of Spartan warriors.¹⁶¹ While Rousseau’s knowledge of Lycurgus is generally attributed to Plutarch’s histories, the mention of him in the Platonic dialogue about virtue and education demonstrates the principle that ideas and historical facts were not married to one classical writer.

Without accusing Rousseau of plagiarism, Peter Jimack compared Rousseau’s revision of Plutarch to that of Montaigne in *La genèse et la rédaction de l’Emile de J.-J. Rousseau*. Without citing Cajot, Jimack agreed that parts of Rousseau’s *L’Émile* are very similar to Plutarch’s *The Education of Children* from his *Moral Works*.¹⁶² Jimack proved with citations from *Les confessions* and *Les rêveries* that as a child Rousseau closely read Plutarch and continued to read him late in life. Instead of directly copying Plutarch’s histories and moral works, Jimack thought that when writing about education, Rousseau emulated Montaigne’s *Essais*. “L’hypothèse se complique par le fait intéressant que, sur treize exemples de Plutarque qui sont dans le manuscrit F, neuf avaient été cités par Montaigne.”¹⁶³ According to Jimack, although there is evidence that Rousseau reread the *Essais* of Montaigne to compose *L’Émile*, his familiarity with Plutarch suggests that the histories and the *Moralia* were cited from memory. In terms of narrative

¹⁶⁰ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Allen, book X, 333.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, book X, 332.

¹⁶² Peter Jimack, *La genèse et la rédaction de L’Émile de J.-J. Rousseau* (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1960), 266.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 265.

structure and temperament, Plutarch the story teller was a model for the Enlightenment writer, especially because he could evoke and communicate personality by writing about small details.¹⁶⁴ Montaigne's philosophical interpretations of the Greek author formed Rousseau's unique perspective.

Cajot's citations can explain Rousseau's use of prototypes for rhythmic and stylistic purposes. His procedure of transforming information from one genre to another brings up a principle of the *Poetics*. According to Aristotle, poetry – i.e. epic poetry, comedies and tragedies – need to be plausible whereas historians record real events with the names of real people. The difference between the genre of history and literary genres is relatively small; one is plausible whereas the other is factual. Following Aristotle's notion, an author could rewrite history into literature by altering some of the events. In the eyes of Cajot, virtually all similarities between the books qualify as plagiarism. *The Poetics* claims that just like poetry, history could be composed in verse. "The work of Herodotus might be put into verse, and it would still be a species of history, with meter no less than without it. The true difference is that one relates what has happened, the other what may happen."¹⁶⁵ From this perspective content instead of literary style differentiates poetry from history. *Les plagiats* demonstrated that Rousseau frequently rewrote specific events and information of a vast number of authors, such as a story from Plutarch or a theory of Plato's, to make an entertaining literary text. Although Rousseau resembles the writer who would put the works of Herodotus into verse, he combined philosophy with fiction and memoir.

Rousseau composed within the frameworks of other authors and changed their texts mechanically and systematically. Cajot stated that *L'Émile* was a hodgepodge of sources, and

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 262.

¹⁶⁵ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics*, trans. Butcher, chpt. IX, 68.

that some passages are translations and others are misrepresentations. “Je ne vois en lui, qu’un déclamateur qui pour multiplier ses feuilles, entasse sans choix tout ce qui s’offre aux délires de sa plume.”¹⁶⁶ The narrative tone and concrete nature of *Les confessions* hardly resembles the lyrical and delirious love letters of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. The common sense narrator of *L’Émile* differs from the common sense of the cool headed characters in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. At the same time that the numerous authors emulated in the works of Rousseau make his oeuvre diverse and representative of intellectual currents, with each book, he was able to generalize their different qualities to produce a uniformity of style. While *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, *L’Émile* and *Les confessions* bring together ideas from a mélange of authors, each of them has a consistent literary character or identity.

The dichotomy between Jean-Jaques’s limited curriculum and his erudition reveals the literary and non-pragmatic quality of the book: what is stated and what is signified are very different things. *L’Émile* is literary in the sense that Rousseau ironically rewrote original texts to have signification in addition to their literal meaning. Chateaubriand made this point in *Essai sur les Révolutions* by comparing it to Fénelon’s *Télémaque* and Plato’s *The Republic*. A student who is brought up as a natural man, who imagines himself as *Robinson Crusoe* and only reads *The Republic*, will not have the broad knowledge of Émile’s tutor. If students only begin to read seriously late in their schooling, they will fall behind where they could have been.

Chateaubriand wrote the following about *L’Émile*:

Tel est le fameux ouvrage qui a précipité notre Révolution. Son principal défaut est de n’être écrit que pour peu de lecteurs. Je l’ai quelquefois vu entre les mains de certaines femmes, qui y cherchaient des règles pour l’éducation de leurs enfants; et j’ai souri. Ce livre n’est point un livre pratique; il serait de toute impossibilité d’élever un jeune

¹⁶⁶ Cajot, *Les plagiat M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 30.

homme sur un système qui demande un concours d'êtres environnants, qu'on ne saurait trouver; mais le sage doit regarder cet écrit de J.-J. comme son trésor.¹⁶⁷

In *Essai sur les Révolutions*, Chateaubriand insisted that Rousseau would have been an anti-revolutionary and that he foresaw a glimmering of the French Revolution.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, in the course of the same chapter about Fénelon and Rousseau, Chateaubriand indicated the effect of *L'Émile* on French education.¹⁶⁹ Unlike dom Joseph Cajot, who thought the resemblance between *L'Émile* and *The Republic* resulted from plagiarism, Chateaubriand believed Plato, Fénelon and Rousseau demonstrated their genius in taking up political issues.¹⁷⁰ For Chateaubriand, writing about education equated to writing about politics.¹⁷¹

Plato influenced Rousseau's earliest works as well as *L'Émile*. The *Avertissement* to *Le discours sur les sciences et les arts* begins with the question, "Qu'est-ce que la célébrité?"¹⁷² Rousseau responded that he owed his own fame to *Le premier discours* which is a "malheureux ouvrage."¹⁷³ It is an "unhappy work" because Rousseau argued that the culture of luxury which comes with the advancement of knowledge corrupted mores. In *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Henri Gouhier added to the scholarship about Platonic influence. Instead of translating Plato, Rousseau rewrote Socrates "word-for-word," making the philosophy of Socrates a permanent part of his philosophy. The limitations prescribed for knowledge in *Le premier discours* are very similar to the wise ignorance of Socrates. Gouhier calls this "la docte

¹⁶⁷ Francois-René Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les Révolutions*, ed. Maurice Regard (Paris: Gallimard, "La Pléiade," 1978), 368.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 366 n. A.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 368.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 360.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 368.

¹⁷² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, ed Jacques Roger (Paris: GF Flammarion 1992), 25.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 25.

ignorance” symptomatic of Rousseau’s expression “le bon Socrate.”¹⁷⁴ According to Gouhier, Rousseau’s appropriation of Socrates begins with *Le discours sur les sciences et les arts*, where Rousseau rewrote Plato word-for-word, and then continued to *Le discours sur l’inégalité*. Traces of Platonic influence reappeared in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, *La profession de foi*, *Les confessions* and Rousseau’s letters.¹⁷⁵

Gouhier used the expression “word-for-word” to indicate Rousseau’s abridged translation of a passage of Plato’s *Apology* which is in quotation marks in *Le discours sur les sciences et les arts*.¹⁷⁶ Reviewing a clause of the passage that Rousseau left out clarifies the text. When summoned to criminal court for corrupting the youth of Athens, Socrates went in search of a person wiser than himself: politicians, poets and artists. Socrates eventually rejected their knowledgeable status because instead of only claiming to have knowledge in one area of expertise, they claim to know about many areas of expertise. Socrates said, “It seemed clear to me that the poets were in much the same case; and I also observed that the very fact that they were poets made them think that they had a perfect understanding of all other subjects, of which they were totally ignorant.”¹⁷⁷ According to Gouhier, Rousseau “identified” with Socrates because he knew what he did not know.¹⁷⁸

Gouhier compared Rousseau’s translation of this passage from *The Apology* to the Budé edition of Plato translated by Croiset and the Pléiade edition translated by Robin.¹⁷⁹ It is significant that where Rousseau translated “artists,” Croiset translated “artisans” and Robin

¹⁷⁴ Gouhier, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1970), 189.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 189-190.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 187.

¹⁷⁷ Plato, *The Apology*, in *The Last Days of Socrates*, ed. and trans. Hugh Tredennick (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 51.

¹⁷⁸ Gouhier, *Les méditations métaphysiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 187.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 187 nn. 10-13.

translated “gens de métier.”¹⁸⁰ Citing the equivalent passages of these translators, Gouhier determined that Rousseau’s identification with Socrates was not a translation but a rewriting.

Rousseau a reproduit presque mot à mot le texte de Platon: “me mettant à la place de l’Oracle et me demandant ce que j’aimerais le mieux être, ce que je suis ou ce qu’ils sont, savoir ce qu’ils ont appris ou savoir que je ne sais rien, j’ai répondu à moi-même et au Dieu: Je veux rester ce que je suis.”¹⁸¹

Gouhier’s analysis of Rousseau’s passage and his term “mot à mot,” which differentiates Rousseau’s method of composition from previous translators of the whole work, have bearing on Rousseau’s penchant for making stylistic translations and his acceptance of small modifications to the meaning. First, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, in the context of classical Greek education, Socrates differentiated between artists and artisans.

In *The Republic*, Socrates compared furniture makers to people who made paintings of beds. He concluded that fine carpenters knew more than artists about beds and tables because carpenters made them whereas artists only produced imitative representations. Second, Rousseau’s abridgement of Plato may explain why Gouhier described the passage as “almost word for word” rewriting. Although Gouhier compared a few sentences of Rousseau’s translation to French translations, to complement *Les méditations métaphysiques*, it proves helpful to compare a paragraph of Rousseau’s translation to that of a British professor of classics, Hugh Tredennick. Rousseau wrote in *Le discours sur les sciences et les arts*:

“Des poètes, continue Socrate, j’ai passé aux artistes. Personne n’ignorait plus les arts que moi; personne n’était plus convaincu que les artistes possédaient de fort beaux secrets. Cependant, je me suis aperçu que leur condition n’est pas meilleure que celle des

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 187 n. 11.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 187.

poètes et qu'ils sont, les uns et les autres, dans le même préjugé. Parce que les plus habiles d'entre eux excellent dans leur patrie, ils se regardent comme les plus sages des hommes. Cette présomption a terni tout à fait leur savoir à mes yeux. De sorte que me mettant à la place de l'oracle et me demandant ce que j'aimerais le mieux être, ce que je suis ou ce qu'ils sont, savoir ce qu'ils ont appris ou savoir que je ne sais rien; j'ai répondu à moi-même et au dieu: Je veux rester ce que je suis."¹⁸²

Instead of Rousseau's "artists," and closer to Robin's "gens de métier," Tredennick translated the passage with "skilled craftsmen."

Last of all I turned to the skilled craftsmen. I knew quite well that I had practically no technical qualifications myself, and I was sure that I should find them full of impressive knowledge. In this I was not disappointed; they were wiser than I was. But, gentlemen, these professional experts seemed to share the same failing which I had noticed in the poets; I mean that on the strength of their technical proficiency they claimed a perfect understanding of every other subject, however important; and I felt that this error more than outweighed their positive wisdom. So I made myself spokesman for the oracle, and asked myself whether I would rather be as I was – neither wise with their wisdom nor stupid with their stupidity – or possess both qualities as they did. I replied through myself to the oracle that it was best for me to be as I was.¹⁸³

Rousseau concisely translated the passage with 139 words compared to 151 words by Tredennick. The homogeneity of the paragraphs should not be overlooked even though comparison of them demonstrates a few more differences than Rousseau's choice of the term "artists" compared to Tredennick's "skilled craftsmen." Tredennick's line about skilled

¹⁸² Plato, cited and trans. by Rousseau, *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, ed. Roger, 37-38.

¹⁸³ Plato, *The Apology*, in *The Last Days of Socrates*, ed. and trans. Tredennick, 51-52.

craftsmen being “wiser than I was” is a lacuna in Rousseau’s version. Then Rousseau wrote about a “préjugé” shared by poets and artists, whereas Tredennick claimed the poets and “professional experts” had the same “failing.” Where Tredennick interpreted Socrates to say poets and skilled craftsmen claimed to have knowledge of too many subjects, Rousseau wrote that “les plus habiles d’entre eux excellent dans leur patrie.” In Rousseau’s version, a prejudice “tarnished” their knowledge; Tredennick translated the same passage with Socrates claiming that “error,” “outweighed their positive wisdom.” Evaluated in their entirety, while the style and tone of Rousseau’s word for word rewriting of *The Apology* is tangibly different from Tredennick’s translation, despite many small differences, they bring up the same problem about people who have acquired “positive” knowledge in one area. Since Rousseau’s translation of Socrates is in quotation marks, there is no question of plagiarism.

In a chapter about *Le premier discours*, Joseph Cajot argued that Rousseau borrowed from many sources and emulated three 16th century authors who had the same bias against scientific and classical erudition. Remarking the “intimité qui regne entre Montaigne et M. Rousseau,” Cajot observed that *Les Essais* predated Rousseau’s analysis of classical history and philosophy to demonstrate a connection between luxury, cowardliness, idleness and wisdom.¹⁸⁴ Cajot criticized *Le premier discours* because although Rousseau wrote with energy and good diction, he did not write a useful book.¹⁸⁵ Rousseau took ideas from Montaigne that pertained to exercise, the health of boys and the loss of sincerity among friends.¹⁸⁶ In addition to his intimacy with Montaigne, Rousseau imitated Lilio Gyraldi’s 1538 *Discours contre les Lettres & Littératures*.¹⁸⁷ Ideas in *Le premier discours* resembled those of a writer named Carlostadt, who

¹⁸⁴ Cajot, *Les plagiats M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l’éducation*, 370.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 358.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 369, 371.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 359.

thought boys should study the Bible and learn a profession.¹⁸⁸ Some of Rousseau's ideas also originated in Corneille Agrippa's *Traité de la Vanité des Sciences*.¹⁸⁹ Comparing Agrippa to Rousseau, Cajot observed, "L'un néglige les faits pour s'abandonner à son imagination; l'autre au contraire, marche presque toujours, éclairé par le flambeau de l'histoire."¹⁹⁰ As he did with *L'Émile*, Cajot maintained that Rousseau's theories about the social effect of arts and sciences resulted from plagiarism.

Incidentally, certain similitudes between Jean de La Fontaine's "La vie d'Ésope le phrygien" and *The Apology* of Socrates suggest that Socrates got the idea of a wise ignorance from Aesop, the Greek slave who was immortalized by his fables. La Fontaine was impressed by literary imitation among Greek figures. Rousseau probably read La Fontaine's "La vie d'Ésope le phrygien" because he cited *Les fables* in *L'Émile*. It follows that Enlightenment writers emulated classical authors not only in subject but in compositional method. La Fontaine described the knowledge Socrates had of Aesop. The resemblance between Socrates's wise ignorance and Aesop's version is sufficient for the argument that the second got it from the first. According to La Fontaine's preface to *Les fables* while Socrates banished poets in *The Republic*, fables were recognized as being potentially useful for an ideal government.¹⁹¹

When Socrates was imprisoned for corrupting the youth of Athens, he composed Aesop's fables into verse.¹⁹² According to La Fontaine, Socrates arranged Aesop's fables into poetry because of a dream about studying music before dying. In the era of Socrates, poetry had musical qualities of rhythm, melody, harmony and song. "C'était de choisir des Fables qui continssent quelques chose de véritable, telle que sont celles d'Ésope. Il employa donc à les

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 374-375.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 375-376.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 375-376.

¹⁹¹ Jean de La Fontaine, *Les Fables*, ed. Jean-Pierre Collinet (Paris: Gallimard, "Folio Classique," 1991), 27.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 27.

mettre en vers les derniers moments de sa vie.”¹⁹³ According to La Fontaine, Socrates felt justified in rewriting the fables because the moralistic stories had been told through Aesop by muses.¹⁹⁴ Since a fable is technically a story about an animal, the insinuation is that Aesop heard them or collected them from other people. The period in the life of Socrates when he “rewrote” Aesop’s fables, or mentally recomposed them, matches the time described in Plato’s *The Apology*.

Moreover, Plato’s *The Apology* – which instructs the principle of wise ignorance – and La Fontaine’s “La vie d’Ésope le phrygien” have similar events and characters. In a passage about a walk in Greece, Xanthus asks Aesop to interpret cryptic letters carved into the stones of monuments.¹⁹⁵ Inspired by this detail of Aesop’s biography, Socrates asked various reputedly wise people to interpret and oracle. According to La Fontaine, before being sold to Xanthus, Aesop was compared to a singer and a grammarian who were also slaves. “Quelques acheteurs se présentèrent, entre autres un Philosophe appelé Xantus. Il demanda au Grammairien et au Chantre ce qu’ils savaient faire : ‘Tout,’ reprirent-ils.”¹⁹⁶ Instead of only claiming to know about his area of expertise, grammar, the grammarian pretended to know about everything. The singer made the same mistake. It is more-or-less the same scenario in *The Apology* except Plato transformed the singer and grammarian into politicians, poets and skilled craftsmen.

Plato was born in 427 B.C., 133 years after the death of Aesop. As well as recomposing the fables, Socrates modeled himself upon Aesop, who was the first Greek to say he knew nothing. According to La Fontaine, the philosopher and slave master asked Aesop the same question as the grammarian and the singer. “Il lui demanda, devant que de l’acheter, à quoi il lui

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

serait propre, comme il l'avait demandé à ses camarades. Ésope répondit : 'À rien,' puisque les deux autres avaient tout retenu pour eux."¹⁹⁷ Since Socrates admired Aesop's fables and imitated his philosophy about knowing nothing, it stands to reason that Cajot could also sully him with the accusation of plagiarism. But Socrates appropriated his version of Aesop's wise ignorance by modification and transformation. The affinities between *The Apology* and Aesop's fables are too pronounced to be denied.

Contrary to Cajot's accusation about rewriting classical authors to take possession of their material, Rousseau arguably wrote about *Les fables* of La Fontaine because they were part of the traditional educational curriculum. A dialogue between the instructor and Émile demonstrates a simple and effective method of French literary criticism: to naively analyze small details of a well-known author. The instructor begins the poetic analysis by citing the first line of "Le corbeau et le renard," "Maître Corbeau sur un arbre perché."¹⁹⁸ Then he begins questioning the poem: "Maître! Que signifie ce mot en lui-même? Que signifie-t-il au devant d'un nom-propre? Quel sens a-t-il dans cette occasion?"¹⁹⁹ In a note, Burgelin referred to Gerdil's *The Anti-Emile* which opposes the instructor's assumption that children do not understand the title "Maître" when it modifies a crow.²⁰⁰ *The Anti-Emile* advises that preceptors explain the difference between "Maître" and "Monsieur," the latter of which was then reserved for people of a higher status.²⁰¹

In his chapter about the instruction of Aesop's fables, Gerdil imitated the line-by-line poetic evaluation of Rousseau. Compared to Émile's pedagogue, who thought children who had never seen a crow would not understand the allure of the fable, Gerdil advised that a crow be

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁹⁸ La Fontaine, *Les fables*, ed. Collinet, 54.

¹⁹⁹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, eds. Burgelin and Wirz, book II, 189.

²⁰⁰ Burgelin, ed., *L'Émile ou de l'éducation* by Rousseau, book II, 189 n. 1.

²⁰¹ Gerdil, *The Anti-Emile*, ed. and trans. Frank, 77.

brought into the classroom.²⁰² Rousseau's passage about La Fontaine began with the fable of "The Crow and the Fox." Gerdil began his chapter about teaching fables with an evaluation of "The Wolf and the Lamb." *The Anti-Emile* suggests that 18th century actors and actresses made plays of the fables on stage, in order to teach morals to children, such as the strong oppressing the weak. "But bring the wolf and the lamb on stage, and he is immediately roused. He does not ask for anything better than to listen to you."²⁰³ As well as with the form of phrase-by-phrase citation and poetic analysis, Gerdil explained the mimetic tradition among Latin writers claiming that the fables of Phaedrus were too difficult for children, and that Quintilian, Polybius and Seneca had written about them.²⁰⁴ Whereas *The Anti-Emile* emulated Rousseau's *Émile* in order to criticize it, Gerdil only rarely occupied himself with the question of sources.

In conclusion, this chapter has been an evaluation of Rousseau's use and possible abuse of classical sources from the perspective of his contemporaries. Rousseau was not alone in his enjoyment of Greek and Latin literature or in his rewriting of it in the context of education. Cajot's *Les plagiats* comprehensively dealt with the literary rewriting of classical and modern European authors by comparing sentences of *L'Émile* to other sentences. Both Crousaz and Locke preceded Rousseau to write new ideas about education while simultaneously commenting on the established educational canon. Under the influence of Locke and Condillac, Rousseau repackaged the 18th century interest in the sciences of the mind, namely a new perspective on human knowledge related to sensation and memory as well as reason in his educational novel.

Gerdil's *Anti-Emile* demonstrated that the use of classical writers by educators was conventional. In this, he corroborated Cajot's discomfort with and at times real fear about Rousseau's criticism of accepted and respected educational doctrine. Rousseau transformed the

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 77.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 72.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

discussion of natural history, math, geometry, languages, virtue and religion in a novel whose social agenda affected French speaking boys and girls. Comparison of Rousseau to Crousaz revealed discrepancies between the use of classical texts for practical purposes, such as careers in the military, the church and the government. Cajot and Gerdil stated concern about the potentially deleterious effects of *L'Émile*. Evaluation of *L'Émile* in respect to *La grammaire* of Condillac provides the perspective of another of the *philosophes* and suggests that the powerful religious writers against Rousseau represented traditional ideas which were being replaced by alternative ones.

L'Émile was considered a dangerous text. It was collected from bookstores and burned by French and Genevan authorities. While Rousseau was in danger of criminal prosecution and fled from France, powerful political figures frequently participated in protecting him. Cajot accused Rousseau of disrespect for revered classical doctrine because Rousseau got one Greek idea wrong, took another in nearly pure form and then cut from it, and diluted a third Latin writer with his personal opinion. At the same time, the 18th century critics of *L'Émile* prove Rousseau's allure by their meticulous attention to detail and their repeated, close readings of him. The adverse reaction against Rousseau's diluted and transformed version of conventional ideas marks *L'Émile* as a pre-romantic text because Rousseau had obviously ingested many of the great writers yet, in the eyes of the authorities, he flippantly re-articulated them with an unaccustomed pride in the provincial bourgeoisie. Émile, the fictional character, perceived as the model of a natural man, appeared to Cajot and Gerdil to be heading down a path that would significantly diminish his usefulness to society.

Reading the 18th century critics paradoxically allows for the binary method of literary composition with archetypes and prototypes to be seen as a more profound emulation of classical

authors. Although Cajot called it plagiarism, in *The Poetics*, Aristotle wrote about Greek playwrights inserting one or two words into a traditional play to make an individualized copy of it. Plutarch wrote in the *Moralia* ideas similar to those that Socrates had himself stated. Comparison of La Fontaine's short biography of Aesop to Plato's *Apology* shows that one of the ideas for which Socrates is best known, that of wise ignorance, is derived from the life of Aesop. Rousseau's manner of translation, careful study, learning passages by heart and copying is as derived from the classic as is his reformulation of their ideas.

Finally, the increased appetite for novels justified Rousseau's rewriting of authors into a different, original form, satisfying the conditions of usefulness and diversion. Unlike the treatises Cajot accused him of plagiarizing, *L'Émile* was written with occasional dialogues and characters: Emile, Sophie, parents, the preceptor and the gardener. Some portions of the book have settings. Other portions of it which deal more abstractly with philosophical ideas about religion, morality, the mind and sensation have a novelistic narrative structure even if Rousseau drifted from a concrete story line. The creativity of *L'Émile* is perceived in Rousseau's careful experimentation with novelistic form, such as telling a personal anecdote. *Les plagiats* was conducive to understanding Rousseau's method of composition by improvising upon various sources which his contemporaries and the classical authors did too.

Conclusion

To conclude this dissertation, I will begin by considering two principles of Rousseau's literary composition. The first is binary style. It is the practice of writing with pairs or balancing ideas to create symmetry in sentences. It is less imitative of another author than the second principle which is writing with prototypes. Evaluation of the pains Rousseau took to write his oeuvre with musical prose must be balanced with Enlightenment attitudes about individual reason. To write in the binary style, Rousseau unified and divided ideas, subtracted a synonym or added an antonym; he completed causes with effects. While methodical, creating lexical balance with the binary style has the advantage of being accomplished in a more autonomous way than by substituting words into a textual model. Many authors who do not write by following the difficult rules of composing prose poetry use binary style productively on the sentence level. When Rousseau appropriated structure from another author, and the chapters about Tacitus and Seneca established that ancient templates functioned to organize the lexical patterns of some of his prose, the identity of a precedent is usually apparent in the arrangement of words.

As well as to achieve musical and poetic qualities, Rousseau used imitative compositional methods to rewrite political theories and historical accounts. Institutional authorities, not so much kings and queens, but religious leaders, members of the French parliament and Swiss legal officials thought that the state's permission of such literature could be detrimental to the state. His irreverence for the details of respected authors caused serious concern among 18th century pedagogues. In addition to the formal methods that produced literary rhythms, the prototypal method brought different ideas together. Instead of strictly copying the events and stories of historians, Rousseau had a technique of reading, translating and

analyzing an historical account in order to write literature with perspective into the problems of great historical people.

Some of the material could be transformed into 18th century literature because it was in the nature of the subject. Desperation and ecstasy, such as that of Saint-Preux after he leaves Julie, are normal feelings. The deep depression of a thwarted lover was not unique to characters in Plutarch's histories. Rousseau could imagine how the real treachery in the histories of Tacitus would be felt by regular people such as parents, teachers and students. The chemistry that makes the letters of Julie and Saint-Preux sentimental and irrational, the Jean-Jacques of *Les confessions* melancholy, and the narrator of *Du contrat social* rational and brilliantly authoritative, is in the mix of Rousseau's unique voice and his struggle to narrate with pre-established poetic structures.

When Rousseau artificially took the syntactical structures from another author, the new text retained more than the arrangement of words: its content and themes inevitably influenced Rousseau's thought. Some of it was done unconsciously. The process resembles the memorization of epics done by the bards in ancient Greece, some of whom altered or embellished upon Homer to please their audiences. It also resembles the memorization and rewriting of plays common in the centuries before the Enlightenment. Rousseau's aptitude for learning, his repeated rereading of texts and his tendency to rewrite manuscripts gave him ample opportunity to formulate the style of his sentences. Rousseau wrote about learning Latin and memorizing poetry in *Les confessions*. He admitted that he did not remember everything he memorized for very long. Furthermore, when he was a student, instead of doing written translation, he said that he translated Virgil mentally. "Je m'appliquai à la traduction, non par

écrit, mais mentale, et je m'en tins là.”¹ When it came to writing essays and novels with the structures of others, the scholarship generally suggests that he had at least recently read the authors he was copying or that he wrote with an open book on the table. This is a more conscious effort at poetic composition.

The archetypal and prototypal method of composition has ramifications about the signifying nature of reason. When an idea is reorganized into the sentence structure of another text, it is reworded into a different syntax akin to another series of logical propositions. This alters the nature of the original idea. Depending upon the template, it takes on slightly different shades. Usually for Rousseau, it was a matter of balancing a heavy, serious philosophical tone with a lighter, happier literary one. To a lesser extent, a similar effect is true for the binary style: at the same time the modifications create symmetrical prose, they necessarily modify the ideas. 18th century bourgeois readers wanted literature that was enjoyable and instructive. The confusion and occasional deliriousness observed in the letters between Julie and Saint-Preux was instructive of how not to be. Rousseau recognized that constructing logical arguments was not the same as evaluating the truth or falsity of beliefs. Reason has a rapport with the way ideas are put together or the logical value of the ideas. It determines the validity of a sequence of propositions and is different from the truth.

About fifty years after Pierre-Maurice Masson's early exposé of *Julie*'s metrical prose, Michel Launay talked about another node of the issue, describing the symmetry of *Les confessions*. The binary of Rousseau, according to Launay, is its song-like quality. The vocabulary makes Rousseau's memoirs “hymnes à la liberté et à l'esperance.”² With “la descente” there will also be “la remontée” because the literary binary involves back and forth

¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions*, ed. Jean Guéhenno (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1965), book VI, 372.

² Michel Launay, “La structure poétique dans la première partie des *Confessions*,” *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 36 (1963-1965): 53.

movements.³ Rousseau's sensitivity to language is seen by comparison of linguistic fluidity in the Neuchâtel and Geneva manuscripts. Like in the genetic research of *Du contrat social* and as shown by pictures of manuscript pages of *Julie*, when a passage was revised, words were neatly scratched out and replaced with another vocabulary. Rousseau polished and kept the very real yet moderate binary structure. Rousseau's binary is real yet moderate, especially in *Les confessions*, because of its fluidity, its slow, comfortable narrative rhythms. Launay described Rousseau's circular movements, in the sense that the emotion revolves from one side of a node to the other, as accounting for "moments d'exaltation."⁴ The structure of the sentences, however nebulous, and the limpid vocabulary communicate Jean-Jacques's "inquiétude" making it a prototypical, pre-romantic memoir.⁵

James Swenson talked about a similar compositional form in "The Solitary Walker and the Invention of Lyrical Prose."⁶ The phenomenon he called "binary" in conjunction with *Les rêveries* has to do with the paranoia, depression, frustration and discontent of the aging writer. Swenson described the ornamental cadence of sentences and parallel yet reversed patterns of words whose precision was "not primarily one of balance."⁷ The mood of Rousseau's reminiscences is not entirely glum. It fluctuates from loneliness to ecstasy. After the humiliations of his exile, he was infamous and something of a foreigner in France. According to Swenson, the intellect of the author of *Essai sur l'origine des langues* and *L'Émile* as well as his manner of understanding human nature ultimately accounted for Rousseau's suffering: his loneliness did not result entirely from a lack of personal interaction. Rousseau's perception

³ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶ James Swenson, "The Solitary Walker and the Invention of Lyrical Prose," *The Nature of Rousseau's Rêveries: Physical, Human, Aesthetic*, SVEC 3 (2008): 225-244.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 243.

and historical mind. “J’espere qu’on me saura gré de cette modération; car, descendant directement de l’un de ces Princes, et peut-être de la branche ainée, que sais-je si par la verification des titres je ne me trouverois point le légitime roi du genre humain?”¹² It is beside the point that Rousseau was not a king or a legislator. His systematic rearrangement of ideas carried his mind from one perspective to another, accounting first for his genius and second for the instability of his emotions. The musicality and literariness in the passage, more than the articulation of reason, carry along the minds of readers.

Comparison of these sentences raises questions about the length of Rousseau’s templates. There are three possibilities, ranging from as short as one sentence, to a passage composed of multiple sentences, and potentially to a book-length text. If an archetype or prototype was one sentence long, Rousseau could have repeated and modified it, suggesting that Rousseau placed a book on the writing table and then substituting words into it over and over again. When he finished expressing an idea, he could punctuate a sentence in the middle of the model sentence and begin the next sentence where he left off. The manner in which the beginning of *Du contrat social* imitates the *Apocolocyntosis* is a structural model the length of a paragraph. Finally, on the grand scale, the fourth book of 1967 Garnier-Flammarion edition of *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* has 95 pages while the fifth book has 87, making it appear that both books could be a rewriting of another, approximately 90 page book.

When mimesis is not evaluated in terms structure and passages, critics such as Genette emphasized that classic books offered writers one or another format which they could use or not use depending on their tastes. It appears that Rousseau took the format from Montesquieu’s *De l’esprit des lois* for his treaty on social order, *Du contrat social*, although the format could have been copied from encyclopedias and dictionaries. The pamphlet like publication grouped short

¹² *Ibid.*, book I, chpt. II, 176.

explanations about governmental matter into books. Since reference works appear to be authoritative sources of knowledge, organizing ideas into the frameworks of short entries gives Rousseau *gravitas*. Furthermore, this genre of imitation is indicative of Rousseau's state of mind. De Man called some of the difficulties in understanding Rousseau problems of "unreadability." Yet what seem like thematic inconsistencies or contradictions in the span of *Du contrat social*, retain meaning in the context of a single entry.

Content and voice can be combined in two ways to be persuasive: one is complex and establishes the narrator's philosophic authority; the other is simple and functions by analogy. The narrator of *Du contrat social* spoke with short declarative statements and idiomatic expressions. The complex voice has the effect of a lofty discourse; the simple one has the voice of good sense. The voice that ancient authors achieved in Greek and Latin literature was imitated by Rousseau and can be heard in the minds of readers. It functions persuasively and creates an illusion of trust because philosophers can prove almost anything with syllogisms and logic. While Rousseau's systems and technical definitions trouble literary critics, because words mean different things in different passages, the simplicity of tone accounts for its persuasiveness. The mechanistic complexity of Rousseau's sentences, their enigmatic quality and baffling simplicity was achieved by imitating lexical patterns.

According to Greimas' *Semantic Structuralism*, it is polarities that produce signification. Some polarities are relational; others are oppositional such that the two poles cannot be compared relationally. When two polarities are put into a relationship, like big and small, the possibility of a medium between them demonstrates that their meaning is dependent upon context.¹³ Opposition can be established in terms of presence and absence. Knowledge was frequently ordered in this way by Montesquieu and Rousseau. It is especially apparent with the

¹³ Algiras Julien Greimas, *Sémantique structurale* (Paris: P.U.F., 1986), 23.

verbs *to be* and *to have*. In *De l'esprit des lois*, Montesquieu compared things both by opposition and relation. “Les hommes sont tous égaux dans le gouvernement républicain; ils sont tous égaux dans le gouvernement despotique: dans le premier, c’est parce qu’ils sont tout; dans le second, c’est parce qu’ils ne sont rien.”¹⁴ Equality affirmed positively in men defines republics whereas it is affirmed negatively in despotism. The equality of men, according to Montesquieu, depends upon the administration of justice in civil courts. In monarchies, legal privileges are given to one class and denied to another. Although *De l'esprit des lois* describes how certain people who lived in monarchies benefited from legal privileges, Montesquieu’s depiction of real governments showed that some monarchies were more republican and some more despotic.

When Rousseau is evaluated for similarity to or difference from Enlightenment or classical models, the binarity of his texts must be considered by the extent of their relation to them. How homogenous are they? Did he just put the structure of a classical writer into *Du contrat social* or did he also seem to emulate him thematically? When Greimas wrote about comparison, he emphasized that comparison resulted in signification. Comparison was possible linguistically because it satisfies the requirement that difference is perceived as well as something in common. However, comparison can be done for something other than signification and knowledge. Rousseau juxtaposed texts to replicate literary styles and to change ideas by redefining words. 18th century critics, such as Cajot, and 20th century ones perceived a strong resemblance between Rousseau and the authors he emulated. However popular or outrageous his books were at the time, the differences between them were that Rousseau redefined many commonly accepted ideas and transformed the genre in which they were expressed.

¹⁴ Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, ed. Laurent Versini, vol. I (Paris: Gallimard, “Folio Essais,” 1973), book VI, chpt. II, 199.

Émile ou de l'éducation is one case in which the correspondences between structures of other authors and the uncanny differences of Rousseau struck 18th century, religious authorities as inappropriate. Their negative judgment of *L'Émile* was founded not so much upon its style but upon the fear that its educational philosophy would prove ineffective and undependable. *L'Émile* is a novel, not an educational manual. Nonetheless, while critics like Cajot and Gerdil read it with great excitement, in their opinion, students who received a natural education would be at a disadvantage later in life, however pleasant and liberating Rousseau's attitudes seemed in the present. They promoted an institutional education in which students learned traditional subjects in a disciplined but enjoyable atmosphere whereas Rousseau promoted teaching students to pose questions and use their own reason to solve problems.

Pour mon élève, ou plutôt celui de la nature, exercé de bonne heure à se suffire à lui-même autant qu'il est possible, il ne s'accoutume point à recourir sans cesse aux autres, encore moins à leur étaler son grand savoir. En revanche, il juge, il prévoit, il raisonne en tout ce qui se rapporte immédiatement à lui.¹⁵

Paradoxically, the negative reaction to *L'Émile* was testament to Rousseau's unique educational vision. Although Cajot's *Les plagiats* and Gerdil's *Anti-Emile* considered Rousseau's mentality to be profoundly dangerous to French pedagogy, this was because of its similarity to canonical sources as well as its difference.

The narrator of *L'Émile* addresses the benefits of a student learning self-responsibility by comparing him to a student in a traditional educational setting who fears authority and hides his emotions. According to the fictional tutor, traditional instructors physically and intellectually dominated the students. "Soumis en tout à une autorité toujours enseignante, le vôtre ne fait rien que sur parole; il n'ose manger quand il a faim, ni rire quand il est gai, ni pleurer quand il est

¹⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile, ou de l'éducation*, ed. Michel Launay, Paris, GF-Flammarion, 1966, book II, 149.

triste...”¹⁶ Instead of learning to express his own ideas to teachers, the traditional student accepts and obeys the dictates of educational authorities. Were a traditional student to deviate from the accepted wording of their lessons, the teachers would perceive it for what it was, a departure from the acceptable philosophical track. The independent spirit of *L'Émile* implicitly lauds empirical observation and testing of hypotheses while it bemoans the institutionalization of rationalism.

The complexity of Rousseau's thought however is contained in a vaster perspective: *Du contrat social* was published 1762, the same year as *L'Émile*. Whereas the latter encouraged adolescents to think for themselves, the former stressed the importance of social order and convention. Students need to use their own reason as well as learn by emulating other people. According to *Du contrat social*, in any society, action upon individual reasoning has to be balanced with the general volition. Immanuel Kant wrote about similar dynamics of free thought and obedience in his essay “What is the Enlightenment?” He argued that soldiers could think for themselves but still had to obey orders. While members of a state might disagree about the justice of the tax code, unless they were in a position to make tax policy, they were required to pay the amount the state taxed them.¹⁷ Kant's description of the use of private and public reason did not imply that an individual should prudently mute personal opinions. According to “What is the Enlightenment?” students and teachers can analyze a problem anyway they want; they can publicly admit to their own visions and voice their opinions, but they must still obey authority.

The notion that a writer, like a natural child, can reach adequate conclusions with his own reason and observation, as well as by thinking along the lines of other authors is functionally implemented with the binary style. This compositional methodology redirects writing away

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, book II, 148.

¹⁷ Immanuel Kant, *The Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals and What is the Enlightenment?* trans. Lewis White Beck (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959), 87.

from the interpretation and imitation of texts with prototypes toward a unique literary style.

Rousseau's two techniques for writing revealed that he valued discovery and invention as well as conservation of literary traditions.

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