THE INFLUENCE OF PLUTARCH ON ROUSSEAU'S FIRST DISCOURSE

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Introduction

The Discours sur les Arts et les Sciences, composed in 1749-50, was the work which was to bring fame to Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Coming in an age whose leading thinkers were prone to overlook the limitations of reason and the drawbacks of progress, this eloquent denunciation of eighteenth-century ideals could hardly help attracting notice—by its enthusiasm and paradoxical nature, if not by any logical organization or historical soundness. The essay was written in a prize contest proposed by the Academy of Dijon for the discussion of the question, "Si le rétablissement des Sciences et des Arts a contribué à épurer les moeurs". Much to Rousseau's surprise, his contribution was awarded the medal.

The Discours, in brief, maintains that the arts and sciences have contributed to the corruption of humanity. To support this thesis, the author cites numerous historical instances in which nations have lost their virtue and their supremacy as learning developed among them. Contrariwise, nations which did not permit learning to advance have been better able to remain great. The arts and sciences undermine patriotism and religion, breed luxury and vice, and are, in general, a serious degrading influence.

The First Discourse is, in many ways, an anticipation of Rousseau's chief contributions in the history of ideas. As a political thinker, Rousseau was to play a prominent rôle in preparing the French Revolution and in laying the theoretical foundations for democracy in general. The Discourse on Arts
and Sciences, with its condemnation of luxury and inequality, its plea for the down-trodden, and its hint at monarchical responsibility to the general welfare, foreshadows the Second Discourse (on inequality) and the Social Contract. As a moralist, Rousseau was to be preoccupied with virtue in all his writings. The First Discourse, with its repeated mention of "vertu" (some forty times) and its constant objection to anything which interferes with it, is characteristic of the author's whole work. As to education, where Rousseau is often considered the dividing line between the old and the new, the First Discourse anticipates much of the Émile. The insistence on training for practical life, the attack on formal education, and the attention given to bodily development are conspicuously present. Even the all-important inductive method, perhaps the most significant reform in the history of pedagogy, was an almost inevitable outgrowth from a system of natural education where books and authority were replaced by real objects and first-hand experience. In studying the First Discourse we thus study the seeds of Rousseau's ideas, some of which, it is true, were to undergo modification or development later.

It is difficult to say either that the Premier Discours was a complete break with Rousseau's previous attitudes or that it was an entirely natural result of his earlier back-

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1 Schinz has shown that Rousseau uses the word "vertu" in three senses: the Greek conception of happiness and worldly wisdom, the Christian conception of self-denial, and the idea of virtue as the innocence of primitive man. (Schinz, La Pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Vol. I.) To these three, due to identification of moral character with physical stamina, might be added the use of "vertu" in the Latin sense of strength.
ground. That he had arrived in Paris as full of ambition to cultivate and promote the arts and letters as the most rabid Encyclopedist cannot be doubted. He frequented the salons and became friendly with the free thinkers. While this may have been partly due to personal considerations, the strong possibility of a developing intellectual affinity and a willingness to conform must not be overlooked. From this standpoint Rousseau may be accused of changing his attitude in 1749. But the reasons for this are not hard to find. His failure to make a name for himself in music or letters up to the time of the Dijon competition must have contributed strongly toward a hostility to the arts and sciences. And, indeed, Rousseau's whole childhood would seem to be a factor operating in the same direction.

The milieu in which Rousseau was born is of great significance. While the fact that "l'auteur du Contrat social, qui a dressé le plan d'une société sans racines, était l'arrière-petit-fils d'hommes déracinés", can easily be carried too far in explaining Rousseau's attitudes, it is important that he came from an almost solid line of French Protestant refugees and native Geneva Calvinists. Geneva had long been the stronghold of Protestantism, with all the austerity in morals and religion which that position implies. Elegance in Geneva was almost totally absent. The magistrates of the city were honest in public affairs and irreproachable in private life. The moral code was enforced as rigidly as the

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2 Ritter, La Famille et la Jeunesse de J.-J. Rousseau, p.49.
penal, and when, in 1724 and after, complaints were made concerning the gambling and dancing in the city, these vices were exterminated as rapidly and as completely as possible. Indeed, the fact that these breaches of the law attracted the attention of Genevan clergymen is indicative of the regular adherence to the strict Christian life. The citizen of Geneva was a Puritan almost by definition. Thus when Rousseau signed his *Lettre à M. d’Alembert* with the title, "Citoyen de Genève", that title implied a great deal as to the author’s character and his views on morality.

The economic position of Jean-Jacques’ family is of interest. They were bourgeois and citoyens, and though not on a level with the aristocracy, were endowed with liberties and privileges above those of the majority of the people. This background of freedom may have been instrumental in producing Rousseau’s abhorrence of all restraint. To this must be added the fact that the boy’s father, Isaac Rousseau, was a watchmaker, a position among the most honorable and respected in the community, as well as among the most lucrative. Jean-Jacques thus met no restraint to his freedom from the economic standpoint. At the same time, he was born in a poor district of Geneva and had an opportunity very early to become acquainted with the hardships of the poor, perhaps a factor contributing to his strong sympathy for them later. The boy was surrounded by goodness: his father, his aunt, his relatives, all treated

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him with the greatest kindness. He tells us: "Comment serois-je devenu méchant, quand je n'avois sous les yeux que des exemples de douceur, et autour de moi que les meilleures gens du monde?"4

Rousseau probably exaggerates this in connection with his father, who seems to have been a somewhat flighty individual and one not too well fitted to take charge of a child's education. Allowing for his good intentions and conscientious efforts, we can hardly call him discreet in plunging the six-year-old Jean-Jacques into romantic novels and in reading them to him even earlier. Yet the excellent library left by Isaac's wife, who died shortly after Jean-Jacques' birth, contained many good books, and, with the novels, the boy read, at the tender age of six, Le Sueur, Bossuet, Plutarch, Ovid, La Bruyère, and Fontenelle.5 This early zeal for reading was to last throughout his life and it is in the material he read that we must seek much of the influence on his thought.6

Among the authors contributing most to the ideas in the First Discourse is Montaigne. Rousseau quotes entire passages from the Essais, mentions Montaigne by name in a footnote, and refers to him in the text as "l'homme de sens" and as "un sage". The insistence on an education that trains for life, the stress on physical training, the admiration for Sparta, the denunciation of luxury, and the demand that learning

4 Confessions, Livre I, pp. 11-12.
5 ibid., p. 9.
6 A comprehensive study of Rousseau's readings has been made by Reichenburg, Essai sur les lectures de Rousseau.
be linked with action, all of which we will find in Rousseau, abound in the Essais, especially in "Du pedantisme" and "De l'institution des enfans". Most important of all, Rousseau's whole approach to the arts and sciences resembles that of Montaigne, particularly as stated in "L'apologie de Raimond Sebond". Reacting against the enthusiasm of the Renaissance for learning, much as Rousseau did later against that of the Enlightenment, Montaigne recognizes that "c'est, à la vérité, une très-utile et grande partie que la science"; but he would not take this too far: "je n'estime pas pourtant sa valeur jusques à cette même extreme qu'aucuns luy attribuent". Indeed, by the time Montaigne has finished the essay there is little left for man to be proud of. Philosophy is ridiculed. Reason and the senses are shown to be faulty. And the possibility of attaining truth is seriously doubted. Thus Montaigne is, in many ways, an important source of the First Discourse.

Montaigne had a great love for Plutarch and in hardly one of his essays of any length does Plutarch escape citation. Rousseau, as will be shown presently, shared this admiration for the Greek writer and cites many anecdotes and reflects many ideas from the Lives and the Moralia. Since Rousseau knew both Montaigne and Plutarch, and since Montaigne knew Plutarch, it will often be difficult to say whether an idea or an

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7 Both Montaigne and Rousseau used the French translation by Amyot (first edition, 1559). According to René Sturzel (Jacques Amyot), the translation is faithful, in spite of some errors, and changes for the sake of clarity. Amyot's work was highly praised by Greek scholars of his time and has continued to be well considered. We shall therefore speak of "Plutarch's influence" and assume that what is in the Amyot translation was in the original Greek.
Allusion in the *Premier Discours* is due to Plutarch or to Montaigne. What frequently happened, probably, was that there was a combination of the two, with many other authors entering in as well. Except for a few cases, Plutarch must be regarded, not as an independent influence on Rousseau, but as a contributing factor. Rousseau could have written the First Discourse without having read Plutarch, and it might not have been essentially different from what we have. But to find in this author, for whom he had a boundless enthusiasm, even ideas at which he had arrived independently or had read elsewhere, doubtless had some effect on Rousseau.

To what extent was Rousseau acquainted with Plutarch? We read, in one of his letters to M. de Malesherbes: "A six ans, Plutarque me tomba sous la main; à huit, je le savais par cœur". His enthusiasm appears even more clearly in the first book of the *Confessions*, where he enumerates his reading material at the age of seven. This included Le Sueur, Bossuet, Plutarch, Sénèque, Gred, La Bruyère, Fontenelle, and Molière.

"Plutarque surtout devint ma lecture favorite. Le plaisir que je prenois à le relire sans cesse me guérit un peu des romans; et je préférâis bientôt Agésilas, Brutus, Aristide, à Crondate, Artamène, et Juba. De ces intéressantes lectures, des entretiens qu'elles occasionnaient entre mon père et moi, se forma cet esprit libre et républicain, ce caractère indomptable et fier, impatient de joug et de servitude...Sans cesse occupé de Rome et d'Athènes, vivant pour ainsi dire avec leurs grands

8 Dufour, *Correspondance générale de J.-J. Rousseau*, VII, p. 49 (à M. de Malesherbes, 12 janvier 1762).
hommes, né moi-même citoyen d'une république, et fils d'un père dont l'amour de la patrie étoit la plus forte passion, je m'en enflammais à son exemple; je ne croyois Grec ou Ro-
main; je devenois le personnage dont je lisois la vie: le ré-
cit des traits de constance et d'intrépidité qui m'avoient frappé me rendoit les yeux éteindus et la voix forte." 9

Nor was this merely a boyhood enthusiasm. In 1756, with vol-
ume four of the *Vies*, which he sent upon request to Madame d'Epinay, Rousseau wrote: "Voilà mon maître et consolateur Plutarque; gardez-le sans scrupule aussi long-temps que vous le lirez, mais ne le gardez pas pour n'en rien faire, et sur-
tout ne le prêtez à personne; car je ne veux m'en passer que pour vous." 10 Finally, as an old man, writing the *Rêveries d'un promeneur solitaire*, Rousseau says: "Dans le petit nombre de livres que je lis quelquefois encore, Plutarque est celui qui m'attache et me profite le plus. Ce fut la première lec-
ture de mon enfance, ce sera la dernière de la vieillesse: c'est presque le seul auteur que je n'ai jamais lu sans en tirer quel-
que fruit. Avant-hier, je lisois dans ses œuvres morales le traite, Comment on pourra tirer utilité de ses ennemis." 11

We are dealing, therefore, with an author whom Rousseau kept as a constant companion and read continually. 12 That he

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9 *Confessions*, Livre I, p. 11.
10 *Correspondance générale*, XVII, p. 208 (mars 1756).
12 For further mention of Plutarch, see: *Oeuvres*, IV, 123, 198; V, 101, 184, 252; VI, 194, 211, 310-311, 354; VII, 225, 325; VIII, 14, 15, 34, 104, 253-257, 429-430; IX, 43, 88; XI, 30, 41, 63, 68, 82, 119, 163, 180-182. These references range from allusions to incidents which Rousseau probably read in Plutarch to specific mention of indebtedness to him.
should reflect this life-long enthusiasm is to be expected. We must not be surprised, however, if we often find Rousseau and Plutarch at odds, for the chances are that Plutarch expresses a second point of view in another place. Rousseau himself calls attention to this. He cites Plutarch's statement that the Spartans were not favorably disposed to drama, and adds: "Il est vrai que le même Plutarque dit ailleurs le contraire; et il lui arrive si souvent de se contredire, qu'on ne devrait jamais rien avancer d'après lui sans l'avoir lu tout entier." 13 This contradictory nature of Plutarch is perhaps due to the fact that the Greeks of the first century A.D. had no dominant ethics or philosophy. There was no gigantic figure present to weld together the various streams of thought coming into Greece, and Plutarch's attitudes are perforce essentially eclectic in character, with the contradictions which are inevitable when anyone but a great mind tries to be eclectic. 14

In this study an attempt will be made to see, not only what exact passages from Plutarch Rousseau may have borrowed or had in mind in writing the First Discourse, but also what influence the whole tableaux presented in the Viea and the Œuvres morales may have exercised. It has been thought wisest to take up one by one the four fields in which the Discourse is of importance—politics, ethics, education, and the arts and sciences.

13 Correspondance generale, XVII, 360 (novembre 1756).
14 The background of Plutarch's philosophy has been excellently studied, though necessarily from restricted point of view, by Hadzisits, G.D., "Prolegomena to a Study of the Ethical Ideal of Plutarch and of the Greeks of the First Century A.D."
Chapter I. Influence in the Field of Politics

In the realm of politics, there are many points of contact between Plutarch and Rousseau. Often these are concerned with general views on the welfare of the state, often with definite allusions illustrating political principles. Similarities on matters involving the administration of public affairs seem to divide themselves into three groups: (a) a strong advocacy of patriotism, for rulers as well as for subjects; (b) an emphasis on military strength as a measure of the development of a people; and (c) a recognition of inequality, with the luxury it engenders, as harmful to the state.

(a) Patriotism

Rousseau manifests a great concern for patriotism, and in the fact that scientific and artistic development seems to impair patriotism he finds strong support for his thesis. The validity of patriotism as a virtue is taken for granted, probably because it is an application of the broad regard for "le bonheur du genre humain." Rousseau attacks the existing educational system for not inculcating patriotism in the young (31)¹ and denounces the "vains et futilés déclamateurs" who smile scornfully at the mention of "la patrie". (24)

¹ Simple numbers in parentheses will refer to the page in Rousseau's First Discourse (Oeuvres, ed. Mussay-Pathay, tome IV). Where volume, page, and name of essay are given, the reference will be to Plutarch (Oeuvres completes, Paris, 1764).
people patriotism should mean a willingness to die for their country (13), and an obedience to its laws (18). To rulers it should mean preservation of morals (35), complete disinterestedness, and passage of just laws to safeguard the liberty and welfare of the people (18). Such, indeed, had been the portrait of early Rome, where "liberté", "désintéressement", and "obéissance" prevailed. (18) Such patriotism had characterized the Rome of Fabricius. Such patriotism too inspired the Spartans, who are remembered for "leurs actions héroïques." (16)

Plutarch lays a similar stress on patriotism, and the exploits of his heroes, as well as the conduct of the citizens of the better Greek states, demonstrate a constant love of country and willingness to sacrifice for it. "Un bon citoyen", he says, "se doit...tenir prest, et offrir corps et esprit à servir la chose publicque, sans en espérer ou attendre aucun loyer mercenaire ny d'argent". (III, 159, Aristides) In the same spirit, Solon, asked whether he knew of anyone happier than Crassus, answered that he did: a man who had had the good fortune of dying gloriously in fighting for his country. (I, 327, Solon) Even women, in one of Plutarch's accounts, make sacrifices for their country. In early Roman times, the women willingly gave up their jewels as part of a city-wide tribute to the gods of Rome. (I, 464, Furius Camillus) In Sparta, particularly, the feeling of patriotism was strong, the Spartans all believing that they had been born to serve the state. (I, 192, Lycurgus)

Not only subjects, but good rulers as well, should have,
and have had, an abundance of patriotism. Plutarch considers that kings should regard themselves as servants of the people. (IV, 338, Nicias; IX, 218, Qu'il est requis qu'un prince soit s'avançant) This involves preserving the people's freedom, as Lycurgus (I, 163-164, Lycurgus), Timoleon (II, 425, Timoleon), and Publicola (I, 341, Publicola), for example, did. It involves a complete disinterestedness and devotion to the welfare of the state and its constituents. Of this Plutarch offers numerous instances. Numa Pompilius neglected his personal affairs in favor of ruling equitably over his subjects. (I, 224, Numa Pompilius) Aemilius Paulus sacrificed all considerations of private gain (II, 312, Paulus Aemylilius), and Cato is said to have remained on guard even at night "pour le salut de la patrie" (IX, 246, Comment on se peust louer soimême). Timoleon did not hesitate to kill his brother for trying to make himself absolute ruler and thus endanger the liberty and welfare of the people. (II, 391, Timoleon) Marcus Brutus, a good friend of Caesar, became a friend of Pompey and worked for Caesar's ruin when he thought the public good would thereby be enhanced. (VII, 505, Comparaison de Dion avec Marcus Brutus) Cimon, in Athens, distributed his wealth to the poor. (IV, 185, Cimon) And the number of rulers who died for the good of their country is legion. Lycurgus starved himself to death, saying that even the death of great personnages should bring some fruit to the state. (I, 204, Lycurgus) Themistocles, asked by Xerxes to join his against Athens, killed himself rather than fight against his native city. (I, 448-47,
Themistocles) And so on. 2 Plutarch has the same insistence on patriotism as Rousseau, and the latter's familiarity with the glorious examples of patriotism recounted by Plutarch seems to have left its mark.

2 Several other instances where patriotism is stressed may be found in the following places: I, 147, 530; III, 7, 8; IV, 51, 44, 541; V, 29; VII, 334.
(b) Questions of the military

Closely linked with the welfare of a people, and the measure of its morality, is the success of the military machine. It is largely because he believes learning to be "nulisible aux qualités guerrières" that Rousseau objects to the arts and sciences. While it is probably true that the most flourishing periods in the history of nations have been periods of military superiority, it is also a fact that this military strength and general prosperity have usually been accompanied by great artistic and scientific achievements; but this Rousseau apparently disregards. He says that the arts go hand in hand with military degradation and he categorically praises countries which have been successful in war. He speaks with admiration of that ancient Greece which vanquished Asia. (12) He sees in the military collapse of Rome a reflection of its moral decline. (13) It is significant that Fabricius, an eminent general, is chosen to reproach Rome for its degeneration (18) and that one of the chief evil effects of learning on Rome—indeed, going hand in hand with the corruption of morals—was the lack of courage and the neglect of military discipline. (18)

There are numerous other passages in the First Discourse which show how prominent a rôle military accomplishment plays in Rousseau's thinking. Just as the absence of luxury and the presence of patriotism are indications of the moral worth of a state, so the attention devoted to, and the success achieved in, military affairs are taken as a true reflection of morality.
Thus, early Persia, "qui subjegua l'Asie avec tant de facilité," is praised as virtuous. (14) Sparta too is lauded in this connection, for having made Asia tremble at its strength. (25) The ancient Scythes, the Franks, and the Saxons all win Rousseau's favor because of their military conquests. He lauds the victorious Goths for understanding the incompatibility of learning and war. (25-26, 29) Charles VIII, he says, won Italy so easily because of the scholarly propensities of the Italians. The lack of military accomplishment is one of the things with which Rousseau finds most fault in his own century. The inability of contemporary soldiers to endure hardships, the inferiority of commanders, and the whole inadequacy of the military, are, to Rousseau, perhaps as certain a sign of general corruption as anything else mentioned in the Discourse.

On the military question there seems undoubtedly to have been some influence of Plutarch on Rousseau, as regards both general outlook and specific detail. 3 A casual reading of any of the Lives will show what a large proportion of the accounts deals with the military exploits of the heroes. It is in war that the illustrious Greeks and Romans show their true mettle and with but a few exceptions—several law-givers and orators—all of Plutarch's characters are warriors. This, if we consider how early and how habitually Rousseau read Plutarch,

3 It would be interesting to study the influence of Plutarch on the whole eighteenth century from the military standpoint. Montesquieu, for example, compares the physical stamina of the Romans to that of his own day—to the disadvantage of the latter of course—and refers to Plutarch in a footnote. (Grandeur des Romains, Chapter II.)
is already an indication of a possible relationship. But there is more tangible evidence—cases, for example, where Plutarch clearly stresses the importance of military activity. When Cineas spoke of the nobility of the Romans, this nobility was concomitant with an indomitable courage on the part of Rome. (Pyrrhus, III, 446-448) When Epaminondas saw that the Boeotians were deteriorating, he prescribed and applied military training as a cure. (Les dicta notable des anciens roys, princes et grands capitaines, X, 75) In Athens Themistocles spent as much money as possible on preparation for war. (Themistocles, I, 396) Needless to say, both early Rome and early Greece appealed to Rousseau, and in both the military development had been high, according to Plutarch.

Rousseau attacks at some length the physical shortcomings of eighteenth-century soldiers, their inability to endure hard work or withstand adverse natural conditions:

"De quel œil, en effet, pense-t-on que puissent envisager la faim, la soif, les fatigues, les dangers et la mort, des hommes que le moindre besoin accable, et que la moindre peine rebutte? Avec quelle courage les soldats supporteront-ils des travaux excessifs dont ils n'ont aucune habitude? Avec quelle ardeur feront-ils des marches forcées sous des officiers qui n'ont pas même la force de voyager à cheval? Qu'on ne m'objecte point la valeur renommée de tous ces modernes guerriers si savamment disciplinés. On me vante bien leur bravoure en un jour de bataille; mais on me dit point comment ils supportent l'excès du travail, comment ils résistent à la rigueur des saisons et aux intempéries de l'air. Il ne faut qu'un peu de soleil ou de neige, il ne faut que la privation de quelques superfluïtés, pour fondre et détruire en peu de jours la meilleure de nos armées. Guerriers intrépides, souffrez une fois la vérité qu'il y a et si rare d'entendre. Vous êtes bravos; je le sais; vous eussiez triomphé avec Annibal à Cannès et à Trasymène; César avec vous eût passé le Rubicon et asservi son pays; mais ce n'est point avec vous que le premier eût traversé les Alpes, et que l'autre eût vaincu vos aieux." (30)
In Plutarch there is abundant mention of the importance of a strong physique—a commonplace, to be sure, but one which may have been more deeply impressed on Rousseau by constant repetition of the same emphasis in Plutarch.\textsuperscript{4} Plutarch says that it is necessary to "accouster son corps à se contenir facilement de peu" (VIII, 332, Comment il faust refrenar la cholere), and in another place that "il faust que gents de guerre soient faicts et accoustumez à toute diversité et inesqualité de vie, et mame qu'ils ayent apprins de jeunesse à supporter facilement la disette de toutes choses necessaires à la vie de l'homme, et à endurer aysément de passer les nuicts sans dormir" (Philopoemen, III, 305), a passage remarkably similar in tone to the one quoted from Rousseau. The Spartans followed these precepts. The Spartan Agesilaus, for example, slept on a very poor bed and was accustomed "au froid et au chaud" and to the "qualité de l'air et de la saison ou il se trouvoit." (Agesilaus, V, 27) Rousseau uses the words "saisons", "l'air", "soleil", and "neige", which are not far from Plutarch's expressions, "l'air", "saison", "froid", and "chaud". Particularly may Plutarch here be a source because Rousseau speaks of the Spartans throughout the Discourse, and it may rather safely be assumed that he either already knew very well or reread Plutarch to refresh his memory on that score. Furthermore, Rousseau specifically mentions Agesilaus. (See above, p. 7.) Plutarch's emphasis on physical stamina is

\textsuperscript{4} Since Montaigne and Montesquieu, both of whom Rousseau knew, also stress physique, Plutarch's influence here was probably but one of several in the same direction.
especially strong in the essays on the Spartans, where, as will become evident in the discussion of Spartan education, physique is considered of the first importance.

Plutarch contains other instances in which the value of endurance is mentioned. Such is the case of Marius' doing everything possible to "endurcir ses gents à la peine" (Caius Marius, III, 512) and that of Ateas, who wrote to Philip of Macedon: "tu commandes aux Macedoniens, qui aient bien combattre contre des hommes; mais moy je commande aux Tartares, qui peuvent combattre et la faim et la soif." (Les dicta notables des anciens roys, princes et grands capitaines, X, 9) The fact that Rousseau too uses the words "faim" and "soif", due to the commonness of these words, may not be strong evidence that Plutarch is the source, but add to this the mention of "saisons" and "l'air", the importance of getting along without necessities (Rousseau says "besoins"; Plutarch, "chooses necessaires"), and, as will be shown presently, the definite references to battles and the emphasis on generalship, and the whole passage shows a marked resemblance to Plutarch.

As to the battles mentioned, we have first of all Hannibal at Cannae and at Lake Trasimenus. Rousseau says that modern soldiers could have won at these two battles—in other words, that these two battles were easy for Hannibal. Such, indeed, is Plutarch's picture. At Cannae Hannibal won a decisive victory without much difficulty, thanks to the well-known accident of Aemilius Paulus' falling off his horse.

(Fabius Maximus, II, 111-113) At Lake Trasimenus Hannibal
won another decisive victory, killing the consul and putting the Roman army to flight. (Fabius Maximus, II, 33)

Next Rousseau mentions Caesar's crossing the Rubicon and conquering Italy. Crossing the Rubicon involved so little danger that before the day ended, says Plutarch, Caesar had taken the town of Ariminum, some distance away. (Julius Caesar, V, 459-59) And in sixty days he was "maistre et seigneur de toute l'Italie, sans aucune effusion de sang" Caesar, V, 463), a lack of resistance which would be welcomed by present-day armies, says Rousseau. Next, Rousseau mentions Hannibal's journey across the Alps. Here Plutarch is silent. Finally comes Caesar's conquest of Gaul, spoken of by Rousseau as a difficult campaign. This is certainly the case in the Vies, for upon his arrival in Gaul Caesar was at once met by the Helvetians, who were in "grand nombre" (180,000) and had an unpleasant amount of "hardiesse". (Caesar, V, 430-31) Later Caesar had united war waged on him "par les principaux hommes des plus belligerentes nations du pays". (Caesar, V, 444) Thus, four of the five military campaigns mentioned by Rousseau--Cannae, Trasimenus, Rubicon, Gaul--are spoken of in the same terms by Plutarch. Certainly these battles are matters of common knowledge to any student of history, and Rousseau undoubtedly met them in other places. Yet his constant reading of these things in the Vies cannot have failed to contribute to his familiarity with them and perhaps helps account for his use of them as examples.

So far we have seen a similarity on the importance of the military, on the attention given to physique, and on several
specific military maneuvers. There is, furthermore, a great significance attached by both writers to army leadership. Bravery alone, says Rousseau, is not enough, and "il est pour les généraux un art supérieur à celui de gagner des batailles." (31) It is a thing of great importance, Plutarch tells us, to have a good captain to rely upon in times of danger. (Comment on poest se louer soi-même, IX, 252) Syracuse was saved on one occasion largely because of the wisdom of the captain. (Timoleon, II, 426) Antigonus "faisoit très-bien de mettre en grand compte la dignité du capitaine" (Pelopidas, III, 4), and there are many examples to support this, for bravery, without keen strategy, does not go far. The good general should have confidence (Paulus Amylius, II, 312), should fraternize with his soldiers (Caesars Marius, III, 499-500), and should make himself generally liked (Lucullus, IV, 310). He must be always careful—"il faut qu'un sage capitaine regarde plus derrière soy que devant," said Sertorius (Sertorius, IV, 532)—and he must be able to force the enemy to fight when he is the stronger and be able to avoid fighting when he is the weaker. (Les diclots notables des anciens roys, princes, et grands capitäines, X, 107) Caesar and Agesilaus were successful primarily because they had the faculty of forcing the battle. (Comparaison d'Agesilaus avec Pompeius, V, 244) Finally, the good general must have patience. Witness the near-disaster of Minutius' army, caused by its leader's rashness and excessive bravery (II, 93-106, Fabius Maximus), in contrast to the ultimate success of Fabius Maximus, who consistently followed his doctrine "qu'on doëvoit avoir un peu de patience". (Fabius Maximus, II,
Yet in certain cases fast and determined action is necessary. After Cannae Hannibal failed to follow up his victory with an attack on Rome. His subordinate, Barca, is supposed to have said to him: "Hannibal, tu saisis bien vaincre, mais tu ne saisis pas user de ta victoire." (Fabius Maximus, II, 113) This idea is close to Rousseau's "il est pour les généraux un art supérieur à celui de gagner les batailles". Whether there is a direct influence here or not, certainly Plutarch attaches great importance to the rôle of the general and gives numerous instances where a general's strategy produced victories; so that this view of Rousseau's must at least have been fortified by his reading of Plutarch.

For the military glory of early Rome and of Sparta Rousseau has a great admiration. In both cases Plutarch may have contributed to it. The reproach which Numa Pompilius gave the early Romans for their inclination to go to war continually (Numa Pompilius, I, 225) would only evoke approval from Rousseau for the bellicose populace and add to his love for early Rome. In the case of Sparta, the military courage and heroism evident in Plutarch have already been discussed in relation to patriotism. It might be added here that even when the Spartans lost a battle (to Thebes on this occasion) Pelopidas praised them as "estants souverains maîtres et ouvriers de tout ce qui appartient à l'art et discipline militaire." (Pelopidas, III, 45) Thus there is considerable chance of Rousseau's attitudes here toward Rome and Sparta having been shaped or at least confirmed by Plutarch; and, as we have seen, the same
is true regarding the role of the military, the importance of physique, specific allusions to battles, and the need of good generals. 5

5 Several additional references along the same line may be found in the following places: II, 40, 46-47, 122-123, 311, 433; III, 351, 304; IV, 45; VI, 80, 595. It is interesting that though, as we have seen, Plutarch himself regards luxury as incompatible with military glory, his historical situations do not always bear this out. Thus Pericles, while friendly to embellishments and luxury, at the same time achieved considerable military success. (See essay on Pericles, II, 46-47, 50-55.)
(c) The effect of inequality and luxury on the state

Rousseau devotes a great deal of attention to a denunciation of luxury and regards inequality as the source of all the evils—"tous ces abus"—which the arts and sciences have wrought. Luxury he classifies with dissolution and slavery as the "châtiment" for trying to conquer ignorance. (20) Luxury is an inevitable concomitant of the arts and sciences and therefore to be condemned with equal vehemence. (22, 24) Luxury, being diametrically opposed to the good morals necessary for the public welfare, produces corruption and ruin. (25, 26, 27) Its development brings on a loss of courage and consequent military decline. (23) Rousseau supplies numerous historical instances where luxury has at least helped to ruin states. In Athens, for example, it was luxury which, with the arts, enervated the people. (12, 16) In Rome much the same was true. It is in the epoch of poverty and simple rusticity that Rome was a temple of virtue and a tower of strength. (13, 14) The ruin of Rome was associated with pomp (18), whereas its true grandeur antedated the preoccupation with elegance. (19). In Sparta, for which the First Discourse shows a great admiration, there was an extreme simplicity and lack of brilliance. (15-16) For the Sybarites, a proverbially luxurious people, Rousseau manifests an expected contempt. (25) Luxurious nations have consistently been vanquished by simpler ones, both in ancient and in modern times, we are told. In general, it is evident that Rousseau is a bitter enemy of luxury.

In Plutarch we find much the same hostility. He too re-
gards inequality as a source of much evil. Rousseau looks longingly back to the time when men were virtuous and "habitaient ensemble sous les mêmes cabanes." (28) Plutarch mourns the time when master and servant lived and ate together, "esgaulx comme frères ou bien proches parents." (Comparaison de Lycurgus avec Numa, I, 286) A similar sentiment is apparent when Plutarch quotes Leon the Spartan to the effect that the best city to live in is one "dont les habitants ne seroyent ne plus riches ny plus pauvres les uns que les autres." (Les dict de notables des Lacedemooniens, X, 180) This precept is an important one in Plutarch, for it gives the key to peace within a state, since civil wars are as often a result of superfluity as of anything else. (Les reigles et preceptes de sante, XI, 145) For this reason princes should encourage equality and simplicity and themselves set the example by wearing unpretentious clothes and keeping modest households. (Dion, VII, 334) All forms of superfluity and sumptuousness affect military courage adversely and must therefore be avoided (Philopoemen, III, 319-20), a view close to Rousseau's: "Tandis que...le luxe s'étend, le vrai courage s'énerve, les vertus militaires s'évanouissent..." (29)

It is extremely likely that in Plutarch's hatred of luxury and in his repeated mention of the absence of it among the Spartans lies part of the source of Rousseau's great respect for that nation. From the earliest times Sparta conformed to the ideals of both our moralists. Plutarch's essay on Lycurgus is particularly rich in evidences of Sparta's equality and simplicity. Lycurgus caused the assembly of the
people, for instance, to meet out-of-doors, in a place without the slightest embellishment which might divert the attention to things unconnected with good government. (Lycurgus, I, 148) When Lycurgus took control of public affairs he had all lands redistributed on a basis of equality, believing that to rid the city of its evils, "il n'y avait point de moyen plus expedient, que de persuader à ses citoyens qu'ils remissent en commun toutes les terres". (Lycurgus, I, 151-52) All superfluous trades were abolished and only necessary commodities were purchasable. (Lycurgus, I, 154-55) As a result of all this the town resembled "un heritage de plusieurs freres qui n'a gueres eussent fait leurs partages ensemble." (Les dicts notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 185) The effect of this type of economy on military affairs was entirely favorable: equality and fraternity, as Lycurgus had calculated, were the best defense against foreign enemies. (Lycurgus, I, 183)

The tradition of Lycurgus and his laws lasted for a long time. As late as the third century B.C. (Lycurgus is supposed to have lived in the ninth), Cleomenes followed in his footsteps by redistributing the land holdings (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 261) and by attributing the military decline to inequality. (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 273) Between Lycurgus and Cleomenes the old ideals prevailed almost unchanged in Sparta. Persons who amassed money were condemned to death and all the citizens continued to work industriously at useful trades. (Des Cus- tumes et façons de faire des anciens Lacedaemoniens, X, 233)
Lysander, perhaps the perfect Spartan type, never let himself be tempted by wealth, but, in spite of his powerful position, remained poor all his life. (Lysander, IV, 3, 65) During his reign an ambassador, Gyllippus, stole some money, and Lysander, on the advice of "les plus sages bourgeois de Sparte", banned all gold and silver from the city. (Lysander, IV, 34) What brought about the fall of Sparta? Plutarch indicates that the sharp decline which set in after the Peloponnesian War was accompanied by "ces pestes de la chose publique qu'on y a apportées de dehors, j'entends les delices, la superfluïté, l'opulence, les dettes, les usures, et encore d'autres plus anciennes, la pauvrete et la richesse" (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 260), a situation with which even Cleomenes could not successfully cope. As soon as it transgressed the laws of Lycurgus and permitted wealth to enter the city, Sparta lost its superiority over Greece (Comparaison de Lycurgus avec Numa, I, 272) and remained for a long time "indignement ravaliée et rabaissée". (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 217)

There are strong signs, in Plutarch's account, of a causal relationship between the intrusion of wealth and the fall of the city. Rousseau's esteem for Sparta is high, and Sparta, in its glory, occupies an important place in the Discourse as the paragon of good government. This view, as we have seen, conforms to Plutarch's description. It is not improbable, therefore, that the history of Sparta as traced by Plutarch was a prominent factor contributing to Rousseau's whole attitude toward luxury.

The history of Athens, whose works, says Rousseau, will
serve as models for all corrupt ages (16), offers a somewhat peculiar situation. The consciousness of Athenian rulers that inequality was incompatible with the general welfare was almost as marked as that of the Spartans. However, this did not make Rousseau think well of Athens, for, no matter how much the Athenians tried to banish inequality, the persistence of the arts inevitably brought about a weakening of the state. The exact position of arts in Athens will be taken up in a later chapter; yet it should be noted here that Plutarch criticizes Athens for letting its drama, for example, interfere with its proper military defense, a statement which would at once discredit Athens in Rousseau's eyes.

There are many cases related by Plutarch which show that attempts were made to keep Athens equalitarian. Theseus, the founder of the city, started by giving all the citizens equal authority. (Theseus, I, 37) Solon, perhaps the Athenian counterpart of Lycurgus, believed that "l'esqualité n'engendre point de sedition" (De l'amitié fraternelle, VIII, 466), arriving at this conclusion from his observation of quarrels proceeding from inequality (Solon, I, 295). Plato also urged maintaining economic equality and abolishing the words mine and thine from the republic. (De l'amitié fraternelle, VIII, 466) Strongly reminiscent of Sparta are the incidents of the Athenian ambassador to Persia who was put to death for accepting presents (Pelopidas, III, 64) and of Aristides, who, like Lysander, did not enrich himself by a single drachma, though he could easily have done so. (Aristides, III, 164-215) Cimon (Cimon, IV, 185) and Aristides (Comparaison d'Aristides avec
Marcus Cato, III, 237) did their best to establish economic and political equality in Athens, and Pericles distributed conquered lands to the poor citizens (Pericles, II, 67). However, the level of this equality was too high, and instead of the process resulting in an abolition of luxury, it produced a general opulence with accompanying dissoluteness of this luxury and the resulting change in moral standards, Plutarch says: "on porra veoir par la simple exposition du fait la cause de cest mutation." (Pericles, II, 13) Thus luxury proved the doom of Athens, according to both Plutarch and Rousseau. The latter links luxury with the arts; Plutarch does not. But the problem of equality and luxury in Athens is considered at length by Plutarch, who, like Rousseau, found luxury to be the cause of the moral deterioration.

After Sparta and Athens comes Rome as the third important nation included in Rousseau's treatment of luxury. Invoking Fabricius, he laments the passage of the days when pomp was unknown and virtue was supreme (13), for Rome was innocent and virtuous in its age of poverty and ignorance. (14) Those were the times when a foreigner could mistake the senate for an assemblage of kings, so noble were the Romans in every respect. (19) Rousseau's specific references to Fabricius and Cinesas may have been taken from Plutarch, though it would be presumptuous to say that they certainly were. Plutarch speaks at some length of Fabricius, the Roman consul, general, and ambassador whom Pyrrhus first tried to win over by bribes and then to frighten with an elephant. Fabricius,
ever faithful to Rome, replied: "m'yeu ne m'esmeut hier, Sire, m'yeu elephant aujourd'hui." (Pyrrhus, III, 449) By his courage and integrity he won the admiration of Pyrrhus, on one occasion revealing the plan of a physician to poison him and thus saving the life of Rome's leading enemy. (Pyrrhus, III, 449-452) Such action, related by Plutarch and translated by Arvot in truly inspiring fashion, can hardly have failed to attract Rousseau's notice. The other reference, to Cineas, Pyrrhus's ambassador to Rome who reported that the senate looked like an assemblage of kings, is also given considerable space in Plutarch. (Pyrrhus, III, 447-448) It appears only several pages before the Fabricius story, in the same essay--on Pyrrhus--so that the likelihood of both references coming from Plutarch is greatly increased.

Even the casual reader of Plutarch will be aware of the difference between the early and the late periods of Rome, a difference which Rousseau uses in the First Discourse as evidence for his thesis. The change from a system approaching the Spartan to almost the exact opposite cannot have escaped an inveterate reader of Plutarch like Rousseau, and it is safe to say that the distinction made in the Discourse between the two periods of Rome, if not originating in the Vice, was at least confirmed by them. In the seventh century B.C., Numa Pompilius first of all "bannit à un coup de sa maison toute superfluete et toutes delices." (Numa Pompilius, I, 217) Then he distributed the territory of Rome among the poor, but--and this is the important difference from Pericles' similar action in Athens--"plustost pour adoucir leurs moeurs
que pour augmenter leurs biens". (I, 250, Numa Pompilius) He was also concerned with creating a love for the tilling of the soil, a detail which may help account for Rousseau's association of virtue with the "habit rustique d'un labourreur". (9) The result of this policy was that there came "une merveilleuse mutation de mœurs, ne plus ne moins que si ç'eust esté quelque douce halene d'un vent salubre et gra-tieux, qui leur eust soufflé du costé de Rome pour les refres-sahir; et se coula tout doucement à coeurs des hommes un désir de vivre en paix, de labourer la terre, d'eslever des enfants en repos." (I, 257, Numa Pompilius) The work of Numa was not soon forgotten in Rome. Publicola (sixth century B.C.), somewhat like Numa (and Lycurgus in Sparta before him), had his luxurious home torn down and replaced by a modest one. The fact that this move met with general approbation shows that love of luxury had not yet taken hold of the city. (Publicola, I, 357) In the time of Coriolanus (fifth century B.C.) candidates for public office were required to wear very simple robes. (Coriolanus, II, 248) A typical attitude toward money was perhaps that of Martius, who accepted a horse as a gift for his bravery but refused any pecuniary reward. (Coriolanus, II, 241) In the time of Camillus (fourth century B.C.) the Romans still did not defend "leur paix avecques l'or, ains avecques le fer." (Furius Camillus, I, 501) Children went to school and ate in common, much as the Spartans did. (Camillus, I, 467) And the tendency toward ostentation had not gone so far that the women were not willing to give up their jewels as a tribute to the gods. (Camillus, I, 464) Even as late as the sec-
and century B.C. Aemilius Paulus, in the old Roman spirit, cared very little for his personal enrichment. (Paulus Aemilius, II, 322)

Of Rome's later period Plutarch tells a different story. Already in Aemilius' time it was necessary to store the public moneys away from greedy hands. (Paulus Aemilius, II, 363) Sylla's family was notoriously given to ostentation (Sylla, IV, 63), and Sylla himself was in the habit of giving sumptuous feasts to the people of the city (Sylla, IV, 150). Rome had undergone a marked decline of morals, says Plutarch, largely as a result of a growing "convoitise des delices et de la superfluité". (Sylla, IV, 63) Cato the Elder tried hard to curb luxury by imposing heavy taxes. (Marcus Cato, III, 335) He said—twice Plutarch tells us this—that a city where "un poisson se vendoit plus qu'un boeuf" must go down to ruin. (Marcus Cato, III, 232 and Les dits nobles des anciens roys, princes, et grands capitaines, X, 93) The love of money extended to the army, a certain indication to Rousseaou of the depth to which Rome had sunk. Scipio found in the army "grand desordre, grande dissolution, superstition, et grande superfluité de toutes choses". (Les dits nobles des anciens roys, princes, et grands capitaines, X, 102) It is considerations of money which contributed to the corruption of Lucullus's army. (Lucullus, IV, 304) On one occasion Mithridates loosed a mule laden with gold and silver and won the battle when the Roman soldiers pursued the treasure instead of the enemy. (Lucullus, IV, 256) Crassus kept his men busy counting revenues instead of training for war. (Marcus
Crassus, IV, 443] Pompey's war vessels were so richly ad-
dorned that the enemy was more in awe of their luxury than in fear of their strength. (Pompeius, V, 127) This same love of pomp was characteristic not only of subjects, but also of Roman rulers of the late period. Pompey had magnificent triumphal parades (Pompeius, V, 129), and money to him was a sine qua non, for he used it to bribe and corrupt influential officials and gain power (Pompeius, V, 122). Julius Caesar likewise won the senators to his side "à force d'argent". (Pompeius, V, 107-88) Even a half century before Pompey and Caesar, the valiant attempts of the Gracchi to ex-
terminate excessive luxury (Tiberius et Gaius, VI, 332-34) were like voices in a wilderness. The necessity for such ac-
tion shows what a change had come over Rome, and this is evi-
dent in so many passages and is commented upon so frequently by Plutarch, that Rousseau's continued reading of him must certainly have exerted some influence or strengthened an im-
pression received from other sources. The distinction be-
tween "la face pompeuse de cette Rome" and Rome "dans les tems de sa pauvreté et de son ignorance" seems therefore to be due in some measure to Plutarch.6

Several of Plutarch's isolated allusions to luxury may also have added to the total effect. That Plutarch has some-

6 On the question of Rome, Plutarch was probably most influential in presenting luxury as the cause of the de-
isline, whereas Montaigne probably convinced Rousseau that learning was the cause. Cf. "Je trouve Rome plus vaillante avant qu'elle fust sclevante." (Essais, Book I, Chapter XXIV, Du pedantisme.)
thing to say about the Sybarites, for example, should not
be overlooked. He comments on their inability to understand
the Spartans' willingness to die "a l'exercice de vertu" and
speaks disapprovingly of the fact that Sybarite brides re-
quired no less than a year to deck themselves out for their
wedding feasts. (Le banquet des sept sages, IX, 300) To men-
tion more instances where luxury appears in a bad light, Pelop-
idas of Thebes, a man of great virtue, rejected the gifts
offered him in Persia by Artaxerxes. (Pelopidas, III, 63)
Pyrrhus, who couldrecommend himself to Rousseau on the basis
of his military achievements, replaced the habitual feasting
in Spiris with military exercises. (Pyrrhus, III, 436) And
Alexander did not hesitate to burn the Persian spoils when
these were hindering the movement of his army. (Paulus Aem-
ilius, II, 327) In Syracuse Dionysius' continual feasting
operated to the detriment of the state: "par lesquelles choses
la tyrannie devenant molle, ne plus ne moins que le fer par
le feu", as Plutarch generalizes. (Dion, VII, 329) How many
of these things, if any, Rousseau had in mind or had taken
note of in his reading of Plutarch it is, of course, impossible
to say, in absence of definite references to them. However,
Plutarch, as we have seen, frequently speaks of luxury as de-
structive of the public good and gives many examples. Such
insistance must have had its effect and probably contributed
largely to Rousseau's hostile attitude—already developed in
the environment of Geneva—an attitude which constitutes one
of the most salient features of the First Discourse.
Chapter II. Influence in the Field of Ethics

(a) The effect of luxury on virtue

We have seen luxury to be Rousseau's bête noire because of its harmful effect on the state. But this antipathy is due, not only to his belief that luxury destroys political power and stability (see Chapter I), but also to his feeling that it cannot go hand in hand with virtue. Just as the wealthy exterior does not indicate bodily strength, so "la parure n'est pas moins étrangère à la vertu, qui est la force et la vigueur de l'âme." (9) Virtue is associated with "ces toits de chaume et ces foyers rustiques" (18) and both Athens and Rome lost their morals as luxury developed. "Osera-t-elle (la philosophie) nier encore que les bonnes moeurs ne soient essentielles à la durée des empereurs, et que le luxe ne soit diamétralement opposé aux bonnes moeurs?" (25) States must choose, says Rousseau, between being "brillants et momentanés" or "vertueux et durables." (26) "Le goût du faste ne s'associe guère dans les mêmes âmes avec celui de l'honnête." (26) Dissoluteness is an inevitable consequence or concomitant of luxury. (27)

Plutarch expresses the same opinion, both in generalizations on the subject and in historical allusions. Virtue is capable of producing happiness, but wealth never can, for its useful and necessary elements are hidden by the dazzling splendor of the useless and superfluous. (De l'avarice et convoitise d'avoir, IX, 1-15) Plutarch wants young people to be taught,
not only not to wear gold, but "ny mesme en avoir et posséder." (Instruction pour ceux qui manient affaires d'estat, IX, 454) He addresses the following reproof to Domitian: "C'est un vice que tu as d'aymer à bastir, et vouldrois, comme l'on dict de l'ancien Midos, que tout ce qui est autour de toy devinst or et pierre." (Publicola, I, 367) Lust for wealth makes men slaves, either "des voluptez" or "des negoces et du guain." (Pelopidas, III, 6) In this connection Plutarch boasts of his own household, "car quant à la simplicité des veste-ments, et à la sobriété du vivre ordinaire sans aucune superfluïté, il n'y a pas un philosophhe ny un honneste citoyen qui ayt hanté et frequente en nostre maison aveques nous, qui n'ayt prins grand plaisir à veoir et considerer ta simplicité, soit aux sacrifices, soit aux theatres, soit aux danses et aux processions." (Consolation envoyée par Plutarque a sa femme, X, 365)

If Plutarch abstained from luxury in his own affairs, the heroes of antiquity did so even more; or, if they did not, Plutarch considers it a weakness in their character. The regard which Fabius and Pericles, for example, had for money was very low indeed. The one refused money offered to him as a gift and the other gave money liberally to those who were in need. (Comparaison de Pericles avec Fabius Maximus, II, 138) Philopoemen, like Fabius, rejected a large sum of money offered to him, "tant estoit Philopoemen magnanime contre tout convoitise d'argent." (Philopoemen, III, 335) (Curiously enough, it

1 His wife's.
is the usually virtuous Spartans who made the offer in this case.) Pelopidas of Thebes imitated the poverty of Epaminondas and took great pleasure in dressing simply, eating moderately, and working willingly. (Pelopidas, III, 7) Even Alexander, whose last years were given over to sumptuous feasting (Alexandre, V, 329-330), preferred, as a rule, virtue and glory to voluptuousness and money (Alexandre, V, 254-255). On one occasion, admiring Diogenes' manner of living, he said: "Si je n'estois Alexandre, je serois Diogenes", which Plutarch interprets as a recognition that luxury is a hindrance to virtue: "quasi par manière de dire se faschant de sa richesse, de sa splendeur, et de sa puissance, comme estants empeschements et destourbiers de sa vertu". (Qu'il est requis qu'un prince soit sávant, IX, 219) The Greeks in general had a great contempt for wealth. Their estimation of the Persians dropped to naught when they saw that "tout le fait des Perses n'estoit que or et argent, force délices et belles femmes, et au demeurant pume vaine et mine seulement". (Artaxerxes, VII, 236) Demetrius, the Macedonian general coming shortly after Alexander, is considered by Plutarch as an example of great vice. Together with his vice went a love of luxury; he was "le plus superflu en festoyements, desliecat en son vivre, et dissolu en toutes manières de volupté et de délices que feust oncques roy". (Demetrius, VII, 5)

In Sparta, as we might expect, luxury was not permitted to jeopardize morals. Lycurgus caused gold and silver coins to be replaced by iron. With the departure of the precious metals, says Plutarch, vice was also driven out: "Or estant,
par ce moyen, l'or et l'argent banny du pays de Laconie, il estoit force que plusieurs crimes et malefices en sortissent aussy." (Lycurgus, I, 153-154) Even much later, according to a Geradatas, there could be no adultery, for instance, in Sparta, because of the lack of luxury--"veu que toutes richesses, toutes delices, tous fards, et tous embellissements exterieurs y son desprisez et deshonnorez". (Les dictz notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 192)

In Athens too the wise and virtuous men opposed luxury. Solon's father had little use for wealth (Solon, I, 275) and Solon himself, while not absolutely against money, would have none that was not virtuously acquired. (Comparaison de Solon avec Publicola, I, 334) In the case of Phocion the linking of virtue with an absence of wealth is most clearly evinced. His poverty was, in fact, an evidence of his uprightness: "Aussy estoit la pauverté de Phocion un grand argument et grand testesmage de sa preud'honnieté". (Phocion, VI, 51) He surprised foreign ambassadors by the simplicity of his home (Phocion, VI, 31) and wanted the rest of Athens to follow his example. He was very much concerned when Alexander sent gifts of money to the Athenians, for he saw in this a sure way of "guaster et corrompre la ville d'Athènes." (Phocion, VI, 36) Plutarch has nothing but praise for an attitude such as Phocion's; but he speaks harshly of the opposite point of view. Thus Alcibiades' inclination to live luxuriously is shown as an evil (Alciabides, II, 158), for with it Alcibiades had a proclivity toward dissoluteness in "amours de folles femmes" (Alciabides, II, 165).
Among the Romans too the reader of Plutarch finds excellent advocates of simplicity as conducive to virtue—advocates through their practice and not merely in theory. Cato of Utica is a good example. Deploiring the corruption of Rome, he dressed simply and avoided luxury as a reaction against this immorality. (Cato d'Utique, VI, 76) Offered presents, he refused them in anger on at least one important occasion. (Ibid., 88-89) It is Caesar's gifts to the influential Roman magistrates which caused Cato to be alarmed at the menace of Caesar to Rome. (Ibid., 151) Cicero, much in the manner of Cato, refused all presents and scorned all mercenary gain. (Comparaison de Demosthènes avec Cicéron, VI, 533) Though he had several homes and a good income, he lived in moderation without superfluity, and "honestement". (Cicéron, VI, 453) In the same category with Cato and Cicero are Martius, Brutus, and Calba, all of whom had great virtue and, at the same time, lived in simplicity. (Comparaison d'Alcibiades avec Coriolanus, II, 300; Marcus Brutus, VII, 458; Calba, VII, 599)

Rome had its black sheep too: its Sylla, whose looseness of morals developed side by side with his love of luxury (Sylla, IV, 76-71); its Strabo, who antagonized all Rome because of his "convoitise insatiable d'avoir" (Pompéius, V, 94); and its Antony, whose virtue disappeared to such an extent that he paid no attention to world affairs or the welfare of his country but enjoyed himself in luxury with Cleopatra on the isle of Samos (Antonius, VII, 205). In all of these cases there is a close relationship between luxury and lack of virtue. This view is so much alike in Plutarch and Rousseau that read-
ing all the accounts here cited, as well as many others of
a similar tone, probably helped convince Rousseau that where
there is luxury there can be no virtue.

2 Other passages where Plutarch's condemnation of luxury
appears saliently are: II, 302; III, 231; IV, 327, 405;
V, 27-28; VI, 127; VII, 143.
(b) Attitudes toward vanity

The role of vanity in righteous human conduct is a second aspect of the similarity between Plutarch and Rousseau in the field of ethics. Rousseau's attitude on this question in the First Discourse is essentially a common-sense viewpoint. Vanity and ambition can do great harm: "O fureur de se distinguer, que ne pouvez-vous point!" (24) But glory, if equitably distributed, can serve as a valuable stimulus for individuals to do good to society. (34) That ambition has evil as well as beneficent effects is a statement that few people will dispute. Of Rousseau's application, however, this is not entirely true. In trying to prove that the arts and sciences were born of human vices, he attributes eloquence to ambition, hatred, flattery, and lying. (21) While this may be so to a considerable extent, some of the early orators, notably Phocion and later Cicero, were undoubtedly inspired, at least partly, by altruistic motives. In his application of vanity to the arts Rousseau gives the same sort of one-sided picture. All artists, he says, want above all to be applauded and will compose mediocre works to win praise rather than superior ones which will remain unheralded. Vanity thus appears an impediment to great art. Actually, of course, works which are most acclaimed are often those with greatest merit, and the writer who is the most popular in his own day among his own countrymen may also be considered the greatest writer of all time more than three centuries after his death. However, in spite of exaggerations, Rousseau takes the same view as most
of us: that ambition is sometimes a good thing, sometimes a bad. His emphasis, though, tends to be on the bad.

Plutarch's view is so similar that, if Rousseau had read nothing else, and if we were not here dealing with a platitude of which any moralist or elementary philosopher might be guilty, we should certainly be convinced that Plutarch was the source of Rousseau's idea. As it is, we can but examine the former to see how frequently and how consistently he expresses this view of vanity. The possibility of Rousseau's having taken this attitude or received confirmation for it in Plutarch depends on the insistence and emphasis which it there receives.

Plutarch's generalizations about vanity range from a statement that "l'ambition est un vice fort odieux" (Comparaison d'Aristides avec Marcus Cato, III, 239) to such a one as that in great people honors spur the will on toward ever more glorious deeds (Coriolanus, II, 229). Between these two extremes he says that glory is not virtue and that the action of ambitious people can never be "entièrement pur et net" (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 313); that boasting about one's good qualities shows a lack of true virtue (IX, 107); that ambition often leads to fighting against those with whom one should cooperate (IV, 48-49, Lysander); and that glory may be sought if it is associated with "grandes choses" (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 314). Clearly Plutarch does not categorically condemn or uphold ambition. He is aware of its advantages and of its disadvantages, but the ill effects of self-love seem to get the emphasis. Four

* Comment l'on pourra apercevoir si l'on amende et prouffe en l'exercice de la vertu.
of the six statements cited, which are the most salient general expressions on the subject, show vanity to be contrary to virtue.

At least the same preponderance appears in Plutarch's historical situations, vanity much more often operating to ruin individuals or states than to help them. In a few cases the opposite is true. In giving the good qualities of Pericles, Plutarch mentions in one breath that he had "le coeur grand et noble" and "la nature desireuse d'honneur" (Pericles, II, 21), so that his love of glory appears as an advantage. The same is true of Caesar, who was born to do great things and had "le coeur convoiteux de grand honneur". (Julius Caesar, V, 428) In the case of Flamininus, the search for glory and honor led him to be the first to volunteer for every "bel et grand exploit" available. (Flamininus, III, 350) Epaminondas, who is painted as a very virtuous man, experienced his "principal et plus grand heure" when his father and mother were able to watch proudly his victory over Cleombrotus and the Spartans on the field of Leuctra. (Coriolanus, II, 250) In these few situations Plutarch does not attack vanity, but rather shows it to be consistent with virtue. In most other places where the subject is mentioned, however, the search for power and for public admiration is detrimental.

Themistocles' experience is typical. He certainly did a great deal for Athens, but his bragging about his services turned the people against him and led to his banishment. (Themistocles, I, 430) In Sparta the rivalry between Lysander and Agesilaus, engendered by ambition, was harmful to the state,
showing that ambitions are "souventfois cause de plus de mal que de bien." (Agesilaus, V, 15) Back to Athens, Alcibiades was endowed with a strong passion for being first in all things and with a "presumptuous opinion de soy". (Alcibiades, II, 141-49) His teacher, Socrates, perceived this to be a great weakness, saw how far this kept Alcibiades from true virtue, and did everything he could to diminish it. (Ibid., 145-49) In the realm of letters also, vanity often had ill effects, depriving the state of great writers and of great works. When Sophocles defeated Aeschylus in a competition, he for example, the latter was so deeply hurt that/Left Athens and spent the rest of his life in Sicily. (Cimon, IV, 183) In Sparta the same kind of thing happened. When the poet Antinachus failed to receive the prize he wanted from Lysander, he destroyed what he had written. (Lysander, IV, 38)

In Rome there were many instances of vanity. Even the otherwise irreproachable Romulus permitted himself to become unpleasantly egotistical. (Romulus, I, 118) Camillus also let his triumphs go to his head and had a celebration of such magnitude in his own honor that he thereby antagonized the Romans. (Camillus, I, 461) Lucullus, as an old man, was impelled by his desire for distinction to go into politics, and as a result both the state and himself endured much suffering. (Lucullus, IV, 314-15) The degradation of Rome resulting from the quarrel of Marius and Sylla leads Plutarch to repeat Euripides' warning to rulers, "de fuir l'ambition comme une très-pestilente et mortelle furie à ceux qui s'accointent d'elle." (Sylla, IV, 74) Cato of Utica deplored Roman ambition which was causing
so many good and valiant citizens of the same city to kill one another. (Cato d'Utique, VI, 161-62) And the Greeks in Rome, seeing the civil war, meditated "en eux-mêmes à quels termes la convoitise et l'opiniastreté de deux hommes avoit conduit les forces de l'empire Romain". (Pompeius, V, 220) Even a good man like Cicero made himself offensive because of his excessive self-praise. (Cicero, VI, 481) Antony offers an obvious case of selfish motivation. The reason for his fighting was a "desir insatiable de regner, avecques une cupidite forcenée d'etre le premier et le plus grand homme du monde". (Antonius, VII, 116)
(c) The preoccupation with virtue

The subject of the First Discourse is essentially ethical. It is not a question of the effect of the arts and sciences on our material prosperity or on our enjoyment of life, but of their effect on morals. Rousseau says, indeed, that he is not so much concerned with attacking learning as with defending virtue: "Ce n'est point la science que je maltraite, me suis-je dit, c'est la vertu que je défends devant des hommes vertueux." (5) Luxury is attacked because it engenders vice; Fabricius, the man of virtue and integrity par excellence, is made the mouthpiece of Rousseau in regretting the disappearance of virtue from Rome; and the arts and sciences are looked upon unfavorably because of their incompatibility with virtue. The word "vertu", or its derivatives, occurs forty-two times in the Discourse, and we can read hardly a page without being aware of Rousseau's intense preoccupation with morals.

There is much in his childhood which helps account for this. The fact that he was treated with great kindness by his father, his aunt, and most of the other people by whom he was surrounded, and the fact that he grew up in the devout and relatively virtuous atmosphere of Geneva would lead us to expect such an outlook. Whether Rousseau's readings actively contributed to this attitude, or whether they merely strengthened it makes perhaps very little difference in the long run. To find an effective and convincing statement of what one al-

5 See above, Introduction.
ready believes may often have as much influence on one's thought as to find a new idea or a new belief. Plutarch seems certainly to have been one of the books which served to impress upon Rousseau the importance of virtue, and it may therefore be worthwhile to show to what extent Plutarch deals with the subject.

Virtue, says Plutarch, is the one quality in man which is divine: "il n'y a en nous que la vertu seule qui soit divine et aimée des Dieux". (Comment il faut lire les poètes, VIII, 102) And again, of the three constituents of divine essence—immortality, power, and goodness—the latter is the most important: "la bonté et la vertu est la plus venerable, et où il y a plus de divinite." (Aristides, III, 166) Virtue is capable of implanting itself in the hearts of men in all places, whereas such lesser accomplishments as the arts and sciences are generally limited to large cities. Virtue, to be honored, need not be associated with nobility of birth, for it is a quality highly worthwhile in itself: "la vertu est honoree pour l'amour de soy-mesme, et non pour estre jointe à la noblesse" (Comparaison de Lysander avec Sylla, IV, 158). "Aux hommes de vertu tous gents de bien doibvent honneur et reverence." (Philopoemen, III, 349) Although virtue in Latin meant "vaillance" (Coriolanus, II, 227), courage and strength are worthless without virtue in the usual sense, particularly justice, according to Agesilaus. (Agesilaus, V, 47) The best thing a good citizen can do is "de faire, de conseiller et de dire toutes choses bonnes et honnestes." (Aristides, III, 157) Virtue constitutes the greatest treas-
ure man can possess (Solon, I, 277; De l'envie et de la haine, IX, 37) and worldly goods without it cannot bring happiness (Comment il faut lire les poètes, VIII, 121) By teaching us to overcome our cupidity, it makes any manner of living "douce et aysée". (Demetrius, VII, 61; Du vice et de la vertu, VIII, 203) And man should be able to attain a high degree of virtue, for, like any other branch of knowledge, it can be taught. (Que la vertu se peut enseigner, VIII, 211) Virtue has, furthermore, the fortunate quality of being able to inspire imitation in people who see it. (Pericles, II, 2-4)

All this should be especially easy since nature, which has taken care to provide for us (De l'amour et charité naturelle des pères et mères, IX, 17-34), has made man fundamentally virtuous (Pompeius, V, 138). When man finds life unpleasant and hard it is his own doing. (Consolation à Apollonius, X, 324) In the First Discourse, as Professor Schinz has shown, there is little evidence of a belief in the fundamental virtue of man. That "l'homme est naturellement bon" was to be a later development. Put even in 1749 and 1750 Rousseau says that "nos âmes se sont corrompues à mesure que nos sciences et nos arts se sont avancées à la perfection," (11) implying that before the arts and sciences man was not corrupt. This does not mean, however, that he was necessarily good.

Professor Havens' statement of Rousseau's attitude—"L'homme primitif n'était pas bon, il était neutre, ni bon ni méchant"—

is perhaps the most accurate. There was simply less temptation in the primitive state, but man is amoral rather than either moral or immoral. This seems to be essentially the attitude in the First Discourse.

As for nature aside from human nature, Rousseau says that "à côté de diverses plantes nuisibles" have been placed "des simples salutaires," and "dans la substance de plusieurs animaux malfaisants le remède à leurs blessures" (35), an optimistic note strongly resembling the confidence of Plutarch in the providence of nature and the gods. This compensatory process in nature appears, among other places, in the following passage of Plutarch: "L'eau de la mer est salée et mauvaise à boire, mais elle nourrit les poissons, et est voixure propre à porter ce qu'on veut, et à aller partout. Le Satyre voulut baiser et embrasser le feu la première fois qu'il le voit; mais Prométhée lui cria, Bouquin, tu ploreras la barbe de ton menton, car il y brûle quand on y touche; mais il baille lumière et chaleur, et est un instrument servant à tout artifice, prouvez que l'on en agace bienuser." (Comment l'on porra recevoir utilité de ses ennemys, IX, 67)

It is interesting to note that Rousseau quotes the second part sentence of this/almost verbatim—for a different purpose, as it happens. The total effect of the passage in Plutarch is a demonstration that things which are evil may also be good if properly used. The sentence beginning with "Le Satyre..." shows more

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particularly that fire, from which the arts originated, may be put to good use as well as bad. Rousseau's version of the passage is: "Le satyre, dit une ancienne fable, voulut baiser et embrasser le feu, la première fois qu'il le vit; mais Prométhéus lui cria: Satyre, tu pleureras la barbe de ton menton, car il brûle quand on y touche." (21) Rousseau, of course, neglects to mention the constructive conclusion of the sentence, the beneficent effects of fire, and therefore of the arts. He takes the passage out of its context and, by quoting only the part which suits him, changes its meaning completely.

To return more directly to the question of Plutarch's emphasis on virtue, we have seen an abundance of general statements as to the importance of virtue in producing happiness. Now we may look at historical allusions in Plutarch which show what a high regard the characters and the states he discusses had for virtue. It will not be possible here to point out anything definite which Rousseau may have borrowed or by which he may have been impressed. But this brief tableau of the prominent place of virtue in Plutarch's historical material will indicate in a general way what Rousseau had before him along this line in his reading.

Already in the discussion of the heroic military and patriotic deeds of the great Greeks and Romans and in their attitude toward luxury we have seen virtue in action. Here we might observe how conscious these heroes and their states were of the importance of preserving virtue and how well they succeeded. In Sparta there was a very deliberate attempt to
inculcate a respect for virtue, "acconstumer leur peuple à s'esnouvoir plusost par les moeurs que par la parole du proposant." (Comment il faust ouyr, VIII, 137) Lycurgus tried always to spur his people on toward virtuous deeds: "parmy toutes les choses dont les hommes ne se peuvent passer, il y nesla tousjours quelque aiguillon incitant les hommes à la vertu et leur faisant hayr le vice: et remplit sa ville de bonux et bons enseignements et exemples, parmy lesquels l'homme estant nourry, et les rencontrant tousjours devant les yeulx en quelque lieu où il allast, venoit par force à se mouler et former au patron de la vertu." (Lycurgus, I, 193) The result, as we know, was that Sparta produced the greatest patriots and the greatest military machine and had the most consistent hatred for luxury of all antiquity. The moral standards were of the highest. In Spartan love affairs, for example, "il n'y avoit rien de deshonnesté, ains toute continence et toute honnestete" (Agesilaeus, V, 41), and adultery was out of the question, one of those things which could not possibly occur (Les diots notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 132).

Among the Athenians, Theseus, in his earliest exploits, showed the omnipotence of virtue. Without having been trained to be a great fighter, but having virtue as his resource, he destroyed many formidable evil-doers along the road to Athens, "faisant veoir par effect, que la vertu seule peustplus que ne faist tout artifice, ne toute exercitation." (Theseus, I, 12) Other cases of a preoccupation with virtue appeared in Athens.
Socrates worked diligently to increase Alcibiades' love of glory in "chooses honneates et lodables". (Alcibiades, II, 151) When Plato and Dionysius spoke together their subject was always virtue. (Dion, VII, 325) It is interesting to note that both Socrates and Plato were concerned with virtue and were at the same time philosophers, a fact not in accord with Rousseau's general argument. But the condemnation of philosophers concerns chiefly the modern ones, and besides, perhaps Socrates and Plato are among those "quelques sages" who have "résisté au torrent général". (15) The Athenian orator Phocion seems to be another exception, for, in spite of his occupation, he was more virtuous than the rest of his contemporaries and compatriots. (Phocion, VI, 14) Plutarch's essay on Alexander the Great shows the latter to have been strong for virtue. He considered the attainment of virtue by overcoming his bad inclinations more royal than overcoming his enemies (Alexandre, V, 239), and he preferred to excel more in "intelligence des choses hautes et très-bonnes, que non pas en puissance." (Alexandre, V, 239)

In Rome Romulus passed ordinances for the preservation of morals. A woman was not permitted to leave her husband, but the husband might leave his wife if she poisoned the children, counterfeited his keys, or committed adultery. (Romulus, I, 111) Later, in Rome, Numa Pompilius, to improve the morals of the people, made a division of the land among them. (Numa, I, 250) In his personal life Numa disciplined himself to conquer all his cupidity and to become entirely virtuous. (Numa, I, 217) Even in the time of Rome's decline Aemilius Paulus
wanted above all to acquire a reputation for being "homme de bien, vaillant, entier et droicturier" (Paulus Amphilus, II, 309), and Cato had a "gravité et perfection de sa vertu" which was unfortunately "disproportionnée à la corruption de ce siècle-là." (Phocion, VI, 8)
Chapter III. Influence in the Field of Education

Rousseau’s importance has perhaps nowhere been greater than in the field of education. While he can hardly be credited with introducing new ideas, he presented old ones strikingly, with the vigor and enthusiasm necessary to make them popular. The faculty psychology underlying his theories is Aristotelian, the inductive method goes back to the Renaissance, and the freedom he advocates for the child and the practical aim of education are strongly reminiscent of Montaigne. But these ideas had not been adopted by the formalistic education of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It remained for Rousseau to set off the movement of which Pestalozzi and Froebel, with their ideas of freedom and the emphasis on studying the child and adapting education to him, were a part. Even Herbart may be said to be inconceivable without Rousseau, for association and sense-perception psychology was above all a reaction against Rousseau. The most progressive of modern educators derive much of their system from Rousseau; stressing the preparation for the life the child is to lead, learning inductively from experience rather than from arbitrary precepts, establishing projects in line with the pupil’s interests.

The bulk of Rousseau’s contribution to education appears in Émile. His statements on the subject in the Premier Discours are mere foreshadowings, often to be modified or completely altered. The domination of men by women, expressed so clearly in the First Discourse, was to be changed. "Les
hommes seront toujours ce qu'il plaîra aux femmes; si vous voulez donc qu'ils deviennent grands et vertueux, apprenez aux femmes ce que c'est que grandeur d'amour et vertu." (27) From this it would seem that the education of girls should be much like that of boys. But, according to the *Emile*, "la femme est faite spécialement pour plaire à l'homme" and "pour être subjuguée". He still recognizes the natural ascendancy of woman, but her education is not accorded the importance that it is in the First Discourse. The physical education of woman receives great emphasis, for "de la bonne constitution des mères dépend d'abord celle des enfants". We have already seen that bodily development for men assumes a prominent rôle in the First Discourse, and this view was to stay with Rousseau.

Education, says Rousseau, is defective if it does not inculcate principles of virtue. (31) It should, furthermore, teach simplicity of language and avoidance of artificiality and speciousness. (31) Above all, education must prepare children for life—"Qu'ils apprennent ce qu'ils doivent faire étant hommes". (32) This utilitarianism appears also in other places in the First Discourse. Much of Rousseau's objection to literature is that "on ne demande plus...d'un livre s'il est utile, mais s'il est bien écrit." (34) The only position in which learning can be valuable is in conjunction with government, where it can be useful in guiding kings: "que les

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1 Rousseau, *Oeuvres*, IX, 202 (Emile, V).  
2 Ibid., 202-203.  
3 Ibid., 215.
savants du premier ordre trouvent dans leurs cours d'honorables asiles; qu'ils y obtiennent la seule récompense digne d'eux, celle de contribuer par leur crédit au bonheur des peuples à qui ils auront enseigné la sagesse". (40) Thus Cicero was a consul in Rome and Francis Bacon a chancellor in England.

That education is important in producing virtuous citizens is abundantly clear in Plutarch. Education, he says, is a more potent force in this respect than is nature (Les dicta notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 184), and those who think that disadvantages of birth cannot be overcome by careful upbringing are entirely wrong (Comment il faut nourrir les enfants, VIII, 4), for "il n'est rien qui tant serve à la vertu et à rendre l'homme bien heureux, comme fait cela (ibid., 14). Children must be taught to distinguish good from bad (Comment il faut lire les poètes, VIII, 57-59), just as Rousseau wants them to be able to "démêler l'erreur de la vérité" (31). The importance of education is illustrated through Aemilius Paulus, who devoted a great deal of attention to the training of his children (Paulus Aemilius, II, 315), an attention which Rousseau is to advocate in Émile. As usual, Sparta is the place where education was most productive of virtue. Their discipline was "dure et penible" and taught perfect obedience to law. (Agesilaus, V, 1-2) There was always some "aiguillon qui excitait les courages des escouants, et leur inspirait un ardent désir de faire quelque belle chose." (Lycurgus, I, 186)

The close rapport between virtue and physique has already been touched upon in the discussion of the military. Here we shall see more specifically what influence physical training
had on the education of Plutarch's ancients and what rôle it played. The prominence of games in antiquity is instructive. Such heroes as Theseus, Pyrrhus, and Lucullus were very active in instituting public exhibitions of strength. (Theseus, I, 40-41; Pyrrhus, III, 450; Lucullus, IV, 271) Alcibiades also spent much money to encourage the public games and took a great interest in them. (Alcibiades, II, 155) After defeating the Persians, all the Greeks decided to have "jeux de liberté" every five years as part of the celebration. (Aristides, III, 205) In Sparta the games were so successful that many outsiders came to watch them. (Agesilaus, V, 59) When Timoleon died, his countrymen could find no more worthy way of honoring his memory than games to encourage bodily development. (Timoleon, II, 452) Plutarch gives a list of those who were instrumental in inaugurating "des danses nues" in Sparta, a form of bodily development regarded as highly effective. (De la musique, XIV, 513) That girls appeared in these dances was not considered indecent: "il n'y avait pour cela vulnere aucune, ains estoit l'esbattement accompagné de toute honnesteté", for it stimulated the desire to develop good bodies. (Lycurgus, I, 167) Girls received much the same physical education as boys (Lycurgus, I, 166-67), since on their constitution depended that of their offspring (Les histoires notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 180). The latter idea is taken over exactly by Rousseau. (See above, p. 54)

The individual heroes of Plutarch were, of course, accomplished athletes. Pelopidas, for example, took the greatest pleasure in "luciter, aller à la chasse, et faire tous les
exercices de la personne" (Pelopidas, III, 3) and Aratus participated in games and often won prizes (Aratus, VII, 510-11). Demeas, as a boy, was proficient in wrestling, fencing, and other sports, and it was this quality which won him the interest of Philip of Macedon, who took him as a protégé. (Demeas, IV, 553)

All of Plutarch’s comments on education seem to be based on the practice in Sparta. When he says that bodily exercise in education is "de plus grande importance que tout ce que j’ay dict auparavant" (Comment il faust nourrir les enfants, VIII, 24), he is merely making a generalization on the system of Sparta. There no occupation except that of arms was permitted. (Comparaison, Lycurgus avec Numa, I, 267) The whole education "estait apprendre à bien oboir, endurer le travail, et à demourer vainqueurs en tout combat. A raison de quoy, à mesure qu’ils croisoient en age, on leur augmentoit aussy les exercices du corps". (Lycurgus, I, 175) Athletic bodies, the Spartans believed, were more compatible with virtue than undeveloped bodies. (Lycurgus, I, 178-79) Life in Sparta, accordingly, consisted mainly of "danses, festes, jeux, banquets, passe-temps de chasses, ou d’exercices de la personne, et assemblée pour deviser durant tout le temps qu’ils n’estoyent point occupez à la guerre". (Lycurgus, I, 135) This system was apparently efficacious and seems to have had a wide reputation, for when Phocion’s son, Phocius, lost a combat in Athens, his father sent him to Sparta "et le meit avecques les enfants qui y sont nourris en la discipline qu’on appele Laconique."

(Phocion, VI, 35)
Rousseau's attitude toward language seems also to be modeled closely after the Spartans'. Their speech has become so proverbial that the word to describe brevity in speech is "laconic", Laconia being the province in which Sparta was located. Plutarch tells us that brevity was commonly admired among the ancients (Du trop parler, VIII, 585), whose speech was like "rivieres courantes par un destroit fort serré, la où l'eau se presse si fort que l'on ne voit point à travers". (Pourquoy la Prophetise Pythie ne rend plus les Oracles en vers, XIV, 358) These brief sentences, he says, when closely examined, reveal so much meaning that "tu trouveras qu'à peine seauroit-on trouver des oraisons plus longues que celles-là." (Ibid., 358) Plutarch warns that there is danger in "trop parler" (Du trop parler, VIII, 585), tells us not to judge people by their words as much as by their actions (Comment il faut ouyr, VIII, 142), and wants children to be taught "à beaucoup ouyr, et à ne gueres parler" (Ibid., 130).

In their songs the Spartans tolerated only the greatest simplicity. (Les coutumes des anciens Lacedemoniens, X, 228) They taught their children to express much in few words. Plutarch tells us this in a passage amusing for its stylistic inconsistency with the idea expressed: "Ils enseignèrent aux enfants à parler, de sorte que leur langage eust une pointe meslée averse graces et plaisir, et qu'on peu de paroles il comprist beaucoup de substance...Car tout ainsy que la senence des hommes luxurieux, qui se meulent trop dissoluëment avecques les formes, ne peut gernor ni fructifier, aussy l'intemperance
de trop parler rend la parole vaine, folle et vide de sens... Quant à moi, il n'est bien avis que les Laconiens, en leur maniere de parler, n'usent pas de beaucoup de langage, mais qu'ils touchent très bien au point, et qu'ils se font très-bien entendre aux escoutants." (Lycurgus, I, 181-82)

Not only the Spartans, but a number of other characters in Plutarch's accounts, expressed themselves laconically. Socrates adopted simplicity in language as "la plus franco et la plus arme de la verité". (Du démon, ou esprit familier de Socrates, XIV, 378) Brutus developed "celle grave et sen
tentieuse brieveté de parler, qui est propre aux Lacedaemo-
niens" (Marcus Brutus, VII, 413-14) and Cato surprised the Greeks by his brévity (Marcus Cato, III, 261). The case of Pericles, who tried to be rhetorical and to be able to prove anything he wanted to, is exceptional and is spoken of unsym-
pathetically by Plutarch. (Pericles, II, 15)

A speaker's elegant words should not move us; we should consider "si ce qu'il dict est utile ou inutile, necessaire, ou bien superflu." (Comment il faut ouyr, VIII, 142) Utility, in fact, is the guiding principle of Plutarch's comments on education, just as it is of Rousseau's. Our speeches should not be for a "vaine gloire, ny pour ambition de nous montrer, mais en intention d'apprendre ou d'enseigner quelque bonne chose". (Comment l'on pourra apercevoir si l'on amende et prouf-
site en l'exercice de la vertu, IX, 105) Our natural desire to learn must not be abused by learning "chooses qui n'appor-
tent aucun fruit." (Pericles, II, 1)

Idleness is attacked because it is unproductive, while activity and work are lauded. Even so great a general as Lu-
cullus became "tout hésite et amorty" because of his idleness. Theseeus considered it shameful to live without being active, and he constantly looked for opportunities to render useful service to his compatriots. (Theseeus, I, 19) Themistocles and Agesilaus likewise deemed it beneath their dignity to remain idle and looked for deeds of sense and utility to perform. (Themistocles, I, 391) Cato spent much of his time tilling his lands, for "l'utilité et le prouffit." (Marcus Cato, III, 384) Solon tried to put his citizens to work (Solon, I, 315); Romulus and Remus refused to stop working or doing something useful for the community (Romulus, I, 71). Plutarch criticizes summarily the men of antiquity who devoted their prowess "à nulle chose honnestae ny prouffitable". (Theseeus, I, 9)

Philopoemen turned the attention of his young men away from "chooses non necessaires et superflues, es chooses utiles et honnestes". (Philopoemen, III, 312-319) The Spartan educational system laughed at bodies which were not able to serve some purpose. (Les dicta notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 130) In their "literary" studies they learned only what was necessary: "Quant aux lettres, ils en apprenoyent seulement autant qu'il leur en falloit pour le besoing". (Lycurgus, I, 175) Agesilaus, an outstanding Spartan, when asked what sort of things children were to be taught, answered: "ce qu'ils doibvent faire quand ils sont devenus grands." (Les dicta notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 144) Rousseau asks himself the same question and gives the same answer: "Que faut-il donc qu'ils apprennent? Voilà certes une belle question. Qu'ils apprennent
ce qu'ils doivent faire étant hommes, et non ce qu'ils doivent oublier." (32) While Rousseau here takes the idea from Plutarch, the direct source is probably Montaigne, who writes as follows: "On demandoit à Agesilaus ce qu'il seroit d'avis que les enfans apprissent: Ce qu'il doivent faire, estants hommes, respondit-il."

This is obviously taken from Plutarch, so that we might say it is a case of Plutarch influencing Rousseau through Montaigne. Not that Rousseau did not know the original statement. He had a limited time to compose the Discourse and Montaigne's ideas on education are more compactly expressed and would be more valuable and economical for the purpose.

Thus we see that Rousseau's emphasis on the education of girls, on physical training, on simplicity of language, and on utility, the most salient principles of education mentioned in the First Discourse, have strong support in Plutarch. This by no means implies that Plutarch was the sole source, but it indicates that Rousseau found in the Lives and in the Moralía, whether for the first time or simply as confirmation for ideas gathered elsewhere, several of the chief principles of his educational system.

4 Book I, Chapter 25, Du pedantisme.
Chapter IV. The Arts and Sciences

(a) Rousseau's attitude

Rousseau is not unqualifiedly opposed to learning, but only in cases where it has seemed to interfere with virtue: "Je n'est point la science que je maltraite, me suis-je dit, c'est la vertu que je défends devant les hommes vertueux." (5) As a proof of this, he suggests that savants be accorded honorable places in royal courts and finds no fault with the orator Cicero or the philosopher Francis Bacon. (39) He sees in the ability of man to elevate himself through his intellect "un grand et beau spectacle." (6)

But the actual function of the arts and sciences is often to make suppressed peoples content with their slavery or to encourage hypocrisy and artificiality. (8) Morals are endangered by the development of learning, and, throughout the ages, virtue has declined in proportion to the growth of the arts and sciences. Egypt was ruined when it became "la mère de la philosophie". (12) In Greece and Rome the same was true, all virtue and military greatness disappearing as the arts progressed. (12-13) Modern China, with its high premium on learning, has had the same experience. Italy of the Renaissance fell an easy prey to Charles VIII. These and other examples show how harmful erudition is to military glory. (29) On the other hand, nations which resisted the spell of the arts and sciences, remained virtuous and powerful. The early Persians, the Scythes, the Germans, the early Romans, (14) the Spartans.
(15-16), and the Goths (20) are cases in point.

Rousseau quotes Socrates to the effect that no one is able to know the true, the good, or the beautiful, and study is therefore futile. (16-17) The origin of the arts and sciences lies in vice: astronomy was born of superstition, geometry of avarice, physics of curiosity, and eloquence of ambition, hatred, and falsehood. (21) Science inevitably produces luxury, with its ruinous effect on morals. (22) It also encourages idleness, which is a serious vice: "En politique comme en morale, c'est un grand mal de ne point faire de bien; et tout citoyen inutile peut être regardé comme un homme pernicieux." (23) Men of learning circulate among the people, armed with fatal paradoxes, and destroy religion, virtue, and patriotism. (24) Artists, in their search for recognition, are forced to submit to the tastes of the rabble. The result is that artistic productions are trivial and useless instead of sublime and inspiring. (26-27, 33)

To state Rousseau's position in a word, the arts and sciences are incompatible with virtue; but there would be a place for them if they could maintain a high standard of utility and promote honesty, military courage, patriotism, and virtue in general. This, however, they have not done and must therefore be regarded as a corrupting influence on human morals.
(b) Unfavorable mention of the arts and sciences in Plutarch

In reading Plutarch Rousseau encountered numerous passages where the arts and sciences were spoken of disparagingly, either by Plutarch or by his characters. The passages showing cultural occupations as detrimental to military prowess were probably among the most striking to Rousseau. Epaminondas is mentioned by Plutarch as a man accomplished in letters and philosophy, "mais qui n'avait point encore fait preuve de grand capitaine." (Agesilaus, V, 56) Pyrrhus and Themistocles said that fighting is the only thing a prince should study and both had great contempt for music. (Pyrrhus, III, 419; Themistocles, IV, 182) The Romans reproached Mædelus for providing the city with works of art, which turned the people's attention away from war. (Marcellus, III, 123) The Spartan army, the only one in Greece not followed by amusers of various kinds, was eminently successful, "car leur camp estoit seul pur et net de toute dissolution, de toute gaudissarie, et de toute insolence". (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 263) Flute playing, indeed, was one of the devices used to make the soldiers of one of the Greek states less ferocious, to "amolir et addoucir". (Pelopidas, III, 38) Plutarch approves the criticism leveled by a Spartan against Athens, namely that the large expenditures on the theater interfered with the proper defense of the state. (Si les Atheniens ont esté plus excellents en armes qu'en lettres, XIII, 388) In Rome, as soon as "les lettres Grecques commencerent à avoir lieu et estre aymées à Rome, (Cato) en fait mal-content, craignant que les jeunes gents ne tournassent
entièrement là leur affection et leur estude, et ne quittas-
sent la gloire des armes et de bien faire, pour l'honneur de
savoir et de bien dire." Il had the Greek philosophers re-
moved from the city and predicted that "toutes et quantes
fois que les Romains s'addonneront aux lettres Grecques, ils
perdront et guasteront tout." (Marcus Cato, III, 278-280) It
is possibly Cato to whom Rousseau refers in saying that the
Romans recognized the arts to be destructive of military vir-
tue: "Les Romains ont avoué que la vertu militaire s'était
éteinte parmi eux à mesure qu'ils avaient commencé à se con-
naître en tableaux, en gravures, en vases d'orfèvrerie, et à
cultiver les beaux-arts". (29) And Rousseau mentions Cato:
"Caton continua dans Rome de se déchaîner contre ses Grecs
artificieux et subtils qui séduisaient la vertu et amollis-
saient le courage de ses concitoyens." (16) Plutarch's com-
ment on Cato's prophecy is interesting: "Le temps a montré
sa distraction et médiscance vaine et fausse." (Marcus Cato,
III, 286) It is Cato's speech here, rather than Plutarch's
editorial comment, which seems to have been favored by Rousseau.

Besides not being in line with military development, the
arts are often incompatible with truth. Thus, eloquent speak-
ers do not rely on the truth of their statements but on care-
ful choice of words and skillful intonations, by which they
"tavissent les escoutants hors d'eux-mêmes, et les tirent
là où ils veulent". (Pericles, II, 35; Comment il faust ouyr,
VIII, 138) It was a realization of this which led poetry to
be banned in connection with the oracles in Rome; for the peo-
ple, wishing to hear things "clairement et facilement, et non
pas avecques une en fleur ay un masque de paroles," regarded poetry "comme contraire et repugnante à la facile intelligence de la verité." (Pourquoy la Prophetisse Pythie ne rend plus les Oracles en vers, XIV, 353) Truth, indeed, is not easy to obtain, and in any study we may undertake there are so many obstacles, that "il est impossible d'en bien voir la verité". (Consol. à Aplonius) (X, 337) Rousseau gives a paragraph to the expression of the difficulty of finding truth (21), an opinion, however, at which he could easily have arrived independently or which he might have read in many places, especially Montaigne.

Several of Plutarch's personages regarded the arts as an unnecessary and undesirable substitute for real virtue. Agesilaus forbade statues to be built in his honor, saying that his virtuous acts would be his monument to posterity. (Les dicta notables des Lacedaemoniens, X, 150) An Egyptian king likewise said that he would be immortal if he performed great deeds; "sinon toutes les statues et images du monde ne se sauroyent perpetuer ma memoire." (Les dicta notables des anciens roys, etc., X, 88) Cato, in attacking the arts, declared that the people "se glorifiroyent non de leurs vertus, mais des ouvrages de fondeurs, peintres et statuaires." (Marcus Cato, III, 268-69) The great law givers, of Sparta and Rome, did not permit their laws to be handed down in writing. Numa Pompilius had the transcriptions of his laws buried with him (Numa, I, 261-262), and Lycurgus did not even let his laws be written down. (Lycurgus, I, 208)

Rousseau's contempt for medicine—"Que pensaient les Romains de la medicine, quand ils la bannirent de leur républi-
que?"—has some possible source in Plutarch. At least Agesilaus and Pausanius definitely disliked doctors. (Agesilaus, V, 43; Les dicts notables des Lacodaemoriens, X, 202) And Cato hated not only philosophers, but "avoit aussi pour suspects ceux qui faisoient profession de medecine à Rome...il commandât très-expressement à son fils de les fuir tous es-gualement." (Marcus Cato, III, 280) To this must be added the Montaigne influence, for his hatred and contempt for doctors, appearing throughout the Essais, are more pronounced and more consistent than Plutarch's.

Rousseau's contempt for the flute—"Les dépouilles de Carthage sont la proie d'un joueur de flûte!"—may also be due in some measure to Plutarch, who speaks frequently of the worthlessness of flute players. (E.g. Pericles, II, 3; Alcibiades, II, 142; Qu'on ne seauroit vivre joyeusement selon la doctrine d'Epicurus, XI, 82) M. Delaruelle¹ has suggested the following as a possible source: Plutarch says that, after the capture of Carthage by the Romans, "de tout le pillage (Scipio) ne voulut pas endurer qu'auscun esclave ny affranchy en prist ny en achëptast chose du monde, combien qu'au demcourant chas-cun en pillast et emportoit ce qu'il vouloit." Shortly after this, Scipio speaks contemptuously of a flute player: "Scipio s'en print à rire, disant, c'est une grande sottise à nous, quand j'y pense, que nous avons icy demouré si long-temps à attendre un fleusteur". (Les dicts notables des anciens roys, etc., X, 98-99) Delaruelle suggests that Rousseau may have confused the two passages in his memory and had the impression that flute players pillaged Carthage. This is a likely hypo-

¹ "Les Sources principales...", RML, XIX, 1912, 245-71.
thesis in view of Delarmelle's failure to find any other source for the passage, in spite of an extensive search.

Rousseau speaks of "les maux causés par notre vaine curiosité" (11) and says that physics, like the other sciences, born of vice, is due more particularly to "une vaine curiosité". (21) Plutarch calls curiosity "un vice ordinairement conjoint avecque envie et malignité", a vice which tends to "rechercher choses maulvaises". (De la curiosité, VIII, 345-57)

Rousseau associates the arts and sciences with idleness: "Nées dans l'oisiveté, elles la nourriscent à leur tour". (22) According to Plutarch, Pericles sent several thousand people out of Athens because of their idleness: "ce qu'il faisait pour descharger la ville d'une multitude oysifve, qui pour son oysifvete estoit curieux et desireuse de choses nouvelles". (Pericles, II, 24) Chrysippus, we are told, wrote that "la vie des scholastiques, c'est-à-dire des gents d'estude oiseux, ne diffère en rien de celle des voluptueux." (Les contredicts des philosophes stoïcques, XIII, 593) Thus Rousseau's association of learning with idleness finds a parallel in Plutarch.
Rousseau is opposed to the arts and sciences as they have been practised. He grants, however, the possibility of their serving society and elevating mankind. "C'est un grand et beau spectacle de voir l'homme sortir en quelque manière du néant par ses propres efforts; dissiper, par les lumières de sa raison, les ténèbres dans lesquelles la nature l'avait enveloppé; s'élever au-dessus de lui-même; s'élaner par l'esprit jusque dans les régions célestes". (5) "Qu'il serait doux de vivre parmi nous...si la véritable philosophie étoit inseparable du titre de philosophe!" (8) "Que les rois ne dédaignent donc pas d'admettre dans leurs conseils les gens les plus capables de les bien conseiller...que les savants du premier ordre trouvent dans leurs cours d'honorable adîtes; qu'ils y obtiennent la seule récompense digne d'eux, celle de contribuer par leur crédit au bonheur des peuples". (39) In denouncing the arts, Rousseau criticises them for not representing "les défenseurs de la patrie" or "ces hommes plus grands encore qui l'ont enrichie par leurs vertus" (33), implying that, if the arts had virtue as their inspiration and subject matter, he would not object. Ideally, for Rousseau, "la veritable philosophie" would teach obedience to conscience and virtue and would inspire noble deeds: "tâchons de mettre entre eux (great writers) et nous cette distinction glorieuse qu'on remarquait jadis entre deux grands peuples; que l'un savoit bien dire, et l'autre bien faire." (40) The last phrase is similar to Plutarch's statement on Cato, which Rousseau
seems to have imitated and to which he perhaps refers (see above, p. 65): Cato feared "que les jeunes gens...ne quittassent la gloire des armes et de bien faire, pour l'honneur de savoir et de bien dire." (Marcus Cato, III, 278)

These slight concessions of Rousseau to the power of the intellect and to the possibility that the arts and sciences might do good, while they may have some basis in Plutarch, differ significantly from the latter in degree. We have seen that Rousseau probably borrowed from Plutarch many details to support his thesis. However, the thesis itself he did not get from Plutarch. To be sure the Lives and the Moralia have a few remarks against the arts and sciences, but the vast majority of Plutarch's comments are favorable, though he is not blind to the dangers involved. He, like Rousseau, admires the reasoning powers of human beings: "si l'homme n'avait l'entendement et le discours de la raison, il ne differoit en rien des bestes brutes en sa vie". (De la fortune, IX, 52)

He wants philosophy to inspire "une vraye devotion, accompa-gnée d'assurée esperance de bien" (Pericles, II, 10) and to "rendre les cœurs des hommes qu'elle touche, actifs et vifs". (Qu'il faust qu'un philosophe converse, IX, 200) The moral of an artistic work is much more important than its beauty, says Plutarch: to read Plato or Xenophon for the beauty of their style rather than for the ideas is like choosing medic-inal drugs for their attractive color or their sweet smell. (Comment l'on pourra apercevoir si l'on amende et prouffite en l'exercice de la vertu, IX, 102) Artists must have virtue as their subject: "il faust que les chantres, musiciens, et
poètes prennent les arguments de leurs compositions des hommes sages et vertueux". (Comment il faut lire les poètes, VIII, 64)

Though God has kept truth for himself, man's attempt to learn truth is the highest type of study. (D'Iais et d'Osiris, XI, 231-232) Knowledge is "la seule qualité divine et immortelle en nous." (Comment il faut nourrir les enfants, VII, 15) Philosophy teaches "un ardent amour de la vertu, sans lequel l'homme est bien lasche et miserable." (Comment il faut ouyr, VIII, 153) Plutarch cites with approval a play in which one character tells another to study philosophy if he would have courage. (Du banissement, IX, 155) Children of good homes should learn all the arts and sciences, but philosophy should come first and be "le fort principal de toute austre estude, et de tout austre sçavoir." (Comment il faut nourrir les enfants, VIII, 20-21) As for the contradiction which Rousseau finds between virtue and the arts, Plutarch says, "j'ay moy-mesme plusieurs fois ouy dire et conter à Rome, que les Romains ayant eu un oracle, par lequel il leur estoit commande de dresser en leur ville des images au plus sage et au plus vaillant homme qui eust onques esté 'entre les Grecs" (Muma, I, 231), so that the arts here are in complete accord with virtue.

There are many cases in Plutarch where great men, men full of virtue, patriotism, and military prowess, had good opinions of the arts and sciences and where learning went hand in hand with these qualities. Plutarch speaks of Thebes as the place "ou la force et hardiesse militaire est une et conjointe avecques la grace d'attraire et de persuader, toutes choses
sent reduite par cette accordée union à un très-beau, très-bon et très-parfait gouvernement." (Pelopidas, III, 39) The terms in which Athens' contribution to the arts is spoken of has by no means the scorn which Rousseau shows. Athens was "mere et nourrice bénigne de plusieurs autres arts, les uns qu'elle a la première inventer et mois en lumière, et aux autres a donné accroissement, honneur et autorité; meme ment la peinture à laquelle elle a donnée grand advancement et grand ornement." (Si les Atheniens ont esté plus excellents en armes qu'en lettres, XIII, 377) Pericles did much to embellish the city with works of art. It is in his time that the Pantheon and the Odeon, among many grand edifices, were erected, and that music and drama were at a very high point. (Pericles, II, 24-30) Even a great hero like Themistocles was instrumental in encouraging drama and painting. (Themistocles, I, 308) And it must not be thought that this interfered with attention to bodily development. Cimon, who was responsible for many magnificent structures in Athens, provided at the same time for "lieux de liberal exercice et d'honneste esbattement, lesquels peu de temps après feurent en très-grande recommandation". (Cimon, IV, 195)

It is in Sparta, according to Plutarch, that the works of Homer were first organized and brought to light: "y avoit quelques particuliers, ça et là qui en avoyent des pieces desossus, sans ordre ne suite quelconque, mais celui qui plus la (la poésie d'Homère) feit venir en lumiere de mains des hommes, feut Lycurgus." (Lycurgus, I, 145) In spite of what we are told of the minimum literary education in Sparta,
poetry seems to have been highly esteemed there by some important persons. Leonidas considered the verse of Tyrtaeus "bon pour aiguiser les coeurs des jeunes gens" (Agis et Cleomenes, VI, 248), and Lysander conducted poetry contests (Lysander, IV, 38). Lysander seems to have been an all-around enthusiast of the arts. On the occasion of the conquest of Athens, he sent for flute and hautbois players, "et au son de leurs instruments faite desmolir les murailles et fortifications de la ville d'Athennes jusques au rez de terre". (Lysander, IV, 31) And the great Aleibiades was eminently eloquent, we are told. (Aleibiades, II, 154) The arts are here definitely to be associated with military power.

Alexander too had a great respect for learning which lasted throughout his life: "ne luy sortit point de l'ame le desir et l'amour de la philosophie". (Alexandre, V, 261) He thought very highly of Homer, who he said was "admirable en toutes choses" and that among other things he was a "tres-sagavant architecte". (Alexandre, V, 300) Alexander's opinion of the plastic arts may be judged from the fact that, after a victorious battle in which he lost thirty-four men, he ordered that, "pour honnorer leur memoire, qu'on dressast des images de bronze, facies de la main de Lysippus". (Alexandre, V, 273) As for medicine, Alexander had full confidence in his doctor, Philippus Acarnanien. (Alexandre, V, 282) Plutarch himself says that medicine is one of the chief factors in preserving good health, though not all his heroes agree. (Comment il faust nourrir les enfants, VIII, 21) He calls it a "science liberale", better than the others in that it re-
wards those who believe in it with long life. (Les règles et preceptes de sante, XI, 135)

In some of the lesser states of antiquity there was also a sympathetic attitude toward learning. Eumenes of Thrace was "nourri et instruit hommément, tant aux lettres qu'aux exercices de la personne". (Eumenes, IV, 553) In Syracuse, Dionysius "prendit plaisir à voir des gens de lettres et des philosophes autour de lui". He claimed to have profited greatly from his acquaintance with Plato. (Timoleon, II, 408-409) Syracuse was the home also of Archimedes, whose knowledge of geometry is praised at length by Plutarch as an effective military weapon against Rome. (Marcellus, III, 104-118)

In Rome there were many heroes who possessed or encouraged learning. Lucullus studied the sciences, letters, and philosophy all his life. (Lucullus, IV, 214) Marcellus, with all his military ability, had a great admiration for letters. (Marcellus, III, 78-79) Crassus too was interested in letters, but more particularly in eloquence, and he became one of the foremost orators of Rome. (Marcus Crassus, IV, 409) Cato of Utica had an immense thirst for knowledge. (Cato d'Utique, VI, 63) He studied eloquence assiduously and also philosophy, "embrassant", at the same time, "l'exercice de toute vertu". When night came he took great pleasure "à conferer et discuter avecques les gens de lettres et les philosophes à table". (Cato d'Utique, VI, 76) Even the elder Cato, when he was old, started "à apprendre les lettres Grecques, et à lire dedans les livres Grecs". (Marcus Cato, III, 227) Julius Caesar took the trouble of going to Rhodes "pour y studier quelque
temps scoubz Apollonius". (Julius Caesar, V, 403) The study of letters and philosophy did much in helping Brutus "à faire et executer de grandes choses". (Marcus Brutus, VII, 411)

Finally, Cicero, to whom Rousseau specifically refers as a model of virtue combined with learning, studied every branch of knowledge. (Cicero, VI, 442) He spent his time "avecques ses familiers Grecs et Romains qui aimoyent les lettres". (Cicero, VI, 453)

Rousseau, to account for the virtue of individuals who were devoted to learning as these men were, says: "Quelques sages, il est vrai, ont résisté au torrent général, et se sont garantis du vice dans le séjour des Muses." In Plutarch this seems almost to be the rule, not the exception, and the arts and sciences are considered good for populace as well as for heroes. Thus Plutarch, who provided historical examples and some principles which helped Rousseau establish his thesis, can in no way be considered an influence on the hostile point of view which Rousseau assumes in regard to the arts and sciences, the striking and "paradoxical" attitude which formed the basis for his reputation.
The influence which we were led to expect by Rousseau's interest in Plutarch has been borne out in the First Discourse. In questions concerning the state, both writers show a very ardent patriotism, both attach great importance to military affairs, and both consider inequality and luxury harmful to the common welfare. The similarity as to patriotism is general. Plutarch contains many broad statements and specific examples of heroism on behalf of the fatherland. The constant reading of the Vies and the Œuvres morales may have had some effect on Rousseau; but there are no definite passages in the First Discourse which point unmistakably to Plutarch as a source for this patriotic sentiment.

In his discussion of military questions, Rousseau shows more directly his acquaintance with Plutarch. Using military power as a measure of a state's virtue is common to both writers. Further, and more specifically, Cineas' statement that the Roman Senate looked like an assemblage of kings is very likely taken from the essay on Pyrrhus. Only a few pages from the story of Cineas, Plutarch speaks of the military prowess and patriotism of Fabri•••ius. Probably both allusions came to Rousseau from Plutarch. These two specific references, plus a number of miscellaneous points which may have contributed to other ideas, make it appear that the story of Pyrrhus was quite familiar to Rousseau. A further similarity on military questions concerns the stress on strong physique, in which respect there is some resemblance in the
phrasing of Plutarch and Rousseau. Military campaigns mentioned in the First Discourse are Cannae, Lake Trasimenu, Hannibal's crossing the Alps, Caesar's wars in Gaul, and Caesar's conquest of Italy. While Rousseau undoubtedly read of these historical events in many places, it is interesting that the first two are both discussed by Plutarch in the Life of Fabius Maximus, which essay seems also to have helped provide the emphasis on generalship. Both the conquest of Gaul and the conquest of Italy are treated in the Life of Julius Caesar and the whole emphasis on military factors in government is scattered generously throughout the *Vies* and the *Oeuvres morales*.

Plutarch, as we have seen, is just as violent in his attack on luxury and inequality as is Rousseau. This is especially true in the essays dealing with the Spartans Lycurgus, Lysander, Agis, and Cleomenes. The one on Lycurgus must have had an unusually strong appeal, for here not only the political and economic ideals of Sparta, but its ethical and educational systems as well, are most clearly brought forth. That Rousseau's high regard for Sparta has its origins in Plutarch is very possible, due to the early age at which he read the *Vies* and the enthusiasm which they evoked, though the rôle of Montaigne must not be underestimated. The same hostility to luxury and the advocacy of equality occur also in some of the Athenian *Lives*. Theseus, Solon, Aristides, and even Pericles have important statements or illustrations regarding the desirability of simplicity and equality. The accounts of
Numa Pompilius, of Publicola, and even of such later Romans as Marius, Semillus, Aemilius Paulus and Scipio are full of the same feeling. No claim can be made, however, that Plutarch alone furnished Rousseau with his attitude toward luxury, for the environment of Geneva must have been at least as potent a force and Plutarch was probably acceptable largely because of a favorable predisposition produced by Geneva. Yet the importance of Plutarch as a strong contributing influence, whether or not he was the first or only one, cannot be overestimated.

In both our writers the condemnation of luxury has two phases. Luxury is harmful to the welfare of the state as a whole, but it is also destructive of individual virtue. This attack, on ethical grounds, runs through all the works of Plutarch and it is the total effect rather than single passages which Rousseau reflects. Much the same is true of the opposition to ambition, though the author of the First Discourse is much more articulate here than Plutarch, who lacks consistency. Yet most of the occasions where ambition and vanity are mentioned in the Vie and Oeuvres morales show them in an unfavorable light. Clearest of all in the field of ethics is the preoccupation of both writers with virtue. Everything is judged from the standpoint of its compatibility with virtue. But here, more than anywhere else, we must be on our guard and not attribute too much to Plutarch, for Rousseau's environmental influences in the same direction would probably have sufficed.
In education there is a mixture of Plutarch, Montaigne, and Plutarch through Montaigne. The practical nature of the educational ideal, the character-building emphasis, the prominent role of bodily development, the demand for laconic speech, and the attack on idleness all appear in Plutarch, above all in the essay on Lycurgus, since these were elements of the Spartan system. However, in many cases Montaigne's statements are closer than Plutarch's and, since Montaigne's ideas on education are the more concisely expressed, and since Montaigne is the one cited in the First Discourse, he may well have been the one to whom Rousseau turned, especially in 1749. But Rousseau doubtless held these views already and the influence of Plutarch in producing them at an early date, or in paving the way for them, must certainly have been great.

On the central question discussed in the First Discourse Plutarch is not consistent, but the tendency is definitely to regard the arts and sciences as compatible with virtue. There can be little doubt that Montaigne, and not Plutarch, was the deciding factor here.

Much of Rousseau's historical information and attitudes is probably due to Plutarch. The veneration for Sparta and the distinction between early and late Athens and Rome seem close to the picture of these nations painted in the Vies. There are several instances of fairly certain reminiscences of Plutarch: the footnote, "le satyre..." (See above, pp. 48-49), the attack on contemporary armies, (above, p. 16),
the reference to Cato's opposition to letters (above, p. 65), and the allusions to Cineas and Fabricius (above, pp. 28-29).

For the rest, Plutarch furnished Rousseau with general ideas or emphases, such as virtue and patriotism. His role in providing either these ideas or their confirmation is a significant one. Rousseau's love for Plutarch indicates that the Greek historian and moralist made a strong impression upon him, and the similarity in attitudes toward government, ethics, and education marks Plutarch as one of the principal sources of the Discours sur les Arts et les Sciences.
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Note.

The following bit of information did not come to light in time to be included in the body of this paper:

In 1921 the marquis de Girardin proposed that the city of Geneva buy a collection of Rousseau souvenirs, including a six-volume set of Plutarch. Negotiations for the purchase were not successful, however, and when the collection was bought by the Institut de France, in 1924, the set of Plutarch, which had notes in Rousseau's own handwriting, was not included. It is unknown what has happened to the six volumes.