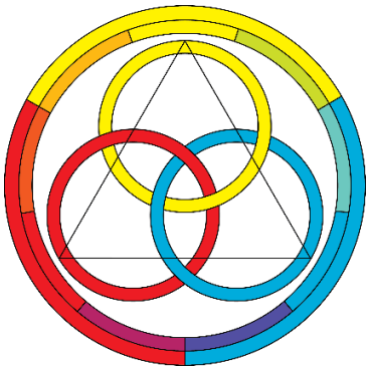
One Method to Excel Them All:

On the Holy Trinity as a Scientific Principle and Criterion

in François Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" (1839-1870)



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Abstract

This dissertation examines the extant writings and lecture transcripts of François Alexandre Nicolas Chéri Delsarte (1811-1871) in an attempt to rediscover and reconstruct his system of applied aesthetics. Delsarte developed his "Course in Applied Aesthetics" in the 1830s in Paris, and taught it for over thirty years, but he died without publishing his research. Previous scholarship on Delsarte has mainly focused on the practical application of his teachings, but without a complete understanding of the underlying theory being applied. In contrast, my research focuses on elucidating the theoretical foundation of Delsarte's aesthetic system from a scientific, philosophical, and musicological perspective. By doing so, I show that the scope of Delsarte's research was far greater and more ambitious than the so-called "System of Expression" for which he is remembered today, but that what he hoped to discover was a universal method of training in the arts and sciences – a perfect, unified system of knowledge – now known as consilience. Ultimately, the aim of this project is to re-establish Delsarte's aesthetic system on sound epistemological and methodological foundations, to show that the system is based on both medieval Aristotelian-Scholasticism and nineteenth-century French Spiritualist Realism, that the "Delsarte system" is actually a musical system *par excellence*, and that the system played a much more significant role in the history of French Romantic musical aesthetics and the evolution of nineteenth-century opera more generally than has hitherto been assumed.

In chapter one, I reconstruct Delsarte's epistemological and methodological systems, which are based on the principles of Aristotelian-Scholasticism in accordance with the tenets of Roman Catholic doctrine, in order to show that not only is the system anti-Cartesian and anti-materialist, but that Delsarte's aesthetic theory cannot be understood within the modern or post-modern ideological confines. In order to reconstruct the system, I follow Delsarte's own instructions on how to unlock his theorem by clarifying the terms and relations of the

three divine persons of the Holy Trinity according to the theology of the circumincession and processional relations from Roman Catholic doctrine. What my analysis reveals is that Delsarte's system is an aesthetic translation of medieval Aristotelian-Scholasticism, which begins in sense perception with the sounding of the overtones series, whence it ascends beyond the three hierarchies and nine choirs of angels (intelligences) to the Holy Trinity, which thereby serves as the scientific first principle and criterion of the system.

In chapter two, I trace the philosophical transition in early nineteenth-century France from Cartesian dualism to spiritualist-realist Trinitarianism in the anthropological writings of Pierre Maine de Biran (1766-1824), whose ideas were kept alive in Paris in the 1830s and 40s by his successor, Théodore Simon Jouffroy (1796-1842). By doing so, I show that Delsarte's system was not merely a nostalgic return to medieval Scholasticism, but that, by incorporating both Biran's and Jouffroy's ideas, his theory was based on the most advanced philosophical and scientific thinking of his day. I show that the shift away from Cartesian dualism and scientific materialism in early nineteenth-century France towards a Biranian theory of vitalism – one that remained subordinate to the mechanical laws of nature – not only coincided with Delsarte's own religious conversion in the 1830s from rationalist atheism to Roman Catholicism, but that the shift towards Biranian anthropology allowed Delsarte to develop an aesthetic theory whereby the Holy Trinity could validly serve as a first principle and criterion of his system and thereby unify medieval and modern scientific methodologies.

In chapter three, I partially reconstruct Delsarte's musical system from manuscript sources and historical documents, a system which is shown to be based on the principles of ancient music, and thereby includes a diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic genus – the latter of which is shown to be derived from the generation of the overtone series. By analysing ancient treatises on aesthetics and music against Delsarte's extant writings, I show that what constituted the study of music as a science of perception in antiquity is what constitutes the

science of aesthetics for Delsarte in the nineteenth century. By applying Delsarte's criterion to descriptions in his extant writings, I show that not only does the Ninth Chord criterion form a system of interlocking triads, now primarily identified with the music of Wagner and Liszt, but it also forms a system of tonal pairings evocative of Robert Bailey's theory of tonal pairings which he based on an analysis of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. Also, by reconstructing Delsarte's chromatic genus according to his criterion of the Ninth Chord, which is based on the overtone series, I show how his musical system brings together the major and minor modes into a balanced "atonal" system, suggesting that Delsarte would have viewed the modes not as culturally constructed by the human mind, but as a natural occurring phenomenon in nature.

In chapter four, I present evidence which shows that Delsarte's teachings influenced Wagner's aesthetic theory, and that Wagner's early writings appear to be based on Delsarte's aesthetic system, putting forth the argument that Wagner most likely attended Delsarte's course during his first sojourn in Paris between 1839 and 1842. I demonstrate that Wagner had to know who Delsarte was as both a teacher of aesthetics and a celebrated interpreter of Gluck's repertoire. In terms of evidence, I show that a drawing from Wagner's manuscript for *Opera and Drama* is a partial sketch of Delsarte's Chart of Man from his aesthetic system, and that Delsarte's tripartite system functions as the underlying theoretical structure of Wagner's major aesthetic treatise.

Finally, in the conclusion, I consider Delsarte's aesthetic system to be scientific not only in the medieval Aristotelian-Scholastic sense of the term, and that the Holy Trinity can validly serve as a first principle and criterion of a scientific system, but that Delsarte's system is also scientific according to the methods of nineteenth-century science – that, had he completed his research, Delsarte may very well have succeeded in establishing aesthetics as a positive science.

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Abbreviations, Charts, and Translations

"Cours 1867"	François Delsarte, "Cours de Monsieur Delsarte (1867)," Delsarte Papers, Mss 1301, box 12b, folder 54, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, La.
CCT	*The Catechism of the Council of Trent*
DP	Delsarte Papers. Mss 1301, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, La.
LSTA	*Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas*
RGMP	*Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*
ST	*Summa Theologiae*

A Note on the Charts: In Delsarte's system, various geometric shapes are meant to have a specific symbolic meaning. For example, figures of interconnected triangles represent *hypostasis*, whilst figures of three interlocking circles represent *abstraction*. However, I have not always adhered to Delsarte's meanings in this regard, as certain shapes are more conducive to demonstrating certain relationships than others.

A Note on the Translation of Philosophical Terms: Throughout this dissertation, I have translated all philosophical terms from the original Greek, Latin, French, and German languages into English, and use the English terms whenever possible. This was necessary to adhere to the tenets of metaphysical realism (moderate realism), the philosophical position which maintains that universals (mental concepts) and particulars (natural phenomena) share the same epistemological domain and that, therefore, they cannot be linguistically separated or intellectually detached from each other. To preserve these terms in their original language only would do just that, thereby corrupting the radical unity of Delsarte's aesthetic theory.

It is sometimes argued that certain philosophical terms (jargon) carry nuances of meaning specific to a given language or discipline and that, if translated, these nuances are rendered simplistic or are altogether lost. However, the idea that knowledge can be separated by language, or specialization, is a feature of Enlightenment thinking, to which Delsarte's theory stands in direct opposition. In 1776, Condillac famously declared in *Commerce and Government* that: "Each science requires a special language, because each science has ideas which are unique to it" (93). However, Delsarte rejects this claim, arguing that: "The sciences and the arts are one – however they may be differentiated through specialities… They are so full of idioms, they have neither the same alphabet, nor the same syntax… I must seek the method which excels them all" (Letter to MacKaye, 30 January 1871). In Delsarte's system then, all knowledge is unified, meaning that it cannot be divided by a specialized language or a specialized discipline. Thus, in order to maintain the unity of Delsarte's system, I have rendered all philosophical terms into English (whilst providing the reader with the original terms), not because the English language necessarily corresponds to any given phenomenon more than any other language, but in order to discard any "extra-conceptual" nuances of meaning carried by non-English philosophical terms in relation to their English counterparts.

All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

Introduction

This dissertation analyses the extant writings and lecture transcripts of François Alexandre Nicolas Chéri Delsarte (1811-1871) from a scientific, philosophical, and musicological perspective. Delsarte began his career in 1830 as a singer at the Opéra-Comique in Paris. However, owing to vocal strain and fatigue, which he blamed on the harmful pedagogical practices employed at the Conservatoire during his training between 1826 and 1829, Delsarte retired from the stage two years later in order to devote himself to teaching and to the development of a method of vocal training based on sound scientific principles. Over the course of the following decade, Delsarte rehabilitated his voice through his own observations and experiments, correcting much of the damage done by his teachers. By 1842, Delsarte was one of the most prominent teachers of singing and declamation in Paris, as well as one of the most fashionable singers to hear in the city's salons and concert halls, where he was celebrated for his interpretation of the repertories of Gluck, Lully, and Rameau. By the time of his death in 1871, Delsarte was known as a composer, award-winning inventor, choir director, concert promoter, music publisher,[1] and – perhaps most famously – as the creator of the "*Cours d'esthétique appliquée*," a public lecture series which he taught in Paris for more than thirty years from 1839 to 1870, and which is the focus of this research project.

The title of my dissertation ("One Method to Excel Them All") is inspired by a passage from one of the last letters Delsarte wrote to his American protégé, actor and playwright Steele MacKaye (1842-1894),[2] whilst he was holed up in his hometown of Solesmes on the 30 January 1871 during the Franco-Prussian War. Amidst the chaos, and

[1] See François Delsarte and Rosine Delsarte, eds., *Archives du chant*: *Répertoire des chefs d'œuvre lyriques des XIVe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles accompagnés de chants du Moyen âge et précédés d'une riche collection de hymnes, proses et antiennes de l'Église disposées conformément au type harmonique consacré par les plus anciennes traditions*, 7 vols. (Paris: François Delsarte, 1855-64).
[2] For a biography of MacKaye, see Percy MacKaye, *Epoch*: *The Life of Steele MacKaye*, 2 vols. (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927).

with his health failing, Delsarte seems to have been singularly preoccupied with what had been his life's work, that is the discovery of a universal method whereby the arts and sciences could once again be reunited:

> Specialities – where the sciences, as taught, cramp and confine us – kill common sense, just as specialties where factories cramp and confine the workmen kill their intelligence. In such cases, the sciences are all segmented and as strangers to one another. Academies are composed of specialists: hence their profound sterility. There is no place assignable, in an academy, to a *savant* or to an artist. As an Academician once said to me: 'Amongst us, everyone is pigeon-holed. We have round holes, square holes, oblong holes, etc. – and each of us fits in his hole.' *But there is no hole for a man like you! . . .*
>
> The sciences and the arts are one – however they may be differentiated through specialities. . . The greatest obstacle to beginning study of the sciences and the arts comes from the fact that, in our moral teaching, the study of one science does not lead to another. They are so full of idioms, they have neither the same alphabet, nor the same syntax… *I must seek the method which excels them all,* and that method I have never sought from men, but from the Holy Spirit.[3]

Six months later, on 20 July 1871, Delsarte died in Paris. The manuscript on which he had been working, "My Revelatory Episodes, or the History of an Idea Pursued for Forty Years," remained unfinished.[4] Within less than a year, the majority of Delsarte's papers were shipped to America, having been purchased by MacKaye.[5] Once there, Delsarte's teachings on elocution and gesture – as disseminated by MacKaye and his own pupil, Genevieve Stebbins (1857-1934)[6] – became so popular that they sparked a cultural phenomenon now known as

[3] Delsarte, "Letter to MacKaye, 30 January 1871," in Percy MacKaye, *Epoch*, 1:145, final emphasis mine.
[4] The title is taken from the last letter Delsarte wrote to the King of Hanover, George V, published in Joseph Delaumosne et al., *Delsarte System of Oratory,* 4th (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1893), 384.
[5] Upon MacKaye's death, the papers became the property of Dr Samuel Silas Curry, founder of the Curry School of Expression in Boston (Curry College) and were later obtained by The Expression Company of Boston. In 1936, Louisiana State University acquired the papers through the interest of Dr Giles W. Gray, after he discovered their whereabouts in Boston. See "L.S.U. Students Will Translate Delsarte Papers: Valuable Collection of Manuscripts to Be Studied," *The Times-Picayune*, June 14, 1936.
[6] Stebbins is a major figure in American Delsarte studies. She wrote a treatise on the system, published by Edgar S. Werner, which went through six printings between 1886-1902. The title of the first edition, "Delsarte System of *Dramatic* Expression" was shortened to "Delsarte System of Expression" in subsequent printings. For the sixth and final edition, Stebbins included many additional writings on the system and its reception in America, as well as thirty-two illustrations from Greek art, thus erroneously promoting Delsarte's aesthetic system as neo-classical. For the sixth edition, see Genevieve Stebbins, *Delsarte System of Expression*, 6th (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1902). For a brief biography of Stebbins, see Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, *The Cultivation of Body and Mind in Nineteenth-Century American Delsartism* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 45-56.

Delsartemania.[7] However, despite the widespread appeal of his teachings in America, Delsarte's legacy in France, and in Europe, was forgotten soon after his death.[8]

Delsarte's last letter to MacKaye reveals the scope of his life's work as something far greater and more ambitious than the so-called "System of Expression" for which he is remembered today.[9] What Delsarte hoped to discover was nothing less than a universal method of training in the arts and sciences – a perfect, unified system of knowledge – now known as consilience.[10] Although, at the time of his death, Delsarte's research remained unfinished, in a speech he delivered at the *Association polytechnique* just four years earlier in 1867, he insisted that not only had he discovered such a method, but that he had also secured a scientific foundation for the study of aesthetics:

> The pursuit of the art I practice naturally led me into the realm of science, and, thanks to the deductions of a rigorous logic, I concluded that all scientific methods are identical to one another, and now I hold their highest generalization.
>
> Rightly or wrongly, I regard myself as on the eve of enriching my country with a series of discoveries, of which philosophical antiquity despaired, and for good reason! ... I am, at least, certain of having determined the fixed foundations of art, thereby achieving what serious minds had considered impossible.
>
> So, gentlemen, by virtue of the very immutability of the foundations of art, Aesthetics, lost today in the chaos of the oratorical fantasies of so many people who have nothing to say, Aesthetics, henceforth freed from all conjecture, will be truly constituted under the severe forms of a positive science.[11]

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[7] According to Franck Waille, the term was first used by modern dancer, Ted Shawn. See Franck Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité chez François Delsarte, 1811-1871: Des interactions dynamiques" (PhD diss., Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, 2009), 26.

[8] An excerpt from an anonymous 1925 article reads: "Is it not surprising to think that this great Frenchman, this man of genius, this creator who according to his contemporaries was one of the most remarkable individuals of his time, is nowadays almost unknown in France, while in America a chair bears his name which has become synonymous with aesthetics." "François Del Sarte," *L'Action française*, 13 April 1925.

[9] This is the name by which Delsarte's teachings are best known in America, taken from the title of a popular book by Stebbins. See note 6.

[10] Delsarte never used the term *consilience* to describe his work. The term was coined by William Whewell (1794-1866) and refers to a "jumping together" of knowledge. See Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience*: *The Unity of Knowledge* (New York: Abacus; Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 7.

[11] "La poursuite de l'art que j'exerce m'a tout naturellement conduit dans le domaine de la science, et, grâce aux séductions d'une logique rigoureuse, j'ai dû conclure à l'identité des méthodes scientifiques entre elles, et je tiens à présent leur plus haute généralisation. À tort ou à raison, je me regarde comme à la veille d'enrichir mon pays d'une série de découvertes, dont l'antiquité philosophique désespérait, et pour cause !... Je suis au moins

The scientific principle which Delsarte claims to have discovered, and which acted as the criterion of his scientific investigations, was called the "Ninth Chord,"[12] which he derived from the doctrines of the circumincession and processional relations of the Holy Trinity of Roman Catholicism. Delsarte believed that his discovery of the criterion of the Ninth Chord would transform the study of aesthetics from a vague philosophical discipline, as it had been in the eighteenth century, to a clearly defined positive science in the nineteenth. However, that the doctrine of the Trinity might validly serve as a first principle and criterion of a scientific system seems never to have been taken seriously by even his most devoted followers. As a result, the scientific principle on which Delsarte's system was based was believed by many practitioners in America to have been lost upon his death, whilst, in fact, the principle, being misunderstood, had simply remained hidden in plain sight.

In musicological terms, my project fills a gap in nineteenth-century French Romantic musical aesthetics. Delsarte taught his course for over thirty years in Paris, influencing composers such as Adam, Bizet,[13] Gounod, Reber, Saint-Saëns, and, as I will show, Wagner – as well as countless other musicians, singers, and artists.[14] In his memoirs, Saint-Saëns insisted that Delsarte "played an important role in the evolution of French music"[15] and that tribute should be paid to his memory because "he was a pioneer who, during his whole life,

---

certain d'avoir déterminé les bases fixes de l'art, réalisant, par là, ce que de graves esprits avaient considéré comme impossible. Ainsi ; messieurs, et en vertu même de l'immutabilité des bases de l'art, l'Esthétique, perdue au jourd'hui dans le chaos des fantaisies oratoires de tant de gens qui n'ont rien à dire, l'Esthétique, désormais dégagée de toute conjecture, sera vraiment constituée sous les formes sévères d'une science positive." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée: Des sources de l'Art," *L'Avenir musical* 3, no. 13 (July 1867): 169-70.

[12] I have translated the term *l'accord de neuvième* not as the *nine-fold accord*, which has become somewhat standardized in Delsarte Studies, but as the *Ninth Chord*, in order to highlight the term's musical connotations. Delsarte argued that, although he borrowed the term from musicians, he gave it a different meaning. See Benoît Gauthier, "Édition critique de manuscrits de François Delsarte et examen de leur pertinence épistémologique dans la formation d'un corps scénique moderne" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2011), 246.

[13] Delsarte was Bizet's uncle, his sister, Aimée Delsarte (1815-1861) having married Adolphe Bizet (1810-1886) in 1837. According to Bizet's biographer, Mina Curtiss, Delsarte's influence allowed Bizet "to become an auditor in classes at the Conservatoire a year before he was old enough to be officially enrolled as a student." Mina Curtiss, *Bizet and His World* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1959), 14.

[14] For a brief list of Delsarte's students, see section 4.0.

[15] Camille Saint-Saëns, *Musical Memories*, trans. Edwin Gile Rich (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1919), 186-87.

proclaimed the value of immortal works, which the world despised. That is no slight merit."[16] At the height of his success as a teacher in the 1850s, Delsarte was referred to by some of his students as "The Great Delsarte," "The Master of Masters," and "The Newton of Aesthetics."[17] Despite such praise during his lifetime, today Delsarte's name is altogether absent not only from large-scale reference works and surveys on music history, but from works on aesthetic theory as well. Delsarte's achievements find no discrete entry in *Grove Music Online* and receive no mention in Taruskin's six-volume *Oxford History of Western Music*. Not a single publication on the history of vocal pedagogy, or the history of opera for that matter, mentions him as either a teacher or performer, despite the fact that he appears to have been the first musician to simultaneously hold all three positions of stage manager, voice teacher, and declamation teacher at the Académie Royale de Musique in 1848.[18] Whilst some of Delsarte's achievements feature in recent scholarly monographs by Katherine Ellis and Mark Everist, neither of these publications provide details of his aesthetic theory, the former focusing on his anthology of early music, the *Archives du chant*, the latter on his performances of Gluck's repertoire in concert.[19] Moreover, no research has yet been conducted on Delsarte's inventions, the *Guide-Accord* and *Phonoptique*, possibly the first mechanical tuners invented for stringed instruments, which were sanctioned by the *Institut de France*, and for which he received gold medals from the *Exposition Universelle des produits de l'Industrie* in 1855, and the *Société des industrial sciences* in 1863.[20]

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[16] Saint-Saëns, 188.
[17] For "The Great Delsarte," see Philibert Audebrand, *Petits mémoires d'une stalle d'orchestre*: *acteurs, actrices, auteurs, journalistes* (Paris: Jules Lévy, 1885), 153; for "Master of Masters," see Audebrand, *La sérénade de Don Juan* (Paris: Société des gens de lettres, 1887), 91; and for "Newton of Aesthetics" see Gaston Demangel, "François Del Sarte et l'analyse de l'âme," *Lyrica* 5, no. 57 (November 1926): 861.
[18] "Macédoine: Nouvelles des Théâtres," *Journal des beaux-arts* 7 (1848): 271.
[19] Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*: *Early Music in Nineteenth Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 47-50, and 75; Mark Everist, *Genealogies of Music and Memory*: *Gluck in the Nineteenth-Century Parisian Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021) 27-39.
[20] A. C., "Guide-Accord Delsarte," *L'Illustration, journal universel* 42, no. 1070 (1863): 159. See also chapter 4.5.2.

In this dissertation, I argue that Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" played a much more significant role in the history of French Romantic musical aesthetics and the evolution of nineteenth-century opera than has hitherto been assumed. The objective of my research project is to determine: (1) Was Delsarte successful in uniting the arts and sciences under a single universal method? If so, then how does the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, a religious mystery, function as a first principle and criterion of his scientific system? (2) How did Delsarte define aesthetics as a positive science according to modern scientific methods in nineteenth-century France? How did his conversion from atheism to Roman Catholicism redirect his methods from the philosophical domain to the scientific? (3) How does Delsarte's system function as a musical system, and what is its relationship to ancient Greek music as a science of perception? (4) How influential was Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" on the evolution of nineteenth-century music and opera, and what is the exact nature of that influence? By analysing the scientific, philosophical, and musical foundations of Delsarte's extant manuscripts and transcribed lectures, as well as investigating the influence his teachings appear to have had on the early aesthetic treatises of Richard Wagner, I will show that Delsarte was close to establishing aesthetics as a scientific discipline, that his methods were scientific in nature, that his aesthetic system is, in fact, a musical system derived from the natural phenomenon of the overtone series, and, finally, that his teachings played a much more significant role in the history of French Romantic musical aesthetics, and the evolution of nineteenth-century music and opera, than has previously been assumed.

Methodology

The subtitle of my project ("On the Holy Trinity as a Scientific Principle and Criterion") is based on a Delsarte manuscript, "Notre méthode,"[21] and announces my intention to investigate Delsarte's claims of the Holy Trinity as both the first principle and criterion of his aesthetic system. I believe that the widespread misinterpretations of Delsarte's principle of the Trinity in academic scholarship conducted since the 1930s is the cause of the current misunderstandings surrounding his teachings in general. Take away the principle of the Trinity in Delsarte's system and there is no unity, and yet the unification of the arts and sciences is the *raison d'être* of his aesthetic system. What makes my methodology viable is that I will be carrying out Delsarte's own instructions on how to penetrate the meaning of his theorem, in which he states that: "All truth is triangular, and no demonstration responds to its object save in virtue of a nine-fold formula."[22] The specific instructions Delsarte left us for unlocking his theorem are as follows:

> To penetrate the meaning of this initially enigmatic theorem, of which we deliberately reserve the final formula in order to explain the universality of its applications and to appreciate its marvellous fruitfulness, and finally to pierce the veil of obscurity in which it appears to be enveloped, one must understand the Trinity as much as it is given to man to understand the things of God. For this, it is necessary to pursue its study to the depths of its immanences, and it is by specifying the proprieties of the relationship of the three adorable persons to each other that it is possible to raise one's mind to the region of the transluminous clarities which spring from the divine obscurity of this mystery. Now each of the terms of the Trinity is in the other two.[23]

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[21] There are five extant drafts of this text, all dating from the winter of 1871. As Delsarte was in poor health at the time, it can be assumed that these drafts aim at a concise distillation of his system for the sake of posterity. The most complete draft, "Notre méthode," is located in *The papers of the MacKaye Family* (box 22 ML5 (22) (in box 7), folder 1, document 4), at the Baker-Berry Library, Special Collections, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. As I was unable to directly consult this manuscript, I refer to a transcription in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 811-19.

[22] "Toute vérité est triangulaire, et nulle démonstration ne répond à son objet qu'en vertu d'une formule triplement triple." Delsarte, "Notre méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 818. See also François Delsarte and Alain Porte, *François Delsarte*: *Une anthologie*, édition fac-similé, ed. Alain Porte (Cœuvres-et-Valsery: Ressouvenances, 2012), 93; and Delsarte, "Literary Remains," in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th ed., 454.

[23] "Pour pénétrer le sens de ce théorème d'abord énigmatique et dont nous réservons à dessein la formule définitive pour s'expliquer l'universalité de ses applications et en apprécier la merveilleuse fécondité, enfin pour

The final line of his instructions, "each of the terms of the Trinity is in the other two," is the definition of the Scholastic term *circumincession*, whereby medieval theologians expressed the existence of the three divine persons in one another, a definition which, along with the theology of the processional relations, is the key to understanding Delsarte's system.[24] By following Delsarte's instructions, my project attempts to pierce the veil of obscurity of the Trinity as a scientific principle and criterion in the hope of gaining a better understanding of the method Delsarte employed in developing his "Course in Applied Aesthetics."

Delsarte Studies: Current Issues in Methodology

Despite the fact that Delsarte left behind specific instructions on how to decipher his theorem, as well as a set of axiomatic statements on which that theorem is based, no scholar has, to date, taken Delsarte at his word and investigated his claims. In 1999, George Taylor asserted that, "although Delsarte claims that he based his analysis on scientific observation, there is little evidence that these observations were particularly systematic or that he applied any statistical method."[25] That same year, Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter insisted that Delsarte's principle of the Trinity was the most problematic element in his theory because of its fundamental and universal nature and the sceptical response it received from early American practitioners.[26] In 2016, Franck Waille claimed that the theological foundation of Delsarte's

percer le voile des obscurités dont il paraît enveloppé, il faut comprendre la Trinité autant qu'il est donné à l'homme de comprendre les choses de Dieu. Pour cela, il est nécessaire d'en poursuivre l'étude jusque dans les profondeurs de ses immanences, et c'est en spécifiant les convenances de rapport des trois adorables personnes entre elles qu'il est possible d'élever son esprit à la région des translumineuses clartés qui jaillissent de la divine obscurité de ce mystère. Or chacun des termes de la Trinité est dans les deux autres." Delsarte, "Notre méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 819.

[24] According to the *OED*, the term *circumincession* was "introduced as a translation of Greek περιχώρησις (lit. 'circuition, rotation') as employed by Damascenus (8th cent.) in his explication of the text 'I am in the Father, and the Father in me,' [John 11:14 KJV] it became a standard term of Scholastic theology." *OED*, s.v. "circumincession," last modified March 2021.

[25] George Taylor, "François Delsarte: A Codification of Nineteenth-Century Acting," *Theatre Research International* 24, no. 1 (1999): 77.

[26] Ruyter, *Cultivation of Body and Mind*, 77.

teachings "does not prevent them from being received in a completely 'secular' way."[27] These examples, taken from the writings of three different scholars over the past two decades, present Delsarte's aesthetic system as being either unscientific, unphilosophical, or secular in nature, and beg the question of how a nineteenth-century aesthetic system, which was once believed to be scientifically based, universal in its application, and founded upon Roman Catholic doctrine, came to be viewed today as perhaps being none of these things at all. The problem of understanding the epistemological and methodological foundations of Delsarte's system, however, lies not with the system itself, or with nineteenth-century beliefs about what constituted scientific, philosophical, or theological inquiry, but rather with modern methodologies that have been inappropriately applied to analyse Delsarte's system, methodologies which take for granted the modern perceived dichotomy between scientific and religious systems of knowledge.

For example: Taylor's argument, that Delsarte's observational and experimental methods are unscientific, is based not only a *lack* of evidence, but on a view of nineteenth-century science filtered through the methodological assumptions of twentieth-century Foucauldian analysis and critical theory – an unscientific method in and of itself.[28] Taylor admits that Delsarte "never wrote out his entire system,"[29] and that what became known as the *Delsarte method* was due to later developments in America by MacKaye, who in turn "planned, but never published, a full exposition of the theories."[30] Faced with a paucity of evidence, and guided by the assumptions inherent in critical theory, Taylor concludes that whatever Delsarte's method might have been, it has "no more scientific validity than those of

[27] "Le substrat spiritualiste de ses enseignements n'empêche pas qu'ils puissent être reçus de manière totalement « laïque »." Franck Waille, *La méthode somatique expressive de François Delsarte*: *Histoire, esthétique, anthropologie de la neurophysiologie à la métaphysique* (Lavérune: L'Entretemps, 2016), 36.
[28] Taylor cites Roger Cooter's *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) as his source for an understanding of nineteenth-century scientific methods, which is based on the twentieth-century theories of Theodor Adorno, Michel Foucault, and Antonio Gramsci. Taylor, "François Delsarte," 50.
[29] Taylor, 74.
[30] Taylor, 78.

the Physiognomists or Phrenologists," and that his "conclusions, far from being scientifically objective and universal, were culturally constructed."[31] Thus, Taylor employs a methodology whereby the philosophic principle of social constructionism can be imposed wherever and whenever evidence is lacking. However, no matter what evidence Taylor presented, his conclusion would ultimately have been that Delsarte's methods were unscientific and socially constructed because that is the inevitable conclusion of the application of critical theory to every inquiry. Significantly, Taylor did not consult Delsarte's extant writings, or the available archival materials, in order to support his claim that Delsarte's method was unscientific.

Next, Ruyter's conclusion, that Delsarte's principle of the Trinity is problematic because of its fundamental and universal nature, stems from the application of an empirically-based anthropological research method that employs an unsystematic experimental form of hermeneutical analysis.[32] As a result, Ruyter's explanation of Delsarte's principle is more descriptive than analytic, making her critical assessment dependent upon statements made by MacKaye's students, namely Samuel S. Curry (1847-1921). Curry argued that the chief aim of Delsarte's principle was "to conform to the system without regard for the actual truth."[33] Ruyter's line of reasoning here, although not explicit, appears similar that of British scientist Francis Bacon, who, according to theologian Jens Zimmermann, "complained that medieval scientists had started from certain axioms dictated by theology or natural philosophy, and then tried to figure out how empirical facts fit this framework,"[34] which is a valid line of reasoning for Ruyter to take. However, by pointing out Curry's objection to the principle as

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[31] Taylor, 77.

[32] Ruyter's methodology is based on the work of Paul Connerton and his concept of "inscribing practices." Ruyter's method is restricted to the gathering of data from material sources, such as historical documents and photographs, which are then used as an interpretive means to "ponder" and "speculate on" the physical and intellectual experiences of the historical bodies memorialized in those sources. The hope of this hermeneutical approach to empirical research is to gain an understanding of the "incorporating practices" of historical bodies, which no longer exist, through the researcher's own experiences of working with the material sources gathered. See Ruyter, *Cultivation of Body and Mind*, xv.

[33] Ruyter, 78.

[34] Jens Zimmermann, *Hermeneutics*: *A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 117.

being too "artificial and mechanical"[35] in her own analysis, the implication is that Ruyter believes, like Curry, that Delsarte started from an axiom dictated by Catholic theology and so unsupported by empirical observation. Ruyter then concedes, without further comment, that another of MacKaye's students, Stebbins, actually supported the Law of the Trinity in her writings,[36] that Stebbins found it "useful in regard to the art of expression,"[37] but that she later became "sceptical of its metaphysical rationale."[38] Once again, owing to a lack of analysis and commentary as to the purpose of these comments, Ruyter's own position is not made explicit, and the two statements she provides as evidence do not support the claim that practitioners found Delsarte's "Law of Trinity" entirely problematic. Even if these statements were to agree, the best that can be achieved by Ruyter's line of reasoning here is a consensus of opinion, whilst the actual truth of the matter – the reason Ruyter *herself* finds the Trinity problematic – remains obscure and unresolved.[39] Opposite to Taylor's approach, Ruyter employs a methodology whereby the gathering of evidence outweighs the importance of adopting a philosophic principle by which to organize and analyse the evidence gathered. Ruyter's approach is to examine material sources in the belief that embedded in these sources are the hermeneutical tools needed to interpret them, which are intuitively perceived through Ruyter's own material body. Ruyter is unable to engage in an analysis of Delsarte's principle of the Trinity because her methodology not only lacks a philosophic principle itself, but also a metaphysical system of analysis. As such, her critical assessment is limited to descriptions of what Delsarte's students and followers *thought about* the principle of the Trinity. Importantly, Delsarte developed his aesthetic theory for the very purpose of overcoming the

[35] Ruyter, *Cultivation of Body and Mind*, 78.
[36] Delsarte's principle of the Trinity was known in America as the "Law of Trinity," and was believed to have operated alongside a second fundamental principle, the "Law of Correspondence." For an argument refuting this notion, see section 2.1.3.
[37] Ruyter, *Cultivation of Body and Mind*, 78.
[38] Ruyter, 78.
[39] For a possible explanation as to why Ruyter problematizes the Trinity, see note 51.

defects of the empirical method in artistic training, whereby students in the early-nineteenth century at both the Conservatoire and the École des Beaux-Arts were apparently doomed to imitate their masters because they were not taught first principles. If Ruyter had consulted Delsarte's extant writings, she would have discovered his warnings against the adoption of a purely empirical method of analysis lacking first principles, and perhaps have avoided the adoption of such a methodology in the attempt to analyse and subsequently dismiss his principle of the Trinity as being problematic.

Finally, Waille's argument that Delsarte's system can be received in a *completely secular way* despite its theological foundations, stems from his application of an empirically based research method rooted in materialism: theatrical anthropology. As a methodology, theatrical anthropology is unsuited to analyse Delsarte's work in that it a) does not seek universal principles or laws, b) does not engage in scientific analysis, and c) does not attempt to answer fundamental questions about performance practices. Instead, theatrical anthropology focuses on the material basis of artistic production and "the study of human beings' socio-cultural and physiological behaviour in a performance situation."[40] Thus, Waille's methodology, like Ruyter's, lacks a metaphysical system of analysis, and so Waille's critical assessments are also heavily dependent upon descriptions of other people's opinions about the practical application of the system. Waille's claim regarding the reception of Delsarte's teachings as being received as secular is based on an assertion made by dancer Ted Shawn in 1954, who argued that: "Whether you reject the metaphysics of Delsarte or not, the system is workable."[41] Shawn's argument, in turn, appears to stem from a statement made by Stebbins in 1902, who decided to abandon the metaphysics of the system altogether: "Leaving Delsarte's philosophy to greater philosophical minds than my own, I come to the

[40] Eugenio Barba and Nicola Savarese, *A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology*: *The Secret Art of the Performer*, 2nd (London: Routledge, 2011), 6.
[41] Ted Shawn, *Every Little Movement*: *A Book About François Delsarte* (Pittsfield, MA: The Eagle Printing and Binding Company, 1954), 26.

reality of his teachings, that is, to the practical trinity as a working formula in the art of expression."[42] Owing to the popularity of Stebbins' publications, Delsarte scholars and practitioners alike have long bestowed on her work an unwarranted authoritative significance. In short, whatever Shawn and Stebbins may have thought about the nature and importance of Delsartian metaphysics, their views are given undue prominence as to the nature of the original system, as neither studied with Delsarte himself. Unlike Taylor and Ruyter, however, Waille conducted extensive archival research, and so he does apprehend the significance of the Trinity elsewhere in his writings.[43] In the final analysis, however, Waille does not seem to recognize that the principle of the Trinity functions as its own epistemology and methodology, and that it also serves as the *raison d'être* of the artist, which is made clear in Delsarte's writings. According to Delsarte, the origin of art is essentially divine:

> Art is divine in the sense that it emanates from these divine perfections [the Christian transcendentals], in the sense that it constitutes for us the very idea of them, and especially in this sense, that it tends to realize in us, by us, and outside us, this triple perfection which it draws from God. Art is therefore, ultimately, *a mysterious agent whose sublime virtues insubjectivize divine things in us by way of contemplation*.[44]

From the above statement, Delsarte would clearly have disagreed with Waille's assessment that his teachings could be received in a *completely secular way*. As mentioned, Waille conducted archival research, and so there is no reason for him to defer to Shawn as an authority on metaphysics over and above statements attributed to Delsarte himself.

In the above examples, each scholar defers to an inappropriate authoritative voice in order to interpret Delsarte's system. Taylor defers to a theoretical system of analysis rooted in German idealism, and developed for the social sciences in the twentieth century, in order to

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[42] Stebbins, *Delsarte System of Expression*, 387.
[43] See Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 184-87.
[44] "l'art est divin, en ce sens qu'il émane de ses perfections divines, en ce sens qu'il en constitue pour nous l'idée même, et en ce sens surtout, qu'il tend à réaliser eu nous, pour nous et hors dû nous, cette triple perfection qu'il puise en Dieu. L'art est donc, en définitive, *un mystérieux agent, dont les vertus sublimes opèrent en nous par voie contemplative, l'insubjection des choses divines*." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée: Des sources de l'Art," *L'Avenir musical* 3, no. 7 (April 1867): 145-46, emphasis Delsarte.

give Delsarte's work "a particular resonance"[45] for "today's postmodern dialectic"[46] so that it "might problematize contemporary theatre practices."[47] Ruyter defers to judgements made by early American practitioners, Curry and Stebbins, in order to problematize the Trinity as a fundamental and universal *truth*, which not only reinforces her methodological viewpoint, rooted in empiricism, but also her scepticism regarding "the historian's ability to pin down the truth of any phenomenon."[48] As a result, Ruyter's dismissal of Delsarte's principle of the Trinity, and also of religious sentiment in general, has served to downplay the Trinity's significance in Delsarte scholarship since the 1970s.[49] Finally Waille defers to a judgement made by Ted Shawn in an attempt to secularize Delsarte's teachings and thereby emphasize their modern scientific (materialist) value, serving his own hypothesis that "everything, in what Delsarte called 'Applied Aesthetics,' converges towards the body."[50] Waille's conclusion is unsupported by the evidence provided by Delsarte himself, whereby Delsarte argues that: "If you ignore being, since the nature of the soul is to be the form of the body, by virtue of this formula, if you do not know the soul, its innermost forms, you will never have the value and the meaning of phenomena, which are merely their echoes."[51] In Delsarte's system, bodily phenomena, whilst important, are echoes of the immaterial soul, meaning that the soul is primary to the body. Thus, it would be more accurate for Waille to argue that

[45] Taylor, "François Delsarte," 79.
[46] Taylor, 75.
[47] Taylor, 79.
[48] Ruyter, *Cultivation of Body and Mind*, xiv.
[49] In the introduction to her 1999 monograph, Ruyter admits that she found much of the writing of the American Delsartians to be "pretentious and inane. One wonders if they really believed their enthusiastic goings-on about correspondence between body and soul; the godliness of the aesthetic." Ruyter, xiv. Given the fundamental nature of the Trinity in Delsarte's writings, it is striking that a 230-page special issue of an academic journal focusing on Delsarte's work, which Ruyter edited, and in which her monograph is cited almost forty times, should mention the Trinity only once in a religious context. See Alain Porte, "Four Reflections on François Delsarte," in "Essays on François Delsarte," ed. Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, special issue, *Mime Journal* 23 (2005): 34. Not that Ruyter is entirely responsible for the misinterpretation of the Trinity in Delsarte Studies, but her scholarship continues to be highly influential within the discipline.
[50] "tout, dans ce que Delsarte appelait « l'Esthétique appliquée », converge vers le corps." Waille, *La méthode somatique expressive*, 40.
[51] "Si vous ignorez l'être, puis que la nature de l'âme est d'être la forme du corps, en vertu de cette formule, si vous ne connaissez pas l'âme, ses formes intimes, vous n'aurez jamais la valeur et le sens des phénomènes qui n'en sont que les échos." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 61. Appendix B.

everything in Delsarte's system converges towards the tripartite soul as both a reflection of the Trinity and the principle and cause of bodily motion. In the end, however, Waille's conclusion about the secular reception of Delsarte's teachings contradicts the evidence found in the archival sources, which is owed to his use of a materialist methodology to interpret those sources, a methodology which does not seek or recognize universal principles.[52]

The current methodological problems in Delsarte Studies are threefold. First, most scholarship on the system, aside from Waille's, suffers from a lack of primary-source evidence, which not only includes Delsarte's extant writings, but other archival sources and historical documents as well. Secondly, knowledge of Delsarte's system remains fragmentary owing to the lack of research on the unitary nature of the Trinity as a scientific principle and criterion. Thirdly, the first two problems cannot be redressed until scholars recognize that Delsarte's epistemological and methodological framework is incompatible with contemporary secular philosophic systems of thought. Simply put, one cannot understand Delsartian aesthetics until one has grasped the difference between Aristotelian-Scholastic epistemology and modern-day epistemological systems rooted in either materialism (modern science) or idealism (modern philosophy). Although much of the work conducted by scholars on Delsarte's teachings remains useful, especially with regard to the cultural reception of those teachings in America, and the influence his practical exercises had on the development of early American actor training programmes and the aesthetic foundation of American modern dance, I believe it is necessary in entering upon a study of Delsarte's aesthetic system to reconsider the scientific, philosophical, and musical foundations of that system afresh.

[52] Whether Waille is consistent in the employment of his chosen methodology is another matter. Part II of his thesis focuses on the "metaphysical conception of the human being," an analysis that is not possible by strictly adhering to "theatrical anthropology" as defined by Barba and Savarese. See Barba and Savarese, *A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology*, 6.

Source Materials: Publications and Archival Sources

Delsarte Publications

Although many scholars believe that nothing of Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" was published during his lifetime,[53] the following list contains publications related to his course, the first six of which Delsarte himself seems to have authorized:[54]

1. Chéri Delsarte, 1833, *Préliminaires de la méthode philosophique du chant*. (Paris).[55]

2. François Delsarte, 1843, *Système de François Delsarte. Compendium*. (Paris: François Delsarte).

3. François Delsarte, 1866, "Lettre de M. F. Delsarte à l'un des vice-présidents de l'Association philotechnique," *Conférences de l'Association philotechnique. Année 1865. M. Ch. Battaille, M. Privat-Deschanel, M. Paul Féval, M. Delsarte.* (Paris, Victor Masson & Fils), 85-87.

4. François Delsarte, 1866, "Esthétique appliquée. Des sources de l'Art," *Conférences de l'Association philotechnique. Année 1865. M. Ch. Battaille, M. Privat-Deschanel, M. Paul Féval, M. Delsarte.* (Paris, Victor Masson & Fils), 88-135.

5. François Delsarte, 1867, "Lettre de M. F. Delsarte à l'un des vice-présidents de l'Association philotechnique," *L'Avenir musical* 3.2. (Paris), 128.

6. François Delsarte, 1867, "Conférences de l'Association philotechnique. Esthétique appliquée. Des sources de l'Art." Parts 1-10. *L'Avenir musical* (3.5): 137-38; (3.7): 145-46; (3.8): 149-50; (3.9): 153; (3.10): 157; (3.11): 161; (3.12):165-66; (3.13): 169-70; (3.19): 193; (3.20): 197-98.

7. François Delsarte, 1867, "De l'enseignement arbitraire," *Revue des lettres et des arts* 9 (Paris), 13-20. (Extracted from "Des sources de l'Art," *L'Avenir musical*, Parts 4-7, editions 3.9-3.12 above).

8. François Delsarte, 1868, "L'art chrétien," *Revue des lettres et des arts* 17 (Paris), 49-53. (An article apparently cobbled together from various parts of "Des sources de l'Art," *L'Avenir musical*).

The first publication is a brief essay on the philosophy of vocal training. It is significant because of its early dating, being published within a year of Delsarte retiring from the operatic stage in 1832, and six years prior to the teaching of his theoretical course in 1839. The essay shows that Delsarte had a clear vision of what he wanted to accomplish early

[53] See Claude L. Shaver, "The Delsarte System of Expression as Seen Through the Notes of Steele MacKaye" (PhD. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1937), 1; Jane Southcott, "An American and Australian Coincidence: Tonic Sol-Fa, Froebel, and the Colors of the Rainbow," *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* 15, no. 2 (1994): 87; and Thomas Leabhart, "Misunderstanding Delsarte (And Preserving the Cherries)," in "Essays on Francois Delsarte," ed. Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, special issue, *Mime Journal* 23 (2005): 15.
[54] For a complete list of Delsarte's known publications, see Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 946-48.
[55] The original publication is available on the website, *BNF Gallica*. For an annotated transcription by Porte, see Delsarte, "Méthode Philosophique Du Chant," in Porte *François Delsarte*, 149-53. That Delsarte published the treatise under the name Chéri is an indication that his conversion to Catholicism appears to have taken place after its publication in 1833, when he apparently took the confirmation name of François.

on in his career, which was to determine the fixed principles of the art of vocal expression. The essay is also significant because not only does it testify to Delsarte's interest in the study of physiognomy and the work of Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801), but because there is also no mention in the essay of religion or metaphysics. According to Bizet's biographer, Mina Curtiss, Delsarte converted to Catholicism after his marriage in 1833 to Rosine Charlotte Andrien (1817-1891),[56] and although he had abandoned Lavater's system by the late 1830s in order to adopt the spiritualist system of Maine de Biran (1766-1824) instead,[57] the essay serves as evidence that Delsarte's interest in the physiognomy of the voice *preceded* his scientific investigations on the Holy Trinity.

The second publication is a lithographic print of Delsarte's system (see figure 1), which was published by the author in 1843, a date previously unknown in Delsarte scholarship.[58] The description at the base of the compendium reads: "Proposition of the system: Man is a trinity of persons who, by means of a triple apparatus, reveals himself by a trinity of languages having as a criterion a triple ninth chord."[59] The early dating and description are important because we now know that, by 1843, Delsarte had formulated the criterion of his aesthetic system, the Ninth Chord, and that he was confident enough to publish it as a compendium. Waille points out, and I agree, that many other drawings of the compendium found in the archives, as well as those publications by his students, contain more information, and so this particular drawing may not be the end result of his work.[60]

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[56] Rosine was the daughter of bass singer and professor of lyric declamation Martin-Joseph Andrien (1767-1822), and the Baroness Gabrielle Constance de Philippy de Bucelly d'Estrées (1782-1854). Both Rosine and her sister, Atala Thérèse (Andrien) Wartel (1814-1865), were accomplished musicians. For more on Rosine's accomplishments, see note 401. For Delsarte's conversion to Catholicism, see section 2.2.
[57] See section 2.1.7.
[58] See Bibliothèque Nationale, "Système de François Delsarte. Compendium," *Bibliographie de la France*, no. 36 (1843), 461.
[59] "Proposition du système: L'homme est une trinité de personnes qui, au moyen d'un triple appareil. Se révèle par une trinité de langages ayant pour critérium un triple accord de neuvième." Delsarte, François. *Système de François Delsarte*. *Compendium*. Paris: François Delsarte, 1843.
[60] Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 297.

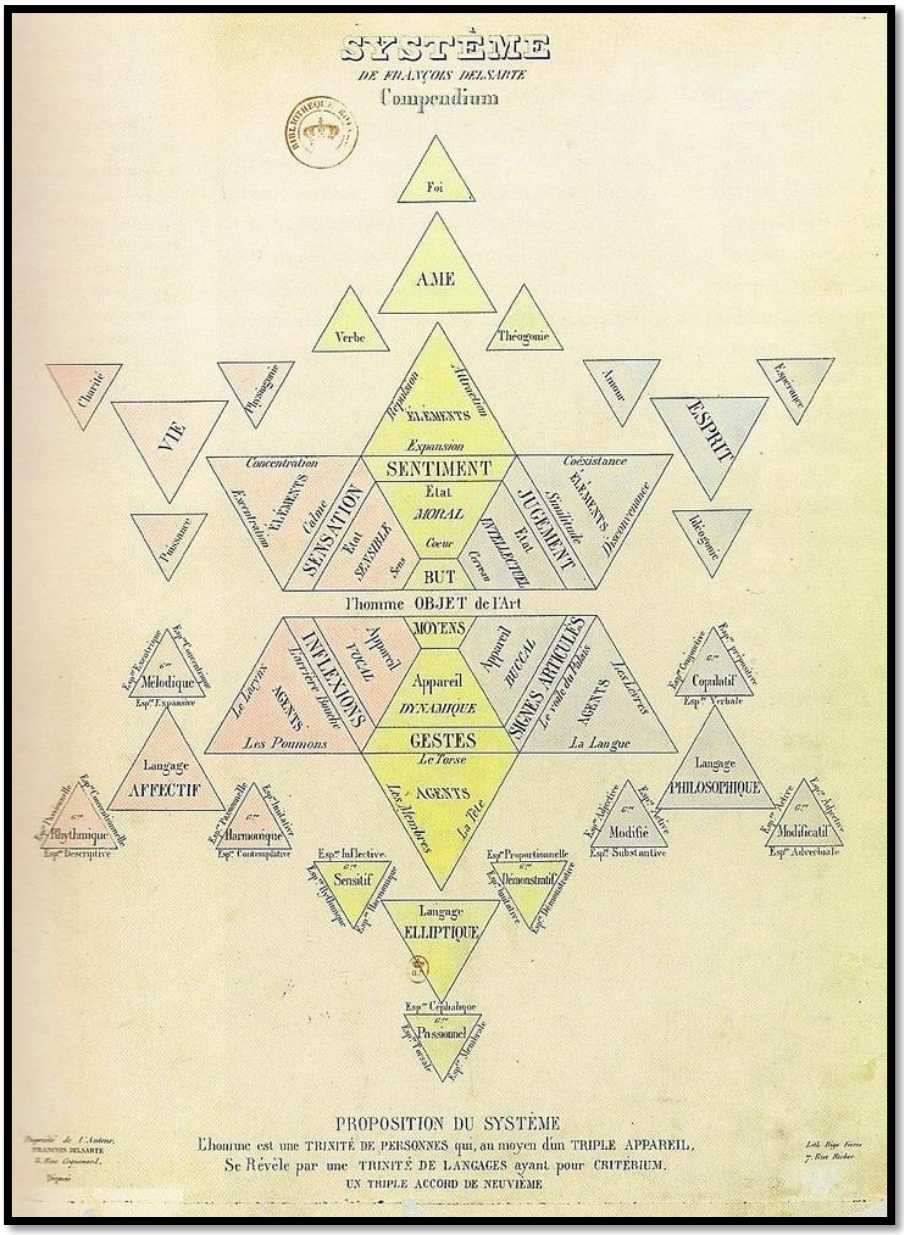


Figure 1. ***Système de François Delsarte. Compendium*****.** (Paris: François Delsarte) 1843.

However, as this is the only compendium Delsarte published, the information contained therein must be taken as more reliable and less speculative than the other drawings which he did not publish. The dating of the drawing is also important because we know that, from 1833 to 1843, Delsarte's methodology changed from one of atheistic rationalism to one based on Christian mysticism and the discovery of first principles through scientific investigation.

The third publication is a previously unknown letter from Delsarte to a Dr Hébert, the vice-president of the Philotechnical Association.[61] Apparently, Delsarte was unaware that his lecture, "On the Sources of Art," was being transcribed by the Association when he delivered it in 1865. In the letter, Delsarte makes clear to Hébert that he cannot consent to the publication of his lecture unless the letter he is currently writing accompanies it as a preface, thereby explaining to readers the time constraints under which he gave the lecture and justifying the distorted and incomplete description of his aesthetic system provided therein. The Association honoured Delsarte's wishes by publishing the letter as requested.[62]

The fourth publication is a transcript of Delsarte's lecture itself, given at the Philotechnical Association in Paris in 1865.[63] All subsequent publications of this lecture, that is publications 5-7 noted above, are based on this 1865 transcription. Individual pages from what appears to be a corrected proof version of the conference proceedings are found glued onto the opening pages of a manuscript notebook, *Cours de M. Delsarte* (1867),[64] with corrections and annotations made in what appears to be Delsarte's own hand.[65] Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the 1867 publication of the lecture in *L'Avernir musical* (5) is based on this corrected proof version.

The fifth publication is a republication of Delsarte's letter to Dr Hébert. The editor of *L'Avenir musical,* Amand Chevé (1831-1907),[66] follows the same format as the 1866 publication of "On the Sources of Art" in republishing the letter as a preface to the ten-part lecture series which will follow.

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[61] The Philotechnical Association of Paris was founded in 1848 by mathematician Eugène Lionnet (1805-1884).
[62] For an English translation of the letter, see Appendix A.
[63] For manuscript draft versions of Delsarte's lecture, see Delsarte Papers (DP), box 1, folder 27, and folder 29, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, La. An excerpt from folder 29 is located in Delsarte and Porte, *François Delsarte*, 192-201.
[64] See section "Primary Archival Source Material," p. 19.
[65] It is from this manuscript that an abridged and highly flawed English translation may have been taken, which appeared in five of the six editions of Stebbins' *Delsarte System of Expression* (1887-1902) under the title, "Address of François Delsarte before the Philotechnic Society of Paris."
[66] Chevé was a student of Delsarte, and also the son of Emile Chevé and Nanine (Paris) Chevé, the creators of the popular Galin-Paris-Chevé method of sight singing, based on figure-notation proposed by Rousseau.

The sixth publication is a ten-part serial of Delsarte's 1865 lecture, with corrections and additions made by the author – a publication also previously unknown to Delsarte scholars. The discovery of the letter (3 and 5), and the ten-part lecture series (6), is important for a number of reasons: first, we now know the circumstances under which Delsarte's 1865 lecture came to be transcribed and published; secondly, we now know that "On the Sources of Art" is the opening lecture, or lesson one, of his "Course in Applied Aesthetics;" thirdly, we now possess a publication of Delsarte's aesthetic system which he himself appears to have edited and authorized. Finally, we now know that subsequent publications of his lecture "On the Sources of Art" (7 and 8) are extracted from the 1867 version in *L'Avernir musical*, and not from the conference proceedings of 1866, as these publications share the same corrections and formatting as the 1867 version.

Major Archival Sources

The following is a record of the major archival sources relevant to this project listed in chronological order, which are located in the Delsarte Papers collection at Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge. The list is by no means complete but is meant as a guide for the reader to grasp the chronology and status of the major archival sources used throughout this project.[67]

1. Delsarte, "École de chant morale et scientifique, École de Delsarte, notes et compte-rendu de ses cours (1839)," Delsarte Papers, box 11b. This manuscript is a large bound notebook (roughly 90 pages) containing transcripts by various students of Delsarte's initial aesthetic lectures when he began teaching his course on 18 May to 12 July 1839, and includes annotations and corrections by Delsarte, as well as his signature. Included at the back of the manuscript are various lyrics/poems, some attributed to Delsarte, but written by

[67] For a complete list of the Delsarte Papers collection at Hill Memorial Library, see Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 896-925.

Delsarte's friend, Michel Raymond Brucker (1800-1875), whose signature appears with many of them; these are dated between 1846-50.

2. Delsarte, "Livre des Procès-Verbaux de la Famille Trinitaire (1839)," Delsarte Papers, box 12c, folder 28. This manuscript is also a large bound notebook (roughly 70 pages) written in Delsarte's hand, containing numerous sketches, definitions, and classifications of terms, such as the vocal registers, inflections, vowels, consonants, and languages. Significantly, the manuscript includes a key to the meaning of Delsarte's various geometric drawings.

3. Delsarte and Alphonse Pages, "Esthétique appliquée, cours de F. Delsarte. Exposition en neuf leçons de l'art de l'orateur, du peintre et du musicien. Offert à M. Delsarte par son élève Alphonse Pages (1858)," Delsarte Papers, box 12c, folder 40. This is a large bound notebook (63 single-sided numbered pages) transcribed by one of Delsarte's students, Alphonse Pages, containing lessons given by Delsarte at the Salon des Sociétés Savantes in Paris in 1859, the course consisting of nine theoretical lectures and nine practical lessons. The manuscript has been extensively corrected and annotated with most of these being in Pages' hand, but a small number of them appear to be in Delsarte's hand as well.

4. Delsarte, "Cours de Monsieur Delsarte (1867)," Delsarte Papers, box 12b, folder 54. This manuscript is a large bound notebook containing a copy of Delsarte's 1866 publication of "On the Sources of Art" glued onto the opening pages, followed by a handwritten manuscript (263 single-sided numbered pages) containing nine subsequent theoretical lectures, the first lecture being dated 11 May 1867. For a detailed explanation of this manuscript, see the following subsection, "Primary Archival Source."

5. Delsarte, "Dictées (1869)," Delsarte Papers, box 3, folder 154. This folder contains five dictations, all presumed to be delivered by Delsarte in the autumn of 1869, amanuensis

unknown. The numerical ordering of the dictations follows Waille.[68] The first (8 pages) is undated; the second (3 pages) is dated 9 October 1869; the third (7 pages), fourth (10 pages), and fifth (4 pages) are all undated. The folder also includes a copy of the first dictation with the opening page missing, but which contains an extra paragraph at the end.[69] The content of the dictations range from 1. the study of physiology, metaphysics, and aesthetics; 2. anthropology; 3. the doctrine of the Trinity; 4. Delsarte's sacramental-political theory; and 5. the mechanics of gesture (statics, dynamics, and semeiotics).

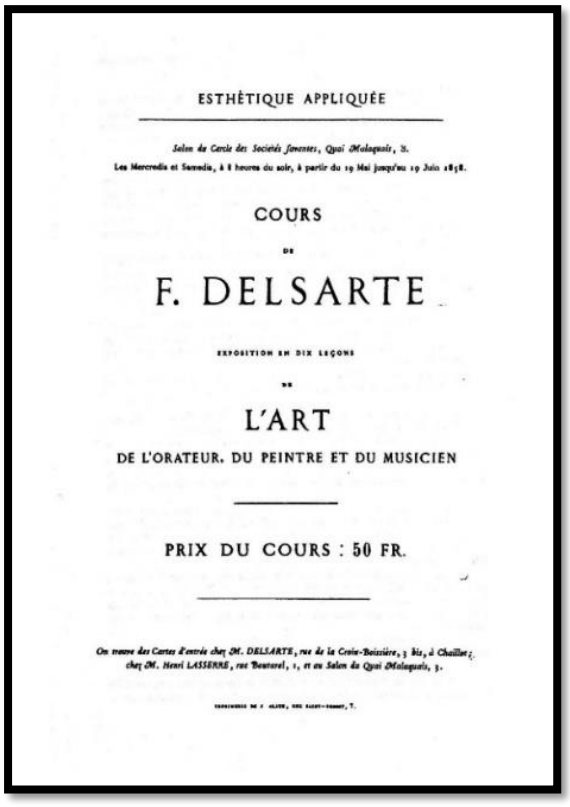
6. Delsarte, "Mes épisodes révélateurs, ou histoire d'une idée appelée à constituer la base de la science et de l'art (c. 1870-71)," Delsarte Papers, box 1a, folder 36c, subfolder 2. This folder contains five more subfolders which in turn contain the seven chapters of Delsarte's unfinished manuscript. The chapters detail Delsarte's journey from his time as a student at the Conservatoire to the discovery of his aesthetic method, which directly links observation to revelation. A translation was first published in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 3rd edition (1887), and is included in the 4th edition (1893) as well. A partial transcription of the original manuscript is found in *François Delsarte: Une anthologie,* edited by Alain Porte.

Primary Archival Source: "Cours de Monsieur Delsarte (1867)"

As mentioned, there is a manuscript housed at Hill Memorial Library which is entitled, *Cours de Monsieur Delsarte*.[70] In 1992, this manuscript was given a date of 1858 by Alain Porte, which is incorrect. Porte seems to have dated the manuscript based on two advertisements from Delsarte's course which appeared in 1858 and 1859, the former indicating what appears to be a purely theoretical course consisting of ten sessions, the latter a combined theoretical and practical course consisting of nine sessions (see figures 2 and 3).

[68] Franck Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité chez François Delsarte (1811-1871): Annexes" (PhD diss., Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, 2009), 161-69.
[69] See Waille, "Annexes," 163.
[70] François Delsarte. "Cours de Monsieur Delsarte (1867)," edited by Rosine Delsarte. DP, box 12b, folder 54.

As the manuscript in question is divided into a ten-lecture format (the first lecture was deemed to be missing by Porte), Porte seems to have assumed that the lectures contained therein corresponded to the 1858 advertisement.[71] However, as mentioned, pages from a corrected proof version of the 1866 publication of "On the Sources of Art" are glued onto this manuscript's opening pages, immediately followed by nine handwritten lectures, suggesting a date of at least 1866. However, the dating of each of the nine handwritten lectures follows the calendar year of 1867, not 1858 or 1866. Furthermore, in his letter to Dr Hébert, Delsarte mentions his plans to give future lectures, presumably at the Philotechnical Association, and so we can assume that Delsarte continued to lecture publicly beyond 1866. Therefore, I have concluded that the manuscript, *Cours de Monsieur Delsarte*, is a transcript of a previously


ESTHÉTIQUE APPLIQUÉE

Salon du Cercle des Sociétés savantes, Quai Malaquais, 3.
Les Mercredis et Samedis, à 8 heures du soir, à partir du 19 Mai jusqu'au 19 Juin 1858.

COURS
DE
F. DELSARTE
EXPOSITION EN DIX LEÇONS
DE
L'ART
DE L'ORATEUR, DU PEINTRE ET DU MUSICIEN

PRIX DU COURS : 50 FR.

On trouve des Cartes d'entrée chez M. DELLARTE, rue de la Croix-Boissière, 3 bis, à Chaillot ;
chez M. Henri LASSERRE, rue Bonaparte, 1, et au Salon du Quai Malaquais, 3.


ESTHÉTIQUE APPLIQUÉE

SALON DES SOCIÉTÉS SAVANTES, QUAI MALAQUAIS, 3
DU 4 MAI AU 19 JUIN 1859

L'ART
DE L'ORATEUR, DU PEINTRE ET DU MUSICIEN
EXPOSÉ EN NEUF LEÇONS
PAR
F. DELSARTE
LES MERCREDIS, HUIT HEURES DU SOIR

Commencement aux Leçons précédentes :
COURS PRATIQUES
LES SAMEDIS, A TROIS HEURES ET DEMIE
L'ART ORATOIRE résumé en 3 Leçons, les 7, 14 et 21 Mai
L'ART DU CHANT résumé en 3 Leçons, les 28 Mai, 4 et 11 Juin
L'ART MIMIQUE résumé en 3 Leçons, les 18, 25 Juin et 2 Juillet

PRIX DES COURS :
COURS D'ESTHÉTIQUE : 50 FR. — COURS PRATIQUES : 50 FR.
Pour les deux Cours : 90 fr.
PRIX D'ENTRÉE :
SÉANCE DU SOIR, 5 FR. SÉANCE DU JOUR, 3 FR.

N. B. Les Abonnés ont seuls droit aux places réservées
Les Cartes d'Abonnement se trouvent au Salon du Cercle des Sociétés Savantes, quai Malaquais, 3,
et chez M. DELSARTE, rue Croix-Boissière, 3 bis, à Chaillot.

Figures 2 and 3. Delsarte's Cours d'esthétique appliquée. Two advertisements of Delsarte's course published in Porte, pp. 94-95, original source unknown. Figure 2 is an advertisement for a series of theoretical lectures which took place in 1858, whilst figure 3 is for a theoretical and practical course for orators, painters, and musicians, which took place the following year in 1859. Porte appears to have dated two manuscript notebooks in the Special Collections at Hill Memorial Library (DP, box12, folder 54; and box12c, folder 40) based on these advertisements. I have corrected the date of the former manuscript to 1867, which does not correspond to the advertisement in figure 2. The date of the latter manuscript is correct and corresponds to the advertisement

[71] Delsarte states that the course he is delivering consists of ten lectures. Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 41 and 100.

unknown lecture series given by Delsarte in 1867, with the 1866 publication of "On the Sources of Art" serving as the course's opening lecture, thus providing a tentative explanation for why "On the Sources of Art" was glued onto the opening pages of this manuscript.[72] Moreover, it appears that the nine handwritten lectures in the manuscript were professionally transcribed – perhaps by someone at the Philotechnical Association, as was the case for "On the Sources of Art" – a transcription which was then copied out at a later date, owing to the fact that the manuscript in question contains almost no errors or corrections, and that many of the charts contained therein have been drawn with great care and attention to detail.[73] In short, the manuscript is not a student notebook written during Delsarte's lectures, as are other manuscripts located in the Louisiana archives. Waille suggests the handwriting here may be that of Delsarte's wife, Rosine,[74] which is possible, as Rosine is known to have worked alongside her husband on other projects, notably as co-editor of the *Archives du chant*.[75]

Nevertheless, whosever handwriting is in the manuscript, this person has taken great care in preserving the lectures, perhaps in an effort to one day see them published. At the beginning of Delsarte's final lecture in the manuscript, he admits that "a few people have transcribed my course. The completely improvised form of this course and errors in my speech will not allow me to authorize the publication of these lectures in the state in which they were produced. I committed a serious omission the other day."[76] One can only guess that, had he not committed such an error, he would have possibly granted permission for their publication. Furthermore, that more than one person seems to have had a hand in transcribing

[72] It is unlikely that the first lecture would have been transcribed again in 1867, having already been transcribed two years earlier.
[73] Two corrections in red pencil appear on pages 178 and 263, possibly in Delsarte's hand.
[74] Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 8.
[75] François and Rosine Delsarte, eds., *Archives du chant*; see also, Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 47.
[76] "Quelques personnes ont sténographié mon cours. La forme tout improvisé de ce cours et les incorrections de mon langage ne me permettront pas d'autoriser la publication de ces cours dans l'état où ils ont été produits. J'ai commis l'autre jour une omission assez grave." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 223. Appendix B.

his lectures suggests that this was his intention. And so, I believe the manuscript, *Cours de Monsieur Delsarte*, contains the most complete *theoretical version* of Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" that scholars can reasonably hope to recover. I say *theoretical version* because Delsarte makes it known in his final lecture that:

> These lessons should have been the preface to a practical course, which would have been infinitely more interesting because theory is a sterile thing. Theory is helpful as a means of shortening the path, but eventually one must arrive at practice. I appreciate you all the more for your attention because I was very abstract, I did pure theory.[77]

For the purposes of doctoral research, the discovery of a manuscript containing a purely theoretical course on Delsarte's aesthetic system is ideal. However, the reader should bear in mind Delsarte's insistence that the purpose of theory is to shorten the path to practice, that practice is the necessary outcome of theoretical study, which, ultimately, is the intended outcome of my future research. That this manuscript contains a purely theoretical course on Delsarte's system of applied aesthetics is the reason I have chosen it as the main archival source for my dissertation. A full transcription of the manuscript in the original French can be found in Appendix B, the pagination of the text here corresponding to the pagination in the original manuscript in order to facilitate easy cross referencing between the two versions.

MacKaye's Notebooks and Other American Sources

For the purposes of this project, I have restricted my research, for the most part, to the use of archival materials located in the Delsarte Papers archive housed in the Special Collections at Hill Memorial Library, focusing on those manuscripts written in the French language, and excluding those especially written by MacKaye. There are two reasons for this: first, the MacKaye manuscripts have received the most attention from English speaking

[77] "Ces leçons auraient dû être la préfacé d'un cours pratique qui eut été infiniment plus intéressant parce que la théorie est une chose morte. C'est intéressant comme moyen d'abréger le chemin, mais il faut arriver à la pratique. Je vous sais d'autant plus de gré de votre attention que j'ai été très abstrait, j'ai fait de la théorie pure." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 263. Appendix B.

scholars, and secondly, it is my opinion that MacKaye's writings have greatly contributed to the corruption of Delsarte's original aesthetic system by the inclusion of his own thoughts and ideas in these manuscripts – ideas which I believe Delsarte did not in fact teach.

To provide an example, Waille attributes references to the goddess Isis, and to the Kabbalah, found in MacKaye's notebooks to Delsarte himself, as if MacKaye strictly took dictation from his teacher whilst making these notes.[78] Scholars cannot assume, however, that all of the ideas contained in MacKaye's notebooks belong to Delsarte alone, and not to MacKaye, as the notebooks are not written in Delsarte's hand, and MacKaye gives no indication that he is transcribing Delsarte's lectures word for word. If similar references to Isis, or to the Kabbalah, were found in Delsarte's extant writings, or in student notebooks other than those belonging to MacKaye, then Waille's argument would be more well-grounded. However, there is no corroborating evidence in either Delsarte's writings or in the lectures transcribed by his other students to support this claim. Thus, because some of the information found in MacKaye's notebooks does not correspond to any earlier known source, I consider the notebooks themselves to be unreliable. Because it is difficult to discern Delsarte's original teachings from MacKaye's own thoughts, I have excluded his notebooks from this project, the aim of my research being the reconstruction and rediscovery of Delsarte's *original* aesthetic system.

What the notebooks seem to reveal is that MacKaye introduced erroneous theoretical elements into Delsarte's system early on in his studies, with the possible intention of making the system compatible with other esoteric systems of thought. One reason for this seems to be that MacKaye's intention was to monetize the system upon his return to America, making it more appealing to the general public by distancing Delsarte's teachings from Roman Catholic

[78] See Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 155-57.

doctrine. Evidence for this is supported by William Rounseville Alger (1822-1905),[79] who years after the system's arrival in America worried that, "owing to unfortunate influences of various kinds, [MacKaye] will delay, and drag on, and waste his life in trying to make a fortune, and die without giving [Delsarte's system] to the world."[80] Given that MacKaye did, indeed, die without publishing Delsarte's system, and that the system eventually became corrupted by various forms of esoterism, there appears to be some truth to Alger's claims. Furthermore, according to Janis Dawn Clarke, MacKaye was accused by many practitioners of withholding "the magic key" to the system which would "render all ambiguities clear and all teachers perfectly sound on all features of the Delsarte method."[81] Waille argues that this is not the case, but evidence suggests otherwise.[82] In the winter of 1871, MacKaye requested that Delsarte send him lecture notes and suggestions so that he could prepare a lecture himself on the scientific foundations of Delsarte's system, the purpose of which was to secure funding for a proposed American school with Delsarte as its president.[83] The result of the request was a letter written by Delsarte on 30 January 1871,[84] as well as another document entitled, "Notre méthode," dated five days later. Significantly, "Note méthode" appears to contain the key to Delsarte's system, as not only does the document condense Delsarte's teachings down to their core methodology and system, but it also reveals that the first principle of the system is, without a doubt, the Holy Trinity in accordance with Roman Catholic doctrine.

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[79] Alger was a Unitarian minister who travelled to France in the summer of 1871 with the hope of studying with Delsarte; however, Delsarte died prior to his arrival. Upon MacKaye's request, Alger purchased Delsarte's papers from Rosine and had them shipped to Boston. See Ruyter, *Cultivation of Body and Mind*, 23-24.
[80] William R. Alger, "Delsartism in America," in *Werner's Magazine*, October 1893, 341.
[81] Janis D. Clarke, "The Influence of the Delsarte System of Expression on American Acting 1871-1970" (PhD Diss., Washington State University, 1982), 43.
[82] Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 155.
[83] Porte, "Un historique pas de deux," in Delsarte and Porte *François Delsarte*, 19.
[84] Delsarte, "Letter to MacKaye, 30 January 1871," in Percy MacKaye, *Epoch*, 1:145.

Archival Source: Delsarte's "Notre Méthode"

The manuscript which confirms that Delsarte's method is based on Roman Catholic doctrine was written on 5 February 1871, bearing the title, "Notre méthode." According to Porte, it is the last known extant document written by Delsarte.[85] According to Benoît Gauthier, the most complete version of this text we now possess is written in Delsarte's daughter's own hand.[86] As this version contains no errors or corrections, and is located in the MacKaye family archives,[87] it would appear that this manuscript is the final version of the text that was sent to MacKaye in Boston prior to Delsarte's death. Despite the document's importance, however, it was not included amongst the writings chosen by Edgar S. Werner for translation and publication in *Delsarte System of Oratory*,[88] perhaps owing to its overt religiosity, or because of its impractical and abstract nature, as Delsarte's more theoretically inclined writings did not seem to be well received by the American public. In 1884, a Mr Wells complained in *Werner's Voice Magazine* that he had received material attributed to Delsarte from several sources which he found of doubtful practical usefulness: "Much of the matter, it is thought, would be much more appropriate for study in a Catholic theological seminary than for the dramatic student. If it had been printed and not understood, occasional Delsartians would have looked wise, clapped their hands, and said it was *excellent*."[89] Judging from the greater success Stebbins' practical treatise, *Delsarte System of Expression*, received over the more abstract and densely written, *Delsarte System of Oratory*, what American practitioners seem to have demanded from Werner was a decidedly practical

[85] Porte, 25.
[86] Marie Magdeleine Real del Sarte (1853-1927) was a painter. She married infantry captain and sculptor Désiré Louis Real (1852-1909) in 1887.
[87] Delsarte, "Notre méthode," *The Papers of the Mackaye Family*, Baker Library, Special Collections, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, box 22 ML5 (22) (in box 7), folder 1, document 4. A transcript of the text is located in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 808-19. Draft versions are also located in DP, box 1, folder 21, item 9, and folder 24b, items 1 and 5.
[88] For those manuscripts chosen for publication by Werner, see Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 381-529.
[89] Wells, "The Delsarte Controversy," *The Voice Magazine*, April 1884, 56.

approach to Delsarte's teachings. However, what they also demanded was a key, or first principle, which would unlock his system, but which they never received. It is likely that, had the complete version of "Notre méthode" been published in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, not only would American practitioners have received the key to Delsarte's system – the principle of the Holy Trinity – there would also have been little doubt as to the religious nature of the system, which in turn would have surely prevented MacKaye, Stebbins, and others from attempting to monetize the system under the more socially acceptable metaphysical systems of esoterism, Hermeticism, and Swedenborgianism popular at the time.

Although Delsarte's "Notre méthode" was published in 1992 by Porte, American scholarship on the Delsarte System since then has either ignored or dismissed its contents, scholars apparently choosing to believe instead that Delsarte's system is based on the so-called Law of Correspondence, an Hermetic concept first championed by Stebbins, and which has all but replaced the Holy Trinity as the first principle of Delsarte's system in scholarship since the 1970s. In 2009, Waille admitted that he found no trace of the Law of Correspondence in Delsarte's writings,[90] and yet despite this, he continues to support the law in his own writings as one of the two fundamental principles of Delsarte's system.[91] Thus, owing to the ongoing scholarly focus on the erroneous Law of Correspondence, rather than the principle of the Holy Trinity in Delsarte's system, I have included a complete English translation of the final version of "Notre méthode" in an appendix of this project.[92] The document serves not only as evidence of Delsarte's method, but also to show that there is no discrete Law of Correspondence in his original aesthetic system.[93] The Holy Trinity is the only principle mentioned in "Notre méthode" – the last extant document Delsarte is believed

[90] Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 191.
[91] Waille, *La méthode somatique expressive*, 113-15.
[92] See Appendix C.
[93] To be clear, I am not arguing that there are no "correspondences" in Delsarte's system, but rather that there is no discrete "Law of Correspondence" equal to the Trinity; such a "double principle" would lead to plurality and thereby destroy the unity of the system. See section 2.1.3.

to have written – and so it would appear that the first and only principle of his aesthetic system is based on this doctrine. In the document, and in terms of the cause, principle, and end of his scientific investigations, Delsarte argued that:

> the Sign of the Cross is not only the epitome of theology and of all that the Church teaches, but it is also the light of the sciences, a transluminous light in contact with which everything is simplified and clearly explained. But where does the eloquent fecundity of this sign come from? It symbolizes the divine Trinity and, as such, it expresses the triple causality, I mean: the cause, the principle and the end of beings and things.[94]

In terms of his method, Delsarte goes on to argue that:

> The method which forms the basis of our teaching is of divine origin, in the sense that it proceeds from *the very method of Christ*, which lends to every truth, as to every proposition of a metaphysical order, the support of a material or organic demonstration. This method – whose power the Church has revealed to us – leaves no room for error and constitutes, against modern utopians and their sophisms, an irresistible and always triumphant weapon.[95]

Taken together, these two passages indicate both the epistemology and methodology of Delsarte's system. Epistemologically, we can be sure that the system is based on Aristotelian-Scholasticism because Delsarte places the *existence* of beings and things – rather than cognition (Cartesianism) – as the cause, principle, and end of all science. Methodologically, the so-called "method of Christ" to which Delsarte refers has three distinct features: 1) a metaphysical order, 2) a material or organic order, and 3) the condition that all metaphysical propositions be supported by a particular organic demonstration. According to Delsarte, Christ's method corresponds to the Aristotelian-Scholastic method of metaphysical or moderate realism, a philosophical position which takes a middle path between the radical

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[94] "le signe de croix n'est pas seulement l'abrégé de la théologie et de tout ce qu'enseigne l'Église, il est encore la lumière des sciences, lumière translumineuse au contact de laquelle tout se simplifie et s'explique nettement. Mais d'où vient l'éloquente fécondité de ce signe ? C'est qu'il symbolise la Trinité divine et, qu'à ce titre, il exprime la triple causalité, je veux dire : la cause, le principe et la fin des êtres et des choses." Delsarte, "Notre méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 816. Appendix C.

[95] "La méthode qui forme la base de notre enseignement est d'origine divine, en ce sens qu'elle procède de la méthode même du Christ, laquelle prête à toute vérité, comme à toute proposition d'ordre métaphysique, l'appui d'une démonstration matérielle ou organique. Cette méthode – dont l'Église nous a dévoilé la puissance, – ne laisse nulle prise à l'erreur et constitue, contre les utopistes modernes et contre leurs sophismes, une arme irrésistible et toujours triomphante." Delsarte, 811, emphasis mine. Appendix C.

realism of Plato and the nominalism of William of Ockham. Thus, according to Delsarte, Christ's own method is in accordance with the writings of Aristotle, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. A defining feature of metaphysical realism is that universal propositions do not exist apart from particular instances, which is the Platonic view of reality, nor do they exist only logically in the mind, which is the nominalist view held by Ockham. Rather, Aristotelian-Scholasticism maintains that universal propositions exist as part and parcel of things-in-themselves, a theory which provides an intelligible unity to the existence of both beings and things. Thus, in terms of a metaphysical realist explanation of beings and things, every proposition of a universal or metaphysical order in Delsarte's system must necessarily be accompanied and supported by a material or organic demonstration.

In the manuscript "Notre méthode," Delsarte argues that not only is the Sign of the Cross the epitome of theology, but it is also the light of the sciences. Elsewhere in his writings, Delsarte defines the term *science* as "the possession of a criterion against which no fact protests."[96] For Delsarte, science constitutes the initial foundations of art, which he defines in turn as the generalization and application of science.[97] Thus, Delsarte's definition of science conforms to both the Scholastic definition in the broad sense of the word,[98] as well as to the modern definition which is often paired or contrasted with art, as in the Arts & Sciences. Therefore, when Delsarte states in "Notre méthode" that the Sign of the Cross symbolizes the Trinity, and that the Trinity is "the most fruitful means of scientific

[96] "la possession d'un critérium d'examen contre lequel aucun fait ne proteste." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée: Des sources de l'Art," *L'Avenir musical* 3, no. 20 (October 1867): 197.
[97] Delsarte, 197. Art as the generalization of science in the broader sense of the term is a form of knowledge, a synonym of *scientia*. Art as the application of science in the narrower sense of the term means skill, dexterity, and adroitness in producing a work. Thus, art and science can be synonyms, as well as contrasted in terms of theory (science in the broad sense) and practice (art in the narrow sense). See Roy J. Deferrari and M. Inviolata Barry, *A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Fitzwilliam, NH: Loreto Publications, 2004), s.v. "*ars*" and "*scientia*." In terms of knowledge in a broad sense, Aristotle argues that both art and science derive from *experience*. See Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, trans. W. D. Ross, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 981a1-12.
[98] Science: "intellectual knowledge that is certain, and evident, the opposite of *fides* and *opinio* on one hand, and of *ignorantia* and *nescientia* on the other." *LSTA*, s.v. "*scientia*."

investigation," that it is "our guide in the applied sciences," that it is the "cause, principle, and end of all science," that it is an "infallible criterion," and that "we must start from it as an immoveable axiom,"[99] what he means is that the Sign of the Cross is a scientific first principle in the medieval, Aristotelian-Scholastic sense, and in the modern sense of the word as well. For Delsarte, there is – or rather there ought to be – no difference between medieval and modern science on either epistemological or methodological grounds because the way in which we, as human beings, acquire and experience knowledge does not change. Exactly why Delsarte believed that the doctrine of the Trinity could serve as a viable first principle and criterion of his aesthetic system in accordance with more modern scientific methods employed in the nineteenth century is one of the focuses of this investigation.

Chapter Outline

In order to understand how Delsarte discovered and applied the Holy Trinity as a scientific first principle and criterion, as well as how his aesthetic system functions as a whole, the first three chapters are broadly structured around three different areas of investigation: medieval scientific epistemology and methodology, nineteenth-century philosophy of science, and ancient Greek music and aesthetics. The first chapter reconstructs Delsarte's aesthetic system based on the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, showing how he first discovered the phenomenon of the reflection of the Trinity in both the perfect triad in music and the natural phenomenon of the overtone series, and how, by establishing the Trinity as the first principle of his aesthetic system, he claimed to have constituted the discipline of aesthetics as a positive science. By analysing the terms of the three divine

[99] "La Trinité, base hypostatique des êtres et des choses, est le reflet de la majesté divine dans son œuvre. Elle est comme une réverbération sur nous de sa propre lumière. La Trinité surgit dans les moindres compartiments de l'œuvre divine et doit être considérée, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, comme le moyen le plus fécond d'investigation scientifique. La Trinité est notre guide dans les sciences d'application dont elle est à la fois la lumière et l'énigme. Cause, principe et fin de toute science, elle en est le critérium infaillible, et il faut en partir comme d'un axiome inébranlable." Delsarte, "Notre méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 818. Appendix C.

persons of the Trinity according to Delsarte's own instructions, that is in accordance with the theology of the circumincession and processional relations, I discuss how the first principle and criterion of Delsarte's system can be understood as being *self-evident* – a necessary condition to which all scientific first principles must conform. Throughout the rest of the chapter, I demonstrate the meaning and significance of Delsarte's symbolic language, through a detailed analysis of various charts and illustrations, which allowed his students to grasp the entirety of his aesthetic system at a single glance. I also show how Delsarte's aesthetic system avoids the critical problem of Cartesian dualism in a nineteenth-century context by applying Delsarte's symbolic language to Descartes' rationalist philosophic system and thereby highlight its errors. Furthermore, I show how Delsarte's epistemology and methodology align with the tenets of medieval metaphysical realism by providing corresponding Aristotelian-Scholastic definitions to Delsarte's nomenclature in the footnotes, also arguing that Delsarte's "new" aesthetic methodology, which is based on immediate apperception rather than abstraction, surpasses the medieval order of scientific inquiry by integrating the modern disciplines of aesthetics and psychology into a medieval epistemological system. Finally, I show not only how Delsarte's criterion of the Ninth Chord corresponds to the Christian angelic hierarchy, but also how Delsarte believed that his principle and criterion formed the epistemological and methodological foundations necessary for a universally scientific, philosophical, and theological system of knowledge.

The second chapter investigates the development of Delsarte's aesthetic system within the historical context of early nineteenth-century France in order to show that the system is not a mere throwback to Aristotelian-Scholastic medievalism, but that it also aligns with the most advanced philosophical and scientific thinking of his day, a movement now known as French spiritualist realism. In 1867, philosopher Félix Ravaisson (1813-1900) coined the term *spiritualist realism* in order to differentiate the writings and ideas of Maine de Biran and

Théodore Simon Jouffroy (1796-1842) from the *spiritualist eclecticism* of Victor Cousin (1792-1867), whose school had dominated the philosophic discourse in the first half of the century in France.[100] As I will show, Biran's anthropological system, which was kept alive in the writings of Jouffroy in the 1830s and 40s, allowed Delsarte to combine the methodologies of scientific empiricism, philosophical rationalism, and theological mysticism into a unified epistemological system owing to Biran's earlier project of unifying the disciplines of physiology and psychology into a single anthropological system – a system ultimately aligned with the Aristotelian-Scholastic principles of metaphysical realism.[101] The first part of the chapter traces the development of Biran's philosophical thought from Cartesianism to nineteenth-century spiritualist realism in order to show how his anthropological system ultimately aligns with the tenets of metaphysical realism. The second part of the chapter traces Delsarte's religious and methodological conversions over the course of the 1830s, the former from atheism to Roman Catholicism, the latter from rationalism to metaphysical realism – conversions which I argue go hand in hand. The third part of the chapter compares Delsarte's aesthetic teachings to the philosophical writings of Jouffroy, which I believe, along with Aquinas' writings, prompted Delsarte to abandon Lavater's materialist physiological system in favour of a psychophysiological system which aligned with his new-found Christian beliefs. The purpose of the chapter is to show how Delsarte was able to define the discipline of aesthetics as a positive science, possibly for the first time in history, based on Biran's tripartite anthropological system, and how he appears to have epistemologically

[100] See Larry Sommer McGrath, *Making Spirit Matter*: *Neurology, Psychology, and Selfhood in Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 20.

[101] At the time Delsarte developed his aesthetic theory in the 1830s, Catholic doctrine was not founded entirely upon the writings of Thomas Aquinas but was under the influence of post-Cartesian philosophy. Thus, Delsarte developed his aesthetic theory in accordance with the philosophical school of spiritualist realism, which was *against* the currently accepted doctrine of the Church, decades before the Neo-Thomistic movement gained a foothold in France. See Gerald A. McCool, *Nineteenth-Century Scholasticism*: *The Search for a Unitary Method* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 1-58.

combined the medieval order of inquiry, based on abstraction, with Biran's anthropological system and Jouffroy's theory of the poetic impulse, based on three modes of perception.

The third chapter investigates the musical foundations of Delsarte's aesthetic system, which is based on the principles of ancient music, and partially reconstructs his musical system from information found in both his extant writings as well as those of his students. By applying Delsarte's principle of the Trinity and criterion of the Ninth Chord to those writings, I attempt to rediscover aspects of his musical system which were once believed to have been lost. Also, by analysing ancient treatises on music and aesthetics, I show that what constituted the scientific study of aesthetics for Delsarte in the nineteenth century is what, generally speaking, constituted the study of music for the ancient Greeks – ancient music being conceived as a science of perception. The second part of the chapter shows how Delsarte transformed his theoretical system into a practical system by reordering the three divine persons of the Trinity so that the Holy Ghost, rather than the Father, became the generative term. From there, I show how Delsarte's practical system functions in the physical realm in accordance with his theory of the seven sacraments and seven societal orders. In parts four, five, and six of the chapter, I partially reconstruct Delsarte's musical system, which is shown to consist of a diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic genus, showing not only how Delsarte's chromatic musical system is based on the phenomenon of the overtone series, but also how his Ninth Chord criterion produces a system of interlocking triads, which is now primarily identified with the music of Wagner and Liszt. In reconstructing the musical aspects of the system, the purpose of this chapter is to show how Delsarte's aesthetic system is first and foremost a musical system – rather than a gestural system – and one that appears to be based on scientific principles derived from the observation of natural phenomena, and how the principles of ancient music and aesthetics correspond to Delsarte's principle of the Trinity.

The fourth and final chapter presents a case study on the composer Richard Wagner in order to show the unrecognised influence Delsarte's teachings had on the evolution of music in the nineteenth century. The first part of the chapter investigates the literature on Delsarte which suggests a possible connection between Wagner's early aesthetic treatises and Delsarte's aesthetic system. Part two investigates the manuscript evidence which appears to link Wagner's aesthetic theory in *Opera and Drama* to Delsarte's aesthetic theory, whilst part three compares the key terms that Wagner attempted to clarify in his 1872 introduction to "Art and Revolution" to similar key terms found in Delsarte's theory. What this study suggests is that not only did Wagner know about Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics," but that his early treatises appear to be based on Delsarte's theory. Part four investigates Delsarte's rise to fame in Paris as both a teacher of aesthetics and as a celebrated interpreter of Gluck's music during the years Wagner was living in the city, showing that it is possible for Wagner to have attended Delsarte's course, and indeed that it would have been impossible for him to have lived and worked as a musician in Paris during this time and not know who Delsarte was. Finally, I contextualize Delsarte's system within a nineteenth-century framework of musical aesthetics, not only in connection with Wagner's early treatises, but also in connection with Hanslick's treatise, *On the Musically Beautiful,* in order to show that the study of musical aesthetics in the nineteenth century should henceforth begin not with either Hanslick or Wagner, but with Delsarte. The purpose of this chapter is to show how influential Delsarte's aesthetic theory appears to have been in terms of the important role it played in the evolution of music in the nineteenth century.

In the conclusion, I return to the question of the scientific nature of Delsarte's aesthetic system, where I find the system to be scientific not only in a medieval Aristotelian-Scholastic sense of the term, and that the Holy Trinity can validly serve as a first principle and criterion of a scientific system, but that it also appears to be in accordance with the

modern methods of nineteenth-century science under the philosophical school of French spiritualist realism, as well as those of ancient Greek music as a science of perception. Having established Delsarte's system as a *musical system*, I argue that Delsarte's teachings should no longer be peripheral to the discipline of nineteenth-century musicological research, but rather central to it, especially considering the influence his aesthetic system appears to have had on an untold number of singers, composers, and musicians he taught over the course of his teaching career, which spanned more than thirty-years. Lastly, I acknowledge the limitations of my research, which focuses on the theoretical aspects of Delsarte's system, rather than the practical application of his system to the various art forms, and also suggest further avenues for research on Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics."

Chapter 1. Epistemology and Methodology: Metaphysical Realism

"In short, Delsarte locked himself in the catechism,
And the key to his system is there." Raymond Brucker[102]

Because Delsarte's teachings by his own admission resist being pigeon-holed within the specialist confines of a modern academy, I present in this chapter an analysis of his epistemological and methodological systems so that they may be visualized and thus clearly understood. In order to understand Delsarte's system, it is necessary to understand the epistemological implications of metaphysical realism, and more specifically Aristotelian-Scholasticism, the philosophical school on which his system is based, and how this school differs from modern scientific and philosophic systems of thought.[103] So different is a Thomistic understanding of knowledge that the modern definition of the term *epistemology*, meaning a science of knowledge, is incompatible with metaphysical realism. Philosopher Frederick D. Wilhelmsen argues that "science, in the Thomistic sense, means an understanding of things through their causes, but the causes of knowledge are many."[104] Furthermore, Wilhelmsen insists that the causes of knowledge are located within the sciences themselves, and so are distinct from any supposed "epistemological science" in the modern sense of the term.[105] Thus, what epistemology should mean, according to Wilhelmsen, is "an

[102] "Bref, Delsarte s'est enfermé dans le catéchisme, et la clef de son système est là." Raymond Brucker, "Christine: ou tout un monde en miniature," *Le Correspondant: revue mensuelle* 4 (1843): 211.
[103] In 2009, Waille confirmed that Delsarte's understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity was based on the writings of Aquinas. Not only does Delsarte explicitly state this in a letter to his friend Brucker, as Waille points out, but a manuscript collection once owned by Jean-Loup Réal-Delsarte (Delsarte's great-grandson) is known to have contained fragments of a bilingual copy of the *Summa Theologiae* annotated by Delsarte himself (*La somme théologique de Saint Thomas latin-français en regard, avec des notes théologiques, historiques et philologiques*, M. l'Abbé Drioux, 15 vols. (Paris: Eugène Belin, 1853-56). Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this annotated copy is currently unknown and presumed lost. See Delsarte, "Lettre à brucker, 2e Trinitaire," DP, box 1, folder 26, item 4, page 2; Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 184, 845, and 944; and Waille, "Les archives de François Delsarte, sources et produit d'un travail scientifique," in *François Delsarte, une recherche sans fin*, eds. Frannk Waille and Christophe Damour (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2015), 20.
[104] Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, *Man's Knowledge of Reality*: *An Introduction to Thomistic Epistemology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956), 3.
[105] Wilhelmsen, *Knowledge of Reality*, 3.

investigation linking the metaphysics of knowledge and truth with the psychology of knowledge,"[106] a definition which, as we will see, conforms to Delsarte's epistemological system. Therefore, throughout this chapter, I use the term *epistemology* in the Thomistic sense to mean a philosophical investigation that is properly epistemological, that is an understanding of things through their causes.[107] In this chapter, I investigate not only how Delsarte epistemologically and methodologically defined the scientific study of aesthetics in relation to other types of knowledge, but also how his system avoids the critical problem of Cartesian dualism within a nineteenth-century context,[108] with the understanding that, from a Thomistic perspective, the critical problem of Cartesian dualism did not occur to the Scholastic mindset, since dualism between spirit and matter does not arise in metaphysical realism itself.

One of the obstacles to overcoming current misunderstandings of Delsarte's system, owing to its pre-modern epistemology, is the problem of medieval nomenclature. As the philosopher and theologian Louis Eugène Marie Bautain (1796-1867) points out: "in the intellectual world of the angelical doctor [Aquinas] a language is spoken very different from the language of modern science. To be able to know one's place in that world, to travel through it, one must begin by learning the vocabulary of its language."[109] In the early-nineteenth century, the same problem would have presented itself to Delsarte because his lectures were addressed not to academics or theologians, but to musicians and artists, people who would have likely had no formal training in medieval systems of thought. And so, Delsarte developed a symbolic language to demonstrate to his students the numerous special

[106] Wilhelmsen, 5.
[107] Wilhelmsen, 3.
[108] For an overview of the critical problem of Cartesianism, see Wilhelmsen, 8-15.
[109] Louis Eugène Marie Bautain, *An Epitome of the History of Philosophy*, 2 vols. 1 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1855), 305. Delaumosne refers to Bautain as one of the great orators of modern times. See Joseph Delaumosne, *Pratique de l'art oratoire de Delsarte* (Paris: J. Albanel, 1874), 1.

applications that could be generated from the first principle of his system.[110] It is important to note that it was owing to difficulties in nomenclature that Delsarte's system became misunderstood shortly after his death. By the time his teachings were popularized in America in the late nineteenth century, not only was the language of medieval Scholasticism being mistaken for that of modern science, but Delsarte's symbolic language, rooted in Christian symbolism, was being mistaken for various forms of esoteric thought. Thus, in this chapter, I reconstruct Delsarte's epistemological and methodological system using both his symbolic language and that of Aristotelian-Scholasticism, in order to correct this error. By doing so, my hope is to make Delsarte's aesthetic system accessible to both artist and scholar alike.

The first part of this chapter explores the doctrine of the Trinity as stated in the Roman Catholic Catechism in relation to Delsarte's writings which, according to his friend Raymond Brucker (1800-1875),[111] contains the key to unlocking his system. It also shows how Delsarte applied the mystery of the Trinity as the scientific first principle of his aesthetic system. Part two shows how Delsarte based his system on two fundamental aspects of Catholic doctrine: a) the circumincession, and b) the processional relations, demonstrating how these two interconnected doctrines serve as the epistemological and methodological foundation of his system. Part three applies Delsarte's symbolic language of the processional relations to Descartes' rationalist system in order to show how Delsarte's aesthetic system avoids the critical problem of Cartesian dualism. Part four shows how Delsarte developed a universal system by integrating the modern disciplines of aesthetics and psychology into a medieval epistemological system, thus developing a "new" methodology based on apperception, rather than abstraction. Finally, part five shows how Delsarte based his

[110] According to Aquinas, sight is considered to be the most spiritual, the most perfect, and the most universal of all the senses because it is without natural immutation, and thus symbolism helps raise the mind to an understanding of metaphysics. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, trans. Laurence Shapcote, eds. John Mortensen and Enrique Alarcón, 8 vols. (Lander, WY: The Aquinas Institute, 2012), Ia Q.78 A.3.
[111] Brucker was a novelist, journalist, and orator. For a brief biography, see A. Baraud, *Chrétiens et hommes célèbres au XIXe siècle* (Tours: A. Mame et fils, 1892), 89-108.

criterion of the Ninth Chord on the Christian angelic hierarchy, and also how he believed his principle and criterion formed the epistemological and methodological foundations necessary for a universally scientific, philosophical, and theological system. In the footnotes throughout this chapter, I provide a number of Aristotelian and Scholastic definitions corresponding to Delsarte's nomenclature, in order to show how his system aligns with the tenets of both metaphysical realism and Thomistic doctrine.

1.1 Delsarte and The Doctrine of the Trinity

Prior to exploring the doctrine of the Trinity and its application as a scientific first principle, the question of what Brucker meant by his statement – the key to Delsarte's system is in the catechism – must first be addressed. Fortunately, an anecdotal story of Delsarte's discovery of the Trinity in sound appears in Brucker's biography, written by Abbé A. Baraud.[112] It would appear the story was told by Brucker so often that it became associated with his own conversion to Christianity. As it details the moment Delsarte apparently made the discovery whilst sitting at his piano, the story is worth quoting in full:

> Tired of a hectic life, says J. Loiseau, where he [Brucker] took care of everything except his soul, instructed by many disappointments, his illusions finally disappeared, and he felt that he needed God.
>
> Wandering one evening on an adventure, his soul preoccupied with this thought, he went to see a friend, an artist, a man of genius: it was Delsarte.
>
> Delsarte was not a Christian either, but he too aspired to be one, unaware even of his own desires, and vaguely seeking that something without which every soul remains fatally dark, sad, and cold. When Brucker entered, Delsarte had his finger on a key of the piano…
>
> "What are you doing there?" Brucker asked him.
>
> "Listen."
>
> Brucker was not a musician and did not have a very musical ear; but his friend made him understand nonetheless that he was faced with an incomprehensible mystery.

[112] Baraud, *Chrétiens et hommes célèbres*, 89-108.

> "Do you not hear," said Delsarte to him, "this *la* which I have just struck?"
>
> "Yes."
>
> "And hold on! this sound is subdivided into three perfectly distinct sounds: the *la* that I strike, then the dominant of the *la*, the *mi*, which is generated by the tonic, and from this tonic and from this dominant another sound proceeds, determining the sound of the note, it is the *C sharp* or mediant; and these three simultaneous sounds given by a single string, marrying their vibrations, necessary to each other and producing only one sound, how do you explain this to me, Brucker?"
>
> "Mother of God! It is glaringly similar to what we were taught in the catechism, and what was called the mystery of the Trinity."
>
> "Yes, but we said so often that it was absurd!"
>
> "*Yes, as absurd as your tonic generating its dominant, and your mediant proceeding from the two. Perhaps it is we who are absurd*."
>
> "Perhaps."
>
> "Shall we go to confession?"
>
> There they were. And since then, neither of them ever sought for anything. They had everything, and when you have everything, there is nothing left.[113]

Thus, what Brucker meant by his statement about the key to Delsarte' system being located in the catechism was the correspondence that Delsarte determined between the *particular* phenomenon of the unfolding of the overtone series in music, and the *universal* theory of the

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[113] "Las d'une vie agitée, dit J. Loiseau, ou il s'occupait de tout, excepté de son âme, instruit par de nombreuses déceptions, ses illusions disparurent enfin, et il sentit qu'il avait besoin de Dieu. Errant un soir à l'aventure, l'âme préoccupée de cette pensée, il se rendit chez un ami, un artiste, un homme de génie : c'est Delsarte. Delsarte, non plus, n'était pas chrétien ; mais lui aussi aspirait à l'être, inconscient mem de ses désirs, et cherchant vaguement ce quelque chose sans lequel toute âme demeure fatalement sombre, triste et, glacée. Quand Brucker entra, Delsarte avait le doigt sur une touche de son piano… « Que fais-tu là ? lui dit Brucker. – Écoute. » Brucker n'était pas musicien et n'avait pas l'oreille très musicale ; mais son ami ne lui fit pas moins comprendre qu'il se trouvait en face d'un incompréhensible mystère. « N'entends-tu pas, lui disait Delsarte, ce *la* que je viens de frapper ? – Oui. – Et tiens ! ce son se subdivise en trois sons parfaitement distincts : le *la* que je frappe, puis la dominante du *la*, le *mi*, qui est engendrée par la tonique, et de cette tonique et de cette dominante un autre son procède, déterminant le son de la note, c'est le *do dièse* ou la médiante ; et ces trois sons simultanés donnés par une seule corde, mariant leurs vibrations, nécessaires l'une à l'autre et ne produisant qu'un seul son, comment m'expliques-tu cela, Brucker ? – Dame ! Cela ressemble furieusement à ce qu'on nous enseignait au catéchisme, et qu'on appelait le mystère de la Trinité. – Oui, mais nous avons tant dit qu'il était absurde ! – *Oui, absurde comme ta tonique engendrant sa dominante, et ta médiante procédant de deux autres. C'est peut-être bien nous qui sommes absurdes*. – Peut-être. – Si nous allions nous confesser ? » Ils y furent. Et depuis lors jamais ni l'un ni l'autre n'ont rien cherché. Ils avaient tout, et quand on a tout, il n'y a plus rien de reste." Baraud, *Chrétiens et hommes célèbres*, 94-96, emphasis Baraud.

processional relations of the doctrine of the Trinity.[114] What Brucker's story shows is that the principle of the Trinity was *revealed* to Delsarte through the natural phenomenon of sound, meaning that Delsarte, as an atheist, did not begin by believing in the doctrine and then apply this belief system to the natural world, but rather that he was able to *induct* the principle of the Trinity from the particular phenomenon of the overtone series. Such an account of Delsarte's discovery is supported by French-Canadian priest and academic Thomas-Étienne Hamel (1830-1913), who studied with Delsarte for four years in Paris between 1854-1858. In his *Cours d'éloquence parlée d'après Delsarte* (1906), Hamel recounts a conversation whereby Delsarte insisted that it was art which led him to religion, not the other way around:

> The famous Victor Cousin, who was his friend, told him one day that he found his teaching magnificent, but too religious in the presence of an audience that was not very. "What do you want, my dear Monsieur," Delsarte answered him, "it was not Religion that led me to Art, it was Art that led me to Religion. Art is essentially religious; I therefore cannot speak of it without showing it as it is."[115]

Therefore, it was through the *practice* of his art that Delsarte happened upon the principle of the Trinity in sound. And, according to Brucker's story, in order to gain a greater understanding of the mystery which had been revealed to him, Delsarte turned to the study of the doctrine of the Trinity in the Catechism of the Catholic Church, with the hope that to gain a greater understanding of the Trinity was also to gain a greater understanding of music.

Not knowing which version of the catechism Delsarte studied, I have chosen *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* (1566) on which to base the following analysis. Vasile Creţu points out that post-1822 catechisms, aimed at the instruction of children, merely educated them "to live as a good Christian," whereas pre-revolutionary catechisms, intended for priests, aimed at "transforming the Christian ignorant on matters of faith" through the

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[114] See Delsarte, "The Holy Trinity Recovered in Sound" in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th ed., 484-85.
[115] "Le célèbre Victor Cousin, qui était son ami, lui dit un jour qu'il trouvait son enseignement magnifique, mais trop religieux en présence d'un auditoire qui ne l'était pas beaucoup. 'Que voulez-vous, mon cher Monsieur, lui répondit Delsarte, ce n'est pas la Religion qui m'a mené à l'Art ; c'est l'Art qui m'a mené à la Religion. Car l'Art est essentiellement religieux ; et je ne puis en parler sans le montrer tel qu'il est.'" Thomas-Étienne Hamel, *Cours d'éloquence parlée d'après Delsarte* (Québec: Compagnie de L'Événement, 1906), 4.

"appropriation of a universal knowledge which would make it possible to unify human action."[116] And so, because the mission of the pre-revolutionary catechism aligns with Delsarte's mission, that the way in which one science leads to another is through the unity of human action or moral education, I have chosen *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*.

1.1.1 The Catechism of the Council of Trent

According to *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* (*CCT*), the Christian faith believes and professes that "God in his nature, substance, and essence is one; but, soaring still higher, it so understands him to be one that it reverences Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity."[117] The faith also believes and professes three persons in one Godhead: "the Father, who is begotten of none; the Son, who is begotten of the Father before all worlds; the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son likewise from all eternity."[118] The former statement on the doctrine of the Trinity corresponds to the theology of the *circumincession*, insofar as one person "neither does more than, nor acts without, another," and that "whatever originates from them extrinsically is the work of the three Persons without any sort of difference,"[119] the term *circumincession* being used by Scholastic thinkers to mean the indwelling of the three divine Persons in one another. The latter statement corresponds to the theology of the *processional relations*, a term used to signify the distinct relationships of the three persons from one another. Taken together, these two statements contain the essential

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[116] "Le Catéchisme du Concile de Trente visait la transformation du « chrétien ignorant des chose de la foi » en « fidèle ». Cette transformation se nouait dans l'appropriation d'un savoir global qui devait permettre d'unifier l'agir humain en vue du Salut, mobilisé par Dieu, la transcendance vers laquelle et pour laquelle la vie se construit. Dans les catéchismes tripartites, ce souci de l'unité de l'agir humain à travers la connaissance n'est apparemment plus la priorité; l'enjeu prioritaire est d'éduquer les enfants à vivre en bon chrétien, c'est à dire professant leur foi et d'en témoigner à travers l'application des devoirs qu'elle impose." Vasile Creţu, "Catéchismes catholiques en France entre 1810 et 1950. Une courte présentation analytique," *Teologia* 87, no. 2 (2021): 66.
[117] Catholic Church, *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, trans. Theodore Alois Buckley (London: George Routledge, 1852), 19-20.
[118] *CCT*, 21.
[119] *CCT*, 42.

doctrine of the Trinity, the catechism warning against any further investigation into these fundamental truths, which must be accepted not by reason, but by faith alone:

> But whereas there is nothing in which it is more dangerous to make investigation, or more serious to err, than in the knowledge and explanation of this the most profound and difficult of things, let the pastor instruct the people that they religiously retain the terms "essence" and "person," by which this mystery is expressed; and let the faithful know that unity belongs to the essence and distinction to the persons.[120]

And so, the doctrine of the Trinity in the catechism is presented as a series of interconnected statements corresponding either to the circumincession or processional relations, both of which must be accepted as propositionally true based on faith rather than reason.

Thus, the Catholic faith recognizes two orders of knowledge by which man comes to apprehend the Trinity: a) through *faith* by divine revelation, and b) through reason resulting "from the investigation of the works of God," that is *sense perception*.[121] These two orders of knowledge are defined according to the two methods by which knowledge of God is acquired, *divine revelation* or the *rational investigation of created things*. Notably, the catechism warns against a rationalist approach to knowledge of the Trinity, not because such an approach is invalid, natural philosophers apparently having attained many truths touching upon the nature of God from the investigation of His works, but because human science is a long and treacherous road and, unlike faith, reason is more likely to err:

> we also recognize, if we reflect, that not only does faith, as we have already observed, make known clearly and at once to the rude and uneducated those truths, the knowledge of which philosophers only attained by long study, but likewise that the *knowledge of things*, which is obtained by the discipline of faith, is much more certain, and much more free from error, than if the mind had arrived at the knowledge of those same things, by the reasonings of human science.[122]

Epistemologically speaking, there are two things to note about the above statement: a) the non-educated person can learn immediately by faith what philosophers attain though long study by sense and reason, and b) knowledge of things [*rerum notitia*] is more certain when

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[120] *CCT*, 22.
[121] *CCT*, 18.
[122] *CCT*, 18, emphasis mine.

obtained by faith than by reason or human science [*humanæ scientiæ*].[123] What is meant by the term *faith* in the catechism is apparently more restricted than in Scripture, meaning here an unyielding assent to the foundation and summary of truth "which regards the unity of the Divine Essence, and the distinction of the Three Persons, and the actions which are in some sort peculiarly attributed to each."[124] And so, first amongst those truths proposed by the Christian religion, according to the catechism, is a necessary belief in the Trinity as a primary proposition for both educated and non-educated alike, a proposition which leads to a kind of *knowledge of things* which is more certain than that obtained by scientific study.

Turning to Delsarte's writings, a similar distinction between knowledge acquired by faith and by reason based on the senses is found in relation to his investigation of the Trinity:

> Amongst those who profess to worship the Trinity, very few are concerned with knowing it and studying its beauties. Of course, these are not the ones who we blame for their ignorance. Faith in this lofty matter is better than science. What is the use of knowing the Trinity if we displease the Trinity?[125] There is no doubt that a grain of love is far superior to anything science can offer. This being achieved, however, let us recognize that science as we understand it cannot harm the faith from which it arises, and that on the contrary it can help to strengthen and exalt it.[126]

Although Delsarte agrees with the authors of the catechism that faith is superior to reason, unlike those authors, he believes that a reasoned investigation of the Trinity cannot harm the faith because scientific knowledge itself, as he understands it, is based on, and arises out of, the primary proposition of the Catholic faith. What this means is that Delsarte recognized that all rational systems of knowledge are necessarily based on primary propositions, or first principles, and that the primary proposition of Christianity, according to the catechism, is

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[123] Latin text from Catholic Church, *Catechismus Romanus, Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Ad Parochos* (Anturpiæ, 1572), 18.
[124] *CCT*, 13.
[125] "But without faith it is impossible to please him." Heb. 11:6 KJV. Also quoted in *CCT*, 11.
[126] "Parmi ceux-là mêmes qui font profession d'adorer la Trinité, combien peu se sont occupés de la connaître et d'en étudier les beautés. Certes, ce n'est pas à ceux-là que nous reprochons leur ignorance. La foi, en cette haute matière, vaut mieux que la science. Que vous sert de connaître la Trinité si vous déplaisez à la Trinité ? Il n'est pas douteux qu'un grain d'amour se sait supérieur à tout ce que peut donner la science. Cela acquis, reconnaissons cependant que la science telle que nous l'entendons ne saurait nuire à la foi dont elle découle, et qu'elle peut au contraire contribuer à la fortifier et à l'exalter." Delsarte, "Qu'est-ce que la Trinité?," DP, box 1a, folder OS 36b, item 12.

nothing other than the doctrine of the Trinity. Delsarte was therefore aware of the treacherous path he was taking by a rational investigation of the Trinity because he understood the fallibility of his own reason, which if not based on the truth of a primary proposition, could only err and fall fatally "into an abyss of illusions."[127] The danger with reason alone, as Delsarte explained to his students, is that rational knowledge is only as true as the primary proposition on which it is based, and from which rational knowledge proceeds:

> I find reasoning very good, very logical, but then again you know what I think about logic. It is the art of discovering in the consequences what we first put in the principle. Put an absurdity in the principle, and you multiply the absurdity in the consequences, which is fatal. We must beware of logic.[128]

Thus, although Delsarte followed the path of the natural philosopher in some respect, he was conscious of the necessity of subordinating his reason to both observation and contemplation in order that his research should ultimately be guided not by his own reasoning, but by his faith in the Trinity as a transcendental property of *being* and *things*:

> It is thus that the sign of the cross, as we will demonstrate, is the touchstone of all truth, of all organisms and consequently of all science. Now this short formula which summed up the wisdom of Saint Paul and in which his sublime intelligence was entirely absorbed contains, in the simplicity of its terms, the science of sciences![129]

Thus, the key to unlocking Delsarte's system, as he himself indicates, is to first gain an understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity "as much as it is given to man to understand the things of God" by "specifying the proprieties of the relationship of the three adorable persons to each other."[130] What this method entails is acquiring an understanding of the theology of the circumincession and processional relations as a unified first principle (universal) *in*

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[127] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 504.
[128] "Je trouve les raisonnements très bons, très logiques, mais vous savez ce que je pense de la logique. C'est l'art de retrouver dans les conséquences ce qu'on a mis dans le principe. Mettez une bêtise dans le principe, vous avez une bêtise multipliée dans les conséquences, c'est fatal. Il faut se méfier de la logique." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 205. Appendix B.
[129] "C'est ainsi que le signe de la croix est, comme nous le démontrerons, la pierre de touche de toute vérité, de tout organisme et conséquemment de toute science. Or cette courte formule qui résumait la sagesse de saint Paul et dans laquelle sa sublime intelligence s'absorbait toute entière contient, dans la simplicité de ses termes, la science des sciences!" Delsarte, "Notre méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 816. Appendix C.
[130] "autant qu'il est donné à l'homme de comprendre les choses de Dieu […] en spécifiant les convenances de rapport des trois adorables personnes entre elles." Delsarte, 819.

relation to the investigation of organic things which God has created (particulars) according to the tenants of metaphysical realism – the philosophical position which maintains that universals and particulars share the same epistemological realm and that, therefore, they cannot be intellectually separated or mentally detached from one another. In terms of the starting point of the two orders of knowledge then, Delsarte appears to see no real difference, only a logical distinction, between a *leap of faith* in the doctrine of the Trinity as a religious mystery, and a *reasoned assent* to the propositions of the catechistic teachings (*doctrina*) on the Holy Trinity as a first principle on which all scientific knowledge (*scientia*) is based.

1.1.2 The Trinity as a Scientific First Principle

In order to grasp how it is possible for the mystery of the Trinity to serve as a scientific principle of Delsarte's system, his use of the terms *science* and *first principle* must be clearly defined. As mentioned, Delsarte defines *science* as "the possession of a criterion against which no fact protests," this criterion constituting for him the initial foundations of *art*, which he defines in turn as the generalization and application of science.[131] The criterion in question, Delsarte's Ninth Chord, serves as a standard of measurement by which the *essence* or nature of a *being* or *thing* comes to be known, answering the question of *what* the identity of any given being or thing is by determining its *genera* and *specific differences*:

[131] "la possession d'un criterion d'examen contre lequel aucun fait ne proteste." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," 20:197.

> The Trinity, the hypostatic foundation of *beings* and *things*, is the reflection of the divine majesty in His work: it is like a reflection on us of its own light. The Trinity is our guide in the applied sciences of which it is both the solution and the enigma. The Trinity is manifest in the smallest divisions of the divine work and must be regarded as the most fruitful means of scientific investigation; for if it is at once the cause, the principle, and the end of all science, it is its infallible criterion, and we must start from it as an unmoveable axiom.[132]

By determining the genera and species of any given being or thing, and then judging its identity against the criterion of the Ninth Chord, Delsarte claims to determine the essential nature of any particular being or thing, that is as long as the genera and species analogically correspond to the unity (essence) and distinctions (persons) of the principle of the Trinity. In order that no fact should protest against Delsarte's criterion, the genera and species of all known phenomena must be shown to be naturally ordered according to a Trinitarian organic structure and intelligible form. What this means is that, if Delsarte can demonstrate that beings and things are archetypally ordered according to a Trinitarian structure and form, then, by inductive reasoning, he can infer that the creative source of being and things must also be Trinitarian. It is through the process of inductive reasoning that Delsarte is able to make a reasonable leap of faith in that what unifies all known phenomena is some kind of Trinitarian cause or force, from which he is able to then grasp the existence of the Holy Trinity indirectly. Furthermore, that it is logically possible to discover an instance whereby it can be demonstrated that the genera and species of a particular being or thing does not conform to a

[132] "La Trinité, base hypostatique des êtres et des choses, est le reflet de la majesté divine dans son œuvre: elle est comme une réverbération sur nous de sa propre lumière. La Trinité est notre guide dans les sciences d'application dont elle est à la fois la lumière et l'énigme. La Trinité surgit dans les moindres compartiments de l'œuvre divine, et doit être considérée comme le moyen le plus fécond d'investigation scientifique ; car si elle est à la fois la cause, le principe et la fin de toute science, elle en est le critérium infaillible, et il faut en partir comme d'un axiome inébranlable." Delsarte and Porte, *François Delsarte*, 93. See also Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 454.

Trinitarian order means that Delsarte's principle and criterion are *falsifiable*, which is a necessary condition, according to Karl Popper, for a theory to be empirically scientific.[133]

Because Delsarte's epistemology is pre-modern, his use of the term *science* is sometimes pre-modern as well. In accordance with Scholastic thinkers, Delsarte uses the term *science* to mean a) "certain and evident knowledge acquired by reasoning strictly from indisputable principles," and "intellectual knowledge that is certain,"[134] that is knowledge acquired by deductive reasoning (rational), and b) "the gift of knowledge" (*donum*), or "the charismatic gift of knowledge" (*gratia*),[135] that is knowledge acquired by divine revelation (contemplative). However, Delsarte also uses the term *science* in a modern sense to mean knowledge that is acquired by experience and experimentation (empirical): "Aesthetics, henceforth freed from all conjecture, will be truly constituted under the severe forms of a positive science,"[136] and "trained by *personal experience* to the knowledge of principles, reason is called *science*."[137] According to Thomistic philosopher John I. Jenkins, the attainment of scientific knowledge (*scientia*) in the medieval sense of the word is "a gradual and somewhat faltering process in which one moves from sense perception of particulars [empirical knowledge] to abstraction of intelligible form [rational knowledge], to universal principles [contemplative knowledge] and finally to the conclusions of a *scientia*."[138] Thus, Jenkins' description corresponds to Delsarte's use of the term. However, Delsarte also

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[133] According to Popper's argument, the statement "all phenomena have a Trinitarian structure or form" is *logically falsifiable* and, as such, it conforms to the definition of an empirical scientific theory. Delsarte's first principle also conforms to the definition of a scientific theory or hypothesis, even though it is not open to *falsification*, meaning that it can never be *definitely*, *conclusively*, or *demonstrably* falsified, because, according to Popper, "it is never possible to prove conclusively that an empirical scientific theory is false." Karl Popper, *Realism and the Aim of Science*, ed. W. W. Bartley, III (London: Routledge, 2005), xix-xxii.
[134] *LSTA*, s.v. "scientia," definitions one and two respectively.
[135] *LSTA*, s.v. "scientia," definitions three and four respectively.
[136] "l'Esthétique, désormais dégagée de toute conjecture, sera vraiment constituée sous les formes sévères d'une science positive." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," 13:170.
[137] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 514, emphasis mine.
[138] John I. Jenkins, *Knowledge and Faith in Thomas Aquinas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 59. Jenkins' statement here is in accordance with the peripatetic axiom, *Nihil est in intellectu quod non sit prius in sensu* (Nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses), often attributed to Aristotle.

defined *science* in relation to *art* as being directional in nature, the former term meaning to acquire and receive knowledge, the latter to give and communicate wisdom:

> Science and art form two means of assimilation: the one by means of absorption, the other by means of emanation. The one, more generous than the other, gives and communicates; the other unceasingly receives and appeals. Science receives, art gives. By science man assimilates the world; by art he assimilates himself to the world. Assimilation is to science what incarnation is to art.[139]

And so, if the term *science* as it is used by Delsarte means, in a Scholastic and broad sense, the general acquisition and absorption of knowledge which is at once empirical, rational, and mystical, the question is: How does Delsarte distinguish scientific from un-scientific knowledge?

In his treatise "On the Attributes of Reason," Delsarte insists that, during the Enlightenment, human reason was erroneously given a power which it does not have – the power of sight – meaning that reason is by necessity blind. Using the example of a telescope, Delsarte argues by analogy that reason is to the intellect what a telescope is to the eye:

> So, there is between the eye and the telescope, which comes to its aid, all the distance that divides the faculty [intellect] from the instrument [reason] which it governs. Still the telescope joined to the eye communicates to it a great power of vision; but the instrument arises from the failure of the eye, which is nevertheless infinitely superior to it; for it is the eye which sees, and not the telescope. It is thus that we must understand the relations of reason and intellect.[140]

Following Aquinas, Delsarte argues that reason arises from the failure of the faculty of the intellect, which is imperfect, and that therefore reason acts as a kind of telescope in order to help the intellect see farther than it can on its own, that is to see a kind of knowledge which is not *self-evident*.[141] Therefore, reason is unable to see for itself the kind of knowledge which is

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[139] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 523.
[140] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 507-08.
[141] Aquinas argues that "reason and intellect in man cannot be distinct powers." Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.79 A8. Thus, the distinction Delsarte makes here pertains to the *order of action* between the intellect and reason. For Delsarte, intellect is a *faculty*, reason a *power* of that faculty, as are the *powers* of judgement and conscience. Therefore, in terms of power, the distinction lies between reason, judgement, and conscience, all of which apparently receive their power from the intellect. In Delsarte's Chart of Man, one can see that the three powers of reason, judgement, and conscience are all contained within the faculty of the intellect in the blue circle. See figure 1.7.

self-evident to the intellect. As a reflective power, reason requires a first principle or primary proposition on which to reflect, which, Delsarte argues, can only be provided by the light of intuition:[142] "while intelligence acts simply, as in knowing an intelligible truth by the light of its own intuition, reason goes toward its end progressively, from one thing known to another not yet known."[143] Because reason moves from a thing known to a thing not known, reason cannot be the starting point of knowledge. As mentioned, reason can only be called a science when it is "trained by *personal experience* to the knowledge of principles."[144] Thus, according to Delsarte, knowledge of first principles is acquired by experience (facts) in conjunction with the intuition (spiritual perception/contemplation), intuition being able to simply recognize the truth of those facts which are presented to the intellect as first principles.

Thus, to answer the question of how Delsarte distinguished between scientific and un-scientific knowledge, scientific knowledge is dependent upon intuition, that is faith in the truth of first principles as being universal and unchanging, whereas knowledge that is unscientific is dependent upon reason alone, without the necessary faith in first principles, which is therefore contingent and liable to change. In opposition to those he called scientists, savants, and artists, Delsarte called those freethinkers (i.e., atheists) of the Enlightenment *philosophers* and *ideologues*, those who resolve "to make use of one's intellect without the direction of another," [145] who make use of the power of reason without the light of intuition:

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[142] Intuition: "*Scholastic philosophy*. The spiritual perception or immediate knowledge, ascribed to angelic and spiritual beings, with whom vision and knowledge are identical. *Modern philosophy*. The immediate apprehension of an object by the mind without the intervention of any reasoning process." *OED*, s.v. "intuition," last modified March 2023. In Aquinas, *intuitus simplex*: the simple view, called simple because it is not connected with discursive action. *LSTA*, s.v. "*intuitus*."

[143] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 513.

[144] Delsarte argues that reason is called *common sense* when it is trained by *tradition* or authority, reason is called a *science* when it is trained by *personal experience*, and reason is called *wisdom* when it is trained by the *contemplation of first principles*. Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 514.

[145] Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?," in *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, ed. Pauline Kleingeld (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 17.

> The fact is, let us say it boldly, they fear lest they find God there. In these misguided spirits there is so much presumption, self-conceit, self-love, that they are, in the nullity of their lofty pride, a worship unto themselves, an idolatry of their own reason. They have deified it, — that poor, frail reason; and this, while mutilating it, while proclaiming it independent and free from all law, from all principle, from everything definite. To what excess of imbecility, then, have we not seen these freethinkers fall, these apostles of independent reason, who on principle boast that they have no faith and no law! […] thence, their systematic ignorance of fundamental questions; thence, the incurable blindness in which they bask; thence, finally, the inconsistencies and contradictions which make them a spectacle humiliating to the human mind.[146]

As philosopher Harry Frankfurt has pointed out, philosophy in the ancient world began with a sense of wonder,[147] whereas in the modern world it began in doubt.[148] Thus, the difference between scientific and unscientific knowledge, according to Delsarte, appears to be mirrored in the fundamental epistemological presuppositions proposed by Aristotelian-Scholasticism, where truth is rooted in being, and Cartesianism, where truth is rooted in the mind alone. The former is based on a deep belief in the existence of first principles from which proceeds the power of reason, the latter on the power of reason from which proceeds a deep scepticism as to the very existence of first principles.

In his extant manuscripts, Delsarte does not define what he means by the term *first principle*, but as he is working within the Aristotelian-Scholastic tradition, it can be assumed he is following a similar definition to that of Aquinas and Aristotle. Aquinas defines the term *principle* as "anything whence something proceeds."[149] Accordingly, Aristotle defines the term in *Metaphysics* as: "that from which a thing can first be known; for this is also called the origin of the thing, e.g. the hypotheses are the origins of demonstrations."[150] Aristotle goes on to argue, regarding the transcendentals, that "the *good* and the *beautiful* are the origin both of

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[146] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 515-16.
[147] See Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 982b13-14. Aristotle uses the term *thauma*, meaning wonder, marvel, emotional astonishment, miracle, or supernatural event.
[148] Harry Frankfurt, "The Faintest Passion," *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 66, no. 3 (1992): 8.
[149] Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.33 A1.
[150] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1013a14-16. See also Aristotle, *Physics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, trans. R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 184a10-184b13.

the knowledge and of the movement of many things."[151] And so, the principle or starting point of knowledge, according to Aristotelian-Scholasticism, is located in the immaterial realm of existence. Today, however, the modern definition includes an additional claim that a principle must also be *self-evident*, defined as: "a primary proposition, considered self-evident, upon which further reasoning or belief is based."[152] Significantly, the idea that a first principle must be *self-evident,* that is *sufficiently obvious,* does not pertain to pre-modern definitions of the term. In fact, Aristotle argues the exact opposite, stating in the *Physics* that a principle only becomes self-evident through a prolonged process of analysis: "what is to us plain and clear at first is rather confused masses, the elements and principles of which become known to us later by analysis."[153] Thus, it seems that Delsarte's concept of the Trinity cannot be a first principle in the modern sense of the term because, as a religious mystery, the Trinity is anything but *self-evident*.

However, Jenkins has pointed out a problem with the modern understanding of what the term *self-evident* means in relation to first principles, arguing the term's inclusion under Cartesianism was meant to withstand scepticism and dissuade any reliance on authority:

> Much of the work of post-Cartesian, modern philosophers in epistemology was driven by worries about skeptical objections that we do not know much, or most, or even all of what we think we know. […] Some of these philosophers formulated a foundationalist theory of justification which could, they hoped, overcome skeptical worries by admitting as foundational only beliefs which were indubitable, or at least sufficiently obvious and secure. […] A characteristic of these sorts of views was the stipulation that the foundational beliefs be evident to the autonomous investigation of the rational subject, for any reliance on authority or other mediating presuppositions, they believed, would be open to skeptical challenge, and assent to them would not be fully rational.[154]

Thus, the problem with the term *self-evident* in the modern sense of the term is that it tends to render all principles as *certain* and *unfalsifiable*. Cartesian philosophy, Jenkins argues, did

[151] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1013a21-22, emphasis mine.
[152] *OED*, s.v. "principle," last modified March 2023.
[153] Aristotle, *Physics*, 184a22-23.
[154] Jenkins, *Knowledge of Reality*, 49.

not seek wisdom as in the ancient tradition, but rather *indubitable*, *certain*, and *reliable* information about the world.[155] Yet, despite this difference, he argues, some philosophers have continued to interpret pre-Cartesian works, such as Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, and Aquinas' interpretation of it, along the lines of a post-Cartesian tradition.[156] However, according to Jenkins, Aquinas did recognize that certain truths may indeed be "*per se nota* ('known in themselves,' i.e. self-evident),"[157] but that we can only apprehend for ourselves what is *per se notum* "by undertaking a period of training and discipline under the guidance of those more accomplished within the field, so that we may acquire the intellectual habits to apprehend what is *per se notum* as such."[158] Therefore, a Scholastic understanding of what constitutes a principle as self-evident differs from a modern understanding in that the former pertains only to a disciplined master, whereas the latter extends to all unlearned students. What this means is that a first principle in an Aristotelian-Scholastic sense cannot be equated with Cartesian *a priori* knowledge because experience is required in order to *encounter* first principles, whilst intuition is also required in order to *recognize* their truth. Robert Pasnau, writing on the nature of first principles in Aquinas, argues that: "This is not innate knowledge; we are not born knowing these principles. What we are born with is the capacity to recognize their truth [by intuition] as soon as we are confronted with instances of them."[159]

Owing to the epistemological differences between Aristotelian-Scholasticism and Cartesianism, it could be argued that Delsarte's concept of the Trinity does not constitute a first principle according to the standards of modern science because it is not self-evident and, therefore, not completely obvious to the autonomous investigations of every rational subject. However, it is for this very reason – logically speaking – that the principle of the Trinity

[155] Jenkins, 6.
[156] Jenkins, 49.
[157] Jenkins, 49.
[158] Jenkins, 49.
[159] Robert. Pasnau, *Thomas Aquinas on Human Nature*: *A Philosophical Study of Summa Theologiae 1a, 75-89* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 307.

should be admitted as scientific *because* it is possible to doubt, *because* the truth of it cannot be demonstrated and therefore its propositions must first be accepted as true based on faith, and also *because* the proposition requires rational investigation as well as experience in order to clarify its terms – if the terms of the principle were completely obvious, then the proposition would not require an initial *leap of faith*. Significantly, Delsarte did not ask his students to accept his theory based on authority alone; rather he asked them to initially suspend their disbelief in order to intellectually grasp his theory first, after which he encouraged them to apply, test, and judge the theory for themselves:

> you will verify my expressions and my theory for yourself; you will judge them eventually, and I ask that you judge them very severely. I do not desire your indulgence, I do not ask for it, far from it. If I am at fault, I have everything to gain from serious rectification; I summon it with all my might. If I am given better, I will be delighted, so I have nothing to lose. Only it cannot be judged right away, it must be *applied carefully*, it must be *experienced*. It must be judged by *experience*. Do not assent, but do not dismiss.[160]

What Delsarte asked of his students was to carefully apply his theory over the course of many years in order that they might one day falsify it, and thereby improve the theory as a result – making his theory appear, even by today's standards, scientific in nature. According to Delsarte, only through an extended period of experimentation and application could the terms of his first principle, which at first seem enigmatic and obscure, be rendered as self-evident:

[160] "vous vérifierez mes expressions et ma théorie ; vous les jugerez et je demande que vous les jugiez très sévèrement. Je ne veux pas d'indulgence, je n'en demande pas, loin de là. Si jetai en défaut, j'aurais tout à gagner à une rectification sérieuse ; je l'appelle de toutes mes forces. Si on me donne mieux, je serais enchanté, je n'ai donc rien à perdre. Seulement ça ne peut pas se juger tout de suite, il faut que ça soit appliquée mûrement, que ce soit expérimenté. Ça doit être juge après mure expérience. N'approuvez pas, mais n'improuvez pas." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 87-88, emphasis mine. Appendix B.

> To penetrate the meaning of this initially enigmatic theorem […] one must understand the Trinity as much as it is given to man to understand the things of God. For this, it is necessary to continue to study to the depths of its immanences, and it is by specifying the proprieties of the relationship of the three adorable persons to each other that it is possible to raise one's mind to the region of the transluminous clarities which spring from the divine obscurity of this mystery, as each of the terms of the Trinity is in the other two.[161]

And so, based on his own instructions, the remaining analysis of this chapter intends to clarify the terms of the principle of the Holy Trinity by analysing Delsarte's extant writings on the theology of the circumincession and processional relations in accordance with the numerous charts and symbolic drawings that both he and his students left behind. The hope is that, by doing so, the principle of the Trinity will become, if not sufficiently self-evident, then at least more clearly apprehended as the first principle on which his aesthetic system is based.

First, however, there is a methodological point of clarification that needs to be addressed. When Delsarte states that "we must *start* from [the Trinity] as an unmoveable axiom,"[162] he means this in a *pedagogical* sense only, not in the sense of the acquisition of new knowledge by way of observation and experience. As we have seen, Delsarte himself did not start with the principle of Trinity, but rather the principle was revealed to him through his senses, through the sounding of the overtone series on the piano. According to the peripatetic axiom, the acquisition of all new knowledge, properly speaking, begins in the senses – *nihil est in intellectu quod non sit prius in sensu* – Aquinas arguing that the existence of God can be demonstrated "by things that are more known to us, though less known in their nature – namely, by effects," that is by particular instances or phenomena.[163] As the Catechism indicates, this is the method of the natural philosopher, and so the nature of Delsarte's

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[161] "Pour pénétrer le sens de ce théorème d'abord énigmatique […] il faut comprendre la Trinité autant qu'il est donné à l'homme de comprendre les choses de Dieu. Pour cela, il est nécessaire d'en poursuivre l'étude jusque dans les profondeurs de ses immanences, et c'est en spécifiant les convenances de rapport des trois adorables personnes entre elles qu'il est possible d'élever son esprit à la région des translumineuses clartés qui jaillissent de la divine obscurité de ce mystère. Or chacun des termes de la Trinité est dans les deux autres." Delsarte, "Notre Méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 819. Appendix C.
[162] "il faut en partir comme d'un axiome inébranlable." Delsarte, *François Delsarte*, 93.
[163] Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.2 A.1.

empirical method, whereby knowledge of the Trinity was revealed to him through the senses, will be dealt with closer to the end of the chapter. In his lectures, however, Delsarte was not teaching his students to discover new knowledge but knowledge he had already acquired, and so his lectures began not with observation and experimentation, but by learning and clarifying the terms of the first principle of his system. In a similar fashion, the reader is asked to submit to Delsarte's teachings in order to grasp his aesthetic theory conceptually first, as one cannot apply, test, and judge a theory of which one is ignorant. What the reader must bear in mind is that conceptual knowledge, which is the product of reason, is secondary in the order of philosophical learning in metaphysical realism. This is because, according to Aquinas, conceptual knowledge is based on the *perception of existent things* from which the concepts themselves are formed.[164] And so, I begin pedagogically by specifying the proprieties of the relationship of the three persons of the Trinity to each other, in order to show what is Delsarte's concept of the Trinity, so that the reader will not only recognize signs of the Trinity in natural phenomena, but also know whether the demands of Delsarte's criterion have been met. In other words, in order to find the Trinity, we need to know what to look for.

1.2 Theology of the Circumincession and Processional Relations

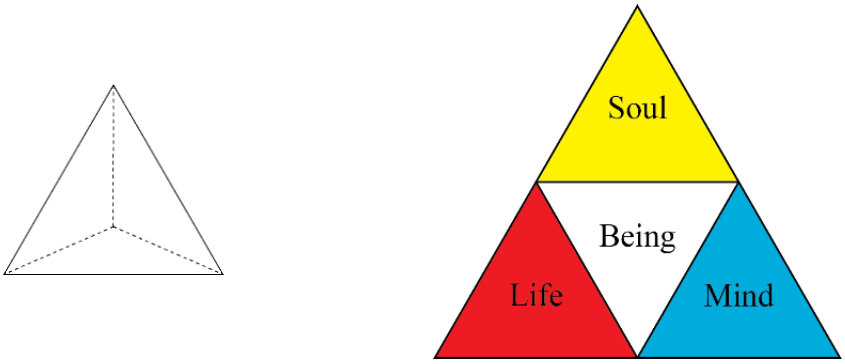
In order for his students to grasp the principle of the Trinity, Delsarte began his demonstrations with a drawing of a tetrahedron in order to represent, not the Trinity itself, but the tripartite human soul – as God is said to have created man in his own image.[165] According to student Alfred Giraudet (1845-1911),[166] Delsarte began teaching his aesthetic system with

[164] See Ralph McInerny and John O'Callaghan, "Saint Thomas Aquinas," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2018 Edition. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2023/entries/aquinas/

[165] Gen. 1:27 KJV.

[166] Alfred Giraudet was an operatic bass and voice teacher. He taught Delsarte's vocal method at the Institute of Musical Art in New York City (now The Juilliard School) from its establishment in 1905-1907, and from 1909-1911. Jeni Dahmus Farah, Director of Archives at The Juilliard School, e-mail message to author, 4 June 2021.

the symbol of the tetrahedron, a real, concrete, three-dimensional solid-state object rather than an abstraction, in order to make his demonstrations on the Trinity tangible to his students by way of analogy: "three lateral faces, distinct, individual, interconnected by the posterior face, the depth of which extends to the whole tetrahedron."[167] Next, Delsarte unfolded the tetrahedron along a two-dimensional plane in order to show how the three *active faculties*, or three kinds of *energies*, of the human soul – called Life,[168] Mind,[169] and Soul[170] – are distinct and individual as well as interconnected and interdependent, which were joined at the centre by the notion of *being*, understood in the realistic sense (see figures 1.1 and 1.2).[171]



Figures 1.1 and 1.2. Tetrahedron. According to Giraudet, Delsarte began his demonstrations with the symbol of the tetrahedron in order to represent the tripartite human soul, showing how the three lateral faces were distinct and individual, but also interconnected and interdependent. The tetrahedron was then unfolded along a two-dimensional plane in order to reveal the active faculties of the soul – Life, Mind, and Soul – which were all connected by *being* at its centre. See Giraudet, *Mimique*, 12-13.

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[167] "Trois faces latérales, distinctes, individuelles, reliées entre elles par la face postérieure, dont la profondeur s'étend à tout le tétraèdre." Alfred Giraudet, *Mimique, physionomie et gestes*: *Méthode pratique. D'après le système de F. Del Sarte* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1895), 12.
[168] Life: the faculty of Memory as the principle of generation. In Aquinas: air, exhalation, breath, power, spirit. *LSTA*, s.v. "*spiritus*." As the faculty corresponding to vocal inflection, I find a correspondence with the term *spiritus*, but also a connection to Biran's understanding of Life as a non-material *vital spark*. See section 2.1.3.
[169] Mind: the faculty of Understanding as the principle of understanding. In Aquinas: 1. an immaterial intelligent substance, the *nous* of Aristotle, synonym of *separata*, *angelus*, *intelligentia*, and *ratio*. […] 3. *reason*, *intellect*, in the sense of an immaterial, inorganic faculty of knowledge, synonym of *ratio* (reason). […] 5. *intuition*, *intellect*, in the sense of a transcendental intuitive faculty of knowledge or of a spiritual faculty of contemplation, which arrives at truth non-discursively. *LSTA*, s.v. "*intellectus*."
[170] Soul: the faculty of the Will as the principle of human free will. In Aquinas, *anima*: 1. the first act of any organic physical body having life. 2. the inner principle of the local motion of a thing. *LSTA*.
[171] Being: "Being is the widest and most fundamental concept in the thought of St. Thomas. It is wider even than *reality*, and defies definition since there is nothing prior to it by which it can be defined. […] A being is either uncaused, i.e., God alone, or caused, i.e., creatures. Created being is either real or rational, according as its objective existence is independent of a created mind or not." *LSTA*, s.v. "*ens*."

In the Western philosophical tradition, the first use of the tetrahedron as a symbol for the human soul is found in Plato's *Timaeus*, an enormously influential work in Western music in which he described the musical-mathematical structure of the world soul (*anima mundi*), an intrinsic connection between all living beings often likened in the Neoplatonic tradition to the Holy Ghost from the Christian tradition.[172] However, as the term *being* appears at the centre of the unfolded tetrahedron, rather than world soul, Delsarte's system cannot be considered Neoplatonic, as Stebbins and others have argued,[173] but is based in Aristotelian-Scholasticism. In terms of the symbolic meaning of the tetrahedron, Delsarte argued that:

> There is a figure in the world which admirably characterizes the mystery of the unity of God in three persons. This figure is the triangle or tetrahedron, composed of three angles united in a single body; each of these angles is for us the symbol of the function that each of the three persons of the Trinity performs according to their place in the triangle.[174]

Thus, the tetrahedron in Delsarte's system symbolizes not only how the three active faculties of the human soul are both distinct and interconnected, but also how the structure of the human soul is analogous to the Holy Trinity itself, as "a reflection on us of its own light."[175] According to Hamel, the idea behind the Trinity as a *reflection* is that, because God exists essentially, "everything that participates in *existence* must somehow reflect this Trinity in unity. Now it is in the image of God that man was created; obviously, it is through his soul, above all, that he must reflect the divine Trinity."[176] What this means in terms of Delsarte's

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[172] Plato, *Timaeus*, in *Complete Works*, ed. John M. Cooper, trans. Donald J. Zeyl (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997), 53d-56b.

[173] Stebbins, *Delsarte System of Expression*, 385-87; and Moses True Brown, *The Synthetic Philosophy of Expression*: *As Applied to the Arts of Reading, Oratory, and Personation* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1886), 50. However, Angélique Arnaud (1797-1884), Delsarte's biographer and a friend of Giraudet, argued that Delsarte's system was not Neoplatonic. See Angélique Arnaud, "The Delsarte System," in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th ed., 218-24.

[174] "Il y a dans le monde une figure qui caractérise admirablement le mystère de l'unité de Dieu en trois personnes. Cette figure est le triangle ou tétraèdre, composé de trois angles réunis en un seul corps ; chacun de ces angles est pour nous le symbole de la fonction qu'opère chacune des trois personnes de la Trinité suivant la place qu'elle occupé dans le triangle." Delsarte, "Dictée 1869 no. 3," DP, box 3, folder 154, item 2.

[175] "elle est comme une réverbération sur nous de sa propre lumière." Delsarte, *François Delsarte*, 93.

[176] "tout ce qui participe à l'existence doit refléter d'une certaine manière cette trinité dans l'unité. Or c'est à l'image de Dieu que l'homme a été créé ; évidemment c'est surtout par son âme qu'il doit refléter la Trinité divine." Hamel, *Cours d'éloquence parlée*, 5, emphasis Hamel.

theory is that everything we know about the Holy Trinity from Catholic doctrine, that is the theology of the circumincession and processional relations, must, in turn, be directly reflected in both the form and powers of the tripartite human soul (see figure 1.3).

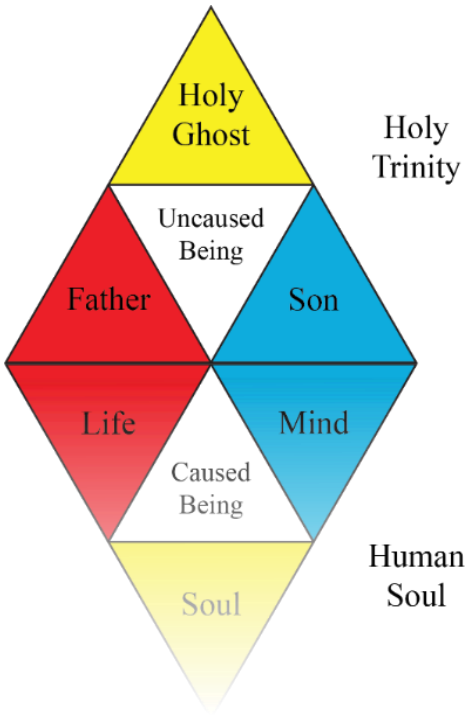


Figure 1.3. The Human Soul as a Reflection of the Trinity. Just as the Trinity contains the unity of the three divine persons, so Delsarte argues that the human soul contains three constituent powers of being – living, understanding, and willing – which he calls Life, Mind, and Soul. According to the Thomistic notion of being (*ens*), a being is either uncaused, i.e., God alone, or caused, i.e., creatures.

1.2.1 The Circumincession of the Trinity

The term *circumincession* was first used by Scholastic thinkers in order to express the existence of the three divine persons indwelling in one another, whereby the Father is said to be in both the Son and the Holy Ghost, the Son is in both the Father and the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost is in both the Father and the Son.[177] Whilst no representation of the circumincession of the Trinity is extant in Delsarte's manuscripts, many drawings survive by both him and his students representing the circumincession of the human soul, which consist of nine triangles (species) within three triangles (genera) within a single triangle (unity). In Giraudet's treatise, the abstraction of the three genera of the soul from nine species is represented by three dotted-lined semi-circles around the outer points of the unifying triangle (see figure 1.4).[178] Depicting the circumincession in this way, as a series of interconnected triangles, must have visually clarified for Delsarte's students what he meant by the claim in his theorem that: "all truth is triangular, and no demonstration responds to its object save in virtue of a nine-fold formula."[179] Giraudet explains in his treatise what Delsarte was indicating by taxonomizing the human soul into nine species and three genera:

> We see in this figure that each entity contains the qualities of the whole, but that each of them also retains a portion of its pure essence and so the other parts are, in some way, compounds. Thus, we have in the Vital genus: the life of life or pure life; the mind of life; and the soul of life. In the Intellectual genus: the life of the mind; the mind of the mind or pure mind; and the soul and the mind. Finally, in the Spiritual genus: the life of the soul; the mind of the soul; and the soul of the soul or pure soul. We therefore have nine states of being which, although united, like the three

[177] The term was introduced into Latin by John of Damascus (c. 675-749) in the eighth century as a translation of the Greek περιχώρησις (meaning *circuition* or *rotation*) in his explication of the text, "I am in the Father, and the Father in me" (John 14:10 King James Version), which became a standard term in Scholastic theology. *OED*, s.v. "circumincession," last modified March 2021. Other Biblical passages denoting the circumincession include: "I and my Father are one" (John 10:30 KJV); "the Father is in me, and I in him" (John 10:38 KJV); "But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God" (1 Cor. 2:10 KJV). See also Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.39 A.7, and Ia Q.42. A.5.
[178] Compare to Wagner's drawing in *Opera and Drama* and in a letter to Uhlig. See figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3.
[179] "Toute vérité est triangulaire, et nulle démonstration ne répond à son objet qu'en vertu d'une formule triplement triple." Delsarte, "Notre méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 818. Appendix C.

> principles from which they derive, are absolutely distinct. Delsarte called this *triple trinity*: NINTH CHORD.[180]

Because the human soul is a direct reflection of the Trinity, the circumincession is reflected in the soul as well. And, owing to a direct correspondence between the immaterial soul and the material body,[181] Delsarte argues that the nine states of the soul are observable in the materiality of the body, which are recognizable as the phenomena of human expression:

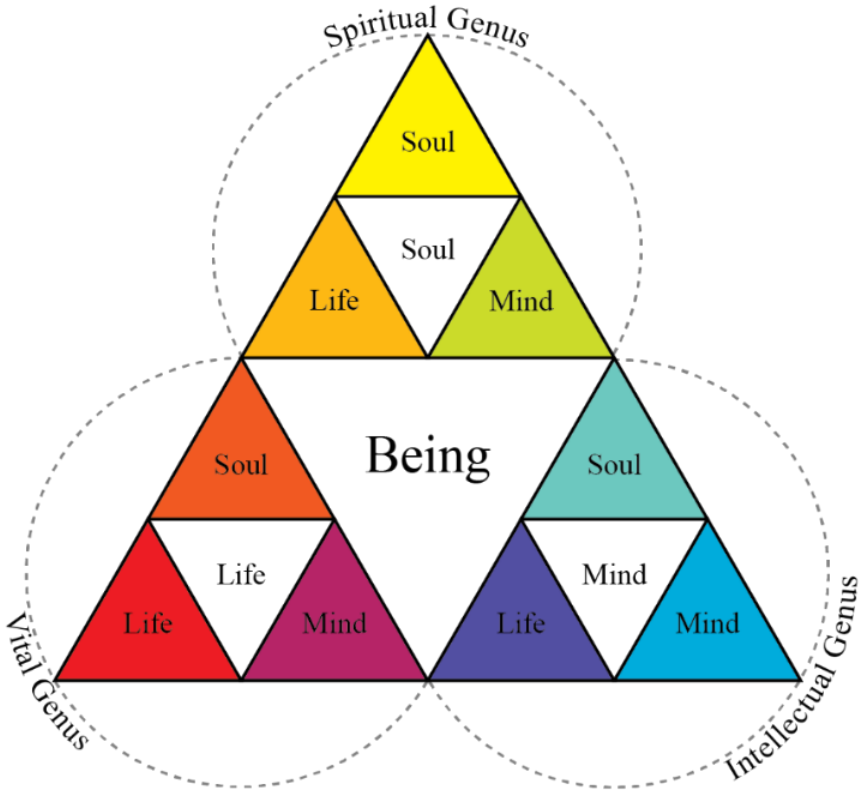


Figure 1.4. The Circumincession of the Human Soul. The drawing depicts how, in accordance with Delsarte's distinctions of the tripartite human soul, Life is in both Mind and Soul, Mind is in both Life and Soul, and Soul is in both Life and Mind, according to the theology of the circumincession by way of analogy. The drawing also shows the relationship between the nine species or states of *being* of the human soul (in coloured triangles) and the three genera abstracted from those nine states (in dotted semi-circles). On the use of primary and tertiary colours in Delsarte's charts, see pp. 65-69 below. Based on a drawing by Gaston Le Doux for Giraudet, *Mimique*, 14.

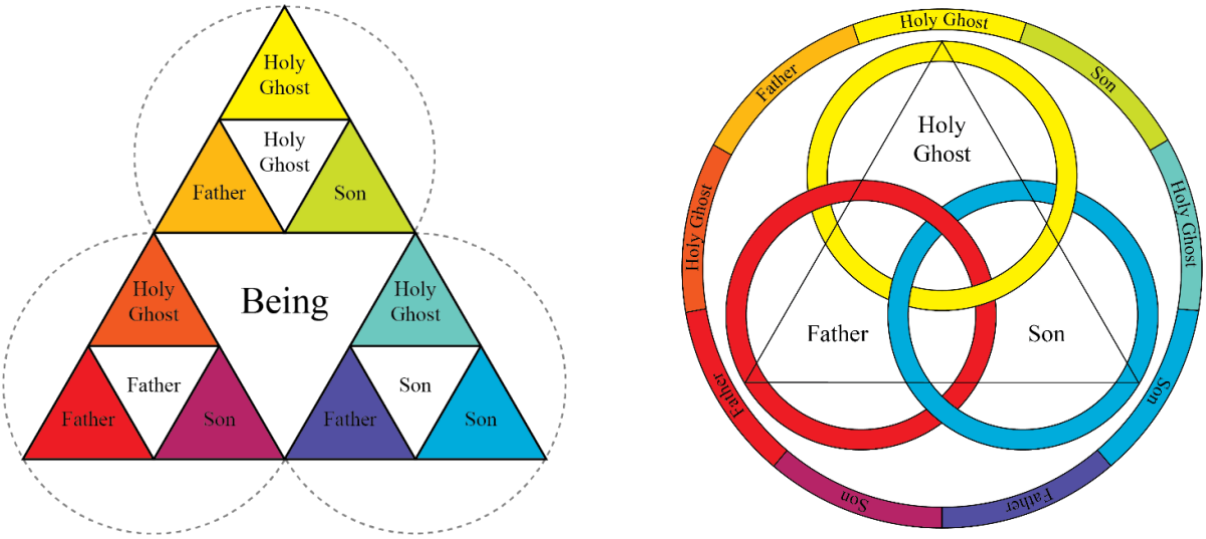
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[180] "Nous voyons dans cette figure que chaque entité contient les qualités du tout, mais que chacune d'elles conserve une portion de son essence pure et que les autres parties sont en quelque sorte des composes. C'est ainsi que nous avons dans le genre Vital : la vie de la vie ou vie pure ; l'esprit de la vie et l'âme de la vie. Dans le genre Intellectif : la vie de l'esprit, l'esprit de l'esprit ou esprit pur et l'âme e de l'esprit. Enfin dans le genre Animique : la vie de l'âme, l'esprit de l'âme et l'âme de l'âme ou âme pure. Nous avons donc neuf états de l'être qui, quoique solidaires, comme les trois principes dont ils découlent, sont absolument distincts. Delsarte appelait cette *triple trinité* : ACCORD DE NEUVIÈME." Giraudet, *Mimique*, 14-15.

[181] I refer here to Delsarte's statement: "To each spiritual function corresponds a function of the body. Each major function of the body corresponds to a spiritual act," which is referred to in American Delsarte Studies as the "Law of Correspondence." For a refutation of Delsarte's statement as a fundamental law, see section 2.1.3.

> [Man] is connected to matter, and he succeeds in making his soul pass through it; he spiritualizes matter and elevates himself through the path of these souls with which he is in *perfect communication*. Still, without going any further, this constitutes a chord, which I call the Ninth Chord. Anyone who wants to experiment, anyone who wants to study anything, will discover this Ninth Chord because God is found everywhere in his creatures. His mark, his adorable Trinity is everywhere, not only his Trinity, but its circumincessions. Therefore, outside of this magnificent Ninth Chord it is very difficult to be sufficiently enlightened about things.[182]

And so, knowing that the human soul is a reflection of the Trinity in Delsarte's system, based on a number of manuscript drawings I have recreated the circumincession of the Trinity in the charts below, as I believe Delsarte would have drawn it. The chart on the left (see figure 1.5) depicts the Trinity in relation to the nine states of the soul (compare figure 1.4), so that the reader can see how the circumincessions of both the Trinity and soul correspond to each other. The chart on the right (see figure 1.6) depicts the circumincession as well; however, in



Figures 1.5 and 1.6. Symbolism of the Theology of the Circumincession. The above drawings represent two ways in which Delsarte depicted the circumincession of the Trinity for his students. The drawing on the left (figure 1.5) shows the circumincession of the Trinity in relation to the human soul (depicted in figure 1.4 above). The drawing on the right (figure 1.6) shows the circumincession of the Trinity in relation to the human cognitive faculties in Delsarte's Chart of Man (see figure 1.7).

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[182] "Il est en rapport avec la matière, et il parvient à faire passer son esprit en elle ; il spiritualise la matière et s'élève par la voie de ces esprits avec laquelle il est en parfaite communication. Toujours est-il que sans aller plus loin, cela constitue un accord que j'appelle un accord de neuvième. Quiconque voudra expérimenter, étudier quoique ce soit, y trouvera cet accord de neuvième parce que Dieu se retrouve partout dans ses créatures. Son estampille, son adorable trinité est partout, non seulement sa trinité, mais ses circumincessions est par conséquent ce magnifique accord de neuvième en dehors duquel il est très difficile d'être suffisamment a éclaire sur les choses." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 113, emphasis mine. Appendix B.

this drawing the three divine persons are represented as an interconnected tripartite union by three interlocking circles in primary colours at the centre, whilst the indwelling of the three persons in one another, as being both distinct and unified, is shown in the outer colour wheel.

According to a manuscript written by Delsarte in 1839, entitled "Famille Trinitaire," each of the various geometric shapes in Delsarte's drawings have a specific symbolic meaning.[183] Figures of interconnected triangles, such as those depicted in figures 5-8, represent *hypostasis*, symbolizing both the substance of a concrete individualized human nature as well as the *distinction* of the three divine persons.[184] Figures of three interlocking circles (shown in the centre of figure 1.6 above) represent *abstraction*, symbolizing both the drawing of the general from the particular in a logical or epistemological sense, such as the abstraction of genera from species, as well as the abstract operations of the human cognitive faculties in a psychological sense.[185] Adhering to the definition of *abstraction* in the latter sense, Delsarte depicted the operations of the human cognitive faculties in his Chart of Man by the three interlocking circles at the centre of the drawing: Sensation, Judgement, and Sentiment contained within the red circle; Instinct, Induction, and Intuition contained within the blue; Sympathy, Conscience, and Contemplation contained within the yellow (see figure 1.7). And so, Delsarte's symbolic meaning of interlocking triangles and circles in relation to the theology of the circumincession is shown to adhere quite specifically to the Scholastic definitions of the terms *hypostasis* and *abstraction* respectively.

The figure of a single all-encompassing circle in Delsarte's system represents what he calls the *chromatic type*, "*chroa*" being an ancient Greek musical term meaning *colour*,

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[183] For a chart depicting the various meaning of the symbols, see Delsarte, "Livre des Procès-Verbaux de la Famille Trinitaire (1839)," DP, Box 12c, folder 28; also Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 152. For my own use of the geometric shapes, see "A Note on the Diagrams" in the frontmatter of this project under *Abreviations and Translations*.

[184] Hypostasis: (1) basis, foundation. (2) single substance, a concrete individualized nature. (3) rational single substance, person. *LSTA*, s.v. "*hypostasis*."

[185] Abstraction: used (1) primarily in a psychological sense for the operations of the cognitive faculties and (2) secondarily in a logical or epistemological sense, i.e., the drawing of the general from the particular, generalization. *LSTA*, s.v. "*abstractio*."

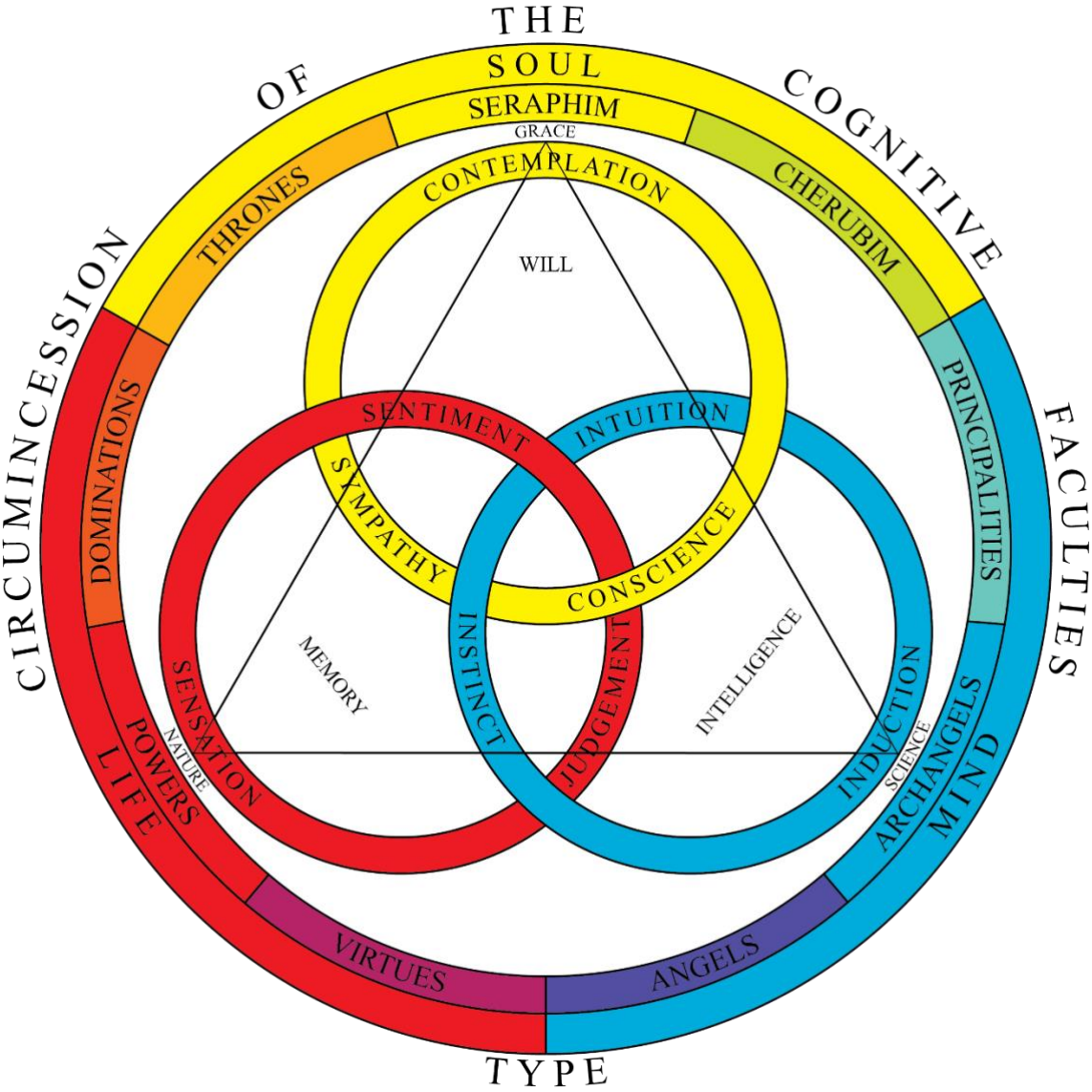


Figure 1.7. Chart of Man (Chart of Human Nature). The chart depicts a superordinate type of human nature, perfectly hierarchized. What is important to note here is the three interlocking circles at the centre, representing *abstraction*, and symbolizing the psychological operations of the human cognitive faculties: Sensation, Judgement, and Sentiment in the red circle; Instinct, Induction, and Intuition in the blue circle; Sympathy, Conscience, and Contemplation in the yellow circle. I have included the term "Cognitive" in the title, which is absent from the original, for greater clarity and precision based on the Scholastic definition of the term *abstraction* in the psychological sense of the term. See note 187. Based on Delsarte's Chart of Man in Delaumosne et al., *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th ed, 502 insert.

which is not found in Aquinas' writings.[186] According to Sarah Lowengard, the invention of the colour wheel in 1704 is attributed to Newton,[187] and so its inclusion as a symbol in

[186] Andrew Barker, ed., *Greek Musical Writings: II*: *Harmonic and Acoustic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 511 n.102.
[187] Sarah. Lowengard, *The Creation of Color in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), loc. 125 of 1089. https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/2027/heb99017.0001.001.

Delsarte's system is decidedly modern rather than medieval. Lowengard argues that many scientists since Newton's day have used the mathematical division of the colour wheel in order to determine the specific number of colours in the world.[188] However, in 1839, the same year in which Delsarte began teaching his course, chemist Michel Chevreul disclosed in his treatise, *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs*, his scientific discovery of a universal law of optics. Chevreul's law of simultaneous contrast stated that:

> If we look simultaneously upon two stripes of different tones of the same colour, or upon two stripes of the same tone of different colours placed side by side, […] the eye perceives certain modifications which in the first place influence the intensity of colour, and in the second, the optical composition of the two juxtaposed colours.[189]

What Chevreul's law apparently signalled for nineteenth-century art, according to Jennifer Phillips, was "the ascendancy of the comparative over the absolute,"[190] meaning that because our perception of colour is essentially relative, each individual colour contains an internal relation to all of the other colours in the colour wheel. Thus, Chevreul's law henceforth required the perceiver (and artists) to think of colours comparatively *in terms of relations* rather than categorically.[191] If we take as an example the colour of chartreuse in Delsarte's chromatic wheel, chartreuse as a tertiary colour consists of two parts yellow and one part blue, thereby forming a kind of trinity whereby the subordinate colour blue can be said to be in the predominant colour yellow, analogous to the way in which, according to the circumincession, the Son is said to be in the Holy Ghost (see figure 1.8). However, what the colour chartreuse signals comparatively in relation to the three primary colours is not simply the predominance of two parts yellow over one part blue, but an *imbalance* created by the absence of red, meaning that red is conspicuous in chartreuse by its very absence. This is

[188] Lowengard, 125 of 1089.
[189] Michel Eugène Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours and Their Applications to the Arts*, trans. Charles Martel (West Chester, PA: Schiffer, 1987), 52.
[190] Jennifer Phillips, "Relative Color: Baudelaire, Chevreul, and the Reconsideration of Critical Methodology," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 33, 3/4 (2005): 344.
[191] Phillips, 344.

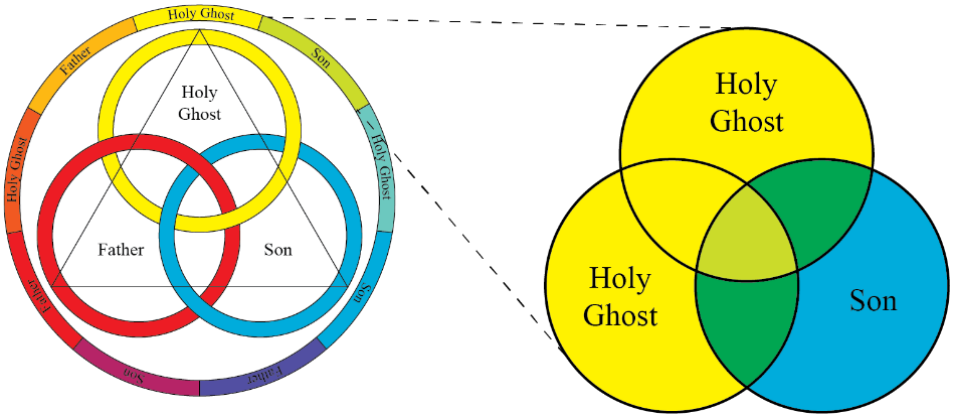


Figure 1.8. Relative Colour. This figure provides an example of relative colour according to Chevreul's law of simultaneous contrast. In the colour wheel, the colour chartreuse results from the predominance of two parts yellow over one part blue, as well as the complete absence of red. Therefore, chartreuse, as a tertiary colour, is understood relative to the composition of the three primary colours in one another, just as the circumincession of the Trinity is understood by the composition of the three divine persons in one another.

because, according to Chevreul's law, we understand the nature of the three primary colours *as a whole,* as that which constitutes the unity of white light. Thus, chartreuse, as a tertiary colour, is understood by its relation to the whole of a colour wheel, of which it is a part, just as the phrase *the Son is in the Holy Ghost* can only be understood in relation to the whole of the circumincession. As Delsarte argues: "part of a whole cannot seriously be appreciated by anyone who ignores the composition of this same whole;"[192] therefore, our task is to:

> "Distinguish the constituent parts of this whole; establish their harmonic consubstantiality; determine their circumincession, that is to say the vivifying principle by virtue of which they co-penetrate each other; characterize their hierarchical order, according to an invariable type; point out its strengths, powers, and virtues; and, finally, specify their particular object, their goal, and their means in view of the role they affect in a coefficient activity.[193]

And so, the inclusion of the colour wheel in Delsarte's system provides a symbolic analogy to the theology of the circumincession, not merely as a means of categorization, but also as a

[192] "la partie d'un tout ne saurait être sérieusement appréciée de quiconque ignore la constitution de ce même tout." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée: Des sources de l'art," *L'Avenir musical* 3, no. 9 (May 1867): 153.
[193] "Distinguer les parties constitutives de ce tout ; établir leur consubstantialité harmonique ; déterminer leur circumincession, c'est-à-dire le principe vivifiant en vertu duquel elles se copénétrent ; Caractériser leur ordre hiérarchique, d'après un type invariable ; En signaler les forces, les puissances et les vertus ; et enfin spécifier leur objet particulier, leur but et leurs moyens en vue du rôle qu'elles affectent dans une activité coefficiente." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," 20:197.

means of comparatively organizing distinct parts according to their relation within the system as a whole.

What the theology of the circumincession expresses in Delsarte's system, therefore, is that knowledge of particulars must necessarily be generalized, Delsarte stating that scientific knowledge only comes to be possessed by passing into a state of consciousness.[194] Quoting a phrase from the French educational philosopher Joseph Jacotot (1770-1840), Delsarte insisted to his students that "everything is in everything," thus making the epistemological claim that to learn one thing in its entirety is to grasp all knowledge by relating this one type of knowledge to everything else.[195] To provide an example, if we learn how the tertiary colour of chartreuse as a part is related to the general principle of a colour wheel as a whole, then we also know how to induct a general principle (colour wheel) from a particular consequence (chartreuse) in all cases. Similarly, in terms of the unification of the arts, Delsarte argued that:

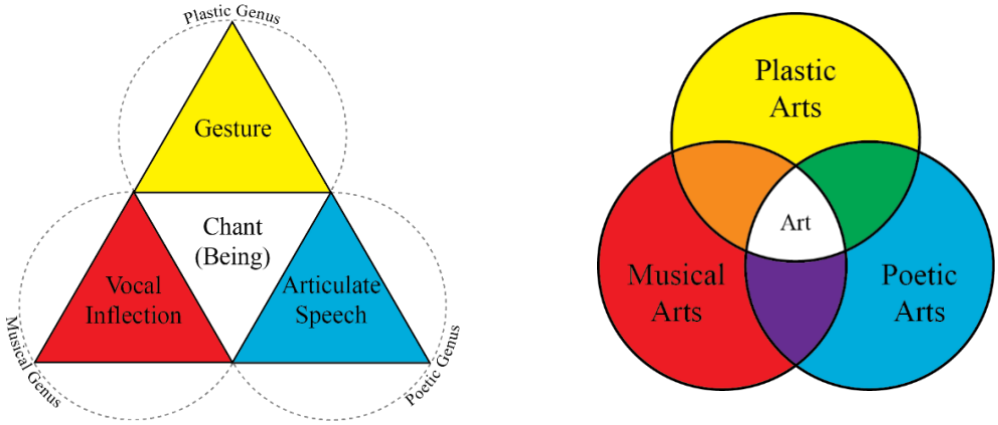
> each specialization in art is nothing more than a predominance. This is not an isolated fact; art should never be viewed as an isolated expression. […] To constitute the most beautiful art, you need that equality of equilibrium I am talking about. Ancient drama presents the most beautiful, the most sublime expression of art, because here the arts are in a perfect equality of balance. In this art reigned *inflection* and all the musical powers, *gesture*, and consequently, plastic art, and *articulate speech.* This is the most beautiful of all the arts, obviously, since it contains them all and contains them in equal balance.[196]

Thus, like the individual colours in a colour wheel, a specialization in one art can only be understood in relation to all of the arts. Delsarte argues that not only is ancient chant the most beautiful art form because it contains all of the arts in equal measure, but because the three interconnected arts of which it is composed – vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture

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[194] Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 11. Appendix B.
[195] Delsarte, 11. Appendix B.
[196] "chaque spécialité de l'art n'est autre chose qu'une prédominance. Ce n'est pas un fait isolé ; il ne faut jamais considérer l'art comme une expression isolée. La musique met en prédominance l'inflexion, la plastique met en prédominance la forme, etc. Pour constituer le plus bel art, il faut cette égalité d'équilibré dont je parle. La mélopée antique présente la plus belle, la plus sublime expression de l'art, car les voilà en parfaite égalité d'équilibre. Dans cet art régnaient l'inflexion et toutes les puissances musicales, le geste, et, par conséquent, la plastique et la parole articulée. Voilà le plus beau de tous les arts, évidemment, puisqu'il les contient tout et les contient en égalité d'équilibre." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 82-83, emphasis mine. Appendix B.

– constitute an undivided nature corresponding to *being* (see figures 1.9 and 1.10).[197] Thus, the theology of the circumincession in Delsarte's system is simply an iteration of the epistemological statement that "everything is in everything" in its most generalized form, as nothing can be known beyond that which has been divinely revealed to us about the Trinity.



Figures 1.9 and 1.10. Equilibrium of Ancient Chant and the Arts. Figure 1.9 shows the three agents of human expression in a perfect equality of balance producing the art of ancient chant, which Delsarte argues corresponds to the Scholastic notion of *being*. Figure 1.10 shows the musical, poetic, and plastic arts in a perfect equality of balance, producing the term *art* at its centre, a term which Delsarte argues should never be viewed as an isolated expression, as each specialization in art is merely a predominance of one art form over all of the others.

1.2.2 The Processional Relations of the Trinity

The theology of the processional relations of the Trinity is a doctrine of the Catholic Church stating the ways in which the three divine persons are distinguishable from each other. According to *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, the doctrine states that:

> For in one Godhead there are three persons; the Father, who is begotten of none; the Son, who is begotten of the Father before all worlds; the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son likewise from all eternity. But in the one substance of the Divinity the Father is the first person, who with his only begotten Son and the Holy Ghost is one God and one Lord, not in the singularity of one person, but in the Trinity of one substance.[198]

[197] Delsarte, 72. Appendix B.
[198] *CCT*, 21.

Delsarte depicts the processional relations of the Trinity with the symbol of an arrow,[199] the nock of which starts at the *principiate* term and touches with its point the *principiant* term:[200]



According to Delsarte, the Father of the Trinity is an exclusively principiate term, that is a principle without a principle,[201] meaning that the Father, who is begotten of none, eternally gives the mission and never receives it.[202] In Delsarte's system, the Father is represented by the colour red, as well as the number 1, whilst the mission of the Father is represented by two arrows extending outwards and away from the Father's point of origin as such:



The Son of the Trinity, according to Delsarte, is a term that is at once both principiate and principiant, that is a principle from a principle,[203] meaning that the Son, who is begotten of the Father, both eternally receives and gives the mission. In Delsarte's system, the Son is represented by the colour blue, as well as the number 2,[204] whilst the mission of the Son is represented by one arrow proceeding inwards towards the Son, the second proceeding outwards and away from the Son, as such:



[199] Delsarte's explanation and symbolism in this section is based on a translation of Delsarte's notes by Abby Alger, published in Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 453-458. The original document can be found in DP, box 3, folder 154, item 2. See also, Waille, "Annexes," 164-66.
[200] I have corrected Abby Alger's translation of the French terms *principiant* and *principié* to correspond to English usage. Thus, *principate* is used for the primary term to mean "a principle without a principle" (*principium non de principio*), whilst *principiant* is used for the reciprocant term to mean "a principle from a principle" (*principium de principio*). Aquinas, *ST*, Ia, Q39. A8; and *OED*, s.v. "principate," last modified December 2022, and "principiant," last modified June 2020.
[201] Aquinas, *ST*, Ia, Q39. A8.
[202] "Mission" (Latin *missio*): in Trinitarian theology, the sending into the world of the Son or Spirit by the Father, or of the Spirit by the Son. *OED*, s.v. "mission," last modified December 2022.
[203] Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.39. A8.
[204] See *CCT*, 36.

The Holy Ghost of the Trinity,[205] according to Delsarte, is an exclusively principiant term, meaning that the Holy Ghost eternally receives the mission and never gives it. According to Aquinas, if the Holy Ghost, who is the union of the Father and the Son, should be excluded, then "we cannot understand the oneness of the Father and the Son. Thus, all are connected by reason of the Holy Spirit."[206] In Delsarte's system, the Holy Ghost is represented by the colour yellow, as well as the number 3,[207] whilst the mission of the Holy Ghost is represented by two arrows pointing inwards towards the terminus of the Holy Ghost, thereby signifying the union of the Father and the Son, as such:



When the three divine persons of the Trinity are placed in relation to one another according to their distinct missions in Delsarte's system, the arrows come together to form an equilateral triangle (See figure 1.11).

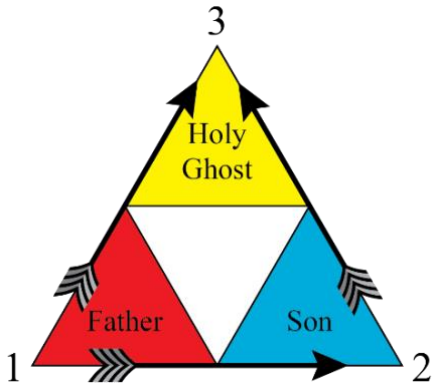


Figure 1.11. The Three Divine Persons of the Trinity. The above figure shows the three divine persons of the Trinity coming together to form an equilateral triangle according to their distinct missions. The Father, being the generator, eternally gives the mission to the Son and Holy Ghost. The Son eternally receives the mission from the Father and gives it to the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost eternally receives the mission from the Father and the Son, thereby signifying the union of the two.

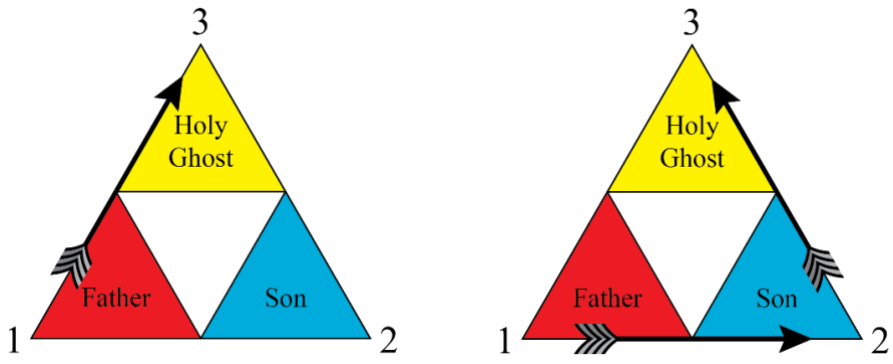
[205] The term *Holy Ghost* is used throughout this dissertation, rather than *Holy Spirit*, in order to avoid any confusion by clearly distinguishing the term from the Latin *spiritus*, meaning life, which corresponds to both the Father and the faculty of memory in Delsarte's system, and also from the French term *esprit*, meaning mind, which corresponds to both the Son and the faculty of understanding in Delsarte's system.
[206] Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.39. A.8.
[207] See *CCT*, 85.

The triangular arrangement of the three divine persons of the Trinity as seen above, ordered according to their processional relations, demonstrates not only their interdependency and interconnectedness, but also their utter distinctiveness because their relations are not interchangeable.[208] Delsarte argues that the bottom horizontal arrow extending from the Father to the Son signifies the first relation of generation from the generator (1) to the engendered (2), "expressing by its horizontality the co-equality of the principiate with the principiant."[209] The second relation extending from the Father to the Holy Ghost signifies *spiration*,[210] starting from the spirator or first principate (1) and ending at the principant (3).[211] The third relation extending from the Son to the Holy Ghost, according to Delsarte, also signifies spiration, this time from the spirator or second principiate (2) and ending at the principiant (3), "emanating by way of the common spiration of its double [principiate] principle 1 and 2." This third relation, as Delsarte understands it, is important because, in theological terms, it signifies the *filioque*, a relation which does not appear in the Creed confessed in 381AD at Constantinople, but which was recognized and received by Rome in 451AD at the Council of Chalcedon, and which continues to be a point of contention with the Orthodox Churches.[212] However, by adhering to the way in which the *filioque* is presented in the catechism – "the Holy Ghost proceeds, by eternal procession, from the Father and the Son, as from *one beginning*"[213] – and by clarifying the terms of the processions according to the distinct missions of the three persons, Delsarte appears to try and avoid contention by presenting the *filioque* as emanating by way of a *common spiration* from the Father and the

[208] Pseudo-Dionysius states that: "there are the names expressing distinctions, the transcendent name and the proper activity of the Father, of the Son, of the Spirit. Here the titles cannot be interchanged, nor are they held in common." Pseudo-Dionysius, "The Divine Names," in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibhéid (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 60.
[209] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 456, translation corrected.
[210] Spiration: breathing, breath, respiration; in the Holy Trinity, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son. *LSTA*, s.v. "*spiratio*."
[211] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 456, translation corrected.
[212] Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church with Theological Commentary*, ed. Rino Fisichella (Huntington IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 2019), 245-48.
[213] *CCT*, 89, emphasis mine.

Son, that is from the Father to the Son to the Holy Ghost (1-2-3). Delsarte does this by signifying the first relation as a simple expression of the co-equality of the Father and the Son. These terms being equal in his system then, according to the first and third relations, the mission spirating from the Father as the first principiate is necessarily equal to the mission spirating from the Son as the second principiate, the only difference being that the first principiate is *exclusively* principiate, whilst the second is *both* principiate and principiant. What this means in that, on the one hand, the missions generated from the principiates are necessarily equal, on the other hand, the terms themselves are not equitable because, according to the processional relations as Delsarte understands it, the terms Father and Son are necessarily distinct from one another, the Father being a non-principiant term.

According to Delsarte's explanation, two distinct missions can be distinguished in the doctrine of the Trinity by clarifying the relations: a) the second relation, which proceeds from the Father to the Holy Ghost (1-3), and b) the first and third relations, which proceeds from the Father to the Son to the Holy Ghost (1-2-3), not as a double procession, but as a single procession from a *double principle* (see figures 1.12 and 1.13). And so, Delsarte's explanation of the first and third relation arguably conforms to both the Eastern Orthodox and



Figures 1.12 and 1.13. The Processional Relations of the Trinity. Figure 1.12 (left) shows the second relation of the Trinity according to Delsarte, this mission proceeding directly from the Father to the Holy Ghost. Figure 1.13 (right) shows the first and third relations of the Trinity, this mission proceeding from the Father to the Son to the Holy Ghost. In Delsarte's system, the contention between the Eastern and Western Churches caused by the *filioque*, whereby the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Son, appears to be avoided by making the mission of the Son equal to that of the Father, the mission thereby proceeding from the principiate terms, which are co-equal, as from one beginning in the Father – a necessity for Delsarte's theory to be considered universal.

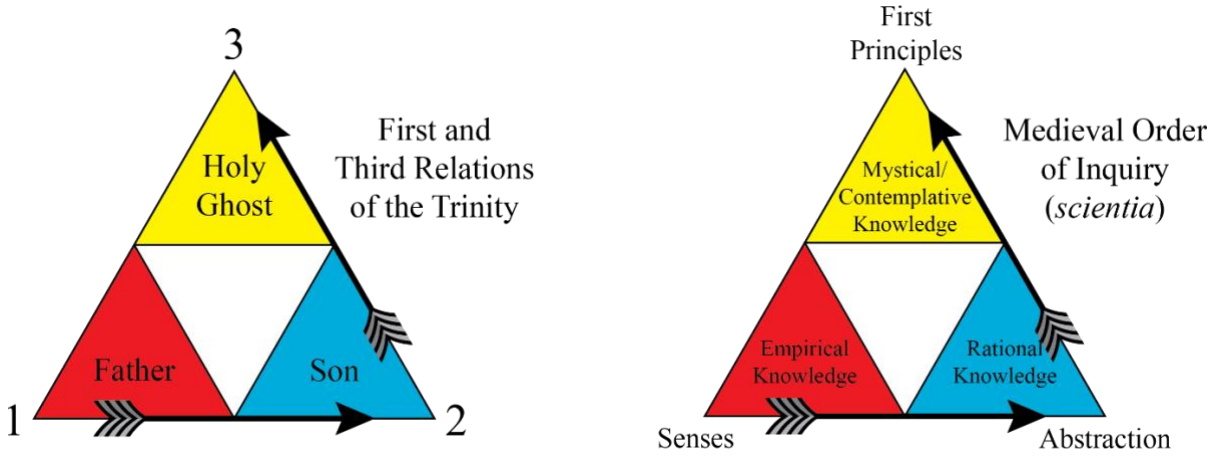
Western Latin traditions of the doctrine of the Trinity. In Eastern Orthodoxy, the Spirit is said to proceed directly from the Father as its first origin, according to the second relation (1-3), and, according to the first and third relations (1-2-3), the Spirit is also said to proceed "from the Father *through* the Son."[214] In Roman Catholicism, "the Father, 'as the principle without principle,' is the first origin of the Spirit," according to the second relation (1-3), and, according to the first and third relations (1-2-3), the consubstantial communion between the Father and the Son is expressed by the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son.[215] Thus, the principiate terms of the Father and the Son are equal in the spiration of their mission, yet at the same time they are distinct owing to the nature of the Son being both a principiate and principiant term who both receives and gives the mission which eternally emanates from the Father.

That Delsarte's explanation of the processional relations of the Trinity attempts to reconcile Eastern and Western Christian teachings on the Trinity is significant because what his aesthetic system claims about the Trinity is that, analogically speaking, it provides an epistemological and methodological model of *universal* human knowledge. For this to be true in any objective sense, the contention between Eastern and Western teachings on the Trinity must, in reality, be *reconcilable*. Whether Delsarte's explanation succeeds in this matter is outside the purview of this investigation. However, what his explanation does provide are two distinct epistemological pathways that are in accordance with the catechistic teaching whereby it is said that knowledge of the Trinity is acquired in two ways: one being the way of faith (1-3), the other the way of reason through the investigation of God's works (1-2-3).

Recalling Jenkins statement that the acquisition of scientific knowledge according to the medieval order of inquiry proceeds "from sense perception of particulars to abstraction of

[214] Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 248, emphasis mine.
[215] Catholic Church, 248.

intelligible form, to universal principles," along with the peripatetic axiom that all new knowledge begins in the senses, the first and third relations of the Trinity follow the same methodological trajectory Jenkins points out, from empirical knowledge to rational knowledge to contemplative knowledge (see figures 1.14 and 1.15).[216] And yet, if Delsarte's methodology simply adhered to the medieval order of inquiry, his theory would be little more than a nostalgic return to a long-outdated system of knowledge in the nineteenth century, resolving none of the inherent issues of that system which led to the breakdown of scholasticism and the ultimate rise of Cartesianism. We know that this is not the case with Delsarte's system, however, because aesthetics did not exist as a formal discipline in the medieval period, being first developed by Alexander Baumgarten in 1735.[217] And so, in order to account not only for the inclusion of the modern discipline of aesthetics, as well as psychology, in Delsarte's epistemological system, but also in order to recognize what was innovative about Delsarte's method of inquiry in terms of nineteenth-century science, the



Figures 1.14 and 1.15. First and Third Relations of the Trinity and the Medieval Order of Inquiry. Figure 1.14 (left) shows the first and third relations of the Trinity from the Father to the Son to the Holy Ghost according to Delsarte's system (1-2-3). Figure 1.15 (right) shows the medieval order of scientific inquiry proceeding from empirical knowledge, rooted in the senses, to rational knowledge, abstracted by the mind, leading to mystical or contemplative knowledge. In Delsarte's system the discovery of first principles is revelatory, being dependent upon both individual contemplation and divine illumination.

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[216] Jenkins, *Knowledge and Faith*, 59.

[217] Baumgarten was the first to define *aesthetics* as the "science of perception." See Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, *Reflections on Poetry*: *Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's Meditationes philosophicae de nonnullis ad poema pertinentibus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 78.

other methodological pathway corresponding to the second relation of the Trinity must be analysed – the pathway of *faith*, which leads directly from sense perception to the acquisition of the knowledge of first principles (1-3). Prior to such an analysis, however, it is important to compare Delsarte's universal system against Descartes' rationalist system in order to understand how the former avoids the critical problem of Cartesian dualism.

1.3 The Critical Problem of Cartesianism

In this section I apply Delsarte's symbolic language of the processional relations of the Trinity to the Cartesian order of knowledge in order to demonstrate the critical problem of Descartes' rationalist epistemological system, which Delsarte's aesthetic system, under metaphysical realism, avoids. Famously, Descartes founded his philosophy on the principle of *cogito ergo sum*, an idea which, according to him, was "so firm and so assured that all the most extravagant suppositions of the skeptics were incapable of shaking it."[218] By this principle, Descartes confirmed his own existence by the one thing he was unable to doubt: that his mind was engaged in an act of doubting, doubting being a necessary product of cognition. In Descartes' system, the Mind (cognition) is considered to be prior to Life (being), which, in Delsartian terms, would be the equivalent of the Son eternally begetting the Father according to the processional relations of the Trinity – an impossibility. According to Descartes, however, if the mind is unable to doubt its own existence, then cognition must be prior to being because thinking is the method by which we are *certain* that being exists.[219]

Once Descartes established the existence of the mind as the first application of his principle of methodical doubt, his second application was to confirm the existence of God, rather than the existence of the human body or things. Wilhelmsen notes that:

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[218] René Descartes, *Discourse on Method*, in *Philosophical Essays and Correspondence*, ed. Roger Ariew (Indianapolis: Hackett) AT VI, 32.
[219] Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, in *Philosophical Essays and Correspondence*, ed. Roger Ariew (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2000), AT VIII, 24-34.

> [Descartes] could not move to the existence of material things because the idea of matter is one with the idea of extension: but extension, as a conceptual content, does not include its own existence. Descartes needed a second existent before he could reach the existence of the world. He fixed upon the idea of God.[220]

Because Descartes was able to conceive of the idea of *perfection* in his own mind, he came to the realization that God must necessarily exist because the idea of perfection is included in the idea of existence itself: "I am not free to think of God without existence, that is, a supremely perfect being without a supreme perfection."[221] Descartes concluded that since a *non-existent perfect being* could not be perfect owing to its state of non-existence, it must be the case that a perfect being actually exists.[222] Once the existence of God had been founded, only then could Descartes establish the existence of material things with certainty.

In his third application, Descartes contended that, because the mind passively receives sense impressions, these impressions must come either from the material objects themselves or from God. However, because Descartes believed that the human senses can be deceived, and that God was not a deceiver, sense impressions must therefore come from material objects themselves; thus, Descartes concluded that material objects do, in fact, exist.[223] According to Wilhelmsen, "the Cartesian critique moves from the existence of the self as a thinking principle towards the existence of God, and, *from both of them,* towards the existence of the material order,"[224] similar to the way in which the processional relations of the Trinity function in Delsarte's system. Thus, Descartes' epistemological relations can be visualised using Delsarte's symbolic language, whereby knowledge of the thinking self becomes the starting point of the system, rather than knowledge of material things as in metaphysical realism (see figure 1.16). Wilhelmsen points out that the critical problem of

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[220] Wilhelmsen, *Knowledge of Reality*, 12.
[221] Descartes, *Meditations*, AT VIII, 67.
[222] Wilhelmsen, *Knowledge of Reality*, 13.
[223] Descartes, *Meditations*, AT VIII, 78-80.
[224] Wilhelmsen, *Knowledge of Reality*, 13, emphasis mine.

Cartesianism arises from Descartes' insistence that philosophical inquiry must begin in the *mind*, that the first unshakable truth is the existence of the self as a thinking principle.[225]

Delsarte implicitly refutes Descartes' first principle of *cogito ergo sum* by pointing out that human beings are not born with the power of reason, by which he means the ability to think discursively – the implication being that if we were born with the ability to reason then we would also be born with the power of speech, as speech is the outward expression of discursive thought. In his treatise "The Attributes of Reason," which is based on an argument by Aquinas,[226] Delsarte insists that reason cannot be a first principle because it is not primordial in man, the proof of which is demonstrated by the physiological development of the three expressive agents in human beings, whereby articulate speech, the last of the agents to develop in infants after vocal inflection and gesture, is derived from the intellect. Thus,

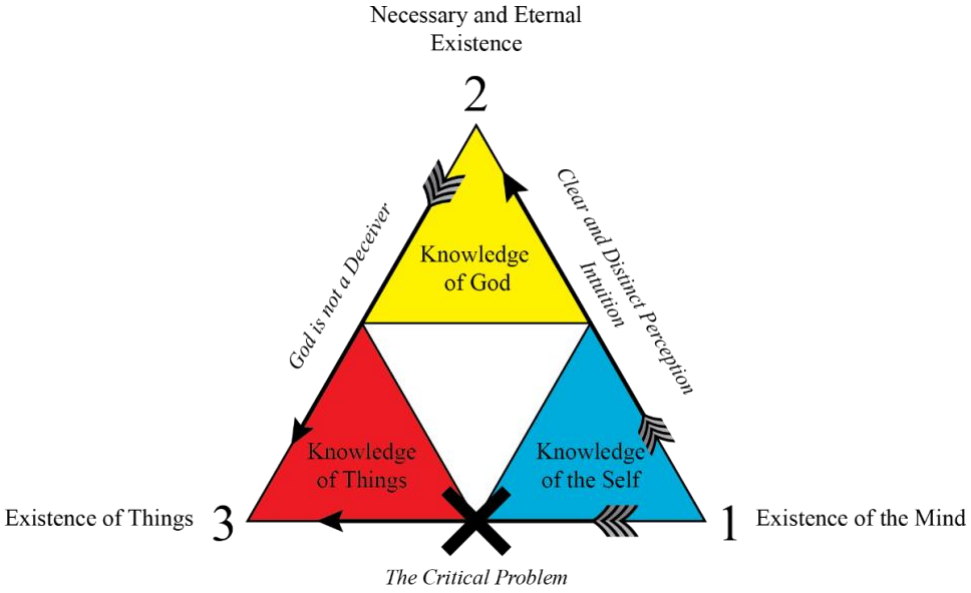


Figure 1.16. The Cartesian Order of Knowledge. Descartes' order of knowledge begins in the mind as a self-thinking principle (blue) and then moves to the existence of God (yellow). Only after the existence of God has been established does Descartes move to the existence of material things (red) from both the existence of the self and of God. The critical problem of Cartesian dualism arises from Descartes' insistence that the movement of the mind is from innate ideas towards the knowledge of existence, not from knowledge of existence towards the formation or conceptualization of ideas as in metaphysical realism. In terms of the processional relations of the Trinity, the critical problem, which arises from the claim that the mind is prior to existence, would be the equivalent of the Son eternally begetting the Father in Delsarte's theory, which is an impossibility.

[225] Wilhelmsen, 14.
[226] Delsarte appears to borrow the basis of his argument from the article, "Whether the Reason is Distinct from the Intellect?," in Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.79 A.8.

discursive reasoning, to which the agent of articulate speech corresponds, is a *secondary* power in Delsarte's system which is derived from the *primary* faculty of the intellect:

> Reason, although essentially allied to intelligence, is not, like it, primordial in man. […] But here to the support of this assertion we have a striking and undeniable proof; namely, that the infant is born intelligent but not reasonable. Intellect proceeds directly from *that true light which shines in every man on his entrance into the world*, while reason is merely the fruit of experience. […] Thus, the child is seen to be as intelligent as an adult man can be. Let us rather say that it is in the child especially that intelligence displays its brightest rays. Yet he is not furnished with reason. And why not? Because he has no experience. Reason, therefore, is an acquired power.[227]

Thus, Cartesian methodical doubt, which is dependent upon discursive reasoning, cannot be the starting point of knowledge because, according to Delsarte, reason is itself a development of the intellect stemming from experience. Delsarte flips the modern epistemological problem of perception resulting from Cartesian scepticism on its head, arguing that simple intellectual perception is more perfect than discursive reasoning, and that therefore knowledge acquired by perception is often more certain than knowledge acquired by reason:

> As St. Augustine says, intelligence is shown by *simple perception*, and reason by the discursive process. Thus, while intelligence acts simply, as in knowing an intelligible truth by the light of its own intuition, reason goes toward its end progressively, from one thing known to another not yet known. The latter, as St. Thomas says, implies an imperfection. The former, on the contrary, beseems a perfect being. It is, therefore, evident, adds the same profound thinker, that reasoning bears the same relation to knowledge that motion does to repose, or as acquisition to possession. The one is of an imperfect nature, and the other of a perfect nature. Boethius compares the intellect to eternity; reason, to time.[228]

There is an obvious connection here between Delsarte's epistemological claim about the certitude of simple perception and a similar argument found in the catechism, namely that *knowledge of things*, which is obtained by the discipline of faith, "is much more certain, and much more free from error, than if the mind had arrived at the knowledge of those same things by the reasonings of human science."[229] And so, opposite to Descartes' methodic doubt, which leads from the knowledge of the non-material thinking self to the knowledge of

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[227] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 512, emphasis Delsarte.
[228] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 513, emphasis mine.
[229] *CCT*, 18.

God, and then to the knowledge of material things because his starting point is in the mind – *I think therefore I am* – Delsarte's leap of faith in the existence of the Trinity leads from the knowledge of material things to the knowledge of the immaterial soul, and then to the knowledge of God because his starting point is existence or being itself – *I am that I am*.[230]

The problem with Descartes' rational method, according to Delsarte's understanding of reason, is that reason, because it is blind, cannot lead to the discovery of first principles, which can only be obtained intuitively by the simple perceptive light of the intellect:

> I am aware, from the utter impotence of my reason, that all principles must be accepted humbly, in order to understand the deductions. My reason does not know how to lead me to principles of which it is ignorant; but it knows how to guide me back. In other words, it is a blind person *a priori*, it is a luminary *a posteriori*. Though it may not know at first, *once shown*, it readily recognizes; *though it may not divine*, it learns by study; *though it may not seize*, it retains, masters and generalizes. Reason, then, is a reflex power, and as such, if, in a matter of principle, it recognizes itself as impotent and even absurd *a priori*, it knows that once in possession of the principle, it borrows from its light and becomes identified with it — an incomparable power of generalization.[231]

What Delsarte means in the above passage is that because reason is a reflexive power it requires a first principle upon which to reflect in order to function, which in turn means that, because reason is dependent upon first principles, reason cannot also be the means by which first principles are discovered. According to Delsarte's argument, no amount of independent thinking, discursive reasoning, or methodic doubt can lead to the discovery of a valid first principle. However, once a first principle has been *revealed* to the intellect, reason becomes identified with this principle, forming the foundation of a rationalist system of knowledge.

The most common first principle, for example, is Aristotle's *law of non-contradiction*, which states that "the same attribute cannot at the same time belong and not belong to the same subject in the same respect."[232] The truth of Aristotle's statement about the nature of things cannot be demonstrated because such a demonstration would require a deductive

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[230] Exod. 3:14 KJV.
[231] Delsarte, "My Revelatory Episodes," in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th., 392-93, emphasis mine.
[232] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1005b19-20.

argument, the conclusion of which would have to be deduced from a prior and more certain principle; yet, according to Aristotle, nothing is more certain than the *law of non-contradiction*.[233] In other words, the *law of non-contradiction* is the foundation upon which reason itself is based, and from which, as Delsarte argues, reason is able to move towards its end progressively, "from one thing known [the first principle] to another not yet known."[234] According to Delsarte, in order for human beings to reason at all, it is necessary for a principle to first be *revealed* to the human intellect by God, the truth of which must be accepted on faith alone – there being only two epistemological orders from which to choose, *faith* or *reason*. Thus, all first principles are, by their very nature, based on faith, meaning that, no matter how certain a system of knowledge appears, the primary proposition on which that system is based requires a leap of faith, a necessary belief not about the primacy of the *mind*, but about the primacy of *existence* – Delsarte's system being based on a belief in the *existence* of the Trinity.

1.4 Aesthetics as a Science: Delsarte's Methodology of Faith

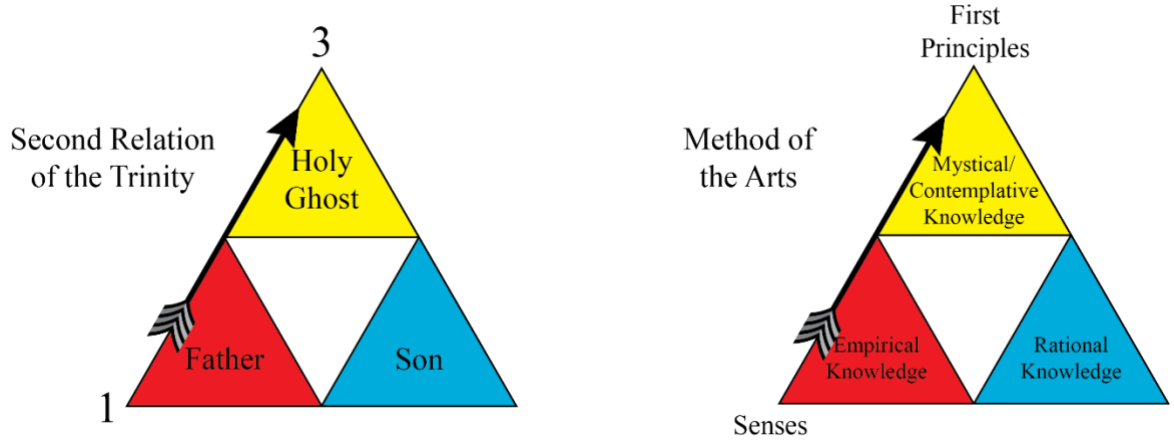
In the previous two sections, analyses of the theology of the processional relations of the Trinity have shown how Delsarte's system a) adheres to the medieval order of scientific inquiry, which proceeds from empirical knowledge to rational knowledge to contemplative knowledge, and b) avoids the critical problem of Cartesianism by being based on revelation and faith rather than reason and methodic doubt. In this section, I analyse Delsarte's epistemological system again according to the processional relations of the Trinity in order to show how the modern disciplines of aesthetics and psychology are integrated by delineating these two disciplines along the methodological trajectory of the second relation of the Trinity from the Father to the Holy Ghost (1-3), thereby proceeding directly from empirical

[233] Aristotle, 1005b18.
[234] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 513.

knowledge to contemplative knowledge – sense perception to the discovery of first principles – essentially bypassing rational knowledge altogether by adhering to the principle of faith alone (see figures 1.17 and 1.18). This methodological pathway from the senses to first principles was not meant for scientists or philosophers, but for artists (which includes the practice of the medical arts), Delsarte arguing that:

> The intuitions of genius are not in the brain. The mind, which is essentially discursive, is rarely fruitful. […] The mind divides, analyses; it is the heart that warms, illuminates, strengthens. […] Artists who want to be great in your art, do not reason: love and believe!"[235]

Delsarte's methodology from empiricism to mysticism, by which he scientifically defines the disciplines of physiology, psychology, and aesthetics according to this methodology, pushes beyond the epistemological boundaries of both Aristotelian-Scholasticism and Cartesianism, and therefore can be called a properly independent system of its own.



Figures 1.17 and 1.18. The Second Relation of the Trinity and Delsarte's Methodology of Faith. Figure 1.17 (left) shows the second relation of the Trinity from The Father to the Holy Ghost according to Delsarte's system. Figure 1.18 (right) shows the methodological pathway proceeding from the senses directly to the discovery of first principles. This pathway, which bypasses rational knowledge, is dependent upon faith rather than reason.

[235] "Les intuitions du génie ne sont pas dans le cerveau. L'esprit, essentiellement discuteur, est rarement fécond. […] L'esprit divise, analyse ; c'est le cœur qui échauffe, illumine, fortifie. […] Artistes qui voulez être grands dans votre art, ne discutez pas : aimez et croyez !" Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée (1859)," DP, box 12c, folder 40, pp 21-22.

What has made it possible to determine with some certainty that Delsarte's aesthetic system was developed under a universal epistemology is the discovery of his so-called Chart of Science (see figure 1.21), the only known source of which is located in Rose Meller O'Neill's 1927 publication, *The Science and Art of Speech and Gesture*.[236] Delsarte's chart provides clear evidence in support of the claims that a) his system is based on metaphysical realism, b) his epistemology follows the medieval order of scientific inquiry beginning in the senses, and c) his system surpasses both Aristotelian-Scholasticism and Cartesianism by integrating the modern disciplines of aesthetics and psychology. As mentioned, aesthetics was first developed as a formal discipline by Baumgarten in 1735,[237] whilst modern psychology, first developed by Descartes, was established as a scientific discipline by Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) in 1879.[238] Significantly, aesthetics has not yet been established as a scientific discipline, which was Delsarte's mission: "with all due respect to that illustrious body, the École des Beaux-Arts, this Palladium of aesthetic science, is, let me say first, the name of a thing which does not exist, and has never existed!"[239] Unlike other aesthetic theories, both past and present, which establish aesthetics as either a branch of theology or philosophy, Delsarte's theory establishes philosophy and theology as two branches of aesthetics – philosophy and theology proceeding from aesthetics in order to form the three disciplines of Sacred Science, just as the Son and Holy Ghost proceed from the Father in order to form the three persons of the Holy Trinity (see figures 1.19 and 1.20). The

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[236] Rose Meller O'Neill, *The Science and Art of Speech and Gesture*: *A Comprehensive Survey of the Laws of Gesture and Expression, Founded on the Art and Life Work of Delsarte, with His Exercises.* (London: C.W. Daniel, 1927), 195. For information on O'Neill, see section 4.1.

[237] Umberto Ecco argues that, under Baumgarten's conception of aesthetics as a science of the senses, the medieval Scholastics did not possess any such theory, a position also held by Catholic philosopher Jacque Maritain. See Umberto Eco, *The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Hugh Bredin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 2; Jacques Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism* (Tacoma: Cluny Media, 2016), 2.

[238] Raymond E. Fancher and Alexandra Rutherford, *Pioneers of Psychology*: *A History*, 4th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012), 8, and 203.

[239] "n'en déplaise à l'illustre corps, l'École des Beaux-Arts, ce Palladium de la science esthétique, est, je le dis tout d'abord, le nom d'une chose qui n'existe pas, et n'exista jamais!" Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée: Des sources de l'Art," *L'Avenir musical* 3, no. 8 (April 1867): 150.

medieval order of scientific inquiry is indicated in Delsarte's Chart of Science (see figure 1.21) by the numerical ordering of the three generic sciences in the vertical column on the left according to the processional relations. The three generic sciences are: (I.) Substantive Science, corresponding to the Father, is based on empirical knowledge derived from the senses; (II.) Formal Science, corresponding to the Son, is based on rational knowledge derived from the power of reason; and (III.) Sacred Science, corresponding to the Holy Ghost, is based on revelatory knowledge derived from the power of contemplation. Delsarte's three generic sciences correspond to both Boethius' and Aquinas' three-fold division of the speculative sciences into natural philosophy (Substantive Science), mathematics (Formal Science), and theology (Sacred Science), and who, according to Marvin E. Kanne, based their own division of the sciences on Aristotle.[240] Furthermore, we know from Delsarte's Chart of Science that his aesthetic system is based on metaphysical realism owing to the way in which he combines three generic sciences with three planes of being – Things, Ideas, and

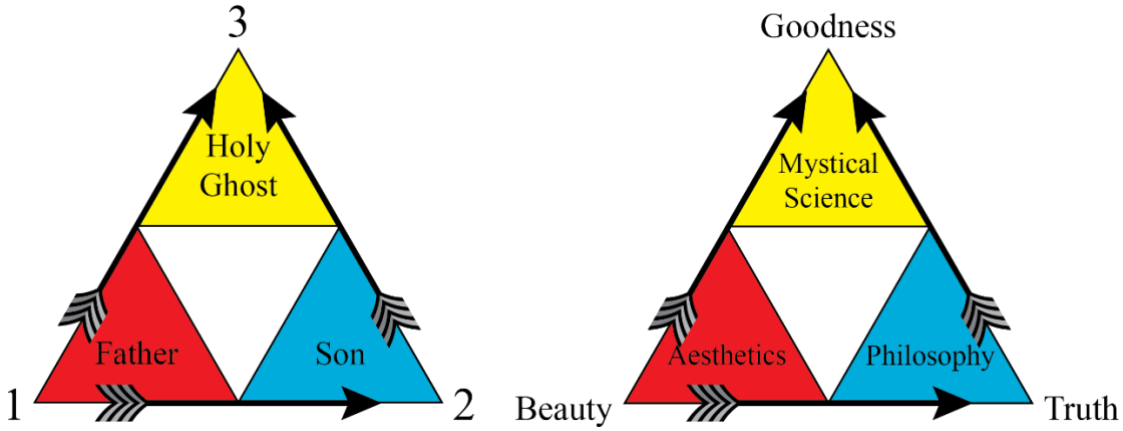


Figure 1.19 and 1.20. The Processional Relations of the Trinity and the Sacred Sciences. Figure 1.19 (left) shows the processional relations of the Trinity. Figure 1.20 (right) shows the three disciplines of aesthetics, philosophy, and mystical science or theology which, according to Delsarte's system, form the three Sacred Sciences, the transcendentals of Beauty, Truth, and Goodness corresponding to the divine persons of the Trinity.

[240] Kanne argues that Aquinas based his division of the sciences on two operations of the mind: the simple apprehension of an intelligible object by understanding its essence – *what* a thing is – and the operation of judgment by which we compose or divide what has been apprehended by understanding both an object's essence and existence – *how* a thing exists. Thus, by including the *why*, on which Sacred Science is based, Delsarte appears to surpass Aquinas. See Marvin E. Kanne, "Saint Thomas Aquinas' Division of the Sciences," *Transactions of the Nebraska Academy of Sciences and Affiliated Societies* 7, no. 319 (1979): 145-47.

Personalities (see figure 1.21). According to Wilhelmsen, the first principle of reality of Aristotelian-Scholasticism is not only *being* but also *understanding*.[241] And so, Delsarte unifies *being* and *understanding* into one coherent compound epistemological system from which he derives the nine specialized disciplines seen in the chart below. Delsarte categorizes

Chart of Science	1. **The world of Things** (The What)	3. **The world of Personalities** (The Why)	2. **The world of Ideas** (The How)
II. **Formal Science** The Conditions and Relations (The How)	**Mathematics** Material of the Formal = Time and Space (The What of the How)	**Ethics** Spirit of the Formal = Self and Others (The Why of the How)	**Logic** Form of the Formal = Identity and Difference (The How of the How)
III. **Sacred Science** The Meaning and Purpose (The Why)	**Aesthetics** Material of the Spiritual = Expression and Beauty (The What of the Why)	**Mystical Science** Spirit of the Spiritual = Love and Goodness (The Why of the Why)	**Philosophy** Form of the Spiritual = Truth (The How of the Why)
I. **Substantive Science** The Nature (The What)	**Physical Science** Material of the Material = Matter and Force (The What of the What)	**Psychology** Spirit of the Material = Soul and Sense (The Why of the What)	**Metaphysics** Form of the Material = Ideas (The How of the What)

Figure 1.21. Delsarte's Chart of Science. Delsarte determined three generic sciences (vertical left column) corresponding to the divine persons of the Trinity in accordance with three orders of knowledge or understanding: Substantive Science (Father), Formal Science (Son), and Spiritual Science (Holy Ghost). Then, combining these three orders of understanding with the three phases of being (horizontal top column), Things, Ideas, and Persons, Delsarte determined nine specialized scientific disciplines in accordance with the theology of the circumincession. Methodologically, physical science (I-1) utilizes the empirical method, logic (II-2) the rationalist method, and mystical science (III-3) the contemplative method. Metaphysics (I-2) and mathematics (II-1) utilize an empirico-rationalist method, psychology (I-3) and aesthetics (III-1) an empirico-contemplative method, and ethics (II-3) and philosophy (III-2) a rational-contemplative method. Based on a drawing in O'Neill, *Science and Art*, 195, with some minor corrections and additions.

[241] Wilhelmsen argues that "whatever the intellect knows, it knows as being, as existing or as capable of existing in some order." Wilhelmsen, *Knowledge of Reality*, 45.

each discipline didactically not only according to the question that each one attempts to answer – *what, how,* and *why* – but also in accordance with the theology of the circumincession, where each question is said to be in the other two: the *what* is in both the *how* and the *why*, the *how* is in both the *what* and the *why*, and the *why* is in both the *what* and the *how*.

To make Delsarte's use of these questions clearer, we can take metaphysics and mathematics as examples. First, the question the discipline of metaphysics attempts to answer, according to Delsarte's chart, includes the interrogatives *how* and *what*, which is expressed as: *the how of the what*. What this means is that metaphysics studies how various forms and ideas are abstracted by the mind from material objects, for example, the way in which numerical ratios (forms) can be abstracted from the vibrating strings of a monochord (material). Secondly, the question the discipline of mathematics attempts to answer also includes the interrogatives *how* and *what* but in reverse order, expressed as: *the what of the how*. Thus, mathematics studies the material of the forms, which is the study of number itself. And so, because metaphysics and mathematics ask the same two questions, *how* and *what*, their methodologies are entangled together in Delsarte's system. However, because the disciplines place the interrogatives in reverse order from one another, they form two distinct disciplines in Delsarte's chart.

The disciplines not methodologically entangled in Delsarte's system are those that directly correspond to the persons of the Trinity without admixture. These disciplines attempt to answer a single unmixed question, and so are defined by three primary methodologies: physical science (expressed as the *what of the what*), which corresponds to the Father, is defined as a science by the empirical method; logic (expressed as the *how of the how*), which corresponds to the Son, is defined as a science by the rational method; and mystical science or theology (expressed as the *why of the why*), which corresponds to the Holy Ghost, is

defined as a science by the contemplative method (mysticism). This means that inquiry into the *entangled* or *mixed* disciplines in Delsarte's system, according to the theology of the circumincession, utilize some combination of the three primary methodologies. For example, metaphysics and mathematics use a combination of the empirical and rationalist methods in order to not only abstract numerical ratios from vibrating bodies, but also to apply the concept of number back to the material realm of time and space, such as in the subdiscipline of theoretical physics.

The nine specialized disciplines in Delsarte's Chart of Science can be more easily seen in the following diagram according not only to the theology of the circumincession, whereby each discipline relates to every other discipline, similar to the way in which each colour relates to every other colour in Chevreul's colour wheel, but also according to the theology of the processional relations, whereby each methodology in Delsarte's system is distinct yet interconnected, one methodology leading to another methodology in order to form six methodologically entangled disciplines at the point where two primary methodologies intersect, the result being a single unified epistemological and methodological system – one system to excel them all. What is important to note about the system, as it is presented below, is that it conforms to Wilhelmsen's definition of what the term *epistemology* should mean, which is "an investigation linking the *metaphysics* of knowledge and truth with the *psychology* of knowledge."[242] And, in the diagram below, there are two methodological pathways leading from the discipline of physical science, one towards metaphysics, the other to psychology, both of which have their end in mystical science or theology, which in the medieval period was known as the queen of the sciences (see figure 1.22).

[242] Wilhelmsen, *Knowledge of Reality*, 5, emphasis mine.

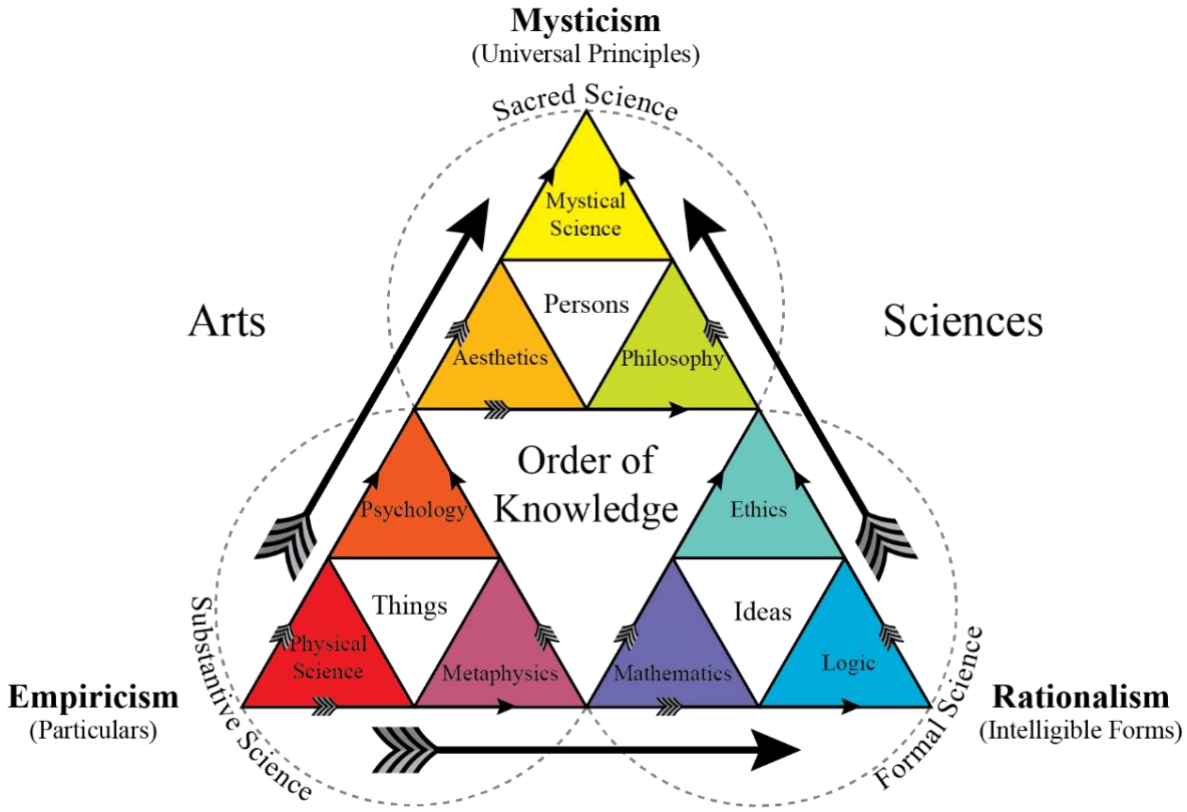


Figure 1.22. One System to Excel Them All. Delsarte's Chart of Science is depicted here according to the circumincession and processional relations in order to create a single unified system. The nine smaller arrows depict the methodological order of knowledge for each of the three generic sciences, whilst the three larger arrows depict the overall order of knowledge of the entire system, which begins at the bottom left-hand side with physical science, and which ends with mystical science or theology at the top. The three primary methodologies become entangled at three points in the system: metaphysics and mathematics are entangled at the point where the Substantive and Formal Sciences intersect; psychology and aesthetics are entangled at the point where the Substantive and Sacred Sciences intersect; and ethics and philosophy are entangled at the point where the Formal and Scared Sciences intersect.

As mentioned, what makes Delsarte's aesthetic system unique is the integration of the modern disciplines of psychology and aesthetics within an Aristotelian-Scholastic epistemology, two disciplines which traverse an epistemological pathway leading directly from the senses towards contemplation, essentially bypassing reason, a method which could be called *aesthetic mysticism*.[243] A detailed analysis of Delsarte's epistemology of the arts corresponding to the second relation of the Trinity, and in relation to the genre of Greek

[243] The term is used by Umberto Eco to denote a nineteenth-century aesthetic movement to which I believe Delsarte belongs and which he possibly influenced, beginning with the Nazarenes in Germany and ending with Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites in England. See Eco, *On Beauty* (London: MacLehose, 2010), 351.

tragedy, is presented at the beginning of chapter three.[244] However, it is necessary to explain here how psychology and aesthetics are methodologically entangled in Delsarte's system.

According to Delsarte's Chart of Science, the disciplines of psychology and aesthetics answer the questions *why* and *what*, psychology expressed as *the why of the what*, aesthetics as *the what of the why*. Thus, both disciplines deal with the material realm (*what*) and the spiritual realm (*why*), psychology studying *the spirit of the material*, that is the human soul in relation to the senses, aesthetics studying *the material of the spirit*, that is human expression and beauty. Furthermore, because both disciplines have their methodological origin in the physical sciences, it is necessary to group them with the subdiscipline of physiology, which under nineteenth-century French spiritualist realism (another name for metaphysical realism) was rooted in *vitalism* rather than materialism.[245] Thus, the three disciplines of physiology, psychology, and aesthetics, which compose the methodology of the second relation of the Trinity correspond to Delsarte's distinction of the tripartite human soul according to his terminology of Life (physiology), Mind (psychology), and Soul (aesthetics).

Furthermore, Delsarte's definition of the term *art* also has a tripartite structure, which he defines as:

> Art is at the same time the *knowledge*, the *possession*, and the *government* of the devices or agents under which life, mind, and soul are revealed.
>
> Knowledge supposes a certain science […] So yes, science is the starting point of art. It is indeed necessary to know the relative value of the phenomena by means of which life, mind, and soul will be revealed. […]
>
> The possession. It is necessary to possess, that is, this science must pass into the state of consciousness. You must generalize what you possess, as Jacotot said: "everything is in everything." To know something well, you must constantly learn and repeat what you learn. It is by reproducing something incessantly that one arrives at possession.

[244] See section 3.1.
[245] See section 2.1.3.

> Finally, it must be governed. We only possess what we know, and we only govern what we possess. We must therefore *know*, *possess*, and *govern* these agents.[246]

Thus, inherent in Delsarte's definition is a tripartite structure corresponding to the disciplines of physiology, psychology, and aesthetics by which we respectively come to arrive at the knowledge, possession, and government of art. And, in another definition, Delsarte argues that the purpose of art is to reveal the transcendentals of Beauty, Truth, and Goodness, that is the manifold perfections of creatures, according to the Catechism of the Catholic Church,[247] which are common to all beings, and by which we are able to *perceive* God:[248]

> Art is not, as they say, the imitation of nature, it super-naturalizes nature by idealizing it. Art is the synthetic relation of the scattered beauties of nature to a superior and determinate type. It is a work of love in which shines the Beautiful, the True, and the Good. […] In a word, art is the search for the eternal type.[249]

Thus, the methodological pathway leading directly from the senses towards the discovery of first principles, corresponding to the second relation of the Trinity, is the methodological pathway of the artist, having its starting point in the sciences and its end in theology. Delsarte's system, therefore, ends as it began with the Holy Trinity, which is the cause, the principle, and the end of all science, as well as its infallible criterion. Thus, it is to an analysis of the Trinity as an *infallible criterion* in Delsarte's system that we now turn.

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[246] "L'art, (la définition ici est complexe, elle est prise à toutes sortes de point de vue) l'art est à la fois la connaissance, la possession, et le gouvernement des appareils ou agents en vertu desquels se révèlent la vie, l'âme et l'esprit. La connaissance suppose une certaine science des moyens dont il sera question. Voilà donc la science oui forme le point de départ de l'art. Il faut en effet connaître la valeur relative des phénomènes à l'aide desquels l'âme, la vie, et l'esprit se révéleront. Cela n'est pas commode, mais c'est nécessaire. Il faut que ce soit. La possession. Il faut posséder, c'est-à-dire qu'il faut que cette science passe à l'état de conscience. Il faut généraliser ce qu'on possède, comme le disait Jacotot : « tout est dans tout. » Pour savoir bien quelque chose, apprendre et répéter constamment. C'est en reproduisant une chose incessamment qu'on arrive à la possession. Enfin il faut la gouverner. On ne possède que ce qu'on connaît et on ne gouverne que ce qu'on possède. Il faut donc connaître, posséder, et gouverner ces agents." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 10-11. Appendix B.

[247] Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 41.

[248] "For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionally the maker of them is seen." Wis. 13:5 KJV.

[249] "L'art n'est pas, comme on le dit, l'imitation de la nature ; il la surnaturalise en l'idéalisant. C'est le rapport synthétique des beautés éparses de la nature à un type supérieur et défini. C'est une œuvre d'amour où brille le beau, le vrai et le bien. C'est le symbole des degrés mystérieux de notre divine ascension ou des dégradations successives qu'affecte l'âme en chute. L'art, enfin, est la tendance de l'âme déchue vers sa pureté primitive ou sa splendeur finale ; en un mot, c'est la recherche du type éternel." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," 20:197.

1.5 The Ninth Chord: The Trinity as an Infallible Criterion

The problem of a criterion of truth is believed by many philosophers to be one of the most important and difficult problems in all of philosophy. Montaigne famously stated the problem as such:

> To judge of the appearances that we receive from subjects, we would need a judicial instrument; to verify this instrument, we need a demonstration; to verify the demonstration, an instrument: here we are at the spinning wheel. Since the senses cannot stop our dispute, being themselves full of uncertainty, it must be reason; but no reason can be established without another reason: here we go backwards to infinity.[250]

According to Montaigne, the problem of founding a system of knowledge on reason alone is made clear: reason cannot establish the truth of a first principle or criterion because to demonstrate such a truth would require a prior principle or criterion. Significantly, Montaigne asserts that the senses simply cannot be trusted, which is to state the modern epistemological problem of perception, which, following arguments from Aquinas, Augustine, and Boethius, Delsarte refutes. However, in the realm of modern science, rather than philosophy, no such problem of an infinitely regressive principle or criterion exists because scientists generally recognize that knowledge is built upon first principles, the truth of which cannot be demonstrated. In science, the truth of any and all first principles is continually tested by observation, experimentation, and experience – that is by the *senses* – which means that one of the most important and difficult problems in all of philosophy is, apparently, solved by scientific investigation.

And yet, although Delsarte encouraged his students to verify and judge his theory for themselves, he never claimed that the principle of the Trinity was fallible, but that it was

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[250] "Pour juger des apparences que nous recevons des subjets, il nous faudroit un instrument judicatoire ; pour verifier cet instrument, il nous y faut de la demonstration ; pour verifier la demonstration, un instrument : nous voilà au rouet. Puis que les sens ne peuvent arrester nostre dispute, estans pleins eux-mesmes d'incertitude, il faut que ce soit la raison ; aucune raison ne s'establira sans une autre raison : nous voylà à reculons jusques à l'infiny." Michel de Montaigne, *An Apology for Raymond Sebond*, qtd. in Roderick M. Chisholm, *The Problem of the Criterion* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1973), 3 n3.

infallible. Although Delsarte's *method of inquiry*, by which signs of the Trinity are sought in natural phenomena, begins scientifically in the senses, according to both his Chart of Science and the peripatetic axiom of Aristotelian-Scholasticism, his *pedagogical system*, according to his own theorem, begins with the principle of the Trinity. This is because Delsarte must first teach his students what to look for in natural phenomena so that they can then test and judge what they find against his criterion. Thus, Delsarte insisted that students verify and judge his theory, not because he believed his principle to be fallible, but because he knew himself to be fallible, as are all human beings. Delsarte believed that, in order for a criterion against which no fact protests to exist at all, it must therefore be divinely revealed:

> I believe I have said enough to prove the necessity of science. The artist needs a criterion of examination. He needs a law. In the end, science is needed. However, there is still a difficulty because there exists what is called true science and false science. Science, in my eyes, is the possession of a criterion of examination against which no fact protests. […] If there is an infallible criterion somewhere against which no fact protests, this criterion is divine. It cannot be human, because man is fallible, because science fails all the time.[251]

In order to discover this infallible criterion, Delsarte drew upon an argument of perfection, similar to the one made by Descartes for the necessary existence of God. However, instead of basing his argument on a purely rational *a priori* concept of perfection in the mind, as did Descartes, Delsarte based his argument on an *a posteriori* concept of perfection derived from the *perception* of the circumincession of the three primary colours:

> Thus, in material phenomena, yellow, blue, red [exist]. I have never seen these colours in nature in their typical state. I have the type within me, the certainty that the thing exists, but I have never seen a yellow that did not have a tendency towards red or a tendency towards blue. I have never seen absolute yellow; however, I am certain that it exists.[252]

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[251] "Je crois en avoir dit assez pour prouver la nécessité de la science. Il faut à l'artiste un critérium d'examen. Il lui faut une loi. Il faut enfin la science. Mais ici, il y a encore une difficulté parce qu'il y a ce qu'on appelle la vraie science et la fausse science. La science est à mes yeux la possession d'un critérium d'examen contre lequel aucun fait ne proteste. [...] S'il y a quelque part un critérium infaillible contre lequel aucun fait ne proteste, ce critérium est divin. Il ne peut pas être humain, parce que l'homme est faillible, parce que la science à tout moment faiblit." Delsarte, "Cours de Monsieur Delsarte," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 124.

[252] "Ainsi dans les phénomènes matériels, le jaune, le bleu, le rouge. Je n'ai jamais vu dans la nature ces couleurs là à l'état typique. J'ai en moi le type, la certitude que la chose existe, mais je n'ai jamais vu un jaune qui n'eût une tendance vers le rouge ou une tendance vers le bleu, je n'ai jamais vu le jaune pur, j'ai cependant la certitude que ça existe." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 104-05. Appendix B.

Unlike Descartes's *a priori* argument, Delsarte's argument is *a posteriori* because the concept of perfection itself is derived from the optical entanglement of the three primary colours. According to Chevreul's *law of simultaneous contrast*, the eye perceives modifications from the environment which influence the optical composition of any given colour. Thus, the perception of colour is relative, even though we conceptualize colour categorically in the mind. Comparatively speaking then, the colour of absolute yellow is understood categorically in the mind as the complete absence of red and blue; however, in terms of perception, yellow always contains elements of red and blue because, together, these colours compose white light. And so, what the eye perceives in nature is only a predominance of yellow over red and blue, rather than their complete absence. Because "everything is in everything," according to Delsarte, the various shades of yellow we perceive in nature are not simply caused by the imperfection of the eye but are also the result of the reflection of the circumincessions of the Trinity in the material realm, whereby red is in both blue and yellow, blue is in both red and yellow, and yellow is in both red and blue. Thus, the inability of the eye to perceive absolute yellow results from the circumincessions of the Trinity. Because Delsarte recognizes yellow as the predominance of one primary colour over the other two, he is able to abstract the concept of absolute yellow in his mind from the predominance of yellow that he perceives in nature, even though he has never actually seen absolute yellow. Delsarte's concept of absolute yellow, however, cannot be considered *a priori* because his concept is derived from perception – the universal concept being a product of the particular instances perceived, and therefore not prior to it. Thus, Delsarte's argument of perfection conforms to metaphysical realism, which maintains that universals exist in both the particular phenomenon as well as in the mind, existing first in the phenomenon, and second in the mind. In the case of yellow then, absolute yellow exists in the phenomenon of white light first, and

only second in Delsarte's mind, Delsarte abstracting the concept from the natural phenomena, thereby moving from the perceptual to the conceptual.

What Delsarte seems to have realized from his argument on the perception of colour is that, because his perceptive faculties, which are imperfect, can lead him to knowledge of the existence of absolute perfection, then all of the imperfect organic operations in human beings must have a corresponding state of perfection elsewhere in existence. And, because Delsarte determined there to be nine distinct types of knowledge in his Chart of Science (see figure 1.21), and nine distinct cognitive faculties in his Chart of Man (see figure 1.7), he concluded that nine perfect states of knowledge and cognition must therefore really exist:

> I thought to myself: "In every expression there must be a postulate, an ideal, and this ideal must have a certain reality." I searched for a long time. Then, the book of St. Dionysius the Areopagite fell into my lap, and I could not have been more thunderstruck […] than when I saw this angelic hierarchy, when I saw that it was quite simply the key to the explanation of these phenomena that are in me.[253]

Thus, drawing upon Pseudo-Dionysius' fifth century text, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, Delsarte concluded that the nine states of perfection he had been seeking actually existed as nine intelligent beings in the divine realm – the nine choirs of angels of the Christian tradition.

In his 1867 lecture, Delsarte revealed not only how he discovered his criterion of the Ninth Chord in Pseudo-Dionysius' *The Celestial Hierarchy*, but he also described in detail how the nine cognitive faculties in his Chart of Man corresponded to the three hierarchies and nine choirs in his Chart of Angels.[254] Because angels are perfect intelligences, Delsarte argued that their hierarchical structure must serve as the criterion for the arts and sciences:

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[253] "J'ai longtemps cherché, je me suis dit : « À chaque expression il doit y avoir un postulatum, un idéal, et cet idéal doit avoir une certaine réalité. » J'ai cherché longtemps. Alors le livre de St. Denis l'Aréopagite m'est tombe dans les mains, et là j'aurais été foudroyé que je n'aurais pas été plus ému, plus pénétré, plus heureux, que lorsque j'aperçus cette hiérarchie angélique, lorsque je vis qu'elle était tout simplement la clé de l'explication de ces phénomènes qui sont en moi, qu'elle était la forme typique, réelle de chacun des actes, et qu'elle en était l'explication. Je ne veux pas vous tenir longtemps sur cette question, il faut cependant la toucher." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 105-106. Appendix B.

[254] For a reproduction of Delsarte's Chart of Angels, see figure 1.24, p. 95.

> I will summarize the chart I have presented to you with a term that I borrow from musicians, a term to which I do not attach the meaning that they attach to it, namely, the Ninth Chord. The Ninth Chord is the universal criterion of the arts and sciences. It was laid down by God in the very creation of the angels. Angels are the archetype of all created things, and anyone who has meditated a little on this magnificent chord is immediately initiated into all other possible chords. All that can be seen in this world is nothing other than the reverberation of this magnificent chord. Now, the world is the image that man abstracts. Thus, it can be said, and has been said, that man possesses within himself all of heavenly Jerusalem. It reverberates within him. It is in direct affinity with all of the choirs I have mentioned, as it is with all of creation, along with matter.[255]

Delsarte argues that not only is there a direct affinity between the typical cognitive faculties of man and the archetypal hierarchy of the angels, which is shown by the inclusion of the angels in his Chart of Man (see figure 1.7), but also that there is a direct affinity between the spiritual form of man (soul) and the material realm, which is summed up in his statement elsewhere that: "To each spiritual function corresponds a function of the body. To each major function of the body corresponds a spiritual act."[256] Thus, in Delsarte's system, not only does the immaterial form of human knowledge directly correspond to the hierarchical structure of the angels, but the immaterial form of the human soul directly corresponds to the material structure of the body – which is to apply the Aristotelian theory of hylomorphism to a Christian understanding of creation.

The following chart combines Delsarte's Chart of Angels and Chart of Man with his Chart of Science in order to show how the three hierarchies and nine choirs of angels correspond to both the human cognitive faculties and the division of the arts and sciences (see figure 1.23). For example, Thrones corresponds to the feelings (sentiment) and to Aesthetics,

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[255] "Je résumerai le tableau que je vous ai présente par un mot que j'emprunte aux musiciens, mot auquel je n'attache pas le sens qu'ils y attachent, c'est à dire l'accord de neuvième. L'accord de neuvième est le critérium universel des sciences et des arts. Il a été posé par Dieu dans création même des anges. Les anges constituent le prototype de tous les choses créés, et quiconque a médité un peu ce magnifique accord est initié tout de suite à tous les accords possibles. Tout ce qu'on peut voir dans le monde n'est pas autre chose que la réverbération de ce magnifique accord. Or le monde est l'image que l'homme résume. Ainsi, on peut dire, et cela a été dit, que l'homme possède en lui toute la Jérusalem céleste. Elle se réverbère en lui. Il est en affinité directe avec tous les chœurs que j'ai signalé, comme il l'est avec toute la création, avec la matière." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 112-13. Appendix B.

[256] "À chaque fonction spirituelle répond une fonction du corps. À chaque grande fonction du corps correspond un acte spirituel." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," 20:198.

Chart of Angels, Man, and Science	1. The World of Life	3. The World of Grace	2. The World of the Intellect
II. **Hierarchy of Knowledge** Cognitive Faculty of Understanding Science of Principles (Number, Speculative)	**Angels** Educate, Interpret, Revelation, Rule Judgement Mathematics	**Principalities** Judge, Rectify, Hegemony, Principle Conscience Ethics	**Archangels** Guide, Unify, Order, Mediation Induction, Reason Logic
III. **Sacred Hierarchy** Cognitive Faculty of the Will Teleological Science (Weight, Spiritual)	**Thrones** Transfix, Ignite, Purification Sentiment Aesthetics	**Seraphim** Consume, Transfigure, Perfection Contemplation Mystical Science	**Cherubim** Outpouring of Wisdom, Illumination Intuition Philosophy
I. **Hierarchy of Strength** Cognitive Faculty of Memory Causal Science (Measure, Seminal)	**Powers** Enlighten, Encourage, Cause, Paternity Sensation Physical Science	**Dominations** Attract, Habituate, Infinity, Eternity Sympathy Psychology	**Virtues** Fortify, Strengthen, Authority, Harmony Instinct Metaphysics

Figure 1.23. Chart of Angels, Man, and Science. This chart shows how attributes of the three hierarchies and nine choirs of angels from the Christian tradition correspond to both the cognitive faculties and the division of the arts and sciences in Delsarte's system. The chart is an amalgam of Delsarte's Chart of Angels, Chart of Man, and Chart of Science, and also includes information found in Delsarte, "untitled chart," DP, box 1, folder 24, item 21; Hamel, *Cours d'éloquence parlée*, 32; and Pseudo-Dionysius' *The Celestial Hierarchy*.

Delsarte defining the discipline, which is rooted in sensation, as the study of the feelings: "Æsthetics is the science of the sensitive and passional manifestations which are the object of art, and whose [psychological] form it constitutes."[257] According to Delsarte, because the mission of Thrones is to transfix and ignite, Thrones correspond to the cognitive faculty of the feelings, as well as the discipline of aesthetics, because the object of art is to materially constitute the psychological form of the feelings:

[257] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 460.

> [Feelings] correspond to Thrones. They occupy a place of honour within us. What is the mission of Thrones? Here, I am not inventing words, I am taking the words as I find them. Thrones transfix and ignite. Is it possible to say anything more true, more expressive in view of the feelings? Do the feelings not transfix being? Do they not set it on fire? I cannot think of anything more eloquent.[258]

Delsarte makes it clear in both his charts and lectures that aesthetics does not constitute the study of a collection of *ideas* on the Beautiful rooted in the mind,[259] but rather that it constitutes the study of the *feelings* of the Beautiful rooted in sensation – aesthetics being perceptual, rather than conceptual. According to Delsarte's charts, unlike philosophy, aesthetics does not psychologically correspond to an intuitive cognitive influx of philosophical wisdom in the mind (Cherubim), but that it corresponds to the cognitive feeling of being transfixed and set ablaze through the senses (Thrones). Once the feeling of Beauty has been experienced in this manner, only then can we philosophically reflect upon such an experience. However, to reflect upon an experience of Beauty after the fact is not the same thing as the immediate sensory experience of it – just as to conceptualize absolute yellow by abstracting it from the senses is not the same thing as the immediate sensory experience of perceiving yellow. In order to understand the existence of Beauty in Delsarte's aesthetic system then, we must relate Beauty to his argument for the existence of the angels – that all of the imperfect instances of Beauty we perceive in the natural realm must have a corresponding state of perfection not only in the mind, but in existence as well. Thus, Beauty exists as a transcendental property of being in Delsarte's system.

To return to the problem of the criterion then, we can understand Delsarte's claim that the criterion of the Trinity is infallible because, according to metaphysical realism, any reflections of the Holy Trinity we phenomenally perceive in the material realm must have a

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[258] "Ils sont en face des trônes. Ils trônent en nous. Qu'elle est la mission des trônes ? Ici, je n'invente pas un mot, je prends les mots tels que je les trouve. Ils fixent et embrasent. Est-il possible de dire quelque chose de plus vrai, de plus expressif en vue au sentiment ? Est-ce que le sentiment ne fixe pas l'être ? Est-ce qu'il ne l'embrase pas ? Je ne vois rien de plus éloquent." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 109. Appendix B.

[259] See Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée, cours de F. Delsarte," DP, box 8, folder 120, page 1.

corresponding state of perfection in existence. Taking light itself as an example, we know that white light is composed of three interconnected yet distinct primary colours, just as the Trinity is said to be composed of three interconnected yet distinct persons. And, taking Delsarte's discovery of the sounding of the overtone series as another example, we know that in the overtone series that the tonic generates its dominant, whilst the mediant tone proceeds from both, just as the Father begets the Son, the Holy Ghost proceeding from both.[260] Thus, if we perceive white light as being composed of many different colours, and also conceive of it as forming a perfectly unified system composed of three interconnected yet distinct colours, red, blue, and yellow, then, according to metaphysical realism, the Trinitarian structure of white light has a corresponding state of perfection in existence. Likewise, if we perceive a single sound as being composed of many different pitches, as in the overtone series, and also conceive of it as forming a perfectly unified system composed of three interconnected yet distinct sounds, as in a perfect triad, then this Trinitarian structure also has a corresponding state of perfection in existence. Thus, Delsarte's principle of the Trinity, which he derived from the perception of the overtone series, exists somewhere in a corresponding state of perfection. And so, if an error exists in Delsarte's system, the error lies with either Delsarte's imperfect power of human perception or his faulty power of human reasoning; the error cannot lie with the principle itself because the principle exists independently outside of him. Furthermore, the principle of the Trinity is scientifically valid, even though it is said to be infallible, because, being derived *a posteriori* from the senses, rather than *a priori* from the mind, the truth of its existence cannot be philosophically demonstrated, meaning that not only must the principle be accepted on faith, but in order to validate and judge the principle, one must encounter particular instances of the natural phenomenon of the reflection of the Trinity through observation and experience.

[260] For Delsarte's discovery, see pages 38-39.

1.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate the use of Delsarte's symbolic language, which draws from Aristotelian principles and Thomistic metaphysical realism, his epistemology being in accordance with these schools of thought. As a result, Delsarte's aesthetic system is shown to be firmly rooted in Roman Catholicism doctrine and is therefore not based on various forms of Western esotericism, as has been argued by many practitioners and scholars since Delsarte's writings first reached America in 1871. This chapter also refutes the claim made by Taylor that Delsarte's investigations were unsystematic and that his method was unscientific. That Delsarte seems to have applied Chevreul's *law of the simultaneous contrast of colours* to his investigations suggests that he was attempting to align his aesthetic system with the latest scientific discovery in the field of optics. Furthermore, this chapter shows that Delsarte's system is not a mere nostalgic return to Scholasticism, but that, by incorporating the modern disciplines of aesthetics and psychology into a framework coexistent with the medieval order of knowledge, Delsarte's theory appears to push beyond the epistemological and methodological boundaries of both Aristotelian-Scholasticism and Cartesianism in order to establish a single unified system of knowledge.

Although Delsarte's system conforms to the tenets of Aristotelian-Scholasticism and should therefore be called scientific under that philosophical domain, aesthetics did not exist as a distinct scientific discipline in the medieval period but was established by Baumgarten in the eighteenth century. According to Steffen W. Gross, Baumgarten's aesthetic programme presented an alternative philosophy of knowledge which, apparently like Delsarte's system, went beyond the *purely* rationalist, empiricist, and sensualist methods.[261] However, Baumgarten died before completing his project, his *Aesthetica* (1750) treating only poetics

[261] Steffen W. Gross, "The Neglected Programme of Aesthetics," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 42, no. 4 (2002): 403.

and rhetoric according to a strictly mathematical (rationalist) method.[262] Thus, in some respects, Delsarte's research on aesthetics began where Baumgarten's left off, Delsarte similarly viewing aesthetics as a science of the Beautiful rooted in the sensitive cognition and based upon the psychology of perception. Thus, Delsarte's aesthetic theory stands in direct opposition to Kant, who believed it was impossible to establish a science of the Beautiful and, as a result, limited the term *aesthetic* to a strict science of the sensitive cognition – detached from a first principle of Beauty.[263] Delsarte, believing in radical unity and abiding by Jacatot's dictum that "everything is in everything,"[264] dismissed Kant's transcendental idealism on the grounds that the concept of *pure reason* on which his philosophical system was dependent did not, in fact, exist, as the concept of *pure reason* cannot be empirically verified by the senses in accordance with metaphysical realism:

> It may be asked what we think of another kind of reason – *pure reason*; for it appears that, in the opinion of certain philosophers, pure reason does exist. I do not know where they authenticated and studied this species of reason. For I myself confess in all humility that not only have I never seen a pure reason, but it has never even been possible for me to raise my mind to the point of comprehending the signification of pure reason. I greatly fear that some nonsense lurks within the phrase, such transcendental nonsense as belongs to ideological philosophers alone. I know not why, but these gentlemen's pure reason always gives me the sensation of a strong blast of *moving atoms*. In fact, it is not clear, but why require clarity of philosophers and ideologists?[265]

Not only did Delsarte dismiss Kant's transcendental idealism, along with the materialist theory of Corpuscularianism (moving atoms),[266] he dismissed most of the German theorists as well, including Lessing, Novalis, Schiller, Schlegel, Solger, and Winckelmann, on the grounds that their theories are fragmentary, atomized, and all taught without a system.[267]

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[262] See Frederick C. Beiser, *Diotima's Children*: *German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 119, and 124-26.
[263] Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. and eds. Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), A21/B35.
[264] Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 11.
[265] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 511, emphasis Delsarte.
[266] Corpuscularianism is associated with the works of Boyle, Descartes, Gassendi, Hobbes, Locke, and Newton.
[267] Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée, cours de F. Delsarte," DP, box 12c, folder 40, page 1.

Delsarte was determined, like Baumgarten, to raise the discipline of aesthetics to a lawful science based on first principles. However, unlike Baumgarten, Delsarte went beyond the Aristotelian principles of *sufficient reason* and *non-contradiction* and, instead, based his system on a non-rational principle, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity from Roamn Catholicism, in order to account for the whole of human experience, that is both the rational and non-rational aspects of human existence.[268]

Thus, it necessary to understand the epistemological and methodological implications of metaphysical realism, and how Delsarte's aesthetic system avoids the critical problem of Cartesian dualism, in order to understand how his principle of the Trinity unifies knowledge and the whole of human experience. It is also necessary to understand how his aesthetic theory goes beyond the epistemological and methodological confines of medieval Aristotelian-Scholasticism by establishing a unique methodology which moves directly from sense perception to the discovery of first principles, that is from observation to revelation (analogous to the processional relation beginning with the Father and proceeding directly to the Holy Ghost) in an attempt to reunite the Christian religion with nineteenth-century science. Although the outlines of this methodology, which I have called *aesthetic mysticism*, are presented in this chapter, a more detailed analysis of this system is presented in the following chapter.

Finally, this chapter showed that Delsarte's system is first and foremost a musical system, rather than a gestural system,[269] that his system begins, epistemologically speaking, in the domain of music and sense perception (corresponding to the Father), owing to the fact that the first principle of his system was revealed to him through the perception of the overtone series, which Delsarte believed to be an image of the Holy Trinity in sound.

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[268] Delsarte's psychological system accounts not only for wisdom, but also madness. See Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 94.

[269] For more on this argument, see section 3.2.

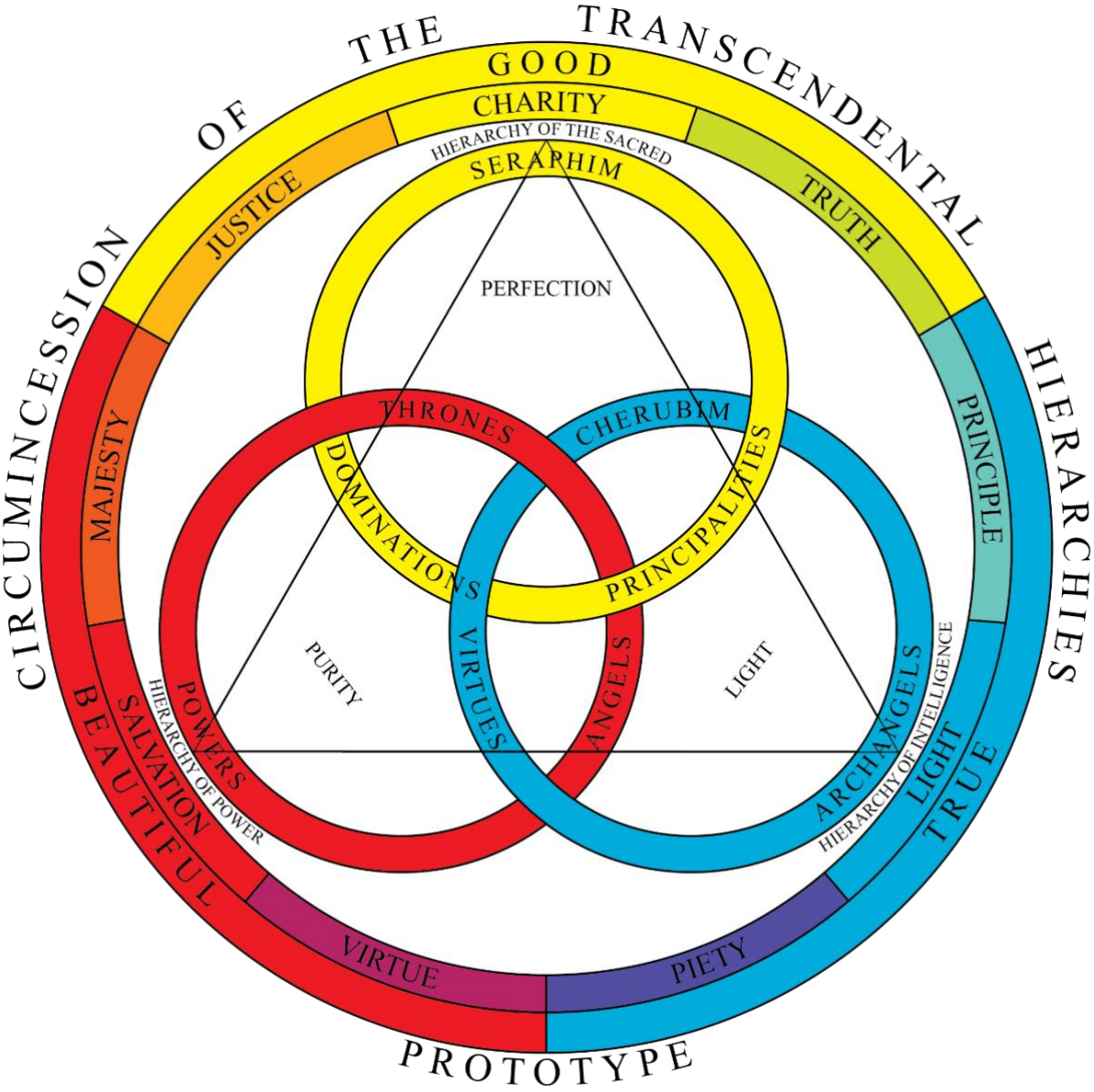


Figure 1.24. Chart of Angels. Based on a drawing in Delaumosne et al., *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 502 insert. I have added the term *transcendental* in order to highlight the fact that Delsarte's system aims at knowledge of the Beautiful, True, and Good, three of the medieval transcendentals of the Catholic religion, the others being Unity and Being. According to Delsarte, God is the Archetype, Angel is a Prototype, and Man is a Type. Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 522. Compare Chart of Man (figure 1.7).

Chapter 2. Philosophical Context: Spiritualist Realism

On 18 May 1839 in Paris, Delsarte delivered the first lecture of what was to become his "Course in Applied Aesthetics."[270] He developed the course in response to what he saw as an ever-increasing materialist aesthetic in French Grand Opera, supported by the radical absence of any didactic training in official education at the Paris Conservatoire. The method of training employed at the Conservatoire at the time was based on students learning to imitate, often without explanation, the examples of their masters – a method which, as Delsarte put it, did not even "rise to the height of empiricism."[271] This state of affairs, which had persisted in the school for decades and would for decades to come,[272] was made worse in 1837 when tenor Gilbert Duprez sang the high Cs in Rossini's opera *Guillaume Tell* in full voice, which many young tenors became bent on *imitating* – thus these young singers employed the only method they had learned at the Conservatoire in the attempt to achieve similar results. Delsarte, having witnessed the ruination of so many voices over the following two years, and no longer willing to support the materialization of an art form he believed was doomed to decadence, converted his practical lessons in 1839 into purely theoretical ones:

> In order to protect my remaining pupils from the harmful influence of a system which would successively ruin their voice, their intelligence, and their very lives, I introduced special anatomy as a compulsory study. I taught aesthetics, psychology, and ontology; in short, with this I intended to raise at least some artists to the height of their mission, thus making them capable of one day restoring to the theatre sound notions of art.[273]

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[270] Delsarte's course was initially called the "École de chant morale et scientifique." Transcripts of the first lectures were written by his students. See Delsarte, "École de chant morale et scientifique," DP, box 11b; for a partial transcription, see Waille, "Annexes," 65-74.

[271] "ne s'élève même pas jusqu'à la hauteur de l'empirisme." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," 8:150.

[272] See Ellis, "Vocal Training at the Paris Conservatoire and the Choir Schools of Alexandre-Etienne Choron: Debates, Rivalries, and Consequences," in *Musical Education in Europe (1770-1914): Compositional, Institutional, and Political Challenges*, ed. Michael Fend and Michel Noiray (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 125-44.

[273] "pour mettre ce qui me restait d'élèves à l'abri de l'influence délétère d'un système qui devait ruiner successivement leur voix, leur intelligence et leur vie même, j'y introduisis comme étude obligatoire l'anatomie spéciale. J'y fis de l'esthétique, de la psychologie, de l'ontologie, enfin je me proposai par-là d'élever au moins quelques artistes à la hauteur de leur mission, et de les rendre ainsi capables de restituer un jour au théâtre les saines notions de l'art." Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée (1852)," in *François Delsarte*, ed. Porte (Cœuvres-et-Valsery: Ressouvenances), 178.

Thus, from its inception, the purpose of Delsarte's theoretical course was to raise his students not merely to the level of professional singers, but to the level of professional *artists* by introducing them to the study of anatomy, aesthetics, psychology, and ontology.[274] No longer condemned to be the servile copyists of their masters, Delsarte's students would henceforth learn fixed principles, determined rules, defined methods, plausible explanations, and systematic unity – in short, they were to receive a proper education in art.

This chapter investigates Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" in a nineteenth-century context by examining the historical development of a philosophical school in France which made it possible for him to base his aesthetic system on the principle of the Holy Trinity. As mentioned, Delsarte did not construct his system in a vacuum; his theory did not spring forth from his head fully formed like the goddess Athena, nor was his method attributable to his own personal genius. In fact, in Delsarte's "My Revelatory Episodes," he insisted that the discovery of the first principle of his system did not belong to him at all:

> Thus, I feel and readily acknowledge, that the discovery upon which I am at work is not my own work; and, therefore, I pray for it as for a signal favour. Nor can it be otherwise with any man. It is, therefore, always an impertinence for any man to attribute to his personal genius, vast as he may suppose it to be, the discovery of any law. God alone discloses His treasures, and, as I have *experienced*, He only reveals them to the eye of reason raised by humility to contemplation.[275]

That Delsarte attributed the discovery of the principle of the Trinity to divine illumination – what he called the "revealing principle"[276] – based on his own *experience* demonstrates that his epistemological system is essentially pre-modern. According to Robert Pasnau, one of the last great defenders of the theory of divine illumination in the West was Thomas Aquinas,

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[274] In nineteenth-century spiritualist realism, anthropology is the study of the *whole person*, and included the disciplines of physiology and psychology as two sides of the same hylomorphic coin. See Biran, "*Nouveaux essais*," 350.

[275] "Ainsi, je le sens et le reconnais volontiers, la découverte que je poursuis ne saurait être mon œuvre, et c'est pourquoi je sollicite comme une faveur insigne. Or, il n'en saurait être autrement à l'égard de qui que ce soit. C'est donc, dans tous les cas, une impertinence à l'homme qui d'attribuer à son génie personnel, quelque vaste il le suppose d'ailleurs, la découverte d'une loi quelconque. Dieu seul découvre ses trésors et, ainsi que j'en ai fait l'expérience, il ne les découvre qu'à l'œil d'une raison élevée à la contemplation par l'humilité." Delsarte, "Mes épisodes révélateurs," 74, emphasis mine.

[276] Delsarte, "Literary Remains,"504.

who adhered specifically to an Aristotelian theory of illumination.[277] That Delsarte embraced Aquinas' theory accords with Waille's conclusion that much of Delsarte's thought conforms to Aquinas' writings. However, Delsarte also insisted that his system was scientifically derived insofar as it was based not only on first principles, but on observation, experience, and experimentation as well – that reflections of the Trinity are *observable* in the physical realm. The question is: What philosophical system did Delsarte adopt in nineteenth-century France which allowed him to join the scientific method of observation to the Christian method of mystical revelation, whereby his method was *a posteriori* and thus scientifically fallible, and his system was *a priori* and thus philosophically infallible?[278] By analysing the development of French philosophical thought from late eighteenth-century empiricism to early nineteenth-century spiritualist realism, as well as Delsarte's own conversion from atheistic rationalism in 1833 to this new school of thought by 1839, I will show how Delsarte combined the medieval order of knowledge, based on abstraction, with a nineteenth-century theory of knowledge, based on three modes of perception, resulting from an anthropological system developed by the philosopher Pierre Maine de Biran. Part one of the chapter begins with an analysis of Biran's writings, whilst part two shows how Delsarte's conversion to Catholicism coincides with his methodological conversion to spiritualist realism. Part three compares Delsarte's teachings to the philosophical writings of Biran's successor, Théodore Simon Jouffroy, whilst the conclusion demonstrates how Delsarte appears to have reconciled Biran's anthropology and Jouffroy's aesthetics with the medieval order of inquiry.

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[277] Robert Pasnau, "Divine Illumination," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Spring 2020 Edition, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/illumination.

[278] The term *fallibilism* was coined by Charles S. Peirce (1839-1914) and is the doctrine that "our knowledge is never absolute but always swims, as it were, in a continuum of uncertainty and of indeterminacy." *OED*, s.v. "fallibilism," last modified March 2022. Iris Smith Fischer has pointed out that MacKaye introduced Delsarte's theories to Peirce c. 1887, introducing him "to an acting theory based on a *semeiotic* strikingly similar to Peirce's own." Iris S. Fischer, "Theatre at the Birth of Semiotics: Charles Sanders Peirce, François Delsarte, and Steele Mackaye," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 49, no. 3 (2013): 372. Fischer draws interesting parallels between Peirce's semiotics and developments in American Delsartism, but whether he was directly influenced by Delsarte's theory is unknown.

2.1 On the Origin of the Principle of the Trinity in Spiritualist Realism

2.1.1 Maine de Biran: From Empiricism to Spiritualist Realism

The methodological development in French philosophic thought from empiricism to spiritualist realism at the beginning of the nineteenth century is dependent upon a conceptual shift in the understanding of *the muscular sensation of effort*, which was marked by the reestablishment of an immaterial human spirit or soul as the principal agent of bodily motion, in the writings of Biran. Regarding eighteenth-century empiricism, Locke, in *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), postulated two sources of human ideas: 1) sensation, which informs us of the external realm of nature, and 2) reflection, which informs us of the internal realm of consciousness. Subsequently, Condillac, in his *Treatise on Sensations* (1754), argued against Locke, postulating instead that sensation was the single source of our ideas, and that we gradually acquired self-reflection owing to the progressive accumulation of sensory impressions – the theory giving rise to a radicalized form of Locke's empiricism in France.[279] However, at the turn of the century, Biran, in *The Influence of Habit on the Faculty of Thinking* (1802), argued against both Locke and Condillac, postulating instead two different forms of sensation: 1) exterior sense impressions derived from the realm of nature (passive touch), and 2) our own inner experience of voluntary muscular movement, powered by the will (active touch).[280] According to Larry Sommer McGrath, "Biran's central idea was that one's sense of self-identity grows out of the muscular sensation of effort. His account of motor movement presumed that the experience of subjectivity derived from no origin other than its own impulsion."[281] Biran's central idea that the internal sensation of the

[279] McGrath, *Making Spirit Matter*, 24.
[280] Pierre Maine de Biran, *The Influence of Habit on the Faculty of Thinking*, trans. Margaret Donaldson Boehm (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970), 26.
[281] McGrath, *Making Spirit Matter*, 24.

human will is the source of self-consciousness itself appears to have reintroduced the notion of the non-material soul into French philosophic thought, as both Locke and Condillac had relied on a theory of motion situated in the material body rather than in a non-material soul. Biran's theory signalled a decisive break with the empirical-materialist Enlightenment philosophies of Bacon and Condillac and so marked the beginning of the spiritualist-realist movement in France. However, Philip P. Hallie points out that Biran did not wish to demolish empiricism altogether, rather what he wanted was "an empiricism that did not try to explain away either inner or outer experience, but which recognized both as ineluctable, irreducible sources of human knowledge."[282] In short, Biran's philosophy sought to unite the empirical method of passive external observation of the senses with a spiritualist method of active immediate apperception of inner experience.

In his essay *On Immediate Apperception* (1807), completed five years later, Biran set out to demonstrate the existence of immediate internal apperception of the muscular movement of the body.[283] According to Alessandra Aloisi and Marco Piazza, Biran argued that sensation was not simple but composed of two elements: 1) the matter, provided by *affection*, and 2) the personal form, provided by the *self*.[284] Thus, for Biran, a single complete human sensation consists of both matter and form, their relationship subject to change in an inversely proportional way, whereby the affective component either increases or decreases in accordance with a correspondingly obscured or revitalized awareness of the self.[285] Biran's essay on the concept of immediate apperception is significant not only for the reform of empiricism, but for the development of Delsarte's theory of aesthetics, for two reasons.

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[282] Philip P. Hallie, *Maine De Biran*: *Reformer of Empiricism, 1766-1824* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 13.
[283] Pierre Maine de Biran, *Maine de Biran's Of Immediate Apperception*, eds. Alessandra Aloisi, Marco Piazza, and Mark Sinclair, trans. Mark Sinclair (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020).
[284] Alessandra Aloisi and Marco Piazza, introduction to *Maine De Biran's of Immediate Apperception*, eds. Alessandra Aloisi, Marco Piazza and Mark Sinclair, trans. Mark Sinclair (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 4.
[285] Aloisi and Piazza, 4.

First, Biran determined that human beings live and feel in an unconscious sensitive state prior to the apperception of the self, that is the conscious awareness and knowledge that the self feels and lives, arguing that:

> The human being feels and lives without apperception of himself or of the impressions that he undergoes; and it is in this sense that his existence can be brought back to the state of a native simplicity, […] a state anterior in the order of time, prior to the birth of the conscious self, and which would seem to be the result of all the organic forces that conspire and consent in a common life.[286]

What Biran came to recognize is that that human beings *live* and *feel* prior to the birth of our own consciousness, that we initially and predominantly exist in an organic state of sensation during infancy of which, at the time, we are unaware. Significantly, Biran argued that the enthymeme of Descartes' dictum, *cogito ergo sum*, "has no other value than that of the fact of consciousness, or of existence *currently* perceived or felt."[287] Thus, according to Biran, Descartes' first principle is ultimately unable to shed light on the knowledge of the self as an organic object outside of self-conscious thought because its starting point is consciousness itself, which, by definition, cannot account for a prior pre-conscious state of existence. Biran goes on to argue that St. Augustine pointed this out long ago in the phrase "*certissima scientia et clamante conscientia*,"[288] and that only God who made us can see from without the spiritual substance of which we are made.[289] According to Biran, reason is therefore incapable of impressing upon the self the simple fact of existence because everything that is absolute escapes its powers. In order to acquire knowledge *that we exist* then, we need only *observe* the sensitive state of infants, which should lead us to the conclusion that we

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[286] Maine de Biran, *Of Immediate Apperception*, 61.
[287] "n'ait d'autre valeur que celle du fait de conscience, ou d'existence actuellement aperçue ou sentie." Maine de Biran, "Nouveaux essais de anthropologie: ou de la science de l'homme intérieur," in *Œuvres inédites de Maine de Biran*, eds. Ernest Naville and Marc Debrit (Paris, 1859), 420, emphasis mine.
[288] Qtd in Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 419. Augustine states that "as a living man, whose soul we do not indeed see, but conjecture from our own, and from corporeal motions gaze also in thought upon the living man, as we have learnt him by sight. Faith is not so seen in the heart in which it is, by him whose it is; but *most certain knowledge holds it fast, and conscience proclaims it*." Augustine, *On the Trinity*, in *On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises*, ed. Philip Schaff, trans. Arthur West Haddan (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), XIII.I.3, emphasis mine.
[289] Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 419.

ourselves once existed in the same state. St. Augustine pointed out in his *Confessions* that, if the observation of infants were not enough to convince us, then we could also rely on the testimony of others.[290] However, it is impossible for us to obtain *certain knowledge* of the fact that we existed as an infant by way of experience because certain knowledge is a product of consciousness, which all infants lack. Therefore, we inevitably come to *believe* that we existed in a state of infancy based on our *observations* of other infants, and on the *authority* of others who were there. This kind of knowledge, properly speaking, is fallible because it is empirically derived from the passive observation of the senses of all parties involved – as the only way to know for certain is to see with the mind or inner consciousness.[291] One of Biran's central points, in *Of Immediate Apperception*, is that everything in the living or feeling being that "is or could be, from the simple fact of organization, subject to the laws of vitality and foreign to the laws of inner thought, ought to return into the domain of physiology."[292] Thus, physiology, which is for Biran the study of the vital organization of *organic forces*, knowledge of which is acquired through both passive *external observation* and active *inner feeling*, must provide the essential data for a proper science of the human faculties.[293] Cartesian psychology cannot provide the essential data because it is based on *inner consciousness* and, as such, it is philosophically infallible. Therefore, Biranian physiology consists of passive and active elements, the passive element corresponding to the *matter* of sensation provided by the affections, which are externally observable by the senses, and the active element corresponding to the *form* of sensation provided by the immediate apperception of the self.

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[290] Augustine states that: "Thou hast granted to man that from others he should come to conclusions as to himself, and that he should believe many things concerning himself on the authority of feeble women." Augustine, *The Confessions*, in *The Confessions and Letters of St. Augustine: With a Sketch of His Life and Work*, ed. Philip Schaff, trans. J. G. Pilkington (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), I.6.10.
[291] Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 341.
[292] Biran, *Of Immediate Apperception*, 61.
[293] Biran, 61.

Second, in terms of form, Biran provides an example of his method of distinguishing between the fundamental state or act of the *immediate apperception* and the characteristics which differentiate this state or act from the *intuition*. Biran argues that free effort, movement, and voluntary action are the same condition to which is bound, in the intellectual order, "the same apperception but as applied to the notions or to the diverse ideas of the understanding."[294] The example Biran provides is that of language, arguing that spoken or written signs of language (the perception of the abstracted meaning of the words as understood by the intellect) take the place of the original expressive movements located in the will (the apperception of the concrete signs of bodily movement, which in Delsarte's theory include vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture). On the one hand, the intellect perceives these signs as ideas, transforming them into the realm of abstract knowledge. On the other hand, the will apperceives these same signs as sensory impressions, transforming them into aesthetic or embodied knowledge. What is gained by the apperception of the inner sensitive form of sensation produced by the will is not only the ability to produce and freely repeat a series of linguistic actions, but also the *conscious awareness* of the power which produces them,[295] an awareness of the self not as a mere subject but also as an expressive agent. Therefore, what Biran's argument seems to suggest is that the aesthetic feeling of the will in producing vocal inflections, articulate speech, and gesture correspond to the second element of his theory of compound sensation as a kind of inner sensation which apperceives signs not as ideas but as sensory impressions, which are *immediately apperceived* or *experienced* by the self. It is in the differentiation between linguistic signs as ideas (corresponding to the self as an intellectual subject) and linguistic signs as internally felt or

[294] Biran, *Immediate Apperception*, 64.
[295] Biran, 64 n24.

experienced (corresponding to the self as a sensitive agent) that Biran respectively distinguishes between the power of *intuition* and the power of *immediate apperception*.

Biran's theory of compound sensation therefore unites under the single discipline of physiology both the *matter* of the passive impressions of the organic body (object) with the *form* of the active force of the muscular effort of the will (agent). In terms of subjectivity, Biran viewed muscular effort produced by the will as the *phenomenal agent* by which the soul manifests itself to the interior vision of the subject, meaning the inner *feeling* of muscular effort awakens consciousness itself. Thus, Biran's theory rejects Cartesian mind-body dualism in favour of a tripartite distinction consisting of: 1) the matter of sensation as produced by affection (memory), 2) the personal form of sensation provided by the self, which is felt as muscular effort (will), and 3) a conscious awareness of the self provided by the immediate apperception of the personal sensitive form (understanding) – thus the personal sensitive form is that which, in Biran's theory, connects "body" to "mind." Also apparent in Biran's theory is the correspondence between the *observation* of external signs by the senses, and the *immediate apperception* of internal signs by the self, both of which fall under the domain of physiology. This correspondence situates Biran's theory of compound sensation within the confines of an empirical-spiritualist methodology based on both the passive observation of external nature and the active personal experience of the inner self.

2.1.2. Biran's *New Essays in Anthropology*

Biran's posthumously published *Nouveaux essais de anthropologie* (1859) completes his shift away from scientific materialism to a fully realized spiritualist-realist philosophy. The editor of these essays, Marc Debrit, points out that the work is notable for the essential differences which exist between Biran's unpublished *Essai sur les fondements de la*

psychologie and these later essays, which were meant to cancel the former work.[296] Of the most significant developments in the essays which accord with Delsartian aesthetics, Debrit lists two features: 1) the identification of animal life with organic life, and 2) the tendency to consider the primitive fact of effort under a more spiritual point of view, distinct from the exclusive consideration of muscular movement.[297]

I will return to these developments in a moment, but first it is important to point out that by using the term *anthropology* instead of *psychology* in the title, Biran meant to define his last work against the two separated disciplines of psychology and physiology – anthropology meaning for Biran a science of the whole person. Thus, Biran's anthropological essays focus on:

> the interior man considered in the relationships established by consciousness between the identical, permanent subject, which is called *me,* and the sensations, ideas, functions, or operations of any order, organic or intellectual, which change, pass, and follow one another with a prodigious variety.[298]

Biran's anthropology therefore does not consist of a dualistic conception of man positioned between the study of psychology and physiology. Rather, Biran argues that "physiology and psychology are like two circles that touch at least one point and perhaps multiple points, to use the geometric expression; the curves intersect and merge into each other."[299] Thus, the intersectional nature and mergence of the two disciplines requires Biran to conceive of a third discipline in order to account not only for the force or cause by which these two disciplines

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[296] Marc Debrit, "Avant-propos de l'éditeur," in *Œuvres inédites de Maine De Biran*, eds. Ernest Naville and Marc Debrit (Paris, 1859), 326.
[297] Debrit also lists: a) an importance given to the question of absolute realities; b) a wider and more fruitful views on the history of metaphysical systems; and c) attention given to the phenomena of animal magnetism. Debrit, "Avant-propos," 326.
[298] "traiter de l'homme et spécialement de l'homme intérieur considéré dans les rapports établis par la conscience entre le sujet identique, permanent, qui se dit *moi*, et les sensations, idées, fonctions, ou opérations de tout ordre, organiques ou intellectuelles, qui changent, passent et se succèdent avec une prodigieuse variété." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 327, emphasis Biran.
[299] "La physiologie et la psychologie sont comme deux cercles qui se touchent au moins par un point et peut-être par des points multiples, suivant l'expression géométrique ; les courbes se pénètrent et rentrent l'une dans l'autre." Biran, 350.

merge, but also a *distinct point of view* from which the partial disciplines of psychology and physiology can simultaneously be compared in order to study the whole person:

> What is the point of view from which the observer will be able to grasp, in a sort of unity, the phenomenon or phenomena common to two existences, two lives united in a single composite life, which resembles neither the one nor the other component? What is the point of view from which this same observer will succeed in determining the relation of the active cause to the passive effect; to seize the invaluable passage for reflected thought as well as for any special external sense which still separates the virtual force which does not act, but which is ready to act or acts perhaps without consciousness, from the same force in full exercise and knowing that it acts or begins the action?[300]

Biran locates this third force and point of view in the same place he locates muscular effort, in the human will, the will being distinct not only from the passive organic sensations of the body but from the conscious subject or *ego* as well – the will being the *phenomenon* by which the active soul manifests itself to the interior vision of consciousness by way of immediate apperception. Thus, Biran locates the will, or the active soul, at the intersection of sensation (inner sense) and consciousness (reason), at the intersection of the disciplines of physiology and psychology, bringing them together and binding them by the *human spirit*, thereby defining the will as a *thinking substance*, meaning that the will cannot be without internal apprehension of itself or without thought.[301]

Biran's anthropology therefore consists in the study of organic life (physiology), the conscious mind (psychology), and the active or animate soul as a thinking substance – a third distinct discipline which is subsumed under the domain of physiology in his earlier writings. Biran locates the self as a thinking substance – that is the *permanent* sense of self that knows itself to be the same from one day to the next – in the soul rather than the mind, noting that

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[300] "Quel est le point de vue où l'observateur pourra saisir, dans une sorte d'unité, le phénomène ou les phénomènes communs à deux existences, deux vies réunies dans une seule vie composée, qui ne ressemble ni à l'une ni à l'autre des composantes ? Quel est le point de vue où ce même observateur parviendra à déterminer le rapport delà cause active à l'effet passif ; à saisir le passage inappréciable pour la pensée réfléchie autant que pour tout sens spécial externe, qui sépare encore la force virtuelle qui n'agit pas, mais est prête à agir ou agit peut-être sans conscience, de la même force en plein exercice et sachant qu'elle agit ou commence l'action ?" Biran, 350.

[301] Biran, 383.

the passive sensations of organic life and the intellectual ideas of the mind are apt to "change, pass, and follow one another with a prodigious variety."[302] To be more precise, Biran divides the self into two distinct yet interconnected elements: 1) the feeling subject, which is the point of view of inner experience derived from the muscular effort of the body (soul), and 2) the thinking subject, leading from the feeling subject to the point of view of mental abstractions or fixed *a priori* systems (mind). Furthermore, for Biran, the soul as a feeling subject is not a metaphysical abstraction, as the soul is immediately apperceived by the internal sensation of muscular effort, which is concretely *experienced* as a permanent sense of identity, which allows us to know that we are the same person from day to day. Because the soul is *apperceived* through the inner sense of muscular effort, and because we as human beings all share the same *experience* of a stable unchanging identity from one day to the next, the study of the soul in Biran's anthropological system produces a methodology based on *inner experience* because movements of the soul are believed to directly correspond to the physical expressions of these movements which are manifested in the body – the soul thus being observable as the *phenomenon of expression* itself.

2.1.3. The Identification of Animal Life with Organic Life

As mentioned, Biran identified animal life with organic life in his anthropological essays,[303] which are based on the work of physician and philosopher George Ernst Stahl (1659-1734), and which, as Debrit points out, show significant developments from his earlier writings on psychology. For Biran, the study of organic life belongs to the discipline of physiology, which he defines as:

[302] "changement, passent et se succèdent avec une prodigieuse variété." Biran, 327.
[303] "La première comprendra les phénomènes delà *vie animale*, que je ne distingue point de celle qu'on a distinguée de nos jours sous le titre de vie organique." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 356, emphasis Biran.

> the science which has as its object the properties of living organized bodies, or the functions which they exercise, by virtue of a *principle of life*, or of a *living force*, having its particular laws distinct or separate from those which govern raw or inorganic matter.[304]

For Biran, the study of physiology is based on observation and embraces the immense chain of all living beings, ranging from the lowest form of organized life, without being able to discern where that chain precisely begins (in so far as it is impossible to assign the origin of anything), to the highest form of which human beings are partially considered in relation to existence.[305] In short, physiology for Biran includes the study of human beings up to the point of consciousness, and so includes passive external sensation, the *matter* provided by affection, as well as active internal sensation, the *form* provided by the self.

Biran's identification of animal life with organic life in his last writings is a rejection of a theory proposed just two decades earlier in 1800 by French anatomist and pathologist Xavier Bichat (1771-1802), a theory in which the physical body was divided into two systems: *la vie organique* and *la vie animale*.[306] According to Carmel Raz, Bichat placed the circulatory system at the centre of *organic life*, and the brain at the centre of *animal life*, in an attempt to distinguish between vegetative and animal existence, insisting that the former, being comprised of internal organs primarily responsible for nourishment and excretion, was controlled by the passions, whilst the latter, being comprised of higher functioning organs, such as the heart, nerves, and brain, which were responsible for feeling, perceiving, reflecting, voluntary movement, and language, was governed by the will and understanding.[307] Biran argued that no real distinction could be made between organic and animal life because it could be shown that both function from the same cerebral centre in

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[304] "la science qui a pour objet les propriétés des corps organisés vivants, ou les fonctions qu'ils exercent, en vertu d'un principe de vie, ou d'une force vivante, ayant ses lois particulières distinctes ou séparées de celles qui régissent la matière brute ou inorganique." Biran, 359, emphasis mine.
[305] Biran, 359.
[306] See Xavier Bichat, *Physiological Researches Upon Life and Death*, trans. Tobias Watkins (Philadelphia: Smith & Maxwell, 1809), 1-134.
[307] Carmel Raz, "Hector Berlioz's Neurophysiological Imagination," *JAMS* 75, no. 1 (2022): 12.

human beings. Biran insisted instead that the difference between movement from an instinctive organic centre and movement felt as either instinctive, sympathetic, spontaneous, or voluntary was not a matter of kind but of perception, as any differences could only be distinctly perceived by the presence of an ego:

> Instinctive or sympathetic movements, physiologically attributed to the reaction of the organic centre, do not carry with them any particular sensation, and we have said the reason for this. By becoming spontaneous, these movements pass, at least in appearance, under the same law. Executed by voluntary muscles, under the direct and active influence of the cerebral centre, they seem to meet all the physiological conditions of animal contractility, and yet they are not yet voluntary; they are not and never will be for the animal which passes from instinct to spontaneity; they are not, but they are ready to become so for man, in whom only pure spontaneity, still blind as such, can immediately transform into free and enlightened will.[308]

Thus, for Biran, the real distinction to be made is between an organic principle of life, or living force, and human consciousness itself, that is between physiology and psychology, combining the two into one anthropological system, rather than adhering to a false dichotomy between *organic life* and *animal life* within the single discipline of physiology.

Biran's definition of physiology as the study of *organic living forces* (vitalism) is therefore incompatible with the definition of *animal life* under Cartesianism,[309] because Cartesianism does not include a physiological science distinct from general physics or mechanics.[310] According to Biran, Cartesianism "confuses the various principles of life or living forces with the mechanical forces of dead matter."[311] And, because Descartes divided being into spiritual or thinking (mind), and material or non-thinking (body), Biran argues that

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[308] "Les mouvements instinctifs ou sympathiques, physiologiquement attribués à la réaction du centre organique, n'emportent point avec eux de sensation particulière, et nous en avons dit la raison. En devenant spontanés, ces mouvements passent, du moins en apparence, sous une même loi. Exécutés par des muscles volontaires, sous l'influence directe et active du centre cérébral, ils semblent réunir toutes les conditions physiologiques, de la contractilité animale, et pourtant ils ne sont pas encore volontaires ; ils ne le sont et ne le seront jamais pour l'animal qui passe de l'instinct à la spontanéité ; ils ne le sont pas, mais ils sont prêts à le devenir pour l'homme, en qui seul la pure spontanéité, encore aveugle à ce titre, peut se transformer immédiatement en volonté libre et éclairée." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 461.

[309] Descartes used the term "animal spirits." See Lawrence Nolan, *The Cambridge Descartes Lexicon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 26-28.

[310] Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 376.

[311] "confondant les divers principes de vie ou les forces vivantes, avec tes forces mécaniques de la matière morte." Biran, 378.

Descartes was "loath to attribute to the soul, thusly conceived, all that is or is done in the living organized body without the soul feeling or knowing it."[312] According to Biran, Descartes conflated the non-material principle of organic life (vital force) with the material force it produced, thereby erroneously attributing the principle of organic life to dead matter. Furthermore, by attributing to the study of physiology a vital force of which the Cartesian mind was unaware, Biran identified the organic principle of life as being an *unconscious* sensitive force.

By identifying animal life and organic life as a single unconscious sensitive force unaware of its own existence and, therefore, unaware of its origins, Biran not only attributed to all living creatures, including humans, a non-material life force by which we are all connected, but his anthropological system also established causality within this vital force. For Biran, this non-material life force was responsible for producing certain determined effects without knowing that it existed or acted: "such a conception, far from being absurd and contradictory, is rather in accordance with the way in which the human mind necessarily conceives of all the forces of nature to which it relates phenomena."[313] Thus, in Biran's anthropology, it is a necessary condition of causality that human beings be unable to perceive within ourselves the cause of our own existence so as to be in accordance with the way in which we *experience* the world. And, because both the human will (soul) and intellect (mind) in Biran's anthropology cannot be without thought or awareness, the presence of an *unconscious* living force is necessary in order to explain the way in which the human mind indirectly conceives of causality by way of analogy. Biran argued that it is contradictory to our lived experience to attribute one identical force to both the facts of consciousness, along

[312] "répugnait d'attribuer à l'âme, ainsi conçue, tout ce qui est ou se fait dans le corps organisé vivant, sans que l'âme le sente ou le sache, c'est-à-dire sans la pensée, c'est-à-dire encore sans l'âme." Biran, 380-81.
[313] "une telle conception loin d'être absurde et contradictoire est plutôt conforme à la manière dont l'esprit humain conçoit nécessairement toutes les forces de la nature auxquelles il rapporte les phénomènes." Biran, 383.

with the acts of the will in which consciousness manifests itself, and the vital functions of the living organism which are subject to the blind and necessary laws of nature:

> Certainly, one could not make a faultier application of the principle of causality than to relate everything that is done in the living body without being, thought, or will, precisely to a cause whose nature is to think and to will, for this is to equate or identify the *ego* with the *non-ego*.[314]

In Biran's anthropological system then, the functions of living organisms are not identified with Cartesian mechanical movements of dead matter, but with a generative principle that is superior to the organization from which the body receives both its laws and its form. It is from this generative principle or vital force, the discovery of which Biran attributes to Paul Joseph Barthez (1734-1806), a successor of Georg Ernst Stahl, that the real discipline of physiology was first developed.[315] However, Biran departs from previously established vitalist theories by admitting that the functions of organic life are, in fact, subject to the laws of physics, that a vitalist theory of physiology falls under the general laws of mechanics, of which it is a branch, and therefore that "Cartesian doctrine still reigns on this point, despite all the observations and arguments to the contrary made by Stahl and his successors."[316] What Biran's anthropological system seems to have established for the disciplines of physiology and psychology in nineteenth-century France is that, because sensation came to be seen as a physiological phenomenon based on a generative principle from which all the functions and laws of organic life result, the study of psychology must be based on the study of physiology, and physiology itself must be viewed as psychological in its developments.[317]

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[314] "Certainement on ne pouvait faire une application plus fautive du principe de causalité que de rapporter tout ce qui se fait dans le corps vivant sans être pensé ni voulu, précisément à une cause dont la nature est dé penser et de vouloir ; car, c'est égaler ou identifier le *moi* et le *non-moi*." Biran, 384, emphasis Biran.
[315] Biran, 384. On the development of eighteenth-century vitalist theories from Stahl to Barthez, see Tobias Cheung, "Regulating Agents, Functional Interactions, and Stimulus-Reaction-Schemes: The Concept of "Organism" in the Organic System Theories of Stahl, Bordeu, and Barthez," *Science in context* 21, no. 4 (2008).
[316] "la doctrine cartésienne règne encore sur ce point, malgré toutes les observations et les arguments contraires de Stahl et de ses successeurs." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 388.
[317] Biran, 389.

In relation to the development of Delsarte's aesthetic system, Biran's anthropology established a direct correspondence between physiological processes in the body (vital force/life) and physio-psychological process in the will (soul). Thus, Biran's system appears to provide an alternative explanation for Delsarte's so-called Law of Correspondence, whereby Delsarte argued that:

> To each spiritual *function* corresponds a *function* of the body. Each major *function* of the body corresponds to a spiritual *act*. So, we can at the same time study separately what is of the mind, what is of the body. We see that from the concurrence of these two *powers* in the same person results the intimate fusion of art and science, which, each being born from a distinct source, reciprocally combine, penetrate, and co-prove one another.[318]

Such an account of Delsarte's notion of correspondence as rooted in Biran's conception of an anthropological system combining physiology and psychology throws into doubt the viability of Stebbins' assertion that Delsarte's so-called Law of Correspondence stems from the Hermetic law of the microcosm-macrocosm analogy,[319] for which there is no evidence found in either Delsarte's manuscripts or transcripts of his lectures. Therefore, an analysis of Biran's writings reveals that it is much more plausible that Delsarte's statement, from which Stebbins derived the so-called Law of Correspondence, refers to a nineteenth-century physio-psychological theory of the hylomorphic body-soul relationship found in Biran's anthropological system, rather than the microcosm-macrocosm analogy of Hermeticism.[320]

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[318] "À chaque fonction spirituelle répond une fonction du corps. À chaque grande fonction du corps correspond un acte spirituel. Ainsi nous pouvons en même temps étudier séparément ce qui est de l'esprit, ce qui est du corps. On y voit, du concours de ces deux puissances dans la même personne, résulter la fusion intime de l'art et de la science, qui, nés chacun d'une source distincte, s'allient, se pénètrent et se co-prouvent réciproquement." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," 20:198, emphasis mine.

[319] Stebbins, *Delsarte System of Expression*, 420.

[320] In 1884, philosopher Étienne Vacherot wrote that: "it no longer seems possible to maintain the dualism of the two substances, such as the Cartesian philosophy believed to have firmly established on the basis of consciousness. Experimentation has revealed the constant correspondence between psychic phenomena and physiological phenomena. It is in the process of showing an absolute correspondence between the organs of the brain and the faculties of the soul, so that it is no longer possible to conceive of the two principles as two activities in a state of separation." Étienne Vacherot, *Le Nouveau Spiritualisme* (Paris: Hachette, 1884), 255. Thus, the correspondence between the body and the "spiritual act" to which Delsarte refers appears to be a feature of spiritualist realism in opposition to Cartesianism.

2.1.4. The Spiritualization of the First Principle of Muscular Effort

Not only did Biran identify Cartesian animal life with a non-material life force, thereby spiritualizing the laws of motion whilst at the same time maintaining that the functions of organic life are subject to the laws of physics, he also spiritualized the primitive fact, or first principle,[321] of the sensation of muscular effort. In *Nouveaux Essais de Anthropologie*, Biran argues that, because the physiologists have recognized that the cerebral centre in the human brain functions the same way under both voluntary and involuntary movement, there must be some force in the human will which functions above and beyond the nervous and cerebral organism applied to bodily movement:

> I appeal to the inner sense of each man in a state of wakefulness and consciousness, or of *self-control*, to know if he has or if he does not have the feeling of his effort which is the actual cause of such movement that he begins, suspends, stops, or continues as he wills and because he wills; and if he cannot clearly distinguish this movement from another which he feels or perceives, in some cases, to be occurring without his effort or against his will, such as, for example, the convulsive movements of habit? But physiologists have recognized that the cerebral centre functions in these last involuntary movements as in the first; therefore, there must enter into the exercise of the will something more than the functions of the nervous and cerebral organism applied to moving the body, and this something more, under whatever title one expresses it, must be regarded as the necessary part of a *hyper-organic force*.[322]

In the former case of personal experience, what Biran means is that, because the human body does not always and immediately obey the command of the will, but is sometimes rebellious to its rule, which we *experience* as the body moving with effort and toil in *opposition* to the will, there must therefore be an hyper-organic (supernatural) force contained in the will that

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[321] According to Hallie, the Biranian term *primary fact* (*fait primitif*), meaning *first principle*, replaced the term *first observation* in Condillac's philosophy. See Hallie, *Biran*, 31-33.

[322] "Or j'en appelle au sens intime de chaque homme dans l'état de veille et de conscience, ou de *compos suî*, pour savoir s'il a ou s'il n'a pas le sentiment de son effort qui est la cause actuelle de tel mouvement qu'il commence, suspend, arrête ou continue comme il veut et parce qu'il veut; et s'il ne distingue pas bien ce mouvement de tel autre qu'il sent ou perçoit , dans certains cas, comme s'opérant sans son effort ou contre sa volonté : tels par exemple que les mouvements convulsifs de l'habitude? Mais les physiologistes ont reconnu que le centre cérébral fonctionnait dans ces derniers mouvements involontaires comme dans les premiers : il faut donc bien qu'il entre dans l'exercice de la volonté appliquée à mouvoir le corps, quelque chose de plus que dans les fonctions de l'organisme nerveux et cérébral ; et ce quelque chose de plus, sous quelque titre qu'on l'exprime, devra être considéré comme la part nécessaire d'une force hyper-organique." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 464-65, latter emphasis mine.

is above and beyond the organic forces of the body.[323] The *feeling* of the initial movement produced by the will, along with the *awareness* we have of our body working in opposition to it, are distinct but interrelated phenomena, standing in relation to one another as cause and effect. Because we *experience* the initial cause of movement in the will, and also become *conscious* of this experience in the understanding as an effect, the principle of organic life (vital force), which must be externally observed by the senses, does not come into play here, as organic life is an unconscious force unaware of its own existence.

In the latter case of voluntary and involuntary movement, what Biran means is that, because the vital force is unaware of itself, and that, as a result, its functioning must be observed externally, there is no way from a purely physiological standpoint to distinguish between bodily movements that are voluntary and those that are involuntary. In the cases where instinctive movements are executed either by the direct influence of the nervous system (voluntary), or by a sympathetic reaction of the motor centre (involuntary), organically determined muscular movement in general "will in no case be accompanied by any *apperception* or any determinate sensation to which we can attach any knowledge properly so called, external or internal, subjective or objective."[324] Biran argues that what is required in order to distinguish voluntary from involuntary movement is personal experience, that is an internal *feeling* of the relation of a force to its product, of a cause to its effect: "for, without the effect *felt* as effect, the force would not exist for itself, or as cause (an essentially relative term), and, conversely, without the *feeling* of the cause perceiving itself internally, there would be no effect produced or *felt*."[325] Thus, unconscious processes of the body,

[323] See Biran, 451-52.
[324] "ne s'accompagnera dans aucun cas d'aucune aperception ni d'aucune sensation déterminée à laquelle on puisse rattacher quelque connaissance proprement dite, externe ou interne, subjective ou objective." Biran, 467, emphasis mine.
[325] "car, sans l'effet senti comme effet, la force n'existerait pas pour elle-même, ou comme cause (terme essentiellement relatif), et, réciproquement, sans le sentiment de la cause s'apercevant elle-même intérieurement, il n'y aurait point d'effet produit ni senti." Biran, 446, emphasis mine.

because they cannot be felt or perceived internally, do not play a role in determining voluntary from involuntary movement. And, because our experience of voluntary and involuntary movement is not dependent upon an organic principle or unconscious vital force, Biran argues that our experience of muscular effort, that is of our will moving an organic body, must necessarily be rooted in a hyper-organic force, that is a non-material soul.[326]

Now, because we necessarily perceive physiological processes of the body objectively through the external senses (anatomy), and psychological processes of the mind subjectively through introspection (psychology), our experience of muscular movement *felt as effort* is neither completely objective nor subjective – remembering that our *experience* of effort is distinct from our subjective *awareness* of it, as a cause is distinct from its effect. Thus, in spiritualizing the first principle of the sensation of muscular effort, Biran provides a third *distinct point of view* from which not only the partial disciplines of psychology and physiology can simultaneously be compared, as mentioned, but from which we internally experience our own agency as a causal force – our experience of free will. For Biran, free will is located not in the organic principle of life (vital force), or in consciousness (mind), but rather in the principle of the local motion of the body (soul). By insisting upon a tripartite distinction of life, mind, and soul, and by locating human agency within the active soul, rather than in the mind, Biran distinguishes between the experience of the soul as a cause (soul), and our awareness or knowledge of the soul as an effect (mind).

Furthermore, by locating human agency in the will (soul), rather than in the organic principle (vital force), Biran also distinguishes between an *unconscious* force that is unaware of its own existence and origin, and the inner feeling of our experience of causality. What this means is that, in order for us to conceive of a first cause of being or existence that is external

[326] Biran's concept of the non-material soul here corresponds to the second definition of the soul in Aquinas: "the inner principle of the local motion of a thing." *LSTA*, s.v. "*anima*."

to us, such as Aristotle's unmoved mover, we must conceive of it analogically by substituting the first principle of our experience of muscular effort as an *internal* cause for the first principle of our observation of organic life as an *external* cause, which we conceive of as being or existence, but which we are unable to define because it escapes human consciousness. Thus, although we *know* ourselves to be the cause of our own movements internally through the will, we can only *believe* God to be the cause of our external existence indirectly by way of analogy – by a *reasonable* leap of faith.

Finally, if the experience of muscular movement felt as effort is not fully objective or subjective, but is experienced instead as a first principle, what kind of knowledge is a first principle? Biran argues that a first principle is a *fact*,[327] which consists of two terms. Hallie argues that "a fact for Biran is relational, in the sense that it always involves a relation between an individual percipient and something coexisting with that percipient, an object distinct and different from, but in close relationship with, the individual self."[328] For Biran, facts are composite in that they exist simultaneously as *perceived* objects or modifications and as *conscious* subjects, and because they are located between objectivity and subjectivity and thus consist of both, *facts must be experienced*. As we have seen, the only faculty in Biran's anthropological system that has access to both perception and interiority, that can simultaneously distinguish between the self and an object, is the *inner sense* of the will. Thus, for Biran, the first principle or fact of bodily motion is *immediately apperceived* by the will through personal experience, knowledge which cannot simply be acquired by reason, or by observation alone. Because facts are composite, simultaneously existing objectively and subjectively, Biran's anthropological system falls under the epistemological domain of

[327] Fact: "I. Senses relating primarily to action. 1. An action, a deed, a course of conduct; (formerly also occasionally) an effect, a result. Also as a mass noun: action, deeds, as opposed to words. 3. The act or process of making, doing, or performing something." *OED*, s.v. "fact," last modified December 2022. Thus, properly speaking, facts fall under the epistemological domain of art (*ars*), or applied science, rather than science (*scientia*) in the broader sense of the term.
[328] Hallie, *Biran*, 32.

metaphysical realism, or Aristotelian-Scholasticism, because facts necessarily consist of both a percipient (a universal) and its *coexisting* object (a particular).

2.1.5. The Christian Foundation of Biran's Anthropology

In 1802, Biran's central idea in *The Influence of Habit on the Faculty of Thinking* was that human self-identity develops from the muscular sensation of effort, that is, our experience of subjectivity derives from our own feeling of inner impulsion. In 1807, Biran developed this idea further in *On Immediate Apperception* by distinguishing between the *immediate apperception* of the will and the *intuition* of the mind, thus differentiating between signs as sensory impressions (agents) and signs as ideas (subjects), and thereby determining that sensory impressions are prior to the formation of ideas in human development. As a result, Biran concluded that all human potential must be subject to the laws of a vital organic force rather than to the laws of thought. Rejecting Descartes' principle of *cogito ergo sum*, Biran argued that a science of the human faculties must begin in the senses, and that a genuine first philosophy ought to return to the domain of physiology rather than psychology.[329] Prior to his death in 1824, Biran abandoned his work on psychology, reworking some of the material for what would be his last work, *New Essays in Anthropology*. By identifying animal life with an organic principle (vital force), whilst also insisting that a vitalist theory of physiology was subject to the general laws of physics, Biran developed an anthropological system which took a middle path between Cartesian mechanism and the vitalist theories of Stahl and his successors. Furthermore, by spiritualizing the first principle of muscular effort, Biran established that the discovery of scientific principles belongs to the realm of *inner experience*, that facts themselves are super-positioned between the objective world and the subjective mind and thus partake of both, and that first

[329] Biran, *Of Immediate Apperception*, 61-64.

principles are therefore recognized by the human spirit or soul, which is itself superpositioned between the objectivity of the physical realm and the subjectivity of the metaphysical mind.

In his last work, Biran formed three distinctions of the science of anthropology by determining three distinguishable forces in man, also admitting that "there is logically only one man and psychologically only one unique *self*."[330] Biran's first distinction included the phenomenon of the vital force, or *animal life*. The second distinction included the facts relating to the intellect, or *human life*:

> a feeling and thinking subject, subject to the passions of animal life, and at the same time free to act by his own force, and by virtue of this force alone, moral person, *me*, which knows himself and knows other things, exercises various intellectual operations which have their common principle in the consciousness of the *ego*, or in the active force which constitutes it.[331]

The third distinction, which Biran viewed as the most important, included that which he argued modern philosophy abandoned long ago to the speculations of mysticism – the soul, or *spiritual life*:

> This division will therefore include the facts or modes and acts of this *spiritual life* whose characters are so visibly imprinted, for whoever knows how to see them, in the first, the most beautiful, the most divine, the only divine books of philosophy, in the code of the Christians, in all the words of Jesus Christ as they have been preserved to us in the Gospels.[332]

It is in this third spiritual distinction that Biran viewed man as being in a state of receptivity to an influence which manifests itself to his own *inner experience*, "an influence superior to himself, but not alien to his highest nature."[333] From this tripartite distinction, Biran argued

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[330] "il n'y ait logiquement qu'un homme et psychologiquement qu'un *moi* unique." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 356, emphasis Biran.
[331] "sujet sentant et pensant, soumis aux passions de la vie animale, et en même temps libre d'agir par sa propre force, et en vertu de cette force seule, personne morale, *moi*, qui se connaît et connaît les autres choses, exerce diverses opérations intellectuelles qui ont leur principe commun dans la conscience du *moi*, ou dans la force active qui le constitue." Biran, 356, emphasis Biran.
[332] "Cette division comprendra donc les faits ou les modes et actes de cette *vie spirituelle* dont les caractères se trouvent si visiblement empreints, pour qui sait les voir, dans le premier, le plus beau, le plus divin, le seul divin des livres de philosophie, dans le code des chrétiens, dans toutes les paroles de Jésus-Christ telles qu'elles nous ont été conservées dans les Évangiles et dans les écrits qui nous les ont transmises avec l'esprit qui les inspira." Biran, 357, emphasis Biran.
[333] "d'une influence supérieure à lui, mais non étrangère à sa nature la plus élevée." Biran, 357.

that there are two states in which man is in danger of losing his personality, and one intermediate state where he retains his personality with the freedom to act, which is the proper and natural human state of existence. The intermediate state alone allows man to exercise all the faculties of his nature, where he develops all his moral strength by fighting against the disordered appetites of his animal nature, "by resisting the passions, all the impulses, all the deviations of the imagination."[334] Above and below this state, Biran insisted, that there is no more struggle, no more *effort* – effort being the means by which we constitute our personality. Below the intermediate state, man identifies with animal life, annihilating his personality into that of the creature, thereby animalizing himself. Above the intermediate state, man identifies with God, annihilating his personality into that of the divine, thereby deifying himself.[335] And so, although Biran viewed the spiritual life as the most important, he also argued that we must not reduce "everything to this higher order, as the mystics have done,"[336] as doing so would annihilate us as human beings. Only by *recognizing* the existence of the three states of the soul, and by *identifying* with the intermediate state, do we retain our connection to the natural and divine realms of existence, as well as maintain our sense of *self* and our free will.

According to Biran's anthropology, if we fail to recognize the three states of the human soul, then we fail to identify ourselves a fully human. This is why Biran believed in his last writings that of all the philosophical systems, "Christianity alone embraces *the whole man*,"[337] because it alone does not conceal any side of human nature. Thus, for Biran, the only true anthropology is Christian anthropology because Christianity alone recognizes the importance of the suffering body – of muscular movement felt as *effort* – to the development and formation of human consciousness. Hallie sums up Biran's theory of effort as follows:

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[334] "en résistant aux passions, à tous les entraînements, à tous les écarts de l'imagination." Biran, 516.
[335] Biran, 516.
[336] "Mais il ne faut pas vouloir tout ramener à cet ordre supérieur, comme l'ont fait les mystiques." Biran, 549.
[337] "Le Christianisme seul embrasse tout l'homme." Biran, 524, emphasis mine.

> those who have claimed that man does not have liberty have failed to see or have refused to acknowledge the primacy, the irreducibility of our experience of voluntary bodily movement. They have either ignored that experience, or, which is much the same thing, "analyzed" that experience by referring to experiences radically different from it. To terminate the fruitless arguments about the liberty of man, all one need do is recognize the importance and the uniqueness of the internal experience of willed effort. When one does this, he learns the basic lesson that the internal world of experience has to teach: man is free.[338]

For Biran, it is through the experience of willed effort that we come to recognize our freedom and thus ourselves as fully human. Although we are subject to biological impulses (vital force) on the one hand, and to deviations of the imagination (mind) on the other, free will and human personality are found through the feeling of the effort of muscular movement (soul).

As we have seen, the three forms of human agency Delsarte located in the tripartite soul, which are expressed through the effort of muscular movement – vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture – form the physiological foundation of his aesthetic system. However, it is important to point out in relation to Delsarte's theory that Biran did not develop his tripartite anthropological system from a theological principle of illumination, that is from the top down, but rather from a physiological principle of inner sensation, from the bottom up, based on the principle of *the muscular sensation of effort*. It was only in his later writings, when he spiritualized the feeling of muscular effort, that Biran came to recognize the soul as a non-material agent of bodily motion, thereby establishing the feeling of effort produced by the soul as the primary fact, or first principle, of human consciousness.

2.1.6. Biran's Science of First Principles

Finally, regarding the development of eighteenth-century empiricism to nineteenth-century spiritualist realism, both Locke and Biran distinguished between inner and outer forms of human experience; however, Biran argued that Locke did not precisely specify the

[338] Hallie, *Biran*, 106.

primary fact, or first principle, of where our beliefs in selfhood, free will, and spirituality come from:

> [Locke] does not point out primary facts or, if he does, he does not justify their being believed in. Assuredly, the English philosopher was on the right road . . . but . . . he did not retrace his steps to determine his true point of departure; and, while doing much for the study of [the origin of] ideas, he did almost nothing for the science of primary facts.[339]

According to Biran, Locke's empiricism did not properly identify the *cause* of our beliefs in existence, free will, and the self. And, in terms of rationalism, whereby the cause of these beliefs are identified in the Cartesian first principle of *cogito ego sum*, Biran argued, under the banner of spiritualist realism, that he could say it better than Descartes, in a more determined way, and with the indisputable evidence of inner experience: "*I act, I will, or I think the action in me, therefore I know myself to be a cause, therefore I am or I really exist as a cause or force*."[340] For Biran, the first principle of philosophy is "identified with that of force or of causality itself, as soon as it is proved, by the fact of inner sense, that the actual *ego* is for itself a force, a free cause which begins movement or action."[341] Thus, unlike Descartes' first principle, which is determined by cognition alone, Biran's first principle is determined by both sensation and cognition combined, through inner feeling or *experience*, along with an *awareness* of the self, as the cause and effect of our own movement and actions. And so, Biran identified the cause of our beliefs in existence, free will, and the self in the *immediate apperception* of the experience of muscular effort, arguing that "the immediate apperception of the *self* is the origin and sole basis of all universal and necessary notions of *being*, *substance*, and *cause*."[342] In short, to perceive the self, we must first experience inner

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[339] Biran, *Œuvres choisies de Maine de Biran*, ed. H. Gouhier (Paris, 1942), 96 quoted in Hallie, *Biran*, 162.
[340] "*J'agis, je veux, ou je pense en moi l'action, donc je me sais cause, donc je suis ou j'existe réellement à titre de cause ou de force*." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 409-10, emphasis Biran.
[341] "identifie avec celui de la force ou de la causalité même, dès qu'il est prouvé, par le fait de sens intime, que le *moi* actuel est pour lui-même force, cause libre qui commence le mouvement ou l'action." Biran, 408-09, emphasis Biran.
[342] "L'aperception immédiate du *moi* est l'origine et la base unique de toutes les notions universelles et nécessaires d'*être*, de *substance* et de *cause*." Biran, 346, emphasis Biran.

feelings of muscular effort, so that the feeling of effort stands in relation to the formation of consciousness as a cause to its effect. And, because Biran spiritualizes the first principle of muscular effort, he necessarily locates the cause of muscular movement in a non-material soul or will. As Hallie points out, if Descartes wrote: "I think, therefore I am," and Rousseau argued: "I sense, therefore I am," then Biran insisted: "I will, therefore I am."[343] Thus, although Biran's first principle partakes of both experience and consciousness, it is because consciousness arises from the inner experience of muscular effort as its cause that the first principle of spiritualist realism is based on *experience*, not consciousness.

Furthermore, because Biran insisted that knowledge of the world comes from immediate experience, his epistemology aligns with Scholastic psychology. As psychologist Daniel N. Robinson points out in his argument of the historical development of empiricism:

> Had Bacon argued for nothing more than the thesis that our knowledge of the world comes from immediate experience, he would have done no more than echo Thomas Aquinas, William of Ockham, and numerous other commentators from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[344]

What Aquinas in fact argued was that, although knowledge is gathered "from individual things by way of the senses,"[345] the intellectual soul is endowed "not only with the power of understanding, but also with the *power of feeling*,"[346] because "the *action* of the senses is not performed without a corporeal instrument."[347] Moreover, the Scholastics, following Aristotle, also argued that "the soul is the *act* of a physical organic body having life potentially."[348] Therefore, what Biran seems to have done, in Aristotelian-Scholastic terms, is not only place the power of feeling (the form of sensation) in relation to the power of understanding (mind) in accordance with Aquinas' "intellectual soul" as a cause to an effect, he also distinguished

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[343] Hallie, *Biran*, 8.
[344] Daniel N. Robinson, *An Intellectual History of Psychology*, 3rd ed. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 150.
[345] Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.76 A.5.
[346] Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.76 A.5.
[347] Aquinas, Ia Q.76 A.5, emphasis mine.
[348] Aquinas, Ia Q.76 A.5, emphasis mine.

between that part of the soul which passively feels through the senses of the corporeal body (sense impressions) and that part which *actively* feels corporality internally and therefore also *acts* as a principle of motion (soul), which is experienced as free will.

Biran insisted that, as long as the soul uses its own activities and exercises its own cognitive faculties, the soul remains appropriate to itself without going any further. However, he goes on to argue that in addition to that which properly belongs to the soul, the soul has faculties and operations also derived from a higher principle:

> In addition, [the soul] has faculties or operations which derive from a principle higher than itself, and these operations are carried out in its core and without its knowledge. They are intellectual intuitions, inspirations, supernatural movements in which the soul, deprived of itself, is entirely under the action of God and as if absorbed in him. It is thus, it is in relation to this higher order of feelings and ideas, that God is to the soul what the soul is to the body.[349]

It is therefore in the higher faculties and operations of the soul, or will, that we discover in Biran's anthropology a connection between knowledge derived from an inner experience of muscular effort and knowledge derived from the immediate apperception operating as a form of divine illumination. According to Gregory W. Dawes, medieval philosophers would often "combine the Aristotelian idea that all knowledge comes through the senses with Augustinian views, which speak of divine illumination."[350] And, according to Pasnau, even Aquinas could not explain how we come to recognize the truth of first principles without appealing to God, as "neither deductive nor inductive reasoning can account for how we immediately *see* that such principles are true. This insight is simply something we are given."[351] And so, taking Aquinas as a guide, it appears that the faculty of immediate apperception in Biran's

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[349] "Mais elle a de plus des facultés ou opérations qui tiennent à un principe plus haut qu'elle-même, et ces opérations s'exécutent dans son fond et à son insu. Ce sont des intuitions intellectuelles, des inspirations, des mouvements surnaturels où l'âme désappropriée d'elle-même est tout entière sous l'action de Dieu et comme absorbée en lui. C'est ainsi, c'est par rapport à cet ordre supérieur de sentiments et d'idées, que Dieu est à l'âme ce que l'âme est au corps." Biran, "Nouveaux essais," 549.

[350] Gregory W. Dawes, "Ancient and Medieval Empiricism," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Spring 2021 Edition, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/empiricism-ancient-medieval.

[351] Pasnau, *Thomas Aquinas*, 309, emphasis Pasnau.

philosophy, by which we acquire knowledge of the first principle of free will, is a God-given *a priori* faculty. As mentioned, Pasnau argues that, according to Aquinas, we are not born with an innate knowledge of first principles: "This is not innate knowledge; we are not born knowing these principles. What we are born with is the capacity to recognize their truth as soon as we are *confronted with instances of them*."[352] Thus, what is required to recognize the truth of first principles, in both a Thomistic and Biranian sense, is an *a priori* disposition to discover principles through divine illumination, which is ignited by an experience *a posteriori* of encountering particular instances of those principles – the particular *instances* giving rise to a *recognition* of the truth of first principles by way of cause and effect.

Finally, although Biran's epistemological system appears empirical, in that it is based on sensation, his science of first principles is rooted in mysticism – mysticism being the theory that "one can gain knowledge of reality that is not accessible to sense perception or to rational, conceptual thought,"[353] but which is instead gained through *bodily experience*, historically also known by the terms *contemplation*, *mediation*, or *prayer*, and more recently as *embodiment, embodied knowledge*, or *mindfulness*.[354] An analysis of Biran's anthropological system reveals, *pace* Pasnau, that Aquinas was not the last great defender of the theory of divine illumination in the West, that it was a feature of French spiritualist realism in the nineteenth century, and that this school of thought explains Delsarte's insistence that infallible knowledge of the principle of the Holy Trinity is not simply God-

[352] Pasnau, 307, emphasis mine.
[353] William E. Mann, "Mysticism," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Robert Audi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
[354] According to Edward Cuthbert Butler, the terms *contemplation* and *mysticism* are historically synonymous within the six centuries from St. Benedict (480-547) to St. Bernard (1090-1153), which simply denote a perfect state of prayer, the former term being used by the Latin Church, the latter in connection with the Greek mysteries. The Christian usage of the Greek term, he argues, was introduced by Pseudo-Dionysius, "probably in the fifth century, who gave the title 'Mystical Theology' to the little treatise that was the first formulation of a doctrine on the subject." Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism*: *Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life* (Mineola N.Y.: Dover, 2003), 4.

given, but that one must also actively open oneself up to such an *experience* by way of contemplation, a cognitively higher form of human reasoning.

2.1.7. Biran's Influence on Delsarte's Aesthetic Theory

The above analysis of Biran's writings suggests that there are a number of features in his theory which correspond to Delsarte's aesthetic theory: 1) Biran's and Delsarte's philosophic systems are pre-modern and non-Cartesian, being based on an observation made by St. Augustine, whereby human beings *exist* in a sensitive state prior to the development of consciousness; 2) Biran's distinction between *intuition* and *immediate apperception* established a theory of semiotics which distinguished between the meaning of words as understood by the intellect, and the expression of concrete bodily signs in-themselves, allowing Delsarte to develop a physiological theory of expression based on the three languages of vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture; 3) Biran's anthropological system distinguishes between three living forces – animal, human, and spiritual – allowing Delsarte to establish his theory on a similar tripartite distinction of Life, Mind, and Soul as a reflection of the Holy Trinity in man; 4) Biran's anthropological system aligns with Scholastic psychology and medieval Christian metaphysics, thus accounting for Delsarte's theory of divine illumination in the nineteenth-century, and; 5) Biran's science of first principles explains how the first principle of Delsarte's system is revelatory, whilst his *method* is based on an inner experience of sensation, and so partly empirical.

More conclusive evidence that Delsarte's theory is based on Biranian anthropology is found in an article written in 1843 by Delsarte's friend, philosophy professor and novelist Raymond Brucker, "*Christine ou tout un monde en miniature: esquisse physiologique*." In the essay, Brucker insists that not only is Delsarte's method physiological, and therefore scientific, but that it is also Scholastic: "The Middle Ages, by virtue of this method, would claim it in the name of Scholasticism, and the Cartesians would wage war on it. This is to

name Delsarte."[355] Brucker goes on to give an account of Delsarte's current principles and teachings:

> Our nature, in the free play of *life*, under the sway of its feelings and its *will*, translates itself to the eye by external actions. These actions offer a series of varied movements, in which the *intelligence* bursts forth greatly manifested, but which are nonetheless *subordinated to mechanical laws*. […] A geometer in his own way, [the physiologist] seeks the abstract formula of these movements, the fundamental law which governs them, and which invariably links them to this or that order of emotions. He claims to classify them, to grasp their system, to realize, if need be, the symbolic value of all attitudes, and to compose an *experimental* doctrine, a fixed science.[356]

In Brucker's description, not only does Delsarte's conception of the tripartite soul appear in vitalist terms as *life*, *will*, and *mind*, but these vitalist forces are *subordinate to mechanical laws* – which is a unique feature of Biran's anthropological system. Furthermore, Delsarte's physiological method, which seeks 1) to link the fundamental law of bodily movement with the emotions, and 2) to establish a fixed science based on an experimental doctrine, appears to be based upon Biran's theory of compound sensation, whereby the *matter* of sensation, provided by affection, corresponds to the former, whilst the *form* of sensation, provided by the self, corresponds to the latter – which is the foundation of Biran's science of first principles. And so, Brucker's 1843 testimony suggests that Biran's anthropology was not only fundamental to the development of Delsarte's aesthetic system, but that his physiological theory of *the muscular sensation of effort* was fundamental to the experimental method he adopted in attempting to establish aesthetics as a positive science.

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[355] "Le moyen âge, en vertu de cette méthode, le réclamerait au nom de la scolastique, et des Cartésiens lui feront la guerre. C'est nommer Delsarte." Brucker, "Christine," 202-03.

[356] "Notre nature, dans le jeu libre de la vie, sous l'empire de ses sentiments et de ses volontés, se traduit au regard par des actes extérieurs. Ces actes offrent une série de mouvements variés, dans lesquels, très-manifestement, l'intelligence éclate, mais qui n'en sont pas moins subordonnés à des lois mécaniques. […] Géomètre à sa manière, il cherche la formule abstraite de ces mouvements, la loi fondamentale qui les gouverne et qui les enchaîne invariablement à tel ou tel ordre d'émotions. Il prétend les classer, saisir leur chaîne, se rendre compte au besoin de la valeur symbolique de toutes les attitudes, en composer une doctrine expérimentale, une science fixe. Et le physiologiste est dans son droit." Brucker, 207-08, emphasis mine.

2.2 From Philosophy to Science: Delsarte's Conversion

Although Delsarte does not mention Biran in his writings, even if he had, questions of how he developed an aesthetic theory based on his anthropological system would remain, as Biran's essays were not published until 1841, two years after Delsarte began lecturing on aesthetics.[357] In fact, the dominant philosophy in France at the time Delsarte developed his theory in the 1830s was Victor Cousin's school of spiritual eclecticism, which, although it contained elements from Biran's thought, was decidedly historical in its methodology, rather than scientific. According to McGrath, Cousin held the scientific method in contempt, viewing the philosophical method as independent of it, thus concluding that there could be no methodological bridge between them.[358] And so, if not from Cousin, from whom did Delsarte learn Biran's anthropology? The most plausible answer is from another of Biran's successors, Théodore Simon Jouffroy.

In 1867, philosopher Félix Ravaisson (1813-1900) announced the emergence of an epistemological synthesis in France between philosophical spiritualism and scientific positivism, which he called "spiritualist realism or positivism."[359] According to McGrath, Ravaisson's announcement signaled the decline of Cousin's eclectic spiritualism, which had dominated the philosophical schools in the first half of the century, by proclaiming the rise of Biran's spiritualist realism, thus encouraging his fellow philosophers to study instead "the inner contours of subjective experience in conversation with the biological data of natural science."[360] McGrath argues that Biran's philosophy did not altogether disappear in France after his death, but that it continued to operate alongside Cousin's official philosophy as a

[357] See Pierre Maine de Biran, *Œuvres philosophiques de Maine De Biran,* 3 vols., ed. Victor Cousin (Paris, 1841).
[358] McGrath, *Making Spirit Matter*, 21.
[359] Qtd. in McGrath, 20.
[360] McGrath, 20.

kind of subterranean alternative.[361] Delphine Antoine-Mahut points out that it was Jouffroy who was responsible for keeping Biran's ideas alive in France, that his brand of spiritualism was closer to Biran's realism than Cousin's eclecticism owing to a concern for "integrating the advances of physiology and, more broadly, with anchoring the new psychology in the most concrete experience."[362] She also notes that "Jouffroy went to war in the very area where Cousin contented himself with progressively settling into a form of superb ignorance of scientific content."[363] Thus, it was Jouffroy, not Cousin, who shared with Biran the philosophical project of integrating physiology and psychology into a single science based on the Scholastic epistemology of *metaphysical realism*, or what Ravaisson in 1867 called *spiritualist realism*.

However, Delsarte's initial methodological approach to singing in the early 1830s was not based on metaphysical realism, but on what appears to be a restricted form of rational analysis. How he likely came to adopt a combined methodology of divine illumination, empiricism, and rationalism based on Biran's and Jouffroy's teachings within less than a decade is detailed below.

2.2.1 Delsarte's Early Philosophical Method

Prior to his first lecture on 18 May 1839, Delsarte had been experimenting with a new method of vocal training since the early 1830s, abandoning his operatic career in April 1832 in order to devout himself to teaching. In 1833, Delsarte published a brief essay, *Préliminaires de la méthode philosophique du chant*, in which he argued that the inflections of the human voice are invariable and therefore universal across cultures:

[361] McGrath, 22.
[362] Delphine Antoine-Mahut, "The 'Empowered King' of French Spiritualism: Théodore Jouffroy," *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 28, no. 5 (2020): 934.
[363] Antoine-Mahut, 934.

> Essential to the understanding of meaning, [the vocal inflection] is what reveals the passions and characterizes their expression, and, whatever the character of the person who expresses the inflection may be, it must remain constantly invariable. […] we feel more than ever how urgent it is, in the interest of art, to realize, by a well-reasoned *analysis*, the expressive effects of song in order to finally and successfully fix their application by solidly based rules. It is not impossible.[364]

And so, from the earliest stage of his career, Delsarte was engaged in a search for fixed principles on which to base vocal expression. His reason for doing so, as mentioned, was to provide his students with an education that would raise them to the level of professional artists, which he argued the teachers at the Conservatoire had failed to do:

> If, at the Conservatoire, […] the true principles of singing were taught there, the pupils would not need, when they are deemed fit to compete, to work with their teachers again for three whole months on their competition piece. They could then, with the method which one has transmitted to them, by remembering the sure principles of their masters, make their own way as pupils do in painting and composition. Then we would cease to see in them the servile copy of their master.[365]

Without a method of training based on fixed principles, Delsarte insisted that singing students were not given the means by which to become self-sufficient artists, and that upon graduating from the Conservatoire, young singers had ultimately acquired no understanding of their own art form.

What Delsarte's essay reveals is that, prior to his conversion to metaphysical realism, his search for fixed principles was based on the physiognomic writings of Lavater, whose name is mentioned near the end of his essay.[366] Delsarte insisted that, with Lavater's help,

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[364] "indispensable à l'intelligence du sens c'est elle qui décèle les passions et en caractérise l'expression, et, quel que soit le caractère de celui qui l'exprime elle doit rester constamment invariable. […] nous sentons plus que jamais combien il serait urgent, dans l'intérêt de l'art, de nous rendre compte, par une analyse bien raisonnée, des effets expressifs du chant pour arriver enfin à en fixer l'application par des règles solidement basées. Cela n'est pas impossible." Chéri Delsarte, *Préliminaires de la méthode philosophique du chant* (Paris, 1833), 2-4, emphasis Delsarte.

[365] "Si, au Conservatoire, [...] on y enseignait les vrais principes du chant, les élèves n'auraient pas besoin, lorsqu'ils sont jugés en état de concourir, de travailler encore avec leurs professeurs des trois mois entiers le morceau de leur concours ; ils pourraient alors, avec la méthode qu'on leur aurait transmise, en se rappelant les principes sûrs de leurs maîtres, marcher d'eux-mêmes comme le font les élèves en peinture et en composition ; alors on cesserait de voir en eux la copie servile du maître." Delsarte, 3-4.

[366] Waille argues that Delsarte did not base his work on physiognomy; however, Delsarte mentions Lavater by name in his 1833 essay. See Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 217-18, and 547. I agree with Waille however that Delsarte's mature research stands in opposition to Lavater's materialism.

"we will never go astray, and we will thus find ourselves in a position to produce the greatest effects [in song] with certainty."[367] The philosophic method Delsarte employed in his early research was summed up in the word *analysis*, a term he emphasised in italics throughout his essay. And so, in 1833, Delsarte believed that a methodology based on rational analysis – rather than the eye of reason raised to contemplation – was the primary source of authority and legitimacy in the search for fixed principles in vocal expression. To further support this claim, in an early manuscript draft of the essay, Delsarte refers not only to the rational analysis of the laws of nature, but also to the absolute power of reason, thereby encouraging artists to:

> draw the secrets of your art from the analysis of the laws of nature and not from the variations of taste and whim. Despise this routine spirit which commands you without law and enslaves you without power. Know finally that man must recognize only one absolute power: *it is the power of reason*."[368]

And so, a textual analysis of Delsarte's publication demonstrates that he rejected the approach to vocal training that he himself underwent at the Conservatoire, which he blamed for the ruination of his own voice during his first year of training,[369] and that he employed a methodology that was in direct opposition to the established method of the Conservatoire. The question is: from whom did Delsarte learn this rationalist method of music analysis?

One possible answer is that he learned the analytic method from musicologist and teacher Alexandre-Étienne Choron (1771-1834). Delsarte appears to have attended Choron's school, the *École royale et spéciale de chant*, sometime between 1823 and 1826, prior to

[367] "avec son secours on ne s'égarera jamais, et l'on se trouvera ainsi en état de produire avec certitude, les plus grands effets." Delsarte, *Préliminaires*, 4.
[368] "puisez les secrets de votre art dans l'analyse des lois de la nature et non dans les variations du goût et du caprice, méprisez cet esprit routinier qui vous commande sans lois et qui vous asservit sans puissance. Sachez enfin que l'homme ne doit reconnaître qu'une seule puissance absolue : c'est la puissance de la raison." Delsarte, "Discours préliminaire," c. 1833, DP, box 1, folder 36a, item 1, emphasis mine.
[369] See Franck Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 73-75.

attending the Conservatoire; however, the exact dates he attended are uncertain.[370] Waille argues that, in the summer of 1823, Delsarte met and received as his patron the musician Jean Aimé Louis Bambini (1773-1836),[371] an expert on the pianoforte and a devotee of Gluck's music, evidence of which is not in dispute.[372] However, a number of historical sources indicate that Delsarte also attended Choron's school during these years,[373] one of them written by Duprez, who is known to have also attended the school.[374] Another source indicates that, during an event in 1858 at which former students celebrated the anniversary of Choron's birthday twenty-four years after his death, both Delsarte and Duprez gave unexpected solo performances that evening.[375] And so it seems Bambini, rather than privately educating Delsarte himself as has been thought, also enrolled him at Choron's school. Furthermore, archival evidence suggests that, in 1825 when the name of Choron's school was changed to the *Institution royale de musique religieuse de France* by the Vicomte de La Rochefoucauld (1785-1865), whereby its new mandate became the training of church musicians and teachers in order to improve singing and religious music in French cathedrals,[376] Delsarte was forced to leave the school early in order to continue to pursue his

[370] There is evidence Delsarte was also performing during these years. In 1824, his name is listed amongst the performers of the *Théâtre Variétés*, with the description: "DELSARTE. Jeune amoureux, qui a un excellent ton et qui chante très-bien," in Maurice Alhoy, *Grand biographie dramatique ou Silhouette des acteurs, actrices, chanteurs, cantatrices, danseurs, danseuses… de Paris et des départemens par l'Ermite du Luxembourg* (Paris, 1824), 55.
[371] Son of composer and harpsichordist Félix Antoine Marcel Bambini (c.1743-1787), and grandson of impresario Eustachio Bambini (1697-1770), whose troupe was associated with the *Querelle des Bouffons*. *Grove Music Online.*
[372] See Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 860-61.
[373] See Audebrand, *La sérénade*, 92; also *Exposition Georges Bizet, 1838-1875, au Théatre National de l'Opéra* (Paris: Bibliothèque National, 1938), 9.
[374] See Gilbert Duprez, "Choron et son école," *Le Ménestrel*, 30 June 1867. According to Jason Christopher Vest, Duprez was enrolled in the school in 1817, six years prior to Delsarte. Jason C. Vest, "Adolphe Nourrit, Gilbert-Louis Duprez, and Transformations of Tenor Technique in the Early Nineteenth Century: Historical and Physiological Considerations" (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 2009), 46.
[375] See Clément Caraguel, "*Revue de quinzaine*," *La Presse*, 1 May 1858.
[376] See Bryan R. Simms, "Alexandre Choron (1771-1834) as Historian and Theorist of Music" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1971), 32.

operatic career, which was no longer possible under Choron.[377] And so, although it is not clear for how long Delsarte attended Choron's school, the evidence suggests that he did in fact attend the school prior to his enrollment at the Conservatoire in the summer of 1826.

Returning to the question of Delsarte's rationalist methodology, according to Victor Schelle, who wrote an article in 1840 on Duprez's vocal method, Choron taught his students to render an account of their ideas in mathematical terms, and above all to reason out and analyse their performance practices:

> Like all students of Choron, Duprez learned at the school of this great master to render a mathematical account of his ideas, the only way to achieve beauty, true talent, which is unfortunately much neglected by teachers today: for it is not enough to perform a varied piece or an air of bravery more or less well, above all you must reason and analyse what you are doing. The whole secret of Duprez is there![378]

Evidence that Delsarte also employed such a method of analysis is detailed in his essay, *Préliminaires*, whereby he mathematically determined the abstract and relative value of the words and the notes of the melody:

> by knowing the abstract and relative value of the words, as well as the notes which compose the melody, everyone must arrive at the same correctness of expression. This is no doubt already a great deal, because the man who speaks correctly always has an immense advantage over the one who sometimes feels more effectively, possessing more fire and energy, but who speaks with less precision. It is therefore this accuracy which must be obtained above all, and through the *Analysis* that I propose in my method, we will surely achieve this.[379]

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[377] The manuscript in question, written in Delsarte's hand, reads: "Father Bambini, my solitary works. My successes. School of Choron where I cannot manage to be accepted. The conservatoire. [Le père Bambini, mes travaux solitaires. Mes succès. École de Choron où je ne peux parvenir à me faire accepter. Le conservatoire.]" Quoted in Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 861 n38. Waille argues that this brief autobiographical sketch indicates an unsuccessful attempt by Delsarte to enter Choron's school, but I suggest it may indicate Delsarte's early departure from the school owing to a change in mandate.

[378] "Comme tous les élèves de Choron, Duprez a appris à l'école de ce grand maître à se rendre un compte mathématique de ses idées, seul moyen pour arriver au beau, au vrai talent, et malheureusement trop négligé par les professeurs de nos jours : car il ne suffit pas d'exécuter plus ou moins bien un morceau varié ou un air de bravoure, avant tout il faut raisonner et analyser ce qu'on fait. Tout le secret de Duprez est là!" Victor Schelle, "Des diverses méthodes de chant: Duprez," *Bulletin des salons, des arts, de la littérature et des théâtres*, no. 24 (1840): 43.

[379] "par la connaissance de la valeur abstraite et relative des mots ainsi que des notes qui composent la mélodie, tout le monde doit arriver à la justesse de l'expression. C'est sans doute déjà beaucoup, car l'homme qui dit juste à toujours un avantage immense sur celui qui, sentent quelquefois beaucoup mieux, possédant plus d'énergie et de feu, dirait avec moins de justesse. C'est donc cette justesse qu'il faut avant tout obtenir, et par les *Analyses* que je proposerai dans ma méthode on y parviendra surement." Delsarte, *Préliminaires*, 5.

An example of how Delsarte applied his analytic method appears at the end of the essay, whereby he breaks down a single sentence (*Fleurs sont...*), as well as a passage from Racine's *Phèdre*,[380] in order to demonstrate the sequence of the propositions and the various relations of the parts in the former (see figure 2.1), and the abstract and relative value of words represented by the numbers placed above the words in the latter (see figure 2.2).

It is not my intention to expand on Delsarte's analytic method here, but simply to provide evidence of the rationalist methodology he used early on in his career. What is important to note is that, when Delsarte began conducting his research in the early 1830s, his methodology was based not on religion, but on philosophy,[381] which means that his interest in the study of the physiognomy of the voice *preceded* his scientific investigations on the physiological nature of the Holy Trinity in man. It was not long after the publication of his essay in 1833 that Delsarte appears to have abandoned Lavater's theory, reasons for which are detailed in the following section. We can be sure that Delsarte abandoned the theory because, in 1859, Delsarte is quoted as saying: "Finally, please ennoble your studies of gesture by relating them to the study of Man [anthropology]. This magnificent work will very usefully replace the puerilities of Lavater and the dangerous doctrines of the materialist phrenologists."[382] However, we also know that Delsarte did not altogether abandon his analytic method of textual analysis which he appears to have learned from Choron, but that he incorporated it into his mature aesthetic theory, as there is ample evidence he taught this analytic method throughout his career as part of his "Course in Applied Aesthetics."[383]

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[380] *Le récit de Théramène*, act V, scene 6, lines 16-19.
[381] Michael Shortland points out that Lavater distinguished between *scientific* and *philosophical* physiognomy, the former dealing with man's character and stable features, the latter with his passions and expressions. See Michael Shortland, "The Power of a Thousand Eyes: Johann Caspar Lavater's Science of Physiognomical Perception," *Criticism: a Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 28, no. 4 (1986): 389.
[382] "Je vous prie en dernier lieu d'ennoblir vos études sur le geste en les rapportant à l'étude de l'Homme. Ce travail magnifique remplacera fort utilement les puérilités de Lavater et les dangereuses doctrines des phrénologues matérialistes." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée," section 16, Alain Porte Collection, Citry, France, quoted in Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 626.
[383] See Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 191-200. Appendix B.

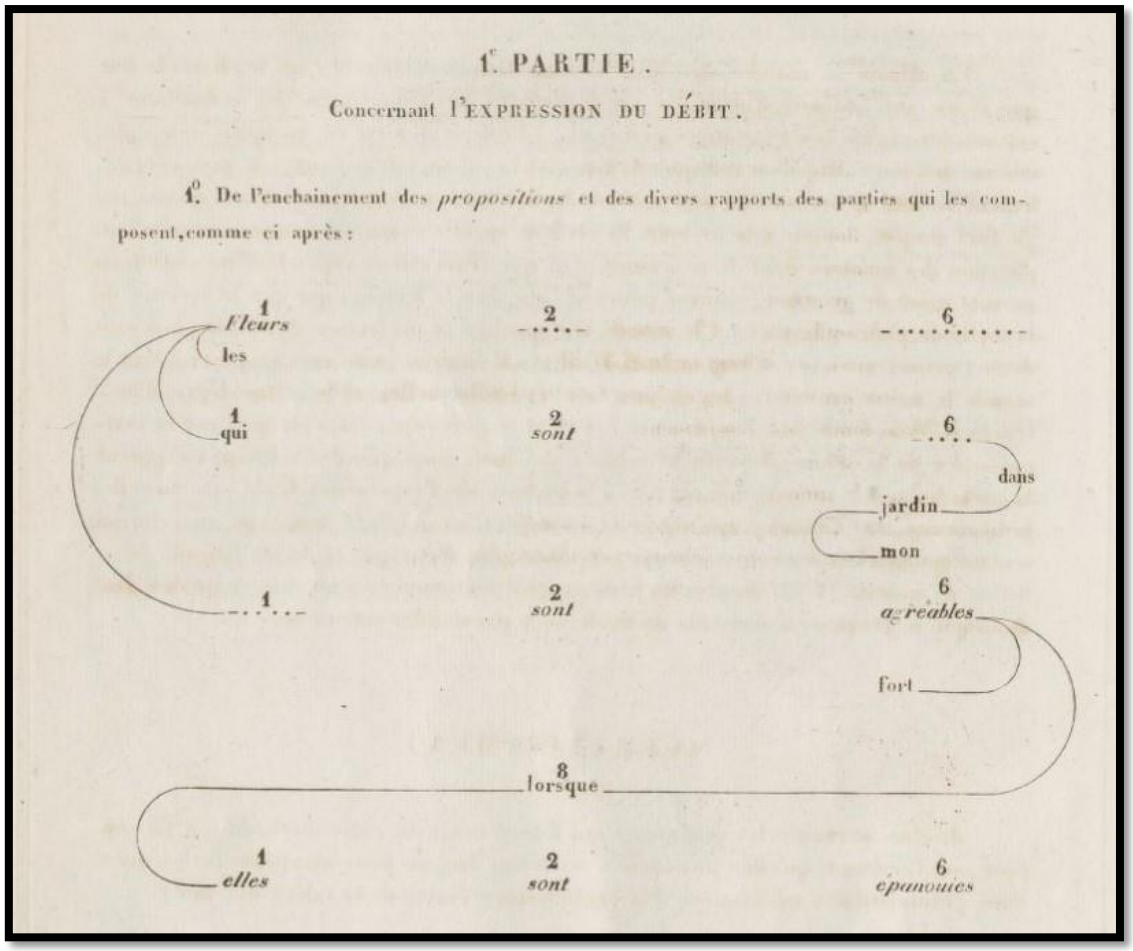


Figure 2.1. Extract from Delsarte's *Préliminaires de la méthode philosophique du chant* (1833), page 6. A sentence is parsed in order to demonstrate the sequence of the propositions and the various relations of the parts of speech.

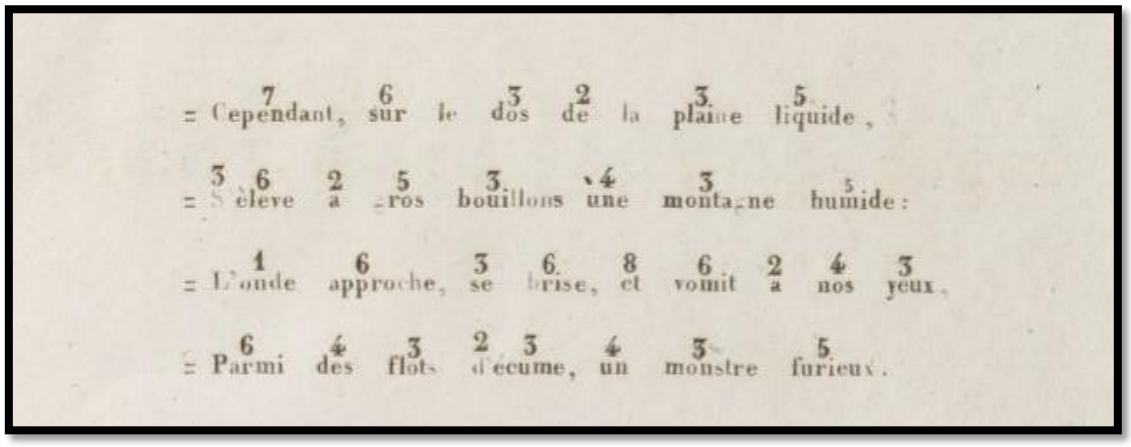


Figure 2.2. Extract from Delsarte's *Préliminaires de la méthode philosophique du chant* (1833), page 7. A passage from Racine's *Phèdre* (Act V, scene 6, lines 16-19) is parsed in order to show the abstract and relative value of words represented by the numbers placed above.

2.2.2 Delsarte's Religious and Methodological Conversion

Between the drafting of his essay, *Préliminaires*, in the early 1830s and the delivery of his first lecture in 1839, Delsarte had converted from a philosophy of the Enlightenment, believing in the absolute power of human reason, to a medieval Christian one, believing that the power of human reason must submit in contemplation to the absolute power of God. Evidence of Delsarte's activities during the 1830s is scarce. However, critic and writer Arthur Pougin points out that:

> From the theatre, Delsarte proceeded to the church. Let me be clear: to a particular church, and he left the *Variétés* to become… a Saint-Simonian. From Saint-Simonianism he soon came to the church of Abbé Châtel, and in the latter he was called to direct the choirs. Here he is finally delivered to an occupation worthy of him, and which pleases him. We soon see him opening classes, giving historic concerts.[384]

If Pougin's timeline is correct, then Delsarte became a Saint-Simonian in 1832,[385] likely as a result of his friendship with Adolphe Nourrit.[386] Soon after, he was appointed choir director of the recently established French Catholic Church, a liberal institution founded in 1831 by Ferdinand François Châtel (1785-1857), which Nourrit and other Saint-Simonian musicians are known to have attended.[387] How long Delsarte remained as choir director there is not known, but the church went into an almost immediate decline owing to a doctrinal shift towards Unitarianism, instigated by Châtel in 1832.[388]

According to Hamel, the reason Delsarte converted to Christianity was owing to his professional study of aesthetics and research into the origin of art: "Without being hostile to

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[384] "Du théâtre, Delsarte passa à l'église. Entendons-nous : à une église particulière, et il quitta les Variétés pour se faire… saint-simonien. Du saint-simonisme il en vint bientôt à l'église de l'abbé Châtel, et dans cette dernière, il fut appelé à la direction des chœurs. Le voilà enfin livré à un travail digne de lui, et qui lui plaît. On le voit bientôt ouvrir des cours, donner des concerts historiques." Arthur Pougin, "Nécrologie musicale 1870-1871: V. Les virtuoses. Delsarte," *Le Ménestrel* 38, no. 13 (February 1872): 101.
[385] For what little information is known about Delsarte's involvement in the movement, see Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 82, and 100.
[386] Delsarte spoke of his friendship with Nourrit in his lectures. See Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 85-87. Appendix B.
[387] Jean-Pierre Chantin, "François Delsarte chez les Hiérophantes: Saint-simoniens et Catholiques chatelistes au début des années 1830," in *François Delsarte, une recherche sans fin*, eds. Franck Waille and Christophe Damour (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2015), 47.
[388] Chantin, "La liturgie au service de la dissidence? l'Église catholique française de l'abbé Chatel (1831-1832)," *Chrétiens et sociétés*, no. 18 (2012): para. 17.

religion, Delsarte was an unbeliever in his youth, the result of his early education. It was by tracing Art back to its Author that he converted and became a devout practicing Christian."[389] If Hamel's testimony is accurate, it was Delsarte's research over the course of the 1830s which led to his initial conversion to the Christian faith. However, according to Bizet's biographer, Mina Curtiss, it was Rosine who was responsible for converting her husband to Roman Catholicism shortly after their marriage in 1833. Apparently, Rosine, having stopped to rest in a church on her way home from teaching at the Conservatoire,[390] "was moved to pray at the tomb of Saint Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, who then appeared to her in a vision. Henceforth, according to her granddaughter, she became a 'saint-like person,' and later converted her husband."[391] And so, it appears to be a combination of his study of aesthetics and his wife's vision of Saint Geneviève which ultimately led Delsarte to the Roman Catholic faith. What is known from Delsarte's extant writings is that, by 1839 when he began teaching his course, he was by then a devout Trinitarian.[392] In 1844, Delsarte was one of the first twenty-six members received by Father Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861) into the newly revived Third Dominican Order in France,[393] his wife, Rosine, being received a year later into the Third Order of Dominican Religious Women.[394] And so, although Waille has rightly concluded that Delsarte's doctrine of the Trinity conforms to the

[389] "Sans être hostile à la religion, Delsarte dans sa jeunesse était incroyant, résultat de son éducation première. C'est en remontant de l'Art à son Auteur, qu'il se convertit et devint un fervent chrétien pratiquant." Hamel, *Cours d'éloquence parlée*, 3-4.
[390] Rosine won second prize in solfège in 1828, and first prize in 1829, at the Conservatoire. She was a professor of solfège at the Conservatoire from 1830-1838. In 1831, she won first prize in piano, and in 1833, second prize in harmony under Halévy. See Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation*: *documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1900), 436 and 687.
[391] Curtiss, *Bizet and His World*, 13.
[392] An 1839 manuscript by Delsarte bears the title: "Famille Trinitaire," in DP, box 12c, folder 28.
[393] According to Arnaud, Delsarte taught a course in elocution and declamation specifically for preachers and members of the French Congregation of the Oratory. Lacordaire, along with Jacques-Marie-Louis Monsabré (1827-1907) and Père Hyacinthe (1827-1912), are believed to have attended. Arnaud, "The Delsarte System," 339-40; also MacKaye, *Epoch*, 133.
[394] See Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 871.

writings of Aquinas,[395] what has yet to be determined is whose teachings led him from a philosophical approach to research in 1833 to a decidedly religious one by 1839.

As with Delsarte's conversion to Catholicism, evidence detailing his methodological conversion from rationalism to metaphysical realism is also scarce. What appears to be the case is that, sometime after both he and Rosine converted to Catholicism, Delsarte began moving in Jesuit circles. Recalling the religious mania and mystical eccentricities with which he was often charged in the 1830s, Delsarte admitted in an 1852 essay that the teachings of the Jesuits had, at one point, caught his attention:

> This profession of faith, to which no serious objection has ever been raised, has only earned me a host of insults. And that is why I am, in the eyes of many people, nothing more than a fanatic of the worst kind. Some, however, less scandalized by my way of seeing things, are willing to agree that there would be some good in me if the Jesuits had not turned my head.[396]

In support of this statement, some of Delsarte's extant notes, although undated, indicate that he followed the teachings of Gustave Delacroix de Ravignan (1795-1858), a French Jesuit preacher and author who, according to Waille, gave courses and conferences in Paris between 1836 and 1857.[397] In 1837, Ravingnan took over preaching duties at Notre-Dame from Lacordaire, who had recently delivered his *conférences* of 1835 and 1836 to great acclaim, and who had retreated to Rome the following year to study with the Jesuits.[398] Apparently, Lacordaire's Notre-Dame *conférences* ushered in a new style of preaching, and upon his return to Paris in 1841, he shared the pulpit with Ravingnan for many years.[399] Thus, the

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[395] See Waille, 845.

[396] "Cette profession de foi à laquelle on ne m'a jamais rien objecté de sérieux ne m'a valu qu'une foule d'injures. Et voilà pourquoi je ne suis, aux yeux de beaucoup de gens, qu'un fanatique de la pire espèce. Quelques-uns, cependant, moins scandalisés de ma façon de voir, veulent bien convenir qu'il y aurait du bon chez moi, si les jésuites ne m'avaient pas tourné la tête." Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 185.

[397] Delsarte, "Enseignement familier, 1re leçon, par Mr de Ravignan," DP, box 12a, folder 26a, item 2; Waille "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 173.

[398] For Ravingnan's sermons at Notre-Dame, beginning in 1837, see Gustave-Xavier de La Croix de Ravignan, *Conférences du révérend père de Ravignan de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 4 vols. ed. Charles Aubert (Paris: Vve Poussielgue-Rusand, 1860).

[399] Patrick Beecher, "Homiletics," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910). https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07443a.htm. For Lacordaire's *conférences*, see Henri-Dominique Lacordaire, *Conférences de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 4 vols. (Paris: Sagnier et Bray, 1853-55).

influence of Aquinas' writings on Delsarte appears to stem from his association with both Ravignan and Lacordaire. However, as mentioned, Delsarte's system was more than a mere return to Scholasticism but also incorporated the modern disciplines of aesthetics and psychology, for which the study of Aquinas' writings alone cannot account.

In 1839, when Delsarte converted his practical lessons into purely theoretical ones, he claims to have introduced the study of special anatomy, aesthetics, psychology, and ontology as compulsory, implying that he had already made a considerable study of these disciplines.[400] Furthermore, Fétis points out that, during the 1830s, Delsarte devoted himself not only to the study of declamation and singing, but also to the study of anatomy and physiology in order to familiarize himself with the construction of the larynx, deepening his understanding of the phenomenon of phonation, and thereby making himself a master of his art.[401] Moreover, Delsarte tells us himself that his early research on the voice was not based on rational analysis, but on experience and experimentation:[402]

> There is an accessible path to the most fruitful investigations. Why should I hesitate to follow it? Why, when my first *experiments* have brought such precious results for art as for science, should I stop at the starting point, so to speak, of an unexplored profession? Isn't it time that this interesting discipline of *physiology* which deals with the voice is finally based on artistic *experience*? It is therefore important that an artist devotes himself to these *experiences*. To make them fruitful, however, this artist must not ignore the organic constitution of the agents which he is called upon to bring into play.[403]

Although this account comes years later from an 1852 essay, Delsarte relates both his physiological studies and his experimental method to his earliest investigations on the voice. Thus, his methodological conversion seems to have taken place around 1833, shortly after the

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[400] Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée,"178.
[401] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*: *Supplément et complément* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1881), 256.
[402] Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 166.
[403] "Il y a là une voie ouverte aux investigations les plus fécondes. Pourquoi hésiterais-je à la suivre ? Pourquoi, quand mes premières expériences ont amené de si précieux résultats pour l'art comme pour la science, irais-je m'arrêter au point de départ d'une carrière, pour ainsi dire, inexplorée ? N'est-il pas temps que cette partie intéressante de la physiologie qui traite de la voix soit enfin assise sur l'expérience artistique ? Il est donc important qu'un artiste se consacre à ces expériences. Mais pour les rendre fécondes, cet artiste ne doit pas ignorer la constitution organi-que des agents qu'il est appelé à mettre en jeu." Delsarte, 171-72, emphasis mine.

publication of his essay. As mentioned, the dominant philosophy in France at this time was Cousin's spiritualist eclecticism, which was based on historical methods and was therefore unscientific,[404] and that Biran's anthropological essays, which were edited by Cousin, were published in 1841, after Delsarte began lecturing. However, there was a philosopher in Paris in the 1830s, known as Biran's successor,[405] who not only lectured privately on physiology, psychology, ontology, and aesthetics, but also on anthropology, methodology, and natural law, and who published a collection of essays on most of these topics in 1833 – Théodore Simon Jouffroy.

2.3 The Influence of Jouffroy on Delsarte's Aesthetic Theory

Jouffroy's work, *Mélanges philosophiques*,[406] appears to have been a significant publication in France in the 1830s, receiving three printings within five years of its release.[407] Many of Jouffroy's essays in the publication, most notably "Du spiritualisme et du matérialisme," "De l'amour de soi," and "Du problème de la destinée humaine," contain a number of ideas associated with Delsarte's teachings, such as his rejection of materialism, his theory of eccentric and concentric bodily movement as affective physiological displays of emotion, and his theory of the development of both psychology (religion) and ideology (philosophy) from the human poetic impulse (aesthetics).

In "Du spiritualisme et du matérialisme," Jouffroy explains differences between the two philosophic systems, exposing both to be false. According to Jouffroy, both are false because, owing to *habitual practice*, the spiritualist identifies the phenomena of matter with the soul because he uses only his conscience, whilst the materialist identifies the phenomena

[404] The difference is relevant because, as Stephen Gaukroger points out, in the nineteenth century it was primarily biblical criticism and historical methods, rather than science, which undermined the credentials of Christianity, which became historicized and then relativized as a result. Stephen Gaukroger, *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture*: *Science and the Shaping of Modernity 1210-1685* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), 23.
[405] Léon Ollé-Laprune, *Théodore Jouffroy* (Paris, 1899), 163.
[406] Théodore Jouffroy, *Mélanges philosophiques* (Paris: Paulin, 1833).
[407] F. Bonnaire, "Bulletin," *Revue de Paris*, 1838, 152.

of the soul with matter because he uses only his senses, thus the former concludes that there is no matter, the latter that there is no soul:

> This is the story of our two men, one deprived of his senses, the other of his conscience. The spiritualist and the materialist are only half men, or rather complete men in reality, but who mutilate themselves philosophically, and, after having mutilated themselves, mutilate the world in their systems. There is only one way to find the soul, it is to *feel* it; there is only one way to find material, it is to *touch* it.[408]

Not only do we find in Jouffroy's description here Biran's theory of compound sensation, that is the distinction between the *matter* of sensation as externally sensed (touch), and its *form* as internally experienced (feel), but we also see in the idea of the *complete man* the two systems coming together to compose a unified spiritualist-realist system, whereby universals in the mind cannot be detached from the particular instances which give rise to them.

Comparing Jouffroy's description with Delsarte's decision to convert his practical lessons into theoretical ones, Delsarte's main concern was that he did not want "to dabble any longer in this materialization of an art now doomed to decay,"[409] because he was "seized with disgust for a pedagogy in which one only accepted that which related more or less to physical development."[410] Delsarte recognized that the vocal strength and flexibility required of opera singers must be *combined* with the ability to express emotion in order to affect an audience, meaning that audiences had to *hear* a performer's heart,[411] that is his soul, not mere physical strength, because only the soul could express Beauty, Truth, and Goodness:

> The Beautiful, the True, and the Good are the end of art, this is how art purifies life, illuminates intelligence, and transfigures the soul. Therefore, the artist must beautify what he touches and be moved only by the sight of the Beautiful; therefore, he must instruct those whom he addresses and interest them only with the Truth; therefore, he must elevate others as he has elevated himself and convince them only with the intent

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[408] "C'est l'histoire de nos deux hommes, l'un privé de ses sens, l'autre de sa conscience. Le spiritualiste et le matérialiste ne sont que des moitiés d'homme, ou plutôt des hommes complets dans la réalité, mais qui se mutilent philosophiquement, et, après s'être mutilés, mutilent le monde dans leurs systèmes. Il n'y a qu'une manière de trouver l'âme, c'est de la sentir ; il n'y a qu'une manière de trouver la matière, c'est de la toucher." Jouffroy, "Du spiritualisme et du matérialisme. (1825)," in *Mélanges philosophiques*, 191-92, emphasis mine.
[409] "ne voulant plus tremper plus longtemps dans cette matérialisation d'un art désormais condamné à la decadence." Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 178.
[410] "je fus pris de dégoût pour un enseignement dont on n'acceptait plus que ce qui se rapportait de près ou de loin au développement physique." Delsarte, 177.
[411] Delsarte, 184.

> of possessing the one true Good. If such is not the artist's mission, if the feelings he expresses do not have the Good as their ultimate end, then he is nothing more than an instrument of ephemeral pleasure or the dangerous instigator of disordered emotions which virtue must flee, and which religion must condemn.[412]

Delsarte taught that, no matter the art form, in order to become an accomplished artist, students must combine the physical with the metaphysical, the material with the spiritual, because that is of what human beings are composed. Recalling Delsarte's method, he insisted that the study of material things leads to an understanding of spiritual and divine things, as the method of his teaching lent "to every proposition of a metaphysical order, the support of a material or organic demonstration."[413] And so, Delsarte's method of metaphysical realism corresponds to the idea of combining the spiritualist and materialist systems found in Jouffroy's "Du spiritualisme et du matérialisme."

In Jouffroy's "De l'amour de soi," we find what can only be described as a prototype of Delsarte's theory of bodily motion. Jouffroy argues that reactive bodily movements vary with the sensation that determines them, in that agreeable sensations are essentially *expansive*, whilst disagreeable sensations are characterized by *concentration* or *contraction*.[414] According to Jouffroy, not only are there three distinct phenomena located in each of the two series of movements of agreeable and disagreeable sensation – *joy* and *sorrow*, *love* and *hate*, *desire* and *aversion* – but that each of these phenomena correspond to a characteristic and successive bodily movement which distinguishes their essential difference: *dilation* and *contraction*, *expansion* and *concentration*, *attraction* and *repulsion*

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[412] "Le Beau, le Vrai et le Bien sont les termes de l'art. C'est ainsi qu'il purifie la vie, qu'il illumine l'intelligence et qu'il transfigure l'âme. Donc l'artiste doit embellir ce qu'il touche et n'émouvoir que par la vue du Beau ; donc, il doit instruire ceux à qui il s'adresse et ne les intéresser que par la vérité. Donc, il doit supérioriser les autres comme il s'est supériorisé lui-même et ne les convaincre qu'en vue de la possession du seul vrai bien. Donc, si telle n'est pas la mission de l'artiste, si les sentiments qu'il exprime n'ont pas le bien pour terme final, il n'est plus que l'instrument d'un plaisir éphémère ou l'incitateur dangereux des émotions désordonnées que la vertu doit fuir et que la religion réprouve." Delsarte, 184-85.

[413] "comme à tout proposition d'ordre métaphysique, l'appui d'une démonstration materielle ou organique." Delsarte, "Notre Méthode," qtd. in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 811.

[414] Jouffroy, "De l'amour de soi. (1823)," in *Mélanges philosophiques*, 289-90. A similar theory of motion is found in Aristides Quintilianus' *De musica*, I.12, but it is not known if or how Jouffroy's theory is connected.

respectively. Furthermore, Jouffroy specifies that it is these terms of movement he would like to see consecrated by science, because each is expressed in its sensible purity, *without any intellectual mixture*.[415] Jouffroy's theory is meant to explain not only how individual passions and bodily movements are united and linked in their diversity,[416] but also how the movements which make up the two opposing series of agreeable and disagreeable sensations resolve into a single principle – the *sensible good*.[417] Thus, Jouffroy's theory of movement is based on the idea of diversity within unity, which is also a hallmark of Delsarte's aesthetic theory.

Comparing Jouffroy's theory of reactive movement to Delsarte's theory of retroactive motion, Delsarte argues that: "It was this retroactive motion that revealed to me a threefold state in man which I later recognized everywhere: an eccentric state, a concentric state, and a normal state."[418] Delsarte goes on to argue that all phenomena are either eccentric, concentric, or normal, and that "in the general theory, intellectual expressions are of a concentric nature because everything that is reflected is collected and focused. On the contrary, everything that is essentially vital is vehement, eccentric."[419] Although Delsarte's terminology in his later lectures does not conform to Jouffroy's essay, in an 1839 manuscript, "École de chant morale et scientifique," Delsarte uses Jouffroy's terms of *contraction* and *expansion* for what would later become his theory of concentric and normal motion respectively,[420] and so it would appear that Delsarte perhaps refined and altered Jouffroy's terminology in the 1840s or early 50s. Whatever the case, there is no denying that the two theories are strikingly similar in their terminology, and that they both share the common aim

[415] Jouffroy, "De l'amour," 292.
[416] Jouffroy, 293.
[417] Jouffroy points out that, in terms of our natural *aversion* to disagreeable sensation, and *attraction* to agreeable sensation, to reject the former is the same as to aspire to the latter, and that therefore there is a unity of principle and end in all sensible development, which is the sensible good. Jouffroy, "De l'amour," 300.
[418] "C'est que cette rétroaction me révéla un triple état dans l'homme que j'ai ultérieurement retrouve partout : un état concentrique, un état excentrique, et un état normal." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 3. Appendix B.
[419] "En thèse générale, les expressions intellectives sont de nature concentrique ; tout ce qui est réfléchi est recueilli et concentré. Tout ce qui au contraire est essentiellement vital est véhément, excentrique." Delsarte, 120. Appendix B.
[420] See Delsarte, "École de chant," DP, folder 11b, pages 10-11.

of unifying into a single principle the various human passions and bodily movements resulting from the phenomenon of sensation.

Finally, in Jouffroy's essay, "Du problème de la destinée humaine," we find an epistemology based on the development of poetics, ideology, and psychology out of a single human impulse, thus providing a unified theory for the disciplines of aesthetics, philosophy, and religion. Jouffroy points out that, based on man's ability to reason, there arises in the human intelligence a necessary question which we inevitably address to God: "Why did you make me, and what does the role I play here mean?"[421] Once this question has been asked, Jouffroy argues, "then a new chord is struck in the depths of the soul, and all the distractions in the world cannot prevent this chord from existing and the slightest experience from making it vibrate."[422] The striking of this chord manifests within the soul three kinds of feelings: the poetic feeling, the philosophical feeling, and the religious feeling.[423] According to Jouffroy, poetry, philosophy, and religion are three sublime manifestations of the same sentiment of the problem of human destiny, which are respectively satisfied through harmonious lamentations, laborious research, and a lively faith.[424] And, because these three feelings emanate from a single soul, Jouffroy calls them *soul sisters*, "which is why they get along so well, even though they speak such different languages."[425]

Beginning with the poetic feeling, Jouffroy argues that all poetry, from the most ancient to the most modern, sings either of the doubts the problem of human destiny has inspired, or of the dreams by which we have endeavoured to solve it,[426] and that out of these songs have emerged two orders of monuments which affirm this vague poetic feeling in a

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[421] "Pourquoi m'as-tu fait, et que signifie le rôle que je joue ici-bas ?" Jouffroy, "Du problème de la destinée humaine. (1830)," in *Mélanges philosophiques* (Paris: Paulin, 1833), 456.
[422] "alors une nouvelle corde est ébranlée au fond de l'âme, et toutes les distractions du monde n'empêchent pas que cette corde ne soit là et que le moindre événement ne la fasse vibrer." Jouffroy, 457.
[423] Jouffroy, 457.
[424] Jouffroy, 461.
[425] "c'est ce qui fait qu'elles s'entendent si bien, alors même qu'elles parlent des langues si différentes." Jouffroy, 461.
[426] Jouffroy, 458.

more authentic and accurate way: religious and philosophical systems.[427] On the one hand, religion embraces the problem of human destiny as a whole, believing it cannot merely be confined between the cradle and the grave.[428] Religion therefore attempts to penetrate into the past and future of all of humanity, knowing that any part of our destiny remains obscure until the whole has been explained.[429] On the other hand, philosophy divides up the problem in order to solve it, and so what we call *morality* is simply the search for human destiny here on earth, *religion* that search before birth and after death, *philosophy of history* that search in the human species, *cosmology* that search in the origin and laws of the universe, *theology* that search in the nature of God and his relationship to man, etc.[430] Jouffroy argues that:

> all of these divisions are good in the sense that a subject must be well analysed in order to study it; but do not think that these lines, carried through the subject of philosophy, destroy its radical unity. The questions are distinct but inseparable; they hold each other by the root, they are only branches of the same trunk. Who conceives one is obliged to conceive them all; who wants to solve one, is forced to solve them all; they summon each other, they imply each other, they presuppose each other; they are one in the human mind.[431]

For Jouffroy then, the cause of poetics is a vague experience or inner feeling of the problem of human destiny; the cause of religion is the will to understand this feeling as a whole, generalized and without mutilation; the cause of philosophy is the will to clarify this feeling by dividing it up in order to specify and analyse its parts, thereby risking mutilation.[432] And so, if religion and philosophy both seek to resolve the problem of human destiny, the former producing goodness through moral action, the latter producing truth through rational analysis, it is the poetic feeling which glimpses the problem of human destiny itself, it is an acting out

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[427] Jouffroy, 468.
[428] Jouffroy, 464.
[429] Jouffroy, 465.
[430] Jouffroy, 462.
[431] "toutes ces divisions sont bonnes à ce titre qu'il faut bien analyser un sujet pour l'étudier ; mais ne croyez pas que ces lignes, menées à travers le sujet de la philosophie, en détruisent la radicale unité. Les questions sont distinctes mais inséparables ; elle se tiennent par le pied, elles ne sont que des rameaux d'une même souche ; qui en conçoit une, est obligé d'aller à toutes ; qui veut en résoudre une, est forcé de les résoudre toutes ; elles s'appellent, elles s'impliquent, elle se présupposent ; elles ne font qu'un dans l'esprit humain." Jouffroy, 463.
[432] Jouffroy, 465.

of that which is not explicitly known by expressing either the doubts that the problem has inspired (tragedy), or the dreams by which we have endeavoured to solve it (comedy). In short, poetics expresses what religion and philosophy seek to resolve. Jouffroy argues that, in the order of philosophical knowledge:

> We are only conscious of producing the truth when we have made an effort to seek it; and we only make an effort to seek it when we have already glimpsed it. The goal of intellectual effort, despite appearances, is only to clarify, and to clarify anything, one must already be aware of possessing it.[433]

Thus, for Jouffroy, the foundation of knowledge is not located in the external senses or in the intellect, meaning that his epistemology is not based on external sensation (empiricism) or reasoning (rationalism), but on an inner feeling or personal experience (mysticism), which is manifested in the harmonious vibrations and lamentations of the voice (music), and which is ultimately caused by the problem of human destiny.

Comparing Jouffroy's epistemology to Delsarte's, there is archival evidence of a similar epistemological system based on poetics and music in the form of a chart which Delsarte drew in 1848, entitled "École des beaux-arts" (see figure 2.3). The chart is divided into three generic and nine specific disciplines in the colours of red, blue, and yellow corresponding to the human tripartite soul of life (*élan vital*), mind, and soul. In the chart, *poetics* and the musical arts of *solfege* (phonology), *composition*, and *singing* (aesthesis) correspond to life in red; *ideology* and the noetic arts of *grammar* (history), *ontology* (philosophy), and *diction* (rhetoric) correspond to the mind in blue, and *psychology* and the plastic arts of *anatomy* (esthesis), *dynamics* (mathematics), and *symbolism* (plastics) correspond to the soul in yellow. And so, following the processional relations of the Trinity, poetics serves as the generative principle from which ideology is begotten and psychology

[433] "On n'a conscience de produire la vérité que quand on a fait effort pourra chercher ; et on ne fait effort pour fa chercher que quand on l'a déjà entrevue. L'effort intellectuel n'a pour but, malgré l'apparence, que l'éclaircissement, et pour éclaircir quoi que ce soit, il faut avoir déjà la conscience de le posséder." Jouffroy, 474-75.

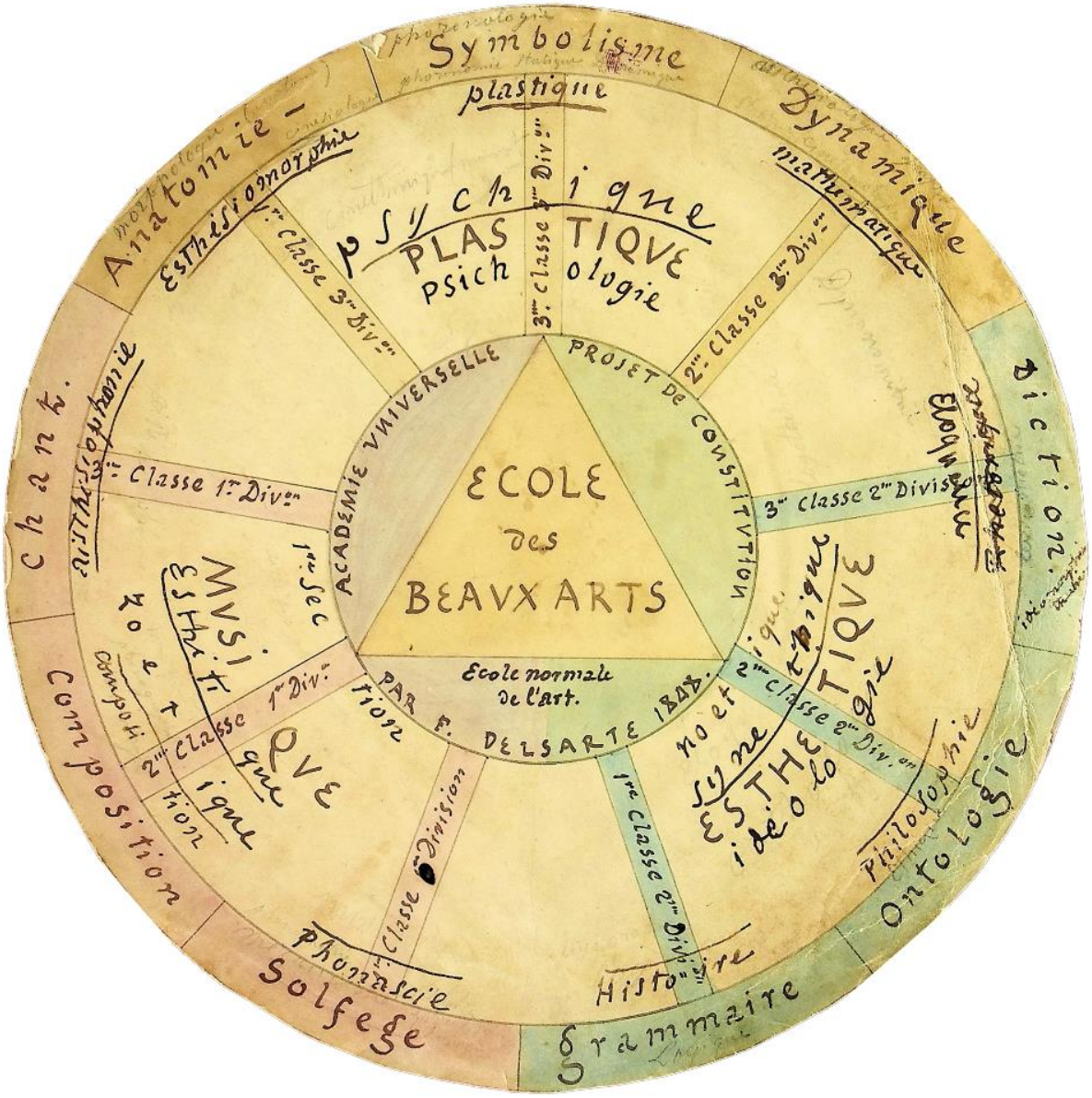


Figure 2.3. Delsarte, "École des beaux-arts," 1848, DP, oversize folder box 9&10, folder 32, item 4.

proceeds, similar to the way in which both philosophy and religion emerge from poetics in Jouffroy's system. Furthermore, Delsarte recognized, like Jouffroy, that although poetics, philosophy, and religion emanate from the soul, they all speak different languages. Beginning with the language of music, Delsarte argues that:

> inflections generate a sensitive language called music and, as I said the other day, music is only the language of the feelings through what it borrows from other languages. Taken intrinsically, it is the language of the senses, and not of feeling. It is the language of the feelings through the elliptical form expressed by gesture and by

> the expressions borrowed from the mind. As life borrows attributes from the mind and soul, each of these languages will express to its congeners a particular form.[434]

In Delsarte's system then, music belongs to the language of *sensation,* which can only express the feelings when it borrows expressions from the mind and soul. Thus, on its own, music as a language of *sensitive life* expresses a vague inner feeling (aesthesis) which only becomes fully formed, articulated, and expressed by the borrowing of both ideas and gestures from the mind and soul. And so, like Jouffroy's three *soul sisters*, Delsarte's sensitive language (music), intellectual language (ideas), and mimetic language (gesture) get along similarly well in that they interconnect, support, and complete one another.

Moreover, a similar epistemology also appears in Delsarte's 1839 manuscript, "École de chant morale et scientifique," whereby he lists physiology, philosophy, and religion as the three kinds of knowledge essential for the study of man, which is accompanied by the explanation that: "Man is a trinity of persons which is translated by means of a triple organism by a triplicity of languages. Each of the persons of this trinity, although inseparably united with the other two, has a corresponding apparatus in man and speaks a special and distinct language."[435] And so, Delsarte's trinity of poetics, ideology, and psychology as outlined in his chart, "École des beaux-arts" appears to be a subset or branch of physiology in relation to the study of man as a whole (anthropology),[436] that is a trinity within a trinity. And so, we can see that, by 1839, Delsarte was apparently transforming Jouffroy's philosophical

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[434] "inflexions engendrent un langage sensitif qu'on appelle la musique et comme je le disais l'autre jour, la musique n'est que le langage des sentiments que par ce qu'elle emprunte des autres langages. Intrinsèquement prise, elle est le langage des sens, et non pas du sentiment. Elle est le langage des sentiments par la forme elliptique exprimée au geste et par les expressions empruntées à l'esprit. Comme la vie s'emprunte des attributs à l'âme et à l'esprit, chacun de ces langages exprimera à ses congénères une forme spéciale." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 66. Appendix B.

[435] "L'homme est une trinité de personnes qui se traduit au moyen d'un triple organisme par une triplicité de langages. Chacune des personnes de cette trinité, quoique inséparablement unie aux deux autres, a dans l'homme un appareil correspondant et parle un langage spécial et distinct." Delsarte, "École de chant," DP, box 11b, page 37.

[436] It should be noted that Nietzsche insisted that the study of aesthetics was "nothing but applied physiology." Friedrich W. Nietzsche, "Nietzsche Contra Wagner: From the Files of a Psychologist," in *The Anti-Christ, Ecce Homo, Twilight of the Idols, and Other Writings*, eds. Aaron Ridley and Judith Norman, trans. Judith Norman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 266.

theories into a system that was more overtly religious in nature, eventually aligning Jouffroy's nineteenth-century philosophy with medieval religious doctrines on the image of the Holy Trinity in man.

The final comparison to be made between Jouffroy's essay and Delsarte's method is the recognition by both men that human reason is necessarily subservient to divine illumination. In his essay, Jouffroy laments the legitimacy rational knowledge gained over revelatory knowledge in France during the Enlightenment:

> Human reason has been so persuaded that it was capable of anything and that it could undertake anything; reason was repeatedly told that it was the only legitimate authority, and that that alone was true which came from it; we have so completely beaten to ruin that principle of belief which we call *revelation, faith, authority*.[437]

Both Jouffroy and Delsarte take the position that reason cannot be a source of knowledge in and of itself, but that its function is to clarify knowledge already glimpsed by the intellectual soul. In his essay, "On the Attributes of Reason," Delsarte traces the origin of this same argument to Aquinas, who he claims defined reason as "the discursive form of the intellect,"[438] and that reason was given to us "to make clear that which is not evident."[439] As mentioned, Delsarte provides an analogy as an example, arguing that reason is to the intellect as a telescope is to the eye. Thus, the intellect employs reason just as the eye employs the telescope, "to make clear that which is not evident."[440] And so, what must become self-evident, according to Jouffroy's theory, are the three *feelings* immediately given to us upon recognizing the problem of human destiny: the *poetic feeling*, the *philosophical feeling*, and the *religious feeling*. In terms of philosophical knowledge then, reason can only reflect upon that which it has first been given to reflect upon – philosophical *feeling*. The starting point of

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[437] "On a tellement persuadé à la raison humaine qu'elle était capable de tout et qu'elle pouvait tout entreprendre ; on lui a tellement répété qu'elle était la seule autorité légitime, et que cela seul était vrai qui venait d'elle ; on a si complètement battu en ruine ce principe de croyance qu'on appelle *révélation, foi, autorité*." Jouffroy, "Du problème," 486, emphasis Jouffroy.
[438] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 506.
[439] Delsarte, 508.
[440] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 508.

knowledge then, for both Jouffroy and Delsarte, seems to be a vague inner feeling, which immediately glimpses or *apperceives* an answer to the problem of human destiny at the very moment that the question is asked, meaning that the starting point of knowledge is an aesthetic feeling. Furthermore, according to Aristotle, the end point of knowledge is the discovery of *first principles,* that is knowledge which has become self evident only through a great amount of *effort*. Thus, knowledge of first principles is acquired by clarifying the poetic, philosophical, and religious feelings ignited by the consciousness of the problem of human destiny – all of which are unified in the soul and, therefore, for Delsarte, have the Holy Trinity as their cause. In short, the question of the problem of human destiny addressed to God is immediately answered by the sounding of the Holy Trinity in man as a vague inner feeling or mystical experience.

Although more examples of a connection to Delsarte's teachings are found not only in Jouffroy's *Mélanges philosophiques,* but also in his preface to Dugald Stewart's *Esquisses de philosophie morale* (1826),[441] which Jouffroy translated, and his *Cours de droit naturel* (1834),[442] as well as the posthumously published *Nouveaux mélanges philosophique* (1842),[443] and *Cours d'esthétique* (1843),[444] I believe the examples above provide enough evidence to support the claim that Jouffroy's philosophical writings were likely influential to the development of Delsarte's aesthetic theory. What this means is that, although Waille has argued that much of Delsarte's thought conforms to Aquinas' writings – with which I agree – the initial development of his aesthetic theory was likely based on Jouffroy's writings. And, although Jouffroy's philosophy appears to align with the metaphysical realist epistemological

[441] Théodore Jouffroy, preface to *Esquisses de philosophie morale,* by Dugald Stewart (Paris, A. Johanneau, 1826). Originally published as *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* (Edinburgh: William Creech and T. Cadell, 1793). For an English translation of the preface, see Jouffroy, "On the Method of Philosophical Study," in *Philosophical Essays,* trans. and ed. G. Ripley (Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1839), 1-81.
[442] Jouffroy, *Cours de droit naturel, professé à la faculté des lettres de Paris* (Paris: Prévost-Crocius, 1834). The 1834 course appears to have been published in installments. A complete two-volume edition was published in 1843. See Jouffroy, *Cours De Doit Naturel,* 2 vols., ed. Philibert Damiron (Paris, 1843).
[443] Jouffroy, *Nouveaux mélanges philosophiques* (Paris: Joubert, 1842).
[444] Jouffroy, *Cours d'esthétique* (Paris: Hachette, 1843).

system of the Middle Ages, Jouffroy's (as well as Biran's) philosophical systems were not constructed *theologically* from the top down, but *scientifically* from the bottom up, meaning that French spiritualist realism does not adhere to the "scientific methods" employed during the medieval period, but to those employed in the early nineteenth century.

2.4 Conclusion

An analysis of the writings of Biran and Jouffroy shows that Delsarte's aesthetic system conforms to the epistemological framework of nineteenth-century French spiritualist realism, whilst at the same time, according to the analysis undertaken in chapter one, the system also conforms to the metaphysical realist system of medieval Aristotelian-Scholasticism. First, an analysis of Biran's anthropological essays shows how Delsarte seems to have adopted his physiological system, rooted in a theory of compound *sensation*, which recognized three essential forces in man: animal life (unconscious *élan vital*), human life (a feeling, thinking, free-willed subject), and spiritual life (receptive to divine illumination) – Biran's concept of human life corresponding to St. Augustine's psychological theory of the tripartite human soul, consisting of the faculties of memory, understanding, and will. Accordingly, Biran located St. Augustine's concept of the will at the intersection of sensation and consciousness, that is in the *form of sensation* provided by the self (ego), thereby in turn defining the will as a *thinking substance,* meaning that the will cannot be without internal apprehension of itself or without thought. Also, because the will in Biran's thought is connected both physiologically to the material body, and psychologically to the immaterial soul, Biran was able to combine physiology and psychology into a single unified discipline: anthropology.

In part two, an analysis of Delsarte's 1833 essay, *Préliminaires de la méthode philosophique du chant,* showed that his early method was based on atheistic rationalism and

the materialist physiological theories of Lavater, as well as a mathematical method of analysis applied to language which he possibly learned from Choron. Shortly after this publication, however, Delsarte converted to Catholicism and subsequently began studying the teachings of the French Jesuit preacher Ravignan, which would have introduced him to the writings of Aquinas, providing the possible impetus for him to alter his methodology from atheistic rationalism to metaphysical realism.

In part three, an analysis of Jouffroy's essay, "Du spiritualisme et du matérialisme," in *Mélanges philosophiques* shows how Delsarte seems to have adopted Biran's anthropological system as early as 1833 when the treatise was published. It was subsequently shown that there are a number of similarities between Jouffroy's writings and Delsarte's teachings, such as their rejection of materialism and Cartesianism, their theory of eccentric and concentric bodily motion as affective physiological displays of emotion, as well as their theory of the disciplinary development of psychology (religion) and ideology (philosophy) out of the human poetic impulse (aesthetics) – a universal system of knowledge – making aesthetics (or ancient music) the fundamental science from which both religion and philosophy developed, not the other way around.

Significantly, in the posthumously published *Cours d'esthétique*, Jouffroy established the difference between *pleasant feelings* and *beautiful feelings* as the difference between the perception of passionate or *involuntary* human development from the perception of free or *voluntary* human development[445] – a theory made possible by Biran's distinction between involuntary exterior sense impressions which are derived from nature, and our own inner immediate experience of voluntary muscular movement. Thus, the principle which scientifically delineates physiology from aesthetics, according to Jouffroy, is the difference between the perception of *involuntary* and *voluntary* motion or human physiological

[445] Jouffroy, *Cours d'esthétique*, 389-94.

development. Thus, for Jouffroy, the science of aesthetics arises out of the study of physiology, meaning that aesthetics itself lies within the epistemological and methodological domain of the natural sciences. It must be noted, Nietzsche himself asserted that the study of aesthetics was "nothing but applied physiology," by which he may have been referring to the aesthetic theory taught under French spiritualist realism by Jouffroy, Delsarte, and their successors.[446] And so, Jouffroy's science of aesthetics, which arises out of the Biranian distinction between the perception of *involuntary* and *voluntary* motion rooted in human physiology owing to free will, appears to shed light on Nietzsche's curious claim.

Finally, the question remaining to be answered is: can Delsarte's system of applied aesthetics, which appears to be based on Jouffroy's aesthetic theory, be called scientific in the modern sense of the word? In 1879, the discipline of psychology was redefined as an experimental science when Wundt employed a dualistic method which combined the *external observation* of physiological processes with the *internal observation* of psychological states.[447] Because Wundt's method deals only with a dualistic connection between physiological processes of the body, and psychological processes "evinced by our own consciousness,"[448] it falls short of accounting for the *immediate apperception* of the inner sensation of muscular effort. For example, Wundt's method cannot account for the striking of the vocal folds in order to produce sound or inflections, which we immediately perceive as voluntary motion, along with the immediate apperception of secondary vibrations travelling throughout the body owing to the striking of the vocal cords, which we perceive as involuntary motion, as well as the immediate apperception of the sound produced by the vocal cords, which can be either voluntary or involuntary if the vocalic sound we expected to produce corresponds to the actual sound produced. Nor can it account for the immediate

[446] Nietzsche, "Nietzsche Contra Wagner," 266.
[447] Fancher and Rutherford, *Pioneers of Psychology*, 200. See also note 240.
[448] Wilhelm Wundt, *Principles of Physiological Psychology*, trans. Edward Bradford Titchener (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1904), 1.

apperception of the tongue striking the roof of the mouth or the back of the teeth in order to articulate various consonants, which we perceive as voluntary motion, along with the immediate apperception of the roof of the mouth and the teeth pushing back against the pressure of the tongue in the process of articulation, which we perceive as involuntary motion, as well as the immediate apperception of the sound of the consonant produced, which can be either voluntary or involuntary if the sound of the consonant we expected to produce corresponds to the actual sound produced, etc., etc. In other words, what Wundt's method lacks is the distinction of the Biranian third point of view from which we are able to immediately apperceive the difference between voluntary and involuntary motion owing to the inner sensation of muscular effort, an inner sensation which cannot be attributed to either the external observation of physiological processes of the body, or to the internal observation of psychological states of the mind, for the very reason that this third mode of observation is not strictly external or internal, but has access to both points of view at the same time. And so, it can be argued that this third point of view from which we perceive the difference between voluntary and involuntary motion is the methodological starting point for a science of aesthetics. In this manner, aesthetics can be defined as a science – according to nineteenth-century spiritualist realism[449] – because its methodology is in accordance with the disciplines of physiology and psychology, in that it is based on observation of human phenomena, and that its method is also distinct from these two disciplines, its mode of observation being

[449] The science of aesthetics, as understood by Delsarte, does not conform to the current understanding of a scientific discipline because science today remains largely materialist and Cartesian in that the non-material principle of organic life (vital force) is still being conflated with the material force it produces, thus, the principle of organic life is still attributed to dead matter, that is from a spiritualist realist perspective. However, Robin F. Hendry has recently argued that the first principle of modern chemistry, what he calls the principle of Actually Present Elements (APE), is a metaphysical principle currently under discussion in terms of its *a priori* or *a posteriori* nature. According to Hendry, chemist Antoine Lavoisier (1743-1794) used the principle under the assumption that it was true, but the facts of the principle were not empirically discovered until the twentieth century. Thus, the question of the validity of metaphysical first principles in modern science is still under discussion. Robin F. Hendry, "Elements and (First) Principles in Chemistry," *Synthese* 198, suppl. 14 (2019): S3391-S3411. For the revival of vitalism in modern anthropology, see Luiz FD Duarte, "The Vitality of Vitalism in Contemporary Anthropology: Longing for an Ever Green Tree of Life," *Anthropological Theory* 21, no. 2 (2021): 131-153.

neither fully external (physiology) nor fully internal (psychology), but balanced between the two. Based on Biran's tripartite anthropological system, as well as Jouffroy's theory of the poetic impulse from which he argued that the disciplines of philosophy and theology both emerged (see figure 2.4), aesthetics can be defined as a science according to the tenets of spiritualist realism, based on similar methodological considerations under which the discipline of psychology was defined as a science in 1879. Aesthetics as a science was apparently realized by Delsarte through the application of Jouffroy's aesthetic theory and the subsequent development of his own methodology of observation and experimentation leading directly to revelation and the discovery of first principles, a method by which he taught his students to develop and *improve* their own faculties of perception, as well as the three interconnected languages of vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture. Not only did Delsarte teach that the three disciplines of physiology, psychology, and aesthetics were united along a different methodological pathway form the medieval order of knowledge, but he

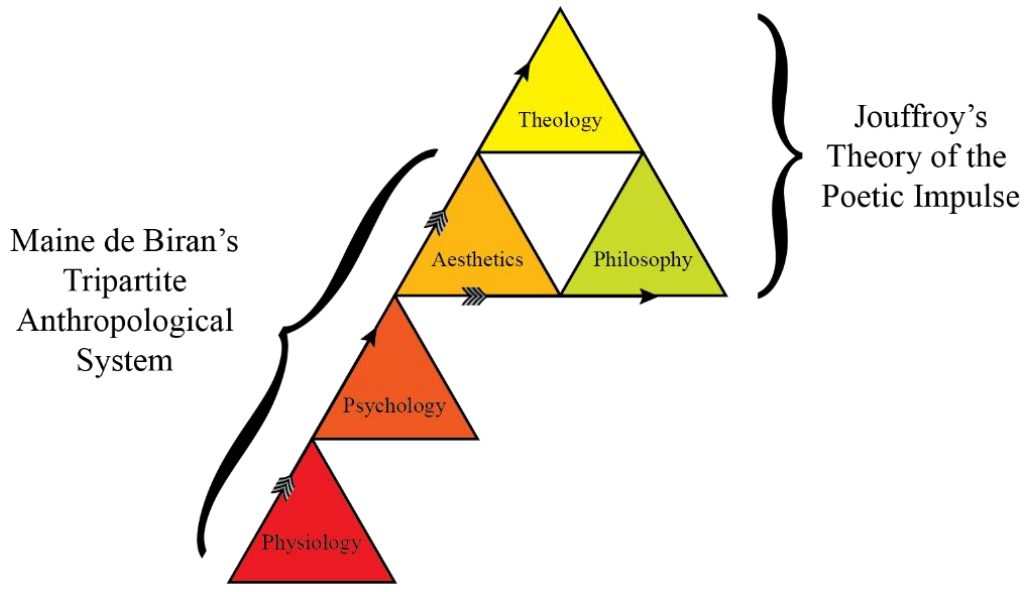
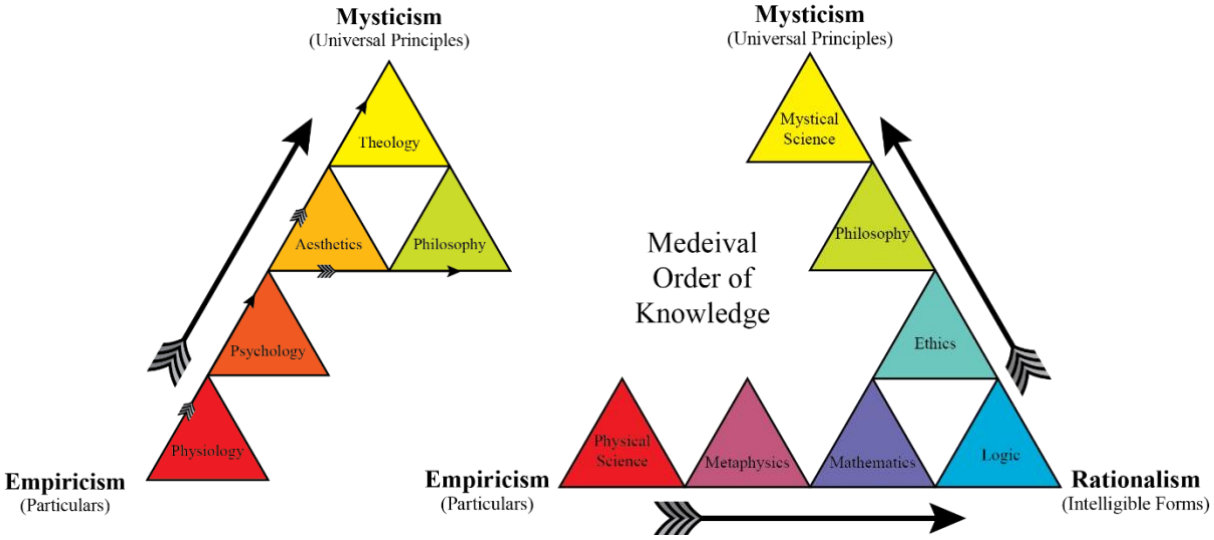


Figure 2.4. Biran's Anthropological System and Jouffroy's Theory of the Poetic Impulse. This figure shows Biran's anthropological system, which studies organic life (physiology), the conscious mind (psychology), and the active soul (aesthetics), in relation to Jouffroy's theory of the poetic impulse. Note that, in Biran's system, aesthetics arises out of the natural sciences, whilst, in Jouffroy's theory, aesthetics is the foundation from which both philosophy and theology emerge. Compare to figure 1.22.

incorporated this methodology into the medieval order of inquiry, thereby essentially reunifying body and mind (see figures 2.5 and 2.6).



Figures 2.5 and 2.6. French Spiritualist Realism Reconciled with the Medieval Order of Knowledge. Figure 2.5 (left) shows the methodological trajectory of nineteenth-century French spiritualist realism, which begins in sense perception and moves directly to the discover of first principles by way of contemplation and revelation. Figure 2.6 (right) shows the methodological trajectory of the medieval order of knowledge, which begins in sense perception and moves to the abstraction of intelligible forms before ending in the discovery of first principles. It is these two systems of thought that Delsarte appears to have united into one universal system of knowledge, based on Jouffroy's theory of the poetic impulse.

In order to explain his method of perception, which consisted of three distinct points of view – eccentric (empiricism), concentric (rationalism), and balanced (mysticism) – Delsarte used the language of medieval theology rather than the language of nineteenth-century spiritualist realism. In a manuscript entitled, "What I Propose," Delsarte argues that:

> "three worlds, of the nature of which man partakes, are offered for our contemplation. These three worlds are: the *natural*, the *intellectual*, and the *supernatural*. Three sorts of vision have been given man to initiate him into these three worlds. These different forms of vision are: *direct, inward*, and *higher*."[450]

[450] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 449-50. In the thirteenth century, it was common for scholars to refer to God's work as the emanation of light. For an example, see Bonaventure, *On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology*, trans. Zachary Hayes (St. Bonaventure N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, 1996), 1-7.

Delsarte goes on to argue that, by direct vision (eccentric), man encounters the world of nature, by inward vision (concentric), he encounters the world of the intellect, and by a higher vision (balanced), he encounters the world of grace.[451] And, since there is no vision where light does not penetrate, Delsarte insists that "between the three kinds of vision described and the corresponding worlds there must intervene three sorts of light, in order to produce the triple vision necessary for the knowledge of man," the three kinds of light existing in the world being: sidereal light, the light of tradition, and revealed light.[452] These three kinds of light correspond to three scientific disciplines of human nature based on observation and experience: physiology by way of outer experience, psychology by way of inner experience, and aesthetics by way of immediate experience or apperception (see figure 2.7).

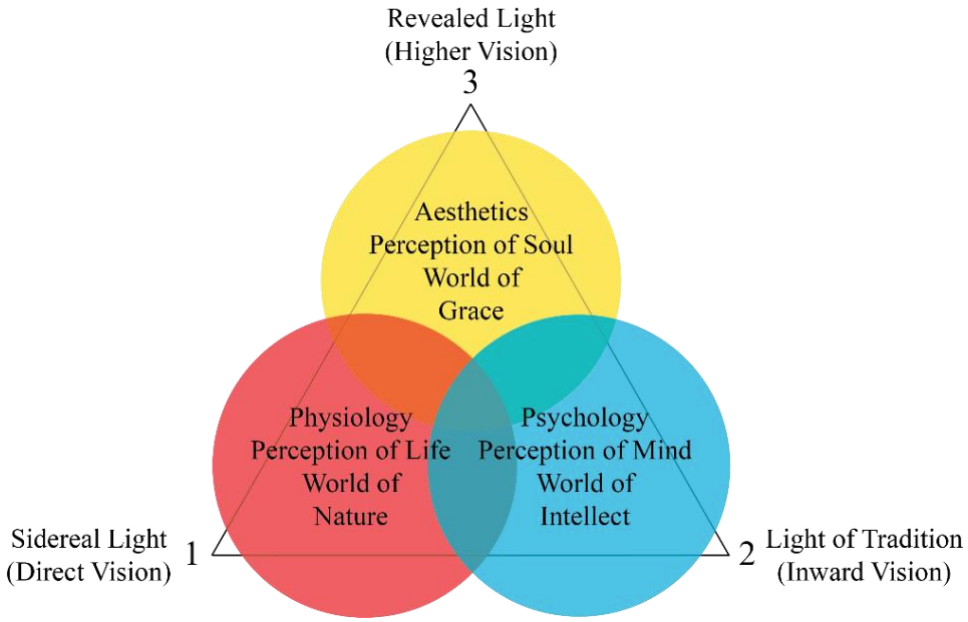


Figure 2.7. The Three Perceptual Sciences in Delsarte's Aesthetic System. This figure shows the three perceptual sciences of human nature which are based on observation and experimentation, rather than abstract thought, and which correspond to Biran's tripartite anthropological system (see figure 2.4).

[451] For a higher form of cognition proceeding from both sense and reason in Delsarte's system, see figure 4.8.
[452] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 450.

Chapter 3. The Holy Trinity in Sound: Rediscovering Delsarte's Musical System

> "The Delsarte system contains the fundamental principles of all art;
> it is universal in its application. It is not an invention, it is not something new. […]
> If the system should be lost today it could be rediscovered." Edmund Russell[453]

Although the *Delsarte System of Expression* has become the conventional name by which practitioners and scholars label Delsarte's teachings, Delsarte himself would have objected to such a title, believing as he did that the discoveries upon which he worked were not his own, and that no scientific researcher is the author of his own discoveries. According to Delsarte, the only merit any researcher can lay claim to is his own *attention* and *patience*: "The attention of which his mind is capable and the constancy which his will brings to bear in the pursuit of his research, this is what constitutes his relative distinction and, ultimately, all the merit of which he can rightly be honoured."[454] For Delsarte, it was an impertinence to attribute the discovery of any law to oneself because "God alone discloses His treasures, and, as I have experienced, He only reveals them to the eye of reason raised by humility to contemplation."[455] Apparently, Delsarte was a great observer of nature in that he did not invent his own rules or principles but claimed to have discovered them. According to Russell, Delsarte's son Gustave insisted that: "You Americans are always talking about teaching the Delsarte System. My father taught *Art* – he *used* the Delsarte System."[456] And so, if Delsarte's system is based on universal principles that are discoverable in nature, then that same system can be used to rediscover those aspects of his teachings now considered lost.

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[453] Edmund Russell, "Delsartism in England," in *A Delsartean Scrap-Book: Health, Personality, Beauty, House-Decoration, Dress, Etc.*, ed. Frederic Sanburn (New York: John W. Lowell Company, 1890), 44.
[454] "L'attention dont son esprit est capable et la constance qu'apporte sa volonté dans la poursuite de sa recherche, voilà ce qui constitue sa distinction relative et, en définitive, voilà tout le mérite dont il peut à juste titre s'honorer." Delsarte, "Mes épisodes révélateurs," 74.
[455] "Dieu seul découvre ses trésors et, ainsi que j'en ai fait l'expérience, il ne les découvre qu'à l'oeil d'une raison élevée à la contemplation par l'humilité." Delsarte, 74.
[456] Russell, "Delsartism in England," 45, emphasis Russell.

This chapter sets out to rediscover Delsarte's musical system in a *philosophical sense*, by analysing his extant writings on music, and by applying his principle of the Trinity and criterion of the Ninth Chord to those writings. Part one analyses Delsarte's writings in relation to ancient treatises on aesthetics and music in order to show that what constituted the study of aesthetics for him is what constituted the study of music for the ancient Greeks, which, being conceived as a *science of perception*, was considered a type of knowledge in antiquity. Part two analyses the three constituent powers of being – measure, number, and weight – from the Judaeo-Christian tradition as a means of transforming Delsarte's system from theory to practice, explaining why a re-ordering of the divine persons of the Trinity is necessary. Part three examines this re-ordering of in terms of Delsarte's systematic organization of the seven sacraments and seven societal orders, whilst part four examines how his diatonic system, when analysed accordingly, does not conform to this systematic organization. Thus, part five partially reconstructs Delsarte's enharmonic vocal system in order to locate this same systemization. The section shows how Delsarte, in attempting to unify the Western and Turkish musical systems, achieved greater expressivity when singing against keyboard instruments in equal temperament. Finally, part six reconstructs Delsarte's chromatic musical system, whereby the same systematic organization as the seven sacraments and seven societal orders is finally located. By using Delsarte's criterion of the Ninth Chord, I show not only how his chromatic system is based on the overtone series, and therefore founded on natural laws, but that it also forms a system of interlocking triads, which has primarily been identified with the music of Wagner and Liszt. In rediscovering Delsarte's musical system, which combines the three melodic genera – enharmonic, diatonic, and chromatic – into a single unified system, the purpose of this chapter is to show how Delsarte's aesthetic system is first and foremost a musical system, one based on the principles of ancient music – but not identical to it.

3.1 Ancient Aesthetic Principles: Harmony, Logos, and Rhythm

Delsarte's aesthetic system was not invented by him and so it was not altogether new in the nineteenth century. In fact, some of the principles on which the system is based were first laid down by Aristotle in the *Poetics*, who argued that:

> Just as colour and form are used as means by some, […] and the voice is used by others; so also in the above-mentioned group of arts [epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyrambic poetry, flute-playing, and lyre-playing], the means with them as a whole are rhythm, language, and harmony – used, however, either singly or in certain combinations.[457]

According to Aristotle, what unified the performing arts were the principles of harmony (ἁρμονία), meaning intonation or pitch of the voice, language or logos (λόγος), meaning verbal expression, and rhythm (ῥυθμός), meaning any measured, regular, or recurring sound or motion, these principles forming a united whole.[458] Similarly, Delsarte founded his aesthetic system on the three expressive languages corresponding to Aristotle's principles:

> [Art] moves by means of sound, by the voice; the most powerful agent of emotion is the vocal agent. It interests, it captivates the mind with articulate language. However, it convinces, it persuades by gesture; this is the persuasive means *par excellence*. So, there are the three agents of action: vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture.[459]

Whether Delsarte knew that his three organic agents corresponded with Aristotle's principles in the *Poetics* is not known, as there is no mention of the philosopher in his writings, but this is a moot point. The significance of the comparison between the two systems lies in the fact that Delsarte's organic agents, and the Aristotelian principles derived from them, are discoverable by observation, as the only means human beings have of expressing ourselves is through: 1) the phonation of vowels to express various pitches, 2) the articulation of

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[457] Aristotle, *Poetics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, trans. I Bywater, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 1447a19-24.
[458] Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. Rudolf Kassel (Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1965), 1447a, Perseus Digital Library. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0086.tlg034.perseus-grc1.
[459] "Il émeut au moyen des sons, par la voix ; l'agent de l'émotion le plus puissant, c'est l'agent vocal. Il intéresse, il captive l'esprit par le langage articulé, mais il convainc, il persuade par son geste ; voilà le moyen persuasif par excellence. Il y a donc les trois agents d'action, le vocal, la parole articulée, et le geste." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 23. Appendix B.

consonants to express various words, and 3) the motion of the body to express various gestures. All other forms of human communication are extensions of these three agents of expression, meaning that all other art forms are extensions of these agents in Delsarte's system. And so, it is owing to observation that Delsarte argues that his system in not theoretical, but based on facts:

> So here are three very distinct states in man. They are determined, characterized, in such a way that they cannot be denied. This is not pure theory; these are facts which cannot be denied. […] There is a vocal instrument to express his sensitive human personality; in the service of the feelings there is a reciprocal instrument [gesture]; and in the service of the understanding there is a very special instrument, the buccal instrument, the mouth.[460]

Whether the three agents or instruments of expression correspond to three determinable states in the human soul is of course debatable, but what cannot be denied, Delsarte argues, is the existence of the three agents themselves. Whatever conclusions Delsarte may therefore have drawn about the existence of the tripartite human soul, his methodology begins in observation with the physiological facts of human expression. And so, if Delsarte unwittingly based his system on Aristotle's *Poetics*, the system itself cannot be said to be new; what can be said is that Delsarte's observations on the nature of human expression in the nineteenth century, like so many music theorists before him, correspond to Aristotle's observations in antiquity.

In terms of Aristotle's principles, it might appear that these constitute the modern art form of music, but this is not the case, as music (μουσῐκή) was more often used in antiquity to refer to the various art forms of the Muses.[461] Aristotle uses the term poetics (ποιητικός) to mean the height of knowledge in the productive arts or applied sciences, in opposition to theoretical knowledge or episteme (ἐπιστήμη), whilst using the term music in relation to

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[460] "Voilà donc trois états bien distincts dans l'homme. Ils sont déterminés, caractérises, de façon à ne pas pouvoir être nier. Ce n'est pas de la pure théorie, ce sont des faits qui ne peut être nies. Il y a donc dans l'homme trois organisme distincts mis au service d'un triple entité. Il y a pour sévir à sa personnalité sensitive humaine ; un organisme vocal au service des sentiments il y a un organisme réciproque, et au service de l'entendement un organisme tout spécial, l'organisme buccal, la bouche." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 14-15. Appendix B.

[461] See Barker, ed., *Greek Musical Writings: I*: *The Musician and His Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 87, 95, 102, 138, 141, and 154.

either education or an aesthetic healing experience of purgation or catharsis (κάθαρσις).[462] In *De musica*, Aristides Quintilianus defines music as:

> '*knowledge* of what is appropriate in sounds and in the movements of the body.' It is thus a science, in which there is secure and infallible knowledge. […] At the same time we can reasonably call it a skill, since it is an organization [*systēma*] of perceptions, and of perceptions trained to accuracy.[463]

Thus, according to Aristotle and Quintilianus, music was defined as a type of scientific and practical knowledge which not only systematized human perception, but which also trained it to greater accuracy. And so, it seems that what Delsarte called *aesthetics* in the nineteenth century, the ancient Greeks simply called *music* (see figure 3.1), equating the Christian

Chart of Aesthetics (*Ancient Music*)	Species		
II. **Articulate Speech** Manifestation of the Intellective State (***Logos***: *language, number, metrics*)	**Object/Attribute** Idea of Substances Pronoun: "Me" Eccentric Buccal Action: Vowel: "i" Consonant: "s"	**Verb** Copulative Ideas Pronoun: "Myself" Balanced Buccal Action: Vowel: "a" Consonant: "n"	**Subject** Adjectival Ideas Pronoun: "I" Concentric Buccal Action: Vowel: "o" Consonant: "c"
III. **Gesture** Manifestation of the Animate State (***Rhythmos***: *regular, recurring sound or motion*)	**Statics** Equiponderate Forces in Motion Types: Passional, Formal/Constitutional, Habitual	**Dynamics** Form of the Movement Expressions: Inflective, Demonstartive, Passionate	**Semeiotics** Meaning of the Movement Exposition of the Types, Expressions, and Attitudes
I. **Vocal Inflection** Manifestation of the Sensitive State (***Harmonia***: *pitch, intonation, inflection of sound*)	**Melody** Sharpness or Pitch Intensities, Shades, Respirations. Projective Agent, Lungs.	**Harmony** Timbre Prolations, Pathetic Effects, Registration. Vibratile Agent, Larynx.	**Rhythm** Colour Resonance, Articulation, Vowels. Reverberative Agent, Mouth.

Figure 3.1. Chart of Aesthetics (Ancient Music). The chart shows Delsarte's science of aesthetics according to the division of the three organic agents of human expression, and in relation to the Aristotelian principles of *harmonia*, *logos*, and *rhythmos*. The nine species in bold correspond to Delsarte's own terminology and descriptions of each; however, their placement in the chart is my own and, therefore, should be taken as tentative. Although there is a lot of information in the chart, it is simply meant to highlight here the difference between the study of ancient music (and the science of aesthetics) and the study of instrumental music, according to Delsarte's system (see figure 3.2).

[462] F. E. Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms* (New York: New York University Press, 1967), 60, 162, and 98.
[463] Quintilianus, *De musica*, in *Greek Musical Writings: II: Harmonic and Acoustic Theory*, ed. Andrew Barker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), I.4, emphasis mine.

angelic hierarchy with the nine Muses of antiquity as being the same immaterial intelligences.[464]

For Delsarte, music in the modern sense of the word is a subset of aesthetics, the three powers of which instrumental music is composed, *melody*, *rhythm*, and *harmony*, being individually threefold, as so constituting for him a Ninth Chord (see figure 3.2).[465] What is significant about the three musical powers Delsarte lists is that, in Aristotelian terms, *language* is altogether absent from a modern understanding of the art form, melody taking the place of harmony, rhythm taking the place of language, and harmony taking the place of

Chart of Instrumental Music	Species		
II. **Rhythm** Corresponding to the agent of Articulate Speech (Ancient *Logos*)	**Measure containing Mode and Movement** (Measure of the Sound) Mathematics	**Successive Mode of the Sound** (Modality of the Sound) Ethics	**Movement** Sequence (Order of the Sound) Logic
III. **Harmony** Corresponding to the agent of Gesture (Ancient *Rhythmos*)	**Unisonance** Purity (Purity of the Sound) Aesthetics	**Consonance** Perfection (Perfection of the Sound) Mystical Science	**Dissonance** Requiring Resolution (Intuition of the Sound) Philosophy
I. **Melody** Corresponding to the agent of Vocal Inflection (Ancient *Harmonia*)	**Intensity** Power (Strength of the Sound) Physical Science	**Timbre** Quality (Character of the Sound) Psychology	**Tonality** Structure (Harmonics of the Sound) Metaphysics

Figure 3.2. Chart of Instrumental Music. The chart is a reconstruction of how Delsarte may have depicted the study of instrumental music according to his criterion. The terms of the three genera and nine species which appear in bold type are Delsarte's own, as listed by him in his 1867 lecture. However, Delsarte did not organize these terms into a Ninth Chord himself, and so their placement here is tentative, the descriptions in brackets also being my own. To clarify the use of the term "Dissonance" as a species of harmony, Delsarte argues that "in harmony, there should be no discordance, but dissonance: these two terms should not be confused. […] Discordance is intolerable, it has nothing to do with consonance, whilst dissonance results from the divergence of one of the harmonic persons. [Dans l'harmonie, il ne faut pas de discordance, mais dissonance : ces deux termes ne doivent pas être confondus. [...] La discordance n'est pas tolérable, elle n'a aucun rapport avec la consonance, tandis que la dissonance résulte de la divergence de l'une des personnes harmoniques.]" Delsarte, "École de chant," DP, box 11b, page 23.

[464] See Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 117. Appendix B. On the angelic hierarchy, see section 1.5.
[465] Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 69. Appendix B.

rhythm, according to Delsarte's systematic ordering of these terms.[466] Thus, Delsarte's definition of music excludes the concept of *logos*, meaning that the phenomenon of instrumental music in his aesthetic system essentially bypasses the faculty of reason. And so, although Delsarte's understanding of what constituted the discipline of *aesthetics* in the nineteenth century aligns with the concept of ancient music as a distinct type of scientific knowledge rooted in perception, his understanding of what constituted the discipline of *music* in the nineteenth century aligns with the modern notion of the term which views the art form as primarily instrumental, even though Delsarte argued that instrumental music is itself an extension of the human voice. This is important to note because, although Delsarte's system is based on ancient principles and, therefore, not an invention and not something *entirely* new, his definition of music is relatively recent, thereby accounting for changes to the perception of the art form over time, meaning that his system does not simply look to the past, but that it looks to the future as well.

In terms of the reunification of the arts and sciences, however, Delsarte's definition of aesthetics is based on the three principles of Aristotle's *Poetics* and Quintilianus' *De musica*.[467] In 1867, Delsarte insisted that the organic ordering of the physiological development of the three languages of human expression – vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture – are unchanging and that they are therefore universal. Delsarte believed,

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[466] According to Andrew Barker, Quintilianus uses the term *harmonia* in different ways, in one instance, meaning melody, and in another, that which "makes the body more melodious with its rhythms." Thus, *harmonia* can refer to both the melodic and rhythmic aspects of music. Barker, *Greek Writings II*, 400, n3, and 459.

[467] There is evidence which suggests Delsarte may have studied Quintilianus' *De musica*. In Book I.12, three ancient compositional characteristics are listed: *diastatikos*, *systaltikos*, and *hēsychastikos*, which translate as *expanding*, *contracting*, and *peaceful*, and which correspond to Delsarte's three kinds of motion: eccentric, concentric, and normal. Also, the term *séméiotique*, which Delsarte uses extensively in his writings, is an ancient musical (and medical) term. In 1810, Choron published an essay, "Sommaire de l'histoire de la musique," in which he not only used the term *séméiotechnie* to mean a system of signs, but also cited Quintilianus' *De musica* as being the most complete treatise on ancient music. As Choron was Delsarte's teacher, it is possible Delsarte drew upon the treatise in order to develop his aesthetic system. See Quintilianus, *De musica*, I.12; and Alexandre Choron, "Sommaire de l'histoire de la musique," in *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens* (Paris: Valade, 1810), xi, and xiii.

epistemologically speaking, that music was prior to both poetry and the plastic arts because, in physiological terms, the organic development of the language of vocal inflection in human infants is always prior to the development of the languages of gesticulation and articulation:

> The child in the cradle does not speak, does not gesticulate, but rather, he makes sounds which, as his sensitivity develops, are extended. These sounds are at first only badly articulated sounds, which later become inflections. As this child feels more acutely, these inflections grow richer and multiply. Before the child gesticulates, before he articulates words, he can produce about three million special and distinct vocal inflections.[468]

Because the physiological development of intelligible inflections is always prior to intelligible gestures and words in infants, Delsarte believed that music was the generative art form from which all other art forms derive. Thus, his hypothesis for the epistemological primacy of music is based not on a philosophical argument rooted in historicism, whereby the art form would have developed at a single point in time and space, but on what can only be called a *mythological* argument, whereby the primacy of music is universally true because the development of vocal inflection over gesture and speech is true at all times and in all places according to human development – that is ever since human beings developed the expressive agents of free will.[469] In the *Poetics,* Aristotle uses the term *mythos* (μῦθος) in relation to the unfolding of a tragic plot to mean the "imitation of an action," "the combination of the incidents," and that which represents action itself.[470] Thus, the term *mythos,* meaning a non-rational account, is to the *perception* of the unfolding of action as the term *logos,* meaning a rational account, is to the *conception* and rational understanding of action – *mythos* and *logos* composing two orders of knowledge in antiquity, just as *faith* and *reason* compose two orders

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[468] "L'enfant au berceau ne parle pas, ne gesticule pas, mais il s'agit, il fait entendre des sons qui, à mesure que sa sensibilité se développe s'enrichissent. Ces sons ne sont d'abord que des sons mal articules, deviennent des inflexions, et ces inflexions, à mesure que cet enfant sent d'une façon plus exquise, s'enrichissent et se multiplient. Avant que l'enfant ne gesticule, avant qu'il n'articule des mots, il arrive à produire environ trois millions d'inflexions spéciales et distinctes." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 12. Appendix B.

[469] According to Edwin Cook, the view that ancient myth corresponded to a universal human nature was introduced into early German Romanticism by Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812). See Edwin Cook, "The Philosophy of Myth," in *Brill's Companion to German Romantic Philosophy,* eds. Elizabeth M. Brusslan and Judith Norman (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 120.

[470] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449b25, 1450a4-5, and 1450a3.

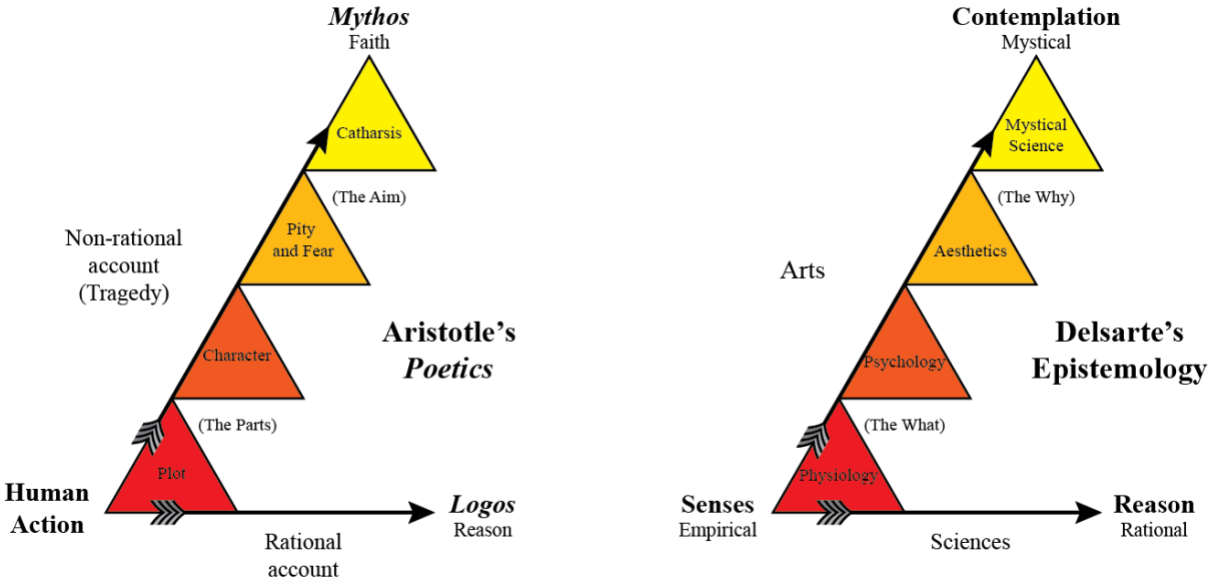
of knowledge in Christianity.[471] Thus, although not equivalent, the terms *mythos* and *faith* appear to be closely related in their oppositional connection to the terms *logos* and *reason*.

If we consider Delsarte's epistemology of faith, or aesthetic mysticism, which begins in physiology and proceeds to psychology,[472] then, the two terms being connected, *mythos* should follow a similar epistemological trajectory from the physiological development of human agency to the psychological development of human characteristics.[473] And in fact, this is what we find in the *Poetics*, Aristotle arguing that the second most important part of tragedy after the imitation of *action* is the development of *character*.[474] Furthermore, Aristotle argues that tragedy aims at an aesthetic response, that is the arousal of pity and fear, the result being *catharsis*, which is both a medical and religious term meaning purification or purgation.[475] And so, the aim of *mythos* as a kind of ritual purification appears to align with Delsarte's epistemology, whereby the "the what" of Physiology and Psychology as substantive medical sciences leads to "the why" of Aesthetics and Theology as sacred sciences (see figure 3.3 and 3.4). Moreover, Delsarte argues that the purpose of Thrones in the Christian angelic hierarchy, which corresponds to the discipline of Aesthetics in his system, is to ignite the feelings and to purify (see figure 1.23), and so, according to Delsarte, there appears to be a link between the experience of art as a means of ritual purification in both the ancient Greek and Christian medieval traditions. Thus, Delsarte's argument for the unification of the arts, as well as for the primacy of music, is based on an epistemology of faith, or *mythos*, an ahistorical and universal perspective deriving from the senses and the

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[471] Peters, *Greek Terms*, 120-21.
[472] See section 1.4.
[473] Aristotle insisted there was an underlying truth to myth: "whence even the lover of myth is in a sense a lover of wisdom, for myth is composed of wonders." Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 982b10-20.
[474] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1450a9-10, and 23-27.
[475] F. E. Peters notes that, for the Pythagoreans, *katharsis* meant the purification of the soul by rendering it harmonious through *mousike*, whilst in Aristotle, the term was applied to both music and the medical arts, the latter being incorporated into his theory of tragedy as "being defined in terms of effecting a homeopathic *katharsis*/purgation of the *pathe* of pity and fear." Peters, *Greek Terms*, 98. See also, Aristotle, *Politics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, trans. B. Jowett, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 1342a.

careful observation of the genetic ordering of the physiological development of the agents of free will.



Figures 3.3 and 3.4. Structure of Aristotle's *Poetics* and Delsarte's Epistemology of Aesthetic Mysticism. The two charts show the relationship between Aristotle's use of *mythos* in the *Poetics*, meaning the imitation or representation of action in the tragic genre (figure 3.3 on the left), and Delsarte's epistemology of faith, which begins in the senses and proceeds directly to contemplation (figure 3.4 on the right). The comparison is meant to show not only how the *mythos-logos* dichotomy of antiquity corresponds to the *faith-reason* dichotomy of Christianity in terms of a non-rational account versus a rational account, but also how a non-rational epistemology in the arts is made possible through an aesthetic experience. Compare to figure 1.22.

The above analysis of Aristotle's *Poetics* is meant to show that Delsarte's system was not new or invented by him, as traces of it can be found in the earliest writings of Western philosophy. In fact, these aesthetic principles appear in many other ancient texts, including Plato's *Timaeus*[476] and *Symposium*,[477] Quintilianus' *De musica*,[478] Cicero's *De natura deorum*,[479] and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*,[480] to name a few. It should be recalled that Delsarte himself never claimed his system was new, or that it was his own, only that any

[476] Plato, *Timaeus*, in *Complete Works*, ed. John M. Cooper, trans. Donald J. Zeyl, (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997) 47c-e.
[477] Plato, *Symposium*, in *Complete Works*, ed. John M. Cooper, trans. Alexander Nehamas and Paul Woodruff (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997), 187a-d.
[478] Quintilianus, *De musica*, I.5.
[479] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De natura deorum*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), III.XI.
[480] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1:10.

"new" discoveries he did make were based on *principles* discoverable in nature, which were revealed to him by God's grace.

3.2 Constituent Powers of Being: Measure, Number, and Weight

In the Christian tradition, the three aesthetic principles of Aristotle's *Poetics* make an appearance in the Book of Wisdom as the three most general principles of being on which the creation of the world is ordered: "thou hast ordered all things in measure, number, and weight."[481] As we will see, the constituent power of *measure* corresponds to the ancient principle of *harmonia* in Delsarte's system according to the entity of Life as the expressive agent of vocal inflection, the power of *number* corresponds to the ancient principle of *logos* according to the entity of Mind as the agent of articulate speech, and the power of *weight* corresponds to the ancient principle of *rhythmos* according to the entity of the Soul as the agent of gesture. According to Carol Harrison, the powers of measure, number, and weight appear in St. Augustine's aesthetic thought as that which Christian revelation brings to *realisation* as "the beauty of the Trinitarian God, by which fallen man might be reformed."[482] Thus, the aesthetic principles of antiquity are associated with the Holy Christian Trinity in St. Augustine's writings as a means of personal salvation through the moral improvement of the individual.

In Delsarte's system, the three entities of being – Life, Mind, and Soul – correspond to the three constituent powers of being in the Book of Wisdom:

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[481] Wis. 11:20 KJV.

[482] Carol Harrison, "Measure, Number and Weight in Saint Augustine's Aesthetics," *Augustinianum* 28, no. 3 (1988): 602. According to Gaukroger, Augustine's philosophy appropriated the teachings of the ancient philosophers to the point that it denied "they were ever the property of the ancients in the first place." Gaukroger, *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture*, 50.

> It is said in the Holy Scriptures that God made all things by weight, number, and measure. […] Weight engenders movement, by that very fact that it communicates life. Weight, therefore, corresponds to the heart [soul], as it is the heart that leads us, that moves us; it is the heart that acts most powerfully within us. [The heart] corresponds to the expression of weight, life to the expression of measure, and the mind to the expression of number.[483]

According to Delsarte, because weight engenders movement, and movement signifies life, the Soul, which is the cause of movement, corresponds to the constituent power of weight.[484] And, because measure engenders memory, and memory signifies intelligence, Delsarte argues that Life (sensation), which is the cause of memory, corresponds to the constituent power of measure – memory being the *measure* of the mind.[485] Therefore, because movement *signifies* life, and memory *signifies* intelligence, and because Aquinas states that being "is what signifies the essence of a thing,"[486] the three constituent powers of measure, number, and weight in Delsarte's system signify the existence of the three entities of being: Life, Mind, and Soul.[487]

However, in claiming that the source of all movement begins in the Soul according to the power of weight,[488] Delsarte's ordering deviates from the theology of the processional relations, whereby Life, corresponding to the Father, should be the origin of all movement rather than the Soul. The reason for this divergence is that, with the introduction of the

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[483] "Il est dit dans les saintes lettres que Dieu a fait toutes choses avec poids, nombre et mesure. Le poids engendre le mouvement, le poids, par cela même, communique la vie. Le poids répondra donc au cœur, c'est le cœur qui entraîne, qui fait mouvoir, c'est le cœur qui agit le plus puissamment en nous. Il répond à d'expression poids, la vie à l'expression mesure, et l'esprit à l'expression nombre." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 88-89. Appendix B. The expression of number corresponds to the mind, and so to articulate speech, because Delsarte argues that speech is only an expression of number: "the mind only enumerates; without memory [life], it could not bring two ideas together [la parole c'est que expression du nombre. L'esprit ne fait que énumérer ; sans le mémoire, il ne pourrait bien ensemble deux idées, et encore, n'y parvient-il que sous l'empire l'un sentiment, c'est-à-dire par le cœur]." Delsarte, "Esthétique appliquée, Cours de F. Delsarte," 1859, DP, box 12c, folder 40, page 68.
[484] In Delsarte's system, the material human heart is to the human brain as the immaterial Soul is to the Mind.
[485] Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 89. Paul C. Boomsliter points out that the mind requires measure (order) to acquire data that is useable by perception and memory. Paul C. Boomsliter, Warren Creel, and George S. Hastings, JR., "Perception and English Poetic Meter," *PMLA* 88, no. 2 (1973): 200.
[486] Thomas Aquinas, "On Being and Essence," in *Opuscula I: Treatises*, trans. Robert T. Miller (Green Bay, Wisconsin: Aquinas Institute, 2018), 259.
[487] Aquinas observes that "what has a soul is not always actual with respect to its vital operations; whence also it is said in the definition of the soul, that it is *the act of a body having life potentially*; which potentially, does not exclude the soul. Therefore it follows that the essence of the soul is not its power." Aquinas, *ST*, Ia Q.77 A.1.
[488] Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 89.

constituent powers of being, Delsarte's system no longer inhabits the potential realm of understanding or thought, but the actual realm of artistic production and practice instead. In other words, with the introduction of the powers of measure, number, and weight, we have arrived at the practical application of Delsarte's aesthetic system, as these three powers indicate *the relative value* of the phenomena by means of which Life, Mind, and Soul are revealed.[489] And, because we experience the constituent powers of measure, number, and weight within the physical realm of time and space in accordance with the three agents of expression, Delsarte argues that the ordering of the processional relations of the Trinity alters according to our experience of these powers in the material realm, the Holy Ghost becoming the first term in place of the Father, the Father the middle term in place of the Son, and the Son the final term in place of the Holy Ghost:

> As soon as we move on to tangible works, [the Holy Ghost] becomes the first person. All possible work, all tangible work, proceeds from love. The incarnation of the Trinity was wrought by love; the power by which this incarnation took place is the womb of the Virgin Mary. The power which, attributively, belongs to the Father is here the middle term, and the appearance of the Word in this world is the final term of the love of the Holy Spirit and the power of the Father.[490]

What Delsarte means is that, if knowledge itself begins in the senses, according to the peripatetic axiom, then the practical application of that knowledge, in terms of the production of tangible works in the material realm, begins in the soul – the origin of all movement – and proceed from love. In other words, if the faculty of memory, which corresponds to the senses, conceives of a work of art in the faculty of understanding, then once conceived, the artist loves this conception, and so it is the artist's love, which corresponds to the faculty of the will, that executes this work.[491] Delsarte argues that "every work is an incarnation," and

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[489] Delsarte, 10-11.
[490] "dès lors que nous passons aux œuvres tangibles, il devient première personne. Toute œuvre possible, toute œuvre tangible procède de l'amour. L'incarnation de la Trinité a été opérée par l'amour ; la puissance par laquelle cette incarnation s'est opérée est le sein de la Vierge Marie. La puissance qui, attributivement, appartient au Père est ici terme moyen, et l'apparition du Verbe en ce monde est le terme final de l'amour du Saint Esprit et de la puissance du Père." Delsarte, "3e dictée," in Waille, "Annexes," 164.
[491] Delsarte, 164.

"incarnation requires matter."[492] And so, in terms of the application of Delsarte's system according to the constituent powers, the practical work of the artist begins in love with the Holy Ghost, then passes through the Father, who orders all things, and ends with the Incarnation of the Word as the final term – this entire process, from weight to measure to number, being the living Word (see figure 3.5).[493]

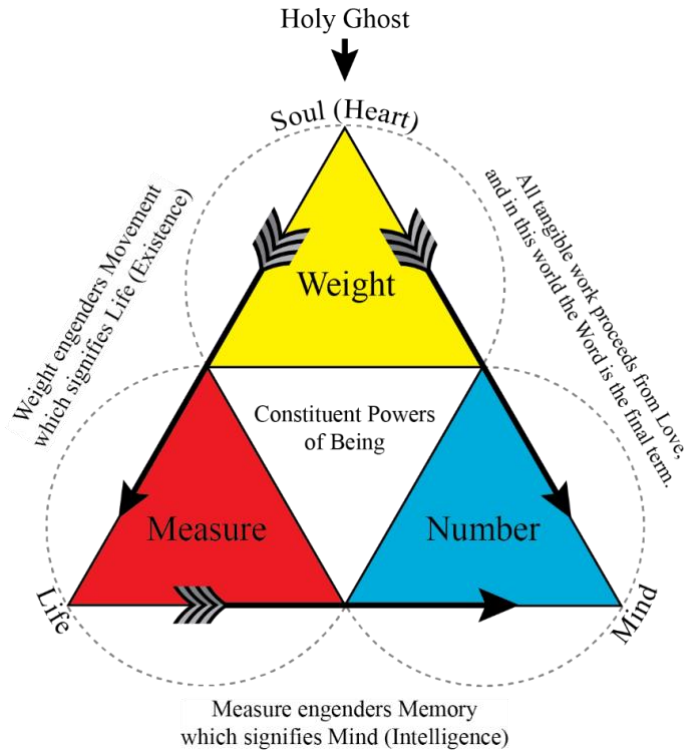


Figure 3.5. The Constituent Powers of Measure, Number, and Weight. Delsarte argues that all tangible work in the material realm proceeds from love, from the will, and not the senses or the memory, meaning that the Holy Ghost becomes the first term in the practical application of his system, rather than the Father. In the chart, the Holy Ghost produces love in our hearts, which corresponds to the constituent power of weight and the agent of gesture. Weight engenders movement, which signifies life, corresponding to the constituent power of measure and the agent of vocal inflection. Measure, in turn, engenders memory, which signifies intelligence, corresponding to the constituent power of number and the agent of articulate speech. All three together form the living Word.

If we look at Delsarte's aesthetic system from the point of view of practice in the material realm, then gesture, corresponding to the Soul, is the foundation of the system.

[492] "Toute œuvre est une incarnation. L'incarnation nécessite la matière." Delsarte, 164.
[493] According to Delsarte, the living Word is not simply the final term, but all three terms together: "the human Word is threefold." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 69, also 46. Appendix B.

However, if we look at it from a purely theoretical perspective in terms of knowledge, then vocal inflection, corresponding to Life, is the foundation. This is why many practitioners and scholars today believe Delsarte's system to be rooted in gesture and the plastic arts, because they perceive it in terms of practice alone. Nevertheless, Delsarte being a musician, the theoretical aspect of his system is necessarily based on the musical arts of antiquity, the corresponding organic agent of which is vocal inflection. Therefore, Delsarte's aesthetic system is a musical system *par excellence*.[494]

3.3 Delsarte's System of Seven Sacraments and Seven Societal Orders

Having now reached the practical application of Delsarte's aesthetic system, it is necessary, in order to reconstruct his musical system, to first explore how he understood the effects of the Holy Trinity to operate in the physical realm, organizing not only the individual physical body, but the extended cultural realm of human society as well.[495] As we will see, the seven sacraments in Delsarte's extant writings correspond not only to the seven notes of the diatonic scale, but also to seven societal orders. According to Delsarte, the organic, political, and moral constitutions of human society are founded upon the vivifying powers of the Church, and so it is in the doctrine of the Church that the foundations of organized society are to be found:

> The virtues produced by the Church are not isolated facts; they are part of a great whole which, in its entire development, forms the complete organization of society, reaching even to the most distant institutions, and making them move in the same circle by virtue of the same principle and in a perfect harmony. The basis of all social

[494] For Delsarte's proposed school of art, which is based on ancient music (poetics), see figure 2.3.
[495] The division of society into three orders was of course a feature of the medieval period: those who pray (*oratores*), those who fight (*bellatores*), and those who work (*laboratores*). According to William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, the idea was that each of the three groups carried out its function not only for itself, but for everyone else, the structure being a reflection of the Trinity. The concept was challenged and continuously altered in later centuries, and so Delsarte's theory can be seen as a part of this tradition. William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, *The Medieval World View*: *An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 231.

> organization is in the Church. It is in the fulfilment of its laws that we find the balance and perfection of societies.[496]

Delsarte argued that the Church is composed, like human beings, of both soul and body, and that the soul of the Church, being the life of grace, is poured out into each individual human soul with the result that the same life lives, the same heart beats, and the same blood circulates in the veins of everyone who receives the character of baptism. What this means is that the sacraments nourish not only the soul, but the soul and body together.[497] And, because there is a direct correspondence between the soul and the body, according to Delsarte, each Christian individual is driven to organise human society in the same way that the sacraments organize the soul. Because the sacraments are clothed in a material form, Delsarte argues, their organizing effect and government extends beyond the metaphysical and physical realms of the human soul and body to the material realm of culture, thereby establishing a universal and harmonious society.

Not only is there an extant manuscript, which Delsarte apparently dictated in 1869, explaining how this universal human system is organized according to the effects of the sacraments,[498] but there are also several sketches in which he outlines the formation of the seven societal orders, corresponding to the seven sacraments, along three intersecting axes centred around the Eucharist. From a number of these sketches, I have been able to construct a representation of Delsarte's universal society whereby the effect of each sacrament corresponds not only to a societal order, but also to a specific part of the human body (see figure 3.6). According to Delsarte, there are three essential sacraments which correspond not

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[496] "Les vertus que produit l'Église ne peuvent être des faits isolés ; elles sont parties d'un grand tout qui, dans son entier épanouissement, forme l'organisation complète de la société, atteignant jusqu'aux institutions les plus éloignées pour les faire mouvoir dans un même cercle en vertu d'un même principe et dans une harmonie parfaite. La base de toute organisation sociale est dans l'Église. C'est dans l'accomplissement de ses lois que nous trouvons l'équilibre et la perfection des sociétés." Delsarte, "4[e] dictée," in Waille, "Annexes," 166.
[497] Delsarte, 166.
[498] The following summary of Delsarte's societal system is based on this manuscript, c. 1869. See Delsarte, "4[e] dictée," in Waille, "Annexes," 166-69. See also "Major Archival Sources" in the Introduction.

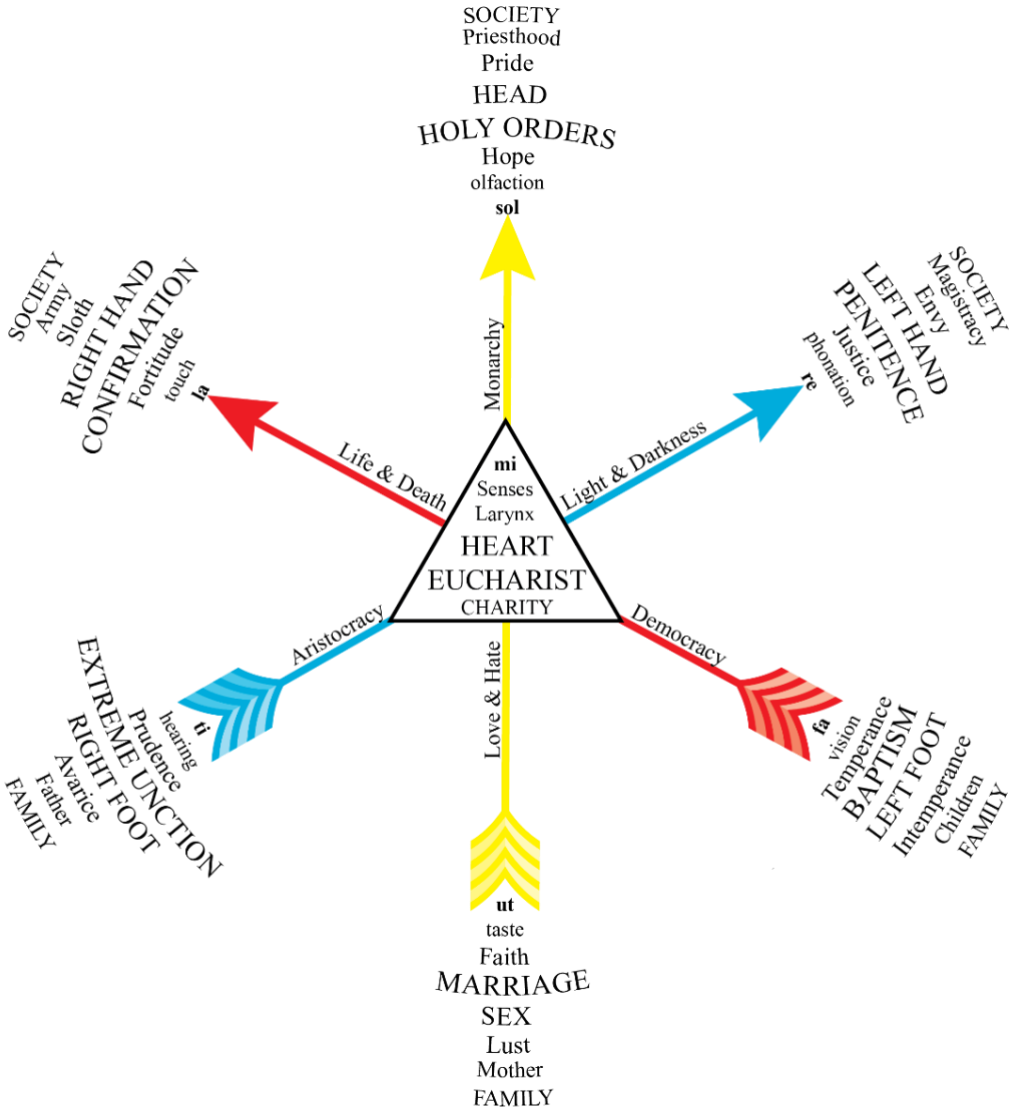


Figure 3.6. Chart of the Seven Sacraments. Delsarte's chart depicts the Eucharist forming a pivotal axis centred on the heart from which the other sacraments emanate. The vertical line in yellow from the sex to the head, passing through the heart, constitutes the sacrament of love. The oblique line in red from the right hand to the left foot the sacrament of life and strength. And the blue inverse oblique line from the left hand to the right foot the sacrament of light (intelligence). Delsarte argues that the Eucharist has a triple virtue of life, light, and love, which is projected towards the four cardinal sacraments (the direction of the arrows does not depict the direction of the sacraments themselves, but the formation of society which is based on the family unit of mother, father, and child). Because the Eucharist has a triple virtue, Delsarte argues that there are, in fact, *nine sacraments*. This chart is not a complete representation of Delsarte's societal system but contains enough information for the purposes of this project. Based on sketches located in DP, box 1, folder 24b, items 6 and 11; box 1a, folder 36b, item 12.2.

only to the three parts of being, but also to the three centres of the body, which cannot be excluded from society without destroying it, just as the organic centres to which they correspond cannot be removed from the body without killing it: Marriage, the sacrament of life, corresponding to the abdominal centre; Holy Orders, the sacrament of light or

intelligence, corresponding to the head; and the Eucharist, the sacrament of charity and love (soul), corresponding to the heart. Delsarte positions these three sacraments along the vertical axis of the soul and body, which is depicted in the chart below in yellow. The first cardinal sacrament of Baptism pertains to the first step an infant takes in this life, and so corresponds to the left foot. The second cardinal sacrament of Confirmation, by which the Christian is knighted, corresponds to the right hand. The third cardinal sacrament of Penance, by which the right arm comes to the aid of the left arm to enforce justice, corresponds to the left hand. And, finally, the fourth cardinal sacrament of Extreme Unction, by which man takes his last step in this life, corresponds to the right foot. Delsarte argues that the Eucharist, because it forms the pivotal and generative axis between all of the other sacraments, has a *triple* virtue of life, light, and love, and that, therefore, there are actually *nine* sacraments – the Eucharist being centric and triple.

In terms of the seven societal orders in Delsarte's system, just as there are seven sacraments, one being centric and triple (the Eucharist), and just as there are seven virtues, one being centric and triple (charity), so too are there seven orders of society, the centric and triple focus of society being that of *power*. According to Delsarte, power is founded on the virtue of charity, as "the only real power comes from love, and life is communicated to it through the Eucharist. Charity alone is the basis and the perfection of power, because, being a divine attribute, it participates in the infinity of God himself."[499] And so, three forms of government are founded on the three Eucharistic rays from which emanates the three powers of life, light, and love: democracy, the life of the people, aristocracy, which illuminates the people, and monarchy, which is based on the love of the people. These three governmental powers respectively correspond to the organic, political, and moral constitutions of Delsarte's

[499] "le seul véritable pouvoir procède de l'amour, et la vie lui est communiquée par l'Eucharistie. La charité est à elle seule la base et la perfection du pouvoir, parce qu'étant un attribut divin, elle participe à l'infinité de Dieu lui-même." Delsarte, "4^{e} dictée," in Waille, "Annexes," 167.

universal human society. According to Delsarte, two societal orders, which presuppose *obedience* and *zeal*, are founded on the democratic ray, children and the military, the perfection of childhood being obedience, the perfection of the military being zeal, the two together characterizing the lifeblood of power. Next, two societal orders, which presuppose *resignation* and *patience*, are founded on the aristocratic ray, paternity and magistracy, the perfection of paternity being resignation to the power of God, the perfection of the magistracy being righteousness which patience provides, the two together characterizing the power of enlightenment. Finally, two societal orders, which presuppose *chastity* and *humility*, are founded on the monarchical ray, maternity and the priesthood, the perfection of maternity being chastity which finds its strength in marriage, the perfection of the priesthood being the clear intuition of the truth which humility provides, the two together characterizing the power of love. And so, taken together, the seven societal orders form a single mixed constitution based on the three Aristotelian classes of government: democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy.[500] What makes Delsarte's description of the seven societal orders corresponding to the seven sacraments important, along with the sketches of this system, is that they provide the key to unlocking his musical system, which is organized accordingly.

3.4 Delsarte's Diatonic System and the Seven Sacraments

What is important to note about Delsarte's "Chart of the Seven Sacraments" (see figure 3.6 above) for the purposes of this thesis is that a diatonic musical scale is embedded within it, each of the seven syllables of the system of solmization corresponding to one of the seven sacraments. These seven syllables, and their corresponding positions in the chart, are found not only in two of Delsarte's sketches,[501] but also in another chart depicting a system

[500] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1289a26-1289b26.
[501] The two sketches are located in DP, box 1, folder 24b, item 6; and box 1a, folder 36b, item 12.2.

of solmization where they appear alongside six corresponding senses of touch, vision, hearing, phonation, taste, and olfaction, the centre syllable, *mi*, having no corresponding sense (see figure 3.7).[502]

In Delsarte's "Chart of Solmization," the syllables *ut*, *mi*, and *sol* appear along the vertical axis corresponding to love or the soul, and to the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, and are therefore coloured yellow. These three syllables, which form a perfect triad, correspond to the three parts of being (life, mind, and soul) and three centres of the body (abdominal centre, head, and heart) in Delsarte's "Chart of the Seven Sacraments," and therefore cannot be removed without destroying the system. The syllables *fa* and *la* in the chart are positioned along the oblique axis corresponding to the left foot and right hand respectively and are therefore coloured in red. The syllables *si* and *re* in the chart are positioned along the inverse oblique axis corresponding to the right foot and left hand respectively and are therefore coloured in blue. These four syllables, *fa*, *la*, *si*, and *re*, correspond to the cardinal virtues of temperance, fortitude, prudence, and justice in the sacramental chart, which, according to Delsarte, all emanate from a central axis. However, in Delsarte's "Chart of Solmization," these four syllables do not emanate from the central axis. The arrows indicate that *fa* and *la* along the red axis, and *si* and *re* along the blue axis, are not directly connected to the centre of the system because they directly connect to one another instead – the two oblique axes passing *through* the centre of the system, unlike the vertical axis, which is clearly shown to be connected to the mediant tone, the central syllable of *mi*.

In order to elucidate the significance of Delsarte's diatonic system in his "Chart of Solmization," I have notated it along a musical staff (see figure 3.8), whereby each of the

[502] It is not known how Delsarte determined the correspondence between the senses and the notes of the diatonic scale. However, the senses do correspond to the transcendental properties of being according to the axis on which they appear: vision and touch are grouped along the red axis corresponding to the Beautiful (life, Father), hearing and phonation along the blue axis corresponding to the True (mind, Son), and taste and olfaction along the yellow axis corresponding to the Good (soul, Holy Ghost). See Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 522.

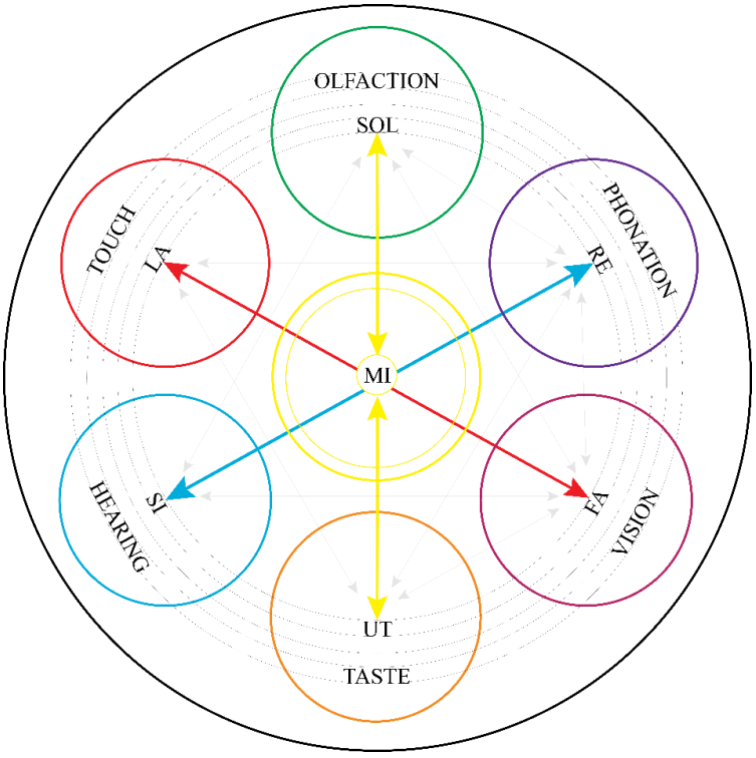


Figure 3.7. Chart of Solmization. The above figure depicts a diatonic musical scale, along with six corresponding senses, positioned along three axes in red, blue, and yellow in accordance with Delsarte's "Chart of the Seven Sacraments" (see figure 3.6 above). The system radiates outwards from the tone "mi," which appears to hold the system together as its centre. However, the red and blue axes pass through the centre, but do not emanate from it directly. The colours in the chart are not found in the original drawing but have been added by me for clarity. For an explanation of the chart, see figure 3.8 below. Original drawing located in DP, box 1a, folder 36b, item 12.3.

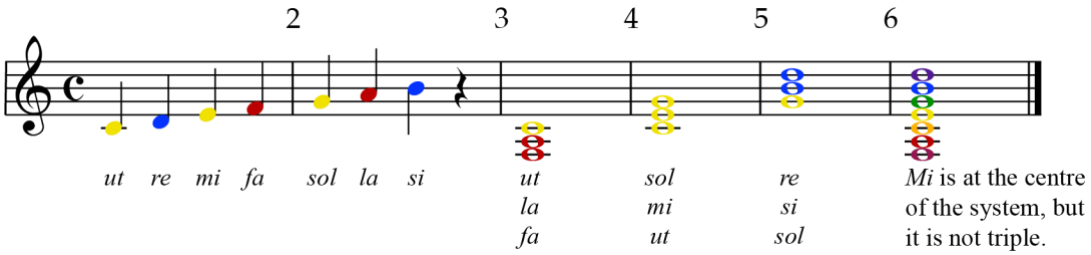


Figure 3.8. Chart of Solmization Notated. Bars one and two depict an ascending diatonic scale, the colour of the notes corresponding to the three axes in figure 3.7 above: *ut*, *mi*, and *sol* are positioned along the vertical axis in yellow (Holy Ghost); *fa*, and *la* along the oblique axis in red (Father), and *si* and *re* along the inverse oblique axis is blue (Son). In bar three, a perfect triad is composed on *fa*, *la*, and *ut*, the tonic *fa* in relation to the fundamental *ut* corresponding to the Pythagorean ratio of 4:3. In bar four, a perfect triad is composed on *ut*, *mi*, and *sol*, the tonic *ut* in relation to the fundamental *ut* corresponding to the ratio of 2:1. In bar five, a perfect triad is composed on *sol*, *si*, and *re*, the tonic *sol* in relation to the fundamental *ut* corresponding to the ratio of 3:2. Thus, the diatonic system is built upon the three Pythagorean tunings of the octave, the fifth, and the fourth. Bar six shows the system composed of the three perfect triads from bars 3-5 built one on top of the other, demonstrating that, although *mi* is at the centre of Delsarte's diatonic system, it is not a triple, as it sounds only once. Note that the colour system here is composed of three primary colours, and two secondary colours (orange and green), and two tertiary colours (magenta and violet), and so the musical system as depicted in Delsarte's "Chart of Solmization" does not correspond to his chromatic colour wheel in his Chart of Man (see figure 1.7).

seven notes are coloured in red, blue, and yellow according to the *axis* on which their corresponding syllables are positioned (see bars 1-2). In order to create a diatonic system composed of three perfect triads, thus conforming to Delsarte's principle of the Trinity,[503] *fa*, and *la* must connect to *ut* (bar 3), whilst *si* and *re* must connect to *sol* (bar 5), which means that neither triad connects to the central mediant tone of *mi*. In terms of Delsarte's sacramental chart, this configuration would be the equivalent of the left foot and right hand extending from the abdominal centre, and the right foot and left hand extending from the head, rather than both extending from the heart, forming a monstrous system. What this means is that the diatonic system, as depicted by Delsarte in his charts (see figures 3.6 and 3.7 above), which is built upon the Pythagorean ratios of 2:1 (*ut* in relation to the fundamental in bar 4), 3:2 (*sol* in relation to the fundamental in bar 5), and 4:3 (*fa* in relation to the fundamental in bar 3) does not conform to his own description of a universal system as detailed in his dictated manuscript. In the manuscript in question, Delsarte states that, of the apparent *seven* terms in his practical system, one of these terms must be *centric* and *triple*, that is in order to establish *nine* distinct terms in accordance with his criterion of the Ninth Chord. In Delsarte's depictions of his diatonic system, although the mediant tone is central, it is not triple, only sounding once, whilst the tonic and dominant sound twice, meaning that the diatonic system itself must be derived from a more natural kind of musical system, one that conforms to Delsarte's own description of a universal system.

Recalling Delsarte's three forms of government, democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy, which correspond to the three Eucharistic powers of life, light, and love, thereby forming a *mixed* constitutional system balanced between all three forms of government, the diatonic system is the equivalent of a musical system built upon an aristocratic system alone,

[503] Delsarte describes the principle of the Trinity as not only being *triply triple* or ninefold, but that there is also an equality of equilibrium between these parts, that is they are in perfect balance. See Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 82-83. Appendix B.

and based solely upon the power of reason, thereby excluding the organic and moral systems corresponding to the powers of life and love, just as the ancient diatonic system is founded solely upon Pythagorean whole number ratios – the constituent power of number. Thus, in order to discover a universal musical system that conforms to Delsarte's description consisting of seven essential terms, whereby one term is both centric and triple, it is necessary to include in that system the musical equivalents of both the democratic and monarchical systems alongside the aristocratic system. In short, we must discover a musical system which includes the diatonic as well as two other kinds of systems which correspond to the organic and moral constitutions of Delsarte's human society (the diatonic corresponding to the political). Knowing that Delsarte's system is based on the principles of ancient music, these two systems most likely correspond to the enharmonic and chromatic melodic genera of antiquity – without being identical to those ancient genera.

3.5 Passional Trueness: Delsarte's Enharmonic Vocal System

In both his 1859 and 1867 lectures, Delsarte recounted to his students a meeting between himself and a Turkish singer, a meeting which appears to have taken place sometime in the 1830s in Paris at the home of the Turkish ambassador.[504] The story of Delsarte meeting the Turkish singer is important because, prior to this meeting, Delsarte had never heard Turkish music, his ear being unable to perceive a musical division smaller than a semitone:

> The Turk begins, chooses an instrument whose handle was very elongated, and puts it on his knee to sing I do not know what song. I thought he was humming. I thought to myself: "Here is an amusing fellow. He daydreams in front of everyone. If I could put myself in this state when I sang, I would be very happy." I was waiting. He put down his instrument. I was waiting for him to sing; I was preparing myself for all kinds of pleasure when the Turkish ambassador came to me and said, "Well! now you. – Well, now me? – Did you not promise to sing after my Turk? – Oh. Your Turk sang? – How

[504] One of Delsarte's earliest extant manuscripts, dated 1839, contains a sketch depicting the distance of a comma between C♯ and D♭, as well as a number of other drawings which appear to depict the division a single tone, meaning that, by 1839, he was experimenting with microtones. See Delsarte, "Famille Trinitaire," DP, box 12c, folder 28, item 1, page 61.

> do you think he sings? – It is truly not so bad, only it could be more varied. I only heard one sound."[505]

After Delsarte sang, he listened to the Turkish singer again, at which point the room burst out into laughter because, to the French guests, it sounded as though the singer sang the exact same tune again on a single note, none of the guests apparently being able to perceive the melody. Delsarte listened for a third time:

> I thought I noticed certain oscillations in these sounds which could very well be a kind of melody. I took my Turkish friend aside and asked him: "You probably have gamuts?" He showed me that, yes, he did, and he sang me eighths of a tone. This man proceeded by eighths of a tone; between *ut* and *re* he made a whole scale and a whole air. I thought to myself: "I am terribly inferior to this Turk. And I am not laughing (This is where we are with our so-called progress). I am a musician, and I do not understand anything beyond the semitone. […] We have a profound ignorance of this music. I really do not know what an institution like the Conservatoire is for. Why do we not learn music from the Turks? *There are many things to reunite*, *there are certainly a host of very interesting systems*.[506]

And so, from his encounter with the Turkish singer, Delsarte apparently set out early on in his career to "reunite" the Western and Turkish musical systems. And, although no other information on this combined system is found in Delsarte's extant manuscripts, we know that he achieved this to some degree because, according to one of his students, Delsarte taught an enharmonic system of vocal expression containing musical divisions smaller than a semitone.

In the 1887 and 1893 editions of *Delsarte System of Oratory*, an article written by operatic bass and celebrated voice teacher, Alfred Giraudet,[507] appeared under the title,

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[505] "Le turc commence, choisit un instrument dont la manche était très allongée, et le mis sur son genou à entonner je ne sais quel chant. Je croyais qu'il fredonnait. Je me dis : 'Voilà un drôle de gaillard. Il rêverie devant tout le monde. Si je pouvais me mettre comme ça en vois quand je dois chanter je serais bien heureux.' J'attendais. Il déposa son instrument. J'attendais qu'il chantât, je me disposais à toutes sortes de plaisir quand l'ambassadeur turc vient me dire : 'Eh bien ! à vous. – Comment, à moi ? – N'avez-vous pas promis de chanter après mon turc ? – Ah. Votre turc a chanté ? – Comment trouve-vous qu'il chante ? – Ce n'est vraiment pas mal, seulement ça pourrait être plus varié. Je n'ai entendu qu'un son.'" Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 233. Appendix B.

[506] "je crus m'apercevoir qu'il y avait dans ces sons certains oscillations qui pourraient bien être une espèce d'air. Je prends à part mon turc et lui dis. Vous avez probablement des gammes. Il me fit voir que oui et il me chanta des huitièmes de ton. Cet homme procédait par, huitièmes de ton ; il faisait entre ut et ré toute une gamme et tout un air. Je me dis : « Je suis terriblement loin de ce turc. Et je ne ris pas (Voilà où nous en sommes avec nos prétendus progrès). Je suis musicien, je ne saisis rien au-delà du demi-ton [...] Cette musique nous l'ignorons profondément. Je ne sais vraiment à quoi sert une institution comme la Conservatoire. Pourquoi n'apprend-on pas la musique des Turcs ? Il y a bien des choses à réunir ; il y a une foule de systèmes certainement très intéressants." Delsarte, 234-35, emphasis mine. Appendix B.

[507] For a brief biography on Giraudet, see note 168.

"Trueness in Singing."[508] In the article, Giraudet lists three distinct musical temperaments – absolute trueness (just intonation), temperate trueness (equal temperament), and *passional trueness* – the final term referring to an enharmonic melodic system containing musical divisions smaller than a semitone, which he claims that Delsarte taught. Giraudet argues that, of the three temperaments, absolute trueness is the temperament adopted by music theorists, whereby the gamut is divided into five whole tones and two semitones, and the tone itself is divided into nine *commas* or *shades*, the chromatic semitone consisting of five commas, the diatonic semitone consisting of four (see figure 3.9).[509] Temperate trueness, Giraudet argues, is a more practical temperament adopted in order to simplify the musical system, whereby a whole tone is divided into two equal parts, each semitone consisting of four and a half commas (see figure 3.10). According to Giraudet, musicians universally agreed that equal temperament was defective in comparison to just intonation, but insists that, owing to the popularity of keyboard instruments, equal temperament could not be improved upon and

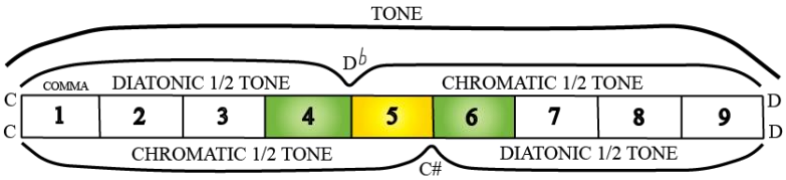
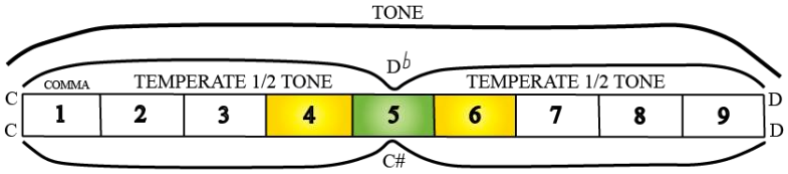


Figure 3.9. Just Intonation. According to Giraudet, the above figure depicts the musical system of just intonation, or what Delsarte called *absolute trueness*, whereby a whole tone is divided into nine commas or shades, the chromatic semitone consisting of five commas, the diatonic consisting of four. However, what the figure seems to depict is not just intonation proper, but Tosi's fifty-five division of the octave. See note 520. Based on a drawing in Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," 4th ed., 569.

[508] Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 3rd (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1887), 533-37; Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," in *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th ed., 569-73.

[509] Actually, the tuning system described and depicted in Giraudet's article does not appear to correspond to just intonation, but rather to a temperament used by singing teacher Pier Francesco Tosi in the early eighteenth century, whereby the octave is divided into fifty-five commas (extended sixth-comma meantone). However, unlike in Tosi's system, where the sharps are sounded a comma *lower* than the flats, in Giraudet's diagram the C-sharp is sounded a comma *higher* than the D-flat. Thus, the system depicted by Giraudet appears to correspond to a more modern system of nineteenth-century musical *practice* rather than *theory*. See Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song*, trans. John Earnest Galliard (London: William Reeves, 1743), 19-21; Hector Berlioz and Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise*: *A Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 306-08; Ross W. Duffin, *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony*: *(And Why You Should Care)* (New York: Norton, 2008), 48-56, and 78-79.



Figures 3.10. Equal Temperament. The above figure depicts the musical system of equal temperament, or what Delsarte called *temperate trueness*, whereby a tone is divided into two equal semitones consisting of four and a half commas each. Based on a drawing in Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," 4th ed., 570.

therefore had to be accepted in practice, that is until some new invention might come along and revolutionize the piano by modulating its tones, "a transformation which would give that instrument not only the musical design, but also the colour and warmth which it now lacks."[510] Thus, equal temperament was seen by both Giraudet and Delsarte as greatly inferior to just intonation because of the detrimental effect the tuning system had on musical expression in terms of colour and warmth.[511]

The third temperament mentioned by Giraudet – passional trueness – appears to be Delsarte's practical solution to the lack of vocal expression brought about by the popularity of keyboard instruments and the widespread use of equal temperament. Leaving science behind in order to enter the domain of art, Giraudet argues that passional trueness is based upon the tendency of musical notes "to pass into those which succeed them," that is upon the "reciprocal attraction sounds."[512] According to Giraudet, Delsarte taught his students that:

> The sounds [of the gamut] call each other forth, [they] *desire* and mutually attract each other, and in every age this attraction has been so clearly evident, that the seventh note in the scale, when it meets the others, each of which has its particular name relating to its particular function, tonic, dominant, etc., is simply called the sensitive note, from its *tendency* to pass into the atonic. Passional trueness is based upon this *tendency* of the notes to pass into those which succeed them, and upon this reciprocal attraction of sounds.[513]

[510] Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," 4th ed., 570.
[511] Delsarte argued that he "hated" the piano not only because of equal temperament, but because of its volume and inability to produce vibrato. See Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 243-44. Appendix B. However, it is unlikely that the temperament of which Delsarte complained was equal temperament proper, but rather an unequal system in use since in the eighteenth century. See Duffin, *Equal Temperament*, 104-18.
[512] Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," 4th ed., 571.
[513] Giraudet, 571, emphasis mine. The term *tendency* appears five times in Giraudet's article.

In order to explain how passional trueness worked in performance, Giraudet provided two examples, both taken from Meyerbeer's *Le prophète*, in which he performed at the Paris Opéra in 1880.[514] In the first example, from "*Ah! mon fils sois béni*" in act 2, Giraudet argues that the B♯ on the lyric "*mon*" in bar 8 should be raised by two commas or more because, being placed before the C♯ which is a semitone higher, the B♯ has a tendency to pull upwards towards the acute or shrill (see example 1).[515] In the second example, from "*O prêtres de Baal*" in act 5, Giraudet argues that the A♮ on the first syllable of the lyric "*mère*" in bar 22 should be lowered by two commas or more because, being placed before the G♯ which is a semitone lower, the A♮ has a tendency to pull downwards towards the *grave* (see example 2).[516] Giraudet explains that to sing absolutely true was not a good quality because, according to Delsarte, it entailed singing false – as to sing false was "to sing above or below a note in the inverse direction to its attraction."[517] However, in terms of *absolute trueness*, Delsarte taught his students that that the notes composing the perfect triad must always be sung absolutely true because:

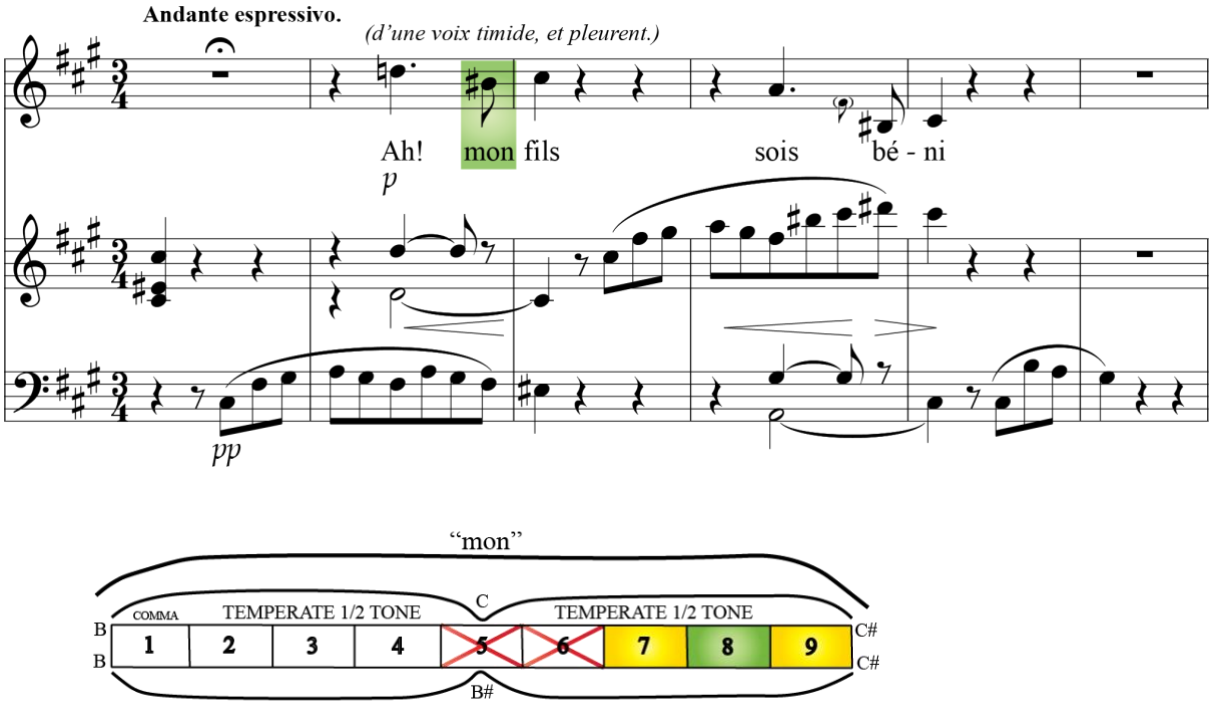
> The triad is the breathing-place of the tonality; the notes composing it should be absolutely true. They are the singer's invariable and necessary law. They characterize repose. Their office is that of attraction, and they can only be attracted mutually, with the exception of the tonic, which is the centre of attraction not only for various notes, but for the phrase and the entire composition.[518]

Thus, according to Delsarte, what the systems of just intonation and equal temperament fail to account for in terms of vocal performance is the reciprocal attraction of intervallic sounds,[519] which Giraudet argues is "founded upon natural laws," and which the singer must learn to apply "by observation and the study of his own faculties," the application of

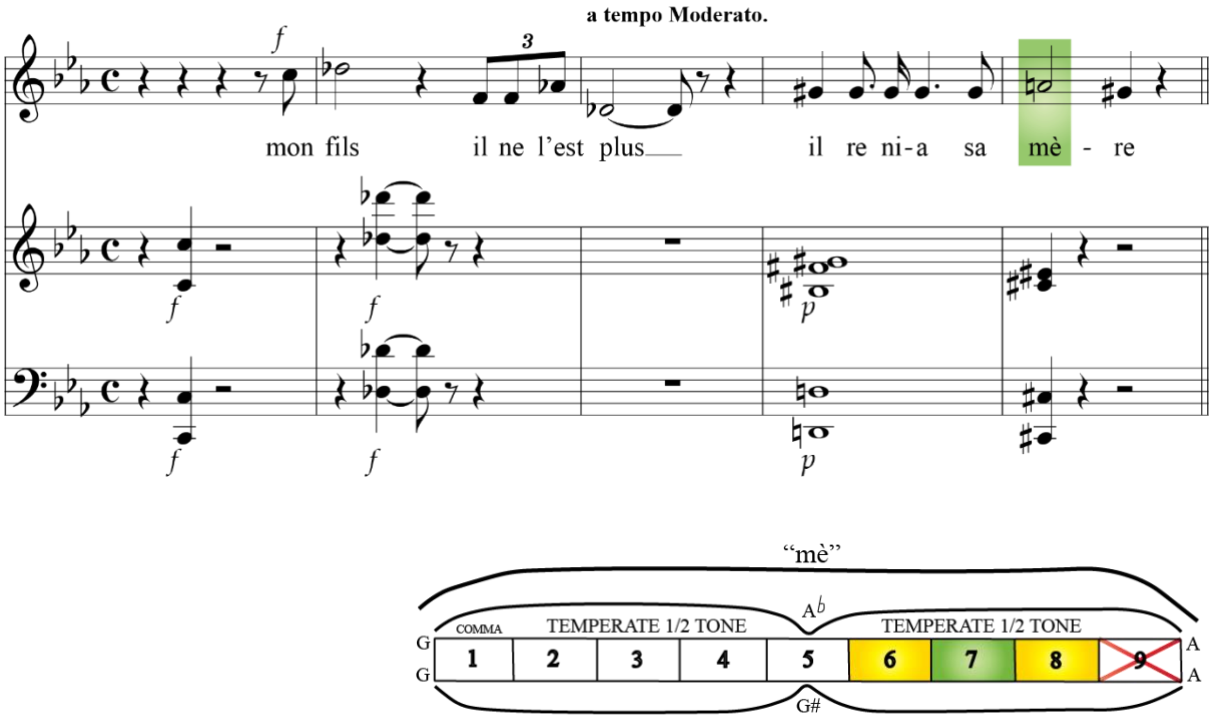
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[514] P. Girardot, "Nécrologie," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, no. 34, 18 November 1911, 271.
[515] Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," 4th ed., 571.
[516] Giraudet, 571-72.
[517] Giraudet, 572.
[518] Giraudet, 572.
[519] Once again, it is unclear from Giraudet's article exactly which tuning systems Delsarte was basing his argument on, as the one depicted by Giraudet in his article (see figure 3.9) appears to correspond to a temperament where the octave is divided into fifty-five commas, rather than just intonation proper.

Example 3.1. Meyerbeer, *Le prophète*, act 2, "Ah! mon fils sois béni," mm. 7-11.



Example 3.2. Meyerbeer, *Le prophète*, act 5, "O prêtres de Baal," mm. 18-22.



Delsarte's vocal temperament depending upon "a thousand conditions of rhythm and harmony."[520] Therefore, although Delsarte's complete enharmonic system of vocal expression is lost, the two examples provided by Giraudet being unable to account for the specific rhythmic and harmonic conditions on which it depends, it is possible to one day rediscover it through observation and the study of psychology. This is because, according to Delsarte, the system is founded upon the perception of a recurring natural phenomenon[521] – the reciprocal attraction of intervallic sounds.

From these two sources, Delsarte's 1867 lecture where he recounts learning about microtones from a Turkish singer, and Giraudet's 1887 article on passional trueness, we know that Delsarte's musical system comprised an enharmonic system which he developed to be sung against instruments in equal temperament. How exactly Delsarte went about reuniting the Turkish and Western musical systems is not known, but we do know that both systems recognize the Pythagorean comma and the division of a tone into nine equal parts,[522] both systems had the human voice as their model or basis,[523] both systems were divided into three melodic genera, the diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic,[524] and both systems had axiomatic tonal centres or points of attraction which affected the relative pitch of neighbouring intervals.[525] What concerns us here is that a) the evidence shows that Delsarte's musical system was comprised of an enharmonic and diatonic melodic genus which functioned together as a unified system, b) his system therefore must also have included a chromatic genus corresponding to the organic (enharmonic), political (diatonic), and moral

[520] Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," 573.
[521] That the reciprocal attraction of intervallic sounds amounts to a natural law was contested by Fétis. For an overview of Fétis' argument, see Thomas Christensen, *Stories of Tonality in the Age of François-Joseph Fétis* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), 1-28.
[522] The Pythagorean comma (or *koma*) is used in Turkish music as the basic increment of division. For the five basic intervals in Turkish music based on the Pythagorean comma, see Karl L. Signell, *Makam*: *Modal Practice in Turkish Art Music* (Sarasota, Fl.: Usul editions, 2008), 22-23.
[523] Regarding the human voice as a model for Turkish music, see Iannis Zannos, "Intonation in Theory and Practice of Greek and Turkish Music," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 22 (1990): 42.
[524] Zannos, "Greek and Turkish Music," 46-48.
[525] Zannos, 51-52, and 56.

(chromatic) constitutions of society,[526] and c) one of these genera must consist of seven essential terms, whereby one is both centric and triple, in order to not only correspond to his systematic organization of the seven sacraments and societal orders, but also to conform to his criterion of the Ninth Chord. As the enharmonic and diatonic genera are lacking on this final point, we must rediscover the chromatic genus of Delsarte's musical system in order to see if it conforms to the same systematic organization as his political-sacramental theory.

3.6 Delsarte's Chromatic System Based on the Overtone Series

In the 1887 and 1893 editions of *Delsarte System of Oratory*, a manuscript by Delsarte, translated by Abby L. Alger, was published under the title, "The Holy Trinity Recovered in Sound."[527] The manuscript is significant because, in it, Delsarte claims that it was the philosopher Pythagoras who first discovered the natural phenomenon of sound to be a reflection of the divine order of the universe:

> Pythagoras discovered this law. Passing before a blacksmith's shop, he heard the sound of heavy hammer strokes upon a forge. He recognized perfectly that each blow gave out beside the principal tone (tonic) two other tones, which corresponded to the twelfth and seventeenth of the tonic. Now, the twelfth reversed is nothing but the fifth or dominant, and the seventeenth becomes, by a double reversion, the third or mediant of the tonic. Let us say, then, that every tone necessarily contains the tonic its generator, the dominant its engendered, and the mediant which proceeds from the other two. [528]

Delsarte's account, however, is not the usual telling of the Pythagorean myth. Pythagoras did not discover the phenomenon of overtones but, instead, is believed to have discovered the mathematical foundation of musical consonance based on the ratios of whole numbers – in the telling of the original myth, there are five separate hammers, not one.[529] Of course, we

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[526] See section 3.3.
[527] Delaumosne et al., *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 3rd, 484-85; Delaumosne et al., *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th, 484-485. The location of the original manuscript is unknown. Abby L. Alger was the wife of William R. Alger.
[528] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 484.
[529] See Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. Calvin M. Bower, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New York: Yale University Press, 1989), I.10.

now know that there is a correlation between the whole number ratios Pythagoras is said to have discovered and the sounding of the overtone series, and so Delsarte's meaning is apparent. What is significant about his telling of the story is his use of the terms *twelfth* and *seventeenth* to denote the dominant and mediant tones of the perfect triad, along with the terms *reversion* and *double reversion* to denote the downward transposition of these tones.[530] The discovery of the phenomenon of the overtone series in 1701 is attributed to mathematician and physicist Joseph Sauveur (1653-1716). However, the claim that the overtone series is a reflection of the Holy Trinity in sound does not originate with Delsarte. Rameau argued much the same thing in his writings, although the religious nature of his argument was concealed by his use of scientific jargon until the final years of his career. Whilst there is no direct evidence Delsarte drew upon Rameau's writings, Choron, who was Delsarte's teacher, describes Rameau's contribution to harmonic theory in precisely the same way.[531] Thus, although not explicitly stated, Delsarte implicitly attributes the rediscovery of the Trinity in sound to Rameau's investigations into the phenomenon of overtones and his principle of the *corps sonore*. Similar to Delsarte, Rameau claimed that the principle of the *corps sonore*, as a reflection of the Trinity, was the progenitor of the arts and sciences.[532] And so, although Delsarte never mentions Rameau by name, it seems likely that Delsarte was aware of his arguments.

[530] Without the original manuscript, it is difficult to say, but a more accurate translation of the French would likely be *inversion*.
[531] A passage in Choron's essay on the history of music reads: "Rameau, who flourished at a period when the taste for physics and mathematics began to prevail in France, having read or heard that the vibration of a sonorous body generated, besides its principal sound, its twelfth and seventeenth, endeavoured to found upon this phenomenon the theory of the inversions of harmony." Choron, "Summary of the History of Music," in *A Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time, Volume 1*, ed. John Sainsbury (London: Cambridge University Press, 2009), lxiv.
[532] See Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Origine des sciences, suivie d'une controverse sur le même sujet* (Paris: S. Jorry, 1761), 1-16.

Like Rameau before him, Delsarte believed that the sounding of a single tone, whilst being susceptible to both mathematical and mechanical laws,[533] was a reflection of the Holy Trinity in the material realm: "Suppose a tonic. You are going to see the three terms of the divine Trinity in an entirely physical, entirely material procession."[534] Also, Delsarte based his harmonic theory on the natural phenomenon of the generation of the overtone series. However, unlike Rameau, Delsarte would not have stopped at the first six partials in order to explain how the overtone series generated a single perfect triad.[535] Owing to the establishment of the Ninth Chord as the criterion of his aesthetic system, Delsarte would surely have proceeded to the ninth partial, or even the tenth (ninth overtone), in order to explain how these partials conformed to his ninefold formula of three interdependent perfect triads, according to the theology of the circumincession. Delsarte insisted that everything in this world was "nothing other than the reverberation of this magnificent [Ninth] Chord,"[536] and so his criterion surely corresponded to the phenomenon of the overtone series, producing the same musical system in both physics (mechanics) and mathematics – in both sense and reason – just as Rameau had attempted to do.[537]

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[533] Christensen argues Rameau did not view the *corps sonore* as an image of the Trinity, because "he always considered it to be a mechanistic phenomenon of nature." However, Christensen also admits that Rameau viewed the *corps sonore* as a "first cause" of the arts and sciences. Rather than consider Aristotelianism as the foundation of Rameau's theory, however, Christensen believes it is based on Occasionalism, an argument for which he himself admits there is no evidence. See Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 299-301. David Cohen also questions Christensen's insistence that Rameau was committed to Cartesianism. See David E. Cohen, "The Imperfect Seeks Its Perfection: Harmonic Progression, Directed Motion, and Aristotelian Physics," Music Theory Spectrum 23, no.2 (2001): 142.

[534] "Supposez une tonique. Vous allez voir les trois termes de la divine trinité dans une procession toute physique, toute matérielle." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 64. Appendix B.

[535] See Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought,* 133-42.

[536] "Tout ce qu'on peut voir dans le monde n'est pas autre chose que la réverbération de ce magnifique accord." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 112-13. Appendix B.

[537] Rameau's experiments produced the major triad, but not the minor. According to Christensen, "Rameau had to fudge a number of explanations in order to have his theory account for all possible intervallic progressions." Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought,* 8. Also, Christensen notes that Rameau insisted upon coordinating the geometric triple progression (1, 3, 9) with the *diatonic scale*, "the music theorists attempt to square the circle." Christensen, 197. However, Delsarte appears to have coordinated the triple progression with a *chromatic system* instead.

To rediscover Delsarte's chromatic system then, we must begin with an analysis of the overtone series by attempting to find within this natural phenomenon the mark of the Holy Trinity – the Ninth Chord criterion. Delsarte insisted that: "Anyone who wants to experiment, who wants to study anything, will happen upon this Ninth Chord because God is found everywhere in his creatures. His mark, his adorable Trinity is everywhere."[538] And so, if we take A as the fundamental tone, along with the first nine tones of the overtone series, we will have A, A, E, A, C#, E, G, A, B, C# (see figure 3.11, bars 1-3).[539] From these tones, two perfect triads can be composed, a major triad on A, C#, E, and a minor triad on E, G, B, the dominant E of the major being the tonic E of the minor (figure 3.11, bar 4). Thus, by including the first nine partials of the overtone series rather than the first six, the minor mode appears to be accounted for in nature. Taken together, these two triads span the distance of a ninth interval from A to B, creating a so-called Ninth Chord (figure 3.11, bar 5).[540] Also, this Ninth Chord, whereby the mediant note (E in the above example) divides the chord into major and minor triads, corresponds to the composition of a single major triad, whereby the mediant note divides the chord into major and minor thirds.



Figure 3.11. The Overtone Series and Delsarte's Criterion of the Ninth Chord. Bars 1-3 show the overtone series as generated from the fundamental tone of A. Bar 4 shows the major and minor triads naturally produced by the overtone series. Bar 5 shows Delsarte's so-called "Ninth Chord" composed of the major and minor triads. Bar 6 symbolizes the Father, whilst bar 7 shows the minor triad turned to major in order to symbolize the Son.

[538] "Quiconque voudra expérimenter, étudier quoique ce soit, y trouvera cet accord de neuvième parce que Dieu se retrouve partout dans ses créatures. Son estampille, son adorable trinité est partout." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 113. Appendix B.
[539] In my example, I have included the fundamental and the first nine overtones, that is the first ten partials, in order to show that, no matter from where Delsarte began counting, the result is the same.
[540] It must be remembered that, although Delsarte borrowed the term from musicians, he gave a different meaning to the term Ninth Chord. See Gauthier, "Édition critique," 246.

However, in order to conform to Delsarte's principle of the Trinity, these two triads formed from the overtone series must both be rendered as *major* triads, because, according to the theology of the processional relations, the Father is necessarily co-equal to the Son.[541] Delsarte taught his students that the seventh note of the scale (G in the above example in green) tends towards the atonic because it is naturally *sensitive*, meaning that it is connected to matter.[542] Delsarte argues that man is "connected to matter, and he succeeds in making his soul pass through it; he spiritualizes matter and elevates himself through the path of these spirits [angels] with which he is in perfect communication."[543] Thus, a possible interpretation would be: the minor triad, being connected to matter, analogously corresponds to the *Incarnation* of the Son in the material realm.[544] By elevating the minor triad to a major triad, the mind analogously lifts the soul out of the realm of matter, thus making the tonic triad, corresponding to the Father (bar 6), co-equal with the dominant triad, corresponding to the Son of the Holy Trinity (bar 7). The process of generalizing from particulars provides an explanation whereby the minor triad of the Son becomes major and co-equal to the Father. According to Delsarte, to possess knowledge, science must pass into a state of consciousness, and, in order for knowledge to pass into consciousness, the mind must generalize what it knows from sense perception.[545] In fact, equal temperament is itself a generalization of the more precise intervals perceived according to just intonation.

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[541] See section 1.2.2.
[542] See Giraudet, "Trueness in Singing," 571.
[543] "Il est en rapport avec la matière, et il parvient à faire passer son esprit en elle ; il spiritualise la matière et s'élève par la voie de ces esprits avec laquelle il est en parfaite communication." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 113. Appendix B.
[544] Bradley K. Broadhead posits a similar interpretation for this triad, but rather than restrict his explanation to the notes of the overtone series, he composes a major triad on the dominant E without explanation, insisting that the notes G# and B, because they do not overlap with the notes of the tonic triad corresponding to the Father, have the ability to become incarnate. However, as the G# is not actually sounded as part of the overtone series, but is *conceptualized*, his argument for the Incarnation, which requires matter, is unconvincing. See Bradley K. Broadhead, "The Triune Triad: A Musical Analogy Concerning the Trinity and Humanity," *Imaginatio et Ratio: A Journal of Theology and the Arts* 3 (2014): 27.
[545] For Delsarte's definition of *art*, see section 1.4.

However, whether the seventh note of the scale is raised by generalizing or not, Delsarte's chromatic system is still incomplete, as three interconnected perfect triads are required in order to conform to his criterion of the Ninth Chord and the circumincession. As Delsarte states: "We see, from the cooperation of these two powers in the same person [soul and body], the result of the intimate fusion of art and science which, each born from a distinct source, combine, penetrate, and prove one another."[546] And so, because we possess the scientific half of the chromatic system, that is the particular notes of the overtone series, we can use Delsarte's criterion, which he refers to as his "triple ninth chord,"[547] to complete the other half of the system. If the six notes composing the major and minor triads, A, C#, E, and E, G, B (see figure 3.11, bar 4) are placed in the chart, with the tonic of the major chord corresponding to the Father as the fundamental tone or generative principle, the minor chord stemming from the major chord, and include both the dominant and tonic E of the major and minor triads respectively, then two-thirds of the chart can be completed – giving us six of the nine terms required (see figure 3.12).

With six of the notes of the overtone series inserted and organized according to the major and minor triads they create, it is apparent to any musician that there is only one way to complete the chart of the Ninth Chord in order to produce a system which includes three perfect triads. However, from the particular notes sounded in the overtone series, we are also able to induct a general principle or rule. Knowing that a single tone produces a series of notes composed of two connecting major and minor triads, and also that, when a major third is connected to a minor third, these two intervals produce a balanced system – the perfect triad – then, when three major triads are connected to three minor triads, they will also produce a balanced system, the major and minor modes neutralizing each other in the same

[546] "On y voit, du concours de ces deux puissances dans la même personne, résulter la fusion intime de l'art et de la science qui, nés chacun d'une source distincte, s'allient, se pénètrent et se prouvent réciproquement." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 30. Appendix B.
[547] Delsarte, *Système de François Delsarte*: *Compendium* (Paris: François Delsarte, 1843). See figure 1.

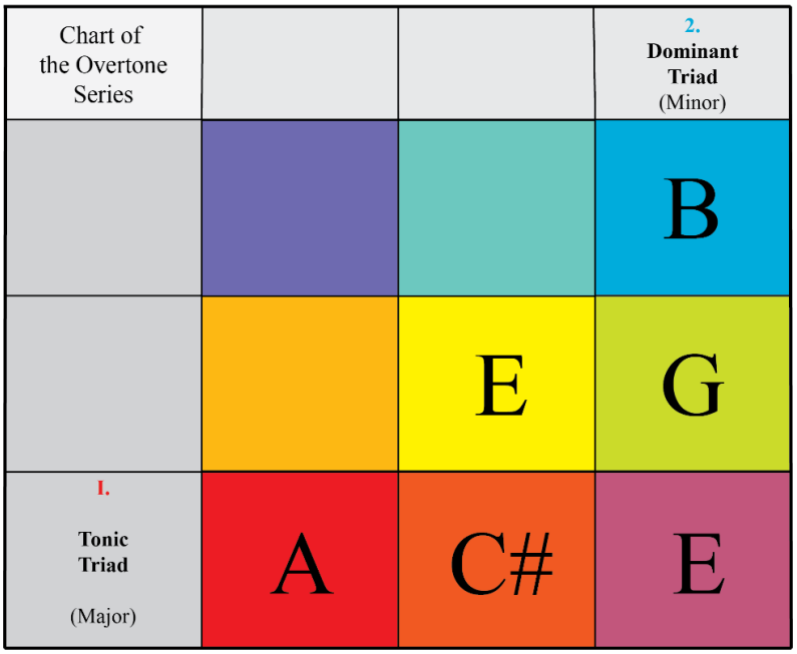


Figure 3.12. Chart of the Overtone Series. This chart depicts the first nine partials of the overtone series organized according to the major and minor triads which they produce. The fundamental tone of A is placed in the lower left-hand position corresponding to the Father as the generator, whilst the C# and E of the major triad complete the row horizontally. Then, from the dominant tone of the major triad, the minor triad of E, G, and B is composed vertically. And, because both the major and minor triads share the same note of E, a second E is placed in the centre of the chart connecting the C# and G of the major and minor triads twice. What is important to note about the chart is that the notes A and B span the interval of a ninth, whilst the E at the centre of the chart is equidistant from both A and B, thereby creating a "ninth-chord triad" on the primary colours of red, yellow, and blue.

way that, according to Chevreul, "a positive and negative electrical charge mutually neutralize each other and are consequently *antagonistic*."[548] Chevreul is making an argument for the way in which the eye balances contrasting colours, but the principle is the same not only in optics and electromagnetism, but also acoustics. Thus, with this principle as our guide, we can complete the chromatic system, which, according to Quintilianus, is itself balanced between the enharmonic and diatonic genera,[549] thereby completing Delsarte's criterion of the Ninth Chord (see figure 3.13).

[548] Chevreul, *Principles of Harmony*, 153, emphasis Chevreul.
[549] Quintilianus, *De musica*, I.9.

Chromatic Musical System	1. **Tonic Triad** (Minor)	3. **Mediant Triad** (Minor)	2. **Dominant Triad** (Minor)
II. **Dominant Triad** (Major)	E	G#	B
III. **Mediant Triad** (Major)	C	E	G
I. **Tonic Triad** (Major)	A	C#	E

Figure 3.13. Delsarte's Chromatic System According to his Criterion of the Ninth Chord. The chart is completed by adding C, E, and G# in order to compose a chromatic system whereby the major and minor modes of interlocking triads are neutralized according to Chevreul's principle of *the contrast of antagonism*.

With the chart of the Ninth Chord complete, we can see that there are seven distinct notes, or terms, and that the note E is both centric and triple. Thus, the organization of the chromatic system corresponds to Delsarte's systematic organization of both the seven sacraments and seven societal orders. Furthermore, the chart conforms to both the circumincession and processional relations according to the principle of the Trinity. Regarding the circumincession, the three major triads reciprocally combine, interconnect, and prove one another as a unity, meaning that, if one of the notes was removed, the system would become unstable and fall apart. Regarding the processional relations, the sounding of the fundamental tone of A corresponding to the Father not only produces a major perfect triad on A, C♯, and E, but also begets a minor perfect triad on E, G, and B symbolizing the Incarnation of the Son, which is begotten from the dominant note of the major triad corresponding to the Father (see figure 3.14, bar 1). And, because the dominant E of the overtone series is the first to sound after the A, we can imagine another overtone series being

generated from the E, thereby composing a major perfect triad on E, G♯, and B symbolizing the Ascension of the Son (see figure 3.14, bar 2). And, knowing that a third triad must proceed from both triads corresponding to the Father and the Son, a minor perfect triad within these two triads can be composed on the notes C♯, E, and G♯, symbolizing the descent of the Holy Ghost to the material realm, with E acting as the mediant note (see figure 3.14, bar 3). However, a major perfect triad on the notes C, E, and G can also be composed from the tonic and mediant notes of the minor perfect triad of the Incarnate Son, this triad symbolizing the Holy Ghost in the immaterial realm, the E remaining the fixed mediant note of the triad which also unites the entire chromatic system (see figure 3.14, bar 4). If we position the notes of the chart in an ascending scale (see figure 3.14, bar 5), each triad is united to every other triad on the note of E, and yet each note on E also remains distinct.

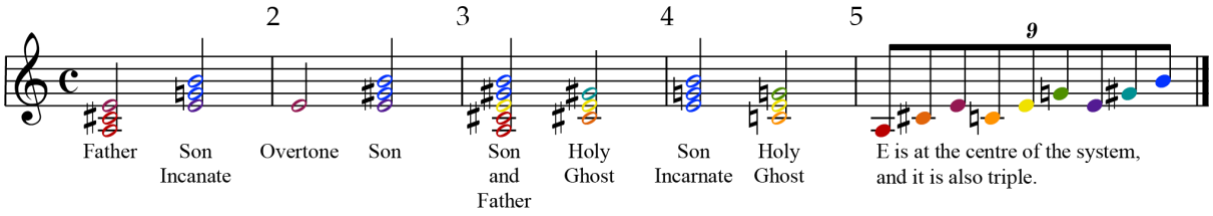


Figure 3.14. Delsarte's Chromatic System Notated. Bar 1 shows the major triad of the Father and the minor triad of the Incarnate Son as naturally generated by the overtone series. Bar 2 shows the major triad of the Son being composed from the overtone on E, which is generated by the major triad of the Father. Bar 3 shows the minor triad of the Holy Ghost proceeding from both the major triads of the Father and Son. Bar 4 shows the major triad of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the minor triad of the Incarnate Son. Finally, Bar 5 shows the chromatic system in accordance with Delsarte's criterion of the Ninth Chord, based upon the generation of the overtone series.

If we consider the nine notes of the system in relation to the nine chromatic colours in Delsarte's colour wheel, then the notes A, E, and B, which span the interval of a ninth, correspond to the primary colours of red, yellow, and blue, which, when combined together, compose the phenomenon of white light. Furthermore, the three notes on E correspond to the primary colour of yellow and the two complementary tertiary colours of magenta and violet, which, when combined together, also compose white light. The three Es in the system do not

receive the same colour because, according to Chevreul's law of simultaneous contrast, when the yellow mediant note of the Holy Ghost is placed in the tonic triad of the Father, the contrasting colours of the red from the Father (predominant) and blue from the Son (subsidiary) make the dominant note of the triad appear magenta, red and blue inducing yellow's compliment. Likewise, when the yellow mediant note of the Holy Ghost is placed in the dominant triad of the Son, the contrasting colours of blue from the Son (predominant) and red from the Father (subsidiary) make the tonic note of the triad appear violet. And so, like Delsarte's enharmonic system in which certain tonal centres affect the relative pitch of neighbouring notes, the same appears to be true of his chromatic system, whereby the *shade* of the central tone E is affected by its relative position in the corresponding triad. Thus, Delsarte's chromatic system appears to adhere to Chevreul's law of the simultaneous contrast of colours. In terms of scientific investigation, there have been many attempts in the modern period to order the notes of the musical scale according to their visible wavelengths, the first being those of Newton.[550] According to Peter Pesic, Newton based his experiments on the diatonic scale, assuming that the spectrum of colours formed a full octave.[551] In 1802, Thomas Young corrected Newton's mistake, arguing that "the whole visible spectrum appears to be comprised within the ratio of three to five, which is that of a *major sixth* in music."[552] However, Young also based his experiments on the diatonic scale, rather than a chromatic scale derived from the naturally occurring phenomenon of the overtone series. And so, it is perhaps worth pointing out in terms of future research that the notes composing Delsarte's chromatic system span the interval of a *major sixth*, ranging either from G to E, or from E to C♯ (the notes F, F♯, D, D♯, and A♯ not being sounded).

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[550] Others include Castel (1688-1757), Euler (1707-1783), Johann Wilhelm Ritter (1776-1810), Young (1773-1829), Anders Jonas Ångström (1814-1874), and Helmholtz (1821-1894). See Peter Pesic, *Music and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014).
[551] Pesic, 127.
[552] Thomas Young, "On the Theory of Light and Colours" 626, qtd. in Pesic, *Music and Modern Science*, 174, emphasis mine.

Finally, the mark of the Trinity is apparent in Delsarte's Ninth Chord chart not only according to the system of interlocking triads, but also in the combining of the major and minor modes themselves, which create a third *neutral* mode. Many authors of treatises on the Delsarte System, when presenting his criterion of the Ninth Chord, use as an example a chart depicting the three states of motion: eccentric, concentric, and normal.[553] These states appear to be based on ancient Greek musical terms, that is the *exalting*, *depressing*, and *intermediate* characters (*ēthos*) of music found in Quintilianus' *De musica*,[554] and so they appear to correspond to the three musical modes in Delsarte's chromatic system (see figure 3.15). Regardless of their origin, Delsarte would have synthesized the major and minor modes into a single unified mode by inserting these three terms into his chart because his *raison d'être* was to synthesize the arts and sciences according to his criterion of the Ninth Chord: "The Ninth Chord necessarily reproduces itself everywhere, and if a philosophy has pretentions to the truth, it must fulfil this Ninth Chord, in a word, it must correspond to all of our activities."[555] With the neutral or atonal mode occupying the central position in the chart, a single point at which all other tonalities traverse, not only does Delsarte's criterion form a system of interlocking triads primarily associated with the music of Wagner and Liszt,[556] it also forms a system of extreme chromaticism, also associated with Wagner, which appears to maximalize *tonal navigation* around a single *colourless* or atonal centre.[557] Although the influence of Delsarte's aesthetic system on Liszt is not known, there is evidence that it may have influenced Wagner early on in his career – which is presented the following chapter.

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[553] For example, see Hamel, *Cours d'éloquence parlée*, 24-30.
[554] Quintilianus, *De musica*, I.12 n150.
[555] "Il faut que l'accord de neuvième se reproduise partout, et si une philosophie a la prétention d'être la vérité, il faut qu'elle accomplisse cet accord de neuvième, en un mot, qu'elle corresponde à toutes nos activités." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 130-31. Appendix B. The terms major and minor presuppose a third neutral term.
[556] Richard Cohn, "Introduction to Neo-Riemannian Theory: A Survey and a Historical Perspective," *Journal of Music Theory* 42, no. 2 (1998): 167-68.
[557] Richard Taruskin argues that Wagner increased "the range and manoeuvrability of 'tonal navigation,' that is, the range of key relationships." Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Early Twentieth Century, Oxford History of Western Music* 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.

Chart of Bodily States, Musical Modes, and Sounds Genus/*Character*	Species — Vocal Registers/Instruments **1. Eccentric (Major)** Confident State Chest voice/full	**3. Normal (Neutral)** Calm State Unified/effortless	**2. Concentric (Minor)** Repellent State Head voice/reserved
II. Concentric (Minor) Contracting Depressing *Dirges/Laments* Voice Type: High Instr.: Strings/Reeds	**II-1** **Eccentro-Concentric** **(Major-Minor)** Exaltation, Enthusiasm Double Bass Clarinet	**II-3** **Normo-Concentric** **(Neutral-Minor)** Elevation Cello Bassoon	**II-2** **Conc.-Concentric** **(Minor-Minor)** Intended Contempt Violin Oboe
III. Normal (Neutral) Intermediate/Peaceful *Hymns/Paeans* *Symboulai/Encomia* Voice Type: Medium Instrument: Pipes	**III-1** **Eccentro-Normal** **(Major-Neutral)** Expansion, Love Flageolet	**III-3** **Normo-Normal** **(Neutral-Neutral)** Colourless Flute	**III-2** **Concentro-Normal** **(Minor-Neutral)** Concentration Fife
I. Eccentric (Major) Exalting Expanding *Tragedies/Epics* Voice Type: Low Instrument: Brass	**I-1** **Eccentro-Eccentric** **(Major-Major)** Nobility, Grandeur Trombone	**I-3** **Normo-Eccentric** **(Neutral-Major)** Gravity Horn	**I-2** **Concentro-Eccentric** **(Minor-Major)** Feeling of Disdain, Shame, Horror Trumpet

Figure 3.15. Chart of Bodily States, Musical Modes, and Absolute Meaning of Sounds. The chart is an amalgamation of Delsarte's Ninth Chord chart of bodily motion, as well as the chart of the "Absolute Meaning of Sounds," and the chart of "General Sounds" from Hamel's *Cours d'éloquence parlée* (42, 44). It also includes (in italics) the three corresponding characters of ancient music from Quintilianus' *De musica* (I.12 n150). The major, minor, and neutral (atonal) modes appearing in brackets, which correspond to the eccentric, concentric, and normal states of bodily motion respectively, are my own addition – which possibly correspond to Robert Bailey's theory of tonal pairings in Wagner's compositions.

Furthermore, synthesizing the major and minor modes in Delsarte's chart of the Ninth Chord according to his three forms of motion – eccentric, concentric, and balanced – produces nine species of what can only be called *tonal pairings* or *modal mixtures*: Major-Major (I-1, red), Minor-Minor (II-2, blue), Neutral-Neutral (III-3, yellow), Major-Minor (I-2, magenta), Minor-Major (II-1, violet), Major-Neutral (III-1, amber), Neutral-Major (I-3, vermillion), Minor-Neutral (III-2, chartreuse), and Neutral-Minor (II-3, turquoise). The nine pairings in Delsarte's chart may correspond to Robert Bailey's theory of *tonal pairings*, which Bailey first recognized in 1985 in his analysis of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. Bailey

argued that, in his later compositions, Wagner organized extended musical passages around two tonal centres, thereby creating a decentred interaction between tonalities. Although Bailey located these interactions between the major and minor modes, the third neutral or atonal mode found in Delsarte's chart cannot be discounted in Wagner's compositions. As Bailey points out: "the major and minor modes have by this point become equivalent and interchangeable, so that either can substitute for the other."[558] Thus, a third *neutral mode* that is interchangeable with the major and minor modes may in fact exist in Wagner's compositions, Bailey was simply not looking for it, and so more research on Bailey's theory of tonal pairings in relation to Delsarte's chart of the Ninth Chord may prove fruitful – providing more evidence of Wagner's application of Delsarte's aesthetic system to his own compositional practices.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter set out to rediscover and reconstruct Delsarte's musical system based on his extant musical writings and charts, and by applying these to his principle of the Trinity and criterion of the Ninth Chord. What the evidence and application of the criterion reveal is that Delsarte's system is a musical system which, because it includes an enharmonic, diatonic, and chromatic genus, appears to be based on the principles of ancient music. In fact, it seems that what Delsarte called *aesthetics*, the ancient Greeks simply called *music*, music being a type of aesthetic knowledge that was considered to be infallible, and also an art because it organized and trained human perception to greater accuracy. And, if the peripatetic axiom holds true, that all knowledge begins in the senses, then the study of music and the arts, which train and perfect human perception, not only have their own methodology, but the

[558] Robert Bailey, "An Analytical Study of the Sketches and Drafts," in *Prelude and Transfiguration from Tristan and Isolde*, by Richard Wagner, ed. Robert Bailey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 116.

study of music and the arts also becomes a precondition for the acquisition of scientific knowledge based on perception.

In terms of the principle of the Trinity, sections two through six show how Delsarte applied his theoretical system to real-world practice by reorganizing the principle of the Trinity according to the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, whereby the nine terms of his criterion are transformed into seven terms, one being centric and triple, corresponding to the seven sacraments and seven societal orders. Then, based upon Delsarte's practical systematic ordering of the sacraments and society, it was hypothesized that Delsarte's musical system must follow the same systematic ordering, and that, if his musical system was based upon antiquity and included a diatonic genus, it must include an enharmonic and chromatic genus as well. By reconstructing these two genera from manuscript sources, it was shown that Delsarte's chromatic genus follows the same systematic pattern of organization, which was achieved by organizing the notes naturally generated by the overtone series according to his criterion of the Ninth Chord.

Finally, it may appear that there is a discrepancy between the fact that Delsarte's aesthetic system is based on the principle of the Holy Trinity from medieval Christianity, and the argument in this chapter that it is also based on the study of music from pagan antiquity. However, a brief analysis of the three melodic genera in Quintilianus' *De musica* will show that this is not the case. According to Quintilianus, the diatonic genus of the musical system corresponds to the *material* realm of existence because it "displays the perceptible body," the chromatic genus corresponds to the *physical* realm because, being analogous to nature (*physis*), it "lies between soul and body."[559] And, the enharmonic genus corresponds to the *immaterial* realm because, being simple and immutable, it "exhibits the essence of the

[559] Quintilianus, *De musica*, III.11. Aristotle defines *physis* as the principle and cause of motion and rest. Aristotle, *Physics*, II, 192b14-15. Barker expands upon this definition to include "a directive, purposive principle of change. Natural things, as such, are more than merely inert bodies [matter]. But they are not rational or capable of deliberation, hence they are less than souls." Barker, *Greek Musical Writings: II*, 512 n.106.

soul."[560] Thus, the distinction between the enharmonic, diatonic, and chromatic genera of antiquity is the same distinction between an efficient cause or agency (enharmonic), the character of divisible and impressionable matter (diatonic), and the cause of life in bodies (chromatic).[561] Furthermore, according to Quintilianus, the chromatic genus is analogous to the number three because of its perfection, and so it is called *nous thyrathen*, "the mind from without."[562] Thus, without pushing the analogy too far, there is certainly a correlation that Delsarte could have drawn between Quintilianus' ontological explanation of the three melodic genera and the distinction of the three divine persons of the Holy Trinity: the enharmonic genus, which resembles an efficient cause, corresponds to the Father as the generator of life; the diatonic genus, which resembles the impressionable character of matter, corresponds to the Son as the Incarnation of the Word in the human mind; and the chromatic genus, which resembles the cause of life in bodies, as well as being considered as "the mind from without," corresponds to the Holy Ghost as an external force or spirit which moves the human soul. In early nineteenth-century France, with the publication of Chateaubriand's *The Genius of Christianity*, the Christian religion was seen in the popular imagination as a continuation of pagan antiquity, the author arguing that not only did Plato refer to the dogma of the Trinity in several of his works, but that it was also known in ancient Egypt, Tibet, the East Indies, and Polynesia.[563] And so, Christianity was seen, in some ways, as a synthesis of pagan culture, unifying previously fragmented and pluralistic systems of thought. That Delsarte attributed the *discovery* of the Trinity to Pythagoras shows that he was more

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[560] Quintilianus, *De musica*, III.11.
[561] Quintilianus, III.11.
[562] Quintilianus, III.11. According to Peters, Aristotle's transcendent principle is, first and foremost, a *mover*, which he identifies with an intelligent principle, *nous*. Also, Aristotle compares human and divine *noesis*, which is the proper function of both God and humans when we *practice contemplation*. Peters, *Greek Terms*, 134-35.
[563] See Chateaubriand, François-Réné, Vicomte de, *The Genius of Christianity* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1871), 53-59. Augustine argued that "what is now called Christian religion has existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh; from which time true religion, which existed already, began to be called Christian." Augustine, *Retractions*, 1.13, qtd. in Gaukroger, *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture*, 51-52.

interested in investigating the phenomenon of the Trinity in sound as a unifying scientific principle, rather than upholding the tenets of Church dogma.

Chapter 4. Delsarte's Influence: The Case of Wagner

Delsarte taught his "Course in Applied Aesthetics" in the heart of Paris for over thirty years, from 1839 to 1870, his name becoming practically synonymous with the science of aesthetics. So great was Delsarte's reputation as a teacher that he was referred to by some of his students as "The Great Delsarte," "The Master of Masters," and "The Newton of Aesthetics."[564] In the 1860s, he was decorated twice by the King of Hanover, George V, for his contribution to the arts and sciences.[565] Delsarte's influence on European musicians, artists, and writers, however, remains almost entirely unknown, his achievements being forgotten in France soon after his death. Nevertheless, the publication of his manuscripts and teachings in America sparked a cultural movement now known as *Delsartemania*.[566] Delsarte's name achieved an almost myth-like status in *fin-de-siècle* America, one of his more enthusiastic disciples insisting that: "In the aesthetic art, study Phidias, Michelangelo, Raphael, Shakespeare, Blake; in the art of life, study Plato, Christ, Delsarte. [...] Delsarteism will be the name of the culminating civilization of man."[567] To this day, the "Delsarte System of Expression" in America is associated with acting, elocution, and modern dance, but not music or opera, even though it is widely believed that some of the greatest composers of the nineteenth century attended Delsarte's lectures: Adam, Bizet, Gounod, Reber, and Saint-Saëns. Remarking on the course in his memoires, Saint-Saëns wrote that: "although this course was so instructive, few took it, for Delsarte was almost unknown to people. His influence scarcely extended outside a narrow circle of admirers, but the quality made up for the quantity."[568] Over the years, that small circle of admirers and attendees grew to include

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[564] See Audebrand, *Petits mémoires*, 153; Audebrand, *La sérénade de Don Juan*, 91; and Demangel, "François Del Sarte et l'analyse de l'âme," 861.
[565] Delsarte received the Order of Merit for *Science* and *Art in 1861,* and the 4th class Cross of the Knight of the Guelphic Order in 1865. See Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 881 and 883.
[566] See Waille, "Corps, arts et spiritualité," 26.
[567] David L. Lezinsky, "Delsarteism," *California Illustrated Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1893): 279.
[568] Saint-Saëns, *Musical Memories*, 181.

the philosopher Victor Cousin, artist and critic Théophile Gautier, writers Angélique Arnaud, Delphine Gay, and Henri Lasserre, poet and statesman Alphonse de Lamartine, playwright Alexandre Dumas, and actors Émilie Madeleine Brohan, Benoît-Constant Coquelin, Steele MacKaye, and Madame Pasca. Amongst the clergy, Delsarte's pupils included Père Hyacinthe, Henri-Dominique Lacordaire, Jacques-Marie-Louis Monsabré, and French-Canadian priest and academic Thomas-Étienne Hamel.[569] In the fine arts, Edgar Degas, Claude Ferdinand Gaillard, Victor Orsel, and Ary Scheffer are believed to have attended his course.[570] And, although too many to mention here,[571] Delsarte taught some of the greatest singers in Europe,[572] including Adolphe Alizard, Marie Cabel (1827-1885), Marie Caroline Miolan-Carvalho, Joseph Darcier, Richard Deck,[573] Jean-Baptiste Faure (1830-1914), Alfred Giraudet, Marie Rôze (1846-1926),[574] Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient,[575] Henriette Sontag,[576] and Max Staegemann (1843-1905).[577] And so, whilst it cannot be said that his lectures appealed to a popular audience, the extent of Delsarte's influence on nineteenth-century art, music, and oratory in both Europe and America appears to have been immense.

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[569] According to Arnaud, Delsarte taught a special class reserved for clergy. See Arnaud, "The Delsarte System," 340.
[570] "François Del Sarte," *L'Action française*, 13 April 1925, 2.
[571] Leonella Grasso Caprioli, Professor of Theory and Practice of Music Theatre at the National Conservatoire of Brescia, has compiled a list of Delsarte's students, 139 in total, as part of her doctoral thesis, "François Delsarte musicista: aspetti biografici e documentali," PhD diss., Sapienza Università di Roma, 2023.
[572] It is difficult to know whether the singers listed attended Delsarte's singing classes or his lectures, but it is assumed that a number would have attended both.
[573] Alsatian *basso profundo* Richard Deck (no dates) studied with Delsarte in Paris c. 1840s. See Henri Blanchard, "Silves musicales," *RGMP* 14, no. 23 (June 1847): 190-91. By October 1857, Deck had moved to London to perform with the Royal Opera. See "Royal Surrey Gardens," *The Morning Post*, June 29, 1857, 1. Deck taught George Bernard Shaw the Delsarte system in 1880 or 1881 in exchange for English lessons. See George Bernard Shaw, "Art," *Our Corner*, 1 September 1886, 181-83; and Bernard Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches* (London: Constable and Company, 1949), 63-64.
[574] Rôze appears to have had a close friendship with Delsarte. Upon his death, Delsarte bequeathed to her "Beethoven's pistol," which he had received from Heinrich von Bock upon the death of his wife, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, in 1860. The pistol is currently housed at the *Musée de l'Opéra*. See Charles Bouvet, "*Autres reliques Beethoveniennes*," *Comoedia*, 4 April 1927, 3.
[575] Schröder-Devrient came to Paris in the 1840s to study with Manuel Garcia *fils* on the advice of Jenny Lind, who had studied with Garcia in 1841. Apparently, being unhappy with Garcia, she sought Delsarte out as a teacher instead, and the two apparently became close friends. Paul Brunold, Charles Bouvet, E. Droz, and J.-G. Prod'homme, "Nouvelles Musicologiques. Documents," *Revue de Musicologie* 8, no. 21 (1927): 43.
[576] Sontag apparently sought Delsarte out as a teacher upon coming out of retirement. See Franck Marie, "*Revue musicale*," *La Patrie*, 18 June 1857, 3; also, Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 169.
[577] "Nécrologie," *Le Monde artiste* 45, no. 14 (1905): 223.

One composer's name that appears in the Delsarte literature, albeit infrequently, with the implication that not only did he know about Delsarte's aesthetic system, but that he also applied it to the composition of his music dramas, is Richard Wagner. Whilst scholars tend to agree that Wagner learned a great deal during his stay in Paris between 1839-1842, what they have not been able to determine is exactly what he learned and from whom. In 1886, Nietzsche first made the claim that Paris was indeed "the true soil for Wagner," and that "French romanticism and Richard Wagner belong most closely and intimately together."[578] In 2004, Mary Ann Smart suggested that Wagner "may have absorbed some unacknowledged dramaturgical lessons during his miserable sojourn in Paris in the early 1840s."[579] In 2013, Herman Grampp acknowledged Paris as "the birthplace of an aesthetics that ultimately resulted in Wagner's reconceptualization of opera,"[580] and that same year, Roger Allen stated that by the time Wagner had left Paris for Dresden in May of 1842, "the elements of the aesthetic program which were to nourish his later works were largely in place."[581] Furthermore, in terms of early philosophical influences, there appears to be no consensus amongst scholars as to Feuerbach's influence on Wagner's early aesthetic treatises, the philosopher to whom he dedicated his first book-length treatise, *The Artwork of the Future* (1849).[582] This chapter presents new evidence which suggests that Wagner's early aesthetic writings were, for the most part, influenced not by the philosophy of Feuerbach, but by the aesthetics of Delsarte. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that Wagner likely attended Delsarte's course during his first sojourn in Paris, and that he seems to have spent the next several years applying, testing, and judging Delsarte's criterion of the Ninth Chord

[578] Nietzsche, "Nietzsche contra Wagner," 273.
[579] Mary Ann Smart, *Mimomania*: *Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 29.
[580] Herman Grampp, "Paris," in *The Cambridge Wagner Encyclopedia*, ed. Nicholas Vazsonyi (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 381.
[581] Roger Allen, "Aesthetics," in *The Cambridge Wagner Encyclopedia*, ed. Nicholas Vazsonyi (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 7.
[582] George G. Windell, "Hegel, Feuerbach, and Wagner's Ring," *Central European History* 9, no. 1 (1976): 29.

for himself, which produces both a chromatic musical system of interlocking triads, as well as a system of tonal pairings, prior to writing his reform essays.

This chapter presents evidence which points to the apparent influence Delsarte's teachings had on Wagner's early aesthetic writings. Part one investigates the literature on Delsarte which first suggested a connection between the two artists, examining the sources and context surrounding these remarks. Part two investigates the manuscript evidence which appears to link Wagner's aesthetic theory in *Opera and Drama* to Delsarte's aesthetic system, through a comparison of Wagner's and Delsarte's Chart of Man. The evidence presented here suggests that not only did Wagner know about Delsarte's course, but that his early writings appear to be based on Delsarte's theory. Part three compares the key terms Wagner attempted to clarify in his 1872 introduction to "Art and Revolution" to similar terms found in Delsarte's theory, thereby revealing signs of Delsarte's principle of the Trinity in Wagner's writings. Part four investigates Delsarte's rise to fame as a teacher of aesthetics and a celebrated interpreter of Gluck's music during the years Wagner was living in Paris, showing that not only is it possible for Wagner to have attended Delsarte's course, but that it would have been impossible for him to have lived in the city during these years and not have known who Delsarte was. Part five raises the sensitive question of plagiarism by juxtaposing the repeated accusations that Wagner was himself a plagiarist against what appears to have been common knowledge in France that many people stole from Delsarte. Evidence presented here suggests that not only did Wagner conceal the fact that his early aesthetic writings were based on Delsarte's theory, but also that the soprano Schröder-Devrient seems to have become a kind of substitute figure in Wagner's 1872 essay "Actors and Singers" for him to pay tribute to Delsarte's death the previous summer. My purpose is not to condemn or defend Wagner, but to consider how a culture of plagiarism seems to have led to the plundering of Delsarte's ideas by many musicians and artists.

4.1 Wagner's Name in the Delsarte Literature

What first prompted an exploration of a possible connection between Wagner and Delsarte was the discovery of a number of quotations attributed to Wagner which appeared in articles and treatises on Delsarte's teachings, most significantly those written by the British actress and Delsarte teacher, Rose Meller O'Neill (1862-?). These writings include O'Neill's article, "The Living Work of a Forgotten Master (1925),"[583] as well as her full-length treatise, *The Science and Art of Speech and Gesture* (1927). Other references to Wagner in the Delsarte literature, such as those found in elocutionist James Bernard's *Twenty-Four Lessons in Elocution* (1933),[584] and dancer Ted Shawn's *Every Little Movement: A Book About François Delsarte* (1954),[585] appear to stem from O'Neill.

Little is known about O'Neill's personal life and career.[586] Reviews of her work as an amateur actress begin to appear in the press in 1882,[587] and she seems to have received generally favourable reviews as a professional actress from 1884 to 1902.[588] In July of 1891, her one-act play, *A Summer's Dream*, was produced at the Avenue Theatre in London,[589] and later that same year, she married actor Edward (Becher) O'Neill (1862-1938), grandson of famed Irish actress Elizabeth O'Neill. In 1910, Rose Meller O'Neill was hired to teach the Delsarte system at the Academy of Dramatic Art after the previous teacher, Elizabeth Earle

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[583] Rose O'Neill, "The Living Work of a Forgotten Master," *The Occult Review*, August 1925, 107-13.
[584] James Bernard, *Twenty-Four Lessons in Elocution*: *Transcribed as Actually Delivered*, 3rd (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1946), 155.
[585] Louise Gifford, "Introduction: 'I Am Speaking of Ted Shawn'," in *Every Little Movement: A Book About François Delsarte*, by Ted Shawn (Pittsfield, MA: The Eagle Printing and Binding Company, 1954), 7.
[586] Rose Adela Elizabeth Meller was apparently born in Lambeth in 1862 to Thomas Meller and Elizabeth. There is no information regarding her death. See Alistair Gordon "Richard Becher (1764-1846)," *The Bechers in India* (blog), 11 February 2022, https://the-bechers-in-india.weebly.com/richard-becher-1764-1846.html.
[587] *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, "The Amateurs," 1 July 1882, 375; and *Norwood News*, "Lower Norwood," 16 June 1883, 6.
[588] *The Stage*, "Olympic," 18 July 1884, 15; *The Stage*, "Margate – Royal," 25 June 1886, 5; *The Stage*, "The Olympic," 26 April 1889, 11; *The Stage*, "Provincial Productions," 17 December 1896, 3; and *The Stage*, "Royal Artillery, Woolwhich," 29 May 1902, 16.
[589] *The Stage*, "London Theatres," 16 July 1891, 10.

(1875-?),[590] suddenly left the position and moved to Australia after finding herself caught up in a murder scandal.[591] Records show that O'Neill taught the system at the school from 1910-1919, after which the actress Enid Rose (c.1884-1937) took over the role.[592] After a review of her book on the Delsarte system appeared in 1927,[593] there appears to be no more mention of O'Neill's name in the press.

In her treatise, *The Science and Art of Speech and Gesture*, O'Neill mentions Wagner at least ten times, some being passing references, others direct quotations. Most of the quotations attributed to Wagner in the treatise, however, do not directly refer to Delsarte's teachings, and appear to be taken from the first volume of *The Meister Journal*, edited by William Aston Ellis and published in 1888.[594] However, one quotation stands out amongst the others because it suggests that Wagner not only knew about Delsarte's method, but that the school he planned to open at Bayreuth was to be founded upon it:

> The great merit of Delsarte's method lies in this – that it prepares us to learn and to go on learning and learning to the end of our lives. Wagner, who was keenly interested in the method, and desired to have it explained to him, quickly grasped its importance and said: "Every artist should study it, but only the greatest would understand it." He was arranging to establish a school for the method, in conjunction with Bayreuth, when he died.[595]

How, or from whom, O'Neill learned that Wagner's proposed school at Bayreuth was to be based on Delsarte's method, she does not say, but it was common knowledge that Wagner

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[590] Programmes from the Academy of Dramatic Art show that Earle was teaching the Delsarte system in 1908, but as there are no prior records, it is likely that she taught the system from the school's establishment in 1904. Mander & Mitchenson Collection, MM/2/OR/SC/16/1, Theatre Collection, University of Bristol.
[591] Earle's ex-lover was mysteriously murdered in a vacant flat beneath her own. See Richard Whittington-Egan, *Mr Atherstone Leaves the Stage*: *The Battersea Murder Mystery* (Stroud: Amberley, 2015), 88-194. O'Neill states that she learned the Delsarte system from a "Mrs. E," possibly a reference to Elizabeth's mother, Josephine Earle (1841-1905), a teacher of elocution, whose name was withheld by O'Neill in her treatise likely owing to the scandal. As O'Neill's sister was actress Margaret Earle, there appears to be a family connection.
[592] Rose taught the Delsarte system at RADA from 1920-c.1926, also publishing a treatise on acting (but not specific to Delsarte). See Enid Rose, *First Studies in Dramatic Art* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1926).
[593] See *The Stage*, "Book Chat: A Delsarte Study," 5 May 1927, 12.
[594] O'Neill, *Science and Art*, 61, 71, 146, 154, and 175; *The Meister*: *The Quarterly Journal of the London Branch of the Wagner Society*, ed. William A. Ellis, vol.1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1888), no. 1, 20; no. 1, 20; no. 4, 128; no. 4, 128; and no. 1, 17. One of the quotations in O'Neill (p. 171) is taken from a sketch by Wagner. See Richard Wagner, "Sketches and Fragments," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works: Posthumous, Etc.*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, vol. VIII (London: William Reeves, 1899), 367.
[595] O'Neill, *Science and Art*, 110. For Delsarte's own proposed school of the arts, see figure 2.3.

did, in fact, propose such a school.[596] The part of the quotation O'Neill attributes to Wagner himself appears to originate from a two-part article published in *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* in 1889 by an anonymous author.[597] However, the statement in this particular article is attributed not to Wagner, but to the conductor Hans Richter, who is quoted as saying: "Every actor should study it, but only the greatest will understand its need and value."[598] The anonymous author of the article claims that Richter, when he made this statement, was speaking to Henrietta Hovey (1849-1918), a well-known American teacher of the Delsarte System who, from 1886-1889 toured England with her then-husband, Edmund Russell, giving lectures and demonstrations on various aspects of Delsarte's aesthetic system.[599] To complicate matters further, however, O'Neill presents the same quotation in her first publication, albeit slightly altered, stating that: "A great musician who had seen a demonstration of the work was so impressed by it that he explained it at length to Richard Wagner, who saw its range and significance at once, and said 'Every artist should have it, but only the greatest would understand it.'"[600] And so, although it is not clear, what may have happened is that, at some point on their tour of England, Edmund Russell and Henrietta Hovey may have demonstrated the Delsarte system to Richter, who, perhaps in turn, told a story himself about Wagner's own understanding of the system. Whatever the truth of the matter, O'Neill's claim that Wagner knew about the system deserves further investigation.

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[596] See Richard Wagner, "Proposed Bayreuth 'School': Prospectus Published with the Statutes of the Patronat-Verein," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works: Religion and Art*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, vol. VI. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1897), 19-21. There is no mention, however, in Wagner's proposal that the school was to be based on Delsarte's method.

[597] W., "Delsartism," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 87, no. 1 (1889), 12-15; and "Delsartism II," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 89, no. 4 (1889), 155-159.

[598] W., "Delsartism," 14.

[599] The couple gave lectures and demonstrations on various aspects of Delsarte's teachings, from gesture, deportment, and elocution, to health, fashion, and home decoration. The tour culminated with the publication of *A Delsartean Scrap-Book*, in which the article, "Delsartism," from *The Phrenological Journal* was reprinted. It is unlikely that O'Neill's source was the 1889 article, "Delsartism," as there is no other evidence that her writings were influenced by the American publications on Delsarte.

[600] O'Neill, "The Living Work," 113.

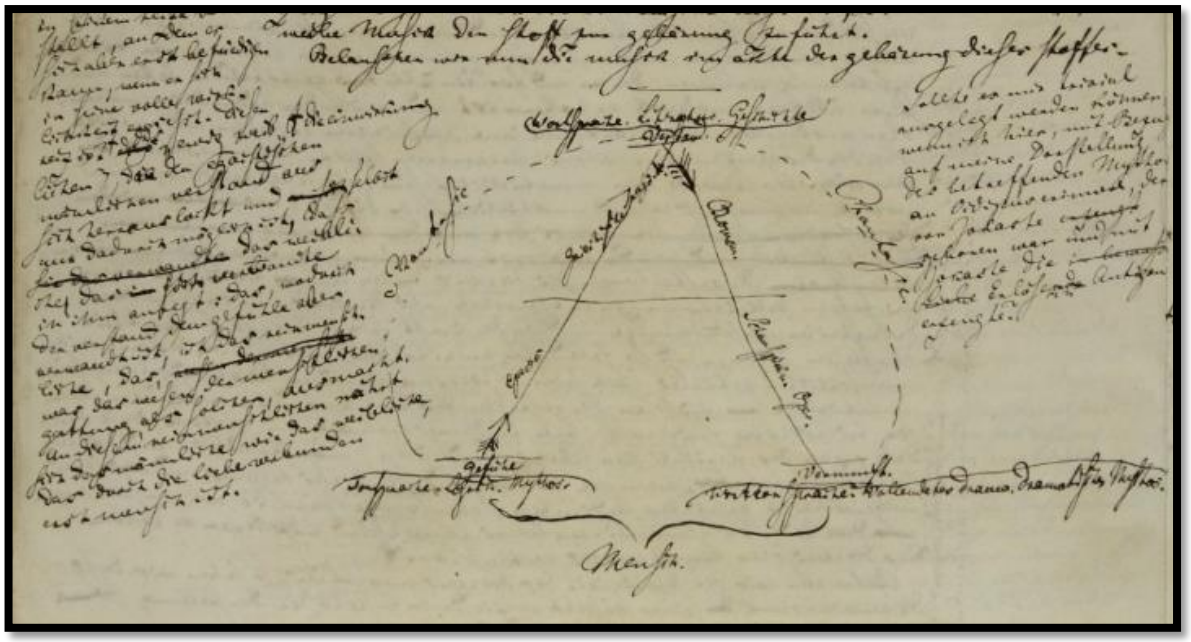
4.2 Wagner's Chart of Man

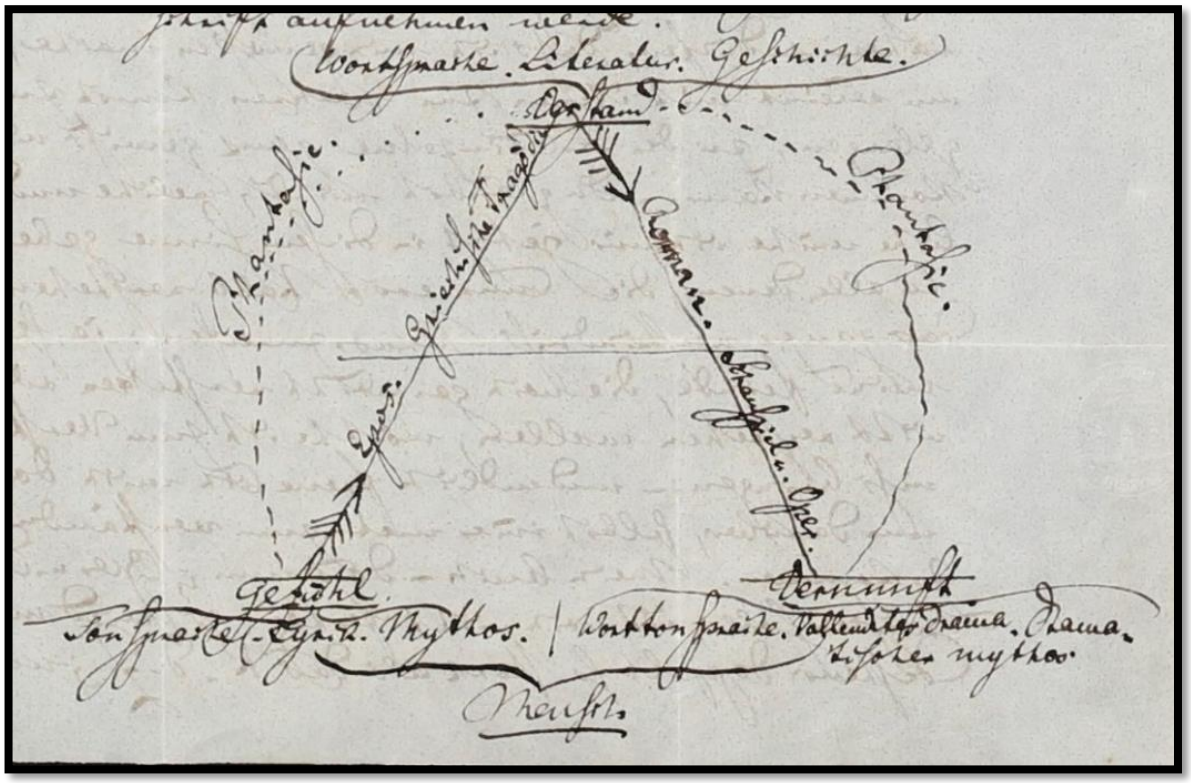
The first and most obvious place to search for evidence of Delsarte's influence on Wagner is in his extant manuscripts. A unique feature of Delsarte's theory is the symbolic language of interconnected triangles, circles, and arrows he developed in order to teach his system to practicing musicians, and so any trace of this symbolic language found in Wagner's manuscripts would suggest a possible connection between the two artists. Significantly, two instances of such a language are immediately identifiable in Wagner's manuscripts.

In 1850, Wagner drew two identical charts with the title of *Mensch* at the bottom, one in the manuscript of *Opera and Drama*, the other in a letter to his friend, Theodor Uhlig (see figures 4.1 and 4.2). In the letter, Wagner tells Uhlig that he is undecided as to whether he will publish the chart, but ultimately he decided against it.[601] Versions of the chart were published only after his death, first in 1888,[602] then in 1890 for an English translation of Wagner's letters by John South Shedlock,[603] and also in Ellis' translation of *Opera and Drama* in 1893.[604] However, in all three of these publications, the symbolic language in Wagner's drawing was reproduced incorrectly. In the 1888 and 1893 reproductions, the arrows along the oblique lines are erroneously shown pointing in both directions, whilst the dotted-lined semicircle is rendered as a dotted-lined square. In the 1890 reproduction, the arrows are excluded altogether, the dotted-lined semicircle is rendered as a solid-lined square, and the oblique lines do not join in an apex. Thus, for the sake of clarity, I have included a more accurate rendering of Wagner's drawing in translation below (see figure 4.3).

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[601] Richard Wagner, *Richard Wagner's Letters to His Dresden Friends*: *Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, and Ferdinand Heine*, Translated by J. S. Shedlock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 84. It is not known why Wagner decided against publishing the drawing, although one could speculate that, because the drawing would have been recognizable to those who knew Delsarte's teachings as belonging to his system, it would have been obvious that both the drawing and the theory in *Opera and Drama* were taken from Delsarte.
[602] Richard Wagner, *Richard Wagner's Briefe an Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, Ferdinand Heine* (Germany: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1888), 74.
[603] Wagner, *Letters*, 85.
[604] Wagner, *Prose Works*: *Opera and Drama*, 2.





Figures 4.1 and 4.2. Wagner's Chart of Man. The above images show the two charts that were drawn by Wagner in 1850. Figure 4.1 (above) shows the lower section of a manuscript page from Wagner's *Opera and Drama*. Nationalarchiv der Richard-Wagner-Stiftung, Bayreuth, *Oper und Drama*, Urschrift, Zürich 1851, S. 112, Signatur: NA B II b 24. Figure 4.2 (below) shows the chart as it appeared in a letter written by Wagner to Theodor Uhlig, dated December 1850. Nationalarchiv der Richard-Wagner-Stiftung, Bayreuth, *Brief von Richard Wagner an Theodor Uhlig*, ohne Ort 1850, S. 2, Signatur: NA I A 6 b Nr. 19. Images are reproduced with permission from the Nationalarchiv der Richard-Wagner-Stiftung, Bayreuth.

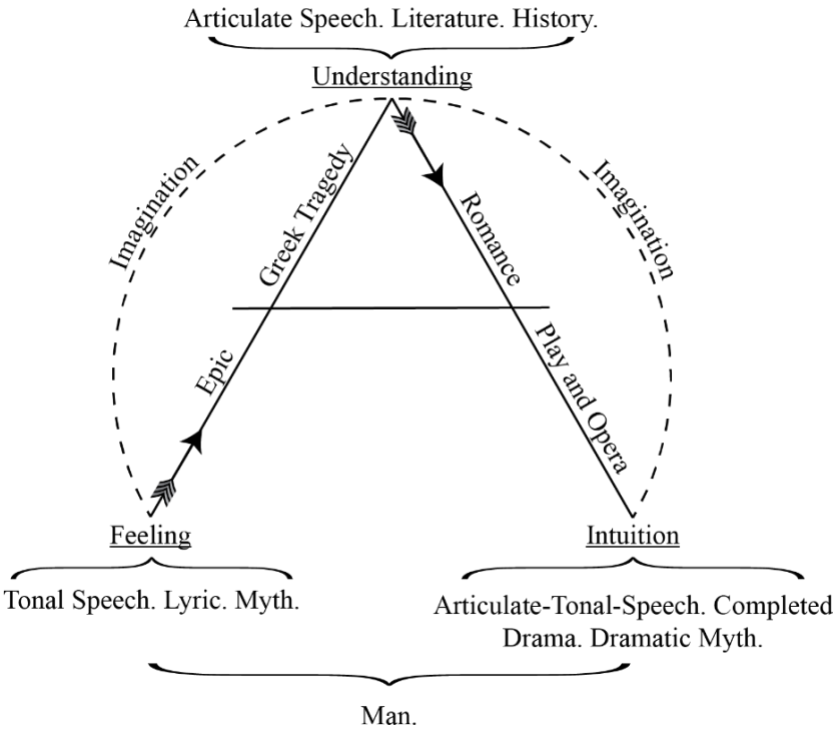


Figure 4.3. Reproduction and Translation of Wagner's Chart of Man. The above figure shows Wagner's drawing in translation, which is based on my own translation, as well as those by Shedlock (1890), Ellis (1893), and Evans (1913).

4.2.1 Tonal Speech, Articulate Speech, and the Absence of Gesture

Wagner's drawing contains a number of features that are hallmarks of Delsarte's symbolic language, including the triangular figure at the centre, a dotted semicircle encapsulating this figure, and two arrows drawn along the edge of the figure processing in one direction.[605] The title of Wagner's drawing, "Man," corresponds to the title of Delsarte's Chart of Man or Chart of Human Nature (see figure 4.4), and also shares similar terms placed at the three points of the central triangle. Beginning at the lower left-hand corner of the drawing, the three terms, *Tonsprache*, *Lyrik*, *Mythos* (tonal speech, lyric, myth) are bracketed by the single term *Gefühl* (feeling/sensation/sentiment). Then, following the arrow upwards, the three terms *Wortsprache*, *Literatur*, *Geschichte* (articulate speech, literature, and history)

[605] A similar dotted semi-circle around triangular figures is found in Giraudet, *Mimique*, 14. See figure 1.4.

are bracketed by the single term *Verstand* (understanding/mind/intellect). Finally, following the arrow downwards, the three terms *Worttonsprache, Vollendetes Drama, Dramatischer Mythos* (articulate-tonal-speech, completed drama, dramatic myth) are bracketed by the single term *Vernunft* (intuition/reason).

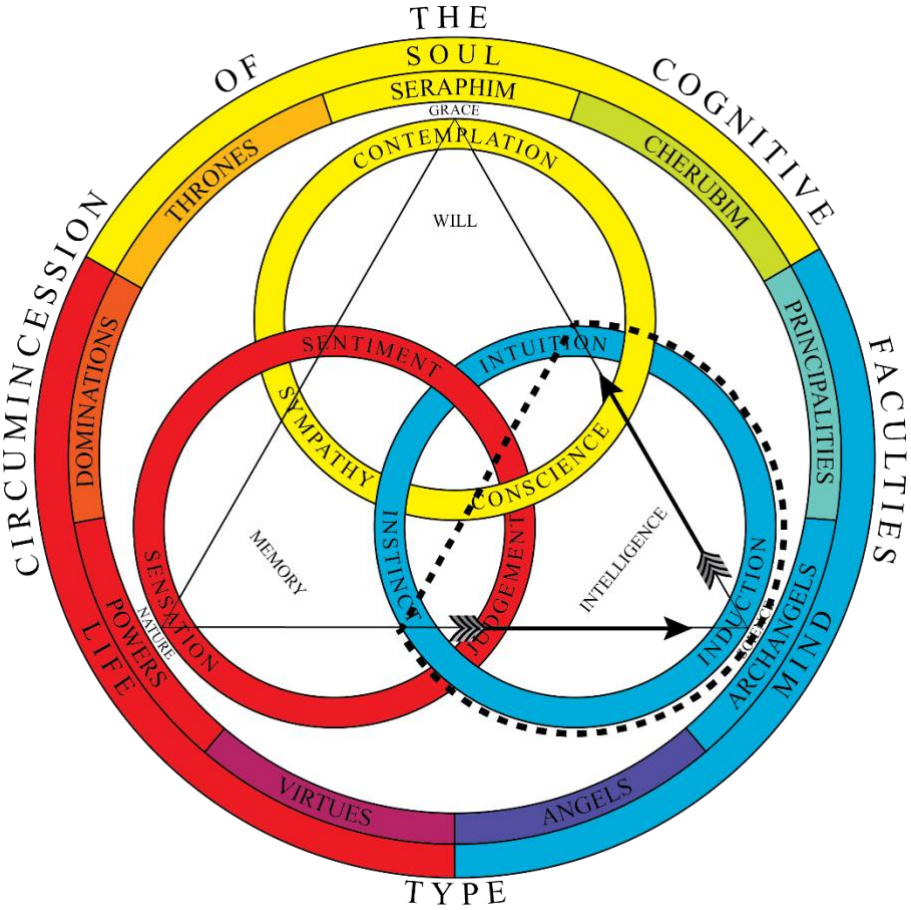


Figure 4.4. Wagner's Chart Overlaid onto Delsarte's Chart of Man (Chart of Human Nature). This figure shows the positioning of Wagner's chart in dotted black lines overlaid onto Delsarte's complete Chart of Man. Note that Wagner's chart appears as a mirror image of the outline presented here.The arrows are included to show that their trajectory in Wagner's chart corresponds to the processional relations of the Trinity in Delsarte's aesthetic theory, from the Father (Life in red) to the Son (Mind in blue), and from the Son to the Holy Ghost (Soul in yellow). Based on a drawing in Delaumosne et al., *Delsarte System of Oratory*, 4th ed, 502 insert.

Not only do the terms *tonal speech* and *articulate speech* in Wagner's drawing correspond to the languages of *vocal inflection* and *articulate speech* in Delsarte's aesthetic theory, but the third term, *articulate-tonal-speech*, is an obvious coming-together of these two terms. In *Opera and Drama*, Wagner argues that "the most remarkable feature of ancient

Lyric consists in its words and verse proceeding from the tone and melody,"[606] similar to the way in which articulate speech proceeds from vocal inflection in Delsarte's theory. In Delsarte's theory this corresponds to the Father begetting the Son in terms of the processional relations of the principle of the Trinity. Significantly, the third expressive agent in Delsarte's theory, *gesture*, does not appear in Wagner's chart, even though the bringing together of *tonal speech* and *articulate speech* appears to result in the *completed drama* and *dramatic myth*, of which *gesture* is a necessary part.

In 1899, Ernest Newman pointed out that the very use of the term *drama* in Wagner's chart meant that his theory was essentially "flawed at its very foundations."[607] According to Newman, the word *drama* "does not and cannot mean, in relation to music, what it always has meant in relation to poetry."[608] Newman's problem was that the term *drama* was mistakenly taken by Wagner's followers to mean that the poet should be "dominant" over the musician.[609] However, the final term in the chart, *articulate-tonal-speech*, clearly expresses that what Wagner meant was not only the equal coming together of *tonal speech* and *articulate speech*, but also the equal coming together of *lyric* and *literature*, *myth* and *history* – sense and reason – to form a perfected synthesis of opposites. In *Opera and Drama*, Wagner insists on the co-equality of *music* and *poetry* when he argues that:

> Should however the poet and musician, instead of being restrained, mutually and lovingly stimulate each other's power to the utmost; and should they, in this love, accordingly prove all that which it lies in their power to become; should they mutually sacrifice themselves, by each *permeating* the other with his own highest power – then is the drama duly brought forth in accordance with its supreme fulfilment.[610]

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[606] Richard Wagner, *Opera and Drama*, trans. Edwin Evans, 2 vols. 2 (London: W. Reeves, 1913), 504.
[607] Ernest Newman, *A Study of Wagner* (London: Bertram Dobell, 1899; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 102. Citations refer to the Cambridge edition.
[608] Newman, 101.
[609] Newman, 102.
[610] Wagner, *Opera and Drama*, 2:633. German text: "Beschränken sich Dichter und Musiker nun gegenseitig aber nicht, sondern erregen sie in der Liebe ihr Vermögen zur höchsten Macht, sind sie in der Liebe somit ganz, was sie irgend sein können, gehen sie in dem sich dargebrachten Opfer ihrer höchsten Potenz gegenseitig in sich unter – so ist das Drama nach seiner höchsten Fülle geboren." Wagner, *Oper und Drama*, ed. Klaus Kropfinger (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2008), 367-68.

If we take Delsarte's principle of the Trinity as an analogy, then Wagner's meaning in this passage becomes clear. When the arts of *music* and *poetry* come together, if they retain their own identity as *music* and *poetry*, that is if they retain what makes them unique and distinct from one another, then, by mutually coming together and then perishing in one another, these two art forms create a distinctly new art form – *drama* – just as when the Father and Son of the Trinity come together in love, the terms *Father* and *Son* mutually perish in one another in order to create the third and final term of the Trinity, the *Holy Ghost*. These three terms (the persons of the Trinity) are both united and distinct. Theologically, according to the circumincession, each term permeates the other two, but each also remains distinct according to the processional relations, whereby each retains its own identity in relation to the other two. Similarly, when *music* and *poetry* come together as equals, according to Wagner, a new art form is created in which neither the music nor the words predominate – the perfected *drama* – in the same way that, when the major and minor modes come together in a balanced system of interlocking triads, according to Delsarte's criterion, a new mode is created in which neither the major nor minor mode predominates – the neutral or atonal mode.[611]

It must be pointed out, however, that in Wagner's chart there is no *actual* coming together of music and poetry in order to create the perfected drama, as the triangular figure Wagner has drawn remains open and incomplete at its base. There is also no arrow indicating a direct processional relation from *tonal speech*, *lyric*, and *myth* to the final terms *articulate-tonal-speech*, *completed drama*, and *dramatic myth*. What the chart depicts, therefore, is not the coming together of music and poetry, but rather the metaphysical separation of the poetical *understanding*, which is a mental abstraction born of the imagination (*Phantasie*), from the musical *feeling* as the thing-in-itself. In terms of Delsarte's theory, Wagner's chart

[611] For the major and minor modes coming together in order to create a neutral, atonal mode in Delsarte's system, see figure 3.15.

follows the medieval order of inquiry beginning in sense perception (*feeling*) proceeding to the abstraction of intelligible forms (*understanding*) leading to the discovery of universal principles (*intuition*), or, in other words, the chart proceeds from empirical knowledge to rational knowledge to contemplative knowledge.[612] And so Wagner's Chart of Man depicts the second step in this epistemological process, that is the abstraction of intelligible forms by the *understanding*. In order for these poetic forms to emerge from the realm of potentiality and manifest themselves to the musical feeling in the realm of actuality, it is necessary, Wagner argues, for the poetical understanding, expressed by the agent of articulate speech, to align itself with an *altogether different* form of expression, that is the agent of *gesture*.[613] In Part III of *Opera and Drama*, Wagner points out that *gesture* was originally united to both *tonal speech* and *articulate speech* in the ancient Lyric: "We know, now, that the endless variety of Greek metre was produced by the inseparable and living co-operation of *dance-gesture* with articulate speech."[614] Thus, Part III of Wagner's theory does not simply illustrate the drama of the future being born from music and poetry alone, but rather the coming together of *tonal speech*, *articulate speech*, and *gesture* to form the perfected drama. And so, it is through the expression of *gesture* that music and poetry are reunited in the music drama.[615] Although Wagner's chart does not explicitly indicate this, an analysis of his writings show that his theory in *Opera and Drama*, the work to which the chart belongs, is based on the reunification of the same three expressive languages as in Delsarte's theory: *vocal inflection*, *articulate speech*, and *gesture*.

Therefore, whilst Newman may be correct in arguing that the term *drama* does not mean in relation to *music* what it means in relation to *poetry*, the term *drama* does, in fact,

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[612] For the medieval order of inquiry according to Delsarte's system, see figure 1.15.
[613] Richard Wagner, *Opera and Drama*, trans. Edwin Evans, 2 vols. 1 (London: W. Reeves, 1913), 416.
[614] Wagner, 2:423, emphasis mine.
[615] In Parts I and II of *Opera and Drama*, Wagner uses the term *gesture* roughly twenty times, whereas, in Part III alone, he uses the term roughly one hundred and thirty times (based on the Evans translation).

mean in relation to *gesture* what both *music* and *poetry* mean in relation to *tonal speech* and *articulate speech*. And so, the problem with Wagner's chart is not his use of the term *drama* per se, but the absence of drama's relational expressive term, *gesture*. What Newman, and other scholars who have attempted to interpret the chart, have failed to consider is that the chart, in and of itself, is not a complete rendering of Wagner's system.[616] This would have been clear had the chart been analysed within the context of Wagner's text where it originally appeared in the manuscript – as a summary of Part II – rather than being taken out of context and analysed in isolation, whereby a *part* was mistakenly taken for the *whole*.

4.2.2 From Epic to Opera: A Poetic Theory of French Romanticism

Embedded in Wagner's chart, according to the placement of the two arrows, is a stadial theory of the historical development of the poetic arts, which proceeds from epic to Greek tragedy, and from romance to play and opera. Although this stadial theory is not found in Delsarte's extant manuscripts, a similar theory is found in a well-known poetic theory from 1827, Victor Hugo's "Preface to Cromwell," the manifesto of French Romanticism. In the "Preface," Hugo uses the same terms (with the exception of *opera*) and in the same successive order as does Wagner in his chart. According to Hugo's theory, the poetic arts have three historical developmental stages, "each of which corresponds to an epoch of civilization: the ode, the epic, and the drama. Primitive times are lyrical, ancient times epical, modern times dramatic."[617] In Hugo's first epoch, corresponding to the art of lyric, man's first utterance is a tripartite hymn: "his lyre has but three strings – God, the soul, creation; but

[616] Kropfinger argues that the chart depicts the correspondence of the arts and their application in the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, also suggesting that Wagner was referring to the Kantian differentiation of the terms *understanding* (*Verstand*) and *reason* (*Vernunft*). Kropfinger, "Text und Edition von *Oper und Drama*," in *Oper und Drama*, 468. Richard H. Bell argues that the chart illustrates the *whole process* whereby the lyric, tonal speech, and myth form the beginning and end of poetry, articulate speech, and history respectively. Richard H. Bell, *Theology of Wagner's Ring Cycle I* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2020), 113.
[617] Victor Hugo, "Preface to Cromwell," in *Prefaces and Prologues to Famous Books*, ed. Charles W. Eliot, vol. 39 (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1910), 352.

this threefold mystery envelopes everything, this threefold idea embraces everything."[618] In the second epoch, corresponding to epic, man narrates his doings. And, in the third epoch, corresponding to drama, man sets about describing what he thinks – this last epoch, according to Hugo, "combining the most *opposed qualities*."[619] And so, the coming together of opposites in Hugo's poetic theory is not unlike the coming together of opposites in Wagner's chart. Furthermore, Hugo makes a fundamental distinction in his manifesto between what he believes differentiates the *classical* genre from the *romantic* genre, which is the historical establishment of the Christian religion, which he argues values the *individual* over the *tribal collective* (or chorus) of pagan antiquity.[620] Out of this new religion, Hugo argues, arises a new societal order and a new worldview, "where the ugly exists beside the beautiful, the unshapely beside the graceful, the grotesque on the reverse of the sublime, evil with good, darkness with light."[621] In Hugo's theory, drama is the culmination of both pagan society and modern Christian society, the artform itself establishing a balance between the two principles of music and poetry, artforms he believes are inherent in human civilization.[622]

In Wagner's chart, there is likewise a differentiation in his stadial theory between classicism and romanticism, which is located at the apex of the triangular figure: *epic* and *tragedy* forming the classical genre, *romance, play and opera* forming the romantic genre.[623] Thus, the stadial theory in Wagner's chart does not conform exactly to the theory found in Hugo's "Preface," as there are only two epochs in both the pagan and Christian societies in Wagner's chart. In fact, not only is there no lyrical epoch in Wagner's theory, but there is no music whatsoever, as the musical terms *tonal speech, lyric,* and *articulate-tonal-speech* stand

[618] Hugo, 339.
[619] Hugo, 353, emphasis mine.
[620] Hugo, 344.
[621] Hugo, 345.
[622] Hugo, 354.
[623] Properly speaking, Christian civilization would begin with a lyrical epoch of hymns and liturgical chant, which Wagner mentions more than once. See Wagner, *Opera and Drama*, 1:26, 65-66, and 105.

outside of the dotted-lined circle of the imagination (*Phantasie*) in which his stadial theory begins and ends. Even with the inclusion of the term *opera* located in the dramatic epoch of the Christian era along the oblique line, there is no actual music in Wagner's theory as such, because the historical development of opera, which Wagner argues had been dominated by a *conscious poetical understanding*, rather than an *unconscious musical feeling*, is the very problem he is attempting to correct in *Opera and Drama*. In the text, Wagner argues:

> That which constitutes Gluck [as] the starting point of what must, at any rate, be considered a complete reform in the mutual relations of the artistic factors of opera, is, however, that he delivered himself with full *consciousness* and upon principle respecting the necessity of giving, to both air and recitative, an expression corresponding with that of the *text*.[624]

According to Wagner, as important as Gluck's reforms were, the problem with those reforms was that, rather than emerge out of an unconscious musical feeling (sense), they developed from a conscious poetical understanding (reason), whereby Gluck "applied himself with more *calculated* earnestness" to the "necessity of giving the dramatic contents of the *text* its true expression."[625] In fact, Wagner insists that opera itself met its own demise "the moment that the *unconscious* seed [of absolute melody] had been developed into the condition of evident *conscious* fullness."[626] As Wagner saw it, although the opera composer became more dictatorial towards the poet after Gluck's reforms, the conscious poetical understanding now dominated both composer and poet alike, the music conforming even more so to the demands of the conventional operatic text, rather than dramatic content arising out of an unconscious musical impulse rooted in the feelings or senses. Thus, the term *opera* in Wagner's stadial theory reflects his insistence that the historical development of opera has always been dominated by the conscious poetical understanding, which abstracts intelligible forms by way

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[624] Wagner, 1:41, emphasis mine. German text: "Daß er aber die schickliche Notwendigkeit eines der Textunterlage entsprechenden Ausdruckes in Arie und Rezitativ *mit Bewußtsein und grundsätzlich aussprach*, das macht ihn zu dem Ausgangspunkt für eine allerdings vollständige Veränderung in der bisherigen Stellung der künstlerischen Faktoren der Oper zueinander." Wagner, *Oper und Drama*, 27-28.
[625] Wagner, 1:42, emphasis mine.
[626] Wagner, 1:70-71.

of the intellect, and which is expressed not by *tonal speech* (feeling), but by *articulate speech* (understanding). Therefore, there is no lyrical epoch in Wagner's stadial theory in his chart because, in short, his theory represents the *historically contingent* development of the conscious poetical understanding at a single point in time and space, rather than the *mythologically universal* development of the unconscious musical feeling in accordance with the physiological development of human beings, which is true at all times and in all places.[627]

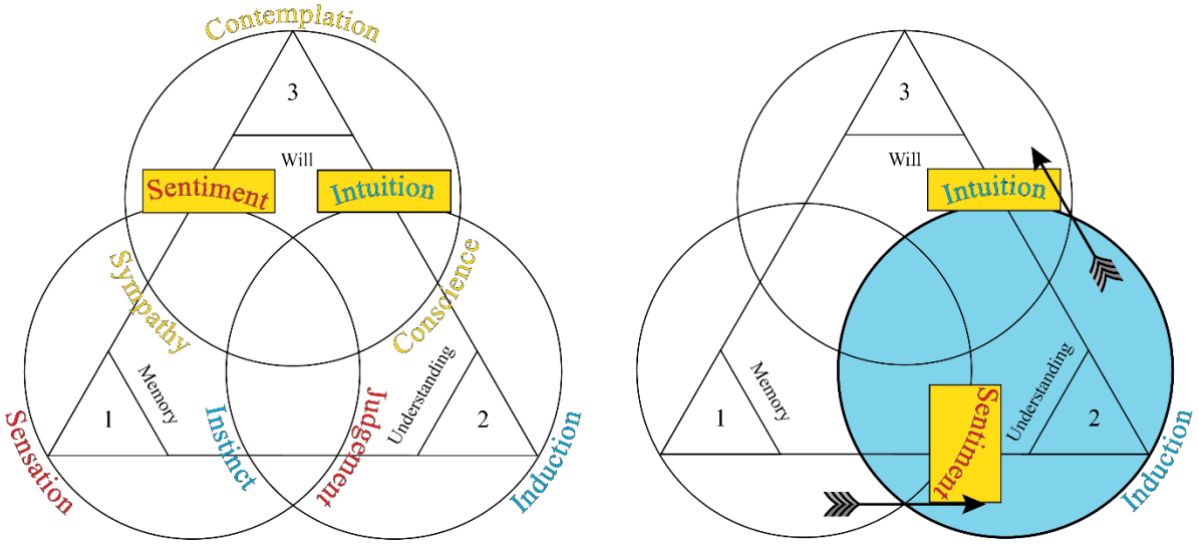
4.2.3 Wagner's and Delsarte's Chart of Man Compared

In order to understand Wagner's Chart of Man as an abstraction of the poetical forms separate from both the musical feeling and the completed drama, it is necessary to see the chart as a partial rendering of the entire theory he presents in *Opera and Drama* (see figures 4.5 and 4.6). Figure 4.5 on the left depicts Delsarte's Chart of Man based on a drawing from his 1867 manuscript,[628] whilst figure 4.6 on the right is a rendering of Wagner's Chart of Man in accordance with Delsarte's chart. Also included in both charts are the three faculties of *memory*, *understanding*, and *will* from St. Augustine's *De Trinitate*,[629] terms which appear in numerous versions of Delsarte's Chart of Man.[630] The question is: how does Wagner's version of the chart correspond to Delsarte's system?

In his 1867 lecture, Delsarte explained to his students that all of the sources of human cognition are not always so hierarchically ordered as they are in his Chart of Man, owing to the inevitable disturbances and disruptions of human cognitive functioning. The ordering of these cognitive powers is therefore sometimes completely reversed, so that, for example, if *sentiment* takes the place of *judgement*, then *judgement* must move somewhere else:

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[627] For Delsarte's mythological argument on the physiological development of the three organic agents, or languages, of bodily expression, see section 3.1.
[628] For the original drawing, see Delsarte, "Cours de Monsieur Delsarte," DP, box 12b, folder 54, item 1, p. 91.
[629] Augustine, *On the Trinity*, X.11-12.
[630] For Delsarte's Chart of Man, see figure 1.7.



Figures 4.5 and 4.6. Delsarte's and Wagner's Chart of Man. Figure 4.5 (left) reproduces Delsarte's chart from his 1867 manuscript, showing the nine cognitive powers in their proper hierarchical order, with *sentiment* and *intuition* highlighted in yellow. Figure 4.6 (right) shows Wagner's chart in relation to Delsarte's, whereby the power of *sentiment* has taken the place of *judgement*. The three faculties of *memory*, *understanding*, and *will* from St. Augustine's *De Trinitate* are included in both figures to show how the *understanding* abstracts intelligible forms through a process of inductive reasoning, thereby corresponding to Wagner's use of the term.

> There is, between this order, the order willed by God and by madness, because the subversion of all of these terms would be complete madness, twenty-seven perfectly determinable terms. Thus, there are twenty-seven terms of transition between the wisdom willed by God and by madness. All of these exist in the madman; the madman has intuitions, he has a conscience, but in a subversive order; all of these do not fit together, do not harmonize, all of these are poorly hierarchised.[631]

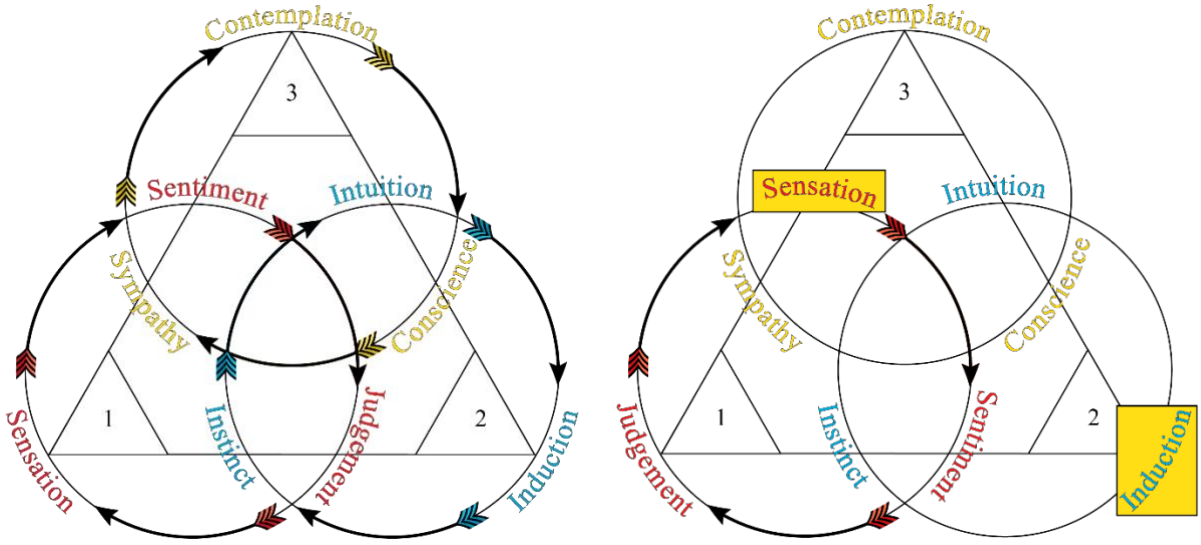
In order to account for human cognitive development and habitual change, Delsarte reveals that the three interconnected circles in his chart rotate, thereby producing twenty-seven terms of transition between complete wisdom, whereby the terms are perfectly hierarchized, and complete madness, whereby the terms are perfectly subverted (see figure 4.7). In his lecture, Delsarte provides a few examples of these characteristic changes for his students, one of them being the character of "the poet," that is a person who, according to Delsarte, has their heart

[631] "Il y a, entre cet ordre, l'ordre voulu par Dieu et la folie, car la subversion de ces termes serait la folie complète, 27 termes parfaitement déterminables. Ainsi il y a 27 termes de transition entre la sagesse voulue par Dieu et la folie. Chez le fou, tout cela est, le fou a des intuitions, a une conscience, mais dans un ordre subversif ; tout cela ne s'accorde pas, ne s'harmonise pas, tout cela est mal hiérarchisé." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 94. Appendix B.

lodged in their brain, the power of *judgement* thus passing into the realm of life because the *feelings* (*sentiment*) have become lodged in the realm of the *understanding* (see figure 4.8):

> This [ordering] will create a singular state, the state, for example, of people who have their heart in the brain, and there are many of them. We should not be surprised at the prodigious encephalitic development of many poets. Their heart is in the brain. Only do not strike at the heart, it is devoid of all feeling. So, for example, there are people who worship humanity and who are tyrants to their spouses and to their children, and they are always quarrelling with their neighbours. These people have their heart lodged in the brain, and they must keep developing the brain.[632]

The picture Delsarte paints for his students is not only the character of the poet, but, more precisely, that of the tyrant, an individual whose capacity for judgement has been displaced, leading to a lack of compassion towards individuals (particulars), who are treated tyrannically or unjustly, and a heightened compassion towards abstract concepts, such as that of *humanity*



Figures 4.7 and 4.8. Chart of Cognitive Transition and Chart of the Poet (Tyrant). Figure 4.7 (left) shows the three interlocking circles rotating in Delsarte's Chart of Man which accounts for cognitive change, producing twenty-seven terms of transition and eighty-one developmental varieties. Figure 4.8 (right) shows Delsarte's character of the poet, or those people who have their hearts (sentiment) lodged in their brains. whereby the feelings (sentiment) pass into the understanding, the power of judgement displacing the senses, which in turn distorts the equilibrium between sense (sensation) and reason (induction), highlighted in yellow.

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[632] "Ça créera un état singulier, l'état par exemple, des gens qui ont le cœur est dans cerveau, et il y en a beaucoup. Il ne faut pas s'étonner du prodigieux développement encéphalique de beaucoup de poètes. Le cœur est dans le cerveau. Seulement ne frappez pas au cœur, il est vide de sentiments. Ainsi, par exemple, il y a des gens qui adorent l'humanité et qui sont des tyrans de leur femme et de leurs enfants et ils sont toujours en querelle avec leurs voisins. Ceux-là ont le cœur logé dans le cerveau, et ils doivent avoir le cerveau développe." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 101-02. Appendix B.

(universal form).[633] Because the *feelings* have displaced the power of *judgement*, the necessary equilibrium which should exist between the foundational terms *sense* (*sensation*) and *reason* (*induction*) is disrupted, becoming unbalanced (see figure 4.8 above). This is why Delsarte insists, according to the principle of the Trinity, on the absolute co-equality of the terms *Father* and *Son*,[634] which is to say the absolute necessity of the co-equality of the terms *sense* and *reason*, because, should one term predominate over the other, in terms of the doctrine of the Trinity, there will be no procession of the Holy Ghost owing to such an imbalance. In psychological terms, such an imbalance means that there will be no procession to a higher form of cognitive functioning, the end of which is contemplation of divine perfection (see figure 4.9). Likewise, in terms of Wagner's theory, an imbalance between the

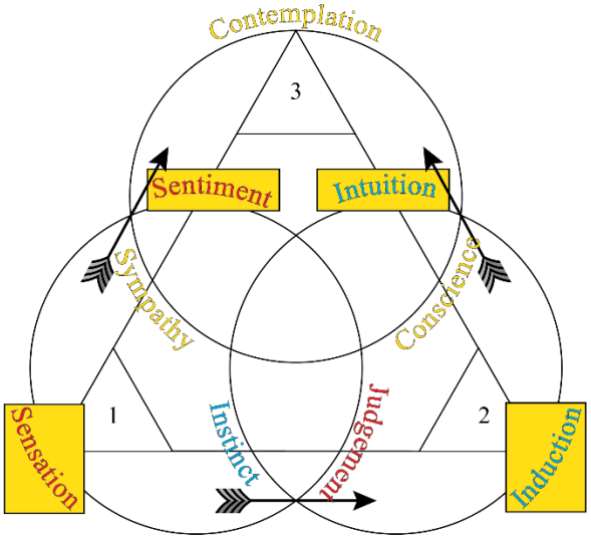


Figure 4.9. Delsarte's Chart of Man Balanced between Sense and Reason. This figure shows Delsarte's chart equally balanced between *sense* (*sensation*) and *reason* (*induction*), which also creates a balance between the *feelings* (*sentiment*) and *intuition*. In Wagner's theory, this balance is necessary for the equal coming together of music (sense) and poetry (understanding/reason). In terms of the principle of the Trinity, Delsarte insists on the absolute co-equality of the terms *Father* (sense) and *Son* (reason) because, without absolute equality, there can be no procession of the Holy Ghost from both of these terms. In psychological terms, an imbalance between sense and reason means that there can be no procession to a higher form of cognitive functioning, whereby the *feelings* and *intuition* equally unite, leading to the power contemplation of the divine perfection. In Wagnerian terms, an imbalance between music (*feeling*) and poetry (*intuition*) means that there can be no development towards the perfected or completed drama.

[633] In the *Republic*, Plato calls for the prohibition of poetry because it is the poets who erroneously believe that injustice is profitable and justice unprofitable. Plato, *Republic*, in *Complete Works*, ed. John M. Cooper, trans. G.M.A. Grube, rev. C.D.C. Reeve (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997), 392b. It is not known if Delsarte had Plato's *Republic* in mind, but the connection between the displacement of judgement and the characterization of the poet as a tyrant seems apparent.

[634] See section 1.2.2.

musical feeling (sense) and the poetical understanding (reason), where one predominates over the other, means that music and poetry cannot come together as equals in order to create the completed or perfect drama.

Regarding the tendency of the conscious poetical understanding to dominate the unconscious musical feeling in the operatic genre, Wagner argues in *Opera and Drama* that one of the effects of Gluck's reforms, which "consisted of nothing more than the *uprising of the composer* against the singer's caprice," was that these reforms made the composer more *dictatorial* towards the poet.[635] Thus, the opera composer, rather than choose to "develop the purely sensuous contents of the air" according to the passions of the acting *characters on stage* (particulars), chose instead to restrict "all arbitrary rendering of the air by making its expression correspond with that of the *underlying text* [universal form]."[636] As a result, Gluck's reforms kept the opera composer and poet on an unequal, albeit newly reversed, relationship whereby, in coming together, the composer's identity was still subsumed under the poetical understanding because the conventional *abstract poetical forms* of the operatic genre still dominated both composer and poet alike. Therefore, what we see in Wagner's Chart of Man is Delsarte's characterization of the poet as a tyrant, whereby the poetic genres contained in his stadial theory address themselves not to the senses or the feelings but to the abstract power of the imagination only, through the process of *induction* – all stadial theories being broad historical generalizations.[637] According to Wagner, the poetic genres in his chart do not address themselves to the whole of human perception, but only to the mind:

> All such arts merely indicate. A real presentation could only become possible to them in the event of their possessing the power of simultaneously addressing the whole range of man's artistic sensations of communicating with his entire perceptive organism, and not merely to his power of imagination; for the real work of art is

[635] Wagner, *Opera and Drama*, 1:40 and 42.
[636] Wagner, 1:41, emphasis mine.
[637] Wagner, 1:212.

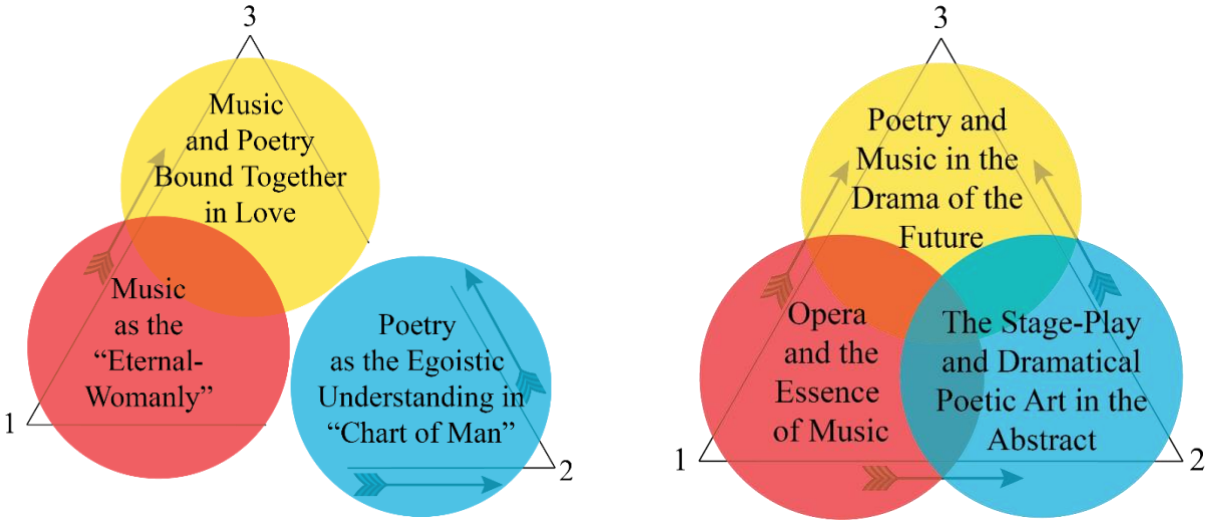
> shown precisely by its *advance beyond the region of imagination* into that reality in which the senses are directly affected.[638]

And so, if the real work of art, as Wagner argues, is to advance beyond the realm of the imagination, then the real part of Wagner's aesthetic theory lies beyond his Chart of Man. What lies beyond Wagner's chart is not only the feminine aspect of his theory, corresponding to the essence of music, but also the equal coming together of *manly poetry* and *womanly music* in the creation of the completed drama, that is Parts I and III of *Opera and Drama* respectively (see figure 4.10). Because Wagner argues that poetry corresponds to the "manly egoistic understanding," whilst music corresponds to the "eternal-womanly," his Chart of Man pertains to the *masculine* aspect of his aesthetic theory only.[639] Thus, Wagner's use of the German term *Mensch* in his chart cannot mean *man* in the universal sense, but rather in the more restricted sense of *man* in relation to *woman*, and so *Mensch* cannot be translated as either *humanity* or *human being* as some English-speaking scholars have done.[640] What constitutes the *human being*, or *purely-human* species, for Wagner is the unification of both the masculine (finite) and feminine (infinite) aspects of his theory whence they are bound together in love: "*This procreative seed is the poetical object, which leads Music (as the glorious, loving woman) to the material which causes it to bear*."[641] Revealingly, Wagner speaks of the union of masculine poetry with feminine music in terms of the doctrine of the Trinity when he insists that this union is a never-ending eternal process, like that of the living processes of Nature: "in the sense of that which is *eternally becoming* —and, therefore, as that of which this *eternal process of gradually becoming* is always going on before us."[642]

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[638] Wagner, 1:213, emphasis mine. German text: "Alle diese Künste deuten nur an; wirkliche Darstellung wäre ihnen aber nur durch Kundgebung a die Universalität der Kunstempfänglichkeit des Menschen, durch Mitteilung an seinen vollkommenen sinnlichen Organismus, nicht an seine Einbildungskraft möglich, denn das wirkliche Kunstwerk erzeugt sich eben nur durch den Fortschritt aus der Einbildung in die Wirklichkeit, das ist: Sinnlichkeit." Wagner, *Oper und Drama*, 128.
[639] Wagner, 1:216, 336, 417, and 2:509-10.
[640] In 1890, Shedlock translated the term *Mensch* as "humanity." Wagner, *Wagner's Letters*, 85. In 2020, Richard H. Bell translated the term as "human being." Bell, *Theology*, 114, and 140.
[641] Wagner, *Opera and Drama*, 1:418, emphasis Wagner.
[642] Wagner, 2:603, emphasis Wagner. Compare *CCT*, 89.

In fact, the entire underlying structure of *Opera and Drama*, which is divided into three parts, conforms to the processional relations of the Trinity according to Delsarte's aesthetic system, whereby music (*tonal speech*) begets poetry (*articulate speech*), drama (*gesture*) thus proceeding from both (see figure 4.11). Thus, although Wagner's chart, which resembles Delsarte's Chart of Man, does not provide conclusive evidence that his theory is based on Delsarte's system, its appearance in Wagner's manuscript, as well as in the letter to Uhlig, supports O'Neill's claim that Wagner in fact knew about Delsarte's theory. Also, we know that the chart originated with Delsarte because, although neither artist published it during his lifetime, it appeared in the background of a caricature of Delsarte teaching his course in Paris in 1861, the first known appearance of the chart in print (see figure 4.12).



Figures 4.10 and 4.11. Underlying Structure of Wagner's *Opera and Drama*. Figure 4.10 (left) shows how Wagner's Chart of Man (in blue) is a discrete summary of Part II of *Opera and Drama*. The figure shows the separation of the *egoistic manly understanding* in relation to the eternal-womanly and their eventual unification in love. Figure 4.11 (right) shows the complete underlying structure of Wagner's *Opera and Drama* according not only to the ordering of the subtitles of the three parts (Evans translation), but also to the processional relations of the Trinity in Delsarte's system.



Figure 4.12. Caricature of Delsarte, 1861. Although Delsarte never published his Chart of Man, it was apparently associated so much with his training method that it featured prominently in the background of a caricature of him teaching his course in 1861, under the title "*Synthèse*." Drawing by Firmin Gillot after Paul Hadol, "François-Alexandre-Nicolas-Chéri Delsarte," *Album du Gaulois* (1861), Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

4.3 Signs of the Trinity in Wagner's Writings

In his 1872 introduction to "Art and Revolution," Wagner attempts to clarify his use of several philosophical terms used in his early writings which, claiming to have borrowed them from Feuerbach, he admits to applying haphazardly to his own artistic ideas with which "they could not always closely harmonise."[643] Apparently, the terms were chosen because Feuerbach's ideas most closely aligned with Wagner's "reigning frame of mind."[644] Wagner admits, however, that a thorough revision of his writings in order to accommodate the proper meaning of the terms "would lead too far and prove a most fatiguing task,"[645] and so it is left up to the reader to harmonize the terminology from Feuerbach with the corresponding definitions borrowed several years later from the writings of Schopenhauer. However, this explanation begs the question as to the nature of Wagner's own initial "artistic ideas" and original "frame of mind."[646] What were these original ideas he apparently found so difficult to express, and why was it necessary to filter them through the writings of Feuerbach and Schopenhauer? Perhaps it is no coincidence that the terms which caused Wagner's readers so much confusion correspond to key terms found in Delsarte's theory, which, when analysed, form a theoretical comprehensiveness that is not found in either Feuerbach or Schopenhauer.

4.3.1 Corresponding Terms: *Willkür* and *Unwillkür*

The first two terms Wagner clarifies in his 1872 introduction is his apparent misuse of *Willkür* and *Unwillkür*, which in English translate to the adjectival-noun form of *voluntary* and *involuntary* respectively.[647] Wagner admits that, having learnt their true meaning from

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[643] Richard Wagner, "Art and Revolution," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works: Opera and Drama,* 25.
[644] Wagner, "Art and Revolution," 25.
[645] Wagner, 26.
[646] Wagner, 25.
[647] Wagner, 25. The terms can also be translated as "willful," "arbitrary," or "willfully arbitrary" (voluntary), and "necessary," "instinctive," or "instinctively" (involuntary). See Emma Warner, "Notes on the translation of some of Wagner's recurrent terminology in 'The Artwork of the Future'," in "The Artwork of the Future," ed. Tash Siddiqui, special issue, *The Wagner Journal* (2013): 11-12.

the writings of Schopenhauer, the term *Unwillkür* (involuntary/instinctive) should be named *will*,[648] whilst the term *Willkür* (voluntary/wilful) should be "employed to signify the so-called Intellectual or Brain Will, influenced by the guidance of reflection."[649] In *The Artwork of the Future,* Wagner uses these two terms in his description of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*:

> Need will end the hell of luxury; it will teach the tortured, self-satisfied souls who inhabit this hell the simple, plain necessity that is purely human, the hunger and thirst of the senses; together it will lead us to the nourishing bread, to the clear sweet water of nature; together we will surely enjoy the communion of being true humans. Together we will tie the knot of holy necessity and the brotherly kiss that shall seal this bond will be the communal art of the future. Through it our great benefactor and redeemer, the representative of necessity in flesh and blood – the people – will no longer be a group apart, something special; for through the artwork we will become one – bearers and guides of the necessary, conscious of the unconscious, *willing* the *unwilful*, witnesses of nature, happy human beings.[650]

The explicit imagery of the communal artwork as a substitute for Holy Communion, which has the power to establish societal harmony, is reminiscent of Delsarte's sacramental-political theory, whereby the Eucharist unites three forms of worldly power around a central axis – democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy – democracy being based on the *life of the people*.[651] However, Danielle Follett insists that an understanding of Schopenhauerian terminology clarifies Wagner's meaning in this passage: "In the artwork of the future, participants will be

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[648] Kathleen M. Higgins points out that the term *will* in Schopenhauer is equated with the Kantian *thing-in-itself*. However, unlike in Kant, Schopenhauer insisted that we can "immediately know the thing-in-itself through the experience of an inner, volitional reality within one's own body." Kathleen M. Higgins, "Schopenhauer," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Robert Audi, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 820. Thus, it is difficult to discern a difference on this point between Schopenhauer's will, which *immediately knows* the thing-in-itself, and Maine de Biran's *immediate apperception* of sense impressions, which is located in the will. See section 2.1.

[649] Wagner, "Art and Revolution," 26.

[650] Richard Wagner, *The Artwork of the Future*, trans. Emma Warner, in "The Artwork of the Future," ed. Tash Siddiqui, special issue, *The Wagner Journal* (2013): 17, emphasis mine. German text: "Die Noth wird die Hölle des Luxus endigen; sie wird die zermarterten, bedürfnislosen Geister, die diese Hölle in sich schließt, das einfache, schlichte Bedürfniß des rein menschlich sinnlichen Hungers und Durstes lehren; gemeinschaftlich aber wird sie uns auch hinweisen zu dem nährenden Brote, zu dem klaren süßen Wasser der Natur; gemeinsam werden wir wirklich genießen, gemeinsam wahre Menschen sein. Gemeinsam werden wir aber auch den Bund der heiligen Nothwendigkeit schließen, und der Bruderkuß, der diesen Bund besiegelt, wird das gemeinsame Kunstwerk der Zukunft sein. In ihm wird auch unser großer Wohltäter und Erlöser, der Vertreter der Nothwendigkeit in Fleisch und Blut, – das Volk, kein Unterschiedenes, Besonderes mehr sein; denn im Kunstwerk werden wir Eins sein, – Träger und Weiser der Nothwendigkeit, Wissende des Unbewussten, Wollende des Unwillkürlichen, Zeugen der Natur, – glückliche Menschen." Wagner, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (Leipzig, O. Wigand, 1850), 14-15.

[651] For Delsarte's sacramental-political theory, see section 3.3.

'knowers of the unconscious, willers of the unwilful,' who unite conscious subject with unconscious nature and wilful creative action (as "willers") with the spontaneous, involuntary force of nature."[652] Although I agree with Follett's analysis of the coming together of the unconscious and the conscious, the involuntary and the voluntary, etc., nowhere does Wagner suggest that there is an estrangement between the *unconscious force of nature* and the *people*. Instead, the estrangement lies between the common people and elite society, that is all those who live in luxury and therefore stand "in direct opposition to the common need" of the people.[653] Furthermore, the underlying force responsible for harmonizing disparate aspects of human society is not, as Follett argues, a Schopenhauerian concept of nature as a powerful unconscious force striving "blindly in constant, chaotic, involuntary becoming,"[654] but rather the hunger and thirst of the *human senses* of the people, senses which are in need of the "nourishing bread" and "clear sweet water" of the *communal artwork*, which, in Wagner's description, acts as a symbolic substitute for the sacramental bread and wine of the Eucharist.[655] Follet insists that the estrangement between the subject and the object in Wagner's theory is overcome in the aesthetic experience, "where the mind is engulfed in the movement of natural force."[656] However, in the above passage, the people are not engulfed by an aesthetic experience of nature, but instead remain "*witnesses* of nature," "*guides* of the necessary," "*conscious* of the unconscious," and "*willing* [of] the unwilful."[657] Thus, the coming together of opposite forces in Wagner's theory, such as the *involuntary* and the *voluntary*, produces a balanced state between the two opposing forces, just as opposing forces in Delsarte's aesthetic system come together in order to create a third balanced state.

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[652] Danielle Follett, "Tout et N'importe quoi: The Total Artwork and the Aesthetics of Chance," in *The Aesthetics of the Total Artwork: On Borders and Fragments*, eds. Anke K. Finger and Danielle Follett (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 94.
[653] Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 16.
[654] Follett, "Tout et N'importe Quoi," 93.
[655] Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 17.
[656] Follett, "Tout et N'importe Quoi," 93.
[657] Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 17, emphasis mine.

If the terms *involuntary* and *voluntary* are mapped onto Delsarte's system according to the processional relations of the Trinity, then Wagner's meaning in the passage becomes clear, the term *involuntary* aligning with the *will* proper, *voluntary* aligning with what Wagner calls the *intellectual will* (see figure 4.13). Following the processional relation of the Trinity from 1-3 in the chart (Father to Holy Ghost), an action that begins in the senses and is immediately expressed by the will, without thought or reflection, is called *instinctive* or *involuntary*. Next, following the processional relations from 1-2-3 (Father to Son to Holy Ghost), an action that begins in the senses and is not expressed immediately by the will, but is instead *reflected upon* by the understanding, is called *wilful* or *voluntary*. The involuntary action corresponds to the *will* proper because this action immediately moves from the faculty of the senses directly to the faculty of the will, whilst the voluntary action corresponds to the *intellectual will* because, prior to being expressed by the will, it moves through the faculty of the understanding where it is reflected upon by the power of reason. Thus, we can see in the

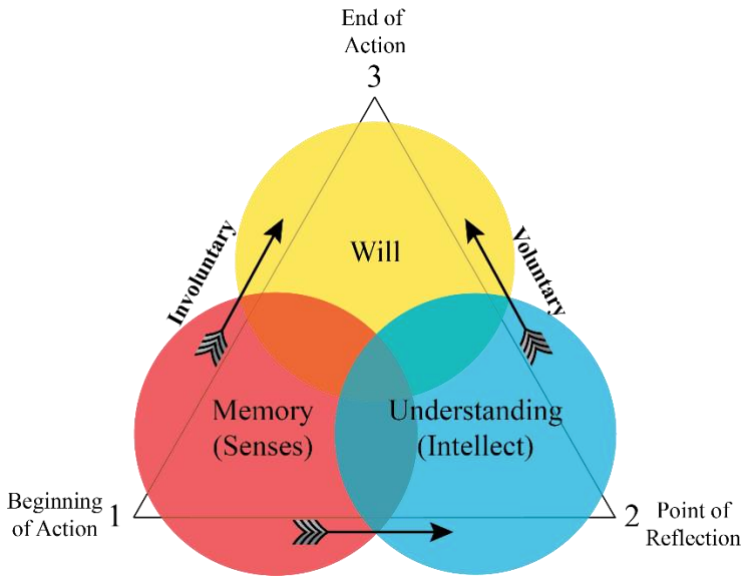


Figure 4.13. Clarification of the Terms *Involuntary* and *Voluntary*. The processional relation from 1-3 corresponds to the term *involuntary* in Wagner's writings, in accordance with Schopenhauer's concept of the *will*, as an action that is involuntary or spontaneous moves immediately from the senses to the will, essentially bypassing the mind (understanding), thereby remaining unconscious. The processional relation from 1-2-3 corresponds the term *voluntary* in Delsarte's system because, rather than move directly to the will, the action is first directed through the mind, whereby it is reflected and deliberated upon, thereby becoming conscious.

chart that Wagner's use of the term *involuntary* corresponds to the *will* proper because it bypasses the intellect altogether, thereby remaining unconscious, and also how the term *voluntary*, which is "influenced by the guidance of reflection,"[658] corresponds to the *intellectual will* because it passes through the intellect, thereby becoming conscious.

The terms *voluntary* and *involuntary* are key terms in Delsarte's aesthetic system. In fact, the most significant discovery Delsarte claims to have made whilst studying at the Conservatoire is the difference between voluntary (wilful) and involuntary (instinctive) motion. Whilst studying the role of Florville in *Les Maris Garçons*,[659] Delsarte began struggling with the naturalness of his gesture on the line, "*Eh! Bonjour papa Dugrand*,"[660] all the lessons given him on this scene by his professor being unhelpful. Delsarte instinctively knew that the gestures he kept making were wrong, but what he did not know, and what his professor could not tell him, was *why* his gestures were wrong:

> And here again I stretched out my arms towards my papa Dugrand, but my body, following the movement of my arms, still lacked poise, and inevitably recoiled into a grotesque attitude, to which my teacher could propose no formal solution. So, not knowing how to rectify my awkwardness, since he lacked the principles to support his own examples, vexed by an inadequacy that he was careful not to admit, he continually attacked my miserable intelligence.[661]

After struggling with the scene for five months, repeating the phrase over and over in his studies with varying gestures, "*Eh! Bonjour papa…Eh! Bonjour papa…* etc.," one day he was interrupted by his cousin who surprised him with a visit:

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[658] Wagner, "Art and Revolution," 26.

[659] A one-act opera composed by Henri-Montan Berton (1767-1844), with a libretto by P. Charles Gaugiran-Nanteuil (1778-1830), which premiered at the Opéra-Comique on 5 July 1806.

[660] Scene VII. The line in the original score reads: "*Ah! c'est vous Papa Dugrand, vous m'attendiez avec impatience, n'est-ce pas*?" Henri-Montan Berton and P. Charles Gaugiran-Nanteuil, *Les Maris Garçons*, (Paris: Mme Duhan et Comp., [1806?]), 35-36.

[661] "Et de nouveau me voilà tendant les bras vers mon papa Dugrand, mais mon corps en suivant le mouvement de mes bras manquait toujours d'aplomb et déterminait inévitablement chez moi une attitude grotesque à laquelle mon professeur ne pouvait rien opposer de formel. Alors, ne sachant comment rectifier ma gaucherie, puisqu'il manquait de principes pour appuyer ses propres exemples, dépité d'une impuissance qu'il se serait bien garder d'avouer, il s'en prenait régulièrement à ma pauvre intelligence." Delsarte, "Mes épisodes révélateurs," 56-57.

> "*Eh!*" I said to him, holding out my arms to him, "*bonjour mon cher cou...*" Here my speech was again interrupted by a surprise; but a much greater surprise than that caused by my cousin. Indeed, struck by the analogy of this [studied] greeting and the unexpected attitude I had taken under the action of a true feeling, I began to shout with a transport of joy which my innocent cousin could not understand. […] Not only did my gesture, so perseveringly clumsy until then, seem to me in its sudden metamorphosis to have become as harmonious as it was natural, but strangely enough, it in no way corresponded either to what had been prescribed, or to anything I had been able to imagine until then. However, *nature* herself had *revealed* it to me; the movements of my body, hitherto so discordant in my eyes, had taken on under the action of this gesture, *inspired from above*, an ease and a grace which filled me with astonishment. Without a doubt, I had the truth! How could I doubt it: the nature of an emotion spontaneously produced and so deeply felt could not result in an error.[662]

What Delsarte had discovered was the difference between *voluntary* or *wilful* motion, which followed the caprice of his own consciousness, and *involuntary* or *instinctive* motion, which, being spontaneous and unconscious, followed the dictates of nature and grace. It was this very discovery which first made Delsarte wary of the power of reason, whence he learned to submit his own reason to the power of observation and study of the phenomena of instinct:

> For me, the answer to this question must arise from the study of the phenomena of *instinct*; let us therefore examine those which *nature* offers us *providentially*. If these phenomena, opposed to those glimpsed by my own reason, are prescribed by a *physiological* or *spiritual* necessity, a *necessity* on which *instinct* is based, they are by that very reason *motivated, supremely motivated*. It is indisputable. Now, if I succeed in penetrating the meaning of these *motives*, if I grasp the reason for the phenomena that *instinct* imposes upon me, I am forced to admit, in the order of things, a reason which is not my reason. A *superior, infallible reason*, which mocks my reason, which, *willingly* or *unwillingly*, must submit under pain of falling into absurdity.[663]

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[662] "Eh ! lui dis-je, en lui tendant les bras, bonjour mon cher cou... ; ici ma parole fut encore interrompue par une surprise ; mais une surprise bien autrement grande que celle causée par mon cousin. En effet, frappé par l'analogie de ce bonjour et de l'attitude imprévue que j'avais prise sous l'action d'un sentiment vrai, je me mets à crier avec un transport de joie auquel ne comprenait rien mon innocent cousin. [...] non seulement mon geste, si persévéramment gauche jusque-là, me semblait dans sa soudaine métamorphose devenu aussi harmonieux que naturel, mais chose étrange, il ne répondait en rien ni à ce qui m'avait été prescrit ni à tout ce que j'avais pu imaginer jusque-là. Cependant la nature elle-même venait de me l'indiquer ; puis les mouvements de mon corps, jusque-là si discordants à mes yeux, avaient pris sous l'action de ce geste, inspiré d'en haut, une aisance, une grâce, qui me remplissaient d'étonnement. Nul doute, je tenais la vérité ! Comment d'ailleurs en douter : la nature d'une émotion spontanément produite et si profondément sentie ne pouvait m'induire en erreur." Delsarte, 58, emphasis mine.

[663] "La réponse qu'appelle cette question doit surgir pour moi de l'étude des phénomènes de l'instinct ; examinons donc ceux que la nature vient de m'offrir providentiellement. Si ces phénomènes, opposés à ceux qu'entrevoyait ma raison, sont prescrits par une nécessité physiologique ou animique, nécessité sur laquelle se fonde l'instinct, ils sont par cela même motivés, souverainement motivés. C'est incontestable. Or, si j'arrive à pénétrer le sens de ces motifs, si je saisis la raison des phénomènes que m'impose l'instinct, me voilà forcé d'admettre, dans l'ordonnance des choses, une raison qui n'est pas ma raison. Une raison supérieure, infaillible, qui se moque de ma raison, laquelle, bon gré, mal gré, doit se soumettre, sous peine de tomber dans l'absurde." Delsarte, 59-60, emphasis mine.

Here we can see that Delsarte's investigation into the phenomena of instinct according to his own observations lies in opposition to the power of reason, which, if not based on principles acquired by sense perception, can only err and fall fatally "into an abyss of illusions."[664] Not only can we see in Delsarte's theory here the importance of the terms *involuntary*/*instinctive* and *voluntary*/*wilful*, but the importance of the terms *motivate* (motives) and *motive* (*motif*) as well, so often associated with Wagner. If we compare this passage to a passage from *Artwork of the Future*, not only is there a conformity of terms and overall meaning, but Wagner, like Delsarte, uses the term *science* as a synonym for *reason* or *consciousness* in opposition to the *instinct*:[665]

> science [i.e. reason] ends in its pure antithesis, in the *insight of nature*, in the acknowledgement of the *unconscious*, the *instinctive* and thus the *necessary*, the *true*, the *sensual*. The essence of science is therefore as finite as that of life is infinite, just as error is finite while truth is infinite. Only the sensual world and those things that fulfil the conditions of that sensual world are true and alive. Science in its arrogance makes its greatest mistake when it denies and despises the sensual world, on the other hand our senses themselves score their greatest victory when science is *forced to bow down* in the face of what the senses perceive.[666]

From a comparison of the two passages then, which share an overall sense of meaning and many of the same terms, it seems that the aesthetic theory Wagner presents in *The Artwork of the Future* corresponds to Delsarte's aesthetic system, given the striking similarity of the two theories which are both based on the power of observation to which the reason must submit.

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[664] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 504.
[665] For the use of *science* in this manner, see Delsarte "Cours 1867," 237-38, and 240. Appendix B.
[666] Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 14, emphasis mine. German text: "Die Wissenschaft trägt somit die Sünde des Lebens, und küsst sie an sich durch ihre Selbstvernichtung: sie endet in ihrem reinen Gegensasse, in der Erkenntniß der Natur, in der Anerkennung des Unbewußten, Unwillkürlichen, daher Nothwendigen, Wirklichen, Sinnlichen. Das Wesen der Wissenschaft ist daher endlich, das des Lebens unendlich ist. Wahr und lebendig ist aber nur, was sinnlich ist und den Bedingungen der Sinnlichkeit gehorcht. Die höchste Steigerung des Irrthumes ist der Hochmuth der Wissenschaft in der Verleugnung und Verachtung der Sinnlichkeit; ihr höchster Sieg dagegen der, von ihr selbst herbeigeführte, Untergang dieses Hochmuthes in der Anerkennung der Sinnlichkeit." Wagner, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, 6.

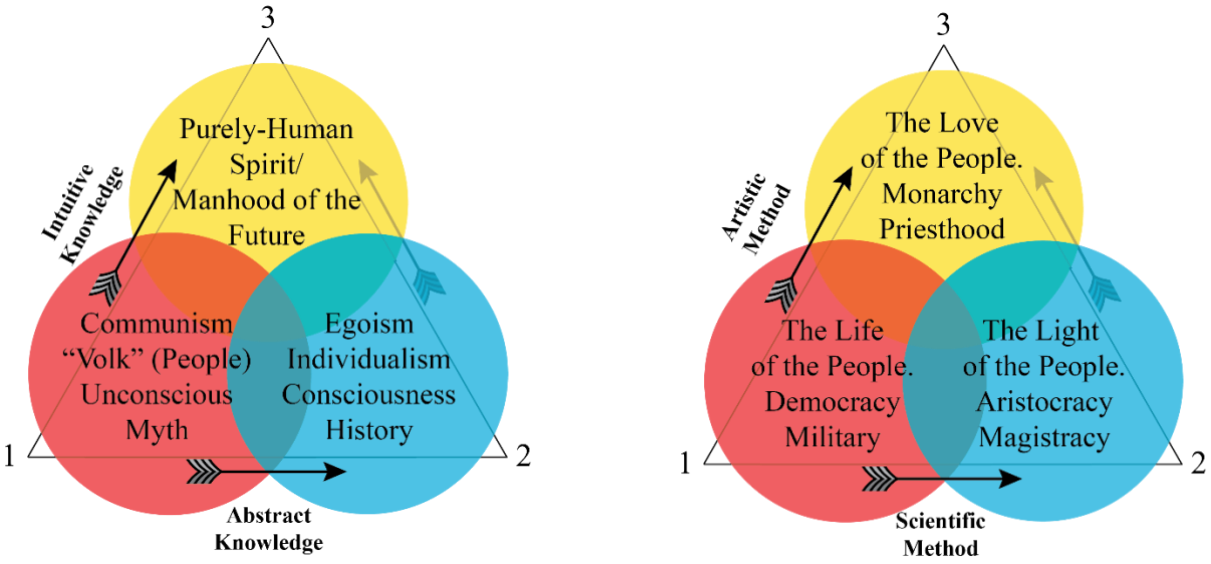
4.3.2 Corresponding Terms: *Communism* and *Sinnlichkeit*

If we analyse the final term that Wagner attempted to clarify in his 1872 introduction, *Communism,* by mapping it onto Delsarte's system and placing it opposite to the term *Egoism* meaning individualism, we can see how the term *Communism* should mean the embodiment of a collective "*volk*" or *people* in Wagner's writings (see figure 4.14).[667] In figure 4.14, the term *Communism* is placed in the red circle corresponding to the Father, whilst the term *Egoism* is placed opposite in the blue circle corresponding to the Son. Wagner's term *Manhood of the Future* is placed in the yellow circle corresponding to the Holy Ghost, Wagner stating that he looks forward to "the perfect evolution of this principle [*volk*] as the very essence of the associate Manhood of the Future."[668] Thus, the term *Manhood of the Future* corresponds to Wagner's conception of the perfected drama as occupying the same evolutionary end point of not only of the *volk*, but of the *spirit of the purely-human* (also in yellow). Celia Applegate notes that the German term *volk* was used in the medieval period to denote "the people of God, the 'peoples' of the ancient world, or armies," and, in the late-seventeenth century, "the lower strata of society, made up of poor and uneducated people."[669] Applegate argues that Wagner sometimes referred to the *volk* in this context, that is as the ill-educated majority defined against the educated and empowered minority.[670] If we compare Wagner's political system to Delsarte's, according to the principle of the Trinity, and in terms of the *volk* or people (see figure 4.15), we can see that both systems not only have the people as their foundation, but that both form a single unified system, whereby the people (majority) are not separate from the educated elites (minority). In Delsarte's system, the minority is

[667] Wagner, "Art and Revolution," 27-28.
[668] Wagner, 28.
[669] Celia Applegate, "Volk," in *The Cambridge Wagner Encyclopedia*, ed. Nicholas Vazsonyi (New York: Cambridge University Press), 622.
[670] Applegate, 622.

wholly dependent upon the majority, as democracy is founded on the life of the *people*, aristocracy on the light or intellect of the *people*, and monarchy on the love of the *people*.

Furthermore, if we map the term *Sinnlichkeit* onto Delsarte's system as well, which Wagner's readers mistakenly took to mean *sensualism*, or *sensual lust*, then we can see how the term should mean *physical perceptive faculty*, or *physicality* (see figure 4.14).[671] Following the processional relation from 1-3 in the chart (Father to Holy Ghost), *intuitive knowledge* begins in the senses and is immediately perceived, remaining at the level of the unconscious because intuitive knowledge is physically derived (embodied) and therefore non-conceptual, meaning that it is not reflected upon by the mind. Next, following the processional relations from 1-2-3 (Father to Son to Holy Ghost), *abstract knowledge* also begins in the senses, but this kind of knowledge is abstracted and then reflected upon by the mind. Thus, we can see what Wagner meant by *physical perceptive faculty* or *physicality* by the processional relation from 1-3 in the chart, whereby the difference between the terms



Figures 4.14 and 4.15. Wagner's and Delsarte's Political Systems Compared. Figure 4.14 (left) depicts Wagner's description of his political system, based on the *volk*, coupled with his clarification of the term *physical perceptive faculty*, as opposed to ideation or abstract knowledge. Figure 4.15 (right) depicts Delsarte's political system, based on the *life of the people*, coupled with his methodological differentiation between his artistic method, rooted in physical perception, and the method of the sciences, rooted in mental abstraction.

[671] Wagner, "Art and Revolution," 27.

Sinnlichkeit and *Gedanklichkeit* (ideation) is that of intuitive knowledge versus abstract knowledge.[672] Wagner also notes that *intuitive knowledge* is specific to what he calls the *artistic perception*. And so, if we compare Wagner's explanation of the term *Sinnlichkeit* to Delsarte's system (see figure 4.15 above), then we can see that the processional relation from 1-3 in Delsarte's system constitutes the *method of the arts*, whilst the relations from 1-2-3 constitute the *method of the sciences*.[673] Thus, what Wagner refers to as the opposite terms of "Art and Learning"[674] corresponds to the two distinct methodologies in Delsarte's system. Furthermore, in his 1878 essay "Public and Popularity," Wagner insists that folk knowledge is acquired along a different pathway than that of historic-scientific knowledge: "the Folk gets its learning on a diametrically opposite path to that of the historic-scientific Comprehender. […] Though it does not reason, still it knows: it knows its great men, and loves the Genius those others hate; and finally, […] it honours the Divine.[675] This alternate path of learning, which Wagner argues is diametrically opposed to the historic-scientific path (abstract knowledge) of the *Comprehender*, and which acquires knowledge by another means other than by reason or reflection, corresponds to the processional relation of the Trinity from 1-3 (Father to Holy Ghost) in Delsarte's system, which begins in the senses and leads directly to contemplation of the divine. Thus, Delsarte's system provides an explanation not only for Wagner's use of the terms *Willkür* and *Unwillkür,* but *Communism* and *Sinnlichkeit* as well, without the need to borrow terms from Feuerbach or Schopenhauer.

4.3.3 Corresponding Terms: *Life-Force*, *Charity*, *Heart*, and *Tone*

If for a moment we ignore the philosophical language Wagner claims to have borrowed from Feuerbach and Schopenhauer and read his early aesthetic writings instead

[672] Wagner, "Art and Revolution," 27.
[673] For the two different methods in Delsarte's system, see figure 1.22.
[674] Wagner, 27.
[675] Richard Wagner, "Public and Popularity," in *Religion and Art*, 77.

through a Delsartian lens, then a more coherent interpretation of his aesthetic theory begins to emerge. For example, in *The Artwork of the Future,* Wagner reveals that the underlying driving force of his aesthetic theory is the life-force of the people, which is made manifest by the unification of humankind through the necessity of love and through acts of charity:

> Of all that exists the most powerful thing is the *life-force*; it is the irresistible force that *draws together* the conditions that first called into being all existence – all things or *life-forces*, therefore, that are, through that power, all that they can and want to be at this *point of union*. […] Yet for humans, the life need of all life needs is the need for *love*. Just as the conditions for *natural human life* are contained within the loving union of *inferior natural forces,* forces that longed for understanding, redemption, resolution in the *higher element*, in other words in the *human*, so does the human only find understanding, redemption and satisfaction in a *higher element*; and this higher element is the *human species*, the community of humans, for there is only one thing higher than the human, and that is humankind. And the individual human can only satisfy his or her need for love by *giving*, indeed by giving him or herself to others and at the *highest level* to humankind.[676]

Thus, the most powerful life-force in Wagner's *Artwork of the Future* draws together all other *life-forces* towards a single *point of union*, this superior life-force being inherently three-fold, consisting of three kinds of life-forces: natural life (lowest element), human life (intermediate element), and humankind (highest element). Not only does this three-fold distinction correspond to Delsarte's principle of the Trinity and the three constituent powers of being as a unity – Life, Mind, and Soul – but it also corresponds to French spiritualist realism more generally, beginning with Biran's distinction of three kinds of vital human forces: animal life, human life, and spiritual life.[677] Not only do we find in Wagner's description a superior life-force than that of Schopenhauerian nature, but the act of love

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[676] Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 27, emphasis mine. German text: "In Allem, was da ist, ist das Mächtigste der Lebenstrieb; er ist die unwiderstehliche Kraft des Zusammenhanges der Bedingungen, die das, was da ist, erst hervorgerufen haben, – der Dinge oder Lebenskräfte also, die in dem, was durch sie ist, das sind, was sie in diesem Vereinigungspunkte sein können und sein wollen. [...] Das Lebensbedürfnis des Lebensbedürfnisses des Meschen ist aber das Leibesbedürfnis. Wie die Bedingungen des natürlichen Menschenlebens in dem Liebesbunde untergeordneter Naturkräfte gegeben sind, die nach Verständnis, Erlösung, Aufgeben in dem Höheren, eben dem Menschen, verlangten, so findet der Mensch sein Verständnis, seine Erlösung und Befriedigung, gleichfalls nur in einem Höheren; dieses Höhere ist aber die menschliche Gattung, die Gemeinschaft der Menschen, denn es gibt für den Menschen nur ein Höheres als er selbst: Die Menschen." Wagner, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, 45-46.

[677] See section 2.4.

which unites the individual human being to the highest element of humankind is the theological virtue of Charity (giving), the same virtue at the centre of Delsarte's sacramental-political theory (see figure 4.16). For Schopenhauer, the highest state is the aesthetic experience, which is gained through a suspension or disengagement of the will, which results in a purely "will-less" state of existence, whence follows, for a few exceptional people, the *gift of genius*.[678] In Wagner's description, however, the highest state is reached not through a suspension of the will or the life-force, but through *acts of charity* owing to the human need for love. It might be argued that the above passage should be interpreted in accordance with Feuerbach rather than Schopenhauer, but Feuerbach's anthropology cannot account for Wagner's resolution of both *natural life* and *human individuality* into a *third higher element*, nor can it account for his concept of a superior and unifying life-force which "first called into being all existence," which Wagner clearly defines against the *inferior* forces of (Schopenhauerian) *nature*.[679] It must be pointed out that, in France, Biran based his moral philosophy on philosophical-anthropological foundations more than twenty years before

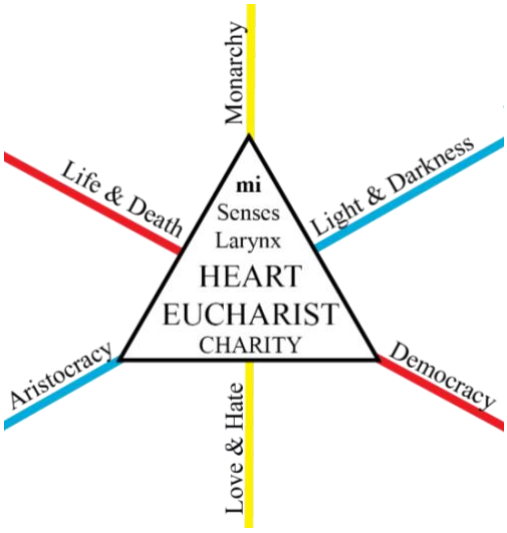


Figure 4.16. Excerpt from Delsarte's Chart of the Seven Sacraments. At the centre of Delsarte's chart, which corresponds to Wagner's placement of similar terms in *Artwork of the Future*, are: Charity, Heart, and Larynx (tonal speech). For the full chart, see figure 3.6.

[678] See Christopher Janaway, *Schopenhauer*: *A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 70-77.
[679] See Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 27.

Feuerbach, and so the apparent turning away from Idealism towards a more scientifically informed philosophy in the German-speaking world of the 1840s had already occurred in France two decades earlier in the writings of Biran.[680] And so, whilst the influence of Feuerbach on Wagner's writings should not be entirely dismissed, there are elements and terminology in Wagner's early aesthetic writings that appear to align more closely with French spiritualist realism than with the philosophy of either Feuerbach or Schopenhauer. That Wagner may have been influenced by Feuerbach's writings in the 1840s does not preclude the possibility that he encountered similar ideas in Delsarte's lectures during his stay in Paris between 1839-1842 – during the years that his *aesthetic shift* actually took place.

Furthermore, in accordance with Delsarte's sacramental-political theory, whereby the Eucharist corresponds to the human heart nourishing the extremities of the body,[681] Wagner also places the human heart at the centre of his theory in *Artwork of the Future*, arguing that:

> It is the human heart; it is the blood which is circulated by the heart, directed outward to the flesh, giving it its warm, living colour; feeding the inwardly striving nerves of the brain with surging energy. Without the heart the activity of the brain would remain mere mechanical trickery; equally the activity of the outer limbs would remain mechanical, empty gesture. Through the heart the mind feels linked to the whole body, the merely sensory human is elevated to a fully intelligent human.[682]

Immediately following this passage in *Artwork of the Future* is a description of Wagner's concept of tonal speech corresponding not only to the heart, but to the senses as well, terms likewise found at the centre of Delsarte's sacramental-political theory, Wagner arguing that:

> Tone is the organ of the heart; its artistically conscious language the art of music. It is the ample pulse of the loving heart, ennobling sensuality and lust and humanising intangible thought. Through the art of music those of dance and poetry can understand each other: in it they can touch with loving insight the laws which give each a voice according to their nature: in it the conscious will of each becomes instinctive, the

[680] See section 2.1.
[681] For Delsarte's complete Chart of the Seven Sacraments, see figure 3.6.
[682] Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 34. German text: "Sie ist das Herz des Menschen; das Blut, das von ihm aus seinen Umlauf nimmt, giebt dem nach außen gewandten Fleische seine warme, lebenvolle Farbe, – die nach innen strebenden Nerven des Gehirnes nährt es aber mit wellender Schwungkraft. Ohne die Thätigkeit des Herzens bliebe die Thätigkeit des Gehirnes nur ein mechanisches Kunststuck; die Thätigkeit der äußeren Leibesglieder ein ebenso mechanisches, gefühlloses Gebahren. Durch das Herz fühlt der Verstand sich dem ganzen Leibe verwandt, schwingt der bloße Sinnenmensch sich zur Verstandesthätigkeit empor." Wagner, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, 68.

> meter of poetry and the rhythm of dance become the necessary rhythm of the heartbeat.[683]

And so, taken together, that which unites the life-forces at a single point of union in Wagner's theory are acts of charity owing to the human need for love, which corresponds to the theological virtue of Charity at the centre of Delsarte's "Chart of the Seven Sacraments," whereby the forces of *life*, *light*, and *love* are united by the Eucharist, which in turn corresponds to the organic human heart. Furthermore, Wagner argues that the blood of the heart is directed outwards to the extremities of the body, thereby elevating the senses with the intelligence, which corresponds not only to the term *sense* located at the centre of Delsarte's chart, but also to the emanation of the three axes representing the extremities of the physical human body in Delsarte's chart as well. Moreover, Wagner argues that *tone* corresponds to the *heart* and *senses*, whilst the term *larynx, heart* and *sense* are all likewise found at the centre of Delsarte's chart. And so, although still not conclusive, interpreting Wagner's *Artwork of the Future* through a Delsartian lens results in an analysis closely corresponding to Delsarte's sacramental-political system (see figure 3.6). What is striking about such an analysis of Wagner's early writings is the comprehensiveness of the terms found in both Delsarte's and Wagner's aesthetic theories, terms which not only correspond to Wagner's use of *involuntary, voluntary, volk,* and *physical perceptive faculty*, but also to the grouping of the three languages of *tonal speech, articulate speech*, and *gesture* which correspond to Delsarte's theory, but do not correspond to the writings of either Feuerbach or Schopenhauer.

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[683] Wagner, *Artwork of the Future*, 34-35. German text: "Das Organ des Herzens aber ist der Ton; seine künstlerisch bewusste Sprache, die Tonkunst. Sie ist die volle, wallende Herzensliebe, die das sinnliche Lustempfinden adelt, und der unsinnlichen Gedanken vermenschlicht. Durch die Tonkunst verstehen sich Tanz und Dichtkunst: in ihr berühren sich mit liebevollem Durchdringen die Gefeße, nach denen Beide ihrer Natur gemäß sich kundgeben; in ihr wird das Wollen beider zum Unwillkürlichen, das Maß der Dichtkunst, wie der Takt der Tanzkunst, zum nothwendigen Rhythmus des Herzensschlages." Wagner, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, 68-69. The term *tone* [*Ton*] in the above passage corresponds to the term *larynx* in Delsarte's sacramental-political theory, the organic agent of vocal inflection/tonal speech. See figure 4.15.

4.4 Delsarte and Wagner in Paris, 1839-1842

Whilst the previous section compared various aspects of Wagner's early aesthetic writings to similar aspects in Delsarte's aesthetic system, this section compares what scholars know about Wagner's first sojourn in Paris from 1839-1842 to Delsarte's rise to fame in the city during these years, not only as a voice teacher and lecturer on aesthetics, but also as the most celebrated interpreter of Gluck's repertoire at the time. The purpose of this section is to show that not only is it *possible* for Wagner to have attended Delsarte's course, but that it is *impossible* for him to have lived and worked in the city during these years and also remain ignorant as to who Delsarte was, owing to Delsarte's rising fame amongst the musical elite.

Delsarte began teaching his theoretical course, "School of Moral and Scientific Singing," to singers, composers, and musicians on 18 May 1839.[684] A few months later, on 25 August – one month prior to Wagner's arrival in Paris on 17 September – an article was published in the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (*RGMP*) written by one of Delsarte's students, Adolphe Guéroult, a well-known journalist and politician. Guéroult's article, "*Cours de chant et de tenue dramatique, par M. Delsarte*," recounts strikingly similar experiences he had to Delsarte as a singing student at the Conservatoire – his voice showed promise in its youth, the practices at the school led to the tragic loss of his voice after a single year of study, and his subsequent research into the Italian method of vocal training as a result.[685] During his research, Guéroult met Delsarte by chance one day, who invited him to attend his course. The article ends with Guéroult promising to write a follow-up in which he will "indicate the goal and analyse the method of Mr Delsarte, which, based on an observance

[684] See Delsarte, "École de chant," DP, box 11b, page 3.
[685] Adolphe Guéroult, "Cours de chant et de tenue dramatique par M. Delsarte: Premier article," *RGMP* 6, no. 42 (August 1839): 332-34.

as patient as it is ingenious, seems to us to have to put an end to the empiricism of the professors."[686]

On 20 October 1839, one month after Wagner's arrival, a second article by Guéroult was published in the *RGMP* – this time featured on the front page (see figure 4.17). In the article, Guéroult hails Delsarte as a new kind of "triple-threat" professor:

> The three principal modifications of which being is susceptible correspond to three different languages: to the sensations, the affective language of which the voice is the organ; to the feelings, the elliptical language expressed by gesture; to the ideas, the philosophical language which translates into articulated speech. Song, gesture, and articulation, these are the three branches of the art that the dramatic singer must therefore study separately, and whose means must be combined.[687]

Guéroult goes on to provide an account of the three distinct yet united art forms, and how Delsarte taught not only the performer, but the human being "to know himself, to handle with art this inimitable instrument, which is the man himself, and of which all the parts contribute to an harmonious unity."[688] Furthermore, in his final praises to his professor, Guéroult reveals the foundations of Delsarte's course to be rooted in antiquity:

> I certainly believe that anyone who cares and professes to outwardly translate the feelings of the human soul, painters, sculptors, orators, actors, and all the men of taste who form their clientele, will applaud this attempted effort to create a science of the *expressive* man, a science which seems to have lifted *the veil of antiquity*, and which seems to want to be reborn in our day in the hands of a truly worthy man by his patient and conscientious efforts to discover some of its precious secrets. […] At my own risk and peril, I am not afraid to call to the attention of artists the beautiful work of M. Delsarte, to point it out as *the most complete study of art* that, to my knowledge, has ever been made – a work whose scope only time will understand.[689]

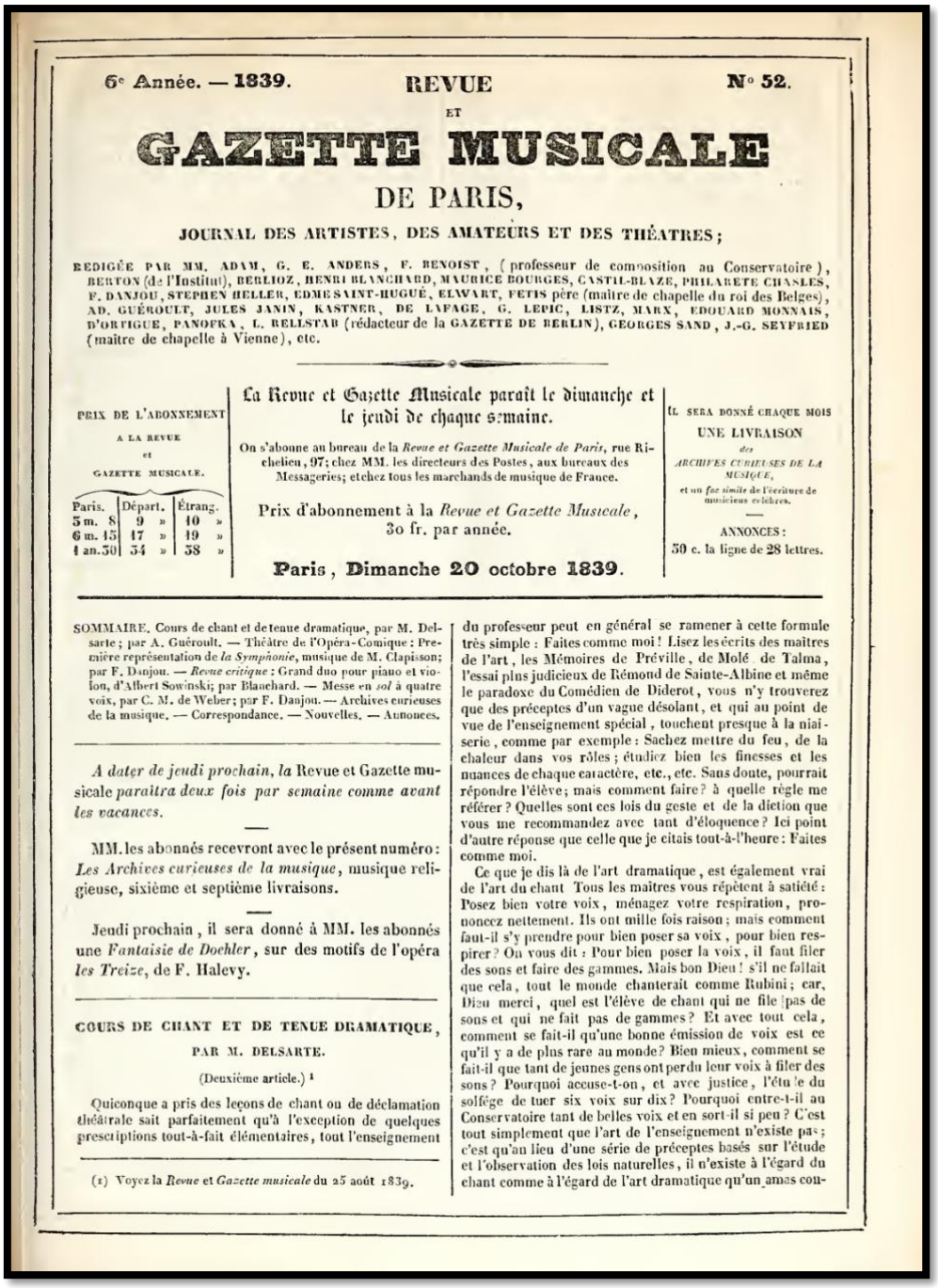
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[686] "Dans un prochain article nous essaierons d'indiquer le but et d'analyser la méthode de M. Delsarte, qui, fondée, sur une observation aussi patiente qu'ingénieuse, nous paraît devoir mettre un terme à l'empirisme des professeurs." Guéroult, 1:334.

[687] "Aux trois modifications principales dont son être est susceptible, correspondent trois langages différents : aux sensations, le langage affectif dont la voix est l'organe ; aux sentiments, le langage elliptique qui s'exprime par le geste ; aux idées, le langage philosophique qui se traduit par la parole articulée. Ce chant, le geste, la diction, tels sont donc les trois branches de l'art que le chanteur dramatique doit étudier séparément, et dont il doits voir combiner les ressources." Guéroult, "Cours de chant et de tenue dramatique par M. Delsarte: Deuxième article," *RGMP* 6, no. 52 (October 1839): 410.

[688] "à se connaître lui-même, à manier avec art cet inimitable instrument qui est l'homme lui même, et dont toutes les parties concourent dans un ensemble harmonieux." Guéroult, 2:411.

[689] "Je crois enfin que quiconque s'occupe et fait profession de traduire extérieurement les sentiments de l'âme humaine, peintres, sculpteurs, orateurs, comédiens, et que tous les hommes de goût qui forment leur clientèle



6e Année. — 1839. REVUE ET GAZETTE MUSICALE DE PARIS, N° 52.

JOURNAL DES ARTISTES, DES AMATEURS ET DES THÉATRES;

RÉDIGÉE PAR MM. ADAM, G. E. ANDERS, F. BENOIST, (professeur de composition au Conservatoire), BERTON (de l'Institut), BERLIOZ, HENRI BLANCHARD, MAURICE BOURGES, CASTIL-BLAZE, PHILARÈTE CHASLES, F. DANJOU, STEPHEN HELLER, EDMESAINT-HUGUE, ELWART, FETIS père (maître de chapelle du roi des Belges), AD. GUÉROULT, JULES JANIN, KASTNER, DE LAFAGE, G. LEPIC, LISTZ, MARX, EDOUARD MONNAIS, D'ORFIGUE, PANOFKA, L. RELLSTAB (rédacteur de la GAZETTE DE BERLIN), GEORGES SAND, J.-G. SEYFRIED (maître de chapelle à Vienne), etc.

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1 an. 30	34 »	38 »

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Paris, Dimanche 20 octobre 1839.

IL SERA DONNÉ CHAQUE MOIS UNE LIVRAISON des *ARCHIVES CURIEUSES DE LA MUSIQUE*, et un *fac simile* de l'écriture de musiciens célèbres.

ANNONCES: 50 c. la ligne de 28 lettres.

SOMMAIRE. Cours de chant et de tenue dramatique, par M. Delsarte; par A. Guéroult. — Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Première représentation de *la Symphonie*, musique de M. Clapisson; par F. Danjou. — *Revue critique*: Grand duo pour piano et violon, d'Albert Sowinski; par Blanchard. — Messe en *sol* à quatre voix, par C. M. de Weber; par F. Danjou. — Archives curieuses de la musique. — Correspondance. — Nouvelles. — Annonces.

A dater de jeudi prochain, la Revue et Gazette musicale *paraîtra deux fois par semaine comme avant les vacances.*

MM. les abonnés recevront avec le présent numéro: *Les Archives curieuses de la musique*, musique religieuse, sixième et septième livraisons.

Jeudi prochain, il sera donné à MM. les abonnés une *Fantaisie de Doehler*, sur des motifs de l'opéra *les Treize*, de F. Halevy.

COURS DE CHANT ET DE TENUE DRAMATIQUE, PAR M. DELSARTE.

(Deuxième article.) [1]

Quiconque a pris des leçons de chant ou de déclamation théâtrale sait parfaitement qu'à l'exception de quelques prescriptions tout-à-fait élémentaires, tout l'enseignement du professeur peut en général se ramener à cette formule très simple: Faites comme moi! Lisez les écrits des maîtres de l'art, les Mémoires de Préville, de Molé, de Talma, l'essai plus judicieux de Rémond de Sainte-Albine et même le paradoxe du Comédien de Diderot, vous n'y trouverez que des préceptes d'un vague désolant, et qui au point de vue de l'enseignement spécial, touchent presque à la niaiserie, comme par exemple: Sachez mettre du feu, de la chaleur dans vos rôles; étudiez bien les finesses et les nuances de chaque caractère, etc., etc. Sans doute, pourrait répondre l'élève; mais comment faire? à quelle règle me référer? Quelles sont ces lois du geste et de la diction que vous me recommandez avec tant d'éloquence? Ici point d'autre réponse que celle que je citais tout-à-l'heure: Faites comme moi.

Ce que je dis là de l'art dramatique, est également vrai de l'art du chant. Tous les maîtres vous répètent à satiété: Posez bien votre voix, ménagez votre respiration, prononcez nettement. Ils ont mille fois raison; mais comment faut-il s'y prendre pour bien poser sa voix, pour bien respirer? On vous dit: Pour bien poser la voix, il faut filer des sons et faire des gammes. Mais bon Dieu! s'il ne fallait que cela, tout le monde chanterait comme Rubini; car, Dieu merci, quel est l'élève de chant qui ne file pas de sons et qui ne fait pas de gammes? Et avec tout cela, comment se fait-il qu'une bonne émission de voix est ce qu'il y a de plus rare au monde? Bien mieux, comment se fait-il que tant de jeunes gens ont perdu leur voix à filer des sons? Pourquoi accuse-t-on, et avec justice, l'étude du solfége de tuer six voix sur dix? Pourquoi entre-t-il au Conservatoire tant de belles voix et en sort-il si peu? C'est tout simplement que l'art de l'enseignement n'existe pas; c'est qu'au lieu d'une série de préceptes basés sur l'étude et l'observation des lois naturelles, il n'existe à l'égard du chant comme à l'égard de l'art dramatique qu'un amas con-

(1) Voyez la *Revue* et *Gazette musicale* du 25 août 1839.

Figure 4.17. Delsarte's Course Featured in the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*. Guéroult's article, "Cours de chant et de tenue dramatique, par M. Delsarte: Deuxième article," was featured on the front page of the journal on 20 October 1839, one month after Wagner's arrival in Paris.

applaudiront à cet essai-tenté pour créer la science de l'homme *expressif* ; science dont l'antiquité paraît avoir soulevé le voile, et qui semble vouloir renaître de nos jours entre les mains d'un homme vraiment digne par ses efforts patients et consciencieux de surprendre quelques uns de ses précieux secrets. […] je ne crains pas d'appeler à mes risques et périls l'attention des artistes sur les beaux travaux de M. Delsarte, et de les leur indiquer comme l'élude d'art la plus complète qui ait jamais été faite à ma connaissance, comme une œuvre dont le temps seul peut faire comprendre la portée." Guéroult, 2:411, emphasis mine. An excerpt of Guéroult's article was reprinted nineteen years later in *La Presse* in order to advertise Delsarte's 1858 course, and also to prove by longevity that the author's praises all those years ago were not "born from the need of circumstance." See Guéroult, "Cours d'esthétique appliquée: par Delsarte," *La Presse*, 18 May 1858, 3.

Finally, Guéroult insists that Delsarte's course presents the most complete study of art that he has ever encountered. And so, within one month of Wagner's arrival in Paris, a new course in applied aesthetics was a) featured on the front page of the *RGMP*, b) developed by an opera singer who would, within a year, become known as a great interpreter of Gluck's music, c) founded on the principles of ancient music, d) based on the three languages of *vocal inflection, articulate speech,* and *gesture,* the same three languages in Wagner's *Opera and Drama* e) promoted as the most complete study of art then known, reminiscent of Wagner's idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Yet, judging from the silence in his writings on aesthetics, Wagner was apparently unaware of Delsarte's theory and "Course in Applied Aesthetics," not only during the two and a half years that he lived in Paris, but throughout his entire career – an unlikely scenario.

After studying with Delsarte in the summer of 1839, Guéroult seems to have taken it upon himself to champion his new professor wherever and whenever he could. As a result, he appears to have been indirectly responsible for making Liszt aware of Delsarte's increasing fame in the city.[690] In November of 1839, Marie d'Agoult wrote a letter to the composer indicating that: "Guéroult has just left. He has spoken highly of a young man called Delsarte, a friend of Nourrit and Reber, who teaches singing by the Gall and Lavater methods."[691] Just over a year later, on 3 January 1841, d'Agoult mentioned Delsarte again in a letter to Liszt, this time after hearing him at a salon where he interpreted the works of Gluck: "I have just come from the Seghers. There I heard an *eminent* singer, Delsarte. He declaims the music of Gluck to make one *shiver,* he is Nourrit in his finest moments, apart from a voice that is

[690] Apparently, Liszt and Delsarte first met in 1868. In a letter dated 1 August, Liszt wrote to Princess Carolyne: "I regret that I was so whirled about during my last stay in Paris that I could not become better acquainted with M. Delsarte. He is a distinct personality in the group of celebrities. He has high aims in art and a noble character – if I am not mistaken, we shall find ourselves in agreement on the essential points. Art is not a religion apart – but the explicit embodiment of the true religion, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman one!" Franz Liszt, *Selected Letters,* trans. and ed. Adrian Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 686.

[691] Liszt and Marie d'Agoult, *The Liszt-d'Agoult Correspondence*: *English Translations and Commentaries*, trans. and ed. Michael Short (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2013), 129.

detestable, but he is more noble, *simple*, sustained than Nourrit."[692] Thus, d'Agoult's second letter informs us that, by January of 1841, Delsarte had already made a name for himself as a great interpreter of Gluck's music.

Although no records of Delsarte's first performances appear to exist in the press,[693] in an 1852 essay, Delsarte recalls meeting Reber, the violinist Eugène Sauzay (1809-1901), and the conductor and one of the founders of the *Société des Concerts du Conservatoire*, Francois-Jean-Baptiste Seghers (1801-1881), shortly after he began teaching his course.[694] According to Delsarte, these men provided him with the opportunity to mount a (private) concert consisting exclusively of Gluck's music, marking his successful return to performing after retiring from the operatic stage eight years earlier.[695] The concert took place sometime in 1840, as the earliest mention we have of Delsarte's name in the press as an interpreter of Gluck appears in *La Presse* on the 6 December 1840. The author of the article, Delphine de Girardin, refers to Delsarte, whom she will hear sing for the first time that evening, as the "Talma of music," that he "glorifies the songs of Gluck, as Talma glorified the lines of Racine," and that he already had a host of admirers.[696] And so, by the end of 1840, Delsarte's reputation in Paris as an interpreter of Gluck was already established. According to critic Pierre-Alexandre Specht, another private concert took place in mid-January 1841, this time

[692] Liszt and d'Agoult, *Correspondence*, 248-49, emphasis d'Agoult.
[693] Evidence in the press suggests that Delsarte's earliest performances from 1840-1842 were held at private salons. His first "public" performance appears to be a benefit concert hosted by himself at his studio for a Catholic charity on 26 March 1843. In 1841, Berlioz pointed out that the only way to hear Delsarte was to gain access to the private salons. "Nouvelles," *RGMP* 10, no. 13 (March 1843): 114; Berlioz, "Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique," *Journal des débats*, 24 January 1841, 2.
[694] Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 179.
[695] Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 179.
[696] "Nous devons entendre ce soir un chanteur admirable, Delsarte ; c'est, dit-on, le Talma de la musique ; il fait valoir les chants de Gluck, comme Talma faisait valoir les vers de Racine. Hâtons-nous, car ses admirateurs enthousiastes ne nous pardonneraient point d'arriver au milieu de l'air d'Alceste ; et si ce que l'on dit est vrai, nous ne pourrions-nous consoler nous-mêmes d'en avoir perdu la moitié." Vicomte C. de Launay, "Courrier de Paris," *La Presse*, 6 December 1840, 2. In a follow-up article, the author implies hearing Delsarte sing after attending a rehearsal at the Opéra but provides no location.

hosted by cellist Alexandre Batta (1816-1902). Although a number of artists were in attendance, including Berlioz,[697] Specht mentions only one other performer by name:

> We will only speak of another initiate, M. Delsarte, a singer with a hoarse voice, who does not come from the sweet Italian school, or from the system of the *French scream*, but who is eloquent and profound in his own way and stirring like we have never heard. He sang only Gluck; he made men cry in an air from *Alceste*, and, to satisfy these rabid gluttons, he had to declaim the terrible air of Thoas from *Iphigénie en Tauride* three times.[698]

Based on other reviews in the press, as well as Delsarte's own account of these years in his writings,[699] by the end of 1841, Delsarte had risen to become *the* fashionable singer in the private salons of Paris, receiving glowing reviews from the likes of Jules Janin, Henri Blanchard, and those already mentioned.[700]

The height of Delsarte's fame as a singer during the years when Wagner was in Paris, however, came on the evening of 26 November 1841. According to Arnaud, Delsarte had been invited to the Tuileries for an event hosted by the Duke and Duchess of Orléans, with King Louis-Phillipe in attendance.[701] And, according to Delsarte, it was the first time such an honour had been bestowed on any one performer.[702] The concert was conducted by Halévy and backed by one hundred choristers from the Opéra and Théâtre-Italien without an orchestra.[703] The evening was a great success, and was reported on in many of the news

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[697] Berlioz mentions Delsarte's performance at Batta's in an 1841 article. See Berlioz, "Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique," *Journal des débats*, 24 January 1841.
[698] "Nous ne parlerons plus que d'un autre initié, M. Delsarte, chanteur à voix enrouée, qui ne procède ni de la douce école italienne, ni du système de l'*urlo francese*, mais qui est éloquent et profond à sa manière, et entraînant comme nous n'en avons peut-être jamais entendu. Il n'a chanté que du Gluck, il a fait pleurer les hommes dans l'air d'*Alceste*, et, pour satisfaire ces enragés gloutons, il lui a fallu dire trois fois l'air terrible de Thoas d'*Iphigénie en Tauride*." Pierre-Alexandre Specht, "Critique Musicale," *L'Artiste journal de la littérature et des beaux-arts* 7, no. 4 (1841): 62.
[699] Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 179.
[700] Jules Janin, "Banquet offert a M. Ingres," *Journal des débats*, 16 June 1841; and Henri Blanchard, "Théatre Royal De L'opéra-Comique: Camille Ou Le Souterrain," *RGMP* 8, no. 45 (August 1841): 370.
[701] Apparently, Delsarte had been called upon in 1830 by Prince Louis-Philippe to teach him "La Marseillaise" just prior to his proclamation ceremony as King of the French, in the event that he might be forced to sing it. See Émile Mendel, "Petit courrier des théâtres," *Le Constitutionnel*, 3 August 1870.
[702] Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 179.
[703] Bujarier, "Nouvelles et faits divers," *La Presse*, 26 November 1841.

outlets, including the *RGMP*.[704] And so, Delsarte's rise to fame amongst the musical elite in Paris did not go unnoticed in the press. In January 1842, a playful editorial was published in *Les Coulisses* which pretended to disclose the outcome of a longstanding wager between two unnamed gentlemen:

> Sir, you will no doubt remember that in 1839 you made a bet with me that in three years' time Mr Mario de Candia would be the leading tenor of the world. That fateful day has now arrived, and, admittedly, the first singers in the universe are Mr Duprez and *Mr Delsarte*.[705]

Thus, it seems that if Wagner did not know who Delsarte was prior to his arrival in Paris in September of 1839, he most certainly knew who he was as both a teacher of aesthetics and celebrated interpreter of Gluck's repertoire by time he departed for Dresden in April of 1842, Delsarte having by then risen to become one of the most prominent members of the city's musical elite.

It must be pointed out that, beyond Delsarte being a celebrated interpreter of Gluck's repertoire, his aesthetic theory appears to have been greatly influenced by Gluck's declamatory vocal style and musical compositions more generally. As mentioned, the musician Jean Aimé Louis Bambini, who was a devotee of Gluck's music, became Delsarte's patron in the summer of 1823 when Delsarte was only twelve years old, Bambini not only teaching Delsarte himself but also enrolling him at Choron's school.[706] According to Everist, several of Gluck's works were performed at Choron's school during the years Delsarte is believed to have attended, including extracts from *Orphée*, *Alceste*, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, and

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[704] For example, see *Le Courrier Français*, 26 November 1841, 3; "Coulisses du grand monde: Retour des bals princiers," *Les Coulisses*, 28 November 1841; "Nouvelles," *RGMP* 8, no. 61 (November 1841): 534; and P. M. *Le Courrier Français*, 29 November 1841, 2.

[705] "Monsieur, vous vous souvenez sans doute qu'en 1839 vous avez parié avec moi que dans trois années M. Mario de Candia serait le premier ténor du monde connu. L'époque fatale est arrivée, de l'aveu général, les premiers chanteurs de l'univers sont M. Dupiez et *M. Delsarte*." "Coulisses du monde élégant: Un Pari fashionable," *Les Coulisses*, 13 January 1842, 2, emphasis author.

[706] A number of sources report that Delsarte was a student at Choron's school prior to entering the Conservatoire. For example, see Duprez, "Choron et son école," *Le Ménestrel*, 30 June 1867; Pougin, "Nécrologie musicale 1870-1871," 100; and Audebrand, *La sérénade de Don Juan*, 92.

perhaps even a near-complete performance of the opera *Armide*.[707] And so, by the time Delsarte entered the Conservatoire training programme in 1826,[708] he seems to have been well-versed in Gluck's declamatory vocal style. It is of course the declamatory style of singing for which Delsarte became famous for teaching, and for which there were calls already in the 1850s for him to officially establish a school of lyric declamation at the Conservatoire:

> Anyone who has not heard Delsarte interpret, with his veiled but powerful and magnetic voice, Gluck's recitatives, knows not how far the power of lyrical declamation can reach. For our part, we declare that never, with all the combined prestige of the stage, the orchestra, the costumes, the decorations, has any singer impressed us to the same extent as Delsarte manages to do, under simple conditions […] and by the sole magic of his dramatic accent. It has been a long time since we had occasion to say it: There is not a single man in France who is as worthy as Delsarte to establish at the Conservatoire a true school of lyrical declamation.[709]

Although the Conservatoire never recognized Delsarte for his contributions to vocal pedagogy, Manuel Garcia *fils* (1805-1906) apparently claimed in the late 1880s that Delsarte "was considered the greatest artist and teacher of his time. Nearly all the present teachers of the Conservatoire studied with him."[710] And so, Delsarte appears to have been responsible, if indirectly, for ultimately establishing the declamatory style of singing at the Conservatoire by the end of the century.

In terms of Gluck's compositional practices, not only did Delsarte claim to have made a life-long study of the master's works, but he inspired his students to do so as well. In his 1867 lecture, Delsarte attributed the very establishment of the orchestra to Gluck: "As a

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[707] Everist, *Genealogies of Music and Memory*, 12.
[708] Special dispensation was sought for Delsarte's acceptance at the school by Cherubini owing to his young age, which was granted by the Vicomte de La Rochefoucauld. See Waille, "*Corps, arts et spiritualité*," 863 n64.
[709] "Quiconque n'a pas entendu Delsarte interpréter, avec sa voix voilée mais pleine de puissance et de magnétisme, les récitatifs de Gluck, ignore jusqu'où peut atteindre la puissance de la déclamation lyrique. Pour notre part, nous déclarons que jamais, avec tous les prestiges réunis de la scène, de l'orchestre, du costume, des décorations, aucun chanteur ne nous a impressionné au même point que Delsarte parvient à le faire, dans les conditions simples [...] et par la seule magie de son accent dramatique. Il y a longtemps que nous avons eu occasion de la dire : Il n'y a pas un seul homme en France qui soit aussi digne que Delsarte de constituer au Conservatoire, une véritable école de déclamation lyrique." Allyre B., "Théâtres," *La Démocratie pacifique*, 23 April 1850.
[710] Russell, "Delsartism in England," 43.

melodist [Gluck] certainly did not surpass Lully, in grandeur he did not exceed Rameau, but he surpassed these two men on one account – he established the orchestra, not that he introduced instruments, but he established the orchestra that I call *aesthetic*."[711] According to Delsarte, Gluck's orchestral system created a synthesis:

> [Gluck] said to himself: "Man is the living synthesis of the world: man is in affinity with all of creation and there is in man something of all the animals, from the cat to the lion, the bear, the tiger, the dove. Obviously, the various timbres are in affinity with these animal characteristics and, if this is true, they must all be attributed to his being." He did an immense amount of work […] He created his synthesis. Each instrument was appropriated to one of man's emotions, no longer devoted to a character but to a feeling, to an emotion. Consecrated in this way, each instrument is transmutable everywhere because love is the same everywhere. The same instrument could express the love of Achilles as well as the love of Orpheus, even though Achilles is not Orpheus, and so the same instrument could not be attributed to each. Therefore, with Gluck the orchestra painted a grand synthesis. He did not put all of the animals together, he did not make a menagerie of it, because he knew that they do not speak all at once in human beings. In human beings, when the tiger makes his voice heard, the dove does not speak. There are therefore antipathetic instruments of some kind in man which Gluck was careful to avoid marrying.[712]

Unfortunately for scholars, owing to the restraints of time, Delsarte was unable to fully explain the theory of Gluck's orchestral system to his students that day, but was limited to providing a few particular examples instead. Later in the lecture, Delsarte revealed that he planned to publish a book on Gluck's system; however, this manuscript, if it did exist, has not been found.[713] Although the 1867 lecture provides one of the only extant records of Delsarte teaching Gluck's orchestral system, we know from other sources that he was passionate about

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[711] "Comme mélodiste il n'a pas dépassé certainement Lulli, en grandeur il n'a pas dépassé Rameau, mais il a dé passé ces deux hommes par un côté, il a créé l'orchestre, non pas qu'il ait introduit des instruments, il a créé l'orchestre que j'appelle esthétique." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 249. Appendix B.

[712] "Il se dit: 'L'homme est la synthèse vivante au monde: l'homme est en affinité avec toute la création et il y a dans l'homme quelque chose de tous les animaux, du chat, au lion, de l'ours, du tigre, de la colombe. Évidemment les divers timbres sont en affinité avec ces caractères animaux et si cela est-il faut les attribuer tous à son être.' Il fit un immense travail [...] Il créa sa synthèse. Chaque instrument fut approprié à l'une de ses émotions et consacré non plus à un personnage mais à un sentiment, à une émotion. Consacré de cette façon, il est transmutable partout car l'amour c'est l'amour partout. Le même instrument pouvait exprimer l'amour d'Achilles et l'amour d'Orphée tandis qu'Achille n'est pas Orphée, et le même instrument ne pouvant pas leur être attribué. Avec Gluck l'orchestre dessin donc une grande synthèse. Il y a ne mis pas tous les animaux ensemble, il n'en fit pas une ménagerie, il savait qu'ils ne parlent pas tous ensemble chez l'homme. Quand le tigre fait entendre sa voix la colombe ne parle pas chez l'homme. Il y a donc chez lui des instruments antipathiques en quelque sorte dont Gluck eut soins d'éviter le mariage." Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 249-50. Appendix B.

[713] Delsarte, 254. Appendix B.

teaching it to his students, critic and publisher Léon Escudier noting that: "Joining precept to example, he worked with all his might to direct young minds towards the study of this music which had been neglected for too long."[714] Furthermore, we know from a handful of personal letters that Delsarte engaged in heated debates about Gluck's orchestrations with that other well-known nineteenth-century expert: Berlioz.[715] It was of course Berlioz who was responsible for reviving Gluck's *Orphée* in Paris in 1859, with Pauline Viardot in the titular role. However, critic Joseph d'Ortigue was quick to point out that the success of the production was owed, in no small part, to the groundwork laid by Delsarte in previous decades.[716] And so, although it has long been recognized by scholars that both Wagner and Berlioz were obsessed with Gluck, and that, according to Simon Goldhill, both "worked tirelessly to promote Gluck in his own image,"[717] Delsarte's own obsession with the composer, as well as his influence on other musicians and critics in this regard, is only now coming to light. In fact, Delsarte's course may have been influential in sparking Wagner's infatuation with Gluck. Katherine Rae Syer points out that, in 1834, "Wagner had dismissively described Gluck's music as 'French' in character in his essay 'Die Deutsche Oper,'" but that he had a "rather sudden improved estimation of Gluck in 1840-41," coinciding with the years he seems to have attended Delsarte's course in Paris.[718]

Finally, it might be asked, in light of the evidence presented in this chapter, why no one in the nineteenth century pointed out the similarities between Wagner's and Delsarte's aesthetic theories. One answer is that, unlike Wagner, Delsarte never attributed the discovery

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[714] Léon Escudier, "Chefs-d'œuvre lyriques des anciens maitres: IX. Gluck," *La France musicale* 19, no. 5 (February 1855): 36.
[715] See Hugh MacDonlad and François Lesure, eds., *Hector Berlioz: Correspondance Générale V: 1855-1859* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989), 457-62.
[716] Joseph d'Ortigue, *Journal des débats*, 26 March 1860. See also Everist, *Genealogies of Music and Memory*, 38-39.
[717] Simon Goldhill, "Who Killed Gluck?," in *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage*, eds. Peter Brown and Suzana Ograjenšek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 212.
[718] Katherine Rae Syer, *Wagner's Visions*: *Poetry, Politics, and the Psyche in the Operas Through* "*Die Walküre*" (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 108 and 110.

of his system, musical or otherwise, to his own genius. Instead, he appears to have taught his students that his musical system in particular derived either from antiquity or from Gluck, regardless of any developments he himself may have made to those systems.[719] Significantly, the accusations hurled against Wagner by the French critics in 1861 pertain to the claimed originality of his musical system, Paul Scudo decrying that not only was Wagner's system derivative of Gluck, but also that "M. Wagner believes himself the inventor of a system that is as old as music itself."[720] Like Delsarte, Scudo attended Choron's school, and so it seems that he and other Parisian critics and musicians had learned the musical system, if not from Delsarte's course, then perhaps from Choron or any number of his other successors.[721]

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented evidence which supports the argument that Wagner's early aesthetic writings are based on Delsarte's aesthetic system. The evidence showed that Wagner appears to have attended Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" owing to a partial drawing from the course found in Wagner's personal letters, as well as his manuscript for *Opera and Drama*, a drawing which appears to be derived from Delsarte's Chart of Man. Wagner would have had knowledge of the chart had he attended Delsarte's course during his first sojourn in Paris, which is entirely possible. A detailed analysis of Wagner's and Delsarte's theories also shows that there is a comprehensiveness of terminology between Wagner's early aesthetic writings and Delsarte's aesthetic system which is not found in either of Wagner's acknowledged sources, Feuerbach and Schopenhauer. Further analysis of Delsarte's rise to fame as an interpreter of Gluck suggests that it would have been quite

[719] Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 246-58.
[720] Paul Scudo, *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 August 1852, qtd. in William Gibbons, "Music of the Future, Music of the Past: *Tannhäuser* and *Alceste* at the Paris Opéra," *19th-Century Music* 33, no. 3 (2010): 240.
[721] Notable students of Choron's school include the actress Rachel, opera singers Duprez and Mécène Marié de l'Isle, composers Hippolyte Monpou, Aimé Maillart, Victor Massé, and music critics Scudo and de la Faye. Clément Caraguel, "Revue de quinzaine," *La Presse*, 1 May 1858, 3. Notably, in the article, Caraguel mentions Choron's experiment of being the first to hide the orchestra, which Wagner could have learned from Delsarte.

impossible for Wagner to have lived in Paris during these years and not have known about Delsarte's achievements as a celebrated singing teacher and lecturer on aesthetics. By all appearances, it is possible that Wagner's understanding of Gluck's compositional system is based on Delsarte's course – that Wagner, in fact, learned the system directly from Delsarte. Whilst the evidence presented in this chapter indicates that Wagner's early aesthetic writings are indeed based on Delsarte's aesthetic system, more research remains to be done in order for scholars to determine the extent to which Delsarte's "Course in Applied Aesthetics" influenced Wagner's writings, as well as the composition of his music dramas.

In light of the evidence presented, it must be pointed out that, of the discoveries Delsarte attributed to his own research, but which he also believed were ultimately revealed by God, number one amongst them is the discovery of a "criterion of examination against which no fact protests. A telescopic instrument of unity, or generative principles of science," derived from the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.[722] Thus, the defining feature of Delsarte's aesthetic system is its absolute unity, the insistence that "everything is in everything" according to the circumincession, and that German idealist theories of aesthetics are flawed because they are fragmentary, atomized, and all taught without a system. As mentioned, the *raison d'être* of Delsarte's research was to reunite not only the arts, but all of the arts and sciences, into a perfectly unified system of knowledge. Similarly, a defining feature of Wagner's theory is the unification of the arts – the *Gesamtkunstwerk* – whereby music, poetry, and dance are brought together in order to create the perfected artwork of the future. And so, unlike other aesthetic theories of the nineteenth century, Delsarte's and Wagner's theories share a common goal – the unification of the arts.

[722] "1. Critérium d'examen contre lequel aucun fait ne proteste. Spéculum d'unité ou principes générateurs des sciences." Delsarte, "Liste de mes découvertes," DP, box 1, folder 24 (items 10-11), item 8.

In almost complete opposition to both Delsarte's and Wagner's aesthetic theories stands Eduard Hanlsick's *On the Musically Beautiful* (1854), a philosophical treatise famously referred to by Karl Popper as a "book against Wagner."[723] Whatever the truth of Popper's claim, Raymond Monelle points out that "most contemporary movements in music aesthetics can be traced to two pamphlets of the mid-nineteenth century," Wagner's *Artwork of the Future*, and Hanslick's *On the Musically Beautiful*, both of which "have led to whole schools of music criticism."[724] Furthermore, Christoph Landerer and Lee Rothfarb argue that "all major philosophers in the aesthetics of music have started by engaging with Hanlsick's ideas," which, in Anglo-American scholarship, "continue to serve as the starting point for aesthetic theorizing."[725] However, taking Delsarte's theory into account, a significant rewrite of the history of nineteenth-century musical aesthetics appears to be in order, for the very reason that, like Delsarte, Hanslick's main concern, according to Landerer and Rothfarb, was "the relevance of a *scientific method* of aesthetics."[726] Hanslick argued that, for the investigation of musical aesthetics to not be completely illusory, "it will have to approach the natural-scientific method at least as far as trying to penetrate to the things themselves and to probe what in those things may be enduring, objective, *detached* from the thousandfold fluctuating impressions."[727] And so, although Hanslick and Delsarte shared the same aim of attempting to place aesthetics on a scientific footing, the difference between their theories is immense, being one of *division* rather than *unity*, *specialization* rather than *generalization*. On the one hand, Hanslick believed that music should be studied entirely separate from all other art forms, using such terms throughout his treatise as *pure, detached, genre-specific,*

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[723] Karl Popper, *Unended Quest*: *An Intellectual Autobiography* (London: Routledge, 2010), 249.
[724] Raymond Monelle, "Symbolic Models in Music Aesthetics," *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 19, no. 1 (1979): 24.
[725] Christoph Landerer and Lee Rothfarb, introductory essays to *Eduard Hanslick's on the Musically Beautiful: A New Translation*, by Eduard Hanslick, trans. Lee Rothfarb and Christoph Landerer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), liv.
[726] Landerer and Rothfarb, xxii.
[727] Eduard Hanslick, *Eduard Hanslick's on the Musically Beautiful*: *A New Translation*, trans. Lee Rothfarb and Christoph Landerer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1.

separate, autonomous. On the other, Delsarte believed that the arts and sciences are united, that nothing is pure, nothing is detached, but that "everything is in everything." Thus, herein lies the fundamental difference between Hanslick's theory and Delsarte's system, which aside from an interest in developing a scientific method for aesthetics, are otherwise incompatible. Also, despite the importance scholars have placed on Hanslick's treatise, according to Landerer and Rothfarb, there is still no consensus on how to contextualize his theory within the history of ideas, the "various efforts to uncover a consistent philosophical framework" proving unsuccessful to this day.[728] Therefore, the revelation that Wagner's early aesthetic treatises are based on Delsarte's aesthetic system means that Wagner's early theory should be analysed and understood according to the Aristotelian-Scholastic tradition, and that it, rather than Hanslick's theory, should be seen in accordance with the development of a scientific method for aesthetics. The fact that Delsarte began teaching his "Course in Applied Aesthetics" fifteen years prior to the publication of Hanslick's treatise, and that Wagner's *Artwork of the Future* appears to be based on Delsarte's teachings, means that the teaching of musical aesthetics should henceforth begin with Delsarte, not with either Hanslick or Wagner.

[728] Landerer and Rothfarb, "Introductory Essays," liv-lv.

Conclusion: The Science of Aesthetics

On 20 July 1871, Delsarte died in Paris. The manuscript on which he had been working, "My Revelatory Episodes, or the History of an Idea Pursued for Forty Years," remained unfinished. Within less than a year, his manuscripts were purchased from his widow, Rosine, and shipped to America, where his more overtly religious writings, including the manuscript "Notre méthode," were kept hidden from public view. With only a partial understanding of Delsarte's system in hand, the search began in earnest by some American practitioners for the scientific principles on which the system was presumably based. These principles would have provided the key to unlocking the system, but MacKaye and Werner were unwilling to forthrightly divulge them knowing that they would be unable to then monetize an aesthetic system in America whose first principle was, by all appearances, based not on science, but on the theology of the Holy Trinity from Roman Catholic doctrine.[729]

The result of withholding the publication of Delsarte's overtly religious manuscripts resulted in confusion amongst early American practitioners as to the nature of the so-called "Delsarte System of Expression," the ramifications of which are still being felt in scholarship today. A recent publication on Delsarte's system erroneously describes his work as such:

> Delsarte's teachings were influenced by challenges to the definition of selfhood that occurred as ideals of a unique, expressive self, inherited from romanticism, competed with notions of secular democratic subjectivity. He developed a performance theory based on the codification of gestures seen in attitudes, classical sculpture, and melodramatic acting styles.[730]

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[729] I include Werner in this deception because, rather than choose Alger or Hovey to publish on the system, both of whom had studied with Gustave Delsarte in Paris, and both of whom actively taught the system, he chose Stebbins instead, who, according to Ruyter, "had published nothing and had barley started to present her Delsarte work on stage." Ruyter, *Cultivation of Body and Mind*, 48. Two years prior to Stebbins' first publication, Alger wrote an article with the express intent of proving himself capable of such an undertaking. See Alger, "Why Should an Author so Profound and Brilliant Hesitate to Publish an Exposition of the Delsarte Philosophy?," *The Voice Magazine*, June 1884, 81-83; see also Henrietta Crane and William R. Alger, "The Delsarte Philosophy," *The Voice Magazine*, December 1881, 176-78.

[730] Carrie J. Preston, *Modernism's Mythic Pose*: *Gender, Genre, Solo Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 60.

However, as has been shown in the preceding chapters, the above description does not align with what Delsarte himself said and taught about his own system, but rather with what another scholar has deduced from the works of Stebbins, Brown, and other practitioners who, for the most part, never studied with Delsarte. Such a statement only serves to perpetuate misinformation about the scientific nature of Delsarte's aesthetic system.[731]

As Delsarte himself stated, his teachings were influenced by what he saw as an ever-increasing materialist aesthetic in French Grand Opera in the 1830s, which was supported by the radical absence of any didactic training in the official education at the Paris *Conservatoire* and the *École des Beaux-Arts*. Delsarte developed his performance theory based not on classical models or melodramatic acting styles, as Preston argues, but on the observation of particular natural phenomena from which he attempted to induct the general principles of human expression. The establishment of the Trinity as the first principle of his system was the result of his own observations by which he discerned that not only does the overtone series conform to the theology of the processional relations of the Trinity, but that the successive physiological development of the three human languages of vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture also conform to this doctrine. Based on the observation of numerous other particular examples, such as the underlying Trinitarian structure of light and motion, Delsarte established the Trinity as the first principle of his system, the single unified source from which he believed all of these particular phenomena emanated, thereby insisting that his system was not purely theoretical, but based on the facts of observation.

By establishing the Holy Trinity as the scientific principle and criterion of his system, Delsarte understood that the nature of first principles require either *a leap of faith* based on

[731] Preston's description appears to be based on a passage from Taylor's article, whereby he states that: "Delsarte originally formulated his ideas in the 1830s, when a radical redefinition of bourgeois ideology was being fought out in the theatre of Paris – particularly around issues of identity, which not only influenced Delsarte's perceptions, but still resonate in today's 'postmodern' dialectic between the introspective individuality of the reflective mind and the political responsibilities of the body in action." Taylor, "François Delsarte," 75.

authority, or a prolonged period of scientific study based on both *sense* and *reason*. In terms of prolonged study, Delsarte encouraged his students – once they had understood his theory – to carefully apply it to the creation of their own artworks, whereby he predicted they would eventually encounter the same principle based on experience, for the very reason, he argued, that the reflection of the Holy Trinity is perceivable everywhere in nature. Thus, in this dissertation I have shown that it is necessary to carefully and repeatedly analyse the numerous particular examples and symbolic charts located in Delsarte's extant manuscripts, along with those in the surviving transcripts of his lectures, rather than rely on previous scholarship, much of which does not take the particulars of these primary sources into account, in order to understand the epistemological, methodological, philosophical, and musicological foundations of his system. As Delsarte argued, we must generalize the knowledge that we possess. Once we come to possess particular knowledge of Delsarte's theory through his numerous examples and charts, only then can we begin to apply, test, and judge his theory for ourselves. If one does not understand and possess the knowledge of Delsarte's aesthetic system as a whole, one cannot hope to fully and carefully govern that system in its practical application.

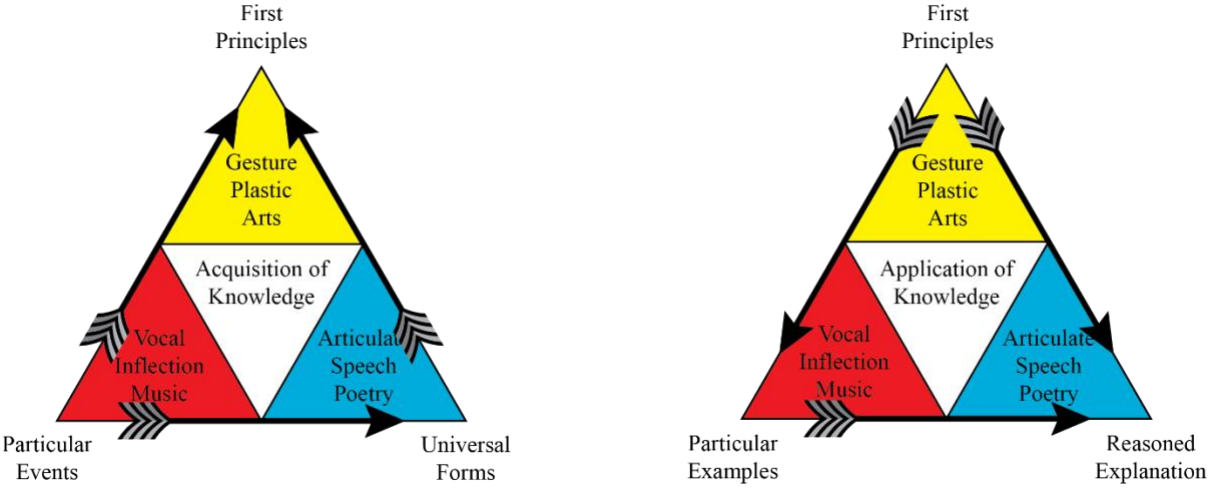
Chapter one explored the epistemological and methodological foundations of Delsarte's aesthetic theory, revealing it to be Aristotelian-Scholastic in nature, meaning that the theory adheres to the philosophical tenets of metaphysical (or moderate) realism, and is therefore non-materialist and non-Cartesian. Because Delsarte's theory is Aristotelian-Scholastic, it should be considered a scientific system. According to Gaukroger, the system in Western culture which transformed natural philosophy "from a marginal enterprise into one that was to provide the principal point of entry into understanding the natural world and our place within it" was the amalgam of Aristotelian philosophy with Christian theology, which he argues did not begin with the Scientific Revolution in the seventeenth century, but with the

works of Albert Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in the *thirteenth century*.[732] Gaukroger notes that "the distinctive thing about following the Aristotelian route in abstractive epistemology [as opposed to the Platonic] is that you must start from sense perception," which necessarily means starting from natural philosophy (the natural sciences).[733] The Aristotelian method, Gaukroger argues, begins from observed events and processes to the discovery of underlying principles; then, the method begins again from underlying principles, which provide an explanation for the various physical forms of behaviour that one wants to explain.[734] According to Gaukroger, the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517) marked the beginning of the end of the amalgamation between Aristotelianism and Christianity when an Averroist wedge was driven between the disciplines of theology and natural philosophy.[735] Thus, Delsarte's aesthetic theory can be seen as an attempt to reunite Aristotelian science with Christian theology in the nineteenth century. That Delsarte's system is Aristotelian-Scholastic means that it does not *start* from fixed axioms dictated by Christian theology, but rather from the particulars of sense perception.

In methodological terms, Delsarte's aesthetic system contains two interconnected methods under Aristotelian-Scholasticism: the acquisition and possession of knowledge (speculative *scientia*, or science), and the governance and application of that knowledge (practical *scientia*, or art). For Delsarte, the acquisition of knowledge begins from observed events and processes and leads to the discovery of underlying principles, whilst the governance and application of knowledge begins from those underlying principles and provides an explanation for the various forms of human expression (see figures 5.1 and 5.2). Thus, when Delsarte states in his theorem that *we must start from the principle of the Trinity as an unmoveable axiom*, this statement corresponds not to the acquisition of knowledge, but

[732] Gaukroger, *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture*, 47.
[733] Gaukroger, 65.
[734] Gaukroger, 75.
[735] Gaukroger, 83.

to its application – as Delsarte is lecturing not on science *per se*, but on art. Jonathan Barnes points out a similar distinction between research and didacticism in Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*. According to Barnes, Aristotle's theory of demonstrative science "was never meant to guide or formalise scientific research: it is concerned exclusively with the teaching of facts already won; it does not describe how scientists do, or ought to, *acquire* knowledge: it offers a formal model of how teachers should *impart* knowledge."[736] A similar distinction is also found in Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae*, the *prima-secundae* being concerned with the general principles of actions (speculative *scientia*), the *secunda-secundae* with particular virtues and vices (practical *scientia*). In Delsarte's system, this same distinction exists between a general science of aesthetics and its practical application to individual artforms – especially to the performing arts – as Delsarte's course concerns not only particular actions, but also the causes or *motivations* of those actions. Therefore, Delsarte's method is



Figures 5.1 and 5.2. The Acquisition and Application of Knowledge in Delsarte's System. Figure 5.1 (left) shows the *acquisition* of knowledge according to the Aristotelian method, which begins from observed events and processes to the discovery of underlying principles. This figure follows the theology of the processional relations of the Trinity, from Father to Son to the procession of the Holy Ghost from both. Figure 5.2 (right) shows the *application* of knowledge according to the Aristotelian method, which begins from underlying principles to an explanation of the various physical forms of human expression. In this figure, the processional relations of the Trinity are altered, the Holy Ghost becoming the first term in place of the Father, the Father the middle term in place of the Son, and the Son the final term in place of the Holy Ghost. We can see in figure 5.2 why scholars believe that Delsarte's system is based on gesture, according to its practical application, when, epistemologically speaking, it is based on music according to the acquisition of knowledge in figure 5.1. For a detailed explanation of the alteration of the divine persons in Delsarte's system, see section 3.2.

[736] Jonathan Barnes, "Aristotle's Theory of Demonstration," *Phronesis* 14, no. 2 (1969): 138.

essentially scientific, according to Aristotelian-Scholasticism, because it begins with the observation of particular events from which general principles are inducted.

Also, the analysis in chapter one showed that the validity of the Holy Trinity to function as a scientific first principle of Delsarte's aesthetic system is dependent upon the definition of the term *self-evident*. In a Cartesian sense, a first principle is self-evident when the truth of its claims is *sufficiently obvious* to the autonomous investigation of a fully rational subject. And so, because the Holy Trinity is a religious mystery, and therefore non-rational, it cannot serve as a first principle of a scientific system according to the tenets of Cartesianism. However, the science of aesthetics is an investigation of those aspects of human existence which are essentially non-rational in nature, that is our *sensations* and *feelings*. According to Delsarte, "Æsthetics is the science of the sensitive and passional manifestations which are the object of art."[737] Thus, it seems fitting for a non-rational proposition, the doctrine of the Trinity, to serve as the first principle of a scientific discipline which investigates the non-rational aspects of human existence. It was shown that the problem with the Cartesian definition of the term *self-evident* is that, in order for a subject to be *fully rational*, he or she would have to be non-human. According to Aristotelian-Scholasticism, the term *self-evident* applies to those principles which we encounter or experience as a result of a period of prolonged study, whereby we acquire the intellectual habits to apprehend what is *self-evident* as such. Delsarte claims to have established the first principle of his scientific system on observations and experiments that he conducted for over forty years, and during that time he apparently found no fact to protest against the principle and criterion of the Holy Trinity. It must be pointed out, however, that no matter how many instances of the reflection of the Trinity Delsarte discovered in natural phenomena, the existence of the Trinity itself as the unifying source of all natural phenomena can never be

[737] Delsarte, "Literary Remains," 460.

proven beyond a doubt, as the analogical induction of a metaphysical first principle necessarily requires a *leap of faith*. As Delsarte claims to be the first person to establish aesthetics as a scientific discipline, the first principle of his system must be accepted as valid until it is proven false by the facts of observation and experience, and when another first principle, against which no fact protests, comes to take its place.

In chapter two, it was shown that the philosophical shift which permitted Delsarte to base his scientific system on the doctrine of the Trinity at the beginning of the nineteenth century in France drifted away from Cartesian dualism towards a tripartite anthropological system rooted in Christianity, based on the philosophical writings of Maine de Biran, whose ideas were kept alive in France after his death by Jouffroy. This school of thought became known as French spiritualist-realism, a term coined by Félix Ravaisson in 1867, a school which appears to align with the tenets of medieval metaphysical realism. Under spiritualist realism, both Biran and Jouffroy insisted that the separate Cartesian disciplines of physiology (body) and psychology (mind) should be united into a single discipline, which Biran called anthropology, and which he defined as the science of the whole person. In doing so, Biran appears to have laid the epistemological groundwork for a science of aesthetics by determining a third distinct point of view, or third power of perception, which he called immediate apperception, and which was based on the inner muscular sensation of effort located in the will – a third distinct point of view from which the disciplines of psychology and physiology could simultaneously be compared and unified. Thus, Biran's anthropological system was composed of three distinct yet interconnected disciplines: a) the study of organic life (physiology), b) the study of the conscious mind (psychology), and c) the study of the active human soul – giving no name to this discipline but subsuming it under physiology. It appears to have been Jouffroy who defined this discipline as the science of aesthetics in his posthumously published *Cours d'esthétique*, the aesthetic theory on which Delsarte appears

to have based his own observations and experiments. Finally, in order to create a universal system of knowledge, Delsarte appears to have combined the medieval order of inquiry, based on mental abstraction, with the nineteenth-century anthropological systems of Biran and Jouffroy, based on three modes of perception. In doing so, Delsarte may have been successful in his quest for consilience by combining the methodologies of empiricism, rationalism, and mysticism according to the theology of the circumincession, and by showing us how these methodologies are related to one another and unified within us according to the processional relations of the three divine persons of the Holy Trinity.

Chapter three explored the musical foundations of Delsarte's aesthetic system by analysing extant manuscripts and historical documents, as well as by employing the criterion of the Ninth Chord in order to rediscover aspects of the system which had been lost. The analysis revealed that Delsarte's musical system contains an enharmonic, diatonic, and chromatic genre, reminiscent of the three genres of ancient Greek music. Other aspects of his system showed similarities to ancient music as well, such as Delsarte's three kinds of bodily motion – eccentric, concentric, and normal – which appear to correspond to three ancient compositional characteristics – *diastatikos* (expanding), *systaltikos* (contracting), and *hēsychastikos* (peaceful) – located in Book I.12 of Quintilianus' *De musica*, as well as Delsarte's three languages of vocal inflection, articulate speech, and gesture, which correspond to the ancient musico-aesthetic principles of harmony, logos, and rhythm, in both Quintilianus' treatise and Aristotle's *Poetics*.

A comparison between Delsarte's aesthetic system and ancient treatises on music and aesthetics showed that what Delsarte called the *science of aesthetics* in the nineteenth century appears to correspond to what the ancient Greeks called *music*, which, according to Quintilianus, not only systematized human perception as a speculative science, but also, as an applied science, trained human perception to greater accuracy. Thus, if the peripatetic axiom

holds true, that all knowledge begins in the senses, then training the senses to greater accuracy becomes a precondition for acquiring more accurate knowledge of the world, including our role within it. Under such conditions, one can see why the discipline of music was foundational to the ancient and medieval educational systems in the West, and why the resurrection of that system by Delsarte in accordance with scientific advances in nineteenth-century optics and acoustics was hailed by one of Delsarte's students as "the most complete study of art that, to my knowledge, has ever been made – a work whose scope only time will understand."[738] By partially reconstructing Delsarte's musical system, scholars will now be able to see that research on Delsarte's system is not peripheral to the discipline, but that it is central to the study of nineteenth-century Western music *tout court*. As the chapter provides only a partial reconstruction, there is still much research to be done on the musical aspects of Delsarte's system, aspects which were either lost, or became purely metaphoric, when his manuscripts were translated and published in America shortly after his death.[739] Although much research remains, what musicologists should take away from my initial findings on the foundations of the system is that, first and foremost, Delsarte's system is a *musical system*, being primarily developed for opera singers, and intended, according to Delsarte himself, to raise these artists "to the height of their mission, thus making them capable of one day restoring to the theatre sound notions of art."[740]

By reconstructing Delsarte's musical system in chapter three, it was shown that his criterion of the Ninth Chord produces not only a system of interlocking triads, now primarily associated with the music of Wagner and Liszt, but also a system of tonal pairings, evocative of Bailey's theory of tonal pairings in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. Furthermore, charts discovered in Hamel's *Cours d'éloquence parlée* reveal other associations to Wagner in that

[738] Guéroult, "Cours de chant," 2:411.
[739] The ancient musico-aesthetic principles on which Delsarte based his system became purely metaphorical in American Delsartism. For example, see Stebbins, *Delsarte System of Expression*, 261, 421, 458-59, and 481-83.
[740] Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 178.

Delsarte's musical system is also based on Gluck's orchestral system – the term *system* itself becoming associated with Wagner's music dramas, especially owing to the French reception of *Tannhäuser* at the Paris Opéra in 1861. The significance of these discoveries pertaining to Wagner's compositions, however, should not be overshadowed by what Delsarte's discoveries might mean from a scientific point of view. Bringing together the major and minor modes into a balanced "atonal" system, according to the criterion of the Ninth Chord, suggests that Delsarte would have seen the musical modes not as "culturally constructed" by the human mind, but rather as a natural occurring phenomenon in nature. Thus, in Delsarte's system, the major and minor modes are analogous to, for example, the phenomenon of positive and negative electrical charges respectively, whilst the atonal mode corresponds to the phenomenon of a positive and negative charge mutually neutralizing each other when brought together – the major and minor modes neutralizing each other in a balanced system of interlocking triads. Although Delsarte does not make this explicit in his extant notes, this theory being my own "discovery" resulting from the insertion of the major and minor modes into the criterion of the Ninth Chord, the bringing together of the major and minor modes into a neutral "atonal" system is the inevitable conclusion one must reach about the structure of Delsarte's musical system based on his theory of bodily motion, whereby the eccentric and concentric states of motion are brought together into a balanced state of *repose* according to the Ninth Chord criterion.

In light of the discoveries made in chapter three about Delsarte's musical system, and by taking seriously O'Neill's claim that Wagner knew about Delsarte's system into account, chapter four presented evidence pointing to the influence that Delsarte's course appears to have had on Wagner's early aesthetic treatises, namely, *The Artwork of the Future*, and more extensively, *Opera and Drama*. The analysis in this chapter revealed that, not only is there evidence that Wagner's early aesthetic treatises are based on Delsarte's theory, but also that

Delsarte's rise to fame as an interpreter of Gluck's music coincides exactly with Wagner's sojourn in Paris from 1839-42. According to Deathridge, these are the same years that Wagner experienced an "almost chameleon-like transition from mediocrity to genius which most commentators, including Wagner himself, have been at a loss to explain."[741] Thus, although the full extent of Delsarte's influence on Wagner's writings and compositions has yet to be determined, it is apparent from the evidence presented here that Delsarte's theory had a significant influence on Wagner.

Finally, the conclusion of chapter four suggested that Delsarte's system should be included amongst the study of the major musical aesthetic theories of the nineteenth century, alongside those of Wagner and Hanslick, being prior to both theories. Chapter one showed that, unlike Hanslick's theory, the Delsarte system maintains a consistent and unified philosophical framework within the history of ideas (Aristotelian-Scholasticism). Chapter two showed that Delsartian aesthetics can indeed be defined as a science in the modern nineteenth-century sense of the word according to spiritualist realism, owing to its clearly defined methodology (the immediate apperception of the muscular sensation of effort), which distinguishes the aesthetic method from both the methods of physiology (natural science) and experimental psychology, all three disciplines being based on distinct modes of perception according to Biranian anthropology: outer (physiology), inner (psychology), and a "higher" mode of perception balanced between the two (aesthetics). Chapter three also showed that Delsarte's system is based not on gesture, but first and foremost on the principles of ancient music – harmony, logos, and rhythm – meaning that Delsarte's system is a musical system *par excellence*. Also, Delsarte's chromatic system of interlocking triads suggests that the musical modes themselves correspond to naturally occurring phenomena, furthering the

[741] Deathridge, *Wagner's Rienzi*: *A Reappraisal Based on a Study of the Sketches and Drafts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), viii.

argument that Delsarte's aesthetic system is scientific. Chapter four showed that Wagner's early aesthetic treatises appear to be based on Delsarte's aesthetic theory, meaning that Delsarte's teachings were highly influential in the nineteenth century, that they contributed to the evolution of music in that century, as Saint-Saëns claimed, and that, therefore, the teaching of musical aesthetics today should henceforth begin with Delsarte. And so, chapters one through three showed that Delsarte's system is scientific according to the tenets of medieval Aristotelian-Scholasticism, nineteenth-century French spiritualist realism, as well as ancient Greek music, whilst chapter four showed the influence Delsarte's teachings appear to have had on the evolution of music in the nineteenth century. Most importantly, a general understanding of Delsarte's aesthetic system shows that his theory is not limited to philosophical or academic discourse, as are many other aesthetic theories, but that his system can be *applied* to all of the arts, as it was once applied by singers, composers, artists, and musicians in the nineteenth century. Because Delsarte's system bridges the gap between theory and practice, his teachings are of equal use to musicologists and musicians, academics and artists, alike.

Limitations of Study and Further Research

This research project focused on rediscovering and reconstructing Delsarte's System of Applied Aesthetics from extant manuscript sources and historical documents. The purpose of the project was to reveal the scientific, philosophical, and musicological foundations of Delsarte's system, as well as the influence Delsarte's teachings appear to have had on Wagner, in order to show that Delsarte Studies belongs at the centre of musicological research on the evolution of French music in the nineteenth century, and also at the centre of aesthetic research more broadly pertaining to the evolution of art in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe and America, as the full extent of Delsarte's influence is still unknown.

Scholars currently working within Delsarte Studies may, perhaps, be somewhat sceptical of the theoretical nature of my research, which centres on Delsarte's principle of the Trinity, especially considering the practical nature of his teachings, which were meant not for the instruction of aestheticians, philosophers, and theologians, but for practicing musicians, orators, and artists. However, as Delsarte himself states in his 1867 lecture, theory is "advantageous as a means of shortening the path […] I was very abstract – I did pure theory."[742] Thus, because there is, and has been, so much confusion surrounding the nature of Delsarte's system, not only in academic scholarship since the 1970s, but ever since his system arrived in America a century earlier, it was therefore necessary to "do pure theory" in order to re-establish his aesthetic system on a solid theoretical foundation. This was necessary not only to shorten the path to practice, but also that his system might one day be more rigorously and less haphazardly applied – as one cannot hope to apply, test, and judge a scientific theory for oneself of which one is either ignorant or largely uncertain. This needs to be stated directly in order to counteract statements made by Stebbins and Shawn, who believed that Delsarte's "system of expression" was workable without its metaphysics. In detaching metaphysics from the system, Stebbins and Shawn only helped to demolish the system's unity, without which it cannot be understood, as the unity of the arts and sciences is the *raison d'être* of Delsarte's research. Thus, the purpose of my own research has been to re-establish the Trinity as the single unifying principle of Delsarte's aesthetic system – as any system of knowledge based on two or more principles, such as the Trinity as well as the erroneous "Law of Correspondence," would mean that the system itself was divided and pluralistic at its foundations. Furthermore, I sought to show that, contrary to Ruyter's claims, Delsarte's principle of the Trinity, once properly understood, is not problematic, but that, by clarifying the terms and relations of the doctrine of the Trinity according to Roman

[742] Delsarte, "Cours 1867," 263. Appendix B.

Catholicism, as per Delsarte's own instructions, it is possible for the Trinity to serve as a viable first principle of a scientific system in the Aristotelian-Scholastic sense of the term.

Although this research project was limited to theory, there are many theoretical aspects of Delsarte's system and method that I could only touch upon, such as his physiological and psychological systems, as well as his method of applying the criterion of the Ninth Chord to the overtone series in order to construct a chromatic musical system. Rather than focus on any one specific system or method, my purpose was to show – at the highest level of generalization – how Delsarte could argue that all scientific methods are identical. However, it must be pointed out that Delsarte's universal system appears to contain many systems within systems, and many methods within methods. For example, one method not touched upon in this project is Delsarte's method of listening to *les cris de Paris*, from which he attempted to induct the general principles of human expression.[743] The method consisted in the close observation of the sounds and movements of common people in the street, people who, crucially, did not know that they were being observed. In order for Delsarte's method to work on human beings, it was important for people to not know that they were being observed in order to prevent them from becoming *self-conscious*, which would have, as a result, altered their natural and *unconscious* behaviour. Thus, we can see in this particular method another example where Delsarte attempted to bypass the power of reason or self-reflection.[744] As this doctoral project focused more on the musical aspects of his practical system, rather than on his gestural system, the method of *les crie de Paris* was not included in the analytical chapters. The reason I mention it here is to make the reader aware not only of an avenue for further research, but also to point out the immensity of Delsarte's system, of which there is much still to discover.

[743] See Delsarte, "Mémoire sur la voix sombrée," 167-69.
[744] On the method of *les cris de Paris* in the nineteenth century, see Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 115-24.

Furthermore, having taught his course for over thirty years in Paris, Delsarte's influence on other artists, not just Wagner, appears to have been immense. Not only did Delsarte create a system which was to become the foundation for early actor training programmes in America, but his system also became the aesthetic foundation for a brand-new art form – modern dance. And so, if Delsarte's system influenced Wagner to the degree that I believe it did, given the evidence, then the creation of Wagner's "music drama" owes much to Delsarte as well.

Another notable artist who Delsarte seems to have greatly influenced, but for which research is lacking, is George Bernard Shaw, who learned the system early on in his career from Alsatian *basso profundo* Richard Deck. Leonella Grasso Caprioli has recently discovered that Deck was one of the most celebrated interpreters of Delsarte's ballad, "Stances à l'Éternité," the association between master and pupil apparently being so strong "that the singer-actor was called *Delsarte-fils*."[745] Apparently, Shaw learned the system from one of Delsarte's most notable students, and so an understanding of Delsarte's aesthetic system may provide a new method of interpreting both Shaw's plays and musical writings.

Another possible avenue for research is the writings of James Joyce. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, the character of Stephen Dedalus famously refers to an aesthetic theory as "applied Aquinas."[746] Maurice Beebe notes that whilst most critics agree that the theory of art presented in *Portrait* "is both a key to the novel in which it appears and a programme for Joyce's later writings, they disagree on the extent of Joyce's alleged indebtedness to Saint Thomas Aquinas."[747] Significantly, when describing the theory, Dedalus also refers to the "immediate perception," a term which is evocative of Biran's theory of the *immediate apperception* in early nineteenth-century France. Furthermore,

[745] Caprioli, "François Delsarte musicista," 191, e-mail message to author 17 March 2023.
[746] James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (London: David Campbell Publishers, 1991), 262.
[747] Maurice Beebe, "Joyce and Aquinas: The Theory of Aesthetics," *Philological Quarterly* 36 (1957): 20.

Dedalus also includes a description evocative of Hugo's poetic theory from "Preface to Cromwell," where civilization unfolds according to three distinct artistic epochs: the lyrical, the epical, and the dramatic.[748] And so, it would appear that Joyce's notion of "applied Aquinas" includes aspects of French romanticism and spiritualist realism, which would point to an aesthetic theory possibly influenced by Delsarte's system.[749] Although speculative, the reason I point out the possible connection between Delsarte and Joyce is that, Delsarte's theory never having been published, scholars have little idea as to the extent of his influence on musicians, writers, and artists over the course of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries.

Finally, in musicological terms, the most obvious avenue for further research is a Delsartian analysis of the operatic works by those composers who scholars are relatively certain attended Delsarte's course, namely Bizet, Gounod, Saint-Saëns, and Wagner. Delsarte seems to have taken charge of his nephew Bizet's early musical education, sending him to study with Antoine Marmontel at the age of nine, one year prior to his admittance at the Conservatoire.[750] Curtiss points out that Bizet visited his uncle frequently in his youth, also noting a payment of one hundred francs from Bizet to Delsarte in 1856 for lessons given.[751] As for Gounod, direct evidence of him having attended Delsarte's course is scarce, even though his name is mentioned more than any other composer in American advertisements on the Delsarte system.[752] However, an anecdote by the twin singers Anatole and Hippolyte Lionnet (both 1832-1896) suggests that Gounod learned his broad and masterful way of phrasing from Delsarte.[753] As for Saint-Saëns, he describes attending the course in his

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[748] Joyce, *Portrait*, 268.
[749] It could not be influenced by Jouffroy's theory, as Jouffroy never mentions Aquinas in his *Cours d'esthétique*.
[750] Antoine Marmontel, "George Bizet," *The Musical World* 58, no. 32 (1880): 502. See also Curtiss, *Bizet and His World*, 13-14.
[751] Curtiss, *Bizet and His World*, 7.
[752] For example, in an 1883 series of advertisements, Gounod is the only composer named as having been a student of Delsarte. See *The Voice Magazine*, vol. 5 (1883): 31, 47, 126, 143, 159, and 176,
[753] Anatole and Hippolyte Lionnet, "Souvenirs sur Gounod," *Le Figaro*, 29 October 1887, 175.

memoires, crediting Delsarte with giving him the necessary courage "to make profound study of the works of the old school," also insisting him to be "a pioneer who, during his whole life, proclaimed the value of immortal works, which the world despised," and that he "played an important role in the evolution of French music in the Nineteenth Century."[754] And so, in the words of Guéroult, I am not afraid to call to the attention of artists and scholars alike the teachings of François Delsarte, to point out his "Course in Applied Aesthetics" as being the most complete and unified study of art that, to my knowledge, has ever been made. It is hoped that in time scholars will come to fully understand the scope and influence of Delsarte's aesthetic system, which he based on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as a scientific first principle and criterion, believing as he did that the study of art begins in science and ends in religion.

[754] Saint-Saëns, *Musical Memories*, 187, 193, and 186-87.

Appendix A
Letter from M. F. Delsarte to the Philotechnical Association (1866)[755]

MONSIEUR,

Despite my desire to please you, it is impossible for me to consent to the pure and simple printing of the speech which I delivered last year to the Philotechnical Association. You will remember, without a doubt, that when you did me the honour of inviting me to speak there, it was only for the purpose of talking about art in the form of a simple and familiar conversation. I had, in fact, neither the leisure nor the ability to prepare a formal speech, and I was far from expecting to see my improvisation transcribed, and still further from thinking it would ever be awarded the honours of publicity.

It follows from there that, speaking on a subject to the study of which I have lovingly devoted my life, I let myself be drawn, as much by the attractiveness of my subject as by the sympathetic interest shown by my audience, to give such proportions to my preliminary criticisms that, when I had to think seriously of going to the heart of the subject matter, you pointed out to me, timepiece in hand, that, in accordance with the custom of the place, I only had *twelve minutes left! — Twelve minutes*, to impart a theory whose exposition, even succinct, would have required hours!

I therefore confined myself to laying down, at the end of my talk, a few principles, definitions, and theorems, the development and proof of which, regretfully, I had to postpone to an unspecified time.

This is the necessarily imperfect work reproduced in the transcription.

If I regret to see an incomplete speech enter your volume, it is not, believe me, out of a feeling of humiliated conceit. I would cheapen these reluctances if they had only my pride for an object and victim: but this is a doctrine that I respect and that I want to see respected. And yet, to deliver to the public only the simple preface, is it not dishonouring it, up to a point, by mutilating it?

Certainly, I do not withdraw and I do not disavow any of the terms of my speech, but, whilst abiding in the steadfast purpose of maintaining and defending its spirit, do I not expose myself to implying that this truncated work promises much more than it gives, that I have laid waste without having built anything at all, that after clearing the terrain and levelling the ground, I was satisfied to affirm that I was now in possession of a new and magnificent monument?

I am not saying that this work is useless. On the contrary, I consider it essential. When you want to seed the earth, you must first clear it and remove all the parasitic vegetation. So, I have no regrets of having pulled up the weeds – but I have the very legitimate one of not having been able to sow my grain.

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[755] Delsarte, "Lettre de M. F. Delsarte à l'un des vice-présidents de l'Association philotechnique," in *Conférences de l'Association philotechnique. Année 1865: M. Ch. Battaille, M. Privat-Deschanel, M. Paul Féval, M. Delsarte.*, ed. Association philotechnique (Paris: Victor Masson & Fils, 1866), 85-87. Delsarte's letter is addressed to M. le docteur Hébert. It was published as a preface to the transcript of the lecture Delsarte delivered before the Philotechnical Association in 1865, "On the Sources of Art." The letter was reprinted in 1867 by one of Delsarte's former students, Amand Chevé, editor of the journal *L'Avenir musical*, who also reprinted the 1865 lecture in a ten-part serial that followed. See Delsarte, "Lettre de François Delsarte au M. le docteur Hébert," *L'Avenir musical* 3, no. 2 (January 1867): 128.

You may know it was not my fault, but the reader who reads these pages will be no less painfully disappointed. It is therefore for the honour of the principles of which I am the representative and the inflexible and faithful defender that I will ask you, as an absolute condition of the publicity that you wish to give to my speech, that a few lines explaining the circumstances under which it was delivered should precede it, and the causes which prevented my thought from being exposed, if not in its entirety, at least in its strictly necessary development.

Under the benefit of this indispensable explanation, I do not oppose the printing of my speech. In fact, I will even see it appear with pleasure in your collection as the preamble to an upcoming lecture in which I believe I will be able to keep all of the obligations I have made.

I hope, in fact, on the ruins of the systems which I have opposed, and the abuses which I have pointed out and condemned, to lay soon, in honour of the beautiful, the true, and the good, the solid bedrock and the substantial foundation of a lasting monument.

Accept, Monsieur, etc.

FRANÇOIS DELASRTE.

We believe we respond sufficiently to the intentions of Mr F. Delsarte by publishing here, as a sort of preface to one of his lectures, the letter addressed by him to one of the vice-presidents of the Association, and in which he expresses better than we can the motives of his legitimate and honourable scruples. (*Editor's note*.)

Appendix B
Cours de Monsieur Delsarte (1867)[756]

II Leçon

Samedi 11 mai.

Nous avons l'autre jour constaté l'impuissance des écoles officielles à propos de l'art, puisque les parties dont se compose l'art, celles qui concourent à sa formation sont enseignées à droite et à gauche ; on enseigne la musique ici, les belles lettres là, la peinture là ; il est évident qu'il ne peut d'aucune de ces écoles spéciales sortir un artiste.

Appelés à nous expliquer sur les principes de l'art, nous avons constaté que la plupart des maîtres, et particulièrement les maîtres de chant, affectent un certain mépris pour tout ce qui est exact. Ils n'aiment pas les chiffres, ils les détestent et ne s'en cachent pas. Cependant, les nombres, comme disent les Saintes Lettres, sont nos initiateurs dans les sciences. Saint Augustin a merveilleusement défini la musique, par exemple, « la lumière des nombres. » Il est dit que « La sagesse est la pensée de Dieu, » et que « les nombres en sont l'expression. » Le nombre est incessamment, dans les saintes écritures, associées à la sagesse. D'où vient donc cette antipathie des maîtres de l'art pour le nombre ? St Augustin va nous le dire. Vous voyez que cette antipathie ne date pas d'hier. « Il considèrent, » dit-il, « le chiffre comme une chose froide et **[2]** vicie parce qu'ils n'en voient pas la moelle. »

À propos de l'inspiration préconisée par mêmes maîtres, l'inspiration au moment dont je parlais ; il est à assez curiaux de savoir ce que le plus grand comédien des temps modernes disait. Garrick disait, « Je ne me fie pas à cette inspiration qu'attend une médiocrité paresseuse. » Donc pour lui cette inspiration qu'attenu l'acteur était ce fait de la paresse et de la médiocrité. À ce propos, voici une chose assez curieuse et instructive pour ceux qui exaltent l'inspiration du moment. Talma disait que tout était absolument calculé dans tous ses effets, qu'il ne laissait rien au hasard. On contestait ceci, et pour le prouver d'une façon irrésistible il dit, « Tenez, posez-moi une addition, je ferai l'opération, et je m'en vais vous aire une scène. » Il faut que l'acteur n'ait pas à penser même à ce qu'il fait. Il faut que la chose ait été tellement étudiée qu'elle coule de source et sans qu'on y pense. Il fit cette expérience et il réussit complètement. Il dit la scène d'Auguste et de Cinna, faisant une opération sur les chiffres qu'on avait écrits sur la craie.

« Prends un siège, Cinna, [prends,] (trois fois trois font 9) et sur toutes chose (3 fois 9 font 27) / Observe exactement la loi que je t'impose (3 fois 21 je me [...] je ne suis pas Talma, 3 fois 27...). » **[3]**

Cette opération réussit merveilleusement et il fit frémir toute l'assemblée. Voilà bien des arguments contre l'inspiration du moment.

Vous savez par duelle heureuse rencontre j'ai échappé, je suis bien forcé, a ce système d'imitation asservissent qui fait qu'on attribue tout à un exemple muet. Je vous ai parlé de cette découverte de la rétroaction. Ça parait ne pas avoir une très grande importance. Ça eut une très grande importance pour moi. C'est que cette rétroaction me révéla un triple état dans l'homme que j'ai ultérieurement retrouve partout : un état concentrique, un état excentrique, et un état normal. Cet état concentrique est nécessairement l'état de patient. Quand on est soumis à quelque émotion, il faut que cette rétroaction ait lieu de toute nécessite. C'est donc un affreux contresens qui se perpétue de jour en jour que ces déclarations amoureuses qui se

[756] Manuscript located in Delsarte Papers, Mss. 1301, box 12b, folder 54, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, La. Pagination in bold text follows the original manuscript.

font à tous les théâtres, et surtout à l'Opéra-Comique, en posant le corps en avant. Les ténors disent : "Je l'aime," et ne manquent pas de porter le corps en avant. Il est évident que s'ils aimaient, s'ils éprouvaient réellement ce sentiment de l'amour, ils s'exprimeraient par un mouvement rétroactif infiniment plus vrai.

Je vous parlais des tics l'autre jour. Cet art là **[4]** en est plein. Un amoureux au théâtre porte la main au cœur en disant qu'il aime. C'est encore un affreux contresens. Pourquoi ? C'est que tout naturellement la main se porte vers l'être aimé, soit pour la care caresser, soit pour l'appréhender, soit pour la rassure, soit pour le défendre. Jamais la main ne se porte vers le cœur dans ce cas-là. Elle ne se porte vers le cœur que quand il y a souffrance, et des lors vers le cœur contracté. Jamais une main calme ne se porte vers le cœur, la main ne se porte vers le cœur que quand il y a souffrance. (Applaudissement)

En vertu de ce principe de l'agent et de patient, il est aisé de remarquer que dans ce passage de *Phèdre* : « Dieux ! Que ne puis-je assise à l'ombre des forêts ! [...] Suivre de l'œil un char fuyant dans la carrière ? » où une très grande artiste produit un effet tant applaudi ; il ne s'agit pas de suivre effectivement, il s'agit de suivre de l'œil, et quand l'œil suit quelque chose il le suit en se reculant, comme je le disais d'un peintre qui admire son œuvre par un mouvement de rétroaction ; de sorte qu'il y aurait dans ce cas un repliement sur soi-même et non une inclination en avant. **[5]**

Il y a encore un autre effet qui a été très puissant au théâtre dans le rôle d'Émilie :

« Il te peut en tentant écraser dans sa chute. »

Cet effet qui se produit avance n'est pas vrai relativement d'Émilie. Supposez que son amant soit écrasé à sa vue, que ferait-elle ? Un mouvement d'horreur la saisirait, elle reculerait, elle n'avancerait pas, et surtout n'ajouterait pas le poise de son corps au poids oui l'écrase. (Rires.) Auguste au contraire pourrait dire :

« Je pourrais en tombant t'écraser sous ma chute » et appuyer ce mouvement avancé, parce qu'il est agent. Dans l'autre cas il y a un mouvement de retrait absolument nécessaire.

Cependant, c'est assez curieux, ces effets sont très puissants au théâtre, parce qu'il y a deux choses bien distinctes et qui sont presque toujours confondues au théâtre ; c'est le naturel et le vrai. On peut produire énormément d'effet au théâtre pourvu qu'on soit naturel. Il n'est pas absolument nécessaire d'être vrai, c'est surtout par le naturel eue l'acteur produit de l'effet. Pourquoi ? C'est que pour être naturel, il suffit d'être **[6]** réellement doué par l'instinct, et l'instinct frappe surtout les massés ; tandis qu'il faut pour être vrai, être doué d'un esprit philosophique qui ne se trouvent pas souvent. Entre la vérité et le naturel, s'il y avait à choisir, il faudrait opter pour le naturel. Voilà pourquoi des effets exprimés d'une façon simplement naturelle, quoique faux, ont été très puissants au théâtre.

Nous avons vu aussi que la plupart des effets consacres dans les écoles spécifies d'art sont bases précisément sur ces tics de métier et, par conséquent, profondément erronés. Nous avons vu combien ces recommandations peuvent stériliser le talent du comédien et du chanteur ou du peintre. Vous avez vu que ce que la nature donne et produit sous 27 aspects se trouve réduit à un dans nos écoles. Vous vous rappelez ce que j'ai dit de l'affirmation ; ça se trouve dans beaucoup de cas. Les 27 maniérés d'affirmer se trouvent réduites à une dans ceux qui ont beaucoup étudiée. La belle avancé ! mais enfin c'est comme cela. **[7]**

J'ai signalé l'impuissance de la plupart des définitions au point de vue qui doit nous préoccuper. N'ayant pas eu de définition sérieuse de l'art, nous avons cherché la définition du

beau, mais nous avons constaté que le beau plastique avait été oublié, et par conséquent, je vous dois cette définition du beau, et je ne dois pas reculer. Je vais vous la donner.

Le beau (je parle ici au beau plastique) est cette harmonie qui résulte de la disposition dynamique des formes opérées en vue de la fonction ou de la faculté.

Tout d'abord, avec cette définition, nous voilà obliges de nous demander ce qu'est la fonction au trait auquel nous nous adressons, nous avons parlé du nez l'autre jour. Revenons au nez ; spécifions en un mot, je ne puis pas parler de toute une académie, ce serait trop. D'abord, nous nous demanderons quelle est la fonction au nez. La fonction, c'est l'olfaction. Il faut que nous sachions quel est le foyer de ce sens. Je vous demande pardon, ça sera probablement long et ennuyeux ; je crois qu'il vaut mieux réserver cette chose. Je vais tâcher d'abréger cela. **[8]**

Il y a là un os fort curieux, d'une ténuité prodigieuse, papyracé, rempli de cellules inextricables, tapissé par la muqueuse, et des filaments nerveux en nombre prodigieux viennent aussi tapisser cet os ethmoïdal. Il faut que cet os soit protégé et contenu par les os propres du nez qui servent de base aux voutes orbitaires. Ensuite nous avons à examiner des muscles dilatateurs ou d'abaisseurs ou releveurs, et nous avons au point de vue de cette fonction de l'olfaction, à nous demander ce que chacun des traits qui concourent à cet ensemble signifie, quelle est sa participation dans la fonction générale, et si chacun de ces détails n'a pas la forme qu'il doit avoir l'ensemble ne pourra pas répondre à la définition que je viens de donner. Si, par exemple, les os propres du nez étaient déprimés, il y aurait oblitération et le nez serait un vilain nez parce qu'il ne répondrait pas au but pour lequel il aurait été produit. Je suis fâché de m'être embarque dans cette analyse, je vais la suspendre. Pour ne pas faire l'application, un petit exemple. Il y a des chiens fort peu doués du côté au **[9]** flair. Les bouledogues, par exemple, n'ont pas de flair ; chez eux, l'ethmoïde est déprime e est mal logé. Chez les levrettes le même défaut existe par une autre raison, le museau allongé loge à l'étroit cet ethmoïde. Chez les chiens de chasse c'est toute autre chose : il est parfaitement logé. Il y a dans les naseaux des chiens chasé une mobilité très remarquable et oui doit nécessairement constituer la beauté. La laideur cache donc toujours un vice fatalement.

Veuillez expérimenter cette définition et étudier les choses au point de vue de cette définition, vous verrez qu'elle est parfaitement fondée et qu'elle vous rendra de sérieuses services. On ne dira pas ; on ne dise pas des goûts et des couleurs. C'est faux ; le beau est absolu, le beau est mathématique.

Nous arriverons aux exemples dans d'autres leçons, mais il faut que je me débarrasse des définitions. Elles sont nécessaires ; une formule constitue un compas intellectif. Il faut à l'esprit une formule comme il faut un instrument dans les mains de l'ouvrier. Ces formules sont cependant, en général, sèches et arides ! mais enfin ! elles sont **[10]** nécessaires. Vous me pardonnerez donc de n'être pas amusant. Je vais donc examiner la définition que je vous ai donné et je vais tâcher u en justifier les termes. Après avoir défini l'art, nous aurons à définir le but de l'art et son objet. Quand nous aurons défini le but de l'art et son objet, nous caractériserons la somme des moyens à propos de laquelle [...] il nous faudra le critérium dont j'ai parlé, criterium sans l'assistance duquel il serait très difficile qu'il y eût quelque chose de raisonnable sur cette somme immense de phénomènes si différentes.

L'art, (la définition ici est complexe, elle est prise à toutes sortes de point de vue) l'art est à la fois la connaissance, la possession, et le gouvernement des appareils ou agents en vertu desquels se révèlent la vie, l'âme et l'esprit.

La connaissance suppose une certaine science des moyens dont il sera question. Voilà donc la science oui forme le point de départ de l'art. Il faut en effet connaître la valeur relative des phénomènes à l'aide desquels l'âme, la vie, et l'esprit se **[11]** révéleront. Cela n'est pas commode, mais c'est nécessaire. Il faut que ce soit.

La possession. Il faut posséder, c'est-à-dire qu'il faut que cette science passe à l'état de conscience. Il faut généraliser ce qu'on possède, comme le disait Jacotot : « tout est dans tout. » Pour savoir bien quelque chose, apprendre et répéter constamment. C'est en reproduisant une chose incessamment qu'on arrive à la possession.

Enfin il faut la gouverner. On ne possède que ce qu'on connaît et on ne gouverne que ce qu'on possède. Il faut donc connaître, posséder, et gouverner ces agents. (Applaudissements.) **[12]**

« En vertu desquels se révèlent la vie, l'âme et l'esprit. » J'aurai à vous entretenait de cette triple entité de l'être dans une prochaine leçon. Cependant, j'anticiperai et je vous dirai quelques mots de ce triple attribut.

Il faut que cette triplicité soit incontestable, et pour qu'elle le soit je ne vous parlerai pas d'abord de ces entités ; je vous parlerai de la triplicité organisme, qui les constate. Examinons donc succinctement, je le ferai d'une façon plus étendue un autre jour, l'homme a ce triple point de vue. Prenons-le dès le berceau ce ne sera pas bien long tout de même.

L'enfant au berceau ne parle pas, ne gesticule pas, mais il s'agit, il fait entendre des sons qui, à mesure que sa sensibilité se développe s'enrichissent. Ces sons ne sont d'abord que des sons mal articules, deviennent des inflexions, et ces inflexions, à mesure que cet enfant sent d'une façon plus exquise, s'enrichissent et se multiplient. Avant que l'enfant ne gesticule, avant qu'il n'articule des mots, il arrive à produire environ trois millions d'inflexions spéciales et distinctes. (Rires.)

Je crois bien qu'on rit de trois millions, mais je démontrerai le fait. Je suis bien sûr de ce que j'avance, je ne les ai pas comptées, une à une, mais **[13]** je les ai vues, je les connais.

L'enfant ne se montre pas intelligent, affective d 'abord, mais il vit et les phénomènes de sa vie se révèle spécialement au moyen des sons. Plus tard, à partir du moment où l'enfant connait la cause de ses souffrances ou de ses joies, si merveilleusement traduites par sa vocale. Il s'éveille chez lui de nouveau agents. Dès qu'il discerne la cause de ses souffrances ou de ses joies, il aime. Aussitôt qu'il aime de nouveaux agents s'éveillent en lui et traduisent les phénomènes de sa volonté. Ainsi l'enfant veut repousser ce qui lui fait mal ou il veut l'appeler.

D'abord ses gestes sont forts peu nombreux, très bornés et fort peu riches dans leur forme. Ils arrivent après a des nombres que je ne veux pas dire ce fois-ci. (Sourire.) Nous examinerons cela ; vous serez émerveille des choses qui se produisent ainsi à notre insu, c'est l'art divin, c'est l'art de Dieu, nous sommes artistes à notre insu, c'est Dieu qui l'est pour nous, et nous avons de quoi admirer là. (Applaudissement).

De même que les sons qui caractérisent chez l'enfant les phénomènes de sa vie sont devenus insuffisantes dès qu'il s'est agi d'exprimer la volonté, l'amour **[14]** cet enfant de même aussi son geste va devenir insuffisant pour traduire chez l'homme les abstractions que fait son esprit. Ainsi il se peut faire que dans un même phénomène la forme lui soit agréable, que la couleur lui déplaise. Comment traduire ce duel dans une même chose ? Comment l'exprimer ? Le geste devient insuffisant pour caractériser ces choses, et il lui a fallu des expressions conventionnelles, j'emploie ce mot a regret "exprimant conventionnellement ces

choses," quoique je ne voie là rien de la convention, mais il fallait que le domaine de son entendement fût matérialisé pour être traduit par les sens, comme l'étaient ses sensations. Voilà ses sensations d'un domaine intellectif, qui passent au moyen des mots, du langage articulé dans le domaine de la matière.

Voilà donc trois états bien distincts dans l'homme. Ils sont déterminés, caractérises, de façon à ne pas pouvoir être nier. Ce n'est pas de la pure théorie, ce sont des faits qui ne peut être nies. Il y a donc dans l'homme trois organisme distincts mis au service d'un triple entité. Il y a pour sévir à sa personnalité sensitive humaine ; **[15]** un organisme vocal au service des sentiments il y a un organisme réciproque, et au service de l'entendement un organisme tout spécial, l'organisme buccal, la bouche.

Je suis fâche de vous avoir parlé de cela ce soir, mais il le fallait, c'est une question très intéressante sur laquelle il faudrait revenir, qui constitue la base au travail eue nous aurons ultérieurement à développer. Je tenais à vous montrer ces trois principes dons l'homme, la vie, l'âme et l'esprit.

« L'art est l'application sciemment appropriée du signe a la chose. »

L'appropriation au signe pour la chose se fait merveilleusement chez tout le monde, quand on n'y pense pas, mais dès qu'on pense à se composer, à faire de l'art, cette application ne se fait plus.

Ainsi je suppose deux enfants qui sanglotent. Il y en a un qui a été fouette injustement, il y en a un qui a été très justement corrigez Ces deux enfants ne sanglotent pas de la même manière, le signe est parfaitement approprié, ce n'est pas de l'invention de l'enfant, de l'art humain, c'est le bon Dieu qui a fait cela. L'un sanglote comme ça, l'autre comme ça. Voilà deux sanglots. Il est évident pour l'observateur que celui-ci sanglote parce qu'il a été corrigé injustement ; **[16]** celui-là parce qu'il est attendri et qu'il a reconnu ses torts.

L'artiste, qui à propos d 'un tort réel sanglotera de la premier maniéré, se trompera, et l'autre qui parce qu'il aura été attendri sanglotera comme cela... aura fait une savante application des moyens qui s'échappent au vulgaire des artistes. Voilà l'application sciemment appropriée, l'application faite journellement, celle qui ne ressort pas de nos études et c'est l'application essentielle et transcendante, c'est l'application divine ; ça ne vous regard pas cela, c 'est la nature.

Un même geste, par exemple, sera exprimé par les gens des diverses sphères, et sera modifié en vue de ces divers milieux. Il y a là une sorte d'échelle à caractériser qui est tout naturellement produite et qu'il faut savoir. Ce serait alors l'application sciemment appropriée. Je vais vous en donner un petit exemple.

Les articulations, (je ne sais trop comment vous tourner cette formule, elle ne me vient pas, je l'ai quelque part) les articulations vont du centre aux extrémités, et prennent en se rapprochant des extrémités une distinction croissante. Ainsi les paysan, les gens abrutis par le travail manuel, par **[17]** les intempéries, sont comme ankylosés. Leurs articulations sont comme n'étant pas. Vous les appelez d'un côté, ils se retournent tout d'une pièce, les articulations ne jouent pas. (Rires.) Voilà le premier degré. Tous les gestes sont rapportés à ce mouvement. Il y a une articulation seulement, articulation centrique.

À un degré plus élevé, c'est déjà un être avance, ce sont les épaulés qui vont, la tête ne va pas encore. L'individu se retourne avec un grand mouvement d'épaules. Parallèlement à ce mouvement d'épaules, a cette articulation deltoïdienne, il y a une articulation qui lui

correspond, la jambe se lève, mais la main est comme ankylosée, tout le reste est absolument inerte.

À un degré supérieur, voilà l'homme déjà gradé, ce sont les coudes. Alors ce sont déjà des gens fort avancés, ce sont ceux qu'on appelle dans le peuple, les malins, qui font de ces mouvements. Remarquez que la main est encore ankylosée. « Qu'il se sont amusés ! Qu'ils s'en sont donnes. » La main ne bouge pas. (Rires et applaudissement.)

Plus tard vient l'articulation du carpe et du torse. Il y a toujours une parfaite concordance dans toutes ces articulations. **[18]** À partir du moment où le carpe se mobilise, le visage prend une grande mobilité. Il y a une grande affinité entre les mouvements du carpe et les mouvements physionomiques. Ensuite l'articulation passe au carpe aux phalanges, et voilà la perfection mimique. Voilà un mouvement qui exprime la pensée et une certaine élévation. Le visage et la main forment une unité parfaitement intéressante.

Tous les mouvements doivent être soumis d'abord à cette échelle-là. Ça se fait dans la nature parfaitement bien et il faut arriver à avoir beaucoup de science pour la produire à volonté.

« L'art est le rapport synthétique des beautés éparses de la nature a un type supérieur. »

Vous le savez depuis longtemps l'humanité est comme estropie, la beauté n'existe que par fragments. Elle n'est nulle part sur cette terre. Les types ne se trouvent pas, ils sont dans l'intellect, ils ne sont pas dans la nature. La beauté n'est nulle part, il faut par conséquent qu'elle soit constituée par l'artiste, par un travail synthétique. Mais il faut un type adamique, défini. Puisque la beauté n'existe pas sur la terre, il est **[19]** assez difficile de trouver sur la terre le type qu'on cherche. Il y a à propos de la beauté et de l'art quelques mots qui m'ont beaucoup frappé dans les Saintes Lettres. II est dit : « Dieu atteint avec force at dispose avec suavité. » La force et la suavité, je ne les ai jamais vues unies sur la terre. La force est abrupt plus ou moins, la suavité est efféminée et molle, mais la force avec la suavité, c'est sublime, c'est divin ; c'est vers cet assemblage, ce mariage, que doit tendre incessamment l'art. (Applaudissement.)

« L'art est la tendance de l'âme déchue vers sa pureté primitive ou sa splendeur finale. »

L'homme est déchu, emprisonné dans un corps où mille inspirations inassouvies lui rappellent incessamment la profondeur de sa chute. Au fond de toutes ses affections, de tout ce qu'il aime, de tout ce qu'il touche, il y a une douleur, une amertume et quelque fois un remords. Tout lui échappe. Tout l'abandonne sur cette terre. Lui-même, son corps s'use et vieillit. Il assiste tous les jours à sa propre décomposition. Mais sous les décombres de ce corps, **[20]** il y a une âme jeune et dont la perpétuelle jeunesse fait le supplice, car cette âme est là solitaire. Elle est abandonnée, et tous ses sens si intimement unis même à son être, l'ont trahie et lui refusent leurs concours comme des amis infidèles ; elle se sent par ce corps même avilie, déshonorée, comme par un masque qui la défiguré ; elle se sent alors sépares de tout ce qu'elle aime et ce tout ce à quoi elle voudrait encore s'unir. (Bravo !)

Pour cette âme infortunée, il y a cependant encore des joies bien pures, bien vives, il y a les joies que donne l'art. On ne vieillit pas envers l'art, on n'est jamais vieux pour sentir ces joies-là. (Bravo !). Au contraire, plus une âme a été déçue, plus elle a été brisée, plus elle a souffert, plus elle est apte à sentir les joies, les bienfaits de l'art. (Bravo !) L'art est donc un bien grande close, ce sont des joies bien pures, des joies qui ne sont plus au monde et qui ne

sont pas encore au ciel. Vous savez tout ce qu'on peut dire du chant en particulier. C'est lui qui calme, nos douleurs, qui double nos plaisirs, c'est le trésor des pauvres, c'est la chanson qui lui donne au cœur à l'ouvrage, comme il **[21]** dit. Retirez au pauvre ouvrier sa chanson, autant vaudrait-il lui retirer la vie.

Il y a quelque chose de bien profondément mystérieux et de bien admirable dans l'art, il y a là comme un canal mystérieux au travers duquel Dieu se sent. On a pu nier Dieu, il y a des infortunés qui ont nié Dieu, mais ceux oui ont nié Dieu n'aimaient pas l'art. Pour moi c'est évident. Des philosophes ont pu nier Dieu, des savants ont pu nier Dieu, mais les artistes n'ont pas nié Dieu, l'artiste ne peut pas nier Dieu. (Bravo ! Bravo !)

Il nous reste pour compléter la définition un terme, "la recherche du type éternel." D'où vient donc ce charme si puissant de l'art ? C'est que l'art est divin dans son principe, il est divin dans son but, il est divin dans son objet et dans son essence. Que se propose l'art si non la réalisation du beau, du bien, et du vrai ? Qu'est-ce que le beau, qu'est-ce-que le bien, qu'est-ce que le vrai si non Dieu ? Donc l'art tend nécessairement à Dieu ; l'art illumine la pensée, purifie la vie, il transfigure l'âme, le cœur. Voilà l'art que j'aime, que j'honore, l'art qui me rend heureux, **[22]** l'art auquel je dois mes joies. (Bravo !)

Rien n'est fin sur cette terre, rien n'est but, tout est moyen. L'art est un sublime moyen, mais ce n'est pas un but ; l'art ne doit pas être un but. Que dire de ces artistes distingues qui, comme on le dit, et ils s'en font gloire et expriment par la leur haute distinction, aiment l'art pour l'art ? C'est tout simplement de l'idolâtrie. On ne doit pas aimer l'art pour l'art. L'art est un moyen, sublime instrument, mais instrument. Ce sont les ailes données à l'âme avec laquelle elle s'élèvera vers Dieu. Elle ne doit pas rester à contempler ses ailes. (Rires et applaudissement.)

L'art est un moyen. Que dire de ces artistes, ils ne devraient pas porter le nom, qui ne voient dans leur art que le prétexte de leurs tours de force que l'instrument de leur vanité propre seulement à parler d'eux ? Qu'en dire si non ce que disait des chanteurs le père Martin ? Voici ce qu'il disait des chanteurs de son temps, que dirait-il aujourd'hui ? « Il est des voix auxquelles on ne reproche rien, mais mon cœur les reproche tout car elles ne savent rien **[23]** lui dire. On paie des chanteurs pour émouvoir et des danseurs de corde pour entonner, mais les chanteurs font souvent les danseurs de corde. » (Rires et applaudissement.)

Nous allons dire quelques mots du but de l'art. L'art doit réaliser trois choses distinctes ; il doit émouvoir, il doit intéresser, et il doit persuader. L'émotion, l'intérêt et la persuasion, tels sont les premiers termes de l'art.

Il émeut au moyen des sons, par la voix ; l'agent de l'émotion le plus puissant, c'est l'agent vocal. Il intéresse, il captive l'esprit par le langage articulé, mais il convainc, il persuade par son geste ; voilà le moyen persuasif par excellence. Il y a donc les trois agents d'action, le vocal, la parole articulée, et le geste. Je vous donnerai quelques exemples qui prouvera que la persuasion, que la conviction résulte bien plus du geste, que de tout ce que peut dire la parole articulée, mais je dois seulement vous donner une formule aussi sèche que possible, non pas que je cherche à la rendre sèche, au contraire, mais je ne veux pas l'allonger.

L'artistes peut avec ses trois choses faire le mal, appauvrir l'esprit et **[24]** corrompre comme il peut purifier, illuminer et sanctifier perfectionner. L'émotion doit avoir un objet défini. On peut émouvoir par la vue du laide comme par la vue au beau. On aime le laid. C'est triste à dire. De même on intéresse l'esprit avec la vraie cornue avec le faux et plus souvent avec le faux. L'esprit aime se laisser entraîner par le faux, ça plait naturellement à

l'esprit. Je ne fais pas une plaisanterie. Vous le savez, le roman plait à l'esprit. Enfin, on peut convaincre et persuader le mal comme le bien.

Il n'y a pas de milieu pour l'artiste. S'il ne sanctifie pas, s'il n'illumine pas, s'il n'a pas une mission sublime c'est un corrupteur forcément fatalement, parce que si l'art est une puissance, toute puissance doit produire son effet, à moins que l'artiste ne nie que l'art soit une puissance et ne se rendre par-là indigne de sa mission. Il est donc appelé à représenter, à faire contempler le beau, à faire aimer le vrai, et à faire aimer et pratiquer le bien. Ainsi le beau, le vrai, et le bien, voilà les trois objets de l'art. Mais finalement, **[25]** pourquoi le beau plutôt que le mal ? Il faut purifier, et le beau est essentiellement purifiant, rien ne purifie comme la vie et l'amour du beau, et puis la vérité est une lumière, c'est une splendeur qui nécessairement illumine ; il faut illuminer l'entendement. Et puis le bien sanctifie il [et] faut sanctifier. De sorte que voilà l'artiste appelé à cette grande et magnifique action, appelé à purifier la vie, à illuminer l'entendement, et à sanctifier le cœur.

Je n'en dirai pas plus ce soir sur le but de l'art. Je n'en ai pas beaucoup dit, j'ai cependant beaucoup parlé. Il ne faut pas s'écarter au but. Nous devons causer sérieusement de l'art examiner très attentivement les choses. Vous me permettrez donc d'aller pas à pas et de ne pas laisser de lacunes autant que possible. La prochaine fois nous entrerons dans l'ordre des exemples. **[26]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte.

III Leçon

Nous avons l'autre jour justifier les termes de notre définition, sauf une phrase que je n'ai pas reproduite, vous vous en être sans doute aperçus. « L'art n'est pas l'imitation de la nature, il en est la représentation idéalisée... » L'imitation est inférieure à l'original, l'imitation du vrai est le faux, et si l'art était l'imitation de la nature, le daguerréotype serait son dernier mot. Il n'en est pas ainsi. L'art par les autres termes de la définition, nous l'avons reconnu, est très supérieur à la nature ; c'est la nature régénérée.

Nous avons caractérisé le but de l'art ; ce but est complexe puisque l'art est triple. Le but se résumé dans ces trois termes : émouvoir, intéresser, et persuader. Nous avons dit que par l'émotion, on devait se proposer la vue du beau, que par l'intérêt l'artiste ne devrait intéresser qu'en vue au vrai, qu'il ne devrait chercher à persuader qu'en vue du bien. Il y a donc trois arts, et chacun de ses arts doit réaliser un de ces objets. A la musique appartient plus spécialement l'émotion, a la plastique la conviction, et a la logique l'intérêt.

Nous avons aussi parié du beau. **[27]** Je n'ai pas osé poursuivre une application que j'avais commencé, qui m'eut entraîné fort loin. Il eût fallu toute une séance pour appliquer et pour vérifier les termes de cette définition.

À propos du beau, j'ai une formule à vous donner qui n'est pas de moi, qui est fort belle. Elle est de St. Thomas : « La nature de l'âme, » dit St. Thomas, « est d'être la forme du corps. » Cette formule est vraie à tous égards ; nous n'avons qu'a la vérifier à la suite des développements que nous donnerons. Elle est éblouissante de vérité et d'une fécondité prodigieuse. II ne peut pas se faire qu'un vice traverse l'âme sans qu'il ne laisse en effet sur le visage une profonde empreinte. Le vice doit nécessairement stigmatiser dès qu'il traverse l'âme.

Après avoir défini le but de l'art, il nous reste à définir son objet, et puis nous aurons à nous occuper spécialement de la somme des moyens. L'objet de l'art ! Peintre vivant de la nature humaine, l'artiste est – et doit être à lui-même – son propre objet d'étude ; et s'il est vrai qu'il doive reproduire fidèlement, et selon son gré, l'image des passions qui l'ont agité, qui l'ont affecté sans en être précisément **[28]** impressionné, il doit être le point de convergence de ses présentes observations. Le point de départ, c'est dans l'homme. Il nous faut étudier l'homme pour apprécier la valeur des moyens que nous aurons à développer.

J'ai, par les termes même de la première définition que je vous ai donné, été force d'anticiper sur cette leçon. Nous avons déjà parlé de l'homme. Permettez-moi de me reproduire un peu, parce qu'ici il y a des choses d'une certaine importance pour la suite. Étudions donc l'homme au point de vue de ses manifestations, et peut-être ferais-je mieux donner avant tout une formule. J 'ai deux définitions. Elles sont très complexes parce que c'est tout un enseignement et elles ne sont pas élégantes, mais j'ai voulu y dire beaucoup de choses. Je vais vous donner la définition sous deux formules :

« L'homme porte dans son corps comme dans sa substance l'auguste empreinte de sa triple causalité. » Fait à l'image de Dieu, l'homme est donc une trinité au service de laquelle fonctionnent trois appareils dont les groupes d'agents constatent trois états et engendrent sous l'empire d'une triplicité de phénomènes d'acte et de rapports trois langages qu'il faut étudier avec **[29]** leur prédominance successive et leur égalité d'équilibre.

Je vous ai prévenu qu'elle était longue et obscure, mais cela dit ce que je veux dire, et cela s's'éclairera.

En voici une explication un peu moins obscure. Je vais vous la lire également, [et] vous verrez pourquoi la plus obscure devait mieux me convenir :

« L'homme, considère au point de vue de l'art, présente à l'observation trois ordres de fonctions essentielles, dépendant chacun d'un appareil organique propre et déterminé. Ces appareils engendrent trois ordres de produits correspondants. Il en résulte dans les phénomènes trois états, trois espèces d'actes, trois langages, lesquels doivent être étudiés en eux-mêmes et dans leurs rapports d'association, de succession et de hiérarchie. Ces trois ordres de fonctions, d'appareils et de langages constatent la division naturelle de la personnalité humaine et de sa triple causalité, cette manière d'envisager l'homme nous montre le rôle de ses deux natures dans toutes leurs manifestations. À chaque fonction spirituelle répond une fonction au corps, à chacune des fonctions au corps répond un acte spirituel. Elle permet en même temps d'étudier séparément ce qui est de l'esprit et ce qui est du **[30]** corps. On y voit, du concours de ces deux puissances dans la même personne, résulter la fusion intime de l'art et de la science qui, nés chacun d'une source distincte, s'allient, se pénètrent et se prouvent réciproquement. »

Examinons donc attentivement l'homme au point de vue de ses manifestations, admirons avec quelle harmonie, avec quel ordre, avec quel art, sans qu'il s'en doute, tout ce qui constitue son être vient concourir par des signes divers, et de diverses natures à la manifestation de ses moindres impressions. Sachons qu'il n'est pas un de ces signes si prodigieusement multipliés qu'ils soient qui ne renferme une raison profonde. Il n'en est pas un qui puisse être attribué au hasard. Tous, en définitive, naissent d'une cause et s'énoncent pour un but. Pour peu, donc, que nous examinons ces moyens avec soin, nous ne tarderons pas à être frappés d'admiration par la sagesse souveraine qui gouverne ces signes.

Je reviendrai avec votre permission et je crois que ça ne vous fera pas de mal si vous voulez étudier l'art sur ce que nous avons dit l'autre jour de la naissance, de la genèse, de ces **[31]** langages qui constitue les arts.

Les premiers signes que l'homme donne de sa sensibilité sont les vagissements entrecoupés qu'il fait retentir d'abord par intervalles, et qui, par leur rythme anime, par leur acuité, par leur forme ascendante peignent à la fois la faiblesse et la douleur physique de l'homme. Telles sont en effet ses premières sensations. Mais dès que l'enfant a senti le bienfait des tendres soins de sa mère, il discerne ces choses-là. À partir de ce moment sa voix de brève et ascendante qu'elle était, devient plus calme, se prolonge, prend une forme posée et résolue sur un diapason moins aigu, de telle sorte que l'organe de la voix, le larynx, qui est l'instrument le plus impressionnable qui soit en nous et que j'ai appelé thermomètre de la vie sensitive, le larynx se modifie et produit par ces diverses modifications, des sons, des inflexions qui constituent une équation parfaite du sentiment qu'elles doivent rendre. Ainsi chaque impression est par là exprimée. Tout ce que l'homme exprime vocalement d'une façon mimique, tout cela est nombré, tout cela est mesuré, tout cela est pesé, tout cela constitue une harmonie admirable. Ce langage dont **[32]** le larynx constitue l'organe est universellement sympathique parce qu'il est commun à tous les êtres doués de facultés sensitives. Ainsi, ce langage est parlé non seulement par tous les hommes, il n'est pas seulement identique chez tous les hommes, il est parlé par les animaux. Quand les philosophes ont cherché une langue universelle, je demande ou ils allaient la chercher. Elle est là. Elle n'est pas universelle seulement pour l'homme, elle l'est pour le genre animal, et cela est fort curieux à observer. L'homme et l'animal se trouvent dans une situation identique et produisant des sons expriment cette situation identique par un intervalle parfaitement identique. Ainsi qu'un enfant montre sur une table, il exalte son adresse. Il appelé sa mère avec joie pour lui montrer qu'il est adroit, il se sert d'un intervalle tout spécial qui lui a été donné pour cela, de la quinte, et [des/ses] sa joie est plus vive, plus véhément, il se sert de la sixte. S'il voit dans l'œil de sa mère un certain froncement, l'enfant appellera peut-être encore sa maman, mais il se servira de la sérié mineure qui caractérisé son inquiétude. Ainsi de suite. Il n'est pas **[33]** une situation, un mouvement des sens qui n'ait son intervalle, qui n'ait son inflexion, qui n'ait, en un mot son air correspondant, sa chanson correspondante. (Approbation.)

Ce langage n'a rien de vague. Il est mathématique. Il n'y a rien de plus formel, il n'y a rien de plus arrête que ce langage, et, chose étrange, il semble pourtant n'avoir jamais fait l'objet d'une sérieuse attention de la part des hommes spéciaux et ce magnifique concert que Dieu fait entendre au dedans de nous n'a pas d'auditeurs, il n'y a pas de spectateurs là. On aime un concerto de Mozart, on se presse, on se foule pour entendre une symphonie de Beethoven, mais l'œuvre de Dieu, si admirable, on n'y fait pas attention. (Bravo !) C'est une œuvre de la nature, une œuvre aveugle ! Je ne sais. En définitive, l'homme ne cherche que lui et pour qu'il admire une œuvre, il faut qu'elle ait été en quelque sorte déshonorée par lui ; si elle n'est pas abaissée, elle ne plaît pas. Nous sommes toujours les fils d'Adam ; c'est toujours le même orgueil suivi des mêmes ténèbres. En voulez-vous une preuve puisque nous sommes sur langage des sons ? Voyez. Il y avait **[34]** autrefois dans l'antiquité pour exprimer les divers mouvements de l'âme, ce n'était plus de la nature, c'était déjà la nature singulièrement affaiblie, déjà défigurée, il y avait cependant encore pour chaque situation de l'âme un mode particulier, il y avait une gamme spéciale affectée à chaque sentiment de l'âme. Plus tard, ces gammes nombreuses, ces modes nombreux ont été réduits à huit, et de progrès en progrès, nous sommes arrivés à deux modes, le mode majeur, et le mode mineur. On appelle cela une conquête de l'esprit humain ! Voilà ou nous en sommes. C'est absolument ce que je vous racontais de l'affirmation, qui de 27 est réduite à une. Vous verrez

presque toujours le travail de l'homme prendre cette fatale direction. En un mot ces phénomènes n'ont pas été examinés sérieusement, ce qui est très malheureux.

Si, pour vous bien convaincre de notre peu je crains d'exagérer les choses dans l'expression, mais enfin de notre peu de lumière à propos des arts et de leur genèse, à propos des choses même les plus simples, je vous parlerai des inflexions. Elles constituent la base de l'art **[35]** musical évidemment. Tous les artistes conviennent que cet art constitue le langage du sentiment, ce qui n'est pas absolument vrai. C'est le langage vital, c'est le 1angage des phénomènes de la vie, il ne devient langage de sentiment que parce qu'il emprunte aux autres langages, au geste surtout. Si, c'est ce langage de sentiment, il est évident que les éléments constitutifs de ce langage doivent avoir une affinité, une correspondance sensitive déterminée. Nous parlons un langage évidemment ; chacun des mots dont se compose une phrase a un sens qui peut être déterminé. Demandez maintenant à un compositeur, au plus grand de compositeur ce que signifie au point de vue de ce sentiment une quinte. « C'est un intervalle composé de deux tons et d'un demi-ton. » Vous direz, « Non, je veux savoir ce que ça veut dire, vous écrivez de la musique, je veux savoir à propos de que phénomène, de quel sentiment vous vous servez d'une quinte. » On ne vous répondra pas, on vous répondra d'une façon évasive, « C'est selon, ça se sent ! » Cependant on enseigne la composition, si l'on n'enseigne pas cela, je vous demande **[36]** ce qu'on enseigne.

Ce que je dis du musicien, je le dirai du peintre. Demandez par exemple à un peintre qui peint des yeux, des nez, des bouches, qui peint, en définitive tout l'homme, de quelle sorte d'impression doit être affecte tel trait par rapport à tel autre, de combien l'œil, par exemple, d'expression est susceptible ou enfin dans cette synthèse à produire quel doit être le rôle partiel de chacun des éléments dont il s'occupe. II n'en sait rien, il devait le savoir ; s'il avait étudié un peu l'homme il le saurait.

Après cela, demandez aux linguistes compte de la signification des éléments du langage, ce que vaut par exemple une voyelle ou une consonne, je ne crois pas que beaucoup soient en mesure de répondre à cette question. Pourquoi ? Parce que l'on n'a pas vu que les consonnes et les voyelles n'étaient pas autre chose que des gestes, et qu'il fallait chercher dans l'étude même du geste, le vrai physiologique de ces phénomènes parlés et articulés qui ne sont pas d'invention humaine, qui ne sont aussi formellement vrais, aussi mathématique, aussi expressifs que les phénomènes vocaux et les phénomènes animiques. À part cela, **[37]** il doit y avoir un moyen de distinguer la vraie manière de dire et la fausse. Il y a tous les arts dans l'articulation. Cet art-là n'a pas plus été examiné. Je suis fâche de le dire, mais il faut bien que je le constate, afin que mon exposé ne paraisse pas inutile.

Voyez quel doit être par exemple l'embarras d'un peintre à propos d'une situation donnée. Je vais vous donner un exemple d'opéra parce que ça m'est familier. Je suppose Arnold dans *Guillaume Tell* au moment où il dit. « Ne n'abandonne pas, l'espoir de la vengeance. » Il s'agit de savoir comment rendre ceci, tant pour l'acteur que pour le peintre. Il fera une foule d'ébauches. Il se dira par exemple, « Supposez que je n'ai pas de lois, pas de réglés, comment vais-je sortir de cette difficulté que je vais me poser ? Ainsi, n'y-a-t-il qu'une maniéré de dire cela ? Il faut que je sollicite de la part de mes instincts tout ce que mes instincts pourront me dire. » Je raisonne et j'applique un principe et une règle, si je l'ai. Me voilà, peintre ou acteur, oblige de me décider comment doit se dire cette phrase, quel geste il y a à faire, quelle inflexion à produire. Il dira je suppose en se croisant les bras, **[38]** « Ne m'abandonne pas espoir de la vengeance. »

Dois-je élever le sourcil ? Dois-je l'abaisser ? Dois-je porter la tête de cote ? Dois-je la porter haute ? Dois-je la porter basse ? Il faut que tout cela soit formel, il ne faut pas que je reste indécis là-dessus.

Maintenant, dois-je croiser l'es bras ainsi ? ou dois-je les croiser dans ce sens ? Et si je porte la tâte dans ce sens, si je croise les bras dans ce sens, dois-je porter le corps sur la jambe de devant, ne nous-je pas plutôt le porter sur la jambe de derrière ? Ne dois-je pas porter le corps sur les deux jambes ? Maintenant, ne dois-je pas solliciter les mauvais instincts, dire « Ne m'abandonne pas espoir de la vengeance. » Il y a quelque chose de bien là-dedans, quelque chose de véhément. Après cela ne sera-ce pas ce mouvement : le poing appuyé sur la poitrine ? Ne sera-ce pas celui-ci : les deux bras en avant, les poings fermés ? Nous en pouvons traverser deux ou trois cents à peu près convenables ; chacun de ces deux ou trois cents mouvements, je n'exagère pas, doit être examiné.

Au point de vue de la jambe sur laquelle le corps doit porter en disant ceci, c'est important. Si je le dis sur la jambe de devant, cette jambe qui caractérisé les mouvements véhéments, excentriques **[39]** et passionnels du jeune homme, cela pourra peut-être convenir à Arnold, parce qu'il est jeune, et qu'il peut être imprudent. Cependant, il à faire à plus fort que lui, et l'homme se plaçant devant un ennemi plus fort que lui résume toutes ses forces dans une attitude comme celle-ci. Ne serait-il pas mieux de se placer comme ceci ? Ou plutôt ne serait-il pas mieux de se mettre dans l'un ou l'autre pose ? Ainsi de suite. Supposez, je ne dis pas cent, mais cinquante de ses mouvements à étudier sans principes sans rien de formel, de mathématique, ce sera le hasard en grande partie qui me décidera.

Faisons une petite synthèse. Je suppose ceci : « Il faut bien subir ce qu'on ne peut éviter. » Voilà une chose tout bonhomme, qui n'est pas bien prétentieuse, analyse cela, vous allez voir que de difficultés il y a pour créer un simple mouvement comme celui-là par les parties qui le composent. Que se passe-t-il là ? Le sourcil se lève en signe d'impuissance, l'œil ne s'ouvre pas parce qu'il y a impossibilité de lutter avec succès, et comme l'œil est l'agent de l'esprit et ne lutte pas. Mais il y a une lutte physique et comme le sourcil est **[40]** dans cet agent intellectif la partie physique, il s'exalte et il prouve toujours, quand l'œil est normal, impuissances. Voilà le caractère de l'impuissance.

De plus j'avance la tête en signe de résignation. Bien. De plus il y a dans ma bouche une grimace qui exprime que ça ne me plaît pas. Il y a de plus un soulèvement de l'épaule, et l'épaule est d'une grande expression, nous le verrons, l'épaule en se soulevant prouve que la chose est pesante, dure, cruelle, mais il y a de la part de la tête une résignation. De plus, on ouvre la main. Me permettrai-je d'écarter le pouce ? Pas du tout, c'est l'expression de la vie, et il ne doit pas y avoir exaltation de la vie, au contraire. Il faut donc que le pouce soit là d'une façon tout e normale. Maintenant, mes doigts sont écartés et en pandiculation, [et/en] pandiculation parce qu'il n'y a rien à faire de plus écartes, parce que je ne possédé plus de moyens de résister, de plus, cette tête passe alternativement de l'une à l'autre main pour chercher ce moyen qui n'existe pas. (Bravo !) (Bravo !) Voilà à peu près ce que c'est qu'une synthèse. Il faut que tous ces éléments soient mathématiquement connus pour apprécier sûrement **[41]** pour arriver à quelque chose de sérieux.

J'ajouterai à ces quelques exemples. Je suis très gêne parce que je crains à propos des exemples d'en dire trop (Non ! Non !) Non pas, non pas, permettez, vous allez voir. Je crains de vous dire des choses que je dois vous dire plus tard et dans des séances subséquentes. Ma situation est très difficile. Il est assez difficile par exemple de pousser un exposé de principe jusqu'à dix leçons. Heureusement quelque nombreuse que soient les choses que j'ai à dire, leur simple exposé n'ira pas à dix leçons. Je le pourrais, je pourrais vous en dire pendant

longtemps, mais à la condition d'être très ennuyeux. Cependant, dix leçons ne suffisent pas pour vous montrer les applications de ces principes ; un an ne suffirait pas, nous ne verrions pas, nous serions très loin d'avoir vu les applications essentielles jusqu'à-là.

Je pourrais vous produire moi-même une application, mais j'aurais l'air de vous donner cette application à plaisir, j'aurais l'air de jouer la comédie, d'avoir fait des gaucheries à dessein afin de les étudier. Vous direz. « Les gaucheries qu'il nous montre ne sont pas les nôtres, nous ne serions pas **[42]** aussi gauches. » D'un autre côté, j'aurais des élèves qui pourraient rendre ces choses, mais ça reviendrait à peu près au même. Si donc vous voulez que ces séances soient réellement d'un grave intérêt et fructueuses, je crois, puisque nous avons appelé cela « esthétique appliquée » je crois qu'il serait très bien, quand j'aurais exposé les trois langages, et j'aurai besoin de quatre séances pour cela, qu'il serait très intéressant pour tout le monde que quelques-uns de vous voulussent bien appliquer, essayer l'application aux principes dont nous aurons parlé. Je sais bien que c'est jouer un rôle de victime, mais ce serait un acte héroïque dont tout le monde vous saurait gré. Tout le monde se féliciterait d'une application comme celle-là, et ceux de vous, je ne parle pas des élèves que j'ai en partie formés, ça n'aurait pas d'intérêt, ceux qui ne savent rien, et plus ils seraient gauches plus il y aurait de charme dans la leçon, ceux de vous qui voudraient bien vous soumettre à l'épreuve voudront bien me faire connaître leur nom. J'espère que vous voudrez bien faire cet acte de vertu pour tout le monde. Je suis convaincu que ça sera d'un très haut intérêt. Cependant, j'ai **[43]** besoin encore de trois ou quatre séances, parce que j'ai à vous parler de la valeur mathématique des idées, de l'art de les produire vraies et avec certitude.

Je dois aussi vous parler de la musique, du chant. Je dois aussi vous donner les sériés passionnelles des principaux agents dynamiques. Je dois pour ceci qui y tiendront vous donner ce critérium dont j'ai tant parlé. Il faut que j'arrive à le donner, et j'ai peur de le donner parce que c'est très abstrait, et peut-être ce sera-t-il ennuyeux pour beaucoup. Mais enfin je tâcherai d'abréger les choses ennuyeuses. Il faut d'abord que je vous fasse connaître le tableau complet de l'homme a ce point de vue de la définition que j'ai donné tout a l'heure, puis le critérium, puis les langages ce qui fera cinq séances. Après ces cinq séances il sera très intéressant de voir comment ces choses prennent vie, comment elles s'appliquent, et tout le parti qu'on peut tirer et ces principes qui jusqu'ici ne sont presque que des abstractions, des choses froides.

Nous avons vu l'homme, sous l'empire unique des sens, exprimer les modifications de sa vie par des sons, par des intervalles, et par des inflexions, **[44]** et je vous l'ai dit les animaux, qui sont doués de la faculté de produire des sons vocaux, expriment identiquement les intervalles produits par l'homme dans une situation sensitive donnée. Voilà un fait fort curieux et qui a occupé bons nombres d'années de ma vie. Il a fallu que je vérifié le fait, je l'ai étudié autre fois à la barrière du combat quand les animaux avaient à se battre. Je l'ai étudié au Jardin des Plantes. J'ai fréquenté les animaux et je connais leur langage. C'est tout à fait le nôtre. (Rires.)

En second lieu, nous avons vu, dès que l'homme, l'enfant distingue la cause de ses douleurs ou de son bien-être ou de sa joie, il aime ou il hait, il repousse ou il appelle. Voilà ses premiers mouvements qui ne sont pas très riches, mais qui se développent et qui s'élèvent à, je ne veux pas dire de nombres, à des nombres prodigieux. Ainsi, parallèlement aux sentiments s'éveillent chez l'homme de nouveaux agents. Ce n'est plus l'agent vocal, c'est l'agent que j'appelle dynamique, l'agent myologique, c'est tout le corps qui contribue à l'expression des sentiments. Ainsi le geste est au cœur ce qu'est le vocal aux sens. **[45]**

En troisième lieu, dès que l'homme raisonne, dès que son esprit fait des abstractions, le geste comme l'inflexion lui devient insuffisant. Je parle, il donne en quelque sorte un corps à sa pensée afin qu'elle soit transmissible et appréciable par les sens, transformation merveilleuse que les sophistes modernes attribuent aux sociétés primitives, et qu'ils seraient encore bien embarrassé de constituer aujourd'hui si Dieu, dès le berceau de la création, n'avait pas en quelque sorte couvé l'homme.

Voilà donc trois appareils mis en action, l'appareil vocal, l'appareil myologique, et l'appareil buccal. Vous me direz que ces trois appareils constituent un tout indivisible. C'est vrai, l'appareil vocal est dans tout le reste, l'appareil buccal est dans tout le reste, la bouche appartient à la tête et aux mouvements. Mais tout cela se distingue, car tout cela se met en activité successive. D'abord, bien que l'enfant se meuve parce qu'il est de la nature de la vie de se mouvoir, il se meut cependant sans raison, il ne fait pas de geste, il faut des mouvements incohérents tout à fait dénués d'expression, mais sa voix ne manque pas d'expression, ces intervalles qu'il produit tout considérablement nombreux **[46]** et variés avant qu'il ne pense à gesticuler et bien longtemps avant qu'il ne parle.

Ainsi, vous voyez trois appareils parfaitement distincts et successifs dans leur activité, bien que plus tard ils seront comme inespérément unis pour constituer la parole humaine qui se compose d'une inflexion, d'un geste et d'une articulation. Voilà la parole, elle est triple. Voilà le verbe humain. Il n'est pas dans la parole articulée, car il serait singulièrement impuissant. Il n'est pas dans le geste, il n'est pas dans l'inflexion, il est dans tout cela.

Je disais la parole articulée impuissante. Elle est très inférieure au geste, parce qu'elle ne correspond qu'aux phénomènes de l'esprit. Le geste, au contraire, est l'agent du cœur, de l'âme. C'est l'agent persuasif. En voulez-vous un exemple ? J'ai là un morceau de sucre et mon enfant me demande, « Papa, veux-tu me donner ce morceau de sucre ? » Je vais employer deux langages pour lui répondre ; je dis « Non ! » (en lui présentant le morceau de sucre). Il le prend, « Comment, misérable, tu as pris mon morceau de sucre ? — Tu m'as fait signe de le prendre — Je t'ai dit non — Tu m'as fait signe de le prendre. » Il croit à ce signe plus qu'à la parole. On croit au geste parce que **[47]** le geste persuade. Les plus beaux discours ne persuadent pas, ils peuvent intéresser l'esprit, on peut faire des lieues a pied pour entendre un orateur parce que sa parole est belle, parce qu'elle flatte, mais cette parole laisse un fond froid, ne convainc pas, ne convertit pas.

Au contraire, quelquefois un autre fort peu orateur, mais avec son air sincère, fera infiniment plus de bien et pourra convertir. Un bon curé de village dira avec foi ce qu'il croit ; il touchera l'âme et tel autre orateur qui intéresse infiniment ne touchera pas l'âme. Ainsi, ce n'est pas ce qu'on dit qui persuade, c'est la façon dont on le dit. Si le visage ne porte pas le caractère ce foi et de persuasion, on ne persuade pas. C'est par là d'ailleurs, que les gens vous sont sympathique ou antipathiques. Ce n'est pas ce qu'ils disent, c'est la façon dont ils le disent. Un homme est sympathique ou antipathique, on ne sait pas pourquoi. On dit : « Tout ce que cet homme me dira, je le croirai. » Ou : « Tout ce que cet homme me dira, je ne le croirai pas. » Je l'écouterai avec plaisir parce qu'il parle admirablement, mais je ne croirai pas un mot de ce qu'il dit. Qu'est-ce que fait cela ? C'est un premier **[48]** geste. Ainsi, vous voyez la puissance souveraine du geste dans la parole.

Constatons donc bien, aujourd'hui, ce triple élément de la parole et pourquoi Dieu nous a donné ce triple élément. Si nous étions seulement une intelligence, Dieu ne nous eut pas donné un geste et une inflexion. D'autre part, voyez le rôle de l'inflexion, elle est immense. Je suppose un homme recevant chez lui le jour de sa fête un tableau, un cadeau qui est destiné à lui faire plaisir. On lui dit que ce tableau vient de sa fille, c'est sa fille qui le lui a

fait. L'expression de la reconnaissance de cet homme se traduit par une inflexion descendante, il dira : « Tiens, la pauvre enfant. C'est elle qui m'a donné cela. » Sa voix descendra. Le tableau vient d'un étranger qu'il ne savait pas peintre, il dira : « Tiens, pourquoi m'envoie-t-il cela ? » La voix va prendre une forme tout inverse, elle montera. Je suppose maintenant qu'il ne sache pas de qui ça lui vient, elle ne montera pas, ne descendra pas. Il dira : « Tiens ! tiens, tiens ! » Je suppose que sa fille est peintre. Elle a fait une espèce de chef-d'œuvre. Le voilà étonne du charme de cette œuvre et en même très reconnaissant et pénètre **[49]** à la vue de ce tableau. Il aura les deux inflexions. Si la surprise est plus fort que l'amour, il mettra en prédominance l'inflexion ascendante. Au contraire, s'il y a l'amour et surpris il dira : « Tiens ! »

À propos de l'inflexion il ne serait peut-être pas mauvais que je vous dise ce qui m'est arrivé il n'y a pas longtemps, c 'est très intéressant. Je ne sais pas un mot de chinois. (On rit.) Il m'est arrivé, il n'y a pas longtemps, d'être invite à diner avec un chinois chez un de mes bons amis. On interroge ce chinois. Je vous dis d'avance que je ne sais pas si les voyelles que je vais vous donner sont exactes, peu importe, je vais vous indiquer seulement le mécanisme de cette langue que vous connaissez sans doute, mais que tous ne connaissaient pas. On demande à ce chinois, « Comment dites-vous dans votre langage, je parle des objets usuels, le toit d'une maison ? Il dit — Kan. Quelque chose comme cela, ce n'est peut-être pas cela, mais ça y ressemble. Comment dites-vous la cave ? – Kan. – Et le puit ? – Kan — Et une chambre ? – Kan. – Et un lit ? – Kan ? – Un tombeau ? – Kan. » Vous comprenez la surprise. Je fus, quoique très habitué à l'inflexion, singulièrement surpris. Cependant je m'aperçus des nuances dans l'inflexion et je dis, « Il parait que vous tenez compte des **[50]** inflexions ? » II parlait français. En effet, il leur suffit d'un simple signe modifie par une inflexion. Je suppose que le toit s'exprime de haut en bas. La cave dont on ne peut que remonter, s'exprimer de bas et remonte. Si c'est un puit, le mouvement est le même, mais beaucoup plus intense, la voix s'élève davantage.

Je fus émerveillé de ce fait qui m'était cependant très familier puisque j'avais étudié l'inflexion, mais du compte qu'ils en tenaient. Je me dis : « Ils sont singulièrement plus avances que nous, les chinois ! » (Rires) car voilà des inflexions dont ils tiennent merveilleusement compte. Ils donnent peut-être 40 ou 50 interprétations à un même signe primordial extrêmement simple en le modifiant par un signe inflectif. Ils tiennent compte de la gravité de l'acuité du son, de l'intervalle qu'il produit, son intensité ; la même inflexion intense ici, et plus douce-là n'exprime pas la même chose. Ils tiennent compte du rythme dans lequel cette inflexion ou ce son est produit et tout cela est noté. C'est d'abord très étonnant et presque merveilleux qu'un seul et même mot exprime cela. Nous sommes infiniment plus riches que cela, nous seulement nous **[51]** n'avons pas conscience des merveilles de nos inflexions, nous ne les notons pas, nous n'avons pas de sténographie pour cela, et c'est là le mal. Nous avons, je dois vous dire un nombre et je le démontrerai, 675 manières d'exprimer un même mot ; un même mot est susceptible de 675 interprétations déterminables, parfaitement déterminables, j'en ai les signes.

À propos de ces signes voici ce qui m'est arrivé : un homme avec qui j'étais lié vint autrefois me trouver et me présenter sa fille qui était très jeune. Il voulait en faire une actrice, il voulait donc que je lui enseigne la tragédie. Il me demanda, « Que doit-elle apprendre ? Doit-elle apprendre un rôle ? – Pas du tout. – Une scène ? — Pas le moins du monde. – Une fable, n'est -ce pas ? – Pas du tout, un mot. » Et comme je disais cela, j'avais un chien, cet enfant, étant distraite dit : « Il est joli, ce chien ! » Je dis : « Voilà précisément le mot que tu dois travailler, quand tu connaîtras ce mot tu connaîtras toutes les inflexions possibles, tu pourras dire tout ce que tu voudras. » Elle a étudié ce mot, et elle est arrivée à 675

expressions déterminées, chiffrées, nuancées. Ainsi, par exemple, ce chien est-il petit, **[52]** elle dit avec une voix en haut : « Il est joli, ce chien ! » Je suppose qu'on veut lui faire du mal à ce chien, elle dira : « Il est joli, ne chien ! » (Ne lui faites pas de mal). Je suppose que ce chien fait des ordres, elle dira : « Il est joli, ce chien ! » Je suppose que ce chien lui ait mordu les mollets, elle dira : « Il est joli, ce chien. etc. Cela s'étend donc et ses inflexions vont très loin. Nous ne les énumérons pas une à une, mais nous en étudierons les types essentiels. Nous pourrons étudier les intervalles, et nous verrons le sens qu'on doit attacher à cet intervalle.

J'éprouve un grand embarras, et vous allez me pardonner. Je croyais faire une leçon sur ce tableau, car il faut bien que je synthétise, que je résume ce que j'ai à vous dire de l'homme. Il faut que vous connaissiez avec quelles complexité les choses se déduisent. Il y a ici un tableau, mais il me faudra pour l'écrire clairement à peu près une heure. D'un autre côté, je l'ai là au carnet, mais il ne serait pas visible cour deux tiers de l'auditoire. Je vous demande la permission d'en rester là pour aujourd'hui la prochaine fois ce tableau sera écrit en un grand tableau noir et nous pourrons alors examiner sérieusement les choses. **[53]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte.

IV Leçon

Nous avons aujourd'hui à développer la formule que j'ai produite l'autre jour, cette formule, comme vous l'avez vu, n'est pas claire. (Sourires.) Je vais tâcher de l'éclairer. C'est difficile, je vais être, malheureusement, on ne peut éviter cela, très abstraits. Il est bien difficile de satisfaire un auditoire. Quelques auditeurs se sont plaints à moi des formules que je donne, et ils disent : « Mais vous assaisonnes tout ce que vous dites de tant de choses qu'on ne peut pas conclure, ce n'est pas clair. » D'autres me disent : « Vous n'être pas assez imagé, vous êtes trop abstrait. Vous ne donnez pas assez d'exemples, ce sont les exemples qui intéressent. » Je le sais bien, mais je veux quelque chose de mieux pour vous que les exemples, je veux vous donner la lumière de ces exemples, le moyen d'en profiter, car il y en a partout, la nature est là et nous en donne tous les jours de magnifiques. On n'en profite pas parce qu'on n'a pas de formule, pare qu'on n'a pas de mesure, de critérium enfin. C'est ce que je veux vous donner. Ce n'est pas amusant, **[54]** mais ce sera intéressant pour ceux qui veulent sincèrement arriver à la connaissance et à l'appréciation des choses. Pour les auditeurs que cette démonstration ennuiera. Je terminerai cette séance par une petite fable. (Rires et approbation.) Je tâcherai que cette petite fable vous soit profitable, c'est-à-dire en déterminant le point de vue sous lequel elle doit être dite et en indiquant quelques-unes des moyens en vertu desquels la fable doit exprimer ce qu'elle dit.

Il est dans l'homme une puissance féconde, essentiellement assimilatrice, qui insubjective en quelque sorte le monde a notre être, qui rapproche les distances, qui actualise le passé, qui donne de la permanence à l'instantanéité et qui, malgré les ravages du temps, ravages qui s'opèrent en nous, laisse cependant incorruptible et inaltérables en nous le produit de ses perceptions. Cette puissance, qui échappe aux conditions du temps et qui est l'être lui-même, cette puissance c'est la vie.

Là ne s'arrête pas le rôle de la vie. Essentiellement féconde, elle puise dans le trésor de la mémoire qui est la faculté propre les éléments **[55]** du monde idéal. Elle engendre donc en nous un principe égal a elle-même, principe lumineux dans lequel résident les raisons spéculatives des choses. Ce principe intellectif qu'on peut appeler la splendeur même de la vie, c'est l'esprit.

Voilà donc en nous deux créations, deux mondes distincts. Il procède en nous de ces deux mondes, de ces deux principes, une troisième puissance qui les contemple, qui cependant les régit, les contient dans son unité et qui est pour l'un la chaleur et le mouvement, pour l'autre l'initiateur de l'esprit et sa lumière. Cette puissance merveilleuse, translumineuse qui est en nous, c'est l'âme.

L'homme voit, connaît et croit. Voir, connaître et croire, c'est tout l'être, et par la constitution même de son être, l'homme est en rapport avec l'univers, il est en communion intime avec l'univers. Il regarde, par la vie, la nature, et il s'y unit. Il se l'insubjective, pardonnez-moi le mot, il n'y en a pas d'autres. Il se regarde lui-même ; il regarde en dedans, et là il se trouve, il s'unit aux mondes des sciences. Puis il élève ses regards au-dessus de lui-même et le voilà dans **[56]** le monde de la grâce. Ainsi, il s'unit par la vie à la nature. Il est comme le type de cette nature, et il trouve dans cette nature des affinités singulières avec son être, avec sa vie, avec son âme, et s'il ne les trouvait pas il serait étranger à cette même nature de sorte qu'il s'unit absolument à ces phénomènes qui sont en parfaite concomitance de rapports avec son être même. Puis, par son esprit, le voilà dans le domaine de la science, et vous le savez les sciences sont basées sur des principes, sur une génération qui est en parfaite affinité avec son être. Il se redonnait encore là dans le monde intellectif. En s'élevant, il trouve enfin l'archétype de son être en Dieu, et là, il cherche à s'unir avec ce bien suprême. De sorte qu'il y a trois sortes d'union dans l'être. Je vous demande pardon si j'insiste ; il le faut car toutes les conséquences découlent de là, et seront d'autant plus claires que les principes auront été sérieusement posés.

Ces trois principes co-nécessaires entre eux sont consubstantiellement unis, ils n'ont qu'une essence indivise. **[57]** Ainsi dire de u vie, de l'âme, c'est dire l'esprit. Ainsi, on peut dire que la vie et l'âme sont un seul et même esprit. On peut dire de l'âme et de l'esprit que c'est une seule et même vie. On peut dire de la vie et de l'esprit que c'est une seule et même âme. Une seule et même âme, un seul et même esprit, une seule et même vie. Ces trois bases de notre être se pénètrent et se réverbèrent réciproquement ; sans cela, il n'y aurait pas unité, et l'unité résulté précisément de ce que chacun d'eux emprunte de ses congénères. Donc, dans la vie intime, l'âme s'y trouve reproduite, ainsi que l'esprit par des actes spéciaux. Voilà l'attribut propre de la vie.

La vie est d'abord sensitive, et par ce que la vie emprunte à l'esprit, elle est industrieuse, et par ce que la vie emprunte à l'âme elle est affective. Mes expressions ne seront pas peut-être toujours justes, mais vous comprenez ce que je veux dire par la [...].

Dans le domaine de l'esprit, nous retrouverons la même chose. L'esprit est essentiellement spéculatif. Voilà son être. En ce qui touche à la vie il est rationnel. (Je démontrerai cela par d'autres **[58]** figures.) En ce qui touche l'âme, il est réflectif, réfléchi.

L'âme, à son tour, se trouve donc en rapport et doit réverbérer ses deux congénères. L'âme est essentiellement mystique de sa nature, voilà ce qui la constitue âme. Elle est, par ses affinités avec la vie, aspirative, et comme elle est la lumière de l'esprit, car en définitive l'esprit ne se fatiguerait pas s'il ne se mouvait pas au service de l'âme, l'esprit, l'intelligence n'a pas de besoins particuliers, elle est la très humble servante du cœur, elle n'est que sous l'incubation du cœur, à ce point de vue, puisque l'âme est l'institutrice de l'esprit, elle est donc inspirative.

Ces trois bases de notre être prennent en nous trois états parfaitement distincts. Il est important de les constater, et de constater leur origine, car tout l'art n'est pas autre chose que l'expression de ce triple état dans l'homme. Il y a donc un état sensible, un état moral, et un état intellectif.

À l'état sensible correspondent trois phénomènes : un phénomène concentrique, un phénomène excentrique, et un phénomène normal. Toutes les expressions de la vie se réduisent à ces trois types, un type excentrique ou véhément, un type **[59]** concentrique, et un type normal. En [termes/thèse] générale ce eue j'inscris dans un triangle à gauche rappelle vie, ce que j'insert à droite rappelle l'esprit, et ce que j'insert médialement rappelle l'âme. De sorte que chaque phénomène pris individuellement présente ces trois raisons : raisons séminales, raisons spéculatives, et raisons animiques.

L'âme se traduit par trois actes : un acte répulsif, un acte attractif, et un acte expansif.

L'esprit perçoit des rapports, il se traduit par l'expression de ces rapports. Nous avons donc à voir les trois rapports : rapport d'identité, rapport d'opposition, et rapport de co-existence. Les trois termes de la proposition résument ces rapports.

Maintenant viennent les facultés correspondantes à ces entités de l'être. Nous avons la mémoire, avons-nous dit, puis ici l'entendement, puis ici la volonté, c'est elle qui meut tout l'être. Chacun de ces facultés à son mode spécial, sa triple manifestation, sa triple attitude qu'il faut distinguer et qu'il faut signaler.

La mémoire est basée sur trois actes de sensation (ce que nous déjà dit de la vie va se trouver reproduit) puis sur l'instinct.

J'aurais dû vous dire, avant de traduire ces termes, que la mémoire retient toutes **[60]** les choses. Elle retient, les phénomènes qu'ont impressionné les sens, qu'ont éveille le discernement et qu'ont sollicité nos appétits, et voilà la sympathie, ces trois termes sont encore co-nécessaires ; ils se sous-entendre forcément. Ainsi pour qu'une expression soit conservée dans la mémoire, il faut qu'elle ait éveillé les sympathies et les instincts. Sans cela, elle ne serait qu'une simple expression fugitive qui passerait et ne se conserverait pas dans la mémoire, ne serait d'ailleurs pas une sensation. Chacune de ces expressions n'est telle qu'en vue de ses congénères. Aussi il n'y a pas sensation là où il n'y pas instinct, sympathie. Il ne peut pas y avoir sympathie là où il n'y a pas instinct, là où il n'y a pas sensation.

L'intelligence saisit, comme nous l'avons dit des rapports et voilà le jugement. Elle juge, par conséquent, elle induit des conséquences de ces rapports ; voilà l'induction, et puis elle en pèse la valeur, et voilà la conscience.

Pour la volonté, nous allons trouver également trois actes qui sont en ce que la volonté a de rapports avec la vie. Le sentiment qui fixe et embrase. L'intuition qui illumine et féconde l'entendement, puis la contemplation, **[61]** acte par lequel l'âme s'élève au-dessus d'elle-même.

Ces trois sphères constitueraient trois sciences spéciales ; la science de la vie, ou biotique, la science de l'âme ou la psychique, la science de l'esprit ou la synétique. Il y aurait donc trois sciences, mais cela constituerait en définitive l'étude de la connaissance de l'être, et cette étude en somme constituerait l'ontologie.

Avant de passer aux moyens je veux donner un peu de repos a votre esprit.

Nous allons passer à l'étude de l'organisme. J'ai été aussi bref que possible. Je vais tâcher de l'être également ici. Cependant, il n'est possible de connaître la valeur des phénomènes organiques qu'en vue de l'être. Si vous ignorez l'être, puis que la nature de l'âme est d'être la forme du corps, en vertu de cette formule, si vous ne connaissez pas l'âme, ses formes intimes, vous n'aurez jamais la valeur et le sens des phénomènes qui n'en sont que les échos. Le moyen d'apprécier la puissance des phénomènes multiples que nous avons à

développer, c'est de se rappeler cela, car ceci se retrouve partout. Chacune de ces bases sont servie par un organisme spécial. L'organisme vocal est l'instrument **[62]** tout spécial de la vie. Aussi le larynx est-il le thermomètre de la vie sensitive. Puis au service de l'esprit l'agent que je mets actuellement en mouvement, l'agent buccal, ou la bouche, puis au service de l'âme est l'agent myologique que j'appelle dynamique à dessein parce qu'il n'est pas seulement myologique. Voilà donc trois appareils fonctionnant au service de ces trois êtres qui sont dans l'être, voilà trois agents dont le rôle est tout à fait déterminé.

L'appareil vocal est destiné à produire des sons. Il faut savoir de quoi se compose cet appareil : le larynx, l'arrière-bouche, et le poumon. Cette spécification n'est pas vaine. Chacun de ces agents a, dans la fonction, un rôle spécial. Il est très fâcheux qu'on n'en tienne pas compte. Les anatomistes n'en ont pas tenu compte eux-mêmes ; ils ont voulu expliquer la phonation par le larynx, et ils ont propagé considérablement d'erreurs parce que le larynx ne peut pas être seul, chacun de ces agents n'a de valeur qu'en vertu de la co-action de ses congénères. Le larynx pris isolement n'est rien, le larynx ne **[63]** doit être envisage que dans sa participation dans l'action générale produite par l'arrière-bouche et le poumon.

Deux mots sur le produit matériel de l'appareil vocal. Que produit-il ? Il produit des sons simplement. Vous allez voir tout de suite cet être se réverbérer dans chacun des produits à considérer. Je ne le ferai pas sur tous, mais examinons simplement ceci, un son. Nous allons encore trouver la parfaite expression de ces trois entités : sa vie, son âme et son esprit. Il ne peut pas se faire qu'un son ne soit pas triple. Un son, par cela même qu'il se met en vibration, qu'il se fait entendre, est triple. Ce qu'on appelle la tonique, ce que le vulgaire entend, fait nécessairement, fatalement entendre [sa] dominante, ce que les musiciens appellent la dominante, la quinte. Un son n'est tonique qu'à la condition de vibrer parallèlement avec sa quinte, il engendre donc cette quinte, et de la tonique et de la dominante procède ce qu'on appelle la médiante qui constitue l'accord parfait. L'accord parfait résulte de cette triplicité intime du son.

Dès que vous connaissiez le rôle de la vie, de l'âme et de l'esprit, vous **[64]** les retrouvez dans les résonnances elles-mêmes, et il y a quelque chose de si parfaitement conforme à l'archétype, à Dieu même quelque de si merveilleux que je ne m'étonne pas de la puissante action de la musique sur les animaux mêmes. Il n'y a rien de plus vivante que cette image-là.

Supposez une tonique. Vous allez voir les trois termes de la divine trinité dans une procession toute physique, toute matérielle. Supposez une tonique éternelle, vous voilà forcé d'admettre une dominante engendrée de la tonique, et coéternelle a la tonique. Puis la médiante qui procède de ces deux termes qui les contient, ensuite dans son unité qui forme l'accord parfait. Je ne vois pas d'image plus belle, plus ravissante de ce dogme de la trinité. Nous ne pourrons pas examiner un phénomène qui ne soit cela. Voilà pourquoi ce tableau est fait aux triangles, c'est que chacun des phénomènes que nous aurons à examiner doit être triplement examine, sous peine de n'être pas connu.

Maintenant comparons aux phénomènes mécaniques ces trois agents : le larynx, l'arrière-bouche et le poumon. Nous aurons dans le larynx le levier, **[65]** dans l'arrière-bouche le point d'appui, dans les poumons, la force dirigeante. Il faut un agent projecteur, solliciteur, il faut un agent vibratile, et il faut un agent répercutif. Si ces trois agents ne sont pas parallèlement en action, il ne s'opère rien, il n'y a pas de son. Il y a co-nécessite d'action. Il n'est donc pas vain de signaler les agents du produit comme celui-là. On a examiné le larynx comme la plupart du temps on examine l'homme, comme s'il n'était qu'un cerveau. On parle de l'esprit humain, mais on oublie le cœur, on oublie la vie, ce qui est grave. Si nous

voulions d'autres analogies le larynx serait l'embouchure de l'instrument, l'arrière-bouche serait le pavillon, et les poumons seraient l'instrumentiste lui-même. Une autre analogie, si vous voulez, prenons le violon. Le larynx sera la corde, les poumons seront l'archet provocateur du son et l'arrière-bouche sera l'instrument lui-même.

La triple action de ces agents est donc nécessaire à la production du son. Voilà la base de la phonation. Qu'engendrent donc ces trois agents dans leur action parallèle ? Ils engendrent d'abord des sons et puis des inflexions. Nous aurons plus à nous **[66]** occuper des inflexions que des sons en eux-mêmes. Les inflexions constatent dans l'homme et traduisent l'état sensible comme l'appareil vocal traduit la vie. Il serait donc important de savoir la valeur relative des inflexions, de connaitre la valeur sensitive des intervalles dont se composent ces mêmes inflexions. C'est une magnifique chose qui n'a pas été examiné, que je sache au moins. Je me propose de reparler des inflexions quand je parlerai au chant spécial. Je ne finirais pas le tableau.

Les inflexions engendrent un langage sensitif qu'on appelle la musique et comme je le disais l'autre jour, la musique n'est que le langage des sentiments que par ce qu'elle emprunte des autres langages. Intrinsèquement prise, elle est le langage des sens, et non pas du sentiment. Elle est le langage des sentiments par la forme elliptique exprimée au geste et par les expressions empruntées à l'esprit. Comme la vie s'emprunte des attributs à l'âme et à l'esprit, chacun de ces langages exprimera à ses congénères une forme spéciale.

Nous avons ici la tête, le torse, et les membres, le levier, la force **[67]** dirigeante, et le point d'appui. Nous aurons toujours à reproduire ces expressions-là. L'appareil dynamique engendre des gestes. Le geste est à l'état moral comme l'inflexion est à l'état sensitif. Le geste traduit l'état moral au même titre que les inflexions traduisent l'état sensitif. Il y a aussi trois agents dans l'appareil buccal : ce sont les lèvres, la langue, et le voile du palais.

Je me dispenserai de vous parler successivement des choses, nous n'arriverons pas à finir le tableau. Cependant, il y a là quelque chose de magnifique encore à examiner, c'est le rôle particulier de ces agents, c'est le rôle mimique de ces agents, la raison en vertu de laquelle ces agents se meuvent. Ce n'est pas une chose conventionnelle comme on le croit. On ne fait pas une langue comme on fait autre chose. Il y a dans chacun de ces agents une sérié de gestes parfaitement expressifs et appréciables. Voilà encore des faits qui ne sont pas connu malheureusement.

Les éléments de l'inflexion sont ceux-ci. L'inflexion est suspendue comme celle que je vous ai fait entendre à propos de l'indécision, elle est ascendante et elle est descendante. Voilà les expressions élémentaires de ce langage qu'on appelle la musique. **[68]**

Les formes élémentaires du geste c'est un triple mouvement : un mouvement oblique, un mouvement direct et un mouvement circulaire. N'oubliez pas que ces expressions se rapportent toujours par leur position à la vie, a l'âme et à l'esprit. Ainsi les mouvements circulaires appartiennent aux phénomènes de l'esprit, les mouvements obliques aux phénomènes animiques.

Je vais donner un exemple à ce propos. Les phénomènes de l'esprit se traduisent dans la mimique par des mouvements circulaires. La mimique d'un esprit élevé, c'est l'abaissement de la tête. L'absence de l'esprit, c'est le soulèvement de la tête. Voilà le mouvement circulaire. Vous ne voyez de mouvements véhéments, élevé qu'autant qu'il n'y a pas d'esprit. L'esprit amène cet abaissement de sorte que plus il y abaissement d'un côté, plus il y a élévation d'un autre côté.

Voilà donc les expressions élémentaires propres à ce langage. Ce langage, nous l'appellerons mimique. C'est la plastique ; la plastique est basée sur le geste.

Puis nous avons correspondant à cet état et pour le traduire la parole articulée. Je spécifie à dessein, car vous aurez compris que la parole c'est à la **[69]** fois cette triple action ; la parole ne peut pas être comprise quand l'inflexion est sans le geste. Le verbe humain est triple, il s'exprime par ces trois langages. Il y a donc trois éléments bien distincts dans le verbe ; sans cela, il n'y aurait pas puissance d'action. Je dis ici la parole articulée, l'articulation. Pour traduire les phénomènes de l'entendement, les expressions élémentaires, primordiales sont le verbe, l'attribut et le sujet.

Ici se sera le débit, ce que vous voudrez. Mettons les phénomènes logiques.

La musique est basée sur trois puissances, qui sont le rythme, le mélodie et l'harmonie. Voilà pour quelle raison ils sont encore enfermés dans des triangles. C'est que chacune de ces expressions est individuellement triple.

Il y a trois sortes de mélodies. La mélodie est ascendante, elle est descendante, mais elle suppose encore ces trois phénomènes ; l'idée de timbre, l'idée d'intensité et l'idée de tonalité au point de vue que nous aurons à traiter.

Le rythme embrasse trois choses : le mouvement, le mode de succession des sons et la mesure qui les contient.

L'harmonie est consonante, elle est dissonante, elle est unissonnante.

Le geste est base sur trois choses, la statique, la dynamique et l'esthétique. **[70]** La statique sera l'équipondérassions des forces mises en mouvement. La dynamique sera la forme même de ce mouvement, et l'esthétique sera la raison d'être de ces mouvements en vue de l'âme.

Chacun de ses termes sont individuellement triple.

La statique traitera des formes, des types, nous aurons à examiner trois sortes de types : des types passionnels, des types formels ou constitutionnels et des types habituels.

La dynamique suppose trois expressions intéressantes : ce sont des mouvements inflectifs, démonstratifs et passionnels. Inflectif, le geste qui gouverne les deux autres langages participe des puissances de la musique comme des mouvements de l'entendement. Ainsi, le geste est mélodique par ses formes, il est rythmique parce que ses mouvements se subordonnent à une mesure donnée, et il est essentiellement harmonique par la multiplicité des agents qui, parallèlement, agissent dans le geste, car il a cela de particulier, qu'il est individuellement harmonique. Ce qui constitue la faiblesse du langage articulé, du langage philosophique, **[71]** c'est qu'il est successif ; il faut énoncer phrase par phrase ; chaque phrase est composée d'un certain nombre de mots, chaque mot est composé de syllabes, et chaque syllabe de lettres, de voyelles, et de consonnes ; ça n'en finit pas. Combien faut-il écrire de choses pour exprimer un sentiment ? Vous n'y parviendrez pas avec un volume. Un seul geste le dit. Il y a dans un geste des choses qui demanderaient un volume pour être traduites. Vous ne les traduirez pas à moins de 100 ou 120 pages. Ces 100 pages ne diraient pas ce que peut dire un simple mouvement parce que ce simple mouvement dit tout mon être. C'est tout l'homme que le geste. C'est par cela qu'il est persuasif. C'est l'agent direct de l'âme, ça dit tout, tandis que le langage est analytique, successif.

La qualité de l'esprit, c'est le nombre, c'est de spéculer, de compter, tandis que celui-ci embrasse tout par l'intuition, le sentiment, la contemplation. Il y a quelque chose de

magnifique dans ce langage parce qu'il se rapporte à des puissances d'une autre sphère. C'est le monde de la grâce. **[72]**

Nous avons ici des idées de substances, des idées adjectives, et des idées copulatives pour clore ce tableau.

Tout ceci constitue l'organisme. En définitive, nous aurons par-là la technique genèse or la génération des arts, leur source. Voilà leur genèse, leur raison d'être. Il y a ces trois arts qui constituent une nature indivise qui correspondent intimement à l'être. C'est pour cela qu'ils ont tant d'empire sur l'être.

Je développerai successivement les choses ; il y en a assez pour ce soir, là-dessus. Je tiendrais ma promesse. Je vous ai promis une fable ; non pas que je me pose comme type, tant s 'en faut ; je veux vous donner infiniment mieux que moi. Je ne suis qu'un misérable reflet des principes que je pose. Je n'ai pas jusqu'ici multiplié les exemples, parce que ces exemples sont très incorrects et si j'avais à les corriger devant vous en vue des principes, ce serait misérable. Mais comme essai d'un principe je vais vous donner une chose qui ne sera ni parfaite, ni bien, mais ce sera un essai.

Il faut, pour qu'une leçon soit bonne, déterminer son point de vue. Nous pourrions à ce compte dire **[73]** et redire bien des fois une même fable et la dire toujours avec un grand intérêt en disant ce que nous nous proposons. Proposons-nous ce qui constitue surtout l'éloquence, de faire pressentir aux autres ce que nous voulons qu'ils sentent. Si vous n'avez pas pressenti les choses, vous voilà [désorientés] et vous n'êtes pas placés au même point de vue que moi. J 'ai donc pour devoir de vous faire pressentir ce que j'aurai à vous dire.

Je vais vous dire une petite fable que quelques-uns de vous m'ont entendu dire quelquefois. Je n'en sais pas beaucoup, je n'ai pas de mémoire. Le geste est initiateur, c'est à lui d'exprimer les choses d'abord. Je vais peut-être exagérer, je vous le dis d'avance ; ça ne vaudra pas grand-chose, mais enfin, ce sera une application.

« La cigale, ayant chanté

Tout l'été... » **[74]**

Avez-vous compris à peu près ce que je voulais dire ? C'est tout ce qu'il faut.

Une même fable doit être dit de toutes sortes de points de vue : au point de vue de l'expression même des gestes, au point de vue de l'inflexion, de la parole articulée dont nous aurons à parler, mais ce serait dénué d'un très haut intérêt quant à présent, puisque je n'ai pas pose les principes. Me voilà donc oblige de revenir la prochaine fois aux principes. **[75]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte.

V Leçon

Nous continuerons aujourd'hui la démonstration, et j'espère que je n'aurai plus à y revenir. Nous terminerons aujourd'hui ces démonstrations, nous dirons quelques mots encore de ces tableaux parce qu'il est nécessaire d'y revenir. Je n'ai d'ailleurs pas conclu. La proposition que j'ai donnée il y a deux leçons devait être éclaircie et rapportée aux divers exemples de ce tableau. Je ne l'ai pas fait. Je n'ai donc pas conclu. Je donnerai donc aujourd'hui ce critérium d'examen.

La proposition principale et celle sur laquelle nous aurons nécessairement à revenir c'est celle-ci. L'âme est la forme du corps et comme tout l'art sera déduit de l'organisme, il est évident que puisque l'organisme n'est lui-même que l'écho de l'âme, il fallait nous occuper des puissances constitutives mêmes de l'âme. L'organisme est ici adéquat à l'âme.

Nous avons parlé de la fécondité de la vie de la puissance d'insubjectiviser. Nous avons vu comment les phénomènes de l'esprit, le monde idéal, est engendre des phénomènes mêmes de la vie, du trésor de la mémoire, et puis **[76]** ensuite nous avons vu comment cette forme plastique, cette puissance animique procède de ces deux mondes extrêmes. Il y a donc à considérer cela, trois sortes d'assimilation : assimilation intellective, sensitive et animique. Nous avons aussi signalé trois vies dans l'être : vie subjective, vie objective et vie surnaturelle. Pour réaliser le but même de la vie, il était nécessaire que le corps fût uni à l'âme. Parlons du corps, revenons sur sa constitution intime en vue de l'âme.

Le corps est un monde réduit et portatif au profit des développements de l'intelligence. Le corps est un alphabet encyclopédique, c'est la [clé/clef] pour aller de notre monde naturel à l'ensemble des harmonies créés. Le corps présente trois choses à considérer : c'est un moyen, c'est une méthode, et c'est un instrument.

C'est un moyen de l'insubjection. Nous avons vu le monde extérieur vivre en dehors de lui-même en nous par le moyen du corps.

C'est une méthode. Il est certain qu'en examinant le corps au point de vue de l'art, on peut arriver à de très grandes choses.

Toutes vérité doit correspondre à cet organisme, au corps, pour arriver **[77]** jusqu'à nous, et, par conséquent, la vérité de se montrer à nous triplement. Nous avons déduit déjà dans les phénomènes physiques, nous n'avons pas à y pas revenir, certaines démonstrations de la trinité humaine, elles ressortant partout. Ainsi, dans le langage des idées, voyez cette démonstration très puissante. Il y a trois pronoms personnels qui sont admirablement démonstratifs de la trinité humaine. Ainsi on dit je, et voilà le pronom réfléchi, me, et le pronom je caractérise la personnalité active, me constitue le patient, et le pronom moi est le juge entre l'acte et l'agent de sa réception. Il n'y a pas un de nos actes qui ne soit pas une démonstration plus ou moins claire de cette première vérité.

Notre Seigneur dit, « Je suis la voie, je suis la vie, je suis la vérité. » Nous avons un moyen de constater la vérité, nous le verrons ultérieurement par ce que j'appelle le critérium, nous jugeons la vérité elle-même par ce critérium organique. « Je suis la vie, » ça n'a pas besoin à être démontré ; les affinités n'ont pas à se démontrer, il est la source de la vie. Il est la vérité ; il éclairé notre entendement. Il est la voie ; il répond aux dispositions **[78]** de notre être ; il en est l'objet, il est le but même de notre existence. Ainsi, il s'offre à notre contemplation, à notre amour et à nos intuitions.

Vous voyez trois organismes. À chaque entité correspond un organisme spécial. L'appareil vocal est à la vie, comme l'appareil dynamique est à l'âme, comme l'appareil buccal est à l'esprit.

Nous avons vu comment le monde extérieur est comme insubjectivé a notre être, vit en nous, en dehors de lui-même, et d'une vie très réelle. Il est curieux de voir comment notre esprit va s'unir au monde extérieur, comment nous y vivons comment en dehors de nous-mêmes sans rien perdre de notre entité. Voici comment une démonstration n'est pas vaine, car la génération dont je vais parler se reproduisent dans tous les actes physiques que vous pourrez examiner an vue de l'art.

Ainsi, Bossuet dit admirablement ce que je vais vous dire moins bien, je ne me rappelle pas son texte. « Il y a eu nous une intelligence qui engendre les phénomènes de l'esprit. » L'artiste conçoit son œuvre, cette œuvre est en lui, elle existe, elle est en lui, et il ne peut **[79]** avoir conçu son œuvre sans l'aimer. S'il ne l'aimait pas, il ne s'en occuperait pas. L'amour n'est pas égoïste. Il veut être partagé ; cette œuvre qui est donc le sujet, il faut qu'elle s'incorpore, qu'elle prenne une forme plastique. Il faut que cette œuvre soit évidente pour tous et que tout le monde soit appelé à l'aimer. Que fait alors l'amour ? L'amour prend l'expression de la volonté, il commande à l'intelligence de lui suggérer le moyen d'agir et de matérialiser en quelque sont son œuvre, son verbe. Ainsi, l'amour devient opérateur dans cet acte, et que se passe-et-il ? Il cherche dans la nature, la matière la plus pure, la plus appropriée à son œuvre même. Voilà une pierre pure, vierge ; il y va déposer son œuvre, et le corps devient le moyen d'action qui n'agit que sous l'incubation du cœur et de la volonté. Ce corps agit et réalisé le verbe intime, il l'incarne dans cette matière, et la matière et l'œuvre sont si inséparablement unis qu'il serait impossible de détruire l'un sans détruire l'autre. Ainsi les magnifiques œuvres de Phidias qui, après vingt siècles, font encore l'objet d'admiration universelle ; altérez la matière dans laquelle Phidias a conçu son œuvre et vous tuez l'œuvre. Voilà donc comment l'homme **[80]** se survit en s'associant à la matière, en incarnant son verbe même.

Puis enfin l'esprit. Nous avons parlé de trois mondes : la nature, le monde de l'esprit ou de la science, et le monde de la grâce. Il faut que l'esprit se communique à l'esprit et s'insubjective dans l'esprit. Ici, la chose est plus facile à concevoir. Que se fait-il ? La pensée prend un corps, elle s'exprime par la parole, et cette parole a des vertus prodigieuses. Bossuet, je suis très fâché de n'avoir pas son texte encore, dit admirablement que la parole a les vertus mêmes au fils de Dieu. C'est la nourriture de l'esprit, c'est la nourriture du cœur. Cette parole se donne tout entière et sans partager à tous ceux qui la reçoivent et à chacun d'eux en particulier, de sorte que, par cette sorte d'incarnation d'une autre nature, l'esprit va s'unir à l'esprit et va en quelque sorte se transfigurer, se transsubstantier.

Reste un troisième monde auquel l'âme tend surtout, auquel toutes, les puissances mystiques de l'être tendent, et ce sont les plus hautes puissances. Comment l'homme suivra-t-il à l'incréé ? Comment l'homme ira-t-il jusque-là ? La distance est infranchissable. Le verbe prend la forme même de l'homme. Il en prend la chair, il **[81]** se fait homme pour se livrer à lui et ainsi se fait cette magnifique incarnation. Voilà donc l'homme uni avec ce triple monde et en communion avec l'infini.

Ce qu'il s'importe surtout de se rappeler, car ce sera le type de la circumincession dont nous aurons à parler, c'est la physionomie que prennent alternativement ces puissances en se co-pénétrant les uns les autres ; voici la physionomie que prend la vie dans l'esprit, qu'elle prend dans l'âme, et ainsi de suite. Du reste tout cela est parfaitement figuré par les actes que voici. Il est évident que la forme essentiellement vitale, c'est la sensation, que la forme intellective de la vie, c'est l'instinct, que la forme animique de la vie est dans la sympathie. Puis la forme essentiellement spéculative l'esprit c'est l'induction, la forme vitale, c'est le jugement et nous verrons pourquoi je l'appelle forme vitale : c'est qu'il y a dans chaque phénomène trois raisons à examiner et à reproduire partout. Il y a une raison féconde, séminale, une raison spéculative et une raison animique. Ces trois raisons préexistent à toute chose. La conscience est la forme animique de l'esprit. Puis, nous trouvons dans l'âme un acte tout à fait vital, c'est le sentiment, un acte intellectif, c'est l'intuition, puis **[82]** un acte essentiellement animique, qui est le plus élève, c'est la contemplation. C'est par là que l'homme s'unit avec le mode de la grâce.

Maintenant je vais reproduire la proposition si embrouillée que je vous ai donnée l'autre jour. Je ne me la rappelle pas bien, mais elle va sortir des termes de ce tableau.

« L'homme porte en son corps, comme en sa substance, l'auguste empreinte de sa triple causalité. Il est donc une trinité au service de laquelle fonctionnent trois appareils dont les groupes d'agents et les produits relatifs constatent trois états et engendrent, sous l'empire d'une triplicité de phénomènes, d'actes et de rapports trois langages qu'il faut étudier dans leur égalité d'équilibré ou leur prédominance successive. »

Ainsi, chaque spécialité de l'art n'est autre chose qu'une prédominance. Ce n'est pas un fait isolé ; il ne faut jamais considérer l'art comme une expression isolée. La musique met en prédominance l'inflexion, la plastique met en prédominance la forme, etc. Pour constituer le plus bel art, il faut cette égalité d'équilibré dont je parle. La mélopée antique présente la plus belle, la plus sublime expression de l'art, car les voilà en parfaite **[83]** égalité d'équilibre. Dans cet art régnaient l'inflexion et toutes les puissances musicales, le geste, et, par conséquent, la plastique et la parole articulée. Voilà le plus beau de tous les arts, évidemment, puisqu'il les contient tout et les contient en égalité d'équilibre.

J'ai presque envie, avant de vous donner la série des exemples qui découleront du critérium, de vous montrer par un petit exemple comment réellement le corps n'est qu'une forme subordonnée à cette forme plastique qui est en nous, à l'âme.

Ainsi, les effets du vin qui troublent l'harmonie intime de l'âme. Vous allez voir comment chacun des moyens mis au service de l'âme va impressionner de la forme titubante de l'âme.

Ainsi qu'arrive-t-il ? Les iris, les yeux, qui doivent être convergents vers l'objet détermine, entrent en duel, en parallélisme, et dès que les trous de l'iris entrent en parallélisme, il y a incohérence et on voit double. Il y a par conséquent titubation des autres organes. Voilà les premiers symptômes. Puis la langue se paralyse ; sous l'empire de cette titubation universelle, les lèvres font un effort suprême effort pour articuler, mais ne le peuvent **[84]** pas. Ce n'est pas tout ; nous avons un autre organisme dont je n'ai pas parlé, l'organisme vocal. Il se passe là un phénomène curieux. Les cordes vocales ne sont pas tendues au même degré et il résulte de cela ce phénomène qu'on appelle le couac. C'est un couac perpétuel. On ne peut pas trouver un moyen de prononcer et d'ajuster les yeux, la vue est double, et toutes les expressions sont doubles. (Rires et applaudissement.)

Il faut donc dans la composition d'un mouvement voire la participation de chacun des agents dont nous avons parlé. Je vous donnerai les séries d'expressions. Avant tout, il est bien entendu que je vous dois le critérium dont j'ai tant parlé, en un mot, la lumière qui éclaire ces exemples. Je veux vous donner un moyen de juger de la vérité des expressions et de juger de la vérité même.

Je sais bien que quelques personnes ont bien voulu trouver cette démonstration intéressante ; mais beaucoup d'autres se sont plaints et entre autres une personne de mes amis. Elle m'a dit, « Vous vous ferez beaucoup de tort sur tout cela ; vous vous montrez trop catholique ; ce n'est **[85]** pas comme cela qu'on arrive au succès, on compromet son succès comme cela. »

Hélas ! Mon Dieu ! Le succès, c'est si peu de chose au bout du compte, et arrivé au dernier jour, il ne nous sera pas demandé si nous avons eu beaucoup de succès, mais quel bien nous avons fait. Il ne s'agira pas de savoir si nous avons fait beaucoup de bien aux yeux et eux oreilles, mais a l'âme de ceux auxquels nous nous serons adressés. Et, à ce propos, il y

a un succès que j'ai toujours envié, je vais vous la raconter. Ce bon et digne artiste, digne d'un meilleur fin, Nourrit, était une grande âme et un noble artiste. Il se plaignait souvent et me disant, « Qu'est-ce que nous sommes, en définitive ? Nous sommes les instruments d'un plaisir éphémère. On nous sert après le café ; c'est une vie misérable. Que de turpitudes ne sommes-nous pas appelés à réaliser, à exprimer ? » Cependant, me disait-il avec un certain orgueil que je comprends très bien, « J'ai, dans ma vie fait prier un homme. » Et voici, qu'est arrivé. Dans *Robert le diable*, au cinquième acte, il y a une situation fort intéressante où Robert, désarmé, poursuivi, se **[86]** réfugie dans une église. Il ne pense guère à prier Dieu. Quand il entend les majestueux sons de l'orgue, son âme est émue. Vous savez l'empire de la musique sur les sens et sur le cœur. Tout le monde pris là, il dit. « Si je pouvais prier ! » Cette phrase est fort heureusement reproduite. Un spectateur, très frappé de la façon dont Nourrit avait dit cela, ne put plus rien entendre autre chose. Il se dit, « Mon Dieu, qu'il dit bien cela, que c'est beau. » Il s'en va de l'opéra. Il avait quelques rendez-vous, mais il ne s'y rend pas, il va chez lui. « Mon Dieu cet animal là comme il dit cela. Si je pouvais prier ! Quel talent ! » Enfin, il se couche ; voilà cette phrase qui le poursuit, il se dit dans son lit : « Si je pouvais prier ! Comme il dit bien cela, cet animal ! » Enfin il ne peut pas dormir, il fut poursuivi par cette phrase, et le lendemain, cet homme entra simplement dans une église et fit comme Robert, et dit : « Si je pouvais prier ! » II finit enfin par prier et sentit le bonheur descendre dans son cœur et fut le même jour dire à Nourrit en l'embrassant, « Vous m'avez rendu un bien plus grand service que mon père. Mon père **[87]** m'a donné une existence dont je suis fatigue, et vous, vous m'avez le ciel. »

S'il m'était possible un jour d'avoir un de ses succès-la, j'avons que je pourrais mourir après cela content.

J'ai besoin de toute votre attention, la question est assez abstraite, je tâcherai de la rendre claire, quoique ce soit très difficile. Ça l'est pour moi, ça le sera plus pour vous, mais dans la forme la première démonstration me paraît difficile. J'ai donc besoin que vous ne m'écoutiez pas avec une espèce de prévention, ne jugez pas d'avance. C'est l'expérience qui doit décider de la bonté du moyen que j'ai à vous donner. J'ai déjà été jugé, on me l'a dit : « Mon cher, votre système ne va pas. » Ce qu'il y a de curieux, c'est que je n'ai pas encore dit un mot de mon système ou de ma méthode. Ça découle du criterium que je vais vous donner. Je n'en ai pas dit le premier mot. Cependant je suis jugé, voilà comme vont les choses. Ne hâtez-vous pas. Laissez de côté vos préoccupations particulaires, et vous vérifierez mes expressions et ma théorie ; vous les jugerez et je demande que vous les jugiez très sévèrement. Je ne veux pas d'indulgence, je **[88]** n'en demande pas, loin de là. Si jetai en défaut, j'aurais tout à gagner à une rectification sérieuse ; je l'appelle de toutes mes forces. Si on me donne mieux, je serais enchanté, je n'ai donc rien à perdre. Seulement ça ne peut pas se juger tout de suite, il faut que ça soit appliquée mûrement, que ce soit expérimenté. Ça doit être juge après mure expérience. N'approuvez pas, mais n'improuvez pas.

Nous rapporterons trois chiffres aux trois puissances constitutives de l'être. Nous dirons 1 pour la vie, 2 pour l'esprit, 3 pour l'âme. Il est dit dans les saintes lettres que Dieu a fait toutes choses avec poids, nombre et mesure. Je désire que vous réfléchissiez sérieusement à l'importance de ces trois termes. Les trois raisons dont je parlai tout à l'heure, la raison séminale, la raison spéculative, et la raison animique, sont impliquées dans ces trois termes poids, nombre et mesure. Ces trois chiffres expriment cela ; 1 est la mesure ; 2 renferme l'idée de nombre ; il y a égalité entre ces deux idées. Voilà comment le 1 est la mesure. Je ne puis pas faire : [diagramme]. Ce 2 serait un mensonge avec le 1 : 1 ne serait pas la mesure de 2. Ça **[89]** sera d'une part la vie, l'esprit, et l'âme, et voilà les dispositions que je prendrai et que vous prendrez si vous voulez suivre mes inductions. Dans toutes les expressions qui se

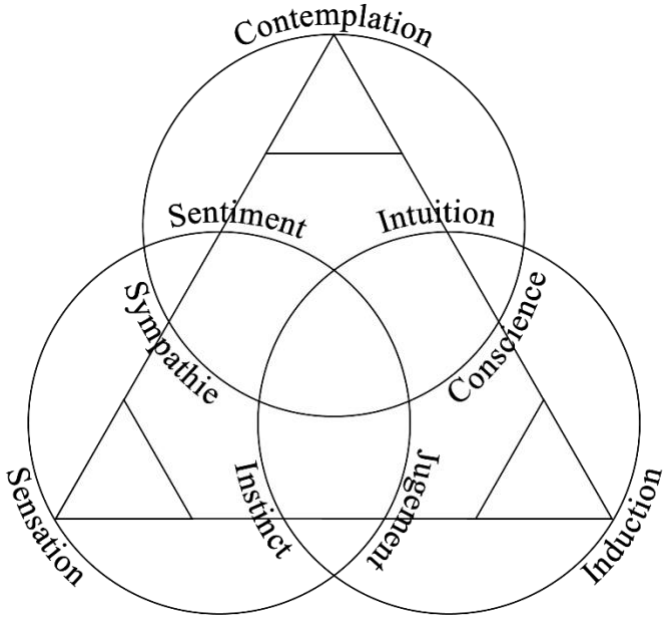
succéderont, il faudra que le 2 soit en face du 1, il l'engendre, et le 3, qui est la commune spiration des deux termes, car il n'y a qu'une opération qui puisse exprimer l'unité entre ces deux termes, c'est le poids.

Le poids engendre le mouvement, le poids, par cela même, communique la vie. Le poids répondra donc au cœur, c'est le cœur qui entraîne, qui fait mouvoir, c'est le cœur qui agit le plus puissamment en nous. Il répond à d'expression poids, la vie à l'expression mesure, et l'esprit à l'expression nombre, et en effet, vous voyez la vie en nous être la mesure de l'intelligence, en ce sens que la vie, par sa faculté propre, la mémoire, est le trésor de l'entendement. Que la mémoire s'éteigne, l'intelligence disparait. La mémoire est la mesure de l'entendement, et le cœur en est le poids et le mouvement. C'est dans le cœur qu'il faut chercher la source de tout mouvement. **[90]**

Nous placerons aux extrémités de ce triangle ces trois chiffres, [triangle figure] autrement dit, la vie, l'esprit, et l'âme. À chacun de ces angles vous reproduirez la figure totale. Reportez-vous par la pensée aux neuf actes que j'ai spécifiés dans le tableau précèdent. Nous allons trouver dans la vie une expression intellective représentée par le 2, et une expression animique. Nous trouverons dans l'esprit une expression vitale et une expression intellective.

Ces trois vies doivent se pénétrer. Voilà un cercle que j'appelle vital. Ces trois formes intellectives se co-pénètrent, et les trois formes animiques se trouvent ici. Chacun de ces cercles a son expression et son nom particulier. Si vous voulez reproduire la figure chez vous, vous peindrez ce cercle vital en rouge. Le rouge a depuis la plus haute antiquité symbolise la majesté, la puissance de la vie, c'est la chaleur. L'esprit sera un cercle bleu, c'est une couleur qui a de tout temps a symbolisé le verbe, la parole. L'intelligence, c 'est la lumière. Le cercle animique est jaune. Il répondu à la flamme de l'amour et toutes les traditions s'accordent **[91]** à affecter ces couleurs, à ces divers attributs de notre être.

Vous vous rappelez à quels termes aboutissent ces chiffres, nous avons



Dans chacun sphères, nous voyons constituer, pour ces trois orbes, un monde : le monde vital, le monde intellectif et le monde animique. De sorte qu'ici la vie semble recevoir la puissance sympathique et appétitive de l'âme ; elle reçoit de l'esprit ; de la forme intellective, l'instinct. Elle porte à l'âme en échange des sympathies qu'elle en reçoit, le sentiment, qui est la forme vitale de l'âme, et en échange de l'instinct qu'elle e reçu de la puissance intellective, elle porte le jugement.

Il y a donc trois expressions qui caractérisent dans ces trois mondes la vie particulière. Comment désignerons-nous ces trois termes ? La vie est ce qui, dans les phénomènes, constate, l'esprit est ce qui distingue, l'âme est ce qui réunit. Ce qui constate **[92]** la vie c'est la forme sensitive, ce qui constate l'entendement, c'est d'abord et fatalement, le jugement. Je puis bien ne pas induire, ma conscience peut être un moment endormi, mais je ne puis pas ne pas juger, je juge fatalement, je juge en dormant, je ne puis pas cesser de juger, c'est la forme, c'est la vie même de mon esprit. C'est ainsi que la vie constate. De même, ici, le sentiment c'est la forme vitale du cœur. Je puis bien ne pas être illuminé au même degré tous les jours ; je puis bien ne pas être toujours sous l'empire d'une contemplation puissante, mais je ne puis pas ne pas sentir, ne pas aimer. Par cela seul, que j'ai un cœur, je dois aimer. Ce qui se fait fatalement s'appelle la vie.

En suivant ce triangle, nous pouvons avoir une idée assez nette de la valeur même des expressions. Elles sont hiérarchisées à ce point que partout de la sensation, qui est le premier fait vital, nous arriverons toujours à trouver une faculté plus élevée. Ainsi l'instinct est supérieur à la sensation et le jugement est comme un instinct d'ordre supérieur. **[93]** Au-dessus du jugement est l'induction, c'est le jugement du jugement. Au-dessus de l'induction c'est la conscience, la conscience juge les inductions elles-mêmes, c'est le tribunal où se jugent les inductions. Au-dessus de la conscience est l'intuition, c 'est une conscience éclairée a la façon des anges. L'intuition est beaucoup supérieure à la conscience, c'est une conscience illuminée. Au-dessus de l'intuition est la contemplation, la vision, la béatification.

Partons de la sensation pour arriver par là à la contemplation. Nous avons la forme sympathique qui est supérieure à la sensation. Elle participe déjà au mouvement au cœur. L'animal participe au mouvement de notre cœur par sa forme sympathique, au mouvement de notre esprit par ses instincts, il se trouve concentré dans ce monde. Au-dessus de la sensation est la sympathie, sensation d'un ordre supérieur parce qu'elle unit. Au-dessus de la sympathie est le sentiment qui est bien supérieur, et au-dessus du sentiment, la possession même par une forme mystérieuse, c'est la contemplation. **[94]**

Supposez ces orbes, faits pour se mouvoir, et la vie qui va se retrouver dans l'âme, dans le cœur. Tous ces mouvements, toutes ces copénétration, tout cela existe en Dieu et tout cela s'appelle en Dieu la circumincession. Comme nous sommes faits à l'image de Dieu, tout cela se trouve en nous a l'état d'image, c'est donc la circumincession reproduite en notre être. Tous ces orbes sont faits pour se mouvoir et ils sont ainsi disposes dans la vie. Les sources d'activité que voici ne sont pas chez tous hiérarchisées comme elles le sont là. Il y a des perturbations et souvent cet ordre est absolument renversé dans l'homme. Ainsi, la contemplation pourra être à la place de la sympathie, le sentiment à la place du jugement.

Il y a, entre cet ordre, l'ordre voulu par Dieu et la folie, car la subversion de ces termes serait la folie complète, 27 termes parfaitement déterminables. Ainsi il y a 27 termes de transition entre la sagesse voulue par Dieu et la folie. Chez le fou, tout cela est, le fou a des intuitions, a une conscience, mais dans un ordre subversif ; tout cela ne s'accorde pas, ne s'harmonise pas, tout cela est mal hiérarchisé. **[95]**

M. de Maistre a dit, « je ne sais plus dans quels termes qu'un principe philosophique qui ne découle pas comme de sa source, même d'un dogme, n'est et ne peut être qu'un coupable extravagance. » Pour moi, il m'est assez facile de le démontrer ; ce tableau en est la démonstration parfaite, vous le verrez à l'aisé. Toutes ces subversions qui ne sont pas les mêmes, qui sont au nombre de 26 sont en parfaite conformité, en parfaite affinité avec des systèmes définis qu'ont eu les poètes, qu'ont eu les philosophes. Ainsi toutes les divagations humaines peuvent être rapportées à 26 termes.

Un exemple, car je fais de l'abstrait. Parmi les 26 termes je vais en créer un. Renversons cet orbe, mettons l'intuition a la place de l'instinct. Supposons un homme très raisonnable, et me disant, ce qui m'a été dit souvent. « Mon cher, vous êtes un illuminé, vous été in insensé, vous êtes un fou (on rit.). Vous avez l'air de faire un sermon, ce n'est pas raisonnable, il ne faut croire qu'aux choses démontrées, parfaitement prouvées. »

Je me dis, « Voilà un homme bien raisonnable. » Alors je me demande **[96]** quelle sorte d'évolution s'est opérée un lui. Je l'étudié comme mon tableau. L'induction a pris la place de l'intuition. Le voilà rational, il raisonne, il a substitué aux lumières de l'intuition la logique et la raison ; le voilà raisonnable, mais comme, en définitive, il est dans la nature de tout homme d'être mystérieux, illumine, il ne peut pas ne pas l'être. Il a tout aussi fatalement des intuitions, qu'il a un nez et une bouche, il faut qu'il soit illuminé.

Je me dis, « Par quel côté est-il illuminé ? » Il ne l'est pas à propos de la révélation, il la rejette comme une fable, comme une folie. Je retrouve ses intuitions dans le domaine des sens. Il fait de l'illuminisme sensuel fatalement. Il faut que cette lumière soit quelque part. Il fait de la raison par ici, il fait de l'illuminisme par là. Je demande ce qu'il a substitué dans le domaine de l'entendement aux intuitions. Il y a mis les instincts. Je me dis, « C'est donc pour obéir aux instincts qu'il est si raisonnable [ici], et si illumine par là. »

Toutes ces diverses formes peuvent être ainsi figurées et expliquées, et vous aurez à peu près, par-là, l'histoire du monde. **[97]**

Il y a dans la forme convergeant de ces orbes un fait curieux, c'est l'embrassement de ces termes. Dans ce fait ça explique un roule d'erreurs et beaucoup de discussion, l'embarras où sont les philosophes dans leurs théories ; cela explique dans un mot presque toute la confusion. L'instinct a l'air de se confondre avec le jugement ; il faut être fort pour dire où s'arrête l'instinct et ou commence le jugement. Il y a des actes de l'instinct qui porte un caractère extraordinaire de jugement. Ou s'arrête l'instinct ? Ou commence le jugement ? Voilà la difficulté.

Ici, la confusion qui n'existe pas réellement mais qui a lieu cependant dans beaucoup de tête, où s'arrête la sympathie ? Où commence le sentiment ?

Ici entre l'intuition et la conscience, avoir conscience ou intuition de la chose, il se trouve ici une sorte de confusion.

Que de gens prennent leur sympathie pour le sentiment ! II y a une foule de gens qui croient avoir du sentiment, ce sont des mouvements sympathiques.

Cette ma prise ne peut avoir rien **[98]** qu'à propos ce ces termes... [...] par la forme même de ces cercles, par leur position s'embrassent. Je vous soumets ces trois embrassements comme une difficulté à vaincre, qui ne sera pas bien difficile avec cette figure-là. **[99]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte.

VI Leçon

On s'est plaint de n'avoir pas mes tableaux. Je suis très fâche de n'avoir pas plus tôt songe à les faire autographier. Cependant, ça [ait/aurait] entraîné un certain temps, parce que je n'ai pas un tableau, j'en ai beaucoup. De ce tableau se déduisant beaucoup d'autres tableaux, et il aurait fallu avoir nécessairement avoir tous les tableaux. Je ne fais qu'un exposé. Vous ne supposez pas qu'en dix leçons je puisse vous donner les développements d'un système que je n'ai fait qu'indiquer. Nous en finirons aujourd'hui avec les principes généraux. Désormais je spécifierai, je donnerai les déductions de ce tableau, et, tout a l'heure, nous arriverons, même des aujourd'hui, je l'espère, à la pratique, à constituer ce que j'ai appelé le critérium d'examen.

En suivant les termes de ce triangle, chacun de ces termes est en progression sur ses congénères en partant de la sensation jusqu'à la contemplation. J'ai signalé trois foyers, trois embrassements d'où naissent souvent des confusions. Ainsi, on confond la sympathie et le sentiment, la conscience et l'intuition, l'instinct et le jugement. Je sais bien que beaucoup d'ente vous me diront : « Oh ! Oh ! **[100]** Je ne confondrai pas cela. » Ça se confond chez beaucoup de gens. Quand ça ne se confond pas en théorie, ça se confond en pratique.

Nous avons vu que ces cercles destinés à se mouvoir produisent 27 termes de la sagesse, de cet ordre voulu par Dieu, a la folie. Nous avons vu qu'en renversant ce cercle de l'entendement nous avons le rationalisme, c'est-à-dire l'induction dans le domaine du cœur et l'intuition dans le domaine des sens et par conséquent l'illuminisme. On m'a demandé ce que j'entendais par l'illuminisme vis-à-vis de ce terme : l'intuition. On m'a dit qu'on ne comprenait pas ce qu'on j'entendais par le mot intuition.

Je vais vous montrer ce croisement et vous allez être encore plus convaincu de cette réalité dans l'être. Il y a deux actes très rapproches dans l'homme : la conscience et l'intuition, et qui sont comme une sorte de renversement de faits. Ainsi, la conscience est d'abord un acte de l'intelligence, descendu froidement dans le domaine du cœur pour y peser les actes de l'entendement et pour en peser la moralité. Voilà donc la conscience qui est un fait intellectif qui se passe dans **[101]** le domaine au cœur. Dans l'intuition, c'est tout le contraire, c'est une étincelle qui s'échappe du cœur qui va faire flamboyer le cerveau, et qui fait briller l'acte une expression toute spéciale. Ainsi, l'intuition est un éclair, une illumination qui vient du cœur. C'est le cœur vient battre dans le cerveau. Dans l'autre sens, c'est au contraire le cerveau qui vient opérer dans le cœur. Cette opération du cerveau dans le cœur est froide, naturellement, c'est la conscience qui juge toute chose. Dans l'autre sens c'est un acte qui flamboie, c'est un acte du cœur et comme tous les actes du cœur, c'est un acte chaud et brûlant. L'intuition est un acte de génie, et comme je dis, d'illuminisme. Beaucoup de choses se font rationnellement, on arrive spéculativement à déduire des faits et des conséquences. Le génie ne procédé pas comme ça, il est éclaire. Je ne sais pas pourquoi, mais ça est ! Et il ne se trompe pas.

Renversons maintenant le cercle de la vie, que se passe-t-il ? Nous verrons le sentiment dans le domaine de l'entendement, nous verrons le jugement passer dans le domaine de la vie. Ça créera un état singulier, l'état par exemple, **[102]** des gens qui ont le cœur est dans cerveau, et il y en a beaucoup. Il ne faut pas s'étonner du prodigieux développement encéphalique de beaucoup de poètes. Le cœur est dans le cerveau. Seulement ne frappez pas au cœur, il est vide de sentiments. Ainsi, par exemple, il y a des gens qui

adorent l'humanité et qui sont des tyrans de leur femme et de leurs enfants et ils sont toujours en querelle avec leurs voisins. Ceux-là ont le cœur logé dans le cerveau, et ils doivent avoir le cerveau développe.

Si, au contraire, nous mettons le sentiment a la place de la sensation, nous aurons le jugement là. Ça sera encore un singulier état, un état assez fréquent. Il y a des gens qui ne veulent pas laisser tuer une petite bête, une fourmi. « Prenez garde. C'est une araignée. Mettez-la dehors, mais ne la tuez pas surtout. » Ils montrent une sensibilité excessive à l'endroit des animaux. Vous frappez au cœur ces gens-là, un pauvre, un malheureux se présente. Si les sentiments siègent là, nous allons trouver la raison ici. Aussi, on spéculera et on dira : « Tu me demandes l'aumône, tu es bien fort, tu es bien bâti, pourquoi ne travaille-tu **[103]** pas ? Te faire l'aumône, c'est encourager le vice, par conséquent, je ne dois pas faire l'aumône. » Tel autre aura vraiment mérité, aura toutes les conditions qui désirent solliciter de la part de ce cœur une bonne œuvre, on dira à celui-là : « J'ai mes pauvres, je n'ai rien à faire pour vous. »

Tous ces actes étant fatalement inhérents à notre être puisqu'ils sont nécessaires à notre organisme mystique ; ces organes de notre corps sont co-nécessaires entre eux. Il faut si la sensibilité est quelque part, que la raison soit ailleurs. Il y a, je ne dis pas mille représentations, il y a en a 27 et les développements s'élèvent à 81. C'est une somme qui se retrouve partout. Cet organisme intime de l'homme se retrouve dans les faits naturels partout. Nous aurons donc à examiner une sérié de phénomènes déduits, comme se déduisent ceux-là, harmoniquement constitués comme ceux-là. St. Denis l'Aréopagite a dit que les choses de ce monde ont leur type dans l'esprit, et puis il a ajouté que les esprits avaient **[104]** leur type en Dieu qui est tout en tous.

Avant de pénétrer dans le domaine des faits et avant de vous donner une mesure matérielle des faits, je désire vous montrer un type supérieur au nôtre et qui est comme le prototype de notre être. Je me suis longtemps demandé, après m'être examiné, et après avoir constaté ces balancements et ces mouvements dans l'être, et après avoir constaté que nous étions, en définitive, mystiquement organisés les uns comme les autres, qu'il n'y a qu'un changement de place, que toute la différence consistât au cela, je me suis dit. « Il doit y avoir un bout de ses aspirations, de ces activités qui sont en nous, une sorte de perfection typique, déterminée quelque part. »

Ainsi dans les phénomènes matériels, le jaune, le bleu, le rouge. Je n'ai jamais vu dans la nature ces couleurs là à l'état typique. J'ai en moi le type, la certitude que la chose existe, mais je n'ai jamais vu un jaune qui n'eût une tendance vers le rouge ou une tendance vers le bleu, je n'ai **[105]** jamais vu le jaune pur, j'ai cependant la certitude que ça existe.

Il n'est pas dans la nature, ce type est en moi. Puisque je juge que ce n'est pas pur, j'ai donc en moi le criterium de cette vérité. Cela existe, puisque j'en ai l'idée, mais ce n'est pas dans les phénomènes de la nature. Il semble crue la déchéance de l'homme ait entrainé une déchéance universelle dans la nature. Je ne vois rien à l'état typique dans le monde ; cependant ces types j'en ai le sentiment. Je me suis dit : « Puisque les choses de ce monde ne sont perçues qu'à la manière du percevant, si le percevant est imparfait, les perceptions sont nécessairement, fatalement imparfaites. » Si donc un être était plus parfait que moi, il percevrait plus que moi. Je voudrais constater cette perfection vers laquelle je tends. J'ai longtemps cherché, je me suis dit : « À chaque expression il doit y avoir un postulatum, un idéal, et cet idéal doit avoir une certaine réalité. » J'ai cherché longtemps. **[106]**

Alors le livre de St. Denis l'Aréopagite m'est tombe dans les mains, et là j'aurais été foudroyé que je n'aurais pas été plus ému, plus pénétré, plus heureux, que lorsque j'aperçus

cette hiérarchie angélique, lorsque je vis qu'elle était tout simplement la clé de l'explication de ces phénomènes qui sont en moi, qu'elle était la forme typique, réelle de chacun des actes, et qu'elle en était l'explication. Je ne veux pas vous tenir longtemps sur cette question, il faut cependant la toucher.

Il y a trois hiérarchies, une hiérarchie forte, une hiérarchie savante, une hiérarchie sacrée, correspondant l'une aux puissances de la vie, l'autre aux puissances de l'intelligence, l'autre à l'âme. Ce qu'est vie chez les anges est mémoire chez l'homme. Ce qui est entendement en nous, est lumière chez eux, c'est la vision même, et ce qui est volonté chez nous est perfection chez eux. Alors, je me suis aperçu que chacun de ces termes exprimaient la forme idéale de ceux qui sont en nous. **[107]**

Ainsi trois hiérarchies, une hiérarchie forte qui résume toutes les puissances de la vie, une hiérarchie savante qui représente la science et les trois mondes dont j'ai parlé, et une hiérarchie sacrée qui représente le monde de la grâce. Il y a des choses merveilleuses à observer dans l'organisme même de ces hiérarchies ; c'est que, par exemple, le plus puissant des chœurs dans la hiérarchie, ce sont les Séraphins, c'est l'amour. C'est une chose prodigieuse de grâce et de charme. Il ne se peut pas faire qu'il y ait de la jalousie dans cette inégalité dans cette hiérarchie, qu'il y ait au trouble. La plus haute expression est la plus aidante, la plus amoureuse. Ainsi, les principautés qui jugent rigoureusement et rectifient les actes des ordres inférieurs, c'eut été peut-être une autorité dure. Si les dominations eussent été là, peut-être y eut-il eu quelque chose. Mais non, c'est l'amour pur, ce sont les brûlants séraphin qui répandent sur leur subordonnes l'amour dont ils sont inondés. **[108]**

Nous avons vu une sérié dans les actes ; il y en a une e également ici. Nous trouverons des forces qui passent à l'état de puissances, qui s'élèvent à l'état de domination, qui resplendissent là comme des trônes, qui siègent et qui trônent ; enfin ce sont les Séraphin qui brûlent et nous meut. Voyez la progression, les puissances s'éclairent, ce sont des lumières, les dominations échauffent, les trônes brulent, les Séraphins consument.

Les puissances sont en face des sensations. On pourrait dire en quelque sorte que nos sensations sont nos puissances, et ce que la révélation dit des puissances est parfaitement applicable aux sens. Ainsi les puissances éclairent. Qu'est-ce qu'on peut dire de plus ou de mieux sur les sens. Les sens sont les puissances en vertu desquelles l'homme s'éclaire sur les choses.

Les sympathies sont en face des dominations. Qu'est-ce qui peut mieux caractérise les sympathies que ce mot. Il est dit des dominations qu'elles échauffent. Je vous demande s'il y a quelque chose de plus parfaitement **[109]** convenable au mot symbolise.

Si nos sympathies sont nos dominations, que seront donc nos sentiments, puisque nos sentiments sont au-dessus des sympathies. Ils sont en face des trônes. Ils trônent en nous. Qu'elle est la mission des trônes ? Ici, je n'invente pas un mot, je prends les mots tels que je les trouve. Ils fixent et embrasent. Est-il possible de dire quelque chose de plus vrai, de plus expressif en vue au sentiment ? Est-ce que le sentiment ne fixe pas l'être ? Est-ce qu'il ne l'embrase pas ? Je ne vois rien de plus éloquent.

Passons aux Séraphins. Qu'est-ce que la contemplation ? Nous avons un cœur, nous contemplons, nous vivons extrinsèquement à nous-mêmes, nous vivons dans l'être aimé, nous ne vivons plus en nous, nous nous transformons. Les Séraphins contemplent Dieu et ils ont pour mission de consumer et de transfigurer. Il faut que l'homme charnel, terrestre, soit consumé, brûlée pour être enfin unit à Dieu, transfiguré.

En prenant ce côté, nous trouverons toujours la même chose. C'est une admirable correspondance.

Les instincts sont en face des vertus. **[110]** Ils peuvent certainement être appelées nos vertus ; c'est un esprit providentiel. Vous connaissez l'instinct de conservation ; l'instinct produit des choses merveilleuses. Ce que ne saurait produire la raison et aucun des autres actes, l'instinct l'accomplit. C'est notre force ; l'instinct fortifie, les vertus fortifient.

Que sont nos jugements ? On pourrait bien dire que les jugements sont les interprètes de la pensée. Je crois qu'ils ont été appelés comme ça quelquefois. Ils sont en face des anges, tout naïvement. Je ne l'ai pas cherché. Les anges sont les interprètes de la parole divine, Quelle est leur mission ? C'est d'instruire. Par quelle faculté l'homme s'instruit-il ? Par ses jugements.

J'ai dit que l'induction était le jugement des jugements ; c'est la marche même de l'esprit d'un principe à ses conséquences. Elles se trouvent en face des archanges. Quelle est la mission des archanges ? Les archanges guident infailliblement vers la vérité et l'archanges est représenté avec le glaive comme pour saper, tout ce qui s'oppose à la marche de l'homme vers Dieu, vers sa perfection. (Bien. Bien !) **[111]**

Les inductions sont déjà une sorte de conscience du jugement. Les inductions sont à leur tour jugés par la conscience. On dit de la conscience qu'elle est un tribunal. La conscience, chose curieuse, se trouve en face des principautés. Les principautés constituent, parmi les anges, le tribunal où se jugent les Anges et les Archanges ; comme la conscience est un tribunal où nos inductions et nos jugements sont jugés à leur tour et pesés en dernière analyse.

Les intuitions sont en face des Chérubin. Il est dit des chérubins qu'ils une la claire intuition de la science divine. Ils sont à la science divine ce que les Séraphins sont à l'amour divin, et ce que les anges sont à la substance même au père et à la puissance de Dieu. L'homme reçoit la lumière supérieure, immense, qui n'est pas la lumière rationnelle, qui est une autre lumière, lumière flamboyante par voie d'intuition.

L'homme se trouve, par la béatification, par la contemplation, par la vision même, métamorphosé.

Je n'ai pas l'intention, sur cette **[112]** matière, d'en dire davantage. Il y a des splendeurs immenses, des choses ravissantes, mais ça n'est pas de nature à l'avis de tout le monde. Par conséquent, je n'irai pas au-delà. Ici la close était nécessaire. Il fallait que je déterminasse d'une façon sérieuse le but, le terme de perfection vers lequel chacun de nos actes aboutissent. Voilà les formes typiques déterminées. Maintenant nous prendrons une voie inverse. Nous irons aux phénomènes matériels. Voilà le prototype de notre être. Notre être est le type des choses que nous aurons à voir. Au-dessus de tout cela, il y a l'archétype qui est Dieu.

Je résumerai le tableau que je vous ai présente par un mot que j'emprunte aux musiciens, mot auquel je n'attache pas le sens qu'ils y attachent, c'est à dire l'accord de neuvième. L'accord de neuvième est le critérium universel des sciences et des arts. Il a été posé par Dieu dans création même des anges. Les anges constituent le prototype de tous les choses créés, et quiconque a médité un peu ce magnifique accord est initié tout de suite à tous les accords possibles. Tout ce qu'on peut voir **[113]** dans le monde n'est pas autre chose que la réverbération de ce magnifique accord. Or le monde est l'image que l'homme résume. Ainsi, on peut dire, et cela a été dit, que l'homme possède en lui toute la Jérusalem céleste.

Elle se réverbère en lui. Il est en affinité directe avec tous les chœurs que j'ai signalé, comme il l'est avec toute la création, avec la matière. Il est en rapport avec la matière, et il parvient à faire passer son esprit en elle ; il spiritualise la matière et s'élève par la voie de ces esprits avec laquelle il est en parfaite communication. Toujours est-il que sans aller plus loin, cela constitue un accord que j'appelle un accord de neuvième. Quiconque voudra expérimenter, étudier quoique ce soit, y trouvera cet accord de neuvième parce que Dieu se retrouve partout dans ses créatures. Son estampille, son adorable trinité est partout, non seulement sa trinité, mais ses circumincessions est par conséquent ce magnifique accord de neuvième en dehors duquel il est très difficile d'être suffisamment a éclaire sur les choses. **[114]**

C'est donc de là que j'ai au partir, c'est à cela que j'ai à rapporter tous les phénomènes de l'art. Ça se trouve partout dans les choses les plus simples, les plus usuelles, celles qui semblent le moins ressortit des phénomènes de l'intelligence, et qui semblent les plus conventionnelles.

Il semble que des voyelles il y en a un peu plus par ici, un peu moins par-là, il semble qu'il n'y a pas la une hiérarchie. Elle existe en accord de la hiérarchie dont je parlais tout a l'heure. Il y a toujours un principe unitaire qui résume en lui tous les traits de l'accord. Je vais prendre pour terme générique la voyelle a.

Cet a nécessairement une triple physionomie ; il est alternativement concentrique, normal, et excentrique. Il exprime des phénomènes sombres, des phénomènes aimables, de phénomènes normaux. Je dirai que le même mot exprimerait cela. Ainsi on dira d'une femme qu'elle est aimable. On dira avec une certaine fâcherie ; aimable. Je prononce un o. Il serait très gauche dans cette situation de dire aimable ; ce serait un contre sens, ce n'est pas dans la nature. Notre accentuation ; la prononciation **[115]** des sentiments [...]

Il y a donc trois physionomies dans l'a. Il est a normal, l'a italien par exemple ; il est a aigu et a grave. Nous allons faire découler des trois familles de voyelles et chaque famille sera une triplicité spéciale.

à	a	á
o	e	è
au	eu	e
ou	u	i

Cherchez en dehors de ceci un son [simple], vous n'en trouverez pas. Je vais trouver pourtant quatre. Ces trois a prononcés en abaissant le voilà au palais vous donnent an. Chaque famille a sa nasale spéciale. Il n'y a pas en dehors de ceux-ci de sons qui ne soient une décomposition de ceux-là.

on un in.

Voulez-vous savoir ce que signifie le [rôle] d'un individu ? Il va rire alternativement sur une voyelle et à chaque voyelle vous pourrez être certain qu'il est dans une situation parfaitement déterminée. **[116]**

S'il rit sur l'i, il a fait un mauvais tour à quelqu'un. S'il rit sur l'o, il est forcé ; s'il rit sur l'e. Il n'a rien dans le cœur et peut-être dans la tête. De o à au voilà l'expression concentrique.

Ceci est un petit exemple que je donne en passant pour montrer que rien n'est fait par hasard, tout a sa raison, et comme je vous le disais, tout dans le monde est nombré, mesuré, pesé. Il y a une raison dans toutes choses, à l'insu de l'homme souvent.

Je vais vous donner l'accord de neuvième sur un autre type favorable à l'inscription des faits que je vous ai donnes. Permettez-moi, en passant, de faire remarquer une singulière inconvenance de la part de beaucoup d'idéologues qui traitent le jugement de faculté. On dit les facultés de l'entendement. Il n'y a pas de facultés dans l'entendement. L'entendement a la faculté de connaître. En dehors de là, il n'y a que des opérations, des actes. Il y a neuf sources d'activité dans l'homme, mais trois, et non pas neuf facultés. Nous allons reproduire ces neufs actes sous une forme beaucoup plus facile, **[117]** plus usuelle, et qui va servir à inscrire tous les phénomènes que nous examinerez.

L'accord de neuvième de chaque fait, ces neuf termes dont il se compose, doivent se trouver casé d'avance et si vous n'avez pas cela, vous n'avez pas la synthèse. Ainsi, il a fallu neuf espèces d'idées pour exprimer une langue, et non pas dix. Nous en avons dix, mais l'article n'est pas une idée spéciale. Vous verrez neuf partout. De même qu'il y a les neuf chœurs angéliques, vous trouvez les neuf muses, vous trouvez neuf comme l'expression de l'absolue perfection, et là où vous n'aurez pas neuf, vous n'aurez pas l'absolue vérité. Il y a quelque chose comme 30 ans que j'examine ces choses. Je ne suis pas parti de ce point de vue, j'y suis arrivé fatalement.

Pour que ce tableau devienne profitable et fécond dans ces applications, je vous conseillerai d'y mettre en rouge la couleur de la vie, en bleu celle de l'esprit, et en jaune celle de l'âme. Vous savez que nous devons chiffrer ces choses 1, 2, 3. Si on n'avait pas un moyen aussi simple d'inscrire des faits si nombreux que j'ai poursuivis, qui **[118]** s'élèvent à des millions, on se perdrait dans ces millions de faits, tandis que ça devient très clair en suivant ce moyen-là. Voilà 2 le cerveau l'esprit ; 3 le cœur, le foyer ; 1 les sens. Voilà donc trois genres, genre vital, genre intellectif, et genre animique. Nous reproduirons cela comme trois espèces, et pour que le tableau soit bien plein, il faut mettre les colonnes verticales également en rouge, bleu et jaune. Vous avez ainsi neuf expressions en parfaite analogie et en parfaite affinité avec phénomènes que vous inscrirez. Ce sera une mnémonique très simple et très intéressante.

	1	**3**	**2**
2	1-2 jugement	3-2 conscience	2-2 induction
3	1-3 sentiment	3-3 contemplation	2-3 intuition
1	1-1 sensation	3-1 sympathie	2-1 instinct

[119]

L'âme est la contemplation 33. L'intelligence dans le domaine de l'esprit c'est l'induction 22. La vie c'est la sensation 11. Nous avons es anciens chiffres, par conséquent les termes essentiels de chaque genre.

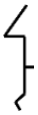
Maintenant la vie animique, c'est le sentiment 13 ; l'intelligence animique, c'est l'intuition, 23.

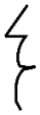
L'animisme vital ce sera la sympathie 31. L'intelligence vitale sera l'instinct 21.

La vie de l'intelligence sera le jugement 12 ; l'âme de l'intelligence sera la conscience 32.

Vous retrouverez, dans ce cadre, les embrassements que j'avais constatés dans les cercles, dans les circumincessions. En effet, les chiffres ne se trouvent les mêmes nulle part, mais ils se trouvent renversés, 32, 23. Ce sont des phénomènes semblables mais en sens inverse qui se contiennent et se pénètrent. Ainsi, la conscience et l'intuition s'entrassent. Nous retrouvons une analogie de chiffres oui nous ramène à un embrassement dans la sympathie, 31, et le sentiment, 13 ; de même entre le jugement 12, et l'instinct 21. Il n'y a pas confusion, **[120]** mais on s'explique pourquoi il y a autant de rapports entre ces phénomènes.

Nous allons trouver dans les phénomènes matériels la même déduction. Nous allons géométralement prouver le fait, et alors vous ferez le reste vous-même, pour les phénomènes matériels, pour les formes, pour les phénomènes phonétiques, dynamiques, etc. Nous trouvons toujours des phénomènes excentriques, normaux ou concentriques. En thèse générale, les expressions intellectives sont de nature concentrique ; tout ce qui est réfléchi est recueilli et concentré. Tout ce qui au contraire est essentiellement vital est véhément, excentrique. Voici pourquoi les mouvements excentriques ont une tendance à s'exalter, ils sont à la base. Les mouvements intellectifs qui sont dans le cerveau sont de nature concentrique. Ils sont au sommet. Ces mouvements sont ceux que j'ai qualifiés l'autre jour de circulaires, directs et obliques.

Je prends une simple ligne : nous aurons des types curvilignes. 

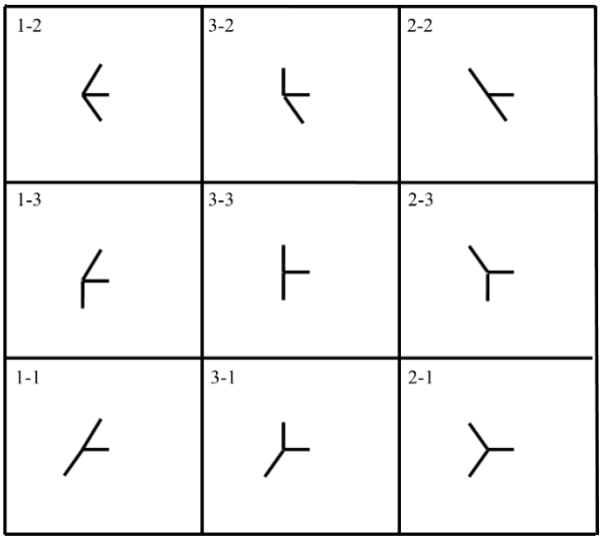
Je vais faire une charge à dessein. Je ne peux pas faire un beau dessein, **[121]** d'ailleurs, j'en serais incapable. Nous aurons un profil excentrique, 

et un profile concentrique. 

Parmi ces trois types, celui-ci sera le plus intelligent, celui-ci, le plus juste, celui-là le plus fort. Ceci correspond à la vie, ceci est plus intellectif, ceci est plus animique.

Prenons individuellement un type. Nous aurons son accord de neuvième individuel, ce qui fera 9 fois 9, 81. Une synthèse, quelle qu'elle soit nous donnera toujours dans ses développements 81 termes ; de sorte que vous pouvez savoir d'avance ou vous allez, et si vous n'avez pas 81 termes, vous n'avez pas votre synthèse.

Prenons ce qui correspondra à la lèvre supérieure comme espèce, et à la lèvre inférieure comme genre. Nous nous en expliquerons plus tard, voyons comment ça se déduit matériellement.



[122]

Nous avons ici les mêmes correspondances que nous avons signalés tout a l'heure. Si, par exemple, on plaçait en face les ceux profils (2-1 et 1-2) ils s'emboiteraient l'un dans autre.

Dans l'œil comme clans tous les traits, nous aurons à examiner neuf expressions primordiales. Il y a dans l'œil trois agents à considérer : un agent optique, un agent palpébral, la paupière, et un agent sourcilier. Chacun de ces agents à son sens spécial, nous allons voir comment ils se conjuguent. Il y a d'ailleurs au point de vue du premier agent, que j'ai appelé agent optique, trois regards : un regard direct, qui est convergent, les yeux convergent vers l'objet qu'on examine, à tel point que, si l'objet était là, on loucherait et on peut avec quelque habitude déterminer en voyant deux yeux à peu près la distance de l'objet regardé. Il y a un regard vertigineux qui est un regard parallèle. Si les deux yeux sont parallèlement projetés en avant ils voient double. Quand l'homme est en état d'ivresse, il voit double parce que les yeux ne convergent **[123]** pas. Entre ces deux regards, il y a un regard que j'appellerai extatique, c'est à dire qu'il est convergent, mais que l'objet perçu est tellement distant qu'on ne peut pas déterminer la distance. La convergence n'est pas appréciable. C'est l'expression de la rêverie.

Nous n'allons-nous occuper que d'un de ces regards, quand nous en aurons un, nous aurons les trois. Prenons donc le regard direct. Je laisse de côté l'agent optique puisque nous n'en avons plus besoin ; il est direct pour tous les phénomènes que nous aurons à constater. Occupons-nous du sourcil. Primordialement, il y a trois phénomènes à déterminer. Le sourcil est excentrique, concentrique ou normal. Nous aurons a déduite de là neuf termes.

Prenons l'œil normal. C'est une expression incolore, ça ne détermine rien. Avec le sourcil à l'état excentrique, nous avons une différence, c'est-à-dire une partie de nous qui tend véhémentement vers quelque chose et une autre qui dit : « Ceci n'est pas la peine. » Voilà la partie sensitive qui aspire et l'intelligence qui dit : « Ça ne vaut rien, ça n'a pas de valeur. » Avec ce sourcil concentrique, qu'est-ce **[124]** que nous allons avoir ? De la fatigue, de l'ennui, un esprit mai dispose parce qu'il y a contention d'une partie de l'être, et une autre qui résisté, oui dit : « Je ne vaux pas m'en occuper, ça m'ennuie. »

Prenons l'œil et faisons-le varier dans le même sens, nous aurons tous un sourcil normal, un œil excentrique, et nous aurons la stupeur. Il y a encore contrariété ici. Une partie aspire très véhémentement vers une chose et l'autre est impuissante à la seconder. Je vous ai dit que l'œil est particulièrement un agent intellectif, ce n'est pas un agent sensitif, ce n'est

pas un agent animique, mais un agent purement intellectif. Il ne désigne que les divers états de l'esprit. Avec cet œil excentrique, si le sourcil se lève, tout est véhément. Voilà un état aspiratif. Ce sera l'étonnement, l'aspiration. Une foule de phénomènes viendront se grouper sous l'empire de ce mouvement, mais il est véhément par excellence, il est aspiratif.

Si le sourcil s'abaissait véhémentement avec un œil ouvert, qu'est-ce que ce serait ? Il y a des gens **[125]** qui diraient : « C'est la colère. » Ce n'est pas vrai. Ça exprime un état de l'esprit indépendamment de tout ce que peuvent dire les sens et le cœur. Ce phénomène signifie la fermeté d'esprit, l'état de volonté indépendamment de toute autre chose. Ce peut être de l'attention. Il y a peut-être de la colère. Ce peut être beaucoup de choses.

Maintenant, il peut y avoir, par exemple, l'œil a l'état concentrique, le sourcil a l'état normal, c'est du sommeil et de la fatigue. Si ce sourcil est véhément, contrairement à la concentration de l'œil, ce sera du mépris. Ce ne sera pas de l'indifférence, ce sera du mépris parce que ce ne sera pas seulement dire : « La chose dont tu veux te préoccuper n'en vaut pas la peine. » Ce sera dire : « La close dont tu te préoccupés ne vaut rien, je proteste absolument, je ferme les yeux. »

Y-a-t-il convergence ou plutôt parallélisme dans cette concentration ? Le sourcil va-t-il se concentrer avec l'œil ? Il y a la contention de l'esprit. C'est un esprit qui cherche, qui ne **[126]** possède pas encore.

Voilà les neuf expressions primordiales. Je vais les figurer. [Ce sera] atrocement dessiné, je ferais une abominable charge. Mais pourvu que cela exprime à peu près ce que je veux, c'est tout ce qu'il faut.

	sourcil véhément	sourcil normal	sourcil concentrique
œil concentrique	[Sourcil élevé Œil demi-fermé][757] mépris	[Sourcil normal Œil demi-fermé] fatigue	[Sourcil froncé Œil demi-fermé] contemplation du l'esprit
œil normal	[Sourcil élevé Œil normal] indifférence	[Sourcil normal Œil normal] état incolore	[Sourcil froncé Œil normal] ennui
œil véhément	[Sourcil élevé Œil très ouvert] état aspiratif	[Sourcil normal Œil très ouvert] stupeur	[Sourcil froncé Œil très ouvert] fermeté

[757] Descriptions in square brackets taken from Giraudet, *Mimique*, 36.

J’ai oublié un point intéressant sur lequel je reviendrai un autre jour quand mon esprit sera moins fatigué, la forme plastique et ses neuf affinités qui sont en nous. C’est un travail qui n’a pas été fait, mais qui se réalisera il faut l’espérer et se sera une très belle chose. **[127]**

Maintenant il pourra y avoir une inclination dans le sourcil, dans un sens ou dans l’autre. Le sommet du sourcil s’exalte. Ainsi, dans l’état concentrique, il y a trois types à signaler, ce qui va nous faire 27 mouvements primordiaux.

La paupière peut être contractée inférieurement. Il faut donc avec ce mouvement examiner les 27 premiers. Ça fait deux fois 27.

Il peut se faire qu’un mouvement de la joue fasse contracter l’œil dans le sens inverse et puis la contraction peut être totale. Ça fait 81 en vue du regard normal.

Maintenant cet œil qui est direct pourrait être direct inférieurement : ça va nous faire deux fois 81, car ce sont des expressions très distinctes qui ne peuvent pas se confondre.

Maintenant ce mouvement pourra avoir lieu par en haut, ça fera 3 fois 81.

Le mouvement peut être externe et supérieure. Il peut être simplement externe. Il peut être inférieurement externe. À chacune de ces manifestations est attaché un sens spécial **[128]** qui ne se peut confondre avec aucun des mouvements antécédents.

Faites autant pour les trois regards dont j’ai parlé, ça fera comme 8 à 900 mouvements.

Tout cela parait compliqué mais quand on a la clé des choses primordiales, les choses sont simples. Le tableau, par la place qui y occupent les choses est une explication anticipée des choses qu’on aura à examiner. **[129]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte.

VII Leçon

Nous pourrons dire quelques mots encore du critérium que nous avons posé l’autre jour, mais je suis effrayé de tout ce que j’ai à vous dire aujourd’hui sur le geste. Il nous aurait bien fallu dix séances pour traiter sérieusement de cette matière. J’ai eu de très violents maux de tête hier encore et aujourd’hui et j’avais un plan à faire. [...] que je me suis trouvé effrayé devant ce plan, j’avais tant de déductions à faire, tant de choses à vous donner que je n’ai dû faire qu’au hasard quelques choix. Cependant, nous reviendrons sur un type, nous ferons l’application sur un type parce qu’il faut que je prouve la fécondité de ce critérium. Nous déduirons toutes les modifications d’un simple type, de la bouche, par exemple, et nous en déduirons les sommes indiquées. J’ai dit que cela allait jusqu’à 28 000 000. Nous dépasserons ce nombre-là, et j’ai à vous prouver cela. Cela prouvé pour la bouche, je me dispenserai de démontrer le reste. Je vous donnerai donc quelques exemples dynamiques comme exemples relatifs au geste, nous parlerons des **[130]** lois essentielles du geste, et je le répète, je ne pourrai pas vous donner toutes les déductions logiquement parce qu’il y aurait trop de choses à vous dire.

Le geste comprend d’abord trois choses : la statique comme base, la dynamique comme centre et la séméiotique comme sommet. La statique sera l’équipondération des puissances dont la dynamique présentera l’activité. La séméiotique exprimera la raison d’être

de ces mouvements. Ainsi, ces trois choses sont co-nécessaires entre elles, et répondent aux trois divisions déjà posées : à la vie, à l'âme et à l'esprit. Cette analogie se retrouve partout. Tous les actes avec lesquels nous sommes, et nous devons être en relation, doivent être en rapport avec ces trois puissances de notre être : vie, esprit, âme. [Une/Tout] chose qui ne correspond pas à notre être par ce triple côté n'est pas vraie. C'est ainsi que ce critérium peut même servir de base à la vérité elle-même. Il faut que l'accord de neuvième se reproduise partout, et si une philosophie a la prétention d'être la vérité, il faut qu'elle accomplisse cet accord de neuvième, en un mot, qu'elle **[131]** corresponde à toutes nos activités.

Je reprends. Ainsi statique, dynamique et séméiotique. Vous m'éntendrez plusieurs fois, vous avez déjà peut-être remarqué, on s'est peut-être étonné de m'entendre parler de dynamique au point de vue du geste. Quand je parle du geste au point de vue de son activité, de sa puissance, je l'appelle dynamique : la dynamique humaine, la dynamique transcendante. C'est la grande dynamique, c'est celle du bon Dieu. Ces trois puissances, le geste par excellence, constituent ensemble l'esthétique et toutes les puissances dont nous avons parlé phonétiques et articulées, jointes surtout au geste constitueraient l'esthétique. C'est un mot dont on a tant abusé qu'on a peut-être trouvé étrange que j'emploie ce grand mot. Ce mot semble avoir été fait exprès pour l'art que je professe, car si l'esthétique est l'expression du sentiment, nous ne pouvons connaître du sentiment que des manifestations. Ce sera donc la science des manifestations du sentiment. À ce titre ce mot me convient. **[132]**

Nous aurons à examiner trois choses essentielles, des types, des attitudes, qui sont des types actifs, et des inflexions.

Il y a trois sortes de types dans l'homme. Il y a des types constitutionnels, des types formels, les type qu'on apporte en naissant, et puis il y a des types fugitifs que j'appellerai passionnels, et puis il y a une troisième sorte de type : ce sont les types que j'appelle habituels, c'est- à-dire que les types passionnels très fréquemment reproduits chez un homme modifient son être myologique et arrivent même à modifier ses os, de sorte qu'il se forme en lui une constitution particulière. De là vient qu'on dit que l'habitude est une seconde nature. En effet, l'habitude d'un mouvement façonne l'être matériel, l'être physique, de sorte qu'elle crée un type qui n'est pas de naissance, que j'appelle habituel.

Voilà comment je suis arrivé à reconnaître les types constitutionnels. J'ai étudié le sens des mouvements du corps, et puis j'ai étudié l'action profonde que pouvait exercer sur le corps l'habitude de ces mouvements, et comme le type produit par ces mouvements était en parfaite analogie **[133]** avec des types formels, constitutionnels, je suis arrivé par cette analogie à induire de la forme passionnelle des phénomènes constants chez l'homme. Ainsi, tous les types formels se rapportent à des types passionnels. Les types passionnels expliquent des types habituels, et les types habituels expliquent des types constitutionnels, de sorte qu'il suffira pour nous de connaître la somme des mouvements possibles d'un organe et d'en étudier le sens pour arriver à cette séméiotique dont je parlais, pour arriver à déterminer parfaitement la raison d'être d'une forme.

Maintenant nous aurons à étudier des séries d'attitudes que nous diviserons en attitudes céphaliques, torsales et membrales : attitudes de tête, de torse et de membres.

Puis nous aurons des inflexions. Les inflexions comprennent trois sortes de mouvements : des mouvements de flexion, de rotation et d'abduction. Les anatomistes emploient souvent ces termes. Ainsi, il y a trois sortes de mouvements affectés à chaque geste, et la plupart du temps, ils se combinent entre eux et constituent une forme synthétique. **[134]**

Ces trois mouvements se rapportent aux trois mouvements primordiaux qui caractérisent les mouvements de l'âme, de l'esprit et de la vie, c'est-à-dire aux mouvements directs, circulaires et obliques. Les mouvements de flexion seront les mouvements directs ; les mouvements de rotation se rapporteront aux mouvements circulaires, et les mouvements d'abduction se rapporteront aux mouvements obliques.

Vous remarquerez que la somme des éléments que je viens de signaler constitue neuf termes co-essentiellement unis, ce qui forme un accord de neuvième.

Maintenant pour comprendre la portée des types dont nous avons parlé, des attitudes et des inflexions, il faut que nous divisions chaque partie céphalique, tarsale et membrale, en autant de zone. Un geste quelconque se met en rapport avec le sujet, et avec l'objet, et il est assez rare qu'un mouvement qui se porte vers un objet ne touche pas la double forme. Ainsi, quand nous disons qu'une chose est admirable, nous partons d'une des parties de notre corps, d'une foule de **[135]** centres dont il s'agit de déterminer le sens. Dès que nous le saurons, comprenant le point de départ, nous comprendrons encore mieux le point d'arrivée. La division que je vais vous donner n'est pas faite à plaisir. Elle sera très utile. Surtout ne m'écoutez pas avec vos préoccupations. Vous critiquerez plus tard, si vous pouvez. Si je me permets de dire cela, ce n'est pas que j'aie grande foi en moi, je me méprise souverainement, mais j'ai le bonheur d'admirer le grand principe parce qu'il m'est supérieur.

Il a été convenu que nous placerions ainsi nos chiffres : 1 pour la mesure, 2 pour le nombre, 3 pour le poids, c'est-à-dire la vie, l'esprit et l'âme. Nous aurons 1 comme expression vitale, 2 comme expression intellective et 3 comme expression animique. Voilà trois zones que nous appelons : buccale, génale et frontale. Nous retrouvons la même division dans un autre sens, expression physique, expression animique. L'expression intellective est unique, mais nous trouvons des mouvements vitaux en correspondance avec l'occiput et des mouvements animiques en correspondance avec les **[136]** pariétaux.

Sections occipitale, pariétale, frontale, génale, et buccale.

Maintenant nous diviserons la poitrine en centre thoracique, centre épigastrique et centre abdominal.

Nous diviserons le bras en trois centres : articulaire, les mouvements deltoïdiens, bronchial [cubitaux],[758] carpien. Voilà les trois foyers ; il est très important de les connaître.

Il n'est pas indifférent d'admettre ces divisions. Je suppose cette exclamation : « C'est admirable ! » Il y a des gens qui en le disant partent de l'épaule, d'autres du foyer d'hématose, d'autres du foyer abdominal. Voilà trois types très distincts. J'ai oublié de vous dire que les chiffres sont toujours les mêmes : 1 abdominal, 2 thoracique, 3 épigastrique. Vous devinez qu'il y a quelque chose de plus élevé au point de vue de l'intelligence quand le mouvement se fait en partant du centre thoracique, ça touche l'honneur, la dignité ; qu'il y a quelque chose de très animique, de très touchant dans ce geste (du centre épigastrique) : « C'est beau ! C'est admirable ! Je ne sais pas, mais ça me fait plaisir ! » ; et qu'il y a quelque chose de sensuel, **[137]** de bonhomme, de bête là (centre abdominal).

Nous trouvons la même chose relativement à la tête. Il y a des gens que l'émotion frappe violemment, et qui se prennent la tête comme cela (le menton). Voilà le mouvement de la vie, voilà des instincts. Voilà les sentiments, les affections les plus nobles (les joues). Voilà les mouvements d'intelligence (le front). Ici, on cherche un moyen de sortir

[758] The manuscript here reads "bronchial," but should read "cubitaux."

d'embarras. Là on ne cherche pas. Là il y a une recherche purement physique, on s'en prend à sa force, on veut donner des coups de poing.

Une infinité de mouvements que je n'ai pas besoin de donner partent de ces divers sièges. Nous voilà déjà au point de vue séméiotique, au point de vue du sens particulier de ces plans, très éclairés par le point de départ même des choses.

Je parlais des trois centres articulaires, du bras. J'appelle ces foyers des thermomètres. Le carpe est le thermomètre de la vie physique, organique. L'épaule est le thermomètre de la vie sensitive. Le coude est le thermomètre de la vie de relation. **[138]**

Il y a fort longtemps que j'ai fait cette découverte. Ça a été une de mes premières remarques que tous les cadavres ont cela de commun, qu'ils rentrent le pouce. Après cette observation faite, j'ai observé des moribonds et ça a été un symptôme pour moi parfaitement évident d'une mort prochaine, de sorte que je sais à peu près par là ce qu'un homme a à vivre. Voilà donc ce que j'ai inféré de ceci pour l'art. Si le caractère de la mort est dans l'induction du pouce, l'abduction du pouce doit être l'expression d'un phénomène opposé, de la die, et devient surabondance de vie. En effet, là où il y a surabondance de vie, le pouce s'écarte, se dilate. Supposez que je demande service à un ami. Il me répond : « Oui, je le ferai. » Son pouce entre, je me dis : « Voilà un homme mort à ma proposition. Il me trompe évidemment. Je ne puis pas compter sur cet homme-là. » Je demande service à un autre ami. Il me dit : « Oui ! » Son pouce est à l'état normal. Je me dis : « Voilà un homme résigné, mais pas bien dévoué. Il le fait par obéissance, mais il pourrait bien **[139]** ne pas le faire. Je ne puis pas trop compter sur lui. » Un autre me dit : « Oui, je le ferai !» La pouce s'écarte. Je suis sûr de lui ! Ça ne m'a jamais trompé.

C'est une observation extrêmement précieuse pour le peintre, pour l'orateur, comme pour l'acteur.

Voyez une femme portant son enfant. Elle le porte comme ça. Vous pouvez être sûrs que ce n'est pas une mère, c'est une bonne d'enfants, une femme servile. Pourquoi ? Parce qu'elle ne vit pas pour cet enfant, elle n'a pas de cœur pour cet enfant. Elle ne l'enveloppe pas ; elle ne l'étreint pas ; elle est morte pour cet enfant. Il pourrait se faire qu'elle fut [la] mère, ce serait une marâtre. Une mère portera l'enfant comme ça, elle ne peut pas ne pas faire ce mouvement.

Pour avoir ignoré ce phénomène-là, beaucoup de peintres ont fait des descentes de croix, des Christ endormis pour des Christ morts, ce sont là des mains d'hommes sommeillant ; ça n'a jamais exprimé la mort.

Une des plus grandes puissances de l'orateur gît dans l'épaule. Avec un simple mouvement d'épaule, on peut faire infiniment plus d'impression **[140]** qu'avec tous les gestes extérieurs. Tous les gestes extérieurs sont presque toujours des gestes d'acteurs qui ne sont pas de nature à convaincre. L'épaule, c'est le thermomètre de l'amour, de l'émotion. Le mouvement est neutre, il s'applique à la joie comme il s'applique à la douleur. C'est un thermomètre, c'est-à-dire que la passion dont il s'agit s'élève par exemple à 30 degrés ; mais quelle est la nature de cette passion ? Ce n'est pas l'épaule qui le dira. Les yeux, la bouche sont là pour le dire. Chaque partie du corps a son rôle spécial. Il faut consulter la synthèse. C'est ici que je vois qu'un sentiment est vrai ou n'est pas vrai. Les menteurs ne songent pas à élever leurs épaules au degré voulu. On voit chez beaucoup de grands peintres l'ignorance de ce principe qui est cependant très important. Ainsi, Raphaël a fait un tableau représentant Moise dans le désert faisant jaillir les eaux. Tous les Israélites sont là dans une joie extrême, mais aucun d'eux n'a levé les épaules.

Je disais qu'il y avait quelque chose de rationnel dans les articulations **[141]** du coude. Je vous ai donné une échelle, une sorte de gamme à l'aide de laquelle on peut constater le milieu dans lequel vit un homme, son milieu intellectuel. Le paysan remue le torse ; ensuite c'est l'épaule qui remue ; plus tard, c'est le coude.

Chez les gens qui veulent écraser les autres, il y a un mouvement du coude qui semble dire : « Je t'écrase. Je suis au-dessus de toi, je te domine. » Les gens modestes n'ont qu'un petit mouvement du coude en dehors. Au contraire, chez les gens humbles, il y a un mouvement en dedans du coude.

Pris isolément, cela ne dit pas grand-chose, mais appliquez ce triple élément comme vérification pour déterminer le degré de vérité des choses exprimées d'ailleurs par le torse, par la tête, ça devient d'une immense importance. En somme, c'est par ces petites choses que nous pouvons déterminer des milliers de mouvements et déterminer leur raison d'être.

Je vous ai donné l'autre jour l'accord de neuvième de l'œil ; nous sommes arrivés à déterminer 821 types et nous n'avons parlé que **[142]** des phénomènes passionnels d'un même œil. Il faut multiplier ces 821 expressions par les types constitutionnels. Il y a 81 types constitutionnels primordiaux de l'œil. J'ai indiqué l'autre jour quels étaient les profils de la bouche, vous en avez reconnu 81. Par la même raison, nous trouvons dans l'œil 81 types primordiaux. Il y en a bien d'autres que nous pourrions signaler, mais il s'agit de déterminer le rapport que peut avoir le profil de l'œil avec la bouche.

Nous avons indiqué une bouche comme ça [diagramme] ; une bouche inverse [diagramme] ; une bouche rectiligne [diagramme], et une curviligne excentrique, bouche de singe [diagramme] et dans les mouvements combinés, nous avons vu par exemple, une bouche comme ça [diagramme]. Il s'agit de savoir si un type comme celui-ci étant donné, l'œil est homogène à ce type ou hétérogène. Si nous multiplions ce que nous avons de types par 81, nous avons 66 561 types. Il n'est pas plus difficile de savoir 66 000 types que d'en connaître 9. Les éléments étant connu, vous en auriez 10 million. Il faut que je prouve que nous avons 23 714 297 types parfaitement **[143]** déterminés et distincts. Je ne parle pas des variétés. La démonstration serait longue.

Je sais que beaucoup de personnes n'aiment pas les chiffres, détestent les chiffres. Je ne les aime pas beaucoup non plus. Nous dirons cela un peu plus tard. Je vais indiquer des types et nous les inscrirons dans le critérium, de sorte que les personnes qui détestent les chiffres pourront s'en aller.

Je vous ai donné l'accord de neuvième de l'œil ; je vais vous donner celui de la tête.

La tête a neuf attitudes primordiales desquelles beaucoup d'autres mouvements découleront.

Il y a d'abord un état normal, la tête est face, directe ; elle n'est ni haute ni basse.

Quand, au contraire, la tête s'élève, elle caractérise un état véhément. Les militaires portent ordinairement la tête haute, les hommes physiques surtout.

Les hommes réfléchis portent habituellement la tête plus basse, c'est donc un type intellectif. Si vous vous rappelez le tableau, il s'agit de déterminer trois genres, et les trois espèces se déduisent de **[144]** ces genres. De chacun de ces états, va [résulter/résultera] trois espèces distinctes.

Quand on regarde son interlocuteur en face, ça suppose une attitude incolore. Ça pourrait être bête mais ça n'exprime pas autre chose. C'est déjà quelque chose ; je ne voulais

pas d'abord dire le mot. Dans cette attitude médiane, la tête est susceptible d'un double penchant. Elle peut se porter vers l'interlocuteur ou à l'inverse. Penchée vers l'interlocuteur, ça exprime un certain abandon ; c'est tendre. Penchée à l'inverse, c'est une expression d'étonnement. Je vous ai indiqué le phénomène de la rétroaction ; ce sont des expressions de sensualisme à divers points de vue. Ici on aime le fond, là on aime la forme. Qu'un homme prenne la main d'une femme comme ceci ou comme cela, c'est tout autre chose ; il ne l'aime pas de la même manière. Ce que je dis pour le côté droit, c'est le même pour le côté gauche. Il y a toujours un léger mouvement du corps qui ne permet pas qu'on soit complètement en face de l'objet. Il y a une légère rotation du corps, et la **[145]** tête se trouve inclinée.

Dans l'état véhément, la tête se penche vers l'interlocuteur et exprime l'abandon ; ou à l'inverse, elle exprime l'orgueil. Je ne dis pas quel orgueil : il y a le noble orgueil ; il y a l'orgueil qui froisse. Ce sont des attitudes neutres a beaucoup d'égards ; elles expriment déjà quelque chose, mais tout n'est pas dit.

La tête penchée en avant est réfléchie. Se penche-t-elle vers l'interlocuteur, elle exprime la vénération parce que c'est un acte de foi en celui qu'on aime ; on se donne sans examiner. Penche-t-elle à l'inverse, c'est le soupçon, la suspicion.

Voilà les neuf attitudes de la tête. Il n'y en a pas d'autres ; il y a une infinité de modifications que nous signalerons, mais pas des attitudes. Voilà les neuf attitudes de la tête. Cela caractérise des états, c'est-à-dire des sentiments, mais cependant des sentiments fugitifs. Un homme peut affecter chacune de ces attitudes et en prendre l'habitude. Mais il y a des mouvements fugitifs qui ne peuvent **[146]** être affectés habituellement, qui ne peuvent que modifier les types et les attitudes des inflexions.

La tête est susceptible encore de neuf inflexions. Il y a des inflexions d'arrière en avant, des inflexions de haut en bas, de bas en haut. Il y a des inflexions rotatives. Il y a des inflexions qui partent d'une épaule à l'autre et qui caractérisent l'impatience. Bref, il y a neuf inflexions de la tête qui ont toutes leur sens. Si vous portez la tête de bas en haut et en avant, c'est une inflexion aspirative. Elle pourrait être caractérisée par l'espérance ou le désir, l'appellation. Il y a une attitude de haut en bas qui serait la résignation. Une inflexion résultative et une attitude en avant constitueraient une inflexion exaltante.

Je vous demande par exemple des nouvelles d'un individu : « Qu'est-il devenu ? Je ne sais pas. » Vous pouvez être sûr que celui-ci ne serait pas fâché d'en avoir des nouvelles. Un autre dira : « Je ne sais pas. » Celui-là se dit : « Je m'en moque » parce qu'il est résigné. Il n'est pas indifférent de **[147]** constater cela parce qu'un simple mouvement vous fait deviner la pensée. Il a beau sourire, faire l'aimable, dire : « Je ne sais pas. Je voudrais bien savoir… Tu veux faire de l'intérêt, mais tu me trompes, tu ne tiens pas à savoir des nouvelles de cet individu. » La preuve, c'est que le mouvement est résigné, et que cela ne trompe pas.

Pour ne pas sortir de ces [...], un maître d'école menace de la tête en la portant de haut en bas ; il menace au petit bonhomme : « Qu'est-ce que ce drôle ! » Et il aboutit à la confirmation. Il est très près de réaliser quelque chose que je ne dis pas. Au contraire, le petit enfant menace à son tour : « Je le dirai à maman ! » Il menace dans le sens inverse : il a porté la tête de bas en haut parce qu'il faut bien qu'il remette sa vengeance. « Tu verras ! Je me vengerai ! Je l'espère bien ! » C'est son espérance, il ne peut pas faire autre chose.

Il est bon d'examiner comment ces mouvements se transmettent d'agent à agent. Tous les mouvements qu'affectent la tête, la main, le corps, **[148]** la jambe peuvent les affecter. Ainsi, le mouvement de négation, la main le fait, et ce mouvement est double. Il y a négation avec une résolution directe, et négation avec une résolution inverse qui est elliptique. La main

fait cela et la main se recule comme s'est reculer la tête, la main s'exalte comme la tête, et quand la tête est impatiente, la main dit : « Laissez-moi tranquille, je ne veux pas vous entendre. » Il est très curieux de voir passer une inflexion successivement de la tête à la main, de la main à l'œil, de l'œil aux épaules, des épaules aux bras, des bras aux jambes, des jambes aux pieds. Je vais vous donner un petit exemple.

Je vous ai montré cette double menace faite par la tête. Je pourrais confier cette menace à la main et dire : « Vous aurez affaire à moi. » Chaque agent a son rôle, et voilà pourquoi ces agents se transmettent le mouvement. Quand la tête a un rôle sérieux à jouer elle confie ce mouvement d'inflexion à la main. Un homme qui menace de la tête n'est pas **[149]** sûr de frapper juste, mais celui qui menace de la main est parfaitement sûr de son coup. Pour cela il faut que l'œil ait une grande fixité, et l'œil perd sa puissance et sa justesse par un mouvement de tête comme celui-là. Il y a [dans/donc] la menace communiquée à la main une grande puissance qui n'est pas dans ce mouvement-là. Aussi la menace de la tête est-elle plus physique et la menace de la main plus intelligente, en ce sens que dans l'une l'œil dit beaucoup, dans l'autre, il ne dit rien.

On n'a pas toujours la faculté de faire des gestes comme ceux-là. Il se peut que la menace soit elliptique : « Je ne veux pas admettre de spectateurs ». C'est de moi à mon interlocuteur. La menace que j'avais faite avec la tête, je l'exprime avec les yeux. C'est pour cela qu'on dit qu'on regarde de haut en bas. C'est la même inflexion du haut en bas ou du bas en haut qui se reproduit quand la menace est concentrée, elliptique.

La menace peut se faire autrement. On ne veut pas dire absolument **[150]** son avis. On craint de se compromettre avec les yeux, et au lieu de regarder l'interlocuteur, on regarde de côté, voilà la menace confiée à l'épaule. Celle-là a moins de fermeté parce qu'elle s'adresse à l'un des agents sensitifs. L'homme qui menace comme cela est plus impatienté. Au lieu d'être l'agent, il est le patient. On peut menacer tout simplement avec le genou, avec le pied. Le pied est susceptible d'une grande mobilité.

Un petit mouvement change instantanément de signification. Il se modifie par une foule d'ellipses, en passant de l'un à l'autre agent. C'est extrêmement riche. On ne peut pas transmettre les attitudes parce qu'elles sont tout à fait caractéristiques : elles caractérisent le rôle spécial de l'agent mis en mouvement, tandis que l'inflexion est universelle.

Puisque je parle de la main, la main a neuf attitudes intrinsèques. Elle a comme le reste son accord de neuvième. Elle a son état excentrique, son état normal et son état concentrique. Dans chacun **[151]** de ces états, il y a trois espèces. Mais avant, vous me permettrez de vous dire quelles sortes de muscles sont là en activité. Il y a des extenseurs, des fléchisseurs, des abducteurs et des adducteurs. Il y a plusieurs couches de muscles pour agir, de sorte que nous pourrions dire une action, une double action, une triple action des fléchisseurs. De même des extenseurs qui sont moins forts. Dans l'état normal, il n'y a aucune espèce d'action, la main est morte. Dans cet état normal, une simple action des extenseurs a lieu ; la main s'étend sans cesser d'être normale, la voilà donc [normale-excentrique]. Elle se concentre par le mouvement des fléchisseurs, sans pour cela cesser d'être normale, et la voilà [normale-concentrique].

Maintenant l'état concentrique sera le mouvement résultant de deux actions des fléchisseurs. Voilà le concentrique-normal. Dans le concentro-concentrique, il y a deux actions des fléchisseurs plus une action des adducteurs, c'est-à-dire des muscles qui tendent à replier les phalanges. Dans l'état concentrique affectant l'excentration, il y a deux **[152]** actions des fléchisseurs et une action des extenseurs, ça fait une triple action.

Dans l'état excentrique de la main, nous avons deux mouvements d'extenseurs. Dans l'excentration du genre excentrique, il y a de plus un mouvement d'abduction, tendant à écarter les doigts. Dans l'état concentro-excentrique, il y a deux mouvements d'extenseurs et un mouvement des fléchisseurs. Ça fait neuf.

Ces mouvements n'ont l'air de rien parce qu'il faut qu'ils soient au bout d'un bras qui dise quelque chose, et qu'ils correspondent à des yeux, mais c'est un travail d'analyse. Il n'y a pas autre chose intrinsèquement pris dans la main, si ce n'est une foule de mouvements, mais d'un autre ordre. Il y a des mouvements qui paraissent conventionnels qui ne le sont pas, qui sont plus intellectifs. Le rôle du geste n'est pas d'exprimer les phénomènes de l'intelligence, mais les phénomènes du cœur. Cependant, de même que la vie et l'intelligence vivent dans le cœur d'après les circumincessions dont j'ai parlé, de même le geste, **[153]** qui est l'agent animique doit avoir une forme plus particulièrement intellective et une forme plus particulièrement vitale. Il est vital par ses inflexions et intellectif par ce qu'on pourrait appeler conventionnel. Il n'y a rien de conventionnel, mais ça n'est pas, et ça ne doit pas être classé dans l'expression d'un sentiment. Ainsi, par exemple, quelqu'un aura bu du vinaigre, tout à coup, son front va se mettre en parfaite analogie avec sa muqueuse ; il se fronce, et est une parfaite réverbération des mouvements intimes de sa muqueuse. On chante faux. Un sourcil va se lever et un autre se résigner. Voyez cette grimace. Je parle d'un fait synthétique, tous les doigts viennent converger les uns vers les autres. Au contraire, j'exprime un détail et je dis : « Remarquez bien ceci ». Avec quel soin je découvre tous ces doigts pour vous dire de ne vous occuper que de la partie en litige. Voilà l'analyse, et ce n'est pas animique, c'est intellectif. Ensuite on parlera d'une condensation, on **[154]** fermera la main. Maintenant un corps est granulé, il va se palper par le pouce et l'index. Il est charnu ; il va se toucher par le médium ; il est délicat, flexueux, impressionnant, il va s'exprimer par l'annulaire. Il est pulvérulent, il va se toucher par le petit doigt. Chaque doigt a sa fonction séparée, mais je mets tout cela en dehors des grandes expressions qui constituent l'accord de neuvième. Ce sont là des faits extrêmement intéressants, mais qui n'en ressortent pas naturellement. Ils sont plus intellectifs qu'animiques.

J'ai parlé des mouvements de la main ; vous allez voir si le carpe est de nature à enrichir les mouvements de la main. Le carpe a des mouvements de supination, de rotation, de flexion. Chacune des attitudes de la main doit être multipliée par les 27 mouvements du carpe qui, évidemment, y apportent une modification très remarquable.

Ainsi, je vais vous donner trois présentations d'une main ouverte. Ma main se présente par sa face palmaire, par sa face dorsale, par l'extrémité digitale. Je vais exprimer la même **[155]** chose avec ces trois présentations. Nous allons voir les différences qu'elles y mettront. Si je dis qu'une chose est admirable (avec la face palmaire), c'est avec la prétention de vous la peindre ; c'est la face démonstrative. Si je le dis (avec la face dorsale), c'est avec le sentiment de l'impuissance. J'ai le sentiment de la chose, mais c'est tellement beau que je ne puis pas le dire ; j'appellerai cela la face mystique. Si j'exprime la même chose avec l'extrémité digitale, ce mouvement signifie : j'ai vu, j'ai pesé, j'ai nombré la chose, je la connais de science certaine ; c'est admirable, et je le certifie. Voilà trois faces, l'une sera celle du peintre, l'autre celle du poète ou de l'homme inspiré et celle-là du docteur. Voilà comment un simple mouvement qui ne dit rien par lui-même dit énormément par sa présentation.

Il y a donc 27 présentations des 9 mouvements, ce qui fait 243 mouvements. Il y a trois mouvements d'avant-bras extrêmement expressifs par rapport aux mouvements de la main, ce qui fait 729. Il y a **[156]** trois mouvements deltoïdiens, ce qui fait 6 561. Ça paraît énorme, ce n'est rien du tout, c'est d'une simplicité d'enfant. Les éléments connus, c'est

toujours le même procédé. Voilà donc l'avantage de posséder un critérium. J'avais autrefois une foule de faits dans la tête. Je me disais : « Comment sortirai-je de là ? » Je ne pouvais rien classifier ; je ne pouvais que par instinct me rendre compte des choses, les choses m'échappaient. Le jour où j'ai vu ce critérium, je me suis dit : « Je tiens tout, c'est la même chose : si j'en possède 9, j'en possède 20 millions ». Ainsi, ne vous laissez pas effrayer par les 20 millions. Ce n'est rien du tout, ce n'est pas plus que 9. **[157]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte

VIII Leçon

Nous terminerons aujourd'hui la question des types et ce qui se rattache au geste. C'est une question très vaste qui aurait demandé beaucoup de séances. Je dois donc abréger et faire un choix. Mes déductions ne seront pas toujours absolument rigoureuses puisque je suis obligé de choisir dans cet ensemble extrêmement vaste, et je dois éviter autant que possible les questions sèches, arides, celles qui se rattachent particulièrement à l'anatomie par exemple.

Nous avons, l'autre jour, envisagé des types formels, des types passionnels, et des types habituels. Nous avons aussi signalé des attitudes céphaliques, torsales, membrales et des inflexions comprenant des mouvements de rotation, de flexion et d'abduction. Parmi les mouvements de flexion, il ne sera pas vain de désigner les divers angles formés par ces flexions. Les angles que je ne spécifierai pas, les angles à 25 dégrées, à 90 dégrées, etc., ont leur sens, leur signification absolue, déterminée. Ainsi, ce simple mouvement **[158]** de main, qui est insignifiant puisqu'il caractérise l'état incolore, l'état normal, ce mouvement formant un angle droit, signifie, <u>être</u>, la chose dont on parle est. Plus bas ceci signifiera <u>peut-être</u> ; plus bas signifie : « Je doute que la chose soit. » Plus bas ça signifie : « Ce n'est pas. » Plus bas encore : « C'est impossible. » Maintenant en montant le mouvement signifie. Cela est supérieurement. Cela est magnifique. Vous voyez que tous les états d'être, toutes les formes de l'affirmation peuvent se déterminer et tiennent à l'acuité d'un angle ou à son ouverture plus ou moins grande, en un mot les divers degrés assignables à un angle sont parfaitement significatifs.

Maintenant toutes les attitudes de la main, toutes les modifications que reçoivent ces attitudes de la part des mouvements d'adduction, d'abduction, de rotation reçoivent également leurs modifications spéciales des divers degrés d'ouverture des angles. Ainsi, si la main se pose ainsi, cela signifie un état de force. Voilà l'être vigoureux, énergique. Ceci signifie un état humble. Ceci signifie un état acceptable, avouable. Maintenant voici un **[159]** état exalté, c'est ainsi qu'on exalte, qu'on glorifie les gens, comme on porterait un objet dans la main en l'élevant.

Le mouvement d'écartement du corps s'appelle d'abduction, celui de rapprochement s'appelle d'adduction. Les mouvements d'abduction caractérisent ordinairement ce que les médecins appellent dans les mouvements nerveux, l'état tonique ; les mouvements d'adduction, l'état clonique. Une foule d'autres états sont caractérisés par ces simples mouvements d'abduction et d'adduction. Vous avez vu comment les pauvres gens bien humbles réduisent leurs mouvements à cet état d'adduction. C'est ainsi qu'on cache ses trous, sa misère. Par l'abduction, on exprime toute autre chose.

Dans les mouvements de rotation, il y a un état normal de l'agent [bras], un état de pronation et un état de supination. Le bras en dehors est à l'état de supination, en-dedans, il est à l'état de pronation. Ces trois états du bras du point de vue de la rotation caractérisent encore des phénomènes très distincts. L'état de pronation signifie la puissance ; la force affecte toujours **[160]** des mouvements pronateurs. L'état inverse de supination caractérise un état d'impuissance. Prenons par exemple le poing au bout d'un bras normalement posé. Le poing signifiera un acte de volonté.

Tourné de cette façon, il signifiera la puissance et l'autorité. Un homme qui meut de cette façon [accomplisse/accomplira] certainement ce qu'il veut. Puis il y a ici une autre manifestation de la volonté, c'est celle-là. Elle est menaçante, c'est un acte remis comme ce que je disais l'autre jour de la menace de l'enfant ; c'est un acte impuissant. C'est un homme qui ne peut accomplir ce qu'il veut, qui cherche peut-être par la ruse à obtenir ce qu'il veut, mais enfin c'est de l'impuissance ; la menace est presque toujours impuissante d'ailleurs.

Nous avons dû diviser le corps par des sections se rapportant toujours aux trois manifestations de la vie, de l'esprit et de l'âme. Vous avez vu que la région frontale se rapporte aux phénomènes de l'intelligence, la région génale aux phénomènes animiques, la région buccale aux phénomènes vitaux. Cependant, il est assez **[161]** singulier que les phénomènes vitaux se reproduisent encore ici. L'abdomen, le diaphragme, et la région pectorale reproduisent encore cela, et il faut ce semble spécifier car l'occiput correspond également à la vie. Nous pourrions donc dire qu'il y a une vie occipitale, une vie buccale et une vie abdominale. Il faut distinguer ces divers sièges en parfaite correspondance. Je vais tâcher de vous donner cela aujourd'hui.

J'ai omis quelques divisions, et bien que peut-être nous n'aurons pas le temps d'en donner absolument le sens, il est bon de les mentionner.

Le corps de l'homme peut être considéré comme une ellipse avec tous ses foyers d'activités, ses foyers attractifs et toutes ses manifestations. Nous avons vu, en partant de l'occiput jusqu'à la région abdominale, que toutes ces régions étaient significatives, tant par leur forme expressive que par leur forme attractive, par leur signification de contact. Je tâcherai d'éclaircir ceci ; mais je n'ai pas parlé de la région postérieure qui est extrêmement intéressante.

Il y a d'abord trois sortes de **[162]** vertèbres : les vertèbres cervicales, les vertèbres dorsales et les lombaires. On pourrait d'abord considérer cela comme un levier, mais en prenant la colonne vertébrale elle seule, nous aurons 24 touches distinctes dont le rôle et la tonalité seront tout spéciaux, desquelles s'échappent des plexus nerveux constituant des mouvements sympathiques de nature absolument différentes et distinctes. De sorte que la colonne vertébrale constitue le clavier dont nous sommes l'instrument sympathique. Ainsi, lorsqu'un homme se coupe le doigt, il éprouve à une certaine partie de la colonne vertébrale une émotion spéciale. S'il reçoit un coup de marteau, un écrasement, ce sera un autre ordre de sensation qui se rapportera à une vertèbre particulière. Si on lui montre une plaie, ce sera une autre vertèbre qui frémira. En un mot, c'est comme une admirable musique qu'il faut étudier. Ce sont des faits qui n'ont pas été étudiés et qui sont d'une très haute importance, surtout en séméiotique et pour les phénomènes que nous aurons ultérieurement à examiner. Ce serait m'embarquer **[163]** dans une question toute spéciale. Je n'en dirai pas davantage. Je tenais à spécifier ceci pour les travailleurs, ceux qui aiment à rechercher les bases. Il y a de quoi faire.

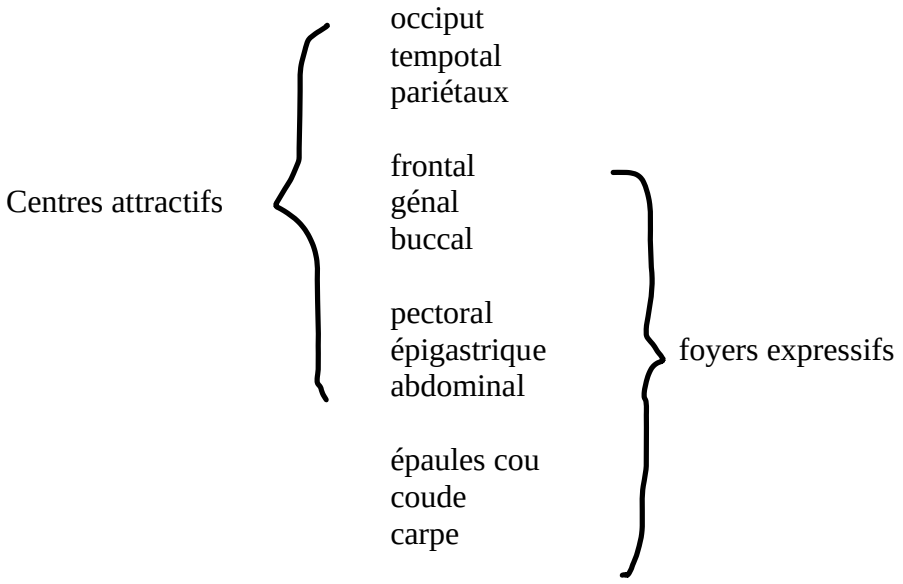
L'autre jour, j'ai fait une assez grave omission dans les diverses sections dont je parlais tout à l'heure, je n'ai pas signalé la sphère temporale, je n'en ai pas dit le sens. Cette omission, d'abord toute involontaire, m'a suggéré le désir de vous tromper. Vous ne m'en

voudrez pas. C'est dans votre intérêt, vous allez voir pourquoi. Je vous ai donné un accord de neuvième. J'ai vu de bons amis instruits de mon travail ; ils ne se sont pas aperçus de cela, cet accord est absolument faux, c'est un accord de neuvième comme tout le monde pourrait en faire. Il ne suffit pas de mettre ensemble neuf termes pour faire un accord de neuvième, mais il faut neuf termes identiques par la fonction. Vous allez voir que cet accord était très faux. J'avais donné ces trois régions du visage, ces trois régions du torse, et trois centres articulaires pour compléter un accord de neuvième. **[164]**

On peut partir des six premières régions pour dire : « Je vous remercie !» Mais on ne part pas des trois dernières autres pour dire : « Je vous remercie ! » Évidemment, l'accord est faux, évidemment les centres articulaires sont absolument hétérogènes à ce que je disais.

Je vais vous montrer au lieu de 9 termes, 15 ou plutôt 12, parce que les nombres ont des articulations qui se correspondent comme le torse avec le carpe, l'épaule avec la hanche. Vous vous direz sans doute : « Nous allons nous méfier de la chose, comment va-t-il faire sortir de là un sérieux accord de neuvième ? » Faites-y attention.

1 correspond à la vie, 2 à l'esprit, 3 aux phénomènes animiques. Nous n'avons ici que neuf termes. Nous y ajouterons à cela les centres articulaires dont nous avons parlé, ce qui nous fera :



[165]

Les 9 derniers termes seulement constituent des foyers expressifs d'où s'échappent des expressions propres. Si nous voulons prendre cela au point de vue des attractions et des contacts de la main, nous prendrons les 9 premiers termes. Nous aurons donc deux ordres de phénomènes : les expressions propres à chacun de ces termes et les expressions résultant du contact de la main. J'ai déjà spécifié les mouvements de la tête, les mouvements d'yeux. Je n'ai pas parlé du nez, c'est un des agents les plus complexes et les plus importants. Il y a là 9 divisions à étudier. Il serait assez long de vous donner la définition particulière de chacun de ces termes au point de vue de sa signification de relation. Je vais vous simuler une histoire en touchant chacun de ces centres. Si vous voulez me suivre avec attention, vous aurez tout de suite la définition de chaque division ; ce ne sera pas éloquent. Je vais peut-être dire des mots très incohérents, mais ces mots, tout incohérents qu'ils seront entre eux, n'en seront pas moins très expressifs. **[166]**

Je vais mettre en scène un individu assez embarrassé de sa situation, et le voilà touchant, palpant, caressant l'os temporal comme pour y chercher une ruse. L'esprit de ruse est là. Le voilà donc cherchant à sortir d'embarras. Mais je dois dire une petite histoire. Je ne dois pas commenter : « Comment sortir de là ?... Un coup d'éclat !... Mais mon Dieu, que de maux au bout de cela ! Ce sera bien difficile... La fille est jolie... Ce n'est pas, pauvre enfant, je sais bien jeune, sans méfiance !... Après tout, on ne vit qu'une fois, il faut bien que jeunesse se passe. »

J'ai fait la gamme descendante, je vais faire la gamme montante : « Nous ne sommes pas comme vous artistes… Nous ne vivons pas par le cœur. Enfin, nous connaissons le devoir… Je sais bien qu'à l'occasion… Ce n'est pas toujours sans inconvénient… Il y a là quelque chose que je ne comprends pas… Si je ne devais jamais recommencer ma vie… Tenez ! voyez-vous, je suis un misérable ! » (Bravo ! Bravo !)

Je suis très heureux de vous voir admettre la vérité de ces phénomènes. **[167]** Il faudrait de très grandes explications pour arriver à dire ces différentes expressions. Toutes les fois que les pariétaux sont touchés, il y a une pensée très élevée. À mesure que les foyers s'élèvent, ils sont plus exaltés.

Maintenant nous pouvons prendre cela à un autre point de vue. Vous vous rappelez ce que je vous ai dit du remerciement. Je vais le reproduire en touchant tous ces centres. Ils ont été centres d'attraction ; ils vont devenir des points de départ : « Je vous remercie !» À mesure que les mouvements s'élèvent, ils sont plus exaltés. L'exaltation est proportionnelle à l'élévation de la section indiquée. (Applaudissements.)

Nous avons indiqué, l'autre jour, les trois faces de la main, la face palmaire ou démonstrative, la face dorsale ou mystique, et l'extrémité digitale. Tout doit avoir, et a nécessairement sa raison d'être. Les diverses présentations de la main ont en même temps une raison animique, une raison géométrale et mathématique. Toutes ces raisons se sous-entendent dans **[168]** l'une d'elles. Ainsi, il est assez curieux d'associer des questions de sentiment à des questions purement mathématiques et géométrales. Je vais vous signaler quelques-unes des simples présentations de la main et donner leur raison d'être. Les raisons d'être des diverses présentations de la main peuvent être données par le cube. Le cube a trois directions : direction antéro-postérieure, direction supéro-inférieure, et direction latérale ou transversale. Le cube présente, en raison même de ces trois directions, six faces : face antérieure, face postérieure, face supérieure, face inférieure, face latérale interne, face latérale externe. Puis pour relier ces faces, le cube présente douze bords et quatre angles. Vous vous dites : « Où veut-il en venir avec ces bords, ces angles et ces faces ? » Tout cela est nécessaire pour quiconque veut savoir la raison des sentiments exprimés par la main. Si vous voulez arriver à déterminer réellement le sens d'une direction de la main, il faut que vous sachiez quel sens on doit affecter aux diverses faces d'un cube.

J'ai dit dans ma première leçon **[169]** que l'affirmation était très multiple, j'en signalais 27. Je vais vous en donner 9. Vous allez sans doute vous dire à part : « Comment fera-t-il sortir un accord de neuvième de six faces ? Il est assez difficile de trouver neuf termes avec six faces. » Vous allez voir comment six faces donnent neuf expressions. Comment un homme affirme-t-il ?

Quand il met la main comme cela, que fait-il ? Il protège, il contient, il dompte. La forme elliptique de cette assurance sera donc la protection et la puissance de contenir.

Si je prends le cube par sa face postérieure, qu'arrivera-t-il ? C'est qu'il sera visible à tous. En même temps que je soutiens ce cube, et que je prends assez de puissance en moi

pour le soutenir et le défendre au besoin, je le montre. L'homme qui affirme comme cela est encore un homme fort comme celui de tout à l'heure, mais il prend la peine de prouver. C'est déjà un peu moins fort.

Si je prends la face antérieure, cela veut dire : Je n'ai pas besoin de prouver ; je connais le fait, il est en ma puissance, **[170]** je ne vous le montrerai pas. Il faut que vous me croyiez sur parole. J'affirme le fait ; je me soucie peu de ce que vous penserez. Celui-ci est le plus fort, ce semble. Il est possesseur du fait. Il le connaît, il l'affirme, il ne le démontre pas.

Je pourrais affirmer comme ça. Celui-ci se défend, il montre en plein ; il n'est pas très fort.

Il y a l'affirmation latérale externe. C'est l'affirmation de l'homme qui connaît, qui a appelé sous ses yeux le fait en litige, qui l'a mesuré, qui l'a examiné dans tous ses sens. Voilà l'affirmation du docteur, l'affirmation éclairée.

Avec la face latérale inverse, on affirme comme cela : Vous pouvez dire tout ce que vous voudrez, mais j'affirme. Je rejette l'objet. Je rejette toute objection, toute observation ; j'affirme quand même.

Nous avons touché six faces. Comment allons-nous nous faire neuf ? C'est qu'il y a trois manières fatalement de de présenter, de toucher la face antérieure. Je la touche comme ça. J'en suis possesseur, et je me soucie **[171]** peu de la laisser voir. C'est la face mystique. Je puis prendre la face comme ça, et dire : Je contemple. Voilà l'affirmation exaltée. On peut dire encore : J'affirme. Vous n'irez pas plus loin. Cela signifie borner. Voilà donc trois physionomies résultant de la face antérieure du cube.

Il y en a deux résultant de la face postérieure, c'est cette affirmation que j'ai montrée et une autre qui est l'affirmation la plus essentielle ; c'est de montrer l'objet comme cela et de se découvrir en même temps. J'affirme ; vous ne pouvez pas douter de moi ; j'ouvre mon cœur ; voyez-moi !

Voilà donc neuf affirmations qui s'expliquent par la simple vue du cube et de ses faces. Vous comprenez combien ces affirmations peuvent être multipliées. Il y a douze bords, et chaque bord sous-entend deux affirmations en une seule. Ainsi, je protège en même temps que je démontre. Je soutiens en même temps que je me découvre, etc...

Si ma main était en face d'un angle, cet angle embrassant trois faces, il y aurait elliptiquement trois affirmations impliquées dans une seule. **[172]**

De sorte qu'en possédant le sens de ces angles, de ces faces, de ces bords, on peut arriver à déterminer les moindres petites différences et à en dire la raison ; toutes ces choses qui échappent à celui qui les fait. On ne sait pas en faisant toutes ces affirmations combien on a d'esprit, mais c'est le bon Dieu qui l'a pour nous, et il sait bien ce qu'il fait le bon Dieu.

J'arrive maintenant aux lois du geste. Je ne les ai pas dites encore. J'en ai donné quelques-unes. J'ai parlé des articulations, j'ai fait remarquer comment les paysans et les gens bien élevés faisaient mouvoir les articulations. Nous allons, pour comprendre la portée de ces lois, revenir au point de départ, c'est-à-dire constater que le geste est à la fois mélodique ou plutôt inflectif (le terme est plus neutre), rythmique et harmonique. Vous savez pourquoi il doit être tout cela ? Le geste devrait comprendre les éléments de la musique puisqu'il correspond à l'âme, il est le langage de l'âme et que l'âme sous-entend nécessairement la vie, ses divers modes d'expression, et l'esprit. Le geste est rythmique par son mouvement, **[173]** inflectif ou mélodique par la richesse de ses formes, et harmonique par

la multiplicité des parties qui concourent simultanément à le constituer. Le geste est donc forcément synthétique, et par là même, il est harmonique, l'harmonie n'étant qu'une synthèse.

Je vais donc vous donner quelques exemples importants du geste rythmique, du geste inflectif et du geste harmonique. Je vous donnerai sur chacun de ces modes une loi particulière.

Voici la loi du geste rythmique, du mouvement dans le geste : il est proportionnel à la masse à mouvoir. Le rythme, le mouvement dans le geste est donc subordonné à la capacité des organes à mouvoir. Plus l'organe est ténu, plus sa mobilité est véhémente. Plus l'organe est large, moins il a de mobilité. En un mot, cette loi est basée sur la vibration du pendule. Les grands agents auront donc une mobilité toujours lente, les petits agents plus vifs ; la tête plus vive que le torse et les petits agents comme l'œil auront une très grande mobilité. Ainsi, l'œil a des titillations rapides comme la **[174]** foudre. Il n'y a rien de tout cela dans les autres organes.

À propos de cette titillation du regard, il est bon que je vous fasse observer qu'elle annonce toujours une émotion. Si quelqu'un veut exprimer de la surprise, et que cette surprise ne soit pas précédée d'une titillation, vous pouvez être assurés que la surprise est simulée. Si, m'attendant à la visite d'une personne, je fais de l'émotion à sa vue, vous pouvez dire : « C'est faux, parce qu'il n'y a pas eu titillation dans le regard. » D'où vient cette titillation ? C'est que dans l'imagination, l'image en action, c'est une image qui se passe au dedans de nous-mêmes ; c'est une image qui gît dans les phénomènes intimes, comme à propos des phénomènes matériels. Il y a une direction des yeux vers un objet, une convergence. Si l'objet change de place, les yeux ne peuvent pas modifier leur mode de convergence, il faut qu'ils se ferment pour retrouver de nouveau une direction, une convergence proportionnelle à l'éloignement de l'objet, il n'y a jamais de vision sympathique. Les phénomènes **[175]** de l'imagination sont dans l'imagination à une distance déterminée. Quand une image change de place dans la pensée, elle amène une titillation égale à celle qu'elle amènerait dans l'ordre des choses matérielles. Me voilà pensant dans un ordre de faits. Tout d'un coup un souvenir m'arrive. Vous allez voir l'expression changer. À chaque mouvement de l'imagination, il y aura une titillation. C'est à cette titillation que je vois que l'image est sérieuse. Quand on simule ces choses-là, comme un acteur, on oublie la titillation. C'est donc un moyen de savoir si l'émotion, si la surprise est vraie.

C'est pour ne pas observer cette loi qu'on aperçoit au théâtre tant de gaucheries et que si peu gens sont sérieusement comédiens. Je suppose ceci : « Enfin, il est en ma puissance, / Ce fatal ennemi, ce superbe vainqueur. / Par lui, tous mes captifs sont sortis d'esclavage. »

Remarquez que mon corps va demeurer calme, et que mes yeux auront une certaine véhémence ; ma tête aura une véhémence moindre, mon bras **[176]** également. Il y a ici un point d'appui vigoureux. Tous ces mouvements se font, mais le corps demeure stable. Comment fait-on généralement ? On remue tout le corps. Je suppose que j'aie à m'écrier : « Où sont-ils, ces misérables ? » Il y a une très grande violence dans le haut du corps, mais ma marche est très calme. On dira généralement : « Où sont-ils. » avec une marche violente.

C'est précisément de l'ignorance de cette loi que résultent tant de gaucheries. Si on donne aux petits agents une mobilité très lente, on arrive à faire de l'emphase. On arrive à un style tout à fait mesquin et misérable par le contraire.

Je ne multiplierai pas les exemples sur ce type. Vous avez compris l'importance du rythme. Cela semble aisé, et c'est très difficile. Ça se fait naturellement sans art, sans étude,

merveilleusement, mais dès que l'homme se substitue à Dieu, il lui faut un art immense pour n'être pas gauche. (Applaudissements.)

Je dirai maintenant quelques mots du geste inflectif. Il y a considérablement d'inflexions et des lois **[177]** également sur les inflexions ascendantes, descendantes et médianes, mais ce serait encore long et peut-être aride. Il faut que je termine ce chapitre du geste. Je vais donc vous montrer quelques exemples.

Vous savez ce que j'entends par l'inflexion du geste. Ce sont ses formes. Tout ce que la voix fait en montant, le geste le fait. Il y a donc une grande affinité entre ces formes inflectives de la voix [ou ?] des bras. On pourrait en quelque sorte dire que l'inflexion vocale est le geste de l'aveugle, et, en effet, on peut parfaitement, avec quelque habitude, savoir la nature du geste que fait un homme par le son de sa voix.

En général, on exalte les gens par un cercle. On dit qu'une chose est belle, noble, grande. Les cercles vont en s'exaltant. Ils peuvent se multiplier. Les cercles doivent être autant plus spacieux que l'objet dont on parte est plus élevé, plus digne, plus glorieux, et on va ainsi depuis l'exaltation des choses simples jusqu'aux grandes choses et jusqu'à Dieu. Mais arrivée **[178]** l'exaltation divine, il n'y a pas de cercle que l'homme puisse embrasser et atteindre. Que fait-il alors ? L'instinct lui suggère alors une chose admirable. Il ne parle pas de la majesté de Dieu en faisant un cercle. Il serait gauche, il détermine une portion d'un cercle immense dont il ne peut toucher qu'un point.[759]

Quand le cercle se fait petit, il se fait avec un, deux, trois, quatre doigts, avec la main, avec le bras. Si le cercle est vaste, il se fait avec le bras, rien de mieux, c'est homogène, mais si le cercle est petit et qu'il se fait avec le bras, cela exprimerait la bêtise. Ainsi, on dit d'un homme d'esprit : « C'est un homme d'esprit ! » En se servant des doigts. La bêtise, voulant simuler ceci, ferait un autre mouvement. Je vais vous donner comme exemple une fable de La Fontaine. Je ne la dirai pas tout entière, je ne dirai que ce qui se rattache aux cercles. « Capitaine Renard. »

Je peins l'esprit de ruse du capitaine renard, et je peins cette ruse avec mes doigts, sans cela, ce ne serait pas un capitaine renard. Ce serait tout **[179]** au plus un caporal renard...

« Capitaine Renard allait de compagnie

Avec son ami Bouc, des plus haut encornés.

Celui-ci ne voyait pas plus loin que son nez.

L'autre était passé maître en fait de tromperie.

etc.. »

Voilà le renard disant au bouc toute sa petite affaire, et le bouc, tout surpris, va vouloir faire la fin. Il va vouloir faire le geste :

« Par ma barbe, dit l'autre, il est bon

Et je loue les gens bien sensés comme toi. »

Pour faire le petit cercle, il emploie non pas seulement les doigts, mais le bras, mais l'épaule, mais tout le corps. C'est un imbécile. Il fait trop de dépense pour arriver à un petit cercle.

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[759] Corrected note in the manuscript here reads: "qu'un périphérie."

Une série de petits cercles peuvent se faire en divers sens. Savez-vous, quand on dit comme cela d'un individu que c'est un homme d'esprit, très intelligent ? C'est quand cet homme a fait votre éloge. Il y a des gens qui croient faire les modestes et qui disent cela comme ça. Je sais bien pourquoi ils le disent.

Je vais vous montrer quelques **[180]** autres figures. Je vais prendre une situation d'opéra. Quand Robert entre et voit Isabelle, il lui dit : « Ce paisible sommeil, le calme de ses sens / Prêtent un charme plus doux à ses attraits innocents. » Voyez la figure géométrale que fait mon geste.

Chaque sentiment a sa forme, son expression plastique, et précisément par la forme plus ou moins arrêtée, on peut juger de l'élévation de la pensée de celui qui parle. Si on pouvait stéréotyper son geste, on pourrait dire : « Celui-ci a le cœur plus élevé, celui-là l'a moins élevé ; celui-ci est dans la matière, celui-là est dans l'esprit. »

À un autre endroit, Robert dit : « Ta voix, fière Beauté, ne peut être entendue. »

Je fais un mouvement sphéroïdal et puis un mouvement rectiligne. Je ferme la porte. Je veux bien que la voix s'élève, mais elle ne sera entendue que de moi et pas d'autres. Je pourrais dire : « Ta voix, fière beauté, ne sera point entendue ». Elle ne s'élèvera pas, tandis que celle-ci s'élèvera pour moi et pas pour **[181]** d'autres.

Je terminerai en vous parlant de la loi harmonique du geste. C'est la loi statique par excellence. J'ai travaillé vingt ans pour l'avoir. C'est d'une simplicité d'enfant. Il ne s'agit, pour rendre les formes harmoniques entre elles, que de mettre les leviers en action, en opposition et de réaliser par-là l'équilibre. Dès qu'une chose est équilibrée, elle est harmonieuse. Tout l'art authentique est basé sur cette opposition des leviers. A de bien rares exceptions près, l'art moderne, c'est tout le contraire, c'est ce parallélisme des mouvements. Voici quelques exemples.

Si je fais mouvoir ensemble la tête et le bras, la tête doit constamment prendre une marche inverse du bras, de la main ; si elle marche parallèlement à la main, je fais du parallélisme et du manque d'équilibre, par conséquent de la gaucherie. Lorsque mon bras s'élève vers ma tête, ma tête fait la moitié du chemin et s'incline. Voilà une opposition de mouvements. Si ma main se détache ainsi, ma tête s'élève, et ce petit **[182]** mouvement de ressort produit par le carpe a son écho dans la tête. Il ne se passe pas un mouvement dans la main qui n'ait son écho, sa répercussion dans la tête. Si ma tête s'avance, ma main s'éloigne, si j'avance ma main véhémentement, ma tête recule. Si je tournais véhémentement la tête comme cela avec un mouvement semblable du bras, je tomberais. Il faut pour l'équilibre que ces mouvements s'harmonisent de sorte que le corps soit toujours stable. L'opposition, c'est l'harmonie du geste.

Voilà la différence qu'il y a entre l'art ancien et l'art moderne. Je suppose une statue de Corneille lisant son œuvre. Aujourd'hui on le posera sur une jambe avancée du même côté que le bras. C'est du parallélisme. C'est presque toujours ainsi que les choses sont exprimées par les modernes, les statuaires surtout. Qu'aurait fait un artiste dans l'antiquité ? La jambe eût été opposée à ce mouvement parce qu'il y a une expansion de l'auteur vers son œuvre qui résulte précisément de cette opposition des leviers. Vous **[183]** connaissez le gladiateur antique. On fait en escrime le geste tout contraire. Notre escrime est une chose très mauvaise dynamiquement parlant.

On caractérise les choses par des caricatures. J'exagère peut-être. Je ne le crois pas. Il y a cependant d'honorables exceptions, mais ce sont des exceptions. L'art moderne fait

marcher son bonhomme comme cela (la jambe et le bras du même côté à la fois). Le bonhomme antique fera comme cela (la jambe opposée au bras). J'aurais beaucoup de statues à examiner comme cela. Si vous comparez les œuvres antiques aux œuvres modernes, en règle générale, vous verrez comme ce principe de l'opposition est fécond ! Je ne vous ai donné qu'un agent opposé à l'autre. Ce n'est pas tout. Cette loi d'opposition doit être absente dans un même membre. Je vous ai montré l'opposition de la tête et du bras, il faut voir comment la main doit être opposée au bras. De sorte que nous avons ces magnifiques mouvements spiroïdaux qui ne sont **[184]** pas seulement une grâce, mais qui ont une force considérable. Aussi, là, les harmonies concourent à un même ensemble, à une même vérité. Ce qui est harmonique est fort, est puissant. En un mot, toutes les vérités se co-pénètrent entre elles, et quand une chose est vraie à un point de vue, elle l'est à tous. (Applaudissements.) **[185]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte.

IX Leçon

Nous aurons à aborder aujourd'hui une question bien sèche et relativement bien aride. Il faut bien aborder toutes les questions qui ont trait à l'art. Sur les trois langages que nous avons à examiner, il n'a encore été question que du langage dynamique, du langage mimique, et si je m'étais laissé aller à développer les bases de ce langage, il est évident que nous y serions encore à la leçon prochaine. Il faut donc en finir. Je n'ai plus que deux séances, je dois donc aborder les deux autres langages, c'est-à-dire le langage intellectif, langage des idées, et le langage sensitif, le langage musical.

L'esprit est, relativement au cœur froid, et vous ne serez pas étonnés qu'en vous parlant de ce langage, la séance soit très inférieure aux séances précédentes comme intérêt animique. Cependant, la question est très importante, très sérieuse. Je vais traiter ce langage au point de vue de l'intensité relative des idées. C'est une question complètement neuve. Les idées dans le discours s'expriment à l'insu des hommes sérieux qui se sont occupés des langues en vertu **[186]** d'une loi toute mathématique, c'est-à-dire que les neuf espèces d'idées (et nous avons encore ici un accord de neuvième) qui composent la langue correspondent à des chiffres. Ainsi, le sujet a, par rapport à l'attribut, la moindre valeur. L'attribut a une valeur de six degrés. Il représente six fois l'intensité du sujet. Ce n'est pas de mon invention. Je pourrais vous donner cette loi et vous dire : « C'est comme ça ». Le bon Dieu ne nous a pas donné d'autre raison, il nous a imposé cela, et à notre insu quand nous formulons notre pensée, nous la formulons avec des intensités toute mathématique. Je tâcherai de vous donner raison de ces choses. Ça ne fortifiera pas la loi, mais enfin peut-être arriverai-je à fortifier votre confiance dans cette étude, et d'abord nous constaterons une chose importante, c'est que les valeurs dont je vais préoccuper votre esprit ne portent que sur une partie du mot, sur la partie initiale, c'est-à-dire sur la première consonne du mot. Il n'y a dans les mots qu'une partie expressive, c'est la consonne initiale, c'est elle qui reçoit toute la valeur. C'est aussi la partie invariable des mots, c'est le radical. Les mots se **[187]** transforment de langue à langue et conservent néanmoins leur radical. J'avais l'intention de vous parler de cette transformation ; il y a là une question très vaste, très curieuse, que j'ai étudiée, mais le temps nous manque. J'arrive donc à ce qui doit aujourd'hui nous préoccuper, la consonne initiale.

Je suppose qu'on ait à formuler son sentiment sur une femme. On la trouve charmante. Comment exprimer ce mot ? La plupart du temps, on demande à l'intensité du son

une valeur qui n'y est pas. Il y a un moyen très simple de faire de l'effet, c'est de faire attendre l'exécution de la consonne. C'est mécanique, dira-t-on. C'est comme cela ; les phénomènes les plus animiques tiennent à des lois mécaniques. Au lieu de faire une voix factice qui n'arrive qu'à l'exagération, je vais tout simplement articuler cette consonne : « Cette femme est charmante. » Voilà le mot beaucoup plus expressif. La simple articulation du mot dit plus que tous les effets vocaux et mimiques que je pourrais faire intervenir.

Il y a une détestable habitude **[188]** dans les collèges, dans les endroits où on fait de la récitation. Beaucoup de gens sont là, beaucoup de prédicateurs récitent ainsi :

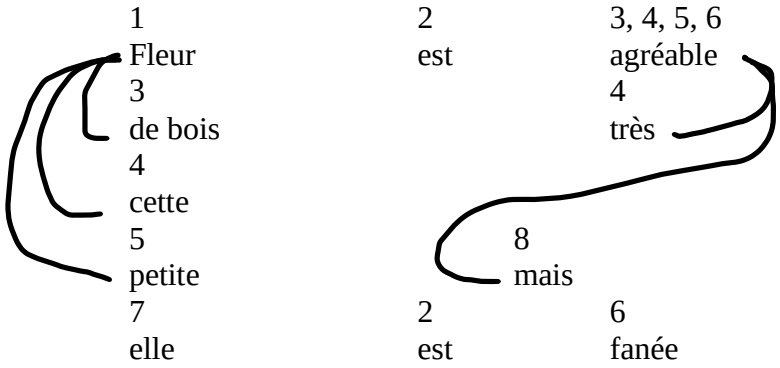
« Ni l'or ni la grandeur ne nous rendent honneur. »

C'est sur la finale qu'ils appuient. C'est absolument antipathique à la nature des mouvements du cœur. Sous l'empire actuel d'un véritable sentiment, on ne parle pas comme cela ; on ne parle comme cela qu'en débitant. Aussi est-il très difficile de faire un orateur dans toute la force du mot d'un homme lettré, précisément à cause de cette mauvaise habitude prise au collège. On s'est étonné qu'une femme comme Rachel ait pu devenir une grande tragédienne avec ses précédents. Ce n'est pas étonnant du tout. Elle n'avait pas de ces affreuses habitudes contractées dans les études. Il faut donc se mettre en garde contre cette prétention, contre cette habitude qui consiste à faire éclater la voix sur la finale.

J'aborde cette question des valeurs. Pardonnez-moi la sécheresse nécessaire de cette démonstration. **[189]**

Je dis que le sujet d'une proposition représente 1 degré. C'est l'expression la plus faible. J'ajoute que le verbe supérieur au sujet a 2 degrés. Peut-être me faites-vous déjà cette concession dans votre esprit. De plus, je dis que l'attribut possède 6 degrés. Pour le coup, vous seriez bien complaisants de me faire cette concession des 6. Comment allez-vous de 1 à 6, me direz-vous ? Je crois, pour bien faire comprendre ma pensée, nécessaire de personnifier, de mettre en scène les trois termes d'une proposition logique. Je vais vous mettre tout bêtement en scène ces trois termes, et nous passerons de là aux termes accessoires, aux termes qui les modifient. Je suppose à ce point de vue qu'un homme de la campagne vienne me visiter pour une affaire quelconque. Cet homme a un but en venant chez-moi. Comme je suis musicien, cet homme est tout d'abord frappé du piano. Il se dit : « Qu'est-ce que c'est que ça ? C'est un drôle d'objet. Ce n'est pas une table, ce n'est pas une armoire ; c'est bien petit pour une armoire ; qu'est-ce que c'est ? » Et puis il aperçoit ces petites machines d'ivoire et d'autres machines d'ébène. **[190]** « Qu'est-ce que ça peut signifier ? » Voilà un homme tout interdit devant ce meuble si nouveau pour lui. Voilà le sujet de son jugement. Si on le lui donnait, il ne saurait qu'en faire ; il en ferait peut-être du feu ou il en ferait un meuble plus utile. Ça l'intéresse beaucoup, il oublie l'objet de sa visite, tout préoccupé de ce meuble. Il me voit arriver. J'occupe la fonction du verbe par rapport à l'objet qui préoccupe cet homme. Il passe de cet objet à moi : Bien que je ne sois pas l'objet qui le préoccupe, il y a progression dans l'intérêt, parce qu'il sent que c'est par moi qu'il apprendra l'usage de ce meuble « Ah ! dites-moi donc qu'est-ce que c'est ? » Il suit mes mouvements avec infiniment de curiosité. Je découvre mon piano, je lui fais rendre un accord. « Oh ! Mon Dieu ! Que c'est beau ! Qu'est-ce que c'est ? C'est ça qui donne ces sons-là ? » Le voilà tout ému, plein d'exclamations, qui alors certainement ne brûlerait plus ce piano ; il le trouve très beau, il s'extasie. Il y a une progression. D'abord ce meuble, dont **[191]** il veut savoir l'usage, l'intéresse. Puis le propriétaire de ce meuble l'intéresse davantage en vue de ce meuble, bien qu'il ne soit pas ce meuble. Enfin, l'attribut de ce meuble qui fait alors toute sa valeur.

J'en ai assez dit pour que vous me concédiez une progression. Je ne crois pas que personne parmi vous ait une objection à faire. Il y a évidemment une progression d'intérêt : le sujet, le verbe, l'attribut. Mais cette progression ne justifie pas pour vous les 6 degrés. Nous allons y arriver logiquement, bien que mon raisonnement importe peu à la loi. Vous allez voir que la valeur d'un fait résulte de sa restriction même, qu'un fait dans son expression générique est vague, qu'il intéresse fort peu, mais qu'à mesure que ce fait est restreint, à mesure que du genre il descend à l'espèce et que de l'espèce il descend à l'individu, il nous intéresse davantage. Il est plus actuel pour nous, il est plus en proportion avec notre capacité. Nous n'embrassons pas la sphère énorme, immense d'un **[192]** terme générique, tandis que, réduit en une particularité, il nous intéresse et nous captive. C'est là la base de cette progression que je vais vous donner. Prenons cette proposition : « Fleur est agréable ». Je vais me servir des chiffres en question. Vous ne me concédez pas 6. Je mets 3, ça m'est sans doute concédé. L'attribut agréable a, par rapport à fleur, 2 degrés de plus. Nous insisterons davantage sur ce mot agréable.



Là, je restreins l'idée fleur qui ne vous attache pas beaucoup parce que vous n'avez pas le droit de faire parler votre imagination de penser aux roses, au muguet ; il faut que vous embrassiez toutes les fleurs du monde ; c'est trop et ça finit par ne rien dire à votre imagination. Je vais rendre ce sujet plus intéressant à votre imagination en restreignant cette idée du genre à l'espèce. Je vais dire : « La fleur des bois ». Aussitôt ce mot bois prononcé, il est évident que ce mot acquiert une certaine **[193]** importance, une certaine valeur dans votre esprit. Ici, vous avez le droit de faire votre bouquet ; votre imagination peut parler. Vous pensez au muguet, à la violette, à l'églantier. Le sujet acquiert donc, par cette restriction, une valeur qu'il n'avait pas seul. Nous dirons donc que bois est plus important que le verbe lui-même parce que le verbe ne complète pas l'idée ; il est moins important qu'agréable. Ainsi, nous aurons sur bois 3 degrés. Nous ferons donc monter agréable de 3 à 4 puisqu'en définitive, c'est le but de l'énoncé.

Si je réduisais l'espèce des bois à une individualité sensible, il est évident que cette fleur acquerrait plus d'importance encore. J'ajouterai cette restriction, je dirais : « Cette fleur des bois ». Cette est une expression très vivante qui va donner de l'actualité au mot fleur. Cette a plus de valeur que des bois parce qu'il désigne l'objet. Par conséquent nous aurons 4 degrés. Agréable, constituant l'essence même de notre proposition, puisque c'est pour arriver à dire ce qu'est cette fleur, nous voilà forcés à **[194]** mettre 5 degrés sur agréable.

Si maintenant, par une expression différentielle, j'arrive à spécifier davantage cette idée, la valeur individuelle, il pourrait encore exister quelque vague dans l'esprit de ceux à qui je parle. Il peut y avoir là plusieurs fleurs de la même espèce, et cette pourrait ne pas suffire pour désigner l'individu dont je parle. Parmi ces individus, je vais en désigner un par

une expression différentielle qui acquiert, par cela même qu'elle spécifie, une valeur beaucoup plus considérable. J'ajoute : « Cette petite fleur des bois ». Petite a un intérêt croissant sur tout le reste. Quelle valeur donnerons-nous à cet adjectif ? Nous voilà arrivés à 5, forcément. Je n'ai pas encore dit mon but, exprimé mon sentiment, car dans tout cela, il y a des définitions, une forme spécificative, il n'y a pas un sentiment. Il ne s'agit que d'un sentiment dont je suis mû. Le sentiment est dans agréable. Le mot agréable est donc plus fort que tout cela. Nous voilà forcément arrivés à 6, logiquement. Mais il ne faut **[195]** pas se fier à la logique ; c'est un raisonnement comme un autre. Il y a quelque chose de supérieur à la logique, c'est le fait. Il y a 30 ans que j'examine ce fait ; c'est absolument cela. Pour toutes ces langues du monde, il n'y a qu'une loi, et c'est celle-là. Il n'y a pas deux manières d'articuler les expressions, donc de composer un discours, il n'y en a qu'une. Il y en a beaucoup d'autres, celle, par exemple, que font entendre les orateurs, les hommes qui ont appris leur discours. Quand on a appris un discours par cœur, la loi divine est renversée. Ce n'est pas de l'art humain, ce ne serait pas universel comme je le dis si c'était humain, c'est divin, c'est bien supérieur à tous nos raisonnements. Je ne vous donne un raisonnement que pour vous satisfaire un peu. Nous verrons tout à l'heure qu'il ne faut pas se fier aux raisonnements.

Maintenant, si je pouvais faire intervenir ici une expression qui fit immédiatement croître l'expression, le sentiment énoncé par le mot agréable qui se substituerait **[196]** à lui, qui le diminuerait, il serait évidemment plus fort que tout cela. Mais avant tout, si de même que le mot agréable a été modifié en vertu de modifications semblables, et se reportant exclusivement au mot agréable, si la façon dont la chose est agréable peut s'exprimer, il est évident que cette manière d'être agréable l'emportera sur le mot agréable lui-même. Je ne sais pas dans quelle proportion cette fleur est agréable. Je vais vous dire qu'elle est très agréable. Évidemment par cet adverbe, je donne au mot agréable une valeur qu'il n'avait pas. Le voilà restreint à son tour. Quand je dirais immensément agréable, les adverbes quantitatifs, quelque exalté qu'ils puissent être, c'est toujours une restriction, comme de dire de Dieu qu'il est bon, qu'il est immense, qu'il est infini. C'est toujours une restriction apportée à l'idée de Dieu, restriction nécessaire à notre nature, car Dieu n'est pas bon, grand à la façon dont nous entendons la bonté, la grandeur, mais notre infériorité a besoin de cela.

Voilà l'idée agréable restreinte à **[197]** son tour. Il est évident que le terme par lequel elle sera restreinte l'emportera sur elle-même. Très agréable, quelle valeur donc donner à ce terme s'il est plus fort qu'agréable ? Nous ne pouvons lui donner que 7 jusqu'ici. D'après ceci l'adverbe à 7 degrés.

Maintenant je puis effacer tout cela d'un coup, effacer avec un mot l'impression produite à l'aide de toutes ces expressions successives. Je puis opposer à tout cela une simple conjonction, et cette simple conjonction restreint tout d'un coup tout ce que je me suis donné la peine de dire. Voilà un mais. Aussitôt qu'un mais est prononcé : qu'est-ce qui lui manque ? C'est effrayant. Mais est tout un discours. Voilà l'idée renversée, et vous n'allez plus croire ce que je dis ici, mais ce qui suit ce mot, car le mais dit plus que tout ce que j'ai dit. Par conséquent nous ne pouvons pas refuser à cette conjonction une valeur très grande. Cette conjonction a une valeur de 8 comme toutes les conjonctions possibles. Ce que je donne comme cas particulier est une loi générale. Je ne vous donne pas cette loi comme tous les **[198]** grammairiens avec un volume d'exceptions, il n'y a pas une exception au monde. (Je suis bien hardi n'est-ce pas ?) Et cependant, je vous dirai tout à l'heure des choses qui vous étonneront plus encore que ce que je formule là.

Je pourrais reproduire un sujet et une autre proposition, ce sera toujours la même répétition. Cette conjonction résume en elle les altérations exprimées par les expressions

ultérieures, la conjonction les renferme synthétiquement, elle a donc une valeur oratoire très grande. Vous me permettrez, pour cette seule expression, la conjonction et l'interjection, de vous lire, ce n'est pas long, c'est une simple page, une dictée d'un élève que je devais disposer à cela. J'ai dû nécessairement toucher la grammaire. Il a fallu la refondre entièrement pour l'adapter à mon plan. La voyant à ce point de vue, je ne puis pas admettre certaines classifications. Je ne puis pas admettre, par exemple, que dans : « Pleurer est folie », pleurer fut un sujet. Je ne puis l'admettre qu'elliptiquement, car le mot pleurer a 6 degrés. C'est un acte ; un acte ne représente pas une intensité de 6 degrés. **[199]** Un sujet a invariablement 1 degré. Il fallait donc m'occuper de cela, et je vous dirai tout à l'heure en opposition avec cette définition, ma propre définition.

Nous aurons donc à exprimer, en vertu de ces chiffres, la valeur de nos idées. Nous aurons à calculer une valeur sur cette donnée. Le mot très agréable a 7 degrés. Nous aurons à faire 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. C'est bien mécanique. Ça se fait à notre insu. Nous ne savons pas, quand nous exprimons les mouvements de notre cœur, que nous faisons de la mécanique. Nous ne faisons pas autre chose, mais c'est une mécanique sublime, parce que c'est Dieu qui en est l'auteur. Vous n'avez donc, si vous voulez articuler des valeurs dans ce sens, qu'à compter sur vos doigts. L'unité ne peut pas se désigner ; l'unité sera comme ci ou comme ça, mais l'unité, ayant une grandeur dans l'attribut, sera 6 fois développée comme le sujet. La valeur du sujet varie en vue du milieu dans lequel la chose est dite, mais un sujet étant articulé, l'attribut a toujours **[200]** six fois son développement, c'est-à-dire que pour articuler la consonne initiale de l'attribut, il faut six fois le temps que vous avez mis à articuler le sujet.

Vous verrez tout à l'heure comment on peut tomber dans les choses les plus monstrueuses avec une loi comme celle-là et comment, au contraire, on peut éviter la gaucherie réelle. Cette loi mal prise, mal connue, est abominablement ridicule parce que c'est un squelette, une statue : ceci doit recevoir la vie du geste et de l'inflexion ; dépouillée du geste et de l'inflexion, elle est monstrueuse. Je disais : « Cette femme est charmante ». Vous allez voir que je suis très ridicule en mettant 6 degrés sur ce mot charmant sans faire de geste. Vous comprendrez aujourd'hui l'esprit du geste. Le geste est donné à l'homme pour justifier ces valeurs. C'est lui qui dit que la proposition est vraie ou ne l'est pas. Si vous dépouillez votre discours de gestes, il n'y a plus de moyen de constater la vérité des valeurs.

Ne raisonnez pas cela, c'est **[201]** purement expérimental, prenez la peine de vérifier le fait sur nature. Il y a trente ans que je fais cette expérience, vous pouvez bien y consacrer [un/six] mois. Vous voyez que le geste est imposé par certains chiffres, et vous allez voir aujourd'hui dans une proposition combien il faut de gestes, sur quel mot doit porter le geste.

J'ai été ardemment attaqué sur le terrain de la conjonction. Rien ne me forcerait à me défendre parce que c'est à examiner, et il est difficile de se prononcer sur une question pratique de cette nature. Cependant, je relèverai quelques-uns des termes de cette critique parce que cela convient à notre leçon. Je suis bien aise qu'elle m'ait été faite. On ne verra aucun sentiment d'animosité de ma part si je relève cette critique. J'ai d'ailleurs, à part cette critique, été trop bien traité pour avoir à me plaindre. J'ai été traité mieux que je ne le méritais ; mais je ne puis pas laisser planer sur l'importance de la conjonction des doutes qui, peut-être, sont dans beaucoup de têtes. **[202]**

Je vais répondre par quelques faits à ces critiques. D'ailleurs, on me renvoie à la grammaire, et ça me justifiera peut-être si j'ai à parler d'une question un peu grammaticale. C'est à propos de la première séance. Je ne vous lis que ce qui a trait à la conjonction.

« Sans être un critique…

… que ce qu'elle dit partout. »

Je vous ai lu ces deux vers :

« L'onde approche, se brise et vomit à nos yeux,
Parmi des flots d'écume, un monstre furieux. »

Je vous ai dit que les comédiens ordinaires, les gens qui n'ont pas étudié la nature, laissent passer la **[203]** conjonction comme un mot de nulle valeur, parce que ce mot n'est pas sonore, et qu'en générale on n'accorde un effet oratoire qu'aux mots sonores, ce qui est fâcheux. Voilà à peu près comme ça se dit :

« L'onde approche... »

Ceci est faux. Un homme qui a vu, par cela même qu'il a vu, et qu'il ajoute et, a tout dit. Ce n'est pas une théorie que je fais, c'est de l'expérience. Une manière beaucoup plus naturelle mais beaucoup plus rare chez les diseurs de métier, c'est ceci :

« L'onde approche... »

Je ne dis pas que le reste n'ait pas de valeur comme on me l'attribue (on me dit qu'il faut que tout ait de la valeur), mais tout est impliqué dans cette conjonction ; nous le verrons par d'autres applications.

« Ce mot ne dit pas autre chose que ce qu'il dit partout. »

De sorte que la conjonction dans quelque cas que ce soit, n'a pas une autre importance que celle-là et celle-là n'en a pas.

« Il fait son modeste office de conjonction ; il lie le troisième verbe aux deux autres. » **[204]**

Vous verrez ce que c'est que ce modeste office.

« Racine ne l'a pas mis pour diviser (il est certain que la conjonction n'a pas été inventée pour diviser), mais pour réunir. (Il y a trente ans que je la divise.) Cependant… (tenez, voilà la nature prise sur le fait, je divise la conjonction), si quelque tragédien, sur la foi de M. Delsarte. (Je ne me fâche pas, mais il est bon que cette opinion soit formulée) poussait l'humble monosyllabe comme un grand cri et prenait un temps à la suite, je lui compterais ainsi qu'à un écolier une faute d'orthographe. (C'est une faute d'orthographe que de respirer après la conjonction ; il y a trente ans que j'étudie cela.) Ne subtilisons pas (C'est à un praticien qu'on dit : ne subtilisons pas) en matière d'enseignement… et sympathique… **[205]**

Je remercie l'auteur, l'auteur a été excellent pour moi dans cet article, il m'a mieux traité que je ne le mérite. Ce n'est pas pour m'enivrer d'un vain triomphe ce que j'en dis. Je suis heureux que cette opinion ait été formulée, je tiens à vous éclairer et je suis convaincu que de prime abord on doit penser comme cela. Je trouve les raisonnements très bons, très logiques, mais vous savez ce que je pense de la logique. C'est l'art de retrouver dans les conséquences ce qu'on a mis dans le principe. Mettez une bêtise dans le principe, vous avez une bêtise multipliée dans les conséquences, c'est fatal. Il faut se méfier de la logique. C'est ce que j'ai dit à propos de mon premier contradicteur. Mon second n'a pas voulu profiter de la leçon. J'ai montré comment, en matière d'art, la logique nous menait de travers. Je vais vous donner quelques exemples de ce que peut la logique.

Je suppose que moi, musicien (je ramène souvent mes exemples à mon métier), je donne dans un endroit assez resserré un petit concert. J'ai un **[206]** orchestre et une contrebasse. Je trouve ma contrebasse trop faible. Voilà mon logicien qui me dit : « Il y a un moyen pour cela ? – Lequel ? C'est difficile ! – Ce n'est pas difficile, mettez-en deux, vous aurez un son plus fort. » C'est très logique, c'est parfaitement raisonné, mais c'est tout le contraire qui arrive. Mettez deux contrebasses ensemble, chacune d'elles ne correspond plus qu'au quart de sa force, de sorte que deux contrebasses ensemble produisant un unisson ne donnent qu'un demi son, ce que la moitié d'une simple contrebasse produit à elle seule. Voilà la logique prise en défaut, et à tout bout de champ, c'est comme cela.

Encore un trait de logique. Lorsque deux instruments sont désaccordés et ne produisent pas l'unisson, il arrive un phénomène que connaissent les musiciens, un battement très désagréable qui prévient l'oreille la plus dure qu'il y a une discordance, c'est à écorcher l'oreille. Voilà comment on peut constater la fausseté ; c'est ainsi que des hommes de peu de valeur comme musiciens arrivent **[207]** à accorder un orchestre ; ils comptent les pulsations et les battements, ils savent apprécier leur degré de justesse.

On se dira : les deux instruments sont ainsi discordants, si éloignés qu'ils sont, ils produisent des battements aussi désagréables, que sera-ce donc si on les rapproche ? Ce sera étourdissant, ce sera à ne pas entendre. Voilà de la logique. Ce n'est pas vrai. Rapprochez deux instruments comme deux flûtes à bec, comme deux flageolets en dissonance qui ne sont pas d'accord et qui font entendre des battements abominables ; mettez les embouchures près l'une de l'autre, voici ce qui va se passer. Celui qui est bas va s'exhausser sympathiquement, l'autre va se baisser, et ils se rencontreront dans un merveilleux unisson.

Ce n'est pas là de la théorie en l'air, c'est un phénomène physique qu'on peut vérifier. Il n'est pas logique que deux morceaux de bois aient le sentiment de leur infériorité, que l'un ait assez de bonté pour s'abaisser, pour aller au-devant, de l'autre, que l'autre s'exhausse sympathiquement jusqu'à ce que ces sons se marient et forment un unisson parfait, mais **[208]** c'est ce qui se passe.

Je suppose encore une chose. Voilà un salon assourdi par des tentures. Supposez des matelas tout autour. Voilà un pauvre chanteur bien embarrassé. Comment faire ? Comment vais-je remplir cet espace ? (Je suppose une église tendue de deuil.) Ma voix va évidemment se perdre, s'engouffrer dans ces tentures. Le logicien trouve une chose toute simple. Chantez plus fort. En chantant plus fort, on arriverait à perdre entièrement sa voix dans les replis de ces tentures. Si vous voulez vous faire entendre dans ces endroits-là, chantez très faible. Si vous chantez avec intensité, l'intensité est reproduite par les parois sur lesquelles la voix va se projeter et chaque reproduction n'est qu'une sonorité double, triple selon que les parois sont plus sonores ou mieux disposées. Supposons que les parois soient mates. Ce son ira comme une flèche se planter dans ces parois et ne sera pas répercuté ; il s'y engouffrera. Il faut que la voix arrive à peine à ces parois et que, s'échappant tout doucement de la bouche, elle tourbillonne **[209]** sur l'auditoire, et n'aille pas jusqu'aux parois.

Il y a des millions de faits analogues à cela. Supposons, cela arrive quelquefois, qu'un orateur laisse dormir son auditoire. Quel est le remède ? On dira à l'orateur : « Parlez avec plus de chaleur, plus de feu, accentuez votre débit ». Pas du tout. Taisez-vous, vous le réveillerez. Ce n'est pas logique, c'est absurde, mais enfin, c'est comme ça.

Il y a de ces choses singulières. Un célèbre médecin, professeur habile, est venu me trouver un jour, il m'a dit : « Mon Dieu ! je parle en public très facilement, l'expression ne me manque jamais, l'expression surabonde chez moi. Cependant, je ne sais pas comment je fais mon compte, mais je fais presque toujours dormir mes élèves, et quelquefois même je

m'endors avec eux. » Comme je ne suis pas logicien, je dis à mon ami : « Savez-vous pourquoi ? C'est parce que vous avez trop de facilité à parler. Vous ne laissez rien faire à votre auditoire, votre auditoire est étranger à votre discours. Au contraire, cherchez **[210]** votre mot, chacun voudra vous le suggérer, tout le monde travaillera, et, en définitive, c'est nous que nous applaudissons la plupart du temps chez l'orateur quand nous l'applaudissons. » Il dit ce que j'allais dire. Il semble que je lui ai suggéré cette pensée.

Pour revenir à mon contradicteur, il ne me sera pas bien difficile de le vaincre sur le terrain de la parole. Je n'ai pas l'honneur de le connaître, je ne l'ai pas vu ; je ne sais pas ce qu'il dit, mais d'après ses prescriptions, il ne doit pas être un fort parleur. Je n'aurai qu'à le laisser parler. Il s'exprimera en termes meilleurs, plus choisis que les miens, mais voici à peu près ce qui arrivera, c'est infaillible. Il me dira : « Votre système est absurde, car en définitive... » Je dirai : « Vous venez de séparer une conjonction, vous m'avez donné trop tôt raison. – C'est possible... mais. – Vous venez de séparer encore le mais. – D'accord, cependant il y a des cas. – Permettez, votre cependant est encore une raison que vous me donnez. Ce que je vous dis là, c'est de **[211]** l'expérience. » Toutes les fois qu'on m'a objecté une chose, j'ai laissé parler les gens et relevé une à une les conjonctions séparées. Ce n'est pas douteux, ce ne peut pas être autrement et je ne puis qu'en féliciter mon adversaire dans ce cas parce que son discours n'aurait pas de sens ; s'il n'isolait pas la conjonction, ça ressemblerait à un discours mal conçu.

Puisqu'on me parle grammaire, qu'on me dit qu'il faut s'en tenir à la grammaire, je vais opposer ma grammaire à la grammaire usuelle. Nous allons avoir besoin de savoir le sens que j'attache à ces mêmes idées. Ça n'a pas été fait à dessein ; c'est un cahier d'un de mes élèves que j'ai retrouvés. Je vais donc vous dire ce que je pense de la conjonction. « La proposition n'est pas le seule... » **[212]**

En voilà assez pour la grammaire, mais j'ai dû m'occuper de la grammaire. Il m'a fallu donner une définition des neuf parties du discours en vue même de leur valeur logique. C'est très sec, je ne vous lirais pas cela ; si quelqu'un parmi vous désire plus tard les connaître, nous causerons de cela. Je ne veux pas vous faire languir.

Je vais vous donner quelques exemples pratiques de la conjonction. Son rôle n'est pas si humble dans le discours.

> « Prends un siège, Cinna, prends, et sur toute chose
> Observe exactement la loi que je t'impose. »

Vous avez remarqué l'isolement de la conjonction. Supposez ce silence, et voyez ce que ça signifiera.

Auguste dit un peu plus loin :

> « Tiens ta langue captive, et si ce grand silence
> À ton émotion fait quelque violence, »

Supprimez le silence, voyez quelle expression vulgaire. Je suppose que mon contradicteur ne le dirait pas comme ça.

Dans une fable de La Fontaine, Le Meunier, son fils et l'Âne, le vieux dit :

> « Il n'est plus de Veaux à mon âge.
> Passez votre chemin, la fille, et m'en croyez. »

Passez le chemin et croyez. **[213]**

Dans la fable Le loup et le chien :

> « L'attaquer, le mette en quartiers,
> Sire Loup l'eût fait volontiers.
> Mais il fallait livrer bataille ;
> Et le Mâtin était de taille... »

Supprimez cette insertion dans la conjonction et voilà une expression très vulgaire. Tout le génie de ces choses est précisément dans le silence qui suit cette conjonction.

On parle ici d'une conjonction sympathique et admirative. Je vous fais grâce de ce que j'ai dit de l'interjection, mais la conjonction ne diffère de l'interjection qu'en ce sens, qu'elle repose sur des propositions, et en unit les termes, mais elle est comme l'interjection de nature synthétique et elliptique, elle groupe toutes les expressions qu'elle réunit comme une interjection [et] comprend en elle toutes les expressions d'une préposition. Elle est donc, à ce point de vue, exclamative.

> « Je ne puis troubler sa boisson.
> Tu la troubles, reprit cette bête cruelle ;
> Et je sais que de moi tu médis l'an passé. –
> Comment l'aurais-je fait si je n'étais pas né ?
> Reprit l'Agneau, je tette encore ma mère. –
> Si ce n'est toi, c'est donc ton frère. –
> Je n'en ai point. – C'est donc quelqu'un des tiens **[214]**
> Car vous ne m'épargnez guère,
> Vous, vos bergers, et vos chiens. »

Voilà une conjonction qui est certainement interjective. Supprimez le grognement après le car et vous n'aurez plus d'effet, vous aurez une lecture incolore. C'est dans votre intérêt que je fasse cet examen-là. Je ne l'adresse pas au contradicteur. Le contradicteur est venu me donner la réplique. La question est intéressante. Je veux vous faire comprendre tout ce que contient la conjonction, que j'appelle l'âme du discours. Si pour vous la conjonction n'est pas l'âme du discours, vous direz toujours mal, j'en suis bien fâché.

Je vais vous donner un petit exemple de l'expression sympathique que peut avoir une simple conjonction. Il n'y a pas de piano, mais je vais vous donner un petit air de Grétry. C'est dans Zémir et Azor. C'est Azor le maître qui dit cela.

> « Du moment qu'on s'aime, l'on devient si doux
> Et je suis moi-même plus tremblant que vous. »

Faites que cette conjonction joue un simple rôle de lien, voilà un air qui perd tout son charme ; il n'y a plus de poésie. Là, nous voyons qu'il **[215]** y a quelque chose d'infiniment admiratif dans cette simple conjonction et. Ce n'est pas l'interjection, mais ça en a la valeur.

Dans les couplets de Joseph, nous allons retrouver une conjonction :

> « Hélas…
> ces ingrats qui me vendaient. »

Il y a là une interjection. La conjonction ne lui cédera que peu ; elle aura une force interjective parce que le et a autant de valeur que hélas.

Je m'attache à et parce que c'est sur et qu'on m'a attaqué, mais le mais et toutes les autres conjonctions ont la même valeur. Supprimez cette conjonction et voyez comme c'est banal. Voyez ce qu'il y a dans cet et.

Il y a, à propos de la conjonction une observation importante à faire, c'est qu'elle peut fort bien ne relier entre eux que deux mots de même nature, deux substantifs, dès lors, elle n'est plus qu'un lien, elle ne remplit plus que ce rôle humble dont il est question ici.

« Un loup n'avait que les os et la peau. » **[216]**

Je ne vais pas mettre sur et une insertion elliptique. Ce n'est qu'en tant qu'expression elliptique et synthétique qu'il y a cette valeur. Supprimez la synthèse, l'ellipse, la conjonction n'est plus qu'un lien, elle est semblable à la préposition dont j'ai oublié de dire la valeur, qui a 2 degrés comme le verbe. Tout ce qui est simplement copulatif, tout ce qui a pour but de relier deux choses de même nature à la même valeur : « L'homme et la femme ». Dans ce cas et n'est qu'une simple particule copulative qui n'a pas rang de conjonction. Il faut donner à la conjonction un autre nom qui signifie cette fonction ; c'est elle qui gouverne et qui est le point culminant du discours. Comme expression copulative, elle équivaut à la préposition et au verbe. Il y a trois expressions copulatives.

Maintenant je vais m'attaquer bien plus hardiment, je vais être encore moins doux que cela. Je vous ai dit que cette loi posée était universelle, sans exception. Cependant, quiconque en voudra faire l'application tombera infailliblement dans l'absurde. C'est curieux, voilà une **[217]** loi infaillible, sublime, divine, et qui nous conduit tout droit à [l'absurde/l'absurdité]. [Si/Je] vous expérimentez la chose, vous la trouverez presque incessamment en défaut. Je n'en persisterai pas moins à vous dire que la loi est sans exception. Étrange, cela. Voici pourquoi. C'est qu'il faut tenir compte de l'ellipse, et qu'il n'y a presque pas de phrase qui exprime absolument notre pensée. Il y a toujours une arrière-pensée, un sens sous-entendu. Il y a des déplacements de valeur, incessamment, sans cependant que la loi en souffre. Mais vous me direz : « Avec vos ellipses, la loi va être singulièrement élastique. » Pas du tout. Nous allons chiffrer cette proposition.

« Ce mélange de gloire et de gain m'importune. »

D'après mes valeurs, nous mettrons 1 sur mélange ; comme compléments, gloire et gain n'ont que 3 degrés. Nous mettrons 6 degrés sur m'importune. Ça n'est pas fameux. C'est un soufflet donné à la loi, dira-t-on peut-être. Pas du tout, il faut que nous ayons l'expression pour laquelle l'expression en litige est équivalemment employée. Quand je dis : « Ce mélange de gloire et de gain. » Il y a **[218]** là quelque chose d'abject, de bas. Supprimez ce mot d'abject ; il aurait la valeur de qualificatif. Nous aurons 5 degrés sur mélange. Supposons que l'abjection soit profonde, nous aurons mélange avec deux sous-entendus dont je dois savoir la valeur. Mélange n'a qu'un degré ; abject en a 5 ; un adverbe comme extrêmement, abominablement aurait 7 degrés. Voilà donc le mot mélange, qui n'a qu'un degré, prononcé avec un degré de plus que l'attribut qui en a 6. Ça ne met pas la loi en défaut.

Nous touchons une question intéressante. Vous allez savoir l'importance du geste. J'ai appelé le geste le langage elliptique. Le geste nous est donné pour caractériser, pour justifier les valeurs additionnelles du langage normal. Exemple. Je dis ce mélange en vertu d'un adverbe et d'un adjectif qui le modifient elliptiquement à 7 degrés puisqu'il doit tonifier des valeurs sous-entendues. Que je prononce mélange avec 7 degrés sans geste, ce sera très

gauche. Vous direz : « Pourquoi restez-vous sur mélange ? C'est bien faux, c'est bien gauche. Qu'est-ce que ça **[219]** me fait 7 degrés ! c'est faux. » Cependant, je dis que c'est vrai, et vous allez voir à quelle condition. C'est une valeur additionnelle, et il y a sur chaque valeur additionnelle un geste ; c'est là le moyen certain de savoir où il y a un geste, c'est de savoir où il y a une ellipse. Voilà mon chiffre sur mélange justifié, il n'est pas gauche. Et il y a presque toujours des chiffres additionnels. Ce n'est pas grammaticalement que nous parlons, ce n'est pas même logiquement, mais c'est dynamiquement, c'est animiquement, permettez-moi le mot ; c'est sous l'empire de l'âme que nous parlons, et l'âme à chaque instant a ses ellipses, avec des expressions sous-entendues qu'elle ne peut pas articuler, elle ne trouve pas le mot. Au moyen du geste, elle caractérise une ellipse et lui donne une valeur.

Je vais prendre un exemple pour caractériser ceci :

« C'est lui mettre moi-même un poignard dans le sein. »

Veuillez-vous rappeler les chiffres et chiffrer cela. Moi-même, c'est une locution adverbiale, nous lui mettrons 7 degrés ; poignard comme complément **[220]** n'a que 3 degrés. Sein comme le complément n'a que 3 degrés. Si nous articulons le vers en vertu de ces chiffres, nous aurons un triste résultat. Me voilà obligé d'atténuer ma valeur sur poignard et sur sein ; cependant, c'est comme cela que ça doit être. Voyons s'il n'y a pas d'ellipse, et pour le savoir, cherchons pour quelle expression chacune d'elles est équivalemment employée.

Je sais tout naturellement que poignard doit avoir une grande valeur. Pourquoi ? Si le mot poignard n'est qu'un simple substantif et un sujet, je n'irai pas dire à un ami qui aura un poignard sur sa cheminée : « Prête-moi ton poignard ». C'est faux, et cependant je dirais :

« C'est lui mettre moi-même un poignard dans le sein. »

La grammaire vous induit ici singulièrement en erreur ; elle est singulièrement incomplète, bien mal faite. Le mot poignard n'est pas un substantif, c'est un acte. Il est employé pour un acte. Quand je dis poignard, je veux dire poignarder. Quand il ne veut pas dire poignarder, il n'a pas la même valeur. Je ne dirai pas : « Prête-moi ton **[221]** poignard[6][760] », parce qu'il ne s'agit pas de l'action de poignarder. L'acte poignarder aurait 6 degrés ; le mot poignard doit avoir ici 6 degrés. Mais pourquoi l'auteur n'a-t-il pas employé cette forme, « C'est le poignarder moi-même. » N'aurait-il pas dit tout autant ? Il semble que ce serait la même chose. Ce n'est pas la même chose. Vous en avez tous le sentiment. Il a employé cette forme parce que dans « mettre un poignard dans son sein, » il y a quelque chose de cruel, c'est mettre un poignard froidement. Le mot froidement, qui est un adverbe de manière, aura 7 degrés. Le mot poignard n'a pas comme un simple acte, 6 degrés, il en a 7, de sorte que par cette tournure nous gagnons une valeur que nous n'aurions pas dans poignarder.

Le mot sein a de la valeur. Pourquoi est-il équivalemment employé ? Pour la partie la plus impressionnable de l'être vivant. Il sait qu'il tuera plus certainement là ; il y a d'autant plus de cruauté que le sein est la partie la plus impressionnable de l'être. Il y a ici une expression superlative. L'expression superlative **[222]** à la valeur de la conjonction, 8 degrés. De sorte que nous aurons 7 degrés sur poignard, 8 sur sein. Voilà bien des renversements de valeur, et la loi y reçoit une admirable confirmation.

Veuillez vérifier le fait ; ne vous hâtez pas de juger. Il faut expérimenter longuement une chose comme celle-là. La prochaine fois, nous causerons musique. Je croyais au

[760] The number "6" is written above the word *poignard* in the manuscript.

commencement avoir trop de dix séances pour exposer, mais ça ne correspond pas au quart de ce qu'il n'eût fallu pour vous donner la matière même de mon enseignement. **[223]**

Cours de Monsieur Delsarte.

X Leçon

Quelques personnes ont sténographié mon cours. La forme tout improvisé de ce cours et les incorrections de mon langage ne me permettront pas d'autoriser la publication de ces cours dans l'état où ils ont été produits. J'ai commis l'autre jour une omission assez grave. Je devais produire un accord de neuvième qui était important, et j'ai oublié le terme essentiellement synthétique, l'interjection. Vous avez dû, sans doute supplié à l'oubli que j'ai fait. Il ne restait d'ailleurs qu'un chiffre, un dégréa, le neuvième degré. L'interjection a à ce compte 9 degrés, et ce chiffre est fort remarquablement attribue à l'interjection. L'interjection terme elliptique, comprend les trois termes de la proposition. L'interjection est équivalemment employée pour la proposition. En résumant la valeur d'une proposition simple, nous avons le chiffre 9, c'est-à-dire, 1 sur le sujet, 2 sur le verbe, et 6 sur l'attribut. Ainsi l'équation est parfaite.

J'ai parlé du geste au point de vue de la traduction de l'ellipse. **[224]**

Nous avons vu, malheureusement je n'ai pas pu le montrer que très en passant, comment une ellipse devait être exprimée par le geste. Le geste est ce que j'appelle le langage elliptique. Il a été donné à l'homme pour exprimer ce que la parole est impuissante à dire. Nous avons parlé des chiffres additionnels. Chacun de ses degrés suppose un geste. Il y a un geste, une expression mimique partout où il y a un chiffre additionnel, ellipse, en un mot. Deux expressions sont essentiellement elliptiques, c'est la conjonction et l'interjection. De sorte qu'il y a forcément geste là où il y a interjection, puisqu'il y a ellipse.

Le degré dont j'ai parlé est neutre. Lorsqu'un mot est caractérisé par 9 degrés, vous saurez par ce chiffre 9, quelle est l'importance au mot, mais ce chiffre ne dit peu quant au sens au mot, quant à sa valeur. Il a besoin donc d'être soutenu par le geste et par l'inflexion. Le geste sera, si l'on veut, l'inflexion du sourd ; l'inflexion sera le geste de l'aveugle. Il faut en effet que l'orateur, que l'acteur s'adresse aux sourds comme aux aveugles, **[225]** il faut qu'ils supplient, et en effet Dieu a donné à l'homme un double moyen d'expression. Il y a une triple expression, double en vue de la modification même de la parole.

Je suppose cette petite proposition : « Que de peine j'éprouvé à l'entendre. »

Si vous vous rappelez les valeurs pour l'autre jour, nous aurons 3 sur le complément peine ; j'éprouve portera 6 degrés.[761] Il y a aura encore 6 degrés sur l'entendre. Il y a ici une forme elliptique. Je ne sais d'où c'est, cette phrase, elle a dans le temps été citée par je ne sais plus quel critique. On parlait à ce propos de Talma et on disait : Talma faisait ressortit la puissance de sa peine en appuyant sur le mot peine. Si Talma l'a dit comme ça, il l'a dit faux. Il faut toujours chercher l'expression équivalente de celle qu'on produit pour arriver à une valeur certaine. Si nous avons simplement à la place de cette conjonction déterminative que, combien personne n'hésiterait. C'est évidemment le mot combien qui est le mot de valeur. Le que est mis ici pour combien. Il résume une forme elliptique. Ce que se rattache **[226]** évidemment é une proposition antérieure. Cela signifie ; Je ne saurais dire tout ce que je

[761] Numbers are incorrect. The object has a value of 6, whilst the subject and verb have a combined value of 3.

souffre. Si vous résumez une proposition dans cette petite conjonction,[762] évidemment il aurait une grande valeur, et on dira avec plus de raison en mettent 9 degrés sur que : Que[9] de peine ; et non pas : que de peine[6]. Voilà un ton déclamatoire.

Mais encore une fois, quelle que soit la valeur produite sur ce que, le degré dont j'ai parlé est une chose purement matérielle, c'est un thermomètre qui indique un degré de chaleur, un degré de vitalité, mais cela ne dit pas quelle est la nature de la vitalité. Elle est révélée par le geste. Il y a toutes sortes de peines et cela ne se ressemblent pas. Ne demandez au degré que ce qu'il peut vous donner, c'est-à-dire, et c'est beaucoup, une valeur mécanique, matérielle, très significative, car on peut constituer un mensonge par un renversement de valeurs. Au théâtre les gens qui disent les choses comiques sont instinctivement comiques, en ce sens qu'ils renversent les valeurs normales, naturelles. Au lieu à un degré sur le sujet et de 6 degrés sur l'attribut, ils mettront 6 degrés sur le sujet et un seul sur l'attribut. **[227]**

Il reste cour compléter l'expression au degré, le geste d'une part et l'inflexion de l'autre. J'ai constaté que les inflexions étaient en rapport, en affinité directe avec des impressions parfaitement déterminables. Je ne pourrai m'étendre sur ce sujet. J'ai beaucoup à vous dire pour la dernière séance. Je suis pris à court, mais il est au moins nécessaire que je vous parle de l'inflexion au point de vue du langage usuel. Le degré étant donné, il reste à déterminer la nature du sentiment, et c'est d'une part, l'inflexion, d'autre part le geste qui le déterminent. Je vais vous donner un court exemple qui vous donnera une idée de ce que doit être le travail de l'inflexion.

« Prends un siège, Cinna… »

Si l'on voit cette phrase sans connaissance antérieure de l'inflexion on se donnera beaucoup de peine pour arriver à un effet de hasard. Voici ce qu'il y a à faire. Il s'agit de déterminer le chant, la forme vocale de chacune de ces propositions, de chacune de ces phrases.

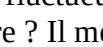
D'abord, combien y-a-t-il de situation ? Quand Auguste dit : « Prends un siégé, Cinna. » Il est rassurant, il dissimule **[228]** son émotion, il est assez maître de lui comme il [est] le maître de l'univers pour dissimuler cette émotion, de sorte que l'interlocuteur ne sait trop que penser de cette apostrophe.

« … et sut toute chose / Observe exactement la loi que je t'impose. »

Voilà le style supérieur qui continence, il commande

« …

II y a là un sentiment qui se traduit par un mouvement alternatif, de l'une à l'autre épaulé. L'inflexion traduit ce mouvement.

Il y a donc trois inflexions, une inflexion rassurante, une inflexion impérieuse, et une inflexion fluctueuse. Nous peindrons cela ainsi. La première impression est curviligne,  la seconde est droite,  la troisième est fluctueuse.  Je ne dois pas avoir d'autres inflexion. Que fera un homme médiocre ? Il me dira vingt ou trente chants dans ces premières phrases. La médiocrité ne se traduit pas par le trop peu, au contraire, c'est par le trop plein. Il y a une abondance extraordinaire d'inflexions chez les gens médiocre ; aussi **[229]** ne laissent-ils pas de souvenirs profonds. L'art d'impressionner profondément, c'est de se réduire. Si on pouvait dans une scène réduire toute la scène a une inflexion évidemment on

[762] The term "conjunction" should read "interjection."

ferait rêver. Je ferai ce que ferait un homme peu versé dans cet art, écoutez le son de ma voix et les inflexions que je vais produire :

« Prends un siégé, etc.… »

Toutes ces inflexions sont très multipliées, je monte, je descends incessamment, je produis des sons dans le medium, dans le haut. Les diseurs médiocres ne trouvent jamais leurs inflexions assez riches ; ils cherchent incessamment à les enrichir, touchant a toutes les tonalités et se perdant dans une foule d'effets insaisissables. Je n'ai que trois phénomènes sensitifs à peindre. J'ai à rassurer, j'ai à ordonner, et j'ai à calmer une fluctuation. Voyez ce qui va avoir lieu :

« Prends un siégé, Cinna… »

Je ne vais plus avoir qu'un chant, je vais aller de haut en bas, et je ne vais plus varier.

« … et sut toute chose / Observe exactement la loi que je t'impose…

…le langue captive… » **[230]**

Maintenant je vais moduler :

« etc.… »

Vous voyez que la conjonction qui est le reflet de tout ce qu'il va dire qui est la synthèse porte l'inflexion fluctueuse.

« et si ce grand silence... »

Voilà la reprise de la forme curviligne :

« Sur ce point… »

Il y a là trois inflexions. J'en pourrais faire dix, vingt. Il se pourrait que sur chaque mot il y en eut une particulière. L'effet de ce petit exemple est tout entier dans la reproduction de la même inflexion. C'est ainsi qu'une goutte d'eau creuse la pierre.

Je vous ai montré comment les gestes expressifs se rapportent presque toujours à des figures géométrales. On peut encore dire la même chose de l'inflexion. Les inflexions doivent se matérialiser, s'exprimer, se dessiner. L'inflexion est donc la source delà musique. Il ne faut pas aller la chercher ailleurs. Qu'est-ce donc que la musique ? Elle découle tout naturellement de l'inflexion. **[231]** Quand je demande à une personne : Comment se porte-t-il ? Comment va-t-il ? J'arrive à déterminer un chant en prolongeant les inflexions.

Évidemment l'homme n'a pas inventé cela. Le chant a été crée avec l'homme. J'ai parlé dans une des premières leçons des moyens multiples en vertu desquels l'homme pouvait agir sur ses semblables par l'expression phonétique. J'ai dit de combien de manières l'homme formulait ses gammes autrefois. Dieu a donné l'homme autant de gammes qu'il y a de tonalités dans son être, ou plutôt, d'impressions dans son être. En effet les modes antiques étaient très multiples, ils ont été réduits plus tard et sont arrivés aux deux modes que nous connaissons aujourd'hui, le mode majeur, et le mode mineur, qui expriment tout. Nous sommes singulièrement appauvris.

La musique a donc en perdant ses modes, perdu le caractère d'universalité qui faisait sa puissance autrefois. Vous savez quelle puissance a eu la musique dans l'antiquité, quelle a été la majesté du son rôle. Son rôle a encore été très grand dans la primitive Église ; la musique a été une des armes les plus **[232]** puissantes du christianisme ; c'est en vertu de sa

puissance que les Gaules et beaucoup d'autres pays ont été convertis à la foi. À cette époque les barbares s'unissaient aux chants des chrétiens, tout le monde chantait en chœur d'une commune voix, et ainsi même avant qu'ils fussent convertis ils s'unissaient au chant, et cela était beaucoup à la conversion des âmes. Je vous demande aujourd'hui comment vous feriez pour aller convertir les Arabes, les Turcs. Si vous alliez les convertir avec votre musique ils diraient : « Ces gens-là se disent apôtres de la vérité et ils nous prêchent la vérité en chantant faux ; ils ne peuvent pas avoir la vérité. »

À propos des Turcs, je vous ai raconté l'autre jour une petite scène qui m'est arrivée avec un chinois ; je vais vous raconter ce oui m'est arrivé avec un Turc. Vous allez voir si nous sommes en progrès. L'ambassadeur turc voulut bien un jour m'avoir chez lui. Il savait que je n'allais pas volontiers en soirée, je n'ai jamais aimé ces représentations, mais il me proposa une chose par laquelle il ne devait pas douter que je me laissasse séduire, l'audition de quelques musiciens turcs. **[233]** Il y avait parmi ces musiciens un chanter. Ça m'intéresse. Nous devions alterner. Nous voici dans cette brillante soirée. Les Turcs avaient des instruments de toutes sortes. On voulut bien me faire l'honneur de commencer. Le turc commence, choisit un instrument dont la manche était très allongée, et le mis sur son genou à entonner je ne sais quel chant. Je croyais qu'il fredonnait. Je me dis : « Voilà un drôle de gaillard. Il rêverie devant tout le monde. Si je pouvais me mettre comme ça en vois quand je dois chanter je serais bien heureux. » J'attendais. Il déposa son instrument. J'attendais qu'il chantât, je me disposais à toutes sortes de plaisir quand l'ambassadeur turc vient me dire : « Eh bien ! à vous. – Comment, à moi ? – N'avez-vous pas promis de chanter après mon turc ? – Ah. Votre turc a chanté ? – Comment trouve-vous qu'il chante ? – Ce n'est vraiment pas mal, seulement ça pourrait être plus varié. Je n'ai entendu qu'un son. Je me mets à chanter à mon tour. J'ai un très grand succès. Me voilà très fier de mon succès. Le turc ne se démoralisa pas du tout de cela et il recommença. Ce fut encore **[234]** le même air. Je me dis : « Ah ! Ça, mais ce sera toujours le même air, le même son. » C'était à peu près le même son, le même air, c'est-à-dire le même unisson. On se mit pour le coup à rire au nez de ce pauvre Turc. Ce furent des éclats de rires homériques. Il ne se démoralisa pas du tout. Il ne faisait pas attention à ce qu'on disait. Je me dis : « Cependant, il y a quelque chose d'étrange là-dedans, il ne [vient?] pas nous chanter un son, il y a un air là-dessous. S'il y a un air, je pourrais bien être l'âne, moi. Je demandais à cet homme d'abord ce qu'il avait éprouvé en m'entendant. J'avais eu beaucoup de succès. Il me fit signe, c'était par interprète que nous parlions que mon chant était détestable, exécrable. Il me fit une grimace expressive. Il me fit comprendre que mon visage lui allait, mais qu'il y avait dans mon chant une expression tout à fait excentrique. J'écoutais une troisième fois et je crus m'apercevoir qu'il y avait dans ces sons certains oscillations qui pourraient bien être une espèce d'air. Je prends à part mon turc et lui dis. Vous avez probablement des gammes. Il me fit voir que oui et il me chanta des huitièmes de ton. **[235]**

Cet homme procédait par, huitièmes de ton ; il faisait entre ut et ré toute une gamme et tout un air. Je me dis : « Je suis terriblement loin de ce turc. Et je ne ris pas (Voilà où nous en sommes avec nos prétendus progrès). Je suis musicien, je ne saisis rien au-delà du demi-ton, je ne suis sûr de rien. Je sais bien qu'il y a des différences, qu'un demi-ton est grand, qu'il est court, mais il me serait impossible de saisir un huitième de ton. Voilà des gens que les chantent. Cette musique nous l'ignorons profondément. Je ne sais vraiment à quoi sert une institution comme la Conservatoire. Pourquoi n'apprend-on pas la musique des Turcs ? Il y a bien des choses à réunir ; il y a une foule de systèmes certainement très intéressants. Nous les ignorons, nous en parlerons à notre aise. Nous avons l'habitude de dédaigner ce que nous ignorons. C'est ainsi que nous avons dédaigner nos pères parce que nous ignorons les œuvres. Combien y-a-t-il de gens qui connaissent les œuvres musicales du 17^{e} et du 18^{e} siècles ?

C'est effrayant ; nous sommes, nous musiciens d'une ignorance prodigieuse. Je parle de moi, je ne m'exclue pas. Nous sommes ce que serait un Français qui se dirait lettre, éclairé, et qui ignorerait **[236]** Corneille, Racine, Molière, Bossuet, tous ces maîtres de cette grande et belle littérature des siècles passés. Voilà où nous en sommes. Nous faisons pis qu'ignorer tout cela, nous avons calomnié tous ces grands génies, ces grandes figures, ces grands musiciens du 17e et 18e siècles. Nous avons dit que ces gens-là étaient des perruques, qu'ils ne savaient pas faire de la musique, et cependant ces gens sont ignorés même des plus grands maîtres de l'art. L'histoire de l'art n'est enseignée nulle part. Il y a peut-être dans le monde 5 à 6, je ne crois pas que ça aille à 8. Je fais la part large, 8 érudits qui connaissent l'histoire de la musique et ce ne sont pas des musiciens. Nous ignorons histoire de notre art. Ça ne s'enseigne nulle part, pas plus qu'on n'enseigne l'art. C'est déplorable !

Je suis fort embarrasse parce que la matière surabonde. Je n'ai qu'une séance pour vous parier de tous les phénomènes qui constituent la musique. Enfin j'espère vous apprendre quelque chose intéressant au moins sur les précédents de cet art.

Et d'abord, puisque je vous pariais tout à l'heure de l'importance immense de la musique dans l'antiquité et dans **[237]** le sein même de l'Église, il n'est pas mauvais que je vous dise en quelques mots l'œuvre délétère au sein de l'Église de l'art, de la science, plutôt de la fausse science.

L'harmonie est devenue, chose étrange, le symbole de la division. Tant qu'on a chanté en unisson on a chanté avec foi, avec amour. À partir du moment qu'on a chanté en harmonie, on s'est battu, on s'est divisé. Voici ce que la science a commencé par dire. Elle a dit aux masses, à ces bienheureux qui chantaient de tout leur cœur en unisson : Vous êtes des imbéciles, vous ne savez pas votre affaire, nous allons vous faire entendre de l'harmonie ; écoutez bien ceci ; voici comment l'unisson est harmonique.

L'harmonie n'est, et ne peut être, que l'épanouissement de l'unisson, de sorte que l'harmonie essentielle, c'est l'unisson, j'ai montré la triplicité des phénomènes qui résulte de l'unisson. L'union [est] comprend en lui, au moyen de ces répercutions des harmonies prodigieuses. Ainsi, tous les sons de la gamme sont dans un son, et ce serait effroyable si l'on voulait produire parallèlement tous les sons de la gamme sous prétexte qu'ils sont dans l'unisson, parce que la déclivité que constitue le charme de cette harmonie et **[238]** qui est dans cet unisson serait pervertie. On a fait de l'harmonie ce qu'on a fait en décomposant la lumière par le prisme, ce qu'un peintre ferait si au lieu de faire un ciel un fond ravissant de paysage par la déclivité de ses couleurs, il mettait au bleu, du rouge, du blanc ; ce serait quelque chose de hideux, ce serait une palette, et voilà tout. Voilà comment on a fait de l'harmonie, au lieu de la déclivité des sons qui fait que la dominante a une certaine puissance, au-dessus de la dominante est la médiante qui est infiniment moindre on entend toutes les dissonances au 7e et 9e et chose étonnante, plus il y a d'harmonie dans un son, plus ce son a de charme ; ça devrait être le contraire : plus il y a de dissonances dans un son plus il y a de charme. C'est que tout cela procédé d'une certaine façon dont Dieu a le secret et que nous comprenons cependant. Toutes ces fois que nous voudrons stéréotyper chacune de ces harmoniques, nous arriverons à substituer le faut à la réalité. Voilà ce que fait la science.

On a dit à ces braves gens : « Taisez-vous, vous n'êtes pas artiste ; nous allons vous faire entendre de la musique, vous allez voir ce que c'est. D'abord, vous êtes trop nombreux, on ne peut **[239]** pas faire de bonne musique a tant que ça ; il faut savoir son affaire. Il y a de la musique à quatre parties ; on équipondéra les parties, on sera tant par ici, tant par-là. » L'oisiveté est la mère des vices, le pauvre peuple s'est mes à écouter toutes ces belles choses ; il est devenu oisif, et enfin il s'est fait à ces belles choses qui l'ont d'abord étonné. Il

s'est mis à dormir ; il a été au cabaret. Il a dit : « Ce n'est plus amusant parce que je ne participe plus à ce qui se fait je n'y suis pour rien ; j'ai de l'activité, il fait que je m'en donne. »

Voilà ce qui s'est fait ; parallèlement à l'introduction de l'harmonie dans l'Église est arrivé un affaiblissement de la foi. Je ne dis pas que ce soit l'introduction de l'harmonie qui ait affaibli la foi, mais il y a là quelque chose d'étrange, et cela se comprend.

Les grands chants, les chants populaires n'ont jamais été écrits par des artistes. Un artiste ne ferait pas ces chants qui entrainent un peuple. Il y a quelque chose de plus élevé. Ce sont les petits qui font ces choses-là. Ce ne sont pas les grands, ce sont les petits, les ignorants. Ce n'est pas un musicien qui a fait La Marseillaise. Et un musicien se serait dit : « Je ne puis pas faire une mélodie toute **[240]** simple, il faut mettre cela a quatre parties avec orchestre. » Si, quand nos armées chantant ce chant il avait fallu équilibrer la voix, il serait arrivé un moment ou on se serait tu. Le capitaine aurait dit : « Et la Marseillaise ? » Le caporal aurait répondu : « Je ne puis pas, les seconds ténors sont tués, je suis avec mes premiers ténors. » Voilà à ce qu'on aurait arrivé avec notre belle science.

Que de préjugés maintenant n'aurons-nous pas à détruire à propos de l'orchestre. On m'a dit vingt fois : « Ça devait être bien pauvre l'orchestre autrefois, car si on en juge par l'orchestre de Grétry, c'est bien pauvre. Qu'était donc l'orchestre avant Grétry ? Ce devait être bien misérable. Demandons-nous ce que c'est que l'orchestre. Les musiciens parmi vous savent bien que toutes ces inventions instrumentales ne sont dans l'orchestre qu'une superfétation. Que vous mettiez sur une partie des basses, des clarinettes, des flûtes, des cors, et des hautbois, ce ne sera jamais qu'une partie. Je me rappelle une brave femme qui me disait il n'y a pas longtemps : « Mon fils est extraordinaire, il a fait un chœur pour huit cents voix. » Il l'eut **[241]** fait pour quatre voix, c'eût été tout aussi bien, mais pour huit cents voix, ça fait singulièrement d'effet. Tous les instruments du monde ne font pas qu'un orchestre soit plus riche. Un orchestre n'est pas riche par la composition des instruments qu'il embrasse, mais par la contexture même des parties intrinsèques qui le composent. Qu'est-ce que l'orchestre moderne, et qu'était l'orchestre à cette époque ? Ce sont des faits, ce n'est pas une opinion, que je vais vous donner. L'orchestre c'est le quatuor. En dehors de cela c'est une superfétation, ce n'est pas la vie même de l'orchestre. Le premier violon, le second violon, l'alto, et la basse. On ajoute à cela des instruments à vent, mais c'est là l'orchestre. Lorsqu'un chanteur chante sur ces quatre parties, il est bien rare qu'une d'elles ne le suivre pas à pas, ou elles le suivre alternativement, ou l'une d'elles le suit, mais il y a presque toujours une des quatre parties sacrifiées de sorte que le chanteur est accompagné en général par trois parties d'orchestre. Voilà ce qu'était l'orchestre de Lulli. Il avait un premier violon, un second violon, un troisième violon, et la plupart du temps, un premier alto, **[242]** un second alto et une basse, six parties. Ces six parties étaient tellement obligées qu'aucune d'elles ne devrait suivre le chant, ce qui, avec le chant, élevait ces parties à sept.

Je dois répondre à cette idée de la pauvreté de Grétry. À cette époque on aimait le chant. On ne l'aime pas aujourd'hui, on le déteste, on le couvre, on force le chanteur à hurler, on lui met une bête féroce qu'il faut vaincre, il faut qu'il l'écrasé et on applaudit. Habituellement on n'aime pas le chant ; si le chanteur n'est pas écrasé, on ne jouit pas. À cette époque on aimait le chant, à ce point que quand le chanteur avait quelque chose d'intéressant, de spirituel à dire, il n'était jamais accompagné par l'orchestre, si doux qu'il fût alors, si discret qu'il fût.

Vous allez peut-être rire en pensant au clavecin. C'était un misérable instrument que le clavecin ! Ça n'a pas de son ! Savez-vous ce qu'était le clavecin et antérieurement au

clavecin le clavicorde ? Presque tout le monde possède des pianos. Vous savez que l'accord d'un piano est tout simplement un tempérament, une même touche produite l'ut dièse et le ré bémol. Ce n'est jamais **[243]** ni ut ne dièse ni ré bémol, c'est toujours fatalement faux. Voilà nos instruments de progrès. Le clavicorde était un instrument accordé à tempérament mais les doigts en communication avec la corde la faisaient hausser ou baisser, la rendaient à volonté de sorte que la corde était alors intelligente. Plus tard on a progressé. On a dit : « Ce n'est pas assez fort. » On a substitué à cela un épouvantable marteau et c'est devenu le piano tel que vous le connaissez. J'exècre le piano. Le son du piano ancien avait aussi la faculté de produire ce dont on abuse si effroyablement aujourd'hui, la vibration. De là les singuliers erreurs où sont tombés tant de gens qui exécutent les œuvres du 17e et du commencement du 18e siècles. Lorsqu'ils voient une croix ils appellent cela une cadence. Ils voient un te, ils disent : « C'est un trille. » Ce n'est pas vrai, c'est un tremblé. Le trille n'a été admis que vers la fin du 18e siècle et, chose étrange, les Italiens qui aiment cependant les fioritures se sont rendus à ce malheureux trille peut être vingt ans après que nous l'exécutions ; ils trouvaient que c'était une chose de très mauvais goût et ils avaient raison. Le trille n'est arrivé **[244]** que par l'incapacité même des chanteurs et par l'impossibilité où était le piano perfectionné de produire cette vibration dont je parlais. Il n'y avait plus de tremble possible ; le piano avait frappé sa note, il en fallait frapper une autre. Les chanteurs abusent singulièrement aujourd'hui de cet ornement dont je parle. Toutes les voix chevrotent. Il n'y a pas de mérite à cela. Autrefois les voix étaient parfaitement tenues. Elles étaient vibrantes en temps opportun, elles vibraient sur la dissonance. Le soupir était indiqué par une croix. Toutes les fois qu'il y avait un sentiment de douleur il y avait une croix pour exprimer cette douleur. De là une finale qui est devenu assez rococo comme on disait car on ne dit plus cela, on commence à avoir un peu plus de respect pour les maîtres. Comment avait-on parodié cette finale ? On appelait cela une phrase à paniers. Nous avons perdu la tradition de toutes ces exécutions. Nous avons effroyablement perdu de choses. Je me trouvais il y a quelques années chez les Trappistes. J'ai eu le bonheur de vivre quelques jours au milieu d'eux. Vous avez sans doute entendu parler de l'effet prodigieux de leur chant. J'allais **[245]** entendre ce soir le *Salve Regina.* C'était d'un merveilleux effet. Figurez-vous ces quatre-vingts moines blancs, éclairés seulement dans leur chapelle par une petite veilleuse, entonnait en unisson le *Salve Regina* restant sur chaque ses sept secondes, je les ai comptés, j'avais à cette époque une monte à secondes. Je ne pouvais pas les suivre. Ils arrivaient à cela parce que chacun d'eux respirait quand il le voulait, à des distances inégales et indiquées. Alors ce chant est sans fin, ce chant ne respire pas, ce chant c'est infini. Il n'y a pas de chanteur au monde qui puisse suivre ce chant. J'ai voulu le suivre, j'étais époumone à chaque son. Je me disais : « Comment ces gens qui ne sont pas comme moi artistes, font-ils de ces choses merveilleuses ? » Je me suis aperçu qu'ils le faisaient tout naïvement, sans étude, ils se reposaient à tour de rôle. Ils produisaient bien mieux des choses qu'aucun chœur musical ne pourrait faire. Vous serez incapables de rendre cela ; on ne peut pas l'entendre ailleurs, on ne peut l'entendre qua la Trappe. Émerveillé de cela je demandai au père supérieur l'autorisation de copier ce chant. J'étais heureux, me voilà copiant **[246]** ce chant. Je me dis : « C'est drôle, c'est ce que tout le monde a à Paris ; C'est le *Salve Regina* de l'Église. » Ce son qui produisait un effet si religieux, si tendre par les gens qui certainement visaient à l'effet, ne peut pas se comparer au même son produit dans nos églises par des gens qui se pressent pour avoir plus tôt fini. Je m'y suis laisse prendre et bien d'autres. Je ne nus résister au désir d'exprimer tout mon bonheur d'avoir entendu de si angéliques choses au père supérieur. Le père supérieur me dit : « C'est bien dommage, si nous avions la faculté d'avoir un orgue ! » « Gardez-vous-en bien, si vous aviez un orgue, vous n'auriez pas le *Salve Regina*. Quelle heureuse prescription ! Grâce à cela, vous avez la tradition, et grâce à nos instruments, les gens de l'art nous font perdre notre harmonie. »

Je crois bon de vous dire quelques mots de l'orchestre puisque nous en avons parlé. Pour moi, il y a trois sortes d'orchestres, un orchestre que j'appellerai symbolique, un orchestre que j'appellerai esthétique, et un orchestre que j'appellerai fantaisiste.

Dans l'antiquité certains timbres **[247]** étaient consacrés à Dieux, et on ne pouvait confondre les instruments, en changer, l'attribution sans être passible des peines les plus graves. Les instruments avaient donc une consécration très sévère. Je n'ai pas besoin de m'entendre sur l'orchestre antique, vous en saviez probablement autant et peut-être plus que moi, mais ce que vous ne savez pas c'est cette progression que je vais vous dire.

Au 16e, au 17e siècles, les instruments furent d'abord attribués non pas aux divinités mais aux divers personnages scéniques. Ainsi, Orphée, je suppose, avait pour symbole et pour représentation le violoncelle. Eurydice était représentée par le violon, les nymphes par les harpes, et les divinités infernales par les trombones, de sorte que quand le personnage scénique passait mentalement de la pensée d'Eurydice qui accompagnée par le violon, à la pensée des nymphes qui étaient accompagnées par des harpes, et quand les trombones coïncidaient avec l'apparition d'une autre forme de la pensée qui allait aux divinités infernales, on devinait par l'attribution de ces divers timbres la pensée d'un homme. Il n'était pas obligé de dire : « Je pense à ceci, je pense **[248]** à cela. » Ça avait donc une très grande importance, mais cette attribution qui devait changer avec les divers ouvrages avait bien son inconvénient. Ainsi on avait vu Orphée pensant à Eurydice représenté par le violon. Dans un autre ouvrage c'était un autre personnage qui était détermine par le même instrument, de sorte une le souvenir d'un opéra transporte dans tel autre devait singulièrement gêner. Le symbolisme des timbres a été une admirable chose admirable quand il a été consacré aux dieux. Aujourd'hui nous n'avons même plus la consécration de l'orgue : on joue de l'orgue partout, dans n'importe quel lieu. Plus rien n'est consacré, tout est mêlé. Ça avait donc un côté fâcheux qui avait été senti par Lulli car Lulli n'a pas suivi ces errements ; il s'est borné à son orchestre instrumentales admirablement nourri… Je m'aperçois en parlant de Lulli que je ne vous ai pas dit ce que je voulais vous dire tout à l'heure. J'avais une chose importante à vous dire sur les timbres et sur l'introduction au clavecin à la scène. Je me hâte d'arriver à cette transition. Lulli n'accepta pas cela. Il eut raison. Il fit intervenir cependant des timbres. On chercha beaucoup jusqu'à **[249]** Gluck. Ce fut là l'œuvre de Gluck. Ce fut par là qu'il fut grand et inimitable. Comme mélodiste il n'a pas dépassé certainement Lulli, en grandeur il n'a pas dépassé Rameau, mais il a dé passé ces deux hommes par un côté, il a créé l'orechestre, non pas qu'il ait introduit des instruments, il a créé l'orchestre que j'appelle esthétique. Ce fut alors une véritable et magnifique attribution. Il se dit : « L'homme est la synthèse vivante au monde : l'homme est en affinité avec toute la création et il y a dans l'homme quelque chose de tous les animaux, du chat, au lion, de l'ours, du tigre, de la colombe. Évidemment les divers timbres sont en affinité avec ces caractères animaux et si cela est-il faut les attribuer tous à son être. » Il fit un immense travail que je ne puis pas vous raconter, je vous en dirai cependant quelque chose. Il créa sa synthèse. Chaque instrument fut approprié à l'une de ses émotions et consacré non plus à un personnage mais à un sentiment, à une émotion. Consacré de cette façon, il est transmutable partout car l'amour c'est l'amour partout. Le même instrument pouvait exprimer l'amour d'Achilles et l'amour d'Orphée **[250]** tandis qu'Achille n'est pas Orphée, et le même instrument ne pouvant pas leur être attribué. Avec Gluck l'orchestre dessin donc une grande synthèse. Il y a ne mis pas tous les animaux ensemble, il n'en fit pas une ménagerie, il savait qu'ils ne parlent pas tous ensemble chez l'homme. Quand le tigre fait entendre sa voix la colombe ne parle pas chez l'homme. Il y a donc chez lui des instruments antipathiques en quelque sorte dont Gluck eut soins d'éviter le mariage et voici ce qu'il fit.

Je vais laisser à la théorie et vous donner de la pratique parce qu'avec les théories nous n'en finirons pas aujourd'hui. Je vais vous donner quelques exemples. Vous comprendrez probablement mieux ce que je veux dire.

Dans cette effroyable situation de la descente d'Orphée aux enfers au moment de ce magnifique chœur :

> « Quel est l'audacieux
> Qui dans ces sombres lieux
> Ose porter ses pas. »

Aujourd'hui il n'y aurait pas assez de timbres dans le monde : je ne sais pas quels instruments on n'inventerait pas pour accompagner ce chœur-là, pour faire entendre les divinités infernales. **[251]** Le Cerbère, connaissez-vous comment il accompagnait ce chant où toutes ces furies, toutes ces épouvantables voix vomissent ? Par un petit misérable hautbois : c'est curieux. Il n'y a pas de cor, pas de trombone. Pourquoi cela ? C'est que les autres instruments ont quelque chose de lumineux et qu'il n'a voulu porter la lumière dans le séjour des ténèbres, il n'a pas voulu que le séjour des morts fut éclatant. Il l'accompagné par ce hautbois parce qu'il a dit : « Voilà le lieu de la fatalité. Je ne ferai dominer la que cet abominable petit hautbois, nasal, criard, pointu désagréable. À part cela, il y a des instruments à corde. Ce magnifique chœur que quelques-unes parmi vous connaissent, qui est la plus belle chose du monde, on l'a trouvé si pauvre qu'on a doublé toutes ses[763] parties par des trombones et des cors.[764] C'est épouvantable ! La chose a été faite de nos jours. Voilà comment la pensée de cet homme.

Voyez ce génie. Dans les Champs Élysées, quand Orphée va trouver son Eurydice dans le séjour de paix, de bonheur, de lumière, il fait entendre les cors, les instruments à vent que nous ne ferions pas entendre nous autres. **[252]**

L'orchestre de Gluck est d'une richesse prodigieuse. Je me suis demandé pourquoi je ne pouvais pas entendre un opéra nouveau si ce n'est en cinq ou six fois. Ce n'est pas que je n'aime pas la musique, mais c'est plus fort que moi, ça exaspère les sens. Je me suis aperçu que c'étaient les procédés prodigieux de Gluck qui m'avaient permis d'entendre ses opéras tandis que dans les opéras nouveaux il n'y a presque pas de morceau où tous les instruments ne soient ensemble. Il faut entendre pendant cinq actes de rugissements. Les animaux dont je parlais sont tous ensemble, les singes, les tigres, les léopards. C'est une ménagerie.

Il me manque pour cette démonstration beaucoup de choses. D'abord, la présence d'esprit et surtout un piano. Je le regrette infiniment. Il y aurait eu là une foule d'exemples très saisissantes. J'aurais pu vous montrer comment Gluck exprime les choses par ses rythmes avec un art prodigieux. Ainsi Gluck sait qu'il caractérise la puissance par le parallélisme des parties concomitantes. Là où il y a ampleur, majesté, puissance toutes les parties sont parallèles. Mais s'il manque quelque chose à celui qui **[253]** chante, si c'est un amant séparé de celle qu'il aime, il sépare, il exprime alternativement les basses et l'harmonie, la basse ne se rencontre pas avec l'harmonie. S'il a à ajouter à cette séparation une expression de désespoir, si la séparation doit être éternelle, il exprime cela par une fluctuation comme dans Iphigénie ici : « O malheureuse Iphigénie, ta patrie est anéantie. » C'est comme une mer qui entraine tout et ne rend rien. Il se place toujours vis-à-vis de ces grandes images qu'il rend avec un bonheur infini. Là ou y a fluctuation il y a désespoir. Dans Gluck c'est mathématique. Il accompagne la fatalité avec le hautbois. S'il y a des pleurs, il

[763] Following Waille, "Annexes," corrected from "ces."
[764] Following Waille, "Annexes," corrected from "corps."

ajoute un instrument nasal et d'un très grand effet, en parfaite affinité avec les larmes, la clarinette. Quand il accompagna le hautbois de la clarinette il y a larmes dans la douleur. Si le personnage comme Alceste qui n'a pas la résignation et la grandeur du personnage d'Iphigénie qui dit : « Malgré moi, mon faible cœur partage…, » qui va perdre tout ce qu'elle aime, Gluck fit passer la fluctuation que j'ai signalée tout à l'heure de la main droite à la main gauche afin de pouvoir sur quatre basses sur lesquelles se trouve cette faiblesse en couper **[254]** deux de sorte que l'édifice est boiteux et chancelant. C'est une expression parfaite de ce que dit cette malheureuse : « Je ne me sens pas le courage ! » Une troisième basse coupée exprime merveilleusement cela.

Gluck procédé à coup sûr. C'est à la fois un immense génie et un homme d'une très puissante science, c'est un homme qui n'a ignoré aucun des ressources de l'art. Il est mort avec son secret. Grâce à Dieu je l'ai étudié, je l'étudie avec amour. Vous savez combien j'aime Gluck, je l'aime de passion. J'ai eu le bonheur de saisir ces richesses que je ne peux vous dire que d'une manière imparfaite. Il me manque tout pour cela, mais j'ai fait un travail que je compte publier plus tard sur Gluck.

Voilà l'orchestre que j'appelle esthétique puisque l'esthétisme est le sentiment, la sensation.

À partir de Gluck tous ces travaux furent terminés, finis. Il n'en fut plus question. Un grand génie est venu parallèlement à lui et m'a pas saisi ses secrets. C'est Mozart, un grand musicien. Mozart n'a rien compris à tout cela. C'est le plus charmant, le plus ravissant de tous les orchestres, mais c'est de la pure fantaisie, n'y cherchez pas de la physiologie, la profondeur des vues. La preuve c'est que vous trouvez pour des images semblables des cors, des clarinettes, **[255]** et des hautbois. C'est infiniment plus riche cour l'oreille mais infiniment moins puissant pour le cœur. Il faut être un grand génie pour faire dévier les arts. Il avait assez de génie pour cela. Il nous a jeté dans le faux, je ne crains pas de le dire : il a créé l'orchestre fantaisiste. Il produit beaucoup d'effet grâce à son orchestre qui est fait avec un discernement et un goût exquis, mais ce n'est plus cela : vous trouvez des situations indiquées par certains timbres, et vous allez trouver des situations identiques où vous êtes étonnés de ne plus retrouver les timbres. C'est n'est pas une opinion qu'on ne puisse vérifier. Examinez et vous serez d'accord avec moi que Gluck est mort avec son secret. Il est le seul qui ait compris la physiologie des timbres, mais aussi Dieu sait quel effet [a/à] sa musique. Je souhaite que vous l'entendiez quelque jour. Mais malheureusement si vous l'entendiez on l'accompagnerait avec d'autres timbres. Vous ne le trouveriez pas assez riche. On ferait avec tous ces morceaux ce qu'on a fait avec Orphée ; on corrigerait les quintes qu'il fait à dessein. On y mettrait des sixtes parce qu'un grand homme comme lui ne peut pas faire des quintes. Enfin on est arrivé à une **[256]** profusion de timbres telle qu'il est impossible aujourd'hui qu'un homme chante avec intelligence, qu'il chante avec son cœur parce que toute sa vie est consacrée à une lutte affreuse. Faites donc des chanteurs avec de pareils orchestres, c'est absolument impossible. Il n'y a pas de ce côté de progrès à espérer.

Mais il y a une décadence bien plus triste parce qu'on peut aimer l'orchestre fantaisiste et dire que ce n'est pas une décadence. Qu'est devenue notre belle langue française dans le chant ! Ce sont des répétitions incessantes. Il semble qu'on a pris à tâche de répéter deux fois la même chose.

Supposez que je veuille déclamer cela.

« Ah ! quel plaisir d'être soldat, etc… »

Il n'y a pour démontrer la décadence profonde dont je parle qu'à lire une partition si vous en avez le courage. Je vais vous dire une chose qui a eu beaucoup de succès avec son rythme, une chose qui est fort belle à beaucoup d'égards.

« Robert, toi que s'aime, etc… »

Vous direz peut-être que je choisis ce morceau. Pas du tout, c'est partout comme cela. C'est effroyable.

Comparez donc cela avec ces rythmes **[257]** produits par ces hommes des 18e du 17e siècles par Rameau, Lulli, Gluck. Voyez ces répétitions. Voilà dans quel cas Gluck répété, dans Armide :

« Armide, vous m'allez quitter, etc… »

Il n'a pas entendu tout ce qu'elle lui a dit, il répété identiquement la même phrase ; c'est un trait de génie. Il y a toujours un sens profond chez ces gens-là. Je vais vous faire entendre un rythme, vous faire pressentir le chant plutôt que chanter :

« Cruelle, non jamais, votre insensible cœur »

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous prêcher beaucoup, essayez la lecture d'un opéra, je ne crois pas que vous la puissiez souffrir. Lisez quoique ce soit dans Gluck ça vous sera d'autant plus charmant si vous êtes musiciens. Vous serez ravis, je ne dis pas en suivant ces chants mais en suivant ces rythmes. C'est fait avec un charme inouï.

Pour le récit voyez ce qu'on est arrivé à faire. On fait au chanteur un récit quelconque et le chanteur chant ça *ad libitum*. Cependant on lui fait force explications, force recommandations. On met ici avec tristesse, ici avec douleur. Ce serait détestable si c'était dit comme c'est écrit de l'aveu même de l'auteur. L'auteur serait au désespoir qu'on **[258]** chantât at comme il écrit son œuvre. Il faut chanter tout autrement. Voilà ce que faisait Lulli et ici il est encore plus fort que Gluck. Lulli employait dans un récit des mesures à 3 temps, à 4 temps, à 2 temps, des mesures variées et il arrivait à une telle précision qu'on pouvait chanter comme on chante un air de solfège et être parfaitement dramatique. J'en ai fait l'expérience plusieurs fois, c'est merveilleux. On ne peut plus faire ça aujourd'hui. La preuve de l'abaissement de cet art chez le chanteur est dans la masse énorme de signes dont un compositeur se croit obligé de couvrir sa partition. Il y a des pianos, des fortes, des rinforzando. C'est à n'y plus rien reconnaître quelquefois. Ça prouve qu'il ne sait absolument rien. S'il savait quelque chose, il n'aurait pas besoin de cela. Chose étrange, c'est que je ne crois pas que le compositeur la sache beaucoup plus, car s'il le savait il dirait au chanteur : « Voilà la loi, vous savez que dans telle situation la chose doit s'exprimer ainsi, voilà des nuances, vous n'avez pas besoin de mes explications. » Un érudit Allemand me disait il y a quelques années : « L'art moderne a fait de très grand progrès. – Lesquels ? – Il ne possédait pas les signes de nuances que nous avons. – Beau progrès. – On ne savait pas indiquer **[259]** comment il fallait rendre tel passage. – On n'indiquait rien parce qu'on savait quelque chose. Si on n'indiquait rien aujourd'hui je ne sais pas ce que vous feriez. »

Il n'y a pas de loi formulée sur ces choses, on ne sait rien des nuances, des effets pathétiques si puissants du chant, on n'a rien dit des rapports sensitifs des divers timbres dont est susceptible une même voix. De là la nécessite où on se croit de faire tant de signes, ce qui est fâcheux. Il n'y a pas de signes dans la musique ancienne. On est certainement bien mal venu quand on traduit la musique ancienne de venir mettre des *P* des *F* et toutes sorte s de nuances.

J'ai dû dès la troisième leçon être à court à la quatrième : j'avais désiré que ce cours fut un cours pratique et en effet il serait très bon que ce que j'ai dit serve de préface à un cours pratique, mais je n'ai pas eu le temps d'exposer. Je vais vous dire un mot du son en lui-même.

Le son est produit par l'action parallèle et simultanée de trois agents, un agent projecteur, un agent vibratile, et un agent répercussif. Sans l'action de ces trois agents, la phonation ne peut pas se produire. Ces trois agents sont co-nécessaires entre eux et co-égaux entre eux en importance. Voilà donc la base d'un **[260]** premier accord de neuvième.

Il y a trois foyers de répercussion dans l'instrument vocal, il y a trois modes d'activer vibratile et il y a trois modes de projection, ce qui fait un accord de neuvième.

Un son produit possédé intrinsèquement trois conditions, c'est-à-dire trois caractères. (Je ne produis par cette triple application à dessein. Grace à Dieu je ne suis pas là.) Il y a dans un son un timbre, des registres et des émissions. Le timbre résulte du métal dont est composé l'instrument oui produit le son. La forme des circonvolutions de cet instrument produit une modification pleine de charme que nous appelons nous autres chanteurs les émissions. Ainsi le ton est sombre, clair selon qu'il est projeté dans des cavités plus de moins spacieux et circonvoluées. Le registre résulte de la disposition intime de l'embouchure. Ainsi c'est à cause de l'embouchure qu'un son est plein ou harmonique. Qu'un son, de plein qu'il est, devienne harmonique, il change de registre sans changer de timbres et d'émission. Ces trois conditions sont encore co-nécessaires et constituent la qualité première et intime du son.

Il y a trois proportions dans un son. Un son étant donne il faut en connaitre la hauteur, la largeur, la profondeur. Un son est d'autant plus intense qu'il est plus profond. La largeur du son **[261]** comprend la durée, et la hauteur du son comprend le diapason, de sorte que les tonalités, les durées, et les intensités constitue la première base du style et sont impliquées dans ces trois proportions.

Chacune de ces conditions ne peut être connue que par ces développements. Chacune d'elles est intrinsèquement triple, et voilà autant d'accord de neuvième.

Le son régit trois conditions dont l'ensemble forme le style. Ces trois conditions sont en effet pathétiques, les nuances et les mécanismes.

Il y a neuf éléments distincts dans le vocal dont les agents sont laryngien, respiratoire, et buccal. L'agent respiratoire est l'agent projecteur. L'agent buccal est l'agent répercussif. L'agent laryngien est l'agent vibratile. À chacun de ces agents se rapporte une triple action. Les émissions, les articulations, et les voyelles appartiennent à l'agent répercussif. Les registres, les mécanismes, et les effets pathétiques appartiennent à l'agent vibratile. Les intensités, les nuances, et les respirations appartiennent à l'agent projectif.[765] Voilà ce que j'appelle un accord de neuvième, une synthèse, un ensemble dont les termes sont co-nécessaire entre eux. Il n'y en a pas un dixième à mettre en parallèle.

Chacun de ses agents doit être connu **[262]** par sa définition spéciale, par sa raison d'être et par son expose théorique, ce qui constitue les études préparatoires. Il y a ensuite des études pratiques qui embrassent ces trois choses. Chacun de ces phénomènes étant donné il s'agit de connaitre les dispositions organiques en vertu desquelles on l'obtient, les observations générales c'est-à-dire dire les vices à éviter, et il faut un mode d'exécution des exercices spéciaux. En troisième lieu j'appellerai études transcendantes celles-ci. Il faut connaître le sens moral, physiologique, et intellectif de chacun de ses phénomènes. Il faut

[765] Following Waille, "Annexes," corrected from "l'état projectif."

connaître les rapports de ressemblance, d'opposition, et d'identité de chacun de ces phénomènes avec chacun de ses congénères ; enfin le mode d'application particulière à chacun de ces phénomènes.

Voilà donc 9 chapitres relatifs à chacun des conditions, ce qui fait 81 chapitres pour constituer la science vocale.

Vous voyez bien que je ne cherche pas à vous frustrer de quoi que ce soit. J'aurais voulu finir. Mais jusqu'ici les plus grands artistes ont été muets sur la question fort intéressante pour nous des moyens en vertu desquels ils avaient procédé et cela soit [par] indifférence, soit [par] discrétion envers leur postérité. Je n'ai pas imité ce mutisme, je vous ai donné mes moyens. J'aurais voulu mieux **[263]** faire. Vous avez eu la bonté de m'écouter avec beaucoup de bienveillance. Je vous en sais un gré infini. Ces leçons auraient dû être la préfacé d'un cours pratique qui eut été infiniment plus intéressant parce que la théorie est une chose morte. C'est intéressant comme moyen d'abréger le chemin, mais il faut arriver à la pratique. Je vous sais d'autant plus de gré de votre attention que j'ai été très abstrait, j'ai fait de la théorie pure. Mes chers auditeurs, je vais me séparer de vous comme d'une famille qu'on aime. Vous avez été très bon pour moi et je vous remercie de votre bienveillance.[766]

[766] The manuscript is corrected here, "complaisance" is crossed out, and "bienveillance" is inserted.

Appendix C
Our Method (5 February 1871)[767]

The method which forms the basis of our teaching is of divine origin, in the sense that it proceeds from the very method of Christ, which lends to every truth, as to every proposition of a metaphysical order, the support of a material or organic demonstration.

This method – whose power the Church has revealed to us – leaves no room for error and constitutes, against modern utopians and their sophisms, an irresistible and always triumphant weapon. Saint Paul, this master of masters, determined with admirable precision the fundamental principle of this method: "The dark and hidden things of God," he said, "are made clear and evident by creation." Now, according to this **[812]** principle so clearly established, the study of material and sensible things must therefore lead us to an understanding of spiritual and divine things. It is that, as experience has repeatedly shown us, all the objects of creation indistinctly bear in the essence of their organism the characteristics of a transcendental teaching. Also, whoever knows how to see and understand these characteristics will find in each phenomenon of nature a luminous lesson; and as long as man examines his own body, as long as he knows how to interrogate it, he will draw from its constitutive powers the infallible criterion of the sciences, for the body of man, this diamond of creation, is the universal alphabet of the encyclopaedia of the world.

All this is rigorously accurate and finds in the pedagogical form of the Saviour the most imposing confirmation: Christ, in fact, incessantly borrowed from nature the expressions of his supernatural teaching. He drew from every object that presented itself to his sight the demonstrative basis of eternal truths and thus caused to spring from the vilest things the dazzling splendours of his divine doctrine.

This is, to the extent of our strength, our way of proceeding: rejecting *a priori* as unfounded any proposition that cannot be supported by a series of sensible proofs; restoring to metaphysics the physical bases without which it is nothing but a vain shadow; proceeding invariably from the Spirit to the body and from the body to the Spirit; determining the relative **[813]** part or the successive predominance of Life, of the Mind, and of the Soul in the formal reason or the organic constitution of beings, we will be able to touch with our finger, so to speak, the things of heaven which have become, by this double track, clear and obvious. Thus, we will have added to the persuasive proofs of faith and to the demonstrative proofs of science – always debatable for those who want to evade the truth –, we will have, I say, added in support of this truth, which we would persist in denying, objectively indisputable overwhelming proofs of evidence.

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[767] The original manuscript is located in *The Papers of the Mackaye Family*, Baker Library, Special Collections, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, box 22 ML5 (22) (in box 7), folder 1, item 4. This translation corresponds to the transcript located in Gauthier, "Édition critique," 808-19.

It is thus, and as if to confirm divinely our double path of examination and demonstration, that man finds himself possessor of two natures: corporeal nature and spiritual nature or, as Saint Paul excellently says, “two men: the carnal man and the celestial man.” Now, in the first place, the constitutive principles of the celestial man will furnish us with the means of demonstrating with evidence the formal reasons **[814]** of the organism assigned to the carnal man; in the second place, we will use the organs and the combined forces of the carnal man to bring out before the eyes of reason the immanent powers and the virtues of the celestial man.

Our System

In a few words, we have characterized the excellence of our method. Let us now speak of the system on which it rests and from which it derives its highest value.

To support our method and so that it would not remain vain in our hands, a clear and sure principle was needed from which we would see the truth flow as from a limpid source. A criterion of examination was needed against which no fact could protest. A touchstone was needed, an infallible formula which was like the signalling of the truth or the means of making it obvious to all eyes.

As such, it is easy to imagine, our criterion could not come out of the narrow brain of a man! So, we have not thought of asking philosophers or scholars so full, both of them, of weaknesses, uncertainties and contradictions.

This infallible criterion, which could only come from heaven, we have found in the formula which the Church places early in the hands of **[815]** children and of which Bossuet spoke with an accent of respect which doubled his genius.

If today we hold the secret of the powers included in this formula, it is still to Saint Paul that we are indebted for it. Here is when – it is about the iterative statement by which this vast and luminous mind characterized his science –: “I don’t know,” he said, in defiance of human wisdom, “I only know Jesus crucified.” What does that mean? Does the crucified Jesus express himself differently among Christians than by the sign of the cross? Now, the sign of the cross is therefore the source from which Saint Paul drew his sovereign teaching.

That was enough for us who willingly bow our reason before the oracles of faith; that was enough to convince us that there too must be the criterion we were ardently seeking. **[816]**

It is that, in fact, and we give thanks to God for having revealed it to us, the Sign of the Cross is not only the epitome of theology and of all that the Church teaches, but it is also the light of the sciences, a transluminous light in contact with which everything is simplified and clearly explained. But where does the eloquent fecundity of this sign come from? It symbolizes the divine Trinity and, as such, it expresses the triple causality, I mean: the cause, the principle and the end of beings and things.

It is thus that the sign of the cross, as we will demonstrate, is the touchstone of all truth, of all organisms and consequently of all science. Now this short formula which summed up the wisdom of Saint Paul and in which his sublime intelligence was entirely absorbed contains, in the simplicity of its terms, the science of sciences!

If the little child understood the meaning expressed by the cross of Jesus placed at the beginning of his alphabet, he would know more than all the sages of the Earth, for this cross is the alpha and omega of art as well as of science. Why, I said to myself, when I was a child,

why is this little cross placed before the letter A? Why am I invariably told to name it when I recite my alphabet? Which, if I had dared to venture it out loud, would probably have embarrassed my master enough. Since then, alas! we have **[817]** done away with, along with many other things, the revered sign with which the alphabet began. This tradition did not please our free thinkers, and it is by such suppressions that they claim to affirm what they call progress! Well! Convinced of the lack of knowledge of so many people who are called scholars, despairing of my own ignorance, I have returned, by the grace of God, to the alphabet of my childhood. I meditated on it as much as I could, not yet having any method of observation to draw all possible fruit from it, and before questioning myself on the phonetic or physiological value of the letter A, of the letter B, etc., things deeply ignored by our philologists or linguists, I stopped at this cross of Jesus, treated today as the expression of an imbecile bigotry, and I drew from it the bases of a system which forms like the optical field through which I examine all the objects of the universe. I was able, by this powerful means, to contemplate the celestial Jerusalem whose dazzling characteristics we bear deep within ourselves. In summary, the formula which emerges from the Sign of the Cross and which forms the basis of our teaching constitutes both the most useful as the highest form of generalization and the most fruitful means of **[818]** scientific investigation. It is the key to the triple sanctuary of Life, Mind, and Soul, a sanctuary where we will find, in truth, and against the evils whose error is fatally followed, the refreshment of the senses, the light of the mind, and peace of heart.

Universal criterion

The Trinity, the hypostatic base of beings and things, is the reflection of divine majesty in his work. It is like a reverberation on us of its own light. The Trinity arises in the smallest compartments of the divine work and must be considered, as we have already said, as the most fruitful means of scientific investigation. The Trinity is our guide in the applied sciences of which it is both the light and the enigma. Cause, principle, and end of all science, it is its infallible criterion, and we must start from it as an immoveable axiom.

Theorem

All truth is triangular, and no demonstration responds to its object except by virtue of a triply triple formula. **[819]**

Demonstration

To penetrate the meaning of this initially enigmatic theorem and of which we purposely reserve the definitive formula in order to explain the universality of its applications and to appreciate its marvellous fecundity, finally to pierce the veil of obscurities in which it seems enveloped, it must understand the Trinity as much as it is given to man to understand the things of God. For this, it is necessary to pursue its study to the depths of its immanences, and it is by specifying the proprieties of the relationship of the three adorable persons to one another that it is possible to raise one’s mind to the region of the transluminous lights which spring from the divine obscurity of this mystery. Now each of the terms of the Trinity is in the other two.

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