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Dishing up Pictures from the Pantry : An Eighteenth-Century French Recipe for Illustrating Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*

The following pages deal with the illustrations of the first complete French translation of what is perhaps one of the strangest creations of late antique literature, the *Deipnosophistae* (*The Sophists' Feast*) by Athenaeus (Athenaios), who lived in the last third of the second century in Naucratis, a commercial town in the Nile delta. To preserve in writing what had supposedly been talked when people met for feasting and drinking had become a literary genre of ist own in antiquity; and Athenaeus followed the example set by Platon, Xenophon and Plutarch when he composed letters to his friend Timocrates in which he gave a detailed account of the conversations that had taken place on the occasion of a feast in the house of the Roman official Publius Livius Larensis. As the fictitious feast had gone on for several days, these conversations add up to a panoramic view of Greco-Alexandrine culture and society as it developed in the course of one thousand years; they also include extensive quotes from the prose and poetry of hundreds of authors, many of which are known today only because Athenaeus transmitted them to posterity. Whereas the considerable merits of the *Deipnosophistae* as a source of cultural knowledge are thus beyond dispute (and this although it has not even survived in its entirety), it has usually found little favour as a literary work of art: A well-known German encyclopaedia of world literature even counts it amongst ‚the most abstruse and least digestible things ever written.'[1]

The translation under discussion here, *Banquet des savans*, is the work of the French physician and philologist Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre de Villebrune (1732 – 1809). After it had been brought to the public's notice by a ‚prospectus' calling for subscriptions and dated November 1786, its five volumes were published in 1789 – 1791 by the Paris book dealer Pierre-Michel Lamy and printed in the so-called ‚Imprimerie de Monsieur'[2], which was then under the guidance of Pierre-François Didot (called Didot le jeune), member of a famous French dynasty of printers.[3] As can be seen from these dates, the book presented itself to the scholarly world at a time of extreme political instability, so that it is quite understandable that in the afterword of the last volume the translator gives voice to his astonishment that notwithstanding the revolutionary turbulences of the era he had actually succeeded in completing his work and that the ‚stormy times' had eventually only prevented him from fulfilling the subsidiary tasks of compiling an apparatus of textual criticism and annotations.[4]

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[1] ‚[Es gehört] zum Abstrusesten und Ungenießbarsten, was je geschrieben wurde'; *Kindlers neues Literaturlexikon*, vol. 1, München 1988, p. 821 (article by Egidius Schmalzriedt).

[2] ‚Monsieur' was the official title of the King's oldest brother, under whose patronage the press stood. In the years under discussion here, this was the oldest brother of Louis XVI, Louis Stanislas Xavier Conte de Provence.

[3] On the ‚prospectus' announcing the book, the title runs as follows: *Les deipnosophistes, ou le banquet des savans, d'Athénée. Traduction nouvelle faite par M. Adam, de l'Académie Françoise; revue et publiée par M. Lefebvre de Villebrune*. On the title page of the ‚Tome premier' (1789) the wording is different and Adam's name has been suppressed: *Banquet des savans, par Athénée, traduit, tant sur les Textes imprimés, que sur plusieurs Manuscrits, par M. Lefebvre de Villebrune*. According to the ‚avertissement' in the first volume (p. 6 ff.), Adam's contribution to the work is limited to a translation of Athenaeus's books one and two, which had to be revised thouroughly.

[4] *Banquet*, Tome cinquième, p. 473.

The copy that was used for the present purposes, once a property of the South German noble family of Oettingen-Wallerstein,[5] consists of the five volumes of text and of a folder that contains loose sheets with illustrations executed in line engraving and etching. There are 21 illustrations (‚planches') on 16 sheets for Lefebvre de Villebrune's first volume, which comprises books I – II of Athenaeus's text (the first of these sheets meant as a frontispice to the whole work); there are also 21 illustrations on 18 sheets for Lefebvre de Villebrune's fifth volume, which comprises books XIII – XV of Athenaeus's text (the first of these sheets meant as an engraved title page for the fifth volume). In addition, the folder contains an anonymous author's notes explaining the subjects of both series of illustrations (‚Explication des estampes'; six and ten pages, respectively) and an engraved title page (*Oeuvres d'Athénée ou Le banquet des savants* [sic]) with a vignette, dated 1792. In Monglond's bibliographic description, this latter sheet is made to belong to Lefebvre de Villebrune's fifth volume;[6] but as it clearly gives the title of the complete work and makes no explicit reference whatsoever to the fifth volume, it might be preferable to think of it as a title page that was to be placed at the beginning of the first volume.

It seems that these illustrations, of which there is no word yet in the ‚prospectus' announcing the *Banquet* to the public, did not circulate very widely: Among the copies of the *Banquet* in German libraries which could be tracked down by searching electronic union catalogues, it is only the copy in Göttingen (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek) that includes them.[7] The fact that in the Oettingen-Wallerstein library the illustrations were kept in a separate folder and not bound with the text, taken together with the evidence of the ‚prospectus' (which does not mention them) and the engraved title page (dated 1792), might imply that the illustrations were not supplied together with the text and that the publisher rather conceived of them as an afterthought. This, however, cannot be proved at the moment; and it must also be left to conjecture why the illustrations are limited to the first and the fifth volume. Monglond's description suggests that illustrations for the other volumes were indeed never published; suspicions that the fragmentary status of the set of prints belonging to the Oettingen-Wallerstein copy might be due to a lapsed subscription or later losses thus seem to be unfounded.[8] It is well imaginable, though, that the social turmoil prevailing during the *Banquet's* years of publication not only hampered Lefebvre de Villebrune's philological fine-tuning of his text, but also brought the project of providing a complete set of illustrations to a premature halt.

There is something else concerning these illustration which deserves further comment and which shall first be explained by taking a closer look at the third illustration (planche 3) for the first volume (fig. 1). The ‚Explication' identifies this illustration as the work of Jean Michel Moreau (1741 – 1814),[9] the Paris-born son of a wigmaker, who had been

[5] In the second half of the eighteenth century, Count Kraft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein made substantial additions to his library and in particular bought large quantities of French books, evidence of the fascination French culture exerted on German noblemen in those days. The Oettingen-Wallerstein copy of the *Banquet* also perserves the ‚prospectus' describing the project and containing the call for subscriptions. The collection is today housed at Augsburg University Library; the *Banquet* has kept its nineteenth-century shelfmark 02/II.4.4.83-1 ff.

[6] André Monglond: *La France révolutionnaire et impériale. Annales de bibliographie méthodique et description des livres illustrés. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée. Tome I: Années 1789 – 1790*, Paris 1930 [repr. Genève 1976], col. 398.

[7] The copies in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek), Dresden (Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek) and Leipzig (Universitätsbibliothek) do not include the plates. I have not consulted these copies myself, but rely on information supplied by the libraries. The copy in Weimar (Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek) seems to have perished in the 2004 conflagration.

[8] Monglond (as ann. 6), col. 398: ‚Les tomes II, III et IV ne contiennent aucune figure.'

[9] For Moreau, see in particular Angelika Ratz: *Moreau le Jeune als Illustrator*, München 1974 (doctoral thesis).

fig. 1

nicknamed ‚the ox' during his apprenticeship with the engraver Jacques-Philippe Le Bas for his allegedly clumsy style of drawing, but who nonetheless developed into one of the most accomplished of those artists to whom France owes a golden age of book illustration during the second half of the eighteenth century. Moreau mainly supplied drawings that served as models for prints; in this particular case, however, the specification ‚dessinée et gravée par Moreau le jeune' in the ‚Explication' emphasizes that Moreau had not left the task of transferring his drawing to a copper plate to a colleague who had specialized in reproducing other people's drawings in print, but that Moreau had done the etching himself.

According to the caption (‚Danse des Phéaciens'), the print shows a dance among the Phaeaceans, a tribe of sailors that, as mythology has it, enjoyed a carefree life on the island of Scheria (sometimes supposed to be identical with Corfu); in the Odyssey, they bade a friendly welcome to the shipwrecked Odysseus and eqipped him with ships for his return to Ithaca. Moreau's group of dancers, though, is not in the least redolent of mythological antiquity and rather breathes the spirit of one of those Rococo genre scenes that recklessly transfigure contemporary rural life into a haven of idyllic bliss. Such a playful atmosphere, however, seems hardly compatible with the years when the *Banquet* illustrations were published (after 1789), and appears all the more strange as Moreau, skilled master of the Rococo vernacular though he was, had not kept aloof from the artistic tendencies gaining ground in the last third of the eighteenth century: In 1785, a voyage to Italy inspired him to embrace the ideals of antiquity and neoclassicism so fervently that his daughter, in a brief account of her father's life, even claims that he returned from Italy ‚a new-born man'. Why, one might well ask, should Moreau, whose new manner found even more favour with his contemporaries than the one he had given up, hark back in the early 1790s to the rustic gallantries of the Rococo in order to depict sailors of antiquity at a dance?

The matter becomes even more enigmatic once one opens Athenaeus's text at the place indicated on the etching and reads the lines the image supposedly refers to. The connection between text and illustration does not extend beyond their sharing the general subject of ‚dancing', and it would be difficult to claim that the illustration in any particular way reflects what the text has to say about the Phaeaceans'customs: ‚Les Phéaciens, dans Homère, dansent aussi sans balle: ils dansent même seuls alternativement et en se succédant souvent […] Les spectateurs applaudissoient pendant ce temps-là, faisant retentir leurs premiers doigts.'[10] Turning to the ‚Explication' will not help much, either, for though it describes the etching quite painstakingly and makes the viewer aware of some details he migh otherwise have missed, it does not mention the Phaeaceans at all and fails to explain why this etching was chosen for this particular passage of text:

> Les differens âges de la vie sont représentés dans ce tableau avec un caractère très-distinctif. L'enfant est attentif à la perte du lait, occasionnée par les témoignages de tendresse que se donnent mutuellement les deux principaux personnages, et dont un chien fait son profit: la danse est exécutée par des jeunes gens des deux sexes, et le dernier âge est occupé au travail. Les fabriques que l'on voit à droite et à gauche, ainsi que le toît rustique soutenu par une perche entourée de ceps et vigne, annoncent que la scène se passe au village.

Both the Rococo flavour of the illustration and the very superficial links between etching and text can, however, be accounted for, if one consults once again Monglond's bibliographical description of the *Banquet*[11] or turns to Mahérault's catalogue raisonnée of Moreau's works.[12] They tell us that Moreau had originally drawn and etched these dancers

[10] *Banquet*, Tome premier, Livre I, p. 61.
[11] Monglond (as ann. 6).
[12] Marie-Joseph-François Mahérault: *L' oeuvre de Moreau le Jeune. Catalogue raisonné et descriptif avec notes iconographiques et bibliographiques*, Paris 1880, p. 23 ff.

as early as 1772 for quite a different context, namely for the first volume of *Choix de chansons*, dated 1773 on its title page: a collection which had been assembled and published by the composer and writer Jean-Benjamin de Laborde (1734 – 1792)[13] and which contained songs with harp accompaniment on texts of several poets, most of which are forgotten today; all in all, an exquisite creation of late Rococo book art, in which almost every song is preceded by an illustration and both notes and texts have been etched.

The dancing Phaeaceans here still belong to a song entitled ‚La soirée du village', whose verses had been written by Laborde himself; and if one reads those verses, it is no longer difficult to see connections between text and image, to spot, e.g, in the left foreground the lovers Colin and Lisette, whose story is told in the course of the song, or to identify the figures in the background on the right as the toiling mothers who are gently mocked in the refrain. The young people dancing round the fire, though, introduce an element into the etching that was not explicitly present yet in the verses; perhaps Moreau was inspired to add this feature by the common association of love with imagery of fire, an instance of which also occurs in the third stanza of the song, which mentions the ‚ardor' (‚ardeur') reigning in the lover's heart. This is the complete text of the song:

[1.] Finissés donc votre ouvrage,
Tous les Garçons du Village
Ont ramené leurs troupeaux,
Les Moutons dans la prairie
Ont quitté l'herbe fleurie
Pour goûter un doux repos.
Laissés travailler vos mères
Voici l'instant de jouir,
Il est tems jeunes Bergères
De ne songer qu'au plaisir.

[2.] Voulés vous savoir l'histoire,
Que sans peine on pourra croire,
De Lisette et de Colin?
Colin plaisait à Lisette,
Un jour qu'il la vit seulette,
Il voulut baiser sa main.
Laissés travailler vos mères …

[3.] Elle fit d'abord la fière,
Pour quoi donc cet air sévère,
Dit Colin avec douceur?
Si dans vos yeux j'ai sçu lire,
La même ardeur qui m'inspire,
Rêgne aussi dans vôtre coeur.
Laissés travailler vos mères …

[4.] A quoi sert de se deffendre?
Il est plus doux de se rendre,
Aux désirs de son amant.
Tout le tems qu'elle diffère,
Est perdu pour la Bergère,
Qui trouve un amant constant.
Laissés travailler vos mères …

[5.]Ah! si j'étais apperçuë!
Si de maman j'étais vuë!
Hélas! Colin j'en mourais.
Pour l'embrasser en cachette,
Colin emmena Lisette,
Dans le Bois le plus épais.
Laissés travailler vos mères …

When the etching some twenty years later was, so to speak, pressed into the service of the *Banquet*, the original caption quoting the refrain (‚Laissés travailler vos mères / Voici l'instant de jouir') and the pagination were erased and replaced by a new caption (‚Danse des Phéaciens') and specifications as to which passage of Athenaeus's text the illustration now was meant to refer to (volume, page, line). It was also thought fit to remove Moreau's signature below the bottom frame (‚J. M. Moreau le j[eu]ne inv[enit] scul[psit] 1772'),

[13] For details concerning Laborde's biography, see Mathieu Couty: *Jean-Benjamin de Laborde ou le bonheur d'être fermier-général*, [Paris] 2001. For Laborde's activities related to music, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 14, London et al. 2001, p. 86 f.

though this can only have served the purpose of concealing the year when the etching was made, not the purpose of hiding Moreau's authorship, for his name and his roles as inventor of the design and etcher are given in the ‚Explication', as has been mentioned above.

At the time the etching underwent this metamorphosis, i.e., around 1790, dark clouds had already gathered over Laborde's head, an aristocrat who had been the minion and confidant of two kings and who had been a member of the influential group of the so-called ‚fermiers généraux' (‚tax farmers'); and worse was to come: In 1792, during the storm on the Tuileries, his Paris mansion, housing a rich collection of graphic arts and books, went up in flames; in 1793, he was arrested in Rouen, and in 1794, a few days before Robespierre's downfall, he was executed. Moreau, on the other hand, not only displayed considerable stylistic flexibility, as is shown by his switch from Rococo to Neo-Classicism, he also turned out to be quite adroit when it came to adapting to different social systems: He had been appointed ‚Dessinateur des menus-de-plaisir'[14] in 1770 by Louis XV and ‚Dessinateur et Graveur du Cabinet du Roi' in 1778 by Louis XVI; but nonetheless joined the Jacobins in the course of the Revolution and even lived long enough to see himself reinstated as ‚Dessinateur et Graveur du Cabinet du Roi' by Louis XVIII[15] on November 30, 1814. The translator Lefebvre de Villebrune, too, sailed more or less unscathed through the vicissitudes of revolutionary France, though it was only from 1793 – 1795 that he could hold his ground as head of the Bibliothèque nationale.

Given this solution to the riddle of the antique sailors dressed up as eighteenth-century rustics, it will not come as a surprise that the ‚Phéaciens' are not the only emgirants that have found a new home in the Athenaeus illustrations: Looking through the prints in the first volume of Laborde's *Chansons*, all of which were drawn and etched by Moreau, reveals that 6 of these 26 etchings were later adapted for the *Banquet*;[16] and the borrowings also extend to volumes 2 – 4 of the *Chansons*, for which Laborde, after quarrelling with Moreau, had employed various other artists, who unlike Moreau either supplied the preparatory drawing or did the etching, but never executed both tasks. All in all, 19 prints from these later volumes of the *Chansons* were taken over into the *Banquet*, etched by François Denis Née and Louis Joseph Masquelier (who usually worked as a team) after drawings by Joseph Barthélemy Le Bouteux, Jean Jacques François Le Barbier and Jacques Philippe Joseph de Saint-Quentin.

As was the case with the Phaeaceans, most prints gleaned from the *Chansons* do not fit seamlessly into their new context. Thus, Petrarca mourning at the tomb of his beloved Laura (ilustration by Le Barbier und Masquelier for ‚Regrets de Pétrarque", *Chansons*, vol. 3, p. 112 – 114) now in a quite ironic turn accompanies Athenaeus's account of the magnificent tomb erected by the Macedonian Harpalos for the courtesan Pythionike (planche 16 for the fifth volume of the *Banquet*, fig. 2);[17] and even if a subject in the *Chansons* had already been taken from antiquity, usually some ingenuity was needed to relate it to something in the *Banquet*: Le Barbier's and Née's illustration for the ‚Prière à Morphée' (*Chansons*, vol. 3, p. 76 – 78), e.g., shows a young man in flowing garments who has prostrated himself in front of Morpheus, the god of sleep, and asks him to prolong his sleep and thus not to disturb the blissful dreams of his beloved.

[14] In this capacity, it was Moreau's task to design invitations to dances, theatre programmes, billets etc. and to make drawings of court festivities.
[15] This was the oldest brother of Louis XVI, who has already been mentioned in connection with the ‚Imprimerie de Monsieur' (cf. ann. 2).
[16] Monglond (as ann. 6) notes that four of these etchings were taken from the *Chansons* (for which information he relies on Emmanuel Bocher: *Les gravures françaises du XVIIIe siècle ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes, eaux-fortes, pièces en couleur, au bistre et au lavis de 1700 à 1800*, Sixième fascicule: Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune, Paris 1882). Monglond does not name the sources of the other *Banquet* illustrations.
[17] *Banquet*, Tome cinquième**,** Livre XIII, p. 122.

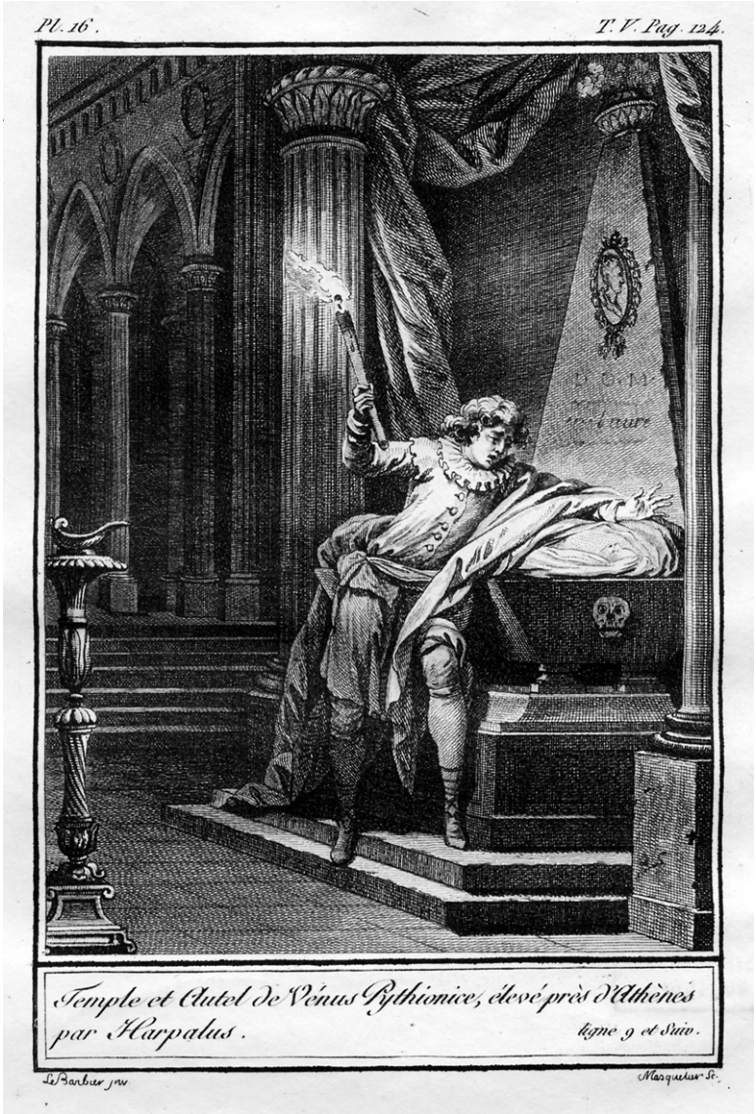
Pl. 16.
T. V. Pag. 124.
Temple et Autel de Vénus Pythionice, élevé près d'Athènes par Harpalus.
ligne 9 et Suiv.
Le Barbier jnv
Masquelier Sc.

fig. 2


Pl. II.
T. V. Pag. 64.
Odatis soit Zariadre en songe, elle en devient
amoureuse et l'Epouse.
ligne 22 et suiv.

fig. 3

The *Banquet* (planche 11 for the fifth volume; fig. 3) uses this print for the story of Odatis, daughter of a king in Asia Minor, who sees in her dream Zariadres, ruler of a neighbouring realm, and falls in love with him, though she has never before met him in reality.[18] The print to some extent resists such a reinterpreatation, as it quite clearly does not depict a male and a female figure, as the story in the *Banquet* requires, but two male figures; the ‚Explication', though, blithely and not altogether convincingly overrides this difficulty by pointing out that the princess Odatis is shown here, quasi metonymically, in the shape of Morpheus (‚sous la figure de Morphée') and by identifying the kneeling figure as Zariadres, the dream vision of the gender-blurring Odatis-Morpheus figure.

There is indeed just a single illustration taken from the *Chansons* which integrates naturally and without undue constraint into the place it has been allotted in the *Banquet*, i.e., the illustration concerning the story of Orpheus, which is treated both in the *Chansons* (‚Le juge integre', *Chansons*, vol. 2, p. 106 – 108) and in the *Banquet* (planche 17 for the fifth volume).[19] But even in this case there is some lack of correspondence between the print by Le Bouteux / Masquelier and Athenaeus's text: The print visualizes the fateful moment when Orpheus turns round to catch a glimpse of Eurydice and thus loses her forever, whereas the passage in Athenaeus is only interested in how Orpheus's singing moves the gods of the underworld.

It is probably due to Laborde's overreaching ambitions as a publisher that the publisher Lamy could use the *Chansons* as a quarry for his recycling purposes.[20] Encouraged by the success of the *Chansons*, which eventually filled four volumes instead of two as had been first planned, Laborde in 1777 launched a grandly conceived topographical project, which first envisaged six folio volumes with ca. 1200 plates covering Switzerland and Italy (*Tableaux topographiques, pittoresques, physiques, historiques, moraux, politiques et littéraires de la Suisse et d'Italie*) and which in 1780 was extended to include France. 1780 also saw the publication of Laborde's multi-volume treatise on musical theory, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*; and thus it is perhaps little surprising that Laborde and his business partners eventually ran into serious financial difficulties. This is why the plates for Laborde's books came up for sale and were acquired in 1781 by Lamy, who was specialized on such buy-outs; and it was not only the *Chansons* illustrations which he recycled in connection with the *Banquet*, but also those belonging to the *Essai*, though to a much lesser extent.

Some illustrations for the first volume of the *Banquet* (planches 7 [fig. 4] – 9) are identical with those that Pierre Chenu executed after drawings by Silvestre David Mirys for the *Essai* (second book of the first volume, entitled ‚Des instrumens') and that show scenes of antique music-making, partially inspired, according to the text, by models found in Herculanum. Whereas in the *Essai* there is some text on the prints naming the various instruments, the *Banquet* uses this space just below the image for indicating the text passages in Athenaeus to which the illustrations refer; the task of identifying the instruments has been transferred to the ‚Explication'. The ‚Explication' also mentions Herculanum, Myris and the *Essai*, without explicitly specifying, though, that the latter is the place where the prints were first published; the reference to the *Essai* might just be taken to mean that it was a source for the text of the ‚Explication' or that it should be consulted for further information. It is also quite interesting to note that the name ‚Laborde' is completely absent from the ‚Explication', though it is debatable if this is just the result of accidental carelessness, if the *Essai* was so well-known that giving its author's name was considered superfluous, or if this omission indeed reflects on Laborde's status as persona non grata in revolutionary

[18] *Banquet*, Tome cinquième, Livre XIII, p. 63 f.
[19] *Banquet*, Tome cinquième, Livre XIII, p. 131.
[20] Antony Griffiths: *Prints for Books : Book Illustration in France 1760 - 1800*, London 2004, p. 92 ff.


Pl. 7.
T. I. Pag. 78.
1
2
3
4
5
6
Sophocle, qui étoit d'une fort belle figure, joignit à cet avantage celui de la Musique et de la danse.
ligne 10. et Suiv.
Mirys del.
Chenu Sculp.

fig. 4

France. As these illustrations dealt from the outset with antique culture, it was comparatively easy to slot them into the *Banquet*, whose first book treats, among other things, music and song. Still, the attempts to relate details of the prints to details of the text and thus to divert from the fact that originally they were not intended to go together, usually sound forced and perfunctory, such as when the caption of planche 7 (fig. 4) dubs the left youth ‚Sophocles' in order to tie the print to Athenaeus's text: ‚Sophocle qui étoit d'une fort belle figure, joignit à cet avantage celui de la Musique et de la danse.'

These are not the only loans from the *Essai* that were taken over into the *Banquet*. Lamy also reused two horizontally oblong illustrations, whose main characteristics are dense meshes of etched lines and the structural device of placing figural antique-style reliefs in a landscape context. They show Pythagoras (planche 5 for the first volume of the *Banquet*; signed by Louis Joseph Masquelier; taken from the beginning of the first book of the first volume of the *Essai*) and Orpheus (planche 18 for the fifth volume of the *Banquet*; signed by Claude Nicolas Malapeau; taken from the beginning of second book of the first volume of the *Essai*). In both cases, there was still some space available on the sheets, which was used for further illustrations (planche 6 for the first volume; planches 19 – 21 for the fifth volume); illustrations which have much in common with those that are assembled as planches 14 – 18 on another sheet for the first volume (fig. 5). This fairly homogeneous group of illustrations, which in some cases only consist of contours and quite obviously are intended as faithful reproductions of antique works of arts (coins, reliefs, sculptures), does not owe its origin to the *Essai*: According to the ‚Explication', they are the work of Bernard Picart (1673 – 1733), who had been one of the most notable book illustrators in Paris and Amsterdam in the first third of the eighteenth century. The ‚Explication', though, is not as obliging as to tell us from which book exactly they were taken.

The quest for the source of the Picart prints leads to a satire written around 362/63 in Greek by the emperor Julian Apostata,[21] which is today known either under its Greek title *Sympósion*[22] or under its Latin title *Caesares* (*The Emperors*). In 1660, the diplomat and scholar Ezechiel Spanheim (Geneva 1629 – London 1710) published an annotated French translation of this text in Heidelberg, where he had been living at the court of the Elector Palatinate since 1656, occupied, among other things, with the education of the Prince Palatinate. When a second edition of *Les Césars de l'Empereur Julien* appeared in Paris in 1683,[23] the annotations (‚remarques') accompanying the text of the satire were supplemented by another critical apparatus appended to the text (‚Preuves des remarques', p. 322 ff.); as a further bonus, the text had been enriched with numerous small prints, mainly depicting antique coins. Picart in his turn copied these prints, which bear no signature, for the 1728 Amsterdam edition of the *Césars*;[24] and Picart's plates later came into the possession of Lamy, who went on to use some of them for the *Banquet*.

Once again, this meant that some of the subjects had to be reinterpreted in order to make sense in the new context. There is, e.g., a depiction of the so-called Fortuna Panthea inserted into the ‚Preuves', a complex figure, who, as Spanheim explains, is simultaneously

[21] Flavius Claudius Iulianus (332 [?] a. Chr. – 363 a. Chr.), reigned 361 – 363; called ‚Apostata' because of his defection from Christianity.

[22] In antique Greece, this meant a gathering for drinks, accompanied by sophisticated conversation, music, poetry recitals etc.

[23] *Les Césars de l'empereur Julien, traduits du Grec, avec des Remarques & des Preuves illustrées par les Médailles, & autres anciens monumens*, Paris : Thierry, 1683.

[24] *Les Césars de l'Empereur Julien, Traduits du Grec par feu M. le baron de Spanheim, Avec des Remarques & des Preuves, enrichies de plus de 300. Medailles, & autres Anciens Monumens. Gravés par Bernard Picart le Romain,* Amsterdam : L'Honoré, 1728 (the ‚Preuves' with separate pagination).


Pl. 14.
T. I. Pag. 297.
FORTVNAE
BARBATAE
SACR.
Pl. 15.
Pl. 16.
REGINAE
IVNONI
Pl. 17.
MATRI DEVM SALVTARI
Pl. 18.
OPI DIVINAE TR. P. COS. II.

fig. 5

equipped with the attributes of several different deities.[25] What the publisher (or whoever selected the illustrations) needed for the *Banquet*, though, was ‚Cybèle représentée de différentes manières', which is the title given in the ‚Explication' to the sheet uniting planches 14 – 18 for the first volume (fig. 5); and thus the compiler did not hesitate to relabel Fortuna Panthea as Kybele and add her (top left) to the six coins showing the earth goddess.[26] To be sure, due to her composite nature, Fortuna Panthea as she is given in the illustration does share some conspicuous features with Kybele, such as the mural crown; and even if Spanheim relates the cornucopia to Ceres and interprets the child figure because of its mask as Bacchus, the ‚Explication' does not strain things overly by reclaiming the cornucopia as an attribute of Kybele (both goddessess were, in fact, often associated with each other), and it even finds a fairly natural way to account for the presence of the child by referring to Kybele's role as healer of children.[27] There are, however, quite a few details that are not compatible with Kybele and which the ‚Explication' therefore has to pass over in silence, such as the wings, the rudder (both particularly characteristic of Fortuna Panthea), the bird on the woman's breast and the quiver visible behind the child's head; and there is also the problem that the illustration borrowed from the *Césars* includes a second representation of Fortuna Panthea in the shape of a bearded man (fig. 5, top right), who looks entirely out of place in the new Kybele context.[28] The ‚Explication' mentions Saturn-Chronos as Kybele's spouse, but does not make it clear if this piece of information is meant to identify the bearded man.

Apart from these archeological illustrations, the *Banquet* also appropriated the frontispice that Picard engraved for the *Césars* after his own drawing (planche 1 for the first volume; fig. 6) and that, due to its earlier date of origin, stands out quite conspicuously against the late Rococo gallantries on which the *Banquet* illustration series as a whole so heavily relies. Picard's frontispice, at least superficially, lent itself particularly well to this purpose, as Julian's satire (called *Sympósion* in Greek, as has been mentioned above) also uses the situational frame of a feast, in this case a feast to which Romulus has invited rulers and emperors and in the course of which some rulers are asked to extol their individual merits before the gods in a sort of rhetorical contest. Picard's frontispice, accordingly, shows (from left to right) Alexander the Great, Constantine, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Trajan und Marc Aurel lined up in front of the gods, while the other guests are still lying at table in the background. It is these background figures that the ‚Explication' identifies as the guests of the feast described by Athenaeus; and though Athenaeus's text provides no reason whatsoever why gods and emperors should have gathered in the clouds above the guests' heads, the ‚Explication' makes a valiant attempt to explain what might otherwise appear odd in the new context: ‚Les Dieux et les Héros viennent présider au *Banquet* des savans qui se tient dans le Palais d'Athénée, et inspirer les Convives qui sont à sa table.' (The feast did not, of course, take place in the ‚Palais de Athenée', but in the house of the Roman official Publius Livius Larensis.)

[25] *Césars* 1683: p. 430; *Césars* 1728, ‚Preuves': p. 98. For Fortuna Panthea, see Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher: *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie. Erster Band, zweite Abteilung*, Leipzig 1886 – 1890 [repr. Hildesheim 1965], col. 1534 ff.

[26] Planche 14 originally *Césars* 1683, p. 430 and *Césars* 1728, p. 98 (‚Preuves'); planche 15 originally *Césars* 1683, p. 24 and *Césars* 1728, p. 21; planche 16 originally *Césars* 1683, p. 23 and *Césars* 1728, p. 21; planche 17 originally *Césars* 1683, S. 215 and *Césars* 1728, p. 194, planche 18: *Césars* 1683 p. 92 and *Césars* 1728, p. 83.

[27] Cf. Hans-K. und Susanne Lücke: *Antike Mythologie. Ein Handbuch. Der Mythos und seine Überlieferung in Literatur und bildender Kunst*, Reinbek 1999, p. 521.

[28] Fortuna Barbata was worshipped by adolescent men; cf. Roscher (as ann. 25), col. 1519.


Œuvres d'Athénée, Pl. 1e Frontispice du Tome 1er
B. Picart inventé et fait 1715
Les Dieux et les Héros viennent présider au Banquet des Savans qui se tient dans le Palais d'Athénée, et inspirer les Convives qui sont a sa table.

fig. 6


Pl. 14.
T. V. Pag. 108.
J. B. Cipriani invenit.
Manuel Lafuente sculpsit.
La belle Phrynée montrant tous ses charmes a nud,
et laissant flotter sa chevelure sans neud pour entrer
dans la Mer.
ligne 9. et Suiv.

fig. 7

There is one *Banquet* illustration left that deserves particular attention (planche 14 for the fifth volume; fig. 7), as this is the only case in which the ‚Explication' unequivocally admits to the process of recycling, which was, as has been shown, the guiding principle for Lamy when he set about adding pictures to the *Banquet*: ‚Cypriani a dessiné le sujet de cette charmante estampe pour l'Ariosto de Baskerville; et Manuel le Fuente, habile artiste, l'a copié d'après Bartholozzi, pour être inséré dans la traduction d'Athénée, parce qu'elle répond parfaitement au passage de cet auteur.' We are told here that the ‚charming print' had in the first place been designed for an edition of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, printed by John Baskerville in Birmingham and published by Pietro Molini in the years 1770 – 17757, an undertaking in which several graphic artists had participated. Whereas in the instances of adaptation mentioned above Lamy had had the original plates at his disposal, this was obviously not the case here, so that what was added to the *Banquet* was an inverted copy of the print, which had originally been engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi after a model by Giovanni Battista Cipriani.[29]

One may reasonably doubt, though, that Manuel Le Fuente (concerning whom no further information could be obtained)[30] had indeed been specially commissioned to supply this copy for the *Banquet*. It is probably safer to assume that this copy, too, had first been destined for a different context (perhaps for an *Orlando* in the wake of the Baskerville-Molini edition), for once again the claim made by the ‚Explication' that this episode taken from canto 10 of Ariosto's epic fits ‚perfectly' (‚parfaitement') into the *Banquet* does not stand closer scrutiny.

Cipriani's task had been to illustrate the moment in which Countess Olympia early one morning (Ariosto is quite explicit about the moon being still visible) discovers that faithless Count Bireno, together with whom she had been cast away on an uninhabited island, has taken to the sea (note the ship in the background right) and deserted her. When the Countess was transferred from Ariosto to Athenaeus, she turned into the hetaira Phryne, about whom the *Banquet* relates the following: ‚Cependant elle montra tous ses charmes à nud le jour des fêtes d'Éleusis et des Saturnales, se dépouillant de ses habits, et laissant flotter sa chevelure, sans aucun nœud, pour entrer dans la mer.'[31] It is certainly possible to see a connection between this passage and Cipriani's naked young woman seated on a shore; but in the context of the *Banquet* it is difficult to account for the woman's obvious sadness or even despair and the ship in the background, whereas on the other hand the festive crowd mentioned in the text is nowhere to be seen – the ‚perfect' harmony between text and image is as sadly absent here as it is in most of the cases discussed previously.[32]

It is in particular these text-image-discrepancies (to which one might perhaps add the insufficient care for the stylistic homogeneity of the series as a whole) which make Lamy's bid at adding some visual appeal to his *Banquet* by recycling earlier material appear as an altogether not very fortunate strategy, though much of this material was of high, or in the case of Moreau's etchings, even outstanding quality. It would of course be interesting to know if Lamy's contemporaries passed similar judgment on his marketing ploy or to what extent they were aware of it at all: For even if Lamy did not systematically obliterate all traces of his sources (the names of the artists have been preserved on the prints themselves

[29] Francesco Bartolozzi (1728 – 1815), born in Florence and working in London from 1764 onwards, was one of the most sought-after graphical artists of his time. He often made prints after drawings by his compatriot Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727 – 1785), who had also moved to London.
[30] The name is spelt ‚Le Fuente' in the ‚Explication', but ‚La Fuente' on the print.
[31] *Banquet,* Tome cinquième, Livre XIII, p. 108.
[32] The only *Banquet* illustration whose origin I have not been able to track down is the vignette on the title page dated 1792, signed by Clément Pierre Marillier.

and in many cases are also given in the ‚Explication'), there is some evidence that strongly suggests that at least intermittently he was bent on diverting his customers' attention from the second-hand nature of the illustrations or maybe even tried to deceive them. Thus, although planche 16 for the fifth volume (fig. 2) was originally meant to depict Petrarca at Laura's grave, the ‚Explication' baldly claims that it shows the interior of the temple that Harpalos had built in honour of the deceased Pythionice: ‚[Ce sujet] représente l'intérieur d'un temple élevé par Harpalus à Pythionice' – a wording which strongly suggests (as it does in several other cases) that the etching had been specially made for the *Banquet*, which, of course, is wrong.

But could Lamy really rely on this strategy to take in the well educated, scholarly and bibliophile circles at whom the *Banquet* was targeted? Was it not to be expected that the stylistic divergencies of the prints and the fact that living as well as dead artists had contributed to the undertaking would raise some serious doubts as to the true origin of the illustrations? Would it not have been reasonable to assume that at least some of the potential buyers would know from first hand experience the books that had been used as a quarry, especially those books that had been published in the 1770s? Could Lamy really hope that the frequent instances of poor correspondence between image and text would not raise some eyebrows; did he really think that no one would find an illustration such as planche 4 for the first volume, to name one last example, utterly strange (fig. 8)? According to the ‚Explication', it depicts an anonymous ‚venerable old man' singing the praises of some heathen deity; but even a scant knowledge of biblical iconography (which may be taken for granted with an eighteenth-century public) is sufficient to call to mind King David playing his harp – something that need not surprise, as this etching by Le Bouteux and Née originally accompanied a song in Laborde's *Chansons* in which David mourns for the death of Bathsheba (‚Regrets de David sur la mort de Betsabée', *Chansons*, vol. 2, p. 48 – 149).

Did Lamy's customers also think they had reason to be unhappy, unhappy, that is, about the publisher's devious tactics? Can such discontent and the ensuing unsatisfactory sales figures for the plates be possibly held accountable for the fact that Lamy obviously did not supply illustrations for volumes 2 – 4 of the *Banquet*? Further enquiries into the mechanisms of the French eighteenth-century book and print market might some day provide answers to these questions.

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Pl. 4.
T. I. Pag. 67.
Ce parfum ayant été remué dans la Maison
d'airain du Maître des Dieux ; ligne 1.ere et Suiv.

fig. 8