

The History of the Boudoir in the Eighteenth Century

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requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture**

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ABSTRACT

The boudoir, a space especially invented for women, has been described as the quintessential room of the eighteenth century. Characterized in literary and cultural studies as erotic and as metaphor of a woman's body, the boudoir is generally understood as a site for secret pleasures. Yet little has been written exclusively about the boudoir from an architectural perspective or from a woman's point of view. Combining art, architectural and social histories as well as literary studies, the dissertation presents the multiple meanings and understandings of the boudoir, from its inception in early eighteenth-century France as a space for religious devotion to its transformation as a voluptuous space towards the end of the century. Part one examines three types of private rooms dedicated to a woman: the oratory, the hybrid oratory-boudoir, and the boudoir proper. The second part looks at the development of the boudoir beyond the closed world of the *honnêtes gens*. It focuses on its consolidation into a sexually affective space, through the accounts of late eighteenth century writers, architects and courtesans. In examining the codification of behavioral norms, their relationship to spatial organization and decor, and the affect of the architecture, the dissertation demonstrates the significance of the boudoir as a psychological architecture fostering an interior life. The history of the boudoir in the eighteenth century can thus shed a new light on the way architecture contributed to the development of modern private life.

RÉSUMÉ

Le boudoir, invention avant tout vouée aux femmes, a souvent été désigné comme l'espace paradigmatique du dix-huitième siècle. Les études littéraires et culturelles en ont fait un espace érotique et une métaphore du corps féminin, dédié aux plaisirs secrets. Il y a pourtant peu d'études du phénomène pris dans sa dimension proprement architecturale, ou d'analyses conduites du point de vue de la femme. S'inspirant de l'histoire sociale, des histoires de l'art et de l'architecture ainsi que des études littéraires, la thèse aborde les significations et interprétations multiples du boudoir à partir de sa création comme espace de dévotion au tout début du dix-huitième siècle, jusqu'à sa transformation en lieu de plaisirs à la fin du siècle. La première partie examine trois types d'espaces privés à l'usage des femmes : l'oratoire, l'hybride « oratoire-boudoir », et le boudoir en tant que tel. La deuxième partie considère le développement du boudoir au-delà du cercle fermé des « honnêtes gens ». À travers le témoignage d'écrivains, d'architectes et de courtisanes, le lecteur suit l'évolution de cette pièce en un espace doté d'une puissance affective de nature sexuelle. Examinant la codification des normes sociales, la relation de ces dernières avec l'organisation spatiale et son décor, et de la puissance affective de l'architecture, la thèse démontre l'importance du boudoir comme une architecture à dimension psychologique propre à encourager une vie intérieure. L'histoire du boudoir au dix-huitième siècle jette une nouvelle lumière sur la façon dont l'architecture contribue au développement de la vie privée moderne.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis Statement

The boudoir, a space especially invented for women, has been described by writers as the quintessential room of the eighteenth century. Typically characterized in literary and cultural studies as an “erotic” space, the boudoir is understood as a site for secret pleasures.¹ Yet little has been written exclusively about the boudoir from either an architectural perspective or a woman’s perspective. The dissertation presents the multiple meanings and understandings of the boudoir, from its inception in early eighteenth-century France as a space for religious devotion to its transformation as a voluptuous space towards the end of the century. Following the scholarship of Norbert Elias, Monique Eleb-Vidal and Anne Debarre-Blanchard, Katie Scott, Mimi Hellman, Mark Girouard and Robin Evans, the dissertation examines the codification of behavioural norms, their relationship to spatial organization and décor, and their affect, to demonstrate the significance of the boudoir as a psychological architecture which promoted an interior life.

While a boudoir is a small cabinet, a small cabinet is not necessarily a boudoir. Contrary to scholars who use the term “boudoir” interchangeably with “cabinet”, the dissertation asserts that the boudoir from its inception was distinct from a cabinet. It was invented to describe new social relationships and

¹ Michel Delon, *L'invention du boudoir*. Paris: Zulma, 1999. Mark Girouard, *Life in the French Country House*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. Henri Lafon, *Les décors et les choses dans le roman français du 18e siècle de Prévost à Sade*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1992. Christophe Martin, *Espaces du féminin dans le roman français du dix-huitième siècle*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004. Anne Troutman, “The Modernist Boudoir and the Erotics of Space,” *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar. London and New York: Routledge, 2005, p.296-314.

boundaries in the aristocratic household which previously did not exist. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, the boudoir evolved from the oratory, an aristocratic, married woman's private room for religious devotion. Understood as a retreat from her husband, her boudoir was labeled a room to sulk *to* by husbands who were denied their conjugal dues by their devout wives. Remaining within the closed world of familiar speech of *honnêtes gens*, the boudoir, alluding to the purpose for a wife to be alone, infrequently appeared in early eighteenth-century texts. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the boudoir was brought into a larger public purview, when it was reproduced in novels, journals, official state organs, and in the houses of the celebrity courtesan as a room where her sex is housed for sexual fantasies and hedonistic luxury.

A history of the boudoir traces a specific period in France during which the primacy of the self and the desire for self-determination rose above the traditional set of social bonds and obligations. The creation of a room for a woman however, must be understood in the context of a society in which men had authority over women. As scholars such as Margaret King, Albert Rabil, Jean Dejean, Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot have discussed, a daughter was considered as a marriage commodity to be traded for her family's financial and social advantage. First under the jurisdiction of the male head of her birth family, she was married to whomever he dictated. As a married woman, she was subordinate to her husband who controlled her dowry which was passed on to her

children when she died.² Within the limits of the expected obligations of a woman, she negotiated her own boundaries which were reinforced by her boudoir.

The history of the boudoir is more than a study of architecture's power to stake physical boundaries. As an intersection between physical reality and fantasy, the boudoir describes a psychological architecture: a mental state, an emotional dialogue, the interior motivation and its relationship to one's actions in the "real" world. This project proposes that an understanding of the boudoir's affect, the delineation and framing of inter-subjective feelings for and with others, is relevant in the design of spaces according to psychological and social expectations between inhabitants, like those in the eighteenth-century living in a time of increasing demand for self-determination.

² Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil Jr., "The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: Introduction to the Series: The Old Voice and the Other Voice," *Memoirs: Hortense and Maria Mancini*, ed. and trans. Sarah Nelson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. ix-xxvii. Joan DeJean, "Introduction: La Grande Mademoiselle," *Against Marriage: the Correspondence of La Grande Mademoiselle*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 3-25. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, ed. *A History of Women in the West*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.

1.2 Literature Review

Derived from the French verb *bouder*, meaning “to sulk”, the boudoir, according to the *Trésor de la Langue Française*, is a small, elegantly decorated room, where a woman retires when she wants to be alone or to entertain her intimate friends. Adding nuance to the definition, the *Trésor* lists examples of its usage: a boudoir actress, the boudoir of a coquette or a courtesan; boudoir gossip, boudoir intrigue, man of the boudoir, success of the boudoir and to run around boudoirs³. A place where intimate pleasure, and, if necessary, secret affairs occur the boudoir is also a place for the exchange of information, money, power, bodily pleasures and fluids.

As the *Trésor* details, at the heart of the definition of a woman’s room is her sex. Writers and scholars have construed the boudoir as the abode into which male desire is projected. In his examination of the invention of the literary boudoir from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth century, Michel Delon discusses the sexual fantasies projected into the boudoir. Both Christophe Martin and Henri Lafon have described the boudoir and boudoir-like spaces as female spaces not only inhabited by women but also denoted by metaphors and metonyms of the seductive female body.⁴ When writing about the boudoir, scholars such as Remy Saisselin⁵ usually refer to it as a space of seduction citing

³ *Trésor de la Langue Française* (TLFi) <http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm>. Accessed November 20, 2004.

⁴ Martin, *Espaces du féminin*, p. 5-6, 46-62. Lafon, *Les décors et les choses*, p. 199-208. Also Lafon, *Espaces romanesques du XVIIIe siècle 1670-1820 : de Madame de Villedieu à Nodier*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997, p. 45.

⁵ Remy G. Saisselin, “The Space of Seduction in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel and Architecture,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, no. 319. Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1994, p. 417-431.

the late eighteenth-century publications *Le génie de l'architecture: ou, L'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations* by Le Camus de Mézières (1780) and Jean-François Bastide's *La Petite Maison* (1758). It is in the latter book that the boudoir is conflated with the function of the *petite maison*, as a refuge of illicit pleasures. As Daniel Rabreau writes, "Entre le Petit Trianon et Bagatelle, le pavillon de madame Du Barry à Louveciennes donne le ton à ces « folies », petites maisons nobles ou bourgeoises que de grand seigneurs ou de hauts financiers (fermiers généraux, banquiers de la cour) offrent à leurs maîtresses, bien souvent artistes – danseuses, cantatrices ou comédiennes... Les architectes parisiens à la mode, des Bélanger, Ledoux, Chalgrin, Antoine ou Brongniart, se sont fait une spécialité de ces refuges des plaisirs où le boudoir, comme l'alcôve, s'agrémentent d'escaliers dérobés et où les entresols multiplient – comme dans l'hôtel – les étroits locaux réservés au personnel de l'intime, valets et femmes de chambre."⁶ The boudoir, attached to hidden staircases and to the labyrinth of small spaces usually inhabited by personal servants, was where the master's intimate needs and bodily comforts are attended to.

The *Trésor* further alludes to the boudoir as a site of illegitimate power and pejorative secrecy. Although scholars such as Ewa Lajer-Burchard have discussed the boudoir as a space for the expression of power and sexual identity⁷, the boudoir generally is given a negative valuation. For instance, Elise Goodman, who describes the room where Madame de Pompadour was depicted in the 1756

⁶ Daniel Rabreau, "Préface," in Christophe Morin, *Au service du château: l'architecture des communs en Île-de-France au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008, p. 12-13.

⁷ Ewa Lajer-Burchard, "Lascivious Corpus: Lequeu's Architecture," *Self and History: a Tribute to Linda Nochlin*, ed. Aruna D'Souza. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001, p.25-42.

portrait by Boucher as a “library-boudoir”, draws the assumption that a lady’s personal library and her boudoir should be two separate rooms. Underlying the use of the hybrid is that the library highlights the Marquise’s learnedness while the boudoir describes the negative connotation of the sexual power wielded by the official mistress.⁸ In her discussion of the use of “boudoir” in art criticism of the Salon published between 1769 and 1789, Jill Casid argues that the boudoir, as a domain ruled by a woman, was used to denigrate not only the power of her domain but also to deny her legitimate participation in the emerging public sphere.⁹ In an attempt to mitigate the boudoir’s reputation as a place for sexual intrigue, Rochelle Ziskin makes a point that Mme Dangé’s boudoir is not the eroticised space of *La Petite Maison*.¹⁰ Even Monique Eleb-Vidal and Anne Debarre-Blanchard who discuss the appearance of a non-domesticated space belonging to a woman as an indication of a limited independence of women within the eighteenth century *haut monde*,¹¹ reiterate its nineteenth century characterization [1844] by the Comtesse de Brady who wrote that “le boudoir étant pour elle une pièce destinée à boudier, qu’il faut donc condamner.”¹²

⁸ Elise Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000, p.22.

⁹ Jill H. Casid, “Commerce in the Boudoir,” *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Lee Hyde, Jennifer Dawn Milam. Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2003, p. 91-114.

¹⁰ Rochelle Ziskin, *The Place Vendôme: Architecture and Social Mobility in Eighteenth Century Paris*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 151.

¹¹ Monique Eleb-Vidal and Anne Debarre-Blanchard, *Architectures de la vie privée: maisons et mentalités XVIIe-XIXe siècles*. Bruxelles: Archives d’architecture Moderne, 1989, p. 284.

¹² Ibid, p. 284.

This condemning tone underscoring the boudoir has been connected to the etymology of the word. Associated with the “puerility of sulking”¹³, the boudoir is understood as the place to sulk in.¹⁴ As Ed Lilley speculates in his frequently cited article “Name of the Boudoir”, the boudoir was invented by French men to denigrate a woman’s solitary activity, and in particular her desire to educate herself through reading. The malice of its nomenclature as a covetous expression by those who are denied entry into a woman's room is the accepted interpretation of its origin.¹⁵

Given its negative associations, then, why would women (and later some men¹⁶) earlier in the eighteenth century call their private cabinet a boudoir? The obvious answer is that a writer’s conceptualization of the boudoir is not necessarily how eighteenth-century owners thought of it. Its negative connotation in part arises from its polemical usage during the Revolution. As Michel Delon explains, the essence of the word alludes to places where lovers rendezvous discreetly.¹⁷ Associated with the “parfum de femme et aux suggestions du

¹³ Delon, *L'invention du boudoir*, p. 25.

¹⁴ Girouard, *Life in the French Country House*, p. 153.

¹⁵ The Comtesse de Brady, *Du savoir-vivre en France au XIXe siècle* (1844) writes that “La chambre ornée prit le nom de cabinet, et ce nom lui est encore conservé par les gens de bon goût tandis que les tapissiers, les femmes de chambre et les nouveaux initiés à la magnificence ainsi que les hommes de livrée qui montrent les maisons royales ne manquent jamais désigner cette pièce sous le nom de boudoir” ; cited in Eleb-Vidal and Debarre-Blanchard, *Architectures de la vie privée*, p.236-7.

¹⁶ While the *Dictionnaire* implies that boudoirs were for women, men such as Lord Chesterfield and the Marquis de Marigny, for instance, also called their personal cabinets “boudoir”. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1932, vol.4, p. 1211-1212. Marquis de Marigny, Madame de Pompadour’s brother wanted his boudoir “very small and warm and it was to be decorated with nothing but ‘nudies’” cited in Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920*. New York: Viking, 1984, p. 95.

¹⁷ Delon, *L'invention du boudoir*, p. 12.

libertinage, sans pouvoir préciser d'où [provient] exactement le terme"¹⁸, the boudoir, as a product of the eighteenth-century aristocratic culture and a mark of their privilege and libertinage, was a target of Republican writers.

The political and social changes at the end of eighteenth-century created a schism which writers in the next century found difficult to bridge. As Jean Starobinski points out, the eighteenth century has been viewed through a romantic idealization by nineteenth-century writers such as Edmond and Jules Goncourt who contributed to this nostalgic filter in such books as *La Femme au dix-huitième siècle*, *La Du Barry*, and *Madame de Pompadour*.¹⁹ Adding to this nostalgia, Jennifer Forrest characterizes the Goncourts' yearning for the art of the late eighteenth century, a period supposedly ruled by women, as essentially misogynistic, reducing all types of women to one monstrous woman.²⁰

While other nineteenth century writers may not be as misogynistic as the Goncourts, the perception of the lives of women in their boudoirs, for the most part, has been defined by late eighteenth and nineteenth century male writers. The boudoir understood through a nineteenth century masculine viewpoint obscures the different meanings and "functions" of the eighteenth century boudoir. As a result, even contemporary writers continue to repeat the negative overtones set by this lens. Ed Lilley posits a possible function for the boudoir as a room for premenstrual irritation for instance. Christophe Martin extends this by suggesting

¹⁸ Ibid, p.11.

¹⁹ Jean Starobinski, "Rococo and Neoclassicism," *Revolution in Fashion: European Clothing, 1715-1815*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1990, p. 10.

²⁰ Jennifer Forrest. "Nineteenth-Century Nostalgia for Eighteenth-Century Wit, Style, and Aesthetic Disengagement: The Goncourt Brothers' Histories of Eighteenth-Century Art and Women," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* v. 34 no. 1/2 (Fall 2005/Winter 2006), p. 44-62.

that the sexual and humeral reputation of the boudoir may be a reference to the sulking and crying of its occupant, the pubescent girl.²¹ Furthermore, its associations with luxury, frivolity and the licentiousness of the eighteenth century have hindered historical scholarship on a space belonging to a woman further reinforcing interpretations of the boudoir based on imprecise historical scholarship.²²

With the exception of Jill Casid's article and Michel Delon's literary study, the evolution and documentation of the boudoir has remained cursory. There has been little written exclusively on the boudoir, even though it has been described as the "quintessential" or "emblematic" space of the eighteenth century.²³ Even a conservative architectural historian such as Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos writes that "[l]e boudoir...est une des pièces les plus caractéristiques de la distribution française au XVIIIe siècle."²⁴

The boudoir emerged as a room type in the houses of the French elite in early eighteenth-century France. It developed during a period in which the interiors of the houses of the elite were increasingly being delineated into rooms with particular characters, purposes and organizations. The *salle à manger*, *salon*,

²¹ Ed Lilley, "The Name of the Boudoir," *Journal of the Society of Architectural History*. 53 (June 1994), p. 197. Martin, *Espaces du féminin*, p. 255.

²² Henri Havard, Mark Girouard and Rochelle Ziskin state that at its inception in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the boudoir was considered "erotic" based on their incorrect dating of Mercier de Compiègne's *Manuel des boudoirs* as being published in 1727 when in fact it was published in 1787. Henry Havard. "Boudoir," *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris: maison Quantin, 1891, p. 363-370. Girouard, *Life in the French Country House*, p. 153. Ziskin, *The Place Vendôme*, p.198, n. 48.

²³ The seraglio and the boudoir have become the emblematic spaces of the Enlightenment. Martin, *Espaces du féminin*, p. 1.

²⁴ Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *L'Architecture à la Française, XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: Picard, 1982, p. 60.

and *salle de bain* are a few examples of these new types of rooms organizing and classifying one's daily living.

Complex organizational patterns, the art of distribution, developed in houses belonging to princes and the aristocracy. The château and the hôtels were organized in apartments which were composed of a group of four to five rooms each of which had its own character and function. Modeled after the king's residence, there was delineation between ceremonial apartments and more comfortable or intimate rooms. These noble dwellings had three types of apartments which the master and mistress of the house occupied: the ceremonial rooms (*appartement de parade*) for morning business, the social rooms (*appartement de société*) for receiving friends for gaming, music or conversation in the afternoon, and the *appartement de commodité* for the owners' personal use and comfort. Ceremonial rooms comprised of an *antichambre*, *chambre de parade*, *cabinets*, and *arrière cabinets* while social rooms comprised of an *antichambre*, *salle de compagnie*, *salle à manger* and *cabinets*.²⁵ Apartments also were arranged according to the two households: the husband and wife each had their separate ceremonial, society and personal apartments.²⁶

Previous scholarship places the boudoir as part of the development of spaces to be alone or for greater intimacy in seventeenth and early eighteenth-

²⁵ Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 105. Michel Gallet, *Paris Domestic Architecture of the 18th century*, trans. James C. Palmes. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1972, p. 82-83.

²⁶ The separate households were reflected in their own domestic staff, stable masters, valets, maître-d'hôtels and cooks. Audigier, *La maison réglée* [1692] reprinted in Alfred Franklin, *La Vie Privé d'autrefois: Arts et Métiers; Modes, Moeurs, Usages des Parisiens du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1898, p. 21-22, 99-100.

century France. As Phillipe Ariès and other scholars have discussed, the positive value for solitude is a phenomenon stemming from this period. Prior to the seventeenth century, solitude was reserved only for exceptional purposes such as contemplation, study or prayer.²⁷ In her examination of the the space devoted to the seventeenth century lady of the house, for instance, Noemi Hepp points out that, “les alcôves et quelquefois les cabinets l’invitent à causer en tête-à-tête ou en tout petit groupe avec des amis choisis; les cabinets souvent et les oratoires toujours lui rappellent le prix de la lecture, de la réflexion solitaire et de la prière.”²⁸

Only at the end of the seventeenth century, did solitude shed its connotation of loneliness to become a desirable condition. By the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several names referred to one’s personal, commodious *cabinets*. In Claude Mignot’s review of different types of rooms in the seventeenth century aristocratic townhouse, he explains that the *cabinet*, *arrière-cabinet*, *entresol*, *alcôve*, *ruelle* and *garde-robe* were small rooms used for solitary activities.²⁹ According to Mark Girouard, the cabinet transformed into “the ‘cabinet de toilette’ or the ‘cabinet avec niche’, the last colloquially known as the ‘boudoir’”.³⁰ Furnished with a sofa in a mirror lined niche, a writing table,

²⁷ Phillipe Ariès and Georges Duby, *A History of Private Life*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989.

²⁸ Noemi Hepp, “Dames en leur hôtel: promenade littéraire,” *XVIIe siècle*, no. 162 (janvier-mars 1989), p. 69.

²⁹ Claude Mignot, “Petit lexique de l’hôtel parisien,” *XVIIe siècle*, no. 162, (janvier-mars 1989), p.101-109.

³⁰ Girouard, *Life in the French Country House*, p. 149.

and a few chairs, the boudoir was a personal sitting room.³¹ Michel Delon, in *L’Invention du Boudoir* as well as his entry “boudoir” in the *Dictionnaire Européen des Lumières*, characterizes it as the emblematic room to be alone, to dream, and a space of the imagination. It resides in the extreme end of the private apartment, in a hidden enclave, in the “heart of the architecture”.³²

The majority of scholarship on the boudoir has been in the literary field, with the discussion focused mainly on its metaphoric meaning. When it does appear in other disciplines such as sociology or history, the boudoir is the site of excessive, sensuous pleasures. For instance, Michelle Perrot in the recently published *Histoire de chambres*, distinguishes the boudoir as being the place for *volupté*, as opposed to the conjugality of the *chambre*, and compares it to the harem which is synonymous with desire without end as depicted in *A Thousand and One Nights*.³³ Perrot also mentions that the boudoir in the eighteenth century was associated with *galanterie* and secrets.³⁴ In line with Perrot’s assessment, Eleb-Vidal and Debarre-Blanchard contend that the boudoir was a device “inventé quand l’image de la femme est liée à une vision hédoniste”.³⁵

It cannot be forgotten that this image of woman as luxury was within the context of a refined, aristocratic sociability. As Lajer-Baucharth notes, the enjoyment is a “sensuous delight”, evoking a refinement that, according to

³¹ Ibid, p. 152.

³² Delon, *L’invention du boudoir*, p. 20. *Dictionnaire Européen des Lumières*. Paris: Paris Universitaires de France, 1997, p. 167-8.

³³ Michelle Perrot, *Histoire de chambres*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2009, p. 67, 174.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 364

³⁵ Eleb-Vidal and Debarre-Blanchard, *Architectures de la vie privée*, p.236.

Goulemot, is brought about by discreet allusions and the “intimacy of a society setting”.³⁶ Alain Montandon agrees that the boudoir, like the carriage, was an intimate social space, albeit a space of amorous polite behavior (*civilité*).³⁷ Starobinski views the boudoir as an altar consecrated to women who are the sources of sensuous pleasure.³⁸

Scholars have suggested that the boudoir was ‘invented’ at the beginning of the eighteenth century without giving a precise date. Ed Lilley, Louis Lacour and Michel Delon posit that it may have been invented during the Regency (1715-23).³⁹ Jean-François Bédard’s identification of a boudoir in his transcription of the 1713 inventory of the Hôtel de Colbert, as with the Saint-Simonian scholar Hélène Himelfarb, dates its invention in the last years of Louis XIV’s reign.⁴⁰

While Lilley and Michel Delon believe that the boudoir derives from the Italian *studiolo*, and cabinet, other scholars and writers posit that the predecessor of the boudoir is the oratory.⁴¹ Lacour and Honoré de Balzac both state that a

³⁶ Jean Marie Goulemot, *Forbidden Texts: Erotic Literature and its Readers in Eighteenth-century France*, trans. James Simpson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994, p.87-88, and 103.

³⁷ Alain Montandon, “Préface,” *Les Espaces de la civilité*. Sous la direction d’Alain Montandon. Actes du colloque organisé par le CRMLC, Université Blaise-Pascal-Clermont III, 24-26 mars 1994 (C.R.L.M.C. sur la politesse et les traités de savoir-vivre). Mont-de-Marsan: Éditions Interuniversitaires, 1995, p.9.

³⁸ Jean Starobinski, *The Invention of Liberty, 1700-1789*, trans. Bernard Swift. Geneva: Editions d’Art Abert Skira, 1964, p. 55-56.

³⁹ Delon, *L’invention du boudoir*, p. 17. Lilley, “The Name of the Boudoir,” p. 194. Louis Lacour, *Livres du boudoir de la reine Marie-Antoinette : catalogue authentique et original publié pour la première fois avec préface et notes*. Paris: J. Gay, 1862, p. i-ii.

⁴⁰ Jean-François Bédard, “The Architect as *Honnette Homme*: The Domestic Architecture and Decoration of Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672-1742)” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2003), p.712. Hélène Himelfarb, “Regards versaillais sur l’hôtel parisien,” *XVIIe Siecle*, no. 162, (jan-mars 1989), p. 95.

⁴¹ Delon, *L’invention du boudoir*, p. 21-3.

lady's oratory evolved into the boudoir.⁴² As the nineteenth century interior décor historian Henry Harvard points out, the oratory was a lady's solitary space in large houses since the Middle Ages and may be the direct ancestor of the boudoir. As for how a lady's oratory or *cabinet de retraite* turned into a boudoir, he could only guess at the reasons for the transformation.⁴³ Himelfarb's uncovering of a reference to the hybrid *boudoir-chapelle* in the collection of private letters of the Pontchartrain ministerial family is the first solid evidence that I have come across, that the boudoir was initially an oratory.⁴⁴ However, to my knowledge there has not been any publication which discusses the transformation from oratory to boudoir, even though Michel Delon points out the pairing of the oratory and the boudoir in literature starting from the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁵

The evolution of the boudoir over the course of the eighteenth century has not been studied in depth perhaps because reference to it was infrequent in early eighteenth-century published texts. While the word "boudoir" appeared in the 1735 novel *La Paysanne parvenue* by Mouhy, only in the latter half of the century was there greater frequency of it in published texts. The appearance of physical boudoirs follows this same pattern. Lilley asserts that only in the latter half of the

⁴² Lacour, *Livres du boudoir de la reine Marie-Antoinette*, p. i-ii. Honoré de Balzac wrote about Queen Mary's oratory at the Château de Blois that "...elle descendit chez sa belle-mère, y traversa la salle des gardes, ouvrit la porte de la chambre avec des précautions de voleur, glissa comme une ombre sur les tapis entre cette chambre et l'oratoire. On reconnaît encore aujourd'hui parfaitement bien les dispositions de cet oratoire, auquel les mœurs de cette époque avaient donné dans la vie privée le rôle que joue maintenant un boudoir." Balzac continues that only the Queen would enter the oratory without being announced: "En entendant ouvrir la porte, elle devina que la reine Marie pouvait seule venir sans se faire annoncer." Honoré de Balzac, *Sur Catherine de' Medicis*. Paris: Éditions de la Table Ronde. 2006, p. 164, 166.

⁴³ Havard, "Boudoir," p. 363.

⁴⁴ Himelfarb, "Regards versaillais sur l'hôtel parisien," p. 95, 100 n. 47. This letter was written on Easter, 8 April 1708.

⁴⁵ Delon, *L'invention du boudoir*, p. 13-16.

century was the boudoir identified as a distinct room within architectural plans and inventories.⁴⁶ This non-appearance of the physical boudoir has also perplexed architectural historian Fiske Kimball who in describing it in the 1768 *inventaires après décès* of Marie Leczinska writes in a footnote, “This is the first use I have encountered, in the documents, as its use by Cochin in the *Mercure* of 1755 is the first I know in literature, of this word, so much abused by popular writers on the eighteenth century.”⁴⁷ The research of Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun who in her study on the rise of privacy and domestic life in France, also reiterates the gap between the invention of the word and its appearance as a room in inventories from the 1770’s. Making an important observation on the discrepancy between the textual and the physical boudoir, Pardailhé-Galabrun points out that while the 1752 *Trévoux* describes the boudoir as a tiny recess, the inventories reveal that the boudoir was an elegant cabinet.⁴⁸

This discrepancy between physical and textual boudoirs highlights one of the characteristics of the boudoir, the blurred boundary between the imaginary and the physical boudoir. Remy Saisselin explains that this confluence of the real and the imaginary is one of its special characteristics, and which can be found in the literary genre, the boudoir novel, comprised of stories of various amorous high society pastimes set in *hôtels* and *petite maisons*. In the boudoir novel, the reality and the fantasy of the boudoir are conflated: the reader inhabits the pages of the

⁴⁶ Lilley did not find any boudoirs in architectural plans prior to the 1760’s. Lilley, “The Name of the Boudoir,” p. 194.

⁴⁷ Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943, p.188n.

⁴⁸ Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern France*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991, p. 63-64.

story which depicts the same space where the reading is taking place.⁴⁹ The development of the boudoir novel then brings together the notion of a new kind of interior spatial typology in the operation of self-imagination. The boudoir along with the modern novel which spatializes self-consciousness as an object outside of the self, as Joan Dejean explains, allows the reader to live vividly in the pages of the book.⁵⁰

As an intersection between physical reality and fantasy, the boudoir is an idea which at its etymological root, *bouder*, describes a psychological architecture. As explained by Mario Praz, the interiors of the aristocratic house were not just backdrops to action but rather psychological framing devices which provided the “real” to the mythologies of an aristocratic culture.⁵¹ Alain Mérot and Jean Starobinski have also identified these new interior spaces as necessary physical substance for the playing out of dreams.⁵² Reality and fantasy oscillated within the interiors which, as Starobinski theorizes, created a “self-contained world in which life can be lived as a representation.”⁵³ These interiors can be seen as the “staging” of a particular behavior and social interaction. Rather than simply fulfilling a recognized “need” to a function, for instance, the dining room was not created only for the act of eating, but as a tableau for specific way of

⁴⁹ Saisselin, “The Space of Seduction in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel and Architecture,” p. 417.

⁵⁰ Joan Dejean, *Ancients Against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of the Fin de Siècle*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 114.

⁵¹ Mario Praz, *An Illustrated History of Furnishing, from the Renaissance to the 20th Century*, trans. William Weaver. New York: G. Braziller, 1964. p. 13-67.

⁵² Alain Mérot, *Retraites mondaines: Aspects de la décoration intérieure à Paris, au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Le Promeneur, 1990, p. 20.

⁵³ Starobinski *The Invention of Liberty, 1700-1789*, p. 74-5.

social interaction and for affect. Starobinski writes that the [Baroque] interior created “an arresting effect of illusion. The whole place becomes an event, the space of an emotion”, where the inhabitant is made simultaneously into an actor and spectator.⁵⁴

While the boudoir also frames this kind of display, there was a curious silence by its actors. As the almost fifty years between the appearance of the word “boudoir” and its proliferation in published texts attests, it was a rather self-conscious invention, becoming a surreptitious object of discourse with its alluded impropriety as one of its key characteristics.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p.75.

1.3 Methodology

As the boudoir is characterized by the female sex, I paid close reading to attitudes towards sexual relationships. With the majority of published first hand accounts in memoirs, journals, letters and novels written by men⁵⁵ revealing little about the intimate lives of women, I focused on accounts by women. Inventories, architectural drawings, illustrated interiors, descriptions and accounts by contemporary visitors also provided material evidence on how boudoirs were used and more importantly what women may have thought about them.

As the boudoir is a spatial conception brought about by its naming, it was essential that the specific word “boudoir” and not “cabinet”, be identified in texts. Instances of “boudoir” were retrieved via electronic word-search databases such as Gallica, Eighteenth-Century Online Sources (Galenet), and ARTFL Project⁵⁶. By using electronic databases, the frequency of the word “boudoir” was determined from a substantial sampling of texts. A comparison of the use of “cabinet” and “boudoir” by an author of two different novels published within two years of each other reveals that “boudoir” was used in a particular context and was not interchangeable with “cabinet”.⁵⁷ From this particular instance,

⁵⁵ Goulemot, “Literary Practices: Publicizing the Private,” vol. 3, p. 380-81. While writing memoirs became fashionable for sixteenth-century elites, there were few women memoirists.

⁵⁶<http://gallica2.bnf.fr/>; <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>; <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>.

⁵⁷ While there are secret and voluptuous cabinets for sexual encounters in La Solle’s libertine novel, *Mémoires de Versorand ou le Libertin devenu philosophe* (1750), boudoir appears only once in *Anecdotes de la cour de bonhommie* (p. 116) and in reference to the genie Toutbeau’s private room where ‘true’ love was demonstrated. Henri-François de La Solle, *Anecdotes de la cour de bonhommie*. Londres, 1752, p. 116. *Memoirs of a man of pleasure, or the adventures of Versorand*. London, 1751. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed Feb. 13, 2008. Afterwards published under the title: *Le petit Faublas; ou, Amours et aventures de Versorand*. Tours, De l’Imprimerie de C. Billaut. An X (1802). Reproduced in *Sex Research; Early Literature from Statistics to Erotica*, [microform] Reel: 68, No. 560.

characteristics of a “boudoir” were identified providing a basis for understanding the use and meaning of it by other authors.

Lastly, since seventeenth and eighteenth-century French orthography was not standardized, especially in private letters and inventory lists, the dissertation reproduces the orthography without contemporizing them.

1.4 Structure

The text is separated in two parts reflecting the conceptual structure of the dissertation. Part I, spanning the period from 1640 to 1750 documents the development and invention of the boudoir from its predecessor, the oratory, to the lady's cabinet, to the hybrid *chapelle-boudoir*, and then to the boudoir. It begins in chapter two with the oratory of Anne of Austria (1601-1666), the Queen consort of Louis XIII of France. Her oratory was chosen for two main reasons. First, since the *ancien régime* was a hierarchical society, this oratory belonging to the first princess of the realm is quintessential. Secondly, Anne's oratory figured prominently in the accounts of her lady-in-waiting Madame de Motteville. From her memoirs, we not only can get a sense of how the private spaces were utilized, but also the status of the space in relation to the other rooms. In the second part of chapter two, I discuss an aristocratic lady's cabinet and the development of privacy in the houses of the elite.

Chapter three on the hybrid *boudoir-chapelle* belonging to the Comtesse de Pontchartrain establishes that the predecessor of the boudoir was the oratory, and formulates reasons and motivations for its naming. Since there is a general silence by men about the intimate part of the lives of women such as child birth and the marriage bed⁵⁸ (which would account for the lack of boudoirs in published texts), I hypothesize that the naming of the boudoir had a sexual vector. Paying careful attention to attitudes concerning sex and sexual relations in the early eighteenth century, I surmise that the 'boudoir' was invented in order to

⁵⁸ Foisil, "The Literature of Intimacy," p. 352, 344.

tastefully describe a new attitude concerning conjugal relations between aristocratic men and women.

Chapter four, *The Boudoir of Madame Du Châtelet*, establishes that the boudoir by the end of the 1730's was no longer a space for religious devotion but rather a space devoted to herself. This chapter discusses meanings of the boudoir from a hermeneutic perspective. By examining the decor of the boudoir of the Marquise Du Châtelet, the chapter gives insight into a lady's understanding of her personal space and proposes that it defined the boundaries of her person and her aristocratic identity. I contend that her boudoir, a domicile of her creative spirit, a place to cultivate *je ne sais quoi* and taste, evoked the pleasurable feelings which supported the illusion of happiness.

Chapter five begins section II of the dissertation which examines the publicization of the boudoir in the second half of the eighteenth century. While it was referred to in private letters and in notary inventories, the boudoir appeared infrequently in published material from the first half of the eighteenth century. However, its appearance in the 1740 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* suggests that the word by then had enough common currency to be included in the dictionary. Its appearance in the same year in the November issue of the society journal *Mercure de France* also reveals that the word would be generally known by its readership.⁵⁹ As a database search for occurrences of "boudoir" in eighteenth-century publications reveals, over the next 40 years, the frequency of the word increased, and by the 1770's "boudoir" appeared in published titles of

⁵⁹ *Mercure de France* (novembre 1740), p. 2347. "Épître de M. de la Sireniere au Comte de Montmorenci, sur la promesse qu'avoit fait le Seigneur de venir passer l'Automne à son Château des Buars en Anjou, avec la Comtesse de Montmorenci son espouse."

plays, books and pictures such as in Charles Palissot de Montenoy's *La Dunciade, Chant Huitième, Le Boudoir*⁶⁰. By then, as Jean-François Féraud notes in his *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (1787-1788), "[c]e mot est aujourd'hui fort à la mode."⁶¹ With its popularization, the boudoir's metaphor of a sexualized body and site of sexual satisfaction was emphasized. The increasing frequency of "boudoir" over the course of the eighteenth century coincided with the changing notions of the boudoir first as a place for the practice of religious meditation, then as a place for gallantry and finally as a place for sexual enjoyment. Chapter five examines its characterization in published texts as a place where happiness is to be found in physical enjoyment and where love is the primary preoccupation. In contrast to its reputation as a place where male sexual fantasies are projected, the second half of chapter five discusses boudoir books to establish that for aristocratic ladies, the boudoir was where she read and discussed novels with her close associates.

Chapter six on the 1758 Grand Prix competition for a pavilion discusses an instance when the boudoir becomes separated from the *chambre* and is associated with a building for high society entertainment. As a project for a retreat for the king and Madame de Pompadour, the design requirement set by the *Académie royale d'architecture* for a "boudoir" was a reference to Madame de Pompadour's new state of devotion, and can be read as an attack on her and her

⁶⁰ Charles Palissot de Montenoy, *La dunciade, poème en dix chants*. [s.n.] (Londres), 1771, t. 1. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5658932c>. Accessed Nov. 20, 2009. The title refers to the *Dunciad* (1724) a dunce-epic, a satire by Alexander Pope.

⁶¹ Jean-François Féraud, *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française*. Marseilles: Moss, 1787-1788.

brother, the Marquis de Marigny. The inclusion of “boudoirs” also reveals that the concept of boudoir was connected to the pavillon as a *petite maison*.

Chapter seven focuses on the *petite maison* of a public woman, the dancer and courtesan Mademoiselle Dervieux. As a form of self-expression, her house was a stage set for her. I focus on the additions by François Joseph Belanger whose redesign of the *salle à manger* offers insight to the intended effect of the *salle de bains* and the adjoining boudoir. Her boudoir which combines notions of luxury, hedonism and desire becomes the predominant conception of the boudoir that still resonates today.

PART ONE: THE ORIGINS OF THE BOUDOIR (1640-1750)

CHAPTER 2: INTIMATE ROOMS

2.1 Anne of Austria's Oratory

2.1.1 Introduction

This section examines the immediate predecessor of the boudoir, the oratory. I discuss the significance of Anne of Austria's oratory through the levels of intimacy created spatially by the arrangement of and access to it, the activities within it, as well as its décor. Her oratory was the symbolic home for her sovereign power, embodying her divine right to be the temporary head of the government. As the site of her personal relationship to God, it was also the space for psychological reinforcement of her entitlement to this power.

During Anne of Austria's regency (1643-51), her oratory was located at her primary residence in Paris, the Palais Royal. While the exact number and layout of the Queen's apartments cannot be verified since there are no original surviving architectural plans to my knowledge, we can nevertheless draw a pattern of her living arrangements from first hand accounts, work orders that locate and identify a few rooms, the 1679 plan of the ground floor, a 1745/51 plan of the first floor, reconstructions by historians such as Alexandre Gady, Lorenzo Pericolo, Tony Sauvel, Ruth Kleinman, Mary Allden and Richard Beresford, as well as from examining the plans of her summer and winter apartments at the Louvre.¹

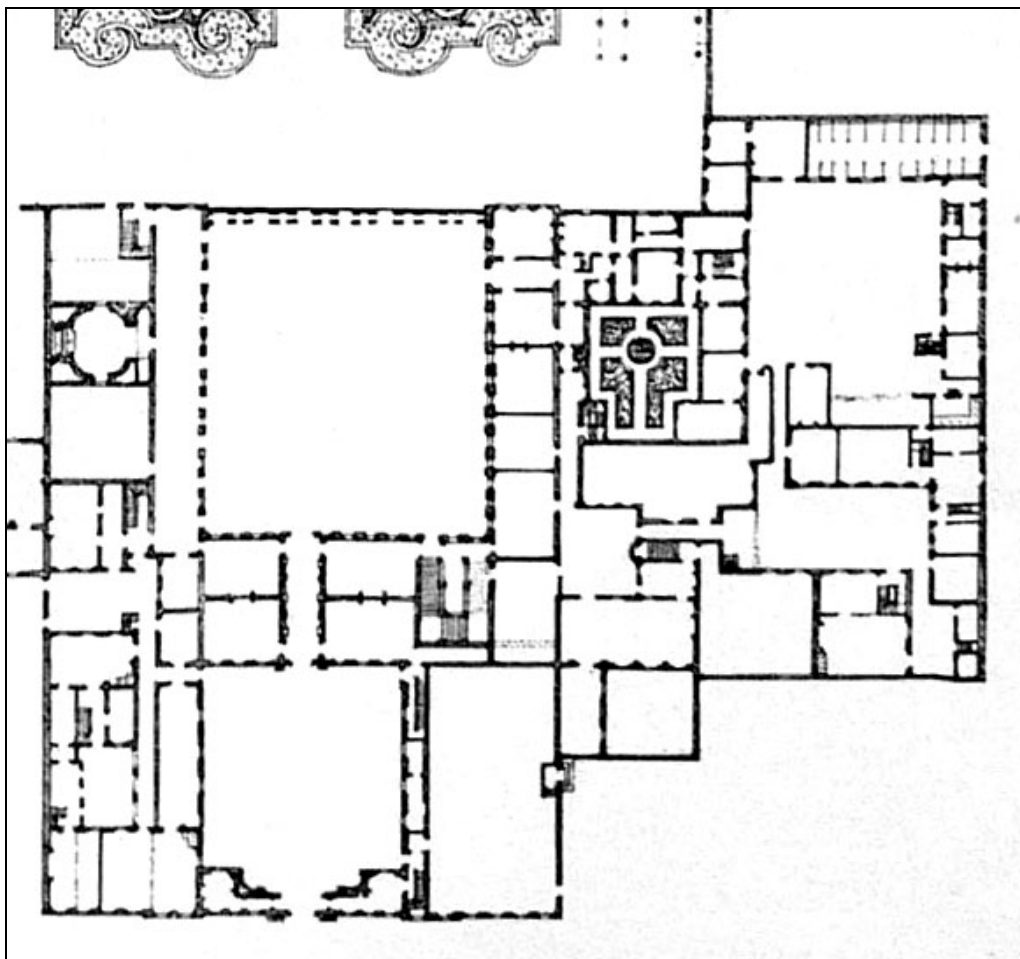
¹ On Anne of Austria's apartments in the Palais-Royal see Tony Sauvel, "L'Appartement de La Reine au Palais-Royal," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, vol. 1968 (1970), pp. 65-79. Lorenzo Pericolo, "Two Paintings for Anne of Austria's Oratory at the Palais Royal, Paris Philippe de Champaigne's 'Annunciation' and Jacques Stella's 'Birth of the Virgin,'" *Burlington*

Following Pericolo, my reconstruction of Queen Anne's apartment uses the 1751 plan of the first floor of the Palais Royal² as the distribution of the rooms was the same during Anne's residency. While Tony Sauvel, Alden and Beresford locate the oratory as the octagonal 'cabinet' with two windows at the northwest corner of the *cour du cardinal*, Pericolo and Gady place the oratory in the northeast corner of the *cour du cardinal* and which is supported by Henri Sauval's description (c.1660) that it had one window.³

Magazine, vol. 147, no.1225 (April 2005), p. 244-248. Alexandre Gady, *Jacques Lemercier: Architecte et ingénieur du Roi*. Paris: Fondation Maisons des sciences de l'homme, 2005. Mary Alden and Richard Beresford, "Two Altar-Pieces by Philippe de Champaigne: Their History and Technique," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 131, no. 1035 (June 1989), p. 399.

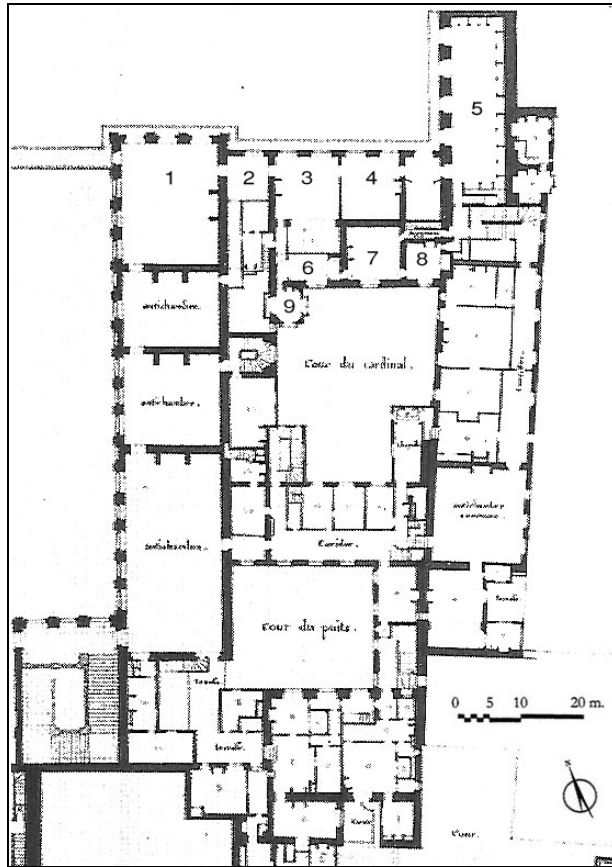
² This plan is located at the Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Ve 86 fol.: 'Plan des logements des officiers du Palais-Royal'. Pericolo dates it as 1751 while Alden and Beresford state that it reflects the layout in 1745. Alden and Beresford. "Two Altar-Pieces by Philippe de Champaigne," p. 399. Pericolo, "Two Paintings for Anne of Austria's Oratory at the Palais Royal," p. 244, 24, n. 16. Pericolo points out that the reconstruction by Gady was based on Blondel's 1754 plan which reflects Pierre Contant d'Ivry's renovations from 1752.

³ Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville Paris* (1724). New York: Gregg International Publishers, 1969, vol. 2, p. 168-171.



(Fig. 1) La Boissière, *Détail de plan général de l'ancien Palais-Cardinal*, par, 1679.

Source : Emile Dupezard, *Le Palais-Royal de Paris. Architecture & décoration de Louis XV à nos jours*. Paris: Librairie centrale d'art et d'architecture, ancienne maison Morel, Ch. Eggimann, 1911.



1. grand cabinet
2. petite chambre
3. chambre de l'alcôve
4. chambre attenant
5. galerie
6. chambre des bains
7. chambre
8. oratoire
9. cabinet des glaces

(Fig. 2) First floor plan, Palais Royal, 1751.

Source: Modified plan from Lorenzo Pericolo, "Two Paintings for Anne of Austria's Oratory at the Palais Royal, Paris Philippe de Champaigne's 'Annunciation' and Jacques Stella's 'Birth of the Virgin,'" *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 147, no.1225 (April 2005), p. 244. The scale is derived from Gady and Guillaume Fonkenell's reconstruction. Alexandre Gady, *Jacques Lemercier: Architecte et ingénieur du Roi*. Paris: Fondation Maisons des sciences de l'homme, 2005, p. 392.



(Fig.3) Rigaud, View of Palais Royal from the garden, early eighteenth-century.

Source: Dupezard, *Le Palais-Royal de Paris. Architecture & décoration de Louis XV à nos jours*.

2.1.2 The Private Apartment

A visitor such as a courtier or minister who desired an audience with Anne of Austria would present himself at the front gates of the Palais Royal, her primary residence during the Regency. He would traverse the forecourt (*avant cour*) to a vaulted corridor lined with niches and statues. At the end of the corridor, before the entrance into the open air of the *grande cour*, a door to his right would lead him into a long *salle*. From there, he would mount the monumental staircase to the first floor and arrive at the top of the landing facing the *grande cour*.⁴

To the right of the landing was the first room of Anne's apartment, the *antichambre* or waiting room (figure 2). While it was official practice for visitors to be announced, seventeenth-century writer Pierre Ortigue de Vaumorière explained that when the court was at the Louvre, the fashion, was not to "knock loudly with your cane, but rather softly with your knuckles, or scratching the door"⁵ when it was closed. As Lorenzo Pericolo and Alexandre Gady have reconstructed, the visitor would finally pass through a series of antechambers, halls and cabinets, connected *enfilade* before being announced into what the seventeenth century traveler, Henri Sauval described in detail as "la merveille & le miracle de Paris"⁶, the *grand cabinet* (1 on figure 2).

⁴ Sauvel, "L'Appartement de La Reine au Palais-Royal," p. 65-79.

⁵ Alain Montandon, "Étiquette," *Étiquette et politesse*, ed. Alain Montandon. Clermont-Ferrand, France: Association des publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, 1992, p. 371. Pierre Ortigue de Vaumorière, *The Art of Pleasing in Conversation* (1688). London: W. Feales; F. Clay, and R. Wellington; J. Brindley; and C. Corbett, 1735-36, 1735-36, vol. 1, p. 42-3. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed January 10, 2007.

⁶ Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville Paris*, vol. 2, p. 169.

Located at the end of the wing facing the gardens, the *grand cabinet* was sometimes used as a throne room.⁷ It was also Anne's working room where the courtiers gathered to counsel her. The Duc d'Orléans and Cardinal Mazarin came to see her there every evening. The Prince de Condé and the Duc d'Enghien were also occasional visitors to the *grand cabinet* where "la conversation se faisoit publiquement entre la Reine, les princes et le ministre."⁸

The room next to the *grand cabinet* was the *petite chambre* (2 on figure 2) on which marked the boundary between the Anne's ceremonial and private rooms. According to one of her ladies-in-waiting, Madame de Motteville⁹, each evening before retiring to her private rooms, the Queen would meet with the Duc d'Orléans before going into an hour long "little council" with the Cardinal Mazarin. During her meeting with the Cardinal, the door of the [grand] *cabinet* remained open while the courtiers assembled in the adjoining *petite chambre*. Anne then bid the court good night and closed her private apartment. "La foule des grands seigneurs et des courtisans demeuroit dans le grand cabinet, et c'étoit

⁷ Françoise de Motteville, *Mémoires sur Anne d'Autriche et sa cour*, éd. d'après le manuscrit de Conrart. Paris: Charpentier, 1886, vol. 2, p. 72. Françoise de Motteville, *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville on Anne of Austria and her court, with an introduction by C.-A. Sainte-Beuve*, trans. Katharine P. Wormeley. Boston: Hardy, Pratt & Co, 1901, vol. 1, p. 259.

⁸ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 173. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p.107.

⁹ In 1627, Françoise Berthaut (Bertaut) was appointed woman of the bedchamber, *femme de chambre française* (1627-1631) and was removed from her position in 1631. Françoise was then married to the president of Motteville (spelled sometimes as Motheville) in 1635 and was widowed two years later. As presidente de Motheville, she was appointed in 1640 until 1665 as a *dame d'honneur*. See Eugène Griselle, *État de la maison du roi Louis XIII de celles de sa mère, marie de Médicis ; de ses sœurs, Chrestienne, Élisabeth et Henriette de France; de son frère, Gaston d'Orléans; de sa femme, Anne d'Autriche; de ses fils, de dauphin (Louis XIV) et Phillippe d'Orléans*. Paris: Éditions de Documents d'Histoire, 1912, p.91, 95, 346. Also Ruth Kleinman, *Anne of Austria, Queen of France, 1601-1666*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985, p. 80.

là que se pratiquoit sans doute tout ce que la galanterie et les folles intrigues pouvoient produire.”¹⁰

Adjoining the *petite chambre* enfilade was the *chambre de la reine* or *chambre du lit* or the *chambre de l’alcove*.¹¹ (3 on figure 2) The *chambre du lit* was where the Regente received her principal officers and others who paid court to her from her bed every morning for half an hour.¹² Sometimes referred to as the *petite chambre grise*, this room, while part of the Queen’s private apartment, was where she sometimes held an audience. Cardinal de Retz for instance was summoned to attend to the Queen who “était sur son lit, dans sa petite chambre grise.”¹³ The Cardinal also reports that only extraordinary events would allow Parliamentarians to breach the boundary between the *grand cabinet* and the *chambre grise*. He recounts that when the 60 parliamentarians went to report the state of unrest in Paris to her in the grand cabinet, she became angry and said, “‘Je sais bien qu’il y a du bruit dans la ville; mais vous m’en répondrez, Messieurs de Parlement, vous, vos femmes et vos enfants.’ En prononçant cette dernière syllabe, elle rentra dans sa petite chambre grise, et elle en ferma la porte avec

¹⁰ Motteville, *Mémoires sur Anne d’Autriche et sa cour*, vol. 1, p. 172. Also *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p.107.

¹¹ Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville*, vol.2, p.68. Descriptions of the décor of the *chambre de l’alcôve*, *chambre attendant à l’oratoire et la petite galerie* are found in the Archives nationale, Min. cent, fonds CXII, reg. 46, 13 septembre 1645. See Roger-Armand Weigert, “Deux marchés passés par Simon Vouet pour les décorations de l’appartement d’Anne d’Autriche au Palais Royal , 1645,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de l’art français*, 1952, p. 101-105.

¹² Motteville, *Mémoires sur Anne d’Autriche et sa cour*, vol. 1, p.170-171. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p.105.

¹³ Jean François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, *Mémoires; précédés de, La conjuration du comte de Fiesque*. Paris: Garnier, 1987, vol. 1, p. 273.

force.”¹⁴ Knowing the urgency of their message, they begged the duc d’Orléans to obtain another audience with the Queen. Shortly afterwards, twenty parliamentarians were squeezed into the little gray chamber, “[l]e premier président fit voir à la Reine tout l’horreur de Paris armé et enragé; c’est-à-dire il essaya de lui faire voir, car elle ne voulut rien écouter, et elle se jeta de colère dans la petite galerie”.¹⁵

In the Cardinal’s account of the Parliamentarians, the Queen stormed from the *chambre grise* through the next room enfilade, a cabinet, followed by a smaller cabinet which served as a passage to the *petite galerie* (5 on figure 2). The *petite galerie* was located in a narrow and quiet place at the extreme end of Anne’s apartment facing the gardens. Henri Sauval records that it was connected to the long balcony at the top of the garden.¹⁶ In the *galerie*, councils sometimes took place at the table next to the fireplace.¹⁷ During the Fronde, the Princes Condé, Conti and the Duc de Longueville were arrested here. As Dubuisson-Aubenay recounts, while the Queen who was in “sa chambre, sur son lit”, the King asked the Princes Condé, Conti and the Duc de Longueville to enter into the gallery “où elle tient ordinairement sa séance du Conseil.” They were arrested while “elle étoit passée de la chambre en un cabinet à côté, comme pour y prendre

¹⁴ Cardinal de Retz, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p.320. *Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz: Containing, the Particulars of His Own Life, with the Most Secret Transactions at the French Court During the Administration of Cardinal Mazarin and the Civil Wars*, trans. Peter Davall. London, E. Earle, T.H. Palmer, 1817, vol. 1, p. 147-8.

¹⁵ Cardinal de Retz, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p.320. *Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz*, vol. 1, p. 147-8.

¹⁶ Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville*, vol.2, p. 171.

¹⁷ François-Nicolas Baudot Dubuisson-Aubenay, *Journal des guerres civiles de Dubuisson-Aubenay, 1648-1652*. Chez H. Champion, 1885, vol. 1, p. 53 : “La Reine s'est donc retirée en sa petite galerie et là a tenu conseil où étoient trois maréchaux de France.”

son orangeade accoutumée...Guitaut, qui étoit sorti pour aller parler à la Reine, rentra dans la galerie, par cette porte ordinaire qui est seule et au bout, tenant au quartier de la Reine, puis, ouvrant une autre petite porte qui, par le degré secret et dérobé, fait descendre au jardin.”¹⁸

As Dubuisson-Aubenay points out, in addition to these *chambres*, there were other private cabinets, such as the one where she usually had her orangeade and received select company. Madame de Motteville describes rooms which were only accessible by her women (female servants and ladies-in-waiting); her circle of associates, “[p]eu d’hommes, avec quatre ou cinq personnes de notre sexe, avoient l’honneur de rester avec la Reine, à toutes les heures où elle étoit en son particulier”¹⁹; and by high ranking visitors such as the wife of the ambassador of Denmark who on her second visit in 1647 was shown the Queen’s “petit appartement, sa chambre, ses bains et son oratoire, qu’elle regarda sans trop les louer, et remarquant néanmoins tout ce qui étoit beau.”²⁰

Facing the *cour du cardinal*, the queen’s *petit appartement* consisted of many rooms which have been identified by Lorenzo Pericolo as the *cabinet des glaces* (9 on figure 2), *les bains* (6 on figure 2), *chambre* (7 on figure 2), and

¹⁸ Dubuisson-Aubenay, *Journal des guerres civiles de Dubuisson-Aubenay*, vol. 1, p. 203. The Maréchal d’Estrées recorded that the salle where the Princes were arrested was “auprès de la chambre de la Reine où le Conseil se tenoit.” François Annibal, duc d’Estrées, *Mémoires du maréchal d’Estrées sur la régence de Marie de Médicis (1610-1616) et sur celle d’Anne d’Autriche (1643-1650) publiés pour la Société de l’histoire de France*. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1910, p. 300.

¹⁹ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p.173. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p. 106-108.

²⁰ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 339. A social visit was a sign of respect and friendship and only applied to visiting someone of superior or equal rank. As Courtin insisted in his *Nouveau Traité de la civilité* (1671), one does not socially visit a person of inferior rank. Antoine de Courtin, *Nouveau Traité de la civilité qui se pratique en France, parmi les honnêtes gens*. Paris : Helie Josset, 1671, cited in Alain Montandon, “Étiquette,” *Dictionnaire Raisonné de la politesse et du savoir-vivre du moyen âge à nos jours*. Paris: Éditions du seuil, 1995, p.370.

oratoire (8 on figure 2).²¹ Located at the northwest corner of the *cour du cardinal*, the *cabinet des glaces*²² was, according to memoirist Dubuisson-Aubenay, the “chambre du miroir où la reine se coiffe ordinairement”, connected to the *chambre du lit*.²³

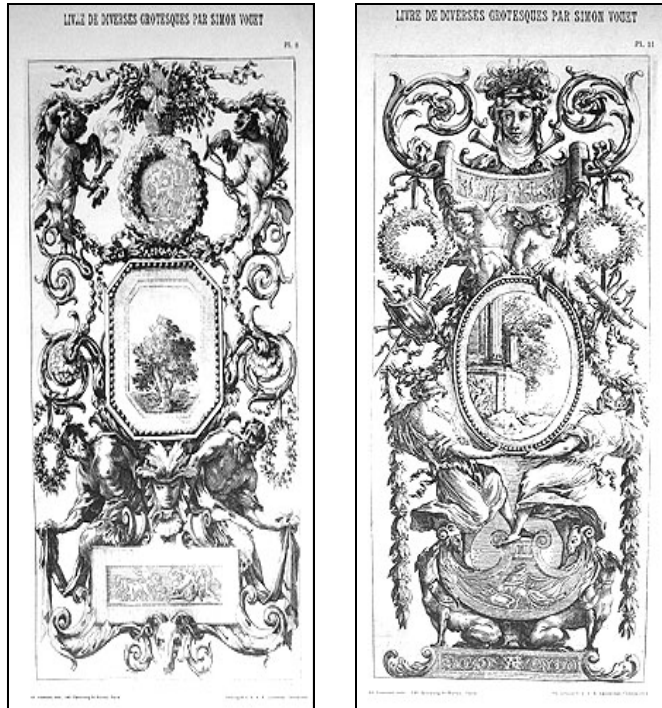
The room next to the *cabinet des glaces* and adjacent to the *chambre du lit*, was the *bains*. The bathing room “veritablement est petit, mais fort enjoué ; de toutes parts ce ne sont que fleurs, ornemens, chiffres, paysages, couchés sur un fond d’or, & enlassés les uns dans les autres avec beaucoup d’art & de caprice : pour ce qui est du dedans, la conduite de ce Bains, ainsi que tout le reste de cet appartement, fut abandonné à Vouet, qui en distribua les ornemens à plusieurs : les fleurs à Louis, & les paysages à Belin.”²⁴

²¹ Located at the northwest corner of the *cour du cardinal*, the oratory has been located as the oval cabinet by other scholars such as Tony Sauvel, Mary Allden and Richard Beresford.

²² Pericolo has identified it as the ‘cabinet anciennement appelé le Cabinet des Glaces’. AN, X 1A 1962, fol. 6v-10r cited in Pericolo, “Two Paintings for Anne of Austria’s Oratory at the Palais Royal,” p. 245, note 8.

²³ Dubuisson-Aubenay, *Journal des guerres civiles de Dubuisson-Aubenay*, vol. 1, p. 191. “...la Reine retournant à la galerie et chapelle du Roi, où elle avait ouï la messe, la marquis de Jarzé, peigné, poudré et vêtu à l’avantage, se trouve à son passage, sur la terrasse qui fait clôture à la cour intérieure et regarde sur le jardin du Palais-Royal, où il marche devant la Reine, se tourne vers elle à certaines distances et pauses, en l’attendant, et, entré dans le grand cabinet, se met en haie pour être vu de plus près d’elle à son passage ; puis entre avec Sa Majesté dans la chambre du lit et puis outre, dans la chambre du miroir, où la Reine se coiffe ordinairement et se présente devant Sa Majesté, qui lui fait signe de s’approcher et marche deux pas. ”

²⁴ Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville*, vol. 2, p. 169.



(Fig. 4) Michel Dorigny, The grotesque decorations in *les bains*, engraving, 1647.

Source: *Livre de divers grotesques peints dans le Cabinet et Bains de la Reine Régente au Palais Royaux par Simon Vouet, Peintre du Roy Gravées par Michel Dorigny*, Paris: Galleries du Louvre, 1647.²⁵

The queen's *chambre* was the primary room in her *petit appartement*. As Madame de Motteville records, “[a]u sortir de son dîner, elle retiroit un peu dans sa chambre pour être quelque temps seule, et donnoit souvent une heure à Dieu par quelque lecture dévote qu’elle faisoit dans son oratoire.”²⁶

Another intimate room in her *petit appartement* was her *petit cabinet* or *cabinet des muses*, a place for *tête à tête* with her attending ladies.²⁷ Here is where the queen in attendance with her ladies of her household would end their day gossiping past midnight. The *petit cabinet* was also the place where the

²⁵ See Weigert, “Deux marchés passés par Simon Vouet,” p. 101, n.1.

²⁶ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 172. Also, *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 1, p. 107.

²⁷ Dubuisson-Aubenay, *Journal des guerres civiles de Dubuisson-Aubenay*, vol. 2, p. 58 “...la duchesse de Chevreuse vit aussi la Reine tête à tête en son petit cabinet et lui conta tout au long toute l’affaire des trois traités qui ont été faits...”

Queen, who seldom ate in public with her officers serving her, dined in the company of her two sons and her women servants.²⁸

Anne was surrounded by her numerous attending ladies²⁹ including at night when some of them would be sleeping in her *chambre*.³⁰ Even if they were not in the same room, her ladies-in-waiting would certainly be close on hand in the adjacent cabinets or *entresols*.³¹ In the Palais Royal, the small staircases adjacent the *chambre du lit* and next to the oratory provided access to the cabinets on the entresol level. The *entresol* would have housed the *garderobes* where clothes were stored and where serving women slept.³²

Anne had no privacy by modern day standards. Even when rooms were closed, her ladies could hear their mistress through the walls as her apartment was not soundproof. For instance, after Anne awoke and made her prayers, she would simply call for those who slept near her bed.³³ Madame de Motteville recounted faintly overhearing a heated debate between the Queen, Mademoiselle, Monsieur, Cardinal Mazarin, and the Abbé de la Rivière in the *petite galerie* demonstrating

²⁸ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 172. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p. 107.

²⁹ During the Regency (1643-51), fifty-one attending ladies and girls were listed in the *État de la maison du Roi Louis XIII*. *État de la maison du Roi Louis XIII*, p.89-96. Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: the Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 94. Katherine Norberg, "Women of Versailles, 1682-1789," *Servants of the Dynasty: Palace Women in World History*, ed. Anne Walthall University of California Press, 2008, p. 195-6.

³⁰ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 4, p. 367. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3, p. 312.

³¹ Smaller cabinets usually had a shorter floor to ceiling distance. Thus cabinets would be stacked so that additional rooms were created on the entresol level.

³² Madame du Hausset, Madame de Pompadour's waiting lady slept in one of the small rooms in her mistress's chamber. *Mémoires de Madame du Hausset, Femme de Chambre de Madame de Pompadour*. Paris, Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1855, p.73-4. Also see Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984, p.39-40.

³³ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p.172. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p.107.

that even this space located at the very end of the enfilade was not immune to eavesdropping.³⁴

While rooms such as the *le bain* and the *petit galerie* were retreats for the Queen, they were not necessarily private since members of her household entered at will. The only room restricted to the queen alone was her oratory. When the Queen was in her oratory, no one was to interrupt her. Even the *première femme de chambre* Señora Molina feared to offend by “l’avoir importunée par la liberté qu’elle avoit prise en ouvrant sa porte: ce que guère de gens n’auroient osé faire dans les heures des ses prières”.³⁵

³⁴ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol.2, p.40-41. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p.237-238.

³⁵ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol.4, p. 348. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3, p. 299.

2.1.3 The Queen's Oratory: a Sovereign Room

Private oratories, places for private (individual and family) devotion, were established only by permission of the church and were found only in the grandest of houses. The origin of the private oratory dates to the early years of Christianity when the religion was outlawed and Christians had to practice their faith in secret. The custom of having a private place for worship was continued even after Christianity was made the state religion by the emperor Constantine who maintained a personal chapel himself.³⁶

According to art historian Joan Evans, the development of the personal oratory in France coincided with the incorporation of monastic rituals into daily life. Louis IX (Saint Louis, 1215-1270) who as a devout king observed the eight canonical hours³⁷ as well as the Hours of the Virgin. Louis would rise at midnight to listen to the Matins prayer service and return to bed half-dressed until Prime (at sunrise) when he would hear two masses, and during the day observe Terce, Sext, and None, and Vespers at sunset and Compline in the late evening.³⁸

³⁶ William Fanning, "Oratory," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911, vol. 11, p.271-2.

³⁷ The canonical hours had two nocturnal prayer services (Matins, Lauds), Prime at first light, three day services (Terce, Sext, None at three hour intervals) and two evening prayer services (Vespers and Compline). While each religious community established its own canonical hours, the approximate times were Matins around 2:30am, Lauds between 3:00 and 5:00 am, Prime at 6:00, Terce at 9:00, Sext at noon, None at 3:00pm, Vespers at sunset and Compline in the late evening. Eric Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy: Codex Vindobonensis 1857*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. London: Harvey Miller, 1995, p. 7. Claire Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in the Thirteenth-Century Oxford*. London: British Library, 1991, p. 26, 27, 159 n. 6.

³⁸ Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France, 987-1498*. London: Oxford University Press, 1948, p. 194-201. Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollard. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009, p. 462-3, 629 -631.

Louis' devotional regimen occupied many hours of his day. He listened to mass at least twice a day, sometimes up to four times daily and spent long hours at solitary prayer. After the king returned from the chapel, he would sometimes continue to pray at the foot of his bed or in his dressing room. Even the men in his service would at times be impatient as they waited outside his chamber or chapel.³⁹

Though his men may have been impatient, they would not interrupt the king. As Jacques Le Goff points out, Louis IX's solitary prayer cannot just be seen as an individual's prayer, but rather was the prayer of the leader of a people. The king's prayer was for the continued benediction from God for him and those he represented on earth.⁴⁰

While it is not clear that Louis IX's devotional practices necessitated a separate room with an altar by his bed, by the fourteenth century, a private oratory next to the royal bedchamber was customary. Charles V's (1338-1380) renovation of the Louvre included the arrangement of his personal oratory next to his bedchamber as well as the Queen's oratory next to hers.⁴¹

By the seventeenth century, an oratory next to one's bed was found in the houses of the aristocracy. Augustin-Charles D'Aviler describes the personal oratory, as a small *cabinet de retraite* with a small altar and a praying stand.⁴²

Jaucourt, in the following century, writes more succinctly in the *Encyclopédie* that

³⁹ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 462-3, 629 -631.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 631.

⁴¹ Mary Whiteley, "Le Louvre de Charles V: dispositions et fonctions d'une résidence royale," *Revue de l'Art*, vol. 97 (1992), p. 67.

⁴² Augustin-Charles d'Aviler, *Dictionnaire d'architecture, ou Explication de tous les termes, dont on se sert dans l'architecture*. Paris, Chez Nicolas Langlois, 1693, p. 254.

a private oratory is located next to the bedchamber and is different from a chapel in that the chapel has an altar where one celebrates the mysteries of the saints while the oratory has a table in the form of an altar.⁴³ Unlike the Queen's oratory which was a consecrated site where mass was performed every morning⁴⁴, the private oratory in aristocratic houses had only the semblance of a chapel.

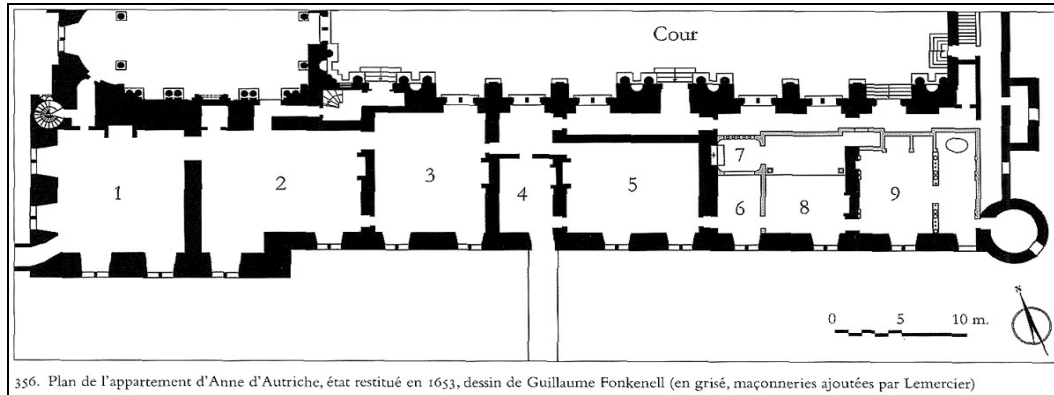
In addition to a table which functioned as an altar, the oratory contained sacred items. Anne of Austria had an impressive collection of relics housed in glass in her oratory.⁴⁵ While the exact contents of her Palais Royal oratory are not known, the inventory list of her Louvre oratory⁴⁶ taken just after her death in 1666 gives a sense of the kind of items which may have been in her Palais Royal oratory since many of the relics were brought with her to France from Spain at the time of her marriage.

⁴³ *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet (Winter 2008 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed.), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>.

⁴⁴ The Queen's Louvre oratory opened out to the corridor allowing more room so that her household could hear the daily mass performed there. Louis Hauteceur, *L'Histoire des Châteaux du Louvre et Des Tuileries*. Paris: G. Van Oest, 1927, p.26.

⁴⁵ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol.3, p.311. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.2, p.346.

⁴⁶ The Queen's winter apartment at the Louvre was constructed after Louis XIV gained his majority in 1651, from 1653-1655. Hauteceur, *L'Histoire des Châteaux du Louvre et Des Tuileries*, p. 26-30.



(fig.5) Anne of Austria's winter apartment, Louvre.

Source: Alexandre Gady, *Jacques Lemercier: Architecte et ingénieur du Roi*. Paris: Fondation Maisons des sciences de l'homme, 2005, p. 420.

1. salle des gardes
2. antichambre
3. grand cabinet
4. petite pièce donnant accès au pont de bois du fossé
5. grand chambre d'apparat
6. cabinet
7. oratoire de la reine
8. chambre à coucher de la reine
9. chambre des bains

The Louvre oratory (7 on figure 5) held many magnificent items which were taken care of by the oratory guardian Bellocque.⁴⁷ At the base of the altar was a Persian carpet.⁴⁸ “Au milieu de la dite oratoire, un chandelier de cristal à six branches, garny d’argent doré, suspendu.”⁴⁹ In addition to the crystal chandeliers and candelabras, her oratory contained crucifixes, holy water fonts, religious paintings such as “[d]eux tableaux, en chascun desquels est peint une Vierge, garnis de diamans; le fond de l’un d’or et de l’autre de laiton garni d’or”⁵⁰, a silver manger with a base of marble and “deux soleils garnis de diamans soustenus cachus de deux anges d’or, dont les aisles sont esmaillées. En l’un

⁴⁷ So valuable were the items that there was a guard of the oratory and her cabinets, Bellocque, who resided in the oratory. Jean Cordey, “L’Inventaire après décès d’Anne d’Autriche et le mobilier du Louvre,” *Bulletin de la société l’histoire de l’art français*, 1930, p. 217 and 228.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 232.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 232.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 229.

desquels y a un morceau de la sainte Espine, et en l'autre de la vraye Croix, avec les estuis.”⁵¹ These items were made of precious materials such as crystal, lapis lazuli, marble and ebony, enameled in gold and silver, and encrusted with rubies and diamonds.

Anne possessed a fragment of the “True Cross” and part of the Virgin’s clothing, which are considered to be some of the most revered relics of Christendom.⁵² There were also twenty-eight reliquaries of various sizes and configurations. The two most splendid were

un grand reliquaire de bois venu d’Espagne, au milieu duquel y a une Vierge aussi de bois. Le dict reliquaire enrichy de lapy, remply de différentes reliques et aussi enrichy de plusieurs diamans, aveq un autel au pied ; sur lequel autel est une petite croix d’or avec quatre petits chandeliers aussy d’or⁵³

and

un grand reliquaire d’argent soustenu par deux anges aussy d’argent sur un pied d’esbeine, où il y a du voile de la Vierge et du manteau de saint Joseph, pesant environ trente marcs d’argent⁵⁴.

These two items like many of the altars, paintings, and relics were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the most important of all the saints in the church hierarchy. In addition to being a symbol of the ideal, fertile woman, the Virgin Mary was the patron saint of kings.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 229.

⁵² Stephen Wilson, “Introduction,” *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p.5.

⁵³ Cordey, “L’Inventaire après décès d’Anne d’Autriche et le mobilier du Louvre,” p. 228.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 230.

⁵⁵ Louis IX, prayed at Marian sanctuaries and had service for the Virgin Mary everyday. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 632. Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany*:

While the contents of the Palais Royal oratory can only be derived from the later inventory, its decoration has been well documented. Henri Sauval described the oratory in detail:

L'oratoire est environné de tableaux, où Champagne, Vouet, Bourdon, Stella, Lahire, Corneille, Dorigni & Paerson, ont peint en concurrence la vie & les attributs de la Vierge ; travail où il se voit tant d'émulation, qu'il est assés difficile de juger laquelle de ces Histoires est la plus achevée ; car enfin si ce ne sont pas leur chef-d'oeuvres, aussi ne sont-ce pas leur coups d'essai. Il n'y en a pas un qui n'ait ses partisans & ses amoureux ; la plupart néanmoins qui s'y connoissent, estiment plus que pas une, la fuite de la Vierge en Egypte, par Bourdon. Des grands carreaux de cristal montrés dans de l'argent, éclairent cette retraite si agréable ; des Points & des Triangles encore d'argent, ciselés & enrichis de quantité de beaux ornemens, soutiennent cette belle vitre ; & quoiqu'il n'y ait qu'une seule croisée, l'argent cependant y a été employé avec tant de profusion ; qu'il y en est entré plus de vingt marcs.⁵⁶

The oratory was ornamented with paintings dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁵⁷ Mary Allden and Richard Beresford have identified four of these paintings each of which depicted important events in the life of the Virgin: Simon Vouet's *Assumption of the Virgin* (figure 10), *Presentation in the Temple* (figure 6) and *Flight into Egypt* (figure 7) both by Sébastien Bourdon, and the *Marriage*

Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p.4. Marina Warner, *Alone of All her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

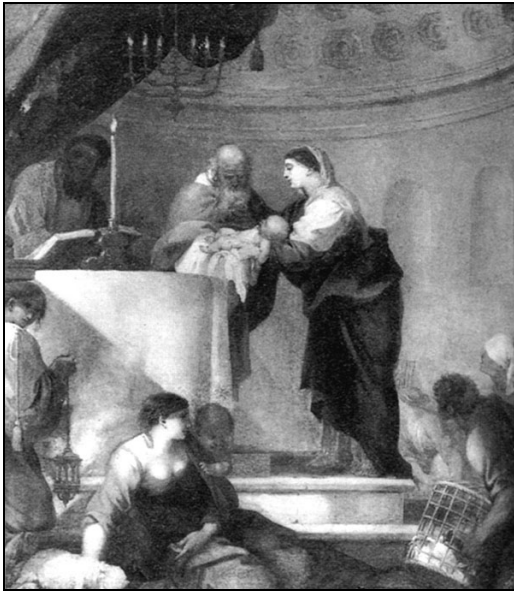
⁵⁶ Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville Paris*, vol. 2, p. 169.

⁵⁷ These painted were commission in 1644. Allden and Beresford, "Two Altar-Pieces by Philippe de Champaigne," p. 395. *Deux marché passés par Simon Vouet* is dated 13 septembre 1645. Weigert, "Deux marchéd passés par Simon Vouet ," p. 101-105.

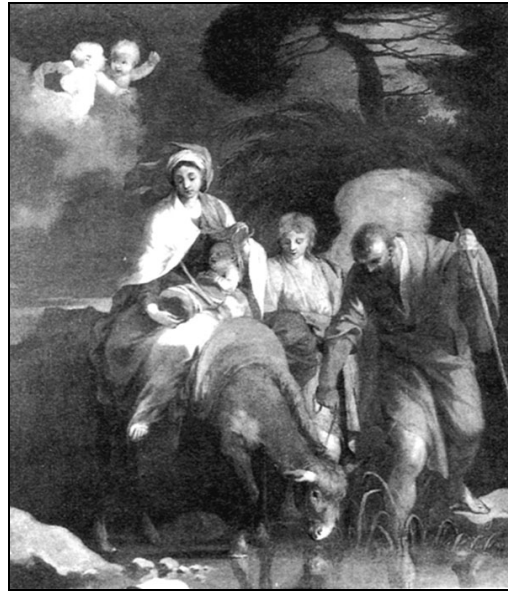
of the Virgin by Phillipe de Champaigne (figure 8).⁵⁸ Lorenzo Pericolo has identified Philippe de Champaigne's *Annunciation* (figure 9) and has proposed that Jacques Stella's *Birth of the Virgin* (figure 11) was also part of the decorative scheme. The other paintings by Michel Corneille, Michel Dorigny and Charles Poërsen are lost. Except for the altar-piece by Vouet, all the paintings, according to Pericolo, were most likely embedded into the paneling at eye level and separated with pilasters.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Alden and Beresford, "Two Altar-Pieces by Philippe de Champaigne," p. 395, 398.

⁵⁹ Pericolo, "Two Paintings for Anne of Austria's Oratory at the Palais Royal," p. 244-248.



(Fig.6) Sébastien Bourdon, *Presentation in the Temple*, 71 x 61 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



(Fig.7) Sébastien Bourdon, *Flight into Egypt*, 70 x 61 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



(Fig.8) Philippe de Champaigne, *Marriage of the Virgin*, 71.5 x 143.4 cm Wallace Collection, London.

Source: Mary Alden and Richard Beresford. "Two Altar-Pieces by Philippe de Champaigne: Their History and Technique," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 131, no. 1035 (June 1989), p. 395, 398.



(Fig. 9) Philippe de Champaigne, *Annunciation*, 71 x 72.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Sources: Lorenzo Pericolo, "Two Paintings for Anne of Austria's Oratory at the Palais Royal, Paris Philippe de Champaigne's 'Annunciation' and Jacques Stella's 'Birth of the Virgin,'" *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 147 (April 2005), p. 244-248.



(Fig. 10) Simon Vouet, *Assumption of the Virgin* (altar-piece), 195 x 129 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Reims.



(Fig.11) Jacques Stella, *Birth of the Virgin*, 71.5 x 147 cm, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille.

Located next to the *chambre* where the Queen retired,⁶⁰ the oratory was where Mass was performed every morning as well as the place for her private devotion.⁶¹ It was also her favorite room. Madame de Motteville recounts that her “oratoire est le lieu où elle se plaît le plus: elle y passe beaucoup d’heures du jour.”⁶² During her reign as the Regent of France, Anne awoke usually between ten and eleven o’clock and made her first prayer before calling those who slept near her. After a half hour audience with her principal officers, “elle se levoit, prenoit une robe de chambre, et après avoir fait une seconde prière, elle déjeunoit de grand appétit.” She then dressed putting on her chemise, petticoat, a wrapper and black *hongreline* “et en cet état elle entendoit la messe fort dévotement; et, cette sainte action finie, elle venoit à sa toilette.”⁶³

After her dinner, the Queen would retire to “sa chambre pour être quelque temps seule”⁶⁴, and gave “souvent une heure à Dieu par quelque lecture dévote qu’elle faisoit dans son oratoire.”⁶⁵ Before supper at eleven o’clock, she would again pray for an hour in her oratory. She would say her last prayers of the day before going to bed.⁶⁶ Madame de Motteville recounts that during the Fronde,

⁶⁰ Pericolo and Gady both locate the oratory at the northeast corner of the *cour de cardinal*. Pericolo substantiates this conclusion by subsequent inventories taken in 1724 of the appartement of M. le duc d’Orléans autrefois M. le duc de Chartres. Pericolo, “Two Paintings for Anne of Austria’s Oratory at the Palais Royal,” p.245. Gady, *Jacques Lemercier*, p. 332.

⁶¹ As Madame de Motteville points out, the queen retired to her petit appartement in her chambre which had an adjoining oratory. Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 172. Also, *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 1, p. 107.

⁶² Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, XXX : “Portrait de la Reine Anne d’Autriche fait par Madame de Motteville en 1658.” *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3, p. 129.

⁶³ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 171. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 1, p. 105.

⁶⁴ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 172. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p.107.

⁶⁵ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 172. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p.107.

⁶⁶ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 161-175. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1, p. 104-10.

“après qu’elle se fut déshabillée, et qu’elle eut visité son oratoire pour rendre grâces à Dieu des assistances visibles qu’elle recevait de sa main toute-puissante.”⁶⁷

In addition to a place for prayer, Anne’s oratory was also the place for other Christian activities such as charity:

Elle avoit une femme de chambre, dame pieuse et dévote, qui, dans les premières années de sa régence, s’enfermoit les soirs avec elle dans son oratoire. Toute l’occupation de cette dame étoit d’instruire la Reine des nécessités journalières, publiques et particulières de tous les pauvres, et de lui demander de l’argent pour y remédier.⁶⁸

As the head of the social order, the Regente’s piety was an extension of her public realm. The importance of Anne’s piety was understood by others outside the court. The *Gazette*, a quasi-state publication, would report weekly from 1643 to her death in 1665 her daily mass, her visits to church and convents, and when she resided in Paris her attendance at mass at Notre Dame every Saturday.⁶⁹ So well-announced was her religious devotion that when the underage Louis XIV on January 15, 1648, went to the Parliament to request an increase in taxes in order to add to the war effort, the attorney-general, Omer Talon called upon the Queen to reflect on the misery of this action when she was in her oratory:

⁶⁷ Ibid, vol.3, p.13. Also, *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.2, p.141.

⁶⁸ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 176. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.1 p. 109.

⁶⁹ Kleinman, *Anne of Austria*, p. 164-165, note 29 and 31. Maréchal d’Estrées also records that after several days of unrest in Paris, “la Reine, voulant aller le samedi, comme elle a de coutume, faire ses dévotions à Notre-Dame, fut conseillée de n’y aller point pour n’entendre et ne voir point encore le peuple en des insolences effroyables.” Estrées, *Mémoires du maréchal d’Estrées*, p. 250.

Faites, Madame, s'il vous plaît, quelque sorte de réflexion sur cette misère publique dans la retraite de votre cœur ! Ce soir, dans la solitude de votre oratoire, considérez quelle peut être la douleur, l'amertume et la consternation de tous les officiers du royaume, qui peuvent voir aujourd'hui confisquer tout leur bien sans avoir commis aucun crime ; ajoutez à cette pensée, Madame, la calamité des provinces, dans lesquelles l'espérance de la paix, l'honneur des batailles gagnées, la gloire des provinces conquises, ne peut nourrir ceux qui n'ont point de pain...⁷⁰

While everyone knew about her oratory, very few had access to it.

Especially during the civil unrest against the Regency, the oratory was her private space where some of the most sensitive political decisions were played out. The Cardinal de Retz, recounting a secret audience with the Queen, was conducted to her oratory: "L'on prit heure, et je me trouvai à minuit au cloître de Saint-Honoré⁷¹, où Gaboury, porte-manteau de la Reine, me vint prendre et me mena, par un escalier dérobé, au petit oratoire où elle était tout seule enfermée."⁷²

⁷⁰ Omer Talon, "Mémoires d'Omer Talon," *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France: depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe*, ed. Joseph Fr Michaud, Jean Joseph François Poujoulat. Éditeur du Commentaire analytique du Code civil, 1839, vol. 6, p. 211. The speech was also recorded by Madame de Motteville. Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p.10-11. "Il représenta la misère du peuple, et supplia la Reine de s'en souvenir dans son oratoire, lui disant qu'elle devait considérer qu'elle commandait à des peuples libres, et non pas à des esclaves ; et que néanmoins ces mêmes peuples se trouvaient si accablés de subsides et d'impôts, qu'ils pouvaient dire n'avoir plus rien à eux que leur âmes, parce qu'elles ne se pouvaient vendre à l'encan." Also in *Mémoires of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 1, p.223- 4.

⁷¹ Retz, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 733 : "annexe de l'église, donnant un accès détourné au Palais Royal".

⁷² Ibid, vol. 2, p. 11. *Mémoires of the Cardinal de Retz.*, trans. Peter Davall. London, E. Earle, T.H. Palmer, 1817, vol. 1, p. 447. He seems to have made several secret meetings in her oratory, see Retz (1987) vol. 2, p. 150. Dubuisson-Aubenay also recorded Retz's secret visits. Dubuisson-Aubenay, *Journal des guerres civiles de Dubuisson-Aubenay*, vol.2, p. 288 septembre 13, 1652 : "Le soir, ce cardinal [Retz] eut son audience secrète dans l'oratoire de la Reine, où il fit grandes protestation de fidélité au Roi et d'affection au cardinal Mazarin."

Entreaties for the Prince de Condé's release from prison⁷³ also were made in her oratory as well as her revelation to the Duc d'Orléans of her declaration against Condé to the Parliament:

Elle le pria de la lire dans son oratoire, le soir auparavant qu'elle fût envoyée au parlement. Ce prince en fut surpris, et tâcha de détourner la Reine de ce dessein ; mais elle lui témoigna vouloir absolument la faire passer. Le duc d'Orléans, après avoir fait ce qui lui fut possible pour l'empêcher de la faire, parut y consentir. Il y corrigea lui-même deux articles qui ne se pouvaient prouver contre lui, et s'en alla se coucher plein d'inquiétude de chagrin, sans se déterminer entre ces deux partis.⁷⁴

At this time of civil unrest, Anne's oratory was the place where special prayers for victory were made:

Elle prit le Roi, à qui jusqu'alors elle n'avait rien dit de cette résolution, et s'enferma avec lui dans son oratoire. Comme elle n'était pas conduite à cette action par aucun sentiment de vengeance, elle fit mettre ce jeune monarque à genoux, lui apprit ce qui se devait exécuter en cet instant, et lui ordonna de prier Dieu avec elle, afin de lui recommander le succès de cette entreprise, dont elle attendait la fin avec beaucoup d'émotion et de battement de cœur.⁷⁵

Included in the King and the Regente's many prayers, I would imagine, were appeals to the Virgin as the patroness of military victories to intercede in their

⁷³ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol.3, p.141 : "J'ai laissé la Reine dans son oratoire, qui ne voulut point écouter les prières du prince de Condé. Comme elle sut qu'ils étaient tout descendus et montés en carrosse, elle demeura encore quelque temps dans cette tranquillité, afin de laisser achever de conduire les prisonniers." *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.2, p.224.

⁷⁴ Ibid, vol.3, p.395. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.3, p. 37.

⁷⁵ Ibid, vol.3, p.133-134. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.2, p. 218.

favour. Their prayers were answered when the struggle for power ended and the seals of the kingdom⁷⁶ were eventually brought to Anne. For Madame de Motteville who recorded, “Je vis rapporter les sceaux dans l’oratoire de la Reine, comme elle priait Dieu,”⁷⁷ her oratory was not only the site where she received the legal authority to verify the edicts of the state; it also signified her sovereignty over France.

During the contestation of the Regente’s rule, the oratory was used to reinforce her legitimacy. Madame de Motteville recounts that

pour récompenser ceux qui l’avaient si bien secourue, elle les mena elle-même voir son oratoire et les diamants qui enfermaient ses reliques. Ces gens en furent ravis, et dirent à la Reine qu’ils allaient encore bien assurer leurs camarades que leur bon Roi et leur bonne Reine ne les voulaient point quitter. Ils nous dirent ensuite, à mademoiselle de Beaumont et à moi, et de bon sens, qu’ils s’estimaient heureux de se pouvoir vanter d’avoir été nécessaires trois heures de temps à la plus grande Reine de la terre. Ils disaient vrai, et leur présomption était juste.⁷⁸

Kings since the Merovingians collected relics to confer their leadership status.⁷⁹

Even the guards understood their significance when standing in her oratory before her relics proclaimed that she was the greatest queen on earth.

⁷⁶ The seals of the kingdom verified the edicts of the state. Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598-1789*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, vol. 2, p. 136.

⁷⁷ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol.3, p.170-171. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol.2, p. 249.

⁷⁸ Ibid, vol.3, p.311. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 2, p. 347.

⁷⁹ Godefridus J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1995, p. 23-4.

Not only affairs of state were made in her oratory, but also affairs of the heart. The young Louis resolved to resist “the temptation to sin” and give up his mistress, Mademoiselle de La Motte. “Cette résolution ne se forma pas en lui sans peine: il gémit, il soupira, mais enfin il vainquit. Il se confessa, et pria lui-même la Reine que ce pût être dans son oratoire, afin que personne ne le sût.”⁸⁰

Her oratory was also used as a retreat and place to alleviate her emotional distress. When Louis XIV’s wife, Queen Marie-Thérèse was pregnant, Louis took on an official mistress. Although this un-Christian act would not be approved of by both the Queen and the Queen Mother, they were powerless to prevent the mistress's installation. When Louis made a request to his mother that she invite his new concubine Mademoiselle de La Vallière as the fourth player in a round of cards with his brother and his wife, the duc and duchesse d'Orléans, in the Queen Mother’s chambers, Marie-Thérèse sent word via Madame de Motteville to complain about Louis’ action:

Je trouvai cette grande princesse enfermée dans son oratoire, apparemment fort chagrine de ce que le Roi avoit fait. Aussitôt qu’elle me vit, elle rougit; et ne voyant que trop dans ses yeux qu’elle devinoit mon ambassade, je ne lui en dis rien. Je refermai la porte du lieu où elle étoit enfermée, et mon silence respectueux lui fit bien mieux entendre que je ne l’aurois pu faire tout ce que je craignois de lui dire. La part qu’elle avoit eue à cette petite aventure ayant été en elle une complaisance forcée, ses réflexions la firent beaucoup souffrir, si bien que le lendemain elle en parla

⁸⁰ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol.4, p.85. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3, p. 117-8.

elle-même à la Reine sa fille, et je sais qu'elles demeurèrent satisfaites l'une de l'autre.⁸¹

In her solitude, Anne was seeking what Madame de Motteville describes as a state “sans plaisir ni sans peine”⁸², a state of repose (*repos*). The notion of repose in seventeenth century France was, according to literary scholar Donna Stanton, an ideal state of being which denoted a divine, blessed condition. Repose, a conjunction of the religious references to God and the tradition of Seneca and Montaigne, was an original state of innocence and virtue characterized by an inner tranquility free from desires and conflicts.⁸³

The politically astute Madame de Motteville, in creating a sympathetic characterization of Anne, suggested that the Queen's role as the head of the government was against her inclinations for repose and that it was God's will that she was made the caretaker of the kingdom:

Mais, par malheur pour ceux qui étoient à elle, ses résolutions furent affoiblies par le désir du repos et par la peine qu'elle trouva dans la multiplicité des affaires qui sont inséparables du gouvernement d'un grand royaume. Dans la suite des temps, elle devint plus paresseuse, et apprit par son expérience que Dieu n'a pas placé des rois sur des trônes pour ne point agir, mais pour

⁸¹ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol.4, p.358. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3, p. 306.

⁸² Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 3 : “Comme elle goûtoit le repos, et que sa propre puissance lui étoit indifférente, on ne se pressoit pas d'entrer dans ses cabinets quand elle y étoit seule. Le duc d'Orléans et le cardinal soupèrent ce jour-là chez le prince de Condé; et quand de telles fêtes se faisoient, chacun vouloit être de la bande de quelqu'un des trois : si bien que l'appartement de la souveraine demouroit désert. Bien loin de le trouver mauvais, elle étoit ravie que ses créatures suivissent son ministre, et, sans goûter les douceurs des solitaires, qui sont les livres et les rêveries, elle demouroit seule assez volontiers, sans plaisir ni sans peine.” *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 1, p. 218.

⁸³ Donna C. Stanton, “The Ideal of ‘Repos’ in Seventeenth Century French Literature,” *L'Esprit Créateur* 15, 1975, p.79-104.

souffrir quelques-unes des misères qui sont attachées à toutes
sortes d'états.⁸⁴

However, the Queen's desire for inner peace and solidity was not at odds with her role as the Régente of France. Anne's well-known devotion to God, especially after the death of her husband, Louis XIII, was understood as a bridge between herself as the representative of the second estate and the Church. Madame de Motteville often heard Anne say "que les rois doivent obéir aux commandemens de Dieu et de l'Église plus ponctuellement que les autres chrétiens, parce qu'ils étoient obligés de servir d'exemple à leurs peuples."⁸⁵

She demonstrated her sovereign leadership tirelessly through "l'exercice de ses dévotions; les voyages, les maladies, les veilles, les chagrins, les divertissemens ni les affaires ne lui ont jamais pu faire interrompre les heures de sa retraite et de ses prières" and her strict observance of fast days.⁸⁶ In addition, her presence or word of mouth was not the only publicity of her devotion. As Ruth Kleinman points out, the *Gazette* from the beginning of her Regency reported Anne's visits to churches in Paris and "credited her piety with securing the blessing of heaven for the Kingdom"⁸⁷.

This blessing from heaven came from the birth of the *dauphin* which secured her position in the court as queen mother. For during the period between 1626 and 1637, Anne remained childless, and, as Kleinman explains, was in

⁸⁴ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p.172. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville* vol.1, p.106

⁸⁵ Ibid, vol. 1, xxix-xxx. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3, p. 128.

⁸⁶ Ibid, vol. 1, xxx. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3, p. 128.

⁸⁷ Kleinman, *Anne of Austria*, p. 185-6.

constant fear of being repudiated by the King and sent back to Spain.⁸⁸ Anne was held with suspicion and her ability to influence the court was curtailed by the removal of her allies in her household as decreed by the King and his minister, Cardinal Richelieu. The surveillance over her was particularly strenuous when war was declared against Spain in 1635. During this time, Anne continued to write secretly to her brother, Ferdinand, the cardinal infant. The letters which were passed via a hidden niche in her private apartment at the convent of the Val-de-Grâce were discovered when her apartment was searched on August 11, 1637. Anne, publicly disgraced by Louis XIII, was compelled to sign on August 17 a confession of her secret correspondence and an agreement stipulating what conduct was to be as dictated by her husband.⁸⁹ Put under constant surveillance, she was forbidden to enter any convents or even to be alone.

Her isolation changed with the birth of Louis XIV on September 5, 1638. After 23 years of marriage to Louis XIII without bearing an heir⁹⁰, the birth of a

⁸⁸Ibid, p. 81, 95: in May 1633, there was a rumor in the Madrid court and at the Vatican that the king had sent an envoy to Rome to negotiate a divorce from Anne.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 103. "I do not wish the queen to write any more to Madame de Chevreuse, chiefly because this pretext has served to cover all the letters she has sent elsewhere. I wish Madame de Sénécy [Anne's lady of honor] to account to me for all the letters the queen writes, and that they be closed in her presence.

I wish Fillandre, first chamber woman, to report to me every time the queen writes, seeing it is impossible for her not to know it since she keeps her writing desk. I forbid the queen to enter any convents until such time as I may permit it again, and when I give her permission, I wish her to be always accompanied by her lady of honor and her lady in waiting in the rooms she may enter. I beg the queen to remember well, when she writes or has others write to her to foreign countries, or sends her views by any means whatsoever, direct or indirect; that she herself has told me that she will hold herself as having forfeited with her own consent the oblivion of her bad conduct that I have accorded her today. The queen will know also that I do not wish her to see Crofts and other agents of Madame de Chevreuse in any way whatever." The original document is located at BN, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises 4334, fols. 6v-7.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 106-7. The last time that Anne was pregnant was 14 years previously. Unfortunately as with her previous pregnancies, it resulted in miscarriage. In addition, Louis was cold towards Anne and they only resumed intimate relations in the winter of 1637. Even after she delivered

son and then the arrival of a second son Philippe, two years later on September 21, 1740, were almost miraculous. Then with the death of Louis XIII in 1643, Anne became the regent of France and immediately established her rule.⁹¹

With her new power backed by the state coffers, Anne created spaces for herself. Scholars such as Claude Mignot, Jennifer Germann and Anne Rotmil have explained that Anne's patronage of architecture, especially the convent and abbey of Val-de-Grâce in the faubourg Saint-Jacques⁹² was a manifestation of her power and identity as bearer of the line of French kings. Her motherhood enabled Anne to take the reigns of power, for under the so-called Salic Law⁹³ women were excluded from the throne of France. Only under the special circumstance of an under-aged king was the queen mother able to rule temporarily in the name of her son.

In seventeenth-century France, when religion and politics were intertwined, Anne was not just a pious lady; she was the first Princess of France. Madame de Motteville voiced the relationship between her piety and her role as

Louis XIV, according to Madame de Motteville, "it was necessary to urge him to approach her and kiss her." *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 1, p. 60.

⁹¹ Two hours after the king's death, Anne sent for the disgraced Abbess of Val-de-Grâce, Louise de Milley, who was banished by Louis XIII on August 13, 1637, and reinstalled her at the convent.

⁹² Val-de-Grâce was rebuilt from 1644 to 1699. Jennifer G. Germann, "The Val-de-Grâce as a Portrait of Anne of Austria: Queen, Queen Regent, Queen Mother," *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills. London and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2003, p. 47-62. Claude Mignot, *Le Val-de-Grâce : L'ermitage d'une reine*. Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994. Anne Rotmil, "The Artistic Patronage of Anne of Austria (1601-1666): Image Making at the French Court," Ph.D dissertation, New York University, 2000.

⁹³ The Salic Law purported to be from customary and legal precedents was constructed from forged documents in the period between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century, these documents were recognized by jurists as forgeries. Instead of citing the Salic Law to support the exclusion of female rule, jurists evoked biological and hence "natural" inferiority of women as the basis for their exclusion. See Sarah Hanley, "The Salic Law," *Political and Historical Encyclopedia of Women*, ed. Christine Fauré, trans. Richard Dubois. New York and London: Routledge, 2003, p. 3-13.

Queen: “Comme Dieu est notre principe et notre fin, et qu'une reine chrétienne ne doit être estimée que selon la mesure de la vertu qui est en elle, il est juste de commencer à parler de ses mœurs par la piété qui paroît être un des principaux ornemens de cette auguste princesse. Elle a certainement un grand respect pour la loi de Dieu, et son désir seroit de la voir bien établie dans le cœur de tous les Français.”⁹⁴

As symbolic home for the Queen's power, the oratory embodied her divine right as well as a psychological reinforcement to her of this power. The oratory was the room where her sovereignty to reign in a society which gave women no political power was legitimated. Religious devotion was how she found autonomy, transgressing her limited social role as the Queen mother. In the next section, religious piety and the room where it was practiced will be examined. In particular, I will discuss the role of meditation, a technique of private devotion that enabled her to imagine and situate herself within biblical events.

⁹⁴ Motteville, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, XXIX. *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, vol. 3 p. 128.

2.2 A Lady's Cabinet at the End of the Seventeenth-Century

2.2.1 *Retraite*: Private Devotion

By the end of the seventeenth century, women and men of the highest ranks of society had a small private room, a *cabinet* which was as D'Aviler explains, the "pièce la plus secrète de l'appartement pour écrire, étudier et serer ce qu'on a de plus précieux."⁹⁵ D'Aviler also makes a categorical distinction between a *cabinet* and a *lady's cabinet* which in addition as a study was also used as a dressing room (*toilette*), a private sitting room, a resting place and a personal oratory.



(Fig.12) Bernard Picart, A French lady entertaining her friends in her closet, 1705.

Source: Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920*. NY: Viking, 1984, p. 72.

⁹⁵ D'Aviler, *Dictionnaire d'architecture*, p. 74.

Charlotte-Elisabeth, the duchesse d'Orléans⁹⁶ in her letters to her family in Hanover described in detail her frequent use of her cabinet and the type of activities which occurred there. When she was at Fontainebleau, upon rising in the morning at nine, the Duchesse would make her prayers; then read three chapters from the Bible, one from the Old Testament, one from the New Testament and one from the Psalms. Then she would dress and receive persons from the court. At eleven o'clock she went into her cabinet where she read and wrote letters. At noon she went to church followed by having lunch alone. After lunch which ended at around 1:45, she went to her cabinet for a half-hour nap. Then she read and wrote until supper time. Sometimes ladies of the court came to play cards. At nine or ten o'clock, Madame d'Orléans, the Duchesse de Berry, or sometimes her son would come to find her. At 10:45 they went to supper and waited for the king who only arrived at 11:30. They ate in silence. After supper, they would retire to the king's chamber where they had prayers and then proceeded to the king's cabinet. At 12:30, the king rose and said goodnight and everyone left for their own apartment. The duchesse then went to bed.⁹⁷

From her description, we can gauge that the *cabinet* was a retreat (*retraite*). The term *retraite*, as Orest Ranum and Bernard Beugnot have extensively discussed, had a religious connotation, referring to the withdrawal

⁹⁶ Charlotte-Elisabeth von der Pfalz, the Princess Palatine, married Monsieur, the duc d'Orléans and brother of Louis XIV in 1671.

⁹⁷ Charlotte-Elisabeth, duchesse d'Orléans, *Correspondance complète de Madame duchesse d'Orléans*. Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie, 1886, p.145-6.

from society (to the convent or monastery) for solitary reflection and prayer.⁹⁸ Her religion devotions were made in her cabinet several times a day.⁹⁹ This frequent piety was not merely limited to princesses. As Linda Timmermans and Wendy Gibson have explained pious devotion was part of the tendency for seventeenth century women to embrace eagerly religious practices which were otherwise limited to a monastic and religious vocation. One could lead a devout life while at the same time participate in court society.¹⁰⁰ For instance, Jeanne de Schomberg, the Duchesse de Liancourt, a Port Royal supporter, proclaimed that upon waking, her first thoughts were given to God by saying her graces. After dressing, she would go to her cabinet to pray for a half-hour.¹⁰¹

Devotion was practised through prayer. François Fénelon in his *Instruction for the Education of a Daughter* includes different prayers for the morning, noon, evening and bedtime.¹⁰² The many kinds of prayer can be

⁹⁸ Bernard Beugnot, *Le discours de la retraite au XVII^e siècle : Loin du monde et du bruit*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996. Orest Ranum, "The Refuges of Intimacy," *History of Private Life*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, vol.3, p. 207-263.

⁹⁹ Patricia Ranum, "A Sweet Servitude: A Musician's Life at the Court of Mademoiselle de Guise," *Early Music*, vol. 15, no. 3 (1987), p. 353. At 6:30 am, the Princess rose and "Leaving her bed with its white satin and ermine coverlets, she donned her quilted robe of white satin and attended a private Mass in the small chapel adjacent to her bedroom."

¹⁰⁰ Linda Timmermans, *L'Accès des Femmes à la Culture (1598-1715): Un débat d'idées de Saint François de Sales à la Marquise de Lambert*. Paris: Editions Champions, 1993, p.664-70. Wendy Gibson, *Women in Seventeenth-Century France*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, p. 223-238. François de Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962, p. 22-26.

¹⁰¹ Jeanne de Schomberg, Duchesse de Liancourt. *Règlement donné par une dame de haute qualité à M*** sa petite-fille, pour sa conduite, et pour celle de sa maison: avec un autre règlement que cette dame avoit dressé pour elle-mêmes*. (first published in 1709) Genève: Editions Slatkine, 1997, p. 173.

¹⁰² François Fénelon, *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter, By the Author of Telemachus, second edition (London, 1708) trans. George Hickes of Fénelon's Traité de l'Éducation des Filles*. Paris, 1687, p. 351-353. Reproduced in *Conduct Literature for Women, 1640-1710*, ed. William St.Clair and Irmgard Maassen. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002, vol. 6, p. 383-85.

categorized into two types: vocal and mental. As François de Sales describes, a vocal prayer is voiced aloud while a mental prayer is silent and can be practised anywhere in a variety of circumstances and even within the proximity of others.¹⁰³ The *Encyclopédie* explains that

Les Théologiens distinguent ordinairement deux sortes de prières, l'une vocale, & l'autre mentale. La prière vocale est celle qui consiste en mots & en sons que l'on forme avec les lèvres; la prière ou l'oraison mentale est celle qu'on forme intérieurement dans son esprit, sans s'exprimer par des paroles. On peut rapporter à cette seconde espèce l'oraison jaculatoire, qui est celle qui se fait en élevant son esprit vivement vers Dieu, sans étude, sans ordre, sans méthode.¹⁰⁴

The *Encyclopédie* draws the further distinction to the quality of religious feeling, between mechanical or structured prayer such as repeating *Ave Maria* and spontaneous forms of expression “addressed to God at the foundation of one’s soul” such as *jaculatory* (ejaculatory) prayers.¹⁰⁵

Silent prayer, as with vocal prayer, requires complete intellectual involvement and attention. Meditation, with the aim to find union with God, is one way to maintain the devotee's attention during silent prayer.¹⁰⁶ In his seventeenth-century devotional manual for ladies, *Introduction à la vie dévote*

¹⁰³ De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 86-7.

¹⁰⁴ *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Winter 2008 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. PRIERE (page 13:361)

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, "JACULATOIRE (page 8:432) JACULATOIRE, ou ÉJACULATOIRE, adjct. (Théolog.) par cette épithète, on désigne des prières courtes & ferventes adressées à Dieu du fond de l'âme; les psaumes de David en sont remplis." As de Sales describes, ejaculatory prayers are ardent and intense expressions of love of God. Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 86-7.

¹⁰⁶ John J. Wynne, “Prayer” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, p. 245.

(1601), François de Sales describes the purpose, frequency and effective method for meditation. De Sales advises spending an hour a day in mental prayer or meditation preferably in the morning and in a church so as not to be interrupted by mother, father or husband. If it is not possible to allot this time, “il faut réparer cette perte, multipliant les oraisons jaculatoires, et par la lecture de quelque livre de dévotion, avec quelque pénitence qui empêche la suite de ce défaut; et, avec cela, faites une forte résolution de vous remettre en train le jour suivant.”¹⁰⁷

When the devotee finds the suitable time and place for her solitary devotions, she must prepare herself for meditation by first placing herself in the omnipresence of God, putting God in her heart. She then has to imagine that Jesus is looking at her from Heaven and then to image that Jesus is in her presence. The second part of the preparation is to prostrate herself before God declaring her unworthiness. She should also then invoke other saints. The third part of the preparation involves a technique called “fabrication du lien” or “leçon intérieure”:

Or, ce n’est autre chose que de proposer à son imagination le corps du mystère que l’on veut méditer, comme s’il se passait réellement et de fait en notre présence. Par exemple, si vous voulez méditer Notre-Seigneur en croix, vous vous imaginerez d’être au mont de Calvaire et que vous voyez tout ce qui se fit et se dit au jour de la Passion ; ou si vous voulez, car c’est tout un, vous vous imaginerez qu’au lieu même où vous êtes se fait le crucifiement de Notre-Seigneur, en la façon que les Évangélistes le décrivent.¹⁰⁸

After the action of imagination, she is ready to meditate:

¹⁰⁷ De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 68. François de Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, trans. Allan Ross. London: Burns Oates, 1948, p. 76 and 77.

¹⁰⁸ De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p.79-80.

... l'action de l'imagination, s'ensuit l'action de l'entendement que nous appelons méditation, qui n'est autre chose qu'une ou plusieurs considérations faites afin d'émouvoir nos affections en Dieu et aux choses divines: en quoi la méditation est différente de l'étude et des autres pensées et considérations, lesquelles ne se font pas pour acquérir le vertu ou l'amour de Dieu, mais pour quelques autres fins et intentions, comme pour devenir savant, pour en écrire ou disputer.¹⁰⁹

The third part of meditation is to feel God¹¹⁰ and the divine love whose affect is to make our spirit expand, converting this into an attitude of charitable love to one's neighbour.¹¹¹ The love of God should affect her mindset, attitudes and behavior towards others. He states that above all things after meditation remember to act upon resolutions and intentions formed in order to practice them carefully. This is "le grand fruit de la méditation"¹¹²

Finally, meditation ends with three acts: thanksgiving to God, the act of oblation to God by offering her affections and resolutions to Him, and finally the

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 73-4. Also *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 81.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 74 : "La méditation répand des bons mouvements en la volonté ou partie affective de notre âme, comme sont l'amour de Dieu et du prochain, le désir du Paradis et de la gloire, le zèle du salut des âmes, l'imitation de la vie de Notre-Seigneur, la compassion, l'admiration, la réjouissance, la crainte de la disgrâce de Dieu, du jugement et de l'enfer, la haine du péché, la confiance en la bonté et miséricorde de Dieu, la confusion pour notre mauvaise vie passée : et en ces affections, notre esprit se doit épancher et étendre le plus qu'il lui sera possible." *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 82.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 75: "Il ne faut pas pourtant, Philothée, s'arrêter tant à ces affections générales, que vous ne les convertissiez en des résolutions spéciales et particulières pour votre correction et amendement." *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 82.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 76-77: "Il faut surtout, Philothée, qu'au sortir de votre méditation vous reteniez les résolutions et délibérations que vous aurez prises, pour les pratiquer soigneusement ce jour-là. C'est le grand fruit de la méditation, sans lequel elle est bien souvent, non seulement inutile, mais nuisible, parce que les vertus méditées et non pratiquées enflent quelquefois l'esprit et le courage, nous étant bien avis que nous sommes tels que nous avons résolu et délibéré d'être, ce qui est sans doute véritable si les résolutions sont vives et solides ; mais elles ne sont pas telles, mais vaines et dangereuses, si elles ne sont pas pratiquées. Il faut donc par tous moyens s'essayer de les pratiquer, et en chercher les occasions petites ou grandes..." *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 83-84

act of petition in which she should demand that God continue to communicate his goodness to her. De Sales adds to the meditative process the “nosegay of devotion” which is to remember some points considered during her meditation throughout the day and carry them with her.¹¹³

The devout could utilize a variety of devotional objects and images to facilitate union with God. For instance, when practising a Christian’s chief duty to prepare for one’s salvation and the hour of one’s death one can meditate before a skull¹¹⁴ or a relic. Relics were sacred objects whose presence evoked the presence of the divine, consecrating a site, and became associated with Church altars.¹¹⁵ As Stephen Wilson explains, while originating from the cult of the saints, relics were also associated with sites or objects in contact with the divine such as clothing worn by the saints, torture instruments, lamps at the burial sites, fragments of the True Cross or the veil of the Virgin Mary. Relics did not merely conjure the presence of the divine. In the case of the body part of the saint, the relic was the saint.¹¹⁶

Relics were kept in the home near the sleeping area for a variety of reasons. As Godefridus J. C. Snoek explains, the relic was initially thought as a protection amulet and kept in the home to ward off evil. Relics were also precious

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 76. *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 83.

¹¹⁴ John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1998, vol.2, p. 243. Also see John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death Among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1981, p.191, 224–5.

¹¹⁵ Wilson, *Saints and Their Cults*, p. 5. J. B. O’Connell, “Altar,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol.1, p.347.

¹¹⁶ Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, p. 12. Wilson, *Saints and Their Cults*, p. 5.

and were thought to work miracles and to indicate the presence of the divine. From fifth-century accounts, relics and the Eucharist bread were kept by the bed for safekeeping as Christians feared persecution, and for veneration during the night and upon rising in the morning.¹¹⁷

In addition to relics, ladies could also meditate with the assistance of a rosary, a string of beads used as prayer counters. As a particular devotional exercise, the rosary combines the verbal prayer of fifteen tens of “Hail Marys” with “Our Father” between each ten accompanied with set of mental meditations on the life of Jesus at each fifteen tens.¹¹⁸ However, as Anne Dillon explains, the rosary was more than a rote series of prayers. It involved meditation on the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁹

Other devotion items catering to seventeenth-century elite women included devotional books such as *Retraite pour les dames* by François Guilleré or *Bréviaire des dames* by Jean Puget de La Serre.¹²⁰ Recommended by de Sales, *The Lives of Saints* was useful for the devotee to model her life on.¹²¹ Madame de

¹¹⁷ Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, p. 72-77.

¹¹⁸ Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: the Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997, 2005, p. 3-16.

¹¹⁹ Anne Dillon, “Praying by Number: The Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic Community, c.1580–1700,” *History* vol. 88, issue 291 (July 2003), p. 451–471.

¹²⁰ François Guilleré, *Manière de conduire les âmes dans la vie spirituelle (1674), suivie d'une Retraite de huit jours pour une religieuse, et d'une Retraite pour les dames*, (1684). Lyon-Paris, Périsse, 1861. Jean Puget de La Serre, *Bréviaire des dames*. M. Dauplet, 1652, in-12, pagination incohérente; pagination ms: 245 p. (BN B.23883) cited in Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes à la culture*, p.460-1.

¹²¹ De Sales *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 98. *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 100.

Maintenon believed that it, along with the *Nouveau Testament*, *Introduction à la vie devote*, and *le Bréviaire* were the only guides needed for one's life.¹²²

These prayer books for personal devotion are derived from the *Book of Hours*,¹²³ a collection of the text for the canonical hours and included calendars, prayers, psalms and masses, and which allowed the laity to practice an abbreviated form of monastic prayers and rituals.¹²⁴ Coinciding with the development of the rosary devotions, the Book of Hours was the replacement of the Psalter as the primary book of worship for noble women. As Le Goff explains, in the thirteenth century, the Book of Hours was the personal prayer book which women kept at their bedsides.¹²⁵

Illuminations, which marked the division of the text, characterized the Book of Hours. These illustrations were more than just depictions of the text. They were at times independent from the text, for instance in the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* the text in the Hours of the Virgin is from the Psalms while the illumination depicted the Virgin and Christ (figure 13).¹²⁶

¹²² Madame de Maintenon, *Lettres et Entretiens*, vol. 1 p. 37, cited from Wendy Gibson. *Women in Seventeenth-Century France*. London: Macmillan Press, 1989, p. 223-238. Also Marie Jeanne d'Aumale, "Mémoires de Mademoiselle d'Aumale," *Souvenirs sur madame de Maintenon*, ed. Gabriel Paul Othenin de Cléron, comte d'Haussenville. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1902-04, vol. 1, p. 168. "Elle faisoit lire dans *le Nouveau Testament* ou *l'Imitation*, ou *le Bréviaire* disant : « Je profite de tout le temps que j'ai pour ces lectures ; car on ne m'en laisse guère d'autre »."

¹²³ John Harthan, *The Book of Hours: With a Historical Survey and Commentary*. New York: Crowell, 1977, p. 39.

¹²⁴ Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Janette Smith, Jane H. M. Taylor. London and Toronto: British Library, University of Toronto Press, 1997, p. 266-281.

¹²⁵ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 469.

¹²⁶ Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, p. 7.

Some illustrations were tailored for the book's owner, with the portrait of the lady incorporated into the tableaux. In the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, there is a double portrait of Mary of Burgundy in the act of meditation. In her encounter with the divine, spatial and temporal time merge between her reading her Hours in her oratory and her prostration before the Virgin and the baby Jesus.¹²⁷ This illumination depicts the use of mental imagery by the devotee to intimately experience the divine, enfolding her act of reading and meditation on the Virgin and Jesus, with an image of her conjuring the subject of her mental prayer beyond the walls of her oratory.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 20-21.



(Fig. 13) *Mary of Burgundy with the Virgin and Child; Prayer to the Virgin* (fols. 14v-15r) Flanders, c. 1475.

(Fig.14) *The Hours of the Cross, the Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (fols. 43v – 44 r).

Source: *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy: Codex Vindobonensis 1857*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, commentary by Eric Inglis. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995.

Illuminations facilitated meditation, even suggesting the effect of meditation in her oratory as in another illumination in the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy, the Hour of the Cross* (figure 14) where she has left behind her book of hours and rosary and has entered into her meditative vision. As Eric Inglis points out, medieval Christians believed pictures were more effective in meditation than reading text, and it was customary for devotees to skip the text and look at the images in the Book of Hours.¹²⁸

Peter Rietbergen reminds us that the role of images as dictated by the council of Trent was to instruct the laity in the mysteries of Redemption. In the last meeting at Trent in December 1563, the council decreed

that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other Saints, are to be had and retained, particularly in churches, not because of any divinity or virtue in the objects themselves, but because they refer to prototypes, representing Christ, the Virgin and the saints...[S]acred images were not to be venerated for their own sake, but should serve as a means to instigate the faithful to the virtues shown by the saints; as for the effectiveness of an image, it was appreciated to function as a visual text, much as a verbal one might do. These religious images were to function as mnemonic devices to the biblical stories and as examples for the laity to follow.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.8, 27-28.

¹²⁹ Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006, p. 231-232.



(Fig.15) Top left: Annonce aux Bergers

(Fig.16) Top right: Pentecôte.

(Fig.17) Right : Présentation de Jésus au Temple, *L'Heures d'Anne d'Autrich.*, Paris : Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Source: Leproux, Guy-Michel. *La peinture à Paris sous le règne de François Ier, préface de Fabienne Joubert*. Paris: Presses de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001, p. 116, 128, 118.



Used as models and mnemonic devices, religious imagery served one's meditation. As the fourteenth century manual *Meditations on the Life of Christ* advises, "to meditate...on what is told according to the Gospel stories, feeling yourself present in those places as if the things were done in your presence."¹³⁰ Meditation involves an imaging of oneself as a representation capable of inhabiting the depicted realm. The means to the conflation of corporeal space and imaginary space is achieved with the use of visual perspectives which draw the eye of the viewer into an extension of one's space. One travels to another world all the while remaining in the same perspectival space. Identification with characters also is supported by "naturalistic" body depictions. One sees oneself outside of one's own body ("out of body experience") at the same time feeling the presence of the divine. In this instance, one becomes both the observer and the participant.

However, as Rietbergen explains, the effect of religious images on the viewer is not simple. While the artist commissioned may have one intention, the reception, interpretation and affect of the "message" are uncertain. Did the religious paintings in a lady's oratory facilitate her encounter with the divine? We can only speculate that the devotee was transported into a re-enactment of a Biblical scene during meditation. Nevertheless, the religious imagery in the form of paintings, reliquaries, and prayer books was made for her eyes and to aid in her solitary religious devotions.

¹³⁰ *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ed. and trans. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, Princeton, 1961, p.387 cited in Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, p. 8, n. 19.

2.2.2 *Retraite* as Refuge

As previously discussed, one's *retraite* was an opportunity for refuge, especially from a poisonous environment described by Madame de Motteville as "the climate of that country known as the court":

The air there is gentle and serene for no one... It is a dark zone, full of constant storms. Those who live there...are always ill from that contagious disease, ambition, which deprives them of peace and eats away at their heart...This malady also inspires in them a disgust for all the best things in life...its sweetness, its innocent pleasures, everything that the wise men of antiquity held in esteem.¹³¹

While one may be vying constantly for position in this prison for nobility, refuge in one's cabinet could provide relief from malice and intrigue. In a letter dated 1698, the duchesse d'Orléans describes the pleasures of her *retraite* with its temporary, imaginary travel outside court life, through the practice of religious devotion, reading and the writing of letters to her relative in Hanover:

Au milieu de cette grande cour, je me suis retirée comme dans une solitude, et il y a fort peu de gens avec lesquels j'aie de fréquents rapports; je suis de longues journées entières toute seule dans mon cabinet, où je m'occupe à lire et à écrire. Si quelques personnes viennent me rendre visite, je ne les vois qu'un moment, je parle de la pluie et du beau temps ou bien des nouvelles du jour, et je me réfugie ensuite dans ma retraite. Quatre fois par semaine, j'ai mes jours de courrier: le lundi, en Savoie; le mercredi, à Modène; le

¹³¹ Joan Dejean, "Introduction" in Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Against Marriage: The Correspondence of La Grande Mademoiselle*, ed. and trans. Joan Dejean. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 17, n.9. This passage which is from the first version of Motteville's memoirs at the Arsenal Library is not included in all published texts.

jeudi et le dimanche, j'écris de très-longues lettres à ma tante à Hanovre; de six à huit heures, je me promène en voiture avec Monsieur et avec nos dames; trois fois par semaine, je vais à Paris, et, tous les jours, j'écris à mes amies qui y demeurent; je chasse une ou deux fois par semaine; c'est ainsi que je passe mon temps.¹³²

This desire to retreat from the exigencies of a life of representation in Louis XIV's court has been extensively discussed by scholars such as Norbert Elias in context of the development of privacy.¹³³ In court society where one's self-representation should mirror one's position and privilege,¹³⁴ the retreat was a place to re-compose oneself and gain control of one's emotions. Madame de Maintenon's position at the court, for example, was precarious and her presence there depended on her ability to adapt to the king's wishes. Her piety pleased the King and their secret marriage in 1683 coincided with Louis' turn to a more devout life. He recanted his polygamous relationships with his mistress Madame de Montespan and other scandalous liaisons (including domestics who cannot be

¹³² *Lettres de Madame de Duchesse d'Orléans, née Princesse Palatine. Préface de Pierre Gascar. Édition établie et annotée par Olivier Amiel.* Paris: Mercure de France, 1985, p. 31. [Saint Cloud, 17 juin 1698]

¹³³ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: the History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994. *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

¹³⁴ Marie Mancini describes the French characteristic of judging of one's social worth according to one's exterior dress. "Since she was coming straight from France, her head full of beautiful fashions, she brought with her the very spirit of that nation, which judges only on appearances and esteems people only according to how well they dress. Unfortunately for us, since neither the marquise [Marquise Spinola] nor I was dressed fashionably, we were received very coldly by her, and the way we were fitted out was ridiculed as it deserved to be. After this cold reception, we set out for Milan, where we arrived that same evening." Marie Mancini, *Memoirs*, p. 118.

considered royal mistresses), from which illegitimate children were born¹³⁵ and devoted himself to a monogamous relationship with Madame de Maintenon.

However, since their marriage ceremony was secret, Madame de Maintenon recognized that her fate was always at the King's whim. As her secretary Mademoiselle d'Aumale recounts, in their three-decade relationship, the king always had an amiable companion regardless of how disagreeable she felt:

Elle avoit souvent bien pleuré avant qu'il entrât dans sa chambre; il n'y paroissoit pas dès qu'il venoit, voulant lui éviter toutes sortes de peines, et faisant son principal devoir de l'amuser et de paroître toujours contente devant lui. Elle m'a dit bien des fois : « Je n'aspire qu'à faire goûter la piété au Roi ; il faut pour cela qu'il me trouve toujours gaie, complaisante, car si je lui portois mes peines, j'aurois peur qu'il ne crût que c'est la dévotion qui en est la cause. »¹³⁶

Her emotionally taxing court life was also noted by others. The duchesse d'Orléans in a letter to the duchess of Hanover writes that the "Pantocrate is very powerful, but from all accounts she is not very happy and often weeps bitterly. Also she often talks about Death, but I expect that is only to see how people will reply to her."¹³⁷

Madame de Maintenon found solace in her devotion and her retreat.

Mademoiselle d'Aumale writes that

¹³⁵ Official royal mistresses were Madame de la Vallière and Madame de Montespan. Louis XIV had many casual mistresses as well, including Mlle de Fontages, Madame de Soubise, and Mlle des Œillets. Anthony Levi, *Louis XIV*. London: Constable, 2004, p. 75, 216, 349.

¹³⁶ D'Aumale, "*Mémoires de Mademoiselle d'Aumale*," p. 94-5.

¹³⁷ *The Letters of Madame: The Correspondence of Elizabeth-Charlotte of Bavaria, Princess Palatine, Duchess of Orleans, called "Madame" at the Court of Louis XIV*, ed. and trans. Gertrude Scott Stevenson, London: Arrowsmith, 1924, vol. 1, p. 169.

Elle dit un jour, à l'occasion d'un crucifix qu'elle portoit dans son oratoire : « Il me semble que, quand on est dans la sécheresse et dans la peine, et qu'on baise humblement les pieds de mon Seigneur, on y trouve toujours de la consolation. »¹³⁸

Spiritual retreat is described as a place for one's soul to be with God. In one of Madame de Maintenon's favorite reading manuals, *Introduction à la vie devote*, François de Sales writes that one should retreat many times a day to experience the divine solitude.¹³⁹ If an oratory is not accessible then she should retreat into her spiritual oratory within one's heart. De Sales writes:

Les pères et mère de sainte Catherine de Sienne lui ayant ôté toute commodité du lieu et de loisir pour prier et méditer, Notre-Seigneur l'inspira de faire un petit oratoire intérieur en son esprit, dedans lequel se retirant mentalement, elle pût parmi les affaires extérieures vaquer à cette sainte solitude cordiale. Et depuis, quand le monde l'attaquait, elle n'en recevait nulle incommodité, parce, disait-elle, qu'elle s'enfermait dans son cabinet intérieur, où elle se consolait avec son céleste Époux.¹⁴⁰

Madame de Maintenon was comforted by her solitary devotion. While Madame de Maintenon believed that it was God's will that she endure her role, her apparent good nature was also a result of self-discipline and constant vigilance. "Avant de coucher elle écrivoit les choses qui avoient pu l'embarrasser dans la journée, ou lisoit les fautes qu'elle avoit faites et l'emploi de la journée pour en rendre compte à son directeur."¹⁴¹ Every night, Madame de Maintenon

¹³⁸ D'Aumale, "*Mémoires de Mademoiselle d'Aumale*," p. 179.

¹³⁹ De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 83-84. *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 89-90.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 85. *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 90.

¹⁴¹ D'Aumale, "*Mémoires de Mademoiselle d'Aumale*," p. 168.

would retreat within herself to fashion herself through the review of her actions with the intent of correcting them. For Madame de Maintenon, her re-composition of herself was in accordance to God's will and her power of self-enactment was confounded with her personal salvation.



(Fig.18) Madame de Maintenon's chambre and private oratory, Château de Maintenon.

Source : Art Archive

(Fig.19) Antoine Trouvain, *Madame de Maintenon*, engraving, 29 x 19 cm, 1705, Inv. N2-D202019, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Source: Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002, p. 38.

2.2.3 Pleasures of *Retraite* and the Cultivation of Sensibility

By the last years of Louis XIV's reign, *retraite* was not only thought of in terms of religious devotion or the avoidance of something unpleasant, but became a desirable introspective condition. The early eighteenth century *salonnière* and writer Marquise de Lambert¹⁴², for instance, advocated solitary retreat for self-reflection as a necessary daily occupation:

vous pourrez toujours revenir à vous et vous retrouver. Le monde, vous étant moins nécessaire, aura moins de prise sur vous. Quand vous ne tenez pas à vous par des goûts solides, vous tenez à tout... rien n'est plus utile, ni plus nécessaire pour affaiblir l'impression que font sur nous les objets sensibles. Il faut donc de temps en temps se retirer du monde, se mettre à part. Ayez quelques heures dans la journée pour lire et pour faire usage de vos réflexions. « La réflexion, dit un Père de l'église, est l'œil de l'âme : c'est par elle que s'introduisent la lumière et la vérité. » « Je le mènerai dans la solitude, dit la Sagesse, et là je parlerai à son coeur. » C'est là où la vérité donne ses leçons, où les préjugés s'évanouissent, où la prévention s'affaiblit, et où l'opinion, qui gouverne tout, commence à perdre ses droites. Quand on jette la vue sur l'inutilité, sur le vide de la vie, on est forcé de dire avec Pline : « Il vaut mieux passer sa vie à ne rien faire, qu'à faire des riens. »¹⁴³

Madame de Lambert advises to seek solitude to read and reflect on oneself in order to be free from prejudices, and to weaken the influence of material objects.

¹⁴² Lambert's life and activities are extensively documented in Roger Marchal, *Madame de Lambert et son milieu* (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 289). Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991.

¹⁴³ Anne Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles, Marquise de Lambert, "Avis d'une mère à sa fille," *Oeuvres Morales de Madame de Lambert*. Paris: Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1843, p. 88.

This self-reflection is the “eye of the soul which lets light” and an inner truth, wisdom, and feeling (sensitivity) whose source is the heart.

One’s *retraite* was a place to cultivate one’s sensitivity. In her “*Reflexions nouvelles sur les femmes*”, Madame de Lambert outlines the importance and role of sensitivity:

La sensibilité est une disposition de l’ame, qu’il est avantageux de trouver dans les autres. Vous ne pouvez avoir ni humanité, ni générosité sans sensibilité. Un seul sentiment, un seul mouvement du coeur a plus de crédit sur l’ame, que toutes les sentences des Philosophes. La sensibilité secourt l’esprit, & sert la vertu: on convient que les agrémens se trouvent chez les personnes de ce caractère ; les graces vives & soudains dont parles Plutarque, ne sont que pour elles. Une Dame qui a été un modèle d’agrément, sert de preuve à ce que j’avance. On demandoit un jour à un homme d’esprit de ses amis, ce qu’elle pensoit, ce qu’elle faisoit dans sa retraite : *Elle n’a jamais pensé*, répondit-il, *elle n’a fait que sentir*. Tous ceux qui l’ont connuë, conviennent que c’étoit la plus séduisant personne du monde ; que ses goûts, ou plutôt ses passions se rendoient maîtresses de son imagination & de sa raison, de manière que ses goûts étoient toujours justifiés par sa raison & respectés par ses amis. Aucun de ceux qui l’ont connuë n’ont osé la condamner, qu’en cessant de la voir ; jamais elle n’avoit tort en présence. Cela prouve, que rien n’est si absolu que la supériorité de l’esprit qui vient de la sensibilité & de la force de l’imagination, parce que la persuasion est toujours à la suite¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Anne Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles, marquise de Lambert, *Reflexions nouvelles sur les femmes, par une dame de la cour de France*. Nouvelle édition corrigée. Londres: chez J. P. Coderc, 1730, p. 27-29. *Reflexions* was written, sometime between 1698 and 1724. Benedetta Craveri offers the following dates for Lambert’s titles : *Avis d’une mère à son fils* (1695-1702), *Traité de l’Amitié*, *Traité de la Vieillesse* (1700-1705), *Discourse sur le Sentiment d’une dame* (circa 1715), *Reflexions sur les Femmes* (1715-1723). Benedetta Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, trans. Teresa Waugh. New York: New York Review Books, 2005, p.267.

For Madame de Lambert, sensibility, the most important quality in one's spirit, forms the basis of a society's ethics for the cultivation of feeling of one's own senses nourishes one's ability to feel for others. "Sensibility is a disposition of the soul, which it is extremely advantageous to us to meet with in others; without this quality the soul is dead to humanity or generosity."¹⁴⁵ In other words, the nourishment of one's sensibility extends outside one's solitary retreat forming the basis for amiable interpersonal relationships. One should reflect upon one's actions and desires in order to find outward refinement amongst one's society.

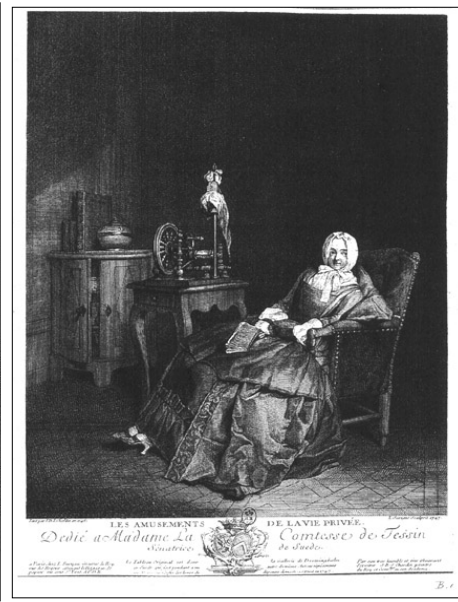
While Madame de Lambert voiced the importance of a retreat, early eighteenth-century engravers illustrated women in their solitude (figures 20 - 22). Accompanying Louis Surugue's *L'Instant de la méditation* are the verses explaining these pleasures of solitary reflection:

Cet amusant travail, cette lecture aimable
De la sage Philis occupent le loisir,
Quand on sçait joindre l'utile à agréable
L'innocence est toujours la baze du plaisir.

In Michel Aubert's images of women in their solitude¹⁴⁶ (figures 23 - 25), he illustrates the devout, economical and learned woman. Drawing on the iconography of a lady meditating in her oratory, as previously illustrated in the Mary of Burgundy's *Book of Hours*, Aubert depicts their reverie into a mental landscape while occupied in her solitary pursuits.

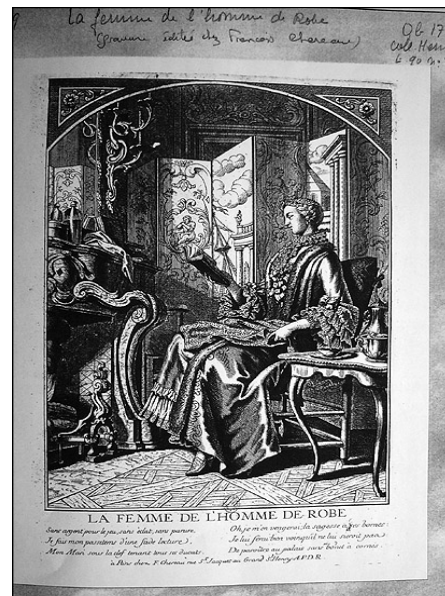
¹⁴⁵ Lambert, *Reflexions nouvelles sur les femmes*, p. 27-29.

¹⁴⁶ "Graveur de Quatre sujets après Etienne Jeaurat. : La D  vote, l'Econome, La Savante et La Coquette, grav  s par Michel Aubert," *Mercure de France*, vol. 799, octobre 1734, p. 2267.



(Fig. 20-21) Louis Surugue, *L'Instant de la méditation*; *Les Amusements de la vie privée*, engravings after Chardin 1747.

(Fig. 22) *La Femme de l'Homme de Robe*, c.1721
 Sans argent pour le jeu, sans éclat, sans parure,
 Je fais mon passetemps d'une fade lecture
 Mon Mari sous la clef tenant tous ses ducats
 Oh, je m'en vengerai ; la sagesse a ses bornes :
 Je lui ferai bien voir qu'il ne lui seroit pas
 De paroître au palais sans bonnet à cornés.



Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes

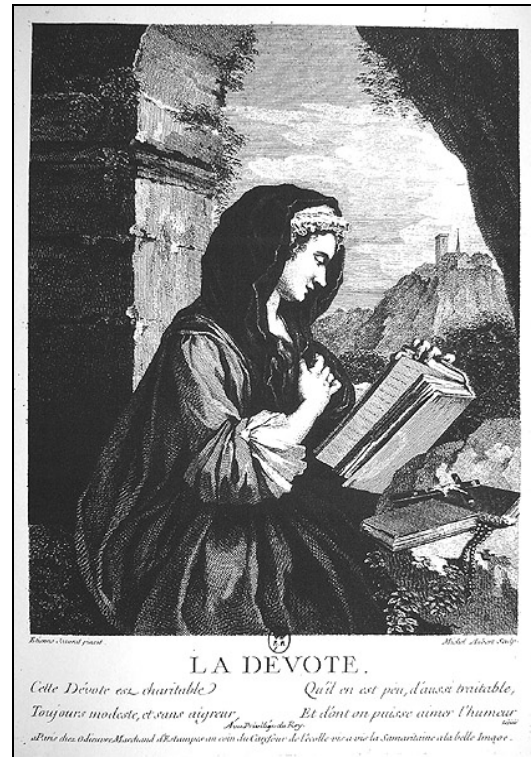
While a woman enjoyed her private room, the verses accompanying Aubert's engravings reassure that her solitary occupations are good for the husband. The economical, wise spouse is only occupied with the household, not with entertainments such as dancing or card-playing. The devotee is always modest and without bitterness. And while uneasy with a fine learned woman who studies all the time in her room, you recognize that the flame within her can easily

target you. Perhaps this suspicion of a woman in her own chamber forms the basis of both a fantasy and fear for French men.¹⁴⁷ In the following chapter, I will further explore the unease felt by men toward a space dedicated to women with the invention of the boudoir.



(Fig.23) *La Sçavante*

Craignons une belle sçavante
Son triomphe n'est point douteux,
Une flamme devient constante
Quand l'esprit suit le choix des yeux.



(Fig. 24) *La D v te*

Cette d v te est charitable
Toujours modeste, et sans aigreur,
Qu'il en est peu, d'aussi traitable,
Et d'ont on puisse aimer l'humeur

¹⁴⁷ As Georges Duby has explained, eleventh-century French noblemen who feared the spaces where the women of the household were locked up, the *chambre de femmes*, were also obsessed with the idea of wives committing adultery. Duby, *A History of Private Life*, vol. 2, p. 76-82, 145.

(Fig.25) *l'Économe*

Une épouse économe, et sage,
Ne consultant que sa raison,
Ne s'occupe que du ménage
Sans quadrille dans sa maison.

(Fig.23 -25) *La Sçavante, La Dévote, l'Économe*,
Michel Aubert after Etienne Jaurat, 1734.¹⁴⁸

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet
des Estampes



¹⁴⁸ *Les quatre caractères de femme*, c 1734. Cette estampe fait partie d'un ensemble de quatre sujets: "La Coquette", "La Dévote", "L'Econome", "La Sçavante". See Marcel Roux, *Inventaire du Fonds Français. Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris : Bibliothèque nationale, 1940, t.1, p.189.

CHAPTER 3: THE “CHAPELLE-BOUDOIR” OF THE COMTESSE DE PONTCHARTRAIN



(Fig. 26-27) Éléonore-Christine de La Rochefoucauld de Roye, Comtesse de Maurepas and Pontchartrain; Jérôme Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas and Pontchartrain.

Source: Sara Chapman, *Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650-1715*. Rochester: The University of Rochester Press, 2004, p. 88 and 89.

3.1. Family History

3.1.1 Noble Birth and Hypogamous Marriage

In the first decade of the eighteenth-century, the word *boudoir* was used to describe a *lady's cabinet*. Historian and Saint-Simon scholar, Hélène Himelfarb has uncovered in the collection of private letters of the Pontchartrain ministerial family, a hybrid term *chapelle-boudoir*.¹ In a letter dated Easter 1708, Jérôme Phélypeaux, the comte de Pontchartrain and the minister of the navy and the house of the king asks his wife Éléonore-Christine de La Rochefoucauld de Roye² to explain to him the concept behind this new term:

Faites-moi expliquer en détail ce que je n'entends pas bien votre boudoir chapelle ou votre chapelle boudoir l'idée le sujet la manière le passé le présent et l'avenir.³

With only five surviving letters written by Éléonore⁴, three in the Fonds Maurepas at the Archives nationales in Paris and two in the Maurepas Collection at Cornell University, there is no written evidence of her own understanding of her *chapelle-boudoir*. Without Éléonore's preceding letter or her reply, the meaning of this tantalizing lacuna can be only guessed at.

¹ It was written on Easter, 8 April 1708. Himelfarb, "Regards versaillais sur l'hôtel parisien," p.95.

² She was also known as Mademoiselle de Chefboutonne. In his memoirs, the Duc de Saint-Simon refers to her as Mademoiselle de Roye.

³ Archives nationales, 257 AP 2. This sentence written at the end of the letter as a post-script seems to indicate that her "boudoir-chapelle" was a strange conceit to him. While Himelfarb suggests that the comte de Pontchartrain baptized the word in this instance, it still remains uncertain as to who may have "invented" the word.

⁴ Charles Frostin, "Un recoupement du témoignage de Saint-Simon. La mort de la comtesse de Pontchartrain (1708)," *Cahiers Saint-Simon*, no. 10 (1982), p. 21. Hélène Himelfarb, "Une source saint-simonienne inédite: les lettres intimes de Jérôme, comte de Pontchartrain à sa femme Éléonore-Christine de La Rochefoucauld (1697-1708)," *Cahiers Saint-Simon*, no. 10 (1982), p.26.

However, circumstantial and archival evidence suggest some plausible interpretations. There exist written first hand accounts and historical studies of the Pontchartrains whose family members held key positions in the governments of the last three sovereigns under the *ancien régime*.⁵ In addition to published accounts, the archival material of this prominent ministerial family has been retained in several collections in France. In particular, the inventories of the Hôtel de Pontchartrain and the Château de Pontchartrain taken in 1708, 1714 and 1728 have left evidence from which the *chapelle-boudoir* of Éléonore-Christine can be reconstructed.⁶

Éléonore-Christine de La Rochefoucauld de Roye was born in 1681 into the Huguenot branch of the Rochefoucauld-Roye ducal family.⁷ After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, her parents, who refused to convert to

⁵ The duc de Saint-Simon recorded intimate details of the Pontchartrain family on account of his friendship to Louis Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain as well as the familial ties between his wife Gabrielle de Durfort and her first cousin Éléonore-Christine. Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires de M. le duc de Saint-Simon*. Paris: Édition du Tricentenaire, 1975, (Boislile édition), t.5, p. 376-377 ; t.10.p. 407. Philippe de Courcillon, Marquis de Dangeau, *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, Publié en entier pour la première fois avec les Additions Inédites du Duc de Saint Simon* (Soulié édition). Paris : Firmin Didot frères, 1854-1860. *Madame de Maintenon d'après sa correspondance authentique: Choix de ses lettres et entretiens*, ed. Auguste Geffroy. Paris: Hachette, 1887. On the Phélypeaux ministerial family see Sara Chapman, *Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650-1715*. Rochester: The University of Rochester Press, 2004. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jean-François Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001. Charles Frostin, *Les Pontchartrain, ministres de Louis XIV. Alliances et réseau d'influence sous l'Ancien Régime*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006. Catherine Healey, "Ennobled Lives: The Phélypeaux at Pontchartrain, 1609 to 1727." PhD dissertation, John Hopkins University, 1988.

⁶ Although the building was demolished during the Hausmanization of Paris in the late nineteenth century, plans of the renovation by Robert de Cotte are located at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes. *Les dessins du fonds Robert de Cotte de la Bibliothèque nationale de France: architecture et décor*. Paris and Rome: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ecole française de Rome, 1997.

⁷ She was the daughter of Frédéric-Charles de Roye de La Rochefoucauld and Isabelle de Durfort. She passed away on June 23, 1708. Georges Martin, *Histoire et généalogie de la maison de La Rochefoucauld*. La Ricamarie: G. Martin, 1975, p.52. Auguste Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire*. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970, t. 2, p. 986.

Catholicism, emigrated to Denmark, while Éléonore remained in France in the Benedictine convent at Soissons⁸ under the care of her uncles⁹ until her marriage to Jérôme Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain.

The duc de Saint-Simon recorded that the marriage of Éléonore and Jérôme “se fit à petit bruit à Versailles”.¹⁰ Dangeau writes that in addition to her royal pension of 4,000 francs as a new Catholic convert and her 20,000 écus from her family, “Le roi donne à M. de Pontchartrain 50,000 écus à l’occasion du mariage de son fils avec mademoiselle de Roye”.¹¹ On Wednesday, 27 February 1697, “Le roi signa le contrat de mariage de M. Phélypeaux avec mademoiselle de

⁸ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.4. p.47-50; Dangeau, *Journal*, t.12, p. 168. Previous abbesses of the abbaye royale de Notre-Dame à Soissons were members of the royal family. At the time Éléonore was sent there at the age of four, a Rochefoucauld relative, Gabrielle-Marie de La Rochefoucauld, sister of the writer of the *Maximes*, was the abbesse (1684-93). Alexandre Eusèbe Poquet, *Nôtre-Dame de Soissons, son histoire, ses églises, ses tombeaux, ses abbesses, ses reliques*. Paris: Didron, 1855, p. 81.

⁹ Jacques Henri de Durfort, maréchal de Duras, and Guy de Durfort, duc and maréchal de Lorges. Sara Chapman, “Patronage as Family Economy: The Role of Women in the Patron-Client Network of the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family, 1670–1715,” *French Historical Studies* 24.1, 2001, p. 35 n.35.

¹⁰ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.4, p.57 n.1: see compliment of Mme de Ursins to Jérôme in a letter published in *Cabinet historique*, t. XI, p.310. Dangeau, *Journal*, t.5, p. 75, 76 and 78 for description of marriage.

¹¹ Dangeau, *Journal*, t.6, p. 75 : Mercredi, 20 février (1697) à Marly, “ M. de Phélypeaux, fils unique de M. de Pontchartrain, épouse une soeur de M. le comte de Roucy qui est présentement dans un couvent à Soissons; elle avoit déjà 4,000 francs de pension du roi comme nouvelle convertie, et le roi lui en donne encore six en faveur du mariage ; outre cela, on compte qu’elle aura 20,000 écus du bien de sa maison.”

Ibid, t.6, p. 76 : Jeudi 21 février (1697) à Marly , “Le roi donne à M. de Pontchartrain 50,000 écus à l’occasion du mariage de son fils avec mademoiselle de Roye. Les noces se feront dans huit jours, et la comtesse de Roucy est partie pour aller quérir sa belle-soeur à Soissons.”

Ibid, t.6, p. 78 : Mercredi 27 février (1697) à Versailles, “Le roi signa le contrat de mariage de M. Phélypeaux avec mademoiselle de Roye. Le roi trouva bon que les fiançailles et le mariage se fissent dans la chapelle. A neuf heures, ils furent fiancé, mariés après minuit et allèrent coucher chez M. de Pontchartrain. “

Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t. 4 p.57-58 : “La comtesse de Roucy alla chercher sa belle-soeur à Soissons, et le mariage se fit à petit bruit à Versailles, dans la chapelle, à minuit, par l’évêque de Soissons, Brûlard. Outre le présent ordinaire du roi à ces mariages des ministres, il ajouta six mille livres de pension aux quatre que la mariée avoit déjà, et donna cinquante mille écus à Pontchartrain, qui fit appeler son fils le comte de Maurepas.”

Roye. Le roi trouva bon que les fiançailles et le mariage se fissent dans la chapelle. A neuf heures, ils furent fiancés, mariés après minuit et allèrent coucher chez M. de Pontchartrain.”¹²

As a distant relative of the King, her arranged marriage to a member of the high robe nobility, whose roots were bourgeois, was remarkable in part because it was highly unusual for noblewomen to marry below their rank. In Le Roy Ladurie and Fitou’s examination of the 1366 marriages recorded in Saint-Simon’s memoirs, 54.2% of marriages were endogamous (equal rank), 27.7% were hypergamous (husband was higher rank than wife), 9.7% were hypogamous (wife was higher rank than husband), and 8.4% were special cases which included 24 marriages of government ministers’ sons with daughters of high nobility.¹³ This last group of special-case marriages between government ministers’ sons with daughters of high nobility, as Le Roy Ladurie and Fitou have argued, was an indication of the rising influence of ministerial families.¹⁴

Sara Chapman in her examination of the role of women in the careers of the Pontchartrain clan discusses the social and political advantages of a high ranking wife to the politician’s family.¹⁵ The Pontchartrains benefited not only from her family network ties but also from her great understanding of *savoir-*

¹² Dangeau, *Journal*, t.6, p. 78: Mercredi 27 février (1697) à Versailles.

¹³ In the eyes of the La Rochefoucauld-Roye family, their ladies should have the privilege of being allowed to sit on a *tabouret* (a backless padded stool) in the presence of the King. Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t. 4, p.47, editor’s footnote 4.

¹⁴ By the late seventeenth century, high ministers of state had a unique status because of their close working relationship with the king and they enjoyed consideration which was above the robe nobility, the group from which government ministers was drawn. Members of ministerial families were seen as having similar rank as dukes. Le Roy Ladurie and Fitou. *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, p.180-197. Franklin Lewis Ford, *Robe and Sword; the Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

¹⁵ Chapman, “Patronage as Family Economy,” p.32.

vivre, the art of applying the appropriate action and speech according to expected rules of behavior. According to Saint-Simon, Éléonore

se trouva très heureusement née, avec beaucoup de vertu, de douceur et d'esprit, toute Roucy qu'elle était, beaucoup de sens et de crainte de se méprendre et de mal faire, ce qui lui donnait une timidité bienséante à son âge. Avec cela, pour peu qu'elle fût en quelque liberté, toutes les grâces, tout le sel, et tout ce qui peut rendre une femme aimable et charmante, et avec le temps une conduite, une connaissance des gens et des choses, un discernement fort au-dessus d'une personne nourrie dans une abbaye à Soissons, et tombée dans une maison où dans les commencements elle fut gardée à vue, ce qu'elle eut le bon esprit d'aimer, et de s'attacher de cœur à tout ce à quoi elle le devait être.¹⁶

Éléonore was a pious, charming, sensitive woman who understood the intricacies of court life. Her value as a *honnête femme* and as a member of the *noblesse d'épée* who was part of the exclusive circle around the duchesse de Bourgogne¹⁷ was recognized not only by memoirists and letter writers¹⁸, but also by Jérôme himself who was cognizant of her “knowledge of people and things”. Jérôme jokingly acknowledged this when he wrote to her: “I had supper, yesterday, at

¹⁶ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.5, p.376

¹⁷ Ibid, t.4. p.303. Éléonore attended the duchesse de Bourgogne's toilette (1697).

¹⁸ “Madame de Pontchartrain étoit tout à fois le modèle et la coqueluche de la cour, l’esclave et la victime d’un mari barbare et l’adoration de son beau-père le chancelier et de sa belle-mère, qui ne s’en consolèrent jamais ; la vertu la plus universelle, la bienséance la plus accomplie, l’esprit le plus sensé, le plus naturel, le plus aisé, la sagesse la plus exacte et la plus gaie, la sensibilité la plus retenue, la modestie la plus respectée, la sainteté la plus soutenue, la plus aimable, la plus aimée, la femme la plus amèrement et la plus universellement regrettée qui ait paru à la cour. Sa seule considération empêcha par deux fois son mari d’être chassé, qui à sa mort donna des scènes et des comédies non pareilles. Ce fut un honneur particulier que le roi fit au chancelier de lui envoyer faire compliment à cette occasion, qu’il savoit lui être vraiment cruelle.”Dangeau, *Journal*, t.12, p. 168: Samedi 23, 1708 à Fontainebleau – Saint-Simon’s annotated commentary.

your little cousin's, I dined today with the head of your family, and I will sup tonight with the comte de Toulouse. See how I follow your orders?"¹⁹

According to historian and Pontchartrain family biographer Charles Frostin, Éléonore was a *maîtresse femme*²⁰ who had a great deal of influence on Jérôme especially with her attempts to smooth out the discord between him and his parents. In an undated letter she advises Jérôme to write less in the style of valets and in a more respectful manner to his parents:

Vous pouvez bien croire, mon cher mari, que j'approuverais fort une belle lettre et que je désire que vous parliez à Mr votre père en même temps que votre lettre est construite. Quoiqu'il fasse après cela, vous n'aurez rien à vous reprocher. Je craindrais que le discours ne fût plus vif et que risquer les discours qu'il dit que l'on vous fait tenir, cela ne vous fît un peu passer auprès de la considération et du respect que vous lui devez, car je vous avoue que cet endroit me pique et que je ne suis point à l'épreuve des valets qu'on croit... Les discours des valets...sont pour moi, comme on dit du *Mercure Galant*, au-dessous de la mer et beaucoup moins que rien, s'il se peut. Mais ce qui ne serait pas de même, c'est si Mr votre père ou Mme votre mère croyait de pareilles impertinences...Il est toujours désagréable que pareils discours soient cités par eux et qu'ils paraissent y faire attention...Tout ceci, je ne voulais vous en parler que demain, mais je n'ai pas été maîtresse de ma main.

C'est bon signe pour ma santé quand je suis un peu en colère.
J'espère que vous me direz demain que vous avez parlé à Mr.

¹⁹ Archives nationales 257, AP 2, fol. 74. Cited in Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," p. 32.

²⁰ *Maîtresse femme* means a forceful woman who must be obeyed.

Votre père avec toutes sortes de tendresses et de respect. Il le mérite bien pour ne savoir trop faire pour lui plaire. Ainsi, connaissant votre bon cœur, je ne suis point en peine de vous. Cependant vous êtes vif, et Mr votre père n'est pas endormi. Ainsi, si votre vivacité imaginait de se faire sentir, je vous demande qu'elle me sacrifie de ne pas paraître. Je lui laisserai entière liberté, mercredi au soir... Je vous embrasse et vous aime de tout mon cœur. Ce mardi matin.²¹

Within the tone of this letter, Éléonore reveals that she is the senior partner of their marriage.

²¹ Archives nationales 25 AP 2, dossier 3, cited from Frostin, *Les Pontchartrain*, p.281-282.

3.1.2 The Pontchartrain Household and Family Relations

The newlywed couple and his parents lived closely together. According to Saint-Simon, “Le rare est que Pontchartrain n'en dit rien à son fils ni à sa belle-fille, ni moi non plus, et personne à la cour ne se douta d'une chose si singulière qu'à la longue, c'est-à-dire de l'amitié intime entre deux hommes si inégaux en tout.”²² This intimacy was facilitated by their living arrangements. As their marriage contract specified, the parents would provide them housing, food and five servants at the Paris home or at court for the next six years²³. Éléonore would live at court at Versailles and Fontainebleau as well as at her in-laws' main residences, the Hôtel de Pontchartrain in Paris and the Pontchartrain family château located approximately 17 kilometres from Versailles.²⁴

Éléonore's “boudoir-chapelle” may refer to her cabinet at the Hôtel de Pontchartrain, previously referred as the Hôtel de Lionne, on Rue Neuve des Petits-Champs near the Palais Royal. Originally designed by Le Vau (1661), Louis Phélypeaux began the process of acquiring it in 1700²⁵ after he was

²² Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t. 5 p.378-379.

²³ Archives nationales MC XLIV 137 (27 February 1697): marriage contract between Éléonore-Christine de La Rochefoucauld de Roye and Jérôme Phélypeaux cited in Chapman, *Private Ambition and Political Alliances*, p.26. As Jean-Louis Flandrin explains, the notion of the family and household as a couple with dependent (under-aged) children would become the normal autonomous unit only in the nineteenth century. As well, the parents would supervise the newlywed couple, especially the young wife as her husband would be away in constant attendance at court. Hélène Himelfarb describes how Éléonore would be closely supervised by her in-laws. Himelfarb, “Regards versaillais sur l'hôtel parisien,” p.95. Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

²⁴ Healey, “Ennobled Lives,” p.270-273. Also Patrice Berger, “Rural Charity in Late Seventeenth Century France: The Pontchartrain Case,” *French Historical Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Spring 1978), p. 398.

²⁵ Dangeau reported the purchase of it in 1700, *Journal*, t.7, p.272, [March 13, 1700] cited in Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo*, p. 94, n.124. Healey reports that Pontchartrain completed

appointed chancellor.²⁶ Shortly after the acquisition, extensive renovations began. Working under his brother-in-law Hardouin-Mansart, Robert de Cotte designed or carried out the work.²⁷ The drawings of the Hôtel de Pontchartrain (figure 32) are located at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes.²⁸

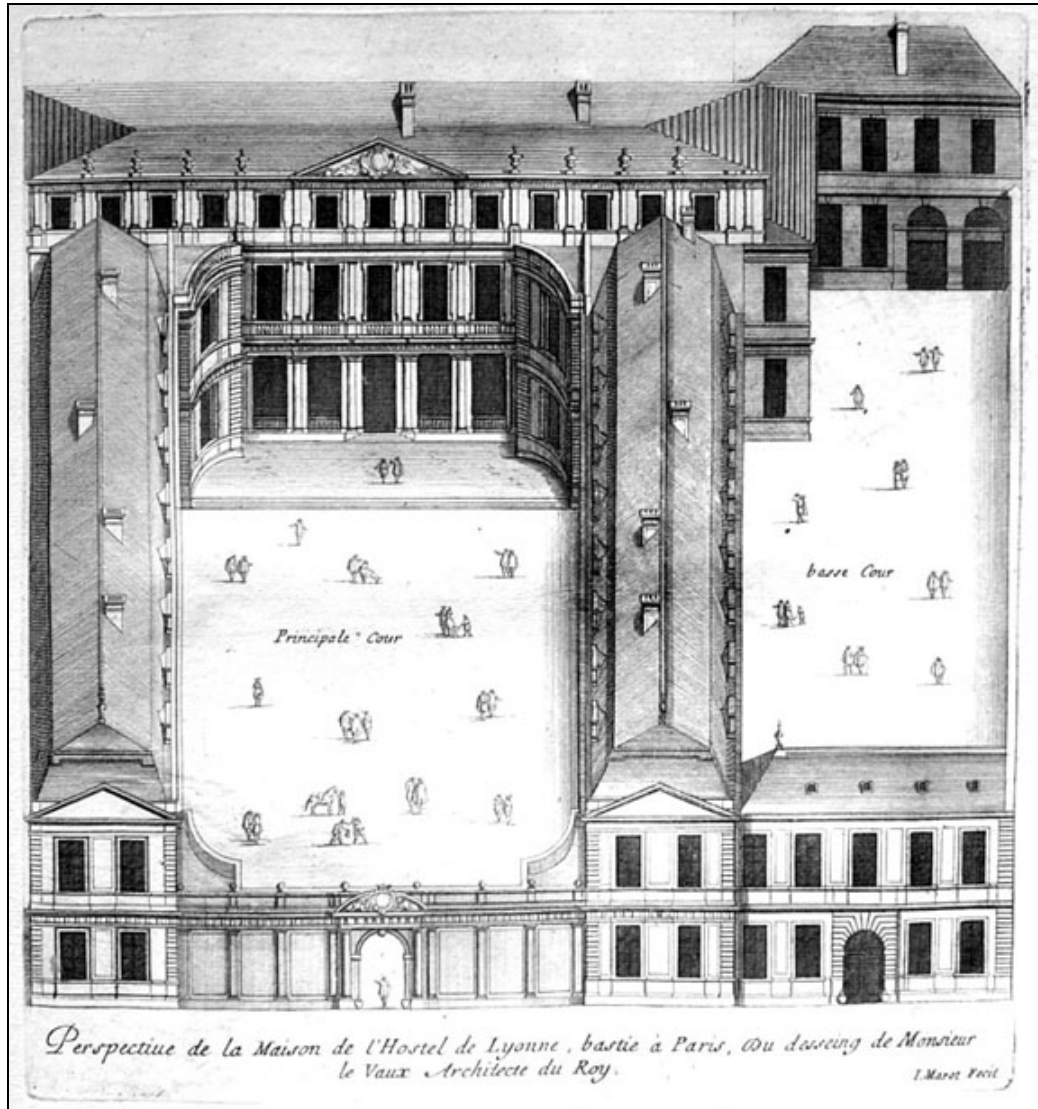
Unfortunately, since the room typology is not indicated in the plans, I cannot substantiate that the “boudoir-chapelle” referred to in Jérôme’s letter was in the hôtel de Pontchartrain.

the purchase of the hôtel from the dowager Duchesse d’Estrées for 250,000 livres in 1703. A.N. C100 Mi 136, 1 cited in Healy, “Ennobled Lives,” p. 275, 311 n.10.

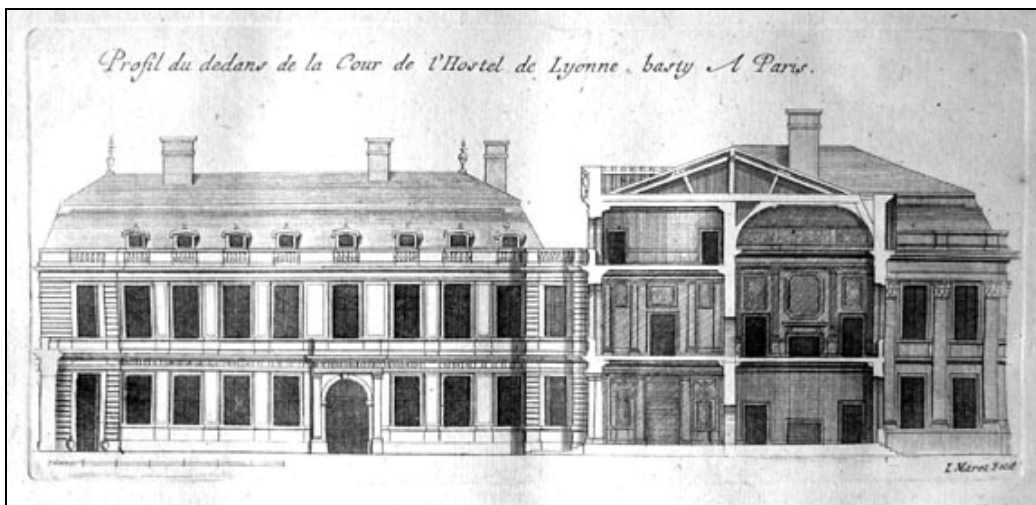
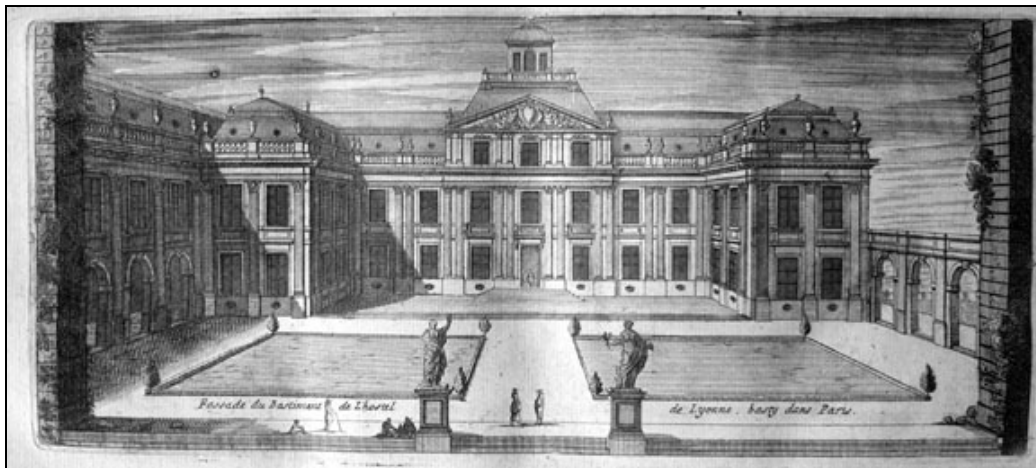
²⁶ When Louis was appointed chancellor in 1699, the title of comte and comtesse de Pontchartrain was passed to Jérôme and Éléonore. The position of chancellor was by the time Louis was appointed was largely a ceremonial position and advisory role to the king. The chancellor, a high crown officer, was the keeper of the seals and, as the intermediary between the king and the other arms of the government; he was the spokesperson of the will of the king. By the time Louis Phélypeaux received the appointment, the role of chancellor was diminished and largely a ceremonial position. Mousnier, *The Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy*, vol. 2, p.130-139, 151-159.

²⁷ The interior remodeling of Hôtel de Lionne in 1703 was de Cotte’s first major work. Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo*, p.94. Robert Neuman, “French Domestic Architecture in the Early Eighteenth Century: The Town Houses of Robert de Cotte,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol.39, no. 2 (May 1980), p. 131, n.23.

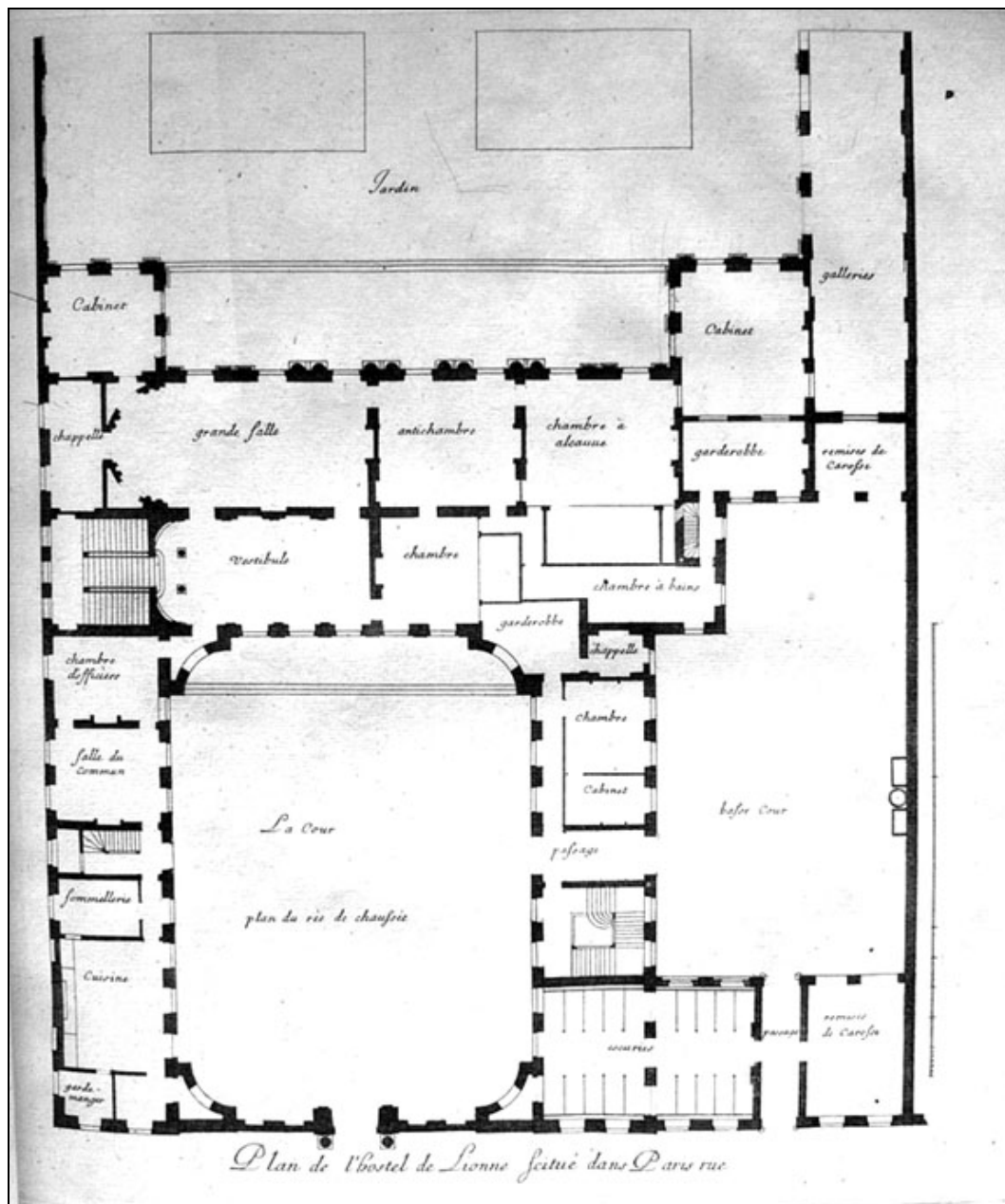
²⁸ Robert de Cotte inherited Hardouin Mansart’s papers. See *Les dessins du fonds Robert de Cotte de la Bibliothèque nationale de France : architecture et décor*. Other Robert de Cotte drawings are located at the Bibliothèque de L’Institut de France, Mss. 1037-1043.



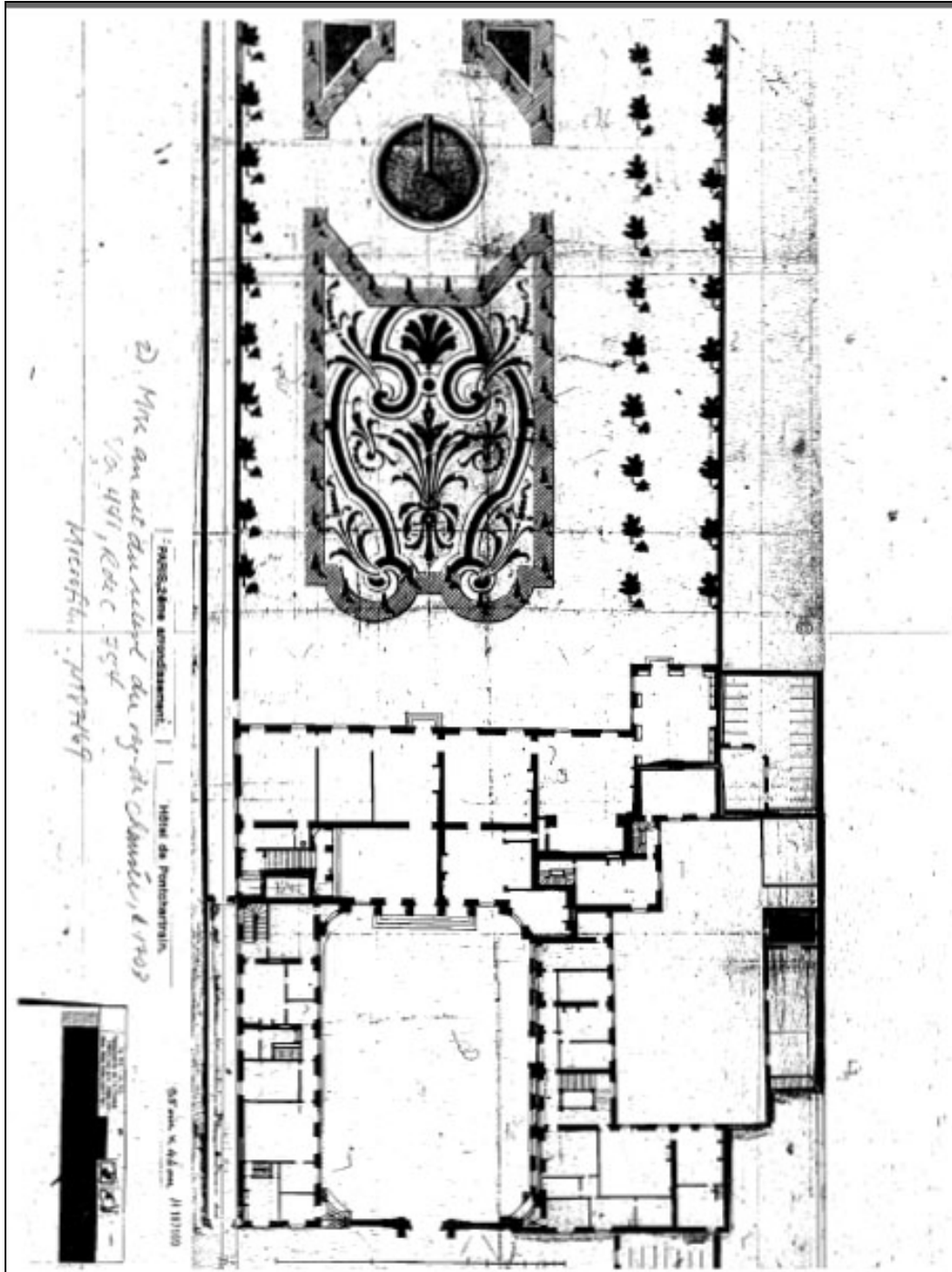
(Fig.28) Aerial perspective, Hôtel de Lionne.
Source: *Grand Marot*, 1670.



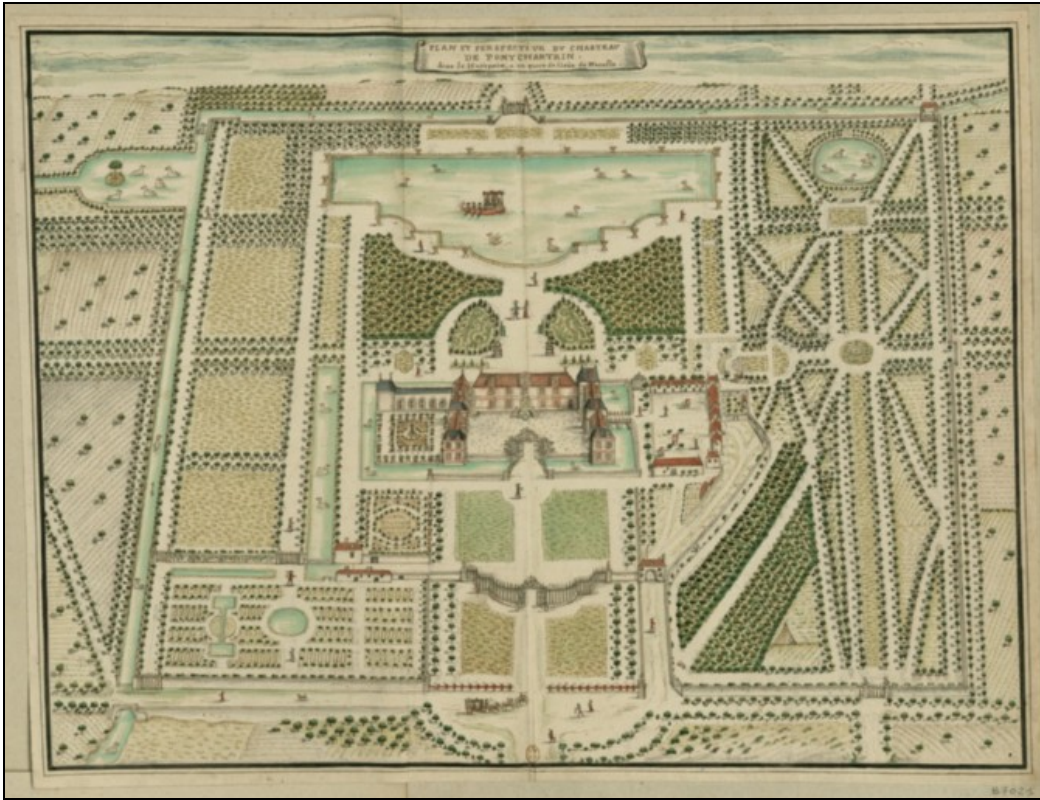
(Fig. 29-30) Façade, section, Hôtel de Lionne.
Source: *Grand Marot*, 1670.



(Fig. 31) Ground floor, Hôtel de Lionne.
Source: *Grand Marot*, 1670.



(Fig. 32) A proposed plan of the ground floor, Hôtel de Pontchartrain, c. 1703
 Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Va 441, R. de C. 754.



(Fig. 33) Louis Boudan. *Plan et perspective du chasteau de Pontchartrain, dans le Hurepoix, à un quart de lieüe de Neaufle, 1703-1709.*

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France <http://gallica2.bnf.fr/>

Even though I have not been able to locate interior plans of the Château de Pontchartrain, based on evidence found in the inventories, the “boudoir-chapelle” most likely referred to her cabinet at the main Pontchartrain family estate. In the 1714 inventory taken after death of Marie de Maurepas, there were two boudoirs located at the château while none were listed in the Hôtel de Pontchartrain. At the family estate, the Chancelière’s boudoir contained a small cherry wood armoire which served as her library, an amber crucifix, a *prie-dieu*, a *tabouret*, and a small table which served as an altar. The other boudoir next to the “Chambre de

Monseigneur et Madame de Pontchartrain”²⁹, similarly furnished with a *prie-dieu*, reliquaries, religious images and a small writing table was most likely used by the new Comtesse the Pontchartrain, Jérôme’s second wife, Hélène-Rosalie-Angélique de l’Aubespine.³⁰

²⁹ Inventory after death of Marie de Maurepas; A.N. MC ET/XCVI 231, 24 avril 1714.

³⁰ They married 10 July 1713. Jal, *Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire*, p. 986.

3.1.3 Religion

It would not be unusual for the Pontchartrain ladies to have a private oratory since the Chancelier and Chancelière de Pontchartrain, Louis Phélypeaux and Marie de Maupeou were both pious. According to Saint-Simon, the Chancelière's

piété fut toujours un grand fonds de vertu qui augmenta sans cesse, qui l'appliqua aux lectures et à la prière, qui lui fit, quand elle put, embrasser toutes sortes de bonnes œuvres, et qui la rendit la mère des pauvres; avec cela, gaie, et de fort bonne compagnie...Mme de Pontchartrain avait toujours les yeux et les mains ouvertes à leurs besoins, toujours en quête de pauvres honteux, de gentilshommes et de demoiselles dans le besoin, de filles dans le danger, pour les tirer de péril et de peine, en mariant ou en plaçant les unes, donnant des pensions aux autres, et tout cela, dans le dernier secret.³¹

The Pontchartrains were followers of the Oratory congregation. Founded by Pierre de Berulle in 1611, the Fathers of the Oratory was part of the Catholic Reformation in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The Oratory was a congregation of priests devoted to the work of clerical education.³²

The Pontchartrains were also sympathetic to the Jansenist movement.³³

Port-Royal historian Cécile Gazier points out the close ties that the elder

³¹ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.6, p.284-285. Also see Berger, "Rural Charity in Late Seventeenth Century France: The Pontchartrain Case," p. 393-415.

³² René d'Ambrières discusses the patronage of the Chancelier in *L'Esprit de l'Oratoire de France au tournant du XVIIIe siècle*. Versailles: Editions Art Lys, 1995, p.123. Père Gouyon became the chancellor's confessor in around 1693. Charles E. Williams, *The French Oratorians and Absolutism, 1611-1641*. New York: Peter Lang, 1989. Henri Bremond, *A Literary History of Religious Thought in France*, vol. 3, trans. K.L Montgomery. New York: MacMillan, 1936.

³³ Chancellor Pontchartrain was one of the Oratorians who were sympathetic to Port-Royal and anti-Jesuit. Le Roy Ladurie and Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, p. 247.

Pontchartrain wished to maintain with Port-Royal by first attempting to arrange a union between his son Jérôme and Louise de Mesnil, the *fille d'honneur* to the princesse de Conti, a Port Royal supporter, prior to successfully negotiating his marriage to Eléonore.³⁴ Indeed, the Pontchartrains' Jansenist sympathies were evident even to the king's wife. Madame de Maintenon complained in a letter to the archbishop of Paris that the Pontchartrains' religion was indistinguishable from Jansenism:

Je dinai il y a quelque jours chez M. de Pontchartrain ; il fit beaucoup de railleries assez aigres sur le Monseigneur que les évêques se donnent, et dit que saint Ambroise et saint Augustine ne s'en étoient jamais servis.

Mme de Pontchartrain, à qui je fais la guerre sur le jansénisme, me dit qu'on verroit comme vous en useriez avec son confesseur, et qu'elle joueroit par là du goût que vous auriez pour les honnêtes gens ; elle affecte fort de dire qu'elle n'a point d'autre sentimens que ceux du Père de La Tour. S'il n'est pas janséniste, il doit s'en expliquer ; car on veut le confondre avec eux.³⁵

For one to be tainted with Jansenism was not a positive description in the eyes of the king.³⁶ The term Jansenism was coined by the Jesuits in the mid-

³⁴ Cécile Gazier, *Histoire du monastère de Port-Royal*. Paris: Perrin, 1929, p.374. Interestingly, Chancellor Pontchartrain bought the stone block from the destruction of the Port-Royal for building renovations for Château de Pontchartrain in 1712 to 1713. Healey, "Ennobled Lives," p.154-5 and Frostin, "Un recoupement du témoignage de Saint-Simon. La mort de la comtesse de Pontchartrain (1708)," p.16.

³⁵ Madame de Maintenon à M. L'Archevêque de Paris. Fontainebleau, 12 octobre 1695. *Madame de Maintenon d'après sa correspondance authentique*, v.2, p. 255-6. The director general of the Oratory Père de La Tour had a pro-Jansenist stance.

³⁶ Madame de Maintenon's charge of Jansenism against the Pontchartrains should not be taken as an unusual name calling. As Strayer summarizes, Jansenism was a religious movement which pervaded the intellectual and political development of seventeenth-century France, including other religious groups. Brian E Strayer, *Suffering Saints: Jansenist and Convulsionnaires in France*,

seventeenth century to denounce Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), the Bishop of Ypres whose writings they deemed as Calvinistic. According to Tad Schmaltz, however, the Jansenists were not a defined group with clear ideological positions. Nonetheless, as religious scholars³⁷ have pointed out, Jansenists had penchant for independence, solitude and detachment, and they placed the spiritual interests of the individual above society. Not content with practicing a personal asceticism, the Jansenists were puritanical. As Ronald Knox explains, Puritanism's strict morality was all the more excessive because of the Puritan's public demonstration of their austerity.³⁸ Brian Stayer even suggests that Jansenists' individualism and desire to demonstrate the contriteness for their sins created powerful enemies, led by Cardinal Mazarin and Louis XIV who considered this group a threat to the power of the absolute state.³⁹ While it is beyond the scope of the thesis to discuss the relationship between the religion and state formation, the fact remains that Louis XIV destroyed Port-Royal-des-Champs, the convent where Jansenist churchmen and women resided. He received the Pope's blessing when he issued a bull dissolving it in 1708. Port-Royal was subsequently razed in 1711. Even the dead were not spared as the graves at Port-Royal were dug up and the bodies interred to other sites.

1640-1799. Eastbourne, U.K, Sussex Academic Press, 2008, p. 12-14. McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, vol.1, p. 534.

³⁷ Strayer, *Suffering Saints*, p. 133-4. Alexander Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France: Voices from the Wilderness*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977, p. 197-199. Wallace K. Ferguson, "The Place of Jansenism in French History," *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Jan. 1927), p. 16-42. <http://www.jstor.org/>. Accessed March 4, 2009.

³⁸ Ronald Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion, with Special reference to the XVII and XVIII centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950, p. 211.

³⁹ Tad M. Schmaltz, "What Has Cartesianism To Do with Jansenism?" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.60, no.1 (1999), p.41-42. Strayer, *Suffering Saints*, p. 133-4.

At the center of these political tensions, Jansenists, as well as the Oratorians promoted a rigorous piety emphasizing the “doctrine of penitence” which preached the primacy of man’s fallen nature.⁴⁰ In opposition to the Jesuits who advanced a humanistic “view of man’s mental powers, his self-confidence, and the perfectibility of his reason” and his capability of “free choice” and had “sufficient grace”⁴¹, Jansenists believed that “man was completely vile, incapable of any good without grace”⁴², after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. Only God’s grace would save the chosen few from eternal damnation. As elitists, Jansenism and Oratorians advocated a high moral standard as opposed to the lax morality of the masses and the opportunistic and easily adaptable teachings of the Jesuits.⁴³

As with the Port-Royalists, the followers of the Oratory practised an introspective, albeit less rigorous, type of devotion in the form of solitary prayer and meditation.⁴⁴ The Chancellor, who was a follower of the Oratory, had since 1666, “une chambre à l’Institution,” writes Père Quesnel.⁴⁵ He also possessed in the Château de Pontchartrain a small cabinet near his office which contained a

⁴⁰ Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 212.

⁴¹ Strayer, *Suffering Saints*, p. 13.

⁴² Lucy Tinsley, *The French Expression for Spirituality and Devotion: A Semantic Study*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1953, p. 184.

⁴³ Ferguson, “The Place of Jansenism in French History,” p. 17-18.

⁴⁴ As Ronald Knox explains, the teachings of Port-Royal advocated the self-questioning of one’s motives. For the Jansenist follower, every action should be motivated by charity, the love of God and the desire for his glory rather than for sensuous gratification. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 219-220, 246 and 252.

⁴⁵ “Correspondance de Quesnel – Lettre du 17 octobre 1699 à du Vaucel,” cited in Ambrières, *L’Esprit de l’Oratoire de France*, p.123.

“confessional de bois doré garni de tapisserie au petit point”⁴⁶ and an ivory Christ on the Cross⁴⁷ for his private devotions.

Pontchartrain’s wife, the Chancelière would also have places for her *retraite* in accordance with her rank and her piety. The 1689 furniture inventory of the Château de Pontchartrain reveals that the cabinet adjoining the Pontchartrains’ shared *chambre*, called “cabinet de Madame”⁴⁸ contained “un prie Dieu couvert d’étoffe pareille a la tapisserie....une vie de saints⁴⁹ sur le bureau... quarente un tableau de Dieu, vierges et saint et autres...un crucifix de cuivre et deux reliquaires au dessous”.⁵⁰

Éléonore’s religious affiliation seems to have been well incorporated into the Pontchartrain household. After her marriage, Père de La Tour, the director general of the Oratory, became Éléonore’s confessor.⁵¹ In her *éloge* in the *Mercure de France* Éléonore’s piety was lauded:

une femme dont la naissance étoit des plus illustres, mais
beaucoup au-dessous de son mérite. Elle avoit une dévotion sans
hypocrisie, une vertu sans faste, un coeur sincère et pénétré de

⁴⁶ Inventory of the château de Pontchartrain after the death of the Chancelier, AN – Minutes Durant ET/XCVI/290 cited in d’Ambrières, *L’Esprit de l’Oratoire de France*, p.123.

⁴⁷ Inventory after death of Louis de Pontchartrain; MC/ET/XCVI 290 (26 janvier 1728)

⁴⁸ Monsieur’s cabinet was located on the ground floor off the main hall. Healey, “Ennobled Lives,” p. 220-223.

⁴⁹ *Lives of Saints* or hagiography served the purpose of “stimulate devotion and provide examples of piety”. Stephen Wilson, *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 16.

⁵⁰ Archives Départementales des Yvelines 48J 255 Inventaire des meubles du Château de Pontchartrain, 1689, p. 9.

⁵¹ Persons who had the time and means to pursue a spiritual life, especially aristocratic women would have a director or confessor who as a learned clergy man who was an interpreter of “right action” especially in the context of high society. McManners *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, vol. 2, p. 242. Frostin “Un recoupement du témoignage de Saint-Simon. La mort de la comtesse de Pontchartrain (1708), “ p.16.

l'amour divin ; une humilité chrétienne, une ardente charité, un piété sincère, une douceur angélique et une modestie charmante. C'étoit une épouse qui n'avoit point pour peu de pareilles, une femme sans volonté, sans ambition, sans entêtement, qui pouvoit servir d'exemple à toutes les personnes de son sexe, qui étoit estimée et honorée partout et qui avoit enfin une patience et une résignation aux volontés de Dieu peu communes.⁵²

Although Éléonore was well suited to her in-laws' religion, according to the duc de Saint-Simon, Jérôme was an object of discord in the household's sympathies to Port-Royal. As Cécile Grazier points out, while the patriarch of the family, the Chancellor and his wife were inclined towards Port-Royal, Jérôme was known to be hostile towards the monastery.⁵³

Like her mother-in-law, Éléonore had a *retraite*. In her inventory after death taken in 1708, the "boudoir de Madame de Comtesse de Pontchartrain" at the Château de Pontchartrain⁵⁴ listed the following items (figure 34):

Item une grille pelle pincettes le tout garny et petit pommeau de cuivre prisé quatre livres.

Item deux petits carreaux⁵⁵ remplies d' i __ed__ (?) prisé ensembles dix livres

⁵² Printed in Dangeau, *Journal*, t.12, p. 165-167 : Samedi 23, juin 1708 à Fontainebleau.

⁵³ Cécile Grazier, *Histoire du monastère de Port-Royal*. Paris: Perrin, 1929, p.422.

⁵⁴ Her apartment in the hôtel de Pontchartrain included a *chambre*, *garderobe* and a *cabinet*.

⁵⁵ CARREAU Coussin carré dont on se sert pour s'asseoir, ou pour se mettre à genoux. Carreau de velours. Carreau de brocard. Carreau galonné d'or & d'argent. Une pile de carreaux. Une femme à qui l'on porte le carreau. Se faire porter un carreau à l'Église. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th Edition (1762), ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu> Accessed February 4, 2010. The *petits carreaux* may well refer to prayer cushions.

In his examination of Anne of Austria's inventory after death (1666), Jean Cordey points out the carreaux were tabourets. Cordey, "L'Inventaire après décès d'Anne d'Autriche et le Mobilier du Louvre", p. 219, 221.

Item un prie Dieu de bois de merisier, un losange⁵⁶ garny de deux volets fermant (?) à clef prisé vingt livres

Item un dessus de cheminée d'une glace de trente six pouces de haut sur vingt six de long, prisee la somme de quatre et vingt livres

Item un fauteuil de commodité de bois doré couverte de toille verte et remply de crin avec la housse de velour vert avec un carré au milieu d'estoffe des Indes rouge bordé d'un galon d'or ; un tabouret de pareil bois et couvers de pareille estoffe avec un gros couvert de pareil velour et un carré d'estoffe des Indes au milieu prisé le tout ensemble la somme de soixante livres.

Item une petite pendule ancienne dans tablete de marqueterie et feuille prisee la somme quatre vingt livres⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, 4th Edition (1762)* : LOSANGE. s.f. Figure à quatre côtés égaux, ayant deux angles aigus, & deux autres obtus. Cela est taillé en losange. Un diamant taillé en losange. Il porte en ses armes trois losanges. Les filles portent l'écu de leurs armoiries en losange.

On appelle aussi Losange, Une vitre taillée en losange. Les losanges d'une fenêtre.

LOSANGÉ, ÉE Terme d'Armoiries, qui se dit quand le champ de l'écu est divisé en plusieurs losanges de deux émaux différens. Il porte losangé d'or & d'azur.

Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, 8th Edition (1932-5) :LOSANGE. n. m. T. de Géométrie. Parallélogramme dont les quatre côtés sont égaux sans que les angles soient droits. Dans un losange deux des angles sont aigus et deux sont obtus. Un diamant taillé en losange. Il désigne aussi, en termes de Blason, une Sorte de carré déformé et posé de biais qui est un meuble de l'écu. D'après les règles du blason, les filles portent l'écu de leurs armoiries en losange. ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu>. Accessed February 4, 2010.

⁵⁷ Archives nationale MC ET/XCVI/203 [8 aoust 1708]

The items listed in Éléonore's inventory after death suggests that she spent a considerable amount of time there: the fireplace and the padded armchair with matching footstool would allow her to stay warm while sitting for long periods of time. Her *prie-dieu* indicates that she used this room for solitary religious devotion. In addition to the amount of time spent alone in the boudoir, the items also suggest the level of luxury surrounding her: a fairly large mirror measuring approximately 91 by 71 centimeters hung over the fireplace and her *prie-dieu* was made of cherry wood. Her armchair of gilded wood with a green velvet slipcover edged with gold braid and matching footstool, all appraised at 60 *livres*, seems to suggest a chair of honour. Indeed, as Catherine Healy has pointed out, Jérôme wrote to Éléonore that "his letters might keep her amused while on her 'throne'".⁵⁸

Although the 1708 inventory gives few details of the décor, the 1720 inventory of the château furnishings, even though taken twelve years after her death, can suggest the type of furnishings in a lady's boudoir.⁵⁹ In the boudoir in the "appartement de Madame", the furnishings changed little from the time that Marie de Maurepas occupied it. It contained (figure 35):

⁵⁸ Archives nationales 257 AP 3 cited in Healy, "Ennobled Lives," p. 35.

⁵⁹ Comparing the furnishing in this boudoir as listed in Marie de Maurepas' inventory after death (1714), the chateau inventories taken in 1720 and 1730 suggests that paintings, chairs, upholstery, and curtains were not changed over the course of 15 years. This suggests that the boudoir's furnishings may have been the same as when Éléonore inhabited it in 1708.

Une pièce de tapisserie de damas caffar blanc, bordé d'un petit satin rouge et blanc, d'enivrons quatre aunes de Cours, sur Cinq pieds

Une petite armoire de bois de merise servant d. Bibliothèque avec deux guichets garnie de fut de l'atton (?) doublée de taffetas vert.

Dans l'enfoncement de ladite armoire un crucifix d'ambre et de plusieurs pièces de rapors

Un tabouret de bois doré garni de Crin couvert de velours cramoisy loué d'un galon d'or faux ; avec sa pousse de serge, couleur de damas

Douze sentences de plusieurs grandeurs avec leurs bordures de bois doré

Un vieux saeg de velours cramoisy gallonné d'or fin

Un cadre de bois doré dans legust (?) sous quatre sentences ôuailles

Un Christ en Estampe avec sa bordure ; un christ peint sur bois, bordure doré

Deux petits tableaux avec leurs bordures de bois doré représentant un tableau ôualle en Pastel representans une vierge garny de sa bordure de bois doré, avec une ____ (?) blanc

Un prie dieu de bois de noyer

Un carreau de damas aurore

Une petite table de bois de noyer les extremités dorés

Un petit benitier d'argens⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Boudoir, Appartement de Madame. Archives Départementales des Yvelines. 48J 256 Inventaire des meubles du Château 1720 – 1 vol, p. 20v, 21

Boudoir de Madame

une piece de tapisserie de damas
cassé blanc, bordée d'un petit sac
rouge et blanc, d'environ quatre
aunes de cours sur cinq pieds et
10 pouces de large.

une petite armoire de bois de meris
servant de Bibliothèque avec deux
guichets garnis d. fil d. Laiton
double d. taffetas vert.

Dans l'enfoncement d. l'ad. armoire
un crucifix d'ambre et de plusieurs
pieces d'orapoz.

un tabouret de bois doré garny de
Crim couru d. velours cramoisi
cloué d'un galon d'or faux, avec sa
bourse de serge, coulé de damas.

Deux sentences de plusieurs grandeurs
avec leurs bordures de bois doré.

Six petits tableaux d. plusieurs formes
et grandeurs avec leurs bordures
dorées.

un vieux sac d. velours cramoisi
galonné d'or fin.

un cadre de bois doré dans lequel
sont quatre sentences d'allees.

un chris en estampe d'ordure
avec un chris peint sur bois, bordure d'or.

21.
Deux petits tableaux avec leurs
bordures de bois doré représentant
:
un tableau d'allees en Pastel
représentant une vierge garny de
sa bordure de bois doré, avec un ver
blanc.

un prie Dieu de bois de noyer

un carreau de damas aurore

une petite table de bois de noyer
les extrémités dorées

un petit bœuf d'argent

(Fig. 35) Boudoir in "appartement de Madame", Château de Pontchartrain
Source : Archives Départementales des Yvelines. 48J 256 Inventaire des meubles du Château 1720, p. 20v, 21.

The other boudoir, which in the 1714 inventory after death of Marie de Maurepas was occupied by Jérôme's second wife, now belonging to the apartment of Monsieur Le Comte de Maurepas and contained some of the same furnishings,

including a small damask tapestry edged in crimson and white, a curtain of similar material which hid a niche with two shelves lined with green taffeta, a walnut wood veneer *prie-dieu*, a small writing table with a copper writing-desk set, and a walnut stool stuffed with horsehair covered with green velvet.⁶¹ In 1720, the furnishings included an old chair of crimson velvet braided with fake gold. There were many devotional items: a reliquary with a gilded wood frame, pictures of the Child Jesus holding a cross in hand, another representing the virgin holding the Infant Jesus, and one representing Mary Magdalene in the desert, ten small paintings and reliquaries all with gilded frames. There were a large picture with a black wood frame above the door, and two small landscapes with bronze frames.⁶²

Both boudoirs were quite small for a single occupant as the content of a

⁶¹Archives nationales XCVI 231, [24 avril 1714] Inventaire après le décès de Marie de Maupeou, p. 54v.

⁶² Boudoir in the apartment of comte de Maurepas. Archives Départementales des Yvelines. 48J 256 Inventaire des meubles du Château 1720 – 1 vol, p. 90v, 91.

- une petite tapisserie de damas de caffar blanc, bordée d'un petit satin -----
Cramoisy et blanc d'environ quatre aunes et demi de Cours, sur une aune deux
_____ de haut
- un Rideau qui cache l'enfoncement de pareil damas caffar avec sa tringle
- deux tablettes dans lad. enfoncement garnis de taffetas vert
- un prie Dieu de placage de bois de noyer,
- une petite table de bois de rapor avec des fillets noir et son tiroir a ecritoire garny
d'un ancrier et poudrier, le tout de cuivre.
- un tabouret de bois de noyer garny de Crin couvert de velours vert loué d'un gallon
d'or faux
- un reliquaire avec sa bordure de bois doré
- un petit tableau répritants (représente) l'Enfant Jesus tenant une Croix a la main
- un autre répritants une vierge tenant l'Enfant Jesus
- un autre répritants la Magdelaine au desert
- dix petits tableaux et reliquaires lesquelles comme les autre y dessus ____ leurs
bordures doré
- un vieux saeg de velours cramoisy galonné d'or faux,
- Dessus la porte un grand tableau avec sa bordure de bois noir
- Deux petits paysages bordures bronze

singular chair and stool suggests. They both contained places for reading material: Madame's boudoir had an armoire containing her library while the other boudoir had a niche with two shelves which most likely held books of devotion. The Comtesse de Maurepas' boudoir had a table for writing suggesting that writing letters would have been an activity here.

The sequence of the 1720 inventory of the chateau's furnishings suggests that a boudoir was one of a series of smaller rooms attached to the *chambre à coucher*. The "appartement de Madame " consisted of a *cabinet, boudoir, chambre, antichambre, cabinet a costé, armoire de l'antichambre, endroit ou est la chaise, garde-robe, and salle du billard ou premiere antichambre*. The other boudoir in the "Appartement de Monsieur Le Comte de Maurepas" consisted of a *premiere passage, 2e passage, petite chambre à costé, chambre, boudoir, cabinet, et petit cabinet sur la bassecour*. The boudoir was one of the small rooms which included *garde-robes* for one's toilette, *chaise percée* and a cabinet containing multiple chairs to receive guests and *escritoire* to write letters.

Not included in any inventory list is a detail described in a letter written by Jérôme. Éléonore had sent Jérôme the key to her boudoir instructing him to retrieve her summer book of prayers. In a letter dated June 4, 1708 Jérôme wrote to Éléonore that after searching every corner of the room, unfortunately, he would have to send back her precious key without the book of prayers.⁶³

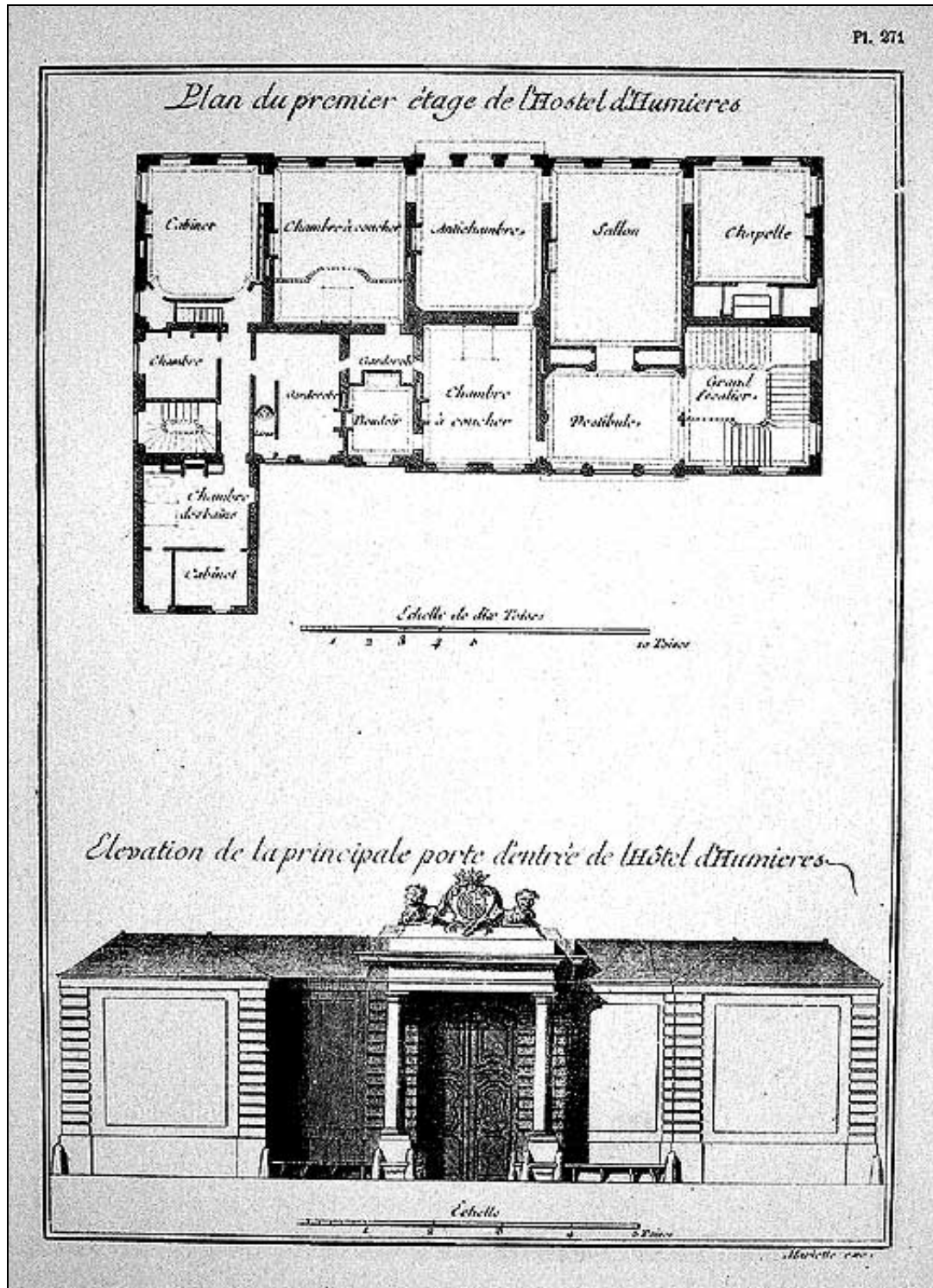
⁶³ "En ... de vous plaire ..., je suis au désespoir de vous renvoyez votre clef bredouille mais il n'y a coin ni recoin dans le boudoir qui n'ait été diligem[ment] examiné par Larue et par moi. Il n'y a n'ont plus de partie d'esté qu'il enpleur je dirai plus ni hiver ni automne ni de printemps, en un mot non plus de bréviaire que dans mon oeil. Il faut que vous l'ayez mis ailleurs. Souvenez-vous en je vous prie et me le mander afin que je vous le porte mercredi..." Archives nationales 257, AP 2. (letter penciled in with the number 202)

In this letter, it is uncertain if the key is for a piece of furniture or to the room.⁶⁴ It may have been for the jewelry case or chest with her ancestral coat of arms mentioned in her 1708 inventory after death.⁶⁵ On the other hand, it could well be for the boudoir itself.

If the key referred to the door of Éléonore's boudoir, then most likely her boudoir had to be a terminal room with one entry. While we do not have the plans drawings of the Château de Pontchartrain, it is evident that in the earliest published plan with an identified boudoir in the first floor plan of the Hôtel d'Humières in Mariette's *Architecture Française* (1727), the duchesse d'Humières' boudoir, located next to her *chambre à coucher*, has only one entrance even though it is not at the end of the building. In fact, the single entrance limited entry of her servants who would have moved freely through the *garde-robe* and the back stairs.(figure 36)

⁶⁴ Himelfarb, "Regards versaillais sur l'hôtel parisien," p.100.

⁶⁵ For Hélène Himelfarb, a locked cabinet belonging to a woman seems highly unusual since husbands such as the duc de Saint-Simon were in the habit of regularly opening their wives' letters. Wives appeared to have little privacy from their husbands. Himelfarb, "Regards versaillais sur l'hôtel parisien," p.100, n. 43.



(Fig. 36) First floor plan of the Hôtel d'Humières.

Source: Mariette, *Architecture Française*, 1727.

The boudoir may have specifically referred to a locked private room. The Marquis d'Argenson mentions that a boudoir could be secured with a lock. He writes:

Voici ce que j'ai trouvé de mieux pour travailler à mon aise, et sans crainte d'être troublé: La commodité des carrosses où l'on se couche, où l'on lit et écrit, m'a donné l'idée de me faire faire un *cabinet-sofa*, qui puisse être placé dans tous nos grands appartemens. L'utilité en est de me tenir bien à l'abri des vents coulis, de l'air qui gèle les bras et les mains, d'être en une jolie retraite bien close; enfin de pouvoir tout renfermer sous clef, sans avoir la peine de ranger mes papiers ni mes livres, s'il me survient quelque interruption.

Il est vrai que l'on trouveroit les mêmes avantages en un boudoir fermant à clef; mais outre qu'il ne seroit pas toujours disposé à ma guise, ni à mon jour, ce ne seroit pas une demeure portative comme celle-ci. En effet, je puis rouler mon cabinet dans mon jardin, sur une terrasse où l'on jouit d'une belle vue ; je le démonte et le transporte de la ville à la campagne, etc.⁶⁶

Regardless if her key was for a piece of furniture or for the boudoir itself, both the room and the contents were precious to her, needed to be secure and that she retained possession of the only key. More than a sitting or storeroom for her prayer book, her boudoir was a place for her personal religious devotion.

The *prie-dieu*, religious imagery and reliquaries in the boudoir supports the early eighteenth century writer Abbé Laurent Bordelon's characterization of it as a room for solitary devotion, “ce petit Cabinet, à costé de son lit , où il y a tant

⁶⁶ René-Louis de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson, *Mémoires et journal inédit du marquis d'Argenson*, Paris: P. Jannet, 1857-1858, vol. 5, p. 237-8

d'Images, de beaux Reliquaires ... et où elle va tous les jours deux ou trois fois faire je ne sçay quoy qu'on appelle meditation”⁶⁷ which Bordelon describes as closing one’s eyes for two or three hours before “une grosse teste de Morte” , as if “être mort subitement”⁶⁸ in preparation of one’s salvation and the hour of one’s death.⁶⁹

As a place for meditation, her boudoir may have been the place of incubation for the Jansenist and Oratorian “quasi-fatalistic concept of pre-destination”. As a “culture of death”, Jansenism was embraced by princes and nobles who were near the end of their lives and required preparation for their imminent deaths.⁷⁰ This psychology of pre-destination of one’s ultimate end may have been Éléonore’s state of mind when writing about her *boudoir-chapelle*. At this time Éléonore, suffering from ill health caused by complications after the birth of her sixth child in 1706⁷¹, was forced to retire from the court.

Before Easter 1708, the date of Jérôme’s letter about her *boudoir-chapelle*, she had already been preparing for her end for quite some time. Éléonore had tried new remedies to stop her internal bleeding such as taking the waters at Forges-les-Bains in the summer of 1707.⁷² During her stay there, she wrote to

⁶⁷ Laurent Bordelon, *Nouveautés dédiées à gens de differens états, depuis la charruë jusqu'au sceptre*. Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1724, vol.1, p.92.

⁶⁸ Ibid, vol.1, p.60.

⁶⁹ McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, p.191, 224–5.

⁷⁰ Le Roy Ladurie and Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, p. 247 and p.386 n.166. “The Oratorians and Jansenist were considered a culture of death while the Jesuits were a culture of life.”

⁷¹ Himelfarb, “Une source saint-simonienne inédite: les lettres intimes de Jérôme, comte de Pontchartrain à sa femme Eléonore-Christine de La Rochefoucauld (1697-1708),” p.26, n. 6.

⁷² Saint-Simon writes : “J'allai cet été à Forges, qui est la saison de ces eaux, pour essayer de m'y défaire d'une fièvre tierce que le quinquina ne faisait que suspendre. Je dirai pour une curiosité de

her confessor Père de La Tour seeking spiritual advice. In his return letters to her, which have been conserved at the Archives nationales de France, La Tour instructs her to maintain her tranquility by finding solitude in her soul, to take care when examining her conscience and read her devout books. La Tour's consolations suggest the need to ease her mind on her approaching demise.⁷³

Her *éloge* in the *Mercure de France* hints at her long familiarity as well as a graceful acceptance with the notion of her death:

Elle est morte comme elle avoit vécu, avec une entière soumission aux volontés de Dieu ; quoiqu'elle se fût depuis longtemps familiarisée avec la mort, elle n'a pas laissé de dire qu'elle n'avoit pas cru la devoir appréhender comme elle faisoit dans le temps qu'elle la voyoit approcher: bel exemple pour tous ceux qui vivent bien peuvent compter sur la miséricorde de Dieu, quand ils ne seroient pas parvenu à la perfection des saints. Madame de Pontchartrain ne demanda que deux choses en mourant, mais elle les recommanda fortement, savoir que son convoi se fit avec le plus simplicité qu'il seroit possible et que l'on eût soin de ses domestiques.⁷⁴

Saint-Simon writes that during Christmas 1707, Éléonore was not expected to live much longer, and that Jérôme was preparing for his life without

médecine que Mme de Pontchartrain y était aussi pour une perte continuelle de sang, puis d'eau, qui durait depuis longtemps malgré tous les remèdes. Fagon, à bout, voulut tenter un essai jusqu'alors sans exemple: ce fut de la faire baigner dans l'eau de la fontaine la plus forte et la plus vitriolée des trois qui y sont, dont on boit le moins, et qui, du cardinal de Richelieu qui en a pris, a retenu le nom de Cardinale. Jamais personne ne s'était baigné dans l'eau d'aucune, et Mme de Pontchartrain n'y trouva rien moins que du soulagement ” Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.15, p.235-236.

⁷³ Archives nationales 257 AP 3 dossier 4. *La Père de la Tour à Madame de Pontchartrain. Lettres de direction spirituelle pendant la maladie à Forges les Bains*

⁷⁴ *Mercure de France*, juin 1708, p. 373-391 cited in Dangeau, *Journal*, tome 12, p. 167 Samedi 23 juin 1708 à Fontainebleau.

her. However, Éléonore would live for another six months. Spending her final days at the Hôtel de Pontchartrain, Éléonore spent most of her time *en boudant la compagnie*⁷⁵— that is, while avoiding the company of one’s social circle, with the exception of the companionship of her first cousin, the duchesse de Saint-Simon.⁷⁶ She must have been preparing for her death as she had requested her summer breviary from her *boudoir*. Later in the same month, on June 23, 1708, Éléonore passed away at the age of twenty-seven.⁷⁷

Éléonore’s *boudoir*, “invented” around Easter 1708, was her cabinet which she also used as an oratory. But why not just simply use the generic word like *cabinet*, *retraite* or *oratoire* to describe a room belonging to a woman?⁷⁸ Why the invention of a room called a *boudoir*? I would like to suggest that the naming of the *boudoir* is significant, because the act of naming is an attempt to define boundary conditions, spatially and symbolically, between people within the aristocratic house. Words and their “appropriate use” define hierarchical social relations, and the appearance of a new architectural entity signals a new type of social relations.

⁷⁵ According to *Le Robert dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, the *boudoir* was referred to in this way because it was a room to be alone *en boudant la compagnie*.

⁷⁶ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.16, p.138. “Mme de Pontchartrain étoit à Paris l’extrémité. Ma liaison intime avec cette famille, et plus encore l’union et l’intimité plus que de soeurs qui étoit entre Mme de Saint-Simon et elle, nous arrêta à Paris. Elle ne voyoit presque plus personne, et n’avoit de consolation qu’avec Mme de Saint-Simon, qui n’en trouvoit aussi qu’auprès elle.”

⁷⁷ Ibid, t. 16, p.142.

⁷⁸ In addition to the cabinet, the general name for small rooms, there were many other types of small intimate spaces such as *la niche*, *le réduit*, *l’entresoe*, *la petite pièce*, *l’alcôve*, *la retraite*, *la méridienne*. Mignot, “Petit lexique de l’hôtel parisien,” p.101-109.

3.2 In the Name of the Boudoir

3.2.1 *Boudoir* and Familiarity: Space of Words, Architecture and Hierarchy

Subtleties of language and the appropriate style of usage are used to indicate one's relative place and social distance to the person to whom one speaks. Writing at the end of the seventeenth century, courtier and diplomat François de Callières states that the good usage of words depends on the consent and agreement of a certain number of polite persons. Examining words in terms of their proper usage, Callières likens them to the building blocks of a construction: each word has to be considered in the context of the whole speech. According to Callières, the spatial and temporal codification of the French language is architectural in the sense that proper speech, like good architecture, is determined by the appropriate timing and spatial placement of its parts.⁷⁹

The style of language also has its appropriate usage which D'Alembert in the *Encyclopédie* explains:

A l'exception des termes d'arts & de sciences dont nous venons de parler un peu plus haut, tous les autres mots entreront dans un dictionnaire de langues. Il faut y distinguer ceux qui ne sont d'usage que dans la conversation, d'avec ceux qu'on employé en écrivant; ceux que la prose & la poésie admettent également,

⁷⁹ François de Callières, *Du bon et du mauvais usage dans les manières de s'exprimer. Des façons de parler bourgeoises et en quoy elles sont différentes de celles de la Cour. Suite des mots à la mode*. Paris, C. Barin, 1693, p. 138 : "A l'égard des fautes qui se commentent contre le bon usage," reprit le Commandeur, "comme il n'a point de règles déterminées et qu'il ne dépend que du consentement d'un certain nombre de gens polis, dont les oreilles sont accoutumées à certaines façons de parler et à les préférer à d'autres, il est plus de ceux qui parlent bien. Mais pour entrer dans l'examen que vous souhaitez, les mots sont dans les discours comme les matériaux dans les bâtimens ; il faut les sçavoir bien choisir et les bien mettre en oeuvre, chacun à la place qui leur convient. Tout sert à un bon architecte, jusqu'aux roccailles et aux coquilles dont il pare des grottes." Note that French is likened to architecture and not the other way around – architecture likened to language (rhetoric).

d'avec ceux qui ne sont propres qu'à l'une ou à l'autre; les mots qui sont employés dans le langage des honnêtes gens, d'avec ceux qui ne le sont que dans le langage du peuple; les mots qu'on admet dans le style noble, d'avec ceux qui sont réservés au style familier; les mots qui commencent à vieillir, d'avec ceux qui commencent à s'introduire, &c. Un auteur de dictionnaire ne doit sans doute jamais créer de mots nouveaux, parce qu'il est l'historien, & non le réformateur de la langue; cependant il est bon qu'il observe la nécessité dont il seroit qu'on en fît plusieurs, pour désigner certaines idées qui ne peuvent être rendues qu'imparfaitement par des périphrases; peut-être même pourroit-il se permettre d'en hasarder quelques-uns, avec retenue, & en avertissant de l'innovation; il doit sur-tout réclamer les mots qu'on a laissé mal-à-propos vieillir, & dont la proscription a énervé & appauvri la langue au lieu de la polir.⁸⁰

D'Alembert continues with the example of *echanger*, *troquer*, *permuter* each of which are used in different social and environmental contexts:

ces trois mots désignent l'action de donner une chose pour une autre, pourvû que l'une des deux choses données ne soit pas de l'argent; car l'échange qui se fait avec de l'argent s'appelle vente ou achat. On échange les ratifications d'un traité, on troque des marchandises, on permute des bénéfices. Permuter est du style du palais; troquer, du style ordinaire & familier; échanger, du style noble. Permutation se dit aussi en Mathématique, des changemens d'ordre qu'on fait souffrir à différentes choses que l'on combine entr'elles.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Dictionnaire de Langues (page 4:961), *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet (Winter 2008 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>.

⁸¹ Ibid, 5:230.

The pattern of speech, the choice of word and its appropriate usage in certain contexts and environments define invisible boundaries which reinforce the divisions and distinctions between groups of people. In other words, social hierarchy was regulated by the disposition of physical and verbal space.

Here is where the advice of Jacques-François Blondel “s’attacher plus particulièrement à l’étymologie de chacun des termes de l’art”⁸² is useful in thinking about the invention of *boudoir* to signify a new spatial relationship which did not previously exist. In other words, to understand the meaning of *boudoir*, an examination of its root *bouder* would yield a starting point to the possible meanings of the invention of the word, *boudoir*.

Embedded in the word *boudoir* is the verb, *bouder*, “to sulk” which describes a psychological relationship between participants of the action. According to the 1694 *Dictionnaire de L’Académie française*, *bouder* means “Gronder, faire la mine à quelqu’un. Cet homme, cette femme ne fait que bouder. Il n’a guère d’usage que dans le discours familier”.⁸³ One’s anger or displeasure is

⁸² Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d’architecture*, Paris, 1771, t.II, p. xi.

⁸³ *Dictionnaire de L’Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694): Bouder v. n. Gronder faire la mine à quelqu’un. Cet homme, cette femme ne fait que bouder. Il n’a guère d’usage que dans le discours familier.

Dictionnaire de L’Académie française, 4th Edition (1762)

BOUDER. v.n. Il se dit proprement des enfans, lorsqu’ils ont quelque petit chagrin, & qu’ils ne le témoignent que par la mauvaise mine qu’ils font. Un enfant qui boude toujours, qui ne fait que bouder. Il se dit aussi d’Une personne, qui ayant accoutumé de vivre familièrement avec une autre, vient tout d’un coup à ne lui plus parler, à cause de quelque petit sujet de mécontentement qu’elle croit en avoir reçu. Je ne sais pas ce qu’il a contre moi; mais il boude depuis quelque temps, & ne me parle plus. Ils boudent l’un contre l’autre. Une femme qui ne fait que bouder.

BOUDER dans le style familier, s’emploie quelquefois activement. D’où vient que vous me boudez? Il me boude depuis quelque temps.

On dit familièrement, Bouder contre son ventre, pour dire, Se priver par dépit d’une chose utile ou agréable. ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/> Accessed June 25, 2008.

demonstrated through one or a combination of a facial expression and the withdrawal of customary interaction, the silent treatment.

The word *bouder* is appropriately used in *familiar* discourse or in speaking with someone with whom one is on familiar terms. The same *Dictionnaire* defines a *familiar* relationship as “living and conversing freely with [someone], without affectation and without ceremony.”⁸⁴ Familiarity with someone then would suggest a close spatial proximity between each other.

What then is the relationship between *familiar* interaction and *bouder*? Madame de Sévigné provides an example of the context of *bouder* in the late seventeenth century. She writes:

[2 octobre 1680] Vous savez bien que Mme De Ludres, lasse de bouder sans qu'on y prît garde, a enfin obtenu de son orgueil, si bien réglé, de prendre du roi deux mille écus de pension, et vingt-cinq mille francs pour payer ses pauvres créanciers qui, n'ayant point été outragés, souhaitent fort d'être payés grossièrement sans rancune. On dit qu'elle est toujours belle.⁸⁵

Familiarity is not merely physical proximity but would include a shared social and psychological spatial proximity. For instance, servants who live close to their masters are not necessarily familiar with them. Rather familiar relations

⁸⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française (1694, 1740, 1762)* : Familier, [famili]ere. adj. Qui a habitude particuliere avec quelqu'un. Qui vit & converse avec luy librement & sans façon, sans ceremonie. *Estre familier avec quelqu'un. ils vivent dans un commerce tres-familier. se rendre familier avec tout le monde. prendre un air familier. c'est un de ses plus familiers amis. ils sont fort familiers ensemble.*

On appelle *Discours familier, style familier*, Un discours, un style naturel & aisé, tel que celui dont on se sert ordinairement dans la conversation entre honnêtes gens, & dans les lettres qu'on écrit à ses amis. Et on dit, qu'*Un terme est familier*, pour dire, qu'Il n'est pas assez respectueux, eu égard aux personnes à qui, ou devant qui l'on parle. *Les termes d'affection & d'amitié sont des termes trop familiers à l'égard des personnes qui sont beaucoup au-dessus de nous.*

⁸⁵ Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise de Sévigné, *Lettres de Madame de Sévigné, de sa famille et de ses amis; recueillies et annotés par M. Monmerque*. Paris: L. Hachette, 1862, t.7, p.96.

occur between those who belong in the same social group. Madame De Ludres, as a former royal favorite⁸⁶, can be considered as having once interacted familiarly with the king.

As Madame de Sévigné writes, Madame De Ludres' *bouder* expresses her feelings before others in such a way as to persistently demonstrate her displeasure and anger at not receiving the pension she felt was due to her. Her sulking is at once a passive expression of her feelings and an aggressive demonstration of the king's lack of generosity. At the same time, her sulking as a plea to the king to act generously is an indication to the court that while she is socially inferior to and dependent on him, she continues to be a lady and a member of his court and household, and behaves accordingly. Like an appeal by a child to her parent, Madame De Ludres' sulking demand for a pension is part of a negotiation which depends on commonly accepted rules, a hierarchical relationship and a mutual acknowledgment of the benefits of co-dependency. Madame De Ludres' demonstration of her inferior position implies her acknowledgment of the king's power to grant her wishes—it is part of an exchange.

As the 1694 *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française* explains, *bouder* also belongs to an aesthetic style of usage, the *style familier*, which was “un style naturel & aisé tel que celui dont on se sert ordinairement dans la conversation entre honnestes gens, & dans les lettres qu'on écrit à ses amis.”⁸⁷ This stylisation

⁸⁶ Around 1677, the nineteen year old Madame De Ludres who was the maid of honor in the Duchesse d'Orleans' household and former mistress of Vivonne became a lady of Louis XIV's bed. She retired to a convent in 1677. Levi, *Louis XIV*, p. 75, 216, 349.

⁸⁷ The first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* was intended to be a dictionary for *l'honnête homme*, “for refined usage, suitable for polite conversation and elegant literary composition” and not a general dictionary of the French language. Peter Rickard, *The French*

of familiar speech created a boundary, a special language shared only by one's circle of associates. As amply discussed by Norbert Elias, codified demeanor, and modes of speech, was a defensive stance which limited entry into the higher ranks according to the ability to master and replicate the aristocratic style in the appropriate context. Judged according by the privileged group, one must meet certain contextual requirements to be admitted into their ranks.

The person of superior rank must invite the one lower to be familiar. Otherwise the lower rank person is judged to be *too familiar* that “qu'il n'est pas assez respectueux en esgard aux personnes à qui, ou devant qui on parle. *Les termes d'affection & d'amitié sont des termes familiers à l'égard des personnes qui sont au dessus de nous.*”⁸⁸ Since familiarity is the prerogative of higher ranked person who determines the distance and boundary in which the other person can inhabit, the appropriate use of *bouder* depends on the relative social position of the sulker to the sulkee. To summarize, *bouder* can be understood as describing a psychological and social spatial ordering between persons.

Embedded in the word *boudoir* is the hierarchical ordering of interdependent familiar persons, an act of negotiation and exchange on the part to the sulker who feels upset that one's entitlement according to an unspoken agreement has not been received. Since the boudoir delineates the boundary condition between the sulker and the sulkee, the meaning of the word depends on the relative rank of the two. If the meaning of the *boudoir* is the exclusion of

Language in the Seventeenth Century: Contemporary Opinion in France. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1992, p.30-31, 41:

⁸⁸ *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française* (1694, 1740, 1762).

those to whom sulking would be addressed to, namely those most familiar yet hierarchically below, then the interpretation of the boudoir should examine the relative hierarchical status of the person inside the boudoir as well as the person denied entry into the room. For instance, since one's rank was determined at birth, Éléonore maintained her "high" social rank even though she married a lower ranking husband.⁸⁹ In accordance to her superior rank to the Pontchartrains (including her husband), Éléonore would dictate the proximity of lower ranked familiar relationships to her personal space.⁹⁰ For Éléonore, the word *boudoir* to describe her private cabinet would be an indication of her superior position relative to those who would sulk to her, the lower ranked familiar person, such as Jérôme. In short, Éléonore's boudoir is not the place where she sulks; rather the boudoir is the place where the sulking is addressed to.

⁸⁹ The high status of Éléonore compared to the ministerial family of the Phélypeaux whose roots were bourgeois was insistently commented upon by the Duc de Saint-Simon.

⁹⁰ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has discussed the intricate, acceptable intimacy afforded to those in the court in the last years of Louis XIV's reign. Elizabeth d'Orléans, the second daughter of Gaston d'Orléans and Marguerite de Lorraine, lorded over her husband Louis-Joseph de Lorraine, the duc de Guise. Elizabeth d'Orléans as a grand-daughter of France bestowed the privilege of familiarity to her lower ranked husband. At the dinner table, her husband would unfold her napkin and place it on her lap after which she invited him to sit down at her table. Elizabeth d'Orléans would never sulk to her lower ranked husband, rather the duc de Guise would be the one to sulk to his wife. Le Roy Ladurie and Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, p. 203.

3.2.2 Private Space and Word

In 1706 Éléonore retired from the court and spent most of her days in Paris or at the Château de Pontchartrain while Jérôme remained at court. The date of the letter (Easter 1708) in which Jérôme asked his wife to explain the new concept *chapelle-boudoir* or *boudoir-chapelle*, suggests that the word originated outside the court. Indeed, *boudoir* as the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1740) outlines was a *familiar term* and thus not proper French.⁹¹

“Proper” French has an authoritative designation. The institutionalization of language reinforces the power to invent the correct order and usage of a language.⁹² As French scholar Peter Rickard explains, proper French was the kind spoken at the royal court and not at the *Palais de Justice* and the *Parlement*.⁹³ While “proper” French was dictated by its form in the court, groups of people sharing a common interest would create special terms and words for their own enjoyment. For instance, the late seventeenth-century diplomat and courtier François de Callières complains,

Il y a parmi les diverse professions des hommes...un défaut assez ordinaire dans les manières de s’exprimer, qui est de se servir mal à propos de façons de parler affectée à leur métier, sur tout dans leurs comparaisons & dans leurs railleries; il a plusieurs gens de Robe qui vous parleront sans qu’il en soit question de *Compulsoire*, de *Declinatoire*, d’*Interlocutoire* & d’autre termes de judicature qui paroissent barbares à ceux qui n’en sont pas, &

⁹¹ The boudoir’s first entry in the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* is in the 1740 edition.

⁹² Underlying Ed Lilley’s supposition that men invented the word “boudoir” is the sign of their power to invent and propagate as legitimate/good French coinciding with their political dominance. Lilley, “The Name of the Boudoir,” p. 193-98.

⁹³ Rickard, *The French Language in the Seventeenth Century*, p.52.

qui ne sont mauvais que parce qu'ils sont hors de leur place: Ils ne se contentent pas de s'enservir mal à propos, ils donnent encore souvent les mêmes terminaisons à des mots ordinaires qui ne les ont pas naturellement destinez à la chicane; & c'est ce qui a fait dire à un homme d'esprit, qu'il falloir avoir plusieurs années de Palais, pour entendre les bons mots de quelques gens de Robe.

Ils ne sont pas les seuls, dit le Duc, qui tombent dans ce défaut, je vais vous en citer un exemple que j'ay appris de feu Mr. Le Mareschal de Il étoit allé visiter un Surintendant des Finances à l'heure de son dîner, ce dernier ne le reconduisit qu'jusques sur le haut de son escalier, & il luy dit, Vous m'excuserez bien, Monsieur, si je ne descends pas pour vous conduire jusqu' à vôtre carrosse, car vous sçavez qu'il est heure *dînatoire*; le Mareschal, qui étoit naturellement railleur, se conformant à son langage luy répondit; il est vray, Monsieur, & de plus la ruë est fort *crotatoire*.⁹⁴

For Callières, the wit of the story rests on the supposition that the use of legalese by the robe persons is inappropriate and reflects their mindset as government officials who administrated the state judiciary and finances and made rulings on the distribution of conduct and property. These men were ideally learned men who would be versed in Latin.⁹⁵ The addition of the Latin suffix “oire” to the verb *diner* by a superintendent of finances to fashion the word *dînatoire* has the associate meaning of administrative and “legal” conduct related to dining. Thus while “the present hour is dinatory” and may be taken simply as “I must have my

⁹⁴ François de Callières, *Des mots à la mode, et des nouvelles façons de parler*. Paris: Cl. Barbin, 1693, p.100-103.

⁹⁵ Courts were the governmental group responsible for “some portion of conduct, the personal property, the taxes, the disputes or the physical services of the French population.” Ford, *Robe and Sword*, p. 35. Mousnier. *The Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy*, vol.1, p.7.

dinner currently”, the phase in context of the Superintendant’s unwillingness to escort the Maréchal to his carriage seems to suggest “the hour in which it is ‘legally’ necessary for me to dine and thus I cannot escort the Maréchal to his carriage as his rank normally requires of me”. To which the witty Maréchal replies, “il est vrai, Monsieur, & de plus la rue est fort *crotatoire* (‘legally’ and administratively necessarily full of manure)”, commenting on the Superintendant’s rudeness for not bringing his guest to his carriage because he thinks that the Superintendant does not want to soil his shoes.

Perhaps the boudoir has a taint of legalistic language related to conduct, possession and property. The boudoir as a legalese style of *bouder* evokes the boudoir owner's quasi-legal power over her habitation and her possessions. Indeed, Jérôme respected the boundaries of her higher social station. As Hélène Himelfarb reported, this respect extended to the difference in households. In a letter to Éléonore, Jérôme apologizes for having to ask her servants to light a fire and candles in his apartment because he cannot send his own servants from Versailles to Paris.⁹⁶ Respect for her property was also shown by Jérôme who promptly returned her precious key. Her possession of a space of her own may well be an indication of the respect that the Pontchartrains, who were members of the bourgeoisie (robe noble), had for Éléonore, a member of the sword nobility which claimed to trace its ancestry to the knights of the feudal era. Her “boudoir” may indicate her station and to keep out those of lesser rank.

⁹⁶ Himelfarb, “Regards versaillais sur l'hôtel parisien,” p. 95.

Boudoir perhaps was a way of expressing the exclusion of the company of a husband, who was described by Saint-Simon as a “one-eyed monster”:

Pontchartrain, secrétaire d'État de la marine, en était le fléau, comme de tous ceux qui étaient sous sa cruelle dépendance... tyran cruel jusque de sa femme qui, avec beaucoup d'esprit, était l'agrément, la douceur, la complaisance, la vertu même et l'idole de la cour; barbare jusqu'avec sa mère; un monstre, en un mot... le malheur de cette pauvre femme entre les mains d'un cyclope furieux de sa chute, qui n'aurait plus rien à faire dans son délaissement que de la tourmenter.⁹⁷

Jérôme's behavior was not pleasing and he was, according to the comtesse de Caylus, “si savant dans l'art d'ennuyer”.⁹⁸ His language was no better and tended to be flippant as historians Francis Hammang, Charles Frostin and Hélène Himelfarb have described. He was a constant irritant to his parents and even to Éléonore.⁹⁹

Furthermore, Jérôme was physically unattractive. For Saint-Simon, his body matched his character : “sa figure, hideuse et dégoûtante à l'excès, mais agréable et même charmante en comparaison de tout le reste, n'empêcha pas la séduction de l'éblouissement de sa place ”.¹⁰⁰ The contemporary chronicler le père Léonard de Sainte-Catherine described the young Jérôme at his debut : “Il a

⁹⁷ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.12, p.323-4.

⁹⁸ Marthe-Marguerite, comtesse de Caylus, *Souvenirs et correspondance de Madame de Caylus. Edition complète publiée avec une annotation historique, biographique et littéraire et un index analytique par Émile Raunié*. Paris, Charpentier, 1889, p. 226.

⁹⁹ Francis Hammang, *The Marquis de Vaudreuil: New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century, Part I*. Bruges: Université de Louvain, 1938, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t. 24, p. 49-50.

peine à parler, et quand il parle, sa langue sort de sa bouche. Il paraît avoir de bons sentiments, parle peu et sait peu de choses.”¹⁰¹

Together with this understanding that *boudoir* refers to a physical and verbal ordering, how might the specificity of Éléonore’s *chapelle-boudoir* be a starting point to infer other possible meanings of the boudoir?

¹⁰¹ Archives nationales MM 827, folio 18, cited in Luc Boissard, *Les Phélypeaux: Une famille de ministres sous l’Ancien Régime*. Paris: Sedopols, 1986, p.59-63 and Frostin, *Les Pontchartrain, ministre de Louis XIV*, p. 302. Historian Francis Hammang paints a composite picture of him, “smallpox had almost cost him his life when he was young and left him very ugly, and with one eye. His tongue protruded from his mouth when he spoke and caused a difficulty of speech, a failing he tried to hide by a forced laugh which gave the impression that he was not very intelligent.” Hammang, *The Marquis de Vaudreuil*, p. 18.

3.2.3 Meaning of Boudoir as ‘Improper’

The meaning of Éléonore’s boudoir as outlined above is specific to her social situation. As previously outlined, Éléonore’s marriage to a lower-ranked husband was unusual. While their marriage was an indication of the disappearing distinctions between the robe and the sword nobility, marriages in the beginning of the eighteenth century were still most commonly between families of similar social station, followed by the marriages between lower ranked brides (usually an heiress) to noble grooms.¹⁰²

Another special characteristic was Éléonore’s religion. While Éléonore was by all accounts sincerely pious, many in the court merely followed the fashion of religious piety which was led by the devout¹⁰³ example of Louis XIV and Madame de Maintenon. This false piety was echoed by contemporary observers¹⁰⁴ such as the Abbé de Bellegarde (Jesuit, then became member of de Sales’s order) who writes in his *Réflexions sur la politesse des mœurs* that religious devotion has become only a show of piety:

¹⁰² The distinctions between sword and robe disappeared by the middle of the eighteenth-century. La Roy Ladurie and Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, p. 182.

¹⁰³ The duc and duchesse de Bourgogne were also ‘devout’ as the Duchess of Orléans describes to the duchesse de Hanovre (Versailles, le 19 octobre 1710), “le duc de Bourgogne est dévot. Il l’est au point qu’il ne peut regarder une autre femme que la sienne.” *Lettres de Madame de Duchesse d’Orléans, née Princesse Palatine*, p.422.

¹⁰⁴ *Letters from Liselotte: Elisabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine and Duchess of Orléans, “Madame” 1652-1722*, ed. and trans. Maria Kroll. London: Victory Gollancz Ltd, 1970, p.69 (Versailles 13 fév 1695). “Noel Sur les dames de la cour, 1696” illustrates the negative attitude towards the ‘false devotee’ printed in Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, *Recueil Dit De Maurepas, Pièces Libres, Chansons, Epigrammes, Et Autres Vers Satiriques Sur Divers Personnages Des Siècles De Louis XIV Et Louis XV. Accompagnés de remarques curieuses du temps ; publiés pour la première fois, d’après les manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale à Paris, avec des notices, des tables, etc.* Paris: Leyde, 1865, vol. 2, p. 239-350.

Un homme qui veut jouer le personnage de D vot; prend toutes ses mesures pour persuader le monde qu'il est dans la d votion, en affectant ce qui peut le distinguer, les man res, le langage, & tout ce qui a l'air de r forme; quoi que dans le fond il manque   l'essentiel, & qu'il ait les passions aussi vives & aussi violentes que les autres. Il ne fait semblant d'aimer la vertu, que pour s'en faire un m rite dans le monde, ou pour venir   ses fins. Il ne trouveroit nul go t   pratiquer de bonnes  uvres, s'il ne savoit l'art de les faire valoir. Dans un coin de son logis on voit un Oratoire avec un magasin de Reliques mand es de tous c tez; mais dans le reste des appartemens on trouve toutes les marques d'une vanit  pa enne, des ameublemens superbes, des peintures qui ne sont gu res propres   inspirer la d votion. La conduite de ces gens-l  est une menterie perp tuelle, & il n'y a point de sinc rit  dans leur fait ; mais ce man ge leur est assez inutile ; ils ont beau se d guiser ; ils laissent  chapper de tems en tems de certains traits qui les font reconno tre ; une injustice finement palli e, mais que l'on d couvre   fin, une affaire o  tort essentiel qu'ils ont fait   leur prochaine, tout cela fait d couvrir le fond de leur c ur, & de leur mauvaise foi.¹⁰⁵

According to the Abb , religious devotion has become the facades of conduct with the marks of devotion, an oratory with a magazine of relics living side by side with the marks of heathen Vanity. For a man of the Catholic faith, religious devotion can only be sanctioned by the Church, and private devotion was deemed insincere, and even false.

¹⁰⁵ Jean Baptiste Morvan Bellegarde, *Reflexions sur la politesse des moeurs, avec des maximes pour la societ  civile. Suite des Reflexions sur le ridicule*. Paris: H. Desbordes, 1699, p.231-32. Jean Baptiste Morvan Bellegarde, *Reflexions Upon The Politeness Of Manner; With Maxims For Civil Society. Being The Second Part Of The Reflexions Upon Ridicule*. London: Benj. Tooke, D. Midwinter, and Maurice Atkins, 1710, p 226-7. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed January 16, 2008.

Another writer mentioned earlier, the Abbé Laurent Bordelon was particularly suspicious of women who spent all their time in their boudoirs “supposedly” meditating before images of death.¹⁰⁶ This comment directed at both the boudoir and religious devotion was perhaps related more broadly to the increasingly personal relationship of women to religious practice during the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth century. Women in this period began to participate in religious doctrinal debates and to incorporate private meditation into their daily activities. As Linda Timmermans points out, Bordelon was one of many late seventeenth and early eighteenth century writers who objected to the appropriation of religion as a social pastime by women. At issue was the notion that a woman might proclaim her devout piety without taking holy orders and confining her practice to the cloistered life of the convent. Women could be both devout and continue to live their usual high society lifestyle.¹⁰⁷

For the Abbé Bordelon, these fashionably pious women were false devotees¹⁰⁸. However, Bordelon’s distrust regarding the time devout women spent alone or with invited female friends and family members in their boudoir hints at something more than disdain for their private devotions or for the hypocrisy of devout *mondaine* women. To Bordelon, boudoir is an apt name to describe the

¹⁰⁶ Bordelon, *Nouveautés dédiées à gens de differens états*, vol.1 p.59-61.

¹⁰⁷ Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes à la culture*, p. 459-60.

¹⁰⁸ Seventeen-century wits would use the word “dévot” and “devotion” in a pejorative sense meaning “fausse dévot/dévotion”. Lucy Tinsley, *The French Expression for Spirituality and Devotion*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1953, p. 187.

effect of this room on devout ladies—a disagreeable countenance directed to men.

He decries,

Cette petite causeuse m'en dit bien d'autres que je laisse pour venir au boudoir. J'ai appris depuis ce tems-là qu'en effet, presque toutes les femmes ne sortent point de leurs boudoirs, qu'avec une mine fort boudeuse, & que très-souvent; c'est tout ce qu'elles tirent de leurs pieuses reflexions. Ces bonnes Dames se persuadent apparemment qu'on n'est agréable à Dieu, qu'autant qu'on se montre insupportable aux hommes. Point de veritable pieté, selon elles, sans mine renfroignée: Qu'arrive-t-il de cela? cecy. Bien des gens trouvant la Devotion de ces femmes, déraisonnable, concluent qu'il est ridicule en general d'estre devot ; & croiroient, par consequent, se deshonoré, s'il le devenoient.¹⁰⁹

The Abbé Bordelon was not the only commentator on the effect of the boudoir on its inhabitant. This dark face of the *boudeuse* appears in another poem by another abbé dated from the last years of Louis XIV's reign.¹¹⁰ Abbé Jean-Antoine Du Cerceau writes to his Old Gray Callote, "Adieu de l'Auteur a Sa Vieille Calote Grise: Epitre"

Tantôt sombre, rêveuse, et comme en ton boudoir,
Tu renfonçois ton gris, et me montrois tout noir¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ Bordelon, *Nouveautés dédiées à gens de differens états*, vol.1, page 93-94.

¹¹⁰ Du Cerceau is writing his "farewell" to the *Régiment de la calotte*, a satirical society which exercised an aristocratic *police du ridicule* in the court and Parisian high society. The two central motifs of the *Régiment* were the calotte and the brevet. In line 5, Du Cerceau makes reference to the 13 years since the founding of the *Régiment* (1702) and which then dates his composition at around 1715. Antoine de Baecque, "Les Éclats du rire: le régiment de la calotte, ou les stratégies aristocratiques de la gaieté française (1702-1752)," *Annales HSS*, no. 3 (mai-juin 1997), p. 477-511. Dorothy S. Packer, "La Calotte and the 18th-Century French Vaudeville," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Spring 1970), p. 61-83.

¹¹¹ Jean-Antoine Du Cerceau, "Adieu de l'Auteur a Sa Vieille Calote Grise: Epitre," *Œuvres de Du Cerceau contentant son theatre et ses poesies, Nouvelle édition avec des notes*. Paris: P. Beuf, 1828, p. 247- 255.

When she is in her boudoir, she reinforces her gray mood and repulses him with her black face. The boudoir made for a *mine renfroignée* turned away men to whom devout women should be amiably disposed. Instead of being charming and lovable to men, devout women spent long hours in their boudoir meditating or reading books of prayer such as the *Introduction to the Devout Life* which advocated a different kind of love:

faites mille sortes de divers mouvements de votre coeur pour vous donner de l'amour de Dieu, et vous exciter à une passionnée et tendre direction de ce divin Époux. On fait ainsi les oraisons jaculatoires...notre esprit s'adonnant à la hantise, privauté et familiarité de son Dieu, se parfumera tout de ses perfections.¹¹²

For Bordelon and Du Cerceau, who are these men they are referring to?

These two writers may have been discussing court men who suffered from the alleged rampant piety and homosexuality¹¹³ of the courtiers. As the duchesse d'Orléans complained that "it is no longer seemly for men and women [of the court] to be seen speaking together"¹¹⁴ due to these trends. The lack of social relations occurring between gentlemen and ladies of the court could well be the motivation for the invention of the boudoir where the mistress of the house can retire to be alone *en boudant la compagnie* according to the *Le Robert Dictionnaire Historique de la langue française*.¹¹⁵ In addition to meaning

¹¹² De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 86-7.

¹¹³ On homosexuality during the Regency see Jeffrey Merrick, "Sodomitical Scandals and Subcultures in the 1720's", *Men and Masculinities* 1999, p.365.

¹¹⁴ *Letters from Liselotte: Elisabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine and Duchess of Orléans, "Madame" 1652-1722*, p. 69 (Versailles 13 fév. 1695).

¹¹⁵ *Le Robert Dictionnaire Historique de la langue française*, Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1992, vol.1, p. 254. (v.1730), qualifié de « familier » par l'Académie dans ses éditions de 1740 et 1798, est proprement le nom d'une petite pièce élégante où la maîtresse de maison peut se retirer

avoiding one's social relations, this could mean, according to the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française* which states that *compagnie* also means *compagnie charnelle*¹¹⁶, avoiding sexual relations.

Would these two men of the cloth, however worldly, publicly complain about the lack of flirtation or love affairs caused by court ladies' pious devotion? Perhaps they intended to be more precise about to whom the dark face was addressed, and that their complaint was about the lack of legitimate intercourse caused by one's pious devotion. The misguided tendency of religious devotion to inhibit the payment of marital debt was suggested by François de Sales in his advice on the honorableness of the marriage bed:

Manger, non point pour conserver la vie, mais pour conserver la mutuelle conversation et condescendance que nous nous devons les uns aux autres, c'est chose grandement juste et honnête: et de même, la réciproque et légitime satisfaction des parties au saint mariage est appelée par saint Paul *devoir*, mais devoir si grand, qu'il ne veut pas que l'une des parties s'en puisse exempter sans le libre et volontaire consentement de l'autre, non pas même pour les exercices de la dévotion, qui m'a fait dire le mot que j'ai mis au chapitre de la sainte Communion pour ce regard ; combien moins donc peut-on s'en exempter pour des capricieuses prétentions de vertu ou pour les colères et dédains !¹¹⁷

pour être seule en boudant la compagnie, ou s'entretenir avec des intimes. Le boudoir est devenu au XVIIIe s. un lieu érotique (cf. *La Philosophie dans le boudoir*, de Sade).

¹¹⁶ *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694): On dit, Avoir la compagnie d'une femme, pour dire, En avoir la jouissance. On dit aussi quelquefois, Compagnie charnelle, Pour exprimer la mesme chose. Also Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872-1877) Union charnelle de l'homme et de la femme. Vieilli en ce sens. LA FONT., Herm.: Tu feras Que de ta fille il ait la compagnie. ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu> Accessed December 30, 2008.

¹¹⁷ De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 236-7. *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 209.

Not even the taking of Communion should prevent husbands and wives from their conjugal duties and the only “legitimate impediment to this holy participation” is a malady that “provokes frequent vomiting.”¹¹⁸

Bordelon’s comment on the sulking faces of ladies in their boudoirs may very well have been alluding to a woman’s abstention from conjugal duties using her pious devotions as an excuse. The duty of a good Catholic woman is either to marry the Church or marry in order to propagate the Christian community. By using religion as a means to abstain from her duty, the oratory ceases to adhere to the Christian doctrine and thus for Bordelon is plainly false devotion.

Abstinence from marital dues as the main method of birth control for families who wanted to limit the number of heirs in order to avoid diluting the family fortune was a social trend among the elites. In addition to financial considerations, the other reason for abstinence was to escape the possibility of dying from childbirth¹¹⁹ or the painful consequences to her health as a result of

¹¹⁸ De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 108. “Il faut que je dise ce mot pour les gens mariés : Dieu trouvait mauvais en l’ancienne Loi que les créanciers fissent exaction de ce qu’on leur devait es jours des fêtes, mais il ne trouva jamais mauvais que les débiteurs payassent et rendissent leurs devoirs à ceux qui les exigeaient. C’est chose indécente, bien que non pas grand péché, de solliciter le paiement du devoir nuptial le jour que l’on s’est communiqué, mais ce n’est pas une chose malséante, mais plutôt méritoire de le payer. C’est pourquoi, pour la reddition de ce devoir-là, aucun ne doit être privé de la Communion, si d’ailleurs sa dévotion le provoque à la désirer. Certes, en la primitive Église, les chrétiens communiaient tous les jours, quoiqu’ils fussent mariés et bénis de la génération des enfants; c’est pourquoi j’ai dit que la fréquente Communion ne donnait nulle sorte d’incommodité ni aux pères, ni aux femmes, ni aux maris, pourvu que l’âme qui communie soit prudente et discrète. Quant aux maladies corporelles, il n’y en a point qui soit empêchement légitime à cette sainte participation, si ce n’est celle qui provoquerait fréquemment au vomissement.”

¹¹⁹ Her death was not unusual as the chance of dying from childbirth was quite high. Approximately 10 percent of mothers died from childbirth. Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, p. 217.

coitus.¹²⁰ Mme de Sévigné, for example, voiced these same fears when advising her daughter:

[23 décembre 1671] Je vous prie, ma bonne, ne vous fiez point aux deux lits; c'est un sujet de tentation: faites coucher quelqu'un dans votre chambre. Sérieusement, ayez pitié de votre santé, de votre vie, et de la mienne.¹²¹

In the next paragraph she even admonished her son-in-law to leave his wife alone:

Et vous, Monsieur le Comte, je verrai bien si vous me voulez en Provence: ne faites point de méchantes plaisanteries là-dessus. Ma fille n'est point éveillée, je vous réponds d'elle ; et pour vous, ne cherchez point noise. Songez aux affaires de votre province, ou bien je serai persuadée que je ne suis point *votre bonne*, et que vous voulez avoir la fin de la mère et de la fille.¹²²

In another letter, Mme de Sévigné warns of the inevitability of pregnancy even after giving birth:

[8 janvier 1672] Je veux aussi vous avertir d'une chose que je soutiendrai au milieu de votre mari de vous. C'est que si, après être purgée, vous avez seulement la pensée (c'est bien peu) de coucher avec M. de Grignan, comptez que vous êtes grosse, et si quelqu'une de vos matrones dit le contraire, elle sera corrompue par votre mari. Après cet avis, je n'ai plus rien à dire.¹²³

While Mme de Sévigné's daughter may have enjoyed having intimate relations with her husband, for other women, especially young ladies taken from their convents to be married to much older men whom they had never met, the

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 211-225. McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, vol.2, p. 303.

¹²¹ Sévigné, *Lettres*, vol. 2, p. 442.

¹²² Ibid, vol. 2, p. 442.

¹²³ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 462.

marriage bed must have been a sore duty which they wanted to end as soon as they had given birth to sufficient heirs.¹²⁴ Marie Mancini, the constabless

Colonna, for instance, writes that after

I gave him [her husband] a third successor¹²⁵, but since this gift cost me much dearer than the first two, and even threatened my life, I took the view that I should give him no more of these gifts which might expose me to such perils. However, it was not enough for me to have made this resolution, if he did not confirm it with his consent. It was toward that goal that I worked, and I was quite successful, as he has since kept his word to me very scrupulously in all the time that we have been together. After this agreement, I thought of nothing but recovering my health, in order to be in condition to go to Venice for a second carnival. So we set out as soon as my strength permitted it, and as we had left the newborn with the Marquise Spinola and the second had stayed in Rome, we brought only the eldest with us. We spent the carnival season quite happily, apart from my episode of jealousy, for the constable did not fail to recover elsewhere what he had lost through our agreement, and I confess I was angry that he should keep his word to me at that price.¹²⁶

Her husband, who apparently consented to terminate their sexual relations, was

¹²⁴ The fairy tale “Histoire de la Belle et la Bête” (1740-41) by Madame de Villeneuve has been interpreted as the author’s attempt to quell the fears of young women destined to be married to men whom they had never met. In the story, the Beast’s question to Beauty “voulez-vous coucher avec moi” is initially met with repulsion by Beauty. When she eventually accedes to having sex with the Beast in exchange for her family’s well-being, he literally goes to sleep instead of raping her. Of course, her intended self-sacrifice is rewarded when the Beast magically turns into a charming prince. Suellen Diaconoff, *Through the Reading Glass: Women, Books, and Sex in the French Enlightenment*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005, esp. chapter 6: “Books, Sex, and Reading in the Fairy Tale: Gabrielle-Suzanne Barbot de Villeneuve, 1685-1755, Jeanne Leprince de Beaumont, 1711-1780”.

¹²⁵ Carlo Colonna was born on November 4, 1665.

¹²⁶ Marie Mancini, *Memoirs*, p.113.

not a singular instance. The “pains and ailments” suffered by wives were heeded by early eighteenth century aristocratic men and even by some members of the clergy. Flandrin points out, as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century some confessors such as Pierre Milhard advocated that

God has never compelled anyone, when it has been a question of danger to life, or considerable damage to health, and even God Himself has not obliged people to obey in such cases as this, in any of his purely positive laws... This is, therefore, far removed from the fantasy or frenzy of those sensual men who desire that without exception or demur their wives should be obliged to acquiesce in and submit to their passions. No, this is an error, an act of impiety and a tyrannical abuse that destroys such a society and sacrament of love or reciprocal charity; such love should not be founded on the flesh and its concupiscence, but should be a holy love, which considers the good of the soul and of the body. This opinion is not mine, but that of the Apostle, when he says ‘You husbands, love your wives’ – and how, or in what manner? – ‘As Christ has loved His Church’, replies the Apostle. This, then, is the rule and standard of martial love: it commands and teaches one never to expose the life of one’s partner to death or to serious damage to health; a thing to which neither divine nor human laws oblige one, whatever temptations or frailties may be encountered.¹²⁷

Aristocratic men themselves advocated practicing self-restraint.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Pierre Milhars, “Droit de mariage,” *Inventaire des cas de conscience*, Paris, 1611, cited in Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, p. 218.

¹²⁸ While male restraints could be practiced by various methods such as condoms, and contraceptive potions (*restringents*), according to Jean-Louis Flandrin, there were generally two options of birth control, abstinence or *coitus interruptus*. The first option was the most prevalent for married couples while *coitus interruptus* would be more likely with a lover, since a woman could demand the conditions of sex more easily than with a husband. Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, p. 211-225. Philippe Ariès, “Deux contributions à l’histoire des pratiques contraceptive, Il Chaucer et Mme. De Sévigné,” *Population* 9 (1954), p. 697-98. Etienne Van de Walle,

According to the duc de Saint-Simon whose wife was Éléonore's first cousin and confidant and therefore was privy to intimate details about the Pontchartrains, Éléonore's death was the fault of a too brutish husband who, keeping her constantly pregnant, failed to respect his wife's health by limiting the number of children she was made to bear.¹²⁹

Il est trop beau, trop singulier, trop instructif pour le laisser ignorer. Il y avait longtemps qu'une si grande perte était prévue. C'était une maladie de femme venue de trop de couches et trop près à près, de trop peu de ménage d'abord, qui rendit tous les divers remèdes inutiles. Pontchartrain, qui avait là-dessus bien des reproches à se faire, en pouvait combler la mesure par la contrainte continuelle dans tout, et par son étrange humeur qu'il lui avait fait essuyer sans cesse. La patience et la douceur dont elle ne s'était jamais lassée, jusqu'à être outrée lorsqu'on pouvait s'apercevoir qu'elle en avait besoin, avait infiniment pris sur elle, et fort aigri son sang, qu'on ne put enfin calmer ni arrêter.¹³⁰

Even Jérôme expressed to his wife the negative consequence of her many pregnancies on her health.¹³¹

"Motivations and Technology in the Decline of French Fertility," *Family and Sexuality in French History*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980, p.142-3.

¹²⁹ It was rare for duchesses to have more than two children. Saint-Simon and his wife had only one daughter and two sons. La Roy Ladurie and Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, p.113. Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.16, p.138ff. Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, p. 225.

¹³⁰ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.16, p.138-139.

¹³¹ AP257/3 dossier 2. Dimanche 3 juillet [1707] : Vous estes bien aise aujourd'hui ma chere femme vous estes dans un convent pour tranquille et avec votre chere ne vous imaginez vous pas estre encore Mademoiselle de Chefboutonne quoyque je ne trouve pas trop mon compte a cette imagination je vouldoit qu'elle fite cependant assés vive pour vous rendre aussi guaye aussi grasse aussi fleurie et aussi vermeille que vous l'estiéz lorsques vous estes assés heureuse pour ignorer les suites des couches. Je suis cependant bien aise de vous doner un avis. C'est que si M. Vilaneaux a fait ce miracle en vous. Vous devez revenir icy sans aller plus loin si je retrouve en vous Mademoiselle de Chefboutonne vous retrouverez en moy M. Phelipeux et nous ferons comme nous fimes. Il y a dix ans oubliant tout ce qui s'est passé depuis La Proposition n'est pas à negliger.

Judging by the frequency of birth of their children¹³², the Pontchartrains did not appear to have exercised a form of birth control even after a difficult still-birth on March 11, 1704 after which Éléonore was forced to stay in bed for the next six months.¹³³ Only after the birth of her sixth child in 1706 when she developed a serious gynecological ailment did she no longer become pregnant. In addition to her ill health, the physical distance between husband and wife would prove to be an extremely effective form of birth control after she retired from court.

Physical distance may indeed be the best form of birth control. Since the aristocratic husband and wife did not share the same bedchamber, the lack of conjugal sex would seem to be facilitated by their separate sleeping arrangements. However, separate apartments for the mistress and master of the house does not necessarily entail a lack of sexual relations.

Charlotte-Amélie, the princesse de la Trémoille recounts how her father announced his intention to her mother with an attitude of her ready compliance: “il sortit de la chambre en disant qu’il alloit revenir pour se coucher: cela l’étonna fort encore, car il y avoit longtemps qu’il n’avoit couché dans sa chambre ; je

¹³² Archives nationale 70 AP 17. Généalogie de la famille Phélypeau, XVII-XVIIIe siècles. Also, Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t.16: 138-139, n. 7: Éléonore had the following children: Marie-Francoise-Christine 17 janvier 1698; Louis-François 19 mai 1700 ; Jean-Frédéric 9 juillet 1701; Paul-Jérôme 25 avril 1703; stillborn birth on 11 mars 1704 ; Charles-Henri 14 juin 1706.

¹³³ Louis François du Bouchet Souches, *Mémoires du marquis de Souches sur le règne de Louis XIV. Publiés d’après le manuscrit authentique appartenant à M. le duc des Cars*. Par Le Comte de Cosnac, Gabriel-Jules et Edouard Pontal. Paris : Hachette et cie., 1885, t. X, p. 102 : “La comtesse de Pontchartrain, qui avoit été obligée de garder le lit depuis plus de six mois à cause des incommodités de sa grossesse, et qui étoit en mal d’enfant depuis le soir précédent, accoucha enfin d’un garçon, mais avec des peines épouvantables et un danger évident pour sa vie, témoignant, dans un état si fâcheux, la même douceur et la même vertu dont toutes les actions des sa vie étoient accompagnées.” Cited in Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t. 16, p.139, n. 7.

couchois avec ma mère. Après que j’eus lu, je me retiray dans ma chambre.”¹³⁴ In this episode, after Charlotte-Amélie read with her mother, she retired to her own bedchamber while her mother prepared for the night which included her bedtime prayers before her husband returned.

Madame de Maintenon also received her husband in her bed. After meeting with his ministers in her chamber, Louis would sometimes say to her, “Vous êtes bien lasse, n'est-ce pas? Il faudroit vous coucher.” The king would then wait impatiently as her serving women hurriedly prepared her for bed. After she dismissed her women, the couple was then alone.¹³⁵ Then Madame de Maintenon had to perform her duty to satisfy the king’s desires:

Comme il est toujours le maître partout et qu'il fait tout ce qu'il veut, il n'imagine pas qu'on soit autrement que lui, et il croit que, si je n'en ai pas, c'est que je n'en veux pas. Vous savez que ma maxime est de prendre sur moi et de penser aux autres. Les grands ordinairement ne sont pas ainsi: ils ne se contraignent jamais, et ils ne pensent pas même que les autres se contraignent pour eux, ni ne leur en savent point de gré, parce qu'ils sont tellement accoutumés de voir que tout se fait par rapport à eux qu'ils n'en sont plus frappés et n'y prennent pas garde.¹³⁶

Unlike the king’s easy acceptance, as Flandrin explains, by the early eighteenth century, a gallant man no longer demanded his conjugal rights from his

¹³⁴ Charlotte-Amélie de La Trémoille, *Mémoires de Charlotte-Amélie de la Trémoille, Comtesse d’Altenbourg (1652-1719)* publié par Edouard de Barthélemy. Genève: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume, Fick, 1876, p. 75.

¹³⁵ Maintenon, *Madame de Maintenon d'après sa correspondance authentique*, vol. 2, p. 37-52.

¹³⁶ Ibid, vol. 2, p.50.

wife but rather needed her consent.¹³⁷ What happened when she was not agreeable?

¹³⁷ Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, p. 225.

3.2.4 Room for Herself

For in addition to risk from dying from childbirth, conjugal duties were not always pleasant or agreeable for women. Marie Mancini's older sister, Hortense, the duchesse de Mazarin, records her husband's unreasonable wish for her to be sexually available to him¹³⁸ and her desire to be "relieved of any obligation to suffer [his caresses]" which were "odious" to her.¹³⁹ So dictatorial was his requirement that she even had to attend to him when traveling to other parts of France. He insisted that she be on hand during his visit to the spa of Bourbon-l'Archambault even though the suffering duchesse reports that his own father, upon hearing this,

was unwilling to let me leave, saying *that one must abstain from women while taking the waters*. [Mancini's emphasis] He swooned with vexation upon receiving this response; and after several couriers, his father having finally let me leave, I went to accompany him to Bourbon, where I spent a month cooped up in a room with him watching him take his waters, without ever so much as visiting Madame la Princesse, who was there and to whom he has the honor of being related.¹⁴⁰

Young women, as previously discussed, were given in marriage to usually older men they had never met. Madame de Motteville, for instance, was married

¹³⁸ Her separate apartment facilitated their living separate lives, although she writes that "All this did not prevent us from seeing each other quite easily in the afternoons, for we neither ate nor slept together. Monsieur Mazarin would have preferred it otherwise, but besides the fact that our agreement said nothing about it, it did not seem likely to me that things could long remain as they were, and if by chance we should find ourselves back in the Parlement, I did not want to run the risk of bringing a suit while great with child. My foresight did not prove vain. He soon thought better of what he had done." Hortense Mancini, *Memoirs*, p.54.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p.75.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p.41.

at eighteen to a groom of ninety. While she was probably raised with the expectation to pay her dues to her husband regardless of who he was, Madame de Motteville most likely found her marriage bed disagreeable.¹⁴¹ Even when husband and wife were of the same generation, the prospect of the marriage bed could be disconcerting. In Baron de Breteuil's account "del la soirée et du lendemain de la première nuit que Monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne et Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne ont couché ensemble (23 octobre 1699)", the duchesse spent the entire day of the *couché* crying in the arms of Madame de Maintenon even though the preceding four or five days were also bathed in tears. The day after the marriage bed, the duchesse rushed off to Saint-Cyr¹⁴² where she spent the whole day consoling with Madame de Maintenon, who herself suffered her duties with Louis XIV.¹⁴³ The latter supposedly advised "à la jeune princesse qui ne pensais qu'à se divertir", "N'espérez point un bonheur parfait: il n'y en a point sur la terre. Les meilleurs mariages sont ceux où l'on souffle tour à tour de l'autre avec douceur et patience."¹⁴⁴

If a wife did not want to suffer with softness and patience, what could she

¹⁴¹ They did not have any children. He died two years after their marriage. Dejean, *Against Marriage*, p.16.

¹⁴² Saint-Cyr, established by Madame de Maintenon as a school for girls from impoverished noble families, was her special retreat from the court.

¹⁴³ Maintenon, *Madame de Maintenon d'après sa correspondance authentique*, vol. 2, p. 37-38. In the same volume, Mme de Glapion recounts Madame de Maintenon's complaint of her duties, p. 43-52. Colin Jones points out that Madame de Maintenon sought advice from her confessor on whether she was duty bound to submit to Louis XIV's twice daily caresses. Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002, p. 118. Jones cites *Correspondance générale de Madame de Maintenon*, ed. T. Lavallée. Paris 1865-7, vol. 5, p. 411-12.

¹⁴⁴ Henri François, Baron de Breteuil, *Mémoires, Préface, notes et commentaires par Evelyne Lever*. Paris: Éditions François Bourin. p. 249-251. Breteuil was appointed introducer of ambassadors in 1698.

do? An episode in the *Vie privée du Maréchal de Richelieu* gives a sense of an unpleasant negotiation that may have happened between husband and wife:

Il avait voulu partager sa couche; en vain lui avait-elle dit qu'elle était malade: rien ne put l'empêcher d'entrer dans son lit. Le prince qui, dans le temps qu'il était aimé, avait dédaigné la jouissance d'une femme qui gémissait souvent auprès de lui de son abandon, qui, pendant deux ans, avait irrité des désirs sans les satisfaire, revenait par une fatalité assez commune reprendre des droits qu'il avait négligés dans le moment où le coeur de la princesse n'était plus à lui. Elle voulut se sauver du lit, mais retenue par son mari qui cherchait à profiter de son avantage, elle marqua une résistance et opiniâtreté qui l'étonnèrent. Rien ne lui parut plus affreux que d'être infidèle à l'amant qu'elle adorait: elle menaça son mari, s'il continuait, de tourner sa fureur contre elle-même en se cassant la tête contre la table de nuit.

Le prince effrayé, rendu plus calme par la fatigue qu'il avait essuyée dans ce combat qui avait duré longtemps, promit à sa femme d'être plus tranquille si elle voulait l'écouter. Il se plaignit du refus constant qu'elle avait fait et l'assura que, puisqu'il était assez malheureux pour ne pas rentrer en grâce, il emploierait à l'avenir tous les moyens de faire la paix. Il convint de ses torts, jura de les réparer et d'adorer toute la vie une femme à laquelle il n'avait pas rendu assez de justice. Il sortit alors, en donnant sa retraite comme une première preuve de sa soumission et du désir qu'il avait de lui plaire.¹⁴⁵

Perhaps husbands were expected to behave more gentlemanly. Bordelon,

¹⁴⁵ Louis François Armand Du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, *Vie privée du Maréchal de Richelieu contenant ses amours et intrigues, et tout ce qui a rapport aux divers Rôles qu'a joués cet Homme célèbre pendant plus de quatre-vingts ans. Edition préface et annotée par Benedetta Craveri*. Paris: Editions Desjonquères, 1993, p. 171-2. (Reprint of édition Buisson, février 1791).

in one of his many satirical works, imagines that a wife would demand her husband to behave as a *honnête homme*, and rather than having an unceremonial and casual attitude towards the conjugal bed, he must now give her eight days prior notice.¹⁴⁶ This consideration towards a wife's desires was not merely fiction. As Flandrin discusses, the development of gallant attitudes which made for more considerate and less brutal behavior towards the wife followed social trends practiced by the aristocracy.¹⁴⁷

In real-life marital interaction, when a husband needed his wife's consent, how did she refuse him and how did they communicate this with the appropriate tact? A person of quality was expected to have a great understanding of *savoir-vivre*, the art of applying the appropriate action and speech according to expected rules of behavior. One characteristic of the style of speech and writing used by *honnêtes gens* when addressing their friends is the *style familier*.

As previously discussed, embedded in the word *boudoir* is the hierarchical ordering of interdependent familiar persons. An act of negotiation and exchange on the part to the sulker who feels that he is entitled to his due according to an unspoken agreement is inevitable within this context. The specificity of the familiar term *boudoir* is the exclusion of those men to whom sulking would be addressed to, namely those most familiar yet hierarchically above: husbands.

While Bordelon or Du Cerceau may have alluded to this understanding of *boudoir*, the comte de Caylus makes specific reference to a wife's retreat into it. In the comte de Caylus' fairy tale *La Princesse Lumineuse* (1741) about a

¹⁴⁶ Laurent Bordelon, *Les solitaires en belle humeur*. Paris: Etienne Neaulme, 1741, vol.1, p. 149.

¹⁴⁷ Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, p. 211-225.

beautiful princess who is married to the old and unattractive *le roi des brouillards*, the boudoir is where Lumineuse, finding refuge from her conjugal duties, dreams of her handsome prince while reading her magical Book of Hours.¹⁴⁸

Caylus was not the only writer to make the connection between reading her Hours and avoiding her husband. The comtesse de Genlis¹⁴⁹, a late eighteenth-century writer and woman of learning, ex-mistress of the duc de Chartres and governess to his children, suggests that a wife's oratory was renamed a boudoir by an idiot husband. In the *Dictionnaire des étiquettes de la cour* (1818) which described court life under the *ancien régime*, Genlis writes in the entry "Chapelet":

Jadis, et jusqu'au règne de Louis XV, on mettoit toujours un chapelet et des Heures dans les corbeilles des mariées. C'est de là que viennent ces belles Heures de nos reines, que l'on voit dans quelques bibliothèques publiques. Dans ce temps, toutes les femmes avoient aussi un petit cabinet particulier, appelé *oratoire*, qui étoit destiné à la méditation et à la prière. Le premier mari qui changea l'*oratoire* de sa femme en *boudoir* fut certainement un sot.¹⁵⁰

As Genlis points out, the rosary and the Book of Hours were given as wedding gifts from the groom to the bride. Central to the rosary and the Book of Hours is the veneration of the Virgin and her role as mother to Christ and to the Christian

¹⁴⁸ Anne Claude, comte de Caylus, "La Princesse Lumineuse," *Cabinet des Fees*, t.24. Genève: Barde et Mauget, Paris: Cuchet, 1786, p. 403-439. (originally published in 1741). ARTFL Project: FRANTEXT Database. Accessed May 10, 2006.

¹⁴⁹ The comtesse de Genlis(1746 -1830) was an extremely intelligent and learned woman. Henriette Louise von Waldner d' Oberkirch, *Memoirs of the Baroness d'Oberkirch, written by herself*. London: Colburn and Co., 1852, vol.1, p.311.

¹⁵⁰ Stéphanie Félicité, Comtesse de Genlis, *Dictionnaire critique et raisonné des étiquettes de la Cour ou l'esprit des étiquettes et des usages anciens*. Paris: Mongie, 1818, t. 1, p. 85.

community.¹⁵¹ In her passage on the *chapelet*, she is suggesting that the rosary and the Book of Hours and by extension the space in which they were used, the oratory, were social reinforcements of her role as progenitor of the Christian community. For Genlis, the first husband that changed the name of her *oratoire* was making a pejorative comment on his wife's refusal of her reproductive duty by her retreat into her *boudoir*.

While Genlis suggests this meaning of the boudoir for husbands, the eighteenth-century writer Pierre Clément used the word specifically in the context of the denial of conjugal rights by the wife. In a literary review¹⁵² of the fashionable and extremely successful novel by Mademoiselle Fauques, *Le Triomphe de l'amitié* (1751)¹⁵³, Clément introduces the work as being produced

¹⁵¹ Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: the Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, p. 3. Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," p. 266-281. The Virgin was even evoked before a conjugal interlude. The duchesse d'Orléans wrote that her husband, Monsieur (duc d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIV), who was homosexual, called upon the Virgin for support when it came time for their bedding: "Monsieur a toujours fait le dévot. Il m'a fait rire une fois de bon cœur. Il apportait toujours au lit un chapelet d'où pendait une quantité de médailles, et qui lui servait à faire ses prières avant de s'endormir. Quand cela était fini, j'entendais un gros fracas causé par les médailles, comme s'il les promenait sous la couverture. Je lui dis : « Dieu me le pardonne, mais je soupçonne que vous faites promener vos reliques et vos images de la Vierge dans un pays qui leur est inconnu. » Monsieur répondit : « Taisez-vous, dormez; vous ne savez ce que vous dites. » Une nuit, je me levai tout doucement, je plaçai la lumière de manière à éclairer tout le lit, et au moment où il promenait ses médailles sous la couverture, je le saisis par le bras, et lui dis en riant : « Pour le coup, vous ne sauriez plus le nier. » Monsieur se mit aussi à rire, et dit : « Vous qui avez été huguenote (Madame was born a Protestant and converted to Catholicism at the time of her marriage in 1671), vous ne savez pas le pouvoir des reliques et des images de la Sainte Vierge. Elles garantissent de tout mal les parties qu'on en frotte. » Je répondis : « Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur, mais vous ne me persuaderez point que c'est honorer la Vierge, que de promener son image sur les parties destinées à ôter la virginité. » Monsieur ne put s'empêcher de rire, et dit : « Je Vous prie, ne le dites à personne.»" The appeal to the Virgin seemed to have worked since they subsequently had three children. Charlotte-Elisabeth, duchesse d'Orléans, *Correspondance complète de Madame duchesse d'Orléans*, , vol. 2, p. 275-6. *Letters from Liselotte*, p.227-228.

¹⁵² It was subsequently published as a collection of letters entitled *Les cinq années littéraires* (1748-1752).

¹⁵³ Marianne-Agnès Pillement Fauques, *Le triomphe de l'amitié ouvrage traduit du grec*. Londres [Paris], chez Bauche fils, 1751. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed January 20, 2010.

merely by an author who had spent the first sixteen years of her life preparing to be a nun. Clément focuses on two episodes. The first involves the missed opportunity of love between Arsace and Isménie¹⁵⁴ when the heroine rejects the sexual advances of the hero and friendship triumphs over love. In the second half of the review, Clément recounts the story of the marriage of Princesse Cloé and Arsès. In the second tale, Princesse Cloé agrees to marry Arsès on the condition that they remain married in name only. After the married vows were exchanged and the celebratory banquet completed, Arsès retires to his own room instead of the nuptial bed. A few days later, Arsès, burning with love for his wife Cloé, enters her chamber and attempts to consummate their marriage. Arsès begins his attack by caressing her and soon is kissing her all over her face. Cloé tries to fend him off and is unsuccessful until he crosses the boundary of her person: he touches her breast. Extremely angry, she dismisses him by declaring her rank over him. Clément recounts: “C’étoit ici que l’attendoit la colère de Cloé; la Princesse n’aimoit point qu’on lui touchât la gorge : Arsès repoussé avec fureur se retire une seconde fois dans le boudoir.”¹⁵⁵ Here the “boudoir” refers to the room signifying the husband’s angry and frustrated reaction to his wife’s rejection of his sexual advances.

¹⁵⁴ Montesquieu wrote a different story about *Arsace et Isménie* in around 1754. Writing to his friend Guasoc about his unfashionable story about conjugal love, he states “All things considered, I cannot yet make up my mind to submit my romance of Arsace to the printers. The triumph of conjugal love in the Orient is, maybe, too far removed from our manners of to-day for me to think that it would be well received in France. I will bring the manuscript with me, we will read it together, and I will let a few friends read it.” *Arsace et Isménie* was posthumously published 1783. M. Edouard Laboulate, Montesquieu’s editor in 1876 reprinted in *Three Stories (Arsace and Isméne by Montesquieu)* trans. Emilie Wilfrid Jackson, London, George Routledge and Sons, 1927, p. 151.

¹⁵⁵ Pierre Clément, *Les cinq années littéraires, ou Lettres de m. Clément, sur les ouvrages de littérature qui ont paru dans les années 1748- 1751 & 1752*. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1967, p.106-112. Lettre LXXXI, Paris, 1er Août, 1751.(originally published 1756)

3.2.5 A Place Free from Obligation for One's Preferences

The fashion for society ladies to refuse their husbands continued mid-century. The Marquis d'Argenson complained that Louis XV's infidelity was due to the Queen's compliance with the fashion of the day:

[10 octobre, 1740] Une dame du palais m'a conté que la plus grande faute était à la reine si le roi avait pris une maîtresse ; elle se conduisait en bégueule. Aussi personne au monde n'a-t-il moins d'esprit que la reine : elle n'a rien à elle, elle n'est que ce qu'elle voit [sic] être aux autres; le torrent de l'exemple la gagne plus que personne ; elle a vu qu'en France il était de bon air de dédaigner son mari; elle a pris ce bon air. Elle disait :
« Eh quoi ! toujours coucher, toujours grosse toujours accoucher! »
En conséquence elle faisait faire de longs jeûnes au roi sous prétexte de sa santé, elle dédaignait enfin ce qu'elle regrette amèrement aujourd'hui.¹⁵⁶

For d'Argenson, the Queen Marie Leczinska, the daughter of the deposed Polish king Stanislaw Leczinski, mindlessly following the French ways was all the more foolish for neglecting her role to produce heirs to the throne and to satisfy her husband. A Queen whose sexual role was intertwined with her public duty should not have boudoirs.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ D'Argenson, *Journal du Marquis d'Argenson*, t. 3, p. 261

¹⁵⁷ Jeanne Louise Henriette Genest Campan, *Mémoires sur la vie de Marie Antoinette reine de France et de Navarre ; suivre de souvenirs et anecdotes historique sur les règnes de Louis XIV, de Louis XV et de Louis XVI*, ed. M.F. Barrières. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1886, p. 116 : "Les rois n'ont pas d'intérieur; les reines n'ont ni cabinets ni boudoirs." Louis Lacour, *Livres du boudoir de la reine Marie-Antoinette : catalogue authentique et original publié pour la première fois avec préface et notes*. Paris: J. Gay, 1862, p. v-vii : "Une femme spirituelle, Mme la comtesse de Bradi, parlant dans une encyclopédie du mauvais sens retenu par le mot boudoir, écrivait il y a quelques années : « On montrait, avant 1789, dans les petits appartements de Marie-Antoinette, une pièce que l'on nommait boudoir de la reine ; mais cette princesse désignait-elle ainsi ce cabinet ? Ou, étant étrangère, employait-elle cette expression sans en connaître l'origine et sans se douter de toutes les idées qui s'y rattachaient ? » Il est certain, -- et le document que nous publions ne laisse

Aristocratic women, whom the Queen was emulating, seem not to have felt the duty or will to provide more than two or three heirs¹⁵⁸ or to service their husband's desires. This freedom from their sexual role most likely found resistance by men and even censorship and obscuration. However, the word *boudoir* by the middle of the century was established enough in polite circles that when it did appear in the 1752 *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, it was defined as a "small recess, very confined cabinet, adjacent to the *chambre* one normally occupies, apparently thus named because of the habit of retiring there, to sulk [from the French *bouder*, hence *boudoir*] unseen, when one is in a bad mood."¹⁵⁹ From the other side of the door, the husband finding his wife *boudant la compagnie*, her refusal was merely a "bad mood".

While a man may be projecting his own bad mood into the *boudoir*, the lady would not be sulking from within such a room of her own. Indeed, Lord Chesterfield, who was minutely concerned with the French civilities, understood the root meaning of *boudoir* as an interior devoid of sulking. He writes (1748):

aucune doute, -- que pour Marie-Antoinette son *boudoir* lui était bien connu sous ce nom, et nous nous étonnons que Mme de Bradi ait pu douter un instant que la reine de France n'ait pas eu dans tout ses châteaux la petite retraite alors à la mode et sans laquelle un appartement eût passé pour incomplet. Mais qu'il y a loin du fait d'avoir usé de cette petite chambre à l'accusation d'en avoir méusé ! -- Ce n'est pas nous qui la formulerons."

¹⁵⁸ There was a decreasing birth rate amongst the highest aristocratic families, dukes and peers, in France. In the first half of the century, the average number of children was 2.7 and from 1749 to 1790 was two. Furthermore, the age of the woman bearing her last child dropped as the century progressed. In the second half of the seventeenth century, on average, the aristocratic wife bore her last child at the age of 31. In the eighteenth century, the average age dropped to 25. Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, p. 211-225. McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, vol.2, p. 303. Philippe Ariès, *Histoire des populations françaises et de leurs attitudes devant la vie depuis le XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971, p. 344-412. See *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times*, ed. Philippe Ariès and André Béjin, trans. Anthony Forster. Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1985.

¹⁵⁹ Cited in Lilley, "Name of the *Boudoir*," p. 194 and in Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, p.64.

... la véritable étymologie de boudoir est (pour parler Latin) *a non boudare* comme *lucus* un bois *a non lucendo*, c'est-à-dire qu'on ne boude point dans l'un, et qu'on ne voit goutte dans l'autre; au rest si ce trait de profonde érudition vous embarrasse, l'Abbé Sallier¹⁶⁰ qui je salue de tout mon coeur, vous l'expliquera, et vous en fera sentir toute la solidité.¹⁶¹

From his witty use of pig Latin (*boudare*), Lord Chesterfield suggests that the true etymology of *boudoir* is similar to that of *lucus*, in that the name given to the thing is the total contrary of what it is. *Boudoir* comes from *a non boudare*, where no sulking takes place, in the same way that *lucus*, a grove, literally from *lux* (light), comes from *a non lucendo*, where there is no light.

The *boudoir*'s meaning, as a place of non-sulking, was dependent upon each owner's own idea of what parts of his social inter-dependencies and duties he dreaded. For Lord Chesterfield,

il est facile de le réparer, en y recevant les gens maussades, fâcheux, et désagréables, que de temps en temps on est obligé d'essuyer. Quand on m'annoncera un animal de la sorte, je courrai d'abord à mon boudoir, comme à mon sanctuaire, l'y recevoir; là il aura moins de prise sur moi, car, de la façon que nous sommes faits, les objets extérieurs ne sont nullement indifférents par rapport à l'esprit, et tel sot qui m'accablerait dans une chambre lugubre, pourra peut-être m'amuser dans un cabinet orné et riant.¹⁶²

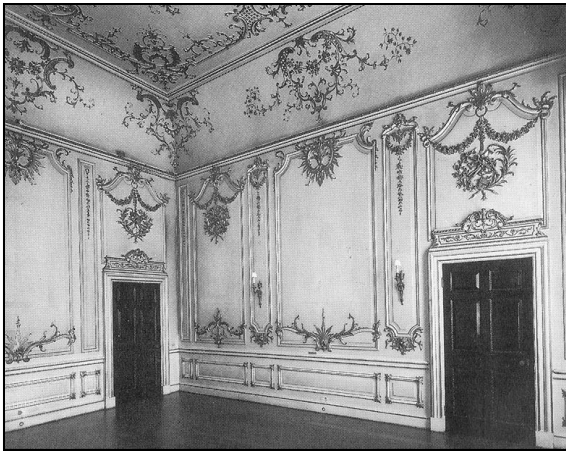
¹⁶⁰ Claude Sallier, linguist and the king's librarian.

¹⁶¹ Chesterfield, *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, vol.4, p. 1211-1212.

¹⁶² Ibid, p. 1211-1212.

Decorated with Rococo arabesques, Chesterfields describes the charm of his boudoir:

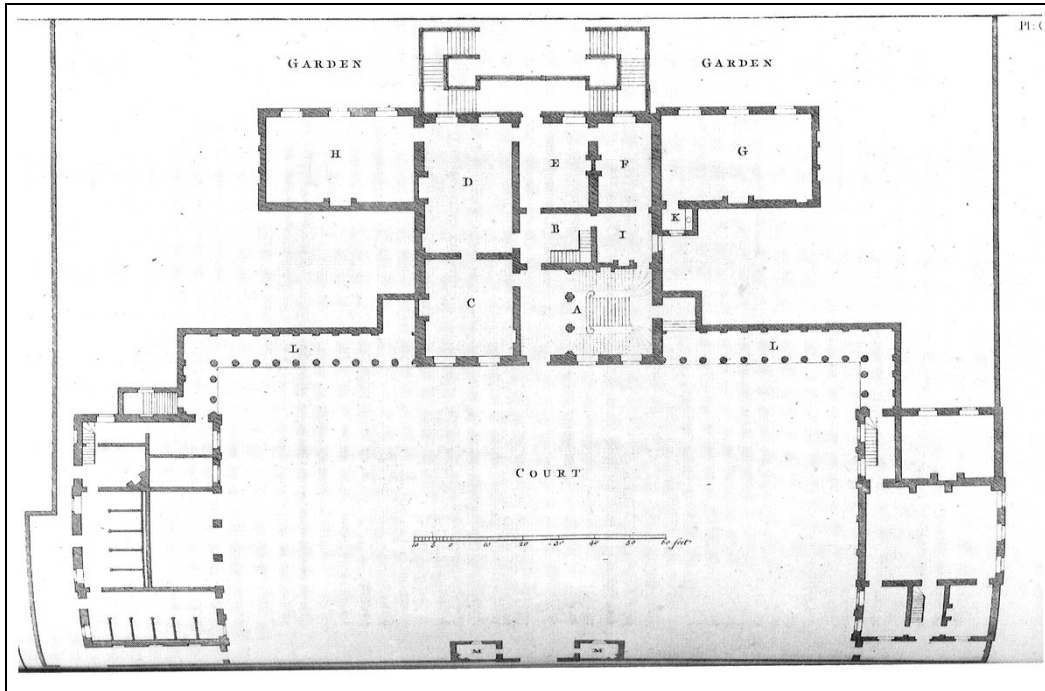
La boiserie et le plafond sont d'un beau bleu, avec beaucoup de sculptures et de dorures; les tapisseries et les chaises sont d'un ouvrage à fleurs au petit-point, d'un dessein manifique sur un fond blanc; par-dessus la cheminée, qui est de *Giallo di Sienna*, force glaces, sculptures, dorures, et au milieu le portrait d'une très belle femme, peint par la Rosalba¹⁶³.



(Fig. 37) The interior of a cabinet, Chesterfield House, 1894.

According to Roger White, this picture of the “boudoir” taken by Bedford Lemere in 1894 and published in *Country Life* in 1922 is not the same small “boudoir” which Lord Chesterfield described in his 1748 letter. Rather it shows a first floor cabinet. White believes that room “F” on Isaac Ware’s plan (figure 38) is Chesterfield’s boudoir.

¹⁶³ Ibid., vol.4, p. 1211-1212



(Fig. 38) Isaac Ware, Chesterfield House, 1748.

Source: Roger White, "Isaac Ware and Chesterfield House," *The Rococo in England: A Symposium*, edited by Charles Hind. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986, p.177, 185.

His gay and delightful boudoir, a space for the self, a kind of chapel for oneself, was an antidote for his social obligations. A necessary part of his social position, as he constantly informs his son, was always to appear to be affable and at ease, to be a *honnête homme* even towards disagreeable persons.¹⁶⁴

The *boudoir* was an antidote for an elite woman's societal obligation as mother and wife. As a refuge from her husband when he entered her *chambre* for the night, she would be making her last prayers for the day. She might easily remain in her oratory to avoid direct confrontation with him. Her oratory, a sanctuary which few would desecrate, becomes a *boudoir*, a place to control her sexual reproduction such that the chevalier de Mainvilliers (1752) could only

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, vol. 2 p. 471; vol. 3, p. 1091.

tastefully explain the meaning of boudoir with the addition of a footnote, “Espèce de chambre secrette dont les Dames se sont fait un asyle inviolable.”¹⁶⁵

As pointed out by both D’Argenson and Marie Mancini the desire to be free of both her dual marital duties as mother and object of conjugal satisfaction, leads husbands (and wives) to seek love elsewhere. While these two memoirists make a false causality between the end of marital sexual relations and love affairs, nevertheless the fashion for love affairs did flourish in the early eighteenth century. So prevalent was the fashion for persons of quality not to love their spouses that the duchesse d’Orléans wrote that

Saint-Cloud, le 16 août 1721

...Il n’est pas de mode du tout d’aimer sa femme en ce pays-ci...
Mais à bon chat bon rat ! Les femmes en font bien les hommes. La vie que tout le monde mène est ici vraiment étonnante. Parmi les gens du commun, il est vrai, l’on trouve encore des hommes qui aiment leurs femmes...Mais parmi les gens de qualité, je ne connais pas un seul couple qui s’aime et se soit fidèle...¹⁶⁶

This kind of extra-marital love, an aristocratic privilege, found a new home in the boudoir.

¹⁶⁵ Genu-Soalhat chevalier de Mainvilliers, *Le petit-maitre philosophe: ou voyage & aventures de Genu Soalhat, Chevalier de Mainvilliers, dans les principales cours de l'Europe*. Seconde partie. Londres [Amsterdam], 1752, p.79. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed April 24, 2008.

¹⁶⁶ D’Orléans, *Lettres de Madame de Duchesse d’Orléans*, p. 627-628.

CHAPTER 4: THE BOUDOIR OF THE MARQUISE DU CHÂTELET

4.1 Place for Illusions

4.1.1 *Un Petit Ciel Empire*

On December 3, 1738, Madame de Graffigny¹ arrived at the Château de Cirey², the Du Châtelet family estate, where the Marquise Du Châtelet and her lover Voltaire had been residing for the past four years.³ The chatelaine of the domain, Gabrielle Émilie Le Tonnelier de Breteuil Du Châtelet⁴ had invited the impoverished widow for an extended stay. Madame de Graffigny's two month visit⁵ turned into an ordeal which she recorded through a series of letters to her dear friend "Panpan", François-Antoine Devaux⁶. Initially, the first days at the chateau were charming. Madame de Graffigny wrote a detailed account of her visit to Madame Du Châtelet's newly renovated apartment⁷ located on the first floor of the château:

¹ Françoise d'Issembourg d'Happoncourt de Graffigny (1695-1758) would later write the bestselling novel *Lettres d'une Peruvienne*. English Showalter, *Françoise de Graffigny: Her Life and Works. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 2002:11. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004.

² The chateau is located in Champagne, near the border of the semi-independent state of Lorraine.

³ When a warrant for his arrest was issued in May 1734, Voltaire took refuge at the château where he stayed until 1739. The Marquise joined Voltaire in the autumn of 1734. François de Gandt, *Cirey dans la vie intellectuelle: La reception de Newton en France. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 2001:11. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2001, p. 1.

⁴ Gabrielle Emilie Le Tonnelier de Breteuil Du Châtelet, 1706-1749. Philosophe and scientist, her published works include *Dissertation sur la nature et la propagation du feu* (1737), *Institutions de Physique* (1740), *Principia Mathematica*, translation of and commentary on Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (completed 1749, published 1759). See *Madame Du Châtelet : La femme des Lumières*. Sous la direction d'Elisabeth Badinter et Danielle Muzerelle, ex. Présentée par la Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu, du 7 mars au 3 juin 2006. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2006, p. 48 and 64.

⁵ She left Cirey on February 11, 1739. Showalter, *Françoise de Graffigny* p. 43.

⁶ He was the King's reader at the Court of Stanislas in Lunéville.

⁷ Voltaire paid for the renovations of the Marquise's and his own apartments.

sa chambre boisée en vernis petit jaune et les cordons bleu pasle, une niche de meme encadrée de papiers des Indes charmans, le lit de moiré bleu, et tout est tellement assortis que jusqu'aux paniers de chien tout est jaune et bleu -- bois de fauteuil, bureau, encognures, secretaire, les glaces a cadre d'argent -- tout cela est d'un brillant admirable. Une grande porte vitrée mais de glace miroir conduit a la bibliotheque qui n'est pas achevée. C'est une sculpture comme une tabaquiere. Il y aura des glaces, des tableaux, des Veronesse, &c. D'un coté de sa niche est un petit boudoir, on est pres a se metre a genoux en y entrant. Le lembris est en bleu et le plafond peint et vernis par un élève de Martin qu'ils ont ici depuis trois ans. Tous les petis panneaux son remplis par des tableaux de *Vateau*. Ce sont *Les Cinq Sens*, et deux contes de La Fontaine, *Le Baiser pris et rendu*, dont j'avois les deux estempes, et *Les Oyes de frere Philippe*. Ah, quelles peintures ! Les cadres sont dorez et en philagrames sur le lembris. Trois Graces, une cheminée en encognure, des encognures de Martins, avec des jolies choses dessus, entre autres un ecritoire d'embre que le prince de Prusse lui a envoyé avec des vers. Nous parlerons de cela ailleurs. Pour tout meuble un grand fauteuil couvert de taffetas blanc et deux tabouret de meme, car, grace a Dieu je n'ai pas vu une bergere dans toute la maison. Ce divin boudoir a une sortie par sa seule fenetre, sur une terrasse charmante et dont la vue est admirable. De l'autre côté de la niche est une garde-robe divine pavée de marbre, lembrissée en gris-de-lins, avec les plus jolies estempes, des rideaux mousseline brodées au fenetres. Il n'y a rien de si jolis.⁸

⁸ [Lettre 61, Le samedi ,6 décembre 1738, a cinq heures du soir] *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny, Tome I. 1716 – 17 juin 1739. Lettres 1 -144*. Préparé par English Showalter avec la collaboration de P. Allan, P. Bouillaguet, N. Boursier, J. Curtis, J.A. Bainard, L.C. Kerslake, D.W. Smith, D.A. Trott et E.A. Walker. Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1985, p.198. The definitive version is the Showalter (1985) which is a transcription of the original letter located at Pierpont Morgan Library New York, Graffigny Papers, VI, 17-24. An English translation of the letter

Even while her comment that “on est prêt à se mettre à genoux en y entrant” alludes to the religious antecedent of the boudoir, the *prie-dieu* and religious paintings have all disappeared. In their place were an armchair, a *fauteuil* which is a padded chair with arm rests⁹ and two stools (*tabourets*). The single *fauteuil* suggests that only one person can be comfortably seated while the guest would have to sit on a *tabouret*. This seating arrangement of a “great chair”¹⁰ for the mistress of the boudoir and a *tabouret* for the visitor follows the Court etiquette in which high ranking ladies were allowed to sit on *tabourets* in the presence of the king or queen, who sat in a chair with arm rests with a matching footstool designed to raise the sovereign’s feet off the ground.¹¹

In Madame Du Châtelet’s boudoir, the visitor also had the privilege of sitting underneath a lacquered ceiling. As Peter Thornton and Anna Czarnock have noted, lacquered finishes, imported to Europe from Japan and China, were rare and sought after.¹² Even with the development of French lacquering technique by the family of varnish specialists, the Martins, lacquered surfaces

published in *Lettres de madame de Graffigny*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1879, p.17-18, appears in John Whitehead, *The French Interior in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Laurence King, 1992, p. 240-241.

⁹ Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, p. 52.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.24-5.

¹¹ Le Roy Ladurie and Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XI*, p. 25-6. Also, La Trémoille, *Mémoires de Charlotte-Amélie de la Trémoille*, p.36. As pointed out by interior décor historian Peter Thornton, a seat of honour was raised above other types of seating arrangements and often had matching footstool (*tabouret*) to raise the feet of the honoured person. Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, p. 24-5.

¹² The Martins were given the right by the King to manufacture lacquer in 1730. Whitehead, *The French Interior in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 190, 192. Anna Czarnock, “Vernis Martin: The Lacquerwork of the Martin Family in Eighteenth-Century France,” trans. Laura Lindgren and Renata Stein, *Studies in Decorative Arts*, vol.2, no. 1 (Fall 1994), p.56-74. See Thibault Wolvesperges, *Le Meuble français en laque au XVIIIe siècle*. Bruxelles/Paris: Éditions Racine/Éditions de l’Amateur, 2000.

were still very costly and labour intensive. Du Châtelet's ceiling, for instance, took three years to complete.

Lacquer has particularly paradoxical qualities. At once delicate and hard, some lighter-coloured surfaces have the appearance of porcelain with its polish reflecting an ephemeral play of light, especially in the variable natural lighting conditions which entered the boudoir through its French window. Darker toned lacquer gives the dual impression of a surface at once advancing and receding. The polish of the lacquer seems to be continually advancing so that the distance between the surface and the viewer appears to decrease. At the same time, the multiple layers of the lacquer create a depth receding beyond the surface. The visual effect is similar to the reflection of water or thin gauze of silk through which the canopy gives the impression of a mysterious depth beyond the surface. It was, as described by Madame de Graffigny in a subsequent letter, "un petit ciel empiré".¹³ Evoking the highest reaches of the heavens where the ancient Gods lived, the empyreal ceiling was a heavenly canopy (*dais*), an ornamental cloth suspended over a chair of honour indicating the presence of a high ranked person.¹⁴ The occupant of the boudoir who sat in an armchair with her feet raised on one of the two footstools was framed above by a canopy of blue sky.

¹³ [Lettre 62, 11 décembre 1738] *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny*, t.1, p. 211. Note 28: Empiré, pour empyrée, peut s'employer comme adjectif pour désigner la plus élevée des quatre sphères célestes ; v. Littré, « le ciel empyrée ».

¹⁴ "Dais", *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet (Winter 2008 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed December 2008. A canopy indicates the presence of a high ranked person before others of lower rank who do not inhabit the same space as the person underneath the canopy. Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, p.24-5.

On her first visit to her hostess's apartment, Madame de Graffigny was entertained for an hour and a half. With only a *tabouret*, a backless stool to sit on, one would have imagined that Madame de Graffigny would have preferred not to remain so long in the boudoir with her hostess whom she later disparagingly referred to as the "Dame". Unlike a visitor, Madame Du Châtelet could remain in her boudoir in comfort for a considerable length of time seated on her padded armchair warmed by the fireplace.

What might the Marquise Du Châtelet be doing in her boudoir? The lack of furnishing seems to indicate that this was not the room in which she studied or conducted her scientific experiments. In a November 1736 account by abbé Le Blanc of a visit made by the chevalier de Villefort, the Marquise was working in a salon on the ground floor that had a secret passage to Voltaire's apartments¹⁵. Hubert Saget, who was given access to the chateau by the present-day owners, the comte et comtesse Hugues de Salignac-Fénelon, confirms that the Marquise Du Châtelet's *cabinet de travail*, currently a *fumoir*, was located on the ground floor.¹⁶

Madame de Graffigny's letters reveal clues as to the purpose and significance of this highly decorated boudoir. In one letter, she writes that in order to relieve her boredom while waiting for her hostess to complete her *toilette*, she sought out the "joli boudoir" which was brightly lit with eight candles and

¹⁵ Bibliothèque impériale. Manuscrits. Correspondance de président Bouhier, t. IV, f.576, 577. Lettre de l'abbé Le Blanc à Bouhier, reprinted in Gustave Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire et la société au XVIIe siècle : Voltaire à Cirey*. Paris: Didier et Cie, 1871, p.112-113.

¹⁶ Hubert Saget, *Voltaire à Cirey*. Chaumont: Le Pythagore Editions, 1993, p.164.

La première chose que j'y ai faite a été de vous y désirer, mes chers
et tendres amis; après cela d'en jouir, et d'y lire ensuite les deux
actes de *Mérope*.¹⁷

She wished that her friends could be with her, to blissfully enjoy the place, and, after, read a manuscript of Voltaire's tragedy. The boudoir may well have been a place to read not only Voltaire's works, but also to study music, philosophy, literature, languages, mathematics, sciences or enjoy novels.¹⁸ It may also be the place for the occupant to read her private correspondence. In her inventory after death taken in 1749, the "petitte table bleu et or et son tiroir fermant a clef"¹⁹ suggest that she read letters which were secured in the locked drawer.

What Madame de Graffigny did prior to reading was not without significance. Invited into the Marquise Du Châtelet's apartment to attend the social ritual of waiting upon a lady while she does her make-up and hair, Madame de Graffigny migrated from the *garde-robe* to the other side of the alcove. Like

¹⁷ [11 décembre 1738] *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny*, t.1, p. 204 n.39, 211. This was most likely Voltaire's tragedy *Mérope* was finished in January 1737, performed in 1743 and published in 1744. According to Jack Rochford Vrooman, Voltaire began his play as a translation of the Veronese Scipione Maffei's (1675-1755) *Mérope* in 1736. Without romantic interest, the plot was taken from Greek mythology. Jack Rochford Vrooman, *Voltaire's Theatre: the Cycle from Oedipe to Mérope. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 75, ed. Theodore Besterman. Geneve: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1970, p.153. Also see George E. Dorris, "Scipione Maffei amid the Dunces," *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, vol. 16, no. 63 (Aug.1965), p. 289.

¹⁸ The library of the Marquise Du Châtelet has disappeared and probably her books were incorporated into Voltaire's collection. Andrew Brown and Ulla Kölving, "À la recherche des livres d'Émilie Du Châtelet," *Émilie Du Châtelet: éclairages et documents nouveaux*. Ferney-Voltaire, ed. Ulla Kölving, et Olivier Courcelles, Centre Internationale d'Étude du XVIIIe Siècle, 2008, p. 111-120. It is unclear if there was a personal library in her boudoir. Madame Du Châtelet would not have needed to keep a large amount of books in her boudoir as there was direct access from her *chambre* through a glazed door to the library.

¹⁹ Her inventory after death taken at Lunéville and Cirey is dated 11-12 septembre 1749 and is located in Nancy, archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, 10 B 411. I am very grateful to Dr. Judith P. Zinsser for giving me a digital reproduction of the inventory. The Paris inventory found at Archives nationale, Minutier Central, Inventaires, Rés. 511 and published in *The Complete Works of Voltaire: Correspondence and Related Documents*, vol. XI (March 1749-1750), appendix 93, p. 419 - 476.

the *garde-robe*, the boudoir was a societal room to be enjoyed by those who had the privilege of being invited into the lady's apartment. Madame de Graffigny noted the affect of this space: she blissfully enjoyed herself. So in addition to being a place for reading and receiving guests, the boudoir was a place to be sensible to one's inner feelings, to feel agreeable sensations.

This affect of the décor, the feeling of joy, can be understood as a state of happiness. The Marquise Du Châtelet in her *Discours sur le bonheur* (c. 1746-1748, first published in 1779)²⁰, defines happiness as a psychological state, a disposition of the mind which is obtainable “si chez les hommes les réflexions & le plan de conduite en précédoient les actions.”²¹

The state of happiness is dependent on “desires satisfaits”²² and procuring “des sensations et des sentiments agréables”²³, pleasurable feelings and sensations from one's physical and emotional interaction with one's external world. To be happy one satisfies desires by one's passions and tastes. She writes:

²⁰ Robert Mauzi, “Introduction,” *Discours sur le bonheur*, éd. critique et commentée par Robert Mauzi. Paris: Société d'éd. Les Belles lettres. 1961. Also see Barbara Whitehead, “The Singularity of Mme Du Châtelet: an Analysis of the *Discours sur le bonheur*,” *Émilie Du Châtelet: Rewriting Enlightenment Philosophy and Science, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* (2006:01), ed. Judith P. Zinsser and Julie Candler Hayes. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2006, p. 255-276.

²¹ Du Châtelet, *Discours sur le bonheur*, p. 1. “Discourse on Happiness,” *Selected Philosophical and Scientific Writings*; ed. Judith P. Zinsser and trans. Isabelle Bour and Judith P. Zinsser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, p. 349.

²² Du Châtelet, *Discours sur le bonheur*, p.24.

²³ Ibid, p.6.

On n'est heureux que par des goûts et des passions²⁴ satisfaites ;
[je dis des goûts] parce qu'on n'est pas toujours assez heureux
pour avoir des passions, et qu'au défaut des passions, il faut bien se
contenter des goûts.²⁵

As discussed by Alain Montandon and Remy Saisselin, the eighteenth-century concept of taste, while originally referring to the physical perception of the flavor of food, was more than the sensation of pleasure.²⁶ Since the seventeenth century, taste was used figuratively to encompass “discernment, the delicacy of judgment, sensibility, and also how things are chosen as well as to describe the character of a man of taste.”²⁷ From the first half of the eighteenth century, a man of taste, *honnête homme*, became defined as a quality of existence. Not only his personal comportment, his behaviour and language, but also his material possessions were signs of his taste.²⁸

Good taste was an overall principle in an aristocratic society which desired to create an art of living.²⁹ *Le monde, le beau monde, la civilisation mondaine* or *good society* embodied the finesse and the refinement of civilized social interaction.³⁰ As Starobinski has pointed out, civilized sociability was coded

²⁴ PASSION. s.f. Mouvement de l'ame excité par quelque objet. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th Edition (1762). ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed Feb. 25, 2010.

²⁵ Du Châtelet, *Discours sur le bonheur*, p.4-5. “Discourse on Happiness,” p. 349.

²⁶ Alain Montandon, “Goût,” *Dictionnaire Raisoné de la politesse et du savoir-vivre du moyen âge à nos jours* ; sous la direction d’Alain Montandon. Paris: Éditions du seuil, 1995, p.439-447. Rémy G. Saisselin, *Taste in Eighteenth Century France: Critical Reflections on the Origins of Aesthetics or an Apology for Amateurs*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1965.

²⁷ Montandon, “Goût,” p. 440.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 446.

²⁹ Saisselin, *Taste in Eighteenth Century France*, p. 52.

³⁰ Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, p. 232-3.

within an interdependency of reciprocal pleasures from which each person aimed to please the other.³¹ In this interdependency, taste is never personal preference, but rather desire and preference were subject to reason and the reasonable standards of good society.³²

³¹ Jean Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise, or, The Morality of Evil*, trans. Author Goldhammer. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 63.

³² Montandon, "Goût," p. 441-2.

4.1.2 Taste and Sensibility of the Heart -- *je ne sais quoi*

Although taste varied in time and place, there was distinction between good and bad taste, true and false taste. True taste originated from the one's sensibility or emotion derived from the senses. *Le Grand Robert de la langue française* defines sensibility (sensibilité) as the

Faculty of the sensitive [*sensible*] human being, traditionally distinguished from *intelligence* or *wit* [*esprit*] and from will – affectivity, heart, emotivity, fibre --- emotion, passion, sentiment.³³

The refinement of feeling through the senses was depicted on the walls of Madame Du Châtelet's boudoir by Watteau's *Les Sens* (figures 39-44). In *L'Ouïe*, a gallant plays a tune. In *L'Odorat*, the hovering harlequin casts his scent. In *Le Goût*, the chevalier toasts the viewer with cheer to enjoy the wine in his glass. In *Le Toucher*, the blindfolded shepherd is teased with a stick in a game of *colin-maillard*. In *La Veüe*, pleasure is derived from looking upon a graceful girl.

As the basis of taste, the "sensibility of the senses", according to the Marquis d'Argenson, is "cette amiable franchise qui nous fait intéresser les uns aux autres, l'amour ou l'amitié qui est la même chose, & qui débrouilla le chaos, selon cette divine mythologie".³⁴ It is the shared, amiable feelings towards each other, the heart, which bring individuals together and define the characteristics and qualities of belonging to good (tasteful) society.

³³ *Le Grand Robert de la langue française* (1989) cited in Dejean, *Ancients Against Moderns*, p.78.

³⁴ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t.3, p. 208. *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis D'Argenson*, vol. 1 p. 230.



(Figs. 39-44) Watteau, *Les Sens* : *L'Ouïe*, *L'Odorat*, *Le Goût*, *Le Toucher*, *La Veüe* et *L'Alliance*.

Source: Émile Dacier & Albert Vuaflart. *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Pour les membres de la Société, 1921, plates 192-196. The location of the original drawings from which these engravings are based is unknown.³⁵

As previously discussed, the cultivation of sensibility involves retiring within oneself “pour réfléchir & juger de nouveau les opérations déjà faites”³⁶ to determine good taste and share it with one’s circle of good society. Without this sharing, the ethical aspect of *retraite*, the solitary individual will become emotionally disconnected from his fellow human beings. The desire for private retreat as a complete withdrawal from society was disconcerting for the Marquis d’Argenson. He wrote that his wife, who eschewed any company rather than

³⁵ Hélène Adhémar and René Huyghe, *Watteau, sa vie – son oeuvre*. Paris: Pierre Tisné, 1950, p. 205.

³⁶ D’Argenson, *Journal*, vol.1, p.138. *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis D’Argenson*, vol. 1, p. 88.

being subjected to their friendly “semoneurs pour vous avertir que vous faites bien ou mal sur des choses que vous pouvez savoir à la vérité, mais dont vous ne vous avertissez pas, comme fait le monde & la compagnie”³⁷, was miserly in character, concerned only with collecting things and loved only “son pécule particulier, sa pension & ses diamants”.³⁸

The Marquis d’Argenson’s son who unfortunately inherited his mother’s closed mind and solitary habits, lacked taste as well. He was especially critical of his son’s passive reading. Instead of exercising his imagination through writing poetry, his son spent all his time reading and collecting information. His son has a vast erudition

sans cette méthode prompte, naturelle & sublime qu’on appelle goût³⁹; cet esprit sera combineur & compareur, sans génie, qui est la divinité inspirante, découvriante & qui enfante le sublime. Il n’aura que les idées des autres ; il les recueillera avec une riche abondance ; il produira quelques petits fruits, mais courts & secs, & nulles fleurs ; il n’aura point de plaisirs enfin.⁴⁰

For d’Argenson, one’s inventive capacity, the source of true taste, should be practiced because the exercise of one’s imagination is to experience the pleasure of one’s imaginative being. Sensibility begets both “genius, the inspiring, revealing divinity that generates the sublime” and imagination, “the luminous part

³⁷ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 140. *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis D’Argenson*, vol.1, p.90.

³⁸ Ibid, vol.1, p. 139. *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis D’Argenson*, vol. 1, p.89.

³⁹ The discernment of taste “can hardly be reasonably sensed”-- a “je ne sais quoi”. Montandon, “Goût,” p. 441-2.

⁴⁰ D’Argenson, *Journal*, t.3, p. 207. *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis D’Argenson*, vol. 1, p. 229-231.

of the soul, leading it to heights, and broadening it.” In short, without imagination, life is joyless.

The joy experienced by Madame de Graffigny in the Marquise’s boudoir may have been this refinement of feeling, which is the goal of self-reflection according to d’Argenson, and in particular, the exercise of “la plus subtile & la plus louable des sens, qu’on appelle le coeur.”⁴¹ As pointed out by Joan Dejean, the heart is the center of beauty and good taste: “the natural *sensibilité* of the human heart”.⁴²

The heart which encompasses each of the five senses, *L’Oûie, L’Odorat, Le Goût, Le Toucher, and La Veüe*, is a visual reminder of its primacy to the senses. As Du Châtelet explains in her *Discours sur le bonheur*, love, the “sixth sense”, is a taste which is the most delicate and finest of them all:

Si ce goût mutuel, qui est un sixieme sens, & le plus fin, le plus délicat, le plus précieux de tous, se trouve rassembler deux ames également sensibles au bonheur, au plaisir, tout est dit, on n’a plus rien à faire pour être heureux, tout le reste est indifférent; il n’y a que la santé qui y soit nécessaire.⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid, t. 3, p. 206. *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis D’Argenson*, vol.1, p.229. The development of a new feeling and emotion arose in the seventeenth century which pertained to an interdependent relationship based on feeling of *tendresse* and *tendre* (friendship and love). In *Princess of Cleves*, for instance, heart and interiority are synonymous with love. Dejean calls this a sentimental revolution where affectivity is tied with a conception of love: in the novel, “love is the center of our affective life and that it is by the ability to love, and to attract love, that an individual’s worth can be evaluated.” Dejean, *Ancients Against Moderns*, p.115.

⁴² Dejean, *Ancients Against Moderns*, p. 94.

⁴³ *Discours sur le bonheur*, p. 28. “Discourse on Happiness,” p. 360.

For Du Châtelet, this mutual taste, love, the only happiness which solely depends on another, is a passion which gives us the desire to live.⁴⁴ However, since reciprocal love is rare, a limited happiness can sometimes be found when the love of one supplements the happiness of the other creating the illusion of reciprocity.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Discours sur le bonheur*, p. 27-28 : “J’ai dit que plus notre bonheur dépend de nous, & plus il est assuré; & cependant la passion qui peut nous donner de plus grands plaisirs & nous rendre le plus heureux, met entièrement notre bonheur dans la dépendance des autres; on voit bien que je veux parler de l’amour. Cette passion est peut-être la seule qui puisse nous faire désirer de vivre, & nous engager à remercier l’auteur de la nature, quel, qu’il soit, de nous avoir donné l’existence.” “Discourse on Happiness,” p. 360.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 27- 33. “Discourse on Happiness,” p. 360-62.

4.1.3 *L'Alliance*

Illusion is a key ingredient for happiness. For in addition to bodily pleasures, happiness depends on the ability to maintain one's illusions. Du Châtelet writes:

...car nous devons la plupart de nos plaisirs à l'illusion, & malheureux est celui qui la perd. Loin donc de chercher à la faire disparaître par le flambeau de la raison, tâchons d'épaissir le vernis qu'elle met sur la plupart des objets ; il leur est encore plus nécessaire que ne le sont à nos corps les soins & la parure.⁴⁶

In a boudoir, one can be content within one's self, the source of true happiness⁴⁷ and "il ne faut point se piquer d'une constance qui seroit aussi ridicule que déplacée. C'est bien le cas de pratiquer le proverbe, *les plus courtes folies sont les meilleures*; ce sont sur-tout les plus courts malheurs".⁴⁸ Sometimes one has to take drastic action when love wanes; "[i]l faut...découdre l'amitié & déchirer l'amour".⁴⁹ In this case one could take refuge in the *bosquets de la vérité* where shepherds and shepherdesses, actors and musicians are depicted within a pastoral setting, *galanterie* forming the terms of a "utopian civilized society"⁵⁰ where lovers find union or *Alliance*, the sixth sense in Watteau's *Cinq sens* (figure 44). Or one can enter the pastoral landscape through the use of an

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.4. "Discourse on Happiness," p.349.

⁴⁷ "...c'est parce que de toutes les passions c'est celle qui met le plus notre bonheur dans la dépendance des autres; [or moins notre bonheur dépend des autres] et plus il nous est aisé d'être heureux." Ibid, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 37. "Discourse on Happiness," p. 364.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 37-8."Discourse on Happiness," p. 364.

⁵⁰ "The mythical origin of this utopian civilized society was illustrated in Honoré d'Urfé's pastoral romance *L'Astrée*". Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, p. xi. Also see Dejean, *Ancients Against Moderns*, p. 83; Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

external view of a garden or landscape. From Madame Du Châtelet's first floor apartment at Cirey, a single French window from her boudoir leads onto a terrace looking over the bluff onto the surrounding countryside and the forest of Etoile (figures 45-46).⁵¹



(Fig.45) Château de Cirey, Isidore Deroy (1797-1886), 19th C lithograph. BNF, Estampes et Photographie, Va 52, folio, t. 1.

Source: *Madame Du Châtelet : La femme des Lumières*. Paris : Bibliothèque nationale de France, p. 93.

(Fig. 46) Château de Cirey.

Source: Nancy Mitford. *Voltaire in Love*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1957.

In her boudoir, constant love could be relived while reading novels or fairy tales. In Henri-François de La Solle's *Anecdotes de la cour de bonhomie* (1752), for instance, the beautiful fairy Velomide was queen and sovereign of Bonhommie, a vast and flourishing kingdom. There she reigned with her genie consort, Toutbeau whom she dearly loved.

Son amour pour le Genie Toutbeau lui en fournissoit en particulier d'autres plus délicats, mais d'une espece moins noble & moins sublime; leur passion étoit aussi vive & aussi pure que lors de leur arrivée en Bonhommie, quoiqu'ils y eussent déjà passé plus de soixante ans ; ils aimoient tous deux ; ils étoient tous deux aimés ;

⁵¹ Saget, *Voltaire à Cirey*, p. 157.

dans cet état charmant compte t'on les années ? Je n'en sçais rien ; mais de la maniere dont on gouverne l'amour parmi nous autres mortes, je crois qu'on auroit souvent de la peine à compter les jours.

Ils s'enfermoient souvent dans le boudoir de Toutbeau qui étoit un petit cabinet où rassemblé tout ce qu'avoit imaginé de plus agreable la volupté de tous les Pays du monde ; on pense bien qu'ils ne parloient pas là des affaires de l'Etat ; il y a temps pour eux commes des éclairs, & paroissoient des siècles aux Courtisans désouvrés. Un Roy est le soleil de sa Cours ; il y fait toujours sombre quand il ne paroît pas ; tant pis pour les Habitans de ce monde-là. Cependant c'est un terrible métier d'éclairer toujours les autres, de faire leur bonheur & leurs plaisirs, & de s'ennuyer souvent avec eux en attendant l'occasion d'une éclipse.⁵²

As a site of a union of hearts, the boudoir was where love was imagined to be constant and true.

⁵² Henri-François de La Solle, *Anecdotes de la cour de bonhommie*. Londres [i.e. Paris], 1752, t. 1, p.115-117. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed February 13, 2008.

4.1.4 Room for *Galanterie*

Amorous love was not the only form of love in the boudoir. There was also *galanterie* which signified a quality of social intercourse.⁵³ As Emmanuel Bury has explained, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it also signified elegance, attractiveness, and a pleasing comportment recognizable in persons of quality (*honnêtes gens*).⁵⁴

Characterized by good will, liveliness, adroitness, spontaneity and amiability without affectation⁵⁵, *galanterie* was a refinement of social interaction developed in seventeenth century literary salons where it was both written about and acted out in the form of salon games. Mademoiselle d'Aumale, Madame de Maintenon's secretary related the kind of *galanterie*, verses that society people

⁵³ GALANTERIE. s.f. Qualité de celui qui est galant. Agrément, politesse dans l'esprit & dans les manières. Cet homme-là a de la galanterie dans l'esprit. Il met de la galanterie dans tout ce qu'il fait. Il y a de la galanterie dans tout ce qu'il dit, dans tout ce qu'il fait.

Il se dit aussi De certains respects & d'une certaine politesse auprès des Dames. Il fait profession de galanterie. S'adonner à la galanterie. La galanterie auprès des Dames sied bien à un jeune homme.

GALANTERIE se dit aussi d'Un commerce amoureux & criminel. Cette femme a une galanterie avec un tel. Elle a déjà eu plusieurs galanteries.

Il se dit pareillement De certains soins que l'on rend aux Dames, & des petits présents qu'on leur fait par politesse. Il fait tous les jours des galanteries aux Dames.

En parlant d'Un présent, on dit, que Ce n'est qu'une galanterie, pour dire, que C'est un présent de peu de conséquence.

On dit aussi, en parlant d'Une action équivoque en soi, & que l'on veut excuser, que Ce n'est qu'une pure galanterie. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1762). ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed March 3, 2010.

⁵⁴ Emmanuel Bury, "Galanterie," *Dictionnaire raisonné de la politesse et du savoir-vivre du moyen âge à nos jours* ; sous la direction d'Alain Montandon. Paris : Éditions du seuil, 1995, p.417-423.

⁵⁵ *Encyclopédie*, ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet. <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed March 23, 2010. AMOUR, GALANTERIE, [Langue françoise] Jaucourt (Page 17:754) :

La galanterie entraîne vers toutes les personnes qui ont de la beauté ou de l'agrément, nous unit à celles qui répondent à nos desirs, & nous laisse du goût pour les autres.

wrote for each other's amusement.⁵⁶ Even the devout Madame de Maintenon wrote witty verses about her “Familiers ou, pour rire, la Cabale” who were included at all her gatherings and parties with the King.⁵⁷

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, *galanterie* as amiable interaction was often confused with its original meaning as amorous intent.⁵⁸ In his seventeenth manual for the conduct of court ladies “Instruction pour un jeune Princesse” (1685), Joachim de la Chétardie warns a young unmarried lady not to confound the two:

If you ask me what I think of *Gallantry*? I must tell you, that there are some Women indeed, whose Reputations are so well established, that they may appear Gallant, without exposing themselves; but the Number is very small, and nothing is more ticklish or dangerous than this; because Gallantry, as we ought to understand it, is no more than an ingenious witty Conversation, for a little innocent Recreation only, in which the Heart and Mind should have no part. But there are few that hold the Scales so right, as not to confound it, either with *Love* or *Coquetry*; and as for such Persons as your self, who have not changed your Condition by Marriage, it is not the same thing in your Case. For to engage in such a Conversation, you will be thought to understand some thing

⁵⁶ Aumale, *Mémoires de Mademoiselle d'Aumale*, vol. 1, p. 35. “Voici de petits vers que j’ai retenus de madame de Maintenon, et qui se faisaient à l’hôtel d’Albret sur les personnes qui en faisaient la société pour s’amuser. On les comparait quelquefois à des fleurs ou à des métiers. Madame de Maintenon en fit quelques-uns. Elle me parlait quelquefois de ces bagatelles, en rêvant de Saint-Cyr à Versailles.”

⁵⁷ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 171. These ladies were, “Madame la duchesse de Noailles, sa nièce, Madame la marquise de Dangeau, Madame la marquise de Lévis, Madame la marquise d’O, Madame la marquise d’Heudicourt, Madame de Mongon sa fille, Madame la comtesse de Caylus.”

⁵⁸ Bury, “Galanterie,” p.417-423.

you ought to be ignorant of, or will expose you self to Censure,
and be quoted as an Authority.⁵⁹

Even in the middle of the eighteenth century, the confusion remained such that the *Encyclopédie* apparently needed to clarify the difference by the pairing of *amour* and *galanterie* in the same heading.⁶⁰

Images of *galanterie* as amiable interaction were depicted in Du Châtelet's boudoir. One of the small panel paintings, *Le Baiser pris et rendu*⁶¹ (figure 47-8), illustrated the encounter of Guillot and his wife, Perronnelle with a gentleman who was so taken by her beauty of that he asked Guillot if he could kiss her. Guillot spontaneously and well-naturedly agrees, and the gentleman proceeds to kiss Perronnelle. Eight days later, the same gentleman weds a beautiful wife and Guillot asks for a reciprocal favor to bestow a kiss on the bride. The gentleman gracefully agrees. So blissful was this exchange that Guillot exclaimed

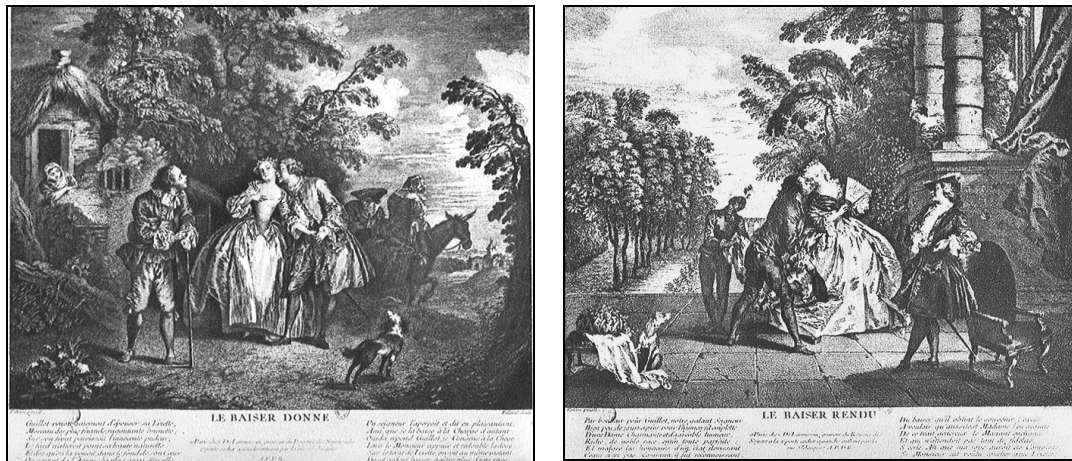
Puisque Monsieur, dit-il, est si fidèle,
J'ai grand regret, et je suis bien fâché
Qu'ayant baisé seulement Perronnelle,
Il n'ait encore avec elle couché.⁶²

⁵⁹ Joachim de la Chétardie, "Instruction pour un jeune Princesse" (Paris 1685), trans. George Hickes, *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*. London, 1708, p. 322; reproduced in *Conduct Literature for Women, 1640-1710*, vol.6, p. 354.

⁶⁰ AMOUR, GALANTERIE, (Page 17:754), *Encyclopédie*. ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet. <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed March 23, 2010.

⁶¹ The editors of *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny* incorrectly identify Nicolas Lancret as the author of *Cinq sens* and Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Pater, student of Watteau, as the painter of both *Les Oies de Frère Philippe* and *Le Baiser pris et rendu*. Georges Wildenstein, René Huyghe, and Émile Dacier & Albert Vuaflart state that Watteau was the author of *Les Sens*. Indeed Wildenstein categorically states that Lancret never attempted this subject. Florence Ingersoll-Smouse in Pater. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1928, p. 74 and 75. Graffigny, *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny*, vol. 1, p. 203, note 25. Georges Wildenstein, *Lancret*. Paris: G. Servant, 1924. p. 28. Adhémar and Huyghe, *Watteau, sa vie*, p. 7. A. Hédé-Haüy, *Les Illustrations des Contes de la Fontaine: bibliographie Iconographie*. Paris: Rouquette & fils, 1893, p. 118- 125 and p. 132-135.

⁶² Jean de La Fontaine. "Le Baiser pris et rendu," *Contes*. Paris. Edition Molière, 2005, p. 132.



(Fig. 47, 48) Pierre Filloeuil after painting by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Pater, *Le baiser donné*, *Le baiser rendu* engraving, 1733.⁶³

Source: Florence Ingersoll-Smouse, *Pater*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1928, p. 198, figs. 187, 188.

Galanterie's highest form of courtesousness is directed towards women. As

Bury describes,

De fait, les femmes incarnent le goût, la justesse de la langue et le naturel; leur plaisir signifie qu'on a acquis cette élégance de ton et d'allure qui fait oublier toute tension et tout étude...Le galant homme est donc celui dont l'extérieur est parfaitement accompli, et dont les femmes peuvent reconnaître la valeur.⁶⁴

The naturally irresistible power of female grace was also illustrated in another panel painting from La Fontaine's *Contes*. In *Les Oies de Frère Philippe* (figures 49-50), a young man who was brought up isolated from the charms of women reflects upon seeing these beautiful creatures,

⁶³ Pierre Filloeuil's *Le baiser donné* and *Le baiser rendu* engravings can be found at BNF, Estampes et Photographie, Db 17, folio cited in *Madame Du Châtelet: La femme des Lumières*, p.54.

⁶⁴ Bury, "Galanterie," p.420.

Aussi, dès qu'il les vit, il en sentit les coups.
 Vous surpassâtes tout; il n'eut d'yeux que pour vous;
 Il laissa les palais; enfin votre personne
 Lui parut avoir plus d'attraits
 Que n'en auraient, à beaucoup près,
 Tous les joyaux de la Couronne⁶⁵.



(Fig. 49) Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743) . *Les Oies de Frère Philippe*. Oil on Canvas c.1737, Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dist. RMN / Image of the MMA.

(Fig. 50) Nicolas de Larmessin (1684-1753) after painting by Nicolas Lancret, *Les Oies de Frère Philippe*, engraving.⁶⁶

Source: Jean de La Fontaine. "Les Oies de Frère Philippe," *Contes*. Paris. Edition Molière, 2005, p. 143.

The beauty of a woman triumphs over all royal luxuries. Palaces and crowns are nothing compared to the pleasures of her presence. She embodies the *air gallant*, the "inexpressible quality that makes one lovable and amiable".⁶⁷

Galanterie having the spirit of joyful charm, which Madame de Graffigny associates with the genius of one's inventive capacity, was likened to the

⁶⁵ La Fontaine,"Les Oies de Frère Philippe," p. 143.

⁶⁶ In 1736, Lancret painted 12 illustrations of La Fontaine's *Contes* which were left unfinished by Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695-1736). His paintings were part of the *Suite de Larmessin*, illustrations engraved from 1737 to 1743 by Nicholas de Larmessin. Mary Tavenor Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret: Dance Before a Fountain*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006, p.43, n. 63.

⁶⁷ Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, p.242.

imaginative power of a fairy or a Voltaire. For both Voltaire and fairies could produce the kind of magic that inspires the feeling of enchantment:

On regala bien Mr l'envoyé. On lui donna la comedie, un feu
d'artifice, une illumination, enfin des choses qu'il n'y a que les
fées ou Voltaire qui puisse les faire dans un endroit comme celui-
ci.⁶⁸

As places of enchantment, boudoirs have been associated by other writers with fairies. Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Samuel Johnson⁶⁹ in their diaries of their trip to France [1775] paint Madame d'Argenson's boudoir⁷⁰ as a place fit for fairy tales,

⁶⁸ [Lettre 61] *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny*, t.1, p. 200.

⁶⁹ Hester Lynch Piozzi Thrale and Samuel Johnson, *The French Journals of Mrs. Thrale and Doctor Johnson*. Manchester, The Manchester University Press 1932, p.116-117, 172.

Thrale: He took us first to the House of Mr. D'Argenson, which I think was all Gold & Glass; his Bed was Tent of the most costly Tissue, with a ty'd up Bundle of Spears for Posts; & a Helmet with Plumes at the Top – Bows, Arrows, Battle Axes, &c. forming the Back Frame behind his Head. This Bed was repeated eight Times by Mirrors placed accordingly. The rest of the House was Suitable, & the Apartment of the Lady still more gay; her Dressing Room was splendid [even] to magnificence, & her Boudoir or pouting Room was hung with elegant Paper covered with Glass, they shewed us her Shoes which were remarkably pretty & small – Queeney could not have got them on her Foot I am confident. In this Apartment were Books fit for the Place such as Faery Tales, &c. They would not let us see the upper Apartments because they saw us laughing and handling their Books.

Johnson: Oct 14, Saturday, 1775: We went to the house of Mr. Argenson, which was almost wainscotted with looking glasses, and covered with gold. The Ladies closet wainscotted with large squares of glass over painted paper. They always place mirrours to reflect their rooms. Then we went to Julien's, the Treasurer of the clergy. 30000 L a year. The house has no very large room, but is set with mirrours, and covered with gold. Books of wood here, and in (an)other library.

At D'Argensons I looked into the Books in the Lady's closet, and in contempt showed them to Mr. T. – Prince Titi, (Cordonnier de Saint Hyacinthe, *Histoire du Prince Titi*. Paris, 1736.) She was offended, and shut up, as we heard afterwards, her apartment.

⁷⁰ The hôtel d'Voyer d'Argenson, designed by Germain Boffrand for the Regent, Philippe duc d'Orléans for his mistress Madame d'Argenton, was refurbished by Charles De Wailly from 1762-1770. William Chambers during his visit to Paris recorded the views of the house in his private sketchbooks. Unfortunately he was not allowed to sketch Madame's chambers and her boudoir. Anne Leclair, "Les plafonds peints de l'hôtel d'Argenson: commande d'un amateur parisien (1767-1773)," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, v.140, n.1606 (Nov. 2002), p.293. John Harris, "Sir William Chambers and His Parisian Album," *Architectural History*, vol. 6, (1963), p. 54-90.

perhaps like the Marquise d'Ep  nay's tale *L'Isle Heureuse ou les vœux en l'air*⁷¹ in which a fairy's palace was made of 365 small boudoirs. In this tale for the education of young girls, the fairy Capricieuse "qui vivait la plupart du temp, seule et d  laiss  e, dans un palais   cart  , dont toutes les pieces   taient en boudoirs. Ce fut l'architecte de ce palais singulier, qui s'immortalisa le premier par l'invention des boudoirs, pour complaire    son auguste ma  trese; et il est av  r   que leur destination originale   tait, qu'on p  t s'y ennuyer tout    son aise."⁷²

Decorated in the spirit of *galanterie*, the boudoir created an affect of whimsical amazement. Bachaumont, for instance, recounts the *galanterie* of the Duchesses de Choiseul and de Grammont towards the Abb   Barth  lemi de Marseille:

1 novembre 1762: On ne sauroit trop consigner    la post  rit   les noms de deux femmes illustres qui honorent les lettres de leur protection: mesdames les duchesses de Choiseul & de Grammont m  ritent une place distingu  e dans le rang de ces virtuoses.

M. l'abb   Barth  lemi de Marseille, de l'acad  mie des inscriptions & belles-lettres, garde du cabinet des m  dailles du Roi, ayant   t   depuis peu favoris   d'un logement particulier, ces deux dames l'ont gratifi   d'une galanterie peu commune. Elles ont, pendant qu'il   toit absent, trouv   le secret d'avoir la clef d'un *Musaeum* qu'il avoit arrang   philosophiquement; elles l'ont d  cor      son insu de la fa  on la plus galante & la plus voluptueuse: elles l'ont enrichi de plusieurs ouvrages de leurs mains, & au retour de l'Abb  , la clef

⁷¹ Louise Florence P  tronille Tardieu d'Esclavelles, marquise d'Ep  nay, "Conversation 14," *Les conversations d'Emilie / Madame d'Ep  nay*, texte pr  sent   par Rosena Davison (Studies On Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 342). Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996.

⁷² Ibid, p. 277.

s'étant retrouvée, il a été transporté dans un boudoir de Fée. Tout Paris parle de cet enchantement.⁷³

While *galanterie* expressed the desire of elite women and men for transparent and amicable social relationships founded on reciprocal respect and mutual pleasure, an underlying aggressiveness can be found in the duchesses' marked attention.⁷⁴ As Benedetta Craveri points out, *galanterie* is a form of generous behaviour which depends on the gallant's relative superior social position. David Hume explains that a man's gallantry towards a woman is but an instance of generosity:

As nature has given *man* the superiority above *women*, by endowing him with greater strength of mind and body, it is his part to alleviate that superiority, as much as possible, by the generosity of his behavior, and by a studied deference and complaisance for all her inclinations and opinions.⁷⁵

Galanterie as a form of hierarchical positioning was also found in the Marquise Du Chatelet's boudoir in the form of an *écritoire*. Sent by Frederick, the crown prince of Prussia, the *écritoire*, together with many *bagatelles*, were expressly for her boudoir:

Le paquet dont on Vous a avisé et que le substitut de Trochin ne Vous à point envoyé contient quelque bagatelle pour la Marquise. C'est un Meuble pour son boudoir. Je Vous prie de l'assurer de L'estime que m'inspire tout ceux qui vous savent aimer. Cesarion

⁷³ Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France*. Londres [Amsterdam], 1783, vol. 1, p.141.
<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed July 12, 2008.

⁷⁴ Starobinski, "The Word Civilisation" and "On Flattery," in *Blessings in Disguise*, p. 1-59.

⁷⁵ David Hume, "On the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences," in *Essays, Moral, Political and Literary*, p. 193, cited in Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, p. 237.

me pariot un peu touché de la Marquise. Il me dit, quand elle parloit j'étois amoureux de son esprit et lorsque'elle ne parloit pas je l'étois de son corps. Heureux sont les yeux qui l'ont vus et les oreilles qui l'ont entendues, plus heureux ceux qui conoissent Voltaire et qui le possèdent tout les jours.⁷⁶

According to Theodore Besterman, the *écritoire* was a writing desk while the editors of the *Complete Works of Voltaire* believe that it was an inkstand.⁷⁷ In the *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française* (1762), an *écritoire* was

Ce qui contient ou renferme les choses nécessaires pour écrire, encre, papier, plume, canif, &c. Écritoire qu'on porte sur soi. Écritoire de corne, d'ivoire, de cuivre. Écritoire de cabinet. Écritoire de bureau. Écritoire d'argent, de verre. Écritoire bien garnie.⁷⁸

While it could be a desk, Frederick's *écritoire* was a portable desk-set for writing.⁷⁹ In her inventory taken after her death, on top of a corner cupboard was "un tiroir de bois de la chine dans lequel il est neuf poudrier et un ancrier argent".⁸⁰

⁷⁶ [Letter 1458] *Voltaire's Correspondence*, ed. Theodore Besterman. Genève: Insitute et Musée Voltaire, 1954, vol. VII, p. 212. Also Letter D1524, 17 juin 1738 in *Complete Works of Voltaire*, vol. 89, p. 155. Voltaire and the Marquise privately agreed that Frederick's French was very poor. However, they both praised his command of the language in their letters to him.

⁷⁷ [Letter 1412, 31 mars 1738] *Voltaire's Correspondence*, vol. VII, p. 124. *Complete Works of Voltaire*, vol. 89, p.79, n. 6.

⁷⁸ *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française* (1762). ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed August 12, 2008.

⁷⁹ Whitehead, *The French Interior in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 241.

⁸⁰ 10 B 411, Nancy, archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, courtesy of Dr. Judith P. Zinsser.

The gift consisted of two parts, an “écritoire d’ambre et les bagatelles”⁸¹ which Madame de Graffigny described in greater detail:

[6 décembre 1738] Le prince envoya cete ecritoire qui est tres belle, avec des vers dans le cornet, escrit sans doute par celui qui avoit mis l’*Iliade* dans une coque de nois, car le papier est grand comme l’ongle. Ils sont a la louange de la dame qui est portée au troisieme ciel. Il n’y manque que la tournure. Je demanderai a les copier pour te les envoyer. Je les metrés dans le microscope pour les lire. On ne m’a point parlé de present a V[oltaire].⁸²

The precious item contained in the ink holder was not ink but rather verses, *bagatelles*, praising the Marquise Du Châtelet, written on a piece of paper the size of a fingernail. Bagatelles, literally meaning according to the *Dictionnaire de L’Académie française* “une chose frivole, de peu”⁸³, were amusing verses composed by *honnêtes gens* for each others’ enjoyment.

The bagatelles were the most noteworthy part of Frederick’s gift, and Madame Du Châtelet would acknowledge the *galanterie* in her letter to him:

[26 août 1738] Je viens de recevoir la galanterie charmante de votre altesse royale, et je m’en sers pour lui en marquer ma reconnaissance. Si vous aviez pu, monseigneur, m’envoyer votre génie, je pourrais me flatter de répondre aux vers dont vous avez accompagné ce joli présent...⁸⁴

⁸¹ [1er juin 1739, De Frédéric Prince Royal De Prusse] *Complete Works of Voltaire*, vol. 90, p. 388.

⁸² [Lettre 61] *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny*, t.1, p. 200.

⁸³ *Dictionnaire de L’Académie française, 1st Edition (1694)*, p. 76. ARTFL <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/> March 2, 2010.

⁸⁴ [Letter 1526] *Voltaire’s Correspondence*, vol. 7, p. 336.

This *galanterie* was not to be mentioned to Voltaire, according to Madame de Graffigny, who seems to think that he would be jealous. However, in at least four separate letters dated over the course of more than one year⁸⁵, Frederick reveals that his purpose was similar to the *galanterie* of Duchesses de Choiseul and de Grammont. He mentions to Voltaire his gift to the Marquise Du Châtelet in order to reiterate his own generosity and establish his position.

Galanterie is a form of flattering compliment⁸⁶ which gives the flatterer the opportunity to speak about himself in the guise of complimenting the other person.⁸⁷ As Jean Starobinski explains, its purpose is twofold: a flattering compliment affirms the speaker's own taste and at the same time it attempts to captivate the other by his words in order to diminish the recipient's self-image and replace it with an alternative representation created by the flatterer's words of praise. The flatterer's intent is to create a new set of emperor's clothes which envelops the other. It is not without coincidence that *flattuer* also means to pet the surface of an animal's fur and indeed, for flattery to be successful it must animalize the intended victim.⁸⁸

Galanterie has a self-serving interest to diminish the person to whom it is addressed and at the same time allows the gallant to refer to his own superior qualities. And why did Frederick feel the necessity to diminish the Marquise both to her and in the eyes of Voltaire? Because he was vying for Voltaire's affections.

⁸⁵ [Letters 31 mars 1738, 17 juin 1738, 30 septembre 1738, and 1er juin 1739] *Complete Works of Voltaire*, vol. 89, p.78, 155, 307; vol. 90, p. 388.

⁸⁶ The difference between *galanterie* and flattery is that *galanterie* issues from those who are hierarchically above while flattery issues from the position of being hierarchically below.

⁸⁷ Starobinski, "On Flattery," in *Blessings in Disguise*, p. 36-59.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.47-48.

In a letter to Voltaire prior to the arrival of the *écritoire* at Cirey, Frederick makes known his intentions: “J’envoie une petite bagatelle à madame la marquise, que vous lui ferez accepter. J’espère qu’elle la placera dans ses entresols, et qu’elle voudra s’en servir à ses compositions.”⁸⁹ For the genius⁹⁰ who would translate and annotate Newton’s *Principia Mathematica*⁹¹ into French, Frederick’s suggestion that the Marquise’s “compositions” belonged in her small private rooms would be a slighting comment about her work. Five months later, in a letter dated 1 September 1738 to Frederick, Voltaire acknowledges the significance of the *écritoire* in their fight for his attention by composing this verse likening it to the battle between Mars and Minerva.⁹² Frederick’s gift was both homage and

⁸⁹ [Letter 1412, 31 mars 1738] *Voltaire’s Correspondence*, vol. 7, p. 124.

⁹⁰ Voltaire thought that she was genius. Zinsser, “Introduction,” *Selected Philosophical and scientific Writings*, p.2.

⁹¹ *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. Ibid, p. 1.

⁹² [Letter D1608 1 septembre 1738] *Complete Works of Voltaire*, vol. 89, p. 281.

Je suis presque ressuscité,
Lorsque j’ai vu cette écritoire,
L’instrument de la vérité,
De mes plaisirs, de votre gloire.
Mais qu’il m’en doit coûter de soins !
Que l’usage en est difficile !
Quand on a la lance d’Achille,
Il faut être un Patrocle au moins.
Qui du beau chantre de la Thrace
Tiendrait la lyre entre ses doigts,
S’il n’avait sa force et sa grâce,
Pourrait-il animer les bois,
Adoucir l’enfer et Cerbère ?
C’est un grand ouvrage, et je crois
Qu’il ferait bien mieux de se taire.
Mais le cas est tout différent ;
L’écritoire est pour Emilie :
Grand prince, elle eut votre génie
Avant d’avoir votre présent.
Le ciel tous les deux vous réserve
Pour l’exemple de nos nerveux ;
Et c’est Mars qui, du haut des cieux,
Envoie une égide à minerve.

subtle undermining of Madame du Châtelet's diverse talents as a philosopher, scientist and writer with his flattering verses inserted in the ink holder. This double aspect of *galanterie*, a refinement of manners which is both passive and aggressive, underlines his intention.

Aware of his attempt to undermine her from the start, the Marquise was not appreciative of his *galanterie* when she made use of the [backhanded] compliment to express her own gratefulness.⁹³ As Judith Zinsser has pointed out, the future King of Prussia was homosexual and the Marquise, although indifferent to Voltaire's other admirers, was very jealous of Frederick's attention towards her lover.⁹⁴

Frederick's bagatelles found an appropriate home with the other *galanteries* in her boudoir. It was a "blissful" space where she could sit on her great chair and be the sovereign lady. Here she was reflected in the lacquer surfaces creating multiple ghostly versions of herself amongst the pastoral landscapes where love reigns. In her room for herself, she could modify and "economize" her passions in order to "[*moins notre bonheur dépend des autres*] et plus il nous est aisé d'être heureux."⁹⁵

Il fallait votre altesse royale, monseigneur, et Émilie pour me donner la force de penser et d'écrire. J'ai été assez près d'allé voir ce royaume qu'Orphée charma, et dont je n'aurais voulu revenir que pour Emilie et pour votre personne.

⁹³ See footnote 84.

⁹⁴ Judith Zinsser, *La Dame D'Esprit: A Biography of the Marquise Du Châtelet*. New York: Viking, 2006, p.81.

⁹⁵ Du Châtelet, *Discours sur le bonheur*, p. 20. "Discourse on Happiness," p. 357.

4.2 Becoming Happy

The Marquise Du Châtelet sought ways to be happy by working out the “subtle details which contribute to happiness” and deciding on what one wants to be and how to go about achieving this:

La premiere de toutes est d’être bien décidé à ce qu’on veut être et à ce qu’on veut faire, et c’est ce qui manque à presque tous les hommes; c’est pourtant la condition sans laquelle il n’y a point de bonheur. Sans elle, on nage perpétuellement dans une mer d’incertitudes; on détruit le matin ce qu’on a fait le soir; on passe la vie à faire des sottises, à les réparer, à s’en repentir.⁹⁶

Rather than repentance, “un des plus inutiles et des plus désagréables que notre ame puisse éprouver”, one must

savoir s’en garantir. Comme rien ne se ressemble dans la vie, il est presque toujours inutile de voir ses fautes, du moins l’est-il de s’arrêter longtemps à les considérer et de se les reprocher: c’est nous couvrir de confusion à nos propres yeux sans aucun profit. Il faut partir d’où l’on est, employer toute la sagacité de son esprit à réparer; mais il ne faut point regarder au talon, et il faut toujours écarter de son esprit le souvenir des ses fautes: quand on en a tiré dans une premiere vue le fruit qu’on en peut attendre, écarter les idées tristes et leur en substituer d’agréables, c’est encore un des grands ressorts du bonheur, & nous avons celui-là en notre pouvoir, du moins jusqu’à un certain point...⁹⁷

While previous generations prepared for heavenly paradise in their *boudoir-chapelle* by meditating upon death, Madame Du Châtelet’s boudoir was a place to avoid such thoughts: “La mort, par exemple, est une idée qui nous afflige

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 16. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 355.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 16-7. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 355-356.

toujours, soit que nous prévoyions la nôtre, soit que nous pensions à celle des gens que nous aimons. Il faut donc éviter avec soin tout ce que peut nous rappeler cette idée.”⁹⁸ Indeed, it was now a place to avoid the unpleasant so as not to be burdened by them: “Détournons cet esprit de toutes les idées désagréables; elles sont la source d’où naissent tous les maux métaphysiques, & c’est sur-tout ceux-là qu’il est presque toujours en notre pouvoir d’éviter.”⁹⁹

But living within an illusionary state within this lived world demands a precarious balance. For happiness, like taste, does depend on others. For instance, happiness is to have the esteem of one’s society. One’s interaction with others is in context of imagining oneself to be judged or viewed by other *honnêtes gens*.¹⁰⁰ One needs “l’oeil vigilant de sa propre conscience qu’on ne trompe jamais”¹⁰¹ in order to maintain the good conscience which is shared by one’s associates. Happiness is judged according to a self-imagined tableau of *honnêteté* where one is conscious of being looked at by those with an equal or higher status than oneself. Persons outside of one’s circle of associates are not part of one’s internal unconscious eye.¹⁰²

Much to Madame Du Châtelet’s unhappiness, her (aristocratic) society excluded women from public life while men

⁹⁸ Ibid, p.18. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 356.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 19. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 356.

¹⁰⁰ “...l’estime des honnêtes gens mérite seule qu’on la compte.” Ibid, p. 14. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 354.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 13. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 356.

¹⁰² For instance, in the infamous account by her domestic Sébastien Longchamp, Madame Du Châtelet did not consider the regard, even upon her naked body, of her male servant as worthy of her notice or consideration. S. G. Longchamp, *Mémoires sur Voltaire: et sur ses ouvrages*. Paris: Aimé André, 1826, t.II, p. 119-120.

ont une infinie de ressources pour être heureux, qui manquent entièrement aux femmes. Ils ont bien d'autres moyens d'arriver à la gloire, & il est sûr que l'ambition de rendre ses talents utiles à son pays & de servir ses concitoyens, soit par son habileté dans l'art de la guerre, ou par ses talents pour le gouvernement, ou les négociations...¹⁰³

For women, the means to a happiness less dependent on others is education. She engaged in her passion for study to forget the condition of women like herself :

“née avec une ame assez élevée, il ne lui reste que l'étude pour la consoler de toutes les exclusions et de toutes les dépendances auxquelles elle se trouve condamnée par état.”¹⁰⁴

However, she admits being driven by a desire for fame, glory and independence from a woman's condition defined by her body, and hopes that her intellectual contributions will live beyond her mortal life.¹⁰⁵ And even though happiness values one's temporal life rather than the afterlife, Du Chatelet explains that happiness is not dependent solely on the satisfaction of desires and the pleasures of the moment:

Nous sommes heureux dans le moment présent, non seulement par nos jouissances actuelles, mais par nos espérances, par nos réminiscences. Le présent s'enrichit du passé & de l'avenir.¹⁰⁶

There is a belief and hope in the value of her self transcending the present through her past and future. And at the heart of this vanity is self-love: “[n]ous avons beau

¹⁰³ Du Châtelet, *Discours sur le bonheur*, p. 21. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 357.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 21. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 357.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p.21-22. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 358

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p.22-3. “*Discourse on Happiness*,” p. 358.

faire, l'amour-propre est toujours le mobile plus ou moins caché de nos actions".¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.23. "*Discourse on Happiness*," p. 358.

4.3 Room for the Chatelaine

Madame de Graffigny used the word “boudoir” to describe the most extraordinarily and preciously decorated *cabinet de retraite* belonging to the lady of the house. While Madame Du Châtelet’s apartment was composed of a *chambre*, a *garderobe* and a *boudoir*, Madame de Graffigny’s own apartment, also consisted of three rooms, a *chambre*, a non-upholstered *garderobe*, and not a *boudoir* but rather a *cabinet*.¹⁰⁸

Madame Du Châtelet’s boudoir signified her status as the chatelaine of the Château de Cirey. Reinforcing an aristocratic self-mythologizing, the boudoir was a place for *galanterie*, joy, amiability, enchantment, to maintain one’s illusions and to avoid the unpleasant. The boudoir was also a domicile of one’s creative spirit and passions, a place to cultivate taste, evoking the pleasurable feelings supporting the purpose of being happy.

As a place to be happy, Bachaumont recounts (11 October 1768) the verse that M. Bernard, the secretary of the Choisey government and a man of taste and elegance, wrote above the door of his boudoir, “ce séjour un lieu riant & voluptueux”:

Habitions ce petit espace,
Assez grand pour tous nos souhaits ;
Le bonheur tient si peu de place,
Et ce dieu n’en change jamais.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ [Lettre 61, 6 décembre 1738] Graffigny, *Correspondance de Madame de Graffigny*, t.1, p.199.

¹⁰⁹ Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, vol.4, p.117. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed July 3, 2008.

Happiness requires self-reflection, acting upon one's resolutions and the illusion or belief that the unity of the two will satisfy one's desires. In a chapel for oneself, making a happy life is the process which allows us to remain steadfast "sur-tout sachons bien ce que nous voulons être; décidons-nous sur la route que nous voulons prendre pour passer notre vie, & tâchons de la mener de fleurs."¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ *Discours sur le Bonheur*, p. 39. "Discourse on Happiness," p. 365.

PART TWO: THE PUBLICIZED BOUDOIR (1720 – 1800)

The boudoir has been understood by scholars as a vaguely termed “erotic space”, especially through literary discourse about novels such as *Liaisons dangereuses* (1782) and *Une année de la vie du chevalier de Faublas* (1787). Rather than discussing the boudoir as singularly denoting the location of dissolute activities, part two of the dissertation examines the development of the boudoir beyond the closed world of the *honnêtes gens* into a wider public. It discusses the characterization of the boudoir by writers and publishers to their readers, by the state institution the *Académie royale d'architecture* to architects and their clients, and by an actress/courtesan to her audience. In addition to the overall aim of examining the meanings of the boudoir in different public spheres in order to understand how it came to be known as an “erotic space”, part two clarifies the meaning(s) of “erotic” and its affect on the inhabitant.



Monnet, 1796



Devéria, 1823



Testa & Besson, 1894



Jeannot, 1914



Sauvage, 1930



Barbier, 1934



Héroutard, 1946



Bécot, 1949

(Fig.51) Letter 10 –Madame de Merteuil’s boudoir in her *petite maison* from *Les liaisons dangereuses* editions from the 1796 to 1949.

Source: Michel Delon et Michèle Sajous d'Oria, *Laclos en images: Éditions illustrées des Liaisons dangereuses*. Bari, Paris: Mario Adda Editore et Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003.

CHAPTER 5: LOVE IN THE BOUDOIR

5.1 A Place of Desire: From the Love for the One to the Many

5.1.1 A Devout Boudoir

In 1764, fifty-six years after the appearance of the *chapelle-boudoir* in the private letter addressed to Éléonore-Christine de La Rochefoucauld de Roye, Voltaire published his *Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille*¹ under the pseudonym Guillaume Vadé. It is a tale about mother Gertrude, an “amiable prude” who had

...en son logis avait un oratoire,
Un boudoir de dévote, où, pour se recueillir,
Elle allait saintement occuper son loisir,
Et faisait l'oraison qu'on dit jaculatoire.²

In her “commodes, précieux” retreat, Gertrude practiced her religious devotion with the assistance of her favorite author Jean-Baptiste Massillon, an Oratorian and the Bishop of Clermont, whose *Petit Carême*³ was always at her *table de*

¹ Voltaire, “Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille,” *Contes de Guillaume Vadé*. Geneva: Cramer, 1764, p. 28-32.

² Ibid, p. 29.

Qui ne se dit qu'en cette phrase, Oraison jaculatoire, & qui signifie, Une prière fervente, & qui part du coeur. *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française, 4th Edition* (1762): ARTFL Project. <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed November 30, 2009.

³ Published in 1745, *Petit Carême* was a collection of Lenten sermons given by Massillon in 1718 for the eight year old Louis XV. *Petit Carême* became one of Voltaire's favorite bedside reading, the other being Racine's *Althalie*. J. Patrick Lee, “Voltaire and Massillon: Affinities of the Heart,” *French Review*, vol. 50, no. 3 (Feb. 1977), p. 437-8. Voltaire previously wrote about Massillon in “Epître à une dame un peu mondaine et trop dévote” (1715):

N'occuperas-tu tes beaux yeux
Qu'a lire Massillon, Bourdaloue, et La Rue ?
Ah ! sur d'autre objects daigne arrêter ta vue :
Qu'une austère dévotion
De tes sens combattus ne soit plus la maitresse ;
Ton coeur est né pour la tendresse,
C'est ta seule vocation.

toilette. Gertrude's taste for the "heartfelt" sensibility of Massillon⁴ foreshadows her conversion from an austere Oratorian devotion to the pursuit of sensuous pleasures and happiness in her boudoir.

Her enlightenment, the "true" nature of her religious devotion which occurred in her *oratoire-boudoir* revealed itself as part of the education of her seventeen year old daughter, Isabelle. For one warm evening, Isabelle, unable to sleep, went into the garden via a secret staircase. On her way back to her room, Isabelle passed her mother's retreat and heard unusual sounds coming from behind the door:

La curiosité l'aiguillonne à l'instant.
Elle ne soupçonnait nulle ombre de mystère;
Cependant elle hésite, elle approche en tremblant,
Posant sur l'escalier une jambe en avant,
Étendant une main, portant l'autre en arrière,
Le cou tendu, l'oeil fixe, et le coeur palpitant,
D'une oreille attentive avec peine écoutant.
D'abord elle entendit un tendre et doux murmure,
Des mots entrecoupés, des soupirs languissants.
« Ma mère a du chagrin, dit-elle entre ses dents,
Et je dois partager les peines qu'elle endure. »
Elle approche: elle entend ces mots pleins de douceur:
« André, mon cher André, vous faites mon bonheur! »⁵

⁴ While Massillon was regarded by Voltaire as having an "austere devotion", his sermons, according to Patrick Lee, were characterized by a morality which appealed to the human heart. Ibid, p.445.

⁵ Voltaire, "Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille," p. 30.

At these last words, Isabelle was reassured that her mother was very content, and returned to bed. However, her curiosity piqued about the happiness which “André” bestowed, Isabelle asked her mother about it the next day.

After recovering from her initial alarm, the composed Gertrude told her daughter that Andre “[c]’est un des plus grands saints qui soient en paradis” and was the saint of the household to whom she was extremely devoted. Gertrude would invoke him in her oratory and he would appear often to her, at night.

Satisfied with her reply, Isabelle would prove to be an apt pupil of her mother’s devotional ways. A young man, Monsieur Denis, having fallen in love with Isabelle, made a rendezvous to confirm their love:

Les belles oraisons, les antiennes charmantes,
Qu’Isabelle entonnait quand ses mains caressantes
Pressaient son tendre amant de plaisir enivré.⁶

Gertrude, hearing these anthems, confronted the couple. Isabelle said to defuse her mother’s anger:

Pardonnez-moi, ma mère,
J’ai choisi saint Denis, comme vous saint André.⁷

At these words, Gertrude was converted from that day and became more happy and wise. She kept her lover and renounced the saints. She “[q]uitta le vain projet de tromper les humains” and from that moment was “bonne compagnie”.⁸

Before her conversion, Gertrude’s *oratoire-boudoir* was a secret place, “au public inconnue” and with an “escalier secret, loin des profanes yeux”. As the

⁶ Ibid, p.32.

⁷ Ibid, p.32.

⁸ Ibid, p. 32.

place for the religious sensibility expounded by Massillon, the *boudoir de dévot* was the space where the devotee intimately experienced the presence of God. As discussed in chapter three, while the Oratory was austere and puritanical, it nevertheless grounded the penitence's personal relationship with God in her [internal] feeling of His presence. In her boudoir where Massillon's sensible devotion reigned, Gertrude achieved this by practicing *jaculatoire* (ejaculatory or jaculatory), prayers.

Ejaculatory prayers were “jaculatas” or “darted” (from projectile – artillery), expressions of love from the heart.⁹ They can either be performed in silence or with audible words or sounds. While St Augustine advised that exclamations, groans and weeping were more effective than words, François de Sales preferred audible expressions of one's love of God.¹⁰ De Sales counsels his female penitent that

vous ne vous astreindrez point à aucune sorte de paroles, mais prononcerez ou de coeur ou de bouche celles que l'amour vous suggérera sur-le-champ, car il vous en fournira tant que vous voudrez. Il est vrai qu'il y a certains mots qui ont une force particulière pour contenter le coeur en cet endroit, comme sont les élancements semés si dru dedans les Psaumes de David, les invocations diverses du nom de Jésus, et les traits d'amour qui sont imprimés au Cantique des Cantiques. Les chansons spirituelles servent encore à même intention, pourvu qu'elles soient chantées avec attention.

⁹ See St. Augustines's Epistola CXXX ad Probam, cited from Elizabeth Rosemary Clarke, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry: 'divinitie, and Poesie, Met'*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p.100.

¹⁰ For Augustine, the most effective ejaculatory prayers were silent. Ibid, p.111-112, 134.

Enfin, comme ceux qui sont amoureux d'un amour humain et naturel ont presque toujours leurs pensées tournées du côté de la chose aimée, leur coeur plein d'affection envers elle, leur bouche remplie de ses louanges et qu'en son absence ils ne perdent point d'occasion de témoigner leurs passions par lettres, et ne trouvent point d'arbre sur l'écorce duquel ils n'écrivent le nom de ce qu'ils aiment; ainsi ceux qui aiment Dieu ne peuvent cesser de penser en lui, respirer pour lui, aspirer à lui et parler de lui, et voudraient, s'il était possible, graver sur la poitrine de toutes les personnes du monde le saint et sacré nom de Jésus. A quoi même toutes choses les invitent, et n'y a créature qui ne leur annonce la louange de leur Bien-Aimé...¹¹

Her *jaculatoire* is not just an expression but also an act of devotion. As the actor, she experiences through her corporeal body the passionate and tender affection in the spiritual movement of her soul towards God, her “divine Spouse”. This kind of devoutness, incorporating the language of sensuality and pleasurable feelings such as “sweetness” or the closeness of a “delicious nosegay” uses a devotional rhetoric based on the senses. De Sale describes the feeling of *jaculatoire* in the following manner:

Aspirez donc bien souvent en Dieu...par des courts mais ardents élancements de votre coeur: admirez sa beauté, invoque son aide, jetez-vous en esprit au pied de la Croix, adorez sa bonté, interrogez-le souvent de votre salut, donnez-lui mille fois le jour votre âme, fichez vos yeux intérieurs sur sa douceur, tendez-lui la main, comme un petit enfant à son père, afin qu'il vous conduise, mettez-le sur votre poitrine comme un bouquet délicieux, plantez-

¹¹ De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, p. 87-88. De Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, p. 92 .

le en votre âme en étendard, et faites mille sortes de divers mouvements de votre coeur pour vous donner de l'amour de Dieu, et vous exciter à une passionnée et tendre dilection de ce divin Époux. On fait ainsi les oraisons jaculatoires...notre esprit s'adonnant à la hantise, privauté et familiarité de son Dieu, se parfumera tout de ses perfections; et si, cet exercice n'est point malaisé car il se peut entrelacer en toutes nos affaires et occupations, sans aucunement les incommoder, puisque, soit en la retraite spirituelle, soit en ces élancements intérieurs, on ne fait que des petits et court divertissements qui n'empêchent nullement, mais servent de beaucoup à poursuite de ce que nous faisons.¹²

Voltaire, reversing de Sales' incorporation of courtly language as a devotional device, uses devotional rhetoric to elevate sensuous gratification. In a sacrilegious version of de Sales' *jaculatoire*, Gertrude's ejaculatory expressions are directed to her new "saint", André; and instead of the movement of her soul towards God, the religious object of her prayer is converted towards sexual *jouissance*. Stripped of its religious framework, *jouissance* is transformed from the satisfaction of sensible devotion to bodily satisfaction. Desire for the eternal love of God is replaced with the desire for amorous relations.

However, happiness and bliss are located not just in affective experience but also the ability to witness one's own pleasurable sensations. According to Elizabeth Clarke, ejaculatory prayers, expressions of one's sincerity, were "fragments of one's self" realized in words.¹³ As instances of an inner self

¹² De Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, 2 :13 : "Des aspirations, oraison jaculatoires et bonnes pensées," p. 86-7.

¹³ Clarke, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry*, p. 116. Referring to Michel de Certeau, Clarke understands de Sales's ejaculations to be "the (masculine) gestures of 'throwing' outside a fragment of oneself, an expelled, ejaculated object, which becomes the irreducible

existing outside in the world, audible jaculatory expressions, for the solitary figure in her *boudoir-oratoire*, are directed to an imagined other self witnessing her ardent and intense emotion towards herself.

While Salean ejaculatory prayer is prompted by the material events, the sights, sounds and smells of everyday experiences¹⁴, and uses rhetorical devices such as the language of courtly love to appeal to one's sensibility, as Clarke points out, de Sales' aim was to create a serene space (a mental state detached from violent emotions) where the presence of God can be felt.¹⁵ Detachment from violent emotions is perhaps one of the effects of auditory *jaculatoire*. As the audience to her own jaculatory expressions, the devotee is distanced from her own emotions through the verbalization of her feelings. Rather than being subsumed by her intense ardour, the emotion is transformed for her own ears into an object composed of words.

In a double profaning of the jaculatory prayer, Gertrude's "mots entrecoupés, des soupirs languissants" are directed to her own bodily satisfaction as well as to the listener or reader. Voltaire reveals that sex is the defining characteristic of Gertrude's boudoir with the revelation that her private enthusiasm for God as a hypocritical masking of bodily joys. The reader accesses the "real" function of the *oratoire-boudoir* only through the revelation of Saint

exteriority of being to itself." Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable. Volume I: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, tr. M.B. Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 196 cited in Clarke, p. 100-101. Certeau cites this idea from Michèle Montrelay, "Aux frontières de l'inconscient freudien," *Confrontation* (1981). p. 23-43. Clarke via Certeau, via Montrelay is making a Freudian/Lacanian reference to the unconscious play acting for an imaginary other.

¹⁴ Clarke, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry*, p. 106.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 127.

André to Isabelle. The entry into Gertrude's boudoir becomes a window into her secrets, into her body to witness the sweet delights of it.

Parallel to the conversion of Gertrude from an amiable prude to a lover of pleasure, the *oratoire* became the *boudoir* when the *jouissance* of God's presence was revealed to be the *jouissance* of her body. As a devotee, her bliss was achieved through her examination of her intentions and feelings for God by her *jaculatoire* prayer witnessed by herself. As both actor and audience of her ardent and intense expressions of her love of God, she required only the solitary space of her oratory. As "good company", her happiness was achieved through her participation as both actor and audience to the sensual phenomena of her body. Included in the audience, however, is the society of others who inhabit not her oratory but rather her boudoir.



(Fig.52) Jean-Michel Moreau dit Moreau le Jeune (1741-1814), *N'ayez pas peur, Ma bonne amie*.

Source: *Espaces domestiques et privés de l'hospitalité*, ed. Alain Montandon. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2000, fig. 9.

5.1.2 Chapel of *Volupté*¹⁶

Voltaire's *boudoir-oratoire* only appeared to the public in 1764 even though *Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille* may have been written 30 years before¹⁷. Around this time, boudoirs began to appear more frequently in printed texts.¹⁸ A year earlier, Claude-Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon fils published his *Le Hasard du Coin du Feu* set in

Paris, chez Célie; et l'action se passe dans une de ces petites pièces reculées, que l'on nomme boudoirs. À l'ouverture de la scène, Célie paroît couchée sur une chaise longue, sous des couvre-pieds d'édredon. Elle est en négligé, mais avec toute la parure et toute la recherche dont le négligé peut être susceptible. la marquise est au coin du feu, un grand écran devant elle, et brodant au tambour.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française*, 4th Edition (1762) VOLUPTÉ. s.f. Plaisir corporel, plaisir des sens. Il y a de la volupté à boire quand on a soif.

Il s'emploie quelquefois, pour marquer, Les plaisirs de l'esprit. L'ame a ses voluptés comme le corps. Les Savans trouvent de la volupté dans la découverte des vérités. L'Écriture dit, que Les Justes seront abreuvés dans un torrent de voluptés.

Quand on dit absolument, La volupté, les voluptés, on entend toujours, Les plaisirs défendus. Il faut résister à la volupté. On accuse les Épicuriens de faire consister le souverain bien dans la volupté. Se plonger dans les voluptés. Languir dans les voluptés. La volupté est contraire à la vertu. La volupté affoiblit l'esprit & corrompt le coeur. ARTFL Project. <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed November 20, 2009.

¹⁷ Friends of Voltaire believe that he had the verse in his portfolio for more than 30 years. Bachaumont writes that [12 décembre 1763] "Il paroît dans le monde un conte manuscrit de M. de Voltaire, qui a pour titre : *Ce qui plaît aux Dames*. Il est dans le goût de la *Pucelle*, narré avec une naïveté charmante, orné de toutes les graces de son style. Il a environ 500 vers, il a toute la fraîcheur, tout le velouté de la jeunesse. Ses amis ne dissimulent pas que M. de Voltaire a cet ouvrage depuis plus de 30 ans dans son portefeuille. Quant aux idées génératives, c'est-à-dire l'imagination, on voit que l'Arioste lui a été d'un grand secours" However, Donald Clive Stuart believes that the verse dated from 1763 based on the letters Voltaire wrote to Gabriel Cramer, février 1763 (letter D10911) and to Etienne Noël Damilaville, 1er janvier 1764 (letter D11612), about *L'éducation d'une fille*. *Complete Works of Voltaire*, vol. 110, p. 33, note 1, vol.111, p.143. Donald Clive Stuart, "The Source of Two of Voltaire's 'Contes en Vers'," *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 12, no. 2 (April 1917), p. 177-181. Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, vol. 1, p. 310.

¹⁸ According to a database search of ECCO, ARTFL Project, and Gallica.

¹⁹ Claude-Prosper Jolyot Crébillon fils, *Le Hasard du Coin du Feu* (1763). Bruxelles: Ch. Gilliet, 1880, p. lxxv. ARTFL Project. <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed November 1, 2009.

While *Le Hasard du Coin du Feu* was written around 1743, according to Michel Delon, it was only published 20 years later.²⁰ As with Voltaire and other authors, Crébillon fils practiced some form of censorship with regards to the use of “boudoir”. In an anecdote published in the *Almanach littéraire* [1779], Sylvain Maréchal in reports on a meeting with the royal censor, Crébillon fils, author of *La Sopha*:

L'Auteur de la *Bibliothèque des Amans* eut pour Censeur l'Auteur du *Sopha*. M. de Crébillon était d'avis de retrancher le mot *Boudoir* par-tout où il se trouvait dans le Manuscrit des *Odes Erotiques*. M. Maréchal crut devoir en appeler à la loi du Talion, & dit à son Censeur : où placeraï-je, Monsieur, votre *Sopha*, si vous m'ôtez mon Boudoir ?²¹

While this meeting may have been purely fictional, “boudoir” nevertheless appeared infrequently in early eighteenth-century publications.

As *Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille* suggests, the boudoir initially was the site of religious devotion. In early eighteenth-century texts such as Charles de Fieux Mouhy in his *La paysanne parvenue* (1735), the boudoir located “à côté de ... [le] lit” was the space where God’s grace resided, and His presence (as well as that of a servant), prevented the murder of the heroine by a thief.²²

²⁰ Delon, *L'invention du boudoir*, p. 26.

²¹ *Almanach littéraire ou Etrennes d'Apollon*. Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1779, p.143.

²² Charles de Fieux chevalier de Mouhy, *La paysanne parvenue, ou Les mémoires de Madame la marquise de L. V.*, Amsterdam : [s.n.], 1739, p.264 Gallica. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>. Accessed October 17, 2007. According to F. C. Green, *La paysanne parvenue* was written in 1735. F. C. Green, “A Forgotten Novel of Manners of the Eighteenth Century: ‘La Paysanne Parvenue’ by Le Chevalier de Mouhy”, *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 18, no. 3 (July 1923), p. 313.

Its earlier religious association was referred to even when it was transformed in publications from the 1760's into a site of profane pleasures. False devotees are vestal virgins in public, while in the boudoir:

Tu défends si bien nos Rivaless,
Ces fausses Prudes aux doux yeux,
Jouant en public les Vestales,
Mais en secret à d'autres jeux,
S'abandonnant à qui mieux, mieux:
Ne sommes nous pas leurs égales?
Sois donc aussi propice aux vœux
De tes ambulantes Bérgeres,
Qui descendent de leur boudoir
Fort assidument chaque soir,
Pour venir comme des commeres,
Ecouler avec des Amans,
De doux & lucratifs momens
Faits pour ces ardeurs passageres.
Qui coûtent peu de sentiments
Et souvent n'en sont pas moins chères.²³

The boudoir was the imagined site of impure activities as in Restif de La Bretonne's *Le Marquis de T***, ou l'école de la jeunesse* [1771],

Malheur sur ces indignes épouses qui abusent des égards établis
par nos mœurs, pour se livrer à leurs panchans criminels ! ces
boudoirs inventés par la pudeur, autorisés par le respect des époux,
deviennent pour elles l'azile du crime & de l'impureté. Oh ! les

²³ *Les Ambulantes à la brune, contre la dureté du tems*. A la Chine [Paris], 1769, p. 8.
<http://gallica2.bnf.fr/>. Accessed November 22, 2009.

infortunées ! que notre sexe doit les haïr, les détester, les fuir !
elles sont audessous des créatures les plus viles...²⁴

Voicing a preoccupation of French men's fantasies about women in a room of their own,²⁵ Restif de La Bretonne claims that boudoirs, invented by modesty, and authorized out of the husband's respect for her, has become a place for the opposite intention. If the husband is not being received by her there, someone else must be illicitly benefiting from his absence. Male lovers, such as the hero in Couvrey's *The Amours of the Chevalier de Faublas*, would climb up hidden staircases into a woman's boudoir where he would steal the *volupté* belonging to another man.

²⁴ Nicolas-Edme Restif de La Bretonne, *Le Marquis de T***, ou l'école de la jeunesse, tirée des Mémoires recueillis par N.-E.-A. Desforets, homme-d'affaires de la maison de T...* Londres London [Paris], 1771, vol. 3, p. 47. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>

²⁵ As Georges Duby has explained, the eleventh century French feudal lord exercised power over the women of the household by imprisoning them in the *chambre de femme*. He claims that eleventh century men in general were obsessed with the idea of wives committing adultery. The practice of imprisoning the wife in her *chambre* seems to have continued to the early eighteenth century. In the memoirs of the duc de Richelieu, the duchesse de *** was locked into her *chambre* every evening by her *femme de chambre* who took away the key. Duby, "The Aristocratic Household of Feudal France," *History of Private Life* vol. 2, p. 76-82, 145. Richelieu, *Vie privée du Maréchal de Richelieu*, p.61-64.

5.1.3 *Volupté Décor*

Volupté was the guide and prerogative of all woman, from *petites-filles* to those of great ladies, states Jean François de Cailhava in *Le soupé des petits-maitres, ouvrage moral* (1772), and their boudoirs, “consacrés à la Volupté”, were decorated with the appropriate character reflecting the activities within the four walls.²⁶ In the cabinet of the Marquise de ***, for instance, the profusion of flowers not only recalled the love of Zephyr for Flora, it indicated the quality of delicate lovemaking which the Marquise expected her would-be lover to provide:

Elle m’avoua qu’elle avoit le coeur sensible, mais très-délicat, & qu’il lui étoit impossible de se faire aux manières brusques de son mari, que la grossièreté accompagnoit jusque dans le sein des plaisirs. Figurez-vous, me dit-elle, un Pandoure, qui porte brusquement la main sur une corbeille de fleurs, en prend une poignée, les presse sous son nez, & les jette.²⁷

Instead of merely engaging in the function or mechanics of sexual reproduction, unbridled pleasure was expected in the boudoir. As described by Grimm, it transformed the cabinet into a boudoir:

[février 1778] C’est dans l’hôtel de M. le marquis de Villette qu’il est descendu avec Mme Denis, pour ne point se séparer de *Belle et Bonne* (C’est le nom que M. de Voltaire a donné à Mme la marquise de Villette) qu’il chérit avec une tendresse extrême. Il y

²⁶ Jean François de Cailhava, *Le soupé des petits-maitres, ouvrage moral*. Londres [Paris], 1772, vol. 2, p. 68- 90 : “Chapitre IX: Des Boudoirs consacrés à la Volupté ; Chapitre X : Boudoirs de femmes fortes ; Chapitre XI: Boudoirs consacrés à l’interêt.” Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>

²⁷ Ibid, p. 74.

occupe un cabinet qui ressemble beaucoup plus au boudoir de la Volupté qu'au sanctuaire des Muses...²⁸

“[L]e plus profane, dans le plus voluptueux de tous les boudoirs”²⁹, M. de Villette's

...cabinet se trouve précisément au-dessous de l'appartement de M. le marquis de Thibouville, plus attaché encore que M. de Villette au culte de cet amour que nos sages ont si rudement proscrit, mais que ceux de l'ancienne Grèce excusaient avec tant d'indulgence.³⁰

Volupté was achieved by insinuating the qualities of flesh, as illustrated in Lequeu drawing's *Le boudoir du rez-de-chaussée; appelé temple de Venus terrestre, Côté du Sopha* (figure 53). Here the boudoir's furnishing of silks, velvet, and soft colours as well as the architecture of the two orders flanking the bed, transform into cloud-like pillows and invite the viewer into the vaginal space. Indeed, the roundness of a woman's figure was the ideal shape and character of the boudoir according to Le Camus de Mézières:

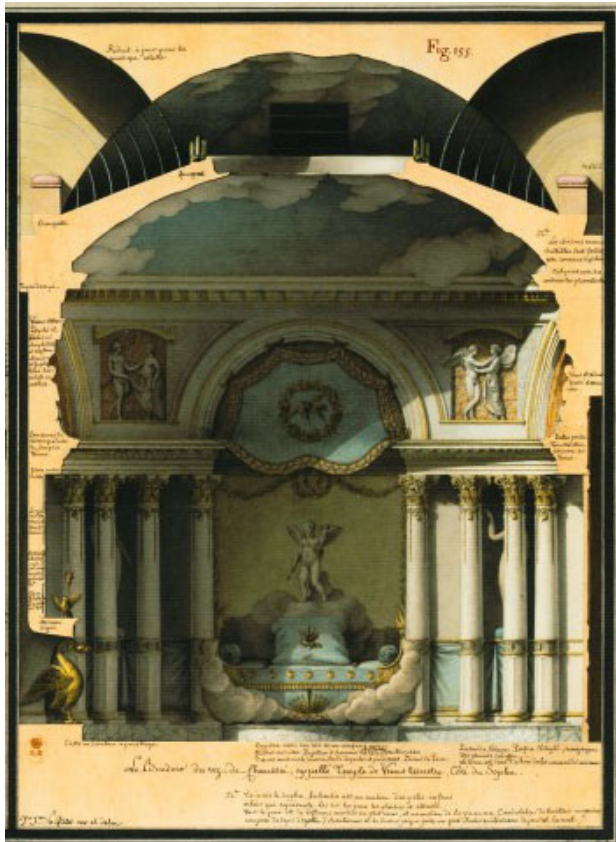
Cette forme convient au caractère du lieu, elle est consacrée à Venus. En effet considérons une belle femme. Les contours en sont doux & bien arrondis, les muscles peu prononcés; il règne dans l'ensemble un suave simple & naturel, dont nous reconnoissons mieux l'effet que nous ne pouvons l'exprimer, qui provient d'un développement tendre, naissant & semblant annoncer la nature dans son berceau.³¹

²⁸ Friedrich Melchior Grimm, *Correspondance Littéraire, philosophique et critique*, Paris : Garnier, 1880, vol. 12, p. 54-55.

²⁹ Ibid, vol. 12, p. 58.

³⁰ Ibid, vol. 12, p. 54.

³¹ Nicholas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture : ou, L'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*. Paris: Benoit Morin, 1780, p. 122.



(Fig.53) Jean Jacques Lequeu, *Le boudoir du rez-de-chaussé ; appelé temple de Venus terrestre*, 1777-1814, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Source:<http://gallica2.bnf.fr/>.
Accessed May 1, 2009.

The arrangement and décor of the boudoir aimed to sexually arouse the inhabitants.

Les sujets du tableau seront puisés dans les endroits galans & agréables de la fable. Le triomphe d'Amphitrite, Psyché et l'Amour, Vénus et Mars offriront des compositions convenables au caractère du lieu. Tout y doit être commode, & tout y doit plaire. Il faut, relativement aux dimensions, que les détails fait pour être vus de près, satisfassent par un bel accord. Les jouissances rapprochées y deviennent en quelque sort l'objet principal.³²

As Le Camus de Mézières explains, in addition to the qualities of a female body, another method of transforming the cabinet into a boudoir was by its

³² Ibid, p. 117.

paintings of sexual escapades from classical mythology. Conflating representational space which bounded the physical space of the boudoir, the tableaux created sexual excitement caused by the viewer's identification with the images. The intended reaction of the viewer was like the one described by Pidansat de Mairobert in his *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry* (1775)³³ of the future official mistress of Louis XV to the pictures on the walls of the boudoir of the Procurress:

Alors je l'embrassai vivement; je la conduisis dans mes Appartemens ; je lui fis voir mes boudoirs galans, où tout respire le plaisir & l'amour ; je l'excitai à porter ses yeux sur des Estampes qui les ornoient: c'étoient des nudités, des postures lascives, toutes sortes d'objets propres à allumer les desirs. Je voyois ma jeune Grisette en repaître avidement ses regards; elle étoit en feu: je l'arrachai de là, n'ayant voulu qu'essayer ainsi si j'en avois bien jugé, si elle étoit propre à mon service.³⁴

Adding to the viewer's identification with painted characters, portraits of the inhabitants were often included on the walls. For instance, in Cailhava's boudoirs of unbridled pleasure, the Comtesse de *** had herself painted as Venus at her toilette, attended by Pluto, Adonis, Mars and all her adorers. They were depicted with a satisfied air while the goddess was "mécontente. Le désir se peint

³³ The future official mistress of the aged Louis XV supposedly began her career as a common prostitute. *Anecdotes sur Mme. la comtesse du Barry* was one of the 'bestsellers' of pre-revolutionary France. Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*. New York: Norton, 1996.p. 63-65, 137-166.

³⁴ Mathieu François Pidanzat de Mairobert, *Anecdotes sur M. la Comtesse Du Barri*. Londres, 1775, p.20. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed March, 25 2010.

dans ses yeux, & elle se tourne avec vivacité vers Mercure, qui, sous les traits du Chevalier de *** entre en cachant plusieurs billets doux.”³⁵

So affective were these paintings that the viewer could fall in love with her image as though her person and representation were the same entity. Such was the case with the protagonist in *Paris, ou le mentor à la mode* (1735), the Chevalier d’Elby who after entering a boudoir “orné de glaces, de peintures, & meubles si précieux qu’il ne falloit pas un grand usage du monde pour imaginer qu’il devoit appartenir à des personnes opulentes & aisées” devoured with his eyes the portrait of its owner painted

en Grecque; son habit de drap d’argent rattaché sur l’épaule, laissoit entrevoir une riche taille, elle étoit coiffée en cheveux, dont les boucles à longs flots sembloient s’efforcer à caresser une aimable gorge. Le Chevalier fut un long-tems à dévorer toutes ces beautés; son jeune coeur se touchoit de plus en plus, & dans un instant lui faisoit ressentir tout ce que l’amour cause d’alarmes & de peines. Il est déjà jaloux et inquiet. Ah! sans doute, s’écrioit-il, cet objet charmant fait la passion de tous ceux qui la voyent. Dois-je me flatter que dans ce nombre elle n’ait pas trouvé de vainqueur? Cette pensée cruelle lui fit baisser les yeux, il tomba dans cette inaction qui ne signifie rien et qui agite cependant beaucoup...³⁶

The Chevalier, already “softly agitated” by his encounter with the boudoir’s owner, becomes further inflamed with passion when he sees her represented as a

³⁵ Cailhava, *Le soupé des petits-maitres, ouvrage moral*, vol.2, p. 79.

³⁶ Charles de Fieux, Chevalier de Mouhy. *Paris, ou le mentor à la mode*. Paris: Pierre Ribow, 1735, deuxième partie, p.103-4.

classical Greek *courtisane*³⁷ who, as described by the *Encyclopédie*, is the most honorable of all types of public women, qualitatively above the Roman and the French courtesan.³⁸ As provider of pleasure to men, the *Grecque* invites him to eventually partake in her secret pleasures. Before this invitation to pleasure, the Chevalier ingests her image into his body through his eyes. The metaphor of greedily eating when applied to seeing the representation of his desired object describes the closing of the spatial distance between exterior image and his bodily sensations. The viewer, after being seduced into the image, inserts himself into the tableau by projecting his desires in the form of a predatory gaze (ejaculatory look) into the picture where his sexual titillation is marked.

While seductive décor characterizes the boudoir, it is, however, not exclusive to this room. As literary scholar Henri Lafon has explained, there are many examples of eighteenth century novels, fairy tales and verses that describe the décor as inducement to sexual pleasure.³⁹ In works such as *Angola, Histoire*

³⁷ *Grecque* was a term used for public women in eighteenth century novels. A high class prostitute, the *courtisane* was also called *hétaïre*, *odalisque*, *aventurière*, *filles errante*, *filles du monde*, *filles de joi*, *filles de bon ton*, *femme amoureuse*, *demoiselle entretenue*, *dame galante*, *catin*. Mathilde Cortey, *L'invention de la courtisane au XVIIIe siècle dans les romans-mémoires des "filles du monde" de Madame Meheust à Sade (1732-1797)*. Paris: Éditions Arguments, 2001, p. 2. The Abbé de Prévost describes the effect of the *Grecque* on men in his *Histoire d'une Grecque moderne* (1740). In his novel, the heroine, the *Grecque*, who was a sex slave taken out of a seraglio in Constantinople and "freed" by her new French master, sexual excites all the men who come in contact with her. *The Story Of A Fair Greek Of Yesteryear: A Translation From The French Of Antoine-François Prévost's L'Histoire D'une Grecque Moderne, With An Introduction And Selected Bibliography By James F. Jones, Jr.* Potomac, Md: Scripta Humanistica, 1984.

³⁸ COURTISANE, (Page 4:400). *Encyclopédie*. ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet. <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed February 7, 2008.

³⁹ Henri Lafon, *Espaces romanesques du XVIIIe siècle 1670-1820: de Madame de Villedieu à Nodier*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997. Henri Lafon, *Les décors et les choses dans le roman français du dix-huitième siècle de Prévost à Sade* (Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century, 297). Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1992.

du Prince Titi, and *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*⁴⁰, the decor of a variety of rooms plays a central role in seducing its characters. Nevertheless, there are specific characteristics of the boudoir, in addition to the seductive décor, that can be drawn from Carmontelle's theatrical proverb, *Le Boudoir* (c.1769).⁴¹

The scene of this one act society comedy takes place at the home of M. de Bourval, in a boudoir decorated with costly and fashionable furniture. M. de Bourval informs his friend, M. d'Orsant, of his project to become the husband of his ward, Mlle de Saint-Edme. The problem, as he tells M. d'Orsant, is not the age discrepancy but rather that Mlle de Saint-Edme, who had just left the convent and currently living with M. de Bourval, is frigid and insensible to the workings of the heart. M. de Bourval's solution involves the delicious and enchanted boudoir which he has recently decorated. His plan is for the servant Sophie to lure Mlle de Saint-Edme into the boudoir. While in the boudoir, the decor would move "her heart, to blossom love", and Mlle de Saint-Edme, sexually aroused and without an object for sexual expenditure to relieve her, would easily fall in love with the next man she encounters. M. de Bourval intends to profit from the first movements of her enlivened sensibility for sensuous pleasure by arriving

⁴⁰ *Angola, histoire indienne* by La Morlière, *Histoire du Prince Titi* by Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe, *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* by Madame de Graffigny.

⁴¹ The Marquis de Paulmy in *Manuel des châteaux* explains that the proverb was a kind of one act society comedy to be played in the *salon* or the *chambre* and considers Carmontelle's proverbs to be the best examples of this kind of play. Carmontelle, who became the reader for the Duc d'Orléans in 1763, was responsible for providing theatrical entertainment. *Le Boudoir* was written sometime around 1769 most likely for the enjoyment of the duc d'Orléans' court. Carmontelle, "Proverbes dramatiques (à partir de 1768 to 1789) : Le Boudoir," *Théâtre du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jacques Truchet. Paris: Gallimard, 1974, vol.2, p.757-765. Antoine René de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson et Paulmy, *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque, vol. II Manuel des châteaux; ou, Lettres contenant des conseils pour former une bibliothèque romanesque, pour diriger une comédie de société & pour diversifier les plaisirs d'un salon*. Paris: Moutard, 1779, p. 253.

promptly after her induction into the boudoir with a priest to marry them on the spot.

But alas, the plan was only partially successful. Upon entering the boudoir, Mlle de Saint-Edme immediately reacts not only to the profusion of gold but also to the flowers, perfumes, paintings and mirrors. She exclaims to Sophie that she could spend her life in here, imagining, drawing, reading, singing and writing. Sophie prompts Mlle de Saint-Edme to examine the painting of Venus and the sleeping Adonis. Realizing that Venus is painted in the likeness of herself and imagining herself as Venus, she feels the stirrings of love for Adonis. Unfortunately for M. de Bourval, the chevalier de Gorville, the nephew of M. d'Orsant, secretly enters the boudoir and declares his love for her. Upon seeing the chevalier, Mlle de Saint-Edme, who was already aroused by the picture on the wall, falls in love with Gorville. It is then revealed that, unbeknown to Mlle de Saint-Edme, Gorville had fallen in love with her some time before when he had caught sight of her. Gorville, a forward acting man, was responsible for the insertion of his portrait onto the face of Adonis. The play ends badly for M. de Bourval. As Jean-Louis Flandrin and Maurice Daumas have pointed out, in light of the fashion in the late eighteenth century for love matches, M. de Bourval would have been induced to support the marriage between his ward and Gorville.⁴²

⁴² For most aristocratic marriages, economic gain and social status remained the considerations for any alliances. Flandrin, *Sex in the Western World*, p. 80. Maurice Daumas, *Le mariage amoureux: histoire du lien conjugal sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Colin, 2004.

The accompanying proverb of the *Le Boudoir*, “Il bat les buisson, et les autres prennent les oiseaux”⁴³, describes more than the lost opportunity to benefit from the power of the boudoir’s décor to seduce (*séduire*). *Le Boudoir* has several underlying suppositions in the context of a society in which marriages were normally arranged by the parents. An aristocratic maiden would not usually have a choice to whom she would marry and as such M. de Bourval would not have had any compunction as her guardian of deciding for her who she would marry, even to himself. On the other hand, as discussed in chapter three, the eighteenth century *honnête homme* needed the consent of his wife before conjugal relations. So while he could compel his ward to go through with the marriage ceremony, getting her to consummate the marriage bed⁴⁴, as he tells M. d’Orsant, is his biggest obstacle to his happiness. M. de Bourval, being a man with foresight, wanting if not exactly an eager partner, at least a compliant one, approached his problem with an architectural solution. His boudoir, like its predecessor the oratory, was intended to be the room where she could imagine herself in the role as a compliant sexual participant. But rather than being the oratory for M. de Bourval’s wife, the boudoir becomes the site for the sexual satisfaction of another man. As Carmontelle’s proverb suggests, the boudoir was intended for the profit of the person who beats the bush, or rather the husband who initiates his bride to

⁴³ Carmontelle, “Le Boudoir,” p. 777.

⁴⁴ Incompliant brides on their wedding night could well be problematic. An infamous occurrence was recorded by Réaux. In 1618, Jeanne de Schomberg (1600-1674) was married to the François de Cossé, comte de Brissac to whom Jeanne has an extreme aversion. On the wedding night, she refused to consummate the marriage and caused a great scandal. The marriage was eventually annulled and Jeanne subsequently married the duc de Liancourt. See Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*, t. VI, p. 26 cited in Colette H. Win, “Introduction,” in Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt, *Règlement donné par une dame de haute qualité à M*** sa petite-fille*, p. 24-25.

sex. However, others could also profit from the husband's initiation, for as a married lady, she was free to take on a lover. The boudoir was both the site of the thwarted desire and where future sexual opportunities for other men may happen.

For husbands as well as would-be lovers, the boudoir of a sexually active woman was the site of unfulfilled desire. Barnabé Farmian de Rozoi recognizes the barrier put up by the boudoir in his *Les sens, poëme en six chants* (1766). While the aim of the pleasures of *L'Ouïe, La Vue, La Tact, Le Goût, L'Odorat* is *La Jouissance*, Rozoi laments that when a woman is in her boudoir, she is the enemy of Love:

Fait son temple de son boudoir ;
De la mode son Dieu, son trésor d'un miroir;
Et son autel d'une toilette.⁴⁵

Her solitary room has become a chapel for narcissism with fashion as her new god, her treasure her mirror reflection, her altar her toilette and her love for herself preventing the poet from realizing his desire for her.

Expressing the sexual fantasies of men, the boudoir was where writers such as Claude Dorat in *Mes fantaisies* dreams of a coquette:

Te souvient-il encore d'un soir,
Où, sur un sofa renversée,
Et par cent zéphyrs caressés,
Dans le plus magique boudoir,
Trois fois tu m'étois retracée
Par le jeu d'un triple miroir ?⁴⁶

⁴⁵Barnabé Farmian de Rozoi, *Les sens, poëme en six chants*. Londres [Paris], 1766, p. 64. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group.<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>

⁴⁶Claude Joseph Dorat, "Épître à une coquette," *Mes fantaisies*. Chez Delalain, 1770, p. 40.

Instead of being the available object of his love, she spent her time alone there probably reading as depicted by Sigismond Freudeberg's print *Le Boudoir* (figure 54) and accompanying text:

De tout temps l'Homme a dû, par fois, chercher la solitude. Plus les Sociétés sont devenues bruyantes, plus ce besoin s'est fait sentir. Il faut réfléchir sur le passé, penser à l'avenir, méditer sur ses affaires. Eh ! pourquoi nos jolies Femmes n'auroient-elles pas les leurs ? les soins de leur empire n'exigent-ils pas quelquefois qu'elles emploient les ressorts de la Politique la plus raffinée ? les Modernes ont donné le nom de *Boudoir* à un Cabinet élégant, où les Belles sacrifient quelques moments à la retraite. Le coeur seul choisit la compagnie qui a le droit d'y pénétrer. Cette prérogative est celle d'Amant chéri & de l'Amie de confiance.

Loin du tourbillon, livrée à elle-même dans un Boudoir où tout respire la volupté, Cydalise nonchalamment étendue sur une ottomane, s'entretenoit d'idées agréables. Sûre d'être aimée, une douce langueur s'est bientôt emparée de ses sens, & la disposée au sommeil. Les armes qu'elle a choisies pour le combattre, n'ont fait que l'exciter, & une brochure dont la veille elle avoit reçu l'hommage, a achevé le triomphe de Morphée. Raisonner, & surtout dans un livre, est un moyen peu sûr de plaire au beau Sexe. Un jeune Auteur épris de Cydalise n'en connoissoit pas d'autre. La Soubrette instruite de tous les secrets de sa Maîtresse, intraitable aux gens d'esprit, repousse l'Amant littéraire qui avoit pénétré jusques à la porte du Boudoir. Un Financier eût pû adoucir l'humeur revêche de la Chambrière; notre Auteur, pour cette fois, eut le chagrin de voir qu'il ne pouvoit pas plus se faire écouter que se faire lire.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ *Suite d'estampes pour servir à l'histoire des moeurs et du costume des Français dans le dix-huitième siècle*. Paris: Prault, t. 4, 1775. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr/>. Accessed September 6, 2009.



Le Boudoir

N'entrez pas... De vos avantages
Ne pouvez-vous de loin, à votre aise jouir:
Du moins laissez à vos ouvrages
Le talent heureux d'endormir.

(Fig. 54) Pierre Maleuvre after Sigmund Freudeberge, "Le Boudoir," *Suite d'estampes pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et du costume des Français dans le dix-huitième siècle*. Prault: Paris, t. 4, 1775.

Source: <http://gallica2.bnf.fr>. Accessed Sept. 6, 2009.

The boudoir, a place for solitude and reflection, to plan for the future and to meditate on one's affairs, supported a woman's own "empire" where she determines who has the right to enter her territory. As a woman's sovereign territory, Louis-Antoine de Caraccioli explained in his *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentencieux* (1768), the boudoir was a "*Cabinet qu'on nomme, pour avoir droit de demeurer avec soi.*"⁴⁸ However, in disputing this right, those who are denied entry imagine scenarios which combine their desire to claim the territory with the presumption of the illicit and immoral activities which occur within. Such was with the *Amant littéraire* who, left outside the door of Cydalise's boudoir, may misinterpret the silence as amorous play between Cydalise and a lucky lover. All the while Cydalise was engaged in one of the main activities which actually occur in the boudoir: reading and dreaming.

⁴⁸ Louis-Antoine de Caraccioli, *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentencieux*. Lyon: B. Duplain, 1768, t 1. p. 27. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>. Accessed September 4, 2009.

5.2 Boudoir Books

As Freudeberge's *Le Boudoir* points out, political pamphlets were not suitable reading material inside a lady's boudoir. For the *Amant littéraire*, his work only bored Cydalise to sleep. Rather, the appropriate reading material for her should have been boudoir books which sexually excite the reader as shown by the book lying between Cydalise's parted legs (figure 55).

The solitary female engaged in reading with one hand holding a novel and her other slipped underneath her skirt had the purpose of auto-arousal as seen in *La Lecture* (1760) (figure 56) In both Freudeberge and Baudouin's images, the viewer, the voyeur to the spectacle of a woman reading a novel as a means of sexual arousal, can be aroused if he imagines her arousal is an invitation for him to enter. These images suggest what Laclos describes explicitly about the novels as an arousal tool for a man's happiness. In *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782), the Marquise de Merteuil read a chapter from *La Sopha* by Crébillon fils, *Lettres d'Héloïse à Abélard*, and two stories from La Fontaine's *Contes* to prepare herself for a rendezvous with her lover at her *petite maison*.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ These are "three classics of erotic literature" according to René Pompeau. Pierre Choderlos de Laclos, *Les Liaisons dangereuses*, introduction, notes et bibliographie par René Pompeau. Paris: Flammarion, 1981, p. 100. [Lettre 10]



(Fig.55) Left: Pierre Maleuvre after Sigmund Freudeberge, “Le Boudoir,” detail.



(Fig.56) Right top: Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, *La Lecture*, c. 1760. Gouche on paper. Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris.

Source: Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge*. Baltimore : The John Hopkins University Press, 2005, pl.2.

(Fig.57) Right bottom: Le Bouteux, engraving accompanying “Conseils aux femmes,” *Choix de Chansons : mises en musique par M. de Laborde ; ornées d’estampes en taille douce*. Paris: Desfontaines, 1772.

[Sa triste amante abandonnee
Pleure ses maux et ses plaisirs]

Source: Reprinted in Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, *Choix de Chansons*. Rouen: J. Lemonnier, 1881, vol.2, pl.140.



Marquise de Meurteuil was reading what Remy Saisselin has called boudoir novels. A confluence of imaginative worlds, the reader inhabits the pages of the boudoir novel which depicts the same space where the reading is taking place. For Saisselin, describing this enfolding of the reader as an act of seduction, the boudoir as a space of seduction mediated the real and the imaginary worlds, between the text and the physical world.⁵⁰

The seduction of the boudoir novel, however, could become “dangerous”. As literary scholar Jean Marie Goulemot writes, “dangerous” eighteenth century novels could incite emotions (as opposed to other forms of art such as poetry) that would need to be carried into action.⁵¹ He suggests that the power of the novel to prompt one into action lies not simply with the identification with characters, leading to the mimicking of them. Rather the novel creates desire which continues long after the reader has finished with the book and which could infect real life.⁵² In particular, books which one “reads with one hand”⁵³ could inspire wanton desires to be re-enacted or experienced in real life like Baudouin’s masturbating reader.

⁵⁰ Saisselin, “The Space of Seduction in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel and Architecture”, p. 417-431. Also see Saisselin, “Room at the Top of the Eighteenth Century: From Sin to Aesthetic Pleasure,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 26, no.3 (Spring 1968), p. 345-350.

⁵¹ Goulemot, *Forbidden Texts*, p. 55.

⁵² Ibid, p. 58.

⁵³ Rousseau, *Les Confessions*, p. 74 : “Cependant si mon goût ne me préserva pas des livre plats et fades, mon bonheur me préserva des livres obscènes et licencieux : non que la Tribu, femme à tous égards très accommodante, se fit un scrupule de m’en prêter. Mais, pour les faire valoir, elle me les nommait avec un air de mystère qui me forçait précisément à les refuser, tant par dégoût que par honte ; et le hasard seconda si bien mon humeur pudique, que j’avais plus de trente ans avant que j’eusse jeté les yeux sur aucun de ces dangereux livre qu’une belle dame de par le monde trouve incommodes, en ce qu’on peut, dit-elle, les lire que d’une main .” Rousseau, *Confessions*, p.39.

According to Freudeberge, Baudouin, and Laclos, her solitary reading of novels by arousing her sexual desires bridged the imaginary fiction and her physical reality. But while women may have been titillated by their novels, were the boudoir novels “dangerous”? What constitutes a boudoir novel? What should a woman read in her boudoir and how was she supposed to be affected?

The Marquis de Paulmy, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, articulated the congruence between the activity of reading the novel and the place where they were read in his catalogue of *boudoir littéraire & romancier* (1779)⁵⁴, books to be read by women in their boudoirs. An examination of de Paulmy’s catalogue of appropriate boudoir authors and titles in the following section reveals the particular manner in which he intends his readers to be seduced.

⁵⁴ De Paulmy, *Manuel des châteaux*, p. xiv.

5.2.1 *Manuel des châteaux*

Antoine-René de Voyer de Paulmy d'Argenson (1722 –1787) the Marquis de Paulmy⁵⁵, the “tasteless” son of the famous author of the *Journal*, showed even as a young man an unfortunate tendency for collecting pieces of information. That Antoine-René amassed a huge collection of books⁵⁶ by the late eighteenth century would not have surprised his father who thought his son lacked creativity. However, de Paulmy’s penchant for collecting eventually did find a creative outlet in the genre of a catalogue, *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque*, with extracts of and commentaries on his own immense library. In volume two entitled *Manuel des châteaux* (1779), de Paulmy advises the female reader on the kinds of books needed to support the most important amusing activities⁵⁷ while visiting one’s chateau during the winter country season which lasted four to five months.⁵⁸

Manuel des Châteaux begins with a letter written by Madame de *** asking de Paulmy to recommend titles to occupy and divert her during the morning and sometimes in the evening.⁵⁹ These books are destined for her favourite room in her country house, her boudoir which contains

⁵⁵ The Marquis de Paulmy became the 3rd Marquis d’Argenson upon the death of his father in 1757. Although his title at the time of the publication of *Manuel des châteaux* in 1779 would have been the Marquis d’Argenson, to avoid confusing father and son, I refer to the son of the 2nd Marquis d’Argenson as the Marquis de Paulmy.

⁵⁶ He sold his collection to the Comte d’Artois. It is currently the eighteenth-century collection located at the Arsenal Library in Paris.

⁵⁷ The three most important activities were solitary reading, amateur theatre productions, and card playing.

⁵⁸ De Paulmy, *Manuel des châteaux*, p. ix.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. ix.

deux corps de tablettes, & au milieu d'elles un enfoncement ou espece de niche, occupée par un sofa ou ottomane, garnie de coussin; c'est là que je ferai mes lectures, & même que j'en raisonnerai avec ceux que j'estimerai assez pour leur communiquer mes réflexions. On trouve encore dans ce charmant boudoir deux autres corps de tablettes; l'un coupé par une cheminée, & l'autre par une glace & une table pour écrire, avec beaucoup de tiroirs et de secrets. Toutes ces tablettes sont prêtés à recevoir des livres; mais quels livres peut-on placer à la campagne dans une bibliothèque de cette espèce, si ce ne ont des Romans ? Je n'en peux prêter et faire lire que de ce genre aux Dames qui viendront chez moi.⁶⁰

De Paulmy obligingly recommends with commentary, 600 volumes⁶¹ which ought to belong “dans le Boudoir romanesque”⁶². This quantity should provide enough reading material for 12 years if Madame reads 50 volumes per year. As for the quality, these novels, intended for ladies neither devout nor inane, are comprised of eight kinds: *Romans de Chevalerie*; *Romans historiques*; *Romans d'amour François*; *Romans de Morale & de Politique*; *Romans Satyriques, comiques & Bourgeois*; *Nouvelles, ou petits Romans, Historiettes & Contes*; *Contes de Fées, Romans merveilleux, & Voyages imaginaires*; and *Romans traduits du Grec, du Latin, & des Langues étrangères vivantes*.⁶³

⁶⁰ De Paulmy, *Manuel des châteaux*, p. ix.

⁶¹ Novels were published in bound volumes so that one title may be a collection of 4 volumes.

⁶² De Paulmy, *Manuel des châteaux*, p. 1.

⁶³ Ibid, p. x.

5.2.2 Characteristics of de Paulmy's Boudoir Books

The titles and the categorization of the books draw a set of characteristics of *livres du boudoir* in order to understand their broader significance for their audience and the place where they were read. In general they should be *à la mode*. *Romans comiques et satyriques* such as the comic and very gay *Page disgacié de Tristan* published in 1643 are written in a style and humour which is out of fashion: “on peint & on critique des mœurs qui nous deviennent indifférentes, à mesure qu’elles s’éloignent de nous.”⁶⁴ Novels should reflect some aspect of contemporary manners, customs and concerns appropriate for a lady’s boudoir.

Agréable and *intéressant* are frequent adjectives used to describe the (good) humour of the boudoir novel. Novels “plein d’esprit, de saillies et de gaieté”⁶⁵, such as the ones written by M. l’Abbé de Voisenon, should grace the lady's boudoir. Novels characterized by “la légèreté dans le style, de l’agrément et de la délicatesse dans les pensées et les sentimens”⁶⁶ such as the epistolary novel *Dame au Chevalier de Luzincourt* are recommended. Even spicy (*piquant*) books are admitted into the boudoir as long as they are charming and have a quick turn of phrase. Duclos’ *L’Histoire de Madame de Luz* is “ingénieuse et intéressants”; *Les Confessions du Comte de ****, “Roman piquant & philosophique”; and *Mémoires sur les Mœurs de ce siècle* in which one finds “d’esprit et de philosophie”.⁶⁷ De Paulmy even suggests M. le Chevalier Mouhy’s *Les Mille &*

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 126

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 114.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.115.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 112.

une Faveurs even though its “quelques gaietés” landed Mouhy in the Bastilles.⁶⁸

As long as his novels are “plus ridicules, plus extraordinaires et plus plaisantes”⁶⁹, books which are deemed immoral by the authorities are sometimes admitted.

Novels should be “easy” reading. For ladies whose education for the most part was poor, older French texts such as *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* by Rabelais should be heavily abridged because “je crois qu'il peut cependant vous suffire ; & vous mettre en état de vous passer de lire en entier un Auteur, dont il suffit, pour les Dames, d'avoir une légère connoissance ; car, enfin, *Rabelais*, en original, est d'un style inintelligible pour elles.”⁷⁰

However, novels are not just for the self-amusement of ladies. For in addition to providing a pleasurable pastime and topics of conversation amongst one's intimates, many novels have an underlying pedagogical aim. Although he includes *Romans de Morale & de Politique* in his category of book typologies, de Paulmy does not find many novels based on spirituality, philosophy, moral and political topics suitable for Madame because they are boring or obscure and contain unreasonable ideas or platitudes and common moralizing. He writes: “Je ne vous interdis, Madame, que les Romans précisément consacrés à la spiritualité, à la philosophie ou à la politique, qui ne vous amuseroient pas, et ne vous apprendroient rien.”⁷¹ Instead, she should stick to novels, tales and imaginary voyages, many of which have a philosophical and moral purpose. He believes that novels can offer interesting reflections which make them useful and at the same

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 143.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.107-8.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 122.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 121.

time convey pleasing episodes. *Contes moraux* by M. de Marmontel is the best example of moral tales, while those by Madame le Prince de Beaumont “sont réellement moraux, mais très-froid, et vous pouvez vous en épargner la dépense.”⁷²

Le Prince de Beaumont’s tales⁷³ are too somber as with the self-reflective novels by the Abbé Prevost. Rude and coarse novel such as “gaillard” *Décameron de Bocace* are not to be found in a boudoir.⁷⁴ For de Paulmy, the lady’s boudoir, a place without serious introspection, is not a room for sulking. On the contrary, witty and charming stories should fill her solitary hours.

Although characterized by its “lightness”, the boudoir novels are not without social purpose. The characters, situations and plotlines in boudoir novels share and reflect certain societal expectations, manners or norms. Boudoir novels represent aristocratic socialization, reproducing the “finer” feelings of the elite class “tous différens les uns des autres, dont quelques un intéressent [le] coeur par la beauté des sentimens, les autres attachement [l’]esprit par l’enchaînement & la singularité des faits, [lui] plaisent, par l’élégance & la pureté du style, ou [lui] fassent rire.”⁷⁵

One could read a novel to recognize the expected manner of the day.

Rousseau in his first Parisian salon visit was given one of de Paulmy’s

⁷² Ibid, p. 138.

⁷³ Le Prince de Beaumont’s tales have a strong moral message and lack the irony of *contes de fées* from the early half of the eighteenth century. Lewis C. Seifert, “Madame Le Prince de Beaumont and the Infantilization of the Fairy Tale,” *French Literature Series: The Child in French and Francophone Literature*, ed. Buford Norman, vol.31, 2004, pp. 25-39. [http://www.ingentaconnect.com/..](http://www.ingentaconnect.com/) Accessed September 8, 2009

⁷⁴ De Paulmy, *Manuel des châteaux*, p. 130, 131.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.xi.

recommended novels, Duclos' *Les Confessions du Comte de ****, by his hostess in order that he familiarize himself with polite society and one of its main activities, the pursuit of love.⁷⁶ Baroness d'Oberkirch writing in 1782 describes that in Paris and at court

...la vie est tout autre; les plaisirs et la galanterie y sont la grande occupation ; les personnes graves et retenues y sont traitées de prudes. Les paroles et les actions ont une facilité qui, sans conduire au mal, je n'en doute pas, le laisse craindre ou soupçonner. Je comprends combien il est facile de le supposer; je comprends aussi combien, pour être juste et impartial, il faut mesurer ses jugements et les tourner *sept fois* dans sa tête, suivant la recommandation du sage. Ainsi veux-je faire.⁷⁷

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the development of Western attitude of romantic love over the course of the early modern period, as Jean-Louis Flandrin has discussed, aristocratic love was not marital or pre-marital.⁷⁸ In addition, a particular attitude towards the pursuit of love characterized the aristocratic man of the eighteenth century. As the literary scholar Christophe Martin and historian Jonathan Dewald explain, the male aristocrat, defined by "virile" pleasures and activities, had a predatory attitude towards women who were seen as fortresses to be captured.⁷⁹ In Paulmy's list of novels such as Crébillon fils' *Les égaremens du coeur et de l'esprit, ou, Mémoires*

⁷⁶ Rousseau, *Les Confessions*, p.363 : [1741-1747] Pour guider mon inexpérience, elle [Mme de Broglie] me donna les Confessions du Comte de ***. "Ce livre, me dit-elle, est un Mentor dont vous aurez besoin dans le monde : vous ferez bien de le consulter quelquefois."

⁷⁷ D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 140-141. *Memoirs of the Baroness d'Oberkirch*, vol. 1, p. 215-16.

⁷⁸ Flandrin, *Sex in the Western World*, p. 73.

⁷⁹ Martin, *Espaces du féminin*, p.2-3. Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570-1715*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p. 120.

de M. de Meilcour and *Les Confessions du Comte de **** the pursuit of love frequently is referred in terms of the sexual conquest of female victims.

However, the pursuit of love is not without rules or standards of behavior. Happiness is dependent upon “a right understanding, and making the proper, as well as timely disposition”⁸⁰, the play of love rituals and expectations characterized by chivalrous devotion to the pursued. The lover must be agreeable to her in order for him to win her heart. Thus in the game of love, she has power over him. This power of love, I imagine, gives her a sense of self-worth even in this society for, as the Grande Mademoiselle⁸¹ complained, “daughters are good for nothing in France”.⁸² It is not surprising that the personal sentiment of love was a major topic of interest for ladies.

However, the subject of love is not limited to boudoir books. So widespread was love that according to Jaucourt in the *Encyclopédie*, it had invaded all forms of literature, even the tragedy. To his consternation, love which has become the prime motivation of literary plot development panders to the interest of fashion and to ladies’ tastes.⁸³ What then characterizes the love in the boudoir novel?

Here, especially *Romans d’amour*, “on trouve des sentimens qui, ayant leur source dans le coeur humain, sont les mêmes dans tous les tems & dans tous

⁸⁰ La Solle, *Memoirs of A Man of Pleasure*, vol. 1, p. 251.

⁸¹ Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier (1627-1693), referred to as la Grande Mademoiselle was the grand daughter of Henry IV and first cousin of Louis XIV.

⁸² “Puisque les filles ne sont bonnes à rien en France...” Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Mémoires de Mlle de Montpensier: petite-fille de Henri IV*, ed. Adolphe Chéruel. Paris: Charpentier, 1868, vol.3, p. 455 cited by Dejean, “Introduction,” *Against Marriage*, p. 18.

⁸³ Tragédie, Jaucourt (Page 16:515) *Encyclopédie*. ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet. <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed January 20, 2008.

les lieux. Dans les autres, on peint & on critique des mœurs qui nous deviennent indifférentes, à mesure qu'elles s'éloignent de nous.”⁸⁴ Love, as previously pointed out in chapter three, was the source of one's feelings and therefore, subject to self-examination and reflection.

The internal examination of one's feelings towards timeless and unchanging love gave, according to one early eighteenth-century memoirist, a sense of self-agency. Madame de Staal-Delauny (1684 – 1750) in her *Mémoires* (1753) describes how love, first in her love of religion and then her passion for novels created in her mind, a sense of her own importance. She explains the psychological effect of her voracious reading of “dangerous novels” which were given to her by convent nuns as a means to quench her religious fervor by re-living events in printed texts, a merging of story and reality. She began to see the world in relation to her self during her time at the convent of Saint Louis, “[J]’avais acquis, quoique infiniment petite, tous les défauts des grands: cela m’a servi depuis à les excuser en eux, et m’a fait voir avec quelle facilité on se persuade que tout est fait pour soi.”⁸⁵

Throughout her *Mémoires*, Staal-Delauny refers to her motives and intentions like a heroine whose emotions are central to the plotline. She likens the effect of solitary reading of novels as creating the same self-centered importance of princes – everything was made and done for them. However, she deems her fictional self-image as “false” as there was a great disconnect between her

⁸⁴ De Paulmy, *Manuel des châteaux*, p. 126

⁸⁵ Marguerite-Jeanne Cordier de Launay, baronne de Staal. *Mémoires de Mme de Staal-Delauny*. [first published 1753] Édition présentée et annotée par Gérard Doscot. Paris: Mercure de France, 1970, p.32.

imagined importance as a *grande* and her life as a serving woman to the duchesse du Maine. This disconnect between her expectation of others serving her, and the reality of her serving others created in her mind a strong sense of injustice of her condition. The desire to be free from service became her great passion in life: “L’amour de la liberté est sa passion dominante; passion très malheureuse en elle, qui a passé la plus grande partie de sa vie dans la servitude: aussi son état lui a-t-il toujours été insupportable, malgré les agréments inespérés qu’elle a pu y trouver.”⁸⁶

Madame de Staal-Delauny’s dissatisfaction came with the bleeding of “dangerous novels” into the real, creating a sense of self-importance which gave her the expectation that she should contribute as a woman of letters to the court life surrounding the Duchesse du Maine, rather than being merely her serving woman. The combination of dissatisfaction and desire for a better position in the Maine household did lead her to strive in limited ways. As the duchesse’s letter writer and confidant, she was considered an important enough figure in the household to have been imprisoned in 1718 for two years for her apparent role in the Maines’ attempted conspiracy against Philippe II, Duke of Orléans, the regent for Louis XV. In 1735, she became a lady of the household when she married the baron de Staal. Most significantly, it was her attitude that propelled her to write an account of her life for others to read. Her *Mémoires* published after her death attests to her belief that her witness and participation in the court of the Duc and

⁸⁶ Her self-portrait is written in the third person. Ibid, p.221.

Duchesse du Maine would be of interest to a reading public and that her legacy would live on through her writing.

Are de Paulmy's recommended novels "dangerous"? Contrary to being a ferment of secret desires and a potential source of a false consciousness, his boudoir novels are agreeable to high society. He points out that these books are part of a lady's conversation and social interaction, especially with her guests at her country home. Reading, along with card playing and amateur theatrical productions are one of the three important social pastimes during the country season. These three social activities have their corresponding rooms: the salon for card playing (and for amateur theatrics), the theatre, and the boudoir which houses Madame's small library.

De Paulmy's boudoir was a place to share reflections on books with her intimate associates. Not merely a place for silent and solitary reading, the boudoir was also a place to discuss and read (aloud) novels with guests who were favourably inclined to her views.⁸⁷ Unsympathetic guests were unwelcome, such as Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Samuel Johnson who, when visiting the boudoir of Madame d'Argenson, could not refrain from showing contempt while handling the lady's boudoir books, comprised of fairy tales such as *Histoire du Prince Titi*. Rather than suffer the offence like Madame d'Argenson, who subsequently shut up her rooms from the rude guests, de Paulmy's boudoir book club was only for (sympathetic) ladies.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ De Paulmy, *Manuel des châteaux*, p. ix.

⁸⁸ Thrale and Johnson, *The French Journals of Mrs. Thrale and Doctor Johnson*, p.116-117, 172.

The boudoir, encompassing both the books and the room within which they were read, provided an escape from one's social milieu and into another more pleasing version of her existing world. In the fairy tale, *Princesse Lumineuse* for instance, the story centers on recognizable familial and court society relations and the disputes arising from human weakness and existing social expectations. In the boudoir where a woman read her fairytale book of hours, she found refuge from her conjugal discontent and entry into a pastoral landscape where lovers find happiness in amorous alliances. However, the boudoir did not merely provide escape from certain societal expectations; they also created pleasure by making versions of the reader's lives more *agréable*. For the aristocratic elite, with marriages arranged for social and economic advantages, love could still be found in extramarital relationships. As Flandrin points out, for the eighteenth-century aristocrat, love motivated by the desire for spiritual and emotional intimacy was found outside of marriage in love affairs. In this kind of aristocratic morality, as long as the wife did not present her husband with a child fathered by her lover, love affairs were acceptable.⁸⁹ For unhappy love affairs, as Le Bouteux's engraving suggests (figure 58), reading in her boudoir provided consolation for the discarded lover.

As Starobinski and Sasselin have discussed, there was convergence between the novelistic space and the space where they were read.⁹⁰ Adjectives describing the boudoir novel such as lightness, delicateness, gay, and elegant characterize the social interaction of not only of fictional worlds but apply to an

⁸⁹ Flandrin, *Sex in the Western World*, p. 73

⁹⁰ Starobinski, "Le Rococo," p. 5-6.

idealization of their own lifestyle within their boudoirs. The enfolding of the two spaces, fictional and physical, in the notion of boudoir should be understood not as a separation of real and unreal but rather as a virtual world where the reader/occupant is the motivation of her story.

5.2.3 Female Readers and Male Writers

Whereas boudoir novels were for a female readership, their authors were mainly men. Of the authors identified in the *Manuel des châteaux*⁹¹, there are more than twice as many male authors as female ones (76 to 35). However, it was not always the case that the reading of novels was identified as a particular feminine pastime while the writing was considered a masculine activity. Christophe Martin explains that the novel at the end of the seventeenth century was written primarily by women. From around 1720, male authors began appropriating the feminine voice and acquired “access” into the secrets of a woman’s space. By the latter half of the eighteenth century, female readers became the primary consumers of novels primarily written by men.⁹²

A diet of boudoir novels was a means for control as suggested by the nineteenth-century literary scholar Louis Lacour. In his examination of the “boudoir” books belonging to Marie-Antoinette, Lacour concludes that the Queen’s collection of novels were “light, escapist” similar in type to those listed in the *Manuel des châteaux*. However, the stocking of books in her libraries did not necessarily indicate the queen’s preferences. As Lacour proposes, the books which were chosen by her librarian was part of a concerted effort by courtiers from her arrival in France as a young woman of 14 to under-educate her so that the future queen would be politically inept in court.⁹³

⁹¹ While some of the female authors may have been men using a female pseudonym and thus changing the ratio of male to female authors, the great majority of authors were men.

⁹² Martin, *Espaces du féminin*, p. 5-6.

⁹³ Louis Lacour, *Livres du boudoir de la reine Marie-Antoinette : catalogue authentique et original publié pour la première fois avec préface et notes*. Paris: J. Gay, 1862, p. xxli-li

Understood in this light, the novel as the appropriate reading material for an aristocratic lady in her boudoir reinforces her social role at the center of which is her participation in the gallant pursuits of the aristocratic lifestyle. Madame will spend many hours alone in her boudoir reading, living within the pages of the book, identifying with the main character, and becoming emotionally immersed into an idealized world where one's heart is fully engaged with other characters in the story. Passively reading in her boudoir, she could find refuge from any discontent of her married state⁹⁴, and as the recipient of gallantry, acquiesce to her own inferior status. Gallantry, as already discussed, is only possible when there are agreed rules of gallant courtesy used to sustain interpersonal interaction in a hierarchical society. For the lady who had the privilege of reading in her own room, why should she desire or act any differently from what her rank already deemed appropriate?

By the end of the eighteenth century, public discourse on the equality of citizens changed the way the boudoir was promoted. The aristocratic, hierarchical social organization which gave rise to the boudoir disappeared, leaving it as a room for her sex. In a republican parody of de Paulmy's catalogue, *Manuel des boudoirs, ou, essais érotiques sur les dlles d'Athènes* (1787)⁹⁵, Claude-François-Xavier Mercier de Compiègne writes a guidebook for the male citizens⁹⁶ on the

⁹⁴ A woman was obliged to marry whomever her parents' decided which usually was based on monetary or social gain for her family. When she married, her dowry was controlled by her husband. Dejean, *Against Marriage*, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Claude-François-Xavier Mercier de Compiègne. *Manuel des boudoirs, ou, Essais érotiques sur les dlles d'Athènes : ouvrage plus moral qu'on ne pense, tiré en partie du porte-feuille secret du Secrétaire grec du scythe Anacharsis*. A Cythère [Paris], l'an du plaisir & de la liberté, 1787.

⁹⁶ His opinion that "Women have a weaker of body than us", implies that "us", the reader, is male. Ibid, vol. 2, p.44.

roles of women in the new republic. As either courtesan or mother, the ideal woman, motivated by her unique and prime interest of love⁹⁷ will patriotically procreate and be the source of a man's pleasure.

⁹⁷ "L'amour est l'unique occupation, le premier intérêt des femmes." Ibid, vol. 2, p. 66.

CHAPTER 6: THE 1758 GRAND PRIX

The word “boudoir” appearing only sporadically in early eighteenth-century published texts¹ suggests that the conception of it in the middle of the century remained, as the 1740 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* states, a familiar term known primarily within the closed society of *honnêtes gens*. When the boudoir appeared to a wider public in the latter half of the century, its gallant activities were considered an inappropriate topic. Diderot, for instance, expressed in his 1765 Salon review for an elite foreign audience² of Baudouin’s painting *La fille éconduite* (figure 58) his objection to the display of boudoir paintings:

Dans un petit appartement de plaisir, un boudoir, on voit,
nonchalamment étendu sur une chaise longue, un cavalier peu
disposé à renouveler sa fatigue; debout, à côté de lui, une fille en
chemise, l'air piqué, semble lui dire, en se remettant du rouge:
*Quoi! c'est là tout ce que vous saviez?*³

¹ According to a database search of ECCO, ARTFL Project, and Gallica.

² It appeared in Grimm’s *Correspondance littéraire*, a newsletter intended for foreign elites. Diderot’s Salon reviews were only published in Paris in 1795. Penelope Hunter-Stiebel, “French Painting in the Age of Madame de Pompadour,” *La Volupté du Goût: French Painting in the Age of Madame de Pompadour*. Paris, Tours and Portland: Smogy éditions, Musée des Beaux-Arts and Portland Art Museum, 2008, p.22.

³ Denis Diderot, *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. Jules Assézat, Maurice Tourneux. Paris: Garnier frères, 1873, vol. 10, p. 333.



(Fig. 58) Left top: Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, *La fille éconduite (Le Carquois épuisé)*, 1765, 29 x 24 cm.

Source: <http://galatea.univ-tlse2.fr/pictura/UtpicturaServeur/>. Accessed April 14, 2010.

(Fig. 59) Right: François Boucher, *Angelica and Medoro*, Oil on canvas, 66.7 x 56.2 cm, 1763, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org>. Accessed April 2, 2010.

(Fig. 60) Left bottom: Jean-Jacques Caffieri, *Monument à la mémoire de madame Favart*, 93 x 45 x 28 cm, 1774, Musée du Louvre. Source : <http://cartelen.louvre.fr/>. Accessed April 5, 2010.

Baudouin, a painter of “prédicateur des mauvaises” and “petites-maisons et de libertins”⁴, was the faithful student of his master Boucher whose *Angélique et Médor* (figure 59) was in a similar vein, a “petite composition de boudoir.”⁵

Beyond a general moralizing charge against *boudoir* artists whose representations of corporeal pleasures were deemed to incite the same affect in the viewer, for the author of *Les bijoux indiscrets*⁶, this style of *volupté*, was unsuitable for the Salon whose audience came from all ranks of society.⁷ For unlike historical paintings depicting noble subjects, morally suitable for the Salon public, paintings by Baudouin and Boucher were intended for private consumption to be enjoyed in the secrecy of one’s boudoir.⁸ The attitude that this kind of relationship should remain in the boudoir was shared by other writers such as Bachaumont in his review of a terracotta commemorative monument of actress Madame Favart (figure 60) shown in the Salon of 1773. Commissioned by her lover Abbé de Voisenon, this sculpture, which unites the figures *Amitié* with *Amour*, was more suitable for the Abbé’s boudoir than for the salon as “les gens

⁴ Annotating Diderot’s review, Grimm adds, Baudouin “reste peintre et poète de boudoir!” Ibid, vol.10, p.336 n.1.

⁵ Ibid, vol.10, p. 259-60.

⁶ *Les bijoux indiscrets* was published anonymously by Denis Diderot in 1748. It is tale about a sultan who owned a jewel which could make vaginas (women’s jewels) speak the truth.

⁷ Entry into the Salons at the Louvre was free. Udolpho van de Sandt, “La fréquentation des Salons sous l’Ancien Régime, la Révolution et l’Empire,” *Revue de l’Art*, no. 73 (1986), p. 43. Hunter-Stiebel, “French Painting in the Age of Madame de Pompadour,” p.21.

⁸ Jill Casid discusses the Salon as a venue which created a bourgeois public sphere. Casid, “Commerce in the Boudoir,” p. 91-108.

honnêtes seront toujours indignés de voir un *prêtre* reproduire sans cesse à leurs yeux le spectacle scandaleux de sa douleur impudique.”⁹

Early eighteenth-century architects, like writers of the period, were also reticent to identify the boudoir. To my knowledge, Jean Mariette’s *L’architecture françoise* (1727-1738) where a boudoir is explicitly identified in the first floor plan of the hôtel d’Humières (figure 36)¹⁰ marks the first appearance of “boudoir” in an architectural book. This plan was re-printed in Jacques-François Blondel’s *Architecture française* (1752).¹¹ In both editions, however, “boudoir” is not mentioned in the accompanied written text¹². The only other architect to mention the boudoir in a publication from the first half of the century was Briseux in *L’art de bâtir des maisons de campagne* (1743). He writes:

Il faut que les principales chambres à coucher soient accompagnées d’un cabinet d’une grandeur raisonnable, d’un arrière-cabinet, & de deux garderobes, avec des dégagemens. On peut aussi y ajoûter un troisième petit cabinet, qui renferme un lit de repos, & auquel on donne le nom de Boudoir : On y fait aussi plusieurs petits réduits, qui ont divers usages.¹³

⁹ [21 septembre 1773] Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, vol. 13, p. 139.
<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed July 13, 2009.

¹⁰ Designed by the architect Armand-Claude Mollet, (1600-1742), it was built between 1718 and 1720. The client was the second son of the duc d’Aumont who inherited the dukedom of Humières when he married the daughter of the maréchal d’Humières. Jean Mariette, *L’architecture françoise*, vol 2. See Bruno Pons, *Waddesdon Manor: Architecture and Paneling*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996.

¹¹ Jacques- François Blondel, *Architecture française*. Paris: Ch.A. Jombert, 1752, vol.1, Liv. II Chapt. XXIV pl.2. Blondel worked as one of the engravers for Mariette’s edition. Richard Cleary, “Romancing the Tome; Or an Academician’s Pursuit of a Popular Audience in 18th-Century France,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 48, no. 2 (Jun. 1989), p.139-149.

¹² Blondel, *Architecture française*, vol. 1, p. 272-4.

¹³ Charles Étienne Briseux, *L’art de bâtir des maisons de campagne où l’on traite de leur distribution, de leur construction, & de leur décoration*. Paris: [s.n.], 1743, vol.1, p.24.

These small cabinets are called various names such as *serre-papier*, *toilette*, *tribune*¹⁴ or *réduit*, however, *boudoir* does not appear again in Briseux's text.

By the end of the 1750's, architects, like their literary counterparts, began to identify the *boudoir* in their projects. Indeed, it even appeared in the program brief of the 1758 Grand Prix ("Prix de Rome") competition for the students of the Académie royale d'architecture. In the list of required elements for the design of a *pavillon à l'italienne*, *boudoirs* were included by the committee responsible for drawing up the guidelines of the competition. Among all competition program briefs from 1701 to 1793, this was the only occasion that a *boudoir* was listed even though there were projects for similar types of *pavillon* or *maison de plaisance*. As the programs for the Grand Prix competition were typically topical and responded to contemporary construction projects, the inclusion of "boudoir" would have been a reference to an event or project which had particular significance and was of current interest to the Académie.¹⁵

The Académie royale d'architecture was instituted in 1671 by Louis XIV under the initiative of the minister Colbert. The Académie's members met on a regular basis to read and discuss authoritative writers such as Vitruvius, Palladio, Philibert de l'Orme, Scamozzi, Alberti and Serlio and formulated aesthetic

¹⁴ Tribune implies that the room is above the level of the other rooms on the same floor. Alden R. Gordon, *The Houses and Collections of the Marquis de Marigny*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003, p. 41.

¹⁵ Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, "*Les prix de Rome*": *concours de l'Académie royale d'architecture au XVIIIe siècle : inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France*. Paris: Berger-Levrault : Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 1984, p.17. Henry Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale d'architecture, 1671-1793; publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de l'art français sous le patronage de l'Académie des beaux arts*. Paris: Edouard Champion, 1911-1929. Helen Rosenau, "The Engravings of the Grand Prix of the French Academy of Architecture," *Architectural History*, vol. 3, (1960), p. 19. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1568211>. Accessed June 30, 2010.

doctrines such as “good taste”. In addition to advising the king on his building practices, the members of the Académie also educated future architects outside of the traditional guild and workshop training. As an important part of the Académie’s training program for their students, a year end design competition, the “Grand Prix”, was instituted on an annual basis from 1720 and awarded with gold and silver medals. When the competition was first proposed in 1671, the intent was that the winner would be given a stipend to study at the Académie de France in Rome. However, under the *ancien régime*, the “Prix de Rome” in architecture remained a favour granted by the king rather than the prize for the year end competition.¹⁶

As a state institution, the Académie royale d’architecture’s unusual requirement for boudoirs in the 1758 Grand Prix competition promoted a room which previously was not even mentioned by *honnêtes gens* in public.¹⁷ Why did the Académie pointedly include boudoirs in their program and what was the significance of it? This chapter argues that the boudoir was intended to address a *pavillon* project which was destined for two types of clients: the king and the financier. The boudoir had a different significance depending on the client. Beyond the world of aristocratic privilege, the meaning of the boudoir was modified for the bourgeois consumer.

¹⁶ Richard Chafée, “The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux Arts,” *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Arthur Drexler. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977, p. 65. Pérouse de Montclos, “*Les prix de Rome*”, p.10. Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l’Académie royale d’architecture*, t. 1, p.lv-lviii.

¹⁷ The Grand Prix held a public exposition and was regularly reported in the *Mercure de France*. Pérouse de Montclos, “*Les prix de Rome*”, p.11.

6.1 Un pavillon sur le bord d'une rivière

On Tuesday, May 2, 1758, a meeting of the Académie royale d'Architecture attended by Aubry, J. Beausire, Beausire, Blondel, Brébion, Chevotet, Contant, Franque, Hupeau, de Lespée, Lorient, Mansart de Lévy, Potain, Rousset, Soufflot, Tanevot, and Camus¹⁸ issued the following program for that year's Grand Prix competition:

L'Académie étant assemblée extraordinairement, le matin, pour décider et proposer aux élèves le sujet du prix de cette année, la matière mise en délibération et les voix de MM. les architectes du Roy ayant été rassemblées, on est convenu du sujet suivant :

Un pavillon sur le bord d'une rivière, à l'angle d'une terrasse, avec faculté de donner à l'angle la forme qu'on jugera à propos. Ce pavillon sera orné d'architecture extérieurement et intérieurement, couvert à l'italienne. Il contiendra un vestibule ou antichambre, salon et salle à manger, avec petites pièces pour boudoirs et garderobbe de commodité, souterrains pour cuisines et offices et degré pour monter des dits souterrains au rez de chaussée. On pourra observer des rampes pour descendre à la rivière et s'embarquer. La superficie du bâtiment n'excédera pas cent dix toises quarrées hors euvre. Il sera fait deux plans, l'un des

¹⁸ Claude Guillot Aubry (1703-1771) académicien en 1737 ; Jean-Baptiste-Augustine Beausire (d.1786) académicien en 1732 ; Jérôme Beausire, le Jeune, académicien en 1741 ; Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774) académicien en 1755 ; Maximilien Brébion (1716-1796) académicien en 1755 ; Jean-Michel Chevotet (1698-1772) académicien en 1732 ; Contant d'Ivry (1698-1777) académicien en 1728 ; François Franque académicien en 1755 ; Hupeau (d.1763) académicien en 1757 ; Jean-François de Lespée (d.1762) académicien en 1728 ; Louis-Adam Lorient académicien en 1748 ; Jacques-Hardouin Mansart de Lévy (1703-1788) académicien en 1735 ; Nicolas-Marie Potain (d.1791) académicien en 1756 ; Pierre-Noël Rousset (d.1763) académicien en 1757 ; Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1709-1780) académicien en 1749 ; Michel Tanevot (d.1762) académicien en 1717 ; Tanevot fils académicien en 1741 ; l'abbé Camus (d. 1768) académicien en 1730. Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale d'architecture*, t. VI, p.xv-xxvi. Charles Bauchal, *Nouveau dictionnaire biographique et critique des architectes français*. Paris: André, Daly fils, 1887. Michel Gallet, *Les architectes parisiens du XVIIIe siècle: dictionnaire biographique et critique*. Paris: Mengès, 1995.

souterrains, l'autre du rez de chaussée, avec deux élévations et une ou deux coupes suivant qu'il conviendra. L'échelle sera de un pouce et demi par toise. L'Académie, en proposant un pavillon couvert à l'italienne, entend que ce pavillon sera couvert en terrasse, ou que son toit sera caché ou non apparent.¹⁹

While the program specified the size, scale and the types of rooms, there were unwritten assumptions that the student needed to know before beginning to design the pavilion. Who is the client? What activities happened in these spaces? What appropriate dimensions should the rooms be for these activities? How should these boudoirs be designed and for what purpose? What character should it be design for, and for what affect? Their mentors likely would have supplied them with the following information.

¹⁹ Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale d'architecture*, t. VI, p.322-323. Pérouse de Montclos, "*Les prix de Rome*", p. 63.

6.1.1 Pavilion for Aristocratic Play

For the 1758 Grand Prix, the project was for a *pavillon*²⁰ which was described by d'Avilier as

un bâtiment ordinairement isolé, & de figure quarrée, couvert d'un seul comble. C'est aussi dans, une façade, un avant corps qui en marque le milieu, ou qui flanque une encoignure, & alors on le nomme *Pavillon angulaire*. Le mot *Pavillon* vient de l'italien *Paviglione*, une tente.²¹

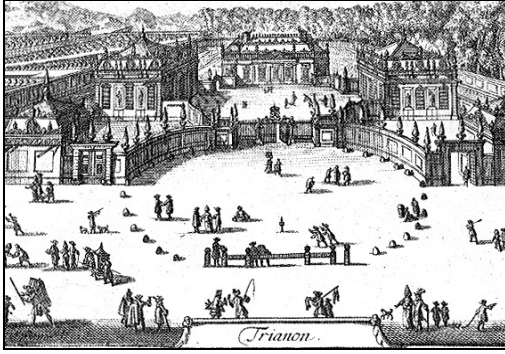
A pavillon, as Blondel writes in *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, is generally called "Trianon", in imitation of the one at Versailles.²² Built in 1670 by Louis XIV for his mistress Madame de Montespan, the Trianon (figure 61) compound with its extensive gardens, was located on the northern arm of the Grand Canal. Nicknamed the *Trianon de Porcelaine*, the pavilions with its turret roof and porcelain-like surface finishes were the first *chinoiserie* buildings to be constructed in Europe.²³

²⁰ Pérouse de Montclos classifies this building type as a *pavillon avec des appartements*. Pérouse de Montclos, "Prix de Rome," p. 252.

²¹ D'Aviler, *Dictionnaire d'architecture*, p.269.

²² Jacques-François Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance, et de la décoration des édifices en général*. Paris: Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1737, p. 19.

²³ Bernd H. Dams, and Andrew Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies in the Gardens of the Ancien Régime*. Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1995, p. 156.



(Fig.61) Louis Le Vau, *Trianon de Porcelaine*, 17th C. engraving.

Source: Bernd H. Dams, and Andrew Zega. *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies in the Gardens of the Ancien Régime*. Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1995, p. 156.

Used as a retreat from court life, the Trianon, as Blondel described, was where "on puisse s'en faire un azile tranquille, où l'on évitera les grandes Compagnies, qui d'ordinaire abondent dans les maisons considerable."²⁴ There one could stroll in the gardens or on the terraces, take water expeditions on the canal, watch firework displays or musical entertainments, and play salon games. Included in all the activities was a collation. Originally intended as a destination exclusively for day excursions, it was only when Madame de Montespan left the court in 1687 and renovations were completed did the king sleep there overnight.²⁵ Even after the addition of suitable bedchambers, it remained principally a dining retreat from the court for the king and "Madame la Duchesse de Bourgogne, Madame de Maintenon, & des Dames; & cela devint plus ordinaire ces jours-là les trois dernières années des sa vie."²⁶

Saint-Simon reports that as it grew in size and was transformed into the Grand Trianon, it became a favored site for royal parties.

²⁴ Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, p. 19.

²⁵ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t. 28, p. 167. Dangeau recorded on June 14- 19, 1703, that the King stayed at the Trianon overnight from Thursday to Tuesday and walked the gardens there everyday. Dangeau, *Journal*, t. ix, p. 213-217.

²⁶ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, t. 28, p. 355.

[1702] Rien n'étoit si magnifique que ces soirées de Trianon; tous les parterres changeoient tous les jours de compartiments de fleurs, et j'ai vu le Roi et toute la cour les quitter à force de tubéreuses, dont l'odeur embaumoit l'air, mais étoit si forte par leur quantité, que personne ne put tenir dans le jardin, quoique très vaste et en terrasse sur un bras du canal.²⁷

From its inception, the Trianon was a fashionable acquisition as the *Mercure Galant* reported in 1672,

le Trianon de Versailles avoit fait naistre à tous les Particuliers le desir d'en avoir; que presque tout les grands Seigneurs qui avoient des Maisons de Campagne en avoient fait bastir dans leur Parc, & les Particuliers au bout de leur Jardin; & que les Bourgeoises qui se vouloient épargner la dépense de ces petits Bastiments, avoient fait habiller des Mazures en Trianon, ou moins quelque Cabinet de leur Maison ou quelque guerite.²⁸

Either a stand alone *pavillon* at one's country estate or a cabinet in one's home, the name *Trianon* evoked both a refuge from unpleasant company and an entry into an enchanted other world of the orient. It was, as described by André Félibien in 1674, "[a] little palace in an extraordinary style, and the perfect place to pass the time on a summer's day."²⁹

²⁷ Ibid, t. 10, p. 358.

²⁸ *Mercure Galant* 1672, t.4, p. 338. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/> Accessed June 30, 2010.

²⁹ André Félibien, *Description sommaire du chasteau de Versailles*. Paris: G. Desprez, 1674, p. 109 cited in Bernd H. Dams and Andrew Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies in the Gardens of the Ancien Régime*. Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1995, p. 155.

Not merely a retreat, the 1758 Grand Prix pavillon was a type of *maison de plaisance*³⁰, a site for various pleasurable aristocratic pursuits such as the ones described by the duc de Croÿ during his visit to Chantilly:

[1754 mars 20] Le soir de ce jour-là, pour n'en pas laisser un sans quelque grande portée, malgré la pluie, on fut sur l'eau dans deux beaux yachts, avec de bons rameurs. Cela fait un très bel effet. D'abord on vit donner à manger à plus de cent cygnes, sur le canal qui fait un parterre blanc singulier. On fut à la tête du canal de la grand cascade, ensuite à la ménagerie. La pluie était à verse. On entra dans la superbe laiterie. Je n'ai jamais rien vu qui m'ait tant plu, et plus dans mon goût: une magnifique source, des conduits de marbre blanc, qui vont partout entre vos jambes, et tout autour des appuis des ruisseaux de cristal dont un grand nombre de jets se croisent en tous sens, font, de cet endroit, une fraîcheur, un murmure, et un coup d'oeil enchanté. Au milieu de ces eaux, était une belle collation de glaces, de fruits et de toutes sortes de laiteries dont nous mangeâmes avec délices, mais non sans polissoneries et sans nous bien mouiller, mais c'était avec cinq ou six jeunes femmes charmantes, ce qui ne contribuait pas peu à égayer la partie. De là, on se rembarqua. La pluie redoubla. On fut percé. On en rit et badina davantage. Nous fîmes tout le grand tour du canal, des quatre points-levis, des belles écluses, et l'on revint par le petit canal, ayant fait environ une lieue sur l'eau.³¹

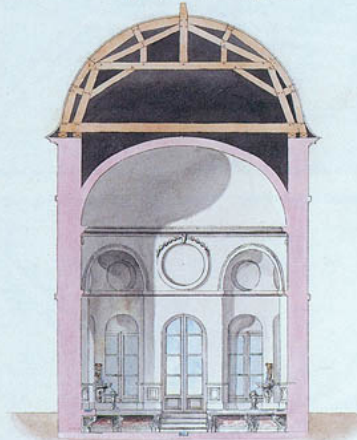
³⁰ Blondel defines a *maison de plaisance* as a country house where "les Seigneurs & les personnes aisée s'y retirer pour y profiter des douceurs de la vie champêtre pendant quelque tems. Les Grands vont s'y delasser des occupations importantes qui les attachent au bien de l'Etat ; les autres y vont recueillir les fruits de leur Domaine ; & quelque fois un Pere de famille, par un esprit d'oeconomie, s'y confîne pour le reste de ses jours, afin d'y vivre aisément à la faveur des différentes récoltes qu'offre chaque Saison. Ainsi chacun suivant son rang, ses Charges & ses moyens, va goûter avec amis & sa famille l'innocente volupté qui regne à la Campagne..." Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, p. 7.

³¹ Emmanuel, duc de Croÿ, *Journal inédit du duc de Croÿ*. Paris: Flammarion, 1906-1907, vol.1, p. 269-70. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr>. Accessed June 13, 2010.

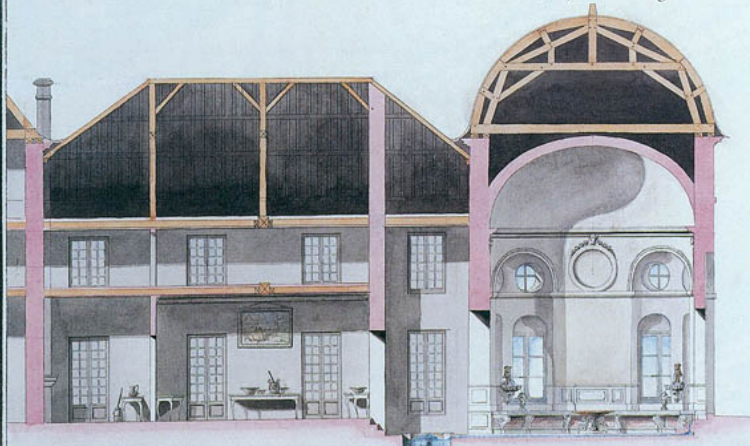
PLAN ET COUPES DE LA LAITERIE DE CHANTILLY.

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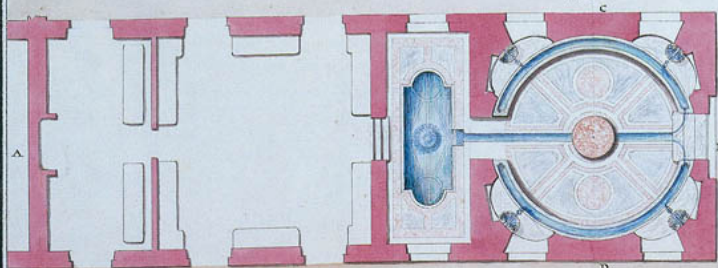
Coupe prise Sur la ligne C.D.

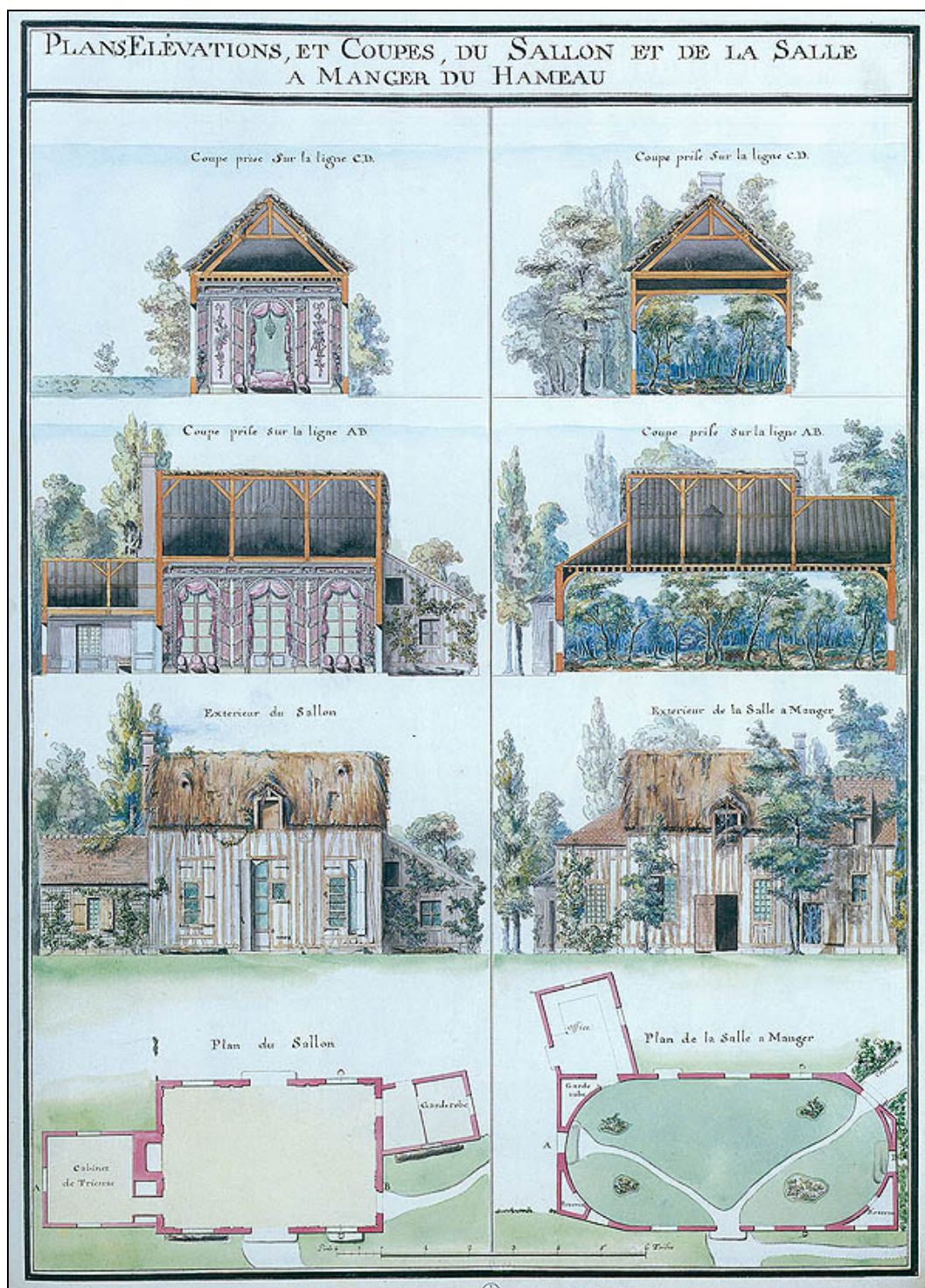


Coupe prise Sur la ligne A.B.



Plan





(Fig.62) Plan et coupes de la laiterie de Chantilly; Plans, élévation, et coupes du sallon et de la salle à manger du hameau, *Album du comte du Nord*, 1784.

Source : Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Album du comte du Nord*, Saint-Remy-en-Eau, Monelle Hayot, 2000, p. fol.24, fol.16

Sometimes the activities at a *maison de plaisance* involved license and liberties. While Blondel merely hints at the “indecenties” “capable of revolting the modesty of visitors”³² within some of these pastoral houses, we can nevertheless draw from contemporary texts to uncover the kind of liberties which occurred there. Dangeau, for instance, records that the the duchesse de Bourgogne had a little pavilion at Versailles where “La princesse alla faire des gâteaux à la Ménagerie; elle commence à amener avec elle des dames de la cour; elle y avoit madame de Roquelaure, et le jour d’au paravant madame de Boufflers.”³³

The small lodge was a place where one had the liberty to choose one’s associates. Baroness d’Oberkirch describes an outing to a *petite maison* where the princesses would be free from their men for a day:

Un jour (en 1774), Mme la duchesse de Bourbon engagea Mme la duchesse de Chartres et Mme la princesse de Lamballe à passer la journée chez elle, à Vanvres, dans une petite maison qu'elle y possédait, et qui a été habitée depuis par Mlle de Condé. M. le duc de Chartres désira en être. La princesse refusa, elle ne voulut accepter ni frère ni mari, et déclara qu'elle n'aurait que des femmes. M. le duc de Chartres fit semblant de se rendre à cette observation et de respecter la défense.³⁴

There the princesses would share a meal and most likely supper as well. For according to the baroness, one only invites to supper guests whose company one enjoys while dinners were usually for those whom one was obliged to invite.³⁵

³² Blondel, *Cours d’Architecture*, t.II, p. 249-251.

³³ Dangeau, *Journal*, t. 5, p. 137. [17 juin 1697]

³⁴ D’Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 95- 96.

³⁵ Ibid, vol. 1, p.232.

Free from the responsibilities and obligations as public figures, the princesses for short periods of time enjoyed the license provided by the *pavillon*. As Paul J. Young points out, in the eighteenth century, social position and reputation were intertwined.³⁶ The consideration of the public gaze was the part of the princesses' duty to be models for others to follow. Their concern for the opinion of others within their own estate as well as of those above and below was part of the maintenance of the existent hierarchical order.

However, Bruno Pons reminds us that the importance of social interaction made the desire for privacy, regardless of how sought after, difficult to achieve in practice.³⁷ Even though the *maison de plaisance* was supposed to provide freedom from unwanted scrutiny, a prince's affairs were of public interest. For example, Edmond Jean François Barbier (1689-1771) in his *Journal Historique* records a supper held at the Bagatelle³⁸ for the Regent and his mistress:

[aout 1721] Mardi, 12, le maréchal d'Estrées donna à souper au régent avec madame d'Averne, dans la petite maison de la maréchale qui est sur le bord du bois de Boulogne, vis-à-vis l'eau. Cette maison, quoique nommée Bagatelle, lui a coûté cent mille livres au moins, mais ils ont gagné des bien immenses. Je soupai ce même jour au bois de Boulogne, dans une maison voisine; nous les vîmes tous passer. J'admirai la hardiesse du régent, qui sait, ou doit savoir, qu'il n'a pas donné sujet de l'aimer, et qui était cependant dans un carrosse tout ouvert, la maréchale à côté de lui, la

³⁶ Paul J. Young, *Seducing the Eighteenth-Century French Reader: Reading, Writing, and the Question of Pleasure*. Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008, p. 57-8.

³⁷ Bruno Pons, "Le théâtre des cinq sens" in Jean-François de Bastide, *La petite maison*. Paris: Editions Gallimard/Le Promeneur, 1993, p. 85-6.

³⁸ It was the predecessor of Comte d'Artois' Bagatelle.

d'Averne sur le devant, deux valet de pied seulement, sans un page ni un garde; cela ne peut pas s'appeler avoir peu. Avant souper, ils se promenèrent sur l'eau; nous entendîmes de dessus la terrasse, des fêtes de musique; de là le régent s'en alla coucher à Saint-Cloud.³⁹

Barbier's complaint about the Regent's conduct was not about the liaison itself, but rather for the lack of discretion, an undesirable characteristic for an aristocracy that should keep its affairs private. Liaisons, as long as they were conducted discreetly, were acceptable, even fashionable, in high society.⁴⁰ However, affairs made public were scandalous. Madame d'Oberkirch recalls the court's attitude concerning Madame de ***'s affair:

[10 fevrier 1786] Cette dame avait chez elle, à Versailles, M. Archambault de Talleyrand Périgord, lorsque l'arrivée inopinée de son mari la força à faire descendre son amant par la fenêtre. On le vit, on l'arrêta, mais on le reconnut et on le mit en liberté. L'histoire a fait du bruit, elle a couru le monde; le roi l'a apprise et a dit sévèrement à la jolie duchesse :

— Madame, vous serez donc comme Mme votre mère.

Le duc en a été instruit après les autres, bien entendu, et s'est plaint à sa belle-mère. Celle-ci lui a répondu avec le plus grand sang-froid :

³⁹ Edmond Jean François Barbier, *Journal Historique et Anecdotique du Rène de Louis XV. Publié d'après le manuscrit inédit de la Bibliothèque Royale par A. de la Villegille*. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1847, t. 1, p. 100-101.

⁴⁰ The Marquise Du Châtelet, for instance, writes to her former lover turned confidant, the Duc de Richelieu that she was worried about the possible scandal of having Voltaire as a lover, not because of adultery but rather the liaison with a bourgeois would be seen by her contemporaries as unsuitable to her station. In a letter to duc de Richelieu, dated around June 15, 1735 she asks Richelieu to speak to her husband about her liaison with Voltaire. Zinsser, "Introduction," *Selected Philosophical and scientific Writings*, p.5 n.5, and 39-43.

— Eh! monsieur, vous faites bien du bruit pour peu de chose; votre père était de bien meilleure compagnie.⁴¹

Rendezvous with lovers, musical entertainment, and suppers occurred in the pastoral settings of the pavilion. The students competing in the 1758 Grand Prix had to suitably consider all these scenarios in their designs. Furthermore, included in their design consideration had to be the affect of the pavilion on the visitor. As Félibien pointed out, the design of the Trianon inspired the desire to spend one's time there. More specifically, pavilions affected romantic fantasies in the participant as described by the Baroness d'Oberkirch of her visit to Chantilly:

Le chenil, la ménagerie, l'île d'Amour, la belle forêt, les eaux magnifiques nous enchantèrent de nouveau. Il ne faisait pas trop chaud, l'air était embaumé des mille parfums des fleurs, toute la nature souriait, et Mme de Tonnerre me dit un peu étourdiment :

— Si je me promenais seule à pareille heure, en ce beau lieu, avec un joli garçon, qu'il fût pressant et pas trop maladroit, ma foi...

Elle vit que je ne souriais pas, elle se tut. Je ne puis me faire à ces manières *élégantes*, et je crois que je ne m'y ferai jamais.⁴²

Madame de Tonnerre's comment to the German visitor reveals the expected affect on those invited to Chantilly: imagining oneself as a shepherdess attended by her *joli garçon*, inhabiting a rustic hamlet in a pastoral landscape.

The *pavillon* was part of a living tableau in which the affect on the participants was dependent on the physical backdrop to a sequence of events, to a

⁴¹ D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p.179-180. D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol.3, p.130-31.

⁴² Ibid, vol. 2, p. 97. D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 3, p.10-11.

scenario. The *pavillons* at Chantilly, together with its activities, allowed the aristocracy to relive the pastoral mythology of the nobility. Portrait painter Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun describes the *salle à manger* at Chantilly and its affect:

...La salle à manger était d'une beauté remarquable: entre des colonnes de marbre se trouvaient placées de larges coupes en marbre aussi, qui recevaient des cascades d'eau limpide et sans cesse renouvelée. Cette salle semblait être en plein air, son effet était magique (figure 62).⁴³

Other pavilions like the *Trianon de Porcelaine* transported the visitor into a European vision of an enticing exotic land.⁴⁴ For the students competing in the 1758 Grand Prix to design suitably, they would have to take into consideration tableaux which included boudoirs.

⁴³ Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun, *Souvenirs de Mme Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun. 1755-1789*. Paris: Arthème Fayard, p. 77.

⁴⁴ The *Trianon de Porcelaine* inaugurated the *chinoiserie* decorative style, a European vision of the Orient. Dams and Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies*, p. 155-6.

6.1.2 Designs of Mathurin Cherpitel and Jean François Thérèse Chalgrin

A week following the release of the 1758 Grand Prix program, the Académie announced the students who would be competing in it:

[8 Mai 1758] L'Académie étant assemblée, on a examiné les esquisses que les élèves ont faites du sujet qui leur a été proposé mardi dernier pour les prix de cette année, et de vingt cinq esquisses qui ont été mises sous les yeux de la Compagnie, elle en a choisi treize pour être mises au net et concourir aux prix, sçavoir celles du sr Houdon, élève de M. *Chevotet*; du sr Lefebvre, élève de M. *Loriot*; du sr Thibaud, élève de M. *Le Carpentier*; du sr Parvis, élève de M. *Godeau*; du sr La Chapelle, élève de M. *de Luzy*; du sr Boisset, élève de M. *Lefranc*; du sr Feuillet, élève de M. *Rousset*; du sr de Gérando, élève de M. *Soufflot*; du sr Charpentier, élève de M. *L'Écuyer*; du sr Gondoin, élève de M. *Hazon*; du sr Chalgrin, élève de M. *Loriot*; du sr Cherpitel, élève de M. *Blondel*; du sr Jallier, élève de M. *Loriot*.⁴⁵

It was decided that the "desseins des élèves pour concourir aux prix seront exposés dans les salles de l'Académie, le lundi vingt et un de ce mois, pour être examinés pendant toute la semaine du 21 au 28 (août 1758), et être jugés et couronnés".⁴⁶ The prizes were to be awarded by Marquis de Marigny⁴⁷, the directeur général des Bâtiments du Roi.

⁴⁵ Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale d'architecture*, t.vi, p. 323.

⁴⁶ Ibid, t.vi, p.331.

⁴⁷ Abel-François Poisson, (1727 -1781) the Marquis de Marigny was the brother of Marquise de Pompadour, Louis XV's official mistress from 1745 to 1764.

On the 29th of August 1758, assembled in the salles de l'Académie, the

M. le marquis de Marigny étant présent, on a décidé qu'il y avoit assez de bons desseins pour mériter deux médailles d'or, deux seconds prix et deux accessits. Ensuite on a procédé par le scrutin au choix desseins qui méritent les prix. Dans le premier scrutin, les desseins marqués M et E ont eu la pluralité et l'égalité des voix, et M. de Marigny, de l'avis de la Compagnie, a décidé que ces deux desseins remporteront les deux médailles d'or.

Le dessein marqué M, qui est du sr Mathurin Cherpitel, élève de M. *Blondel*, né à Paris, le 14 décembre 1736, *paroisse Saint Sulpice*, a été décidé par le scrutin pour le premier prix de 1757. Ce premier prix est une médaille d'or représentant le portrait du Roy, autour duquel on lit : Lud. XV REX CHRISTIANISS. Au revers, l'hôtel de ville de Rouen avec cette inscription : AUSPICE REGE DILECTISSIMO MDCCLVIII

Le dessein marqué E, qui est du sr Jean François Thérèse Chalgrin, né à Paris, le 20^e octobre 1739, *paroisse Saint Sulpice*, a été décidé par le scrutin pour le premier prix de 1758. Ce premier prix est une médaille d'or semblable à celle du premier prix de 1757.⁴⁸

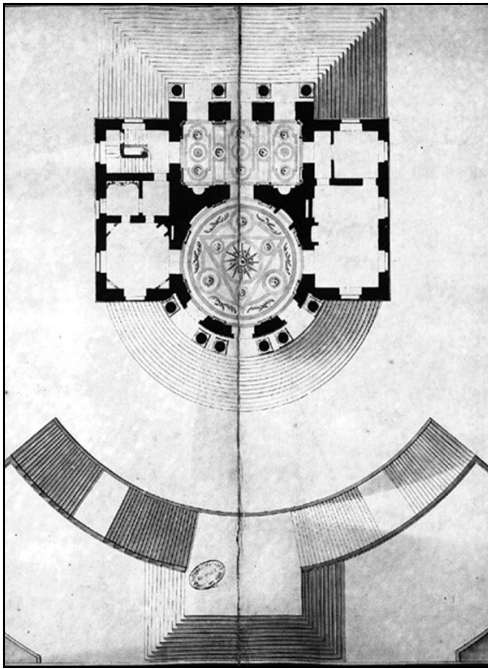
As there was no first prize awarded in the previous year, two gold medalists were selected. Cherpitel and Chalgrin were both required to submit a copy of their winning designs to the *secrétaire de l'Académie*. Silver medals were awarded to Jacques Gondoin, student of Hazon and Jacques Philippe Houdon, student of Chevotet. Third place was given to Benoît de Gérando, student of Soufflot.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale d'architecture*, t.vi, p. 331-33.

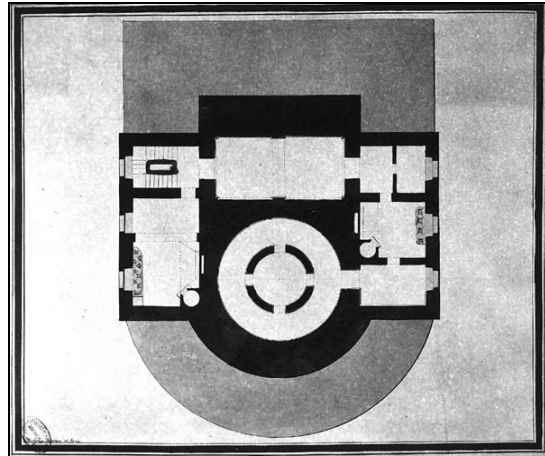
⁴⁹ Ibid, t.vi, p. 333.

(Figs. 63-67) Jean-François-Thérèse
Chalgrin.
Pavillon sur le bord d'une rivière. Travaux
d'élèves, concours, diplômes : 1er prix
d'architecture de l'Académie royale, 1758.

Source : Ecole des Beaux Arts
<http://www.ensba.fr/patrimoine/>. Accessed
May 13, 2008.



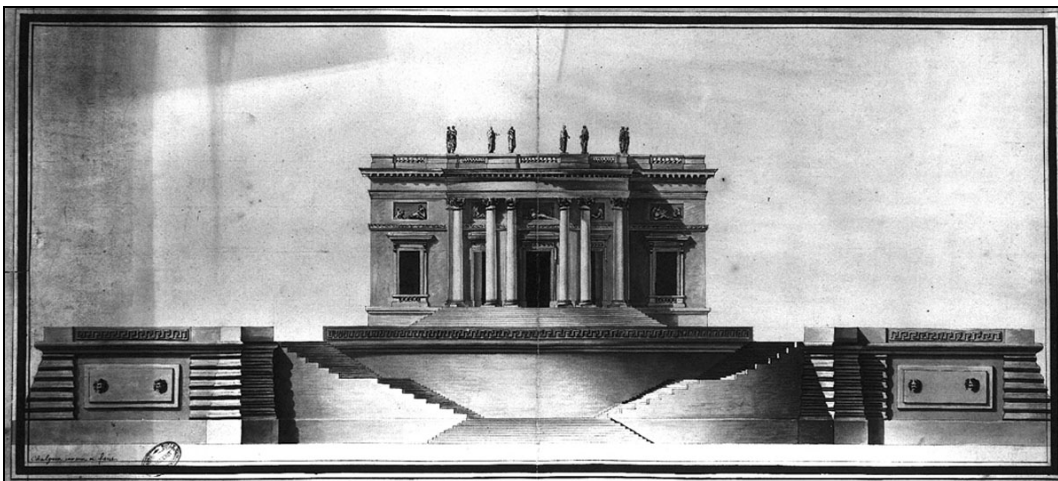
(Fig. 63) Chalgrin, Ground floor



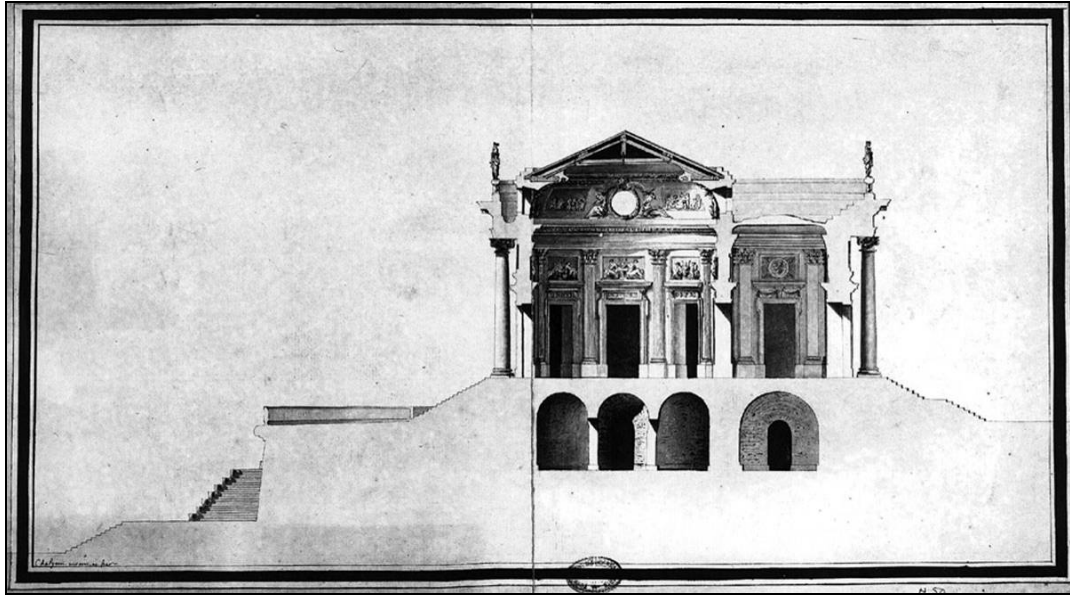
(Fig. 64) Chalgrin, Subterranean



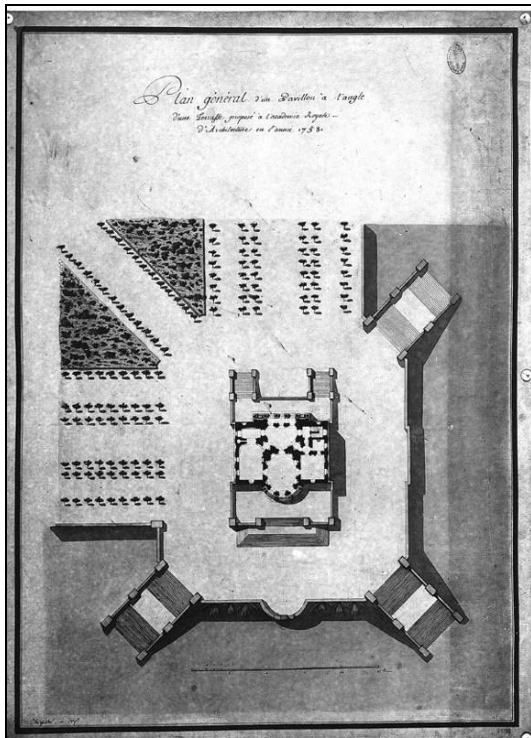
(Fig. 65) Chalgrin, Garden Elevation



(Fig. 66) Chalgrin, River Elevation



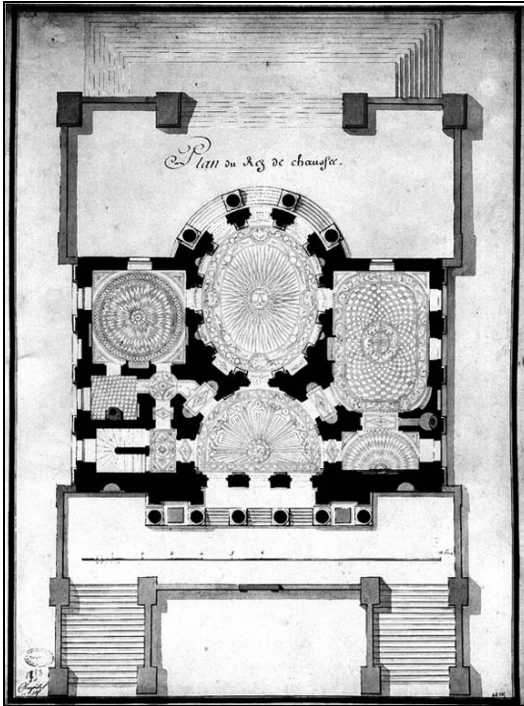
(Fig. 67) Chalgrin, Cross Section



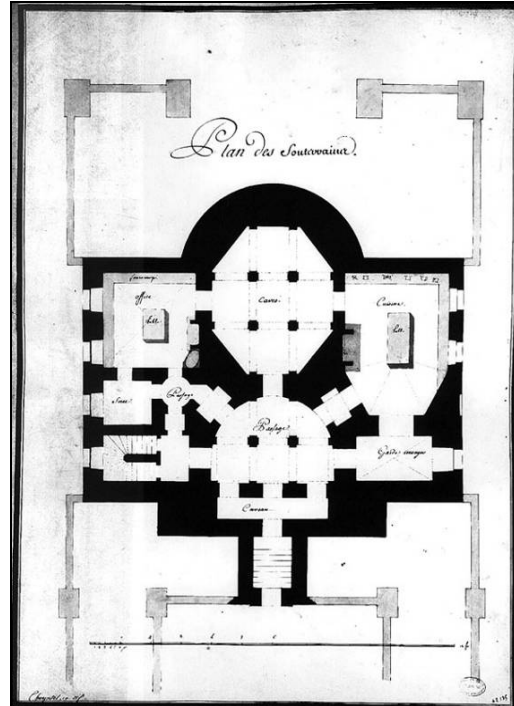
(Fig. 68) Cherpitel, Site plan

(Fig. 68-74) Mathurin Cherpitel, *Pavillon sur le bord d'une rivière* Travaux d'élèves, concours, diplômes : 1er prix d'architecture de l'Académie royale, 1758.

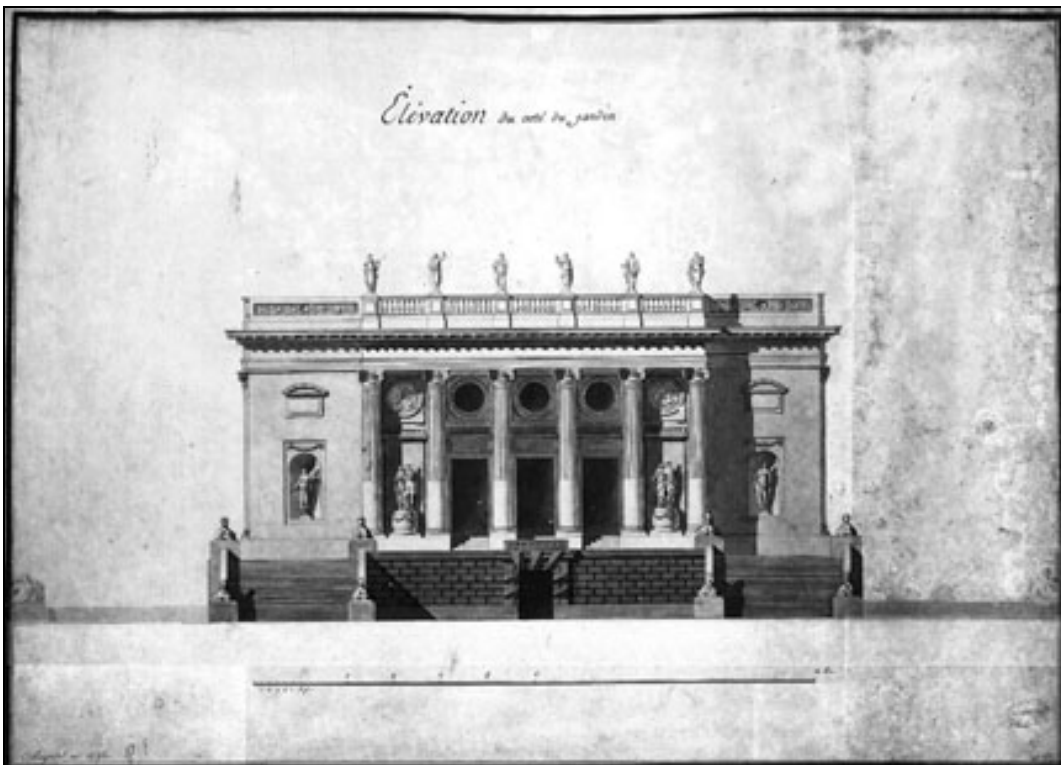
Source : Ecole des Beaux Arts
<http://www.ensba.fr/patrimoine/>. Accessed May 13, 2008.



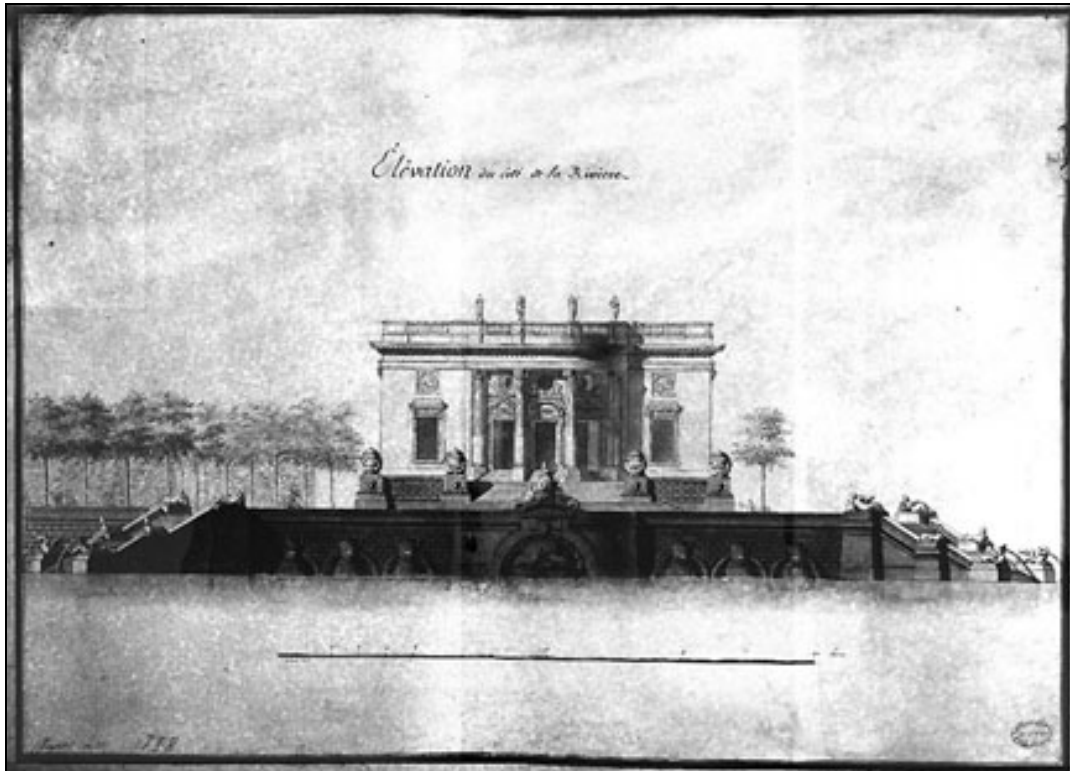
(Fig. 69) Cherpitel, Ground floor



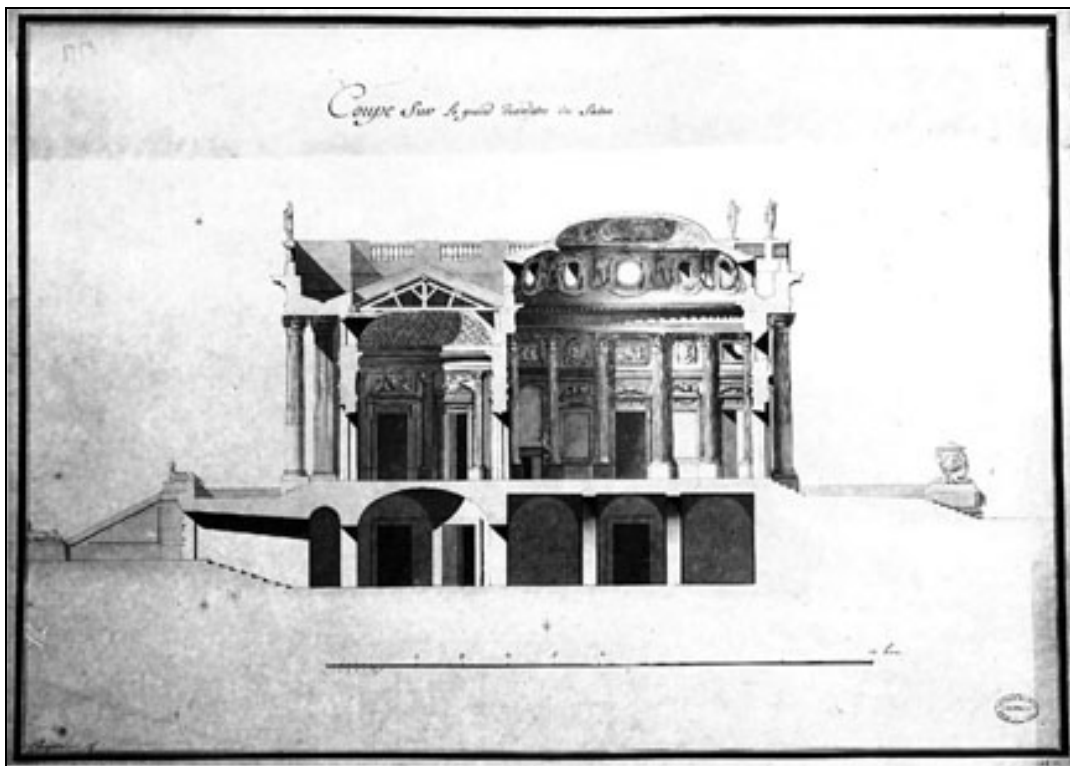
(Fig. 70) Cherpitel, Subterranean



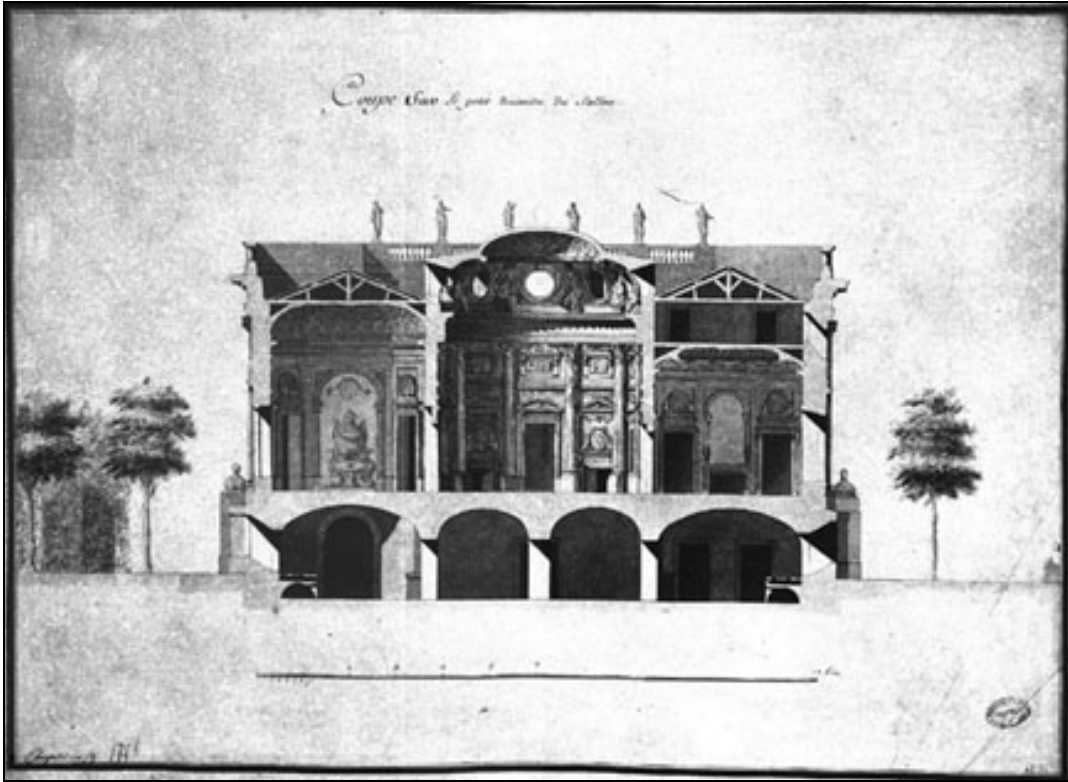
(Fig. 71) Cherpitel, Garden Elevation



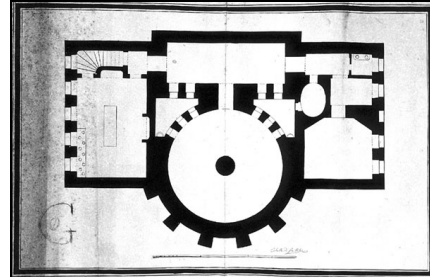
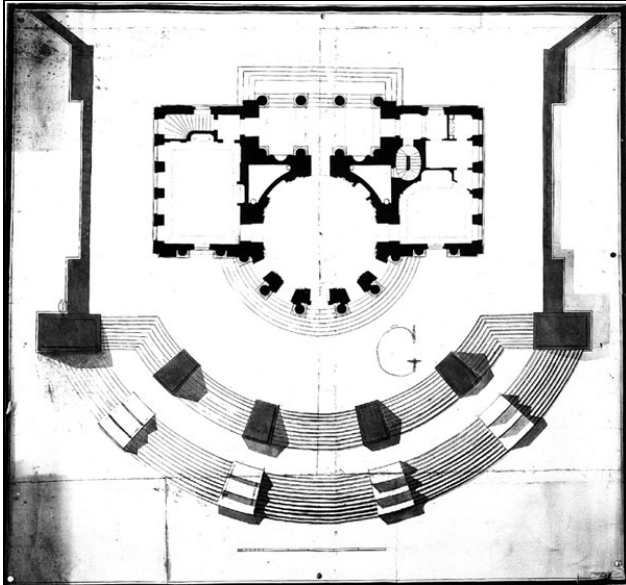
(Fig. 72) Cherpitel, River Elevation



(Fig. 73) Cherpitel, Section through salon and vestibule



(Fig. 74) Cherpitel, Section



(Fig. 75-76) Left: Ground floor, right: Subfloor. Benoît de Gérando. *Pavillon sur le bord d'une rivière* Travaux d'élèves, concours, diplômes: 3ième prix d'architecture de l'Académie royale, 1758.

Source : Ecole des Beaux Arts,
<http://www.ensba.fr/patrimoine/>.
 Accessed May 13, 2008.

Both the designs of Mathurin Cherpitel and Jean François Thérèse Chalgrin share similar sequences of spaces and scenarios. Arrival to a free standing single story building bordered by a garden and the river would be by

carriage or by boat. However, since the vestibule is located on the garden side of the building, the usual approach to the *pavillon* would be through the garden arriving on the terrace. Upon mounting more than a dozen steps up to the terrace and passing through the colonnade, the first room is the vestibule. On axis with the vestibule is the largest room, the grand salon. Measuring approximately 60 square meters⁵⁰ with a high ceiling of approximately 5 toises (~9.75 metres), the salon is where guests might gather to attend a concert such as illustrated in François-Nicolas-Barthélemy Dequevauviller's *L'assemblée au concert* (figure 78), dance, participate in one-act theatrical plays known as *proverbs* which could be "excessivement piquante"⁵¹, or play cards. Round or oval in shape, the salon extends to the exterior, and onto the terrace overlooking the river. This suggests that from the salon the guests could watch a water display from the terrace or access the river for water expeditions from the stairs leading to the water's edge.

We can estimate the capacity of the salons by comparing their dimensions to similar ones illustrated in contemporary paintings. In Michel Barthélemy Ollivier's *Le Thé à l'Anglaise au Temple dans le Salon des Quatre Glaces chez le Prince de Conti* (figure 79), the salon, which is of similar dimension to Cherpitel's salon, shows 21 people having afternoon tea. Comparing the relative ratio of the number of people to the size of the room in this painting as well as

⁵⁰The major and minor axis of the salon is 5 and 4 toises or approximately 32 (9.75 m) and (7.80) (32 and 26 feet). The area is $(\pi \times \text{major axis} \times \text{minor axis})/4$ or 60 square meters (or 653 square feet).

⁵¹D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 222. *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 13. [10 juin 1782]

L'assemblée au concert and Nicholas Lancret's *Dance in a Pavilion* (figure 78)⁵², the oval salon could accommodate around 20 guests.



(Fig. 77) Left top: François-Nicolas-Barthélemy Dequevauviller, *L'assemblée au concert / L'assemblée au salon*. 1783, hand-colored engraving.

(Fig. 78) Right top: Nicholas Lancret, *Dance in a Pavilion*. c.1724, Oil on panel.

(Fig. 79) Left bottom: Michel Barthélemy Ollivier, *Le The a l'Anglaise au Temple dans le Salon des Quatre Glaces chez le Prince de Conti*, 1766.

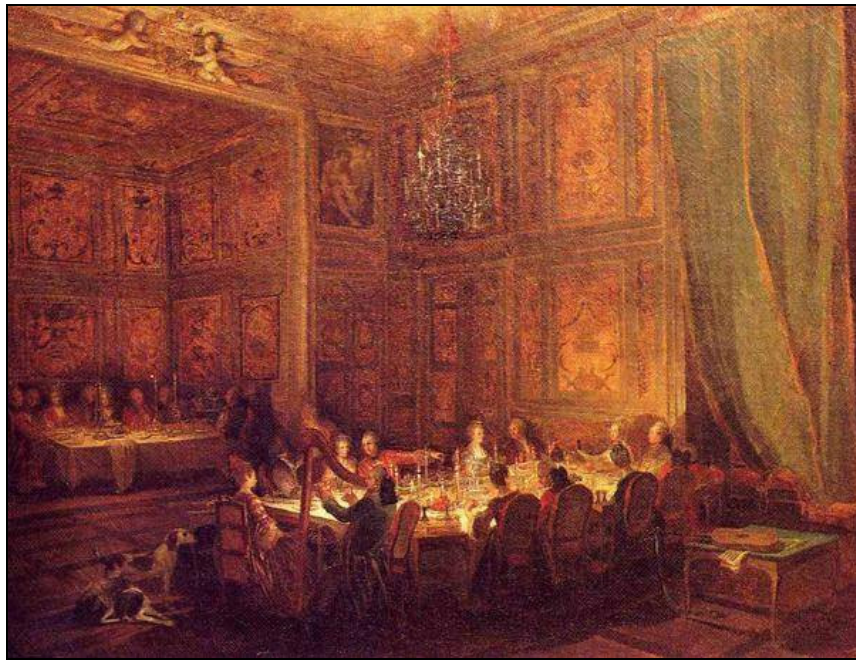
Sources: see list of figures

The central *salon de parade* is flanked by two society rooms, a circular withdrawing room and a rectangular *salle à manger*.⁵³ As dinners and suppers were the prime activities at a *pavillon*, in both winning designs, the dining room

⁵² According to Georges Wildenstein, this painting is called *Le Moulinet Devant la Charmille* and not *La Danse dans un Pavillon*. Wildenstein, *Lancret*, pl.33.

⁵³ A *maison de plaisance* was usually planned with a central *salon de parade* projected into garden flanked by two society rooms, a withdrawing and a *salle à manger* with an attached *salle des buffets*. Christopher Tadgell, *Ange-Jacques Gabriel*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1978, p. 59.

takes up a large part of the total floor area. From Cherpitel's sectional drawing, we can ascertain that his dining room of approximately 3.5 by 4.5 toises (~ 6.8 by 8.8 metres) with a ceiling to floor height of 4 toises (~7.8 metres) could easily accommodate 24 seated guests or more depending on the seating arrangement. The seating was most likely similar to the arrangement illustrated in *Souper du prince de Conti au palais du Temple à Paris* (figure 80), organized around various smaller tables. In Louis XV's private apartments at the Château de Choisy, for instance, a large oval table seated 12.⁵⁴ Intimate table groupings at suppers at Chantilly or the Trianon, as the baroness d'Oberkirch noted, was "infiniment plus gai et plus commode" than larger groupings.⁵⁵



(Fig. 80) Michel Barthélemy Ollivier. *Souper du prince de Conti au palais du Temple à Paris*, 1766, detail. Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles, France.

Source: Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal: A History of Table Service in France*, translated by Julie E. Johnson with Sylvie and Antonio Roder. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2007.

⁵⁴ D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 249.

⁵⁵ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 282.

Attached to the dining room is an eight to nine square metre *salle des buffets* where dishes and drinks are stationed before service. The serving room would contain a side board for utensils, napkins, plates, and a stove to keep food warm.⁵⁶

Food is brought from the basement where the rooms for food preparation and storage are located. At the center, immediately underneath the salon is the *cave* or storage cellar for wine, spirits, and cured food. There is also a *garde-manger* (pantry). In both designs, there are two kitchens or food preparation rooms on either side of the cave. In Chalgrin's plan, the larger kitchen isolated from the rest of sub-basement rooms suggests that this is the area where the disagreeable and strong smelling food preparations took place, such as the slaughter and skinning of animals. The larger kitchen also had a considerably sized fireplace, which, in Cherpital's design measuring about 1.5 by 1 metre, could accommodate not only a large animal on the spit but also various cooking pots. The smaller kitchen was probably used for more delicate food preparation such as pastry, confectionery, coffees, and teas as well as the area where the plates were dressed before being served in the "French" manner by placing the dishes directly on the dining room table as illustrated in *Souper du prince de Conti au palais du Temple à Paris*.⁵⁷ One of the rooms may have been used to

⁵⁶ Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture*, p. 141-2.

⁵⁷ On the French and Russian food service see Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal: A History of Table Service in France*, trans. Julie E. Johnson with Sylvie and Antonio Roder. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2007.

store linens, china and silver. Other rooms should accommodate a scullery, as well as a place for firewood.

On the other side of the salon are the circular withdrawing room, a cabinet, and the smaller service rooms. In Cherpital's design, the withdrawing room is a cubic room measuring 3 toises (~ 5.8 metres) in length, width and height. The room contains a fireplace over which hangs a mirror. Similar to the size of the room illustrated in *L'assemblée au concert* (figure 77), this room would be the location for more intimate social gatherings of not more than a dozen guests for more intimate suppers or conversing and composing verses.⁵⁸ One might fashionably take one's coffee or morning chocolate⁵⁹ here as shown in *La famille Penthièvre ou la tasse de chocolat* (figure 81) or as the Marquise usually did in her boudoir in the play, *L'Esprit des mœurs aux XVIIIe siècle ou la petite maison*, (performed c. 1759, published 1789-90).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol.1, p.224: Un soir, dans un petit cercle d'amis réunis chez Mme la duchesse de Bourbon, on joua un jeu de bouts rimés; on donna à Mlle de Condé les mots *fantaisie, amour, folie, vautour*. Elle les remplit sur-le-champ, presque sans chercher, par des vers délicieux.

⁵⁹ Having hot chocolate was very fashionable from the second half of the seventeenth century. Patrick Rambourg, *De la cuisine à la gastronomie: histoire de la table française*. Paris: Éditions Louis Audibert, 2005, n.p. Rousseau describes being invited for a morning social visit as "taking chocolate" [1737-1740]. *Confessions*, p. 243.

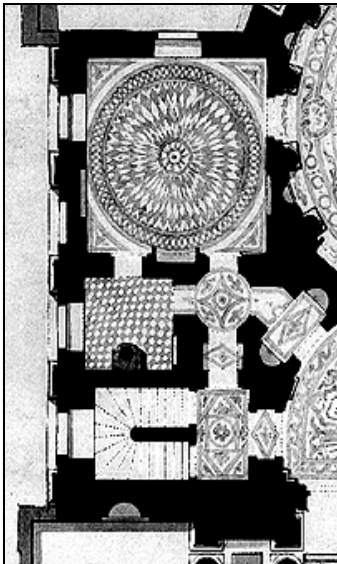
⁶⁰ *L'Esprit des mœurs aux XVIIIe siècle ou la petite maison*, p. 25 (c. 1759 performed, 1789-90 published). Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed September 20, 2009. It was performed in the Théâtre de Mademoiselle Guimard, and the manuscript was found in the Bastille 15 juillet 1789. Raoul Veze, *Parc aux cerfs et les petites maisons galantes*. Paris: Bibliothèques des curieux, 1910, p. 237.



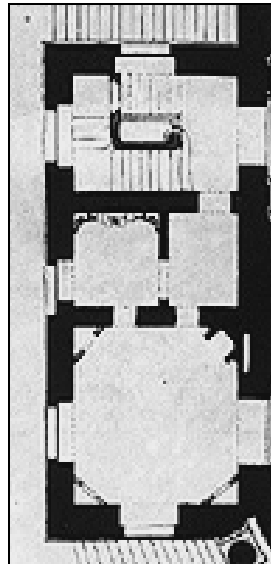
(Fig. 81) Jean Charpentier, *La famille Penthièvre ou la tasse de chocolat*, oil on canvas, 1768, 1.76 m x 2.56 m, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Versailles, France.

Source : Agence Photographique de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

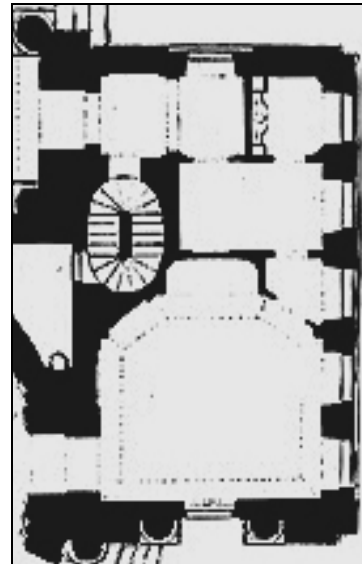
Cherpitel



Chalgrin



Gérando



(Fig. 82) Detail of ground floor plan, Cherpitel, Chalgrin, Gérando.

Attached to the withdrawing room are the small private rooms which are not shown in the sectional drawings. However, a comparison between the different plans of Cherpitel, Chalgrin, and Gérando reveal particular characteristics. First, there are two doors from the withdrawing room leading either to the *garderobbe de commodité* or to a small boudoir. The *garderobbe de commodité* with its in-house toilet has a window, most likely for ventilation. It is also a more private room because unlike the other smaller rooms does, it not necessarily serve as a passageway even though it has a door to the adjacent room. Although more private, the area of the *garderobbe de commodité*, approximately 2.5 by 2.5 metres suggests that it can shared by perhaps up to four people. Chalgrin's *garderobbe* is connected to another small room of approximately the same dimension. Instead of one larger room serving as a passageway, Cherpitel compresses the space into a one metre wide corridor with decorated nodes which are not merely passages, but sites of encounter for two or three persons. The first node encountered from the withdrawing room is a circular space of approximately 1.4 metres in diameter. From this circular node there are three other doors leading either to the *garderobbe*, to the vestibule or to the landing of the staircase. In the corridor to the vestibule is another node, a rectangular room of 1.4 meters by 2.4 meters, at the ends of which are two niches. The other corridor from the circular node opens into the slightly wider rectangular space (1.4 by 2.4 meters) of the staircase landing.

While the nodes in Cherpitel's plan indeed may be spaces for retreat for a single person or fleeting encounters with one other person, these intimate spaces

as with those in Chalgrin's and even Gérando's plans are also passageways.

However, in all three plans, there are rooms which are not shown but only hinted at, such as the private rooms located in the entresol above.

While the entresol above Cherpitel's withdrawing room is shown in the section, the ones above the *garderobbe* and the boudoirs are not. These undrawn entresol rooms would have a higher ceiling height than the ones above the withdrawing room since small rooms on the ground floor would have a proportionally lower ceiling height, and therefore allowed the rooms above greater height ceiling. These entresol rooms would potentially be the most private rooms in the *pavillon* as they are separated from the circulation on the ground floor. Indeed, the entresol could well be a place where liberties occurred, as it happened in Madame de Staal-Delaunay's locked entresol between the Madame de *** and her Swiss guard.⁶¹ While Madame de Staal Delaunay's entresol was a serving woman's keep, the *pavillon sur le bord d'une rivière* designed for one day social gatherings precluding overnight stays would need a room only for the caretaker. Rather, these entresol rooms would be either for storage or most likely, rooms for private enjoyment by guests.

The *pavillon* was designed for a select group of people for private pleasures. This enjoyment however was a costly proposition. The Abbé Coyer in his mid-century (1748) diatribe on the poor finances of the state describes a *petite maison* as an "asyle de plaisir et d'abondance"⁶² and the cost for maintaining a

⁶¹ Staal-Delaunay, *Mémoires*, p.88.

⁶² Abbé Gabriel François Coyer, *Oeuvres de M. l'Abbe Coyer, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences & Belles-Lettres de Nanci*. Londres [Paris], 1765, vol.1, p. 49. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed April 20, 2010.

petite maison as excessive: “Pour avoir une grande Maison, il ne faut que trente mille livres de rente. Mais pour en avoir une petite, il en faut cent mille, à bon marché faire”.⁶³ As Paul Young points out, the *petite maison*, understood by the public to be a place of luxury⁶⁴, was an ostentatious display of wealth and expenditure for a small circle of associates, friends and acquaintances.

The pavillon for the 1758 Grand Prix competition was for a wealthy client. However, at the time very few had money, as pointed out by the Marquis de Marigny.⁶⁵ Who could spend lavishly on an extravagant *pavillon à l’italienne*, at a time of financial crisis for France in the midst of the Seven Years’ War (1756-63)? The baroness d’Oberkirch suggests two potential clients when she went to visit the garden of M. Boutin, *réceveur-général des finances*, privy councilor and treasurer to the Admiralty: kings and financiers.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid, p. 49.

⁶⁴ Young, *Seducing the Eighteenth-Century French Reader*, p.58. On luxury in France after 1736 see :André Morize, *L’Apologie du Luxe au XVIIIe Siècle et « Le Mondain » de Voltaire* (1909). Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.

⁶⁵ Marquis de Marigny, “Réflexions présentées à Mme de Pompadour au sujet de la statue équestre que l’on doit placer dans au mois, le 6 juillet 1758,” Bibliothèque d’Art et d’Archéologie. Manuscrit autographe de Marigny in Alfred Marquiset, *Le Marquis de Marigny, 1727-1781*. Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1918, p.74.

⁶⁶Il a donné à son jardin le nom de Tivoli, mais l'appellation populaire est : la Folie-Boutin. Folie est le mot; il y a dépensé ou plutôt enfoui plusieurs millions. C'est un lieu de plaisance ravissant, les surprises s'y trouvent à chaque pas; les grottes, les bosquets, les statues, un charmant pavillon meublé avec un luxe de prince. Il faut être roi ou financier pour se créer des fantaisies semblables. M. Boutin fait souvent en cet endroit des soupers fins qui ne sont pas moins somptueux que le local d’Oberkirch , *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 205.

6.2 The Boudoir of Madame de Pompadour

6.2.1 The King's Pavilion

As discussed by Michel Gallet and Wend von Kalnein, the subject of the 1758 Grand Prix competition was influenced by Ange-Jacques Gabriel, who in his position as *premier architecte du Roi* and the *directeur de l'Académie royale*, had constant interaction with both the Académie and its students. As first architect, Gabriel was responsible for Louis XV's building projects which were increasingly for his personal pleasures. The renovation of the *petites appartements* at the royal chateaux, all of which were refitted with theatres, the building of *maisons de plaisance* at Crécy (1746) and Bellevue (1750), and hermitages at Versailles, Fontainebleau (1749), Compiègne (1749-56)⁶⁷, Butard (1750) and Choisy (1754) were all completed in the preceding decade.⁶⁸ It was during this period, in 1749, that Gabriel began work on small lodges located in the king's private retreat at the Trianon where Louis XV could

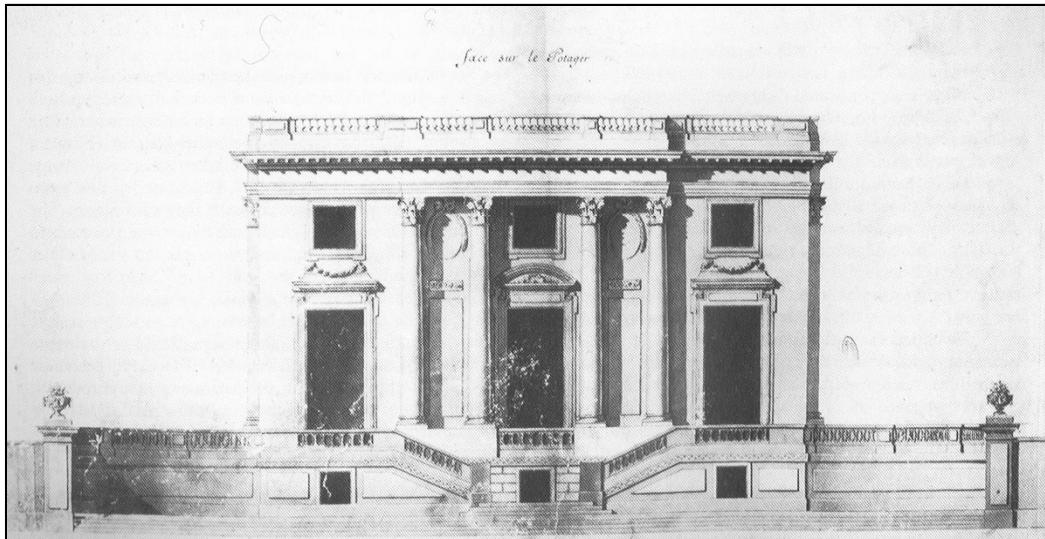
[janvier 1751] voir toutes ses serres chaudes de plantes rares, celles de fleurs, la ménagerie des poules qu'il aimait, -- la Marquise [Pompadour] lui ayant donné tous ces petits goûts, -- le joli pavillon, les jardins fleuristes, les herbiers et légumiers; tout cela était distribué avec beaucoup de goût et exécuté avec bien de la dépense...⁶⁹

⁶⁷ A series of hermitages built and demolished there from 1749 to 1756. Dams and Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies*, p.87.

⁶⁸ Tadgell, *Ange-Jacques Gabriel*, p. 14; Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*, p.101. Alden Gordon, "The Art Patronage of the Marquise de Pompadour and the Marquis de Marigny," *La Volupté du Goût*, p. 41.

⁶⁹ Cröy, *Journal*, t.1, p. 148. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr>. Accessed June 13, 2010.

His design included a menagerie housing a dairy and aviaries, botanical gardens, a small octagonal building, the *Pavillon Français* (1750) and a new pavilion which would eventually be realized as the Petit Trianon (built 1761-1768).⁷⁰



(Fig. 83) Ange-Jacques Gabriel. Versailles: Petit Trianon, first project, 1761.

Source: Wend von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 154.

Since the construction projects at the Trianon and other retreats were instigated by Madame de Pompadour's desire to build places of entertainment for the King⁷¹, the addition of "boudoirs" to the 1758 Grand Prix program most likely was a reference to her. However, architects of the *Académie* up to then had not, even for *maison de plaisance* projects, specifically referred to a boudoir. What

⁷⁰ Pierre de Nolhac, *Versailles and the Trianons*. London: W. Heinemann, 1906, p.275-6. Michel Gallet, "Introduction," *Les Gabriel*. Paris: Picard, 1982, p. 11-12. Wend Von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. David Britt. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 155-6. Count Kaunitz-Rietberg, "Mémoire dur la cour de France(1752)," ed. Vicomte du Dresnay, *La Revue de Paris*, t. iv (1904), p. 453-4. <http://gallica.bnf.fr> . Accessed June 20, 2010.

⁷¹ Donald Posner, "Mme. de Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 72, no. 1 (Mar 1990), p. 84. Christian Baulez, "Le Nouveau Trianon," *Les Gabriel*, p. 168-170.

was so particular about Madame de Pompadour that warranted the inclusion of boudoirs in the program?

Even though it was not recognized in the *Almanach royal*, the *maîtresse en titre* was an established position at court since the reign of Charles VII (1403-1461) when Agnès Sorel was declared the official mistress.⁷² As consort to the king's pleasures, the official mistress provided the amusements and entertainment in her rooms at Versailles located in the attic of the king's private apartment, the other royal residences, and buildings expressly for the king's mistress including small pavilions dedicated to her. Opposite the role of a devout queen who "incarne l'ordre et la légitimité, l'orthodoxie et l'immobilisme", the official mistress symbolized pleasure, mobility, and creation.⁷³ She demonstrated that the monarchy was embodied in the king who, existing in the corporeal realm, had human desires. More than a hostess, the official mistress contributed to the mystic of the king and the magnificence of the court. However, as a servant of the king, she was expendable when the need to provide a scapegoat to a hostile public arose. Sent away from the court, her disgrace maintained the continued legitimacy of the monarchy.⁷⁴

As the official mistress of Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour received the homage of courtiers and ambassadors at her morning *toilette* (figures 84-85). The

⁷² Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La Vie quotidienne des femmes du roi: d'Agnes Sorel a Marie-Antoinette* Paris: Hachette, 1990, p. 16. Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*, p.34. Robert Darnton, *The Devil in the Holy Water of the Art of Slander from Louis XIV to Napoleon*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, p.379.

⁷³ Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La vie quotidienne des femmes du roi*, p. 16.

⁷⁴ Gordon, "The Art Patronage of the Marquise de Pompadour and the Marquis de Marigny," p.40. Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La vie quotidienne des femmes du roi*, p. 16.

attendance was crucial for courtiers who wished to advance their position in court as the mistress could intercede on their behalf for royal favors. Among the morning tributors were also the intimate associates of the king such as the Duc de Cröy, the architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel⁷⁵, and the Austrian ambassador, Count Kaunitz-Rietberg, who described the demonstrations of respect and submission

[1752] qu'on lui donne surpassent ce qu'on peut imaginer. Les jours de conseil, elle fait sa toilette devant le monde. Tout ce qu'il y a de grand y assiste. Les ambassadeurs n'y manquent pas. Aucun homme n'est assis. Il faut lui rendre justice, elle y joue son rôle à merveille. Sa politesse est soutenue et fort bien entendue. Elle paraît enjouée et fait presque seul les frais de la conversation. On ne voit guère de femme de qualité à cette toilette. Généralement, celles qui se respectent affectent de peu voir la Marquise en public; si elle était fille de condition toutes auraient fléchi le genou devant elle, mais elles ont trop de fierté pour s'humilier devant une financière. Il n'y a peut-être pas de pays où l'orgueil de la naissance soit poussé aussi loin qu'ici. Comme la plupart des grands seigneurs sont d'assez fraîche date ou qu'ils tiennent par quelque endroit à la finance, ceux qui ne se trouvent pas dans ces cas en tirent une vanité étonnante.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Cröy, *Journal*, t.1, p. 227. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr>. Accessed June 13, 2010.

⁷⁶ Kaunitz-Rietberg, "Mémoire sur la cour de France," p.449.



(Fig.84) Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Ointment for the lips...*from *Livres des caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaise*, 1775. folio 328, inv. 675 Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection.

(Fig.85) François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour at her Dressing Table*, c. 1758. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums.

Source: Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002, p. 78, 79.

As the ambassador notes, not all the members of the court, especially the ladies, would bow before her. For unlike previous royal mistresses who had noble blood, Madame de Pompadour was of bourgeois origins. Born Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, she was the daughter of François Poisson, a military supply contractor who was forced to flee France in 1725 for corruption. Left in Paris, his wife, Louise-Madeleine de La Motte, daughter and son, Abel-François were supported by the financier and tax farmer, Charles-Francois-Paul Lenormant de Tournehem, who was also Madame Poisson's lover.⁷⁷ In 1741, Jeanne-Antoinette married his nephew and heir Charles-Guillaume Lenormant d'Etiolles with whom she had one

⁷⁷ Gordon, "The Art Patronage of the Marquise de Pompadour and the Marquis de Marigny," p.42.

daughter. She became the official mistress of Louis XV and was given the title the Marquise de Pompadour in 1745.

One of her first political moves was to advance her brother at the court with an appointment to a government position. As early as 1745, it was known that Philibert Orry's immanent retirement as the *contrôleur general des finances* and *directeur general des bâtiments, jardins, arts, academies, et manufactures du roi* would provide vacant government positions. Abel-François was expected to fill the position of *directeur general des bâtiments*. However, since he was only eighteen at the time and too inexperienced to take up the post, his mother's protector, Lenormant de Tournehem, was appointed as an "interim" director. In the meantime, Abel-François was groomed to eventually succeed to the post.⁷⁸

When Lenormant de Tournehem died in 1751, the position was inherited by Madame de Pompadour's brother (ennobled as the Marquis de Marigny in 1754) who retained his post until his death in 1773. During his administration, Marigny's relationship with the Académie royale d'architecture was not good, especially with the first architect Gabriel. As the *directeur general des bâtiments*, Marigny had authority over Gabriel who, in turn, guarded his authority over royal projects and sought to undermine Marigny. Gabriel even ended his reports with disparaging comments about Marigny when the latter was away from court.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ One key part of his education was a 21 month trip to Italy in the company of engraver Charles-Nicholas Cochin, man of letters, abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc and architect Jacques Germain Soufflot. When Soufflot became ill, Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont and two students of the Académie Nicholas-Marie Potain and Jérôme Charles Bellicard joined them in Italy.

⁷⁹ Tadgell, *Ange-Jacques Gabriel*, p. 5, n.23 and 15. Gordon, *The Houses and Collections of the Marquis de Marigny*, p.4-7.

Bachaumont recalls the “animosité secrète entre M. Gabriel & M. de Marigny”⁸⁰. It first surfaced publicly in the 1753 selection of the design competition for the Place Louis XV when Marigny criticized Gabriel’s design and proposed site. Their animosity came to a head in 1767 when Marigny insisted that his protégé Charles De Wailly be admitted as a first class member of the Académie, overriding the privilege of its existing members to nominate new members as well contravening the corporation’s statue that first class members were nominated from the pool of second class members. The cabal formed by Gabriel and Julien David-Leroy attempted to block the appointment of De Wailly who was not even a second class member of the Académie. Marigny prevailed over the objections of the Academicians and De Wailly was eventually admitted into the corporation after a series of public announcements which included the dissolution of the Académie and the king’s renunciation of the decree.⁸¹

While Gabriel did not attend the meeting announcing the 1758 Prix de Rome program, he would have had influence via his supporters which Bachaumont called *Les Gabriellistes*. The inclusions of “boudoirs” in the 1758 Grand Prix competition may be an attack on Marigny and his interference in the Grand Prix process during the competition for a “pavillon de retraite du prince”

⁸⁰ Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, vol. 3, p. 233. [8 octobre 1767]

⁸¹ Tadgell, *Ange-Jacques Gabriel*, p. 5, n.23. Monique Mosser and Daniel Rabreau, *Charles De Wailly: peinture architecte dans l’europe des lumières*. Paris: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et Des Sites, 1979, p. 22.

two years previously, when Marigny forced the Académie to revise its program because he thought that it was too broad and complicated for the students.⁸²

The “boudoirs” may have been a reference to the numerous building projects⁸³ built at the expense of the royal treasury for his sister, the Marquise de Pompadour. Having the dexterity in pleasing the king⁸⁴, the marquise shared and encouraged the construction of retreats from the court for the king to be shared with only a select circle. Rather than sponsoring projects for public buildings such as the completion of the Louvre, these building projects for the king’s *commodité* and private pleasures reflected what the Marquis d’Argenson called “une politique de sérail”⁸⁵, and facilitated the extension of the official mistress beyond her role as provider of gaiety and pleasure to something approaching the devout role of the queen.

⁸² First program [10 mai 1756] : “Le plan général d’une ménagerie pour un prince souverain, sur un terrain de deux cents toises en quarré, avec un pavillon qui puisse servir de retraite au prince. Ce plan général aura une échelle de trois lignes pour toise. Cette ménagerie doit contenir les bâtiments et les cours nécessaires pour rassembler les animaux utiles et ceux de pure curiosité, avec leurs dépendances. Le pavillon de retraite du prince sera orné d’une architecture convenable et les élèves en feront à part le plan, l’élévation et la coupe sur une échelle d’un pouce pour toise.”

Second program [24 mai 1756] : “...les plans, la coupe et les élévations du pavillon du milieu d’un palais donnant d’un côté sur une grande cour et de l’autre sur un jardin, avec deux croisées des parties en arrière corps. L’intérieur consistera en un vestibule en péristyle décoré convenablement en pierre; au rez de chaussée, l’indication d’un escalier d’un côté et d’une salle de l’autre, et au dessus au sallon décoré en bois ou en marbre, avec cheminée, glaces et autres ornemens en usage pour les décorations intérieures d’habitation. Le pavillon n’aura pas au delà de huit toises dans euvre de la cour au jardin et sera sur une échelle de 2 pouces et demi pour toise. La coupe sera faite sur une ligne tirée de la cour au jardin et sur la même échelle. Et pour que les desseins se trouvent plus uniformes pour la grandeur, elle déclare que par deux croisées elle entend des parties en arrière corps, que les élèves feront de chaque côté du pavillon, une croisée entière avec le trumeau suivant, et une partie de la croisée suivante.” Pérouse de Montclos, “Les prix de Rome,” p. 62. Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l’Académie royale d’architecture*, t. VI, pp. 260, 263.

⁸³ During her lifetime Madame de Pompadour had seventeen residences. Dams and Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies*, p.82. Posner, “Mme. de Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts,” p. 78.

⁸⁴ D’Argenson, *Journal*, t. 18, p.222. [12 février 1752]

⁸⁵ Ibid, t. 11, p. 25. [29 août 1755]

As a *parvenue*, Madame de Pompadour had a daring⁸⁶ unconcern towards the existing court order and expanded her role beyond the *maîtresse en titre*. Around 1750 she announced her new “state of devotion”⁸⁷. Ceasing intimate relations with the king, the king's sexual needs were satisfied now by a series of brief and secret relationships with young girls, some of whom were installed in a house in the Parc-aux-Cerfs district in the town of Versailles.

Unlike previous discarded royal mistresses who retired from court, Madame de Pompadour maintained a close platonic relationship with the king. She vacated her rooms located in the attic of the king's apartment, normally occupied by the official mistress, and moved to a ground floor apartment which was very convenient for the king who after supper, and engaged in conversation with his intimates such as M. de Soubise and the duc de Croÿ.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Ibid, *Journal*, t. 10, p. 231.[5 avril 1755]

⁸⁷ Phillipe Le Leyzour, “On Taste – 1745-1764,” *La Volupté du Goût*, p. 27. Posner, “Mme. de Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts,” p. 77.

⁸⁸ Croÿ, *Journal*, t. 1, p. 283. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr>. Accessed June 13, 2010.

See Danielle Gallet, “Madame de Pompadour et l'appartement d'en bas au château de Versailles,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol.118 (Oct. 1991) p. 129-38.



(Fig. 86) Top left: Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *Love Embracing Friendship*, 1758 Marble, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

(Fig. 87) Right top: François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1759, Oil on canvas, The Wallace Collection, London. In the background is a sculpture by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle.

(Fig. 88) Bottom right: After Étienne-Maurice Falconet. *Madame de Pompadour as Friendship*, 1755, Soft-paste 'biscuit' porcelain, The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, Durham.

(Fig. 89) Bottom left: François-Hubert Drouais and Studio. *Madame de Pompadour as a Vestal*, c. 1762-3.

Source: Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002, p. 71, 72, 73, 76.

Madame de Pompadour commemorated this new phase of their relationship by commissioning works of art depicting the virtues of friendship. Madame de Pompadour obtained the services Jacques Guay, Boucher, Drouais and Falconet to illustrate the virtues of friendship in the same vein as the sculptures *l'Amitié* and *l'Education de l'Amour* [1750] by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (figures 86-90).⁸⁹ The use of art to advertise her new status was effective as the Marquis d'Argenson reported that the "[2 février 1751] marquise jure ses grands dieux qu'il n'y a plus que de l'amitié entre le roi et elle; aussi se fait-elle faire pour Bellevue une statue que j'ai vue, où elle est représentée en déesse de l'amitié."⁹⁰ Indeed, *amitié* seemed to be the fashion as the novel *Triomphe de l'Amitié* [1750] by Mademoiselle de Fauques became widely talked about.⁹¹

This new friendship was the butt of jokes even in front of the king:

[7 décembre 1754] Il y a à la grande écurie une jument de chasse nommé *la Marquise*; le Roi l'a montée longtemps et ne la monte plus. La semaine passée, M. d'Ecquevilly, revenant de la chasse, ne trouve pas de place dans les carrosses du Roi; il revint à cheval; le Roi lui demanda comment il était revenu. « C'est sur cette vieille Marquise que Votre Majesté ne monte plus. » Et de rire, allusion faite à la favorite qui n'est plus qu'amie, mais pour qui le Roi s'entête de lui accorder plus de crédit que jamais.

⁸⁹ Katherine Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle and the Iconography of Friendship," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 3, (Sept. 1968), p.249-62. <http://www.jstor.org/>. Accessed March 30, 2010.

⁹⁰ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t.8, p. 28. [2 février 1751]

⁹¹ See Pierre Clément's review in chapter 4. Grimm wrote, "*Le Triomphe de l'amitié* est un autre roman qui fait beaucoup de bruit. L'auteur est une Mme Fauque, jadis religieuse, aujourd'hui, à peu de chose près, courtisane. Le mérite de cet ouvrage consiste en quelques pensées fortes, en quelques sentiments hardis, en beaucoup d'expressions ingénieuses, en plusieurs passions violentes. Du reste, nul ensemble, point de vraisemblance, beaucoup de sécheresse, des imaginations folles. Le caractère de l'auteur a fixé les yeux du public sur l'ouvrage." Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, vol. 2, p. 44-45.

Le dernier comité pour la réponse du Roi au parlement s'est tenu dans le cabinet de cette marquise. Elle a plus de crédit que jamais et emporte tout ce qu'elle veut sur les ministres...⁹²

As d'Argenson's entry suggests, the diminishment of the Marquise's sexuality foregrounds how public policies were illegitimately decided in her private cabinet.

However, there were factions in court who promoted and supported the idea that she was the advisor to the king.⁹³ This impression of the Marquise's prime ministerial pretensions was encouraged even by the king himself:

[22 novembre 1755] Le Roi semble affecter plus que jamais de déférer le premier ministère à la marquise de Pompadour. L'on voit bien que c'est par elle que passent les opinions et les avis de quelques gens de travail et qui lui sont affidés, comme du garde des sceaux Machault et de quelques ambassadeurs ou gens à portée de l'être, et c'est dans ce centre d'affaires que le Roi trouve deux choses: la consolation contre les événements fâcheux et, des contrôles de ses ministres ordinaires; tout y courent et prennent ses ordres, hors mon frère.⁹⁴

Her influence on public life moved beyond the private cabinet as she gained legitimacy through various official appointments. She was made a duchess in 1752⁹⁵, and in February 1756, Madame de Pompadour reached the highest

⁹² D'Argenson, *Journal*, t.10, p. 156

⁹³ Ibid, t.11, p. 25 : "[29 août 1755] Les secretaries d'État font courir le bruit que la marquise de Pompadour devient leur premier ministre, qu'ils vont travailler chez elle et que bientôt le conseil se tiendra dans son appartement. L'on charge ce bruit avec affectation, et tout cela est fait par une politique de sérail bien méditée pour dégoûter le Roi de la favorite, avec qui d'ailleurs il ne prend plus ses plaisirs."

⁹⁴ Ibid, t.11, p. 75.

⁹⁵ Ibid, t.9, p. 73.

position possible for a lady by being appointed *dame du palais* (lady-in-waiting) to the devout queen. As D'Argenson recorded,

Dimanche au soir, fut déclaré à Versailles que la marquise de Pompadour était reçue au nombre des dames du palais de la Reine, d'où l'on conjecture que d'est aussi une déclaration qu'elle n'est plus ouvertement maîtresse du Roi; l'on dit même qu'elle commence à parler dévotion et molinisme; ainsi elle va chercher à plaire à la Reine comme elle a fait au Roi. Tout ce crédit que nous lui voyons depuis trois ans que le Roi a de nouvelles maîtresses, n'est que la récompense de la douceur et de l'honnêteté avec lesquelles elle a pris les infidélités de son amant; cela n'est que précaire. L'on conjecture que cette dame va rester l'amie du Roi, mais que l'assiduité diminuera dans l'exercice de cette amitié. Elle sera conciliatrice entre le mari et la femme, l'arbitre et le canal des grâces pour la famille royale, régulière pour les pratiques de religion, si elle n'est pas dévote, charitable, d'une conduite irréprochable, déclarée sans pollution à l'égard du Roi, amie de tout le monde, enfin jouant à la cour le plus grand rôle, et aussi digne d'un bon esprit qui a tiré grand parti de sa faveur et des ses grâces naturelles, qu'elle était peu destinée à le tirer d'une basse naissance et d'une intelligence très ordinaire.⁹⁶

In addition to accepting Père de Sacy as her confessor, rising in the middle of the night to pray, going to mass every day and eating very little on holidays and Sundays⁹⁷, she announced that she was no longer receiving the public during her

⁹⁶ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t. 11, p. 127.

⁹⁷ Ibid, t. 11, p. 128.

toilette. Instead, “le mardi suivant, elle reçut des ambassadeurs à son métier de tapisserie.”⁹⁸ (figure 90)



(Fig.90) François-Hubert Drouais. *Madame de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame*, 1763-4. National Gallery, London.

Source: Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002, p. 142.

While she affected all the rituals of devotion with the exception of wearing rouge, no one was fooled by her turn to piety. On the contrary, her hypocrisy and lack of respect for the existing social order at court caused dissention among the clergy as well as

On se plaint de cette nouvelle dame du palais associée à la plus haute noblesse à laquelle parviennent les dames de qualité; ces dames s’entendent pour représenter à la Reine qu’elles ne peuvent

⁹⁸ Croÿ, *Journal*, t. 1, p. 335. <http://gallica2.bnf.fr>. Accessed June 13, 2010.

rester dans leurs places ayant pour compagne Mlle Poisson, fille d'un laquais qui avait été condamné à être pendu. La Reine la reçoit mal, la marquise s'en est plainte au Roi qui n'en a pas dormi de la nuit; plus elle entendra de ces plaintes, plus sa froideur et son mépris augmenteront.⁹⁹

While there was "[d]échaînement universel contre la promotion de Madame de Pompadour à la place de dame du palais de la Reine; tout y est contraire, et l'on espère que le Roi, bien informé de ce cri public, va disgracier cette favorite dont l'ambition est expirante",¹⁰⁰ she, nevertheless, retained her position and extended her circle of influence into the queen's household as well as to foreign affairs.

As many scholars have discussed, to commemorate her entrenchment at the court, she commissioned Boucher to paint her portrait (figure 91).¹⁰¹ Seated on a sofa placed in front of a large mirror in which are reflected a bookcase with her coat of arms and a clock decorated with a lyre and cupid, Madame de Pompadour is depicted in small room meditating on the contents of the book in her hand. The books, portfolios and sheets of music at her feet all refer to her learning and accomplishment. The opened drawer of a writing desk, on which lies

⁹⁹ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t. 11, p. 129.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, t.11, p. 129.

¹⁰¹ Boucher worked on at Versailles in early September 1756. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation," *Representations*, no. 73 (winter 2001), p. 59. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2902873>. Accessed May 30, 2010. Katie Scott, "Framing Ambition: the Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour," *Art History*, vol. 28, no. 2 (April 2005), p. 248-90. Melissa Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at her Toilette," *Art Bulletin*, 82:3 (2000), p. 453-75. <http://www.jstor.org>. Accessed June 14, 2010. Elise Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000, p. 22. Alastair Laing, et al, *François Boucher 1703-1770*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986, p. 267-271. Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*, p. 56-97.

her seal, reveals powder and ink. On the desk's lower shelf are books arranged casually to suggest that they were read and frequently consulted.



(Fig. 91) François Boucher. *Madame de Pompadour*, oil on canvas, 201 x 157 cm, 1756. Arte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

(Fig. 92) Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Drawing of Boucher's Portrait of Madame de Pompadour at the Salon of 1757*. Originally printed in *Discours sur la peinture et sur l'architecture dédié à Madame de Pompadour* [signé: Du Perron]. Paris: Prault père, 1758.

Source: Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery Company, 2002, p. 67, 84.

In Boucher's painting, Madame de Pompadour is depicted like the rosettes which cover her dress. The green taffeta constitute both the decorative leaves that create the garlands and the multiple layers which encase her body. The flounces which border the overdress and underskirt dress enhance the separate layers of the dress replicating the leaves surrounded each rose. Like the small decorative rosettes on the verge of blooming, her chest just above the profusion of successive larger pink bows rising from her waist to her bosom (*décolleté*), invites the viewer

to discover the flesh at the centre of the flower. The top bow which is fully opened on her chest is replicated at her neck drawing the eye to her face. Her averted face draws the viewer's eye up to the cupid atop the bookcase and invites the viewer to peruse the painting, right down to her pink slippers. So desirable is she that even her King Charles spaniel dog gazes up at her as it waits for a treat.

As one contemporary critic wrote, she was depicted as the Graces, Venus and Amour all in one.¹⁰² The viewer, intended to be worshipping at her feet, is located on the axis created at one end by the cupid and which aligns with her face and continues to the right side of the painting to the top of the candle on the writing desk and extends just beyond the picture frame. This perspective is created by the shallow room and the mirror behind the Marquise whose reflection is situated below her head indicating that the viewpoint is below the level of her averted face and to the right of the picture. While he is not reflected in the mirror, the viewer is nonetheless in the room either on his knees or sitting on a *tabouret*. Indeed, in his *Drawing of Boucher's Portrait of Madame de Pompadour at the Salon of 1757* (figure 92), Gabriel de Saint-Aubin also acknowledges the painting's view point. Shown raised approximately 1.5 meters¹⁰³ above the ground, the diagonal axis from the cupid is extended into the salon room such that

¹⁰² “...Un des admirateurs de M. *Boucher* fit à vûe [sic] de ce tableau cet *in-promptu* qu'il lui envoya :

Quoi les *Grâces* encore, & *Vénus* & l'*Amour*!
N'Avois-tu pas, *Boucher* déjà peint *Pompadour*?”

Lettre XIV, Critique du Salon de 1757, p. 339 cited in Alexandre Ananoff, *François Boucher*. Lausanne: Bibliothèque des arts, 1976, p. 79.

¹⁰³ Since the dimensions of the painting are 207 x 157 cm, the approximate height from the ground is approximately same width as the painting.

the privileged view point would be from the gentleman pictured in profile standing on the right forefront just in before his female companion.

Even though “[c]e petit événement, de la maîtresse du Roli devenue dame du palais de la Reine, fait toujours le sujet de toutes les conversations à la cour et des plus grands raisonnements de la capitale”¹⁰⁴, she wanted to proclaim her success further by exhibiting the only portrait of the Marquise by Boucher to be shown publicly during her lifetime. Attracting an audience from all ranks of society¹⁰⁵, the 1757 Salon exhibition of members of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, the general public viewing the painting would be as though prostate before her in her small room where she wrote letters, read, studied and meditated.

The public display of her moment of triumph in her cabinet underscores her extraordinary transformation from her official role as a private “wife”, or, as the children of Louis XV called her, *Maman putain*¹⁰⁶, to the highest official appointment a lady could achieve. If understood as a place where a lady retreated from performing her sexual duties and defined the boundaries of a sexual being circumscribed by the lack of sex, the cabinet as boudoir was then the appropriate setting to illustrate the achievement of the Marquise's social ambitions *via* sexual intimacy, the very means which afforded her the opportunity to enter the spheres of power, and the cessation of which kept her within them. By displaying herself

¹⁰⁴ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t. 11, p. 131.

¹⁰⁵ Penelope Hunter-Stiebel, “French Painting in the Age of Madame de Pompadour,” *La Volupté du Goût*, p. 21. There were 7, 778 catalogues of the Salon sold during the 1757 exhibition. Udolpho van de Sandt, “La fréquentation des Salons sous l’Ancien Régime, la Révolution et l’Empire,” *Revue de l’Art*, no. 73, 1986, p. 43.

¹⁰⁶ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t. 9, p. 56.

in a boudoir, Madame de Pompadour is making reference to her desirable sexuality to her lover, the withholding of which coincided with her entrenchment at court. Indeed, d'Argenson noted that “cette favorite a beaucoup plus d'autorité par les affaires qu'elle n'en avait par les voluptés.”¹⁰⁷

To return to the 1758 Grand Prix, the particular circumstance about the official mistress that the members of the Académie d'architecture were referring to was the singularity of the official mistress's boudoir. Understood as a critical commentary about Madame de Pompadour via her brother, the Marquis de Marigny, the boudoir in the 1758 Grand Prix program addressed the official mistress who should not have boudoirs, understood as places for her sexual control. It could also refer to the royal expenditure on the private retreats for the king and her. Finally, the boudoir, not limited personally to Madame de Pompadour, would refer to the group which she belonged to, the financiers.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, *Journal*, t.11, p.259-60.

6.3 A Pavilion for the Private Clientele

6.3.1 Rise of the Financiers

The unprecedented rise of a bourgeois daughter and wife of a financier as official mistress of Louis XV signaled the entrenchment of the financiers in the court. In addition to appointing Lenormant de Tournehem, and later her brother, as the *directeur general des bâtiments*, Marquise de Pompadour installed finance allies into key positions. D'Argenson commented (1749): "Les financiers s'enrichissent. Tous les Poissons s'agrandissent. C'est le règne des vauriens."¹⁰⁸

A financier, as the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1762) describes, is "Qui manie les finances du Roi, ou qui est dans les affaires des finances."¹⁰⁹

The financier was involved with resource allocation of the state finances and usually bought his administrative office.¹¹⁰ As Rochelle Ziskin explains, these positions gave the office holders the authority to collect taxes from which the financiers benefited not only from the fees levied for providing the service, but also by holding for a short period of time large sums of money in their banks. The financier (who could also be a banker) leveraged the collected revenue by making interest on short-term loans and investments even to the crown itself. Especially in periods of war, financiers made enormous sums of money and/or guarantees of future gains through lending tax revenues to the state.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t. 5, p. 403.

¹⁰⁹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, (1762). ARTFL Project. <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed November 2, 2009.

¹¹⁰ Mousnier, *The Institutions of France*, vol.1, p.754.

¹¹¹ Ziskin, *The Place Vendôme*, p. 14.

Even before the ascension of the Marquise de Pompadour, the financiers, according to d'Argenson [June 24 1741], were already new members of the elite.¹¹² While met with anti-financial criticism and mockery as seen in mid-century publications¹¹³, financiers' social status was changing. Duclos, himself the son of wealthy hat maker turned banker and financier, characterizes the changing status of the financier from hated members of society to a qualified acceptance (1751):

Nowadays this world [financial circle] is not at all what it used to be. There was a time when, whatever his background, a man could launch himself into the money business determined to make a fortune without any special aptitude other than basic greed and avarice, no scruples as to how sordid the work might be at the start, a conscience free of nay qualms as to the methods he might use and, having made his pile, no thought of remorse. With such qualities, success was assured...In those days, bankers were a secretive lot; their mistrust led them to view everyone with suspicion; the general hatred in which they were held was a further barrier between them and the rest of society....Today's bankers are very different. Most of them who've gone into the money market either with plenty of money behind them or well on their way to having it, have received an excellent education which, in France, you acquire more by possessing financial means than by birth....The prejudice against financiers no longer exists; people still make the usual jokes about them, but they lack the acerbity

¹¹² D'Argenson, *Journal*, t 4, p. 62.

¹¹³ Mouhy, a great recycler of contemporary modes of thinking, wrote the novel called *Le Financier* (1755). Green, "A Forgotten Novel of Manners of the Eighteenth Century," p. 309-316. David Adams, *Book Illustration, Taxes and Propaganda: The Fermiers Généraux Edition Of La Fontaine's Contes Et Nouvelles En Vers of 1762*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2006.

formerly fueled by the indignation felt at the deals and hateful practices which cast a shadow over the whole banking system...¹¹⁴

Financiers were less reserved and this extended to the display of their consumptive habits, which were described as voluptuous by the novelist Henri-François de La Solle in *Mémoires de Versorand ou le Libertin devenu philosophe* (1750), a tale about the “education” of a financier’s son.¹¹⁵ While La Solle philosophizes about the limits of a life lived according to a continuous cycle of pleasures and pains, concluding that one should live according to a theory of reasonable voluptuousness¹¹⁶, for the Marquis d’Argenson, the financier’s ostentatious expenditures, in particular on *petites maisons*, were displayed without enlightenment:

[26 janvier 1752] ...la profusion des financiers ! car aujourd’hui que les fils ont la survivance des pères pour les places de finance, la jeunesse indiscrete jette l’argent avec un effronterie scandaleuse, et ces jeunes financiers se ruinent autant et plus que de jeunes

¹¹⁴ Charles Duclos, *The Confessions of the Count of ****, in *Two French Libertine Novels*, translated by Douglas Parmée, Brooklyn, New York: AMS Press, p. 141-42. (Originally published *Les Confessions du Comte de **** in 1747).

¹¹⁵ La Solle, *Memoirs of a Man of Pleasure*, p. 206, 250.

¹¹⁶ La Solle, *Mémoires de Versorand*, p. 2, p. 152-153, Je n’entends point par volupté, ces plaisirs déréglés et dissolus, que fournissent les choses sensuelles, et qui procèdent d’une âme molle et delicate ; mais ce goût que les raisons même donne pour les objets qui sont en notre puissance, et auquel elle attache une sort de felicité. La volupté grossière est infâme. Elle crainte le grand jour ; et ceux mêmes qui la suivent en particulier, la désapprouvent en public. Mais la volupté raisonnable ne décrédite pas la sagesse ; et nous y sommes tous si naturellement attachés, que les rigoristes les plus outrés sont ceux qui la recherchent en secret avec plus de soin, et tombent, sans s’en apercevoir, dans la mollesse la plus méprisabile.

Memoirs of a Man of Pleasure, p. 200-201: “I do not mean by voluptuousness those irregular and dissolute pleasures which things sensual furnish, and which flow from a mind soft and delicate; but that taste which Reason itself gives for objects within the compass of our power, and to which it attaches a sort of felicity. Mere sensual voluptuousness is infamous; it dreads the light, and even those who follows it in private, condemn it in public. But reasonable voluptuousness is no discredit to wisdom, and we are all naturally so attached to it, that the most severe rigorists are the people who, in private, are the most anxious to acquire it, and often fall, imperceptibly, into the most contemptible softness.”

seigneurs. Les deux frères Villemur bâtissent des guinguettes¹¹⁷ de cinq à six cent milles livres. L'un a quarante chevaux de selle pour monter quelquefois à cheval au bois de Boulogne, l'autre vient de prendre pour maîtresse la demoiselle Clarion de la Comédie, et a débuté par des dons de la valeur de 20,000 écus.¹¹⁸

Financiers such as the Villemur brothers, the new major clients of the eighteenth-century architect, expressed their wealth in their architecture. This new clientele and its effect on architecture was described by the Marquis de Mirabeau in his denunciation on luxury:

[1755] Des vestibules, des sals, des galeries ne gênoient pas l'architecte et le décorateur, et c'étoit tout ce qu'il falloit à nos peres qui connoissoient peu de besoins personnels, et se faisoient bien des devoirs relatifs. Aujourd'hui à force d'aller où l'on veut, on ne sçait bientôt plus que vouloir, et se considérant seul dans la nature, on voudroit la pouvoir mettre toute entière à son propre usage. A t'on un palais? Il faut y trouver appartement d'hiver, appartement d'été, appartement de bains, entresols, cabinets, garde-robes, boudoirs, cabinets de livres, garde-robes de propreté, communications, escaliers dérobés, etc. Il faut des jours à tout cela, et l'architecte désorienté, obligé d'opter entre le public et le particulier qui le paie, abandonne Vitruve, et prend Dédale pour son maître. Il livre au décorateur sa cage contournée, celui-ci cherche des angles et des crochets, dérobe la cheminée, cache les

¹¹⁷ GUINGUETTE. s.f. Petit cabaret hors de la Ville, où le peuple va boire les jours de Fêtes. Il se dit Fig. & fam. d'Une petite maison de campagne. *Venez me voir à ma guinguette*. ARTFL Project. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th Edition (1762). <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed May 19, 2010.

¹¹⁸ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t. 8, p. 200.

portes, niche le lit, proportionne les panneaux; le vernis et les
glaces font le reste.¹¹⁹

The proliferation of small, specialized rooms which were previously unknown to his forefathers afforded places to go and associate with whomever one likes. This demand for luxury was created by the new clients who forced architects in choosing between the public and the private client, abandoned Vitruvius and settled for Daedalus. Abandoning the principles of order and symmetry for a labyrinth of private rooms, the architect delivers his contorted cage to his private client, to the decorator who patches it up by hiding and manipulating the nooks and corners and by making the varnish and mirrors do the rest.

¹¹⁹ Victor de Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau. *L'ami des hommes, ou, Traité de la population*. Avignon, 1756 (Originally published in 1755), p.359-60. ARTFL-FRANTEXT. <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed June 21, 2009.

6.3.2 Pavillon as Petite Maison

In 1758, the state coffers were directed to the war effort and all building projects, even the renovations of the Louvre, were stopped.¹²⁰ While there would be no royal building commissions due to lack of money, others who were profiting from the war and would be the source of architectural commissions for subsidiary residences used as retreats for private pleasures. The kind of *maison de plaisance*, typically frequented by *aisées* persons and the *homme du monde*, was referred to as a *petite maison* according to Blondel:

On peut ranger encore dans la classe des maisons de Plaisance, celles ordinairement connues sous le nom de *Petites Maisons* ; le caractere de ces jolies habitations doit se puiser dans le genre agréable, puisqu'elles sont destinées pour la plupart au délassement et pour la retraite des personnes aisées et des hommes du monde. Ici les ordres d'Architecture délicats, les ornements de Sculpture les plus intéressants, les statues, les bas-reliefs, les trophées les plus élégants doivent briller dans les dehors; la peinture, la dorure, les glaces dans les dedans; les beautés du jardinage , l'effet séduisant des eaux, les berceaux de treillages naturels et artificiels ; enfin tout ce que peut offrir d'ingénieux le ciseau des plus habiles Artistes doit être employé dans les promenades de ces demeures consacrées au plaisir et à la liberté; néanmoins ici, comme par-tout ailleurs, il faut savoir éviter tout ce qui peut avoir trait à la licence ; l'Architecte instruit ne doit jamais user de ces ressources honteuses; jamais il ne doit permettre aux autres Arts qu'il associe à ses besoins, aucune liberté de cette espece. Les indécences sont plus capables de révolter la pudeur des personnes de dehors qui les viennent visiter, que de leur annoncer le génie des hommes à

¹²⁰ Marigny ordered Soufflot to stop work on Louvre on July 11, 1758. Tadgell, *Ange-Jacques Gabriel*, p. 199.

talents. Une des plus jolies et des plus estimables productions en ce genre, qui se soit élevée de nos jours, est celle de M. de la Boissière à Paris, près la barrière Blanche, dont la disposition, le goût & la beauté des détails, décelent l'intelligence des Architectes qui en ont donné les dessins.¹²¹

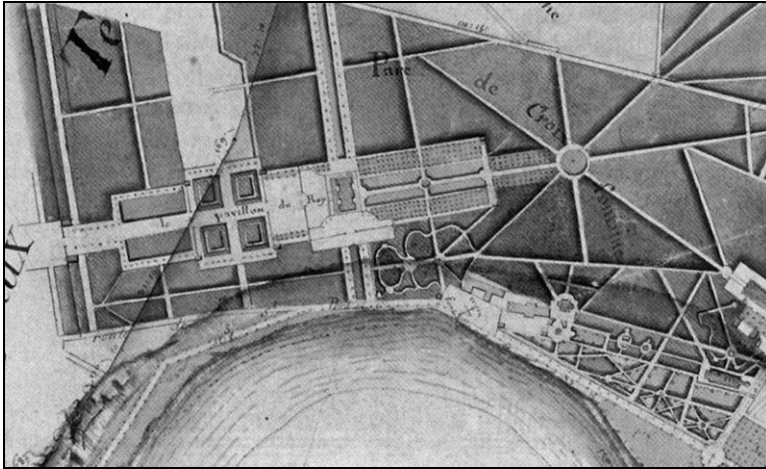
The *petite maison* was intended for the man “qui est dans dans l'abondance selon sa condition, on dit, qu'il est à son aise, qu'il vit à son aise. Et en parlant d'un homme riche qui a toujours de légères incommodités”¹²². And while the users of the *petites maisons* came from the elite comprising of the sword nobles, magistrates, upper bourgeoisie, and financiers, as Bruno Pons points out, it was the last group who built them.¹²³ Such was the case of the *pavillon* for the king built on the estate of Croix-Fontaine which was owned by the financier Étienne-Michel Bouret in 1755. At the front yard of the king's building were six identical *pavillons* each of which consisted on the ground floor of an apartment composed of an *antichambre*, *salle de compagnie*, *salle à manger*, *chambre à coucher* with an attached *garderobe* and *boudoir* (figures 93-94).¹²⁴

¹²¹ Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, t.II, p. 251-252.

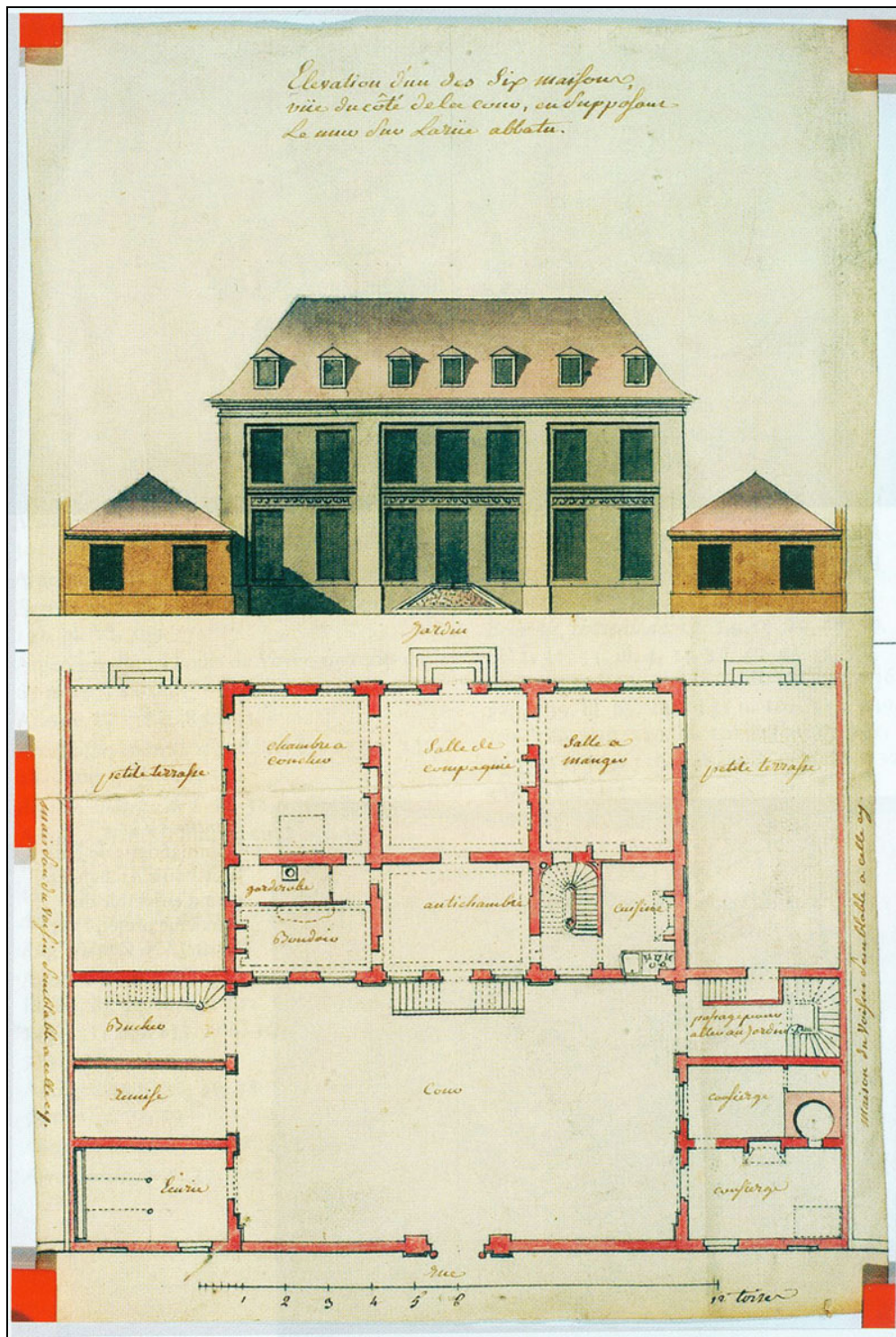
¹²² *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th Edition (1762). ARTFL Project. <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed November 10 2009.

¹²³ Pons, “Le théâtre des cinq sens,” p.80.

¹²⁴ Bouret's intension for the king to purchase the *pavillon du roi* not realized and lead to the financial ruin of Bouret. Christophe Morin, *Au service du château: l'architecture des communs en Île-de-France au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008, p. 171-2, 305.



(Fig. 93) Détail du plan d'intendance de Seine-Port: pavillon du roy et château de Croix-Fontaine, 1787, dessin (AD Seine-et-Marne, C 50)



(Fig.94) Antoine-Mathieu Le Carpentier, Croix-Fontaine, plan et élévation de l'un des pavillons du lotissement de l'avant-cour du pavillon du roi, 1755, dessin.

Source : Christophe Morin, *Au service du château: l'architecture des communs en Île-de-France au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008, p. 171, 463.

The term *petite maison* was used also to describe a *maison de plaisance* where love affairs and libertinage were practiced. In his *Les Confessions du Comte de **** (1747), Duclos proposes that the fashion of using a *petite maison* for a rendezvous was started by false devotees:

Madame de Gremonville was an extremely wealthy woman in her own right and, beneath her guise of simplicity and good taste, she was surrounded by every evidence of substantial and exquisite magnificence which you could sense but had to look very closely to discover. She was, for instance, the first of the professionally pious women to introduce the odd fashion of “*petites maisons*” which they had inherited from the general public by one of those strange absurdities impossible to explain. There, on the pretext of going on a retreat, they were free, without needing to take any special precautions, to behave in a way which this same public, so keenly on the lookout where they are concerned, would not be prepared to overlook in society women. In fact, on this court, things have reached such a stage that the only difference is the time at which these things happen: with pious women you have dinner, with society women it’s supper, so that the same house could be used, more or less, by both, alternately.¹²⁵

In addition to being a discrete place for “cautious lovers”, the *petite maison*, according to Duclos, was the location for holding orgies:

These little love nests ...had also become places to hold orgies which people would have been scared to have in brothels, which were considered dangerous, and ashamed to hold in their own house.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Duclos, “The Confessions of the Count of ***”, p. 113.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 120.

Duclos' assessment of the dual purpose of the *petite maison* is supported by contemporary police reports¹²⁷ on the activities, proprietors and users of *petites maisons galantes* located in the suburban areas around Paris, particularly in Bercy, Passy, Clichy, and Montrouge.¹²⁸ For instance, M. Dangé who found it difficult to have a rendezvous with his secretary's wife at his residence, Maison Dangé, no. 9, Place Vendôme¹²⁹, and instead met her at his friend's *petite maison*:

[juin 1762] Le 23, M. Dangé, fermier général, a fait demander à Brissault sa petite maison pour tout l'après-midi, avec ordre de n'y laisser qu'un seul domestique et de n'y pas paraître ni lui ni sa femme. Ayant été prévenu, un observateur a été posé sur cette maison, et, sur les six heures du soir, M. Dangé y est arrivé seul en fiacre. Trois quarts d'heures après un autre fiacre est arrivé. Il en est descendu une grande femme dont on n'a pu voir alors la physionomie. Ils sont restés ensemble jusqu'à huit heures et demie, et sont sortis dans un fiacre exactement fermé. Cette dame en est descendue seule rue Saint-Roch, près l'église et est allée à pied chez le quincaillier, rue St.-Honoré, au-dessus de l'hôtel de Noailles, et montée au second étage. Le lendemain on a vérifié et on a su de cette demoiselle elle-même qui est jeune, jolie et brune, que son mari est le sieur Bonhomme, secrétaire du même M. Dangé, avec qui, la veille, elle avait passé certains moments intéressants. Elle est fort bien meublée et doit aller rejoindre son mari qui est dans les terres du financier pour un couple de mois.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Jean Hervez, *Le Parc aux cerfs et les petites maisons galantes, d'après les mémoires, le rapport de police, les libelles, les pamphlets, les satires, chanson du temps*. Paris: Bibliothèque des Curieux, 1925, p. 179-180. The spy reports were ordered by the lieutenants general of police, Berryer de Renouville (lieutenant general from 1747 to 1757) and de Sartine (1759-1774). Originally stored at the Bastille from 1716 to 1789, the manuscripts are currently located at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mss. de l'Arsenal, 10.252. See Frantz Fun Bretano, *Catalogue des Mss. De la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, tome IX: Archives de la Bastille*. Paris, 1892.

¹²⁸ *Petites maisons* were found in the suburban areas of Bercy, Passy, Clichy, and Montrouge. Pons, "Le théâtre des cinq sens," p.74.

¹²⁹ On the Maison Dangé see Ziskin, *The Place Vendôme*, p. 149-152.

¹³⁰ Hervez, *Le Parc aux Cerfs*, p.214-5.

Written in the police reports, on the next day, M. Dangé returned to the same *petite maison* for supper with seven male friends and three girls:

Le 24 de ce mois, M. le comte de Sarsalle, M. Dangé, fermier général, M. de Villemeur, M. Neuville, M. de Curis, M. Ferrand, ci-devant fermier général, M Flavacourt père, et M. Creuset, leur ami, ont soupé à la petite maison de Brissault avec les demoiselles Leblanc, d'Héricourt et Dupin, du faubourg Saint-Honoré, entretenue par M. Saget, conseiller au Parlement.¹³¹

Parties with a couple of girls and many men were recorded in more than one report¹³² detailing not only the names of the owner, users, and the girls, but specify the time and day of the activities at the *petites maisons*. It would seem that enough people knew of the libertinage occurring there to supply the spying police with such relevant information. Sometimes even the wife knew about her husband's activities. Madame d'Epinay, in her memoirs, complained about the scandal caused by her husband's *petite maison*:

[septembre 1751] Il est inconcevable que M. d'Epinay, sans respect pour moi, pour sa famille, pour lui-même enfin, ait acheté dans le village une petite maison où il a fait mille dépenses folles, et installé, sous des noms supposés, deux filles de la comédie, qu'il a eu la hardiesse de présenter au curé comme des femmes très-honnêtes.¹³³

¹³¹ Ibid, p.214-5.

¹³² On the 25th of June [1762], for instance, "M. le duc de Grammont a donné à diner, à sa maison de Clichy, à M. le comte du Luc et à trois autres messieurs de ses amis. Les demoiselles Parmentier et Rabatet, filles à parties, s'y sont trouvée. On y a poussé les plaisirs forts avant dans la nuit." Ibid, p. 215.

¹³³ *Mémoires de Madame d'Epinay*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1865, vol. 1, p.371. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Madame d'Epinay*, p.131.

By the mid-century, the reputation of the *petite maison* as a place for libertinage was well established in cultural works such as the 1757 opera “La Petite Maison” written by Pierre-Augustin Lefèvre Marcouville and Chevrier. In this parody of *Surprises de l’Amour*, Mondoran, a financier, is having a party for his “amis & des femmes” at “un de ces réduits de plaisirs qu’on appelle Petites-Maisons”.¹³⁴ It also appeared in novels such as La Solle’s *Mémoires de Versorand* [1750] which describes the type of décor designed for collective sexual practices:

after passing through two chambers and a kind of gallery, we found ourselves in a large hall very elegantly wainscoted all round, the half of the panels were adorned with gallant mysteries that were celebrated in this Temple of Pleasure: the others were decorated with glasses, in which these picture were repeated in different points of view. These panes of glass multiplied, to an infinite number, a dozen of wax-candles in a curious chrystal [sic] chandelier, place in the middle of the hall perpendicularly above the table of four covers ready laid. The Duke rang a bell, upon which a door opened, and two nymphs appeared... They saluted us with a grave modesty, which made me expect for our second course of a great deal of folly and indecency. They sat down at table, and we placed ourselves by them, observing a profound silence...[after dessert was served] We all four got up... A sofa fourteen foot long furnished one side of the hall; we place ourselves on it two at each end. The Belle, who was my partner, pretended that her garment was troublesome to her, and I did her the service to make her loosen some buttons most ingeniously

¹³⁴ Joseph de Laporte and Sébastien-Roch-Nicolas Chamfort, *Dictionnaire dramatique*. Paris: Lacombe, 1776, vol. 2, p. 413.

place...she judge then that witnesses might make me uneasy, for which reason she pulled a rope, and down dropt a taffety curtain from the ceiling, which dividing the sopha in two equal parts, made us lose sight of what did not concern us, so that we had nothing but our own particular affairs to take up our thoughts...a moment after, my pleasures revived again, a chance look hit upon a glass placed directly opposite to the sopha, in which I saw, on the other side of the curtain, a scene as animated as what I was executing, though different in the manner of acting by taste and skill of the actors. What picture! I admired their talents, and endeavoured to imitate them.¹³⁵

Even though the fictional *petite maison* was a place for dissolute activities, according to the men of letters Duclos and Hénault, writing in the 1740's, it was no longer a clandestine place. Hénault writes that

Aujourd'hui une Petite Maison n'est qu'une indiscretion de plus: on sait à qui elle appartient, ce qui s'y passe, les personnes qui y viennent, comme dans une maison de ville; et excepté qu'il n'y a pas sur la porte en lettre d'or Hôtel de Valère, d'ailleurs, c'est toute la même chose.¹³⁶

For Duclos, the *petite maison*

had become very popular, so popular that they ceased to be secret. Originally used to conceal your affairs from the public eye, they soon become a way of making people think that you were engaged in an affair when you weren't. They reached the stage of being restricted to the upper classes, and many of them that some outer suburbs of Paris consisted of nothing but *petites maisons*.

¹³⁵ La Solle, *Memoirs of a Man of Pleasure*, vol. 2, p. 147-152.

¹³⁶ Charles-Jean-François Hénault, "La Petite Maison," *Pieces De Théâtre: En Vers Et En Prose*. n.p. 1770, p. 6. Hénault's play was performed by amateurs in 1742. *Memoires du President Henault*, Geneva: Slatkine, 1971, p. 189.

Everybody knows all the occupants, and the owners are so well known that you'll soon find them putting up their plates. It's true that since they're no longer secret, they're not longer indecent; but they've also stopped being necessary, and, indeed, for many people, they've become a sham, a place where in order to seem to be going off to enjoy themselves, they go in order to be rather more bored in secret than they would have been if they had stayed home.¹³⁷

If we are to believe Duclos, the *petite maison*, for his circle of associates within high society, was no longer secret or indecent. This is not to say that sexual trysts no longer happened. The *petite maison* still provided a meeting place with those whom one should not normally associate in public as described by Hénault in his 1742 play *La Petite Maison*:

Il me semble qu'elles n'ont été inventées que pour y venir à la dérobée, & y attendre les personnes que l'on ne pourroit voir chez elles sans conséquence.¹³⁸

Liaisons with a certain class of girls, bourgeois women and “public” women¹³⁹ happened at the *petite maison* since, as the court painter Elisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun notes, it was not admissible for a man to be seen in public with kept

¹³⁷ Duclos, *The Confessions of the Count of ****, p. 120.

¹³⁸ Hénault, “La Petite Maison,” p. 5.

¹³⁹ In the seventeenth century love affairs were conducted between married ladies and gentlemen. However, “between roughly 1680 and 1720, theatre women replaced court ladies as the principle participants in aristocratic libertinism.” Lenard R. Berlanstein, *Daughters of Eve: A Cultural History of French Theatre Women From the Old Regime to the Fin de Siècle*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, p. 39. According to the baroness d’Oberkirch, in the gardens of the Bagatelle, the proprietor, the comte d’Artois would sometimes “dine or sup there, but never publically; or at least with any lady from the court.” In other words, a lady would never be seen publically there. D’Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol.2, p. 88. *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 298.

women.¹⁴⁰ As further evidence from contemporary police reports showed, the *petite maison* continued in the mid-century to be a place to bring *demoiselles* – *filles à parties*, *filles galantes*, and *filles d’Opéra*.¹⁴¹ These *demoiselles* were invited for suppers, overnight, afternoons or even as short as two hours. For instance, at M. de la Boissière’s [sometimes spelled Bouexière] *petite maison* which Blondel cited as one of the best architectural examples of its kind:

[2 août 1762] Le 9 de ce mois M. de la Bouexière a fait venir à son pavillon de Clichy la demoiselle Alexandrien, avec laquelle il s’est amusé tout l’après-midi.¹⁴²

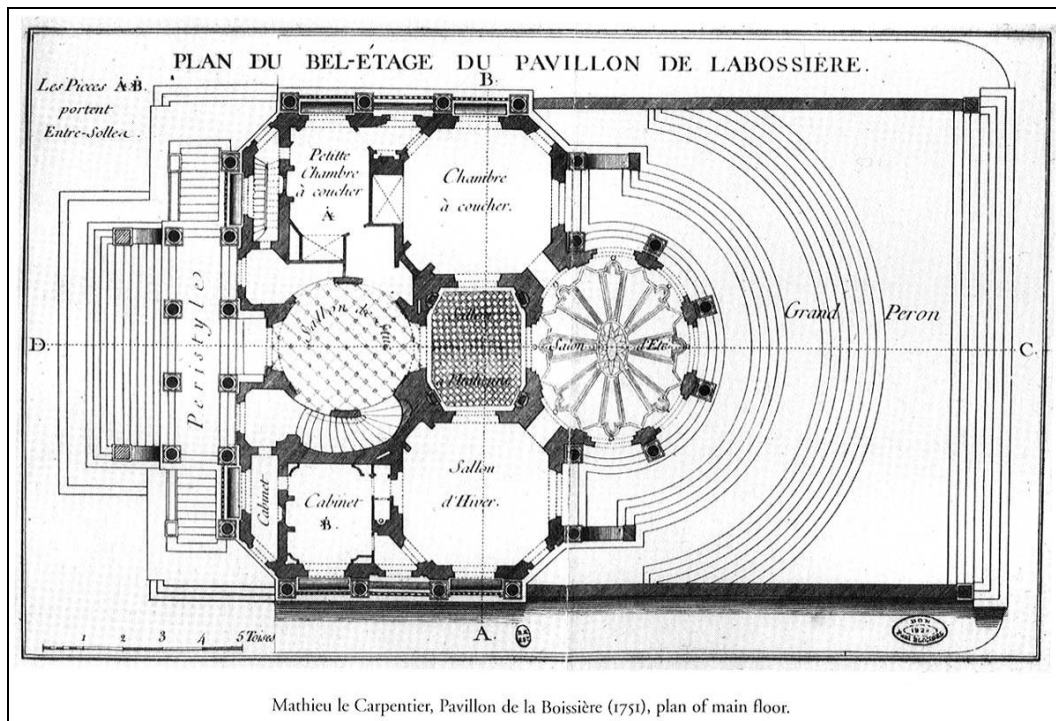
[1 septembre 1762] la demoiselle Julie, de chez la Héquet, du cul-de-sac Saint-Fiacre, a été chez M. de la Bouexière, à son pavillon de Clichy, où elle a été passer deux heures avec lui.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ *Souvenirs de Mme Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun. 1755-1789*. Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1909, p. 28. “C’est là que j’ai vu pour la première fois l’élégante et jolie Mlle Duthé, qui se promenait avec d’autres filles entretenues ; car jamais alors aucun homme ne se montrait avec ces demoiselles ; s’ils les rejoignaient au spectacle, c’était toujours en loges grillées. Les Anglais sont moins délicats sur ce point.”

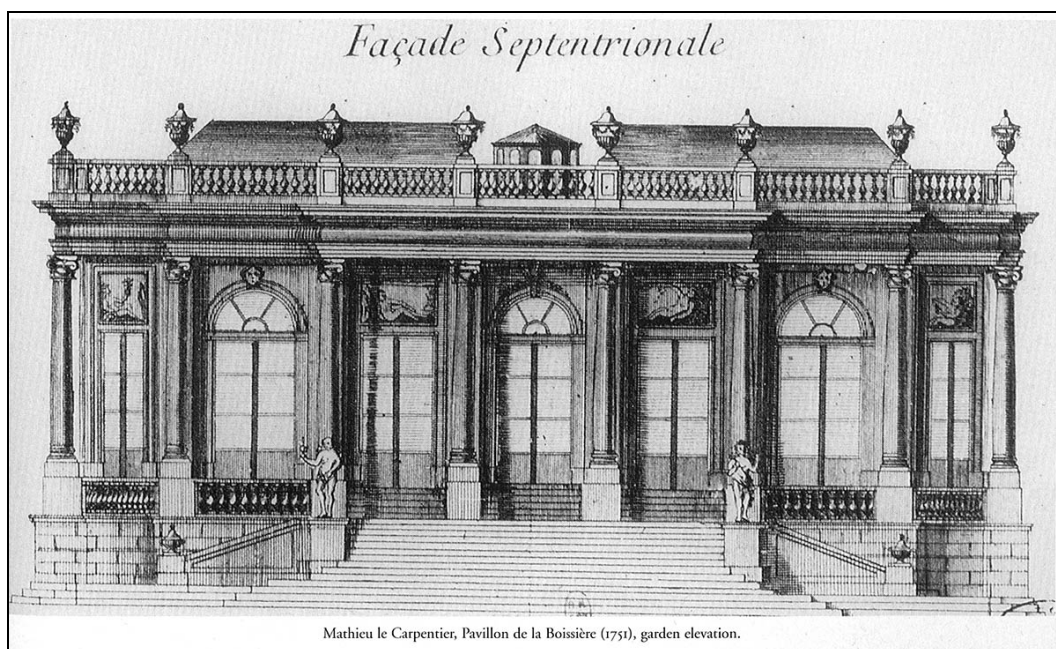
¹⁴¹ Erica-Marie Benabou discusses the different ranks and types of prostitutes, ranging from the low *boutiquière* to the grand courtesan in eighteenth century France. Erica-Marie Benabou, *La Prostitution et la police des mœurs au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1987, p. 362-383.

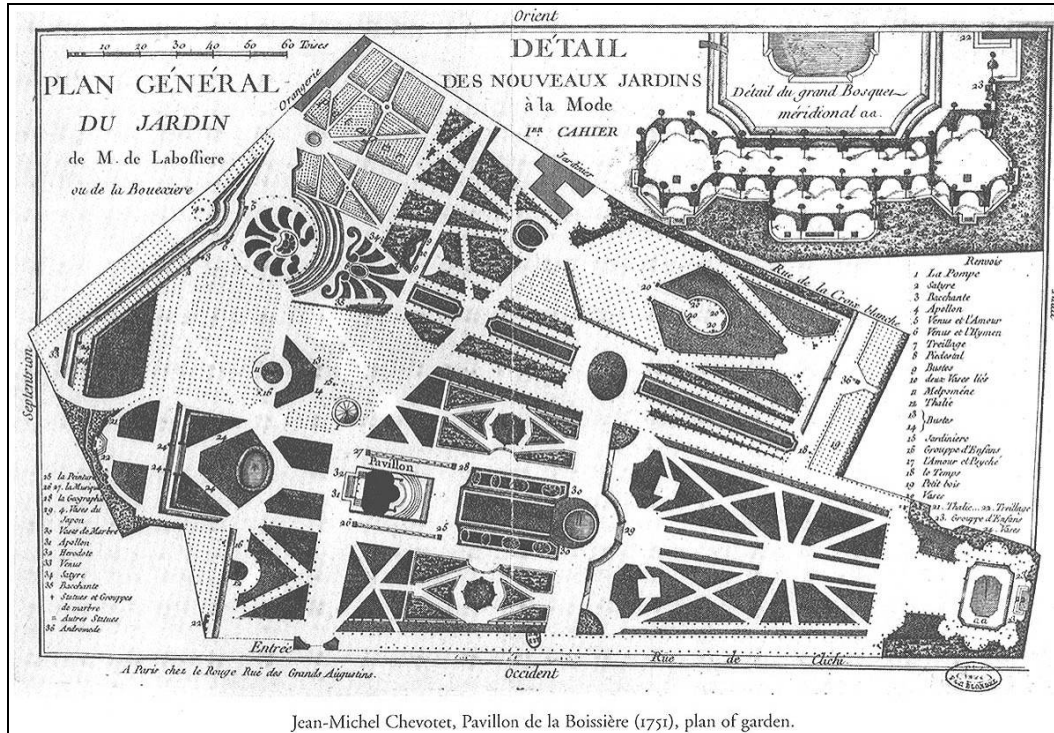
¹⁴² Hervez, *Le Parc aux Cerfs*, p. 219.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 220.



Mathieu le Carpentier, Pavillon de la Boissière (1751), plan of main floor.





(Fig. 95-97) Mathieu le Carpentier. Pavillon de la Boissière (1751) plan, elevation. Jean-Michel Chevotet, plan of garden. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Topographie de Paris. Source: Jean-François de Bastide, *The Little House: An Architectural Seduction*, trans. by Rodolphe el-Khoury. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, p. 61-64.

Rendezvous were so much associated with the *petite maison* that, as Duclos observed, one might pretend to have an affair by going to one's *petite maison*. As interchangeable signs of prestige, libertinism, liaisons and the *petite maison* were indications of a privilege to partake in the purview of the aristocrat male's acquisition of multiple sexual partners, a part of his public grandeur.¹⁴⁴ For the new elite, love, the natural occupation of the aristocrat, became an acceptable activity for fashionable persons. La Solle for instance, comments on (from the eyes of the financier's son) libertine activities:

Nothing could surprise me more than hear the Duke complimented upon his so frankly divulging his baseness; but I was soon cured of

¹⁴⁴Belanstein, *Daughters of Eve*, p. 46.

this delicacy. Experience taught me that to live in the world we must not stand upon punctilios of decorum, and that thing which would pass for crimes among Cits the least scrupulous, are nothing, in high life, but merry sallies flowing from a liberal and polite education; all depends upon what is called the easy manner, and a man never amiss while he is on a fashionable footing.¹⁴⁵

One could acquire the easy manners and fashionable pastimes and become a man of *le monde*, Parisian high (polite/fashionable) society. As Antoine Lilti explains, *le monde*, or *le beau monde*, constituted an elite social group dominated by the aristocracy whose values since the seventeenth century were increasingly defined by cultural practices such as the arts and theatre, pursuits such as card playing and gallantry, and by behavioural distinctions exhibited through witty conversation. The *homme du monde*¹⁴⁶, the successor of the *honnête homme*, was characterized by his reason (*raison*), good sense (*bon sens*), and moderate

¹⁴⁵ La Solle, *Memoirs of a Man of Pleasure*, vol. 2, p. 83.

¹⁴⁶ Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'esprit*. Paris : Durand, 1758, p. 538. ARTFL-FRANTEXT <http://artflx.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed November 5, 2009:

De l'esprit du siècle. Cette sorte d'esprit ne contribue en rien à l'avancement des arts et des sciences, et n'auroit aucune place dans cet ouvrage, s'il n'en occupoit une très-grande dans la tête d'une infinité de gens.

Partout où le peuple est sans considération, ce qu'on appelle l'esprit du siècle n'est que l'esprit des gens qui donnent le ton, c'est-à-dire, des hommes du monde et de la cour.

L'homme du monde et le bel esprit s'expriment l'un et l'autre avec élégance et pureté; tous deux sont ordinairement plus sensibles au bien dit qu'au bien pensé : cependant ils ne disent ni ne doivent dire les mêmes choses, parce que l'un et l'autre se proposent des objets différents. Le bel esprit, avide de l'estime du public, doit, ou mettre sous les yeux de grands tableaux, ou présenter des idées intéressantes pour l'humanité ou du moins pour sa nation. Satisfait, au contraire, de l'admiration des gens du bon ton, l'homme du monde ne s'occupe qu'à présenter des idées agréables à ce qu'on appelle la bonne compagnie.

Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, 5th Edition (1798). ARTFL-FRANTEXT. Accessed November 5, 2009 : On appelle Le bon ton, Le caractère du langage et des manières du monde cultivé, poli; et le contraire s'appelle Mauvais ton.

sensibility making him good company able to carry on polite conversation.¹⁴⁷ A prerequisite by the middle of the century, polite behavior, as observed by La Solle, became the norm of elite society:

La politesse est fille du naturel et de l'éducation autrefois c'était un agrément de plus ; ceux qui n'avait pas, n'en étaient pas moins d'estimables. Aujourd'hui c'est une qualité absolument nécessaire à l'homme du monde, et il n'y est considéré qu'autant qu'il la possède dans un degré plus éminent.¹⁴⁸

All these characteristics of the *homme du monde* could be acquired through an excellent education and according to Duclos, made financiers' sons acceptable in society.¹⁴⁹

However, Blondel, in his definition of the *petite maison*, does not confuse the wealthy with the Parisian cultural elite, as having money does not necessarily entail that one has the behavioural distinctions and manners of the *homme du monde*. As the Baroness d'Oberkirch and Duclos explain, the vulgarity of the financiers and bankers' lifestyle cannot be erased. Unlike with a person of quality who "se sent partout jusque dans les moindres détails"¹⁵⁰, the houses of the rich, "fameuses par la beauté et la richesse des ameublements" were decorated

¹⁴⁷ Antoine Lilti, "The Kingdom of Politesse: Salons and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Republics of Letters. A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1, no. 1 (May 2009), p. 2-4. <http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/38>. Accessed November 5, 2009.

¹⁴⁸ La Solle, *Mémoires de Versorand*, part 2, p.58-59. *Memoirs*, p. 143. Politeness is the daughter of Nature and of Education. Formerly it was an extraordinary accomplishment, and those who happened not to be endowed with it, were not the less esteemed. Now it is a quality absolutely necessary to the man of fashion and he is only regarded, in the world, as he possesses it, in more or less eminent degree.

¹⁴⁹ Duclos, *The Confessions of the Count of ****, p. 141-2.

¹⁵⁰ D' Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 237.

excessively with gold.¹⁵¹ In spite of this, as demonstrated in such houses as Monsieur Ponchard's hôtel which "was tastefully furnished as all such wealthy Parisian houses had to be since, however vulgar the owners, they can command the services of men who specialize in matters of taste."¹⁵²

One could hire an architect who could design a *petite maison*, as Jean-François Bastide writes, which would speak of the taste of the architect.¹⁵³ One could also consult architectural books, as his associate¹⁵⁴ Jacques-François Blondel advises in *L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts*, suitable for the amateur who "aime les Arts, souvent sans s'y connoître. Le penchant, la lecture des Maîtres de l'Art, la critique, les voyages, l'impression forte de quelques beautés, la découverte de quelques défauts, peuvent, dans la suite, le conduire à acquérir une connoissance vague. Rarement il va plus loin."¹⁵⁵ As well as

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p.234.

¹⁵² Duclos, *The Confessions of the Count of ****, p. 142-43.

¹⁵³ Bastide, *La petite maison*, p. 66.

¹⁵⁴ Bastide published *L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts* after Blondel died in 1774. *L'homme du monde éclairé* is a hybrid epistolary novel and instruction guide to the arts. The aim of the book is "[V]oici un ouvrage honnête & utile. C'est un homme de qualité uni, par le gout, à une femme charmante, du même rang. L'amour attend l'hymen ; & dans cet espoir, l'esprit est occupé à perfectionner l'art de plaire. Cet art qu'on définit communément comme l'on veut, est fournis ici à des regles certaines. Le Comte a les connoissances les plus étendues; la Comtesse est avide de ces connoissances. L'absence favorite l'instruction. Une correspondance réglée unit les idées solides aux sentiments tendres. La reconnoissance des leçons & le plaisir des bienfaits préparent le bonheur". Jacques-François Blondel, *L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts*. Paris: Chez Monory, 1774, t.1, p.x -xi.

¹⁵⁵ "En général on appelle Connoisseur, un homme qui juge sainement des productions des Beaux-Arts, particulièrement de la Peinture; & qui, avec un goût naturel, perfectionné par la fréquentation des Artistes, se forme à l'habitude de bien voir. Il ne faut pas confondre un Connoisseur, avec un Amateur & un Curieux. L'Amateur aime les Arts, souvent sans s'y connoître. Le penchant, la lecture des Maîtres de l'Art, la critique, les voyages, l'impression forte de quelques beautés, la découverte de quelques défauts, peuvent, dans la suite, le conduire à acquérir une connoissance vague. Rarement il va plus loin. Le Curieux differe encore plus du Connoisseur. Privé du goût et de lumieres il rassemble des tableaux, des dessins, des médailles, des gravures, sans soupçonner souvent la nécessité de consulter. Il est presque toujours content de son choix, en proportion de son erreur. Le faux talent est généralement certain de la subjuguer." Ibid, t.1, 167n.

recommending his own publications, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, *Architecture française*, and *Cours d'architecture* for the amateur, Blondel includes Briseux's *L'art de bâtir des maisons de campagne*, Germain Boffrand's *Livre d'architecture*, D'Aviler's *Cours d'architecture*, Sébastien Le Clerc's *Traité d'architecture* and Jean-Francois de Neufforge's *Receuil élémentaire d'architecture* in his list.¹⁵⁶

In addition to architectural books, the amateur could also educate himself on the affect of the *petite maison* décor on its visitors by reading a hybrid *galanterie* novel and what Grimm called a “brochure que pour citer le nom des artistes qui sont le plus employé à la décoration intérieure des maisons de Paris”¹⁵⁷, *La Petite Maison* by Bastide. First published in the September issue of his journal, *Le Nouveau spectateur*, in the month following the awarding and exhibition of the Grand Prix¹⁵⁸ and subsequently rewritten and published as a novella in 1762, *La Petite Maison* is a tale centered on a wager proposed by the Marquis de Trémicour who challenges Mélite to visit his *petite maison* and withstand its seductive affect. The story unfolds with the couple promenading through the series of rooms and finally ending in the second boudoir. In the original ending of the story, Trémicour falls to his knees declaring his love before Mélite who is almost seduced by the *petite maison*. However, she withstands this assault on her emotions, flees and wins their bet.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, t. II, p. 47-48.

¹⁵⁷ Grimm, *Correspondance litteraire*, vol. 5, p. 47. [février 1762].

¹⁵⁸ The coincidence between the two events propagating the *petite maison* suggests some co-ordination between the Blondel and Bastide.

Bastide's story is told from the double point of view of the aristocrat and through the eyes of a talented amateur. Identifying with Trémicour, the reader is a good hunter pursuing his desired object. Identifying with Mélite, the reader is the prey who uses her catalogue knowledge of artists and craftsmen to forestall the Marquis's pursuit. Of the two points of view, however, Mélite's reactions dominate and the reader experiences the *petite maison* according to the description of the rooms and their effect on her emotions.

The reader sees the *petite maison* predominately from the eyes of a visitor who can be potentially overwhelmed by the architecture and the décor. Unlike the aristocrat who has a negligent attitude towards property as a sign of privilege, she has what the Marquis d'Argenson has described as a bourgeois concern for it:

[avril 1737] Mme Amelot a été voir nos princesses; elles lui ont demandé quand donc elle viendrait à Versailles, elle a répondu que cela était bien aisé à dire, mais qu'elle avait tant de chose à faire, qu'il lui fallait meubler sa maison de Versailles & puis à Fontainebleau, à Marly & à Compiègne. On s'est regardé, on a trouvé ce discours bourgeois; Mlle de Charolais a dit: "il ne faut pas s'en étonner, c'est la tapisserie du Marais."¹⁵⁹

Like Madame Amelot, Mélite, who has too much knowledge of and concern for the leading decorators and upholsterers of her day, reveals a lack of birthright when she shows her acquired "taste and knowledge" through education rather than having "natural" aristocratic taste originating from a mysterious *je ne sais quoi*. At the same time, through openly admiring the objects belonging to the Marquis, she demonstrates her desire for validation of her elevated taste from the

¹⁵⁹ D'Argenson, *Journal*, t. 1, p. 202.

Marquis. As d'Argenson explained, those who express the desire for the recognition of their rank are those who previously had none, like the royal bastards and

les financiers & les parvenus qui, occupés de leur nouveau rang, craignent toujours qu'on ne leur manque, au lieu que les anciens nobles y sont accoutumés & en sont même ennuyés jusqu'à le laisser perdre.¹⁶⁰

This social hierarchy of consumption is the wager of the story. By being seduced by the *petite maison*, Mélite acquiesces to Trémicour's taste, reinforcing the aristocrat's social superiority. Will Mélite be consumed by Trémicour as she takes in the richness of the décor? No; Melite eludes the advances of Trémicour in the boudoir.

The boudoir is the appropriate room for the outcome of the wager. For Mélite, the prize, the refutation of the superiority of the Marquis while appropriating the tastes of the aristocrat, is won in a space of gallantry, where Trémicour generously allows her to maintain her "virtue" demonstrating his superiority towards a *fille* who, by going alone with the libertine to a secluded house, was at his mercy. His willingness to possibly lose the wager also reinforces his superiority to acquire and maintain multiple sexual partners on his birthright and not contingent upon the seductive nature of the *petite maison*. Rather, his foremost expenditure in the pursuit of love is in his generous attitude towards entering and losing a wager with her. In this way, the tale appropriately concludes in the boudoir.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, vol.1, p. 273.

When Bastide re-published in 1762 *La Petite Maison*, he also rewrote the ending with Mélite seduced by the *petite maison*, losing the wager in the boudoir. Here the status of the boudoir shifted from a site of unfulfilled desire to place of *jouissance*. Why the change?

In a contemporary review of Bastide's 1762 edition, the writer suggests that the appeal of a *petite maison* is the unity of architecture, wealth and gallantry.¹⁶¹ Of the trio, architecture, wealth and gallantry, it is the last which involves the interpersonal demonstration of one's power. While gallantry involves excessive expenditures, there are nevertheless different kinds of expenses¹⁶² depending on the hierarchical relationship between the two contestants. While the wealthy bourgeois may be able to acquire the signs of aristocracy encompassed in the *petite maison*, one aspect was closed off to the third estate. As previously discussed the ability to demonstrate gallantry presupposes the superiority of the gallant. For the reader who had the financial means but not the knowledge of the leading decorators of the day, the notion of demonstrating one's power through one's generous behavior would be inappropriate and meaningless by those who are not at the top of a hierarchical structure. By changing the ending in *La Petite Maison*'s 1762 re-edition, Bastide removes the aristocratic gallantry and replaced it with the attainment of the desired aim, seduction. With this change, the boudoir, the place for the fulfillment of the seducer's private pleasures, becomes an expenditure limited by how much one can afford.

¹⁶¹ *Nouveau journal des dames*, ed. Madame de Beaumer, mars 1762 troisième partie, p.247.

¹⁶² As the memoirist Roger de Bussy-Rabutin has commented, "Les excessives dépenses sont encore inséparables de l'amour." Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, *Mémoires de Roger de Rabutin, comte de Bussy*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne. Paris: Charpentier 1857, vol.2, p. 303

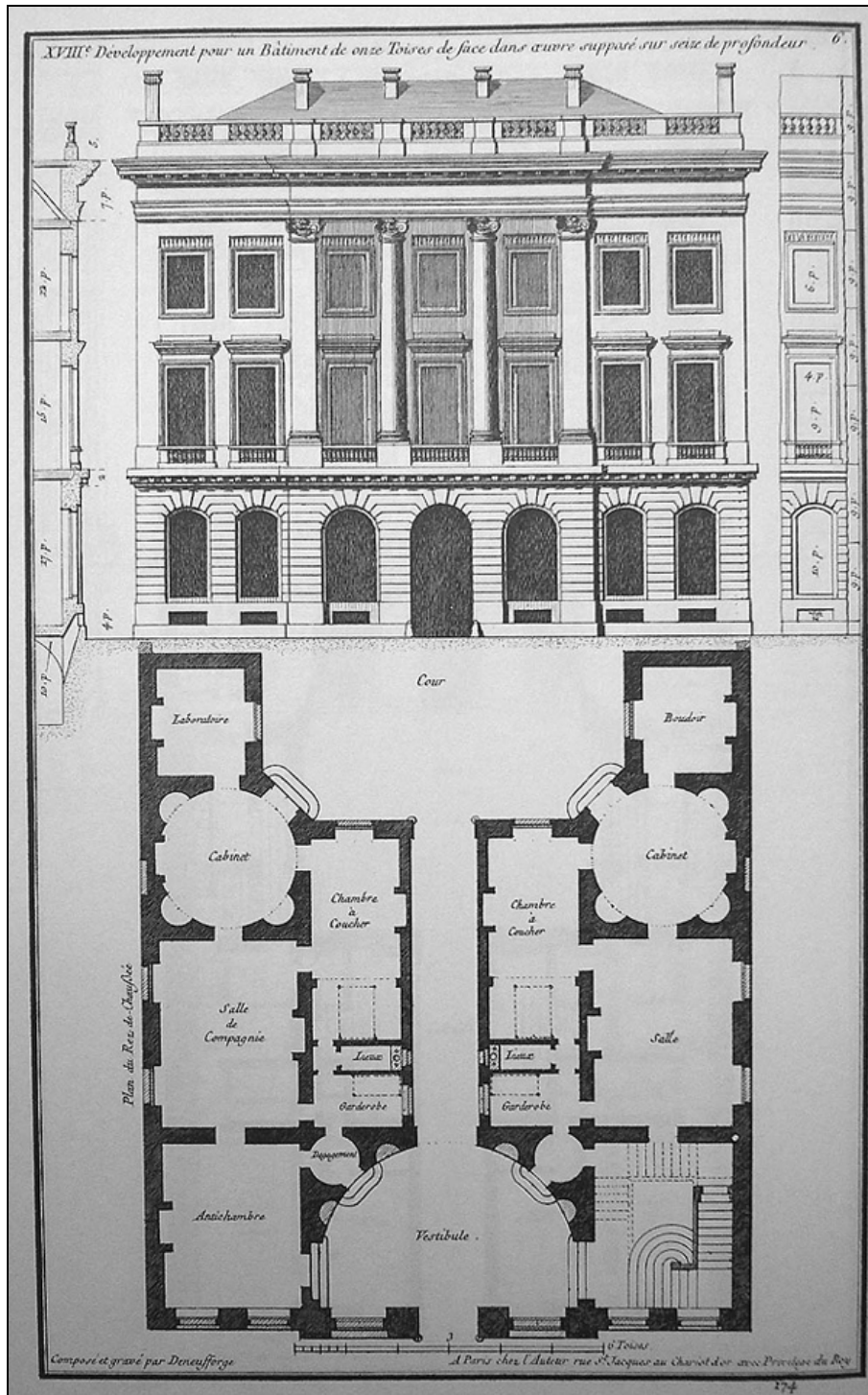
6.3.3 The Bourgeois Boudoir

The “boudoirs” in 1758 Grand Prix *pavillon sur le bord d’une rivière* was a reference to Madame de Pompadour and the finance class which she belonged to. Identifying the *pavillon* as a place for private entertainment, the boudoir, disconnected from the *chambre à coucher*, the symbolic place of aristocratic lineage, becomes, along with the vestibule, salon, dining room, and garde-robes, rooms for eating, listening to music, and amateur theatrics. The boudoir becomes another room in a *petite maison*, a site of ostentatious expenditure for the fulfillment of one’s pleasures.

The change in the boudoir as a room where one can acquire satisfaction of one’s desires coincided with the appearance of boudoirs in bourgeois houses in Jean François de Neufforge’s multi-volume *Recueil élémentaire d’architecture* (1757-68) (figures). Approved by the *Académie royale d’architecture* in 1757, *Recueil elementaire d’architecture* was recommended by Blondel as a suitable book for the “amateur” of the arts, a patron like Madame de Pompadour who, as the sculptor Falconet attested:

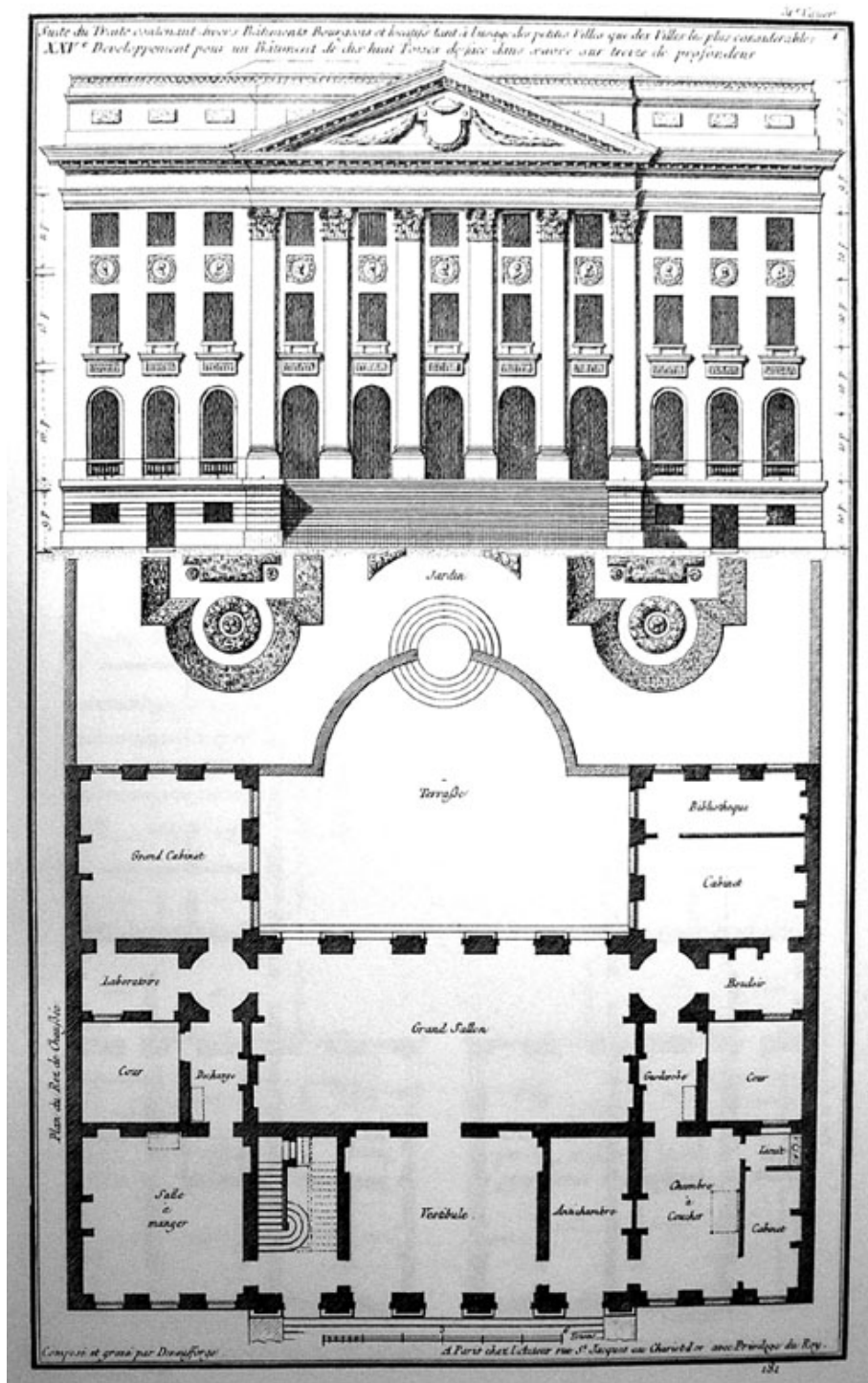
Arrivée à la cour à l’âge de vingt ans, n’ayant jamais dessiné, livrée par état aux plaisirs & à la dissipation, elle aimoit les arts qu’elle n’avoit ni le temps ni le talent de cultiver; mais elle payoit bien, & l’on travailloit bien pour elle.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Etienne Maurice Falconet, *Oeuvres complètes*. Paris: Dentu, 1808, t. 1, p. 231.

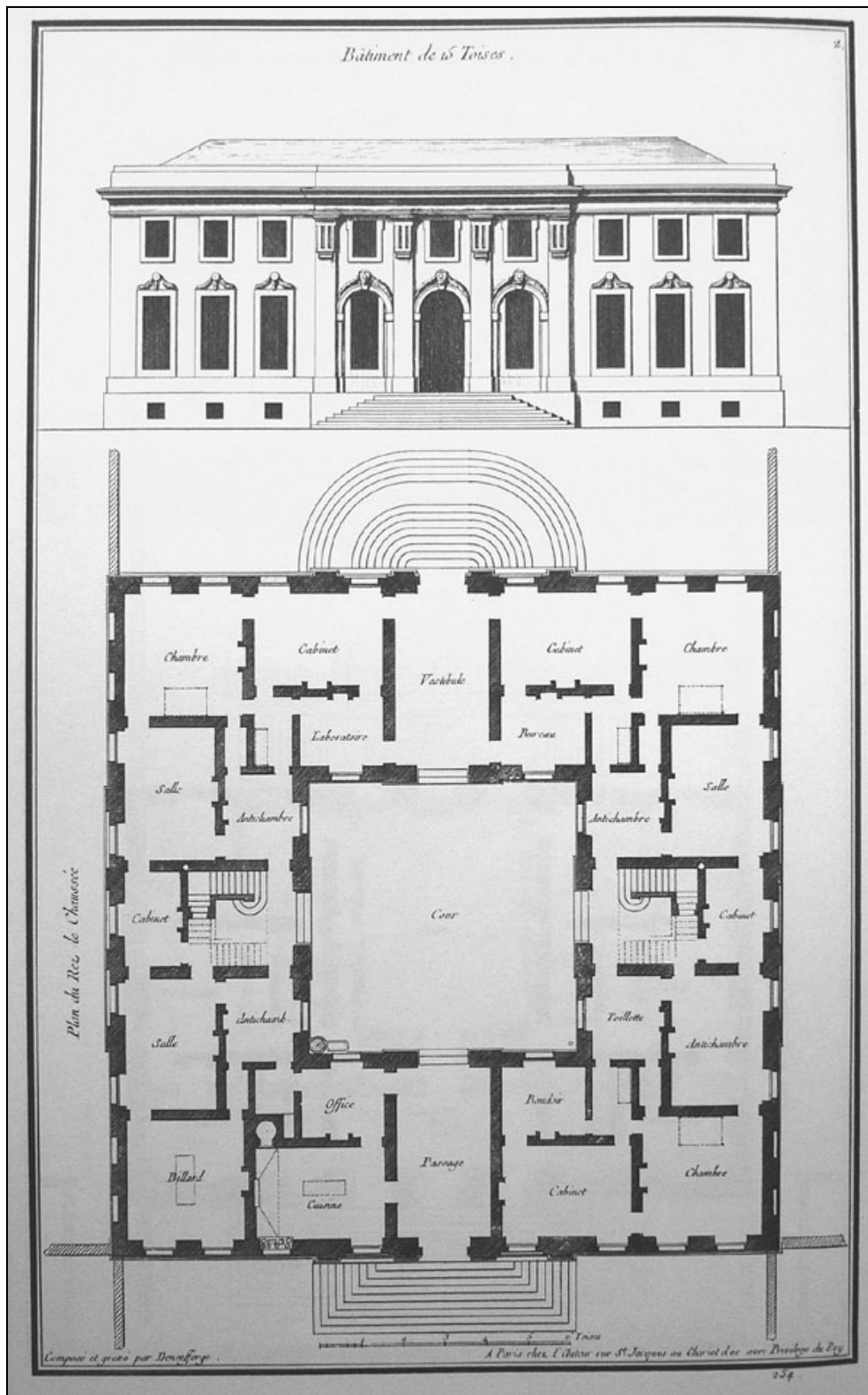


(Fig. 98) Bâtiments Bourgeois, plate XVIII Développement pour un Bâtiment de onze Toises de faces dans oeuvre supposé sur seize profondeur. Plan du rez-de-chaussée.

Source : Jean François de Neufforge, *Recueil élémentaire d'architecture*. Paris, L'Auteur, t. 3, 1760.



(Fig. 99) Bâtimens Bourgeois, plate XXV Développement pour un Bâtimens de dix huit Troises de face dans oeuvre sure treize de profondeur. Plan du rez-de-chaussée. Source: Jean François de Neufforge, *Recueil élémentaire d'architecture*. Paris, L'Auteur, t. 3, 1760.



(Fig.100) Bâtiments à l'usage de toutes sortes de personnes, Bâtiment de 15 toises Plan du rez-de-chaussée

Source: Jean François de Neufforge, *Recueil élémentaire d'architecture*. Paris, L'Auteur, t. 4, 1761.

In the *Recueil elementaire d'architecture* (figure 98-100), the boudoir is not one of the small rooms, attached to the *chambre à coucher*. Instead, located at the end of the enfilade composed of a *salle* and *cabinet*, the boudoir is a withdrawing room. Its location and size (~ 2 by 2 toises or 3.9 by 3.9 metres) suggests that it was the room to receive half a dozen visitors. The symmetry of the plan suggests that its corresponding room was the *laboratoire*, the room where the man of the house engaged in the fashionable pastime of chemistry.¹⁶⁴ More likely, “[on] a étendu par métaphore l'acception du laboratoire à d'autres lieux destinés au travail: ainsi on dit des entrailles de la terre, qu'elles sont le laboratoire de la nature; un homme de lettres dit dans le style familier, de son cabinet, qu'il se plaît dans son laboratoire, &c.”¹⁶⁵ As the corresponding room to the husband's laboratory, the boudoir was the cabinet for the wife's pleasurable pastime, her private sitting room.

¹⁶⁴ The Duchess d'Orléans writes the fashion for chemistry and the setting up of laboratories in one's apartment. This fashion continued in the middle of the century. Rousseau took a course taught by Guillaume-François Rouelle (1703-70), an apothecary who gave popular courses at the King's Garden. *Lettres de Madame de Duchesse d'Orléans, née Princesse Palatine*, p. 418. Rousseau, *Les Confessions*, p.365 ; *Confessions*, p.284n.

¹⁶⁵ LABORATOIRE (page 9:145) [Chimie], *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert. University of Chicago : ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet (Winter 2008 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>.

CHAPTER 7: THE BOUDOIR OF MADEMOISELLE DERVIEUX

7.1 The Boudoir as a Space of Self-Construction

While it acquired a reputation as a site for clandestine activities, the boudoir, according to contemporary English writers, was a place for the preparation of a more impassive public expression. As the second president of the United States John Adams explained, the boudoir is

an octagonal apartment in a house, with a full-length mirror on every side, and another in the ceiling. The use of it is, when any of the young ladies, or young gentlemen, if you will, are at any time a little out of humour, they may retire to a place, where, in whatever direction they turn their eyes, they see their own faces and figures multiplied without end. By thus beholding their own beautiful persons, and seeing at the same time the deformity brought upon them by their anger, they may recover their tempers and their charms together.¹

As a place to recompose oneself according to a more agreeable demeanor, the boudoir was a space for disciplining the self. However this quieting of the body was not just the ability to control one's manners. Unlike the actor who simply acts through gestures and expressions in order to be understood by his audience, the Frenchman aimed to be natural by aligning his feelings and thought with his external expression. One's boudoir, states *Maitre Jacques of Savoy*, was a place

¹ John Adams, *A Defence Of The Constitutions Of Government Of The United States Of America*. Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers; J. Cruikshank; and Young and M'Culloch, 1787, p. 210-211. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed June 7, 2009.

where one goes to quiet his vexed state by meditating on soothing views in order to “conform to the internal disposition of the man”.²

Psychological control was not only achieved through the privacy of the space but also by its small dimensions and limited furnishings of two or three chairs and a sofa.³ As Mirabeau writes, the scale of the boudoir was conducive to limiting the movements of the body:

Des palais depuis, sont sortis les ordres les plus harmoniques de décoration, de police, et de législation particulière. De nos entre-sols enfin... hélas! Je sens moi-même que j'écris dans un cabinet trop resserré, et que si j'avois à la place une belle galerie, je dirois mieux. À ce compte, en donnant à un homme le droit de placer un dais entre son plafond et sa personne, on lui resserreroit l'occiput. Pourquoi non?

Mais laissant à part cette imagination qui n'est pas de l'ordre des inductions par lesquelles je conduis mon raisonnement, je demande si nos appartemens ainsi faits et décorés pourroient contenir un maître de la trempe de ceux d'autrefois. Le bout de l'épée du balafre seroit encore à la troisième antichambre, que le pommeau

² *Memoirs of Maitre Jacques of Savoy*. London, 1779-83, vol. 2, p. 14-17.
<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed April 20, 2009.

“...but here digression is necessary to inform those who do not know what a Boudoir means, or for what purpose it serves. – It is, in fact, a small kind of parlour, but logically speaking, it never can be a parlour for the very reason that it is a boudoir; for in the parlour you may speak, but in the boudoir you should be silent, because you should be alone, and have nobody to speak to you. The English, by imitating other languages, and by twisting and twinning their own, have enriched their vocabulary with a number of new and interesting words; such, for example, when a Frenchman, allotting a particular apartment [sic] of his house to receive visits of ceremony or inquiries, call the room un Parloir, from the French verb Parler, to speak; the Englishman, imitating his customs and his appellations, calls the apartment a Parlour. If a Frenchman is disposed to be alone, or if he is vexed, and wishes to be quiet for a short time, he then retires to the Boudoir, which he calls so from the verb Boudoir, to pout, or to be sullen. The boudoir is generally placed in such a part of the house that the object seen from the windows should not be adapted to excite the least pleasing idea, but to conform to the internal disposition of the man.”

³ *Ibid*, p. 14-17.

casseroit la glace qui domine le canapé du boudoir. Il faut donc proportionner nos armes, nos vêtemens, nos gestes et jusqu'à nos révérences à l'exiguité de notre étui; cela se fait de soi-même, et la nature y pourvoit.⁴

The physical limitations brought about by architecture and decoration created self-awareness for the need to refine one's bodily motion. Mimi Hellman theorizes that the delicate chairs, tables, sofas invented in the eighteenth-century necessitated the small adjustment of movement just in order to negotiate the rooms.⁵ Furnishings define the boundaries in which one imagines movement within, framing or limiting of one's actions according to social standards dictated by the architecture and the décor.

As Lord Chesterfield remarked, external objects have no small influence on the mind, and the boudoir was a favorite place to affect a pleasing internal and external self along a general acceptable demeanor.⁶ Playing both actor and spectator, the inhabitant of the boudoir used this room simultaneously as a laboratory for self-fashioning as well as the display room for his new reconfigured self. However, this self-fashioning, especially for women in the late eighteenth century, should be understood within the limits of a closed aristocratic culture accessible only to a particular public. An exception to this was the actress's boudoir.

⁴ Mirabeau, *L'ami des hommes*, p. 301-302.

⁵ Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 32, no.4 (1999), p. 415-445.

⁶ "...les objets extérieurs ne sont nullement indifférents par rapport à l'esprit, et tel sot qui m'accablerait dans une chambre lugubre, pourra peut-être m'amuser dans un cabinet orné et riant." Chesterfield, *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, p. 1211-1212.

7.2 The Public Boudoir of an Actress

One of these actresses was Anne Victoire Dervieux, commonly referred to as Mademoiselle Dervieux. Born on August 15, 1752, she was groomed for the stage or, as Jean Stern asserted, a life of vice. Considered social outcasts by the Gallican Church, actors were denied Catholic social sanctions such as the ability to marry or to be buried on consecrated grounds. Actors usually came from the lowest ranks of society, as did Anne Victoire, the daughter of Jean Dervieux, a “bourgeois de Paris”, and Anne Chevalier, a former laundress and prostitute. To become an actress also meant that she also was expected to be a prostitute who would exchange sexual favors for protection, money and career advancement from male admirers. Indeed, the self-stated goal of the would-be actress, dancer or singer as quoted by Casanova, was to be a “Maîtresse d’un grand seigneur qui me couvrira de diamants! Je veux choisir le plus vieux.”⁷

In 1767 Anne Victoire’s career was beginning to take off when she became a dancer in the *Académie royale de music* (known as the *Opéra*).⁸ The fifteen year old had the arbitrary authority of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber and the master of the Ballet to thank for her joining the *Opéra*. She likely won this good favour through the same means as many other young dancers: luck, social networking, and especially a night with the right gentleman. Taking advantage of the protection afforded to the “king’s performers” who were under the jurisdiction of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber, Anne Victoire moved out of her parent’s house

⁷ Giacomo Casanova, *Histoire de ma Vie*. Paris: Laffont, t. I, p.616-620 cited in Maurice Lever, *Théâtre et lumières: les spectacles de Paris au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 2001, p. 196.

⁸ Martine Rougemont, *La Vie théâtrale en France au XVIIIe siècle*. Champion/Slatkine: Paris/Genève, 1988, p. 193-212.

into rooms near the theatre. Although the *fille d'Opéra* (or *d'Comédie-Française*) was freed from familial or marital authority, the young woman did not receive a salary as a member of the *Académie royale de music* and was expected to live by prostitution. As a *fille d'Opéra* sanctioned by the authority of the crown, she was not obliged to give her parents the income derived from the sale of her body. By the authority of state which replaced the authority of the family patriarch over a woman's sexuality, the *fille d'Opéra* was free from parental jurisdiction so that she could benefit from the exchange of her sex all the while making her livelihood and "success" dependant on her ability to service the *grands seigneurs* of the court.⁹ In this way, the *Opéra* was a center of institutionalized prostitution.

After catching the attention of the Prince de Conti, Anne Victoire's career as a courtesan accelerated the same year she was admitted to the troupe. In the summer of 1767, Anne Victoire sang at a series of private theatrical performances, including the role of Colette in the *le Devin du village*¹⁰ at Chantilly. On November 22, 1767, she made her début at the *Opéra*.¹¹

Within three years, Anne Victoire became a "celebrated" performer whose success Grimm described:

[octobre 1770] M. Dorat, qui est en possession d'adresser ses hommages à toutes les beautés célèbres sans les connaître, vient de

⁹ Pamela Cheek, "The 'Mémoires secrets' and the Actress: Tribadism, Performance and Property," *The Mémoires secrets and the Culture of Publicity in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Jeremy D. Popkin and Bernadette Fort. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998, p. 109-11. Lever, *Théâtre et Lumières*, p. 191-214.

¹⁰ Written by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1752.

¹¹ Lever, *Théâtre et Lumières*, p. 191-194. Jean Stern, *À L'ombre De Sophie Arnould, François-Joseph Belanger : Architecte Des Menus Plaisirs, Premier Architecte Du Comte d'Artois*. Paris: Plon, 1930, vol. 1, p.172-187. Barbara Scott, "A Delightful Bonbonnière: Mlle Dervieux's Hôtel, Paris", *Country Life*, Nov. 20, 1980, p. 1902-3.

chanter les charmes d'une nouvelle Héb . Cette H   -Dervieux est une petite danseuse de l'Op ra, afflig e de quinze ou seize ans; c'est un de ces enfants qui dansaient   l' ge de neuf   dix ans dans les Champs  lys es de l'op ra de *Castor*, et qui sont devenus la plupart de tr s jolis sujets pour la danse. Si je ne craignais de me brouiller avec M. Dorat, je dirais que je trouve   H   -Dervieux l'air un peu commun, avec l' clat et la fra cheur de la premi re jeunesse, ce qui ne l'a pas emp ch e de gagner d j  des diamants. Elle vient d'acheter une maison, rue Sainte-Anne, qu'elle a pay e soixante mille livres; elle en d pensera autant en embellissements, et j'aurai l'avantage inestimable d' tre son voisin quand elle donnera   souper   M. Dorat. Elle joua et chants, il y a quelques ann es, le r le de Colette dans *le Devin du village*, avec beaucoup de gentillesse, et personne ne dansa mieux   sa noce qu'elle-m me; c'est l  l' poque de sa c l brit .

12

While Grimm may find her looks a bit common, her success was due to her personal style. The baroness d'Oberkirch describes her as having “beaucoup d'esprit”:

On prête beaucoup d'esprit à cette demoiselle. Parmi ses mots, on en cite un qui aurait été volé par Mlle Sophie Arnould, et qu'il serait juste de lui restituer. En écrivant sur mes contemporains, pour ceux qui doivent nous succéder, je me permets une fois de répéter un écho de ce monde dangereux et coupable, afin de parler de tout.

Un jeune provincial, peu connu, avec peu de bien, devint éperdument amoureux de cette belle Terpsichore. Il l'écrivit, le dit, le fit dire sous toutes les formes et de toutes les manières, sans

¹² Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, vol.9, p. 129.

pouvoir être écouté. On avait autre chose à faire. Un jour enfin il se jeta à ses genoux en pleurant, la conjurant de l'aimer un peu.

— Faites-moi cette aumône, je vous en supplie.

— C'est impossible, monsieur, j'ai mes pauvres.¹³

Her celebrity was also due to her appearances in the *Opéra*, the most prestigious of the three royal theatres (the other two being the *Comédie-Italienne* and *Comédie-Française*), and the most often patronized by the aristocracy. Mademoiselle Dervieux's appearances in various ballets performed there as well as at private theatrical performances at royal residences brought her into the sphere of the social elite.¹⁴ Attracting high ranking and rich admirers in addition to the Prince de Conti, Mademoiselle Dervieux's assortment of admirers included the duc de Chartres, comte de Bentheim, Lord Binsing, and M. Armès, a wealthy *négociant* from Bordeaux. If the scandal pamphlets are to be believed, she also caught the gaze of the actress Mademoiselle Raucourt, Madame de Portail and other *Princesses Amphibies*.¹⁵

Even after retiring from the *Opéra* in 1774, she continued to be known within the public sphere as a "famous" courtesan. Indeed, the *Mémoires secrets* describes the trio of courtesans, Mademoiselles Guimard, Duthé,¹⁶ and Dervieux involved in a libertine celebration at Mademoiselle Guimard's *Temple de Terpsichore*. The party, which was to involve theatrical pieces with each *fille*

¹³ D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 192.

¹⁴ James H. Johnson, "Musical Experience and the Formation of a French Musical Public," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol.64, no.2 (June 1992), p.194. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2124630>. Accessed May 28, 2010.

¹⁵ Stern, *À L'ombre De Sophie Arnould*, François-Joseph Belanger, vol.1, p. 197.

¹⁶ Marie-Madeleine Guimard (1743-1816). Rosalie Duthé (1748-1820)

demonstrating her assets, and a charming supper, was available for subscribers who paid five *louis* per person:

[24 Février 1776] Les aimables libertins de la cour, pour donner plus de piquant à leurs plaisirs, avoient imaginé de faire une souscription entre les mains des plus fameuses courtisannes de Paris, pour former un pique-nique délicieux, qui devoit être précédé du spectacle, suivi du bal, d'un jeu d'enfer & de tout ce qui peut accompagner une pareille orgie. M. le duc de Chartres & M. le comte d'Artois devoient en être: chaque convive étoit taxé à cinq louis. La comédie devoit être jouée par Mlle. Guimard, où la Dlle. Duthé auroit chanté ; & la demoiselle d'Ervieux, surintendante du repas, avoir ordonné le festin chez un traiteur sur les boulevards. La partie de plaisir avoit d'abord été projetée pour le carnaval; mais afin de la rendre plus célèbre & plus singulière, on l'avoit remise au premier jeudi de carême. Le jour étoit venu; tout étoit prêt pour le spectacle, qui devoit consister en deux pièces connues, *la Colonie & les Sabots*, lorsqu'un ordre du Roi est intervenu qui a tout arrêté, même le souper. On ne doute pas que le zèle de M. l'archevêque n'ait beaucoup contribué à faire supprimer une fête aussi scandaleuse. L'altesse royale qui devoit en être, n'a pas permis au lieutenant de police de seconder le zèle du prélat. Il n'a fallu rien moins que l'autorité du monarque, vengeur des bonnes mœurs & de l'honnêteté publique, qui auroient été à coup sûr étrangement violées dans l'assemblée d'une jeunesse aussi gaie & aussi effrénée. Le commandant du guet avoit reçu ordre de garder les avenues du traiteur, & d'empêcher qu'il ne soit d'y entrer.¹⁷

¹⁷ The next day Mademoiselle Dervieux donated the banquet to the parish of St. Roch to be distributed to the poor. "On nomme plaisamment ce repas *le repas des chevaliers de St. Louis*, à cause des cinq louis d'écot que chacun payoit". Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, t.IX, p. 52-3. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, vol. 11, p. 212 : "[mars 1776] Cent chevaliers français s'étaient réunis...—Pour servir la patrie ? — Non. — La beauté ? — Non. — La religion ? — Encore moins. Toutes ces divinités du vieux temps sont un peu négligées de nos jours. Le but de ces messieurs se bornait à donner une fête digne de nos mœurs douces, et pour laquelle ils avaient

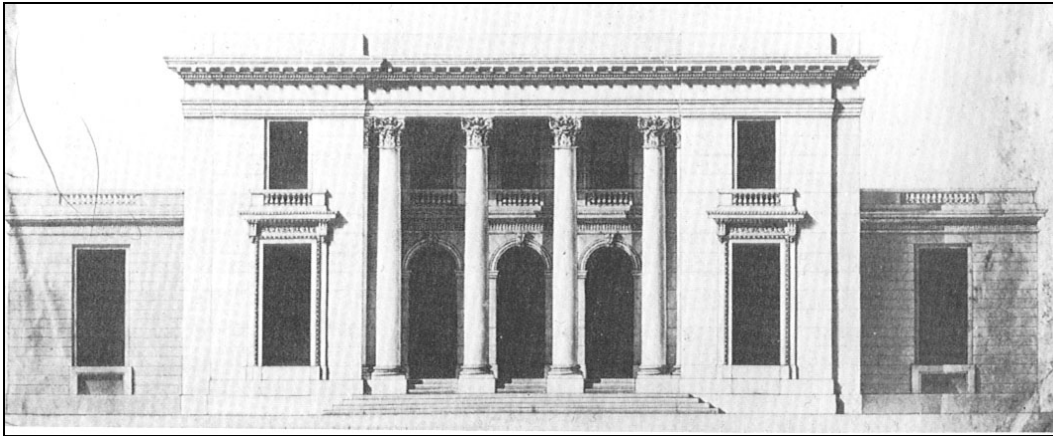
While the scandalous event was prevented from occurring, this episode highlights the role of the courtesan as a provider of pleasure and entertainment to a paying public. The high class courtesan, as Katie Hickman explains, was the ultimate desirable object. With an ancestral lineage from ancient Greece, the *megalomisthoi*, the highest paid courtesan, who was hired to provide conversation, entertainment, drinking and sex for men gathered at symposia, epitomized the joy of sensuous living.¹⁸

Like her sister courtesans, Mademoiselle Dervieux decided to build a house as a showcase for herself which would rival Mademoiselle Guimard's *Temple de Terpsichore*. In 1777, she purchased land on rue Chantereine and commissioned Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart to build a two storied pavilion with an attached garden.¹⁹

fait une souscription de cinq louis chacun. Cette fête devait consister dans une représentation de *la Colonie*, où Milles Duthé et Dervieux, nos plus célèbres courtisanes, s'étaient chargées des premiers rôles. Ce spectacle devait être suivi de quelques pièces du théâtre de Collé, d'un ballet, d'un grand souper où serait admise l'élite la plus brillante de nos jeunes nymphes. Mlle Guimard avait bien voulu prêter le temple qu'elle habite pour y célébrer cette délicieuse orgie. Tous les préparatifs étaient faits. On avait dressé quatre tables dans son jardin d'hiver, et, par un excès de décence, une cinquième destinée aux mères et aux tantes et à quelques abbés de leurs amis. Depuis huit jours on ne cessait de parler d'une soirée dont on se promettait tant de plaisir. Plusieurs de nos princes y étaient attendus. Nos faiseurs de calembours ne manquèrent pas d'appeler messieurs les souscripteurs *les nouveaux chevaliers de cinq louis*, et d'observer en même temps que *cinq louis tout compris n'était pas trop cher*. On se riait des sarcasmes et du bruit impuissant de la haine et de l'envie ; mais leur cabale en instruisit malheureusement monseigneur l'archevêque, et la défense de donner une si jolie fête fut reçue le jour même où elle devait avoir lieu. La société qui en avait formé le projet, forcée d'y renoncer, se vengea de cette disgrâce par un trait de pitié qu'on ne saurait assez louer ; Mlle Dervieux écrivit sur-le-champ une lettre infiniment respectueuse à M. le curé de Saint-Roch pour le supplier de vouloir bien faire distribuer aux pauvres de sa paroisse les apprêts du souper que des ordres supérieurs venaient d'interdire."

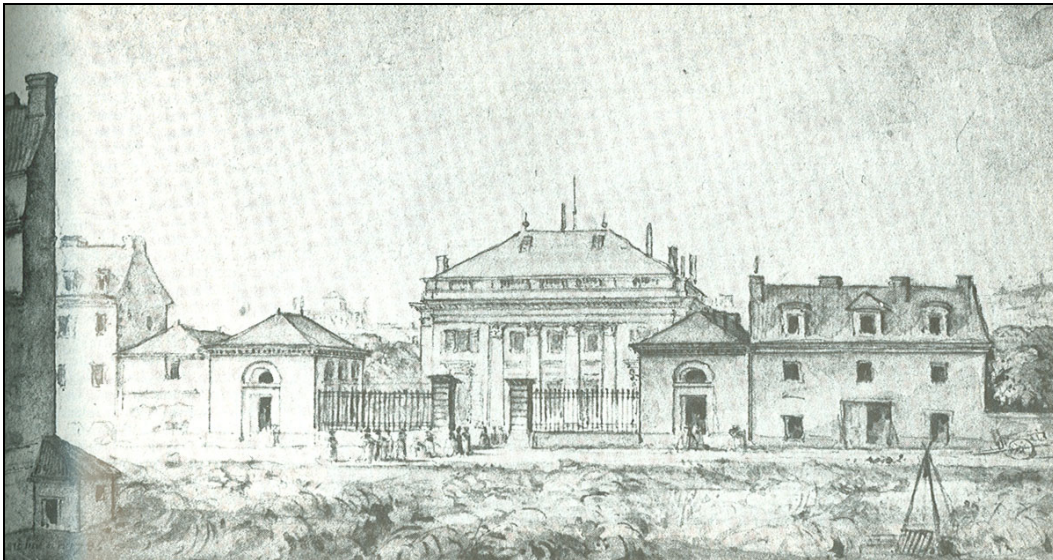
¹⁸ Katie Hickman, *Courtesans: Money, Sex and Fame in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Harper Collins, 2003, p.12.

¹⁹ Stern, *À L'ombre De Sophie Arnould, François-Joseph Belanger*, vol. 1, p.172.



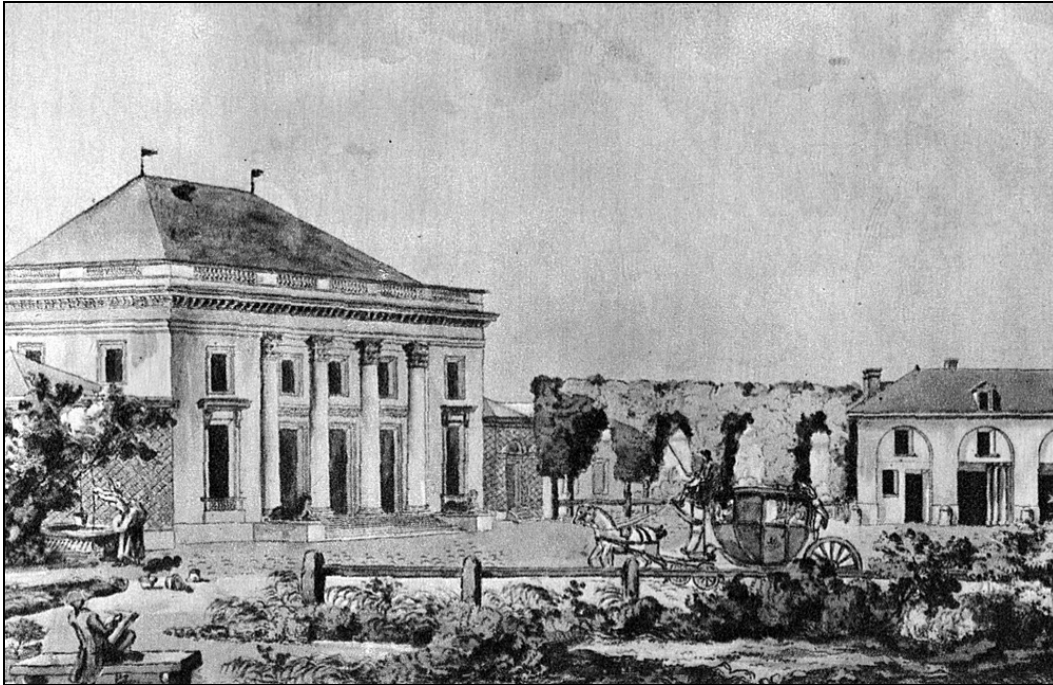
(Fig. 101) Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart. Maison Dervieux, 1777, court elevation. Musée du Louvre département des arts graphiques.

Source: Wend von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 241.



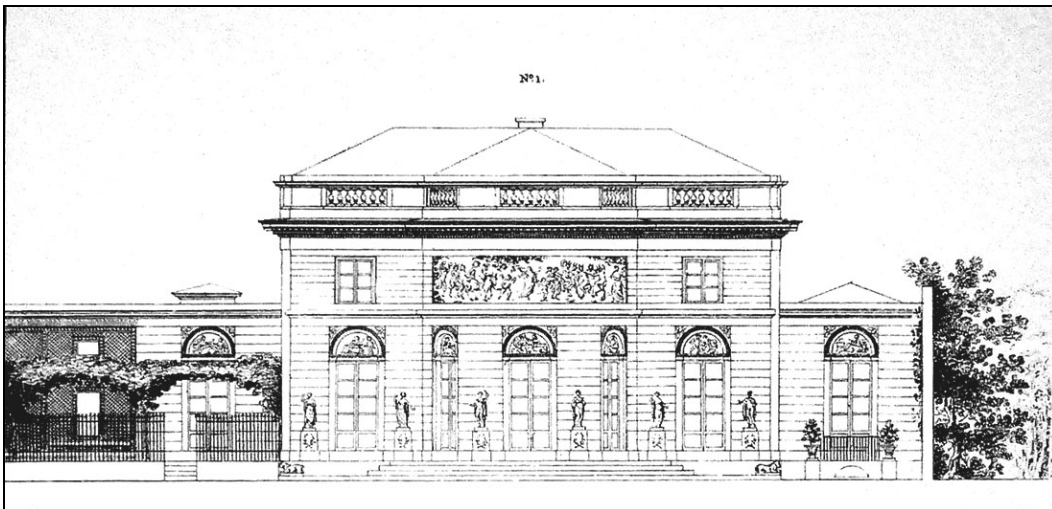
(Fig. 102) Laurent-Charles Marechal. *View of Mlle Dervieux's Maison by Alexandre-Theodore Brongniart in 1777*, Musée Carnavalet.

Source: Barbara Scott, "A Delightful Bonbonnière: Mlle Dervieux's Hôtel, Paris", *Country Life*, Nov. 20, 1980, p. 1903.



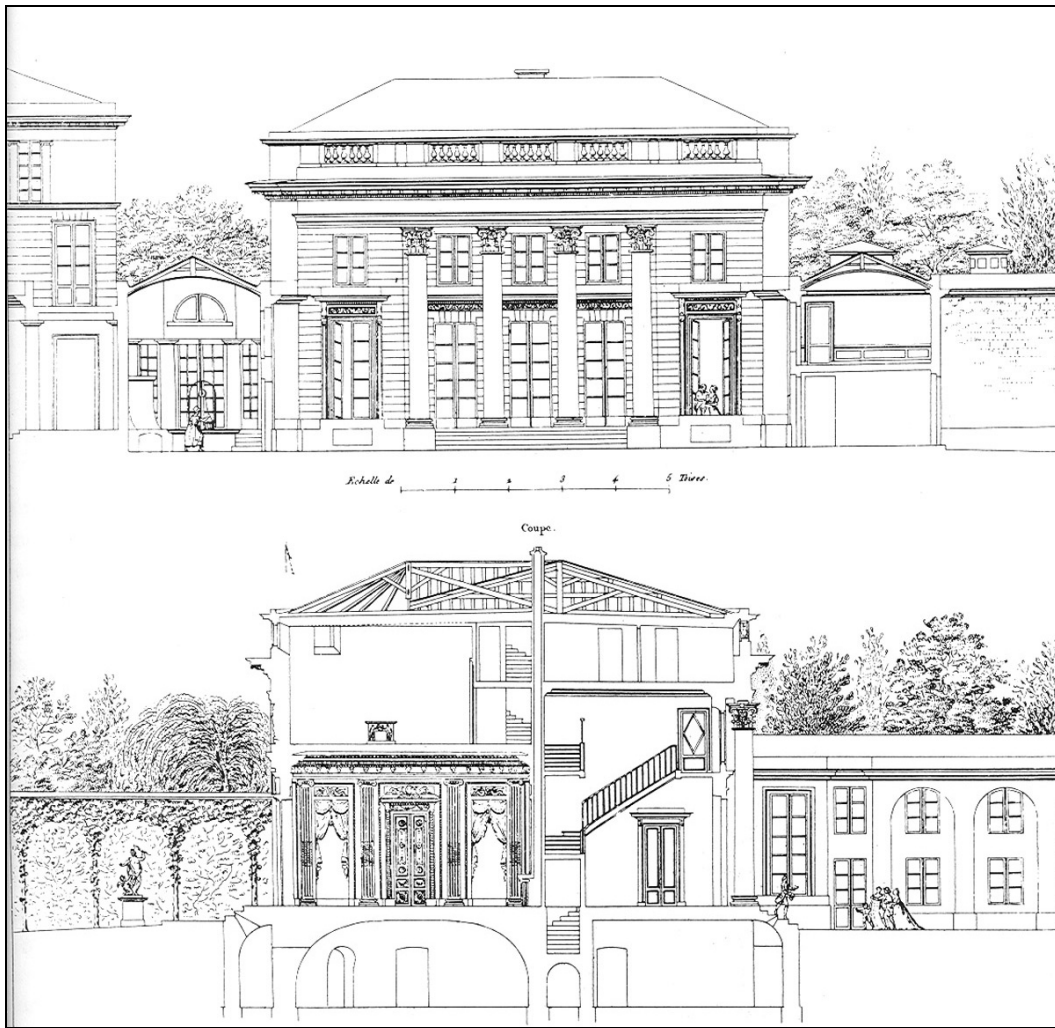
(Fig. 103) Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart and François-Joseph Belanger, *Maison de Mademoiselle Dervieux*. Private collection of Jean Stern.

Source: Jean Stern, *À L'ombre De Sophie Arnould, François-Joseph Belanger : Architecte Des Menus Plaisirs, Premier Architecte Du Comte d'Artois*. Paris: Plon, 1930, vol. 1, p.199.



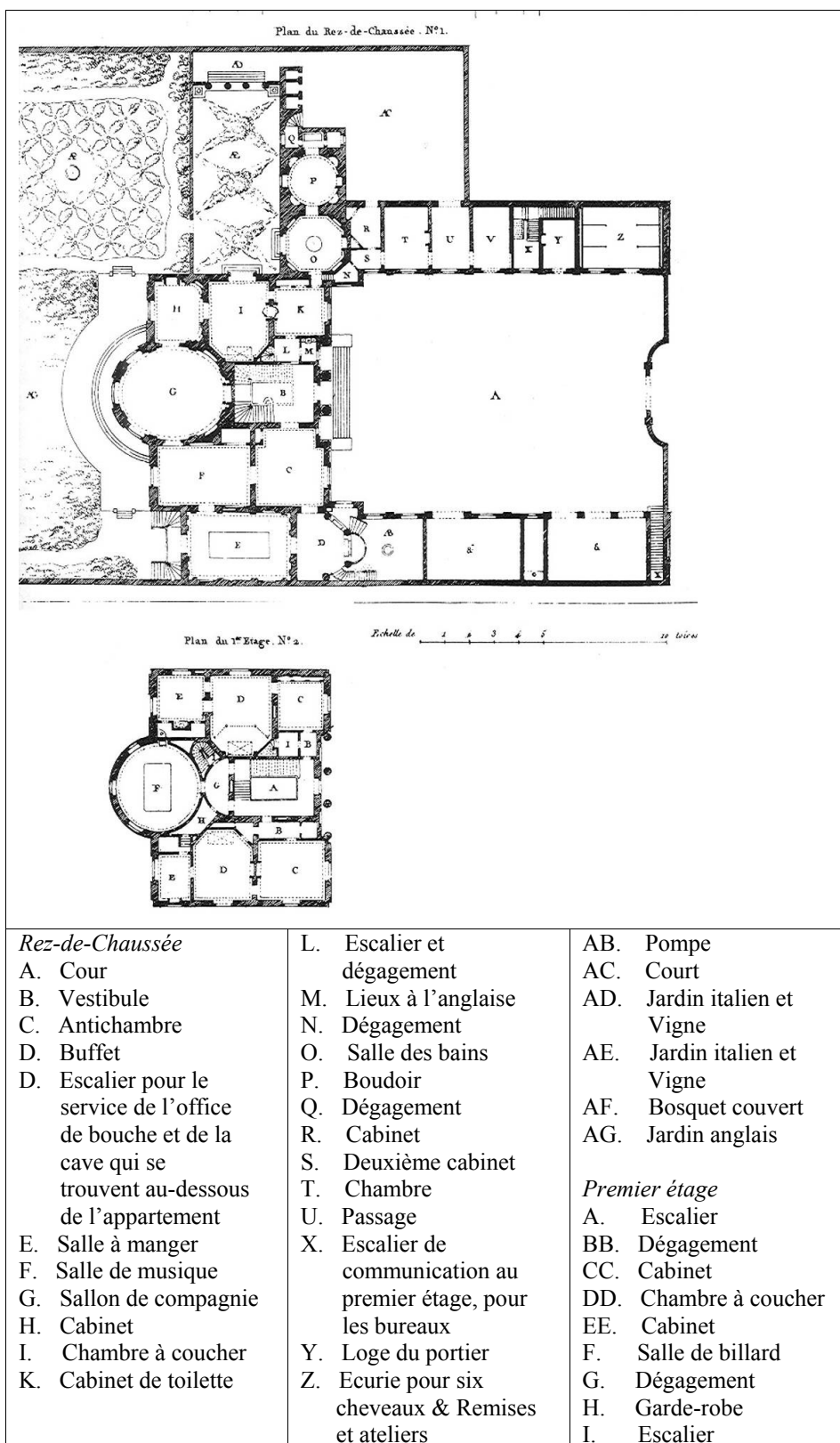
(Fig.104) *Élévation de la Maison de Mademoiselle Dervieux du côté du jardin.*

Source: J. Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonnette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris, 1801-03*, vol.1, pl. 66, no. 1.



(Fig. 105) Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart and François-Joseph Belanger, *Maison de Mademoiselle Dervieux*.

Source : J. Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris*, 1801-03, vol.1, pl.7.



(Fig.106) Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart and François-Joseph Belanger, *Maison de Mademoiselle Dervieux*, rue Chantereine, plans.

Source: Krafft and Ransonette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris*, 1801-03, vol.1, pl.7.

Mademoiselle Dervieux's house reflected her social status as a sought-after and celebrated courtesan. The baroness d'Oberkirch describes her visit to Mademoiselle Dervieux's house with the comte et comtesse du Nord on the 31 May 1782:

nous allâmes voir la petite maison et le jardin de Mlle Dervieux, célèbre fille entretenue. C'est une délicieuse bonbonnière. L'ameublement vaut la rançon d'un roi. La cour et la ville y ont apporté leur tribut. Mlle Dervieux avait à peu près trente ans; elle était disait-on, plus belle que celles de vingt. Elle a débuté à l'Opéra à quatorze ans, et y est restée longtemps rivale de Mlle Guimard. Sa maison est rue Chantereine; elle a fait dessiner le jardin à l'anglaise et y a réuni une foule de merveilles. Je n'en finirais pas si je voulais décrire tout ce que j'y vis.²⁰

The baroness goes on to characterize the boudoir as “la plus coquette de toutes les retraites...c'est un conte des *Mille et une Nuits*.”²¹ Comparing it to a tale in *Une Mille et une Nuits*²², her boudoir becomes the site of fantasies of oriental sex where desire is continually fed. Her comment refers specifically to an oriental bed design perhaps similar to Jean Jacques Lequeu's *Dessin d'un Boudoir, Côté du Canapé* (c. 1777-1814) (figure 107) where the Sultan, the looming shadow about to step on the small foot stool in order to partake in unchristian pleasures, was

²⁰ D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 192.

²¹ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 192-3.

²² The first European translation of *A Thousand and One Nights* was into French by Antoine Galland and published in twelve volumes between 1704 and 1717. See the forward by Robert L. Mack in the English translation of Antoine Galland's original text. *Arabian Night's Entertainments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

poised to bed “Scheheradzade sur une estrade fort élevée à la manière des monarques de l’orient.”²³



(Fig. 107) Jean Jacques Lequeu, *Dessin d'un Boudoir, Côté du Canapé*, 1777-1814, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Source: <http://gallica2.bnf.fr/>. Accessed May 1, 2009.

While the baroness’s description of the boudoir only alluded to its suitability for libertinage, Antoine Caillot who visited the house in 1788 paints its design in more detail:

ce ne fut pas sans la plus vive admiration que nous visitâmes la petite maison de mademoiselle Dervieux, située rue Chantereine. Le mobilier de la chambre à coucher avait coûté plus de trente-six mille francs, et le lit seul le tiers de cette somme. Les côtés, le

²³ Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes, traduits en français par Galland*. Paris: J. A. S. Collin de Plancy, 1822, vol.1, p. 37. According to the Christian fathers, sodomy as well as sexual positions other than the missionary were ungodly. Flandrin, *Sex in the Western World*, p. 119-120.

plafond et le parquet du boudoir étaient garnis de glaces entre lesquelles il n'existait aucun intervalle. Sur les glaces du parquet de ce petit temple de Vénus, étaient étendus des oreillers qui servaient aux combats amoureux. Ainsi deux amans pouvaient, dans leurs embrassemens voluptueux, se considérer dans toutes leurs attitudes. Le concierge qui nous guidait, nous apprit qu'un seigneur, de la plus haute qualité se rendait souvent dans ce sanctuaire pour y prendre ses ébats avec l'actrice.²⁴

In addition to describing the design, Caillot provides an account of what he imagines is the activity of this little temple of Venus lined on all sides, including the floor, with mirrors. To add to the effect of his description, he recounts what the concierge informed him were the type of its user: an aristocrat of the greatest quality. In other words, the boudoir is made more desirable by the sanctioned use of one who is tasteful and not by any paying customer like the tourist Caillot.

Mademoiselle Dervieux, however, was not satisfied with the luxury of her house compared to her rival's *Temple de Terpsichore*. Around 1785, Mademoiselle Dervieux increased the size of her property by buying the adjoining lot. In 1787, architect Joseph-François Belanger, one of her lovers, began redesigning both the garden and the buildings.²⁵ By 1789, Belanger finished

²⁴ Antoine Caillot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et usages des français*. Paris: Dauvin, 1827, vol. 2, p. 99-101. (Genève: Slatkine Reprints).

²⁵ Stern suggests that Belanger wanted to keep his liaison with Dervieux secret and believes that Belanger was making the changes for himself as he considered the house at rue Chantereine his abode. During the Revolution, they were arrested and sent to Saint-Lazare. They married on 5 september 1794. Stern, *À L'ombre De Sophie Arnould, François-Joseph Belanger*, vol.1, p. 195-201 ; vol. 2, p. 58, 81. Engraved drawing of "Maison bâtie rue Chantereine/pour la Cenne Dervieux", Plan d'ensemble, plan des étages, coupe et élévation. Planche gravée d'un recueil is located at Bibl. Nat. Va 285 Fol. t. 14. *Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart, 1739-1813, Musée Carnavalet*. Paris: Musées de la ville de Paris, 1986, p. 52 n 12 : "Un recueil des 36 planches de Bélanger vendues par cahier de 6, mentionne la date de 1786 (« Recueil de différents aspects et détails de la Maison de Mademoiselle Dervieux de l'Académie Royale de Musique construite par

redecorating the interior of the house, created an English garden in the back and added two wings to the main pavilion. One wing contained the *salle à manger* and the other side was the *salle des bains* and the *boudoir*.

A visitor to the house would enter into the courtyard (A on figure 106) by carriage to the front entrance. Past the four Corinthian columns and through the French windows, one entered into the vestibule with a staircase. Although the *sallon de compagnie* (G on figure 106), the largest gathering space of the house, is located on axis with the vestibule, one cannot access it directly. Instead, the visitor must turn immediately to the left into the *antichambre* (C on figure 106). Turning right, one enters the *salle de musique* (F on figure 106). To the left of this room was the addition by Belanger containing the *buffet* and *salle à manger*.

(figures 108-113)

In this wing, the visitor would enter a rectangular room approximately 4 by 2.5 toises (~ 8 by 5 m.) At one end of the *salle à manger* is an arched window opening to the garden and on the other end, enfilade, is the buffet with a large glazed window overlooking the courtyard (figure 104). These two windows at the ends of the Belanger's addition, the only daylight sources into the *salle à manger*, emphasize the length of the room and visually decrease the almost eight metre ceiling height. The ceiling itself is highly articulated with sculpted ornaments giving it a heavy visual impression. In contrast to the long, dark, covered space, the room would be illuminated by candle light reflected in the five full length mirrors encased in frames which replicates the arch of the French window into the

Brongniart en 1777, puis augmentée et entièrement décorée par Bélanger architecte »). Ce document est à Carnavalet. ”

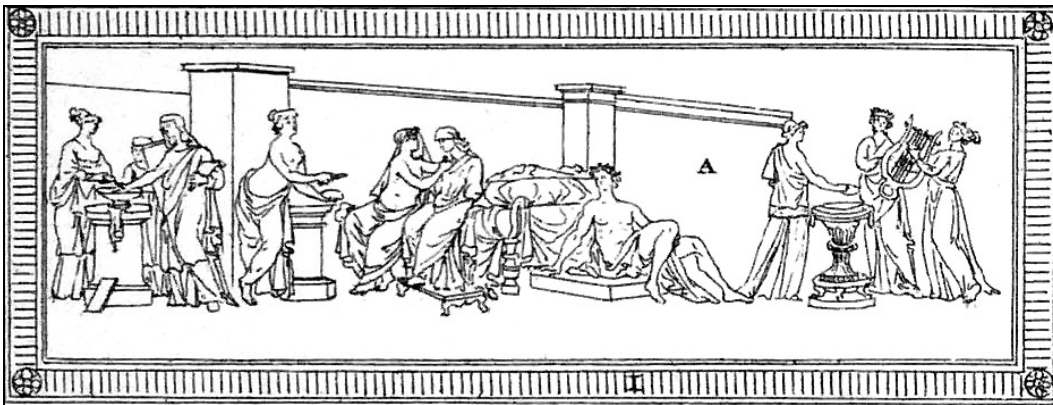
garden. The flickering candle light would be reflected by the silver arabesque on the Sienna yellow walls. This shimmering light effect is also produced by the ceiling's predominate colours of blue and yellow which, when reflecting off of each other creates a vibrant green to the eyes of the visitor. Shimmering light effects on a dark background give the impression of distant lights, like stars in the night sky.

The intended effect of the décor is implied in the sectional drawing as well as the garden elevation (figures 104-105)—the mirrored arches and the foliage decoration of the dining room replicate the covered arbour and Italian garden of the other wing. Designed to give the impression of an extended space of the garden, the *salle à manger* alludes to *al fresco* dining. Adding to the Italian imagery are the garden motifs of abundant nature decorating the walls. With these are half-man half-animal figures, including mythological creatures such as Pegasus and griffins, alluding to classical antiquity. In medallions on the doors and the pilasters, Cupid and Psyche are depicted along with Leda and the Swan.

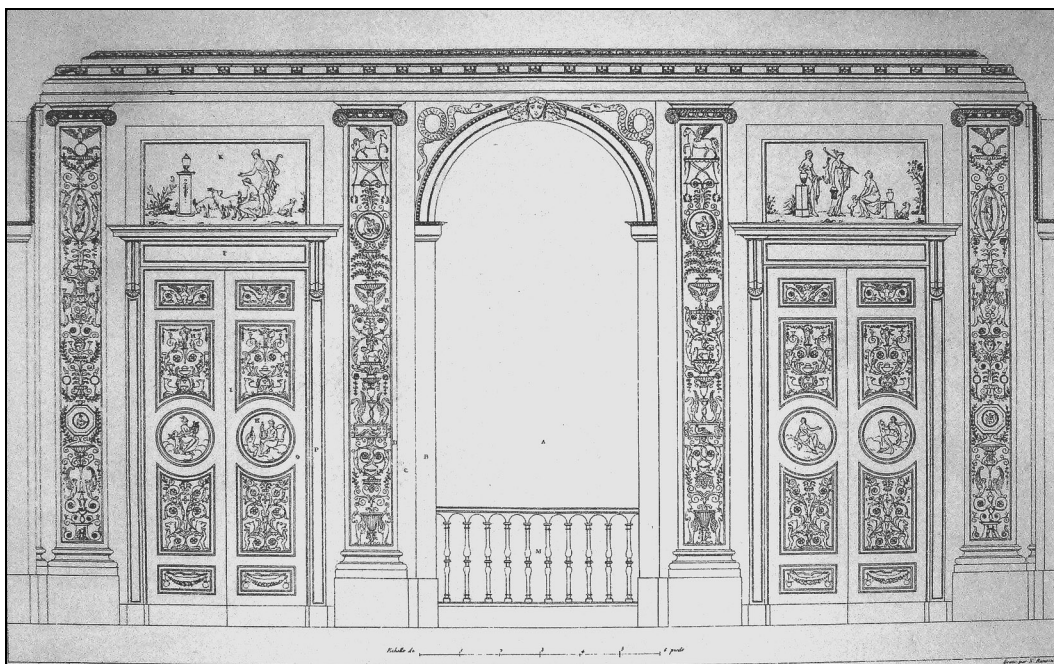


(Fig.108)Décoration de la Salle à Manger de Mademoiselle Dervieux, rue Chantierine, à Paris, par Belanger

Source : Frédéric Contet, *Intérieurs Directoire et Empire*. Paris: F. Contet, 1932.

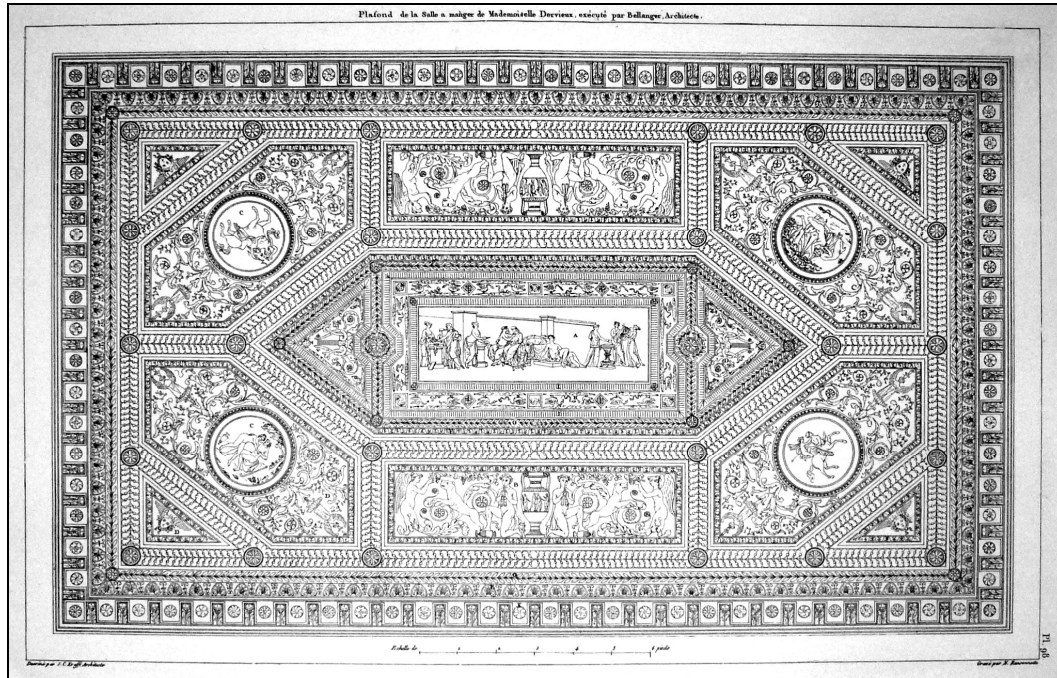


(Fig.109-110) Centre, flanking frieze, Plafond de la Salle à Manger de Mademoiselle Dervieux
Source: J. Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris*, 1801-03, pl. 97.



(Fig. 111) Salle à Manger de Mademoiselle Dervieux, exécutée par Bellanger
Source: J. Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris*, 1801-03, pl. 96.

- | | |
|--|--|
| A. Glace. | G. Porte en bois d'acajou. |
| B. Champ en stuc jaune, archivolt et ornements en stuc blanc. | H. Médaillons et panneaux en bois jaune, figures magnifiquement peintes. |
| C. Fond en stuc gris. | I. Cadres et filets en argent |
| D. Champ en stuc blanc. | K. Bas-reliefs en stuc sur un fond bleu clair. |
| E. Arabesques en argent sur un fond en stuc jaune de Sienne. | L. Architrave et corniches en stuc blanc. |
| F. Chambranles en stuc jaune, champs et corniches en stuc blanc. | M. Balustrade en bois d'acajou |



(Fig.112) Plafond de la Salle à Manger de Mademoiselle Dervieux.

Source: J. Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris*, 1801-03, pl. 97.

- | | |
|---|---|
| A. Bas-reliefs peints sur un fond jaune clair. | F. Ornaments en coloris. |
| B. Bas-reliefs peints sur un fond jaune. | G. Ornaments incrustés en coloris. |
| C. Médaillons peints sur un fond jaune clair, cadres en stuc blanc. | H. Ornaments peints sur un fond bleu clair. |
| D. Ornaments sculptés en blanc sur un fond | I. Cannelure en stuc bleu. |
| E. Entrelacs en stuc blanc. | K. Corniche en stuc blanc jaunes clair. |

The ceiling of the *salle à manger* continues the classical motif with the central frieze depicting a symposium with the participants reclining on couches aligned along a wall (figure 109). Sexual love is emphasized in the adjacent decorations. Surrounding the frieze is the repeating image of a swan (usually associated with Venus) devouring/attacking a serpent. Flanking the central frieze are two others which depict Bacchus playing the lute in a vineyard, seemingly serenading the feeding of grapes to a lion by a sphinx-like creature (figure 110). Two triangles flanking the central frieze each hold a lyre, associated with Erato,

muse of erotic poetry.²⁶ Four circular medallions located at the corners of the ceiling depicted embracing couples in salacious activities (figure 113).

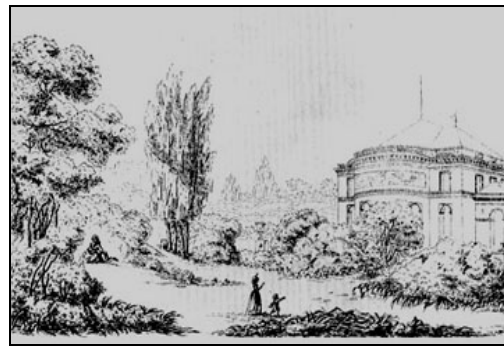
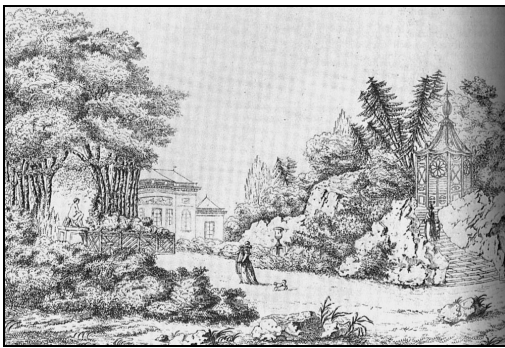


(Fig.113) Plafond de la Salle à Manger de Mademoiselle Dervieux, details
Source : J. Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris*, 1801-03, pl. 97.

From the *salle à manger*, the visitor would return to the *salle de musique* and then enter the *sallon de compagnie* which opened out into an English picturesque garden which was described by the eighteenth-century traveler, Nikolaï Mikhaïlovich Karamzin as

²⁶ Robert E. Bell, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology, Symbols, Attributes & Associations*. Oxford/Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1982, p. 154.

[May 1790] the garden of the Hesperides, where all paths are covered in flowers; where all the trees give off fragrances as they cast shade. The little meadows and groves are picturesque; it seems as though every little blade of grass and each leaf were selected from a thousand. As they weave in and out, the little roads lead us to a mossy cliff, to a wild grotto, where you read the inscription: *Art leads to nature; it extends its hand in friendship*. And in another spot: *here I take pleasure in thoughtfulness*.²⁷



(Fig. 114-115) Belanger, *Jardin à l'Anglais*.
Source: Scott, "A Delightful Bonbonnière," p. 1904; Dennis, *Court & Garden*, 1986.

On the other side of the *sallon de compagnie* of the main pavilion (*corps de logis*) was an apartment comprised of a *cabinet*, *chambre à coucher*, *cabinet de toilette*, and the *lieux à l'anglaise*. The *chambre à coucher*, a shrine in Karamzin's eyes, was

where a painting on the walls depicted Hercules on his knees before Omphale, five or six Erotes riding on his chariot; Armida who gazes into the mirror, far more intrigued by her beauty than by the adoration of Rinaldo who sits alongside her; Venus, who after removing her girdle gives it to...you can't see to whom, but presumably it is the mistress of the house. Your eyes search for...guess what for. The bed of pleasures, smothering in unfading – that

²⁷ Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller: a Translation of Pis'ma russkogo Puteshestvennika*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2003, p. 297.

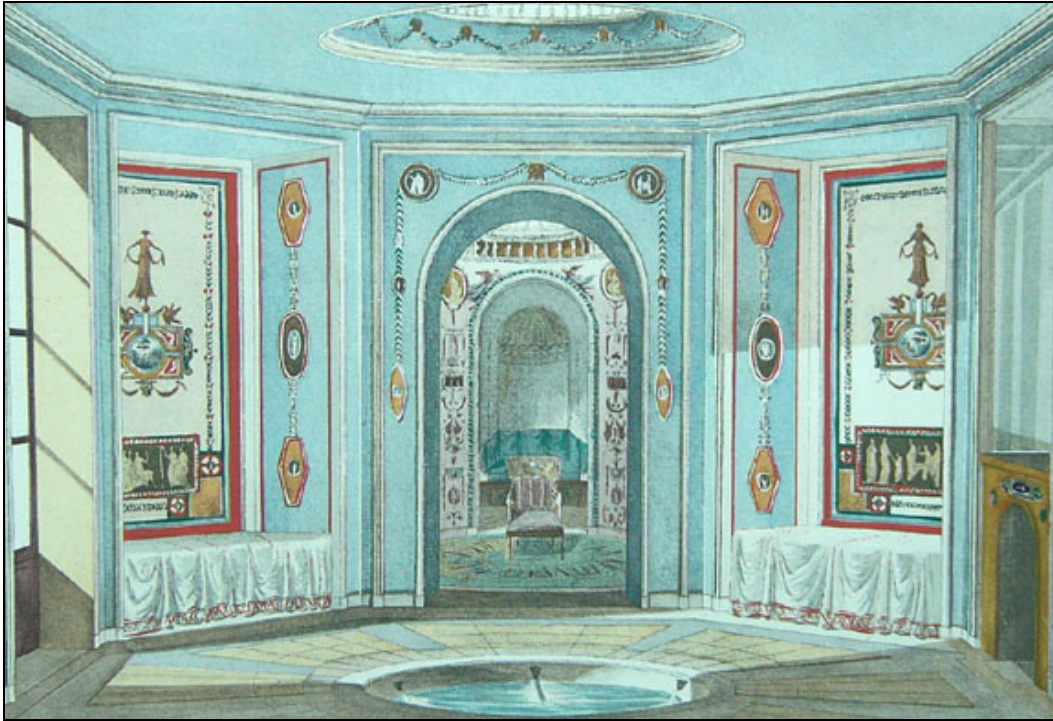
is, artificial – roses without thorns, rises on several steps; here without doubt every Adonis must bend the knee.²⁸

On axis with the bed, a French window opens to the covered Italian garden and vineyard fenced on one side. At one end of the garden is a series of steps before a colonnade suggesting the façade of a classical temple.

Flanking the Italian garden is Belanger's other addition to the main pavilion. Adjacent to the entrance to the *chambre à coucher*, are stairs up to the French doors leading to the octagonal *salle des bains* described by Karamzin as a small room where a "marble pool has been made for bathing, and above there is a gallery for musicians so that the beauty can splash to the rhythm as she listens to their harmonious playing."²⁹ As she bathed, daylight would illuminate the room via an overhead skylight and the circular opening of the gallery. Light would also be provided by the glass French doors (figure 116).

²⁸ Ibid, p. 297.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 297.



(Fig. 116) *Salle des Bains de Mademoiselle Dervieux, exécutée par Belanger, architecte. pl. coloriée par Detournelle. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Etampes, Va 285a.*³⁰

Source : Frédéric Contet, *Intérieurs Directoire et Empire*. Paris : F. Contet, 1932.

Reflected in the mirror above the chimney is the Italian garden. This visual overlapping of the interior of the bathing room and the exterior garden is repeated in the niche's central motif of Venus³¹ atop of a quincunx in the middle of which is a circular view into a landscape with a stream (figure 117). The

³⁰ The print can also be found in the "Recueil de différents aspects et détails de la Maison de Mademoiselle Dervieux de l'Académie Royale de Musique construite par Brongniart en 1777, puis augmentée et entièrement décorée dans les intérieurs en 1786 par Bélanger architecte" at the Musée Carnavalet ; cited in Béatrice de Rochebouët, "Maison de Mademoiselle Dervieux, " *Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart, 1739-1813 : Architecture et décor. Musée Carnavalet 22 avril – 13 juillet 1986, Paris*. Paris-Musée, 1986, p. 52. n. 12. Rochebouët points out that while the *Recueil* dates Belanger's work at 1786, the actual date of completion was 1789. Stern, *À L'ombre De Sophie Arnould, François-Joseph Belanger*, vol.1, p.203 n. 3.

³¹ The swans on the panel make reference to Venus. Bell, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology, Symbols, Attributes & Associations*, p. 354-55.

viewer is to imagine that he is spying into a landscape where the incarnation of sexual love is bathing.³²

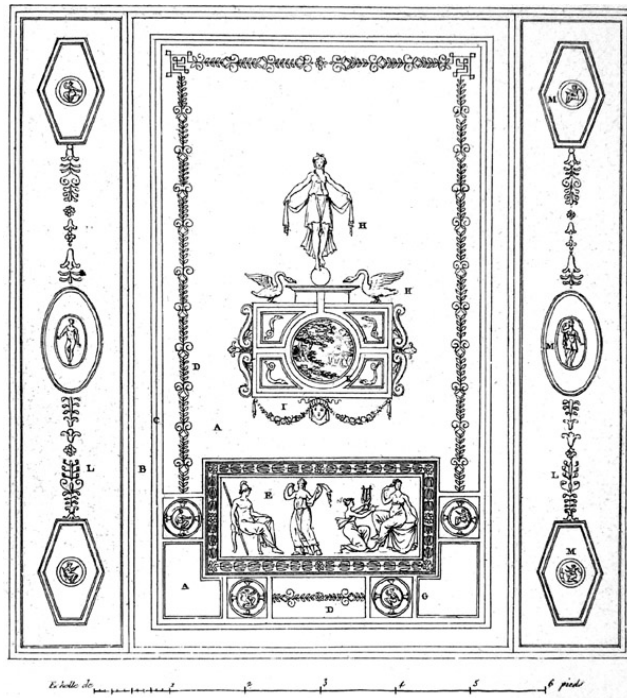


(Fig.117) *Décoration des grandes niches de la Salle des Bains de Mademoiselle Dervieux*, pl. coloriée par Detournelle, représentant la salle de bains de la citoyenne Dervieux. Bibl. Nat., Estampes, Va 285a,

Source : Frédéric Contet, *Intérieurs Directoire et Empire*. Paris : F. Contet, 1932.

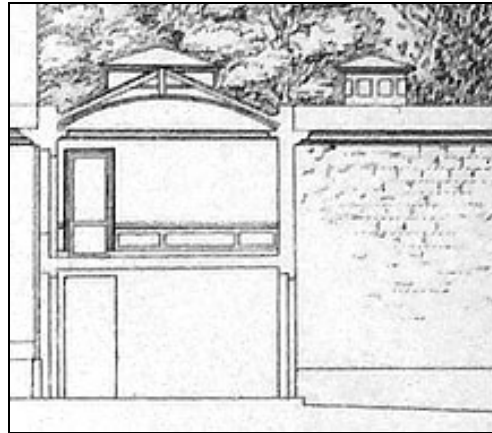
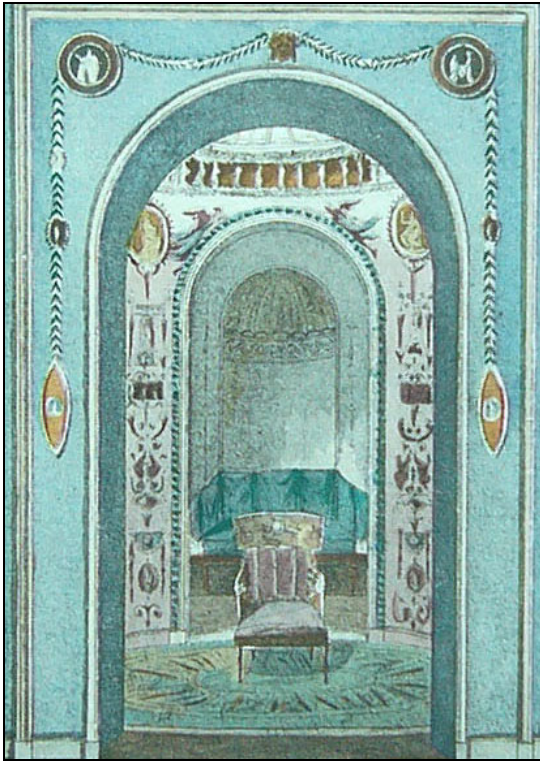
(Fig.118) Bottom : *Panneaux de la Salle de Bains de Mademoiselle Dervieux*

Source : J. Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonette, *Les plus belles maisons de Paris*, 1801-03, pl. 101, no.2.



- A. Fond en stuc bleu clair.
- B. Fond en stuc bleu foncé.
- C. Filets en rouge cramoisi.
- D. Ornements incrustés en vert.
- E. Bas-reliefs et figures en blanc sur un fond puce.
- F. Ornements incurstés en vert et filets en rouge.
- G. Médaillons en ivoire sur un fond vert ; cadres en rouge.
- H. Figures en blanc.
- I. Cadres en rouge, ornements incrustés en coloris.
- K. Paysages en coloris.
- L. Panneaux sur un fond bleu clair.
- M. Médaillons en ivoire, incrustés sur un fond bleu foncé, cadres en coloris.

³² *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality*, ed. Caroline Arscott and Katie Scott, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, p. xiii.



(Fig.119) Detail of court elevation

(Fig.120) Detail of the boudoir.

This aspect of voyeurism is extended to the adjacent room, enfilade with the *salle des bains*, the circular boudoir. The opening between the *salle des bains* and the boudoir shows a single chair occupying the centre of a precious Beauvais carpet³³, illuminated by the overhead lantern window (figure 119). The empty chair looking out into the bath seems to imply the location of a single spectator watching the proceedings. At the back of the boudoir, is a deeper niche (~ 1.8 m. wide) with a voluptuous *lit de repos* “tout recouvert d’une étoffe de pékin gris, avec une bordure de damas, des guirlandes de roses brochées, des agréments de roses.”³⁴ Here the view beyond the boudoir to the sofa in the niche suggests the

³³ Acte de vente de la maison de la rue Chanteraine et des meubles à Vilain XIV, 21 mai 1793 (Étude de M. Aleaume, M. Thion de la Chaume, succ.), cited in Stern, *À L’ombre De Sophie Arnould*, François-Joseph Belanger, vol.1, p. 204.

³⁴ Ibid, vol.1, p. 204.

place where *jouissance* takes place. In addition to the view from the *salle des bains*, a voyeur in the garden could sit on the bench underneath the boudoir window framed by a trellis (figure 121). From his perch outside the boudoir window, he could view the small room (~3.9 m in diameter) with four niches, each of which housed a glass showcase displaying valuable porcelains.³⁵



(Fig.121) Detail of garden elevation

³⁵Ibid, vol.1, p. 204.

7.2.1 Boudoir as a Place of Desire

Mademoiselle Dervieux's boudoir could well fit the criteria of Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières's ideal boudoir, the site where male desires are projected, to sexually arouse the inhabitants. But while there is furniture to support the possibility of sexual orgasm, *jouissance* is only near at hand. The resulting feeling of

[c]ette retraite délicieuse ne doit occasionner que des émotions douces, porter la sérénité dans l'ame, la volupté dans tous les sens. Il faut tendre au dernier degré de perfection, et que le désir soit satisfait, sans donner atteinte à la jouissance.³⁶

The décor of the boudoir should affect the gentlest emotions, bringing serenity to the soul and sensuality to all the senses. It must aim for the ultimate perfection, to satisfy a desire without achieving sexual bliss. In other words, perfection is not the satisfaction of desire, but rather the desire itself. The décor addresses the visiting man's desire for the female absent body and replaces it with the objects whose characteristics evoke her body. The furniture delineates her absent body (his desired object) and gives him soft, sensual satisfaction. The gentle emotion is provided by the soft lighting which produces the effect of a veil onto which he projects his desire. His satisfaction is located on the blurry view of her objects rather than in the attainment of *jouissance*. For even according to those visitors given the opportunity to see the actress in person, knowing that only a "green taffeta curtain separated the famous enchantress from us; but we did not dare pull

³⁶ Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture*, p. 123

it away.”³⁷ Pleasure for the visitor comes from the satisfaction of the delineation by the décor of her absent body, keeping the object of his desire at a distance. This effect of distancing while being invited into the pleasure of the boudoir is illustrated by Jean Jacques Lequeu’s oriental boudoir, *Dessin d’un Boudoir, Côté du Canapé*. Here the viewer can inhabit by means of a perspectival construction. The foreshortening of the small foot stool at the centre bottom, giving the impression that it extends out of the picture plane, links the space inside the picture with the space inhabited by the viewer whose presence is indicated by the viewer’s shadow falling from the base of the stool to the left side of the painting.

The impact of the “erotic” design is to experience the desired body at a physical distance while at the same time to grasp it with a mental intimacy. For design to yield an “erotic” affect, the viewer imagines him/herself witnessing Mademoiselle Dervieux using her spaces. In the descriptions by visitors such as Karamzin, Caillot, and the baroness d’Oberkirch, Mademoiselle Dervieux was seldom in reality present. Instead, the visitor conjured a vivid scenario where not only was she present, but was engaged with lovers. Furthermore, the visitor often takes on the role of a lover in creating this imagined scenario while walking through the house. So strong is the conflation between the imaginary lover and visitor that he desires to see her:

The lady of the house lives on the second floor, which we also viewed and where the rooms, whilst decorated with taste, nonetheless do not have the charm of the first floor. I was curious to see the nymph; but it suited her to play the role of a hostess. On

³⁷ Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, p 297.

the sofa there lay her corset, proof of her slender figure, a little bonnet with rose ribbons and a tortoise comb.³⁸

Her personal effects are enough to create a sense of intimacy. Her nightcap, corset, pink ribbons, and tortoise-shell comb, placed with apparent negligence, made the visitor feel as if they had just missed her.

Mademoiselle Dervieux seemed to be purposefully absent. As the baroness D'Oberkirch recounts:

Une autre fois la duchesse de ***, personne fort acariâtre, fort méchante, fort laide, ce dont elle enrageait, car elle était, en outre, fort galante (on voit bien que j'ai raison de ne pas la nommer); la duchesse de *** se fit conduire à cette fabuleuse maison par un de ses adorateurs, qui passait pour l'être aussi de Mlle Dervieux. Elle trouva comme nous le logis vide, en apparence du moins, et se croyant bien seule avec son introducteur, elle donna carrière à sa jalousie, à l'indignation que lui inspirait ce luxe, très-déplacé il est vrai, et n'épargna pas la propriétaire. En entrant dans le boudoir, la plus coquette de toutes les retraites, elle redoubla ses exclamations.

— Ah ! s'écria-t-elle, c'en est trop, ceci passe toute idée, c'est un conte des Mille et une Nuits.

En ce moment, un petit œil-de-bœuf, adroitement dissimulé dans une rosace de cristal de roche, s'ouvrit, une tête mutine et railleuse se montra : c'était Mlle Dervieux, cachée en observation et impatientée de s'entendre habiller de la sorte.

— Oui, madame, répondit-elle, et je doute qu'aucune des vôtres en ait jamais valu autant.

Voilà à quoi on s'expose en se posant en rivale de ces sortes de personnes; je ne sais comment une femme peut se dégrader ainsi,

³⁸ Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, p 297.

et je ne connais pas de passion qui puisse servir d'excuse à pareille chose.³⁹

Mademoiselle Dervieux's sudden appearance from a hidden window suggests that she had a secret room where she retreated to eavesdrop on visitors' reaction to her mirror-lined boudoir. In the case of the duchesse de ***, Mademoiselle Dervieux, after hearing enough of her visitor's disparaging remarks, appears in the room, mocking her female visitor's jealous identification with the actress, made possible by the affect of the architecture and décor to inspire imagined scenarios.

³⁹ D'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, vol.1. p. 192-3.

7.2.2 Display of Sexualized Space

The potential *jouissance* of Mademoiselle Dervieux's company was financially lucrative to her. She attracted a specialized clientele to her *petite maison*, according to the gossip in the *Correspondance secrète*:

[29 septembre, 1785] La Dlle Dervieux, qui a été très-jolie, a donné dans la magistrature. Les robins du haut rang vont jouer chez elle: ses appartemens sont très-élégans; elle a le meilleur cuisinier de Paris, & tous les jours une nuée de gourmands se rend chez elle, où, avant & après le souper, on use beaucoup de cartes & de dez. Cette spéculation lui donne un revenu au moins de cinquante mille livres.⁴⁰

The success of her casino to attract and maintain paying customers, in part, depended on the design of the house as integrating the imaginations of its visitors with associations of the courtesan's value as a desirable object.⁴¹ The Belanger's design of the *salle à manger*, *salle de bain*, the boudoir, the niche and the two adjacent rooms configures spatial and visual relationships which suggest scenarios, such as Karamzin's imaginary one of Mademoiselle Dervieux bathing while intoxicating orchestral music floats above her. While the details of these potential scenarios can vary and are dependant on the imagination of the viewer,

⁴⁰ *Correspondance secrète, politique & littéraire, ou mémoires pour servir à littérature en France, depuis la mort de Louis XV*. Londres: John Adamson, 1790, t. 18, p. 408. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>. Accessed July 3, 2010.

⁴¹ She was on good terms with the lieutenant of police, M. Antoine Gabriel de Sartine and his successor M. Jean Charles Lenoir. Stern, *À L'ombre De Sophie Arnould, François-Joseph Belanger*, vol.1, p. 191. Scott, "A Delightful Bonbonnière: Mlle Dervieux's Hotel, Paris", p. 1903. Rumors circulated in the latter half of the eighteenth century that in order to operate a gambling house, owners would have to pay 30,000 *livres* per year to the lieutenant of police. Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris, 1718-1789*. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1979, p. 56.

the design nevertheless leads to the foregone conclusion of that of the house of a courtesan, a woman who is paid to give the customer sexual pleasure.

A courtesan's value as a desirable object was advertised by a public display of her wealth, especially by owning luxuriously decorated houses.⁴² As Karamzin explains, one could buy a ticket to tour her *petite maison* whose purpose was to excite the curiosity of Parisians and foreigners.

The former actress Dervieux, a mediocre actress but famous enchantress, after labouring for twenty years at her lucrative art and accumulating millions, decided to erect a house that would attract the admiration of Paris. Such was her wish, and so it was done: this edifice is regarded as a miracle. You need a ticket to view it; Mr P*, my countryman, procured me this pleasure. What rooms! What décor! Painting, bronzes, marble, wood, everything shines, everything attracts the gaze. The house is not large; but reason sketched out the plans, art was the architect, profligacy the decorator, and wealth gave the money. Here there is nothing unbeautiful; and comfort and ease of use are added to beauty of look.⁴³

Mademoiselle Dervieux's house, a showcase of a desirable lifestyle, had a great influence on decor fashion.⁴⁴ Antoine Caillot recalls:

Mademoiselle Dervieux et les autres nymphes des divers spectacles donnèrent le ton du boudoir aux jeunes femmes de qualité et aux bourgeoises des étages supérieurs, et, par conséquent, c'est principalement à elles et aux femmes entretenues

⁴² Hickman, *Courtesans*, p. 9-13.

⁴³ Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, p. 296-7.

⁴⁴ On the influence of courtesans on generating a pre-celebrity interest for glamour at the end of the eighteenth century see Berlanstein, *Daughters of Eve*, p. 56-57.

que la France est redevable de l'art de meubler un appartement avec tout le goût et toute la commodité possibles. C'est par leur efficace influence que l'acajou et plusieurs autres bois moins précieux sont travaillés et façonnés en une infinité de manières, aussi agréables à la vue que favorables à tous les besoins, et même à tous les caprices. Si l'on veut se faire une idée des progrès de l'industrie dans ce genre, on doit consulter la collection des figures de meubles de M. de La Mésangère, propriétaire et rédacteur du *Journal des Modes*.⁴⁵

As a celebrity, she lived the life-style of an aristocrat. Acquired through a lavish purse, the nymph's desirability and her capacity to dictate fashion through her boudoir style to the young women of quality and upper bourgeoisie ought to be understood in relationship to the provider of the purse – the French elite.

The nymph's conjoining of fantasy, sex and luxury became one of the primary associations of the boudoir by the end of the century. Madame de Genlis's remark that

c'est d'entendre des femmes appeler leur cabinet *un boudoir*; car ce mot bizarre n'étoit employé jadis que par les courtisannes⁴⁶

attests to the general understanding of the boudoir as a desirable symbol of a luxurious and easy lifestyle. Grimm in his *Correspondance* characterizes the public fascination and accolades over her as "l'époque de sa célébrité".⁴⁷

The association of luxury and desire with the boudoir of a courtesan was the predominate understanding of "boudoir" at the end of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁵ Caillot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et usages des français*, vol.2, p. 99-101.

⁴⁶ Genlis, *Dictionnaire des étiquettes de la cour*, t. 1, p. 210.

⁴⁷ Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, vol.9, p. 129.

In *Voyage dans le boudoir de Pauline* (1800) by Louis François Marie Bellin de la Liborlière, the narrator takes *monsieur*, *mademoiselle*, *madame la douairière*, and *monsieur le professeur* in a promenade around the boudoir of his mistress to reconstruct the absent Pauline, who has failed to rendezvous with him. In describing the contents of her space, he will conjure his lover in the minds of the visitors, at work in her “laboratory” where she fabricates herself into a coquette:

Nous n’approcherions pas aussi aisément de celle de plus d’une coquette, réduite par amour-propre à travailler en secret au savant édifice de sa parure. Quand elle ferme avec tant de soin, en sortant, le cabinet où elle vient de fabriquer sa figure, il me semble voir l’artiste qui, en vous montrant un chef d’œuvre de l’art, refuse de vous laisser pénétrer dans son laboratoire.⁴⁸

He reasons that by describing the boudoir of a woman “je ne trahirai que discrètement les secrets de votre sexe. Tout ce qui lui appartient gagne à être vu au travers d’une gaze légère.”⁴⁹ Seen through light gauze, the boudoir is eroticized by the replacement of his desire for her with desire for the objects in her boudoir. The frontispiece image showing the elements of her space and sexuality invites the reader : “Voyageons autour de ce réduit délicieux où je la retrouve à chaque pas”, reflects Liborlière’s text. Like the first-hand accounts of Mademoiselle Dervieux’s *petite maison*, the narrator recalls the presence of his beloved mistress, Pauline, a nineteen year old girl with a thousand charms, through the objects in her boudoir: a mirror, bell-pull, blinds, clock, dressing

⁴⁸ Louis François Marie Bellin de la Liborlière. *Voyage dans le boudoir de Pauline*. Paris: Maradan, 1800, p. 96-97.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 13.

table, harp, fichu⁵⁰, fan, sofa, wig, shoe, lounging chair, tea table, writing desk, library, night bonnet, ridicule (purse), pin, and drapery. All these items have an intimate physical relationship with his mistress and delimit the empty space where she should reside.

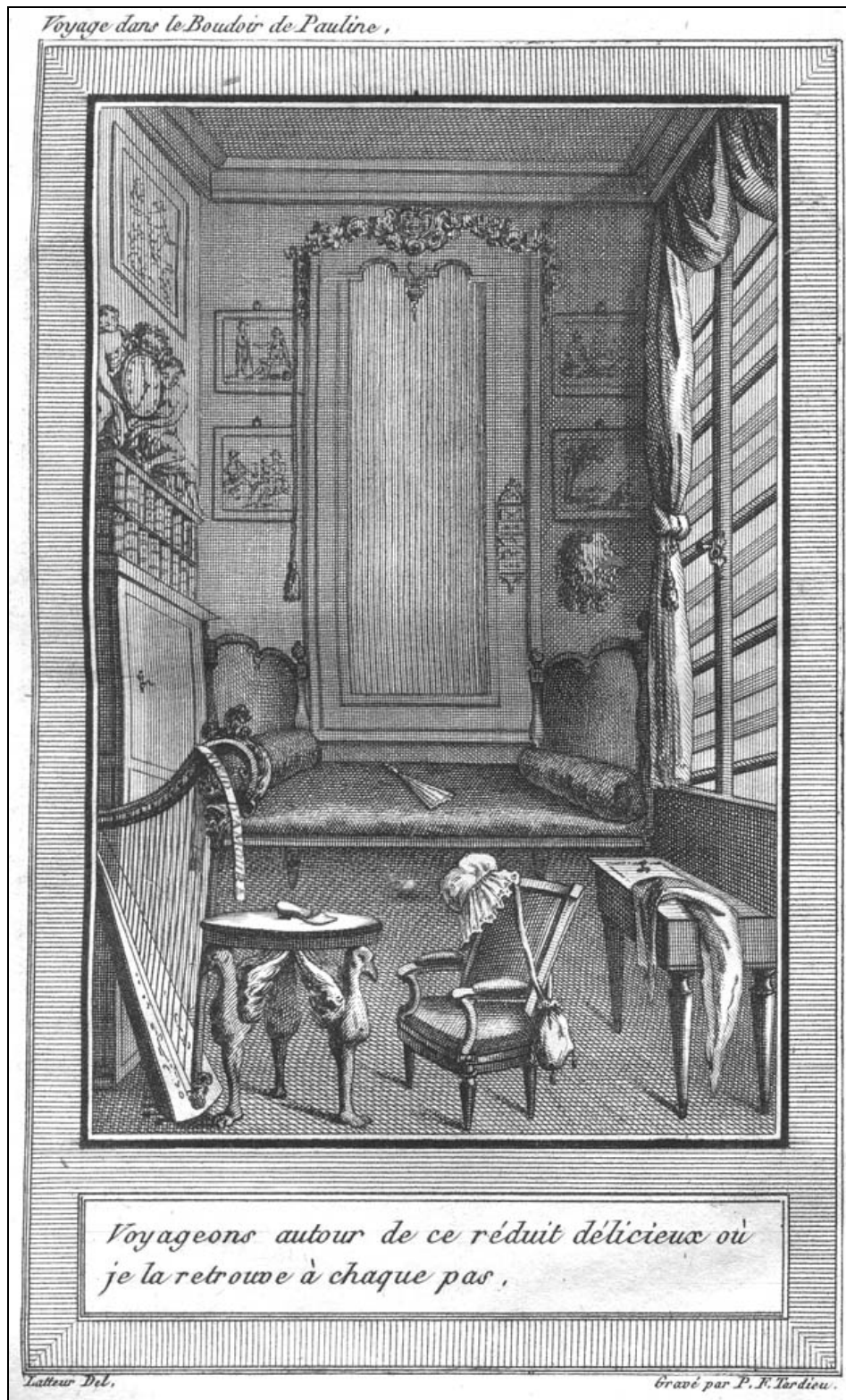
However, the replacement of his desire for Pauline only reinforces his own fears that Pauline is with another lover. By the end of the tour of the boudoir, the clock has struck ten,

et Pauline n'arrive pas!... Ah! Pauline, si tu tardes encore, je ne répons plus de mon impatience ; et si la jalousie entroit une fois dans mon coeur, si le soupçon venoit troubler ma tranquillité, sens-tu combien il seroit affreux, le nouveau voyage que j'entreprendrois avec de pareils compagnons !.... Tous ces charmans objets, qui me retraçoient avec tant de délices ton image adorée, n'offriroient plus à mes yeux que la sombre empreinte de la perfidie et de la trahison !... le temple de l'Amour ne seroit plus pour moi qu'un tombeau !...⁵¹

To the relief of the narrator, Pauline arrives and his voyage ends. Her actual presence in satisfying the narrator's sexual projections makes her boudoir redundant.

⁵⁰A fichu is a neckerchief worn by eighteenth-century women to fill in the bodice of a low neckline dress.

⁵¹Bellin de la Liborlière, *Voyage dans le boudoir de Pauline*, p. 243-244.



(Fig.122) Fronticepiece : Louis François Marie Bellin de la Liborlière,
Voyage dans le boudoir de Pauline. Paris: Maradan, 1800.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The boudoir was invented within an elite core of a hierarchical society whose members, dreaming of alternative worlds, fashioned their imaginations into architecture. As a room devoted to a woman, the boudoir defined her boundaries and negotiated access to her. This space for herself was rooted in her personal relationship to God. In her oratory, she practiced daily meditative exercises in which she replayed, through the aid of relics, pictures and devotional books, religious events where she participated as both spectator and actor. This immersion into a virtual universe was the space of self-correction and self-amendment. As seen in the nightly exercises of Madame de Maintenon, the oratory was her place of personal salvation where the re-composition of herself confounded God's will with her self-enactment. The oratory was a site of psychological reinforcement towards her power to action.

As a special place reserved only for its occupant and God, the oratory was a temporary retreat from the social dependencies of company. The oratory transformed into the boudoir when the devotion practiced there was deemed hypocritical: when her religion was used to free herself from her obligation of paying her conjugal debt. When the husband was denied access to her in the name of a higher authority, his dissatisfaction was expressed in the new word, *boudoir*. The Latin suffix of this word suggests that the name originated from a male member of the robe nobility, as a classical education was usually reserved for men alone. The naming of the boudoir, while it may have been intended as a denigration of the woman, speaks more about the man's state of mind than it did

for the one who had the privilege to occupy her own highly decorated room.

There was no sulking *inside* the boudoir.

Central to the various meanings of the boudoir is love. From its incarnations in the form of religious *amour* to the *amours* between people, love expresses a desire for a lost object. The boudoir from its inception was the site of one's desire, a psychological space motivated by the imagined repossession of a loss creating a sense of fulfillment even from within its walls. As reflected in the décor and objects of the devout Oratorian, her immersion with the life cycles of the Virgin and Christ was her means to re-enter the grace of God lost after the Fall. Her love for God was her means of sanctification and happiness. For the non-devout, love of a worldly variety was the source of her happiness. In her boudoir, she meditated on her sensibility and in particular, the emotions issuing from the heart. Fading into in her boudoir books, she, occupying landscapes of Cythera where lovers find joy and where a woman is the centre and motivation of action, relived the utopia of aristocratic gallantry.

The boudoir was a chapel devoted to one's happiness. As the Marquise Du Châtelet explained, happiness is a combination of sensuous pleasures and the illusions of well-being according to one's social milieu which contextualize them. As a site of one's happiness, the sensuousness of the décor, its materiality, affected the mood of the inhabitant. But the affect cannot simply be the feeling derived from materiality of the décor. Rather, the affect was situated within images of gallantry which, exemplified by Watteau's *Cinq Sens*, ends with not simply in *Jouissance*, but *Alliance*. With each sense associated to a gallant

activity strung into a sequence, the result would be nothing less than marriage and eternal love. The contextualizing of affect was also prevalent in Mademoiselle Dervieux's boudoir. Its rich and voluptuous decoration was set within a scenario of high-class prostitution. Visitors touring her *petite maison* would imagine themselves libidinally participating in the tableaux of sexual enjoyment.

Not limited to a woman, the boudoir was appropriated by elite men like Lord Chesterfield who considered his *joli* boudoir as a place to transform disagreeable feelings arising from unpleasant social duties. As Chesterfield observed, the modification of his feelings arose from the sympathy with material objects. One becomes similar in quality to one's material surroundings. This sympathy with objects was, according to the Marquise Du Châtelet, due to the "closeness" between one's possessions and the self. In the boudoir, the close proximity of objects external to the body of the inhabitant is both physical and psychological. The small space of the boudoir made Mirabeau self-conscious of his body expression. As a room for self-awareness of bodily expression, the boudoir was, seen through the eyes of a foreigner, John Adams, a place to re-compose oneself according to an acceptable demeanour. Perhaps, not unlike the devotee meditating with the aid of images in her oratory, the boudoir décor facilitated the merging of the image of the inhabitant into the field of the amiable, social interaction of *honnêtes gens*.

The boudoir was a spatial typology born into aristocratic privilege to control, maintain and cultivate aristocrats' sexuality. As the sexuality of the aristocratic elite was part of their closed society, the boudoir did not appear

frequently in published texts. This public silence throughout the early parts of the eighteenth century reflected the contemporary attitude that one's wife and conjugal life was not usually discussed publicly. Both the wife and by extension the space she inhabited should not be subjected to a public gaze, especially in journal and memoirs which were considered a form of public life.¹ When it was brought into the wider public sphere in the middle of the century, the boudoir and by extension a woman's sexuality was made into a luxury, an excessive sumptuousness which made "une existence agréable".² Unlike earlier in the century when Cardinal de Fleury warned the financier Le Riche de la Popelinière that "a publically maintained mistress [was not] a permitted luxury for a financier"³, luxuries such as the boudoir were not only exhibited, but even flaunted by the financiers.

In the 1758 Grand Prix competition program, the boudoir was one of the small rooms in a pavilion for high society entertainment. Referring to the bourgeois official mistress, the "boudoirs" had a constellation of associations. In line with its older meaning as a place to retreat from conjugal duties, this boudoir would make reference to the use of Madame de Pompadour's religious devoutness as a means to withhold from fulfilling her role as sexual provider to the king while maintaining influence over him. Her boudoir was indeed the site of

¹ One spoke or wrote only that which was fit to be revealed in public life. Madeleine Foisil, "The Literature of Intimacy," and Jean Marie Goulemot, "Literary Practices: Publicizing the Private," in *A History of Private Life*, vol.3, p. 344, 381.

² "Luxe, c'est l'usage qu'on fait des richesses & de l'industrie pour se procurer une existence agréable." *Encyclopédie*, [9:763] ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet (Winter 2008 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>.

³ Cited in Berlanstein *Daughters of Eve*, p. 52.

desire without end. The insertion of “boudoirs” into the 1758 Grand Prix program nevertheless was unusual suggesting that the boudoir was still considered unacceptable to promote in public. The impropriety of the boudoir not only referred personally to the upstart Madame de Pompadour, but would also refer to the group to which she belonged: the financiers. For the members of the *Académie*, the king’s architects whose role was to uphold the glory of the kingdom, the other client of the *pavillon*, the private individual, forced architects to abandon Vitruvius and cater to Daedalus with a warren of *garderobes*, *arrières cabinets*, and boudoirs.

Bastide’s novelette *La Petite Maison* was published in the month after the awarding of the 1758 Grand Prix propagated the *petite maison* as indeed a *pavillon* for a financier, a client who had the means to purchase, but not the knowledge of good taste in architecture. In the original ending of *La Petite Maison*, the boudoir was, along with the *salle à manger*, *salon*, and *garderobes*, one of the desirable spaces to have in one’s retreat for pleasure. As the site of the triumph of Mérite over Trémicour, the boudoir was the space of unfulfilled male desire. Here the boudoir remained the site of aristocratic gallantry as the Marquis’s attainment of sexual favours was not contingent on his property but rather his rank and birthright. For the financiers whose ability to obtain sexual favours was dependent on material acquisition alone, the outcome of the story was a negation of the power of material wealth and inconsistent with their desire to promote their *petites maisons*. Bastide addressed the inconsistency in 1763 by a revised edition in which the boudoir became the location of obtainable love, with

Mélite succumbing to Trémicour. Uniting the elements of architecture, wealth and gallantry, the joys of the *petite maison* could be obtained through the acquisition of this type of building in which the boudoir was the centre to achieve sexual satisfaction.

The boudoir was more than just a private space, a cabinet. Writing at the end of the eighteenth century that “Les rois n'ont pas d'intérieur; les reines n'ont ni cabinets ni boudoirs”⁴, Madame de Campan, Marie-Antoinette's waiting lady makes the point to separate two kinds of privacy which queens do not have: cabinets, or rooms for intimate activities; and boudoirs, sites for sexual choice. At the heart of a room for a woman is her sex. As Madame de Genlis complained, the new fashion for calling one's cabinet a boudoir struck her as an inappropriate use of a room devoted to the female sex. And while at the end of the eighteenth century it was associated with the only public female of the day, the courtesan, the boudoir had multiple meanings at the root of which were made up of the illusions or fantasies of both men and women, each with their own ideas of how the control of it contributed to their own happiness.

⁴ Campan, *Mémoires sur la vie de Marie Antoinette reine de France et de Navarre*, p. 116.

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