

# *PRIAPUS*



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## **BOOKS**

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## Priapus

As a preliminary to the presentation of the symbolism and cult of the goat from antiquity to the Renaissance, and as a means of shedding even more light on the background of the mental and racial universe of the dark forces of a trisomic nature who, from time immemorial, have chosen this animal as one of their emblems, and who are in the process of definitively destroying the last vestiges of the white peoples, we will present two Hircine gods, their origin, the expansion of their cult, their We'll be looking at their characters, their festivals and their representations in art, and endeavouring to show the influence that, in new forms, their archetype still exerts in the modern world. The first will be Priapus.

Priape is a deity of Asian origin, probably Mysian, judging by the Phrygian cap he wears in some of his earliest representations.

Neither Homer nor Hesiod mention this god, and Strabo (xiii, 1) states that "he has been counted among the gods only since relatively modern times". Proof that Priape was still little known to the Hellenes at the time the geographer was writing, he tries to give them an idea of his nature by comparing him to Tykhon, Konisalos and Orphanes, three fertility deities, similar to satyrs and represented with an erect member.

The first mention of Priape is in the Orphic Hymn to Protogonos (1).

In the Orphic theogony, Time (Kronos) and Necessity (Ananke) produced an egg from inert matter (Chaos). From this egg, which Kronos broke with his horns (2), came a being with a dual nature, both passive and active, female and male (3). For a long time," says the poet of the Rhapsodies, "Protogonos was seen by no one; he was seen only by the sacred Night" (4). "When the god was born, the upper part of the cosmic egg became the sky; the lower part became the earth.

Phanes reigned over the universe. He was the sun of the intelligible world; he created the sun of the natural world, then the moon". Protogonos is therefore the principle of generation. He is the one who creates eternally (5).

Protogonos ("First-Born") has many epithets, or aspects: Eros, Phanes ("the Apparent"), Euboulos/Eubouleus, Metis, Bromios ("the noisy"), Eriképaios ("god of Ericibba", or Eridu, a city in lower Mesopotamia) (6) and Priape, who, in the Orphic hymns, is himself identified with the Sun, Zeus, Phanes and Bacchus.

As Eriképaios, Protogonos is described as "female and all-powerful father" (fr. orph. 81) (7) or He is "woman and progenitor and all-powerful god" (8), bringing together not only the characteristics of the two sexes, but all the opposites, which is why he is called both "the Father of the Night" and "the Lucid", "the Splendid". He is the "father and son of the gods" (9), the alpha and the omega. He is everything.

The Orphic cosmogony, in accordance with the primitive myths, which "have as their foundation cosmological and theocosmogonic ideas (...) on the formation of the world according to Eastern genius" (10), does not give Venus as mother to Eros. According to the poems attributed to Orpheus, Eros is the son of Kronos and the father of Night; he is immortal; mortals call him Phanes, because he was the first to appear in the light (11). He is "the means by which this Generating Being (Protogonos) generated everything (...) he was the Spirit, the Breath of the eternal Sky, of the Sea, of the Earth, of all Mortal Beings. He gave life to plants, he dominated Tartarus and the Sea; in short, his power extended to the dwellings of all beings. Hence his name came to stand for Power and to express the Lord. Just as the two Sexes were given to the Generating Being, they were also given to Love" (12). "

Love, being regarded as the means of all Generations, having been employed by the Principle that brought them about, was given the same attributes as the Sun" (14), or, as d'Harcenville should have said, the Sun was given the same attributes as Eros, for the author adds that, Eros being represented under the name of the Sun, the Sun was given the same attributes as Eros.

In the form of a dove, "(t)he wings of this bird, which became those of Love, were therefore given to the Disc of the Sun" (15), thus forming the symbol of the winged disc. Protogonos is equipped with golden wings that, when they flap, "carry him all over the world" (16). These symbolise his life-giving power. Onomacrite (57, 5, 4) calls her a "goddess". The androgynous, however contradictory and curious this may seem to anyone who is unaware that the theme of androgyny stems from the cults of the mother goddess, was in fact commonly called a "goddess" (16bis).

As Eubouleus/Euboulos, he is identified with Pluto (17), who, in the Orphic hymn to Dionysus, is presented as the fruit of the union of Zeus and Persephone, both immortal and god who dies and is reborn (18), while in hymn 42 he is Dionysus "the ineffable sovereign Misé" (19). In the cult, he was associated with Zeus and venerated as Zeus-Euboulos on Naxos, together with Demeter and Korè (20).

Phanes was originally an epithet of Dionysus (21). According to the Egyptians, he was the same divinity than Osiris (22). He was so named, as previously indicated, "because he was the first to appear in the light". In ancient times, the name "Phanes" was associated with light and, sometimes, with the verb "phaino", which, in its active sense, means "to show, to reveal" and, in its passive sense, "to appear".

(23). According to Macrobius, Orpheus called him "Sun". Like the sun, he has wings and drives a chariot (24). Invisible to the naked eye, he is nonetheless the source of light. He is "the first ray that bursts forth from chaos to surround it with its brilliance. It is the first spark that shone in the heart of space (...); from this point of light came the order and arrangement of the universe" (25). In the Orphic mysteries, Phanes

presided over the power of generation and was represented with a phallus along his thighs (26). Interestingly, he was also depicted carrying a phallus in the opposite direction (27). He is identified with Eros and Metis, the principle of practical intelligence. As a demiurge, he is said to have all ages simultaneously, to emphasise that he is subject to time: he is both adult and child (28).

Hermaphrodite, Protogonos is depicted, sometimes with two bearded heads and a bull at his feet (29), sometimes, it seems, with four pairs of eyes, four heads (one of a lion, one of a snake, one of a bull and one of a ram) and four pairs of horns (30). By analogy, the horns, sometimes accompanied by the head of a bull and the reproductive organs of this animal, or those of the goat, became the symbol of power for certain peoples, including the Thracians (31). What's more, Protogonos has two pairs of sexual organs - unless it's a vagina, since he can copulate with himself and have children of his own - located near his anus (32). In this way, he procreates the gods, starting with Night, who is his mother, his wife and his spouse (33), with whom he produces Ouranos and Gaia, who in turn beget the Titanids and the Titans, among whom Kronos and Rhea become the parents of Zeus (34). He used his spirit to create the sun, the moon and the stars, and to father the human race. He was the first king of the universe. To govern it, he made a sceptre, which he then passed on to his daughter, Night; Ouranos succeeded him, before Saturn, his son, usurped his power and Kronos, Saturn's son, usurped it in his turn. One of the dogmas of the Orphics, which they revealed only to the initiated, was that Bacchus-Sun, in the form of Phanes, would overthrow all the other gods, such as these had been knocked down one after the other (35).

As Priape, Protogonos, in the hymn dedicated to him, is called "master" and "the dazzling one" who sees all", "the saving and regenerating god". He is identified with Phanes, Dionysus and the sun.

Readers can rest assured that the attributes, functions and titles of the protean Protogonos no longer hold any secrets for them: the Orphics dedicate a hymn to Night, but in fact the whole of Orphic literature is a hymn to darkness. The Orphic cosmogony has rightly been judged "incoherent", because it "juxtaposes very diverse and even contradictory conceptions. It floats between traditional or exotic mythology, allegorism and symbolism, between vulgar polytheism, monotheism and pantheism" (36). This vacillation also stems from Orphism's strong tendency to identify divinities with one another, to give one divinity the name of another on the occasion of a particular event (for example, Rhea is given the name Demeter when she gives birth to Zeus), to rename a divinity when it is reborn, etc., within the framework of a "new" or "old" or "new" concept. (37), as part of a general re-elaboration and reinterpretation of Greek myths from the point of view of the Semitic spirit. In particular, Orphism introduced into Greek mythology the Oriental idea that the universe had been formed from an egg; the equally Oriental idea that Night, which in Hesiod was of secondary importance, was one of the great primitive divinities, the "mother of the gods"; the concept, foreign to the Hellenes, of the painful passion of a god and that of the "mother of the gods",

which was just as foreign to the Hellenes, of the action of time and the inflexibility of the laws that govern nature and living beings, of the invincible force of Necessity (38). Orphism, as we shall show in a forthcoming study, was one of the most subversive and corrupting of all the philosophical sects of ancient Greece.

The later myths relating to Priape have a much less explicitly metaphysical content, and pantheistic than the Orphic Hymn to Protogonos.

His birth is uncertain. According to some (Pausanias ix, 31, 2; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 6; Tibullus, I, 4; Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. i. 932), he descended from Dionysus and Aphrodite; according to others (Strabo, VIII, p. 587), from Dionysus and the nymph Naias or (Schol. ad Theocrit, 1.21) of the nymph Kyone; according to others (Tzet ad Lyc., 831), of Adonis and Aphrodite or (Hygin, Fab., 160) of Hermes, or (Suidas s.v. Priapos) of Zeus and Aphrodite. Finally, Macrobius (Sam., vi, 5) descends him from a long-eared father, Pan or Satyr.

To sum up these various myths, we can say that Aphrodite, the wife of Dionysus, had given in to his but that during the god's expedition to India, she had been unfaithful to him with Adonis. When Dionysus returned from India, she went to welcome him, but soon left him again to go to Lampsaka, on the Hellespont in Asia Minor, where she gave birth to the god's child. Hera, displeased with her conduct, "visited her and, on the pretext of helping her, used a secret charm by touching her belly, which caused her to give birth to a deformed child, whose sign of virility was of gigantic proportion. Aphrodite, angry at having given birth to a monstrous child, abandoned him and had him brought up by shepherds in Lampsach, far from her" (39). He became

As an adult, Priape began courting the women of the town "and his deformity did not displease them; but the husbands, jealous, drove him away shamefully. They were soon punished for this violence: a disease cruel attacked them in the very place where the god presides. In this unfortunate situation, the oracle of Dodona was consulted: according to its advice, Priape was honourably recalled, and the poor husbands were forced to erect altars and worship him" (40). This is how the cult of the phallus was instituted in Attica. From the Phocaeen colony of Lampsak it spread, probably by sailors, first to the islands of the Aegean and then to mainland Greece. We have little information about the way in which his cult was practised; all we know is that, during the priapeia, the festivals held in his honour in August, he was offered not only donkeys but also the first fruits of the gardens, the fruit of the fields and the fruit of the trees.

vines and fields (Anthol, Palat, vi, 102), milk, wine, honey and cakes; and sinners, fish and lobsters as well as fishing utensils (41). These offerings corresponded to the god's attributions, which we will examine below.

From the genealogies of Priape mentioned above, it's easy to see with which of his family members Priape was born.

other deities. The god with whom he is most closely associated is Dionysus. Priape is Dionysus' companion and, especially in the Orphic theogony, they were often confused. Both are rural deities. Both are crowned with ivy or pampals and hold a thyrses, a divinatory and phallic plant, in one hand (42) and a drinking vessel in the other.

Primitively, Priape would have been nothing more than a nickname for Dionysus, so much so that in Lampsakos, Dionysus was worshipped under the name of Priape. According to Diodorus Siculus (I, 3), the custom was preserved "of paying some honours to Priape in the sacred mysteries of other gods, including those of Dionysus". The fact that he was an ithyphallic deity brought him very close to Hermes, whose cult, as we shall see below, was in many ways phallic. Priape was considered to be the promoter of fertile vegetation and all the animals associated with agricultural life, and as such he was venerated as the protector of flocks of sheep and goats, bees, vines, all garden produce and even, an important detail to bear in mind, fishing (Pausanias ix, 31, § 2, Virgil, *Ecl.*, vii, 33, *Georg.*, iv, 110): Hermes too was a bucolic god and a protective deity of flocks and their shepherds (43), while Dionysus is the one who discovered the vine, learned how to cultivate it and invented wine-making. A link has also been established between Priape and Hermaphrodite, first by Mnaseas of Patara (2nd century BC), then by Diodorus (I, 3): "It is said that the origin of Hermaphrodite, son of Mercury and Venus, is almost entirely similar to that of Priape. He was called Hermaphrodite from a name composed of that of his father and that of his mother". Finally, and we will come back to this later, Attic legends that Strabo must have been familiar with link Priape to sensual and licentious beings such as Konisalos, Orphanes and Tykhon (Aristoph., *Lys.*, 982; *Comp. Diod.*, iv, 6).

Personifying the idea of generative power in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, Priape was systematically represented in ithyphallic form, the phallus being regarded as the symbol of generation. He was as beautiful in art as he was ugly in the rustic idols bearing his likeness. The first type appears on certain Lampsacan coins as well as bronze statuettes and numerous terracottas: "Generally bearded, crowned with ivy like Dionysus, he holds a thyrses in one hand and a drinking vessel in the other, with which he makes a libation. His costume consists of a long garment, raised in front like an apron, often filled with fruit, revealing a phallus (44). A number of figures of Priape have wings and, in some cases, the thighs and legs of a lion and, in others, the legs of a cockerel and even the crest of this fowl (45) - the lion and the cockerel are solar symbols - possibly in reference to those with which Protogonos is equipped in the description of this god in the passage from the Orphic Hymn quoted above. It should be noted that, from a certain period onwards, Priape, like Dionysus, was rejuvenated by artists. "His beard disappears and his body becomes more graceful. He is always dressed in a long robe, rolled up at the front, with fruit and flowers in its folds, revealing his distinctive sign. Alongside these flowers and fruit, small Eros appear, sometimes at the god's feet, lifting his robe indiscreetly. Sometimes, too, the garment falls to the feet, but the artists are always careful to show the presence of the phallus in the folds. In any case, even in the many temples erected to him, he was "[represented] in a state of energy and lust,

so as to imitate the lascivious nature of the goat" (Diodorus, I, 2). In front of temples, near In tombs, outside houses, in gymnasiums, palaestrae, libraries, porticoes and public places, on coasts and in harbours, by roadsides and, more particularly still, at crossroads, Priape was represented by images carved more or less roughly from fig, poplar or oak wood. Featuring an enormous erect phallus, they had horns, sometimes ears, and always the thighs, legs and feet of a goat (46). The "hermae were [...] an imitation of the figures with a disproportionate Phallus, which the women of Egypt carried in procession during the festivals of Osiris, and which were kept in the temple of Hierapolis, in Syria" (47). These statues of Priape were called hermae because they combined the characteristics of both Priape and Hermes in many respects. Remember that some genealogies give Hermes as Priape's father, or his grandfather by the half-goat, half-man god known as Pan. All three were depicted with horns and a goatee. But there's more: "Hermes of the Pelasges, god of generation and fertility (Herodotus, II, 51), was probably the substitute for the Great Goddess" (48) and as such the tutelary deity of the demos. The phallus "was intended as a warning to the enemies of democracy" (49).

In 415 BC, on the eve of an expedition by the Athenian fleet to conquer Sicily, the Athenians were dismayed to discover that, according to Thucydides, some of the hermae had been partially mutilated and, according to Plutarch (Alcibiades, 18), "all the statues of Mercury" had been mutilated "in the face", and they interpreted this attack as a bad omen. The expedition ended in disaster, which was directly responsible for the revolution of the Four Hundred and the subsequent establishment of oligarchic power in 411. In fact, again according to Thucydides, the Hermocopids, who "(had) taken on great importance in public opinion (...) [had] appeared (...) to support a plot to make a revolution and overthrow democracy" (50), Democracy and the phallic cult appear intimately linked to each other, under the sign of the mother goddess and therefore of matriarchy. Of course, unlike the rabble of modern democracies, only the members of the demos enjoyed full political rights, and they were a small number, but this number "was large enough to make it impossible to create a fixed regime, a regular order; for how can we conceive of a political body that is sovereign of itself, both its master and its subject? The demos, although composed of men, was thus essentially female (51).

Of the three principles - emblem of the demiurge and of light and, on a lower level, deity of fertility and, on an even lower level, prudent, beneficent, protective god, dispenser of all good - that Priape embodied for the Orphics, Hellenic Greece apparently retained only the last. Priape was seen as the protector of shepherds, flocks and livestock in general, the "guardian of gardens and vineyards", the guarantor of the fertility of both. In fact, he preserved another, which, although it does not appear in the Orphic hymns, seems to have been fully expressed in the mystery cults: obscenity, which, in its ritual form, is one of the main characteristics of Dionysism and, when de-ritualised, is transmuted into pornography. The rituals



fertility festivals were accompanied by orgies among the exotic peoples who worshipped the mother goddess, and everything seems to indicate that the same was true of the mystery cults, in which Priape, if we are to believe the testimony of Diodorus quoted above, was systematically honoured. Now, Orphism had a considerable influence on the mysteries, so much so that Orpheus is regarded as the founder of all mystery cults (52).

The following myth illustrates the strong venereal content of the figure of Priape: one day, Priape had an argument with Silenus' donkey, which Bacchus was riding on his trip to India. Priape claimed to have been better endowed by nature than the donkey. The donkey proved him wrong and Priape, furious at this humiliation, killed him ("et victum ab eo interfectum") (Hygin, *Astronomy*, 1). The donkey is Priape's antagonist in a myth recounted by both Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 14; *Fastes*, 6) and Lactantius (*Div. Institut.*, 1, 21): one day, Priape came across a nymph lying on the grass in a deep sleep. He was about to rape her, when a donkey's braying woke the nymph up. goddess, who thus escaped the pursuits of the lascivious god. The sacrifice of a donkey is said to have been part of her cult from this point onwards.

Neither in Rome nor in Hellenic Greece, then, was Priape, unlike the ithyphallic divinities of Eastern religions, worshipped as "the regenerator of the whole of nature, the saviour of the world, whose presence ensured the preservation and propagation of all living beings and plants" (52bis).

According to Clement of Alexandria, "[i]t was the Coryhantes (priests consecrated to Cybele) who, as Heraclitus says, brought the cult of the Phallus and Bacchus to Italy. These Coryhantes, also known as Cabires, announced the death of the Cabire gods to the people. They were guilty of two crimes fratricide, when they removed the cistus (or sacred basket) in which the Phallus of Bacchus was placed. They transported it to Etruria, where they made the most of this beautiful merchandise; and as they were driven out of their country, they took up residence among the Etruscans, preached their venerable doctrine and recommended that these peoples worship the Phallus and the sacred basket" (53). The Etruscans, for whom the cult of Priape seems to have been aimed at deflowering virgins before marriage, soon communicated this new institution and some of the ceremonies and religious practices associated with it to the Romans. The Romans did, however, modify it, greatly reducing its wildness. Irritated that the Sabine women they had abducted remained barren, they had gone to invoke Juno in the sacred forest of Mount Esquilino, where they had received the blessing of the goddess.

this oracle: "May the women of Italy be impregnated by a goat (54)". When the Romans refused to adopt such a practice, the Etruscan soothsayer who had made the oracle softened it by suggesting that barren Roman women should have their backs or stomachs beaten with strips of goatskin; and this is precisely what was done at the Lupercalia.

The Romans generally referred to Bacchus as Liber, or Pater liber, just as they often gave Venus the name Liberta, a name derived from the licence that reigned at her festivals, the liberalia. "Among the Romans, the isolated Phallus was called Mutinus or Tutinus. When it was adherent to Hermes or Termes, it was called Priape. In one form or another, this sacred object, or divinity, was considered to preside over the fecundity of women, the vigour of husbands and wives, and to be capable of diverting the charms harmful to the act of marriage and the pregnancy of wives". (55). "It was believed to be strong enough to put entire armies to flight with a sudden, panicked terror; it was said, for example, to have driven Annibal's army from the road. It was also said to be particularly effective against evil spells and the magical effects of envy and jealousy. This is why the colossal limb of Tutunus was placed in the courtyard and even on the hearths of homes" (56) and, on entering her husband's house, the young bride had to sit on it. which Augustine calls the "inmanissimum et tupissimum fascinum" of Mutunus, according to some to ensure its fecundity, according to others because of its apotropaic virtues (57). Of course, there is a third possibility, which does not contradict the others. "Even the Vestals were obliged to venerate this god, since he was counted among the protectors of Rome; his virile member was attached to the chariot of the triumphant; it was needed for the protection of small children, and veiled matrons used to offer him sacrifices in his temple in Rome" (58).

Regarded as an amulet or portable fetish, the phallus was known as a fascinum, and was depicted either in the form of sculptures in the round in various materials, or on medals. These fascina could feature a single phallus, a double phallus (diphallus) or a triple phallus (triphallus). Priapes varied greatly in form. "Some were represented as Termes, with only the human head and the Phallus; others had half the human body, without arms, or with arms; usually charged with the attributes of this divinity, attributes all relating to the Phallus. agriculture. There are a few examples of Priape, represented in the full figure of a man; they are rare. Sometimes the simulacrum of this god was depicted holding a sickle or a long scythe (...). To characterise the abundance of which he was partly thought to be the author, and to ward off the sterility of which he was the preserver, Priape was often depicted wearing a long horn under his right arm. of abundance, whose wide or verdure offered an assemblage of flowers and fruits, productions and attributes of gardens, over which, especially among the Romans, this divinity presided specially. Sometimes a long pole was raised from behind and above his head" (59).

As we have just seen, the idol was sometimes placed not only in the courtyards of houses and on fireplaces, but also on the roads as an itinerary marker supposed to protect travellers from accidents. Priape was then confused with Mercury and the god Terme; however, his special domain was vines, orchards and above all gardens.

to serve as a scarecrow for the birds, while his right arm threatens the marauders" (60), who accompanied by "a sickle to harvest, a club to ward off thieves, or a rod to frighten the birds" (61), who equipped with "a stick, to chase away the birds, or (with) a sort of sickle in his hand" (62), who with a "stick", "which (he) was given... in his right hand, to chase away thieves, (which) was a wooden scythe" (63). In any case, signs warned them that Priape would rape them - "vaginally, anally or orally" - if they damaged crops in any way (64). In the arts, it was not uncommon for nothing to grow in these gardens, vegetable patches and orchards. Priapism is a pathological condition (65).

No image was as common in Rome as that of Priape (66). Like Venus and Cupid, it could even be found on tombs (67). "His lascivious attire made him one of the favourite characters on the popular stage" (68). From the end of the res publica to the beginning of the Empire, his iconography remained linked to Dionysus (69). Scythes, sticks, sickles or wands, the representations and priapic objects on display in the collections of museums of antiquities after having been "(collected), in the gynecae of Pompeian ladies and in houses of ill repute" and which were "once designed to flatter the passions" (70) more than suggest that what preoccupied Roman women in this respect was not so much the objects Priape held in his hands, or even his hands for that matter, as the part of his anatomy that particularly distinguished him. The Belgian scholar Dognée (18..?-19..?) expressed the opinion, shared today by a good number of historians and other specialists in antiquity, that "a large number of (these) representations once displayed in public and now described as licentious, had nothing of this character in antiquity" (70bis). On the contrary, Dulaure argues more boldly that "the more indecent the priapic representations, the more the ancients believed they were pleasing the divinity" (71). They were certainly pleasing not only the "Pompeians" but also the "Pompeians", if the priapeia are anything to go by. Dating from the 1st century AD and attributed to various Latin authors, including Virgil and Ovid, these obscene epigrammatic poems were composed to be affixed to statues of the god (72). In them, Priape boasts of the size of his "characteristic feature" and of his virility, while threatening sexual reprisals, such as sodomy and irrumation, against those who broke into the gardens under his care; violation called for violation like blood for blood, so much so that, according to Priapeia, lxiv and Priapeia, lxxxviii, Priape's threats were ineffective against homosexuals.

The festivals celebrated in honour of Priape were also called priapéés; comparable to the festivals the Egyptian festivals in honour of Osiris (Pamyllies) and the festivals in honour of Dionysus (Phallophories) in

In Greece, they seem to have had women as ministers of the cult of the god. On one of the ancient bas-reliefs that describe it, we can see "one of them (watering) the stroke of Priape, while others bring offerings of baskets full of fruit and vases full of wine. There are groups of dancers and musicians, including one waving the Egyptian sistrum. Here is a bacchante, carrying a child on her shoulders. Further on, four priestesses are busy sacrificing a donkey, a victim consecrated to Priape" (73). In spite of everything,

most of his worshippers were not "libertines and prostitutes". During the *liberalia*, "this The simulacrum was religiously carried on a magnificent chariot that arrived in the middle of the public square.

The most venerable mother of the family could be seen placing a wreath of flowers on this figure obscene: that the Roman ladies fetched it in procession from her chapel, and carried it to the temple of Venus-Erycina, and that they themselves placed this simulacrum of virility in the bosom of Venus; that these same ladies, and especially the new wives, came, in order to "see" her, to "see" her. deflect the evil spells, step over and sit naked on this colossal figure" (74).

In the last centuries of Roman civilisation, the gods had become objects of ridicule. They suffered the sarcasm of the poets and the contempt of the Christians, who took it upon themselves to discredit them on account of the licence and coarseness they displayed in the mythological tales, tales which, it should be remembered, had long before been composed by poets. Priape was more prone to this than any other (75). Christianity tried to pass off the divinities of paganism as demons, with one exception: Pan. Priape was the first target of the false prudery of the fathers of the Church, because, although he represented the same principle as Pan, his virility had something of the too conspicuous; of the temples of pagan divinities, his were the first to be closed (76).

But not everyone laughed at Priape. For Justin the Gnostic, to whom the Book of Baruch is attributed, "overflowing sexuality (...) (conveys) explicitly cosmic concepts", which can be seen as extensions of the Orphic conception of the god.) (conveys) explicitly cosmic concepts", which can be seen as extensions of the Orphic conception of the god; the Berber rhetorician and stoic philosopher Cornutus (77) (1st century AD) identifies Eros, Atlas, Pan, the Agathos Daimôn and Priape, calling him "the craftsman, the saviour" (78) and "even specifies that this hypersexual god may have been a allegorical sign describing the nature of the universe" (79). In an inscription from the colony of Apulum in Dacia dating from 235 AD, Priape is referred to as "Pantheos"; in another, from Tivoli and dating from the end of the 1st or 2nd century AD, as "creator of the world or... Nature in person and Pan" (80). Since Gnosticism has endured, in a thousand forms, right up to the present day, there is a priori no reason why the cosmico-sexual conception of Priape should not have survived the centuries and not still be assumed in some of its current currents.

As for the common people, they still recognised Priape's magical protective virtues and therefore continued to place statues of him in fields and gardens and to wear phallic figurines and amulets, so much so that his cult was maintained in countries where, after Rome had established its institutions and the Roman armies had spread the various oriental cults that had previously been practised there, Priape's cult continued to grow.

Christianity flourished in Italy under the Empire and endured there, either in its pagan forms, which seem to have retained their orgiastic character, or in forms and denominations that belong to the Christian religion.

A large number of plastic representations and priapic monuments were found in Gaul in particular: "... altars (...) were dedicated to him, gardens and fields were entrusted to his care, and the phallus, or male organ, was depicted in various forms as a protective power against evil influences. As a result of this idea, the well-known model was sculpted on the walls of public monuments, placed in conspicuous places inside houses, used as an adornment by women and hung as an amulet around children's necks. The most extravagant erotic scenes covered vases of metal, clay and glass, no doubt intended for feasting and uses more or less related to the cult of the principle of fertility" (81).

The phallic cult seems to have been particularly strong in the south of France (when, in 1585, the Huguenots took Embrun, in what is now the Hautes-Alpes department, "they found among the relics of the main church a three-piece Priape, in the antique style, which had a reddish tip, by dint of its shape and its size. to be washed with wine. Women make S. Vinegar, to be applied to a fairly common use. estrange. When those of Orange ruined the temple of Saint Eutropy, the same piece was found, but larger, enriched with skin and stuffing" (82) (emphasis added) and, in northern Europe, at Upsal, the seat of the cult of Freyr and his consort Friga (83), although, in the latter case at least, there is no direct influence from the cult of Priape as such.

Throughout the Germanic area, people believed in the existence of a priapic, hermaphroditic being who inhabited the woods and whom they called "Schrat" or "Schrätlein"; in England, "scrat" or "old scrat"; "skratti" in the Scandinavian area (84); "screti" in the Slavic world. Vocabularies In medieval times, the 'scrat' were likened to creatures from Greek and Roman mythology, emanations of Priape. They were half-man, half-goat. Like the fauns of antiquity, they inhabited wild forests and were unbridled lascivious. They entered houses at night as incubi (85).

The inhabitants of Slavonia worshipped Priape under the name Pripe-Gala until the 12th century. Hostile to their neighbours, who had embraced Christianity, they made frequent incursions into the dioceses of Magdeburg and Saxony. Several prelates and princes of Saxony wrote to the prelates of neighbouring countries to beg for their help. Every time these fanatics assemble to celebrate their religious ceremonies," they wrote, "they announce that their god Pripe-Gala is asking for human heads as offerings. According to them, Pripe-Gala is the same as Priape or the impudent Beelphegor. When they have cut off the heads of a few Christians before the profane altar of this god, they let out a terrible howl and cry out: "Let us rejoice today, Christ is defeated and our invincible Pripe-Gala is his victor (86)".

The cult of the phallus also persisted in Greece, despite the violent attacks it came under from Christianity. "At the same time as a number of Christian writers were declaiming against it, recriminating against its indecencies, describing and perhaps even exaggerating its abuses, a sect favourable to the Phallus was established in a new form. It was the one that celebrated the so-called Orphic festivals, a kind of Dionysian festival regenerated under different names. The deity who was the subject of these festivals was called Phauès, a nickname for the sun; he was represented with a very distinctive Phallus which, according to some authors, was placed in the opposite direction. The Orphic sect was initially distinguished by its austere principles and pure morals, which later degenerated into debauchery. To the violent and repeated declamations of the Fathers of the Church against the Phallus, the supporters of this cult replied that he was an emblem of the sun, of the regenerative action of this star on all nature" (87). "For a long time, the women of this nation continued to wear ithyphallic amulets of various shapes around their necks as a powerful preservative, just as Indian women wear the taly; they sometimes even placed them lower than the breast. Arnobius and his disciple Lactantius, who lived during the reign of Diocletian, i.e. towards the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, prove by their declamations that this cult was then in full vigour in Greece" (88).

Founded on the belief in a god who dies and rises again, the Christian religion is by definition a phallic cult (89).

The occult mission of Christianity was to present to the white peoples, in a form that they could accept, the various religious doctrines of Eastern origin that had come to merge there, to merge in every sense of the word; Christianising a phallic cult did not therefore imply, as is a very widespread thesis about historical Christianisation in general, a solution of continuity.

On the contrary, for Christianity it was a question of "reconditioning" the phallic cult, erasing as far as possible the traces of its Eastern origin, so as to make it presentable and worldly. In this sense, and in this sense alone, Priape himself was Christianised.

"He was given the name and costume of a saint", Saint Mandé, Saint Fiacre, Saint Fèvre, Saint Privat, Saint Pit, Saint Brice, or even Saint Foutin, Saint René, S. Guerlichon, Saint Guignolé, etc., depending on the region; "but he retained his attributions, his preserving and fecundating virtue, and this protruding and monstrous part which is its symbol" (90).

As in ancient times, Priape was invoked to promote the fertility of women and livestock. With regard to livestock, the chronicle of Lanercost "tells us that in 1268 an epizootic ravaged the livestock in the Scottish district of Lothian, and that, to combat it, some members of the

Christian religion - bestiales, habitu claustrales, non animo, - taught the peasants to make fire by rubbing wood (which was needfire), and to raise the image of Priape as a means of saving their livestock". Then "a secular member of the Cistercian order of Fenton did it in front of the door of the hall, then sprinkled the cattle with the testicles of a dog, soaked in holy water" (91). Until the 14th century, it was not uncommon for priests to accompany villagers in processions in which a huge phallus was carried to protect livestock from disease (92).

As far as women were concerned, "the saint of new creation" was himself "honourably placed in churches and invoked by barren Christian women, who, by making offerings, bought the hope of being heard. Christian priests were often seen fulfilling the ministry of the priests of Lampsak before him" (93). The honours paid by female devotees to the statue of Saint Guignolé, or Guingalais, in his chapel near Brest, seem to be representative of the attentions paid to the Christianised Priape by the "weaker sex" throughout France and Europe: The phallic sign of this saint, "notes Dulaure with kindness, "consisted of a long wooden peg that crossed his statue from side to side, and protruded forward in a very salient manner [...] They devoutly scraped the end of this miraculous peg, and this scraping, mixed with water, was a powerful antidote to sterility. When, as a result of this oft-repeated ceremony, the peg was worn out, a blow with a mallet, given from behind the saint, would immediately bring it forward again. The ankle was always scraped in this way and did not seem to diminish. The blow of the mallet worked a miracle" (94). His cult existed until the eighteenth century. In Varailles, in Provence, "wax images of the organs of both sexes, dedicated to Saint Foutin, are suspended from the ceiling of his chapel, so that when the wind blows them, they will be seen as a symbol of his devotion. When they are agitated, they clash and produce an effect that somewhat disturbs the tranquility of devout souls".

(95). Devotees could admire the same decoration in the church of Isernia, near Naples (96), where the cult of Priape "had survived (...) with integrity, it took place in the church of Saint Cosimo and Saint Damian. On the feast day of these saints, 27 September, a great fair was held; their relics were solemnly exhibited, including the priape of Saint Cosimo. Then, innumerable crowds brought wax ex-votos representing the organs of generation. At the high altar, a canon anointed the sick with the oil of Saint Cosimo. Those with a diseased limb would

At the end of the ceremony, the canons divided up the booty (money, gifts, candles, etc.) which was always considerable, given the enormous number of people who came to this feast. Thus, during the feast of 1780, no less than 1400 bottles of Saint Côme oil were consumed at the Great Altar for the anointings and for the distributions. The women in particular were fervent and generous; they brought enormous priapes and often prayed aloud: Santo Cosimo benedetto, cosl lo voglio. - Santo Cosimo, a te mi raccomando" (97). The sale of these wax phalluses would have been banned in 1780, but ten years later it was still possible to obtain them (98). In Saint-Seine-l' Abbaye, a town in what is now the Côte d'Or, "(a)vant 1495, newlyweds (...) were obliged to come and lay a wax grant chandoille in the shape of a stirrup on the altar of Noire-Dame, in the monastery church, on the evening of their wedding day - which was nothing less than a transformation of the figure of the phallus that, in similar circumstances, their ancestors in the days of paganism used to attach to the altar of Noire-Dame.

parvis du temple de la nymphe de la Seine, que les habitants l'appelaient en 1495 " une desrision induclive à pechié, laquelle devait plutôt poursuivuyé par des religieux, enquérant ce qui estoit de Dieu, que de quereller de foles superstitions que vrais religieux devrait abhorrer " (99).

Until the fourteenth century, particularly in Brittany, pudenda were commonly placed on church walls and/or above church portals to protect them from the evil eye. We were still at a time when William VII (1039 -1058) could establish a place of prostitution and put an abbess in charge without causing a scandal (100).

The practices that women indulged in to make the saint favourable to them were so indecent that Henri Etienne, a nineteenth-century literary scholar with little suspicion of prudery, dared not describe them. " I would be ashamed to write it," he said, "and readers would be ashamed to read it" (101). Listening only to his duty as an historian, Dullaure dares to say that women "sought a remedy for sterility by kissing the tip of the saint's phallus or by sitting on it. This latter custom was too bold a continuation of the indecencies of paganism to last long or to be practised openly; but it seems to have been simulated in a modest manner by lying on the body of the saint, or by sitting on an emblematic stone without the monstrous member" (102). Roman women, like Indian women, "to obtain desired fertility and ward off evil spells, they paid homage to the Phallus of the The women of Israel "made Phalluses in order to abuse them"; Christian women imitated them: "up to a certain point", our historian slips in, with a sense of nuance that might have displeased those concerned (103).

Finally, countless festivals were held, including that of the donkey, an animal dedicated to Priape, during which the people competed in obscenity with the women who, several centuries earlier in Rome, had taken part in the festivals in honour of Bacchus, against which Augustine fulminated (cantatur très quadragesimas poeniteas) (104). We know from cartularies that these obscene rites were also practised in secret societies, some of which followed the cult of Priape "and in France and Belgium had pewter badges depicting a single sex or both of them together, which were worn on the cloak to protect against the evil eye during pregnancy or which children wore against all evil spells" (105).

Only those forms of priapic worship that the Church had failed to eradicate were banned. prohibitions, which either had no effect, or gave rise to adaptations, even "The church (disapproved) of large attributes and (tolerated) small ones. "The church (disapproved) of large attributes and (tolerated) small ones" (106), except, whatever its size, the fascinum, of which we said earlier that, in Rome, women and men were not allowed to wear them.



Children in particular wore them around their necks or on their shoulders as amulets to ward off the evil eye and other bad influences. Taking up this custom, the Franks, for whom it was called *fesne* by contraction, prayed to it, chanted incantations and wrote magical verses to obtain help. The Council of Chalons, in the 9th century, prohibited it. The same ban was renewed periodically until the beginning of the 15th century, but to no avail. Substitute practices were found, such as women adorning their headdresses with phallic shapes. Montaigne, "after having spoken of the customs established among different nations, and which relate to the cult of Priape, and of the different ways of honouring the Phallus, adds that married women in a country close to the one he inhabited, still wear this simulacrum on their foreheads; and when they have become widows, they reverse it behind their heads: 'The married women hereafter,' he says, 'forge, from their headdress, a phallic shape. figure on their foreheads, to glory in the enjoyment they have of it; and when they become widows, they lay it back and bury it under their headdress". (107). The wearing of priapic figures, according to Payne-Knight, "had not yet been entirely abandoned" at the end of the nineteenth century (108). As for barren women, "instead of scraping off the phallic limb of a statue, or contemplating it with devotion (they) were reduced, some to. others, as at Rocamadour in the Rouergue, to come and kiss the lock of the church, or an iron bar called Rolland's Bracquemart; others, to lie for a time on the tomb of some saint renowned for his fertile virtue: This is the practice in the town of Sarragosse in Spain, in the convent of Saint-Antoine-de-Paule, and in the chapel dedicated to him" (109). In the same vein, in 1837, the archaeologist Schayes reported the existence of a chapel called Saint-Pierre à broquettes, in Walloon Brabant, "where barren women went to scrape a Sainte-Broquette to swallow the dust in a glass of water. It was enough, of course, to point out and comment on this custom - which until then had been as harmless as the Hindu worship of the lingam - for the ecclesiastical authorities to wisely remove the scandal.

However, the chapel remained a place of pilgrimage for women who wanted to have children, and I noticed that a few years ago they still came to throw wooden skewers through the grating that protected the statue of the saint, naive relics of the old phallic ex-voto" (110). If the Church had not prohibited this practice, it would have been lost of its own accord (111), like any other practice. testifying to the outcropping of elementary violence.

At the end of the 19th century, the "process of civilisation" - the contractualisation and pacification of social relations - which, as Max Weber has shown, the Church had set in motion centuries earlier, leaving its completion to the State from the 16th/17th century onwards, was coming to an end. With the increasing division of labour, the development of trade, the growing interweaving not only of economies but also of political, social, cultural and economic factors, and of public institutions and private players, and the ever-expanding networking of people as a result of demographic growth and urbanisation, all the conditions were ripe for individuals to learn to "restrain and control their impulses in their relations with other individuals in order to hold their own".

rationally account for chains linking his actions to those of other individuals on an ever-expanding scale in time and space" (111bis). With the de facto replacement of

From the norm to the law, external constraint gave way to self-constraint and, little by little, individuals would no longer need external agents to bring them into line with the norm; they would standardise themselves, mechanically.

In one of its forms, however, the cult of Priape is inescapable. It dates back to at least the Upper Palaeolithic (112) and has taken on a new dimension since the end of the 19th century, Electricity was introduced into the home and the object on which it rests, previously often made by women themselves from wood, stone, ceramics or leather (113), was mass-produced, first in rubber, then in silicone. Patented in 1902 by the American company Hamilton Beach, the first electric vibrator very quickly became, just after the sewing machine and long before the iron, the fifth household appliance to run on electricity (114).

According to mythology, this cult of the "simulacrum of masculinity" (115) was invented by Priape's father in honour of a shepherd called Prosymnos: "Dionysus, wishing to cross Hades, did not know the way. Prosymnos promised to teach him, but not without a reward; a reward that was not honest, but for Dionysus it was; it was a favour of love that this reward was asked of him. The god was willing to consent, promised to do so if he completed his journey, and confirmed his promise with an oath. Once he had completed his journey, he left and returned, but he could no longer find Prosymnos; he was dead. Then Dionysus, to satisfy the spirits of his lover, sprang to the tomb and fulfilled the passive role (πασχῆτις). It is with a branch of a nearby fig tree, which he cuts and shapes into a virile member, that, sitting on it, he fulfils the promise made to the dead man; and it is in memory of this adventure that phalluses are mystically erected, through the cities, in front of Dionysus."

(116). The invention of olisbos is thus expressly linked to homosexuality. It should be noted that, in this necrophilic homosexual liaison, Dionysus plays the "passive" role, that of the woman. Lysistrata, 109 ("since we were betrayed by the Mimesians, I have not only seen an eight-fingered olisbos that could have relieved us with its leather") attests that the use of olisbos was far from commonplace. to be reserved for men. There is even reason to believe that, in Greece, in both classical and archaic times, "olisbos was used, not simply in the context of homosexual relations between women, but only in this context" (117).

The fact that Dionysus was presented as the inventor is certainly not unrelated to the close and direct links between this divinity and Cybele, as well as with Artemis of Ephesus, who was herself "associated" with Cybele.

with the strange Oriental idea of the confusion of the sexes"(118). The use of this "simulacrum of masculinity

"It's part of the confusion between the sexes, because it allows women to play at being men.

"The use of the artificial male member" was, it seems, "common in monasteries. This custom, which seems to owe its origin to some religious practice, already existed at a very early period, for it is alluded to in the Holy Scriptures, and" (119), proof that the involuntary humour of the writers of the Holy Scriptures is greatly underestimated, "it is considered there as a remnant of pagan worship". (120). The fact remains that, in the eighth century, holy men finally took matters into their own hands, with the firm intention of purifying the Christian institution of this intolerable "residue of paganism". The result was a large number of penitential tariffs. A penitential of the time reads as follows: "A woman who, of her own accord or with the help of another woman, fornicates with an instrument will do penance for three years, one of which will be bread and water. If this kind of fornication takes place with a nun, the following article states, the penance will be seven years, two of which will be spent on bread and water". A handwritten penitential stipulates that, if a nun fornicates with another nun by means of this instrument, the offenders must be condemned to seven years of penance. A collection of canonical ordinances and regulations on penances from the 12th century, we learn Dulaure (121), still attests to the existence of these practices. Religious acts were mixed up with debauchery, and religious motives and lust went hand in hand.

Typical of this "confusion" is the following episode: on 29 March and 5 April 1282, a Cistercian priest of the parish of Inverkeithing, in the county of Fife, Scotland, "[celebrated] the rites of Priape in gathering the young girls of the town, and, without regard to sex or age, making them dance around the statue of the god, and, carrying through the dance a wooden image of the male organ of generation, he sang and danced himself, accompanying the song with gestures and attitudes similar to the occasion and provoking licentious acts with words no less licentious. The most timid assistants, scandalised by such behaviour, reproached him with contempt, which only served to make him imagine even grosser obscenities. Summoned before his archbishop, he excused himself on the grounds that it was the usual custom of the country, and he was allowed to retain his benefit" (122). He could just as easily have been burnt in a public square for witchcraft, such was his. The gathering would have been akin to the start of a Sabbath, had the archbishopric considered that the vows it was making to Priape, whom the Church had transformed into a demon whenever it failed to Christianise the rituals the elders had established in his honour, were in fact being made to Satan. She did nothing about it.

The Sabbath, contrary to Knight's inconsistent assertion, is not "the last form of priapism in Western Europe" (123), but it does seem to have been (to be?) its most extreme form.

The first major wave of witchcraft trials, which began around 1430, was accompanied by a stiffening stance on the representation of the body and sexuality. The theologian, preacher, politician and academic Gerson (1363-1429), the first, in his *Tractatus pro*

devotis simplicibus, worries about the effects of representing "the body of the crucified one and that of the holy virgins" in their total nudity: "It may happen that when a man applies himself too much to the thought of images and circumstances of corporeal things, he goes by an effect of fluidity and of the inconstancy of his imagination, and by the cooperation of the devil, pious and devout thoughts, to shameful and impious thoughts..." (124). Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the archbishop of Florence issued the same condemnation: "Painters fall into error when they make images that provoke desire, not because of their beauty but because of their arrangement (dispositio), such as naked women and other [images] of the same kind" (125). In the following century, Erasmus was indignant about the indecency of contemporary paintings and fulminated against their authors: "The swine, who are called painters and sculptors, are not ashamed to represent images that show naked what nature itself wants to be kept hidden, and which is likely to excite in the most mortified desires that are treacherous to chastity. They spare neither our saints, our virgins, nor the august Mother of God, nor even the Infant Jesus (126)". In 1563, the last session of the Council of Trent declared: "All indecency is to be avoided, so that images are neither painted nor decorated with provocative beauty (127). Among other influential figures of the second half of the seventeenth century, the art theorist Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano (?-1584) ( *Due Dialoghi*, 1564), Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522 -1597) (*Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, 1582) and, to a lesser extent, the theologian, hagiographer and historian Johannes Molanus (*De picturis et imaginibus sacris*, 1570), supported the Tridentine precepts on the subject, which were now normative.

In defence of these censors, it could be argued that "[t]he power of representation, of illusion, The emotional power of the new painting techniques was incomparable to that of the old ones. old icons, and one could wonder, because of the strength and presence of the new images, whether the homage paid by the faithful did not stop there, instead of being transferred to the prototype". (128). The fact remains that many of these works were commissioned by men of the Church.

In any case, by denouncing as immoral what until then had shocked no one, the Church paved the way, already marked out by the Fathers of the Church, for the "autonomisation" and marginalisation of everything sexual: "images of sex, which previously formed part of a whole with common virtues (of protection, fertility...) now develop independently, according to a logic of their own" (129). The result was an unprecedented growth in pornography (130).

Under the impetus of the painter Giulio Romano (c. 1492-1546) and his *Modi* ("The Sixteen Pleasures") (1524) and the writer and playwright Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) and his *Ragionamenti* (1534-1536), both accompanied by licentious engravings, pornographic works began to proliferate in Italian cities and particularly in Venice in the 1530s (131) and, because of the damage caused Thanks to the development of printing and advances in literacy, they were able to reach an increasingly wide audience, no longer made up exclusively of aristocrats.

Let's take a look at L'Arétin, in an attempt to resolve the contradiction that seems to exist between the fact that, at the end of the twentieth century, he was described as "the embodiment of the dissolution of Italian culture" (132), while in his own time he was reputed to be "the scourge of princes", "the truth-teller" and "the scourge of other people's vices" (133). As a pornographer, he regularly confessed (134), which is far from being contradictory.

L'Arétin and his colleagues "(proclaimed) that their works told the truth about 'the thing' in all its nakedness, stripping it of all the metaphorical expressions and allegories that characterised contemporary knowledge culture (...) (They) claimed to reveal everything and, in so doing, they were an integral part of the important current of opposition to classicism that existed in sixteenth-century thought".

(135). While they were happy to declare to their readers that they despised the classics and to associate novelty with an attack on established institutions and beliefs, they were nonetheless indebted to the licentious works of the past, particularly the priapeia.

A corpus of twenty-four priapeia, the obscene epigrammatic poems we mentioned earlier, had been discovered around the twelfth century or, at the latest, in the fourteenth century by Boccaccio. They had spread to humanist circles in the Quattrocento, where they had been imitated and even more varied, the most popular being Panormita's Hermaphroditus (1394-1471) and Pietro Bembo's Priapus (1470-1547), a poem of around a hundred lines written at the end of the fifteenth century and first published in Venice in 1552. The first publication of the priapeia dates back to the editions of the complete works of Virgil in 1469 and 1471, published in Rome by Giannandrea de Bussi (136); they contained eighty of these poems, accompanied by engravings, and had many commentators and imitators (the secretary of Leo X himself declared his intention to publish a "priapeia" in 1471). collection of priapeia) (137). There were few artists of the period who did not draw on the myths relating to Priape. Pacifico Massimo ((14..?.-15..?) invokes "holy Priape" in his Hecatelegium (1489), an elegy to his penis. Giulio Romano (1492 or 1499-1546) depicted Priape on the walls of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, while Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-1534) included, in The Bacchanal with the Offering (138), a satyr trying to mate with a priapic herm. Jacopo Barbari's Sacrifice to Priape (1450-1516) "shows a young woman presenting her newborn child to the god, while an older woman burns plants on an altar next to a horn of plenty" (139). In another work by Barbari, "a priestess pours a liquid of wine or milk over the god's phallus, with the woman with the newborn child on the left of the composition. The offerings made to Priape in this way relate to the theme of fecundity, which is placed under his protection - the fecundity of women exalted by his ithyphallic character and the fertility of the gardens of which he is the guardian". (140). In the iconography of the "Renaissance", however, the god's apotropaic and prophylactic functions took second place to his erotic charge. The way Priape was viewed had changed: "He is no longer asked to protect flocks from disease", but to provide "a thrill" (141).

In its artistic form, however, the cult of Priape and, more generally, that of the phallus during the Renaissance was not limited to the search for the "great thrill". From the time when obscene works began to be distributed on a large scale, their publishers, peddlers and buyers were more or less harshly repressed - the Hermaphroditus, dedicated to *Como de' Medici*, was burned in Bologna, Ferrara and Mantua, after it had been attacked by the preacher Bernard of Siena and condemned by Eugene IV (142) - but, whatever the degree, this "repression (had) effects on pornography, which it helped to construct as a genre. By penalising and criminalising it, it enclosed this type of literature - which had become 'second-rate' - in a kind of cultural ghetto and reserved it for a male, literate elite; it (made) its production, marketing and consumption so many challenges to the political and religious authorities; it (induced) elements of formal structure as well as particular behaviours" (143). In a backlash, obscene literature, attacked by the authorities, became a vehicle for, and in some cases a pretext for, criticism of the established order, with "free thought" expressed without restraint under the veil of the free representation of obscenity.

The Council of Trent deemed "obscene" any work that was neither produced nor appreciated by humanists (144), whether political, scientific or erotic, and in fact certain political works and scientific writings were placed on the index in the same way as licentious publications. All three were characterised by voyeurism; seeing, without being seen, is one of those particular forms of behaviour that became widespread during the Renaissance (145). In the first part of the *Ragionamenti*, which contains two parts, each comprising three days of conversation, the heroine, Nanna, recounts her early years spent in a panoptic convent, where, still "innocent", she was introduced to sexual pleasures by observing the various erotic images painted on the walls, witnessing obscene scenes through holes concealed in the partitions and reading lavishly illustrated erotic works. Disappointed by marriage, and more precisely by the marital bed, she decided to take up the profession of prostitute and, from being a consumer of erotic articles, became a creator and manipulator. Significantly at the dawn of parliamentarianism, Nanna boasts to her interlocutors that she is capable of arousing her customers with her words alone, interlocutors who have no trouble believing her, since they themselves are intoxicated by her words. Nanna's clientele appears to be composed exclusively of aristocrats.

The literary academies that proliferated in seventeenth-century Italy, most of whose members were aristocrats, contributed to the growth of obscene literature. The most illustrious of these, the *Accademia degli Intronati*, founded in the 1720s in Siena, published works including *La Cazzaria* (v. 1531) by the humanist writer and poet Antonio Vignali (c. 1500-1559) (146). *La Cazzaria* consists of a series of conversations between Arsiccio and a young academician about politics, sex and philosophy. The young man's nickname is Sodo. Any doubts that might remain in

The reader's doubts about the nature of the relationship Arsaccio intends to form with Sodo are dispelled when Sodo presents Arsaccio with "sexual knowledge as the foundation of natural philosophy" (147).

Here, "the body is a moral map of the political and sexual divisions of the time" (148). Once Sodo has been put completely at ease, Arsaccio begins to tell him the story of a tyrannical government which, before it was overthrown, was led by a "Big Dick" ("il cazzo") and was made up of four rival parties: "the patrician Cocks and Cons ("fiche"), the aristocratic Balls ("coglioni") and the plebeian Asses ("asini"). After the Little Cocks and the Ugly Cons, with the help of the Asses, overthrew the Big Cocks and the Pretty Cons who were defending his interests, they debate the best form of government. The Conservative Cocks fear that the participation of the Cons and the Cocks in the government will cause them to lose their rank. Because they have betrayed the other factions, the Balls see themselves as subordinate to the Cocks and Cons, and that is why, concludes Arsaccio, picking up on a theme of sonnets, 'the Balls never penetrate the Ass'" (149). This is a transposition of the events that led to the overthrow of the Petrucci family's government by the coalition of Noveschi, Libertini, Riformatori and Gentiluomini in September 1524 and, after the Libertini had taken power, to Vignali's exile. The debate over the best form of representative government became moot when, thirty years later, the army of *Como de' Medici*, with the support of Spanish troops, won the surrender of Siena.

Nevertheless, politics continued to be viewed through the prism of sex in certain humanist circles and, in the 17th century, pornographic-political works abounded. "Patrician politics (y) is linked to patrician sexual practices and sodomy (y) is presented as the logical expression of nobility and education (150) - "Pedagogus ergo sodomiticus" ("teacher, therefore sodomite"), had warned Boccaccio. Sexual attractions were linked to the various regimes

political: heterosexuality was seen as monarchical, "in the sense that women used their sexual power to immediately exercise despotic and absolute power, if possible tyrannical" over men, homosexuality was seen as a form of republicanism

(151). Relevant questions arose more or less implicitly: "What if the world was ruled by cocks? And what if whores were "the women above them"?" (152) One should not conclude from this that Italian pornographers had revolutionary aims, as many

Some of them, including the Arétin, had excellent relations with the aristocrats whom they dragged through the mud on paper, when they were not their protégés (153).

Of L'Arétin's work, which also and even mainly comprised religious works and plays, apart from one of the latter, only his *Ragionamenti* made it to France, at a time when anthologies of obscene and saucy poems were proliferating. Printed at least four times between 1584 and 1649 (154), they may well have had some influence on the first French erotic novels, *L'École des filles* (1655), *L'Académie des dames* (1680), *Vénus dans le cloître, ou la Religieuse en chemise* (1683). L'Arétin's reputation remained intact in the eighteenth century, during which time he became one of the most famous writers in France.

from which several pseudo-aristocratic texts were published, including *La Putana errante*, *La Putain errante*, ou *Dialogue de Magdelon et de Julie* (1776). As soon as the *Ragionamenti* were published in France, some people believed they depicted sexual positions, which became known as the "Arétin figures". Brantôme, among others, mentions it several times in his *Vies des dames galantes* (1740). Others falsely attributed collections of this kind to l'Arétin (155). In 1763, the defrocked monk Henri-Joseph du Laurens could not have been unaware of this tradition when he wrote *L'Arretin*, ou la *débauche de l'esprit en fait de bon sens*, a collection of parodic tales and essays on the education of children, agriculture, the celibacy of priests, slavery, etc., which closes with a "Histoire merveilleuse et édifiante du godemiché (Trouvée dans un ancien manuscrit de la bibliothèque de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rits)", a dildo presented as "Italian by birth, (born) of Catholic parents, in the first year of the creation of monastic vows" (156). In the preface to the collection, du Laurens justifies his title "because this author (l'Arétin) did no favours for anyone in his century; wiser than him, I respect men and attack their errors and prejudices" (157). In *L'arretin*, anti-clericalism was adorned for the first time with humanism, egalitarianism and reformism (158). The book was one of the great bestsellers of its time (159).

And so, as in Italy, literature inspired by the Christian faith moved away from its pure and simple obscenity to serve as a basis for political criticism, but it went even further by adding philosophical and social reflections.

Priape, soutiens mon haleine...", the epigraph to *Les Aphrodites*, ou *Fragments thali-priapiques pour servir à l'histoire du plaisir* (1793) by André-Robert Andréa de Nerciat (1739-1800) is borrowed from Alexis Piron, who became famous in 1710 in his native town (Dijon) in spite of himself for having written that year "...Priape, soutiens mon haleine...".

Piron wrote "L'Ode à Priape" (Ode to Priape) in response to a challenge from one of his friends, Jehannin de Chamblanc, Councillor at the Burgundy Parliament, to write a play about the Greek god. Piron accepted the challenge on the sole condition that Jehannin, once he had read the manuscript, which was not only pornographic but also blasphemous, would destroy it without reading it to anyone. He almost never recovered. The first thing Jehannin did was to pass it on to some of his advisers, who made copies, one of which fell into the hands of the president of parliament. Piron was summoned to the public prosecutor's office. Leaving his office red-faced, he immediately ran to Jehannin to ask for his protection. Jehannin intervened on his behalf with the public prosecutor, who agreed to let him off the hook on condition that Piron disavowed his work. Piron disowned him and everything went back to normal for him.

The affair caught up with him again in 1753, when, having meanwhile gained notoriety in Versailles by virtue of writings of a different kind, he put himself forward as a candidate to succeed his patron, the churchman and theologian Languet de Gergy (1677-1753), in the Académie française. "On the day fixed for the election and when they were about to vote, Fontenelle, who was very deaf, asked what he was voting on. was about. An academicien sitting next to him wrote these words on a sheet of paper: "There is talk of naming Piron; but it is objected that he is reputed to be the author of the Ode à Priape." Fontenelle replied: "If he did write the Ode à Priape, he should be scolded and received; but if he did not write it,



he should not be considered as the author of the Ode à Priape.

should not be named". The vast majority of the Académie chose Piron to be proposed to the king as Languet de Gergy's successor. But the Abbé d'Olivet was less easy to work with than his colleague Fontenelle. He sent the text of the Ode à Priape to Boyer, former bishop of Mirepoix and a member of the Académie Française like himself. - Boyer immediately went to Versailles. A former tutor to the Dauphin, first chaplain to the Queen, and in charge of the list of benefits, he could easily to the king. Introduced to Louis XV, he told him that the Academy had just made a choice deplorable by appointing Piron. - But," said the king, "he is an excellent poet, a man of many talents. of wit and great talent. - No doubt," continued Boyer, "but perhaps your majesty does not know that he is the author of an infamous ode. - Which one? - Sire, the Ode to Priape. - Here we add that Louis XV pretended to be unaware of the existence of this famous ode, and took the malicious pleasure of forcing the former bishop of Mirepoix to read aloud to him some of the stanzas of this masterpiece obscenity. - When, a little later, Montesquieu, then director of the Académie Française, came to Versailles to propose Piron to the king as successor to Languet de Gergy, Louis XV declared that he did not agree to this appointment. - This satisfaction granted to the devout party, Louis XV, some time later, at the request of Montesquieu and Madame de Pompadour, compensated Piron for his exclusion from the Académie with the gift of a pension of a thousand livres, representing the annual emolument that his admission would have earned him. Montesquieu, who henceforth only called the author of *Métromanie* "my dear colleague", had the satisfaction of announcing this good news to him, and the Académie Française sent four of its members to Piron's house to congratulate him on this favour" (160). Hence the expression, not yet established, "victory à la Piron".

The fact remains that, a century earlier, Piron would probably have had no trouble obtaining the King's assent. In his *Priapées* (161), the poet and member of the Académie française Maynard (1582-1646) was able to write the following verses without any damage to his career. (softened) the rough edges of angular characters (...), (avoided) hurtful shocks, (revived) the courage of timid people, (muted) the grand airs of important people", etc. (162)

: "... Trêve de cet amour honnête / Dont Platon traite en ses discours / Pour moy, de qui le V... lubrique / Is always straight as a baston / And red as a rubric, / I f... and Socrates and Plato (163).  
"

Under the reign of Louis XV, it was no longer possible to publish with impunity what was still being written, in spite of the

"New statutes and regulations for the printing industry" (1649) and the introduction of the "tacit permission" (1709), under Louis XIV. The first "martyr" of obscenity was Claude le Petit, sentenced to the stake in 1662 at the age of twenty-three and burnt in the Place de Grève along with his collection of poems, "*Le Bordel des Muses*" (164). This punishment," wrote the civil lieutenant Daubray to the chancellor Séguier, "will contain the unbridled licence of the godless and the temerity of the printers" (165).

It certainly contained them. In 1749, however, an investigation at Versailles revealed that

practically everyone in the château, from the greatest courtiers to the humblest servants, owned erotica (166); sold at the Palais-Royal, at the entrance to the Tuileries and at the Opéra, they were also sold at Versailles, even in the château and in the park (167). From this time until the eve of the Revolution, the number of decrees banning the printing and distribution of "erotic" works increased with increasing frequency, and the number of people arrested for printing, selling or distributing "erotic" works increased.

the possession of such works (168) as well. Among the first publishers of licentious works to have been emblazoned are those of the fully illustrated "Almanach de Priape" of 1741 (169), twenty-five years after Voltaire's first visit there.

Although Voltaire had been imprisoned for offending the regent, his writings were censored, in essence, for the same reasons that had led to the imprisonment of these two publishers. Moreover, from the 1770s onwards, book publishers used the term "philosophical books" to designate all banned books (170), whether for political or moral reasons and

It did not matter whether they were philosophical works, libertine novels or pornographic writings, which, incidentally, were similar in many respects, particularly in terms of their objectives. Like philosophy, pornography conveyed anti-Christian and therefore anti-monarchical views. Many printers of "erotic" works were republican militants and, at the beginning of their careers, a number of representatives of the "Enlightenment", such as Mirabeau (171) and Diderot (172), had produced obscene writings, which sold much better than philosophical works. Both genres helped to undermine the foundations of the monarchy and the state.

the aristocracy; pornographically, by "(insisting) all on the degeneration of the aristocracy, incapable of reproducing itself and corrupting the people" (173); philosophically, by denouncing the lack of individual liberties, the lack of religious tolerance, by calling for the freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, by denouncing slavery and privilege, etc. The libertine novel, which made the fortune of its publishers, is akin to the pornographic novel in its incitement to transgression, both sexual and more generally social, and to the philosophy of the "Enlightenment" in its emphasis on atomistic individualism; both in its use of "mockery, derision, critical and historical Reason (...), irreligion, (of) hedonistic materialism" (174).

Many libertine novels have Lampsaque as the place of printing and phallus garlands on their frontispieces (175). One of the main characters in the second part of Rétif de la Bretonne's Palais-Royal is called M. Priape. Priape, "a handsome man, very rich, who had singular tastes and even more singular fantasies" (176). In 1730, a young girl from the Toulon bourgeoisie, Marie-Catherine Cadière, a penitent of Father Girard, rector of the Jesuits in Toulon and 31 years her senior, accused him of raping her on several occasions; the trial was held at the Aix-en-Provence Parliament in 1731. The whole of Europe became fascinated by this affair of manners and, at the end of the decade, a novel was based on it, perhaps by Boyer d'Argens: *Thérèse philosophe, ou mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Père Dirrag et de Mademoiselle Éradice* (1738), one of the best-selling books of the eighteenth century (177).

The frontispiece to the second part, entitled "Le magnificat de Priape" (Priape's Magnificat), depicts a standing woman grasping the virile member of a standing man. On several occasions, the heroine confides to her lover, a priest thirty-five years her senior, that her "perspectives" are "the Fêtes de Priape, the Amours de Mars et de Vénus", paintings in which, "her imagination aroused by the attitudes depicted", after "getting rid of the sheets and blankets", she "set herself to imitating all the postures (she saw there)". In addition to placing Thérèse in the tradition of the anticlerical novel, this novel "(puts) eroticism at the service of enlightenment", by suggesting a necessary link between "free love" and "free thought" (178). "In the novel, the man of the cloth preaches a radical Cartesianism. He expounded the dichotomy between spirit and matter by ordering his pupil, Mlle Éradice, to detach her soul from her body by means of spiritual exercises such as lifting her skirts while he flogged her bottom and she concentrated on the Holy Spirit. If she concentrated hard enough, he assured her, she would feel no pain, but her soul would leave her body and rise to heaven, carried by spiritual ecstasy.

"After a good whipping, Eradice is ready for the ultimate exercise: intercourse. The Jesuit explains that, thanks to a relic - a hardened fragment of St Francis' cord - she will undergo a pure form of spiritual penetration. While she was praying, almost on her stomach, he straddled her from behind. The scene is described by Thérèse, the novel's heroine and narrator, who witnesses it from a hiding place:

" " Ah, Father," cried Eradice, "what a pleasure this gives me! Yes, I am enjoying heavenly happiness; I feel that my spirit is completely detached from matter: drive out, Father, drive out all that remains impure in me. I see... the... an... ges; push on... push on... Ah!... ah!... good... Saint Francis don't leave me; I can feel the horn... the horn... the cord... I can't take it any more... I'm dying!..."

"This episode taught Thérèse more than one lesson about the dangers of the clergy. It was the first stage of her education. Having learnt to reject the authority of the Church, she followed the pleasure principle which led her to

through physics, metaphysics and ethics, to a happy ending in the bed of a count philosopher (...) sex and philosophy go hand in hand throughout the novel. The characters masturbate and copulate, then discuss ontology and morality, all the while regaining their strength before the next round. This narrative strategy worked perfectly in 1748, because it showed that carnal knowledge paved the way for the Enlightenment, the radical Enlightenment of La Mettrie, Helvétius, Diderot and d'Holbach" (179). At the end of the novel, Thérèse becomes their equal. "She learns that everything can be reduced to matter in motion, that all knowledge derives from the senses, and that all behaviour should be governed by a hedonistic calculation: maximise pleasure and minimise pain. But she is a philosopher. The greatest pain she can imagine is that of

This was all the more difficult as her mother and mentor, Madame C\*\*\*, nearly died in childbirth. Although fond of sex and eager to make love to a count who is courting her, she decides to

the game isn't worth the candle (...) masturbation first, and then contraception through coitus interruptus.

"Because Thérèse is a poor commoner and her lover is a count, she cannot hope to marry him. But she finds a good compromise: a generous annual pension of 2000 pounds and the management of her castle. In love, she sets the pace. Instead of accepting her fate, Thérèse rejects the role of wife and mother and seeks happiness on her own terms, as a materialistic, atheistic and liberated woman" (180). Insofar as "(the) pleasures (in it) are considered from the sole point of view of feminine desire and removed from any maternal or strictly conjugal purpose", Thérèse philosophe can be considered "the first feminist novel" (181) in French literature.

There's more: in *The Will to Know*, Foucault proposes to "follow (the) tenuous thread (...) which, for so many centuries, has linked sex and the search for truth in our societies", to follow it from Christianity, which, through confession, self-examination and discourse, has placed sexuality at the heart of existence and linked salvation to the control of sexual impulses (182). This thread runs through Thérèse, because her sexual initiation takes place through an education in philosophy and thus the famous "search for truth", and a fortiori through the author, because he makes sex the object of his discourse. Neither of them suspects that their anti-Christianism has a Christian basis.

From the memoirs of contemporaries, it appears that the libertine novel faithfully reflected the morals of the court of Louis XV, morals which "took ample revenge for the prudish constraint (facade) and ceremonious cogotism (facade) imposed by the end of the last reign" (183). Louis XV's bacchanalian debaucheries gave insomnia and nightmares to the "devout party", but the conduct of the great lords and lesser lords and of the high clergy hardly differed from his own. Under the Regency, debauchery had become widespread, or rather less discreet, at court. Pleasure was king, including in Paris, the world's most entertaining city" (184). Court mores remained the same after the coronation of the virtuous Louis XVI (185) and "(suddenly) spread to all artistic and intellectual circles, as well as to those of finance and commerce. And almost every time, (libertinism found) its moral justification in philosophy and in the sacralisation of values and behaviour regarded as 'natural'" (186).

The Revolution began where the Ancien Régime ended: in an orgy. It was priapic.

In the 1770s, a kind of 'free' poetry was circulating in social circles.

title - lay not so much in the fact that its author was anonymous as in the impossibility of

determine whether the verses were addressed to a woman or a man: "Of my greatness, I believe, your hand the measure, And my size, Iris, fills it easily; Know at least what is my fate and my figure If you dare not risk the touch. Under the collar to my body a head attached Though blind, And by Priape condemned to work, Grows stiff, strong and pierces the ground. I cherish this work, it has the right to please me, But a swelling that it produces Always uncovers the mystery, And my work betrays itself" (187). Were they not simply addressing a bisexual being, bisexual as Priape was in certain myths and in art? Because the libertine novel maintains the confusion of the sexes, the shadow of the hermaphrodite hangs almost constantly over its characters.

characters, especially in Sade, on the understanding that, just as "all animals are equal, but some are more equal than others", so all human beings are hermaphrodites, but some are more feminine than others. In scenes from a number of libertine novels, sodomy, which in the eighteenth century was equated with male homosexuality (188), "is practised between women using a dildo - often with a belt, and hence a veritable simulacrum of the phallus becoming a feminine attribute" (189). The girl," as it is said in a passage from *Quarante manières de foutre* dedicated to the clergy of France, "plays the role of the fouteur, who plays that of the girl". From then on

A significant reversal takes place, to the point where the woman makes love like a man, like Juliette who tells Rosine, Carle-Son's wife, that "it's been too long [that she] has been hard for [her] husband". Erotic power belongs to the woman, and softness and passivity to the man" (190).

Sodomy was one of the main themes of the revolutionary pamphlets where, in accordance with the mental representations of the time, it was presented as an essentially masculine practice and crystallised criticism of the libertine mores of the court nobility and the high clergy. Memoirs and correspondence from the period suggest that the revolutionary pamphlets that were published against "state sodomy" in the twilight of the Ancien Régime had a strong influence on the way in which this practice was perceived. Régime were not very far from reality (191). If we go back no further than the sixteenth century, when the fashion for homosexuality was imported from Italy by the Medicis, Henri III had thirty-two million at his disposal for his expenses and those of the State, a third of which he dissipated on a wedding and perhaps another third on the upkeep of eleven young men (192) who, says L'Estoile, "wore their hair long, curly, frizzed, by artifice, coming up over their little velvet bonnets, as the P(utains) do. Their cloth shirt burs were thick, half a foot long, so that to see their testes on top of their burs, it looked like the head of Saint John, in a dish (...) They made their faces dark, smoothed their hair, and put it up in a crest. Their exercise was to play, jump, dance, fly, blaspheme, quarrel, brawl and follow the king everywhere and in all company. They used violet powder, perfuming the streets and houses with their fragrant scents" (193), which inspired these verses by Ronsard: "Le Roy comme l'on dit accole baise et lesche De ses poupins Mignons le taint frais nuit et jour Eux pour avoir argent, lui presentent tour à tour Leurs Fessiers rebondis et endurent la bresche. These asses, now stupid, swallow up more goods Than the abyss of Scyllerhay of the ancients And would have been better for the good of France That Henry second of the name to whom I was given, Though he desplays au ciel, had the asses bouquiné, Than to make a Neron his own seed." The court of Louis XIV was a nest of homosexuals (194). A nest. On this subject, the Princess Palatine wrote to her sister on the 3rd

October 1705: "If we wanted to hate all those who love males, we could love very few here. There are all kinds. There are some who hate women like death and can only love men (...) Others only love children of ten or eleven; others love young people aged between seventeen and twenty-five, and these are the most numerous. Others don't like men, or women and entertain themselves, but there are fewer of them than others" (195).

A secret brotherhood of homosexuals was even created in 1678-1680. Led by four Grand Masters, including Gaston d'Orléans and the Comte de Guiche, "Le bûcher de Sodome" was organised according to the chivalric orders (196). In his *Mémoires*, Richelieu named seventeen "confrères" whose "actions" were "bold" and who were protected by powerful people (197). In his *Mémoires*, Lieutenant General Lenoir states that there were twenty thousand sodomites in Paris at the time, i.e. 5% of the capital's population. Not all of them were aristocrats.

Other secret homosexual brotherhoods were founded in the early eighteenth century (198), including the Order of the Cauldron, in 1706, by two lackeys who called themselves Grand Master and Mother of Novices; their organisation was modelled on that of convents or freemasonry. In the eighteenth century, the word "confrère", meaning "member of the same profession", was generally used as a synonym for "confrere".

sodomite" and was rarely used in other contexts (199). In the first decades of this century, sodomites came to refer to themselves by feminine terms, borrowed either from prostitution (la Souris, la Petite Sainte Geneviève, Margot la Boulangère, etc.) or from convent life (Mère des Novices, etc.), while colloquial expressions multiplied to describe them: "être freemaçon" (1749) was one such expression (200). Very early on, Freemasons were accused of to be "for the most part infatuated with the crime of Sodom" (201). Louis XV himself, who would have been initiated into Freemasonry if Cardinal de Fleury had not opposed it (202), had had a romance with a young duke in 1724; two years earlier, the grandson of Marshal de Villeroy and the young marquis who served as his mignons had been banished from the court of Versailles for living there "in open debauchery" (203). If they had gone on trial for these offences, it is not unlikely that they would have been leniently treated by the judges (204). Sixty years later, Commissaire Foucault, on the basis of his "flies", estimated that there were forty thousand homosexuals in Paris, i.e. "almost as many as girls" and, since the capital then had a population of about six hundred thousand, of whom about half were men, more than ten percent of its population was male (205). Current figures do not seem to be available.

In 1790, "Les Enfants de Sodome à l'Assemblée nationale, ou Députation de l'ordre de la Manchette aux représentants de tous les ordres pris dans les soixante districts de Paris et Versailles y réunis" (Children of Sodom at the National Assembly, or Deputation from the Order of the Manchette to the representatives of all the orders taken from the sixty districts of Paris and Versailles together) opposed "the ignorance of the centuries" to the "enlightenment of philosophy", called for "even the slightest vestiges of prejudice to be destroyed" and presented the laws against sodomy as "criminal laws". "It was, you might say, a pamphlet. Sometimes later, the crime of sodomy was decriminalised by the

Revolutionary Code, in cases where it was practised between consenting adults. Fiction, in the sense that this crime had not been punished since 1750, thus gave way to another fiction, that of government of the people by the people. Political actors took to the stage. Politics became re-presentation.

The first public performance of *The Marriage of Figaro*, preceded by a reading of the play in the salons de la capitale et d'une représentation privée chez M. de Vaudreuil, took place on 27 April 1784, against the King's advice ("It's detestable; it will never be performed. The Bastille would have to be destroyed for the performance of this play not to be a dangerous inconsistency" declared Louis XV in 1790) (206). "Figaro has killed the nobility", exclaimed Danton after another premiere, that of Charles X by Chénier, in 1790, before adding "Charles X will kill royalty" (207). "The Marriage of Figaro was already revolution in action", Buonaparte later judged (208). At the end of the nineteenth century, Louis Petit de Julleville supported all three: "What was the author of *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro*? Here the work and the man are closely linked. To understand the latter, you have to know Beaumarchais well, since it is Beaumarchais himself who is embodied and distributed in all his works.

characters, putting himself into action and throwing his ambitions and grudges, his anger and hatred onto the stage, and making his masterpieces from the very experience of his life. See him in turn watchmaker, musician, poet, financier, diplomat and speculator, travelling the roads of Europe, making parliament tremble, intimidating the monarchy, writing dramas, an opera, songs, political, legal, financial and economic memoirs, and botching his work for the sake of it, financial and economic memoirs, and botching for all eternity his two immortal comedies, all full of a sharp wit that stings and hurts everything, so that these plays, already deadly in themselves, are even more so because of their consequences. They set things alight. In fact, *The Marriage of Figaro* dealt a terrible blow to the nobility, without anyone suspecting it, without the nobility suspecting it, and its author, as has been said, became the theatrical hero of the Revolution" (209). Even more perceptive, Sainte-Beuve noted that "(l)e Priape plays a great role in Beaumarchais. Chérubin is simply Priape dressed as an adolescent; Suzanne, Priape as a woman and soubrette; the Comtesse herself, Priape disguised as a sentiment" (210). Ironically, Louis XVI himself was compared - for another reason - to Priape (211).

According to the editor of "Les Enfants de Sodome", this pamphlet can be read as an attack on the Jacobins (212) and it is tempting to follow him, because, apart from the crudest, the pamphlets published on the eve or in the first years of the Revolution are so ambiguous that it is difficult to determine in which camp they were forged and even, once it has been established that they come from revolutionary circles, to discover in which faction, Jacobin, Girondin, Montagnard, etc., they were concocted, they were concocted. The most interesting and significant are obviously those that target both the royalist party and the various revolutionary factions. We will take two of them. The first is *L'Almanach des honnêtes femmes pour l'année 1790* (*The Almanac of Honest Women for the Year 1790*), an entirely engraved libel which reviews the cases of hundreds of aristocratic women, socialites and demi-mondaines known at the time for their



very free" morals. Each day, instead of a saint's name, bears the name of one of these women, classified as a "saint".

by month: January is Fricatrices, February Tractatrices, March Fellatrices, April the Lesbians, August the Syphniassians, December the Hircines, and so on. One of the twelve of the calendar is that of Priape.

One of these women was Mlle Raucourt (1756-1815), a member of the Comédie-Française, a protégé of Buonaparte and a notorious lesbian. Returning to Paris in 1799 after a stay in Russia, she founded, or revived - since she presented it as "as old as the world" (213) - the "Sect of Anandrynes": "If the fire from a small stove placed at its foot spontaneously goes out, the postulant is not admitted; if the flame burns continuously, the postulant, naked in the middle of the assembly, lets her beauties be seen; once the agreement has been reached, she takes an oath to renounce human contact. In this society, social ranks are blurred: people meet in "the simplicity of the dove" (214).

Toqueville was the first, who declared to Sainte-Beuve that he had "a thousand new reasons to hate the Ancien Régime

"(215), showed the structural continuity that existed between the institutions of the dying Ancien Régime and those that would become the institutions of the Republic (216). The anonymous author of *Bordel patriotique institué par la reine des Français* (1791), preceded by a Dedicatory Epistle from His Majesty to these new Licurgues and followed by a Hymn to Priape had seen this continuity clearly, on the spot.

Neither republican nor counter-revolutionary, he saw the Revolution not as a break between royalty and revolutionaries, but as an underground transfer of power between aristocrats and republicans. His frontispiece "represents the statue of Priape, on a pedestal, the Queen, on the left, holding, with one hand, a garland of flowers, with which she surrounds him, & with the other tickling the father of the human race, who gives so much pleasure to women. The Queen is swooning with pleasure as she presses this charming member against her breast (The feminist) Miss Théroigne is on the right of the statue, holding the end of the garland in her right hand and the two cunts in her left, singing a hymn to the glory of the God of Fouterie. She appears less passionate than the Queen, because patriotism and philosophy temper her senses a little, although she is just as voluptuous in action".

The Epistle deserves to be reproduced in full:

"From Marie-Antoinette of Austria, Queen of the Franks, to the Deputies of the Second Legislature.

Gentlemen,

You have arrived in the most beautiful and vast metropolis of Europe to succeed the first legislators of your country. I foresaw that your labours would be arduous, and that it was of the utmost necessity to prepare some agreeable relaxation for the intervening moments of your political occupations. As Queen of the French and the first woman in France by virtue of the dignity of my rank, I have imposed upon myself the obligation to work for your pleasures in recognition of the services you are going to render to your compatriots. One benefit is worth another, and I am jealous of providing you with life's most delightful pleasures and those most necessary for the propagation of the human race. I am still old enough to relieve the torments of nervous priests and to preside over the boudoirs of Citherea.

It is with these helpful intentions that I have established a national brothel in the same place where I had established one for the use of the Provincial Confederates, in order to be in a better position to offer my services to the public and preferably to the new members of the second legislature. To ensure that nothing is missing from this house of voluptuousness, I have appointed as its director the foremost heroine of gallantry, Miss Théroigne, whose gallant exploits are known throughout the capital. This theory has earned her a legitimate preference over all the most seasoned mothers in the kingdom's brothels. With such refined precautions, you can have no doubt, gentlemen of the new national Areopagus, that you will have nothing to desire, that you will have the satisfaction of enjoying and choosing from an infinite number of complaisant and considerate women and girls of all ages. From the brunette you will pass into the arms of the blonde & when you are satiated with the one & the other, you will find to awaken your slumbering senses modern Ganimedes who will rekindle your dampened fires. You will also be able to take revenge on your unfaithful wives who have cuckolded you, by in turn making cuckolds of every rank. This revenge is very sweet. I offer you the price, if you deem me worthy of the apple. Mademoiselle Théroigne takes care to rejuvenate my patriotic seraglio every day, by constantly admitting wards of the most attractive freshness, to whom she gives lessons in condescension and advantageous posture for the consummation of the amorous sacrifice. All Priape's minions, whatever their character, will be graciously admitted to this patriotic brothel. Prelates, seraphic fathers, novices, soldiers of all ranks, magistrates, financiers, clerks and office assistants will be received for their money.

Married women with a hot temper, who are not satisfied with their husbands, have the right to come here to make up for it. Girls, and even nuns, are welcome to come here to do their apprenticeship. Come and join me, bawds and whoremongers of all kinds, come and receive instructions and enjoy the delicious pleasures I am preparing for you.

And you gentlemen of the second legislature can rest assured that you will be treated no worse than your predecessors.

Marie-Antoinette

D'Autriche Queen of the Franks".

With the "representatives of the people" enslaved to sex, i.e. to women, all that remained was to democratise the enslavement to sex and extend it to the lower classes. This second stage was foreseen by an English author at the end of the twelfth century.

As in France, kings in England were regularly accused, in pamphlets, but not only in pamphleteer writings, of being the playthings of their lovers, which earned them some of the most flowery nicknames; In the case of Charles II, who was said to be infected by, among other things, the "contagious, nauseating and abject disturbances" of the Duchess of Portsmouth, he must have been considered as much their object as their toy, since he was given the nickname "Dildo king" - the dildo was considered a typically feminine object. Another satirist dubbed him "The poor Priapus king" (217), not only to caricature his sexual prowess, but above all to denounce his desire to follow in the footsteps of his father, who had

established absolutism in England. Whereas in "Enlightenment" France, as we saw above, philosophico-sexual libertinism would be linked to religious scepticism and irreverence for the monarchy, well, in late seventeenth-century England it was therefore possible to attack sexual libertinism and unbelief by associating them with absolutism and tyranny (218). In a 1694 writing by Charles Oldham that is presented as Charles II's political testament, or posthumous autobiography, Charles II, who converted to Catholicism on his deathbed, confesses to having converted much earlier and characterises his faith as an expression of his religious scepticism and absolutist ambitions. Religion," he declared, "is nothing but a ruse of the State". He decided to become a Catholic because, as the principle of this religion is that ignorance is the mother of devotion, it is ignorance that is the mother of devotion.

which best suits a prince who wants to assert his privileges. It wasn't perfect, however, as it prohibited him from sleeping with his sister. From now on, I will worship only one god, Priape. And he implores Priape to help him debauch his subjects to make them less rebellious (219).

From then on, it would be a matter of taking control of sex through a whole series of social, medical, legal, ideological and aesthetic devices, to make it, once interconnected as in the golden chain of Orphism, a formidable "means of political subjection" and "economic control" (220) and mental control.

B. K., November 2018

(1) Aristophanes gives a fairly accurate account in "The Birds": "Chaos, Night, the black Erebus and the vast Tartarus existed in the beginning: there was no earth, no air, no sky. In the infinite womb of Erbe, the black-winged Night first gives birth to a germless egg, from which, after revolutions years ago, the graceful Eros was born, his back shining with two golden wings, like the whirlwinds rolled by the wind. Eros, united with the winged and dark Chaos, in the vast Tartarus, begat our race, and first produced it in the light."

(2) Richard Payne-Knight, *Le culte de Priape et ses rapports avec la théologie mystique des anciens*, J. J. Gay, Brussels, 1883, p. 20.

(3) Protoponos comes from Phoenician cosmogony and theogony, where the ante-cosmic gods Baau, the dark Chaos, and Kolpias, the Air, or breath, give birth to two men, Aeon and, specifically, Protoponos (Eckstein [baron d'], *Sur les sources de la cosmogonie de Sanchoniathon*. In *Journal asiatique*, 5e série, t. 15, Société asiatique, Paris, 1860, p. 253. The adjective The term "first born" corresponds to the Christian expression "only son" (Samuel Fales Dunlap. *The Ghebers of Hebron, an introduction to the Gheborim in the lands of the Sethim, the Moloch worship, the Jews as Brahmans, the shepherds of Canaan, the Amorites, Kheta, and Azarielites, the sun-temples on the high places, the pyramid and temple of Khufu, the Mithramysteries, the Mithrabaptism, and Successive Oriental Conceptions from Jordan Fireworship to Ebionism*, Trow Printing Co, New York, 1894, p. 381, available at <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/s-f-samuel-fales-dunlap/the-ghebers-of-hebron-an-introduction-to-the-gheborim-in-the-lands-of-the-sethi-lnu/page-41-the-ghebers-of-hebron-an-introduction-to-the-gheborim-in-the-lands-of-the-sethi-lnu.shtml>, accessed 4 November 2018).

(4) See "Orpheus", Charles Dalemberg and Edmond Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, t. 4, part I, Hachette, 1877.

(5) A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. 2, part 2, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 1025 and Jean-Francois Gail, *Recherches sur la nature du culte de Bacchus en Grèce*, Gail Neveu, Paris, 1821, p. 293 prefer to see it as a nickname for Bacchus, and Gail points out that Bacchus, the sun and Priape were one and the same deity for the Orphics; on the various sources in which these epithets are given to him, see Gábor Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation*, 2007, Cambridge University Press, p. 141.

- (6) Paul Decharme, *La critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs des origines au temps de Plutarque*, Alphonse Picard et Fils, Paris, 1904, p. 32.
- (7) See <http://www.presocratics.org/presocratics/bibliography/orpheus-bibliography>.
- (8) See Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite. Mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l'antiquité classique*, PUF, Paris, 1992.
- (9) See Jean Rudhardt, *Opera inedita: Essai sur la religion grecque & Recherches sur les Hymnes*, PUL, Liège, 2013, electronic ed.
- (10) Aubin-Louis Millin, *Monuments antiques inédits ou nouvellement expliqués*, t. 2, Paris, 1806, p. 3.
- (11) See *ibid.*
- (12) Pierre d' Hancarville, *Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit et les progrès des arts de la Grèce*, t. 1, B. Appleyard, London, 1785, p. 180, note.
- (13) *Ibid.*, p. 385, note.
- (14) *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- (15) *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- (16) See Jean Rudhardt, *op. cit.*
- (16bis) Thus, for example, Baal Péos was called "goddess" in the Old Testament and even in the New (Rom., xi, 4) (P S Vedamuttu, *Ten Popular Christian Fallacies*, The Ceylon Rationalist Ambassador, Ceylon Rationalist Association, 1971, p. 78; Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Moabite Stone*. In William Lonsdale Watkinson and William Theophilus Davison (eds.), *The London Quarterly Review*, vol. 35, London, 1870-1871, p. 417).
- (17) *Études Sur les Hymnes Orphiques*, Anne-France Morand, Brill, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2001, p. 165.
- (18) *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- (19) *Ibid.*, p. 167. In the Orphic hymn to Misé, Dionysos-Misé, an androgynous divinity, has Isis as his mother (Louis Ménard, *Du polythéisme hellénique*, Charpentier, Paris, 1863, p. 97).
- (20) David Henry Gill, *Greek Cult Tables*, Garland, 1991, p. 55.
- (21) Alberto Bernabé, *The Gods in Later Orphism*, in Ruth N. Bremme (ed.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece, Identities and Transformations*, Edinburgh University Press, 2010, p. 434.
- (22) Pierre-Nicolas Rolle, *Recherches sur le culte de Bacchus, symbole de la force reproductive de la nature*, t. 3, Paris, 1824, p. 29.

- (23) Apostolos N. Athanassakis and Benjamin M. Wolkow, *The Orphic Hymns*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2013, p. 113.
- (24) Ibid.
- (25) Pierre-Nicolas Rolle, op. cit. p. 31.
- (26) Ibid, p. 32.
- (27) Pierre Jean-Baptiste Chaussard, *Fêtes et courtisanes de la Grèce*, 4th edn, t. 1, Paris, 1801, p. 147.
- (28) Alberto Bernabé, op. cit. p. 434.
- (29) Ennio Quirino Visconti, *OEuvres de Ennius Quirinus Visconti : Musée Pie-Cémentin*, t. 6, Giegler, Milan, 1821, p. 75.
- (30) Ibid; Apostolos N. Athanassakis and Benjamin M. Wolkow , op. cit. p. 109.
- (31) Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indianapolis, 1972, pp. 249-55.
- (32) AMarco Antonio Santamaría Álvarez, Did Plato know of the orphic god Protogonos? In María José García Blanco, María José Martín-Velasco, *Greek Philosophy and Mystery Cults*, Cambridge [p. 205-31]. p. 207-9.
- (33) Paul Decharme, op. cit. p. 32; Luc Brisson, *Damascius et l'orphisme*, in Philippe Borgeaud (ed.), *Orphisme et Orphée: en l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt*, Droz, Geneva, 1991, p. 169.
- (33) Luc Brisson, "Les théogonies orphiques et le papyrus de Derveni (Notes critiques\*)". In *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, t. 202, n°4, 1985. [p. 389-420] p. 393.
- (34) Edouard Zeller, *La philosophie des grecs avant Socrate*, vol. 1, p. 95 shows that the Orphic myth - inspired by the episode in Hesiod's *Theogony* where Zeus swallows Metis who, in the body of the god, gives birth to Athena - that, therefore, the Orphic myth where, on the advice of Night, Zeus swallows Phanes - unless it is his phallus - and, by regurgitating him, produces the last generation of gods and causes the universe to reappear (see Luc Brisson, Arnaud Macé and Anne-Laure Therme, *Lire les présocratiques*, PUF, coll. "Quadrige Manuels, 2012) does not belong to the first Orphic theogony. This is the only one we are interested in here.
- (35) J.-F., Gail, op. cit. p. 7.
- (36) See "Orphici", Charles Daremberg and Edmond Saglio, op. cit.
- (37) Alberto Bernabé, op. cit. p. 425.
- (38) Paul Decharme, op. cit. chapter 1: Les théogonies.

(39) Jacques-Antoine Dulaure, *Histoire abrégée de différens cultes*, 2nd edn, revised, corrected and augmented, t. 2, Guillaume, Paris, 1825, pp. 139-40.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 140.

(41) E. Jacobi, *Dictionnaire mythologique universel*, translated from the German, recast and completed by Th. Bernard, Firmin Didot Frères, Paris, 1846, p. 410; Anthol Palat, x 14; Ovid, *Fastes*, i, 391, 416; Serv. *Ad Virg, Georg*, ii, 84.

(42) Georgi P. Moazzo, *Les Plantes d'Homère et de quelques autres poètes de l'antiquité: III, Le lierre*, *Annales Musei Goulandris*, vol. 8, Mouseion Goulandrê *Physikês Historias*, 1990, p. 111.

(43) There are other points of contact between Priape and Hermes: fishermen offered their nets, traps and all their gear to Hermes (Laurence Kahn, *Hermès passe: ou, Les ambiguïtés de la communication*, F. Maspero, 1978, p. 91), "who lives in a cave beaten by the waves". Rivers were dedicated to Hermes, where fishing was forbidden (Giulia Sissa and Marcel Detienne, *The Daily Life of the Greek Gods*, translated by Janet Lloyd, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 2000, p. 152) and Hermes, under the name of Knénitès, was the deity to whom every goatherd had to offer a kid from his herd at the shearing festival held at Thebes of Mycale (Jean Charles Balty, *Thesaurus Cultus Et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA) I: Processions, Sacrifices, Libations, Fumigations, Dedications*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA, 2004, p. 86).

(44) Jean Richepin (ed.) *Nouvelle Mythologie Illustrée*, t. 1, L'Édition d'Art et de Vulgarisation F. Sant'Andrea et L. Marcerou, 1920, p. 362; in "two bronzes by Marcus Aurelius, struck at Lampsaka (...) the head of Priape has all the features of a remarkable beauty. On one of them, the bust of Priape has his hair raised by means of bands, the ends of which fall back on his neck" and a Priape in the form of Hermes has a face as beautiful as that of Jupiter; his hair is raised by a band, and his long beard descends on his chest" *Œuvres d'Adrien de Longpérier, réunis et mises en ordre par G. Schlumberger*, t. 2. Ernest Ledoux Paris, 1883, p. 18).

(45) Pierre d'Hancarville, *op. cit.* p. 181.

(46) Maurice Olender, "Conférence de Maurice Olender". In *École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses. Annuaire. Volume 94, 1985-1986. 1985 [p. 389-407]*, p. 390) writes: "Compared with the hypersexual divinities who, like him, are part of the Dionysian thiasé, Priape is marked by a radical specificity: while the Pans and Satyrs are hybrids, Priape has no horns, animal feet or tail. This anthropomorphism is confirmed again and again in the texts and figures (see the legs, feet, face, etc.). From the moment of his birth, Priape has the body of a child whose only deformity is his disproportionate phallus. The Greek texts describe the congenital ugliness of the child Priape with a vocabulary that is that of the shape, or distortion, of the human body: the newborn is *âmorphos*". However, Rudolf Erich Raspe and James Tassie, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a General Collection of Ancient and Modern Engraved Gems, Cameos, as Well as Intaglios*, vol. 1, London, 1791 mention a term for a Priape with goat's horns; the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 8, p. 4 describes a pentacephalic amulet, one of whose heads represents "a beardless Priape, of whom

the horns are formed by two dolphins" (the dolphin is also a phallic emblem). He is smiling and his throat forms a lion's mask. The same two authors also mention on p. 3, in the Brandeburg antiquities collection, "a curious object consisting of a woman's breast and a horned, bearded Priape with a boar's head", which "is probably the tip of a wand used in a Gnostic ceremony". Priape is similarly depicted with horns in a Roman inscription from Birrens (Great Britain) dating from the first centuries AD (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/2106>). A term found at Pompeii depicts a horned Priape wrapped in a cape and, interestingly, holding a shepherd's crook (Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, vol. 20, Longman Green, Reader and Dyer, Liverpool, 1867, p. 114).

(47) Jacques-Antoine Dulaure, *Des divinités génératrices chez les anciens et les modernes*, 2nd ed. revised, corrected and expanded, Guillaume, Paris, 1825, t. 2, p. 138.

(48) Jean Przyluski, *La grande déesse: introduction à l'étude comparative des religions*, Payot, 1950, pp. 177.

(49) Gabriel Herman, *Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens: A Social History*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 345.

(50) Thucydide, vi. 27; see also J. F. McGlew, *Politics on the Margins: The Athenian -Hetaireiaii* in 415 B.C.' In *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 48, no. 1, 1999 [pp. 1-22], p. 17, Henri Weil, 'Les Hermocopides et le peuple d'Athènes'. In *Revue des Études Grecques*, t. 6, fasc. 23, 1893 [p. 317-21] ; Edmond Lévy, "Les Hermocopides : Thucydide VI, 27, 1". In *Revue des Études Grecques*, t. 126, fasc. 1, January/June 2013 [p. 235-37]. It is not for nothing that, according to Herodotus (2, 51), the Athenians were both the first people to institute democracy and the first Greeks to adopt the use of the hermae of the

(See Sir Sie J. M. Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom In Richard Carnac Temple* (ed.), *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. 30, Bombay, 1901 [pp. 97-105], p. 104).

(51) Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Restitution conjecturale du Dèmos de Parrhasius*, Paris, 1828, p. 5. "What was called demos is, like any multitude, a being that is alternately inert or inanimate.

carried away. Its nature prevents it from having a sustained and regulated action of its own: it moves only as much as it is moved. This is the image of a crowd where each person, without wanting to or knowing it, gives and receives movement, and does not know what the driving force is. But what can we expect from a crowd that governs, that makes laws or choices? Everything, except reason.

It is therefore very wrong to be astonished or indignant at popular follies: the effect must respond to the cause. If passion and wisdom are two opposites, nothing wise can result from the will or the understanding of a being, who is not only passionate, but who is an assembly of all the elements that make up a being.

passions the most opposed to each other: and there is certainly no better laboratory for madness than this one.



"Popular silliness would, as has been said more than once, be the subject of the most entertaining comedies, if their ending were not usually tragic". (ibid., p. 6)

(52) At Eleusis, Orphic poetry was one of the essential elements of the rituals leading up to initiation. Giorgio Colli, *La sagesse grecque*, vol. 1, L'Eclat, 1990, p. 35. Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger writes in *Paganisme et Judaïsme: ou introduction à l'Histoire du Christianisme*, translated from the German by J. de P., vol. 4, Brussels, 1829, p. 278: "John of Salisbury (Polycrat. 1, 6) claims that the mothers and brus of the Ciconians put Orpheus to death, because his rites and customs had made men effeminate. This version is obviously taken from an ancient source but now unknown, and simply indicates that the Orphic rites tended to strip the cult of Dionysus of the barbarous customs that Thrace had mixed with it". But this version does not indicate that there was no licence in the mystery cults, especially as the same author adds: "Phanocles (ap. Stob. serm. 64) and Ovid (Metam. 10, 85), say that Orpheus was killed by the Thracian women, for having introduced pederasty" (ibid.).

(52bis) J. A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 176-7.

(53) Quoted in ibid, p. 152.

(54) T. P. Wiseman, *Historiography and Imagination: Eight Essays on Roman Culture*, University of Exeter Press, 1994, p. 138, note 104; Sarolta A. Takács, *Vestal Virgins, Sibyls, and Matrons: Women in Roman Religion*, University of Texas Press, Austin, TX, 2008, p. 8.

(55) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 158-9.

(56) Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger, op. cit. 3, Bruxelles, 1858, p. 83.

(57) Dix siècles de religion romaine: à la recherche d'une intériorisation: hommage à Nicole Boëls: actes de la journée d'étude " Dix siècles de sentiment religieux à Rome " organisée à Dijon, le 25 mai 2005, par l'Équipe d'Accueil 1865 " Mémoire, discours, images "Guillaume BonnetEditions de University of Dijon, 2007, p. 127.

(58) Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger, op. cit. 3, p. 83.

(59) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 171. Idols were usually painted, like representations of other rustic deities, in minium red (Ov. Fast., 415, vi, 319, 333). Tibullus (1, 1, 17) calls the god *ruber custos* and Horace (sat., 1, 8, 5) calls the phallus of a wooden term *ruber palus* (see also Alessandro Garcea, Marie-Karine Lhommé and Daniel Vallat (eds.), *Fragments d'érudition: Servius et le savoir antique*, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 2016, p. 453).

(60) Eugène M. O. Dognée, "Notice sur une statuette en bronze". In *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois*, t. 10, Liège, 1868 [p. 227-41], p. 233-4.

(61) He was called "avistupor" ("the one who amazes the birds") (*Encyclopédie*, t. 13, Neufchâtel, 1765, p. 358).

- (62) George C. Verenet, *Précis de mythologie grecque et romaine, contenant des quatrains*, nouv. éd. entièrement refondue et augmentée, C. L. Brinkman, Amsterdam, 1859 p. 125.
- (63) Horace, *Traduction des Œuvres d'Horace en vers françois*, t. 5, Paris, 1752, p. 361.
- (64) Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*, revised ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1992.
- (65) Maurice Olender. "Conference by Maurice Olender. In *École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses, annuaire*, t. 94, 1985-1986, 1985 [p. 389-407], p. 390.
- (66) P. F. A. Nitsch, *Beschreibung des häuslichen, wissenschaftlichen, sittlichen, gottesdienstlichen, politischen und kriegerischen Zustandes der Römer*. vol. 2, Erfurt 1812, p. 784. No image was as common in Rome as that of Priape, and indeed, according to Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 74, it may well be that the only fields and gardens in Rome where Priape was used as a scarecrow were those depicted by the poets, in other words that he was merely a literary topos.
- (67) Ludwig Preller, *Les dieux de l'ancienne Rome, mythologie romaine*, Didier et Cie, Paris, translated by M. L. Dietz, 1865, p. 274.
- (68) *Ibid*, p. 278.
- (69) Laurence Chevillat, "La double distance du regard et les paysages de la 'chambre rouge' de la villa de Boscotrecase". In *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Antiquité*, t. 119, no. 1, 2007, Antiquité [p. 85-102], p. 91; see also Robert Turcan, "Priapea". In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. 72, 1960 [p. 167-189].
- (70) Eugène M. O. Dognée, *op. cit.* p. 234
- (70bis) *Ibid*.
- (71) J.- A. Dulaure, *op. cit.* p. 442.
- (72) See Regina Höschle, "Priape mis en abyme, ou comment clore le recueil". In *Les vers du plus nul des poètes...*, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Priapées Actes de la journée d'étude organisée le 7 novembre 2005 à l'Université Lumière, Lyon 2*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2008 [p. 53-66] (Collection de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen ancien, série littéraire et philosophique, 38.
- (73) J.- A. Dulaure, *op. cit.* p. 173.
- (74) "Mutunus ou Mutinus", *Dictionnaire des mythologies*, Ménard et Dessene, Paris, 1823, p. 276.
- (75) On the discrediting of the gods by poets and the moral condemnation of the gods by Christians, see Benjamin Binet, *Traité*

historique des dieux et des démons du paganisme, Deuxième Lettre, in J.- P. Migne (abbé), Dictionnaire des sciences occultes, 1860, t. 2, with the author, p. 921-45.

(76) H. Herter. De Priapo [review], Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Suppl. 4, 1932 [p. 24-27] p. 27.

(77) For a list, which may not be exhaustive, of prominent Amazigh (Berber) writers, see Apuleius of Madaura (125-180 AD), Lactantius (260-325 AD), Synesios of Cyrene (c. 370-c. 414 AD), Augustine of Hippo, Mohand Akli Haddadou, Les berbères célèbres, Berti éditions, 2003.

(78) Pierre Jurieu, Histoire Critique des dogmes et des cultes, bons & mauvais, qui ont été dans l'Église depuis Adam et Jesus-Christ, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 558; see, on the subject of a close comparison between Noë and Priape, *ibid*, chap. 3: Le Beel Phegor des Moabites & le Priape des Romains, étoit le patriarche Noé, p. 558. Jerome, Ruffin, Isidore of Seville and other Bible commentators agree that Beel-Phegor was the same as Priape. According to Jerome, the temple of Beel-Phegor was served by women called Kedeschoths, a name that had the same meaning as that of the priestesses of the temples of Priape. Many Israelites were initiated into its mysteries. It seems that the ritual principle consisted in presenting oneself naked before the divinity and exposing all the orifices of the body, in particular the anus. According to Rabbi Salomon-Jarchi, the worshipper "presented his naked posterior before the altar, relieved his bowels and made an offering of his stinking excrement to the idol" (J.-A. Dulaure, *op. cit.*, p. 76). Phallic cults were introduced into Israel by the ancestors of King Aza, son of King David.

(79) Maurice Olender, Priape chez Justin le gnostique, in Margreet B. De Boer and T. A. Edridge (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, vol. 2, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978, p. 881.

(80) Maurice Olender, "Elements for an analysis of Priape in Justin the Gnostic". In Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, vol. 2, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1978, p. 880.

(81) Richard Payne-Knight, Le Culte de Priape et ses rapports avec la théologie mystique des anciens, J.-J. Gay, 1883, p. 113.

(82) Recueil de diverses pièces, servant a l'histoire de Henry III, roy de France et de Pologne, Pierre Marteau, Cologne, 1663, p. 67.

(83) Richard Payne-Knight, *op. cit.* p. 120. Gudmund Schutte (Our Forefathers: the Gothonic Nations, vol. 1, translated by Jean Young, Cambridge University Press, 1929, p. 224) estimates, without specifying the reason, that reason, that "it is perhaps not impossible (that Frigg) is directly descended from the god of Asia Minor "As for Freyja, her team of cats (Gylfaginning, 51) is reminiscent of Cybele's team of lions. (Bernard de Montfaucon, Les Dieux des Grecs et des Romains, t. 1, part 1, Paris, 1722, p. 11), the tears of red gold that she sheds for her husband throughout his absence (Gylfaginning, 36) the tears of blood with which Astarte weeps for her husband (Charles Virolleaud, "Un nouvel épisode du mythe ugaritique de Baal". In Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 104e année, 1960 [p. 180-186], p. 184).

(84) Gerald Massey, *The Natural Genesis (Two Volumes in One)*, Cosimo Classics, New York, 2011 (1st ed., 1883), p. 511; Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Wald- und feldkulte*, vol. 1: *der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachtbachstämme*, Berlin, 1875, p. 114. "Scrat" also means "old woman" in English; see also Karl Hude (ed.), *Nordisk tidsskrift for filologi*, Gyldendalske boghandels forlag, 1907, p. 148; Will Roscoe, *Queer spirits: a gay men's myth book*, Beacon Press, 1995, p. 131.

(85) Richard Payne-Knight, op. cit. p. 143.

(86) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 246. This letter, in its entirety and in its original Latin version, is reproduced in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für altere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, Weidmann, 1861, p. 625). Pripe-Gala is said to be equivalent to Pereplut, the goddess of fortune, in Russia, Perkunas-Percona in Lithuania and Perepuna in certain regions of Bulgaria and Serbia (Stephen Rudy [ed.], *Roman Jakobson, Selected Writings*, vol. 7, Mouton Publishers, Berlin, New York and Amsterdam, 1985, p. 6).

(87) *Ibid.*, p. 145-6.

(88) *Ibid.*, p. 147.

(89) On the subject of the phallic nature of Christianity, see the sculpted panels, as little known as they are convincing, presented by Dr Hasse in *Note sur un os sculpté du 9e siècle*, available at [http://biblio.naturalsciences.be/associated\\_publications/anthropologica-prehistorica/bulletin-de-la-societe-d-anthropologie-de-bruxelles/v46-1931/ap46\\_355-358.pdf](http://biblio.naturalsciences.be/associated_publications/anthropologica-prehistorica/bulletin-de-la-societe-d-anthropologie-de-bruxelles/v46-1931/ap46_355-358.pdf), consulted on 26 September 2018. One of these panels, p. 356, shows Jesus Christ, flanked by two large, wide candles, with his arms strongly extended upwards, as does the great goddess in many of her (Titus Burckhardt, "The Primary Qualities". In *Parabola*, vol. 20, Tamarack Press, 1995 [p. 12-23], p. 20); see also Henry de Lumley, *Le mont Bego, vallées des Merveilles et de Fontanalba*, éditions du patrimoine, 2003, p. 102.

(90) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 248.

(91) Richard Payne Knight, p. 123.

(92) G. Hasse, "Le faux culte de Priape en Belgique". In *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Brussels*, no. 43, 1928 [pp. 254-267], p. 255, [http://biblio.naturalsciences.be/associated\\_publications/anthropologica-prehistorica/bulletin-de-la-societe-d-anthropologie-de-bruxelles/v43-1928/ap43\\_254-266.pdf](http://biblio.naturalsciences.be/associated_publications/anthropologica-prehistorica/bulletin-de-la-societe-d-anthropologie-de-bruxelles/v43-1928/ap43_254-266.pdf).

(93) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 248.

(94) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

(95) Richard Payne Knight, p. 132.

(96) G. Hasse, op. cit. p. 256.

(97) Jules Gay, *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour, aux femmes, au mariage et des livres facétieux, pantagruéliques, scatologiques, satyriques, etc.* par M. le C. d'I\*\*\*, t. 2, 3rd ed. entirely in French.

recast and considerably enlarged, Turin and London, 1871, pp. 385-6.

(98) Frederick Thomas Elworthy, *The evil eye. An account of this ancient and widely spread superstition*, John Murray, London, 1895, p. 306. The diplomat and writer Giuseppe Gorani (1740-1819) confirmed to have seen priests and friars selling small amulets bearing the effigy of Priape in certain churches in Naples (see Agnese Palumbo and Maurizio Ponticello, *Misteri, segreti e storie insolite di Napoli*, Newton Compton Editori, Rome, 2012; see also "L'alluce del santo e riti di fertilità : Priapo 'svelato' in un'antica tradizione molisana", <https://lamisuradellecose.blogspot.com/2018/04/priaposvelato.html>).

(99) Joseph Garnier and Ernest Champeaux, *Les institutions communales en Bourgogne sous l'ancien régime*, Éditions Horvath, 1918.

(100) J.- A. Dulaure, *Histoire abrégée de différens cultes*, t. 2, 1825, p. 317.

As an extension to this remark, let us quote in extenso a note from "Histoire philosophique: politique et critique du Christianisme" (t. 5, Paris, 1836, p. 84-7) by Louis Joseph Antoine de Poter, on the subject of "filles de joie and (de) l'église romaine": "Some idea of the number of public girls registered in Rome under the pontificate of Sixtus IV can be gained from the record that was made of them under Paul III, i.e. about sixty years later, when, as is said, this number was considerable decreased: there were still 45,000 registered at the time! - H. Estienne, *apolog. pour Hérodote*, chap. 38, n. 1, vol. 3, p. 223.

"The levying of a duty on a certain number of them was granted to the prelates as an ecclesiastical benefit; the people freely said: "Habet ille duo beneficia curata aureorum viginti, alterum prioratum ducatorum quadraginta, et très putanas in burdello, quae reddunt singulis hebdomadibus julios viginti". However, all pontifical employees were forbidden by a bull (1358) to allow dice to be played for money and to demand tribute from public girls. - Innocent, pap. VI, const. 5 , *Quamvis omnes* , t. 3, bull. pari. 2, p. 318.

"Here are a few more details about public women and their relationship with the church. This relationship almost always existed, at least in words. In towns where the magistrates had not confined themselves to forcing the "filles de joie" to live in a specific street, called the "hot street" (*carrería calida*), the brothel that they set up and ran, and which paid them a fixed fee, was called an *abbey*, and the woman they appointed as its superior was called the *abbess*; this was the case in Narbonne, Toulouse, Beaucaire, Avignon, etc. As early as the twelfth century, Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine, Count of Poitiers and Toulouse, had a convent built expressly for this purpose. As early as the twelfth century, we find Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine, Count of Poitiers and Toulouse, who had a convent of this type purpose-built. 11 reserved for himself the appointment to the dignities of the place, which he was careful to grant only to the merit required to fill them: the abbess was the most debauched and wanton woman in his states. Since then, prostitutes have continued to be called daughters of the great abbey of Toulouse, as Charles VI put it

(1389), in the letters of protection he granted them. Charles VII (1424) treated them with the same benevolence in the measures he took to ensure that good order prevailed in their community, established in the *Châtel-vert*.

people of bad life and without fear of God (non verentes Deum), pushed the audacity until breaking the windows of the aforementioned Châtel. - Dreux du Radier, *biblioth. bistor. et crit. du Poitou*, t. 1, p. 226 et 221. - (Rétif de la Bretonne) *Le pornographe*, part. 1, p. 63; part 2, note L, p. 349.

"The most remarkable institution of this kind is that of the Abbey of Avignon by Queen Joan I". The beginning of the statutes of the house reads as follows: "L'an mil très cent quarante et set, au buieit du mois d'avous, nostro bono reino Jano a permès lou bourdeou dins Avignon; et vol que toudos los fremos debauchados non se tingon dins la cioulat, mai que sian fermados dins lou bourdcou, et que per estre couneigoudos, que porton nno agullietlo rougeou sur Vespallou de la man escairo , etc., etc." Then follow the articles, the fourth of which orders the abbess to scrupulously monitor the state of health of the girls, and appoints a surgeon to visit them; the fifth prescribes great care for pregnant women and children born in the house: the sixth forbids the reception of men and the exercise of the girls' profession on Good Friday, Easter eve and Easter day; the ninth severely excludes Jews from the number of those to whom the abbess could open the doors of the establishment, on pain of being punished if they slipped in unknown.

publicly flogged by the town. The abbess or the baillive alone had the keys to the house and no one entered without her consent; she was elected each year by the consuls. - Papon, *hist. génér. de la Provence*, 1. 6 , n. 44 > t. 3, p. 180 et 181. - *Le pornographe*, part. 2, p. 350 to 353.

"Pope Julius II (2 July 1510) allowed courtesans to live in Rome, where he assigned them a specific quarter. Leo X and Clement VII confirmed this privilege, but subject to the conditions set out below: the first of these pontiffs founded the monastery of Saint Lucia under the invocation of Saint Mary Magdalene, to become a place of retreat and repentance where girls who renounced prostitution would be received. He assigned as income to the new convent all the movable and immovable property left behind by courtesans deprived of the right to testate or who died intestate, and a quarter of the remains of the others. Clement VII (1525) went into greater detail in modifying the provisions of his predecessor; he granted the right to testate to all courtesans who bequeathed a quarter of their illicit and dishonest gains to the convent of the repentant: the testaments of the others were null and void, except for what went to their children procreated in legitimate marriage, and all that they had left passed to the nuns. 11 ordered all the faithful to reveal anything which came to their knowledge concerning the inheritance of the public daughters, and the notaries to denounce their authentic dispositions, not only those called courtesans, but also women who prostitute themselves in public houses for money, or who live by any dishonest profession whatsoever, and lead an immodest life even in their own houses, or elsewhere, at the request and for the satisfaction of some secular or ecclesiastical persons. - Sainte-Foix, *essais sur Paris, œuvres* , t. 4, p. 381.-Léon. pap. X, constit. 43, *Salvator noster*, in bullar. t. 3, part. 3, p. 484 et seq. - Clement, pap. VII, constit. 14, *Cum ex corpore*, t. 4, part. 1 , p. 59 ad 62.

"The present well-being and future happiness of women devoted to prostitution was no more neglected elsewhere than in Rome. We read (1465) that "on Tuesday, the fourth day of the month of August ... two hundred archers arrived in Paris, all on horseback, including Captain Mignon. ... And all behind him ...".

And when the Duke of Alba, of bloody memory, marched against the beggars of Belgium, his army was followed by four hundred courtesans on horseback, as dumb and brave as princesses, says Brantôme. And when the Duke of Alba, of bloodthirsty memory, marched against the beggars of Belgium, his army was followed by four hundred courtesans on horseback, as dumb and brave as princesses, says Brantôme, and eight hundred on foot, also in good shape. The Duke of Alba's well-proven orthodoxy is a sure guarantee that he did not allow this female troop to lack a chaplain to guide them towards heaven, just as he had imposed very strict rules on them to maintain good order between them and their lovers here on earth. - Les chroniques de Jean de Troyes, mémoir. sur l'hist. de France, by M. Petitot, 1.13 , p. 294. - Le pornographe , part. 2 , p. 354.

"In some places, public women had been subjected to exceptional hardships or charges like the Jews; the most unusual was the duty they had to pay the first time they entered Montluçon (1498). When they crossed the bridge leading to the town, they were required to pay four denarii or make a fart (Item, in et super filia communi, sexus videlicet viriles quocumque cognoscente, de novo in villa Montislucii eveniente, quatuor denarios semel, aut unum bombum, sive vulgariter pet, super pontein de Castro Montislucii solvendum). - Sauvai, antiq. de Paris, preuves, t. 3, p. 652.

" " Public women, because of their distinguished way of life," says an author who has written about modern Rome, "have enjoyed for several centuries, and continue to enjoy (1660), an equally distinguished bond, assigned to their burial ( meretrices ob distinctum vitae genus, et distincto sepulturae loco... a multis saeculis gavisae sunt, et adhuc fruuntur). It was a very small area of land, near the Flaminia or People's Gate, outside and under the leaning wall, called the muro torto. It is even surprising that so many thousands of these women could be deposited there. - Cancellieri, lettera ni dot. Koreff, p. 57.

(101) Quoted in id. in Des divinités génératrices ou du culte du phallus chez les anciens et les modernes, p. 275.

(102) Richard Payne-Knight, op. cit. p. 134.

(103) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 261. On the subject of Israeli women, there were also several phallic cults in Israel. They had been introduced there by the forefathers of King Aza, son of King David. One of them was paid homage to an idol called Beel-Phegor, which Jerome, Ruffin, Isidore of Seville and others had worshipped.

Bible commentators agree that she was the same as Priape. According to Jerome, the temple of Beel-Phegor was served by women called Kedeschoths, a name that had the same meaning as that of the priestesses of the temples of Priape. Many Israelites were initiated into its mysteries. It seems that the ritual principle consisted in presenting oneself naked before the divinity and exposing all the orifices of the body, in particular the anus. According to Rabbi Salomon-Jarchi, the worshipper "presented his naked posterior before the altar, relieved his bowels and made an offering of his stinking excrement to the idol".

"(Ibid., p. 76).

(104) Augustine, De Civit. Dei, lib. VII, c. xx. Quoted in Richard Payne-Knight, op. cit. p. 122.

(105) G. Hasse, op. cit. p. 258, who reproduces several phallic insignia, including one depicting a woman mounting an enormous phallus, from secret societies in the mid-fifteenth century.

(106) Ibid.

(107) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 260.

(108) Richard Payne-Knight, op. cit. p. 136.

(109) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 287.

(110) Goblet d'Alviella (comte), "[review] J. A. Dulaure, Des divinités génératrices chez les anciens et les modernes". In Jean Réville (ed.), *Revue de l'histoire des religions*. t. 53, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1906, p. 73.

(111) Even in the 19th century, traces of the cult of Priape survived, in a very faded form, although not devoid of the remnants of a healthy simplicity, in the practice of distributing enamel figurines of both sexes each year at the Saint-Gorgon fair, those of the female sex to young boys and those of the male sex to young girls, who wore them suspended from their necks by a small pink ribbon (see Marc Antoine François Gaujal (baron de), *Études historiques sur le Rouergue*, vol. 3, Paris, 1859, p. 58, note 2.

(111bis) Alain Bihl, "La civilisation des mœurs selon Norbert Elias". In revue *¿ Interrogations*, n° 19. Involvement and reflexivity - II. Tenir une double posture, December 2014, available at [: https://www.revue-interrogations.org/La-civilisation-des-moeurs-selon](https://www.revue-interrogations.org/La-civilisation-des-moeurs-selon), accessed 11 November 2018. The only plausible answer to the question of how it is possible that Elias ignored the decisive role of Judeo-Christianity in the 'civilising process' is that it was a deliberate choice on his part (see Johann Goulsblom, *Christian Religion and the European Civilising Process: The Views of Norbert Elias and Max Weber Compared in the Context of the Augustinian and Lucretian Traditions* (*Irish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2003 [pp. 24-38]) replies that this ignorance was deliberate. His failure to mention the equally decisive role played by women must also be emphasised, as it cannot be explained.

(112) R. Dale Guthrie, *The Nature of Paleolithic Art*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 2005, p. 355.

(113) Autumn Stanley, *Mothers and Daughters of Invention: Notes for a Revised History of Technology*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, 2005, p. 210.

(114) See Alberto Gallace and Charles Spence, *In touch with the future: The sense of touch from cognitive neuroscience to virtual reality*, Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 225; Christophe Stener, *L'Extase: Dictionnaire amoureux*, BOD, 2017, p. 357.

(115) J.- A. Dulaure, op. cit. p. 17.

(116) Paul Tannery, *Pour l'histoire de la science Hellène*, Felix Alcan, Paris, 1887, p. 75-6; see Arnobius, *Contre les païens*, v, 28, Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, ii, 34, 2-5, Hygin, *Astronomy*, ii, 5 and Pausanias, *Description de la Grèce*, ii, 37.



(117) Kenneth James Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MS, p. 176.

(118) On the direct and close links between Dionysus and the cult of the mother goddess, see Florence Mary Bennett, *Religious cults associated with the Amazons*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1912, p. 38. Furthermore, Apollodorus states that Dionysus learned the mysteries of Rhea (Cybele) in Phrygia. "

...

the relationship between the cult of Dionysus and that of the Great Mother Goddess is a very old one, dating from

probably predates the appearance of the new god in Greece (Alexandre Foll, *Légendes Thraces*, Sofia-Press, 1977, p. 50).

(119) Richard Payne-Knight, p. 134-5.

(120) *Ibid*, p. 135.

(121) J.- A. Dulaure, *Histoire abrégée de differens cultes*, 2nd revised, corrected and expanded ed., Guillaume, Paris, 1825, pp. 263-4. To our knowledge, Dulaure is the only person to have dared to translate these extracts, which he sometimes softened. Like note 2, note 1 refers to "Machinamentum" *Collection antiqua canonum poenentialum. Thesaurus anecdotorum*, vol. 4, p. 52; this article is quoted, apparently in extenso, in De Potter (*Histoire philosophique, politique et critique du christianisme*, vol. 6, Paris, 1836, p. 81), who comments: "It is probable that similar requests made on the authority of Burchard and other decretists, by priests whose senses were more irritable than their consciences were delicate, must have kept them in their disorders; and, unfortunately for them, there had not yet been a Fr. Escobar who had taught that he who, through the confession of women of ill repute (*faeminarum turpium*), commonly succumbs to the desire to sin (*in pollutionem voluntariam incidit*), must not and cannot for that reason give up listening to them (*non tenetur ille a suo officio vacare... non potest ab illo fugere ministerio*). This is perhaps a continuation of the Jesuit principles taught by Vasquez in his commentaries on St Thomas, namely that fornication and even sin against nature are lesser sins than theft. Henri Boich, one of the commentators on the Decretals, is more severe: he puts fornication, perjury, theft and homicide on the same footing. (*fornicatio enim, perjurium, furtum et homicidium aequiparantur*). he admits, however, that delinquents must be treated gently when it comes to fornication, "because today (around the middle of the sixteenth century) there are few who are not guilty of it (he is referring to priests), and the many must be spared (*Ideo etiam mitius est agendum in crimine fornicationis, quia hodie pauci inveniuntur immunes... multitudini enim parcendum est*)". He even goes so far as to allow women and, what is more, nuns, to retain, with a clear conscience, the price of their prostitution to secular priests; of course the nun will have gained for her community (*acquiritur monasterio ejus illud quod accepit*); and in this case the commentator finds that the most honest course the convent could take is to use the profits of this nature for pious works. One was entitled to expect a quite different decision from a writer who believed that any contact with a nun is incest, because she is the spouse of God who is our father (*quod cognoscens In Onialem committit incestum, quia sponsa Dei est, qui est pater noster*)" (*ibid.*, p. 81-2).

(122) Richard Payne-Knight, *op. cit.* p. 123-4.

(123) *Ibid*, p. 192.

- (124) Colombar Gillotte, *Le directeur des consciences scrupuleuses (etc.)*, 3rd ed. revised, corrected and augmented, Paris, 1709, pp. 12-13.
- (125) Quoted in Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Femmes, art et religion au Moyen Âge*, Musée d'Unterlinden, PUS, Strasbourg, 2004, p. 190.
- (126) Rev. R. P. Hugué, *Du Luxe au point de vue de la Religion, de la Famille et des Pauvres*, Nouvelle Librairie Catholique, Paris, 1859, p. 147.
- (127) Quoted in Jure Mikuž et alia, *Le sang et le lait dans l'imaginaire médiéval*, eBook, Ljubljana, 2013, p. 196.
- (128) Alain Besançon, *L'image interdite: une histoire intellectuelle de l'iconoclasme*, Arthème Fayard, 1994, p. 231.
- (129) Ibid.
- (130) The term 'pornographer', coined by Restif de la Bretonne in 1769 from the Greek 'pornografia' ("painting of a prostitute"), originally meant "one who writes about prostitution". It made its debut in Pierre-Claude-Victoire Boiste's (1765-1824) *dictionnaire universel de la langue française* (1800) (Anna Gural-Migdal, *L'Écrit-Écran des Rougon-Macquart*, Presses universitaires du Septentrion, "Littératures" series, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2012, p. 199). In 1842, "Pornographie" appeared in the sense of "obscene painting".
- (131) Marie Viallon. Pierre L'Arétin or the pleasure of the "particular suo". UMR research seminar CNRS 5037. Soon to be published by PUSE St-Etienne, 2010, p 11 p. 60.
- (132) John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, Part 2: Italian Literature*, Smith, Elder, 1898, p. 337.
- (133) Paula Findlen, *Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy*, in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The Invention of Pornography, Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, Zone Books, New York, 1993 [p. 49-108], p. 26, p. 51.
- (134) Caroline Fischer, "L'Arétin en France". In *Dix-huitième Siècle*, n° 28, 1996, L'Orient [p. 367-384], p. 369.
- (135) Paula Findlen, *op. cit.* pp. 77-8.
- (136) Philippe Morel, *Priape à la Renaissance, "Les guirlandes de Giovanni da Udine à la Farnésine"*. In *Revue de l'Art*, 1985, no. 69 [p. 13-28], p. 14-15.
- (137) Ibid, p. 15.
- (138) Joan DeJean, *The Politics of Pornography: L'école des filles*, in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *op. cit.* p. 79; see also Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Les priapeia : note de lessing / translated from the German and augmented with commentaries, etc.*, by Philomnesto junior, A. Mertens et fils, Brussels, 1866 and James Grantham Turner, "Marcantonio Raimondi's Bacchanals: New Findings". In *Print Quarterly*, vol. 34, 2017 [p. 259-

69]; [http://art.rmngp.fr/fr/library/artworks/marc-antoine-raimondi\\_la-bacchanale-avec-l-offering\\_burin-estampe](http://art.rmngp.fr/fr/library/artworks/marc-antoine-raimondi_la-bacchanale-avec-l-offering_burin-estampe).

(139) Philippe Morel, op. cit. p. 16.

(140) Ibid, p. 16-17; [http://art.rmngp.fr/fr/library/artworks/jacopo-de-barbari\\_sacrifice-a-priape\\_burin-estampe](http://art.rmngp.fr/fr/library/artworks/jacopo-de-barbari_sacrifice-a-priape_burin-estampe).

(141) See Gil Bartholeyns, Pierre-Olivier Dittmar and Vincent Jolivet, *Image et transgression au Moyen Âge*, PUF, Paris, 2008.

(142) William Roscoe, *The Life of Lorenzo De' Medici: Called the Magnificent*, George Bell, London, 1902, p. 394; Paula Findlen, op. cit. p. 83.

(143) Laurent Martin, "Jalons pour une histoire culturelle de la pornographie en Occident". In *Le Temps des médias*, 2003, vol. 1, n° 1.

(144) Paula Findlen, op. cit. p. 56.

(145) The microscope, invented at the end of the 16th century, allows scientists to indulge the voyeuristic tendencies inherent in the scientific mind. Jean Christophe Abramovici, "Entre vision et fantasme ; La réception en France des 'curieux microscopes' (1660-1800)", in Nicole Jacques-Chaquin and Sophie Houdard, *Curiosité et Libido sciendi de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, vol. 2, ENS Editions) shows that the "microscope" grew "in a breeding ground of fantasies" (p. 371), including voyeurism. He cites extracts from texts, some of them written by scientists, that testify to "the spread of libidinal motivations attached to or attributed to scientific activity". For example, in *Le Rêve d'Alembert* (Les Editions de Londres, 2011, p. 20), Diderot "sets out (...) in no uncertain terms the fantasies that might accompany the scientific use of the microscope; the reference to this instrument is the only way Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse can describe what she refuses to see, d'Alembert's nocturnal masturbation" (ibid., p. 394).

"The man who emerges in the Renaissance is a man who wants to enjoy, to look for his own sake. The man who wants to see without being seen (...) the absolute spectator, in addition to the power he acquires in this way, is a man who does not want to be seen, in his enjoyment of seeing". The prince more than anyone. He is helped in this by perspective (based, let us remember, on geometry and the calculation of proportions), since it "invented the device of the subject of vision": perspective "(calls) the subject to the optical impulse, but (claims) to reduce him to it; "... the viewer bound by the conditions of perspective vision" is "a masked viewer, a voyeur". But "the voyeur does not hide in order to see. He hides so as not to be seen as a voyeur.

Thus, on the one hand, perspective implies looking as an act, the seer becomes a voyeur, that is to say an active voyeur, responsible and guilty for his act, who exercises his power to see over the world, but, on the other hand, this active voyeur-voyant remains unharmed by the gaze of the Other, protected, hidden, thus escaping responsibility for his act (...). The perspective viewer, the modern spectator, is a protected voyeur, a voyeur without shame - without the deflagration of shame that being a voyeur produces" (see Gérard Wajcman, *Fenêtre : Chroniques du regard et de l'intime*, Verdier, 2012).

It is perhaps no coincidence that absolutism was formulated at the same time as the development of the heliocentric theory (the trail, if we were to follow it, would no doubt lead us first to Versailles, where "The garden (...) is underpinned by a representation of the 'heliocentric model of the universe' that supports the geometrisation of an entire place caught up in the metaphor of the Sun King, around whom everything is ordered. The aim is to combine, in a single architectural gesture, the power of

l'État, la science de l'espace et la nature (Jérôme Lamy, "La science à la cour de Versailles : mise en scène du savoir et démonstration du pouvoir" [XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles]). In Cahiers d'Histoire, no 136, 2017 [p. 71-99]). Absolutism implies a king by divine right and therefore a theocrat, in the purest Old Testament tradition (see <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2017/07/04/isis-3/>: "The covenant of altar and throne under the Old Testament sign of the lily"). Yahweh is the eye that sees without being seen by anyone. The "raison d'État", more than the prince himself, is, in this sense, Yahwist: a Machiavellian product of absolutism, it is "a technical reason exercised from an organising centre which, in order to decide, must be able to see everything without being seen" (Hélène Merlin-Kajman, L'absolutisme dans les lettres et la théorie des deux corps, H. Champion, 2000, p. 249).

(146) La Cazzeria, published in French in 1882 under the title La cazzaria. Arsiccio's priapic dialogue Intronato, could just as easily have been entitled Dialogue politique de l'Arsiccio Intronato.

(147) Paula Findlen, op. cit. p. 89.

(148) Ibid, p. 91.

(149) Ibid.

(150) Ibid, p. 92.

(151) Ibid, p. 103.

(152) Ibid.

(153) As far as the Arétin is concerned, one critic felt that those "who paid him (...) not to write should have paid him to write" (L. de Charrière, Œuvres complètes, vol. X: Observations et conjectures politiques, ed. J. D. Candaux et al, Amsterdam, 1981, p. 108. Quoted in Caroline Fischer, op. cit, p. 378) it must be concluded that he exercised a certain form of blackmail on the Italian princes.

(154) Caroline Fischer, op. cit. p. 370.

(155) See Peter Cryle, The Crisis of Pleasure: 1740-1830, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, "Objet" series, p. 26.

(156) Abbé du Laurens, "Histoire merveilleuse et édifiante de Godemiché", L'Arétin moderne (Seconde partie), Bibliothèque des Curieux, collection "Les Maîtres de l'Amour", Paris, 1920, pp. 277-287.

(157) See Nathalie Alvaro-Morel, "L'Arretin d'Henri-Joseph Dulaurens : une publication savante". In Acta Fabula, February 2017, vol. 18, n° 2. Dulaurens was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment by the ecclesiastical court of Mainz for his anti-religious writings and deism (Michèle Bokobza Kahan, Une

conscience écartelée : Dulaurens, *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 2001, n° 5 [p. 1367-1382.], note 18).

(158) See Nathalie Alvaro-Morel, *op. cit.*

(159) Caroline Fischer, *op. cit.* p. 377-8. "L'Aretin, ou la débauche de l'esprit en fait de bon sens, republished under the name L'Arrétin moderne, ranks seventh on the best-seller list of the Swiss publishing house (Société Typographique de Neuchâtel), with 512 copies ordered and 29 orders placed, and is the best-selling irreligious work" (see Michèle Bokobza Kahan, *op. cit.*).

(160) La Société des Bibliophiles Cosmopolites, *Procès des raretés bibliographiques faits à Paris en 1863 et en 1865*, Bordighère, 1875, p. 180-82.

(161) Maynard's "Priapées" were not published until the end of the nineteenth century, but it is certain that, in the meantime, the work had circulated "under the cloak", as Sainte-Beuve wrote in "Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française" (1828, p. 174): "François Maynard himself, a disciple of Malherbe in other respects, and who wrote his impure priapées so purely".

(162) Emmeline Raymond, *La civilité non puérile, mais honnête*, 8th edn, Firmin Didot Frères, Paris, 1873, p. 183-4. The title of the book forbids it.

(163) Quoted in Yvonne Bellenger, "Facétie et obscénité dans la poésie après 1550. Discussion". In *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance*, n° 7, 1977. Facétie et littérature facétieuse à l'époque de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque de Goutelas, 29 septembre - 1er octobre 1977 [p. 97-103], p. 98.

(164) Le Petit had helped to write *L'Ecole des filles* (1655), the first sexology and erotology textbook published in French, probably modelled on the *Ragionamenti*, but unlike his two presumed authors, he had not been bothered by the law, which suggests that his death sentence for the publication of *Bordel des Muses* (1663) may have been due to another reason: he had not been able to write the textbook. had the impudence to compare himself to the man in the iron mask (Michel Jeanneret, "'Envelopper les ordures'? Érotisme et libertinage au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle". In *Littératures classiques* 2004/3, no. 55).

(165) See Laurent Martin, *op. cit.*

(166) Jean Marie Goulemot, *Forbidden texts*, translated by James Simpson, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1994, p. 17. In its first issue, *La Bigarure*, p. 21, states: "One of the main causes of the debauchery that we notice today in our youth is the reading of certain obscene Books that some miserable Authors spread, from time to time, in the Public".

As it was published in 1749, the fact that he adds that "(l)e nombre de ces infames Ouvrages s'est in recent years..." seems to indicate that they began to proliferate at From the early to mid 1750s.

(167) See Scarlett Beauvalet, *La sexualité à l'époque moderne*, Armand Colin, 2010.

(168) Jean Marie Goulemot, op. cit. p. 14.

(169) François Ravaisson, Archives de la Bastille; documents inédits recueillis et publiés, Paris, 1884, p. 203.

(170) Jean-François Perrin and Phillip Stewart, Du genre libertin au XVIIIe siècle, Desjonquères, 2004, p. 94.

(171) Jean Marie Goulemot, op. cit. p. 26.

(172) Iwan Bloch, Le marquis de Sade et son temps, translated from the German by Dr. A. Weber-Riga, Slatkine Reprints, 1970, p. 93.

(173) Robert Darnton, "Bohème littéraire et Révolution". In Annales historiques de la Révolution française, n° 254, 1983 [p. 647-649], p. 648.

(174) Id, Edition, sédition, L'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIIIè siècle, Gallimard, "Essais" series. ", 1991, p. 6.

(175) Patrick Wald Lasowski, Le grand dérèglement: sur le roman libertin du XVIIIe siècle, Éditions Gallimard, 2008, p. 144.

(176) Rétif de la Bretonne, Palais-Royal, Paris, 1790, p. 67.

(177) Marie-Paule De Weerd-Pilorge, "Thérèse philosophe de Boyer d'Argens : romans et mémoires dévoyés". In Cahiers Saint Simon, n° 29, 2001. Des Mémoires au roman : le roman de la mémoire [p. 15-21], p. 15.

(178) Robert Darnton, Quand la pornographie tenait salon, 10 January 2012, bibliobs.nouvelobs.com.

(179) Ibid.

(180) Ibid.

(181) A. Mothu, "notice". In J.-F. Mattéi (ed.), Encyclopédie philosophique universelle, vol. 3, Presses Universitaires de France, 1992, p. 1498.

(182) See Michel Foucault, Dits et écrits, t. 3 (1980-1988). Here is the passage in its entirety: "The problem is, in fact, this: how is it that, in a society like ours, sexuality is not simply something that makes it possible to reproduce the species, the family, individuals? Not simply something that provides pleasure and enjoyment? How is it that sexuality has come to be seen as the privileged place where our deepest truth is read and spoken? Because that's what it's all about: ever since the To know who you are, know what your sex is. Sex has always been the point at which, along with the future of our species, our truth as a human subject is at stake.

"Confession, examination of conscience and a whole insistence on secrets and the importance of the flesh were not simply a means of prohibiting sex or pushing it further away from the conscience,

it was a way of placing sexuality at the heart of existence and linking salvation to the mastery of its obscure movements. In Christian societies, sex was something that had to be examined, monitored, confessed and transformed into discourse.

"Hence the paradoxical thesis that underpins this first volume: far from making it their taboo, their forbidden

Since the dawn of the 21st century, our societies have never stopped talking about sexuality and getting people to talk about it..."

(183) Anne Bignan, *Louis XV et le cardinal de Fleury, 1736*, Werdet, Paris, 1835, p. 9

(184) Paul Lacroix, *XVIIIe siècle: institutions, usages et costumes, France, 1700-1789*, Firmin-Didot Frères, Paris, 1875, p. 358.

(185) See Luisa Messina, "L'amour au Siècle des lumières. Essor et fin des libertins". In Patrick Schmall (ed.), *L'Amour, les amours*, *Revue des Sciences Sociales*, no. 58, 2017 [pp. 40-5].

(186) Olivier Blanc, *Visibilité du libertinage féminin sous Louis XVI*, in Anne Richardot (ed.), *Mémoires libertines*, Presses universitaires de Rennes, Paris, 2002.

(187) *Les Muses du Foyer de l'Opera: Choix des Poésies libres, galantes, Paris 1783*, p. 145.

(188) See Thierry Pastorello, "La sodomie masculine dans les pamphlets révolutionnaires". In *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, July-September 2010, no. 361.

(189) Morgane Guillemet. *De la représentation au mythe: l'ambiguïté féminine dans le roman libertin du XVIIIe siècle*. Littératures. Université Rennes 2 ; Université européenne de Bretagne, 2009. French, p. 270.

(190) *Ibid*, p. 283.

(191) See Claude Pasteur, *Le beau vice, ou, Les homosexuels à la cour de France*, Balland, 1999. In recent decades, it has become fashionable to dismiss as pure invention the accusations levelled against the nobility in the pamphlets published on the eve and at the beginning of the Revolution. This exculpatory literature, often of 'academic' origin, is just as, if not in its own way more, excessive than the pamphlets themselves. In fact, apart from the case of Marie-Antoinette, many of the Memoirs and the

Correspondence from the eighteenth century refers, either to cynical boasting or to condemnation, to the depravity into which the court nobility had fallen and which, not from a moral point of view, went hand in hand with the corruption of the government.

The proof of this is found in Richelieu (*Mémoires du Maréchal Duc de Richelieu*, vol. 5, Paris, 1793, p. 8061) who wrote of the House of Mailly, which dated back to the middle of the eleventh century: "The morals of the lords who made up the various branches of the Mailly family were no longer [...] those of the olden days. The corrupt courts of our kings, who had altered everything and changed the French lords into courtiers, had substituted in the French nobility a courtly libertinism quite different from that chivalrous gallantry which is now to be found only in our chronicles; two

women, Marie de Coligny and Madame de Nesle, née Laporte-Mazarin, had introduced to the Maillys de Nesle these mores of the modern court"; "I have seen (softness settle in our camps,) the nobility degenerated from its ancient simplicity, from its austere mores, driven by the lure of gold, corrupting through its mores the capital & the provinces, & losing little by little the respect that all the orders of France had for it, erased at last by the talents of those whom we have for so long called serfs, then commoners, mixing through alliances their blood with that of financial families to support the remains of a name debased by depraved morals and poverty" (ibid., t. 1, 1790, p. 4).

In 1751, the Bishop of Soissons had a letter delivered to Louis XV in which, protesting against this scandal, he wrote: "One sees at court, in the front rank, a person of the lowest rank, and who has no other title to be there than debauchery." (quoted in E. J. B. Rathery (ed.), *Journal et mémoires du marquis d'Argenson*, t. 5, Paris, 1863, p. 123, note; see also Albert Meyrac (*Louis XV: ses maîtresses, le Parc aux Cerfs, d'après le Journal-Mémoires de d'Argenson, les chansons du temps et les mémoires du Duc de Richelieu*, Albin Michel, 1913).

"Corruption came from on high. In her crude language, the Palatine gives us unheard-of details of the morals of the Regent, her son, the Duchess de Berry, her granddaughter, and their entourage. Rarely have more infamous morals been displayed more cynically, at the expense of public finances. With the Duchesse de Berry, wrote Saint-Simon, a friend and acquaintance of the Duc d'Orléans, "it was not just debauchery

She drank to the point of rolling on the floor, of being carried away like an inert mass. She drank to the point of rolling on the floor, of being carried away like an inert mass, of vomiting on the table and splashing the guests".

" " In her drunken moments," says Mr Funek-Brentano, "she would say the most obscene things.

"His ostentation and spending exceeded anything imaginable. Her fortune was enormous: 500,000 livres in income (9 million francs today). In one night, she lost to the Portuguese ambassador 1,800,000 livres (17 million francs today). She rode in a carriage with golden floors and harnesses. Her servant was carried up to 300 people.

"The other princesses competed with her but could not match her. "The correspondences of the time show the noblest ladies, the young Duchess of Orleans, daughter-in-law of the Regent, the Princess of Conti, the Duchess of Bourbon, eating and drinking to the point of being ill, smoking pipes and getting drunk by singing gay songs, with little blasts of ratafia. And what can be said without defying the honesty of the morals and orgies of the roués, the debauched companions of the Regent, who died from his excesses?

"Do we understand why, during the eight years of the regency, the French Monarchy lost so much prestige and why, from then on, the causes of the collapse of the Ancien Régime could be traced back to these disorders and wasteful practices, cynically displayed before an increasingly alert public?" (La Croix, 19 April 1931).



(192) Moreau de Jonnés, *Recherches sur la renaissance de l'industrie au moyen-âge (suite et fin)*, in M. Mignet (ed.) *Séances et travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, 3e série, t. 9, Durand, Paris, 1854, p. 198.

(193) Quoted in *ibid*. It takes a cracked head to "(describe) as 'obscene'", not the king's behaviour, but, on the contrary, "the attacks written against the king which are aimed almost exclusively at the idea of his sexuality, and which slide into a kind of political pornography when they seem to want to arouse the readers' anger by describing the king's suspicious sexual activity".

(Laguardia David, "Henri III et la propagande de l'obscène". In *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance*, no. 68, 2009 [p. 41-52], p. 42). In the eyes of many of our contemporaries, as we know, the guilty are innocent and the innocent guilty, the one who denounces the evils the one responsible for the evils he denounces, and so on.

(194) Claire Lesegetrain, *Les chrétiens et l'homosexualité : l'enquête*, Editions Chemins de traverse, Paris, 2011, p. 45.

(195) Quoted in Edmond Locard, *Les crimes de sang et les crimes d'amour au XVIIe siècle*, 1903, p. 206.

(196) "One day, after an orgy in a brothel, they poured out into the streets, completely drunk, smashing everything in their path and murdering a young waffle seller who resisted them. Colbert's son tore down the crucifix on the Petit Pont and set it on fire. The affair was hushed up for fear that it would

the monarchy. Louvois persuaded Louis XIV to send these men not to the scaffold but to the army: in his opinion, it was easier to send men to war who could enter the campaign with their lovers" (Claire Lesegetrain, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

(197) See *Mémoires du Maréchal de Richelieu*, t. 3, chapter 24, quoted in Claude Courouve, *Vocabulaire de l'homosexualité masculine*, Payot, 1985, p. 83, quoted in Thierry Pastorello. *Sodome à Paris: protohistoire de l'homosexualité masculine fin XVIIIe - milieu XIXe siècle*. History. Université Paris-Diderot - Paris VII, 2009. French; see also J.- A. Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris*, 7th edn, augmentée de notes nouvelles et d'un appendice, vol. 3, J. L. Belin, Paris, 1830, p. 489.

(198) Françoise Biotti-Mache, "La condamnation à mort de l'homosexualité. A few reminders historiques". In *Studies in Death* vol. 1, n° 147, 2015.

(199) Thierry Pastorello, *op. cit.* p. 39.

(200) See Jean-Luc Hennig, *Espadons, mignons autres monstres: Vocabulaire de l'homosexualité masculine sous l'Ancien Régime*, Cherche Midi, 2014.

(201) Report to the Lieutenant General of Police Hérault - 14 September 1737. Quoted in Pierre Chevallier, *Histoire de la franc-maçonnerie française*, vol. 1, Fayard, 1974, p. 28.

(202) See Marc de Jode, Monique Cara and Jean-Marc Cara, *Dictionnaire universel de la Franc- Maçonnerie*, Larousse, "A présent" series, 2011.

(203) See Jean-Luc Hennig, op. cit. and Franck Ferrand, *Dictionnaire amoureux de Versailles*, Plon, Paris, 2013. As homosexuality was a crime at the time, the punishment they received seems light compared to that imposed, at the same time, on three young nobles whose priapic humour had displeased them. In June 1724, "The Princess of Baden, future wife of the Duc d'Orléans, has not yet left Rastadt; three of our young lords, whose regiments are in Strasbourg, and who were also there, namely the Duc d'Olonne<sup>1</sup>, the Marquis de Fimarcon and the Marquis de Massieux, wanted to see her. To this end, they asked permission to go to Rastadt, ten leagues from Strasbourg, from M. le maréchal Du Bourg, commander of Strasbourg, who refused them, as being a foreign country. One day, having gone to a pleasure party at the home of a great lord seven leagues from Strasbourg, they thought that, being only three leagues from Rastadt, they could go and have a look around: they had been drinking. With no permission other than their own curiosity, they went. They were introduced as people of their own status; they were very well received by the prince and the princesses, mother and daughter. Wanting to see everything, they entered a private garden belonging to the princess of Baden, the mother, which is very devout, and where there are several grottoes of saints, including one of the Virgin, who is holding a little Jesus in her arms and a bouquet in one hand. Our young men found radishes in this garden, which are very large cobs; they raked them and cut them into the shape of beautiful Priapes accompanied by their pendants; they removed the bouquet from the Virgin and placed the god Priape in her hand, and they placed others under the skirts of some saints; then they left. After they had left, this foolishness was noticed. The Princess of Baden complained loudly and with good reason; she wrote to Marshal Du Bouig, who first had them put in prison because of their disobedience. I do not know whether, on their return to Paris, they will not have a little tour of the Bastille" (Edmond Jean François Barbier, *Chronique de la régence et du règne de Louis XV [1718-1763]*, vol. Charpentier, Paris, 1857, p. 359).

(204) For a long time, common people found guilty of sodomy were burnt or mercilessly punished. From the 18th century onwards, they were incarcerated in the *culs-de-basse-fosse* of the Grand Châtelet (Azria Régine [review], Lever (Maurice), "Les Bûchers de Sodome. Histoire des 'infâmes'". In *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, n° 61/2, 1986 [p. 283-4], p. 294)

(205) Jeanine Huas, *L'homosexualité au temps de Proust*, Éditions Danclau, 1992, p. 52.

(206) Madame Campan, *Mémoires sur la vie Marie-Antoinette*, Firmin Didot Frères, Paris, 1849, p. 203

(207) Quoted in Charles Labitte, "Poètes modernes de la France". In *La revue des deux mondes*, t. 5, 14e année, nouv. série, Paris, 1844, p. 262

(208) Quoted in William Howarth, *Beaumarchais homme de théâtre et la Révolution Française*, in Philip Robinson (ed.), *Beaumarchais: homme de lettres, homme de société*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2000, p. 71.

(209) Louis Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, A. Colin, 1898, p. 631.

(210) Roger Fayolle, *Sainte-Beuve et le XVIIIe siècle*, A. Colin, Paris, 1972, p. 366). Perhaps the literary critic and writer was tipped off by a pamphlet entitled "Le Cadran de la volupté ou les aventures de Chérubin, pour servir à la vie de Marie-Antoinette", which, as early as 1793, drew an analogy between Priape and Beaumarchais's character Chérubin. It is said to have been written at the instigation of Philippe-

Equality. One of the compositions in the original edition (1793) depicts a dial with twenty-four hours, each bearing a name ("The Mysteries", "Priapism", "Socratism", etc.), with a phallus standing vertically at its centre. Below it is a smiling man's face with satyr's ears, topped by two crossed phalluses in the manner of the bones that often accompany the skull and crossbones symbol.

(211) On the rumour that he had been circumcised, a poet composed the following quatrain: "From a Priape de conséquence / On vient de couper le filet. / Décalottez, Chef de la France; / Mais B\*\*\*\*\* avant, s'il vous plaît" (Anonymous, *Mémoires secrets*, t. 33, John Adamson, London, 1788, p. 350); Marie-Antoinette's brother was described as "Imperial Priape" (Charles-Joseph Mayer, *Vie de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche, reine de France, femme de Louis XVI, roi des Français*, 1793, p. 5).

(212) Patrick Cardon (ed.), *Les enfans de Sodome à l'Assemblée nationale* (1790), GKC, Lille, 2005, p. 13.

(213) Jean de Reully (baron), *La Raucourt & ses amies : étude historique des mœurs saphiques au XVIIIe siècle*, H. Daragon, 1909, p. 106. The Anandrynes (literally: "without" [an] "men" [andros]) were affiliated to the Masonic lodge of Lesbos and counted among their members, in addition to comedians such as La Raucourt (\*) and Sophie Arnoult, the Princess de Polignac, the Countess de la Motte, the Princess de Lamballe and, it was said, the Queen. Grimm alludes to this in his literary correspondence (

"The rules for admission (...) were strict. First of all, applicants had to possess a minimum of sixteen of the thirty charms listed in the old French lexicons: "a perfect complexion, supple hair and ivory-white teeth, lily skin, eyebrows darker than the darkest eyes, pink cheeks, lips and nails, a high forehead, a broad chest, the buds of the breasts firm enough to resist the lips they invite to kiss, small ears and feet, rounded shapes, especially at the hips, a slim waist that can be encircled by both hands, delicate, loose fingers, a slightly rounded stomach and genitals, and a small mouth to indicate that access to pleasure is difficult". Morally - so to speak - the requirements were even stricter. The lesbian, it was specified, "had to be a young girl who had never had relations

convinced of the perfection of her own sex and finding in it the pure and true love to which she must give herself body and soul, denying the other sex which is unfaithful and spoiled". But as recruitment would have been difficult under those conditions, they also admitted "any woman of any age, who, having submitted to the laws of Nature and the State with the aim of propagating the human race, regretted her error, despised and denied those joys that deserve hatred and aspired to become the priestess of true love" (Pierre Vachet, *La femme, cet énigme*, Grasset, 2014). Today, only these psychological criteria could be met by the women concerned, and indeed they would be perfectly capable of doing so.

The Anandrynes club and the Lesbos lodge are shrouded in a thick mystery, the little we know about them coming from Grimm's literary correspondence and the anonymous author of the "Letters from l'espion anglais ou La confession de Mademoiselle Sapho" (1784). Both, if not both, were founded in 1770 and dissolved in 1884 (see Marie-Joe Bonnet, *Les Relations*

amoureuses entre les femmes du XVIe au XXe siècle. Essai historique, Éditions Odile Jacob, Collection Opus, 1995, which also documents the existence of the Anandrynes sect). The publisher and journalist Octave Uzanne (1851-1931) dated the Lesbos lodge back to antiquity and wrote ("L'organe du diable", in *Les surprises du cœur*, Édouard Rouveyre, 1881, Paris, p. 137, quoted in Nicole G. Albert, "De la topographie invisible à l'espace public et littéraire : les lieux de plaisir lesbien dans le Paris de la Belle Époque". In *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine*, 2006, no. 53, vol. 4) that "there has been a very large number of lesbians in Paris for several centuries". In "L'Énervée" (1903), Maxime Formont refers to "priestesses who strive to revive, in modern Paris, the rites of the ancient Mytilene", in particular "the 'Ladies Club' of the Marquise de Mornay (a transparent allusion to the Marquise de Morny, a famous lesbian who had, among other things, a long affair with Colette) where a cult is practised that conforms to that of the ancient 'Lodge of Lesbos'" (ibid.).

(\* ) It is possible that Raucourt was in fact president of the Lesbos lodge (see ibid.).

(214) See Pierre Nouveau, *Le péché philosophique ou de l'homosexualité au XVIIIe siècle*, Arcadie 1975.

(215) Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, 3rd edn, vol. 15, Garnier Frères, Paris, 1852, pp. 96-7.

(216) *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, Livre III, Michel Lévy Frères, Paris, 1856, chap. 8: Comment la Révolution est sorti d'elle-même de ce qui précède. Continuity was also a matter of men, as Wolfgang Mager shows, for example, "De la noblesse à la notabilité. La formation des notables sous l'Ancien Régime et la crise de la Monarchie absolue". In *Histoire, économie et société*, 1993, 12<sup>e</sup> année, n° 4 [p. 487-506] : " La formation sociale des notables fait référence à la crise de légitimité que It was the same trend that swept through the nobility in the eighteenth century, and determined a significant proportion of the nobles of the sword to adopt the principle of professional performance in military and administrative careers. The mental training of notables refers to the development of an ethic specific to them. By their political formation we mean the development of a political party, made up essentially of the provincial nobility and its allies among the physiocrats and ministerial staff, directed towards the creation of representative institutions and thereby undermining the foundations of absolute monarchy".

The only difference between the petit marquis of the Ancien Régime and the republican petit marquis of today".

en marche' is that the Republican petit marquis is also a lackey.

(217) Annette Pankratz, *Over the King's Bodies: The Emerging Public Sphere in Seventeenth Century England*, in Uwe Böker and Julie A. Hibbard (eds.), *Sites of Discourse, Public and Private Spheres, Legal Culture*, Rodopi, Amsterdam and New York, 2002 [pp. 93-108], p. 99; Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart*, vol. 1: A-F, The Athlone Press, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1994, p. 361.

(218) Rachel Weil, *Sometimes a Scepter is Only a Scepter: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England*, in Lynn Hunt, op. cit., [p. 125-56], p. 132.

(219) Ibid, p. 132-3.

(220) Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, t. 1 :- La volonté de savoir, Gallimard, coll. "Tel", 1994. The genesis of these "devices of sexuality" (\*), as Foucault calls them and dates them back to the nineteenth century, can in fact be traced to the aesthetic rules laid down by the Council of Trent regarding nude figures (see above), which were to accelerate the autonomisation of sex initiated by patristic literature and developed by Augustinian theory, according to which desire and pleasure were to be proscribed and sexual activities restricted to the work of procreation commanded by God and nature. Building on this theory, and creating, around the twelfth century, "the institution (...) of Christian marriage, monogamous and indissoluble, which defines the framework for this legitimate sexual activity"; by introducing the "practice of confession, which in the Middle Ages became an essential part of marriage". The Church and its clerics set out to control the flesh, a term whose meaning shifted from that of human nature to that of sexuality" (Michel Bozon, *Les significations sociales des actes sexuels*. In *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 128, June 1999, Sur la Sexualité [p. 3-23], p. 9).

Pierre-Emmanuel Dauzat has also studied the Christian roots of the commercial and advertising sexuality of the modern era in *Les sexes du Christ* (Denoël, 2007), whose subtitle reminds us that the Church has always been able to turn the misery, including the sexual misery, of its flock into wealth, its own wealth: "essai sur l'excédent sexuel du christianisme" ("essay on the sexual surplus of Christianity"). It ties in with the thesis we've been expounding over and over again about the historical coincidence between the detachment of the masses from Christian faith and practice and their mental Christianisation.

The back cover of this scathing book reads: "Pornography, contraception, artificial procreation, sexual individualism... these are just some of the singularities of contemporary sexuality that seem to conflict with official Church doctrine. But where do they come from, if not from the Christian tradition itself, despite our apparent de-Christianisation? Once Christian concepts such as the trinity, the virginity of Mary, the immaculate Conception, etc. have been taken out of the simplicity of the Bible, they can be applied to the world of today.

conception or Edenic sexuality became the focus of ongoing theological work. Christian thinkers and artists, increasingly distanced from ancient family structures, invented the strangest picture of a family imaginable, where the father is also the mother, where the son is also the father, where Christ is endowed with both sexes, where mating, pleasure and procreation become dissociable... And this is the source of a destabilising force: this sexual excess of Christianity, whose formation and transformations Pierre-Emmanuel Dauzat follows, from its Christian origins to the modernity of Sade and the artificial womb. " The first twenty pages can be consulted at the following address:

<https://ec56229aec51f1baff1d-185c3068e22352c56024573e929788ff.ssl.cf1.rackcdn.com/attachments/original/6/4/0/002618640.pdf>, accessed on 2 November 2018. Here are two excerpts:

"... despite the apparent dechristianisation, Christian dogma, as structured not in ecclesiastical discourse but in our social practices and customs, continues to shape our behaviour and mark our thinking. If the Christian morality of the couple and its discourse on chastity appear to be obsolete, dechristianisation acts as a cover-up: it makes us forget that non-procreative sexuality is not the same as procreative sexuality.

or procreation without sexuality, test-tube babies or other artificial wombs and pornography are equally legitimate Christian inventions" (p. 16-7).

"The iconography, masterfully studied by Léo Steinberg in his work on *La Sexualité du Christ dans l'art de la Renaissance* (The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art), and its individuation of sex, its autonomisation, is based on a whole anthropology, indeed a theology, of which Augustine was one of the "modern" catalysts. This presence of sex, and even sexuality, even in Christ has a meaning that we lose sight of when we forget the theme of the resurrection and the body of glory. The fact that Origen, one of the finest thinkers on the Resurrection, thought he saw salvation in castration is a clear sign of the significance of these ideas.

Are we so sure that the same is not true today? The importance given to the sex of Christ and the oblivion of patristic, then Christian, moral and dogmatic discourse, leaves a sex without a support: that of pornography" (p. 15-6).

(\*) "An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus" (1786) (i) by the British collector, numismatist and archaeologist Richard Payne-Knight (1751-1824). Published in French in 1866 under the title "*Le culte de Priape et ses rapports avec la théologie mystique des anciens; suivi d'un Essai sur le culte des pouvoirs générateurs durant le Moyen âge*", it is mainly based on the study of Greek and Roman antiquities, in particular the phallic artefacts that had just been unearthed at Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as the erotic art of the temples that had just been discovered in India and South-East Asia. Knight compares them with the wax phalluses still found in Italy to show that all religions, including Christianity, which he abhorred as "a reconstruction of Judaism" (ii), have their origins in the cult of sex. Some suspect that

The central thesis of the book is a muted celebration of homosexuality (iii). Its publication, which caused a scandal in England, radically transformed the image that most of his contemporaries had of homosexuality.

had of Priape, which was that of a childish, obscene little demon with a grotesque phallus. They discovered in him the divinity of fertility that she had been in ancient Greece and Rome (iv). Payne-Knight's work was an important source of inspiration for Dupuis (1742-1809), Delaure (1755-1835), the British philosopher, officer and politician Destutt de Tracy (1754 -1836) and other specialists in Greek religion and mythology in the early 19th century (v), and later influenced the Scottish anthropologist James Frazer (vi).

From the fields of history and sociology, the influence of the "Cult of Priape" spread to the study of sexuality in its psychophysiological processes, which was not yet called "sexology", but which, with Freud, already included a so-called "therapeutic" aspect. From its inception, in the 1830s and 1840s in Austria and Germany, scientific reflection on sexuality bore many similarities to antiquarianism; like antiquarianism, it was based on the visual study of historical remains, which was to make a major contribution to the production of sexual knowledge and consequently to the strengthening of 'sexual devices' in the so-called Western world (see Jana Funke et al, *Illustrating phallic worship: uses of material objects and the production of sexual knowledge in eighteenth-century antiquarianism and early twentieth-century sexual science*. In *Word & Image. A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, vol. 33, no. 3: *Mediating the Materiality of the Past, 1700- 1930*, 2017 [p. 324-37]).

(i) It was republished in 1966 as "A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus" in *Sexual Symbolism: A History of Phallic Worship* by anthropologist Ashley Montagu.

(ii) George Sebastian Rousseau, *Perilous Enlightenment: Pre- and Post-modern Discourses: Sexual, Historical*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1991, p. 94.

(iii) Christopher Z. Hobson, *Blake and Homosexuality*, Palgrave, 2000, p. 11.

(iv) George Sebastian Rousseau, *op. cit.* p. 93.

(v) *Ibid*, p. 95

(vi) *Ibid*, p. 96.

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