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**ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS AND
ETHICAL SYMBOLISM: PRAGMATIC ASPECTS (BASED ON THE
MATERIALS OF THE FRENCH GRAPHIC ART OF THE 17TH-18TH
CENTURIES)**

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Introduction

General characteristics of the research. Ancient Greek and Roman mythology occupies a special place in European culture. It is both a kind of “sign system” and an object of perception and study. The interpretative mobility of the Classical myth¹ determines its extreme stability in the cultural system and contributes to the fact that each epoch “reads” mythological images in different ways². Based on the study of the interaction of visual and textual interpretations of the Classical myth, its images and plots, the research attempts to analyze the reception of the ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the French culture of the 17th-18th centuries. The book graphics were chosen as the material for the study, since it easily interacts with the text in the space of a book edition, it is less associated with claims to gain social prestige than painting. This makes it possible to trace in detail the internal logic of the changes that took place in the perception of the ancient Greek and Roman mythology during that period on material in which ideological and aesthetic functions were not leading. The study focuses on the analysis of the correlation of Classical mythology as a system of plots and images with moral discourse taken in relation to the religious (Christian) context of the period under consideration. Since the indicated field of study is extensive and multifaceted, the research mainly focuses on pragmatic aspects, namely on the problem of the perception of the ancient Greek and Roman mythology by a “cultural agent”. Pragmatics is understood here in terms of its definition by Ch. W. Morris³, with further extrapolation of his definition to “texts of culture”. The term “pragmatic aspects” is also synonymous

¹ See more: Losev A.F. Classical Mythology in its Historical Development. – Moscow: “Uchpedgiz” Publ., 1957. – 620 p. (*In Russian*); Freidenberg O. M. Poetics of Plot and Genre. – Moscow: “Labyrinth” Publ., 1997. – 448 p. (*In Russian*); Freidenberg O. M. Introduction to the Theory of Ancient Folklore. Lectures. // Freidenberg O. M. Myth and Literature of Antiquity. – Moscow: “Eastern Literature” of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1998. P. 7-222. (*In Russian*); Freidenberg O. M. Image and Concept // Freidenberg O. M. Myth and Literature of Antiquity. – Moscow: “Eastern Literature” of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1998. P. 223-622. (*In Russian*)

² See for more details: Grabar-Passek M. Antique Plots and Forms in Western European Literature. – Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1966. – 319 p. (*In Russian*); Zelinsky F.F. Homer-Virgil-Dante // Zelinsky F.F. From the Life of Ideas. In 4 vol. Vol. 3,4. – Moscow: Scientific and Publishing Center “Ladimir”, 1995. P. 58-79. (*In Russian*); Zelinsky F. F. The Ancient World and Us // Zelinsky F. F. From the Life of Ideas. In 4vol. Vol. 1,2. – Moscow: Scientific and Publishing Center “Ladimir”, 1995. P. 1-150. (*In Russian*); Zelinsky F. F. The Tragedy of Faith // Zelinsky F. F. From the Life of Ideas. In 4vol. Vol. 3,4. – Moscow: Scientific and Publishing Center “Ladimir”, 1995. P. 341-406. (*In Russian*); Zelinsky F. F. Cicero in the history of European culture // Zelinsky F. F. From the Life of Ideas. In 4vol. Vol. 3.4. – Moscow: Scientific and Publishing Center “Ladimir”, 1995. P. 20-57. (*In Russian*); Gasparov M. L. Three Approaches to the Poetry of Ovid. URL: <http://ancientrome.ru/publik/article.htm?a=1284953064>. (Date of access: 04/15/2020).

³ Morris Ch. W. Foundations of the Theory of Signs // Semiotics: Anthology/ Comp. Yu. S. Stepanov. – Ed. 2nd, rev. and additional - Moscow: “Academic Project”, Yekaterinburg: “Business Book”, 2001. P. 50; 71. (*In Russian*)

with the concept of “the Period eye”⁴ introduced by M. Baxandall, that is, complex intellectual tools with which a person perceived a visual text. The upper limit of our study is 1789, since the revolution significantly changed the life of France at that time and brought to life completely different trends that require separate study.

Ch. Taylor in his book “The Secular Age” expressed several considerations that play an important role in understanding the historical period which is interesting for us. Firstly, the emergence and spread of deism in the 17th century and the specific compression of religion into the problem of moralism⁵ were not limited only to the emergence of a new type of rationality (which “was not at all considered at that time as something that necessarily posed a threat to God”⁶), but had their genetic roots in the very line of development of Christianity in previous periods. Secondly, according to Ch. Taylor, in the 17th -18th centuries, a new type of publicity arose. It was based on an equally new, but already strengthened by that time, morality, based on reason as its guarantor. The long-standing notion of the connection between religion and morality was fading away, and the latter began to encroach on the former sphere of influence of the former within the public sphere. The process of secularization took place at various levels: there was not only a significant transformation of religious beliefs and the escape of religion from the public sphere, but faith itself became a choice that had alternatives⁷. And the third important feature, which, according to Taylor, was inherent in the era under consideration, was the appearance of “homogeneous, empty time”⁸, which was necessary both for the emergence of the idea of progress and for the formation of historical consciousness. These features are the basic necessary characteristics for understanding the optics through which cultural phenomena were perceived during this period.

In the 17th -18th centuries, there was a very slow and complex shift in the perception of religion as a cultural phenomenon. In France, the religious wars, the

⁴ See: Baksandall M. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-century Italy: a Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*. - Moscow: V - A - C Press, 2019 - 264 p. (*In Russian*)

⁵ Taylor Ch. *The Secular Age*. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P. 292. (*In Russian*)

⁶ Taylor Ch. *The Secular Age*. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P. 35. (*In Russian*)

⁷ Taylor Ch. *The Secular Age*. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P. 4;11. (*In Russian*)

⁸ Taylor Ch. *The Secular Age*. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P. 167. (*In Russian*)

confrontation between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, the adoption (1598) and then the abolition (1685) of the Edict of Nantes, and many other events, that undermined confidence in religion and brought to life a situation of searching for new ideas, served as the historical context for the formation of new ideas and elaboration of reasons to justify existence of religion itself. The emerging new European rationality suggested a way to resolve the question of the “truth” or “falsehood” of the historical forms of religion - the basis for religious conflicts and inequality - through a way out of this opposition with the help of reason. Until the 17th century, there were no such grounds that could ensure the gradual leveling of qualitative differences between various historical forms of religions. The discovery of the New World, the Reformation and subsequent events of the 16th century, the establishment of new realities in the multi-confessional Europe of the 17th century only put Europe before the problem without offering solutions.

Philosophical tools for solving the problem outlined above through an appeal to certain fundamental natural principles, hidden in the human being itself, were developed only by the 17th century. Here it is necessary to make one important remark: for a long time, the opposition of “truth” and “falsehood” was preserved in the works of scientists of the 17th-18th centuries, the transformations were proceeding extremely slowly. So, for example, in the research literature of that time, which described various historical forms of religion, the old four-part scheme for classifying religions remained for a long time: Christians, Mohammedans, Jews, Pagans⁹. Moreover, the last three groups were compared with the first, which served as a standard for them. Even in such a “progressive” edition as “Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde”¹⁰, which now is considered by many modern researchers not only as a turning point in the process of the emergence of comparative religious studies¹¹, but also as a

⁹ Nongbri B. *Before Religion: a History of a Modern Concept*. – New Haven and London: Yale university press, 2013. P. 123.

¹⁰ *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde représentés par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard, avec une explication historique et quelques dissertations curieuses*. Amsterdam: Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, 1723-1743. En 9 +2 vol.

¹¹ Shakhnovich M. M. *Essays on the History of Religious Studies*. – St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University Publ., 2006. P. 17. (*In Russian*)

turning point towards European pluralism and tolerance¹², this scheme did not completely disappear.

Although the changes in the perception of religion did not take place all at once, it is hard to deny that the philosophical tools for solving the problem outlined above were developing in line with new European rationalism. Despite all the differences, the philosophers of the 17th century almost unanimously recognized the human mind as the basis of religion in the sense of a kind of “natural” intuition capable of deducing the existence of the divine principle, based not on dogmas articulated in the outside world, judgments, not on the basis of an analysis of existing historical forms of religion, but by turning a person inward. A search for a “natural religion”, a pure, yet untainted with culture, an innate idea of a deity began.

Deism was a complex phenomenon that contributed to the secularization of the 17th-18th centuries. The main ideas of it were formulated by E. Herbert at the beginning of the 17th century. His book “De Veritate, prout distinguitur a revelatione, a verisimili, a possibili, et a falso” was published in Paris in 1624. B. Nongbri noticed that there was nothing specifically Christian in the deistic understanding of religion, and that made it possible to consider Christianity as one of the historical forms of “original religion”¹³, on a par with all other cults. In historical realities, deism often merged with skepticism about religion and was perceived, at times, as open atheism. Deistic ideas had a significant impact on the development of the ideas of the French enlighteners of the 18th century (Voltaire, Diderot, Holbach, etc.)¹⁴.

Thus, the rationalization of religion and its rooting in the human mind contributed to its internalization, and, as a result, the transition from the public to the private sphere. In addition, here, in line with the search for a “natural religion”, especially in line with deism, despite all the ambiguity of such ideas, the “hierarchy of religions” began to collapse, the position of Christianity as a starting point for their

¹² Hunt L., Jacob M. C., Mijnhardt W. *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's "Religious Ceremonies of the World"*. — Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 2010. — 400 p.

¹³ Nongbri B. *Before Religion: a History of a Modern Concept*. — New Haven and London: Yale university press, 2013. P. 95.

¹⁴ Sokolov V.V. *Deism*// *New Philosophical Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1. - Moscow: "Mysl" Publ., 2000. P. 605-607. (*In Russian*)

truth/falsehood began to fluctuate. Christianity became the historical form of religion as all the others, and just like the latter, it could be opposed to “natural religion”.

The research is built in accordance with the logic of those intellectual and cultural processes that took place in the period indicated above. The first chapter of the research focuses on the problem of the relationship between religion and morality in the works of French philosophers of the 17th-18th centuries and characteristics of euhemerism, which was associated with a modern, truly “scientific” view of classical myth in the late 17th - early 18th centuries. With popularity of euhemerism, the weakening of the positions of the moral interpretation of mythological stories, that before prevailed in the comments, began. The study of the main characteristics of euhemerism and the relationship of its popularity with the decline in the importance of Christian morality in the public sphere allows us to outline those general trends that are discussed further in this research on specific material. In each of the two subsequent chapters devoted to the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the 17th and 18th centuries, the first paragraph characterizes a narrower and more detailed (in comparison with the materials of the first chapter) contextual field - a general characteristic of the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the intellectual context of the period, considered in this chapter. Further paragraphs of each chapter are focused on the analysis of the interaction of specific images and texts commenting on them, placed in the books.

Relevance of the research topic. The relevance of the research topic is determined both by general interdisciplinary trends in modern science, and by a gradual change in the view of visual, especially graphic, material. From the end of the 20th century, the last one began to be understood by some researchers as a “narrative”¹⁵, as something entering into certain relations with the narrative of the illustrated text, that is, the book illustration began to be considered in the context of intervisual paradigms. The results which were obtained in the course of such research are still widely used by

¹⁵ Stewart Ph. *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth century*. — Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992. P. 6-11.

Russian researchers¹⁶. Also, at present, there is a popular tendency to consider graphic art as a material for the study of intellectual history, in particular, the formation of comparative religious studies¹⁷. In addition, in the last decade, there has been a re-actualization of the heritage and methodological principles of A. Warburg and his circle¹⁸ in Russian research literature. It contributes to conjunction of the analysis of visual culture and intellectual context within the framework of one study. Today, in Russian research literature, there is a growing tendency to study the moral interpretations of Ovid in the culture of the 14th -16th centuries¹⁹, while editions of the 17th -18th centuries appear only sporadically in the general context of studies of the culture and art of this period²⁰. This research, in accordance with the trends of modern science, is an attempt to fill the gap indicated above by analyzing the religious and ethical symbolism of plots and images of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in France in the 17th-18th centuries on materials of books of the specified period.

The extent of development of the research topic. Despite the fact that such research is being carried out for the first time, certain aspects of the topic have a high degree of development in research literature related to various fields of humanities, including the history of ethics²¹ and the philosophy of religion²². Euhemerism is

¹⁶ See: Borsch E. V. Co-creation of One Art: French Book Engraving of the 18th Century. – Yekaterinburg: Architecton, 2013. - 250 p. (*In Russian*)

¹⁷ See: Hunt L., Jacob M. C., Mijnhardt W. The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's "Religious Ceremonies of the World". — Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 2010. – 400 p.

¹⁸ See: Toropygina M. Yu. Iconology. Origin. The Problem of the Symbol in Works by Aby Warburg and in the Iconology of his Circle. - Moscow: "Progress-Tradition", 2015. - 368 p. (*In Russian*); The World of Images. Images of the World. Anthology of Visual Culture Studies / Ed. N. Mazur. - Moscow, St. Petersburg: "New Publishing House", 2018.- 544 p. (*In Russian*) and others. Among foreign studies the works by C. Ginzburg should be noted: Ginzburg C. From Warburg to Gombrich. Notes on One Methodological Problem // Myths-Emblems-Signs: Morphology and History - Moscow: "New Publishing House", 2004. P. 51-132. (*In Russian*); Ginzburg C. Aby Warburg's Scissors // The World of Images. Images of the World. Anthology of Visual Culture Studies / Ed. N. Mazur. - Moscow, St. Petersburg: "New Publishing House", 2018. P. 68-77. (*In Russian*)

¹⁹ Zhurbina A. V. The Fate of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in France on the Threshold of Modern Times (Beginning of the 14th - middle of the 16th Century): from Allegory to Literary Translation: Thesis. ... cand. Philological Sciences: 01/10/03: defended on 02/09/2010. - Moscow, 2010. - 195 p. (*In Russian*); Kislin K. B. Interpretation of the Myth of Narcissus and Echo in a Treatise "Ovidius Moralizatus" by Petrus Berchorius in the Context of the Reception of the Antique Mythology in France of the 12th–14th Centuries. // *Religiovedenie*, 2020. No. 2. P. 91–98. (*In Russian*)

²⁰ See: Kristeller P. History of European Engraving of the 15th -18th Centuries. - Moscow: "Art" Publ., 1939. - 519 p. (*In Russian*); Alpatov M.V. General history of arts. In 3 volumes. Vol.2. - Moscow: "Art" Publ., 1949. - 634 p. (*In Russian*), etc.

²¹ Essays on the History of Ethics. / Ed. M. I. Shakhnovich, B. A. Chagin, Z. N. Meleshchenko. - Moscow: "Thought" Publ., 1969. - 430 p. (*In Russian*); Huseynov A. A., Irrlitz T. A Brief History of Ethics. – Moscow: "Mysl" Publ., 1987. - 589 p. (*In Russian*); History of Ethical Doctrines: Textbook for Universities / Ed. A.A. Huseynov. - Moscow: "Academic project", 2015. -879 p. (*In Russian*)

currently being researched actively. Here I can indicate not only the well-known article by J. D. Cook²³, published at the beginning of the 20th century and quoted to this day, but also the works of modern authors: D. Agri, A. Gerber, N. P. Roubekas and others²⁴. General characteristics of rationalization and secularization processes in the period under review was studied in the works of national and foreign authors who studied the history of the philosophy of religion and European freethinking, who, despite the difference in methodological approaches, investigated the problem, studying the interaction of various layers of culture of that time in the general context of European history²⁵. Some specialists in culture and literature and historians considered European culture of the 17th-18th centuries not from the point of view of the process of rationalization, which contributed, among other things, to the formation of the theory of “natural religion”, but, above all, from the point of view of the so-called “baroque consciousness”, which was characterized by fundamental emblematicity in terms of the perception of the world (D. A. Zelenin, A. E. Makhov, A. V. Mikhailov and others)²⁶. A

²² Voronitsyn I.P. History of Atheism. – 3rd ed. - Moscow: “Atheist” Publ., 1930. - 908 p. (*In Russian*); The History of Freethinking and Atheism in Europe / Ed. N. P. Sokolov. — Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1966. -412 p. (*In Russian*); Narsky I.S. Western European Philosophy of the 18th Century. Tutorial. - Moscow: “Higher School”, 1973. - 302 p. (*In Russian*); Momdzhyan H. N. French Enlightenment of the 18th Century. Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1983. - 447 p. (*In Russian*); Sokolov V.V. European Philosophy of the 15th-17th Centuries. - Moscow: Higher School, 1984. - 448 p. (*In Russian*); Kosareva L. M. Socio-Cultural Genesis of the Science of Modern Times. Philosophical Aspect of the Problem. - Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1989. - 160 p. (*In Russian*)

²³ Cooke J. D. Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism// *Speculum*. — Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Vol.2, Issue 4, 1927. P. 396-410.

²⁴ Roubekas N. P. An Ancient Theory of Religion: Euhemerism from Antiquity to the Present. – London; New York: Routledge, 2017. – 190 p.; Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil’s *Aeneid* and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* // Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P. 54-77.; Gerber A. Grounding the Gods: Spreading Geographical Euhemerism from Servius to Boccaccio // Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P. 104-126.

²⁵ See, for example: Avtonomova N. S. Reason. Intelligence. Rationality. – Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1988. – 287 p. (*In Russian*); Averintsev S. S. Two births of European rationalism // Rhetoric and origins of the European literary tradition. - Moscow: School "Languages of Russian Culture", 1996. P. 229-346. (*In Russian*); Meinecke F. The Emergence of Historicism. - Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004. - 480 p. (*In Russian*); Chaunu P. Civilization of the Enlightenment. - Yekaterinburg: U-Factoria; Moscow: AST MOSCOW, 2008. - 604 p. (*In Russian*); Stetskevich M.S Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in the History of European Culture. - St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, 2013. - 430 p. (*In Russian*); Nongbri B. Before Religion: a History of a Modern Concept. – New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013. – 275 p.; Taylor Ch. The Secular Age. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. – 967 p. (*In Russian*); Habermas J. Structural Change in the Public Sphere: Studies on the Category of Bourgeois Society. - Moscow: Publishing house "Ves Mir", 2017. - 344 p. (*In Russian*)

²⁶ Mikhailov A. V. The Genre of the Emblem in Baroque Literature. Internal Structure: Word and Image // Theory of Literature in 4 Volumes. Vol. 3. - Moscow: Institute of World Literature RAS, 2003. P. 250-279 (*In Russian*); Mikhailov A. V. Poetics of the Baroque // Mikhailov A. V. Selected Works. The End of the Rhetorical Era. - St. Petersburg: Publishing House of St. Petersburg State University, 2007. P. 7-190. (*In Russian*); Prikazchikova E.E. Antiquity in the Literary and Everyday Consciousness of the 18th – 1st Third of the 19th Centuries through the Prism of Mythological Culture // Proceedings of the Ural State University. Ser. 2, Humanities. - 2009. - N 1/2 (63). - P. 102-113 (*In Russian*); Makhov A.E. Emblems: Macrocosm. – M.: Intrada, 2014. – 600 p. (*In Russian*); Zelenin D. A. Poetics of the Book Emblem: Thesis ... cand. Philological Sciences: 10.01.08.: defended 26. 04. 2018. - Moscow, 2017.- 361 p. (*In Russian*)

general description of the reception of Antiquity in the culture of the period under study is given in the works by A. V. Mikhailov, J. Starobinski, H. Tylor and others²⁷. In this context, the “The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns” plays an important role, to which the articles by V. Ya. Bakhmutsky, N. T. Pakhsaryan, B. G. Reizov and others are devoted²⁸.

The main trends in the visual culture of that time were considered in the works by M. V. Alpatov, A. Benois, S. M. Daniel and others²⁹, in which detailed remarks about the existence of ancient images in painting (which had a direct impact on graphics) were given. Separately, we can single out articles by K. S. Egorova, I. A. Kuznetsova and others³⁰, which are directly devoted to the consideration of the significance of mythological images for the art of the 17th-18th centuries. General information about the trends can be gleaned both from general works on the history of graphics (B. R. Vipper, Yu. Ya. Gerchuk, P. Kristeller, I. I. Leman and others)³¹, and

²⁷ Mikhailov A.V. Antiquity as an ideal and cultural reality of the 18th-19th centuries. // Mikhailov A.V. Languages of culture. – Moscow: Languages of Russian Culture, 1997. P. 509-521. (*In Russian*); Starobinski J. 1789: Emblematics of the Mind // Starobinski J. Poetry and Knowledge: History of Literature and Culture. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Languages of Slavic Culture”, 2002. P. 357-500. (*In Russian*); Starobinski J. “Myths” and “Mythology” in the 17th – 18th Centuries // Starobinski J. Poetry and Knowledge: History of Literature and Culture. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Languages of Slavic culture”, 2002. P. 85 - 109. (*In Russian*); Taylor H. The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture. - Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. - 208 p.

²⁸ Reizov B.G. At the Origins of Romantic Aesthetics. Antiquity and Romanticism // Reizov B.G. From the History of European Literatures. - Leningrad: Publishing House of the Leningrad University, 1970. P. 3-22. (*In Russian*); Bakhmutsky V. Ya. At the Turn of Two Centuries // The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. - Moscow: “Art” Publ., 1985. P. 7-40. (*In Russian*); Pakhsaryan N. T. French Poetics // European Poetics from Antiquity to the Age of Enlightenment: Encyclopedic Guide. – Moscow: Intrada, 2010. P. 178-192. (*In Russian*)

²⁹ Benois A. History of Painting. In 4 Volumes. Vol. 4. – St. Petersburg, 1912. - 414 p. (*In Russian*); Alpatov M.V. General history of arts. In 3 volumes. Vol.2. - Moscow: “Art” Publ., 1949. - 634 p. (*In Russian*); Daniel S. M. Painting of the Classical Era: Problems of Composition in Western European Painting of the 17th Century. - Moscow, Leningrad: “Art” Publ., 1986. - 220 p. (*In Russian*); Belyavskaya V. A., Nesselshtraus Ts. G., Razdolskaya V. I., Grivina A. S., Bartenev I. A., Grimm G. G. Art of France of the 18th Century // History of Art of Foreign Countries of the 17th-18th Centuries. - Moscow: “Visual Arts” Publ., 1988. P. 113-136. (*In Russian*); Daniel S. M. European Classicism. - St. Petersburg: “Azbuka-Klassika” Publ., 2003. - 301 p. (*In Russian*); Daniel S. M. Rococo: from Watteau to Fragonard. - St. Petersburg: “Azbuka” Publ., 2007. - 236 p. (*In Russian*)

³⁰ Egorova K.S. Antique heritage and European artistic culture of the 17th century // Antiquity in European painting of the 15th-20th centuries. - Moscow: Soviet artist, 1984. P. 12-17. (*In Russian*); Kuznetsova I. A. Appeal to Antiquity in the Second Half of the 18th Century // Antiquity in European Painting of the 15th-20th Centuries. - Moscow: “Soviet artist” Publ., 1984. P. 18-23. (*In Russian*)

³¹ Kristeller P. History of European Engraving of the 15th -18th Centuries. - Moscow: “Art” Publ., 1939. - 519 p. (*In Russian*); Gerchuk Yu. Ya. History of Graphics and Book Art. - Moscow: “Aspect Press” Publ., 2000. - 320 p. (*In Russian*); Leman I. I. Engraving and Lithography. Essays on History and Technology. - Moscow: “Tsentrpoligraf”, 2004.- 431 p. (*In Russian*); Vipper B. R. Introduction to the Historical Study of Art. - 4th ed., Rev. - Moscow: Publishing house of V. Shevchuk, 2015. - 368 p. (Part I. Graphics). (*In Russian*)

from studies on graphic art 17th- 18th century (V. A. Alekseeva, N. N. Bodo, E. V. Borsch, V. Hausenshtein and others)³².

A group of studies that used new methodological approaches to the study of graphic art, which are currently popular, should be especially singled out. Firstly, these are the authors who considered graphic art from the point of view of the history of ideas. The question of the extent to which graphics can serve as material for the comparative study of religions is currently becoming more and more relevant, primarily in connection with the intensive study of works by the French artist and engraver B. Picart. The collective monograph “The Book that Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World”³³ is the main research on this issue. Some articles by foreign researchers also contributed to the study of this topic³⁴. Secondly, in the study of Classical mythological images in the context of graphic art of the 18th century, we should especially note the literature in which Rococo graphics were considered from the point of view of intervisual paradigms that combined modern and antique plots into special groups according to the thematic principle. The monograph of Ph. Stewart³⁵ can be considered as the main research within this methodological paradigm. Some elements of his methodology were also used by Russian researchers, in particular, E. V. Borsch³⁶.

A separate group is made up of studies that related to some particular problems. They analyzed either specific motives, or a particular publication, or an author (H.

³² Hausenstein W. Rococo Art: French and German Illustrators of the Eighteenth Century. - Moscow: Modern problems, 1914. - 128 p. (*In Russian*); Kosourova T. Ornamental Graphics by Jean Berain and its Influence on French Applied Art of the 17th - early 18th Centuries // Western European Graphics of the 15th-20th Centuries. - Leningrad: “Art” Publ., 1985. P. 57-71. (*In Russian*); Alekseeva V. A. French engraving of the 15th - 17th centuries // Essays on the history and technique of engraving. - Moscow: “Visual Arts” Publ., 1987. Notebook 5. P. 185-212. (*In Russian*); Bodo N. N. French Engraving of the 18th Century // Essays on the History and Technique of Engraving. - Moscow: “Visual Arts” Publ., 1987. Notebook 6. P.213-244. (*In Russian*); Rakova A. L. Jean Berain and the Fate of the Grotesque // Western European Art of the 18th Century. - Leningrad: “Art” Publ., 1987. P. 85-94. (*In Russian*); Borsch E. V. Co-creation of One Art: French Book Engraving of the 18th Century. – Yekaterinburg: Architecton, 2013. - 250 p. (*In Russian*)

³³ Hunt L., Jacob M. C., Mijnhardt W. The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard’s “Religious Ceremonies of the World”. — Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 2010. – 400 p.

³⁴ Veldman I. M., Richards L. Familiar Customs and Exotic Rituals: Picart's Illustrations for Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples // Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art, Vol. 33, No. 1/2, 2007/2008, pp. 94-111.; Facchini C. Le Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde di Picart e Bernard (1723-1743) // La Storia delle religione e la sfida dei pluralismi. — Roma, 2017. P. 428-439.

³⁵ Stewart Ph. Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth century. — Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992. – 380 p.

³⁶ Borsch E. V. Co-creation of One Art: French Book Engraving of the 18th Century. – Yekaterinburg: Architecton, 2013. - 250 p. (*In Russian*)

Bardon, I. N. Nikulina, D. Yu. Ozerkov, M. P. Worley, J.-M. Chatelain and others)³⁷, etc. Recently, in foreign research literature, there has been an increase in interest in the analysis of the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in particular books³⁸, but broad generalizations and the study of the internal logic of the processes, occurring in the period under study, remained unattended in such works.

Aim and tasks of the research. The purpose of this research is to analyze the pragmatic aspects of the religious and ethical symbolism of the plots and images of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the context of its reception in the French book graphics of the 17th-18th centuries. In order to obtain results consistent with the aim mentioned above, it is necessary to solve the following tasks in the course of the study:

1. To identify the main changes which were inherent in the transformations of the moral discourse of the 17th-18th centuries; to determine the role of “historical” (euhemeristic) interpretation in this process, having previously described the main features of euhemerism as a special intellectual phenomenon typical of the philosophical rationalistic criticism of mythology.

2. To analyze the main features of the religious and ethical symbolism of the plots and images of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the book graphics of the

³⁷ Blagoveshchensky N. M. Winckelmann and the Late Epochs of Greek Sculpture. - St. Petersburg: Printing house and photo printing of V. I. Stein, 1891. - 149 p. (*In Russian*); Bardon H. Sur les “Images ou tableaux de platte peinture” de Blaise de Vigenère // *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*. Tome 55(1), 1977. P. 106-121.; Madeleine-V. D. Nicolas Fréret (1688-1749) et le cadre de l'histoire ancienne // *Journal des savants*, 1978. P. 241-256.; Alain B. État moderne et attribution symbolique: emblèmes et devises dans l'Europe des XVIe et XVIIe siècles. // *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15-17 octobre 1984)*. – Rome: École Française de Rome, 1985. P. 155-178.; Posner D. Mme. de Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts // *The Art Bulletin*., Vol. 72., N 1. 1990. P. 74-105.; Worley M. P. The Image of Ganymede in France, 1730-1820: The Survival of a Homoerotic Myth//*The Art Bulletin*. Vol.76, No.4, 1994. P. 630-643.; Piqué N. L'Histoire, la Fable et le Fabuleux Analyse de la notion de fabuleux // *Revue de Synthèse*, No. 118 (1), 1997. P. 65-81.; Châtelain J.-M. Formes et enjeux de l'illustration dans le livre d'apparat au XVIIIe siècle // *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 2005. № 57. P. 75-98.; Sakhno I. M. Narrative Metaphor in the Iconography of French Rococo Book Engraving // *Art History*. - Moscow, No. 1-2, 2015. P. 438-450. (*In Russian*); Nikulina I. N. Two Readings of One Plot: Ovid and Poussin // *National Codes of European Literature in the Diachronic Aspect: Antiquity - Modernity: a Collective Monograph*. - Nizhny Novgorod: DECOM, 2018. P. 182-187. (*In Russian*); Ozerkov D. Yu. “Iliad” in the History of European Culture. Meaning of the Homeric Poems. URL: <http://antique-lit.niv.ru/antique-lit/articles/ozerkov-iliada.htm>. (date of access: 02/27/2020) (*In Russian*); Livshits M. Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Three Eras of the Bourgeois Worldview.

URL:<https://web.archive.org/web/20071112171252/http://mesotes.narod.ru/lifshiz/vinkelman.htm>. (date of access: 15.04.2020). (*In Russian*); Nelis B. D'un Ovide chrétien à un Ovide burlesque, du Moyen Âge au Grand Siècle: continuités et changements dans la traduction et dans l'illustration des Métamorphoses perçus à travers deux éditions du XVII-e siècle // *Anabases. Traditions et réceptions de l'Antiquité*, 2019. URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/anabases/10008#quotation>. (date of access: 08.02.2023.).

³⁸ See: Hryszko B. Isaac De Benserade's Inventiveness in *Metamorphoses* d'Ovide en rondeaux (1676) on the Basis of Love Threads Woven by Arachne// *Re-inventing Ovid's Metamorphoses: Pictorial and Literary Transformations in Various Media, 1400–1800*. Series: *Intersections*, Vol. 70. – Leiden; Boston: Brill. P.77-110.

17th century and determine the place of mythological plots and images in the cultural context of this period.

3. To identify the main changes in the perception of images and plots of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the French book graphics of the 18th century (including the analysis of their symbolic function) and also to analyze the reasons for these transformations.

Methodology. A comprehensive interdisciplinary approach, combining elements of contextual analysis, semiotic and iconological methods, critical analysis of texts, including the analysis of the tradition of philosophical commentaries, with an emphasis on moral discourse and its connection with religion, are used in this research. The reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology is considered from the point of view of the interaction of visual and verbal texts³⁹, both at the level of a particular book and in the context of broader generalizations. The semiotic approach to the material makes it possible to analyze the interaction of the two texts mentioned above as a kind of intertext, that is, “intertextual dialogue”. At the intertextual level, the texts under consideration interacted with the cultural context, and based on such a multi-level dialogue, the perception and interpretation of the plots and images of ancient Greek and Roman mythology (pragmatic aspects) could be determined. Both the image and the commentary on the classic mythological plot implicitly contain an interpretation determined by the intertextual (including intervisual) relations existing around, the cultural context. The book edition is understood as a concentration of interpretive strategies in relation to mythological images and plots, and, therefore, is considered as a kind of marker of stable trends and changes that took place in the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology during that period. The visual text is explored with the help of iconological and contextual analysis, which, being coupled with the semiotic approach, make it possible to reveal the meaning of the symbols in the pictorial field and their relation to the ethical (philosophical) and religious fields. At a general level, the methodological tools mentioned above allow us to trace the correlation of the

³⁹ Here the term "verbal" is from latin “verbum”

religious and ethical symbolism of images and plots of ancient Greek and Roman mythology with the intellectual trends of the period under study in terms of pragmatics.

Scientific novelty of the research. The scientific novelty of the research is determined by its following characteristic features:

- firstly, in this work, for the first time, euhemerism is considered in the context of rationalistic trends and secularization processes of the 17th-18th centuries, the nature of the “historical” interpretation and its significance for the philosophy of religion of the 17th-18th centuries are determined.

- secondly, this research is the first attempt to analyze the religious and ethical symbolism of ancient Greek and Roman mythological images and plots in the context of studying the reception of classical mythology in France in the 17th-18th centuries (based on book graphics).

- thirdly, the complex methodology developed in the course of the research allows not only to study the trends in the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the specified period and to identify their characteristic features, but also to explain their emergence in the context of the intellectual processes of the 17th-18th centuries.

- fourthly, in the research, special attention is paid to those textual commentaries on antique myths of the 17th-18th centuries, which have so far remained unexplored in the Russian research literature

Theoretical significance of the research. The theoretical significance of the research is determined by the development of a comprehensive methodology that allows to include a visual text as a full-fledged source for studying the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the research field within the framework of the religious studies. The methodological features of the research make it possible to reveal the versatility of the processes under study and explain them. The results of the study fill a certain gap in modern religious studies and the history of the philosophy of religion, allowing to indicate further possible prospects both in the development of methodological principles and in the study of a certain type of material.

The practical significance of the research. The practical significance of the study is determined by the theoretically significant results obtained during its conducting. The results can be used as material for the preparation of the courses “Philosophy of Religion”, “History of Freethinking”, “Art and Religion” and for the development of teaching aids. The methodological apparatus used in the research can undergo further changes and refinements. It will contribute to the inclusion of new material into the research field of religious studies and the philosophy of religion that can enrich existing ideas about the intellectual history. In this case, methodological developments can be applied in further research in various fields (philosophy of religion, philosophy of culture, art criticism, etc.).

Provisions for the thesis defense:

1. There was a gradual change of views both on religion, in general, and on Christianity, in particular, in the French philosophy of religion of the 17th-18th centuries. As a result of theoretical understanding of the problem of resolving religious conflicts and rationalizing religion in philosophical works, the main guiding lines of secularization processes were formed. They underlaid the cultural and intellectual transformations in France in the 17th-18th centuries. The process of interiorization of religion, its withdrawal from the public sphere, was accompanied by a gradual destruction of the hierarchy of religions. Christianity was losing its position as a criterion of truth and falsity, becoming one of the forms of historical religions, opposed, in turn, to “natural religion”, the guarantor of which was the human mind. In the works of the French philosophers of the Enlightenment, morality, for the most part, began to be identified with the “state of nature”, with the inner nature of man. The secular moral discourse noticeably crowded out the position of the religious one in the public sphere. Religion was increasingly losing its status as an indisputable guarantor of human morality.

2. In the 17th-18th centuries, there was a gradual change of emphasis in the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology. In the commentary system, the previously dominant moral interpretation of mythological stories gave way to a “historical” (euhemeristic) interpretation. Euhemerism of the 17th-18th centuries was a

complex multi-layered phenomenon due to the peculiarities of its historical development. “Historical” interpretation existed for a long time as an auxiliary tool in the context of Christian interpretations of antique myths. In the 17th-18th centuries, there was a gradual change in the position of Christian morality, a secular moral discourse was rapidly developing. This process contributed to the release of euhemerism from the power of Christian moral interpretations. In the first half of the 18th century, euhemerism seemed to be the most “rational” and “historical” way of interpreting antique myths, being considered a progressive “scientific” method in comparison with outdated moral interpretations of mythological stories. However, in the second half of the 18th century, there was a rethinking of the methodological potential of euhemerism.

3. Despite the fact that there was a steady tendency to rationalize the view of ancient Greek and Roman mythology, at the level of comments during the 17th-18th centuries, there was a stable perception of classical myth through the lens of religious and ethical symbolism at the levels of visual text and intertext. Commentaries adapted quicker to the intellectual trends of the epoch than the intertext, which included a dialogue of various levels of reception. The letter retained a moral interpretation as the most important way of “reading” ancient images for a long time by inertia.

4. Despite the fact that the rationalization and “historicization” of antique images significantly reduced the influence of moral interpretation by the end of the 18th century, its rudimentary forms continued to exist not only in books with a confessional commentary, but also in the context of secular moral discourse. In the books devoted to the problem of morals, easily understandable and in themselves neutral symbols were used, which, through interaction with the text commenting on the plot, received a moral interpretation. Sometimes such “comments” visually ascended to the established emblematic tradition and turned into a derivative of the moral and emblematic view of ancient Greek and Roman imagery, refined and adapted to the gallant Rococo culture, in the context of secular moral discourse.

Approbation of the research results. The main results of the research were presented in articles published in scientific periodicals included in the list of peer-

reviewed scientific publications of the Higher Attestation Commission of the Russian Federation, RSCI, Scopus⁴⁰, as well as in a number of papers at various conferences, including:

1. Report on the topic: “Images of Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology in the Space of European Culture of the 17th-18th Centuries: Symbolic and Historical Interpretation of the Elements of a Graphic Sheet” at the scientific conference “Religious Studies in Russia: from the Past to the Future”, November 20-21, 2020, St. Petersburg, Russia.

2. Report on the topic: “Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology as an Imaginative Metalanguage of European Culture in 17-19th Centuries” at the conference “Symbolizing Transcendence: the Limits of Language”, October 28-29, 2021, University of Tartu, Estonia

3. Report on the topic: “The Publication ‘Monument of the Costume, Material and Moral, at the End of the 18th Century’: Antique Allegories and the Moral Discourse of the Age of Enlightenment” at the V Congress of Russian Researchers of Religion, November 18-20, 2021, The State Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg, Russia.

4. Report on the topic: “The Invisible ‘Other’: how the French Visual Culture of the 18th Century ‘read’ the Ancient Greek and Roman Myth” at the 29 International Conference of Students, Postgraduates and Young Scientists “Lomonosov-2022”, April 11-22, 2022, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow.

Research structure. The research consists of a title page, a table of contents, an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a bibliography and two appendices. The introduction gives a general description of the study, defines its aim and tasks, describes the degree of development of the research topic, its scientific novelty, theoretical and

⁴⁰ Bruk E.G. Ethics, Sensuality and European Rationalism: Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology in European Graphic Arts of the 17th–18th Centuries // *Chelovek*. 2021. Vol. 32. No. 1. P. 148-173. (*In Russian*); Bruk E. G. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology in the Context of European Discourse of the 18th–19th Centuries: From Moral Allegory to Historical Interpretation// *Religiovedenie*. Vol. 3., 2022. P. 111-119. (*In Russian*); Bruk E. G. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and the Secular Moral Discourse in Eighteenth-century France (based on Graphic Arts)//*Scientific Result. Social and Humanitarian Studies*. 2022. Vol.8., No. 4. P. 48-61. (*In Russian*)

practical significance, the methodology used in the study. It provides the provisions for defense, as well as approbation of the research results.

The first chapter, which consists of two paragraphs, analyzes the main features of the “historical” interpretation of ancient Greek and Roman mythology (euhemerism), its place in the structure of commentaries of the 17th-18th centuries, as well as the significance of this theory for the philosophy of religion in the context of rationalistic tendencies and secularization processes of the 17th-18th centuries. The first paragraph analyzes the process of formation of secular moral discourse, cites the works of French philosophers, in which not only the concepts of “natural religion”, “man in natural state” are considered, but also the theoretical understanding of the problem of the relationship between morality and religion takes place. The second paragraph analyzes the historical development of euhemerism, gives the main characteristics of this intellectual phenomenon in the 17th-18th centuries, and establishes the connection between the popularity of the euhemeristic interpretation of classical myth with a decrease in the importance of Christian morality in the 18th century, on the one hand, and an expansion of the field of secular moral discourse, on the other.

The second chapter consists of three paragraphs and analyzes the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in France in the 17th century on the material of book editions of the specified period. The first paragraph gives a general description of the intellectual context of the epoch, identifies the main levels of perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology and the main trends of the 17th century. The second paragraph analyzes the “dialogue” of textual comments and illustrations to editions of “Metamorphoses” by Ovid in the 17th century. The processes considered in the first paragraph are clarified and nuanced by analyzing specific material, the role of moral interpretation in the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythological plots is determined. The third paragraph discusses the “dialogue” between illustrations and text in the publication “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses” with comments by M. de Marolles, who tried to find a compromise between the requirements of a scholarly commentary and the perception of classical myth by salon culture.

The third chapter consists of five paragraphs and analyzes the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in France in the 18th century. The first paragraph analyzes the intellectual context of the epoch, gives a detailed description of euhemerism in the early 18th century and its critics in the second half of the century. The second paragraph analyzes the “dialogue” of the texts of comments and illustrations to the editions of “Metamorphoses” by Ovid in the first half of the 18th century. The processes considered in the first paragraph are clarified by analyzing specific material, by characterizing the changes that occurred in the structure of comments, analyzing the relationship between “moral” and “historical” view of the classical myth. The third paragraph examines the “dialogue” of the commentary and the image in the publication “The Temple of the Muses”, created on the basis of the “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses” of the 17th century, and analyzes the role of the symbolical ornamental frame introduced by B. Picart. The fourth paragraph discusses the edition of “Metamorphoses” by Ovid of 1767-1771 as a compendium of various interpretations of ancient Greek and Roman mythology that existed in the French culture of that time. The last paragraph analyzes reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the context of secular moral discourse on the material of illustrations and texts of books devoted to the problem of morals.

The main results of the study and further prospects in the development of the research topic are presented in conclusion. The bibliography is built alphabetically. The thesis has two appendices. The first one includes a list of illustrations which are referenced in the text of the main study, the second one includes the illustrations themselves with captions.

Chapter 1. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and Euhemerism in France in the 17th-18th Centuries

1.1. The Emergence of Secular Moral Discourse. Religion and Morality in the Writings by French Philosophers

In the 17th century, a number of works, which analyzed the degree of usefulness of religion for society and for the state, appeared in the context of the need to resolve religious conflicts, to maintain internal political stability and to understand theoretically the multi-confessionalism that had already developed by that time.

In France, the situation was very specific: the transformation of the Jesuit order into an influential political force, the fight against Jansenism, the adoption of the “Declaration of the Clergy of France” in 1682, the restriction of the rights of the Huguenots, guaranteed to them by the Edict of Nantes and its abolition in 1685 - all these factors contributed to the gradual formation of a kind of alliance between the absolutist state and the church. It was fully implemented by the end of the 17th century. The French thinkers of the next century not only had to comprehend and, to some extent, justify the current situation, but also argue the grounds for creating the conditions for the existence of religious tolerance.

Although, before that time, there were undoubtedly attempts to comprehend the current state, they were mostly situational (but it does not in the least detract from their importance), and were more likely caused by certain historical realities than by the desire to analyze the problem in its general form. In particular, at the end of the 16th century, J. Bodin wrote about religious tolerance, based on the criterion of political utility. B. Nongbri summarized his main views as follows: “When uniformity of religion is impossible to achieve, the best means for subjugating a people and maintaining a stable state is to allow distinct groups to live according to their own beliefs”.⁴¹ In the 17th century, in this regard, it is impossible to bypass the personality

⁴¹ Nongbri B. *Before Religion: a History of a Modern Concept*. – New Haven and London: Yale university press, 2013. P. 100.

of P. Bayle, for whom the issues of religious tolerance had a personal reason⁴². In his philosophical works, he justified the illegitimacy of justifying religious violence by relying on the Holy Scriptures and called on both Catholics and Protestants to religious tolerance, for which he was disliked by both warring parties⁴³. If J. Bodin was a contemporary of the fierce Huguenot wars, then P. Bayle created his main works in the second half of the 17th century and witnessed the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. Their reflections were a deep situational response to a specific historical situation.

A generalized vision of the problem and the development of a philosophical basis for its solution belonged to the philosophers of the Enlightenment of the 18th century⁴⁴. So, for example, Ch.-L. de Montesquieu tried to solve this problem in his essay “The Spirit of the Laws”⁴⁵. The philosopher, challenging P. Bayle's thesis that “it is better to be an atheist than an idolater”⁴⁶, analyzed the phenomenon of religion from the point of view of its usefulness for the state, regardless of its “truth” or “falsity”. According to the philosopher, it is needed both for the people and for sovereigns, whose actions it sometimes restrains⁴⁷. Religion can not only predetermine the form of government in the state (according to Ch.-L. Montesquieu, for example, Catholicism is consistent with the monarchical form of government, while Protestantism is with the republican one), but also “support the civil order when the laws are powerless to do it”⁴⁸. So, for Ch.-L. Montesquieu religion was a strong social regulator, capable, at times, of filling in the gaps in legislation. With regard to the question of mutual tolerance, Ch.-L. Montesquieu identified two situations in which this problem was solved in different ways. In a situation where there are several religions in a state, it is necessary to pass

⁴² Stetskevich M.S. Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in the History of European Culture. - St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, 2013. P. 116. (*In Russian*)

⁴³ Stetskevich M.S. Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in the History of European Culture. - St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, 2013. P. 116-117. (*In Russian*)

⁴⁴ See: Becker C. L. The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. - Yale: Yale University Press; Second edition, 1932. – 208 p.; Delon M. Dictionnaire européen des Lumières. - Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997. - 1128 p.; Jacob M. C., ed. The Enlightenment: Brief History with Documents. – Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001- 253 p.; Melton J. Van H. The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe. - Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. – 300 p.; World of Enlightenment. Historical Dictionary / Ed. Ferroni V., Rosh D. - Moscow: “Monuments of Historical Thought”, 2003. - 668 p. (*In Russian*); Cassirer E. Philosophy of the Enlightenment. - Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004.- 400 p. (*In Russian*); Ferrone V. The Enlightenment: History of an Idea. - Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017 – 232 p.

⁴⁵ Montesquieu Ch.-L. The Spirit of the Laws - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ. - 1999. - 672 p. (*In Russian*)

⁴⁶ Montesquieu Ch.-L. The Spirit of the Laws - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ. - 1999. P.379. (*In Russian*)

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Montesquieu Ch.-L. The Spirit of the Laws - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ. - 1999. P.388. (*In Russian*)

laws that would oblige to observe mutual tolerance. In a situation where there is only one religion in a country, the state has the right to pass laws prohibiting the spread of new ones⁴⁹. So, Ch.-L. Montesquieu gave a kind of compromise answer to the existing problem, taking into account the political situation in which he was.

J. J. Rousseau in his essay “On the Social Contract, or the Principles of Political Law”⁵⁰, just like Ch.-L. Montesquieu, criticized the position of P. Bayle, arguing that religion could benefit the state⁵¹. This refers to the so-called “natural religion” and “religion of the citizen”, which have both their advantages and disadvantages. The third type of religion - the “priestly religion”, the embodiment of which was also the contemporary Catholicism of the author - was so bad that, having no positive influence on the state structure, it was immediately discarded after the mention. Consideration of the first two cases led the author to the following compromise: “And it is very important for the State that every citizen should have a religion that would make him love his duties; but the tenets of this religion are of interest to the State and its members only insofar as these tenets relate to morality and the duties which the one who confesses it is obliged to fulfill in relation to others. Everyone can have, besides this, whatever opinions he pleases, and the sovereign is not at all supposed to know them”⁵². Regarding the existence of diversity of religions, the author stated the following: “Now that there is no longer and cannot be a religion of one people alone, which would exclude all others, all religions that are themselves tolerant of others should be tolerated, if only their dogmas are in no way contrary to the duty of the citizen. But whoever dares to say: *there is no salvation outside the Church* (author’s italics – E.B.), he must be expelled from the State, unless the State is the Church, and the sovereign is not the High Priest. Such a dogma is good only under theocratic Government; with any other it is

⁴⁹ Stetskevich M.S. Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in the History of European Culture. - St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, 2013. P. 3. (*In Russian*)

⁵⁰ Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract, or Principles of Political Law // Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract. Treatises - Moscow: “KANON-press”, “Kuchkovo field”, 1998. P. 195-322. (*In Russian*)

⁵¹ Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract, or Principles of Political Law // Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract. Treatises - Moscow: “KANON-press”, “Kuchkovo field”, 1998. P. 315. (*In Russian*)

⁵² Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract, or Principles of Political Law // Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract. Treatises - Moscow: “KANON-press”, “Kuchkovo field”, 1998. P. 320. (*In Russian*)

pernicious.”⁵³ In this case, J. J. Rousseau, by separating and hierarchizing the duties of a citizen and religious duties, cleared the space for the existence of any opinions and beliefs in any state, if they do not contradict civic duty.

Philosophical reflection on the role of religion in the state, its possible benefits for citizens and rulers, the need for religious tolerance was a backbone group of ideas of secularization processes. On the one hand, the consideration of religion in terms of political utility referred to the French realities of that time, on the other hand, the possibility of the existence of various religious beliefs within the same country was substantiated. The latter, despite some inconsistency, which was provoked by the idea of the political usefulness of religion, contributed to the moving of religion from the public space into the sphere of private life, since the duties of a citizen were in the first place compared to religious duties.

As a result of theoretical understanding of the resolving religious conflicts problem and rationalizing religion in philosophical works, the main guiding vectors of secularization processes were formed. They underlaid cultural and intellectual transformations in France in the 17th-18th centuries. The process of internalization of religion, its escape from the public sphere gradually took place. This process was accompanied by the slow destruction of the hierarchy of religions, in which Christianity was gradually losing its position as a criterion of truth/falsehood, becoming one of the forms of historical religions, opposed, in turn, to “natural religion”, the guarantor of which was the human mind.

During that period, there was a slow emergence of a truly historical view of religion, which was associated with the formation of historical consciousness as such. The emergence of “homogeneous, empty time”⁵⁴ in the 17th century subsequently led not only to the formation of the idea of progress, but also to the formation of a “historical” view of culture: “The changes that took place in the 18th century played, in a certain sense, a decisive role in the development of Western modernity. A courteous

⁵³ Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract, or Principles of Political Law // Rousseau J. J. On the Social Contract. Treatises - Moscow: “KANON-press”, “Kuchkovo field”, 1998. P. 321-322. (*In Russian*)

⁵⁴ Taylor Ch. The Secular Age. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P.167. (*In Russian*)

society has developed a new type of self-consciousness, which can be called ‘historical’ in the new sense of the word”⁵⁵. In the 18th century, the central idea for society was the idea of stage development, improvement, progress, through which the culture as a whole was analyzed.

Secularization processes of the 17th-18th centuries brought to life a new kind of publicity, the embodiment of which were the salons, where discussions were held on topics of concern to society: religion, literature, art, less often politics⁵⁶. A mixed public was formed here. It included aristocrats, intellectuals and the bourgeois⁵⁷. The status of salon discussions was so great that a rare author avoided discussing his work in the salon⁵⁸. According to J. Habermas, the latter “as if it had a monopoly on the first publication”⁵⁹. The nature of the works themselves also changed. They were written mainly in a journalistic style, which had as its goal not an intellectual conversation, but an impact on public opinion, the role of which was growing more and more. As A. Maurois aptly noted in his “History of France”: “The most serious subjects should be available to the ladies, and marivaudage was mixed with astronomy”⁶⁰.

In this context, the audience split into two large groups. The first one consisted of aristocrats who supported art for reasons of their own prestige, as well as of learned clerics. The second one was a mixed salon audience⁶¹. These new social realities, together with the processes of interiorization of religion and its withdrawal into the private sphere, gave rise to secular moral discourse as such. Until that time, morality and religion went hand in hand. “The concepts of ‘moral man’, ‘religious man’,

⁵⁵ Taylor Ch. The Secular Age. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P.281. (*In Russian*)

⁵⁶ Habermas J. Structural Change in the Public Sphere: Studies on the Category of Bourgeois Society. - Moscow: Publishing house "Ves Mir", 2017. P. 124. (*In Russian*)

⁵⁷ Habermas J. Structural Change in the Public Sphere: Studies on the Category of Bourgeois Society. - Moscow: Publishing house "Ves Mir", 2017. P. 86. (*In Russian*)

⁵⁸ Bruk E. G. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and the Secular Moral Discourse in Eighteenth-century France (based on Graphic Arts)//Scientific Result. Social and Humanitarian Studies. 2022. Vol.8., No. 4. P. 48-61. (*In Russian*)

⁵⁹ Habermas J. Structural Change in the Public Sphere: Studies on the Category of Bourgeois Society. - Moscow: Publishing house "Ves Mir", 2017. P. 86. (*In Russian*)

⁶⁰ Maurois A. History of France - St. Petersburg: “Azbuka, Azbuka-Atticus” Publ., 2020. P. 359. (*In Russian*)

⁶¹ See more: Bruk E. G. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and the Secular Moral Discourse in Eighteenth-century France (based on Graphic Arts)//Scientific Result. Social and Humanitarian Studies. 2022. Vol.8., No. 4. P. 48-61. (*In Russian*)

‘Christian’ were, if not complete synonyms, then closely related concepts”⁶². At that time religion was moving out of the public sphere into the private and the most acute question was how secular morality, that is, morality without reliance on religion, could exist.

In France, this problem was reflected in the most explicit and sharply polemical form in the works by P. Bayle, who was criticized later by Ch.-L. Montesquieu and J.J. Rousseau. P. Bayle questioned the function of religion as a social regulator and moral basis, since, according to the author, human behavior was controlled not only by love for a deity and fear of him, but also by “other principles”: “love of praise, fear of shame, inclination character, punishments and rewards distributed by the authorities have a great impact on the human heart”⁶³. The latter turn out to be stronger than religion, which not only gives rise to fanaticism, but often itself gives a bad moral example: “The fact that pagan idolaters did good deeds is stranger than the fact that atheist philosophers are decent people, for these idolaters must would be inclined to crime under the influence of their own religion. They would have to believe that in order to successfully imitate god, which is the purpose and essence of religion, one must be deceivers, envious people, lechers, adulterers ...”⁶⁴. This, according to P. Bayle, does not apply to “true religion”, the essence of which he prefers to remain silent in his “First Explanation (on Atheists)”⁶⁵. In “Different Thoughts expressed in a Letter to the Doctor of the Sorbonne on the Occasion of the Appearance of a Comet in December 1680”⁶⁶, P. Bayle made a dichotomous division between moral atheists and immoral “pagan idolaters”, bypassing Christianity within the framework of this comparison: “... when a person has not truly turned to God and does not have a heart sanctified by the grace of

⁶² Bruk E. G. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and the Secular Moral Discourse in Eighteenth-century France (based on Graphic Arts)//Scientific Result. Social and Humanitarian Studies. 2022. Vol.8., No. 4. P. 49. (*In Russian*)

⁶³ Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary // Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 143. (*In Russian*)

⁶⁴ Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary // Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 144. (*In Russian*)

⁶⁵ Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary // Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 145. (*In Russian*)

⁶⁶ Bayle P. Different Thoughts expressed in a Letter to the Doctor of the Sorbonne on the Occasion of the Appearance of a Comet in December 1680// Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 194-264. (*In Russian*)

the holy spirit, then for him the knowledge of God providence is a too weak barrier to hold back human passions ...”⁶⁷. Christianity was mentioned by the philosopher in the context of refuting the thesis that the knowledge of God could correct the vicious inclinations of people⁶⁸. Using this example, P. Bayle tried to show how theoretical reasoning about religion and morality could differ from what happens in practice⁶⁹. Despite the rationality inherent in a person, the latter never acts in accordance with his reason, “almost always adhering to the ideas of natural justice in his conscience, a person nevertheless almost always concludes in favor of immoral desires”⁷⁰. Thus, in P. Bayle’s works, the following idea was the leitmotif of all his reasoning: religion does not always lead to morality, and atheism does not lead to immorality. Morality is not only possible outside of religion, but, in a sense, more natural.

F.-M. Arouet (Voltaire) took a conciliatory position in relation to the connection between religion and morality. Standing on deistic positions, the French philosopher recognized that religion played the role of a social regulator, but emphasized in every possible way that it remained such only up to a certain point. Fanaticism and atheism are two extremes that, according to Voltaire, should be avoided. And although in relation to morality and religion, the philosopher noted that “in morality it makes much more sense to recognize God than not to allow his existence”⁷¹, when it came to two extremes, from the point of view of morality, he clearly preferred atheism over fanaticism.

The idea of “natural religion”, “religion of reason”, which captured the minds of the 17th century, was not always a sufficient basis for talking about secular morality in

⁶⁷ Bayle P. Different Thoughts expressed in a Letter to the Doctor of the Sorbonne on the Occasion of the Appearance of a Comet in December 1680// Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 208. (*In Russian*)

⁶⁸ Bayle P. Different Thoughts expressed in a Letter to the Doctor of the Sorbonne on the Occasion of the Appearance of a Comet in December 1680// Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 211. (*In Russian*)

⁶⁹ Bayle P. Different Thoughts expressed in a Letter to the Doctor of the Sorbonne on the Occasion of the Appearance of a Comet in December 1680// Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 212. (*In Russian*)

⁷⁰ Bayle P. Different Thoughts expressed in a Letter to the Doctor of the Sorbonne on the Occasion of the Appearance of a Comet in December 1680// Bayle P. Historical and Critical Dictionary in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1968. P. 214. (*In Russian*)

⁷¹ Voltaire F.M. Philosophical Dictionary // Voltaire. Philosophical Writings. – Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1988. P. 622. (*In Russian*)

the philosophy of the French Enlightenment of the 18th century. The idea of a “man in natural state” “a man of the Golden age”, untainted by culture, came to the fore. Many of the French philosophers of the Enlightenment relied in this regard on the ideas of J. Locke, who, following his general theory of knowledge, in his work “An Essay Concerning Human Understanding”⁷², denied the innateness of the idea of God and said that this idea was also deducible from experience, like everything else⁷³. This meant that a person in his “natural” state, before any experience, was an atheist by definition. The convergence of the concepts of “naturalness” and “morality” can be most clearly seen on the example of the works by J.-J. Rousseau, P. S. Marechal, P. H. Holbach and others.

The views of J.-J. Rousseau were inextricably linked with the idea of “man in natural state”. The essay “Emil, or on Education”⁷⁴ was the most complete disclosure of his views on morality. The book was permeated with the opposition of “natural”, “virtuous” and “artificial”, “cultural”, “evil”. In this sense, according to J.-J. Rousseau, the savage thought more sensibly than the philosopher⁷⁵. Immorality was born under the influence of prejudices, authorities, opinions. Human nature is inclined towards morality in itself, it only needs to give the necessary direction of development. In the same way, a person, listening to nature and following reason, discovers in himself a “natural religion”, simple and moral⁷⁶. Considering that the oblivion⁷⁷ of any religion leads “to the oblivion of human duties”⁷⁷, J.-J. Rousseau was still critical of its historical forms: meticulous reading of sacred texts, conflicting prescriptions and rituals - all of them only offended the Creator, who had endowed man with reason⁷⁸.

⁷² Locke J. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding // Locke J. Works in Three Volumes. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1985. P. 77-582. (*In Russian*)

⁷³ Locke J. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding // Locke J. Works in Three Volumes. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 1985. P. 139. (*In Russian*)

⁷⁴ Rousseau J.-J. Emil, or On Education // Rousseau J.-J. Pedagogical Essays. In 2 vols. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Pedagogics” Publ., 1981. P. 19-592. (*In Russian*)

⁷⁵ Rousseau J.-J. Emil, or On Education // Rousseau J.-J. Pedagogical Essays. In 2 vols. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Pedagogics” Publ., 1981. P. 287. (*In Russian*)

⁷⁶ Rousseau J.-J. Emil, or On Education // Rousseau J.-J. Pedagogical Essays. In 2 vols. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Pedagogics” Publ., 1981. P. 353. (*In Russian*)

⁷⁷ Rousseau J.-J. Emil, or On Education // Rousseau J.-J. Pedagogical Essays. In 2 vols. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Pedagogics” Publ., 1981. P. 311. (*In Russian*)

⁷⁸ Rousseau J.-J. Emil, or On Education // Rousseau J.-J. Pedagogical Essays. In 2 vols. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Pedagogics” Publ., 1981. P. 359. (*In Russian*)

P. H. Holbach paid special attention to the problem of morality and its relationship with religion in his fundamental work “The System of Nature, or On the Laws of the Physical and Spiritual Worlds”⁷⁹. According to P. H. Holbach, morality is based on the principle of human rationality, on the knowledge of Nature⁸⁰. “People,” the philosopher noted, “by their nature are forced to love virtue and hate crime: here the same necessity that compels them to strive for happiness and avoid suffering operates; this nature causes them to distinguish between objects that please them and objects that are harmful to them”⁸¹. Since atheists are people who have got rid of prejudices and religious chimeras, they are more likely to be virtuous than a religious person. The latter, having once discovered the falsity of religion, imagines that “virtue, like the gods, is a mere phantom”⁸². An atheist, in contrast, builds his virtue on reasonable grounds and, if he follows the virtue, has a more stable and logical justification for his actions. According to P. H. Holbach, morality does not depend so much on whether a person is religious or not, but on his internal inclinations and the degree of his rationality. The philosopher explained this idea as follows: “Among the worshipers of a cruel, vengeful and jealous god, we meet meek people, enemies of all persecution, of the violence, cruelty, and among the followers of a merciful and compassionate god, monsters of barbarism and inhumanity. However, both of them claim that their god should serve as a model for them. <...> Features of human organization will always be stronger than religion...”⁸³.

P. S. Marechal was the philosopher who connected the human in “natural state” with the “man of the Golden age”. In his “Dictionary of Ancient and New Atheists”⁸⁴, in the introduction, the philosopher summarized and generalized his views on the

⁷⁹ Holbach P.H. The System of Nature, or On the Laws of the Physical and the Spiritual World // Holbach P.H. Selected Works in Two Volumes. Vol.1. – Moscow: “Sotsekgiz” Publ., 1963. P. 53-686. (*In Russian*)

⁸⁰ Holbach P.H. The System of Nature, or On the Laws of the Physical and the Spiritual World // Holbach P.H. Selected Works in Two Volumes. Vol.1. – Moscow: “Sotsekgiz” Publ., 1963. P. 625-626. (*In Russian*)

⁸¹ Holbach P.H. The System of Nature, or On the Laws of the Physical and the Spiritual World // Holbach P.H. Selected Works in Two Volumes. Vol.1. – Moscow: “Sotsekgiz” Publ., 1963. P. 632. (*In Russian*)

⁸² Holbach P.H. The System of Nature, or On the Laws of the Physical and the Spiritual World // Holbach P.H. Selected Works in Two Volumes. Vol.1. – Moscow: “Sotsekgiz” Publ., 1963. P. 630. (*In Russian*)

⁸³ Holbach P.H. The System of Nature, or On the Laws of the Physical and the Spiritual World // Holbach P.H. Selected Works in Two Volumes. Vol.1. – Moscow: “Sotsekgiz” Publ., 1963. P. 627-628. (*In Russian*)

⁸⁴ Marechal S. Dictionary of Ancient and New Atheists // Marechal S. Selected Atheistic Works - Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1958. P. 193-261. (*In Russian*)

relationship between “naturalness” and atheism. According to P. S. Marechal, the primitive man was a true atheist, he “lived in complete simplicity, merging with nature”⁸⁵, without being either a barbarian or a villain. His morality was rooted in his naturalness, in his awareness of his duties towards his neighbors. In the text of P. S. Marechal, primitive atheism and morality merge into a single whole, which is a “man of the Golden age”⁸⁶. That is why he qualified the atheist of his day as a person striving to return to this natural state, a human in “natural state”⁸⁷. The source of virtue comes from the depths of human nature, morality is useful for society, because it leads to its prosperity. A reasonable person sees the advantage of virtue over vices, and religion has absolutely nothing to do with it. Moreover, religion is rooted in society more by force of habit than by its usefulness to society: “He is a Catholic, just as he would have been an atheist if his ancestors had been atheists. God is reminiscent of that old, useless and only embarrassing furniture, which, however, is passed from hand to hand in the family and reverently kept, because the son received it from his father, and the father from his grandfather”⁸⁸. P. S. Marechal’s apology for atheism as a moral standard was permeated with comparisons of the independence and rationality of an atheist with the adult state of a person, and religious people with children who want to hear either praise or a warning for every action: “Atheist is a man of honor. <...> He does not need to be pushed to do good and turn away from evil: he himself, at his own discretion, seeks the first and avoids the second, and you can rely on him in this. <...> Order and justice are its deities; and he brings only voluntary sacrifices ...”⁸⁹.

Thus, in the works by philosophers-enlighteners, morality was mainly identified with the “state of nature”, with the original nature of man. Religion was losing the status of an unshakable guarantor of morality, the spheres of influence of morality and religion diverged. There was a clear splitting of moral discourse into “religious” and “secular”,

⁸⁵ Marechal S. Dictionary of Ancient and New Atheists // Marechal S. Selected Atheistic Works - Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1958. P.193. (*In Russian*)

⁸⁶ Marechal S. Dictionary of Ancient and New Atheists // Marechal S. Selected Atheistic Works - Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1958. P.194. (*In Russian*)

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Marechal S. Dictionary of Ancient and New Atheists // Marechal S. Selected Atheistic Works - Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1958. P.203. (*In Russian*)

⁸⁹ Marechal S. Dictionary of Ancient and New Atheists // Marechal S. Selected Atheistic Works - Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1958. P.216. (*In Russian*)

and this dichotomy was directly related to changes in the public sphere, in particular, with the splitting of the public into two groups: the aristocracy and learned clerics, or scientists closely associated with the Jesuit educational system - on the one hand, and a mixed salon public (more about the reason for this division will be discussed below) - on the other. The boundary between them, however, was not impenetrable, as it will be shown in the next chapter.

As a result of the analysis of the theoretical understanding of the problem of the relationship between religion and morality, the following basic vectors of secularization which underlay the intellectual processes of the period under consideration can be distinguished:

1) Christianity was gradually losing its position as a criterion of the truth and falsity of religions. It became one of the forms of historical religions, opposed, in turn, to “natural religion”, the guarantor of which was the human mind.

2) There were significant changes in the public sphere: religion was internalized and went into the private sphere, moral discourse split into “religious” and “secular”

3) Historical consciousness as such was formed

The vectors indicated above, in case of combination with certain intellectual and cultural realities, in our case, with the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in France in the 17th-18th centuries, were transformed under the influence of the resistance of established models of perception inherent in the realities mentioned above. Thus, a fusion of old and new interpretative strategies arose in the perception of images and plots of ancient Greek and Roman mythology. Euhemerism occupied the most important place there.

1.2. Euhemerism and Moral Discourse in France in the 17th-18th Centuries

Since antiquity, euhemerism or “historical” interpretation was one of the four possible rationalist interpretations of mythology, along with the symbolic, the

pragmatic, and the philosophical one⁹⁰. Named after Euhemerus of Messene, the “historical” interpretation turned out to be much broader than the coherent philosophical theory of one author, and continued to be popular for centuries. The fact that the writings by Euhemerus had been lost was the reason for the cultural stability and ability for cultural adaptation of this intellectual phenomenon: later authors, using Euhemerus' theory of the origin of the gods in accordance with their own needs, changed and supplemented it.

Euhemerus' doctrine of the existence of two groups of gods - terrestrial (deified people) and heavenly (Sun, Moon, stars, winds)⁹¹ - lost its force as the euhemerism theory became a rhetorical tool. The terrestrial gods became the focus of attention, while the heavenly ones were consigned to oblivion. Various interpretations of the Euhemerus' doctrine, created within the framework of the reception of the main provisions of his theory, constituted the phenomenon that is now commonly called euhemerism. The latter often coexisted with other theories which rationalized ancient Greek and Roman mythology, merging with them into a single whole.⁹²

Despite the diversity of theories, united by the term “euhemerism”, the common basis for them is the view of the ancient gods as people who once really existed and were deified during their life or after their death. Such an understanding of ancient mythology gave rise to an ambiguity implicit in euhemerism. On the one hand, this theory could serve as a tool for legitimizing power. On the other hand, it was a criticism of mythology.⁹³ It was in this vein that euhemerism was used in the works by Virgil and Ovid. They were familiar with this theory through translations of the famous Roman

⁹⁰ Shakhnovich M. M. *The Garden of Epicurus: Philosophy of Religion of Epicurus and the Epicurean Tradition in the History of European Culture*. - St. Petersburg: Publishing House of St. Petersburg State University, 2002. P. 43. (*In Russian*)

⁹¹ See more: Roubekas N. P. *An Ancient Theory of Religion: Euhemerism from Antiquity to the Present*. – London; New York: Routledge, 2017. P. 17-32.

⁹² About the theories rationalizing ancient Greek and Roman mythology and adjacent to euhemerism and their relationships, see: Shakhnovich M. M. *The Garden of Epicurus: Philosophy of Religion of Epicurus and the Epicurean Tradition in the History of European Culture*. - St. Petersburg: Publishing House of St. Petersburg State University, 2002. P. 43-46. (*In Russian*); Roubekas N. P. *An Ancient Theory of Religion: Euhemerism from Antiquity to the Present*. – London; New York: Routledge, 2017. P. 33-50; About the so-called. “Palephatism” see: Roubekas N. P. *Between Reception and Deception: the Perennial Problem with Euhemerism // Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P. 256.

⁹³ See more: Agri D. *Euhemerism in Virgil's Aeneid and Ovid's Metamorphoses // Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P. 54-55.

poet Ennius, whose texts have not come down to us in the same way as the texts of Euhemerus.⁹⁴ Ennius used euhemerism to present the idea of the apotheosis of the ruler as a primordially Roman tradition with the further possibility of speaking about the divinity of people in power.⁹⁵ Virgil in his “Aeneid”, following the thought of Ennius, legitimized with the help of the same strategy the divine status of Augustus⁹⁶, showing that the deification of the ruler was an artificial construct created by human hands⁹⁷. In contrast to the epic tradition, which associated the deification of a person with his deeds, Ovid focused on the fact that the deification of rulers was a human enterprise that was started by the notables and was achieved through the creation of myths by poets such as Ennius and Virgil⁹⁸. Ovid emphasized two points. Firstly, the deification of a person was impossible outside the mythological construct, which meant that the transformation of a ruler into a god was the fruit of a certain poetic tradition⁹⁹. Secondly, deification was based not on great deeds, but on the principles of nepotism: one who had a divine ancestor was deified.¹⁰⁰ In light of this shift in emphasis, in Ovid's view, “Augustus's agency in Caesar deification becomes a calculating preparation for self-deification”¹⁰¹. The irony of Ovid over the deification of Roman rulers and the demystification of Roman political apotheoses¹⁰² contributed to the fact that in his texts the critical function of euhemerism appeared most clearly.

The dualism of this theory formed in antiquity was also not alien to Christian authors who used euhemerism as an apologetic tool. This is how Lactantius understood

⁹⁴ Cooke J. D. Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism// *Speculum*. — Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Vol.2, Issue 4, 1927. P. 397.

⁹⁵ Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 57.

⁹⁶ Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 61-63.

⁹⁷ Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 64.

⁹⁸ Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 65.

⁹⁹ Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 66.

¹⁰⁰ Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 66.

¹⁰¹ Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 70.

¹⁰² Agri D. Euhemerism in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 70-71.

euhemerism and used it in two ways: as a rhetorical tool with which it was possible to criticize polytheism, and as a means of legitimizing the power of Constantine¹⁰³. In the second case, the use of euhemerism was of a specific nature. Lactantius, relying on the tradition that preceded him, came to the conclusion that behind the symbolic veil of the texts of Scripture lied a historical basis. Identifying modern events with the symbolic series of the book of Revelation, Lactantius interpreted the figure of Constantine as the ruler who “would end the persecution, defeat the persecutors, and inaugurate a new, just age”¹⁰⁴. The use of euhemerism as a rhetorical tool was common among Christian authors both before and after Lactantius. In addition to Lactantius, such Christian authors as Augustine, Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria and others were of particular importance for the subsequent history of the development of the “historical” interpretation of antique myth¹⁰⁵. Together with works by ancient Greek and Roman authors (Diodorus, Plutarch, Cicero), their texts constituted the main corpus of texts, which served as the basis for the “historical” interpretation of ancient Greek and Roman mythology within the framework of the Christian worldview for a long time.

Besides the formation of the corpus of texts mentioned above, in the Middle Ages, a hierarchy of textual interpretations gradually crystallized and euhemerism, appropriated by Christian discourse, occupied its niche in this hierarchy. Euhemerism as a way of interpreting classical texts and texts of Scripture served as an auxiliary means for “Christian allegorical, anagogical, and tropological exegesis”¹⁰⁶. Thus, euhemerism lost its independence as a separate theory and was serving as a basis for other interpretations in a Christian way for a long time. The appropriateness of such appropriation was also facilitated by the fact that there were similar explanations of polytheistic cults in Scripture itself (for example, in the fourteenth chapter of the Book

¹⁰³ Barboza A., DePalma Digeser E. Lactantius’ Euhemerism and its Reception // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 90.

¹⁰⁴ Barboza A., DePalma Digeser E. Lactantius’ Euhemerism and its Reception // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 86.

¹⁰⁵ See more: Cooke J. D. *Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism*// *Speculum*. — Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.Vol.2, Issue 4, 1927. P. 396-410.

¹⁰⁶ Gerber A. *Grounding the Gods: Spreading Geographical Euhemerism from Servius to Boccaccio*// *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021.P. 104.

of Wisdom of Solomon)¹⁰⁷. A. Gerber, regarding the place of “historical” interpretation in the system of comments, noted that the canonical order of medieval hermeneutics had been built as follows: first “historical”, then allegorical, moral and, finally, anagogical interpretation¹⁰⁸. The “historical” interpretation as such was a mixture of euhemerism in its classical form with other interpretations related primarily to language, and “grammatical and literal-historical interpretations” were not always separated¹⁰⁹. A. Gerber noted on this issue: “For example, literal-historical paratexts regularly identified etymology, orthography, hysteron proteron, hypallage, astronomy and geography”¹¹⁰. Medieval euhemerism existed in such a mixture of various interpretations, moving further and further away from its ancient prototype and acquiring a compilative character. It “was used in the political, philosophical, historiographical, doxographical and overall theoretical discourses from the early Roman period, throughout early Christianity, and to the modern period”¹¹¹.

In seventeenth-century France, euhemerism remained in the structure of “historical” interpretation, inextricably intertwined with linguistic explanations. A hierarchy of interpretations was preserved and the “historical” interpretation served only as a preparatory step for the moral interpretation of the antique myth. Such, for example, were the comments on editions of Ovid's “Metamorphoses” of the 17th century which will be considered in the next chapter. Despite the fact that commentators of that time relied on an already formed set of ancient and medieval authors (Augustine, Diodorus, Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria, Pausanias, Plutarch, Cicero, etc.), without adding new interpretations, by the beginning of the 18th century, the angle of view on the place of “historical” interpretation in the system of comments changed. This was

¹⁰⁷ Cooke J. D. *Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism*// *Speculum*. — Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Vol.2, Issue 4, 1927. P. 397-398.

¹⁰⁸ Gerber A. *Grounding the Gods: Spreading Geographical Euhemerism from Servius to Boccaccio*// *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P. 106.

¹⁰⁹ Gerber A. *Grounding the Gods: Spreading Geographical Euhemerism from Servius to Boccaccio*// *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P. 107.

¹¹⁰ Gerber A. *Grounding the Gods: Spreading Geographical Euhemerism from Servius to Boccaccio*// *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P. 107.

¹¹¹ Roubekas N. P. *Between Reception and Deception: the Perennial Problem with Euhemerism* // *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*. Edited By Syrithe Pugh. — London; New York: Routledge, 2021. P.250.

facilitated by the processes of rationalization and secularization in France in the 17th-18th centuries.

In the 17th century, there was a gradual transformation of Christian discourse, within which euhemerism existed. European rationality appealed to reason as a guarantor of order and objectivity, contributing to the rationalization of religion. In the context of religious conflicts tearing Europe apart, distrust in existing historical forms of religion was gaining strength. It contributed to the search for its new foundations. Reason became the guarantor of the truth of religion and human morality¹¹². A search for a “natural religion”, untainted by external cultural layers, which a person found within himself, began. R. Descartes defined God as an innate idea¹¹³, E. Herbert formulated the foundations of “natural religion”. They became the basis for deistic views¹¹⁴. His book “De Veritate...” was published in Paris in 1624¹¹⁵. The deistic ideas set forth in this work had a significant impact on the formation of the ideas of the French enlighteners of the 18th century (Voltaire, Holbach, Diderot, etc.)¹¹⁶.

Ideas about “natural religion” contributed to the gradual change in the position of Christianity in relation to other religious beliefs. The old fourfold system of classification of religions (Christians, Mohammedans, Jews, Pagans), which established the value superiority of Christianity and ranked religious beliefs within the opposition of their truth/falsehood, began to transform. In line with the search for a “natural religion”, especially in line with deism, despite all the ambiguity of such ideas, the “hierarchy of religions” began to collapse, the position of Christianity as a starting point for their truth/falsehood began to fluctuate. It became the same historical form of

¹¹² Kosareva L. M. Socio-Cultural Genesis of the Science of Modern Times. Philosophical Aspect of the Problem. - Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1989. P. 11-12; 109. (*In Russian*)

¹¹³ Descartes R. *Metaphysical Reflections* // Descartes R. *Selected works*. - Moscow: State Publishing House of Political Literature, 1950. P. 369. (*In Russian*)

¹¹⁴ See more: Voronitsyn I.P. *History of Atheism*. – 3rd ed. - Moscow: “Atheist” Publ., 1930. P. 105-107. (*In Russian*)

¹¹⁵ See more: Sokolov V.V. *Deism*// *New Philosophical Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 2000. P. 605-607. (*In Russian*)

¹¹⁶ See more: Sokolov V.V. *Deism*// *New Philosophical Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Mysl” Publ., 2000. P. 605-607. (*In Russian*)

religion as all the others, and just like the latter, it could be opposed to “natural religion”.¹¹⁷

At that time, the change in the view of Christian discourse (in general) and of ancient Greek and Roman mythology as part of it (in particular) was also facilitated by the emergence of a new type of self-consciousness, which could be called historical in the full sense of the word¹¹⁸. In this one, the idea of progress and “civilization” of modern society was leading and Christianity lost its position in the public sphere. The processes of secularization contributed to the expansion of the secular moral discourse (in comparison with the religious one).

In the context of growing historicization and secularization, euhemerism gradually got out of the power of moral interpretation and became an independent explanatory tool. The use of euhemerism as the leading interpretation of classical mythology pursued the goal of adapting the old explanatory strategies to the requirements of historical consciousness. Christian moral interpretations of ancient Greek and Roman mythology were gradually discarded as unnecessary, giving way to “realistic” interpretations. An example of the shift described above can be found in the eighteenth-century editions of the “Metamorphoses” (discussed in third chapter) with comments by A. Banier, in explanatory texts for “Temple of the Muses” (1733) and critical articles by encyclopedists of the second half of the 18th century.

Thus, by the 17th century, Euhemerism was a multi-layered and multifaceted phenomenon embedded in the Christian model of reading classical texts and interpreting mythological plots. The compilative character of euhemerism of the 17th-18th centuries was rooted in the logic of its historical development, during which the original theory was overgrown with new layers, adapting to the needs of a particular era. In the 17th century, the commentary system, inherited from previous epochs, included euhemeristic and similar interpretations as a preparatory stage for more valuable moral and allegorical interpretations of classical myth in the context of Christian discourse. The

¹¹⁷ Nongbri B. *Before Religion: a History of a Modern Concept*. – New Haven and London: Yale university press, 2013. P. 95.

¹¹⁸ Taylor Ch. *The Secular Age*. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P. 281. (*In Russian*)

use of the same ancient and medieval authors contributed to the fact that interpretations were relayed from one edition to another, practically unchanged.

However, under the influence of rationalization processes of the 17-18th centuries, a new type of publicity, based on an equally new, but already strengthened morality, based on reason as its guarantor, arose. Secular moral discourse began to crowd out religious morality. These processes, combined with new historical trends, changed the angle of view on the system of comments on ancient Greek and Roman mythological plots. The recognition of morality as a natural inclination of a person and independence of morality from religious beliefs legitimized the existence of secular moral discourse. The latter took its place in the public sphere, displacing the previously dominant Christian morality. In this context, the view of the ancient Greek and Roman mythology was gradually changing. Its connection with Christian morality was weakened, there were attempts to modernize, to adapt the view of ancient Greek and Roman mythology to changing realities.

Gradual change in the intellectual and social contexts in the 17-18th centuries contributed to the revision of the correlation of euhemerism with other types of interpretations of antique myth: euhemerism seemed to be the most “historical” and “rational” method of interpreting ancient Greek and Roman mythology. The change of the position of Christian morality in the public sphere and the rapid development of secular moral discourse also contributed to the liberation of euhemerism from the power of Christian moral interpretations.

The dominance of reason, rationality, secularism, the principles of “historicism” led to the fact that euhemerism became the best of the existing means of adapting the tradition of comments on ancient myths to new realities. The image of Euhemerus was so popular in philosophical circles that it was even used by Voltaire as a mouthpiece of his own ideas in the work “The Dialogues of Euhemerus”¹¹⁹. The popularity of the

¹¹⁹ Voltaire F.M. The Dialogues of Euhemerus // Voltaire. Philosophical Writings. – Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1988. P. 554-619. (*In Russian*)

image of the ancient philosopher went hand in hand with the changes that took place in the structure of comments on ancient Greek and Roman mythological plots.

The moral and allegorical interpretation of mythological plots lost its former significance in the context of changes in the public sphere, in the context of the interiorization of religion and the strengthening of the positions of secular moral discourse. It was supplanted by interpretations that previously played a secondary, auxiliary role. The main criterion of relevance was “reasonableness”, the ability of a commentary to explain the myth on the basis of real-life (or having the potential to exist at a certain time) historical events, natural phenomena, etc. Euhemerism came to the fore in the system of interpretations and became the leading one among other “rational” interpretations of the ancient myth. It took the place in the hierarchy of commentaries that previously occupied the moral-allegorical interpretation.

The idea of “plausibility” and “historicity” of explanations captured both learned clerics and skeptical encyclopedists. Both those and others tried to fill the old explanatory strategies with new meaning, little changing the form of the comments and the circle of cited authors. Leaving the main core of the commentary unchanged, the authors of the 18th century tried to adapt it to the tendencies of “historicism” in different ways. At the same time, the didactic orientation that previously prepared the reader for the perception of a more significant moral interpretation of the ancient myth often remained in the comments in a rudimentary form. In the 18th century, moral interpretation was categorically rejected by commentators as outdated and far from rationality, and euhemerism became the main instrument of interpretation as the most “historical” way of explaining ancient mythology.

The writings by abbe A. Banier, who was extremely popular among his contemporaries, were an attempt to adapt Christian discourse to the historicizing trends of the 18th century through the use of euhemerism¹²⁰. In his “historical” view of the

¹²⁰ See more: Banier A. *La mythologie et les fables, expliquées par l'histoire*. In 8 vol. Paris, 1738-1740., and his commentaries on “Metamorphoses” by Ovid: *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, en latin, traduites en François, avec des remarques et des explications historiques* Par Mr. l'abbé Banier, de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. *Ouvrage enrichi de Figures en taille douce, Gravées par B. Picart & autres habiles maîtres*. Vol. 1–2. Amsterdam: Wetstein & Smith, 1732.

ancient myth, all possible “rational” interpretations of the ancient Greek and Roman mythology were intertwined and united under the name “historical explanations”¹²¹. However, despite attempts to adapt the comments to modern intellectual trends, the abbe's point of view was deeply confessional: he postulated the existence of primordial monotheism, which in the process of historical development gave way to polytheism. In addition, A. Banier used the Parian Chronicle and the approximate years of the life of biblical characters as time markers of a particular event. This point of view on the ancient myth was not the only one. Despite the fact that the name of A. Banier appeared in the articles of the encyclopedists,¹²² they represented the opposite point of view on the “historical” potential of euhemerism. Encyclopedic articles criticized the position of A. Banier, asserted the inaccuracy of euhemerism as an explanatory tool, the use of which should be limited and accompanied by extreme caution.

Remains of the didactic orientation, which were characteristic of euhemeristic commentaries in the past, sometimes became noticeable in A. Banier's comments on ancient myths (for example, on the myth of Lycaon, which will be discussed in the corresponding chapter), since he relied on the set of commentators accepted in the Christian tradition. They, in spite of all the additions and criticisms of the abbe, still set the main tone of A. Banier's comments. Encyclopedists, using many of the theoretical developments of the abbe, in turn, criticized not only the all-inclusiveness of his euhemerism, but also tried to clear the latter from the plaque of A. Banier's Christian worldview.

The shift of emphasis from the “moral” interpretation of the ancient myth to the “historical” one contributed to the narrowing of the field of religious moral discourse in comparison with the secular one. Ancient Greek and Roman mythology was becoming a phenomenon that authors tried to root in historical reality, freeing it from the Christian

¹²¹ See: *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, en latin, traduites en François, avec des remarques et des explications historiques* Par Mr. l'abbé Banier, de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Ouvrage enrichi de Figures en taille douce, Gravées par B. Picart & autres habiles maîtres. Vol. 1–2. Amsterdam: Wetstein & Smith, 1732.

¹²² See, for example: Jaucour L., Marmontel J. *Fable // Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Vol. 6. URL: https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/L%E2%80%99Encyclop%C3%A9die/1re_%C3%A9dition/FABLE. (date of access: 07.02.2023).

veil. Along with this, the need for the leading role of the moral interpretation of mythological plots was leaving. Euhemerism, which at first glance seemed to be the most successfully chosen tool for the “rational” interpretation of mythological plots, was criticized for inaccuracy and lack of methodological capacity in the second half of the 18th century.

Thus, the legitimization of secular moral discourse, theoretically substantiated, the interiorization of religion, the emphasis on civility, progressiveness and historicity contributed to the rise in popularity of euhemerism as a methodology for studying ancient myths. This methodology, despite its antiquity, was associated with a new rationality and historicity, was considered progressive in comparison with the moral view of ancient Greek and Roman mythological plots. However, in the second half of the 18th century, there was a rethinking of euhemerism in the articles of encyclopedists, where euhemerism, on the contrary, seemed insufficiently rational, historical and reliable.

Chapter 2. Reception of the Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and Religious and Ethical Symbolism in France in the 17th century

2.1. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and the Intellectual Context of the Epoch: General Description

Rationalistic trends and the processes of secularization generated by them (with which the 17th and 18th centuries are associated) were not the only direction inherent in the culture of that time. For example, N. S. Avtonomova drew attention to this problem in her monograph: “As you know, many representatives of irrationalist thought lived and worked simultaneously with the most typical representatives of the rationalist tradition: some with the rationalists of the 17th century, others with the enlighteners ...”¹²³. Although N. S. Avtonomova insisted that “all of these, although symptomatic, were still episodes”¹²⁴, the reality of that time was more complicated, and there were fragments of the old worldview side by side with rationalism. They often joined with it either in some kind of temporary synthesis, or into an open conflict¹²⁵. Here, the old, still Renaissance, understanding of the world, words and man, and the new rationalism, which was just about to win its niche, collided.

The “irrationalist” tendencies are most fully represented in the works of philologists and historians of literature, who closely peered into the features of the “baroque consciousness”. Analyzing literary sources, many researchers made a conclusion about the fundamental “emblematic” of the “baroque consciousness” in relation to the perception of the surrounding world. The era was still living in the past, without changing the ontological status of the word and the image as signifiers merged into a single area of representation, serving as signs of the secrets of nature and man¹²⁶. “Baroque consciousness”, being emblematic in its essence, focused on exegesis as a

¹²³ Avtonomova N. S. Reason. Intelligence. Rationality. – Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1988. P. 121. (*In Russian*)

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ The controversy between R. Fludd and M. Mersenne is an example of the latter. See: Yates F. Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition- Moscow: “New Literary Review” Publ., 2000. // URL: <http://psylib.org.ua/books/yates03/txt22.htm>. (date of access: 06.11.2020). (*In Russian*)

¹²⁶ From this point of view, the seventeenth century becomes a mixture of two epistemological paradigms, very accurately described by M. Foucault in the first six chapters (in the first part) of his book “Words and Things”. See: Foucault M. Words and Things. Archeology of the Humanities. - St. Petersburg: A-cad, 1994. - 407 p. (*In Russian*)

way of knowing any phenomenon, both natural and cultural¹²⁷. Regarding the all-embracing baroque perception, A. V. Mikhailov's remark is very revealing: "At the same time, such a formal private type of conjugation of word and image <...> has the right to claim a central position - not among the genres or "sorts" of text adopted in the Baroque era, but in thinking itself - in the scientific-artistic, or historical-poetic thinking of the era <...> insofar as the entire exegetical process is directed towards the emblem, so that, in the consciousness of the era, the "thing itself" is already in advance an "emblem" "128. In this case, any baroque work was characterized by a certain "secret poetics"¹²⁹, it was allegorical, emblematic in its essence and could be read with the help of the universal operation of "deciphering" - exegesis. Regarding the inclusiveness of the emblematic view of the world in the 16th-17th centuries A. E. Makhov wrote: "The functionality inherent in the emblem implied its strong involvement in life: that is why the emblem went beyond the boundaries of the book, became part of various artifacts - in fact, part of the human living environment"¹³⁰.

Ancient Greek and Roman mythology existed at the junction of the confrontation between the processes of secularization and the fundamental emblematic nature of the "Baroque consciousness", at the junction of the "high science of myths" and popular cultural interpretations of their images¹³¹. On the one hand, "knowledge of myths is a direct prerequisite for the comprehensibility of the entire world of culture"¹³² of the period under consideration, that is, ancient images were a kind of language through which culture expressed itself, solving its own momentary problems with help of these images. The "ancient code" existed in this form in poetry, theater, painting, etc., replicating stable motifs in various configurations, turning the latter into means of expression. Now it is mainly the subject of study of the history of art, literature, etc. On

¹²⁷ Bruk E.G. Ethics, Sensuality and European Rationalism: Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology in European Graphic Arts of the 17th–18th Centuries // *Chelovek*. 2021. Vol. 32. No. 1. P. 151. (*In Russian*)

¹²⁸ Mikhailov A. V. The Genre of the Emblem in Baroque Literature. Internal Structure: Word and Image // *Theory of Literature in 4 Volumes*. Vol. 3. - Moscow: Institute of World Literature RAS, 2003. P. 261. (*In Russian*)

¹²⁹ Mikhailov A. V. Poetics of the Baroque // Mikhailov A. V. *Selected Works. The End of the Rhetorical Era*. - St. Petersburg: Publishing House of St. Petersburg State University, 2007. P. 96. (*In Russian*)

¹³⁰ Makhov A.E. *Emblems: Macrocosm*. - M.: Intrada, 2014. P. 16. (*In Russian*)

¹³¹ Starobinski J. "Myths" and "Mythology" in the 17th – 18th Centuries // Starobinsky J. *Poetry and Knowledge: History of Literature and Culture*. Vol. 1. - Moscow: "Languages of Slavic culture", 2002. P. 85 – 109. (*In Russian*)

¹³² Starobinski J. "Myths" and "Mythology" in the 17th – 18th Centuries // Starobinsky J. *Poetry and Knowledge: History of Literature and Culture*. Vol. 1. - Moscow: "Languages of Slavic culture", 2002. P. 86. (*In Russian*)

the other hand, the plots of ancient Greek and Roman mythology received a special “scientific” interpretation, which characterized the general state of the “science of myths” - the level of reflection in the context of describing the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology. Thus, the “scholarly commentary” was a convenient marker of the changes that took place in the perception of the ancient myth in the specified period. In this contradictory context, incorporating the features of the above multidirectional trends and balancing between the two levels of perception described above, the illustrated editions of the 17th century (considered in this chapter) existed: Ovid’s “Metamorphoses” with “scholarly” comments and illustrations gravitating towards emblematics, “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses, obtained from the Office of Mr. Favereau, Royal Counsel of the Royal Court of Assistance, engraved by the Best Masters of Their Time in Order to show the Virtues and Vices under the Guise of the Most Famous Fables of Antiquity” 1655 (hereinafter simply “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses”) were an attempt to adapt the “scientific” interpretation to salon culture.

As already was noted, in the 17th century, the processes of secularization did not immediately begin to influence the perception of the ancient myth, and the system of “scholarly” comments. As for the “Metamorphoses” by Ovid, in the 17th century, the system of dividing the text into “fables” (fabula) was preserved, going back to humanistic translations, and through them to the medieval tradition¹³³. The text of Ovid - the most complete collection of “ancient fables”¹³⁴ (more broadly - the system of ancient Greek and Roman mythology) - at that time, was perceived as a “deconstructed narrative”, parts of which could be varied, combined, connected and separated, in accordance with the general purpose of the publication. These “fables” “in the Christian context have, first of all, a didactic function”¹³⁵, which, fitting into the general emblematic context of the era, contributed to the formation of a view of the

¹³³ Busca M. La mise en recueil des Métamorphoses d’Ovide aux XVI-e et XVII-e siècles en France URL: <https://publications-prairial.fr/pratiques-et-formes-litteraires/index.php?id=199>. (date of access: 16.12.2021).

¹³⁴ Zhurbina A. V. The Fate of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in France on the Threshold of Modern Times (Beginning of the 14th - middle of the 16th Century): from Allegory to Literary Translation: Thesis. ... cand. Philological Sciences: 01/10/03: defended on 02/09/2010. - Moscow, 2010. P. 18. (*In Russian*)

¹³⁵ Zhurbina A. V. The Fate of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in France on the Threshold of Modern Times (Beginning of the 14th - middle of the 16th Century): from Allegory to Literary Translation: Thesis. ... cand. Philological Sciences: 01/10/03: defended on 02/09/2010. - Moscow, 2010. P. 26. (*In Russian*)

“Metamorphoses”, mainly as a kind of emblematic structure. By the 17th century, the principle of constructing the “Moralized ‘Metamorphoses’”¹³⁶ was fully formed: the text of the “fable”, as a rule, was accompanied by an illustration with a caption and a commentary-interpretation.

The predominance of the moral component was largely due to the goals of such publications, intended for reading by the highest nobility and for the education of heirs. For example, “Ovid’s Metamorphoses in the Rondo” were commissioned by Louis XIV for the twelve-year-old dauphin¹³⁷, in the same way that, for example, the famous “Adventures of Telemachus” (which in this case are outside the field of our consideration) were written for the grandson of the Sun King: “... the book was conceived as a kind of textbook, the study of which achieved several goals at once: the student's knowledge of mythology was strengthened, his knowledge of ancient history, geography and literature was expanded, high moral principles were brought up in it and bold ideas about the state system were inspired”¹³⁸. In a similar way, not only “utopias”, created in the manner of an ancient poem, were built, but the editions of the works by ancient authors themselves were understood in this vein. So, “Metamorphoses” were qualified as “a set of fables and, at the same time, examples and apologists; collection of scientific data about the ancient world and, at the same time, a collection of metaphors, maxims and examples of courage to follow”¹³⁹. That is, already at the level of perception of the text, there was a mixture of two levels of understanding: the level of direct perception, interpretation of the image based on the available intellectual tools, cultural context, and the level of reflection – “scholarly commentary”.

Despite the rationalization that was gaining strength, the system of comments on ancient myths changed little in the 17th century, since its position remained clearly

¹³⁶ Busca M. La mise en recueil des Métamorphoses d’Ovide aux XVI-e et XVII-e siècles en France URL: <https://publications-prairial.fr/pratiques-et-formes-litteraires/index.php?id=199>. (date of access: 16.12.2021).

¹³⁷ Hryszko B. Isaac De Benserade’s Inventiveness in *Metamorphoses d’Ovide en rondeaux* (1676) on the Basis of Love Threads Woven by Arachne// Re-inventing Ovid’s Metamorphoses: Pictorial and Literary Transformations in Various Media, 1400–1800. Series: Intersections, Vol. 70. – Leiden; Boston: Brill, p.77.

¹³⁸ Mikhailov A.D. From François Villon to Marcel Proust: Pages of the History of French Literature of Modern Times. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Languages of Slavic Cultures”, 2009. P. 416. (*In Russian*)

¹³⁹ Busca M. La mise en recueil des Métamorphoses d’Ovide aux XVI-e et XVII-e siècles en France URL: <https://publications-prairial.fr/pratiques-et-formes-litteraires/index.php?id=199>. (date of access: 16.12.2021).

fixed: it belonged to a religious moral discourse. This was primarily due to the fact that the nobility, which acted as the main customer, was closely connected with religious educational institutions, mainly with Jesuit colleges. After the return of the Jesuits to France at the beginning of the 17th century, the order became one of the main conductors of the moral and educational policies of Henry IV in relation to noble families: “Henry IV sponsored Jesuit educational foundations in order to advance his policy of cultural and moral renewal of the French nobility at the close of the religious wars.”¹⁴⁰: both the highest administration and the elite of the royal court were educated at La Fleche College¹⁴¹. H. Taylor emphasized the connection between the “scholarly commentaries” and the Jesuit environment, arguing that the established structure of Ovid’s publications (summary, text in Latin, translation, notes, “moral” and “historical” interpretation of “fables”) was like that due to the place of the author in the Jesuit education system: “that Ovid was one of the principal authors studied, as he featured in every stage of the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* (italics by the author - E.B.) <...> This presence is important because it shows that Ovid was part of the ‘canon’ of ancient authors in the seventeenth century”¹⁴². In addition, it should be noted that the Jesuits were the conductors of an emblematic perception that was resistant to the processes of secularization, since they used the emblem not only as a rhetorical exercise, but also to promote their religious ideas¹⁴³. The overwhelming majority of the authors considered or mentioned in this study came from the Jesuit environment. M. de Marolles, translator and commentator of “ancient fables”, who published the book “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses”, which will be discussed below, and F. Fenelon, senior teacher of the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV, were clerics, I. de Benserade, the author of “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, intended for the Dauphin, received theological education, Ch. C. d’Assoucy, author of the well-known burlesque edition of

¹⁴⁰ Nelson E. W. The King, the Jesuits and the French Church, 1594-1615: thesis...for PhD. Faculty of Modern History, University of Oxford. P. 125.

¹⁴¹ Nelson E. W. The King, the Jesuits and the French Church, 1594-1615: thesis...for PhD. Faculty of Modern History, University of Oxford. P. 128.

¹⁴² Taylor H. The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture. — Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. P. 37.

¹⁴³ See more: Zelenin D. A. Poetics of the Book Emblem: Thesis ... cand. Philological Sciences: 10.01.08.: defended 26.04. 2018. - Moscow, 2017. P. 111-121. (*In Russian*)

“Metamorphoses”, also studied at the Clermont Jesuit College¹⁴⁴. Regarding the last two, it is necessary to make a remark here: both “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo” and “Ovid in a Good Mood”¹⁴⁵ were a play with the text of the poem and its content. That is, despite the confessional nature of education, along with scholarly commentaries, there were constant attempts to fit ancient authors into a “gallant context”, which was associated with the transformations of the social and literary life of that time.

In the 1630s, along with the foundation of the French Academy - the arbiter of classicist ideals, salons rooted in French public life¹⁴⁶. Despite the full compliance with the requirements of “precision”, which sought to oppose the nobility to the rest of society¹⁴⁷, the salons, as already mentioned above, were a place where discussions were held about religion, literature and art, politics¹⁴⁸ and a mixed interested public was formed. It included aristocrats, and the “intellectuals” and the bourgeoisie¹⁴⁹. The appropriation of the works of ancient authors by the salon culture had not only a direct impact on gallant literature and aesthetics, but also influenced the translations and perception of the ancient authors themselves. The target audience changed: not only love poetry, but also Ovid’s “Metamorphoses” were interested in the salon, including the ladies’ audience: “In Thomas Corneille’s verse translation of extracts from the *Metamorphoses* (italic by author – E.B.), he explains in the preface: ‘j’ay ajouté de temps en temps un Vers ou deux qui expliquent ce qui a besoin de commentaire dans l’Original’ [‘Here and there, I have added a verse or two which explains that which needs commentary in the original’]. This tendency to explain some of the references is

¹⁴⁴ L'Ovide en belle humeur de Mr. D'Assoucy, enrichy de toutes ses figures burlesques. Seconde edition. Paris: Chez A. de Sommerville, 1653. – 142 p.

¹⁴⁵ The translation into Russian is consistent with that accepted in the research literature, for example, see: Starobinski J. “Myths” and “Mythology” in the 17th – 18th Centuries // Starobinsky J. Poetry and Knowledge: History of Literature and Culture. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Languages of Slavic culture”, 2002. P. 93. (*In Russian*)

¹⁴⁶ Vipper Yu. B. French Literature of the 30s and the First Half of the 40s of the 17th Century // History of World Literature in Nine Volumes. Vol. 4. - Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1987. P. 113. (*In Russian*)

¹⁴⁷ Vipper Yu. B. French Literature of the 30s and the First Half of the 40s of the 17th Century // History of World Literature in Nine Volumes. Vol. 4. - Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1987. P. 114. (*In Russian*)

¹⁴⁸ Habermas J. Structural Change in the Public Sphere: Studies on the Category of Bourgeois Society. - Moscow: Publishing house “Ves Mir”, 2017. P.124. (*In Russian*)

¹⁴⁹ Habermas J. Structural Change in the Public Sphere: Studies on the Category of Bourgeois Society. - Moscow: Publishing house “Ves Mir”, 2017. P.86. (*In Russian*)

later clarified as being motivated by his desire to appeal to female readers”¹⁵⁰. In this new environment, on the wave of the Fronde, burlesque literature had great weight in the middle of the century. “The essence of burlesque, a kind of parody poetry, lies in the transposition of a light eight-stanza verse into a comic, comic-trivial way of ancient myths”¹⁵¹. Burlesque literature included not only P. Scarron’s “Typhon, or Gigantomachy”, which satirized modernity, and works similar to it, but also the parody “Ovid in Good Mood”¹⁵² by d’Assoucy, mentioned above, with no less parodic illustrations - a kind of response to the “scholarly” editions of the poem. As H. Taylor noted: “...the *burlesque* (italic by author – E.B.) was claimed as an invention of the moderns and considered as quintessentially contemporary by Perrault”¹⁵³. Here, H. Tylor touched on one very important point: by the end of the 17th century, out of all the variety of views on antiquity, a confrontation between two main trends, two main approaches to the ancient heritage was formed: the inclination of the “Moderns” to “modernization”, caused by a gradual change in the target audience, and the position of the “Ancients” which was based on the idea of antiquity as an ideal not only literary, but also moral. It strengthened, in the beginning of the century, by the policy of Richelieu and constantly supported by classical ideals and an influential system of scholarly commentaries on ancient authors.

Despite the fact that the “The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns”¹⁵⁴ had as its subject the elucidation of the significance of Homer for modern times, the main issue behind the disputes about literature, translations, etc. was the question of the status of the ancient heritage¹⁵⁵. As noted by B. G. Reizov in the article “At the Origins of

¹⁵⁰ Taylor H. *The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture*. — Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. P. 82.

¹⁵¹ Vipper Yu. B. *French Literature between 1645 and 1660 // History of World Literature in Nine Volumes. Vol. 4.* - Moscow: “Nauka” Publ., 1987. P. 128. (*In Russian*)

¹⁵² *L'Ovide en belle humeur de Mr. D'Assoucy, enrichy de toutes ses figures burlesques*. Seconde edition. Paris: Chez A. de Sommaville, 1653. – 142 p.

¹⁵³ Taylor H. *The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture*. — Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. P. 56.

¹⁵⁴ In Russian, several close to each other names of the controversy indicated here are accepted. It is associated with semantic nuances. The name “The Quarrel about the Ancients and the Moderns” reflects the subject of controversy that was conducted around the heritage of ancient and modern authors. However, further these names were extrapolated to intellectuals who supported one or another point of view: the party of the “Ancients” and the party of the “Moderns” appeared. Hence the possible name of the discussion itself – “The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns”. In Russian text of this paper, both options are used, depending on the context.

¹⁵⁵ Taylor H. *The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture*. — Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. P. 43.

Romantic Aesthetics. Antiquity and Romanticism”¹⁵⁶, the “Moderns” relied on the idea of development, exposing the reality depicted in Homer's poems from the position of historicism and considering it as a lower stage of cultural development. The “Ancients”, however, insisted both on the genius of Homer and on the fact that the rough mores of that distant era were beautiful, because they concealed in themselves the remnant of primitive virtue, which was the opposite of the refined mores of their time. It was here, according to B. G. Reizov, that the historical interpretation of ancient literature began, as a witness to a long-vanished world, and not as a literary or rhetorical instrument. Ironically, the supporters of the “Ancients”, according to the author, turned out to be innovators in this context, and the supporters of the “Moderns” - in the rearguard of thought. In the age of Enlightenment, Homer began to learn people to follow nature, he appeared before the new literature in the halo of the greatest poet because of his “primitiveness”, because the ancient Greeks began to be thought of as inaccessible “people in natural state”. According to B. G. Reizov, thanks to such a change in emphasis, by the end of the 18th century, “the peoples of Europe remembered their primitive poetry, which they compared with Homer and Ossian”¹⁵⁷. But at the time of the fading period of acute controversy in 1697, it seemed that “the foundations of classicism were irrevocably undermined”¹⁵⁸, that from that time on the perception of the ancient heritage would be closely associated with the trends of modernity.

All mentioned above meant that the “scholarly commentaries”, which belonged rather to the ideas of the party of the “Ancients”, at some point had to begin to look for a middle path between learned encyclopedia and salon culture, either by searching for compromises (M. de Marolles), or by reducing register (I. de Benserade). In addition, the “The Quarrel of the Ancient and the Moderns” served as a catalyst for the dissociation of ancient Greek and Roman mythology from religious moral discourse,

¹⁵⁶ Reizov B.G. At the Origins of Romantic Aesthetics. Antiquity and Romanticism // Reizov B.G. From the History of European Literatures. - Leningrad: Publishing House of the Leningrad University, 1970. P. 3-22. (*In Russian*)

¹⁵⁷ Reizov B.G. At the Origins of Romantic Aesthetics. Antiquity and Romanticism // Reizov B.G. From the History of European Literatures. - Leningrad: Publishing House of the Leningrad University, 1970. P. 13. (*In Russian*)

¹⁵⁸ Lauvergna-Gagniere K. History of French Literature: A Short Course. - Moscow: Academy, 2007. URL: <http://lit-prosv.niv.ru/lit-prosv/istoriya-francuzskoj-literatury-lgpsv/ii-evolyuciya-idej.htm>. (date of access: 21.12.2022). (*In Russian*)

and, already at the beginning of the 18th century, even among clerical commentators, there was a turn from an allegorical moral interpretation of mythological plots to euhemeristic comments. It was a reaction to the processes of the end of the 17th century, an attempt to preserve the images of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the usual environment of their existence by shifting the emphasis in their interpretation, which in a special way was consistent with rationalistic tendencies and the processes of formation of historical consciousness.

Thus, in France in the 17th century, ancient mythological images and plots existed not only in the context of two different levels of reception: at the level of the generally accessible figurative language of culture and the level of reflection, but also at the intersection of rationalistic tendencies and the emblematics of perception resistant to them. The latter was an integral part of the Jesuit education program, which, in turn, influenced the prevalence of the moral-emblematic view of ancient myths due to the influence of the order in the educational and scientific fields, its connection with the highest nobility. The latter, however, was part of the mixed salon public, which treated ancient images more freely, and, as a result, played an important role in shaping the point of view of the “Moderns”, where ancient authors were not indisputable authorities and modernity was seen as a higher stage of the development of civilization. Already since the 1650s, at the level of reflection, a search for a compromise between the scholarly moral and emblematic view of the subjects of ancient Greek and Roman mythology and salon culture began.

2.2. Ovid's “Metamorphoses” in the 17th Century: Comments on the Poem and Illustrations

Despite all the ambiguity in the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the 17th century, its moral interpretation remained, nevertheless, the leading one. It can be considered on the example of the editions of Ovid's “Metamorphoses” of that time. They, as was mentioned above, were the most complete

collection of “ancient fables”¹⁵⁹, in which the author's text was often only retold, and comments occupied the main place. According to them, in combination with the originality of illustrations in each case, one can most accurately trace the main trends in the perception of ancient images.

At the beginning of the 17th century, editions of “Metamorphoses” in prose translation by N. Renouard was popular, “which was first printed in 1606 and reprinted over twenty times over the next few decades”¹⁶⁰. At the end of the “Metamorphoses” was placed an extensive section of “Discourses” (Discours), which gave all sorts of explanations of ancient myths. The comments were made in the form of a retelling of the author's dialogue with a certain scientist, whom the author preferred to call Ariste. The textual part in the reissues retained its structure. The illustrations, even if they were different, belonged to the same trend with slight variations. In this case, the edition of “Metamorphoses” 1619¹⁶¹ was chosen for this study of the visual text, as it contains the most famous illustrative series that influenced later engravings. Since there are no pages with comments in the edition of 1619 which is available to us (although there are references to the corresponding “Discourses” in the margins to the left and right of the text of the poem), the latter are given according to the next reprint of 1621¹⁶².

The structure of the publication retains the usual division of “Metamorphoses” into fifteen books. The title that opens both editions has the same inscription surrounding three figures: images of Minerva (reason) and Cupid (love) with torches (ill. 1), which, according to the inscription, can be correlated with the “true light”, and the image of a female figure depicted in the middle and surrounded by a cloud, above whom two cornucopias are placed. The latter can be correlated with the iconography of

¹⁵⁹ Zhurbina A. V. The Fate of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in France on the Threshold of Modern Times (Beginning of the 14th - middle of the 16th Century): from Allegory to Literary Translation: Thesis. ... cand. Philological Sciences: 01/10/03: defended on 02/09/2010. - Moscow, 2010. P.18. (*In Russian*)

¹⁶⁰ Taylor H. *The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture*. — Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. P. 50.

¹⁶¹ *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, Traduites en Prose Française et de nouveau soigneusement revues, corrigees en infines endroits, et enrichies de figures à chacune Fable, avec XV discours Contenant l'explication Morale et Historique, de plus, Outre le Jugement de Paris, augmentees de la Metamorphose des abeilles, traduite de Virgile, de quelques épistres d'Ovide et autres divers traités. — Paris: Chez la veufue Langelier, 1619.

¹⁶² *Les Métamorphoses D'Ovide*, De nouveau traduites en françois, Et enrichies de figures chacune selon son subject. Avec XV discours Contenant l'Explication morale des fables. — Paris.: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. - 646 p.

God's grace¹⁶³, which is well-established in emblematics, or with the figure of truth that emerges through dispersed darkness and her purity is emphasized by her nakedness¹⁶⁴. In the edition of 1619, on the left, the death of Memnon, whose ashes are turning into birds, is depicted. On the right, the death of the daughters of Orion and the moment when their sons Coroni are rising from their ashes is depicted. Both “fables” have the same moral interpretation: their characters personify the exploits of virtue, which are carried around the world on the wings of glory¹⁶⁵. The meaning of the rock which resists the winds (placed at the base of the portico depicted on the title)¹⁶⁶ can be understood as stamina, steadfastness (it circulated for a long time in this meaning in collections of emblems). The vegetation on the right can be understood as the abundance of the Golden Age¹⁶⁷, associated with general prosperity, the absence of evil and vice. Thus, the title, depicting an ascending from the allegorical figures of virtue to the truth itself through reason and love, focuses on the moral interpretation of ancient “fables”, despite the fact that both “moral” and “historical” interpretations appear on equal terms in the title.

Speaking in general about the perception of the poem, Ovid appeared to the reader as a poet who “under the thin fabric of fabulous transformations left us the rarest sources of the wisdom of the ancients”¹⁶⁸. The author of the commentary, in a dialogue with Ariste, comes to the conclusion that, unlike his contemporary poetry, which has love and passion as its subject, Ovid's poem, under the guise of pleasant inventions, narrates about various events, the secrets of nature, and guides on the path of virtue¹⁶⁹. Here is given the general setting, which will be followed by subsequent comments.

¹⁶³ *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, Wherein are Express'd, Various Images of Virtues, Vices, Passions, Arts, Humours, Elements and Celestial Bodies; As designed by The Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Modern Italians, Useful For Orators, Poets, Painters, Sculptors, and all Lovers of Ingenuity: Illustrated with Three Hundred Twenty-six humane figures, With their Explanations; Newly design'd, and engraven on Copper, by I. Fuller, Painter, And other Masters. – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P.36.

¹⁶⁴ See explanation of the figure N 143 in *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 36.

¹⁶⁵ *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 589.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example: *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters*. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 34.

¹⁶⁷ *Ovid Metamorphoses*. Book I. 105-106 - St. Petersburg: “Azбука, Azбука-Atticus” Publ., 2019. P. 8. (*In Russian*)

¹⁶⁸ *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 455.

¹⁶⁹ *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 456.

The storyline opens with an illustration (ill. 2) about the origin of the world: the Demiurge is depicted in the center. In the field of visual text, he is interpreted as a “Christian God”, creating heaven and earth, luminaries, etc. A sphere with the signs of the zodiac peeps through the clouds, personifying the world and its original perfection¹⁷⁰, or time, since the signs of the zodiac refer to the months and seasons¹⁷¹. The commentary on this story develops the idea of God, who is the being and the beginning of everything that exists, created the world out of nothing. The author (or rather, his interlocutor - Ariste) simultaneously admires the fact that the “first poets” “came so close to the truth”¹⁷² (meaning the text of Holy Scripture), and warns against the harmful influence of late poetry, where “instead of these beautiful sciences, we find only false verses”¹⁷³, which the author compares with poison. Thus, both the visual text and the text of the commentary agree on the “Christian” interpretation of the story about the origin of the world.

A “fable” about the creation of man, which also hides, in the opinion of both the author and the artist, the biblical truth (ill. 3) becomes the continuation of the plot about the origin of the world. The illustration is iconographically reminiscent of the story of the creation of Adam, and the “Discourse” begins with a curious example. The commentator claims that the Roman, when he got off the ship and kissed the earth, was in agreement with the truth: “The earth is recognized as the mother of people, both according to the truth written in the sacred books left to us for our instruction, and according to fairy tales (les contes fabuleux), which seem to have been recorded for entertainment purposes only”¹⁷⁴. Despite the fact that a man is weak and came out of the earth, there is a divine spark in him, a rational soul, which puts him above other living beings¹⁷⁵. In the discussion about the duality of human nature, the story of Prometheus is woven both as a divine Providence, which puts a man above all other living beings, and as one who first established laws full of morality and divine wisdom among people.

¹⁷⁰ See: *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 60.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, the explanation of “Agriculture” emblem in *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 2.

¹⁷² *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 459.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 460.

¹⁷⁵ *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 461.

In myth it is presented as an abduction Prometheus of fire. In the illustration, a person is also depicted as the crown of creation, surrounded by an already created perfect world: the blowing wind becomes the personification of natural forces (upper left), in the variety of real animals surrounding a person, you can also see a small fantastic unicorn - a symbol of perfection and purity. It should be noted here that everything that has parallels in the Bible is interpreted in approximately the same way, through a comparison of a myth with a biblical story. Plots that do not have such parallels are interpreted somewhat differently.

The plot of Lycaon (ill. 4) is interpreted from a euhemeristic point of view: the king of Arcadia, during the war with the Molossians, sacrificed to Jupiter the hostage he took (which is very close to the text of Ovid), subjugated the peoples, “on which he pounced like a wolf on sheep”¹⁷⁶. That is why, according to the author of the commentary, there was a fiction that Jupiter turned Lycaon into a wolf because he had served him human meat on the table¹⁷⁷. But then another interpretation is superimposed on this interpretation - a moral one, which summarizes the entire commentary: the fable teaches to hate wickedness, treachery and cherish hospitality¹⁷⁸. The illustration shows the divine punishment of the wicked, whose head has already turned into a wolf. The town is on fire, and its inhabitants are trying to escape. Jupiter, seated at the table in a royal crown and mantle, figuratively correlates with the images of the deity already mentioned earlier. The illustration repeats the common compositional solution of that time. An example is the engraving by V. Solis (ill. 5) from the “Metamorphoses” edition of 1581. Thus, the commentary and the visual text are again at the same level of understanding, without contradicting each other and without multiplying semantic layers.

According to the commentary, the daughter of Lycaon - Callisto - paid with her human appearance for her indiscretion, the loss of chastity, which should be a faithful

¹⁷⁶ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 469.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

companion of beauty¹⁷⁹. Like many other images in this publication, the illustration for the story of Jupiter and Callisto (ill. 6) was made on the basis of the engraving by A. Tempesta (ill. 7) with some changes and additions. In both images, in the foreground, we see Jupiter, who, in the form of Diana, is hugging Callisto, but only on the engraving of 1619, in the depths of the landscape, there is another scene - Callisto's son Arkad is aiming at a bear - his mother. Such a combination of two episodes different in time is not typical for prototype compositions and can often be found in the illustrations for this edition. It aims not only to show more fully the plot of the “fable”, but sometimes to build a moral bond of misconduct-punishment.

Approximately the same interpretation could correspond to the “fable” about the transformation of Io into a cow, but the author of the commentary, contrary to expectations, focuses on its “historical” origin: the veneration of the bull in Egypt influenced the cult of Io (Isis). The daughter of the king of the Argives, taken away by the Phoenicians, was given as a wife to the king of Egypt, Osiris, “whose name was Jupiter Ammon, which is why it was believed that Jupiter loves Io”¹⁸⁰. She gained such reverence among the Egyptians that she “transformed” into a cow and took her place among their gods¹⁸¹. At the same time, the episode of the killing of Argus by Mercury is again interpreted from a moral and allegorical point of view: the flatterer-Mercury – “the insidious messenger of love passions”¹⁸² - with the help of his eloquence is lulling the shepherd Argus, destroying all difficulties and obstacles on the way to the goal. The image (ill. 8) gravitates towards an exhaustive illustration of the plot: at the same time, there are a dispute between Juno and Jupiter about a cow, and the murder of Argus, and Pan and Syringa - an inserted “fable” that Mercury told to put the shepherd to sleep - and Juno showering the peacock's tail with the eyes of her faithful servant. But the emphasis is on the scene of the murder of Argus, that has a moral interpretation in the commentary. In the composition of A. Tempesta (ill. 9), taken as the basis for this illustration, there is no scene of the dialogue between Jupiter and Juno, a herd of goats

¹⁷⁹ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 480.

¹⁸⁰ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 474.

¹⁸¹ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 473

¹⁸² Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 474.

is grazing in the place of Pan and Syrinx, and Juno's grief for the shepherd and the perpetuation of the servant is situated in the sky.

A series of “fables” warns an ordinary person against accidental penetration into higher secrets, for example, “fables” about Actaeon and Phaethon. Actaeon was dead for seeing Diana while bathing. This plot is interpreted as a danger approaching the greats and penetrating their secrets¹⁸³. So once upon a time Ovid himself inadvertently penetrated the secrets of Augustus. The illustration (ill. 10), compositionally (as in other cases – mirror reflection) repeating the engraving by A. Tempesta (ill. 11), depicts the offense of a young hunter who appeared before the goddess, accompanied by his dogs, in military attire. Diana, surrounded by her companions, is angrily pointing to a young man who has already begun to grow antlers. So, the illustration and the text of the commentary are again in full agreement with each other, placing the same accents.

The insolence of approaching greats' deeds is also spoken of in the “Discourse” about the presumptuous enterprise of Phaethon and his fall. The ambitious and daring Phaethon is taking into his own hands an unbearable power for him - the solar chariot, his father is trying to dissuade the young man, because “to command the peoples is something more divine than human”¹⁸⁴. But an inexperienced ruler, taking the reins of government into his own hands, meeting rebellious subjects (constellations) on his way, cannot cope with the people (divine horses), in relation to whom the ruler should not be either too strict or too soft. Phaeton's father, Apollo, shows it by his example, when he keeps the middle path. As a second possible interpretation, it is proposed to look at this story from the point of view of the relationship between fathers and children. It “teaches the latter to honor and accept as oracles the words that come from the mouth of their fathers”¹⁸⁵, and the former not to make hasty promises, indulging the desires of their sons. The illustration (ill. 12), again, combines two key scenes that are different in time: in the foreground is a falling Phaeton, which is being struck by the lightning of Jupiter - the punishment of ambitious daring. In the depths, one can see the conversation of

¹⁸³ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 489.

¹⁸⁴ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 476.

¹⁸⁵ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 478.

Phoebus with his son, when God gave the youth his reckless promise. That is, the visual text is again fully consistent with the logic of the comment. The engraving by A. Tempesta (ill. 13), which served as the prototype for this illustration, does not contain the combination of two scenes, mentioned above, an attention is focused on the fall scene.

The story of another fall - the fall of Icarus - is interpreted in a slightly different way. Firstly, it narrates of the ingenuity of Daedalus, shown by him under the influence of fate, necessity, “it does not matter whether he attached wings to his back for flight, or wings represent to us the sails of ships ...”¹⁸⁶. Secondly, the fall of his son is interpreted in several ways: Icarus appears both as a vain and stupid disciple of a brilliant father-mathematician, and as a youth which is not ready to understand the instructions of his parents, and as an overly arrogant mind which tries to comprehend the divine mysteries, unintended for him. This mind cannot approach the fire of the “true Sun”¹⁸⁷ without tragic consequences. The illustration (ill. 14), again striving to show the fullness of the storyline, has a slightly different emphasis: it focuses on the connection between the crime of a brilliant master, which is depicted in the depths of the landscape (Daedalus throws his nephew from the tower), and the punishment (the death of his son). The moral component, in this case, prevails not only due to the commentary, but also due to the visual interpretation of the “fable”.

Amour-propre and boasting are also discussed in the “Discourse” about the transformation of the nymph Echo into a voice and Narcissus into a flower. Bragging loves selfishness in the same way that Echo loved Narcissus, and these vices lead a person to death¹⁸⁸. On the engraving (ill. 15), Narcissus is looking into the water, hunting dogs are behind him. The nymph in love with the young man is absent from the illustration. In this case, the composition of A. Tempesta was taken as the basis (ill. 16). Interestingly, it is this compositional solution that became so popular that it was included, for example, in the well-known publication “Collection of Various Emblems,

¹⁸⁶ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 545.

¹⁸⁷ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 546.

¹⁸⁸ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 490.

with Moral, Philosophical and Political Explanations, taken from Various Authors, Ancient and Modern”¹⁸⁹, where it served as an emblem of selfishness (ill.17).

In addition to amour-propre, a vicious kind of love, in the “Discourses”, is voluptuousness, the embodiment of which is the beloved of Venus - the mortal Adonis. The author of the commentary offers such an interpretation after a “physical” explanation, where Adonis is the Sun, mourned by the earth-Venus in winter¹⁹⁰. The full moral meaning of the “fable” is explained as follows: souls, being in captivity of voluptuousness, “willingly refuse, like Venus, their heavenly share”¹⁹¹, they live by earthly desire, unable to raise their eyes to heaven - the place of their birth. Two engravings are placed on this plot in the publication: the first one narrates about the love of Venus and Adonis (ill. 18), the second one narrates about the death of the beloved of goddess (ill. 19). In the first case, the main characters of the myth are depicted in the foreground, surrounded by hunting dogs. In the depths of the landscape, there is a hunt, against which Venus warned Adonis. The illustration is based on an earlier work by A. Tempesta (ill. 20), mirrored with the addition of a hunting scene. In the second engraving, in the foreground, the dead Adonis is depicted. The goddess is descending to him in a chariot drawn by doves - her symbol. On the right, there is a weeping Cupid, which is a miniature reminiscence of what is happening. In the distance, a hunting dog, chasing a boar - the culprit in the death of Adonis, can be seen. The composition of A. Tempesta (ill. 21) is again taken as the basis, with the addition of a small but significant detail for the plot: an anemone is breaking through from under the shaft of a spear. That is, despite the fact that earlier compositional solutions were taken as a model, the artist added details that were significant for the full coverage of the plot and revealed the causal relationship of events.

The true conjugal love of Orpheus for his wife Eurydice and the journey of the musician to the Underworld in order to resurrect the dead wife are also described in the

¹⁸⁹ Recueil d’emblems divers, avec des discours moraux, philosophiques, et politiques, Tirez de divers Auteurs, Anciens et Modernes. Par I. Baudoin. – Paris: Chez Jacques Villery, ruë clopin, à l’escu de France; Et sa boutique pres des Augustins, 1638. – 679 p.

¹⁹⁰ Les Métamorphoses d’Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 566.

¹⁹¹ Les Métamorphoses d’Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 567.

commentary in two ways. On the one hand, according to the author, Orpheus managed to overcome his grief (which was the Underworld) with the help of music. On the other hand, his attempt to descend into the Kingdom of Hades is interpreted as a desire to resurrect Eurydice with the help of magic¹⁹². Having been deceived in his expectations and having failed, Orpheus became like the one “who, having seen the dog Cerberus from afar, lost both blood and feeling in an instant, and became a rock in the form of a man looking at some terrible object”¹⁹³. The illustration (ill. 22) follows A. Tempesta (ill. 23) compositionally (again specular image), clarifying the details. On both engravings one can see the flames of the Underworld, against which the silhouette of a three-headed dog is clearly drawn. Orpheus is turning around and his wife is being pulled back by two hellish monsters. However, on the later engraving, the musician is holding not a viola, but a lyre. That is, the visual text, striving for detail, is trying to get away from anachronisms in this case.

Thus, in the edition of 1619, the visual text strives for accurate detailing of the plot (including avoiding anachronisms) and its most complete presentation due to the simultaneous depiction of different plot points on one engraving. Despite the fact that various interpretations of “fables” are given in the text of the commentary, the moral explanation of the plots turns out to be the leading one, the additional nuances of which are revealed through the visual text (for example, Daedalus and Icarus). The general didactic orientation of the publication is also shown by the allegorical composition located on the title. It visualizes the movement towards truth through virtue.

In the second half of the 17th century, the edition of “Metamorphoses”, translated by P. du Ryer, was the most influential¹⁹⁴. This edition had two versions: the first one was originally published in quarto, then, after 1676, in duodecimo format (between 1655 and 1718 it was published thirteen times); the second one was a well-illustrated edition in folio, printed five times between 1660 and 1728¹⁹⁵. In the preface to the edition of 1660, the usual for that time setting for understanding “fables” is given:

¹⁹² Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 560.

¹⁹³ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide – Paris: Chez la veufue M. Guillemot, S. Thiboust, Et Mathieu Guillemot, 1621. P. 560.

¹⁹⁴ Taylor H. The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture. — Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. P. 38.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

through “fables” a person can comprehend the most beautiful secrets of nature, politics and morality, they lead the soul to an understanding of virtue. Below each illustration a small verse that plays up the plot is, then a brief description and a prose translation of the text of the poem, followed by an explanation, are. The latter can refer both to one separate “fable”, and to affect several standing nearby.

The illustration “Creation of the World” (ill. 24) mirrors the composition of A. Tempesta (ill. 25) without visible additions: in the center of the engraving, there is the Creator, who, as follows from the verse, created the world from Chaos with the Word, highlighting the Sun, Sky, elements and other beauties. In the sky, on opposite sides of the central figure, there are the Sun and the Moon. In the background, there are the earth and water, in which fish are already swimming, and, in the foreground, a bird is standing on the stones. Comparing the poetic version of the origin of the world with the Christian one, the author of the commentary comes to the conclusion that if we take for Chaos not the originally existing Confusion, like Hesiod, but Nothing (and Aristotle was close to such an interpretation, from the author’s point of view), then these two versions (Christian and Ovidian) are not very different from each other¹⁹⁶. The creation of man (ill. 26) is a continuation of this plot and again duplicates the composition of A. Tempesta (ill. 27). The first person created by the Creator is sitting under a tree, various animals are walking around, carnivores and herbivores together. This resembles a biblical story. However, there is no longer a unicorn - a clear hint of perfection. In the commentary on this story, as in the edition of 1619, Prometheus is the central figure - divine Providence, God himself, who created man in his own image and likeness. In ancient times, according to the author, people lived like animals, dying from diseases, not knowing the future, they froze in winter, because they did not have fire and other benefits of human civilization. Enduring such disasters, they learned to listen to their reason: “... the same Sages say that a certain Prometheus, by whom they meant Reason, Wisdom and Prudence, invented (inventé)¹⁹⁷ fire ...”¹⁹⁸. The second explanation, given

¹⁹⁶ Les Metamorphoses d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 3-4.

¹⁹⁷ Obsolete meaning of the verb inventer is associated not only with the creation, but also with the discovery of something

in the commentary, interprets Prometheus as a beautiful mind who invents the arts and sciences (the light of reason) in order to put an end to the rough and wild mores of people. So, the illustration with the caption and the text of the commentary remains in line with the accepted Christian interpretations, focusing on the rationality of a person, his god-likeness and a special role in the world.

Whereas the plots that have parallels in Christian Scripture are explained in approximately the same way from commentary to commentary, purely “poetic fables” in this edition are treated extremely encyclopedically. The “fable” about the transformation of Lycaon into a wolf (which does not have a verse explaining the plot depicted in the engraving) is interpreted in the commentary as follows: kings and princes, in order to prevent rash actions, must convene councils, just as Jupiter convened a council of the gods to punish people, mired in vices. At the council, not only nobles, but also ordinary people should be heard. Kings and princes must themselves delve into everything before becoming judges, just as Jupiter descended to earth. Further in the commentary is the euhemeristic interpretation which was mentioned earlier: Lycaon sacrificed Molossian hostages to Jupiter and therefore was identified with a wolf (the author notes that the name of the character is nothing but a derivative of the Greek word “wolf”). In addition, the text also contains the saying “man is a wolf to man” in support of the connection between the image of this beast and human cruelty. From the point of view of morality, the author of the commentary speaks of treachery and violation of the rules of hospitality, which, in turn, is confirmed by one of the common epithets of Jupiter - “hospitable”. The engraving (ill. 28) depicts the moment of Lycaon's transformation into a beast. Jupiter is sitting at the table, at the feet of which an eagle, his symbol, is depicted. In the depths of the engraving, the confusion of people is depicted against the backdrop of a blazing city, the young man serving the table recoiled in horror, spilling liquid from the jug onto the floor. The source for this illustration was an engraving by H. Goltzius (ill. 29). The illustration continues the

¹⁹⁸ Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l'Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 7.

earlier tradition, ignoring the “political” explanations of the “fable”, but it should be noted that the latter also belong to the didactic field.

Several “fables” dedicated to the history of the nymph Io, in this case, are illustrated by a double repetition of the same engraving (ill. 30) - an exact mirror copy of the engraving by A. Tempesta mentioned above. In the foreground of this image, Mercury is beheading Argus, a cow, which was the cause for what happened, is standing a little further, Juno is showering the eyes of a shepherd on the tail of a peacock in the sky. A little further away, a landscape is opening up with a small herd of goats and sheep. In the verse, which is placed under the engraving, attention is focused on devoted service to the gods and on the fact that the life and honor of Argus depended on the vigilance of the eyes and ears: imprudence allowed the shepherd to be put to sleep and gave him into the hands of Mercury. In addition to the euhemeristic interpretation about the abduction of Io by the Phoenicians and the fact that she married the king of Egypt, Osiris (Jupiter Ammon), given above, the author adds one more “historical” explanation: Io fell in love with a Phoenician captain and sailed away with him on a ship that called “Cow”. As for the murder of Argus by Mercury, which the engraving focuses on, it is explained as follows: a certain Mercury wanted to capture Argos and to kill its king Argus, but could not carry out his enterprise to the end. He was expelled from Greece and accompanied Isis (Io) to Egypt ¹⁹⁹. Detailed “historical” explanations are followed by a small “moral” interpretation, where the transformation into an animal is treated as a vice, and the acquisition of a human form is treated as repentance. The author describes in most detail the “physical” interpretations of this plot. He gives two options. In the first case, Jupiter represents heat, which causes abundant evaporation from the earth's surface. Io is a land whose fertility is indicated by the metamorphosis of a nymph into a beautiful cow. Juno is the moderate heat, in which the earth bears fruit, so the cow, according to myth, became the property of this goddess. Argus is the sky with a hundred eyes-stars, contributing to the fertility of the

¹⁹⁹ Les Metamorphoses d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 48.

earth, and Mercury is the mind, helping in agriculture²⁰⁰. The second “physical” interpretation is connected with the movement of the Moon-Io. In this case, Jupiter is the Sun, Juno is the air, Argus is the sky. The transformation of Io into a cow may mean the appearance of the “horned” Moon when it is renewed, and the killing of Argus may mean the dim light of the stars compared to the sunlight reflected on the surface of the Moon²⁰¹. The explanation of the “fable” ends with a moral interpretation, also quite detailed. In the image of Io, unreasonable souls appear before us. They, having fallen into human bodies, “turn into animals, forgetting their Creator”²⁰². They give themselves to Juno, the goddess of riches (des richesses) for which these souls yearn. Argus with a hundred eyes personifies not only interest, not missing the opportunity to see what seems useful to him, but also human passions, which are as numerous as the eyes of Argus. In this case, Mercury, which killed the shepherd, is nothing but the mind that suppresses feelings, and the fury of Io-cow is remorse, after which we regain our human form²⁰³. Despite the apparent parity between different types of interpretation of the entire “fable”, due to the illustration and caption under it, the emphasis is placed on the scene of the murder of the faithful shepherd Juno, which has, among other things, a lengthy moral interpretation.

A similar story about the transformation of Callisto into a bear provokes a long discussion about guilt for a crime that occurred against the will of a person. The sine of the beautiful Callisto, from the author’s point of view, was that, without avoiding dangerous places in advance, she remained in the company of pseudo-Diana. The second explanation of this plot is “historical”: Callisto was killed by a bear, while she was hunting, and in the minds of people, it was as if she turned into this beast. She was revered and placed in the sky among the stars. The engraving (ill. 31), mirroring the

²⁰⁰ Les *Metamorphoses* d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 48-49.

²⁰¹ Les *Metamorphoses* d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 49.

²⁰² Les *Metamorphoses* d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 50.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

composition by A. Tempesta, also mentioned above, depicts a solitary grove with a small waterfall. In the foreground Callisto is in the arms of an imaginary Diana, next to them a hunting dog is looking into the distance. The verse placed below states: the fate of Callisto teaches the entire sex (women - E. B.) how dangerous the deceptive taste of freedom and the disappearance from the line of sight of the wise mentor (maistresse) are for chastity. Thus, despite the equivalence of the explanations in the text of the commentary, the illustration and the caption under it persistently refer to a moral interpretation.

Actaeon's transformation into a deer is also explained in several possible ways. From the point of view of the “historical” interpretation, a certain Actaeon passionately loved hunting in his youth, but, having grown old, he left this occupation, without ceasing, nevertheless, to love his hunting dogs. He ruined himself by feeding them unnecessarily. The death of Actaeon from their teeth can be interpreted in another way: during the heat, the animals went berserk and tore apart their master. As for the “political” explanation, it allows us to see behind the mythological images the princes who are excessively keen on hunting, who, as a result of this hobby, become savages. The moral interpretation gives advice not only not to be curious about things that do not concern a man personally, but also not to create trouble for yourself by trying to find out the secrets of crowned persons and nobility. In addition, the dogs of Actaeon can also be interpreted as flatterers, tearing apart the powers that be²⁰⁴. On the engraving (ill. 32), again mirroring the composition of A. Tempesta, Actaeon, surrounded by his dogs, is approaching the spring where Diana, surrounded by her nymphs, is bathing. The goddess is angrily raising her hand and the young man has growing deer antlers. The verse under the engraving focuses on the original depravity of human nature, which in the case of Actaeon led to an offense (offence) of the deity. As in other cases, the illustration with the caption focuses on the moral interpretation of the plot, while the commentary compiles various interpretations to varying degrees.

²⁰⁴ Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l'Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 113.

The illustration for the story about Narcissus and the nymph Echo (ill. 33), like all the previous ones, is based on the plate by A. Tempesta: in the engraving, a young man, in love with his own reflection, is looking into a completely man-made spring located in a grove near a rock. The verse under the engraving focuses the viewer's attention on the vice of amour-propre and narcissism, which destroys all other human attachments. The explanation of the plot begins with a warning against involvement in the affairs of the nobility, who easily leave those who served them. The plaintive voice of the abandoned can hardly be distinguished from the voice of the unfortunate nymph Echo. In addition, from the point of view of the commentary, one should not indulge in unseemly deeds, otherwise it is impossible to escape punishment. So, the unfortunate nymph Echo did not escape it²⁰⁵. Narcissus is unequivocally interpreted as amour-propre, which young souls are most susceptible to. They are punished by madness, which they mistakenly consider to be wisdom. Narcissus, from the point of view of the commentator, is turning into a flower, since beauty and vanity are transient things²⁰⁶. In this case, both the commentary and the visual text, fully consistent with each other, focus on the moral connotation.

The transformation of Adonis into a flower contains some parallels with the “fable” of Narcissus. The very birth of the hero, whom the goddess fell in love with, is seen as a fragrant and pleasing to God repentance in the context of the sins of his mother Mirrha. The continuation of the explanation refers to another section, which deals with the death of Adonis. He appears as a person who, contrary to the advice that Venus gives in this case, does not look at whether his actions correspond to his natural inclinations or not, and tries to succeed in an activity for which he is not intended, neglecting his natural qualities²⁰⁷. The transformation of a young man into a flower, as in the case of Narcissus, is associated by the author with the transience and fragility of

²⁰⁵ Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l'Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 127.

²⁰⁶ Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l'Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 128.

²⁰⁷ Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l'Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 462-463.

beauty. On the engraving dedicated to the love of Venus and Adonis (ill. 34, a mirror copy of the engraving by A. Tempesta), the couple in love is surrounded by a forest landscape. On both sides of them, hunting dogs, one of which quenches thirst by drinking water from the spring, are. The caption under the illustration hints that the unequal love between Adonis and Venus cannot be happy. In addition to the moral explanation, this “fable” has a “physical” one, according to which Venus and Adonis are the Earth and the Sun. The boar that killed the young man is Capricorn, in which the Sun is in winter, when the days are shortest²⁰⁸, and Venus is the Earth, sad in the absence of the Sun. The caption which is under the engraving, depicting the death of Adonis (ill. 35), focuses on his indiscretion, and on the neglect of the advice of Venus, and on the act of the latter. In the foreground of the engraving, we see how the goddess is descending in her chariot, drawn by a pair of doves and supported by a cloud, to the dead body of Adonis, and a little further away his dog is chasing a terrible boar. Here, again, the general trend of the publication is manifested: the commentary equally gives different explanations of the plot, illustrations with captions emphasize the moral implication.

As for the story about Orpheus and Eurydice, it is worth noting how unusual the illustration, that opens this story, is (ill. 36). Contrary to the established pattern, the engraving does not depict Orpheus playing the lyre in front of Hades, not his attempt to bring Eurydice out of the Kingdom of the Dead, but Apollo, forbidding the snake (dragon) to touch the head of the torn hero and turning the monster into stone. In the background, we see the viol of Orpheus (consistent with the visual interpretation of his image by A. Tempesta), floating on the waters of Hebrus. The caption under the engraving states: “But these ugly monsters that tear Orpheus / And still pursue his shadow among the dead / With a sudden change in their huge bodies / A glorious monument will be built up in his name” (Mais ces Monstres hideux qui déchirent Orphee / Et poursuivent encor son ombre entre les morts/ Au subit changement de leurs

²⁰⁸ Les Metamorphoses d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 463.

enormes corps/ Dresseront a son nom un glorieux trophée). Despite the theme of conjugal love and friendship raised by the author of the commentary, most of the moral interpretation is devoted to a different topic. The marriage of Orpheus and Euridice is a marriage of soul and body²⁰⁹. The soul, wandering among visible and transient things (flowers), turns out to be bitten by a snake. So, according to the author, the damage that lurks among things that please the soul is indicated. The soul is led out of the Underworld by the harmony of the lyre, which designates the mind that eliminates the mistakes, which were made²¹⁰. The “historical” interpretation here follows almost exactly what has already been mentioned above. Orpheus, having learned about the death of his wife, went to Thesprotia, summoned the ghost of the dead Eurydice and died of grief when he realized that he had deceived her. His death at the hands of women, from the point of view of the commentator, means that he died of love for his wife²¹¹. The text of the commentary and the illustration here interpret the plot somewhat differently: the image is focused on the death of Orpheus and the perpetuation of his name, while the central figures of the commentary change depending on the interpretation: the “historical” makes the wanderings of Orpheus the subject of its interpretation, while the “moral” focuses on Eurydice as the image of the soul. Thus, the “historical” interpretation here becomes weightier than the “moral” one.

Regarding the plot of the fall of Icarus, in general, the previously mentioned interpretations are given in an augmented form. According to the first of them, Daedalus killed his nephew and was forced to flee to Crete, where he contributed to the criminal actions of Pasiphae, for which he was punished by imprisonment. To escape from the prison, he built two sailing ships, for himself and his son, but during the escape, Icarus was wrecked and drowned²¹². A version, according to which Daedalus is a once-living

²⁰⁹ Les *Metamorphoses* d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 422.

²¹⁰ Les *Metamorphoses* d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 423.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Les *Metamorphoses* d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 340.

great astrologer, who taught this art to his son, is also given. Vanity turned the boy's head, and he fell into irreparable mistakes. As for the moral comments, besides the advice concerning the obedience of sons and the “middle path”, there are several more interesting interpretations. First one: great minds are envious; they do not tolerate either equal or superior in ability. That is why Daedalus killed his nephew and then suffered disaster after disaster, which means that injustice is the source of all evil. In addition, this “fable” is a warning to princes not to give refuge to vices that are contrary to nature. And the third moral interpretation says that in order to live in the tranquility that the wise seek, one should not get too close to either kings or people, because all of this is empty vanity²¹³. In the center of the engraving (ill. 37), again repeating the work of A. Tempesta (ill. 38), there is a tower in the middle of the endless sea. In the rays of the sun that touched the wings, the boy Icarus is falling. In the foreground, the father, flying on the wings he created, turned his head in the direction of the incident. Below, you can see a small piece of land in the middle of the sea waves. The verse under the engraving focuses on the futility of striving to penetrate into the realm of divine miracles, to which only faith can lead, otherwise the wax on the wings will melt. As for the tower standing in the middle of the landscape, several options are possible in its interpretation at once. Firstly, it can be interpreted as an allusion to the crime of Daedalus (compare with engraving from the 1619 edition). Secondly, the prison from which the heroes managed to escape can be depicted in this way. And, thirdly, it may have an interpretation that has found its way into many emblematic collections of the 17th century, according to which the tower in the middle of the waves is an allegory of freedom²¹⁴. This interpretation is closely related to the previous one.

The explanation of another fall, the fall of Phaethon, includes both the interpretations already mentioned above and some new ones. Firstly, from the point of view of the commentator, this story is full of political maxims, it shows how dangerous the affairs of government are. The divine chariot means the state, the horses are the

²¹³ Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l'Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 341.

²¹⁴ Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 28.

people, and the reins are the government; the monsters encountered on the path of the divine chariot are none other than the ministers. An ambitious person who turns a blind eye to the dangers of ruling is Phaethon, who failed to control his father's chariot and fell, causing a lot of grief to others. In addition, under the image of Phaeton, someone, who believes that his noble origin gives him the right to own everything, may be hidden²¹⁵. Of the moral explanations, the commentary still contains the interpretations discussed above: children should not despise the advice of their parents, and the latter should not make useless promises. There are several “physical” explanations for this plot: Phaethon is in them either heat, followed by rains, or a comet, followed by drought. The euhemeristic interpretation says that Phaethon was the first king of the inhabitants of Thesprotia and that he was the first one who observed the movement of the Sun. On the engraving mirroring the work of A. Tempesta (ill. 39), dedicated to the search for Phaeton of his father (ill. 40), a kneeling young man is looking at the solar god, driving a chariot. The head of Phoebus is surrounded by the solar disk. The caption under the illustration focuses on the madness of Phaethon, on the condemnation of distrust of the gods without evidence, oaths and pledges. On the second engraving (ill. 41), the tragedy itself is depicted in the foreground. In the background, Jupiter with lightning in his hands (again a mirror repetition of the engraving by A. Tempesta, indicated above) is depicted. The verse under the engraving once again indicates Phaeton's stupid and proud desire, which seduces the young man even under lightning strikes.

Thus, despite the tendency towards parity of various interpretations in the comments, the visual text in the dialogue with brief captions under it remains mainly in line with the moral interpretation of “fables”. In most cases, engravings by A. Tempesta are taken as the basis. They are placed in the publication even without the changes and specifications that were characteristic of the illustrations for the “Metamorphoses” of 1619.

²¹⁵ Les Metamorphoses d’Ovide, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. Enrichies de figures. Et nouvellement traduites par Pierre Du-Ryer, de l’Academie Française. – Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommauille, 1660. P. 64.

An example of a gallant edition of the second half of the 17th century, which was a kind of compromise between the moral, emblematic interpretation of mythological plots and the demands of salon culture, can be I. de Benserade's "Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo"²¹⁶, originally conceived as a textbook on mythology for the son of Louis XIV. The emphasis on his entertaining and gallant tone completely predetermined the form of the work, full of puns and irony. It "results of a refined and erudite play with the Ovid's mythology"²¹⁷. The idea of creating this kind of publication for educational purposes is associated with a set of cards called "The Game of Fables"²¹⁸, made at one time for the little Louis XIV²¹⁹. The direct source for Benserade was the publication of "Metamorphoses" of 1660, translated by P. du Ryer²²⁰. The illustrations were created by three famous artists: F. Chauveau, S. Leclerc and J. Lepautre. "Only Chauveau and Leclerc signed their works, so that, for some unknown reason, Lepautre's works are anonymous..."²²¹. The light, playful nature of the rondo does not always hide the moralizing overtones. The author speaks openly about this in the "Double Rondeau (rondeau redoublé) to the King"²²². The work is not divided into books: under the illustration, the plot is briefly described and, on the opposite page, a rondo on the same topic is given. The idea of book structure is fully expressed in the frontispiece (ill. 42), the meaning of which is revealed in the "Letter from M. Lebrun to M. de Benserade"²²³ included in the book: a nymph sitting and weaving a garland is the poet's muse, who weaves all the best and precious into a wreath, symbolically signifying the shape of a rondo. The muse is relying on a cube, which represents the

²¹⁶ *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. – 463 p.

²¹⁷ Hryszko B. Isaac De Benserade's Inventiveness in *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux (1676) on the Basis of Love Threads Woven by Arachne// Re-inventing Ovid's Metamorphoses: Pictorial and Literary Transformations in Various Media, 1400–1800.* Series: *Intersections*, Vol. 70. – Leiden; Boston: Brill, P.77.

²¹⁸ See reissue: *Jeu des Fables.* – Paris: Ches F. Le Conte, rue St. Jacques au Chifre Royale, 1698. – 52 p.

²¹⁹ Hryszko B. Isaac De Benserade's Inventiveness in *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux (1676) on the Basis of Love Threads Woven by Arachne// Re-inventing Ovid's Metamorphoses: Pictorial and Literary Transformations in Various Media, 1400–1800.* Series: *Intersections*, Vol. 70. – Leiden; Boston: Brill, P.78.

²²⁰ Hryszko B. Isaac De Benserade's Inventiveness in *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux (1676) on the Basis of Love Threads Woven by Arachne// Re-inventing Ovid's Metamorphoses: Pictorial and Literary Transformations in Various Media, 1400–1800.* Series: *Intersections*, Vol. 70. – Leiden; Boston: Brill, P.79.

²²¹ Meyer V. Les Illustrations de Chauveau, Lepautre et Leclerc pour *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide (1676) de Benserade // Irish Journal of French Studies.* Vol. 16. 2016, P. 134.

²²² *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. Unnumbered pages.

²²³ *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. Unnumbered pages.

strength of morality. Little Cupids are giving flowers to her. They are also holding a small mirror which reflects on its surface all the best of what is contained in the ancient “fables”. The scene is surrounded by trees and plants associated with the metamorphoses of mythological heroes. In the background the palace, which is decorated with scenes from Ovid's “Metamorphoses”, is situated. Above these scenes, there is an image of Ovid. The frontispiece refers the reader to the main idea of the book: to give moral instruction playfully.

Although the illustration of the creation of the world (ill. 43), which opens the pictorial series, is solved in the usual compositional scheme, it stands out somehow from the general series. God, who separated the mixed elements, only remotely resembles the Christianized God and Creator of other engravings. He is not fully draped; his image is more “antique” in comparison to others. The rondo corresponding to this illustration is not only about the division of the primordial mixture, but it also gives a comparison of the Demiurge with the father of the Dauphin, Louis XIV, who also “untangles the chaos”, leaving the Dauphin the heir to “his virtues and all the earth”²²⁴. The creation of man (ill. 44) is also an elegant solution to an already existing compositional scheme, in which, however, as in the scene of the creation of the world, there are no symbolic allusions to the perfection of the latter. In the rondo on the story of the creation of man, as in the comments discussed above, the emphasis is on the ambivalence of human nature. Created as the master of the entire visible world, bearing the stamp of the divine image, law-making man is just “a little dirt” (*un peu de bouë*)²²⁵, from which, however, kings and peoples have emerged.

As in the previous cases, several new details burst into the well-established composition of the illustration for the story about Lycaon (ill. 45): the dining table, at which Jupiter is sitting, has animal legs (refers either to the metamorphosis of Lycaon or to the power of Jupiter). On the table a certain pyramid-shaped object, which can have several different references, is. This form can refer either to the emblem of the glory of

²²⁴ *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 3.

²²⁵ *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 5.

the princes²²⁶, which is in perfect agreement with the text of the rondo, or to perseverance and constancy²²⁷. In addition, taking into consideration the purpose of the publication, this item can serve as a visual euphemism for the meal (sacrifice) offered by Lycaon to Jupiter. The greater likelihood of such an interpretation is indicated, for example, by the presence of the same object in the illustration for the plot of the Tiresias (ill. 46), whom Jupiter and Juno, having had their fill of ambrosia, asked to resolve the dispute. In the rondo about Lycaon, it is said that he was more a demon than a man, and became great thanks to his atrocities. In contrast to such deceptive glory, according to the text, the king, who is wise and just, becomes truly great²²⁸.

Contrary to the well-established depiction of the scene of the murder of Argus by Mercury, a slightly earlier moment is chosen here (ill. 47). It seems that a complete idyll reigns in the image. Mercury is playing Argus on the syringa (on the one hand, a literal adherence to the text of the poem, on the other hand, a reference to the inserted “fable” that Mercury told Argus) a sweet melody that is putting the latter to sleep. A shepherd dog is sleeping at the feet of Argus, a cow is standing behind. To the left of Mercury three goats, one of which is peeling off the bark of a tree, are. In the background you can see a rocky coast with a house and a ship leaving towards the horizon. Rondo focuses on the figure of Argus, on the fact that the shepherd did not execute an order: he did not save the cow. In the same way, the “all-seeing” (clairvoyans) people, looking, searching in all corners, gossips will fail²²⁹. The image of Io (ill. 48) in this edition is very unusual: she is presented as a goddess sitting on a dais. People are paying tribute to her, which she was awarded “for the service of the most powerful of the gods”²³⁰, having passed the suffering that fell to her lot.

²²⁶ *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 36.

²²⁷ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters.* — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 28.

²²⁸ *Metamorphoses d’Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l’imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 15.

²²⁹ *Metamorphoses d’Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l’imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 27.

²³⁰ *Metamorphoses d’Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l’imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 33.

The implication of the “fable” about the transformation of Callisto into a bear is very similar to the commentary on the “Metamorphoses” in du Ryer's translation: it is not bad to be afraid of solitary places if they are dangerous for chastity. On the engraving (ill. 49), around Callisto and pseudo-Diana, three Cupids are depicted: one is shooting from a bow, the other is holding a lit torch, the third is pushing Callisto. All these details explain the action taking place on the engraving. In the foreground, an image of a bearded deity, an allegory of the river, is depicted. In this case, this image has no moral background. Both the Cupids and the river deity are details that complement the storyline; they carry the same auxiliary allegorical function in the graphics as on the paintings of that time.

The transformation of Actaeon into a deer is considered as a consequence of the hero's stupid carelessness: “Whoever wants to see too much is neither wise nor cautious”²³¹. In the illustration (ill. 50), the head of the hero, who accidentally caught the goddess with his companions while bathing, has already turned into a deer's one. The nymphs are leaving the source in confusion. In the foreground a hunting dog is lying. That is, here, with certain stylistic changes, the established pattern of the image of the scene is reproduced without adding any “visual comments”.

The plot about Narcissus is accompanied by a rondo that reveals the inappropriateness of pride. The latter is nothing but ordinary evil²³², which is widespread everywhere. In the illustration (ill. 51), the reclining hero leaned towards his reflection. Behind him, hunting dogs are sitting. The scene is surrounded by dense forest and rocks. In the foreground, Cupid gliding through the water is aiming at the heart of the young man. Another Cupid is talking to two young girls, nymphs, pointing one of them (possibly, Echo) to Narcissus. As for Echo, her transformation into a voice is seen as a punishment for the talker. The illustration (ill. 52) shows Juno descending from the sky, which Echo is occupying with conversations. Away from the cloud,

²³¹ *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 63.

²³² *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 75.

surrounding the goddess, on which her favorite birds, peacocks, are sitting, Jupiter's beloved is fleeing, and the Jupiter himself is revealing his presence to his wife.

Rondo about the transformation of Adonis into a flower, in contrast to the plot of Narcissus, does not carry a clear edification, but only expresses regret about the inconstancy of fate. In the foreground of the engraving (ill. 53), under the canopy of a tree, the prostrate body of the goddess' beloved is lying. His spear and horn are lying side by side. There is also a hunting dog. Venus got down from her chariot, pulled by a pair of swans and standing a little way off, and bent over her beloved. Near the hand of Adonis, an anemone²³³ flower has already begun growing. In general, the composition repeats the options we have analyzed earlier, striving for a more elegant visual interpretation.

In the engraving (ill. 54), Orpheus, descending to the Underworld for his wife, is depicted playing the viol to the Lord of the Underworld and his wife, seated on the throne. Infernal shadows can be seen in the distance. The compositional solution, in general, is not new for that time. As one of the prototypes, one can, for example, indicate the engraving of the 16th century by V. Solis (ill. 55). In the rondo, only the fidelity of the grieving Orpheus, who cannot leave his wife and embarks on a path beyond the strength of a mortal, are written about²³⁴.

Turning to the stories about the fall, it should be noted that their interpretations do not differ much from those which were already considered. Icarus appears before readers as a young man both brave and weak. The illustration (ill. 56) to the "fable" about Daedalus and Icarus is atypical here with regard to its composition: it depicts not the flight of heroes, but preparation for it. Daedalus is sitting near the fire kindled in a tripod, adjusting the wings of his son and admonishing him. At the wall of the room, in which the heroes are located, there is a bust of the king (a reference to Minos, who imprisoned the heroes), and the window overlooks the city that they are destined to

²³³ *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 347.

²³⁴ *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux, imprimez et enrichis de figures par ordre de Sa Majesté, Et dediez à Monseigneur le Dauphin.* – Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1676. P. 323.

leave. In contrast to this image, the illustration for the plot about the fall of Phaeton (ill. 57) does not stand out from a number of others already discussed above: in the foreground, a chariot, horses and the hero himself, being overthrown from the sky by lightning of Jupiter, are depicted.

Thus, in this edition, the visual series as a whole gravitated towards aestheticization and “anticization” (making more antique) of plots (however, there are exceptions, for example, in the illustration to the “fable” about Orpheus and Eurydice). “Visual comments” and allegories were added to help better understand the action depicted in the engraving. Although the visuals often (but not always) reworked the already found visual strategies for perceiving the plots, the images were almost completely free from moral implication. Moreover, they played a semantic game with the viewer at the expense of minor details, referring either to other plots and their images (Mercury's syringa), or by introducing auxiliary characters “commenting” on the main action. Moral lessons were presented in a light form in the rondo, thereby preserving the general didactic orientation of the ancient “fables”.

2.3. Interpretation of the Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology by M. de Marolles. Edition “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses”

In the 17th century, the plots and images of ancient Greek and Roman mythology at the level of reflection remained connected with the Christian moral discourse and with the system of religious commentaries in an instructive spirit, written by clerical scholars. Abbe M. de Marolles was one of the most popular commentators and translators of ancient authors in the 17th century. He was a controversial figure both for his contemporaries and for his immediate descendants, since his strategy of “popularization” of scholarly commentary in the context of finding a compromise between the two groups of the target audience was negatively assessed on both sides: among scholars he was known as an amateur²³⁵, from the point of view of the salon public, his comments were too learned and hard to understand.

²³⁵ For more information about the perception of the personality of M. de Marol by contemporaries, see: Crescenzo R. *Peintures d'instruction: la postérité littéraire des Images de Philostrate en France de Blaise de Vigenère à l'époque Classique.* — Genève: Droz, 1999. P. 270.

M. de Marolles was a frequent guest in the salon of Mademoiselle de Scudery²³⁶ and tried to achieve “readability” (lisibilité) of ancient texts by a wide range of people²³⁷. His commentary on “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses, obtained from the Office of the Mr. Favereau, Royal Counsel of the Royal Court of Assistance, engraved by the Best Masters of Their Time in Order to show the Virtues and Vices under the Guise of the Most Famous Fables of Antiquity”²³⁸ is an example of a work for a very noble target audience. J.-M. Chatelain wrote about this edition in the context of an analysis of such a phenomenon in the French culture of the 17th century as a “ceremonial book” (livre d'apparat)²³⁹, which, as a rule, had a format in folio and was richly illustrated. This kind of book, by creating a fictional space, describing “pictures”, gave a high-ranking reader an idea about a particular subject. The origin of the genre J.-M. Chatelain traced back to the edition of “Pictures” by Philostratus (1614)²⁴⁰. It should be noted here that M. de Marolles compared his “pictures” with the work by Philostratus: “My book “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses” is a rather large work that I created in the image of Philostratus’ “Pictures”, without borrowing anything from this author”²⁴¹.

M. de Marolles dedicated his work to the Queen of Poland and Sweden, Marie Louise Gonzaga²⁴², and indicated a clear demonstration of human virtues and vices as the purpose of the publication. The publication consists of fifty-eight illustrations taken from the collection of the royal adviser of the Royal Court of Assistance J. Favereau and representing engravings on subjects of ancient Greek and Roman mythology. The images are accompanied by a coherent commentary text that reveals and explains the

²³⁶ Taylor H. *The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture*. — Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. P. 74.

²³⁷ Caigny F. *Les Remarques de Marolles dans ses traductions en prose de l'Énéide : un regard de Moderne sur une œuvre antique ? // Exercices de rhétorique*, 2019. № 13. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/rhetorique/884> (дата обращения: 03.08.2022).

²³⁸ *Tableaux du Temple des Muses: Tirez du Cabinet de Feu Mr. Favereau, Conseiller du Roy en Sa Cour de Aydes, Et Gravez en Tailles-Douces par les Meilleurs Maistres de Son Temps, pour Représenter les Vertus Et les Vices, sur les Plus Illustres Fables de l'Antiquité*. — Paris: Antoine de Sommerville, 1655. — 477 p.

²³⁹ Châtelain J.-M. *Formes et enjeux de l'illustration dans le livre d'apparat au XVIIe siècle // Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 2005. № 57. P. 75.

²⁴⁰ Châtelain J.-M. *Formes et enjeux de l'illustration dans le livre d'apparat au XVIIe siècle // Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 2005. № 57. P. 78-79.

²⁴¹ Cited by: Vanuxem J. *La mythologie dans “Le Temple des muses” de l'abbé de Marolles // Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 1973, № 25. P. 298-299.

²⁴² Vanuxem J. *La mythologie dans “Le Temple des muses” de l'abbé de Marolles // Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 1973. № 25. P. 295.

ancient motifs, followed by the “Annotations” section, which provides the views of ancient and modern authors on the subject being described. The publication has a very complicated history. Paying close attention to poetry since his youth, J. Favereau wrote sonnets to plates from his collection, as well as his own commentary on the plots depicted on them. But he did not have time to publish his work before his death, and M. de Marolles, according to his own words, received materials from the son of J. Favereau²⁴³. Starting to implement the author's idea, M. de Marolles firstly published a small series of engravings entitled “Pictures of the Virtues and Vices, engraved according to the Drawing of the Most Famous Fables of Antiquity”²⁴⁴ with very sparing comments, and later the grandiose work “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses”: “It seems that Marolles was asked to comment on both series, firstly, the less important, then the more important one, which became his masterpiece”²⁴⁵. M. de Marolles removed the sonnets by J. Favereau and accompanied the plots with his extensive comments: “... using his ‘ancient studies’, which were immense, he created the ‘Temple of the Muses’, where the passages by the authors, who wrote about this plot, were mainly given in the comments. It was authors, mostly Latin, but also French: Ronsard, Du Bartas, Malherbe ...”²⁴⁶. Thus, the “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses” is an important material for studying the reception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology, since it is not a translation of any ancient work, but it entirely consists of comments on ancient plots, and, therefore, of their interpretations.

The visual series, engraved after the drawings by A. van Diepenbeeck, in combination with the text, forms an allusion not only to the art gallery, but also to the emblematic collection: each illustration, with a brief excerpt from the ancient author located below it, is accompanied by a coherent explanation in which the advantage is given to the moral understanding of the “fable”. Then the encyclopedic part of the

²⁴³ Tableaux du Temple des Muses: Tirez du Cabinet de Feu Mr. Favereau, Conseiller du Roy en Sa Cour de Aydes, Et Gravez en Tailles-Douces par les Meilleurs Maistres de Son Temps, pour Represente les Vertus Et les Vices, sur les Plus Illustres Fables de l'Antiquité. – Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1655. Unnumbered pages, chapter “Praise to Mr. Favereau”.

²⁴⁴ Vanuxem J. La mythologie dans “Le Temple des muses” de l'abbé de Marolles // Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études francaises, 1973. № 25. P. 298.

²⁴⁵ Vanuxem J. La mythologie dans “Le Temple des muses” de l'abbé de Marolles // Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études francaises, 1973. № 25. P. 296.

²⁴⁶ Vanuxem J. La mythologie dans “Le Temple des muses” de l'abbé de Marolles // Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études francaises, 1973. № 25. P. 298.

“Annotations” comes. It occupies up to a dozen pages, in which the views of various authors on the subject under consideration, excerpts, quotations, etc. are given. The caption under the illustration is placed in order to ensure that the viewer quickly recognizes the plot, to answer the question of what exactly is happening in the engraving. And thus, the quotes from ancient authors placed under the engraving do not in themselves carry an interpretive capacity, but only have a clarifying function.

The “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses” is divided into seven parts, or books, in which the plots are grouped thematically: the first one tells about the origin of the world, the second one is about the love of gods and people, the third one is about hunting and battles, the fourth one is called “Twins and Sea Gods”, the fifth one tells about adventures in water and air, the sixth one is devoted to events, taking place on earth, and the last one, seventh, is devoted to tales of death, the Underworld and sleep. The distribution of the plot across books according to the subject principle, as well as comments, is the merit of M. de Marolles. The world is presented in the collection “in layers”: air, earth, water, life and love of celestials and heroes, the Underworld - each book illuminates its own sphere. Thus, the entire collection turns out to be a model not only of an ancient temple, but also of the universe in its statics (different spheres) and dynamics (from birth to death). According to the explanation to the frontispiece, which opens the visual sequence, the imaginary Temple of the Muses has five facades dedicated to Love, Joy, Desire, Hope and Glory²⁴⁷ - feelings that permeate the ancient stories presented in the publication. The frontispiece (ill. 58) depicts the portico of Love, through which the largest number of the admirers enter the Temple of the Muses. Poetry and Painting are at the entrance, Apollo, whose lyre delights the ear, and Mercury, personifying eloquence, are above the entrance. Incense vases on the dome are interpreted as the sweet aroma of love. Cupid, standing in the center and personifying love, is a model for the drawing and writing Amors, located a little lower. Swans flock is approaching to the dome. They are poets who are worthy of immortality. The emblem of Favereau is placed in the middle of the composition.

²⁴⁷ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. Unnumbered pages. Chapter “Explanation of the initial engraving serving as a preface”.

The illustration “Chaos” (ill. 59), which opens the plot of the book, is commented on from the point of view of Christian theology. The commentary refutes the possibility of the formation of the Cosmos from the initial Chaos. According to the author of the commentary, the fact that the originally perfect world was created by God is beyond doubt. The author refers the plot depicted in the illustration to the “poetic inventions”, which, in his opinion, are not far from the “dreams of the ill”²⁴⁸. Opposites could not co-exist in the original mingling, reflected in the engraving, which shows “a mixture of water, fire, earth, smoke, winds and various constellations”²⁴⁹ and where the complete confusion reigns: Sagittarius is shooting his arrows at little Gemini, Capricorn is fighting with Cancer, and Taurus with Scorpio, Virgo is trampling Pisces²⁵⁰, etc. The author of the commentary reproaches the artist for not turning to philosophy, but contenting himself with poetic inventions²⁵¹. As for the engraving, it should be noted that such an image of Chaos is quite rare. Despite the presence of zodiacal signs, which, as was already shown above, refer to perfection, the engraving does not contain the usual central figure of the Creator. Thus, in this case, tension between interpretations of the same plot by commentary and illustration exists. The first one stands on the usual Christian point of view, while the second one is freed from the confessional lens and looks at the ancient myth directly through the ancient authors.

The first book also contains a “fable” about Phaethon. Here, in contrast to the editions of “Metamorphoses” considered above, only one engraving, which depicts the fall of a young man, corresponds to this plot (ill. 60). In the foreground, almost in full sheet, a tragedy is depicted: Phaethon is being struck by the lightning of Jupiter and is falling down. In the distance, an almost schematically outlined landscape is barely visible. The visual interpretation, in this case, does not go beyond the established model. The comment from the first sentence refers to the moral interpretation of the plot: the misfortune that happened to Phaeton is a lesson for presumptuous people who do not

²⁴⁸ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 3.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

listen to reason²⁵². After such an instructive beginning, the text narrates about the plot itself, the characters, etc., with exceptional attention to detail.

The myth about the nymph Io, included in the second book, which tells about the love of gods and people, is explained by the author from a “historical”, that is, euhemeristic point of view²⁵³. But this explanation plays only an auxiliary role in this case, and the descriptive and didactic components come to the fore. The text of the commentary narrates about the love story of Zeus and Io, the revenge of the jealous Juno and the establishment of the cult of Io (Isis) in Egypt. As the plot unfolds, the images of the characters represented in the engraving are revealed (Argus, Juno, peacock, Io, Mercury), their role is explained, and some details of the graphic image are noted (ill. 61), including a remark about the significance of the river in the landscape. It is interpreted as a non-personalized image of Io's father, Inachus. All the punishments and misadventures of Io, who has lost the human appearance, are interpreted by the author as a consequence of a moral fall, the loss of innocence is likened to turning into an animal²⁵⁴.

The engraving “Hydra” (ill. 62) from the book of heroes depicts the second feat of Hercules: the battle with the Lernaean Hydra. It is described in great detail by the text commenting on the image. The battle of an ancient hero with a monster is interpreted as a battle of a virtuous person with vices that grow as fast as the heads of the Hydra. “Take care of yourself, valiant Alcides!” - exclaims the author, - “Immediately call for the help of Iolaus...”²⁵⁵. So, the author shows that it is impossible to overcome vices without external help. However, he mentions another possible interpretation: this battle is understood as a victory of knowledge and eloquence over sophistic tricks.

The third book includes a story about Actaeon (ill. 63), who tragically died from the teeth of his own dogs. The description of the engraving, in this case, is very detailed. The author not only outlines the plot, but also calls each dog of the unfortunate hunter,

²⁵² Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 59.

²⁵³ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 76-77.

²⁵⁴ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 77.

²⁵⁵ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 179.

who became a deer, by name, just like the nymphs, companions of Diana, depicted under a rock in the depths of the landscape. In the foreground of the engraving, the unfortunate deer Actaeon, torn apart by his own dogs, is lying. Contrary to established tradition, the animal is depicted without anthropomorphic features. Hunters, placed a little further away, are rushing to the scene. The author gives several interpretations of the “fable” at once. Firstly, the hunters, who are so extravagant in their pleasures, allow “in some way, to be torn apart by their own dogs”²⁵⁶. Secondly, in the image of Actaeon, one can see a man who feeds flatterers to his own death; the time comes and they tear him apart like dogs. Thirdly, the author notes that one must revere the divine, not be careless about it, one should not become too curious and try to penetrate the secrets of the gods, not intended for the human eye. Also, in conclusion, the author adds that, according to Pausanias, angry dogs could tear Actaeon to pieces without any help from Diana²⁵⁷.

The illustration “Icarus” (ill. 64), placed in the fifth book of the edition, like all other plots, is interpreted from a moral point of view. On the one hand, the boldness of Daedalus, the faith of the master in his invention is praised, on the other hand, the reckless act of his son is condemned. The death of Icarus is considered as an allegory of the fall of a presumptuous proud man, as an allegory of the imaginary success of the minions of fate. They see themselves flying on the wings of fortune, but soon die from their insatiable desire to be at the zenith of glory. Daedalus is set as an example of a reasonable person, who keeps to the middle path intended for him, of a person, on the one hand, brave and believing in his own invention, and on the other, knowing a reasonable measure. The text alludes to the fact that the death of Daedalus’ son was an echo of Daedalus’ atrocity, but does not go into detail about it, dwelling mainly on the theme of moderation and the storyline of the myth. In the illustration, however, a town with a tower can be seen in the distance, the possible interpretations of which were discussed above. In addition to gaining freedom, the tower can hint at the crime of

²⁵⁶ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 149.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

Daedalus, and then the whole illustration is again aligned along the axis of misconduct (the murder of a nephew) - punishment (the death of a son).

In this book, as in many other publications, the myths of Narcissus and Echo are divided into two different “fables”. After a light and elegant description of what is happening on the engraving (ill. 65), the author interprets the story about the transformation of Narcissus into a flower in the spirit of morality, warning readers against pride, which young people are especially prone to. The commentator further takes the liberty of remarking that this “fable” also tells us of those people “who prefer their fantasies and the novelty of their imaginations to the knowledge and experience of the Ancients”²⁵⁸. The illustration to the story of Echo’s metamorphosis (ill. 66) is quite unusual here: from the nymph, withering and turning into stone, almost only a skeleton, sitting in a grotto, and a voice, that can only answer cues, remained. In the depths of the landscape, Narcissus who is the cause of the nymph’s suffering is depicted. The author explains the presence of Cupid in the grotto as follows: “... but she (Echo - E.B.) has not yet become completely insensible, and little Cupid, sitting next to her in her dark cave, is inspiring her with thoughts that her voice is seeking to express, waiting for her to finish speaking to snuff out his torch”²⁵⁹. Cupid with an extinct torch can mean both the end of love and the end of life²⁶⁰.

The illustration “Penelope” (ill. 67), which is a part of the sixth book, illustrates the story of how the ruler of Ithaca, in anticipation of Ulysses, deceived the suitors, who annoyed her. The commentator draws the reader’s special attention not only to the work of Penelope, but also to the figure of Hymen, whose attributes are a torch and a wreath of roses. The text explains the image of Hymen as the personification of conjugal love, cutting the veil, woven during the day. The author reveals the allegory as follows: conjugal love helps Penelope to remain faithful (Hymenaeus cuts the veil, the completion of which would mean a new marriage and adultery), while the passionate

²⁵⁸ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 284.

²⁵⁹ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 292.

²⁶⁰ Nikulina I. N. Two Readings of One Plot: Ovid and Poussin // National Codes of European Literature in the Diachronic Aspect: Antiquity - Modernity: a Collective Monograph. - Nizhny Novgorod: DECOM, 2018. P. 186. (*In Russian*); Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 5.

love of her admirers, represented by the images of sleeping Cupids, tried so unsuccessfully to shake firmness the ruler of Ithaca, that abandoned its attempts and, exhausted, fell asleep. In the commentary, M. de Marolles' lamentation about the social problems of his time, associated with a large number of illegitimate children, is visible and it is explained in the text by the forgetfulness of chastity and marital fidelity. M. de Marolles sums up his reasoning with praise for Penelope as the rarest example of patience and moral purity²⁶¹. In this case, it should be noted that not only the commentary, but also the illustration has a clear moral connotation: Penelope is talking with Hymen, while the sweet-slumbering Cupids escape the attention of the faithful wife of Ulysses.

The myth about Orpheus and Eurydice is included in the last book "Death, Sorrow, Hell and Sleep". After a detailed and elegant description of the main plot, including the death of Orpheus, the author dwells on several interpretations. The failure of Orpheus to resurrect Eurydice speaks of the futility with which people mourn the death of their friends. The singer's secondary loss of his beloved wife, when he turned around to look at her, warns, in the author's opinion, against mistrust of divine promises. In addition, in the image of Orpheus, according to the author, one can see the "divine Savior", as the first Christians did. The sweetness of his speech makes people listen to it in the same way as the charming voice of Orpheus made animals follow him²⁶². The illustration (ill. 68) to the "fable" depicts the musician's secondary loss of his wife. Orpheus, playing the viol, is leading Eurydice out of the crevice, leading to the Kingdom of the Dead. Cerberus is standing at the entrance to the Underworld, an infernal creature, sitting on a stone, is watching the scene. Cupid is pulling the musician by the clothes, and, obedient to the call of love, Orpheus is turning around. Eurydice is trying to follow him in vain.

The book ends with an explanation of the "Palace of Sleep" (ill. 69), the portal of which has two doors. From the first, made of ivory, false dreams come; from the second, true visions come. These two doors, according to the commentary, represent the

²⁶¹ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 380.

²⁶² Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 413.

mouth that never ceases to deceive, and the eyes that never deceive. From here, according to the author, come the “fantasies” of poets, telling us about various mythological creatures. The figure standing between the doors is the goddess of sleep. The statue, crowning the building on the left, is Diana (the Moon), while the sculpture on the right is Night. She has two babies in her arms - Sleep and Death. The suffering that is hidden behind the “true” door, according to the author, is a necessary retribution for sins, and after the end of earthly life, even the most righteous can get rid of them only by God’s grace²⁶³.

Thus, in this edition, which is an attempt to popularize the “scholarly” commentary on the plots of ancient Greek and Roman mythology, the general moral interpretation of ancient “fables” is preserved, mainly due to the text of the commentary. The visual text has several strategies for interpreting ancient stories, which are not always consistent with the opinion of the commentator. The images may have a clear moral connotation (Penelope), be indifferent to what is happening (for example, the story of Io), or completely renounce the Christianizing view of the ancient myth (Chaos) and enter into polemics with the text of the commentary. Auxiliary characters, appearing in the visual field, can, on the one hand, carry an ethically neutral commentary, only explaining and supplementing what is happening (Echo, Narcissus, Orpheus). On the other hand, they can refer to moral overtones (Penelope).

Based on the material discussed in this chapter, conclusions regarding the main trends inherent in the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in France in the 17th century can be drawn. Under the influence of rationalistic trends at the level of “scholarly” commentary (the level of reflection), there were tendencies to establish parity between different interpretations of “ancient” fables. However, it should be noted that, despite the presence of a number of variations, they represented a rather limited set of explanations. This also applies to the relative stability of most moral interpretations (Actaeon is punished for curiosity, Narcissus for pride, etc.), and in this case we are dealing with stable moral emblems. The illustration could have both a moral

²⁶³ Tableaux du temple des muses. Paris, 1655. P. 459-460.

connotation and be neutral, having only “visual comments” that revealed the storyline, referring to other parts of the visual text. The moral meaning of the illustration could be given by the caption under it, as was seen from the analysis of the “Metamorphoses” of 1660. In the process of interacting with the text of the commentary, in which moral interpretation was not a priority, the illustration, that presented a moral lesson, imparted a didactic flavor to the general perception of the “fable”. It was precisely through the construction of this kind of intertexts that the general predominance of the moral interpretation of mythological subjects was preserved. As for the search for compromises between scientific encyclopedia and salon culture, in such texts, simplified for perception and created for educational purposes, the usual and easy-to-understand moral interpretation was the leading, and sometimes the only one. An illustrative series, with the help of easily recognizable symbolical details, could play an unobtrusive game with the viewer, in which storylines, usually clearly revealed, turned into allusions (“Metamorphoses”, 1676), or even entered into polemics with the text of the commentary (“Pictures of the Temple of the Muses ”).

Chapter 3. Antique Images and Plots and Religious and Ethical Symbolism in France in the 18th Century

3.1. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and the Intellectual Context of the Epoch: The Search for a New Methodology

In the first chapter, where changes of the 18th century were described, such a feature of the intellectual processes of the period under consideration as the emergence of historical consciousness was mentioned. It was brought to life by the rationalistic tendencies of the 17th century. This transition to the “historicization” of consciousness can be marked, among other things, by those disputes that were conducted in the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Literature at the beginning of the 18th century. The problem of criteria for the legitimacy of such sources as the Holy Scriptures and corpora of mythological texts as historical evidence was one of the main polemical issues²⁶⁴. It is important to note here that after the reform of 1701, the Academy of Inscriptions became an important center of learning for France in the 18th century²⁶⁵.

With regard to determining the criteria for the “historicity” of an ancient myth, abbe A. Banier was an almost indisputable authority. He illustrated his basic methodological principles most clearly in his work “Mythology and Fables Explained Historically (par l’histoire)”²⁶⁶. The authority of the abbe among the members of the Academy was so high that for some time scholars accepted his method as the only tool capable of revealing the historical background (fond de l’histoire) of myths and fables²⁶⁷. Banier's euhemerism was eclectic in its nature and neatly fit into the Christian model of history. According to Banier, initially there was faith in the Only God, which was lost. People began to deify celestial bodies, sensual things, heroes – polytheism, sung in “poetic fables”, appeared²⁶⁸. Fiction had overshadowed the original historical

²⁶⁴ See more: Faria P. David Hume, the Académie des inscriptions and the Nature of Historical Evidence in the Early Eighteenth Century // *Modern Intellectual History*, 2018. № 18. P. 299-322.

²⁶⁵ Faria P. David Hume, the Académie des inscriptions and the Nature of Historical Evidence in the Early Eighteenth Century // *Modern Intellectual History*, 2018. № 18. P. 305-306.

²⁶⁶ Banier A. *La mythologie et les fables, expliquées par l’histoire*. In 8 vol. Paris, 1738-1740.

²⁶⁷ Faria P. David Hume, the Académie des inscriptions and the Nature of Historical Evidence in the Early Eighteenth Century // *Modern Intellectual History*, 2018. № 18. P. 309.

²⁶⁸ See more: Bruk E. G. *Antient Greek and Roman Mythology in the Context of European Discourse of the 18th–19th Centuries: From Moral Allegory to Historical Interpretation*// *Religiovedenie*. Vol. 3., 2022. P. 113. (*In Russian*)

basis, and the task of the scientist of 18th century was to reveal it again. There was some duality in the position of A. Banier. It is an indicator of the transitional nature of this person. On the one hand, A. Banier tried to approach the problem of studying ancient myth rationally, or, in his terminology, “historically”. He discarded formerly popular moral interpretations, as well as closely related “political” interpretations, which were intended to instruct the ruling elite. In the context of euhemerism inscribed in Christianity, which, from the point of view of A. Banier, was a genuine “historicism”, his idea of original monotheism echoed the concept of “natural religion”, with the innate idea of God of thinkers of the 17th century. On the other hand, A. Banier, despite attempts to rationalize the approach to ancient Greek and Roman mythology, remained completely within the confessional framework. From this point of view, A. Banier's understanding of ancient myths was a reorganized continuation of the “scholarly” comments of the 17th century, where the emphasis shifted from morality to “history”.

The line of A. Banier was continued by such a well-known researcher of religion as N. Freret. The scholar accepted the method of A. Banier to some extent, but with some limitations. N. Freret believed that although euhemerism led the researcher to the conclusion about the existence of a historical core in some “fables”, the scientist, using this method, was not able to determine what exactly was historical in the “fable”, and what was the later poetic layering²⁶⁹. That is, euhemerism, from the point of view of N. Freret, could only point to the fact of the existence of a historical basis, while the real relationship between “historical” and “fictitious” remained unclear. N. Freret, combining this approach with the method of comparative analysis, obtained the result that sounded a decade later in D. Hume’s work “The Natural History of Religion” (1757)²⁷⁰: polytheism chronologically preceded monotheism²⁷¹. This idea destroyed the confessional framework in which antique images was existing for a long time, and significantly changed the angle of view on them.

²⁶⁹ Faria P. David Hume, the Académie des inscriptions and the Nature of Historical Evidence in the Early Eighteenth Century // *Modern Intellectual History*, 2018. № 18. P. 310-311.

²⁷⁰ Hume D. The Natural History of Religion. URL: http://samlib.ru/e/epshtejn_s_d/yumestestist.shtml. (date of access: 07.02.2023). (*In Russian*)

²⁷¹ Faria P. David Hume, the Académie des inscriptions and the Nature of Historical Evidence in the Early Eighteenth Century // *Modern Intellectual History*, 2018. № 18. P. 311.

In the context of the comparative method, euhemerism was also used by J.-F. Lafitau. The researcher, having lived for five years among the Iroquois and Hurons, “made an attempt to compare their religious ideas, customs and institutions with the reports of ancient authors about the natural state of the peoples of Greece and Asia Minor in the ancient period”²⁷². In this case, as in the works of A. Banier, we are talking about a transitional stage in the field of methodological search. On the one hand, religious phenomena were explained from a confessional point of view, and J.-F. Lafitau sought to find in all the polytheistic cults he studied traces of the original revelation²⁷³. At that time, the confessional-oriented four-part division of religions, where ancient cults were in the section “paganism” or “idolatry”, was still popular²⁷⁴. On the other hand, such a consideration gave a different status to ancient Greek and Roman mythology: it began to be viewed through living polytheistic cults, it became “alive”, freeing from the “taste of a purely Christian figurative system, which serves only as a didactic tool and an allegorical veil of Christian truths”²⁷⁵.

In the second half of the 18th century, the comparative method, which transformed the view of the era on the ancient myth, came to the fore. The idea of “original monotheism” was overcome through a comparative analysis of modern polytheistic cults and the cults of the ancient world. In line with such comparative studies, the “The Natural History of Religion” (1757) by D. Hume laid. In this work, he built a line of historical development of religion from initial polytheism through henotheism to monotheism²⁷⁶. This was facilitated by the idea of progress that had taken root by that time and became an important step towards historical consciousness, in general, and a historical view of religion, in particular.

Critical reflection of approaches to the study of ancient myth formed in the first half of the 18th century was presented in the articles “Fable” and “Mythology” in the

²⁷² Meinecke F. The Emergence of Historicism. - Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004. P. 56. (*In Russian*)

²⁷³ Meinecke F. The Emergence of Historicism. - Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004. P. 59. (*In Russian*)

²⁷⁴ See more: Chapter 1. P. 35.

²⁷⁵ Bruk E. G. Antient Greek and Roman Mythology in the Context of European Discourse of the 18th–19th Centuries: From Moral Allegory to Historical Interpretation// Religiovedenie. Vol. 3., 2022. P. 114. (*In Russian*)

²⁷⁶ Hume D. The Natural History of Religion. URL: http://samlib.ru/e/epshtejn_s_d/yumestestist.shtml. (date of access: 07.02.2023). (*In Russian*)

“Encyclopedia of Sciences, Arts and Crafts”. In the first of them, written by L. de Jaucour and J.-F. Marmontel²⁷⁷, systematization the phenomena united by the term “fable” was carried out. It was considered in two aspects: firstly, as a collective name for theological, fantastic, poetic history, that is, the scope of this concept included “all the fables of pagan theology” (la theologie payenne); secondly, the same term denoted one of the types of belles-lettres. Specifying the first meaning of the term, the authors turned to A. Banier's theory of the origin of ancient mythology, as the most widespread and influential, and set out in detail its main provisions, omitting, however, his theory of primordial monotheism. The authors classified “fables” into “historical”, “philosophical”, “moral”, “mixed” and those which were created for pleasure. Briefly describing each of the selected types, the encyclopedists, following A. Banier, concluded that only a small number of myths were completely devoid of historical admixture. This was to provide a transition to the consideration and classification of the origins of “fables”. These were human vanity, the oral transmission of knowledge in the preliterate period, ignorance of history, ignorance of physics, ignorance of languages, the ambiguity of some words, etc. Reminding the reader of the ubiquitous distribution of mythological images in culture, the authors, however, emphasized that insight into the essence of “fables”, the study of ancient cults and dogma systems was the lot of a small group of scholars.

In the article “Mythology” written by L. de Jaucour, mythology is defined as a fantastic (fabuleuse) history of gods, demigods and heroes of antiquity, as well as everything “that has anything to do with pagan religion” (la religion payenne)²⁷⁸: worship of deities, mysteries, oracles, auspices, sacrifices, etc. L. de Jaucour believed that mythological images, ubiquitously woven into modern culture, had to be studied, since they served as an inexhaustible source of ideas, images, plots, allegories, emblems, etc. In addition, such an embeddedness of mythological images in human culture, according to the author, provokes thinkers to try to root it ontologically in

²⁷⁷ Jaucour L., Marmontel J. Fable // Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers. Vol. 6. URL: https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/L%E2%80%99Encyclop%C3%A9die/1re_%C3%A9dition/FABLE . (дата обращения: 07.02.2023.).

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

reality. This is how the euhemeristic interpretation of mythological images was born, with which, according to L. de Jaucour, most contemporary authors of the encyclopedist agree. The latter, having reached consensus on general methodological principles, do not always agree on the details. L. de Jaucour carefully limited the scope of the euhemeristic interpretation: “this reduction of something miraculous to the natural is one of the keys to Greek *mythology* (author’s italics — E. B.); but this key is neither the only nor the most important”²⁷⁹. The encyclopedist showed the complexity of the formation of a mythological system, which depended on a number of factors: the absorption of foreign polytheistic cults, the diversity of the origin of the inhabitants of Greece, the ignorance of people, fanaticism, errors of etymologists, exaggerations of poets, deceptions of priests, etc. “This picture is enough to show that *mythology* (author’s italics - E. B.) should not be treated in the same way as history”²⁸⁰ - said L. de Jaucour. The author argued that mythology was a mixture of “dreams of imagination, dreams of philosophy and fragments of ancient history. Analysis (l'analyse) is impossible. At the very least, we will never arrive at a sufficiently skillful analysis (décomposition) to be able to unravel the origin of each fiction and those details of which each fiction is a consisted”²⁸¹. A one-sided judgment about mythology, according to L. de Jaucour, is fraught with errors and misconceptions: one should not be like a physicist who is looking for the secrets of nature hidden behind a veil of allegories, or a philosopher, who fishes out the subtlest morality from there, or politics, looking for refined government wisdom there. The article ends with the reader’s reference to the article “Fable”, which was published earlier and analyzes in detail the origins of ancient myths according to works by A. Banier. This reference is accompanied by a characteristic passage: “it is equally pleasant and useful to read his (that is, A. Banier’s - E. B.) explanation of all *mythology* (author's italics - E. B.); but it will be possible to find more detailed works (morceaux) by Mr. Freret in the Collection of the Academy of Fine Arts”²⁸².

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

Thus, in encyclopedic articles, despite the use of A. Banier's interpretive-classification strategy, it was further critically comprehended and excluded those of its elements that have already outlived themselves by the second half of the 18th century. First of all, the theory of original monotheism was discarded. The chronological precedence of polytheism to monotheism circulated in the articles of the encyclopedists as something taken for granted and, by virtue of its inviolability, taken out of the discussion. Secondly, following the logic of N. Freret, encyclopedists spoke about the limitations of the euhemeristic interpretation: it was not considered sufficient to explain specific plots and their details. Thirdly, the authors of encyclopedic articles, emphasizing the complexity of mythology as an object of research, recognized the need to study myths not just by intellectuals, but by a narrow circle of specialists.

In addition, J. J. Winckelmann was an important figure for the formation of a new view of antiquity in European culture of the second half of the 18th century. In his famous "History of the Art of Antiquity"²⁸³, J. J. Winckelmann, demonstrating the "otherness" of the Greeks in relation to modern society, explained the flowering of Greek culture by the peculiarities of the geographical location, language, physical structure, etc. Thus, the scientist tried to explain certain historical realities which were taken as something fundamentally different in relation to contemporary culture. Antiquity became not only an object of study, but also the Other, which, thanks to its natural beauty, simplicity and closeness to nature, was a model to follow. The Greeks were the embodiment of the dream of a "man in the natural state", the search for which occupied many thinkers of that time, and Greeks' myth-making was seen as the result of the activity of a whole people²⁸⁴. Such a projection of philosophical constructs, popular at that time, to a specific period in combination with a "historical" approach to explaining its cultural realities, formed a view of antiquity as a cultural Other. This point of view, representing a rethought position of the "Ancients", contributed not only to the rise of classicism in art, but to the further process of de-emblemization and

²⁸³ Winckelmann J. J. History of the Art of Antiquity // Winckelmann J. J. History of the Art of Antiquity. Small Works / Ed. prepared by I. E. Babanov. - St. Petersburg: "Aleteya" Publ., 2000. P. 7-302. (*In Russian*)

²⁸⁴ Bruk E. G. Antient Greek and Roman Mythology in the Context of European Discourse of the 18th–19th Centuries: From Moral Allegory to Historical Interpretation// *Religiovedenie*. Vol. 3., 2022. P. 115. (*In Russian*)

“historicization” of mythological images. Purity, perfection and genuine greatness of feelings were their only morality. In this case, the aesthetic view of the ancient myth became the leading one.

If in the religious moral discourse at the level of reflection, ancient plots were deprived of their didactic function, then in the popular gallant culture, within the secular moral discourse, figurative derivatives of the emblematic, allegorical understanding of ancient images were preserved. This was primarily due to the features of the type of society that was being formed at that time. Its individualizing tendencies and special attention to the “civilization” gave rise to special attention to manners: “Behind the ‘manners’ was what the French authors called *les mœurs* (author's italics - E.B.), although it is not easy to draw a clear line between them. We are talking about a complex of largely inarticulate values and norms that guided the members of a polite society in their relationships. It was morals that established the boundary between what was due and what was permitted, between what was below human dignity and what the latter demanded ...”²⁸⁵. The problem of the existence of morality outside of religion, based on the concept of “man in the natural state”, and the emphasis on the “civilization” of modern society, which was closely associated with the idea of progress, brought the problem of morals to the fore. Its poignancy was fueled by a changing notion of intimacy. Changing the threshold of sensitivity, ideas about the family, where spiritual intimacy came to the fore²⁸⁶, narrowing the circle of confidants, and, at the same time, intensifying personal relationships within it²⁸⁷ - all this contributed to the popularization of a special type of “chivalry”, full of hints and euphemisms in arts. The latter were taken from the “dictionary” of the figurative system of ancient Greek and Roman mythology and, in a refined form, were introduced into the pictorial space in the form of a light, non-binding, extremely understandable commentary.

²⁸⁵ Taylor Ch. The Secular Age. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P. 304. (In Russian)

²⁸⁶ Chaunu P. Civilization of the Enlightenment. - Yekaterinburg: U-Factoria; Moscow: AST MOSCOW, 2008. P. 93-179. (In Russian)

²⁸⁷ Taylor Ch. The Secular Age. – Moscow: BBI, 2017. P. 180. (In Russian)

In general, the gallant Rococo culture, which was the bearer of trends mentioned above, can be called the culture of visual equivocations and euphemisms, a universe dominated by homo ludens²⁸⁸. Examples of well-known gallant works of the 18th century, which played with ancient images, are the “Temple of Knidos” (Le temple de Gnide) by S.-L. Montesquieu²⁸⁹, “Emilia’s Letters on Mythology” Ch.-A. Demoustier²⁹⁰ and others. In this context, genre scenes, that presented moral instruction in a playful way, appeared. The most famous collection of such moral pictures was the publication “Monument of the Costume, Material and Moral, at the End of the 18th Century, or Pictures of Life presented in Images drawn and engraved by M. Moreau the Younger, Draftsman of His Most Christian Majesty, and Other Illustrious Artists” which will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

3.2. Ovid's “Metamorphoses” in the First Half of the 18th Century: Illustrations and Comments

At the beginning of the 18th century, the trends that had developed in the previous century were predominantly preserved. In 1702, a reprint of Ovid's “Metamorphoses”, translated by P. du Ryer, was published²⁹¹. The “Metamorphoses” of 1677, published in Brussels, could serve as a prototype for this edition²⁹². Since the comments on du Ryer’s translation have been dealt with above, here special attention should be paid to the visual component of the edition. The title page (ill. 70) depicts Apollo and Athena crowning the portrait of Ovid with a wreath. In front of them the little putti play with the instruments of the arts and sciences. Here, such a thoughtful reading of the allegory depicted on the title page was no longer required, as in editions of the 17th century. It is almost intuitively understandable to a reader, inexperienced in

²⁸⁸ Daniel S. M. Rococo: from Watteau to Fragonard. - St. Petersburg: “Azbuka” Publ., 2007. P. 17. (*In Russian*)

²⁸⁹ Montesquieu Ch. L. Temple of Venus on the Island of Knidos: A Poem in Seven Chapters. - Moscow: In the Free Printing House of Garia and Company, 1804.- 96 p. (*In Russian*)

²⁹⁰ Lettres à Emilie sur la mythologie. Par M. de Moustier. – Troisième édition. – Paris: Chez Desenne, 1792 -1796. En 6 vol.

²⁹¹ Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, en latin et François, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet; de la traduction de Mr. Pierre Du-Ryer Parisien, de l'Academie Française. – Edition nouvelle, enrichie de tres-belles Figures. – Amsterdam: Chez P. et J. Blaev, Jassons à Waesberge, Boom, et Goethals, 1702. – 574 p.

²⁹² Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide, en latin et François, divisées en XV. livres. Avec de Nouvelles Explications Historiques, Morales et Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet; de la traduction de Mr. Pierre Du-Ryer Parisien, de l'Academie Française. – Edition nouvelle, enrichie de tres-belles Figures. – Bruxelles: Chez François Foppens, Marchand Libraire et Imprimeur au S. Esprit., 1677. – 574 p.

ancient studies. As for the general characteristics of the visual series, it should be noted that the illustrations in this publication often sin with obvious anachronisms in relation to the clothes of the heroes, modernizing them.

In the illustration (ill. 71) to the “fable” about the origin of the world, the Demiurge, who created the world, is going deep into the image, in the background of which there is a familiar circle with symbols of the zodiac constellations. The chariot of Phoebus, the Sun, is rushing along it; lightning is cutting through the air, in which four winds are already blowing. The waves, in which marine life can be seen, is breaking on a piece of land on which hares have nestled. The illustration is still consistent with the Christian vision of this “fable” as an echo of the biblical story about the creation of the world. The creation of man continues this idea (ill. 72), differing from the previous compositional solutions only in details. So, God is breathing life into the first man, bringing a torch to the creation. The meaning of the torch as light, connected with truth and driving away darkness, has already been mentioned more than once above. Animals and birds are sitting around the man, and in the background two celestial bodies - the Sun and the Moon - are.

The illustration to the story of Lycaon (ill. 73) has several interesting details, which were used not only in Ovid's “Metamorphoses” of the 18th century, but also in the “The Temple of the Muses”, 1733, created on the basis of the edition “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, 1655, analyzed above. In general, the artist retains the established compositional scheme, only increasing it by one character - there are two young men serving on the table. The “otherness” of the divine guest is marked by his unusual oriental attire. The table, as in the illustration in the edition of 1676, has animal paws instead of legs. Details of still life not only refer to luxury and sophistication, but also play an important role in the moral “reading” of the plot. In the middle, there is a dish with a peacock - a symbol of narcissism and pride²⁹³, and next to it, a nautilus cup is standing. It plays an important role in the pictorial language of the Vanitas²⁹⁴

²⁹³ See: *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 7.

²⁹⁴ Lat. for “vanity”

allegorical still life. The cup is both a luxury item and a reminder of the fragility and transience of both wealth and life itself.

A series of illustrations for the myth about the nymph Io (ill. 74) begins with an engraving in which she is depicted as the daughter of the Inachus River, standing under the canopy of trees. In the distance, the main action of the “fable” is depicted: Jupiter, having enveloped the earth in a cloud, is running after the nymph, and his wife is trying to find out what is happening, looking out from behind the cloud. The next engraving (ill. 75) continues the “narrative” that has begun: in the foreground, under a tree, Jupiter, who can be identified by the eagle located nearby, is sitting. He is pointing to the cow that Io has just turned into and talking to his wife, who is peeking out from behind a cloud. The next scene of the murder of Argus (ill. 76), who was guarding Io, in general, repeats the existing compositional scheme, with the only difference: the shepherd’s hundred-eyedness is not marked in any way (in the images of the 17th century, his body was completely dotted with eyes), and, in the background, ruins appeared on an open plain. The final engraving for this series (ill. 77), which depicts Juno showering Argus’ eyes on the tail of her favorite bird - a peacock, was made on the model of a painting by P. P. Rubens (ill. 78). The clothes of the heroes are an obvious anachronism, not stylized as “antique”: Juno is dressed in a magnificent dress, over which a cloak with embroidery is thrown over. A diadem, a symbol of her status, is flaunting in the hair of the goddess. The companion of the goddess, holding the head of Argus in her hands, is Iris, as indicated by a rainbow that has spread across the sky. Behind Juno’s cloak is a scene observer, presumably Hierax²⁹⁵. The text of the commentary, already parsed above, is shortened here, divided into several parts and distributed in accordance with the plot of the illustrations. The first one received a “historical” (about Jupiter-Ammon) and “physical” (Jupiter - heat, Io - the earth, her transformation into a cow - the fertility of the earth) interpretation. The second and third parts of the mythological plot did not receive comments. The fourth part is commented on by explaining the role of Io in the

²⁹⁵ Apollodorus Mythological Library. Book II. I, (3). URL: <http://ancientrome.ru/antlittr/t.htm?a=1358680001>. (date of access: 02.07.2023). *(In Russian)*

culture of the Egyptians and the meaning of her transformation into a cow from this point of view. There is also a story about how a certain Mercury killed King Argus, how Io, having arrived in Egypt, changed her life and customs, and instead of a vice that turns people into animals, she chose purity: the repentance of the girl again “turned” her into a human.

The myth about Phaethon is illustrated with two images: the meeting of the father with his son (ill. 79) and the fall of the young man (ill. 80). The first scene opens the inner chambers of Phoebus, with whom kneeling Phaeton is talking. On the sides of the hall are statues of the four seasons, mentioned in the text of Ovid along with days, months, years. The circular run of the Sun is indicated by the globe standing in the foreground (either a three-dimensional image of the celestial sphere, or a model of the earth’s surface). The hierarchical difference between the interlocutors is emphasized by the clothes: the solar god’s attire is contrasting with the poor clothes of Phaethon, who also wears pants - either an obvious anachronism or a symbolic reference to the barbarism and ignorance of the protagonist. The second engraving depicts Phaeton being carried across the sky by frenzied horses. The punishing hand of Jupiter is absent in the composition. To some extent, Scorpio has taken over its function, which is not only literally mentioned in the text, but also has a moral message, since it can be considered as “healing with death”²⁹⁶. In addition, a scorpion in the middle of the sky can refer to the difficulties that can be encountered “above”²⁹⁷, that is, to the fact that the affairs of management turned out to be overwhelming for the young man. From the bottom of the cloud, along which the solar chariot is rushing, the head of the wind is visible, which, from the point of view of emblematics, most often means a strong external influence that tests someone’s strength²⁹⁸, the cause of death²⁹⁹. In addition, if we return to the engraving by A. van Diepenbeeck, or to the illustration to the story of

²⁹⁶ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters.* — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 4.

²⁹⁷ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters.* — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P.18.

²⁹⁸ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters.* — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 28; 34.

²⁹⁹ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters.* — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 39.

the creation of the world in this publication, we can say that the wind is the embodiment of the air element. The text of the commentary remains unabridged, again reproducing the “moral”, “physical” and “historical” meanings of the “fable”, which were discussed above.

The illustration for the myth about the transformation of Actaeon into a deer (ill. 81) is solved in accordance with the established composition, with the exception of the peculiarity that the costume of the protagonist is the costume of a nobleman, and not of an ancient hunter. This fits perfectly with the “moral” and “political” explanations of the “fable” discussed above. The next engraving (ill. 82) depicts the meeting of a half-man, half-deer with his dogs. The animal, retaining its human features, is leaning towards its pets, trying to talk to them. The commentary is not reduced, relaying the same, predominantly moral explanation of the “fable”, which was analyzed in detail during the analyzing of the 17th century edition.

The illustration for the story about the nymph Echo (ill. 83) reproduces the iconography of A. van Diepenbeeck: a withered nymph, from which only a voice will soon remain, is turning into stone. Cupid is sitting at her feet, waiting for the moment when it will be possible to put out the torch. In the depths of the landscape, one can see the figure of Narcissus, located on the shore of a reservoir. The explanation of the “fables” about Echo and Narcissus remains here the same for both plots and is given without abbreviations. The engraving, illustrating the “fable” about Narcissus (ill. 84), looking into a man-made fountain, is full of small symbolic details: two doves at the edge of the source reveal a love theme, the reminiscence of which is the figure of Cupid sitting on a dolphin, crowning the fountain, aiming at the hunter’s heart³⁰⁰.

The composition of the engraving, illustrating the “fable” about the fall of Icarus (ill. 85), is solved in an extraordinary way. In the foreground, on the seashore, Daedalus is fastening wings behind the back of his son. In the depths there is a scene of the fall of a disobedient young man, on whose wings wax has melt under the influence of sunlight.

³⁰⁰ The boy on the dolphin refers to gentleness and tenderness, see, for example, *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, - London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 5.

As in the illustration to the “fable” about Io, there is a combination of two events taking place at different times in one image. Contrary to the already established iconography, there is no tower standing in the middle of the sea in the image. The text of the commentary omits one of the euhemeristic interpretations, from the point of view of which the escape from the tower on wings means an attempt to escape persecution with the help of sailing ships.

The engraving, illustrating the death of Eurydice (ill. 86), like many other illustrations of this publication, has a symbolic commentary: the tragedy, played out during the walk and depicted in the foreground, is supported by figurative “comments” in the form of weeping Cupids, which lowered the extinguished torches - not once mentioned metaphor of death³⁰¹. The text of the commentary is entirely taken from previous editions and printed without abbreviations. In addition to the theme of conjugal love and fidelity of Eurydice, who escaped the embrace of Aristeeas³⁰², the commentator dwells in more detail on the allegorical understanding of the plot, where Eurydice is the image of the soul. The plot of Orpheus’s journey to the Underworld that follows this in the image (ill. 87) is resolved extremely canonically³⁰³. The musician, standing in front of the rulers of the Underworld, seated on the throne, enchants the spouses and the creatures around them with his singing. There is no commentary on this part of the plot, since it has already been given in its entirety after the description of the first part.

The story about the love of Venus and Adonis also received an unobtrusive symbolic commentary. Cupid and a swan, the bird of Venus, appeared on the engravings, unambiguously hinting at the relationship between the main characters. The lovers are surrounded by hunting dogs, items necessary for hunting, Adonis’ favorite pastime. The first illustration (ill. 88) exactly repeats the work of C. van de Passe “Venus and Adonis” (ill. 89). The second one (ill. 90), despite the unknown authorship,

³⁰¹ Nikulina I. N. Two Readings of One Plot: Ovid and Poussin // National Codes of European Literature in the Diachronic Aspect: Antiquity - Modernity: a Collective Monograph. - Nizhny Novgorod: DECOM, 2018. P. 186. (*In Russian*); Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 5.

³⁰² Virgil The Georgics. Book. IV., 455-459. URL: <http://ancientrome.ru/antlitrt/t.htm?a=1375200004#450>. (date of access: 02.07.2023). (*In Russian*)

³⁰³ See the engraving by V. Solis mentioned in the previous chapter and the illustration for the edition of 1676.

demonstrates a visual technique that has been encountered more than once in the analysis of this publication: in the foreground are the heroes, around whom swans, hunting dogs, with which Cupid is playing, are depicted. In the depths of the landscape, the death of the hero is depicted: the goddess in love with him was so afraid of it. The commentary, which contains an explanation of the “fables” about Mirrha, the mother of Adonis, and about the hero, is given without abbreviations.

Thus, the visual text of the edition of 1702 retained a tendency towards the most complete coverage of the storyline by placing images of two events of different time in one space. The illustrations abounded with details that served both for a more accurate disclosure of the text of the poem, and for an unobtrusive hint of moral overtones (peacock, scorpion). Additional characters “commented” what was happening on the engraving, revealing the action itself rather than playing with subtexts (Cupids). Anachronisms in clothing indicate that the illustrations were still read through a commentary that actualized mythological subjects for the modern public, in the text of which, despite minor changes, the parity of various interpretations was preserved. So, it can be noted that, in contrast to the edition of 1660, where morality was the dominant point of view on the plot due to the dialogue of the image and a brief caption under it, in this edition, the visual text did not always look at the “fable” from the point of view of morality. The latter was introduced into the space of the image by placing several details in it, which could equally have both a literal and a moral interpretation. The illustration played with various interpretations, and the degree of general moral-emblematic interpretation decreased significantly at the intertextual level.

In the “Metamorphoses” of 1732, most of the illustrations were made from samples of 1702, while the text of the commentary was completely replaced by a new one, written by A. Banier. In the preface, the abbe developed his theory of original monotheism, inscribing the emergence of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in the Christian model of history, and as fully as possible he spoke about the sources of distortion and mythologization of real events (human vanity, lack of writing in ancient times, etc.). A. Banier conducted a consistent apology for his method, criticizing the

view of the “Metamorphoses” as a collection of allegories, especially moral ones, since their meaning was relative, it completely depended on the personality of the interpreter, who interpreted it in accordance with his own way of thinking. Instead, A. Banier proposed a “scientific” euhemeristic method, addressing his work to all interested readers.

The “fable” about the creation of the world in the text of the commentary is considered as something, borrowed from Scripture, which is fully consistent with the illustration (ill. 91). The Creator arranges the world: in the distance one can see the Sun, stars, the Moon, the celestial sphere, the waters are already inhabited by fish, the earth - by animals and birds. The only thing missing is a man. Having breathed life into a man (ill. 92), the Creator is supporting his beloved offspring, looking into his face — the divine image and likeness. Various animals and birds have gathered around the newly created master of the world. A. Banier, stating the origin of this “fable” from Holy Scripture, proposes to move on to understanding the role of Prometheus in the creation of man, which follows the logic of the comments of the 17th century considered above. In addition to the already well-established euhemeristic interpretations of the image of Prometheus (he “cultivated” the Scythians, studied astronomy, often retreating to the Caucasus Mountains; he could not stop the flood of the river, which was called the Eagle because of the speed of the flow), A. Banier offers several new interpretations. Firstly, the plot with the extraction of fire, in his opinion, should be interpreted as follows: Jupiter closed the blacksmiths in which iron was forged, fearing that the Titans would use this iron against him; Prometheus, having retired to Scythia, built beautiful forges there, in which Calibes blacksmiths worked, “perhaps, even being afraid not to find fire in this country, he brought it on a ferule stalk”³⁰⁴. Based on the opinion of S. Bochart and J. le Clerc, the author developed the assumption that Prometheus and Epimetheus were none other than Gog and Magog.

³⁰⁴ Les Métamorphoses d’Ovide, en latin, traduites en François, avec des remarques et des explications historiques Par Mr. l’abbé Banier, de l’Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Ouvrage enrichi de Figures en taille douce, Gravées par B. Picart & autres habiles maîtres. Vol. 1–2. Amsterdam: Wetstein & Smith, 1732. Vol. 1. P.6.

More traditional, although with characteristic changes, are comments on the story of Lycaon (ill. 93). The illustration for the “fable” repeats the composition of 1702, with the only difference: there is no turban on Jupiter’s head. The “symbolic” still life: table’s animal paws, the number of characters - everything remains unchanged. The commentary combines several euhemeristic interpretations at once, with an attempt, characteristic of A. Banier, to name the approximate date of the “historical” events that served as the basis for the “fable”, with the help of a reference to the Parian Chronicle. According to A. Banier, antiquity knew two Lycaons: the first one was the king of Arcadia, where he ruled “in the time of the patriarch Jacob”³⁰⁵, 250 years before the Cecrops. The second Lycaon, well-mannered and religious, succeeded the first. But in the inhumanity so prevalent in those days, he desecrated the Lupercalia by offering human sacrifices. According to another interpretation, Lycaon built a city in the mountains of Arcadia, where the altar of Jupiter Lyceus, to whom human sacrifices were made, was located. From here, according to A. Banier, there is a plot about the feast prepared by Lycaon for Jupiter. The transformation into a wolf is based on the similarity of the name of the hero and the sound of the name of this animal in Greek. Lycaon was loved by his people, whom he taught to live less wildly, he built cities, he was a virtuous ruler, trying to comply with the laws established by his father. A. Banier also gives another explanation: according to Suidas, in order for people to obey the laws, Lycaon convinced them that Jupiter often descends into his palace in the form of a wanderer. Once, before a sacrifice to this deity, children, wanting to find out the truth, mixed the sacrificial meat with the flesh of a just dead child, believing that Jupiter would never be able to convict them of this trick. A terrible storm broke out, and lightning struck the wicked. Lycaon, in order to propitiate Jupiter, instituted the festival of Lupercalia.

Each of the four fragments of the myth about the nymph Io has its own commentary. The first part is illustrated by an engraving from the edition of 1702 (ill. 94), where a nymph is standing in the foreground, and a chase plot unfolds in the depths

³⁰⁵ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. In 2 Vol. Amsterdam, 1732. Vol. 1. P. 15.

of the landscape. A small detail is added: Jupiter is being followed by an eagle - an attribute of this deity. A. Banier's comment here incorporates the interpretations already mentioned above, considered, however, from a slightly different angle. On the one hand, the “fable” about Io, according to A. Banier, may have an Egyptian origin: Isis, who ruled the Egyptians in the distant past, taught them agriculture and other useful arts, because of which the people deified her. Inachus brought the cult of this goddess to Greece, so in the myth Io-Isis began to be considered his daughter. On the other hand, the story of the escape of the Argive princess to Egypt could serve as the basis for the “fable”. Both of these interpretations are based on ancient authors and have been mentioned above more than once, and, even more, the latter is considered by A. Banier as “a new fable that was invented to explain the old one”³⁰⁶. Trying to compare the version of Pausanias and Augustine with the Parian Chronicle, A. Banier comes to a contradiction between explanatory theories and available chronological tables: it turns out that Io lives 600 years after Inachus, “who was a contemporary of Moses”³⁰⁷. Herodotus’ explanation also fails. In the end, criticism of the Greek origin of Io becomes a confirmation of the Egyptian genesis of the “fable” and its characters. The second part of the plot is illustrated by an engraving that differs from the image in the edition of 1702, although it retains the general theme (ill. 95). Juno, descending to earth, is asking her husband to give her a cow, to which Jupiter is pointing with his hand. The scene is wrapped in clouds, next to Juno her peacock and a female figure, dispersing the clouds with her hands, are depicted. A rainbow is depicted in the background, from which we can conclude that the goddess dispersing the clouds is Iris, the messenger of Juno. The comment is limited to the general theoretical passage that “fables” owe their origin to real stories, and in order to uncover the latter, it is necessary to return events to their original simplicity, without trying to explain all the details of the narrative. The scene of the murder of Argus is depicted in accordance with the compositional solution that was in the edition of 1702, with the only difference that instead of the ancient ruins, a branchy tree grows and the outlines of the mountains are changed in the landscape (ill.

³⁰⁶ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. In 2 Vol. Amsterdam, 1732. Vol. 1. P. 31.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

96). Based on his predecessors, A. Banier interprets the “fable” as follows. Argus was the sixth king of Argos after Inachus. He was considered a wise and just ruler. His nickname “all-seeing”, given by the authors, served as the basis for the mythological shepherd’s hundred-eyedness. A. Banier says that if, as some ancient authors believed, the story of Io happened in his reign, then it happened like this: a certain Jupiter killed the king in order to kidnap Io. The third illustration is also made from a compositional pattern of 1702 (ill. 97), but this time the artist carefully avoided anachronisms in clothing, draping the goddesses in a way more appropriate for ancient scenes. The figure of the observer also disappeared. The acting characters (Juno, Iris, two peacocks, three putti, Argus) remained on the image in the same poses. In the commentary by A. Banier, this time the main character is a peacock. According to the abbe, the eyes on the peacock’s tail remind us of our eyes, which is why Juno showered the tail of her favorite bird with the eyes of her faithful shepherd. In addition, the “gods of the pagans” (les Dieux des Payens), who were once real people elevated to this rank, gradually became natural symbols. So, for example, Juno became associated with air or ether, and “since this element transmits light to us, it is not surprising that a bird that was dedicated to the goddess who designated it (i.e. air - E.B.) was decorated with so many eyes” ³⁰⁸. A. Banier adds that according to some mythologists, events developed somewhat differently: when Mercury put Argus to sleep, a certain young man named Hierax woke the shepherd. God decided to kill Argus with a stone and to turn Hierax into a hawk.

The illustration for the myth about Phaeton’s conversation with the Sun, just like the previous ones, was made on the basis of an engraving of 1702 (ill. 98), with a change in the details of clothing and interior. Clothing became more conventional, wildness disappeared in the image of Phaeton. The globe turned into a simple sphere, the floor of the palace became homogeneous. As for the plot about the fall of a young man (ill. 99), it can be said that despite the more refined technique, all the basic elements, including Cancer and wind, are preserved. A. Banier places one explanation

³⁰⁸ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. In 2 Vol. Amsterdam, 1732. Vol. 1. P. 40.

on both of these “fables”, in which his theoretical calculations are combined both with the interpretations already mentioned above (Phaeton is an astronomer who predicted the heat; Phaethon is the king of the Molossians, etc.), and with several new ones. According to A. Banier’s opinion, which has been repeatedly mentioned, the roots of “fables” should always be sought in history. The poets who embellished historical events were “the first historians”. With Neoplatonic philosophy, the allegorical interpretation of plots began to spread, which, according to A. Banier, is closely connected with the absurd moral interpretation, as, for example, in the myth of Phaethon. Having cited the genealogy of the hero in the text of the explanation, the commentator comes to the conclusion that Phaeton lived about four hundred years before the Trojan War. The fall of the solar chariot is interpreted as an allusion to the disastrous drought that broke out in his time. The following explanation is also given, according to which the chariot of Phoebus is nothing but the chariot of the prophet Elijah. Here, one more link with biblical stories is given: A. Banier says that it is possible that a worldwide fire caused by the fall of Phaethon was the God’s punishment that fell on criminal cities. These interpretations here adjoin the interpretation of G. J. Vossius, who connected the plot of the myth with the Egyptian cult of Osiris. This thesis about the Egyptian origin of the “fable” is further developed in the text, interspersed with the “physical” interpretation, with the “historical” explanations mentioned above and the description of the antiques.

The depiction to the “fable” about Jupiter and Callisto (ill. 100), elegantly solved from the stylistic point of view, is filled with small symbolic comments. The scene taking place under the canopy of a grove is commented on by a fountain, seemingly out of place in this place. Semantically, the fountain, like a natural water reservoir, refers to love in Rococo graphics³⁰⁹. Reliefs that reinforce this meaning are depicted on it. The grapevine winding around the fountain is also a symbol of mutual union³¹⁰. The characters can be easily identified by their attributes: bow and arrows,

³⁰⁹ For more information, see: Stewart Ph. *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth century*. - Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992. P. 133-173, where the symbolism of water sources is analyzed in the context of the visual culture of the Rococo

³¹⁰ *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems*, by Caesar Ripa, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 9.

hunting dogs, the moon shining in the pseudo-Diana's hair, the eagle lurking behind her back. In the commentary on this story, A. Banier adds practically nothing new. The abbe gives a version according to which the king of Arcadia, Jupiter, fell in love with a girl named Callisto, who passionately loved hunting and walked in the skins of wild animals, as was customary then. To this A. Banier adds the presentation of the opinion of "one modern author", who interprets the transformation of Callisto into a bear from a moral point of view, namely, as a loss of virtue among high society. Further, an "astronomical" explanation is given. According to it, Callisto was placed in the sky, because Lycaon (her father) was one of the first Greeks who observed the constellation Ursa. From the "astronomical" point of view, the tricks of Juno are also interpreted.

Both engravings, illustrating the story about Actaeon, retain the compositional solution of 1702 with some nuances. On the first of them (ill. 101), Actaeon wears military armor instead of a nobleman's costume, on the second (ill. 102), there are no significant changes in details at all. A. Banier comments on each of the two "fables". In the first case, A. Banier focuses on the personality and name of Diana, using the texts of Cicero, Strabo, G. J. Vossius, and others. Emphasizing that this is a Greek goddess, the author again speaks of her Egyptian origin. He raises the "fable" about Actaeon to the veneration of Diana Britomartis, who loved hunting. The second part of the explanation focuses on the image of Actaeon, his genealogy, the tradition of depicting him in military armor, since "in those heroic times, the clothes of a hunter did not differ from the clothes of a warrior"³¹¹. A. Banier, citing common interpretations of Actaeon torn to pieces by his own dogs (as a hunter who spent a lot of money on his pets, or a hunter torn to pieces by mad dogs), gives an interpretation of Diodorus Siculus, which seems to him the most correct. According to this interpretation, Actaeon showed contempt for Diana, wishing to taste the sacrificial meat prepared for sacrifice to this goddess. He was expelled because he opposed religious ceremonies mixed with the cult of Bacchus, who was brought to Greece at one time.

³¹¹ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. In 2 Vol. Amsterdam, 1732. Vol. 1. P. 90.

In the illustration to the plot about the nymph Echo, both the compositional solution and the symbolic details that were in the edition of 1702 (ill. 103) are preserved: at the feet of Echo turning into stone, Cupid perched with a dying torch; in the depths of the landscape, Narcissus, the cause of the nymph's suffering, is sitting on the bank of the spring. The explanation of the fable, according to the commentator, is more "physical" than "historical", since it tells people about such a natural phenomenon as an echo. To explain this phenomenon, the poets invented the "fable". From the "historical" point of view, one can see the basis of the plot as follows: a certain nymph got lost in the forest, and those who were looking for her heard only the echo of her voice and decided that she had turned into a voice. The illustration to the story about Narcissus, like the previous one, repeats the composition of 1702 (ill. 104), while A. Banier's commentary on this story is original. After a brief description of the moral interpretation of the fable about the illusiveness of pride in the context of reasoning about the plot of this "fable" as an invention of poets, A. Banier proceeds to present Pausanias' interpretation, according to which Narcissus, having lost his beloved twin sister, was looking into the water, imagining that he was looking not on his reflection, but on her. Further, also with references to ancient authors, there is a development of the theme of daffodil as a flower, dedicated to Proserpina and associated with the Eumenides, "whose cult, no doubt, is more ancient than that which served as the plot for this fable"³¹². According to A. Banier, garlands of daffodils were dedicated to these goddesses, since daffodils usually grew around graves. After interpreting the name of Narcissus ("stupid, insensitive"), the commentator proceeds to explain the image of Tiresias. The latter is believed to have been an augur who, after the capture of Thebes, withdrew from the city. On his way, he drank dirty water from the spring and died. The life and death of the augur served as the basis for the birth of the "fable" about his blindness. Since, according to this interpretation, Tiresias lived in Thebes during the "War of the Epigones" (la Guerre des Epigones), A. Banier dates his life to 1200 BC, ten or fifteen years before the siege of Troy.

³¹² Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. In 2 Vol. Amsterdam, 1732. Vol. 1. P. 90.

The illustration for the “fable” about Daedalus and Icarus completely repeats the engraving from the edition of 1702 (ill. 105): in the foreground Daedalus is fastening a wing behind his son’s back, and, in the depths of the landscape, a falling scene is depicted. A. Banier’s commentary includes the interpretation of the plot, mentioned above, about the escape from prison on sailing ships, the deeds of Daedalus in Sicily, etc. A. Banier details the versions of the origin of the Cretan labyrinth, and after citing various points of view, stops on the fact that this miracle was built by Daedalus like the Egyptian model. The approximate lifetime of the master is calculated by calculating the time of the reign of Minos, who died thirty-five years before the siege of Troy.

The image for the myth about the death of Eurydice (ill. 106), as well as another one about the journey of Orpheus to Hades, repeats the compositions of 1702 (ill. 107), with the only difference that, in the first case, the tower, depicted in the distance, disappeared from the landscape, the woman, in the foreground, turned to face the viewer, and her head is crowned with a plant wreath so that the viewer can recognize the girl as a naiad. Other minor changes in details such as the tilt of the head, the treatment of folds, etc. may be omitted here, since they are not related to the symbolism of the image. The illustration, which depicts Orpheus standing before the rulers of the Underworld, completely coincides compositionally with the engraving of 1702. As in most of the cases already analyzed, A. Banier builds an explanation of the “fable” on generally accepted interpretations (about Orpheus’s talent for poetry and music, while the time when these arts were at a low stage of development in Greece, about his departure to the mountains of Thrace, about how he was deceived by the ghost of his dead wife, etc.). A. Banier weaves several new nuances into these already familiar interpretations. Firstly, Orpheus studied the religious rituals and mysteries in Egypt, and “he must be regarded as the father of Greek theology”³¹³. In addition, “he received from the Jews, who were also in Egypt, the knowledge of the true God”³¹⁴. Another insert is also consistent with the “Egyptian” version, according to which Orpheus, having learned the art of healing in Egypt, was able to save his wife from a snake bite, which

³¹³ Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. In 2 Vol. Amsterdam, 1732. Vol. 2. P. 329.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

served as the basis for the “fable” about his descent into Hades. A. Banier also cites the opinion of some authors, according to which Orpheus never existed as a historical figure, the character arose as a result of linguistic manipulations (for example, the verb *rapha* (italics mine – E.B.)³¹⁵ is mentioned as a possible linguistic reason for the origin of the “fable”). However, the commentary ends with a list of those opinions according to which Orpheus was a singer, established the cults of the gods, in particular, Bacchus; a man who introduced the rites of atonement for crimes and summoning the spirits of the dead, who practiced magic, astronomy, who wrote several literary works and for that, after his death, he was elevated to the rank of demigods. According to the author, these works have not survived.

Apart from changes in the stylistic interpretation of the figures and light and shade modeling, both illustrations (ill. 108 and ill. 109), which depict the love of Venus and Adonis, retain all the details of the composition of 1702, although their order in the structure of the publication is changed. Cupids and swans are still present on both engravings. On one of them, in the distance, one can see the scene of the death of Adonis. A. Banier, in his comments on the “fables” about Mirrha, Venus and Adonis, in general, relays the established “historical” interpretations. The cult of Adonis, according to A. Banier, is of Syrian origin. Passionately fond of hunting, Adonis was wounded by a boar, and his wife, Astarte, instituted annual festivities in his honor. When it turned out that Adonis did not die at all, but was cured by doctor Cocutus, another festivity was established in honor of his return. A. Banier rejects the Egyptian origin of the cult, believing that Adonis should not be identified with the Egyptian Osiris.

Thus, the visual text, on the whole, retained both the details that helped reveal the plot, the personalities of the characters and the moral implication, if any was in the edition of 1702. Anachronistic details were reduced to nothing, the clothes of the heroes were made more conventional. A. Banier, criticizing the moral interpretation of the plots, in his encyclopedic euhemeristic interpretation of “fables”, tended to search for the ontological rootedness of ancient myths in reality, using the Parian Chronicle as a

³¹⁵ Lit. Hebrew "treat"; Ibid.

reference source for his explanations. In addition, the abbe constantly referred to the characters of Scripture, either as a chronological marker, or as the meaning of an allegory. His view, despite the seeming trend to rationalize the study of ancient “fables”, was deeply confessional.

3.3. “The Temple of the Muses” (1733): Illustrations by B. Picart and the Euhemeristic Interpretation of Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology

In 1733, on the basis of the “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses”, another folio³¹⁶ with a similar title and engravings by B. Picart was published. Despite the apparent similarity of the illustrative material (B. Picart made most of the engravings from samples of 1655) and the selected subjects, the edition of 1733 had other tasks. An attempt at a “historical” interpretation of myths, that is, a euhemeristic interpretation of ancient myths, came to the fore. At the same time, significant changes in the visual range took place: new details were added, compositions were modified and an ornamental frame appeared. It not only performed the function of decoration, but, being an essential part of the visual text, took on an important semantic function. The order of the plots, in general, was preserved, except the numerical increase in the visual series by two graphic sheets. The division of the collection into books was abolished, along with which the sense of an ordered model of the world was gone. The allusions to Philostratus and the imaginary gallery disappeared, but the muses - a tribute to ancient poetry - remained in the title.

Each of more than a dozen ornamental frames should be considered as a semantic whole, filling in the semantic gap that arose as a result of the reduction of the commentary to the presentation of the euhemeristic interpretation of the plot. However, sometimes individual ornamental details can be correlated with a particular plot differently, forming new meanings. The main meaning of the ornamental framing becomes clear as a result of analyzing the principle of classifying plots and of

³¹⁶ Le Temple des Muses, orné de LX, où sont représentés les événemens les plus remarquables de l’antiquité fabuleuse; Dessinés & gravés par B. Picart le Romain, & autres habiles Maitres; et accompagnés d’explications et de remarques, Qui découvrent le vrai sens des Fables, & le fondement qu’elles ont dans l’Histoire. Amsterdam: Chez Z. Chatelain, 1733. – 152 p.

combining them into a group of identically framed images. For the most complete description of the internal play of meanings within the visual text and its relationship with the commentary text, let us dwell on a few examples.

The ornamental frame, framing the plots of Lycaon³¹⁷, Enceladus, Ixion, Jason, the battle of Hercules with the Hydra, consists of infernal symbols: Gorgons, Cerberus, Dragon, Hades, bats, chains - everything either literally or symbolically refers to the Underworld³¹⁸. In a 17th century edition, all these plots were interpreted either as a fight against vices, or as a punishment following grave sins. The most interesting in this series is the illustration “Lycaon, turned into a wolf” (ill. 110), not only because this plot was not placed in the publication “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses”, but also due to several details that B. Picart focuses on. The artist mirrors the compositional scheme from “Metamorphoses” of 1702: Jupiter and Lycaon, turning into a wolf, are depicted in the foreground, a curious young man is serving food on the table, and, in the background, the god’s anger is already pursuing the household with flames. B. Picart cut the composition to a vertical format, so that one of the young men, serving the table, disappeared. As in the image of 1702, the composition lacks the attribute of Jupiter - the eagle - and B. Picart marks the “otherness” of the guest in relation to the people in the house, dressing him in an oriental outfit. The inner “morality” of the visual text can be read not only through the ornamental frame, but also through the details of the still life. A dish with a peacock is in the middle. A nautilus cup, the meaning of which was discussed above, is next to it. In this case, the theme of human vanity and punishment for it, allusions to the fragility of well-being and human life remain entirely in the visual text. The commentary explains the “fable” with the help of a frequently broadcast euhemeristic interpretation: Lycaon, cruel to foreigners, sacrificed a child to Jupiter

³¹⁷ In the edition of 1655, this plot was absent.

³¹⁸ In the emblematic collections, the bat as part of the emblem personifies death, snakes and dragons - evil, sin. See: *Symbola et Emblemata Jussu atque auspiciis sacerrimae suae majestatis Augustissimi ac Serenissimi imperatoris Moschoviae Magni Domini Czaris et Magni Ducis Petri Alexeidis totius Magnae, Parvae et Albae Rossiae, nec non aliarum multarum Potestatum atque Dominiorum Orientalium, Occidentalium Aquae Ionariumque supremi monarchae excusa.* - Amstelaedami: apud Henricum Wetstenium, 1705. P. 7. (this collection of emblems was made from an earlier Dutch edition); *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems, by Caesar Ripa, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 18; P. 25; P. 59.* Gorgons and Cerberus refer us to the same semantic series by the contiguity of phenomena in the mythological system. In addition, the Dragon is the personification of sin in the comments of M. de Marolles, which is fully consistent with the emblematic interpretation.

(this is how the meal prepared by Lycaon for Jupiter should be interpreted). He “established the Lupercalia, on which human sacrifices were made”³¹⁹. Since this plot was absent in the “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses”, here, as nowhere else, the pull of the visual text, executed under the direction of B. Picart, to fill the semantic gap, that was formed as a result of replacing a moral interpretation or a whole range of explanations with a one-sided euhemeristic comment, is most fully manifested. In all other cases, which will be discussed below, due to the fact that the artist is guided by the drawings by A. van Diepenbeeck, this function falls entirely on the ornamental frame.

The battle of Hercules with the Hydra (ill. 111), which has the same ornamental frame, has several euhemeristic interpretations. According to one version, Hercules set fire to the swamp reeds and killed all the snakes that lived in the swamp and annoyed the area. According to another version, the hero drained the swamp, which was the cause of the flooding of the surrounding lands. The third version presents Hercules as the conqueror of robbers, and the fourth speaks of the siege of a fortified city commanded by a certain Lernus. The fortress was defended with such courage that, in the end, the besiegers had no choice but to burn it down. The connection with the moral significance that the plot had in the edition of 1655 is provided by an ornamental frame. It is read, in this case, entirely through the meanings that are given in the emblematic collections: dragons, bats, snakes - all this is the personification of evil and sin. The ornamental frame added by B. Picart is not always unambiguous. For example, in the plot about Ixion (ill. 112), adjacent to the same group of “fables”, there is a duality in the reading of ornamental motifs. The frame can be viewed both as a direct reference to the place of Ixion’s torment - the Underworld, and as a moral commentary referring to a series of symbols associated with human vices.

The ornamental frame, consisting of symbols of love and passion, “comments” the illustrations for the “fables” about Phaethon, Meleager and Atalanta, Proteus, Ceyx and Alcyone, Penelope’s Veil. It consists of flowers, flaming lamps³²⁰, doves, a torch

³¹⁹ Le Temple des Muses. Amsterdam, 1733.P.40.

³²⁰ Symbola et Emblemata. Amstelaedami, apud Henricum Wetstenium, 1705. P. 11.

and a quiver of arrows³²¹. If the plot, in which there is a couple of lovers, correlates with the frame in an obvious way, then in other cases the relationship between possible interpretations of the plot with an ornamental frame requires clarification. Close in meaning to the case just mentioned is the “fable” of Penelope’s veil. In the edition of 1655, this story had a lengthy moral commentary: Hymen, standing with his back to the viewer, cut the fabric woven by Penelope in a day, the completion of which would mean a new marriage for the ruler of Ithaca. But the Cupids, who fell asleep behind her, hinted that she was not inclined to succumb to temptation and intended to remain faithful to her husband. In the field of the visual text, B. Picart adds several details (ill. 113): he draped the figure of Hymen; wings, which unequivocally help the viewer to identify Hymen as a messenger of heaven, appeared behind the god’s back. His wreath of roses echoes the framed bouquet, which in this way begins to speak of love as a sincere and noble feeling. The text of the commentary on this plot does not provide any explanation, since what is happening is so close to reality that it does not require any additional analysis.

A complete contrast to such an interpretation is the correlation of the same frame with the story of Phaethon (ill. 114). As it already was mentioned in the analysis of illustrations for the edition of 1655 and for the “*Metamorphoses*” editions, Phaeton, from the moral point of view, served as the personification of a person blinded by desire and not heeding the voice of reason, of a person who took the reins of government into his hands and lost them due to his inexperience. The meaning of passion as such, thus, is extrapolated to the entire ornamental frame. The key symbol is a vessel with fire, which can be interpreted as a pleasure that destroys a person³²². Already familiar euhemeristic interpretations appeared in the explanation of the “fable”. They are about a terrible drought, about Phaethon, who studied astronomy and predicted abnormal heat, etc. Also, another commentary was added. According to it, the fiery chariot of the prophet Elijah served as the basis for this “fable”, which “is based only on the similarity

³²¹ Symbols of love, as repeatedly it was shown above

³²² *Symbola et Emblemata*. Amstelaedami, apud Henricum Wetstenium, 1705. P. 17.; *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters*. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 4.

of the name of Elijah and the name of the Sun, which the Greeks called Helios”³²³. The explanation ends with a small remark about the moral meaning of the “fable”: Phaethon is a living example of the disastrous consequences of recklessness and ambition (l’ambition).

The group of illustrations, to which the plot about Actaeon belongs (myths about Actaeon, Alpheus and Arethusa, Pan and Syrinx, Atlas), is surrounded by symbols that refer to the water element: at the top, three dolphins support a basket that is filled to the top with shells and other sea and river items; on the left and on the right half-human beings holding jugs of pouring water above their heads (a common symbol of the river are) are depicted; a mascarón is below. It can be associated with the river god Alpheus or remain an abstract allusion to the water element, as well as dragons. If in the previous case, when it was about infernal symbolism, the dragon was associated with vices and evil, then here it is associated with the water element. This kind of rethinking of the image of the dragon in the French art of the 18th century, especially in the art of Rococo, was associated with the fashion for Chinese culture, which, starting from the end of the 17th century³²⁴ played an important role in the “dictionary of images” of that time. In addition to interpretations of the image of the dragon as an emblem of power, moderation, chastity, abundance³²⁵, this mythological creature began to be considered in connection with various elements. The image of the dragon acquired an independent life outside of Christian morality due to its belonging not only to European, but also to Chinese culture, which filled the image, old for European visual culture, with new meanings. And although the parallels between the image of the dragon and the water world were not very frequent, they were still present in the decorative art of that time³²⁶. Closer to the European consciousness was the motif associated with the fiery element³²⁷. In this case, in an ornamental frame with infernal symbols that framed the stories about Lycaon and Hercules, the dragon spewing fire can be identified with the fire element as

³²³ Le Temple des Muses. Amsterdam, 1733.P.20.

³²⁴ Toutain-Quittelier V. Le dragon dans la culture visuelle rocaille // Nouvelles de l’estampe, № 262, 2019. URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/estampe/1363>. (date of access: 07.02.2023)

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

such, which also does not violate the general semantic field of the ornamental frame. If we return to Actaeon (ill. 115), then the water symbolism unambiguously correlates with his misconduct, for which he was punished by Diana by turning into a deer and dying from the teeth of his own dogs. The explanation of the “fable” is made from a euhemeristic position, mixed with an allegorical point of view: Actaeon is a man whose passion for hunting induces excessive expenses: “Here is the allegorical meaning of the fable, and perhaps there is no need to look for another explanation. However, there are authors who claim that Actaeon was indeed torn to pieces by dogs that went berserk”³²⁸.

In the ornamental frame, linking the plots about Io, Tantalus, Telephus, Icarus into one group, there are several bright semantic motifs: winds, the sun and a peacock. Winds in the context of the emblem most often mean a strong external influence that tests someone’s strength³²⁹, the cause of death³³⁰; or, if you follow the visual series of the edition of 1655, for example, turn again to the engraving “Chaos”, then they become the embodiment of one of the four elements – air; or, as in the illustration to the “Metamorphoses” of 1702, are part of the demiurgical act, the original cosmic harmony, the four cardinal points. The sun can be seen mainly as something associated with the divine world³³¹, virtue, light. The peacock is a common emblem of pride and unjustified human pretensions³³². The general message of the frame, taken out of connection with any image, is about virtue, its trials and human pride as the most destructive vice. In application to each individual plot, this general meaning is refracted in its own way. In the case, for example, with the plot of the myth of Io (ill. 116), the peacock visually refers to the attribute of Juno, the four winds can be interpreted not only as trials, but also as the four cardinal points, referring to the wanderings of the nymph; and the sun becomes either a symbol of the divine as such, or a symbol of virtue, if we recall the interpretation of M. de Marolles, or take into account the deification by the Egyptians of

³²⁸ *Le Temple des Muses*. Amsterdam, 1733.P.48.

³²⁹ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters*. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 28; 34.

³³⁰ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters*. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 39.

³³¹ *Devises et Emblems Anciennes et Modernes. Tirées des plus celebres Auteurs. Avec Plusieurs autres Nouvellement inventées et mises en Latin, en Francois, en Espagnol, en Italien, en Anglois, en Flamand et Allemand. Par les soins de Daniel de la Feuille*. — Amsterdam, 1693.P. 20.

³³² *Iconologia or, Moral Emblems, by Caesar Ripa*, – London: Printed by Benj. Motte, 1709. P. 7.

a nymph that has regained its human form. In the case of the illustration of the plot about the fall of Icarus (ill. 117), the peacock unequivocally becomes a symbol of pride, the four winds retain the meaning of trials mentioned above, and the role of the sun, as some kind of unattainable divine limit, is enhanced due to the fact that it is assigned a significant role in the myth. The explanation of the fable uses the euhemeristic interpretation (already discussed above) about the unsuccessful escape of Daedalus and his son Icarus from prison on ships.

In the myths about Orpheus, Prometheus, Amphion and the apotheosis of Hercules, united by one ornamental frame, the function of a cultural hero as a fighter against chaos and vices of uncivilized peoples comes to the fore. Echoes of this interpretation can also be seen in the motifs that make up the ornamental frame. The infernal symbolism below (the head of the Gorgon, the Sphinx, a half-woman-half-snake with bird legs and wings) is a group of symbols, which is interrupted on the left and right by bundles of musical instruments and various “technical” inventions: an anchor, a fishing net, etc. It is followed by flowers and fruits on the left and bunches of shells of various shapes on the right. The image is crowned by four winds, the main meanings of which were already mentioned above. Motives associated with vices, chaos, difficulties are interspersed with the creations of human hands, which allow people to subjugate unfriendly elements. Such a set of motives is directly consistent with the euhemeristic interpretation given in the text. For example, in the case of Orpheus (ill. 118), it is important not only that he was an excellent poet and musician, but also knew how to avert the wrath of the gods, perform a cleansing ceremony, etc. - all this has already been mentioned more than once above when analyzing other publications. It is only worth noting that the explanation of the “fable” in the edition of 1733 consists almost entirely of a quote taken from Pausanias’ “Description of Hellas”³³³. There are no significant changes in the main image. B. Picart retains all the details of the drawing by A. van Diepenbeeck.

³³³ See: Pausanias “Description of Hellas”. Book. 9. Chap. 30. URL: <http://ancientrome.ru/antlittr/t.htm?a=1385000100>. (date of access: 07.02.2023). (*In Russian*)

Thus, with the transition to a euhemeristic interpretation of myths and the addition of an ornamental frame, the process of refining the semantic field of total significance took place. The same elements could interact differently with each specific image, either becoming the key to the meanings formed in the visual text field, or, on the contrary, practically declining to the level of a simple decorative ornament. The frame introduced an element of play with the viewer, since its potential symbolic polyvalence provided the possibility of “reading out” those meanings that the viewer could be aware of. In general, the text adhered to the “historical” interpretation of the plots, while the ornamental frame took on the function of a moral “commentary”, only occasionally mentioned or completely absent from the text.

3.4. Ovid's “Metamorphoses” (1767-1771): a New Visual Interpretation of Ancient Mythological Plots

Despite the fact that the popularity of A. Banier’s comments did not fade even in the second half of the 18th century, there was a significant shift in the understanding of ancient Greek and Roman mythology at that time. The refusal to look at it from the point of view of the Christian understanding of history, the perception of antiquity as the Other contributed to the transformation of the visual series, which can be traced on the basis of the four-volume edition of “Metamorphoses” of 1767-1771³³⁴. Although it retained the comments of A. Banier, the visual interpretation of the plots was completely transformed. There were also changes in the general structure of the publication: the poem was preceded not only by the biography of Ovid, but also by the publication of the Parian Chronicle in Latin and French with a preface in which a brief description of the monument was given. Since this chronicle, which brought together legendary and historical events, often served as a support for proving the ontological rootedness of the ancient “fables” for A. Banier, its text was reproduced in its entirety in the edition of 1767-1771 to illustrate the abbe’s reasoning.

³³⁴ Les Métamorphoses d’Ovide, en Latin et en François, de la Traduction de M. l’Abbé Banier, de l’Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, avec des explications historiques. Vol. 1–4. – Paris: Chez Pissot, Libraire, Quai de Conty, 1767–1771.

The act of creation (ill. 119) in the visual text, as well as in the text of the commentary, remains within the framework of the Christian interpretation. However, there is no longer paid so much attention to the landscape and the celestial spheres in their cosmic understanding. All the diversity of the created, except for the luminaries, is in the distance and covers the surface of the globe. Symbolic details disappeared, such as, for example, a sphere with the signs of the zodiac which was a symbol of perfection, a reference to the annual cycle, twelve months. While maintaining the general meaning, the iconography of the plot about the creation of man (ill. 120) also underwent slight changes. The first man is not lying, but is standing, which can be explained not so much by some change in meaning, but by a change in format from horizontal to vertical. In this case, it should be noted that the caption under the illustration, revealing the main meaning of the “fable”, focuses on the fact that Prometheus created a person, although in the illustration the image of the creator is more like the image of God. This does not in the least contradict either A. Banier’s commentary, or earlier explanations that connected the “fable” with the events described in Scripture, and associated Prometheus with Providence.

The myth about Lycaon (ill. 121), although it is solved more or less traditionally in terms of composition, has fewer symbolic details than in previous editions. The still life, which had moral significance, disappeared, the table’s animal paws were eliminated, the terrace became more like part of a modern mansion, stylized as antique one, than a suppositive space in which the action is taking place. Jupiter lost his “otherness”, he is deprived even of its attribute (an eagle). The whole scene is permeated with the “reality” of what is happening. Despite the reduction in the level of hypotheticality (including in clothing) and symbolism, there is still a moral commentary on the scene. Cupid, sitting in some interior, is depicted above the entrance to the terrace; he is looking at something. Probably, this can be read as a symbolism referring

to the commission of a situationally determined crime³³⁵, which is fully consistent with the meanings associated with the “fable”.

In contrast to the “realism” of the illustration for the “fable” about Lycaon, the engraving that opens the series of illustrations for the plot about Io (ill. 122) is full of indefiniteness. The landscape is indefinite, the draperies are indefinite, the symbols — the eagle and Cupid — are easy to read, the image is not loaded with complex moral allegories or other details that could hint at the existence of subtext. The same thing happened with the next illustration (ill. 123), in which Juno is begging her husband for a cow. The action takes place in the indefinite “mythological” time and place, although the overall compositional solution, which is reworked to suit the format, remains the same. Each of the gods has their attributes behind them: peacocks are behind Juno, an eagle is behind Jupiter. The same trend is followed by the third engraving (ill. 124), connected with this plot and illustrating the scene of the murder of Argus. Apart from the flute, caduceus, winged hat, which help identify Mercury, the image has no symbols. As for the fourth engraving (ill. 125), a serious thematic shift is visible here. The viewer’s attention is focused on Io’s stay in Egypt. The graphic sheet is compositionally divided into two parts: at the top, the gods are discussing the return of the human form to the nymph; at the bottom, Io’s crying is depicted. The gods, as in the previous images, are surrounded by their favorite birds. On the right, an allegorical image of the Nile River is in the foreground. The indefiniteness of the divine world smoothly flows into a specific location of earthly events, which is fully consistent with the postulation of the Egyptian origin of the “fable” in A. Banier’s commentary.

Approximately on the same contrast, the composition of Phaeton’s meeting with his father is built (ill. 126). Apollo, surrounded by the seasons and various other periods of time, depicted not as statues, but as characters of the divine world, is sitting on a throne, holding a lyre in his hands. Phaeton, addressing him, is more real, his clothes, like the clothes of some of the characters near him, are more detailed. The fall of the disobedient son (ill. 127) is shown quite canonically: Jupiter sitting on the eagle is

³³⁵ *Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters.* — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699. P. 39.

throwing thunderbolts at an unfortunate young man who did not manage to control the chariot. This time, the image is missing the Scorpio and other details that could refer to moral overtones.

The illustration to the story about Jupiter and Callisto (ill. 128), like many others, is compositionally reminiscent of the illustrations of the previous period, however, is referring the viewer to the indefiniteness of mythological time and place. Around the heroes, in addition to the attributes of hunting and dogs, Cupids, semantically replacing the fountain of an earlier image, appeared. Two of them are pushing the heroes towards each other, the third aimed an arrow at Callisto's heart. Three Cupids is supporting a draped fabric, behind which an eagle, the bird of Jupiter, is lurking. One of them is crowning lovers with a wreath of flowers. All of this is also true for the illustration of the plot about Actaeon (ill. 129), which is solved in the style of voyeuristic rococo compositions. The scene of the death of Actaeon (ill. 130) is quite realistic and, as in most of the examples mentioned above, does not have symbolically loaded details.

From the compositional point of view, the illustration to the myth about the nymph Echo (ill. 131) is original. It depicts not the suffering of the girl, not her death, but her misdeed (as in the edition of 1676): a long conversation between the nymph and Juno allowed Jupiter's beloved (who is retiring deep into the composition) to avoid the wrath of the goddess. Juno is sitting majestically on a cloud, her favorite birds, peacocks, are sitting behind her. The usual diadem is flaunting on the head. There is no specific landscape in the composition, everything is situated in the space of myth.

The intention to harmonize the composition can be traced in the illustration to the myth of Narcissus (ill. 132). Its hero is a young man, who is sitting in the bosom of nature and fascinated peering at his reflection. In the composition, there is no longer Cupid shooting an arrow, neither in the form of a separate character, nor in the form of a sculpture on the fountain, nor is there a hunting dog accompanying the hero.

The illustration to the story about the fall of Icarus (ill. 133) has something in common with one of the paintings by P. P. Rubens on the same theme (ill. 134), but with characteristic changes. A stream of sunlight, melting the wax, is pouring from behind the clouds onto the falling Icarus. Below, in addition to land, the silhouette of the tower, the variety of meanings of which was mentioned above, is barely visible.

In the scene of the death of Eurydice (ill. 135), as well as in the engraving illustrating the attempt of Orpheus to bring his wife out of Hades (ill. 136), there is no “symbolic commentary” of secondary details. The visual text, interacting with the text of the commentary through an attempt to ontologically root the myth in reality, rather concentrates on the depicting of feelings and emotions.

The illustration to the plot of Venus and Adonis is completely opposite to this approach (ill. 137). There is not any landscape: everything is shrouded in a cloud. Flower garlands, cupids with lit torches, doves - all this is a light symbolic commentary, which in the context of Rococo art has an unambiguous erotic overtone³³⁶.

Thus, in this edition, the plates did not just “anticize” the images of the characters, their clothes, etc., but also did it in two different ways. Some, in which there were obvious tendencies of the growing classicism, completely abandoned the auxiliary symbolic “comments”, focusing on the emotional component of the plot and the elevation of the tragic events that took place in the visual text. Others, made in the Rococo style, immersed the characters in an indefinite “mythological” time and space, full of light gallant hints. Despite the difference in approaches, in both cases the leading role was played by the aesthetic component, and this played a decisive role in the context of the interaction of the visual text with the text of the commentary: their dialogic relations were practically reduced to nothing, except for rare episodes of dialogue (Io in Egypt). Occasionally, rudimentary forms of moral “visual commentary” in the form of a tower in the background (Daedalus and Icarus) or a medallion on a wall (Lycaon) could intrude into the image space, but these were also quite rare. In the latter

³³⁶ For more on this symbolism in the context of Rococo art, see: Borsch E. V. Co-creation of One Art: French Book Engraving of the 18th Century. – Yekaterinburg: Architecton, 2013. P. 160-170. (*In Russian*)

case, a strategy, that is characteristic of secular moral discourse, which will be discussed below, was used. In general, the publication absorbed both the gallant line in the perception of antiquity (illustrations in Rococo style), and the characteristic features inherent in the level of reflection (comments by A. Banier, classicist tendencies brought to life by the works of J. J. Winckelmann, etc.), combining these two levels of reception and summing up the final line under the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology in pre-revolutionary France.

3.5. Antique Motifs in Genre Scenes: “History of Mores” in Pictures

At the intersection of secularization processes, embodied in the development of a new type of publicity, the formation of secular moral discourse, the accentuation of the problem of morals, and changes in ideas about intimacy a phenomenon that could be called the “history of mores” in pictures arose in the eighteenth-century graphic art³³⁷. Rudiments of the moral and emblematic system of antique images penetrated secular living rooms in the form of medallions, statuettes, etc., commenting on the plot depicted in the engraving. Such “visual comments” were as unified and simplified as possible. Yu. Ya. Gerchuk wrote about this: “The principle of ‘wit’ of the emblem, which had been solved in the Baroque era as a rebus, was being replaced by a system of commonly understood, fixed by the constant use of signs”³³⁸. Genre scenes, containing moral teachings, were most often a series of engravings depicting important life moments or the usual daily routine of a young dandy or lady and their love affairs. The illustrations were accompanied by a commentary that assessed what was happening from a moral point of view. A list of possible plots was quite accurately given in W. Hausenstein's book “Rococo Art: French and German Illustrators of the Eighteenth Century”: “Just as a certain book received certain illustrations, so the unwritten typography of the fate of lovers found its illustrators: the general erotica of 1750s was a text for an illustrative passe-partout. Here it was always about the same thing: le lever, le midi, le coucher, le soir, le minuit, l'amant curieux, le carquois épuisé, les amusements dangereux,

³³⁷ See more: Bruk E. G. Ancient Greek and Roman Mythology and the Secular Moral Discourse in Eighteenth-century France (based on Graphic Arts)//Scientific Result. Social and Humanitarian Studies. 2022. Vol.8., No. 4. P. 48-61. (*In Russian*)

³³⁸ Gerchuk Yu. Ya. History of Graphics and Book Art. - Moscow: “Aspect Press” Publ., 2000. P. 201. (*In Russian*)

l'innocence en danger, le billet-doux, etc.: about all kinds of profiles of feudal dandyism of the era (the text is given taking into account modern spelling - E. B.)”³³⁹. It is important to note that the image, in this case, was primary in relation to the text, which was often written much later.

The legacy of F. Boucher played a leading role in the formation of the “history of mores” in pictures. His manner of depicting gallant scenes was picked up and developed by the son-in-law, P.-A. Baudouin, who became one of the key persons in the development of the genre³⁴⁰. The daily routine of a certain lady was presented in a series of works by P.-A. Baudouin, which were originally made in gouache, and then sometime later, engravings on copper appeared: “Morning” (ill. 138), “Noon” (ill. 139), “Evening” (ill. 140), “Night” (ill. 141). Two of them (“Morning” and “Evening”) are classic voyeuristic compositions, where a young dandy is spying on a lady. In the interior, above the doors (in both cases), images of Cupids, whose actions duplicate the actions of the main characters, are placed. Cupids also are on the sculptural pedestal, located in the middle of the engraving “Noon”, hinting, together with the book³⁴¹, at the love dreams of the heroine. A sculpture the threatening Cupid “comments” what is happening on the engraving “Night”. In this series, such “comments”, playing with the viewer, serve as auxiliary details, visual reminiscences, rather than refer to moral overtones.

A completely different interpretation is given to genre scenes included in the well-known publication “Monument of the Costume, Material and Moral, at the End of the 18th Century, or Pictures of Life presented in Images drawn and engraved by M. Moreau the Younger, Draftsman of His Most Christian Majesty, and Other Illustrious Artists” (hereinafter referred to as “Monument of the Costume, Material and Moral, at

³³⁹ Hausenstein W. Rococo Art: French and German Illustrators of the Eighteenth Century. - Moscow: Modern problems, 1914. P.52-54. (*In Russian*)

³⁴⁰ Hausenstein W. Rococo Art: French and German Illustrators of the Eighteenth Century. - Moscow: Modern problems, 1914. P. 54. (*In Russian*)

³⁴¹ Borsch E. V. Co-creation of One Art: French Book Engraving of the 18th Century. – Yekaterinburg: Architecton, 2013. P. 168. (*In Russian*)

the End of the 18th Century”), 1789³⁴². This book is a collection of engravings from three series of prints, the first of which was made according to the drawings of S. Freudenberger, and two others - according to J.-M. Moreau the Younger³⁴³. The 1789 edition of the named suites included twenty-four sheets of J.-M. Moreau the Younger and two engravings by S. Freudenberger³⁴⁴. J.-H. Hebert, who first ordered S. Freudenberger’s “Suite of Prints, which serves to [illustrate] the history of manners and way of life” (*Suite d'estampes, pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et du costume*)³⁴⁵, and then expanded the series to three suites and the final publication “Monument of the Costume, Material and Moral, at the End of the 18th Century”, was the author of the idea of creating a “reference portrait of the customs and mores of his time”³⁴⁶. In the preface to “The First Suite”³⁴⁷ those basic goals and principles were set out, which then applied to the entire enterprise as a whole. A series of engravings with stories written to them were intended to perpetuate the fashion of that time, both in terms of clothes, hairstyles, furniture, etc., and in terms of the mores of a certain stratum of society: secular fashionistas and dandies. On this occasion, J.-H. Hebert noted: “France and Paris are full of virtuous people and honest families”³⁴⁸, but the image of a monotonous respectable life would not teach the reader anything. Each of the three suites had a common theme. The first one was about the lifestyle of a young lady, the second one was devoted to the topic of motherhood, the third one introduced the reader to the life of a “petit maître”.

The engravings of “The First Suite” were provided with a light gallant poem on the depicted plot and a short story containing a moral assessment of what was happening. In the edition of “The Second Suite”³⁴⁹, the illustrations of which were

³⁴² Monument du costume physique et moral de la fin du dix-huitième siècle, ou Tableaux de la Vie, Orné de figures dessinées et gravées par M. Moreau le jeune, dessinateur du Cabinet de S. M. T. C. et par d'autres célèbres Artistes – Paris: A Neuwied sur le Rhin, chez la société typographique, 1789. Vol. 1-2.

³⁴³ Colette B. “Le monument du costume” de Rétif de la Bretonne // *Dix-huitième Siècle*. 1983. № 15. P. 389.

³⁴⁴ Heller-Greenman B. Moreau le Jeune and the Monument du Costume // *Athanos XX*. Florida, 2002. P. 67.

³⁴⁵ *Suite d'estampes, pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et du costume*. Paris, 1775. – 27p.

³⁴⁶ Monument du Costume. Pictures from the Life of the Late 18th Century / Comp. V. Uspensky. – Moscow: “Art Volkhonka”, 2020. P. 28. (*In Russian*)

³⁴⁷ This is how it is usually called in the research literature, since it was followed by the “The Second” and “The Third” suites.

³⁴⁸ *Suite d'estampes, pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et du costume*. Paris, 1775.P. 2.

³⁴⁹ *Seconde suite d'estampes, pour servir à l'histoire des modes et du costume*. Paris, 1776. – 28 p.

engraved after the drawings of J.-M. Moreau the Younger, the same scheme of commentary on the depicted plot was originally supposed, but the poems located under the engraving were not included in the final “official” version. However, this did not change the general idea of the series, since there were prose texts which contained commentary and explanation³⁵⁰. Engravings of “The Third Suite”, also made according to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger, presumably, did not have comments at all until the publication of “Monument of the Costume, Material and Moral, at the End of the 18th Century” in 1789 with stories by N. Retief de la Bretonne³⁵¹.

On the engravings of the publications mentioned above, antique motifs, that are not difficult in terms of interpretation, often appear. They become a “visual commentary” on the events depicted in the image. The engraving “Occupation” (ill. 142), depicting a gallant conversation between a lady named Thisbe and a young gentleman, is accompanied by a text in which the event is interpreted as a harbinger of a long burdensome love affair - the result of envy, jealousy and secular courtesy rather than a warm mutual feeling. Almost all interior items and details of a decor are “visual comments”. A bouquet of roses, as has been shown more than once above, refers to a love affair, a parrot characterizes the level of material wealth, a miniature fashionable figurine of the threatening Cupid in the context of interaction with the text of the story turned from a neutral symbol into a moral warning. The portrait of a lady depicted in the middle of the engraving, to whom Cupid is whispering something, is played up in the text of the story: it is the lady who initiated this love affair.

The threatening Cupid appears as a “visual commentary” in the engraving “Yes, or No” (ill. 143), created after a drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. The image belongs to the group of engravings that, most likely, did not have an explanatory text before the edition of 1789, therefore, the text of N. Retief de la Bretonne can be taken as a basis. The author comments on the presence of the god of love as follows: the action takes place “near the statue of Cupid, who with his gesture preached silence and

³⁵⁰ Heller-Greenman B. Moreau le Jeune and the Monument du Costume // Athanor XX. Florida, 2002. P. 69.

³⁵¹ Colette B. “Le monument du costume” de Rétif de la Bretonne // Dix-huitième Siècle. 1983. № 15. P. 390.

modesty...”³⁵². So, the neutral gallant “commentary” in the form of a threatening Cupid again acquired a moral connotation, becoming the key to the moral reading of the image.

Also, in the form of a park sculpture, the antique “commentary” appeared on the engraving “Delights of Motherhood” (ill. 144). The text of the commentary, which is presented in “The Second Suite”, refers to the naturalness of maternal duties that give happiness to a woman. This “naturalness” is contrasted with false secular fashion, which interferes and destroys family happiness. This text unambiguously refers to some places from the novel by J.-J. Rousseau “Emil, or on Education”³⁵³. It is a frequent phenomenon for this series of publications. What is happening in the engraving is played up in the text as follows: nature welcomes the young Cephise, who did not exchange her natural happiness for the brilliance of secular living rooms. Under the influence of such a commentary, the statue of Venus punishing Cupid, indicates the naturalness and sublimity of maternal duties. In the text of R. de la Bretonne, this significance of the sculpture is only intensified, since with its mention the text, which is a dialogue about marriage and motherhood as a natural destiny, begins.

On the engraving “Gourmet Supper” (ill. 145), the “visual commentary” appears not only in the form of a small statuette of the three Graces, but also in the form of Cupids playing with a mask and decorating the wall. Notes and a bouquet lying on the floor (common references to an intimate love story in the context of gallant Rococo scenes) can also be considered as “comments”. V. M. Uspensky interprets the three Graces standing on the table as follows: “ ‘The number of guests should be no less than the number of graces and no more than the number of muses’ (that is, nine) - these words of the ancient Roman writer Mark Terentius Varro were well known in the 18th century and brought to life. In the second half of the century, instead of lavish feasts with many guests, intimate dinners for a narrow circle of select persons became

³⁵² Pictures from the Life of the 18th Century. Stories by Retief de la Bretonne, Engravings by Moreau the Younger. - Moscow: Edition of the Moscow Partnership, 1913. P. 65. (*In Russian*)

³⁵³ Rousseau J.-J. Emil, or On Education // Rousseau J.-J. Pedagogical Essays. In 2 vols. Vol. 1. - Moscow: “Pedagogics” Publ., 1981. P. 35-37. (*In Russian*)

fashionable”³⁵⁴. However, this figurine supporting a pineapple - a symbol of prosperity - may have a simpler reading, associated with a reference to love, since the Graces are the companions of Venus. Cupid, playing with the mask, signified a sham in the emblematic collections of the 17th century³⁵⁵. All these symbols are played out in the story of R. de la Bretonne. Love is the topic of the conversation of four friends. The characters now and then are resorting to tricks to hint to the interlocutor about the feeling. In the text, R. de la Bretonne contrasts the transience and pretense of love with eternity and the reliability of friendship.

Thus, in the context of the gallant culture of the 18th century in the genre of “history of mores” in pictures, easily understandable and in themselves neutral symbols received a moral interpretation through interaction with the text commenting on the plot. The secular moral discourse, focused on the problem of morals, used most often those characters who for a long time had an auxiliary function in visual culture as “visual comments”: apart from the Graces and Venus, the function of “comments” was most often taken over by the Cupids. Their appearance was not only often played up with the moral implication of the story, written for the engraving, but could also visually go back to an established emblematic tradition, and in the context of secular moral discourse, they turned into a derivative of the moral and emblematic view of ancient imagery, refined and adapted to the gallant Rococo culture.

³⁵⁴ Monument du costume. du Costume. Pictures from the Life of the Late 18th Century / Comp. V. Uspensky. – Moscow: “Art Volkhonka”, 2020. P. 186. (*In Russian*)

³⁵⁵ Devises et Emblemes Anciennes & Modernes, tirées de plus celebres Auters. — Augsburg: Verlegts Lorentz Kroniger und Gottlieb Göbels Seel. Erben, 1699.P. 5.

Conclusion

In the 17th-18th centuries, in the perception of plots and images of ancient Greek and Roman mythology, significant transformations, which had a complex structure, took place. The general course of changes, which depended on secularization trends, can be characterized as a process of “de-embematization”, “historicization” and aestheticization of ancient Greek and Roman mythology. However, such a linear explanation of the changes that took place does not reveal the characteristic features of these transformations. The complex methodology used in the study, on the contrary, has a wide explanatory potential and helps to identify the characteristic features of the processes under study.

In the 17th-18th centuries, there were significant changes in views on religion and its role in society. European rationality, contributing to the rationalization of religion, appealed to reason as a guarantor of order and objectivity. In the conditions of religious conflicts that were tearing apart Europe, there was a distrust of the historical forms of religion, which contributed to the search for its new foundations. Reason became the guarantor of the truth of religion and human morality. Ideas about “natural religion” contributed to the gradual change in the position of Christianity in relation to other religious beliefs. The slow destruction of the “hierarchy of religions” began, Christianity became the same historical form of religion as all the others, and just like the latter, it could be opposed to “natural religion”. Religion ceased to be the guarantor of morality. The latter was identified with the “state of nature”, with the inner nature of man. The spheres of influence of religion and morality gradually began to diverge, secular moral discourse took positions that previously belonged to the religious one.

The use of book publications as a marker of the stability and variability of trends in the perception of ancient Greek and Roman mythology made it possible to reveal that, at the intertextual level, the religious and ethical symbolism of ancient plots was adapting to the processes of secularization more slowly than textual commentaries on ancient “fables”. By the early 18th century, commentary went from the emphasized primacy of moral explanation to the predominance of euhemeristic interpretation. In the

first half of the 18th century, euhemerism was a kind of compromise between the old schemes of commentary and the new requirements of “historicism”. Despite its antiquity, this methodology was associated with the new rationality, being considered progressive in comparison with the moral view of ancient mythological plots. Euhemerism not only ousted the moral interpretations of ancient stories from their established positions, but also took the leading role, incorporating the rest of the “rational” interpretations of ancient myth as auxiliary ones. A. Banier was the main ideologist of confessional encyclopedic euhemerism, which absorbed all possible “rational” theories of the origin of myths. A. Banier tried to give the ancient “fables” the status of ontological authenticity, resorting to the Parian Chronicle as one of the main historical sources and using the characters of Scripture as chronological markers. The theory of original monotheism, which the abbe resorted to, on the one hand, was a manifestation of deep confessionalism, on the other hand, it was to some extent consistent with the idea of “natural religion”. The compilative nature of the views of A. Banier ensured his wide popularity in the 18th century. Starting with N. Freret in France and D. Hume in England, the confessional point of view, where Christianity was the truth and standard in relation to polytheistic religions (in particular, ancient), suffered a final defeat, since the theory of original monotheism turned out to be reasonably refuted. In the articles of the encyclopedists, the antecedence of polytheism to monotheism was already circulating as something that was taken out of the discussion because of its indisputability and inviolability. The authors of encyclopedic articles, following N. Freret, spoke about the limitations of the euhemeristic interpretation, which, although it had a rational core, was still not sufficient to explain specific mythological plots and their details. In addition, there was an awareness of the need to study myths not just by intellectuals, but by a narrow circle of qualified specialists.

If the commentary was the level of intellectual reception of the ancient myth or the level of reflection that was directly influenced by the intellectual context, then when moving on to the analysis of the pragmatic aspects of the visual text and the intertext formed with its participation, it is necessary to take into account, firstly, that the

reception took place at several cultural levels, and secondly, that the processes of secularization faced the resistance of already established models of perception. In the 17th century, rationalist trends encountered such a phenomenon as “Baroque consciousness”, which, in terms of the general orientation of the perception of culture, was emblematic in its essence. This ensured the stability of the moral-emblematic view of the ancient myth. The influence of the Jesuit order and their closeness to the French nobility played an important role in ensuring the stability of this view of the ancient “fables”. If the commentary quickly succumbed to rationalistic trends, then at the intertextual level and in the field of the visual text, echoes of the moral-emblematic interpretation circulated until the end of the period under study. The more the text of the commentary deviated from the moral interpretation of the plots, the more the illustration tried to take on a didactic function. This could happen both with the help of a verse appearing under it, which articulated moral notations, and by including details in the engraving that referred to moral overtones. This trend persisted until the beginning of the 18th century, when the parity between different interpretations in the text of the commentary, which had existed for about half a century, began to coexist with an ethically neutral (in general) visual series (*Metamorphoses*, 1702). However, individual rudiments of the moral and emblematic interpretation in the form of unobtrusive details were even in the edition of “*Metamorphoses*” of 1767-1771. Against the background of this trend, the publication “*The Temple of the Muses*” of 1733, created on the basis of the publication “*Pictures of the Temple of the Muses*” of 1655, stood out sharply. The loss of moral and emblematic overtones in the edition of 1733 was made up for by the addition of an ornamental frame into the structure of the pictorial series. It introduced an element of semantic play and was a link between the illustration and the text, filling in the semantic gap formed as a result of a complete change in the comments. Such an emphasis on moral interpretation, while the general trend contributed to the neutralization of the visual text, was associated with the play of several levels of reception of the ancient myth.

During the period under consideration, ancient Greek and Roman mythology existed in the context of two levels of reception: the level of intellectual reception or reflection and the level of general cultural perception, for which the ancient myth was a figurative language. For a long time, the Jesuits who educated the nobility were the bearers of the religious and ethical perception of ancient plots at the first of these levels. In the context of the second level, there was a mixed salon audience that allowed itself to play with antique images rather freely. Already in the 17th century, there were attempts to combine these two kinds of interpretations. This is how the “Pictures of the Temple of the Muses” by M. de Marolles and “Ovid’s Metamorphoses in Rondo” by I. de Benserade were created. In these texts, the usual and easy-to-understand moral interpretation was not only leading, but sometimes the only one. In these publications, the illustration, with the help of easily recognizable symbolically loaded details, could play an unobtrusive game with the viewer, in which the storylines, usually clearly disclosed, turned into hints (“Metamorphoses”, 1676), or even entered into polemics with the text of the commentary (“Pictures the Temple of the Muses). The same element of semantic play took place in the edition of the “Temple of the Muses”, based on the edition by M. de Marolles mentioned above. The publication continued the program of popularization of the “scholarly” commentary which had begun by the abbe. At the same time, in the first half of the 18th century, texts were replaced with fashionable euhemeristic interpretation of ancient plots, while the ornamental frame, introduced into the illustrative series, referred to moral overtones. In each specific case, the same elements could interact differently with the image and the general idea of the plot. The potential symbolic polyvalence of the ornamental frame provided the possibility of “reading out” those meanings that the viewer could be aware of.

In general, the change in the visuality, taken outside of its relationship to the text, was also quite revealing. Editions of the 17th century, the illustrations strove for the completeness of the coverage of the storyline and the accuracy of the viewer’s understanding of the events taking place on the engraving. For this purpose, significant events of significant plot in time were placed in the space of one image and “figurative

comments” were added in the form of auxiliary characters and other additional details. This trend, having continued to exist in the publications of the first half of the 18th century, lost its former features by the end of the century: the combination of events of different time, as well as the tendency to a more complete disclosure of the plot, went into oblivion, leaving only a certain set of easily understandable symbols, commenting on the moment depicted in the engraving.

The “Metamorphoses” of 1767-1771 served as a kind of compromise that various levels of interpretation of ancient Greek and Roman mythology reached. Rococo illustrations, erotic in nature, were the quintessence of the gallant line, while the engravings, made under the influence of classicist trends, referred to another line of perception associated with the name of J. J. Winckelmann. The works by the latter re-actualized in a new context the position of the “Ancients” from the famous dispute of the late 17th century. Antiquity became the habitat of the “man in natural state”, pure and unspoiled, became the Other in relation to the culture of the 18th century. The acquisition by the concept of “man in natural state” of a specific temporal and spatial localization, combined with a “historical” approach to explaining ancient cultural realities, contributed not only to the rise of classicism in art, but also to the further process of “de-embematization” and “historicization” of mythological images. Their only morality was purity, perfection and the true greatness of feelings. The aesthetic view of the ancient myth became the leading one. The third component of the edition of 1767-1771 was connected with commentaries: there was a still popular interpretation of ancient stories by A. Banier. It was a continuation of the line of the “scholarly” commentary, which lay within the confessional framework. The plots that had parallels in Scripture (the creation of the world, the creation of man, etc.) were not completely free from religious interpretation in the space of the visual text.

The formation of a secular moral discourse based on the idea of the naturalness of morality, on the idea of the “civilization” of modern society, on the idea of progress, contributed to the accentuation of the problem of morals. At the intersection of these trends and the gallant Rococo culture, such a phenomenon as the “history of mores” in

pictures arose. In the publications reviewed in the dissertation, easily understandable and recognizable neutral symbols and allegories that appeared as garden sculptures, interior decor elements, figurines, etc., received a moral interpretation through interaction with the text commenting on the plot depicted in the engraving. It should be emphasized here that the image was primary in relation to the text written to it. That is, the latter itself became an interpretation, and, therefore, served as an expression of the “the Period eye” on the image and the details included in it. In addition, the easily recognizable and interpretable ancient “comments” could visually go back to an earlier emblematic tradition, turning out to be a refined and adapted figurative derivative of the moral and emblematic view of ancient imagery.

Further prospects in the development of the research topic are associated, firstly, with the consistent filling of the subject gap, which cannot be completely eliminated within the framework of one study. It requires the involvement and study of a large amount of material which has not been studied in the Russian research literature. Secondly, further methodological extensions and clarifications may help to identify the characteristic features of the intellectual processes of the 17th-18th centuries and point out significant details that significantly change the understanding of the intellectual history of the period under study. Thirdly, conducting such research within the framework of the religious studies can contribute to the expansion of the research area of the latter due to the fundamental interdisciplinarity of the approach to the material.

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Appendix 1. List of illustrations

1. J. Mathieu (?). Title Page for Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.
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18. M. Faulte. Adonis, beloved of Venus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.
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28. Unknown master. Lycaon transformed into a Wolf. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.

29. H. Goltzius. Lycaon transformed into a Wolf. 1589. Location: National Gallery of Art, Washington. Electronic resource: <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.156172.html>. (date of access: 05/03/2023).
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32. Unknown master. Actaeon transformed into a Deer. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.
33. Unknown master. Narcissus turning into a Flower. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.
34. Unknown master. Venus in Love with Adonis. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.
35. Unknown master. Adonis killed by a Boar. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.
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78. P. P. Rubens. Juno places the eyes of Argus on the peacock's tail. C. 1610. Location: Wallraf-Richards Museum, Cologne. Electronic resource: <https://www.wallraf.museum/en/collections/baroque/masterpieces/peter-paul-rubens-juno-and-argus-c-1610/the-highlight/>. (Date of access: 05/04/2023 .).
79. Unknown master. Phaeton and Phoebus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.
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90. Unknown master. Venus and Adonis. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.
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92. G. Maas (inventor), J. de Wit (outlined), J. Vandelaar (engraved). Creation of Man. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.

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110. B. Picart. Lycaon transformed into a Wolf. Based on an illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", 1702. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.
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116. B. Picart. Io turned into a Cow. Argus killed by Mercury. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.
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120. J. de Longueil. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Creation of Man. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.
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127. F.-D. Née. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Fall of Phaeton. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.
128. J.-B. Simonet. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Callisto, deceived by Jupiter. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.
129. A. de Saint-Aubin. According to the drawing by F. Boucher. Diana and Actaeon. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.
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133. F.-D. Née. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Daedalus and Icarus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.
134. P. P. Rubens. Daedalus and Icarus. 1636-1637. Electronic resource: <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/12527>. (date of access: 05.05.2023).
135. J.-B. Simonet. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Death of Eurydice of a Snake Bite. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.
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138. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Morning. 1765. From the series "Four Times of the Day". Location: National Gallery of Art, Washington. Electronic resource: <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.2843.html>. (date of access: 05.05.2023).
139. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Noon. 1765. From the series "Four Times of the Day". Location: National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Electronic resource: <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.2844.html>. (date of access: 05.05.2023).

140. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Evening. 1765. From the series “Four Times of the Day”. Location: National Gallery of Art, Washington. Electronic resource: <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.2845.html>. (date of access: 05.05.2023).

141. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Night. C. 1778. From the series “Four Times of the Day”. Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Electronic resource: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/835376>. (date of access: 05.05.2023).

142. Ch.-L. Lingée. Based on a drawing by S. Freudenberger. 1775. Location: National Gallery of Art, Washington. Electronic resource: <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.7291.html>. (date of access: 05.05.2023).

143. N. Thomas. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Yes, or No. 1781. Electronic resource: <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/yes-or-no-oui-ou-non-n-thomas-after-jean-michel-moreau/rQFErsFO75g1gg>. (date of access: 05.05.2023).

144. I. S. Helman. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Delights of Motherhood. 1776. Electronic resource: [The delights of motherhood, engraved by Isidore Stanislas Helman \(1749-1809\) 1776 \(meisterdrucke.uk\)](https://www.meisterdrucke.uk/engraving/Isidore-Stanislas-Helman-(1749-1809)-1776) (date of access: 05.05.2023).

145. I. S. Helman. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Gourmet Supper. 1781. [https://www.meisterdrucke.ie/fine-art-prints/Jean-Michel-the-Younger-Moreau/58325/The-Gourmet-Supper,-engraved-by-Isidore-Stanislas-Helman-\(1743-1809\)-1781--.html](https://www.meisterdrucke.ie/fine-art-prints/Jean-Michel-the-Younger-Moreau/58325/The-Gourmet-Supper,-engraved-by-Isidore-Stanislas-Helman-(1743-1809)-1781--.html). (date of access: 05.05.2023).

Appendix 2. Illustrations



1. J. Mathieu (?). Title Page for Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



2. J. Mathieu. The World is emerging from Chaos. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



3. J. Mathieu Creation of Man. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



4. J. Mathieu (?). Lycaon transforming into a Wolf. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



5. V. Solis. Lycaon transforming into a Wolf. Illustration from Ovid's Metamorphoses, Frankfurt, 1581.



6. J. Mathieu. Callisto transforming into a Bear. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



7. A. Tempesta. Callisto in the Arms of Jupiter. 1606



8. J. Mathieu (?) Argus, Mercury, Io, Jupiter. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



9. A. Tempesta. Argus being slain by Mercury. 1606.



10.I. Briot. Actaeon and Diana. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



11.A. Tempesta. Diana is turning Actaeon into a Deer. 1606



12.J. Mathieu (?). Fall of Phaeton. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



13.A. Tempesta. Fall of Phaeton. 1606.



14. J. Mathieu. Icarus and Daedalus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



15. I. Briot. Narcissus turning into a Flower. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



16.A. Tempesta. Narcissus, in love with himself, turns into a flower. 1606.



17.M. Briot. Narcissus. From the "Collection of Various Emblems with Moral, Philosophical and Political explanations", Paris, 1638.



18. M. Faulte. Adonis, beloved of Venus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



19.M. Faulte. Adonis turning into a Flower. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



20.A. Tempesta. Adonis, immensely loved by Venus. 1606.



21.A. Tempesta. Adonis killed by a Boar's Tusk. 1606.



22.J. Mathieu (?). Eurydice being brought out of the Underworld. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1619.



23.A. Tempesta. Eurydice goes back to the Underworld. 1606.



24. Unknown master. Creation of the World. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



25.A. Tempesta. Creation of the World. 1606.



26. Unknown master. Creation of Man. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



27. A. Tempesta. Creation of Man. 1606.



28. Unknown master. Lycaon transformed into a Wolf. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



29. H. Goltzius. Lycaon transformed into a Wolf. 1589.



30. Unknown master. Argus killed by Mercury. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



31. Unknown master. Jupiter and Callisto. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



32. Unknown master. Actaeon transformed into a Deer. Based on A. Tempesta.
 Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



33. Unknown master. Narcissus turning into a Flower. Based on A. Tempesta.
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34. Unknown master. Venus in Love with Adonis. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



35. Unknown master. Adonis killed by a Boar. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



36. Unknown master. Serpent turned to Stone. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



37. Unknown master. Daedalus is losing His Son Icarus. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



38. A. Tempesta. Fall of Icarus. 1606.



39. A. Tempesta. Phaethon makes Pernicious Requests to Phoebus. 1606.



40. Unknown master. Phaëthon's Request. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



41. Unknown master. Fall of Phaëton. Based on A. Tempesta. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1660.



42. S. Leclerc. According to the drawing by Ch. Lebrun. Frontispiece from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



43.F. Chauveau. Creation of the World. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



44.F. Chauveau. Creation of Man. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



45. J. Lepautre (?) Jupiter turns Lycaon into a Wolf. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



46. F. Chauveau. Tiresias. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



47. J. Lepautre (?). Mercury and Argus. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



48. J. Lepautre (?). Io became a Goddess. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



49.J. Lepautre (?). Jupiter and Callisto. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



50.J. Lepautre (?). Actaeon turns into a Deer. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



51.J. Lepautre (?). Narcissus turns into a Flower. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



52.F. Chauveau. Echo is occupying Juno with Conversations. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



53.J. Lepautre (?). Death of Adonis. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



54.J. Lepautre (?). Orpheus in the Underworld. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



55.V. Solis. Orpheus before Pluto and Proserpina. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Frankfurt, 1581.



56.F. Chauveau. Daedalus and Icarus. Illustration from "Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo", Paris, 1676.



57. S. Leclerc. Fall of Phaeton. Illustration from “Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Rondo”, Paris, 1676.



58.A. van Diepenbeeck (?). Frontispiece from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



59.A. van Diepenbeeck. Chaos. Illustration from "Paintings of the Temple of the Muses", Paris, 1655.



60. A. van Diepenbeeck. Phaeton. Illustration from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



61. A. van Diepenbeeck. Io, or Isis, and Argus. Illustration from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



62.A. van Diepenbeeck. Hydra. Illustration from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



63. A. van Diepenbeeck. Actaeon. Illustration from "Paintings of the Temple of the Muses", Paris, 1655.



64. A. van Diepenbeeck. Icarus. Illustration from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



65. A. van Diepenbeeck. Narcissus. Illustration from "Paintings of the Temple of the Muses", Paris, 1655.



66.A. van Diepenbeeck. Echo. Illustration from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



67. A. van Diepenbeeck. Penelope. Illustration from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



68.A. van Diepenbeeck. Orpheus. Illustration from “Paintings of the Temple of the Muses”, Paris, 1655.



69. A. van Diepenbeeck. Palace of Sleep. Illustration from "Paintings of the Temple of the Muses", Paris, 1655.



70.M. Bouché. Engraving on the title page from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



71.P. Boucher. Based on a drawing by an unknown monogrammer. Creation of the World. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



72. Unknown master. Creation of Man. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



73. Unknown master. Lycaon turning into a Wolf. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



74. Unknown master. Io. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



75. Unknown master. Io turned into a Cow. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



76. Unknown master. Mercury and Argus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



77. Unknown master. Juno decorating the Peacock's Tail with the Eyes of Argus. Based on P.P. Rubens. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



78. P. P. Rubens. Juno places the eyes of Argus on the peacock's tail. C. 1610.



79. Unknown master. Phaeton and Phoebus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



80. Unknown master. Fall of Phaeton Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



81. Unknown master. Actaeon turning into a Deer. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



82. Unknown master. Actaeon and his Dogs. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



83. P. Boucher. Echo. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



84. Unknown master. Narcissus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



85. P. Boucher. Based on a drawing by an unknown monogrammer. Daedalus and Icarus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



86. Unknown master. Death of Eurydice. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



87. Unknown master. Orpheus in the Underworld. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



88. Unknown master. Venus and Adonis. Based on C. van de Passe. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



89. C. van de Passe. Venus and Adonis. C. 1652-1653.



90. Unknown master. Venus and Adonis. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



91.B. Picart (outlined), F. van Gunst (cut out). Chaos. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1702.



92. G. Maas (inventor), J. de Wit (outlined), J. Vandelaar (engraved). Creation of Man. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



93. Ph. van Gunst. Lycaon turning into a Wolf. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



94. Ph. van Gunst. Io. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



95. Ph. van Gunst. Io turned into a Cow. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



96. F. van Gunst. Mercury and Argus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



97. Unknown master. Juno decorating the Peacock's Tail with the Eyes of Argus. Based on P.P. Rubens. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



98. Ph. van Gunst. Phaeton and Phoebus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



99. Ph. van Gunst. Fall of Phaeton. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



100. G. Maas (inventor), J. de Wit (outlined), J. Vandelaar (engraved). Jupiter in Love with Callisto. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



101. Unknown master. Diana and Actaeon. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



102. Ph. van Gunst. Actaeon transformed into a Deer. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



103. Ph. van Gunst. Echo. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



104. Unknown master. Narcissus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



105. P. Bucher. Daedalus and Icarus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



106. Unknown master. Death of Eurydice. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



107. Unknown master. Orpheus in the Underworld. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



108. Unknown master. Venus in Love with Adonis. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



109. Unknown master. Venus and Adonis. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Amsterdam, 1732.



110. B. Picart. Lycaon transformed into a Wolf. Based on an illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", 1702. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.



111. B. Picart. Battle of Hercules with the Lernaean Hydra. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.



112. B. Picart. Ixion, bound in the Underworld to a Wheel that revolves without Stopping. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from “The Temple of the Muses”, Amsterdam, 1733.



113. B. Picart. Penelope's Cover. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.



114. B. Picart. Phaeton struck by Lightning from Jupiter. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.



115. B. Picart. Actaeon turned into a Deer and eaten by his own Dogs. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.



116. B. Picart. Io turned into a Cow. Argus killed by Mercury. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.



117. B. Picart. Fall of Icarus. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from “The Temple of the Muses”, Amsterdam, 1733.



118. B. Picart. Orpheus, leading Eurydice out of the Underworld, turning around to look at Her and losing Her forever. Based on A. van Diepenbeeck. Illustration from "The Temple of the Muses", Amsterdam, 1733.



119. N. le Mire. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Chaos and Creation of the World. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



120. J. de Longueil. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Creation of Man. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



121. N. le Mire. According to the drawing by H.-F. Gravelot. Jupiter, in order to Punish Lycaon, the King of Arcadia, is turning Him into a Wolf. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



122. N. le Mire. According to the drawing by Ch. Monnet. Jupiter in Love with Io. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



123. N. le Mire. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau. Io turned into a Cow. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



124. J. de Longueuil. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Mercury killing Argus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



125. L. Binet. According to the drawing by H.-F. Gravelot. Jupiter calming Juno. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



126. J.-Ch. Baquoy. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau. Phaeton rising to the Palace of the Sun. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



127. F.-D. Née. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Fall of Phaeton. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



128. J.-B. Simonet. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Callisto, deceived by Jupiter. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



129. A. de Saint-Aubin. According to the drawing by F. Boucher. Diana and Actaeon. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



130. Illustration based on a drawing by Ch. Eisen. Actaeon, turned into a Deer, is torn to Pieces by His own Dogs. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



131. J. F. Rousseau. According to the drawing by Ch. Monnet. The Nymph Echo trying to detain Juno in order to Deceive Her. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



132. P.-F. Basan. According to the drawing by Ch. Monnet. Narcissus turning into a flower. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



133. F.-D. Née. According to the drawing by Ch. Eisen. Daedalus and Icarus. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



134. P. P. Rubens. Daedalus and Icarus. 1636-1637.



135. J.-B. Simonet. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Death of Eurydice of a Snake Bite. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



136. F.-D. Née. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Orpheus trying to resurrect Eurydice. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



137. J. Massard. According to the drawing by F. Boucher. Venus in Love with Adonis. Illustration from Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Paris, 1767-1771.



138. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Morning. 1765.
From the series "Four Times of the Day".



139. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Noon. 1765. From the series "Four Times of the Day".



140. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Evening. 1765.
From the series "Four Times of the Day".



141. E. de Ghendt. According to the drawing by P.-A. Baudouin. Night. C. 1778.
From the series "Four Times of the Day".



142. Ch.-L. Lingée. Based on a drawing by S. Freudenberger. 1775.



143. N. Thomas. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Yes, or No. 1781.



144. I. S. Helman. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Delights of Motherhood. 1776.



145. I. S. Helman. According to the drawing by J.-M. Moreau the Younger. Gourmet Supper. 1781.