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NATURAL DISORDER:

THE ANIMAL IMAGE IN FRENCH AND BRITISH ART BEFORE DARWIN,

c. 1790-1859

by

Noelle Carolyn Paulson

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2009

Saint Louis, Missouri

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2009

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Natural Disorder:

The Animal Image in French and British Art before Darwin, c. 1790-1859

by

Noelle Carolyn Paulson

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History and Archaeology

Washington University in St. Louis, 2009

Professor Elizabeth C. Childs, Chairperson

This study of the animal form in French and British art reveals humanity's shifting self-image as new theories of species transmutation replaced hierarchical models of nature in the half-century before the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. To assert various qualities of difference, distance, similitude, and proximity between species, visual artists represented animals either in humanized guises or in contexts of encounter with humans. Animal imagery was especially malleable during this period when science and pseudo-science both confronted the possibility that species were susceptible to gradual change over time rather than fixed in form since the biblical moment of creation. In this series of chronologically-ordered case studies, I explore how visual artists investigated the increasingly unsettled question of alleged human (and especially white male) superiority over animals.

Each chapter analyzes an artistic response to humanity's place in the natural world. In the first chapter, I demonstrate how artists and naturalists jointly sought to maintain animal alterity through image and text in encyclopedic works of illustrated

natural history and physiognomy. The second chapter interrogates artists' engagements with the paradox of physical separation and visible animal-human similarity evident in Paris's and London's newly established civic zoos. Explicitly transgressive and more carnal aspects of the human-animal relationship are the focus of the third chapter, in which I argue that depictions of sexual contact between animals and women serve to bestialize women literally and figuratively in an era marked by emergent demands for women's social and political rights. In the fourth chapter, I assert that hybrid human and animal forms in the œuvre of the French caricaturist J.-J. Grandville generate a leveling effect among species and human social classes as all creatures in his art wear animal masks that reveal their shared bestial natures. Finally, in the fifth chapter I examine efforts to defend a white, masculine, privileged position as it was perpetuated through imagery equating the anthropoid ape with the black African human.

In these case studies, I trace an increasing loss of confidence in human dominion as a divinely ordained natural order and a correlative rise of a seemingly disordered world in which humanity's once stable place is now understood to be in flux. I analyze contemporary criticism and the interplay of image and text to demonstrate the flexibility and centrality of the animal form during this historical moment in Europe's twin artistic, intellectual, and scientific capitals of Paris and London. The animal body in French and British art created before the so-called Darwinian Revolution allowed artists to confront fears regarding class, gender, race, religion, and, most profoundly, the possibility of the beast that lurks within every human.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We must have made seven or eight trips up and down the stairs that day. Each time we returned to the living room with our arms full of furry friends. These were carefully arranged in rows and piles with my brother and I, ages five and seven respectively, buried beneath them. Our own faces peak out amid this colorful crowd. Our smiles have not faded, though the photograph itself has. Like most children do, we had given our stuffed animals names, personalities, talents, and voices, and our mother determined that our menagerie should be recorded for posterity in this group portrait. The inhabitants of the zoo that my brother and I jointly curated were largely of the bear, cat, and dog species, with a few plastic dinosaurs and ponies thrown in for variety. We did not consider classification schemes, scientific names, or species boundaries when we piled together on the couch. We did not analyze whether there were fundamental differences between us and them. Although their bodies were filled with cotton batting and wire rather than organs and bones, we felt a closeness to those friends in animal forms. In many ways, they were better than our living animal resident – an aging and yowling Siamese cat who could be frightening to a small child – because the stuffed animals featured malleable characters. Our imaginations could shape their behaviors and determine their emotions and personalities. We humanized them before we fully realized what it meant to be human.

As we grew old enough to watch television and attend movies, we met other humanized animals like Big Bird and Bambi. We also encountered talking animals in classic books like *Charlotte's Web*, *Stuart Little*, or *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. My

personal favorite was the series of Berenstain Bears books, which followed the mundane exploits of what I now realize is the highly *unnatural* nuclear family unit of Mama, Papa, Brother, and Sister Bear (male bears typically do not interact with females except during mating season, and the females strive to protect their young from the violent, loner males who might try to kill the cubs so the mother will become fertile for reproduction sooner). Much to my delight, these bears wore clothes, walked upright, and encountered problems similar to my own, such as how do you make the chore of cleaning your messy room into something pleasurable? Or what should you do if you eat too many sweets? These books always contained a moralizing message neatly packaged for children in a predictable format. They consistently featured the same, familiar aesthetic of bright colors, clearly outlined figures, and integrated images and texts. I found their predictability reassuring, since the narrative, such as it was, always resolved itself by the end.

A child's universe is generally populated by benign animals, beasts in name only, who function as friendly surrogates or protectors against the monsters under the bed until one develops a conception of difference. Perhaps it is this awareness of distinction, of fundamental distance between the human and the animal, whether living or imaginary, that is the root of human anxieties regarding animals. Yet, one must also develop the realization of an autonomous self that is separate even from other members of the human species. This is often a painful experience manifested in the tears of a child left by a parent at daycare or school for the first time. An animal, especially one of the stuffed toy variety, can provide comfort in such scenarios.

I begin with these personal meditations to acknowledge that the animal form need

not necessarily be a source of constant fear and anxiety, though many of these pages will, at times, assert otherwise. Indeed, increasingly Americans in particular welcome domestic pets as surrogate children.¹ They dress them in Halloween costumes and revise their wills to provide for their pets in the event of the owners' deaths. Only certain species of animals are treated in this way. Less desirable species who do not resemble the round, wide-eyed appearance of a human baby or have a “cuddliness factor,” as Midas Dekkers calls it, have less hope of inspiring the care of humans or being included as full member of the family.² Insects, rodents, many reptiles, and some types of birds and fish fall outside the rather arbitrary bounds of prized species. These undesirables are presented as threats rather than pets.

Modern American adults are frequently inundated by reminders that the natural world and its animal inhabitants are dangers to be guarded against using science, technology, and even images. Two stories dominating the headlines as I write this demonstrate nature and animals as feared concepts. On May 6, 2009, search teams found three-year-old Joshua Childers alive and relatively unscathed in the woods of southern Missouri after the child was missing for over two days. Those searching for Joshua described the dangers the child might encounter in the woods of the Ozarks, including snakes, wild cats, and even bears. Nearly all of the adults in the rescue operation doubted that such a small child could survive for very long in rough terrain and unpredictable weather conditions, so his healthy return was almost universally hailed as miraculous.³ In

¹ I also encountered a costume shop for pets appropriately located on the Rue de Grandville in the caricaturist's hometown of Nancy, France.

² *Dearest Pet: On Bestiality*, trans. Paul Vincent (London: Verso, 2000), 61.

³ Joshua's father Adam Childers was quoted as saying, "I don't know how he did it, I don't know grown men

Joshua's case, nature proved relatively benign, though we may perhaps never know what exactly he experienced during his fifty hours in the woods.

Joshua's adventure against nature occurred on a small scale, but humans are also currently facing what is perceived to be a much larger threat: the H1N1 virus, popularly known in English as the "Swine Flu." As of this writing, the virus has not proved to be as dangerous as it was initially feared. However, scientists continue to monitor it very closely because it is essentially a hybrid composed of genetic pieces from flu viruses that infect birds, pigs, and humans.⁴ Like anything that crosses boundaries and is formed with parts from multiple species, the virus is perceived as a threat to human stability and well-being, even if it is not ultimately as deadly as early reports indicated. During the initial phase of infection, many human efforts were made essentially to keep the animal aspects of the disease at bay. These included the slaughter of pigs in Egypt despite indications that the virus is spread through contact between humans and not through human contact with live pigs or through the consumption of pork.⁵ Even amidst efforts to rename the virus or to reassure people that they cannot contract it from pigs or pork, some will continue to associate this type of influenza with an animal that is already believed by many to be an unclean beast. The animal realm will still be perceived as a threat to humans, and such dangers will be seen as validating all efforts to maintain human

who could do it....I will put him up for the Grizzly Adams award. I'm gonna send him bear hunting with a stick." Philip Rosenbaum, "Missing Missouri Boy Found Safe after 2-Day Search," *CNN.com*, May 7, 2009, <http://www.cnn.com/2009/US/05/07/missouri.boy.found/> (accessed May 7, 2009).

⁴ Tara Parker-Pope, "Worry? Relax? Buy Face Mask? Answers on Flu," *The New York Times*, May 4, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/05/health/05well.html> (accessed May 7, 2009).

⁵ Such reactions have led to efforts to rename the virus or avoid calling it the "swine flu." Duncan Turnbull, "Swine Flu Needs to be Rebranded," *The Guardian*, May 7, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/may/07/swin-flu-rebranding> (accessed May 7, 2009).

dominion over animals. Humanity's belief in its superiority remains firmly intact. The tenor of attempts to demonstrate that superiority has changed over the years, but its fundamental faith in the existence of human dominion over animals has faced only slight threat. Nevertheless, the image of the animal maintains a great power to invoke human anxiety even as it also allows for continued control through the process of image making.

These two stories drawn from current events demonstrate the continued relevance of the human-animal debate in contemporary society. That condition may be defined broadly as the relationship between humans and animals, whether it is one of dominance and submission or equality (with some species more than others) based on shared behavioral, physical, or even biophysical characteristics. The debate has entered a renaissance this year, since 2009 is the two-hundredth anniversary of Charles Darwin's birth and the sesquicentennial of the publication of his *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. His birthday on February 12 was marked by the release of a new Gallup poll presenting the alarming statistic that a mere thirty-nine percent of Americans polled professed a belief in the theory of evolution.⁶ These numbers corresponded highly with the respondents' educational levels and attendance at religious services. In addition, school boards in many American states, most notably the large and influential state of Texas, continue to debate the wording of high school biology textbooks, tests, and lesson plans to allow for the study of so-called “strengths and weaknesses” in the theory of evolution. Such language would effectively endorse the teaching of creationism or intelligent design, the belief that the world was created by an

⁶ Frank Newport, “On Darwin's Birthday, Only 4 in 10 Believe in Evolution,” *Gallup.com*, February 11, 2009, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/114544/Darwin-Birthday-Believe-Evolution.aspx> (accessed May 7, 2009).

omniscient, divine being who made everything with a purpose.⁷ These views differ very little from those of natural theology preached by advocates like William Paley (1743-1805) in the early nineteenth century.⁸ Darwin believed that the concept of natural selection had effectively and firmly trumped any conceptions of the world as divinely designed. As he wrote in his autobiography in 1876,

The old argument from design in nature, as given by Paley, which formerly seemed to me so conclusive, fails, now that the law of natural selection has been discovered. We can no longer argue that, for instance, the beautiful hinge of a bivalve shell must have been made by an intelligent being, like the hinge of a door by man. There seems to be no more design in the variability of organic beings and in the action of natural selection, than in the course which the wind blows.⁹

Apparently, a significant portion of Americans cannot claim to share Darwin's certainty, nor have they willingly tested their beliefs against the evidence of scientific experiment. As long as this debate continues to receive such prominent airing in mainstream American society, the historical study of animals, of their place in human imagination, and of their relationship to humans in science, religion, art, and culture will remain vital.

Acknowledgments

Throughout the course of researching and writing this project, I have been surprised by the number of timely “teachable moments” that have arisen in current events and popular culture. I realize such moments of contemporary resonance can be rare for

⁷ Susan McCarthy, 'Creationism Rears its Head in Texas Schools,' *The Guardian*, April 30, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2009/apr/30/texas-school-creationism-textbooks> (accessed May 7, 2009).

⁸ *Natural Theology: Or, Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature*, 2nd ed. (London: R. Faulder, 1802).

⁹ Charles Darwin and Thomas Henry Huxley, *Autobiographies*, ed. Gavin de Beer (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

historians who often must brush away the dust of decades if not centuries before opening the books and documents that are their primary sources. I am deeply grateful to the following institutions for the fellowships and grants that facilitated my own journeys of dust-removal and allowed for the completion of a project that links past and present: the Department of Art History and Archaeology and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Washington University, the Pittsburgh Foundation's Walter Read Hovey Fund, the Houghton Library Joan Nordell Fellowship at Harvard University, and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation's Travel Fellowship in the History of Art. I also owe heartfelt thanks to numerous libraries, museums, and archives for granting me access to their holdings in manuscripts, rare books and journals, sculpture, paintings, prints, and drawings: the Morgan Library, the Frick Art Reference Library, and the Archives and Special Collections of the Augustus C. Long Health Sciences Library, Columbia University, New York; the Newberry Library, Chicago; the Special Collections Libraries of the University of Missouri, Columbia, and Washington University; the British Library, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, London; the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels; and the Musée du Louvre, the Musée d'Orsay, and the Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Special thanks to Julie Crocker, Assistant Archivist at the Royal Archives in Windsor Castle for her aid in arranging my research visit to that collection and to Assistant Archivist Laura Hobbs for help with references. Quotations from the unpublished diary of Frederick William Keyl in the Royal Archives are used by the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. I am highly indebted to

the staffs of Washington University's Olin Library, Interlibrary Loan and MOBIUS Units and especially to the Kranzberg Art and Architecture Library staff for their patience with my seemingly endless stream of obscure book and article requests. Thanks are due to Art Reference Librarian Kasia Leousis in particular for cheerfully submitting my book orders, searching out images, and passing along relevant materials when they became available.

In the Department of Art History and Archaeology, Nancy Rubin, Gisela Paluga, and Melissa Miller kept things running smoothly and eased my path substantially over the years. Betha Whitlow and Marcella Rolwes of the Visual Resources Collection helped me avoid technical glitches in presentation and teaching. Departmental faculty offered guidance throughout many years of seminars and practice talks. Thanks especially to Professors Paul Crenshaw, Rebecca DeRoo, Angela Miller, and Sarantis Symeonoglou for their constructive comments along the way. I am grateful to committee members Gerald Izenberg, John Klein, Alicia Walker, and William Wallace for their thoughts, queries, and critiques. Special thanks to Bill McKelvy for sharing with me his own interdisciplinary approach to the interplay of image and text in Victorian culture and for his cheerful patience over the years with my unending stream of requests for letters of recommendation. Finally, enormous thanks are due to my advisor, Elizabeth Childs, for her enthusiasm and her scholarly engagement. It has been a privilege to study with her. This project can trace its roots to her seminar on political caricature during the fall semester of 2004, and, among many other things, I remain grateful to her for introducing me to J.-J. Grandville's fascinating universe. Her scholarship on Daumier provided a

model of approach to the often bewildering world of French political caricature, so it is with great admiration that I submit this dissertation to her.

Colleagues and friends provided comments, critiques, coffee breaks, and much needed laughter along the way. The following individuals have my gratitude for their support and friendship: Matthew Bailey, Lauren Melo Barach, Clara Barnhart, Mary Brunstrom, Emily Burns, Mayu Fujikawa, Carrie Hillard, Theresa Huntsman, Tara Makinen, Celina Meyers, Sarah McGavran, Katherine Singer, Erin Sutherland, Amy Switala, Diane Towle, and Samantha Wilson. Thanks to Mike Bradley for proofreading grant applications in their early stages. My grandparents, K.C. and Millie Lowe, my parents, Dennis Paulson and Jeanette F. Paulson, and my brother, Joel Paulson, all have my deepest thanks for the unquantifiable ways that they supported me through the ups and downs of this life journey. Finally, this dissertation is dedicated with warmest love and gratitude to Andreas Vitalis. Without his assistance with Latin and German translations, his explanations of complex scientific concepts foreign to this humanist, his intelligent, indeed *dogged*, questioning of my claims, and his ability to make me laugh each day, it quite literally would not have been completed.

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- 57) Antoine-Louis Barye, *Etude de lion (Admiral Rigny's lion)*, c. 1829, graphite on paper, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris
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- 64) George Cruikshank, *The Den of the Elephant at Exeter Change*, wood-engraving in William Hone, *The Every Day Book, or, A Guide to the Year* (vol. 2, 1825-1826) (London: Ward, Lock, and Company, 1889)
- 65) George Cruikshank, *The Elephant as he Laid Dead at Exeter Change*, wood-engraving in Hone, *The Every Day Book*, vol. 2, 1825-1826
- 66) Thomas Landseer, untitled frontispiece, engraving in *Characteristic Portraits of Animals* (London: Moon, Boys, and Graves, 1829)
- 67) Thomas Landseer, *Ourang-outang*, engraving in *Characteristic Portraits of Animals*, 1829
- 68) Thomas Landseer, *The Asiatic Elephant*, engraving in *Characteristic Portraits of Animals*, 1829
- 69) Antoine-Louis Barye, *Ape Riding a Gnu*, c. 1842, bronze, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore
- 70) Thomas Landseer, *Ape Riding a Gnu*, engraving in John Henry Barrow, *Characteristic Sketches of Animals, Principally in the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park, Drawn from the Life* (London: Moon, Boys, and Graves, 1832)
- 71) Achille Devéria or Octave Tassaert, attr., untitled hand-colored lithograph in *Gamiani, ou deux nuits d'excès* (Brussels [Paris], n.p., 1833)
- 72) Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *La Gimblette (Young Woman Playing with a Dog)*, 1765-72, oil on canvas, Fondation Cailleux, Paris
- 73) Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Young Girl in Bed, Making her Dog Dance*, c. 1770-1775, oil on canvas, Alte Pinakothek, Munich
- 74) Anonymous, untitled engraving in Andréa de Nerciati, *Le diable au corps, œuvre postume du très recommandable Docteur Cazzoné, membre*

extraordinaire de la joyeuse Faculté Phallo-coïro-pygo-glottonomique
(London, n.p., 1803)

- 75) Henry Fuseli, *The Nightmare*, 1781, oil on canvas, Institute of Arts, Detroit
- 76) Anonymous, untitled engraving in Andréa de Nerciat, *Le diable au corps*, 1803
- 77) Achille Devéria or Octave Tassaert, attr., untitled hand-colored lithograph in *Gamiani, ou deux nuits d'excès*, 1833
- 78) Achille Devéria or Octave Tassaert, attr., untitled hand-colored lithograph in *Gamiani, ou deux nuits d'excès*, 1833
- 79) Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *Woman Bitten by a Snake*, 1847, marble, Musée d'Orsay, Paris
- 80) Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *Woman Bitten by a Snake*, detail, 1847, marble Musée d'Orsay, Paris
- 81) Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *Bacchante*, 1848, marble, Petit Palais, Paris
- 82) Guillaume Geefs, *The Lion in Love*, 1851, marble, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels
- 83) John Tenniel, *Fable LX: The Lion in Love*, wood-engraving in Thomas James, *Aesop's Fables, A New Version, Chiefly from Original Sources* (London: J. Murray, 1848)
- 84) François Chauveau, *The Lion in Love*, etching in Jean de la Fontaine, *Fables choisies: Mises en vers* (Paris: Thierry, 1668)
- 85) Hieronymous Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, detail, c. 1504, oil on wood panel, Museo del Prado, Madrid
- 86) Thomas Kirk after Petrus Camper, Plate VII, engraving in Camper, *The works of the late Professor Camper*, 1794
- 87) John Tenniel, *The Gryphon and the Mock Turtle*, wood-engraving in Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, (London: Macmillan, 1865)
- 88) Edwin Landseer, *Scene from A Midsummer Night's Dream, Titania and Bottom*, 1848-51, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
- 89) Thomas Landseer after Edwin Landseer, *Portrait of a Cross of the Dog and the Fox in the Possession of Lord Cranley*, engraving in *Twenty Engravings of Lions, Tigers, Panthers, Dogs, &c.*, (London: John Tyler, 1823)
- 90) After J.-J. Grandville, *Quelques-unes de nos bêtes de sommes*, hand-colored wood-engraving in *Les Métamorphoses du Jour* (1828-29), second edition (Paris: Gustave Havard, 1854)
- 91) After Charles le Brun, Untitled (Bull and Pig compared to Man), 1671, engraving in Louis-Marie-Joseph Morel d'Arleux, *Dissertation sur un traité de Charles le Brun: concernant le rapport de la physionomie humaine avec celle des animaux, ouvrage enrichi de la gravure des dessins tracés pour la démonstration de la système* (Paris: À la Chalcographie du Musée Napoléon, 1806)
- 92) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *Allons donc lambin ... de l'eau ... de l'eau! Eh! ... j'peux pas aller plus vite!* lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, 1828-29

- 93) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *T'as raison Gauhier; c'est encore nous qui payent les bels hôtels q'nous font pour eux*, lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, 1828-29
- 94) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *Voulez-vous déjeuner avec nous, la mère Piton?* hand-colored lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du Jour*, 1828-29 © Trustees of the British Museum
- 95) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *L'Écolier Indicatif présent je m'ennuye...*, lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du Jour*, 1828-29 © Trustees of the British Museum
- 96) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *Il y a plénitude nous vous saignerons demain, en attendant continuez la diète*, lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du Jour*, 1828-29
- 97) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *Famille de Scarabées*, lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du Jour*, 1828-29
- 98) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *Monseigneur, je vous présenté mes hommages ainsi que ma fille*, hand-colored lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du Jour*, 1828-29 © Trustees of the British Museum
- 99) Langlumé after J.-J. Grandville, *M. Martin-Pêcheur apportant à dîner à sa famille*, hand-colored lithograph in *Les Métamorphoses du Jour*, 1828-29 © Trustees of the British Museum
- 100) After J.-J. Grandville, *Le lion amoureux*, wood-engraving in Jean de la Fontaine, *Fables de La Fontaine. Illustrées par J.J. Grandville* (Paris: Fournier Aîné, 1838)
- 101) J.-J. Grandville, preparatory drawings for *La cigale et la fourmie*, c. 1837-38, graphite, ink, and pen on paper, Bibliothèque municipale, Nancy
- 102) After J.-J. Grandville, *La Cigale et la fourmie*, wood-engraving in *Fables de La Fontaine*, 1838
- 103) After J.-J. Grandville, *La chatte métamorphosée en femme*, wood-engraving in *Fables de La Fontaine*, 1838
- 104) After J.-J. Grandville, *Les Ombres portées*, lithograph in *La Caricature*, 1830
- 105) After J.-J. Grandville, *Mon nouveau maître était bon...*, wood-engraving in *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux* (Paris: J. Hetzel et Paulin, 1840-42)
- 106) After J.-J. Grandville, *Vers minuit la signorina Cavaletta, vêtue d'une robe de nymphe...*, wood-engraving in *Vie privée et publique*, 1840-42
- 107) After J.-J. Grandville, *Lorsqu'on a vu l'homme d'un peu près, on est bien fière d'être Girafe*, wood-engraving in *Vie privée et publique*, 1840-42
- 108) After J.-J. Grandville, *Le pauvre diable s'est laissé faire homme parce qu'il n'a pu faire autrement*, wood-engraving in *Vie privée et publique*, 1840-42
- 109) After J.-J. Grandville, *Les héros du lendemain ne sont guère à craindre*, wood-engraving in *Vie privée et publique*, 1840-42
- 110) After J.-J. Grandville, *Un soir, ma maîtresse pria l'une des jeunes Miss de chanter*, wood-engraving in *Vie privée et publique*, 1840-42
- 111) After J.-J. Grandville, *Un homme très-dur, qui s'appellait Monsieur Vautour*,

- wood-engraving in *Vie privée et publique*, 1840-42
- 112) After J.-J. Grandville, *Il n'avait de remarquable que son ventre*, wood-engraving in *Vie privée et publique*, 1840-42
- 113) After J.-J. Grandville, *Un jeune brebis...*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 114) After J.-J. Grandville, *Bal masqué*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 115) After J.-J. Grandville, *Vénus à l'Opéra*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 116) After J.-J. Grandville, *Le salon était réservé au sujets spécialement anacréontiques et badins*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 117) After J.-J. Grandville, *Le bassin des sirènes*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 118) After J.-J. Grandville, *Les héraldiques*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 119) After J.-J. Grandville, *La fosse aux oublivores*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 120) After J.-J. Grandville, *Le perchoir*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 121) After J.-J. Grandville, *Les hybrides*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 122) After J.-J. Grandville, *Les hybrides*, wood-engraving in *Un autre monde*, 1843-44
- 123) Christophe Huet, *Grande singerie*, c. 1735, oil on canvas, Château de Chantilly
- 124) Christophe Huet, *Grande singerie*, detail, c. 1735, oil on canvas, Château de Chantilly
- 125) Christophe Huet, *Grande singerie*, detail, c. 1735, oil on canvas, Château de Chantilly
- 126) After Charles White, Plate II, engraving in *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, and in Different Animals and Vegetables; and from the Former to the Latter* (London: C. Dilly, 1799)
- 127) Madame Migneret, *Espèces*, etching in Julien-Joseph Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Paris: Crochard, 1824)
- 128) Frederick Christian Lewis, *Sartjee, The Hottentot Venus*, 1810, etching and aquatint, British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum
- 129) Léon de Wailly, *Sara (Saartjie) Baartman*, 1815, watercolor on vellum, Muséum d'national d'histoire naturelle, Paris
- 130) C. de Last after Nicolas Huet II, *Femme du race Bochismann*, hand-colored lithograph in Frédéric Cuvier and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des mammifères, avec des figures originales, coloriées, dessinées après des animaux vivants*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Belin, 1824)
- 131) Werner after Léon de Wailly, *Femme du race Bochismann*, lithograph in Frédéric Cuvier and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des*

- mammifères*, vol. 1,
1824
- 132) After Werner, *Entelle mâle*, lithograph in Frédéric Cuvier and Étienne Geoffroy Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, vol. 1, 1824
- 133) Edwin Landseer, *The Cat's Paw*, c. 1824, oil on panel, Institute of Arts, Minneapolis
- 134) After J.-J. Grandville, *Bertrand et Raton*, wood-engraving in *Fables de la Fontaine*, 1838
- 135) de Benard, *Bertrand et Raton*, lithograph in *Le Charivari* 3, no. 68 (1834)
- 136) Joseph Swain after Charles Henry Bennett, *The Catspaw*, wood-engraving in *The Fables of Aesop and Others, Translated into Human Nature* (London: W. Kent and Co., 1857)
- 137) Edwin Landseer, *The Monkey who had Seen the World (The Traveled Monkey)*, 1827, oil on panel, Guildhall Art Gallery, London
- 138) Thomas Landseer, *The Fortune Teller*, engraving in *Monkey-ana, or, Men in Miniature* (London: Moon, Boys, and Graves, 1827-28). Courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries
- 139) Joshua Reynolds, *The Fortune Teller*, 1777, oil on canvas, Waddeson Manor, The National Trust, England
- 140) Thomas Landseer, *Castigation*, engraving in *Monkey-ana, or, Men in Miniature*, 1827-1828
- 141) Thomas Landseer, *The Widow*, in *Monkey-ana, or, Men in Miniature*, 1827-1828
- 142) Anonymous, *Ourang Outang, sive Homo silvestris*, woodcut in Jacob Bontius, *Historiae naturalis & medicae Indiae Orientalis libri sex* (Amsterdam: Ludovicum et Danielem Elzevirios, 1685)
- 143) Anonymous, *Monkeyana*, wood-engraving in *Punch, or the London Charivari* 40 (May 18, 1861): 206
- 144) William Hackwood for Wedgewood Pottery, *Am I not a Man and a Brother?* c. 1787, tinted stoneware, Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn
- 145) Anonymous, *The Lion of the Season*, wood-engraving in *Punch* 40 (May 25, 1861): 213
- 146) After J.-J. Grandville, *M'man, est-qu'y a des hommes qu'a des figures comme ca?* wood-engraving in *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1828-29), second edition 1854
- 147) André Gill, *Darwin*, color lithograph in *La Petite Lune*, n.d. (c.1878-1879)
- 148) Edward Linley Sambourne, *Man is but a Worm*, wood-engraving in *Punch* 82 (1881)
- 149) W.H. Wesley after Waterhouse Hawkins, *Skeletons of the Gibbon, Orang, Chimpanzee, Gorilla, and Man*, wood-engraving in Thomas Henry Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (New York: Williams and Norgate, 1863)
- 150) Edward Linley Sambourne, *Suggested Illustration for 'Dr. Darwin's*

- Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants'*, wood-engraving in *Punch* 69 (1875)
- 151) Charles Henry Bennett, *A Bull at the Gate*, wood-engraving in *The Origin of Species, Dedicated by Natural Selection to Charles Darwin (Illustrated Times, 1863)*, published in Bennett and Robert B. Brough, *Character Sketches, Development Drawings, and Original Pictures of Wit and Humour: Done in Permanent Lines for Posterity* (London: Ward, Lock, and Taylor, 1872)
- 152) Charles Henry Bennett, *A Monkey Trick*, wood-engraving in *Illustrated Times* (1863), published in *Character Sketches*, 1872
- 153) Charles Henry Bennett, *The Origin of Garotte*, wood-engraving in *Illustrated Times* (1863), published in *Character Sketches*, 1872
- 154) After J.-J. Grandville, *Une promenade dans le ciel*, wood-engraving in *Magasin pittoresque* 15 (1847)
- 155) After J.-J. Grandville, *Crime et expiation*, wood-engraving in *Magasin pittoresque* 15 (1847)
- 156) Gustave Courbet, *Hallali du cerf*, 1867, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon
- 157) Edwin Landseer, *Man Proposes, God Disposes*, 1864, oil on canvas, Picture Collection, Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, Surrey
- 158) Edwin Landseer, *The Otter Speared, Portrait of the Earl of Aberdeen's Otterhounds*, 1844, oil on canvas, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne
- 159) Eadweard Muybridge, *The Galloping Horse*, 1887, photo/collotype, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

INTRODUCTION:
THE HUMAN-ANIMAL BOUNDARY IN AN ANXIOUS AGE

In the first chapter of Genesis, quite literally at the moment of human creation, God instructs Adam and Eve to “Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.”¹ The Psalms convey a tripartite hierarchy, placing humans above all animals and “a little lower than the angels.”² From these origins, the Judeo-Christian tradition has asserted for humanity, and especially for the male of the species, created in God's image, a place of dominion over all other creatures. Further justifications for human superiority have been premised on our capacities for speech, reason, religion, pleasure, pain, fear, and humor and our abilities to create architecture and art.³ Such distinctions most often construct border-zone models to place humans on one side and most, if not all, other non-human species on the opposite side. Yet, there are notable exceptions, moments when differences recede and borders erode. This study examines the effects of destabilized hierarchies and dissolved animal-

¹ Genesis 1: 27-28, which is essentially repeated, with variations, in God's covenant to Noah in Genesis 9: 1-3.

² The full passage repeats the decree of human dominion over animals: “What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet: All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.” Psalms 8: 4-8

³ The concept of the human as *Homo pictor*, the animal who makes art, is found in Hans Jonas, “Homo Pictor und die Differentia des Menschen,” *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 15, no. 2 (1961): 161-176. More recently, Denis Dutton has asserted that there is something innately human in our desires to create or to entertain ourselves, and he cites as evidence the apparently spontaneous emergence of artistic practices in geographically distant early human groups. *The Art Instinct: Beauty, Pleasure, and Human Evolution* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009), 2-5.

human boundaries on visual art during a historical moment when science, art, and culture more broadly converged to interrogate humanity's relationship to other species.

In 1863, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895), Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) most vocal champion, proposed that the relationship between humans and all other species was an issue of utmost philosophical and scientific concern:

The question of questions for mankind – the problem which underlies all others, and is more interesting than any other – is the ascertainment of the place which man occupies in nature and of his relations to the universe of things. Whence our race has come; what are the limits of our power over nature, and of nature's power over us; to what goal we are tending; are the problems which present themselves anew and with undiminished interest to every man born into the world.⁴

Artists also responded to this “question of questions,” and their images of animals created in England and in France from the late eighteenth through roughly the first half of the nineteenth century may be understood as querying humanity's place within and responsibilities toward the natural world. I assert that the animal form in visual art of this period serves as a signal that the artist participated in the project of human self-definition. These depictions of animals constitute explorations of human selfhood.

While intellectuals in other European locations certainly engaged these issues concurrently on a smaller scale, those living in the cities of London and Paris, Europe's twin capitals of science, art, and industry, enjoyed unrivaled access to the institutions, the economic and intellectual resources, and the advanced technologies that encouraged active and prolonged analysis of the human-animal relationship. Both nations promoted their self-described enlightened views toward animals as a means to distinguish

⁴ Thomas Henry Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (New York: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 71.

themselves above their so-called barbarous neighbors. The English and the French advocated kindness, not cruelty, and they increasingly displayed a preference for sedate zoological and natural history displays rather than bloody animal combats, in contrast to the Spanish who continued to delight in bullfights.⁵

The English and the French shared certain tendencies. Yet, these rival nations were separated by a watery geographical divide as well as by differences in religious faith linked to understandings of the natural world. Many Protestant Englishmen and women held the fervent belief that nature was God's plan made visually manifest. Each animal had been designed at the moment of creation to fulfill a precise, immovable station and function. This doctrine, known as Natural Theology, was used by a variety of naturalists, clergy, and artists to uphold a scale of being with humans at the summit. For their part, the French were strongly anti-clerical, as their repeated revolutions sought to destroy governments too closely linked to a Catholic church that was believed to be profoundly corrupt and self-serving. While most French naturalists maintained that species were immutable, they were less likely than their English peers to perceive nature as the perfect creation of an omniscient deity. Where clear differences between the two nations arise in their understanding of species in science and in art, these may most often be traced to this fundamental distinction of religious views.

The English and the French were also friends and rivals artistically, and artists working in newer print media like wood-engraving or lithography, as well as more traditional methods like painting and sculpture, joined the fray to ponder the animal-

⁵ Kathleen Kete, "Animals and Human Empire," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, ed. Kathleen Kete (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 4.

human relationship in visual terms. A common response, found in art from both nations, was to depict animals with anthropomorphic facial expressions, poses, costumes, or accessories. The animals might be placed in human social situations; they might perform human tasks; or they might be depicted as hybrid creatures formed of animal and human parts. While humanized animals appear in material culture, in toys, games, broadsides, posters, and other objects from the early nineteenth century, and more sedate species like cows and sheep or even dead animals were among the early subjects for photography, my study focuses on animals depicted in paintings, prints, and, to a lesser extent, sculpture. These media were more closely aligned with institutions like art academies, public exhibitions, and museums, as well as with scientific texts and the expanding market for illustrated books and journals.⁶ Furthermore, painting and sculpture had long been utilized as appropriate media with which to indicate human dominance and animal submission. Canonical works like the *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius* (161-180 CE, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome), Donatello's *Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata* (1445-1450, Piazza del Santo, Padua), or Anthony van Dyck's *Portrait of Charles I Hunting* (c. 1635, Musée du Louvre, Paris) demonstrate the variety of means sculptors and painters had to demonstrate humanity's power, or more specifically *man's* power, to subdue brute animal strength through the force of reason alone. In each case, the animal (the horse), is designed to provide contrast with the man who successfully controls it. Van Dyck's horse even bows its head in reverence before the monarch.

⁶ Diana Donald notes that the culture of science in England in the early nineteenth century was visual in character and practice, and the continued sway of natural theology “fostered an observing habit of mind” in naturalists like the young Charles Darwin. “Introduction,” in *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science, and the Visual Arts*, ed. Diana Donald and Jane Munro (Cambridge, UK: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2009), 3.

As heirs to Enlightenment faith in rational empiricism yet survivors of (and sometimes participants in) political revolutions, the artists whose works are analyzed here lived in an anxious age. Many zoologists and comparative anatomists no longer endorsed clear hierarchies of species. By the early nineteenth century, some even dared to suggest that species were mutable. Charles Darwin's grandfather Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802) and the French zoologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744-1829) separately asserted that species experienced transmutation over time, as animal forms broadly developed from simpler to more complex.⁷ In the face of such theories, as well as evidence gleaned from the observation of live animals and preserved specimens, the so-called Great Chain of Being appeared to sway more precariously.

As a whole, this body of artistic productions reflects the awareness that formerly stable ground was shifting. Together, these prints, paintings, caricatures, book illustrations, drawings, and sculptures ask: how are humans related to animals? Are they definitively separate and superior, or are humans merely another animal species, just as ferocious, instinctual, and wild as all the others? What does it mean to call a human an animal or to find in the animal aspects generally ascribed only to humanity (intelligence, reason, emotion, etc.)? How should art be made to reflect this apparent descent of humanity from the lofty heights upon which it previously placed itself? Is the artist whose works humanize the animal or bestialize the human courageous or insulting, ingenious or blasphemous? Should artists instead join efforts to secure the borders and to assert

⁷ Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 84-95.

humanity's continued dominion over animals? Artists' visual responses to these questions demonstrate a wide array of possible views explored in depth in the chapters below.

Humans, Animals, and the Inventive Realm

In contrast to those equestrian monuments that placed the human capacity for reason in firm control over the animal's wild instincts, the Methodist Reverend John Wesley (1703-1791) found human distinction in another region. Even as he wrote to promise animals a release from their burdens and admittance into eternal life, Wesley asserted the existence of a “great gulf” between humans and animals:

What then is the barrier between men and brutes? The line which they cannot pass? It was not reason. Set aside that ambiguous term: exchange it for the plain word, understanding: and who can deny that brutes have this? We may as well deny that they have sight or hearing. But it is this: man is capable of God; the inferior creatures are not. We have no ground to believe, that they are, in any degree, capable of knowing, loving, or obeying God. This is the specific difference between man and brute; the great gulf which they cannot pass over.⁸

As Wesley's sermon demonstrates, this project of self-definition as constructed through comparison required humans to determine the boundaries of their species. The Reverend Wesley places that boundary of humanity in the capability for religious faith, which he believes animals do not possess. Yet, as my project asserts, many other intellectuals, scientists, and artists, if they perceived a boundary at all, located it differently. They are, however, united in their use of animals to clarify definitions of humanity by comparison.

The countless methods for classifying and categorizing the natural world that have appeared since Aristotle have attempted to define what *is* and what *is not* like the

⁸ John Wesley, “The General Deliverance” (1781), in *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, A.M.*, ed. John Emory, 7 vols. (New York: T. Mason and J. Lane, 1840), 2:51.

human or what Michel Foucault terms *sympathies* and *antipathies*.⁹ Animals function as humanity's foil while the borders defining the human are charted, maintained, attacked, or eliminated. As the French naturalist George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707-1788) wrote, "All our knowledge is derived from comparing the relations and discrepancies which subsist between different objects. If brute animals had no existence, the nature of man would be still more incomprehensible."¹⁰ At the end of the eighteenth and through much of the nineteenth century, Western European intellectuals followed this method, using comparison as a means to emphasize human distinction and superiority or as a tool to assert human animality when such comparisons revealed shared characteristics or behaviors.¹¹

While Wesley's sermon asks what might be "the line that they cannot pass," it also evocatively suggests the existence of a "great gulf" between humans and animals.

Admittedly, the border zone model I utilize here has its limitations. It is not meant to reinscribe a strictly linear divide with humans on one side and animals on the other.

Rather, it might better be understood as a murky expanse filled with possibilities for productive confrontations. While some artists joined scientists in shoring up humanity's

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), 23-25.

¹⁰ "Comme ce n'est qu'en comparant que nous pouvons juger que nos connoissances roulent même entièrement sur les rapports que les choses ont avec celles qui leur ressemblent ou qui en diffèrent, et que s'il n'existoit point d'animaux, la nature de l'homme seroit encore plus incompréhensible..." George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, *et al.*, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, 15 vols. (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1749-1767), 4: 3; translated in English as *Natural History, General and Particular*, trans. William Smellie, 9 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1785), 3: 208.

¹¹ Gerard Rooijackers articulates this succinctly: "Man needs alterity, he can only exist by the presence of the other. By using categories pertaining to 'otherness' or 'alterity,' people articulate attitudes towards others, thus unveiling, in a more or, usually, less conscious way, much of themselves." "European Apelore in Popular Prints, 17th -19th Centuries," in *Ape, Man, Apeman: Changing Views since 1600*, ed. Raymond Corbey and Bert Theunissen (Leiden: Department of Prehistory, Leiden University, 1995), 327.

place atop a hierarchy of creation in the early nineteenth century, others embarked on the exploration of Wesley's great gulf as natural order turned to disorder before Darwin's theories of natural selection and evolution proposed a new and credible model. Many artists embraced this inventive realm as they increasingly subverted the strictures of powerful artistic institutions like London's Royal Academy or Paris's Académie des Beaux-Arts, but my study analyzes those artists concerned with the regions where humans and animals might visually meet and combine. Depictions of human-animal hybrids or humanized animals by artists like J.-J. Grandville (Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard, 1803-1847), Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), his brother Thomas Landseer (1795-1880), and many others often function in a mode similar to scientific theories that endorsed evolutionary concepts. These artists inhabit that zone of creativity in which it is neither blasphemous nor fanciful to suggest, for example, that humans share a common ancestor with apes. Yet, as we shall see, artists often enjoyed greater freedoms than their scientist peers. Although both disciplines require a creative spark or a hypothesis as a point of departure, the visual arts can enter the inventive realm more easily. Science carries a burden of proof that serves at times as a necessary curb against the illogical or the superstitious, but art is rarely governed by the limits of rationality or the scientific method.¹² In diverse ways and to varying degrees, the artists analyzed here reveled in the creative freedoms of their art. While many people felt surprise or concern regarding the physical and behavioral similarities that zoologists and comparative anatomists increasingly found between humans and animals, artists were able to exploit the

¹² However, Ashton Nichols rightfully asserts that “scientific thinking relies on metaphors, analogies, and other forms of figurative comparison most often associated with the imaginative realm.” *Romantic Natural Histories* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 19.

capacities of media from painting and prints to caricatures and sculptures as a means to confront fears about humanity's apparently dwindling superiority over animals.

This unease manifested itself in a variety of ways to be explored as case studies here. Naturalists, often assisted by artists, utilized hierarchies, ladders, scales, classification schemes, and other conventions to maintain an elevated place for privileged humanity. Some sought to convey nature as a balance of similarities and differences, sympathies and antipathies, between humans and animals that would allow humanity to preserve its ranking, its dominion, *above* all other species. For, as Foucault writes,

The identity of things, the fact that they can resemble others and be drawn to them, though without being swallowed up or losing their singularity – this is what is assured by the constant counterbalancing of sympathy and antipathy.... The whole volume of the world, all the adjacencies of 'convenience', all the echoes of emulation, all the linkages of analogy, are supported, maintained and doubled by this space governed by sympathy and antipathy, which are ceaselessly drawing things together and holding them apart. By means of this interplay, the world remains identical; resemblances continue to be what they are, and to resemble one another. The same remains the same, riveted onto itself.¹³

The expression of sympathy and antipathy, like and unlike, allowed humans to maintain an insurmountable distance, however narrow, from other animals. The maintenance of this fragile balance also legitimized the continued use of animals for food, clothing, labor, medicine, protection, companionship, and entertainment, much as it does today.¹⁴

During the period relevant to this study, domestic and exotic animals were visible in illustrated natural history texts and, increasingly, in public exhibition spaces in France and England. In addition to the various animal shows and traveling menageries already in

¹³ Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 24-25.

¹⁴ Martin Kemp, *The Human Animal in Western Art and Science* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 9.

existence, the establishment of permanent zoological gardens in Paris in 1793 and in London in 1828 was also an effort to instantiate clear, iron boundaries between animals and humans.¹⁵ Yet, more often than not, it proved impossible to contain the animal fully, for sounds, smells, and even appendages have their means of circumventing the bars, while the animals' bodies remain contained. Thus, like other border zones, zoos revealed possibilities for the mingling of the human and the animal. As the historian Erica Fudge has asserted regarding exhibitions of bear-baiting in sixteenth-century London, animal displays are sites of “immense contradiction,” places where the human and the animal merge and meld despite human efforts at containment and separation. Fudge states the essential paradox succinctly: “The place which reveals the difference between the species also reveals their sameness....”¹⁶ And zoo historian Richard W. Burkhardt adds that “the menagerie ... was an arena where the potential for disorder always lurked beneath the outward and visible signs of domination and control.”¹⁷ Zoos could be both enlightening and disturbing as they might prove or disprove long-held beliefs regarding animal behavior and appearances simply by displaying exotic animals who had rarely been seen alive in Europe.

In the artistic worlds of France and England during the first half of the nineteenth century, images of humanized animals were a prominent means artists had to assert the

¹⁵ For a timeline of the development of zoos in the nineteenth century, see R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss, eds., *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 17-18; see also Chapter Two below.

¹⁶ Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), 19.

¹⁷ Richard W. Burkhardt, “Constructing the Zoo: Science, Society, and Animal Nature at the Paris Menagerie, 1794-1838,” in *Animals in Human Histories: The Mirror of Nature and Culture*, ed. Mary J. Henniger-Voss (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 231.

eternal proximity and distance of Foucault's *sympathy* and *antipathy*. The application of animal heads to human bodies, as in the art of the French caricaturist Grandville or the depiction of animals expressing emotions previously only applied to images of humans, as in paintings by the English artist Edwin Landseer, are examples of the use of animal forms as surrogates. These surrogates assert to varying degrees what *is* and what *is not* human. Grandville and Landseer were the two most prolific and prominent among many French and British artists who rendered their animals anthropomorphic to confront societal fears about shifting political, religious, scientific, economic, racial, or gender structures. The antipathies and sympathies evidenced through their visual creations could insure the security of the animal-human border. Yet, the creators of such images simultaneously enter the inventive realm to explore that productive liminal space between the human and the animal.

In her analysis of Edgar Degas's use of allegedly animalistic physiognomies on the human figures in his painting *The Young Spartans* (1860-61, London, National Gallery), Martha Lucy argues, "The animal sign is first and foremost an anxious sign; its persistent assignment to the body of the other is an indication of its danger."¹⁸ Hence the tendency, especially prominent in caricature, to apply animal features to images of the *Other* – the lower classes, non-white races, women, children, or those of foreign national groups.¹⁹ My project endorses Lucy's assertion that the representation of animal forms in art constitutes a sign of anxiety regarding the role and status of humans within that

¹⁸ Martha Lucy, "Reading the Animal in Degas's Young Spartans," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2003): http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_03/articles/lucy.html [accessed 10 Dec. 2007]

¹⁹ On the phenomenon of applying simian features to caricatures of the Irish in nineteenth-century English periodicals, see L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Culture* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

culture. Furthermore, as the literary historian Ceri Crossley asserts, animals could be deployed in literature to address any number of issues plaguing human society:

... knowledge of animals is often knowledge of something else... In post-revolutionary France to write about animals was to participate in debates concerning what constituted human nature, the limits and legitimacy of human power over the environment, the role of the passions, desire and the unconscious, the origins of violence, the position of women, the notion of innocence, the problem of primordial guilt.²⁰

Crossley's book is concerned with texts, as are such classics of Animal-Studies literature as Harriet Ritvo's *The Animal Estate*, but here I link the visual to the verbal to argue that many artistic depictions of humanized animals made in France and England from the 1790s through the 1850s are visual embodiments of the widespread effort to fix more securely humanity's place in the natural world as order seemingly collapsed into disorder.²¹ These works of art represent the range of responses from attempts to harness, contain, or control to those who revel in the free play of hybridization.

The chronological bounds of this study are determined by the publication of two books in English that also circulated in France and were influenced by French scientific thought. While I discuss works of illustrated natural history and physiognomy published before 1790, the appearance of Thomas Bewick's (1753-1828) *A General History of Quadrupeds* defines an appropriate commencement because of its popularization of French encyclopedic natural history and its use of the revived mass production technique of wood-engraving. Bewick's book, produced in collaboration with his former teacher Ralph Beilby (1743-1817), is not a particularly astute work of zoology (it is largely a

²⁰ Ceri Crossley, *Consumable Metaphors: Attitudes towards Animals and Vegetarianism in Nineteenth-Century France* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 11.

²¹ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

condensed English version of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* with newly drawn illustrations).²² Rather, its importance lies in its composition and design. *A General History of Quadrupeds* is the first widely disseminated book to feature Bewick's revival of the technique of wood-engraving, which allowed for the full integration of image and text upon the same page.²³ The words and the wood-engravings function in concert to describe exotic and domestic animals, nearly all of which Bewick had seen with his own eyes.²⁴ It represents an effort to contain the animal within ordered systems of knowledge, to depict its image as defined by human vision, and to disseminate that knowledge to an increasingly literate audience through the use of newly refined print technologies.

Without popular illustrated natural histories like Bewick's books, Charles Darwin (1809-1882) might not have found such a ready audience for his own theories seventy years later. Darwin's slim volume *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, published in 1859, defines the chronological end point for my study.²⁵ While it is well known that many aspects of Darwin's theories were devised by earlier scientists and circulated in England and France well before 1859, Darwin's visual language, his use of the scientific method, and his calm, rational tone helped to solidify his book's place as the definitive opening statement in the international argument for evolution. As I assert in the

²² Thomas Bewick and Ralph Beilby. *A General History of Quadrupeds*. (Newcastle: S. Hodgson, R. Beilby, and T. Bewick, 1790).

²³ Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1984), 74-75.

²⁴ For more on Bewick's visits to menageries, see Chapter Two below.

²⁵ Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: John Murray, 1859).

conclusion, the concept of natural selection and the subsequent formulation of theories of human evolution led to an increased visual emphasis on metamorphosis and constant flux. Whereas much of the visual material I analyze sought to keep species pinned in place on an ordered ladder of creation, Darwin's model of nature as a tree of life with many branches eliminated this hierarchy.²⁶ His ideas effectively unpinned species from their positions to argue for their mutability over vast expanses of time. The fraught debate regarding evolution continues today, but it has its own origins in the anxious decades preceding 1859, which are the focus of this study.

Historians working within the interdisciplinary field of Animal Studies have asserted that the early part of the nineteenth century was a period of crucial importance and fluctuation between competing models of the natural world. For example, Keith Thomas argued in his book *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility*, which was one of Animal Studies's foundational texts, by roughly 1800, "The world could no longer be regarded as having been created for man alone, and the rigid barriers between humanity and other forms of life had been much weakened."²⁷ If humans are no longer the center of the universe, the Vitruvian Man of Leonardo da Vinci's iconic drawing and the source of all physical order, what will fill that empty center? What can prevent entropy, chaos, degeneration, or even devolution? The practices of natural history and physiognomy sought to reassert and reinforce human superiority. In 1766, Buffon confidently asserted that the interval separating humans and animals was

²⁶ Darwin, *The Origin*, 130.

²⁷ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 301.

“immense,” since the latter could not speak.²⁸ By 1837, such confident anthropocentrism is notably lacking in Darwin's notebooks, when he tentatively suggests that as “our fellow brethren in pain, disease, death, suffering and famine, our slaves in the most laborious works, our companions in our amusements, – [animals] may partake from our origin in one common ancestor, we may be all netted together.”²⁹ His poignant metaphor evokes a fishnet, with animals and humans joined in a jumble rather than ordered and separated like the rungs of a ladder leading up to the human.

This shift from confident anthropocentrism to destabilized uncertainty is evident in visual art as well. It coincides with the growing popularity of humanized animal imagery in French and British art. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, one could still assert that humanity's place was atop a hierarchical scale of creation. This is especially apparent in images of the horse, an animal that Buffon had called “the most noble conquest that man has ever made.”³⁰ The English painter of animals, George Stubbs (1724-1806) suggests humanity's superior control over the animal in his portraits of thoroughbred horses with their owners or riders resting securely on their backs. These men and women seem to enjoy a God-given dominion over the animal, as they sit astride horses whose tails have been docked in the latest man-made fashion (Fig. 1). By 1861, just two years after the publication of Darwin's *Origin*, Edwin Landseer's painting *A*

²⁸ “... quelque ressemblance qu'il y ait donc entre l'Hottentot et le singe, l'intervalle qui les sépare est immense, puisqu'à l'intérieur il est rempli par la pensée et au dehors par la parole.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 32.

²⁹ Charles Darwin, *Charles Darwin's Notebooks, 1836-1844: Geology, Transmutation of the Species, Metaphysical Enquiries*, ed. Paul H. Barrett et al. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 228-29.

³⁰ “Le plus noble conquête que l'homme ait jamais faite....” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 4: 174.

Shrew Tamed effectively suggested that humans now joined other animals in a heap on the stable floor, “all netted together” like Darwin suspected (Fig. 2). This work visually demonstrates the detritus left after the collapse of confidence in human dominion over animals. Here, human and horse lie together in an equitable, almost post-coital pile on the hay while a dog surveys the scene. The woman's languid pose conveys that human dominance and animal submission are no longer required or even desired in this companionable world where humans and animals share descent from a common ancestor.³¹

English and French artists who depicted animal forms in the early nineteenth century participated in debates regarding humanity's position in the natural order, if such an order existed.³² They created images of humanized animals to hypothesize what the relationship between humans and animals might be. My study analyzes artistic efforts to locate humanity's place in nature, whether it is fixed or mutable, elevated or base. The chapters demonstrate the array of responses that artists produced. These range from artists aligned with the methods of natural history and physiognomy to assert human distinction above animals to more inventive depictions of human-animal sexual contact or hybridity.

³¹ Lynda Nead and Whitney Chadwick interpret this painting according to a feminist reading as an image of the notorious courtesan and horsewoman Catherine Walters (a.k.a. “Skittles” or Mrs. Baillie [1839-1920]) who has just completed breaking the horse using a new method known as “gentling.” As such it can be read as an image of a human who has reduced an animal to submission, but the woman's relaxed pose also conveys her ease and comfort in a thoroughly animalistic setting. And, as Nead notes, the title lends an ambiguous note, for it remains unclear whether it is horse or woman who is the tamed shrew. Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988), 59-62; Whitney Chadwick, “The Fine Art of Gentling: Horses, Women, and Rosa Bonheur in Victorian England,” in *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1993), 97-103.

³² For example, Philippe Kaenel has asserted that Grandville was in fact quite aware of the scientific debates occurring in Paris during the July Monarchy as evidenced by section depicting the ménagerie in his book *Un Autre monde* (1844); “Le Buffon de l'humanité: La zoologie politique de J.-J. Grandville (1803-1847),” *Revue de l'art* 74 (1986): 21-28.

Some denied any possibility of equality, while others confronted these fears to imagine alternative combinations and relations.

The ambivalent character of many artistic depictions of animals from the early nineteenth century shapes the order of chapters, which are premised as thematic case studies. They are arranged in a loosely chronological sequence to convey the heterogeneity of responses and to demonstrate the simultaneous deflecting and embracing that occurred among scientists and artists as they pondered the human-animal relationship. Beginning with eighteenth-century models of nature, the first chapter explores efforts to maintain the human as sufficiently elevated above animals through the creation of illustrated natural history texts and physiognomical treatises. Even as some artists participated in creating visual hierarchies to support naturalists' claims, others presented possibilities for equality based on shared physical characteristics. In the second chapter, I present Paris's and London's public zoos as human efforts to display control over intractable wild animals. Artists who visited the zoo and depicted its animal inhabitants often created imagined menageries that contained animals in images devoid of messy smells, sounds, or shedding - the sensual aspects of animality that cannot be enclosed by iron bars. In this way, art itself was perhaps better equipped than science to pin the animal to a fixed and stable position. In contrast, the works of art that I analyze in the third chapter are selected from more carnal regions of the inventive realm in which artists felt free to make taboo suggestions of bestiality. Here male artists did not so strictly proclaim human superiority, as the moment of sexual contact between a human and an animal often implies the lowering of the former and the simultaneous elevation of

the latter. Rather, they lowered women as an anxious response to societal agitation for women's increased access to education and employment. The human-animal border in this chapter proves to be penetrable, resulting in the literal and figurative bestialization of women for the titillation of male viewers. In the fourth chapter, the border zone appears even foggier, as I analyze the prints and book illustrations of Grandville, an artist who almost single-handedly initiated a renaissance of hybrids not seen since the middle ages. In his human-animal combinations, the boundary recedes, and forms drawn from all species mingle in fantastic creations that effect a leveling of class distinctions. Finally, the fifth chapter explores attempts to buffer the border as artists and scientists endeavor to deny mounting anatomical and physical evidence that humans and animals, specifically apes, are closely related. Printmakers and painters join in the project to maintain a gap between white European males and apes. They assert that other races, genders, social classes, or nationalities inhabit that space, leaving the wealthy white man safely atop his pedestal. Artistic ambivalence reappears here, as some artists seemingly delight in asserting shared characteristics in their images of humanized monkeys and apes. I end with a conclusion that analyzes images of cyclical metamorphosis, which are offered as modes more appropriate to the post-Darwinian era and its models of continuous flux. Throughout, I assert that the human-animal border zone during this historical moment was not a clearly demarcated and defended line but rather a fluid, even messy region. But this disorder allowed many artists to profit from its fruitful ambiguities as they continued to defend or sought to query models of nature that granted humans dominion and rendered animals inferior.

Anthropomorphism, or the humanization of animal forms by means of pose, expression, gesture, or costume, was an important tool utilized increasingly by European painters, caricaturists, printmakers, and sculptors in the nineteenth century as they exploited the possibilities of the human-animal borderlands. Techniques of humanization allowed artists to assert with varying degrees of forcefulness their status as human artists and to define their species by depicting its animal antitheses. They could respond to the charge, often leveled in the humorous guise of monkeys painting or sculpting, that art is the ape of nature. Such a premise rendered artists no better than monkeys, instinctually imitating but allegedly lacking the (uniquely human) spark of creativity and invention (Fig. 3). By inventing humanized animals or hybrid creatures not found in nature, the artist asserted his (or, less often during this period, her) human capacity for invention. Science no longer seemed able to argue convincingly for a natural order that elevated humans as eternally separate from and superior to all others. Yet, some artists retained the control that seemed lost to naturalists by inventing new animal forms or by placing animals in human situations with seemingly humorous results.

The anthropocentrism inherent in this approach remains ethically troubling for many contemporary artists and scholars.³³ It embodies the concept of speciesism, or the preference for members of one's own species above all others.³⁴ Yet, it was primarily by perceiving human aspects within animals and by empathizing with their potential for

³³ For example, Coral Lansbury asserts in her study linking the segregationist and anti-vivisectionist movements in Edwardian England, "The cause of animals was not helped when they were seen as surrogates for women or workers ... If we look at animals and see only the reflection of ourselves, we deny them the reality of their own existence." *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 188.

³⁴ Peter Singer argues forcefully against speciesism, equating it with racism or sexism in his seminal text of 1975, *Animal Liberation*.

human-like experiences of pain and pleasure that the first efforts were mounted to legislate against cruelty toward animals. The period of primary focus in my study, roughly 1790 to 1859, coincides with the genesis of these anti-cruelty laws in England in the 1820s and then in France in 1850.³⁵ The process began in England with the “Act to Prevent the Cruel and Improper Treatment of Cattle,” also known as the Martin Act of 1822. This was followed in 1824 by the foundation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (later the RSPCA).³⁶ A number of important literary works focused on animal rights appeared during this time, including the illustrated periodical *Animals' Friend, or, The Progress of Humanity* (1833-1841), published by the Animals' Friend Society and Lewis Gompertz's *Moral Inquiries on the Situation of Man and of Brutes* (1824).³⁷ Such publications sought to turn the tables in an effort to incite their readers to action. For example, Diana Donald reports that the images in *Animals' Friend* often placed human figures in the position of animals being brought to slaughter.³⁸ Yet, as Donald demonstrates, images combining the depiction of cruelty toward animals with the wish for behavioral change were relatively rare, despite this rise in anti-animal-cruelty publications in England during the 1820s and 1830s. There remained a tendency to retreat

³⁵ The initial French laws were passed as a response to the uprisings during the June Days of 1848; Kete, “Animals and Human Empire,” 1; for a summary of anti-animal cruelty efforts in France, see Maurice Agulhon, “Le sang des bêtes,” *Romantisme* 31 (1981): 81-109; for a history of animals rights in England, see Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion, 1998).

³⁶ Linda Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 137.

³⁷ Lewis Gompertz, *Moral Inquiries on the Situation of Man and of Brutes* (1824), ed. Charles Magel (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997).

³⁸ She describes but does not publish an image in which human children are stacked in a cart like calves on their way to Smithfield Market, where cattle were slaughtered in London. Diana Donald, “Beastly Sights” The Treatment of Animals as a Moral Theme in Representations of London, c. 1820-1850,” *Art History* 22, no. 4 (Nov. 1999): 540.

behind masks of humor and verbal or visual puns rather than show the grim and bloody realities of the knacker's yard and the *abattoir*.³⁹

The artists of central concern here rarely had explicit anti-cruelty goals for their imagery, and because they were not especially political, at least regarding debates over the treatment of animals, I have endeavored to avoid politicizing my argument as well. These artists were more likely to operate within the realm of humor or sentimentality than the crudity or bluntness required of animal-rights imagery. Both Grandville and Landseer were pet owners who evidently felt strong emotional attachments to their animals, but there is little evidence that either artist held an active anti-cruelty stance in political terms.⁴⁰

Edwin Landseer's art can be particularly troubling in this regard. He expressed ambivalence about the deer he painted, who were often depicted in the moments just before or after their deaths at the hands of hunters and their hounds (Fig. 4).⁴¹ “Who does not glory in the death of a fine stag?” Landseer asked in a letter to a friend, “when in truth he ought to be ashamed of the assassination.” Yet, he admitted that his artistic process trumped any sympathy he might feel for a dying animal. Whether living or dead, his animal prey “as a subject for the pencil gets the better of such tenderness - a creature always picturesque and never ungraceful is too great a property to sacrifice to common

³⁹ Donald, “Beastly Sights,” 523.

⁴⁰ The French writer Alexandre Dumas recalled that Grandville's pets included lizards, canaries, and goldfish. *Mes memoires*, ed. Pierre Josserand, 5 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1954-68), 5: 73; conversations with Landseer recorded in the watercolorist Frederick William Keyl's diary indicate Landseer's tender feelings for his many pet dogs: Royal Archives, VIC/AddX14/20, Windsor Castle.

⁴¹ Donald has written eloquently on Landseer's ambivalence as an artist and a hunter: “Pangs Watched in Perpetuity: Sir Edwin Landseer's Pictures of Dying Deer and the Ethos of Victorian Sportsmanship,” in *Killing Animals*, ed. The Animal Studies Group (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 50-68.

feelings of humanity.”⁴² The ambivalence evident in Landseer's statements and in his art indicates that he operated within a society whose understanding of animals' and humanity's places in the natural order was changing rapidly and dramatically. Furthermore, as Nathaniel Wolloch has asserted regarding artists' pro- or anti-animal views in seventeenth-century Flemish painting, “... if [artists] held any views on animals, they expressed them by their art, rather than in verbal terms.... It thus becomes not only possible, but even imperative, to consider animal painting as a mode of philosophical consideration of animals, beyond the merely physical aspect.”⁴³ Above all, the artists analyzed in this study express their beliefs, their anxieties, and their ambivalence in visual terms. Their images constitute their philosophical analyses of the state of the human-animal border zone as they reflect larger societal concerns by inventing an array of walking, talking beasts. In the hands of Edwin Landseer, J.-J. Grandville, and their peers, the human-animal boundary zone was buttressed, defended, penetrated, and reimagined.

⁴² Landseer to the Earl of Ellesmere, 9 September 1837, as quoted in *Paintings and Drawings by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., 1802-1873* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1961), 152.

⁴³ Nathaniel Wolloch, “Dead Animals and the Beast-Machine: Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Paintings of Dead Animals, as Anti-Cartesian Statements,” *Art History* 22, no. 5: 708-9.

CHAPTER ONE:
THE INSURMOUNTABLE BOUNDARY: NATURAL HISTORY, PHYSIOGNOMY,
AND THE HUMAN-ANIMAL EQUATION

From the middle of the eighteenth century, art and natural history entered a joint project to uphold systems of natural order in image and in text. Their joint goals were to document the natural world and to assert humanity's unassailable dominion over creation. Encyclopedic works as distinct in purpose and argument as George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon's massive *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749-1788) and Johann Kaspar Lavater's (1741-1801) treatise on human physiognomy *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (1775-1778) epitomize these efforts to fortify hierarchical models that kept humanity in a fixed position atop a scale of species.¹ This ladder of creation, known generally as the Chain of Being, placed humans above apes and below angels in a pivotal, immutable position of power and privilege. Such a hierarchy was upheld in the medium of the quarto-sized illustrated encyclopedia. The elegant, full-page engravings bound between the pages of text in Buffon's and Lavater's works carried the weight of scientific authority in their heavy paper, large size, and precisely rendered lines. However, in the realm of caricature, the practices of natural history and physiognomy could be subjected to visual critiques. Their ideas could be questioned by drawing out logical conclusions or by satirizing the tenuous claims of science, which at times appear laughable in the hands of a skillful

¹ George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, et al., *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, 15 vols. (Paris: L'Impremie royal, 1749-1767); translated in English as *Natural History, General and Particular*, trans. William Smellie, 2nd ed. 9 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1785); Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1775-1778); translated in English as *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, trans. Henry Hunter, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1789-1798).

caricaturist like Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) or J.-J. Grandville, the two primary examples analyzed here. The comparisons and hybrids that these satirical artists created were not burdened with the requirement of empirical proof or experimental reproducibility. Their works resulted from imagination, not reason, so they were freer to inhabit the inventive realm. After a brief summary of the historical roots of the animal catalogue and late-Enlightenment classification trends, I turn to the efforts of Buffon and Lavater to maintain hierarchy and to widen the gap between humans and animals through the careful selection and ordering of images. I end with an analysis of caricaturists who exploited the freedoms of their medium to parody these attempts at differentiation and separation.

Art and the History of Natural History

The linkage of visual art with the practice of natural history has late antique and medieval roots, though textual catalogues of animal species existed from the time of Aristotle (384-322 BCE). Based on a second-century Alexandrian text, the *Physiologus* described diverse animals' appearances and habits and ascribed various Christian moral meanings to their forms. The *Physiologus* is effectively the source of the format followed by modern illustrated natural history texts, since it formed the basis for the medieval bestiary. This in turn shaped the natural history texts of the Early Modern period. Both England and France were centers of manuscript production in the Middle Ages, and numerous bestiaries were produced in southern England and in Paris, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Bestiaries compiled an entry for each animal species based on biblical accounts, fables, myths, and much more rarely, the direct

observation of live animals. These volumes were often illuminated with imaginative depictions of exotic creatures, with one or two illuminations for each animal species (Fig. 5). Though the text of a typical bestiary is primarily based upon the *Physiologus*, it also draws from Aesop's Fables, Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* (c. 77-70 CE), and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (c. 636), an encyclopedic work that cited the alleged origins and symbolic meanings of each animal's name. Most entries in the bestiary begin with the origins and implications of the species's name, describe the animal's appearance and behavior, relay various narratives about the animal, and end with a Christian moral.² Subsequent zoological compilations like Konrad Gesner's *Historia animalium* (1551-1587) retained much of this format, and though the Christian moralizing messages were gradually excised, such texts continued to include mythical creatures like the unicorn, the satyr, and the manticore (Fig. 6).

Historian of science William Ashworth has identified the interpretation of the natural world evident in catalogues like Gesner's *Historia animalium* as the “emblematic world view.” This paradigm is based upon the belief widely held in the Renaissance and Early Modern periods that the universe was composed of symbols that the educated person (that is, man) can translate to reveal hidden meanings behind their forms.³

Animals ranked among the most potent symbols because they could allegedly be decoded

² For a succinct introduction to the bestiary's text and images, see Debra Hassig, “Beauty and the Beasts: A Study of Medieval Aesthetics,” *Res* 19-20 (1990-91): 138-39; Hassig's book expands on the arguments of her article in greater detail: *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³ William B. Ashworth, “Natural History and the Emblematic World View,” in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 303-332; see also Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), 32.

almost instantly without recourse to spoken or written language.⁴ The emblematic world view remained tenacious, surviving even the rationalizing, empirical lens of the Enlightenment. For example, a greatly abridged American edition combining Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* and Oliver Goldsmith's *Animated Nature* published in 1821 includes entries for the unicorn and the manticore, two mythical creatures that also appear in the bestiary and in Gesner's *Historia animalium*. Similarly, the entry for the hyena in this book virtually quotes the bestiary when it states that the hungry hyena “enters the graves of men, and eats their dead bodies.”⁵ Even as natural history and classification schemes utilized in the eighteenth century sought to categorize the natural world and to replace past lore with empirical knowledge, textual and visual representations of animals retained ties to legends, fables, and myths. When possible, these symbolic aspects might be utilized to secure hierarchies of species or to prove that human dominion over animals should continue unabated. Despite increasing empiricism, natural history retained the *historia* aspect of its name, and fables remained an important source for artists seeking to include animals in narrative scenes or to convey a moral message through a specific animal's form.⁶

⁴ Ashworth links this view to the popularity of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphics* beginning in the early fifteenth century. “Natural History and the Emblematic World View,” 307.

⁵ *Extracts from Buffon and Goldsmith's Animated Nature: Being a Description of Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents and Insects* (New York: J. Shurtleff and R. Wauchope, 1821), 9, 20-21; the bestiary claims that the hyena “lives in the graves of dead men and feeds on their bodies.” *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M. S. Bodley 764*, trans. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 45.

⁶ On the use of fables by nineteenth-century French artists for example, see Kristen H. Powell, *Fables in Frames: La Fontaine and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), as well as Chapters Three, Four, and Five below.

Immutable Order: Eighteenth-Century Classification and the Chain of Being

In its most typical construction, the eighteenth century is presented by historians as the Age of Reason, the Enlightenment, a period when knowledge was quantified, categorized, and classified, and most intellectuals sought to shed the weight of religious superstition in favor of empiricism and rationalism.⁷ The basic Judeo-Christian model of creation separated God, man (created in God's image), woman (created in God's image but formed from Adam's rib), and nature (everything else not created in God's image and therefore available for man's use).⁸ Subscription to this model remained widespread in both England and France, yet many factors contributed to its progressive destabilization during the late eighteenth century. The natural world accessible to Western Europeans seemed to expand exponentially in geographical space and also in time, as tentative postulations that the world was much older than Genesis's creation account allowed began to appear.⁹ Explorers returned from their travels with new mineral, animal, and plant specimens that required classification. The development of Carolus Linnaeus's (1707-1788) binomial nomenclature system emerged as the result of European exploration when combined with the Enlightenment's empiricist goals.¹⁰ Linnaeus's opening comments in his *Systema naturae* (1735) clearly delineate these ideals:

The first step to wisdom is to know the things themselves. This notion consists of having a true idea of the objects; objects are distinguished and

⁷ For a short list of historians of science touting this view, see Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 48.

⁸ Nathaniel Wolloch, "Dead Animals and the Beast-Machine: Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Paintings of Dead Animals, as Anti-Cartesian Statements," *Art History* 22, no. 5 (Dec. 1999): 706.

⁹ Bowler, *Evolution*, 58.

¹⁰ Paul Lawrence Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E.O. Wilson* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 7-13.

known by classifying them methodically and giving them appropriate names. Therefore, classification and name-giving will be the foundation of our science.¹¹

Nature in this model was ordered in a systematic, rational way; its mysteries could be unveiled through careful human endeavor.¹² Humans and animals were aspects of a plan whose ultimate source was a divine, omniscient Creator.¹³ Even as naturalists turned to empiricism and rationalism, many of them sustained religious faith in the divine origins of life and the order of creation. This was especially tenacious in England because of widespread subscription to the model of Natural Theology. In this view, nature's seemingly infinite variety conveyed that an intelligent Creator had designed and produced it, just as a watch implied the existence of a watchmaker.¹⁴

Hierarchical arrangements of nature helped to reinforce these theories. The Chain of Being remained tenacious during the eighteenth century, even as some naturalists, including Buffon himself, admitted that nature might have dead ends or failures.¹⁵ Indeed, this period has been characterized as the “last flowering” of the chain of being.¹⁶ In his sermon “The General Deliverance” (1781), an explication of the relationships between animals, humans, and God, the Methodist Rev. John Wesley summarized the commonly

¹¹ As quoted in Farber, *Finding Order in Nature*, 9.

¹² Bowler, *Evolution*, 67.

¹³ Farber, *Finding Order in Nature*, 11.

¹⁴ The English philosopher William Paley (1743-1805) made famous this watchmaker analogy in 1802. *Natural Theology: Or, Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature*, 2nd ed. (London: R. Faulder, 1802), 1-19.

¹⁵ Diana Donald, “Introduction: Concepts of Order in the Eighteenth Century – Their Scope and Their Frailties,” in *Ordering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Diana Donald and Frank O’Gorman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 6.

¹⁶ Bowler, *Evolution*, 62.

held beliefs succinctly: “Let it suffice that God regards every thing that he hath made, in its own order, and in proportion to that measure of his own image which he has stamped upon it.”¹⁷ Many Protestants shared this view that humans were the only creatures to be made in God’s image; therefore, they should be ranked above animals in every case.

Attempts at delineation and classification like Linnaeus's binomial nomenclature were sites along the metaphorical human-animal border that could incite strong reactions. Classification strategies could even lead productively to alternative systems and explanations in response. They might incite artists to enter the inventive realm and to play with what they gathered through the study of natural history and physiognomical texts. However, as many have asserted, the animal-human boundary itself could not be considered permeable or especially vulnerable during much of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ The naturalists, physiognomists, and artists presented here largely serve to buttress the border with their unwavering belief that the source for the distinction between the human and the animal was a divine decree. As the Swiss naturalist Charles Bonnet (1720-1793) wrote in his *Œuvres d'histoire naturelle et de philosophie* of 1779, “The centuries transport from one to another this magnificent spectacle; and they transmit exactly what they receive. No change, no deterioration; perfect identity. Victorious over the elements, time and death, the species are conserved, and the period of their duration is unknown to us.”¹⁹ Even Buffon, whose views offer a study in contradictions, forcefully asserted that

¹⁷ John Wesley, “The General Deliverance,” in *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, A.M.*, ed. John Emory, 7 vols. (New York: T. Mason and J. Lane, 1840), 2:55.

¹⁸ Martin Kemp, *The Human Animal in Western Art and Science* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 154; Donald, “Introduction,” 1-2; Bowler, *Evolution*, 62-63.

¹⁹ “Les siècles se transmettent les uns aux autres ce magnifique spectacle, & ils se transmettent tel qu'ils l'ont reçu. Nul changement; nulle altération; identité parfaite. Victorieuses des éléments [*sic*], des temps &

“man holds a legitimate dominion over the animals, which no revolution can destroy. It is the dominion of mind over matter; a right of Nature founded upon unalterable laws, a gift of the Almighty, by which man is enabled at all times to perceive the dignity of his being.”²⁰ While these sentiments may have been stated in an effort to pacify Buffon's vocal critics, many of whom were members of the powerful Catholic clergy, such a view underscores the anthropocentrism evident in natural history's project of classifying and cataloging the known natural world.²¹

Histoire naturelle: Buffon's Conflicted Catalogue

Buffon exemplifies an ambivalent view of nature. He effectively sought to reinforce the boundary between humans and animals even as he challenged and refuted many assumptions in the Western Judeo-Christian tradition. He did not fully subscribe to the mechanists' view, premised on René Descartes's (1596-1650) argument that an animal was a collection of parts powered by mechanical “springs.”²² The animal/automaton might react to external stimuli, but this reaction was the result of instinct only, not reason; it might have a bodily soul, but it did not have a spiritual, *human* soul.²³ Animals had no

du sépulchre, les espèces se conservent, & le terme de leur durée nous est inconnu.” Charles Bonnet, *Œuvres d'histoire naturelle et de philosophie* (Neuchâtel: Samuel Fauche, 1779), 5: 231-32; as translated with slight variation in Bowler, *Evolution*, 64.

²⁰ “L’empire de l’homme sur les animaux est un empire légitime qu’aucune révolution ne peut détruire, c’est l’empire de l’esprit sur la matière, c’est non seulement un droit de Nature, un pouvoir fondé sur des loix inaltérables, mais c’est encore un don de Dieu.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 4: 170; as translated in Smellie, *Natural History*, 3: 302.

²¹ For an exegesis of Buffon's meaning here, see Jacques Roger, *Buffon: A Life in Natural History*, trans. Sarah Lucille Bonnefoi, ed. L. Pearce Williams, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 235-39.

²² René Descartes, *Discourse on the Method of Conducting One's Reason Well and of Seeking the Truth in the Sciences* (1637), trans. by George Heffernan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 83.

²³ On this distinction between types of souls, see Peter Harrison, “Descartes on Animals,” *The Philosophical Quarterly* 42, no. 167 (April 1992): 223.

language, no reason, and none of the self-awareness granted under the classification of *Homo sapiens*. Descartes's disciple Nicolas Malebranche (1638-1715) summarized the Cartesian model of the beast-machine with this pithy statement: "They eat without pleasure, cry without pain, grow without knowing it; they desire nothing, fear nothing, know nothing."²⁴

Buffon, who sought to base as many of the entries in the fifteen volumes of his *Histoire naturelle* as possible on first-hand observation of the mammals in question, could not join Malebranche in asserting that animals desired, feared, and knew nothing. Yet, a Cartesian aspect remains in Buffon's construction of the animal realm, as he sustains a permanent distinction between humans and all other species.²⁵ Buffon openly admires the operation of the collection of mechanical parts that is the animal, but he states quite clearly that

... one passes all of a sudden from a thinking being to a material being, from intellectual power to mechanical force, from order and intention to blind movement, from thought to appetite.... Man is a reasonable being, and the animal is a being without reason.²⁶

Where he differs from the Cartesian view is in his understanding of the human as the most perfect of these perfect mechanical creations; that is, man is a machine, but a more advanced one than any animal machine.²⁷ The debate regarding whether or not animals

²⁴ Malebranche as quoted in Harrison, "Descartes on Animals:" 219; Harrison argues that Descartes' actual views were amplified, exaggerated, and distorted by his followers leading to vilification of Descartes that has been unnecessarily harsh at times: "Descartes on Animals:" 227.

²⁵ Kemp, *The Human Animal*, 153.

²⁶ "...on passe tout d'un coup de l'être pensant à l'être matériel, de la puissance intellectuelle à la force mécanique, de l'ordre et du dessein au mouvement aveugle, de la réflexion à l'appétit.... l'homme est un être raisonnable, l'animal est un être sans raison." Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 2: 443; my translation.

²⁷ Roger, *Buffon*, 228.

have souls does not greatly concern Buffon.²⁸ Rather, language and the constructions of the human hand – art and architecture, for example – are what finally separate the human and the animal:

Man, if we estimate him by his material part alone, is superior to the brute creation only from the number of peculiar relations he enjoys by means of his hand and of his tongue; and, though all the operations of the Omnipotent are in themselves equally perfect, the animated being, according to our mode of perception, is the most complete; and man is the most finished and perfect animal. What a variety of springs, of powers, and of mechanical movements are included in that small portion of matter of which the body of an animal is composed! What a number of relations, what harmony, what correspondences among the different parts! How many combinations, arrangements, causes, effects, and principles, all conspiring to accomplish the same design! Of these we know nothing but by their results, which are so difficult to comprehend, that they cease only to be miraculous from our habits of inattention and our want of reflection.²⁹

If there can be degrees of perfection in a divine Creator's already perfect creation, then it is by a purposeful design that produces undebatable results.

In Buffon's hierarchical vision, the human-animal boundary remains impermeable, precluding any question of an ancestral relationship between animals and

²⁸ Though, it must be noted, he does address the concept of the soul as exclusive to humans at other points in the *Histoire naturelle*, for example in his description of monkeys. Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 32-33; Roger, *Buffon*, 254-256.

²⁹ “Nous-mêmes à ne considérer que la partie matérielle de notre être, nous ne sommes au dessus des animaux que par quelques rapports de plus, tels que ceux que nous donnent la langue et la main; et quoique les ouvrages du Créateur soient en eux-mêmes tous également parfaits, l'animal est, selon notre façon d'apercevoir, l'ouvrage le plus complet de Nature, et l'homme en est le chef d'œuvre. En effet, que de ressorts, que de forces, que de machines et de mouvements sont renfermez dans cette petite partie de matière qui compose le corps d'un animal! que de rapports, que d'harmonie, que de correspondance entre les parties! combien de combinaisons, d'arrangemens, de causes, d'effets, de principes, qui tous concourent au même but, et que nous ne connoissons que par des résultats si difficiles à comprendre, qu'ils n'ont cessé d'être des merveilles que par l'habitude que nous avons prise de n'y point réfléchir!” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 2: 2; Smellie, *Natural History*, 2:2; on man's ability to alter and perfect nature, see *Histoire naturelle*, 12: xi-xiv.

humans.³⁰ The animal, if treated properly, might approach the human, but the movement does not work in reverse. As he notes in the entry on the buffalo:

The horses of the Arab, and the oxen of the Hottentot, are favourite domestics, companions in exercises, assistants in every labour, and participate in the habitation, the bed, and the table of their masters. Man, by this communication, is not so much degraded as these brutes are exalted and humanized. They acquire affectionateness [*sic*], sensibility, and intelligence. There they perform everything from love, which they do here from fear. They do more; for, as their nature is improved by the gentleness of their education, and the perpetual attention bestowed on them, they become capable of performing actions which approach to the human powers.³¹

The word “approach,” William Smellie's translation of *presque*, is key here, since it indicates Buffon's awareness of the way he appears to blur the animal-human boundary in his description of animals who humanize themselves. Buffon's words allow the animal to approach the human, but only to a finite point, since it is human kindness rather than animal capacity that has rendered the domestic animal capable of improving its own station.

Because Buffon's system of nature retains a hierarchical construction, he is free to make aesthetic and moral judgments regarding the worth of various animals. He has already asserted their perfection, since they are divine creations, but that perfection has degrees; the human (or more specifically the male human) is still placed at the pinnacle.

Thus, the entries in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* are organized in an anthropocentric

³⁰ Roger, *Buffon*, 258-259.

³¹ “Les chevaux des Arabes, les bœufs des Hottentots sont des domestiques chéris, des compagnons d'exercice, des aides de travail, avec lesquels on partage l'habitation, le lit, la table; l'homme par cette communauté s'avilit moins que la bête ne s'élève et s'humanise: elle devient affectionnée, sensible, intelligente; elle fait là par amour tout ce qu'elle ne fait ici que par la crainte: elle fait beaucoup plus; car comme sa nature s'est élevée par la douceur de l'éducation et par la continuité des attentions, elle devient capable de choses presque humaines.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle* 11: 320; Smellie, *Natural History*, 6: 183-84.

manner according to each species's usefulness to humans. Following Buffon's extended explanation of his theory of the earth's age (volume one), his description of the human from birth to death (volume two), and the catalogue of the bones collected in the Cabinet du roi (volume three), the first animal to receive an entry in volume four is the horse, followed by the donkey, the ox, and the bull. The subsequent volumes proceed through other domesticated animals that provide humans with tangible services like milk (the cow, the sheep, and the goat), meat (the pig, the deer, the hare, etc.), and labor of various kinds (the dog and the cat) until Buffon arrives at wild carnivores- wolves, foxes, badgers, and so forth.

Here Buffon's ambivalence – and his difference from the mechanist Cartesians - emerges again in the dissertation “Les Animaux carnassiers.” In this essay, Buffon introduces carnivores as competitive rivals for the human hunter, but he also compares animals to humans in his assertion that they share a capacity for pleasure and for pain:

Animals, at least those who are endowed with senses, and are composed of flesh and blood, are sensitive beings: Like us, they are capable of pleasure, and subject to pain. To sacrifice unnecessarily those animals who approach or live with us, and who, like man, exhibit symptoms of pain when injured, indicates a cruel insensibility; for those whose nature differs greatly from ours, cannot effect [*sic*] us. Natural pity is founded on the analogy which takes place between us and the object that suffers, and the degree of it is proportioned to the nearness of this conformity or resemblance in structure.... [E]motion, therefore, ought to diminish in proportion as different animals recede from each other in their nature and conformation. The beating of a dog, or the killing of a lamb excite our compassion: But we feel no emotion when a tree is felled or an oyster swallowed. Animals, whose organization resembles that of man, must have similar sensations; and the liveliness of these sensations must be proportioned to the activity and perfection of their senses.³²

³² “... les animaux, du moins ceux qui ont des sens, de la chair et du sang, sont des êtres sensibles; comme nous ils sont capables de plaisir et sujets à la douleur. Il y a donc une espèce d’insensibilité cruelle à sacrifier, sans nécessité, ceux sur-tout qui nous approchent, qui vivent avec nous, et dont le sentiment se réfléchit vers nous en se marquant par les signes de la douleur; car ceux dont la nature est différente de la

Clearly a hierarchy of species exists in Buffon's mind, even as he admits that animals share many physical sensations and internal emotions with humans. Yet, to maintain a hierarchy of nature, Buffon poignantly asserts that the proximity of resemblance to the human is the source of our feelings toward that animal. One will feel pity for the abused dog but not for the felled tree or the live oyster that one swallows.³³

Remnants of the Chain of Being also exist in Buffon's organizational structure, when he grants man the dual role of “vassal of Heaven” and “king of Earth.”³⁴ This pivotal position allows a privileged, educated man like Buffon to cast judgments on all the species placed beneath humans and to underscore repeatedly an infinite gap between human and animal. Such judgments appear in image and text throughout the *Histoire naturelle*. Those animals who are deemed vapid, useless, or lascivious come under particularly harsh attack. For example, Buffon writes scathingly of the sheep: “It is ... probable, that, without the assistance of man, the sheep could never have subsisted, or continued its species in a wild state.... Of all species, therefore, sheep are the most stupid and derive the smallest resources from instinct.”³⁵ The animal illustrated in the

nôtre, ne peuvent guère nous affecter. La pitié naturelle est fondée sur les rapports que nous avons avec l'objet qui souffre; elle est d'autant plus vive que la ressemblance, la conformité de nature est plus grande; on souffre en voyant souffrir son semblable.... ce sentiment doit donc diminuer à mesure que les natures s'éloignent. Un chien qu'on frappe, un agneau qu'on égorge, nous font quelque pitié; un arbre que l'on coupe, une huître qu'on mord, ne nous en font aucune. Dans le réel, peut-on douter que les animaux dont l'organisation est semblable à la nôtre, n'éprouvent des sensations semblables?” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 7: 6-8; Smellie, *Natural History*, 4: 167-68.

³³ On natural history and the plant or animal resemblance to the human, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), 135.

³⁴ Since Buffon uses “l'homme” or “man” to refer to humanity throughout the *Histoire naturelle*, I have retained his noninclusive language here. “Vassal du ciel, roi de la terre.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 12: xi; on the dual role given to man in the structure of the Great Chain of Being, see Donald, “Introduction,” 5.

³⁵ “Il paroît donc que ce n'est que par notre secours et par nos soins que cette espèce a duré, dure, et pourra durer encore : il paroît qu'elle ne subsisteroit pas par elle-même.... Ce sont donc de tous les animaux

accompanying engraving is expressive of such an indictment (Fig. 7). The upturned line of its mouth reads as a slight, vacant smile, while its eye, though open wide, is an empty circle, a void in the middle of its face to reveal the empty state of its mind.

As a whole, the illustrations of mammals in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* are designed to elevate humans. They serve to organize all species below the human in a consistent, anthropocentric framework. Each engraving is literally framed within a rectangular shape. Textual labels mark the location and page number within the volumes of this archive and give the names of the artist and the engraver. Sometimes the plates are labeled with letters that correspond with legends defining and naming their various parts. This is most common in the illustrations of dissected animals, skeletons, or internal organs (Fig. 8). Such images, drawn starkly and precisely, can appear quite graphic, even to modern audiences familiar with photography and motion pictures depicting surgeries. These illustrations of animals' internal structures also demonstrate the ultimate anthropocentrism of Buffon's project. Humans have the power to display animal bodies in whatever forms they choose, and the dissected corpses show human mastery just as well as the other plates, in which the animals are elevated upon or are secondary to works of human architecture and art (Fig. 9).³⁶ In addition, little visual indication is given of the animal's size relative to other species. The house-cat is nearly the same size as the panther, while the orangutan is apparently the same height and weight as all the other monkeys with which it shares a volume. By organizing this natural world, the artist and

quadrupèdes les plus stupides, ce sont ceux qui ont le moins de ressource et d'instinct." Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 5: 4-5; Smellie, *Natural History*, 3: 463 and 468.

³⁶ Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 35.

the natural historian are able to assign arbitrary size and position to animals, containing them within a systematic order to minimize incursions against human dominance.

Whatever low opinion Buffon held of the sheep, his hierarchy of usefulness to humanity prevents him from condemning the animal completely, since sheep at least provide wool, meat, and milk for humans. However, in the later volumes of the *Histoire naturelle*, exotic animals from far-flung regions can offer no such readily apparent benefits to the Western European man. Their geographical distance leaves Buffon free to let his censure run wild. His description of the baboon in volume fourteen (1766) and the images that accompany it provide an illustrative case (Figs. 10 and 11). Buffon begins this entry by refuting physiognomists' assertions that *human* character can be read in outward appearances. However, the same cannot be claimed for animals:

In man, the physiognomy is deceitful, and the figure of his body gives no indication of the qualities of his mind. But, in the brute creation, we may judge of the disposition by the aspect; for every internal quality appears externally. For example, in looking at the apes and baboons, it is easy to perceive that the latter ought to be the most savage and mischievous.³⁷

Since the orangutan allegedly has the greatest physical resemblance to humans (at least in eighteenth-century classifications of apes, which often conflated the orangutan and the chimpanzee), Buffon asserts, “he is the most docile, grave, and intelligent of the whole race.”³⁸ For their part, Buffon feels baboons possess little resemblance to humans other

³⁷ “Dans l’Homme, la physionomie trompe, et la figure du corps ne décide pas de la forme de l’âme ; mais dans les animaux, on peut juger du naturel par la mine, et de tout l’intérieur par ce qui paroît au dehors par exemple, en jetant les yeux sur nos Singes et nos Babouins, il est aisé de voir que ceux-ci doivent être plus sauvages, plus méchans que les autres ...” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 133-34; Smellie, *Natural History*, 8: 121.

³⁸ “L’orang-outang qui ressemble le plus à l’homme, est le plus intelligent, le plus grave, le plus docile de tous.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14:134; Smellie, *Natural History*, 8:121.

than the shape of their hands, so they “have the air of ferocious beasts, which they really are.”³⁹

Furthermore, the baboon has a very prominent, visual marker of its nature in its infamous, bright red *derrière*. This distinct physical feature allows Buffon to condemn the baboon as a libidinous creature:

... he is continually agitated by that passion which renders the gentlest animals ferocious. He is insolently salacious, affects to show himself in this situation, and seems to gratify his desires, *per manum suam*, before the whole world. This detestable action recalls the idea of vice, and renders disgusting the aspect of an animal, which Nature seems to have particularly devoted to such an uncommon species of impudence; for, in all other animals, and even in man, she has covered these parts with a veil. In the baboon, on the contrary, they are perpetually naked, and the more conspicuous, because the rest of the body is covered with long hair.... He seems to be proud of those nudities; for he presents his hind parts more frequently than his front, especially when he sees women, before whom he displays an effrontery so matchless, that it can originate from nothing but the most inordinate desire.⁴⁰

The baboon is an extremely threatening creature, not only because of its exposed genitalia, but also because it portends to violate the animal-human boundary in its alleged attraction to human females. Buffon's ire at the baboon's inflamed rear end is not so much moral outrage at the animal's open sexuality. Rather, it represents his fear that the sacred

³⁹ “...les babouins, qui ne ressemblent plus à l’homme que par les mains, et qui ont une queue, des ongles aigus, de gros museaux, etc. ont l’air de bêtes féroces, et le sont en effet.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14:134; Smellie, *Natural History*, 8: 121-22.

⁴⁰ “Il paroît continuellement excité par cette passion, qui rend furieux les animaux les plus doux; il est insolemment lubrique, et affecte de se montrer dans cet état, de se toucher, de se satisfaire seul aux yeux de tout le monde; et cette action, l'une des plus honteuses de l'humanité et qu'aucun animal ne se permet, copiée par la main de babouin, rapelle l'idée du vice et rend abominable l'aspect de cette bête que la Nature paroît avoir particulière ment vouée à cette espèce d'impudence; car dans tous les autres animaux et même dans l'homme, elle a voilé ces parties; dans le babouin au contraire, elles sont tout-à-fait nues et d'autant plus évidentes que le corps est couvert de longs poils ... il semble faire parade de toutes ces nudités, présentant son derrière plus souvent que sa tête, sur-tout dès qu'il aperçoit des femmes pour lesquelles il déploie une telle effronterie, qu'elle ne peut naître que du desir le plus immodéré.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 135; Smellie, *Natural History*, 8: 122-23.

boundary his many volumes have sought to reinforce may be crossed by this violent and lustful animal.⁴¹

Fortunately for the baboon, Jacque de Sève's (active 1742-1788) two drawings of large and small varieties of the species (known in French as *le papion*) are not laced with the harsh condemnation found in Buffon's text. In the plate illustrating the *Grand Papion*, the animal leans on a rock (Fig. 10). His eyes, rendered with careful attention to modeling in the small white circles that indicate the reflection of light, convey alertness and intelligence. Buffon's entry complains that the male baboon often walks around with his tail erect, as if to further display his inflamed hind parts.⁴² Yet, in this plate, the tail points downward and the animal does not reveal his "blood red" buttocks. The baboon's sexuality is emphasized, however, in its very visible penis and testicles. In this crouched pose, the reproductive organs would logically be in shadow, but de Sève and his engraver Claude Baron (1738-1770?) have avoided naturalism in this detail to highlight the testicles that the text describes as "pendulous" ("les bourses pendantes").

De Sève and Baron's image of the *Petit Papion* displays the parts that most scandalized Buffon: the baboon's buttocks and anus (Fig. 11). Like the *Grand Papion*, the *Petit Papion* crouches over a stone slab in a vaguely tropical landscape that implies its exotic origins. This baboon's actions parallel Buffon's text more closely, as he boldly "presents his hind parts" to the viewer and even raises a hand as if to attract attention to

⁴¹ For more on these commonly-held fears, see Chapters Three and Five below.

⁴² "... il a de même les fesses nues et d'un rouge couleur de sang, les bourses pendantes, l'anus découvert, la queue toujours levée." Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 135.

himself.⁴³ Yet, the creature does not appear ferocious or excessively violent. His waving hand, in combination with an upturned mouth, bright eyes, and whiskers reminiscent of a house cat, render this a gentle, even comedic image of imitative monkeyshines. The artists do not seem to share Buffon's fear of the baboon as an animal who threatens to storm the barricades of humanity. If the baboon's outward aspect conveys its inner quality, as Buffon's text asserted, then this comedic animal appears to be as harmless as a pussycat and as friendly as a next-door neighbor.

Ultimately, Buffon remains ambivalent. He appears to consider the possibility of a close relationship between human and ape, especially in his analysis of the orangutan or *Pongo* (Fig. 12).⁴⁴ If this were based on physical appearances alone, there would be little doubt that apes are the most human-like of animals:

If there were a scale by which we could descend from human nature to that of the brutes, and if the essence of this nature consisted entirely in the form of the body, and depended on its organization, the orang-outang would approach nearer to man than any other animal. Placed in the second rank of beings, he would make the other animals feel his superiority, and oblige them to obey him.⁴⁵

⁴³ "...s'il y avoit un degré par lequel on pût descendre de la nature humaine à celle des animaux, si l'essence de cette nature consistoit en entier dans la forme du corps et dépendoit de son organisation, ce singe se trouveroit plus près de l'homme que d'aucun animal : assis au second rang des êtres, s'il ne pouvoit commander en premier, il feroit au moins sentir aux autres sa supériorité, et s'efforceroit de ne pas obéir..." Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 70; Smellie, *Natural History*, 8: 104.

⁴⁴ The animal described in the text and depicted and labeled in the illustration is actually a chimpanzee or *Jocko*.

⁴⁵ "... si l'imitation qui semble copier de si près la pensée en étoit le vrai signe ou l'un des résultats, ce singe se trouveroit encore à une plus grande distance des animaux et plus voisin de l'homme ; mais, comme nous l'avons dit, l'intervalle qui l'en sépare réellement n'en est pas moins immense ; et la ressemblance de la forme, la conformité de l'organisation, les mouvemens d'imitation qui paroissent résulter de ces similitudes, ni ne le rapprochent de la nature de l'homme, ni même ne l'élèvent au-dessus de celle des animaux." Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 70-71; Smellie, *Natural History*, 8:104-5.

The orangutan's physical resemblance to humans raises it to the level of king of beasts, able to extract obeisance from them because of his high rank. Yet, lest the ape become too confident of his status, Buffon quickly attempts to lower him again, by denying the animal's capability for rational thought:

If the principle of imitation, by which he seems to mimic human actions, were a result of thought, this ape would be still farther removed from the brutes, and have a greater affinity to man. But as we formerly remarked, the interval which separates them is immense; and the resemblance in figure and organization, and the movements of imitation which seem to result from these similarities neither make him approach the nature of man, nor elevate him above that of brutes.⁴⁶

The imitative simian is a long-standing character in the history of art, one to which I return below, and one which begins to inspire scenes of horror in popular art and literature as scientists developed evolutionary theories based on humanity's relationship to apes. Yet, for Buffon, the orangutan's ability to ape humans is what ultimately separates beast from man. Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery or parody, but it is not evidence of equality.

The Animal as Humanity's Foil in Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente*

Though *Homo sapiens* was still clearly placed at the summit of all other species in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, the plates and texts in this encyclopedic work conveyed the author's fascination with and appreciation for an array of species. In the Swiss pastor Johann Kaspar Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniss und Menschenliebe* (1775-1778), humans were the only subject worthy of consideration.⁴⁷ Here, the animal functions merely as a foil to demonstrate

⁴⁶ Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 14: 70-71; *Natural History*, 8:104-5.

⁴⁷ John Graham reports that in 1800 *The Monthly Magazine* called Henry Hunter's English translation of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* "the finest printed book which has ever appeared in this or any other

humanity's unchallenged aesthetic, intellectual, and moral superiority over the whole of creation. Lavater's savvy combination of text and engravings (most of them by the Polish artist Daniel Chodowiecki [1726-1801]) of famous men and women presented the physiognomical theory that Buffon rejected in his entry on the baboon, namely that a person's external appearance, especially the features of the face, indicate internal qualities (Fig. 13). To practice his "science," Lavater first collected over 20,000 watercolors, engravings, and paper silhouettes of human faces. Then, he carefully labeled each one with a date and an interpretation of the character he read from the face's features.⁴⁸ As David Bindman has asserted, these became Lavater's archive, which he arranged and cataloged much like a natural history collection.⁴⁹ Although he had an idiosyncratic manner of interpreting human faces, Lavater's ambitious, pseudo-scientific project was intended for the moral betterment of the whole of humanity while also providing lavishly illustrated volumes that could be enjoyed from a purely aesthetic perspective.⁵⁰

Lavater's background as a Protestant pastor is evident in all four volumes. His strong Christian faith informs his creation of an insurmountable border between the human and the animal. The human (male) was made in God's image, as the epigraph to

country." *Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1979), 45.

⁴⁸ Lavater's collection now belongs to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and has been catalogued in Gerda Mraz and Uwe Schögl, eds., *Das Kunstkabinett des Johann Caspar Lavater* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1999).

⁴⁹ David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 94.

⁵⁰As Graham notes, "If nothing else, one acquired in such a purchase a picture gallery executed by some of the leading painters and engravers of the century;" *Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy*, 62.

each volume reinforced.⁵¹ No animal can claim this privileged place. Therefore, animals are separated from humans by an infinitely wide gap that is repeatedly emphasized in the images and texts of the various editions of the *Physiognomische Fragmente*. Lavater notes this impenetrable boundary from the start:

Of all terrestrial Beings, Man is the most perfect, the most replete with life. Every grain of sand is an immensity, every leaf a world, every insect an assemblage of incomprehensible effects, in which reflection is lost. Who is able to mark and reckon the intermediate degrees from the insect up to Man? In Man are combined all the powers of Nature. He is the Abstract of Creation; He is at once the offspring and the Sovereign of the earth; the summary and the centre of all the other kinds of being, power, and life which inhabit the Globe with him. Of all the organized Beings discoverable by our Senses there is no one in which are collected and blended three sorts of life so different from one another, and which, at the same time, unite, in a manner inconceivably marvellous [*sic*], to form but one Whole: the *animal*, the *intellectual*, and the *moral* life; each of which, is, moreover, a combination of power essentially different, but perfectly harmonious.⁵²

As is fitting for a method based fundamentally on visual appearances, the primacy of place that Lavater gives to humans is also based on the aesthetic superiority he perceives in them:

The organisation of Man distinguishes him from all the other inhabitants of the Globe; and his Physiognomy, by which I mean, the surface and the outline of his organisation, infinitely exalts him above all the visible Beings which exist and live around him. We are acquainted with no Form so noble, so sublime, so majestic as his....⁵³

⁵¹ Lavater utilized Genesis 1:26 (“Gott schuf den Menschen sich zum Bilde,” or “God said, ‘Let us make man our image, after our likeness’”) on the title page of all the volumes of the original German-language edition. Bindman, *Ape to Apollo*, 95.

⁵² Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1:13.

⁵³ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1:15.

While Buffon, following Descartes, believed that humanity was placed in an elevated position because of the capacity for language, Lavater sees human superiority in the outward beauty of a divine design.

In Lavater's view, there are certainly degrees of beauty in the human, and there are therefore degrees of quality, but because humans were created in God's image, even the ugliest, most cruel man will be infinitely more beautiful than the most splendid beast:

The most abject, the most depraved, the most perverse of mankind – is nevertheless still a man, is still necessary in the Empire of Creation, The most pitiful of living abortions will always excel, in point of dignity, the most beautiful and most perfect of animals.... Even in its degradation human nature is always wonderful, always the object of admiration.⁵⁴

The human's untouchable, elevated status, when compared to the lowly beast, is emphasized in text and image throughout the fragment or essay entitled “Of Animals,” which was written with the assistance of an aspiring young polymath named Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832).⁵⁵ The changes implemented in the various versions of the illustrations for “Of Animals” published in the original German and subsequent French and English editions function as evidence of sustained efforts to contain the animal. These images are designed to undermine any approach to humanity that might be suggested by an animal's physical appearance or behavior.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 2: 38.

⁵⁵ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 2: 96-144; Bindman, *Ape to Apollo*, 92; according to Jurgis Baltrušaitis, “When Goethe was asked in 1829, ‘Was Lavater in his investigations turned toward nature?’ Goethe responded, ‘Absolutely not, his course led him towards behavior and the religious aspects. In Lavater's *Physiognomie*, the material on animal skulls comes from me.’” Quoted and translated without citation in “Animal Physiognomy” (1957), in *Aberrations: An Essay on the Legend of Forms*, trans. Richard Miller (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989), 44.

⁵⁶ Until his death in 1801, Lavater was personally involved in the revisions and additions undertaken while the French translation was being prepared. Dr. Henry Hunter's (1741-1802) translation consulted for this dissertation was made from the first three French volumes (the fourth and final volume in French was not published until 1803, four years after the last of Hunter's translations was published and a year after the

The various engravings made to accompany the section on the elephant provide the most striking evidence of these attempts to demonstrate visually human aesthetic and intellectual superiority by degrading the appearance of other intelligent creatures. Buffon had written of the elephant that “If the human species be excepted, the elephant is the most respectable animal in the world.... by his intelligence, he makes as near an approach to man as matter can approach spirit.”⁵⁷ For his part, Lavater (with Goethe's assistance, perhaps), admits that the size of the elephant's head may indicate a capacity for long memory, but otherwise Lavater remains unwilling to read many laudible qualities from the elephant's outward form:⁵⁸

The violence of the elephant's character is declared in the quantity and size of his bones; and the round and arched form of these indicates his cunning; his huge mass of flesh denotes his gentleness; the flexibility of his proboscis, his prudence and address; the breadth and vaulted form of the forehead, his retentive memory. Observe the outline of the forehead a—b, which approaches to the outline of the human more than that of any other animal – and nevertheless, its situation with relation to the eye and the mouth constitutes an essential difference from the human forehead; for this last forms in most instances a right angle, more or less regular, with the axis of the eye and the line of the mouth.⁵⁹

Lavater is anxious that the shape of an elephant's forehead “approaches to the outline of the human more than that of any other,” so he creates a system of lines and angles to be

deaths of Hunter and his primary illustrator Thomas Holloway [1748-1802]). Lavater, *Essai sur la physiognomie, destiné à faire connaître l'homme et à la faire aimer*, 4 vols. (The Hague: J. Van Karneebek and I. Van Cleef, 1781-1803).

⁵⁷ “L'éléphant est, si nous voulons ne nous pas compter, l'être le plus considérable de ce monde ; il surpasse tous les animaux terrestres en grandeur, et il approche de l'homme” par l'intelligence, autant au moins que la matière peut approcher de l'esprit.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 11: 1-2; Smellie, *Natural History*, 6: 1-2.

⁵⁸ The stereotype of an elephant's long memory appears at least as early as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (77-79 CE) and is also found in the text of the bestiary, which states that “Elephants have a lively intelligence and memory.” *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M. S. Bodley 764*, trans. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 40.

⁵⁹ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 2: 116.

inscribed upon the elephant's profile to indicate essential difference. These lines do not appear in the accompanying unsigned illustration (Fig. 14). It is left to the attentive reader to put Lavater's theory into practice by applying this system of distinction for him or herself. The image provides two profiles of elephants. Given the bells around their necks, their blunted and capped tusks, and the hood worn by the elephant on the right, these are performing animals, possibly drawn from life. They do not closely resemble the illustrations to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, some of which were copied for other illustrations of animals included in Lavater's text.⁶⁰ Buffon's elephant is also shown in profile, but the engraving includes the whole of the elephant's body (Fig. 15). More significantly, this elephant has a wide, round eye with a white highlight above the iris as if to indicate a spark of intelligence. In contrast, Lavater's elephants have narrow, almond-shaped eyes. These eyes are important for Lavater's reading of the elephant's character: "Observe that eye terminated in a point, and particularly the eye of No. 2 how clearly is the character of craft discernible in it!"⁶¹ Based on the shape of the eye drawn by Lavater's anonymous illustrator, the physiognomist is able to read craftiness rather than intelligence in the elephant. Having already asserted the large size of the animal's bones as evidence of its violence, Lavater passes further moral judgment by perceiving it in the eyes as well.

In the illustration of elephants signed by Howe and engraved for Hunter's English translation of Lavater's text, the elephant is lowered even further (Fig. 16). Although Lavater's interpretation of the animal's character is read simply from the profile, one of

⁶⁰ See below.

⁶¹ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 2: 116.

Howe's elephants has been turned to face the viewer in a three-quarter view. This is a very poor specimen, a mere sack of wrinkled skin with two tusks protruding from inside its mouth. The eyes are even more flattened and elongated than in the illustrations for the German-language edition. The two views of the elephant are also labeled with numbers and letters to indicate further Lavater's wish to contain and control the animal body within systems of quantifiable knowledge. This species, whose profile and capacity for intelligent behavior might demonstrate a link to the human in some ways, can be kept separate through the use of a physiognomical theory designed to demonstrate its inferiority at every turn.

Lavater, his translators, and his illustrators were evidently quite willing to undertake a sustained project to elevate the human by controlling the animal's aesthetic form in image and text. While the elephant's enormous head might imply high intelligence or its facial profile might suggest some similarity to a human forehead, it is not typically ranked close to humans in physical appearance. This distinctive and dangerous proximity is given to monkeys and especially to apes like the orangutan. Lavater leaves simians for the final portion of his essay devoted to animals. Here he utilizes his full artillery of verbal and visual weapons to disprove anyone who would dare suggest that the monkey resembles the man in appearance or in any other way:

It is well known that of all animals, the Monkey approaches nearest to the human form – and yet what distance between the monkey and the man! -- But the more enormous this distance is, the more is man bound to rejoice at it. Let him carefully guard against that false humility which would degrade his being, by an exaggeration of the relations which it bears to a creature so much his inferior!⁶²

⁶² Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 2: 135.

It is demeaning, Lavater argues, for anyone to ponder potential similitude between the monkey and the human. Furthermore, to compile a catalogue of physical characteristics that the monkey and the human share is to lower those features. Everywhere one is in danger of dethroning the human by finding analogies, though, according to Lavater, it is impossible to find any true similarity:

Can anyone find in monkeys the majesty which sits enthroned on the human forehead, when the hair is turned backward? Is it not a profanation of the word hair, to apply it to the mane of the monkey? In vain will you look anywhere but in man, for that large and elevated forehead which gives so much dignity to his physiognomy, and that stately arch which seems destined to serve him for a crown.⁶³

Lavater presents the forehead as the human's defining physical feature. The seat of human intellect is marked by a unique outline, “that stately arch,” which will never be found in any member of the animal realm. In the crown of the forehead, Lavater claims to have located a literal dividing “line which they cannot pass,” as the Rev. Wesley termed it.⁶⁴

Lavater's chosen illustration of monkeys effectively underscores their inferiority by rendering the comparison illegible (Fig. 17). The Swiss engraver Johann Rudolph Schellenberg's (1740-1806) plate for the first edition is a disorganized mass of thirty-two monkey heads and skulls. These were copied from the illustrations to the fourteenth and fifteenth volumes of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*. They include, for example, the *Jocko* or orangutan the second from the left in the top row, while the second monkey from the lower left with its distinctively flattened hair is the *Bonnet-chinois* (the Bonnet Macaque) from southern India (Figs. 12 and 18). Its wide-eyed expression is lifted directly from the

⁶³ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 2: 136.

⁶⁴ See Introduction above.

engraving by Baquoy after de Sève's drawing. Arranging the monkeys from Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* in this manner, with only their heads visible, renders them comedic and harmless. The monkeys seem to have been chosen for their distinctive facial markings, fur, hair, nostrils, or ears. Few would confuse these monkeys for men. The collection has been carefully composed so that the species generally presumed to most resemble the human, the orangutan or chimpanzee (*le Jocko*, positioned at number six near the upper left corner), is reduced in size and pushed to the rear behind the wild faces of much more exotic examples drawn from de Sève's illustrations of the *Pinché* and the *Marikina*, New World tamarin monkeys with flowing manes. Surrounded by such strange, exotic animals, the anthropomorphic chimpanzee is rendered unable to approach the human in the company of these exotic beasts. Furthermore, this large anthropoid ape is drawn in the same scale as the tamarin monkeys that surround it, though in fact these creatures are quite small. In Schellenberg's illustration, the monkeys' heads are all roughly the same size, so they can all be equally subjected to the lowering efforts of Lavater's text and its accompanying images.

Some similarity to humans might be read in the simians' faces, since nearly all of the animals in this grouping appear to be smiling, but, in de Sève's drawings for Buffon, it is rather the gestures made by their anthropomorphic hands than their facial expressions that emphasize their closeness to humanity. De Sève's monkeys use their prehensile thumbs to hold everything from tree branches and fruit to walking sticks, clothing, and chains. By removing the monkeys' hands, Schellenberg and Lavater nullify the simians' power to imitate humans in their actions and gestures. Without that, this mass of

disembodied monkey heads is little more than a collection of silly caricatures, and humans need not worry about the threat of any incursions from the simian quarter.⁶⁵

When he redesigned this image for the English translation (made from the French edition by Hunter), Thomas Holloway, the designer and editor of the images for this translation, imposed order upon Schellenberg's crowd of brutes (Fig. 19). His reformation of Schellenberg's plate effectively cages the animal form in defense of its escape. In the second volume of *Essays on Physiognomy: Designed to Promote the Knowledge and Love of Mankind* (1792), twenty portraits of monkey heads (plus three skulls and the heads of a sloth and a bat in the bottom row) appear framed in neat rows that bring to mind later photographic galleries of criminals published in the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Some of these monkeys are shown in profile while others are rendered in frontal or three-quarter view. Their hands have not been erased as they were in Schellenberg's composition; number seven holds a piece of fruit (possibly a pear) and number seventeen clings to a branch. Although Holloway's gallery of framed monkey portraits resembles the arrangements of human faces throughout the volumes of Lavater's treatise, there is little danger of his equating the monkey with the human (Fig. 13). Furthermore, by squeezing twenty-five animal portraits into one page, the repetitive effect serves to emphasize Lavater's contention that analogies between man and monkey are impossible. As one reviewer of the French translation of Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* described the experience of viewing these monkeys in 1783:

⁶⁵ On the uses of satire as a strategy to diminish power or threats, see Elizabeth C. Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 9.

⁶⁶ For those who sought to establish a connection between ape-like physiognomies and criminality, see for example "Chapter Four: Measuring Bodies" in Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1981), 113-145.

... the whole brute creation passes before him in review, and ... he discovers very little complaisance for the monkey-tribe, and rather pushes them backward, than brings them forward in the great scale of being. This relieved us from a painful apprehension we began to entertain of their putting in as pretenders to near relationship, when we saw five-and-twenty of the phizzes exhibited in one of the plates of this fragment.⁶⁷

In the case of this anonymous reviewer, Lavater's illustration convinced him or her that the suggestion of any correspondences between monkey and man was ridiculous and ultimately impossible. These animal images were carefully designed to show humanity's distance from all animals, even members of "the monkey-tribe." Lavater's choice of accompanying plates with the goal of reinforcing humanity's borders had its intended effect. He succeeded in diminishing the status of those animals deemed by some to approach the human closely in appearance, expression, intelligence, or behavior.

Thomas Rowlandson's Satirical Equations

Others would engage critically with Lavater's methods to achieve opposing goals: the equation of the animal with the human and the conflation of realms long held to be permanently separated. The caricaturists Thomas Rowlandson, working in England in the 1820s, and J.-J. Grandville, working in France in the 1840s, confronted Lavater's controversial legacy in drawings and illustrations that asserted the validity of direct animal-human comparisons and delighted in the possibility of similarities. Lavater's critical reputation vacillated throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ By

⁶⁷ "Art. XIII. *Essai sur la Physiognomie*, " *The Monthly Review* 68 (1783): 623.

⁶⁸ Mary Cowling asserts that it came back into fashion by the mid-Victorian period in England, as evidenced by its appearance in novels, the popular press, and paintings like William Powell Frith's famous *Derby Day* (1858, London, Tate Britain). *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 7-13.

the 1820s, his theory had come under attack in England and France.⁶⁹ While modified versions of his methods reappeared later in the century in Balzac's *La Comédie humaine*, in the *Physiologies* (illustrated guides to the generic human types one could find in Paris and the provinces), and in the countless distinct physiognomies used to convey moral character in the Victorian paintings of William Powell Frith (1819-1909) among many others, it became fashionable to deny Lavater's credibility and dispute his claims in the light of shifting scientific paradigms.⁷⁰

However, a few devotees remained to expand upon Lavater's ideas. For example, the works of the German phrenologist Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) and his disciple Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776-1832) sought to link Lavater's theories with the scientific study of anatomy and physiology below the face's surface.⁷¹ This helped to legitimize Lavater's physiognomical practices to a certain extent, but Gall's method of reading the surface indentations and protrusions on human skulls to infer actions and personality characteristics also rendered him an easy target for satire (Fig. 20). Lavater's, Gall's, and Spurzheim's methods were linked by an emphasis on the human head as akin

⁶⁹ Arline Meyer, "Man's Animal Nature: Science, Art, and Satire in Thomas Rowlandson's 'Studies in Comparative Anatomy,'" in *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics*, ed. Frank Palmeri (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 123-125; on Lavater's reception in England and France respectively, see Graham, *Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy*, 63-69 and 109-113.

⁷⁰ The now-classic study of these later French permutations of physiology is Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th-Century Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); the finest study on physiognomy in Victorian painting is Cowling's *The Artist as Anthropologist*.

⁷¹ Phrenology, or the study of the shape of the skull to determine the character of the human mind within, was itself controversial and viewed with much suspicion; Kemp, *The Human Animal in Western Art and Science*, 211-218; Johann Spurzheim, *The Physiognomical Systems of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim; founded on an Anatomical and Physiological Examination of the Nervous System in General, and of the Brain in Particular; Indicating the Dispositions and Manifestations of the Mind* (London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1815).

to a novel or a painting that could be “read,” as long as one was literate in the correct language.⁷²

This interest in the legible head also appears in Thomas Rowlandson's albums of drawings, which he called “Comparative Anatomy, Resemblances between the Countenances of Men and Beasts” (Figs. 21, 22, 24, 26, and 27).⁷³ Late in his career, sometime during or after the year 1821, Rowlandson made numerous sketches in pencil, pen, ink, and watercolor of animal and human heads for a work that was never published.⁷⁴ These drawings were compiled in albums that indicate Rowlandson had read Lavater's treatises and also copied the engravings. As Arline Meyer has noted, Rowlandson chose to title his albums “Comparative Anatomy,” despite the lack of animal or human bodies - that is, *anatomy* - in nearly all of the drawings. Meyer argues that this title, rather than the more accurate “Comparative Physiognomy,” would sound sufficiently scientific to Rowlandson's intended audience given the terms in use at the time.⁷⁵ Rowlandson could distance himself from Lavater's Protestant moralizing purposes and instead link his project to the science of Comparative Anatomy, then associated with France's Muséum d'histoire naturelle and its celebrated zoologists Georges Cuvier (1760-

⁷² Bindman, *Ape to Apollo*, 123.

⁷³ The two longer albums are housed in the British Museum (64 pages) and Harvard University's Houghton Library (57 pages). The British Museum's album seems to contain more preliminary sketches in pencil, pen, and ink, while many of the drawings in Harvard's album are finished with watercolor. A third album (47 pages) was sold at auction at Sotheby's, London, on 13 July 1989. Rowlandson, “Comparative Anatomy. Resemblances Between the Countenances of Men and Beasts,” Houghton Library, MS Typ 100.1, Harvard University; “Comparative Anatomy. Resemblances Between the Countenances of Men and Beasts,” Department of Prints and Drawings, 1885,1212.182-244, British Museum. For further description of the the albums and related drawings dispersed in other collections, see Meyer, “Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy,’” 122, n. 7.

⁷⁴ Some of the pages in Harvard's album have watermarks dated 1821, while some leaves of the British Museum's album are watermarked with the 1822 date.

⁷⁵ Meyer, “Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy,’” 125.

1832) and Étienne Geoffroy St. Hilaire (1772-1844). Yet, that is where Rowlandson's scientific goals end. At every turn, he designs his drawings to subvert scientific *and* religious claims for human-animal distinction and human superiority. Instead, he exploits the freedoms of his genre to assert points of contact between human and animal appearances. These might be the shape of the nose or beak, the slope of the forehead, or even the spikiness of a lace collar, drawn to resemble a fish's dorsal fin. In Rowlandson's view, both physiognomy and fashion serve to link the human to the animal.

Rowlandson's "Comparative Anatomy" albums begin at the internal level with a title page consisting of drawings of nine skulls in orderly rows (Figs. 21 and 22). According to the labels on the Harvard album's title page, from left to right the top row includes the skulls of a "Negro" a "European," and a "Baboon" (Fig. 21). The ass, elephant, and horse comprise the second row, and the hog, the stag, and the ox complete the bottom row.⁷⁶ Similar charts implicitly comparing humans and animals in Lavater's text always made human preeminence abundantly clear by illustrating the innumerable steps and "intermediate degrees" from an animal up to the human (Fig. 31).⁷⁷ The only possible indication of human superiority in Rowlandson's image is the slightly larger head labeled the "European." Yet, size is not necessarily a marker of quality, for, as Meyer observes, this human specimen appears to be aged and is lacking some teeth.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the baboon's skull has been turned to face the viewer, rendering its direct comparison with its human neighbors impossible, since it is not shown in profile as they

⁷⁶ Rowlandson copied these skulls from an illustration titled "Skulls of Beasts" in Lavater, *Essays in Physiognomy*, 2: 102.

⁷⁷ Lavater, *Essays in Physiognomy*, 1: 13; see also Chapter Five below.

⁷⁸ Meyer, "Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy,'" 123.

are. Rowlandson's satirical mode allows him to complicate purposefully the terms of comparison, resulting in the negation of any conclusion that the appearance of the human form grants the species *Homo sapiens* moral or aesthetic superiority over the animals.

A comparison of the title pages in Harvard's album and the British Museum's album is instructive of Rowlandson's denial of a scientific method, for in the latter, the caricaturist leaves the top row of skulls unlabeled (Fig. 22). The title pages are the same in composition: a large, central skull flanked by two smaller ones, one of which is depicted in a frontal view.⁷⁹ However, the effect of this failure or refusal to name their species negates the possibility of categorization. Without labels, these skulls all appear human, and their bones have no markers of race. The top row effectively becomes an “ages of man” comparison rather than a hierarchy based on race and/or species, as Rowlandson questions the ability of comparative anatomy to function without textual classification schemes.⁸⁰

Typically, the sketches in Rowlandson's albums compare a single animal's head with a single human's. Many of these are copies of the illustrations published in a sixteenth-century Italian source, *De humana physiognomica* (1586) by the Neopolitan Giovanni Battista della Porta (1535?-1615); these are interspersed with Rowlandson's own invented comparisons of late Georgian and Regency period human types with

⁷⁹ Rowlandson, “Comparative Anatomy. Resemblances Between the Countenances of Men and Beasts,” Department of Prints and Drawings, 1885, 1212.182-244, British Museum.

⁸⁰ Meyer notes that the central, toothless skull reappears in a drawing by Rowlandson in the Huntington Museum, which shows nine humans of progressive ages. “Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy,’” 123, n. 12.

animals (Figs. 23, 26 and 27).⁸¹ Both copies and originals are busts usually shown in profile with two or three pairings per page. Rowlandson's sketches also indicate his interests in the grotesque and in possibilities for human-animal hybridity. For example, the other, more neatly ordered comparisons are transformed into a swirling mass of teeth and flesh in a remarkable drawing in the Harvard album (Fig. 24).⁸² The fluid, serpentine line that is Rowlandson's stylistic trademark is ideally suited to such a composition, in which dogs, wolves, snakes, lions, satyrs, and devils form a grotesque ball of the bestial, filling the page with a visual anticipation of Tennyson's "nature red in tooth and claw."⁸³ Rowlandson also subtly alludes to Lavater in the composition of this image, which recalls a drawing of several human heads that had appeared in Lavater's essay "Of the Universality of Physiognomical Discernment" (Fig. 25).⁸⁴ Lavater described these human faces, most of which are foreshortened or otherwise distorted, as "all vulgar or contemptible," and he expressed disbelief that anyone could "discover not in them the impress of brutality."⁸⁵ This claim about the image is utilized to argue for the universal application of Lavater's physiognomical method, since he asserts that everyone will read in the faces the same message. By mixing the human and the animal in his own variation on such an illustration, Rowlandson demonstrates the step into the inventive realm that

⁸¹ Della Porta was a playwright and scholar with a range of interests including alchemy and anatomy. Della Porta, *De humana physiognomica libri III* (Vici Æquensis [Vico Equense, Italy]: Apud Iosephum Cacchium, 1586).

⁸² Rowlandson, "Comparative Anatomy," Ms. Typ.100.1, pl. 13.

⁸³ This oft-appropriated phrase appears in Alfred, Lord Tennyson's poem, "In Memoriam A.H.H." (1849), Canto 56.

⁸⁴ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1: 93-96.

⁸⁵ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1: 96.

Lavater had been unwilling to take. Although he saw the human faces as brutal, they remained for Lavater resolutely human and therefore infinitely superior in beauty and character to the animal. For Rowlandson, however, they are all grotesque, hybrid creatures roiling together without distinction or separation. It is here, in the imaginative, satirical melding of animal and human features, that Rowlandson mounts his strongest attack on the boundary that Buffon and Lavater had sought to fortify.

The equivalences that Rowlandson's drawings propose also endorse the Pythagorean concept of the transmigration of souls: the belief that when an animal or a human dies, its soul is carried by the wind to be reincarnated into the body of another living creature.⁸⁶ This theory was popular in the eighteenth century, and before the term “vegetarianism” was coined in the nineteenth century, it was known as the Pythagorean diet, since one avoided eating meat to avoid eating bodies that may have previously contained human souls.⁸⁷ Rowlandson made written allusion to Pythagorean ideals by inscribing the following on several of the drawings in both albums: “Amongst the numerous religions in the World there is one which teaches us that the souls of human beings pass into the bodies of other Animals. -- Pythagoreans [*sic*].”⁸⁸ In a drawing that appears with slight variation in each album, Rowlandson places two pairings above the text (Fig. 26).⁸⁹ The first is a porcupine next to a mustached man and the second a

⁸⁶ Meyer, “Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy,’” 127.

⁸⁷ Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 15.

⁸⁸ Rowlandson, “Comparative Anatomy,” Houghton MS Typ 100, 157; the phrase also appears twice in the British Museum album, “Comparative Anatomy,” 1885,1212.189 and 194.

⁸⁹ Rowlandson, “Comparative Anatomy,” Houghton MS Typ 100, 157; “Comparative Anatomy,” 1885,1212.189.

comparison of a boar to a corpulent man with a warty face. Rowlandson equates animals and men through the shapes of their mouths, noses, foreheads, and eyebrows. Here word and image function in concert to convey Rowlandson's message, which can be crudely summarized as "you are what you eat" (or at least what you resemble). In his view, the soul can move with ease between the animal and the human. Once inside, it will manifest itself in distinctly animalistic features on the outside of the human - this man has a pointed bottom tooth that extends over his upper lip just like the boar's tusk - but it will also lend humanity to the animal. Hence the boar's half-lidded eye, which seems to glance backwards at his human counterpart, is drawn to give it a human expression of wariness or skepticism. Here Rowlandson rejects the claims of eighteenth-century naturalists like Buffon that the human's superior place in creation renders it intellectually and aesthetically elevated above the animal.⁹⁰ Instead, human and animal are equally laughable creatures dwelling side-by-side in a flawed nature where they share imperfect souls.

Filling in the Distance: Grandville's Parodies of Lavater in the Illustrated Press

While Rowlandson asserted human and animal equality in England, in France, Buffon's and especially Lavater's supreme confidence in human supremacy came under repeated satirical attack in the caricatures and illustrations of J.-J. Grandville.

⁹⁰ In an inscription written in the British Museum album, Rowlandson quotes almost verbatim an English translation of Lavater's theories: "After Aristotle, has most observed the resemblances between the countenances of Men & Beasts and has extended this ongoing the farthest. He as far as I know was the first who rendered this similarity apparent by placing the countenances of men & beasts beside each other." Rowlandson, "Comparative Anatomy," British Museum 1885,1212.244; Lavater, *Physiognomy; or, the Corresponding Analogy between the Conformation of the Features and the Ruling Passions of the Mind*, trans. Samuel Shaw (London: H. D. Symonds, 1800), 224; the quote does not represent Rowlandson's own thoughts on comparisons between humans and animals as Meyer erroneously states, "Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy,'" 126.

Grandville's first success was the lithographic series *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, published in 1828 and 1829, in which he placed animal heads atop human bodies to satirize a wide array of social situations experienced by Parisians at the end of the reign of Charles X.⁹¹ In his biographical account of the artist, published in a later edition of *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, the art critic Charles Blanc (1813-1882) recounted a conversation he had with Grandville regarding the visual origins of his animal imagery: “‘You are undoubtedly a habitué of the [ménagerie at the] Jardin des Plantes,’ said the author to the artist. ‘Sir,’ Grandville replied modestly, ‘I only saw the animals in Buffon. It is there that I study them.’ (And he showed me a small English edition of l’Histoire naturelle, *Extracts from Buffon*).”⁹² Although the exact edition of Buffon that Grandville allegedly utilized remains as yet untraceable, this quote provides a direct connection between Grandville (whom a later critic dubbed “The Buffon of Humanity”), and the images found in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*.⁹³

Even without Grandville's words as conveyed by Blanc, the link between the caricaturist and the naturalist is visually apparent. Compare for example the head of the rhinoceros-husband in the plate *À votre droite est le signe du Capricorne*, with de Sève's

⁹¹For more on this project, see Chapter Four below. Grandville, *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (Paris: Bulla, 1828-29).

⁹² “‘Vous êtes sans doute un habitué du Jardin de Plantes, dit le bibliophile à l'artiste. - Monsieur, reprinted modestement Grandville, je n'ai vu les animaux que dans Buffon. C'est là que je les étudie (et il montrait une petite édition anglaise de l'Histoire naturelle, *Extracts from Buffon*...;” Charles Blanc, “Notice sur Grandville,” in Grandville, *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1869), xvii.

⁹³ The extremely poor quality of images in one book that matched the title and description given by Blanc precludes the possibility that it was the edition used by Grandville; *Extracts from Buffon and Goldsmith's Animated Nature: Being a Description of Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents and Insects; Accompanied with the Figure of Each Animal Described in the Work. Together with a Particular Account of the Whale Fishery* (New York: Published by J. Shurtleff, and R. Wauchope, 1821). For Grandville as “the Buffon of humanity,” see Robert de Montesquiou, “Le Buffon de l'humanité,” in *Roseaux Pensants* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1897), 55-76.

drawing (engraved by Baquoy) of the Rhinoceros in volume eleven of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (Figs. 28 and 29). Rendered in profile, the head of Grandville's cuckolded rhinoceros-man might easily have been copied from de Sève's rhino. Yet, visual familiarity or even direct copying from the imagery found in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* does not imply an endorsement by Grandville of Buffon's hierarchical construction of nature. Furthermore, if Grandville's only exposure to Buffon was indeed an English edition, he may not have possessed the ability to read the accompanying texts. Rather, Grandville sought to create a leveling effect through the imaginative intermingling of human and animal parts.

The combined result of Grandville's images of humanized animals is an assertion that the human is one animal among many. The human vices revealed in Grandville's animals serve to remove humans from any position of moral or aesthetic superiority. Blanc interpreted this leveling effect as a lowering of humanity in punishment for its arrogance: “[Grandville] wants to punish man by reminding him that, despite the first prize that he had formerly obtained, he was not that far from the rivals that he despised, and that his face, in its frequent deviations, betrays the bestiality of their common origin.”⁹⁴ In this respect, Grandville is akin to Rowlandson. Both caricaturists created visual animal-human comparisons to remind humans against vanity. They demonstrated the equal absurdity to be found in the countenances of all species as they satirized human arrogance.

⁹⁴ “Il voulut châtier l'homme en lui rappelant que malgré le premier que il avait jadis obtenu, il n'était pas si éloigné des concurrents qu'il méprisait, et que son visage, par les déviations fréquent, trahissait la bestialité de leur commune origine.” Blanc, “Notice sur Grandville,” xix.

During the mid-1840s, after much success as a caricaturist and book illustrator, Grandville provided drawings for the illustrated journal *Le Magasin pittoresque*, edited by his friend Édouard Charton (1807-1890).⁹⁵ In several of these illustrations, Grandville parodied Lavater's theories by reappropriating and modifying the images that the physiognomist had used as his visual evidence for the infinite separation of human and animal (Figs. 30, 34, and 35). For example, in *Essai sur la physiognomie* (the French translation of the *Physiognomische Fragmente*, with which Lavater had been much involved in preparing) the physiognomist published an orderly chart to argue for the plenitude of steps between Apollo, the ideal of human beauty, and the frog (Fig. 31).⁹⁶ This chart is comprised of nineteen faces, but a distinct break occurs between numbers thirteen and twelve where one page ends and the next begins.⁹⁷ After this stage, the heads no longer have hair; they lose their ears by number three, and at number one, the transformation to amphibian is complete. When he created a version of this for *Le Magasin pittoresque*, Grandville greatly abridge the transition (Fig. 34). He provided only five heads between the handsome, upright face of an Apollonian man and the slanted head of a frog with its prominent, bulging eyes. As if to veer on the side of caution, Lavater's chart included a buffer of eight gradations after the point where hair – and humanity – disappeared and before the ear faded to allow the fullness of the frog's

⁹⁵ For Grandville's correspondence with Charton, see Philippe Kaenel, "J.-J. Grandville et le *Magasin pittoresque* d'Édouard Charton," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 115, no. 1453 (1990): 77-98.

⁹⁶ Many of the English translations of the *Physiognomische Fragmente* were made from this French edition rather than from the original German. Bindman, *Ape to Apollo*, 92; the frog-to-Apollo chart appeared in Lavater, *Essai sur la physiognomie*, 4: n.p.

⁹⁷ Kaenel, "Le Buffon de l'humanité," 24.

amphibian nature to emerge.⁹⁸ Grandville's chart does not allow for any such cushion.

Only one head remains between the last one with hair and the full frog's head.

Grandville's image effectively implies that there are many more men who look like frogs than frogs that look like men. Lavater's text in the French translation had asserted that the frog's head represented the “most ignoble and the most bestial” profile in nature.⁹⁹

However, the text that accompanies Grandville's drawing refutes this view while also asserting Grandville's ability to close the gap between human and animal, regardless of species: “At first it would seem that between the profile of a handsome head and that of the ugliest of our aquatic animals there could be no possible connection. Grandville fills in the distance in a few minutes....”¹⁰⁰

Grandville's frog-to-Apollo metamorphosis also alludes visually to another famous chart of animal-human comparison: the diagram made to illustrate the Dutch comparative anatomist Petrus Camper's (1722-1789) facial line theory (Figs. 32 and 33).¹⁰¹ While I return to Camper's ideas in greater detail in Chapter Five below, it is important to note Grandville's variation upon it here. Camper used human and ape heads and skulls to demonstrate the appearance of an angle traced between the jaw and the ear.

⁹⁸ Recall Lavater's comments on the monkey: “Can anyone find in monkeys the majesty which sits enthroned on the human forehead, when the hair is turned backward? Is it not a profanation of the word hair, to apply it to the mane of the monkey?” *Essays on Physiognomy*, 2:136.

⁹⁹ “La première figure est tout à fait grenouille, c'est l'image bouffie de la nature la plus ignoble & la plus bestiale.” Lavater, *Essai sur la physiognomie*, 4: 322.

¹⁰⁰ “Entre le profil d'une belle tête et celui du plus disgracieux de nos animaux aquatiques, il peut embler d'abord qu'il n'ait aucun rapport possible. Grandville comble le distance, en quelques minutes....” “Par J.-J. Grandville,” *Le Magasin pittoresque* 34 (1844), 272.

¹⁰¹ The diagram of the facial line theory, drawn by Thomas Kirk and engraved by Reiner Winkeles, was published posthumously in Petrus Camper, *The Works of the Late Professor Camper, on the Connexion Between the Science of Anatomy and the Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, &c., &c.*, trans. T. Cogan (London: C. Dilly, 1794).

When read left to right, the diagram implies a progression from monkey to orangutan to African, finally ending in two antique Roman and Greek sculptures at the far right. These are the ideal, the Apollo of Lavater's comparison, but Camper chose the orangutan and the monkey specifically for their resemblance to human anatomy. Lavater's chart utilized the frog because it was allegedly so far in appearance from humans as to make any comparison benign or even laughable. Significantly, Lavater's frog-to-Apollo diagram did not contain any inscribed measurements in the form of lines or angles, but Grandville's abridged version does include a single line on each of his six heads. This line enters the profile at the tip of the eyebrows, passes through the back of the nose and the mouth to exit at the chin. Camper's chart privileged a nearly vertical angle as the mark of the white race, allegedly the most distant human race from the ape and the closest in visual proximity to the Roman and Greek ideals, but in Grandville's chart, the angles closest to vertical appear in the middle, at the point of transition between human and animal. At the Apollo and frog ends of this spectrum, the lines radiate out from the center like an opened ladies' fan. In addition, Grandville reverses the order of both Camper's and Lavater's arrangements, and thereby implies a degeneration from Apollo to frog rather than the imperceptible steps up to the human ideal that the anatomist and the physiognomist sought to establish. Grandville's caricature suggests that any effort to inscribe a quantifiable, man-made system upon the animal body, including the human body, will end in the lowering of the human or, perhaps even worse, the discovery of an uncomfortably close relationship in appearance between humans and animals.

Two other illustrations that Grandville provided for *Le Magasin pittoresque* argue that the animal can become human just as easily as man can become beast (Figs. 34 and 35). Five human heads and five dog heads are presented like descending and ascending stair steps in the images *L'homme descend vers la brute* and *L'animal s'élève vers l'homme*. On the left of this two-page spread, a cherub-faced boy grows into a hardened, vice-ridden man by the third head; he ultimately becomes a beastly criminal. “Will he be good? Will he be evil?” the accompanying text asks of the boy's face. “His future depends above all on his education. However, I don't like his look, [or] his brow; it has on it the seed of an ill passion.”¹⁰² This text retains much of Lavater's moralizing tone and effectively endorses his method by using the physiognomy of the boy's face to “read” a future life clouded by vice in his slightly thick eyebrows. Yet, as in his image that transformed Apollo into a frog, Grandville's drawing here shortens the steps between human and animal to undermine Lavater's immovable barrier between humanity and animality. The same point could be made using only the last three heads, since in the first two, the animal features are not yet pronounced. However, between the third and fifth heads, the angle of the nose and the forehead approaches the horizontal, the hairline recedes, the brows thicken, the nostrils enlarge, the ear grows massive, and the cheeks darken; as the texts states, “brutalization begins.” By the final image, the creature's identity is ambiguous, and the text asks, “is this a man? [or] is it a beast?”¹⁰³

On the facing page, a puppy transforms in five brief steps into a chess-playing dog wearing a smoking jacket and spectacles. Once again, Grandville essentially requires

¹⁰² “Fantaisie, par J.-J. Grandville,” *Magasin pittoresque* 14 (1843): 108.

¹⁰³ “*Quatrième tête...* l'abrutissement commence. *Cinquième tête...* Est-ce là un homme? Est-ce une bête?” “Fantaisie, par J.-J. Grandville:” 108.

only three heads to make the same argument, since by the fourth head the caricaturist's satirical tendencies fully emerge, and his images veer into the ridiculous. While the heads in the illustration of the boy descending toward the brute maintain a profile view, Grandville's dog here gradually turns to face the viewer by the fourth head. His canine teeth and floppy ears remain visible, but the rest of his features have been humanized. His eyes are wide, round, and clear, the arches of his eyebrows convey an inquisitive expression, and his neck is thick and muscular like a man's. He appears to wear a jacket around his shoulders, marking the line where Grandville passes into the absurd. In the fifth head, the dog rests his chin on his paw in a thoughtful gesture while he peers at his game of dominoes. This dog is apparently of the near-sighted variety, so his spectacles rest unused on his forehead, and he seems to wear an embroidered smoking jacket. The text asserts, "He is in sum closer to good than evil, closer to light than shadow."¹⁰⁴ Grandville excels at the humanization of animals, but this image of an evolving dog implies an unwillingness to cross over completely into a realm of hybrid mingling without gradations. Rather than suggest that the animal-human boundary has dissolved completely, here Grandville retreats to a safer, satirical mode.

As these drawings by Rowlandson and Grandville demonstrate, the border between the animal and the human, which was so resolutely fortified in the late-eighteenth century in the texts and images of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* and Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente*, came under attack. Rowlandson suggested that animal and human souls might migrate freely between bodies. The humanized animal and the

¹⁰⁴ "Il est en somme plus près du bien que du mal, plus près de la lumière que des ténèbres." "L'Animal s'élève vers l'homme," *Magasin pittoresque* 14 (1843): 109.

animalized human appear as equivalents in his albums of comparative drawings; they are equally admirable and equally laughable, since all his figures are unaware of their ridiculous aspects. Grandville parodied Lavater's ideas by illustrating how few stages were needed to transform a human into an animal. These steps were not infinite as Lavater had claimed but could be condensed into an alarmingly small number. Yet, it is significant that visual steps did remain; the transformation was not immediate. Grandville may have shortened the space between the two realms, but a gap was still present. Unlike Rowlandson, Grandville was ultimately unwilling to equate the human with the animal.

Rowlandson's and Grandville's reengagements with and revisions of the theories of the previous century indicate the scientific and social changes occurring in England and in France during the early nineteenth century. John Berger famously argued in his essay "Why Look at Animals?" that in the nineteenth century the animal receded from the common experience of middle-class urbanites to become a spectacle confined to particular places – the zoo, the circus, or the illustrated book.¹⁰⁵ He writes:

Public zoos came into existence at the beginning of the period which was to see the disappearance of animals from daily life. The zoo to which people go to meet animals, to observe them, to see them, is, in fact, a monument to the impossibility of such encounters. Modern zoos are an epitaph to a relationship which was as old as man.¹⁰⁶

Many scholars have since objected to the implications of Berger's assertions, namely that animals were marginalized and effectively rendered invisible, but his central claim – that the way that animals were regarded by humans changed in the early nineteenth century –

¹⁰⁵ John Berger, "Why Look at Animals?" (1980) in *The Animals Reader: The Essential Classic and Contemporary Writings*, ed. Linda Kalof and Amy Fitzgerald (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 251-261.

¹⁰⁶ Berger, "Why Look at Animals?" 258-59.

remains valid.¹⁰⁷ The animal-human boundary, once so firmly delineated, seemed on the point of a dangerous dissolution. It was within the context of this possibility – that boundaries were morphing and maybe even disappearing – that civic menageries opened to the public to assert with their iron bars that the human-animal border remained inviolable.

¹⁰⁷ For the most nuanced objections to Berger, see Jonathan Burt “John Berger’s ‘Why Look at Animals?’: A Close Reading,” *Worldviews* 9, no. 2 (2005): 203-18 and the works of Diana Donald, especially “‘Beastly Sights!’ The Treatment of Animals as a Moral Theme in Representations of London, c. 1820-1850,” *Art History* 22, no. 4 (Nov. 1999): 514-544.

CHAPTER TWO:
THE IRON BOUNDARY: MENAGERIES OF THE MIND FROM VERSAILLES TO
REGENT'S PARK

Illustrated natural history texts fixed animal species in neatly ordered hierarchies while the pseudo-science of physiognomy denied any possibility of human-animal resemblance. Both types of projects harnessed the combined powers of verbal and visual rhetoric to contain representations of animals within encyclopedic systems of human knowledge. At roughly the same historical moment, Europe's capitals began the process of containing physical animal bodies. Paris established its public ménagerie, the first municipal (as opposed to royal) live animal collection in Europe, in the Jardin des Plantes in 1793, while London followed suit as soon as possible after recovering from the Napoleonic wars that had slowed civic development during the early years of the nineteenth century.¹ London's Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park opened in 1828. This chapter details the establishment of the earliest modern zoos, which were collections of carefully arranged exotic and domestic species displayed in cages and pits within a garden setting to educate and entertain the public (or at least those who could afford to pay the entrance fee). I also describe how, for visual artists working in the zoos of Paris and London, the experience of viewing caged animals was translated into the creation of visual animal collections or menageries in drawn, painted, printed, or sculpted form. For zoologists and artists alike, this process of displaying and containing the animal becomes a pleasurable act of ordering a disordered nature, a means of controlling and moderating

¹ Since, strictly speaking, the English word “zoo” was first coined in reference to London's Zoological Gardens, I use the French word “ménagerie” to refer specifically to the animal collection in the Jardin des Plantes. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “zoo.”

potentially dangerous species or harnessing useful ones under the guises of human edification, education, and entertainment.

Menageries of the Mind

The octagonal design of the pavilion at Versailles's menagerie reminded Michel Foucault of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon Prison, with its central viewing station offering a privileged view of the cells or enclosures radiating out from it.² The visitor to this menagerie was offered a position of surveillance that was also one of separation from the exotic creatures displayed outside the pavilion (Fig. 36). Many of the nobles who visited this royal menagerie were accustomed to being objects of surveillance themselves as they navigated the complexities of a court life based upon performance and observation, but when they visited Versailles' menagerie, the spotlight turned from human court performers to animal objects.³ Foucault does not mention the other way that those visitors were granted visual control over animals, for the walls inside the pavilion were decorated with paintings of the animals by Nicasiaus Bernaerts (1620-1678). Bernaerts had studied with Frans Snyders (1579-1657), the great Flemish animal painter, and was

² "Bentham does not say whether he was inspired, in his project, by Le Vaux's [*sic*] menagerie at Versailles: the first menagerie in which the different elements are not, as they traditionally were, distributed in a park. At the centre was an octagonal pavilion which, on the first floor, consisted of only a single room, the king's *salon*; on every side large windows looked out onto seven cages (the eighth side was reserved for the entrance), containing different species of animals. . . . one finds in the programme of the Panopticon a similar concern with individualizing observation, with characterization and classification, with the analytical arrangement of space." Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (1975), translated as *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 200; for Bentham's plans, see "Panopticon; or, The Inspection House" (1787), in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. John Bowring (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1843), 4: 37-172; see also Bob Mullan and Garry Marvin, *Zoo Culture*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 42.

³ Chandra Mukerji characterizes this as "a politics of performance that celebrated the monarchy, signified submission to absolutism, kept the nobility under surveillance, and used the royal residences and their gardens as sites for public display of state power." *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 198.

charged by Louis XIV to depict all new additions to the menagerie.⁴ Though the sixty-one canvases were lost amid the looting of Versailles during the Revolution, Bernaerts's images of the menagerie animals would have operated as a pictorial guide book *in situ*, framing and trapping the animals visually just as the bars of their cages simultaneously presented and enclosed them physically. As an early mention of the menagerie in Madeleine de Scudéry's *La Promenade de Versailles* (1669) stated, the function of Bernaert's paintings was "to prepare us for what we are about to see or to serve as a reminder after having seen it."⁵ The menagerie's animals could be observed through the fence on the exterior of the pavilion, from its balcony, through its windows, and even on its interior walls, if the weather were foul or if one preferred to remain close to the refreshments available there. Bernaert's paintings served not only to prepare and to remind, as Mlle de Scudéry tells us, but even to substitute for the menagerie's live animals.

Preparation, reminder, and substitution became primary functions of subsequent zoo imagery. Whether the zoo appears in engravings, lithographs, caricatures, paintings, or sculptures, it is presented as a human construct to control the visual aspects of nature (other sensual factors like noise and smell are less easily contained).⁶ Like the iron bars

⁴ Marina Belozerskaya, "Menageries as Princely Necessities and Mirrors of their Times," in *Oudry's Painted Menagerie: Portraits of Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Mary Morton (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 70.

⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. "Leurs peintures sont dans le cabinet, comme pour préparer à ce qu'on va voir ou pour en faire souvenir après l'avoir vu." Madeleine de Scudéry, *La Promenade de Versailles, dédiée au Roi*, ed. Marie-Gabrielle Lallemand (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2002), 97-98.

⁶ Zoo guide books rarely mention the live animals' odors, though one account of the commercial menagerie operated by Stephen Polito in London mentions that the horrible stench emanating from a recently deceased rhinoceros occasioned its hasty burial in 1793. The animal's corpse was exhumed two weeks later to retrieve its skin and skeleton for preservation. "Polito's Menagerie, Exeter Change," *The Repository of Arts*,

and cages of physical zoos, these menageries of the mind – two- or three-dimensional representations of zoos, their human visitors, and their animal inhabitants with or without their cages - served to contain the animal within the boundaries prescribed by human science, philosophy, and theology. Menageries of the mind, like their physical counterparts, serve to reify animal alterity. Whether it is a physical or an aesthetic site, a zoo cannot avoid the power dynamics at work in the collection and display of live animals for human visual consumption. Ultimately there are no means by which zoos can assert equality between humans and animals. Zoo animals are the prisoners of their human keepers, no matter how much architects or designers may seek to obscure their captive status with open enclosures landscaped to mimic natural habitats, as zoos have done increasingly since the early twentieth century.⁷

Menageries of the mind operate in similar ways to their physical counterparts. At times, artists might erase or obscure the depiction of the zoo's cages and other containment apparatuses to depict the captive animal as if it were in its native, preferably exotic, habitat. The naturalism of George Stubbs's or Eugène Delacroix's images of leopards and tigers in exotic landscapes conceal the origins of the captive (or even

Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics 12, no. 43 (1812): 29. Alain Corbin's history of scent in French culture asserts that in the early nineteenth century, the smells of clean animals were considered to be healthy, perhaps because they represented clear rural air as opposed to allegedly pathological urban odors. *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (New York: Berg, 1986), 215.

⁷ The open, "bar-less" enclosures that characterize the majority of today's zoological gardens did not appear until 1907, when the German animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913) worked with a Swiss sculptor and architect Urs Eggenschwyler (1849-1923) to create enclosures surrounded by moats in his *Tierpark* near Hamburg. Thomas Veltre, "Menageries, Metaphors, and Meanings," in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 21-22; see also Nigel Rothfels's book-length study of Hagenbeck's Animal Park, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

deceased) animals they used as models. It was left to the realm of visual satire and the occasional illustration in zoo guidebooks to probe deeper questions about the interactions between animals and humans that occurred at zoos. As Eve Twose Kliman has asserted in her analysis of Delacroix's images of lions and tigers, the belief that anatomical similarities between animals and humans may reveal hidden sympathies of character is "a difficult concept to express visually without resorting to satire."⁸ The same may be said for questions regarding humanity's alleged right to hold captive highly intelligent animals like elephants or anthropoid apes. In the caricatures of Honoré Daumier and the book illustrations of his colleague J.-J. Grandville, the zoo's cages and visitors are not excised in favor of the vaguely exotic North African landscapes of Delacroix's paintings or the incongruous antique and medieval ruins that dotted the backgrounds of the plates to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*. Instead these caricaturists present the zoo as a site of encounter, a place where unsettling inversions may occur, and a location where animality may suddenly intrude upon humanity in an attempt to reverse the zoo's power dynamics.⁹ As such, caricaturists' uses of the zoo were akin to those of naturalists like Jean-Baptiste Lamarck or Charles Darwin, whose observations of live animals led them to develop theories of species transmutation and evolution. Viewing live animals, even in such artificial conditions, helped them to improve and refine their hypotheses, just as it allowed artists to approach a greater accuracy in their depictions of exotic animals or to question the appropriateness of the zoo's architecture to the needs of its inhabitants. The

⁸ Eve Twose Kliman, "Delacroix's Lions and Tigers: A Link between Man and Nature," *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 3 (Sept. 1982): 457.

⁹ These aspects of Daumier's images of the ménagerie in the Jardin des Plantes are suggested in Elizabeth C. Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 92-93.

zoos of Paris and London, despite their flaws, became institutions that encouraged creative visual and scientific hypotheses, even as they sought to convey human control over animal captives. These new hypotheses were then displayed or described in menageries of the mind created and curated by artist-zookeepers.

From Princely Privilege to Public Park: A Brief History of Menageries

The appearance of public zoos is roughly contemporaneous with the emergence of democratic republics and the rise of capitalist markets.¹⁰ Until the mid-eighteenth century, menageries and game preserves had largely been an aristocratic privilege. Gradually members of a broader public were admitted to some animal collections.¹¹ For example, by paying a small fee, one could visit the menagerie at Versailles when the king was not in residence.¹² In England, if one could afford the shilling entrance fee (which was waived if the visitor brought a cat or dog to feed to the lions), one could visit the bears and lions held at the Tower of London. Despite their increasing openness, menageries before the nineteenth century were not the broadly accessible scientific institutions that they have become in more recent centuries.¹³

¹⁰ It has also been linked quite persuasively and extensively to the hegemony of British Imperialism, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century, by numerous scholars, following the model of historian Harriet Ritvo; see Chapter Five “Exotic Captives,” in *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 205-242.

¹¹ Nigel Rothfels warns against the rather simplistic interpretations of zoo historians, who have tended to understand the history of menageries as merely symbolic of authoritarian power and privilege while ignoring those who did utilize animal collections for more scientific purposes; see especially Chapter One “Gardens of History” in *Savages and Beasts*, 13-43.

¹² Masumi Iriye, “Le Vau’s Menagerie and the Rise of the Animalier: Enclosing, Dissecting, and Representing the Animal in Early Modern France” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1994), 45, n. 38.

¹³ Veltre, “Menageries, Metaphors, and Meanings,” 26.

Most of the animals held in royal menageries were either gifts received from foreign dignitaries or animals with specific heraldic significance, like the lion or the eagle. On occasion, the animals might be released into the king's hunting grounds to provide the monarch with appropriately regal quarry; they might even be pitted against one another in spectacular and gruesome battles that deliberately recalled the demonstrations of imperial power that were the animal combats of ancient Rome.¹⁴ When possible, explorers brought home exotic animal specimens, but most often, the animals did not survive the grueling sea passage, and those that did were unsuited to northern European climates. Lions, tigers, and apes succumbed quickly to tuberculosis or other infections exacerbated by damp, cold conditions. As a result, most zoological study occurred on dead animal corpses and poorly preserved specimens rather than through the observation of live animals. The visual pleasure aroused by the sight of a live animal was strictly separated from whatever scientific knowledge might be gleaned from the animal's body after its death.¹⁵ Early modern menageries thus functioned much as they had since ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, or Rome: as evidence of a monarch's might, wealth, and capacity for allegedly civilized pleasure.

The period between 1793, when the *ménagerie* was established in Paris's Jardin des Plantes, and 1848, when the London Zoo finally opened its gates to the public without restriction, saw a reorganization of animal displays in Europe's largest capitals.¹⁶

¹⁴ Veltre, "Menageries, Metaphors, and Meanings," 24; Iriye, "Le Vau's Menagerie," 27-29.

¹⁵ For example, it was not until after the animal was dissected in 1681 that it was discovered that the elephant sent by the King of Portugal was in fact female. "He" had been treated as male throughout his thirteen years in the Versailles menagerie. Belozerskaya, "Menageries as Princely Necessities," 70.

¹⁶ In 1821, Paris's population was 713,966 and London's was 1,225,694. By 1851, their populations had increased to 1,053,262 and 2,362,236 respectively. Figures derived from Susan Sheets-Pyenson, "Low

Bars, cages, pits, moats, glass, and fences all were utilized to varying degrees in the design of these nineteenth-century zoos. While such features served the practical purpose of protecting humans from dangerous or curious animals and vice versa, they also served the ideological role of reinforcing the belief in human superiority in the period just before Darwin's theories of natural selection and evolution were disseminated beginning in 1858.¹⁷ Some critics were moved by zoo animals' visible lethargy and disturbing, compulsive pacing in their cages, but most accounts of the zoos in Paris and London were favorable, in part because of the zoo's capacity for the visual demonstration of human dominion over animal nature.¹⁸ In the verbal rhetoric that surrounded them, these institutions were presented as sites of visual encounter, scientific education, and cultural edification, especially for children or the lower classes.¹⁹ Increasingly as the century progressed, zoos were also marketed as places where one could experience the pleasure

Scientific Culture in London and Paris, 1820-1875," (PhD. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976), 18; between 1828 and 1848, the London Zoo was open only to members of the Zoological Society and their guests. It was gradually opened to the public a few days a week and it was possible to purchase a guest pass for a shilling on other days. However, the membership requirement was not completely abandoned until 1848, at which time the price of admission was also reduced to sixpence. Sofia Akerberg, "Knowledge and Pleasure at Regent's Park: The Gardens of the Zoological Society of London during the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., Umea University, 2001), 117. This prompted a brief parody in the caricature journal *Punch*: "The Regent's Park Zoological Professors have dropped their admission from one shilling to sixpence. As soon as the elephant heard that he was to be shown at half-price ... he resolved to show himself only in profile." "Proper Dignity," *Punch* 14 (1848): 145.

¹⁷ On 1 July 1858, statements on natural selection by Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace were read before the Linnean Society in London, marking the first time Darwin had presented the ideas that would be published as *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* the following year. For these papers, see Burt J. Loewenberg, *Darwin, Wallace, and the Theory of Natural Selection: Including the Linnean Society Papers* (Cambridge: Arlington Books, 1959).

¹⁸ For a rare critical account, see for example Andrew Wynter, "The Zoological Gardens," (1855) in *Curiosities of Civilization: Reprinted from the 'Quarterly' and 'Edinburgh' Reviews*, 2nd ed. (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1860), 96-97.

¹⁹ See for example the instructional poem "The Zoological Gardens," which praises "... those gardens with their domes of glass,/Under which in cages quite secure,/The Lion and the tigers roar." *The Good Girl's Present; or, Mary and her Mmama [sic]* (London: A. Park, [1840?]).

of leisure in a garden filled with exotic and entertaining wild beasts, a pursuit that had previously been allowed only to monarchs.²⁰

Palace of Containment: Versailles's Menagerie

The menagerie at Versailles marks a pivotal point where princely park and modern zoological garden mingled. It was an important precedent for all subsequent zoos in Western Europe, as aspects of its design and its goals would be adapted to varying degrees by most public menageries.²¹ Founded by Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715), designed by Louis Le Vau (1612-1670), and built between 1662 and 1669, the menagerie was essentially a single, two-story building consisting of a small château and an octagonal pavilion surrounded by radiating enclosures for the animals.²² Six of these enclosures contained exotic animals, while the seventh was an entrance promenade and the eighth a farm for domestic animals destined to feed the king and his court.²³ According to an engraving of the menagerie by Nicolas Pérelle (1631-c.1695), the animals could be observed through openings in the octagonal-shaped fence that surrounded the central pavilion (Fig. 48). One could also climb the stairs to the balcony to view the animals from above on seven of the eight sides. The interior of the château housed salons for entertaining. After traveling by gondola down the Grand Canal, one approached the menagerie beneath the branches that lined a long allée. The Versailles menagerie was an

²⁰ This linking of science and leisure as evidenced by the London Zoo is supported persuasively in Akerberg, "Knowledge and Pleasure at Regent's Park."

²¹ Its design of cages radiating out from a central viewing space was even copied in the Tower of London, which housed a much older menagerie. Daniel Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie: The Amazing 600-Year History of the Royal Collection of Wild and Ferocious Beasts Kept at the Tower of London* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 2004), 189.

²² Scudéry, *La Promenade de Versailles*, 97-98.

²³ Iriye, "Le Vau's Menagerie," 37-38.

early example of the combined pleasures of garden, live animals, and libations, features that are still present in most zoos today.

By all accounts, the animals at Versailles resembled little more than mobile exotic plants housed within the vast palace gardens. Indeed, the menagerie was initially begun as an elaborate aviary. It housed only birds until the arrival of an elephant given as a gift to Louis XIV by King Pedro II of Portugal in 1668.²⁴ The preface to Jean de la Fontaine's poem "Les amours de Psyché et de Cupidon" (1669) describes a placid arrangement of animals - especially rare birds – and botanicals:

We four friends, having arrived at Versailles in good time, wanted to see the Ménagerie before dinner: it's a place full of many kinds of birds and quadrupeds, most very rare and from distant lands. They admired into how many species a single variety of bird multiplied and praised the tricks and the diverse imaginations of nature, played out among the animals as well as among the flowers.²⁵

La Fontaine's brief passage equates the plumage of birds with the petals of flowers. All are observed through their outward markings as variations in nature's sketchbook. The menagerie remains a site of visual pleasure rather than scientific inquiry. Claude Perrault (1613-1688) observed the live and dead animals from the menagerie for his studies in anatomy and natural history, but the animals were there largely to serve as colorful, mobile accessories to royal festivities.²⁶ As Gérard Mabilie, the leading architectural

²⁴ Iriye, "Le Vau's Menagerie," 37-38.

²⁵ "Nos quatre amis, étant arrivés à Versailles de fort bonne heure, voulurent voir, avant le dîner, la Ménagerie: c'est un lieu rempli de plusieurs sortes de volatiles et de quadrupèdes, la plupart très rares et de pays éloignés. Ils admirèrent en combien d'espèces une seule espèce d'oiseaux se multiplioit, et louèrent l'artifice et les diverses imaginations de la nature, qui se joue dans les animaux comme elle fait dans les fleurs." Jean de la Fontaine, "Les amours de Psyché et de Cupidon," (1669) in *Œuvres de J. de la Fontaine*, ed. Henri Regnier, new ed. (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892), 8:28.

²⁶ As Iriye notes, the illustrations to Perrault's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux* (1669) combined images of live animals in landscapes with diagrams of their internal structures as if in the midst of a dissection. Thus, it is difficult to assert whether the animals were more valuable to Perrault as

historian of the Versailles menagerie notes, its primary role during the famous fête Plaisirs de l'Île Enchantée of May 1664 was to serve as the site for a light meal.²⁷ As Masumi Iriye has argued, this trend was solidified by 1697, when Louis XIV gave the entire menagerie complex as a gift to the wife of Louis's grandson and mother of the future Louis XV, Marie-Adélaïde de Savoye, Duchesse de Bourgogne (1685-1712) to serve as her pastoral retreat. For the Duchess, the menagerie became her site of personal escape from the pressures of life at court.²⁸

The design of the menagerie at Versailles presented a direct link between art and nature. Bernaerts's paintings in the interior of the pavilion were supplemented with paintings of hunting scenes by his pupil Alexandre-François Desportes (1661-1743), a painter for the avid hunter Louis XV.²⁹ Desportes' son, a painter himself, conveyed his father's devotion to the naturalistic rendering of animal forms and the challenges one encountered while painting from live animal models in a biography that he read before the Académie royale de peinture in August of 1748:

Few people know all the difficulties of the animal genre; what a prodigious variety of studies it entails, and what pains were required to achieve them. How much did M. Desportes work after nature, at the kennels of the king and the princes, among the valets of the hunt, men with very little interest in painting and from whom kindness was purchased only with difficulty? How much did he work at the Ménagerie

living or dead specimens. "Le Vau's Menagerie," 145-46; for a comparison of the images in Perrault's and Buffon's natural history catalogues, see Thierry Hoquet, *Buffon illustré: les gravures de l'Histoire naturelle (1749-1767)* (Paris: Publications Scientifiques du Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2007), 91-97.

²⁷ Gérard Mabilie, "La Ménagerie de Versailles," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6^e période, 83 (1974): 6 and 22; for more on the spirit of the fêtes staged at Versailles during the reign of Louis XIV, see Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions*, 203-15.

²⁸ Iriye, "Le Vau's Menagerie," 51.

²⁹ Louis XV was not nearly as interested in exotic animals as his predecessor had been, so the menagerie languished during his reign. Belozerskaya, "Menageries as Princely Necessities," 71.

of Versailles and at the fairs in Paris, in order to paint lions, tigers or other ferocious animals, in uncomfortable and poorly lit compounds? Certainly only a very great passion for art that one professes could surmount such obstacles.³⁰

Claude-François Desportes's elegy for his father makes clear an important point: wild and exotic animals could be viewed in Paris, sometimes literally on the streets of Paris, well before the ménagerie was founded in the Jardin des Plantes in 1793. Traveling fairs often had animal trainers who exhibited some wild animals, and small commercial menageries were also common in France and England.³¹ As I outline below, many of the Paris ménagerie's first animals were acquired from these private commercial ventures, so the state could assert more direct control over the containment and display of exotic animals.

Oudry's Traveling Menagerie

Desportes' younger contemporary, Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755) also had access to the animals in the Versailles menagerie. Oudry initially paid his dues to Louis XV's interests by painting portraits of the king's favorite hunting dogs, still lifes showing the bounty of the king's kills, and, from 1733 to 1746, intricate depictions of his majesty's hunting exploits on the grand scale of history paintings (Figs. 37 and 38).³² These hunting

³⁰ "Peu de personnes connoissent [*sic*] toute la difficulté du genre des animaux; quelque prodigieuse variété d'études il exige, et quelles peines il faut se donner pour les faire. Combien M. Desportes a-t-il travaillé d'après la nature, au chenil du roi et des princes, au milieu des valets de la vénerie, gens très-peu curieux de peinture et dont on achète difficilement la complaisance? Combien a-t-il travaillé à la ménagerie de Versailles et aux foires de Paris, pour peindre des lions, des tigres ou d'autres animaux féroces, dans les loges incommodes et mal éclairées? Il n'y a certainement qu'une passion très-vive pour l'art qu'on professe, qui puisse surmonter de tels obstacles." Claude-François Desportes, "La Vie de M. Desportes, peintre d'animaux," in *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, ed. L. Dussieux and others (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1854), 108-109.

³¹ Hahn quotes (without citation) a 1773 guide to London's sights that proudly proclaimed there were "Lions, Tygers, Elephants, &c. in every Street in Town." *The Tower Menagerie*, 223.

³² On occasion the monarch himself observed Oudry painting his dogs. Colin B. Bailey, "'A Long Working Life, Considerable Research and Much Thought:' An Introduction to the Art and Career of Jean-Baptiste Oudry, (1686-1755)," in *Oudry's Painted Menagerie*, 6.

scenes, produced as a group of nine paintings known collectively as the *Chasses royales*, were also woven into tapestries by the Manufacture des Gobelins.³³ Between 1739 and 1745, Oudry painted sensitive portraits of some of the more exotic animals in the king's collection at the Versailles menagerie. According to the artist, the king's surgeon, François Gigot de La Peyronie (1678-1747), wanted a series of paintings of the menagerie's principal inhabitants so the images could be engraved.³⁴ After Oudry had already completed ten large-scale canvases (most were five feet wide by four feet high, and many of the animals were rendered life-size), La Peyronie died without providing payment for the commission.³⁵ Oudry profited from his previous good relations with a family of German nobles when he sent a letter advertising the availability of his menagerie paintings to Duke Christian Ludwig II (1686-1756) of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in north-central Germany. Since this relatively poor aristocrat could not afford a menagerie of his own, he agreed to purchase from Oudry its visual equivalent.³⁶ Oudry's canvases then became an important and princely menagerie of the mind, traveling from their birthplace in Versailles to a remote part of Germany where they were housed in the Duke's picture gallery. With a single purchase, the Duke acquired a bustard from Russia,

³³ On this important royal commission, see Hal N. Opperman, "The Genesis of the *Chasses royales*," *Burlington Magazine* 112, no. 805 (1970): 216-24; and Danièle Véron-Denise, "Louis XV, la chasse et Oudry," in *Animaux d'Oudry*, ed. Vincent Droguet, Xavier Salmon, and Danèle Véron-Denise (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), 15-21.

³⁴ "Cette collection unique est composée des tableaux compris au mémoire ci joint. Ce sont les principaux animaux de la ménagerie du Roy que j'ai tous peints d'après nature par ordre de Sa Majesté et sous la direction de Mr. De la Pe[y]ronie Son premier chirurgien, qui vouloit [*sic*] les faire graver, et former une suite d'histoire naturelle pour le Jardin de Botanique de Sa Mté." Jean-Baptiste Oudry to T. J. Caspar, secretary to Duke Christian Ludwig II, 25 March 1750; letter reproduced in full in *Oudry's Painted Menagerie*, 52-53.

³⁵ For details on the ill-fated commission, see Bailey, "'A Long Working Life,'" 16-17; and Xavier Salmon, "Le peintre, le chirurgien, le duc et les animaux," in *Animaux d'Oudry*, 135-144.

³⁶ Belozerskaya, "Menageries as Princely Necessities," 73.

a Guinea hen, an African hyena attacked by two dogs, an India blackbuck, a wild sheep called a mufﬂon from northwest Africa, a leopard and leopardess, an Australian cassowary, a demoiselle crane from North Africa, a toucan from Central or South America, a tufted crane from Sudan, and a celebrated rhinoceros named “Clara” (Fig. 39).³⁷ These were of course two-dimensional renderings of strange creatures done in oil on canvas. Nevertheless, the Duke could assert that he owned a menagerie of rare and exotic animals to rival Louis XV’s, with no further funds required to maintain the animals, their keepers, or their quarters.

Buffon’s *Histoire naturelle* and the Democratization of Visual Menageries

Perhaps it was because he was so engrossed by the creation of his own menageries of the mind that Oudry, the foremost painter of animals in eighteenth-century France, provided only one image for Buffon’s *Histoire naturelle*. However, Oudry’s sole drawing was a supremely important one. He contributed the image of the horse, the animal that Buffon selected to describe first because of its usefulness to Europeans (Fig. 40).³⁸ The fifteen volumes of Buffon’s *Histoire naturelle* that present mammals constitute a massive menagerie of the mind whose encyclopedic scale could not be surpassed by either physical or painted menageries. While physical menageries were becoming democratized through their gradual opening to the public, Buffon’s *Histoire naturelle* represents a key step in the democratization of menageries of the mind. Unlike Oudry’s

³⁷ Clara was not a permanent inhabitant of the Versailles menagerie, but rather a celebrity animal who toured Europe between 1741 and 1758. Oudry likely drew her when she was brought to Paris in 1749; *Oudry’s Painted Menagerie*, 142. For an account of this celebrated animal’s travels, see Glynis Ridley, *Clara’s Grand Tour: Travels with a Rhinoceros in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004).

³⁸ Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale, et particulière*, 15 vols. (Paris: L’Imprimerie du roi, 1749-67), 4: 174-257.

paintings of the Versailles animals or the portfolios he filled with drawings of animals, the images and texts in the *Histoire naturelle* were distributed as copies. Although this multi-volume work, published in quarto size with full-page engravings, was a luxury item, available in reality only to a very limited segment of society, it could be much more widely disseminated than Oudry's one-of-a-kind paintings.³⁹ From the start, Buffon's intended audience was not elite professionals like the members of the Académie des sciences but "common savant[s]," as he called the educated public.⁴⁰ Directly following its publication, the *Histoire naturelle* was translated into English, Dutch, and German. Even during Buffon's lifetime and at his behest, it was abridged, most often to exclude the drier anatomical treatises written by his collaborator Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton (1716-1800), to sell more copies at a cheaper price.⁴¹ It was also condensed for children.⁴² The accessibility and dissemination of Buffon's menagerie of the mind, which exposed a wide audience to animals they had never seen before, parallels the gradual opening of public zoological collections across Europe.

Buffon's vast visual-textual menagerie opened many avenues artistically as well as scientifically. Its visual influence stretched well into the nineteenth century as artists continued to use the engravings as source material. For example, Victor Adam (1801-1866) made new drawings for the animals described by Buffon. Based loosely on the

³⁹ The first three volumes of the *Histoire naturelle* sold out within six weeks of their publication in 1749; Jacques Roger, *Buffon: A Life in Natural History*, ed. L. Pearce Williams, trans. Sarah Lucille Bonnefoi, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 184-85.

⁴⁰ Roger, *Buffon*, 75-76.

⁴¹ Roger, *Buffon*, 225-26.

⁴² See for example *Le Petit Buffon des enfans [sic], ou Extrait d'Histoire naturelle des quadrupèdes, des reptiles, des poissons, et des oiseaux* (Paris: Langlume et Peltier, 1836).

original illustrations by de Sève and others, yet with a greater attention to characteristic poses that Adam undoubtedly gleaned from visits to the ménagerie in the Jardin des Plantes, these drawings were exhibited at the Salon of 1835. They were subsequently published to accompany a six-volume edition of the *Œuvres complètes de Buffon* (Fig. 41).⁴³ Arguably, there was a French menagerie in existence well before the physical ménagerie was established in the Jardin des Plantes in 1793. This was Buffon's menagerie of the mind.

“From the Life:” Thomas Bewick's *A General History of Quadrupeds* (1790)

Buffon's natural history compendium became a traveling menagerie when it was adapted for the English climate in the works of Thomas Bewick. Bewick is remembered primarily for the role he played in reviving the technique of wood-engraving. This printing method, along with the development of the steam-powered press, was to change the aesthetic of the printed page and enable the mass production of illustrated journals, newspapers, and books throughout the nineteenth century. Bewick's obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1829 explains the significance of his contribution well:

The great advantage of wood-engraving is, that the thickness of the blocks (which are generally of box, sawed across the grain of the wood) being carefully regulated by the height of the types with which they are to be used, they are set upon the same page with the types, and only one operation is required to print the letterpress and the cut which is to illustrate it. The greater permanency, and indeed the almost indestructibility, of the wooden block is besides secured, since it is not subjected to any of the scrapping and rubbing which so soon destroys the sharpness of the lines upon copper, and there is a harmony produced in the page by the engraving and the letter press being of the same colour, which

⁴³ For example, the image of the bear (Fig. 41) clearly depicts the bear pit in the ménagerie. *Œuvres complètes de Buffon, avec les suites. Accompagnées de 300 vignettes représentant plus de 800 animaux, d'un beau portrait de Buffon, et d'un frontispice représentant le génie de la nature, dessinés par Victor Adam, et gravés sur acier par MM. Muller*, 6 vols. (Paris: E.-L.-C. Mauprivez, 1835-1836).

very seldom is the case where copper-plate vignettes are introduced with letter-press.⁴⁴

Bewick developed an aesthetics of page design that would influence English and French illustrated books through much of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ His books were revered as much for their vignettes and tailpieces as for the larger-scale images of animals and birds.⁴⁶ These unframed scenes with their lacy, scalloped edges seem to emerge from the page as if out of a fog. Their minute details convey moralizing narratives that often preach against human cruelty toward animals, as in the tailpiece to the entry on the brown bear in *A General History of Quadrupeds* (1790). Here a man leads a muzzled bear, perhaps one that will be used in a bear-baiting entertainment, toward the gallows on which the cruel man may hang (Fig. 42).⁴⁷ As compact visual tales like this demonstrate, Bewick's menageries of the mind utilized animal imagery to educate his viewer-visitors morally, scientifically, and visually.

In his memoirs, Bewick recalled the dissatisfaction he felt as a child when viewing the crude images in Thomas Boreman's popular children's book *A Description of*

⁴⁴ "Memoir of Mr. Thomas Bewick," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 145 (1829): 17.

⁴⁵ On the impact of Bewick's aesthetic program, see Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, "The Romantic Vignette and Thomas Bewick," in *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1984), 73-96; Kevin Brooks, "Space Matter: On Thomas Bewick's Vignettes," *Chicago Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (1994): 52.

⁴⁶ As anonymous reviewer of Bewick's *History of British Birds* (1797 and 1804) put it: "The landscapes which he sometimes introduces as a background and relief to his principal figures, as well as the greater part of his numerous vignettes, have a similar excellence; and though the parts of which they consist are extremely minute, there is in them a truth and nature which admits of the strictest examination, and will be admired in proportion as they are more attentively observed and better understood. Many of them are adapted to the work, and exhibit several of our domestic animals in various situations and modes of action." *History of British Birds. The Figures Engraved on Wood*, by P. [sic] Bewick. In two volumes. 8vo," *The Annual Review and History of Literature*, ed. Arthur Aiken 3 (1804): 729.

⁴⁷ "Memoir of Bewick," 19-20; see also Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 53-58.

Three Hundred Animals (1730).⁴⁸ Boreman's animals were crowded two or three to a page with little or no suggestion of a landscape setting to suggest the species' native habitats (a deficiency that Bewick's images of birds especially were designed to correct).⁴⁹ Furthermore, the images had not been checked against fact. For example, the mythical unicorn shares a page with a poor copy of Dürer's armored rhinoceros (itself an inaccurate copy) captioned as "A Rhinocerot [*sic*]." ⁵⁰ For his illustrations to *A General History of Quadrupeds*, Bewick sought to verify the appearance of unfamiliar creatures with his own eyes and to draw them "from the life" whenever possible.⁵¹

Bewick relayed in his memoirs an informative account of the genesis and execution of his first visual menagerie:

Having, from the time I was a schoolboy, been displeased with most of the figures in children's books, and particularly with those of 'Three Hundred Animals,' the figures in which, even at that time, I thought I could depicture [*sic*] much better; and having afterwards very often turned the matter over in my mind, of making improvements in that publication – I at last came to the determination of making the attempt. The extreme interest I had always felt in the hope of administering to the pleasure and amusement of youth, and judging from the feelings I had experienced myself that they would be affected in the same way as I had been, whetted me up and stimulated me to proceed. In this, my only reward besides was my great pleasure in imitating nature.... Such animals as I knew, I drew from memory on the wood; others which I did not know were copied from 'Dr. Smellie's Abridgement of Buffon,' and other naturalists, and also

⁴⁸ Thomas Boreman, *A Description of Three Hundred Animals; viz. Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents, and Insects. With a Particular Account of the Whale-fishery* (London: Richard Ware, Thomas Boreman, and Thomas Game, 1730).

⁴⁹ Donald notes the skill with which Bewick was able to solve the problem of conveying the scale of a foreground bird against a landscape background by allowing the edges of his images to fade out to the surrounding blankness of the page. *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 53.

⁵⁰ Boreman, *Three Hundred Animals*, 5.

⁵¹ "Advertisement," in Thomas Bewick and Ralph Beilby, *A General History of Quadrupeds*, 2nd ed. (Newcastle: S. Hodgson, R. Beilby, and T. Bewick, 1792), n.p.; see also Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 53.

from the animals which were from time to time exhibited in itinerant collections. Of these last, I made sketches first from memory, and then corrected and finished the drawings upon the wood from a second examination of the different animals.⁵²

Bewick's self-prescribed scientific method required the observation of live animals, or at least well-preserved specimens, which he relied upon to correct the faults of his memory or of previously published natural history illustrations. Whenever he had seen an exotic animal in a traveling menagerie or private collection, it was proudly noted in the text (which was largely written by his former teacher and collaborator Ralph Beilby and then corrected by Bewick), further reinforcing the work's status as a menagerie of the mind.⁵³

Bewick's menagerie even contained the requisite bars and cages, at least textual ones, to keep the animals in their prescribed places. These are mentioned for example in the entry on the baboon (Fig. 43):

Neither art nor caresses can render it in any degree docile or obedient: it seems to be continually fretting with rage, and seeking every opportunity of shewing [*sic*] its savage and vicious propensities. In a state of captivity, it must be kept closely confined; and, even in that state, we have seen one shake the bars of its cage so powerfully with its hands, as to excite the utmost terror in the spectators.⁵⁴

As in a physical menagerie, the animals are presented textually in Bewick's and Beilby's menagerie of the mind to emphasize their alterity and ferocity. Yet, Bewick's images often subvert that message of difference and violence along the animal-human border,

⁵² Thomas Bewick and Jane Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick, Written by Himself* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862), 144-45.

⁵³ "While I was busied in drawing and cutting the figures of animals and also in designing and engraving the vignettes, Mr. Beilby, being of a bookish or reading turn, proposed, in his evenings at home, to write or compile the descriptions. With this I had little more to do than furnishing him, in many conversations and by written memoranda, with what I knew of animals, and blotting out, in his manuscript, what was not truth. In this way we proceeded till the book was published in 1790." Bewick, *Memoir of Thomas Bewick*, 145.

⁵⁴ Bewick and Beilby, *General History of Quadrupeds*, 418.

just as Jacque de Sève's drawing of the *Petit papion* had waved with a docile smile amidst Buffon's text decrying the baboon's alleged lasciviousness (Fig. 11).⁵⁵ Bewick viewed live examples of most of the baboons and monkeys presented in his wood-engravings, and in the images, these animals often appear to be harmless. They are merely hungry, crouching atop tables where they nibble on fruits and vegetables. The image of the "Dog-Faced Baboon," a species of monkey that Bewick had seen in London, presents the animal perched on a table with what appears to be an onion in its hands (Fig. 44). This creature's curious appearance led the authors to muse upon the limitations of the various classification schemes proposed by natural historians:

We may observe here, that, in tracing the progress of animated Nature, we are led, by the most imperceptible gradations, from one kind to another; The line of separation seems so faintly drawn, that we are frequently at a loss how to fix the boundaries of one class without encroaching upon that of another; and notwithstanding the regularity and order which everywhere prevail among numerous families that inhabit the earth, the best and most approved systems of arrangement fall infinitely short of precision: They serve, indeed, to direct us to the general characters which form the distinguishing features of each genus, but are very inadequate to discriminate the intermingled shades and nice touches by which all are diversified.⁵⁶

Bewick's own menagerie of the mind roughly followed the organizational scheme of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, with those animals native to England or domesticated animals used extensively for the health and well-being of the English people presented before more exotic or rare species.⁵⁷ Yet, as the text above conveys, Bewick and Beilby seemed to recognize that any classification scheme was arbitrary. If "imperceptible

⁵⁵ See Chapter One above.

⁵⁶ Bewick and Beilby, *General History of Quadrupeds*, 424-25.

⁵⁷ Bewick and Beilby, *General History of Quadrupeds*, n.p. [frontmatter].

gradations” separated one animal from another, that faintly drawn line of separation might be erased as humans continued to observe and interact with live animals in menageries of the physical *or* visual variety.

“For Scientists and for Artists:” Founding the Ménagerie in the Jardin des Plantes

On 20 April 1833, J.-J. Grandville recorded a visit to the ménagerie at Paris’s botanical gardens in his diary: “Daumier comes[;] we go together to the Jardin des Plantes [to] talk about painting...”⁵⁸ He filled the rest of the page with a menagerie in miniature, a visual journal entry designed to remind him of what he had seen. There is a monkey’s head, a stork, a palm tree, a leopard in a cage, and a giraffe. People visit Grandville’s zoo sketches too. They walk through a garden, and a mother and son look at an elephant. Less than two weeks later, Grandville again documented a visit to the Jardin des Plantes, this time in the company of the lithographers Eugène-Hippolyte Forest (b. 1808) and Jacques Guiaud (1811-1876), colleagues who sometimes produced the printed versions of Grandville’s drawings that were published in Charles Philipon’s illustrated periodicals *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*.⁵⁹ During this second visit, Grandville sketched birds - a crane, an ostrich, and a peacock – as well as children: a small child feeds a goat through a fence and a young girl peers over a railing.⁶⁰ Aside from marking

⁵⁸ “Daumier vient [;] nous allons ensemble au Jardin des Plantes causerie de peinture” J.-J. Grandville, Drawings [and journal excerpts], 1830?-1846?, Special Collections, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia.

⁵⁹ On Forest and Guiaud, see the entries in Henri Béraudi, *Les Graveurs du XIXe siècle: Guide de l’amateur d’estampes modernes* (1885-1891; repr., Nogent-le-Roi: Jacques Laget, 1981), 6:141-42 and 8:7; James Cuno’s studies of Philipon remain the most thorough of this caricaturist-entrepreneur-publisher-dissident; see for example “Charles Philipon, La Maison Aubert, and the Business of Caricature in Paris, 1829-41,” *Art Journal* 43, no. 4 (1983): 347-54; and “Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820-1840” (PhD. diss., Harvard University, 1985).

⁶⁰ “3 Vendredi. Invention Ste Croix. 125-242. Nous allons Forest, Guiard [*sic*] et moi au Jardin des Plantes.” Grandville, “Drawings,” n.p.

encounters between important contributors to Philippon's publications during the five-year window of freedom from censorship that followed the July Revolution, Grandville's journal entries inscribe Paris's Jardin des Plantes, and especially its ménagerie, as an aesthetic site, a space that encouraged one to ponder the visual spectacles of nature arranged for the consumption of the human eye.

When Paris's ménagerie inspired a dialogue about art between Grandville and Daumier, two artists highly regarded as observers of animals and humans respectively, this institution had fulfilled one of the wishes of its founders: that it be of use to artists as well as to natural historians. Among the reasons for establishing a menagerie in Paris cited by Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814), the superintendent of the Jardin des Plantes (and author of the wildly popular novel *Paul et Virginie* [1787]), in his "Memoir on the Necessity of Adding a Menagerie to the Botanical Garden" of 1793 was that it would provide live animal models for artists, writers, and poets, to aid and improve their study of nature.⁶¹ Art and science were both to benefit from Bernardin's plan. He envisioned the ménagerie not as a "public show," like the staged animal combats one could witness on the streets of Paris, but rather as "a place set aside for the study of nature, in the interests of science and the liberal arts, *for scientists and for artists.*"⁶²

⁶¹ "Des dessinateurs et des peintres viennent chaque jour au Jardin national pour y dessiner des plantes étrangères, lorsqu'ils ont à représenter des sites d'Asie, d'Afrique, et d'Amérique. Les animaux des mêmes climats leurs seront utiles; ils ont étudieront les formes, les attitudes, les passions.... Artistes, poètes, écrivains, si vous copiez toujours, on ne vous copiera jamais. Voulez-vous être originaux et fixer l'admiration de la postérité sur vos ouvrages? N'en cherchez les modèles que dans la nature." "Mémoire sur la nécessité de joindre une ménagerie au Jardin des Plantes" (1793), in *Œuvres complètes de Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre* (Paris: P. Dupont, 1826), 533-34; for further analysis of Bernardin's arguments, see Richard W. Burkhardt, Jr., "Constructing the Zoo: Science, Society, and Animal Nature at the Paris Menagerie, 1794-1838," in *Animals in Human Histories: The Mirror of Nature and Culture*, ed. Mary J. Henninger-Voss (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 233-34.

⁶² My emphasis. As quoted and translated in E.T. Hamy, "The Royal Menagerie of France and the National Menagerie Established on the 14th of Brumaire of the Year II (November 4, 1793)," in *Annual Report of the*

Thus, from its establishment in late 1793, the ménagerie at Paris's Jardin des Plantes, the first civic zoo in Europe, was intended as an institution of higher learning.⁶³

As a branch of the Jardin des Plantes (formerly the Jardin du Roi) and under the governance of its committee of twelve professors or “chairs” of natural sciences, the ménagerie was marketed to the public and to the ever-evolving cast of France's political rulers as a glorious embodiment of French scientific progress and superiority.⁶⁴ Like the collections of preserved animal specimens in the Jardin des Plantes' Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, the ménagerie was free and open to the public. Its founders felt that the animals chosen for display ought to be selected based on moral and aesthetic guidelines. For example, the Comte de Lacépède (Bernard Germain Étienne de Laville-sur-Ilon [1756-1825]), highly sensitive to the visual effects that the behaviors of live animals might have on the lower classes, championed Buffon's maligned sheep over the regal yet predatory lion. Lacépède believed it would be morally uplifting for the masses to see “the lion, so

Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 513; public animal combats in Paris were outlawed in 1837; Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, “The *Surtout de Table* of the Duc d'Orléans,” in William R. Johnston and Simon Kelly, *Untamed: The Art of Antoine-Louis Barye* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, 2006), 34.

⁶³ Other animal collections in London, Vienna, and Spain had been opened to the public during the eighteenth century, but these were royal collections rather than public zoological institutions; Patrick H. Wirtz “Zoo City: Bourgeois Values and Scientific Culture in the Industrial Landscape,” *Journal of Urban Design* 2, no. 1 (1997): 62-63; on the Jardin des Plantes' role as moral and educational model for republican citizens in post-Revolutionary Paris, see Emma C. Spary, *Utopia's Garden: French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 225-26.

⁶⁴ Established by Louis XIII in 1626 and opened in February 1633, the Jardin des Plantes was originally given the name *Jardin royal pour la culture des plantes médicinales*. It was established as a scientific institution to facilitate advances in botany and the use of plants for medicinal purposes. After the Revolution the Jardin du Roi became known officially as the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle and the site in Paris was renamed the Jardin des Plantes. Additionally, at this time the Muséum's structure was changed from the superintendence of one person to the allegedly more democratic governance by committee. Richard W. Burkhardt, Jr., “The Leopard in the Garden: Life in Close Quarters at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle,” *Isis* 98 (2007): 682; on the early years of the Jardin du roi, see Luc Vezin, *Les Artistes au Jardin des Plantes* (Paris: Herscher, 1990), 16-19, and Paul-Antoine Cap, *Le Muséum d'histoire naturelle* (Paris: L. Curmer, 1854), 1-22.

proud and superb, but so useless and so dangerous, cede its place to the cashmere sheep, so gentle, so humble, so peaceful, and so useful.”⁶⁵ However, at its establishment in November 1793, the ménagerie’s supervisors could not be especially selective. In fact, the founding of the ménagerie occurred almost by default after a decree by the Commune of Paris on 3 November 1793 outlawed the exhibition of wild animals on Parisian streets. The police were authorized to collect these animals and deposit them (preferably with their human handlers, who in most cases would be allowed to continue to care for them) at the Jardin des Plantes.⁶⁶ On the morning of 4 November 1793, a certain Dominique Marchini arrived with his leopard, polar bear (called “a sea lion” at the time), civet, and monkey, which he had been showing for money to the crowds gathering around the guillotine at the Place de la Revolution.⁶⁷ In addition to twenty-two other animals acquired from Parisian animal handlers, the ménagerie received on 26 April 1794 all that remained of the former royal menagerie at Versailles: a bubale (a type of antelope), a quagga (a species related to the zebra and now extinct), and a lion with its companion dog.⁶⁸ Most of the animals in the Versailles menagerie had been freed into the woods or

⁶⁵ “... le lion, si fier et si superbe, mais si inutile et si dangereux, céder sa place, au belier de Cachemire, si doux, si humble, si pacifique et si utile.” Lacapède, “Sur les établissements publics destinés à renfermer des animaux vivans, et connus sous le nom de ménageries,” (1795), *Séances des Ecoles normales* 8 (1800): 311.

⁶⁶ On the initial establishment of the ménagerie, see the very thorough account of Gustave Loisel, “Histoire de la Ménagerie du Muséum,” *Revue scientifique* 49, no. 9 (1911): 262-77; and the more general, unsigned article “Fondation de la Ménagerie du Muséum d’histoire naturelle,” *Magasin pittoresque* 6 (1838): 106-108.

⁶⁷ Burkhardt, “The Leopard in the Garden,” 679.

⁶⁸ The bubale died almost immediately after arriving at the menagerie from injuries sustained during its transport from Versailles. The initial animals received by the menagerie from the streets of Paris included two panthers (probably leopards), two margays (a type of spotted wild cat), two civets, four polar bears, several mandrills, a macaque, two vultures, eagles, and a paca (a large rodent native to Central or South America). François Chaslin, “Résidences surveillées,” *Feuilles* 2 (1982): 11.

harvested for their meat, feathers, and hides when the palace was looted in August 1792.⁶⁹ Only the most dangerous or exotic creatures were left in their cages.⁷⁰

During the early days of the ménagerie, concerns for the containment, surveillance, and control of potentially dangerous animals that would dominate subsequent zoo design were subordinated to the simple need to keep animals alive during the cold dampness of a Parisian winter. Upon receiving Marchini's animals, René Louiche Desfontaines (1750-1831), professor of botany and the Muséum's secretary, wrote in his request to the Committee of Public Instruction for funds to support the care of these unexpected animal guests:

There is no doubt but that a collection of living animals would be an advantage for the instruction of the public and for the progress of natural history, and that it would be a means of acquiring and multiplying, within the territory of the Republic, the useful species that now exist only in foreign countries.⁷¹

The ménagerie's existence is justified here as an instructional institution for the populace and for scientists. It would also advance the nation in the eyes of others, but there remains a tension between the desire for more exotic or more useful animals; for, as the arrangement of species in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* had asserted, the more exotic an animal was, the less practical it would be domestically.

⁶⁹ Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, "Mémoire sur la nécessité," 532; see also the account of the menagerie's last days in Iriye, "Le Vau's Menagerie," 194-95.

⁷⁰ Although six animals were spared during the looting, a rhinoceros and an exotic crown pigeon did not survive to be transferred to Paris. Hamy, "The Royal Menagerie," 512.

⁷¹ Quoted and translated in Hamy, "The Royal Menagerie," 514.

The final official response designating funds for the feeding and care of the animals in the ménagerie did not arrive until 16 May 1794, when the Committee of Public Safety decreed that the Commission of Public Works be charged with

arranging some provisional dwellings for the animals in the most suitable place and terrain, which will be designated by the professors, and with making use of the iron bars and cages belonging to the former menagerie of Versailles, which the aforementioned commission will transport ... to the Muséum d'Histoire naturelle...⁷²

The iron bars of animal cages and the concern for the containment of allegedly threatening creatures emerge here, appropriately, in a decree from the infamous Committee of Public Safety. The live, exotic animals were understood as being both physically and morally dangerous toward humans, so they should not be allowed to mingle freely with women and children. The ménagerie's animals required strict control within man-made constructions like cages and pits that were designed to emphasize animal alterity. Yet, a sign posted above the first cages, which read "Défense de rien jeter aux animaux," ("It is prohibited to throw anything at the animals,") effectively contained the admission that humans might also be a danger to animals.⁷³

Translating the Ménagerie: From Physical to Visual Menagerie

Mingled with the concern for mutual safety within the human-animal border zone that was the ménagerie there emerged the realization that the position of an animal in

⁷² "... la Commission des travaux publics est chargée de faire arranger provisoirement quelques loges pour les animaux dans le lieu et le terrain le plus convenable, qui sera désigné par les professeurs, et en se servant des grilles de fer et des cages appartenant à la ci-devant Ménagerie de Versailles, qui ladite Commission fera transporter ... au Muséum d'Histoire naturelle" Quoted in Loisel, "Histoire de la Ménagerie," 265.

⁷³ The sign also read "Ménagerie provisoire," indicating that the living arrangements for the animals were temporary until permanent cages could be built. Loisel, "Histoire de la Ménagerie," 265; on the power dynamics of human cruelty toward animals in zoos, see for example Mullan and Marvin, *Zoo Culture*, 6.

captivity was a precarious one, especially if the specimen in question had traveled a great distance from an exotic home. Secondary only to the need to shelter and feed the animals was the need to document them in visual and verbal terms while the animals remained alive (or if not alive, then at least very recently deceased). Even before the ménagerie was officially established, the professors of the Muséum asserted the necessity of creating visual records of the collections in the Cabinet d'histoire naturelle (the collection of skeletons and stuffed animal specimens) and the vast botanical holdings of the Jardin des Plantes.⁷⁴ A “Memoir on the Teaching of Natural History” addressed to the Committee of Public Instruction on 19 August 1793 requested the appointment of three draftsmen to serve as assistants to an official painter who was charged with describing and representing “plants, animals, and minerals, of which it is important to preserve faithful images.”⁷⁵ The language of this request is laced with urgency, perhaps fueled by the deep political, social, and economic instabilities of the Terror. As Luc Vezin has observed, only the minerals held in the Muséum’s collection remained undepicted during this particular cataloging project; priority was given to “ephemeral plants and animals or those with parts that promptly lose their form and their color.”⁷⁶

This documentary impulse may be understood as an extension of the encyclopedic efforts of the mid-eighteenth century, since Buffon’s *Histoire naturelle* was essentially

⁷⁴ On the naming of the Muséum (rather than the more traditional French word *musée*) see Paula Young Lee, “The Musaeum of Alexandria and the Formation of the Muséum in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 3 (1997): 385-412.

⁷⁵ “Il sera adjoint au peintre chargé de la description et de la représentation des végétaux, animaux et minéraux, dont il est important de conserver les images fidèles, trois dessinateurs habile qui l’aideront dans son travail et qui compléteront ce que la brièveté du temps ne lui permettrait pas d’exécuter.” *Mémoire sur l’enseignement de l’histoire naturelle*, quoted in Vezin, *Les Artistes au Jardin*, 48.

⁷⁶ “... les plantes ou les animaux éphémères ou celles de leurs parties qui perdent promptement leur forme et leur couleur.” Quoted in Vezin, *Les Artistes au Jardin*, 49.

begun as a project to inventory the contents of the King's natural history collections at the Jardin du roi. Yet, it was driven in the early days of the ménagerie by a new hope that its cages could preserve the last living examples of rare, exotic species. The physical ménagerie must be translated as quickly as possible into a menagerie of the mind, one that could prepare visitors for what they might see, remind them of what they did see, and substitute for what they might be unable to see if the animal died.

The book *La ménagerie du Muséum d'histoire naturelle*, published in 1801, was the first result of these cataloguing efforts.⁷⁷ To give the work scientific credence, it was ostensibly based on the studies of Lacépède, the professor who held the Muséum's chair of reptiles and fishes, Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), chair of comparative anatomy, and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844), chair of zoology.⁷⁸ Of equal, if not greater importance were the book's illustrations, engravings by Simon-Charles Miger (1736-1820) after life drawings by Nicolas Maréchal (1753-1802), Léon de Wailly (active c. 1801-1824), and Nicolas Huet (1770?-1830). Though many of the images for this luxurious, folio-size catalogue rely heavily on the compositional strategies of the illustrations to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* - profile views of animals standing or walking, often in the presence of vaguely exotic plants or ruins (cf. Figs. 15 and 45) - Maréchal's paintings made from live zoo animals are sensitive portraits of individuals (Figs. 46 and 47).

⁷⁷ Étienne de Lacépède, Georges Cuvier, and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. *La Ménagerie du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, ou Les animaux vivants, peints d'après nature, sur vélin, par le citoyen Maréchal, peintre du muséum* (Paris: Miger, 1801).

⁷⁸ The latter two would become engaged in a famous public debate in 1830, which is amply documented in Toby A. Appel, *The Cuvier-Geoffroy Debate: French Biology in the Decades before Darwin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

For example, Maréchal painted a rare depiction of a lioness in her cage at the ménagerie (Fig. 47). *La lionne et ses petits nés à la ménagerie*, reproduced as an engraving in *La Ménagerie du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle* as “*Felis leo foemina. La lionne,*” commemorated the birth of three lion cubs in captivity, a notable breeding success that occurred in 1798 (Fig. 48).⁷⁹ As such, this image functions primarily as an anthropocentric tribute to human accomplishments. Through the human construction of the zoo, a dangerous predator has been rendered as docile as a house-cat. The lioness is shown lounging on a wooden floor that is partially covered with straw. Two of her cubs gambol about her while the third nurses. The lioness’s ears tip forward, and her brow is furrowed to convey an alertness of mind in contrast to her relaxed pose. Straw mats hang in front of the bars, perhaps to give the new mother privacy as she nurses her young, but one of the mats has fallen down to reveal the iron bars of the cage and wispy clouds in the blue sky beyond – reminders that the animal has been successfully contained. At the right in the painting stands a large plinth or doorway above which is inscribed, “MENAGE[R]IE DE MUSÉU[M] D’HISTOIRE –N[ATURELLE].” This inscription and the bars revealed by the fallen shade doubly reinforce with image and text this animal’s position as a captive of the ménagerie, a point further underscored in the engraving where the source of the lioness’s attention is revealed to be a human zoo visitor peering through an opening at the left. In both painting and print, the animals are dwarfed and framed by human constructions - floor boards, iron bars, stone plinth - and yet they appear content in their situation. The kittens play and nurse, apparently unaware

⁷⁹ This event led to a number of painted and printed images of a lioness guarding her three cubs from threats seen or unseen. Nancy Ann Finlay, “Animal Themes in the Painting of Eugene Delacroix,” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984), 75-76.

that they are caged animals, while their mother retains her instinct, poised as she is to spring to their defense at the slightest provocation.⁸⁰ Ultimately, the viewer of Maréchal's image is provided with a reminder of what he or she may have seen in the zoo or with a substitute for that experience, since the animals remain firmly contained and no effort is made to erase the ménagerie. Thus, there is no danger of mistaking Maréchal's lioness for a wild cat.

Maréchal's depiction of the ménagerie's structures of containment is exceptional. More often, if a live, captive animal served as an artist's model, the zoo's apparatus would be erased. For example, Diana Donald has recently described George Stubbs's paintings of exotic cats as depictions of the felines' inner emotions and experiences outside the confined spaces in which they lived.⁸¹ Stubbs worked from live animal models, most often the lions, leopards, and cheetahs housed in the menagerie at the Tower of London, but the cats in his paintings and prints inhabit landscapes in nature, not cages or pens (Figs. 49 and 50).⁸² Donald asserts that Stubbs refused anthropocentrism in these images

⁸⁰ In this regard, Maréchal's lioness embodies Buffon's characterization of the lioness as having a high level of maternal affection for her cubs: "Dans ces animaux toutes les passions, même les plus douces, sont excessives, et l'amour maternel est extrême. La lionne, naturellement moins forte, moins courageuse et plus tranquille que le lion, devient terrible dès qu'elle a des petits ; elle se montre alors avec encore plus de hardiesse que le lion, elle ne connoît point le danger, elle se jette indifféremment sur les hommes et sur les animaux qu'elle rencontre, elle les met à mort, se charge ensuite de sa proic, la porte et la partage à ses lionceaux, auxquels elle apprend de bonne heure à sucer le sang et à déchirer la chair. D'ordinaire elle met bas dans des lieux très écartés et de difficile accès, et lorsqu'elle craint d'être découverte, elle cache ses traces en retournant plusieurs sois sur ses pas, ou bien elle les efface avec sa queue ; quelquefois même, lorsque l'inquiétude est grande, elle transporte ailleurs ses petits, et quand on veut les lui enlever, elle devient furieuse et les défend jusqu'à la dernière extrémité." Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 9: 20-21; Finlay asserts that the theme of a lioness guarding her young has a long iconographic tradition in the visual arts; "Animal Themes in the Painting of Eugene Delacroix," 74-75.

⁸¹ Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 163.

⁸² Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie*, 59.

because of his “sense of the dignity of wild animals in their native element.”⁸³ Although Donald may be projecting onto Stubbs an anachronistic theriophilic view, the animals in the artist's paintings and prints do appear to contemplate their natural surroundings or even to remember their former wild habitats in ways that Maréchal's lioness, surrounded as she is by man-made menagerie devices, is unable to do. Ultimately, the viewer of Stubbs's cats, made aware of his use of captive animals as models by the naturalism of his depictions, is compelled to re-insert the pens and cages that Stubbs effaced. Thus, the iron bars of the menagerie remain ever-present, whether they are depicted visually or merely implied through the use of live animal models.

Animal Containment in Visual Satire: Daumier and Grandville

Human visitors were rarely admitted to menageries of the mind. The visitors depicted in the menageries created by Daumier and Grandville provide the satirical exception to this rule. Both caricaturists capitalized on the time they spent strolling through the ménagerie. Together and separately they observed the behavior of human zoo visitors just as much as they watched the animal inhabitants. In the visual menageries they created as caricatures and book illustrations, Daumier and Grandville consistently asked the questions: who is looking at whom? Who is more ridiculous: the menagerie animal or the human visitor? That is, who really belongs in the zoo? To the goals of preparation, reminder, and substitution shared to varying degrees by other menageries of the mind, Daumier and Grandville added the projects of inversion and subversion.

Daumier's visual menagerie primarily appears in his caricatures for the journal *Le Charivari*. Following the ménagerie's acquisition of its first live orangutan (given the

⁸³ Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 164.

name Jack) in May of 1836, Daumier published a series of lithographs called *Orang-Outaniana* that question the purpose of holding such a human-like animal captive (Figs. 51 and 52).⁸⁴ The caricature “O, qu’ils sont laids!” of 21 September 1836 made Daumier’s purpose clear. Three zoo visitors in outrageous costumes stand on a platform from which they can see a crowd of orangutans below them. The apes appear to smile and converse with one another, while some of them gaze up at the humans. The edge of the platform disappears on either side of the print to obscure the nature of the setting.⁸⁵ This lack of clear spatial arrangement begs the question: which of these creatures is providing the spectacle, the apes or the humans? Both groups are intrigued by their view of the other, and the caption, “Oh, but they’re ugly!” could be spoken by man or by orangutan.⁸⁶

A second caricature, published on 8 November 1836, makes Daumier’s inversion apparent (Fig. 52). In “Bobonne, Bobonne! Tu me ferais un monstre comme ça, ne le regarde pas tant!” (“Dear, dear! You would make a monster like that for me, don’t look at it so much!”) a single orangutan crouches on the same platform above a crowd of human

⁸⁴ Three of the lithographs were published in *Le Charivari* between 21 September and 8 November 1836; on the violent capture of Jack and his arrival at the Jardin des Plantes, see “L’Orang-outang du Muséum d’histoire naturelle de Paris,” *Magasin pittoresque* 4 (1836): 223-24; this ape is also believed to be the one that appears in Barye’s *Ape Riding a Gnu* (Fig. 82). Jack died in January 1837, at which point his remains were dissected in the anatomy laboratory, where Barye seems to have made a drawing after the animal’s corpse. Johnston and Kelly, *Untamed*, 148.

⁸⁵ Paul Jobling has argued for the hidden political messages in these caricatures based on their proximity within *Le Charivari* to texts that ask why the well-fed orangutan in the ménagerie lives in comfort while so many Parisians struggle for survival amid famine and squalor. Jobling’s argument is largely convincing, but the bulk of his essay engages in unpacking a symbolic reading of texts while ignoring the visual strategies at work in Daumier’s caricatures. “Daumier’s *Orang-Outaniana*,” *Print Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1993): 231-246.

⁸⁶ Childs’s assertion that the words of the caption are spoken by the crowd of orangutans (which she erroneously calls “gorillas”) does not quite acknowledge the deliberate ambiguity at play in the relationship between caricature and caption here, though there is validity in her argument that the anthropomorphic expressions on the apes’ faces serve to place the human viewer within the animal crowd rather than among the ridiculous humans, whose faces are obscured by their hats. *Daumier and Exoticism*, 92.

visitors, reversing the positions of the humans and apes in “O, qu’ils sont laids!”⁸⁷ Again the joke queries relative human and animal ugliness. The hunchbacked Monsieur Mayeux urges his pregnant wife not to look at the orangutan because of his misplaced fear that she will become poisoned by the sight of it and give birth to a monster.⁸⁸ The previous, conspicuously ape-like result of their union clings to his mother’s hand to offer a preview of what to expect from M. Mayeux’s children (or perhaps implying that his wife has already fallen victim to the ape’s allegedly licentious ways).⁸⁹ Both caricatures prepare the ménagerie visitor for the bizarre examples of her *own* species that she will encounter during her visit to the zoo just as much as they prepare her for the exotic yet strangely familiar orangutan she will also see there.

The animals in Daumier’s caricatures of the ménagerie remain caged or separated from the human viewers, but there are moments where Daumier allows the border to be crossed, particularly in his caricatures of ménagerie elephants. In at least four prints or drawings, an elephant’s trunk snakes through the bars of its cage to make contact with a human, an event not unlike that which apparently happened to the English artist Thomas Landseer as he made drawings at the Paris ménagerie for his book *Characteristic Sketches of Animals*.⁹⁰ The man’s identity in Daumier’s caricatures (for it is always a man

⁸⁷ According to the account in *Magasin pittoresque*, the orangutan “a été installé dans une cabane placée au dessus de celles des autre singes.” “L’Orang-outang,” 223.

⁸⁸ M. Mayeux, a caricatural type of the unscrupulous petit bourgeois, was largely the invention of the painter and caricaturist Charles Joseph Traviès de Villiers (1804-1859).

⁸⁹ Jobling suggests the latter; “Daumier’s *Orang-Outaniana*,” 240.

⁹⁰ In a vignette accompanying Landseer’s image of the African elephant, an elephant is about to steal a man’s hat. The accompanying text relates the story: “The subjoined vignette represents a very unceremonious and unexpected visit, which the subject of this memoir, who had unbolted his own den, and was seeking an airing without consulting his keeper, was one day pleased to pay on mister T. L., who was at that moment taking a sketch of the Bonassus.” John Henry Barrow, *Characteristic Sketches of Animals*,

who gets too close to the bars) ranges from the Haitian emperor Faustin Soulouque (1782-1867) to a generic provincial tourist to the biochemist Jean-Baptiste Dumas (1800-1884).⁹¹ In all cases, the bars that define the zoo enclosure appear prominently. In “Une Émotion au Jardin des Plantes” (“Excitement at the Botanical Gardens”), which was published in *Le Charivari* in June of 1844 as part of the series *Les Etrangers à Paris*, the bars of the cage are even supplemented by an additional fence, a doubling which underscores the desire for a secure boundary between humans and animals (Fig. 53). Yet, despite these bars and fences, the animal and the human still find points of contact. The wife who raises her umbrella scolds her hapless husband, asking him why he has insisted on going “nose to nose” with an elephant.⁹² Man and beast regard each other through the iron boundary, but the elephant here has claimed the upper “hand,” as it were. Despite humanity’s best efforts to control this enormous beast, to hide it behind bars and fences yet still allow humans a privileged view of it, the elephant’s trunk, with a tip said to resemble a human finger, allows it to threaten that barrier and reclaim a natural power that human civilization has endeavored to deny it.⁹³ Daumier’s caricatures of the ménagerie rely heavily upon the interactions of human visitor and captive animal, the

Principally in the Zoological Gardens, Regent’s Park. Drawn from the Life and Engraved by Thomas Landseer (London: Moon, Boys, and Graves, 1832), 10.

⁹¹ On Soulouque in Daumier’s caricature, see Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism*, 111-120. Dumas’s *Essai de statique chimique des êtres organizes* (1841/44) asserted the existence of organic molecules, thus claiming that humans, animals, plants, and even air were composed of the same basic building blocks. For a concise summary see Greg M. Thomas, *Art and Ecology in Nineteenth-Century France: The Landscapes of Théodore Rousseau* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 6-8.

⁹² “... aussi pourquoi aller te mettre nez à nez avec un éléphant!....”

⁹³ My understanding of this print relies upon that found in Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism*, 92; for the finger-like features of the elephant’s trunk, see for example Bewick and Beilby, *General History of Quadrupeds*, 169.

combination of which allows him to question with humor and persistence the power structures at work there.

Caricatures and book illustrations by Daumier's friend and colleague Grandville offer a sustained meditation on the ménagerie as a site of inversion. At least three of Grandville's major illustration projects could be classified as visual menageries, collections of diverse creatures housed within the pages of his illustrated books where they enact original narratives: *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1828-1829), *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux* (1840-42), and *Un Autre monde* (1844). As outlined in Chapter One above, Grandville's first animal project, *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, was allegedly modeled on the engravings of animals that Grandville claimed he found in an abridged edition of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*.⁹⁴ Grandville's lithographic series was populated by hybrid creatures whose animal heads topped human bodies dressed in the manner of the latest Parisian fashion plates. This initial menagerie of the mind marked Grandville as a creator of strange spectacles. His inventive, hybrid creatures exist at various points on a continuum between the fully human and fully animal. This slippage continues in *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux*, though in this series most of the creatures in this series are animals dressed in human clothes and walking upright. Finally, in the dreamscape of *Un Autre monde*, the work which for twentieth-century Surrealists marked Grandville as their forefather, animal, human, plant, and mechanical

⁹⁴ Vezin asserts that Grandville must have been joking when he made this claim for the origin of his animals: "Créateur d'être hybrides, mi-hommes, mi-animaux ou composés de deux animaux différents, le dessinateur Grandville prétendait trouver ses modèles dans son exemplaire de *l'Histoire naturelle* de Buffon. Pourtant on retrouve dans ses livres le décor du Jardin des Plantes, et quelques dessins d'animaux, ... y ont certainement été exécutés." *Les Artistes au Jardin*, 109.

parts of all kinds are mixed to create new hybrid creatures.⁹⁵ As one critic aptly summarized Grandville's œuvre, it constituted a “menagerie where beasts and people are merged.”⁹⁶

As they were for Daumier, the ménagerie's apparatuses of containment and the actions of zoo visitors were of primary interest to Grandville. This is evident in the two drawings he provided for Pierre Boitard's guide book *Le Jardin des Plantes: Description et mœurs des mammifères de la Ménagerie et du Muséum d'histoire naturelle* in 1842 (Figs. 54 and 55). Both images appeared in the section describing the brown bear. The first depicts two bear cubs grappling in the bottom of the bear pit. Their surroundings are entirely dictated by humans, from the stone floor and brick walls to the water dripping from a faucet and the piece of bread tied to a string used to tease the hungry bear in the upper left.⁹⁷ The viewer is effectively placed inside the bear pit, where he or she is rendered a captive animal. In the next plate, Grandville places the viewer among the human zoo visitors who crowd around the edges of the bear pit. The arched doorway that was visible in the previous image reappears to demonstrate that this is the same location observed from a different vantage point. The humans continue to provoke the bear with bread on a string; their various hats and costumes mark them as representatives of all

⁹⁵ For a concise historiography of Grandville's reputation, see Clive F. Getty, “Max Ernst and J.J. Grandville,” in *Twenty-First-Century Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 116-23.

⁹⁶ “... cette ménagerie où bêtes et gens sont confondus.” Charles de Meixmoron de Dombasle, “J.-J. Grandville,” *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas* 11 (1893): 306.

⁹⁷ One of the ménagerie's bears, “Martin,” was a celebrity, and guidebooks described where best to purchase the buns that he most enjoyed eating. P. Bernard and L. Couailhac, *Physiologie du Jardin des Plantes et guide des promeneurs* (Paris: L. Curmer, 1841), 8-9.

classes of French society.⁹⁸ This time the bear has climbed to the top of his pole, and he extends one paw to attempt to extricate his dinner. The background is filled with leafy trees, as if to further torment the captive bears, whose own “tree” – the climbing pole – is devoid of foliage.

The text that accompanies Grandville’s images of the bear pit gives an account of the brown bear’s habits in the wild, its physical appearance, and its character. It offers little acknowledgment that the ménagerie’s live, captive bears were consulted to test the accuracy of the previous written accounts that Boitard cites. Nor does it prepare the visitor to the ménagerie for the bear pit that he or she will encounter. The only mention of the ménagerie’s resident bears comes in the final paragraph of the entry, in which the author notes the “maternal authority” exercised by the female bear, even after her cubs have surpassed her in size.⁹⁹ It was left to Grandville’s drawings to guide the would-be visitor, to offer preparation for or reminders of the ménagerie’s bears. Such a project did not require Grandville’s ability to satirize or question, and yet even in two relatively unimportant guidebook illustrations, he probes the appropriateness of the bears’ pit by placing the human viewer inside it or by contrasting the bears’ man-made home with a nature that is visible but ever beyond their grasp. His days spent critiquing the injustices perpetuated by King Louis-Philippe’s corrupt government may have been long past, but

⁹⁸ For example, on the left, a bourgeois couple in top hat and frilly bonnet stand next to a member of the national guard and a young boy in artisan’s clothing.

⁹⁹ “La mère a toujours marqué une sentiment de préférence pour l’un d’eux, et jamais elle n’a perdu son autorité maternelle, lorsqu’ils étaient devenus beaucoup plus grands qu’elle.” Pierre Boitard, *Le Jardin des Plantes: Description et moeurs des mammifères de la Ménagerie et du Muséum d’histoire naturelle* (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet, 1842), 135.

Grandville continued to direct a critical eye toward the apparatuses of power that he encountered in his daily life, including those he witnessed at the ménagerie.¹⁰⁰

Animals and *Animaliers* in the Jardin des Plantes

Artists working in less satirical modes also utilized the live animals of the ménagerie and the preserved specimens of the Muséum as models for the creation of visual menageries. Those artists, most often sculptors, whose primary subjects were animals, came to be known as *animaliers*. Antoine-Louis Barye (1796-1875) is typically dubbed the initiator of this artistic sub-genre. His meticulous sketches, paintings, and sculptures of animals from the Paris ménagerie constitute a highly systematic menagerie of the mind. Charles Saunier's monographic study of Barye gives an idea of the variety of sources to which the sculptor turned in his efforts to draw directly from the animal form:

His models he found everywhere – at the Menagerie, at country fairs, at animal trainers where Delacroix, on his introduction, was also esteemed, at horse fairs and dog shows. He visits the operating-theatres, dissects, takes moulds. He reads much too – his culture was wide, and had literary opinions, based on principles of his own and sagacious enough – follows Museum lectures, takes notes on animals' habits, on their physiological peculiarities.¹⁰¹

The lectures at the Muséum, to which Saunier alludes, were those on zoology and comparative anatomy taught by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and Cuvier.¹⁰² In most cases, Barye annotated his drawings with precise measurements when he drew from preserved or recently deceased animal specimens in Cuvier's anatomy laboratory or during his

¹⁰⁰ On the police harassment that may have pushed Grandville out of the business of political caricature and into the safer realm of book illustration, see Clive F. Getty, "Grandville: Opposition Caricature and Political Harassment," *Print Collector's Newsletter* 14 (1984): 197-201.

¹⁰¹ Charles Saunier, *Louis Barye*, trans. Wilfrid S. Jackson (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1926), 31.

¹⁰² Vezin, *Les artistes au Jardin*, 71 and 76.

regular visits to the menagerie (Figs. 56 and 57).¹⁰³ According to legend, a certain lion-keeper called “Père Rousseau” often let Barye into the ménagerie in the early morning hours before it was opened to the public.¹⁰⁴ He even gave the struggling artist bread to eat from the bears’ rations.¹⁰⁵

Barye infused his sculptures with vigor and torsion that disguised their origins as lethargic zoo animals or dissected carcasses. His plaster *Lion and Serpent* of 1833 (later cast in bronze) was praised because it did not resemble the “quadruped that becomes scrawny and sickly, whom our attentions stunt by the hour, at the Jardin des Plantes, under a grey sky and with the help of a Parisian sun.”¹⁰⁶ A review in the *Magasin pittoresque* assumed that he had studied the ménagerie’s lions “in the least acts of their monotonous lives,” which then gave him the ability to transport both sculpted lion and human viewer to deserts “under the palm trees of the oasis.”¹⁰⁷ The critics recognized the animals’ origins as ménagerie inhabitants, but they were quick to assert an exotic location for Barye’s menagerie of the mind far distant from the rather drab confines of the Jardin des Plantes. This distancing strategy of placing the ménagerie animal in an exotic locale

¹⁰³ Barye had the opportunity to draw from the cadavers of lions, bears, tigers, and panthers in the anatomy laboratory. Johnston and Kelly, *Untamed*, 34.

¹⁰⁴ Saunier, *Louis Barye*, 19.

¹⁰⁵ François-Raphaël Loffredo suggests that “Père Rousseau” was Simon-Pierre Rousseau, Cuvier's assistant in the Muséum's Laboratoire d'anatomie comparée. “Des recherches communes de Barye et de Delacroix au Laboratoire d'anatomie comparée du Muséum d'Histoire naturelle,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français* 1982 (1984): 147.

¹⁰⁶ “Le lion que Barye a mis à l'exposition n'est pas ce quadrupède devenu chétif et malingre, que nos soins rabougrissent à l'heure, au Jardin des Plantes, sous un ciel gris et à l'aide d'un soleil parisien....” Gabriel Laviron and Bruno Galbacio, *Le Salon de 1833* (Paris: Librairie d'Abel Ledoux, 1833), 203.

¹⁰⁷ “Il les a étudiés au Jardin-des-Plantes dans les moindres actes de la vie monotone que nous leur avons faite.... Il les a reproduits étendus et fumans sur le sable au soleil des tropiques, ou dévorant paisiblement leur proie sous le palmier de l'oasis.” “Salon de 1836. – Sculpture. M. Barye” *Magasin pittoresque* 4 (1836): 165.

helped artist, viewer, and critic alike to avoid the sometimes troubling reality of the animal's appearance and behavior in captivity.¹⁰⁸

In addition, critics consistently noted the combination of accuracy and action in Barye's sculptural compositions. For example, in his review of the Salon of 1833, Jean Reynaud (1806-1863) wrote:

It's certainly true ... that, in the ranks of so-called zoological statuary, a very special place remains for the portrayal of habits and customs that M. Barye has had the happy genius to discover and where he has established himself as master. It is no longer for him a dry description of the external appearance of animals; it is a meditated picture of the instinct and character; it is natural history like Buffon and not like Daubenton.¹⁰⁹

Here Barye is presented both as a scientist who makes discoveries and as an artistic master. Reynaud aligns Barye with the synthetic approach of Buffon, who described animals' outward actions and habits, rather than with the dry precision of his collaborator Daubenton. The latter was responsible for the portions of the *Histoire naturelle* that addressed the animals' internal skeletons and organs.¹¹⁰ Reynaud's review privileges the living animals of Barye and Buffon over the dead specimens of Daubenton, without suspecting that Barye modeled his living sculptures on animal corpses.

Barye's friend Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) also frequented the ménagerie. There he demonstrated a scientific and artistic interest in the animal as subject, but as Eve Twose Kliman and Nancy Finlay have both argued, Delacroix's study of the animal

¹⁰⁸ Childs argues that the exotic was used by French caricaturists during eras of censorship as a "distancing mechanism" to obscure critiques about politics or society at home in France; *Daumier and Exoticism*, 111.

¹⁰⁹ As quoted and translated in Johnston and Kelly, *Untamed*, 17.

¹¹⁰ Daubenton is perhaps most famous for his politically charged statement following the Revolution that the word "kingdoms" should be eradicated from the parlance of natural history and that "The lion is not the king of animals. There is no king in nature." Richard Burkhardt, Jr., *The Spirit of the System: Lamarck and Evolutionary Biology*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 22.

bodies was almost always undertaken with the goal of improving his knowledge of the *human* form.¹¹¹ Delacroix himself made this clear in an oft-quoted conversation he had with the critic Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), which was recounted by Taine in a lecture he gave on Leonardo da Vinci in 1865:

For quite some time, with the sculptor Barye, he [Delacroix] drew the animals at the Muséum: someone had given them a skinned lion, which they lit up at night with lamps. Delacroix drew it in all positions, trying to understand the play of the least muscle. What struck him the most was that the forefoot of the lion was a monstrous arm of a man but twisted and reversed. According to him, there are thus, in all human forms, animal forms more or less vague, which it is a question of untangling, and he added that in following the study of such analogies between animals and man, one comes to discover in this one the instincts more or less vague by which its nature intimates the connection to such and such animal.¹¹²

As Delacroix's comments regarding the similarity between the skinned leg of a lion and a man's arm indicate, the close observation of animal musculature inspired him to make connections with human forms. In his paintings and drawings, he translated deceased animal into living animal (or human) form. The menagerie of the mind that is Delacroix's art was a substitute for the physical animal collections that he utilized as source material rather than a reminder of or preparation for one's visit to the ménagerie or the Muséum.

¹¹¹ Kliman's argument is more nuanced on the mingling of human and animal forms in Delacroix's art. "Delacroix's Lions and Tigers," 447; Finlay, "Animal Themes in the Painting of Eugene Delacroix," 44.

¹¹² "Pendant longtemps, avec le sculpteur Barye, il [Delacroix] avait dessiné les animaux au Muséum: on leur avait donné un lion écorché qu'ils éclairaient le soir avec des lampes. Delacroix l'avait dessiné dans toutes les attitudes, essayant de comprendre le jeu du moindre muscle. Ce qui l'avait le plus frappé, c'est que la patte antérieure du lion était le bras monstrueux d'un homme mais tordu et renversé. Selon lui, il y a ainsi, dans toutes les formes humaines, des formes animales plus ou moins vagues qu'il s'agit de démêler, et il ajoutait qu'en poursuivant l'étude de des analogies entre les animaux et l'homme, on arrive à découvrir dans celui-ci les instincts plus ou moins vagues par lesquels sa nature intime le rapproche de tel ou tel animal." Originally published in *Revue des cours littéraires de la France et de l'étranger* (27 May 1865): 428; quoted in Finlay, "Animal Themes," 44-45; on the scholarly confusion regarding the original source of Taine's comments, see Kliman, "Delacroix's Lions and Tigers," 447, n. 20.

From an early age, Delacroix undertook anatomical studies as part of his artistic training whenever possible. Between 1818 and 1820, he dissected a hare, which he then used as a model for his drawings of muscle structures. During this same period, he attended dissections in the anatomy theaters of Clamart, where he was mistaken for a medical student.¹¹³ Delacroix also circulated in scientific circles. He befriended Cuvier, and from 1824 he attended Cuvier's salons, held in the anatomist's apartments on the grounds of the Jardin des Plantes.¹¹⁴ Delacroix shared with Barye an interest in the depiction of animal combats. They occasionally watched them together just outside the city walls of Paris. They also visited a traveling menagerie in the Parc de Saint-Cloud in 1827, which was then the only place in France to see a live tiger.¹¹⁵

As the proximity of such animal shows to Paris indicates, there continued to be many ways to view exotic animals outside of the ménagerie, and both Barye and Delacroix sought to take full advantage when these opportunities came their way. Together they obtained permission to assist in the dissection of a deceased lion that had been donated to the ménagerie by Admiral Rigny (Henri Daniel Gaultier, comte de Rigny [1792-1835]) when the animal died in 1829 (Figs. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, and 61).¹¹⁶ On the 19th of June, Delacroix sent an urgent message to Barye: "The lion is dead. Come at a

¹¹³ Kliman, "Delacroix's Lions and Tigers," 458.

¹¹⁴ It was here that Delacroix became acquainted with the novelist Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle, [1783-1842]), himself an animal enthusiast. In 1827 Stendahl organized an expedition to Corbeil to view the parade of animals and handlers that escorted the ménagerie's famous giraffe from the port at Marseille to her new home in the Jardin des Plantes; Vezin, *Les artistes au Jardin*, 69.

¹¹⁵ Michel Poletti, *Monsieur Barye* (Lausanne: Acatos, 2002), 82.

¹¹⁶ This was not the same animal that had prompted Delacroix's comments on the similarity between the lion's leg and a man's arm. Rigny donated two African lions to the ménagerie, one of which died on 16 October 1828 and the second on 19 June 1829. Loffredo, "Des recherches communes," 147.

gallop. It is time for us to hurry. I wait for you there.”¹¹⁷ Barye made numerous drawings from this dissection, many of which are essentially blueprints of the animal’s form (Figs. 56, 57, and 61). With the aid of a compass and a ruler, he notated angles, lengths, weights, and widths on his drawings. These became a rich source, a veritable data set that Barye returned to repeatedly throughout the rest of his career.¹¹⁸

Delacroix’s goals for the drawings made from the dissection were quite different from those of his *animalier* partner Barye. As Michel Poletti has argued, Delacroix chose to draw the animal’s body from above in poses that he could use most readily in future watercolors and oil paintings (Figs. 58 and 59).¹¹⁹ Where Barye’s drawings were mechanical, Delacroix’s were lyrical, as if the animal’s corpse enabled the artist to imagine the lion as it had been in life. Even in death, the lion’s furrowed brow and wind-blown mane convey an almost human expression in Delacroix’s works (Fig. 60). In contrast, the schematics and measurements that crisscross Barye’s drawings systematically cage the animal in a man-made apparatus similar to the ménagerie’s iron bars (Fig. 61). While the iron boundary does not appear in Barye’s bronze sculptures, the preparatory drawings that facilitated their creation exhibit a grid system to contain the animal within the clearly defined limits measured by human systems of knowledge.

¹¹⁷ “Le lion est mort. au galop. le temps qu’il fait doit nous activer. Je vous y attends.” Dated incorrectly (according to Poletti) as 16 October 1828; *Correspondance générale d’Eugène Delacroix*, 4th ed., 5 vols. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1935), 1: 225.

¹¹⁸ Poletti, *Monsieur Barye*, 84.

¹¹⁹ Poletti, *Monsieur Barye*, 84.

The iron bars of cages were the defining feature of menageries.¹²⁰ The regular visual rhythm created by these bars served to emphasize repeatedly the containment of animals by human design. It could even be argued that this linear model spilled over into the realm of science when Georges Cuvier used a grid model to develop his classification method in *La Règne animale distribué d'après son organisation* (1817). Cuvier divided living beings into four types – vertebrates, mollusks, articulates, and radiates – which were no longer arranged hierarchically as they had been in the chain of being. Despite obliterating this previously revered hierarchy, Cuvier's revised classification scheme still denied the possibility of transmutation of species or any suggestion that different species shared descent from the same ancestor. Each type was so distinct from the others that any comparison between a vertebrate to a mollusk, for example, was nullified *a priori*.¹²¹ Cuvier's system adhered animals and humans to fixed positions, like the pins in an entomologist's vitrines. It is notable that Cuvier's research was performed on fossils, preserved specimens, and écorché models; he did not utilize evidence gleaned from observation of live animals to support his theories.¹²² Yet, it could be asserted that Cuvier, whose brother Frédéric (1773-1838) became the chief *garde de la ménagerie* or zookeeper, curated his own animal collection, a menagerie of the mind with the assistance of figurative iron bars to separate and contain animals in immovable positions.

¹²⁰ The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed. s.v. "menagerie) defines a menagerie as "A collection of wild animals in cages or enclosures."

¹²¹ Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 110.

¹²² Paul Lawrence Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E. O. Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 42.

Breaking Free of the Menagerie: The Foundation of the London Zoo

The close containment of animals ostensibly to protect humans from fierce beasts ultimately led to changes in zoo design during the nineteenth century, which are most typically interpreted as a progression from the menagerie to the zoological garden.¹²³ The catalyst for this evolution in England was Edward Cross's elaborately named Royal Grand National Menagerie housed in a building known as the "Exeter 'Change" (short for Exchange) in London.¹²⁴ This collection of live animals epitomized an aesthetics of containment. As evidenced in visual and written accounts, Cross's Menagerie consisted of rows of cages, each containing an individual animal (Figs. 62 and 63).¹²⁵ Varying heights and widths were all that served to differentiate the quarters of diverse animal species. Cross's Menagerie filled two rooms on the upper floors of a building on the Strand in London, far from the garden settings that would soon become standard in zoo design across Europe and North America.¹²⁶ Contemporary prints indicate that the narrow cages were stacked on top of each other against two or three walls of each room, opposite or perpendicular to a row of windows that would filter the murkiness of London as the

¹²³ On the teleological nature of such arguments, see Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 29.

¹²⁴ The Exeter 'Change menagerie began in the Strand when the animals of a traveling menagerie were housed there for the winter. By the early nineteenth century it was a permanent, year-round exhibit. This commercial menagerie was begun by Gilbert Pidcock. Around 1810, ownership transferred to Stephen. Polito and again in 1817 to Mr. Cross. "Polito's Menagerie," 28; Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 167; and Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 207.

¹²⁵ Although it is largely joking in its tone, the account of Cross's Menagerie by one Terence Templeton is particularly useful for its description of the conditions in which the animals lived in Mr. Cross's establishment: "London Letters to Country Cousins. Letter I. -- The Wild Beasts' Banquet," *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 8, no. 46 (1824): 360-67.

¹²⁶ In 1812 its larger room contained two tigers, a lion, a hyena, a leopard, a panther, two sloths, a camel, multiple monkeys, and a tapir. "Polito's Menagerie," 28.

animals' only source of light.¹²⁷ A mural of palm trees and other lush plants formed a border above the animals' cages, as if taunting them through a poor simulacrum of the lands they (or their ancestors) had left. As in many zoos even today, the apparatuses of containment were doubled in Mr. Cross's establishment. Not only were the animals caged, but a railing composed of additional bars served as a second separation device between animals and humans. Only the animals' caretakers were allowed to inhabit this liminal space.

Unsurprisingly, the animals rarely thrived under these conditions. As several historians of the London Zoological Gardens have argued, the case of Chunee the Indian elephant came to symbolize all that was problematic about housing animals in tiny cages within a single building. The grisly facts of Chunee's death may well have spurred the drive to establish the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park.¹²⁸ Chunee, a retired theatrical elephant weighing seven tons, had lived in a cage at Mr. Cross's Menagerie for fifteen years.¹²⁹ This intelligent, trained animal was extremely popular with visitors, even receiving mention in Lord Byron's journal.¹³⁰ In 1820, Cross described him as “an animated mountain.... of the most amiable description,” who “shows off his qualifications

¹²⁷ For example, Cross's guidebook to his collection contains a lithograph depicting the menagerie's interior by Redman after a drawing by H. M. Wichelo. Edward Cross, *Companion to the Royal Menagerie, Exeter 'Change, Containing Concise Descriptions, Scientific and Interesting, of the Curious Foreign Animals, Now in that Eminent Collection, Derived from Actual Observation* (London: Tyler and Honeyman, 1820), n.p.

¹²⁸ See for example, Robert W. Jones, “‘The Sight of Creatures Strange to our Clime’: London Zoo and the Consumption of the Exotic,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2, no. 1 (1997): 1; and Akerberg, “Knowledge and Pleasure,” 14.

¹²⁹ Cross reports that he acquired the animal in 1810 after Chunee retired from the stage of Covent Garden Theatre. *Companion to the Royal Menagerie*, n.p.

¹³⁰ Entry for 14 November 1813: “The elephant took and gave me my money again — took off my hat — opened a door — *trunked* a whip — and behaved so well, that I wish he was my butler.” *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, ed. Thomas Moore, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1855), 1:318.

with perfect good humor.”¹³¹ Yet, on 1 March 1826, in a spectacular and tragic revolt against the menagerie's architecture, Chunee began throwing himself at the bars of his pen, causing part of the roof to collapse when he hit a supporting beam (Fig. 64). Since it was feared that Chunee's rage would inadvertently free other dangerous beasts from their cages, it was decided that the elephant should be killed rather than risk public safety (the animal had already killed one of his keepers when the man took him for his weekly walk on the Strand). It took ninety minutes, 152 bullets, and a sword to dispatch Chunee. After the animal's death, Dr. Joshua Brookes, the surgeon who dissected the elephant's corpse, found that Chunee had been suffering from a toothache, which may have prompted his rage.¹³² This gruesome event was commemorated in prints, poems, books, broadsides, written accounts, editorials, and even a play called *Chuneelah; or, The Death of the Elephant at Exeter 'Change* that was staged at Sadler's Wells theatre in April 1826 (Fig. 65).¹³³ Most commentators expressed sympathy for the elephant and mourned his loss. Even ten years later, an article in the *Quarterly Review* that was ostensibly a guide to the Zoological Gardens devoted a paragraph to the exploits of “Chuny,” his untimely toothache, and the macabre nature of his demise.¹³⁴

It has been convincingly argued that Chunee's death was a contributing factor to the character of the plans for the establishment of a Zoological Society that had begun

¹³¹ Cross, *Companion to the Royal Menagerie*, n.p.

¹³² [William Broderip], “The Zoological Gardens – Regent's Park,” *Quarterly Review* 61 (June 1836): 323; Akerberg, “Knowledge and Pleasure,” 14.

¹³³ Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1978), 314-16; Dennis Arundell, *The Story of Sadler's Wells, 1683-1964* (London: H. Hamilton, 1965), 105.

¹³⁴ [Broderip], “The Zoological Gardens,” 322-23.

circulating in 1825, a year before Chunees's gruesome downfall.¹³⁵ Spearheaded by Sir Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), the amateur naturalist and colonial founder of Singapore, and Sir Humphry Davy (1778-1829), chemist and the President of the Royal Society, the Zoological Society sought to establish a menagerie to rival the one found in Paris's Jardin des Plantes, but it was to be a strictly educational institution open to members and their guests only. As such, it could avoid becoming a public spectacle like Chunees's former home in Exeter 'Change.

The Zoological Society's prospectus of 1 March 1825 recognized that London lagged behind Paris in the science of zoology, so the London Zoo was founded, in part, as an effort to supersede Paris's ménagerie as the most encyclopedic collection of live animals in the world:

It has long been a matter of deep regret to the cultivators of Natural History, that we possess no great scientific establishments either for teaching or elucidating Zoology, and no public menageries or collections of living animals, where their nature, properties, and habits may be studied. In almost every other part of Europe, except in the metropolis of the British empire, something of this kind exists; but though richer than any other country in the extent and variety of our possessions, and having more facilities from our colonies, our fleets, and our varied and constant intercourse with every quarter of the globe, for collecting specimens and introducing living animals, we have as yet attempted little, and effected almost nothing; and the student of Natural History, or the philosopher who wishes to examine animated nature, has no other resource but that of visiting and profiting by the magnificent institutions of neighbouring countries.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Akerberg, "Knowledge and Pleasure," 14.

¹³⁶ "Prospectus of a Society for introducing and domesticating New Breeds or Varieties of Animals, such as Quadrupeds, Birds, or Fishes, likely to be useful in Common Life; and for forming a General Collection in Zoology" (1 March 1825), reprinted in Henry Scherren, *The Zoological Society of London: A Sketch of its Foundation and Development* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1905), 14-15.

Those “neighbouring countries” can only be France, England’s long-time rival, sometime friend, and the only country in Europe that could claim a sizable public menagerie at this time.¹³⁷ London’s zoo was clearly modeled upon the Paris ménagerie, with its institutional framework and its garden setting, but the differences between the two are revealing.¹³⁸ The distinctions in religious thought and the role ascribed to God as supreme Creator of the natural world serve to separate French and English zoology.¹³⁹ The Paris ménagerie was formed amid the anti-clerical ferment of the Revolution, so largely for the sake of political propriety, there is no mention in the foundational documents of a deity at work in the creation of the natural world. In contrast, the Zoological Society’s prospectus praises zoology as “the most important branch of Natural Theology, teaching by the design and wonderful results of organization the wisdom and power of the Creator.”¹⁴⁰

The Protestant rhetoric of Natural Theology may also have contributed to a certain iconoclastic impulse that characterizes the formation of the London Zoo. Though it is filled with pragmatic claims regarding the usefulness of animals and the potential for domestication and breeding programs to benefit England, the discourse of fundraising campaigns to establish the Zoological Society and to open the London Zoo lacks references to its aesthetic, visual usefulness for artists like those that had appeared in the

¹³⁷ See the chronology of the establishment and opening of nineteenth-century zoos in Hoage and Deiss, eds., *New Worlds, New Animals*, 17.

¹³⁸ On the scientific distinctions between the two institutions and their sponsoring nations, see for example Adrian Desmond, “The Making of Institutional Zoology in London, 1822-1836, Part I,” *History of Science* 23, no. 2 (1985): 153-85.

¹³⁹ Burkhardt notes the French tendency from Buffon to Cuvier to avoid verbose praise of a Christian creator in their writings on nature, in contrast with the writings of Linnaeus, for example; *Spirit of the System*, 17.

¹⁴⁰ Quoted in Scherren, *The Zoological Society*, 14.

writings of the French savants who supported establishing a ménagerie in the Jardin des Plantes. Perhaps in more practical terms it was tacitly acknowledged that the initial entrance fees (which until 1848 included an introductory membership fee to the Zoological Society of £3 and annual dues of £2) would preclude all but the wealthiest and most well-connected artists from entering the zoo, as the general stature of artists was not elevated to that of gentleman. Yet, painters like Edwin Landseer would soon become fixtures of high society who could make prominent and popular their images of the Zoological Society's most famous animals.¹⁴¹ However, if one believed that the animal inhabitants of the natural world were all essentially *images* themselves of God's infinite creative capacities, there was little need for artists to create secondary images of God's perfect creations. They would automatically be inferior copies. The London Zoo was marketed in the Zoological Society's prospectus first as an exhibition of God's creation made evident in the British capital, and second as a pragmatic boon to British economy and industry, contributing to Britain's quest for "wealth, civilization, and refinement."¹⁴² It was not to be a crude visual spectacle like Mr. Cross's ill-fated menagerie, but rather a neat, orderly, well-designed garden in which animals in cages would be interspersed for the edification of society's elites.¹⁴³ Unhampered by the need to evidence the claims of Natural Theology required of the founders of London's Zoo, the ménagerie in the Jardin

¹⁴¹ Edwin Landseer used animals or animal corpses from the London Zoo as models in some of his most famous works, including the terrifying polar bears in *Man Proposes, God Disposes* (1863-64, Picture Collection, Royal Holloway, University of London) and the lions that guard Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square. As a young man, he had visited Cross's Menagerie to draw from the animals held there (see below).

¹⁴² Quoted in Scherren, *The Zoological Society*, 14.

¹⁴³ On the stress on science over spectacle in the early years of the London Zoo, see Jones, "The Sight of Creatures Strange to our Clime," 1.

des Plantes could essentially substitute science and art – the creations of humanity – in the place of a creator who, they felt, had long ago departed the scene.¹⁴⁴ Yet, in both cases, the zoos' founders sought the utmost control over the animals they were to display for the education of the public in the hopes that those animals would convey the proper aesthetic, scientific, or religious messages.

The Ambivalent Visual Menageries of Thomas Landseer

As Raffles and Davy campaigned to found the London Zoo, members of the Landseer family were doing their parts to establish for the English public their own menageries of the mind. The brothers Thomas and Edwin Landseer, sons of the engraver John Landseer (1763/69-1852), often operated as a team. Edwin, who would later become decorated as Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., drew and painted images of animals that were then engraved by his elder brother Thomas (or “Tom” as friends and family called him), who drew his own images as well.¹⁴⁵ Aided by their father’s numerous contacts in the realms of fine art and printing, Edwin and Thomas converted the family name *Landseer* into a synonym for British animal art. Their collaboration began as early as 1811, when Thomas made an etching after Edwin’s drawing called *A Bull Marked T.W.*¹⁴⁶ Thomas eventually etched or engraved more than 125 of Edwin’s drawings or paintings.¹⁴⁷ Edwin’s biographer Frederick George Stephens (1828-1907) recognized the

¹⁴⁴ On English naturalists’ concerns that French zoologists were deistic and materialist, see Desmond, “The Making of Institutional Zoology,” 164.

¹⁴⁵ For the sake of clarity, I subsequently refer to the Landseer family artists by their first names in this chapter.

¹⁴⁶ London’s Royal Academy of Arts Collection now owns an album of Edwin’s juvenilia that includes many drawings of domestic animals dated c. 1810-12.

¹⁴⁷ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Landseer, Thomas (1794/94-1880)” (by Lucy Peltz), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15987> (accessed June 25, 2008).

crucial role that Thomas played to insure that their menagerie of the mind was accessible to a wide public audience:

As to the eldest son [Thomas], but for his admirable skill with the burin, feeling for animal character, and pathetic treatment of his brother's pictures, we should have known comparatively little about Sir Edwin or his works. The thousands who go to exhibitions, public galleries, and private collections are few compared with those who day by day study the learned prints for which we are indebted to the skilful [*sic*] hand of Mr. Thomas Landseer.¹⁴⁸

Like Bewick's popular wood engravings, Thomas Landseer's prints and book illustrations, whether they were based upon Edwin's drawings or his own, could be accessed at any time. This menagerie of the mind was much more public than that constituted by Edwin's original paintings. These traditional works of high art were visible only during the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy or by those wealthy elites - bourgeois gentlemen, aristocrats, and the Queen herself - who became his primary patrons.

According to the myth of their artistic origins recounted in numerous sources, Thomas and Edwin had studied animals first from nature, drawing domestic animals in the fields of Hampstead Heath when they were very young.¹⁴⁹ As they grew older, they began visiting the menageries at the Tower of London and at Exeter 'Change to view lions and tigers. This process of viewing and then drawing from live animals before turning to previous artistic renderings of them was likely prescribed by their father. In the

¹⁴⁸ Frederick George Stephens, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880), 13.

¹⁴⁹ These are undoubtedly the drawings now held at the Royal Academy in London. "Almost from boyhood, the Landseer children had been fond of drawing. At the breakfast table the father would ask, 'What shall we draw to-day, boys?' When it came Edwin's turn to make a choice, he would say, 'May we go to Hampstead Heath and draw the dogs?'" Olive Brown Horne and Kathrine Lois Scobey, *Stories of Great Artists* (New York: American Book Company, 1903), 94.

preface he wrote for Thomas's *Twenty Engravings of Lions, Tigers, Panthers & Leopards* in 1823, John Landseer praised Thomas for consulting the Old Masters but then turning to nature, that is living animals, to confirm the accuracy of his depictions. This allowed Thomas to correct the works of Stubbs, Rubens, Rembrandt, and others as needed. Thomas and Edgar Spilsbury (active 1800-1828), who provided many of the drawings for the plates, had gone "not to the Lybian deserts [*sic*], but to the Tower of London, and to Mr. Crosse's [*sic*] Menagerie – and corrected the details," those inaccuracies that had been perpetuated by uninformed copying of Rubens's lions, for example.¹⁵⁰ Edwin received even greater praise from his father, who, perhaps seeking to augment his youngest son's reputation as a self-taught prodigy, asserted that Edwin went, "without any introductory medium, directly to the living animals, and ... exhibited the savage manners and habits of these quadrupeds according to his own ideas and observations."¹⁵¹ Edwin required no intermediary Old Master. He could rely upon his own mind and eyes to produce a highly accurate likeness of virtually any animal.

Twenty Engravings of Lions, Tigers, Panthers & Leopards was the first menagerie of the mind to be associated with the Landseer name. The original drawings that Thomas and Edwin provided for the project were drawn from life, but, as the majority of the remaining plates were copied from the works of the Old Masters, this book was not designed as a guide to the physical menageries then in place in London. The later years of the decade saw the establishment of the Zoological Society and the opening of its zoo in

¹⁵⁰ *Twenty Engravings of Lions, Tigers, Panthers & Leopards* by Tho. Landseer, from Originals by Stubbs, Rubens, Spilsbury, Rembrandt, Reydingier, & Edwin Landseer with an Essay on Carnivora by J. Landseer (London: John Tyler, 1823), 3-4.

¹⁵¹ *Twenty Engravings*, 5.

Regent's Park in 1828. By the late 1820s, Thomas had produced a visual menagerie of the mind that fulfilled the tripartite purposes of preparation, recollection, and substitution that characterized much early nineteenth-century zoo imagery (Fig. 66). As he prepared the drawings that he would engrave for *Characteristic Sketches of Animals Principally in the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park*, Thomas visited the ménagerie in the Jardin des Plantes (at this time during the Bourbon Restoration again briefly known as the Jardin du Roi) in Paris, as well as the Tower of London, the Menagerie in the King's Mews, the menagerie at Exeter 'Change, His Majesty's Collection at Windsor, the British Museum, and, of course, the newly opened Zoological Gardens.¹⁵² *Characteristic Sketches of Animals* begins with a dedication "To the council and Members of the Zoological Society," and the editor John Henry Barrow (1796-1858) praises the new institution for the breadth of its collection and its well-organized displays.¹⁵³ According to the same dedication, the project was conceived of as "delineating many choice specimens of Quadrupeds" from the zoo.¹⁵⁴ However, the work ultimately conveys an ambivalence that disables its function as a guidebook. Some images depict the animals within the confines of the zoo: in the first plate, "The Brahminy Bull, Zoological Gardens," the zoo's bird

¹⁵² A journalist named John Henry Barrow wrote the text that accompanies *Characteristic Sketches of Animals*, but this text was clearly secondary to the images, as the plates were published minus the text as the book *Characteristic Portraits of Animals* by the same publisher. The prints are dated 1829-1832, and the date of publication for *Characteristic Sketches of Animals* is given as 1832 while *Characteristic Portraits of Animals* is given as 1829, though some of the plates within it are dated as late as 1832. Both books were published by Moon, Boys, and Graves of London. Jacques de Caso incorrectly claims that John Henry Barrow was Sir John Barrow (1764-1848), author of *The Mutiny of the Bounty*, but the *Dictionary of National Biography* credits the text for Landseer's project to John Henry Barrow, a journalist, editor, and Charles Dickens's uncle; Jacques de Caso, "The Origin of Barye's 'Ape Riding a Gnu': Barye and Thomas Landseer," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 27-28 (1964-1965): 68-70; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Barrow, John Henry (1796-1858)," (by Paul Graham), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56408> (accessed June 25, 2008).

¹⁵³ Thomas Landseer, *Characteristic Sketches of Animals*, n.p. and vi.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Landseer, *Characteristic Sketches of Animals*, n.p.

cage is visible in the background, clarifying the bull's status as zoo animal, but in the next plate, an image of "The Alpacas, Zoological Gardens," the shaggy animal is shown in profile against a mountainous background that evokes the wilds of South America rather than the manicured gardens of Regent's Park. Similarly, "The Bonassus, or Bison, Jardin du Roi," climbs snowy mountain slopes while "The Camel, Zoological Gardens" is surrounded by palm trees that provide a vaguely exotic setting.

The plates in *Characteristic Sketches* and *Characteristic Portraits of Animals* overwhelmingly appear designed to avoid the apparatuses housing the wild and exotic inhabitants of the zoos that Thomas visited. Various vignettes and tailpieces were included in *Characteristic Sketches*, and these almost exclusively depict animals in the wild (Fig. 67). They hunt and are hunted; they are slain in battles with rivals; they drink from streams; they play with their young. Thomas's project is less satirical than the images of the ménagerie that appear in Daumier's or Grandville's art. Where Daumier's elephants actively snaked their trunks through the bars of their cages to torment nearby humans, Thomas Landseer's Asiatic elephant crouches in a dark corner of its pen in a highly ambiguous image (Fig. 68). A man holding an iron poker gestures toward the elephant's stomach as if he would command the animal to sit or stand. The image refuses to answer whether the elephant will comply with the keeper's demands or rebel as Chuneé did against his confinement.¹⁵⁵ Through this brief moment of ambivalence, Thomas Landseer too offers a veiled critique of zoos within his own visual menagerie.

¹⁵⁵ It is possible that this is in fact an image of Chuneé's final moments, when he is said to have knelt down at his keeper's command to receive the last few bullets from the assembled guardsmen: "... poor Chuny, who was obedient even in death, for amid the shower of balls that struck him, he knelt down, - even in his mortal agony he knelt down at the well-known command of his keeper - to present a more vulnerable point to his murderers." [Broderip], "The Zoological Gardens," 322-23.

Physical menageries are inherently linked to their geographical location. This enables their animal inhabitants to become symbols of the cities where they are held captive. The giraffe brought to Paris in 1827 and the hippopotamus brought to London in 1851 both became celebrities who embodied the prestige of the metropolis even as they evoked the exotic foreign lands from whence they (and their human keepers) came.¹⁵⁶ Yet, traveling menageries had also been common in France and England, as Thomas Bewick's *A General History of Quadrupeds* evidenced. When Europe's cities began to establish civic menageries and zoological gardens in emulation of those in Paris and London, traveling menageries, which simply displayed the animals in small cages or wagons, eventually fell out of favor to be replaced by the circus and the lion tamer as more stimulating entertainment.¹⁵⁷ The space left by disappearing traveling menageries was also filled by menageries of the mind. As Thomas Bewick's and Thomas Landseer's animal guides demonstrate, these most often took the form of illustrated books and journals that were increasingly cheap to produce and available in mass quantities at affordable prices. They were also portable, traveling more quickly and further than most live animals could. It is likely that Delacroix based some of his images of lions and tigers on those by William Harvey (1796-1866) in Edward T. Bennett's *The Tower Menagerie* (1829), an illustrated guide published in the last days of that institution before its animals

¹⁵⁶ Later in the century, as France's and especially Britain's colonizing endeavors intensified, these animals would bear the additional burden of symbolizing European conquests of Africa and India. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 231-32.

¹⁵⁷ On the popularity of these types of entertainments, which were not duty-bound to be educational as the ménagerie or the London Zoo were, see Brenda Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005) and Stephen Duffy, "Landseer and the Lion-tamer: The 'Portrait of Mr. Van Amburgh' at Yale," *British Art Journal* 3, no. 3 (2002): 25-35.

were given to the London Zoo in 1831.¹⁵⁸ And a direct link has been established between Thomas Landseer's images in *Characteristic Sketches* and Barye's design for his sculpture known as *Ape Riding a Gnu* (Fig. 69). Barye made a tracing of the vignette that accompanied Thomas's engraving of the gnu (wildebeest) at the Zoological Gardens and subsequently translated Thomas's inventive composition, which has no prior iconographic tradition, into sculpted form (Fig. 70).¹⁵⁹ As Jacques de Caso has outlined, Barye's biographers cited it to refute those who would claim a lack of inventiveness or wittiness in Barye's œuvre, when in fact it is a copy of an English composition (as much as a three-dimensional work can be a copy of a two-dimensional one) and therefore constitutes a borrowed wit.¹⁶⁰ The question of originality and reproduction is less a concern here than the evidence that Barye's tracing offers of the distance that menageries of the mind could travel and the imitations and variations they could inspire. Barye's own œuvre of monumental bronze sculptures was translated into small-scale, portable forms in the many editions of his works mass produced by his company Barye & Cie beginning in the 1840s. These bronzes were designed to be affordable, and they were small enough to be displayed on tabletops or shelves in bourgeois living rooms.¹⁶¹ The quantity of his sculptures in the Walters Collection in Baltimore or at the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard

¹⁵⁸ Lee Johnson, "Delacroix, Barye and 'The Tower Menagerie': An English Influence on French Romantic Animal Pictures," *Burlington Magazine* 106, no. 738 (1964): 416-19; on the Duke of Wellington's machinations, which led to the transfer of the Tower's animals to Regent's Park, see Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie*, 224-39.

¹⁵⁹ De Caso, "Origin of Barye's 'Ape,'" 67-73.

¹⁶⁰ De Caso, "Origin of Barye's 'Ape,'" 67.

¹⁶¹ For these works, see Stuart Pivar, *The Barye Bronzes: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club, 1974).

University is evidence of the ease with which Barye's small-scale works could cross the Atlantic.¹⁶²

From Oudry's visual menagerie, which traveled from Versailles to Schwerin, to Barye's appropriation of Thomas Landseer's capering ape, menageries of the mind could function as preparations for, reminders of, or substitutions for the menageries of France and England. Yet, as the critical satires of Daumier and Grandville or the ambivalence of Thomas Landseer demonstrate, physical menageries could also yield probing visual imagery that questioned the uses of the iron boundary that humanity sought to erect between animals and humans in the form of the zoo. The bars of zoo cages provide a physical reminder in unyielding iron of the boundary humans wished to fortify between themselves and exotic or wild animals. Those bars mark the line over which animals could not travel, however much their sounds, smells, and even touches might penetrate those bars. However, the zoo, like any prison, also presents the danger of escape. As we shall see, the human imagination proves particularly adept at picturing what might happen if the bars of the cage are broken and the animal is free to seek its own revenge or its own rewards.

¹⁶² See for example Jeanne L. Wasserman, *Sculpture by Antoine-Louis Barye in the Collection of the Fogg Art Museum* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, 1982).

CHAPTER THREE:
THE PENETRABLE BOUNDARY: HUMANIZING THE ANIMAL AND
BESTIALIZING THE HUMAN

The zoos of Paris and London were established as sites of cultural edification. Their founders expressed concerns over what zoo visitors might see and how that might color their understandings of humanity, science, and even religion. In this chapter I turn from these sunny garden promenades to dimly lit alleyways, to the realms of erotic art and literature where images of bestiality, that is, sexual contact between a human and an animal, frequently continue the projects of separation and control set about by zoos and evident in the contemporaneous rise in pet-keeping among the middle classes.¹ In images and texts created without exception by male authors, animals are harnessed – sometimes literally – to provide human women with sensual, sexual pleasure while titillating the male viewer. Such works assert *man's* unassailable dominion over the beasts and over women, whose nascent efforts to advocate for more equitable rights alarmed many men during this period.² Yet, in some renditions, the animal appears to take its own pleasure, upsetting the typical order and violating the last remnants of Cartesian belief in the beast-machine: that collection of moving parts that felt neither pleasure nor pain. These versions also represent deep-rooted fears that humans, specifically Western European white males, might lose power over the female, over the slave, or over the animal during

¹ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 86-88; on the popularity of petkeeping in France, see Kathleen Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

² Political efforts to assert the equal rights of women and of animals had been linked in order to discredit both movements at least since 1792, when the philosopher Thomas Taylor (1758-1835) published his satire of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) in an attempt to reduce her arguments to absurdity. Thomas Taylor, *A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes*, ed. Louis Schutz Boas (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1966); see also Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 1.

a period of increasing agitation for the rights of women, Africans, and animals.³ Such depictions figuratively and literally humanize the animal and bestialize the human female. They constitute a step between the realm of utter separation as embodied in the zoo and the realm of human-animal hybridity. They are the acts of consummation that implicitly end in the birth of hideous monsters or super-human deities.

An unsigned lithograph from the erotic novella attributed to Alfred de Musset (1810-1857), *Gamiani, ou deux nuits d'excès* (1833), to which I will return in detail below, illustrates these claims graphically and succinctly (Fig. 71).⁴ A young woman props herself on a chair while she raises her swirling skirts to permit an ape in a cage to have intercourse with her from behind. Pieces of the cage litter the floor, implying that the bars have been broken to allow the necessary parts to reach one another. Here the cage of the zoo has quite literally been torn apart, the border between the human and the animal is violated, but all this has occurred at the insistence of the woman, who grabs the ape's member to insert it into herself. The text describes the scene as a battle, in which the human loses ground as the animal gains it: "The fight begins, the blows are exchanged. The beast becomes the equal of man. ___ Sainte was embestialized, deflowered, enmonkeyed."⁵ The ape is humanized, while the woman (Sainte) is literally bestialized

³ On the struggle for women's rights to education, employment, and divorce in France, see for example Janis Bergman-Carton, *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) and Kristen Powell and Elizabeth C. Childs, *Femmes d'esprit: Women in Daumier's Caricature* (Middlebury, VT: The Christian A. Johnson Memorial Gallery, Middlebury College, 1990).

⁴ [Alfred de Musset], *Gamiani, ou deux nuits d'excès* (Brussels [Paris], 1833); republished as *Gamiani: Fac-similé de l'édition originale de Paris, 1833*, with an introduction by Jacques Duprilot (Geneva: Editions Slatkine, 1980).

⁵ My translation. "La lutte s'engage, les coups se portent. La bête devient l'égal de l'homme. ___ Sainte est embestialisée, dévirginée, ensinginée." [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 20.

and *ensinginée* or “enmonkeyed” as one recent English translation would have it.⁶

In the lithograph, which has been attributed variously to Henri Grevédon (1776-1860), Horace Vernet (1789-1863), or Paul Gavarni (1804-1866) but is now generally believed to be the work of Achille Devéria (1800-1857) or Octave Tassaert (1800-1864), the ape is drawn as a hairy, dark-skinned man with a svelte, muscular body, wide nostrils, and a head full of black, curly hair.⁷ This man-ape in effect represents an African human, and the print becomes a visualization of the Western European fear of racial miscegenation. While in the text the animal rises to equal the human, in the image, the dark-skinned man is in fact an animal who is imprisoned as if on a slave ship. Yet, the woman is even more dangerous than this libidinous man-ape, since she is the one who breaks the bars of the cage to facilitate their interaction (though the ape is evidently a willing partner). Thus, the human female is equated with the male animal, as both are driven not by rational thought but by instinctual, sexual desire. The image more than the text is able to layer multiple fears – the fear that species and races might mix and the fear that female sexual power might not require a human male partner – onto a single depiction of graphic bestiality in which female sexuality is presented as frightening and predatory but also compelling to the implicitly male viewer.

The mingling of animals and humans in images of sexual contact is evidence of simultaneous fascination and fear, for, as Sir Edmund Leach argued succinctly in his analysis of the use of animal terms in abusive language, “whatever is taboo is a focus not

⁶ [Musset], *Gamiani, or Two Nights of Excess*, trans. John Baxter (New York: Harper, 2007), 73.

⁷ Jacques Duprilot, “Presentation,” in *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, viii.

only of special interest but also of anxiety.”⁸ Alfred Kinsey's groundbreaking study of human sexuality in mid-twentieth century America, the first to systematically analyze the practice without declaring it pathological, also addressed the strange appeal of what Kinsey, *et al.* termed “animal contacts:” “To many persons it will seem almost axiomatic that two mating animals should be individuals of the same species. This is so often true, from one end of the animal kingdom to the other, that exceptions to the rule seem especially worthy of note.”⁹ In other words, from a biological angle, human-animal sexual contact is so rare that it attracts attention, and one cannot look away.

In French art and literature of the Romantic period, animals and women are frequently paired in scenes suggesting sexual intercourse. In *Sick Heroes*, his social history of Romanticism, Allan Pasco emphasizes the importance, when historians analyze creations (for our purposes either texts or images), of that which frequently, even obsessively, recurs: “There is surprising consistency in these repeated elements, because they are connected to the public’s dreams, fears, compulsions, customs, and manners.”¹⁰ It is already quite apparent that humans were obsessed with animals, and especially the character of humanity's relationship to and its responsibilities toward animals, throughout the early nineteenth century. Humans fantasized about animals. Yet, they also feared them physically, sexually, and metaphorically. Hence their repeated appearance as objects for the fulfillment of forbidden sexual desires in Western European art and literature of this

⁸ Edmund Leach, “Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse,” in *New Directions in the Study of Language*, ed. Eric H. Lenneberg (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1964), 37.

⁹ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948), 667.

¹⁰ Allan H. Pasco, *Sick Heroes: French Society and Literature in the Romantic Era, 1750-1850* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997), xiv.

period. After a general discussion of the nature of sexual taboos and the particular importance of the taboo against sexual relations between humans and animals, I will turn to appearances of bestiality in French art of the first half of the nineteenth century to analyze how the human-animal boundary was literally penetrated to display man's power, woman's animality, or the fearful possibility that the animal might become man's equal through intercourse with women.

On the Origin of the Species Taboo

Sociologists assert that taboos are formulated when a culture believes that its physical or moral boundaries are under threat.¹¹ Periods of invasion or exile often lead to codifications and strictures that define a group in opposition to its enemies. The ordinances in the biblical books of Exodus and Leviticus are evidence of a people in exile seeking to define themselves against their fiercest rivals (the Egyptians and Babylonians, for example) as God's chosen people.¹² If those enemies mixed animal species to create the hybrid mule, then it was forbidden for the Israelites to do so, despite the animal's usefulness in agriculture.¹³ If those rivals copulated with animals during their religious rites (or at any other times), then the Hebrews had to rid themselves of any such practice.¹⁴ In the Judeo-Christian tradition, taboos against the mixing of animal species

¹¹ Christie Davies, "Sexual Taboos and Social Boundaries," *American Journal of Sociology* 87, no. 5 (1982): 1033; Jonas Liliequist, "Peasants against Nature: Crossing the Boundaries between Man and Animal in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sweden," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 3 (1991): 397.

¹² On these restrictions, see especially Mary Douglas, "The Abominations of Leviticus," in *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 1996), 42-58.

¹³ Davies, "Sexual Taboos," 1034, n. 4.

¹⁴ In one of the earliest studies of bestiality in Western culture, Gaston Dubois-Desaulle summarizes Herodotus's report of bestiality performed between women and goats during Egyptian religious rites. *Bestiality: An Historical, Medical, Legal, and Literary Study*, trans. A. F. N. (New York: Panurge Press,

and the practice of sexual acts between humans and animals can trace their roots to Exodus and Leviticus. Leviticus 18:23 states the law succinctly: “Neither shalt thou lie with any beast to defile thyself therewith: neither shall any woman stand before a beast to lie down thereto: it is confusion.”¹⁵ It is indeed confusion, but one that always held a special attraction in art and in literature, if not in widespread practice, for what is taboo in practice is titillating to the imagination.¹⁶

Bestiality was and is still considered more common in rural areas where domestic animals are plentiful and where humans mature surrounded by visible evidence of animal sexuality.¹⁷ For example, Keith Thomas asserts that bestiality in Elizabethan England was rare, and when it did occur, it did not involve any feelings of attachment for a beloved pet: “It was a rural crime, most often involving cows and horses, and it seems seldom to have arisen as an extension of the emotional feelings between owner and pet.”¹⁸ Thomas's data is derived from his historical analysis of criminal records rather than interviews with those who actually practice bestiality. Yet, the studies on human sexuality in the United States led by Kinsey (and based on interviews) support Thomas's claims that bestiality was primarily a rural occurrence that remained relatively rare when compared to other

1933), 31.

¹⁵ Leviticus 19:19 further states the necessity of keeping each species separate, including livestock animals and even plants or fabrics: “Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed: neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee.”

¹⁶ As Midas Dekkers has noted, Christianity must necessarily retain an ambivalence toward bestiality, since the Virgin Mary was impregnated by the Holy Spirit in the animal form of a dove. *Dearest Pet: On Bestiality*, trans. Paul Vincent (London: Verso, 2000), 8-10.

¹⁷ Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 670-71.

¹⁸ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 119.

sexual activities. Kinsey and his colleagues asserted, “there is no other type of sexual activity which accounts for a smaller proportion of the total population.”¹⁹ The Kinsey Reports of 1948 and 1953 found that about eight percent of males and 3.6 percent of females had had sexual contact with an animal.²⁰ In 1974, those numbers had decreased to 4.9 percent of men and 1.9 percent of women largely because of a smaller rural population and a gradual loosening of restrictions on other sexual practices including premarital sex.²¹ Following Kinsey's research, sexologists have concluded that actual incidents of bestiality continue to be minimal, though this may be due to under-reporting or a bias even today against the rigorous study of this taboo.²²

In anthropology, the study of bestiality tends to be included in broader studies of cultural taboos against homosexuality and transvestism.²³ The practice of each of these taboos yields ambiguous situations that obscure or violate boundaries rather than define them.²⁴ It is hardly surprising then that artists working in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, during a period characterized by intense efforts to classify humans

¹⁹ Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 669.

²⁰ Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 670; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953), 505.

²¹ Martha Cornog and Timothy Perper, “Bestiality,” *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 61.

²² Vern L. Bullough, “A Contemporary Look at Sex Between Humans and Animals,” *Journal of Sex Research* 40, no. 2 (2003): 222-223.

²³ See for example Davis, “Sexual Taboos and Social Boundaries:” 1032-63.

²⁴ As Jonas Liliequist has written in his study of bestiality in early modern Sweden (in words that could also describe images of human-animal hybrids), “Obvious transgressions and composite phenomena are causes for anxiety and repulsion, or could be assigned (or be signs of) sacral power, but they would hardly be met with indifference.” “Peasants against Nature: Crossing the Boundaries between Man and Animal in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sweden,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 3 (Jan. 1991): 397.

and animals alike, produced images reflective of an anxiety regarding sexual or species ambiguity. The rise in anthropomorphic animal imagery during this period was accompanied by an increase in literary and visual depictions of intercourse between humans and animals. This intercourse might be physical, as many erotic prints graphically demonstrate; or it might be social or emotional, as evidenced by the growing popularity of pet-keeping: the ownership of animals purely for companionship rather than for labor or food.²⁵ Images implying or deliberately depicting sexual contact between humans (almost without exception women) and animals reappear with noteworthy frequency in art and literature. As Martha Cornog and Timothy Perper summarize, following Kinsey's studies, there is a marked gap separating “real and imagined” incidents of sexual contact between humans and animals.²⁶ Midas Dekkers puts it more crudely, “More bestiality takes place in our heads than in any hand or vagina.”²⁷ While scientific research has appeared to demonstrate that most “real” acts of bestiality then as now involve a human male with a female (usually domesticated) animal, in Western art and literature of the nineteenth century, such “imagined” acts depict sexual contact between a human female and a male animal in material intended for an audience of

²⁵ For concise histories of this topic, see for example Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984), and Kathleen Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Pet-Keeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

²⁶ Kinsey's study of female human sexuality asserted that “Universally, human males have shown a considerable interest in unusual, rare, and sometimes fantastically impossible types of sexual activity. In consequence there is a great deal more discussion and a more extensive literature about such things as incest, transvestism, necrophilia, extreme forms of fetishism, sado-masochism, and animal contacts than the actual occurrence of any of these phenomena would justify.” Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, and Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, 502.

²⁷ Dekkers, *Dearest Pet*, 151.

literate men.²⁸ The woman's animal partner is typically of a large species, whether it is domesticated, like the horse, or wild and exotic, like the ape. When a man appears to copulate with an animal, it is perceived as a joke, but the matter remains both deeply disturbing and strangely compelling if a woman has sexual intercourse with an animal.²⁹ Such an incursion often places her on all fours and lowers her to the level of beast, who, in this world turned upside-down, is elevated and equated with man through sexual contact with a woman.

Woman as Intermediary between Nature and Culture

In 1972 Sherry Ortner persuasively asserted, following the arguments of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949), that the human female is universally aligned with nature, while men, who cannot produce biologically by carrying a fetus to term, instead produce the works of culture. This model yields a hierarchical continuum that places women below men in an intermediary and therefore inherently unstable position:

Because of woman's greater bodily involvement with the natural functions surrounding reproduction, she is seen as more a part of nature than man is. Yet in part because of her consciousness and participation in human social dialogue, she is recognized as a participant in culture. Thus she appears as something intermediate between culture and nature, lower on the scale of transcendence than man.³⁰

²⁸ John M. Murrin notes that in England and the American Colonies the crime of bestiality was defined as the penetration of an animal by a human male (part of the reason that milking cows was traditionally women's work was to prevent any improper contact between human male and bovine female). By definition women were excluded and could not be prosecuted for the act, though they could be convicted of "witchcraft," which might include sexual contact with an animal. "Things Fearful to Name: Bestiality in Early America," in *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Angela N. H. Creager and William Chester Jordan (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 116-117.

²⁹ Cornog and Perper, "Bestiality," 62; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, and Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, 502.

³⁰ Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" (1972) in *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 30.

Because of their biological reliance upon women during childhood, human children are also more commonly associated with the realm of nature than culture. Furthermore, Ortner asserts that their interactions with each other effectively perpetuate a binary of women/children/nature on one side and men/culture on the other.³¹ Animals also fall on the natural side of Ortner's divide, as do races and nationalities outside Western Europe during the early nineteenth century. The animal is aligned with nearly every type of "Other" available to contrast with the white, middle- or upper-class, urban, Western European man: women, children, peasants, workers, members of non-white races, even citizens of nation-states on the edges of England, France, and Germany (e.g., Spain, Italy, Ireland, Scotland, and Poland).

Making Visible the Beast Within

When bestiality appears in illustrations, prints, and photographs, it is almost inevitably graphic, violent, and pornographic. If it is depicted in more traditional media like painting or sculpture, its subject is typically veiled, so the work need not be read primarily as a depiction of sex between human and animal. These factors contribute to the relative silence in the secondary art historical literature regarding such suggestive and transgressive images.³² The study of bestiality, sexual intercourse between humans and animals, remains a lacuna, a literal taboo, even in the work of sexologists, sociologists,

³¹ "Thus children are likely to be categorized with nature and woman's close association with children may compound her potential for being seen as closer to nature herself. It is ironic that the rationale for boys' initiation rites in many cultures is that the boys must be purged of the defilement accrued from being around mother and other women so much of the time, when in fact much of the woman's defilement may derive from her being around children so much of the time." Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" 32.

³² One notable exception is Adrian Stähl's dissertation analyzing depictions of bestiality between satyrs and animals in Hellenistic sculpture; *Die Verweigerung der Lüste: Erotische Gruppen in der antiken Plastik* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1999).

and psychologists, who have often avoided serious research into the categories known variously as bestiality, zoophilia, sodomy, buggery, unnatural acts, and zoerasty in favor of other sexual orientations or so-called pathologies.³³ Likewise, relatively little historical scholarship has been undertaken on the subject of bestiality itself; instead, the emphasis has tended to fall on the broad, ill-defined category of “sodomy.” The writings of Jonas Liliequist and John M. Murrin represent exceptional case studies that analyze historical and court records for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden and the American Colonies respectively. A common thread appearing in both is the compulsion witnesses to acts of bestiality felt to report what they had seen because of a conviction that it was against God or against nature.³⁴ As Liliequist's essay demonstrates, in Swedish law, the human perpetrator of bestiality sinned before God and dragged any human witnesses into the fray by exposing them to the *sight* of such treachery.³⁵ The visual aspect of bestiality as witnessed by another human being has a primary role to play in its definition as a sin or as a legal crime.

Furthermore, as Michel Foucault has argued, during the “discursive explosion” of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the practice of sexuality between a husband and wife became normative, opening the field of concern to whatever sexual activities fell outside the boundaries of marriage:

The legitimate couple, with its regular sexuality, had a right to more discretion. It tended to function as the norm, one that was stricter, perhaps, but quieter. On the other hand, what came under scrutiny was the sexuality of children, mad men and women, and criminals; the sensuality of those

³³ Bullough, “Sex between Humans and Animals,” 222.

³⁴ Liliequist, “Peasants against Nature,” 400-02; Murrin, “Bestiality in Early America,” 122.

³⁵ Liliequist, “Peasants against Nature,” 401.

who did not like the opposite sex; reveries, obsessions, petty manias, or great transports of rage. It was time for all these figures, scarcely noticed in the past, to step forward and speak, to make the difficult confession of what they were. No doubt they were condemned all the same; but they were listened to....³⁶

If we follow Foucault's binary structure of marriage versus all that is outside it, this moment in history opened to scrutiny an array of sexualities, among which bestiality may be counted as one of those "reveries" or "obsessions" that haunted artists and writers.

The body of imagery analyzed here dates primarily from the Romantic era, when writers like François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), Lord Byron (1788-1824), and Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) regularly flirted with such sexual taboos as sibling incest, homosexuality, and transvestitism.³⁷ These taboos are anthropocentric concerns focused on the human body and its physical interactions with other human bodies, but in a younger generation of writers living and working in France during the 1830s, the Romantic Other was collapsed into the category of the natural, animal Other.³⁸ A female leopard (*panthère*) appears as a seductive, sensual object for a Frenchman in Honoré de Balzac's novella *Une passion dans le désert* (1832), while a dog, a donkey, a ram, and an ape each serve as temporary quenchers of insatiable female lust in Musset's *Gamiani, ou deux nuits d'excès* (1833).³⁹ Théophile Gautier even introduced the concept of what might be called "species transvestitism" for a scene of impassioned role-playing in

³⁶ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume I*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 38-39.

³⁷ Alan Richardson, "Rethinking Romantic Incest: Human Universals, Literary Representation, and the Biology of Mind," *New Literary History* 31, no. 3 (2000): 553-72.

³⁸ Pasco understands the prevalence of incestuous relationships in Romantic literature as a kind of cult of Narcissus, a Romantic striving for one's mirror image. *Sick Heroes*, 128.

³⁹ Honoré de Balzac, "Une passion dans le désert," in *Selected Short Stories: Contes choisis*, ed. and trans. Stanley Appelbaum (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2000), 34-59; [Musset], *Gamiani*.

Mademoiselle de Maupin (1835), in which a woman in fancy dress is ravished by a man in a bear suit. The animal costume is quickly discarded for logistical reasons, but the narrator of the scene emphasizes that enacting a forbidden human-animal coupling was arousing for him.⁴⁰

Fragonard's Puppies and Pussies

Before these bestial themes emerged among other Romantic obsessions, the French Rococo painter Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) mingled human and animal sexuality in a series of paintings that introduce the power struggles between the human and the animal that will be played out in scenes of graphic sexuality during the next century (Figs. 72 and 73). In each of these notorious works, Fragonard depicts a young, partially clothed girl lying on a bed. She is bathed in a patch of light that serves to highlight the small dog – variously a spaniel or a bichon – with whom she plays.⁴¹ There are two variants on this basic composition, and a comparison of these is instructive, as it results in two distinct statements about human power over domestic animals. In the version known as *La Gimblette* (1765-72) the girl traps the dog between her outstretched feet and teases it with a ring-shaped pastry called a *gimblette* (Fig. 72). The dog is suspended in the air, where it is rendered doubly impotent; it is unable to reach stable ground or to obtain the tasty morsels that the girl offers. The girl maintains the ability to raise or lower the animal at will. She appears to relish the power of her humanity and her sexuality simultaneously. Fragonard classifies the human and the animal in distinct,

⁴⁰ Théophile Gautier, *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835) (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), 106-07.

⁴¹ For the identification of the dog breeds, see Hervé Grandsart, "La Gimblette de Fragonard," *Connaissance des arts* 627 (2005), 104.

separate categories of dominion and dependence in this version of *La Gimblette*.⁴²

In the second version, exemplified by the painting *Young Girl in Bed, Making her Dog Dance* (c.1770-75), the pastry is absent (though the work is still erroneously labeled *La Gimblette* on occasion). Here the girl's knees are bent, and the dog balances on top of them (Fig. 73).⁴³ Fragonard's composition is carefully designed so that the dog's fluffy white tail is draped strategically between the girl's legs. It appears to cover her most private parts, but it also draws attention to them by seeming to tickle them suggestively. These parts bear an animal name in French slang – *la chatte* – a diminutive form of *le chat* equivalent to the dual meanings of the word “pussy” in English, so the girl and the animal in Fragonard's painting may also be understood as cat and dog respectively.⁴⁴

Furthermore, the painter links the animal and the human woman formally by the use of blue pigment. It appears as the blue ribbon that encircles the dog's neck and reappears on the girl's nightcap, which lies discarded on the pillow behind her head. The dog, drawn in the position dogs assume for intercourse with their own kind, is balanced precariously at what has been called “a moment of equilibrium,” but it literally has the upper hand here, as its front paws rest atop her hands. Especially in comparison to the other version of *La Gimblette*, the dog in this rendition holds power, however minuscule.

With a mere swish of its sensuously rendered tail, this animal can push the scene from the

⁴² For other renditions of this composition as paintings, prints, and sculptures, see Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 232-234.

⁴³ Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 234.

⁴⁴ This form of *le chat* also seems to have been used as a term of endearment in the nineteenth century: “A French lover will call his mistress 'ma chatte.' He will compliment her upon her cat-like movements and her cat-like eyes and the lady will be delighted. Let an English lover make the experiment of calling the idol of his affections a cat. It is probable that he would speedily have ocular and onglar demonstration of the fitness of his comparison in a manner more startling than agreeable!” Charles H. Bennett and Robert B. Brough, *Shadow and Substance* (London: W. Kent & Co., 1860), 58.

merely titillating to the outright pornographic.⁴⁵

As Philip Stewart's scholarship has demonstrated, some late eighteenth-century prints did show the subsequent explicit scene between *le chien* and *la chatte* that Fragonard implied but did not depict.⁴⁶ For example, in a plate illustrating Andréa de Nerciat's (1739-1800) posthumously published erotic novel *Le diable au corps* (1803), a lapdog literally fulfills the promise of its name (Fig. 74).⁴⁷ The dog from *La Gimblette* has been lowered to the bed where it is apparently quite willing to serve its mistress. She need not clamp her legs together to hold the animal in place, and all that her faithful Fido requires is a light touch on its head to direct its tongue. This primped and pampered poodle is nature tamed and shaped to do every human bidding, including the most sexual of services. Nerciat's text even grants the animal intellect: "She awakes and turns back the curtain. Médor gives her a frisky welcome; she uncovers herself and lets the intelligent animal tongue her for a moment; then she rings."⁴⁸ Animal and human desires are linked and equated in Nerciat's text and in the accompanying engraving. Yet, the woman is the one receiving the animal's services and not the reverse. Human dominion over animals can continue as long as the "intelligent animal" makes no demands for the receipt of reciprocal pleasure.

⁴⁵ "Fragonard a privilégié un moment d'équilibre pour évoquer le jeu de la jeune fille avec son chien." Grandsart," *La Gimblette* de Fragonard," 107.

⁴⁶ Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 285-87.

⁴⁷ Published in facsimile as Andréa de Nerciat, *Le diable au corps, œuvre posthume du très-recommandable Docteur Cazzoné, membre extraordinaire de la joyeuse faculté phallo-coïro-glottonomique*, 3 vols. (Paris: Borderie, 1980).

⁴⁸ "Elle s'éveille et détourne son rideau. Médor (son bichon) lui fait fête; elle se découvre et se fait gamahucher un moment par l'intelligent animal: puis elle sonne." As quoted and translated in Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 286-87.

Fuseli's Bestial *Nightmare*

That the human male could be rendered impotent or unnecessary at the paws, claws, or hooves of animality becomes a prominent yet little discussed theme Romantic art. Scenes implying sexual contact between a woman and an animal adopt a more frightening tone after Fragonard's light-hearted, sensual suggestions of bestiality in *La Gimblette* and its variations. One of the most seminal (and I use this word intentionally), iconic paintings of Romanticism includes the suggestion of bestiality: Henry Fuseli's (1747-1825) *The Nightmare* (Fig. 75). In Fuseli's canonical image, a woman swathed in thin white fabric swoons over a divan, her chest and neck exposed in a theatrical lighting effect as Fragonard's puppies and pussies had been.⁴⁹ A horse with an up-turned mouth and glowing eyes emerges from the curtains behind the woman.⁵⁰ The horse's presence in a room evidently used for sleeping implies the improper mixing of human and beast, since although the horse is a domesticated animal, it is not a house pet. It is especially incongruous in such a richly decorated home. This combined with the animal's expression, its white eyes, the direction of its gaze toward the woman's body, posed as it is to convey her sexual availability and vulnerability while unconscious, and the penetration of the animal's head into the room through folds of red drapery all suggest the nightmarish possibility of intercourse between human and animal.⁵¹

⁴⁹ On this painting's iconic status, see for example Martin Myrone, *Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake and the Romantic Imagination* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006), 45; the classic study of the work in English remains Nicolas Powell, *Fuseli: The Nightmare* (London: Penguin Press, 1973).

⁵⁰ The possibility remains that the Nightmare of the title is actually a "Night-Mare," in reference to a horse in Thomas Middleton's poem *The Witch* (c. 1614-16), a copy of which was in Fuseli's library when it was cataloged after his death. Myrone, *Gothic Nightmares*, 45. Powell disputes this claim, asserting that the nightmare must mean the imp instead. *Fuseli: The Nightmare*, 50.

⁵¹ Myrone, *Gothic Nightmares*, 45.

Fuseli underscores these lascivious implications even further through the figure of a hybrid human-animal, variously described as an imp or an incubus, who crouches on the woman's abdomen.⁵² This hairy creature sports simian features and devilishly pointed ears. The imp's apelike appearance was surely deliberate, as Fuseli's friend (and Charles Darwin's grandfather) Erasmus Darwin underscored in his poem *The Loves of the Plants* (1789): "On her fair bosom sits the Demon-Ape,/Erect, and balances his bloated shape."⁵³ The reader is left to decide for him or herself whether the word "erect" describes the imp's pose or his male anatomy. Furthermore, Christoph Frayling has recently compared Fuseli's imp to the engraving of the pot-bellied, erect chimpanzee or "Le Jocko" in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (Fig. 12). In Frayling's astute analysis, *The Nightmare* represents the fear of cross-species miscegenation.⁵⁴ Fuseli's composition itself supports such a reading, as the shape of the imp's shadow creates an arrow that points between the woman's legs, suggesting the rape that is about to happen or has already occurred. Here members of the three realms - the human, the animal, and the inventive human-animal hybrid - appear on Fuseli's stage to enact a *ménage à trois*. They meet in a shadowy world where the boundaries that forbid intercourse between different species are blurred. The sleeping woman is powerless, and she is lowered, by the implication of sexual

⁵² The Oxford English Dictionary's first definition for "nightmare" implies the meaning Fuseli may have intended: "A female spirit or monster supposed to settle on and produce a feeling of suffocation in a sleeping person or animal." However, Fuseli's imp has masculine features. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1989), s.v. "nightmare." Powell quotes Dr. Johnson's definition: "NIGHTMARE (*night* and according to Temple, *mara*, a spirit that, in the northern mythology, was related to torment or suffocate sleepers). A morbid oppression in the night, resembling the pressure of weight upon the breast." *Fuseli: The Nightmare*, 49-50.

⁵³ II. Line 75.

⁵⁴ Christopher Frayling, "Fuseli's *The Nightmare*: Somewhere between the Sublime and the Ridiculous," in Myrone, *Gothic Nightmares*, 17.

contact with animal or sub-human species, to the level of the bestial. Her sleep of reason will surely produce monsters.

The Power to Partake of Pleasure: Bestiality in Illustrated Erotica

Fragonard's and Fuseli's paintings evidence the conflicting themes at work in subsequent permutations of bestiality in visual art: does sexual contact between a human woman and an animal maintain humanity's dominion by demonstrating animal powerlessness, or does it rather grant the animal the power to obtain its own pleasure, perhaps even to take it by force? Painting was not the medium in which suggestions of the latter could easily be made, since, for the most part, it was resolutely classified as High Art and subject to expectations of decorum that were not so vigorously applied to prints and caricatures, especially those published as erotica. The latter were often produced under shadowy circumstances and anonymous authorship to protect the (male) creators, publishers, and consumers of such illicit works. In general, illustrated erotica, with its greater, though still limited freedoms as compared to painting, admitted an ambivalence that reveals the simultaneous fascination and horror that scenes of species mixing could inspire. In another episode from *Le diable au corps*, Nerciat demonstrates the capacity erotica as a genre has to suggest animal pleasure and power (Fig. 76). Three women struggle to position a donkey in order effectively to utilize it as a living sex toy. The animal apparently resists their charms until the donkey becomes convinced that he encounters a female of his own species.

They had some difficulty placing the animal: they put one foot, then the other, on the stool, keeping him all the while, by little touches, in you know what state. He finally felt against his stomach the warmth of hind quarters worthy of a she-ass. Then he seemed to get interested: his tool

acted magnificently.⁵⁵

In this male author's imagination, for the donkey to be able to perform sexually with a woman, that woman must *become* a donkey. Nerciat formulates the tale to bestialize the woman both literally and figuratively. The animal rises at the expense of the woman. This scene illustrates the transition from human as the controller of pleasure to the animal elevating itself, quite literally, to partake of equal enjoyment.

Likewise, the aforementioned *Gamiani, ou deux nuits d'excès*, an erotic novella undoubtedly influenced by works like Nerciat's *Le diable au corps* as well as the Marquis de Sade's (Donatien Alphonse François, 1740-1814) œuvre, operates in the mode in which the woman ultimately becomes animalistic. The two nights of excess occur in the home of the title character, the Countess Gamiani. On the first night, the narrator, one "Baron de Alcide M***," hears that the reason the Countess has neither husband nor lover is because she is a lesbian. Alcide determines to verify this surprising news with his own eyes, so he hides in a closet off Gamiani's boudoir. While situated as a voyeur, Alcide witnesses Gamiani's seduction of the young Fanny Pleyel. Finally, he can no longer contain himself, so he interrupts their interaction and a *ménage à trois* ensues. After they have exhausted themselves, they begin exchanging tales of their sexual escapades, with prominence given to the Countess Gamiani's life of excess.

Among the narratives she weaves, Gamiani or her female acquaintances have sexual interactions with males of various species including a dog, a ram, a donkey, and an

⁵⁵ "On a quelque peine à porter l'animal, qui pourtant se laisse faire: on lui fait poser un pied, puis l'autre, sur le tabouret, on l'entretient toujours, par un léger attouchement, dans l'état heureux où nous le savons. Il sent, enfin, contre son ventre, la chaleur d'une croupe qui vaut bien celle d'une bourrique. Il semble pour lors prendre goût à la chose: son engin fait des mouvement superbes." As quoted and translated in Stewart, *Engraven Desires*, 359, n. 25.

ape. Three of these episodes are illustrated in the unsigned lithographs attributed to Devéria and Tassaert (Figs. 71, 77, and 78).⁵⁶ In each case, author and artist portray the woman as so hyper-sexual that mere humans cannot possibly fulfill her desires.⁵⁷ Together and separately, these libidinous women search for increasingly extreme means of quenching their insatiable longings. The text presents Gamiani as a Byronic heroine so irrevocably distanced from the natural that she enters into ever darker scenarios in quest of a fulfillment she cannot obtain. As she describes it: “I have the sad condition of being divorced from nature. I do not dream, I do not feel anything but the horrible, the extravagant. I pursue the impossible.”⁵⁸ The impossible includes intercourse with domestic and exotic animals and ends in the murder-suicide by poisoning of Fanny and Gamiani as Alcide watches through a locked window in helpless horror.

The first of the three lithographs to portray the sexual mixing of animals and humans equates the animal with the sensual as in Fragonard's paintings (Fig. 77). After hearing her moans and cries, Alcide and Fanny spy on Gamiani to understand the source of her pleasure or pain. They discover her writhing on a fur rug made from an exotic cat's skin.⁵⁹ As the scene unfolds before them, Alcide and Fanny realize that Gamiani is not alone. Her maid Julie, named perhaps in reference to Sade's notorious Juliette, appears

⁵⁶ Duprilot, “Presentation,” in *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, vi.

⁵⁷ One of the legends surrounding *Gamiani*'s anonymous authorship ascribed it as a collaborative effort between Musset and George Sand (1804-1876) when they were lovers. However, subsequent scholarship now ascribes the entire work to Musset given Sand's known abhorrence of vulgar language. Nor would she dare to risk her reputation by publishing elicited and illegal erotica. Simon Jeune, “‘Gamiani: Poème érotique et funèbre d'Alfred de Musset?’” *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 85, no. 6 (1985): 996.

⁵⁸ My translation. “J'ai la triste condition d'avoir divorcé avec la nature. Je ne rêve, je ne sens plus que l'horrible, l'extravagant. Je poursuis l'impossible.” *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 4.

⁵⁹ “A la lumière d'une veilleuse pale vacillante, la Comtesse ... se roulait en mugissant sur un large tapis de peaux de chat. [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 11.

with a number of sadistic implements and proceeds to tie up the countess.⁶⁰ This incites Gamiani's animality even more, as she snarls at Julie and threatens to bite her.⁶¹ Then, the countess calls for her dog Médor, begging him to take her. This the animal does willingly.⁶² A graphic *ménage à trois* ensues, while Alcide and Fanny continue to watch through the window. They are aroused by the act they observe. Musset's text asserts that their act of voyeurism and the animal-human entanglement they view has the effect of bestializing them by lowering them to the level of animals. Alcide's rational human abilities abandon him as what he witnesses pulls him across the border zone into the bestial. As he narrates it, "My reason was lost, my eyes were fascinated.... I was bestially furious with love."⁶³ Then, Fanny and Alcide throw themselves into bed together "like two fierce beasts."⁶⁴ Rational thoughts are suspended in favor of instinctual, animalistic pleasures.

The lithograph that accompanies this episode does little to humanize the animal. The Countess's wide, staring eyes and the position of her servant Julie on all fours sufficiently bestialize the women, as does the presence and position of the dog performing his sexual action. In this case, the text as quoted above functions as the primary location for the lowering of the human – both male and female – to the level of

⁶⁰ Jacques Duprilot notes that Julie appears in the same scene as the dog Médor, who resembles the dog Lucifer who pleasures Sade's Juliette beneath her skirts. "Presentation," in *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, vi.

⁶¹ "Ah! Damnée folle, je vais te mordre." [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 11.

⁶² "Médor! Médor! Prends moi! Prends!" [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 12. The name Médor, the French equivalent to the names Fido or Spot, was also given to dogs performing sexual functions in Nerciat's *Le diable au corps* and Denis Diderot's *Bijoux indiscrets* (1748); Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 284-87.

⁶³ "Ma raison était perdue, mes regards fasciner.... J'étais bestialement furieux d'amour." [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 12.

⁶⁴ "... comme deux bêtes acharnées." [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 12.

animals. However, a subsequent lithograph portraying the scene in which Gamiani has intercourse with a donkey humanizes the animal to an extent that the text is unable to achieve, while also emphasizing the incongruity and unnaturalness of the act (Fig. 78). Fleeing sexual abuse at the hands of her aunt and several unscrupulous monks (a strong anti-clerical sentiment flows throughout the novella), Gamiani seeks refuge at a convent where the nuns are nymphomaniacs. She is quickly initiated into their Order. As she explains it, the nuns were deprived of men, divorced from nature like Gamiani herself. Instead, they substituted their own female bodies or whatever other objects or creatures might be readily available.⁶⁵ To derive sexual pleasure from the donkey, the nuns had to combine nature with the works of culture or industry, since its physical size, and presumably its stubbornness or even unwillingness to participate, required “the help of a belt and pulley” to maneuver the animal above the bed.⁶⁶ This machinery is evident in the lithograph as the lines around the donkey's foreleg depicting the harness that suspends it in mid-air over Gamiani's naked body. In the image, this unnatural intercourse requires the further assistance of another nun who guides the animal's member between Gamiani's legs. The text emphasizes that this penetration of human by a large animal could only be achieved by administering a dilating ointment.⁶⁷ Perhaps to further underscore bestiality's unnaturalness, the artist gives the donkey an anthropomorphic expression of lustful pleasure. His tongue stretches out of his upturned mouth toward Gamiani's neck; his eyes

⁶⁵ “Privée d'homme, nous n'en étions que plus ingénieuses à inventer des extravagances. Toutes les priapeés, toutes les histoires obscènes de l'antiquité et des temps modernes nous étaient connues. Nous les avons dépassées. Elephantis et l'Aretein avaient moins d'imagination que nous.” [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 22.

⁶⁶ “... l'aide d'une courroie.” [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 22.

⁶⁷ “une pommade dilattante...” [Musset], *Gamiani: Fac-similé*, 22.

are half-closed, his eyebrows are arched, and the position of his pupils appears to direct his gaze toward Gamiani's face. Although the animal is strapped into a human construction and made to serve as little more than a living sex toy, the lithographer grants the donkey the ability to feel sexual pleasure and desire across species lines, elevating the animal to the same level to which the bestialized Gamiani has been lowered while the human male stands outside the scene as the implied voyeur (or viewer of the print) rather than the participant.

Visually, this lithograph recalls both Fragonard's *La Gimblette* and Fuseli's *Nightmare*. All three works share markers of the erotic: the curtained background, the central platform of a disheveled bed, a pale white woman (wearing a white cap with a blue ribbon in both the Fragonard and Gamiani images), and an animal presence either suspended or seated above the human. If they are ordered like three film stills, the lithograph of Gamiani represents the middle stage between Fragonard's woman with her absolute control over the animal and Fuseli's woman, who has abandoned reason either before or after a sexual act involving non-human species. Gamiani is posed as if in the moment before she becomes Fuseli's swooning woman. In all three cases, the human male is present only as the implied viewer of the image. Animal and woman meet in the middle for the man's visual arousal. Yet, in Gamiani's case, the animal's size and the pleasure it can give a woman supersede any human male. Such images operate on the border not only between the human and the animal, but also between the seductive and the horrific, since man runs the risk of becoming superfluous or irrelevant in this world turned upside-down.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Bergman-Carton has noted the use of imagery of the *monde inversé* in depictions of Saint-Simonist

Sensuous Snakes: The Clésinger Scandal Revisited

While depictions of bestiality in erotic illustrations were allowed by virtue of their media to be more graphic in the sexuality they displayed, titillating allusions to this taboo appeared in veiled form at such major venues as the Paris Salon and the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations held at London's Crystal Palace in 1851. In fact, in the case of Auguste Clésinger's (1814-1883) infamous sculpture *Woman Bitten by a Snake* (1847), the inclusion of an animal form intertwined with a sensual nude woman's body served to elevate the subject away from grossly realistic portrait to a potentially biblical, mythological, or historical nude evoking Eve, Eurydice, or Cleopatra (Figs. 80 and 81).⁶⁹ The model for Clésinger's sculpture was recognizable as Apollonie Sabatier (1822-1890), Charles Baudelaire's muse, formerly Clésinger's mistress, and from 1846 mistress of the wealthy businessman Alfred Mosselman. The work's realism caused a scandal at the Salon of 1847. It elicited a storm of criticism, some of which accused Clésinger of making a cast from his live model; others likened the sculpture to the unflinching naturalism of a daguerreotype rendered in three-dimensional form.⁷⁰

Critiques of Clésinger's hyper-realism have received much scholarly attention, yet

women and men during the 1830s as efforts to imply the absurdity of a utopian system that advocated women's rights to access higher education or to work outside the home. *The Woman of Ideas*, 22-25.

⁶⁹ Théophile Thoré's review of the sculpture contended that the serpent was added as an afterthought to appease the members of the jury, who might otherwise reject a sculpture of a nude female without a legitimate subject. "Le petit serpent de bronze n'a été ajouté que pour magnétiser le jury, sous prétexte de Cléopâtre, les nudités classiques ayant d'avance leur absolution auprès de l'académie." *Salon de 1847* (Paris: Alliance des arts, 1847), 183.

⁷⁰ For example, Gustave Planche complained, "... le procédé employé par M. Clesinger est, à la statuaire, ce que le dagurréotype est à la peinture.... L'œuvre de M. Clesinger n'a pas la caractère d'une figure modelée, mais bien d'une figure moulée." "Salon de 1847," in *Etudes sur l'école française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1855), 2: 266.

a secondary strain in the criticism has gone unnoticed.⁷¹ Analyses in this vein, whether they were largely positive or negative, functioned as thinly veiled erotica equating and conflating the animal, the woman, sexual ecstasy, and death in the manner of Musset's *Gamiani*. Yet, *Gamiani* circulated within a fairly limited group of wealthy, male connoisseurs of pornography, while *Woman Bitten by a Snake* was on public view at the Salon. There its suggestion of sensual bestiality was legitimized by the trappings of an official art institution and the art criticism it generated in the press.

Undoubtedly, the tone of the criticism contributed to the scandal surrounding the sculpture, since it effectively allowed art critics to write eroticism under the guise of the Salon review. For example, Théophile Gautier coyly suggested what could have made the woman writhe in this way: “Perhaps this woman in bed, before the snake's bite, or at the same time, if you like, had received a kiss...”⁷² The reader is left to imagine whether that kiss was administered by man or beast and in what order. In his *Salon de 1847*, Théophile Thoré (1807-1869) achieved breathless heights as he sought to propose a subject for the sculpture:

Which snake bit her thus? How she twists! How her beautiful flanks stir and raise superb reliefs! How her reversed head bathes in the waves of her hair! How her arms are tensed! How her breast is full of storms! What convulsion circulates from her half-open mouth to her toenails? Woman bitten by a snake. What then is this little bronze snake who climbs the length of her beautiful leg while hissing? It's the same snake who, in the

⁷¹ For example, Wendy Nolan Joyce argues convincingly that Clésinger's notorious sculpture belongs in the vein of Manet's equally notorious *Olympia* (1863) for its thinly disguised depiction of a recognizable courtesan, its nods to the limitations of the genre, and its placement of the (male) viewer in a deeply uncomfortable position. “Sculpting the Modern Muse: Clésinger's *Femme picquée par un serpent*,” *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 35, no. 1 (2006): 166-88.

⁷² “Peut-être cette femme couchée, avant la morsure du serpent, ou en même temps, si vous voulez, avait reçu un baiser...” Gautier, “Sculpture,” *L'Artiste* (15 July 1848), 204; as quoted and cited in Patricia Mainardi, “French Sculpture, English Morals: Clésinger's *Bacchante* at the Crystal Palace, 1851,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 102, no. 1379 (Dec. 1983): 215.

earthly paradise, coiled itself around the tree of life and spoke in the ear of the blonde Eve. It's the immortal and invincible snake of sensual delight.⁷³

Thoré injects the hint of bestiality into the biblical story of Eve and the serpent by linking the animal with sensual delight or *volupté*.⁷⁴ The animal's sibilant words, whispered in the woman's ear, are the source of her bodily contortions, the root of her simultaneous pleasure and pain. Whether or not she has been bitten by the snake becomes irrelevant as Thoré raises the animal to the level of the human. He endows it with the power of seductive speech, with the ability to seduce this modern Eve and to elicit such a sensuous response.

While beast is raised to the level of the human in *Woman Bitten by a Snake*, the human is lowered, bestialized, by the pose. Despite the hyper-realism of this “daguerreotype in sculpture” as Eugène Delacroix called it, the pose is physically impossible unless the model's neck were broken or vertebrae were removed.⁷⁵ Instead, it is as if she is changing into the animal that has bitten her. She is in the process of becoming a snake whose more flexible backbone would allow for such a distorted pose. Clésinger sculpted one small snake around the woman's left wrist, and, according to accounts like Thoré's in the Salon criticism, there was originally a bronze snake around

⁷³ “Quel serpent l'a donc piquée? Comme elle se tord! Comme ses beaux flancs s'agitent et soulèvent des reliefs superbs! Comme sa tête renversée se baigne dans les flots de sa chevelure! Comme ses bras sont crispés! Comme sa poitrine est pleine de tempêtes! Quelle convulsion circule depuis sa bouche entr'ouverte jusqu'aux ongles des pieds? Femme piquée par un serpent. Quel est donc ce petit serpent de bronze qui grimpe en sifflant le long de sa belle jambe? C'est la même serpent qui, dans le paradis terrestre, s'enroulait autour de l'arbre de vie et parlait à l'oreille d'Eva la blonde. C'est l'immortel et invincible serpent de la Volupté.” Thoré, *Salon de 1847*, 180.

⁷⁴ Elsewhere in his review, Thoré argues that despite the last-minute inclusion of the bronze serpent, the sculpture has no biblical, historical, or mythological subject but is simply symbolic of *volupté*. *Salon de 1847*, 183.

⁷⁵ “Hélas! Je crois que Planché a raison: c'est du daguerréotype en sculpture...” Eugène Delacroix, *Journal, 1822-1863*, ed. André Joubin (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1996), 154.

her left leg, though it no longer remains in place today (Figs. 79 and 80).⁷⁶ Together these creatures rise up to infect the woman with their reptilian qualities and then to welcome her as they absorb her into their animal realm.

As Wendy Nolan Joyce has asserted, many of the critics were confounded not only by Clésinger's refusal to idealize his subject (he did not even omit the cellulite visible on her thighs and buttocks) but also by his refusal to create a primary viewpoint from which the whole of the sculpture could be absorbed (Fig. 80).⁷⁷ Joyce cites several critics and artists, among them Devèria and Delacroix, who complained of this lack of fixed perspective.⁷⁸ These critics felt they were only able to view the sculpture in fragments; from one perspective, her head disappeared, and from another, one only saw her legs and so on.⁷⁹ They concluded that she was best viewed from above. Effectively, she belonged on the floor like an animal, and if one became an animal oneself – a bird specifically – then one would finally be able to comprehend the whole of Clésinger's sculpture.⁸⁰ Not only did Clésinger render his woman an animal by virtue of her writhing, snakelike pose and the apparent sexual ecstasy obtained through her interaction with snakes, but he also effectively demanded that viewers of his work imagine themselves as birds circling above like raptors hunting their prey, seeking out the only vantage point

⁷⁶ Joyce, "Sculpting the Modern Muse," 183, n. 3.

⁷⁷ The lumpy appearance of cellulite is further enhanced by a slight discoloration in the marble in this area.

⁷⁸ Delacroix noted in his journal on 7 May 1847, "J'ai été voir la figure de Clésinger.... La défaut d'intelligence comme lignes, dans sa figure; on ne la voit entière de nulle part." *Journal*, 154; Joyce, "Sculpting the Modern Muse," 176-80.

⁷⁹ Joyce, "Sculpting the Modern Muse," 179-80.

⁸⁰ Joyce, "Sculpting the Modern Muse," 180.

from which the sculpture could be perceived as a whole.⁸¹

An unspoken component of the scandal aroused by Clésinger's *Woman Bitten by a Snake* was the way it bestialized the human, upsetting the traditional hierarchy of human over animal in its subject, composition, and lack of an all-encompassing viewpoint. The sculpture and the controversy surrounding it solidified Clésinger's reputation, and he followed it by exhibiting his marble *Bacchante* (also known as *Bacchante couchée* or *Bacchante se roulant sur les pampres*) at the Salon of 1848 (Fig. 81). This work contains no animal presence, though it is implied that this follower of Bacchus has surrendered her rational mind to animalistic pleasures. This rejection of human reason contributed in part to the uneasy reception *Bacchante* received when Clésinger submitted it as his entry for the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations held in London's Crystal Palace in 1851.⁸² Despite what the jury found to be “the masterly chiselling [*sic*] of the marble, the great knowledge of anatomy, and the beauty of the countenance,” Clésinger had “allowed his imagination to be perverted and degraded to the service of a low sensuality,” and as a result he merely received an Honourable Mention rather than the higher award that was no doubt expected from such a fashionable young French artist.⁸³ Had Clésinger submitted *Woman Bitten by a Serpent* rather than the *Bacchante*, it seems unlikely that the jury would have decided differently, the presence of the small snakes not being enough to raise the subject above one of wild abandon and shocking sexual ecstasy.

⁸¹ It is now installed on a low pedestal on the ground floor of Paris's Musée d'Orsay. It is possible, though difficult for a short person, to view the sculpture from above by going to the upper levels and peering through or over railings.

⁸² Mainardi, “French Sculpture, English Morals,” 215-20.

⁸³ The Royal Commissioners' *Supplementary Report*, as quoted in Mainardi, “French Sculpture, English Morals,” 216-17.

Female Power over Animal Emotion: Geefs's *Lion in Love*

From the jury's responses to Clésinger's *Bacchante*, it is apparent that visitors to the exposition preferred sculpted groups in which the human appeared appropriately dominant and rational and sufficiently elevated above the bestial. No work exhibited at the Crystal Palace fulfilled these requirements more than the celebrated *Lion in Love* by the Belgian sculptor Guillaume Geefs (1805-1883, Fig. 82). Based on the fable of the same name, which appears in Aesop and was retold in verse by La Fontaine, Geefs's sculpture had the requisite literary subject accompanied by a neatly packaged moralizing message. This moral, "Love, when you seize our hearts,/That moment of all common sense departs," was carved in French on the base of Geefs's sculptural group to layer the message in both image and text.⁸⁴ Victorian visitors to the Crystal Palace might have had a basic familiarity with the version of this fable retold in *Aesop's Fables, A New Version* (1848) by the Rev. Thomas James (1809-1874) and illustrated by John Tenniel (1820-1914), who would go on to become one of *Punch's* most revered caricaturists and, most famously, the artist responsible for illustrating Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There* (1871):

It happened in days of old that a lion fell in love with a Woodman's daughter; and had the folly to ask her of her father in marriage. The Woodman was not much pleased with the offer, and declined the honor of so dangerous an alliance. But upon the lion threatening him with his royal displeasure, the poor man, seeing that so formidable a creature was not to be denied, hit at length upon this expedient: 'I feel greatly flattered,' said he, 'with your proposal; but, noble sir, what great teeth you have got! And what great claws you have got! Where is the damsel that would not be

⁸⁴ "Amour, amour, quand tu nous tiens,/On peut bien dire: Adieu prudence." Jean de la Fontaine, *Fables choisies, mises en vers* (1668) (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1746), 89; as translated in verse in Matthew Senior, "When the Beasts Spoke: Animal Speech and Classical Reason in Descartes and La Fontaine," in *Animal Acts: Configuring the Human in Western History*, ed. Jennifer Ham and Matthew Senior (New York: Routledge, 1997), 74.

frightened at such weapons as these? You must have your teeth drawn and your claws pared before you can be a suitable bridegroom for my daughter.' The lion straightway submitted (for what will not a body do for love?) and then called upon the father to accept him as a son-in-law. But the Woodman, no longer afraid of the tamed and disarmed bully, seized a stout cudgel and drove the unreasonable suitor from his door.⁸⁵

In this retelling, the Woodman fears the lion's rage, so he jumps at the chance to render the lion defenseless. The text lacks the lion's violent death found in other versions of the fable, but the illustration is surprisingly suggestive, and it gives the daughter an important role (Fig. 83). She serves as an accomplice, allowing the lion to kiss, or rather lick, her outstretched hand to distract the animal while her father prepares to cut his claws.⁸⁶

La Fontaine's poetic version, which Geefs's fellow French-speaking Belgians might have known, has a violent end (the father orders his dogs to attack the disarmed lion) but a distinct theme of lost voice. It begins with a scene of equality from a time when animals, like humans, had the power of speech, and it ends with the silencing of the lion after his weapons of animality have been eliminated:

In the days when the beasts could speak,
The lions set about to seek
Communion with humankind.
Why not? They were our equals then;
For both in courage and in mind
They claimed comparison with men.⁸⁷

As man's equal, the lion feels he may ask for a woman as his wife. Yet, human fear of the

⁸⁵ Thomas James, *Aesop's Fables, A New Version, Chiefly from Original Sources* (London: John Murray, 1848), 63-64.

⁸⁶ The original engraving by François Chauveau (1613-1676) for La Fontaine's *Fables choisies mises en vers* (Fig. 84) also marginalizes the female presence; she stands at the left side, hands clasped to her chest, as two men work to remove the lion's teeth and claws. Senior, "When the Beasts Spoke," 75.

⁸⁷ "Du temps que les Bêtes parlaient,/Les lions entres autres voulait/Etre admis dans notre alliance./Pourquoi non? Puisque leur engeance/valoit la nôtre en ce temps-là./Ayant courage, intelligence,/Et belle hure, outre cela." "Le lion amoureux," in La Fontaine, *Fables choisies*, 1746, 87-88; translated in Senior, "When the Beasts Spoke," 74.

animal emerges, and, in La Fontaine's version, the father convinces the lion to have himself declawed.⁸⁸ Other than appearing attractive to the lion, the woman plays no part in the violent acts that nullify and eventually murder the animal.

Geefs's sculpted version pares the participants down to the most essential: the woman and the lion. She sits on the cat's back and removes his claws. Other illustrations of this fable had also given the woman a more active role in the clipping of claws or the pulling of teeth. Carle Vernet's (1758-1836) lithograph of 1818 depicted the woman cutting the lion's claws while a man sat atop the animal to remove his teeth.⁸⁹ Geefs further simplifies the scene so that the characters of the father and the daughter are effectively merged into the single figure of the partially nude woman sitting side-saddle on the animal's back. She embodies the alluring and dangerous *femme fatale* as the lion lifts his paw to meet the clippers the woman holds. His mouth is open, its corners turned down to convey a lovesick expression of devotion and surrender as he raises his eyes to meet her serene gaze. In contrast to the shape of the lion's mouth, Geefs raises the corners of the woman's mouth to form a calm, seductive smile.

Despite her nudity, the human female in Geefs's sculpture runs no risk of being bestialized. She is the epitome of human culture now holding animality in the palm of her hand. Her features are coolly classical, from the parallel grooves that form her wavy hair

⁸⁸ "... Ma fille est délicate:/Vos griffes la pourront blesser/Quand vous voudrez la caresser./Permettez donc qu'à chaque patte/On vous les rogne; et pour les dents,/Qu'on vous les lime en même temps:/Vos baisers en seront moins rudes;/Et pour vous plus délicieux,/Car ma fille y répondre mieux/Etant sans ces inquiétudes./Le Lion consent à cela,/Tant son âme était aveuglée./Sans dents ni griffes le voilà/Comme place démantelée." La Fontaine, *Fables choisies*, 1746, 88-89.

⁸⁹ "Le Lion amoureux. A Mademoiselle de Sévigné," in Jean de la Fontaine, *Fables choisies de la Fontaine: Ornées de figures lithographiques de Mm. Carle Vernet, Horace Vernet, et Hipolyte Lecomte* (Paris: L'Imprimerie de Fain, 1818), Liv. IV, Fab. Ière.

to the straight slope of her nose and the pointed half-orbs that are her breasts. Her skin is smooth and polished, in contrast to the textures used to convey the lion's fur. She lacks the dimples and other marks of human physicality that cover the surfaces of Clésinger's writhing women. Geefs's woman is strong without evidence of the muscle required to subdue the animal. Through the force of her idealized human beauty alone, she convinces the animal to cede its power willingly.

Geefs's popular sculpture conveyed to the Crystal Palace's visitors a moral message not only about sentimentality and the dangers of making an imprudent, improper match but also an assurance that women could not be lost to beasts. Humanity would always prevail over animality through its superior beauty and the works of its industry and culture, symbolized by the man-made tool she uses to declaw the animal and by the man-made sculpture, itself a product of human culture. Yet, conversely, the male viewer might himself sympathize with the emasculated lion who willingly surrenders to the force of the woman's beauty and cool resolve. Thus, Geefs's sculpture at once conveys continued human dominance over animals and the fear of feminine power over man and animal alike.

The Final Taboo

Two- and three-dimensional depictions of bestiality created during the first half of the nineteenth century suggest upward and downward societal motions as humans negotiated shifting conceptions of their relationships toward animals. From Clésinger's women lowered to the level of the earthly, animalistic realm to Geefs's serene, ideal beauty elevated and secure atop the paralyzed animal's back, these sculptures reify deep

philosophical conflicts. In his journalistic fragments written between 1852 and 1864 and published posthumously as *Mon cœur mis à nu* in 1887, Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) probed this ambivalence. The poet understands men to be at once striving upwards toward God and descending rapidly and willingly toward Satan. He equates this lowering, downward motion with the bestial. Interactions with women and animals belong to this category as well:

There are in every man, at every hour, two simultaneous postulations, one toward God, the other toward Satan. The invocation of God, or spirituality, is a desire to be elevated in rank; that of Satan, or animality, is the joy of descent. To the latter must be added love for women and intimate conversations with animals, dogs, cats, etc.⁹⁰

Man houses these dual drives within himself, while woman can only partake of the bestial category.⁹¹ Later on, Baudelaire further lowers women into animality by denying them souls: “Woman does not know how to separate the soul from the body. She is simplistic, like the animals. - A satirist would say that it's because she has nothing but a body.”⁹² The works of erotic art and literature analyzed here are uniformly the cultural products of men who bring the allegedly soulless, irrational body of the woman into sexual contact with the allegedly soulless, irrational body of the animal. This generates

⁹⁰ “Il y a dans toute homme, à toute heure, deux postulations simultanées, l'une vers Dieu, l'autre vers Satan. L'invocation à Dieu, ou spiritualité, est un désir de monter en grade; celle de Satan, ou animalité, est une joie de descendre. C'est à cette dernière que doivent être rapportées les amours pour les femmes et les conversations intimes avec les animaux, chiens, chats, etc.” Charles Baudelaire, *Journaux intimes, Fusées, Mon cœur mis à nu* (Paris: G. Crès, 1920), 57.

⁹¹ See also Jane Munro's linkage of Baudelaire's theories with Félicien Rops's (1833-1898) misogynistic etchings of women coupling with human-animal hybrids and apes, *Transformismes (Les Darwiniques)*, c. 1879, Musée Provincial Félicien Rops, Namur. “More Like a Work of Art than of Nature: Darwin, Beauty and Sexual Selection,” in *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts*, ed. Diana Donald and Jane Munro (Cambridge, UK: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2009), 284-286.

⁹² “La femme ne sait pas séparer l'âme du corps. Elle est simpliste, comme les animaux. - Un satirique dirait que c'est parce qu'elle n'a que le corps.” Baudelaire, *Journaux intimes*, 77.

an image of woman as so animalistic and lacking in rational capabilities that any claims for her equality can be ignored or belittled as products of little more than a beast-machine. Thus, during the period in which small but vocal utopian groups like the Saint-Simonists and Fourierists sought more equitable gender roles, others resisted by reinforcing received gender roles for bourgeois men and women. By pinning the woman sometimes quite literally beneath the animal body, male artists could assert woman's animality. Like the animal with whom her body merges, she is presented as base and instinctual in comparison with rational man. As long as the woman can be lowered through her incongruous intercourse with animals, she can be kept in place.

These graphic images also display deep anxiety as hierarchical models ranking species, genders, and races appear on the brink of collapse. If species are no longer fixed, if they can transform into new species while others go extinct, if women can become professionals and scholars working outside the home, or the world's races are found to be equal in intellect to Western European whites, then so-called natural orders no longer apply. In response to these fears, some male artists and writers sought to animalize women by suggesting their sexual congress with animals and implying the potential monsters to be born of such couplings. Grotesque hybrid creatures and anthropoid apes, still believed by some at this time to be the offspring of Africans and monkeys, hover on the periphery here as specters for what might result from acts of bestiality, and it is to these monstrous relations that I now turn.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE DISSOLVING BOUNDARY: THE HUMAN-ANIMAL HYBRID IN J.-J.
GRANDVILLE'S ILLUSTRATIONS

Images of sexual contact between humans and animals are simultaneously repellent and appealing in part because they suggest beyond the frame that such unions might result in fantastic hybrid offspring.¹ Conversely, images of hybrid creatures, whether they combine human and animal parts or those from different animal species, imply the sexual union of their parents.² Hybrid or composite creatures, also sometimes called monsters, chimeras, or grotesques, can be found throughout the history of Western art and culture. They appear on the famous Sumerian *Great Lyre from the 'King's Grave'* (c. 2600 BCE, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia) unearthed in the Royal Cemetery of Ur. They are found in the forms of Egyptian hieroglyphics, sphinxes, and deities like those depicted in the *Book of the Dead of Hunefer* (1285 BCE, British Museum, London). They populate countless tales from Greek and Roman mythology. They grace Romanesque and Gothic manuscript illuminations, sculptures, and stained glass, Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks, the hell scenes of Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Jacques Callot's graphic art, and the arabesques that decorated the walls of Rococo salons. These historical hybrids were gods, monarchs, devils, witches, angels, dream figures, monsters, or decorative fancies; they were symbols of omniscience, power, evil, or fantasy. Frequently, they emerged in times of

¹ Jonathan Burt's theory that animals depicted in film often lead to a "rupturing effect" that compels viewers to ponder the animal's existence beyond the frame or its cultural significance beyond the narrative in which it participates can be extended to apply to still images as well. *Animals in Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 11-12.

² Gaston Dubois-Desaulle, *Bestiality: An Historical, Medical, Legal, and Literary Study*, trans. A. F. N. (New York: Panurge Press, 1933), 275.

political or religious unrest, as in German anti-papal imagery created during the Protestant Reformation or in numerous caricatures of Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette, and other members of the aristocracy following the French Revolution.³ The amalgamation of human with animal forms, whether they were heads or bodies, could be utilized by artists both to raise and to lower the human. Greek and Roman gods often took animal forms, and angels in the Judeo-Christian tradition sport birds' wings on their human bodies, while devils have horns and hooves as well as human parts.⁴

Hybrids with religious functions like gods, angels, and devils often have such serious purposes that we forget the humor inherent in their conjoined, disparate forms. However, humor plays an equal role alongside horror in the function and definition of the grotesque. In his history of the grotesque in art and literature, Wolfgang Kayser asserts that by the Renaissance, the term *grotesco* carried both “playful” and “sinister” aspects.⁵ These dual traits were emphasized in subsequent grotesque art. For example, Frances Connelly's study of the grotesque in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries argues that most definitions of the grotesque from this period described it – fittingly – as a hybrid construct, comprised of both comedic and horrific elements.⁶ For Victor Hugo (1802-

³ Annie Duprat, *Les rois de papier: La caricature de Henri III à Louis XVI* (Paris: Belin, 2002), 233-46.

⁴ Boria Sax describes “an increasing secularization” in human myths about animals from their totemic use in tribal societies to the anthropomorphic gods and goddess of the Greek and Roman pantheons to their eventual symbolic or allegorical status by the Middle Ages. Hybrid creatures follow roughly the same trajectory from religious to secular uses by the end of the eighteenth century. Boria Sax, “Animals as Tradition,” in *The Animals Reader: The Essential Classic and Contemporary Writings*, ed. Linda Kalof and Amy Fitzgerlad (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 276.

⁵ Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature*, trans. Ulrich Weisstein (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), 21.

⁶ Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725-1907*, paperback ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 87-89.

1885), writing in the preface to his play *Cromwell* in 1827, the grotesque was necessary to balance what he called the “sublime” or the beautiful in art, poetry, literature, and drama. He asserted that artists must do as nature itself does and mix “darkness with light, the sublime with the ridiculous, in other words, body with soul, animal with spirit ... everything hangs together.”⁷ In Hugo's view, modern art itself is a hybrid construction, combining seemingly incongruous parts to yield a complex whole. This art does not shrink from the ugliness and deformity necessary to attain balance with classical beauty.

For Hugo, art is equal parts sublime and ridiculous, beautiful and grotesque, but each of these aspects may itself be further dismantled to reveal the building blocks within it. The grotesque is composed of horrific human anxieties about life, death, sin, redemption, pleasure, and pain all packaged in a humorous form that often nullifies the power of those fears. Kayser writes that the term grotesque, from the Italian *grottesco* (ancient Roman paintings of hybrid creatures that decorated grottos rediscovered in the late fifteenth century) came to imply “a world in which the realm of inanimate things is no longer separated from those of plants, animals, and human beings, and where the laws of statics, symmetry, and proportion are no longer valid.”⁸ The grotesque then becomes an alternate universe where boundaries are trespassed and natural laws do not apply. It is an inventive, productive space where fears may be confronted and subsequently minimized by their humorous hybrid appearances. For, despite his location in a fiery hell and a moralizing message against delighting in earthly pleasures, there is something

laughable about Bosch's bird-man devouring the damned while seated on his toilet-throne

⁷ Hugo, “From *Cromwell*,” in *The Essential Victor Hugo*, trans. E.H. and A.M. Blackmore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 23-24.

⁸ Kayser, *The Grottesque*, 21.

(Fig. 85).

The hybrid grotesque figure retains this capacity to personify fears and then pacify them through the selective use of humor in the œuvre of the French caricaturist and book illustrator J.-J. Grandville. It is highly appropriate then that Grandville's images of hybrid creatures ultimately inhabit *un autre monde*, to quote the title of the book containing the most fantastic of his hybrids; Grandville's art constitutes another world, a fantastic place in which the man-made separation between human and animal is revealed as arbitrary.⁹ After a historical review of the grotesque's ability to appeal and appall and a brief comparison of English efforts to create literal hybrids, I turn to Grandville's book illustrations of the 1830s and 1840s for an extended analysis of their contributions to the modernizing of this ancient category. Grandville's human-animal hybrids may be understood as efforts to erase boundaries and to assert equalities, not only between humans and animals but also between social classes in response to rapid political, industrial, and scientific change.

Historical Critiques of the Grotesque, 25 BCE - 1778 CE

Grotesque elements in architecture, painting, and sculpture, in which human forms are combined with animal or plant forms, often in decorative patterns, have long been criticized for their seeming frivolity, their overly complex forms, or their capacity to distract the viewer from his or her higher purposes. Around 25 BCE Vitruvius (c.80-70 BCE – c. 15 CE) complained of a contemporary fashion for fresco paintings that contained “monstrosities rather than truthful representations of definite things.”¹⁰ These

⁹ Grandville, *Un autre monde* (Paris: H. Fournier, 1844).

¹⁰ Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris Hicky Harris (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University press, 1914), 211-12.

paintings substituted plants for architectural columns and then populated those organic forms with tiny humans who were dwarfed by the plants they inhabited. Furthermore, some of the plants had human or animal heads. Vitruvius's text nearly shouts at this: "Such things do not exist and cannot exist and never have existed.... Yet when people see these frauds, they find no fault with them but on the contrary are delighted, and do not care whether any of them can exist or not."¹¹ These frivolous viewers are so distracted by the humor of such frescoes or the beauty of their intertwined, arabesque compositions that they unconsciously suspend their disbelief and surrender to the grotesque's powers of distraction.

For the Roman lyric poet Horace (65 – 8 BCE), writing a few years later, the creation of grotesques was simply absurd. In his *Ars Poetica* (*The Art of Poetry*, 18 BCE), Horace heaped scorn on those who, in defiance of nature, would combine the disparate in art or in poetry:

Suppose a painter to a human head
Should join a horse's neck, and wildly spread
The various plumage of the feather'd kind
O'er limbs of different beast absurdly join'd;
Or if he gave to view a beauteous maid
Above the waist with every charm array'd
Should a foul fish her lower parts enfold,
Would you not laugh such pictures to behold?
Such is the book, that, like a sick man's dreams,
Varies all shapes, and mixes all extremes.¹²

According to Horace, the sight of hybrids like centaurs or mermaids could only evoke laughter. The grotesque is for him a pathological nightmare, which he equates with

¹¹ Vitruvius, *The Ten Books*, 212.

¹² Horace, *Ars Poetica*, as translated by Sir Philip Francis and quoted in Nicolas Powell, *Fuseli: The Nightmare* (London: Penguin, 1973), 42.

mediocre poets who combine genres and styles without regard to realism or plausibility.

The Cistercian Abbot St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was one of the most forceful and thoughtful critics of hybrid grotesque forms in art. Unlike Vitruvius or Horace, Bernard admitted that monstrous forms could be attractive. But Bernard understood susceptibility to these constructions as a sign of spiritual weakness, especially when it emerged in monks who had renounced the secular life in devotion to loftier, spiritual matters. His words advocate simplicity and decry the excessive decoration of churches with gold and paint. Bernard concedes that images may have an appeal for the peasants in the village church or pilgrims in the cathedral, but of those with a higher, spiritual calling, he asks,

... in the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read – what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity? What are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? The creatures, part man and part beast? You may see many bodies under one head, and conversely many heads on one body. On one side the tail of a serpent is seen on a quadruped, on the other side the head of a quadruped is on the body of a fish. Over there an animal has a horse for the front half and a goat for the back; here a creature which is horned in front is equine behind. In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them than in meditating on the law of God.¹³

Bernard's evocative description of hybrid forms contains his ambivalent admission that one would rather read images than texts when surrounded by such appealing yet repellent hybrids. These creations are distractions that compel one to ponder their constructions rather than “the law of God.” By juxtaposing them in this way, Bernard implies that

¹³ From the full text of the relevant portion of Bernard's *Apologia*, as published and translated in Conrad Rudolph, *The 'Things of Greater Importance: Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 11-12.

hybrid creatures are not the works of God, for God is a logical law-giver who would not create illogical beings.

Such objections to hybridity because of its implausibility continued to appear with some regularity. By the late eighteenth century, diatribes against the creation of animal-human hybrids were laced with more scientific language. Physicians, naturalists, and zoologists argued their cases using knowledge gleaned from juxtaposing the internal structures of humans and animals in the new science of comparative anatomy. The Dutch comparative anatomist Petrus Camper was a forceful opponent of artistic depictions of hybrid creatures on the grounds that these monsters could not be mobile in reality. Camper presented lectures and wrote books to be used by artists as well as anatomists. In one such lecture, given in 1778 and translated in English as “On the Connexion between the Science of Anatomy and the Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, &c., &c.,” Camper claimed,

Since it has been shewn that the fore feet of all animals are correspondent with the wings of birds, and also with our arms, it is to the highest degree absurd to give wings to the human form; as is the practice in the representation of angels, Cupids, &c. In like manner the existence of a centaur is impossible. For this quadruped in reality must have six feet, double breasts, and two distinct bellies. That neither tritons nor mermaids exist, will appear from the above remarks concerning the form of birds.¹⁴

Camper continues to express his concern for the illogical depiction of angels in a lengthy addendum that complains,

It is observable, that in all the birds which fly, the pectoral muscles constitute the principal part of their bulk: peculiarly strong muscles being necessary to communicate such force to the wings Were the painter to furnish his angels with these muscles, they would become monsters;

¹⁴ Petrus Camper, *The Works of the Late Professor Camper, on the Connexion between the Science of Anatomy and the Arts of Drawing, Statuary, &c., &c.*, trans. T. Cogan (London: C. Dilly, 1794), 169.

without them, he supposes an impossibility.... Would not painters therefore do wisely to leave those unmeaning fans, and, in their representation of celestial beings, trust to the lightness and elegance of their forms and divinity of their countenances? If custom has so far consecrated wings, that they cannot be dispensed with, surely much more care should be taken than is generally observable, that they be not made to carry a greater weight than is absolutely necessary.¹⁵

Even when depicting celestial beings who are not bound by earthly laws or human anatomy, Camper believes artists walk a fine line between creations that are beatific and those that are hideous. Artists must avoid the unintentional creation of monsters by educating themselves in animal *and* human anatomy. To that end, his text includes illustrations to show the points of structural contact shared between a woman and a horse and a cow and a bird (Fig. 86). These drawings instruct the artist on the proper way to transform one to the other and back again, but their creations must not remain in the middle of the cycle where they exist halfway between the human and the animal.

Grandville's animal-human hybrids successfully transcend many of these critiques against the monstrous or the grotesque. The derisive laughter that Horace says such conjoined creatures should elicit is often absent in front of Grandville's illustrations, a phenomenon that Charles Baudelaire noticed in his essay on French caricature: "There are some superficial spirits who are amused by Grandville; for my part I find him terrifying.... When I open the door of Grandville's works I feel a certain uneasiness, as though I am entering an apartment where disorder was systematically organized...."¹⁶ Baudelaire, like many critics after him, is both fascinated and repelled by the more

¹⁵ Camper, *The Works*, 169.

¹⁶ Charles Baudelaire, "Quelques caricaturistes français," translated as "Some French Caricaturists," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. Jonathan Mayne, reprint ed. (London: Phaidon, 2006), 181.

fantastic, imaginative aspects of Grandville's art, and especially by his dream imagery published in *Le Magasin pittoresque* and his illustrations for the book *Un autre monde*, so he is not concerned with the ways Grandville's art advocates the leveling of social hierarchies through the fusion of significant animal forms with humans.¹⁷ Grandville also avoids creating the “ridiculous monstrosity” that St. Bernard decries by infusing his hybrids with gravitas despite the use of so-called lower graphic media like lithography and wood-engraving. Similarly, Grandville's precise style and his ability to recreate in accurate detail the species that he observed in the Jardin des Plantes, in his illustrated copy of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, or on the walls of his garden allows him to render his animal-human hybrids anatomically plausible in a manner that even Camper might admire.¹⁸ The caricaturist clearly followed Leonardo da Vinci's belief that the same style, the same degree of realism be used to create all segments of a hybrid, regardless of the origin of those parts:

You know that it is impossible to fashion any animal without its individual parts, and that each of these in itself will bear a resemblance to those of other animals. Therefore if you wish to make your imaginary animal seem natural, let us say it was a serpent, take for the head that of a mastiff or a hound, the eyes of a cat, the ears of a porcupine, the nose of a greyhound, the brow of a lion, the temples of an old cock and the neck of a turtle.¹⁹

Such a creature could never be verified in nature, but Leonardo asserts that any invented hybrid be rendered with exactitude, whatever the origin of its individual parts. Grandville

¹⁷ Baudelaire, “Some French Caricaturists, 180-81.

¹⁸ For a discussion of Grandville's use of Buffon, see Chapter 1 above and Charles Blanc, “Notice sur Grandville,” viii-ix; William Levitt writes that Grandville devised a new, harder pencil to use upon the lithographic stone in order to create the quality of line that he desired. “Grandville and the *Fables*,” 4.

¹⁹As quoted and translated in Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker, *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 224.

endorsed this approach, and the various segments of his hybrids merge smoothly with each other. The naturalistic rendering of imaginary beings effectively grounds Grandville's hybrids in quotidian reality, to counter the artist Albrecht Dürer's statement that conjoined creations are “the stuff dreams are made of” and are therefore prone to fly off into fantasy.²⁰

Humans Harness the Hybrid: The English and Hybridity

French artists of the early nineteenth century expressed a far greater interest in animal-human hybridity than did their English counterparts. In general, the English retained a stricter view of nature as God's creation. Domestic animals might be engineered by humans to benefit humanity, but the suggestion that human and animal forms could be combined hints at the blasphemous view that God may not have complete control over creation. Humanity's divinely ordained dominion over animals must be upheld and visibly demonstrated through the breeding of everything from race horses to orchids to prize poodles.²¹ While rather crude hybrids did occasionally appear in caricatures by James Gillray (1757-1815), Thomas Rowlandson, and others and in Henry Fuseli's paintings of fairies or of scenes from Shakespeare, the English offered no equivalent to Grandville until the caricatures and book illustrations of Charles Henry Bennett (1828-1867) and John Tenniel (1820-1914) appeared much later in the century (Figs. 136, 151, 152, 153, and 87). Bennett and Tenniel were inspired by Grandville's creations and mixed his precise depiction of diverse animal species within a very

²⁰ As quoted and translated in Kayser, *The Grotesque*, 22.

²¹ On other examples of this in Victorian culture more broadly, see especially “Introduction: The Nature of the Beast,” “Chapter One: Barons of Beef,” and “Chapter Two: Prize Pets” in Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 1-42, 45-81, and 82-121.

different scientific milieu just before and after the publication of Darwin's theories of natural selection and evolution beginning in 1859.²² For his part, Edwin Landseer, The most renowned English painter of animals, depicted virtually no human-animal hybrids (he confessed to a friend, “Allegory is to me less touching than truth”).²³ The single exception in his œuvre is an almost laughably literal depiction of the donkey-headed Bottom surrounded by fairies from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Fig. 88).²⁴

Prior to these engagements with visual animal-human hybridity, the English primarily maintained an interest in the various real hybrid animals that humans themselves could breed by crossing distinct species. Animals as mundane as the mule and as exotic as the liger (a cross between a male lion and a tigress) fascinated English farmers, zoologists, writers, and artists.²⁵ Many sought to breed these hybrids to refute claims that certain crosses could not be produced. In 1823, Thomas Landseer made an etching after his brother Edwin's drawing of a hybrid fox-dog for his book *Twenty*

²² On Bennett's illustrations of *Aesop's Fables* (1857) and his series of drawings “The Origin of Species, Dedicated by Natural Selection to Dr. Charles Darwin” that appeared in the *Illustrated Times* in 1863, see Jonathan Smith, *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 236-40. For a sustained argument for Grandville's influence on Tenniel's drawings for Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), see M[arguerite] Mespoulet, *Creators of Wonderland* (New York: Arrow Editions, 1934).

²³ Sir Edwin Landseer to Mrs. Russell, 8 July 1848. Letters and Drawings, MS Eng 176, Harvard University Houghton Library, Cambridge.

²⁴ Landseer's painting shares some similarities with his former teacher Henry Fuseli's depiction of the same scene (*Titania and Bottom with the Ass's Head*, 1788-1789, London, Tate Gallery), though the former's work lacks the overt sexuality of Fuseli's painting. Given the fashion for Pre-Raphaelitism and fairy-painting in England at the time, Landseer's painting was admired when it was exhibited in 1851. Frederic G. Stephens, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1883), 94-95.

²⁵ Thomas Landseer included a drawing of three lion-tiger or liger cubs born at Windsor Castle in 1824 in his book *Characteristic Portraits of Animals* (London, Moon, Boys, and Braves, 1829), 19.

Engravings of Lions, Tigers, Panthers, Dogs, &c. (Fig. 89).²⁶ The plate includes the caption “Portrait of a Cross of the Dog and the Fox, in the Possession of Lord Cranley.” The hybrid animal is presented as a human achievement owned by an aristocratic individual worthy of laying claim to such an accomplishment. This is also emphasized in John Landseer's introduction to the book: “The subject of this fine engraving had occasioned much doubt in the minds of naturalists, but the question as to its reality was decided, by the fact of the animal whose portrait we give, having been produced from a tan terrier bitch and a tame dog fox.”²⁷ To the author's mind, the plate displays visual evidence of humanity's capacity to harness nature and to bend it to human will. Naturalists approach the problem with a healthy skepticism, but it is washed away by the sight of this animal, whether it is presented in living or printed form.²⁸ The engraving's composition is designed to emphasize the animal's dual nature as wild and tame by contrasting a gnarled tree on the left with a large water or food dish on the right. The dog-fox turns toward the bowl as if it chooses its domesticated side over the wild life of a fox.

The English remained less willing to give up faith in a divinely ordained dominion over animals, but many French intellectuals, perhaps as a symptom of post-revolutionary anti-clericalism, allowed for more ambiguity in their understanding of

²⁶ Thomas Landseer, *Twenty Engravings of Lions, Tigers, Panthers, Dogs, &c* (London: John Tyler, 1823).

²⁷ Landseer, *Engravings of Lions*, 25

²⁸ The physician Charles White (1728-1813) summarized naturalists' confusions and the human efforts that were involved in producing such a cross: “It is almost impossible, in many cases, to determine where on species ends and another begins. *Buffon* was of opinion that all animals that would breed together, and whose progeny would breed again, were of the same species. If this were true, the wolf, the jackall [*sic*], and the dog should be of one species; for Mr. *J. Hunter* has proved that they will breed together, and that their issue will breed again: and I have been very credibly informed that the same thing has frequently happened betwixt the dog and the fox; but of this Mr. *Hunter* has some doubts. These unnatural unions, however, are seldom obtained without some stratagem.” *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, and in Different Animals and Vegetables; and from the Former to the Latter* (London: C. Dilly, 1799), 19.

animal-human relations. In general, French scientists began to construct explanations for the human-animal relationship that relied less on fixed, hierarchical models and, following Buffon, they asserted that the earth was much older than the time line provided by the Bible. Buffon had even admitted that nature was flawed. Far from evidence of God's perfect design, some species appeared monstrous due to their asymmetrical or excessive shapes, features, or markings.²⁹ Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, whose ideas stimulated Charles Darwin's views on species mutability, developed a theory of transmutation based on each animal's drive to adapt to the environment and to pass on to the next generation the modifications made. Lamarck was ridiculed on both sides of the Channel for his speculations, but he did not shrink from posing challenging, even unanswerable questions:

It is not a futile purpose ... to enquire if it is true that species are of absolute constancy, as old as nature, and have all existed from the beginning just as we see them to-day; or if, as a result of changes in their environment, albeit extremely slow, they have not, in the course of time changed their characters and shape.³⁰

Others continued to revise classification strategies inherited from the works of Linnaeus and others in the eighteenth century. Although he shunned any suggestion of transmutation as a viable explanation for the development of species, Georges Cuvier arranged the natural world into four equal kingdoms rather than previous ladder or chain models that ranked animals by their structural features from simplest to most complex.³¹

²⁹ Paul Lawrence Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E. O. Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 19.

³⁰ From *Zoological Philosophy* (1809) as quoted in Philip Appleman, ed., *Darwin: Texts, Commentary*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. North and Company, 2001), 45.

³¹ Farber, *Finding Order in Nature*, 41.

Cuvier's erstwhile friend and rival Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hillaire drew on his studies comparing the anatomy of human and animal embryos to assert that all living creatures shared a basic principle of bodily organization.³² Despite their many differences (which erupted in a series of infamous debates at the French Academy of Sciences in 1830), Cuvier's and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's studies indicate the sustained interest in France concerning the placement of animals in models of the natural world.³³ Were those places fixed, or might species somehow transform over time? What caused mutations or “monstrosities” as they were then called? What features distinguished humans from animals, and what forms did they share? As zoologists, natural historians, and comparative anatomists asked these questions, artists and authors explored the issue of monstrosities from visual and verbal angles.

Dreaming of Another World: J.-J. Grandville's Reputation

The early nineteenth century in Europe, which enjoyed what has been called a “renaissance” of animal-human hybrid imagery, was a period of intense and extended political unrest and scientific upheaval.³⁴ However, unlike previous animal-human amalgamations created during turbulent periods, hybrid figures made during this time take on a distinctly modern character as they are not symbols of gods, devils, angels, dream figures, or even monarchs. In the art of Grandville, the unrivaled master of this

³² Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 127.

³³ The by-now classic study of this debate is Toby Appel, *The Cuvier-Geoffroy Debate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); for the ripple effects of this debate throughout the century, see Robert E. Stebbins, “France,” in *The Comparative Reception of Darwinism*, ed. Thomas F. Glick (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1988), 117-19.

³⁴ Jurgis Baltrušaitis, “Animal Physiognomy” (1957), in *Aberrations: An Essay on the Legend of Forms*, trans. Richard Miller (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989), 33.

renaissance, animal-human hybrids stand in for common Parisians (Fig. 90). These anthropomorphic creatures, with their mixed animal and human anatomies, experience the joys and sorrows of everyday existence during the last days of the Bourbon Restoration and nearly all of the July Monarchy until Grandville's early death in 1847.

Perhaps because his art was so distinct from the works of his caricaturist peers, the fantastic, dreamlike aspects of Grandville's human-animal hybrids have been over-emphasized in the secondary literature. The Surrealists, led by the German artist and writer Max Ernst (1891-1976) and the French painter and art historian Laure Garcin (1896-1978), helped to revive interest in Grandville's art after it had waned in the late nineteenth century.³⁵ While this revival rightfully reinserted Grandville's works in the canon of nineteenth-century French political caricature, it also continued to marginalize his art as irrational and dreamlike, a mere prefiguration of what would only much later become a full-fledged Modernist art movement.³⁶

Even closer to Grandville's own time, he was not held in the same high regard as Honoré Daumier, though Grandville was slightly older than Daumier and was arguably the most forceful and biting of Charles Philipon's (1806-1862) coterie of caricaturists.

³⁵ Garcin's work is the most exemplary of this vein of scholarship, which argues for Grandville as a proto-Surrealist using a Freudian method: "Grandville: Visionnaire, surréaliste, expressionniste," *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 34 (1948): 435-48, 466-70; *J.J. Grandville: Révolutionnaire et précurseur de l'art du mouvement* (Paris: Eric Losfeld, 1970). Studies on the dreamlike qualities of Grandville's work or his status as proto-Surrealist continue to appear in more recent scholarship. See for example Stefanie Heraeus, "Artists and the Dream in Nineteenth-Century Paris: Towards a Prehistory of Surrealism," trans. Deborah Laurie Cohen, *History Workshop Journal* 48 (1999): 151-68; on the inspiration Grandville's art held for Max Ernst, see Clive F. Getty, "Max Ernst and J.J. Grandville," in *Twenty-First-Century Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 2008), 116-23.

³⁶ See for example the comments by Jean Adhémar and Romi that "Il faut attendre la naissance du mouvement surréaliste pour revoir le nom de Grandville; dès leurs débuts ces visionnaires volontaires les considérèrent comme un des leurs. Les planches d'*Un Autre Monde* peuvent en effet figurer dans toutes leurs expositions auprès des œuvres de Salvador Dali ou de Max Ernst." "Grandville le maudit," *Bizarre* 2 (1953): 16.

Beginning in the late 1820s, Grandville's works appeared in Philippon's publications *La Silhouette*, *La Cariacture*, and *Le Charivari*. Grandville's art was under-appreciated in part because the early analyses of caricature, especially Charles Baudelaire's essay "Quelques caricaturistes français" (1857), asserted that Grandville's works (and by extension the artist himself) were odd, irrational, destabilizing, grotesque, and even frightening.³⁷ Furthermore, Grandville's caricatures often lacked Daumier's gently mocking humor, which might have nullified the horror conveyed by Grandville's hybrid creations. Baudelaire complained of Grandville:

A philosopher or a doctor would find material for a very pretty psychological or physiological study in Grandville. He spent his life seeking ideas, and sometimes found them. But as he was an artist by profession and a man of letters by natural inclination, he never succeeded in expressing them properly.... During a large part of his life Grandville was much too preoccupied with the general idea of Analogy. He even began that way – with the *Métamorphoses du jour*. But he was never able to draw correct inferences from it; he tossed about hither and thither like a derailed locomotive. With superhuman courage this man devoted his life to refashioning creation. He took it in his hands, wrung it, rearranged it and annotated it; and Nature was transformed into a fantasmagoria. He turned the world upside down.... it is the lunatic side of his talent that makes Grandville important. Before his death he applied his always stubborn will to the noting of his successive dreams and nightmares in a plastic form, with all the precision of a stenographer writing down an orator's speech.³⁸

In his book *Histoire de la caricature moderne* (1865), Champfleury (Jules-François Felix Fleury-Husson, 1821-1889) shared Baudelaire's disdain for Grandville's precise, even fastidious style; this led Champfleury to dismiss the caricaturist for his

³⁷ Baudelaire began composing his analysis of French caricaturists as early as 1846, when Grandville was still alive, but the essay was not published until 1 October 1857, when it appeared in *Le Présent*. For an explanation of this chronology, see Michele Hannoosh, *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 1, n. 1 and 2, n. 2.

³⁸ Baudelaire, "Some French Caricaturists," 180-81; for an analysis of Baudelaire's ambivalent reaction to Grandville's art, see Hannoosh, *Baudelaire and Caricature*, 158-72.

Consciousness pushed to the extreme of a conscientious spirit, but yet more meticulous than conscientious, more finicky than meticulous. The major part of his œuvre seems to have been drawn with an architect's compass and it seems to me that Grandville was like a watchmaker.³⁹

Similarly, in his obituary summation of Grandville's art, published in *La Presse* just a week after the artist's death on 17 March 1847, Théophile Gautier could offer only a backhanded compliment for Grandville's draftsmanship:

A draftsman at the Jardin des Plantes would find nothing to restate in the tarsi of his insects, in the teeth of his quadrupeds, in the flight feathers of his birds. He brought the exactitude of the naturalist to the madresses of caricature [yet,] despite all Grandville's care and all his precision, man and animal are confused in a hybrid creation from which it is difficult to untangle the types, especially in his last works, where he tried to bend to his method rebellious forms and quite stubborn physiognomies.⁴⁰

Gautier wished that the line between human and animal categories, or “types” as he called them, were more discernible in Grandville's late art. The artist himself understood his project as one of association and analogy rather than fantastic creation: “I have imagined ... graceful monstrosities ... but I do not invent.... I do nothing but combine disparate elements....”⁴¹ The human and the animal were surely disparate elements, but progressively through the course of Grandville's career as an illustrator, they were

³⁹ “Conscience poussée à l'extrême d'un esprit consciencieux, mais plus méticuleux encore que consciencieux, plus tatillon que méticuleux. La Majeure partie de son œuvre semble dessinée avec le tire-ligne d'un architecte.... et Grandville me semble un horloger.” Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature moderne* (Paris: H. Dentu, 1865), 290.

⁴⁰ “Un dessinateur du jardin des Plantes n'aurait rien trouvé à redire aux tarse de ses insectes, aux dents de ses quadrupèdes, aux plumes de ses oiseaux. Il apportait l'exactitude du naturaliste dans les folies de la caricature malgré tout le soin et toute la précision de Grandville, l'homme et l'animal se confondent dans une création hybride dont il est difficile de démêler les types, surtout dans ses dernières œuvres, où il a essayé de plier à sa méthode des formes rebelles et des physionomies tout à fait réfractaires.” Gautier, “Grandville,” *La Presse* (24 March 1847), republished in *Portraits contemporains: Littérateurs, peintres, sculpteurs, artistes dramatiques*, new ed. (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1914), 233.

⁴¹ “J'ai imaginé ... des monstruosité gracieuses ... mais je n'invente pas. -- je ne fais qu'associer des éléments disparates.” Grandville as quoted in S[amuel] Clogenson, “J.-J. Granville [sic],” *L'Athenaeum français* 12 (19 March 1853): 275.

combined. This mingling effectively erased the human-animal border and argued for a shared organization just as Geoffroy's theories in comparative anatomy sought to achieve in scientific terms.

Theorizing the Modern Human-Animal Grotesque

The boundary between human and animal gradually dissolved under Grandville's pencil in concert with changes in the style of his drawings and in the manner of his combinations of forms.⁴² These shift gradually from the placement of animal heads atop human bodies in his early work *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1828-29), to the humanized animals of *Fables de La Fontaine* (1838) and *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux* (1840-42) who more often retain full animal bodies in human poses or clothing. Finally, he created the hybrids of *Un Autre monde* (1843-44), in which all species, including *Homo sapiens*, are combined with one another as if in free improvisation. Because of his adoption as a forefather by the Surrealists in the early twentieth century, Grandville's engagements with contemporary culture, politics, economics, art, fashion, sexuality, medicine, and science have been largely ignored or underestimated, while his depictions of dreams and metamorphoses of objects have received repeated comment and analysis.⁴³ I strive here to realign the discussion of Grandville's hybrid creatures by

⁴² On Grandville's growth as an artist from the simplified silhouettes of *Les Métamorphoses du jour* to an increased use of chiaroscuro and more intricate compositions in his later book illustrations, see William Levitt, Jr., "Grandville and the *Fables* of La Fontaine" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1971), 17-18.

⁴³ *Grandville: Les Métamorphoses du jour* (Nancy: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nancy, 2003), 7; notable exceptions to the surrealistic or psychoanalytic over-emphasis in the secondary literature can be found in the thorough and detailed scholarship of Clive Getty, Philippe Kaenel, and Annie Renonciat. For prime examples of their work, see Getty, "Grandville: Opposition Caricature and Political Harassment." *Print Collector's Newsletter* 14 (1984): 197-201, and the exhibition catalogue *Grandville: Dessins originaux* (Nancy: Musée des Beaux-arts, 1987); Kaenel, *Le métier d'illustrateur, 1830-1880: Rodolphe Töpffer, J.-J. Grandville, Gustave Doré* (Paris: Éditions Messene, 1996); and Renonciat, *La vie et l'œuvre de J.J. Grandville* (Paris: ACR Édition, 1985).

asserting their quotidian qualities, analyzing their political implications, and inserting them within discourses concerning animality and humanity in the scientific currents of the 1830s and 1840s. As such, Grandville's human-animal hybrids can be understood as the definitive creatures of a modern grotesque that championed equality for all species and types within French society.

The Lithuanian art historian Jurgis Baltrušaitis (1903-1988), who asserted that the early nineteenth-century constituted a “renaissance” of animal-human hybridity in art, linked this rebirth in France of an ancient compositional strategy to the publication in 1806 of Charles le Brun's (1619-1690) drawings comparing human and animal faces.⁴⁴ Le Brun followed the manner of the Neapolitan scholar Giambattista della Porta's illustrated book *De humana physiognomica* (1568), but the French academician applied geometry to side-by-side comparisons to measure the angles of lines drawn to pass from the ears through the eyes, a theory designed in effect to privilege the angles found on the faces and profiles of white European males (Fig. 91).⁴⁵ One could then make quantifiable judgments of a human's or an animal's character based upon the size of the angles. These drawings were likely the ones used by Le Brun to illustrate a lecture given before Louis XIV's minister of finance Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) at the Académie de peinture on 28 March 1671, but they were not published together with notes summarizing the

⁴⁴ The full text of Le Brun's lecture has been lost, but the drawings, now held by the Louvre, remain. Le Brun's theories are known through notes and publications by Claude III Nivelon (1648-c.1720), Henri Testelin (1616-1695), and Etienne Picart (1632-1721). *De la physionomie humaine et animale: Dessins de Charles Le Brun gravés pour la Chalcographie du musée Napoléon en 1806* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2000), 7-8.

⁴⁵ Lucien Métivet, *La Physionomie humaine comparée à la physionomie des animaux d'après les dessins de Charles le Brun* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1927), 19.

artist's lost text until the 1806 edition by Louis-Marie-Joseph Morel d'Arleux.⁴⁶

In his study of animal physiognomy in Western art, Baltrušaitis constructed a teleological model to argue that the reissue of Le Brun's drawings and the interest that they inspired in what Baltrušaitis terms “animalist physiognomy” (which situated the creation of fantastic human-animal hybrids in dialogue with evolving scientific beliefs), led to an explosion of animalized imagery:

Fantastic forms were reconceived and reconstructed with an eye to the positive sciences, which were in the process of reevaluating age-old signs in the light of the modern spirit.... Obviously the human fauna is always an element in such thinking It is at the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth that we witness its widest popularity since the middle ages. This renaissance took every form: animals acting like men, animals with human heads, men with the heads of animals began to proliferate in every kind of imagery. All the frontiers of the zoological kingdom were breached.⁴⁷

Baltrušaitis understands this proliferation of humanized animals and hybrid creatures as a feature of the early-nineteenth century's Gothic Revival, but also, and more importantly for our purposes, as a reaction to and a reflection of changes in scientific thought and practice.⁴⁸ In his analysis, artists storm the fortifications of the “zoological kingdom” to pillage it for body parts from all available species. They effectively convert these parts into an alphabet of forms that can be rearranged at will in imaginatively composed hybrid creatures.

⁴⁶ Baltrušaitis, “Animal Physiognomy,” 33; Louis-Marie-Joseph Morel d'Arleux, *Dissertation sur un traité de Charles Le Brun: concernant le rapport de la physionomie humaine avec celle des animaux: ouvrage enrichi de la gravure des dessins tracés pour la démonstration de ce système* (Paris: À la Chalcographie du Musée Napoléon, 1806).

⁴⁷ Baltrušaitis, “Animal Physiognomy,” 33 and 37.

⁴⁸ Baltrušaitis dubs this the “new science,” but he does not develop a definition for this field and what renders it new. “Animal Physiognomy,” 37.

Masks that Reveal: Grandville's *Les Métamorphoses du Jour* and Social Inequality

Whereas previous physiognomists from della Porta to Le Brun to Rowlandson had always compared human heads to animal heads, generally by contrasting one individual's head to another, from the start of his career with the lithographic series *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1828-29), Grandville combined the two.⁴⁹ He grafted animal heads onto human bodies to imply a judgment of character. Most often, the tendency is to read these hybrid constructions as humans, but in Grandville's drawings, they are common people, not gods or popes or monarchs. They are costumed actors who wear animal masks on stage; their masks reveal aspects of their (human) characters even as they occasionally exhibit animal behaviors.⁵⁰ For example, in the plate captioned “Allons donc lambin ... de l'eau ... de l'eau! Eh! ... j'peux pas aller plus vite! (“Come on, lazy fellow ... water ... water... Oh! ... I can't go any faster.”), a slow-moving servant has a snail for a head (Fig. 92). His animal mask, which is, curiously, a complete snail in a shell rather than simply the mollusc's head, reveals the reason for his slow movement, even in an emergency. His mistress, who has a catfish's head and whiskers, has fainted after realizing that her horse-headed suitor will fight a duel in the Bois de Boulogne. Two men, one of whom carries two swords, leave through the door on the left. The woman's

⁴⁹ Brief aspects of the argument here appeared in my article “Masks that Reveal: Social Inequality in J.-J. Grandville's *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1828-1829),” *International Journal of Comic Art* 8, no. 1 (2006): 1-16.

⁵⁰ This analogy is particularly appropriate as the plate “Pour qui sont ces serpents qui sifflent sur ma tête. (Andromaque.)” literally depicts a stage scene, in which a box full of snake-men critics (labeled “Loge d'auteurs”) hisses in disapproval at the monkey-headed actors on stage. The series itself was adapted for the Parisian stage twice. Shortly after the work's serial publication in 1828 and 1829, it was staged as a vaudeville production at the Odéon after an adaptation by Paul Lacroix and Georges Ozanneaux. The cardboard heads worn by the actors were designed by Grandville himself. In 1854, the theater of the Délassements-Comiques performed “Les animaux de Grandville, vaudeville en trois actes et huit tableaux.” Charles Blanc, *Les artistes de mon temps* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876), 284-85; James Cuno, “Review: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy: *Grandville: Dessins originaux*,” *Art Bulletin* 70, no. 3 (1988): 530.

maid, who holds up her swooning mistress, is evidently faithful and loyal, as her dog's head implies.

The two servants in this plate exemplify the types of symbolic allusions that the animal heads signify throughout *Les Métamorphoses du jour*. They suggest observed characteristics of animal behavior; the symbolic language of animal imagery, which can trace its origins to the natural histories of Aristotle and Pliny the Elder; or simply the physical appearances of animals. In the snail's case, the human servant behaves as a snail would, moving at an agonizingly slow speed. The maid/dog evokes multiple associations. Those relevant to this study include emblem books and the medieval bestiary, which utilized the dog as a symbol of fidelity and service to humanity.⁵¹ In other plates, beavers are builders and architects, crows pick apart corpses in the morgue, and young parrots repeat the words of their teacher at school (Figs. 93, 94, and 95). These animals behave more or less as they would in nature; the beavers build, the crows scavenge, and the parrots repeat what they hear. In some cases, animals that are utilized by humans for specific tasks that benefit humanity perform those same tasks *as* humans. Leeches become doctors ready to let their patient's blood, or donkeys continue to carry heavy loads even while walking upright on human legs (Figs. 96 and 90). Sometimes the animals are selected for aesthetic reasons; in one of the two lithographs that were censored from the original publication, the smooth, colorful backs of scarab beetles become vestments for a procession of Jesuit priests (Fig. 97).⁵²

⁵¹ The text of the bestiary states, "Dogs... will lay down their lives for their master. They go willingly to hunt with him and will guard his dead body, never leaving it." *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764*, trans. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 72.

⁵² Some believed the Catholic Church, and especially the Jesuits, had undue influence upon the King Charles X, which led to increased censorship of any images suggesting Catholicism throughout the 1820s.

In addition to behavioral characteristics, traditional symbolism, and physical appearances, some species were chosen for their meanings in contemporary French slang. In the popular lexicon, lions were dandies, pigeons were purchasers, lizards were *flâneurs* who strolled aimlessly around town, and rats were ballet dancers.⁵³ These associations would be expanded upon over time. By the 1840s, one of the collections of generic social types or *physiologies* was a menagerie of people given animal names to match their jobs, behaviors, or appearances: Louis Huart's *Muséum Parisien: Histoire physiologique, pittoresque, philosophique et grotesque de toutes les bêtes curieuses de Paris et de la banlieue pour faire suite à toute les éditions de Oeuvres de M. de Buffon*. Grandville provided drawings for this book to illustrate entries on *Le Loup-cervier* (the lynx, who is a greedy stock broker at the Bourse in Paris) and *Le Canard* (the duck, who is a paperboy working for one of the tabloids [known in French slang as a *canard*]).⁵⁴

Before Grandville's *Métamorphoses du jour*, animal heads and animal bodies were combined with human parts in caricature to convey a moral message or judgment of character, but these generally lacked Grandville's systematic, detailed depiction of diverse, accurately-rendered, and identifiable species.⁵⁵ The combination of human and

Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989), 113.

⁵³ Annie Renonciat, "Métamorphoses des 'Métamorphoses' de Grandville," in *L'œil écrit: Études sur des rapports entre texte et image, 1800-1940*, ed. Derval Conroy and Johnnie Gratton (Geneva: Slatkine Érudition, 2005), 210-11.

⁵⁴ Louis Huart, *Muséum Parisien: Histoire physiologique, pittoresque, philosophique et grotesque de toutes les bêtes curieuses de Paris et de la banlieue pour faire suite à toute les éditions de Oeuvres de M. de Buffon* (Paris: Beaucher, 1841), 35-39 and 67-73.

⁵⁵ The Cabinet des Estampes at Paris's Bibliothèque nationale retains a series of undated, unsigned caricatures titled "Les animaux caractérisés" or "Quadrupède caractérisé" in which humans with over-sized animal heads are arranged eight to a page. Each hybrid is enclosed in his or her own frame, as if eight playing cards were spread across the plate. The file dates these etchings to the 1820s. Anonymous caricatures, TF-26, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. For an example, see *Grandville: Dessins originaux*, 20.

animal forms appeared repeatedly in the veritable storm of caricatures of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette published after the Revolution of 1789.⁵⁶ Such fusions of the royal heads (soon to be detached from their bodies quite literally) with the “most hideous animals” as Champfleury called them, functioned as a means to lower them, perhaps even to justify their execution.⁵⁷ If the king has the body of a pig or the queen is a hideous harpie, then he or she can be slaughtered as the monstrous beasts that their bodies reveal them to be.⁵⁸ The Jacobins understood the power of such images, since as the royalist Boyer de Nîmes (1764-1794) asserted in his book *Histoire des caricatures de la révolte des français* in 1792,

Never did one see caricatures expand with such profusion as those which attacked the royal family in the two weeks preceding the shameful day of June 20, 1792 When the Jacobins wanted to make major moves, to whip up the people they had caricatures made One cannot deny that these means were as perfidious as their effect was prompt and terrible.⁵⁹

Remnants of the visual methods used to link both the pope and Martin Luther with the devil in popular broadsides created during the Protestant Reformation remain in these crude caricatures of monarchs, ministers, and clerics.⁶⁰ With a few loose, rough pen strokes, the caricaturist could lower the monarch to the level of the mule.

⁵⁶ *Grandville: Les Métamorphoses du jour*, 24; *French Caricature and the French Revolution* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), 183, 189-191.

⁵⁷ “Ce furent de nombreuses comparaisons entre les animaux les plus immondes et la famille royale. La reine-tigresse et le roi-bélier concoururent à la composition d'un animal monstrueux soudé à la moitié des deux corps.” Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature sous la République, l'Empire et la Restauration*, 2nd ed. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1877), 206.

⁵⁸ For images see *French Caricature and the Revolution*, 183 and 189.

⁵⁹ As quoted and translated in Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature*, 95.

⁶⁰ Thomas Wright, *A History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), 251-263; R. Bergmann, “Hans Sachs Illustrated: Pamphlets and Broadsheets in the Service of the Reformation,” *RACAR* 17, no. 1 (1990): 9-16, 89-91; *French Caricature and the Revolution*, 18-19.

Grandville's caricatures lowered some humans as well, but the result in *Les Métamorphoses du jour* was a democratic leveling of unequal social ranks rather than an effort to denounce specific celebrated or powerful individuals. By applying animal masks equally across the broad swath of Restoration society, the republican Grandville, who would fight against iniquity with his rifle in the July Revolution of 1830 and then with his pencil in the political caricature journal *La Caricature* until 1835, asserted quite strongly that all humans are beasts.⁶¹

Since censorship of the press and especially of caricatures was strictly enforced during the reign of Charles X when *Les Métamorphoses du jour* was initially published, caricaturists needed to rely upon other means of critiquing society and those in power.⁶² These strictures on imagery led to an abundance of caricatures satirizing such safe topics as female fashions and hairstyles, generic social types, or light erotic fantasies as in the early works of Charles Philipon.⁶³ In Grandville's case, the use of animal heads as masks lessened the force of his charge and reduced the risk of censorship or prosecution, since he could advance the literal claim that he had merely depicted a horned owl dressed as a hussar and *not* the young Duke of Chartres (Ferdinand-Philippe d'Orléans, 1810-1842), the son of the future king Louis-Philippe, as gossips suggested (Fig. 98). This plate, given the caption “Monseigneur, je vous présenté mes hommages ainsi que ma fille” (“Your

⁶¹ “Grandville était républicain.... Ce ne fut pas seulement avec son crayon qu'il soutint ses opinions; en juillet, il se battit avec courage et sang-froid; mais quand la tourmente fut passée, il déposa son fusil et reprit son crayon. Honnête homme avant tout, il ne se croyait pas le droit de continuer autrement les hostilités.” S. Clogenson, “J.-J. Granville [*sic*]: Seconde partie,” *L'Athenaeum français* 12 (1853): 273.

⁶² On the strict censorship in place after the restoration of the Bourbons to the French throne in 1815 through the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X, see Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature*, 99-118.

⁶³ Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature*, 111.

grace, I present my respects as well as my daughter”), was one of the few to allude to recognizable individuals and current events. It produced a *succès de scandale* that helped to establish Grandville's reputation for revealing the ugly faces behind the façades of power.⁶⁴ Grandville's lithograph parodied a popular and beautiful young actress whose father had offered her, or perhaps even attempted to sell her, to the Duke, an eligible bachelor who had recently been promoted to colonel.⁶⁵ Jealous gossips claimed that the actress was prostituted by her father. Like other aristocrats and royalists in *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, the Duke is given the head of a reactionary enemy of light, a nocturnal animal (the Eagle Owl, which is known in French as the appropriately royal-sounding *hibou grand-duc*).⁶⁶ The slimy, obsequious father has a fish's head and the allegedly beautiful daughter is revealed to be a “young blushing turkey” complete with an unflattering wattle that will surely inhibit her erotic interactions with the Duke, as the art historian and the future editor of the *Gazette des Beaux-arts* Charles Blanc joked in 1854.⁶⁷ In “Monseigneur, je vous présenté ...,” Grandville participated in the long

⁶⁴ In his biography of Grandville published in the 1854 edition of *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, the art historian Charles Blanc wrote, “Tout Paris voulut voir cette planche, et l'on raconte que la duchesse de Berri, -- c'était en 1829, -- se fit un malin plaisir d'oublier sur sa table, un jour de réception, quelques épreuves de cette *métamorphose*.... A partir de ce jour, les *Métamorphoses* de Grandville devinrent l'objet de toutes les conversations; on les trouvait sur tous les guéridons, dans toutes les mains.” “Notice sur Grandville,” introduction to *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, by J.-J. Grandville (Paris: Gustave Havard, 1854), viii.

⁶⁵ One of Grandville's early biographers provides this account of the affair: “On parlait beaucoup en ce temps-là d'e l'amour qu'avait inspiré à un colonel de hussards d'une naissance illustre, une jeune artiste que son talent et sa beauté ont rendue célèbre. On disait, que le père de l'artiste, spéculant sur la beauté de sa fille, l'avait offerte, sinon vendue, -- et le noble personnage don elle avait attiré les regards avait été son premier amant.” Clogenson, “J.-J. Granville [sic],” 273.

⁶⁶ Goldstein reports that owls, moles, bats, and snakes were used by caricaturists to suggest “gloom and reaction.” *Censorship of Political Caricature*, 118.

⁶⁷ “Grandville, vengeant d'un seul trait la morale outragée et les soupirants jaloux, représenta Monseigneur en son beau costume de colonel de hussards, tête de grand-duc, pose élégante; le père, sous les traits d'un poisson et l'Iphigénie en coulisses sous les formes d'une jeune dinde rougissante, dont le bec convexe,

tradition of lowering those in positions of power by implying their bestial natures.

Other plates depict humans with the heads of animals whose species Grandville selected to evoke sympathy in the viewer. In “M. Martin-Pêcheur apportant à dîner à sa famille” (“Mr. Kingfisher bringing dinner to his family”), a poor fisherman, appropriately depicted as a kingfisher, returns with only one small fish for his starving, homeless family (Fig. 99). The combination of animal and human parts in this case functions to heighten the pathos of the scene rather than to incite anger or horror. In M. Martin-Pêcheur's family, Grandville draws six bird beaks, five of which are open and facing the father with expectation. The repetition of their pointed shapes emphasizes the bird-man's daunting task. While the open beaks imply their hunger, their human bodies and lack of shoes or proper clothing convey this family's poverty; two of the children are barefoot, and the few clothes they do have are patched and tattered. Their only shelter is their mother's voluminous cloak, which she spreads over them in place of bird wings. Instead of asserting that these hybrid creatures are monsters - reverse harpies composed of bird and human parts as Marie-Antoinette had been – these bird-people evoke sympathy for the plight of poor humans. Such is the modern grotesque in the hands of someone committed to a democratic leveling of society and the simultaneous lowering and raising that can occur when animal and human forms are combined.

Les Métamorphoses du jour was at once timely, of its time, and beyond its time.

Its title, which can be translated as “Today's Metamorphoses,” emphasizes these many levels by noting that the plates depict *today's* events, people (animals), and fashions. Yet,

recouvert de sa caroncule, devait se prêter malaisément aux baisers de l'oiseau de nuit.” Blanc, “Notice sur Grandville,” viii.

by alluding to the title of Ovid's famous tales of transformation, the *Metamorphoses* (8 CE), it also draws attention to Grandville's use of an ancient visual language: the combination of human and animal form for aesthetic and moral effect. Charles Blanc noted this in the second edition of *Les Métamorphoses du jour*. This was published in 1854 by Gustave Havard, who had the original lithographs translated to wood engravings and added texts. These included Blanc's biographical introduction of his friend Grandville and fictional texts by the dramatist Albéric Second (1817-1887), Louis Huart (1813-1865, the author of *Muséum Parisien*), Taxile Delord (1815-1877, the author of *Un Autre monde*, which Grandville illustrated between 1843 and 1844), and others. Blanc remarked that the mingling of old and new constituted Grandville's modernization of an ancient tradition:

The idea was new, on the one hand, and biting.... Undoubtedly, the apologue, which lent our language to the animals, was as old as the world, and Aristotle, who shook up everything, had noted two thousand years ago the connections between human physiognomies and those of animals; but the innovation [of *Les Métamorphoses du jour*] consisted in making them put on our clothes, in introducing them into our living rooms wearing high-heeled shoes, in transforming them into convincing characters, in assigning them each a role in the world's eternal vaudeville. Grandville rendered man inseparable from the animal; he welded them together as the fable had done to the two beings who made up Chiron; but in the inverse of the centaur, his actors have the heads of beasts on human shoulders.⁶⁸

Not only did Grandville bring these animal-humans into modern Parisian living rooms and dress them in the latest fashions, but he added to the concept of the grotesque the

⁶⁸ “L'idée était neuve, par une face, et piquante.... Sans doute l'apologue qui prêtait notre langage aux animaux était aussi ancien que le monde, et Aristote, qui a remué toute chose, avait dit, il y a quelque deux mille ans, les rapports de la physionomie humaine avec celle des animaux; mais la nouveauté consistait à leur faire endosser nos habits, à les introduire en escarpins dans nos salons, à les transformer en personnages vraisemblables, en leur assignant un rôle à chacun dans l'éternel vaudeville du monde. Grandville a rendu l'homme inséparable de l'animal; il les a soudés l'un à l'autre comme la fable avait fait les deux êtres qui composaient Chiron; mais, à l'inverse du centaure, ses acteurs ont des hures des bêtes sur des épaules humaines.” Charles Blanc, “Notice sur Grandville,” vii-viii.

ability to critique society's inequalities and injustices. Though this is perhaps his most significant contribution to the modern grotesque – the use of seemingly comedic humanized animals and animalized humans to reveal humanity's ugly underbelly – it has long been under-emphasized because of the repeated assertions that Grandville's is an art of the absurd, the fantastic, and the phantasmagorical, as if the artist were too busy dreaming to produce any profound social commentary.⁶⁹

Artistic Metamorphoses in Transition: The *Fables de La Fontaine* (1838)

After the reinstatement of pre-publication censorship of images in 1835, Grandville, who had been dubbed the “Roi de la Caricature” by a tongue-in-cheek ode published in 1832, willingly left the field of political caricature for the less persecuted genre of book illustration.⁷⁰ In 1837, the publisher Henri Fournier contacted him to provide vignettes, capitals, title pieces, and full-page illustrations for a new edition of the *Fables* of La Fontaine. This project was, in some ways, ideally suited to Grandville's talents, though the artist admitted in an essay pasted inside an album of drawings he made for the book that he was intimidated at the thought of lending his pencil to the poet's words: “This task terrified me, ... envisaging the extreme difficulty of this audacious enterprise to place side by side my drawings with the admirable poetical œuvre of such a grand and fine fabulist, of the good and supreme Jean de La Fontaine....”⁷¹ It seemed natural that Grandville, who had already created his own visual

⁶⁹ For a detailed historiography of Grandville's reputation in the nineteenth century and beyond, see Kaenel, *Le métier d'illustrateur*, 183-93.

⁷⁰ On the events that led to this transition, see Clive Getty's excellent article, “Grandville: Opposition Caricature,” 197-201; for the ode, see Adhémar and Romi, “Grandville le maudit,” 12.

⁷¹ “Cette tâche m'épouvanta, ... envisageant l'extrême difficulté de cette entreprise audacieuse ... accoler des dessins à l'œuvre admirable poétique du grand et si fin fablier, du bon et supérieurissime Jean de La

apologues, or short moralizing tales, in *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, should graduate to the most prized fables in the French language. With these illustrations, he joined the ranks of other celebrated French animal artists like Jean-Baptiste Oudry or Carle (1758-1836) and Horace Vernet (1789-1863), who had also illustrated La Fontaine's fables.⁷² Grandville's version was very popular, and less than two years after its publication, an American edition had appeared linking Grandville's name with La Fontaine's in the title.⁷³ Elizur Wright wrote in his introduction to this edition,

To make amends ... for the imperfections of my translation, I am happy to send you, along with it, the illustrations by J. J. Grandville. They are replete with the very spirit of La Fontaine: the painter, with the same inspiration, has trodden in the footsteps of the poet. The latter conferred upon creatures, animate and inanimate, the gift of speech, and the former has put them in attitudes and garbs appropriate to its use. He is truly a master of ceremonies and of scenery, and succeeds in teaching the stupidest of animals to observe the proprieties of the drama.⁷⁴

In La Fontaine's *Fables*, Grandville continued to mask his animal-human hybrids as if they appeared on stage. Yet, the project did not allow him the same freedom for invention as *Les Métamorphoses du jour* had. As Wright aptly describes it, the illustrator was walking in a path someone else had forged, and at times his images seem constrained by this. Occasionally the animals' poses are distorted or unconvincingly rendered to fit them to the narratives they must illustrate. For example, in Grandville's illustration for “The

Fontaine moi.” Grandville's prose in this manuscript is idiosyncratic and filled with grammatical and spelling errors, for which the artist apologizes at the end. “Au possesseur présent ou futur de cet album,” in *Grandville: Dessins originaux*, 2.

⁷² Jean de La Fontaine, *Fables choisies et mises en vers* (Paris: L'Impémerie de Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1755-1759); *Fables choisies de la Fontaine, Ornées de figures lithographiques, de Mm. Carle Vernet, Horace Vernet, et Hippolyte Lecomte* (Paris: L'Impremerie de Fain, 1818).

⁷³ La Fontaine, *Fables of La Fontaine: Illustrated by J. J. Grandville*, trans. Elizur Wright, Jr. (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1840).

⁷⁴ Wright, “To my Subscribers,” in *Fables of La Fontaine*, vi.

Lion in Love,” this king of beasts looks like a man in a lion costume (Fig.100). He is seated upright on a log wearing a foppish hat and leering at the demure farmer's daughter. Although he was honored to illustrate such a great poet's words, Grandville evidences the project's constraints when he struggles to humanize animals to fit the narratives imposed on him by La Fontaine's fables and by the weight of a long visual tradition. Yet, if Grandville himself is to be believed, some of the blame for the implausibility of the illustrations falls to the men who rendered his drawings as wood-engravings.

The Bibliothèque de Nancy, in the city in the Lorraine region where Grandville was born, holds a rare document by the artist in an album of his drawings for La Fontaine's *Fables*. Several years after its publication, Grandville wrote a preface for subsequent editions dedicated “Au possesseur présent ou futur de cet album” (“To the current or future owner of this album”). In it, Grandville detailed his artistic process in general and complained in particular of the losses he felt his drawings sustained during their translation from pencil and pen drawings to wood-engravings. Grandville had been trained as a lithographer, but he never became proficient at wood-engraving, so his drawings were sent by his publishers to engravers of varying levels of skill.⁷⁵

The document in Nancy is valuable not only for its rarity (the artist's only surviving son, Armand Grandville [1845-1890], ordered his father's letters destroyed upon the son's death), but for the insight it provides into Grandville's deliberate and obsessive process for metamorphosing his animals into humans and back again:

One of the noteworthy subjects is that of the cicada [illustrating the first fable of “The Cicada and the Ant”] first composed with simply the figures

⁷⁵ For a detailed overview of this process see Remi Blachon, “Trahi par ses graveurs?” *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 185-86 (2002-2003): 20-31.

[,] in the second case by characters with the heads of animals [,] then again with the ordinary figures but keeping the pose and the content of the preceding ones [,] and finally in the last case the one that was engraved and delivered to the public composed of the complete animals. The cicada (who one should not for respect to the vulgar tradition represent as a grasshopper) kept the pose, the ant is seen from behind, from the back, as we say in the studio's terms. The thought remained the same as one sees, in all the drawings. The singer with her guitar [,] the woman-ant as a rich farmer's wife [Figs.101 and 102].⁷⁶

Grandville's words allow us to picture his approach as both playful and scientific. The artist experiments using a number of variables, from the fully animal to the hybrid creature to the human and back again, until he arrives at the most suitable option.

Grandville's illustrations of La Fontaine's *Fables* mark a transitional period in his creation of human-animal hybrids and in his growth as an artist. Despite their sometimes poignant and powerful social critiques, the compositions of the lithographs in *Les Métamorphoses du jour* remain rather simple and static, as if they were vignettes or tail-pieces blown up to fill a full page. The figures are often drawn in profile with lines and planes to define features. They pose in front of backdrops that seem theatrical in their flat simplicity. In this images for La Fontaine's *Fables*, Grandville tests his skills with more complex, intertwined poses and chiaroscuro effects. Most importantly, many of the animals retain their full bodies yet wear costumes that mark them as anthropomorphic. At least one illustration of the *Fables* quite literally conveys the metamorphosis of Grandville's art at this time.

⁷⁶ “Un des sujets remarquables est celui de la cigale d'abord composé avec des figures simplement en second lieu par des personnages à têtes d'animaux puis ensuite de nouveau avec les figures ordinaires mais conservant la pose et le fond des précédentes et enfin en dernier lieu tel qu'il a été gravé et livré au public composé par des animaux entiers. La cigale (qu'il n'a fallu par respect pour la tradition vulgaire représenter par une sauterelle) a conservé la pose, la fourmi et vue par derrière, de dos, comme nous disons en termes d'atelier. La pensée est restée la même comme on voit, dans tous les dessins. La chanteuse à guitare la dame fourmi en riche fermière.” Grandville, “Au possesseur présent,” 4.

The image for “La chatte métamorphosée en femme” contains one figure composed like the creatures in *Les Métamorphoses du jour* with an animalized head on a human body, but this hybrid is shown in the midst of her transformation between human and animal (Fig. 103). The fable depicted is another one involving romance between a human and an animal. A bachelor loves his pet cat so much that “by prayers, by tears, by spells and by charms,” she is changed into a woman, whom he promptly marries.⁷⁷ The man's love for his new wife is blind: “He praised her beauties, this and that,/And saw there nothing of the cat;” but her animal state reveals itself during their wedding night, when she repeatedly interrupts their “nuptial joys,” as Wright's Victorian translation rather primly puts it, to chase mice.⁷⁸ The moral of the tale is that “once the cloth has got its fold,/The smelling-pot its scent,/In vain your efforts and your care/To make them other than they are.”⁷⁹

For his illustration, Grandville chose the moment of the cat-wife's transformation back into her true animal nature. Her hairstyle features two rounded humps that resemble cat's ears. Her nose, mouth, and eyes have been elongated into feline forms while she retains human eyebrows, arms, and hands. She crouches on the floor, her hands raised in front of her to imply her readiness to pounce upon her prey. The shadow on the wall also indicates her true, animalistic character, a technique Grandville had used to biting effect

⁷⁷ “Cet homme donc, par prières, par larmes,/Par sortilèges et par charmes,/Fait tant qu'il obtient du destin/Que sa chatte, en un beau matin,/Deviens femme...” Jean de La Fontaine, “La chatte métamorphosée en femme,” Livre II, XVIII, *Fables de La Fontaine: Illustrées par J. J. Grandville*, 2 vols. (Paris: Fournier Aîné, 1838), 1: 82.

⁷⁸ “Il l'amadoue ; elle le flatte :/Il n'y trouve plus rien de chatte.” La Fontaine, *Fables*, 1: 82; *Fables of La Fontaine*, 82.

⁷⁹ “Le vase est imbibé, l'étoffe a pris son pli./En vain de son train ordinaire/On le veut désaccoutumer:/Quelque chose qu'on puisse faire,/ On ne sauroit le réformer.” La Fontaine, *Fables*, 1: 83; *Fables of La Fontaine*, 82.

in his caricatures of political figures for Philipon's journal *La Caricature* (Fig. 104).⁸⁰ As such, this image of the cat-wife superbly demonstrates the vacillation effect one experiences in front of Grandville's creatures; they are never quite fully human nor fully animal, but they exist in the midst of their metamorphoses between one pole and the other.⁸¹

Bitting the Hand that Does Not Feed You in *La vie privée et publique des animaux*

Grandville's images for La Fontaine's *Fables* attracted the attention of another publisher, Pierre-Jules Hetzel (1814-1886). Hetzel was just beginning his career when he devised a vehicle to show the artist's talents in their best light. The goal was also to sell as many copies as possible by uniting Grandville's pencil with the pens of some of the most famous writers of the day. These included Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), Paul (1804-1880) and Alfred de Musset (1810-1857), Charles Nodier (1780-1844), his daughter Marie Mennessier-Nodier (1811-1893), Louis Viardot (1800-1883), and Jules Janin (1804-1874). Hetzel, who also wrote under the pseudonym P. J. Stahl, began publishing *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux* serially in *livraisons* or installments on the 20th of November, 1840. The final *livraison* appeared on 17 December 1842. These installments were also bound together and published in a two-volume set in 1841 and 1842 respectively.⁸² Each chapter generally concerns the adventures of an individual

⁸⁰ This physiognomic technique would be expanded upon by the British illustrator and caricaturist Charles Henry Bennett for his *Shadow and Substance* (London: W. Kent and Company, 1860).

⁸¹ James Cuno's review of the 1987 exhibition of Grandville's drawings at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy, France, argues that this exhibition's catalogue and scholarship of Grandville in general has neglected to analyze "Grandville's obsession with metamorphosis" and the constant state of flux apparent in his art. "Review," 533.

⁸² Grandville, *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hetzel et Paulin, 1841-42).

animal-human in and around Paris and includes full-page portraits and narrative scenes, as well as head-pieces, tail-pieces, historiated initials, and vignettes. Grandville created a total of 319 drawings for the project.⁸³

Vie privée et publique, which was sometimes called “Les animaux peints par eux-mêmes” (“The Animals Painted by Themselves”) in allusion to the popular collection of *physiologies* or generic types *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* upon which Grandville's project was loosely based, begins with a prologue by Hetzel writing as P.-J. Stahl.⁸⁴ This scene is set in the ménagerie in the Jardin des Plantes, where the orangutan, an ape who imitates humans, has learned how to pick the locks on the cages. After he frees his fellow inmates, they meet in a grand assembly to determine what course of action they should take. The animals vow from the start to “realize the means to ameliorate their position and to shake off the yoke of man.”⁸⁵ The fox urges the assembled animals to harness the press to record their stories in a civilized, rational attempt to convince humans to release animals from bondage and service. They also resolve to hire Grandville as their “intermediary” and illustrator and Hetzel as their publisher.⁸⁶ The fox tells the assembled animals:

⁸³ Gottfried Sello, *Grandville: Das gesamte Werk* (Munich: Verlag Rogner und Bernhard, 1969), 2: 805.

⁸⁴ Although the majority of the illustrations of the *physiologies* were by the caricaturist Gavarni, Grandville provided drawings for the entries about the *rentier* (landlord), *les canards* (male and female newspaper sellers), the man of letters, the pharmacist, the writer, and the theater boy in volumes 3 and 4. *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, 9 vols. (Paris: L. Curmer, 1840-1842); Sello, *Grandville*, I: 314-324; Karen D. Mayers, “J.-J. Grandville's Animal World: Puns, Politics, and Social Panorama” (Master's thesis, Tufts University, 1992), 122.

⁸⁵ “Les animaux se sont constitués en assemblée pour aviser aux moyens d'améliorer leur position et de secouer le joug de l'homme.” Stahl, “Prologue: Assemblée générale des animaux,” in Grandville, *Vie privée et publique des animaux*, rev. ed. (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1880), 4.

⁸⁶ The animals resolve that “Comme les arts et la librairie sont encore dans l'enfance parmi eux, la nation s'adressa, par l'intermédiaire de ses ambassadeurs, pour illustrer cet ouvrage, à un nommé Grandville.... Et pour l'impression, elles s'adressera à une maison de librairie connue, dans le monde pittoresque, sous le nom de J. Hetzel, et qui n'a pas de préjugés.” Stahl, “Prologue,” 19.

Intelligence leads to everything That ideas have paws and wings; that they run and that they fly; that we must finally realize, by means of the press, today's most formidable power, a general survey of the situation, of their natural needs, of the manners and customs of each species, and create through serious and impartial data a great history of the Animal Race and of its noble destiny in public and private life, in slavery and in liberty.⁸⁷

The stage is set for a series of texts. These are told by the animals, ostensibly recorded by the most famous (human) authors of the day, and illustrated by one who, as the prologue states, “would have had the merit of being an Animal, if he hadn't from time to time lowered his great talent in devotion to the always flattering representation, it is true, of his fellow creatures. (See the *Metamorphoses*).”⁸⁸ This text presents Grandville himself as a hybrid, floating somewhere between the human and the animal because of his ability to depict accurately all his “fellow creatures,” whether they are animal, human, or both.⁸⁹

The animals whose portraits Grandville drew for this book most often retain complete animal bodies, but they wear human clothing, walk upright, and display humanized poses, gestures, and accessories. However, when hybrid human-animal figures do appear in *Vie privée et publique*, they are no longer simple animal masks atop human bodies. Instead human hands and feet (usually in shoes) emerge from animal

⁸⁷ “L'intelligence mène à tout Que les idées ont des pattes et des ailes ; qu'elles courent et qu'elles volent; Qu'il faut réaliser enfin, au moyen de la presse, la puissance la plus formidable du jour, une enquête générale sur leur situation, sur leurs besoins naturels, sur les mœurs et coutumes de chaque espèce, et créer sur des données sérieuses et impartiales une grande histoire de la Race Animale et de ses nobles destinées dans la vie privée et dans la vie publique, dans l'esclavage et dans la liberté.” Stahl, “Prologue,” 8.

⁸⁸ “... Grandville, qui aurait mérité d'être un Animal, s'il n'avait de temps en temps ravalé son beau talent en le consacrant à la représentation toujours flattée, il est vrai, de ses semblables. (Voir les *Métamorphoses*).” Stahl, “Prologue,” 19.

⁸⁹ In retrospect, Hetzel declared to his biographer Villemot that this book was Grandville's masterpiece because “là il est tout ce qu'il peut être et rien de ce qu'il ne pouvait pas être. Chose bizarre, cet homme qui faisait si admirablement voir l'homme dans l'animal était un peintre médiocre de l'homme au naturel, quand il a dessiné l'homme non métamorphosé en bête.” From a letter quoted in A. Parménie and C. Bonnier de la Chapelle, *Histoire d'un éditeur et ses auteurs: P.-J. Hetzel (Stahl)* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1953), 25.

forms. Sometimes a hybrid might have a full animal shape except for a pair of over-sized, veined human hands (Fig. 105). In other instances, the hybrid has a human body with the head of a creature quite divergent in shape and appearance from the human, such as an insect, a bird, or a giraffe (Figs. 106 and 107). There are even a few human heads topping animal bodies, including a self-portrait of Grandville as a porcupine, an animal traditionally associated with the caricaturist for its ability to prick and wound with its sharpness (Fig. 108).⁹⁰ This type of human-animal hybrid is rare in Grandville's œuvre, and its presence here signals his increasing interest in experimentation with the combination of forms, species, and body parts.

Typically in scenes depicting several animals of varying species or the same species at once, the animals retain their bodies (Fig. 109); but when Grandville wants to draw attention to a sympathetic, laughable, or odious individual, he gives that creature a human hand, shoulders, legs, or arms. Often these incongruous parts appear on animals that do not have legs (like fish) or that have more legs than bipedal humans (like insects). Birds' and insects' wings are replaced by human arms and hands or by items of clothing like coats and cloaks. Hybrid creatures in *Vie privée et publique* serve a highlighting function, though their diverse parts are welded so smoothly together that it is easy to miss the fact of their hybridity. For example, in a full-page illustration to accompany the tale “Peines de cœur d'une Chatte anglaise” by Balzac, Grandville draws a musical English dog with one paw and one human hand. This creature somehow manages to play the

⁹⁰ On Grandville's self-portraits in the guises of scarab beetles, rats, porcupines, and hybrid forms, see Laurent Baridon, “Hybridation d'un artiste romantique: Les autoportraits en animal de J.-J. Grandville,” in *Hommeanimal: Histoires d'un face à face*, ed. Laurent Baridon and Martial Guédron (Strasbourg: Les Musées de Strasbourg, 2004), 138-153.

piano though her appendages come from two distinct species (Fig. 110).⁹¹ The hybridity even extends to the music on the piano, whose lyrics, written half in English and half in Dog, read “My Dear Milord, Wouah! Wouah!” Despite its gently mocking tone, this image evokes sympathy for the young girl-dog who has, like most young English ladies of the day, apparently been taught to play the piano and sing a bit, but Grandville's depiction reveals through her canine features that her pianistic and vocal talents are equal to those of a spaniel.⁹²

As he had done in *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, Grandville often utilized his hybrid creations in *Vie privée et publique des animax* to draw attention to economic disparities in contemporary French society. Vultures and crocodiles are given enormous bellies to emphasize the wealth gained through their violent exploitation of other beasts (Figs. 111 and 112). Their human hands remind the reader-viewer to translate these animals into fully human forms and to understand that their sins are those of humans. In the illustration of a vulture-landlord in P.-J. Stahl's story “Histoire d'un Lièvre,” Grandville gives this bird-man, who comes to collect rent from a recently deceased man's family, a human body including a prominent hand (Fig. 111).⁹³ This out-sized appendage grasps the top of his walking stick, while a *quittance louer* or bill for rent due peeks out from between his enormous thumb and forefinger. His clothes are stretched tight across

⁹¹ In Grandville, *Vie privée et publique*, 62-80.

⁹² Though her focus is *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, Judith Goldstein argues that Grandville's hybrids of human-animal women are generally more sympathetic than contemporary caricatures and illustrations of women made by caricaturists like Daumier or Gavarni. “Realism without a Human Face,” in *Spectacles of Realism: Body, Gender, Genre*, ed. Margaret Cohen and Christopher Prendergast (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 66-89; Janis Bergman-Carton effectively argues the opposite, as she interprets Gavarni as the more sympathetic towards literary or professional women. *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 37-39.

⁹³ In Grandville, *Vie privée et publique*, 27-61.

his corpulent body. The numerous wrinkles convey the rolls of fat beneath the fabric, and one button on his vest has popped under the pressure. Even his animal parts, his feathered neck and head, his piercing eyes, and his sharp, hook-shaped beak, are glossed with an anthropomorphic layer in the form of his spectacles. Although this bird is a raptor and therefore possesses extremely sharp vision, he is aided by his man-made eyeglasses, which will help him in his quest to spy every last cent owed him, even in the midst of a rabbit-family's grief.

The outrages of economic disparity and the physical and moral deformities of those who perpetuate them are even more poignantly displayed in an illustration for the tale "Les contrariétés d'un Crocodile," by Émile de la Bédollière (1812-1883).⁹⁴ Here is another well-dressed, corpulent gentleman whose buttons strain to keep his vest and pants in place around his massive stomach (Fig. 112). He wears a wide, toothy grin while he picks food from his many sharp teeth, for this gentleman in top hat and tails has a crocodile's head on a man's body. Once again his human hand draws attention to the symbol of his moral failing, his enormous mouth, the site of the appetites which have given him such an over-fed physique. He stands before a shop window filled with the delicacies upon which he has gorged himself: pheasant, pâté, asparagus, crayfish, and other rich foods. The text relates that this gastronome is very proud of his stomach, a virtual work of art that he created despite his body's natural metabolism:

'I made it what it is, he said, that cost me much, but I have not lost my money. I was born to be slender and thin, an intelligent diet gave me, despite nature, this honorable stoutness.' The smallest dinner of this good

⁹⁴ In Grandville, *Vie privée et publique*, 100-197.

man cost him fifty francs. 'It is only fools,' he said, 'who die of hunger.'⁹⁵

In the text, the gastronome is a human who seeks infinite pleasures by consuming exotic foods, but in the image, Grandville translates him into hybrid animal-human form to add poignancy to his insensitive words, “Il n'y a que les sots ... qui meurent de faim” (“It is only fools ... who die of hunger”), which also serve as the image's caption. One of those *sots* lies at the crocodile-gastronome's feet. His own feet and arms are bare, and his clothes are ragged to emphasize his poverty. The impoverished and emaciated corpse also has a rat's head, which is shown from below as he lies prostrate on the paving stones outside the restaurant window.

Through the careful selection of species, setting, and similarities, Grandville creates a poignant image of those who have and those who have naught. The crocodile-man is oblivious to the rat-man's corpse, whose death is rendered even more unjust by his proximity to the food that could have saved his life. While the crocodile's hand closest to the dead rat-boy is stuffed in his pocket, the other hand reaches to pick at excess food caught in his teeth. This crocodile-man truly bites the hand that feeds him. It is his own selfish hand that refuses to feed others in need. Together, the human and animal parts of these hybrid creatures combine to convey societal iniquities with a poignancy that is lacking in La Bédollière's words. Grandville might have depicted the oblivious gastronome as a human, as La Bédollière did in the text, but instead he chose to create hybrid animal-humans whose bodies, with their prominent hands and feet, emphasize the

⁹⁵ “Au physique, il n'avait de remarquable que son ventre, dont il était fier: 'Je l'ai fait ce qu'il est, disait-il, cela m'a coûté gros, mais je n'ai pas perdu mon argent. J'étais né pour être sec et maigre, un régime intelligent m'a donné, en dépit de la nature, cet honorable embonpoint.' Le moindre dîner de ce brave homme lui coûtait cinquante francs. 'Il n'y a que les sots, disait-il encore, qui meurent de faim.’” La Bédollière, “Contrariétés d'un Crocodile,” 105.

moral corruption of a society that feeds its rich and starves its poor.

Vie privée et publique des animaux was an enormous success for both artist and publisher. By 1845, Hetzel had already published the fifth edition.⁹⁶ Later in his life, the publisher gloated that the book's readers thought the images were portraits of recognizable individuals when they were nothing but “eternal types.” According to Hetzel, those eager to find political caricatures amid the illustrations published keys to the animals in an effort to translate Grandville's hybrid creatures back into human form.⁹⁷ These readers understood what the Symbolist poet and dandy Robert de Montesquiou (1855-1921) would later call the “hieroglyphic” (and therefore proto-Symbolist) quality of Grandville's art; not only does it combine human and animals in the manner of many ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, but “like an obelisk,” it also demands decipherment.⁹⁸ Grandville's reader-viewers and critics consistently made, and continue to make, the assumption that his creations must symbolize an additional level of meaning. They are never mere illustrations of texts but they become commentaries or glosses upon the text, existing somewhere above and beyond a simple one-to-one translation of word into image.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Bonnier and de la Chapelle, *Histoire d'un éditeur*, 24.

⁹⁷ Hetzel wrote to his biographer Villemot, “Le succès des *Animaux* est inépuisable, il est de tous les temps. Quand le livre a paru, chacun reconnaissait son voisin, supposait des portraits où il n'y en avait que des types éternels. On venait demander M. Bugeaud, M. Theirs, Lamartine, des femmes du monde, Mme de L. Riboisières, reconnues par leurs bonnes amies dans l'histoire d'une vieille corneille trop sensible. On a fait et publié des clefs des animaux.” As quoted in Bonnier and de la Chapelle, *Histoire d'un éditeur*, 25.

⁹⁸ “C'est en cela que l'œuvre de Grandville est *hiéroglyphique*, et ce doit déchiffrer comme un obélisque.” Robert de Montesquiou, “Le Buffon de l'humanité,” in *Roseaux pensants* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1897), 60; on Montesquiou's desire to understand Grandville as Symbolism's precursor, see Kaenel, *Le métier d'illustrateur*, 190.

⁹⁹ Kaenel argues that the *chansonnier* Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780-1857) noticed the danger that this posed for writers whose works were to be illustrated by Grandville, as Béranger's were, for Grandville had a tendency to reveal in his drawings implications that were not directly stated. *Le métier d'illustrateur*, 182.

Vision and Hybridity in *Un autre monde*

Finally, in the third part of the trilogy of Grandville's successes, *Un autre monde*, the author worked in service to the artist, as it was left to the text to form a narrative that united Grandville's most fantastic and diverse images. Like *Vie privée et publique des animaux*, *Un autre monde* first appeared in serial form beginning in February of 1843; it was then published as a book in 1844. Grandville conceived the idea of this imaginative voyage through space to an alternate world while working on the illustrations for *Vie privée et publique des animaux*. The artist had proposed to continue his work with Hetzel, until the latter commissioned a rival illustrator, Tony Johannot (1803-1852), to illustrate a book by Alfred de Musset. This project, *Voyage où il vous plaira*, was sufficiently similar in title and general concept to offend Grandville, who instead returned to Henri Fournier to publish *Un autre monde* with a text by the journalist and editor of the caricature journal *Le Charivari*, Taxile Delord.¹⁰⁰ Delord's authorship was not revealed until the final *livraison*, since *Un autre monde* was presented as Grandville's created universe, one in which the artist's pencil was no longer bound by servitude to the author's pen.¹⁰¹

Grandville's presence is felt throughout as the supreme god of this world. The book's prospectus uses biblical language to present Grandville as a deity struggling to give form to the world that exists in his thoughts:

¹⁰⁰ Tony Johannot, Alfred de Musset, and P.-J. Stahl, *Voyage où il vous plaira* (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1843). For a detailed account of the conflict between Hetzel and Grandville, see Clive Getty's entry on *Un autre monde* in *Grandville: Dessins originaux*, 341-42.

¹⁰¹ "Après avoir feuilleté les cartons de l'architecte de cet autre monde, l'écrivain auquel Grandville a confié ses inspirations a compris que la meilleure preuve d'esprit qu'il pouvait donner dans cette circonstance était garder l'anonyme, bornant sa gloire à mettre le texte à la hauteur du dessin." Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 3.

An eternity, a century, ten years have passed, during which Grandville, bent under the weight of his thoughts that contained a world, meditated in the silence of his office on the means to achieve his undertaking. A world is not improvised in a day; it is necessary to populate it with men, with trees, with vegetables, with minerals; to surround it with an atmosphere, to give it a sun, a moon, stars, rivers, seas; it is necessary to coordinate the elements, to separate the races and the species; it's all that which Grandville did. His creation is complete, he has nothing left to do but proclaim the sacramental sentence: *Let there be light!* and success will be complete.¹⁰²

Now relieved of his burdens, Grandville has nothing to do but pour out his mind's world onto the page, where it will take the form of ever more elaborate hybrid creations, or, as the book's untranslatable subtitle states it: *Transformations, Visions, Incarnations, Ascensions, Locomotions, Explorations, Pérégrinations, Excursions, Stations – Cosmogonies, Fantasmagories, Rêveries, Folatrerries, Facéties Luries – Métamorphoses, Zoomorphoses, Lithomorphoses, Métempyscoses, Apothéoses, et autres choses par Grandville*. Even these words are hybrid creations, combining recognizable parts to yield new species.

Un autre monde tells the story of three “neo-gods” with the onomatopoeic names Puff, Krackq, and Hahblle and their travels through a newly discovered world. This “other world” is an uncanny reflection of contemporary France that, through Grandville's images, is transformed in the tradition of the world upside-down or the *monde à*

l'envers.¹⁰³ The three neo-gods divide the new world; Puff claims the earth, Krackq dives

¹⁰² “Une éternité, un siècle, dix ans ont passé, pendant lesquels Grandville, courbé sous le poids de sa pensée qui contenait un monde, a médité dans le silence du cabinet sur les moyens d'achever son œuvre. Un monde ne s'improvise pas en un jour; il faut le peupler d'hommes, d'arbres, de végétaux, de minéraux; l'entourer d'une atmosphère, lui donner un soleil, une lune, des étoiles, des fleuves, des mers; il faut coordonner les éléments, séparer les races et les espèces: c'est tout cela que Grandville a fait. Sa création est complète, il n'a plus qu'à prononcer la phrase sacramentelle: *fiat lux!* Et le succès se fera.” Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 2.

¹⁰³ Indeed, in his analysis of Grandville, Baudelaire mistakenly referred to the title of *Un autre monde* as “*Le Monde à l'envers*.” “Some French Caricaturists,” 181.

into the sea, and Hahblle ascends by balloon to explore the sky.¹⁰⁴ They then exchange written accounts with each other describing the places they visit, so the book's text is ostensibly comprised of their communications. Yet, interspersed among their letters are a wide variety of other documents: newspaper and journal articles, menus, invitations, tickets, musical programs, guides to the Salon exhibition, etc. The neo-gods experience the other world through their own eyes, which read this plethora of texts and view the new world around them in search of similarities with their own country of origin, since before their apotheoses as deities, the three neo-gods were Frenchmen. They perceive a world constructed of sympathies, for as Michel Foucault wrote, "Sympathy plays through the depths of the universe in a free state. It can traverse the vastest spaces in an instant: it falls like a thunderbolt from the distant planet upon the man ruled by that planet..."¹⁰⁵ In Grandville's imaginary world, that similitude is everywhere apparent, and Grandville is the Zeus throwing the thunderbolts of visual similitude.

Although there are far more humans present in the images for *Un autre monde* than in *Les Métamorphoses du jour*, *Fables de La Fontaine* or *Vie privée et publique des animaux*, the hybrid creature, whether it is composed of animal and human parts, mechanical parts, or those of different animal species, continues to evolve in significant ways throughout the book. Finally, the lines distinguishing human from animal are sufficiently effaced to reveal the arbitrariness of their separation. The use of hybrid forms to explore social inequality recedes here. Instead, Grandville uses hybrid creatures in *Un autre monde* to probe such weighty questions as: what is a human? What is an animal?

¹⁰⁴ Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 14-16.

¹⁰⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), 23.

And ultimately, aren't *all* creatures in fact hybrids composed of diverse parts by a creator who imagined and brought into being another world?

Two chapters in particular within *Un autre monde*, “Le carnaval en bouteille” (“Carnival in a Bottle”) and “Une après-midi au Jardin des Plantes” (“An Afternoon at the Botanical Garden”), explore the nature of hybridity and humanity's place within animal worlds. In “Le carnaval en bouteille,” Krackq sends Puff an anthropological report of his visit to the bottom of the ocean, where he finds a carnival of the animals. During the celebration, Krackq attends two masked balls. At one, the animals wear masks of different species (Fig. 113). In Grandville's image, the masks are ill-fitting and quite obvious. A striped panther wearing a sheep's mask dances with a sheep wearing a wolf's mask in the center; their masks are over-sized, and the ribbons tying the sheep's wolf-head in place are visible at the nape of the animal's neck. Two fish-head masks lie discarded in the foreground. At the time of carnival, the world is turned upside down (quite literally here, since Krackq visits an underwater world “five thousand feet below the level of the whales”), and the manifestation of the carnivalesque in this particular part of Grandville's imaginary planet is that prey are allowed to cross-dress as predators and vice versa.¹⁰⁶

Krackq is perplexed because he is treated with the utmost respect, though he believes he is not dressed properly to attend the masquerade balls of this carnival. When he reaches the ball held by the aristocracy, he discovers why this is so:

The ticket checker, an old shark, let me pass without demanding my

¹⁰⁶ “... le matin du troisième jour j'étais parvenu à cinq mille pieds au dessous le niveau des baleines.” Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 36; on the concept of the carnivalesque, the classic study remains Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1968).

invitation and followed me with a look of admiration. Inflated by this success, I entered with my head held high. Right away numerous groups formed around me; the crowd circulated at my sides, eager to contemplate my appearance and my face. Evidently I caused a sensation.... Only one thing surprised me, and threw me into a strange perplexity. Did I have in front of my eyes men disguised as beasts, or beasts masked as men? My uncertainty did not cease until the end of the ball, when I saw a rat take off his mask to swallow a maraschino sorbet. The aristocracy had modified the principle of costuming; the animals, instead of exchanging their physiognomies with those of other animals, had borrowed human masks. I thus had the secret of my success; they took me for an animal, and they admired the precision of my costume. A lizard, more curious than the others, even slid over to me to ask me for the address of my costumer.¹⁰⁷

The animals understand Krackq's human face to be a mask, so they take him as one of their own, but one of their most elevated, since the ruling class reserves the right to disguise themselves as humans. A hierarchy ranking all humans above all animals remains intact here, even in the topsy-turvy time of carnival and in an environment evidently populated only by animals.

Yet, Grandville's illustration of the aristocratic ball, with the caption “Un bal masqué” (“A Masked Ball”), asserts that there are different levels of human (Fig. 114). Even if they all reign above the animals, they are ranked here according to beauty, as if Grandville were countering Lavater's claim that “The most pitiful of living abortions will always excel, in point of dignity, the most beautiful and most perfect of animals.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ “Le contrôleur, vieux requin, me laissa passer sans me demander ma carte d'entrée et en me suivant d'un regard d'admiration. Enorgueilli par ce succès, j'entrai la tête haute; aussitôt des groupes nombreux se formèrent autour de moi; la foule circulait à mes côtés, avide de contempler mes traits et mon visage. Évidemment je faisais sensation.... Une seule chose me surprit, et me jeta dans une étrange perplexité. Avais-je devant les yeux des hommes déguisés en bêtes, ou des bêtes masquées en hommes? Mon incertitude ne cessa qu'à la fin du bal, lorsque je vis un rat quitter son masque pour avaler un sorbet au marasquin. L'aristocratie avait modifié le principe du déguisement; les animaux, au lieu d'échanger leur physionomie contre celle d'autres animaux, avaient emprunté des masques humains. J'eus alors le secret de mon succès; on me prenait pour un animal, et l'on admirait l'exactitude de mon travestissement. Un lézard, plus curieux que les autres, se glissa même vers moi pour me demander l'adresse de mon costumier.” Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 42.

¹⁰⁸ Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und*

These animals are made uglier by their human masks, which might have appeared in Le Brun's or Rowlandson's side-by-side comparisons of human and animal faces. Bears, lizards, lions, eagles, fish, and frogs wear masks that caricature humans. Only one head, the mask of Zeus worn by a monkey who balances on a wire above the scene and holds a fist full of thunderbolts, might be called classically beautiful. Yet, even this face has large nostrils, a furrowed brow and fat, down-turned lips. The other human faces are distorted, with long, hooked, warted, or red noses, wide, glassy eyes, nose rings, twirled mustaches, and all manner of grimaces, smiles, and frowns. This time a human mask rather than a fish mask lies discarded in the foreground. This mask stares up as the masquerade ball swirls around it, its empty eyes comprehending as little as Krackq had, while the animals in their masks of ugly humans look at each other from above and below.

The themes of sight and vision, of viewing and even voyeurism are emphasized repeatedly throughout *Un autre monde*. In “Un bal masqué,” some animals lean against a railing on the upper level as if they are observing their peers in the ménagerie rather than the masquerade. Eyes, spectacles, and binoculars appear numerous times in the composition. An owl on the upper level wears round glasses and a wide grin. He appears to stare down at the dance floor at an eagle with a long, hooked nose and a fierce glare. In the central foreground, a bird wears the forerunner of a Groucho Marx mask consisting solely of a huge, warted nose, handlebar mustache, and pince-nez.¹⁰⁹ On the left, a frog holds binoculars to his eyes, either to stare at the Zeus-monkey suspended above the

Menschenliebe, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1775-1778); translated in English as *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, trans. Henry Hunter, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1789-1798), 2: 38.

¹⁰⁹ The text notes that “Quelques oiseaux s'étaient contentés de mettre un faux nez. Ils n'en étaient pas moins méconnaissables.” Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 42.

scene or to admire Krackq's (or the reader's) human costume.

In other images, eyes become synecdochical for the human. “Vénus à l'opéra” (“Venus at the Opera”) is one of the most frequently reproduced images from *Un autre monde* (Fig. 115).¹¹⁰ A beautiful woman sits in a loge at the opera; she is posed as if she is a sculpted bust on a pedestal while all the men in the audience turn to admire her. Their heads have been replaced with eyeballs and eyelids, one giant eye per neck.¹¹¹ Yet, despite this equation of the human with the eye and with the act of staring, “Un bal masqué” and other illustrations in *Un autre monde* allow animals to partake of acts of visual admiration as well. This may take the form of a joke, as in an image from Hahbllle's account of his visit to “Le Louvre des marionnettes,” in a world inhabited primarily by automata. These automated creatures have their own Salon exhibition that parodies those held annually in Paris. The chapter closes with an image of a crowd of dogs and pigs in coats and top hats struggling to see a painting concealed behind a curtain (Fig. 116). Their tails and canes all point to the right, in sly allusion to their physical enjoyment of the scene they are viewing, for the text reveals that “They saw there Art undressed and the Muse in her dressing gown.”¹¹² By allowing humans, animals, and

¹¹⁰ Indeed, this image is synecdochical for Grandville's entire œuvre in Petra den-Doesschate Chu's survey textbook of nineteenth-century art, which also presents Grandville as a proto-Surrealist who “seems to anticipate the works of such artists as Salvador Dali and René Magritte in the twentieth century.” *Nineteenth-Century European Art* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2003), 242-43.

¹¹¹ As Jonathan Crary suggests, vision and observation were by this time understood to be “increasingly exteriorized; the viewing body and its objects begin to constitute a single field on which inside and outside are confounded.... the reorganization of human knowledge at the beginning of the nineteenth century signals an end to the idea of a qualitatively different human order....” Vision no longer plays out on what Carary characterizes as “an inner space or a theater of representations” but becomes an external act, visualized by Grandville's crowd of eye-men. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, first paperback ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 73.

¹¹² “On voyait là l'art en déshabillé et la muse en peignoir.” Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 88.

animal-human hybrids to participate in persistent and pleasurable visual perception, Grandville levels the hierarchies upheld by institutions like the illustrated natural history text or the public menagerie that appear to admit only a one-way viewing between active humans and their passive animal objects.

This leveling effect is apparent especially in the illustrations to “Une après-midi au Jardin des Plantes,” which continues Krackq's account of his visit to the animal world at the bottom of the ocean. This menagerie is populated almost exclusively with hybrid creatures. There is a pool of sirens, with their fish tails and women's upper bodies dressed in the latest Parisian fashions; there are cages enclosing heraldic creatures like a two-headed lion/unicorn, rampant dragons and griffins, and two-headed eagles; a pit teems not with bears but with “doublivores,” hybrid animals attached in the middle with a head at each end to make a scatological joke (Figs. 117, 118, and 119). Such creative combinations of diverse species are fascinating in themselves for the meticulousness of their creation and their ability to remain plausible even though they are constructed from recognizable and distinct species. Yet, Grandville adds an additional thematic layer in the forms of the keepers of and visitors to this strange menagerie. They are all hybrid creatures themselves, and Grandville's images ask the questions: who is looking at whom? And who really belongs in the zoo?

“La fosse aux doublivores” (“The Doublivores' Pit”) and “Le perchoir” (“The Perch”) advance these queries most forcefully (Figs. 119 and 120). For the former, Grandville drew on his experience of illustrating the Paris ménagerie's bear pit for Pierre Boitard's guidebook, but this time the pit and its characteristic pole are filled with the

aforementioned doublivores (Figs. 54, 55 and 119).¹¹³ The menagerie's visitors peer over a high fence to watch and to feed its inhabitants. Initially, Delord's text does not mention the odd appearances of these visitors. Rather, the writer stresses their social diversity:

A great noise mixed with shouts of laughter, cries, the stamping of feet, caught my attention. I moved toward the source of this racket. A mob of individuals of every sex, of every age, of every profession: *grisettes*, military men, nannies, filled the edges of an immense and deep pit.¹¹⁴

By giving them professions or social types in the manner of the *physiologies*, the text implies their full humanity, but Grandville's image offers other possibilities. All of these visitors have human faces, yet some of them also have bestial features, like the woman at the upper left whose hairstyle and body appear to be derived from a peacock's or other exotic bird's plumage. The man next to her has the curved horn of an ox or water buffalo and holds a child who is simian in appearance. The mouths of the zoo creatures *and* the zoo visitors all wear wide grins or distorted grimaces.

The fence obscures their bodies, so it is difficult to discern to what extent these creatures are hybrids, but the composition of "Le perchoir" allows a full view of the zoo animals and their visitors (Fig. 120). A family and their pet vulture-dog lean against a fence to admire the strange inhabitants of this perch. These creatures are combinations of birds, insects, and fish, or "provisional species," as the text calls them, all clinging precariously to an enormous false tree.¹¹⁵ Yet, their admirers also have bird and fish

¹¹³ Pierre Boitard, *Le Jardin des Plantes: Description et mœurs des mammifères de la ménagerie du Muséum d'Histoire naturelle* (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet, 1842).

¹¹⁴ "Un grand bruit mêlé d'éclats de rire, de cris, de trépignements, appelle mon attention. Je me dirige vers l'endroit d'où part ce vacarme. Une foule d'individus de tout sexe, de tout âge, de toute profession; des grisettes, des militaires, des bonnes d'enfants, garnissent les rebords d'une fosse vaste et profonde." Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 113.

¹¹⁵ "Espèces provisoires." Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 114.

bodies. Their human faces are distorted to take on the features of their animal bodies; the woman with a fish's body has bulging eyes and a gaping mouth while her husband's bird body is topped by an enormous, hooked nose like the parrots with whom he shares relatives. The parrot-man extends his walking stick into the enclosure ostensibly to torture a winged salmon, but his gesture also has the effect of underscoring that animal's resemblance to himself and his wife.¹¹⁶ The image begs a question of relationships and biology: why does their son, who stands between them, not look like this flying fish? The line of the parrot-man's cane becomes the line of their family tree, as if he tells his bird-son, "This could have been you."

The text-within-the-text in this section is a guidebook to the menagerie. When he arrives at the perch, Krackq quotes the portion of the guide devoted to these provisional species who have not yet been named. This text, in combination with the poses given the hybrid animals in Grandville's image, renders this segment of *Un autre monde* a biting parody of natural history and science as it was then practiced by the professors at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle:

Provisional Species. 'Under this more than remarkable title, we are forced, while waiting for something better, to designate birds whom science cannot yet classify; not that it renounces them (science gives up nothing), but because the Academy does not have time to construct words that will serve to make known these new species. Forty scientists are engaged night and day at this work, today quite advanced. They have found the first part of these words; for every scientific word is necessarily composed of at least two parts: the end will undoubtedly not be long in arriving. It remains to hope that this nomenclature will be within the reach, if not of

¹¹⁶ The text includes this description of the family and their actions, while also mentioning Horace's complaints against hybrid creatures in art: "Quelques flâneurs s'étaient arrêtés en même temps que moi devant le perchoir. Parmi eux, était un petit vieillard, semi-homme, semi-perroquet, qui, malgré la défense officielle, agaçait un saumon ailé; près de lui était son épouse, femme dont le cor s'allongeait en queue d'aloise, comme dans le vers d'Horace. Quant à son jeune fils, qu'elle tenait à la main, il suçait un morceau de sucre d'orge, en se dandinant sur des pattes de poussin." Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 115.

everyone, at least of the intellectual elite. While waiting, we are obliged to leave it to each one's imagination the responsibility of characterizing the animals that are before the eyes.¹¹⁷

This text is noteworthy for a number of reasons; it parodies the practice, based on Linnaeus's classification system, of assigning two Latin names to each species; it indicates the difficulty such choices hold for scientists who must classify new varieties that might easily belong to more than one category; and it reveals a rift between the popular and the elite that is felt even relatively early in the history of public zoos as they strive to be both educational institutions and entertainment venues.¹¹⁸ While scientists struggle to name properly and accurately each newly discovered species, the public, who views the living creatures in the menagerie, must devise its own appellations based upon what is visible. Such sentiments bring to mind the British painter Edwin Landseer's complaint to his colleague and former student Frederick William Keyl (1823-1871) in 1869: "... all these men who know Latin Names can bother the Public very much, but they know really nothing and have no observation of living things."¹¹⁹ Delord's fictional guide to the menagerie also recalls Buffon's words regarding the difficulty of classifying birds of prey due to their evolving appearance over their lifetime. In contrast to

¹¹⁷ "Espèces provisoires. 'Sous ce titre, plus que singulier, nous sommes forcés, en attendant mieux, de désigner les oiseaux que la science n'a pu encore classer; non qu'elle y renonce (la science ne renonce à rien), mais parce que l'Académie n'a pas eu le temps de fabriquer les mots qui serviront à faire connaître ces espèces nouvelles. Quarante savants s'occupent jour et nuit de ce travail, aujourd'hui fort avancé. On a trouvé la première partie de ces mots; car tout mot scientifique se compose nécessairement de deux parties au moins: la fin ne tardera sans doute pas à arriver. Il reste à désirer que cette nomenclature soit à la portée, sinon de tout le monde, du moins des intelligences d'élite. En attendant, nous sommes obligés de laisser à l'imagination de chacun le soin de caractériser les animaux qu'il a devant les yeux.'" Delord in Grandville, *Un autre monde*, 115.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 2 above.

¹¹⁹ For further consideration of Landseer's statement, see Conclusion below. Frederick William Keyl, diary, 25 February 1869, Royal Archives VIC/AddX14/20/9, Windsor Castle.

Landseer's assertions, Buffon claims that the naturalist cannot rely on his eyes alone, since they can be too easily led into false classifications:

Before we proceed to the detail of facts, we cannot avoid making some remarks on the common methods of classification. The nomenclator strives to describe the colours of the plumage with minute precision; he enumerates their disposition, all the shades, the spots, the bars, the stripes, the lines; and if a bird does not come under description which he has thus formed he regards it as a different species. But all animals change their early garb and complexion; and the tints of the rapacious birds are wonderfully altered by the first moulting.¹²⁰

For Buffon, even the eyes of a trained and experienced naturalist are not to be trusted until he has gathered all the facts at his disposal. However, for Delord and Grandville, with their repeated emphasis on acts of looking, of observation, and of spying, the eyes in some cases reveal the limitations of the structures that human society or science has put in place as controls.

Grandville's image in fact parodies the ways that illustrated natural history texts sought to contain animals by classifying and constraining them within frameworks. The provisional bird-insect-fish creatures on Grandville's perch borrow their poses from natural history illustrations. They are shown in profile or in three-quarter views to display their beaks and as much of their plumage as possible to allow for proper identification of their as-yet-unnamed species, but other than the furnishings of the menagerie, they lack

¹²⁰ “Avant d’entrer dans les détails historiques, qui ont rapport à chaque espèce d’oiseaux de proie ; nous ne pouvons nous dispenser de faire quelques remarques sur les méthodes qu’on a employées pour reconnoître ces espèces, et les distinguer les unes des autres : les couleurs, leur distribution, leurs nuances, les taches, les bandes, les raies, les lignes, servent de fondement dans ces méthodes à la distinction des espèces ; et un Méthodiste ne croit avoir fait une bonne description que quand il a, d’après un plan donné et toujours uniforme, fait l’énumération de toutes les couleurs du plumage et de toutes les taches, bandes ou autres variétés qui s’y trouvent ; lorsque ces variétés sont grandes ou seulement assez sensibles pour être aisément remarquées, il en conclut sans hésiter que ce sont des indices certains de la différence des espèces ; et en conséquence, on constitue autant d’espèces d’oiseaux qu’on remarque de différence dans les couleurs.” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (Paris: L’Imprimerie du Roi, 1749-67), 16: 68-69; translated in English as *The Natural History of Birds. From the French of the Count de Buffon*, trans. William Smellie, 9 vols. (London: A. Strahan, T. Cadell, and J. Murray, 1793), 1: 42.

the framework of human civilization that encloses the illustrations to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*.¹²¹ The man-made architectural and sculptural elements that surrounded Buffon's animals encased them within human achievements, but the architecture in Grandville's image does not appear equal to the task of glossing the animal with human superiority. The wall behind the perch is shorter than its highest branches, and the animals are not caged. The perch itself is a man-made tree that may not prove sufficient to keep these winged creatures of their own free will. A few of the hybrids are tied to their branches, but the others are not harnessed in any way. They are in danger of escaping the control of their captors. Grandville presents provisional natural history as a precarious construction on the verge of its flight.

Grandville's otherworldly zoo is at once a reflection and a parody of the ménagerie in Paris's Jardin des Plantes. Together, image and text ponder the relationships between species by revealing the arbitrary lines that define captor and captive in this zoo. As such, *Un autre monde* functions not only as an escape from one world to another but also as a critique of the world left behind. The hybrid creatures in “Une après-midi au Jardin des Plantes” are visual jokes to highlight Grandville's creativity and his ability to weld diverse species together seamlessly. Yet, they too serve as masks that reveal the weaknesses of contemporary scientific thought and question the usefulness of the zoo. Two final images make this point succinctly (Figs. 121 and 122). In these zoo enclosures, hybrid animals live together in relative harmony, while the architecture of the real Parisian ménagerie looms in the background (Fig. 121). The animals' keeper must

¹²¹ Philippe Kaenel draws the connection between the poses of the hybrids on Grandville's perch and those in the illustrations of Buffon's writings on birds of prey. “Le Buffon de l'humanité: La zoologie politique de J.-J. Grandville (1803-1847),” *Revue de l'art* 74 (1986): 22.

prevent their escape in the second plate, as a tortoise-elephant and a rhinoceros-scarab stand outside the fence (Fig. 122). The keeper is a centaur with a monkey's head, a man's arms, and a horse's rear legs. He runs toward the tortoise-elephant with his staff raised in an effort to drive the animals back to their pen. Inside that pen, a giraffe-scarab cranes her long neck to watch the scene outside. This image in particular makes the point that the zoo enclosure is arbitrary; there is no difference between those inside it and those outside it. Even the creature charged with keeping the hybrids in their cage is a hybrid himself.

Animal imagery has been used to convey moralizing messages to and about humans since Physiologus and the medieval bestiary if not before. The perception that anthropomorphic animals speak primarily to children and therefore ought to be segregated in the realm of children's books, animated films, or television shows, is more recent.¹²² As I have asserted here, Grandville's humanized hybrid creatures, whether they are perceived as animals, humans, or both, were designed to convey very serious messages about economic and social inequality in French society during the end of the reign of Charles X and the most turbulent years of the subsequent July Monarchy. They also parodied the claims of science and the efforts of scientists to classify animal species or to contain them in zoos. Though they have often been interpreted as dreamlike fantasies, his illustrations, even at their most fantastic in *Un autre monde*, always retain a connection to the artist's contemporary milieu in all its industrializing, capitalizing, democratizing intricacies. As such, they may be considered as a link between

¹²² On this cultural phenomenon, see Erica Fudge, *Animal* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 70-78. It must also be conceded that some artists do utilize anthropomorphic animals to speak to adults (see most notably the graphic novels in Art Spiegelman's *Maus* series), yet this is an exception rather than the predominant role given to animals in children's literature.

Romanticism and Realism, though they belong fully to neither camp.¹²³ Undoubtedly, his images *are* appealing to children, but their themes are quite adult, as they unveil the ugly actions of greedy, vain, adulterous, and even murderous humans whose animal features suggest character facets that such individuals might wish to conceal. However, in Grandville's universe, everyone wears a mask that reveals.

¹²³ My claims for Grandville's Romantic Realism run counter to the assertions of Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, who understand Grandville's art as "a most striking example of the fantastic, created during the years when the Realist movement was taking shape." *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1984), 81.

CHAPTER FIVE:
THE EMBATTLED BOUNDARY: BUFFERING THE BORDER BETWEEN MAN
AND APE

Artists and writers working in France in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s utilized hybrid human-animal forms to explore and eventually explode the border between the categories of the human and the animal, while their counterparts in England largely remained devoted to recording accomplishments in cross-breeding. The latter type of images participated in efforts to insure a superior place for humanity as orchestrator of, rather than participant in, animality. Humanity as a category here more specifically means white, wealthy, educated males. These elites primarily came from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, or the Netherlands, that is, nations where scientific, intellectual, and artistic institutions were well funded and well respected. I have purposefully chosen the non-inclusive word *man* to use in the title of this chapter, and when I use the word subsequently, I mean the relatively small group of individuals who were responsible for constructing the artistic, literary, philosophical, religious, and scientific discourses that sought to construct and uphold this “natural” order. I argue that during anxious moments when animals seemed to approach superior man too closely, there arose the need for a buffer zone, a safety gap that would remain in place.

Exhaustive efforts were made to throw other humans into this gap first, whether they were women, non-white races, manual laborers, the urban poor, the Irish, etc., to assert that these groups constituted the most bestial humans.¹ They would allegedly approach animals more closely in appearance or behavior than any Western European man would.

¹ Kathleen Kete describes how human animality was often ascribed by the bourgeois and upper classes to the lower classes; “Animals and Human Empire,” in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, ed. Kathleen Kete (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 4.

With their abilities to imitate human gestures, their opposable thumbs, and their human-like reliance on sight over smell, not to mention their physiological and anatomical similarities below the surface as revealed by the burgeoning field of comparative anatomy, the anthropoid ape was the animal that was increasingly perceived as the greatest threat to man's superiority.² Carl Linnaeus summarized the dilemma posed by these similarities when he wrote of apes in 1758:

I know full well what great difference exists between man and beast when viewed from a moral point of view: man is the only creature with a rational and immortal soul If viewed, however, from the point of view of natural history and considering only the body, I can discover scarcely any mark by which man can be distinguished from the apes Neither in the face nor in the feet, nor in the upright gait, nor in any other aspect of his external structure does man differ from the apes.³

Although Linnaeus was not entirely correct regarding apes' ability to walk upright (see below), these physical similarities shared with humans bring into question the ape's allegedly inferior status to humans on the commonly held chain of being. Linnaeus proposed that the primate order include humans as well as the animals that are now known as chimpanzees and orangutans, and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these were often confused or lumped together under all-purpose terms like jocko, pongo, man of the woods, or, most commonly, ourang-outang.⁴ At the same time, the first practitioners of the new academic field of anthropology began to rank the world's

² Though the distinction is not always upheld, in traditional nomenclature the ape is distinguished from the monkey by the former's lack of a tail. Miriam Claude Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper (1722-1789)*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 34.

³ Linnaeus's "Anthropomorpha," quoted and translated in Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 80.

⁴ The order also included human-like species like *Homo troglodytes* that were later determined to be mythical. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body*, 83; see also Stephen Jay Gould, "To Show an Ape," in *The Flamingo's Smile: Reflections in Natural History* (New York: Norton, 1985), 263-80.

nations, varieties, or races.⁵ The human group that seemingly presented the greatest threat to white European hegemony and to its self-perceived moral uprightness was the dark-skinned slave or the colonized African. Even as artists like Grandville were seemingly obliterating boundaries through the creation of human-animal hybrids, others participated in the efforts to perfect and maintain hierarchies designed to assert similitudes between the ape and the African. These ideological scales served to populate and to buffer more fully that danger zone between humans and animals and between Europeans and other races. Additionally, it was during this period around the turn of the nineteenth century that the symbolism of the simian form in fine art and visual culture more broadly began to take on its primary task of signifying male and female members of the African race. However, the birth of this new symbolic role was a painful one. Its after-effects continue to resonate today.⁶ The anxiety that the white European race might become diluted with dark-skinned or even animal blood is expressed in an array of images that participate in a concerted effort to link the ape and the black human as bestial equals.⁷

As if to highlight the continued relevance of the ape-as-black-man theme, an image of an ape stained with violence and racism is inciting controversy in America as I write this chapter. On the twelfth of February 2009 (the two-hundredth anniversary of

⁵ Indeed, the concept of race as we now understand it did not obtain its aesthetic and classificatory aspects until the late eighteenth century. David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 11-21.

⁶ Psychological researchers have recently argued that a tendency to understand blacks as somehow more bestial or apelike remains in white American college students even if they are not familiar with the visual tradition of this stereotype. Phillip Atiba Goff, Jennifer L. Eberhardt, Melissa J. Williams, and Matthew Christian Jackson, "Not Yet Human: Implicit Knowledge, Historical Dehumanization, and Contemporary Consequences," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94, no. 2 (2008): 292-306.

⁷ For a heinous, though by no means uncommon, example of European fears of miscegenation, see Edward Long, *Candid Reflections upon the Judgment Lately Awarded by the Court of King's Bench, in Westminster Hall, on what is commonly called the Negroe-cause, by a Planter* (London: T. Lowndes, 1772), 48-50.

Darwin's birth), the conservative-leaning tabloid *The New York Post* published a caricature by Sean Delonas that referenced two current events: the shooting by police of “Travis,” a domestic pet chimpanzee who had gone ape, critically injuring the owner's friend, and the legislation for an economic stimulus package championed by the newly-inaugurated American President Barack Obama. In the political cartoon, which appeared in the newspaper's popular gossip section “Page Six,” two police officers stand over the body of a chimpanzee, who lies dead in a pool of his own blood. The officer on the right holds a smoking gun while his partner on the left says, “They'll have to find someone else to write the next stimulus bill.” The chimp's eyes remain wide open, his hands and feet are spread in protest, and his tongue lolls at the side of his open mouth.

The cartoon's publication immediately incited furor over its perceived racist implications. Many felt that the caricature was intended to convey that the President, whose father was a black African and whose mother was a white American, is in fact a sub-human ape. They also believed it asserted that apes (and by extension, blacks), constitute a menace to (white) humans that can only be quelled with violence. The image tapped into deeply rooted anxieties as evidenced by claims like the one expressed by the president of the N.A.A.C.P., Benjamin T. Jealous that the political cartoon was an “encouragement to those who would assassinate our 44th president.”⁸

The form of the ape has become so invisible that the first response is to read and translate the animal's symbolism as racist toward black humans while the fact of the chimpanzee's death faded more quickly from the headlines. The symbolism of the ape as the African in visual culture is by now so pernicious that all other interpretations are

⁸ Benjamin T. Jealous, letter to the editor, *New York Times*, February 24, 2009.

ignored or discounted. Indeed, the caricaturist himself rather weakly claimed that, if anyone, his cartoon ape could be understood to represent Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, thus infelicitously replacing racism with sexism.⁹ Although apes have been visually aligned with many less powerful individuals and groups, none of the cartoon's critics understood its subject to be Pelosi, in part because it was published in close proximity to a photograph of President Obama signing the stimulus package bill into law.¹⁰ Arguably, Delonas and his editors at the *New York Post* knew full well the implications of such a volatile animal form, but, perhaps operating under the belief that there is no such thing as bad publicity, they chose to publish it despite a long-standing feud with the vocal civil rights advocate Rev. Al Sharpton, who was the first to decry the image as racist.¹¹

Mindless Monkeyshines

The ape has not always been saddled with this racially contentious symbolism. Yet, as H.W. Janson charts in his iconographical study *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, the use of the humanized simian form in visual and verbal representation has long been an effective means of lowering any human with which the ape is aligned.¹² From late antique and Early Christian beginnings through the early nineteenth century, Janson traces the apes of his title through blasphemous, beleaguered,

⁹ "Chimp Cartoon Apology not Enough, Says Sharpton," *CNN.com*, February 25, 2009, <http://www.cnn.com/2009/US/02/25/chimp.cartoon.sharpton/index.html> (accessed February 25, 2009).

¹⁰ Sam Stein, "Obama Photo Preceded Cartoon of Gunned Down Chimp," *Huffington Post*, February 18, 2009, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/02/18/ny-post-put-obama-photo-o_n_168016.html (accessed June 8, 2009).

¹¹ Clyde Haberman, "The Right to Offend is Sacred," *New York Times*, February 23, 2009.

¹² H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1952).

and benign permutations. Apes and monkeys appear in manuscript illuminations, paintings, and prints as devils, sinners, tricksters, frauds, rapists, artists, antiquarians, alchemists, and critics.¹³ The metaphor of greatest interest to Janson is *ars simia naturae* or art as the ape of nature. The uninspired painter or the feeble sculptor produces a poor copy of nature just as the monkey mindlessly imitates human gestures (Fig. 3).¹⁴

With or without images of the monkey as an artist, such depictions of simians aping humans became known as *singeries*, a French term that is roughly equivalent to the English word “monkeyshines.” It appropriately conveys the lighthearted appeal of decorative schemes like the *Grande singerie* by Christophe Huet (1700-1759), a series of panels framed with delicate gilt *boiseries* and painted on the walls of a Rococo salon in the Château de Chantilly (Figs. 123, 124, and 125). At this time in the early to mid-eighteenth century, if European artists linked monkeys to any specific racial or cultural group, it was the Chinese. Wealthy French aristocrats sought to decorate their homes with *chinoiseries* of the latest fashion. For example, the monkeys in Huet's salon at Chantilly wear robes and hats similar to those worn by the Chinese sages whom they serve as attendants (Fig. 124).¹⁵ In one panel, this world is turned upside down, and two bald human cherubs wait upon a monkey holding a jester's stick (Fig. 125). The humorous

¹³ As late as the 1820s there appeared in print the legend that Eve had been tempted to eat the fruit from the Garden of Eden's forbidden tree not by a serpent but rather by a monkey. “Doctor Adam Clarke has positively affirmed, in his critical and explanatory notes on Genesis, that the Antediluvian monkeys possessed extraordinary powers, - powers of fascination far beyond the beaux of modern days. - The Doctor unequivocally declares, that one of them beguiled our mother Eve, and thus caused all the evil incident to the human and animal creation.” *Monkeyana. This Work may be Considered as an Accompaniment to the High Talented Plates Just Published by that Celebrated Artist Landseer* (London: W. Reeves, 1828), 4.

¹⁴ Bertrand Marret's study provides a more recent and concise summary of this theme in Western art. *Portraits de l'artiste en singe: Les Singeries dans la peinture* (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'art, 2001).

¹⁵ Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon, 1993), 69-70.

inversion of such scenes combined with the delicacy of Huet's brushwork and its integration into a consistent decorative scheme serve to nullify any pejorative intent that might be read in linking the simian and the Chinese in this way.¹⁶ Additionally, at this relatively early date, the world's races, varieties, or nations, as they were variously called, had not yet been fully classified in systems that implied the raising of one at the expense of the other.

Dividing Lines and Facial Lines

The origins of the ape as emblem of the African human are relatively recent in the history of the animal's visual representations. It was only in the late eighteenth century that concepts of race began to take on judgments of aesthetic character in order to place the African next to the ape on an arbitrarily determined hierarchy. In the nineteenth century, these efforts would be codified in the practice of scientific racism, but in the late eighteenth century, printed images, especially those reproduced in books or illustrated journals, had a crucial role to play in propagating racist comparisons between sub-Saharan Africans and apes. For example, the Dutch physician and comparative anatomist Petrus Camper infamously harnessed the visual when he created his facial line theory.¹⁷ This theory measured facial lines and the angles they make against profile views, including the slope of the nose and the forehead and the prognathism of the jaw.¹⁸ The more pronounced the slant was between the lower jaw and the foremost point of the

¹⁶ Ingrid Roscoe, "Mimic Without Mind: *Singerie* in Northern Europe," *Apollo* 114, no. 234 (1981): 96.

¹⁷ Petrus Camper, *The Works of the Late Professor Camper, on the Connexion Between the Science of Anatomy and the Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, &c., &c.*, trans. T. Cogan (London: C. Dilly, 1794)

¹⁸ Although he had presented the idea publicly numerous times, Camper's facial line theory remained in manuscript form until after his death in 1789. It was published posthumously in Dutch and French editions in 1791; the first English edition appeared in 1794. Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics*, 167.

forehead, the further removed the example was from the ideal of classical Greek sculpture.¹⁹ To support and illustrate his claims, Camper, who had been trained as an artist as well as a physician, produced an organized grid system that juxtaposed these lines and angles in two plates depicting skulls and heads in profile (Figs. 31 and 32). The first, representing those most closely approaching his ideal, included from right to left a Greek sculpture, two Roman portrait busts, and a European; the second was comprised from right to left of a Calmuck (Asian), an Angolan (African), an orangutan, and a monkey. By situating the black African adjacent to the ape and next to the border between humans and animals, Camper's facial-line theory is frequently credited with originating the ape as African equation.²⁰

Camper's posthumously published diagrams demonstrate how theories can easily become ideologies in the absence of the author's strong voice of clarification and defense.²¹ Camper himself supported abolitionist views and expressed horror at the atrocities of the slave trade when he witnessed ships filled with Africans at anchor in Amsterdam's harbor.²² He was careful to assert in his text that an impenetrable line remains between human and animal, regardless of the human's skin color.²³ He hoped that

¹⁹ Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics*, 121.

²⁰ Hugh Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art: IV: From the American Revolution to World War I*, ed. Ladislav Bugner, 2 vols. (Houston: Menil Foundation, 1989), 2:14.

²¹ This is the subject of Stephen Jay Gould's thoughtful essay, "Petrus Camper's Angle," in *Bully for Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History* (New York: Norton, 1992), 229-240.

²² "I have seen them, who, forced into sea-service, half naked, just as they are accustomed to go in their warm country, in our North Sea ports froze their feet in the winter, so that some die of it, while the wretched lives of others are scarcely stretched by having both legs cut off to their even greater misery." As quoted and translated in Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics*, 58.

²³ It is notable that Camper's chart is made of line drawings that include no modeling or other indications of skin color. Camper was concerned with lines and angles only, not other, less quantifiable aspects.

his visualization of the facial line theory would offer evidence of the enormous differences between the ape and the African, but by maintaining the same grid system and precisely outlined profile and skull view for each race and animal, the accompanying chart does little to support this claim for an insurmountable separation.²⁴ Camper anticipated what objections might be made when he wrote:

The assemblage of craniums, and profiles of two apes, a negro and a Calmuck, in the first plate, may perhaps excite surprise. The striking resemblance between the race of Monkeys and of Blacks, particularly upon a superficial view, has induced some philosophers to conjecture that the race of blacks originated from the commerce of the whites with ourangs and pongos [chimpanzees]; or that these monsters, by gradual improvements, finally became men. This is not the place to attempt a full confutation of so extravagant a notion.... I shall simply observe at present, that the whole generation of apes, from the largest to the smallest, are quadrupeds, not formed to walk erect; and that from the very construction of the larynx, they are incapable of speech. Further: they have a great similarity with the canine species, particularly respecting the organs of generation. The diversities in these parts seem to mark the boundaries which the Creator has placed between the various classes of animals.²⁵

Camper's words seek to align apes and monkeys – who walk on all fours and who cannot produce language - with dogs rather than humans.²⁶ However, the image intended to illustrate how his theories might be practiced contains no canine figures. Utilizing the visual information provided, the late eighteenth-century viewer of Camper's chart undoubtedly asked, are apes and monkeys men? Or, are Calmucks and Angolans animals?

Since Camper's chart was only published posthumously, it was left to others to

²⁴ Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics*, 144.

²⁵ Camper, *The Works*, 81.

²⁶ Camper, who observed live apes and dissected dead ones, was angered by the inaccurate images of orangutans or other anthropoid apes published in many natural history texts. These depicted the animal with a walking stick, implying that it could walk upright. Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics*, 127.

probe these questions and to fill in the racist rankings that Camper's illustrations implied. In 1799, less than five years after Camper's facial line theory was first translated into English, the surgeon and man-midwife Charles White (1728-1813) sought to establish the immutable gradations in nature that he felt the studies of Camper and others had begun to reveal.²⁷ The French had their own popularizer of Camper's ideas in Julien-Joseph Virey (1775-1846), who published an anthropological study of human races in 1800.²⁸ Both men utilized images reminiscent of Camper's facial line charts to illustrate their arguments (Figs. 126 and 127). White expanded the grid to hold sixteen heads, while Virey reduced it to just three, but they both created systems to support the views of phrenologists and comparative anatomists that the larger the space for the cranium, the more a species and/or a race was prone to intelligent thought. Conversely, the larger the chin, the more a creature was bestial and base. In scales like those devised by Camper, White, and Virey, the European male's skull provided the most space for a massive brain within, while his chin was tucked demurely under his straight nose. Virey's theory puts it most succinctly (and in virulently racist language that aided in the swift adoption of his ideas when his works were translated for distribution in antebellum America):

In our white species, the forehead is projecting, and the mouth retreating, as if we were rather designed to think than to eat; in the negro species, the forehead is retreating and the mouth projecting, as if he were made rather to eat than to think. Such a particularity is much more remarkable in inferior animals; their snout is protruding, as if about to reach the food; their mouth becomes wider, as if they were born for gluttony alone; the size of their brain becomes smaller, and is placed backwards; the faculty

²⁷ Charles White, *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, and in Different Animals and Vegetables; and from the Former to the Latter* (London: C. Dilly, 1799).

²⁸ Julien-Joseph Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Paris: Crochard, 1824).

of thinking is but secondary.²⁹

Although the French words themselves do not necessarily warrant it, Virey's prose was translated for an American audience to imply his support of the concept of polygenesis, which held that different human races were not the same species. Non-white races could therefore be treated as lower beings who shared little with the intelligent “white species.” Virey's language also demonstrates the easy slippage between black human and animal among those who supported polygenist views.

In England, Charles White's book *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man* included a chart of facial angles greatly expanded from Camper's eight heads (Fig. 126).³⁰ Beginning with the “Grecian Antique” and ending with the snipe, White's single plate is comprised of sixteen human and animal heads and skulls. These are again presented in profile, with grids, lines, and angles inscribed over the humans and apes. The classical ideal has an angle of 100 degrees, which gradually closes to 42 degrees in the monkey's head. While White apparently sought to be systematic in his illustration of a natural system that he believed was fixed by God, the chart reveals several inconsistencies. Facial lines and angles are not given for the three dogs, the crocodile, and the snipe who constitute the final five entries in White's rather arbitrary archive, nor are skulls given for the “Golok” (also known as the Great Gibbon) and the “Man of the Woods,” since,

²⁹ “Chez nous, le front avance et la bouche semble rapetisser, se reculer, comme si nous étions destinés à penser plutôt qu'à manger; chez le nègre, le front se recule et la bouche s'avance, comme s'il était plutôt fait pour manger que pour réfléchir. Ceci se remarque à plus forte raison dans les bêtes: leur museau s'avance comme pour aller au-devant de la nourriture; leur bouche s'agrandit comme si elles n'étaient nées que pour la glotonnerie; leur cervelle diminue de volume, et se retire en arrière; la pensée n'est plus qu'en second ordre.” Virey, *Histoire naturelle*, 2: 41-42; translated as *Natural History of the Negro Race: Extracted from the French*, trans. J. H. Guenebault (Charleston, SC: D. J. Dowling, 1837), 25.

³⁰ White, *An Account*, pl. II.

apparently, no specimens of these apelike creatures could be obtained.³¹ This lack of inscribed lines and measurements functions to align apes and humans as distinct from all other beings. They form an elite group of species that deserve to be approached with empirical precision. Also, the Golok's hairy head is the eighth entry on the upper level, which otherwise contains only the heads of *Homo sapiens* and antique artifacts. Is the Golok man or ape? His placement on this level in the chart would seem to indicate his humanity, while his dog-like snout appears bestial. The Golok and the Man of the Woods were inserted in the chart to infuse it with missing links. These creatures place further distance between the white male ideal and the apes and monkeys that seem eerily similar to humans.³²

White's opening comments indicate his unshakable faith in nature as an ordered system, a chain of beings whose structures were fixed by an omniscient creator. He begins "Part First. On Gradation in General" with a summary of his views: "From man down to the smallest reptile, whose existence can be discovered only by the microscope, Nature exhibits to our view an immense chain of beings, endued with various degrees of intelligence and active powers, suited to their stations in the general system."³³ Yet, he also admits that, while the system is ordered, it presents challenges. Odd creatures like flying squirrels, bats, and ostriches sometimes confound naturalists, who feel compelled to determine where these flying mammals or flightless birds ought to be positioned on the

³¹ However, White does offer estimates of their facial angles. The Golok's is measured at sixty-five degrees, while the Man of the Woods is fifty-five degrees. On the "Golok of India" or the Great Gibbon, see White (who is quoting an English translation of Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae*), *An Account*, 31.

³² Lisa Forman Cody, *Birth of the Nation: Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth-Century Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 254.

³³ White, *An Account*, 1.

chain of being.³⁴ Simians cause similar classification problems, since they seem to approach humans too closely rather than filling in gaps between quadrupeds and birds. As Oliver Goldsmith (1730?-1774) wrote in *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, “In some of the ape kind the resemblance [to humans] is so striking, that anatomists are puzzled to find in what part of the human body man's superiority consists; and scarce any but the metaphysician can draw the line that ultimately divides them.”³⁵ In Goldsmith's view, less empirical methods might better determine the points of separation, and a more metaphysical or perhaps even artistic approach is required to confront the problem of apes' physical resemblances to humans.

Sara Baartman, the Exotic Human Animal

Yet, assertions like Goldsmith's that more imaginative methods were needed to find the ultimate line of separation did not prevent naturalists and artists from working in concert to insure that the line of separation was located in non-white races and non-male genders. The case of Sawtche (1789-1815), given the Dutch name Sartjee and the English name Sara Baartman, is a poignant and disturbing example of the lengths to which the men of Europe's institutions of higher learning were willing to go to enforce a racial and sexual hierarchy that also aligned Africans and apes.³⁶ Baartman was a Khoikhoi woman from South Africa who throughout her time in Europe was treated as little more than an exotic performing monkey. She was brought to England in 1810 by Alexander Dunlop, a

³⁴ White, *An Account*, 2.

³⁵ Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, 8 vols. (London: F. Wingrave, 1791), 2: 285.

³⁶ Her given name was Sawtche. Gilles Boëtsch and Pascal Blanchard, “The Hottentot Venus: Birth of a 'Freak' (1815),” in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, *et al.*, trans. Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 62.

ship's physician known for transporting natural history specimens to Europe.³⁷ Baartman, whose distinctive large breasts and especially her prominent rear end made her profile famous, performed on London's and Paris's stages during her lifetime as the “Hottentot Venus” (Fig. 128). At the beginning of each performance, she allegedly emerged from a cage on stage wearing a skin-tight garment. A Mr. M'Cartney, secretary of London's African Association, which sought to end Baartman's performances upon the grounds that she was being enslaved, deposed that “The Hottentot was produced like a wild beast, and ordered to move backwards and forwards and come out and go into her cage, more like a bear in a chain than a human being.”³⁸ As her performance continued, Baartman sang songs, played instruments, and rotated slowly so the audience could view her “exotic” body from all sides. She was then subjected to prodding from walking sticks, umbrellas, and other devices that the crowds brought along specifically for that purpose.³⁹ Upon moving to Paris, Baartman was essentially owned there by a man known as S. Réaux, an animal trainer whose primary occupation was keeping and exhibiting wild animals for money. At one of his establishments, visitors could pay three francs to see a live male rhinoceros, and not far away, in a seedy neighborhood near the Palais-Royal, those same

³⁷ Sadiyah Qureshi's excellent article links Baartman to the trade circuits for the transport of natural history specimens and live exotic animals to Europe; “Displaying Sara Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus,’” *History of Science* 42 (2004): 235.

³⁸ As quoted in Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 270.

³⁹ Altick quotes a harrowing account by the widow of the comedian Charles Matthews, whose husband attended one of Baartman's performances in London: “He found her surrounded by many persons One pinched her; one gentleman poked her with his cane; one *lady* employed her parasol to ascertain that all was, as she called it, '*nattural*.' This inhuman baiting the poor creature bore with sullen indifference, except upon some provocation, when she seemed inclined to resent brutality” *The Shows of London*, 269-70.

visitors could pay three francs to see Baartman.⁴⁰ Even in death, Baartman was not given the dignity of human burial. Her body was dissected by comparative zoologists, her skeleton was displayed in Paris's natural history museum, and her genitals were preserved in spirits for the alleged benefit of science and posterity. The dissected parts of her body remained on public display until the mid-1970s when her remains – a skeleton and a cast of her body – were removed from view at Paris's Musée de l'Homme.⁴¹

Living and dead, Baartman's body was a spectacle and a commodity. She attracted large audiences to her performances in both London and Paris, and by all accounts people were both thrilled and appalled when they saw her, but the character of those responses differed by location. In France, Baartman was understood as a scientific “problem” to be solved by naturalists using the tools, methods, and institutions of empirical science. However, for the English, Baartman's presence seemed to force a probing of political, social, and ethical ideals. Many objected to Baartman's performances in London not so much because of her physical shape (though this certainly received notice in caricatures and the popular press) but because she seemed to have been illegally transported from the Cape to London and to be enslaved there when the slave trade had been abolished in England for only four years.⁴² The abolitionists who sought to free Baartman from her servitude to her managers expressed the monogenist view that Baartman was a human

⁴⁰ T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 18-19; Boëtsch and Blanchard, “The Hottentot Venus,” 64.

⁴¹ Her skull, skeleton, brain, and body cast were initially displayed at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle. They were transferred to the Musée de l'homme when it opened in 1937. Ultimately, she was laid to rest in South Africa in 2002 after much negotiation between Presidents Nelson Mandela, François Mitterand, and Jacques Chirac. Qureshi, “Displaying Sara Baartman,” 233 and 245.

⁴² These laws were passed in June 1806. Rachel Holmes: *The Hottentot Venus: The Life and Death of Saartjie Baartman: Born 1789 – Buried 2002* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 79.

like any other, deserving of the same rights as determined by English law. Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838), the abolitionist and former governor of Sierra Leone, emphasized the moral objection to Baartman's treatment in the newspaper *The Examiner*, while he also noted the role science played in animalizing this human: "To a contemplative and feeling man few things are so painful as to behold the degradation of his species: under whatever disguise the spectacle may be veiled, whether as an object of science or natural research, it is nevertheless a disgusting, afflictive and mortifying sight."⁴³ Macaulay and several others sought to prove through legal channels that Baartman had not traveled to England of her own free will, nor had she agreed to display herself daily to London's gawkers. Paternalistically, they wanted first to convert Baartman to Christianity and then to return her to her African home, perhaps in the hopes that she would spread the Word and the heroic deeds of her liberators.⁴⁴ When her master Alexander Dunlop produced a contract stating she was his paid servant, that she would receive a share of the profits from her performances, and that she was guaranteed return passage to Africa, the case seeking to prove that Baartman was illegally enslaved was ruled in favor of Dunlop. The publicity garnered by the trial waned quickly, so Baartman was soon traded to another master (one Henry Taylor) and transported to Paris in 1814.⁴⁵

Baartman's performances there attracted the attention of Georges Cuvier, then one of the most prominent and respected naturalists working in the laboratories of the

⁴³ Zachary Macaulay, "The Female Hottentot," *Examiner* (Oct. 21, 1810): 669; as quoted and cited in Holmes, *The Hottentot Venus*, 77.

⁴⁴ Holmes, *The Hottentot Venus*, 92-93.

⁴⁵ Upon her arrival in Paris, she was traded to Monsieur Réaux. Boëtsch and Blanchard, "The Hottentot Venus," 63.

Muséum d'histoire naturelle. Baartman and her “keeper” Réaux were invited to visit Cuvier's laboratory in the Jardin des Plantes in February 1815 where scientists and artists had gathered to examine and draw Baartman's nude body. Baartman aroused the interest of scientists and the general public alike for a variety of reasons. Not only was she understood as a missing link between human and animal on the chain of being, but more specifically her race, gender, and physiognomy justified her display as a curiosity whose outer appearances allegedly betrayed an inner lasciviousness.⁴⁶ Most famously, she possessed prominent buttocks “which were more than half a foot,” an accumulation of fat termed *steatopygia* by white male doctors and anthropologists.⁴⁷ Yet another, less immediately apparent feature aroused even more interest among French scientists: her *macronymphia* or large labia.⁴⁸ Cuvier began his account of Baartman's dissection with very little hyperbole when he wrote, “There is nothing more celebrated in natural history than the *tablier* of the Hottentots, and at the same time there is nothing that has been the object of more numerous disputes.”⁴⁹ The *tablier*, also known as the *sinus pudoris*, the “curtain of shame,” or the “Hottentot apron,” was a feature allegedly found only in the

⁴⁶ Many feminist essays about and biographies of Baartman use the term “missing link” uncritically to describe scientists' understanding of Baartman's place in the natural order, without differentiating between gaps in the Chain of Being as it was understood in the early nineteenth century and the Darwinian concept of a missing link in the evolutionary sense. See for example Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus*, 17; and the recent biography by Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 133; on gaps in the chain of being, see Stephen Jay Gould, “To Show an Ape,” 263-80.

⁴⁷ “... qui était de plus d'un demi-pied.” Georges Cuvier, “Extrait d'observations faites sur le cadavre d'une femme connue à Paris et à Londres sous le nom de Vénus Hottentote” (1817) in *Discours sur les révolutions du globe* by G. Cuvier, P.-Ch. Joubert, and F.-L. Passard (Paris: Passard, 1864), 214.

⁴⁸ Boëtsch and Blanchard, “The Hottentot Venus,” 64.

⁴⁹ “Il n'est rien de plus célèbre en histoire naturelle que le tablier des Hottentotes, et en même temps il n'est rien qui ait été l'objet de plus nombreuses contestations.” Cuvier, “Extrait d'observations,” 211.

Khoikhoi (Hottentot) and San (Bushmen) women of South Africa.⁵⁰ This legendary enlargement of the labia minora, which naturalists hoped would prove that sub-Saharan Africans were a different species from white Europeans, could not be verified in Baartman until after her death, at which point Cuvier preserved her genital organs in a jar.⁵¹ Her labia were found to be about four inches long; somewhat longer than other, non-Hottentot women's genitals, but certainly not long enough to be thrown over her shoulder as some European explorers claimed to have witnessed in their reports from South Africa.⁵² Given the small sample size to which he had access, Cuvier's results were inconclusive, and the question of human monogenesis versus polygenesis remained open to further debate.⁵³

As Sander Gilman has argued, Baartman's genitalia were the parts of interest that came to stand in for the whole.⁵⁴ Her buttocks and what might have been hidden between her legs were understood to justify her public display on Europe's stages and in its visual culture. In text and in image, there is no discernible difference between the treatment

⁵⁰ For a concise overview of this debate, see Holmes: *The Hottentot Venus*, 140-144.

⁵¹ “... à cette première inspection l'on ne s'aperçut point de la particularité la plus remarquable de son organisation; elle tint son tablier soigneusement caché, soit entre ses cuisses, soit plus profondément, et ce n'est qu'après sa mort qu'on a su qu'elle le possédait. Elle mourut le 29 décembre 1815, et M. le préfet de police ayant permis que son corps fût apporté au Jardin du Roi, l'on procéda à un examen plus détaillé.” Cuvier, “Extrait d'observations,” 215-216.

⁵² For a detailed history of *tablier* lore and an eighteenth-century European illustration of a Khoi-San woman with her labia thrown over the shoulder, see Schiebinger, *Nature's Body*, 160-172.

⁵³ Honour, *The Image of the Black*, 2:52; titles like *The Negro a Beast: or, In the Image of God* indicate that such questions were debated into the twentieth century in the United States especially. Charles Carroll, *The Negro a Beast: or, In the Image of God* (St. Louis: American Book and Bible House, 1900).

⁵⁴ Gilman, “The Hottentot and the Prostitute: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality,” in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 88; Qureshi rightfully notes that Gilman's oft-cited account may place too heavy an emphasis on the interest in Baartman's genitalia and also lacks an awareness of race as a culturally mediated construct. “Displaying Sara Baartman,” 234.

Baartman received and the treatment apes, monkeys, and other animals were given; she was poked and prodded in life and dissected and dismembered in death. French zoologists sought to emphasize her alleged animality at every turn. Henri de Blainville (1777-1850), professor of anatomy and zoology in the French Academy of Sciences, admitted as much in his account of Baartman's visit to Cuvier's laboratory. The report was intended to present “1st, a detailed comparison of this woman with the last race of the human species, or the negro race, and the first of the apes, or the orang-outang; 2nd, the most complete explanation possible of the anomaly of the organs of generation.”⁵⁵ In his own report of Baartman's dissection and her actions when he had observed her in life, Cuvier wrote in zoological terms laced with scientific racism:

These movements had something brusque and capricious that recalled those of the ape. She had above all a manner of sticking out her lips much the same as what we had observed in the orangutan.... Our Bushman has an even more prominent muzzle than the negro, an even broader face than the Calmuck and nose bones flatter than the one and the other; in this last respect, I have never seen a human head that more resembles the apes than hers.⁵⁶

Cuvier labels her a human, but he seeks to pull her as close as possible to that nebulous dividing line between human and ape. De Blainville's account reveals Baartman's animality as an *a priori* determination, and despite their personal differences, the scientists at the Academy were united in their efforts to link her anatomy to her sexuality

⁵⁵ “1^o, une comparaison détaillée de cette femme avec la dernière race de l'espèce humaine, ou la race nègre, et la première des singes, ou l'orang-outang; 2^o, l'explication la plus complète possible de l'anomalie des organes de la génération.” Henri de Blainville, “Sur une femme de la race hottentote,” *Bulletin des sciences par la société philomatique de Paris* (1816): 183.

⁵⁶ “Ses mouvements avaient quelque chose de brusque et de capricieux qui rappelait ceux du singe. Elle avait surtout une manière de faire saillir ses lèvres tout à fait pareille à ce que nous avons observé dans l'orang-outang Notre Boschismane a le museau plus saillant encore que le nègre, la face plus élargie que le Kalmouque et les os du nez plus plats que l'un et que l'autre; à ce dernier égard surtout, je n'ai jamais vu de tête humaine plus semblable aux singes que la sienne.” Cuvier, “Extrait d'observations,” 214 and 220.

and vice versa in a pattern of circular logic. While Baartman herself was very modest (both de Blainville and Cuvier complained that she refused to allow them to view her genitals when they examined her), nevertheless it was assumed based on her steatopygous shape that she was highly libidinous.⁵⁷ This recalls Buffon's assumption that the baboon's red rear end was external evidence of its allegedly hyper-sexual nature.⁵⁸ In their written accounts of her modeling session and her postmortem dissection, de Blainville and Cuvier connected Baartman to this tradition of the lascivious ape as it was presented in natural history texts.⁵⁹

Natural history's illustrations were also harnessed as efforts to pin Baartman and her race in place as the lowest, most bestial of human varieties.⁶⁰ When Baartman was brought to the Jardin des Plantes to be examined by Cuvier, she posed so her “portrait” could be painted by Nicolas Huet II (1770-1828) and Léon de Wailly (active c. 1801-1824), artists who were responsible for painting the ménagerie's, botanical garden's, and natural history museum's animal and plant specimens in watercolor on vellum (Figs. 129, 130, and 131).⁶¹ Huet painted her in profile with great attention given to the

⁵⁷ On Baartman's modesty and outrage at the scientists' expectations, see Holmes, *The Hottentot Venus*, 137-39.

⁵⁸ See Chapter One above.

⁵⁹ De Blainville even recounts an anecdote of Baartman's alleged hyper-sexual desires only to lamely discount it: “La personne qui la montrait à Paris, a rapporté que Saarah avait un appétit vénérien fort prononcé, et qu'un jour elle s'était jetée avec force sur un homme qu'elle désirait; mais M. de Bv. doute un peu de cette anecdote.” “Sur une femme,” 189.

⁶⁰ Cuvier's account of her dissection ends with a lengthy section proclaiming the racial differences he found when comparing the skulls of Egyptian mummies and Baartman's skull to assert that there could be no possible relationship between such a well-respected ancient civilization and the allegedly brutal, animalistic, and primitive people who inhabited sub-Saharan Africa. “Extrait d'observations,” 221-222.

⁶¹ As Holmes rightfully notes, these artists were not accustomed to painting human subjects; *The Hottentot Venus*, 137.

distinguishing marks and features that define her “species:” the curving lines of her breasts, her belly, and especially her voluminous rear end (Fig. 130). De Wailly presented her twice in a landscape: once from the front in the foreground and once from a three-quarters view in the background (Fig. 129). Two palm trees allude to her exotic origins, much as traditional natural history illustrations sometimes included native plants in reference to the animal's far-flung habitat (cf. Fig. 15). Most strikingly, in de Wailly's watercolor, Baartman's brow is wrinkled, and her eyes and lips are turned down to convey an expression of profound sadness. This slight indication of emotion and the stiffness of her pose mark the only allusions to her humanity in the portraits painted during that session.⁶² Baartman's hands hang near her hips, while de Wailly has edited out the handkerchief to which she clung during the examination to conceal her nudity.⁶³

Frédéric Cuvier (1773-1838), chief animal keeper of the ménagerie in the Jardin des Plantes and brother of the more famous Georges Cuvier, published two plates derived from the vellum paintings of Huet and de Wailly in the first volume of *Histoire naturelle des mammifères, avec des figures originales, coloriées, dessinées après des animaux vivants*, a natural history text that Frédéric Cuvier produced together with Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (Figs. 130 and 131).⁶⁴ These frontal and profile views, the only ones to depict humans in any of the five volumes, were included in the same volume as

⁶² Honour, *The Image of the Black*, 2: 54-55.

⁶³ “Elle paraît connaître la pudeur, ou de moins on a eu beaucoup de mal à la déterminer à se laisser voir nue, et à peine a-t-elle voulu ôter un moment le mouchoir avec lequel elle cachait les organes de la génération. A plus forte raison, il a été impossible d'obtenir d'elle la facilité de les examiner d'une manière suffisante.” De Blainville, “Sur une femme,” 189.

⁶⁴ The two plates depicting Baartman were the only ones to illustrate a human. *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, 5 vols. (Paris: A. Belin, 1824-1847); Schiebinger, *Nature's Body*, 170.

the plates depicting monkeys, apes, and other large, exotic animals. Indeed, the plate directly following the image of the “Femme de race Bochimann” was the “Entelle mâle” or the male gray langur, a large monkey from India (Fig. 132). The only point of differentiation, the only possible nod to differentiate Baartman's human status next to animals was that Baartman's body warranted two plates compared to the single plates devoted to the examples of all other species.⁶⁵

Living and dead, Baartman's body was displayed as a spectacle in the same ways and through the same channels that wild animals were viewed in London and Paris. Natural history's texts and illustrations and the vaudeville performance tradition worked together to insure that Baartman's allegedly animalistic place on the hierarchy of creation remained fixed and evident to all who saw her. Furthermore, by placing her as an exemplar of an entire species in *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, the Cuvier brothers and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, men who were often scientifically at odds with one another, could agree that the “Hottentot,” and by extension all black Africans were deserving of the low stations they held in Western European thought because of their alleged similarity to apes and monkeys.⁶⁶ These naturalists constructed and supported this discourse at every turn. Baartman became a human animal with remarkable speed because the scientific and artistic communities of London and Paris were predisposed and well prepared to place her in that role. Unfortunately for her, Baartman was one of the most

⁶⁵ In the first volume's table of contents, the two plates depicting the “Femme de race boschismane” are the only two entries under the category “Espèce humaine” or human species, listed immediately above the “Quadrumanes” or “four-handed” apes and monkeys. F. Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, 1: n.p.

⁶⁶ On their scientific and personal differences, see for example Richard W. Burkhardt, Jr., “The Leopard in the Garden: Life in Close Quarters at the Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle,” *Isis* 96 (2007): 675-94.

tragic victims to be thrown into the gap between humans and animals at a point when that gap seemed ever closer to collapse.

Edwin Landseer and the Gendering of *The Cat's Paw*

While the ape and the sub-Saharan African woman were connected in the exhibition and depiction of Baartman, simians and black men were linked in an equally pernicious theme that Janson labeled the “rape-ape” tradition.⁶⁷ Both male and female humans and apes could participate in tales of the “rape-ape,” but the humans in such narratives, which frequently appeared in the accounts of European explorers, are almost always African.⁶⁸ These tales relied upon European stereotypes that held both apes and non-white “natives” to be highly libidinous, to the degree that the apes would allegedly kidnap and rape the African women who lived near them.⁶⁹ As we have already seen, these groups could quite easily be elided, so that the body of one is almost immediately read as the body of the other and vice versa. This appears with startling violence in Edwin Landseer's painted fable *The Cat's Paw*, which was completed during 1824, the same year that Baartman's image was published to illustrate the lowest human or the highest animal in Frédéric Cuvier's and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's *Histoire naturelle des mammifères* (Fig. 133).

There are no humans directly depicted in Landseer's loose adaptation of La

⁶⁷ Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, 275.

⁶⁸ Tommy L. Lott notes the irony of such tales, which often participated in the spurious rumors that Africans were the result of unions between humans and apes: “... the folklore regarding sexual contact between apes and humans rarely embraced the obvious implication that the black race is itself a byproduct of sexual intercourse between Europeans and apes. Travel accounts preferred instead to promulgate the idea of a sexual union of male apes and black females.” “Racist Discourse and the Negro-ape Metaphor,” in *The Invention of Race: Black Culture and the Politics of Representation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 9.

⁶⁹ Lott, “Racist Discourse,” 9.

Fontaine 's fable “Le singe et le chat” (Livre IX, Fable XVII).⁷⁰ Rather human anxieties surrounding race, class, and gender are presented through the symbolic forms of a brown male monkey and a white female cat.⁷¹ This is a scene of domestication gone awry, of human inability to control wild animality, even on an intimate, domestic scale. The animals are encased by human products, but these are not enough to protect them from the forces of nature. The mother cat's kittens watch in horror from the relative safety of their man-made wicker basket. The cat herself is wrapped in a fringed white cloth that has been sewn by human hands while the monkey wears a red jacket. The animals are inside a kitchen or a laundry filled with furnishings, curtains, fabrics, iron, and china, all thrown askew by the intrusion of an escaped monkey. His wild, unpredictable movements have disturbed what was formerly a calm, domestic scene. The open window and curtain in the background imply the monkey's entrance route, while his jacket and the chain dangling from his ankle indicate his status as a performing monkey who has escaped from his master.⁷² Like one of Camper's or White's monkeys, this monkey's head, with its flattened nose and protruding lower jaw, is shown in stark profile. The dark background serves to highlight further his facial angle, while the contrast with the cat's white fur lends the monkey “race,” in that his own hair or skin appears darker in comparison. As such, the monkey's profile here may suggest the relatively recent anthropological efforts to link apes and members of non-white human races. Additionally, the monkey's attribute

⁷⁰ Livre IX, Fable XVII; for the text of the fable, see Jean de la Fontaine, *Fables de la Fontaine: Illustrées par J.J. Grandville*, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Fournier, 1838), 2:109-110.

⁷¹ Richard Ormond identifies the monkey as a rhesus macaque. *Sir Edwin Landseer* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981), 56.

⁷² Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 56.

of a chain aligns him with the escaped slave. The painting may be read as symbolic of white fears of black slave uprisings or as the human fear of escaped exotic animals. For both groups - slaves and wild animals - it is assumed that they are so base and bestial that their immediate actions upon escape will be to quench physical and sexual hungers, just as Landseer's monkey does in one violent gesture.

The scene suggests the forceful fulfillment of physical desires in a number of ways. The cat's and monkey's bodies are twisted and contorted to imply the cat's struggle against the monkey's advances. He mounts the cat from behind, wrapping his limbs around her and pinning her in place while gripping one of her paws in his hand to pull the roasted chestnuts off the hot stove-top. The cat's other paw peaks out between the folds of the cloth that now serves as her straitjacket. The monkey's foot with its opposable, thumb-like appendage is placed near this suggestively shaped opening, implying another kind of penetration that will occur before he is finished exploiting her body's capacities. The painting's title, *The Cat's Paw*, takes on an additional layer of meaning here. In the literal sense, it refers to the paw on the glowing stove-top, and in the fable's moral sense to any individual who is used as a pawn or a dupe to achieve someone else's selfish goals. That person may be derisively called a "cat's paw." However, in Landseer's painting, the title may also indicate the cat's other paw within the fabric folds, since it too is about to be assaulted by the monkey-intruder.

The painting's sexual violence is often referenced only obliquely in criticism and secondary literature.⁷³ A review of its first exhibition at the British Institution in 1824 sent

⁷³ In the catalogue for the last major comprehensive exhibition of Landseer's art, Ormond merely states that the painting is "more suggestive of rape than ordinary assault." *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 56.

readers to other sources if they did not understand the sexual nature of the scene.⁷⁴ Also, disturbingly, it attributes to the monkey a cool, criminal calculation that appears more human than animal:

Mr. Edwin Landseer has chosen a subject for his intelligent pencil, which cannot fail to attract general notice: - The familiar fable of the *Monkey and Cat*. This he has treated with peculiar humour. The monkey is a thorough rogue, a complete epitome of mischief and cunning, the combined effects of which are admirably told, by a series of incidents, truly characteristic, and best designated by the term applied to the episodes of Hogarth – '*graphic wit*.' The monkey has wrapped the cat in a shawl, to protect himself from her claws, a master manœuvre [*sic*], and worthy the political adroitness of that animal which most resembles a class of species, that we shall not venture to name, referring the curious in these speculations to the cynical Voltaire.⁷⁵

That “class of species” that the writer refuses to mention is, of course, *Homo sapiens*.

The review's anonymous author (possibly the journal's editor, William Henry Pyne [1770-1843], who wrote under the pseudonym Ephraim Hardcastle), most likely alludes to an incident in Voltaire's *Candide*, in which Candide kills two apes who are chasing two naked girls because he believes he is witnessing a “rape-ape” scene. When the girls begin weeping uncontrollably over the apes' corpses, Candide's valet Cacambo informs his master that he has “despatched the two lovers of these young ladies.”⁷⁶ Cacambo continues to educate Candide by stating that apes “are one-quarter human, just as I am

⁷⁴ Similarly, when the painting was exhibited at the recent exhibition “Endless Forms: Darwin, Natural Science, and the Visual Arts” at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, UK, the wall text referenced the nature of the scene only obliquely by describing the scene as one of “cruelty and mischief making.” The exhibition catalogue makes no mention of the animals' genders. Julia Voss, “Monkeys, Apes and Evolutionary Theory: From Human Descent to King Kong,” in *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science, and the Visual Arts*, ed. Diana Donald and Jane Munro (Cambridge, UK: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2009), 221.

⁷⁵ “British Institution,” *Somerset House Gazette* 1, no. 16 (1824): 243.

⁷⁶ Voltaire, *Candide, or Optimism*, trans. and ed. Theo Cuffe (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 40.

one-quarter Spanish!"⁷⁷ In the *Somerset House Gazette's* review, Landseer's monkey is accessing the capacities of his one-quarter humanity to wrap the cat in fabric and to use her adroitly to fulfill his desires. By sending his readers to Voltaire for this tale, the reviewer can insert allusions to sexuality between different species as well as to more scientific debates about the monkey's ancestry and its human-like capabilities.

Later in the century, the art critic, historian, and founding member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood Frederic George Stephens (1827-1907) included a lengthy and telling ekphrasis of the painting in his monograph on Landseer. This flowery passage is carefully constructed to imply the sexual violence of the scene in language that will not offend the more sensitive of his Victorian readers:

To the aromatic, appetizing odour of the fruit was probably due the entrance of the monkey, a muscular, healthy beast, who came dragging his chain, and making his bell rattle. He smelt the fruit and coveted them; tried to steal them off the cooking-place with his own long, lean digits, and burnt his fingers. He looked about for a more effective means and – heedless of the motherhood of a fine cat, who, with her kittens, was ensconced in a clothes-basket, where she blandly enjoyed the coverings and the heat – pounced upon Puss, entangled as she was in the wrappings of her ease. Puss resisted at first with offended dignity and wrath at being thus treated before the faces of her offspring. She resisted as a cat only can, with lithe and strenuous limbs; the muscular, light and vigorous frame of the creature quivered with the stress of her energy; she twisted, doubled her body, buckled herself, so to say, in convulsions of passion and fear, but still, surely, without a notion of the object of her captor.... He dragged her towards the stove, and dreadful notions of a fate in its fiery bowels must have arisen in her heart, as nearer and still more near the master of the situation brought his victim.... Pug grasped her in three of his powerful hands, and, as reckless of struggles as of yells, squeals, and squalls, with the fourth stretched out her soft, sensitive, velvety fore-paw – the very mouse-slayer itself – to the burning stove and its spoils. What cared he for the bowed backs or the spiteful mewlings of her miserable offspring, little

⁷⁷ Voltaire, *Candide*, 40.

cats as they were? He made their mother a true 'Cat's Paw.'⁷⁸

Stephens's evocative words draw out the sounds, the smells, and even the temperature of the room, all of which only serve to aid in the monkey's hot-headed yet chilling behavior. This monkey can easily be translated into a cold-hearted human criminal whose actions (rather than his "race") render him low and bestial.

Amidst these veiled allusions in Victorian art criticism to the sexual violence of Landseer's composition, there is no mention of the significant alteration that enabled Landseer to depict it as such.⁷⁹ The original fable, as told by Jean de la Fontaine, is much gentler. The cat and the monkey, known as "Bertrand" and "Raton," are both male. They are pals living in the same household, and other than a singed paw, the consequences of their antics are slim. They are shooed from the kitchen by the maid, and the cat does not get to enjoy his share of the chestnuts.⁸⁰ Although it is later in date than Landseer's painting, J.-J. Grandville's depiction of the scene presents the typical tone of illustrations for this fable (Fig. 134). Cat and monkey crouch in front of a burning fireplace; the cat scoops the chestnuts off the hearth while the monkey gobbles them up. Both wear human clothing and both have up-turned mouths to convey the cat's vacuousness and the monkey's pleasure. Grandville's version evokes laughter at these cat-and-monkeyshines rather than revulsion at a violent rape scene.

⁷⁸ Frederic George Stephens, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1880), 53-54.

⁷⁹ Joseph Rishel has argued that the violence of the image and its difference from the French fable may be connected rather to seventeenth-century Dutch genre scenes like Abraham Hondius's *The Monkey and the Cat* (Cleveland Museum). "Landseer and the Continent: The Artist in International Perspective," in Richard Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981), 28.

⁸⁰ "Une servante vient: adieu mes gens. Raton/N'etoit [sic] pas content, ce dit-on." La Fontaine, *Fables*, 2: 110.

The Cat's-Paw fable was surprisingly flexible and popular on both sides of the Channel through much of the nineteenth century.⁸¹ In caricature and book illustration, it could be made to bear diverse political and social messages, but Landseer was the only one to modify the cat's gender. A caricature published in *Le Charivari* on March 9, 1834, replaces the animals with a republican fighter on the barricades of the July Revolution in 1830 and the King Louis-Philippe sporting a long, curled monkey's tail (Fig. 135).⁸² The revolutionary has fallen dead across the paving stones of the barricade, and the monkey-king attempts to steal the crown and scepter that the corpse still holds. The chestnuts in this version are stones with labels like “budgets,” “credits,” and so on. Thus, the king has exploited those who fought in the revolution as his pawns to help him obtain the throne. In this highly-charged political statement, the people and their republican ideals are the monkey-king's cat's paw. He uses them to obtain what he cannot easily win for himself.

In England, Charles Henry Bennett's illustrations of *The Fables of Aesop and Others, Translated into Human Nature*, published in 1857, also included a version of “The Catspaw,” in which the monkey is a criminal (Fig. 136).⁸³ Bennett relocates the setting from the kitchen to the street to yield a Dickensian scene. An old monkey in rags convinces a young boy with a cat's head to fleece the sheep, as it were, since the boy picks the pocket of an oblivious sheep-gentleman in top hat and tails. Bennett operated artistically in the tradition of the animal-human hybrid by placing over-sized animal

⁸¹ On what she characterizes as the “dualistic” capabilities of La Fontaine's fables in utilizing seventeenth-century tales to appeal to nineteenth-century values, see Kristen H. Powell, *Fables in Frames: La Fontaine and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 3.

⁸² “Bertrand et Raton,” *Le Charivari* 3, no. 68 (1834): n.p.

⁸³ Charles H. Bennett, illus., *The Fables of Aesop and Others, Translated into Human Nature* (London: W. Kent and Co., 1857).

heads as masks to reveal the flawed actions of human bodies. As such, there is no literal cat's paw in his illustration. All three animals have human hands, though the aging monkey has evidently managed to convince the young cat that his own hands are too large and arthritic to reach the treasure he desires. The composition conveys the final, pregnant moment before realization occurs, the last instant before the sheep notices that he is being robbed and the cat realizes that he will get no reward for his troubles. We are left in suspense regarding the outcome, but the design implies the conclusion of the narrative. Just as the cat's paw/hand now swings back to transfer the wallet to the monkey, so will the sheep's hand swing back to administer a blow with his umbrella while the monkey disappears with the spoils. The monkey's head does not appear in profile, and there is little in the composition to suggest that the simian form is intended as symbolic of any particular race.⁸⁴ Instead, the image presents the poverty of Victorian streets and the wily tactics that those who live there adopt to redistribute wealth. Since their inflated heads render all the animal-humans in Bennett's image equally distorted, it is difficult to determine what moral message Bennett intends to convey, though he does offer the possibility that we are meant to sympathize with the impoverished monkey, a sentiment which is lacking in all other depictions of this fable.

As these many versions of “Le singe et le chat” demonstrate, in the final few years before Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (1863) appeared to fundamentally destabilize the perceived relationship between human and ape, the simian form could still

⁸⁴ By this date, the monkey might have been read by Victorian audiences as an Irishman, especially one who supported separatist political views. L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), xii.

be put to diverse uses. Apes and monkeys were not yet placed in their new evolutionary position as sharing a common ancestor in the distant past with humans. They were bearing an increasing weight as symbols of black Africans, but as the many different types of monkeys in these illustrated fables convey, the simian body continued to be an all-purpose locus or target for anxieties about gender, class, race, politics, and poverty, not to mention the scientific efforts made to separate humanity once and for all from this most similar of animals, the simian.⁸⁵

Natural Man or Civilized Monkey?

Another theory used to explain apes' and monkeys' similarity to humans was that simians were a type of “natural man,” or if not natural man, more closely related to so-called “primitive” peoples than to civilized (European) humans.⁸⁶ Some believed that apes resembled humans in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's state of nature before the corrupting constructs of culture and civilization took hold. Rousseau himself characterized early human interactions as not requiring “a language much more refined than that of Crows or of Monkeys, which troop together in approximately the same way.”⁸⁷ This theory of natural man as the link between primates and civilized humans also allowed for easy slippage between images of apes and images of black Africans, since in the eyes of many European explorers, these allegedly “primitive” peoples enjoyed the easy natural life

⁸⁵ See for example Richard Owen's famous assertions (later to be vigorously countered by Huxley) that the human brain was fundamentally different from all mammals, and thus *Homo sapiens* belonged in a class by itself. “On the Characters, Principles of Division, and Primary Groups of the Class Mammalia,” *Proceedings of the Linnaean Society: Zoology* 2 (1858): 1-37.

⁸⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau wonders as much in “Note X” to his “Discourse on the Origin and the Foundations of Inequality Among Men, or Second Discourse,” in *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, ed. and trans. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 205.

⁸⁷ Rousseau, *The Discourses*, 163.

uncorrupted by pride or politics.⁸⁸ Rousseau's "Note X" to the *Second Discourse*, in which he muses on the relationship between the "ourang-outang," (a generic term encompassing all known anthropoid apes in the eighteenth century), natural man, and civilized man, is an extended meditation on possibilities that cannot be confirmed without further observation.⁸⁹ He refrains from making any final conclusions because, as he writes,

Judgments that are not the fruit of an enlightened reason are liable to run to extremes. Our travelers do not hesitate to make beasts by the name of *Pongos* [chimpanzees], *Mandrills*, *Orang-Outangs* of the same beings which the Ancients made into Divinities by the name of *Satyrs*, *Fauns*, and *Sylvans*. Perhaps after more accurate investigations it will be found that they are neither beasts nor gods, but men.⁹⁰

Rousseau believes that explorers' accounts incorrectly label "savage" men as apes because they appear physically distinct from Europeans and because the creatures do not speak.⁹¹ It cannot be proven conclusively whether they are humans or animals, so Rousseau leaves the question open for further clarification and analysis.

For Rousseau, what finally separates human from animal is the former's capacity for self-perfection. Rousseau defines this as a uniquely human trait; humans may civilize themselves and improve their stations while animals may not.⁹² However, given the way Rousseau rather longingly describes the simplicity and purity of the natural state,

⁸⁸ Francis Moran III, "Between Primates and Primitives: Natural Man as the Missing Link in Rousseau's *Second Discourse*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54, no. 1 (1993): 37-58.

⁸⁹ On the use of the term "orang-outang" in eighteenth-century philosophy and natural history, see Moran, "Between Primates and Primitives," 39.

⁹⁰ Rousseau, *The Discourses*, 208.

⁹¹ Rousseau, *The Discourses*, 205.

⁹² Rousseau, *The Discourses*, 140-141.

perfectibility may not always be desirable.

Rousseau's musings on human self-perfection and animal stasis (or “laziness” as he sometimes calls it) are given visual form in another painting of a simian subject by Edwin Landseer, *The Monkey who had Seen the World* of 1827 (Fig. 137).⁹³ These monkeyshines are based upon the fable of the same title by John Gay (1685-1732) about a monkey who was captured and sold abroad, enslaved to a genteel lady from whom he gained “politer manners,” and returned home as a civilized missionary to convert his wild relations.⁹⁴ Gay's fable is a tale of society's corrupting effects, for upon the civilized monkey's return, the wild monkeys heed his call to “weigh your own worth; support your place,/The next in rank to human race.”⁹⁵ To achieve this, he asserts that they must copy humans by being “polite.” Yet, this form of politeness is defined as treachery, deceit, and malice. The monkeys will essentially produce a copy of a copy, as the dandified monkey tells them to observe and imitate his own actions and appearance. These are themselves based on what he saw and copied among the humans:

Their dress, their courtly manners see;
Reform your state, and copy me.
Seek ye to thrive? In flatt'ry deal,
Your scorn, your hate, with that conceal;
Seem only to regard your friends,
But use them for your private ends,
Stint not to truth the flow of wit,
Be prompt to lye, whene'er 'tis fit;
Bend all your force to spatter merit;
Scandal is conversation's spirit;
Boldy to ev'ry thing pretend,

⁹³ Rousseau, *The Discourses*, 208.

⁹⁴ John Gay, *Fables*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Tonson and J. Watts, 1728), 52.

⁹⁵ Gay, *Fables*, 54.

And men your talents shall commend.⁹⁶

Gay's words combine the long-held theme of the monkey as imitator with the more recent, Rousseauian concept of civilization as a corrupting force that dirties what was once unsullied.

Painted one-hundred years after Gay's fables were first published, Landseer's depiction of the "traveled monkey," as it is sometimes called, remains well within the tradition of illustrations for this fable. Gay's poem dictated the monkey's appearance quite clearly.⁹⁷ In Landseer's rendition, a powdered, pale-faced monkey in velvet jacket, wig, and facial patches stands upright amid several crouching, red-faced, naked monkeys who have not left the forest. As they examine closely his clothing and accessories, these natural monkeys sport a variety of facial expressions from the bewildered awe of the monkey fingering his velvet sleeve and the cross-eyed stupidity of the monkey twisting his gold tassels, to the sneezing monkey who has opened a snuff-box and the sullen frown of the monkey crouching with a curious youngster on the left. During his own lifetime and throughout much of the intervening years, Landseer has been derided for the sentimental anthropomorphism of his animal scenes.⁹⁸ Even an obituary for Landseer,

⁹⁶ Gay, *Fables*, 55.

⁹⁷ "The hairy sylvans round him press,/Astonish'd at his strut and dress,/Some praise his sleeve, and other glote/Upon his rich embroider'd coat,/His dapper perriwig commending/With the black tail behind depending,/His powder'd back, above, below,/Like hoary frosts, or fleecy snow;/But all, with envy and desire,His flutt'ring shoulder-knot admire." Gay, *Fables*, 54.

⁹⁸ For various examples of this, see the reviews of Landseer exhibitions throughout the twentieth century. In 1949, Guy Paget wrote, "No English artist has ever risen so high to sink so low in popularity For close on a hundred years Landseer was undoubtedly England's favourite artist; for the last 25 he has been nothing but a joke and the yardstick by which the badness of XIXth century painting is measured." "Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. - 1802-1873: How are the Mighty Fallen," *Apollo* 49 (1949): 101. The brief review by Alan Bowness of the 1961 Landseer retrospective at the Royal Academy offers the back-handed compliment that "the dog pictures (which grimly foreshadow Disney's humanizing of animals) could never be forgotten." "London: A Landseer Revival," *Arts Magazine* 35, no. 8/9 (1961): 21.

published anonymously in *Harper's Weekly* in 1873, regretted that “Landseer was perhaps overfond of giving a half-human expression to his animals. They were sometimes mere caricatures of humanity....”⁹⁹ This criticism might be applied to the monkeys in this painted fable, as they could easily be read as satires of humanity. However, the expressions of emotions as depicted in their gestures and especially in their faces may be linked to contemporary theories about human and animal anatomy.

In 1824, the surgeon Sir Charles Bell (1774-1842) published the second edition of his *Essays on the Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression*, a highly influential illustrated work that had been read by artists as well as physicians since its original publication in 1806.¹⁰⁰ Bell was unwavering in his opinion that human anatomy displayed a perfection of expression that animals could not share, and he began his second edition by adding an analysis of facial nerves to his theory. Bell's new research compared the so-called “respiratory nerve” in monkeys, dogs, cats, and humans. This nerve stimulates the facial muscles that move during respiration and is only found in animals that breathe through nostrils.¹⁰¹ When that nerve is cut during vivisections of animals or by accident in humans, the face becomes paralyzed and cannot adopt any expression. Bell's analysis of this in the monkey is extensive:

Everyone must have observed, not merely the resemblance in the face of the monkey to the features of man, but also that activity and grimace, which bear the same proportion to the expression of the human countenance. The nerves of the face and neck of the monkey are numerous, and have frequent connexions. But on cutting the respiratory

⁹⁹ “Landseer's 'Connoisseurs,’” *Harper's Weekly* 17, no. 878 (1873): 939.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1824).

¹⁰¹ Bell, *Essays*, 6-7.

nerve of the face of the monkey, the features become dead to the influence of the creature's passions. Yet after such an experiment the skin is sensible, and the muscles of the jaws and tongue are capable of the actions of chewing and swallowing, only there is no grimace or expression to be seen. If the respiratory nerve of one side be cut, the expression of that side is utterly extinguished, while the chattering and mewing, the scowl of the eyebrow, and the grinning of the lips and cheek, remain on the other side.¹⁰²

This is nearly identical to what occurs in humans when something happens to sever the respiratory nerve: “The accidental injury or the disease of the respiratory nerve of the face of man exhibits the same consequences with these experiments on brutes.”¹⁰³ Despite his efforts later in the book to elevate human emotional expression over all other species because of their facial muscles, these initial experiments on the facial nerves seem to indicate that humans and monkeys at least share the capacity for expression and the danger of its loss if this major facial nerve is damaged or cut.¹⁰⁴

Edwin Landseer was most certainly aware of Dr. Bell's writings, and the expressions he grants his monkeys in *The Monkey who had Seen the World* are but one example of his application of Bell's theories to painted animal faces. One of Landseer's earliest teachers, the eccentric history painter Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846) read Bell's works, attended his anatomy classes and dissections, and assigned his pupils, who at the time included Edwin's older brothers Charles and Thomas, to do the same.¹⁰⁵ In his

¹⁰² Bell, *Essays*, 8.

¹⁰³ Bell, *Essays*, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Bell, *Essays*, 33-34. On Bell's efforts to elevate humans because of their facial muscles and their capacity to gaze upward toward heaven, see Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 109-110.

¹⁰⁵ Charles and Thomas began studying with Haydon in 1815, and Edwin did studies after Haydon's dissection of a lion, though he did not study extensively with the older artist. Campbell Lennie, *Landseer: The Victorian Paragon* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), 14. Stephens reports that the older Landseer brothers had dissected a human body, whose skeleton was later owned by their sister. A drawing of an

autobiography, Haydon wrote that he and the painter David Wilkie (1785-1841) witnessed the anatomy lectures that were later published in Bell's book: "Bell had great delight in the subject, and was as eager as ourselves.... He had studied, and fully understood, the application of anatomy to the purposes we wanted. His lectures were, in fact, his subsequent book, the *Anatomy of Expression*, for which Wilkie made several of the drawings."¹⁰⁶ Edwin Landseer was no longer affiliated with Haydon in 1824 when Bell's second edition appeared, but as a young and popular artist about town, he would undoubtedly have been aware of its existence.¹⁰⁷ Haydon believed he had been wronged by Landseer because the young artist did not give him the credit Haydon felt he was due. The history painter had urged Landseer to study animal anatomy, as Haydon believed it would provide a solid foundation for all animal painting.¹⁰⁸ Landseer was already a prodigy well on his way to success in the Royal Academy, at court, and beyond, when he met Haydon, but Haydon believed that, without his urgings, Landseer would have merely painted animal skins lacking bones, nerves, and muscles underneath to render their expressions anatomically credible and convincing.

Within this context of a linkage between artists and anatomists in London in the

écorché torso (1990,1006.1.1) by Charles Landseer, dated 6th May 1818 and now in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, may be taken from this experience. Stephens, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 33.

¹⁰⁶ Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, from his Autobiography*, ed. Tom Taylor, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1853), 1:39.

¹⁰⁷ Haydon resented the young Landseer's early fame and success and often made derisive comments about him in his journals and his letters. See for example Benjamin Robert Haydon and Frederick Wordsworth Haydon, *Benjamin Robert Haydon: Correspondence and Table-talk*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1877), 2: 259-60; Lennie, *Landseer*, 14-25.

¹⁰⁸ In his autobiography, Haydon claimed, "Edwin took my dissections of the lion, and I advised him to dissect animals, - the only mode of acquiring their construction, as I had dissected men, and as I should make his brothers do." Haydon, *Life*, 1: 326.

early decades of the nineteenth century, the facial expressions of Landseer's monkeys in *The Monkey who had Seen the World* are less absurd. His use of anthropomorphism is a conscious effort to follow what he had learned about animal anatomy and the expression of emotions. Landseer possessed the ability to link the scientific and the artistic seamlessly, so he merely appears to be painting a fable when in fact he is, at this stage at least, keeping abreast of the latest trends and theories regarding the expression of emotions in animals.

Much later in his life, following the nervous breakdowns, erratic behavior, and alcoholism that would plague him after the murder of a friend and the death of his mother in 1840, Landseer expressed disdain for natural historians, whom he felt did not really know or understand animals.¹⁰⁹ When the painter Frederick William Keyl recorded his conversations with the aging Landseer in his diary in 1867, he reported Landseer's view that, "Naturalists are no use. [Richard] Owen ... with his latin descriptions of this animal When I kill an Animal I always try to get to know it as well as I can. - But they never kill one or try to find how a fish sees for instance"¹¹⁰ Unless natural historians observed the animal both living and dead and endeavored to understand the connection between its outward appearance and its anatomy, Landseer felt they could not truly comprehend its behaviors. Yet, when he read Charles Bell's essays on expression, Landseer may have understood them as a challenge to the artist who wished to humanize

¹⁰⁹ Landseer's friend and patron, the Whig politician Lord William Russell (1767-1840) was murdered in his sleep by his butler in May of 1840, leading to panic and fear of their servants among the upper classes. See the account of the murder, the trial, and the criminal's execution in Michael Diamond, *Victorian Sensation: Or, the Spectacular, the Shocking, and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Anthem Press, 2003), 154-158.

¹¹⁰ Frederick William Keyl, diary, 7 November 1867, Royal Archives, VIC/AddX14/20/6, Windsor Castle.

convincingly his depictions of animals. Despite his assertions that humans shared with monkeys, dogs, and cats a similar facial nervous structure, Bell wrote later in the book,

I have observed above that some painters have thought it allowable to give human expression to the heads of lions, and others have presented human character in their heads of horses. I conceive this to be done upon a mistaken principle, nor will it ever enhance the peculiar beauty of the animal to engraft upon it some part of human expression. Rubens, in his picture of Daniel in the lion's den, has given human expression to the heads of the lions. Notwithstanding, it appears to me more than doubtful, whether the mingling of human expression with the features of the savage animals be in the true spirit of the principle of association, which should govern the adaptation of expression and character in producing an ideal form.¹¹¹

Bell paradoxically desires accuracy of expression derived from anatomical knowledge of facial bones, muscles, and nerves, yet he also seeks an ideal expression, one that holds within it the acknowledgment of humanity's superiority. This leads him to deny that animal faces can express emotions with the same fineness of degree and purity of spirit that humans can.

Unfortunately, Bell does not discuss monkeys at length outside of his analysis of experiments upon their facial nerves. It was common to hear from all quarters – artistic, literary, philosophical, and scientific – that monkeys and apes resembled humans in their actions, gestures, and even emotions to a very high degree, so perhaps Bell did not feel the need to rehearse these observations. Nor would it support his assertion of humanity's superior status above all animals if he admitted how similar human and simian facial expressions could be, especially on the levels of nerves and muscles. Such circumvention of probing analysis is one manifestation of human anxiety regarding the implications of these similarities, but artists often had the opposite response. Rather than avoid the

¹¹¹ Bell, *Essays*, 46-47.

monkey form and all its sinister suggestions, they confronted it, placed it in diverse human scenarios, and attempted to nullify its danger through humor or through violence that rendered it impotent. The series *Monkey-ana, or Men in Miniature*, published serially in 1827 and 1828 by Edwin Landseer's older brother Thomas, offers one of the most compelling examples of this anxious impulse.¹¹²

Thomas Landseer's *Monkey-ana* and the Distancing Effect

At the same moment when Edwin was painting *The Monkey who had Seen the World*, Thomas Landseer was drawing and etching his own monkeyshines (Figs. 138, 140, and 141). Published simultaneously in London and Paris, *Monkey-ana's* twenty-five plates might be classified as *singeries*, but they lack the light-hearted, gentle nature of such Rococo decorations as Christophe Huet's panels for Chantilly.¹¹³ In the nearly one hundred years that separate Huet's and Landseer's *singeries*, human knowledge of apes and monkeys had improved substantially. Naturalists, led by comparative anatomists like Camper, had come to the conclusion that chimpanzees and orangutans were distinct species hailing from disparate parts of the globe. Live chimpanzees, orangutans, and baboons had been exhibited in London and Paris, their bodies had been dissected, and their bones had been displayed in efforts to better understand the animals' physiological structures. According to varied views, the points upon which this research seemed to be converging could produce either pride or panic. It had long been observed the even very small monkeys had the ability to imitate human gestures and actions, largely to comedic effect, but by demonstrating that physiological similarities existed both externally and

¹¹² Thomas Landseer, *Monkey-ana, or, Men in Miniature* (London: Moon, Boys, and Graves, 1827-1828).

¹¹³ Some of the plates are inscribed with the addresses for both publishers: "Moon, Boys & Graves 6 Pall Mall [London]" and "à Paris chez Pierre Benard Boulevar [*sic*] des Italiens."

internally, zoology also implied that apes and monkeys could be prone to imitating the best and the worst of humanity's behaviors. Thomas Landseer drew out these implications in *Monkey-ana*. The vices depicted by clothed monkeys in Landseer's etchings – everything from murder and prostitution to gambling and alcoholism - are laced with dark humor. Together the plates assert that, if monkeys really are like humans, there is no corruption to which these creatures, humans *and* simians, are immune.

Much like the prints of Hogarth and Grandville (who was at that very moment issuing his own series of humanized animals *Les Métamorphoses du jour*), the etchings in Thomas Landseer's *Monkey-ana* combined humorous printed images with texts to convey moralizing messages. The plates appeared in six installments comprised of four prints each; these were later bound in a folio-sized edition with an additional print in the form of a title page. An anonymous book of monkey lore and narratives was also published to accompany them, since other than the captions, which were largely quotes drawn from Shakespeare, *Monkey-ana* did not contain text.¹¹⁴ Thomas Landseer, eight years Edwin's senior, had not been a prodigy like his youngest brother, but *Monkey-ana* solidified his reputation as an artist in his own right and allowed him to show a cynical, critical view of human society that had less occasion to appear in his more empirical studies of menagerie animals like those drawn for *Characteristic Sketches of Animals*.¹¹⁵ A vignette on the table of contents for the folio edition sets the tone for the images from the start. A beggar-monkey accompanied by a dog (a traditional attribute of the human

¹¹⁴ The book's title does not contain Thomas's first name, perhaps in an effort to confuse him purposefully in the minds of some readers with his more famous younger brother Edwin. *Monkeyana. This Work may be Considered as an Accompaniment to the Highly Talented Plates, Just Published, by that Celebrated Artist Landseer* (London: W. Reeves, 1828).

¹¹⁵ On this book, see Chapter Two above.

beggar in contemporary illustration) pleads for alms outside a debtors' prison as a monkey who pastes up posters walks past them, oblivious to the sign on the prison that reads, "Pray remember the poor Debtors."¹¹⁶ Like the great painter-printmaker William Hogarth, Landseer could utilize pointed and poignant imagery to moralize and to preach, and this was generally his goal when he fully replaced the humans with monkeys in the plates for *Monkey-ana*.¹¹⁷ This yields what I term a distancing effect, since even though his monkeys quite clearly symbolize humans and all their vices, the simians can also be objects of derision and cause for laughter at their counterfeit monkeyshines. It is implied that they imitate without reason, so their actions are ultimately harmless, mindless copies. The human viewer of Landseer's prints need not read these sermons as messages against human sins if she chooses not to, since on one level they are nothing more than diverting scenes of monkeys masquerading as humans.

During its serial publication, *Monkey-ana* occasioned much comment in the press, and the reviews often evidence, or pretend to evidence, the distancing effect. For example, the anonymous writer for *The Literary Gazette* begins by feigning offense at the monkeys who ape human gestures, realizes in the middle that they are no worse than the people all around him, and returns to laugh at such artful and apt copies of human posturings as depicted in Landseer's etchings:

Foul libels! We exclaimed, as we turned over the prints in this curious folio. Foul libels! 'Men in Miniature,' and only Monkeys after all. To cool our wrath, we strolled into the Park, and it happened to be a full parade.... Dandy succeeded dandy ... all more or less disguised from humanity; and we confessed that honest Mr. Landseer's Monkeys, so far from being

¹¹⁶ Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 122.

¹¹⁷ Curtis characterizes this tradition of moralizing and preaching through imagery as a specifically English penchant. *Apes and Angels*, xvi.

caricatures, were very poorly imitated by these creatures apparently of our own species. Here-upon we returned to our library; and being reconciled to the cleverer animals, were mightily amused by their portraits in this most amusing performance.¹¹⁸

Having seen the ridiculous fashions worn by his peers strutting about London's Hyde Park, this reviewer becomes less disposed to take offense at Landseer's miniature monkey-men, but he does not include himself among the dandies. He believes that the monkeys are copying these silly men rather than himself. This is the effect of many images of monkeys produced in the early nineteenth century. They are perceived as caricatures of a particular type of human but not those educated bourgeois and upper-class white men (and, to a lesser extent, women) who comprise the image's primary audience. Such are the efforts to maintain a suitable distance between the simian and the producers of science and culture.

Landseer's *Monkey-ana* etchings were not immune to the trend of linking simian imagery and blacks. Most of the plates address social, political, and economic issues, but one in particular, “The Fortune Teller” was read as an image implying miscegenation and allegedly improper racial mixing (Fig. 138). A lengthy anonymous review in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which was later attributed to John Wilson ([1785-1854] writing under the pseudonym Christopher North), immediately equated a dark-colored monkey in this plate with a black servant, calling him “my lord duke's favourite black footman.”¹¹⁹ In the print, a monkey-woman with a baby clinging to her back reads

¹¹⁸ “New Publications: *Monkeyana; or, Men in Miniature*,” *The Literary Gazette* 12 (1828): 25.

¹¹⁹ [Christopher North], “Monkeyana,” *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 24 (1828): 49; a biography of North by his daughter attributed this unsigned article to him: Mary Wilson Gordon and Robert Shelton Mackenzie, *Christopher North: A Memoir of John Wilson, Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh* (New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1863), 471.

the palm of a light-colored monkey-woman. This woman, interpreted by North as “my lady's monkey-maid,” sits in a rather scandalous position between the darker footman-monkey's legs while she apparently receives her fortune with joy.¹²⁰ North describes the scene in virulently racist language typical of the time period:

My lady's monkey-maid is in a truly languishing love-sick condition, and listens to the old monkey witch, with a face of leering fear that is exceedingly touching – lying all the while amorously, but by no means immodestly – for she is far from being a naughty nymph – between the supporting knees of the enamoured negro, her head, from which the leghorn has fallen back, with its flaunting ribbandry, resting on his shoulder, while one of Blackie's hands is protectingly placed across her neck, and the other held out open-fingered, in astonishment at the sibyl's predictions.... There is not, however, any symptoms about the figure of the lady's maid betraying that she is seriously amiss – although the sibyl is recommending marriage before she lose her place.... Yet, after all, we believe there will be a marriage and Mulattoes, who by the by, are just like pigs, pretty little yellow squeakers as long as they are pigs, but get horridly ugly as they grow up into hobbletyhoy boys and girls, sows and boars. However there is nothing in such a perspective or prospective to deter a white lady's maid from entering into lawful wedlock with a black Duke's footman, so let the bans be published forthwith, with as little delay as the canons of the church will allow, and the marriage ceremony be performed by the Rector in their own parish church.¹²¹

While viewing the creatures in this print and constructing a narrative for them, North has forgotten the fact of their monkey-hood. He reads their skin color as indicative of human races and claims that the marriage of these two monkeys will yield mixed-race children, whom he equates with piglets. As North peruses Landseer's plates, he fluctuates wildly between considerations of the monkeys as monkeys and reading them instead as various classes, races, and ethnicities of human society. He thus enacts in his vacillations the two

¹²⁰ In the preparatory sketch for this print, Landseer did not indicate modeling or the relative light and dark colors of the monkeys, but since he both drew and etched the plates for this series, the decision to render the male monkey in a darker color was his own. Thomas Landseer, “Monkeyana: Original Drawings,” Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, 1867-5-9-1018.

¹²¹ [North], “Monkeyana,” 49.

aspects of Landseer's title: *Monkeyana, or, Men in Miniature*, for he sees these creatures either as simians *or* as humans.

In his preference for constructing his own tales to accompany the etchings of *Monkey-ana*, North avoids investigating the implications of the captions, which were carefully chosen from English literature to accompany each plate. Among many lesser known works by English writers, the captions also quote from Shakespeare's *King Lear*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Measure for Measure*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King John* and Pope's *Satires and Epistles of Horace Imitated*, *The Rape of the Lock*, *Second Epistle to a Lady*, and *The Alley*. The caption for "The Fortune Teller," "Great skill have they in palmistry," is a line from Book I of William Cowper's (1731-1800) popular blank-verse poem *The Task* (1785).¹²² Upon walking along the River Great Ouse in Buckinghamshire, the poem's narrator encounters a band of gypsies, who prompt him to muse that, among other things, these nomadic people are talented in the art of reading palms:

... Hard faring race!
They pick their fuel out of every hedge,
Which, kindled with dry leaves, just saves unquench'd
The spark of life. The sportive wind blows wide
Their fluttering rags, and shows a tawny skin,
The vellum of the pedigree they claim.
Great skill have they in palmistry, and more
To conjure clean away the gold they touch,
Conveying worthless dross into its place;
Loud when they beg, dumb only when they steal.
Strange! That a creature rational, and cast
In human mould, should brutalize by choice
His nature, and though capable of arts
By which the world might profit and himself,
Self-banished from society, prefer

¹²² William Cowper, *The Task, A Poem in Six Books* (London: J. Johnson, 1785).

Such squalid sloth to honorable toil.¹²³

Stereotypes held even to this day about the Romani people (nomadic groups originally from northern India who had arrived in England by the sixteenth century) are given voice in this portion of Cowper's epic. The poem's speaker effectively classifies them as a distinct race, separate from himself not only by virtue of their deliberate homelessness but also by the color of their skin and the content of their characters. He does not give them a specific animal species. Rather, he asserts their bestial natures and expresses shock that humans would use their God-given capability for rational thought to choose an allegedly animalistic life. In Book III of *The Task*, as well as in his letters, Cowper often expressed his disgust at the mistreatment of animals, especially during fox and stag hunts, but he maintains in his description of the Romani a firm belief that humans ought to embrace their humanity and choose the civilized path. This includes the rejection of anything that might be perceived as bestial.¹²⁴

Cowper advocated against both cruelty towards animals and the slave trade. In Part II of *The Task*, he mourned wrongs wrought merely because of human skin color:

... My ear is pain'd
My soul is sick, with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage, with which Earth is fill'd.
There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart,
It does not feel for man....
He finds his fellow guilty of a skin
Not colour'd like his own; and having power
To' enforce the wrong, for such a worthy cause
Dooms and devotes him as a lawful prey.¹²⁵

¹²³ Cowper, *The Task*, 30-31.

¹²⁴ On Cowper's anti-hunting stance, see Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 235-36 and 276.

¹²⁵ Cowper, *The Task*, 45-46.

In Cowper's view, all humans are fellow members of the same species. His language indicates his awareness of the ways powerful, white Europeans sought to animalize those of differing colors, to render them as “lawful prey.” He continues:

And, worse than all, and most to be deplored
As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,
Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that Mercy with a bleeding heart
Weeps, when she sees inflicted on a beast.
Then what is man? And what man, seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush,
And hang his head, to think himself a man?¹²⁶

One cries to see an animal mistreated, and yet human slaves are beaten with the same cruel methods, so they are deserving of the same emotional response from their fellow humans. The process of equating apes and monkeys with the black race aided in the effort to maintain a legal hierarchy that classified blacks at a lower level and justified their mistreatment, much to the disgust of moralists and abolitionists like Cowper.

In this context, the choice of a brief line from *The Task* as a caption for Landseer's “The Fortune Teller” becomes especially intriguing for its allusions to issues of race, class, and gender. In the parlance of the time, Landseer depicts three races: black, white, and gypsy. Yet, to read the etching in this way is to travel once again through the monkey image to its human symbolism, for the image does not depict members of different races. Monkeys have no races, only species. A dark-colored monkey could, at most, imply a different species of monkey, and as an animal, it does not beg to be interpreted as a dark-skinned human. Yet, as North's review revealed, it was immediately read as such, much like the swiftness with which Sean Delonas's cartoon chimpanzee was read as the

¹²⁶ Cowper, *The Task*, 46.

African-American President Obama. Already by 1828, images of apes and monkeys were swiftly translated as symbolic of black humans.

An 1825 edition of Cowper's *The Task* begins with an engraving after a drawing by Richard Westall (1765-1836) depicting the same line as Landseer's etching.¹²⁷ The gypsy woman in this engraving also wears a dark shawl and reads the palm of a young woman's hand amid a rustic, rural setting. Landseer likely combined elements of illustrations like this with a compositional grouping borrowed from Sir Joshua Reynolds's painting *The Fortune Teller* (1777, Fig. 139). North noticed this nod to Reynolds's work in Landseer's print, which prompted him to remark that the woman in Reynolds's painting was "of ducal descent," and her lover was a noble equal.¹²⁸ Landseer's etching lowers the figures not only by depicting them as animals, but by rendering them as ducal servants. Thus doubly diminished, it is no longer as troublesome for privileged white viewers to admit a physical resemblance between alleged lower-order humans - whether black footman, white maid, or aging gypsy - and monkeys.

Many of the plates in *Monkey-ana* indicate Landseer's awareness of social, racial, and political inequality, and much like Grandville did in *Les Métamorphoses du jour* at this same date, Landseer utilizes animal forms to produce social commentary. But in the latter's case, almost every image serves to lower a particular group or groups because to depict a human in simian guise is to diminish that person's status. For his part, Grandville's project allowed him to choose from a much wider selection of species. His animals were often more sympathetic or lacking the weighty symbolic baggage that the

¹²⁷ William Cowper, *The Task* (London: John Sharpe, 1825), n.p.

¹²⁸ [North], "Monkeyana," 49.

monkey form carried by this time. Landseer's monkeys reveal facets of human character that many might wish to conceal, but through their actions and their greed for power, these “men in miniature” frequently unveil bestial natures. The eleventh plate, “Castigation,” which immediately follows “The Fortune Teller,” depicts an aging beadle who brandishes a stick against three young monkeys who were either gambling or begging on the church steps (Fig. 140).¹²⁹ The four primary monkeys in this scene are given deeply expressive hands and gestures, which serve to advance the composition dramatically from right to left and back again. Two of the three young monkeys stretch their hands off toward the right, as if they would move away from the beadle and his baton, but one glassy-eyed monkey-boy reaches in the opposite direction toward a coin that still rests on the pavement. The beadle's right arm is raised while his left hangs limply at his side, its hairy fingers pointed downward.

Natural historians frequently remarked that monkeys' feet seemed to resemble human hands rather than animal paws. This aspect appeared to place them closer to humans. In an effort to reclaim distance, naturalists like Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) and Georges Cuvier proposed the order “quadrumana,” or four-handed, to separate simians from humans (called “bimana” in this system) and from quadrupeds.¹³⁰ Eventually Darwin sought to refute this view and to return to the designation of the primate order (which included humans) as proposed by Carl Linnaeus.¹³¹ Quadrumana

¹²⁹ North describes them as “playing at pitch and toss on the steps of a church, we presume on a Sunday” “Monkeyana,” 50; Donald interprets them as “urchin beggar-monkeys,” *Picturing Animals in England*, 124.

¹³⁰ Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 208.

¹³¹ “The greater number of naturalists who have taken into consideration the whole structure of man,

and bimana were ultimately dropped from the nomenclature, but at the moment of *Monkey-ana's* publication, they remained in use. The depiction of monkeys who seem to have four hands and to utilize those four hands for mischief-making, as in Landseer's "Castigation," may be understood as alluding to these ongoing debates.

"Castigation" is given a caption from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*: "But man, proud man, dressed in a little brief Authority, plays such fantastic tricks, &c., &c." This quote omits significant lines, which describe humans in power as mere imitators. They poorly ape God's supreme power or seek to use it to corrupt and selfish ends:

... but man, proud man,
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured
His glassy essence – like an angry ape
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep;
Who, with our spleens, would all themselves laugh mortal.¹³²

Even someone of relatively low station, like a church's verger, can become corrupted by what little power he believes he has, and "like an angry ape," he uses his power over those who are even lower than himself in age, class, and stature.¹³³

After twenty-three plates in which monkeys wear all manner of human clothing, adopt all manner of human poses and postures, and enact all manner of human dramas,

Monkey-ana ends by placing the monkeys back in nature. In the poignant and

including his mental faculties, have followed Blumenbach and Cuvier, and have placed man in a separate Order, under the title of the Bimana, and therefore on an equality with the orders of the Quadrumana, Carnivora, &c. Recently many of our best naturalists have recurred to the view first propounded by Linnaeus, so remarkable for his sagacity, and have placed man in the same Order with the Quadrumana, under the title of the Primates. The justice of this conclusion will be admitted" Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), new ed. (London: John Murray, 1901), 230.

¹³² William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, Act II, Scene 2.

¹³³ This contention is articulated by Donald, which renders her interpretation of the young monkeys as beggars more likely than North's belief that they are gamblers. *Picturing Animals in England*, 124.

unexpectedly gentle etching “The Widow,” one monkey, presumably a female, crouches over the corpse of a dead monkey lying on the forest floor before her (Fig. 141). Her eyes are down-cast, her hands are crossed above her knees as she crouches in a typical simian pose, and her head, depicted in three-quarter view, is bent downwards toward her dead mate. Two rounded shapes at the corner of her eye might even indicate tears. Despite the emphasis on the inclination and shape of her head, no racial or species hierarchy is intended as it was in many of the prints and illustrations analyzed here. Instead, the monkey's head is expressive of her emotion, her soul, which is no longer the sole privilege of the human. Here it is granted by Landseer's imagination to a thinking, feeling animal.¹³⁴ These two monkeys are perhaps the only two in the folio that cannot be read as humans, despite the convincing nature of their emotional gestures. The plate's caption is once again drawn from Shakespeare (from *The Life and Death of King John* in this case): “__ now will canker Sorrow eat my bud,/And chase the native beauty from his cheek.”¹³⁵ The ugliness of monkeys and apes was repeatedly emphasized in scientific and popular literature alike, so for Landseer to link Shakespeare's sorrowful description of waning “native beauty” with the form of a simian is surprising, especially given the tone of the previous plates.¹³⁶ It is only when the monkeys are no longer required to ape humanity's ugly vices that their own beauty emerges. Landseer's conclusion is similar to Rousseau's

¹³⁴ Landseer changed the widow-monkey's pose significantly from the preparatory drawing to the finished print. In the sketch, the monkey rests her head in her hand in an expression of thoughtful melancholy rather than emotional grief. “Monkeyana: Original Drawings,” British Museum, 1867-3-9-1027.

¹³⁵ Act III, Scene 4.

¹³⁶ For example, a fictitious account of a visit to the London Zoo in *Punch* describes the simians as the ugliest creatures in the zoo: “Diverted by the Gambols and Antics of the Monkeys and Apes: yet almost sick to see such vile Likenesses of ourselves: and the Apes especially loathsome and ugly; and to see the Crowd of Women and Ladies gazing at them!” “Mr. Pips his Diary,” *Punch, or, The London Charivari* 17 (1849): 192.

view that human society and civilization are corrupting factors when compared to the native beauty of natural man, whether he is human or ape.

The Monkey: A Man and Brother?

Much analysis has been given to Early Modern depictions of anthropoid apes made to illustrate explorers' accounts or natural history encyclopedias.¹³⁷ These images appear laughably inaccurate and bizarre to us today, but they were fueled by imagination and expectation, which are sometimes at odds with mundane reality (Fig. 142). Similarly, many scholars have charted the changes to ape imagery in the visual arts following the so-called Darwinian revolution, when images of simians were viewed (often with much suspicion, of course) as depictions of humanity's family tree. One recent art historical study of animal imagery skips over the period in question here, jumping from Renaissance monkeys and eighteenth-century natural history illustrations to late-nineteenth-century depictions of apelike cave-men and women with only brief mention of early-nineteenth-century apes as they were depicted in English literature.¹³⁸ Once the pattern for linking apes and black Africans has been established by Camper's and White's charts, analysis of subsequent permutations of this theme is apparently no longer required. I seek to fill in this lacuna and to demonstrate the pathways available for those privileged European men of science and art who during the first decades of the nineteenth century sought to convey scientific and moral messages through their presentations of ape

¹³⁷ See for example William B. Ashworth, Jr., "The Persistent Beast: Recurring Images in Early Zoological Illustration," in *The Natural Sciences and the Arts: Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century: An International Symposium*, ed. Allan Ellenius (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1985), 53-57.

¹³⁸ See Chapter Six, "Our Animal Cousins" in Martin Kemp, *The Human Animal in Western Art and Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 183-209.

imagery. The simian form carried with it weighty symbolic baggage obtained through the centuries when it served as a type of metaphorical punching bag, absorbing blows on behalf of whatever groups or individuals happened to be out of favor or powerless to create their own ideologies and discourses.

Another “Monkeyana,” published in *Punch* in 1861, aptly serves as a summary of the anxieties directed at the ape target between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries (Fig. 143).¹³⁹ *Punch*'s “Monkeyana” continues in the tradition of Thomas Landseer's *Monkey-ana* by harnessing image and text to confront *Punch*'s readers with weighty scientific and ethical questions. This “Monkeyana” is a poem of thirteen stanzas signed by “Gorilla” and purportedly written at the Zoological Gardens in May of 1861.¹⁴⁰ The gorilla's poem is accompanied by a self-portrait in which he stands holding a staff and wearing a placard that asks “Am I a Man and a Brother?” in reference to the famous cameo seals created at Josiah Wedgwood's pottery factory for the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787 (Fig. 144). These widely distributed medallions featured a kneeling black slave in chains and shackles, his head raised heavenward and his hands clasped in a pleading gesture, beneath the question, “Am I not a man and a brother?” Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795) was also Charles Darwin's grandfather, so the caricature from *Punch* consolidates in both subtle and obvious ways the continuing debates about slavery and evolution. The poem changes the question to “Am I satyr or man?/Pray tell me who can,/And settle my place in the scale. A man in ape's shape,/An

¹³⁹ “Monkeyana,” *Punch* 40 (May 18, 1861): 206.

¹⁴⁰ In March of 1861, the American explorer Paul Belloni du Chaillu (1835-1903), who claimed to be the first Westerner to see live gorillas in Africa, brought his collection of preserved gorilla specimens to London, where they were displayed in the Royal Geographical Society in Whitehall Palace and subsequently in the British Museum. Voss, “Monkeys, Apes, and Evolutionary Theory,” 223-25.

Anthropoid ape,/Or monkey deprived of his tail?" The gorilla's poem then progresses through various theories of animal-ape relations including Robert Chambers's anonymously published *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and Richard Owen's comparative studies of chimpanzee and human brains. Also mentioned are geologists and archaeologists like Leonard Horner (1785-1864) and William Pengelley (1812-1894) whose studies helped to establish that the earth's age must be drastically older than the Biblical creation story proclaimed.

As well as its verbal allusion to the Wedgewood anti-slavery cameo, this rather crude wood-engraving joins the long tradition of natural history illustrations that depicted anthropoid apes as requiring the aid of a staff or walking stick (cf. Fig. 12). This seemingly insignificant accessory functioned as another means of distancing human and ape, since it was argued that humans were the only species to walk upright. Apes aspired to this condition, but they were unable to accomplish it without reliance upon an outside source of strength.¹⁴¹ Plato had argued that the soul was located in the head, so the quality of human souls pulled their heads upward.¹⁴² Early Christian and medieval theologians adopted this line of reasoning to assert that man walked upright because it was divinely decreed that human heads be closer to heaven than mere brutes who crawled across the earth on all fours.¹⁴³ Yet, the walking stick in depictions of apes from the early eighteenth century onwards might be understood differently. Rather than a mark of the animal's

¹⁴¹ Voss, "Monkeys, Apes, and Evolutionary Theory," 223.

¹⁴² Schiebinger, *Nature's Body*, 84.

¹⁴³ Janson quotes the thirteenth-century encyclopedist Thomas of Cantimpré, "Man alone is capable of raising his face towards the heavens, so that he may clearly perceive the source of his salvation." *Apes and Ape Lore*, 81.

insufficiencies, it may instead be seen as a tool that the animal fashions and utilizes to achieve progress. The ape uses reason when he leans upon his staff to realize the goals of upright posture and forward motion. Without the aid of this device, the animal knows that these movements would be much more difficult. If the ape has the capacity for this realization and the ability to use tools to obtain the desired stance, he no longer blindly copies, but like a human, he connects reasoned intellect to the use of devices that assist and augment what nature has given him.

The *Punch* “Monkeyana” caricature is not humanized in any other ways. The gorilla's mouth is open to reveal pointy teeth, but there is no particular emotion to be read from his facial expression. His body is rendered with dark strokes drawn in all directions to define him as a hairy ape. Finally, his status as a member of the “quadrumana” order is emphasized by the prominent thumbs on all four of his appendages. Charles Darwin would not come out strongly against this nomenclature for another ten years, so the ape's hand-like feet are given prominence in this engraving. All these aspects serve to place the ape firmly in the animal realm, but as I have argued, his placard and especially his walking stick both function to question that classification. The image asks “Am I a man and a brother?” while the poem asks “Am I satyr or man?” In the next weekly installment, *Punch* answered the gorilla's pointed queries in the full-page caricature “The Lion of the Season” (Fig. 145). In this engraving, the fully humanized gorilla arrives at a fancy-dress party in a smart tuxedo decorated with medals and watch chains. He fiddles with his bow-tie while the footman nervously announces his presence to the assembled guests according to the caricature's caption: “Alarmed Flunkey. 'Mr. G-g-g-o-o-o-

rilla!"¹⁴⁴ The gorilla's gloved hand that reaches up to his own neck also draws attention to the ape's prominent whiskers. These encircle his face and jut out at odd angles just as the "Alarmed Flunkey's" whiskers do. This human has just had the uncanny experience of viewing an ape and seeing in him the face of his brother, thus answering the "Monkeyana" gorilla's questions in the affirmative. Here is a dandy much like any other (with the exception of his shoes, which are designed to accommodate the ape's toe-thumbs) come to join his fellows at the primate party.

The gorilla's presence on an apparently equal footing with human peers may not be a welcome one, as the continuing objections to Darwin's theory of evolution demonstrate. The questions of relationship and distinction, whether apes and humans rightfully belong to the same order and whether they share a common ancestor somewhere in the lengthy evolutionary record, continue to plague the ape-human "problem."¹⁴⁵ As I have charted, the ape is not only dogged by these evolutionary concerns but also by its now inextricable linkage with the sub-Saharan African in racist hierarchies that trace their roots to the late eighteenth century. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the simian form in art and literature became a locus of anxiety. European naturalists and artists were often engaged together in the project of insuring that a distance remained between the ape and those white men responsible for the creation of discourse and culture. To achieve this, they produced copious charts, diagrams, systems, and illustrations designed to place other races, ethnicities, or genders in the gap. They made caricatures, poems, and short stories to encourage laughter at the

¹⁴⁴ "The Lion of the Season," *Punch* 40 (May 25, 1861): 213.

¹⁴⁵ Janson's book is concerned with the pre-history of this problem, and how it was that it came to exist prior to the appearance of Darwinian evolution. *Apes and Ape Lore*, 14.

monkey's expense and to assert that simians were nothing more than mindless mimics. Yet, these precarious hierarchies could not stem the erosion of man's superior perch, much to the horror of men like the "Alarmed Flunkey," who could do little more than gasp at the ape's appearance and flinch at the similarities the animal shares with the human form. Despite all the visual and verbal efforts of those who produced Western science and culture in the early nineteenth century, the ape's physical and behavioral similarities continue to haunt humanity as an uncanny specter, a paradox of concurrent similitude and difference that cannot yet be reconciled.

CONCLUSION:
FROM ABOVE TO AMONG: METAMORPHOSIS, FLUX, AND DARWIN IN THE
VISUAL ARTS

Concurrent with mounting evidence of an ancestry shared between humans and simians a new wave of anxiety rises in other, related corners of science. Investigations into the geological record begin to yield forceful and credible claims that the age of the earth is much older than the Biblical accounts allow.¹ This geological record contains disturbing fossils, the bones of extinct monsters called mastodons, iguanodons, and dinosaurs, who appear nowhere in the Bible and must have lived many thousands, if not millions, of years before Abraham, Noah, or even Adam. Why would such massive creatures become extinct if God's creation was perfect? If the fossil record could not be explained by the chronology of the biblical Deluge, then how did species appear and disappear from the earth? In a divinely ordered universe, there could be no gaps, abortions, or missteps – in short, no missing links, since these imply either a faulty deity or the complete absence of any divine creator.² Added to these debates were other questions of timing: did animal extinctions occur because of cataclysmic events (floods, volcanoes, earthquakes, etc.) as catastrophists like Georges Cuvier believed? Or did they happen through much slower processes like the warming and cooling of climates over many tens of thousands of years? What was the nature of geological change and how quickly or slowly did it occur?³ Eventually the uniformitarian view that the earth's

¹ On the uneasy relationship between geology and religion, which did not necessarily require that geologists lose their Christian faith because of their research, see for example Chapter 5 “Genesis and Geology,” in David Knight, *Science and Spirituality: The Volatile Connection* (London: Routledge, 2004), 53-73.

² Knight, *Science and Spirituality*, 54-55.

³ Knight aptly summarizes the opposing views of Georges Cuvier and Charles Lyell on this topic of geological change; *Science and Spirituality*, 70-71.

surface was the result of gradual alteration at a consistent pace over millions of years became the more widely accepted explanation.

As numerous historians of science and culture have noted, it was into this deeply conflicted intellectual atmosphere that Charles Darwin rather reluctantly released his proofs for natural selection and evolution beginning in 1859.⁴ The trilogy of *On the Origin of Species* (1859), *The Descent of Man* (1871), and *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872) constitute, among many other things, Darwin's extended effort to situate humanity among the animals as sharing a “common progenitor” from whom humans received many of the structures and behaviors that they share with other species. Although Darwin was compelled to explain why humans appear to have superior intelligence when compared to other animals, and he continued to make a distinction between “lower” and “higher” animals, the rigid ladder model that had been used to explain the natural order for centuries was undergoing a significant collapse in science and in visual art.⁵ Species were no longer understood as fixed in inalterable positions; rather, their structures morphed over long periods of time. This new paradigm was evident in cyclical models expressed visually as gradual transformations from one form to another with an emphasis on constant flux as humans no longer enjoyed a place as superior and separate from all other animals.

Darwin understood stringent distinctions like the Great Chain of Being, which kept humans separate and implicitly or explicitly superior, as detrimental to unhindered

⁴ On Darwin's reluctance to publish and the subsequent critical response, see for example David L. Hull “Darwin and his Critics,” in *Darwin: Texts, Commentary*, ed. Philip Appleman, 3rd ed. (New York: Norton, 2001), 257-65.

⁵ See for example Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 2: 390-91.

scientific investigation. This he explained at length in his analysis of emotional expression:

No doubt as long as man and all other animals are viewed as independent creations, an effectual stop is put to our natural desire to investigate as far as possible the causes of Expression. By this doctrine, anything and everything can be equally well explained; and it has proved as pernicious with respect to Expression as to every other branch of natural history. With mankind some expressions, such as the bristling of the hair under the influence of extreme terror, or the uncovering of the teeth under that of furious rage, can hardly be understood, except on the belief that man once existed in a much lower and animal-like condition. The community of certain expressions in distinct though allied species, as in the movements of the same facial muscles during laughter by men and by various monkeys, is rendered somewhat more intelligible, if we believe in their descent from a common progenitor.⁶

Humanity's external appearances, specifically facial expressions, as well as its internal structures, indicate to Darwin a link to animals at some as yet undetermined moment in the evolutionary record.⁷

Natural Selection as Visual Artist

It is fitting that shortly after Darwin's theories were published, artists attuned to his ideas developed new emphases on continuity and change in their depictions of human and animal species. Darwin's writing encourages such responses. His descriptive and elegant prose invites readers to create images in their minds, to picture the shared ways that animals and humans express emotions, or to imagine the appearance of that missing

⁶ Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (London: John Murray, 1872), 12.

⁷ At this writing, an international group of paleontologists and primatologists are cautiously arguing that a well-preserved monkeylike fossil of the species *Darwinius masillae* dating to roughly forty-seven million years ago and found in Germany may represent a potential candidate for the missing link. Or, at the very least, it constitutes a link to other, still missing links. Tim Arango, "Seeking a Missing Link, and a Mass Audience," *The New York Times*, May 18, 2009 <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/19/business/media/19fossil.html> (Accessed May 19, 2009).

link, the “common progenitor.”⁸ In their own way, the myriad anthropomorphic animals or human-animal hybrids that had been visible in French and British art both high and low during the previous seventy years had prepared these audiences for Darwin's visual language and the leaps of imagination it encouraged. For example, in a notorious passage in *The Origin* that did not appear in print after the first edition because of the criticism it incited, Darwin describes how the process of natural selection, like the tricks of an artist's pencil, might transform a bear into a whale. The model Darwin describes is similar to Grandville's method of merging distinct animal species into hybrid forms or depicting the transition from one to the other:

In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale.⁹

Darwin paints with his words an open-mouthed bear, perpetually swimming and gradually morphing over many generations into an aquatic mammal.

⁸ As James A. Secord has argued, *The Origin's* forerunner, the anonymously published *succès de scandale Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844, later attributed to Robert Chambers) was not illustrated until its tenth edition “partly to avoid the taint of commercial spectacle ... for depicting the full range of phenomena would have brought home the book's character as a cornucopia of natural wonders Even without illustrations, however, the vivid analogies and skillfully managed rhetoric could be used to raise the possibility that this was not a high-minded treatise, but a cheap trick.” *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 447.

⁹ On the criticisms that lead to this passage's erasure in subsequent editions, see Jonathan Smith, *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 235; Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: John Murray, 1859), 184.

Similarly, and with more personal ramifications for Darwin's readers, his summation of human evolution in *The Descent of Man* promotes the active visualization of the type of ape-human hybrid creature that might have been *Homo sapiens'* ancestor:

By considering the embryological structure of man, - the homologies which he presents with the lower animals, - the rudiments which he retains, - and the reversions to which he is liable, we can partly recall in imagination the former condition of our early progenitors; and can approximately place them in their proper place in the zoological series. We thus learn that man is descended from a hairy, tailed quadruped, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World. This creature, if its whole structure had been examined by a naturalist, would have been classed among the Quadrumana, as surely as the still more ancient progenitor of the Old and New World monkeys. The Quadrumana and all the higher animals are probably derived from an ancient marsupial animal, and this through a long series of diversified forms, from some amphibian-like creature, and this again from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past we can see that the early progenitor of all the Vertebrata must have been an aquatic animal provided with branchiae, with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body (such as the brain and the heart) imperfectly or not at all developed. This animal seems to have been more like the larvae of the existing marine Ascidians than any other known form.¹⁰

Darwin here sketches a devolution from higher to lower, beginning with the apes, cycling through marsupials, amphibians, and fish to end with the primordial larvae of the sea squirts (the Ascidians).

As scholars of Victorian visual culture like Janet Browne and Jonathan Smith have noted, Darwin's language encourages mental picturing by the reader who translates his text into visual form through a basic familiarity with popular scientific and natural history illustrations.¹¹ However, these scholars have not remarked on the history of

¹⁰ Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 2: 389-90.

¹¹ Janet Browne, "Darwin in Caricature: A Study of the Popularisation and Dissemination of Evolution," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 4 (2001): 496-509; Smith, *Charles Darwin*, 234-35.

humanized animals in fine and popular art that also prepared Darwin's Victorian readers for the relationships he proposed.¹² Because the theories of natural selection and evolution even today encounter skepticism and criticism, the critical responses that reject all or part of Darwin's claims are often what receive the most analysis. Those who accepted and endorsed concepts of transformism and evolution constituted a silent majority.¹³ They came largely from members of the educated middle class, who sought to display a basic knowledge of contemporary scientific and artistic theories as markers of their social status.¹⁴ Visual art and book illustration played essential roles on this stage, as they had been preparing the literate public for decades to confront evolutionary models through the constant depiction of animals that share physical and behavioral similarities with humans.¹⁵ Even the working and indigent classes that crowded the streets of London and Paris might have marveled at dancing dogs or given their pennies to monkeys dressed in human clothing accompanying their organ-grinder masters.¹⁶ Anyone with a spare

¹² Indeed, Diana Donald has recently published her archival research that revealed a photograph of one of Edwin Landseer's paintings of humanized dogs, *Alexander and Diogenes* (1848, Tate, London), among Darwin's visual study materials, which he consulted before he published *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals* in 1872. Donald, "A Mind and Conscience Akin to our Own: Darwin's Theory of Expression and the Depiction of Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Endless Forms*, 205-206.

¹³ It is worth noting that the first edition of *The Origin* sold out on the first day of its appearance, November 24, 1859. Bernd Herkner, "The World of Charles Darwin," in *Darwin: Art and the Search for Origins*, ed. Pamela Kort and Max Hollein (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle, 2009), 258.

¹⁴ On the role of images in the popularization of science, see especially Chapter 13: "Grub Street Science," in Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 437-470.

¹⁵ Julia Voss, "Variation and Selection: The Theory of Evolution in the English and German Illustrated Press of the Nineteenth Century," in *Darwin: Art*, 248-51.

¹⁶ Henry Mayhew interviewed an Italian organ-grinder living in England whose monkey sported military dress, rode a dog, and put out the hat for money at the end of their performance: "I have got only one monkey now ... he is dressed comme un soldat rouge, like one soldier, vid [*sic*] a red jacket and a Bonaparte's hat. My monkey only pull off his hat and take a de money. He used to ride a de dog; but dey stole a de dog." Mayhew also spoke to another Italian, who displayed a troop of dancing dogs: "All ma dogs have des habillements – the dress and de leetle hat. Dey have a leetle jackette in divers colours en étoffe – some de red, and some de green, and some de bleu. Deir hats is de rouge et noir – red and black,

moment could stare at the window displays of print and caricature shops to see the latest works of Grandville and his many imitators who merged human and animal forms in a fantastic menagerie of creatures that seemed so fully, convincingly human (Fig. 146).

Cyclical Metamorphoses and Darwin the Ape

Darwin's ideas were condensed into two main, recurring themes in popular imagery created in England and France following the appearance of the first translation of *The Origin* into French in 1862.¹⁷ These were depictions of Darwin himself in simian form or images of metamorphosis implying the changes by which one species evolved into another (Figs. 147 and 148).¹⁸ Typically, these series ended in the human species, with Darwin representing humanity in Edward Linley Sambourne's (1845-1910) caricature "Man is but a Worm" for *Punch* (Fig. 147). Since Darwin did not directly discuss or illustrate visually the evolution of *Homo sapiens* in *The Origin*, the latter category might more properly trace its roots to the infamous illustration for Huxley's lectures on human evolution, published as *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (1863). Here profile views of ape and human skeletons seem to parade across a tight rope (Fig. 149). Like Petrus Camper before him, Huxley published an image implying at once human superiority and difference, equation and similarity. His text sought to classify the primate species in quantifiable terms according to the point at which their hands hang

wit a leetle plume-fedder, you say.... Ma dogs danse comme les cheins, mais dey valtz comme les dames, and dey stand on dare back-legs like les gentilhommes." *London Labour and the London Poor: Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of Those that Will Work, Those that Cannot Work, and Those that Will Not Work: Volume III: The London Street-Folk* (London: Griffine, Bohn, and Company, 1861), 180 and 181.

¹⁷ This was a translation of the third English edition. Darwin, *De l'origine des espèces, ou des lois du progrès chez les êtres organisés*, trans. Clémence-Auguste Royer (Paris: Guillaumin et Victor Masson, 1862).

¹⁸ Smith, *Charles Darwin*, 234.

beside their bodies, but when the accompanying illustration is read from left to right as is a reader's habit, the apes seem to crouch down and then strive to rise up again to reach the implicit perfection of the human form.¹⁹ The primates are arrayed starting at the left with the long-armed but upright Gibbon, bending downward into the forms of the Orang, Chimpanzee, and Gorilla, and ending on the right in the fully upright human skeleton with its long, straight legs and relatively short arms. As in the diagrams of Camper and Charles White comparing the heads of various human races with those of apes and other animals, placement on the left implies lesser complexity and further distance from the human ideal, which claims the place of honor on the right. Race is not implied in this collection of skeletons but species distinctions are, however negligible they may appear to be. The diagram became iconic, and despite its publication by Huxley, the chart's numerous variations, including those that insert *Homo sapiens's* prehistoric ancestors, continue to be associated with Darwin's name and theories.

The aspects of Darwin's studies that touched upon the possibility of a shared ancestry between humans and apes were undoubtedly the most controversial, to which we may connect the tendency to caricature Darwin in ape form and to link him to charts of metamorphosis that more generally resemble Huxley's theories than his own. As Browne emphasizes, Darwin offered an arboreal visualization of the process of evolution, but this was less readily adopted in images whose creators wished either to allude to or to criticize

¹⁹ “The Gibbons are the smallest, slenderest, and longest-limbed of the man-like apes: their arms are longer in proportion to their bodies than those of the other man-like Apes, so that they can touch the ground when erect; their hands are longer than their feet.... The Orangs have arms which reach to the ankles in the erect position of the animal; their thumbs and great toes are very short, and their feet are longer than their hands The Chimpanzees have arms which reach below the knees; they have large thumbs and great toes, their hands are longer than their feet.... The Gorilla, lastly, has arms which reach to the middle of the leg, large thumbs, and great toes, feet longer than the hands” Huxley, *Evidence*, 35.

the arguments in Darwin's publications.²⁰ In *The Origin*, Darwin had likened the generation and extinction of species to the growth of a tree:

As buds give rise by growth to fresh buds, and these, if vigorous, branch out and overtop on all sides many a feebler branch, so by generation I believe it has been with the great Tree of Life, which fills with its dead and broken branches the crust of the earth, and covers the surface with its ever-branching and beautiful ramifications.²¹

This image of evolution was frequently associated with Darwin's familiar, bearded face, but the simian form almost always intruded as well. As Jonathan Smith has demonstrated, caricaturists delighted in giving Darwin an ape form and placing him in his "Tree of Life," even when alluding to writings that were not concerned with human evolution. Sambourne exemplified this tendency in his caricature for *Punch*, "Suggested Illustration for 'Dr. Darwin's Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants'" (Fig. 150).²² Darwin's long, flowing beard merges seamlessly with his hairy ape's body. He is perched on a tree branch, smoking a pipe and wearing an expression of deep contemplation.

When aspects of Darwin's theories were satirized visually, they often appeared as images in which one species transforms into another. Unlike Huxley's chart, which arranged the primate species on the same horizontal line, caricatures of natural selection and evolution were frequently constructed using circular or spiral patterns to imply a recurring cycle of metamorphosis. Charles Henry Bennett's (1828-1867) series of caricatures "The Origin of Species, Dedicated by Natural Selection to Charles Darwin," published in the *Illustrated Times* between May and October of 1863 and republished in

²⁰ Browne, "Darwin in Caricature," 501.

²¹ Charles Darwin, *The Origin*, 130.

²² Smith, *Charles Darwin*, 234. Sambourne in *Punch* 69 (1875): 242.

book form in 1872 made repeated use of this cyclical form (Figs. 151, 152, and 153).²³ In Bennett's twenty drawings, inanimate objects and diverse animal species morph by degrees into generic human types: the lonely spinster, the sluggish schoolboy, the untrustworthy lawyer, etc. Yet, often the circular shape of these compositions allows for the possibility of an eternally repeating cycle, as the animal becomes a human and back again. The human is no longer presented as the goal, the highest possible outcome of species transformation, but devolution into an animal form is just as likely as the animal's evolution into hybrid or human shape.²⁴

The disappearance of hierarchies appears most prominently in the first caricature of the series, "Like a Bull at a Gate," which served as the title page in the book edition of Bennett's drawings (Fig. 151). If the image is read as a progression from inanimate to animate, the cycle begins with a book lying on a table on the lower left. The book becomes a bellows upon which stands a pig. This pig is roasted on a platter in the next segment. Then, miraculously, it arises unscathed from the dinner table as a healthy boar with prominent teeth protruding from its lower jaw. In the next portion, the boar is now a cow, though its flattened nose and curly tail remain porcine in appearance. At the top of the circle, the cow-pig is drawn as a strapping bull whose curved horns and visible genitals indicate his virility. The bull is evidently castrated to become an oxen in the next step. Slight hints of what will become a buttoned vest appear on the animal's side. Then, Bennett merges the animal and the human in a very oddly shaped hybrid creature that

²³ Charles H. Bennett and Robert B. Brough, *Character Sketches, Development Drawings, and Original Pictures of Wit and Humour: Done in Permanent Lines for Posterity* (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1872).

²⁴ Voss, "Variation and Selection," 250.

might be labeled an armless minotaur. This human-animal retains the bull's horns, tail, and hooves, but he appears to be wearing a collared jacket and shirt. By the next figure, the human portions have almost fully absorbed and encased the animal parts. What were previously horns now appear as wild tufts of hair protruding from a balding forehead. The tail has become the fabric folds of the jacket, and other human accessories like a medallion and eyeglasses have taken shape on the man's vest. Finally, at the bottom of the circle a bald man with a prominent lower jaw holds his jacket behind him with one hand while the other hand knocks on the top of a table as if to emphasize a point found in the book that rests on the same table. This is the very book that began the cycle. It will now revolve through animal, hybrid, and human permutations once again.

As Julia Voss has recently claimed, the gentleman in “Like a Bull at a Gate” may resemble the young Darwin in the days before he sprouted his iconic beard.²⁵ While such an interpretation holds some validity, it is not evident that the other caricatures in the same series are intended to depict recognizable individuals.²⁶ Rather, Bennett's drawings are a collection of *physiologies* or generic human types, like those popularized in France in the early 1840s.²⁷ The bullish man in this caricature might more properly be understood as John Bull, who from the early eighteenth century onwards functioned as a symbol of the average Englishman, much like Uncle Sam came to stand for the Yankee. As Richard Altick notes, by the mid-nineteenth century, John Bull could be recognized in his “customary guise of a country squire or prosperous farmer, portly and half-bald ...

²⁵ “Variation and Selection,” 250.

²⁶ David Bindman repeats Voss's assertion that the bull-man cycle includes a portrait of the young Charles Darwin in “Mankind after Darwin and Nineteenth-Century Art,” in *Endless Forms*, 148.

²⁷ See Chapter Four above.

sensible, generous, good-natured, and incorruptibly honest.... much put upon but quite ready to fight when provoked beyond patience.”²⁸ Such a description certainly fits the man in Bennett's “Like a Bull at a Gate,” whose gestures imply his readiness to argue his claims.

Grandville's Visual Transformism

When Marguerite Mespoulet wrote her study *Creators of Wonderland* in 1934, she quite convincingly asserted that J.-J. Grandville's humanized animals inspired Lewis Carroll's own drawings for the manuscript version of his book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) as well as John Tenniel's designs for the published version of this iconic illustrated novel (Fig. 87).²⁹ However, Bennett's cyclical drawings dedicated to Darwin indicate an English appreciation of Grandville's art contemporaneous to or even previous to Carroll's and Tenniel's engagements with it.³⁰ Grandville himself had drawn several series of metamorphoses in *Un autre monde* (1844) and in two well-known images of dreams, which were published in the illustrated weekly *Magasin pittoresque* in July 1847, four months after the artist's death (Figs. 154 and 155).³¹ As in Bennett's metamorphoses, Grandville's drawings present sequences implying transitions between humans, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. These lack the cyclical structure of

²⁸ *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841-1851* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1997), 138-39.

²⁹ Mespoulet's is perhaps the first monograph in English to analyze Grandville's art; *Creators of Wonderland* (New York: Arrow Editions, 1934).

³⁰ Voss mentions Grandville and Bennett in the same paragraph, but does not note the works by Grandville for *Magasin pittoresque* (see below) which most resemble Bennett's transformations. “Variation and Selection,” 250.

³¹ Grandville, “Deux rêves par J.J. Grandville,” *Magasin pittoresque* 15, no. 27 (1847): 210-14; in the secondary literature, see especially Philippe Kaenel, “Les rêves illustrés de J.-J. Grandville (1803-1847),” *Revue de l'art* 92 (1991): 51-63.

Bennett's images. Instead, with their clear beginnings and endings, they represent strings of images that gradually transform from one shape to the next like a series of free associations. In a letter explaining “Une promenade dans le ciel,” Grandville himself stipulated the order the viewer must follow through the transformations (Fig. 154).³² This line snakes in a large bend from the upper left across to the right side of the engraving and back to the lower left. It is balanced by the shape of a cloud on the left side of the plate. The moon at the upper left becomes a mushroom, then an umbrella, an owl-bat hybrid, a bellows, a heart with an arrow through it, a spool of thread, a toy cart drawn by horses, and finally the Big Dipper of the Ursa Major constellation at the lower left.

This gentle promenade through the night sky lacks any moralizing message, as Grandville admitted in his letter to the journal's editor Édouard Charton (1807-1890) in which the artist described his drawing.³³ Rather, Grandville apparently selected the objects for their aesthetic appearances. The other of Grandville's “Deux rêves” published in *Magasin pittoresque*, “Crime et expiation,” adopts a darker tone. Its themes of violence and remorse explore one man's potential for brutality (Fig. 155). Beginning again at the upper left, a man appears to slay another with a club. This victim reaches his hands toward his killer in a final plea for mercy, while his wild hair radiates from his head like the roots of a tree. Droplets of blood fall from from these roots and then flow together to create a sea of blood at the bottom of the image. The murder takes place in the shadow of

³² This letter was published along with the drawings. “Après avoir averti les lectures que le dessin doit être regardé en commençant au haut de la page, et en suivant la ligne descendante des diverses figures jusqu'à l'extrémité inférieure où se termine le rêve, vous pourriez expliquer à peu près ainsi le premier sujet: Crime et expiation.” Grandville, “Deux rêves,” 210-11.

³³ “... l'explication ne me paraît pas facile, par suite du peu de liaison qu'il y a entre ces objets de nature si diverse, et aussi par suite de l'absence d'une idée morale soutenue du commencement à la fin” Grandville, “Deux rêves,” 211.

a cross, which Grandville stated he included as evidence “that a crime had already been committed in this place.”³⁴ The cross then becomes the basis for most of the image's transformations. Grandville changes it into a fountain, then the “sword of justice,” and then the scales of justice.³⁵ Yet, this is not blind justice, for one of the scales is drawn in the shape of an open eye.³⁶ The eye is then detached from the scales to pursue a shadowy human figure. This man apparently attempts to flee the all-seeing eye, first on foot and then on horseback before the man tumbles into the sea. There the eye, itself seemingly diving into the waves, becomes a giant toothy fish that devours the man's leg. He stretches his arms in supplication toward a white cross, but since his gesture echoes the futile pose of his victim at the top of the plate, the viewer is led to assume that the God symbolized by the cross will ignore the murderer just as God ignored the murdered man. Meanwhile, the victim's hands at the top of the image have their own role to play as they reappear beneath the fountain and merge into the scales of justice. The scales are topped by a single hand with a pointing finger, which will, like the all-seeing eye, pursue the guilty.

Grandville asserted that “Crime et expiation” was nothing but a nightmare, the thought of a crime that was not ultimately committed.³⁷ However, the themes of guilt and the futility of flight from justice are repeatedly emphasized in the image's transitions. An

³⁴ “...près d'une croix indiquant qu'un crim a déjà été commis en ce lieu....” Grandville, “Deux rêves,” 211.

³⁵ “La croix, déjà changée en fontaine, prend la forme du glaive de la justice.” Grandville, “Deux rêves,” 211.

³⁶ Themes of looking and images of detached eyes appeared prominently in Grandville's drawings for the book *Un autre monde*. See Chapter Four above.

³⁷ “Au fond apparait encore la fontaine qui, cette fois, verse peut-être les larmes du repentir, et lave, en le purifiant, le rêveur qui, sur ce dernier trait, se réveille très heureux d'en être quitte pour la peur, s'il a en effet médité un crime et ne l'a pas accompli.” Grandville, “Deux rêves, 211.

ambiguous message is fitting in a drawing of a dream. Whatever Grandville intended, his visualizations of metamorphoses could easily be modified by a satirical artist like Bennett to fit a post-Darwinian moment. Darwin's concepts of evolution and natural selection yielded a paradigm in which one need no longer merely dream that one species might be transformed into another. Yet, Bennett retained the moralizing tone found in Grandville's "Crime et expiation" in many of his cyclical images. This insertion of moral messages into images dedicated (albeit with tongue in cheek) to Darwin deliberately denies the validity of Darwin's characterization of evolution as a mechanism without ethics, the pursuit of the single goal of reproduction to further one's species. In Bennett's worldview, morality cannot be extracted from the equation, and evolution is inextricably paired with its opposite: devolution. For example, Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" punishes a young boy who pokes at a parrot in a cage with a stick (Fig. 152). The boy is transformed into a monkey who is itself tortured by its human owner. This man, whip in hand, morphs into the parrot. On the left side of the image, the villain becomes the victim, while on the right side the reverse process occurs.

The Inheritance of Cruelty

While Bennett adopted aspects of Grandville's aesthetic of association, the moralizing tone in many of his images might more accurately be linked to the tradition of William Hogarth's (1697-1764) paintings and prints and Thomas Bewick's vignettes and tailpieces. Both of these English artists utilized animal forms to convey messages about the proper treatment of animals and how one can read a human's inner character based

upon his or her relationship to animals.³⁸ Violent acts against animals are understood as leading inevitably to violence against fellow humans. Bewick's tailpieces often preached a direct connection between cruelty towards animals and eternal punishment in death (Fig. 42). Yet, Bennett's images must confront a different paradigm brought about by Darwin's theories. In the new order of the natural world, one must effectively treat animals with mercy because humans are animals themselves. This is Bennett's contribution, though he hides it behind a veil of gently mocking humor, as in "A Monkey Trick." In the Hogarthian print "The Origin of Garotte," Bennett makes the moral claim for humane treatment of animals most forcefully (Fig. 153). Here Bennett directly links cruelty to animals as leading to cruelty towards humans. An executioner (a garotter) holding his instrument (the garotte) becomes a muzzled dancing bear chained to a post in just five steps, which are literally depicted as stairs in the image. The garotter's pocket watch transforms into the padlocked chain that shackles the bear while the man's garotte, a club used to strangle the criminal or victim, becomes the pole to which the bear is attached. There is no cycle of evolution and devolution implied here. The image conveys a grim view of human nature, which chains the animal while allowing humanity's most brutal, animalistic aspects free reign. The image asks, which is the more dangerous predator: man or beast? The preponderance of human tools utilized to tame, subdue, and confine the animal seems to answer the former, while the supposedly dangerous bear is nothing but a dancing shadow shaped to perform by force of human will and engineering.

³⁸ On the moral imperative in Hogarth's print series "The Four Stages of Cruelty," see Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 15-18.

After Darwin, images of humanized animals could retain moralizing messages, but they are laced with an anxious view of humanity. While humans had convinced themselves for centuries that they sat one rung below angels on the ladder up to heaven, they were now forced to confront a different order. As in a visual metamorphosis drawn by Grandville or Bennett, that ladder of creation had become Darwin's tree of life. It contained no scale of value other than what was driven by natural selection. Where could morality fit in such a scheme? If humans really were close to angels, then why did they kill each other like fierce animal predators? Perhaps even worse than animals, they killed their own species for blood alone, not generally for the sustenance that their meat or skins could provide. In addition, they killed animals for sport, deriving little from the shooting of animals like stags and foxes other than furs and trophies.

As Shao-Chien Tseng has recently asserted in her brilliantly argued study of Gustave Courbet's (1819-1877) hunting paintings, Courbet designed his compositions to admit a deeply rooted ambivalence about the sport. His paintings depict the suffering incurred by all the animal participants – starving dogs, rearing horses, and expiring stags alike – in ways that often disconcerted critics (Fig. 156).³⁹ This denial of the human heroicism expected from a hunting scene and the admission that humans ought to feel some responsibility for the pain they cause may also be linked to Lamarckian and Darwinian views circulating in France after the 1862 translation into French of Darwin's

³⁹ For example, Tseng writes of Courbet's masterful *Hallali du cerf* (1867, Musée des Beaux-arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon), "Far from an anodyne celebration of the venerable tradition, its unflinching stress on animal suffering disconcerted the nonhunting audience and challenged the urban bourgeois standard of humane behavior." "Contested Terrain: Gustave Courbet's Hunting Scenes," *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 2 (2008): 231.

The Origin.⁴⁰ If nature was ever-changing and humans shared with animals intellect and reason, then what right had humans to harm fellow creatures? Courbet's paintings pondered these questions even as the artist himself, much like his English colleague Edwin Landseer, continued to kill animals for sport.⁴¹

Animal Survival, Human Extinction

Alongside the anxiety that humans might not have the moral right to hunt, there existed the terrifying new view of nature as a machine without a designer or a driver, one that was nevertheless determined to devour weakened humanity. What Darwin rather mildly characterized as “the struggle for existence” was later repackaged in Herbert Spencer's iconic phrase “survival of the fittest,” a broad concept that has subsequently been applied to everything from economics to athletics to reality television programs.⁴² Edwin Landseer's dramatic tableau *Man Proposes, God Disposes* (1864), which caused a sensation at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1864 and was displayed in Paris at the Exposition universelle of 1878, epitomizes this new paradigm (Fig. 157). In what might be labeled the post-Darwinian Sublime, insignificant humanity and its fragile creations are consumed and absorbed by the superior strength of red nature with its teeth and

⁴⁰ Tseng, “Contested Terrain,” 229.

⁴¹ For a comparison of Courbet and Landseer and the possibility that Courbet knew the latter's works through their publication in *Magasin pittoresque*, see Joseph Rishel, “Landseer and the Continent: The Artist in International Perspective,” in Richard Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981), 35-36.

⁴² “As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be *naturally selected*.” Darwin, *The Origin*, 5. Spencer wrote “This survival of the fittest, which I have here sought to express in mechanical terms, is that which Mr Darwin has called 'natural selection, or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life.’” *The Principles of Biology* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864), 444-45.

claws.⁴³ Although the title paraphrases a biblical verse and gives omniscient God the supreme power of selection, the composition itself conveys a conflicted message laced with dark doubts.⁴⁴ The force of nature claims control here - man proposes, *nature* disposes - as two toothy polar bears, drawn from live specimens then in residence at the London Zoo, chew upon a human rib cage and a Royal Navy ensign wrapped around the ship's mast.⁴⁵ The scene is set in an atmospheric landscape amid icebergs and arctic fog.⁴⁶

As several critics have noted, the shape of the mast resembles a cross, which now lies broken upon rocks and ice.⁴⁷ If God truly does the disposing here, why has this symbol of Christianity been laid to waste along with humans, allegedly God's chosen species? Any God at work here is a heartless, theriomorphic God, working in the shape of two predatory animals to punish human arrogance.⁴⁸ Conversely, Landseer's painting might be understood as a vision of Godless nature, a land where religion is only a flimsy human construct that tumbles in the face of fitter foe. Landseer imagines the post-

⁴³ Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 206.

⁴⁴ Cf. Proverbs 16:9: "A man's heart deviseth his way: but the Lord directeth his steps." Thomas à Kempis created the phrase "Homo proposit, sed Deus disponit" in his *De Imitatione Christi* (1427). Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 207.

⁴⁵ Although some critics have identified this flag as a Union Jack, Andrew Moore recently asserted that it is the Navy ensign, a piece of which was discovered among the remains of Franklin's expedition in 1859. This ensign remained in use in 1864. "Sir Edwin Landseer's *Man Proposes, God Disposes* and the Fate of Franklin," *British Art Journal* 9, no. 3 (2009): 35.

⁴⁶ Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 207-8; Frederic George Stephens, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (London: Sampson, Low, Martson, Searle, and Rivington, 1880), 105-106.

⁴⁷ See for example the entry in Tim Barringer, David Manning, Mary Cowling, et al., *Paintings from the Reign of Victoria: The Royal Holloway Collection, London* (London: Art Services International, 2008), 187.

⁴⁸ Landseer's scene was in part inspired by the failed expedition of Sir John Franklin (1786-1847), who disappeared while trying to find the Canadian Northwest Passage in 1847. When remains of members of the expedition were finally found in 1859, they included evidence that the crew had died from diseases, famine, and arctic temperatures. Those who survived the longest may have resorted to cannibalism. Moore, "Edwin Landseer's *Man Proposes*," 33.

Darwinian landscape as post-apocalyptic. If there ever was a God, He has long since departed, leaving animals, who were supposed to be under humanity's dominion, to scavenge the wreckage.

Such an interpretation of the painting is appropriate given the scorn that Landseer heaped equally upon naturalists like Darwin and upon religious doctrine in general. When Darwin's name was mentioned during Landseer's conversations with his erstwhile student Frederick William Keyl and recorded in the latter's diary in 1869, Landseer professed a belief in what might be termed a cyclical Social Darwinism driven by the destructive force of religious wars:

He [Landseer] then asked me if I knew any of the modern Philosophers- what are their Names.... I said there is Darwin, Wallis, Mr Blyth He: all these men who know Latin Names can bother the Public very much, but they know really nothing and have no observation of living things. He thought our Lord had got in a bother with Man – whom he perhaps created & was responsible to somebody more powerful – and so he allowed every thousand years some fellow to start up with a new religion.... We discussed Darwin's ideas of creation, he thought I had it all at my [fingers'] end but said he could not agree.⁴⁹

At this late stage in his life, Landseer was prone to be disagreeable and his mind was much weakened by alcoholism and mental illness, but he absorbed certain aspects of Darwinism to arrive at the perception of humans as ruthless predators who will gladly kill one another over differences in religious creeds. The God he describes to Keyl is not omniscient if this God is “responsible to somebody more powerful.” Despite Landseer's assertions that he cannot agree with Darwin and that the naturalists know nothing, the vision of nature that the painter presents is one of fierce competition for survival. It is a place where the strong triumph and the weak are devoured. In an inversion of much of

⁴⁹ Frederick William Keyl, diary, 25 February 1869, Royal Archives VIC/AddX14/20/9, Windsor Castle.

what came before it, the strong in this new order are the animals, while humans are the weak.

This is in stark contrast to many of Landseer's earlier paintings. Works of baroque violence like the spectacular and disturbing *The Otter Speared: Portrait of the Earl of Aberdeen's Otter Hounds* (1844) typically placed humans, especially the human hunter, in a position of supreme power (Fig. 158).⁵⁰ In this painting, the hunter is surrounded and supported by a pack of highly individualized dogs. These animals have been bred and trained to ferret out the appropriate quarry, though it is the man who ultimately impales the otter on a long spear. The dying animal twists its long body around the instrument of its death in a final, futile attempt to bite the spear and free itself. Two blood-stained fish, perhaps what the otter itself had been trying to hunt in competition with humans, lie on the riverbank.⁵¹ The contrast in message with *Man Proposes, God Disposes*, painted twenty years later, indicates that, by the end of his career, Landseer and the society of which he was a part were experiencing deeply destabilizing doubts. If even the virile British Arctic explorer could not survive the forces of nature, what hope was there for the rest of humanity?

The Planet Goes on Cycling

Amidst efforts to fortify models of species organization to keep humanity in a dominant position, a chorus of voices in the early nineteenth century suggests not separation but continuation, not stasis but perpetual change, not elevation *above* but

⁵⁰ On Landseer's hunting scenes of the 1840s, see Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 292-305.

⁵¹ Donald notes that at the time otters were much reviled because they were allegedly decimating fish populations in Scotland's rivers. *Picturing Animals in Britain*, 294.

evolution *from* a common ancestor.⁵² The shift was not immediate, and indeed the body of imagery analyzed throughout this study collectively demonstrates that struggles in redefinition do not yield consistency. Rather, the new paradigm required a gradual period of adjustment that had been occurring over several decades as evidence from zoology and biology mounted. Much of this evidence was given visual form by artists seeking to convey to a wide audience what scientists and other educated individuals witnessed with their own eyes. Scientists themselves utilized visual language and often published illustrations in their books.⁵³ Darwin's staunch advocate, the “bulldog” Thomas Henry Huxley offers a prime example.⁵⁴ Huxley adopts a language that echoes early responses to the first photographs as he describes the destabilized reactions many had when confronted with live examples of the uncanny, human-like great apes:

Brought face to face with these blurred copies of himself, the least thoughtful of men is conscious of a certain shock, due, perhaps not so much to disgust at the aspect of what looks like an insulting caricature, as to the awakening of a sudden and profound mistrust of time-honoured theories and strongly-rooted prejudices regarding his own position in nature, and his relations to the under-world of life; while that which remains a dim suspicion for the unthinking, becomes a vast argument, fraught with the deepest consequences, for all who are acquainted with the recent progress of the anatomical and physiological sciences.⁵⁵

⁵² In Charles Darwin's terminology, this is the “common progenitor.” See for example *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1871), 2: 386.

⁵³ Diana Donald, “Introduction,” in *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science, and the Visual Arts*, ed. Diana Donald and Jane Munro (Cambridge, UK: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2009), 1.

⁵⁴ For a summary of Huxley's efforts on Darwin's behalf, see “Chapter Three: Darwin and his Bulldog,” in Peter J. Bowler, *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons: Evolution and Christianity from Darwin to Intelligent Design* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 79-133.

⁵⁵ *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1863), 73-74; photography would only acquire its status as nearly unassailable copyist of scientific “truth” in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 1-2.

In Huxley's opinion, what is disturbing about the sight of a living anthropoid ape to Western Europeans is not their aesthetic appearance but rather the ways their forms force the questioning and eventual dissolution of long-held beliefs. What was once an incontrovertible hierarchy that kept humans separate and superior collapsed, leaving humans in a jumbled heap together with all the animals they had previously kept at an insurmountable distance through hierarchical systems of difference.

A final aspect of Darwin's theories that was so disorienting was his perhaps unintentional revival of the ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus's (c. 535-475 BCE) concept of eternal flux. As the axiom (possibly erroneously attributed to Heraclitus) is now stated, the only constant is change. For Darwin, this was applied over countless generations, each passing along slight inherited variations to the next.⁵⁶ Whatever features did not aid each species in its survival were rendered vestigial over vast amounts of time. Species were no longer pinned in place like specimens in an entomologist's collection, nor were they confined to an unchanged existence that began in Eden only 6,000 years ago. Mutability was no longer an absurdity, although many caricaturists continued to present it as such (cf. Fig. 148). This prospect of an ever-changing universe susceptible to constant revision offered both promise and pain. As the continuing debates in the United States regarding concepts of Creationism and Intelligent Design indicate, we as the

⁵⁶ The famous final sentence of *The Origin* emphasized this conception of evolution: "There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved." Darwin, *The Origin*, 490.

American variety of this human species have yet to come to terms with the view of nature as an ever-fluctuating river whose course is constantly shifting.⁵⁷

In a worldview no longer premised on the existence of an all-seeing, all-knowing Creator, seemingly random, unguided change slips in to fill that void. Grandville's drawings of dream transformations and Bennett's cyclical metamorphoses participate in this paradigm of continual flux. Within a few decades, works like these, in which each image is followed by its slight variant to yield a series viewed in its totality, would be adapted by new types of media: first in stop-motion photography, as in Eadweard Muybridge's (1830-1904) photographs revising human understanding of the appearance of a running horse's gait, and then in the motion picture (Fig. 159).⁵⁸ The latter was ideally suited for the reappearance of anthropomorphic animals. Indeed, Grandville's humanized animals and the animated cartoon mice and ducks of Walt Disney (1901-1966) are frequently mentioned in the same breath, as if Disney had merely set in motion Grandville's stills.⁵⁹ Now it is just as likely that one's child will encounter his or her first humanized animals on a screen as in a book. Additionally, efforts have been made to render film as a medium to convey human dominion over animals. The genre of the nature film developed to apply anthropocentric narratives to mundane animal experiences or to characterize nature as the site of bloody and heroic struggles for survival.

⁵⁷ Several recent books outline the debates raging particularly on the level of state boards of education regarding the teaching of evolution in schools. See for example, Bowler, *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons* and Kenneth R. Miller, *Only a Theory: Evolution and the Battle for America's Soul* (New York: Viking, 2008).

⁵⁸ On the connection between Muybridge, Darwin, and photography, see for example Linda Nochlin, "The Darwin Effect," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2, no. 2 (2003): http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_03/articles/noch.shtml

⁵⁹ Annie Renonciat, "De poil et de plume: les *Métamorphoses du jour* de Grandville," in *Grandville: Les Métamorphoses du jour* (Nancy: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nancy, 2003), 30.

Photography, whether still or motion, was often presented as ethically superior to hunting. One could shoot the animal and claim a trophy without shooting to kill.⁶⁰ As framers of a vision of nature, photographers retain at least a small degree of dominion over whatever creatures pass through their viewfinders. They may not physically harm animals, but they sometimes perpetuate hierarchies in which animals are objectified for human profit.⁶¹

In their translation from the cage, the canvas, or the page onto the screen, animals in visual imagery continue to be utilized for edification and entertainment. Yet, more profoundly, they function as markers of anxiety, indicating the weak points in human self perception, those aspects of ourselves that titillate and terrify us: that we may not be intellectually, physically, or aesthetically superior; that we may not be all-powerful; that we may not be sexually appealing to members of our own species; that we may produce monsters if species are not fixed in place and time; that we may be little more than hairless apes. During the first half of the nineteenth century, artists as well as scientists confronted these fears in the images presented here and in countless other pieces of ephemera and material culture not fortunate enough to grace library shelves or museum galleries.

Before Darwin's theory of evolution offered a credible system to explain ancestral relationships between humans and a common, apelike ancestor, the Great Chain of Being and the Judeo-Christian tradition sought to assert humanity's unassailable dominion over beasts, fowl, fish, and plants. The ladder of creation ascended by fixed degrees up to

⁶⁰ Jonathan Burt, *Animals in Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 98.

⁶¹ Burt's book asserts that some filmmakers (largely those creating fictional films) grant their animal subjects agency. *Animals in Film*, 30.

humanity, the angels, and God. When eventually this ladder was dismantled, artists played a role suggesting what might take its place. They participated in projects of human redefinition and produced what were essentially visual hypotheses. As I have asserted throughout, visual artists persistently utilized animal forms to interrogate the human condition, to explore the thorny project of human self-definition, and to engage debates regarding the relationship – whether it is ancestral or otherwise – between humans and animals. In short, these artists represented the animal in their efforts to confront and to accommodate the ever more apparent animality in us all.

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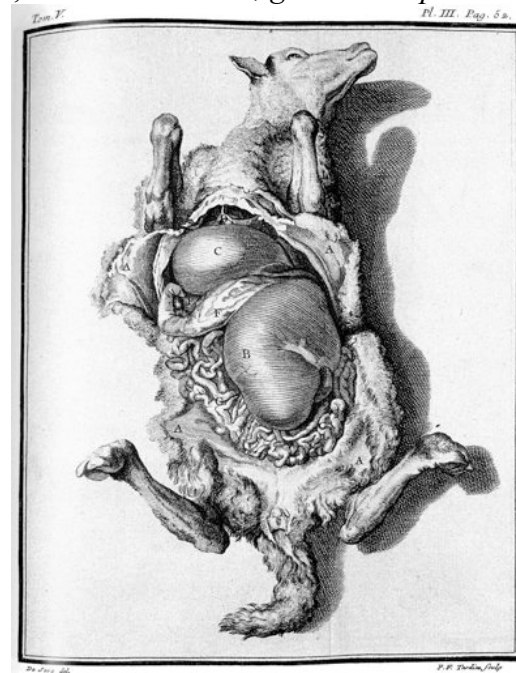


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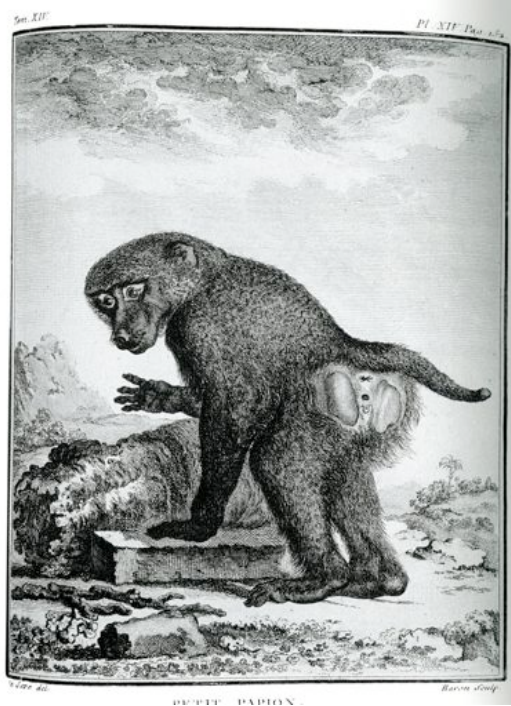


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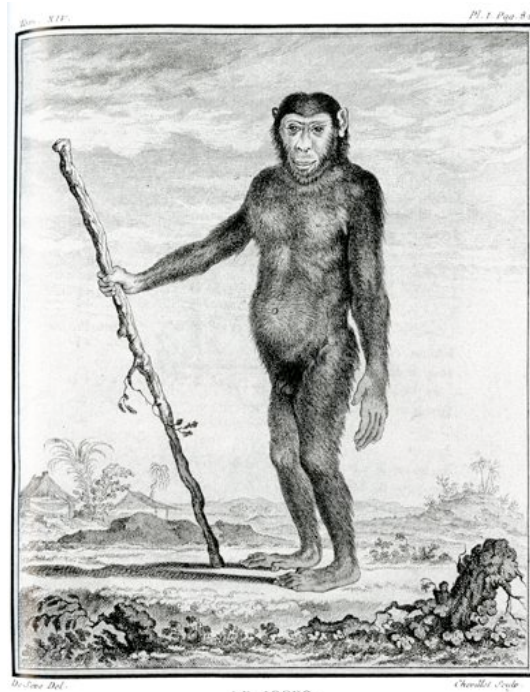


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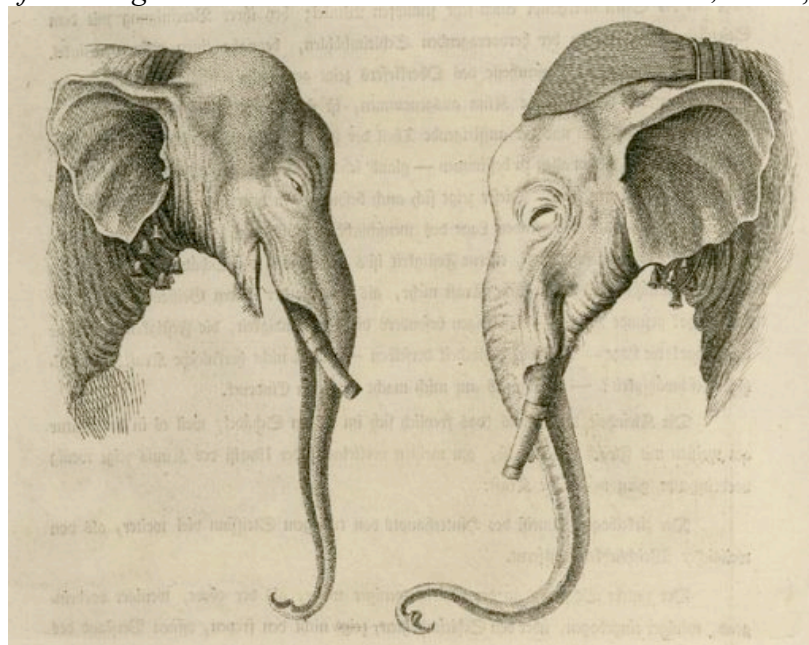


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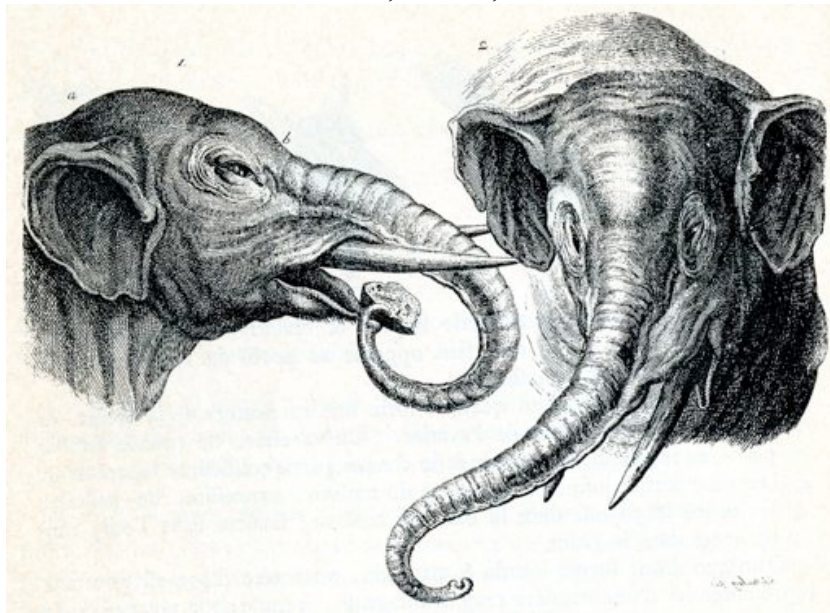


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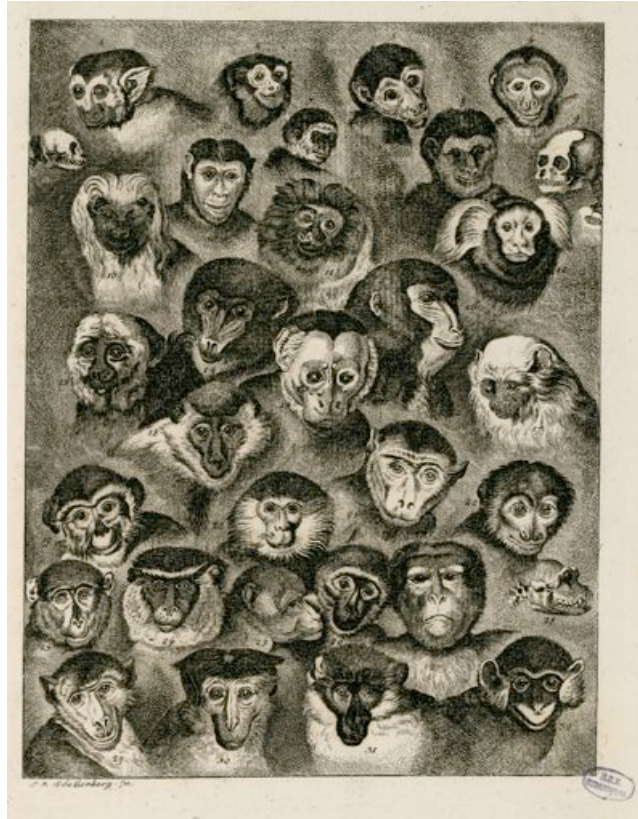


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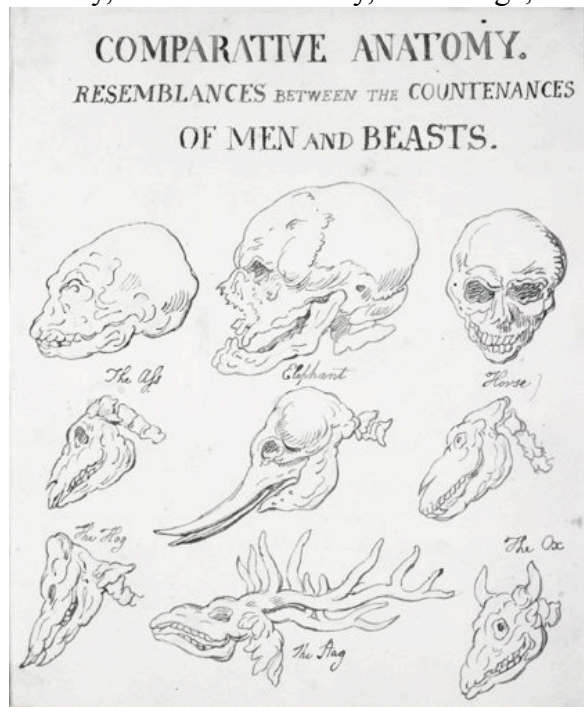


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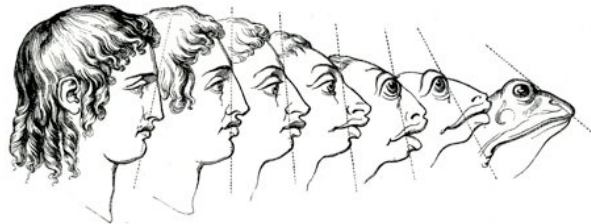


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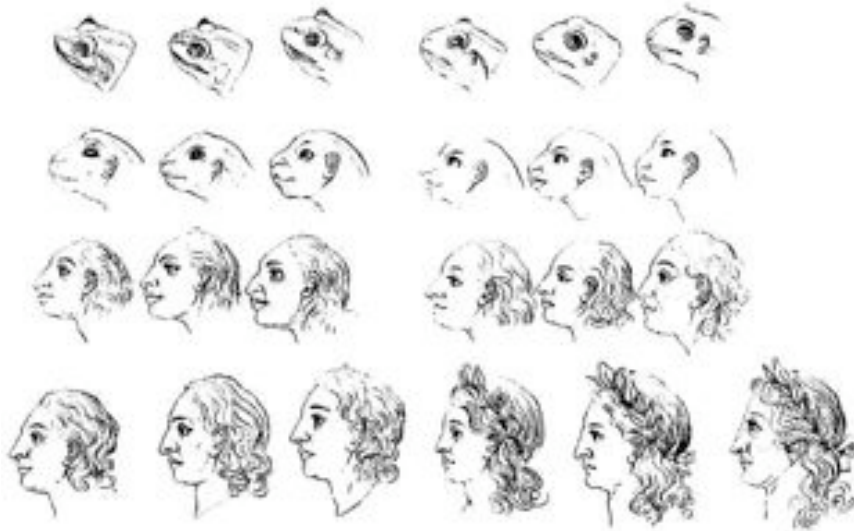


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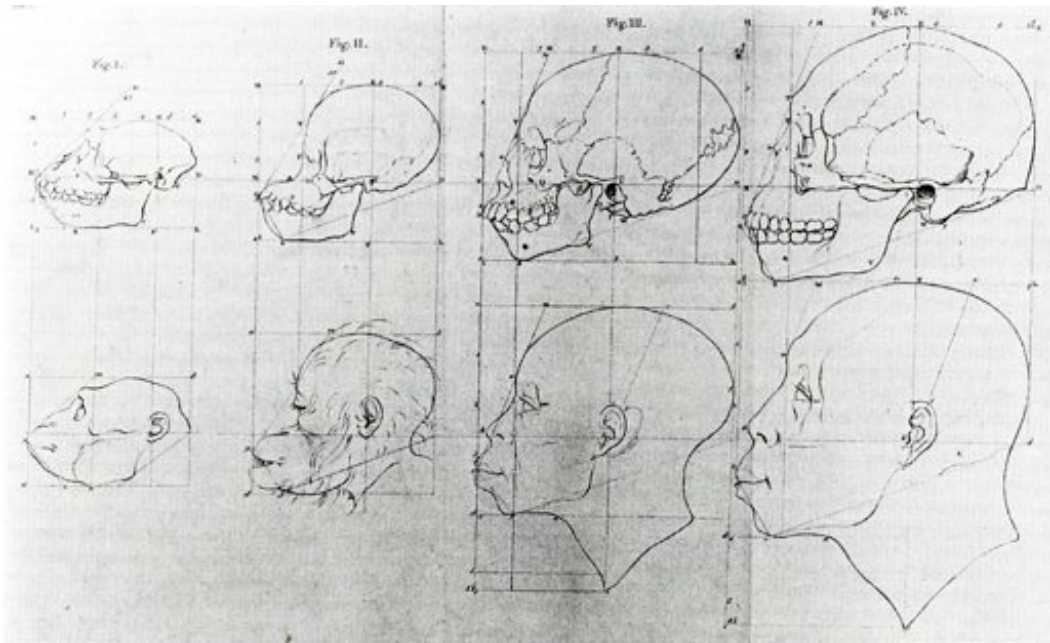


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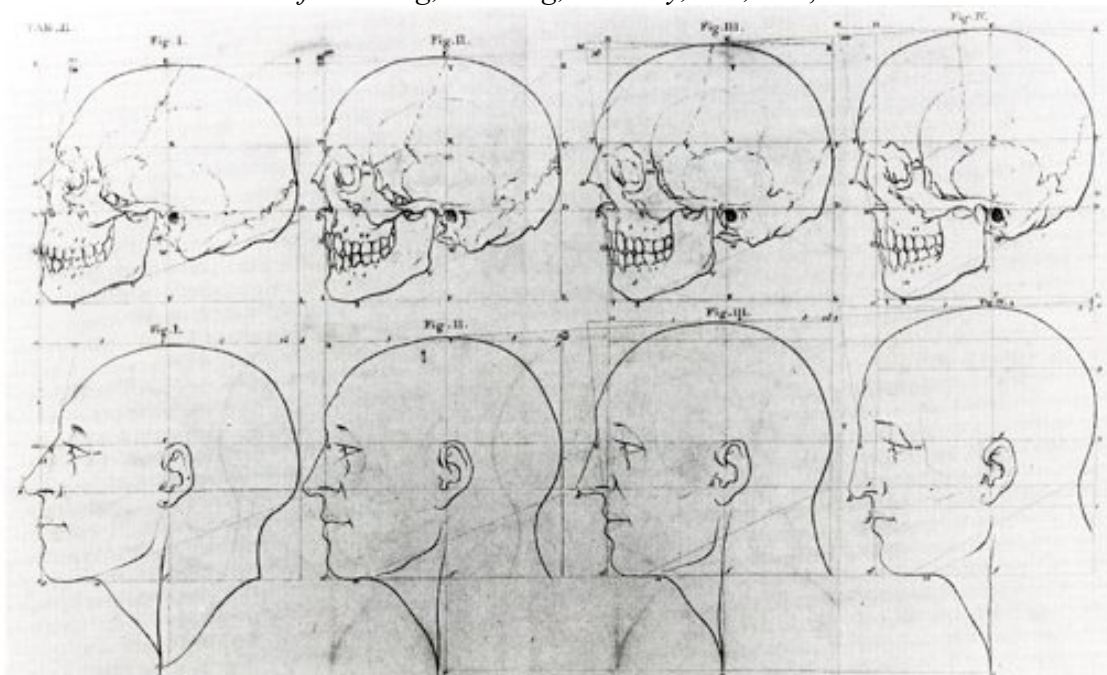


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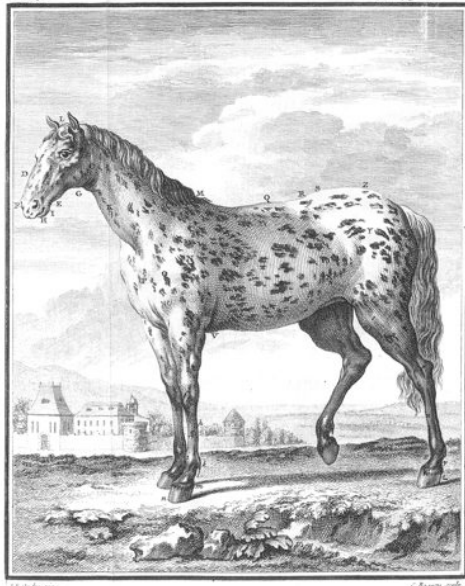


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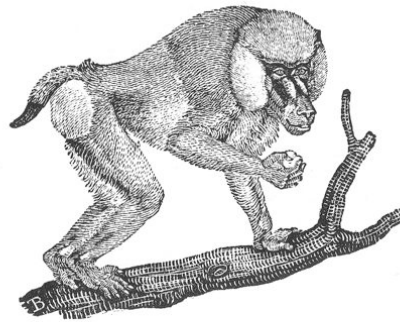


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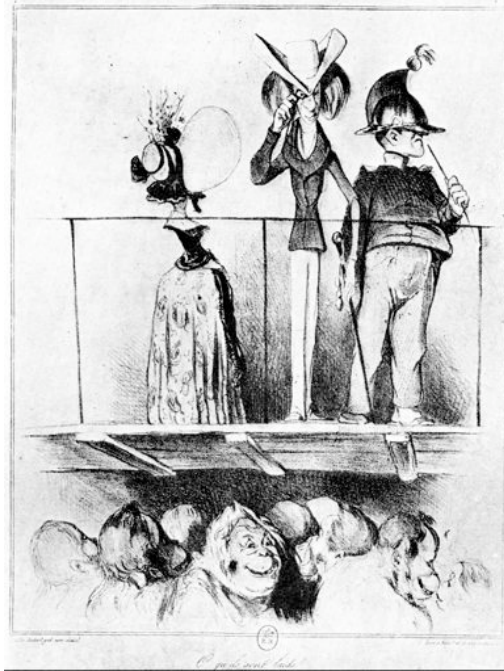


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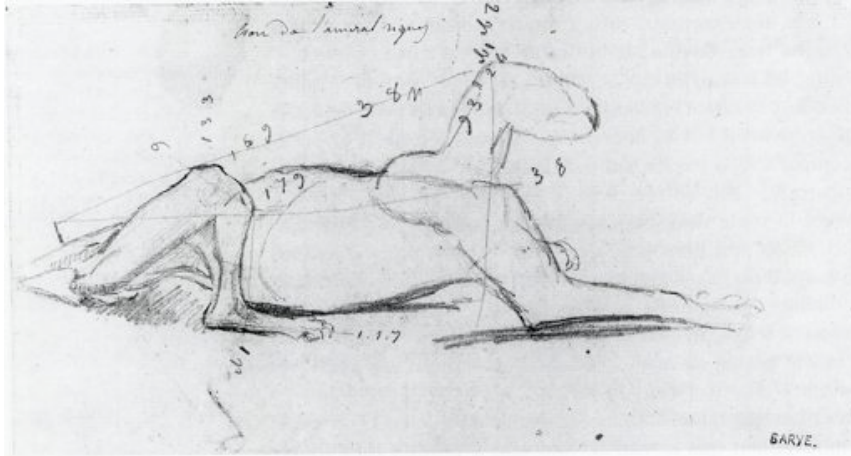


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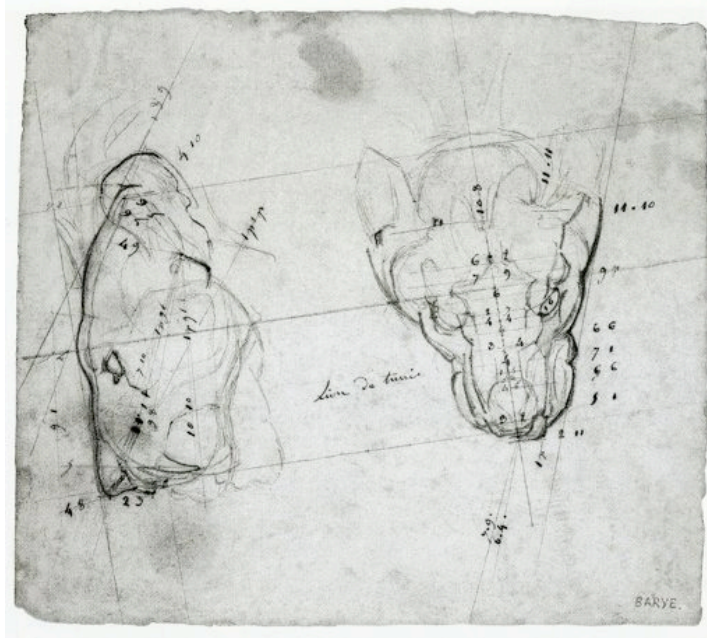


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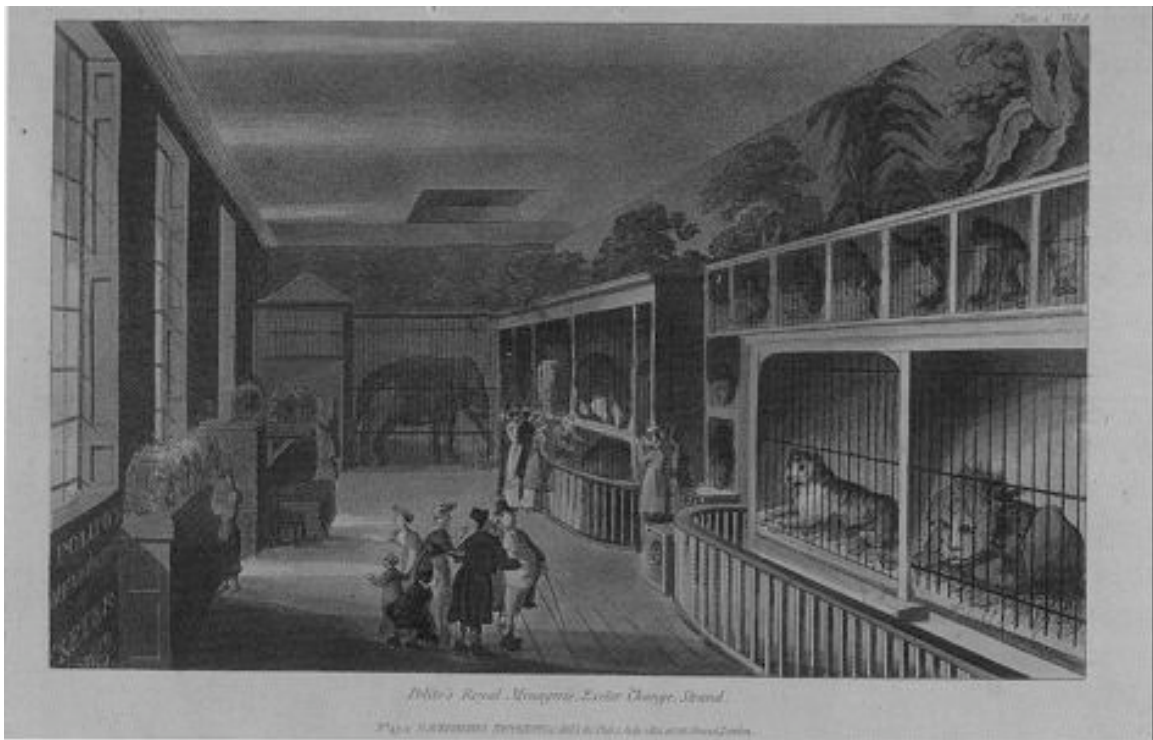


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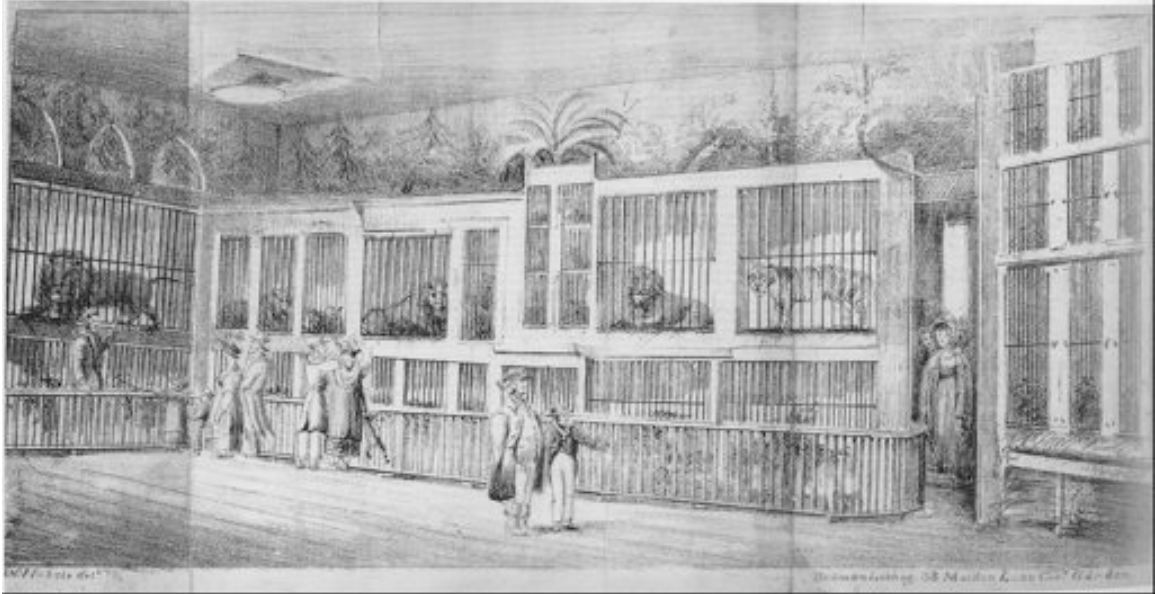


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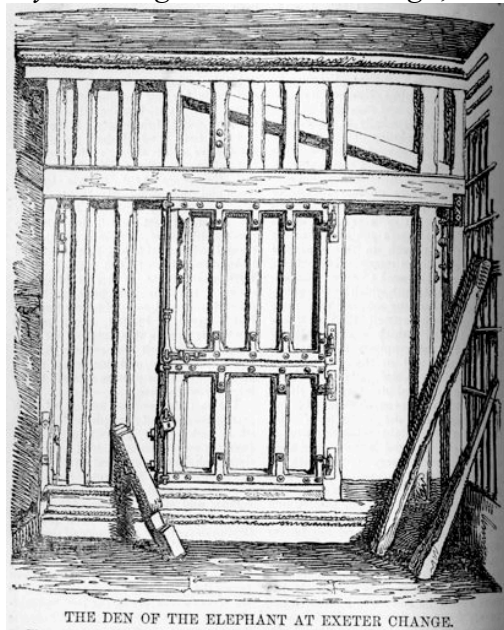
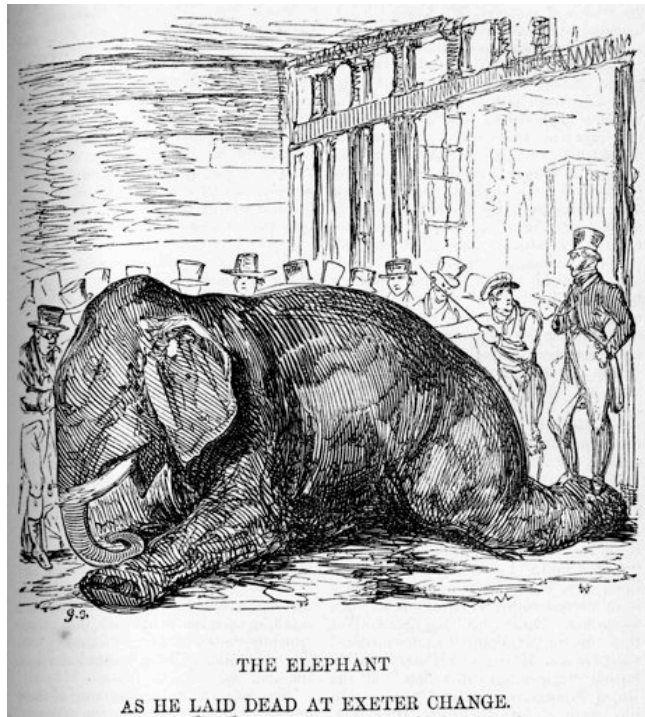


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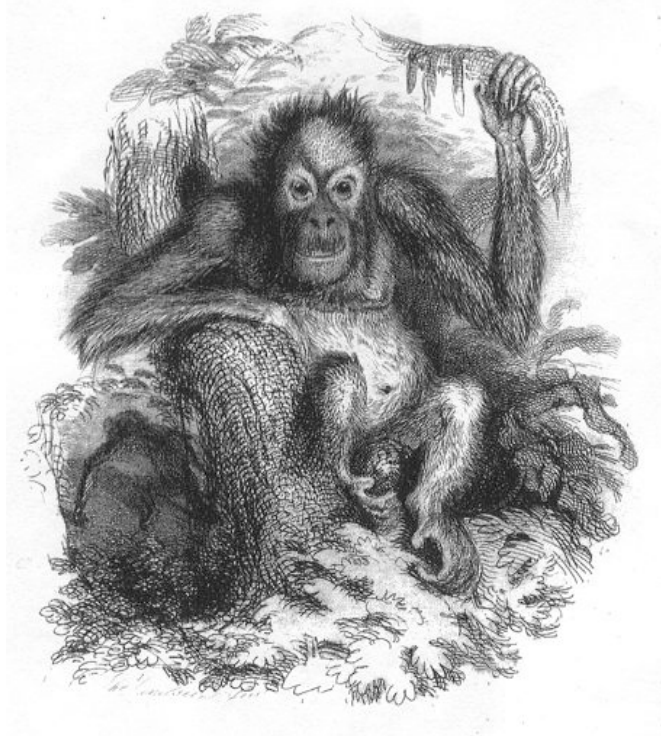


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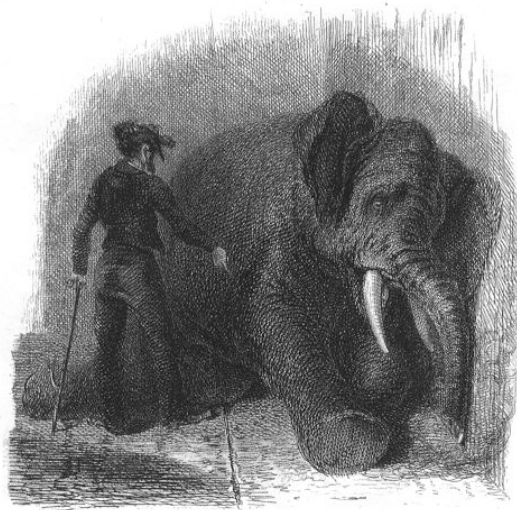


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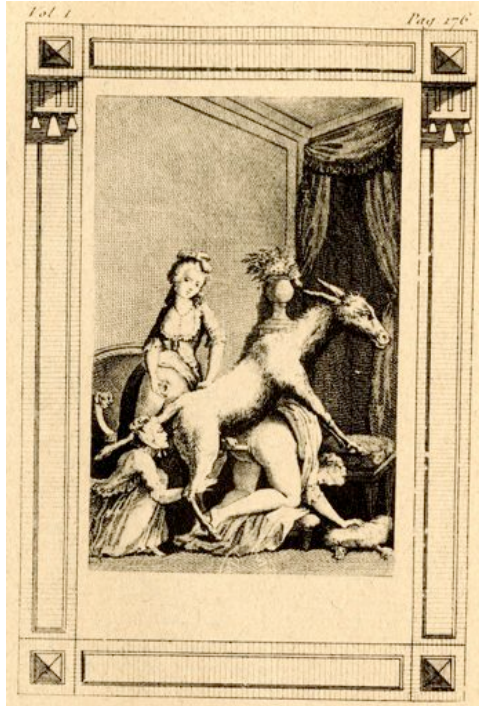


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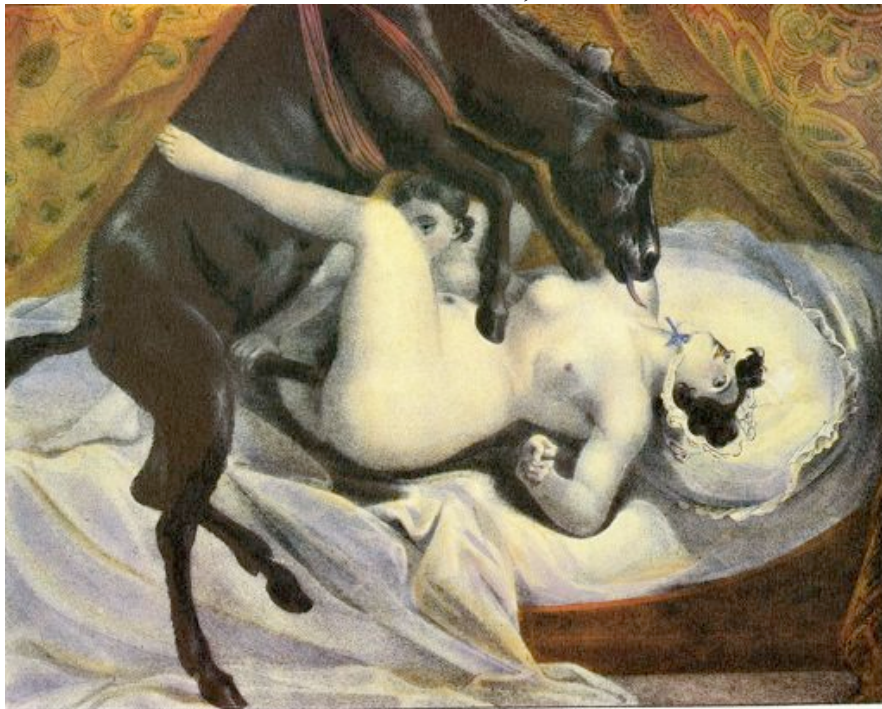


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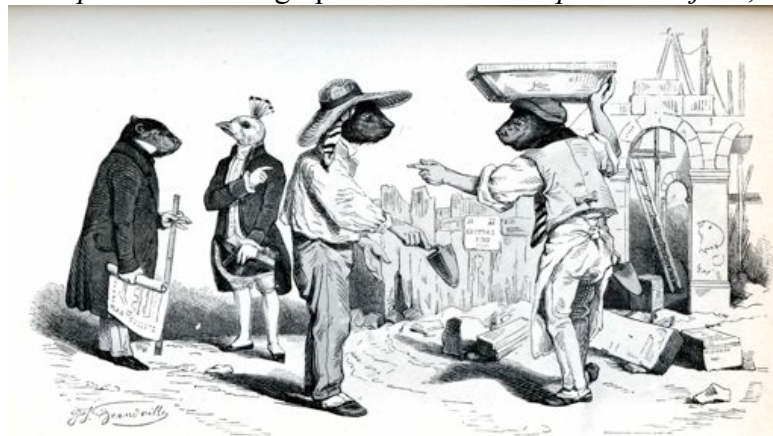


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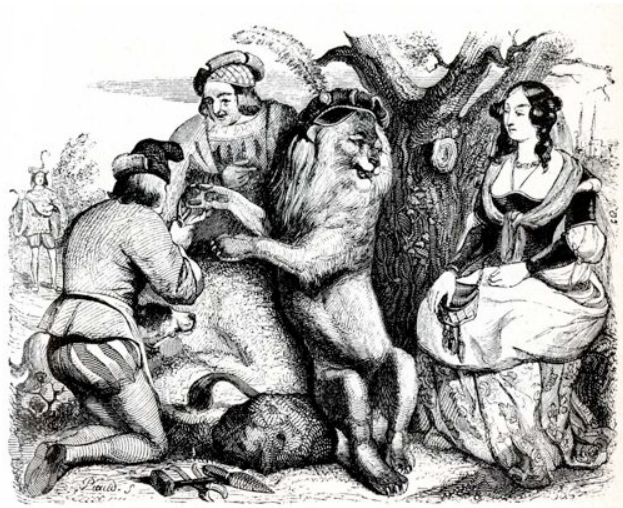


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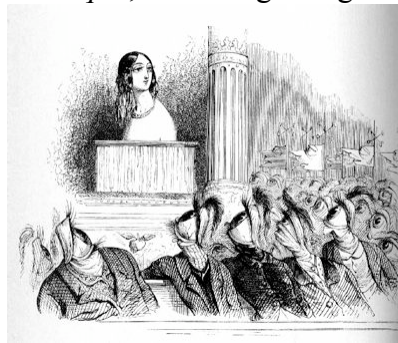


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 Cristophe Huet, *Grande singerie*, detail, c. 1735
 Oil on canvas, Château de Chantilly

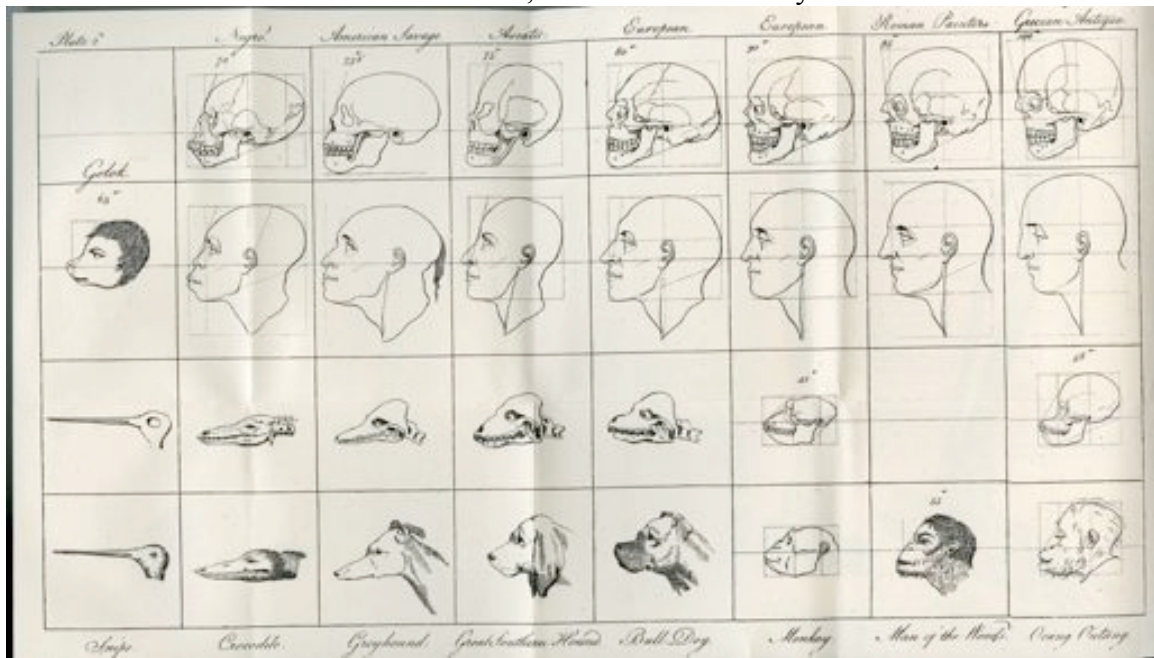


Figure 126
 After Charles White, Plate II, engraving in *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, and in Different Animals and Vegetables; and from the Former to the Latter*, 1799

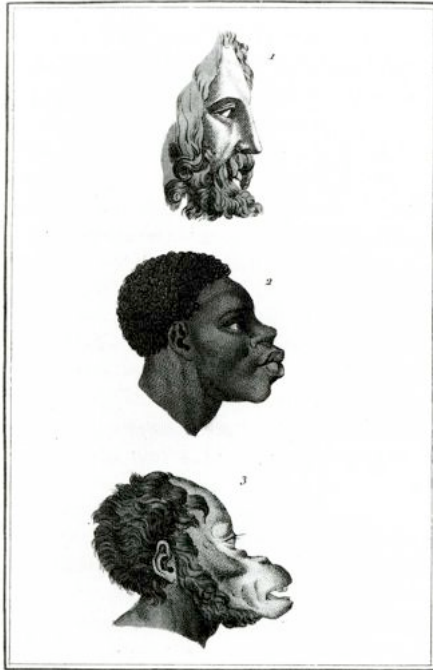


Figure 127

Madame Migneret, *Espèces*, etching in Julien-Joseph Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 1824



Figure 128

Frederick Christian Lewis, *Sartjee, The Hottentot Venus*, 1810, etching and aquatint, British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 129
Léon de Wailly, *Sara (Saartjie) Baartman*, 1815
Watercolor on vellum, Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Paris



Figure 130
C. de Last after Nicolas Huet II, *Femme du race Bochismann*, hand-colored lithograph in
Frédéric Cuvier and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*,
vol. 1, 1824



Figure 131

Werner after Léon de Wailly, *Femme du race Bochismann*, hand-colored lithograph in Frédéric Cuvier and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, vol. 1, 1824



Figure 132

C. de Last after Werner, *Entelle mâle*, lithograph in F. Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, vol. 1, 1824



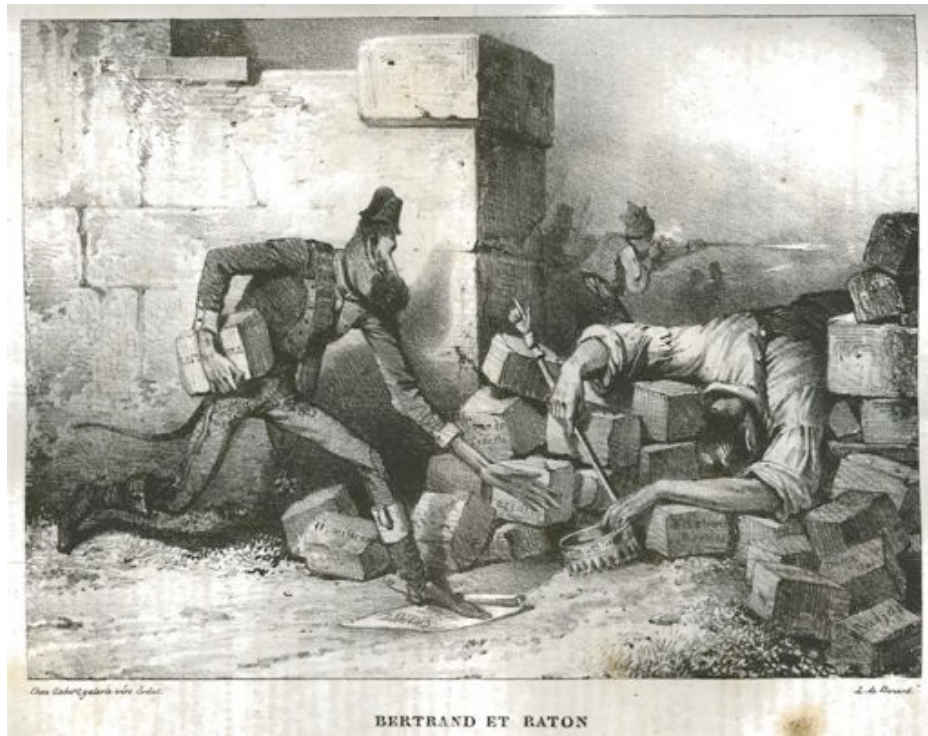
Figure 133

Edwin Landseer, *The Cat's Paw*, c. 1824, oil on panel, Institute of Arts, Minneapolis



Figure 134

After J.-J. Grandville, *Bertrand et Raton*, wood-engraving in *Fables de la Fontaine*, 1838



BERTRAND ET RATON

Figure 135
de Benard, *Bertrand et Raton*, lithograph in *Le Charivari* 3, no. 68 (1834)



THE CATSPA

Figure 136
Joseph Swain after Charles Henry Bennett, *The Catspaw*, wood-engraving in *The Fables of Aesop and Others, Translated into Human Nature*, 1857



Figure 137

Edwin Landseer, *The Monkey who had Seen the World (The Traveled Monkey)*, 1827
Oil on panel, Guildhall Art Gallery, London



Figure 138

Thomas Landseer, "The Fortune Teller," engraving in *Monkey-ana, or, Men in Miniature*, 1827-28. Courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries



Figure 139
Joshua Reynolds, *The Fortune Teller*, 1777
Oil on canvas, Waddeson Manor, The National Trust, England



Figure 140
Thomas Landseer, *Castigation*, engraving in *Monkey-ana, or, Men in Miniature*, 1827-1828

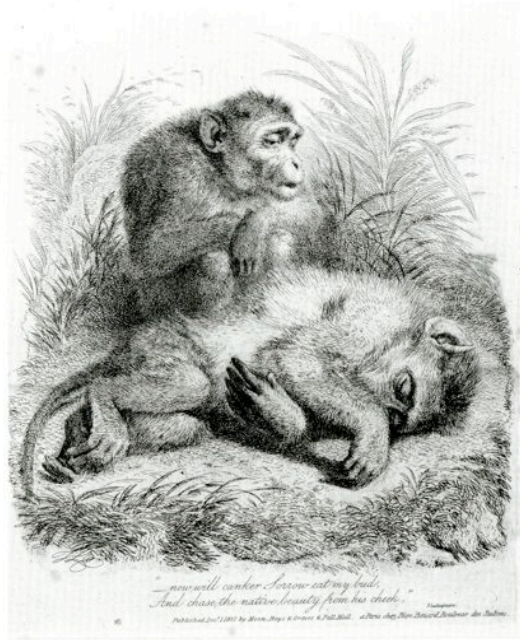


Figure 141
 Thomas Landseer, *The Widow, in Monkey-ana, or, Men in Miniature*, 1827-1828



Figure 142
 Anonymous, *Ourang Outang, sive Homo silvestris*, woodcut in Jacob Bontius, *Historiae naturalis & medicae Indiae Orientalis libri sex*, 1685

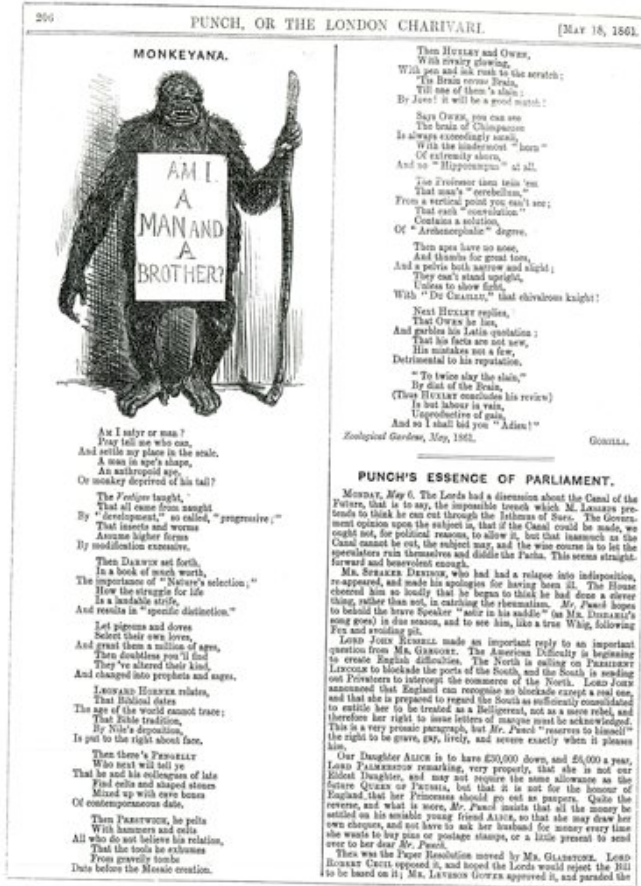


Figure 143
Monkeyana, wood-engraving in *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 1861



Figure 144
 William Hackwood for Wedgewood Pottery, *Am I not a Man and a Brother?* c. 1787
 Tinted stoneware, Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn

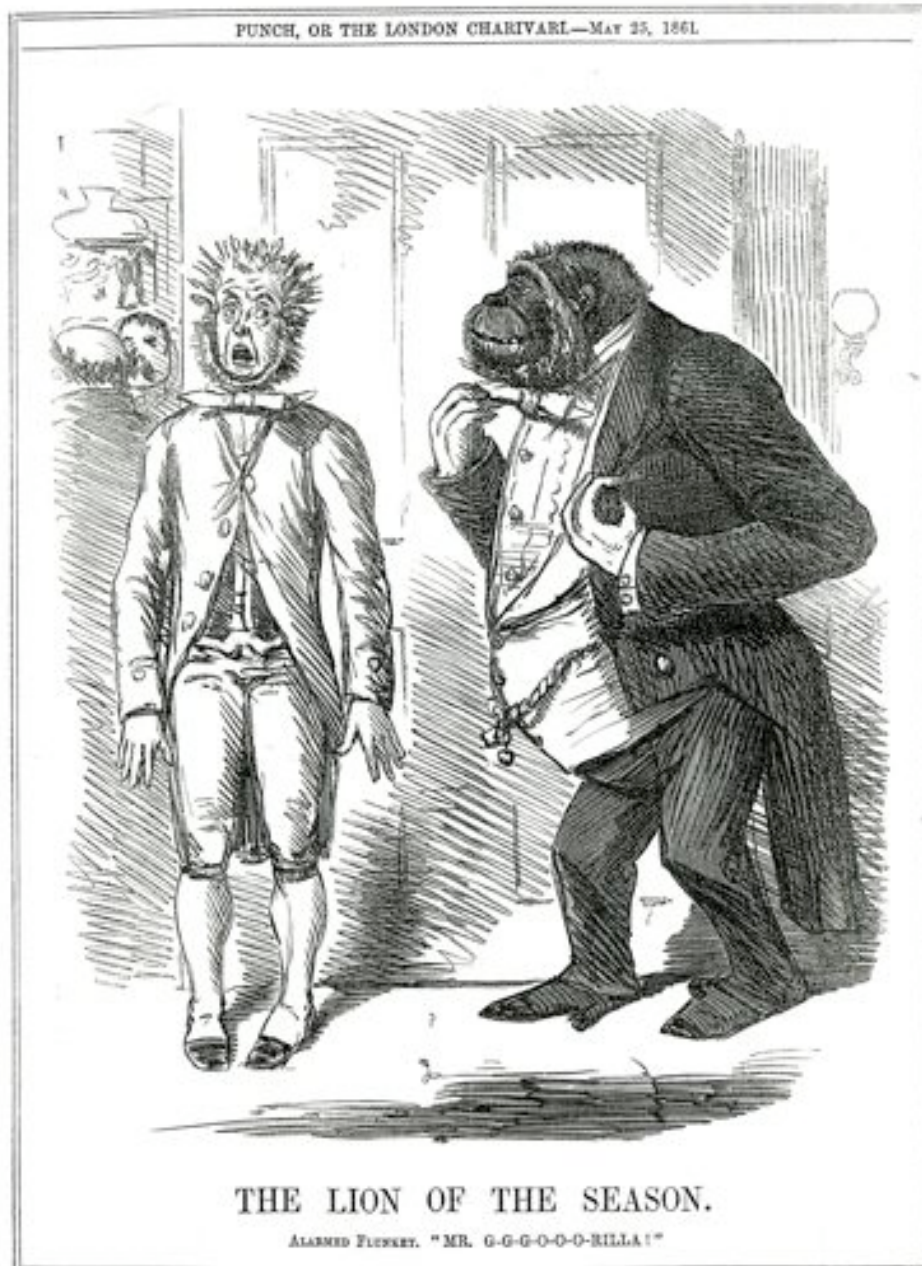


Figure 145

The Lion of the Season, wood-engraving in *Punch, or The London Charivari*, 1861



Figure 146
 After J.-J. Grandville, *M'man, est-qu'y a des hommes qu'a des figures comme ca?*
 wood-engraving in *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1828-29), second edition 1854



Figure 147
 André Gill, *Darwin*, color lithograph in *La Petite Lune*, n.d. (c.1878-1879)

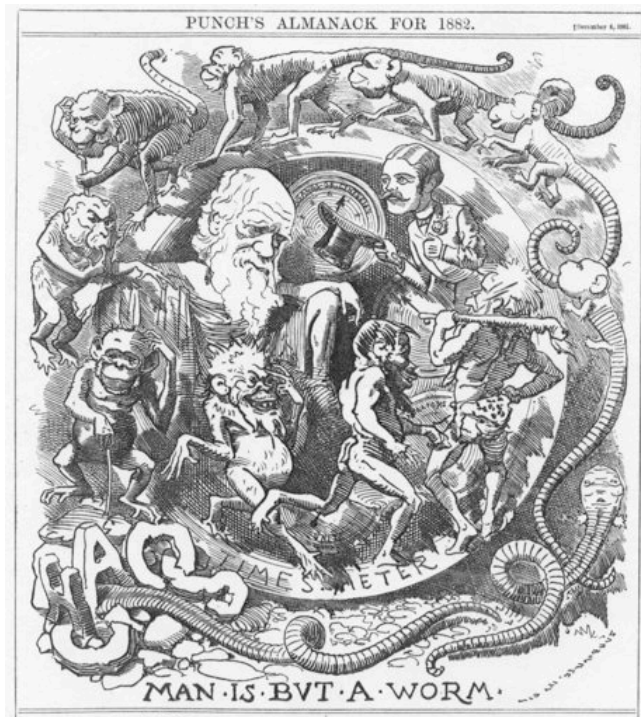


Figure 148

Edward Linley Sambourne, *Man is but a Worm*, wood-engraving in *Punch*, 1881

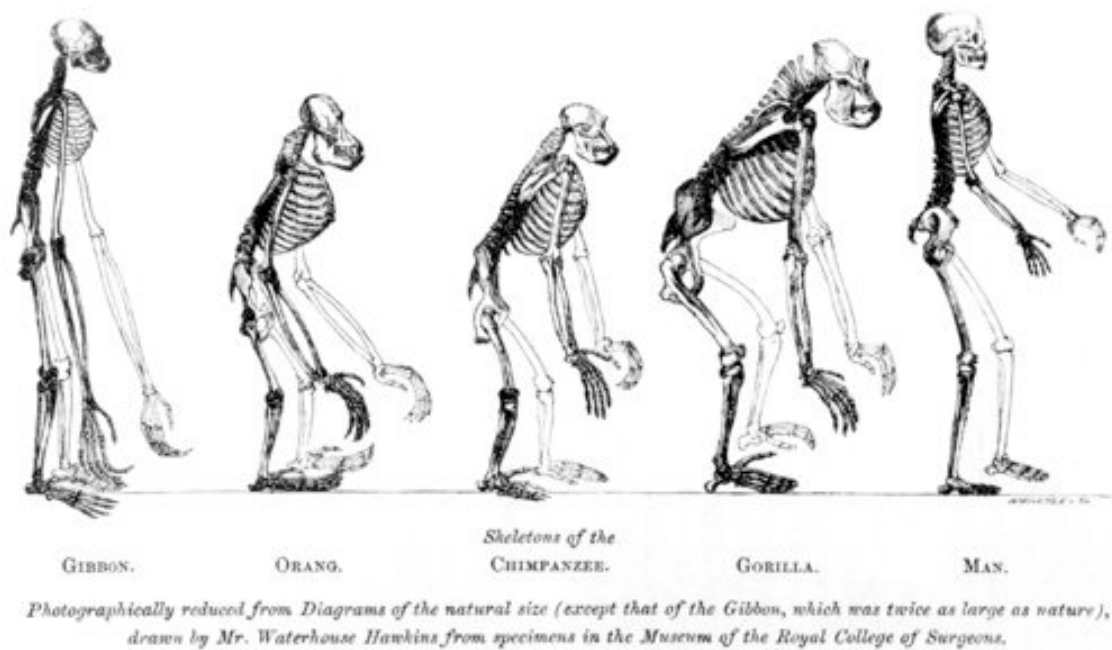


Figure 149

W.H. Wesley after Waterhouse Hawkins, *Skeletons of the Gibbon, Orang, Chimpanzee, Gorilla, and Man*, engraving in Thomas Henry Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, 1863

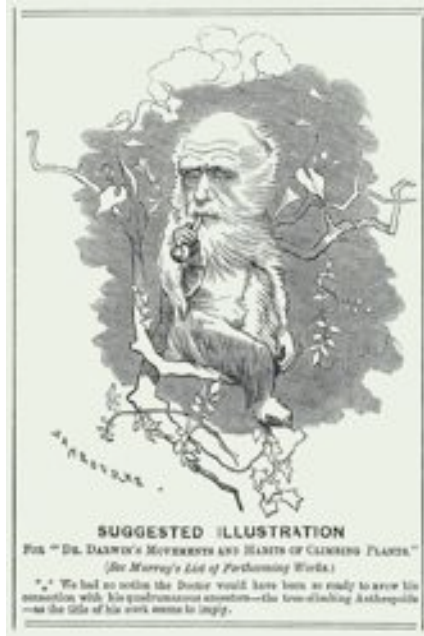


Figure 150
 Edward Linley Sambourne, *Suggested Illustration for 'Dr. Darwin's Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants'*, wood-engraving in *Punch*, 1875



Figure 151
 Charles Henry Bennett, *A Bull at the Gate*, wood-engraving in *The Origin of Species, Dedicated by Natural Selection to Charles Darwin*, (*Illustrated Times*, 1863), published in Bennett and Robert B. Brough, *Character Sketches, Development Drawings, and Original Pictures of Wit and Humour: Done in Permanent Lines for Posterity*, 1872

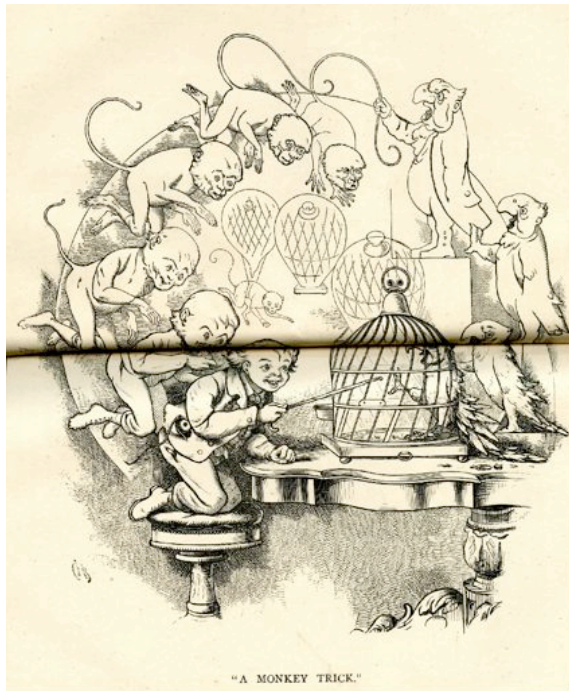


Figure 152

Charles Henry Bennett, *A Monkey Trick*, wood-engraving in *Illustrated Times* (1863), published in *Character Sketches*, 1872



Figure 153

Charles Henry Bennett, *The Origin of Garotte*, wood-engraving in *Illustrated Times* (1863), published in *Character Sketches*, 1872



Figure 154

After J.-J. Grandville, *Une promenade dans le ciel*, wood-engraving in *Magasin pittoresque*, 1847



Figure 155

After J.-J. Grandville, *Crime et expiation*, wood-engraving in *Magasin pittoresque*, 1847



Figure 156
Gustave Courbet, *Hallali du cerf*, 1867
Oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon



Figure 157
Edwin Landseer, *Man Proposes, God Disposes*, 1864
Oil on canvas, Picture Collection, Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, Surrey



Figure 158

Edwin Landseer, *The Otter Speared, Portrait of the Earl of Aberdeen's Otterhounds*, 1844
Oil on canvas, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne



Figure 159

Eadweard Muybridge, *The Galloping Horse*, 1887
Photo/collotype, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam