

*Beings of Nature and Reason: Mythological Masculinities in Early  
18<sup>th</sup>-Century French Art and Visual Culture*

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Adelaide

Art History

April 2016

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## **ABSTRACT**

From the mid-eighteenth century, critics and writers denigrated mythological subjects in French visual art and culture as symptomatic of the corruption of artistic standards. Mythological imagery was also perceived as largely subject to the whims of feminine taste. While recent studies have advanced exciting new approaches to the field of eighteenth-century art history, current work has continued to highlight the feminine subject. Representations of masculinity have yet to enjoy the same level of sustained scholarly attention. Further, many studies have focused on the later decades of the century and continue to minimise the socio-cultural significance and sub-textual references within mythological themes.

An examination of early to mid-eighteenth-century representations of masculine deities Bacchus, Apollo, Pan, Marsyas and the satyr provide a point from which to reconsider conceptions of masculinity during this period. Exploring images alongside contemporary literature and commentaries which mirror scientific enquiry, medical debate, naturalism and materialist philosophy offers a greater understanding of the ways in which masculinity was constructed and maintained during this period. The representation of mythic masculinities engaged both artist and viewer in expressing codes of behaviour predicated on sensorial experience and self-discipline as a means through which to acquire knowledge and prestige. On the other hand, excess marked by the satyr's body led to charges of sub-masculinity, effeminacy, loss of self and the reversal of gender hierarchies. In this way, this thesis argues that images of mythological masculinities offer an alternative lens through which to consider the complexities of the period via the construction and elaboration of gendered bodies, identities and hierarchies.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was generously funded by an Australian Postgraduate Award for the first three years of my research and for this I am sincerely grateful to both the Federal Government of Australia and the University of Adelaide.

I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor Dr Lisa Mansfield, who has been an invaluable source of personal and academic support throughout the years. As a most trusted advisor, Lisa has consistently encouraged my work and I have greatly benefitted from her knowledge, experience, patience and enthusiasm. Special thanks also to Professor David Lemmings, whose generous feedback and academic support has been invaluable and very much appreciated.

I would also like to thank Professor Catherine Speck and Professor Ian North who have each demonstrated an interest in my work and offered many positive comments in response to presentations over the years. I express my gratitude and admiration to the wider community of scholars in my field whose work motivated my initial explorations of eighteenth-century art history and has greatly enriched my own.

I am thankful to all the many people associated with several institutions including the British Museum, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Cleveland Art Museum, and especially to Emma Davidson from the Centre for the History of Science in London for generously answering my queries and providing access to all important resources on request.

My friends and peers have been a constant source of love and encouragement throughout the years, and I am truly grateful for each of them. I treasure all of my friends and special thanks must go to Donna Reid, Karen Beasley, Jennifer Kalionis, Julie Collins, Louise Bird, Steven Anderson, Christopher Bridge and Craig Henley, all of whom have very kindly provided a listening ear and very kind words when I have needed them. In particular I express my heartfelt gratitude to my wonderful family for their love and forbearance. The memory of my Mum, Wendy Cooper, continually sustained and guided my progress through to the end. My thoughts have been with her and I am forever grateful for everything both my parents have done - and continue to do - to nurture their children and grandchildren. I am greatly indebted to my Dad, Garry Cooper, who was always in my corner and continues to watch over us. I will always cherish his words of advice and humour, and the gift of his mateship. Melissa has also been a great ally and I am grateful for our sisterhood. In a time of great loss, my parents have ensured that wonderful family friends continue to surround us. Kris Watts, Gary Watts and Jeff Tun Tin have been so generous in their support and friendship, and I will always consider them a part of our family. Each of those I am so privileged to call family and friend have played their own parts in ensuring that this project has been seen through to the end, although they may not be aware of it. Finally, I would like to express my immense love and gratitude to my amazing children Seth and Scarlett for keeping me grounded and focused. I could not have done this without both of you.

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## *Introduction*

By the mid-eighteenth century, the grand tradition of mythological subjects in French Baroque art had diminished in credibility as light-hearted representations of pleasurable sensuality celebrated in the Rococo style. Widely accepted as the first early modern example of art criticism offering a detailed account of contemporary works on public view, Etienne La Font de Saint-Yenne's *Salon* pamphlet of 1747 noted that while the subjects of fable presented a wealth of subject matter to artists, 'indolent authors, born to plagiarism, restrict themselves to such as have been treated over and over again.'<sup>1</sup> Painters were charged with exhausting hackneyed subjects and neglecting noble ideas associated with images of heroism and grand sentiment at the heart of history painting.<sup>2</sup> Citing Virgil, Homer and the prophets of the Old and New Testaments, La Font expressed his regret that lighter, intangible themes linked to the seasons, the senses, and the four elements held such an appeal for artists and patrons. In the elaborate decoration of mirrored apartments, light dazzled and highlighted the excesses of luxury and ornament rather than illuminating instructive scenes of 'eloquence and truth.'<sup>3</sup> Like minded writers including Bernard Fontenelle explained that the fables of antiquity preserved the ignorance of distant ancestors so that classical mythology lacked truth and value as nonsensical fiction.<sup>4</sup> In short, the myths contained little other than the proof of

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<sup>1</sup> Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présente de la peinture en France. Avec un Examen des principaux Ouvrages exposés au Louvre le mois d'Août 1746*, The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1747, 6. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1132488> accessed 18 October 2013. See also Mark Ledbury, "Imagining the *Salon*: mapping art criticism in the eighteenth century," in Johnathon Mallison, *The Eighteenth Century Now: Boundaries and Perspectives*. SVEC 2005:10, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 205-219.

<sup>2</sup> La Font, *Réflexions*, 6-7. An English translation of this text by Belinda Thomson also appears as *Reflections on some Causes of the Present State of Painting in France* in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger, eds. *Art in Theory, 1648-1815*. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2003, 556.

<sup>3</sup> La Font, *Réflexions*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard Le Bovier Fontenelle, *De l'origine des Fables (Of the Origin of Fables)*, 1724. This is reproduced in *Oeuvres de Monsieur de Fontenelle*, 2 (1754), pp.176-192. [11](https://books.google.com.au/books?id=39OfwdXsaBYC&pg=PA192&lpg=PA192&dq=fontenelle+de+1%27origine+des+fables&source=bl&ots=yxGG16IMHu&sig=xScF0k75NAanRp6sUwMPL0zeXSE&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi15Lc_vqbPAhVHGZQKHYYCpA>(Last accessed 5 December 2015)> See also Jean-Raoul</a></p></div><div data-bbox=)

human error.<sup>5</sup> Critic and journalist Friedrich Melchior Grimm likewise argued that the influential poets of antiquity were potentially dangerous to mediocre artists compelled to imitate them. According to Grimm, unskilled painters simply produced bad copies of superstitious images that should never be represented.<sup>6</sup> Instead, the call was made for artists to return to the clarity and virtue of history painting based on truth rather than supernatural or allegorical themes.<sup>7</sup>

Appealing for a return to the ideals of history painting, La Font also stated that mythological subject matter presented unseemly images which threatened to corrupt the virtue of impressionable women and children.<sup>8</sup> As subjects of the imagination, mythology was in opposition to reason, and particular themes were seen to be containing suggestive content bordering on the obscene. Depicted as fleshy nudes, the gods and goddesses of antiquity were reduced to earthly, sensual beings indulging their carnal desires.<sup>9</sup> For example, François Boucher's *Jupiter, in the Guise of Diana, and Callisto* (Fig.1) depicts the great god of Olympus in the guise of a woman, exploring the fluidity of gender and physical sensuality of the feminine form.<sup>10</sup> As Melissa Hyde observes, the 'viewer's role is to be seduced' like Callisto.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, Anne Betty Weinshenker has explained that there was much concern that texts and images were produced to encourage devotion to false idols, and that the

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Carré, ed. *De l'Origine des Fables*, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1932. A section of this translation also appears in Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, eds. *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860*, pp.10-18.

<sup>5</sup> Candace Clements, "The Academy and the Other: Les Grâces and Le Genre Galant", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 25:4 Special Issue: Art History: New Voices/New Visions (1992), 488.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Melchior Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire, II*. 15 December 1756, p.321. Translated from the French and included as Appendix A in Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality. Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, p.164-166. Printed in *Correspondence littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, etc.*, ed. M Tourneux, Paris, 1877-82, vol. III, 317-21. In Harrison, Wood and Gaiger, *Art in Theory, 1648-1815*, 594-595.

<sup>7</sup> Clements, "The Academy and the Other", 487-488.

<sup>8</sup> Colin B. Bailey, ed. *The Age of Watteau, Chardin and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in Association with the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 2003, 63.

<sup>9</sup> Bailey, *The Age of Watteau*, 64; Warren E. Roberts, *Morality and Social Class in Eighteenth-Century French Literature and Painting*, Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1974, 112.

<sup>10</sup> Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: Francois Boucher and His Critics*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006, 207.

<sup>11</sup> Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo*, 213.

popularity of these images would promote vice on a subliminal level through active and deliberate viewing.<sup>12</sup>

The rehabilitation of art as an instructive medium was dependent on the elevated ideals of history painting and the truth of real life events.<sup>13</sup> Michael Fried has argued that the reaction against Rococo from the mid-century in part arose with growing demands for a rejection of sensual artificiality back toward the ideals of realism and history painting. For Fried, Diderot and La Font's condemnation of Boucher's paired allegorical paintings from the Salon of 1753 illustrates this point.<sup>14</sup> As pendants, *Le Lever du Soleil* and *Le Coucher du Soleil* (Figs. 2 & 3) represent the rising and the setting of the sun respectively. In the *Lever*, Apollo accompanied by Aurora rises above a rollicking sea abundant with nereids, tritons, dolphins and chubby infants. Apollo's mistress Thetis holds the reins of the horses driving his chariot across the heavens to draw the shadows of night away toward the edges of the canvas. The *Coucher* or setting of the sun is darker, with infants hovering above the swirling sea drawing the blanket of night back across the sky. Apollo casts his glance down toward Thetis who reciprocates his gaze and mirrors the gesture of his open arms. Despite Boucher's artistic virtuosity, contemporary critics took issue not with the alluring display of ample bottoms, but with the lack of attention the nereids in particular give to the arrival of the Sun god, Apollo.<sup>15</sup> Complaining that the nereids chat amongst themselves instead of remarking Apollo's presence, La Font stated that their nonchalance was inexcusable.<sup>16</sup> While criticism levelled at Boucher's paintings positioned his art outside the limits of legible reality and the absorptive

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<sup>12</sup> Anne Betty Weinshenker, "Idolatriy and Sculpture in Ancien Régime France", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38.3, 2005, 485-486.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 40.

<sup>14</sup> Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 36-40.

<sup>15</sup> Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 37.

<sup>16</sup> La Font, *Sentiments sur quelques Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure: Ecrits a Un Particulier En Provence* (1754), 38.

[https://books.google.com.au/books?id=F3NbAAAACAAJ&source=gbs\\_book\\_other\\_versions](https://books.google.com.au/books?id=F3NbAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_book_other_versions) accessed 1 November 2013.

qualities of history painting, it is also clear that critics were drawing on images of femininity as responsible for the corruption of artistic standards in France.<sup>17</sup>

La Font's disdain for the inane chatter of the nereids in Boucher's painting recalls the way in which the patronage of elite women and their apparent love of novelty and ornamentation was seen as a direct cause for the decline of visual art in France. Describing the popular fashion of having one's portrait painted in the guise of a Venus or Diana, La Font lamented that certain artists were guilty of wasting their talents for the sake of flattery and wealth.<sup>18</sup> According to La Font, history painters were forced to 'divert his brush from the path of glory' as pastel painters churned out flattering portraits to satisfy the whims of a feminine clientele.<sup>19</sup> Hyde's ground breaking reassessment of Rococo aesthetics and anti-Rococo criticism further demonstrates how writers like Diderot and La Font drew associations between the artificiality of Boucher's palette and 'seductive cosmetics.'<sup>20</sup> Comparing the artist's practice with the application of rouge and the rituals of the feminine toilette, the work of artists working in the Rococo style was rejected as insubstantial and feminised, not unlike mythological subject matter.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Melissa Lee Hyde elaborates on the feminisation of visual art and anti-rococo criticism at length in her book *Making Up The Rococo*. See also Melissa Lee Hyde, "Afterword. The Rococo dream of happiness as 'a delicate kind of revolt'", in Melissa Lee Hyde and Katie Scott, eds. *Rococo echo: art, history and historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, Oxford: Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, Voltaire Foundation, 2014, 337-349; Melissa Hyde, "The Makeup" of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at her Toilette", *The Art Bulletin* 82:3 (2000), 453-475; Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.

<sup>18</sup> La Font, *Réflexions*, 25-28. See also *Reflections on some Causes*, 560. Examples of popular portrait painters include Jean-Marc Nattier (1685-1766), Louis-Michel Van Loo (1707-1771), Louis Tocqué ((1696-1772) and the earlier example of Nicolas de Largillière (1656-1746). For more on La Font's views, see Marijke Jonker, "La Font de Saint-Yenne: Jansenism and the beginnings of Independent Art Criticism in France", in eds. Carol Adlam and Juliet Simpson, *Critical Exchange: Art Criticism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, New York: Peter Lang, 2008, 193-206; Richard Wrigley, *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Regime to the Restoration*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; Sharon Kettering, "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen", *The Historical Journal*, 32:4 (1989), 817-41.

<sup>19</sup> La Font, *Réflexions*, 22. See also *Reflections on some Causes*, 559.

<sup>20</sup> La Font, *Sentiments sur quelques Ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (n.p 1754), 34. Cited in Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise", 456.

<sup>21</sup> Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise", 456-457.

The inherited view of mythological representation and Rococo aesthetics as decorative and overtly feminine was further secured by Jules and Edmond de Goncourt's fond appraisal of eighteenth-century French culture and society. In addition to their writings on French art and artists, their histories of Madame de Pompadour, Madame du Barry and Marie-Antoinette reinforced the assumption that powerful, public women were the driving force of the style and sensibility of the period. For the Goncourts, art produced during the eighteenth century was dominated by the image of:

...Venus whose return was acclaimed. History recorded the details of her cult, and it was a cult which was begun anew. The imagination of the corruptions of the time surrounded her with religious veneration. As she had once risen from the ocean foam, so, now, she sprang up out of the lightness of people's hearts. Her almost sacred figure symbolised the destiny of a Madame de Pompadour or a Madame du Barry. Her cult was so much celebrated that her charming form became the adored image of the century's ideal. She returned, she was reborn, goddess, mistress, and sovereign of the aspirations, illusions, and passions of the period. She was revived, reincarnated as a new divinity, a French goddess, subtle, gay, amorous and wanton.<sup>22</sup>

This passage is one example of how the authors anchored the perceived absence of masculine influence in society and culture, which continued to inform assessments of eighteenth-century visual art into the twentieth century. Here, the Goncourts described the apparent cultural authority of women that supposedly obscured masculine subjects of heroism and conquest. For the connoisseur brothers, 'the bed and all the feminine mysteries which it secretes' is the backdrop against which the 'reign of Women' dominate.<sup>23</sup> Remy G. Sasselin later endorsed

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<sup>22</sup> Edmund and Jules de Goncourt, *French Eighteenth Century Painters*, edited and translated by Robert Ironside. Oxford: Phaidon, 1981, 279.

<sup>23</sup> Goncourt, *French Eighteenth Century Painters*, 1981, 284; Melissa Hyde, "Rococo Redux" in ed. Sarah Coffin, *Rococo: The Continuing Curve, 1730-2008*, New York: Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, 2008, 17. See also Jennifer Forrest, "Nineteenth-Century Nostalgia for Eighteenth-Century Wit, Style and

this view when he famously described the Rococo period as a vision or dream of happiness rather than a stylistic development, also noting that women held sovereign power.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, recent critics have viewed the apparent feminisation of the age as reflective of a crisis point in social and cultural politics following the death of the Sun King, Louis XIV, in 1715.

Phillipe Le Leyzour states that the diminished power of the court and ‘of a *Versailles* aesthetic’ corrupted mythological subjects which simply served to illustrate frivolous pleasures.<sup>25</sup> While Louis XIV adapted classical mythology to construct his image as the Sun King and position Versailles as the ‘new Olympus’, the degradation of myth in the decades following his death lowered the status of mythological subjects to the level of frivolous decoration.<sup>26</sup> The episodes of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, for example, were no longer put to use in allegorising monarchical power, but in celebration of pleasurable indulgences.<sup>27</sup>

Prestigious artists patronised by wealthy elites were driven to produce complimentary portraits and titillating mythological scenes crowded with nymphs and goddesses.<sup>28</sup>

According to Jean Starobinski, the eighteenth century in its broadest context lacked innovation in the interpretation and adaptation of classical mythology, limited instead to charming representations of beauty and grace.<sup>29</sup> In short, mythological imagery and decorative schemes lacked substance. Furthermore, William Park’s analysis of secular and sacred Rococo interiors describes spaces of the period as ‘glorified wombs’, binding the

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Aesthetic Disengagement: The Goncourt Brothers’ Histories Of Eighteenth-Century Art and Women”, *Nineteenth Century French Studies* 34:1&2 (2005): 44-62.

<sup>24</sup> Remy G. Sasselin, “The Rococo as a Dream of Happiness”, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 19:2 (1960), 146, 151.

<sup>25</sup> Phillippe Le Leyzour, “Myth and Enlightenment: On Mythology in the Eighteenth Century”, in Colin B Bailey, ed. *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, New York, Fort Worth: Rizolli and Kimball Art Museum, 1992, 23.

<sup>26</sup> Leyzour, “Myth and Enlightenment”, 20.

<sup>27</sup> Leyzour, “Myth and Enlightenment”, 23.

<sup>28</sup> Carol Duncan, “Fallen Fathers: Images of Authority in Pre-Revolutionary Art” in Carol Duncan, *The Aesthetics of Power: Essays in Critical Art History*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, 38 (First published in *Art History* IV (1981):186-202).

<sup>29</sup> Jean Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise; or, The Morality of Evil*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993, 173.



Rococo aesthetic securely to the feminine.<sup>30</sup> Confirming this point, Park also emphasised that the heroic, valiant figures of Apollo and Hercules presided over the Baroque while ardent Venus and playful Cupid defined the Rococo.<sup>31</sup>

Seemingly opposed to the legible truth of reason and high ideals of academic history painting, the overtly feminised image of myth has meant that mythological masculine figures have been overshadowed or minimised in analyses of early to mid-eighteenth-century visual art.<sup>32</sup> As an artist epitomising Rococo painting, Boucher's representations of masculinity have been critiqued as banal 'academy types in whom he can hardly be bothered to take even an artistic interest.'<sup>33</sup> Hyde has explained that critics read a lack of gender differentiation in visual art as undeniably feminine so that 'ambiguities of gender and genre' were seen to flout artistic convention and hierarchies while destabilising traditionally defined boundaries and oppositions of gender.<sup>34</sup> The intimate pairing of women in Boucher's *Jupiter and Callisto*, for instance, has been interpreted as exploiting real or imagined female homosexuality in an appeal to the fantasies of heterosexual males, while remarking on the redundancy of men by their absence.<sup>35</sup> Here, the reversal of gender and lack of distinction means that the masculine figure no longer serves conventional roles nor traditional binaries of dominance/submission, active/passive, and so on. In this way, masculinity is no longer represented or defined strictly in heroic terms, but is constructed as a shifting and ambiguous concept open to possibility and interpretation.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> William Park, *The Idea of Rococo*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992, 32.

<sup>31</sup> Park, *The Idea of Rococo*, 19.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Preston Worley, "The Image of Ganymede in France, 1730-1820," *The Art Bulletin* 76:4 (1994), 630-643. Worley states that during the eighteenth century, the rape of Ganymede could have been interpreted in connection with the theme with Neoplatonic metaphors of 'spiritual rapture,' but it is more likely to have been produced as sensual examples of male homoerotic imagery. See pages 630 and 642. Worley also points out that some viewers may have found the content of the imagery obscene, 642-643.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Levey, "A Boucher Mythological Painting Interpreted", *The Burlington Magazine* 124:952 (1982) Special Issue in Honour of Terence Hodgkinson, 446.

<sup>34</sup> Hyde, "In the Guise of History", in Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo*, 203.

<sup>35</sup> Hyde, "In the Guise of History", 205.

<sup>36</sup> Hyde, "In the Guise of History", 204.

Mary Sheriff's evaluation of Boucher's *Rinaldo and Armida* (Fig. 4) presents a challenge to reactions against a perceived lack of masculinity in Boucher's figures. Sheriff points out that the artist distinguishes difference by representing Rinaldo as muscular and darker in skin tone, wearing an animal pelt which denotes the masculine pursuit of hunting.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the darker bulk of space that he occupies is differentiated from the lighter colonnade and airy, open space surrounding his lover.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Sheriff also suggests that it is the Minerva shield decorated with the head of Medusa next to Rinaldo's knees that rouses and then quells the dread of emasculation through castration in line with Freud's interpretation of the Gorgon's image.<sup>39</sup> The shield serves to remind Rinaldo of the danger of emasculation through succumbing to desire and the influence of women, while the head of Medusa reverses it. Rinaldo's sword is almost obscured by flowers although his virility is suggested by the iconography of the tall columns, 'ejaculatory fountain' and putto's arrow. In summary, Sheriff reads Boucher's *Armida's island* as a 'place where the positive relation between pleasure and masculinity is both tested and affirmed.'<sup>40</sup> In her analysis of Jean-Marc Nattier's *Perseus Turning Phineas to Stone with the Head of Medusa* (Fig. 5) Sheriff again demonstrates the way in which the image of Medusa was an effective tool in authenticating manhood by bolstering confidence in masculine difference from women.<sup>41</sup> Importantly, Sheriff looks to the figure of the Gorgon rather than to Venus in proposing an alternative approach to French Rococo painting. While she rightly observes that deviating from the tried and true narratives of Rococo art offer opportunities for exciting new approaches to French

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<sup>37</sup> Mary D Sheriff, "Boucher's Enchanted Islands", in eds. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury, *Rethinking Boucher*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006, 170.

<sup>38</sup> Sheriff, "Boucher's Enchanted Islands", 170.

<sup>39</sup> Sheriff, "Boucher's Enchanted Islands", 173.

<sup>40</sup> Sheriff, "Boucher's Enchanted Islands", 174.

<sup>41</sup> Mary Sheriff, "The King, The Trickster, and the Gorgon: Jean-Marc Nattier and the Illusions of Rococo Art", *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 40 (2011), 20. Jean-Marc Nattier, *Perseus Turning Phineas to Stone With the Head of Medusa*, Tours: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1718.

art history, Sheriff also notes that women continue to occupy a dominant position in Rococo art, even under the challenging sign of the Gorgon.<sup>42</sup>

Hyde and Sheriff are two excellent examples of the ways in which recent scholarship has advanced exciting new approaches to eighteenth-century French art. However, reappraisals of Rococo art and masculinity alongside or under the influence of femininity continues to reduce the sub-textual significance of masculinity within visual imagery of the period. Cathy McClive asserts that early modern French masculinity has been overshadowed by a significant interest in the early modern female body.<sup>43</sup> McClive also notes that the presiding views of masculinity during this period are narrowly simplistic and fail to consider the broader spectrum of differences of the male body as a ‘contested site.’<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Abigail Solomon-Godeau has remarked on the lack of focus in scholarship on constructions of masculinity in visual culture, and on the male gaze in terms of viewing male bodies.<sup>45</sup> This thesis argues that representations of mythological masculinities provide another vantage point from which to expand our understandings of the social and cultural complexities of the early to mid-eighteenth century. Acknowledging the mutability and shifting status of gender and identity, I aim to analyse images of mythical masculinity not in comparison to femininity, but as figures which themselves embody changing ideals of gender difference, sexuality, behaviour and hierarchies.

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<sup>42</sup> Sheriff, “The King, the Trickster and the Gorgon”, 2, 19.

<sup>43</sup> Cathy McClive, “Masculinity on Trial: Penises, Hermaphrodites and the Uncertain Male Body in Early Modern France”, *History Workshop Journal* 68 (2009), 45. Vicky Coltman describes masculinity as a ‘hot topic’ in British studies. See Vicky Coltman, *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain Since 1760*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 167 note 22. Examples of the spate of recent scholarship on early modern masculinity in England include Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Thomas King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600-1750: The English Phallus* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); Michèle Cohen and Tim Hitchcock, eds. *English Masculinities, 1600-1800* (London, New York, Longman: 1999); Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999); Alexandra Shephard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Mark Breitenburg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

<sup>44</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial”, 45.

<sup>45</sup> Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1997, 9.

In order to address these concerns, this study examines the pervasive hybrid figure of the satyr and popular deities Apollo, Bacchus and Pan in eighteenth-century art and visual culture before the French Revolution and height of the Enlightenment. It seeks to demonstrate that mythological imagery was not only inclusive of dominant and marginal masculinities in this period, but also helped to define and reassert them for contemporary viewers. The discussion also shows that these figures embodied the expansion of ideas associated with the discoveries of naturalism, science and exploration, which reflected an enduring preoccupation with the search for human origins and definitions of difference. Despite appearing to undermine Enlightenment demands for truth and reason, mythological representations helped to articulate and emphasise ideas of origins, progress, social and cultural hierarchies early in the eighteenth century.

An examination of selected paintings and prints reveals that ideals of manhood were fraught with pressures to perform normative modes of hegemonic masculinity. Although hegemonic masculinity is a 'contested concept', it identifies issues surrounding sexuality, familial relationships, power, politics, violence, leadership and authority.<sup>46</sup> Distinct from marginal or subordinated masculinities, hegemonic masculinity describes cultural practices consistent with concepts of honourable manhood which positions men as dominant over women.<sup>47</sup> These practices reflect the need to secure power, establish ruling class domination and determine the ideals of morality and definitions of "natural" or "normal."<sup>48</sup> Specifically, heterosexuality, homophobia and viewing 'women as potential sexual objects' are fundamental to hegemonic masculinity which typically ostracises members of the lower classes and indigenous men.<sup>49</sup> Karen Harvey has recently pointed out that there were

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<sup>46</sup> Robert W. Connell and James W Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept", *Gender and Society* 19:6 (2005), 830.

<sup>47</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 832.

<sup>48</sup> Mike Donaldson, "What is Hegemonic Masculinity?", *Theory and Society* 22:5 (1993) Special Issue: Masculinities, 645.

<sup>49</sup> Donaldson, "What is Hegemonic Masculinity?", 645-646.

alternative forms of manliness aside from ‘polite masculinity as a dominant type,’ and not all men fit into the category.<sup>50</sup> Importantly, politeness or so called hegemony has come to be viewed in some ways as a reactive response to apprehensions concerning unruly masculine behaviour, or as itself provoking ‘impolite resistance.’<sup>51</sup> While the debated concept of hegemonic masculinity does not account for diversity and change, the model does, in a number of ways, describe common desires and ideals.<sup>52</sup> Importantly, ideal masculinity is represented and endorsed by figures distinguished by virtue, professional success and acts of heroism and personal triumph.<sup>53</sup>

These exemplars can also be found in mythology and fable as cultural products containing sub-textual themes and concepts relevant to the time in which they are produced.<sup>54</sup> The visual evidence analysed in this thesis is purposefully restricted to paintings and reproductive prints, sometimes with satirical content, that were produced with the potential to reach a public or semi-public audience.<sup>55</sup> These images show that ideals of manhood were fraught with anxiety and pressures to perform heteronormative modes of hegemonic masculinity in the first half of

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<sup>50</sup> Karen Harvey, “Ritual Encounters: Punch Parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present*, 214 (Feb 2012), 170.

<sup>51</sup> Harvey, “Ritual Encounters,” 171.

<sup>52</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” 834, 838. Refer also to Jeff Hearn’s comprehensive study on the development of hegemonic masculinity as a construct for analysing masculinity and men. Jeff Hearn, “From hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men,” *Feminist Theory* 5:1 (2004): 49-72. Hearn argues for a focus on the ‘hegemony of men’ rather than hegemonic masculinity.

<sup>53</sup> R. W. Connell, “An Iron Man: The Body and Some Contradictions of Hegemonic Masculinity” in eds. Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo, *Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives* (Champaign, Ill: Human Kinetics Books, 1990), 94.

<sup>54</sup> Lillian Eileen Doherty, *Gender and the Interpretation of Classical Myth* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 2003), 35-35.

<sup>55</sup> Although representations of the classical male body is prevalent in the sculptural tradition of Western art, sculpture has not been included in the present discussion for a number of reasons. In *Painting and Sculpture in France, 1700-1789* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995) Michael Levey has noted that sculptors ‘remained consciously craftsmen’ and aside from Falconet, did not tend to write about their art or practice. In this way, their personas and artistic motivations remain vague enigmas to us. Moreover, sculptors were largely working to commission and due to the financial and practical restrictions of their medium, were not afforded the luxury of producing work that responded to their own ideas or personal expression. Levey notes, however, that statuettes of the female nude were enormously popular from mid-century onward and represent a shift from earlier traditions of public sculpture and monuments, 61. Anne Betty Weinschenker has recently addressed mythological and religious imagery in sculptural form in her fascinating account of associations between highly visible public sculpture and concerns with idolatry in *A God or a Bench: Sculpture as a Problematic Art During the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008) and “Idolatry and Sculpture in Ancien Régime France”, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38:3 (2005): 485-507.

the eighteenth century, particularly in France.<sup>56</sup> More specifically, the nature of this gender apprehension is manifest in iconographic patterns and anomalies visible in certain mythological themes featuring the aforementioned masculine figures. The subjects are also thematically linked and highlight the motives of patrons and artists, along with sub-textual meanings embedded in these images available to the wider public.

While the discussion focuses on French works produced during the first half of the long eighteenth century, British examples provide additional contextual evidence in support of important interpretations and arguments. The intellectual exchange between France and England has been well documented, particularly in regards to aesthetic theory and practices.<sup>57</sup> Likewise, Italian artists, such as Sebastiano Ricci, and others working in England highlight sources of cross-cultural pollination in eighteenth-century Europe. Works of art dated to later in the century are also drawn on to underscore the enduring relevance of key subjects concerning representations of mythology and masculinity. Overall, mythological representations of masculinity promoted the view of European man as a sensible being of nature, a reasoning individual living within a community of progressed civilisation and

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<sup>56</sup> Abigail Solomon-Godeau examines these issues in the context of later Neoclassical art in *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London: Thames and London, 1997) and “The Other Side of Vertue: Alternative Masculinities in the Crucible of Revolution”, *Art Journal* 56:2 (1997), How Men Look: On the Masculine Ideal and the Body Beautiful, 55-61. For additional sources on the representation of masculinity in late eighteenth-century France, see Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, “The aesthetics of male crisis: the Terror in the Republican imaginary and in Jacques-Louis David’s work from prison”, in *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, ed. Gillian Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 219-43. On masculinity in mythological themes during the last decades of the century, see Mary Vidal, “David’s “Telemachus and Eucharis”: Reflections on Love, Learning and History”, *The Art Bulletin* 82-4 (2000), 702-719; Mary Vidal, “With a Pretty Whisper: Deception and Transformation in David’s Cupid and Psyche and Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses*”, *Art History* 22:2 (1999), 214-243; Yvonne Korshak, “Paris and Helen by Jacques-Louis David: Choice and Judgement on the Eve of the French Revolution”, *The Art Bulletin* 69:1 (1987), 102-166. For a comprehensive overview of French masculinity, see Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, eds. *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics* (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> For example, British philosopher John Locke had an enormous influence on French writers and theorists, including Jean-Baptiste Du Bos and Condillac. Indeed, Locke is often credited with being one of the central figures of the French enlightenment. This worked the other way as well, with writers including philosophe Denis Diderot translating the Earl of Shaftesbury’s *Inquiry Concerning Virtue, or Merit* into French in 1745. See for example, John C. O’ Neal, *The Authority of Experience: Sensationist Theory in the French Enlightenment* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), Ross Hutchison, *Locke in France, 1688-1734* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford, 1991) and John W. Yolton, *Locke and French Materialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

achievement. However, the duality of man was at the very forefront of the eighteenth-century mind, and it was the nature aspect of his being that required discipline and regulation. The mythical figures referred to in this thesis are examined in the context of notions of gender, sexuality, intellectual achievement, and artistic production. While these figures affirm positive constructions of masculine identity, concerns tied to the inversion or transgression of cultural norms also form a common thread throughout the chapters.

To begin, the second chapter examines the status of mythology in the eighteenth century, particularly in France, in the context of contemporary concerns with the place of humanity within the Great Chain of Being.<sup>58</sup> The study and representation of mythology and naturalism provided a backdrop against which questions of human origin and progress were interrogated and established a point of departure for ideas shaping definitions of humanity and manhood. While viewers were acquainted with classical myths and the meanings attached to them, images were read as texts and understood as conveying intended messages to the spectator. In this way, critical responses to mythological imagery and indigenous cultures reflect contemporary understandings of bodies as sites for the elaboration of gender, sexuality, social and cultural hierarchies. As mythological imagery saturated the European cultural landscape, the theory and practice of art was unavoidably infused with the concepts associated with particular figures and themes. Revisiting mythological subjects centred on the representation of masculinities offers an alternative view of the age pre-dating the rise of Neoclassicism while acknowledging the complexity of issues surrounding them.

Chapter Three considers the ways in which elite men of intellectual, cultural and social achievement adopted the guise of Bacchus in portraiture as a means to consciously elaborate

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<sup>58</sup> See Mary Efrosini Gregory, *Evolutionism in Eighteenth-Century French Thought* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2007); Donald C. Mell Jr, Theodore E. D. Braun and Lucia M. Palmer, eds. *Man, God and Nature in the Enlightenment* (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1998); Nicholas Hudson, 'From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29:3 (1996): 247-264; Arthur C. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936).

and promote their individual identities. In this context, the symbolism associated with the wine-god was not connected with effeminate debauchery, but rather with sensationism and Epicurean notions of the body. Bacchus was treated as a conduit for the senses and a site of knowledge through which to access higher ideas and inspiration in the pursuit of excellence and achievement. Importantly, iconographic references to Apollo often accompanied motifs of pleasure and sensorial indulgence to insure against the potential corruption of inebriation and loss of self through the clarity of reason.

Elaborating on the concept of sensation as a path to knowledge and self-improvement, Chapter Four examines the popular subject of the satyr's trespass on the sleeping female nude. Various identified as Venus and a satyr or Jupiter and Antiope, the lurking hybrid's transgression was a vehicle for testing masculine resolve and the triumph of reason over the agitations of desire. Literature of the period confirmed that John Locke's theory of sense perception reinforced notions of advancing the mind through experiences of the body.<sup>59</sup> As an immediate physical process, the experience of sight was understood to have a direct impact on the inner workings of the body and resulted in the rapid absorption of ideas. According to art critics including Roger de Piles and Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, the success of a work of art was measured by its effect on the viewer who was not only expected to read images as texts, but to engage actively and participate in them.<sup>60</sup> While the contemplation of beauty worked to advance a gentleman's education, improper or excessive gazing on feminine forms could incite dangerous urges with dire repercussions. Sensual forms provoked inflammatory responses in the 'Lascivious man' unable to detach himself from the seduction of the image.

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<sup>59</sup> For a concise explanation of Locke's theory, see E. J. Lowe, *The Routledge Guide to Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (New York: Routledge, 2013), especially 34-41.

<sup>60</sup> See John C. O'Neal, *Changing Minds: The Shifting Perception of Culture in Eighteenth-Century France* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 2002); Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment: Literature and Art in the French Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Body Talk: Deafness, Sign, and Visual Language in the Ancien Regime", *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24:4 (1992) Special Issue: Art History: New Voices, New Visions, 561-585.



Those who yielded to desire and lost their capacity for reason took on the characteristics of the satyr, as can be seen in the example of notorious sex offender Colonel Charteris.<sup>61</sup>

Chapter Five draws on Pan's attempted abduction of Syrinx as a familiar subject through which gender roles were defined, promoted and reversed in imagery reflecting moral, scientific and medical debates shaping contemporary discourse. Earlier representations of the goat god's overwhelming lust and disappointment were utilised as instructional images of caution against fruitless desire and immoderate passions. Subsequent examples reversed the threat of Pan's pursuit to focus instead on the treachery of adulterous wives whose illicit behaviour undermined the domestic authority of their husbands. As a result, the husband bore the shame of the cuckold's horns to signify the dishonour of his emasculation by wife and rival. The hyper-sexuality and excesses associated with Pan and the satyr figure were, in turn, highlighted as worthy of contempt and ridicule. Rather than signifying potent virility, the physical deformities of these mythic figures helped to identify beings defined by their lack of control and irrational, undisciplined natures.

Continuing the theme of transgression, Chapter Six analyses the flaying of the satyr Marsyas by the order of Apollo as a narrative which emphasised the ideals of masculine conformity and dominance. The image of Apollo's victory over the defeated satyr through musical contest reinforced artistic and social hierarchies while reminding viewers of the difference between elite and inferior, civilised and 'primitive.' The satyr's ordeal and the transformation of his unruly flesh metaphorically restored order and hierarchy and returns to the image of the satyr figure between Apollo and Bacchus as emblematic of man as a being of both nature and reason. Specifically, the figure of the satyr is utilised as a motif to articulate concepts of cultural progression and perfectibility toward the European ideal. In the mastery and

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<sup>61</sup> Anthony E. Simpson, "Popular Perceptions of Rape as a Capital Crime in Eighteenth-Century England- The Press and Trial of Francis Charteris in the Old Bailey, 1730", *Law and History Review* 22:1 (2004), 27-70.

submission of Marsyas, the emphasis is laid upon the ideals of control, discipline, dominance and conformity for both accomplished artist and professional men of rank. Through the image of the satyr's intractable body and unseemly howls, behavioural and cultural ideals were likewise elaborated to justify the processes of European colonisation and expansion.

The Conclusion offers a final assessment of each of these themes centred on mythical masculinities to identify the cultural and socio-political implications of visual representation and reception of these subjects. These findings demonstrate that mythological images of satyrs and the gods who inhabited their frames of pictorial reference offer critical insights on early-to-mid eighteenth-century understandings of the body, the construction and maintenance of masculinities, and notions of sexuality, gender and difference. Beyond providing an account of stylistic developments, this study endeavours to offer an alternative view of a period overly burdened with the presence of impudent goddesses who for some past and present viewers 'succeeded in spoiling great paintings.'<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Le Leyzour, "Myth and Enlightenment", *The Loves of the Gods*, 24.

## CHAPTER ONE

### *Of Myth and Men*

This chapter provides an overview of how mythology and the visual representation of mythological themes mattered in the context of early to mid-eighteenth-century France. It will become clear that mythological subjects held a deeper significance for contemporary viewers despite charges of frivolous irrelevance. This point is supported by observing the way in which the use and reception of mythological imagery shifted from the official promotion of Louis XIV's image to engaging the individual spectator responding to images. An exploration of how myth was interpreted during the first decades of the century also leads into a discussion of the overlap with naturalism and questions of human origin and progress. This provides a foundation for introducing concepts of difference and cultural hierarchies including a range of dominant and subordinate masculinities. From this, it will be ascertained that the mythological masculine body is 'a thing to be read' as a figure embodying coded meanings to eighteenth-century viewers of visual art and culture.<sup>63</sup>

#### **Myth Matters**

The critical backlash against the Rococo from mid-century onward not only shaped views of the period as overtly feminised, but helped to secure perceptions of mythological imagery as trivial and degraded by the influence and patronage of women. Critical disdain for mythological imagery coincided with complaints that figures of masculine valour and conquest had been overshadowed by the brazen display of fleshy goddesses. In addition, the

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<sup>63</sup> Erin M. Goss, *Revealing Bodies. Anatomy, Allegory and the Grounds of Knowledge in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 26.

position taken by rationalist Enlightenment thinkers was clear. Critics, mythologists and philosophers including Antoine Banier, Pierre Bayle and Bernard Bovier de Fontenelle argued that myth illustrated the efforts of early or indigenous cultures to come to terms with the origins and events of the natural world, assuming that their understandings were based on fear and ignorance. Fontenelle's influential *De l'Origine des Fables* provides us with a clear example of how mythology was viewed as primitive philosophy, supposedly demonstrating a clear lack of reason and knowledge in comparison to European progress and civilised thought.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the errors inherent in myth proved that imagination and reason were incompatible.<sup>65</sup> Published in 1746, Etienne Bonnot de Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines (Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge)* described the imagination as feminine and, as Mary Sheriff explains, 'unstable' and 'everchanging' and therefore opposed to reason and truth.<sup>66</sup> As a sub-genre of history painting closely linked with the feminine imagination, mythological imagery lacked credibility and invention. In this way, themes from antiquity were seen as warped distortions of classical subjects stripped of their original integrity and value. The painters of mythologies were seen to be divesting the gods and heroes of their solemn divinity, binding them instead to worldly ideas and experience.<sup>67</sup>

Despite assessments of mythological subjects appearing as sources of simplistic decoration and sensual indulgence, the fact that classical themes saturated early eighteenth-century visual art and literary culture remains. As Frank Manuel tells us:

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<sup>64</sup> David Bindman's excellent book *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 2002) addresses ideas of difference between the achievement and progress of Western civilisation and (mis)perceptions of foreign and indigenous cultures. This will also be discussed in more detail through the following chapters.

<sup>65</sup> Bernard Bovier de Fontenelle, *De l'Origine des Fables* (1724), ed. Jean-Raoul Carré, 34-35. Fontenelle's *Histoire des Oracles* (1686) also lamented the persistence of superstition in his appeal for rationalism. The Abbé Noël Antoine Pluche also wrote *Histoire du ciel considéré selon les idées des poètes, des philosophes et de Moïse* (1739-41) in concern for the influence of the pagan gods and goddesses on the minds of Christian viewers. His explication of the myths considers the origins of myth as source material for the study of religion and naturalism. See Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), 5.

<sup>66</sup> Mary D. Sheriff, "Passionate Spectators: On Enthusiasm, Nymphomania and the Imagined Tableau," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 60:1/2 (1998) Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850, 55.

<sup>67</sup> Bailey, *The Age of Watteau*, 63.

Not a gilded mirror from the atelier of a Florentine artisan or a delicate piece of china from the manufactory of Josiah Wedgwood but displayed a coy little nymph or a cavorting satyr.<sup>68</sup>

Although the passage of time has resulted in variations or distortions of the original myths, Jean Starobinski concedes that a solid understanding of mythology was vital to the educated gentleman during this period.<sup>69</sup> Early eighteenth-century writers including Charles Rollin explained that participation in polite society necessitated a thorough familiarity with the works of fable and literature.<sup>70</sup> Despite criticisms levelled at mythological imagery as nonsensical subjects of the imagination, the subjects of fable were nonetheless adapted as important cultural signifiers.<sup>71</sup> Viewers were urged to consult with popular dictionaries which enabled them to decipher and read works of mythology and participate in cultivated society.<sup>72</sup> Popular pocket dictionaries reveal that an ability to read the iconography of myth and religion was vital in an age dominated by emblems and decorative schemes based on the episodes of classical antiquity.<sup>73</sup> The surplus of these dictionaries including Pierre Chompré's *Dictionnaire abrégé de la fable* also granted those outside the higher learned classes access to the hidden or coded meanings embedded within images.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Antoine Banier's multi-

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<sup>68</sup> Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 3.

<sup>69</sup> Jean Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise; Or; the Morality of Evil* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 170.

<sup>70</sup> See Charles Rollin, *Traité des Études* (1726-1731), 3 vols. (F. Didot frères, 1845),

<https://archive.org/details/traitesdestudes00rollgoog> accessed 5 May 2013.

<sup>71</sup> Candace Clements, "The Academy and the Other: Les Grâces and Le Genre Galant," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Special Issue: Art History: New Voices/New Visions, 25.4 (Summer 1992): 492.

<sup>72</sup> Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise*, 170-171; Pierre Rosenberg, "In Defense of Mythological Painting", in Bailey, *The Loves of the Gods*, 17.

<sup>73</sup> Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise*, 171.

<sup>74</sup> Pierre Rosenberg, "In Defence of Mythological Painting," in Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 17. The full title of Chompré's text is *Dictionnaire abrégé de la fable, pour intelligence des poëtes, des tableaux et des statues, don't les sujets sont tires de histoire poëtique* (Paris: Saillant et Nyon, 1775).

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k205494m> accessed 19 June 2013. See also Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 5-6. Manuel cites Bell's *New Pantheon* of 1790 and Pierre d'Hancarville's *Almanach érotique* of 1787 as other examples of these dictionaries. See also Charles-Étienne Gaucher, Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Gravelot, *Iconologie, ou Traité de la science des allegories. En 350 figures graveés d'après les dessins de MM. Gravelot et Cochin, avec les explications relatives à chaque sujet* (Paris: Lattré, 1796)

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1110826/f1.image> accessed 17 June 2014. Manuel also notes that Abbot Banier's 1732 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* appealed to a range of tastes, 4.

volume *Explication of Fables* (1717) was deliberately ‘designed for universal Use’ and for ‘those of inferior Rank’ not privileged with the same quality of education possessed by ‘Men of Learning.’<sup>75</sup>

The significance of iconography and the use of gesture and expression within compositions cannot be overemphasised, since the eighteenth-century viewer was not only looking at works of art, he or she was *reading* them. Nicholas Mirzoeff has shown that gesture and iconography was crucial to the ‘silent artwork’ to effectively communicate legible meaning.<sup>76</sup> With regards to painting, Antoine Coypel, *premier peinture du roi* and Director of the French Academy in 1718 wrote that:

...the Rules of declamation are needed for Painting, to reconcile the gesture with the expression on the face. The painter, who unfortunately is unable to give speech to his figures, should replace it by the lively expression of the gestures and actions that mutes ordinarily use to make themselves understood.<sup>77</sup>

If an ability to decipher the language of myth was requisite to the appreciation of works and participation within polite society, a familiarity with myth and fable was vital to the career of the ambitious artist. Artist and critic Roger de Piles asserted that:

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<sup>75</sup> *Ovid's Metamorphoses: in Latin and English, translated by the most eminent hands. With Historical Explications of the Fables, written in French by the Abbot Banier, Member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, translated into English. Adorned with sculptures by B. Picart, and other able masters* (Amsterdam: printed for the Wetsteins and Smith, 1732. New York and London: Reprinted by Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976) End page of Preface, no pagination. See also Antoine Banier, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites en François, avec des remarques et des Explications Historiques* (Chez. Arkstée & Merkus, 1764).

<sup>76</sup> Nicholas Mirzoeff, “Body Talk: Deafness, Sign, and Visual Language in the Ancien Regime,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24:4 (1992) Special Issue: Art History: New Voices/New Visions, 569-570. Sarah R. Cohen has analysed Antoine Watteau’s drawings of dancers, actors, musicians and fashionable figures in contemporary dress as images revealing the ways in which movements and gestures communicated a variety of emotions and notions of corporeal identity. Sarah R. Cohen, “Body as “Character” in Early Eighteenth-Century French Art and Performance,” *The Art Bulletin* 78:3 (1996): 454-466.

<sup>77</sup> Antoine Coypel, *Discours prononcez dans les Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture* (Paris: Jacques Collombat, 1721), 167. Also cited in Mirzoeff, “Body Talk,” 568.

...in order to attain the highest perfection in painting, it is necessary to understand the antiquities, nay to be so thoroughly possessed of this knowledge, that it may diffuse itself everywhere.<sup>78</sup>

Piles' statement underscores the principles at the heart of rigorous artistic practice within the French *Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture* upholding the *grand genre* of history painting as the elite of artistic genres and ideals.<sup>79</sup> This follows the tradition of academic practice and theory developed from Alberti's emphasis on the need for painting to develop *istoria* during the fifteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Scenes from Ovid, for example, were inserted into landscape paintings produced during the eighteenth century in order to raise their status to the level of history painting.<sup>81</sup> Mythological themes and subjects taken from the Bible and classical texts were considered subjects capable of elevating the soul of the viewer despite the condemnation of critics outlined above. In achieving the highest levels of professional esteem among the ranks of the artistic elite, the academic artist was also held accountable for the moral instruction of the viewing audience.<sup>82</sup>

Mythological representation is known to arouse responses capable of generating the transmission of knowledge or wisdom to an involved audience.<sup>83</sup> In the context of the eighteenth century, Candace Clements has observed that classical subjects functioned 'as signposts in the increasingly fluid society of the present.'<sup>84</sup> Importantly, the language of

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<sup>78</sup> Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting* (London: J. Osborn, 1743), pp.86-87. Originally published as *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Jacques Éstienne, 1708).

<sup>79</sup> Guy Stair Sainty, "The First Painters of the King," Introduction to *The First Painters of the King: French Royal Taste From Louis XIV to the Revolution*, edited by Colin B. Bailey (New York: Stair Sainty Matthiesen, 1985), 10.

<sup>80</sup> Nigel Llewellyn, "Illustrating Ovid," in *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 157.

<sup>81</sup> Llewellyn, "Illustrating Ovid," 160.

<sup>82</sup> Caroline van Eck, "Rhetorical Categories in the Academy," in *A Companion to Art Theory*, eds. Paul Smith and Carolyn Wilde (Oxford, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 112.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Bennet, "The Power of Myths to Motivate." [https://www.academia.edu/6673065/The\\_Power\\_of\\_Myths\\_to\\_Motivate](https://www.academia.edu/6673065/The_Power_of_Myths_to_Motivate) (accessed 1 May 2014), 1-2.

<sup>84</sup> Candace Clements, "The Academy and the Other," 492.

allegory was already familiar to audiences prior to the new century and the death of the Sun King. Viewers understood that particular traits or moral qualities were associated with the gods, goddesses and heroes of mythology. Louis XIV had long reigned over the collective imagination of his subjects in the guise of Apollo, his mythologised image acquiring a ‘sacred quality’ which was promoted alongside an apparent ‘return of the golden age.’<sup>85</sup> References to Louis as the Sun King reflected his position as the centre of state and the court which revolved around him perceived as ‘a reflection of the cosmos.’<sup>86</sup> Equated with an Olympian deity, the king’s courtiers revolved around their monarch as ‘lesser divinities or heroes’ positioned above common humanity.<sup>87</sup> In this way, artists, musicians, entertainers and dancers all participated in the construction of the visual spectacle of the Sun King in celebration of his divine authority.

When Louis was 15 years old in 1653, he elected to perform the role of Apollo in the ballet *La Nuit* presented at the Petit-Bourbon in Paris.<sup>88</sup> The performance was a political allegory of the quashed Fronde rebellion and represented the restoration of order by the king in the guise of the Sun bringing light to the darkness of chaos and mischief.<sup>89</sup> A sequence of scenes foreshadowed the triumph of the sun by presenting an inversion of Louis’s own court as a realm of lawlessness and disorder.<sup>90</sup> Cultural and social order was confirmed not only through displays of discipline and regulation, but in expressing its reversal or opposite in

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<sup>85</sup> Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 7.

<sup>86</sup> Burke, *Fabrication*, 7, 12. Burke analyses architectural details, statues and portraits of this king in more detail than the present study allows.

<sup>87</sup> Monsieur, R., *Les XVI et XVII siècles*, Vol.IV of *Histoire générale des civilisations* (Paris, 1954) cited in Robert M. Isherwood, “The Politics of Royal Opera in the Reign of Louis XIV”, in *The Sun King. Louis XIV and the New World: an Exhibition*, edited and translated by Steven G. Reinhardt (New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, 1984), 138.

<sup>88</sup> Burke, *Fabrication*, 45. Philanthropy and artistic achievement are traits associated with Apollo. It is also important to note that Louis adopted Alexander the Great, St Louis, Hercules and even the Good Shepherd as key personifications because of the characteristics of strength, heroism, conquest and virtue associated with them.

<sup>89</sup> The Fronde refers to a series of uprisings during the minority of Louis XIV between 1648 and 1653 as a result of efforts to reduce or minimise the authority of the crown. See Orest Ranum, *The Fronde: A French Revolution, 1648-1652 (Revolutions in the Modern World)*, W. C. Norton & Co Inc., 1993.

<sup>90</sup> Bent Holm, “Picture and Counter-Picture: An Attempt to Involve Context in the Interpretation of Théâtre Italien Iconography,” *Theatre Research Journal*, 22.3 (1993): 219.



representations of chaotic or disorderly events or actions.<sup>91</sup> Utilising images and figures of the past to refer allegorically to the present, the king was promoted as a cultivated man heavily invested in the arts and sciences. As John Wolf aptly remarked, Louis ‘wanted to be remembered as an institution rather than a man.’<sup>92</sup>

While portraits and statues of the Sun King acted as substitutes for his presence in the event of his personal absence, Jean-Antoine Watteau’s famous *Gersaint Shop Sign* (Fig. 6) has often been interpreted as emphasising a break with the tradition of academic painting under *premiere peintre du roi*, Charles Le Brun (1619-1690).<sup>93</sup> As is commonly noted, the portrait removed from display in Watteau’s composition bears a distinct likeness to the recently deceased monarch. The act of packing away the king’s portrait underscores the notion that with the expiration of his life, the practices associated with his oppressive autocracy have become redundant.<sup>94</sup> Suzanne R. Pucci has recently pointed out that the awkward handling of the king’s portrait half in and half out of its packing crate provokes a sense of disequilibrium, the skewed tilt of the painting in distinct contrast to the symmetrical hanging of works displayed upright along the shop walls. Importantly, these works as consumer products to be bought and sold retained only a ‘tentative place’ as mobile objects which, like the king’s portrait, enjoyed a finite shelf life utterly dependent upon consumption and patterns of taste.<sup>95</sup>

Packing away the portrait of the Sun King proclaimed the end of an age and the dawn of the new. Serving as Regent on behalf of the young Louis XV from 1715, Phillip d’Orléans promptly sought to refurbish and redecorate the Palais-Royal, commissioning artists

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<sup>91</sup> Barbara A. Babcock, introduction to *The Reversible World. Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978), 27.

<sup>92</sup> John B. Wolf, “The Man Who Was King,” in Reinhardt, *The Sun King*, 29.

<sup>93</sup> David Wakefield, *French Eighteenth Century Painting* (London: Gordon Fraser), 1984, 11.

<sup>94</sup> See Julie Plax, “Gersaint’s Biography of Antoine Watteau: Reading Between and Beyond the Lines,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Special Issue: Art History: New Voices/New Visions, 25.4 (Summer 1992): 545-560.

<sup>95</sup> Suzanne R. Pucci, *Sites of the Spectator. Emerging literary and cultural practice in eighteenth-century France* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford), SVEC 2001:09, 41-42.

including Antoine Coypel to assist in the transformation of the galleries which represented a bold break with the past. As Katie Scott has already noted, the brilliance of colour, dynamism of perspective and ‘blushed flesh’ which began to appear as part of the new aesthetic ushered in a mode of artistic expression recognized as indisputably ‘modern’. Under the new brush, history and past legends were ‘depersonalised’ in the sense they ‘no longer functioned as the privileged mirror or portrait of history makers...but offered a generic and ‘democratic’ discourse whose moral injunctions were there for society at large to heed.’<sup>96</sup> Put another way, the new history painting was one which addressed collective audiences to look at themselves rather than to allegories of sovereignty, so that François Lemoyne’s Salon d’Hercule at Versailles, for instance, presents the image of Hercules not as a prince, but rather as a ‘perfect citizen.’<sup>97</sup>

Lemoyne wrote a passage to aid in the interpretation of his ceiling depicting the heroic deeds of Hercules and pointed out that the virtues and vices associated with figures of mythology were transferable examples for the viewer:

The love of virtue raises man above himself and makes him superior to the most difficult and perilous labours: the obstacles vanish at the sight of his king and his fatherland. Sustained by Honour and Fidelity, *he attains immortality by his own actions.*<sup>98</sup>

It is apparent that mythological images were no longer solely utilised in the authorised service of the Crown, but sought to address viewers as contemplative individuals. As Lemoyne noted, man elevates himself and is likewise responsible for his own fall.

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<sup>96</sup> Katie Scott, “D’un siècle à l’autre: history, mythology and decoration in early eighteenth-century Paris,” in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin B. Bailey with the assistance of Carrie A. Hamilton (New York, Fort Worth: Rizolli and Kimball Art Museum, 1992), 44.

<sup>97</sup> Scott, “D’un siècle à l’autre,” 44.

<sup>98</sup> Lemoyne cited in Scott, “D’un siècle à l’autre,” 57. See footnote 114. My italics.

It is important to recognise the European eighteenth century ‘as a transitional era similar in many ways to Ovid’s’, and it is through images of mythological masculinity that we can discern the rise of the individual and the new spectator of images.<sup>99</sup> Pucci explains that the French ‘Spectator’ of the early to mid-century was instrumental to fuelling the popularity of art exhibitions and emerging genres of theatre and literature as ‘crucial agents’ of significant aesthetic, literary and cultural shifts which helped to initiate social evolution and change.<sup>100</sup> Within these forms, the spectator mediates as a figure between the individual viewer or reader as a subject of the king who is nonetheless on the path to becoming both citizen and consumer. Becoming more visibly involved in the emergent public, the spectator became a ‘transitional, cultural subject in France of the early Enlightenment.’<sup>101</sup> Put another way, the spectator begins to infringe upon the space of sovereignty which eventually leads to the shift from absolutism to citizenship and patriotism.<sup>102</sup>

In other words, the spectator or viewer emerges during this period as a figure rising from ‘king’s lowly subject to citizen subject’, from invisible witness of royal spectacle to visible ‘subject and agent.’<sup>103</sup> In response to the lighter example set by Louis’ immediate successor during the minority of Louis XV, a new focus on social refinement further encouraged the growth of individual connoisseurship and a demand for works of fine art and objects of taste.<sup>104</sup> As William Ray has observed, personal taste was one means of achieving social distinction in a society distinguishing itself from the age of Louis XIV by the drive to be considered original or singular.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, the early salons at the French Royal Academy helped to foster the ‘modern ideology of individualism’ by furnishing viewers with the ability

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<sup>99</sup> Natania Meeker, “Eighteenth-Century Arts of Love,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 35.3 (Fall 2011): 105.

<sup>100</sup> Pucci, *Sites of the Spectator*, 1-2.

<sup>101</sup> Pucci, *Sites of the Spectator*, 10.

<sup>102</sup> Pucci, *Sites of the Spectator*, 10.

<sup>103</sup> Pucci, *Sites of the Spectator*, 5.

<sup>104</sup> Germain Bazin, *Baroque and Rococo*, trans. Jonathan Griffin (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd), 2002, 185.

<sup>105</sup> William Ray, “Talking about Art: The French Royal Academy Salons and the Formation of the Discursive Citizen,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.4 (Summer 2004): 537.

to criticise works autonomously, taking pleasure in evaluating works based on individual, personal responses within critical conventions of analysis and debate.<sup>106</sup> This is clear in the writing of Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, who advocated for the public's ability to judge poetry and painting through the senses and emotions as innate tools of perception.<sup>107</sup>

As consumer and subject, then, the new spectator is present as key witness to significant historical and cultural change.<sup>108</sup> Natania Meeker has noted the paradoxical though 'profound influence of ancient models for those who insisted on being modern.'<sup>109</sup> Looking to antiquity, mythological imagery and themes were used to address a broader range of concepts in a variety of mediums including fine art works, satirical prints and material culture in response to both the demands of patronage and the changing socio-cultural climate. While Ovid's *Metamorphoses* proposed to bridge the gap between the 'individual human personality and the physical nature of the universe,' the culture of the ancien regime conceived the 'borders of the self' as fluid, malleable and uncertain.<sup>110</sup> As George L. Hersey has shown, the popularity of Ovid's tales of transformation echoed developments in physics and the philosophies of materialism and atomism which revealed that 'physical transformation was possible.'<sup>111</sup> In order to better understand the period's preoccupation with these concepts, the following section will review the relationship between mythology and naturalism, exploring

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<sup>106</sup> Ray, "Talking about Art," 544,542.

<sup>107</sup> John C. O'Neal, "Nature's Culture in Du Bos's *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*," in *Art and Culture in the Eighteenth Century: New Dimensions and Multiple Perspectives*, ed. Elise Goodman (Newark: Associated University Presses, 2001), 15. Du Bos' *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (*Critical Reflections on Poetry and Painting*) was first published in 1719. See also Thomas Kavanagh, "The Esthetics of Pleasure. Du Bos and Boucher," in *Enlightened Pleasures. Eighteenth-Century France and the New Epicureanism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010); John C. O'Neal, *Changing Minds: The Shifting Perception of Culture in Eighteenth-Century France* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 2002) and *The Authority of Experience: Sensationist Theory in the French Enlightenment* (The Pennsylvania State University, 1996). Du Bos's aesthetic theory will be discussed further in the following chapters.

<sup>108</sup> Pucci, *Sites of the Spectator*, 6.

<sup>109</sup> Meeker, "Eighteenth-Century Arts," 105-106.

<sup>110</sup> Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh. Metamorphoses and the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 1986, 37; Alex Wetmore, "Sympathy Machines: Men of Feeling and the Automaton," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43.1, (Fall 2009), 38.

<sup>111</sup> George L. Hersey, *Falling In Love With Statues. Artificial Humans From Pygmalion to the Present* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press), 2009, 90.

how each of these fields reflected ideas of human origins and progress as indicators of difference and mutability.

### **Of Mythic Origins**

Although some writers expressed their view of mythology as an irrational product of the imagination, most writers conceded that the study of mythology itself remained a useful enterprise. Rationalist thinkers argued that myth was used in ‘primitive’ or ‘savage’ cultures to understand and explain the origins and events of the world, and to come to terms with fears of the unknown or inexplicable.<sup>112</sup> Bernard Fontenelle’s analysis of mythology as primitive philosophy was enormously influential among his peers and reveals connections between eighteenth-century understandings of mythology, religion, history and human origins.<sup>113</sup> While Fontenelle was concerned that the mistruths of myth and pagan religion remained unchanged, his *Histoire des Oracles* (1686) revealed an urge to blot out the superstitious belief in favour of rationalism.<sup>114</sup> In short, myth and religion were alike defunct, the very antithesis of atheism and rational thought.<sup>115</sup> Consistent with this view, Antoine Banier’s French translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* included plates and ‘historical explications’ at the conclusion of each episode to assist the reader in understanding the meaning of the myths which had ‘thrown an impenetrable Obscurity over the First Ages of the World.’ It is in the veiled works of antiquity, Banier explains, that ‘all the Arts and Sciences were comprised in their Fictions.’<sup>116</sup> Put another way, mythological subjects and the works derived from them were seen to hold the truth of origins, however confused and distorted sources may have become over the centuries.

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<sup>112</sup> Feldman and Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology*, 4.

<sup>113</sup> Fontenelle, *De l’Origine des Fables*, ed. Carré, 17.

<sup>114</sup> Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology*, 7.

<sup>115</sup> Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology*, 157.

<sup>116</sup> Banier, *Ovid’s Metamorphoses*, preface, no pagination.

Peter Gay has argued that earlier classical traditions and Christian values were often complementary and adapted to suit early modern social and cultural conditions. However, later Enlightenment thinkers saw superstition and religion as a precursor to misdeed and moral mischief. This later period was marked as a separation of Christianity from antiquity and described as ‘the rise of modern paganism.’<sup>117</sup> This can be seen in successful publications of the period including Bernard Picart and Jean Frédéric Picart’s immense and lavishly illustrated *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (*Religious Ceremonies of the World*).<sup>118</sup> An enormous collaborative effort, works such as these exemplify the enthusiasm for collecting and categorising so characteristic of the period. In the same way that naturalists, scientists and travellers meticulously noted and recorded their botanical observations and discoveries, so artists and writers laboured together to document and preserve accounts of the customs and ritual practices of the world’s Christian and pagan religions.<sup>119</sup>

Important works like the *Religious Ceremonies* again confirms the impact that myth and superstition had on the circulation of ideas at this time.<sup>120</sup> While the progress of civilisation was measured through the expansion of territories and the acquisition of scientific knowledge, technologies, innovation and industry, European achievement was compared with the ‘primitive mind’ located in the ‘barbaric world’ of myth and pagan ritual.<sup>121</sup> This is clearly illustrated in a plate in Joseph François Lafitau’s *Moeurs des sauvages américains*

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<sup>117</sup> Neven Leddy and Avis S. Lifschitz, “Epicurus in the Enlightenment: and introduction,” in *Epicurus in the Enlightenment*, eds. Neven Leddy and Avis S. Lifschitz (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009), 1-2.

<sup>118</sup> Jean Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde. Représentées par des Figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart. Avec une Explication Historique, & quelques Dissertations Curieuses*, 7 vols. Amsterdam: J. F Bernard, 1723-1737.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/picart/index.html> accessed 12 October 2014.

First published in Amsterdam, the volumes ran numerous editions in French, English, Dutch and German. For a list of these editions, see [www.digital2.library.ucla.edu/picart/research.html](http://www.digital2.library.ucla.edu/picart/research.html).

<sup>119</sup> For more on the significant impact of Picart and Bernard’s *Religious Ceremonies of the World* and the conditions in which it was published and disseminated, see Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob & Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard’s Religious Ceremonies of the World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2010).

<sup>120</sup> Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 9.

<sup>121</sup> Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 10.

*comparés aux mœurs premiers temps* (*Customs of the American Indians compared with the customs of the primitive times*). Published in 1724, this richly illustrated work details the daily life and customs of the Iroquois people of the Kahnawake settlement in Montreal and reflects Lafitau's determination to demonstrate that all human groups shared a common point of origin. Drawing comparisons between the characteristics of the 'savage' American and those of other earlier cultures, one particular image illustrates physical and cultural differences as a point of comparison between the earliest people of antiquity and the contemporary example of indigenous Americans (Fig. 7). Descartes stated that 'travelling is nearly the same thing as talking with men of past centuries' and later writers including Lafitau saw indigenous cultures as living remnants of an archaic past from which Europeans had evolved.<sup>122</sup> In the Preface to his work, Lafitau compared Phillippe, the Duc d'Orléans with the American Indian to confirm that 'at base', all humans are alike and capable of progress.<sup>123</sup> Despite the unfavourable opinions of some of his peers due to questions of style, Lafitau was nonetheless recognised as an authority on 'primitive peoples' and praised for the depth of his knowledge in the classics.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, Lafitau's text 'offered a specific methodology for the interpretation and comparison of disparate cultures.'<sup>125</sup>

Divided into three horizontal planes and three vertical sections, the composition of the print is intended to be read as an explication of cultural progression. Identified by Lafitau in the explanatory notes as 'Jupiter Ammon I', the profile portrait in the top left corner bears a striking resemblance to the horned goat god Pan. Another figure facing him from the far

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<sup>122</sup> William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africa. The White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1980), 77.

<sup>123</sup> Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains Comparées Aux Mœurs des Premiers Temps*, vol. I, 2-3 (Paris: Saugrain l'aîné, 1724) [http://archive.org/stream/cihm\\_01690#page/n9/mode/2up](http://archive.org/stream/cihm_01690#page/n9/mode/2up) accessed 20 July 2015.

<sup>124</sup> James Evans, 'Joseph-François Lafitau: a Disciple of Herodotus Among the Iroquois'. Written for Volume 1.2 of *The Classical Tradition in the Americas*, eds. W Haase and Meyer Reihold to be published by Walter de Gruyter, Berlin. No pagination. The project reached proof stage but was cancelled following poor sales of the first volume. Accessed 16 October, 2014 <http://academia.edu/6171003/Lafitau>.

<sup>125</sup> David Allen Harvey, "Living Antiquity: Lafitau's *Moeurs des sauvages américains* and the Religious roots of the Enlightenment Science of Man," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 36 (2008): 75.

opposite corner lacks a beard and his horns are less conspicuous. With more refined facial features, this male figure is named 'Lysimachus' in Lafitau's notes.<sup>126</sup>

The diminishing or shrinking horn recalls the traditional belief that discipline and education is required to remove the spiritual or metaphorical horns of children and others who act on impulse. These physical changes therefore mirror the capacity to improve or advance over time.<sup>127</sup> Hair removal reminds us of the invention of tools required in refining grooming practices as evidence of the cultural and technological advances signalling the distinction between members of early modern society and the unkempt wild man.<sup>128</sup> In the centre of the two profiles, another smaller face considers the viewer and is described as Isis 'with the skin of a bull with its horns and ears.'<sup>129</sup> Lafitau notes that the followers of Bacchus were men of the first times who 'covered themselves with animal, especially roe deer, skins.' That is, the classical poets and painters were said to have adapted the appearance of early peoples in descriptions of mythic beings including centaurs as 'the peoples who first found the method of governing horses and making them obedient to the rein.'<sup>130</sup>

Beneath the first trio in Lafitau's plate, the second horizontal continues to read from the left where the 'savage' American is depicted as a thickset figure raising a heavy club above his head, his crude workmanship lacking basic innovation. The figure's conspicuous ears, horn and tail signify his status closer to animals, and his limited achievement in the arts of war and defence is mirrored by the satyr figure facing him. Playing his uncouth horn, the instrument issues spontaneous, unsophisticated music limited to a single tone and note. Behind the

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<sup>126</sup> Joseph François Lafitau, *Explication des Planches et Figures in Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains Comparées Aux Moeurs des Premiers Temps*, vol. II, Planche I. p.19 (Paris: Saugrain l'aîné, 1724). Accessed 20 July, 2015. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86029431/f12.item.zoom>

<sup>127</sup> Francisco vaz da Silva, "Sexual Horns: The Anatomy and Metaphysics of Cuckoldry in European Folklore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48:2 (2006), 2. Da Silva states that the presence of horns "suggests that the full human condition is a cultural development from a basic horned condition." The origin of these ideas and connotations associated with the horns as a motif of sexual and moral transgression will be explored in further detail in the chapter on the myth of Pan and Syrinx in particular.

<sup>128</sup> Angela Rosenthal, "Raising Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38.1, Hair, (Fall 2004): 2-3.

<sup>129</sup> Lafitau, "Explication des Planches," in *Moeurs des Sauvages*, volume II, 19.

<sup>130</sup> Lafitau, "Explication des Planches," in *Moeurs des Sauvages*, volume II, 19.



playing satyr, another figure faces the opposite way to look onward into the future, holding not a single rough horn but two crafted with care. This figure has begun to lose his goatish traits, and though he retains a short tail and horns, the hairy shanks and cloven hoof of the beast has disappeared. His instrument is more complicated and signals an advance in technology and technique. The final figure in this sequence looks away from those who came before. Holding his bow in one steady hand, he represents early culture rising from the wild toward the advances of civilisation, concealing his nudity with more elaborate costume, jewellery and head dress crafted with better materials and sophisticated hands. He who draws bow demonstrates refinement in the products of culture, hunting and combat.

Finally, the last row of images represents conflict between opposing groups signified by armour placed at each corner. In the centre, a pair of figures raising swords on charging steeds engage in battle and refer again to the domestication and servitude of beasts which in turn reinforces concepts of hierarchy in nature. In his explanation of the warring figures, he notes:

Horns were, formerly, the mark of power, force, and sovereign authority. Several testimonies of Holy scriptures and pagan theology prove to us incontestably that the former was the common concept of antiquity. The horns of divinities, oriental kings, and caesars, who wished to be represented this way, could have no other meaning, and without going back so far, the crested helmets of the Dukes of Brittany and of many Germanic families show that, not long ago, European people thought like the people of antiquity and as people think today in America, particularly the Iroquois for whom the term *gannagaroni*, [“invested with antlers”] a relative term, formed an

*onnagara* which means “antler,” signifies to elevate a person [to high office] and render him illustrious.<sup>131</sup>

Pre-dating Norbert Elias’s theory of civilisation based on the development of social mores and moral standards by two centuries, Lafitau’s book plate conveys the idea that progress is demonstrated and measured through refinements of behaviour, custom and cultural practices.<sup>132</sup>

To summarise, Lafitau believed that deviations from the natural religion first revealed by God resulted in the pagan practices of false religions which nonetheless carried obscure remnants or leftovers from the original, divine revelation. His views can be distinguished from later arguments pursued by thinkers including Hegel who dismissed ‘primitive’ people as ‘people without history.’<sup>133</sup> Lafitau argued instead that people of the New World were capable of conversion and assimilation even while his work presented the ‘European past as culturally equivalent to the American present.’<sup>134</sup> For some observers, the practices and customs of pagan religion presented ‘a living flesh-and-blood reality which was mirrored in contemporary barbarism.’<sup>135</sup> In this way, writers including Lafitau helped foster the binary view of progressive Europeans and the ‘uncivilised’ Other while nurturing the shift from religion as a divine source to fulfilling a basic human need to ‘make sense of the world’ in support of the anticlerical sentiment of Enlightenment.<sup>136</sup> Adopting the mythical figures to communicate observations on cultural practices and ideas of progress as an early

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<sup>131</sup> Lafitau, “Explication des Planches et Figures”, in *Moeurs des Sauvages*, volume II, 19. See also Lafitau, “Occupations of the Men” in “Explanation of the Plates” in *Customs of the American Indians Compared With the Customs of the Primitive Times*, ed. William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore. Toronto: The Champlain Society, vol. II, 25.

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott with notes and corrections by the author, eds. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, Stephen Mennell (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, revised edition). Originally published as *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, 1939.

<sup>133</sup> Harvey, “Living Antiquity,” 84.

<sup>134</sup> Harvey, “Living Antiquity,” 83.

<sup>135</sup> Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 18-19.

<sup>136</sup> Harvey, “Living Antiquity,” 84-86.

anthropologist, Lafitau's work draws together concepts of myth, origins and cultural hierarchy within a single image.

### **Mythology, Naturalism and the Science of Man**

Given that mythology and the work of those invested in establishing 'a science of man' was so closely entwined during this period, it is not surprising to find that Antoine Banier's multi-volume *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients Explain'd from History* (1739-40) addresses the origins and functions of mythology and pagan religion alongside descriptions of foreign indigenous groups. Banier's section 'Of the Satyrs, Fauns, Ægipans, &c.' is revealing in that he equates monkeys and apes with 'barbarian' people in an attempt to explain the existence of fabulous creatures described in historical and classical texts. Common among writers of the period, a preoccupation with physiognomy and pre-Darwinian theories of evolution underlies Banier's attempt to decode the meanings and hidden truths embedded within myth and fable. He tells us that:

Daper, in his account of *Africa*, speaks of another Kind of Monkey which bears yet a greater Resemblance to Man. These Animals being dispersed through the Woods, with which the whole Earth was overgrown, had, doubtless, given occasion to take those Sort of Monkeys or Monsters for a Species of Men: I am not at all surprised at it, since they bear a much greater Resemblance to the *Caffres* and *Hottentots*, who inhabit the Extremities of *Africa*, than these do to other Men: and we should have had much less Reason to be surprised if the latter had been taken for real men.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Antoine Banier, *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients Explain'd from History*, Volume II (1739-40). Anonymous English translation. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976, 597. Originally published as *La mythologie et les fables expliquées par l'histoire*, 4 vols. Paris: Briasson, 1740. <https://archive.org/details/lamythologieetl00banigoog> last accessed 3 March 2016.

Banier assured his readers that the monsters of myth were born of embellished truths associated with earlier customs and the origins of rural traditions. He argued that ‘The Poets having got into their Hands the amusing Subject, invented a thousand Tales. The Painters too contributed to propogate those Fables, by painting *Pan* and the *Satyrs* like Men.’<sup>138</sup> Lafitau likewise contended that ‘...These species of extraordinary men with horns on their heads, goat feet and tails hanging in the back, have no reality and owe their existence only to the poet’s imagination, to the hieroglyphic writing of the first times and the ignorance of later centuries, which have thus disfigured real men.’<sup>139</sup> Banier explained that even the ‘great Men’ of ages past had made the error of humanizing the fauns and satyrs of myth, and it is in these inherited works alone that the hybrid creatures exist.<sup>140</sup>

Looking back to naturalism, it is significant that scientific illustrations of apes and monkeys were humanized by representing them with canes or walking sticks. It has been pointed out that these images of mimicry reflected ideas of man’s proximity to ape, and help us to understand how Jean-Jacques Rousseau came to wonder whether animals taken for ‘Beasts...might not indeed be genuine Savage men whose race...had not acquired any degree of perfection, and was still in the primitive state of nature.’<sup>141</sup> In their duality, the satyr and faun simultaneously embodied the elevation and degradation of man. Straddling the categories of man and beast, they shared the position of the great apes whose appearance and behaviours led thinkers to interrogate the boundary between humans and animals while raising the prospect of different types of human. Unearthing the past and definitions of

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<sup>138</sup> Banier, *Mythology and Fables*, vol. II, 593.

<sup>139</sup> Lafitau, 1724 (1980), *Customs of the American Indians*, p.24.

<sup>140</sup> Banier, *Mythology and Fables*, vol. II 593.

<sup>141</sup> Gregory, *Evolutionism*, 199. Gregory cites Rousseau’s Note X. See also Francis Moran, “Between Primates and Primitives: Natural Man as the Missing Link in Rousseau’s Second Discourse,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54:1 (January 1993): 37-58.

difference enabled a reasoned understanding of the murky origins of human history whilst holding a mirror to contemporary society.<sup>142</sup>

The work of mythographers held much in common with the work of naturalists who were also immersed in the search for origins and an understanding of the processes or mind behind Creation. The history of the human species and the world within a deeply mysterious universe lay at the very core of mythological and religious study, and this was articulated in scientific enquiry via the Great Chain of Being. As with the work of mythologists, eighteenth-century naturalism inspired rigorous debate resulting in a rich variety of opinion and theory. Despite this, the idea of progression between species was commonly accepted even as writers adapted theories to fit their own particular system of thought. The *scala naturæ* or chain of beings provided a framework for understanding the relationships between the planet's innumerable species and the place of humanity within the order of creation. It defined the universe and all creation within it as progressing in a linear fashion upward from the simplest of creatures toward man as the most complex and developed of types positioned alongside God in a hierarchy of species. Each creature occupied a position within a continuous gradation of types, with each minute gradation between species barely distinguishable. To this end, each creature shared at least one characteristic with its neighbours on either side.<sup>143</sup>

Importantly, the organisation of types along a continuous, linear chain of being from the simplest of matter in perfectible degrees towards the complexity of humanity helped secure the distance between man and the lowest creatures.<sup>144</sup> Positioning man between beast and angel was vital during the eighteenth century when a predominately Christian worldview was

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<sup>142</sup> Jacques Revel, "Forms of Expertise: Intellectuals and "Popular" Culture in France (1650-1800)," in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (Amsterdam, Berlin, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1984), 267.

<sup>143</sup> Mary Efrosini Gregory, *Evolutionism in Eighteenth-Century French Thought* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, 2008), 1-6.

<sup>144</sup> Gregory, *Evolutionism in Eighteenth-Century French Thought*, 2.

pressed into making room for the discoveries of new worlds and in science. Modern scholars confirm that reinforcing the ‘uniqueness of masculine Western rationality’ was central to the Enlightenment project which drew on the foreign and exotic as a point of comparison to establish and reinforce ‘universal truths.’<sup>145</sup>

As travel accounts of encounters with foreign cultures and strange beasts bearing a striking resemblance to man continued to fascinate Europeans, the interest in the variety and relationships between species grew. While Lafitau advanced the idea of progress in indigenous cultures upward toward European ideals, other writers considered non-Europeans ‘generally inferior copies of an older race’ or proof of degeneration from an ‘original single stock.’<sup>146</sup> This concept accounted for observed variations between human populations even though the work of naturalists was more often than not based on unqualified, second-hand accounts of travellers and explorers.<sup>147</sup> Descriptions of physical and behavioural characteristics of the pongo, orang-outang or Hottentot defined difference between quasi-humans and Europeans. Shared characteristics identified between groups inspired the mapping out of a ‘human hierarchy’ which positioned the (Western) European as a superior exemplar of humanity. For example, in Linnaeus’s *Systema Naturae*, humans were classified into seven different races including *Homo americanus*, *Homo europaeus*, *Homo asiaticus*, *Homo africanus*, *Homo ferus*, *Monstrosus* and *Troglodytes*.<sup>148</sup> According to Linnaeus, *Homo europaeus* can be identified as gentle, inventive and governed by systems of civilisation. On the other hand, indigenous Americans were stubborn and freely ‘governed by habitat’;

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<sup>145</sup> Chi-Ming Yang, “Gross Metempsychosis and Eastern Soul,” in *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture. Representation, Hybridity, Ethics*, ed. Frank Palmeri (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006), 13.

<sup>146</sup> Robert Wokler, “Perfectible Apes in Decadent Cultures: Rousseau’s Anthropology Revisited,” *Daedalus*, 7:3, Rousseau for Our Time (1978), 111.

<sup>147</sup> Francis Moran, “Of Pongos and Men: “Orang-Outang” in Rousseau’s “Discourse on Inequality,”” *The Review of Politics*, 57:4 (1995), 645. Crucially, Moran also proposes that pongos may have been ‘people who have been misidentified by careless travellers,’ 655.

<sup>148</sup> Mary Efrosini Gregory, *Evolutionism in Eighteenth-Century French Thought*, 219-220; Carolus Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae sive Regna Tria Naturae Systematice Proposita per Classes, Ordines, Genera & Species* (Leiden: Theodorum Haak, 1735).

Asians were severe and ‘governed by opinions,’ and Africans were crafty and ‘governed by caprice.’<sup>149</sup> Yet, as Moran observed, those groups which occupied the lowest rungs of the human ladder and the orang-outangs and apes which were placed at the top of the animal ladder caused the boundaries between man and beast to become obscured.<sup>150</sup>

Reports of behaviours suggesting a level of intelligence separating simian species from other animals raised speculations about the proximity of the great apes to man, and whether or not they in fact represented a different kind of humanity. With Descartes’ denial of an animal soul during the seventeenth century, beasts were declared incapable of reason, language, thought and sentiment, and were therefore destined to remain outside the community of humanity.<sup>151</sup> However, reconsidering the possibility of an animal soul and recognising man’s proximity to beast raised concerns which presented an opportunity to interrogate religious doctrine, systems of government and human morality. Specifically, the possible existence of an animal soul threatened to close the gap between man and beast, therefore undermining man’s privileged position closest to God. Moreover, observed characteristics and motivations of animals revealed close similarities to human behaviours which threatened to collapse the ‘essential distinction between man and beast.’<sup>152</sup>

These ideas further influenced thinking around the ‘duality of man’, allowing for a ‘wider fellowship’ between man and beast even while theologians and philosophers found the suggestion deeply problematic.<sup>153</sup> While hybrids and man-like species were allocated a space within the chain by virtue of minute degrees of difference, humanity was considered a being in which the rational, intellectual, sensual and animal meet and merge. In fact, it is this

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<sup>149</sup> Gregory, “Evolutionism in Eighteenth-Century French Thought,” 220. For more on conceptions of race during the later eighteenth century, see David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 2002).

<sup>150</sup> Moran, “Of Pongos and Men,” 654.

<sup>151</sup> Hester Hastings, *Man and Beast in French Thought of the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1936), 13 – 20.

<sup>152</sup> Hastings, *Man and Beast*, 20.

<sup>153</sup> Hastings, *Man and Beast*, 15-17.

intermingling of ‘so-called high and low’ that accounted for the complexities and contradictions of a range of human behaviours and morality.<sup>154</sup> Edward Tyson’s dissection of an orang-outang in 1699 resulted in the publication of detailed anatomical observations which led him to conclude that the ‘mastery of language,’ and the proof of reason and intelligence allowed the human race to dominate despite striking physical similarities between ape and human.<sup>155</sup> The term ‘orang-outang’ is derived from the Malay word for ‘wild man of the woods,’ and it was this wild man who was considered the ‘missing link’ between civilized humans and beasts.<sup>156</sup>

Scarcely anything was known of the anthropoid apes during this time, and knowledge of the animals was based on inaccurate or vague observations recorded from a distance. For instance, an early report from Africa penned by Andrew Battell in 1613 described gorillas and chimpanzees as ‘two kinds of monsters, which are common in these Woods, and very dangerous.’<sup>157</sup> As Frank Dougherty explains, anatomists including Tyson were compelled to examine the inner structure and workings of human bodies in comparison with simian ones while stories of creatures whose appearances and behaviours exhibited human-like characteristics were circulating. Travellers and explorers set out to discover ‘the beast’ and mixed their own observations with indigenous stories, developing a ‘tradition of ape-lore’ that contributed to confusion surrounding identity and the proximity of species into the next century.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Yang, “Gross Metempsychosis,” 14.

<sup>155</sup> Robert Wokler, “Enlightening Apes: Eighteenth-Century Speculation and Current Experiments on Linguistic Competence,” in *Ape, Man, Apeman: Changing Views Since 1600: evaluative proceedings of the symposium...Leiden, the Netherlands, 28 June – 1 July, 1993*, eds. Raymond Corbey and Bert Theunissen (Leiden: Dept. Of Prehistory, Leiden University, 1995), 92.

<sup>156</sup> Richard Nash, “Tyson’s Pygmie: The Orang-outang and Augustan ‘Satyr’,” in *Ape, Man, Apeman*, eds. Corbey and Theunissen, 52; Frank Dougherty, “Missing Link, Chain of Being, Ape and Man in the Enlightenment: The Argument of the Naturalists,” in *Ape, Man and Apeman*, eds. Corbey and Theunissen, 63. See also Robert Cribb, Helen Gilbert and Helen Tiffin, *Wild Man from Borneo. A Cultural History of the Orangutan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2014).

<sup>157</sup> Andrew Battell, “Report from Africa,” 1613, cited in Nash, “Tyson’s Pygmie,” 53.

<sup>158</sup> Dougherty, “Missing Link, Chain of Being,” 64.



This confusion was exacerbated by the fact that many anatomists and naturalists had to base their work on the accounts of others. As European expansion progressed, specimens were captured and bought back to Europe for display and rigorous examination while other naturalists travelled abroad for extended periods to observe creatures in their own natural habitats in the regions of South America, East Indian colonies, Guinea, and Java.<sup>159</sup> As much as the new opportunities of first-hand observation and anatomical study increased human knowledge and understanding of these animals, naturalism and scientific enquiry uncovered and heightened anxieties based on notable similarities between man and beast. The title of Tyson's celebrated dissection of an orang-outang betrayed the very real concerns which plagued scholars at the time. *Orang-outang; sive Homo Sylvestris; or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie Compared with that of a Monkey an Ape and a Man* is accompanied by Tyson's supplement described as *A philological Essay concerning the Pygmies, the Cynocephali, the Satyrs, and Sphinges of the Ancients, Wherein it will appear that they are all either APES or MONKEYS, and not MEN, as formerly pretended*. As the title reveals, Tyson's anatomical observations in the service of science aimed to uncover the 'true contents' and meanings of classical texts with a view to resolving the worry that mythical monsters were too closely related to humans.<sup>160</sup>

Tyson's predecessor, Dutch physician Nicholaas Tulp, described what is most likely to have been a chimpanzee as an 'Indian Satyr' in his *Observationum Medicarum* of 1641. He recorded that:

there is an animal, a quadruped, in the tropical mountains of India, a most pernicious one; with a human figure, but with the feet of a goat; and with a hairy body all over. Having none of the human customs; rejoicing in the shadows of the wood; and fleeing

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<sup>159</sup> Dougherty, "Missing Link, Chain of Being," 65.

<sup>160</sup> Dougherty, "Missing Link, Chain of Being," 65.

from intercourse with men...[other poets] call their Satyrs lascivious, shameless, two-formed, two-horned, and with the wanton inclinations of the woods. Which epithets of the ancients, if you explore with the level of truth, you will see themselves not far wrong.<sup>161</sup>

Tulp's description of the Indian Satyr, and accounts of the satyr figure provided by writers dating from antiquity onward were later confirmed by Banier as monkeys being observed in the wilds from a distance. He explicitly stated that there are 'a kind of Monkeys...that in a mountain of the *Indies* are to be found four-footed *Satyrs*, whom you would take at a distance for Men.'<sup>162</sup> As Julia Douthwaite has shown, the eighteenth-century wild man figure mirrored the concept of evolution proposed by medical minds who 'attributed physical phenomena to moral causes or animated scientific taxonomies with creatures of myth.' For instance, Linnaeus' *Systema naturae* attempted to rationalize monsters of myth and fable through organizing a hierarchy of species and adopting terms like 'satyr' and 'troglodyte' to describe ape and monkey species.<sup>163</sup>

Reflecting the notion that mythological satyrs and the great apes did not recognize qualities of human morality and society,<sup>164</sup> Banier added that particular types of monkeys:

frequently affrighted the Shepherds, and sometimes pursued the Shepherdesses; and this is possibly what gave Rise to so many Fables about their amorous Complexion. If we add to this, that Shepherds covered with Goat Skins, or some Priests of *Bacchus*,

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<sup>161</sup> Nicholaas Tulp, *Observationum Medicarum* (Amsterdam: 1641), Book III Ch: 56:277, cited in Nash, "Tyson's Pygmy," 53.

<sup>162</sup> Antoine Banier, *The Mythology and Fables*, Volume II, 592-593.

<sup>163</sup> Julia Douthwaite, "Homo ferus: Between Monster and Model," *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 21:2 (1997), 176.

<sup>164</sup> Lynn Frier Kaufmann, *The Noble Savage: Satyrs and Satyr Families in Renaissance Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), 31.

frequently counterfeited *Satyrs* to seduce the innocent Shepherdesses, I reckon we shall have the true Key to this Fable.<sup>165</sup>

Banier's observation of the satyr as a 'Barbarian' resembling a kind of monkey from afar attempts to dispel the myth of the satyr as a fantastic hybrid while maintaining their fearful reputations for violence and incivility. Banier's observations echo Pausanius's descriptions of the wild men of the Satyrde islands encountered by sailors who told of creatures who were:

red haired, and had upon their flanks tails not much smaller than those of horses. As soon as they caught sight of their visitors, they ran down to the ship without uttering a cry and assaulted the women in the ship. At last the sailors in fear cast a foreign woman on to the island. Her the Satyrs outraged not only in the usual way, but also in a most shocking manner.<sup>166</sup>

Though Banier attempts to rationalize the belief in mythological creatures of the imagination, his writing continues to emphasise the degenerate reputation of wild men or monkeys mistaken for satyrs throughout the ages. Recording that some of Caesar's soldiers disguised themselves as satyrs in order to 'strike a terror into the People whom they wanted to subdue,' Banier also explains that the word 'satyr' originated from the Hebrew term 'Sair' or 'Devil under the shape of a Goat.' This in part reveals how satyrs had come to be represented in literature and figuration as 'a Sort of Goats, dancing and frisking in a lascivious Manner.'<sup>167</sup> As Peter Mason points out, Europeans used the image of the ape or monkey as exemplars of vice to represent the degradation of man and in questioning the limits of the human in

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<sup>165</sup> Banier, *Mythology and Fables*, Volume II, 593.

<sup>166</sup> Pausanius, *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S Jones, ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. 1.23. 5-6, cited in Kaufmann, *The Noble Savage*, 9.

<sup>167</sup> Banier, *Mythology and Fables*, Volume II, 596. Banier does not specify if he is referring to Julius Caesar. He refers only to 'that Famous General,' 595.

encounters with indigenous groups.<sup>168</sup> As the following chapters demonstrate, excess and moral ineptitude was also frequently linked with the satyr figure.

While the mythological satyr is recognised by his physical combination of human and bestial parts, his ability to walk on his hind legs is also matched by the simian species. Banier described the ‘Orangs’ or ‘Wild men’ inhabiting the Island of Ceylon as alike in their:

Figure with other Men, have the Back all covered with Hair, flat Noses, and a rough Aspect: They are robust, nimble, and fierce. The way to take them is with Gions, and they tame so well, as to be taught to walk upon their Feet, or rather upon their Hind-legs. These *Satyrs*...are very serviceable to their Masters: they wash the Glasses, fill their Liquor, turn the Spit, and sweep the House.<sup>169</sup>

Influencing later figures like Buffon and Rousseau, La Mettrie argued that humans and animals are ‘organized alike.’ Rejecting the existence of a divine soul, La Mettrie insisted that man had the advantage over beast only by ‘a few more convolutions in his brain.’ Controversially, he also maintained that animals are capable of thought, generate ideas, and possess the capacity for speech.<sup>170</sup>

In statements which threatened the privileged status of European man, La Mettrie stipulated that orangutans and other types of hominoid apes were in fact types of *hommes sauvages*.<sup>171</sup> While Tyson had concluded that orang outangs were conscious of their own likeness to humans, he argued that the essential difference between the species of ape and man was in the conditions of lawful society.<sup>172</sup> Similarly, La Mettrie proposed that individuals judged as human by their outward shapes are able to elevate themselves if granted access to education

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<sup>168</sup> Peter Mason, “Seduction From Afar: Europe’s Inner Indians,” *Anthropos*, Bd. 82 H. 4:6 (1987), 594.

<sup>169</sup> Banier, *Mythology and Fables*, Volume II, 596.

<sup>170</sup> Hastings, *Man and Beast*, 95-97.

<sup>171</sup> Julien Offrey de La Mettrie, *Traité de l’âme* in *Oeuvres philosophiques de La Mettrie* (Berlin: Chez C. Tutot, 1796) <https://archive.org/details/oeuvresphilosoph01lameuoft> last accessed 10 September 2014. See in particular the section headed *Des hommes sauvages, appelés satyres*, 220-224.

<sup>172</sup> Gregory, *Evolutionism*, 199; Dougherty, “Missing Link, Chain of Being,” 67.

facilitating the ability to learn and think.<sup>173</sup> For eighteenth-century writers, the wild man was placed in the same category as other marginal figures including the mentally ill, deaf-mutes, savages and apes as exemplars of degeneration and proof not only of the variety of types, but the malleability of the human species.<sup>174</sup>

Locke noted that borderline creatures displaying human traits including upright posture, biped movement and internal anatomical similarities presented a challenge in classifying certain types as human, particularly where language and reason was perceived to be absent. Douthwaite explains that Linnaeus' system of classification in 1738 organized human and 'human-seeming' types into categories or genus including *Homo* (European, Asiatic, African and American people), the *Simia* apes and satyrs, and the sloth *Bradypus*. In the revised edition of 1758, Linnaeus divided *Homo* into *Homo nocturnus* and *Homo diurnus*. Anthropoid species including the chimpanzee and orangutan were classed as *Homo nocturnus* or troglodyte, while *Homo diurnus* referred to the more familiar *Homo sapiens*, a category of humanity further defined by skin colour and perceptions of temperament as well as geography. The remaining, lowest categories of humanity earned the titles of *Homo monstrosus* and *Homo feras* and were considered deviations of nature, monstrous births and individuals discovered in the wild.<sup>175</sup>

Foundlings, ape-like creatures and cases of human monstrosity played central roles in debates which raged over what constituted as human and questions of whether or not there existed different kinds of humanity. The work of Edward Tyson and others sought to 'recontain(s) the potentially threatening monster as a diminished and abject imitation of the human form.'<sup>176</sup> This was crucial during a time in which marginal types challenged concepts of human identity by 'blurring the categories' which defined and maintained clear distinctions

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<sup>173</sup> Hastings, *Man and Beast*, 99-100.

<sup>174</sup> Douthwaite, "*Homo feras*," 176.

<sup>175</sup> Douthwaite, "*Homo feras*," 178.

<sup>176</sup> Nash, "Tyson's Pygmy," 55.

between man and beast.<sup>177</sup> Buffon and other like-minded writers emphasised that the achievements and conditions of human society as the direct outcome of human reason resulted in the superior morality and physicality of civilized man. These ideas in turn informed attitudes toward marginal figures outside communities of ‘Enlightened’ Europe.<sup>178</sup>

Reading the visual representations of satyrs and fauns as marginal figures outside mainstream enlightenment and community, it is imperative to understand the way in which lines were drawn between particular groups of people and individuals during the period. The relationship between civilized man and untamed beast has had a long and complex history long before, and continuing into, the eighteenth century. Richard Nash explains that the naturalist writings of Georges-Louis Le Clerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), for instance, express ideals of sociability and friendship as characteristic of lawful society separating progressive, civilised man from *homo feras* or *Homo silvestris*, and lower animals. By producing his own version of Greimas’ semiotic square, Nash has identified four categories which help to distinguish the various classes of humans who qualified as citizens of the Enlightenment, and those who did not.<sup>179</sup> Occupying different spaces and separated by various characteristics, members of society and those outside it were placed within the broader spectrum of humanity according to certain traits.

The social/passionate group of humanoids included Orang-outangs, Yahoos, and other groups described by traveller’s reports of indigenous peoples. This category was considered a social group defined by their ‘passionate sounds’ in place of articulate speech, and was extended to include ‘domesticated brutes’ and herds. The solitary/passionate group included feral children raised in isolation, characterised by their ‘inarticulate cries and anarchic solitude’ and their

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<sup>177</sup> Nash, “Tyson’s Pygmy,” 56.

<sup>178</sup> Dougherty, “Missing Link, Chain of Being,” 67-68.

<sup>179</sup> The semiotic square was developed by a group of scholars including Algirdas Julien Greimas from the Paris School of Semiotics as a ‘tool used in oppositional analyses.’ Additional spaces which originate from a binary pairs help to refine analyses of them. In this case, the binary of wild man and citizen of enlightenment were enhanced by categories defined as social/passionate, social/rational and solitary/passionate and solitary/rational.

dishevelled, unkempt appearance. On the other side of the grid, the social/passionate group is in opposition to the social/rational class of people, described as citizens of Enlightenment. The group is defined by the ability to formulate and express thought and ideas, the ability to learn and the formation of public societies. Lastly, the social, rational citizen is contrasted against the solitary/rational group of individuals who are described as contemplative though withdrawn from participation in the public sphere. The individuals are described as castaways, exiles and solitaires.<sup>180</sup>

Clearly, the figure of Pan and other satyrs occupying the spaces which border society and the wilderness of nature are in defiant opposition to the rational citizen of Enlightenment. Assigning individuals to the various social groups described above can also be applied to the sociable *honnête homme* of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth-century *libertin galant* standing for autonomy and freedom.<sup>181</sup> Though libertinism resists concise and generalized definition, the *libertin galant* typically reserves truth and authenticity for the private interior of the self and ‘select initiates,’ scorning and ‘resentful of society’s overreaching influence.’<sup>182</sup> Consequently, the *libertin galant* was criticized by those who upheld the central values of social discourse and civility promoted by the Enlightenment.

### **The State of Masculinity**

The fluidity of the physical, human self and the categories described above reflect impermanence and uncertain potential for change. This is also characteristic of masculinity as a continually shifting state of being demanding proof and maintenance though it is not unconditionally fixed. Anthropologists and ethnographers are unanimous in their definition of

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<sup>180</sup> Richard Nash, *Wild Enlightenment: The Borders of Human Identity in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 7-8.

<sup>181</sup> Elena Russo, “Sociability, Cartesianism, and Nostalgia in Libertine Discourse,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 30:4, *Models of Virtue and Vice* (Summer 1997): 383.

<sup>182</sup> Russo, “Sociability, Cartesianism and Nostalgia,” 390-391.

masculinity as ‘something to be acquired, achieved, initiated into.’<sup>183</sup> Put another way, ‘Masculinity is a *becoming* that does not have the luxury of coming to rest in *being*.’<sup>184</sup> While masculinity is constantly tested, evaluated and monitored against social ideals, Kenneth Mackinnon emphasises that the term ‘masculinities’ more accurately accounts for the complexities of race, class and ethnicity.<sup>185</sup>

Recent scholarship has shown that definitions and expectations of manhood were subject to change during the long eighteenth century in response to the turbulent shifts occurring within society. Urbanisation, changes in work patterns and demographics resulted in the need for men to reassess their own positions within economic and social hierarchies while a new emphasis on sociability, heterosexuality and politeness influenced social and cultural perceptions of gender. Jenny Skipp notes that the changing definitions and expectations of masculinity during this period has resulted ‘in a confusing picture of manhood.’<sup>186</sup> Alexandra Shepard elaborates on this, explaining that the history of masculinity is often written as a status against which the relative decline or improvement in women’s status is measured. As a consequence, the history of masculinity is fragmented and lacks cohesion.<sup>187</sup> This lack of clarity further emphasizes the difficulty of applying concise definitions to fit the range of masculinities which have subsequently been identified.<sup>188</sup> It is further acknowledged that the history of masculinity in comparison with women’s history lacks an established chronology

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<sup>183</sup> Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 33.

<sup>184</sup> Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, “Introduction: French Manhood in the Modern World” in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

<sup>185</sup> Kenneth Mackinnon, *Uneasy Pleasures: The Male as Erotic Subject* (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Cranbury, 1997), 23-25.

<sup>186</sup> Jenny Skipp, “Violence, Aggression and Masculinity During the Eighteenth Century,” (Review Essay), *Cultural and Social History*, The Social History Society, 4:4 (2007), 568.

<sup>187</sup> Alexandra Shepard, “From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700,” *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005), 287-288.

<sup>188</sup> Skipp, “Violence, Aggression and Masculinity,” 567-568.



and requires further examination in terms of class, social position, age, marital status, religious identity, and ethnicity.<sup>189</sup>

Anne C. Vila has identified a cluster of models of elite masculinities which coexisted in France during the eighteenth century.<sup>190</sup> *Ancien régime* masculinities included the *honnête homme*, the *petit-maître*, *libertin galant*, *philosophe*, Rousseau's 'natural' man, and the *homme de bien* or reflective, sentimental family man.<sup>191</sup> Importantly, the French regarded the *honnête* as defined by those ideals which stood as the 'ultimate means of distinguishing themselves, both as men, proper, and as uniquely French' as opposed to effeminate.<sup>192</sup> The construction and performance of masculinities during this period were complex and continual while also being redefined and reasserted. The expression and maintenance of masculinity was also inextricably linked to constructions and definitions of nationhood and national identity, with each nation viewed through Western European eyes perceived through their relative characteristics.

As Vila confirms, the reviled, 'unmanly' social mores and moral codes of elite French masculinity were initially emulated by the British, before being used as point of comparison against which notions of effeminacy or emasculation could be measured and identified.<sup>193</sup> For example, the culture of politeness and the art of pleasing others -central to the ethos of French society - was increasingly posited as contrary to the interests of masculine national identity in Britain which 'took the ancient Briton as a model for manly national character, in contrast to...Frenchified effeminacy.'<sup>194</sup> Moreover, rather than representing a 'free' nation,

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<sup>189</sup> Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shephard, "What Have Historians Done With Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950," *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005): 274-277.

<sup>190</sup> Anne C. Vila, "Elite Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century France," in eds. Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, *French Masculinities- History, Culture, and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 15-30.

<sup>191</sup> Vila, "Elite Masculinities," 15-17.

<sup>192</sup> Vila, "Elite Masculinities," 15.

<sup>193</sup> Vila, "Elite Masculinities," 15.

<sup>194</sup> Michèle Cohen, "Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005), 323.

the French came to be defined as those ‘predisposed...to adore despotism and made them incapable of liberty’ even after the turbulence of the French Revolution.<sup>195</sup>

In addressing constructions of masculinity and problematic attempts to build a history of masculinity, there are a number of key points which should be acknowledged in providing a foundation for considerations of how and where a shift in perceptions and performances of gender and sexuality were, or have been, articulated.<sup>196</sup> To begin, Randolph Trumbach argues that prior to the dawning of the eighteenth century there were ‘three kinds of bodies’ which described men, women and hermaphrodites, but only two kinds of gender, being male and female. From 1700 onward, however, there was ‘two kinds of bodies’ represented as male and female, but ‘three genders’ including man, woman, and sodomite.<sup>197</sup> The shift away from the ‘one-sex model’ of gender in which men and women were seen as ‘two comparable variants of one kind’ is a key turning point with the eighteenth century establishing the ‘two-sex model’ defining men and women as separate and oppositional bodies.<sup>198</sup> The resulting separation of the sexes into their respective social and domestic spheres has of course, prompted extensive historical scholarship and investigation. This separation also facilitated and secured masculine privilege and the ‘dominant fiction’ or history of hegemonic patriarchy.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Cohen, “Manners Make the Man,” 319.

<sup>196</sup> Shepard notes that the term ‘masculinity’ was not even coined until 1748, and the term itself is ‘problematic, since it is currently deployed very loosely to refer to several different things ranging from a set of cultural attributes associated with normative notions of maleness to the subjective experience of male identity.’ Further, Shepard also refers to the work of Michael Roper, which asserts that masculinity as a term was ‘not self-consciously conceived as a form of subjective identity (particularly in psychoanalytical terms) until the mid-twentieth century.’ See Alexandra Shepard, “From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700,” *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005): 288.

<sup>197</sup> Randolph Trumbach, “Sex and Gender Revolution, I: Heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London,” cited in Karen Harvey, “The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies, and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century,” *The Historical Journal*, 45.4 (2004): 906.

<sup>198</sup> Harvey, “The Century of Sex?” 901.

<sup>199</sup> The terms ‘masculine privilege’ and ‘dominant fiction’ are key terms in the field. See for instance, the work of Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, and the articles of the special edition of the *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005) which was dedicated to the history of early modern masculinity.

By the nineteenth century, the fundamental differences which distinguished the sexes were embedded within the physical body of ‘nerves, flesh, and bone.’<sup>200</sup> However, the issues of ‘male corporeality’ or research into the early modern male body has been side-stepped in the preoccupation with social constructions and performances of masculinity.<sup>201</sup> That is, scholars have largely chosen to focus on the ways in which changing social mores impacted or shaped ‘ideals of manliness, rather than the actual physical embodiment of manhood.’<sup>202</sup> Cathy McClive also remarks on this as an unexpected gap in current scholarship, since the ‘dividends’ or distinct social, political, and familial advantages of the dominant or hegemonic masculinity were ‘directly linked to proof of physical potency through the engendering of progeny in marriage emphasizing the link between patriarchy and the male body.’ In this way, McClive argues against the notion put forward by Thomas Laqueur that ‘gender overrode physical sex’ during the early modern period.<sup>203</sup>

Scholars have demonstrated that manhood was confirmed by the physical process of sexual intercourse and procreation. Jeffrey Merrick, for instance, observes that perceptions of sexual inadequacy not only fuelled works of satire, but posed a very real threat to the ‘sacramental and patriarchal principles of the Ancien Régime.’<sup>204</sup> Well into the second half of the century, the wealth of the French nation had been measured by a strength in numbers. As the population declined, the question of performance and generation was viewed as central to the interests of the State.<sup>205</sup> Impotence trials and interrogations of ambiguous or unconventional

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<sup>200</sup> Harvey, “The Century of Sex?” 901.

<sup>201</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial,” 45.

<sup>202</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial,” 45.

<sup>203</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial,” 45.

<sup>204</sup> Jeffrey Merrick, “Impotence in Court and at Court,” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 25 (1996), 187-188.

<sup>205</sup> Shane Agin, “Sex Education in the Enlightened Nation,” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 37 (2008), 70.

masculinity played an important role in defining and recognizing ‘ultimate material proof’ of manhood.<sup>206</sup>

Individuals who were found to be impotent were subsequently judged as committing deception against family and society, particularly in cases where they lived and identified as functioning, heterosexual men.<sup>207</sup> Punishments for those found to be guilty of their crime were potentially severe, and at the very least, humiliating. McClive details the case of Grandjean who married in 1761 and produced no children.<sup>208</sup> As the result of having a penis which was found to achieve erection but not ejaculation, it was judged that Grandjean could not function nor procreate as a man, despite identifying, living, and behaving as one. This judgement resulted in him being forced to dress as a woman, however, he was fortunate in escaping the other possibility of being charged with sodomy and ‘the usurping of the male role and sexual organ and could plausibly have received a death sentence.’<sup>209</sup> This confirms that the proof, performance, and evidence of masculinity as a ‘social construction’ was an extremely serious matter within the social reality of contemporary France and wider Europe.<sup>210</sup>

Clearly, the corporeal and social constructions of masculine identity are deeply complex and warrant sustained investigation outside the limits of this thesis. This chapter has considered the changing nature of mythological representation and interpretations of classical myth during a period of significant cultural change. Alongside the investigations of naturalism and early anthropology, these shifts reflect a strong interest in origins and the borders between self and other, human and animal, European and indigenous Other. Looking to late

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<sup>206</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial,” 57. Part of this proof, of course, was the ability to produce semen.

<sup>207</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial,” 46.

<sup>208</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial,” 57.

<sup>209</sup> McClive, “Masculinity on Trial,” 57. See Edward Behrend-Martinez, “Manhood and the Neutered Body in Early Modern Spain,” *Journal of Social History* 38:4 (2005): 1073-93, for the Spanish context.

<sup>210</sup> Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, “Introduction: French Manhood in the Modern World,” in *French Masculinities: History, Culture, and Politics* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007): 3.

eighteenth-century imagery, Solomon-Godeau's assertion that depictions of ephebic, 'feminised and vulnerable manhood' provided an 'index of the resilience of patriarchy' confirms that transgressions of normative masculinity highlights social and cultural ideals.<sup>211</sup> The following chapters reveal that while ideal or elite masculinity was embodied and promoted through the examples of gods and heroes, the mythic hybrid straddled the categories of man and beast, prompting the notion that there existed more than one kind of human and one kind of man.

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<sup>211</sup> Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 40.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *In the Likeness of Bacchus*

Whither, O Bacchus, art thou hurrying me, replete with your influence? Into what groves, into what recesses am I driven, actuated with uncommon spirit? ... I will utter something extraordinary, new, hitherto unsung by any other voice...nothing little, nothing low, nothing mortal will I sing.<sup>212</sup>

Filled with the godhead, we shall be, no longer ourselves, but the very One who made us.<sup>213</sup>

Nicolas de Largillière's full length *Portrait Allégorique* has not been identified with any certainty (Fig. 8). Commanding the viewer's gaze, a gentleman in the guise of the wine god occupies the centre of the composition and leans confidently, almost nonchalantly, against a stone column. Barefoot and dressed in simple drapery, he points toward a stone figure of Silenus wound with the ivy of Bacchus. A pair of leopards sprawls in the foreground among clusters of grapes. Framed by a thick mass of trees and lush foliage, the confident posture, steady outward gaze and groomed wig denote Bacchus as a gentleman of rank despite the notable absence of costly accessories. Crossing one ankle across the other, he draws aside a portion of his robes to reveal and draw attention to his naked leg in a gesture reminiscent of Hyacinth Rigaud's portrait of the ageing Sun King, Louis XIV (Fig. 9). Perhaps it is this gesture which encouraged viewers to identify or to at least compare the figure in this portrait

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<sup>212</sup> Horace, *The Third Book of the Odes of Horace*, Ode XXV To Bacchus. A Dithyrambic, translated by C. Smart, AM of Pembroke College, Cambridge [www.gutenberg.org/files/14020/14020-h/14020-h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/14020/14020-h/14020-h.htm) accessed 11 June 2015

<sup>213</sup> Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man (De hominis dignitate)* 1486 [http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/p/pico\\_della\\_mirandola/giovanni/dignity](http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/p/pico_della_mirandola/giovanni/dignity) accessed 2 March 2015.

with the pleasure-seeking, high-living Regent of France, the Duc d'Orléans.<sup>214</sup> Given that the late king's nephew was considered the very opposite of his authoritarian uncle, it must have seemed natural to associate Bacchus, noted for the distractions of wine and revelry, with the younger Regent credited with lax morality and a lightening of his predecessor's oppressive rule. Although the figure is often described as an *Unknown Bacchus*, the Musée du Louvre conceded that at one point, the gentleman in the portrait was formerly identified as the Regent.<sup>215</sup>

The portrait nonetheless provides an alternative example of the way in which idealised masculinity (as epitomised by the late Sun King, for instance) was constructed and performed in French visual culture during this period. The metamorphic rise of Bacchus following the earthly demise of the Sun King is made visible by comparing Rigaud's portrait of Louis XIV and Largillière's unidentified gentleman. Naked beneath his drapery, the *Unknown Bacchus* stands as the antithesis of the late Sun King in his disregard for the grandeur of royal dress and decoration. He pointedly directs the viewer's gaze to Silenus, who is about to divine knowledge accessed through the gifts of wine to induce heightened sensation and experience. Although typically depicted as an obese drunkard, as both teacher and follower of Bacchus Silenus was also known to possess the gifts of prophecy and revealed hidden or unknown truths to those who sought them.<sup>216</sup> Often associated with Socratic wisdom, the portly leader of the satyrs here refers to coded meanings or teachings accessible through the pleasures of

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<sup>214</sup> [www.utpictura18univ-montp3.fr/GenerateurNoticephp?humnotice=A4467](http://www.utpictura18univ-montp3.fr/GenerateurNoticephp?humnotice=A4467) (accessed 2 February 2015) describes the portrait as *Portrait d'un inconnu en Bacchus* (*Portrait of an Unknown Bacchus*). Stéphane Lojkinke notes that the figure could be the Regent in the guise of Bacchus, representing a reversal of the symbolism associated with the apollonian Sun King : "Face au terme satyrique, l'homme qui le désigne du doigt pourrait être le Régent, dont l'identification à Bacchus renverse la symbolique précédente du roi soleil apollinien." Page modified 9 January, 2016.

<sup>215</sup> The Musée du Louvre in Paris titles the painting as *Portrait Allegorique*. It is also dated to 1680-1685. [http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car\\_not\\_frame&idNotice=27019](http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=27019) (accessed 2 February 2015).

<sup>216</sup> King Midas also abducted Silenus and plied him with drink as a means to acquire his knowledge. Midas later returned Silenus to Bacchus, who rewarded him with the ability to turn everything touched into gold. This had disastrous consequences and is one example of the way in which Bacchus punishes through one's desire. Midas is known to have also been a historical figure, ruling over the kingdom of Phrygia in western Anatolia (modern Turkey) and often identified as Mita. See Richard M. Krill, "Midas: Fact or Fiction," *International Science Review*, 59.1 (Winter 1984), 31-34.

intoxication, not as vulgar excess indulged by the lower classes or types, but as part of a refined social and cultural practice associated with elites.

This chapter argues that those who consciously aligned themselves with Bacchus within the genre of portraiture and through iconographic references in prints and material objects were projecting a constructed masculine persona based on ideals of inspiration, creativity and intellect. Both celebrity and notoriety are established and perpetuated by the construction and promotion of image, and eighteenth-century patrons and artists were adept at self-promotion.<sup>217</sup> References to Bacchus and the ideals with which the deity was associated were also utilised in the self-promotion of patrons who charged artists with the task of preserving their living image, as well as commemorating those who had since passed on into historical memory.<sup>218</sup>

### **Bacchus in the Eighteenth Century**

While the sacred, spiritual association with Bacchus as a classical deity had long been lost, early modern interpretations of the god were adapted as personifications for base human appetites and a range of questionable behaviours. These behaviours were linked to the indulgence of pleasure associated with alcohol, sex and feasting, particularly in excess. His powers are described as a ‘vehicle of transformation’ for those who succumb to his influence, moving from a state of reason to ecstasy and frenzy.<sup>219</sup> In this way, the wine god is said to

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<sup>217</sup> Darrin M. McMahon, *Divine Fury. A History of Genius* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 99.

<sup>218</sup> This reflected the traditional function of the genre of portraiture as first theorised and practiced in antiquity and subsequently restated in the Italian Renaissance in Leon Battista Alberti's treatise *On Painting* first published in 1435, see Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Theorizing Renaissance Portraiture," in *Renaissance Theory*, ed. James Elkins and Robert Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 360-66.

<sup>219</sup> Aneta Georgievska-Shine, "Drinking as Gods, Laughing as Men: Velázquez and the Gift of Bacchus." In *Parody and Festivity in Early Modern Art. Essays on Comedy as Social Vision* ed. David R. Smith (Surrey, Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 21.



dissolve structural oppositions and subverts the established order.<sup>220</sup> Bacchus became a figure for psychological and social analyses of subversion, transgression, ambiguity and polarity, ‘illusion and enchantment.’<sup>221</sup> From his ancient origins as a supernatural deity, the wine god became symbolic of human psychological and emotional states and the dissolution of social boundaries in the quest for liberation. Shed of his divinity, Bacchus came to personify the duality of man and the tension between his opposing halves.<sup>222</sup> In eighteenth-century Britain, the notion of an innate duality was applied to questions of personal responsibility for misdemeanours or crimes committed while inebriated. Dana Rabin reminds us that Locke had argued in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1694) that certain conditions imposed upon the rational consciousness of an individual caused the same person to be changed, revealing two selves instead. However, given that the effects of intoxication were relatively brief, only genuine cases of insanity absolved individuals of their legal responsibility.<sup>223</sup> Legalities aside, the seventeenth-century guardian of the Château de Richelieu, Benjamin Vignier cautioned:

How curious are the evils caused by wine’s vapours! A Man overcome by them reveals all his faults. He can hide nothing which he has in his heart; And makes more noise than a goblin.<sup>224</sup>

Moreover, wine was known to provoke sensual desire, particularly in women who became ‘unspeakable...tart(s)’ as a result of their indulgence.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Georgievska-Shine, “Drinking as Gods,” 21.

<sup>221</sup> Albert Henrichs, “‘He has a God in Him’: Human and Divine in the Modern Perception of Dionysus,” in *Masks of Dionysus*, edited by Thomas A. Carpenter and Christopher A. Faraone (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 21.

<sup>222</sup> Henrichs, “He has a God,” 24-27.

<sup>223</sup> Dana Rabin, “Drunkenness and Responsibility for Crime in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of British Studies*, 44:3 (July 2005), 461-462.

<sup>224</sup> Benjamin Vignier, *Le Chateau de Richelieu ou l’Histoire des dieux et des héros de l’antiquité; avec des réflexions morales*. Samur: Chez. Isaac & Henry Desbordes 1676, 9. Cited in Humphrey Wine, *The Seventeenth Century French Paintings* (London: National Gallery Catalogues, National Gallery Company, Distrib. Yale University Press, 2001), 361.

Later writers including Bernard Mandeville and Henry Fielding also described a distinct relationship between excess consumption of alcohol and the promotion of every vice and punishable crime among the lower classes and labouring poor in particular.<sup>226</sup> While intoxication among the upper classes led to moral repercussions, it was the poor drunkard who presented a dire threat to public order and so necessitated strict regulations and enforced control.<sup>227</sup> French writers had likewise recorded the ill effects of drunkenness on society since at least the early sixteenth century, and poorer members of the Parisian working classes frequenting ‘Bacchic stews’ were regularly inebriated and unruly.<sup>228</sup> However, public drinking in taverns was motivated by a sense of sociability. It was the drunkenness among the labouring poor and perceived associations of laziness and debauchery which earned them the disdain of the elites.<sup>229</sup> As Thomas Brennan explains, the act of drinking among elites was characterised as a ‘social utility’ in polite exchanges, whereas the state of drunkenness was understood as the outcome of irrational excess.<sup>230</sup>

While drunkenness among the lowest ranks was considered a vulgarity, among the upper classes excess alcohol consumption was closely associated with gout. Those afflicted by the disease include leaders and thinkers championed for their intellect, strength of leadership and contributions to philosophy. These figures included Samuel Johnson, Benjamin Franklin and

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<sup>225</sup> Vignier, *Le Chateau de Richelieu*, 9. The effects of women and desire will inform the following chapters in more detail.

<sup>226</sup> Rabin, “Drunkenness and Responsibility,” 463. Rabin cites Bernard Mandeville, *A treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions, Vulgarly called Hypo in Men and Vapours in Women* (London, 1711) and *Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1714), ed. F. B. Kaye (Oxford, 1924), 1:91-91. Rabin also cites Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers* (1751) in *An Enquiry into the causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and related Writings*, ed. Malvin Zirker (New York, 1988).

<sup>227</sup> Rabin, “Drunkenness and Responsibility,” 464-465. Rabin directs the reader to an extensive range of work on the topic of drunkenness, such as writers concerned with the gin craze in England for instance.

<sup>228</sup> Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 188.

<sup>229</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking*, 188-227. Brennan provides illuminating detail on the complexity of these issues that are outside the limits of this thesis.

<sup>230</sup> Brennan, *Public Drinking*, 217.

Horace Walpole.<sup>231</sup> Unlike the lower classes or the ‘unpolish’d’ peoples of other climes, the ‘polite debauchee’ or European man of rank and esteem was excused for his ‘whims and excesses.’ Despite his voluptuous indulgences, there remained ‘something of the rational creature’ inextricably bound to him.<sup>232</sup> Importantly, the consumption of quality wines placed the gentleman as a connoisseur whose developed palate and capacity to discern and discriminate was a matter of prestige and refined taste.<sup>233</sup> Here it is also crucial to note that it was the consumption of wine as an elite practice that connected drinkers with Bacchus, as opposed to the consumption of gin and beer so frequently associated with drinkers of the lower classes.<sup>234</sup>

### **Bacchus and the Eighteenth-century Artist**

The concept of the divinely inspired, individual genius remained current throughout the eighteenth century with the renewal of classical ideas and subjects revived and perpetuated by Renaissance humanism. However, writers questioned whether inspiration and genius was innate or acquired through education. As Darrin McMahon states, men were considered to be of equal mind and capacity from birth, with social conditions and quality of education the

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<sup>231</sup> Arthur J. Viseltar, “The Last Illnesses of Robert and Horace Walpole,” *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 56 (1983), 138.

<sup>232</sup> Jean Frederic Bernard and Bernard Picart, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Several Nations of the Known World. Represented in Above an Hundred Copper-Plates. Designed by the Famous Picart. Together With Historical Explanations and Several Curious Dissertations. Written Originally in French and now published in English, with very considerable Amendments and Additions*, 1731. Volume III, 35.

[https://books.google.com/books?id=TXBZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=religious+ceremonies+and+customs+1731+volume+3&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwil68ydz6fPAhWJHpQKHQ\\_YB8KQ6AEIGZAA#v=onepage&q=religious%20ceremonies%20and%20customs%201731%20volume%203&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=TXBZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=religious+ceremonies+and+customs+1731+volume+3&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwil68ydz6fPAhWJHpQKHQ_YB8KQ6AEIGZAA#v=onepage&q=religious%20ceremonies%20and%20customs%201731%20volume%203&f=false) (accessed 15 October 2014).

<sup>233</sup> Thomas Parker, “Saint-Evremond and the Case of Champagne d’Ay: early modern French aesthetic theory viewed through the optic of terroir,” *Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature*, 36:72 (Jan 2010), 129.

<sup>234</sup> Linda Koch, “Michelangelo’s Bacchus and the Art of Self-Formation,” *Art History*, 29.3 (2006): 358 reminds us that it is specifically the consumption of wine which characterised the cult of Bacchus. For more on the problems of gin and beer in eighteenth-century Britain in particular, see Jessica Warner and Frank Ivis, “Gin and Gender in Early Eighteenth Century London,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 24 (2000): 85-105; Jessica Warner, “The Naturalisation of Beer and Gin in Early Modern England,” *Contemporary Drug Problems* 24 (1997): 373-402.

determining factors in producing success and greatness.<sup>235</sup> Locke also proposed in his *Essay* that minds were shaped by institutions and education, not by chance or the circumstances of birth.<sup>236</sup> Importantly, writers no longer accepted inspiration as divinely inspired or external to the self, but rather as that which comes from within, accessed through the physical senses and processed by reason. Consistent with their predecessors, eighteenth-century writers likewise noted the connection between wine and the elevation of the senses, linking these experiences to the movements of the soul.<sup>237</sup>

Eighteenth-century artists and patrons conjured the image of Bacchus as a figure of inspiration and higher knowledge accessed through the physical process and symptoms of intoxication. Artists were well acquainted with the image and persona of Bacchus through studying classical statues and their familiarity with classical texts. For example, studies of Michelangelo's *Bacchus* confirm the continued esteem for classical and Renaissance works held in important collections as can be seen in Domenico Campiglia's drawing engraved by Marco Pitteri (Fig. 10).<sup>238</sup>

Heightened states of self-awareness were pursued by those who aligned themselves with the god in the self-conscious projection of their own selves. As evident in his self-portrait and artistic persona, Alexis Grimou is a good example of this. Grimou has been described as

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<sup>235</sup> McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 78; 80-81. McMahon cites William Sharpe and Claude Adrien Helvétius as two thinkers who each held that genius was the result of hard work, discipline and cultivation, supporting the concept of perfectibility which appears in scientific discourse of the period as well. See pages 82-83 for detail on Joseph Addison's discourse on the 'natural' genius who produced wondrous works without aid in contrast to the 'imitative' genius of polite learning and discipline.

<sup>236</sup> John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690.

<http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/l/locke/john/181u> (last accessed 15 December 2015).

<sup>237</sup> Karen Harvey, "Ritual Encounters: Punch Parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, 214 (February 2012), 195. Harvey cites Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, where Crusoe compares his elation at surviving shipwreck to the elation shared among fellow sailors who indulge their senses 'in the next bowl of punch.' Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719; London 2001), 72.

<sup>238</sup> [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3223082&partId=1&searchText=marco+pitteri&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3223082&partId=1&searchText=marco+pitteri&page=1) (accessed 2 April 2014). This engraving was produced for the 'Museum Florentinum,' a series of plates reproducing important works from art collections in Florence, most notably in the Medici collections. Comprising a set of twelve volumes, the series was published in 1731-1766. [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=321623&partId=1&searchText=marco+pitteri&museumno=1871.0821.4341&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=321623&partId=1&searchText=marco+pitteri&museumno=1871.0821.4341&page=1) accessed 2 April 2014.

‘almost completely mythical’, and sources suggest that the artist had a strong aversion for high society and was not well integrated into the upper classes as many of his working contemporaries were.<sup>239</sup> He resolutely maintained his distance from high society and was known primarily through gossip and anecdote during his lifetime. Little was recorded of his life and career, and eighteenth-century biographers often disagreed in their accounts.<sup>240</sup> However, the common consensus holds that Grimou was a heavy drinker who observed little restraint and preferred the company of fellow drunkards. His alleged dissolute behaviour and lack of concern for the embellishments of ‘proper dress’ are displayed in his self-portrait in the guise of Bacchus (Fig. 11).<sup>241</sup>

Naked to the waist and sporting his own hair, Grimou casually presents himself as though he were standing alongside the viewer, casting his gaze over his shoulder to regard his companion outside the frame before returning to his uplifted glass. Grasping the Bacchic thyrsus encircled with vine leaves and tipped by a pinecone, the artist wears the leopard pelt often worn by the wine god, thus adopting and linking the guise of Bacchus to himself. Despite its informality, Grimou’s self-portrait works to produce and project his artistic persona connected with the god of inspiration and illumination while simultaneously aligning himself with the artists of the past whom eighteenth-century artists sought to emulate.

Like Rembrandt, Grimou expressed contempt for patrons and artistic contemporaries alike.<sup>242</sup> He refused commissions by the most elite of patrons eager to acquire his work and destroyed canvases when he grew tired of them. Likewise, he reportedly jumped out of an apartment

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<sup>239</sup> George Levitine, “The Eighteenth-Century Rediscovery of Alexis Grimou and the Emergence of the Proto-Bohemian Image of the French Artist,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 2 (1968-69), 59.

<sup>240</sup> Levitine, “The Eighteenth-Century Rediscovery,” 61.

<sup>241</sup> Levitine, “The Eighteenth-Century Rediscovery,” 61, notes that Grimou painted a number of self-portraits as a drinker, often raising his glass to the viewer. This tradition can be found in seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Other versions of these kinds of self-portraits are held in the National Galleries of Scotland, Worcester Art Museum, and private collections. See [www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-q-2/artist/alexis-grimou/object/self-portrait-as-a-drinker-the-topper-ng.664](http://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-q-2/artist/alexis-grimou/object/self-portrait-as-a-drinker-the-topper-ng.664) (accessed 10 April 2014).

<sup>242</sup> See Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt’s Enterprise* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 88-89, 91.

window where the Regent himself had detained him in the hope of persuading the artist to produce a painting.<sup>243</sup> While the particulars of Grimou's artistic temperament and career are largely based on anecdotal evidence, it seems that much of the myth surrounding the artist evolved from his notoriety as the 'French Rembrandt' in reference to his artistic style, temperament and choice of subject.<sup>244</sup> Grimou had developed his talents by copying the Dutch masters including Van Dyck and Rembrandt, and preferred 'low' subjects including genre scenes and portraits of 'common people' at leisure and drinking.<sup>245</sup>

Grimou was not admitted to the French Academy due to his failure to produce the required reception pieces within the prescribed timeframe. Other accounts note his independence and self-confidence, stating that he was admitted but rejected the position offered to him.<sup>246</sup> Allegedly, the artist loudly declared that he could 'paint much better with my foot' and left 'in disgust' at the mediocrity of his peers.<sup>247</sup> He presented his work to the Académie de St Luc instead, and was admitted as a member in 1709.<sup>248</sup>

Considering these reports of the artist's temperament and ego, it seems plausible that Grimou's depiction of himself in the guise of Bacchus identified with Michelangelo and the Neoplatonic tradition of philosophy embracing Bacchic transformation and its illuminating effects.<sup>249</sup> This seems likely since the attributes and effects of the wine god would have been

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<sup>243</sup> Levitine, "The Eighteenth-Century Rediscovery," 61.

<sup>244</sup> Melissa Percival, *Fragonard and the Fantasy Figure: Painting the Imagination* (Farnham, Surrey, Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 76. Also see Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630-1730* (Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1953), 154-55.

<sup>245</sup> Michael Bryan, *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers Biographical and Critical*, edited by Robert Edmund Graves, B.A of the British Museum, vol.1 A-K (Covent Garden, London: George Bell and Sons, 4 York Street, 1886), 619. [www.archive.org/stream/cu31924092716962#page/n5/mode/2up](http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924092716962#page/n5/mode/2up) accessed 20 June 2014. See also Levitine, "The Eighteenth-Century Rediscovery," 65. In *Fragonard and the Fantasy Figure*, Percival remarks that his artistic influences point to Rigaud, de Troy and Largilliere, observed in the elements of Baroque portraiture and strong application of chiaroscuro. She adds that Grimou appears to be slotted in with the anti-classical school of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, 76.

<sup>246</sup> Percival, *Fragonard and the Fantasy Figure*, 76.

<sup>247</sup> Levitine, "The Eighteenth-Century Rediscovery," 62; Bryan, *Bryan's Dictionary*, 619.

<sup>248</sup> Bryan, *Bryan's Dictionary*, 619.

<sup>249</sup> See Koch, "Michelangelo's Bacchus and the Art of Self-Formation," for detail elaborating on Neoplatonic philosophy and its significance for Renaissance artists.

familiar to those who consciously adopted his role in constructing and projecting their own identities through the practice of image-making.

Literally placing himself in the role of Bacchus, Grimou *becomes* the god of inspiration and positions himself as a creative and artistic genius. More than an emulation of his predecessors, Grimou embodied Bacchus in his self-portrait by seeming to have absorbed the characteristics of the wine god associated with divine inspiration and knowledge. Inspiration separated the gifted from the masses who were unable or ill-equipped to attain greatness in creative pursuits.<sup>250</sup> For eighteenth-century observers, those who witnessed the effects of genius were transported out of themselves, as the sublime characteristics of their works placed them as exceptional individuals closer to ‘the mind of God.’<sup>251</sup> For the abbé Jean-Baptiste Du Bos (1670-1742), enthusiasm was explicitly termed ‘divine’ in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, while art theorist Roger de Piles described it as that which elevates the soul.<sup>252</sup> A ‘fury of inspiration (fureur de veine)’ or ‘fureur pittoresque’ were terms used to describe the divine madness experienced by visual artists.<sup>253</sup> For theorist Louis de Cahusac, creative enthusiasm was vital to works of fine art and ingenuity and more properly belonged within the realm of reason.<sup>254</sup> As Mary Sheriff has observed, reading Cahusac’s entry on enthusiasm in the *Encyclopédie* alongside alternative understandings of the term reveals a variation in definition among writers rather than a clear consensus on its

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<sup>250</sup> John F. Moffitt, *Inspiration, Bacchus and the Cultural History of a Creation Myth* (Leiden: BRILL, 2005), 14-16 [www.site.ebrary.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/lib/adelaide/detail.action?docID=10171794](http://www.site.ebrary.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/lib/adelaide/detail.action?docID=10171794) (accessed 2 November 2014).

<sup>251</sup> McMahon, *Divine Fury*, 87. McMahon cites a modern edition of Longinus’ *On the Sublime*, ed. and trans. W. Hamilton Fry and revised by Donald Russell, *Aristotle, Longinus, Demetrius*, Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 279.

<sup>252</sup> Mary D. Sheriff, *Moved by Love. Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 20. Also see Thomas M. Kavanagh, “Roger de Piles and the Moment’s Glance,” in *Aesthetics of the Moment. Literature and Art in the French Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 140. De Piles argues that painting is not simply ‘a vehicle for words’, but must *be* a painting capable of inspiring a response from the viewer before it can instruct or teach.

<sup>253</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 20.

<sup>254</sup> Mary D. Sheriff, “Passionate Spectators: On Enthusiasm, Nymphomania, and the Imagined Tableau,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60:1/2 Enthusiasm and the Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850 (1997), 54. See also Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 21.

meaning.<sup>255</sup> For Jean-François, marquis de Saint-Lambert, enthusiasm was ‘imagination’s transport’ so that creative genius was facilitated by enthusiasm in the instant in which ideas were conceived and from which works were developed.<sup>256</sup> Materialist philosopher Julien Offray de La Mettrie also explained that ‘the greatest or strongest imagination’ was equally suited to the arts and sciences, and achievements in these fields were ‘only due to imagination, differently applied.’<sup>257</sup>

By 1745, La Mettrie argued that imagination and its associated passions were essential ‘in order to be a great poet.’ However, ‘in order to produce good works of genius and feeling, one needs a certain strength in one’s spirits, able to engrave vividly and deeply on the brain the ideas produced by the imagination and the passions which it chooses to depict.’<sup>258</sup> Note here the emphasis on ‘a certain strength in one’s spirits’ as a pre-requisite. While inspiration and elements of genius were revered markers of singularity, enthusiasm and imagination was treated with suspicion and caution. As noted, imagination and enthusiasm were acknowledged in theory as the motivating forces behind creativity and intellectual pursuit, as well as inducing the viewer’s response. However, in excess, enthusiasm and the overactive imagination were traced directly to the dire consequences of mental illness and diseases including melancholia, erotomania and compulsive disorders.<sup>259</sup> The dangers of excess in imagination and enthusiasm were particularly virulent in women as sensitive beings prone to emotional disturbances.<sup>260</sup> Discourses of gender which positioned the masculine as civilized and rational in contrast to the feminine as irrational and prone to instability or ‘violent’

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<sup>255</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 18.

<sup>256</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 17-18. See Sarah Eron, *Inspiration in the Age of Enlightenment* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 2 for the eighteenth-century “reform of enthusiasm” in literature and Romanticism which relied on the “critical faculties of judgment.”

<sup>257</sup> Julien Offray de La Mettrie, *L’homme machine (Machine Man)* 1748, reproduced in *Machine Man and Other Writings*, edited by Ann Thomson (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 17.

<sup>258</sup> La Mettrie, *On the Imagination in Histoire naturelle de l’âme (Treatise on the Soul, 1745)*, reproduced in *Machine Man and Other Writings*, 69.

<sup>259</sup> Sheriff, “Passionate Spectators,” 56, 68, 74. See also Chapters One and Two in Sheriff, *Moved by Love*. Sheriff writes at length on impassioned response and the effects of ‘uterine sensibility’ on women’s imaginations.

<sup>260</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 6-7.



emotional states helped to shape notions of inspiration, imagination and enthusiasm from at least as early as the Renaissance period.<sup>261</sup> Pico de Mirandola's *De Imaginatione* (1509) characterised imagination as lacking judgement and reason, and dependant on rational guidance to preserve the correctly functioning mind.<sup>262</sup> During the eighteenth century, 'reasonable enthusiasm' was defined as masculine, so that serious concerns were raised for those who succumbed to irrational passion or excess.<sup>263</sup> Enthusiasm as a positive component of cultural and intellectual achievement was conditional. Specifically, reflection and critical analysis tempered the passions to help form correct judgment and avoid the havoc of undisciplined emotional response.<sup>264</sup>

### **Adopting the Guise of Bacchus**

In Renaissance humanist thought, the ennobling effects of divine inebriation and the elevation of the senses provided an access point between the sacred and the profane. For early eighteenth-century theorists including de Piles and Du Bos, inspiration and intellectual prowess retained their relationship with the divine, or at the very least with what lay outside the bounds of the normal experience of consciousness. These ideas also informed the way in which some elite patrons sought to identify themselves through consciously constructed images. Jean-Marc Nattier's *Aristocratic Youth in the Guise of Bacchus* (Fig. 12) is similar to Alexis Grimou's self-portrait in that it, too, positions the subject in the allegorical guise of the deity within the realm of nature and against a cloud-strewn sky. In both paintings, the foliage of tree and vine provide a framing edge to the left of the canvas while Nattier's aristocrat

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<sup>261</sup> Maria Ruvdolt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration. Metaphors of Sex, Sleep and Dreams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 69.

<sup>262</sup> Ruvdolt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration*, 69. See Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, *De Imaginatione*, 1509, edited and translated by Harry Caplan, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930. Reprint Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 42-43.

<sup>263</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 6-11. 'Reasonable enthusiasm' was coined by Louis de Cahusac in the entry 'Enthousiasme' in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société des gens de lettres*, 17 vols. Concerns with gender, temperament, excess and irrational responses will be explored in more detail throughout the following chapters.

<sup>264</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 24-25.

accompanied by a passive leopard sits perched upon a cluster of rocks strewn with an abundance of grapes and vine leaves. Sacred to the wine god, the leopard and its pelt are recognisable attributes of Bacchus.<sup>265</sup> Holding his thyrsus wrapped with vine tendrils spiralling downward, Nattier's youth wears a fashionable wig and leopard pelt, avoiding the direct gaze of the viewer and his leg extended forward as though to uphold the distance between himself and onlooker. It appears that Nattier's Bacchic youth seeks to elevate and distinguish himself further by separating himself from the spectator in contrast to Grimou, who appears to beckon the viewer to join him. While Grimou boldly insisted on his status as an exceptional artist in his identification with Bacchus, Nattier's subject distinguishes himself by confirming his own semi-divine status as an accomplished and dignified aristocrat in spite of his tender years, positioning his body and focusing his gaze to maintain the space between himself and audience.

The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art currently holds this portrait, and suggests the possible identity of the sitter as the Duc de Chaulnes.<sup>266</sup> Another portrait produced by Nattier in the Louvre, *Michel-Ferdinand d'Albert d'Ailly, Duc de Chaulnes as Hercules (Le duc de Chaulnes représenté en Hercule)* (Fig. 13) is dated to 1746.<sup>267</sup> A number of men within the same family shared this title, including Louis-Auguste (1678-1744), the fourth Duc de Chaulnes and *maréchal* of France; his son Michel-Ferdinand (1714-1769), the fifth duc de Chaulnes, and his grandson Louis-Marie-Joseph Romain (1741-1792) the sixth duc who

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<sup>265</sup> James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray, 1996), 192. Sometimes leopards draw the chariot of Bacchus in images of his Triumph. This was also noted by Lafitau in "Explanation of the Plates and Figures Contained in the Second Volume" of *Moeurs des Sauvages (Customs of the American Indians)*, 24.

[http://library.utoronto.ca/champlain/DigObj.cfm?Idno=9\\_96848&lang=eng&Page=0023&Size=3&query=lafitau&searchtype=Fulltext&startrow=1&Limit=Au](http://library.utoronto.ca/champlain/DigObj.cfm?Idno=9_96848&lang=eng&Page=0023&Size=3&query=lafitau&searchtype=Fulltext&startrow=1&Limit=Au) (last accessed 20 July 2015). Here he notes that the followers of Bacchus were the "men of the first times" who covered themselves with animal skins. Lafitau also states that Bacchus harnessed leopard pelts to his chariot.

<sup>266</sup> [www.ringlingdocents.org/pages/nattier.htm](http://www.ringlingdocents.org/pages/nattier.htm) (accessed 8 September, 2014).

<sup>267</sup> The pendant to this painting is a portrait of the wife of the Duchess of Chaulnes in the allegorical guise of Hebe, *Portrait d'Ann Josèphe Bonnier de la Mosson, duchesse de Chaulnes en Hèbé*, 1744, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

excavated in Saqqarach and was a member of the Royal Society.<sup>268</sup> The distinction of the family is immediately apparent in terms of rank and title. In terms of dates, it is clear that the age of Nattier's subject in the guise of Bacchus would most certainly have been Michel-Ferdinand rather than his father or grandson.

If this a portrait of Michel-Ferdinand, duc de Chaulnes, it seems appropriate that he would have also chosen to have his portrait painted in the allegorical guise of Hercules by Nattier fourteen years later. While Hercules personified physical strength and was worshipped as the 'protector of people and the guardian of cities' in ancient Greece, Bacchus is associated with the elevation of the senses and the intellect as already stated.<sup>269</sup> In this way, it seems as though the two figures hardly appear to have any relevance to, or bearing on, the other. However, when we consider the biography and achievements of Michel-Ferdinand as an aristocratic 'brilliant soldier' who was also a distinguished scientist, it appears natural that he should have consciously aligned himself with both deities in reflection of his own personality, which embraced the dual pursuits of battle and scientific inquiry.<sup>270</sup>

Appearing in the guise of Hercules wearing the lion skin with which he is commonly identified, Michel-Ferdinand promotes his image as a military leader in line with his achievements commanding the light cavalry of the guard of Louis XV.<sup>271</sup> As a close friend of the king, Michel-Ferdinand also enjoyed the friendship of Louis XV's favourite mistress Madame de Pompadour, whose intellectual and cultural pursuits have been the focus of excellent art historical studies in recent years.<sup>272</sup> Aside from the arts of war, the young duke

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<sup>268</sup> Jean Nérée Ronfort, "Science and Luxury: Two Acquisitions by the J. Paul Getty Museum," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 17 (1989), 58, footnote 28. Ronfort confirms that three members of this family were involved in the scientific community.

<sup>269</sup> James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray, 1996), 148.

<sup>270</sup> Ronfort, "Science and Luxury," 57.

<sup>271</sup> Sandrine Jauneau and Marine Masure-Vetter, "Chaulnes (Michel-Ferdinand d'Albert d'Ailly, duc de." [www.chateauniversailles-recherche-ressources.fr/jlbweb/jlbWeb?html=notdictionnaire&ref=371](http://www.chateauniversailles-recherche-ressources.fr/jlbweb/jlbWeb?html=notdictionnaire&ref=371) (accessed 8 September 2014).

<sup>272</sup> Ronfort, "Science and Luxury," 57. For more on the patronage of the marquise, see Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo*; Katie Scott, "Framing Ambitions: The Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour," *Art History*

was a gifted astronomer and physicist with a passionate interest in scientific instruments and spent most of his income on building and collecting them. In his drive to perfect instruments for optical research, he helped to establish the use of the micrometer in microscopy and developed machines required in the manufacture of astronomical instruments, so improving the methods of measuring longitude in maritime navigation.<sup>273</sup> The duke's first micrometer established him as a pioneer of 'modern precision metrology' central to the 'elaboration of the metric system.'<sup>274</sup> In recognition of his contributions to science, Michel-Ferdinand was also an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Science. Moreover, the duc de Chaulnes was ordained Knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, and served as Governor of Amiens, Picardy, Artois and Corbie.<sup>275</sup>

In addition to his contributions to science, mathematics and navigation, the duke amassed a significant collection of natural history specimens, scientific models and machines, and rare objects collected from Greece, Egypt and China, which included antique bronzes and Etruscan vases. Over his lifetime, Michel-Ferdinand also amassed an impressive book collection that also reflected his love of learning and a desire to promote himself as an educated man of intellectual rigour. What these details make clear is the fact that constructed images of elite masculinity promoted with reference to Bacchus did not lower or degrade the status of the subject to that of debauch or effeminate reveller. Instead they publicised the individual man as cultivated and distinguished in both intellectual and cultural pursuits.

The figures of Hercules and Bacchus are again metaphorically drawn together within the stately portrait of *François Armand de Gontaut, Duc de Biron*, painted by Nicolas de

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28:2 (2005), 248-290; Rosamond Hooper-Hammersley, *The Hunt After Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour: Patronage, Politics, Art and the French Enlightenment* (Langham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011).

<sup>273</sup> Ronfort, "Science and Luxury," 57.

<sup>274</sup> Ronfort, "Science and Luxury," 57.

<sup>275</sup> Jauneau and Masure-Vetter, "Chaulnes (Michel-Ferdinand d'Albert d'Ailly, duc de.)"

Largilliere in 1714 (Fig. 14). Directly facing the viewer, the Duc de Biron positions himself as dignified military leader in his role as Marshal of France. Serving on the battlefields of both Louis XIV and Louis XV, de Gontaut commanded the French Vanguard in 1708 at the battle of Oudenaarde and throughout his career earned the high esteem of his peers and respective monarchs.<sup>276</sup> In contrast to Nattier's portrait of Michel-Ferdinand, the Duc de Biron stands encased in the impressive armour of war rather than wearing the lion skin of victory and courage associated with Hercules. He has also removed one of his gloves as he sets aside his helmet. With one hand on his hip, the other firmly grasps a staff as he looks outward beyond the battlefield, his calm demeanour and commanding attitude consistent with the grace of refined dignity, noble rank, and his confident capabilities as a military leader. The leopard pelt of Bacchus rather than the lion skin of Hercules is draped across and behind his shoulders, lined with red satin which tumbles down and across his frame.<sup>277</sup>

Within a single portrait of the Duc de Biron, the sign of Bacchus is drawn into an image of an armoured and accomplished military leader who, it is safe to assume, would most certainly identify favourably with the heroic qualities of Hercules. Although the iconography of the portrait does not directly position François as Hercules, his stature and armour impress the qualities of strength, courage and leadership on the viewer. On the other hand, the Duc de Chaulnes fashions his image through adopting the guise of each of the mythical figures in two separate portraits, as we have seen. In this way, each mythical figure is used to personify the highest cultivation of personal attributes to define and distinguish individuals within the portrait as a conscious construction and promotion of self. Signs of Bacchus in this period directed meaning to divine knowledge and achievement. Largillière's portrait of François Armand as a modern Hercules adorned in the leopard skin of Bacchus recalls the triumphs of

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<sup>276</sup> [www.mfa.org/collections/object/François-armand-de-gontaut-duc-de-Biron-34453](http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/François-armand-de-gontaut-duc-de-Biron-34453) (Accessed 2 October 2014). See also Christopher Scott, *The Battle of Oudenaarde*, illustrated by Bob Marrion, (Leigh-on-Sea, Essex: Partisan Press, 2008).

<sup>277</sup> Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, 148. Hercules was also identified by his club as a common alternative.

the wine god as he spread his cult and bestowed the gifts of the vine and civilisation through Asian lands that he invaded with his entourage.<sup>278</sup>

In the triumph of Bacchus and other familiar scenes of Bacchic revelry and wild procession, the god and his entourage are often observed loaded with the spoils of war and sacrifice. This again is not unlike the half-god, half-mortal hero Hercules who, as a figure of courage and might, ‘triumphs over evil against great odds’ in much the same way that France and her monarchs waging war and colonising territories considered they were doing as well.<sup>279</sup> The image of Bacchus communicated intellectual and creative distinction as well as military valour in bringing civilisation and conquest via the strength of leadership and monarchical claims to power. As the following discussion will make clear, the image of Bacchus also often appeared alongside other mythological figures whose presence revealed another layer of meaning embedded within visual images directed towards the viewer contemplating them.

### **Bernard Picart’s portrait of Horace**

As featured in many book illustrations, frontispieces and paintings, multiple figures were often gathered together within complex compositions as a means of representing separate scenes within a textual narrative simultaneously or to elaborate a particular meaning or summary of a related text. While the portraits discussed above called on Bacchus and Hercules to convey the masculine attributes of strength and valour conjoined with the ideals of intellect and inspiration, other constructions of masculinity promoted the ideals of philosophy and the arts distinguished through knowledge obtained via the physical senses.

For example, Bernard Picart drew together multiple personages in his commemoration of the Roman poet Horace, whose works contained strong elements of Epicurean philosophy and

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<sup>278</sup> Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, 37.

<sup>279</sup> Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, 147.

included the *Ars Poetica*.<sup>280</sup> Picart's *Portrait of Horace* dated to 1708 (Fig. 15), presents the poet's profile and dominates the composition by its large size while the physicality of his presence is flattened and pressed within a roundel. Located at the centre of the composition, his image is presided over by Apollo and Bacchus who each raise and extend their attributes out toward the other in recognition of the union and resolution of opposites, of two entities or influences drawn together into harmonious coexistence.

From the left, a young Bacchus holds his wine glass high above the poet's head as behind him, the horned goat god Pan extends a pointed finger toward it. Bacchus joined by a complaisant leopard gazes down toward the bare breasted woman seated below so that her own sideways glance directed upward acknowledges his presence without directly returning his gaze. A pair of cooing doves between her feet and contented Cupid leaning against her knee identifies the woman as Venus, the blazing torch in her right hand representing the fire of Love as her left grasps its round, plump fruit. Directly above, another woman appears in allegorical disguise as Apollo, holding his laurel crown toward the cup of Bacchus while clasping his lyre in the other.

It is important to emphasise that Venus in this image does not directly return the wine god's gaze even as she holds her burning torch out toward him. The goddess and her flame evoke the classical notion that without the alliance of Bacchus and Venus, Love would grow cold. This idea will be expanded further below. However, at this point it is important to note that in avoiding the direct gaze of Bacchus, the goddess looking sideways (and the viewer who is likewise protected from the god's confronting look) each avoid the complete possession of Bacchus and therefore, the dangers of irrational frenzy.<sup>281</sup> This reinforces the notion that

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<sup>280</sup> Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, with an English translation by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926). <https://archive.org/details/satiresepistlesa00horauoft> (accessed 4 January 2015).

<sup>281</sup> Aneta Georgievska-Shine, "Drinking as Gods, Laughing as men: Velazquez and the Gift of Bacchus," in *Parody and Festivity in Early Modern Art. Essays as comedy as Social Vision*, ed. David R. Smith, (Farnham,

inappropriate or excessive indulgence distorts and perverts inspiration so that rather than elevating the soul through the senses, an overflow of pleasure degrades and leads to a corruption or loss of self. Depending on the drinker's moderation or excess, the wine of Bacchus carried the potential to 'make the savage civil and the civil savage.'<sup>282</sup> Horace identified this unpredictable potential of wine in his *Ode to the Wine Jar*, which he praised as a vessel containing a substance whose potential to inflict harm and rouse volatile responses simultaneously provided the means through which it was possible to 'unlock the soul of wisdom and its stores conceal'd.'<sup>283</sup>

Raising his cup alongside Pan, Bacchus joins forces with rational Apollo as patron(ess) of poetry and music alongside Horace in profile. Clearly, each of the opposing pair have their part to play in the process of creation, and each are acknowledged for their roles in the cultural achievements of humanity. How is it, though, that they are able to be reconciled within one image? While intoxication provided a path toward the higher realms of divine knowledge and inspiration, it was understood as a 'metamorphic state' in which the artist or poet was able to transform himself from the experience of everyday reality to the exceptional or inspired state. Enveloped in a higher state of being, the metamorphic self was crucial to concepts of artistic hierarchy and self-formation in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and for Renaissance artists.<sup>284</sup> Intoxication facilitated divine inspiration through the spirit of Bacchus, and the path toward the clarity of knowledge and the illumination of reason was fostered through the presence of Apollo. The two gods who typically appeared as the antithesis of the other were metaphorically united in a mutual communion. Their characteristics commingled

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Surrey, Burlington: Ashgate, 2012). Referring specifically to Bacchus among drinking peasants in Velázquez's *The Festival of Bacchus (The Drinkers)* depicted as looking sideways beyond the viewer and his companions, Georgievska-Shine proposes that this glance may allude to the 'threshold between the real and the imaginary', p.32.

<sup>282</sup> Georgievska-Shine, 'Drinking as Gods,' 22-24.

<sup>283</sup> Horace, *Ode to the Wine Jar*, in *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace*, translated by John Conington (London, 1882, third edition). [www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5432.html](http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5432.html) (accessed 4 January 2015).

<sup>284</sup> Koch, "Michelangelo's *Bacchus*," 367-368.



to articulate the eighteenth-century philosophy of ‘epicurean stoicism’, which advocated for the experience of pleasure and heightened senses as a vehicle of knowledge and learning, tempered by the self-preserving virtues and teachings of stoic principles.<sup>285</sup>

The earlier idea expressed by Horace that the wine of Bacchus facilitated the opening and reception of the ‘soul of wisdom’ to higher ideas and knowledge was similarly evoked in a book plate produced for the esteemed bibliophile Charles de Baschi, Marquess d’Aubais (1686-1777). Produced by Gérard Scotin, this motif (Fig. 16) with the Marquis’ family crest at its centre appeared inside volumes collected and housed by de Baschi, with his name and title appearing beneath. Bacchus is carried high aloft tumbling curlicues that frame two figures standing naked to the waist, belted with garlands of vine leaves as they each hold the family crest between them. In the description accompanying the book plate image on the British Museum website, the pair are identified as Adam and Eve.<sup>286</sup> However, these Biblical figures are inconsistent with the iconography associated with the wine god. Rather, these figures ought to be correctly identified as the attendants of Bacchus, so that the woman with the flowing locks is a bacchante or maenad, while the older, bearded male appears as a Socratic, Silenus-type figure. It is important to acknowledge that not all bacchic followers were satyrs, and Silenus was not always represented with cloven hooves.<sup>287</sup>

The presence of a Socratic figure reminded the viewer of the wisdom which belies appearances. The pair support the wine god emerging from on high as though sprouting from

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<sup>285</sup> This term was coined by Thomas M. Kavanagh in *Enlightened Pleasures. Eighteenth-Century France and the New Epicureanism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>286</sup> [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1498835&partId=1&searchText=charles+de+bachi&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1498835&partId=1&searchText=charles+de+bachi&page=1) (accessed 2 April 2014).

<sup>287</sup> Lynn Frier Kaufmann, *The Noble Savage: Satyrs and Satyr Families in Renaissance Art* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984. Revision of PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1979), 1-2. In Greek art, satyrs varied in appearance as part human or all human. Some were distinguished only by their pointed ears and horse tail to identify their bestial natures. During the Renaissance, satyrs took on more obvious bestial qualities to emphasise their difference. On the other hand, as an older leader of the satyrs, Silenus became “fully human” in representation. See also François Lissarrague, “The Sexual Life of Satyrs” in *Before Sexuality: The construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David M Halperin, John J. Winkler, Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 54.

a crown embedded within decorative, rolling forms that curl and draw all of the design elements together in unison. Bacchus raises his cup high toward the heavens in one hand while in the other he holds a flagon full of transformative liquid. As a motif that clearly evokes the signs of Bacchus, and through his intermediary presence, the elevation of the senses, the deeper meaning is physically repeated and attached to each of the volumes of de Bachi's enormous library. That is, De Bachi stamped each of his tomes with the imprint of Bacchus and his transformative powers in acknowledgement of the philosophical subtext embedded within. Each time the book plate appeared within the covers of the numerous volumes of de Bachi's personal library, the sign of Bacchus and his metamorphic wine repeatedly endorsed the distinction of the bibliophile as a learned, cultivated scholar. The marquis aligned and declared himself a follower of Bacchus, confirming his distinction as 'liberal encourager of learning.'<sup>288</sup> De Bachi's bookplate affirmed that he was privy to the wisdom and higher powers of the intellect accessed via the pleasure of intoxication effecting the senses through the stimulus of wine.

These connections were likewise reinforced by wearing popular gemstone signet rings produced during the early eighteenth century. Collectors of cameos and rings often held a number of pieces in their collections featuring the profile of Bacchus, or an image of the god seated on a panther (Figs. 17 & 18). Those wearing the signs of Bacchus and his cult

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<sup>288</sup> John Watkins, "Aubais (Charles de Baschi)" in *Universal Biographical Dictionary; or, Historical Account of the Lives, Characters, and Works of the most eminent persons in every age and nation, from the earliest times to the present, particularly the natives of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Brown, 1823), 119.  
<https://books.google.com.au/books?id=WsYaAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA119&lpg=PA119&dq=charles+de+baschi+dictionary&source=bl&ots=huLSileDU&sig=ly8Gp2RBpPL6Zc1SneOhtuF5IyM&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjkpMbG96vMAhWHFJQKHVqOAIQ6AEIGzAA#v=onepage&q=charles%20de%20baschi%20dictionary&f=false> (accessed 23 June 2014).

personally took on the ideals and characteristics associated with the wine god as their own.<sup>289</sup> Both Picart's engraved portrait of Horace and de Bachi's book plate employed the signs of Bacchus as emblems through which to communicate and promote ideals of intellectual and philosophical pursuit. In order to further explore the implications of self-identification with Bacchus, an understanding of Epicurean philosophy is necessary. It is through this classical philosopher and his follower, Lucretius, that artists and patrons were able to re-fashion the wine god to suit the eighteenth-century social and cultural context. In this way, viewers came to understand and utilised the image of Bacchus in the self-conscious formation and promotion of their individual identities. Moreover, the new Epicureanism of this period provided a foundation through which the ideals and constructs of elite masculinity were reinforced, directing the manner in which men of esteem were to conduct themselves and protect their own honour and the esteem of others.

### **Saint-Évremond and Epicurean Stoicism**

The philosophy of Epicurus and his disciple Lucretius has been commonly mistaken over the centuries for encouraging empty, hedonistic indulgence of the senses through food, drink and sex. This assumption appears to have been amplified by the common misinterpretation of the Epicurean maxim that 'pleasure is our first and kindred good.'<sup>290</sup> This misunderstanding was reinforced by early modern Church leaders who adopted the term 'Epicurean' as a pejorative

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<sup>289</sup> The British Museum has a number of these rings in their collection. Two collectors associated with the rings include Louis, Duc de Blacas d'Aulps and Henry Howard the fourth Earl of Carlisle. See, for example items [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=80352&partId=1&museumno=1913,0307.38&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=80352&partId=1&museumno=1913,0307.38&page=1) (accessed 2 April 2014).

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=81216&partId=1&museumno=1913,0307.63&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=81216&partId=1&museumno=1913,0307.63&page=1) (accessed 2 April 2014).

<sup>290</sup> Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus* <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/e/epicurus/menoecus> (last accessed 20 January 2015).

term applied indiscriminately to the godless, decadent and unrepentant.<sup>291</sup> However, pleasure, as Epicurus sought it, is not derived from gratification of the flesh or palate. It is ‘the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul’ and the ‘sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and brandishing those beliefs through which the greatest disturbances take possession of the soul.’<sup>292</sup> As David E. Cooper has noted, Epicurus and his follower Lucretius sought to establish a ‘correct theory of nature’ through which the superstition of the mind could be liberated in the clarity of a truthful understanding of the inner workings of the body and of nature. Epicurus maintained that fear of the unknown and anticipated death and disaster inhibited personal happiness. This could be overcome through coming to terms with the mortality of the soul and accepting the universe as one in which gods do not intervene. One aspect of this theory of nature includes the concept that the world and larger universe is made up of ‘atomic bodies and empty space’, bodies containing material souls which are shaped and influenced by matter or the random behaviour of ‘swerving atoms.’<sup>293</sup>

Eighteenth-century Epicureanism has been represented as either a ‘materialist, hedonistic and godless’ system of thought put to service in lives of immorality and debauchery, or as a ‘sophisticated doctrine’ utilised by notable figures including Voltaire, Hume and Diderot.<sup>294</sup> The terms of pleasure and morality appear to stand at odds with each other, and the period’s investment in each of these contradictory ideas seems difficult to reconcile. This apparent paradox has been recently termed the century’s ‘new Epicureanism,’ which drew together the twin poles of epicurean pleasure and sensation with the virtues of Stoicism, in order to live

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<sup>291</sup> Neven Leddy and A. S. Lifschitz, “Epicurus in the Enlightenment: an introduction,” in eds. Neven Leddy and Avi S. Lifschitz, *Epicurus in the Enlightenment* (London: Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford, 2009), 4.

<sup>292</sup> “Epicurus” in David E. Cooper, *World Philosophies: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 128, from Inwood and Gerson, 1988, p.24.

<sup>293</sup> Cooper, *World Philosophies*, 128-129.

<sup>294</sup> Leddy and Lifschitz, “Epicurus in the Enlightenment: an Introduction,” 1. It is also pointed out that the ‘Stoic and Augustinian traditions’ were in ‘continuous interplay’ with Epicureanism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thought, see pages 5-6.

‘in accord with a natural order alien to religious and metaphysical precepts.’<sup>295</sup> As defined by Thomas Kavanagh, ‘Epicurean Stoicism’ interrogated, reworked, and fused together principles and ideals of the past that first appear to present a contradiction in terms, but which rejected the divorce of mind with body, sensation and knowledge.<sup>296</sup> Kavanagh condenses this point to explain that ‘Knowing the world, experiencing pleasure, and creating beauty became the complementary components of a materialist cosmology, a secular morality, and a sensationist esthetics.’<sup>297</sup> For soldier and man of letters, Charles de Saint-Évremond:

*Epicurus* was a very wise Philosopher, who, according to different times and occasions, loved pleasure in repose, or pleasure in motion; and that this different Pleasure has occasion’d the different reputation he has found in the world. *Timocrates* and his other enemies, have charg’d him with sensual pleasures; those that have defended him, talk of nothing but of spiritual pleasures. The former accuse him of expensive banquets, and I am persuaded that the accusation is well grounded: when the latter value him for his eating some little morsels of cheese, in order to make better cheer than usual, I believe they don’t want reason.... *There is a time to laugh, and a time to weep*, according to Solomon; a time to be sober, and a time to be sensual, according to *Epicurus*. Besides a voluptuous man is not equally so all his life. In Religion, the greatest Libertine becomes the most devout: in the study of Wisdom, the most indulgent to pleasure, is sometimes the most severe.<sup>298</sup>

Further along in his writing, Saint-Évremond explains to his friend that ‘a little reason will make us relish good things as deliciously as possible, and instruct us to bear the bad with all the patience that we can.’<sup>299</sup> That is to say, temperance and balance are required in the pursuit

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<sup>295</sup> Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures. Eighteenth Century France and the New Epicureanism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 8.

<sup>296</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 8.

<sup>297</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 9.

<sup>298</sup> Charles Marguetel de Saint-Denis, seigneur de Saint-Évremond, “To the Modern Leontium. On the Morals of Epicurus” [1685], in *The Letters of Saint Évremond. Charles Marguetel de Saint Denis Seigneur de Saint Évremond*, edited and with an introduction and notes by John Hayward (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1930), 277. Leontium was the favourite pupil of Epicurus who was reputed to be ‘no better than a concubine and that Epicurus disguised the true nature of his relations with her under the cloak of his philosophy.’ The ‘Modern Leontium’ is the name which Évremond uses to address Ninon de Laclous, the recipient of many of his letters.

<sup>299</sup> Saint-Évremond, “To the Modern Leontium [1685],” *The Letters*, 280.

and taste of Pleasure in order to avoid the pain of regret in ‘imperfect enjoyment’ and disgust in excess.<sup>300</sup> According to Saint-Évremond, it was essential to ‘enjoy the present Pleasures, without impairing the future’, to avoid the ‘sensual abandon’ of ‘animals’ in favour of fine cuisine, gallantry and music through cultivated taste learned and acquired through the senses.<sup>301</sup>

Saint-Évremond's careful emphasis on taking pleasure without abusing it was recalled in Bernard Picart's book illustration, *Allegorical Scene on Charles de Saint-Évremond* (Fig.19) printed in 1724. Living in exile in London after 1661, Saint-Évremond had been critical of the Treaty of the Pyrenees (signed November 7, 1659) between Louis XIV and Philip IV of Spain, which ended the war raging between the nations from 1648.<sup>302</sup> Though most often described as an essayist and critic, Saint-Évremond had previously served as a soldier in the French army.<sup>303</sup> In his own creative and intellectual endeavours, it is certain that Saint-Évremond was familiar with mythological allegory and would have approved of his personal image being commemorated through references to learning and the arts. Importantly, it is this print which served as frontispiece or illustration to the fourth edition of *Oeuvres de Saint-Évremond*, published in five volumes in Amsterdam, 1726.<sup>304</sup> Furthermore, the print reappears as frontispiece to *The Letters of Saint-Évremond* translated and published by John Hayward in 1930.<sup>305</sup> Picart's frontispiece is titled *The Triumph of Saint-Évremond*, recalling the mythological theme of ‘The Triumph of Bacchus.’

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<sup>300</sup> Saint-Évremond, “To the Comte d’ Olonne: Of Pleasures [1656],” *The Letters*, 17.

<sup>301</sup> Saint-Évremond, “To the Comte d’ Olonne: Of Pleasures [1656],” *The Letters*, 17.

<sup>302</sup> This particular conflict commenced after the Thirty Year’s War which involved numerous European countries from 1618 to 1648.

<sup>303</sup> Quentin Manning Hope, *Saint-Évremond and His Friends* (Librairie Droz: 1999), 29.

<sup>304</sup> See the curator notes

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1674044&partId=1&museumno=1875.0710.2919&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1674044&partId=1&museumno=1875.0710.2919&page=1) (accessed 2 April 2014).

<sup>305</sup> Saint-Évremond, *The Letters of Saint Evremond*, ed. John Hayward (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930).

Picart presented the posthumous portrait of Saint-Évremond as a sculpture bust flanked by a resting military figure identified as Mars and a set of armour against heavy drapes, signifying his ‘having abandoned the profession of war.’<sup>306</sup> Framed either side by theatrical drapery and a garden trellis, the viewer is prompted to view the sculpture as located on a terrace or at the entry of a garden. Seated alongside the bust, a woman identified as Pleasure looks upward at her sculpted listener while playing her harp, and Philosophy reading a large book holds a globe tucked under her free arm, absorbed in text and immersed in higher ideas. Winged Father Time seated on the bottom step looks aside and slightly upward, his line of vision appearing to settle on the retired soldier as a chubby putto gently restrains his crossed wrists with a garland of flowers. Beneath the tip of Time’s wing, two putti play chess, personifying amusement.<sup>307</sup> Described as a *honneté volupté*, Saint-Évremond is surrounded by the attributes of ‘Philosophy, Volupté and Bacchus’ and has long abandoned the arts of war in favour of the arts of music, writing, scholarship and pleasure as explained in the print’s inscription and scattered emblems of these pursuits arranged across the foreground. Winged putti preparing to crown the philosopher with the laurel of Apollo present the gifts of clarity and reason while another raises the inspiring cup of Bacchus and the senses up toward him from below.

Recalling the mixing of these signs in Picart’s earlier portrait of Horace confirms that the artist drew these images together in a very deliberate manner, consciously inserting the wine of Bacchus and laurel of Apollo as twin motifs of epicurean stoicism. Saint-Évremond is offered the sacrament of Bacchus as a vehicle of pleasure and elevation of the senses. His inebriation and potential loss or corruption of the self is simultaneously insured against by the clarity and illumination of higher wisdom offered through the reason of Apollo. While the

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<sup>306</sup> As the text appears on the print’s inscription.

<sup>307</sup> The curator comments identify the harp player as Pleasure rather than Music, which is plausible considering the significance and context of the additional iconography throughout the composition. The comments also include the observation that the chubby infants occupied by a game of chess symbolise amusement.

physical senses had been traditionally lauded as the site of sin and corruption by the Christian faith, the growing sentiment against religious institutions (inspired by ongoing wars of religion and the chaos of its consequences) helped to secure the sensate body as the site of knowledge. By mid-century, the *philosophes* had come to recognise sensation as that which ‘preceded thought’, so that the new economy of the senses became essential to Enlightenment values of clarity and truth, thereby reversing the Cartesian ‘primacy of mind.’<sup>308</sup>

For Kavanagh, the opposition of Epicurean and Stoic thought during the Enlightenment became ‘differently accented versions of a shared subversion.’<sup>309</sup> Diderot’s later *Encyclopédie* entry on Epicureanism attempted to rectify the simplified view of epicurean philosophy as gratuitous hedonism, and argued that Epicurus had practiced and emphasized the need for temperance, advocating instead a pleasure based on rational calm.<sup>310</sup> For the *philosophes*, Stoicism adopted the same view in avoiding pain and suffering, so that Epicurean and Stoic philosophy appeared to them to present two sides of the same coin. In the rise against Christianity, both schools of thought had become ‘allies in a shared struggle’, upholding a common materialist view in their opposition to the idea of an immaterial soul as distinct from the physical body.<sup>311</sup>

Although the terms Epicurean and Stoic are rarely to be found together in texts of the period, Diderot observed that individuals are born Epicurean and grow to become Stoics.<sup>312</sup> Crucial to understanding the complexities of eighteenth-century libertinism is the fact that stoicism helped to promote a ‘regimen of individual discipline’ by which mastery over the self and a

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<sup>308</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 2-3.

<sup>309</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 4. For more on ‘the assimilation of Epicureanism to Stoicism,’ refer to Neven Leddy and Avi S. Lifschitz, “Epicurus in the Enlightenment: an introduction,” in *Epicurus in the Enlightenment*, eds. Neven Leddy and Avi S. Lifschitz (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford, 2009), 7-10.

<sup>310</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 4.

<sup>311</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 4-5.

<sup>312</sup> Natania Meeker, “Sexing Epicurean materialism in Diderot,” in *Epicurus in the Enlightenment*, ed. Neven Leddy and Avi S. Lifschitz (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford, 2009), 93-95.



practiced commitment to reason helped to secure balance and the personal distance necessary to defend against the dangers of passion and excess.<sup>313</sup> Natania Meeker explains that while ‘Epicurean pleasures are susceptible to destabilising’ reasoned thought:

To be alive as a human is at once to experience the potential for reasoned intellection and, at the very moment of this experience, to acknowledge the vulnerability of the understanding to the vicissitudes of a material existence.<sup>314</sup>

Saint-Évremond had seen the experience of love and friendship as those pleasures which more than any other, alleviated the anxieties attached to death and decay, to help overcome the dread of mortality. Due to the ‘immediate intensity’ of sentiment and romantic arousal, love was regarded as both necessary to personal happiness and wellbeing and yet considered a perilous force to be reckoned with.<sup>315</sup>

Leonard A. Rosmarin explains that the power of love during this period lay in its ability to ‘reorganize’ the ‘emotional framework’ of individuals, so that the violent disturbance and deterioration it can trigger in the rational self is to be avoided at all costs.<sup>316</sup> That is, if the heart is allowed to reign freely over the mind, it would re-order or disassemble the individual’s inner workings, and in the absence of reason, ‘the *honnête homme* would be transformed by such an emotional cataclysm into a creature of sheer caprice.’<sup>317</sup> The loss of reason at the hands of disorderly passion equated to a loss of self and free will, so that rather than being the master of his own fate, the love struck victim becomes instead a being acting on irrational impulse. Reason provides a safe barrier with which it is possible to brace oneself

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<sup>313</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 3.

<sup>314</sup> Meeker, “Sexing Epicurean Materialism in Diderot,” 95.

<sup>315</sup> Leonard A. Rosmarin, “The Unsublimated Libido: Saint-Evremond’s Conception of Love,” *The French Review*, vol.46. no.2, (December 1972), 263.

<sup>316</sup> Rosmarin, “The Unsublimated Libido,” 265.

<sup>317</sup> Rosmarin, “The Unsublimated Libido,” 265-266.

against the storm of passionate response, and as Rosmarin remarks, ‘enables the epicurean *honnête homme* to play with fire and not get burned.’<sup>318</sup>

Love and sensual pleasure, then, are pursued as calculated risks, and the *honnête homme* wisely practices a conscious level of self-restraint and detachment so as to avoid becoming overwhelmed by the senses and sentiments aroused by them. Reason permitted the indulgence of sensual pleasure through love and wine as a means through which to progress and advance the self, without succumbing to the tyranny of emotional turmoil and excess. Picart’s illustrated portrait of Horace surrounded by Bacchus in league with Pan, Venus, Cupid and a maiden in the guise of Apollo underscores the caution with which Saint-Évremond and others lived the life of the epicurean gallant guided by Bacchus and his entourage. As Rosmarin has shown, the *honnête homme* delighted in the world of the senses and maintained self-control through the presence of Apollonian reason and discipline.<sup>319</sup> Similarly, Picart’s representation of Saint-Évremond pronounced the retired soldier and man of letters a *volupté* who had drunk from the cup of Bacchus, seeking the comforts and pleasures of philosophy through the senses while nonetheless protected and guided by reason.

Bruce Redford’s excellent study of the dilettanti in England has also pointed out that the members of this exclusive society ‘revelled in promiscuity sexual, aesthetic and intellectual.’<sup>320</sup> As high-ranking participants of public and political life, members of the dilettanti society gathered in secret locations presided over by temples and statues of Venus in homage to the delights of her sex.<sup>321</sup> Collectively driven by the desire to ‘see, learn, or

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<sup>318</sup> Rosmarin, “The Unsublimated Libido,” 267.

<sup>319</sup> Rosmarin, “The Unsublimated Libido,” 263-270. Kavanagh’s *Enlightened Pleasures* also addresses the issue of moderation in pleasure. See also Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc.* Edited and with an Introduction and notes by John Mackinnon Robertson, in 2 volumes. London: Grant Richards, 1900. <http://archive.org/details/characteristics02robegoog> (accessed 2 May 2012).

<sup>320</sup> Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute), 2008, 12.

<sup>321</sup> Wendy Frith, “Sex, Gender and Politics: The Venus de Medici in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape,” in *Sculpture and the Garden*, ed. Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell (Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 71-84.

possess rare, new, secret or remarkable things', it is not at all surprising that objects at the centre of their initiation ceremonies also carried references to the wine god and his followers. For example, the legs of the President's chair were carved into the shape of a satyr's hindquarters, and a mahogany casket which served as a financial box was embellished with a reclining ivory statuette of Bacchus and referred to as the *Tomb of Bacchus* (1736).<sup>322</sup> The society members deliberately invoked both the goddess of carnal pleasure and god of wine and inspiration to preside over their activities motivated by curiosity and the desire for knowledge.

While the dilettanti revelled in the delights of the flesh and the rigours of intellectual pursuit, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury insisted that freedom of thought did not preclude the preservation of moral virtue.<sup>323</sup> Although definitions of libertinism and *galanterie* are complex and shift according to whom and when it is applied, Shaftesbury argued that self-discipline and mastery of the passions was not negotiable. In order to avoid the dire consequences of excess and promiscuity - namely, disease, disorder, effeminacy and impotence - restraint must be observed. Overt 'voluptuousness' directly results in an all-consuming 'slavery to the passions.'<sup>324</sup> These concerns not only informed much writing of the period, but were explored throughout many images in which Bacchus played an instructive role alongside Ariadne or Venus herself.

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<sup>322</sup> Redford, *Dilettanti*, 6.

<sup>323</sup> Brian Cowan, "Reasonable Ecstasies: Shaftesbury and the Languages of Libertinism," *Journal of British Studies*, 37:2 (April 1998), 111.

<sup>324</sup> Brian Cowan, "Reasonable Ecstasies," 111; 126.

## The alliance of Bacchus and Venus

The alliance between Bacchus and Venus was another popular subject for painters during the early eighteenth century.<sup>325</sup> Antoine Coypel's *Alliance of Bacchus and Cupid* (Fig. 20) depicts the moment in which their hands are joined across the table as winged Cupid raises his cup as if to toast an impending union. Coypel's composition is filled with figures as witnesses and participants, including the attendant satyr and Pan as companions to Bacchus revelling in the rise of desire and promise of love. In the foreground, cherubim play amongst plump grapes and a playful leopard. Crucial to this composition are the three Graces to the left of the canvas, grouped together to personify the 'three phases of love: *beauty*, arousing *desire*, leading to *fulfilment*.'<sup>326</sup> As though seated at a wedding banquet, Bacchus looks upward toward a bare-breasted woman presented to his gaze by her own winged attendant, putto, and a swan as attributes of Venus. One of the Graces closest to her also looks upwards in her direction as she gestures toward the breast of another beside her, so that Cupid, Bacchus, complicit Grace and Venus form an intimate triangular formation flanked by lusty Pan and satyr as eager observers.

Similarly, Venus pours wine to fill the cup of Bacchus leaning toward her across the table in Noël-Nicolas Coypel's *Venus, Bacchus and the three Graces* (Fig. 21). Again, the wine of Bacchus is utilised in the service of Love and desire as evidenced by the presence of the three Graces in the background and frolicking putti. While the wine of Bacchus warms the heart, Venus and the Graces inspire desire and promise its fulfilment. Importantly, Coypel's painting was engraved by Jacques Phillipe le Bas as *L'Alliance de Bacchus et de Venus*

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<sup>325</sup> Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 319. Hall notes that the phrase '*Sine Baccho et Cerere friget Venus*' comes from Roman comic Terence's *The Eunuch*. It means that love is aided by wine and feasting. This was a popular theme in visual art during the seventeenth century, particularly with Flemish painters following the example of Rubens. As the personification of fertility and agricultural abundance, Ceres is also often present. Halls, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 62-63.

<sup>326</sup> Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 303, notes that this understanding of the three Graces was a Florentine humanist convention dating from the fifteenth century. The Graces also personified Chastity, Beauty and Love.

(Fig. 22) where part of the inscription enjoins the ‘Goddess of Cythera’ to join Bacchus, whose excesses are moderated by ‘our sweet feelings’ while the wine god himself uses his own ‘calming nectar...to calm ardent lovers.’<sup>327</sup>

To reinforce this point, we can look to inscriptions accompanying the mezzotint pendants of John Faber the Younger (after Phillipe Mercier). Each provide explicit clues to grasping the significance of the alliance between Bacchus and sensual love (or Venus). *Bacchus in the Character of Cupid* (Fig. 23) appears crowned in vine leaves and directs the viewer to look where his finger points directly at a heart pierced with his arrow. The inscription reads:

*Bacchus*, how potent must thy Godhead prove,  
When Thou usurp'st the Pow'r & Task of *Love*  
Thy Nectar acts in concert with his Dart;  
That Fires y'head, whilst t'other wounds the Heart.<sup>328</sup>

To usurp the power and task of Love is to seize or overpower it by force. The vigorous elixir of Bacchus dominates Love and inflames the senses, acting on the head as it also assists in warming the heart. Again, it is important to note that victory over love does not require abstinence, but control and restraint. The relationship between Bacchus and Venus is one of mutual advantage, each reciprocating the other in moderating excess. *Cupid in the Character of Bacchus* (Fig. 24) turns side-on to the viewer so that his wings reveal the truth of his identity. Filling the glass by turning a bottle held high, Cupid confirms his allegiance with Bacchus. Originating from the Roman comic dramatist Terence, the phrase ‘Sine Baccho et

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<sup>327</sup> The curator comments for this print identify the three feminine figures behind Venus to be nymphs. My interpretation is of the Graces because of their relationship with Venus, whose iconography surrounds them in the shape of putti, roses and doves. Furthermore, their presence is consistent with Antoine Coypel's example described previously.

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1527005&partId=1&museumno=1938.0121.1&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1527005&partId=1&museumno=1938.0121.1&page=1) accessed 2 March 2014.

<sup>328</sup> John Faber the Younger, after Phillipe Mercier, *Bacchus in the Character of Cupid*, 1739. Mezzotint, British Museum. 1875, 0710. 2848. Accessed 2 March, 2014.  
[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1641633&partId=1&museumno=1875.0710.2848&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1641633&partId=1&museumno=1875.0710.2848&page=1) accessed 2 March 2014.

Cerere friget Venus' states that love grows cold in the absence of wine and feasting, and this is also made clear in the text beneath Cupid filling his cup:

Smile, Bacchus and applaud thy prosp'rous Art:  
The Beauty, toasted will reign her Heart  
Each Vanquished Maid shall hence thy Trophy prove  
And Sparkling Nectar grow the Food of Love.  
Cupid be wise and brandish now the Glass  
What fires the Youth, must help to win the Lass.<sup>329</sup>

The tonic of Bacchus opens the senses and aids in promoting the sensual pleasures of love that results in the victory of man over 'vanquished maid.' Triumphant, Bacchus as a stand-in for the *honnête homme* retains control of his head and the faculties of reason even as wine 'fires' his potency. In Nicolas Bertin's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (Fig. 25), Ariadne submits by passively holding forth her cup, permitting the seduction of her senses that precedes the physical consummation of wedding vows. Women were also privy to the illumination of the mind as sensate beings, despite having to exercise more rigorous precaution and having more at stake than their male counterparts.<sup>330</sup>

Among a throng of putti and framed by plentiful grapes signalling the Bacchic celebration of marriage, Bertin's painting depicts the moment in which the pair celebrate and toast their union. Bacchanals were sometimes commissioned in celebration of marriages because of visual references to sensual revelry, fertility and the 'promise of physical pleasure appropriate

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<sup>329</sup> John Faber the Younger, after Phillipe Mercier, *Cupid in the Character of Bacchus* [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1641638&partId=1&museumno=1875,0710.2851&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1641638&partId=1&museumno=1875,0710.2851&page=1) (accessed 2 March 2014).

<sup>330</sup> I refer here to the lived reality of the period, where family lineage, honour, and systems of inheritance were seen to be vulnerable to women who were considered 'lascivious beings' by nature. Therefore, women were charged with upholding their virtue at all costs. Charges of infidelity and illegitimate children, for example, compromised and destroyed their reputations and acceptance within society. These issues will be discussed throughout the following chapters, especially Chapters Three and Four.

for an impending wedding.<sup>331</sup> With regards to representations of Bacchus and Ariadne, however, it is rightly noted that the toasting of their marriage was rarely represented, since treatments of the episode typically focused on Bacchus's act of crowning his beloved.<sup>332</sup> Seated upon a cloud and steadily regarding her new husband, Bertin's Ariadne holds her chalice out toward Bacchus raising his own glass high so that he may receive love's arrow. Bacchus directs his gaze upward toward heaven, fixing his eyes on mischievous Cupid who upholds his bow in a gesture of confident victory and looks downward to settle on the face regarding his own.

Oblivious to the putto whose hands circle her arm, Ariadne pays little regard to the winged pair behind her. Restrained by a putto of Venus, Ariadne holds forth her own cup in a gesture of reception, quietly observing the gesture her husband makes toward the arrow that alludes to the consummation of their vows.<sup>333</sup> Compelling her to stay or supporting her presence, the winged putto who secures our gaze extends his leg straight down toward a sleeping pair curled in their exhaustion beneath the lady's feet. The arrangement of the figures in a triangular formation encourages the viewer to read the painting as a confirmation of the bond between love, the wine of Bacchus and the elevation of the soul or higher self through the physical senses.

The period's preoccupation with the senses as a path to knowledge through physical experience underpins core themes and subjects throughout this and the following chapter. As discussed, the distinction and esteem granted to individuals seeking to secure elevated positions within society (and for posterity) depended very much on the acquisition and cultivation of knowledge. As a sensorial process, the allegorical personification of Bacchus served this function particularly well. However, the unpredictable effects of Bacchic gifts on

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<sup>331</sup> Bailey, et al. *Loves of the Gods*, 366. This comment is made with reference to Charles-Joseph Natoire's *Bacchanal*, 1749, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

<sup>332</sup> Bailey, et al. *The Loves of the Gods*, 164.

<sup>333</sup> Bailey et al, *The Loves of the Gods*, 164.

the body and soul must also be taken into account. While the elevation of the senses offered the potential of transcendence, excess indulgence was a potential source of corruption.<sup>334</sup>

The alliance between Bacchus and Venus inspired notions of transcending lived experience through the elevation of the senses and access to higher knowledge grounded in the philosophy of pleasure. However, their mythological union also spawned Priapus who bore the mark of promiscuity and excess in his disfigured appearance. Endowed with enormous genitals, the body of Priapus presents the distortion of over indulgence and provides a visual and conceptual reference point by literally embodying the shame of immoderation.<sup>335</sup> In contrast to images and portraits in which patrons consciously identified themselves with the highest attributes of Bacchus, inversions of the ideals of divine inspiration and knowledge are presented within other images as examples of transgression, disorder, and consequence. While the warming effects of Bacchus in alliance with Venus opened the senses to pleasure tempered by restraint, the inordinate lust of the satyr was detrimental to the masculine ideals of reason. As the following chapter explains, moderation and critical evaluation was also challenged in the presence of sensual bodies as an opportunity to experience and overcome the dangers of desire.

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<sup>334</sup> Georgievska-Shine, "Drinking as Gods," 22.

<sup>335</sup> Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 252. Juno was responsible for providing Priapus with his overly large phallus as a result of her disapproval of Venus' wanton behaviour. The head and torso of Priapus is often depicted in images watching over the revelries and Bacchic rituals of satyrs and maenads, followers of Bacchus.



## CHAPTER THREE

### *Venus and a Satyr*

The legacy of the Enlightenment is the belief that entirely on our own can we know, and in knowing, understand, and in understanding, choose wisely. - Edward O Wilson<sup>336</sup>

The figure of the satyr has been long associated with over-indulgence in both drink and desire. As a subordinate follower of Bacchus, it is his frequent intrusion upon a sleeping female nude to which the present chapter turns. While ideals of inspiration as the foundation of artistic and intellectual achievement were elaborated through the presence or sign of the wine-god in images, this chapter will discuss the pursuit of knowledge through the pleasures of the imagination triggered by sight and signalled through the presence of the satyr in mythological paintings dated to the first few decades of the eighteenth century. While physical sensation provided one avenue through which to pursue the cultivation of ideas, and meditations on aesthetic beauty commonly located in the body of Venus, the goddess also provided another pathway toward a higher end. As Lucretius called on Venus to provide the inspiration he needed to guide his work, so the goddess and her mortal counterparts provided early modern audiences with a motif of profound beauty. In contemplating her image, the soul of the presumably male viewer was elevated by her effect on the senses.<sup>337</sup>

As discussed in Chapter Three, eighteenth-century writers rejected supernatural notions of inspiration and located the source of enthusiasm and imagination in the human mind and body. While the warming effects of Bacchus in alliance with Venus opened the senses to

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<sup>336</sup> Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*, 1998, cited by Michelle Chillcoat in "The Legacy of Enlightenment Brain Sex," *The Eighteenth Century*, 41:1 (Spring 2000), 15.

<sup>337</sup> Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration. Metaphors of Sleep, Sex and Dreams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 100-103, 84.

pleasure tempered by restraint, the inordinate lust of the satyr was detrimental to the masculine ideals of reason. The effects of drink and desire each belong to the realm of the senses, and it is sensorial guidance which ‘alone can enlighten reason in the search for truth.’<sup>338</sup> Working in concert with moderation and critical evaluation, the powers of imagination and enthusiasm facilitated the refinement of ideas. In excess, the passions linked with these states were tied most notably to the irrationality of the feminine mind and to the satyr’s lack of control.<sup>339</sup>

Having considered the effects of Bacchic intoxication, this chapter examines the site of the satyr’s transgression as an incitement to pleasure. In order to address the complex range of issues at play within this familiar scene, it is necessary to address each element of the composition individually. After addressing the satyr’s discovery as a moment of encounter and choice, the aesthetic theories of De Piles and Du Bos are taken into account to help explain the effect on the viewer as accomplice. Following this, the sleeping nymph introduces concepts of advancing the self through the acquisition of knowledge while the unruly body of the satyr signals disorder and consequence. Taken together, the twin bodies of nymph and satyr are utilised as motifs compelling the spectator to consider the stakes involved in sensorial experience as a path to knowledge and the need for self-discipline.

### **The Moment of Encounter**

Drawing aside curtains or removing a veil to revel in the splendour of feminine flesh, the moment of the satyr’s craving and the gesture of his outstretched hand held a particular

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<sup>338</sup> La Mettrie, *Presentation of the Work in Traite de l’âme* (1750), in *Machine Man and Other Writings*, 43.

<sup>339</sup> See, for example, Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, eds. *Women, Art, and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (England and USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003); Mary D. Sheriff, “Passionate Spectators: On Enthusiasm, Nymphomania, and the Imagined Tableau,” *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 60.1/2, *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe 1650-1850* (1997), 51-83.

appeal for eighteenth-century male viewers.<sup>340</sup> In contrast to narrative images depicting the intimate encounter between Jupiter and Antiope, representations of the satyr's intrusion was repeatedly depicted in paintings and prints of the first half of the eighteenth century with an almost startling frequency, and do not appear to have been concerned with preserving iconographical or textual accuracy.<sup>341</sup> The accidental discoveries of the 'peeping tom' and the 'furtive looking' of the opportunistic voyeur were favourite subjects re-enacted in a variety of ways in both contemporary and mythological settings, particularly in visual art and literature.<sup>342</sup> As Philip Stewart notes, representational devices allow the viewer (and the voyeur within the frame) to be present without being seen.<sup>343</sup> On both sides of the image, the male viewer resists 'becoming the object of another's look. The subject function of looking must be preserved and reserved for him.'<sup>344</sup>

Perhaps one of the most familiar and enigmatic paintings to capture the moment of the satyr's discovery and the intensity of his suspended desire is Jean-Antoine Watteau's alternately titled *Jupiter and Antiope* or *Nymph and Satyr* (Fig. 26).<sup>345</sup> Occupying the centre of an oval composition, the postures of hybrid and nymph command the full attention of the viewer who is drawn *into* the moment. The darker details of landscape and malleable fabric responds to the soft curvature and milky contours of Antiope's passive form, drawing in and securing the

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<sup>340</sup> In this study, the viewer or spectator is presumed to be male. Of course, that is not to suggest that women were not actively viewing art works.

<sup>341</sup> On this iconographic convention, see Marcin Fabiański, "Correggio's "Venus, Cupid and a Satyr": Its Form and Iconography," *Artibus et Historiae* 17:33 (1996), 159-173; Sheila McNally, "Ariadne and Others. Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art," *Classical Antiquity* 4:2 (October 1985), 152-192; Millard Meiss, "Sleep in Venice. Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110:5 (1966), 348-382.

<sup>342</sup> See Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 9, 143, 289 footnotes 94-96 and Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire. Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1992). See pages 140-143 for comments on the popularity of imagery based on Acteon's accidental intrusion on the goddess Diana. On the reader as intruder, see Jean Marie Goulemot, *Forbidden Texts: Erotic literature and its readers in eighteenth-century France*, trans. James Simpson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

<sup>343</sup> Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 136. Stewart discusses the framing of nature in bathing scenes as an example.

<sup>344</sup> Susanne Kappeler, *The Pornography of Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 65.

<sup>345</sup> Importantly, this painting is thought to have been executed for Léopold-Philippe-Charles-Joseph, duc d'Arenberg (1690-1754). Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 186.

spectator's gaze. Nestled within a circular cocoon, nymph and satyr compel the viewer to linger and watch. We know that the following generations of artists and critics looked on Watteau's brooding canvas and took issue with the ambiguity that is not only regarded as typical of his work, but as characteristic of paintings which later became problematic for those who equated 'decisiveness with heterosexual masculinity.'<sup>346</sup> However, for Watteau's contemporaries, ambiguity was an artistic device that assisted in creating images probing the viewer to question 'exactly who was seducing whom', and what would happen next.<sup>347</sup> In this way, the satyr's discovery encourages the viewer to participate in an open-ended scenario where it is uncertain what comes next. Looking to literature of the period, Marine Ganofsky has explained that 'ambiguous intentions' appealed to the tastes of a wide readership, and novels were read as 'seductive through the promise of interpretative liberty that was left to one's fantasies.'<sup>348</sup> Specifically, the allure of the indeterminate entreated the imagination of the reader or spectator to complete the work for themselves.

The dubious allure of the encounter between satyr and nymph is similarly evoked within contemporary interiors as can be seen in François Boucher's *The Surprise* (Fig. 27). Leaning away from the gentleman pushing aside a heavy velvet curtain, a young woman is discovered with the front of her dress pulled down, exposing the nipple which threatens to escape her bodice and the hem of her skirts lifted to expose bare legs beneath. Tucked up and slipping down, the ruffled state of her dress belies her discomposure and implies that amorous activity has already taken place. This is further emphasised by the way in which the woman strokes the cat on her lap as it exposes its rear to the gaze of the male intruder. Boucher's visual pun not only references the female genitals but also the act the cat suggests by its

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<sup>346</sup> Nicholas Mirzoeff, "The Flickers of Seduction: The Ambivalent and Surprising Painting of Watteau," in *Antoine Watteau. Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of his Time*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 123.

<sup>347</sup> Mirzoeff, 'The Flickers of Seduction', 130.

<sup>348</sup> Marine Ganofsky, "Illustrating Narrative Seduction: The Example of Choderlos de Laclos's *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* in the Illustrated Edition of 1796," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38:1 (2015), 2.

arching posture. The placement of a young girl's hand directly atop the woman's groin again draws our attention to her sex while her knees placed apart and the disarray of the bedding directly reference erotic activity.

It is the lack of clarity or certainty in these images that likewise characterises the 'moment' as an ephemeral fragment of time between choice or idea and action. Thomas Kavanagh defines the transient moment as 'an event creating a chasm between the past and the future.'<sup>349</sup> As Catherine Cusset explains, libertine writers directed their focus to what occurred in the space of the moment, and the contradictions of the self there-in.<sup>350</sup> That is, the tensions between the compulsions of pleasure and moral dilemma was is put to the test by the power of the moment. It is the force of the moment which leads to surrender of the will and presses us to 'commit acts incompatible with our moral values.'<sup>351</sup> Nowhere is this more apparent in the context of the sleeping woman, whose image abounds in eighteenth-century visual culture.<sup>352</sup> Stewart discusses how images of sleeping women were sexually evocative and suggested 'innocence and arousal at the same time.'<sup>353</sup> Disturbingly:

The violation of private space in the form of visual intrusion is a narrative strategy for reconciling decency (or innocence) with gratification; the eyes possess and penetrate, allowing a sublimation of the rape in the heart.<sup>354</sup>

I would like to propose that when confronted with the sleeping female nude, the viewer outside the frame was invited to participate *in* the moment of the satyr's trespass as a way of determining the outcome of the image. With the satyr's approach, anticipation carries the possibility of rejection and flight, violent struggle, or even unlikely surrender. Either way,

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<sup>349</sup> Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment: Literature and Art in the French Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 58.

<sup>350</sup> Catherine Cusset, *No Tomorrow The Ethics of Pleasure in the French Enlightenment* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 42.

<sup>351</sup> Cusset, *No Tomorrow*, 7.

<sup>352</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 175.

<sup>353</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 176.

<sup>354</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 175.

viewer and satyr are each held in suspense. This shared state of suspension is present in the hesitant pause of the satyr's groping reach toward the sleeping nude, and the uncertainty inspired in the spectator as witness. Well befitting the image of the lurking satyr, the 'spectacle of evil generates the thrill of excitement' for the viewer and appeals to the sense of ambiguity, which delighted Watteau's contemporaries.<sup>355</sup>

This is underscored by the fact that eighteenth-century spectatorship was newly presented as an opportunity granting the viewer a pleasurable, sensuous experience on an intimate level of spectatorship.<sup>356</sup> For example, Jennifer Milam has demonstrated the way in which artists, including Jean-Honoré Fragonard, consciously 'beckons the viewer as playmate.'<sup>357</sup> It is also noted that images depicting the passive or sleeping subject sought to encourage the gawking viewer's indulgence, if not actively soliciting it.<sup>358</sup> As commonly argued in (feminist) art historical discourse, 'seeing and (wanting) to be seen' is 'sex-specific' and endorses male sexuality and viewing as active and the woman scrutinised as passive and receptive.<sup>359</sup> The woman at rest or in quiet reverie was considered 'predisposed to be seduced' and literature often described her in this scenario as a 'flower to be plucked.'<sup>360</sup> Clearly, the imbalance of

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<sup>355</sup> Ganofsky, "Illustrating Narrative Seduction," 11. Disturbingly, it has also been noted that in *The Trial of Roger* (1743), male members of the jury and trial audience 'derive pleasure from the narrative of the rape.' Jenny Skipp, "Masculinity and Social Stratification in Eighteenth-Century Erotic Literature, 1700-1821," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (2006): 263.

<sup>356</sup> Barbara Maria Stafford, "Voyeur or Observer? Enlightenment Thoughts on the Dilemmas of Display," *Configurations* 1:1 (1993), 96.

<sup>357</sup> Jennifer Milam, "Playful Constructions and Fragonard's Swinging Scenes," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:4, The Culture of Risk and Pleasure (Summer 2000), 544.

<sup>358</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 181, 179.

<sup>359</sup> Miriam Westen, "The Woman on the Swing and the Sensuous Voyeur: Passion and Voyeurism in French Rococo," in *From Sappho to De Sade: Moments in the History of Sexuality*, ed. Jan Bremmer (London: Routledge, 1989), 76, 77. Also see Jennifer Milam, "Playful Constructions and Fragonard's Swinging Scenes," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:4 (2000), 543-559; Thomas Hess and Linda Nochlin, *Woman as Sex Object. Studies in Erotic Art 1730-1970* (London: Allen Lane, 1973); Rozsica Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (Pandora: London, 1981).

<sup>360</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 188, 190.

power between woman and voyeur likewise positioned the viewer as the ‘artist’s accomplice’ so that the position of the spectator also came under suspicion.<sup>361</sup>

Given the satyr’s notoriety as insatiable sex offender, this implication of guilt becomes disturbingly problematic for the viewer. Presented as ‘sensory trigger points’ for the spectator, images of the female nude body were utilised by artists to appeal to the viewer who was thereby invited to ‘become a version’ of the painted figures scrutinising the unsuspecting woman.<sup>362</sup> Put another way, artists were charged with the task of activating the viewer’s response by encouraging their participation in images presented before them. In her analysis of Fragonard’s *Corseus Sacrificing himself to save Callirrhoe* (Fig. 28), Mary Sheriff argues that the gestures of a woman within the painting reflect her identification with the main figures of the composition.<sup>363</sup> As she mirrors the feelings of others, the viewer beyond the painting’s surface in turn identified with her, and became both witness and actor in the moment represented by the image. As an artistic device, the desired outcome is for the spectator to become ‘projected *into*’ the painting.<sup>364</sup> In reflecting back to the figure facing the image, the creeping satyr becomes a ‘surrogate for the entranced viewer’ beyond the surface of the two dimensional image.<sup>365</sup>

Happily for the voyeuristic viewer, the appearance of the female nude within the confines of visual imagery appeared to offer gratification without consequence.<sup>366</sup> As late as the

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<sup>361</sup> Udo Kultermann, “Woman Asleep and the Artist,” *Artibus et Historiae*, 11:22 (1990), 135,140. Westen also makes the point that the position of the viewer is just as important as the position of figures within the image in “The Woman on the Swing,” 76.

<sup>362</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 94-95.

<sup>363</sup> Mary D. Sheriff, M, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 42.

<sup>364</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism*, 42; Peter Mason makes a similar point in reference to Nicolas Poussin’s painting, *Les Israélites recueillant la Manne dans le desert*, 1639, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Also see Mason’s chapter “Reading New World Bodies” in *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with The Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 156.

<sup>365</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 98.

<sup>366</sup> Catherine Belsey, “The Myth of Venus in Early Modern Culture,” *English Literary Renaissance* 42:2 (Spring 2012), 200.

nineteenth century, connoisseurs continued to describe eighteenth-century images of sensuality and femininity as offering the pleasures of ‘voluptuousness without torment.’<sup>367</sup> This corroborates the observation that reading novels supplied ‘virtual experiences’ through which the reader could learn valuable life lessons without presenting a risk to their own selves.<sup>368</sup> That literary narrative often served as an example and instructed readers on their own conduct has been well documented.<sup>369</sup> As Kavanagh observes, fictional memoirs worked to reflect back onto the readers who in private censured themselves for their own misconduct.<sup>370</sup> Moreover, the various stories elaborated throughout the novel often acted to emphasise the ‘equivalence between narrator and reader.’<sup>371</sup> For good or ill, text and image (separate or together) profoundly impressed upon the early modern mind and body, educating and advancing the soul with higher knowledge gained through experience, or else found to be the direct cause of all manner of malady and moral corruption.<sup>372</sup> In order to understand the danger of sensual words and images as well as their instructional value, the discussion now turns to eighteenth-century art theory and the effects of art on the eye and imagination.

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<sup>367</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 100.

<sup>368</sup> Paul J. Young, *Seducing the Eighteenth-Century French Reader: Reading, Writing and the Question of Pleasure* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 30. See also G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: sex and society in eighteenth-century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

<sup>369</sup> See Robert Darnton, “Philosophical Sex: Pornography in Old Regime France,” in *Enlightenment, Passion, Modernity. Historical Essays in European Thought and Culture*, ed. Mark S. Micale and Robert L. Dietle, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 88-110; Catherine Cusset, *No Tomorrow: The Ethics of Pleasure in the French Enlightenment* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999) and Peter Cryle, *Geometry in the Boudoir. Configurations of French Erotic Narrative* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

<sup>370</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 14.

<sup>371</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 14, 16.

<sup>372</sup> Mary D. Sheriff’s *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-century France* provides an excellent account of the dangerous effects of enthusiasm, the imagination, and reading for women in particular. Her analysis also elaborates on creative enthusiasm for the artists, taking Pygmalion as a particularly apt example. On the dangers of reading, see Philip Stewart’s *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* and William Ray, “Reading Women: Fiction, Culture and Gender in Rousseau,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27:3 (1994): 421-448.



## The Erotics of Vision – Moving the Viewer

Writing in 1708, de Piles stated in *Cours de peinture par principes* (*The Principles of Painting*) that the successful painting must compel the viewer directly towards it. He insisted that the primary aim of painting was to ‘deceive the eye’ in order to successfully imitate nature.<sup>373</sup> Put another way, the artist was charged with the responsibility to *move* the spectator, to elicit an immediate response despite the physical limitations of the canvas. De Piles argued that painting:

...by the force and truth of its imitation, ought, as I have observed, to *call the spectator*, to surprise him and oblige him to approach it, as if he intended to converse with the figures: in effect, when the piece bears the character of *truth*, it seems to have drawn us to it, for no other purpose, than to *entertain* and instruct us.<sup>374</sup>

Sheriff has pointed out that De Piles’s aesthetic theory highlights the primary aim of pleasing the viewer and explores this motivation alongside the discourses of *honnêteté*. She explains that the *honnête homme* aimed to please, to charm and delight those he elected to flatter and seduce.<sup>375</sup> The courtier’s motivation to please was highly suggestive of sensual and erotic pursuit, and his adaptation to a variety of situations was vital in order to triumph without losing control of himself or of the moment.<sup>376</sup> These connections are central to exploring what Sheriff eloquently terms the ‘erotics of brushwork’, and it is the painter’s motivation to please that invites the viewer’s response.<sup>377</sup> For De Piles, a successful painting ‘never fails to surprise us, and to detain us for a while to enjoy the pleasure of our surprise.’<sup>378</sup> Importantly, he rejected the notion that painting was an exclusively intellectual pursuit dominated by the

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<sup>373</sup> Roger De Piles, *The Principles of Painting*. Originally published as *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris: J. Estienne, 1708. Translated by ‘a painter’, London: J. Osborn, 1743, 2.

<https://books.google.com.au/books?id=rtRPAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=de+piles+the+principles+of+painting&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwih4rb926fPAhXEqJQKHQQhDFwQ6AEIGzAA#v=onepage&q=de%20piles%20the%20principles%20of%20painting&f=false> (last accessed 15 August 2015).

<sup>374</sup> De Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, 3-4.

<sup>375</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard. Art and Eroticism*, 127.

<sup>376</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard. Art and Eroticism*, 127-129.

<sup>377</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism*, 127.

<sup>378</sup> De Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, 2.

head and divorced from the physical process. He argued instead that it was the material and physical medium of paint and painting through which the artist gave full force or expression to ideas.<sup>379</sup> The image impresses itself on the body through the immediacy of sight, and as modern scholar Marine Ganofsky relates, ‘seduction is most likely to succeed when attempted through the senses.’<sup>380</sup>

In his influential treatise, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (*Critical Reflections on Poetry and Painting*), the abbé Jean-Baptiste Dubos cited feeling and response as essential tools of instruction, and argued that the merits of a successful work of art was measured in its power to please the viewer, to touch the heart and bend it to ‘one’s will.’<sup>381</sup> Following De Piles, Du Bos’s aesthetics reveals a distinct interest in the shock or surprise of the moment and the immediate effects of sense perception.<sup>382</sup> Du Bos’s *Réflexions* granted the bourgeois public the ability to form its own judgments of art, embracing the primacy of emotion and sensorial response over the imposition of rules and reason as a prerequisite of aesthetic evaluation. He argued that knowledge was gained and further developed through the accumulated experiences of sensation and feeling, and considered this a more legitimate means of aesthetic response and judgement. For Du Bos, reason was secondary to emotion in aesthetic response, because feeling is immediate.<sup>383</sup>

The terminology used by Du Bos to describe the viewer’s attachment to the image implies movement between bodies and objects in line with connections drawn between physical sensation and sentiment. For instance, poetry and painting are each entreated to ‘move’ and to

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<sup>379</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism*, 47.

<sup>380</sup> Ganofsky, “Illustrating Narrative Seduction,” 11

<sup>381</sup> Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture* (*Critical reflections on Poetry and Painting*) 1770 edition, Part I, 4 cited in Luc Ferry, *Homo Aestheticus. The Invention of Taste in the Democratic Age*, trans. Robert de Loiza (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 42.

<sup>382</sup> John C. O’Neal, “Nature’s Culture in Du Bos’s *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*,” in ed. Elise Goodman, *Art and Culture in the Eighteenth Century: New Dimensions and Multiple Perspectives*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 15-27. O’Neal remarks on the materialism inherent in Du Bos’s aesthetics on page 16.

<sup>383</sup> O’Neal, “Nature’s Culture,” 15-17.

‘touch’ the audience.<sup>384</sup> Critically, Du Bos saw the eye as providing a direct entry point to the soul and this determined the degree of agitation or pleasure experienced by the viewer.<sup>385</sup>

Du Bos and De Piles were likely influenced by John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) which presented sensorial experience as critical to the formation of knowledge and ideas. Locke wrote:

Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters without any ideas:- How comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from EXPERIENCE. In that all our knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives itself.<sup>386</sup>

Advocating physical sensation over Cartesian rationalism, Locke’s ideas helped shape the development of aesthetics despite the fact that his own work did not directly address visual art.<sup>387</sup> Extending on Locke’s ideas in his own concern with aesthetics, Du Bos emphasised the potency of the visual image as capable of moving and touching the viewer, employing terms in his writing that likewise echoed current scientific descriptions of physical bodies as ‘matter in motion.’<sup>388</sup> Characterised by the ‘new push-pull mechanics’ advanced by science, the eighteenth-century body was likened to a machine fuelled by innate desires and driven by responses to external stimuli.<sup>389</sup> As Michelle Chilcoat explains, the human body was

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<sup>384</sup> John C. O’Neal, *Changing Minds. The Shifting Perception of Culture in Eighteenth-Century France* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 25-26; O’Neal, “Nature’s Culture,” 15.

<sup>385</sup> O’Neal, “Nature’s Culture,” 20.

<sup>386</sup> John Locke, “Of Ideas in General, and their Original” in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/l/locke/john/181u/B2.html> (last accessed 10 September 2015).

<sup>387</sup> John Locke, “Of the Association of Ideas” from *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) cited in Harrison, Wood and Gaiger, *Art in Theory: 1648-1815*, 365. Locke’s ideas on the primacy of sensation are primarily concerned with human psychology and the formation of ideas associated with direct experience. Note also that Du Bos is not regarded as a radical materialist despite his tendency to utilise terms in his writing that focus on physical causes and responses.

<sup>388</sup> Margaret C. Jacob, “The Materialist World of Pornography,” in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Avery Hunt (Zone Books: New York, 1993)157; O’Neal, “Nature’s Culture,” 15.

<sup>389</sup> Jacob, “The Materialist World,” 165.

perceived as a ‘sensory organ’, receptive and influenced by outside elements that directly resulted in sensation leading to the formulation of thought and ideas.<sup>390</sup>

The immediacy of the visual image produced a direct response from the soul by directing knowledge straight into the body through the physical senses.<sup>391</sup> Philosopher Etienne Bonnot de Condillac confirmed that ‘Our senses are the first faculties we remark: it is through them alone that the impressions of objects reach our mind...we owe all the knowledge that we acquire through the sense of sight.’<sup>392</sup> In an instant, the stimulus of sight activated the inner workings of the viewer, which in turn influenced the body’s arrangement of atoms and facilitated the rapid absorption of ideas. Contemporary literature explained that the mere sight of one’s beloved or scenes of sensuality was enough to inflame the senses.<sup>393</sup> For example, Crébillon fils’ hero in the novel *The Wayward Head and Heart* describes the experience of seeing his beloved’s face as being ‘transported’ in both mind and body, the ‘sight of so charming an object’ inspiring the rushing agitation of all his senses.<sup>394</sup> The body’s response to emotion and sensation triggered by visions of beauty were described as physical movements that recurred throughout the novel, so that the narrator was repeatedly ‘moved by’ sight, ‘agitated’, ‘overcome’, and ‘yielding’ to desire.

That these sensations and their results were triggered by *vision* cannot be overstated. Joseph Addison’s *On the Pleasures of the Imagination* (1712) described sight as that which:

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<sup>390</sup> Michelle Chilcoat, “The Legacy of Enlightenment Brain Sex,” *The Eighteenth Century*, 41:1 (Spring 2000), 4.

<sup>391</sup> O’Neal, “Nature’s Culture,” 20. See also Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment*, 148-163.

<sup>392</sup> Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *The Logic of Condillac*, trans. Joseph Neef (Philadelphia Printed, 1809), 4,13. [http://books.google.com.au/books?id=7YpQAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA7&Source=gbs\\_toc\\_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=7YpQAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA7&Source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false) (last accessed 17 June 2014).

<sup>393</sup> For example, *Thérèse philosophe, ou memoirs pour servir à l’histoire du Père Dirrag et de Madameoiselle Éradice (Therese the Philosopher)*, attributed to Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d’Argens (1748). For more detail on the French novel, see Allison Stedman, *Rococo Fiction in France, 1600-1715. Seditious Frivolity* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013).

<sup>394</sup> Crébillon fils, *The Wayward Head and Heart*, translated by Barbara Bray and with an Introduction by Rayner Heppenstall (New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1963), 42. First published as *Les Égarements du couer et de l’esprit*, 1736 (Part I) and 1738 (Parts II and III).

may be considered as a more delicate and diffusive kind of touch, that spreads itself over an infinite multitude of bodies, comprehends the largest figures, and brings into our reach some of the most remote parts of the universe... We cannot indeed have a single image in the fancy that did not make its first entrance through the sight.<sup>395</sup>

Similarly, Hogarth's art theory defined vision as the result of the eye sending out thread-like rays that extend outward toward the object.<sup>396</sup> Given that these threads remained connected to the eye and therefore to the body, it can be assumed that while the rays moved toward the object in view, they would pull back the other way. Before Addison explained that ideas entered through sight, French physician Jacques Ferrand had insisted that 'the aesthetics of sight are converted into infections of the blood,' leading to 'the burning of the passions and to the confusion of judgement.'<sup>397</sup> In this way, the contortions of desire had the capacity to distort reason and inhibit the body's ability to 'conform to moral order.'<sup>398</sup> These concerns were continually expressed in literature, where characters were often counselled with the idea of love as a 'disorder', a pleasing 'error', which arouses confusion sustained by the 'chimeras of our imagination.' Reason intervenes all too briefly, long enough only to reveal the 'abyss without lasting long enough to save us.'<sup>399</sup>

Part of this problem was in the degree to which the imagination was allowed to reign over sensible judgement. La Mettrie defined the imagination as either 'true or false, strong or weak,' producing phantoms and delirium 'when left too much to its own devices.'<sup>400</sup> The

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<sup>395</sup> Joseph Addison, *Essays On the Pleasures of the Imagination*, Essay I (London: Printed by and for Andrew Wilson Cambden Town, St Pancras, 1813) originally published in *The Spectator*, no.411 Saturday 21 June 1712. <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=QWBNAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=addison+on+the+pleasures+of+the+imagination&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwid2NmmuavMAhVIJaYKHQimAkkQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=addison%20on%20the%20pleasures%20of%20the%20imagination&f=false> (last accessed 15 September 2015).

<sup>396</sup> Johann Endres, "Diderot, Hogarth, and the Aesthetics of Depilation," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2004), 22.

<sup>397</sup> Jacques Ferrand, *Treatise on Lovesickness*, expanded treatise of 1623. Reprinted in 1640. Translated and edited with a Critical Introduction and Notes by Donald A. Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella (Syracuse and New York: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 6.

<sup>398</sup> Ferrand, *Treatise*, 7.

<sup>399</sup> Crébillon *films*, *Wayward Head*, 45.

<sup>400</sup> La Mettrie, *Treatise on the Soul (On the Imagination)*, 69; La Mettrie, *Machine Man*, 17.

‘mechanical effect’ of sight presented the viewer’s gaze as a ‘sexual organ’ vulnerable to manipulation and inseparable from the body, which retained ‘its own logic’ and was known to disregard reason and the boundaries of decorum.<sup>401</sup> In this way, imagination combined with the effects of sight had the potential to impair judgement and individual behaviour. Where imagination does not distort truth or lead to error, it is an asset to language (which is inextricably bound to thought).<sup>402</sup> In his analysis of French literature, Peter Cryle has noted that learning by sexual instruction and experience marked a passage leading to transformation of the individual through their personal acquisition of knowledge.<sup>403</sup> However, epicurean detachment and ‘the intervention of reason’ was essential to preventing passionate turmoil from overrunning the rational mind.<sup>404</sup> Cryle points out that French erotic literature was not intended solely to arouse, but to instruct in the ‘‘new’ natural religion’ sustaining the relationship between novels and ‘the French materialism of the Enlightenment.’<sup>405</sup>

Characters in literature often received their instruction in an environment shaped by erotic images or paintings displayed to arouse desire and determine the activity in the narrative which follows.<sup>406</sup> Indeed, literature from this period is credited with showing how representations of sexuality helped to dismantle psychological and social barriers.<sup>407</sup> The heroine of Mirabeau’s *La Rideau levé, ou l’Education le Laure* describes the effects of the space she finds herself in:

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<sup>401</sup> Cusset, *No Tomorrow*, 113; 149.

<sup>402</sup> O’Neal, *The Authority of Experience*, 34.

<sup>403</sup> Peter Cryle, *Geometry in the Boudoir. Configurations of French Erotic Narrative* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 71.

<sup>404</sup> Rosmarin, “The Unsublimated Libido,” 266.

<sup>405</sup> Peter Cryle, *Eros Revived. Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America* (London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1990), 234.

<sup>406</sup> Cryle, *Geometry in the Boudoir*, 207. See also Dianne Berrett Brown, “The Female ‘Philosophe’ in the Closet: The Cabinet and the Senses in French Erotic Novels, 1740-1800,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9:2 (2009), 96-123.

<sup>407</sup> Walter Rex, *The Attraction of the Contrary. Essays on the Literature of the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 38.

Those paintings, those sculptures, and the wines and liquors that we drank removed and dismissed from our minds any shadow of constraint: a voluptuous fever took hold of our senses; Bacchus and Madness were leading the dance.<sup>408</sup>

Thérèse, who gives her name to the immensely popular novel attributed to the marquis d'Argens (Jean-Baptiste de Boyer), describes the way in which her desire is aroused by degrees following hours of reading gallant texts while viewing the sensual paintings in her lover's collection. She is particularly drawn to the image of Venus's desire in *The Love Affair of Mars and Venus* and *The Feast of Priapus*, and begins to imagine herself in the position of the goddess. Viewing sensual images and perusing libertine literature had the effect of breaking her resolve and she soon surrendered to pleasure, calling on the Count (her lover) to consummate her desire.<sup>409</sup> By way of explaining her response to gallant text and erotic image, Thérèse describes the compulsions of the human machine as a consequence of the 'arrangement of our organs, the disposition of our fibres, a certain movement of our fluids,' all of which inspire passion and determine response.<sup>410</sup>

Thérèse's surrender in the presence of images highlighted De Piles's value of the successful painting defined by grace and the moment of surprise, which enchanted the viewer from the first glance. The viewer 'feels its effect without understanding its true cause,' appealing to the heart 'without passing through the mind.'<sup>411</sup> Though this would appear to undermine the values of reason, De Piles's approach to art insisted on viewing as a 'sensual experience' inspired by pleasure and the surprise of the moment not as an imitation of reality, but as an

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<sup>408</sup> Mirabeau (attributed to), *Le Rideau Levé, ou l'Education le Laure*, in *Œuvres erotiques*, also attributed to Sentilly, 1786 cited in Cryle, *Geometry in the Boudoir*, 208.

<sup>409</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 120-121.

<sup>410</sup> Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *Therese philosophe, ou memoires pour servir a l'histoire de D.Dirroag et de Madameoiselle Euradice*, (1748) cited in Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (London: Fontana Press, 1997), 100.

<sup>411</sup> Roger de Piles, "Dissertation sur les parties essentielles de la peinture," republished in *Revue Universelle des Arts*, 18 (1863):188-211, in Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment*, 144.

acknowledged ‘illusion and deception.’<sup>412</sup> That is, the artist willingly deceived and the viewer was willingly seduced by the image. Pleasurable experiences stimulated the senses, and physical sensation was transmitted throughout the body to become particles of ideas or information to be ‘stored and combined in the brain.’<sup>413</sup>

The reader seeks to advance their own education through the private act of reading and participating in the sequence of events and images presented in their telling. The pleasures of viewing images sometimes led to delusion inspired by desire, and some accounts of these experiences revealed that the power of sight could lead to confusion. For example, some spectators found it difficult to distinguish between artificial bodies and fleshy surfaces only to find themselves inexplicably enchanted by an inanimate object or image.<sup>414</sup> It has also been pointed out that, despite lacking the immediacy of the visual image, erotic literature was believed to wield such power over the reader that he or she could be compelled to act on impulses aroused by the text, ‘even to the point of madness.’<sup>415</sup> Considering the erotic narrative as a type of ‘slyly’ constructed painting, Jean Marie Goulemot proposes that the voyeur as reader or witness within the text was thereby invited to participate in what unfolded before them. In short, the voyeur provided the vehicle through which the reader/spectator’s ‘own desire is written into the text’ (or image).<sup>416</sup> Before we consider the potential effects viewing the sleeping nude had on the spectator as both witness and accomplice to the satyr, it

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<sup>412</sup> Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment*, 145.

<sup>413</sup> Robert Darnton, “Philosophical Sex,” 95.

<sup>414</sup> See George L. Hersey, *Falling in Love With Statues. Artificial Humans from Pygmalion to the Present* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Also see Charlotte Anne Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, vol.1, 169, cited in Chloe Chard, “Nakedness and Tourism: Classical Sculpture and the Imaginative Geography of the Grand Tour,” *Oxford Art Journal*, 18:1 (1995), 25, for an example of excited responses to the *Apollo Belvedere*. One woman at least had appeared to have ‘lost at once her heart and her reason’ on viewing the statue. Anne Betty Weinschenker’s *A God or a Bench. Sculpture as a Problematic Art During the Ancien Regime* (Oxford: Peter Lang AG, 2008), provides a fascinating account of these issues and problems related particularly to garden sculptures.

<sup>415</sup> Jean-Marie Goulemot, *Forbidden Texts: Erotic Literature and its Readers in Eighteenth-Century France*, trans. James Simpson (Cambridge: Polity Press, Cambridge, 1994), 40.

<sup>416</sup> Goulemot, *Forbidden Texts*, 49.



is necessary to address the way in which the body itself was presented, and what was revealed in its unveiling.

### **Unveiling the Nude**

It has already been acknowledged that the nude as an aesthetic body is ‘stripped of context’ for the pleasure of the viewer and artist who each enjoy a ‘sense of control and even possession’ of the represented body.<sup>417</sup> According to Rebecca E. May, images of sexually passive, sleeping women are presented as ‘dubiously exquisite corpses’ and incite a feeling of dominance and privilege within the spectator.<sup>418</sup> Painted between 1718 and 1720, Sebastiano Ricci’s *Venus and Satyr* (Fig. 29) draws the viewer close into the picture plane as the lustrous form of Venus and the infant Cupid curled in sleep are pushed outward toward the spectator beyond the painted surface.<sup>419</sup> Averting her face, the goddess appears so close to the viewer that the space between the contours of her body and the canvas surface are maintained solely by her bent knee extended forward. Oblivious to the viewer, the crouching satyr approaches from behind, his hand tantalisingly close to touching flesh.

In this instance, the image of sleep collapses the distance between viewer and subject. The reduction in space appears to grant the viewer the ‘freedom to violate the “bubble” of protective space’, which usually surrounds the observed individual.<sup>420</sup> The position of the viewer (presumed to be male) in a variety of roles ranging from artist to anatomist is

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<sup>417</sup> Ellen Adams, “Defining and displaying the human body: collectors and Classics during the British Enlightenment,” *Hermathena* 187 (Winter 2009), 77.

<sup>418</sup> Caroline Weber, “Dreams of Stone: Femininity in the Eighteenth Century Sculptural Imagination,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, 33 (2004), 126; Rebecca E. May, “Morbid Parts: Gender, Seduction and the Necro-Gaze,” in ed. Julie Peakman, *Sexual Perversions, 1670-1890* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 170.

<sup>419</sup> Another version of this theme painted by Ricci recalls Poussin’s early erotic works depicting sleeping (and perhaps masturbating) nymphs and satyrs. Two satyrs hold heavy drapery away from the sleeping female nude as putto and other cavorting figures look on. This painting sold by Sotheby’s in 1987 can be found on the Warburg Institute Iconographic Database, [http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC\\_search/record.php?record=17037](http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/record.php?record=17037) (accessed 26 February 2013).

<sup>420</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 175.

described as one of privilege and power over the passive female body and reflected an impulse ‘to own, to know, to possess, to consume and to represent.’<sup>421</sup> The female subject of science or nude asleep in works of art were each ‘styled accordingly’ as objects that provoked curiosity and the urge to unveil. Sexual metaphors were frequently utilised to describe ‘nature as a woman to be unveiled, unclothed and penetrated by masculine science.’<sup>422</sup> Returning to the satyr’s discovery of the nude, the *actual* unveiling of the natural body highlighted the moment of discovery and curiosity, entreating the spectator to participate in the quest for knowledge and appealing not only to his imagination, but to his eyes. Cusset has observed that as an ‘organ of knowledge’, the eye also represents the rational in Western thought. In this tradition, the object of knowledge is weighed and evaluated by masculine vision and analysis, so that the object to be examined is ‘repeatedly personified as female: Truth as goddess, as sphinx, or as Woman herself.’<sup>423</sup>

The pursuit of knowledge or truth was elaborated through idealised images of the female nude body. However, the goal of personal refinement through contemplation of the female nude was not without its obstacles. De Piles’s *Cours de peinture par principes* presented the nude as a subject fit for representation so long as the manner and context within which it appeared did not cause offence to modesty and truth. De Piles conceded that the nude was a subject through which ambitious artists could ‘gain esteem and distinction’ as the mastery of the human form provided the requisite proof of artistic dexterity.<sup>424</sup> However, the critic also pointed out that it was vital to maintain the ‘bounds of the truth of history, or versimilitude

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<sup>421</sup> May, “Morbid Parts,” 170.

<sup>422</sup> May, “Morbid Parts,” 170. May cites Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 1989, 24.

<sup>423</sup> Cusset, *No Tomorrow*, 91-92.

<sup>424</sup> Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting: With the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the most eminent painters: containing a complete treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints. With reflexions on the works of the most celebrated masters, and of the several schools of Europe, as well ancient and modern, being the most perfect work of the kind extant. Translated from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, An Essay towards an English School* (London: T. Payne, 1754), 41. Third edition ‘to which is now inserted the life of Sir Godfrey Kneller by the late B. Buckeridge, Esq. who wrote the greatest part of the English School. <http://archive.org/details/artofpaintingwit00pile> (accessed 7 August 2013).

and modesty' in compositions that included nudity.<sup>425</sup> Painters were criticised as having abused their 'license' where images of nudity or undress were not considered appropriate or represented with historical accuracy.<sup>426</sup>

Addressing the artist as viewer, history painter Michel François Dandré-Bardon similarly cautioned against unseemly subject matter:

Fortunate then the Artists who will be careful to avoid the snares hidden in this field of flowers, and who in the course of their studies and the conduct of all their works will never lose sight of the mirror of decency, the torch of virtue, and the rule of good morals!<sup>427</sup>

Dandré-Bardon also acknowledged the risk presented to artists in the very work of perfecting their studies, and urged restraint and self-discipline in avoiding the dangers of lust inspired by the feminine body. While depictions of the female nude within mythological settings were sanctioned by the Academy, institutional policy favoured the use of male models in line with concerns around the 'impressionability of adolescent male students' and 'appearance(s) of impropriety.'<sup>428</sup> Ironically, studies of the female nude were often relegated to the conditions of the private studio, and models were frequently and notoriously the wives and mistresses of artists.<sup>429</sup>

The critical difference between the female nude as sensuous spectacle and figure of Truth (or Knowledge) is signalled by the act of unveiling or uncovering the sleeping body. The idea of unveiling ignorance and superstition persisted throughout the century and was elaborated in

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<sup>425</sup> Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting*, 41.

<sup>426</sup> Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting*, 42. For example, De Piles is critical of religious figures being depicted without shoes.

<sup>427</sup> Michel-François Dandré-Bardon, *Traité de peinture, suivi d'un essai sur la sculpture...*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desaint, 1765), 1:56, cited in Candace Clements, "The Academy and the Other," 487.

<sup>428</sup> Clements, "The Academy and the Other," 472-474.

<sup>429</sup> Clements, "The Academy and the Other," 476.

Cochin's frontispiece to Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*. This later example was first drawn in red chalk in 1764 and later engraved by Benoît-Louis Prevost in 1772 (Fig. 30).

Illustrating the hierarchical relationships between the arts and sciences, the explication accompanying the engraving describes the composition and arrangement of figures:

Beneath an Ionic Temple, the Sanctuary of Truth, one sees Truth enveloped in a veil, and radiating a light which parts the clouds and disperses them. To the right, Reason and Philosophy are busy, one in raising the veil from Truth, the other in tearing it away.<sup>430</sup>

In her analysis of Cochin's frontispiece, Sheriff has illustrated that here, the pursuit of knowledge was 'staged as a struggle' over the female body of Truth, a body which Reason tries to unveil while Imagination presents garlands with which to embellish her.<sup>431</sup>

Importantly, Truth beneath her transparent veils in the centre of Cochin's frontispiece incited the desire to see and to *know*.<sup>432</sup>

Unveiling the body in the quest for knowledge responds to the concept of the physical body as an outer garment of the interior soul. This idea was central to the ancient practice of destroying or removing clothing during initiation rites to signify change or transformation.<sup>433</sup>

Cochin's image of Truth was informed by the long tradition of the metaphoric unveiling of hidden knowledge traditionally signalled by the removal of drapery. In this context, nudity signified the soul as stripped of material or earthly concerns and functioned as a visual representation of the ideal, harmonious body released from the oppressions of physical desire.

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<sup>430</sup> Denis Diderot, "Explication du Frontispiece de l'Encyclopédie," translated in *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project* hosted by the University of Michigan Library <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/d/did/frontispiece.html> (last accessed 20 February 2015).

<sup>431</sup> Mary D. Sheriff, "The Naked Truth? The Allegorical Frontispiece and Woman's Ambition in Eighteenth-Century France" in *Early Modern Visual Allegory: Embodying Meaning*, eds. Cristelle Baskins and Lisa Rosenthal (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 248.

<sup>432</sup> Sheriff, "The Naked truth?," 252.

<sup>433</sup> McNally, "Ariadne and Others," 185.

That is, unveiling the nude signalled transcendence of the earthly body toward the higher realms of knowledge and universal truth.

During the Renaissance, transcendence and higher wisdom was also evoked in images of sleep. Although sleep was often considered a passive, inert condition associated with sloth or unconsciousness, it was also understood as a state of *altered* consciousness, which opened the soul to deep thought and communication with the divine.<sup>434</sup> The state of slumber continued to evoke notions of growth during the eighteenth century and was described in positive terms by writers including Friedrich Melchior Grimm:

Sleep, which appears to be a purely passive state, a kind of death, is thus on the contrary the first state of the living animal and the foundation of life. It is not a deprivation, an annihilation, it is a mode of being, a mode of existing just as real and as general as any other. It is with sleep that our existence begins.<sup>435</sup>

The artist's ability to depict sleep as a 'lived condition or mode of being' was imperative during this period.<sup>436</sup> Perhaps ironically, the satyr's gesture of removing the veil of unconsciousness, so to speak, carried a particular significance in relation to the century's preoccupation with transparency and awakening as initiating progress or change. Surprisingly, it is the lustful satyr in the very moment of his hesitation who invites the viewer toward revelation and knowledge. Unveiling the nude, however, was but the first step. Once the veil or curtain was drawn aside, the viewer was compelled to inspect the female body itself, to take a closer look.

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<sup>434</sup> McNally, "Ariadne and Others," 153.

<sup>435</sup> Frederic Melchior Grimm, *Correspondence litt*, 1 October 1753, II, 288. Cited in Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, footnote 58, 190. Here Grimm is discussing ideas articulated in the Comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, and Buffon's *Discours sur la nature des animaux* in particular. Fried also notes that a selection of Diderot's writings and Fragonard's paintings taking dreaming as their subjects confirms an interest in sleep during the century.

<sup>436</sup> Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 31.

## The Aesthetics of Depilation

As personifications of nature, fertility, and sensual pleasure, the appearance of Venus and her earthly sisters within visual images of natural settings (and as garden statues) confirmed the value of physical love, justifying sexuality and gratification of the senses as natural, and therefore, good.<sup>437</sup> Ellen Adams has confirmed this point with reference to the classical body, explaining that there was a direct link between ‘sensible beauty and moral goodness’, so that images of idealised physical beauty were inextricably linked to the beauty of virtue.<sup>438</sup> The high value placed on whiteness was central to idealised standards of beauty as the shade of purity and innocence. Pierre Ulrich Dubuisson’s *Tableau de la volupté, ou les quatre parties du jour* includes a passage describing the qualities of a woman who fulfilled the standard criteria of idealised beauty, observing the aesthetic effect that occurred when the palest of flowers was scattered across her breast, comparing ‘to her advantage the innocent color of the lily: it is but the image of a breast that far surpasses it in whiteness.’<sup>439</sup> The lady was praised not only for her fairness, but for the goodness of her character as evidenced by her physical obedience to conventions of beauty.<sup>440</sup> The juxtaposition of the luminous, smoothly classicised feminine body against the darker skin and coarse hair of the satyr marked these bodies as opposites. The physical characteristics marking the satyr as a type of ‘Lascivious man’ are explored further shortly.

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<sup>437</sup> Wendy Frith, “Sex, Gender and Politics: The Venus de Medici in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden,” in *Sculpture and the Garden*, eds. Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell (Aldershot and Burlington, Ashgate, 2006), 72.

<sup>438</sup> Adams, “Defining and displaying the human body,” 78.

<sup>439</sup> Pierre Ulric Dubuisson, *Tableau de la volupté, ou les quatre parties du jour, Cythère: au Temple du Plaisir*, 46-48, 1771. Translated in Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 186-187.

<sup>440</sup> Edmund Burke’s *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) proposed that beauty inspires love, as distinct from the experience of pain and danger or terror associated with the sublime. On the other hand, Kant’s philosophy argues that detached pleasure is sourced in the beautiful, while the power of nature and overwhelming passion is more properly associated with the sublime. See *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime* (1764). I am indebted to Ellen Adams, “Defining and Displaying the Human Body: Collectors and Classics During the Enlightenment,” *Hermathena* 187 (2009), 78 (footnote 82) for this reminder.

Returning to the hairless body of Venus, it is important to note that hair impeded the curious gaze. Describing clothing and hair as ‘veils’ covering the body, the presence of body hair threatened to ruin the idealised surfaces of the human (feminine) body, rupturing the ‘beautiful line’ traced by the eye of the connoisseur.<sup>441</sup> While Diderot described pubic hair as a ‘blemish’ on sculptural representations of women, eighteenth-century commentators praised the ancients in their rejection of veils and their freedom from the bondage of modern dress and custom.<sup>442</sup> Indeed, Diderot famously remarked that dressing the Medici Venus in modern garments and bright baubles would have been obscene.<sup>443</sup> While modern dress was taken as a sign of cultural degradation and decline from an idealised past, concealing the body was likened to obscuring the truths and secrets of nature as much as it was considered a disfigurement of the ‘natural’ body.<sup>444</sup>

Within the bounds of artistic protocol, critics and viewers required the female nude to be utterly devoid of body hair, and the pubic area in particular ‘smoothed over’ and ‘neutralized.’<sup>445</sup> The neutralised of the pubic area was facilitated by the ‘non-presence’ of hair which, according to Johannes Endres, denied the presence of the womb and therefore ‘masculinises’ the female genitals so that male and female became equivalents.<sup>446</sup> Equivalency undoubtedly provided a safeguard for the viewer, who was cautioned against the destabilising effects of pleasurable viewing that exceeded the limits of detached evaluation.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> Johann Endres and Joel David Golb, “Diderot, Hogarth and the Aesthetics of Depilation,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), 22. Endres also draws on the ‘linear projection’ of Hogarth throughout the article.

<sup>442</sup> Denis Diderot, *Salons* in ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar, 4 vols, vol.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 210, in Endres, “Diderot, Hogarth and the Aesthetics,” 20.

<sup>443</sup> Frith, “Sex, Gender and Politics,” 79. Diderot declared that with garters and stockings, the statue would have made a spectacle of herself.

<sup>444</sup> Endres and Golb, “Diderot, Hogarth and the Aesthetics,” 23-24.

<sup>445</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 306-308.

<sup>446</sup> Endres and Golb, “Diderot, Hogarth, and the Aesthetics,” 19, 27.

<sup>447</sup> Chloe Chard, “Nakedness and Tourism,” 22-23. Chard explores this idea in the context of tourism and foreign experiences. See also John Barrell, ““The Dangerous Goddess”: Masculinity, Prestige, and the Aesthetic in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain,” *Cultural Critique* 12, Discursive Strategies and the Economy of Prestige (Spring, 1989), 101-131. Barrell explains how viewing Venus poses a threat to civic virtue. Barrell’s *The Birth of Pandora and Other Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1991) also distinguishes private viewing and response against detached aesthetic observation in public spaces.

Angela Rosenthal adds that the suppression of feminine hair ensured easy, visible access to the shapes and contours of the body, decorously presented as a suitable object for aesthetic examination.<sup>448</sup> The classical body ‘undisrupted’ by any ‘indecorous eruption of the inner body’ maintained modesty and afforded the viewer minute examinations of the Medici Venus, for example.<sup>449</sup> As a ‘passive, passionless and sanitized’ body that conformed to notions of ‘natural’ and idealised beauty, the celebrated Medici statue promoted and endorsed the prescribed boundaries of masculine desire and sexuality.<sup>450</sup> Idealised, sleeping female nudes represented in a two dimensional format possessed the same physical characteristics and performed the same function.

### **The trouble with Venus**

Erotic literature and sensual images were produced and consumed on the premise that sexual experience and bodily sensation opened the doors to knowledge for the inquiring mind. As works created to inform and inspire, the image of the reclining nude and the sleeping woman ‘predisposed to be seduced’ provided a means by which masculine viewers could test their resolve.<sup>451</sup> That is, the spectator before the image, corresponded to the curious satyr, poised on the cusp of action and restraint. Reaching toward the body before him, the satyr/viewer was challenged by the moment and ‘the uncertain implications of choosing to yield or to refuse.’<sup>452</sup> However, as James Turner has aptly stated, ‘Consciousness distinguishes the high voluptuary from the animalistic sex-fiend or lusty peasant.’<sup>453</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> Angela Rosenthal, “Raising Hair,” 8.

<sup>449</sup> Chard, “Nakedness and Tourism,” 18.

<sup>450</sup> Firth, “Sex, Gender and Politics,” 71-84.

<sup>451</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 188.

<sup>452</sup> Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment*, 211.

<sup>453</sup> James Grantham Turner, “Sexual awakening as radical enlightenment: arousal and ontogeny in Buffon and La Mettrie,” in *Sex Education in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Shane Agin (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011), 243.



Yielding to love or rather, to desire carried the threat of being dominated or overwhelmed in the presence of feminine beauty. The danger of passion could be thwarted, however, by the intervening power of a narrative context and/or by offsetting the threat carried within the image by redirecting it to someone else. This has been elegantly summarised by Barrell:

...though Venus has always the potential to conquer and effeminate and to reduce the free and manly citizen to the sensual condition of the vulgar, hers is a power that she cannot exercise so long as she can be trapped in some network of narrative and so long as that narrative produces a third party, someone other than the spectator himself, who is faced with the choice of conquering or being conquered.<sup>454</sup>

The notion that there were two kinds of Venuses, or two kinds of love, was an idea proposed by Plato and adopted by Florentine humanists of the Renaissance. While the sacred or celestial Venus was associated with love inspired by the divine, earthly or carnal love was represented by the Common Venus of beauty and sexuality.<sup>455</sup> Similarly, eighteenth-century understandings of desire have been described as one of two distinct types. Desire associated with freedom or liberty was located within *l'esprit*, which 'allows for a distance from and domination of the desired object perceived by the senses.'<sup>456</sup> On the other hand, desire dominated by *le cœur* or the heart lead to submission and enslavement. As an illusory product of the imagination, desire for that which never existed in reality presented a risk to personal freedom and sanity.<sup>457</sup>

The dangers of love and beauty were expressed in the form of a woman. As a figure of desire, the body of Venus or a nymph were utilised as a site through which masculinity was tested and affirmed. Indulging the pleasures of viewing her image also provided a platform for masculine sociability through shared consumption. As is well known, masculinity was asserted and confirmed through sexual behaviour that conformed to 'normative' expectations

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<sup>454</sup> Barrell, "The Dangerous Goddess," 122.

<sup>455</sup> Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 319.

<sup>456</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 91.

<sup>457</sup> Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, 91-92.

of gender. While sex helped to erase distinctions of class, age, profession and marital status, for example, those who failed to demonstrate self-control and an appropriate level of decorum were seen as vulnerable and effeminate.<sup>458</sup> While self-control was paramount, celibacy was not considered a natural condition in which to live because it ‘denies the social nature of man’ in its refusal to contribute to both society and secured the long term survival of humanity.<sup>459</sup> For *philosophes* including Diderot, celibacy or abstinence from procreative sex encouraged ‘physical and social decadence’ so that individuals were more likely to engage in practices that contradicted or opposed the best interests of society.<sup>460</sup>

For critics, such as the Earl of Shaftesbury, a demonstrated resistance to the instincts and drives of desire positioned the viewer as a virtuous citizen triumphant over his own sexuality.<sup>461</sup> The temptation presented by feminine sensuality could be overcome by ‘manly abstinence’ and unwavering morality.<sup>462</sup> Shaftesbury insisted that representations of feminine forms could be used as a means through which to instruct in the ways of manly resistance and public virtue. The virtuous citizen was instructed to admire and resist the image of Venus and mortal, human equivalents of her form as a means to acquire sophistication and the prestige of cultured learning, without becoming effeminate or soft.<sup>463</sup> Tests of masculine resolve frequently appeared in the world of myth as well: ‘if the hero’s encounter with the feminine is

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<sup>458</sup> Skipp, “Masculinity and Social Stratification,” 255.

<sup>459</sup> Shane Agin, “Sex Education in the Enlightened Nation,” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 37 (2008), 69.

<sup>460</sup> Agin, “Sex Education,” 69-70.

<sup>461</sup> Agin, “Sex Education,” 69. Agin also points out that Diderot re-wrote Shaftesbury’s *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue, or Merit* in 1745.

<sup>462</sup> Barrell, “The Dangerous Goddess,” 104.

<sup>463</sup> Barrell, “The Dangerous Goddess,” 120. Lisa Rosenthal also examines the way in which the sensual image of Venus was used to support the pursuit of knowledge at the same time as referencing pleasure in “Venus’s Milk and the Temptations of Otto Van Veen’s Allegory of Temptation,” in Baskins and Rosenthal, *Early Modern Visual Allegory*, 219-242.

the ultimate danger, the escape from her is the ultimate test of his performative excellence and proves his “risk-taking manliness.”<sup>464</sup>

French physician Jacques Ferrand reminded his readers that Plutarch described the lover as he who ‘*melts* away as he looks upon and contemplates the beauty of his lady, as though he would fuse himself with her.’<sup>465</sup> More than melting, Ferrand’s words evoke a literal loss of self. Two prints produced after Antoine Coypel’s painting bear inscriptions that echo Ferrand’s concerns.<sup>466</sup> The first, engraved by George Vertue in 1711 (Fig. 31), presents Venus with her head thrown back in sleep, arm raised above her head and feet crossed in the Ariadne pose. She is surrounded by an entourage of mischievous cupids, one of whom raises his finger to his lips to enlist the viewer’s silence. Another prepares to pierce her with his arrow, and yet another draws aside drapery revealing her body to the advantage of the satyr and viewer. The lower half of her torso is modestly protected by a layer of light fabric, providing a direct contrast against the darker, heavier drapes pushed aside by the hulking satyr in the shadow. In contrast to Sebastiano Ricci’s painting and Poussin’s early erotic compositions of the seventeenth century, the viewer is directly acknowledged by the silencing cupid and stands opposite the satyr. Describing the lady whose charms rival even those of the goddess:

The melting Goddess had not half your charms  
Less from her snowy breaste, her skin less white  
Her lovely limbs less tempting to delight

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<sup>464</sup> Monica Silveira Cyrino, “Heroes in D(u)ress: Transvestism and Power in the Myths of Herakles and Achilles,” *Arethusa* 31 (1998), 214. Cyrino also notes that these examples could be likewise applied to Odysseus who is detained from his journey by Kalypso’s ‘all-encompassing female sexuality.’ See footnote 37 on page 214 of her article. The sensuous depiction of nudes also has a precedent in the religious context of the Italian Renaissance. See for example, Bernard Aikema, “Titian’s Mary Magdalen in the Palazzo Pitti: An Ambiguous Painting and Its Critics,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994), 48-59.

<sup>465</sup> Plutarch, *Table Talk* Book III of the *Moralia*, question 7, cited in Ferrand, *Treatise on Lovesickness*, 233. My italics.

<sup>466</sup> I have as yet been unable to locate Coypel’s original painting, which may be lost. At any rate, prints were often produced after paintings in order to reproduce and disseminate their image to a wider audience. Of course, prints were also much more affordable than original paintings.

'Twere Madness to expect to keep one's Heart  
When CUPIDS Lie intrench'd in every part.<sup>467</sup>

References to the 'snowy breaste' of the mortal woman in comparison to the 'less white' skin of the goddess highlights fairness of skin as an aesthetic and moral ideal of beauty as previously discussed. She is described as the 'melting goddess' in the text and according to the author, Venus's mortal rival threatens to snatch up reasonable hearts with her charms. A later mezzotint made by Van Werdlen after Coypel further underscores the irresistible lure of the 'melting Goddess' described in Vertue's print. Van Werdlen's mezzotint (Fig. 32) reads:

What Mortal can behold so sweet a sight  
And not conceive Emotions of Delight  
Such limbs were formed to captivate Mankind  
And make the coldest Hermit change his Mind.<sup>468</sup>

The verses that accompany these prints enjoined the viewer not only to empathise with the satyr, but to allow himself to be swept up in the scene and revel in the anticipatory moment between desire and consummation. However, as evidenced in the accompanying verse, the repeated notion of melting or becoming soft under woman's influence again reveals a concern for the potential of ignited desire to undermine manly virtues of self-discipline and reasoned control. This corresponded to the supposition and expectation that women were at once vulnerable and assailable, while also perceived as innately lascivious and indulgent.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>467</sup> Text below engraved image by George Vertue after Antoine Coypel  
[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3235637&partId=1&searchText=1850%2c0223.744&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3235637&partId=1&searchText=1850%2c0223.744&page=1) (accessed 23 February 2013).

<sup>468</sup> Text below Van Werdlen's print after Antoine Coypel  
[www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_objectId=3334562&partId=1&museumno=2010,7081.451&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_objectId=3334562&partId=1&museumno=2010,7081.451&page=1) (accessed 23 February 2013).

<sup>469</sup> There have been a number of studies on the figure of Venus, her influence and her representation in visual art. See for example, Caroline Arscott & Katie Scott, eds. *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000). See Melissa Hyde, *Making Up The Rococo. François Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006) for Venus as the patron and embodiment of the arts, as well as her appearance in numerous paintings of the period.

Alongside descriptions of two kinds of Venuses, love and desire carried sinister connotations. Ferrand was deeply concerned with carnal love characterised as an ‘obsessive and degrading passion’ or a fixation implanting itself on the imagination to produce the symptoms of physical and mental illness.<sup>470</sup> In short, love was the result of ‘the mechanisms of perverted reason and the mechanisms of the body whereby the corruption is spread through the physical organism.’<sup>471</sup> Crucially, Ferrand emphasised the fact that vision determined and directed behaviour as a result of the impact that the vision of ‘love’ or beauty had on entering the physical body through the eyes. He explained that ‘the aesthetics of sight are converted into infections of the blood.’<sup>472</sup> Citing the poet Museaus, Ferrand remarked:

The lady of incontestably perfect beauty...wounds the heart through the eye more quickly than the feathered arrow, and from the eye love darts and glides into the vital organs where it generates malign ulcers and venomous bile.<sup>473</sup>

He likewise revived the words of Plato who defined carnal love as a ‘suffocation or strangulation’ and the Aeolians who described it as a ‘thief’ because ‘it ravishes and steals the heart away’, along with freedom and judgement.<sup>474</sup> Love and desire were described in terms of disease and loss, and were therefore gravely detrimental to both physical and mental health. The symptoms of this were visible and could be observed in the physical and behavioural characteristics of the mythological satyr.

### **The Lascivious Man**

During the early modern period, the body stood as a ‘prime signifier of cultural difference’ and physical anomalies or deviations from the European ideal provided evidence of disorder

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<sup>470</sup> Donald A. Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella, “Introduction” in Ferrand, *A Treatise on Lovesickness*, 3.

<sup>471</sup> Beecher and Ciavolella, “Introduction,” 5.

<sup>472</sup> Ferrand, *A Treatise on Lovesickness*, 233.

<sup>473</sup> Ferrand, *A Treatise on Lovesickness*, 233.

<sup>474</sup> Ferrand, *A Treatise on Lovesickness*, 234.

and the uncomfortable inversion of social and cultural norms.<sup>475</sup> As Naomi Baker has explained, the ugly or deformed body was a site where ‘multiple cultural tensions are negotiated and where potential models of identity are interrogated and confirmed.’<sup>476</sup> From the classical period onward, the ugly or repellent reflected inherent vice or degradation of the soul. An exception to this, however, was the Socratic or Silenus figure whose outward ugliness masked the inner wisdom of their true natures. Aside from metaphorical references to Socrates, the unattractive body revealed ‘emergent models of the self’ so that the rational self in the shape of beauty (or at the very least, normality) stood in opposition to the disordered body composed of an abnormal arrangement of parts.<sup>477</sup>

The George Sandys edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* recorded that Jupiter ‘dishonours’ Antiope ‘in the shape of a Satyre: a forme well suiting with his lust, expressed both in his nature and in his name.’<sup>478</sup> While Antiope is dishonoured by her compromised chastity, the divine king of Olympus in this source assumed the form of the satyr considered more in keeping with his lack of restraint and ignoble behaviour. In contrast to the sensuous bodies of Beauty and the sleeping nude, the satyr’s body is a dark composite of man and beast providing an uneasy reminder of man’s proximity to animals, wilderness, and an ‘uncivilised’ past. While the proximity of species ‘does not account for the more radical possibility of *becoming* another’, masculinity is described as a state that never comes to rest in being, subject to change and oscillating between reasoned states of humanity and degraded sub-

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<sup>475</sup> Kim H. Hall, *Things of Darkness. Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 27.

<sup>476</sup> Naomi Baker, *Plain Ugly: The Unattractive Body in Early Modern Culture* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 3, 7. Baker points out that the Renaissance period marks a time when the unattractive body becomes more problematic or difficult to read in terms of morality. Long understood as an outward marker of sin, perversion or deviance, physical ugliness in male figures throughout literature and drama had begun to acquire ‘a misleading veneer’ masking the inner truth of figures whose outer appearance contradicts the nobility and wisdom of their inner selves. This is typical of the Silenus or Socratic figure.

<sup>477</sup> Baker, *Plain Ugly*, 10-11, 17.

<sup>478</sup> Karl K. Hulley, and Stanley T. Vandersall, eds. *George Sandys Ovid’s Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologized and Represented in Figures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 209.

humanity.<sup>479</sup> In this way, ideal or normative masculinity could be compromised by a range of factors affecting behaviour, and with sexual transgressions or perversions often to blame for indecorous or criminal conduct.

From antiquity onward, the satyr's lewdness was marked on his hybrid body through representations of his 'barbarous and misshapen' genitals in contrast to the 'discreet genitals' described as the aesthetic ideal in line with normative masculinity.<sup>480</sup> Appearing in antiquity with the lower half of a donkey's body, the bestial aspect of the satyr is highlighted by the 'almost permanent state of erection' prompting ridicule and contempt rather than highlighting assumed masculine potency.<sup>481</sup> Hyper-sexuality was not considered a marker of male potency or power, rather it was a disorder of excess, which carried the risk of enfeebling exhaustion and debilitation.<sup>482</sup> The satyr's lust was never satisfied and as 'voyeur(s) and violator(s),' his relentless urges were typically reduced to solitary practices.<sup>483</sup> As a hybrid mix of man and beast, the satyr 'oscillates between the animal and the human, the barbarian and the civilized.'<sup>484</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau would later argue that the 'savage' man was related closer to animals than 'civilised' humans, explaining that 'perception and sensation' required consolidation in complex thought or reflection.<sup>485</sup> That is, the savage man only ever experiences or relates to the present, so that the outcomes or consequences of actions and experience fail to impress on his consciousness as separate events that connect together over time to produce a narrative sequence of his existence.<sup>486</sup> Rousseau's savage man and the

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<sup>479</sup> Yang, "Gross Metempsychosis," 14. Also recall the assertion that masculinity is a 'contested state' in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, eds. Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

<sup>480</sup> François Lissarangue, "The Sexual Life of Satyrs," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, eds. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler and Froma Zeitlin, (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 56.

<sup>481</sup> Lissarangue, "The Sexual Life of Satyrs," 55.

<sup>482</sup> Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes*, 67.

<sup>483</sup> François Lissarangue, "On the Wildness of Satyrs," in *Masks of Dionysus*, eds. Thomas H. Carpenter and Christopher A. Faraone (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 214.

<sup>484</sup> Lissarangue, "On the Wildness of Satyrs," 212.

<sup>485</sup> Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment*, 86.

<sup>486</sup> Kavanagh, *Aesthetics of the Moment*, 86.

Wildman of medieval folklore paralleled the mythic figure of the satyr, not as prehuman, but as inferior in line with their subordinate status as followers of Bacchus (Dionysus).<sup>487</sup> Their disordered bodies and troubling behaviour signalled immaturity or lack of development, and provided an index against which definitions of humanity, culture, and masculinity were explored and measured.

Despite the fact that the perceived erotic freedom of those living outside urban culture was often 'enviable' to others, the rewards of pleasure carried a double bind.<sup>488</sup> As Milam has noted, the pursuit of pleasure engaged both mind and body, while *volupté* was characterised by licentious immoderation and lack of control.<sup>489</sup> Writers throughout the ages have emphasised the hybrid nature of Pan as a figure characterised by the fusion of 'higher' human qualities with the lower physical features of the beast. Combining the human head and heart with the goat's bestial hind, the duality of Pan mirrored the duality of humanity. His presence in myth was not unlike the 'wildman' described in antiquity and Northern Renaissance, which had troubled the European imagination since at least the Middle Ages.<sup>490</sup> The wild man and woman of medieval lore displayed the physical traits of Europeans and were distinguished by excessive hairiness that almost covered the entire body.<sup>491</sup> According to Francisco Vaz Da Silva, the 'sexual value of hair' (and horns) signified an abundance of vitality and sexual rigour associated with goats.<sup>492</sup> In Roman and Greek culture, the billy goat possessed a 'remarkable vitality and virility' and the sexual potency of the male was signified

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<sup>487</sup> Lissarangué, "On the Wildness of Satyrs," 220 ; 214.

<sup>488</sup> Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea," in *The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, eds. Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak (London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 25.

<sup>489</sup> Jennifer Milam, "Rococo Representations of Interspecies Sensuality and the Pursuit of Volupté," *The Art Bulletin*, 97:2 (2015), 193.

<sup>490</sup> Lynn Frier Kaufmann, *The Noble Savage: Satyrs and Satyr Families in Renaissance Art* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1984). Revision of PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1979. Kaufmann's study includes references to ancient and biblical descriptions of all manner of wild men and creatures who were believed to inhabit remote areas of desert and wilderness.

<sup>491</sup> Roger Bartra, *Wildmen in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 88.

<sup>492</sup> Francisco Vaz Da Silva, "Sexual Horns: The Anatomy and Metaphysics of Cuckoldry in European Folklore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48:2 (April 2006), 407.



by its beard.<sup>493</sup> Similarly, Aristotle argued in the *Generation of Animals* that hair and horns issue from an excess of that which is ‘otherwise secreted as menstrual flow and semen.’<sup>494</sup> Therefore, the link between the genitals and sexual functioning was evidenced in the presence of hair, which in excess corresponded to perceptions of hyper-sexuality and the transgression of human social norms.

The dark, hairy hybrid bodies of satyrs were clearly shaped by their brazen lack of self-control and excessive sexuality. Defined as an inferior feeling, *volupté* was characterised as a degraded licentiousness in contrast to refined pleasures engaging both mind and body in the eighteenth century. While reason was dependent on the authority of the mind over the urges of the body, writers were concerned with establishing a moral society where ‘man was motivated by reason to seek out the good.’<sup>495</sup> In opposition, lascivious pleasure seekers ignored the imperatives of reason and virtue. Even now the term ‘satyr’ remains in current use to describe the ‘pervert’ whose relentless craving is diagnosed as ‘satyriasis’, with ‘nymphomania’ the feminine equivalent of the disorder.<sup>496</sup> While the satyr’s visible erection inspired contempt, it also emphasised the bestiality evidenced by his obscene behaviour.<sup>497</sup> Visibly aligned with shameless goats noted for their wanton ways, the deviant sexuality of Pan and the satyrs identified them with the lascivious man described by French physician Nicolas Venette.<sup>498</sup> Writing in *Tableau de l’amour conjugal* (1712), *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love Revealed*, Venette warned of the ‘inordinate Passions’ that sought to

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<sup>493</sup> Stephen Epstein, “The Education of Daphnis: Goats, Gods, the Birds and the Bees,” *Phoenix*, 56.1/2 (Spring-Summer 2002), 27.

<sup>494</sup> Da Silva, “Sexual Horns,” 408.

<sup>495</sup> Jennifer Milam, “Rococo Representations,” 193.

<sup>496</sup> Lissarague, “The Sexual Lives of Satyrs,” 53; Carol Groneman, “Nymphomania: The Historical Construction of Female Sexuality,” in *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, eds. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 221. See also 231-232.

<sup>497</sup> Lissarague, “The Sexual Life of Satyrs,” 55-58.

<sup>498</sup> Anton Blok, “Rams and Billy-Goats: A Key to the Mediterranean Code of Honour,” *Man*, New Series 16:3 (Sept 1981), 428.

overwhelm the imagination and disable reason.<sup>499</sup> Deploring the tyranny of desire, Venette's text summoned the figure of Pan and the satyrs who were 'dazzled by the Beauty of Women' and unable to be persuaded to 'abandon his amorous Humour'.<sup>500</sup> According to Venette, the conditions of climate and geography promoted lechery and sexual vice so that the lascivious man could be identified by his physical characteristics:

...consider the outward Carriage of this Man, he seems to fly when he walks, his fat does not trouble him, it suffices he is fleshy and nervous, to be both nimble and lascivious. He is of a middle size, has a large Breast, big and Strong Voice. The Colour of his countenance is brown and swarthy, mix'd with a little red; and if you uncover him, his skin will not appear very white...his skin is so rough and dry...The Hair of his Head is hard, black, and curl'd. His beard is a sign of his admiral ability in getting Children, and betokens the strength and vigour of his Complexion, it being thick, black, and hard.<sup>501</sup>

Moreover, the dangerous nature of such a man positioned him as a satyr seeking:

everywhere without stop or stay to assuage his passion: All women are agreeable to him in the Dark: he refuses none, tho' never so ugly, and is always in a Condition to satisfy them; his reason not being able to bridle his Amorous eagerness, and his Constitution too hot to suffer him to be Subject to its Rules.<sup>502</sup>

Venette's cautionary words likewise implied that women brazenly pursued their own satisfaction despite social prescriptions of virtue and chastity, in a theme that recurs throughout his text. As will become clear in the following chapter, perceptions of lascivious women were also explored alongside figures of men enslaved by desire.

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<sup>499</sup> Nicolas Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love Reveal'd*. Done into English by a Gentleman. London: 1712, 92. [www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/contents/documents-detail.aspx?sectionid=58872&type=search](http://www.gender.amdigital.co.uk/proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/contents/documents-detail.aspx?sectionid=58872&type=search) (accessed 8 June 2012). Originally published as *Tableau de l'amour conjugal*. Vol.1 Amsterdam: Aux Dépens de la Compagnie, 1740 [https://books.google.com.au/books?id=arBQAAAACAAJ&dq=nicolas%20venette&source=gbs\\_book\\_other\\_versions](https://books.google.com.au/books?id=arBQAAAACAAJ&dq=nicolas%20venette&source=gbs_book_other_versions) accessed 9 February 2014. Volume 2 available via [https://books.google.com.au/books?id=f7BQAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&ad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com.au/books?id=f7BQAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&ad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) accessed 12 February 2014.

<sup>500</sup> Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love*, 90-91.

<sup>501</sup> Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love*, 90-91.

<sup>502</sup> Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love*, 88.

## **Aesthetic appreciation and the slippery slope**

While critics and connoisseurs including Shaftesbury stipulated that the pleasures of viewing were a requisite means by which a gentleman advanced his learning and social prestige, they also warned that improper or excessive gazing on feminine flesh could incite dangerous sexual desires and inappropriate responses. Male viewers were urged to suppress their amorous urges in order to form objective aesthetic evaluations of feminine forms, and so retain their virtue and social standing by demonstrating a ‘uniform, publicly sanctioned, *asexual* response.’<sup>503</sup> That is, intellectual occupation or aesthetic appreciation of the work of art excused and sanctioned close engagement with sensual forms as long as one’s behaviour and outward response did not contravene the social codes and practices of honourable, polite society. The conventional view of feminine beauty as the provocateur of sexual crime and the undoing of great men throughout Western history and literature has effectively positioned woman as responsible for the fall of man.<sup>504</sup> This idea is evoked in a late mezzotint published by Bowles and Carver, London, and titled *Jupiter and Antiope* (Fig. 33). The bare-breasted figure of Antiope assertively engages the satyr before her, dangling the ripened grapes of Bacchus above his head as she places an apple, the Christian fruit of Forbidden Knowledge, into his hand. Jupiter holds her waist as she calmly gazes down on him, encouraging his indulgence in the pleasures of drink and desire, which promise the bodily transports leading to knowledge through experiences recorded in the flesh. While the iconography adopted in this image is inconsistent with traditional representations of this mythical encounter and the biblical episode it references, the apple pressed into the satyr’s rough hand brings the viewer directly back to the disastrous consequences of Eve’s temptation of Adam and the fall of man.

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<sup>503</sup> William Gibson, *Art and Money in the Writings of Tobias Smollett* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 110.

<sup>504</sup> For an in-depth discussion on this point, see Baker’s chapter “Sacrificing Beauty” in *Plain Ugly*, 158-188.

From this vantage point, women are represented as sensual, lascivious beings to be approached with caution lest they ‘dominate and exhaust men by sexual manipulations, thereby reversing the “natural” relations of power.’<sup>505</sup> This concern is made explicit in a print produced by William Walker after Filippo Lauri’s painting titled *The Power of Beauty* (Fig. 34). Seated upon remnants of classical architecture, Beauty is a coldly composed woman whose pointing gesture orders the submission of the kneeling satyr whose hands are bound by a winged putto behind his back. Another pulls on the satyr’s beard, forcing his gaze toward Beauty while directing the arrow clasped between chubby fingers straight at his heart. The kneeling satyr is enslaved by feminine Beauty and desire, his strength vanquished at the sight of her appearance and the power of Love as a poisoned arrow. In his widely read manual, physician Venette cautioned that:

Everything about us is in motion at the sight of a pretty Woman, and Love being nothing else but desire for Beauty, oftentimes arrives to that pitch, as to render it impracticable to govern ourselves without Supernatural strength. A Casuist would be grievous troublesome to persuade us our Actions are criminal when transported with the Beauty of a Woman, we caress her ardently. For at such a time our Blood boils in our veins, our Heat increases in our Body to a degree of being felt by the very Heart, our secret Parts swell and stir in sight of what we can do...<sup>506</sup>

Venette’s description of the boiling heat surging throughout the viewer’s body mirrors the intensity of the satyr’s gaze whose presence signals the nature of his own desires. Charmed by the vision of beauty, the satyr teeters on the very edge of passion and transgression and reflects the viewer’s image back to him.

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<sup>505</sup> Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 49.

<sup>506</sup> Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love Reveal’d*, 146.

### **The Case of Charteris (or Bolingbroke?)**

John Oliver's satirical print titled *Colonel Francis Charteris Contemplating the Venus of Titian* (Fig. 35) takes the connotations of indulging the pleasures of gazing to another, escalated level. Standing behind Venus, the smirking voyeur pauses to remove his hat and literally takes the familiar place of the satyr himself. There has been much discussion of the way in which Venus attempts to protect her modesty by the pudica pose, which nonetheless draws the eye to her breasts and genitals. In this case, however, I would like to draw attention to the significance of approaching Venus from behind. In their analysis of Pierre-Hubert Subleyras' *Female Nude* (Fig. 36), Clive Hart and Kay Gilliland Stevenson have described the allure of the woman's bottom as presenting 'a motif of penetration', explaining how 'convention allowed the cleft of the female buttocks to remain always undisguised.'<sup>507</sup> Jenny Skipp has shown how immodest women flaunted their bottoms to men to signal their sexual receptivity and desire by drawing attention to those parts through their dress to 'draw a man's eye to their seat of pleasure.'<sup>508</sup> Moreover, engaging in sexual intercourse from behind was identified as a 'posture most appropriate' to dissociating sexual pleasure from personal or emotional intimacy.<sup>509</sup> Representations of the feminine bottom also came to be viewed as an open sexual invitation, particularly in images where the rounded curves are openly presented to the viewer. An example of this can be seen in François Boucher's *Bacchante playing a reed pipe* (Fig. 37). Holding a flute to her lips, a semi-reclining woman laying amongst the leopard skin of Bacchus presents her exposed bottom to the viewer as cavorting putti play among grapes and vine leaves in the background.

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<sup>507</sup> Clive Hart and Kay Gilliland Stevenson, *Heaven and the Flesh: Imagery of desire From the Renaissance to the Rococo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 45,43.

<sup>508</sup> Jenny Skipp, "The Hostile Gaze: Perverting the Female Form, 1688-1800," in *Sexual Perversions, 1670-1890*, ed. Julie Peakman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 127. Here Skipp refers to John Dunton's *Bumography, or a Touch at the Lady's Tails* (London, 1707) which coined the term 'wag-tail' to describe this behavior and manner of dress.

<sup>509</sup> Hart and Stevenson, *Heaven and the Flesh*, 47.

All direct their sideways gazes toward the resting bacchante, though one chubby infant wielding the pinecone-tipped thyrsus of Bacchus confidently leans to the side to afford himself a better view. If we read the image from left to right beginning with the flute held to the lips, the thyrsus held by the putto in the background is elevated at a more dynamic angle. In opposition to the horizontal flute, the putto's thyrsus could be read as coyly suggestive of the erect phallus. Another thyrsus pointing downward and discarded in the foreground behind the bacchante therefore signals the conclusion of sexual activity. Standing behind the bacchante, the spectator, then, is likewise implicated in the sexual mechanics of Boucher's painting, this time the putto's companion in the narrative of the image by viewing the woman from behind.

Returning to the image of Charteris as a satyr approaching Venus, it is important to note that the motif of the hat has been remarked on a number of occasions to signal carnal activity, particularly in cases where men use it to cover or protect the area around the groin when amorous activity has been interrupted, for example.<sup>510</sup> The ill-intentioned figure behind Venus does not move to cover his genitals, rather his hat is removed in preparation for what follows. While the viewer faces Venus, the figure approaching her from behind is clearly motivated by erotic desire rather than aesthetic contemplation. We are left in no doubt as to what will happen next, and it is clear that the man in the image is incapable of transcending the degradation of his lust.

Far exceeding the limits of taste and decorum, the smirking figure gaping at Venus does not stand *before* her image, but has become embedded *within* the image. He is literally unable to detach himself from it. Equated with the mythological satyr, the imposter's inability to control his furious urges result in his becoming *a part* of the composition himself in contrast

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<sup>510</sup> Jennifer Milam, "Playful Constructions and Fragonard's Swinging Scenes," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:4 (2000), 549. See Stewart's *Engraven Desire* as one example of which details the iconography of prints and book illustrations, for example.

to those who triumph over the excitation of the flesh and remain detached observers *in front* of the image. Looking from *behind and within*, the figure is divested of virtuous masculinity and as an exile in life, precluded from the privileges of participating in elite circles where decorum was requisite.

Described as ‘the most notorious military rake of the century’ and pardoned twice by the king on charges of rape, Charteris utterly fails the test of manly resolve and abstinence outlined above.<sup>511</sup> Eventually committed to hang for the rape of his maidservant in 1730, Charteris was a notorious sex offender who had committed numerous sexual assaults before the trial that resulted in his exile and humiliation (Fig. 38).<sup>512</sup> Although he escaped the gallows, the colonel was reviled for violating ‘every rule of his own class,’ and his sexual crimes were considered typical of a despicable man whose social and political standing was based upon a long career of fraud and corruption.<sup>513</sup> We see, then, that every aspect of the colonel’s misconduct identified him as shameless and dishonourable. Indeed, the colonel illustrated the point made by Shaftesbury in his *Characteristics*, that excess indulgence in pleasure, luxury and desire results in a ‘slavery to the passions’, undermining honourable masculinity and leading to corruption.<sup>514</sup>

Dying of natural causes in 1732, Charteris’s notoriety was preserved beyond death by writers including Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift who each used his figure as an ‘exemplar of

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<sup>511</sup> Randolph Trumbach, “Prostitution,” in *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Enlightenment*, ed. Julie Peakman (New York: Berg, 2011), 195.

<sup>512</sup> Simpson, “Popular Perceptions of Rape,” 36. See Figure 38, George White, *Colonel Francisco, 1730-1732*. Mezzotint on linen, British Museum. Part of the text beneath the print reads:

‘Blood! Must a Colonel with a Lord’s Estate  
Be thus Obnoxious to a Scoundrel’s fate?  
Brought to the Bar, & sentenced from ye bench  
For only ravishing a Country Wench?’

<sup>513</sup> Simpson, “Popular Perceptions of Rape,” 39-40. Simpson’s article goes into considerable detail with regards to Charteris’ forgeries, crimes and association with eminent politicians including Horace Walpole. These relationships and connections carry political implications which exceed the limits of the present discussion.

<sup>514</sup> Brian Cowan, “Reasonable Ecstasies: Shaftesbury and the Languages of Libertinism,” *Journal of British Studies* 37:2 (April 1998), 126.

venality and excess among the privileged.<sup>515</sup> Importantly, Charteris has also been identified in the first plate of William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* series published in the year of his death (Fig. 39). Lurking in the background with his 'main procuress' Molly Harvey, he stands in a door way with his hand reaching into the front of his pants as he pointedly gazes at the young girl who stands on the threshold of a life of prostitution and vice.<sup>516</sup>

Although Charteris is identified as the figure in Oliver's satirical print through its title, curator comments on the British Museum image file state that the costume of the figure and previous attribution to Peter Oliver suggests an earlier date for the work. This is problematic, however, because Charteris' trial took place in 1730, some 29 years after John Oliver's death. As the curator notes, the figure pulling back the curtains to freely gaze upon the sleeping Venus from behind has also sometimes been supposed to represent Lord Bolingbroke, which appears most likely if the attribution to John Oliver is correct.<sup>517</sup> The true identity of the gentleman likened to a satyr may not become known to us. However, it is worth considering the examples of both Charteris and Bolingbroke in order to understand the way in which each could have been characterised as a satyr by their contemporaries.

Henry St John, the First Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751) was a secretary of state during the reign of Queen Anne. Accused of Jacobitism on the accession of King George I, Bolingbroke went into exile in France until 1725 and upon his return to England became leader of the opposition to Robert Walpole.<sup>518</sup> In *The Treacherous Patriot Unmask'd* (dated

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<sup>515</sup> Anthony E. Simpson, "Popular Perceptions of Rape," 30.

<sup>516</sup> Simpson, "Popular Perceptions of Rape," 30.

<sup>517</sup> The inscription beneath the print reads 'Titanius Pinxit/John Oliver Fecit.' [www.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC\\_search/record.php?record=16548](http://www.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/record.php?record=16548) (accessed 26 February 2013). The print also appears on the British Museum database, registration number 1851,0901.1377. [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=30700101&partId=1&museumno=1851,0901.1377&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=30700101&partId=1&museumno=1851,0901.1377&page=1) (accessed 27 February 2013).

<sup>518</sup> H. T. Dickinson, "St John, Henry, styled first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/view/article/24496?docPos=1](http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/view/article/24496?docPos=1) (last accessed 28 March 2016) Bolingbroke was characterized as a man of pleasure who nonetheless pursued a strong interest in literature and history. Noted as a man of 'temperamental instability,' the viscount is said to have



to 1742, Fig. 40) Bolingbroke removes his mask to reveal a sinister face beneath, and is identified as one who is ‘ungrateful, treacherous and base’ in the verse below.<sup>519</sup> During this period, the mask was a ‘sign of social disorder,’ a point emphasised by the print’s inscription, which declares that ‘A man may be known by his look’, concluding that ‘This sneering st-tes-n may be cloath’d with shame.’<sup>520</sup> Comparing the features of the mask with another print of the Viscount, it becomes apparent that it in fact bears a likeness with other conventional portraits in which he is properly identified (Figs. 41 & 42).<sup>521</sup>

The sneering man labelled a ‘treacherous patriot’ has a distinctive hook nose that matches the profile of the man approaching Venus in John Oliver’s print. It seems plausible then, that the man who figures in each print may be intended to represent the same individual, whether or not that person is in fact Charteris or Bolingbroke. In either case, both men were passionately detested and long commemorated for their individual transgressions and violations of honourable codes of conduct. While Charteris literally behaved like the satyr renowned for his hyper-sexuality, Bolingbroke was viewed and memorialised as a traitor, and represented as a figure of degraded status.

If Bolingbroke is to be identified with the figure behind Venus in Oliver’s print, which again appears rather more likely if the date and attribution is correct, then it remains to explain why the viscount should have been depicted in the guise of a satyr, particularly since his

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lived a life in conflict between his reason and passion. Bolingbroke is also described as a man who promoted his own political and professional interests at the expense of even his closest friends.

<sup>519</sup> [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3077811&partId=1&searchText=treacherous+patriot+unmask%27d&museumno=1868,0808.3722&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3077811&partId=1&searchText=treacherous+patriot+unmask%27d&museumno=1868,0808.3722&page=1) (accessed 27 February 2013) Curator’s comments on this site suggest that the satirical portrait by an unknown artist may represent William Pulteney, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Bath. This is uncertain, however, it should be noted here that Pulteney was a British politician who joined with Bolingbroke in trying to stand as a party in opposition to Prime Minister Robert Walpole after being a loyal supporter for twelve years. Pulteney was also associated with the Kit-Kat Club.

<sup>520</sup> Mirzoeff, ‘The Flickers of Seduction’, 128; Text appearing beneath print in the British Museum, registration number 1868, 0808.3722.

<sup>521</sup> For example, *Henry St John, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount of Bolingbroke* attributed to Alexis-Simon Belle, oil on canvas, 1712, National Portrait Gallery, London and *St John Lord Bolingbroke* illustration in Smollett’s *History of England*, 1757-58, engraving, British Museum, London.

misconduct was not highlighted as being of a sexual nature in the same way that Charteris's was. Although his works were not formally published until after his death, Bolingbroke's philosophical writings acknowledged Locke as his 'master' in his 'attempts to explain how one attains knowledge and what its limits are.'<sup>522</sup> Significantly, he emphasises the power of nature and 'maintains that nature (the observable world) serves as a reliable guide, and error comes when one uses one's faculties out of accordance with nature.'<sup>523</sup> The acquisition of knowledge was gained through the senses, and the 'error' alluded to here was surely one of misguided excess and clouded judgment.

Depicting Bolingbroke as a satyr suggests that his shame was ultimately located in his perceived lack of rationality and characteristic baseness. As a 'treacherous patriot,' the politician's disloyalty confirmed that he was only able to act according to his true, base nature, and he was proven incapable of rising above it. Bolingbroke was unmasked and demoted as an inferior man unworthy of his rank. Personal honour and reputation were issues of public interest and as Robert Nye has confirmed, honour was bound by individual attributes. Personal integrity and the esteem of others dissolved when honour was lost – a loss which signalled weakness and shame.<sup>524</sup>

Consumed by desire, Charteris was likewise marked by his dishonour. As with Bolingbroke's traitorous image, his figure as satyr exemplified the erosion of masculine virtue and the shame attached to the violation of the rules and social mores of the upper classes. The satyr's advance upon the sleeping woman imagined within the imagery of this period captures the very essence of the transitory moment whereby the satyr's outstretched hand became the emblem of the space between idea and act. Importantly, the transition between idea and reality was not unlike the precarious sliver of space perceived to lie between the gradation of

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<sup>522</sup> Anon. "Henry St. John Bolingbroke (1678-1751)." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. A Peer-Reviewed Academic Resource [www.iep.utm.edu/bolingbr/](http://www.iep.utm.edu/bolingbr/) (accessed 3 February 2014).

<sup>523</sup> Anon, "Henry St. Bolingbroke (1678-1751)." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

<sup>524</sup> Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour*, 15-16.

species separating man from beast. The suspended and hesitant moment between restraint and committed act determined where one was placed amongst species as well as among peers, a position decided either by rational control or by irrational impulse and undisciplined behaviour. What these various examples demonstrate is how the effects of beauty were considered capable of inducing the softening, emasculating effects of excessive desire, and the shame of inappropriate or even criminal behaviour.

As we have seen, elevated thoughts and ideas were not only connected to the indulgence of the senses, but also to the pleasure derived from them. Indeed, pleasure induced by works of art that aimed to ‘please and seduce’ was central to the ‘goal of wisdom.’<sup>525</sup> Significantly, enthusiasm had become the sole responsibility of the viewer required to adhere to the ‘critical faculties of judgment’ in line with the tenements of Epicurean Stoicism.<sup>526</sup> The pleasures of the imagination and the gestation of ideas in works of art were associated with the feminine. The drive to *know* through the senses, however, was a dangerous path to navigate, and visiting the “Rocks of Venus” too frequently often resulted in placing mind and body in great peril.<sup>527</sup> While the satyr was physically marked by his immoderation, so too was the reckless viewer who failed to heed caution and faced the corruption of masculine virtue and its consequences.

As Cusset has argued, the power of the image – both visual and textual – forces us to acknowledge the limits of reason. However, images of voyeurism reverses and tests the concept of control ‘by representing male sex as an instrument manipulated by its own desires,

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<sup>525</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 17.

<sup>526</sup> Sarah Eron, *Inspiration in the Age of Enlightenment* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 2. See also Thomas Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures. Eighteenth-Century France and the New Epicureanism* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2010).

<sup>527</sup> Ned Ward’s *History of the London Clubs*, 1709 in *Lascivious Bodies: A Sexual History of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Julie Peakman (London: Atlantic Books, 2005), 20. In this instance, the dangers referred to include syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases.

fears and fantasies.<sup>528</sup> The precarious balance between enlightenment through sensation and personal peril relied heavily upon the lure of the feminine and the gentleman's ability to master himself. For Epicurean writers including Saint-Évremond, the pleasures of love, for example, cancelled out the anxieties attached to life and mortality. However, passion and the emotional turbulence of love overriding the framework of the human mind and body ultimately led to disaster.<sup>529</sup> In contrast to the refinements of pleasure and knowledge achieved through engaging both mind and body through the senses, the shame of excess and overpowering desire led to a loss of reason and the softening, emasculating effects of *volupté* figured by the feminine. The consequences for those who emulated the behaviour of the satyr continue to inform the following chapter.

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<sup>528</sup> Cusset, *No Tomorrow*, 114-115.

<sup>529</sup> Leonard A. Rosmarin, "The Unsublimated Libido: Saint-Evremond's Conception of Love," *The French Review* 46:2 (December 1972), 264-267.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Pan and Syrinx*

For the eighteenth-century viewer positioned as accomplice, the ‘erotic potential’ of Pan’s obsession with Syrinx held a particular appeal for discerning patrons who delighted in images of Love’s obstacles and pursuits.<sup>530</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, lusty satyrs and fauns frequently appear throughout eighteenth-century visual culture, albeit often disconnected from a specific mythological narrative. From antiquity, images of distraught women objecting to the violence of their perpetrators had been used to arouse the desire of viewers whose gaze identified them with the gods and heroes of mythology.<sup>531</sup> While it has been observed that the visible disarray of an unwilling woman increased her desirability, ‘heroic’ rape scenes were long viewed as erotic material by members of the elite social classes.<sup>532</sup> The association between images of heroic violence and the ideals of romantic love confirm Susan Griffin’s point that heterosexual, ‘erotic expression’ is elaborated through ‘male dominance and female submission.’<sup>533</sup> This chapter will consider how the visual representation of Pan’s physical form provided a legible sign of difference and the depiction of his pursuit of Syrinx instructed viewers in matters of their own personal conduct during this period. The goat god’s body was shaped by his nature and the consequences of his behaviour provided an example to both men and women during the period’s attempts to regulate and define correct social and sexual norms. In order to address these claims, a

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<sup>530</sup> Bailey, *Loves of The Gods*, 424-425.

<sup>531</sup> Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The ‘Heroic’ Tradition and Its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21.

<sup>532</sup> Leo Curran, “Rape and Rape Victims in the *Metamorphoses*,” in (eds.) John Perradotto and J. P. Sullivan, *Women in the Ancient World: The “Arethusa” Papers* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 275 [www.quod.lib.umich.edu.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acis;idno=heb04318.0001.001](http://www.quod.lib.umich.edu.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acis;idno=heb04318.0001.001) (accessed 16 January 2016); Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 23.

<sup>533</sup> Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 23; Susan Griffin, *Rape: The Power of Consciousness* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979), 8.

summary of the textual sources of the myth precedes discussion of how the image of Pan changed between antiquity and the Rococo to mark a shift in cultural significance as a figure representative of disorderly masculinity and sexuality. This in turn informs a consideration of the definitions of rape, seduction and patriarchal privilege during the eighteenth century to provide a contextual backdrop for the examination of paintings and prints that communicated a range of meanings to the viewer.

### **The Great God Pan**

As the Greek equivalent of the Roman god Faunus, Pan is the god of woodlands and pastures, famed for his irrepressible sexual drive as much as for the piping music associated with his instrument and shepherds. He lurks outside the spaces of civilisation in Arcadia, dwelling amongst the edges of shadowy growths or in the depths of wilderness.<sup>534</sup> As a rustic deity, Pan is also known as a solitary figure, and perhaps ironically, is associated with fertility. Writers confirm that the meanings associated with Pan and other satyrs and fauns are complex and often contradictory, though most sources concede that his name came to represent ‘all’ nature or ‘the soul of the world.’<sup>535</sup> Pan’s ‘elasticity’ has meant that his image has been adapted to suit a variety of purposes, not least of which link his image to Christ, ‘the only true all-god.’<sup>536</sup> Further, Plutarch’s declaration that ‘the Great God Pan is dead’ coincided with the birth of Christ, and to others, the Crucifixion.<sup>537</sup> Pan’s death in this instance is connected to the ‘victory of Christianity over paganism’, and the demonisation of his physical form originated with demonologists who associated bacchanalia with witches’

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<sup>534</sup> Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, 232.

<sup>535</sup> Jane Conroy, “La Syrinx au bûcher: Pan et les satyres à la Renaissance et à l’âge baroque (Review),” *French Studies: A Quarterly Review*, 61:3 (2007), 363; Patricia Merivale, “D. H. Lawrence and the Modern Pan Myth,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 6:3 (Autumn 1964), 297. Merivale also considers the Romantic poets and their adaptation of Pan as “all Nature,” utilizing the sexuality associated with the god in connection with ‘terror as well as beauty and joy.’

<sup>536</sup> W. R. Irwin, “The Survival of Pan,” *PMLA* 76:3 (June 1961), 159.

<sup>537</sup> Irwin, “The Survival of Pan,” 159.

sabbats.<sup>538</sup> During the Renaissance, Pan personified Lust in allegory and had acquired a coarse, rustic appearance in Baroque painting which departed from the conventions of antiquity depicting him in youth.<sup>539</sup>

The birth of Pan remains an enigma, with accounts recording his parentage as either the result of Mercury's union with the nymph Dryope, or with Odysseus' queen, Penelope.<sup>540</sup> It is also implied that Pan's conception occurred as a result of Penelope's intercourse with multiple suitors who occupied her home as she waited for Odysseus's return.<sup>541</sup> It is tempting to speculate that the hyper-sexual nature of Pan is linked to his mother's adulterous liaison with a bewildering range of suitors, and to suggest that his physical monstrosity was the embodiment of her own moral and sexual transgression. Given that Pan is a god, however, it is certainly more likely that Mercury fathered him instead. Regardless, the Homeric hymns record that the birth of the infant Pan caused his mother to flee in terror at the sight of his hybrid form.<sup>542</sup> The shock and rejection of his mother is also considered to have set the precedent for both Pan's passion and continued lack of success in his amorous pursuits. As a result, Pan was associated with unrequited love and the panic he inspired from the moment of his birth onward.<sup>543</sup>

In addition to inspiring fear in nymphs, the panic roused by Pan became a useful attribute that others turned to their advantage. Though Pan did not provoke battle or war himself, he played a significant role as General in Bacchus's invasion of India, causing the Gauls to lose their knowledge of language which resulted in slaughter amongst themselves (to the benefit of

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<sup>538</sup> Conroy, "La Syrinx au bûcher," 363.

<sup>539</sup> Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 232. It is noted that he was also conventionally handsome.

<sup>540</sup> Bailey, *The Loves of the Gods*, 210; Irwin, "The Survival of Pan," 159.

<sup>541</sup> Irwin states that there are 'several alleged parentages' in "The Survival of Pan," 159.

<sup>542</sup> Sukey Fontelieu, "Pan," in *Encyclopedia of Psychology and Religion*, eds. David A Lemming, Kathryn Madden and Stanton Marlan (Springer Science and Business Media LLC, Springer US, 2010), 558-560.

[www.springerlink.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/content/uk3604t31p36hh38/](http://www.springerlink.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/content/uk3604t31p36hh38/) (accessed 3 April 2012)

<sup>543</sup> Fontelieu, "Pan," 558-560.

their Greek enemies).<sup>544</sup> The terror and panic provoked by Pan meant that the woodland god also assumed a role of ‘punisher and [a] destroyer, an embodiment even of the diabolic.’<sup>545</sup> As a ‘power-figure’ simultaneously described as a compassionate protector of flocks, shepherds, animals and melancholic humans, Pan has assumed a variety of roles from antiquity onward.<sup>546</sup>

The myth of Pan’s attempted rape of Syrinx is one of the most familiar episodes of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, despite the fact that it is described almost in passing reference as a story within the tale of Jupiter and Io.<sup>547</sup> Disguised as a herdsman, Mercury recites the account of Pan’s pursuit in order to lull Argus to sleep. Argus is already struggling to stay awake when Mercury begins, and so it is left to Ovid to complete the story for the reader (or listener) as the god sets about beheading his victim.<sup>548</sup> Ironically, the tale of Pan’s misdemeanour is used by Mercury to help Jupiter release his own victim from Argus. Moreover, Mercury as the god of eloquent speech, is cut short.<sup>549</sup> To add to the complexity of Ovid’s poem, the myth represents the process of creation (Pan’s pipes) through an act of violence and in parallel to Mercury’s act of violent annihilation.<sup>550</sup>

Mercury confirms that Syrinx was a nymph of Arcadia, ‘the most famous of all the wood nymphs of Nonacris.’<sup>551</sup> Returning from Mount Lycaeus, she was unable to escape Pan who was relentless in his desire. Syrinx fled through the forest until she arrived at the river Ladon. Halted by the river, the nymph prayed in desperation to her ‘sisters of the stream to transform

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<sup>544</sup> Fontelieu, “Pan,” 558-560.

<sup>545</sup> Irwin, “The Survival of Pan,” 160.

<sup>546</sup> Irwin, “The Survival of Pan,” 160.

<sup>547</sup> Patricia Murgatroyd, “Ovid’s Syrinx,” *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series 51:2 (2001), 620.

<sup>548</sup> Murgatroyd, “Ovid’s Syrinx,” 620.

<sup>549</sup> Murgatroyd, “Ovid’s Syrinx,” 620-621. Murgatroyd notes this appears to be a convention unique to Ovid’s poem. Inserting a story within a story, giving voice to a character and then cutting him off to complete the story, is ‘boldly experimental new kind of narrative’ without precedent. See page 621.

<sup>550</sup> Murgatroyd, “Ovid’s Syrinx,” 623.

<sup>551</sup> Publius Ovidius Naso (Ovid), *The Metamorphoses*, translated and with an Introduction by Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955), 47.



her,' so that when Pan reached to grab her, he found marsh reeds in his hands instead.<sup>552</sup> The dejected god sighed and as the wind blew, the reeds produced a sound which pleased him. Taking reeds of different lengths, Pan fashioned an instrument that would 'preserve[d] the girl's name.'<sup>553</sup> Ironically, the panpipe is known in Greek and Latin pastoral to 'include at best an erotic reciprocity, and sometimes an erotic symmetry: lovers serenade each other, exchange instruments, give kisses in return for music.'<sup>554</sup> This is in spite of the fact that in terror, Syrinx had begged for escape and was willing to suffer any fate rather than endure the consequences of Pan's lust.

During the eighteenth century, the innocent nymph's traumatic experience of violence integral to the myth was blatantly obscured. More often than not, the realities of sexual assault evoked by Syrinx's ordeal were overlooked. For example, images of Pan's fixation and frustrated attempts have been frequently interpreted as light-hearted representations of unrequited love. William Talbot described Jean-François De Troy's *Pan and Syrinx* of 1720 (Fig. 43) as a 'charming entertainment of love out of reach,' with the fearful, lecherous Pan appearing instead as a 'handsomely featured, almost aristocratic gentleman.'<sup>555</sup> This shift in representation is partly due to the result of Rococo's sensual opposition to the drama and gravity of Baroque aesthetics, reflected in the lightening of painter's palettes and subjects. A preference for worldly themes and the softening of figures also signals a resistance to absolutist authority, and has encouraged associations of the style with femininity and 'non-normative masculinity.'<sup>556</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, edited by Innes, 47.

<sup>553</sup> Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, edited by Innes, 48.

<sup>554</sup> David Creese, "Erogenous Organs: The Metamorphosis of Polyphenus' *Syrinx* in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.784," *Classical Quarterly* 59:2 (2009), 567.

<sup>555</sup> William Talbot, "Jean-François de Troy: Pan and Syrinx," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 61:8 (1974), 254.

<sup>556</sup> Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo*, 11; Hyde, 'Afterword. The Rococo Dream of Happiness,' 338.

To clarify, Pan appears in De Troy's painting of 1720 as more youthful in comparison to the rustic maturity of the goat-god depicted from the Baroque onward.<sup>557</sup> Here, the image of Pan as merciless aggressor seems to have found redemption and is recast as a gentle, imploring lover. This has been confirmed by a more recent appraisal of De Troy's later version of *Pan and Syrinx* (1722-24, Fig. 44) painted as a pendant to *Diana and Her Nymphs Bathing* (Fig. 45). Pan is once again described as the artist's 'most poetic invention', a mythic youth more 'gentlemanly' than loathsome.<sup>558</sup>

I would like to suggest that the changed appearance of the goat god in De Troy's painting provides a key to unlocking the significance of the subject for the eighteenth-century artist and viewer. As will become clear, the representational shift evident in these images rests on cultural assumptions relating to the regulation of feminine sexuality as members of the irrational sex, as well as the authorisation of women's fates as objects of exchange. For Pan, the transformation of his own appearance paralleled anxieties tied to masculinity as a shifting, impermanent status subject to change, as well as to the notion that man was composed of both man and beast, nature and culture. Importantly, the hybrid figure of Pan as part man and part goat embodies this essential duality. In this way, the goat god played a similar role to Bacchus during this period, guiding the man of reason either to the heights of profound knowledge through the sensorial experience, or to corruption and disorder via excess and a lack of restraint supposedly consistent with animal nature.

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<sup>557</sup> It is interesting to note at this point that in fact, the Rococo vision of Pan as a youth harks back to the conventions of Antiquity. In this sense, it was the Baroque interpretation of Pan as a mature figure that departs from earlier tradition. Refer back to the second page of this chapter for comment.

<sup>558</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 211. No mention of the commission of this pair of paintings dated to between 1722 and 1724 is made in the existing literature. Their origins and misattribution during the nineteenth century further obscured the details of patronage and origin. De Troy's artistic rival, François Lemoyne, was originally believed to have produced the pair.

## Wildmen and Primitive Sexuality

Before examining the romanticised treatment of Pan's disappointment, it is worth recalling that earlier images directed the viewer's focus onto the irrational, bestial aspect of his violent obsession. In an anonymous print dated between 1650-1700 (Fig. 46), Pan is overpowered by his violent passion, a force believed to 'exercise(d) vast power' in its 'ability to shape and pervert the human mind.'<sup>559</sup> Drawing the eye into an airless landscape, Pan's furious chase amongst the density of wild foliage recalls the earlier compositions of Claude Lorrain where minute figures are all but swallowed by the enormity of their surrounds. The minute scale of the pair in comparison to the heights and depths of surrounding trees and foliage acts as a device by which the eye is repeatedly drawn back to Syrinx's desperate struggle. Framed by nature, the violence unfolds before the viewer at the edge of a forest eerily isolated and oppressively silent. Helpless in her terror, Syrinx is denied refuge and appears doomed to her fate. With the brute strength of Pan's arms circling her waist, the nymph is suspended on the cusp of violation and transformation. Engulfed by the enormity of her surrounds, she is consumed by Pan's ferocious lust. Syrinx's desperate gesture of struggle highlights her resolve to protect her virtue and supported the period's view of 'sexual relations as a kind of hunt.'<sup>560</sup> In letters to his friend Isabelle de Charrière, the libertine Constant d'Hermenches confided that he saw 'the seduction of women as a hunt', explaining that 'With regard to women, my heart and mind are what a hound is with regard to its game in the field; he pursues and devours it.'<sup>561</sup> While assertive masculinity is displayed via sexual and social domination, the idea of sexual conquest can be traced back to ancient Greece where women embodied nature as prey. For example, Ovid's works describe a number of 'heroic' rapes

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<sup>559</sup> Sheriff, *Moved By Love*, 24.

<sup>560</sup> Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 12.

<sup>561</sup> D'Hermenches, cited in Anna Clark, *Desire: A History of European Sexuality* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 118.

where the victim's terror and the focused pursuit of the rapist dehumanises women 'to the level of a hunted animal.'<sup>562</sup>

As can be seen in this print, the dark density of forest or woodland setting further emphasises the link between hunter and prey.<sup>563</sup> Imprinted with dangers prowling within the murky regions of nature, the image warns of the perils associated with wandering from the safe parameters of domesticity and urban community. As Richard Nash explains, satyrs and other wild figures patrol the borders between nature and civilisation, waiting to abduct disobedient women and children who resist their own subordination.<sup>564</sup> Drawing on the human capacity for violence and brutality, Sebastiano Ricci's *Pan and Syrinx* of 1700 (Fig. 47) similarly evokes the ferocity of nature and the goat-god's relentless lust. Zeroing in on the violence of Pan's assault, the frame of Ricci's canvas pulls the viewer directly into Syrinx's horror, erasing the props of nature and the presence of watchful bystanders. Pan's rough arms seize the terrified nymph by her waist, one coarse hand clutching at her breast as he looks intently down toward her exposed hip. Importantly, Syrinx's pearlescent flesh tones and light drapery establish a strong contrast against the darker, heavier musculature of her assailant. As in other examples, the contrasts between dark and light flesh tones, hard and soft surfaces, are dramatically accentuated. Ricci's interpretation of Pan as a rough, aggressive figure and Syrinx as the startled maiden bemoaning her capture is also consistent with perceptions of early human, apish behaviour and the corresponding physical features described in early natural history.<sup>565</sup>

During this period, a feminine lack of interest in potential male partners was viewed as unnatural or inauspicious while the incessant sexual urges of wild men or *Homo ferus* was a

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<sup>562</sup> Leo Curran, "Rape and Rape Victims," 280.

<sup>563</sup> Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 14.

<sup>564</sup> Nash, *Wild Enlightenment*, 29.

<sup>565</sup> Aaron Garrett, ed. *The Routledge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Philosophy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014). See especially Chapter 29 by Justine E. H. Smith, "Natural History and the Speculative Sciences of Origins", 706-30.

source of comic amusement appealing to the curiosity of society women.<sup>566</sup> Stereotyped assumptions of the sexualised wild man are exemplified by the discovery of Peter of Hanover in a forest near Hamelin in 1724, who undermined expectations in his ambivalence toward women.<sup>567</sup> On the other hand, Victor of Aveyron (who was brought to Paris in 1800) troubled medical practitioners with his zealous masturbation in public, which nineteenth-century writers eventually put down to his lack of intellect and morality as apparently evidenced by defects in his physiognomy and anatomy.<sup>568</sup>

These assumptions are similarly emphasised in Baroque book illustrations depicting the moment after Syrinx has vanished. With a representational focus on Pan's physiognomy and irrational behaviour, the goat god is cast aside from the sophisticated European in the same way he remains outside the higher mythological realm of Olympus. Some of these earlier images were reproduced by later generations of artists and replicated iconographical elements to reinforce particular attitudes contemporary with their making. Bernard Picart's book plate XI of 1730-1733 (Fig. 48) reproduces a print produced by Cornelis Bloemart after Abraham van Diepenbeeck in 1655 for the *Tableau du Temple des Muses*.<sup>569</sup> Bloemart and Picart's images are almost identical except for the fact that Picart's version reverses it and is framed by elaborate motifs, arabesques and grotesques.<sup>570</sup> Serving as a title page to Michel de Marolles' *Temple des Muses*, the print was published in multiple editions from the mid-seventeenth century and into the next.<sup>571</sup>

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<sup>566</sup> Julia V. Douthwaite, "Homo ferus: Between Monster and Model," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 21:2 (1997), 195.

<sup>567</sup> Douthwaite, "Homo ferus," 180-185.

<sup>568</sup> Douthwaite, "Homo ferus," 190-193. Victor's 'defects' included his 'low narrow forehead and small deep set eyes and poorly developed cerebellum.'

<sup>569</sup> The print bears the inscription 'B.Picart del 1731' in the frame of the image.

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3077811&partId=1&museumno=1914,0214.229&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3077811&partId=1&museumno=1914,0214.229&page=1) (accessed 21 March 2012).

<sup>570</sup> Picart's later image also features the caption 'Pan pursues Syrinx: she is metamorphosed into a Reed' in English, French, Dutch and German.

<sup>571</sup> Published by Nicolas Langlois, Paris. Curator's notes for the print which came from the Cabinet Favereau [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3234533&partId=1&museumno=1983,1001.12.1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3234533&partId=1&museumno=1983,1001.12.1) (accessed 21 March 2012).

Within an ornamental frame, Pan rushes forward crashing into the reeds where Syrinx has already disappeared so that he holds but lengths of reed in his enormous hand. Forming an impenetrable barrier, the density of the tangled reeds is reminiscent of pubic hair and alludes to the act he is intent on committing.<sup>572</sup> The darkness of his shaggy pelt, goat legs and hooves emphasise the goat god's bestial appearance, his animal features heightened in line with the almost demonic features of his face. The link between goat features and unruly sexual urges combined to form an association over the centuries between Pan, fauns, satyrs and their companion maenads (or less common female satyrs) 'with the devil and feminine sensuality.'<sup>573</sup> This again reinforces the notion that the unattractive stood for moral degradation as a deviation from the natural or orthodox, particularly in keeping with Christian ideology.<sup>574</sup>

The goat god's brawny stature emphasises the strength and vigour that was believed to be possessed by monstrous races and distant wild men as 'uncommonly superhuman.'<sup>575</sup> As early as the twelfth century, wild figures were associated with theological teachings because their presence was taken as a sign or religious portent providing a 'link between man on the one hand and instinct, passion and sex on the other.'<sup>576</sup> In her work on late eighteenth-century representations of race, Mary Bellhouse shows how binary oppositions were underscored by positioning the 'white man' as the 'Subject that judges,' so that non-Europeans were

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<sup>572</sup> I gratefully acknowledge this suggestion by Professor Ian North, who remarked on the likeness of the growth of reeds as being very much like pubic hair.

<sup>573</sup> Stephen Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis: Goats, Gods and the Birds and the Bees," *Phoenix* 56:1/2 (2002), 27. See also Anton Blok's remarks on the earlier work of John Kennedy Campbell, *Honour, family and patronage: a study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), in Blok, "Rams and Billy-Goats: A Key to the Mediterranean Code of Honour," *Man* 16:3 (1981), 430. Here Campbell states that 'goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man.' (Campbell, 1964, p.26) On the other hand, sheep are God's animals, and as intelligent, innocent creatures, 'conceptually opposed' to women and goats (Campbell, 1964, p.31).

<sup>574</sup> Baker, *Plain Ugly*, 17.

<sup>575</sup> Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass*, 88.

<sup>576</sup> Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass*, 89.

positioned to provide a point of comparison as a less advanced human example.<sup>577</sup> Similarly, animal metaphors have long been used to articulate difference within human societies.<sup>578</sup> Taken together, the dark animal characteristics of Pan provided a visual reference against which the viewer was identified as more developed and civilised. As we have already seen in the example of Venus and a satyr, the opposition between dark and light, virtue and vice was often elaborated around the image of a white woman.<sup>579</sup>

### **The Ungrateful Fair**

Considering Pan's appearance as a darker, brutish assailant allows the viewer to connect the bestial aspect of his being with behavioural and sexual characteristics at odds with polite members of eighteenth-century society. Representations of Pan's infatuation also highlights the predicament for women whose physical beauty simultaneously signalled virtue and inspired desire. Abraham von Diepenbeeck's interpretation of Pan's discovery and obsession with Syrinx is reproduced in the 1702 Amsterdam edition of *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide en latin et François* (Fig. 49). Surprisingly, the original composition dating from before 1677 drew on the iconography associated with the satyr's encounter of the sleeping nymph described in the previous chapter. Here, however, Syrinx is depicted as a huntress with her bow, arrow and canine companion sleeping at her feet.<sup>580</sup> Pan and the spectator gaze freely upon Syrinx as she sleeps, her dog oblivious to the threat. The distinct darkness of Pan's form is in marked contrast to Syrinx's fairness with thick hair covering his shanks and a garland of ivy leaves uniformly gathered around his waist. The goat-god's dark face is clearly marked

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<sup>577</sup> Mary Bellhouse, "Candide Shoots the Monkey Lovers: Representing Black Men in Eighteenth-Century French Visual Culture," *Political Theory*, 34:6 (Dec 2006), 756.

<sup>578</sup> Blok, "Rams and Billy-Goats," 431.

<sup>579</sup> Bellhouse, "Candide Shoots the Monkey Lovers," 744.

<sup>580</sup> These are indeed the attributes of the virgin huntress, the goddess Diana. See Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols*, 101-102.

by his desire. Remarkably, however, Pan's horns appear to be lost within the details of his hair.<sup>581</sup> For the purposes of clarity and in support of other works, the absence of the goat-god's horns will be explored in detail further below.

In line with conventions of seventeenth-century Dutch painting, details of the unfolding narrative and Pan's pursuit are detailed in the background of Diepenbeeck's print. As Pan unveils the sleeping nymph in the immediate foreground, he reveals her nudity to the viewer and so emphasises the connotations of desire and sexual longing. The troubling eroticism of the image is of course heightened by Pan's intrusion and the intensity of his concentrated gaze. The assault, rejection and agony of transformation central to the episode is relegated as minor details in the distance, and the proof of Pan's attempt can be seen in his own disrobing. Accompanying the print, Sir Samuel Garth's translation of Ovid's text reads:

Now while the Lustful God, with speedy Pace, Just thought to strain her in a strict Embrace, He fill'd his Arms with Reeds, new rising on the Place. And while he sighs, his ill Success to find, The tender Canes were shaken by the Wind; And breath'd a mournful Air, unheard before; That much surprising Pan, yet pleas'd him more. Admiring this new Musick, Thou, he said, Who canst not be the Partner of my Bed, At least shalt be the Consort of my Mind: And often, often to my Lips be join'd. He form'd the Reeds, proportion'd as they are, Unequal in their Length, and wax'd with Care, They still retain the Name of his Ungrateful fair.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>581</sup> The absence and significance of horns will be further explored throughout this chapter.

<sup>582</sup> *Ovid's Metamorphoses in Latin and English. Translated by the Most Eminent Hands. With Historical Explanations of the Fables Written in French by the Abbot Banier*, edited by Dryden, Garth et al. Facsim of edition published in Amsterdam, printed for the Wetsteins and Smith, 1732. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976, 36.



Describing Pan as the lover who catches sight of her ‘Heav’nly Form’ and ‘burns with new Desires’, the text reminds readers of the need for caution as expressed by physicians.<sup>583</sup> In line with what Diane Wolfthal has termed a woman’s ‘worthiness of assault,’ Pan’s sleeping nymph fulfilled the desired criteria of loveliness.<sup>584</sup> It is worth pointing out that feminine ugliness - traditionally viewed as inspiring ‘moral as well as aesthetic disgust’ - has also been noted as the feminine rejection of restrictive beauty and the pressures of male desire.<sup>585</sup> Examples of this can be found in early modern tales of women invoking God to make them ugly, or even disfiguring themselves in some way in order to avoid assault and compromised virtue.<sup>586</sup> In order to preserve her own chastity, Syrinx willingly submitted to transformation and oblivion in preference to the consequences of Pan’s lechery.

As Naomi Baker aptly states, feminine beauty was often considered a disadvantage for many young women who viewed it as an obstacle to self-determination and innocence.<sup>587</sup> Looking to early modern literature, Baker offers the example of Apollo’s desire for Daphne who was likewise desperate to escape his amorous designs.<sup>588</sup> The nymph beseeches the gods to be made ugly in order to escape his lust and was subsequently turned into the laurel tree. As a result, Apollo claimed her leaves for his attribute which became emblematic of victory and artistic achievement. Pan’s ‘strict Embrace’ is likewise repulsed by Syrinx, and yet she remains captive in the form of his instrument.<sup>589</sup> While the bodies of Daphne and Syrinx are

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<sup>583</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. Dryden, Garth, et. al., 35.

<sup>584</sup> Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 33-34.

<sup>585</sup> Baker, *Plain Ugly*, 5.

<sup>586</sup> Baker, *Plain Ugly*, 7. Saint Catherine of Siena provides a good example of this. Described by Pope Paul VI as ‘worthy of awe’ with respect to her self-sacrifice in favour of a spiritual union with Christ, Catherine starved herself and ‘abused her body’ in rejection of the physical life of the flesh. Resisting her parent’s wishes for her marriage, the young girl deprived herself of sleep, whipped herself daily and reportedly cut her hair. For a number of years she exiled herself before returning to live and serve in the world as instructed by Christ. See Caterina Benincasa’s entry in ed. Frank Northern Magill, *Dictionary of World Biography: The Middle Ages, Volume 2* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 218-221.

<sup>587</sup> Baker, *Plain Ugly*, 161. Baker’s chapter “Sacrificing Beauty: De-featured Women” explains how beauty was perceived as a threat to virtue and feminine ugliness or disfigurement interpreted as a ‘refusal to submit to sexual objectification,’ 160. In this way, beauty impeded feminine agency and autonomy.

<sup>588</sup> Baker, *Plain Ugly*, 162.

<sup>589</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. Dryden, Garth, et. al, 36.

preserved in the artistic attributes of their respective assailants, other mythical victims of abduction and rape including Leda and Europa bore children who grew to become notorious shapers of history and builders of nations.<sup>590</sup> While these women are represented as submitting to the ‘honour’ of their fate as specifically chosen by Zeus, father of the gods, the ‘Ungrateful fair’ Syrinx (and Daphne) rejects hers.

### **Rape, Seduction, and Patriarchal Privilege**

Within the eighteenth century context, the act of rape was increasingly disparaged and seen as an offense which ran counter to the values of polite society and the rising middle classes. Jenny Skipp has shown that although erotic literature of the period continued to employ aggressive sexual metaphors in descriptions of assertive masculine sexuality, the violence of rape was more often associated with the debauchery and depravity of elite men.<sup>591</sup> There is a fine line though, between the promoted fantasy of taking ownership or possession of a woman, and the sexual aggression described as rape. Jennie Mills explains that in literature, the triumph of masculine pleasure is located in the successful negotiation of resistance to submission.<sup>592</sup> As Faramerz Dabhoiwala has noted, the coercion, harassment and assault that women experienced during this period was typically described as seduction.<sup>593</sup> Therefore, analyses of texts revolving around acts of sexual violence address issues of sexuality in terms

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<sup>590</sup> Melanie Cooper-Dobbin, *Wayward Wives and Deviant Mistresses: François Boucher’s Mythological Women of the Rococo*, 2008, unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Adelaide, 24. See also Margaret D. Carroll, “The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence,” *Representations* 25 (winter 1989), 3-30.

<sup>591</sup> Skipp, “Masculinity and Social Stratification,” 263.

<sup>592</sup> Jennie Mills, “Rape in Early Eighteenth-Century London: A Perversion ‘so very perplex’d,’” in Julie Peakman, ed. *Sexual Perversions, 1670-1890* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 146.

<sup>593</sup> Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), 144. Dabhoiwala describes ‘the cult of seduction’ as one of the ‘most enduring cultural innovations’ of the period.

of the difference between seduction and rape.<sup>594</sup> While social and sexual domination was encouraged as a pre-requisite of assertive, normative masculinity, women were expected to defend their virtue and loyalty with the utmost rigour. As masculine honour depended on the authority and control of feminine sexuality, feminine honour was subject to the preservation of chastity.<sup>595</sup> The problematic ambiguities of seduction and rape positioned women as passive victims of both; and while feminine desire on its own account ‘seems unthinkable’ or ‘in excess of what is required’, Western culture has also presented the allure of femininity as a dangerous, misleading force compelling men to rape.<sup>596</sup>

Given that sexual violence (as in all violence) centres on the abuse of power, it is not surprising that images of rape functioned as allegories of political domination and subjugation throughout the centuries as well. As has been shown, the rape and abduction of women throughout history have been represented as prizes and trophies of conquest.<sup>597</sup> Indeed, the modern term ‘rape’ originates from the Roman term *raptus*, a legal concept meaning to seize property, abduct or steal, so that the rape or abduction of one man’s wife, daughter, or sister as the property of men, was originally considered a crime committed between men.<sup>598</sup> The culture of war and monarchical claims to empire have littered history with a legacy of crimes committed against women and documented as cases of ‘men’s

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<sup>594</sup> Ellen Rooney, ‘Criticism and the Subject of Sexual Violence,’ *MLN* 98.5, *Comparative Literature* (December 1983), 1270.

<sup>595</sup> See Katie Barclay, ‘From Rape to Marriage: Questions of Consent in Eighteenth-Century Britain,’ in *Interpreting Sexual Violence, 1660-1800*, ed. Anne Greenfield, 35-44 (London and Vermont: Pickering and Chatto: 2013); Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives and Lovers: Marriage and its Discontents in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

<sup>596</sup> Rooney, ‘Criticism and the Subject of Sexual Violence,’ 1273-1274.

<sup>597</sup> Diane Wolfthal provides the Rape of the Sabines as an example. A well-known interpretation of this story is Nicolas Poussin’s *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1637-38, Musée du Louvre, Paris. See also Margaret D. Carroll, ‘The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence,’ *Representations*, 25 (Winter 1999), 3-30; Barbara J. Baines, ‘Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation,’ *English Literary History*, 65 (Spring 1998), 69-98.

<sup>598</sup> Mitchell B. Merback, ‘Review (Untitled),’ *The Art Bulletin*, 84:2 (June 2002), 381. See also Sharon Block, ‘Rape Without Women: Print Culture and the Politicization of Rape 1765-1815,’ *The Journal of American History* 89:3 (December 2002), 849-868.

retributive justice' and acts of revenge. In this way, rape was perceived as an assault against men's honour as opposed to an act of violence inflicted on women.<sup>599</sup>

The language of rape was one of conquest, victory, and the possession or violation of territory and property rights, and so the 'heroic' tradition of representing the assaults of gods and heroes further elaborates the idea of omnipotence or mastery over another.<sup>600</sup> As Wolfthal argues, traditions which are founded on classical ideas present stories of rape and abduction as seductions. The artistic traditions of the Renaissance and Baroque portray 'rapists not as depraved sex maniacs, nor even as ordinary men who have gone astray, but rather as the very gods and heroes of classical civilization, whose acts of civilization they exalt.'<sup>601</sup> Similarly, Syrinx's assault and final dismemberment is interpreted not as a horrific act of violence, but as evidence of Pan's artistic invention and cultural achievement.

In line with Wolfthal's study highlighting the connection between women's bodies and property rights, Skipp points out that sexual assertion was essential in the construction and maintenance of manhood across all categories of class, age and profession. For instance, 'male subordination could be resolved by an aggressive male assertion over the female body.'<sup>602</sup> Erotic literature and imagery promoting the sexual submission of women by the dominance of men granted patriarchal manhood to men across all levels of society. While criminal sexuality linked explicitly to cases of rape were often associated with elite vice and debauchery, libertine erotica served to validate and confirm the privileges of masculinity through the mastery of women irrespective of class.<sup>603</sup> Shane Agin describes eighteenth-

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<sup>599</sup> Block, "Rams and Billy-Goats," 853.

<sup>600</sup> Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 23.

<sup>601</sup> Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 26.

<sup>602</sup> Skipp, "Masculinity and Social Stratification," 262.

<sup>603</sup> For more on masculine privilege and definitions of patriarchal masculinity in the early modern period, see Alexandra Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700," *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (April 2005), 281-295. Karen Harvey also provides a useful summation of the shift from codes of honour to politeness and sensibility in "The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005), 296-311.

century French society as defined by ideals of pleasure that depended on both protecting virtue and placing it at risk; a society poised between Christian restraint and secular libertinism.<sup>604</sup> These oscillating ideals complement the titillating image of Pan's pursuit, capitalizing on the 'thrill of the chase' and the prize of compromised virtue. Indeed, this fantasy remains an enduring component of romantic and erotic literature with scenes of seduction, intrigue, and the final surrender a hallmark of notorious texts including Laclos' *Dangerous Liaisons*. While images of 'seduction' and pursuit titillated audiences and championed expressions of 'normative' masculine sexuality, images of Pan's disappointment reminded viewers that it was the bewitching charm of Beauty that lured men to their own misfortune.

### **Pierre Mignard and Painting as Instruction**

Pierre Mignard's *Pan and Syrinx* painted between 1688-90 (Fig. 50) is one of the period's earlier examples of works which adapted the myth to reflect constructions and ideals of manhood vulnerable to the temptations of lust and desire. The scene takes place in an open clearing of woodland framed by trees and the edges of a river. Glancing back over her shoulder in fright, Syrinx runs toward her father's open arms as the edges of her form begin to fuse with the reeds. The river god Ladon appears annoyed, scorning Pan's approach. As Pan lunges forward to snatch her up, the nymph's sisters observe the scene with quiet interest. Forming a distinct pair separate from the unfolding narrative, Syrinx's sisters are distinguished by their neutrality. Their presence aside and to the left positions them as a passive audience so that the conflict unfolds between Syrinx, Ladon and Pan, with a single cherubim at the nymph's heel holding out Love's flame in an attempt to stay her flight.

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<sup>604</sup> Shane Agin, "Sex Education in the Enlightened Nation," 77.

Mignard's triangular arrangement of figures within the composition presents a group seemingly oblivious to watchful bystanders. Since the cherubim in this painting attempts to restrain the nymph, the iconography of the painting could be read as a reference to matrimony with the marriage of women typically negotiated between men. Syrinx's position between two men (with one as her father) reinforced the notion of women as 'objects of exchange' in marriages arranged and approved by authoritarian male family members for the greater benefit of patriarchal estates and lineage.<sup>605</sup> Mignard's painting reinforces the fact that feminine sexuality was defined and authorised in patriarchal terms while images of sexual violence and attempted abductions were associated with prescribed ideals of love and sensual pleasure. Preceding Mignard's composition by some fifty years, Nicolas Poussin likewise interpreted the myth as a subject of romantic pursuit and was noted to have said that he imagined his own version of the myth 'with love and tenderness, as the subject requires.'<sup>606</sup> As a precedent to Mignard (and to De Troy), Poussin's approach underscores the idea that representations of the myth enabled artists and audiences to explore gender roles, sexuality and the consequences of lust. In this way, it can be safely assumed that images of Pan's transgression were also intended to be cautionary.

Referred to as the Blaffer *Pan and Syrinx*, Mignard's canvas was painted for the Flemish sculptor Martin Desjardins and was to pass on to other artists including Jean-François De

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<sup>605</sup> Leigh Gilmore, *Autobiographies: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 43. Gilmore explains that this term comes from Claude Lévi-Strauss's idea that the "exchange of women" underpins and sustains culture. See *The Elementary Structure of Kinship* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969). Gilmore also points out that Gayle Rubin notes that the exchange of women refers to 'social relations of a kinship system' in which men have certain rights over female kin and women do not have the same rights among themselves or in relation to male kin. See "The Traffic of Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975) [https://books.google.com.au/books?id=oXvZsxlEoQC&clq=women+as+objects+of+exchange&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com.au/books?id=oXvZsxlEoQC&clq=women+as+objects+of+exchange&source=gbs_navlinks_s) (accessed 4 April 2015).

<sup>606</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 214-215. Poussin's painting is dated to 1637.

Troy.<sup>607</sup> Drawing on both French and Italian precedent, Mignard is known to have revisited the subject a number of times throughout his career.<sup>608</sup> Colin B. Bailey described the Blaffer *Pan and Syrinx* as laden with a ‘sterner morality’, concerned with the perils of irrational lust rather than appealing to the subject’s erotic undertones.<sup>609</sup> Moreover, the underlying ‘mood of sorrow and regret’ described by Bailey implies that the interpretation and ideological context of the myth remained fixed during this period.<sup>610</sup> In 1690, Mignard produced a second version of his painting for presentation to his son Charles (Fig. 51). This second painting provides an additional, vital clue in understanding how his interpretation of the episode is used to convey the serious moral concerns underpinning it. Reproducing the Blaffer painting, the triangular arrangement of Syrinx between her father and Pan are represented in close-up. Here, extraneous details of landscape and seated nymphs are omitted in strict emphasis of Syrinx’s position between two men. The figure of the nymph represents femininity itself, moulded by the imperative to define and promote values of ideal masculinity. In this later painting, the putto has snuffed out Love’s flame in response to the dire consequences of Pan’s mindless lust as two chubby infants in the foreground simultaneously scorn his reckless desire. It has already been acknowledged that this composition was intended for instructional use, supported by the presentation of its lost pendant, *Apollo and Daphne* to Mignard’s younger son Rodolphe. Drawing on themes of sexual pursuit and rejection leading to unfortunate outcomes, the conscious presentation of these works to young men are read as ‘an injunction not to marry without parental approval.’<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>607</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 99-100. “Blaffer” refers to The Blaffer Art Museum, University of Houston. De Troy sold the painting in 1764.

<sup>608</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 99-100.

<sup>609</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 102.

<sup>610</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 100-103.

<sup>611</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 100-102. These ideas are also addressed in my book chapter, “The Horror of the Horns: Pan’s Attempted Rape of Syrinx in Early Eighteenth-Century Visual Art,” in ed. Anne Greenfield, *Interpreting Sexual Violence 1600-1800* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 163-174. I acknowledge with gratitude again the vital information provided in Bailey’s *Loves of the Gods* catalogue which has been fundamental in enabling me to tie the threads of my argument together.

Aside from the shame of over-zealous behaviour, unruly appetites incited by desire raised serious concerns regarding promiscuity and the dangers of fornication. These dangers also presented a risk to the overall health of the family unit. Equated with the ‘contagion of sin’, promiscuity was directly linked to infectious disease, sterility and the ‘frustration of what nature intended.’<sup>612</sup> Eighteenth century medical practitioners addressed these issues by providing copious amounts of information to readers of popular sex manuals. These manuals were designed to instruct married couples on the correct methods in which to indulge their desire and avoid the disastrous consequences of disease and unhealthy, malformed offspring.<sup>613</sup> In order to combat these dangers and preserve the integrity of family lineage, it was the responsibility of older male relatives to educate the younger men in their families in preparation for their adult lives. An important aspect of this education was the promotion of lawful marriage as a pleasurable and happy union while writers urged caution against the ‘inconstancy’ of women.<sup>614</sup> In this way, Mignard’s *Pan and Syrinx* and its pendant *Apollo and Daphne*, functioned as tools for the preparation of youths approaching manhood.

Similarly, Dutch portraits of children painted during the seventeenth century often represented boys restraining or holding a goat with bridle, stick or whip. These portraits are also noted for their instructional value in expressing the need for children to be taught to keep their passions in check. Preparing for the responsibilities of adulthood, children were taught to learn and observe the values of moderation and restraint.<sup>615</sup> Another example of this can be

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<sup>612</sup> Cooper-Dobbin, *Wayward Wives*, 168; Roy Porter, “The Secrets of Generation Display’d”: *Aristotle’s Masterpiece* in Eighteenth-Century England’ in ed. Robert Purks MacCubbin, ‘*Tis Nature’s Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality During the Enlightenment*’ (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 8.

<sup>613</sup> Herman Roodenburg, “Venus Minsieke Gasthuis: Sexual Beliefs in Eighteenth-Century Holland,” in ed. Jan Bremmer, *From Sappho to de Sade: Moments in the History of Sexuality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 94.

<sup>614</sup> Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love*, 61-69.

<sup>615</sup> Jan Baptist Bedaux, “A bridle for lust: representations for sexual morality in Dutch portraits of the seventeenth century” in *From Sappho to De Sade*, ed. Bremmer, 65-66. The examples provided by Bedaux include portraits by J.G Cuyp and J.A Rotius, both of which are held in unknown locations. The author refers to *Images of the World: Dutch genre painting in its historical context*, eds. Christopher Brown and Mary Ann Stevens (London: Weidenfeld Nicolson Illustrated, 1986).



found in the 1774 frontispiece for Rousseau's *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (Fig. 52), where the figure of Reason receives a man in her arms. Minerva swoops in behind the pair to ward off Cupid and his chubby assistants as Reason 'holds a bit (to bridle him with) in her right hand.'<sup>616</sup>

In a reappraisal of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, Stephen Epstein has examined the way in which human sexuality was defined alongside and against both animal and divine qualities.<sup>617</sup> The role of Pan and Daphnis' own observations on the behaviour of his goats is explored as a means of educating a youth on the threshold of manhood through negative and positive connotations linked to masculine sexuality in 'an environment that contains the potential for both pastoral harmony and bestial aggression.'<sup>618</sup> From antiquity onward, Greek and Roman culture considered the goat to be exceptionally potent, with its beard an outward sign of its virility. The goat's clear association with Pan is expressed in its fertility and procreative power connected with the phallus, as well as in the physical attributes of beard, horns, hind legs and cleft hoof. It is also important to note the common link between Pan and goats in the 'liminal status' they share as inhabitants of spaces between nature and culture, roaming 'between plain and mountain, forest and field...neither wild nor truly domestic.'<sup>619</sup> As Epstein points out, the Longus' text highlights the choice for human males between uneducated, bestial behaviour and the correct codes of mature masculinity and proper sexual conduct.<sup>620</sup>

Having received his tutelage from the goat-god, Daphnis realizes that a condition of his masculinity is to pursue and emulate higher ideals in contrast to the lascivious motivations of

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<sup>616</sup> Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 23. Print made by Jean Duclos after Jean Michel Moreau le jeune (Brussels: Boubers, 1774).

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1621684&partId=1&searchText=rousseau+frontispiece+julie&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1621684&partId=1&searchText=rousseau+frontispiece+julie&page=1) (accessed 15 April 2013).

<sup>617</sup> Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 25-39.

<sup>618</sup> Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 25.

<sup>619</sup> Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 27.

<sup>620</sup> Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 31.

Pan. The youth learns that only the state of marriage will bring a harmonious resolution to the sexual desire and love that he holds for Chloe, since the institution of marriage both governs sexuality and permits the consummation of desire.<sup>621</sup> Moreover, Daphnis realises that his future with Chloe relies on his self-control. Integral to the Dutch portraits mentioned above, the values of self-discipline and restraint is central to the paintings presented to Mignard's sons. As instructional images they emphasise the opposition between irrational impulse and reasoned decorum. In Plato's thought, Eros:

... brings together the two natures of man, the divine self and the tethered beast. For Eros is frankly rooted in what man shares with the animals, the physiological impulse of sex... yet Eros also supplies the dynamic impulse which drives the soul forward in its quest of a satisfaction transcending earthly experience.<sup>622</sup>

This likewise recalls the way in which Bacchus provided the opportunity for divine transcendence through indulgence and the physical senses. While the figure of Pan was open to multiple meanings in the context of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth century, his presence as half man and half beast affirms the importance of indulging pleasure in an appropriate manner that did not present a risk to virtuous manhood and reason. As we have seen, indulging the physical senses enabled individuals to transcend earthly experience and attain higher levels of meaningful satisfaction and knowledge. On the other hand, a later print reproduction of Mignard's Blaffer *Pan and Syrinx* placed additional stress on the dangers associated with beauty and fruitless desire resulting in immoderation.

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<sup>621</sup> Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 36.

<sup>622</sup> Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953) cited in footnote 36, Epstein "The Education of Daphnis," 37.

## Mignard Revisited: The Perils of Adultery

Edmé Jeurat's print produced after Mignard's Blaffer *Pan and Syrinx* (Fig. 53) appears with a description of Mignard's painting in Bailey's exhibition catalogue, *The Loves of the Gods*. However, the significance of Jeurat's print is only briefly summarized and warrants closer consideration. Rather than reading the verse as diminishing or degrading the intended function of Mignard's paintings, it is worth investigating how the additional significance attached to the image exchanges the violence of sexual assault with the misleading influence of women. Moreover, the text provides another clue towards confirming the sub-textual meaning of De Troy's interpretation painted in 1720. Engraved and published in 1718, Jeurat's print is accompanied by verse which reads in part:

Once such horns were considered hideous... But how things have changed! There is hardly a beauty today who has any difficulty in contemplating them, be they ten feet high, and she can see them on her husband and still laugh.<sup>623</sup>

Pan's 'hideous horns' placed on the head of 'Beauty's' husband signifies the shame of the cuckold so that the visual opposition of masculine figures within the composition now imply a competitive rivalry between husband and lover. As previously discussed, the motif of the horns was similarly associated with the Devil and domesticated animals. Referring specifically to the horns of the billy-goat in Mediterranean cultures, the horn symbol or gesture has remained relevant to concepts of disgraced honour and shame.<sup>624</sup> Noted for its lascivious behaviour, the billy-goat was characterised by its uninhibited nature and the demeaning manner in which it permitted sexual access to partners by rival goats. In the human context, the insult of being called a 'buck' or 'he-goat' extended to the cuckold who

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<sup>623</sup> Translated and cited in Bailey *Loves of the Gods*, 102. The original complete verse in French can be read on the print via the online collection of the British Museum [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1438445&partId=1&museumno=1873.0712.339&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1438445&partId=1&museumno=1873.0712.339&page=1) (accessed 21 March 2012).

<sup>624</sup> Blok, "Rams and Billy-Goats," 427-428.

permitted his wife's adultery. Put another way, the deceived husband is said to have 'been given the 'horns.'<sup>625</sup> To further emphasise this, the horns of the ram function as a distinct opposite, referring to a territorial animal which tolerates no rival. The ram is also linked with the image of kings and gods characterized by the values of honour, virility, and power. Connected with Apollo, Zeus and Poseidon, the ram was cast as a binary opposite of the billy-goat as symbolic of shame and nature. Furthermore, the goat was associated with gods connected with immoderate behaviour including Bacchus, Pan and Venus.<sup>626</sup>

As we have seen, immoderate behaviour and excessive indulgence led to the corruption of virtue and reason. It was also criminal. Infidelity was considered an especially vicious crime throughout early modern Europe, and adulterers were equated with 'bloody and inhumane murderers' as the titles of several opinionated texts indicate.<sup>627</sup> Moralistic writers railed against the 'abominable and filthy sin of adultery' committed by treacherous women and reflected in the double standard positioning men as above punishment or reproach for their own indulgence in extra-marital pursuits.<sup>628</sup> Likened to monarchs ruling over realm and subject, husbands could not be charged for their own offences, except in the most extreme of cases.<sup>629</sup> Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* described *Adultère* as 'the most cruel of all thefts, and an outrage capable of inciting murders and the most deplorable excesses.'<sup>630</sup>

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<sup>625</sup> Blok, "Rams and Billy-Goats," 428. Blok also cites Michael Kenny, *A Spanish Tapestry: Town and Country in Castille* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1966).

<sup>626</sup> Blok, "Rams and Billy-Goats," 428-429.

<sup>627</sup> The text which provides this example is *The Triumphs of divine justice, over bloody and inhumane murderers and adulterers: display'd and exemplify'd in divers true and tragical narrations of barbarous and execrable murthers [and] adulterers: wherein the justice of God is advanced and glorified, in the wonderful discovery and just punishment of these crying sins. The most of which narrations have never been before printed.* Or shortened to *The Triumphs of divine justice display'd in the just punishment of the abominable and filthy sin of adultery* (London: printed by W. O. for H. Nelme at the sign of the Leg and Star in Cornhill, 1697).

<sup>628</sup> This phrase also comes from the title of the text cited above.

<sup>629</sup> Christine Roulston, *Narrating Marriage in Eighteenth-Century England and France*, Ashgate, 2012, 8. See also Jeffrey Merrick, 'Sexual Politics and Public Order in Late Eighteenth-Century France: The *Mémoires Secrets* and the *Correspondance Secrète*', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 1.1 (July 1990), 68.

<sup>630</sup> François Vincent Toussaint, Claude Yvon, and Denis Diderot (ascribed). "Adultery". *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. Translated by Naomi Andrews (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2007). Originally published as "Adultère," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des artes et des metiers*, 1:150-150 (Paris 1751). <http://hal.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.328> (accessed 18 June 2012).

Represented as an ‘irregular union’ resulting in the gravest of consequences, the authors of the entry are explicit in their judgment of fallen women as responsible for ‘the ruin of fertility and the opprobrium of society.’<sup>631</sup>

In the same way that humour or irony was used to address direct threats to the correct functioning of society, so cuckolding humour addressed the ‘horror of the horns’ and the anxieties of men at the mercy of their wife’s fidelity. Comedies, plays, and novels satirised and gently mocked the contented, ‘merry cuckold’ who wore the ‘fashionable horns’ in popular works which threw the perils of deception into entertaining, if not comic, relief.<sup>632</sup>

The word *cuclus* or ‘cuckow’ is closely tied to the term cuckold, imparting a rather sinister edge in its association with the bird which ‘layes in others nests.’<sup>633</sup> Given that adultery was described as the cruellest kind of theft, it is ironic that cuckold humour was also a joke that could be shared between men even as they wronged each other.<sup>634</sup>

Though the fear of ‘being cuckolded’ was an anxiety shared among married men from all backgrounds, the ‘sexual ownership’ of wives and daughters also meant that the domestic monarch was responsible for his own behaviour as well.<sup>635</sup> Lawful marriage symbolised the unification of flesh between man and wife so that adulterous women were seen to be defiling the matrimonial body. As head of this body, the cuckolded husband was ‘held in contempt for

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<sup>631</sup> Toussaint, Yvon, and Diderot, “Adultery”. *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d’Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. Translated by Naomi Andrews (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2007). Originally published as “Adultère,” *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des artes et des métiers*, 1:150-150 (Paris 1751). <http://hal.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.328> (accessed 18 June 2012).

<sup>632</sup> These terms all appear within titles of works of the period and whose authors include the likes of Aphra Behn, Joseph Harris and Reuben Bourne.

<sup>633</sup> *The Horn Exalted, Or Room for Cuckolds. Being a Treatise Concerning the Reason and Original of the Word Cuckold, and Why Such are Said to Wear Horns. Also an Appendix Concerning Women and Jealousie* (London, 1661), 2-3. [www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.proxy.library/adelaide.edu.au](http://www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.proxy.library/adelaide.edu.au) (accessed 23 June 2012).

<sup>634</sup> David M. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 89-90.

<sup>635</sup> Jennifer Jordan, “Her-story Untold: The Absence of Women’s Agency in Constructing Concepts of Early Modern Manhood,” *Cultural and Social History* 4:4 (2007), 578.

being unable to prevent it.’<sup>636</sup> Described as ‘eight times less than another man’, the cuckold bears the shame of his inadequacy and failed masculinity as ruling head.<sup>637</sup> The deceived husband was said to have been ‘abused’ by his wayward wife and disgraced with the title of cuckold, the ‘hieroglyphick of a fearful idle and stupid fellow’ applied to ‘such men as neglected to dress and prune their vines in due time.’<sup>638</sup> In this way, it was the husband’s burden to ‘wear the Horns, by the Law of Nature,’ and it is the cuckold’s horns which emphasise the dehumanising aspect of adultery.<sup>639</sup> While wearing the horns inscribed ‘the cuckold’s infamy on his body,’ the discovery of his wife’s infidelity presented an opportunity for the wronged husband to reassert his masculinity, demonstrating that he was not the deplorable ‘contented cuckold’ undisturbed by the unruly behaviour of his wife.<sup>640</sup>

The public arrest of an outraged husband provoked into attacking his wife’s lover when he discovered them together in the Jardin du Roi exemplified the public spectacle and humiliation of adultery. While the husband provoked to outrage lingered in custody, authorities concluded that he should be put on display, sharing a space in a case where the skeleton of a dissected elephant from the Versailles menagerie was kept. Writing to the naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, André Thouin reported that:

While this man was sequestered, the public crowded to the windows and one could say that the elephant, as extraordinary as it must be for the inhabitants of Paris, seemed less so than that surly husband, so little informed of the ways of his country.<sup>641</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 87.

<sup>637</sup> From *Poor Man’s Intelligence*, 22 May 1676, cited in Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 85.

<sup>638</sup> *The Horn Exalted*, 4.

<sup>639</sup> *The British Apollo*, i No.2, 18 Feb 1708, cited in Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 87.

<sup>640</sup> Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 88; 93.

<sup>641</sup> From a letter dated to 1786 and cited in Emma C. Spray, *Utopia’s Garden: French Natural History From Old Regime To Revolution* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 53.

This contemporary snippet demonstrates that amorous intrigue was considered commonplace, and is likewise reflected by the numerous examples of garden settings in visual art and literature as secret enclosures for passionate and clandestine embraces. However, the duped husband's retaliation in the fight that broke out with his wife's lover as described by Thouin also demonstrates that cuckoldry epitomised rivalry between men. This rivalry was a means of marking difference and competitive hierarchies based on sexual performance and described in terms of triumph and conquest. Indeed, it has been shown that the rivalry between cuckold and gallant was often presented as the manly conquest of seduction versus inadequate impotence.<sup>642</sup>

As mentioned, it is through the bodies of women that acts of sexual assault and moral transgression were represented as offences committed against men.<sup>643</sup> With this in mind, we can clearly see how the position of Syrinx between her father and rejected suitor in Mignard's painting takes on an altered meaning in Jeurat's print. In Mignard's second version of *Pan and Syrinx*, the nymph is deliberately framed between two men to the exclusion of all else. In this way, the composition illustrates a cautionary tale of the potential consequences of mindless passion and illicit fornication. In addition, it also reminded the viewer of the distracting and emasculating effects of over-indulgence which was remarked by libertines themselves.<sup>644</sup> Central to Jeurat's reversal of Mignard's composition is the role of the cuckold and the 'Ungrateful fair' Syrinx who, caught between two men, breaches the conventional 'model of exchange' between father and groom.<sup>645</sup>

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<sup>642</sup> Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 101-102.

<sup>643</sup> Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, 9. Wolfthal draws on Poussin's *Rape of the Sabines* to explain the way in which Roman law elaborated the concept of *raptus* or rape as a violation of male property rights. She also demonstrates how the story of the Sabines in Roman history was central to nation building and ideas of family life on page 8.

<sup>644</sup> Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex*, 150.

<sup>645</sup> Again I acknowledge my debt to Wolfthal's excellent study which explores this 'model of exchange' in detail.

### De Troy and wistful Pan

Having examined the representation of Pan and Syrinx as an instructional and cautionary image, we are now in a position to reconsider the apparent enigma embodied by De Troy's gentlemanly Pan. It is important to recall that Mignard's original version of *Pan and Syrinx* was personally acquired by De Troy who painted a number of his own versions until his death.<sup>646</sup> De Troy's treatment of the theme in terms of composition owed a debt to the older master. Further, the younger artist must have been aware of the additional layer of meaning attached to Mignard's painting because Jeurat's satirical print was produced and distributed only two years prior to De Troy's composition of 1720 (Fig. 43). Recall also that De Troy had produced another version of the theme (Fig. 44) as a pendant to *Diana and Her Nymphs* in 1722-24. This later example can be distinguished by its a warmer palette of yellow and earth tones in contrast to the watery blues and greens of the first. Although the composition and group formations appear in reverse, the arrangement of figures remains crucial to the significance of the subject. Yet again, Syrinx is positioned between two men and her predicament is played out between these men to the exclusion of silent bystanders. This passive group of witnesses comply with cultural assumptions relating to the regulation of women and their sexuality as objects of exchange.

Comparing the paintings of 1720 and 1722-24, it is important to note that the presence of a swan obscured by shadow in the left foreground of the earlier canvas is unconventional in the context of the myth of Pan and Syrinx. In this way, the swan in De Troy's earlier canvas could be taken to refer to secret, illicit love hidden in shadows. As an attribute of Venus, it is also plausible that the unexpected appearance of the bird encouraged viewers to read the

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<sup>646</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 211. See, for example *Pan and Syrinx*, 1733. Housed in The J. Paul Getty Museum, [www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/732/jean-françois-de-troy-pan-and-syrinx-french-1722-1724/](http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/732/jean-françois-de-troy-pan-and-syrinx-french-1722-1724/) and another at the National Gallery of Canada, [www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/artwork.php?mkey=74821](http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/artwork.php?mkey=74821)



episode as one of romantic disappointment rather than of violent metamorphosis.<sup>647</sup> On the other hand, De Troy's later canvas as pendant places additional stress on the idea that women 'effect men's destruction' as exemplified by the figure of the fearsome Pan as emasculated cuckold and Actaeon turned into a stag by Diana and torn to pieces by his own hounds for daring to look.<sup>648</sup>

In 1733, De Troy produced another version of Pan's pursuit (Fig. 54) which draws our focus in toward an isolated group of figures. As with the earlier canvas presented to Mignard's son, De Troy's painting eliminates surplus details to focus on the moment of Pan and Syrinx's struggle. Syrinx seeks refuge in the embrace of the river god as Pan reaches in through a thick mass of reeds towards her. Importantly, the nymph appears to have been saved. Thus, the priority of Syrinx's position between Ladon and Pan draws attention to the rivalry or opposition between men. In her analysis of Neo-classical representations of masculinity, Abigail Solomon-Godeau makes the point that rivalries between men do not necessarily revolve around sexual desire.<sup>649</sup> Solomon-Godeau refers to French theorist René Girard who explains that 'any relation of rivalry is structured by the same play of emulation and identification, whether the entities occupying the corner of the triangle be heroes, heroines, gods.'<sup>650</sup>

Recalling the burden of the horns borne by the husband, Da Silva sheds further light on the triangular relationship established around the figure of a woman. While the humiliation of the

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<sup>647</sup> Halls, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 294. On the other hand, the poet's soul was believed to reside in the form of the swan so that the bird's love of music manifested in song even in its final dying moments. The visual reference to swan in this context could perhaps also allude to Syrinx's transformation into Pan's instrument, her change signaling death with the residue of her form contained in his music. According to Plutarch, water was required to facilitate the transformation of bodies into souls. See Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body Criticism: imaging the unseen in Enlightenment art and medicine* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 250.

<sup>648</sup> Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 87.

<sup>649</sup> Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 50. See Solomon-Godeau's earlier article "Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation," *Art History* 16:2 (June 1993), 286-312 where she explains that late in the century (and into the next), images of the 'feminized masculine and masculinized masculine' reflect an "intensifying masculinization of the public sphere' where femininity was associated with the corruption of the *ancien régime*, 294.

<sup>650</sup> Solomon-Godeau, *Male trouble: A Crisis in Representation*, 50.

husband is signified by the passing of horns, Da Silva explains that it is the passing or transfer of horns from one man to another which ‘implies asserting male supremacy over one’s rival.’<sup>651</sup> The examples of European literature and folklore reveal that as a seducer passes his own horns of virility on to the husband, the cuckold is feminised in his failure to defend his own honour and control his wife. Da Silva notes:

While males who behave as rams conduct their virility in a controlled and vigilant way – the hallmark of honorable masculinity – males behaving like he-goats display the kind of shameful, uncontrolled sexuality allegedly characteristic of femininity. This means the sexuality of men branded as he-goats is deemed unmanly. Not surprisingly, both the wronged husband and the horny seducer – classified together on the side of goats, not sheep – present female traits on closer examination. Indeed, not only is the husband unmistakably feminized even as he gets virile horns; the bestowing of these implies the feminization of the horny seducer.<sup>652</sup>

The passing of horns occurs through the body of the woman so that the cuckold is not alone in the metaphor. In each case, women and the tyranny of desire lead to detrimental moral risk and emasculation.

Whether images of Pan and Syrinx were utilised in an educational context for young men or as a satirical metaphor of cuckoldry, the nymph figure caught between two men continued to highlight concepts of masculine authority and the need to monitor women’s behaviour. Adultery and rape – even the threat of it - were viewed as antagonistic acts committed between men, disempowering and (in)validating masculine codes of honour and power. The unexpected return of another feminine form behind Syrinx in De Troy’s last version, however, prompts yet another reading of the subject in the eighteenth-century context.

In the aforementioned compositions, water nymphs were either included as passive witnesses physically distanced from the event itself or excluded from the image altogether. François

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<sup>651</sup> Da Silva, “Sexual Horns,” 399.

<sup>652</sup> Da Silva, “Sexual Horns,” 400-401.

Hutin's print after De Troy's later canvas (Fig. 55, 1740-58) positions a nymph close behind her sister, her face appearing in profile alongside Syrinx's as she holds her hand out toward Pan, palm upturned in a gesture of supplication. She gazes directly at Pan, who looks upwards above her head. The intervention of this nymph is unusual and contradicts earlier interpretations of the myth. Talbot has proposed that this significant shift in representation can be explained as the result of De Troy having worked on tapestry cartoons for the Gobelins factory between 1739 and 1746, which presented the opportunity to 'demonstrate his abilities on a grand scale.'<sup>653</sup> However, the addition of a woman actively intervening on Syrinx's behalf effectively disrupts the triangular relationship between the figures which was crucial to the visual representation of the episode. Taking this interruption as a cue, it appears as though the presence of femininity is no longer silenced, and neither is it omitted nor excluded from participation.

François Boucher's depictions of *Pan and Syrinx* painted in 1759 and 1761 (Fig.56 and Fig. 57) not only placed women in the centre of the action as it unfolded, but erased the masculine figure of Ladon from the composition. In both cases, Pan is blocked out behind reeds while Syrinx safely reclines alongside feminine bodies. The conventional triangular formation of bodies has been dismantled. Pan retains his brawny physique and darker skin tone which accentuates his masculine physicality while Syrinx in both of Boucher's examples turn aside from him. Representations of women in groups have been deciphered as references to female homosexuality appealing to heterosexual men (although these works were also viewed and later purchased by women).<sup>654</sup> Here, as in Boucher's earlier paintings depicting *Leda and the Swan*, the presence of masculinity is figured as an imposition.<sup>655</sup> Pan is not merely standing

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<sup>653</sup> Talbot, "Jean-François de Troy," 259.

<sup>654</sup> Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo*, 205.

<sup>655</sup> Boucher's versions of *Leda and the Swan* are investigated at some length in my Master's thesis, *Wayward Wives and Deviant Mistresses: François Boucher's Mythological Women of the Rococo*, University of Adelaide, 2008. For Diderot's reading of Boucher's 'unnatural' women see, for instance, 81-88.

as a cuckold duped by wife and rival, he is rejected in preference to feminine company. Bewildered, Pan stumbles across the nymph and her companion(s) within a private feminine space protected from his unruly passion, prompting the association of ‘unnatural relationships’ between women who undermine their ‘natural’ domestic and procreative roles in subordination to men.<sup>656</sup> This also undermined the concept that Nature had provided women ‘to serve us for Play-Toys after our more serious Occupations,’ while men in contrast:

act(s) with more firmness, feeds more happily, defends himself with more Courage and Presence of Mind, reasons with more Strength, and contributes toward the getting of Children with more Alacrity. He acts particularly in Generation, where he communicates himself, and by other Actions of Body and Mind gives proof of his Strength and Heat; whereas the Woman only suffers the Impressions a Man makes upon her, and often is not ready so soon as he to furnish werewithal to form a Man. In short, she is only to Conceive, to give Suck, and to breed up Children.<sup>657</sup>

The assumption was that women were sexually unstable due to both temperamental characteristics and natural causes. A ‘devouring heat’ in the feminine constitution was consistent with the excess of female sperm believed to be found in women’s bodies.<sup>658</sup> If female sperm was not released through intercourse, women supposedly lingered in a state of torment. The strength of women’s sexual urges were ever present, even immediately after childbirth, when ‘she begins to attack her husband once again...she comes time and again to an incessant fury and never says it is enough.’<sup>659</sup>

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<sup>656</sup> Merrick, “Sexual Politics and Public Order,” 73.

<sup>657</sup> Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love*, 69.

<sup>658</sup> Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love*, 68.

<sup>659</sup> Roodenburg, “Venus Minsieke Gasthuis,” 92-93.

Governed by irrational and excessive natures, it was assumed that women were naturally vulnerable to corruption and easily influenced. This meant that the fair sex was also to be protected from indecent print matter for fear of emulation and disobedience. While women and young girls were to be kept from the polluting effects of inappropriate text and imagery, they were also to be sheltered from poor role models located in groups outside the family.<sup>660</sup> As critics including Diderot show, women's desire - as well as an excess of masculine desire for women- was to be feared, and fed the scathing criticism levelled at images in which troubling eroticism ran counter to the ideals of domesticity and marriage. Female homosexuality signalled the unattainable woman who not only represented sexual instability and disorder, but rejected masculinity in favour of her own sex.<sup>661</sup> Jeffrey Merrick explains that while homosexual relationships were common particularly among the elite, by the 1780s local broadsheets *Correspondence Secrète* and *Mémoires Secrets* reported on the new way in which 'unmanly men and unwomanly women' flaunted their illicit pleasures. The *nouvelles* were critical of scandalous behaviours taken as breeches of natural and social hierarchies and reported on private matters as public ones.<sup>662</sup> Merrick writes:

In theory, French men and women mastered their sinful passions and performed their assigned roles in the patriarchal system of politics and procreation constructed by the family, state and church. In reality, they undermined the hegemony of the authoritarian household, Bourbon absolutism, and Counter-Reformation rigorism in the eighteenth century.<sup>663</sup>

The repeated image of Syrinx's rejection and Pan's bitter disappointment cautioned against disloyal and disobedient women who required spousal or paternal control in the interests of maintaining domestic and social order. While Mignard's paintings pressed the need for

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<sup>660</sup> Erica Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 25:4, Special issue: Art History: New Voices/New Visions (Summer 1992), 499-516.

<sup>661</sup> Cooper-Dobbin, *Wayward Wives*, 86-87.

<sup>662</sup> Merrick, "Sexual Politics," 71.

<sup>663</sup> Merrick, "Sexual Politics," 69.

masculine restraint and sexual decorum, the verse beneath Jeurat's print presents a reversal or inversion by levelling unmoderated, bestial sexual drives squarely on the shoulders of unchaste women. Pan's 'hideous horns' did not inspire fear, rather they provoked mockery and humiliation borne by men as victims of feminine duplicity and the rival who crowns him. The virile goat god as powerful sexual predator and divine guardian of nature is here emasculated by feminine treachery, signalling a loss of power and control within the patriarchal household. In both satirical print and instructional painting, the myth of Pan and Syrinx was adapted to define and promote correct codes of behaviour.

Where De Troy drew subtle, perhaps melancholic allusions to the effects of secret love and the power of women over men, Boucher's paintings suggest that the link between the shame of the cuckold betrayed by wife and lover is (at least in the eyes of critics including Diderot) further amplified by another woman whose intrusion underscores his emasculation. While the figure of the rapist had become an unseemly relic of the past, the violence of Syrinx's terror and dismemberment was erased in order to draw attention to the questionable chastity of women in the interests of promoting feminine virtue and complicity.<sup>664</sup> On the other hand, both the unruly and gentlemanly figures of Pan provided another example of the need for self-moderation and rational judgment in order to fulfil the pleasures of masculine sexuality without risking domination and emasculation. The goat god, once feared and respected, now provided an example from which the polite gentlemen could measure and distinguish himself.

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<sup>664</sup> William Park, *The Idea of Rococo* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), 32.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *Marsyas flayed alive by Apollo*

It has been observed that eighteenth-century artists ‘generally avoided’ the flaying of the satyr Marsyas as a subject, partly because his image ‘did not conform to the classical ideal.’<sup>665</sup> According to Simon Richter, the statue of Marsyas housed in the Uffizi is neither beautiful nor noble by eighteenth-century standards, and images of his horrific ordeal shocked viewers appalled by the brutality of his punishment depicted with ‘aesthetic serenity.’<sup>666</sup> Richter describes the image of the triumphant and vengeful Apollo: ‘Beauty wields a knife, fit for castration, dissection, experimental stimulation, or amputation. It serenely enacts its multifarious negations of the body.’<sup>667</sup> While the grisly details of the satyr’s suffering seem to oppose the aesthetic taste of the period, Apollo’s denial of the body by taking it apart reflects the need to contain or moderate the processes and urges of the irrational body. French theoretician André Félibien described the *Allegory of Vice* or *Marsyas* painted by Antonio Allegri (called Correggio) as ‘a picture of a weak man whom Pleasure caresses, perverse Habit binds and Synteresis tortures.’<sup>668</sup> This was endorsed by Antoine Banier’s account of the god’s cruel punishment as rendering the offensive satyr ‘more tractable’ in his explication of the myth.<sup>669</sup> This chapter demonstrates that the notion that the

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<sup>665</sup> Simon Richter, *Laocoön’s Body and the Aesthetics of Pain. Wincklemann, Lessing, Herder, Moritz, Goethe*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 34.

<sup>666</sup> Richter, *Laocoön’s Body*, 34 ; 193.

<sup>667</sup> Richter, *Laocoön’s Body*, 192. Richter’s study examines developments in aesthetics during the second half of the eighteenth century with a particular focus on German theorists including Goethe, Wincklemann, Lessing and Herder. He observes that beauty ‘conceals and is dependent on some form of the dynamics of the infliction of bodily pain,’ 11.

<sup>668</sup> André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vie et les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres ancient et modern* (*Conversations on the lives and works of the most excellent painters ancient and modern*) published in ten parts between 1666 and 1688, cited in Marcin Fabiański, “The Iconography of Correggio’s *Marsyas*,” *Arte Lombarda Nuova Serie*, 152:1 (2008), 36.

<sup>669</sup> *Ovid’s Metamorphoses*, trans. Garth, Dryden, et al., 196.

satyr got what he deserved (and became more compliant) assigned prominence to the conceptual construction and maintenance of masculine identities through artistic, cultural and social hierarchies.

The satyr's ordeal appears to be a remarkable choice of subject for Carle (Charles-André) Van Loo. The artist's name lent itself to the biting term 'vanlooter,' a verb applied to overtly feminine aesthetics coinciding with the rise of anti-Rococo criticism.<sup>670</sup> Van Loo's success as a painter of historical and religious subjects is commonly overshadowed by his close association with royal patron Madame de Pompadour and the giddy extravagance of the Rococo style. Conversely, his range and flexibility as an artist means that he has been cast as a 'difficult' painter, which could in part contribute to the lack of scholarly analysis of *Apollo Flaying Marsyas* (Fig. 58).<sup>671</sup> It is precisely the singularity of Van Loo's Academy reception piece, however, that urges a closer reading of the painting and its subject in the context of its time and production. In order to assess the significance of Van Loo's painting, this chapter will examine other examples that highlight concepts central to the artist's interpretation of the myth and his departure from conventional examples of the screaming satyr. In the following section, an outline of the myth of Apollo and Marsyas is provided to establish a basis for the ideas associated with the iconography of the mythic contest and the dire consequences for Marsyas.

### **The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas**

The competition between Apollo and Marsyas appears to be a relatively recent myth with the earliest mention of the story coming from Herodotus in the middle of the fifth century.<sup>672</sup>

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<sup>670</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 429.

<sup>671</sup> Philip Conisbee, "Carle Vanloo at Nancy," *The Burlington Magazine* 119:895 (October 1977), 726 and 729. Conisbee observed that Van Loo's 'remarkable range' placed him as a 'difficult painter' whose eclecticism makes it near 'impossible to see the whole of his *oeuvre* as all of a piece.'

<sup>672</sup> Edith Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas in the Art of the Italian Renaissance: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Images* (London: Newark and Associated University Presses, University of Delaware Press, 1996), 19.



Apollodorus and Hyginus also mentioned the episode, though the account provided by Ovid became the most familiar throughout the subsequent centuries.<sup>673</sup> Ovid's version of events recorded in the *Metamorphoses* is 'but partially told' and asks the reader to consider 'contradictory judgements on the tale's protagonists and the nature and purpose of the narrative itself.'<sup>674</sup> Writing under a repressive regime, Ovid's poem possibly alludes to the power of the state over the individual and reflects the political climate of Augustan Rome.<sup>675</sup> Limiting his description to the anguish suffered by Marsyas and leaving out the details of the contest, it appears that the political danger of Ovid's time necessitated the limited treatment of the myth.<sup>676</sup> Importantly, it has been noted that Zeuxis's painting *Marsyas religatus* was hung in the Concordia temple in Rome as a 'warning' to those who might consider acting or speaking against the state.<sup>677</sup>

Ovid's account begins precisely at the moment of Marsyas's horrendous torture:

... another man remembered the tale of the satyr whom Apollo punished, after having defeated him in a competition on the reed-pipes, the instrument Minerva invented. 'Help!' Marsyas clamoured. 'Why are you stripping me from myself? Never again, I promise! Playing a pipe is not worth this!' But in spite of his cries the skin was torn off the whole surface of his body: it was all one raw wound. Blood flowed everywhere, his nerves were exposed, unprotected, his veins pulsed with no skin to cover them.<sup>678</sup>

The poet continues to describe how all the woodland creatures, nymphs, satyrs and horned cattle mourned his fate so that their tears of grief fell deep into the earth:

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<sup>673</sup> Joanna Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl: The Myth of Marsyas in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Zbigniew Herbert's "Apollo and Marsyas"," *Comparative Literature* 53:2 (Spring 2001), 152.

<sup>674</sup> Andrew Feldherr and Paula James, "Making the Most of Marsyas," *Arethusa*, 37:1 (Winter 2004), 75-77.

<sup>675</sup> Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl," 151-159

<sup>676</sup> Feldherr and James, "Making the Most of Marsyas," 85; Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl," 154, 156.

<sup>677</sup> Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl," 152.

<sup>678</sup> Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, edited by Innes, 145.

Then from these tears, it created a spring which sent it gushing forth into the open air. From its source the water goes gushing down into the sea, hemmed in by sloping banks. It is the clearest river in Phrygia, and bears the name of Marsyas.<sup>679</sup>

It was left to other poets and writers to fill in the gaps and explain how it was that Marsyas came to his terrible fate. Apollodorus and Hyginus explained that Minerva had invented the flute and then been mocked by the gods for the way she played.<sup>680</sup> Withdrawing to Mount Ida to play alone, the goddess caught sight of her bloated cheeks reflected in a stream as she blew into her instrument. Repulsed, she cursed and discarded it. Marsyas later discovered the flute, mastered it and foolishly challenged Apollo to a contest. In one version of the tale, Hyginus stated that the Muses judged Marsyas as the winner of the first round.<sup>681</sup> Apollo wins the second round by turning his lyre upside down to play while singing at the same time, which is physically impossible for the satyr to do with his flute.<sup>682</sup>

It appears that the god's victory was decided by the limitations of the satyr's instrument, however, it was 'preordained not only by the nature of the challenge... but by the composition of the jury impanelled by Apollo.'<sup>683</sup> As a consequence of his arrogance, Marsyas was flayed alive for committing a hubristic crime. One interpretation of the myth from antiquity states that Apollo's lyre represents universal harmony which is disrupted by the 'discordant', 'shrill' flute.<sup>684</sup> Regardless of the socio-political climate of the period in which it appears, the 'antagonism between lyre and flute' and its implications of social harmony, hierarchy and order resonated across the centuries.<sup>685</sup>

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<sup>679</sup> Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, edited by Innes, 145.

<sup>680</sup> Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl," 152.

<sup>681</sup> Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl," 152.

<sup>682</sup> Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl," 152.

<sup>683</sup> Frederika Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling: Marsyas, Michelangelo and the Accademia del Disegno," *The Art Bulletin*, 84.3, (September 2002): 429.

<sup>684</sup> Niżyńska, "Marsyas's Howl," 152. The author also acknowledges Piers B. Rawson's *The Myth of Marsyas in the Roman Visual Arts: An Iconographic Study* (Oxford, England: B.A.R, 1987) as a source for this idea.

<sup>685</sup> Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas*, 26.

## Van Loo and the Academy Reception Piece

Born into a family of established artists, Van Loo's early training included lessons from his brother as well as from the Roman painter Benedetto Luti and French sculptor Pierre Legros.<sup>686</sup> Prior to his admission into the Academy, Van Loo travelled extensively throughout Italy, first with his older brother Jean-Baptiste in 1712-1715 and again in 1716-1718.<sup>687</sup> This early period in Rome - as well as his subsequent stay in the city from 1728 - means that it is certain Van Loo was familiar with both the Greek and Roman versions of the Marsyas myth and its representation in Renaissance art.<sup>688</sup> In short, the artist would have been conscious of the associations of the myth with ideals of artistic hierarchy and practice.<sup>689</sup> Looking to antiquity, De Piles stated that a painter:

cannot do better than endeavour to find out the excellence of these Pieces, that he may know the Purity of Nature the better, and design the more Learnedly, and the more Elegantly. Nevertheless, since there are in Sculpture several things that do not agree with Painting, and since the Painter has, besides, the means to imitate Nature more perfectly; he ought to regard the *Antique*, as a Book which is to be translated into another Language, wherein 'tis sufficient he keeps to the sense and meaning of the *Author*, without tying himself servilely to his words.<sup>690</sup>

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<sup>686</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 429.

<sup>687</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 429.

<sup>688</sup> Bailey, *Loves of the Gods*, 429. Van Loo had won the Prix de Rome in 1724.

<sup>689</sup> Daniela Bodhe, "Skin and the Search for the Interior: The Representation of Flaying in the Art and Anatomy of the Cinquecento," in *Bodily Extremities. Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, eds. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 10-47; Fredrika Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling: Marsyas," 426-448.

<sup>690</sup> Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters: Containing a Compleat Treatise of Painting, Designing and the Use of Prints* (J. Nutt, 1706), 18. Accessed 19 August 2011

[http://books.google.com/books?id=i9RPAQAIAAJ&pg=PA35&dq=inauthor:Roger+de+Piles&Source=gbs\\_toc\\_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q=ancients&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=i9RPAQAIAAJ&pg=PA35&dq=inauthor:Roger+de+Piles&Source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q=ancients&f=false).

Van Loo's contemporary, Michel-François Dandré-Bardon, confirmed that the artist 'knew antique models by heart.'<sup>691</sup> Clearly, the mythological theme offered Van Loo an opportunity to display his mastery of anatomy and knowledge of 'ancient art, the foundation of art education.'<sup>692</sup>

Completed in 1735, Van Loo's reception piece reinforced the opposition between Apollo and Marsyas, god and satyr. Their physical differences are displayed in behavioural traits and reinforced by the spaces they occupy. The uneven flesh tones of the satyr and executioner's assistants form a distinct contrast against the luminosity of Apollo's unblemished skin, while the coarseness of the satyr's hind legs and leopard pelt identify him as a follower of Bacchus and nature. Apollo's swarthy assistants are likewise lower in social status. Thomas DiPiero has explained that 'whiteness' or 'white' as an 'identifier' created social meaning and describes attributes beyond physical characteristics.<sup>693</sup> As a point of comparison, whiteness is 'culturally valorised' and emphasises difference in 'its relationship to law and the discourses of reason and logic generally associated with Enlightenment values.'<sup>694</sup> The idealised beauty and physical placement of Apollo as the embodiment of reason adhered to the golden ratio and thus confirmed his divinity, emphasised not only by his halo, but reflected in his stoic composure.<sup>695</sup> In contrast, the earthy, robust Marsyas pulls and strains against his ropes in passionate resistance. The left side of the canvas is characterised by movement, the clutter of bodies and foliage. The Sun god stands to the right side alone, untainted by dirt and shadow. Positioned in the light, Apollo calmly directs the flaying to commence. The Scythian slave

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<sup>691</sup> Marie-Catherine Sahut, *Carle Vanloo – Première Peintre du Roi (Nice 1705- Paris 1765)*. Exhibition held at the Musée Charet, Nice 21 January – 31 March 1977. Introduction by Pierre Rosenberg (Clermont: The Musée Bargoïn, 1977), 36-37.

<sup>692</sup> Sahut, *Carle Vanloo*, 37.

<sup>693</sup> Thomas DiPiero, "Missing Links: Whiteness and the Color of Reason in the Eighteenth Century," *The Eighteenth Century* 40:2 (Summer 1990), 155.

<sup>694</sup> DiPiero, "Missing Links," 155.

<sup>695</sup> Fernando Corbalán, *The golden ratio: the beautiful language of mathematics* (Barcelona, Spain: RBA Coleccionables, S.A, 2012). See in particular Chapter 4, "Beauty and the Search for Perfection in Art," 95-124.

kneeling before Marsyas pulls hard on the coarse ropes binding him to a tree, the sharpened knife within arm's reach.

Van Loo's figure of Apollo recalls the posture of the antique Apollo Belvedere (Fig. 59) whose stance is likewise repeated in Joachim von Sandrart's print *Apollo and the Python* for the 1698 edition of the *Metamorphoses* (Fig. 60) and Bernard Picart's *Marsyas flay'd alive by Apollo* in the 1732 edition (Fig. 61).<sup>696</sup> Standing before Marsyas, Picart's figure of Apollo delegates the flaying to the crouching executioner who begins at the shrieking satyr's thigh. Comparing Van Loo's painting with Picart's print, it seems that the painter could have been influenced by it in developing his own composition. However, since Picart's satyr has both arms bound above his head and legs bent together, the posture of Van Loo's Marsyas more closely replicates the agonising, twisting contortions of the marble *Laocoön and His Sons* (Fig. 62) attributed to Agesander, Athenodoros, Polydorus ca.175-150 BC.<sup>697</sup> Importantly, Picart's Marsyas howls in agony as his executioner peels a large flap of skin back from his thigh. In contrast, Van Loo depicted the moments preceding the satyr's flaying and silenced his screams by painting a fist jammed into his mouth. This silencing gesture is absent from both the Laocoön figure and other representations of the screaming satyr from antiquity onward. I propose that Van Loo knowingly departed from artistic convention and consciously applied his knowledge of mythology and iconography to interpret the episode to meet his own professional ends.<sup>698</sup>

Van Loo's familiarity with the episode was central to the production and presentation of his reception piece to the French Academy. From the Renaissance onward, artists had aligned themselves with the god's side of the competition, standing on the side of artistic genius and

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<sup>696</sup> Sandrart's engraving appears in the Nuremberg edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* while Banier's appears in the Amsterdam edition.

<sup>697</sup> Rosenberg and Sahut, *Carle Vanloo, Premier peintre du roi*, 36. Sahut confirmed that Van Loo took inspiration from the statue housed in the Vatican.

<sup>698</sup> Michael Levey mentions that Van Loo was permitted to choose the subject for his reception piece himself in *Painting and Sculpture in France, 1700-1789* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 176.

invention as opposed to the satyr's mediocrity as craftsman. Andrea Saachi's *Allegorical Portrait of the Singer Marcantonio Pasqualini* of 1640 (Fig. 63) provides a precedent in which to situate the artistic rivalry between god and satyr in the early modern context. First, Saachi's painting functions as a tribute to the supreme talents of Italian soprano, Marcantonio Pasqualini. According to Todd Olson, the portrait draws on the hierarchy of instruments, substituting the reeds usually associated with the satyr for the Italian bagpipe or *zampogna*.<sup>699</sup> The contrast between pastoral bagpipe and disciplined voice of the celebrated *castrato* highlights the distinction between elite artist (and his patrons) against the lowly social register of peasant or rural culture.<sup>700</sup> Moreover, the acclaimed voice of the *castrato* is distinguished from the coarse, bestial howls of the foolish satyr. The 'ignoble grimacing and effaced language of the wind player' in contrast to the castrato's physical restraint of facial and bodily gestures affirmed distinct artistic and social categories.<sup>701</sup> Here, the opposition of lyre (and/or keyboard) and flute (or bagpipe) defined boundaries between urban culture and pastoral nature and separated high art from low. Defined by the mutilation resulting in his highly prized voice, the *castrato* is represented adjacent the defeated satyr, signalling the 'triumphs of artifice' and culture against nature.<sup>702</sup>

For Van Loo, this choice of subject was an open declaration that as an artist, he is worthy of the prestige associated with elite membership of the French Academy. Further, Apollo's victory over Marsyas reinforced the hierarchies of subjects and genres as defined by the Academy. Louis Tocqué's portrait, *The Actor Pierre Jéliotte in the role of Apollo* (Fig. 64.

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<sup>699</sup> Todd Olson, "'Long Live the Knife': Andrea Saachi's Portrait of Marcantonio Pasqualini," *Art History*, 27:5 (2004), 709.

<sup>700</sup> Olson, "Long Live the Knife," 708-710. Olson also points out the phallic associations of the bagpipe linked by the portrait with the castration of the soprano (which casts his sexuality into doubt).

<sup>701</sup> Olson, "Long Live the Knife," 709.

<sup>702</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, "Nature, Culture, Myth, and the Musician in Early Modern England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 51:1 (Spring 1998), 24. Note the irony given that in being defined by the mutilation of his genitals, the castrato's sexuality remains ambiguous, while nature is characterized as essentially feminine. The idea of art as superior over nature is therefore conceptualized as masculine as dominant over feminine. The castrato's ambiguity confuses this.

1755?) also provides a clear example of this. Plucking Apollo's lyre, the famous singer and actor in contemporary dress consciously aligns himself with the god by selecting and playing the divine instrument. Adopting the deity's superior qualities as his own, Jéliotte was represented as an artist of the highest rank in his genre. Similarly, Simon Charles Miger produced an engraving after Van Loo's *Apollo Flaying Marsyas* for his own Academy reception piece in 1778 thirteen years after the painter's death (Fig. 65). In this way, Miger's faithful reproduction of *Apollo Flaying Marsyas* affirms the continued relevance of the mythical contest to concepts of artistic hierarchy and achievement. Likening himself to Apollo, Van Loo openly positioned himself as an aspiring history painter superior in his practice and choice of subjects in comparison to the lesser genres of portraiture, still life and landscape. The opposition of the mythical artists and their respective instruments corresponded to the eighteenth century hierarchy of subjects and genres in the visual arts and in music.

### **Music and Noise, Art and Craft**

In addition to the hierarchy of subjects and genres, it is important to remember that artists were charged with a duty of care in presenting morally appropriate images for the viewing public. In this way, eighteenth-century visual art shared the responsibilities of music in instructing and elevating the mind of the spectator (and/or listener). Joseph C. Allard explains how during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, writers adapted concepts and terms from music and literary theory to develop aesthetic theory in support of the intellectual qualities of the visual arts.<sup>703</sup> For example, André Félibien endorsed Poussin's theory that 'just as in music the ear is charmed only by the harmonies achieved by the various voices, so in painting

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<sup>703</sup> Joseph C. Allard, "Mechanism, Music and Painting in 17<sup>th</sup> Century France," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 4:3 (Spring 1982), 269-270.

the eye is only satisfied if it rests upon a harmony of colours, and proper and orderly succession of the proper components.<sup>704</sup> The successful arrangement of the components in a painting, for example, produced a powerful effect on the viewer in a similar way that music, in its appeal to the senses, could reach reason.<sup>705</sup> Developing his aesthetic theory, De Piles also drew on music theory to explain how a successful painting appealed directly to the senses.<sup>706</sup> As with music, the immediate effect of the successful painting on the spectator was to inspire enthusiasm through the senses and elevate the mind to profound effect.<sup>707</sup> Returning to the satyr's plight and its implications for the artist, Robert M. Isherwood has explained that Neo-Platonism continued to influence perceptions of music during the age of Louis XIV, and these ideas were also elaborated in the visual arts.<sup>708</sup> While music could induce harmony in the human soul, Antoine Coypel insisted that the painter:

must also be familiar with the general rules of musical composition. Harmony, the product of the division of sounds, is founded on the same principles as those which govern the proportions of physical bodies, the gradations of light, and nuances of color.<sup>709</sup>

For Coypel, painting and poetry were 'sister arts' and the painter must 'be filled with the same spirit that animates poetry, and he should be familiar with its rules and conventions.'<sup>710</sup>

De Piles was similarly concerned with the way in which painting ought to demonstrate pictorial unity through the harmony and balance of each of the compositional elements. He

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<sup>704</sup> Nicolas Poussin, *Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin*, ed. Ch. Jouanny, *Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1968), 373 cited in Allard, "Mechanism, Music and Painting," 271.

<sup>705</sup> Allard, "Mechanism, Music and Painting," 273. Refer back to Chapter 4 "Venus and a Satyr" for an earlier discussion of art's appeal to the senses and the aesthetic theories of De Piles and Du Bos.

<sup>706</sup> Roger de Piles, *Conversations sur la connaissance de la peinture, et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux, Où par occasion il est parlé de la vie de Rubens, & de quelques-uns de ses plus beaux ouvrages* (Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1677) cited in Allard, "Mechanism, Music, and Painting," 276.

<sup>707</sup> Allard, "Mechanism, Music, and Painting," 277.

<sup>708</sup> Robert M. Isherwood, "The Politics of Royal Opera in the Reign of Louis XIV," in Steven G. Reinhardt, *The Sun King. Louis XIV and the New World: an exhibition* (New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, 1984), 140.

<sup>709</sup> Antoine Coypel, *Discours prononcés dans les conférences de l'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris, 1721) in ed. Henry Jouin, *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1883) cited in Harrison, Wood and Gaiger, *Art in Theory, 1648-1815*, 336.

<sup>710</sup> Coypel, *Discours prononcés*, 336.



noted that visual images ‘enter the understanding’ of the viewer by sight in the same way that ‘musical sounds’ enter by hearing, and explained that while ‘the *eyes* and the *ears* are the doors’, the first priority of both musician and painter is to ‘make these entrances *free* and *agreeable*.’<sup>711</sup>

According to Du Bos, the gap between nature and culture was bridged by music which embodied the energy of nature.<sup>712</sup> John C. O’Neal explains that nature is ‘at the beginning and the end of the artistic process,’ present in the production and consumption of art so that nature in fact ‘lies at the heart of culture.’<sup>713</sup> Vital to the progress of culture and individual achievement, however, is the hard work of cultivation and perfection of the arts by the discipline of practice.<sup>714</sup> In his evaluation of the figure of Music in Prevost’s (after Cochin) frontispiece for Diderot and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* (Fig. 30) Walter Rex noted that music was not described as inferior to painting per se, but where it did not seek to imitate something, it was described as ‘verbal nonsense.’<sup>715</sup> Without purpose or intent, purely instrumental or spontaneous music was seen to lack higher qualities appealing to the mind and soul of the listener.<sup>716</sup>

From antiquity, music was understood to bring the soul into balance with the order of the heavens - although it could also provoke ‘undesirable states of mind’ in the individual and society by extension.<sup>717</sup> Percussion and wind instruments including Marsyas’ flute were associated with chaotic and unlearned music which ‘disturbed’ the divine harmonies said to have been produced by Apollo’s lyre.<sup>718</sup> While the Apollonian stringed instrument was associated with rigorous discipline, reason and knowledge, wind instruments were connected

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<sup>711</sup> Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, 6.

<sup>712</sup> O’Neal, *Changing Minds*, 41-42.

<sup>713</sup> O’Neal, *Changing Minds*, 41.

<sup>714</sup> O’Neal, *Changing Minds*, 43. O’Neal notes that ‘work’ is in fact the final word of Du Bos’s text.

<sup>715</sup> Rex, *The Attraction of the Contrary*, 112.

<sup>716</sup> Rex, *The Attraction of the Contrary*, 112.

<sup>717</sup> Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas*, 26-28.

<sup>718</sup> Nizynska, “Marsyas’ Howl,” 152.

to the crude craft of herdsmen as well as with the cult of Bacchus and wild, unpractised creativity. The Greek aulos player merely provided light entertainment in contrast to the lyre player producing poetry.<sup>719</sup> The superior qualities of the lyre and other stringed instruments supported concepts of civic harmony and the higher virtues of Plato's ideal state while pipes associated with Pan and the satyrs were relegated to the fields for the use of shepherds.<sup>720</sup>

During the early eighteenth century, concepts of artistic hierarchy and merit central to the myth of Marsyas and Apollo were reinforced by the distribution of bronze and silver medals awarded by the Academy of Ancient Music (Fig. 66). The Academy was established in 1710 by a group of notable musicians and gentlemen whose aim was to found a 'society for the study and practice of vocal and instrumental harmony.'<sup>721</sup> Held in the British Museum collection, these rare medals designed by Richard Yeo were produced for the express purpose of acknowledging the work of successful students. The collection contains both silver and bronze medals as proof that merit was ranked according to ability. This of course confirms that a hierarchy of expertise was in place and skill levels were assessed according to a set criteria. Music, like painting, was subject to a system of classification where it was ranked as amateur or professional, art or craft.

Images and inscriptions on the medals placed an emphasis on artistic discipline and practice. On the reverse of Yeo's medal, the inscription STATE SYPER VIAS ANTIQVAS appears

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<sup>719</sup> Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas*, 26 - 27.

<sup>720</sup> Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas*, 26. Some musicologists have also noted that the flute and related wind instruments enjoyed immense popularity during the last years of the seventeenth century. During this period, the flute was cast as a noble instrument superior to the violin so that compositions for violinists were scarce in comparison for works written for the flute. The popularity of the flute can also be discerned throughout the visual culture of the early eighteenth century, most notably in Watteau's pastorals and a number of portraits painted by Hyacinth Rigaud. See Louis Fleury and Frederick H. Martens, "The Flute and Flutists in the French Art of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *The Musical Quarterly* 9:4 (October 1923), 515-537.

<sup>721</sup> Curator's Comments as noted on the British Museum website, accessed 23 September, 2011  
[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=949840&partId=1&museumno=1882.1004.1&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=949840&partId=1&museumno=1882.1004.1&page=1)

with the circling Serpent of Eternity and is translated as ‘Stand Upon the Ancient Ways.’<sup>722</sup> As patron of poetry and music, Apollo’s image again served to differentiate between the rigours of intellectual, creative practice and the second-rate dabbler. Receiving a medal from the Academy therefore awarded the gifted musician a position of the highest calibre. Further, the Serpent of Eternity was an attribute of Logic, one of the seven Liberal Arts likewise associated with the rationality and superiority of Apollo.<sup>723</sup> Adapting the image of Andrea Saachi’s allegorical portrait for use on these medals again confirms that the image of Apollo and his rival continued to express ideals of artistic achievement during this period.

Richard Leppert explains that music produced in Western Europe between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries played a crucial role in maintaining the power of the Church and aristocracy while building and securing levels of social prestige.<sup>724</sup> As different kinds of music were separated and differentiated, so the perception grew that the ‘wrong kind of music’ lacked the qualities required to build status and had a negative, misleading influence over individuals.<sup>725</sup> ‘Art music’ as opposed to ‘noise’ was identified with a particular social group and thereby also represented a ‘highly particularised social order.’<sup>726</sup> As the expertise of highly esteemed musicians ‘signalled some sort of exception,’ so the history painter was distinguished by superior brilliance.<sup>727</sup> While history painting could ennoble the mind of the viewer, lesser subjects or genres posed a moral risk to audiences. The way in which music could have an undesirable influence on listeners was expressed in John Dennis’ *An Essay on*

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<sup>722</sup> Curator comments accessed 23 September, 2011

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=949840&partId=1&museumno=1882,1004.1&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=949840&partId=1&museumno=1882,1004.1&page=1)

<sup>723</sup> Halls, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 285; 25.

<sup>724</sup> Richard Leppert, “Music, Representation, and Social Order in Early Modern Europe,” *Cultural Critique*, 12 Discursive Strategies and the Economy of Prestige (Spring 1989), 25.

<sup>725</sup> Leppert, “Music, Representation and Social Order,” 27.

<sup>726</sup> Leppert, “Music, Representation and Social Order,” 27-29.

<sup>727</sup> Austern, “Nature, Culture, Myth,” 2.

*the Opera's after the Italian Manner...* (1706).<sup>728</sup> Dennis described the apparent threat posed to the English theatre by the Italian opera he saw as 'soft and effeminate.'<sup>729</sup> Music itself could potentially prove disastrous to society:

And as soft and delicious Musick, by soothing the Senses, and making a Man too much in love with himself, makes him too little fond of the Publick; so by emasculating and dissolving the Mind, it shakes the very Foundation of Fortitude, and so is destructive of both Branches of the Publick Spirit.<sup>730</sup>

Four years later, Dennis voiced his concerns in another essay, insisting that English audiences who enjoyed the Italian opera were in fact guilty of favouring '*Italian Sound to British Sense, Italian Nonsense to British Reason.*'<sup>731</sup> Men visiting the Italian opera were seen to be placing themselves in direct danger of emasculation and were at risk of becoming homosexual; British wives were warned that they ignored the threat of foreign music at their own peril.<sup>732</sup> We see, then, that the nature and value of different kinds of music were also assessed according to perceptions of nation and gender.

Linda Phyllis Austern notes that early modern composers saw the lute of Apollo as the archetype of 'human musical artifice and manufacture' or an emblem of the triumph of human invention over nature.<sup>733</sup> Instruments crafted by human hands represented superior ingenuity over the unprocessed sounds of nature vocalised by birdsong, for instance.<sup>734</sup> In this

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<sup>728</sup> John Dennis, *An Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner, which are about to be Establish'd on the English Stage: With Some Reflections on the Damage Which They May Bring to the Publick in The Select Works of Mr John Dennis*. In two volumes. (First published by J. Nutt: 1706; J. Darby: 1718).

<sup>729</sup> John Dennis, *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. E. N. Hooker (Baltimore, 1939), 384, cited in Richard Leppert, "Imagery, Musical Confrontation and Cultural Difference in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Early Music* 14:3 (August 1986), 337.

<sup>730</sup> Dennis, *The Critical Works*, 389 cited in Leppert, "Imagery, Musical Confrontation and Cultural Difference," 337.

<sup>731</sup> John Dennis, *An Essay Upon Publick Spirit Being a Satire in Prose Upon the Manners and Luxury of the Times, The Chief Sources of our present parties and divisions* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Library, 2007. First published in London and printed for Bernard Lintott, 1711. Chapter II, 23. Accessed online via Eighteenth Century Collections Online Text Creation Partnership, <<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/004802334.0001.000>> last accessed 20 August 2015.

<sup>732</sup> Leppert, "Imagery, Musical Confrontation," 337.

<sup>733</sup> Austern, "Nature, Culture, Myth," 26.

<sup>734</sup> Austern, "Nature, Culture, Myth," 26.

way, artificial instruments opposed the spontaneous and instinctive processes of nature so that the superior products of human endeavour connected man to the triumph of Culture over Nature and Apollo over Marsyas. As is well known, Western thought has traditionally described nature as feminine and the progresses of civilisation and culture, masculine.<sup>735</sup> Specifically, Woman and Nature are characterised by ‘what higher Reason left behind’ and defined by the passions and earthy sensuality.<sup>736</sup> Austern writes:

She generates imperfect, mortal, and often ungovernable products of the same faulty physical materials. Meanwhile Man, in a tribute to his Maker’s clean creative capacities, builds order out of chaos with the powers of his mind. Women thus belong to Nature in ways that men do not, and culture achieves its highest value as a triumph of manly artifice.<sup>737</sup>

Just as genre was critical to boundaries of artistic hierarchy and individual rank, it was also gendered. In her recent study on artistic enthusiasm, Mary Sheriff explored Louis de Cahusac’s treatise on dance as an example of the way in which creative women were perceived as being inferior to men in terms of artistic ability.<sup>738</sup> The vast majority of women were described as ‘simple artist(s)’ outside the ‘rare class of creative talents.’<sup>739</sup> History painting was equated with the masculine faculties of invention and reason while craft as a lesser, feminine past-time lacked value. Cahusac explained that:

The *Danse en action* is superior to the *Danse simple* in the way a fine history painting is superior to cut-out floral arrangements. Genius orders, distributes, composes the former. Everyone knows how to make cut-outs, there is no merit in making them even

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<sup>735</sup> Austern, “Nature, Culture, Myth,” 27-28; Carol P. MacCormack, “Nature, culture and gender: a critique,” in *Nature, Culture and Gender*, eds. Carol P. MacCormack and Marilyn Strathern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 7-10.

<sup>736</sup> Austern, “Nature, Culture, Myth,” 28.

<sup>737</sup> Austern, “Nature, Culture, Myth,” 27-28.

<sup>738</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 193. See also Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) for a thorough discussion of these issues.

<sup>739</sup> Louis de Cahusac, *La danse ancienne et modern; ou, Traité historique de la danse* (The Hague: 1754. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1971) 3:154, cited in Sheriff, *Moved By Love*, 193.

if one does so excellently. One marches in the difficult path that leads to the temple of memory alongside Montesquieu when one paints like Van Loo.<sup>740</sup>

For Cahusac, Van Loo exemplified the masculine artistic genius whose creative talent is fated to endure. Floral cut-outs and other trivial crafts associated with the feminine were ephemeral and required minimal skill. As we have seen, the lower status of craft mirrored the perception of wind instruments as less sophisticated. While the capacity for making high art was perceived as belonging almost exclusively to the male artist, the status of the great artist also attested to his individual masculinity.<sup>741</sup> Just as manhood required proof and maintenance, so the artist or musician is expected to sustain the production and performance of works at the same level as that masterpiece which initiated and confirmed his rank to begin with.

### **Music, Art and the Triumph of Culture**

The relationship between art and music is illustrated in an anonymous drawing, *Music, Art and Science* (Fig. 67) attributed by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston to Carle Van Loo. The drawing depicts a group of figures occupied by sketching, playing music and taking measurements of a globe. The details of works of art and fine objects arranged in the room are loosely sketched to form the background surrounding men who are clearly defined by the polish of their learned occupations. The musician in the left foreground and the figure in the centre each play stringed instruments, aligning themselves with the elite cultural superiority of Apollo. Van Loo's composition draws the attributes of science and music together to articulate their connection with the visual arts. While *Art, Music and Science* represents the pursuit of these disciplines as synonymous with elite accomplishment, the drawing also demonstrates that the triumph of culture was bound to scientific enterprise. De Piles assists our understanding of the relationship between art, music and science by observing that the

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<sup>740</sup> Cahusac, *La danse ancienne et modern; ou, Traité historique de la danse* (The Hague, 1754. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), 3:139. Also cited in Sheriff, 192.

<sup>741</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 194.

appearance of truth is essential to painting because it is ‘the basis of all the parts which heighten the excellence of this art; as the *sciences* and *virtues* are the foundation of all those accomplishments, which can either exalt or adorn human nature.’<sup>742</sup> In other words, truth, science and virtue are ‘to be in perfection’ in order to produce the desired effect of commanding the attention of the audience and elevating the mind of the viewer or listener.<sup>743</sup>

Eighteenth-century scientific enterprise had begun to reveal the structures and ‘predictable laws’ of nature that were ‘not as yet mastered.’<sup>744</sup> In this way, Apollo’s act of retribution and mastery of nature provided a useful allegorical connection for members within the scientific community as well. An anonymous satirical print titled *Philosophical Judgement Decr I. 1777* (Fig. 68) visibly alludes to the musical challenge in order to condemn the awarding of the Copley medal for excellence in science that year to John Mudge. Established by the Royal Society in 1731, the Copley medal was awarded in recognition of ‘outstanding achievements in either the physical or biological sciences.’<sup>745</sup> Presented annually, it was the most prestigious award of its kind and was initially granted to work judged as making the most significant discovery or for the ‘greatest contribution made by experiment.’<sup>746</sup> Mudge, a West Country surgeon, had written a paper on developments in telescopes, a work praised ‘in glowing terms’ in an address given by the Society’s president, Sir John Pringle.<sup>747</sup> However, as much as Pringle admired Mudge’s contribution, the surgeon would never achieve the level of success and notoriety enjoyed by the Astronomer Royal, Nevil Maskelyne nor the

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<sup>742</sup> De Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, 5.

<sup>743</sup> De Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, 5.

<sup>744</sup> MacCormack, “Nature, culture and gender: a critique,” 6.

<sup>745</sup> <http://royalsociety.org/awards/copley-medal>, accessed 24/09/2011. It is interesting to note that in the same year the Copley medal was established, a medal was struck at the Royal Mint in Paris for the Royal Academy of Surgery. Identified as *Apollo Salutaris and Hygieia*, it was designed by Joseph Charles Roettiers. The design for the medal is housed in the British Museum and can be viewed online identified with the accession number 1898,1216.6. <http://library.artstor.org/library/printImage.jsp?imageurl=http%3A//imgserver.artstor> accessed 23 September 2011.

<sup>746</sup> <http://royalsociety.org/awards/copley-medal>, accessed 24 September 2011.

<sup>747</sup> Emma Davidson, Information and Promotion Officer at the Centre for History of Science, London, email message to author, 20 October, 2011.

enduring fame of Captain James Cook.<sup>748</sup> Indeed, Mudge would have been viewed by many as a most unlikely recipient of the Copley medal.<sup>749</sup>

The print depicts a meeting of the Royal Society where its President presides over an assembled group of gesticulating members who appear to be voicing their disbelief. Some members have their backs turned to the viewer and raise their hands in surprise at the awarding of the medal. Holding a manuscript titled ‘Short on Grinding’ in one hand and the Copley medal in the other, the president stands in front of a sculptural bust flanked by two pictures behind him. Closer inspection reveals that the image to the left represents Midas with his ass’s ears passing judgement between Apollo and his challenger. The Latin phrase ‘Aures Asininas habet Rex Midas’ is inscribed above and ‘Veluti in Speculum’ appears below. This last phrase appears in Lyly’s *Midas*, a play written during the Elizabethan age which positions the king of Phrygia as a tyrant.<sup>750</sup> Significantly, ‘veluti in speculum’ can be translated as ‘even as in a mirror’ and implies that the judgement of the Society’s President is comparable with the tyrannical ignorance of King Midas.<sup>751</sup> This is confirmed by a smaller print appearing on the right side of the wall inside the image. This smaller image within an image depicts the President of the Royal Society holding a medal before his sleeping members. Clearly, the ass’s ears were awarded to the President to connect his foolish judgement with Midas. It also appears that the sleeping members knowingly turn a blind eye to the erroneous judgement of their President. Mudge, for all intents and purposes, unwittingly takes on the role of Marsyas as a mere imitator in the shadow of greater masters.<sup>752</sup>

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<sup>748</sup> Davidson, email correspondence, 20 October 2011.

<sup>749</sup> Again, I am grateful to Emma Davidson for sharing her knowledge and insight.

<sup>750</sup> Stephen S. Hilliard, “Lyly’s *Midas* As An Allegory of Tyranny,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 12:2 Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring 1972), 243-258.

<sup>751</sup> Jon R. Stone, *The Routledge Dictionary of Latin Quotations: The Illiterati’s Guide to Latin Maxims, Mottoes, Proverbs and Sayings* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 216.

<sup>752</sup> Davidson, email correspondence, 20 October 2011.



Framing the image, the words ‘Redivivus 1777 Dormiente Consilio’ appear above and ‘Et in Arcadia Ego’ below.<sup>753</sup> Often associated with Nicolas Poussin’s painting of Arcadian shepherds, ‘et in Arcadia ego’ refers to the realisation that death is inevitable and ever present. This original meaning was put to use in the eighteenth century as a phrase understood in romantic or nostalgic terms to describe ‘a lost golden age or for the passing of youthful love.’<sup>754</sup> In its evocation of the temporal nature of things, the use of this phrase in the context of the Royal Society becomes a lamentation of institutional decline and lack of competence in favour of error and misjudgement. In this way, the underlying message of the print is concerned with the need to revive the Society and its status as a virtuous institution of high esteem.

### **Coming Undone**

Apollo’s victory was clearly understood and utilised as a theme through which to promote concepts of intellectual and artistic rank. This was underpinned by perceptions of nature and the spontaneity of lesser genres or groups as inferior, uncultivated and undisciplined. As discussed, civilisation advanced with the dominance of culture, and this level of mastery also relied on violence and intimidation. The punishment of the satyr as an unruly figure of nature is central to Abraham von Diepenbeek’s (1596-1675) plate reproduced for the 1702 Amsterdam edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Fig. 69). Diepenbeek’s composition directly refers to Guido Reni’s earlier painting (1633) held in the Alte Pinacothek, Munich (Fig. 70).<sup>755</sup> Compositionally, Diepenbeek’s print is weighted more to the left with the lucent

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<sup>753</sup>The notes for the image on The British Museum website misidentify the satyr in the challenge with King Midas present as Marsyas. The satyr favoured by Midas was in fact Pan as noted earlier. Accessed 23 September, 2011

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1453595&partId=1&museumno=1857%2c0520.30%&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1453595&partId=1&museumno=1857%2c0520.30%&page=1)

<sup>754</sup>Halls, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 116-117.

<sup>755</sup> Although it is clear Diepenbeek and Reni were contemporaries, it is not clear what year the etching was made, though we know it was published in 1702 as part of the publication it illustrates.

Apollo rushing into the wilderness, his divine lyre conspicuous in the painting's foreground behind him. Diepenbeeck's viewer (reader) is distanced from the magnified focus of Reni's figures by pushing out the edges of the picture plane and the surrounding detail of foliage. Conversely, the distant landscape offers little respite to the viewer of Reni's painting. Here, the flaying is depicted in magnified focus, editing out the edges of landscape so that the viewer is forcibly drawn into Marsyas' horrendous ordeal.

Marsyas howls without restraint as Apollo commences stripping his skin from the armpit with stoic composure and fixed absorption. Overwhelmed and flayed into submission, Marsyas writhes in violent agony, his howling a signal loss of reason and control of the body. The satyr's impassioned response to pain has more in common with the markers of excess emotion associated with feminine irrationality than masculine restraint and sober stoicism. As an image of contrasts, the outward display of fear, anguish, horror and pain as opposed to detached self-control again confirms that the status of masculinity was judged according to expected modes of behaviour.

The satyr's inferiority is crucial to highlighting the superiority of culture and Apollo as a figure of elite masculinity. Strung up by his hoof to a tree, the pitiful figure of Marsyas in François Joullain's *Apollon écorchant Marsyas* (Fig. 71) is defeated and inanimate.<sup>756</sup> Disturbingly, his inverted posture bears an uncanny resemblance to an animal carcass hung to be bled and butchered. Another satyr is tied further up in the tree, his twisted body following the branches' direction of growth and downward gaze ensuring that his own identity remains obscured. This ambiguity is consistent with the anonymous meatiness of Marsyas' body, all muscle and sinew presented as flesh half flayed. Recalling Marsyas's experience of being

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<sup>756</sup> The original painting reproduced by Joullain had been assumed to have been produced by Veronese, but was later attributed by the collector and connoisseur Mariette to Caliari. Provenance details listed on the British Museum website accessed 23 September, 2011 [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3205141&partId=1&museumno=1855.609.252&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3205141&partId=1&museumno=1855.609.252&page=1)

torn from himself, it is the hoof and tapering shape of the lower calf alone that reveal him as a satyr in both images. The individual satyrs have taken on the homogenised identities of restrained, domesticated cattle presented as meat. In stark contrast, Apollo stands as triumphant master of vanquished beasts.

Absorbed in the task that lies before him, Apollo is observed by two figures behind the sacrificial tree and two women to the left. As passive witnesses to the execution, the women are screened from the act by the immediate foreground of mounds shielding them from the closer details of the flaying. The woman closest to the figure of Apollo is accompanied by a stringed instrument while Marsyas' instrument lies broken in pieces beneath him. It could be said that these women have taken on the roles of inspirational muses or nymphs who accompanied the Sun god in myth, and remain outside the masculine space as passive witnesses to the event.

The satyr's inversion is repeated in a print produced by Lorenzo Zucchi (Fig. 72) after Lodovico Lana for the series *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus célèbres tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Dresde*.<sup>757</sup> Helplessly protesting his fate, Marsyas lies slumped over a rock as Apollo ties his legs to a tree trunk. Apollo is unmoved and appears deaf to the satyr's cries. Repeated throughout the centuries, the inverted posture of the satyr conformed with the ancient sculptural convention of expressing the 'image of the triumphant lyre' in the satyr's humiliation.<sup>758</sup> The satyr is denied dignity in his torture, his 'utterly degraded state' reinforced even in his final moments.<sup>759</sup> This indignity is likewise promoted in Jacopo da Leonardi's print produced after Giulio Carpioni (Fig. 73) which obscures Marsyas'

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<sup>757</sup> This print belongs to a series produced by various artists across Europe commissioned to reproduce the most famous paintings of the Dresden Gallery.

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3240161&partId=1&museumno=1855,0609.1267&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3240161&partId=1&museumno=1855,0609.1267&page=1) (accessed 23 September 2011).

<sup>758</sup> Paula James, "Marsyas' Musical Body: The Poetics of Mutilation and Reflection in Ovid's Metamorphic Martyrs," *Arethusa* 37:1 (Winter 2004), 91. See footnote 29.

<sup>759</sup> Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas*, 98.

identifying facial features (as in Joullain's example also).<sup>760</sup> Again he is torn from himself.<sup>761</sup> Ultimately transformed into an 'ever-changing, unlimited river,' Marsyas as a hybrid mythical figure 'has no comprehensible identity.'<sup>762</sup> The denial of the satyr's identity presents an obstacle to the viewer who could otherwise empathize with his plight. Recognition would risk arousing compassion and also hinder the traditional significance of the myth, which was geared toward the restoration of justice for the greater good.<sup>763</sup> Indeed, ancient writers including Apuleius insisted that the brash satyr deserved his punishment by mutilation and is not to be pitied:

All his body was covered with hair and bristles, and yet – good heavens! He is said to have striven for mastery with Apollo. 'Twas hideousness contending with beauty, a rude boor against a sage, a beast against a god.<sup>764</sup>

Naomi Baker explains that while beauty signified unified order, ugliness was irrational and chaotic, signifying 'the failure of purposeful or ordered form.'<sup>765</sup> Disorder was characteristically opposed to civilisation as a motif of unified and collective order. In Carpioni's composition, the satyr's mutilation takes place with the shape of buildings at a distance. His execution at the very edge of nature reinscribes his alliance with wilderness divorced from civilisation and human advance. As can be seen in the practices of dissection,

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<sup>760</sup> [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3250463&partId=1&museumno=1953,0214.122&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3250463&partId=1&museumno=1953,0214.122&page=1) (accessed 23 September 2011).

<sup>761</sup> James, "Marsyas' Musical Body," 93.

<sup>762</sup> Daniela Bohde, "Skin and the Search for the Interior: The Representation of Flaying in the Art and Anatomy of the Cinquecento," in Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg, eds. *Bodily Extremities. Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 46.

<sup>763</sup> Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas*, 29. Wyss' excellent study explains Apollo's victory as representing order and justice, necessary for maintaining harmonious, universal order and civic values during Antiquity and the Renaissance periods. That is, the satyr's punishment is for the greater good and benefit of humanity.

<sup>764</sup> Apuleius, *Florida*, 3. [www.attalus.org/translate/florida.html](http://www.attalus.org/translate/florida.html). Translated by H.E Butler (1909), last accessed 18 December 2015.

<sup>765</sup> Naomi Baker, *Plain Ugly*, 17.

flaying and vivisection, art and science motivated by the desire to acquire and perfect knowledge forcibly uncovers Nature's secrets.<sup>766</sup>

Nathaniel Wolloch explains that, 'the ability of humanity to gain instrumental control over nature was a signal step in the civilizing process.'<sup>767</sup> Socially advanced individuals were considered more cultivated the further they were detached from the natural world.<sup>768</sup> Norbert Elias elaborated on the origins of terms used to designate civilisation or *politesse* and his definition can be used to illustrate the distinctions made between elite culture and those existing in nature:

*Civilisé* was, like *cultivé*, *poli*, or *police*, one of the many terms...by which the courtly people wished to designate, in a broad or narrow sense, the specific quality of their own behaviour, and by which they contrasted the refinement of their own social manners, their "standard", to the manners of simpler and socially inferior people.<sup>769</sup>

Elias further explains that before the term 'civilisation' came into common use, other words including *politesse* or *civilité* were used to:

Express the self-image of the European upper class in relation to others whom its members considered simpler or more primitive, and at the same time to characterize the specific kind of behaviour through which this upper class felt itself different from all simpler and more primitive people.<sup>770</sup>

Christian doctrine drove a wedge between humanity and the mystery of nature so that 'civilized society' was surrounded by a dangerous world of unruly animal instinct and

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<sup>766</sup> See for example Anthea Callen, "The Body and Difference: Anatomy training at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the later nineteenth century," *Art History* 20:1 (March 1997), 23-60 ; Martin Postle, "Flayed for Art: The écorché figure in the English art academy," *The British Art Journal* 5:1 (April 2004), 55-63. James A. Steintrager's explores the connection between denying the animal soul and the practice of human vivisection as punishment during the eighteenth century as a means to deny the criminal soul repose whilst also furthering medical knowledge. See in particular the chapter "Human Vivisection" in *Cruel Delight – Enlightenment Culture and the Inhuman* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004).

<sup>767</sup> Nathaniel Wolloch, "The Civilizing Process, Nature, and Stadiol Theory," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44:2 (2011), 248.

<sup>768</sup> Wolloch, "The Civilizing Process," 248.

<sup>769</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott with some notes and corrections by the author; ed. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 34.

<sup>770</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 34.

irrational response.<sup>771</sup> In writing the *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, Sir Matthew Hale stated that beasts living in a state of nature were ‘fierce, strong, untameable’ and ‘stand in need of some coercive power over them.’<sup>772</sup> Hale’s words typified perceptions of spaces outside society and those who inhabited them. Definitions of difference were articulated in terms of hierarchy so that the unfamiliar or exotic were perceived as inferior.<sup>773</sup> In philosophy and politics, major figures of Greek antiquity had described social and human geographical difference as legible oppositions of ‘cultured’ and ‘barbaric.’<sup>774</sup> For instance, Aristotle defined rational humans as male, aristocratic Greeks living in an organized democracy and ‘barbarians’ as non-Greeks lacking culture and the capacity of reason.<sup>775</sup> These assumptions were vital to Enlightenment thought and helped to justify eighteenth-century European expansion as a process bringing advanced culture to the distant outposts of human civilisation.

### **The Distinction of Language**

While culture represented the human domination of nature, language and eloquent speech provided evidence of civilisation and human progress. Thomas A. Downing explains that music helped establish connections between ‘language and meaning, between the origin of culture and that of eighteenth-century Europe, and between conceptions of an original society

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<sup>771</sup> Austern, “Nature, Culture, Myth,” 5.

<sup>772</sup> Matthew Hale, *Primitive Origination of Mankind: considered and examined according to the light of nature* (London: printed by William Godbid for William Shrowsbery, 1677), 369 cited in Richard Ashcraft, ‘Leviathan Triumphant’ in eds. Dudley and Novak, *The Wild Man Within*, 157.

<sup>773</sup> Christopher M. S. Johns, “Travel and Cultural Exchange in Enlightenment Rome,” in ed. Mary Sheriff, *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art Since the Age of Exploration* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 75.

<sup>774</sup> Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment: a Reader* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. 1997), 4.

<sup>775</sup> Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment*, 4.

and an ideal social order.<sup>776</sup> According to Thomas, ‘Music functions within this discursive framework as facilitating epistemological links between language and meaning, between the origin of culture and that of eighteenth-century Europe, and between conceptions of an original society and an ideal social order.’<sup>777</sup> Predating spoken language, music was the ‘anthropological “missing link”’ in an attempt to identify the point at which culture was separate from nature and humans were distinct from animals.<sup>778</sup> As a sign of the capacity to reason, speech provided the criteria for human fellowship. This was crucial in addressing the disturbing physical and behavioural similarities observed between humans and primates, for instance. While nature was represented by nonsensical sounds, language distinguished humanity from animals and quasi-humans.<sup>779</sup> Specifically, ‘the irrationality of sound severed from linguistic sense...borders on the unconscious, the psychotic, and the wild sensuality of animal pleasure.’<sup>780</sup> Eloquence and advanced language were indicators of humanity’s ‘capacity for culture’ and differences between languages and customs assisted in constructing the ‘boundaries of humanity’ between Europeans and ‘inferior’ foreign cultures.<sup>781</sup>

Christopher Drew Armstrong has recently examined Giovanni Battista Tiepolo’s *Allegory of the Power of Eloquence* (Fig. 74) as a work in which the combination of subjects was singular to the artist’s oeuvre.<sup>782</sup> Tiepolo’s fresco was commissioned by the powerful Sandi family to represent the mythical origin of Venice.<sup>783</sup> Armstrong argues that the work was

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<sup>776</sup> Thomas A. Downing, *Music and the Origins of Language. Theories from the French Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7. Also see Christopher R. Coski, “Condillac: Language, Thought, and Morality in the Man and Animal Debate,” *French Forum* 28:1 (Winter 2003), 57-75; R. W. Serjeantson, “The Passions and Animal Language, 1540-1700,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62:3 (July 2001), 425-44.

<sup>777</sup> Downing, *Music and the Origins of Language*, 7.

<sup>778</sup> Downing, *Music and the Origins of Language*, 9.

<sup>779</sup> Thomas Di Piero, “Missing Links,” 167. Hume, on the other hand, made allowance for reason among non-human groups.

<sup>780</sup> Austern, “Nature, Culture, Myth,” 6 ; Piero, “Missing Links,” 167.

<sup>781</sup> Robert Wokler, ‘Perfectible Apes in Decadent Cultures: Rousseau’s Anthropology Revisited’, *Daedalus*, 107:3, Rousseau For Our Time (Summer, 1978): 110.

<sup>782</sup> Christopher Drew Armstrong, “Myth and The New Science: Vico, Tiepolo, and the Language of the “Optimates”, *The Art Bulletin*, 87.4 (December 2005): 643-63.

<sup>783</sup> Armstrong, “Myth and The New Science,” 643.

directly influenced by Giovanni Battista Vico's *Universal Law* (1720-22) in which the philosopher proposed a theory addressing the rise of humanity and civilized nations.<sup>784</sup> To summarise, Vico believed that humans shared common characteristics bound by an inherent desire for justice and the urge to communicate.<sup>785</sup> According to the *Universal Law*, humans rose from the status of beasts through the acquisition of language. Moreover, two distinct groups of humans were said to have evolved. One group included the upright descendants of their forebears who lived in keeping with customs providing the foundations of their society, while the other were 'lawless vagabonds who lived in a state of bestiality.'<sup>786</sup>

Armstrong explains that Tiepolo's section of *Apollo and Marsyas* in the *Allegory of the Power of Eloquence* related to the 'institutions produced by the heroic actions' represented in the fresco.<sup>787</sup> Importantly, the light or halo surrounding Apollo's head is the 'principle of civil light' or social institutions separating Vico's 'optimates' or virtuous and advanced peoples from the lower order of beasts.<sup>788</sup> While Europeans were 'living in the Age of Light,' non-Europeans were described less favourably with reference to their appearance and customs.<sup>789</sup> The concept of 'savagery' became physically located outside of Europe and "'outside of light', so that Africa, for example, was considered the Dark Continent and a *terra nulla*."<sup>790</sup> Significantly, Vico wrote that satyrs were 'poetic monsters' properly situated in the company of those born of wickedness, while the figure of Apollo clearly related to the advances of human evolution and society by virtue of language and culture.<sup>791</sup> The idea of language and articulate speech central to the progress of human societies is echoed in the words of the Chevalier de Louis Jaucourt's entry *Language* for Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopedia*:

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<sup>784</sup> Armstrong, "Myth and the New Science," 649.

<sup>785</sup> Armstrong, "Myth and the New Science," 649.

<sup>786</sup> Armstrong, "Myth and the New Science," 649.

<sup>787</sup> Armstrong, "Myth and the New Science," 652.

<sup>788</sup> Armstrong, "Myth and the New Science," 652.

<sup>789</sup> Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment*, 5.

<sup>790</sup> Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment*, 5.

<sup>791</sup> Armstrong, "Myth and the New Science," 652-653. Here Armstrong cites Vico's *First New Science*, edited and translated by Leon Pompa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 68-69 ; 158 ; 162.



if we do not know languages, we resemble blind horses whose fate it is to follow the path of only a small circle, constantly turning the wheel of the same mill.<sup>792</sup>

A lack of language obstructed expansion and progress, inhibiting intellectual and cultural achievement. With his speech obstructed by his own fist, Van Loo's Marsyas made an unprecedented, dramatic gesture in the iconography of the myth that simultaneously secures his position among the lower order of beasts. Though this gesture could be read as a response to excruciating pain and the desperate attempt to control it, it also represents a rupture from iconographic convention dating back to antiquity. Prior to Van Loo's example, Marsyas was typically bound, inverted, or perhaps raising his arm above his head in what has been recognised as making the gesture of liberty and freedom of speech.<sup>793</sup>

In Van Loo's example, the satyr's fist as a denial of speech and freedom simultaneously fills the 'ugly crater' opened by the mouth in response to contortions of pain.<sup>794</sup> In visual imagery, the cavernous mouth disrupted the aesthetics of beauty and idealised forms.<sup>795</sup> Wincklemann later confirmed that the open mouth displaying teeth or releasing screams of pain or rage was appropriate only in the representation of 'some *satyrs* and *fauns*' lurking 'along the edge of the Olympian canon.'<sup>796</sup> Wincklemann argued that expression altered facial features and posture so that the more dramatic change appeared, the more beauty was compromised. In other words, stillness or a lack of expression was more favourable to beauty.<sup>797</sup> Although Van Loo painted his reception piece decades before Wincklemann's influential text, the fist in the

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<sup>792</sup> Louis Jaucourt, "Language," in *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. Translated by Timothy Cleary (Ann Arbor: M Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2005). Originally published as "Langage," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 9:242-243 (Paris, 1765) <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.236> accessed 12 November 2011.

<sup>793</sup> Niżyńska, "Marsyas" Howl," 158.

<sup>794</sup> Winfried Menninghaus, *Disgust: Theory and History of a Strong Sensation*, trans. Howard Eiland and Joel Golb (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 62.

<sup>795</sup> Menninghaus, *Disgust: Theory and History*, 62. For more detail on the German aesthetics of disgust developed during the second half of the eighteenth century, see also Carolyn Korsmeyer, *Savoring Disgust. The Fair and the Foul in Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>796</sup> Johann Joachim Wincklemann, *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, 26-27, cited in Menninghaus, *Disgust: Theory and History*, 61.

<sup>797</sup> Wincklemann in Harrison, Wood and Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory*, 473.

satyr's mouth pre-empts Lessing's essay on the *Laocoön* which elaborated on the need for artists to edit the impulsive expressions that distorted and degraded the body. Lessing confirmed that 'To scream is the natural expression of bodily pain' and even Homer's heroes 'remain true' to human nature 'whenever there is a question of the feeling of anguish or suffering' evidenced by their cries.<sup>798</sup> While acknowledging that the scream or cry is properly expressed in literature, Lessing also argued that the 'gaping mouth' contravened the 'law of beauty.'<sup>799</sup> The screaming mouth was a 'blot' in painting and a 'cavity' in statuary 'which produces the worst effect possible.'<sup>800</sup> Artists were urged to 'diminish' and 'soften' it in order to avoid disfigurement provoking the viewer's aversion.<sup>801</sup> The aversion aroused by the repellent, open mouth undermined the responsibility of the artist to lure the viewer towards the art work, to move and elicit a response as advanced by De Piles and Du Bos.

Recalling the inspiration of the *Laocoön* marble, a comparison between Van Loo's painting and the sculpture reveals that the fist wedged in Marsyas's mouth is the most striking difference between the two anguished bodies in pain. *Laocoön* and Marsyas each strain to the left with head tilted back toward the opposite shoulder. Tormented by biting snakes, *Laocoön*'s mouth remains open in a perpetual, silent scream. Snakes are replaced by the pulling of ropes in Van Loo's image of the satyr, whose other arm is tied to the tree above his head. Although the facial distortions of pain were characteristic of lower creatures including satyrs, Van Loo may have closed Marsyas' open mouth by silencing his howls in the interests of preserving decorum. Was this unprecedented gesture partially the result of self-imposed censorship?

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<sup>798</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön*, trans. Sir Robert Phillimore (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), 8-9.

<sup>799</sup> Menninghaus, *Disgust: Theory and History*, 6.

<sup>800</sup> Lessing, *Laocoön*, 19.

<sup>801</sup> Lessing, *Laocoön*, 19.

Referring to bodies disfigured by pain, Barbara Stafford observes that ‘no right-thinking artist would voluntarily depict such an offensive instant.’<sup>802</sup> For Lessing, the visual image of contortions of pain or rage was nothing short of ‘disgusting,’ going so far as to label the ancient artists Pauson and Pyreicus ‘painters of filth.’<sup>803</sup> Importantly, Lessing is known to have been acquainted with Du Bos and his *Réflexions critiques sur la Poésie et la Peinture*, despite no direct reference being made to the work in his essay.<sup>804</sup> Although the writers each address their positions in terms which do not always accord, Du Bos has been credited with laying down ‘many of the sound principles which Lessing relied upon.’<sup>805</sup> Lessing wrote:

There are passions and degrees of passion which express themselves in the countenance by the most hideous distortions, and which place the whole body in such attitudes of violence that all the fine lines which mark it in a position of repose are lost. The ancient artists either abstained from these altogether and entirely, or used them in a subordinate degree, in which they were susceptible of some measure of beauty. Rage and despair do not disgrace any of their works.<sup>806</sup>

Lessing also helps us to understand how gestures and expressions of the body were read in terms of rank and perceived characteristics of nations and cultures. He states:

I am aware that we, the refined Europeans of a wiser posterity, know how to command better our mouths and our eyes. High breeding and decency forbid screams and tears. The active courage of the first rough ages of the world has been changed, in our day, into the courage of suffering. Yet even our forefathers were greater in the latter than in the former. But our forefathers were barbarians. To suppress all expression of pain, to meet the stroke of death with unchanged eye, to die smiling

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<sup>802</sup> Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body Criticism. Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991), 180.

<sup>803</sup> Stafford, *Body Criticism*, 180-186.

<sup>804</sup> Sir Robert Phillimore, prefatory remarks in Lessing’s *Laocoön*, xxiii – xxiv

<sup>805</sup> Phillimore, prefatory remarks in Lessing’s *Laocoön*, xxiii – xxiv.

<sup>806</sup> Lessing, *Laocoön*, 17.

under the asp's bite, to abstain from bewailing our sins or the loss of our dearest friend, are traits of the old hero courage of the Northmen.<sup>807</sup>

The violent sounds of agony were associated with the barbarous and the sight and sound of uncensored pain typified the behaviour of uncultivated peoples. The satyr's fist therefore drowns out the offensive noise produced by howls as crude and repellent as the music produced by his instrument. In sum, the gesture of his fist identified the satyr and people living in nature as inferior to their European counterparts. While Marsyas's fist silences his offence and facilitates the representation of a horrific subject without exceeding the limits of artistic decorum, it also provides another cue from which to consider Van Loo's representation of rival masculinities.

Etienne Bonnot de Condillac described speech as fundamental to humanity and the 'language of action' or use of gesture as the 'proto-language of the speech that sets humans apart from other animals.'<sup>808</sup> Condillac observed that human language facilitated the progress of knowledge and was thus instrumental to 'the exercise of reason.'<sup>809</sup> In rejection of the Cartesian view of the mind as distinct from the body, Condillac argued that the language of words was fundamental to the 'connection of ideas' required to move beyond the passions and instinct, to 'raise ourselves to the most sublime knowledge.'<sup>810</sup> He explained that:

The necessity of signs is even more obvious in the complex ideas we form without patterns ... If you think you do not need words, pull them out of your memory and try to reflect on civil and moral laws, on virtues and vices, in short on all human actions, and you will see how mistaken you were. You will admit that you cannot take a single step without finding yourself in a state of chaos, if you do not have signs to

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<sup>807</sup> Lessing, *Laocoön*, 9.

<sup>808</sup> Hans Arleff, Introductory notes in Etienne Bonnot Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, ed. and trans. Hans Arleff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xix. Originally published as *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1746).

<sup>809</sup> Aarsleff, introduction, xv.

<sup>810</sup> Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, 39; 82.

determine the number of simple ideas you have collected together.<sup>811</sup>

This again suggests that the satyr's fist itself is to be read as a sign. Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia: or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* published in 1728 contains a section which interrogates the 'particular *Passions and Affections* of the Subject', whose hand 'has a great Share in the *Expression* of our Sentiments and Passions.'<sup>812</sup> Not only does Marsyas' stifling fist reflect the moment of his passion, it obstructs his speech and protest. Marsyas's gesture obstructs speech and defines the satyr by a lack of language equated with reason as member of a lower, less advanced group. Indeed, it is a commonplace to associate the brute or monstrous with impaired speech or the guttural grunts of the animal.<sup>813</sup> Articulate speech is not simply the 'end product' of the capacity to reason, but evidence of reasoned analysis and the organisation of thought.<sup>814</sup>

### **Humans and Others**

In an attempt to allay 'anxieties of kinship and dominion' between man and beast, articulate speech was essential to achieving full human status.<sup>815</sup> Though by this time many writers had rejected the Cartesian view of animals as soulless machines, the Enlightenment project remained committed to locating the separation of species. Regarding animals, Claude Yvon wrote that:

One can be sure that their language is quite limited, because it does not go beyond the

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<sup>811</sup> Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, 81.

<sup>812</sup> Ephraim Chambers, extract taken from *Cyclopaedia: or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 1 (London: James and John Knapton et al, 1728) reproduced in eds. Harrison, Wood and Gaiger, *Art in Theory: 1648-1815*, 347.

<sup>813</sup> Note here that Condillac and others rejected the Cartesian view of the mind as separate from the body. Decartes argued that animals lack a soul, and this absence also denied them mind and reason. For Condillac, however, language or speech equates with the capacity for reason and morality. Christopher R. Coski, "Condillac: Language, thought, and Morality in the Man and Animal Debate," *French Forum* 28:1 (Winter 2003), 57-58.

<sup>814</sup> Michelle Chilcoat, "The Legacy of Enlightenment Brain Sex," *The Eighteenth Century* 41:1 (Spring 2000), 6.

<sup>815</sup> Nash, *Wild Enlightenment*, 15.

basic needs of life; for nature gave animals the faculty of speech only to express among themselves their desires and feelings, in order to satisfy by this means their needs and all that is necessary for their preservation: so that all that they think, all that they feel, is reduced to animal life.<sup>816</sup>

Though indeed Marsyas is led by curiosity, he is yet marked by his lack of eloquence. This inferiority denies the satyr full human status even as his inquisitive nature and crude capacity for craft raises him above the irrational animal. Defined as inarticulate, Marsyas has more in common with beasts than humans. The inarticulate wild man was not unlike the Greek *barbaros* (barbarian) defined as ‘one who babbled’ and lacked the capacity to participate in political or public life.<sup>817</sup> Inarticulate individuals were evaluated in terms of deficiency and labelled ‘hommes de la nature’, placed on the very margins of humanity and ‘often categorized with madmen, drunks, children, animals and others.’<sup>818</sup> As the figure of the wild man in literature and folklore steadily became the subject of anthropological study, the acquisition of language became a vital step in the process of becoming civilised.<sup>819</sup>

Returning to Banier’s explication of the episode in the *Metamorphoses*, the satyr’s submission and compliance illustrated the common perception of those in need of restraint or discipline. Writing of the river named after the unfortunate satyr, Banier commented that ‘it makes a very disagreeable Noise in the Neighbourhood of *Celenæ* in *Phrygia*; but the Smoothness of its Course afterwards gave Occasion to say that the Vengeance of Apollo had rend’d him more tractable.’<sup>820</sup> The ‘smoothness’ of the river’s course allegorises the satyr’s

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<sup>816</sup> Claude Yvon, “Animal Soul”, *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d’Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. Trans. Mary McAlpin (Ann Arbor: M Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2003). Originally published as “Ame des bêtes”, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers*, 1:343-353 (Paris, 1751).

<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.023> (Accessed 12 November 2011).

<sup>817</sup> Hayden White, “The Forms of Wildness,” in eds. Dudley and Novak, *The Wild Man Within*, 19.

<sup>818</sup> Sophia Rosenfeld, ‘Deaf Men on Trial: Language and Deviancy in Late Eighteenth-Century France’, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 21:2 (1997), 157 ;161.

<sup>819</sup> Novak, “The Wildman comes to Tea,” 186.

<sup>820</sup> Banier, *Ovid’s Metamorphoses*, 196.

punishment as a restorative act in the taming of nature. As the word ‘Course’ with ‘Smoothness’ sparks the association of the coarse or rough with the ‘very disagreeable Noise’, we are reminded of the uncouth satyr positioned as wild man in need of rehabilitation. Similarly, Jonathan Swift’s Captain Gulliver observed that ‘politer pleasures are entirely the products of art and reason, on our side of the globe’, and this sentiment echoes the compulsion of Apollo to bend nature to his will.<sup>821</sup>

Living in nature, Marsyas’s hybridity as neither fully human nor fully beast presented a slippage between both. Demonstrating curiosity and competitiveness, Marsyas retains traits supposedly uncharacteristic of animals. The satyr’s mediocre skill in the craft of music as uninspired and lacking invention denies him a place in artistic and social communities where the cultivation of those qualities would award him higher status. In the natural world, Marsyas and other satyrs embodied anxieties plaguing the European mind as to where the dividing lines between species lay. Amplified by travel accounts and fictional narratives, this anxiety was fuelled by the need to establish origins and definitions of humanity as distinct from lower types and groups. In this way, Van Loo’s conception of Marsyas was borne of a time in which the popular fascination for the wild or feral man was roused by encounters and events including the famous discovery of Peter the ‘Wild Man’ near Hamelin in 1724.<sup>822</sup>

Marginalised figures were excluded from sophisticated, learned society as individuals who did not share the same level of intelligence or reason. Edward Tyson’s *Philological Essay* concerning the pygmies, the cynocephali, the satyrs, and sphinges of the ancients expressly distinguished ‘real men’ from apes and monkeys not only by very detailed observations gained through the insights of dissection, but by the repeated assertion that these creatures

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<sup>821</sup> Johnathon Swift, *Gulliver’s Travels*, (London: Arcturus Publishing Limited, 2009), 285. Originally published in 1726 as *Gulliver’s Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World*.

<sup>822</sup> Maximillian E. Novak, “The Wild Man Comes to Tea” in *The Wild Man Within*, eds. Dudley and Novak, 184.

possessed no intelligible language outside the noise of nature.<sup>823</sup> For instance, Tyson mentioned an encounter with ‘pygmies’ in Photius and described their group as neither ‘fierce or wild’, stating that ‘*they had a Humane Voice, not Speech*’ (Tyson’s emphasis).<sup>824</sup> Tyson’s comments place an added emphasis on eloquent speech as a cultivated trait in contrast to the natural voice as a biological mechanism or reflex. Similarly, Tyson referred to the ‘Cynocephali of the Ancients’, by noting that ‘they are not *Men* but only *Brutes*, because they cannot speak, but only bark.’<sup>825</sup>

Returning to the distinction between god and satyr, it is worth recalling the fact that Apollo’s victory was guaranteed by his ability to sing and play his instrument at the same time. On the other hand, Marsyas’ flute rendered song or speech impossible by nature of the instrument. Polyphony, or the ability to play multiple notes simultaneously was considered a skill exclusive to European musicians until the late 1770s-80s and noted by Rousseau as a sign of ‘hypercivility.’<sup>826</sup> Woodwind instruments associated with satyrs and Pan were still identified as ‘primitive’ or rudimentary, and were used in attempts to communicate with non-European groups in voyages including Cook’s arrival in Tahiti.<sup>827</sup> Vanessa Agnew has shown that the influence of music was an ‘instrument of power’ as well as a means of bringing ‘Enlightenment’ to those who needed it most.<sup>828</sup> These observations reflect European attitudes of cultural superiority built on the assumption that musical and cultural progress remained the unique preserve of Europe.<sup>829</sup> Overall, the human hierarchy was underpinned by

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<sup>823</sup> Edward Tyson, *Orang-utang, sive homo sylvestris: or, the anatomy of a pygmie compared with that of a monkey, an ape, and a man. To which is added, A Philological essay concerning the pygmies, the cynocephali, the satyrs, and sphinges of the ancients. Wherein it will appear that they are all either apes or monkeys, and not men, as formerly pretended* (London: 1699), 13, 34.  
[www.archive.org/stream/orangoutangsiveh00tyso#page/n9/mode/2up](http://www.archive.org/stream/orangoutangsiveh00tyso#page/n9/mode/2up) accessed 2 February 2012.

<sup>824</sup> Tyson, *Orang-utang*, 10.

<sup>825</sup> Tyson, *Orang-utang*, 42. Note the parallels between eloquence and the polite conversation of sophisticated salon culture. Note the emphasis as Tyson’s.

<sup>826</sup> Vanessa Agnew, “Listening to Others: Eighteenth-Century Encounters in Polynesia and their reception in German Musical Thought,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41:2 (Winter 2008), 173.

<sup>827</sup> Agnew, “Listening to Others,” 169.

<sup>828</sup> Agnew, “Listening to Others,” 166.

<sup>829</sup> Agnew, “Listening to Others,” 169-171.



scientific knowledge written largely from the point of view of European masculinity as the ‘standard of excellence.’<sup>830</sup> As Linda Schiebinger notes, the ‘advantage’ of being born male did not compensate for the ‘disadvantages of race’ and social hierarchies helped determine the outcomes of scientific debate.<sup>831</sup>

Alongside an analysis of artistic, social and cultural hierarchies, images of the satyr’s flaying maintained standards of practice and behaviour that defined achievement and progress from a European (masculine) vantage point. In this way, images of ideal male bodies ‘encode a form of masculinity’ that reassert and perpetuate dominance against “‘lesser’ masculinities.’<sup>832</sup> Likening the satyr’s flaying to the practice of dissection or vivisection, the anatomist’s knife penetrating the body is described by Rebecca E. May in terms of degradation, punishment and invasion because it is an instrument used by a living ‘masculine force that feminizes a male body through the act of penetration.’<sup>833</sup> In other words, the penetrable male body becomes feminised or at least ‘sub-masculine.’<sup>834</sup>

As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, Apollo as civiliser was distinguished by his superior skill and stands at the highest point of the mortal and divine hierarchy. His artistic achievements, cultivated by discipline and divine inspiration, was marked by eloquence.<sup>835</sup> It is worth noting that Van Loo’s contemporaries responded to *St Augustin disputant contre les Donatistes* painted for the Salon of 1753 with the highest praise for the masterful depiction of the saint’s eloquence.<sup>836</sup> Citing Laugier’s Salon commentary for this painting, Van Loo’s earlier image of Apollo standing opposite Marsyas comes directly to mind:

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<sup>830</sup> Linda Schiebinger, “The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23.4, Special Issue: The Politics of Difference (Summer 1990), 404.

<sup>831</sup> Schiebinger, “The Anatomy of Difference,” 403, 388.

<sup>832</sup> Rebecca E. May, ‘Morbid Parts: Gender, Seduction and the Necro-Gaze,’ in Peakman, *Sexual Perversions*, 169.

<sup>833</sup> May, “Morbid Parts,” 169.

<sup>834</sup> May, “Morbid Parts,” 169.

<sup>835</sup> Indeed, eloquence is crucial to the performance of polite conversation within sophisticated salon culture.

<sup>836</sup> Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 19.

St Augustine appears with the noble confidence that truth inspires. He speaks forcefully but without being carried away. His face, full of character, is at the same time spiritual and ingenious. One distinguishes in it traits of modest gravity and imposing wisdom. One sees that he is a scholar and a saint. His stance, his gesture, all his movements reveal a man who knows the goodness of his cause, who pursues his adversary by the sole means of conviction, opposing him with neither harshness nor contempt.<sup>837</sup>

Possessing fluency in music and language, Apollo was distinguished from the ignorant satyr according to his creative brilliance and eloquence of expression. As we have seen, these ideals likewise applied to the eighteenth-century history painter. Recalling Antoine Coypel's demand for the artist's 'competence in rhetoric,' the notion that harmony was achieved by the 'division of sounds' invoked the separation of the satyr from his Self, his crude and chaotic noise extinguished with his life at the edges of wilderness.<sup>838</sup> The transformation of his blood into the clear waters of the river bring us back to the utility of the satyr's flaying and the cold eye of the artist driven to achieve perfection in his art.

These ideals and the myth through which they were understood endured long after they were employed by Van Loo in staking his claim to a position within the elite ranks of the French Academy. Novelist Anatole France later drew on the myth of the satyr and his punishment to illustrate his hero's contempt for Jean-Honoré Fragonard. First published in 1912, *The Gods are Athirst (Les Dieux ont soif)* begins with the radical Jacobin painter Èvariste Gamelin

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<sup>837</sup> Abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Jugement d'un amateur sur l'exposition des tableaux. Lettre à M. Le Marquis de V----*. (Vence, 1753), 13-14 cited in both French and English in Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 19.

<sup>838</sup> Antoine Coypel, "On the Aesthetic of the Painter" in ed. Henry Jouin, *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris: A Quantin, 1883), trans. Johnathan Murphy cited in *Art in Theory: 1648-1815*, 336. Also see O'Neal, "Nature's Culture in Du Bos's *Reflexions*," 23.

describing Fragonard as a ‘wretched old man’ who had grown ‘dissolute and hideous.’<sup>839</sup> In scathing tones he exclaims: ‘I wish that some stalwart friend of the arts would, like Apollo, string this Marsyas up to a tree and flay him as an eternal example to bad painters.’ In his disdain for the old painter, Gamelin vehemently expressed his disapproval of other Rococo artists including Watteau and Boucher, their patrons and supporters as deplorable ‘tyrants and slaves.’<sup>840</sup> Gamelin charged the artists with a ‘clear unawareness of nature and of truth’ in his condemnation of the decorative sensuousness of Rococo in favour of the politically and socially motivated approach of Neoclassicism. In his judgment of the ancien régime, France’s hero positioned Fragonard as a figure who epitomised the decadence of the Rococo style and the clients for whom he supposedly degraded his talent.<sup>841</sup> Memorialised as a rebellious artist flouting the demands of history painting and the Royal Academy in favour of aristocratic patronage and popular subjects, Fragonard was likened to the wilful satyr whose undisciplined creativity and arrogance necessitated his punishment as a means of restorative retribution. Ironically, Van Loo would share a similar fate. As a result of his association with an elite clientele and seemingly trivialised subjects, the artist for whom the myth of Apollo and Marsyas allegorised his own artistic merit would languish among others charged with the corruption of artistic standards and debased ideals from the mid-eighteenth century onward.

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<sup>839</sup> Anatole France, *The Gods are Athirst*, trans. Wilfrid Jackson (New York: Mondial, 2007), 20.

<sup>840</sup> France, *The Gods are Athirst*, 20.

<sup>841</sup> Anne L. Schroder, “Reassessing Fragonard’s Later Years: The Artist’s Biographers, the Rococo and the French Revolution,” in ed. Elise Goodman, *Art and Culture in the Eighteenth Century: New Dimensions and Multiple Perspectives* (Cranbury, London, Ontario: Associated University Presses: 2001), 39-40.

## *Conclusion*

This study has demonstrated that representations of mythological themes were not only prevalent in the art and visual culture of eighteenth-century France prior to the rise of Neoclassicism, but were rich in meaning and content. In particular, this research has focused on the representation of mythological masculinities as figures reflecting contemporary concerns to the viewer, and as entities shaped by current aesthetic theories and artistic practice. The analysis of representations of mythical masculinity has addressed and contradicted the assumption that men were minor characters in the art of this period as a result of the dominance of women. The research also counters the idea that men in myth were obscured and their presence diminished in mythological imagery by a fixation on femininity during this early period. In addition, this study has confirmed that traditional gender binaries were very much at play during an era which has been characterised by ambiguity and feminisation. More importantly, this highlights the fact that conventional binaries have not accounted for the complexity and range of positive and negative types within the category broadly identified as ‘masculine.’

Sustained analysis of a range of masculinities in the guises of Bacchus, Apollo, Pan and the satyr have offered substantial insights into the construction and performance of masculinity during a time of seismic change following the death of Louis XIV and the ascendancy of the Regent, the Duc d’Orleans. In this way, the research has gone some way to building upon current understandings of the cultural climate earlier in the century prior to the high Enlightenment culminating in Revolution. The following pages present the findings of the study as they relate to the aims of the research, beginning with the significance of mythological representation at this time and followed with reference to subsequent chapters as case studies. Each of these chapters demonstrate the relevance of mythological

representation to the allegorical construction of masculine personas, which, when taken together as a cohesive whole, represent the range of masculinities available to men and the ways in which they were cultivated or lost. It must be acknowledged, however, that the limits of the thesis did not permit exploration into additional figures including Hercules or Narcissus, for instance, as representations of alternative modes of masculinity and masculine behaviour.<sup>842</sup> Art historical analyses of figures not considered within the present study would doubtless enrich understandings of the period and uncover new avenues for further research.

Artistic themes associated with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* reflect an abiding concern with shifting concepts of gender, the fluidity of identity and bodies as material entities subject to transformation. In this earlier context, the representation of mythological masculinities demonstrates that adaptations of the myths were innovative rather than derivative, and utilised within a socio-cultural environment marked by significant and rapid change. The function of images took a dramatic turn with the death of Louis XIV, from subjects adapted primarily for the grandiose celebration of royal spectacle and monarchical power to art works and objects displayed in the intimate context of private interiors. Participation in public exhibition spaces also meant that viewers were granted the opportunity to respond to works and form independent, critical evaluations of them. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this shift for the spectator whose new relationship with images, texts and performance had radically altered. Moreover, this shift paralleled the rise of the emerging citizen figure as autonomous individual. That is to say, visual imagery associated with mythological subjects communicated sub-textual content directly to the viewer, who was expected to reflect and respond. Sources of visual information were no longer restricted to the consumption and promotion of elites, but addressed the individual viewer on the premise that images contained

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<sup>842</sup> On Hercules in eighteenth-century art, see Chloe Chard, "Effeminacy, pleasure and the classical body," in *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, ed. Gillian Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 142-61; Lynn Hunt, "Hercules and the Radical Image in the French Revolution," *Representations* 2 (Spring 1983): 95-117.

coded meanings and instructions for the elevation of the self. The reception of works also confirm the vital role of the artist in facilitating the reception of images and the effect it had on viewers, whose response through the experience of sensation promoted by sight was central to learning.

Following Locke, the aesthetic theory of De Piles and Du Bos underscored the responsibility of the artist in generating images that were capable of inciting the viewer's pleasure, and through pleasurable sensation produced by sight, access ideas and knowledge as the outcome of experience. This went hand in hand with the idea that people were not shaped by the fortunes of birth and inherited circumstance, but by education and experience. These theories were dependant on the concept of the individual as a separate and distinct body composed of matter and materials vulnerable to change and responsive to conditions external to the self. The rise of individuality and new understandings of the physical body meant that the boundaries of the self were ceaselessly interrogated and negotiated during this period.

Emerging ideas relating to the self and the surrounding material world had an enormous impact on representations of the human body in the guise of mythological masculinities. In order to personally identify with the gods and heroes of myth, viewers 're-mythologised' themselves and reconciled the imagination with the self and 'universal values' embedded within the myths.<sup>843</sup> Within this process, however, there were limits and boundaries to be maintained. As images press upon the imagination and encourage desire, it is imperative that the viewer does not succumb to the delights of pleasure and the imagination. Rational self-consciousness necessarily enforces personal limits. Losing oneself in an idea or an image and responding to natural inclinations without exercising judgement has a softening, emasculating effect on the viewer. Correct engagement with the myths facilitated psychological change and

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<sup>843</sup> Michael Bennett, *Erotic Identification*, 2 [www.academia.edu/6673062/Erotic\\_Identification](http://www.academia.edu/6673062/Erotic_Identification) (accessed 1 May 2014).

growth rather than moral corruption and loss of reason and the self.<sup>844</sup> Confronting the masculine self from the other side of the picture plane enabled viewers as contemplative individuals to indulge in the pleasures of experience, adopt the likeness of gods and to shape their own identities without the risk of error and emasculation. The construction of self-identity was therefore fluid and changeable, not unlike Ovid's metamorphic bodies and the state of humanity and masculinity itself.

Negotiating the position of humanity within the realm of Linnaeus's *Scala Naturae* and the Great Chain of Beings required a system of categorisation. The European male was closest to god in the Great Chain of Beings, followed by European woman, child, indigenous others and animals. Attaining the European ideal was conditional on the capacity to overcome or transcend the nature aspect of the human self. The satyr's horns removed by progress and the attainment of knowledge indicate early or delayed development in the individual (or group) who had not shed their ties to nature and remained motivated by instinct unmediated by analysis and the clarity of higher thought. This perspective parallels the concepts of eighteenth-century naturalism, evolutionism and the proximity of species, revealing that ideas of perfectibility and the priority of reason as ideals of the high Enlightenment were emerging well before the last decades of the century.

While European man was at the top of the human hierarchy, the masculine Olympian gods were their mythical correspondents. Bacchus and Apollo stand at opposite ends of this study as deities representing elite modes of masculinity. Their presence in images represents a dramatic shift in significance as mythical figures appropriated for elaborating eighteenth-century masculine personas. Bacchus was transformed from the wine god of hedonistic pleasure to a significant model of creative and intellectual achievement through the transformation of sensation and experience into prodigious knowledge. The gift of wine

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<sup>844</sup> Bennett, *Erotic Identification*, 2-3.

facilitated inspiration through its immediate effect on the body, which, when tempered by restraint and the clarity of reasoned analysis, elevated men of dignified pursuit. In excess, enthusiasm and inspiration sparked instability – not unlike bacchic inebriation. Intoxication heightens the senses, but it also disarms the unwary. In good measure, the effects of Bacchus distinguished the cultivated man of achievement so that in contrast to earlier associations with wild and chaotic revelry, the wine god instead becomes a signal figure of superiority and transcendence through the cultivation of refined experience. As illustrated in Picart's *Portrait of Horace*, the presence of Apollo as the guiding light of clarity and truth provided a buffer against the turbulence and distortion of immoderation. Importantly, the relationship between Bacchus and Apollo mirrors the allegiance of Stoicism with Epicureanism during this period so that their inter-relationship is of mutual advantage. Put another way, the effects of Bacchus opened the senses to receive knowledge and inspiration, while Apollo as civiliser embodies cultural achievement and distinction through reason. Each of these respective deities allegorise masculine eminence worthy of veneration in images promoting the refined personas of individuals identifying themselves with models of elite masculinity. As divine representatives of nature and culture, sense and reason, Bacchus and Apollo reconcile the twin poles of Epicurean philosophy and Stoicism in recognition of man as a dual being of sense and reason.

Questions of human origin and difference were also at the core of expanding notions of the human self. Ideas of difference between groups or 'varieties of men' during this period were categorised as stages or levels of 'civilisation' in contrast to later notions of race articulated during the nineteenth century.<sup>845</sup> Early modern science and naturalism represented indigenous groups, 'wild' people and humanoid primates as troubling reminders of distant origins and

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<sup>845</sup> Ann Fausto-Sterling, "Gender, Race and Nation," in *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, eds. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 25-26.



degradation as opposed to the European ideal of human perfectibility. The satyr, like the great apes and wild man, provided a figure for clarifying and elevating the status of European, 'civilised' humanity against the brutes of the wild. However, the role of the mythical satyr resisted the parameters of idealised humanity and community, embodying physical difference which reflected shared origins and an innate duality expressed in hybridity. Physically characterised by features which combine man and beast, culture and nature, the satyr yet reminded the European citizen of their own becoming.

Imagined decades before Rousseau's 'noble savage' and Nietzsche's 'proto-type' of man, the satyr figure of this period is distinguishable from the ephebic forms of Neoclassicism and simultaneously further estranged from the past.<sup>846</sup> Surrounded by scientific revolution amid the war of the ancients and moderns, the eighteenth-century satyr dwells on the very brink of historical rupture. In addition to defining difference, images of the satyr induced an uneasy form of recognition for the viewer. Animal metaphors are a commonplace in human culture to describe certain behaviours or character traits, while reaffirming the supremacy of humanity within the order of creation. The lecherous and disciplined satyr is a fusion of composite parts meshed into a singular form which cannot be described as fully human nor fully beast. Given that thinkers of the period detected a kernel of hidden truth buried within the myths of the ancients, the assertion made by Edward Tyson when he dissected his Orang-Outang that the *satyr* was not a man highlighted the need for science to allay concerns that the mythical hybrid was a degraded kind of human. This reflects the idea that Europeans feared that they had rather more in common with lower orders or types than they cared to think.

The combination of man and goat reflects the co-existence of Apollo and Bacchus in allegorical representation of the human condition. As representatives of Reason and the

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<sup>846</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, translated by Francis Goffling (Anchor Books, 1956), 5.

Irrational, Order and Disorder, Nature and Culture, the deities are not simply in antagonistic opposition, but are one and the same in the body of primal man. Apollo signifies humanity in his highly evolved state while Bacchus reminds us of the condition of nature from which European man had originally sought to advance. Despite cultural achievement and civilised progress, there remained an intrinsic part of the undisciplined satyr within human nature. Crucially, Bacchus is noted as dissolving the ‘distance that separates the gods from men and men from animals.’<sup>847</sup> The hybrid body of man and goat reflects the position of humans as intermediary between God and beast, as neither divine nor among the lowest of the earth’s species. In this way, visual images of the faun and satyr provided a powerful metaphor for masculine behaviour during the eighteenth century and functioned as an exemplar for those requiring instruction and correction.

Recalling the point made by Solomon-Godeau regarding the work to be done on the construction of masculinity and the male gaze focused on male bodies, the figure of half-man and half-beast so prevalent in imagery during the first half of the century has much to tell. As a masculine figure, the satyr embodies social and cultural hierarchies in the sense that he provided a point against which individual attributes and behavioural traits were measured and adjusted. Alongside images of Apollo and Bacchus as elite models of masculinity, the lowly satyr confirms that there are a range of masculinities available to men that are defined by a range of behaviours and characteristics. Variations in performed modes of masculinity demonstrates that the early modern male body was called into question and assessed according to a set criteria including personal conduct and physical attributes. As naturalism worked toward developing a scientific system for the ordering and classification of animal and plant species, the ordering of individual types helped to form the basis for definitions of normalcy and defect. Deviations were not limited strictly to external signs of difference, but

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<sup>847</sup> Heinrichs, “He Has a God in Him,” 33.

also to forms of moral or social transgression, violations of cultural norms and the boundaries of race, sexuality, and gender. In this way, the fracturing of conventional gender roles and heteronormative sexuality resulted in deviant individuals assuming the allegorical shape of mythical creatures or monsters of folklore, including the satyr.

This has been demonstrated in the case of the satyr confronted with choice in the presence of woman abandoned to sleep. The subject of *Venus and a Satyr* draws the (male) viewer into the moment of the satyr's discovery and temptation so that the spectator himself is faced by desire. The lure of feminine beauty within the frame of the canvas or print worked to appeal to the base instinct of lust as an opportunity for the viewer to advance his knowledge through the effect of the image on his senses and to overcome the spontaneous impulses prompted by it. Indulging in pleasure while observing restraint confirmed the masculine virtues of stoic composure and the triumph of reason over the passions of the body. A detached response to pleasure in shared homosocial consumption demonstrated the masculine virtue of self-resolve and cultivated prestige associated with refined indulgence. On the other hand, conceding to 'the melting goddess' was symptomatic of a weakened constitution so that feminine influence emasculated the viewer consumed by the heat of momentary passion. In the case of Charteris and/or Bolingbroke, honour is abandoned to excess so that he literally becomes the figure of the satyr in imagery as a sign of the dire consequences of irrational response. That is, lascivious men are not defined by sexual prowess or potency, but rather by a lack of control and ties to natural impulse which had not been curbed by the virtues of learning and practice. In this way, those who violated the bounds of correct personal conduct were characterised by an innate lack of reason and hyper-sexuality as a symptom of disorder. Furthermore, predatory men resisted social conventions and were defined by an inability to progress beyond their animal nature.

We see then, that bodies were shaped by inner characteristics and reflected perceptions of behaviour and morality. For the masculine body, the emasculating effects of excess and irrational response were traced back to the distractions of desire and hedonistic pleasure. Importantly, this connection to nature and emotion or passion likewise aligned erroneous behaviour and intemperance to qualities associated with femininity. Not only was stoic masculinity threatened by the distractions of women, but undermined by excessive or inappropriate responses to sensation. Unmeasured conduct rendered men irrational and feminised. Facing the image of the satyr approaching Venus or nymph, the eighteenth-century viewer faces a pleasurable predicament between obeying the impulses of the sensate body roused by desire, or to triumph by the intervention of reason and correct judgement. Unable to detach from the short lived pleasures of lust, the satyr is compromised by the irrational aspect of his being connected to nature. In opposition, the reasoned viewer was guided by practiced restraint and affirmed his masculinity by coming through the other side of desire by controlled impulse and the stability of higher thought.

Over indulgence and poor judgement carried the burden of shame and dishonour, and this was similarly remarked in the changed body of Pan. The hyper-masculine body of the rustic god traditionally emphasised the animalistic nature of his aggressive, overpowering lust as a characteristic setting him apart from both the gods of Olympus and polite European viewer. Like the satyr, Pan's hyper-sexuality positioned him as an exemplar of degraded masculinity not to be emulated, but to be feared as a cautionary figure. Pan's metamorphosis from masculine aggressor to gentlemanly lover provided the catalyst for reinterpreting the episode in the context of the period. The brutality of Pan's assault on Syrinx had become obscured in light of a shifted focus in the representation of the episode on how assertive masculinity was compromised by passion. As hegemonic or heteronormative masculinity was established and perpetuated by the sexual control of women, so Pan's thwarted attempt on Syrinx was

adapted as an instructional image in caution against the misfortunes of reckless desire and fornication.

At the turn of the century, Pierre Mignard's interpretation of Syrinx's horror was reversed back onto the figure of Pan as hapless victim of fruitless desire and promiscuity. Mignard's image of Pan was developed to express the ideals of correct masculine conduct and virtue in the interests of familial integrity through legally sanctioned marriage, healthy, legitimate progeny and secure estates. In this way, the image of Pan's hybrid body responded to concerns with arming youths against the dangers of adulthood and the need to observe self-discipline and temper response. This image was also instrumental in prescriptions of heteronormative sexuality and the expectations of gender. Syrinx, as woman, is placed as an object of exchange between men, but also as the figure of femininity responsible for the distraction and destruction of men. The goat-god exemplified animalistic craving and a lack of reasoned thought in his behaviour, so that his conventional role of aggressor was reversed and downplayed by the misfortunes of disease, illegitimate children and family disapproval.

Mignard's focus on the body of Pan was consistent with contemporary ideas connecting primitive sexuality with anatomical defects and against the conventions of (European) beauty. Against the image of feminine beauty, the goat god's hyper-sexual body represented the combination of man and lascivious beast. As in the case of the satyr, repellent or monstrous bodies signified negative attributes of sin and disorder. In his irrational pursuit of desire, Pan's masculinity was corrupted by animal instinct so that in this context he was no longer the power figure of 'all' nature, but a figure marked by vice and *overpowered* by nature. Other images depicting Pan overcome by Love or Cupid secured connections between the goat god and the need for ideal masculinity and masculine sexuality to selectively indulge in appropriate passions and to emulate the higher ideals of thought and learning.

Alongside De Troy's interpretation of the episode as a subject centred on the disappointments of love, Edmé Jeurat's reproduction of Mignard's composition presented another mode of highlighting the expectations of gender and sexuality according to the experience of patriarchy. Here, the violence of mythological rape is obscured and the consequences of desire negotiated between the rivalries of men. Jeurat's satirical print presents an inversion of gender roles by positioning Pan not as a fearful sexual predator, but as a man duped by unfaithful wife and the lover who gives him the horns of the cuckold. Not only is Pan characterised by the inability to restrain himself, he is shamed and dishonoured by the inability to control his wife. As we have seen in the case of the satyr, Pan displays animal attributes connecting him with goats that are notorious not only for their wanton behaviour, but for their shameful permissiveness and lack of territorial control. In this way, Pan as cuckold is emasculated by deception at the hands of a wife who is not submissive to him as dominant, heterosexual masculinity dictates. The burden of his shame is not simply restricted to his personal humiliation, but as evidence of his inadequacy as ruling head of the domestic sphere. In Jeurat's appropriation of the myth, adulterous Syrinx undermined Pan's masculine authority and the lover who succeeded in seducing her highlighted his impotence. Therefore, Pan's misfortunes in love and adultery emphasised the connection between male adversaries and deceitful women with disempowered masculinity.

In the later context of Boucher's images, the insinuated homosexuality of Syrinx in the absence of Ladon as rival to Pan not only highlights the nymph's rejection of his advances in favour of other women, but pours salt in the wound of patriarchal masculinity dependent on feminine complicity and obedience. The conventional, triangular relationship of women as objects of exchange between father, husband and/or lover is ruptured in the omission of Ladon as the third male in the equation. This interpretation of the myth highlighting the impotence of masculinity at the hands of women armed anti-Rococo critics with proof of

content bordering on the morally obscene. In each instance, the myth of Pan and Syrinx reflected a growing social commentary that was endorsed by medical texts addressing sexual relations and prescribed gender roles. The image of Pan was adapted as a cautionary figure to instruct in matters of sexual conduct and moral decorum, not simply in the interests of individual honour, but for the benefit of family, society and civilised community.

The unruly body of the satyr Marsyas and the flaying he endured as a consequence of his hubristic transgression underscores assumptions central to hierarchical concepts of masculinity and civilisation. From antiquity, the opposition of Apollo and Marsyas had been associated with concepts of universal harmony and balance. Differences between god and satyr are legible in their respective bodies, which contrasted idealised (European) masculine beauty and cultural superiority with the disordered and undisciplined body of nature.

Importantly, Du Bos's aesthetic theory proposed that music was capable of bridging the gap between nature and culture through the generation of ideas and knowledge. This could have provided an opportunity for reconciliation between the mythical musicians as personifications of nature and culture. However, the hubristic challenge presented by the satyr sought to undermine the authority of Apollo as civiliser. In this way, the flaying of Marsyas is interpreted as a necessary punishment that seemingly justified the processes of culture as the outcome of dominance and submission. Evoking the process of colonisation and European expansion, the satyr's execution was equated with the restoration of order and the light of civilisation. Van Loo's painted fist in Marsyas's mouth not only silenced his terrible screams, but denies the satyr speech and language as attributes of humanity. As language was listed as a key component of learning and culture distinguishing human from beast, an apparent lack of speech was equated with inferiority and arrested development. In this way, Marsyas as a primitive body of nature is identified and sentenced as an inferior sub-human at best,

consistent with the hierarchy of human groups developed by naturalists and endorsed by later racial discourse.

Concepts of artistic superiority and creative genius simultaneously recall the presence of Bacchus and the intervention of Venus through the senses in transcending lived experience to attain the cultivated ideals of elite cultural practice. Again, these ideals were expressly masculine and relied on the mastery of the sensate body to bring rational clarity to the stimulus of imagination critical to original invention and exceptional achievement. In Van Loo's *Apollo Flaying Marsyas*, the artist adapted the iconography of the myth to promote his own artistic persona and superior capacity for entry into the prestigious ranks of the French Academy. From the other side of the canvas, Van Loo as artist adopted the allegorical guise of the Sun god as other distinguished men had elected the role of Bacchus in portraiture, for instance.

Relating to Apollo's side of the competition meant that artists emulated the academic ideals of artistic practice and the idea of artifice and discipline as superior to nature and spontaneity. In this way, the rudimentary craft of the satyr and the sophisticated eloquence of Apollo's performance mirrored views of the history painter as elite artist in opposition to artists falling outside academic prescriptions of genre and rank. This alignment also perpetuated the ideals of masculinity in acknowledging the perfectibility and progress of European man from the inarticulate sounds and origins of nature, to the illumination of civilised progress and culture. Based on the premise that high art was masculine, aligning his artistic practice and persona with Apollo implies that Van Loo was simultaneously empowered to promote his own masculine status in identifying as an artist of the highest rank alongside his mythical counterpart. Emulating ideals associated with Apollo connoted social prestige and exception in contrast to the inferior satyr defined by his lesser capacity and disordered body.



Throughout the works analysed, the site of Marsyas's execution and Apollo's vengeance reasserts difference between competitors to affirm ideals of masculinity and lived manhood. In the foolishness of his arrogant challenge, Marsyas exemplifies resistance to the dominant patriarchy in his refusal to conform to conventions separating elite from inferior and human or god from beast. Apollo as the embodiment of reason and civility delivers his retribution with cool detachment in contrast to the heated strains of the disciplined satyr. The satyr's lack of composure in his final moments also underscores difference betrayed by behaviour. As with the impulsive satyr and shame faced Pan, the inability to moderate behaviour and emotion defines Marsyas as insensible to reason. Torn from his physical self, Marsyas's punishment is not only emasculating, but represents the erasure of identity in the removal of his skin and the destruction of his body. Transformed into the river bearing his name, Marsyas as half man and half beast returns to nature and is unable to transcend it.

Visual representations of Pan and the voyeuristic satyr provided examples to the autonomous eighteenth-century viewer of the consequences of irrational response and disorganised thought leading to the inability to master the animal or nature aspects of their selves. They reminded viewers of their innate duality as beings of both nature and reason, human and beast, and the vital role minds had to play in the preservation of reason. The corruption of reason not only presented a risk to masculinity, but threatened to dissolve the mind.

Acknowledging their connection and origins in nature enriched understandings of the eighteenth-century masculine body as a material, sensate entity shaped by external influence and stimulus. Sense perception was vital to the production and accumulation of knowledge through refined socio-cultural practices and pleasurable experience. But it also necessitated the intervention of reason and self-discipline to maintain a safe distance between refined indulgence and excess. Immoderation in drink and desire positioned the satyr as overcome and misguided by nature in the absence of sensible judgement. As shown in the example of

Marsyas, the ultimate penalty for crossing the boundaries of reason and disregarding the conventions of civilised society and gender was the complete dissolution of self.

The results of these findings confirm that mythological representation did matter in the context of the early eighteenth century. In contradiction to assessments of mythological imagery as decorative ornament devoid of meaning, representations of the myths associated with Bacchus, Apollo, Pan, Marsyas and the satyr explored a range of masculinities available to men and provide evidence of the complexities and contradictions of lived manhood during this period. Visual imagery highlights the fact that men were invested in constructing and promoting individual personas through mythological portraiture and subjects appropriated to reflect ideals of artistic, intellectual and cultural achievement as elite masculine attributes. Men were not absent, nor overshadowed by women in mythological imagery of this period. Within the frame of the image as well as on the other side of it as producers and consumers, men were engaged in a pleasurable, though sometimes perilous, quest to advance and affirm their personal mastery over the nature aspect of themselves. Conscious of their innate duality and preoccupied with notions of the self, the nature aspect of their being as reasoned men was a source of anxiety that also provided an opportunity to advance learning and progress past the origins of nature through reasoned experiences of the body.



Figure 1.

François Boucher, *Jupiter, in the Guise of Diana, and Callisto*, 1763

Oil on canvas. 64.8 x 54.9 cm

The Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Figure 2.

François Boucher, *Le Lever du Soleil* (*The Rising of the Sun*), 1753.  
Oil on canvas, 318 x 216 cm. Wallace Collection, London.



Figure 3.

François Boucher, *Le Coucher du Soleil (The Setting of the Sun)*, 1752.  
Oil on canvas, 318 x 261 cm. Wallace Collection, London.



Figure 4.  
François Boucher, *Rinaldo and Armida*, 1734  
Oil on canvas, 135.5 x 170.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 5.

Jean-Marc Nattier, *Perseus turning Phineas to Stone with the Head of Medusa*, 1718  
Oil on canvas, 113.5 x 146 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours.

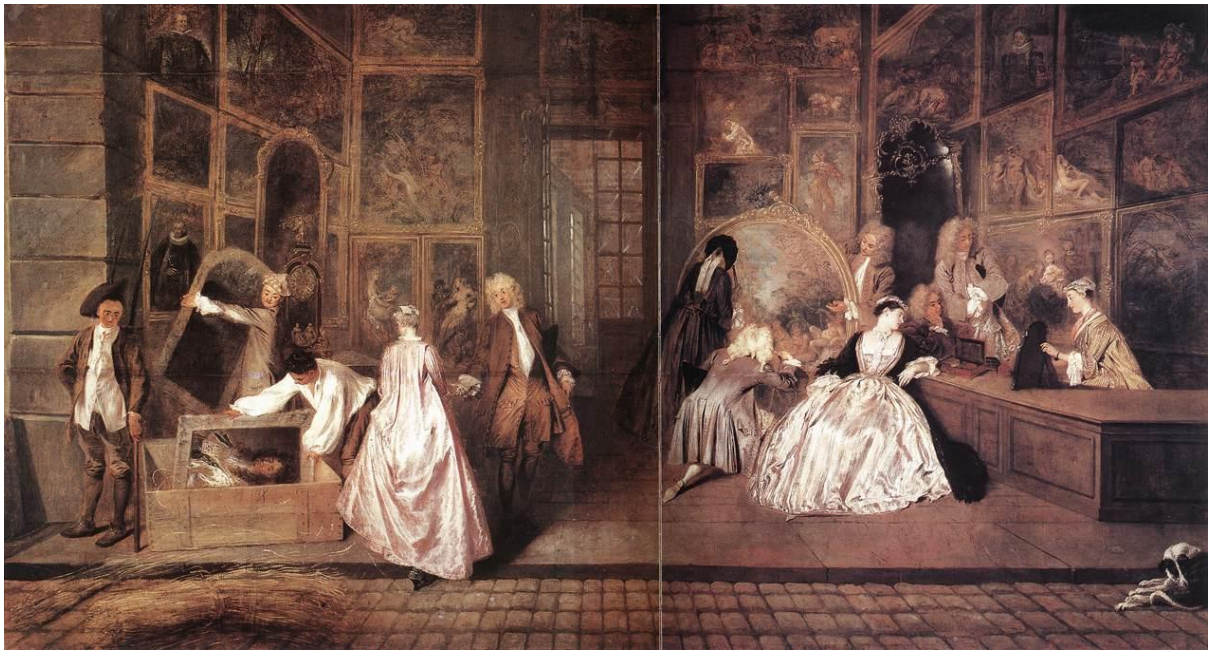


Figure 6.

Jean-Antoine Watteau, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint (The Shop Sign of Gersaint)* 1720-21.  
Oil on canvas. 163 x 308 cm. Charlottenburg Palace, Berlin.





Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 7.

Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages américains comparés aux mœurs des premiers temps* (Paris, 1724), III, figure 20, p.17. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 8.

Nicolas de Largillière, *Portrait Allégorique (Unknown Bacchus)*, 1680-1685.  
Oil on canvas, 42 x 31cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 9.

Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Louis XIV, King of France*, 1701.  
Oil on canvas, 277 x 194cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 10.

Marco Pitteri (after Michelangelo), intermediary draughtsman Domenico Campiglia.  
*Museum Florentium/Bacchus*, c.1730-1766.  
Engraving, 36.3 x 21.7 cm. The British Museum, London.

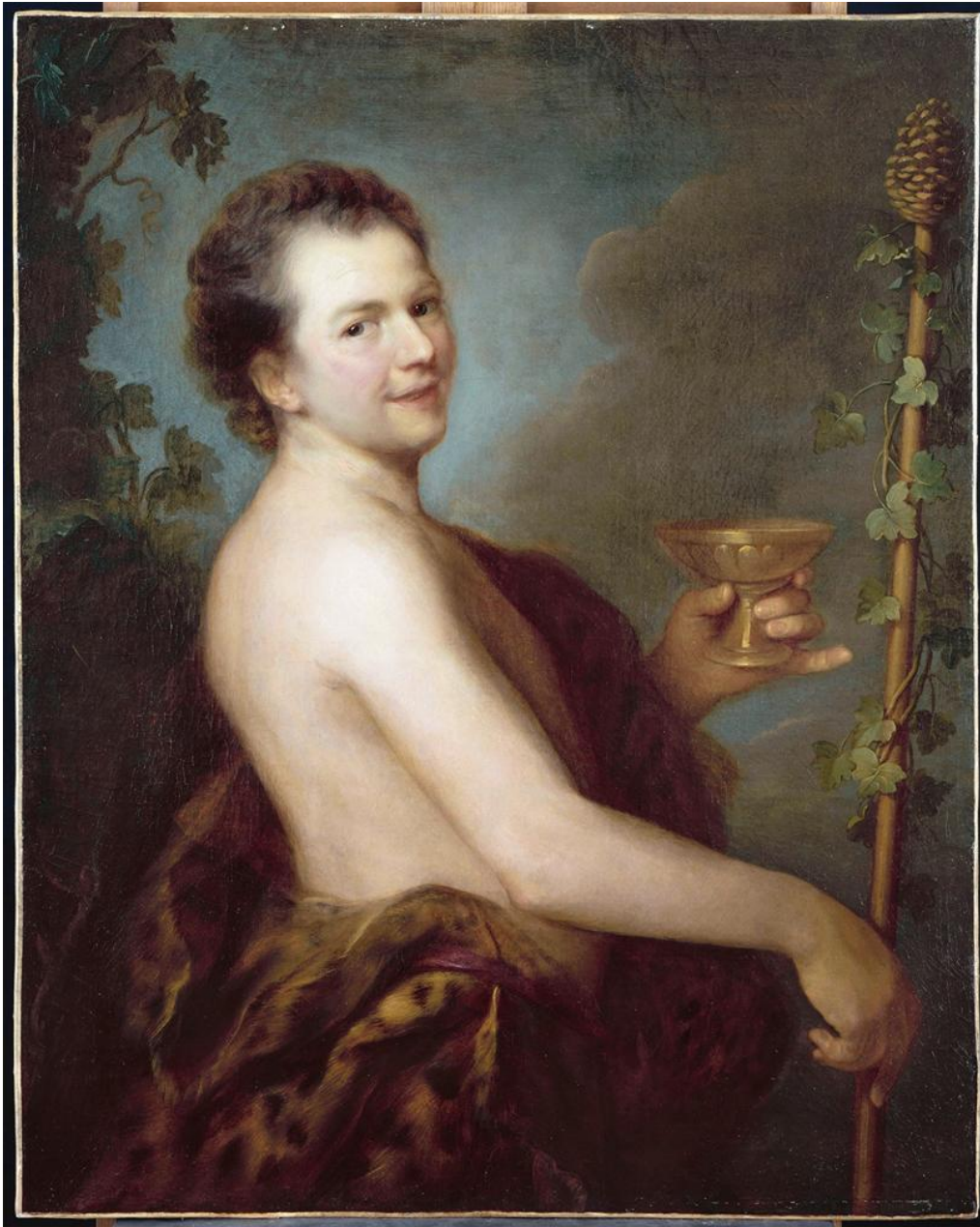


Figure 11.

Alexis Grimou, *Self-portrait as Bacchus*, 1728.  
Oil on canvas, 101 x 81 cm, Musée Maginin, Dijon.



Figure 12.

Jean-Marc Nattier, *Portrait of an Aristocratic Youth in the Guise of Bacchus*, 1730.  
Oil on canvas, 146 x 115 cm. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art,  
State Art Museum of Florida, Sarasota.



Figure 13.

Jean-Marc Nattier, *Michel-Ferdinand d'Albert d'Auilly, Duc de Chaulnes as Hercules*, 1746.  
Oil on canvas. 129 x 103.5cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 14.

Nicolas de Largillière, *François Armand de Gontaut, Duc de Biron*, 1714.  
Oil on canvas, 138.8 x 106.7 cm. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.





D1065  
PPA 164935

1917-12-8-1471

Figure 15.  
Bernard Picart, *Portrait of Horace*, 1708.  
Etching, engraving, 14.2 x 8.4 cm. The British Museum, London.



Figure 16.

Gérard Scotin,  
Coat of Arms of Charles de Baschi, Marquis d'Aubais. Etching, 10.8 x 8.7 cm.  
The British Museum, London.



Figure 17.

Engraved intaglio finger ring with profile of Bacchus. Gold, 18<sup>th</sup> century. Passed from the collection of de la Turbie to Louis, Duc de Albas d'Aulps, British Museum, London.



Figure 18.

Engraved intaglio finger ring with seated Bacchus, Silenus and a satyr. Gold, 18<sup>th</sup> century. Purchased from the collection of Louis, Duc de Blacas d'Aulps. The British Museum, London.



1875-7-10-2919

D1010  
PPA164865

Figure 19.

Bernard Picart, *Allegorical Scene on Charles de Saint-Évremond*, 1724.  
 Etching and engraving, 14.2 x 8.7 cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 20.

Antoine Coysevox, *The alliance of Bacchus and Cupid*, 1702.  
Oil on canvas, 86.36 x 93.98 cm, Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas.



Figure 21.

Noël-Nicolas Coypel, *Venus, Bacchus and the three Graces* (*Vénus, Bacchus et les trois Grâces*), 1726. Oil on canvas, 101 x 82cm. Musées d'art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

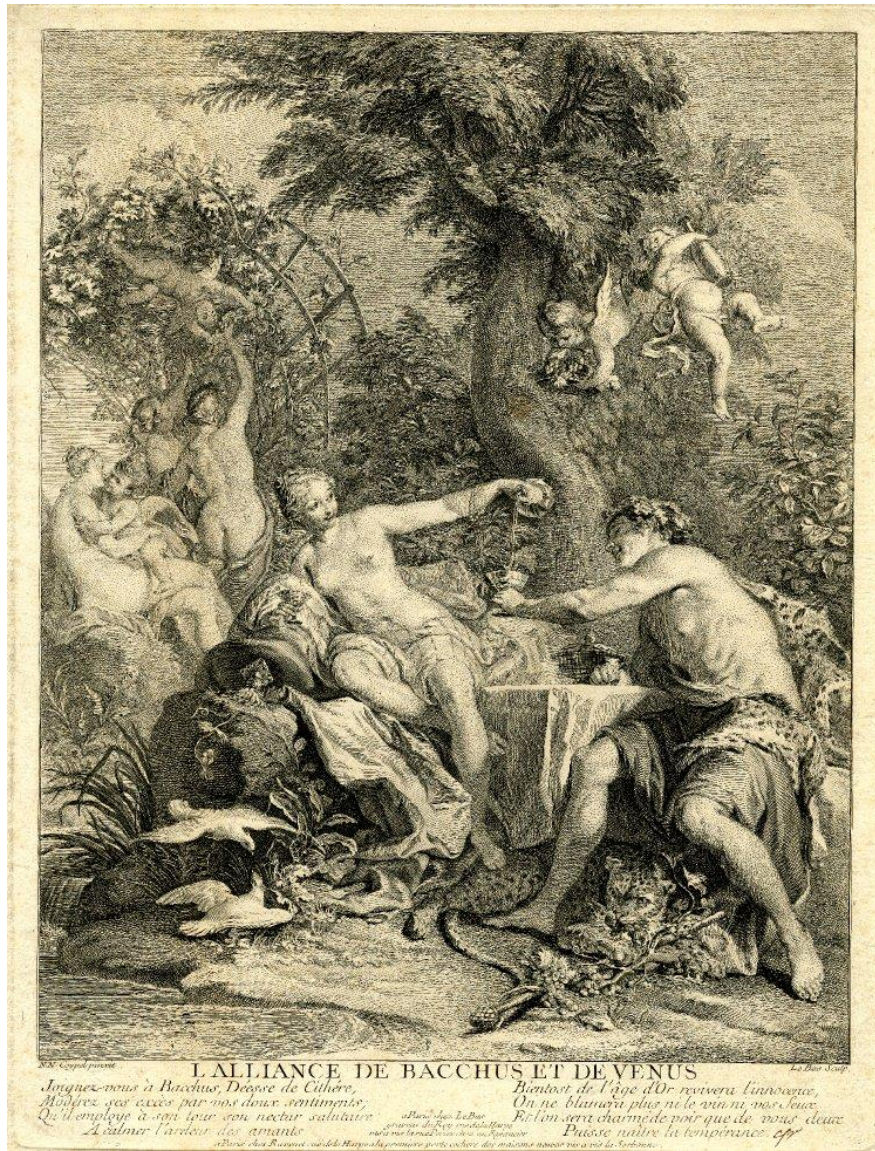


Figure 22.

Jacques Phillippe le Bas, after Coypel, *L'alliance de Bacchus et de Vénus*, 1740.  
 Etching and engraving, 37.3 x 28.2 cm. The British Museum



Figure 23.

John Faber the Younger (after Phillipe Mercier)  
*Bacchus in the Character of Cupid*, 1739.  
Mezzotint, 32.8 x 22.5 cm. The British Museum, London.





Figure 24.

John Faber the Younger (after Phillipe Mercier)  
*Cupid in the Character of Bacchus*, 1739.  
Mezzotint, 32.8 x 22.5cm. The British Museum, London.



Figure 25.

Nicolas Bertin, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1710-15.  
Oil on canvas, 75x 50 cm. Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, Saint-Étienne.



Figure 26.

Jean-Antoine Watteau, *Jupiter and Antiope* (also known as *Nymph and Satyr*),  
1715-16. Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 107.5 cm. Musée du Louvre.



Figure 27.

François Boucher, *The Surprise*, (1723-25?)  
Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 65.6 cm. New Orleans Museum of Art.



Figure 28.

Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Corseus Sacrificing Himself to Save Callirrhoe*, 1765.  
Oil on canvas, 300 x 409 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 29.

Sebastiano Ricci, *Venus and a Satyr*, 1718-1720  
Oil on canvas, 102 x 125.5 cm Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.



Figure 30.

Frontispiece for the *Encyclopédie*, Drawn by Charles-Nicolas Cochin in 1765  
Engraved by Benoît-Louis Prevost in 1772. Bibliothèque nationale de France,  
Cabinet des Estampes, Paris.



Figure 31.

George Vertue (after Antoine Coypel), untitled print, 1711.  
Mezzotint, 29.1 x 35.7 cm. The British Museum, London.





Figure 32.

Van Werdlen (after Antoine Coypel), untitled print, 1740s  
Mezzotint 25 x 32.5 cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 33.

Anon, *Jupiter and Antiope*, 1770s/80s.  
Hand coloured mezzotint published by Bowles & Carver,  
34.7 x 24.8 cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 34.

William Walker (after Filippo Lauri), *The Power of Beauty*, 1765  
Etching and engraving. 39.8 x 48.7 cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 35.

John Oliver, *Colonel Francis Charteris Contemplating the Venus of Titian*, c.1700.  
Etching and engraving, 37.3 x 28.2 cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 36.

Pierre Subleyras, *Female Nude*, c. 1735-1749  
Oil on canvas, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini.



Figure 37.

François Boucher, *Bacchante playing a reed pipe (Erigone)*, 1753. Oil on canvas, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.



Figure 38.

George White, *Colonel Francisco*, c.1730-1732.  
Mezzotint on linen, 34 x 24 cm. The British Museum, London.



Figure 39.

William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress*, plate 1, 1732.  
Etching and engraving, 30.9 x 38cm, The British Museum, London.





Figure 40.

Anon, *The Treacherous Patriot Unmask'd*. Mezzotint with engraved lettering, 1742.  
25.6cm x 18.8cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 41.

Attributed to Alexis-Simon Belle, *Henry St John, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount of Bolingbroke*, 1712  
Oil on canvas, 143 x 111.8 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

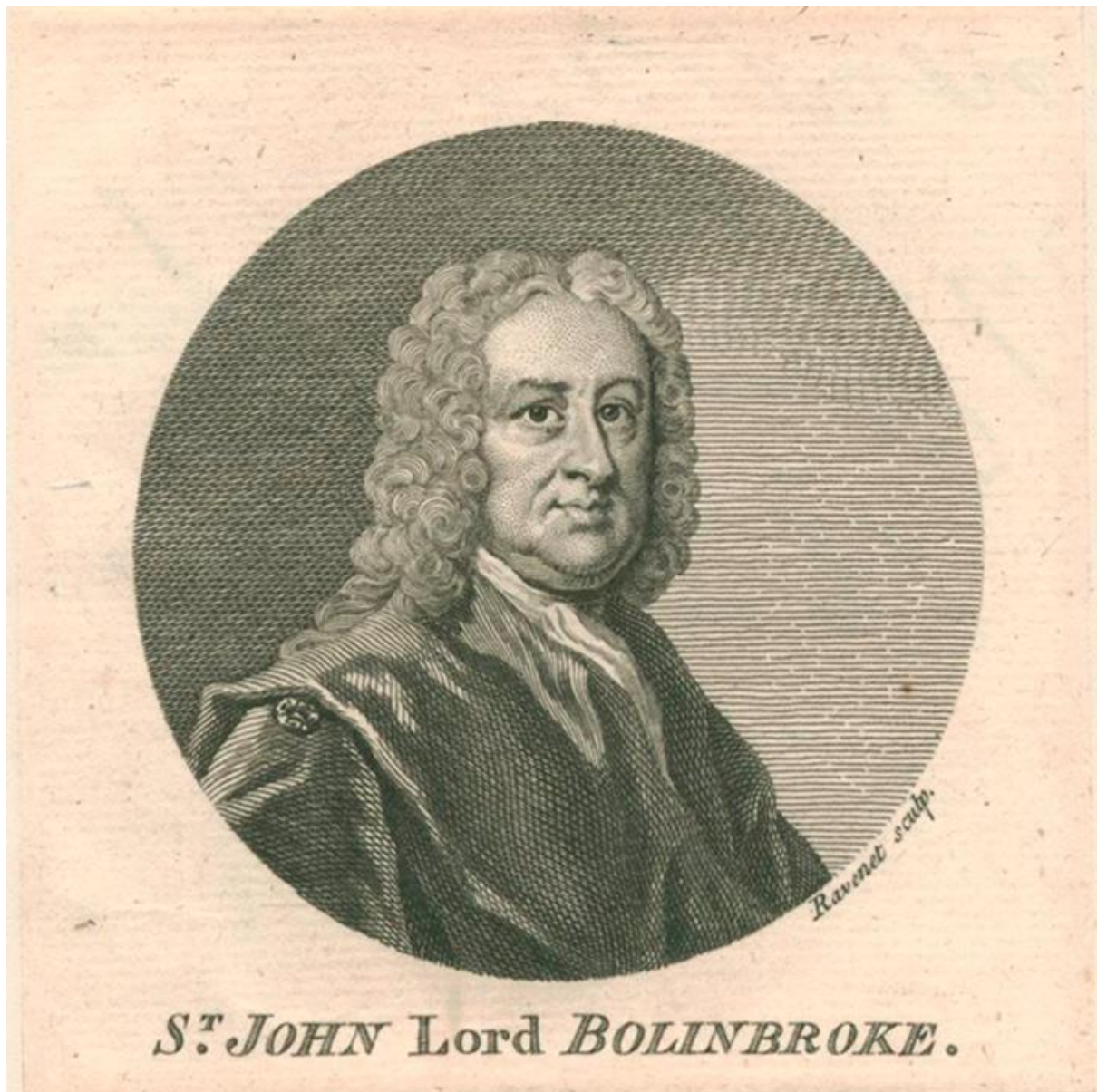


Figure 42.

Simon François Ravenet I, *St John Lord Bolingbroke*. Illustration to Tobias Smollet's *History of England*, 1757-58. Engraving, 10 x 10cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 43.

Jean-François De Troy, *Pan and Syrinx*, 1720, oil on canvas. 123.5 x 159.5cm.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art



Figure 44.

Jean-Francois de Troy, *Pan and Syrinx*, c.1722-24. Oil on canvas, 74.3 x 92cm.  
The J Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.



Figure 45.

Jean-François De Troy, *Diana and Her Nymphs Bathing*, 1722-24.  
Oil on canvas, 74.3 x 92.1 cm. The J Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 46.

Anonymous. French (?) c.1650-1700. Engraving, 22.4 x 30.0 cm.  
The British Museum, London.



Figure 47.

Sebastiano Ricci, *Pan and Syrinx*, 1700. Oil on canvas. Moravská galerie v Brně  
Photo: archive of the Gallery in Brno





Figure 48.

Bernard Picart (after Cornelius Bloemaert)(after Abraham van Diepenbeeck).  
*Pan et Syrinx*, c.1730/33. 35.2 x 25.4cm with border.  
Etching and engraving. Plate XI to *Le Temple des Muses* (Amsterdam: Zacharias Chatelain,  
1733). The British Museum, London.



Figure 49.

Abraham von Diepenbeeck, *Pan and Syrinx*.

Plate for *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide en latin et français*, before 1677. Reproduced for the Amsterdam edition, 1702. The Warburg Institute Library, London.



Figure 50.

Pierre Mignard, *Pan and Syrinx*, c.1688-90. Oil on canvas, 73 x 97.4cm.  
Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston Texas.



Figure 51.

Pierre Mignard, *Pan and Syrinx*, c.1690  
Oil on canvas, 113 x 89cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 52.

Antoine Jean Duclos, after Jean Michel Moreau le Jeune  
Frontispiece to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*.  
Etching and engraving, 27.5 x 20.3cm (Brussels: Boubers, 1774)  
The British Museum, London.



Figure 53.

Edmé Jeurat (after Pierre Mignard), *Pan et Syrinx*. 1718, engraving, 36.5 x 43.8 cm.  
The British Museum, London.



Figure 54.

Jean-François de Troy, *Pan and Syrinx*. c. 1733  
Oil on canvas, 90.5 x 73 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Figure 55.

François Hutin (after Jean-François de Troy), *Pan and Syrinx*, c.1740-1758.  
Etching, 19.6 x 21.9 cm, The British Museum, London.





Figure 56.

François Boucher, *Pan and Syrinx*, 1759  
Oil on canvas, 32.4 x 41.9 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 57.

François Boucher, *Pan and Syrinx*, c.1761.  
Oil on canvas, 95 x 79 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Figure 58.

Charles-Andrè Van Loo, *Apollo Flaying Marsyas*, 1735  
Oil on canvas, 130 x 163cm. Ecolè nationale supèrière des beaux-arts, Paris.



Figure 59.

*Apollo Belvedere*, ca. 130-140 AD (copy after bronze original of Leochares, 330-320 BCE)  
Marble, 224cm. Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino Cartile Ottagono



Figure 60.

Joachim von Sandrart

*Apollo and the Python*, for the 1698 edition of *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphosis, Oder, Sinn-reicher Gedichte von Verwandlungen*, Nürnberg, 1698, 31.

The Warburg Institute Library, London.

F A B. VII, & VIII. *Marsyas écorché par Apollon.*

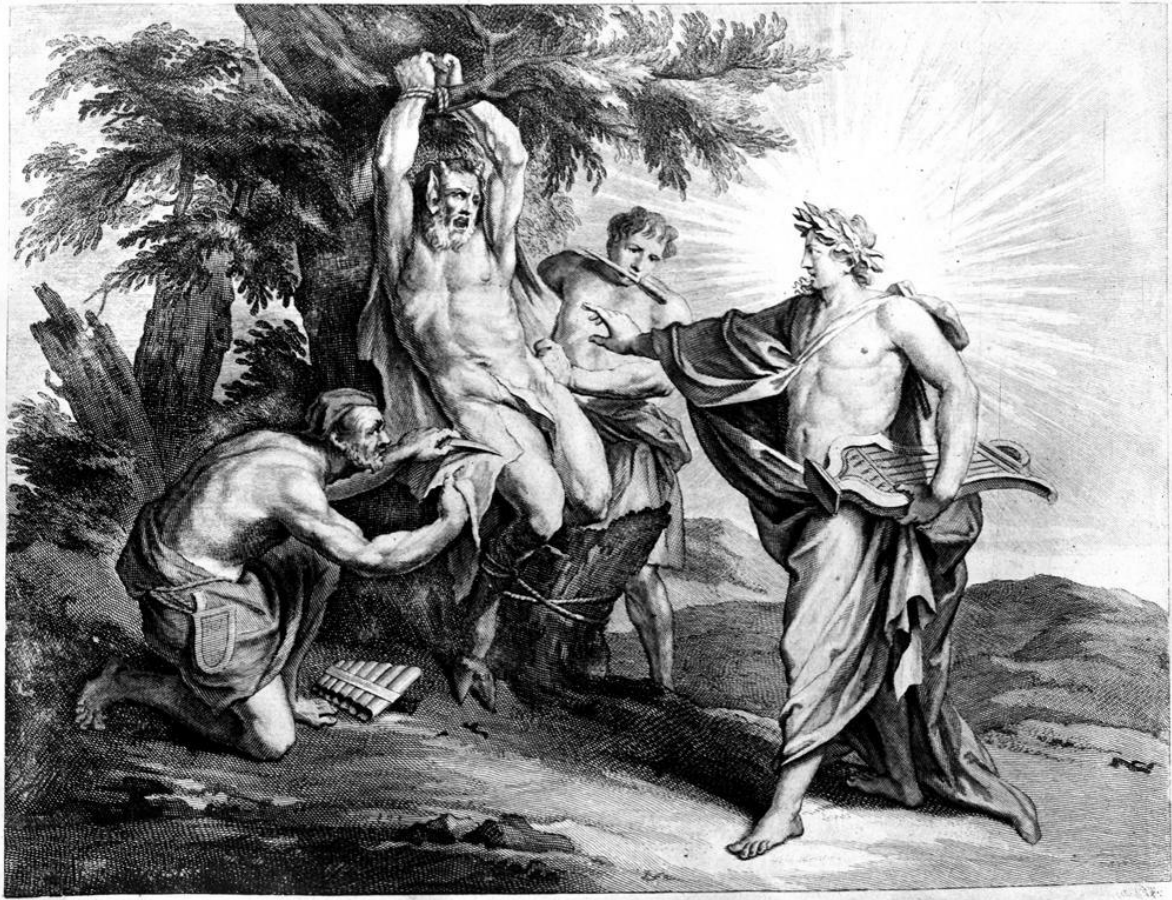


Figure 61.

Bernard Picart, *Marsyas écorché par Apollon*, 1732

Fables VII & VIII. Volume I, Book VI

*Les metamorphoses d'Ovide en latin, traduites en françois, avec des remarques et des explications historiques par M. l'abbé Banier.* (Amsterdam: R. & J. Wetstein & G. Smith, 1732) Etching and engraving. The Warburg Institute Library, London.



Figure 62.

*Laocoön and his Sons* (also known as the *Laocoön Group*).  
ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE- 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Marble, 208 x 163 x 112 cm  
Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino, Laocoön Hall.



Figure 63.

Andrea Saachi

*Marcantonio Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo (Allegorical Portrait of the Singer Marcantonio Pasqualini)*, 1640. Oil on canvas, 243.8 x 194.3 cm  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





Figure 64.

Louis Tocqué, *The Actor Pierre Jéliotte in the Role of Apollo*, 1755 (?)

Oil on canvas, 84 x 72 cm

State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.



Figure 65.

Simon Charles Miger (after Carle Van Loo), *Apollo and Marsyas*, 1778.

Etching and Engraving, 39.9 x 49.4 cm

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes.



Figure 66.

Richard Yeo (after Andrea Saachi), Bronze medal, 1750, 4.8 cm.  
The British Museum, London.



Figure 67.

Attributed to Carle Vanloo, *Music, Art and Science*, 18<sup>th</sup> century  
Black, red and white chalk on paper, 26.5 x 26.5 cm  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 68.

Anonymous, *Philosophical Judgement Decr. 1 1777*  
Etching, 23.8 x 21.1 cm. The British Museum, London.



Figure 69.

Abraham von Diepenbeeck,

*Fable VII et VIII* from *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide en latin et français*, before 1677.

Reproduced for the Amsterdam edition of 1702.

The Warburg Institute Library, London.



Figure 70.

Guido Reni, *Apollo and Marsyas*, ca. 1620-25  
Oil on canvas, 220 x 165cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



*Apollon écorchant Marsyas*  
*Tableau de Paul Veronese, du Cabinet de M. Crozat, peint sur toile, haut de 19 1/2 pouces, large de 25 3/4 pouces.*  
*Gravé par François Joullain.*

Figure 71.

François Joullain (after Carletto Caliari), *Apollon écorchant Marsyas*, 1729-42  
Etching & engraving, 29.9 x 35.6 cm, The British Museum, London.





Figure 72.

Lorenzo Zucchi (after Lodovico Lana)  
*Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus célèbres tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Dresde, 1757*  
Etching and engraving, 38.7 x 39.1 cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 73.

Jacopo da Leonardis (after Giulio Carpioni)  
*Al crudo di Marsia, e del Re Mida l'Ardir s'abbassi; il Stolto non decida*, 1765  
Etching and engraving, 34.6 x 42.6 cm, The British Museum, London.



Figure 74.

Giovanni Batista Tiepolo, *Apollo and Marsyas*, 1725.  
Oil on canvas 100 x 135 cm, Galleri dell'Accademia di Venezia.

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