

THE POWER OF FRIENDSHIP: AMITY AND POLITICS IN EUROPEAN ART AND  
GARDENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

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(Under the Direction of Alisa Luxenberg)

ABSTRACT

The attention that Enlightenment philosophers and their patrons and readers paid to theories of friendship in the eighteenth century has been examined by cultural historians. Yet, art historical interest in the subject has been limited to the iconography of friendship deployed around 1750 by the marquise de Pompadour, royal mistress of the French king Louis XV, to secure her position after the end of their sexual relationship. Examining the numerous allegories commissioned by elite European patrons before and after Pompadour's death, my research challenges the assumption that an iconography of friendship began and ended with the marquise. It identifies the actual and metaphorical settings of Pompadour's and other patrons' allegories that were located in gardens characterized by their remove from court and city and by the emerging English landscape style, and it contextualizes these sites of friendship within a contemporary critical discourse on the nature and existence of friendship.

Enlightenment thinkers, especially the French Voltaire, the marquise de Lambert, and the English Joseph Addison and Alexander Pope debated the nature and existence of friendship in society throughout the eighteenth century. They considered who should be

counted as a friend, the extent of friends' obligations to each other, the function of friendship, and the possibility of true and perfect friendship. They were informed by philosophers of antiquity, the Renaissance, and the seventeenth century who had written on friendship and who, like their eighteenth-century counterparts, found true friendship to be a rare virtue.

The dissertation begins with the contemporary literature on friendship and a re-examination of the marquise de Pompadour's friendship iconography, and it concludes with the project initiated by the Russian empress Catherine the Great to memorialize her friend, Voltaire. These two patrons of friendship allegories, like the others discussed here, variously found themselves on the margins of the elite societies to which they desired membership, and they deployed their representations of friendships as claims to such status. Their allegories of friendship commemorated personal relationships, but they were also means by which they claimed to possess the virtue of friendship and to share that virtue with select, influential friends.

INDEX WORDS: Friendship, *L'amitié*, Allegory, Landscape architecture, Eighteenth century, Pompadour, Catherine the Great, Voltaire, Choiseul, Du Barry, Pigalle, Caffieri, Bellevue, Hôtel d'Évreux, Sanssouci, Louveciennes, Fragonard, Vien, Vigée-Lebrun, Victoire, Falconet, Boizot, Sèvres, Stowe, Pavlovsk, Chanteloup, Betz, Palais Bourbon, Tsarskoe Selo, Marquise de Lambert, Thiroux d'Arconville, Alexander Pope, Joseph Addison

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## DEDICATION

For Thomas Edward and Alaister Eugene

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## INTRODUCTION

### A PORTRAIT OF FRIENDSHIP

“The Ancients knew all the good things that Friendship brings; but they so exaggerated its portraits, that these were regarded as beautiful ideas of a thing that does not exist in real life.”

Anne-Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles, marquise de Lambert (1647-1733), “*Traité de l’amitié*” (1736)<sup>1</sup>

“True virtue has attractions that one cannot resist. If the portrait that I try to make of you does not please you; do not take it out on her.”

Jacques Perneti (1696-1777), *Conseils de l’Amitié* (1747)<sup>2</sup>

The “portraits” of friendship created in eighteenth-century art were charged by claims to power as well as by beautiful ideas. Their patrons and artists were informed by numerous texts on the subject from antiquity through their own time, and they exemplify the unique and diverse methods of attending to and appropriating classical culture that characterized the Enlightenment and much eighteenth-century art. Eighteenth-century writers and artists established conceptions of friendship that departed from those held in previous centuries and proved to be especially advantageous for patrons who, for various reasons, were marginalized in elite societies. Among them, women commissioned images of friendship representing their relationships with powerful men and offering their loyalty to potentially beneficial allies.

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<sup>1</sup> “Les Anciens ont connu tous les biens qu'apporte l'Amitié ; mais ils en ont fait des portraits si chargés, qu'on les a regardés comme de belles idées d'une chose qui *n'était* point dans la nature.” Anne Thérèse de

<sup>2</sup> “La vraie vertu a des attraites auxquels on ne résiste point. Si le portrait que j’essaie de vous en faire ne vous plaisoit pas; ne vous en prenez point à elle.” Jacques Perneti (Perneti), *Les Conseils de l’Amitié* (Paris: Guerin, 1746), 4.

Although the history of friendship as an idea expounded in literature from ancient Greece to the present day has been explored in numerous texts, this dissertation is the first extensive study of friendship itself as a significant subject of art and a motivation for patronage during this period. The following chapters examine allegories of friendship created during the eighteenth century and their engagement with the contemporary discourse among European poets, philosophers, and novelists who wrote about the definitions and limits of friendship. One exception to the scarcity of art historical studies of friendship is Kate Bomford's exploration of representations of friendship amongst Northern Renaissance Humanists.<sup>3</sup> Historians of eighteenth-century art also have acknowledged broadly that friendship was a subject of concern during that period. For example, Fragonard's series of paintings for the comtesse du Barry, which will be examined in the third chapter of the present study, were studied by Donald Posner and Colin Bailey who cited Frederic Gerson's *L'amitié au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (1974) as a source on eighteenth-century literature on friendship in France.<sup>4</sup> There also have been studies of individual allegories of friendship, including Angela Rosenthal's analysis of Angelica Kauffman's (1741-1807) *Self-Portrait Hesitating between the Arts of Music and Painting* (Figure 1).<sup>5</sup> The English painter Sir Joshua Reynolds' (1723-1792) portrait of *Lady Sara Bunbury Sacrificing to the Three Graces* (Figure 2) also has been understood as a sacrifice to friendship.<sup>6</sup> Historians have examined representations in art, architecture, and literature of groups of friends including Grand Tourists, freemasons, and intellectual

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<sup>3</sup> Kate Bomford, "The Visual Representation of Friendship Amongst Humanists in the Southern Netherlands, C. 1560-C. 1630" (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> Frédéric Gerson, *L'amitié au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Pensée Universelle, 1974). Colin B. Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress of Love at the Frick Collection* (New York: Frick Collection, 2011), 69. Donald Posner, "The True Path of Fragonard's 'Progress of Love'," *The Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 833 (August 1972): 529.

<sup>5</sup> Angela Rosenthal, "Angelica Kauffman Making Claims." *Art History* 15, no. 1 (March 1992): 38-58.

<sup>6</sup> Martin Postle, et al, *Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity* (London: Tate Pub., 2005), 17, 62.

societies.<sup>7</sup> These tend to focus on homosocial friendships, primarily male fraternal groups, although female freemasons have been studied as well.<sup>8</sup> But no study has explored allegories of the theme across such a wide variety of fine art media by some of the leading artists of the period.

The first chapter examines problems of friendship that had been defined by writers before 1700 and were taken up in the eighteenth-century discourse. It explores how the particular social and political circumstances of the eighteenth century, especially the expanding public sphere, affected opinions on the number and status of persons who may be considered friends, problems which have dominated literature on friendship from antiquity through the present day. In this survey of the eighteenth-century discourse on friendship, and in the studies of individual allegories of friendship in the subsequent chapters, the French Enlightenment thinker Voltaire (1694-1778) comes to the fore as a source for and participant in the models of friendship represented in art of the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> His allegorical poem, "The Temple of Friendship," (1732) is especially significant and has escaped the scholarly literature on this theme in art until now.

The first chapter also proposes a new approach to the study of friendship in the eighteenth century through the concepts of place and space. I argue that representations of friendship were located in geographical sites characterized by their separation from court and city, their perceived simplicity in both formal qualities and the daily lives of

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Pub., 1996); Kenneth Bernard Loisselle, "New but True Friends': Freemasonry and the Culture of Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century France" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2007); Shearer West, "Libertinism and the Ideology of Male Friendship in the Portraits of the Society of Dilettanti," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 16, no. 2 (1992): 76-104).

<sup>8</sup> Janet Burke, "Sociability, friendship and the Enlightenment among women freemasons in eighteenth century France," (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1986). Janet Todd, *Women's Friendship in Literature* (New York: Columbia University, 1980).

<sup>9</sup> Voltaire, *The Complete Works of Voltaire*, ed. Haydn Mason (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1999), 17-24.



their inhabitants, and by their associations with the English landscape style. Patrons who had been marginalized or exiled from court or public life could assert their continued political alliances in the name of friendship from sites that fulfilled these characteristics. Unconventional friendships, especially non-romantic, heterosocial friendships also could be represented in places meeting these criteria. Friendships between men and women were of special concern to contemporary writers who evaluated the relative merits of romantic love and friendship, representations of which were joined in allegories created during the second half of the century in France.

Representations of heterosocial friendships in the visual arts have received little attention. One explanation for this neglect may be an assumption that the well-known program representing the marquise de Pompadour's (1721-1764) friendship with King Louis XV of France (r. 1715-1774) was a unique example applicable only to her circumstance. This program was first identified and interpreted by the art historian Katherine Gordon as devised to protect the mistress' status at court after her sexual liaison with the French king ended around 1749.<sup>10</sup> Pompadour and her court artists, including François Boucher (1703-1770) and Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1785), established her iconography of friendship. Art historians tend to refer to this elaborate program whenever the subjects of friendship in art or Pompadour's agency in shaping her own public identity are raised. For these reasons, the entirety of the second chapter is devoted to their reexamination, contextualizing Pompadour's commissions of drawings, carved gems, sculptures, and her own production of prints on the subject within the literature and fine art that preceded them in the first half of the century. Pompadour

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<sup>10</sup> Katherine Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour and the Iconography of Friendship," *The Art Bulletin* 50, 3 (Sep 1968): 249-262.

possessed treatises on friendship in her library, and she almost certainly was familiar with Voltaire's "The Temple of Friendship" (1732). The success of her program within its "site of friendship," the garden of the Château de Bellevue, also will be demonstrated by my investigation of its failure in their second home, her urban Hôtel d'Évreux.

Having argued in the first two chapters that the precedents for the conception of friendship underlying Pompadour's iconography were established already in literature and fine art in the first half of the century, the third and fourth chapters investigate multiple significant allegories and their sites. Chapter three identifies numerous examples of representations of friendship in the decorative arts commissioned after Pompadour's death in 1764 that represent alternatives to her model of friendship. It examines, in particular, the deployment of a thematic of friendship by two women close to the French king, Louis XV's last mistress the comtesse du Barry (1743-1793) and his daughter Madame Victoire (1733-1799). Both women had good reason to want to disassociate themselves from the memory of Pompadour, yet they commissioned works of art incorporating elements of an iconography that had been associated intimately with her. They located these at sites that were suitable in character and function to the respective models and iconographies of friendship that they developed for their individual political needs.

The fourth chapter examines temples of friendship erected in European gardens that exemplify the cogent relationship between eighteenth-century conceptions of friendship and "place." Studies in the history of landscape architecture by John Dixon Hunt, Peter Willis, and Michel Conan have demonstrated that the eighteenth-century

garden was emotive and expressive of political and social ideals.<sup>11</sup> During the eighteenth century, the French novelist and social theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) argued that nature, often in the form of the cultivated garden, was an appropriate site for the development of certain virtues, including female friendship.<sup>12</sup> Friendship seems to have been a concept best accommodated by the English style landscape in locations removed from both city and court. Furthermore, these places were occupied by people “on the margins” of society for diverse reasons, people who had incentive to claim friendships from places of separation.

The final chapter brings together the earlier studies of the eighteenth-century literature on friendship, the models of friendship represented in art in France, and the particular links between conceptions of friendship and the English style garden to examine two projects by the Russian empress Catherine the Great’s (r. 1762-1796) to honor her friend Voltaire through monuments to be erected in the garden of her imperial retreat at Tsarskoe Selo. The empress is a counterpoint to the marquise de Pompadour. Both were powerful women who employed the current conceptions of friendship to advance their statuses. Pompadour maintained her political alliances through an iconography of friendship that employed traditional emblems of that virtue and was located in a meaningful site. Catherine the Great’s “iconography of friendship” directly represented her cherished personal relationship while asserting her cultural and intellectual authority to a European audience for political purposes. If not, strictly speaking, allegories of friendship her projects nevertheless demonstrate how broadly the

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<sup>11</sup> John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden, 1620-1820* (London: Elek, 1975); Michel Conan and John Dixon Hunt, *Tradition and Innovation in French Garden Art: Chapters of a New History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c2002).

<sup>12</sup> Todd, *Female Friendship*, 132.

models of heterosocial friendship were understood and represented in art and in the garden in the second half of the eighteenth century.

My interest in images of friendship and my research on the subject in the eighteenth century has been inspired and sustained in some ways by the French Renaissance writer, Michel de Montaigne's essay, "Of friendship" (1580), and his evocation of the painter and the grotesque in its introduction:

As I was considering the way a painter I employ went about his work, I had a mind to imitate him. He chooses the best spot, the middle of each wall, to put a picture labored over with all his skill, and the empty space all around it he fills with grotesques, which are fantastic paintings whose only charm lies in their variety and strangeness. And what are these things of mine, in truth, but grotesques and monstrous bodies, pieced together of divers members, without definite shape, having no order, sequence, or proportion other than accidental?<sup>13</sup>

Here, he employs painting as a metaphor for the difficulty of all writing but especially for the essay it introduces. Friendship is a common but tenuous relationship, and it was challenging to determine who and how many can be represented as friends. Montaigne admitted his own shortcomings in this sense, "my ability does not go far enough for me to dare to undertake a rich, polished picture, formed according to art. It has occurred to me to borrow one from Étienne de La Boétie"<sup>14</sup> The "picture" of friendship on which Montaigne based this one drew from a text by his deceased friend, and Montaigne

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<sup>13</sup> Michel de Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1958), 135.

<sup>14</sup> Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 135. The translator, Donald Frame, noted that the text Montaigne borrowed was La Boétie's *La Servitude Volontaire*, "Voluntary Servitude," also published as *Le Contre Un*, "Against One Man."

dedicated all of his essays to La Boétie. Their relationship was the model of perfect friendship at the center of Montaigne's essay.

It was not unusual for a writer to draw an analogy of creating a picture of his subject, but in the case of friendship, it was especially appropriate and meaningful. His "painting" of friendship might also be understood as a portrait of the friend and interpreted as more than a literary metaphor for the essay on friendship. A portrait in art is a likeness of the sitter. In the Renaissance as in the eighteenth century, it often functioned to "stand in" for the absent person depicted.<sup>15</sup> To evoke the portrait of the friend is in some ways to evoke the absent friend himself, who in Montaigne's case was separated by death. Montaigne attempted to explain their friendship: "If you press me to tell why I loved him, I feel that this cannot be expressed, except by answering: because it was he, because it was I."<sup>16</sup> His statement unites these two friends into one soul, and his portrait of friendship, like the other essays, becomes a portrait of himself. Furthermore, the reader is a surrogate for the deceased friend and is bonded to the author as well. A translator of his essays, Donald Frame, observed that readers of Montaigne's essays consistently have claimed to identify with the author. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) wrote: "It seemed to me as if I had myself written the book, in some former life, so sincerely it spoke to my thought and experience."<sup>17</sup> Proceeding from Montaigne's simultaneous picture-essay of friendship and portrait of his friend, I have approached the

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<sup>15</sup> This especially was the case in the official portraits of the aristocracy. See Peter Burke, *The fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Simon Schama, "The domestication of majesty. Royal family portraiture, 1500 – 1850," in *Art and History*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 155-183; Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the cultural politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 139. As will be discussed in the first chapter, philosophers from antiquity through the eighteenth century asserted the potential of perfect friendship to unite two individuals into one being.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, vi.

eighteenth-century allegories of friendship as sincere attempts to represent something like this union between Montaigne, the author-artist, and Boétie, the imagined reader and subject. The patron of the eighteenth-century representation of friendship deployed an image that ostensibly joined the subject and viewer to himself, or herself, as a true and perfect friend. The power of friendship in the eighteenth century was contained in that potential union.



Figure 1 Angelica Kauffman, *Angelica Kauffman Hesitating between the Arts of Music and Painting*, before 1796. Oil on canvas; 147 × 216 cm. The St. Oswald Collection, Nostell Priory.



Figure 2 Joshua Reynolds, *Lady Sarah Bunbury Sacrificing to the Three Graces*, 1765. Oil on canvas; 242.6 cm. x 151.5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

## CHAPTER 1

### POLITICS, PLACES, AND PLEASURES OF FRIENDSHIP

“*amicitia aut pares invenit, aut facit*”  
[“friendship finds equals, or creates them”]<sup>18</sup>

“Now we’ve done it, Lysis and Menexenus—made fools of ourselves, I, an old man, and you as well. These people here will go away saying that we are friends of one another—for I count myself in with you—but what a friend is we have not yet been able to find out.”

Plato, “Lysis: On Friendship”<sup>19</sup>

The conclusion of Plato’s dialogue between Socrates and the young boys, Lysis and Menexenus, set a precedent in Western philosophy for attempts to define friendship and identify the friend. The source of Socrates’s foolishness and a fundamental problem for writers from Aristotle to Derrida is that most people claim to have friends, but upon close examination find that friendship is an elusive ideal. The statement attributed to Aristotle, “Oh my friends, there are no friends,” echoes Socrates’s conundrum.<sup>20</sup> This chapter summarizes fundamental principles of friendship, particularly the prerequisite of equality between friends in status and/or virtue, the distinction between perfect friendship and friendship of utility, and the traditional exclusion of women from perfect friendship. It proposes that these principles were uniquely interpreted in the eighteenth century,

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<sup>18</sup> Quoted as a “Latin maxim” in L’abbé Claude Yvon and Denis Diderot, “Amitié,” *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de lettres*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert (Paris, 1751), 1:361-2, ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2013 Edition), ed. Robert Morrissey (Chicago: University of Chicago) accessed April 11, 2015, [http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/extras/encpageturn.pl?V1/ENC\\_1-361.jpeg](http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/extras/encpageturn.pl?V1/ENC_1-361.jpeg).

<sup>19</sup> Plato, “Lysis: On Friendship,” in *Other Selves: Philosophers on Friendship*, ed. Michael Pakaluk (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub., 1991), 1-27.

<sup>20</sup> This statement serves as an introduction to Jacques Derrida’s investigation of friendship in: *Politics of Friendship*, trans. G. Collins (New York: Verso, 1997 [1994]), vii. It was attributed to him by Michel de Montaigne and elsewhere, but is not found in his published texts. Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 140.



reflecting contemporary social and political conditions and offering a rich intellectual context for the creation of images of friendship in the fine arts. Additionally, it suggests a new framework through which to expand our understandings of the meanings and functions of displays of friendship in the visual arts of this period—that of place and space.

Plato and Aristotle were the most frequently consulted ancient Greek philosophers who discussed the subject of friendship. Plato wrote the dialogue “Lysis: On Friendship” (ca. 380 BCE), which attempts to determine what all relationships called “friendship” have in common and how one becomes a friend.<sup>21</sup> Aristotle drew from Plato in his more thorough attempt to define friendship in books VIII and IX of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (ca. 350 BCE).<sup>22</sup> In these texts, Aristotle articulated most of the problems that would concern writers on friendship until the twentieth century. In a more systematic and thorough discussion than Plato’s, Aristotle discussed the difference between perfect friendships and those of pleasure or utility, the problems of reciprocity and equality, and the relationship between romantic love and friendship. Following Plato and Aristotle, the Roman statesmen Cicero (106 BCE – 43 BCE) and Seneca (ca. 4 BCE – 65 CE), and the Renaissance philosopher Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) considered the nature of friendship and influenced eighteenth-century writing on friendship.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Aristotle, “*Nicomachean Ethics* (Books VIII and IX),” trans. Terence Irwin, in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 30. Aristotle, “*Nicomachean Ethics*. Books VIII and IX,” trans. W. D. Ross, in “The Internet Classics Archive,” <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.8.viii.html>.

<sup>23</sup> For a more thorough survey of writing on friendship, see: Heather Devere and Preston T. King, eds. *The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000); Sandra Lynch, *Philosophy and Friendship* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005); Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, *passim*.

To distinguish perfect friendship from an ordinary character trait and demonstrate its significance, Aristotle's first claim in Book VIII of the *Ethics* is that it is a virtue.<sup>24</sup> Later, he informs the reader that this virtue is rare. The virtue of friendship, its rarity, duties, and benefits were common themes in the eighteenth century. They appeared in epistolary culture and as attributes of fictional characters in literature and drama. Voltaire allegorized friendship in his poem, "Temple of Friendship" (1732). The friendships between protagonists in popular eighteenth-century novels also served as models for the patrons of representations of friendship in the visual arts.<sup>25</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau described the friendship between Julie and her cousin, Claire, in *Julie, or the New Eloisa* (1761): "I imagined two women friends, rather than two of my own sex, since although examples of such friendships are rarer they are also more beautiful."<sup>26</sup> In the epistolary novel by celebrated French *salonnière* Françoise de Graffigny's (1695-1758), *Letters of a Peruvian Woman* (1747), the characters Zilia and her benefactor, Déterville, confront problems posed by male-female friendships, friendships between people of unequal status, and the relationship between love and friendship. The patrons of friendship allegories and portraits of friends most often engaged this rich history of a problematic, rare, and desirable virtue to demonstrate and maintain their elite social and political status.

By the eighteenth century, friendship was also configured as a goddess, and temples and altars were dedicated to her. Descriptions of Madame de Pompadour's

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<sup>24</sup> Aristotle, "Nicomachean Ethics. Books VIII and IX," in "The Internet Classics Archive."

<sup>25</sup> These have been examined especially in Janet Todd, *Women's Friendship in Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980) and Christine Roulston, "Separating the Inseparables: Female Friendship and its Discontents in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no 2 (Winter 1998-1999): 215-231.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Todd, *Women's Friendship*, 132.

allegorical sculpture by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1785) refer to it as a portrait of the marquise as the goddess of friendship (Figure 3).<sup>27</sup> Although he did not refer to friendship as a deity in the *Ethics*, Aristotle is believed to have erected an altar to the goddess *Philia*.<sup>28</sup> At the end of the *Encyclopédie* article on friendship, Denis Diderot (1713-1784) noted that the ancients deified friendship.<sup>29</sup> Friendship thereby entered the realm of the sacred, and its possessor was not engaged in a merely private relationship. The friend, especially the female friend, held an independent, elevated moral and spiritual status that also could be translated to social and political status.

### Friendship and Politics

Representations of friendship in the visual arts of the eighteenth century often were projections of class status and political alliances, but they also were reflections of the fundamental social hierarchies and political structures. The conceptions of friendship represented by these objects were reflective and affirmative of existing or ideal political systems. The following chapters demonstrate how individual objects or artistic programs representing friendship confirmed the political alliances and/or political systems (i.e. monarchy or democracy) championed by their patrons and/or audiences. For example, the marquise de Pompadour's allegories of friendship simultaneously affirmed the monarchy and a group of allies—or friends—who supported her own political authority at court against opposing factions. The implications of friendship for politics, and vice

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<sup>27</sup> “la déesse de l'amitié représente la marquise de Pompadour,” Paul Biver quotes this statement in his study of Madame de Pompadour's château and gardens at Bellevue, but he does not cite the source; Paul Biver, *Histoire du Château de Bellevue* (Paris: G. Enault, 1933), 87.

<sup>28</sup> Horst Hutter, *Politics as Friendship: The Origins of Classical Notions of Politics in the Theory and Practice of Friendship* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978), 103.

<sup>29</sup> “Les anciens ont divinisé l'amitié” in Yvon and Diderot, “Amitié.”

versa, have been a subject for philosophers since antiquity, and they have relatively consistently defined the nature of their relationship. The changes in the political order during the eighteenth century offer a concentrated impression of this relationship. Before proceeding with the political claims of individual friendship images, it is valuable to explore what was at stake in the eighteenth century, for both friendship and politics.

In the introduction to her analysis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century female philosophers on friendship, Julie Candler Hayes observed that, “The understanding of friendship in a given period is inflected by social and political theory, by notions of selfhood, and by the affective regime.”<sup>30</sup> She argued that this was especially true in the eighteenth century when the social and political orders were being critically examined. Other cultural historians and philosophers have argued that the opposite is true, that theories of friendship inflect social and political systems.<sup>31</sup> As an example from this latter position, friendship alliances might determine political alliances. But more significantly, philosophers including Aristotle, Immanuel Kant, and Jacques Derrida have asserted that friendship systems can be formative (or restrictive) of political systems.

Friendship and politics have been linked since antiquity. Plato and Aristotle anchored their assessments of it on the similarities between justice and friendship.<sup>32</sup> According to Plato, the just government is the result of friendship’s tendency to wisdom.<sup>33</sup> Aristotle argued that the extent of friendship between people is proportionate

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<sup>30</sup> Julie Candler Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralizer," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 39, 1 (2010): 171.

<sup>31</sup> Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*, *passim*. Peter Fenves, "Politics of Friendship, Once Again," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 2 (Winter, 1998-1999): 144-48. Horst Hutter, *Politics as Friendship: The Origins of Classical Notions of Politics in the Theory and Practice of Friendship* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978).

<sup>32</sup> Aristotle, "Nicomachean Ethics. Books VIII and IX," in "The Internet Classics Archive," 9-11.

<sup>33</sup> Plato's discussion of friendship and the state are found in *The Republic* and *The Laws*. Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 97-9.

to the justice between them, which is determined by their fulfillment of the duties required of them. Likewise, he drew parallels between types of governments and friendships based on their quality of justice. Monarchy, according to Aristotle, involves a paternal friendship insofar as the king is just toward his subjects. When he is not, he is a tyrant. Democracy involves a fraternal friendship insofar as equality and justice exists between all citizens, as it does between brothers. In his book, *Politics as Friendship* (1978), Horst Hutter expanded the connections Aristotle made between political and friendship systems to argue that friendship is not merely a metaphor for politics based on a mutual element of justice. He positioned specific friendship systems as the foundations of ancient Greek and Roman political systems. Before the development of democracy in ancient Greece, a concept of “heroic friendship” was manifest in the *hetaery*, a governing union of aristocratic men of the same age who had bonded through warfare and living communally.<sup>34</sup> Later, Stoic philosophers introduced a concept of friendship as a universal relationship between all of mankind, which was the basis of democracy.<sup>35</sup> In the Roman Republic, *amicitia* referred to the horizontal alliances between the heads of households of the same class and status, which were foundations of political factions.<sup>36</sup>

In the late eighteenth century, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) connected friendship and politics in a way that can illuminate the political function of earlier friendship allegories. Observing the French Revolution from Germany, he articulated both the challenges and consequences of friendship in authoritarian states and

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<sup>34</sup> Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 25-34.

<sup>35</sup> Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 45-7.

<sup>36</sup> Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 35-6. In all of these systems, friendship was the exclusive domain of elite men. Hutter explains that women were excluded from friendship in the Greek *hetaerae* because of their confinement to the home. However, there were some female counterparts of the *hetaery*, including courtesans or communities such as that led by Sappho at Lesbos. Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 57-9.

in the democracies that were developing during his own era.<sup>37</sup> According to Kant, the transparency or self-revelation required of its participants makes friendship a challenging and dangerous relationship under authoritarian governments. One cannot know who or how much to trust anyone in such power structures. Kant's essays pursuing a "doctrine of right" and a "doctrine of virtue" argue that a government should be judged by the degree to which it makes friendship possible, and those regimes under which it is not possible should be overthrown.<sup>38</sup> To extend this argument, if unjust governments make friendships impossible, publicizing the existence of true friendship in a society has the power to legitimate its government. Friendship images like those created for the marquis de Pompadour that publicized their patron's relationships with the monarch and his capacity for friendship would confirm the monarch himself or herself as a just ruler. Likewise, representations of friendship that were clearly opposed to the monarchy or established government, like the temples dedicated to friendship at Stowe in England (Figure 4) and Chanteloup in France (Figure 5), had the power to delegitimize that authority. Kant may have been the first philosopher to argue that unjust governments threaten friendship, and that this was an offense worthy of revolution. His text postdates the allegories of friendship discussed in the following chapters, but Aristotle and Plato had linked friendship and justice, and treatises published during the eighteenth century had demonstrated concern for the monarch's ability to have true friendship. Furthermore, Kant's writings at the end of the eighteenth century likely reflect ideas that were

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<sup>37</sup> My understanding of Kant on friendship is drawn from the analysis by Peter Fenves, who examines Kant's writing and Derrida's analyses of Kant as well, in Fenves, "Politics of Friendship, Once Again," 133-55.

<sup>38</sup> Fenves, "Politics of Friendship, Once Again," 138.

developing earlier as a result of major political and social shifts occurring during the period.

### Friendship, Equality, and the Public Sphere

Plato's dialogue distinguished between the "genuine" and "pretended" friend, but Aristotle identified multiple types of friendship. His first and second types are friendships of utility and pleasure, which only last as long as one or both friends are useful and pleasant. The third and most desirable type is true or perfect friendship, which is for its own sake and eternal. The majority of writers following Aristotle maintained the distinctions between these types and generally devalued friendships of pleasure or utility. In the eighteenth century there was a shift in the valuations of types of friendship. Perfect friendship continued to be celebrated in art, poetry, epistles, and some philosophical writing, often at the expense of friendships of utility or pleasure. However, many Enlightenment philosophers appealing to the audiences of the emerging bourgeois public sphere minimized the hierarchies of types of friendship. This was the case in definitions of friendship found in the English journal *The Spectator* (1711-1712), in the French *Encyclopédie* (1751-1772), and in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique, portatif* (1764). When perfect friendship was idealized, it was treated as a virtue of private life, opposed to both the court and the bourgeois public sphere. The emergence of the public sphere complicated the links between friendship and class status.<sup>39</sup> Elite patrons claimed,

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<sup>39</sup> For definitions of "public sphere" as distinct from the private sphere and the court, see: Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996 [1962]). For a discussion of "class status" and its links to friendship, see: Susan Lanser, "Befriending the Body: Female Intimacies as Class Acts," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 2, "Politics of Friendship" (Winter 1998-1999): 179-198.

or were ascribed, the private virtue of true friendship as a means of separating themselves from an expanding bourgeois public. Meanwhile, texts aimed at that public increasingly defined friendship in terms of commerce and expanded the term “friend” to include almost any non-kinship relationship of mutual benefit.

The positions of women in the eighteenth-century infrastructure of friendship likewise grew more complex. Women could claim or be ascribed perfect friendship in the eighteenth century as long as they met certain criteria of class or location. Their perfect friendships were plausible in part because of their intellectual engagement with men in salons, an Enlightenment culture that participated in the growing public sphere. Yet, to remove the threat of female equality, they had to be removed from this typically urban, public location. Voltaire’s dedication to Martel is one example of this trend. But by the end of the century, the increasingly public nature of friendship eventually excluded women as Enlightenment thinkers and revolutionaries emphasized an ideal and universal (male) friendship, rather than exclusive friendship between individuals.

Understanding these fundamental shifts in conceptions of friendship and their impact on class status and women’s roles first requires exploring a few of the principles of friendship philosophies, especially equality, reciprocity, and benevolence or goodwill. These three attributes qualify the types of friendship and define, narrowly or broadly, who can be considered a true friend. According to Aristotle, equality and benevolence are the criteria at the core of perfect friendship: “complete friendship is the friendship of good people similar in virtue; for they wish goods in the same way to each other in so far as they are good, and they are good in themselves.”<sup>40</sup> His definition means that true and perfect friends are equal in their goodness and in their reciprocal goodwill towards each

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<sup>40</sup> Aristotle, “*Nicomachean Ethics* (Books VIII and IX),” in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 33.



other for their own sake. But Aristotle's equality is not only one of mutual goodwill or respect. It also extends to social or political status and to likeness in virtue. His definition of perfect friendship places stringent limitations on who has the potential to become a true friend. By extending the requisite equality (or likeness) to virtue and status, Aristotle and later writers provoked the question of whether individuals of superior status, especially a king, can befriend someone of a lower status.

The majority of the objects to be examined in the present study represent friendships between people of unequal political or social rank, wealth, and/or influence. Aristotle argued that these kinds of friendships are possible, but unlikely.<sup>41</sup> One can befriend a superior in the complete sense only if that person is superior in virtue as well as status, which is rare. Otherwise, the superior status is an insurmountable inequality for the person of inferior status. Cicero likewise insisted that superior status interfered with friendship: "the wealth and power of many a man in high station have cut him off from lasting friendships. For not only is Fortune herself blind; often, too, she makes blind men of those whom she has taken to her bosom."<sup>42</sup> Aristotle and Cicero insisted that a man with power or wealth does not have trouble finding friends because he is unable to relate to the potential friend of lower status, but because the powerful man is inferior in virtue.

In her essay, the marquise de Lambert rejected the possibility that the king could have true friends for the distinct reason that friends must be similar in age, interests, and status. She doubted kings' potential for friendship, not because of their inherently inferior virtue, but because, "They would never be able to possess the certainty of being loved for

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<sup>41</sup> "an excellent person is both pleasant and useful, he does not become a friend to a superior [in power and position] unless the superior is also superior in virtue; otherwise he does not reach [proportionate] equality by having a proportionate superior. And this superiority both in power and in virtue is not often found." Aristotle, "*Nicomachean Ethics* (Books VIII and IX)," in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 39.

<sup>42</sup> Cicero, "De Amicitia, (XV.54)," translated by Frank Copley, in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 99.

themselves; it is always the King and rarely the Person.”<sup>43</sup> The second challenge to friendship for kings and others of high status is flattery, which was viewed as ubiquitous at court. In the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), Voltaire argued that both conditions remove friendship from the grasp of the powerful. He defined friendship as a contract [*contrat tacite*] between sensible and virtuous people, and he explains that other types of people have distinct types of corresponding relationships: “villains have their accomplices...politicians assemble their factions...princes have their courtiers, virtuous men have only their friends.”<sup>44</sup> Like villains and politicians, princes are at risk of false friendship with flatterers, and they are distinguished from the virtuous, who are the only category of men capable of friendship.

The anti-court element of ideal friendship was emphasized in eighteenth-century texts on friendship. The first stanza of Voltaire’s “The Temple of Friendship” specifically locates friendship outside of court:

Deep in a wood consecrated to peace,  
Happy retreat ignored by the court,  
Rises a temple, where art and its prestige  
Do not flaunt the pride of their wonders.  
Where the eyes never are tricked or deceived,  
Where all is true, simple, and made for the gods.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> “Les Rois sont aussi privés de ce doux sentiment. Ils ne sçauroient jamais jouïr de la certitude d’être aimés pour eux - mêmes ; c’est toujours le Roi, & rarement la Personne.” Lambert, “Traité de l’amitié,” 63.

<sup>44</sup> “Je dis vertueuses; car les méchants n’ont que des complices; les voluptueux ont des compagnons de débauches; les intéressés ont des associés, les politiques assemblent des factieux, le commun des hommes oisifs a des liaisons, les princes ont des courtisans, les hommes vertueux ont seuls des amis.” Voltaire, “Amitié,” in *Dictionnaire philosophique* (Paris: Lequien fils, 1829 [London, 1764]), 263-64.

<sup>45</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 17 (lines 1-6).

Au fond d’un bois à la paix consacré,  
Séjour heureux de la cour ignoré,

He emphasized the temple's geographical and moral distance from court, calling it an "obscure retreat" and describing Friendship as "little celebrated among the court milieu."<sup>46</sup> The contestants who first approach the temple are "flattering courtiers" whose friendship dissolves as soon as they receive word of an open post near a prince.<sup>47</sup> In Voltaire's poem, the challenge to friendship at court is flattery, competition, pomp, and intrigue, whereas friendship is characterized by simplicity and truth. He later reiterates this notion in the entry on friendship in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), juxtaposing princes and courtiers with the virtuous who alone are capable of true friendship.<sup>48</sup>

The Abbé Claude Yvon (1714-1791) also addressed the problem of the king's ability to have friends in his entry on friendship in the *Encyclopédie*.<sup>49</sup> Like his predecessors, he interpreted the requirement of equality among friends as a challenge to the monarch's potential for friendship. The only way around this requirement is for the king to befriend other monarchs or to make someone his equal in the "pleasantness of commerce," but Yvon was skeptical of whether this kind of familiarity is possible or desirable. His final sentence in the entry on friendship is: "It is that the air of familiarity

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S'élève un temple, où l'art par ses prestiges  
 N'étaie point l'orgueil de ses prodiges.  
 Où rien ne trompe et n'éblouit les yeux,  
 Où tout est vrais, simple, et fait pour les dieux.

<sup>46</sup> "La déité de cet obscure séjour... Est peu fêtée au milieu de la cour." Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 18 (lines 17 and 20).

<sup>47</sup> With her argument for the potential superiority of male-female friendships, Lambert also observed the incompatibility of friendship and competition, which she proposed is less likely to be present between men and women. Lambert, "Traité de l'amitié," 82. Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralist," 177.

<sup>48</sup> Voltaire, "Amitié," 263-64.

<sup>49</sup> The definition in the *Encyclopédie* is discussed in more depth below. The translations are from: L'Abbé Claude Yvon and Denis Diderot, "Friendship," in *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, tran. Jeffrey Merrick (Ann Arbor: MPublishing, University of Michigan Library, 2003), accessed April 11, 2015, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.182>. Quotations of the original French are from: Yvon and Diderot, "Amitié."

is not suitable to the respect due to the rank of the ruler, and these are considerations that, in friendship, as in kinship, must not be overlooked.”<sup>50</sup> This point, like the rest of Yvon’s brief treatise on friendship, comes across as practical advice rather than the celebration of an ideal.

Despite refusing perfect friendship to kings and people of wealth and status in philosophies of friendship, writers and patrons often ascribed it to them in art, literature, and letters. In Graffigny’s *Letters of a Peruvian Woman* (1747), Zilia and her wealthy benefactors claim friendship with each other. The marquise de Lambert was a titled member of the provincial aristocracy, and although her father died leaving very little money, by the end of her life she amassed some degree of wealth. Louis-Silvestre de Sacy (1654-1727) was a lawyer and member of the French Academy; he was not equal to the marquise in social status, but his treatise on friendship professed friendship to her.<sup>51</sup> In his verse epistles, the English poet Alexander Pope (1646-1717) avowed friendship with powerful men such as ministers of state. But in order to do so, he was careful to distinguish his relationship with the private man from the public minister.<sup>52</sup> The virtue of friendship was characterized as private, but writers like Pope asserted that it also qualified public life. Voltaire argues that power is at odds with virtue, and therefore, with friendship, but he professed friendship to royal and noble patrons throughout Europe. From 1738, editions of his “Temple of Friendship” were dedicated to Frederick II, Emperor of Prussia (1712-1786), who was a patron and friend of the author.<sup>53</sup> His

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<sup>50</sup> “C’est que l’air de familiarité ne convenoit pas au respect dû au rang du prince ; & ce sont des attentions dans l’amitié, comme dans la parenté, auxquelles il ne faut pas manquer.”

<sup>51</sup> Louis-Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité de l’amitié* (La Haye: 1703 [1701]).

<sup>52</sup> Lawrence Lee Davidow, “Pope’s Verse Epistles: Friendship and the Private Sphere of Life,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 40 2 (Feb, 1977): 153.

<sup>53</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 24, 493.

friendship with Empress Catherine the Great of Russia (r. 1762-1796) will be explored in a subsequent chapter, as will art celebrating friendships between King Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour, Madame du Barry, and Madame Victoire, his inferiors in political authority and status and—according to the traditional definitions of friendship—as women.

In the eighteenth century, the claim of perfect friendship with a patron or benefactor of higher status implied knowledge that they possessed private virtue. It seems surprising that writers and patrons of art would have publicized their friends' private virtue by publishing the epistle or poem, or commissioning the work of art. To a modern audience that tends to oppose publicity and authentic experience, widely circulated representations of "perfect friendships" imply that these were, in reality, friendships of utility. Additionally, it is understandable that someone of lower social, political, or economic status might have benefited from advertising true friendship with someone of higher status, but that the reverse was true is unexpected. Yet, many of the representations of friendship that are the subject of the present study were sanctioned, or at least tolerated, by the superior. Perhaps the representation of the private virtue of powerful friends was valuable to patron and friend alike because the virtue of friendship connoted elite status in distinction to the bourgeoisie, among whom friendship was an increasingly public institution distinct from the private, domestic sphere of the family. The circles of writers, patrons, subjects of friendship representations, and their viewers or readers—however limited—would have understood that perfect friendship was a virtue of the ancients corrupted by the exchange of money, flattery, or physical pleasure, and it was the purview of the elite in both status and virtue.

The location of friendship in the changing structures of interdependent private and public spheres is complicated in the eighteenth century. It is defined sometimes as a private virtue, but as Pope insists, it affects public life. In treatises published before the eighteenth century, friendships are such intimate bonds that there is almost no distinction between friends; they are “other selves.” However, an increasing number of eighteenth-century texts defined friendship as distinct from the private, domestic sphere. These definitions curiously draw closer to both Aristotelian and twenty-first-century understandings of a relationship located in the liminal space between private and public or completely in the public sphere, as for example the friendships of virtual social networks. In mid-century France, one encounters something reaching towards this definition in Voltaire’s *Dictionnaire philosophique, portatif* and in the Abbé Claude Yvon’s entry in the *Encyclopédie*. In England, it appears earlier in essays written in the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth century.

My understanding of the private and public spheres is derived from Jürgen Habermas’s *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962). According to Habermas, civil society, composed of public and private spheres, emerged in the eighteenth century in correlation with the rise of individual family household economies. These economies constituted a private sphere that was no longer dependent on, or in service to, the feudal system supporting the authoritarian state.<sup>54</sup> The private sphere was interconnected with the generation of a public sphere, defined as private people come together through the public use of reason to confront state authority.<sup>55</sup> The venues of this confrontation were new or expanded social institutions including salons, museums, coffee

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<sup>54</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 18-19.

<sup>55</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 19.

houses, learned societies or clubs, epistolary culture, and periodicals.<sup>56</sup> Habermas observes that these were equalizing institutions where princes associated with the intellectual sons of merchants, and women attended. Ideally, participants in the public sphere disregarded status in favor of quality of ideas. Habermas notes that although this equalization was not actually realized, it was an institutionalized and consequential notion. I interpret the equality that existed, or was at least claimed, in these new venues as parallel to that requisite equality between friends. The historian of eighteenth-century culture, Dena Goodman, makes a similar observation, although she does not place it in the context of the history of friendship as an idea: “During the early modern period [the citizenry of the Republic of Letters] came to value reciprocal exchange based on a model of friendship that contrasted markedly with the absolutist state, corporative society, and the family.”<sup>57</sup> Representations of friendship that were commissioned by elite patrons, or those who aspired to that status, reflect aspects of the new model of friendship despite that model’s contradiction to existing class structures. The patronage of representations of friendship had parallels in the patronage activities within the salon salon.

Princes, women, and writers or artists of a lower status could be friends in the eighteenth century in a manner similar to the way they participated in the salons. True friendship, between writers and their patrons or courtiers and their kings, may not have been reality in most cases, but it was a consequential notion of the public sphere, if not itself an institution of the public sphere. The result was that a seemingly incongruent structure of friendship existed in the eighteenth century: philosophers drawing on ancient sources often denied kings and women access to friendship; often those very authors

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<sup>56</sup> On the nature and function of these new institutions: Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 31-6.

<sup>57</sup> Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 2.

professed friendship with their royal, noble, or female patrons; yet, neither of these ideals were consistent realities. One does, however, consistently see heterosocial or homosocial friendships of utility between pairs or groups of friends with unequal class statuses.

English essays on friendship emphasized its benefits or utility as early as the seventeenth century. Francis Bacon (1561-1626) first published “Of Friendship” in the 1612 edition of his *Essays* and expanded it in the 1625 edition. He is not concerned with the nature of friendship as much as its use. He identifies three functions or “fruits of friendship”: the release of passions, the clarity of understanding, and aid in all actions.<sup>58</sup> His essay is informed by classical and Renaissance texts, but he departs from them to assert that the friend is more critical than one is of oneself and provides more pleasure than one does for oneself. In other words, he is more than another self.<sup>59</sup> Bacon’s assertion threatens the prerequisite equality of friends and defines friendship in terms of its benefits to the individual rather than its nature as a virtuous union of souls.

The English poet, journalist, playwright, and Whig politician, Joseph Addison (1672-1719) praised Bacon’s discussion of the benefits of friendship in his own article on friendship in his daily publication, *The Spectator* (no. 68, May 18, 1711), the periodical about English culture, politics, manners, and morality. He prefaced the issue with a Latin quote attributed to Ovid: “We two are a crowd,” signaling both his own status as an educated man and that of his audience, and informing the reader of his initial concern with the problems of who and how many should be considered friends.<sup>60</sup> According to Addison, friendship is best between pairs because men are more willing to expose their

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<sup>58</sup> Francis Bacon, “Of Friendship,” in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 200-206. According to Michael Pakaluk, Bacon was politically motivated to emphasize the benefits and dangers of friendship to princes. He wanted to be a counselor to the British king.

<sup>59</sup> Bacon, “Of Friendship,” in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 206.

<sup>60</sup> “Nos duo turba sumus.”



souls in such intimate relations. Philosophers on friendship typically asserted that one has few true friends, primarily because of the rarity of virtue and the depth of the obligation of friends. However, Addison was not arguing that friendship is rare or burdensome. Instead, he was juxtaposing the potential for discourse amongst “Clubs and Knots of Friends” with that between “two Persons who are familiar and intimate Friends.” His concern with discourse and understanding in these first paragraphs reflects Enlightenment concerns. He observed that in groups people hold their positions and generalize their conversation, but in pairs people are unfiltered, passionate, sentimental, and thereby open to instruction. Like one of Bacon’s “fruits,” Addison was interested primarily in friendship’s potential for understanding and the examination of the soul.

In the first issue of *The Spectator*, on March 1, 1711, Addison and his partner, Sir Richard Steele (1672-1729), introduce a fictional group of authors called “The Spectator Club,” which might indicate the model of friendship to which Addison would refer in his essay on friendship published just two months later. Among the club is Mr. Spectator, a country gentleman and son of a justice of the peace; he is joined by two noblemen, two gentlemen of the educated bourgeoisie, and a clergyman.<sup>61</sup> Addison later wrote in his article on friendship that in a larger “Assembly of Men and Women,” conversation consists merely of “Weather, Fashions, News, and the like publick Topics.”<sup>62</sup> In smaller clubs conversation “descends into Particulars, and grows more free and communicative.” However, conversation is most free between intimate pairs of friends who have “the most open, instructive, and unreserved Discourse.” In the first paragraphs of his essay on

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<sup>61</sup> Colin Wells, “The Spectator,” *World Literature and Its Times: Profiles of Notable Literary Works and the Historical Events That Influenced Them* (Detroit: Gale Group, 2001), 455-462.

<sup>62</sup> It is worth noting that this assembly might be interpreted as limited in potential for friendship both because of its size and because of the gender of its member. However, Addison is ambiguous or silent about the genders of friends throughout the remainder of the text.

friendship, Addison reduces the number of potential friends from “Assemblies,” to “Clubs and Knots,” and finally to intimate pairs. By using this device of successively smaller groups, he locates true friendship within the concentric realms of eighteenth-century social institutions that constituted the developing critical public sphere and included his own readership. I interpret the phrase, “Clubs and Knots of Friends,” as a subtle allusion to the fictional group of authors of *The Spectator*, to its readers, and to the Republic of Letters in general.

In the tenth issue of *The Spectator*, Addison outlines his aims for the periodical: “Since I have raised to myself so great an audience, I shall spare no pains to make their instruction agreeable, and their diversion useful. For which reasons I shall endeavour to enliven morality with wit, and to temper wit with morality...”<sup>63</sup> Rather than the common public topics, his stated intention for his broad audience is their instruction and entertainment. This is similar to his ideal of the function of true friendship. Indeed, the friend’s “agreeability” is essential to what Addison claims is his own contribution to the ancients’ philosophies of friendship:

“I should join to these other Qualifications a certain *Æquability* or Evenness of Behaviour. A Man often contracts a Friendship with one whom perhaps he does not find out till after a Year’s Conversation; when on a Sudden some latent ill Humour breaks out upon him, which he never discovered or suspected at his first entering into an Intimacy with him. There are several Persons who in some certain Periods of their Lives are inexpressibly agreeable, and in others as odious and detestable.”

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<sup>63</sup> Joseph Addison, “No. 10 Monday, March 12,” *The Spectator in The Works of Joseph Addison*, ed. Richard Hurd (London: George Bell and sons, 1903), 2: 253.

Generally speaking as well, the critical and edifying functions of the public sphere were also in line with the functions of friendship. The authors of periodicals like *The Spectator* both claimed the voice of the public and intended to edify it., recalling the structure of friendship, in that it is both likeness [of virtue or goodwill] and a source of instruction.<sup>64</sup> Ancient and Renaissance texts discuss friendship's edifying, instructive, and corrective functions, but they are pushed to the fore in eighteenth-century definitions.

True to the pragmatic interests of his fellow *philosophes*, the Abbé Claude Yvon's entries defining "Friend" and "Friendship" in the *Encyclopédie* minimized the lofty ideals of perfect friendship derived from antiquity in order to emphasize its utility.<sup>65</sup>

"Friendship," Yvon begins, "is nothing other than the practice of maintaining a respectable [*honnête*] and pleasant commerce with someone."<sup>66</sup> During the mid-eighteenth century, the *Dictionary of the French Academy* (4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1762) defined "commerce" in two ways.<sup>67</sup> The first is in terms of business, as the exchange of goods or money. The second is in social terms, as: "Ordinary communication and correspondence with someone, either for company alone, or also for some business."<sup>68</sup> Given either of these definitions, Yvon's introduction to friendship suggests its function is utility or pleasure; it is practiced for the sake of companionship or business, rather than for itself.

This definition at first seems to be a complete reversal of earlier ones, but the

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<sup>64</sup> On these claims by cultural critics: Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 40-2.

<sup>65</sup> The Abbé Claude Yvon was a close friend of Diderot and was exiled from France in 1752 for his association with the *philosophes*. He fled to Amsterdam, where he founded a Masonic lodge with other French expatriates. Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 158-159.

<sup>66</sup> "L'amitié n'est autre chose que l'habitude d'entretenir avec quelqu'un un commerce honnête & agréable."

<sup>67</sup> *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, 4ème édition (1762)*, The ARTFL Project (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2001), accessed April 11, 2015, <http://portail.atilf.fr/dictionnaires/ACADEMIE/QUATRIEME/quatrieme.fr.html>, s.v. "commerce."

<sup>68</sup> "Communication & correspondance ordinaire avec quelqu'un, soit pour la société seulement, soit aussi pour quelques affaires."

qualification of commerce as “*honnête*” complicates matters. *Honnête* meant respectable, but it also implied honesty, earnestness, or suitability to some condition (e.g. age, profession).<sup>69</sup> Yvonn’s “*honnête*” commerce might be interpreted as the suitability of friends, whether in their virtue, age, mutual interests, etc., and summarized as equality. On the other hand, “*honnête*” is a term that would have been appropriate to a practical definition of friendship. It may have been a foil to “pleasant commerce” and a quality of good business, “good” in business being what is useful or mutually beneficial. In its tendency towards practicality, Yvon’s definition of friendship conflates the types of friendship distinguished by Aristotle. His language simultaneously evokes the virtuous, useful, and pleasant types. He admits that his first definition is an oversimplification and elaborates that, “[...] the commerce in which the heart takes an interest because of the pleasure it derives from it is friendship.”<sup>70</sup> Locating friendship in the heart implies the depth and connection of souls that defined the ideal of perfect friendship, but the end of friendship for Yvon is not goodwill or virtue. It is pleasure or utility, which Aristotle categorized as a distinct and subordinate type.

Yvon defines man’s motivations for friendship using terms similar to classical discussions of *eros* or other passions, as a fleeting desire: “When one sees something good from afar, it at first fixes his desires. When he reaches it, he senses its nothingness.”<sup>71</sup> As a result of this frustration the friend may seek undeserved benefits from his friends. The remainder of the definition of friendship is devoted to avoiding the consequences of desire by focusing on the duties and limitations of friendship. His

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<sup>69</sup> *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, 4ème édition (1762)*, s.v. “*honnête*”

<sup>70</sup> “[...] commerce où le coeur s'intéresse par l'agrément qu'il en tire, est amitié.”

<sup>71</sup> “Lorsqu'on entrevoit de loin quelque bien, il fixe d'abord les desirs; lorsqu'on l'atteint, on en sent le néant.”

position on this matter is informed by classical and Renaissance texts, but it departs from them by minimizing discussion of the nature or benefits of perfect friendship. Instead, Yvon focuses on the varying “degrees” and “characters” of friendship as they determine, or limit, the friend’s obligations. According to his definition, one is required only to do good to someone with whom he is *currently* friends. Friendships established for the sake of mutual enjoyment of literature, for example, do not require obligations of one’s money. Yvon’s practical advice is that in order to avoid the awkwardness of requiring too much of a friend, one should strive to give more than him and expect less. His definition is not extraordinary because he identifies different types of friendship, or because he discusses the problems of the requirement of reciprocity; Aristotle did both. Rather, it is because his language does not explicitly privilege perfect friendship, whose participants would not need to evaluate their obligations because the friends are so alike in their souls. While most philosophies of antiquity and the Renaissance elevated friendships above kinship relationships, in the *Encyclopédie* definition even the most intimate friends do not deserve to be consulted in matters that should be reserved for family. Yvon suggests that all friendships are equally good as long as they are appropriate to their character. For him, the good of friendship is primarily that which is useful, rather than that which is virtuous. The qualification of “degrees” of friendships, the subordination of friendship to family obligations, and the generally utilitarian approach to the subject in the *Encyclopédie* reflects the growing importance and delineation of the bourgeois private, domestic sphere in conjunction with the expanding public sphere.

Despite being commissioned by members of the elite classes, or those who aspired to that status, these objects paradoxically embodied various elements of the bourgeois models of friendship outlined by Addison and Yvon. Most important among these elements was the equalization of kings and courtiers, an empress and a philosopher, noble patrons and middle-class writers, and men and women, like those who commissioned the representations of friendship examined in the following chapters. First, it will be important to establish a precedent for elite classes embracing ideas of the bourgeois public sphere that ultimately contributed to its decline. In Habermasian terms, the public sphere gradually replaced the “representative publicity” of the Baroque court, that is the ceremony and accoutrements that represented its authority.<sup>72</sup> For example, the ceremonial *coucher* and *lever* of the king, which was the observation of his awaking from and retiring to bed, lost favor in the eighteenth century. Courtly ceremonies slowly gave way to a growing intimacy that reflected the intimacy of the bourgeois family.<sup>73</sup> The cultural historian Norbert Elias has argued that there was a growing division between public and private life at court in the eighteenth century.<sup>74</sup> Such intimacy and privacy were also characteristic of the salon, typically hosted by noblewomen.<sup>75</sup>

The literary historian Christine Roulston has identified a trope of “inseparable female friends” that locates women in isolated bourgeois country homes in order to neutralize their threat to the natural order of male-female relationships.<sup>76</sup> The nobility

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<sup>72</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 11.

<sup>73</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 31.

<sup>74</sup> According to Elias, a “private life” at court would not be completely possible until the nineteenth century. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983 [1969]), 115.

<sup>75</sup> Laura J. Burch, “La nouvelle république des lettres: Graffigny et l'amitié philosophique,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 2004:12 (2004): 319-27.

<sup>76</sup> Roulston, “Separating the Inseparables,” 216.

who engaged “inseparability” represent an apparent paradox in eighteenth-century friendship practices. Roulston summarizes:

Within the aristocracy, a class whose social relations relied to an important extent on visibility and publicity, inseparable friendships inhabited a more public arena than friendships within the bourgeoisie, a class in search of a more private model of subjectivity. At the same time, the aristocracy used inseparable friendships to create a sense of private space, while the bourgeoisie sought to publicize certain forms of private friendship in opposition to the society friendships of the aristocracy.<sup>77</sup>

Roulston’s research supports my assessment that elite and bourgeois ideals and representations of friendship were interconnected. However, I would expand her conclusions to argue that the aristocracy and nobility represented (or publicized) not only “inseparable” female friendships, but also heterosocial and homosocial friendships that equalized friends of diverse class statuses. Through such representations, elite patrons created a sense of private space modeled on bourgeois intimacy, but they paradoxically employed that sense to distinguish themselves from the bourgeoisie. The utilitarian conceptions of friendship presented to a bourgeois readership of the public sphere made this paradox plausible. In other words, elite friendship representations were characterized by bourgeois intimacy, and the utilitarian conception of friendship in the bourgeois public sphere expanded access to friendship, but the insistence on the authenticity of represented friendships as “true” or “perfect” (opposed to those of utility) distinguished their elite participants from the bourgeoisie. The construction of intimate, private spaces to claim

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<sup>77</sup> Roulston, “Separating the Inseparables,” 214. Bourgeois methods of publicizing friendship are not explored in the present study because they were not the primary patrons of visual representations of friendship.

perfect friendship as a marker of status is most directly evident in the representations of friendship situated in the picturesque garden, which is the setting of the majority of the objects and structures that will be discussed in the following chapters.

### Places and Spaces of Friendship

Eighteenth-century images of friendship defined and were defined by place. The museums, cafés, and salons of the new public sphere were sites where friendships were enacted. Every kind of relationship requires a point at which its participants meet, and these new institutions were such points. But beyond points of practice, images of friendship in the eighteenth century were manifest by place. The places in which ideal friendship was asserted, which I will call “sites of friendship,” were more than locations where friends could meet. They qualified and embodied abstract notions of friendship. The following chapters explore individual representations of friendship within the context of specific, geographic sites that were imbued by their locations and designs with a character. I will argue that the Château de Bellevue was built as a site of friendship and the image of friendship manifest there by the marquise de Pompadour persisted during the occupancy of its subsequent owner. Likewise, temples dedicated to friendship in landscape gardens memorialized specific friendships, but their structures and locations also symbolically embodied the idea of friendship. Catherine the Great’s project for a replica of Voltaire’s Ferney château in her gardens at Tsarskoe Selo was the culminating expression of the topography of their friendship—a topography that existed despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that they never met in person. Adopting Michel Foucault’s notion of relationships as occupying metaphorical “spaces,” I will argue further that the



Château de Bellevue, the “New Ferney,” and several of the garden temples filled a unique position in the *space* of friendship, that of the heterosocial friendship.<sup>78</sup>

In preparation for the specific analyses of sites of friendship in the following chapters, it is useful to define “place” and “space,” and to situate them in the context of friendship studies. My understanding of these terms is drawn from the diverse discussions of them by Edward S. Casey, Gaston Bachelard, and Michel Foucault. Casey’s interest in *The Fate of Place* (1997) is to rehabilitate place as an idea from its subordination to space and time in modern philosophy.<sup>79</sup> He argues that this “fate of place” was guided in the early modern period by the appeal of universalism and colonialism’s “systematic destruction of regional landscapes that served as the concrete settings for local culture.”<sup>80</sup> But he proposes that place deserves distinct treatment, particularly in the fields of politics and ethics. He notes that the Greek roots for these fields, the words *polis* (“city-state”) and *ēthea* (“habitats”), both refer to place.<sup>81</sup> I would add that the classical definitions of friendship as virtue and justice position it under the philosophical categories of ethics and politics as well. This seems to be more than a coincidence of western structures of philosophical investigation. The problems raised in considerations of place and friendship, e.g. who and how many are desirable to enter or participate, are essential to both political and ethical systems.

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<sup>78</sup> Michel Foucault, “De l’amitié comme mode de vie,” *Gai Pied* 25 (April 1981), 38-9. Michel Foucault, “Friendship as a Way of Life,” in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, trans. Robert Hurley, in *The Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984*, ed. Paul Rabinow (London: Allen Lane, 1997, 136-40).

<sup>79</sup> Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>80</sup> Casey, *Fate of Place*, xii.

<sup>81</sup> Casey, *Fate of Place*, xii.

Casey defines place as a site distinguished from space by having boundaries and limits, by characteristics such as coziness and discreteness.<sup>82</sup> It can be a location of social interaction or community. Space, on the other hand, is subjective and infinite. The idea of perfect friendship would be expressed better in Casey's concept of space than place. The definition of the friend as other self, for example, implies an infinite bond. The goodwill that true friends have for each other, and the good that is the end of perfect friendship, is also limitless. When the treatises of Cicero, Seneca, Montaigne, and Lambert evoke the deceased friend, they remove even the broadest boundary, that of life, from their philosophies of friendship. Montaigne's statement, "Because it was he, because it was I" is conceptually endless in its self-reflexivity and implies a metaphorical space of friendship.

Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* conflates the two terms, but it provides a theoretical framework within which to explore the image of friendship manifested in place.<sup>83</sup> While ideal friendship can be understood in spatial terms, the practice of friendship in the eighteenth century was expressed in a conceptual and geographic "place." In an approach bordering on philosophy and psychology, Bachelard seeks a phenomenology of the poetic image of the house in order to "show that the house is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind."<sup>84</sup> Friendships were located within intimate sites; their boundaries were clearly delineated. Friendship's place was the garden bosquet and temple, the château, or the bourgeois country home. In the following chapters, I intend to show that friendships

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<sup>82</sup> Casey, *Fate of Place*, xiv.

<sup>83</sup> Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, Translated by Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994 [1958]).

<sup>84</sup> Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, 6.

were among the ideas, memories, and dreams (or ideals) integrated by the house, or the château, and the landscape in the eighteenth century.

Bachelard called his method topoanalysis, which he defined as, “the systematic psychological study of the sites of our intimate lives.”<sup>85</sup> In that system, memory and poetry provide data for the consideration of corners, nooks, garrets, doors, windows, and other loci of this topography of intimate life. He wrote that, “Through poems, perhaps more than through recollections, we touch the ultimate poetic depth of the space of the house.”<sup>86</sup> Similarly, my analyses of the sites of friendship rely on poetry, literature, and visual art. I do not limit my discussion to the domestic interior, however. I interpret the landscape garden, especially the English style, and the garden folly as providing the corners, nooks, and entryways that embody the image of friendship. Bachelard provided an avenue for this line of thinking in his description of the memory of the path: “And what a dynamic, handsome object is a path! How precise the familiar hill paths remain for our muscular consciousness!”<sup>87</sup> He asserted that the grounds around the house can function in our memories in a manner similar to the spaces within the house.

The eighteenth-century landscape garden was characterized by a dialectic of inside and outside.<sup>88</sup> The paths, shelters, and corners within property lines that had been defined for the first time in the eighteenth century by the recessed ha-has, which provided barriers to a landscape while preserving views, were places from which to take in the vistas of the “natural” terrain outside. As will be shown in the next chapter, the gardens at Bellevue, though not completely of the English style until taken over by the aunts of

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<sup>85</sup> Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, 8.

<sup>86</sup> Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, 6.

<sup>87</sup> Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, 11.

<sup>88</sup> On “The Dialectic of Outside and Inside,” see Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, Chapter 9.

Louis XV later in the century, were described in terms of this dialectic from the time of their initial construction under the patronage of Madame de Pompadour. Considering the gardens of Bellevue, the “New Ferney,” and the garden temples, I aim to conduct my own topoanalysis of sites of friendship as places with the power to define and affirm intimate friendships and political alliances.

Epistolary friendships of the eighteenth century did not require the participants to share a physical space and therefore challenge my characterization of images of friendship as manifest in place. The small decorative arts that represented friendship and could be given as gestures of friendship likewise did not require a specific place. Modern virtual spaces might provide a solution to this problem. Casey argued that the decline of “place” in contemporary philosophy is owed to the rise of electronic technology, “which makes irrelevant where you are so long as you can link up with other users of the same technology.”<sup>89</sup> Online social networks are examples of this phenomenon and in some ways correspond with eighteenth-century epistolary culture. Often, contemporary friendships exist only in the virtual space, just as the friendship between Catherine the Great and Voltaire existed only in their correspondence and in the publicizing of their relationship in periodicals like Baron Grimm’s *Correspondance littéraire*. Casey proposed that place can be restored in the age of electronic technology through the notion of “virtual coimplacement,” which means that virtual sites could carry the function of geographical place. His notion of “virtual coimplacement” might be a useful idea for the study of eighteenth-century epistolary culture wherein friends frequently describe shared places in their letters; they locate their friendships in specific places. As I demonstrate in chapter five, the correspondence between Voltaire and Catherine the Great locates their

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<sup>89</sup> Casey, *Fate of Place*, xiii-xiv.

friendship within the English garden topography, and simultaneously in the specific gardens of the French *philosophe*'s château at Ferney and Catherine the Great's palace at Tsarskoe Selo. This was the topography of their friendship, and they achieved something like an eighteenth-century version of coimplacement, which was made physical through the empress's projects.

Approaching eighteenth-century friendship through ideas of place and space is especially useful for heterosocial friendships. Michel Foucault offered a model for describing the eighteenth-century heterosocial friendships through his discussion of homosexual relationships in the twentieth century. In a 1981 interview with the French magazine, *Gai Pied*, Foucault outlined the possibility of a homosexual "way of life," which he described in terms of friendship: "The development toward which the problem of homosexuality tends is the one of friendship."<sup>90</sup> To demonstrate the point, he gave an example of female friendships that, especially in certain periods of history, had permitted access to the body but were not considered transgressive. Indeed, examining such female friendships has been a technique of cultural historians for uncovering alternatives to fraternal or homosocial male friendships in the eighteenth century.<sup>91</sup> In discussing relationships between homosexual men, he evoked qualities typical of philosophies of friendship, including pleasure and equality of age and status. Foucault characterized the fear of homosexuality in contemporary societies as a fear of unknown types of friendships: "...our rather sanitized society can't allow a place for [homosexuality] without fearing the formation of new alliances and the tying together of unforeseen lines

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<sup>90</sup> Foucault, "Friendship as a Way of Life," 135.

<sup>91</sup> See especially the previously cited Todd, *Women's Friendship in Literature*, and Roulston, "Separating the Inseparables."

of force.”<sup>92</sup> And again later, he says: “But that individuals [homosexual men] are beginning to love one another—there’s the problem. The institution is caught in a contradiction; affective intensities traverse it which at one and the same time keep it going and shake it up.”<sup>93</sup> Foucault argued that new types of friendship were threatening to power structures. This was the case for heterosocial friendships in the eighteenth century as well. Asked how the homosexual “way of life” should be brought into fruition, Foucault said, “We must make the intelligible appear against a background of emptiness and deny its necessity. We must think that what exists is far from filling all possible spaces.”<sup>94</sup> There is a useful parallel to heterosocial friendships in the eighteenth century in Foucault’s response. In the eighteenth century, heterosocial friendships threatened existing social and political structures. Sites of friendship occupied by male-female friend groups could be neutral territories that reduced or eliminated this threat and project the possibility of a new, heterosocial, space of friendship.

The dedication of Voltaire’s “The Temple of Friendship” to the comtesse de Fontaine-Martel is a useful example of my interpretation of places and spaces of friendship. Voltaire described a fictional, poetic site of friendship, an image of place that emerges from the location where their friendship was enacted. Furthermore, this dual place claims a space for heterosocial friendship:

*To Madame de Fontaine-Martel*

*is sent and dedicated ‘The Temple of friendship’*

For you, lively and sweet Martel,

For you, solid and tender friend,

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<sup>92</sup> Foucault, “Friendship as a Way of Life,” 136.

<sup>93</sup> Foucault, “Friendship as a Way of Life,” 137.

<sup>94</sup> Foucault, “Friendship as a Way of Life,” 139-140.

I have built this immortal temple  
Where one sacrifices rarely.  
It is you that I wish to flatter here,  
And it is here that I wish to spend  
The most beautiful days of my life.<sup>95</sup>

The comtesse Antoinette-Madeleine de Fontaine-Martel (1661 – 1733) had a celebrated career at the courts of Louis XIV (1638-1715) and Philippe II, Duke of Orléans (1674-1723), regent of France for Louis XV.<sup>96</sup> She was called “la belle Viennoise” and had a reputation for her libertine spirit. She coincidentally attended Mme de Lambert’s salon and had literary ambitions herself. In December of 1731, when she was a seventy-year-old widow, Voltaire moved in to the attic of her Paris hôtel overlooking the Palais-Royal. He remained there for a year, during the period when he wrote “The Temple of Friendship.” Voltaire and Fontaine-Martel, two people unequal in both status and gender, could be friends in the eighteenth century because their difference in age removes the risk of attraction, because Voltaire’s praise of her was in proportion to her superior status, and because of their mutual participation in the salon culture of the new public sphere.

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<sup>95</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 493.  
A madame de Fontaine-Martel  
en lui envoyant ‘Le Temple de l’amitié’

Pour vous, vive et douce Martel,  
Pour vous, solide et tendre amie,  
J’ai bâti ce temple immortel  
Où rarement on sacrifie.  
C’est vous que j’y veux encenser,  
Et c’est là que je veux passer  
Les jours les plus beaux de ma vie

<sup>96</sup> For a brief biography of Fontaine-Martel: Ian Davidson, *Voltaire, a Life* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2012), *n.p.* Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 30-31.

The fact that Voltaire and his patroness had shared a home adds meaning to his choice to “construct” a fictional temple to honor her as a friend. The poem and *envoi* suggest a synecdochal relationship between the home of Fontaine-Martel, where their actual friendship was practiced, and the allegorical temple where their friendship will be honored. His point that one rarely sacrifices there not only emphasizes the rarity of the virtue of friendship, but also the privacy of the site(s) of their friendship. The house-temple was occupied by this pair of friends; Voltaire wanted to spend beautiful days there, indeed to live there. His claims to friendship with Fontaine-Martel threaten the allegory of a remote and abandoned temple. Likewise, the location and activity of her home threaten its identification as a temple of friendship. But herein is the inconsistency of Voltaire’s allegory, that it both celebrates his significant friendships and insists there are none in his time.

Voltaire’s allegorical temple is rarely visited, and it is immortal. This immortality refers to the stability of the temple, its resistance to the effects of time, and to the deification of its goddess, Fontaine-Martel. It is symbolic of the persistence of their friendship after death. Fontaine-Martel was over seventy years old when Voltaire wrote this poem, so the allusions to death were more than literary hyperbole. He evoked the period after her death when he will maintain their friendship. Through this poetic image, he immortalizes the actual site of their friendship in Fontaine-Martel’s home, and he approaches the expansive spaces of friendship. He opens up their friendship and claims the possibility of a space, even if narrow, for friendship between women and men.



## Love and Friendship

One of the primary concerns in writing on friendship is its relationship to romantic love, which was the central motivation for Socrates's exploration of friendship. He approaches the subject for the benefit of Hippothales, whose love for the young boy Lysis is unrequited.<sup>97</sup> This unrequited love prompts Socrates to ask whether one can be a friend to someone who does not love him in return. Here, and throughout the text, romantic love (*eros*) and friendship (*philia*) are not mutually exclusive. Both are expressions of friendship, and lovers are potentially friends. Plato conceives of *philia* as evoked by *eros*. Therefore friendship may be motivated by desire, but it is not itself a desirous state.<sup>98</sup> For him, friendship is a sublimation of desire and romantic love.<sup>99</sup> Aristotle contends that *philia* is a "masterpiece of reason" and a "state of character" because the reciprocated love of friends requires choice, which is a matter of character.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, *eros* is a passion or feeling. According to Aristotle, the lover and beloved are inferior friends because their reciprocal goodwill does not originate from the same source.<sup>101</sup> The lover finds pleasure in some aspect of the beloved, while the beloved finds pleasure in the attention he receives.

The delicate relationship between romantic love and friendship in eighteenth-century thought is essential to the present study because allegories of love often appear alongside those of friendship, and because romantic love typically is interpreted as a challenge to friendships between men and women, which are the subjects of the majority

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<sup>97</sup> Plato, *Lysis*, trans. Stanley Lombardo, in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 4-27.

<sup>98</sup> Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 95-6.

<sup>99</sup> The contemporary notion of "platonic friendship" as one void of sexual attraction is derived from this definition, but its implications of friendship between men and women seem to have been irrelevant to Plato's definition. For him, the erotic desire being overcome was between men.

<sup>100</sup> Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 92-95.

<sup>101</sup> Aristotle, "*Nicomachean Ethics*. Books VIII and IX," in "The Internet Classics Archive."

of friendship representations that will be examined in the following chapters. This challenge to heterosocial friendships is not explicitly addressed in the classical or Renaissance texts. The majority of them argue that women do not possess the intellectual capacity of men—or any other measure of equality, which is a prerequisite of perfect friendship. Plato does not mention women at all. Aristotle discusses friendships between husband and wife along with the friendships between other unequal pairs (e.g. old and young, father and son, ruler and subject), and asserts that their virtue and function are different from other friendships.<sup>102</sup> He argues that equality is possible between them if the love is proportionate to their status. In other words, if the wife loves more than the husband, he can befriend her.

Philosophies of friendship by Renaissance humanists similarly devalued female friends. One explanation for this is that women were not educated and were for the most part excluded from humanist discourse, so they were simply not discussed in the literature on the subject.<sup>103</sup> In his essay, “Of Friendship” (in *Essays*, 1580), Michel de Montaigne argues that the passionate nature of the relationship between men and women is inherently distinct from friendship because, as a desire, it extinguishes once it has been obtained.<sup>104</sup> And even if male and female friends do not desire each other, women lack the character required for the perfect friendship he is describing: “Besides, to tell the truth, the ordinary capacity of women is inadequate for that communion and fellowship which is the nurse of this sacred bond; nor does their soul seem firm enough to endure the strain of so tight and durable a knot.”<sup>105</sup> However, in a surprising argument that provides

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<sup>102</sup> Aristotle, “*Nicomachean Ethics*. Books VIII and IX,” in “The Internet Classics Archive,” 7.

<sup>103</sup> Kate Bomford. “The Visual Representation of Friendship,” 78-9.

<sup>104</sup> Quoted in Bomford, “The Visual Representation,” 80.

<sup>105</sup> Montaigne, “Of Friendship,” in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 190.

a path for the praise of heterosocial friendships by later philosophers, Montaigne concedes that if one could reconcile desire and friendship, so that the “entire man” would be engaged by the union of the bodies and souls, it would be a more complete friendship.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, Montaigne cannot consider the potential female friend wholeheartedly, as indicated by the fact that he grants the benefit of such a friendship to the man. He concludes the discussion of women by asserting that there has never been an example of a female friend, and as though proving it, he notes that women are excluded in ancient philosophies on the subject.

Most seventeenth-century treatises on friendship followed Montaigne in subordinating romantic love to friendship and continued to restrict women from being friends or simply neglected to mention them. Frédérick Gerson surveyed treatises on friendship by seventeenth-century theologians and philosophers, finding that a religiously motivated skepticism of the possibility of friendship dominated in that century.<sup>107</sup> Their skepticism was based in the notion that friendship between men must be subjected to one’s duties to god, and this limitation rendered the ideal friendship of the classical descriptions impossible. Friendships between men and women were largely rejected as subject to carnal desires and in danger of slipping into sin. However, two texts by female moral philosophers published in the last quarter of the century cautiously challenged this restriction and proposed an intellectual precedent by which eighteenth-century women might claim the benefits of friendships with men. Julie Candler Hayes interprets the treatises by Madeleine de Souvré, marquise de Sablé (1598-1678), and Madeleine de

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<sup>106</sup> Montaigne, “Of Friendship,” in Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 190-1.

<sup>107</sup> He examined lengthier studies including the *Traité de l’amitié* by the Jansenist theologian Louis-Lemaitre de Sacy (1613-1684) as well as brief accounts by René Descartes (1596-1650), Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), François Fénelon (1651-1715) and others. Frédérick Gerson, *L’amitié au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Pensée Universelle, 1974).

Scudéry (1607-1701) as sources of a tradition of enlightened female authors writing on friendship.<sup>108</sup> The Marquise de Sablé's *Maximes* (published at her death) places friendship in the realm of faith and follows Aristotle in characterizing it as founded on virtue rather than pleasure or utility.<sup>109</sup> She observes that "inclination" cannot be the foundation of friendship because it is not the result of free will, but it can make friendship more agreeable. Hayes interprets "inclination" as something like desire and argues that this implies Sablé is referring to friendships between the sexes. Madeleine de Scudéry wrote the "Histoire et conversation d'amitié," in *La morale du monde*, the third volume of her *Conversations* (1686). She praises heterosocial friendships as "sweeter" if they do not slip into passions.<sup>110</sup> For both women, friendship is enhanced by the element of desire, but as in Plato's text, it is achieved only through the sublimation of that desire.

The female *philosophes* the marquise de Lambert (1647-1733) and Madame Thiroux d'Arconville (1720-1805) elaborated on their predecessors' optimism regarding heterosocial friendships. The marquise de Lambert's *Treatise on Friendship* was written in the late 1690s or early 1700s, but it circulated only in manuscript form because of Lambert's opposition to the publication of her work.<sup>111</sup> It was published posthumously in an anthology entitled *Recueil de divers écrits, sur l'amour et l'amitié* (1736), edited by Lambert's friend and an attendant at her salon, Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe.<sup>112</sup> Saint-Hyacinthe attributed the essay to "Madame la marquise de\*\*\*," thereby maintaining her anonymity even after her death, while letting the reader know that the author is a woman.

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<sup>108</sup> Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralist," 171-189.

<sup>109</sup> Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralist," 174.

<sup>110</sup> "plus douce;" Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralist," 174.

<sup>111</sup> Julie Candler Hayes suggests these dates because of the text's similarities to Lambert's *Treatise on Old Age* and because of the writer's assertions at the beginning of the treatise on friendship that she is advanced in years; Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralist," 175.

<sup>112</sup> Lambert, "Traité de l'amitié," in *Recueil de divers écrits, sur l'amour et l'amitié*, ed. Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe (Paris: Veuve Pissot, 1736).

Lambert's popularity is demonstrated by the fact that her works were published in numerous editions throughout the century.<sup>113</sup> This success was owed in part to her associations with important Enlightenment thinkers through her celebrated Parisian *salon*. Lambert's biography and her treatise are discussed in the next chapter in the context of the patronage of Madame de Pompadour. However, it is useful to note here that Lambert prioritizes heterosocial friendships as the most challenging but potentially the most rewarding.<sup>114</sup>

Thiroux d'Arconville's treatise, *De l'amitié*, was first published in 1761 and reprinted or revised in later editions until 1775.<sup>115</sup> It is a more expansive study than Lambert's, devoting whole chapters to identifying and defining friendships between various social types, e.g. "Men of Letters" or "Different Ages." Like many of her male predecessors, she explicitly states that women are unlikely friends because of their inferior natures, but also because of their lack of access to education. She argues that men and women cannot be friends because of their sexual attraction, which seems like an unnecessary point given her earlier take on the potential of women to befriend anyone. Later she suggests men and women might be friends in old age, when sexual attraction is practically invalid. Finally, in a complete reversal of her earlier claim, Thiroux d'Arconville proposes the best example of true friendship is between men and women

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<sup>113</sup> In a letter from Lambert to Saint-Hyacinthe, she thanked him for an English translation of one of her essays, demonstrating that although she refused to publish, her work was circulating rather widely. Anne Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles, marquise de Lambert, *Essays on friendship and old-age, by the Marchioness de Lambert. Translated from the French, by a lady. With an introductory letter to William Melmoth, Esq.* (Dublin, 1780), 18.

<sup>114</sup> Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralists," 175, 177; Lambert, "Traité de l'amitié," 81-2.

<sup>115</sup> Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralists," 178. Marie-Geneviève-Charlotte Darlus Thiroux d'Arconville, *De l'amitié* (Amsterdam, Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1764). A 1770 edition of her *Des Passions*, which included the friendship treatise, was attributed falsely to Diderot and entitled, *Les oeuvres morales de Mr. Diderot: contenant son traité De l'amitié, et celui Des passions* (Francfort: Aux depens de La Compagnie). A shorter version of Thiroux d'Arconville's text first appeared in 1761: Thiroux d'Arconville, "Traité de l'amitié," *Journal Encyclopédique* 8, 1 (1761): 3-14.

who are no longer attracted to each other because of old age or boredom, and whose friendship evolved from love.<sup>116</sup> In a separate chapter, she also considers the possibility of friendship in marriage, and her conclusions regarding the potential of the wife to be friend are significant for the present study. The third chapter will examine French decorative art objects that departed from the Pompadouresque iconography to represent friendship as a sustaining characteristic of marriage.

The theoretical friendships between men and women defined by Lambert and Thiroux d'Arconville are realized differently in the allegorical realm of Voltaire's (1694-1778) poem, "The Temple of Friendship" (1732). He does not discuss male-female friendships directly in the poem, but his dedication to Madame de Fontaine-Martel in the early editions suggests he thinks they are plausible. Voltaire's temple of friendship is located in an ambiguous past and far from court. It is inscribed with the names of mythological heroes of friendship who, the poet emphasizes, are only of fables; they do not exist in reality. Friendship is accompanied by her interpreter, Truth. The latter holds a noticeably short book containing only two leaves and written in an indiscernible, "gothic" language listing the selfless good works of humans. Angered by the false devotion paid to her in fashionable society and by the absence of any true devotees, the goddess hosts a competition to discover if there were any true friends. One after another, sets of friends approach the temple only to have the friendship fall apart when tested. In the end, Friendship remained alone and "Froze to death on her sad altars."<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> "ils ont eu le temps de se connoître & d'apprendre à s'aimer avant que d'avoir cessé de se desirer." Marie Geneviève Charlotte Thiroux d'Arconville, "De l'amitié," in *Mélanges de littérature, de morale et de physique* 2 (Amsterdam: Au dépens de la Compagnie, 1775), 91. "Avec qui pleurer ses égarements avec plus de confiance, qu'avec celui qui les a partagés?" Thiroux d'Arconville, *De l'amitié* (1764), 86. Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralist," 180.

<sup>117</sup>"Gela de froid sur ses tristes autels." Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 24.

Voltaire asserts the importance of distinguishing romantic love from friendship when the goddess turns away the lovesick Thémire from the competition. Friendship informs Thémire that she seeks love rather than friendship and warns her not to confuse the two.<sup>118</sup> Romantic love was both a potential liability and enhancement to friendship depending on the age and character of the friends. But philosophers considered the link between friendship and non-romantic love as well. Cicero notes that the root of the latin word for friendship, “*Amicitia*,” is “*Amor*.” According to Cicero, friendship emerges from love, which he defines as the source of goodwill. Therefore, friendship is a bond determined by nature rather than desire.<sup>119</sup> Madame de Lambert insists that romantic love is inferior to friendship, but she considers friendship the reward of virtuous love.<sup>120</sup> In the first publication of Lambert’s treatise, Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe is more ambiguous in his discussion of love and friendship. In his introduction to the text, he includes a letter to an anonymous lady in which he inserts his own definition of friendship as “happy and constant love:” “Love, because one is attached to the person loved [...] Happy, because one is the reciprocal object of attachment of the person loved, friendship supposes perfect return. Constant, because the cause of Friendship and its bonds augment and strengthen with time, which destroys all other things.”<sup>121</sup> Like Voltaire’s Thémire, the student of friendship is left with a overlapping and intertwining notions of “virtuous love,” “friendship,” and “romantic love.” The terms are used interchangeably in the eighteenth century or simply referred to by the word, “love.” This

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<sup>118</sup> In later editions, Thémire would be changed to Zaïre, the title character of Voltaire’s successful tragedy that premiered in 1732. Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 23.

<sup>119</sup> Pakaluk, *Other Selves*, 78.

<sup>120</sup> “La récompense de l’amour vertueux, c’est l’Amitié: mais ce n’est pas l’amour ordinaire qui vous y conduit, c’est l’amour épuré.” Lambert, “Traité de l’Amitié,” 60-1.

<sup>121</sup> “Amour, parce qu’on est attaché à la personne aimée [...] Heureux, parce qu’on est l’objet réciproque de l’attachement de la personne aimée, l’amitié suppose un parfait retour. Constant, parce que la cause de l’Amitié, et ses liens s’augmentent et se fortifieres avec le tems...” Lambert, “Traité de l’amitié,” 3.

confusion will be used to the advantage of patrons like Madame de Pompadour, Madame du Barry, and Marie Antoinette who claim friendships with a lover or husband.





Figure 3 Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amitié*, 1753. Marble, H. 1.66 m; W. 0.62 m; D. 0.55 m. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

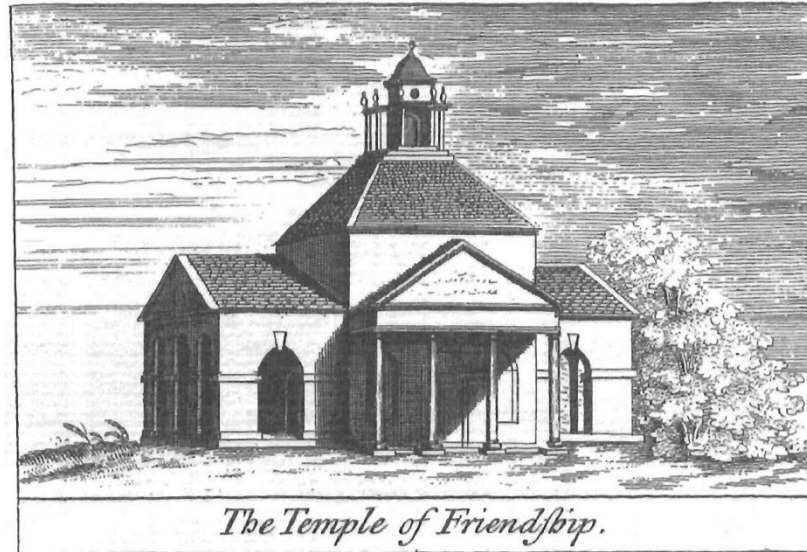


Figure 4 George Vertue and G. Vandergucht (engraving), after Benton Seeley, "The Temple of Friendship," in Benton Seeley, *Views of the Temples and other ornamental Buildings in the Gardens*, London: 1750.

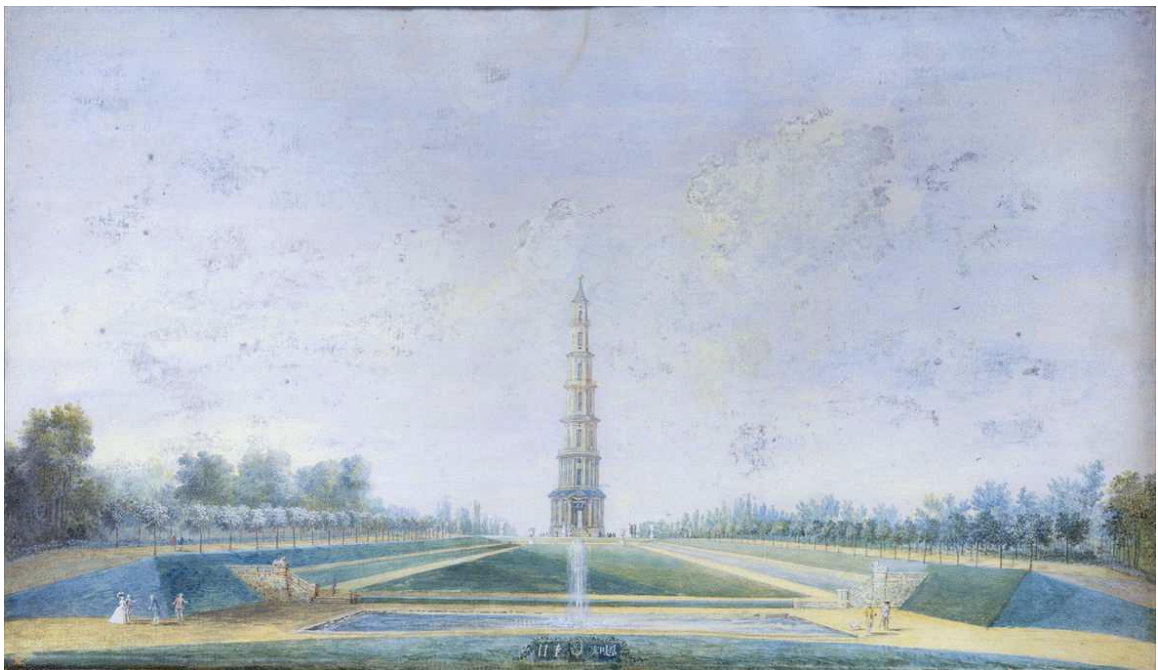


Figure 5 Louis-Nicolas van Blarenbergh (Lille, 1716- Fontainebleau, 1794), *La pagode de Chanteloup*, 1778. Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, cliché RMN, Christian Jean.

CHAPTER 2  
FRIENDSHIP AT THE MARQUISE DE POMPADOUR'S  
CHÂTEAU DE BELLEVUE

Madame la marquise de Pompadour knew the power of friendship, and she understood that her claims to friendship with powerful men in the French court required an appropriate place for their performance. That place was the Château de Bellevue, the building and gardens of which were constructed and elaborately furnished around 1750, the same time that the marquise's authority was threatened by her waning romance with the king. That she retained the king's affections and her power at court throughout the decade following their romantic affair was a rare triumph experienced by few of her predecessors in the role of official mistress.<sup>122</sup> Her tactic was a calculated and clever program of artistic commissions and political maneuvers that perpetuated an ideology of friendship founded on, but simultaneously independent of, her relationship with the king.

Although its function was practical and political, this ideology of friendship was consistent with select definitions and tropes of an ideal virtue of friendship that appeared in contemporary literature during the first half of the century. Pompadour and her advisors were especially attentive to the contemporary discourse addressing the delicate challenges presented by heterosocial friendships, between men and women. They embraced the prerequisites of age, solitude and separation, "inclination," and virtuous

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<sup>122</sup> The intentional parallels between Madame de Pompadour and Louis XIV's mistress, Madame de Maintenon have been explored by Elise Goodman and will be considered in the second chapter. Elise Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 50-60.

love. They emphasized fidelity, benevolence, and reciprocity as the primary duties of friendship, and they established what I will call “sites of friendship” both physical and allegorical. These sites were located in the boundaries between public and private life—a space that friendship inherently occupied and that was especially nebulous in the eighteenth century as members of elite classes were carving out private spaces and the bourgeoisie was establishing a public sphere.

Pompadour’s friendship program featuring allegorical sculptures, drawings, carved gems, paintings, and prints, is extensive and the best known example of the subject in art of the eighteenth century. It was not the first site of friendship constructed during the period, but it is an exemplary case because it was developed and dismantled during the lifetime of the patron. The construction of Bellevue, its sale to the king, and the attempted relocation of the friendship imagery to Pompadour’s urban Hôtel d’Évreux in Paris provide a unique opportunity to investigate the links between friendship and place, particularly places characterized by separation and simplicity. Having defined these criteria and their connections to contemporary conceptions of friendship, the subsequent chapters will more pointedly interrogate sites of friendship.

Pompadour’s own class status and biography informed the success of her friendship iconography and character of her site of friendship.<sup>123</sup> Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson was born on December 29, 1721, into the family of a middle-class financier. François Poisson was employed by officers of the royal finances, called the Pâris brothers, for whom he was accused of misappropriating funds and consequently was forced into exile from 1727 to 1736. The *fermier général*, Le Normant de Tournehem, became the family’s protector and is accepted widely as her biological father.

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<sup>123</sup> For Pompadour’s biography: Goodman, *Portraits of Madame de Pompadour*, 8-9.

Throughout the 1730s, her education was overseen by Tournehem and Jean Pâris de Montmartel, Pompadour's godfather. She attended literary salons and was introduced to important eighteenth-century thinkers, including Voltaire. In 1741, she married Tournehem's nephew, Charles-Guillaume le Normant d'Etioles. At the Yellow Tree Ball at Versailles on February 25, 1745, she and Louis XV met and fell in love. Afterwards, she legally separated from her husband and became the official mistress of the king of France, a position she would hold until her death in 1764. In 1745, Madame d'Etioles was presented at court as the marquise de Pompadour. In the year that followed, she was socialized intensively to court etiquette and generally educated by Voltaire and l'Abbé Bernis (1715-1794) so that she would make a suitable mistress. The king appointed her duchesse in 1752 and Lady-in-waiting to the queen in 1756. She negotiated the appointment of her "friends" and family into powerful positions at court, the most significant of which was the elevation of her brother, the marquis de Marigny (1727-1781), to *Controlleur des bâtiments*. His position managing royal commissions of art and architecture permitted him to show favor to Pompadour's building projects and favorite artists. Her low birth and the extravagant taste in building projects, porcelain, and gardening shared between the king and his mistress prompted her critics to accuse her of controlling her lover to the detriment of France. The "Poissonades," a pun on Pompadour's name and the French "sin" and "fish," and the title of a collection of satirical statements against Pompadour, summarize the vulgar criticisms of her. When, in 1750, rumor began circulating that her romantic affair with the king was over, she needed a way to retain her authority.

Pompadour's attempts to survive at court and reclaim the king's affections by fashioning and controlling her image through allegorical painting and sculpture, portraiture, decorative art, and interior design has been demonstrated in excellent studies by Denise Goodman, Katie Scott, Perrin Stein, and Colin Jones, as well as in recent exhibition catalogs.<sup>124</sup> Each of these mentions the friendship representations as one such survival method and, in doing so, draws on Katherine Gordon's study of the origins of the iconography in her article, "Madame de Pompadour and the Iconography of Friendship."<sup>125</sup> However, none of these scholars place Pompadour's images of friendship within the context of the contemporary discourse on friendship that existed in France during the first half of the century. I propose that the iconographic program projecting an image of Pompadour as a friend was consistent with an ideology of friendship derived from contemporary literature. The subscribers to this ideology formed a small sub-court on the periphery of the French court that was governed by Pompadour and functioned practically to secure the power of Pompadour and her friends. The primary "sites" of this court were the Château de Bellevue and a collection of prints engraved by the marquise. In so separating her image as friend from the king, she was able to retain her power at court without appearing to cling to a withered romance. Her success as a former mistress, where other French mistresses had failed, relied on her ability to establish an authority that was relatively independent of the king.

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<sup>124</sup> Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress* (London: National Gallery, 2002); *Madame de Pompadour et la floraison des arts* (Montreal: David M. Stewart Museum, 1988); *Madame de Pompadour et les arts* (Paris: Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 2002); Katie Scott, "Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme De Pompadour," *Art History* 28, 2 (2005 ): 248 – 90; Perrin Stein, "Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 123 (1994): 29-44.

<sup>125</sup> Katherine Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour and the Iconography of Friendship," *The Art Bulletin* 50, 3 (Sep 1968): 249-262.

Despite the French statesman and court journalist, the marquis d'Argenson's (1694-1757) assertion in 1750 that, "There no longer exists any pleasure of love between [Pompadour] and her royal lover," it is clear that the two remained in some manner faithful to one another throughout her remaining years.<sup>126</sup> The king's continued devotion is evidenced in the generous allowance, titles, lands, and time he granted his favorite until her death in 1764. Not least among the manifestations of privilege Pompadour continued to possess in the 1750s was her Château de Bellevue. In 1748, the king purchased a large plot of overlooking the Seine, with the intention of selling it to his mistress. The property was on a direct line between Paris and Versailles, along a semi-public road connecting Meudon and Sèvres. In 1749, it was purchased by Madame de Pompadour, and she commenced a project of furnishing the chateau and gardens that lasted through the middle of the following decade. Construction was complete by November 1750, and Madame de Pompadour assumed residence at the Château de Bellevue in 1751. The king's delivery on his promise to give Bellevue to Pompadour and her continued residence there until 1757, when Louis XV purchased it back from her, demonstrates the effectiveness with which the marquise managed to secure her position at court. The friendship iconography devised for Pompadour in the 1750s cannot be removed completely from her new relationship with the king. Their changing relationship was the impetus for devising the new friendship iconography. Her authority, indeed Bellevue itself, would not have existed without this relationship. However, I would argue that the reason the friendship iconography was successful is that it made sense beyond her

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<sup>126</sup> 16 December 1750, "Il n'existe presque plus aucun plaisir d'amour entre elle et son royal amant." René-Louis de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson, *Mémoires et journal inédit du marquis d'Argenson. Ministre des affaires étrangères de Louis XV* (Paris: Jannet, 1787), 3:377. Also quoted in Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 249.

relationship with the king; her identification as Friendship became independent of the king.

### The Garden Sculptures at Bellevue

The primary location of friendship representations at Bellevue was in the gardens designed by Jean-Charles Garnier de l'Isle (1697-1755).<sup>127</sup> Few records of the planning and layout of the gardens survive, especially of their state during Pompadour's residence. An anonymous early plan of the property (Figure 6), is probably from the period immediately after Pompadour's departure, as indicated by the fact that the inscription calls Bellevue a *maison royale*.<sup>128</sup> A basic impression of the gardens as they existed during Pompadour's residence can be derived from the early editions of Dézallier d'Argenville's *Voyage pittoresque des environs de Paris, ou Description des maisons royales, chateaux & autre lieux de plaisance, situés à quinze lieues aux environs de cette ville*.<sup>129</sup> The "lower gardens" contained simple geometric alleys and parterres on a slope that rose from the Seine to the château, through which the public road between Meudon and Sèvres passed. The "upper gardens" were on the château level extending from the oval court of honor towards Versailles to the southwest. These were reserved for residents and invited guests. A central, principal alley was defined by a long carpet of grass and terminated at an oval basin leading to a stepped terrace that transitioned to the country beyond. Visitors descended from the oval court to this alley flanked by two

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<sup>127</sup> Secondary sources describing the gardens include: Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 80-114; *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, 99-102 and 104-105.

<sup>128</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, cat. 7.

<sup>129</sup> Antoine-Nicolas Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque des environs de Paris, ou Description des maisons royales, chateaux & autre lieux de plaisance, situés à quinze lieues aux environs de cette ville* (Paris, 1755), 26-33.



bosquets with symmetrical arrangements of hedges. To the west of the principal alley, on the visitor's right when descending from the court, beyond the first open bosquet were the labyrinth, the Bosquet of Apollo, the Bosquet of Love, the grotto, and the cascade. To the east of the principle avenue were four areas with winding alleys and, beyond these, the kitchen gardens.

The sculptures placed in the gardens worked in conjunction with the chateau interior and the general design of the landscape to communicate the central themes of Bellevue to the visitor. The leading French sculptor Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1785) created a full-scale sculpture of Louis XV to dominate the central alley and the gardens as a whole. Pompadour commissioned the sculpture from Pigalle in 1750.<sup>130</sup> It was destroyed during the Revolution, but the general appearance survives in a terracotta model at Versailles (Figure 7) and a drawing made by the Swiss architect and engraver, Jean-Éric Rehn (1717-1793), between 1755 and 1756 (Figure 8).<sup>131</sup> Pigalle exhibited a model of the head at the Salon of 1751. The marble was delivered in 1752, and it was located in the gardens by 1755, when it was described by Antoine-Nicolas Dézallier d'Argenville (1723-1796) in his *Picturesque Voyage of the Environs of Paris*.<sup>132</sup> It stood isolated, removed from its surroundings by a gold balustrade.<sup>133</sup> The king was depicted à l'antique, as a Roman soldier crowned with laurel, his hands resting on his sword, and a

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<sup>130</sup> Guilhem Scherf and Paul Biver both assert that Pompadour was motivated by the comte d'Angiviller's commission of a pedestrian sculpture of Louis XV from Pigalle for his château at Neuilly. They cite the 1757 edition of Dézallier d'Argenville's *Voyage pittoresque des environs de Paris*. The explanation was not mentioned in the 1755 edition, and there is no indication whether Pompadour's commission was to be a copy. The observation in 1757 may have served only to reinforce the tension between Pompadour and d'Angiviller. The project was one of number of full-scale sculptures of Louis XV created around this time, by Jacques-François-Joseph Saly for Valenciennes and by Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne. Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 113; *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 296, cat. 130.

<sup>131</sup> Both are reproduced in *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, 296.

<sup>132</sup> Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque* [1755], 30.

<sup>133</sup> Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque* [1755], 30.

cuirass, fasces, and cornucopia at his feet. These attributes and his relaxed *contrapposto* pose depict the military leader presiding over a state of peace and abundance. A letter dated July 16, 1754, from Pigalle to the marquis de Marigny gives the inscription: “The King rests in laurels after having given peace to France.”<sup>134</sup> This depiction of the king as military hero in peacetime was appropriate for a château that served as a resting point between the business of Paris and Versailles. It asserted his authority, success, and his benevolent leadership in giving peace to France.

Pigalle’s sculpture of Louis XV is frequently referred to as a pendant to his sculpture of Pompadour as the goddess Friendship in the Bosquet of Love (Figure 3).<sup>135</sup> In 1749, Pigalle received the commission for an allegorical portrait of Pompadour as Friendship for the gardens of Bellevue. The marble for the sculpture was delivered to Pigalle in 1750. Two plaster models were well underway in March of that year when Garnier de l’Isle wrote to the director of the royal building projects and probable biological father of Pompadour, Charles François Paul Le Normant de Tournehem: “The figure of Friendship of M. Pigal, which he has made in plaster is very beautiful, he has no more than a few elements of clothing to finish, I think that *Monseigneur* will be greatly pleased with the two pieces.”<sup>136</sup> The finished sculpture was delivered and placed in the gardens in 1753.

The marquise is depicted as Friendship in loose drapery that reveals one of her breasts. She gestures towards her heart with her right hand as she extends her left hand

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<sup>134</sup> “Le Roy se reposant sur les lauriers après avoir donné la paix à la France.” Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 114.

<sup>135</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 85, 87.

<sup>136</sup> Letter from Garnier de l’Isle dated 17 March 1750, quoted in Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 88, and in Marc Furcy-Raynaud, “Les sculptures exécutées au XVIIIe siècle pour la direction des Bâtiments du roi,” *Archives de l’art français*, nouvelle période (Paris, 1927), 263.

and advances towards the viewer. Katherine Gordon traced the origins of Pigalle's iconography to a fifth-century description of an *Imago Amoris* and a number of Renaissance texts and emblems, especially illustrations of Cesare Ripa's description of *Amicitia* in his *Iconologia* (Figure 9 and Figure 10).<sup>137</sup> Ripa's figure of friendship holds her heart in her hand and offers it, in a gesture of benevolence and fidelity, to the friend. Pigalle has abandoned the literal depiction of the heart in hand, but preserved the gesture. The figure is supported by a tree stump covered with vines, which probably alludes to the attribute of the withering elm stump enveloped by the flourishing vine that appears in the *Iconologia*. According to Ripa, these signify that in prosperity and adversity true friendship is unwavering.

In Ripa's emblem, the simple clothing, partial nudity, and modest hairstyle symbolize the sincerity and purity of friendship.<sup>138</sup> The dress of Pigalle's *Friendship* suggests classical drapery. This is typical of allegorical and portrait sculptures in eighteenth-century gardens. It also is appropriate for a virtue or goddess that has associations with antiquity. However, the details of the costume appear to be modern. The sleeves gathered around the upper arm are typical of contemporary eighteenth-century dress, as are the fasteners around the thigh. Ripa's *Amicitia* has completely bare arms indicating the transparency and willingness with which she gives her heart to her friend.<sup>139</sup> Pigalle departed from this detail in order to clothe Pompadour in contemporary dress.

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<sup>137</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 253.

<sup>138</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 253. Cesare Ripa and Jean Baudoin, *Iconologie: Paris, 1644* (New York: Garland Pub, 1976), 10-11.

<sup>139</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 253.

A crown of myrtle and pomegranate flowers accompany Ripa's *Amicitia* and signify love and everlasting tranquility. Myrtle, which blooms in summer, is a traditional symbol of love, but the pomegranate flower, having a longer growing season, symbolizes the endurance of friendship. A crown of flowers sits at the right foot of Pigalle's *Friendship* in front of the tree stump (Figure 11). It reportedly was interpreted by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, the writer, printmaker, and the king's administrator of arts, as composed of flowers "of all seasons" signifying that friendship persists through all ages of life while love is fleeting.<sup>140</sup> The flowers at the foot of Pigalle's *Friendship* also recall the signature petite roses that accompany Pompadour in multiple portraits. For example, they are especially prominent in François Boucher's 1759 portrait in the Wallace Collection (Figure 12). These roses create continuity among the multiple images of Pompadour created in the 1750s. They suggest that friendship was not merely an ideal virtue isolated in her gardens. Rather, it functioned in conjunction with depictions of Pompadour as patron, artist, and *femme savante* to convince the court, and perhaps the king himself, that she was worthy of maintaining her status and power after the ending of their romantic relationship. The flowers carved at the base of the sculpture also would have echoed the flowers in the Bosquet of Love itself, which Dézallier d'Argenville described as filled with roses and jasmine.<sup>141</sup>

Pigalle's *Friendship* is consistently interpreted as the pendant to his portrait of Louis XV in the central alley at Bellevue. The notion that the two were understood as pendants typically and primarily is based on the fact that they are both portraits by Pigalle

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<sup>140</sup> "[L'Amitié] a aussi pour emblem une couronne de fleurs de toutes les saisons parceque, si l'amour n'a qu'un temps, l'amitié est un sentiment qui fleurit à tous les ages de la vie." Quoted in Philippe Verdier, "Eighteenth Century French Clocks--of Love and Friendship," *Connoisseur (American ed.)* (May 1960): 282-3. He cited L. Réau, *J. B. Pigalle* (Paris: P. Tisné, 1950), 39-41.

<sup>141</sup> Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque* [1755], 30-1.

in the gardens. The two sculptures were also paired in drawings by the Swedish architect Jean-Éric Rehn (Figure 8 and Figure 13) during his visit to Bellevue.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, it would have been appropriate of Pompadour to provide an image of the primary object of her friendship to make her assertion of her new relationship with the king more explicit. But the sculpture of the king was commissioned a year after that of Pompadour, and they were paid for using different funds. The *Bâtiments du roi* paid for *Friendship* while Pompadour herself paid for the sculpture of Louis XV.<sup>143</sup> The two are not discussed as pendants in the few descriptions written during Pompadour's lifetime, which was the only period when they were in proximity to one another. The sculpture of the king remained at Bellevue after Pompadour left in 1757, while the sculpture of Pompadour as *Friendship* was relocated to the Hôtel d'Évreux, her new home in Paris. The independence of the sculptures was further asserted by the golden balustrade that separated *Louis XV* from its surroundings and by the flowering trees that sheltered *Friendship* in its own bosquet.

The visitor to Bellevue had as much reason to find a pendant for either sculpture in Guillaume Coustou's *Apollo* (Figure 14), commissioned by the *Bâtiments du roi* in 1749—the same year as *Friendship*—and placed in the Bosquet of Apollo in 1753. Coustou's *Apollo* is not the glorified god of the sun; he is the pastoral god of the arts. He holds a scroll of music in one hand, two laurel crowns in the other, and a lyre under his arm. There is a broken column representing architecture at his feet. A block of marble, chisels, and the head of a Muse represent sculpture, and a palette and brushes represent

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<sup>142</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 296.

<sup>143</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 258. She perhaps did not want to request funding from the king because she wanted to surprise him. Some descriptions of the gardens recount a story about the king returning from the hunt one day to find Pigalle's sculpture of him erected and having the attributes explained to him. Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 113.

painting. Like Pompadour, he is patron of Bellevue, but as Guilhelm Scherf has suggested, *Apollo* is also a royal allegory and a double for Pigalle's *Louis XV*.<sup>144</sup> The sun god was specifically associated with the king's great-grandfather, Louis XIV, but also more generally with the king of France. Louis XV wore the comparison with less comfort than his predecessor, but the comparison was made nevertheless, and in close proximity to Coustou's sculpture. Boucher's celebrated paintings *The Rising of the Sun* and *The Setting of the Sun* (Figure 15 and Figure 16) were commissioned by Pompadour for the king's bedchamber at Bellevue. The link between Apollo and the king is clear in these paintings located in the room where the king would also rise in the morning and retire at night. At least one of the attendants of Boucher's Apollo has been identified as Pompadour herself.<sup>145</sup> In this way, the triangle of Louis-Apollo-Pompadour is established in both the interior and exterior at Bellevue.

Pigalle's *Friendship* and *Louis XV* might be viewed less as pendants than as sculptures engaged in a dialogue that also includes Coustou's *Apollo*. My characterization of the relationship between the sculptures at Bellevue departs from the traditional view that *Friendship*-Pompadour required the sculpture of the king to assert her new role as his friend. Katherine Gordon describes the sculpture as symbolically offering her heart to the sculpture of the king, without acknowledging that they were always in separate parts of the garden, or that *Louis XV* was even further removed from his surroundings by the golden balustrade.<sup>146</sup> The distinction made here is subtle, but its implications are significant. The independence of the sculpture suggests that Pompadour

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<sup>144</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 304.

<sup>145</sup> The nymph Thetis in the *Setting* has been identified as Pompadour. Michael Levey, *Painting and Sculpture in France, 1700-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993 [1972]), 167.

<sup>146</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 256.

was not only asserting her new relationship to the king, but also creating an identity for herself. There was a discourse on friendship in the eighteenth century that provided a legitimate context for Pompadour's friendship representations and informed its iconography. The success with which Pompadour tapped into this discourse that was removed from her specific relationship with the king made her friendship iconography flexible enough to be used outside of the context of her relationship with the king and to continue to be used by others throughout the century. Removing Pigalle's *Friendship* from its geographic and conceptual dependence on the image of the king allows one to consider how eighteenth-century ideas of friendship itself were employed broadly by Pompadour.

According to the inventory taken after her death, Pompadour held a number of eighteenth-century treatises on friendship in her library.<sup>147</sup> She also owned editions of the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, and Montaigne, whose essays on friendship defined the problems that were addressed in seventeenth and eighteenth-century texts on the subject. The first publication of the Marquise de Lambert's *Treatise on Friendship* was in Pompadour's library.<sup>148</sup> Pompadour also owned a later collection of Lambert's works that included the *Traité de l'amitié*.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Jean Antoinette Poussin, marquise de Pompadour, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Madame La Marquise de Pompadour, Dame du Palais de la Reine* (Paris, 1765).

<sup>148</sup> Julie Candler Hayes suggests these dates because of the text's similarities to Lambert's *Treatise on Old Age* and because of the writer's assertions at the beginning of the treatise on friendship that she is advanced in years. Hayes, "Friendship and the Female Moralists," 175. Lambert, "Traité de l'Amitié," in *Recueil de divers écrits, sur l'amour et l'amitié*, ed. Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe (Paris: Veuve Pissot, 1736). Pompadour, *Catalogue des livres*, cat. 2274.

<sup>149</sup> Lambert, *Œuvres, avec un abrégé de sa vie* (Paris: Ganeau, 1748). Pompadour, *Catalogue des livres*, cat. 2275.

Lambert was born into a wealthy, aristocratic, provincial family.<sup>150</sup> Her husband, Henri de Lambert, died suddenly in 1686, leaving his wife little money. Because of a legal dispute with her mother over her deceased father's estate, Lambert spent some years on a limited income. In 1698, she moved to her residence at the Hôtel de Nevers in Paris and in 1710, at the age of 63, began hosting her salon. Despite their class differences, Pompadour may have recognized a number of similarities between her life and Lambert's. Both women's mothers had relationships with men who became the daughters' benefactors. After the death of Lambert's father, her mother secretly married the poet and moralist François le Coigneux de Bachaumont, who guided her study of the classics and philosophy. Lenormant de Tournehem, who was probably Pompadour's father, encouraged her presentation and rise at court. Both women faced financial struggles in their lives. Both participated in *salon* culture and formed relationships with celebrated Enlightenment thinkers that furthered their own careers or reputations. When they turned to the subject of friendship, both Lambert and Pompadour were single and, by the standards of their time, older women. These circumstances were ripe for the cultivation of the kind of friendship defined by Lambert. For example, she asserts that age is a prerequisite and motivation for true friendship: "One advances in life, and one feels the need that one has for Friendship. As reason is perfected, as the mind increases in delicacy, and the heart is purified, the sentiment of Friendship becomes more necessary. This is what my solitude has made me think on this subject."<sup>151</sup> Lambert's

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<sup>150</sup>John J. Conley, "Anne Thérèse Marguenat de Courcelles, Marquise de Lambert (1647-1733)," *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (July 25, 2012).

<sup>151</sup>Lambert, "Traité de l'amitié," 48. "Plus on avance dans la vie, & plus on sent le besoin qu'on a de l'Amitié. A mesure que la raison se perfectionne, que l'esprit augmente en délicatessen, & que le coeur s'épure, plus le sentiment de l'Amitié deviant nécessaire. Voici ce que ma solitude m'a fait penser sur ce sujet."



approach to friendship may have seemed particularly appropriate and useful for Pompadour as she commenced her project of representing herself as a friend.

Lambert began the *Treatise on Friendship* in the form of a letter to a male friend requesting consolation for the loss of a mutual female friend, but the reader is soon made aware that it is not the friend but the friendship that she has lost: “You owe me consolation, sir, for the loss of our friend [*amie*]. I call lost any diminution in friendship, because ordinarily all sentiment that weakens, collapses.”<sup>152</sup> In these opening statements, the author demonstrates her awareness of earlier writers on the subject. The device of the loss of friendship and the misleading suggestion that it is due to the death of the friend recalls Seneca, Cicero, and Michel de Montaigne, whose essay was motivated by the loss of his friend, Étienne de la Boétie.<sup>153</sup> By calling her reader, “Sir” in her opening sentences, she also indicates that the male-female, heterosocial friendship will be privileged over the female-female, homosocial friendship, which is much more susceptible to the weakening of sentiment.

Julie Candler Hayes analyzes Lambert’s treatise within the context of texts on friendship by female moralist writers of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. She concludes that at the center of her theory, Lambert prioritizes heterosocial friendships as the most challenging but potentially the most rewarding.<sup>154</sup> The challenge comes from women’s general incapacity for friendship due to their lack of education and the social pressures to view their relationships in a utilitarian way, as potentially useful for selfish purposes such as status. Lambert also notes that most men, because of their own selfish inclinations and competitive natures, are not capable of true friendship either. However, the greatest

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<sup>152</sup> Lambert, “Traité de l’amitié,” 47.

<sup>153</sup> Hayes, “Friendship and the Female Moralism,” 175.

<sup>154</sup> Hayes, “Friendship and the Female Moralism,” 175, 177; Lambert, “Traité de l’amitié,” 81-2.

threat to friendships between men and women is sexual attraction or romantic involvement. This threat can be overcome by “virtue” and “restraint,” which are made easier when sexual attraction between two lovers fades. For this reason, the relationships with the most potential often begin as romantic relationships and develop into friendship.

There are a number of parallels between Lambert’s definition of friendship and the image that Pompadour created and projected in the 1750s. Lambert privileges relationships like the one Pompadour purported to have with the king after 1750, one that proceeds from romantic involvement and attraction. According to Lambert, this relationship is made more appealing by having that nebulous quality of being natural: “...where nature has made relations and invisible ties between persons of different sexes, one finds all primed for friendship. The works of nature are always the most perfect.”<sup>155</sup> Attraction, or inclination (*goût*), is the greatest pitfall to friendships between men and women, but if overcome, it is also the quality that makes them more natural and perfect. The responsibility for the virtue and restraint required to overcome attraction and romantic love falls on women in Lambert’s theory:

Sometimes such unions [between men and women] begin with love and finish with friendship. When women are faithful to the virtue of their sex, Friendship is the compensation for virtuous love, in it they can be flattered. In the manner that love is treated today, it is always followed by dramatic ruptures, disgrace always being the punishment of vice. Women that divide duty and love, and that offer the charms and sentiment of Friendship, when furthermore you find in them the same merit as men,

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<sup>155</sup> Lambert, “Traité de l’amitié,” 84. “...comme la nature a mis des rapports & des liens invisibles entre les personnes de sexe différent, l’on trouve tout préparé à l’amitié. Les ouvrages de la nature sont toujours plus parfaits.”

what would be better than to make friends with them? It is certain that of all unions this is the most delightful. There is always a degree of vivacity that is not found between persons of the same sex.<sup>156</sup>

Women are required by Lambert to recognize their duties, to deny love, to be virtuous, to have the merit of men.

From 1750, Pompadour actively fashioned a public image that fulfilled these prerequisites of male-female friendships. She appealed to the French clergy insisting on the purity of her relationship with the king.<sup>157</sup> The painted portraits she commissioned depicted her as a *femme savante*, thereby offering the “same merit as men.” In addition to emphasizing her intellect, learning, and talents, these portraits also idealized her appearance. Elise Goodman has demonstrated that in order to be acceptable, to avoid accusations of lasciviousness, the *femme savante* had to exhibit grace, beauty, and charm.<sup>158</sup> The idealized female portrait was typical in the eighteenth-century and was especially appropriate for the king’s mistress, who initially built her reputation on her beauty. However, the decision to make Pigalle’s *Friendship* sculpture an allegorical portrait rather than the nonspecific allegorical figure that was more typical of garden sculpture, may have been informed by Lambert’s theory of male-female friendships. The idealized face of Pompadour, her soft and supple skin, and her exposed nubile breast

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<sup>156</sup> Lambert, “Traité de l’amitié,” 82-3. “Quelquefois de pareilles unions commencent par l’amour, & finissent par l’amitié. Quand les femmes sont fideles à la vertu de leur sexe, l’amitié étant la récompense de l’amour vertueux, elles peuvent s’en flater [*sic*]. De la manière dont l’amour se traite aujourd’hui, il est souvent suivi de ruptures d’éclat, la honte étant toujours la punition du vice. Les femmes qui opposent leurs devoirs à l’amour, & qui vous offrent les charmes & les sentimens de l’Amitié, quand d’ailleurs vous leur trouvez le même mérite qu’aux hommes, peut-on mieux faire que de se lier à elles? Il est sûr que de toutes les unions c’est la plus délicieuse. Il y a toujours un degré de vivacité qui ne se trouve point entre les personnes du même sexe.”

<sup>157</sup> Gordon, “Madame de Pompadour,” 249.

<sup>158</sup> Goodman, *Portraits of Madame de Pompadour*, 47.

remind the viewer of that initial attraction that made the heterosocial friendship more natural and perfect.

It is impossible to say with absolute certainty that Pompadour read either of the copies of Lambert's treatise that she had in her library or that she recognized its implications for her own relationships. However, one can be certain that Voltaire, Pompadour's tutor in matters both intellectual and social, had read it. In the entry on Lambert in the list of writers and artists that followed his *Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751), Voltaire wrote: "Her *Treatise on Friendship* proved that she deserved to have friends."<sup>159</sup> Voltaire's own writing on the subject of friendship, which was probably informed by Lambert's, also affected Pompadour's friendship representations of the 1750s. Fontaine-Martel, to whom his poem "Temple of Friendship" was dedicated, served as another precedent for Pompadour in the role of the female friend who is also a patron and learned woman. Like Voltaire's temple, Pompadour's realm of friendship was purposefully located outside of court, a country retreat from both Paris and Versailles. The formal simplicity described by Voltaire in the first stanza of his poem might be compared to that of Bellevue's façade as illustrated in an early print (Figure 17) by Jean-Baptiste Rigaud (active 1752-1761). Voltaire indicated the character of the temple structure:

"...a temple, where art and its prestige  
Do not flaunt the pride of their wonders.  
Where never the eyes are tricked or deceived  
Where all is true, simple, and made for the gods."

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<sup>159</sup> Voltaire's *History of Louis XIV* quoted in the introduction to an English translation of Lambert's treatise: Lambert, *Essays on friendship and old-age*, 19. "Son traité de l'Amitié fait voir qu'elle méritait d'avoir des amis." in Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, vol. 2 of *Oeuvres de Voltaire, nouvelle édition, avec des notes et des observations critiques, par M. Palissot* (Paris: Stoupe, Serviere, 1792), 437.

Dézallier d'Argenville likewise described Bellevue as “of excellent taste, though simple and without Architectural Order.”<sup>160</sup>

Arguing that Pompadour's residence should be viewed as a refuge for the king rather than as a conduit of Versailles, Katie Scott asserts that the design of Bellevue was an expansion of her Versailles hermitage and embraced the eighteenth-century “poetry of the château.”<sup>161</sup> Comfort, intimacy, and “happy isolation” defined the character of the château in this eighteenth-century poetic genre. I would add that these qualities correspond to the simplicity of Voltaire's temple, which is a metaphor for the transparency and honesty that were claimed by eighteenth-century writers as responsibilities of true friendship.

The character and style of the château made it an appropriate site for true friendships, fictional or not, in the eighteenth century, and the English style garden was its appropriate counterpart. Stylistically, the upper gardens at Bellevue exhibited elements of both the formal French Baroque style and the English style, which was beginning to find favor in France. Bellevue was ostensibly a private *maison de plaisance*. But because it was purchased first by the *Bâtiments du roi* and contained apartments for both the king and princes, it verged on a *maison royale*, which it would become officially in 1757 when the king bought it from Madame de Pompadour. Therefore, despite the introduction of the new English taste evident in individual bosquets or in descriptions of the site, the formal French style remained an appropriate structure for the gardens. The French Baroque style was evident in the general structure of distinct bosquets divided by alleys, lined with shrubs, exhibiting symmetry across multiple axes, and containing

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<sup>160</sup> “de très-bon goût, quoique fort simple et sans Ordre d'Architecture.” Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque* [1755], 27.

<sup>161</sup> Scott, “Framing Ambition,” 264-268.

gilded lead fountains and basins featuring sculptures of putti. These features are evident in an early painting of the upper gardens (Figure 18), which probably was painted by the French draughtsman Simon Brouard.<sup>162</sup>

The introduction of the new English style was suggested by some breaks in symmetry across the primary axes, the incorporation of narrow winding alleys adjacent to the broader geometric ones, and the small streams running through at least one of the bosquets.<sup>163</sup> However, the emphasis on the surrounding landscape implied by the name “Bellevue” and the earliest description of the gardens confirm that, to some degree, they were conceived of in the manner of contemporary English landscape architecture. English landscape theorists emphasized the viewer’s perspectives and the compositions of vistas based on painterly qualities such as “variety.” Accounts of Bellevue almost always mention the view from its elevation above the Seine valley. A particularly lovely description introduces Dézallier d’Argenville’s entry on Bellevue in his *Voyage Pittoresque des environs de Paris* (1755): “The exterior of this château provides an impression of the most attractive aspects of this beautiful place. The points of view that are assembled here, the variety of their aspects, the windings of the Seine that seem to delight in their sinuosity and multiply before the eyes, these did give the name of Bellevue.”<sup>164</sup> His emphasis on the playfulness of the river in its movements and on the variety and the natural features of the landscape are a departure from the strict control

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<sup>162</sup> The undated and anonymous painting entitled, “Plan de Bellevue, maison royale à deux lieues ouest de Paris,” is reproduced in *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, 104-5. However, I suspect that it is the same painting entitled “Château de Bellevue vers 1758. Coté jardin” and attributed to Brouard in the catalog, *Notice historique des peintures et des sculptures du palais de Versailles* (Paris: L.B. Thomasson, 1838), Inv no. Dessins 734, Rf25050.

<sup>163</sup> Helge Siefert noted the anticipation of the English style in *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, 104-5.

<sup>164</sup> “Les dehors de ce Château donnent une idée des plus avantageuses de ce beau lieu. Les points de vûe qui s’y rassemblent, la variété de ses aspects, les serpentemens de la Seine qui semble se plaire dans ses sinuosités & se multiplier aux yeux, lui ont fait donner le nom de Bellevûe.” Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque* [1755], 26.

over nature preferred in the formal French style. Dézallier d'Argenville concludes his entry by observing where the landscaped gardens meet the pastures beyond and by noting the 100 acres of undeveloped park surrounding the gardens.<sup>165</sup> This effort to locate the cultivated landscape within its natural setting, rather than to insist upon the designer's (and patron's) ability to manipulate or dominate nature is evidence of the emerging taste for the English landscape style.

Ideal friendship, the notion (if not yet the structure) of the English garden, and the idyllic château are linked in a popular contemporary text that at its center privileges a heterosocial friendship, Françoise de Graffigny's, *Letters of a Peruvian Woman* (1747).<sup>166</sup> The Peruvian princess and protagonist, Zilia observes the interactions of the French elite (her captors), who exemplify the scarcity of friendship observed by both Voltaire and Lambert. Zilia notes: "They protest the sincerity of the praises they are forever lavishing with extravagant flattery and reinforce their declarations of love and friendship with so many unnecessary terms that the sentiment itself goes utterly unrecognized."<sup>167</sup> In addition to her general observations, the specific friendship between Zilia, her French benefactor Déterville, and his sister Céline is evaluated and defined throughout the novel. Zilia rejects Déterville's advances because of her love for the Peruvian prince to whom she had been betrothed before being captured, but she insists on her feelings of friendship, which she describes as "virtuous" and "truthful."<sup>168</sup> However, that friendship is threatened by Déterville's constant professions of love for her: "The

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<sup>165</sup> Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque* [1755], 33.

<sup>166</sup> Pompadour owned an edition published in Paris in 1751. Quotes are from, Françoise de Graffigny, *Letters of a Peruvian Woman*, Translated by David Kornacker (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1993).

<sup>167</sup> Graffigny, *Letters*, 128.

<sup>168</sup> Graffigny, *Letters*, 95.

feelings of which you tell me hinder the expression of my own and deprive me the pleasure of painting for you without indirection the charms I would savor through your friendship were you not to trouble its sweetness.”<sup>169</sup> By rejecting him, Zilia fulfills Lambert’s requirement of the female friend that her virtue and restraint overcome romantic love.

At the end of the novel, Déterville and Céline present Zilia with her own small country hermitage. Céline playfully misleads Zilia by telling her they are taking her to the home of “her very best friend.”<sup>170</sup> The house is a symbol of Zilia’s benefactors’s generosity, the characteristic that the princess repeatedly states is the source of her friendship for them and which was typically held as essential to true friendship. Zilia describes the house and gardens as the place where they “[savor] the delights of confidence and friendship.”<sup>171</sup> They spend the day being entertained by the local peasantry and walking through the gardens, whose “art and symmetry drew admiration only so as to render more evocative the charms of unadorned nature.”<sup>172</sup> The simple and intimate house and gardens are the final sites of friendship in the novel. This is paradoxically the place where Zilia will retire to her solitude and the place that she finally enjoys a true friendship with Déterville and his sister.

Zilia’s hermitage features a hidden library decorated with Incan treasures taken from the “temple of the sun” in her native city. In that room, Zilia is not only separated geographically by being outside of city or court, but also ethnically by being surrounded with foreign objects. Likewise, the marquise de Lambert attributes the capacity for

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<sup>169</sup> Graffigny, *Letters*, 133.

<sup>170</sup> Graffigny, *Letters*, 151.

<sup>171</sup> Graffigny, *Letters*, 159.

<sup>172</sup> Graffigny, *Letters*, 153.



friendship to retirement and solitude, the conditions in which she wrote her treatise: “You see well that all the virtues become necessary for perfect friendship. Retirement is appropriate for the cultivation of this sentiment; solitude is the friend of wisdom, it is within us that peace and truth live. [...] Wise people know to establish peace within themselves, and convey it to others.”<sup>173</sup> Madame de Pompadour also noted the benefits of solitude, though she did not relate it to friendship *per se* when she described Bellevue as a place where, “I am alone...or with the king and a few others, and am therefore happy.”<sup>174</sup>

The advantages of solitude and separation appeared in ancient and Renaissance texts on friendship, but it may have had special significance for women’s participation in true friendship during the eighteenth century. Christine Roulston has identified a “discourse on separation” in select novels written by men and published during the second half of the century. This discourse located “inseparable” female-female friends in the country and within the domestic sphere in order to neutralize potential threats posed by their relationships.<sup>175</sup> By virtue of being a non-sexual relationship held outside of the home, public female friendships, especially those between aristocratic women, threatened to undermine normal heterosexual relationships and to lead to an effeminate society. Roulston argues that the act of separating female friends geographically from the rest of society removed this threat. Her sources, primarily Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Julie; ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) and Choderlos de Laclos’s *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* (1782)

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<sup>173</sup> “Vous voyez bien que toutes les vertus deviennent nécessaires à la parfait amitié. La retraite est propre à cultiver ce sentiment; la solitude est amie de la sagesse; c’est au-dedans de nous qu’habitent la paix & la vérité.” Lambert, “Traité de l’amitié,” 64-5.

<sup>174</sup> Scott, “Framing Ambition,” 264, 286, n.81. Pompadour to the comtesse de Lutzelbourg, 27/1/1749, quoted from Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 18.

<sup>175</sup> On the “discourse of separation” that regulated female-female friendships in the second half of the eighteenth century, see Roulston, “Separating the Inseparables.” Her arguments will also be taken up in the second and final chapters.

were published after Pompadour's active patronage of friendship images. Yet, the threat of female friendship and the solution are relevant for the earlier cases of Pompadour, Lambert, and Graffigny's Zilia. Their separation is a voluntary act that allows them to maintain true friendships with men. I would suggest that like the later female-female friendships, these women were made—or attempted to make themselves—"safe" for heterosocial friendships through their separation.<sup>176</sup> Bellevue was a site of friendship in its style, character, and location. It was a place that neutralized the threat of Pompadour's continued presence at court and maintained her status.

#### Pompadour's Court: The *Suite d'estampes*

If Bellevue was a site ripe for the flourishing of friendship, a realm of friendship governed by Pompadour and responding to many of the prerequisites, restrictions, and advantages of friendship as defined in recent literature, one might view Pompadour's engraving, "The Temple of Friendship" (Figure 19) as its two-dimensional companion. The "Temple" is one of five allegories of friendship included in a collection entitled *Suite d'estampes gravées par Madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées de Guay, graveur du Roy*. The first edition was completed around 1755 and features more than fifty prints engraved by Madame de Pompadour after gems by the royal gem carver, Jacques Guay (1711-1797).

Simplicity is emphasized in the classicizing façade of the temple. The columns and entablature are of the Roman Tuscan order, which was derived from the Greek Doric. Vitruvius had described the Doric as masculine, and eighteenth-century architects

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<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, their heterosexual, nonromantic friendships and the realms of feminine power at Pompadour's Bellevue or Lambert's salon may have constituted the evidence for the threat that would be resisted later in the century.

continued making these gendered associations into the eighteenth century.<sup>177</sup> Its pediment features the crenellated tower of the coat of arms of Pompadour. A garland of oak leaves hangs from the entablature and supports a central medallion on which the initials of Pompadour and Louis XV are intertwined (“L.P.”). An inscription on an early edition of the print explains: “the order of architecture chosen for this temple is the most solid and the tree which forms the garland is the most durable. They indicate the character of a true friendship that, established in hearts made to feel it, never falters.”<sup>178</sup> One might expect to find Ripa’s pomegranate or myrtle flowers hanging from the pediment. Wreathes and crowns of oak leaves were ancient Roman symbols of strength and nobility. Like the flowers in Ripa’s emblem, the oak garland on Pompadour’s temple refers to the endurance of true friendship. It reinforces the meaning of the Tuscan order, which symbolizes the strength and simplicity of friendship.

There is no known literary source for the specific combination of oak garland and Tuscan temple, but one can imagine it being a suitable form for Voltaire’s temple: “Where never the eyes are tricked or deceived,/Where all is true, simple, and made for the gods.”<sup>179</sup> The simplicity of his temple is a direct contradiction to the complexity of Baroque and Rococo architecture, or to the “dazzling” interiors of Versailles. The appearance of Voltaire’s temple removes friendship from the reach of the court and nobility and places it in the realm of the gods. He describes the names of legendary heroes of friendship. Through her own medallion, Pompadour places herself and the king

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<sup>177</sup> Steven W. Semes, *The Architecture of the Classical Interior* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 33.

<sup>178</sup> “l’ordre d’architecture choisi pour ce temple est le plus solide et l’arbre duquel on a formé la guirlande [du chêne] est le plus durable. Ils indiquent le caractère d’une véritable amitié qui, établie dans les cœurs faits pour la ressentir ne s’y altère jamais.” J. F. Leturcq, *Notice sur Jacques Guay graveur sur pierres fines du roi Louis XV* (Paris: Librairie de J. Baur, Successeur de Lipmannssohn, 1873), 154.

<sup>179</sup> “Où rien ne trompe et n’éblouit les yeux,/Où tout est vrai, simple, et fait pour les dieux.” Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 17.

among these “great heroes” and “true friends” of antiquity removed from the court. Pompadour’s idealized, two-dimensional Roman temple that has no defined interior or walls beyond the façade, is an abstract construction that parallels Bellevue in its function.

Another precedent for Pompadour’s engraving is the Temple of Friendship erected in 1737 in the gardens at Stowe near Buckinghamshire, England (Figure 20). The architect, James Gibbs, loosely modeled it on Palladio and on the ancient Roman temple. The portico features a pediment, entablature, and columns of the Tuscan order. The austerity of its form was emphasized in Benton Seeley’s successful guidebook, *A description of the gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow [sic] in Buckinghamshire* (1744), in which he described it as “a noble Structure, of the Doric Order.”<sup>180</sup> The use of a simple classical order for buildings dedicated to friendship had thus been established in both literature and architecture before Pompadour engraved her temple.

In the middle of the century, classicism began to be associated with a more public art, which was favored by opponents of the private (and feminine) patronage of courtiers like Pompadour. Katie Scott interprets the lack of walls in the “Temple” print as signifying a transparency intended to counter criticisms of feminine, “private-minded patronage.”<sup>181</sup> But despite its classicizing elements, the dominant visual language of the “Temple of Friendship” and its accompanying friendship representations belong to the Rococo. The Roman order of the temple is its prominent feature and certainly conveyed the artist’s awareness of classical forms, but the garland that wraps the columns, the

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<sup>180</sup> Seeley, Benton. *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire. The 2nd ed., corrected and enlarg’d ...* (Northampton: W. Dicey, 1745 [1744]), 26. In later editions of the guidebook, “Doric” would be replaced by the more accurate “Tuscan.”

<sup>181</sup> She discussed the “Temple of Friendship” in support of her argument that Pompadour’s purchase of the classicizing and prominently located Hôtel d’Évreux in 1753 (constructed 1718-1720) was also an effort to counter such criticisms. In making the argument, she calls the hôtel itself a temple of friendship. But I would argue that the print could not have been separated from the friendship allegories and the site of the Château de Bellevue, at least as long as Pompadour resided there. Scott, “Framing Ambition,” 276-7, 282.

fanciful script of the oversized initials in contrast to the simple inscription on the entablature, and the inclusion of the Pompadour castle in the pediment are inconceivable on the classical temple façade. This incorporation of classical elements into a Rococo visual language was not uncommon at midcentury and is consistent with the other allegories of friendship engraved by Pompadour.

Pompadour began to circulate the *Suite d'estampes* among her friends in 1755.<sup>182</sup> The subjects of the prints included: allegories of political victories of France and Louis XV, which sometimes featured Pompadour as Minerva; coats of arms and portraits of Pompadour's friends and celebrated poets and playwrights; *putti* engaged in various activities including gardening, which was a favorite pastime of the king and his former mistress; and the allegories of friendship. It has been suggested that the *Suite* is best understood as a personal expression of the marquise's relationship with the king, a "*histoire privée*," but their function was semi-public in nature.<sup>183</sup>

The first edition of the *Suite d'estampes* was completed in 1755, but the friendship allegories probably were created in 1753, the same year that *L'Amitié* was installed at Bellevue.<sup>184</sup> The process by which Pompadour translated the carved gems and drawings to prints is somewhat unclear. At times the royal gem carver worked from drawings by the court artists François Boucher or Joseph Vien, and other times the drawings were done after the gems, as a means of translating the carvings from three dimensions to two dimensions for Pompadour to engrave. In most of the prints, credit is

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<sup>182</sup> Two expanded editions of the *Suite*, with prints Pompadour had excluded from the 1755 edition, appeared after her death, in 1777 and 1782. *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 215-223.

<sup>183</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 217.

<sup>184</sup> This date might refer to that of the gem carving, rather than the engraving by Pompadour. Katherine Gordon asserts that her small press was set up in her apartments at Versailles from 1751. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 254.

given to the royal gem carver, Jacques Guay, the draughtsman (“*Boucher del*”), and to Pompadour (“*Pompadour sculp*”), and the type of stone on which the image was carved is noted.

The “Temple of Friendship” was engraved on the central face (Figure 21) of a three-faceted stone of “*Topaz de l’Inde*” that functioned as a seal for Pompadour’s correspondence. The other two facets are of “Love Sacrificing to Friendship” and “Love and Friendship.” All three were drawn by Boucher, probably as models for Pompadour’s engravings (Figure 22 and Figure 23) after the gem carvings.<sup>185</sup> Boucher also drew the images of “Friendship” and “Faithful Friendship,” which were carved on separate gems and engraved by Pompadour (Figure 24 and Figure 25). The oak garland of the temple is replaced in the other four friendship allegories by garlands of flowers like those in Ripa’s *Iconologia* and Pigalle’s *Friendship*.<sup>186</sup> Other elements from Ripa include the heart held in Friendship’s hand, the mask of false friendship under the heel of Friendship, and the entwined vine and elm stump.

In addition to these references to Ripa’s emblem, each of the friendship allegories includes new and significant attributes. In “Love Sacrificing to Friendship,” the infant Love, having set aside his bow and quiver, places his hand on his chest and pours sacrificial liquid from a shallow dish over a flaming altar as Friendship offers him her heart. The exchange subordinates love to friendship, which is the arrangement prescribed by texts from antiquity through the eighteenth century. In Voltaire’s poem, an altar serves as the foil to friendship’s ultimate demise; her frozen corpse is contrasted with the

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<sup>185</sup> Leturcq noted that this was one of eight drawings by Boucher intended to facilitate Pompadour’s engravings after the gem carvings. Leturcq, *Notice sur Jacques Guay*, 106.

<sup>186</sup> The garland in “Love Sacrificing to Friendship” looks like the same oak garland as in the “Temple,” but Guay specifically noted that it is pomegranate: “La guirlande est de grénade du liere [*sic*] et de Ses de vignes.” Leturcq, *Notice sur Jacques Guay*, 147.

warmth of the altar. The notion of an altar dedicated to friendship in antiquity was held widely enough in the eighteenth century for Denis Diderot to counter its existence in his addition to the entry on “Amitié” in the *Encyclopédie*: “The ancients had divinized friendship; but it does not appear that she had, like other divinities, temples and altars of stone [...]”<sup>187</sup> The altar, like its pendant temple, is a classicizing motif that lends the authority and prestige of antiquity to Friendship as a goddess and recalls the ancient texts on the subject. Together the temple and the sacrificial altar lead to the third facet of the same cachet, “Love and Friendship,” where Love is united with his mistress by the flowering garland and their mutual reach for one another.

The allegory of “Faithful Friendship” includes the garland and mask, but adds a dog as a traditional symbol of fidelity. A seventeenth-century sculpture of a female figure holding her heart in her hand with a dog resting at her feet was located in the gardens at Versailles and entitled “Fidelity.” Katherine Gordon asserts that the figure at Versailles was derived from Ripa’s *Amicitia*, but the dog was intended to emphasize faithfulness as one element of friendship.<sup>188</sup> The sculpture was likely known to whoever devised the iconography of the gem and resulting print, but it probably also had personal significance for Pompadour. The marquise owned multiple dogs, and her devotion to them was widely known. She had two of her favorites painted by Christophe Huet, and in a print made after the painting of the dog, Inés (Figure 26), it is called Fidelity.<sup>189</sup> The importance of the image to Pompadour is reinforced by Jacques Guay’s note that she

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<sup>187</sup> “Les anciens ont divinisé l'amitié; mais il ne paroît pas qu'elle ait eu, comme les autres divinités, des temples & des autels de pierre [...]” Yvon and Diderot, “Amitié.”

<sup>188</sup> Gordon, “Madame de Pompadour,” 253.

<sup>189</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, cat. 63.

engraved the gem almost entirely by herself and that it was mounted in a piece of jewelry given to her friend and political ally, the Prince de Soubise (1715-1787).<sup>190</sup>

The prince also would inherit the carved gem entitled “Friendship.” The print after this gem (Figure 24) is closest to the model of Ripa’s emblem, complete with the phrases “longe et prope” and “mors et vita,” meaning that true friendship overcomes distance and persists beyond death. On one side, Friendship grips the elm stump, and the mask of false friendship is at her feet. On the opposite side, she extends her heart in her hand to rest on a broken column to which she is bound by the garland.<sup>191</sup> In the will that she had drafted on November 15, 1757, and revised on March 30, 1761, and on the morning of her death in 1764, Pompadour added this gem to the diamond she had already given the Prince de Soubise. Along with the gift, she named him executor of her estate with the authority to sell her things as necessary to pay the pensions she grants to her staff. She explained her reasons for conferring this burden on him: “he should regard it as certain proof of the confidence that his integrity and virtues have inspired in me. I ask that he accept two of my gems, the one, the large aqua-marine colored diamond, the other an engraving by Guay representing Friendship. I flatter myself that he would never part with them, and that they will remind him of the person of the world who has had for him the most tender friendship.”<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> The will was reproduced in Emile Campardon, *Madame de Pompadour et la cour de Louis XV au milieu du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1867), 300-304. Leturcq, *Notice sur Jacques Guay*, 149.

<sup>191</sup> The manuscript inscription written in the edition of prints owned by Leturcq did not indicate the meaning of the column, nor did it state specifically that the column is broken. Leturcq, *Notice sur Jacques Guay*, 105.

<sup>192</sup> Campardon, *Madame de Pompadour*, 304. Also quoted in Gordon, “Madame de Pompadour,” 255. “il la doit regarder comme une preuve certaine de la confiance que sa probité et ses vertus m’ont inspiré pour lui. Je le prie d’accepter deux de mes bagues, l’une, mon gros diamante couleur d’aigue-marine, l’autre, une gravure de Guay représentant l’Amitié. Je me flatte qu’il ne s’en défera jamais, et qu’elles lui rappelleront la personne du monde qui a eu pour lui la plus tendre amitié.”



The two gems given to the Prince de Soubise were not the only gifts of friendship representations that came from Pompadour. She also commissioned biscuit sculptures of herself as Friendship from the royal porcelain manufactory at Sèvres. Étienne-Maurice Falconet (1716-1791) was charged with the design of a small sculpture (Figure 27), which appropriated the iconography of Pigalle's *Friendship*. Falconet transformed Pigalle's figurative gesture of touching the breast with one hand while extending an empty hand towards the viewer, into a literal offering of the heart, which is placed on an altar to the left of the allegorical figure. According to the sales catalog of Sèvres, she received 19 of the sculptures in 1755.<sup>193</sup> In June of 1757, she commissioned a gilded bronze base for one of her figures of Friendship as a gift for the chief of police, Nicolas René Berryer.<sup>194</sup> According to the inventory taken after Pompadour's death, six of the sculptures remained in her collection at the Hôtel d'Évreux, suggesting that the other twelve had been distributed throughout the last decade of her life.<sup>195</sup>

Evidence of the distribution of her prints also is limited, but she offered a few editions of the *Suite d'estampes* to her friends. One set was offered to the margravine Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, sister of Emperor Frederick II of Prussia.<sup>196</sup> In a letter dated 1755, Pompadour wrote to the duc de Nivernais: "If Madame la Margrave, who has requested from M. de Calvière one of my prints, would desire the suite, I would be delighted to take her into my court."<sup>197</sup> It is unclear whether the *Suite* was sent, but

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<sup>193</sup> Réau, *Étienne-Maurice Falconet* (Paris: Demotte, 1922), 228-9.

<sup>194</sup> Verdier, "Eighteenth Century French Clocks," 283-284. Louis Courajod, *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux, marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du Roy 1748-1758...* (Paris, 1873), 2:316.

<sup>195</sup> The only surviving examples are in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut and the Cité de la Céramique, Sèvres. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 262.

<sup>196</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 268-9.

<sup>197</sup> "Si madame la Margrave, qui a demandé à M. de Calvière une de mes gravures, en desire la suite, je seray enchantée de luy en faire ma cour." Goncourt, J. de. *Madame de Pompadour* (Paris, 1888 [1881]),

Pompadour's equation of her court with the recipients of her prints demonstrates their political function. Relations between France and Prussia, and between Pompadour and Frederick II, were strained in this year prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. The marquise attempted to elicit the margravine's favor through her gift.

Pompadour employed her engravings similarly when giving them to French courtiers. In 1755, a set went to Étienne François, comte de Stainville, later duc de Choiseul and minister of foreign affairs.<sup>198</sup> He had ingratiated himself to the marquise by surreptitiously presenting a flirtatious letter from the king to the comtesse de Choiseul-Beaupré, Stainville's cousin. Around the time that Pompadour's romantic relationship with the king ended, the comtesse was put forward by the comte d'Argenson and the comtesse d'Estrades as successor to Pompadour in the role of mistress.<sup>199</sup> Although it was common knowledge that Pompadour and the king were no longer intimate, a new mistress would have damaged the marquise's position. When Pompadour revealed the letters, the embarrassed king banished the comtesse from court. By 1755, the comtesse d'Estrades had been banished as well, and Pompadour considered the comte de Stainville-Choiseul among her friends. In his memoirs, the duc de Choiseul described Pompadour, "who has tied me to herself in the most tender friendship and who has taken interest in all that is come to me."<sup>200</sup>

In 1756, Pompadour gave another edition of her prints to the marquis de Paulmy, later marquis d'Argenson. In 1757, with Pompadour's encouragement, he would replace

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483, and Leturcq, *Notice sur Jacques Guay*, 17. The letter is dated by Goncourt, "28 soir 1755." Nivernais was sent to Berlin as ambassador in 1756.

<sup>198</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 216, 268-269.

<sup>199</sup> Campardon, *Madame de Pompadour*, 162-4. Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 108-9.

<sup>200</sup> "[...] qui m'a lié avec elle de l'amitié la plus tendre et qui l'a intéressée à tout ce qui m'est arrivé." Étienne-François, duc de Choiseul, *Mémoires du duc de Choiseul, 1719-1785* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1904), 93.

his uncle, the comte d'Argenson, as war minister.<sup>201</sup> Stainville and Paulmy were two of the men who secured Pompadour's influence over the ministry for a brief period in 1757 and 1758.<sup>202</sup> Her *Suite d'estampes* was not merely a depiction of her relationship with the king. It served as a metaphor for her "court," which was founded on the virtue of friendship and could accommodate friendship bonds between men and women. Like Bellevue, the *Suite d'estampes* was a "site of friendship."

In the same way that the château and garden were appropriate locations for the requirements of friendship, the print medium facilitated the *Suite's* function and meaning.<sup>203</sup> The scale of prints and the intimate practice of handling them in single sheets or bound collections, rather than framing and exhibiting them, made the medium appropriately private for Pompadour's project. Yet their portability allowed them to be semi-public, to circulate among a "court" as narrow or broadly defined as she wished. The engravings occupied a space between public and private that paralleled the site of Bellevue and the space of friendship itself.

To demonstrate this point, one might again examine the single engraving of the "Temple of Friendship" in conjunction with the Château de Bellevue. Together, these "sites of friendship" enabled Pompadour to negotiate the liminal space between public and private spheres, a space which friendship occupied by virtue of being outside of domestic and kinship relationships but inside one's personal realm. This careful negotiation of public and private was all the more problematic for female friendships in

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<sup>201</sup> *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 224 and 268-9.

<sup>202</sup> Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 130.

<sup>203</sup> The significance of the medium to Pompadour is reinforced by the appearance of collections of prints in a portrait of her by Maurice-Quentine Delatour (1748-1755; pastel and gouache on paper; h. 1.77 m.; l. 1.3 m. Musée du Louvre, Paris). Goodman, *Portraits of Madame de Pompadour*, 128.

the eighteenth century. Female friends were required to be both separated from public life and engaged in an intimate bond with a person outside of the domestic sphere.

The “Temple of Friendship” and the Château de Bellevue were solutions to this challenge because these structures also existed simultaneously in public and private realms. Although the privacy and intimacy of Bellevue were essential elements of the character of both its interior and its gardens, it was situated on a semi-public road that intersected the lower and upper forecourts, directly between Paris and Versailles. Paul Biver notes that Pompadour and the king would have been accustomed to the “semi-public” nature of the location because of the conditions of court life in general.<sup>204</sup> Pompadour’s retreat for herself and the king was framed by the court and the city; it inherently, though subtly, evoked these more public spheres despite its claims to privacy and intimacy. Because it had been purchased by the king originally and hosted the king and his sons regularly, it could have been perceived as both *maison de plaisance* of the king’s mistress and potential *maison royale*. By negotiating public and private spheres through their geography, function, and style, Pompadour’s “construction” of Bellevue and the engraved “Temple of Friendship” overcame the challenges of heterosocial friendships.

#### The Garden Sculptures at the Hôtel d’Évreux

In April of 1757, Louis XV re-purchased the Château de Bellevue from Madame de Pompadour and established it as a *maison royale*. During that year, the relationship between Pompadour and her former lover was especially precarious. In January, Robert-François Damiens attempted to assassinate the king, fueled in part by his rage against the

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<sup>204</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 80.

perceived corrupting influences of the marquise de Pompadour. In the aftermath, Louis XV refused to see his former lover, and the resulting strength of the anti-Pompadour faction of Marc-René de Voyer de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson (1722-1787) and Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas (1701-1781) threatened her position at court.<sup>205</sup> She was in need of friends more than ever and losing her primary site of friendship at the same time.

The solution to this problem was to relocate Pigalle's allegorical portrait of the marquise as Friendship to the garden of her Parisian residence, the Hôtel d'Évreux. It was joined by the sculpture, *Love and Friendship* (Figure 28), which Pompadour had commissioned from Pigalle in 1754 for Bellevue, but which was not delivered until 1758. There, the allegories of friendship were ignored entirely and failed. The only existing evidence that they were located there is their appearance in the inventory taken after Pompadour's death. Travel writers and court journalists who discuss the sale of Bellevue or describe the hôtel gardens are silent about Pigalle's allegories. Whereas the Bosquet of Love was highlighted in descriptions of Bellevue, by 1758 there seems to be no interest in the sculptures representing Pompadour as friend. This begs the question of why Pompadour, who had exhibited such sensitivity to image and character of place, would have chosen an urban hôtel as a substitute for a country château to house her friendship sculptures.

In 1753, the king encouraged her purchase of the Hôtel d'Évreux. When Pompadour said she didn't have enough money, the king offered to purchase Bellevue from her and give it to the Dauphin, and with this money she could buy the hôtel.<sup>206</sup> Like

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<sup>205</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 141-2.

<sup>206</sup> Scott, "Framing Ambition," 273.

Bellevue's strategic situation between Paris and Versailles, the Hôtel d'Évreux was geographically positioned to link Pompadour with the king, court, and state. The Hôtel d'Évreux was designed for Henri-Louis de la Tour d'Auvergne, Comte d'Évreux, in the first quarter of the century by the architect Armand-Claude Mollet (1670-1742).<sup>207</sup> Mollet had an illustrious career at court, was named *Contrôleur des Bâtiments du Roi, jardins, Arts et Manufactures royales* in 1698, and was ennobled in 1722, he became the regular architect of the king in 1735.<sup>208</sup> Madame de Pompadour purchased the hôtel after the comte d'Évreux's death in 1753, at the same time that she was occupied with the decoration of Bellevue. She placed Jean Lassurance (1655-1724) in charge of renovations, the plans for which were described by Jean-François Blondel in the third volume of his *Architecture française*, published in 1754 when little work had been carried out.<sup>209</sup>

Blondel characterized it as one of the largest and "healthiest" of the great Parisian hôtels.<sup>210</sup> The garden was "vast and well maintained," and its view extended to the garden of the Champs-Élysées beyond. The plan published by Blondel shows the property line along the public garden (Figure 30); the two were separated by an open gate that visually

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<sup>207</sup> F. Hamilton Hazlehurst and Kathleen Russo, "Mollet," *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T058949>. Dominique Garrigues and Joël Cornette, *Jardins et jardiniers de Versailles au grand siècle* (Seysse: Champ Vallon, 2001), 309.

<sup>208</sup> Jean Coural, *Le Palais de l'Élysée: Histoire et Décor* (Paris: Délégation à l'Action Artistique, 1994), 10.

<sup>209</sup> In note "d" he writes that the additions described were discovered on a visit to the hôtel on 3 September 1753, and include the most "appropriate and necessary" additions based on the projects of Lassurance. [*Il se pourroit bien qu'on changeât d'avis à leur égard, mais ces additions nous ont paru si convenables & si nécessaires que nous avons cr<sup>u</sup> devoir ajo<sup>u</sup>ter soi à ce qu'on nous en a dit d'après les projets de M. De Lassurance, don't les sentimens semblent autant d'autorités en matiere d'Architecture.*] Jean-François Blondel, *Architecture française, ou Recueil des plans, élévations, coupes et profils des églises, maisons royales, palais, hôtels & édifices les plus considérables de Paris* (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1752-1756), 3:157.

<sup>210</sup> Specifically, he describes it as larger and more healthful than the Hôtel Lambert. Blondel, *Architecture française*, 3:156.

connected the two gardens.<sup>211</sup> Lassurance intended to broaden the east-west alley that ran parallel to the hôtel and to elevate the terrace in front of the main garden façade in order to create a better position from which to view the extent of the property and the Champs-Élysées.<sup>212</sup> There was also a proposal to acquire a marsh along the west wall to irrigate a kitchen garden. Blondel emphasized that this would create an opening between the gardens of the Champs-Élysées and the hôtel, that there would be an entrance from the public garden to the semi-private.<sup>213</sup> These proposed renovations suggest two general goals: to make the gardens appear larger and to emphasize the visual connection between her own property and the Champs-Élysées.

Katie Scott analyzed the connection between Pompadour's garden, the Champs-Élysées, and the proposed site of the Place Louis XV. Based on that visual association, the classical simplicity of the façade, and the military trophies carved for the interior paneling, Scott concluded that the purchase and renovation of the hôtel in 1753 and 1754 was a defense against criticisms of Pompadour's decorative program at Bellevue and her patronage in general.<sup>214</sup> Paintings for Bellevue by François Boucher and Carle Van Loo (1705-1765) were exhibited at the Salon of 1753, just months before the purchase of the Hôtel d'Évreux. Criticism of them and of her extravagance may have motivated the acquisition and renovation of the more public and centrally located Parisian hôtel. Scott

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<sup>211</sup> This plan is attributed by Jean Coural to J. Mariette, who engraved designs of the interior of the hôtel that were published in Pierre Mariette's *L'Architecture française* in 1727. The plan and elevations published in Blondel's *L'Architecture française* may have been engraved as late as 1753, when the third volume of his series on French architecture was published, but they almost certainly do not represent Pompadour's renovations.

<sup>212</sup> Blondel, *Architecture française*, 3:156-7.

<sup>213</sup> Blondel, *Architecture française*, 3:156.

<sup>214</sup> Scott, "Framing Ambition," 276.

convincingly argues that Pompadour's project at the Hôtel d'Évreux was to make "a spectator rather than a spectacle" of herself.<sup>215</sup>

Less convincing is the parallel that Scott draws between the relative simplicity and classicism of the hôtel architecture and the "Temple of Friendship" engraved by Jacques Guay (Figure 21) and by Pompadour herself (Figure 19).<sup>216</sup> The engraved gem is dated 1753, the year that Pompadour purchased the hôtel, and Scott connects the "openness" of their facades, their shared classicism, and their chronology. She calls the hôtel itself a temple of friendship. However, I would argue that the character of the hôtel and gardens, the grandeur and size noted by Blondel, and the proposed renovations to the garden emphasizing a connection with the Champs-Élysées are opposed to the characters of retreat and intimacy commanded by the virtue of friendship and embodied by the engraved temple. The classicizing style of the "Temple of Friendship" may be only coincidentally similar to that of the façade of the Hôtel d'Évreux. Classicizing elements were essential to an allegorical temple and common in eighteenth-century urban homes.

An indispensable element of Pompadour's friendship iconography was separation, especially from court and official duties. After the sale of Bellevue, Pigalle's portrait of the king remained in the central alley at Bellevue, despite the fact that it had been purchased with Pompadour's personal funds.<sup>217</sup> But, Madame de Pompadour's friendship iconography was less successful at her Parisian hôtel, not because of its separation from the sculpture of the king, but because of the character and location of the hôtel and its gardens. The stately character of the hôtel and garden, forcing its way into

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<sup>215</sup> Scott, "Framing Ambition," 281, 277-82.

<sup>216</sup> Scott, "Framing Ambition," 276-7.

<sup>217</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 155. Renovations of Bellevue's gardens and interiors for the king began in 1757, and the King was staying at Bellevue by August, 1760.



the official, formal space of the Champs-Élysées is opposed to the notion of friendship as represented by Pompadour. Of the building projects in which Pompadour was engaged in 1753, Bellevue was far more likely to parallel the engraved “Temple of Friendship.” The Bosquet of Love in the gardens at Bellevue could accommodate Pigalle’s sculptures and imbue them with meaning, but the “*grand Jardin*” of the Hôtel d’Évreux was less hospitable.<sup>218</sup> Indeed, she already installed Pigalle’s *Friendship* there—not in her Parisian hôtel, which she owned at the time of the sculpture’s delivery—and she commissioned a second allegory of friendship for Bellevue in 1754. Pigalle did not complete *Love and Friendship* until 1758, when Pompadour no longer possessed Bellevue, so the sculpture had to accompany *Friendship* in the garden at the Hôtel d’Évreux.<sup>219</sup>

In *Love and Friendship*, Friendship again is depicted in loose and simple drapery with a single breast exposed.<sup>220</sup> She is seated on a tree stump leaning over to embrace the winged Eros in a maternal gesture as though she is in the process of lifting him onto her lap. Their physical relationship symbolizes Friendship’s elevation over Love. Likewise, Eros has abandoned his quiver and bow at his feet, symbolizing love’s surrender to friendship. The same wreath of flowers representing the constancy of friendship lies on the ground.<sup>221</sup> The composition recalls other contemporary representations of “The Education of Love [Cupid],” in which Venus and Mercury educate the child Cupid. One of Katherine Gordon’s contributions to the understanding of Pompadour’s friendship

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<sup>218</sup> Jean Cordey, *Inventaire des Biens de Mme de Pompadour rédigé après son décès* (Paris, 1939), no. 488.

<sup>219</sup> There is no known reason for Pigalle’s delay in delivering this sculpture; Gordon suggests that Pompadour lost interest in the iconography after the sale of Bellevue. Gordon, “Madame de Pompadour,” 252-3.

<sup>220</sup> Pigalle suggests it is his own idea in a letter to Marigny dated 16 July 1754; *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 302, n. 1.

<sup>221</sup> In a letter to Marigny dated 1769, Pigalle suggests that unlike the first friendship allegory, *Love and Friendship* was not intended to be a portrait of Pompadour, and he thinks it is the more refined. However, when he wrote this, he was attempting to sell the sculpture at a time when Pompadour was not popular. *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, 302.

iconography is her analysis of this myth as an allegory of friendship.<sup>222</sup> According to Gordon, when Venus charges Mercury, her lover, with the education of Eros, she sublimates her own erotic identity and relationship for the intellectual pursuit of the education of this child. Indeed, this meets Plato's definition of ideal friendship as the sublimation of erotic attraction, which was expounded by writers like Madame Lambert in her discussion of friendships between men and women. Venus's platonic relationship with Mercury takes precedence over their romance, and Gordon observes that this parallels the "sublimation" of Pompadour's romantic relationship with Louis XV around 1750, when they ceased to be lovers and began to be friends.<sup>223</sup>

As further evidence of the connection between the two themes, Pompadour commissioned a sculpture of *The Education of Love* from Pigalle for her home at Murette in 1750, and the marble block was delivered in that year along with the marble block for *Friendship*.<sup>224</sup> Wax and plaster models for *The Education of Love* were created by 1751, one of which was exhibited in the Salon of that year, but all of them are now lost. By 1753, its intended location was changed to Choisy, but it was never delivered. Gordon offers the explanation that Pompadour had lost interest in the subject because of its subtlety, choosing instead to focus on the more direct portrait allegory of *Friendship*. I would add that Pigalle's sculpture *Love and Friendship*, commissioned in 1754, features a more personalized iconography for conveying the same meaning as *The Education of Love*. An engraving by Gilles Antoine I Demarteau (1722-1776), said to be after a picture by Boucher entitled "The Education of Love," (Figure 31) depicts a slight

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<sup>222</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 249-252.

<sup>223</sup> Gordon also discusses the parallel between images of Venus and Cupid and the Madonna and Christ child. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 252.

<sup>224</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 250.

variation on the typical depiction of the myth utilizing a composition similar to Pigalle's *Love and Friendship*. In the engraving, Venus, rather than Mercury, teaches Cupid to read. The child rests in his mother's left arm; she holds his lesson material with her right hand and uses an arrow from the resting quiver to guide his reading with her left. Venus has similarly small features and loosely falling hairstyle and drapery like Pigalle's allegorical figures of Friendship, but she is identified as the goddess by two doves. Her breast is not fully exposed like the allegory of Friendship, but Cupid places his hand on her left breast, the contours of which are emphasized by shading while the right is fully covered by her garment.

The similarities between the iconographies of this engraving of Venus educating Cupid and the sculpture of *Love and Friendship*, suggest the possibility that Pigalle's *The Education of Love* was abandoned in favor of *Love and Friendship*, that it replaced the earlier commission. The explanation for this might include Gordon's proposal that Pompadour desired a more direct allegory reinforcing her identity as Friendship. The survey of the history of Bellevue by Paul Biver offers another explanation.<sup>225</sup> He notes that Louis XV made two separate attempts to have allegories of love sculpted for the Bosquet of Love. The first, commissioned in 1750, was a copy of Edmé Bouchardon's (1698-1762) *Love Forming a Bow with the Club of Hercules* in the orangery at Choisy. This commission was abandoned, probably in 1752, in favor of an allegory of love by René-Michel [Michel-Ange] Slodtz (1705-1764), but only the terracotta model was completed by the artist's death in 1764. If Biver's account is correct, Love and Friendship were intentionally paired in this garden from its conception. Indeed, the name of the bosquet implies as much. The failure of the king's commissions meant that

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<sup>225</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 85.

Pigalle's *Friendship* stood unaccompanied when it was delivered in 1753. Around the same time, the Bosquet of Love was unofficially renamed the Bosquet of Friendship.<sup>226</sup> Friendship had triumphed over love in the relationship of Pompadour and the king and in the space of the garden at Bellevue, and it was this triumph that was depicted in Pigalle's *Love and Friendship*.

Madame de Pompadour cemented the triumph of friendship, confirmed Bellevue as a site of friendship, and minimized references to her former lover by abandoning the commission of *The Education of Love* and replacing it with *Love and Friendship*. A sculpture of the education of Cupid by Venus necessarily evoked Mercury in the mind of the viewer, whether he was depicted or not. Replacing Venus and Cupid with Love and Friendship diminished the role of the masculine, paternal figure of Mercury and, symbolically, of Louis XV from the allegory. Love is depicted allegorically, but the object of that love is removed. The commission of *Love and Friendship* for the gardens at Bellevue is another example of Pompadour's evolution from the king's friend to Friendship itself. By the mid-1750s, Pompadour's friendship iconography became less dependent on her relationship with the king. It was not her aim to cling to her position at court by promoting a relationship with the king alone; rather, she projected her image as Friend to assemble a broader circle of friends. It is no surprise, then, that the allegories would be less effective at the Hôtel d'Évreux, which was renovated to emphasize Pompadour's connection with the king and his government. When she purchased the hôtel in 1753, it may have seemed necessary to emphasize this connection, but by 1758, when Pigalle's sculptures were installed, that ship had sailed. Pompadour's survival at court required an independent image.

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<sup>226</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 87.

Such an image of Pompadour was projected in a portrait commissioned from Boucher, which he signed and dated 1759 (Figure 12). He depicted the marquise in a secluded, overgrown garden. She is surrounded by trees with pink and white flowers, perhaps the same jasmine and roses described in the Bosquet of Love and sculpted on Pigalle's friendship allegories. Boucher painted white blooms similar to those of the jasmine shrub in the square pot behind Pompadour. She leans against the pedestal supporting the depiction of Pigalle's *Love and Friendship* and gestures with her fan towards one of her beloved dogs looking at her admiringly from a garden bench. This was probably the same Inés, who was called "La Fidélité" in the engraving (Figure 26) after Christophe Huet's painting. Boucher's portrait describes the ideal location for Pigalle's allegory as a secluded and informal place, qualities also idealized in writings on friendship.

One place existed within the grand, formal gardens of the Hôtel d'Évreux that could approximate a site of friendship. A plan of the hôtel and gardens attributed to Pierre Convers and dated November 1726, indicates that Armand-Claude Mollet designed a "Small Garden of Trellised Arcades" and a "Flower Garden" on the east terrace, indicated by the shaded areas in the reproduction (Figure 30).<sup>227</sup> The comte d'Évreux took for his apartment a small antechamber, bedchamber, and cabinet in the rooms overlooking these gardens from the north side and a library and *Grand Cabinet* on the west side. These small gardens were separated from each other and from the broad terrace looking over the south gardens by a continuous structure with narrow openings at each end. Unlike the visual connection between the formal south garden and the Champs

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<sup>227</sup> "Petit Jardin de Treillage en Arcade" and "Jardin Fleuriste," Coural, *L'Élysées*, 16.

Élysées, it is likely that the views from the trellis garden and the flower garden were obstructed, allowing one the sense of seclusion and privacy.

A plan by the royal architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel, dated 1766 (Figure 32), likely represents the state of Pompadour's hôtel and gardens at the time of her death in 1764.<sup>228</sup> Gabriel succeeded Lassurance as lead architect of the hôtel after the latter's death in 1755.<sup>229</sup> He planned to maintain the trellised garden and the flower garden on the east terrace and add a second flower garden mirroring the first on the west terrace. There is no known document that describes Pigalle's sculptures here, but both of the gardens seem like candidates to house the sculptures because, as shaded places where the views to the public gardens beyond were obstructed, they would have been most like the bosquet at Bellevue. Pompadour's fondness for the two small gardens is suggested by the fact that she retained both—a subsequent owner would eliminate the trellised garden in favor of more kitchen space—and that her personal rooms continued to overlook them.

Travel guides published during Pompadour's residency focused on the formal gardens and adjacent to the Champs Élysées rather than the more secluded spaces.<sup>230</sup> Pompadour's statement of fealty to the king was a more public and political one at the Hôtel d'Évreux. Despite the failure of her iconography of friendship here, one cannot conclude that the imagery itself was limited or failing. On the contrary, its success is evidenced in numerous objects commissioned by women at court who constructed their

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<sup>228</sup> The marquis de Marigny carried out Pompadour's wish that the property should be sold to the king. On 18 September 1765, the council of State approved the bequest and dedicated the hôtel for the use of ambassadors staying in Paris. In January 1766, the year that Gabriel's plan was completed, the hôtel became a site for police training. Madame de Pompadour's coats of arms were removed from the façade in 1765, but there are no records of extensive renovations between the time of her death and the completion of Gabriel's plan. Coural, *L'Élysées*, 29-30.

<sup>229</sup> Coural, *L'Élysées*, 29. His plan indicates that a second flower garden had been constructed or planned for the west terrace as well.

<sup>230</sup> Jean-Aimar Piganiol de la Force, *Description historique de la Ville de Paris et de ses environs* (Paris, 1765), 10: 27-8.

identities as friend in the mode of—but without direct reference to—Madame de Pompadour. The legacy of Pompadour’s friendship iconography was sustained due to its references to the contemporary discourse and its location in appropriate sites of friendship. Its broader allusions to literature and place allowed her successors at court to adopt the guise of Friendship without incurring direct affiliation with Pompadour and her particular politics of friendship.

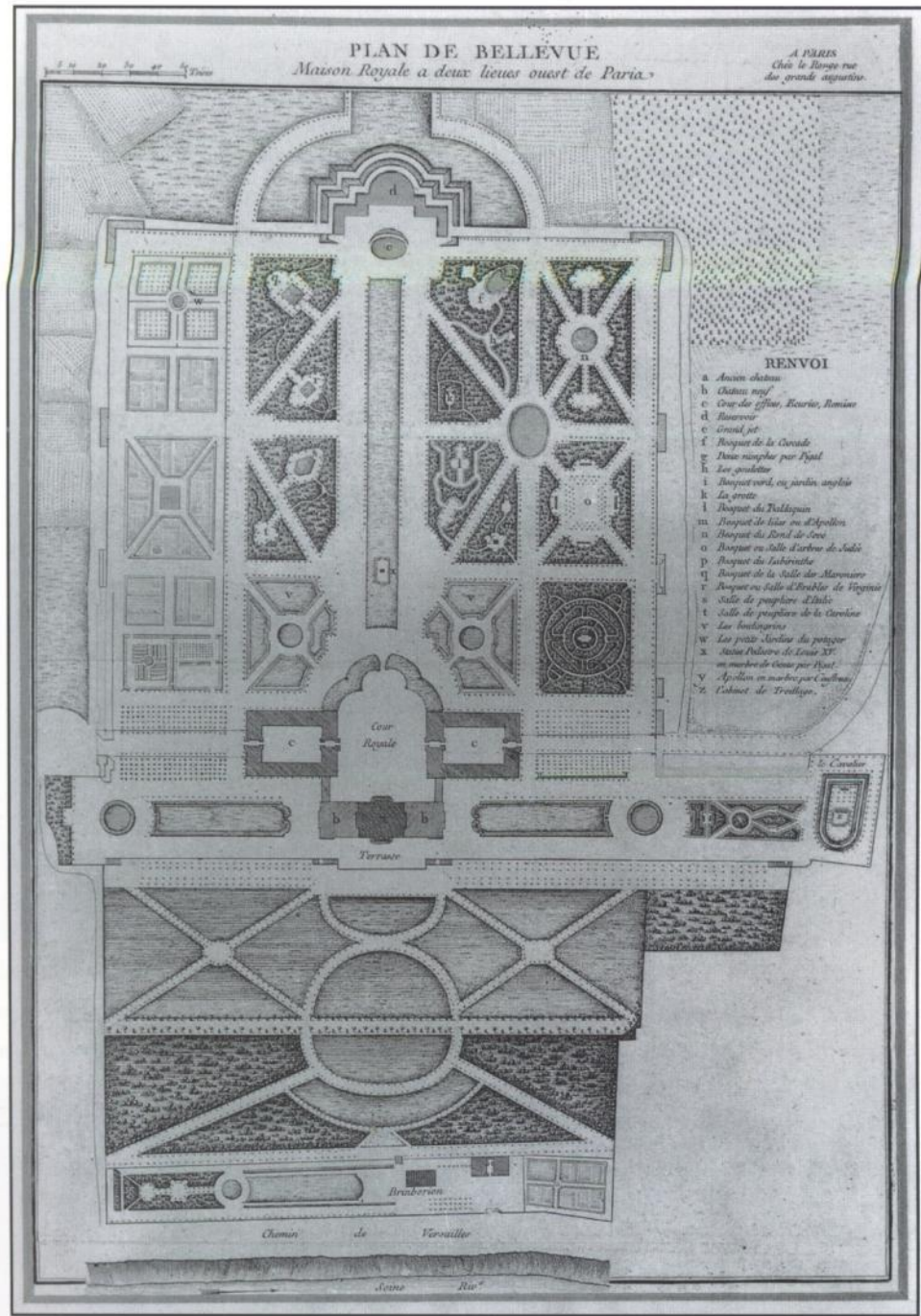


Figure 6 “Plan de Bellevue, maison royale à deux lieues ouest de Paris.” Engraving, 48.5 x 33.5 cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (inv. GRAV. 680).





Figure 7 Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, after, *Louis XV*. Terracotta, 53 x 25 x 21.5cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.



Figure 8 Jean-Éric Rehn, after Pigalle, *Louis XV*, ca. 1755-6. Pen and brown ink, brown tint. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.



Figure 9 Cesare Ripa, "Amicitia," *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611).

AMITIÉ



Figure 10 “Amitié,” in Cesare Ripa and Jean Baudoin, *Iconologie: Paris, 1644* (New York: Garland Pub, 1976).



Figure 11 Detail of Figure 3.





Figure 12 François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1759. Oil on canvas, 91 x 68 cm. Wallace Collection, London



Figure 13 Jean-Éric Rehn, after Pigalle, *L'Amitié sous les traits de Madame de Pompadour*, ca. 1755-6. Drawin in pen and brown ink, brown tint. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.



Figure 14 Guillaume II Coustou, *Apollo*, 1753. Marble, 180 x 80 x 71cm.  
Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.





Figure 15 François Boucher, *The Rising of the Sun*, 1753. Oil on canvas, 321 x 270 cm. London, Wallace Collection.



Figure 16 François Boucher, *The Setting of the Sun*, 1753. Oil on canvas, 324 x 264 cm. London, Wallace Collection.



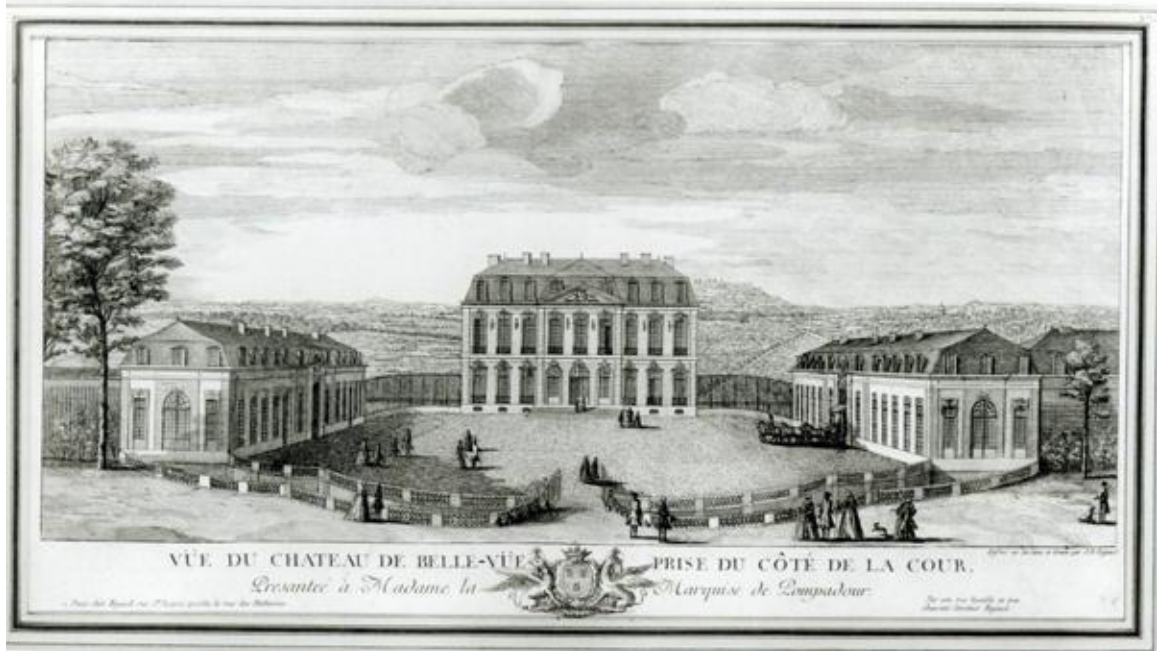


Figure 17 Jean-Baptiste Rigaud (active 1752-1761), “Vue du château de Belle-Vüe prise du côté de la cour.” Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

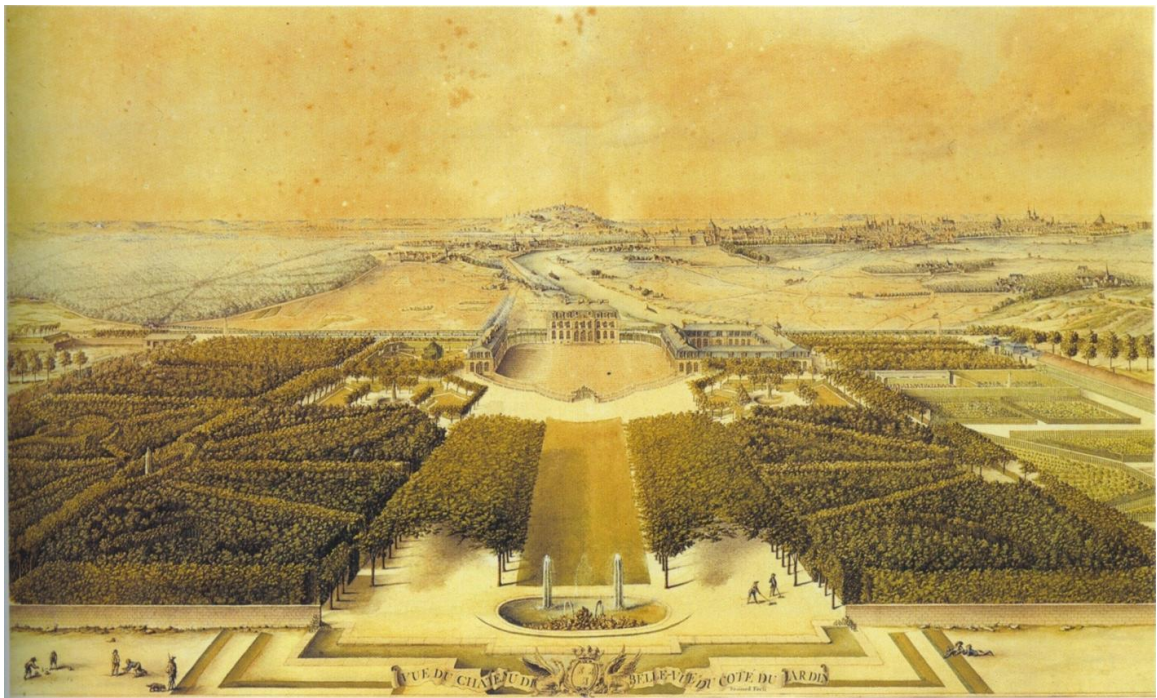


Figure 18 Simon Brouard (?), “Vue du château de Bellevue du côté du jardin” [“View of the Chateau of Bellevue from the garden side”]. Ink and watercolor, 58.3 x 97.5 cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon .

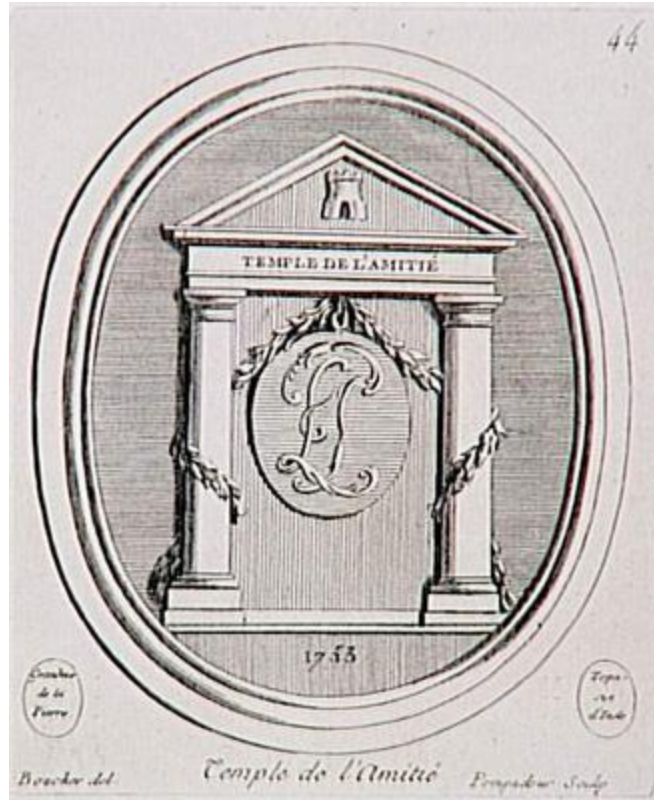


Figure 19 Madame de Pompadour, “The Temple of Friendship,” in *Suite d’estampes gravées par Madame de Pompadour...*, [1755], c. 1753.



Figure 20 James Gibbs, Temple of Friendship, begun circa 1737 (heightened 1772-4).  
Stowe, Buckinghamshire.



Figure 21 Jacques Guay, Seal of Madame de Pompadour, 1753. Topaz; engraved on three  
sides in intaglio. Paris, BNF, Cabinet des médailles, Chabouillet 2504.



Figure 22 Madame de Pompadour, “Love Sacrificing to Friendship,” in *Suite d’estampes gravées par Madame de Pompadour...*, [1755], c. 1753.





Figure 23 Madame de Pompadour, "Love and Friendship," in *Suite d'estampes gravées par Madame de Pompadour...*[1755], c. 1752.

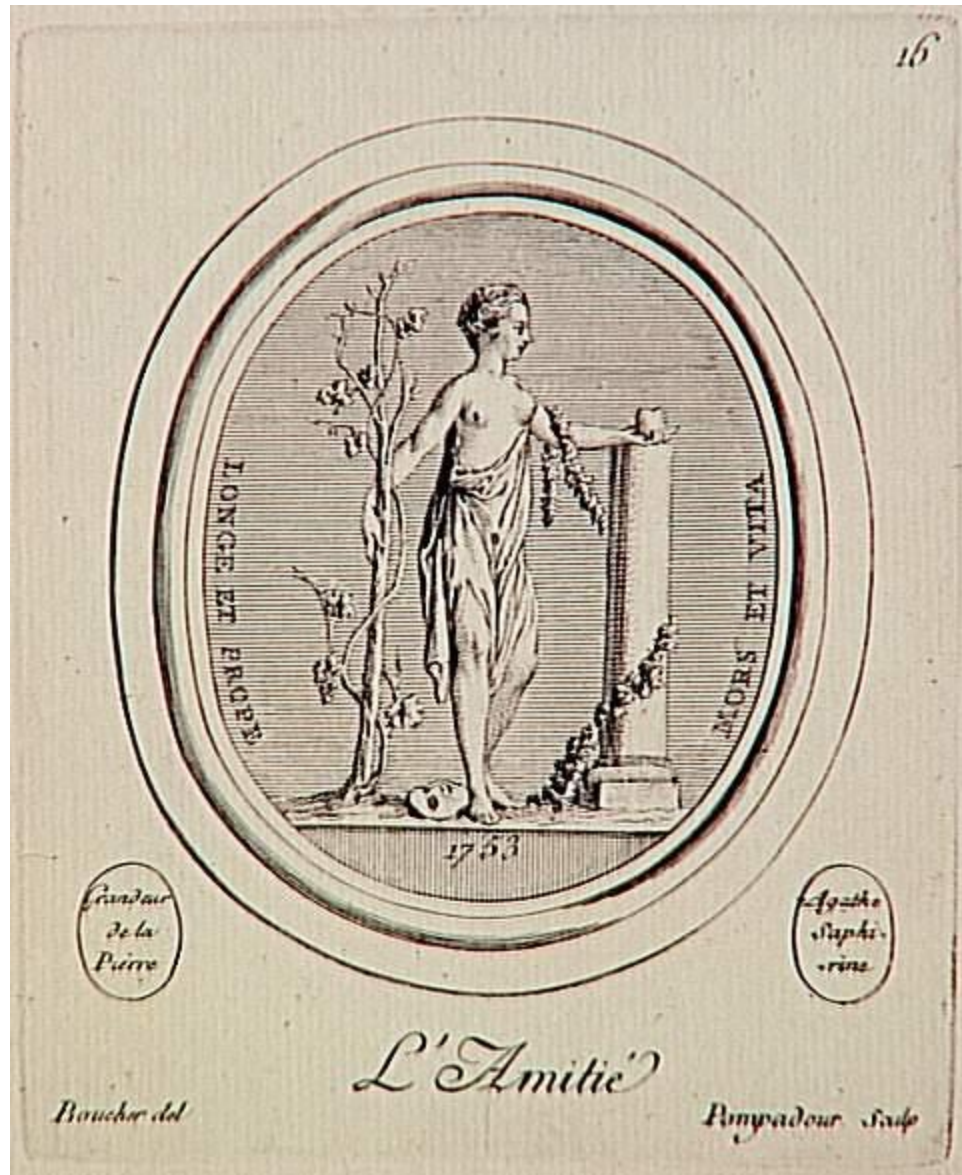


Figure 24 Madame de Pompadour, “Friendship,” in *Suite d’estampes gravées par Madame de Pompadour...*[1755], c. 1753.





Figure 25 Madame de Pompadour, “Faithful Friendship,” in *Suite d’estampes gravées par Madame de Pompadour...*[1755], c. 1753.



Figure 26 Étienne Fessard (1714-1777) and Augustin de Saint-Aubin (1736-1807), after Christophe Huet (1700-1759), “La Fidélité. Portrait d’Inès.” Aquatint and burin, 27.8 x 31.3 (plate impression).



Figure 27 Etienne-Maurice Falconet, "Madame de Pompadour as Friendship" [*Offering of the Heart*],1755. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum.



Figure 28 Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amour et l'amitié*, 1758. Marble, 142 x 80.8 x 77 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



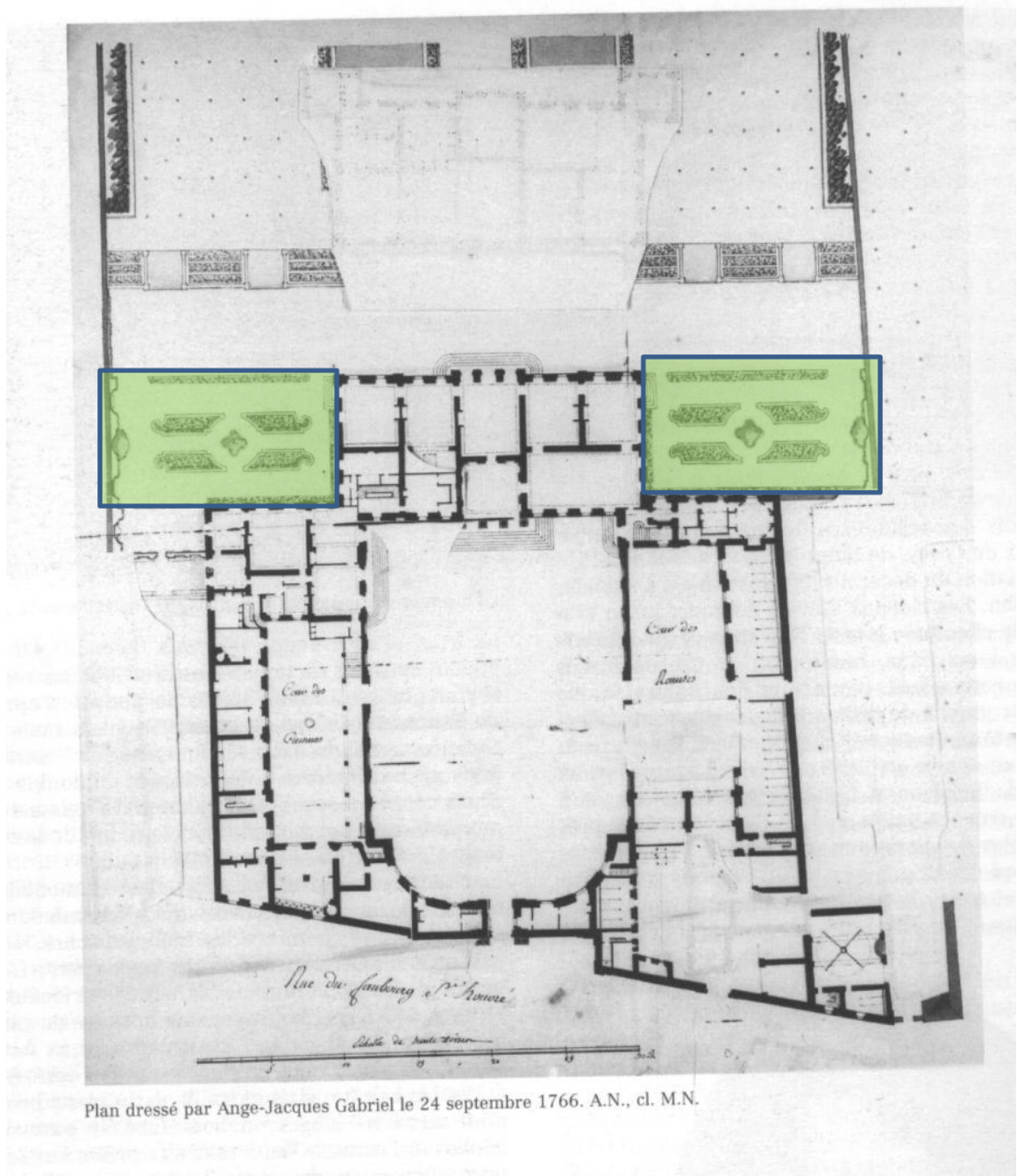


Figure 29 Detail of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amour et l'amitié*, 1758. Marble, 142 x 80.8 x 77 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.





Figure 31 Gilles Antoine I Demarteau, after François Boucher, *L'Education de l'amour*. Engraving in sanguine, 42 x 33 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Plan dressé par Ange-Jacques Gabriel le 24 septembre 1766. A.N., cl. M.N.

Figure 32 Ange-Jacques Gabriel, Plan of the Hôtel d'Évreux, 24 September 1766. Archives Nationales, Paris. With shaded sections indicating the enclosed gardens.



### CHAPTER 3

#### THE PERSISTENCE OF FRIENDSHIP: THE LEGACY OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR IN FRANCE

After the death of the marquise de Pompadour in 1764, Augustin de Saint-Aubin (1736-1807) engraved her portrait (Figure 33) by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790) with the following inscription by the French encyclopedist Jean-François Marmontel (1723-1799):

With such sweet features, Love modeled in her  
A Heart so true, so tender, and so faithful  
That Friendship believed simply  
That it was made intentionally for her.<sup>231</sup>

The epitaph implies that the virtue of friendship was associated closely with the image of Pompadour by the end of her life, and that the meaning of her friendship iconography and the conceptions of female friendship expounded in literature of the first half of the century were understood by her audience. It describes a friendship formed in love, which Madame Lambert might have termed “attraction” in her treatise on friendship, and which she praised as the best model of heterosocial friendship. It genders friendship as a feminine virtue and describes its essential qualities as truth, tenderness, and fidelity. This

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<sup>231</sup> *Avec des traits si doux l'Amour en la formant/Lui fit un Cœur si vrai, si tendre et si fidèle/Que l'Amitié crut bonnement/Qu'il la faisoit exprès pour elle.*

conception of friendship was elaborated and depicted in art commissioned by women related and unrelated to Pompadour in the decades after her death.

Katherine Gordon identified a number of friendship representations created after Pompadour's death, but she characterized them as "charming but rather empty echoes of the Pompadouresque iconography of Friendship which, for all intents and purposes, died along with the Marquise in 1764."<sup>232</sup> This chapter challenges her reading by identifying additional objects that demonstrate the growing patronage and audience for representations of friendship, examining the degree to which they appropriated Pompadour's iconography, and considering their significance for both their patrons and artists. After returning briefly to Pompadour's commissions in order to demonstrate the precedent she set for her successors, I will survey the images of friendship that proliferated in the decorative arts after her death. The royal porcelain manufactories at Vincennes and Sèvres issued at least four editions of biscuit sculptures featuring different allegories of friendship in the 1760s and 1770s, and dozens of miniatures, cameos, and coins depicting the subject also were sold in the last quarter of the century. Collectively, these objects demonstrate a general shift away from the model of female friendship that was promoted in the "Pompadouresque iconography" and that had sustained the marquise's power after the end of her sexual relationship with the king. Yet, what Melissa Hyde has called the "specter of Pompadour" continued to haunt, or perhaps to motivate and inspire, elite French women at court. The second and third sections of the chapter explore how and why the king's mistress, the comtesse du Barry, and his aunt, Madame Victoire, appropriated Pompadour's friendship iconography given the understandable tensions between them and Pompadour's negative reputation. These

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<sup>232</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 261.

women applied the method of the marquise—to assert an alternative relationship with a male benefactor (or benefactors) through an iconography and place of friendship—in diverse and clever ways to achieve similar ends while not directly evoking her memory.

Du Barry and Victoire might also have found in Madame de Pompadour's patronage a strategy for how a woman near the king could model herself discretely on her predecessor. The art historian Elise Goodman has demonstrated that Pompadour commissioned portraits in which she appears as a *femme savante* in the manner of the mistresses of Louis XIV, Madame de Montespan (1640-1701) and Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719).<sup>233</sup> Both of the Sun King's mistresses were depicted with books and harpsichords to demonstrate their learnedness. Pompadour also moved herself into the suite at Versailles that had been occupied by the two mistresses, demonstrating yet again the acute awareness of the meaning(s) of place in the eighteenth century. Indeed, Goodman argues that Pompadour's construction of the gardens and château at Bellevue may have echoed the building activities of Madame de Montespan.<sup>234</sup> In light of this precedent, it seems possible that Madame du Barry, Madame Victoire, and others emulated Pompadour's patronage and wanted the places they constructed to embody their relation to the king as hers had. The persistence of friendship as a virtue joined to place evidences the value of friendship as a claim to power for some elite patrons during the Ancien Regime.

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<sup>233</sup> Goodman, *Portraits of Madame de Pompadour*, 50-57.

<sup>234</sup> Goodman, *Portraits of Madame de Pompadour*, 60.

## Friendship in the Decorative Arts

In addition to the carved gems, engravings, and garden sculptures of friendship created for or by Madame de Pompadour, she also commissioned a biscuit sculpture of Friendship from the Royal Porcelain Manufactory at Vincennes. It was designed by leading French sculptor Étienne-Maurice Falconet around 1755, and contributed in large part to the popularity of decorative objects depicting the subject after Pompadour's death. She received examples of the sculpture from Vincennes in December of 1755.<sup>235</sup> The delivery record included the following notation: "Since the figures of Friendship ordered by Madame the Marquise de Pompadour portrayed her, the company thought it ought not receive any payment for them and begged Madame de Pompadour to find that good, thereby releasing these 19 figures from the *magasin de vente*."<sup>236</sup> At her death, only four remained in her possession; the rest probably were distributed as gifts, gestures of friendship offered to her confidants and political allies.<sup>237</sup>

The collections of the ceramics museum at Sèvres (Figure 34) and the Wadsworth Atheneum in Connecticut (Figure 35) hold examples of this biscuit piece.<sup>238</sup> It is in the format of the single-figure allegories like Pigalle's *Friendship* (Figure 3), which had been delivered only two years earlier. As indicated in the delivery note, Falconet's design is a portrait of Pompadour. She holds her heart in her right hand while her left arm grips a

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<sup>235</sup> Verdier, "Eighteenth Century French Clocks," 283. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 259. Verdier dates the delivery on the 29<sup>th</sup> and Gordon on the 19<sup>th</sup>. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Linda Horvitz Roth, and Clare Le Corbeiller, *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain at the Wadsworth Atheneum: The J. Pierpont Morgan collection* (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 2000), Cat. 176, 353-356.

<sup>236</sup> Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, et al., *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, 353.

<sup>237</sup> Verdier noted that she gave one to the lieutenant of police Berryer. He cited the *Livre journal* of Duvaux, no. 2799, 7th June, 1757. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 259; Donald Posner, "Mme. De Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 1 (1990): 77; Verdier, "Eighteenth Century French Clocks," 283-4, n. 11. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, et al., *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, 355.

<sup>238</sup> They are called variously: *L'Amitié au Cœur*; *Mme de Pompadour en déesse de l'Amitié*; *Allégorie de Mme de Pompadour offrant son cœur au roi*. Musée national de Céramique, Sèvres, *Falconet à Sèvres 1757-1766 ou l'art de plaire* (Paris: R.M.N., 2001), 114.

truncated column that suggests an altar, though no flame is depicted. A flowering vine winds around the column in the manner of the vine on the lower portion of the column in Pompadour's engraved emblem of "Friendship" (Figure 24). Like Pigalle's allegory, this figure leans against a tree stump, probably alluding to Ripa's withered elm. The tilt of the head and fluid lines of the drapery in Falconet's figure are in the spirit of Pigalle's, but with more elegant and dramatic curves. Falconet's figure also is more closed in form and mood. Friendship directs her gaze to the viewer, but she does not extend her heart as a gesture to the friend; rather, her arm blocks the viewer's approach as she hugs the column. The relatively dramatic and dynamic lines of Falconet's figure and its relatively closed posture suggest the evolving autonomy of the Friendship figure by 1755. The figure did not need to offer herself to the king or viewer through gesture or maintain the formality seen in the emblem books. The decorative sculpture was not didactic or pleading for the viewer's friendship. Lacking overt reference to the king, it could be gifted to a friend to communicate to the recipient that he or she belonged to the inner circle of the marquise, who was the possessor of the virtue of friendship. Its small scale and mobility, like the carved gems and editions of prints, allowed Pompadour's "court" to be wherever her friends were. These representations of friendship, like friendship itself, traversed the space between public and private, and they allowed Pompadour to extend her friendship beyond the geographic boundaries of her site of friendship at Bellevue. As a female friend, this enabled her to reside in a separated place while claiming her friendships.

The decades after the marquise de Pompadour's death witnessed a proliferation of decorative objects featuring allegories of friendship. Falconet designed a second allegory

for Sèvres in 1765, a decade after his first allegory and one year after the death of the marquise. He exhibited it in marble with the title *Friendship* at the Salon of 1765. This version is lost, but a biscuit copy survives at the Musée de la Céramique in Sèvres entitled *Friendship with Her Heart in Both Hands* (Figure 36).<sup>239</sup> Falconet departed from the iconography and figure style of his earlier design.<sup>240</sup> It is not a portrait of Pompadour; her facial features look nothing like those of the earlier figures. Her hair hangs down and no altar appears. The standing figure braces against a tree stump with withering and blooming vines, offering her heart to the viewer with both arms extending outward. At her foot is the mask that signifies the honesty and sincerity of the friend. The design is more like Pigalle's *Friendship* of 1753 than Falconet's own allegory of 1755. Katherine Gordon proposed that this piece was commissioned while Pompadour was alive, perhaps by the marquise herself. She explains the generic visage by the death of Pompadour to support her assessment that Pompadour's friendship iconography was limited to her use and never appealed more broadly.<sup>241</sup> However, there is no record of a late commission from Pompadour, and Falconet's choice to proceed with the sculpture and exhibit it at the Salon in the year following her death suggests he thought the Sèvres piece would find buyers.

Denis Diderot's (1713-1784) review of the Salon that year emphasized the sentimental, sacred, and classicizing qualities of Falconet's marble sculpture and distinguished it from its predecessors in its contemporary style.<sup>242</sup> He opened the entry on

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<sup>239</sup> H. W. Janson, *Paris salons* (New York: Garland, 1977), <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000521620>, (1765) 33, no. 198.

<sup>240</sup> Another example was sold at auction at Christie's, "L'Oeil d'un voyageur," Sale 5400, Lot 357, 23 - 24 March, 2005, Paris.

<sup>241</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 259.

<sup>242</sup> Denis Diderot, *Salons*, Volume 1 of *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot* (Paris: Chez J.L.J. Brière, 1821), 377-378, no. 197.

the sculpture with a call to Friedrich Melchior, baron von Grimm (1723-1807): “Admit, my friend, that if this piece had been exhumed, it would bring about the despair of the *modernes*.” Diderot elaborated on the classicizing qualities by describing the hairstyle as like that of a temple servant. In response to those who might find the small heart held by Friendship silly, he observed that it has the sanction of paganism and the antiquity of mythology. He made no reference to Pompadour in his review. In a description that denies the possibility that it read as a portrait of the marquise, Diderot wrote: “The head is of an absolutely rare character; I could not mistake it, there is in this head something of the enthusiastic and sacred, which one has not yet known.” Of her sensibility and pathetic character, he wrote: “How beautiful and new this is!”

The memory of Pompadour’s earlier patronage for the same theme could not have been forgotten, at least for Falconet if not for his viewers. Perhaps Diderot’s insistence on the originality of his sculpture betrays the persistence of the memory of its predecessor and a desire to distinguish it from her legacy. His review confirms the eighteenth-century association of friendship with antiquity and implicitly rejects the possibility that the sculpture is a portrait of Pompadour. In doing so, he suggests that the decorative objects produced in this decade were not merely shallow allusions to Pompadour’s memory in the years following her death, but rather a more nuanced appropriation of the friendship iconography for new patrons in the reforming neoclassical styles of the last third of the century. The success of this sculpture for Falconet is demonstrated by Catherine the Great’s attempt to secure a terra cotta model.<sup>243</sup> Falconet reportedly delivered it to her, perhaps in 1766 when he left his position at Sèvres to travel to Russia to work for the empress, but it is now lost. Her request demonstrates that the representations of

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<sup>243</sup> Musée National de Cèramique, Sèvres, *Falconet à Sèvres*, 174.

friendship were important and highly sought objects by leading art collectors across borders.

Falconet's 1765 biscuit emphasized the classicism and spirituality of friendship in a more direct manner than did the sculptures commissioned earlier by Pompadour. It converted the allegorical portrait of the marquise as goddess to, as Diderot described her, the servant of the temple of friendship. It departed significantly from the artist's own 1755 design of a confident and dynamic Pompadour as Friendship embracing the altar. The later piece depicts a more humble and tender version of Friendship quietly entreating the viewer to accept the gift of the heart or recognize it within her. Her head is lowered humbly while her eyes gaze upward, and her hair is partially down in a casual and intimate style. Her upper body inclines slightly forward while she leans against the tree stump rather than actively advancing toward the viewer like Pigalle's *Friendship*. Falconet and Diderot's emphasis on the modesty and humility of the friendship figure established a trend that would continue in the representations of friendship during the following decades and is evidence of a shift in the conception of female friendship generally.

Falconet's 1765 biscuit sculpture was only the first of many allegories of friendship completed after Pompadour's death. These include objects that clearly echo the Pompadouresque friendship iconography, such as the miniature *Love Sacrificing to Friendship* by Louis-Philippe Demay (master 1758; d. 1772) appearing on a tobacco box (Figure 37). It was derived from the cameo and engraving of the same title (Figure 22) designed for Pompadour. Jacques Charlier (ca. 1720-1790), painted a gouache miniature (Figure 38) after the drawing of the same subject by François Boucher (Figure 39).



Additional biscuit pieces that have not survived or been attributed with certainty probably also appropriated the friendship iconography created for Pompadour, but far from “empty echoes,” they represent a subtle shift in emphasis in that iconography that has broader implications for the development of conceptions of heterosocial friendship in the last decades of the century. The nineteenth-century collector and writer, Charles Davillier, noted that an edition of biscuit pieces entitled *The Altar of Friendship* was created at Sèvres sometime after 1771.<sup>244</sup> Like other representations of the subject, this probably included the figures Love and Friendship flanking the altar. At the Salon of 1773, Louis-Simon Boizot exhibited a model of *Love and Friendship* with an example of *Zephyr and Flora*, which the catalog indicates were to be executed as the bases of silver candelabra.<sup>245</sup> Either the models or the candelabra were delivered to Louveciennes, the home of Madame du Barry on 29 August 1773, but are now lost.<sup>246</sup> These objects demonstrate a new emphasis on the relationship between love and friendship. Pompadour had commissioned a sculpture of Love and Friendship from Pigalle (Figure 28), and she engraved two pictures of the pair (Figure 22 and Figure 23) after her carved gems and drawings. However, these depicted love subservient to friendship, presenting a model of heterosocial friendship as sublimated sexual attraction. The later representations of love and friendship suggest a subtle shift in that model.

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<sup>244</sup> Charles Davillier, *Les porcelaines de Sèvres de Mme. du Barry: d'après les mémoires de la manufacture royale, notes et documents inédits sur le prix des porcelaines de Sèvres au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Librairie de la société des bibliophiles français, 1870), 31. This entry is after one noted delivered to Voltaire in 1773, but is not dated itself or noted “*Pour Mme du Barry*” as others are. This might have included two Sèvres biscuit sculptures sold at Christie’s in 2007 and 2012 with the same title, which depict Love and Friendship standing over an altar wrapped with a garland of roses.

<sup>245</sup> The medium of the two models is not specified in the Salon catalog, but the entries above them are Boizot’s terra cottas of that year. Janson, *Paris Salons*, (1773) 47, no. 240. Emile Bourgeois stated that Sèvres issued the pair in biscuit as candelabras in the following year. Émile Bourgeois, *Le biscuit de Sèvres au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Goupil, 1909), 114.

<sup>246</sup> Davillier, *Les porcelains de Sèvres*, 54, 68. The friendship representations intended for Louveciennes will be discussed below.

The iconography of the base supporting the biscuit of Falconet's earlier *Friendship* in the Wadsworth Atheneum (Figure 35) suggests how the concept of friendship was contextualized and how the iconography would develop in the last decades of the century.<sup>247</sup> Its date and location of manufacture are uncertain, but it is assumed to have been created at Sèvres in the second half of the century. It could have been joined to Pompadour's biscuit piece at any date after 1755.<sup>248</sup> The base was painted with blue enamel and has a floral motif and emblem at the center of each side. On one of the broad sides, an arrow pierces two hearts on a shield, beside which a bow and flaming torch rest on a quiver. On the opposite side, two kissing doves nestle beside a book, which is open to an essay titled "*TRAITÉ de l'amitié.*" A lyre, laurel crown, and page inscribed with the name of the ancient Greek lyric poet Anacreon (ca. 582-485 BCE), a popular figure in the eighteenth century, is pictured on one of the short sides.<sup>249</sup> On the opposite short side are musical emblems, a basket of flowers, and a herm.

The four sides of the base constitute four allegories: Music, Poetry, Love, and Friendship, confirming that in the eighteenth century Friendship was a virtue associated not only with Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV, but more broadly with antiquity and the tradition of the pastoral. The iconography also departs from Pompadour's through the

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<sup>247</sup> Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, et al., *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, 354-5.

<sup>248</sup> Pompadour purchased two Sèvres pedestals in December 1760, but there are no surviving descriptions of them. They may or may not have included this one. The Wallace sculpture passed to the marquis de Marigny after Pompadour's death.

<sup>249</sup> The escutcheon with the page titled "Anacreon" probably was a factory motif for trophies, as it was depicted on multiple objects produced at Sèvres. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, et al., *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, 356. *Anacreon* was also an opera-ballet by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1784), which was performed at Fontainebleau on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October, 1754, to celebrate the birth of the duc de Berri, the future Louis XVI. It is about the relative merits of wine and love. A second version of the opera-ballet premiered in 1757 as the second act of his revised *The Surprises of Love*. The Wadsworth catalog entry suggests that the opera is referenced on the base rather than the poet directly, but the opera is not concerned with friendship, the text is not sheet music, and the poet Anacreon was quite popular in the eighteenth century. It seems more likely that this is a general allegory of Poetry to accompany Music, Love, and Friendship.

two doves next to the open treatise on friendship, which traditionally are symbolic of Venus and romantic love. The two hearts joined by love's arrow on the opposite side of the base suggest that the friendship referenced here is between lovers. It is not the kind of love sublimated by platonic friendship that was depicted for Pompadour.

Love and Friendship appear together again on a series of clocks created during the reign of Louis XVI.<sup>250</sup> There are at least four surviving today (Figure 40 through Figure 43), but no known record of how many were produced.<sup>251</sup> Like most clocks in the eighteenth century, these were collaborative efforts. The clockwork would have been completed by a watchmaker, the gilded bronze by another artisan, and the porcelain by a third, in this case, from the royal porcelain manufactory at Sèvres. The clock face hangs on a half column flanked by gilded bronze figures of Friendship with her heart in hand and a small *putto* playing with a puppy, symbolizing love and fidelity, respectively. The format of the clock on a column was popular at the Sèvres manufactory around 1780, which is probably when these clocks were created.

The hair, drapery, and figure styles are closer to those of the earliest allegories commissioned or engraved by Pompadour than they are to Falconet's 1765 sculpture or Boizot's in the following decade. The gesture of Friendship with her arm around the column recalls Falconet's sculpture of the 1750s. However, the column here functions

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<sup>250</sup> David Rosen, "Photomacrographs as Aids in the Study of Decorative Arts," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 15-16 (1952-1953):86-92. Verdier, "Eighteenth Century French Clocks," 281. Gary Vikan, "Artful Deception: The Craft of the Forger". *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* ("September at the Walters Art Gallery") 40 No.6 (10/1987):1-3. The attribution to the royal manufactory at Sèvres is inconsistent in the limited literature on the clocks. However, Philippe Verdier notes that the Walters clock is dated using the system of letters employed at the royal manufactory and marked with a crowned double "L."

<sup>251</sup> Verdier noted another example at Versailles and claimed it had belonged to Marie Antoinette. He gave a number of 1482, which is an unusual accession number for the museum's collection. I have not been able to find an image or description that confirms a clock at Versailles of this design, and the other literature on the clocks only cite Verdier. Marie Antoinette did own at least one other decorative object with an allegory of friendship, a sculpture representing marriage by Meissen, which was exhibited at the Grand Palais in "Marie Antoinette," 15 March 2008 – 30 June 2008.

even less as a sacrificial altar than was suggested by that sculpture. There is no flame; the heart is not placed on the column; Love and Friendship do not confer over it, as they would if Love was making a sacrifice; and a swathe of fabric drapes over the top, rendering it nonfunctional as an altar. The column here is a device to hold the clock face and to support the figure and the miniatures.

There are a few precedents for joining Love, Friendship, and Fidelity. Boucher designed an image of Friendship playing with a dog for Madame de Pompadour. The resulting engraving by Pompadour is entitled “Faithful Friendship” (Figure 25).

Friendship and Fidelity also were united in a gilded bronze statuette attributed to a follower of Falconet and called “Fidelity” (Figure 44). There the allegorical figure holds both a heart and a dog in her arms, thus conflating the emblems of Friendship and Fidelity. There is a mask between her feet that, like the emblem of Friendship in Ripa’s *Iconologia*, is a symbol of friendship’s triumph over calumny and deceit. The snake surrounding the mask likely has the same meaning.<sup>252</sup>

Ripa did not conflate Friendship and Fidelity. He described the latter as a woman dressed in white, like Friendship, with a cachet and a key in her hands and a dog resting at her feet. He wrote that the dog is “the best friend of man,” which is the only reference to friendship in his description of Fidelity.<sup>253</sup> However, a later eighteenth-century emblem of friendship (Figure 45) combines attributes of Love, Fidelity, and Friendship in

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<sup>252</sup> Sir J. G. Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. Sculpture* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1981), 82. The snake eating its tail was incorporated into later allegories of friendship to symbolize the infinite nature of the bond, but this snake does not appear to be a circle. The snake also appears in Pompadour’s engraving of the union between France and Austria, and again in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in a painting of the friendship between Germany and Italy by Franz Pforr. Klaus Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild Der Romantik*, Heidelberg Kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1952), 130-132.

<sup>253</sup> Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes et autres figures hiéroglyphiques des vertus, des vices, des arts, des sciences ... Tirée des recherches et des figures de César Ripa, dessinées et gravées par Jacques de Bie et moralisées par J. Baudoin* (Paris, 1636), 11-12, 91-2.

a revealing way. It was designed by Hubert François Bourguignon d'Anville, called Gravelot (1699 – 1773), who published it with the celebrated French engraver Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790) in a volume of the *Almanaque Iconologique* between 1765 and 1779.<sup>254</sup> The description that accompanied the engraving in the posthumous publication of their *Iconologie* includes among her attributes her pure and simple white dress, her crown of pomegranate and myrtle, her heart in her right hand, and the dried elm wrapped with a flourishing vine.<sup>255</sup> These are consistent with the emblem described by Cesare Ripa, as is the inscription *Longe & prope* indicating the endurance of friendship. However, both the picture and description depart from Ripa in details that are relevant to the friendship representations created after Madame de Pompadour's death. The description recommends a monument inscribed "Mors et Vite," which is pictured at the figure's left beside the withering elm in the engraving. That friendship lasts into death was not a new notion; Ripa also included the phrase in his description. The fact that the description recommends and Gravelot depicted a monument (Figure 46) accompanying Friendship was new. Furthermore, Gravelot emphasized the figure of the deceased friend in a more tangible way than does the inscription alone by making the monument look like a tomb monument. This choice also might have suggested to artists that the allegory of friendship was an appropriate figure for tomb monuments. Models for such tomb monuments by Jean-Jacques Caffieri (1725-1792) will be discussed below.<sup>256</sup> In the

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<sup>254</sup> Hubert François Bourguignon d'Anville, called Gravelot, and Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Almanach iconologique ... pour l'année 1765 (-1779). Orné de figures, avec leur explications, par M. Gravelot (M. Cochin)* (Paris: 1765).

<sup>255</sup> Hubert François Gravelot, Charles Nicolas Cochin, and Charles Etienne Gaucher. *Iconologie par figures; ou, Traité complet des allégories, emblèmes &c.* (Paris: Le Pan, 1791), 22-24.

<sup>256</sup> In 1777, the French sculptor, Jean-Antoine Houdon also created a terra cotta model for a tomb monument for the Russian prince Alexandre Mikhaïlovitch Golitzyne (1718-1783), now in the Musée du Louvre. In 1785, Augustin Pajou likewise created a model for the tomb of an unknown man which included a figure of friendship mourning the deceased, also presently in the Musée du Louvre.

context of the decorative arts, it is more significant that Gravelot placed Love holding a cameo portrait and an upside-down torch on top of the monument, and that he placed a sleeping dog at Friendship's right foot. Although the accompanying description offers no explanation, the reasonable interpretation of the portrait is that it depicts the deceased friend. The portrait appears to be of a man, which is appropriate for a virtue that traditionally was ascribed only to men. However, the gendering of the figure of friendship as female in both the emblem and its description allows the possibility of a heterosocial relationship. I propose that the presence of Love and of a symbol of fidelity would have allowed the viewer to interpret the emblem as a depiction of friendship in marriage. The description also interestingly explains the crown of intertwining pomegranate and myrtle both as signifying that friendship thrives in all seasons and conditions, but also as representing the "power" [*puissance*] of friendship to make two wills [*volontés*] into one. This is an ancient trope in the history of writing on friendship, but it is suggestive in the context of friendship between husband and wife and between political allies, both of which were represented by allegories created in the late eighteenth century. The miniatures on the Sèvres clocks are among the examples.

The figures of Friendship and Love with his dog around the fluted column are present in all of the surviving clocks, but the colors of the fillets and the miniatures vary. These details appear to have been customized for their patrons, none of whom have been identified. The Metropolitan Museum of Art clock (Figure 42) has details in blue porcelain, but the miniature is lost.<sup>257</sup> The clock at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston

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<sup>257</sup> The clock with portrait was located in a private collection as of the publication of Verdier's article. There is a second clock in the collection of the Walters Art Museum that is a 19<sup>th</sup>-century imitation. Coincidentally, it features a portrait of Henry IV, a figure who will be discussed in the context of the

(Figure 43) features green fillets and includes a miniature portrait of an unknown woman. The Walters Collection clock (Figure 41) with details in rose porcelain features a miniature depicting Love sacrificing to Friendship in the manner of the drawing attributed to Boucher. The Philadelphia clock (Figure 40) has fillets in blue and a miniature enamel painting of an interior space with crimson walls and golden drapery. In it, a putto places a wreath on an altar that supports two burning hearts while a second putto sits at the base of the altar playing with a dog. The phrase, "Friendship unites them" [*L'Amitié les unit*] is painted on a banner above the figures. Philippe Verdier has argued that the motif of two hearts united in Love and Friendship, which appears on both the Sèvres base and the Philadelphia clock symbolized the union of love and friendship in marriage.<sup>258</sup>

Other decorative art pieces elaborated the iconography of friendship in marriage. Marie Antoinette possessed a statuette produced by the Manufacture de la Courtille that depicted her marriage to the Dauphin (Louis XV). It featured a winged male figure and a bare-breasted female figure with her heart in hand. The winged figure is probably an adult Love in the company of Friendship, signifying the importance of both in marriage. Jean-Baptiste Jacques Augustin (1759-1832) painted at least two miniature portraits on ivory that are allegories of friendship suggesting relationships between lovers. The first (Figure 47) depicts a young woman seated outdoors playing a lyre in front of a stone inscribed "AUTEL DE LAMITIÉ." A medallion beneath the inscription contains the profile of a young man wearing a headpiece that may be a phrygian cap, which was a

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friendship imagery at Bellevue below. Rosen, "Photomacrographs as Aids in the Study of Decorative Arts," 93. Vikan, "Artful Deception," 1-3.

<sup>258</sup> Verdier, "Eighteenth Century French Clocks," 284 n. 6. He noted that there was a female figure with two hearts in her hand on the wainscoting in Marie Antoinette's bedroom at Versailles.

symbol of liberty during the French Revolution. The stone is perhaps both an altar and a grave, and it appears to borrow directly from Gravelot's emblem. In the second miniature by Augustin (Figure 48), he depicted Mademoiselle Fanny Charrin in a landscape gesturing to a temple on a hill far behind her. The temple is the round "tholos" type, and the architrave is inscribed "TEMPLE OF FRIENDSHIP/FANNY KNOWS ALL ITS OUTCOMES" [*TEMPLE DE LAMITIE/FANNI EN CONNOIT TOUTS LES ISSUES*]. The artist placed a female figure that likely represents the temple goddess in the temple interior. Water flows down the hillside towards the young woman in the foreground. It continues to flow out of the picture plane and towards the viewer in a gesture of friendship analogous to the offering of the heart. A line of text within the water reads, "Gratitude leads me there" [*La Reconnaissance m'y conduit*] as Miss Cherrin points towards the temple.

A number of small boxes by an unknown maker in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art might have functioned as gifts to friends. They were created in the 1770s and 1780s and inscribed "*SOUVENIR*" on one side and "*D'AMITIÉ*" on the reverse. One adds the inscription: "LOVE UNITES THEM" [*L'AMOUR LES UNIT*] (Figure 49). At their centers are medallions with allegories of love and friendship (Figure 50), and on one a landscape with port (Figure 51).<sup>259</sup> Their common inscription of "memory of friendship" and the medallion formats emphasize friendship's persistence in separation, summarized by the phrase *Longe et prope* in the emblem books. The landscape with a port suggests the distance between the friends. The box adding the

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<sup>259</sup> The importance of memory and memorial in theories of friendship is a rich subject that is perhaps outside the scope of this project, but is relevant to objects such as these boxes. The deceased or absent friend is a common trope in the literature on friendship in the eighteenth century and earlier, and it is not a coincidence that friendship appears in several instances mourning on a tomb.



inscription about love confirms the emphasis in these later decades on friendship as a quality of enduring love.

The motif of the sacrifice to friendship returned in coins engraved by Augustin Dupré (1748-1833) (Figure 52 and Figure 53). Their popularity is suggested by the medallion made after one of them by Jean-Baptiste Isabey (1767-1865) (Figure 54). Another ivory by François Dumont (1751-1831) (Figure 55 and Figure 56) depicts a sacrifice to friendship on one side and a portrait of an unknown woman on the opposite. The sacrifices depicted in these pieces are not the same as those depicted by Boucher or in Pompadour's gems and engravings. In the later images, Love makes his sacrifice in order for Friendship to give her blessing, which she does by crowning the boy or giving him her heart. The distinction is subtle, but important. Rather than Love giving way to Friendship, as it had for Pompadour and Louis XV, in this arrangement Love pays homage to Friendship in order to proceed with the amorous relationship. Friendship becomes a phase of courtship or a condition of marriage.

The benefits of friendship in marriage were elaborated in a treatise published in 1761 and multiple later editions by Marie Geneviève Charlotte d'Arlus Thiroux d'Arconville (1720-1805). Earlier eighteenth-century texts and their predecessors insisted on a "true" or "perfect friendship" as the highest mode. Writers conceded the existence of lower modes only hesitantly, if at all. But Thiroux d'Arconville distinguished different types of friendship and cited primarily ancient Roman examples. In Chapter VII of the earliest full-length edition of her treatise, *De L'amitié* (1764), she defined friendship between husband and wife employing the example of Arria and Poetus, as recounted by

Pliny.<sup>260</sup> Poetus was taken to Rome and sentenced to die as punishment for revolting against the emperor Claudius. His wife Arria followed him there, and when he hesitated to commit the nobler death of suicide, she took the dagger and stabbed herself, giving him the courage to do the same. Thiroux d'Arconville summarized the virtue of Arria: "When women are free of the passions that alter the purity of their heart, and that degrade their soul, they are capable, as well as men, of acts of heroism that dictate the sentiment when it is joined with duty."<sup>261</sup> Thiroux d'Arconville also named Arthemise, Pauline, Porcia [Catonis], and Cornelia as historical examples of friend-wives. In Thiroux d'Arconville's treatise, the act of friendship provided an example of the heroic neoclassical *exemplum virtutis*, like those in paintings of the last half of the century. Cornelia would be painted famously by Angelica Kauffman around 1785 (Figure 57), and Arria and Poetus by François-André Vincent (1746-1816) in 1784 and 1785 (Figure 58 and Figure 59). In her subsequent chapter on friendship between unmarried men and women, Thiroux d'Arconville revealed deep skepticism of a woman's capacity to be such a friend. However, she considered female friendship within the boundaries of marital duty to be potentially heroic. It seems that marriage could neutralize the threat female friendship posed when claimed in the public sphere—to destabilize the gendered social hierarchies—and it overcame the inequality of men and women, if only within its confines.

A late marble sculpture of Friendship by Louis-Simon Boizot (1743-1809) might be interpreted as representing the virtue of friendship in marriage without the figures of Love or Fidelity. It was exhibited at the Salon of 1789 and presumably is the sculpture

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<sup>260</sup> Thiroux d'Arconville, *De l'amitié* (1764), 72-3.

<sup>261</sup> Thiroux d'Arconville, *De l'amitié* (1764), 74-5.

currently in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille (Figure 60). Boizot was the artistic director at Sèvres from 1773 to 1800.<sup>262</sup> Under his leadership, the royal manufactory produced at least one biscuit sculpture of the same subject with only slight differences from the marble.<sup>263</sup> The Musée national de Céramique holds one example of the biscuit sculpture with the title “*Friendship Designating the Location of Her Heart*” (Figure 61).<sup>264</sup> The standing figure leans against and touches with her left arm the dried elm wrapped with a flowering vine. Her hair is partially gathered (Figure 62 and Figure 63) in the same manner as that of Falconet’s biscuit of 1765, and it is braided in two pieces falling down her chest, likewise lending her the appearance of a Greek temple servant. Ripa advised that Friendship’s legs be exposed to symbolize that the friend will perform any service for the other, but Boizot did not follow that advice. Rather, her drapery falls modestly to her feet.

Like Pigalle’s figure, Boizot’s gestures to her left breast rather than holding the heart in offering to the viewer. Boizot’s marble figure gazes upward to the right in a manner suggesting that she pleads with the viewer to accept her friendship, but the biscuit figure gazes downward to the right and wears a headband that is inscribed, “*HEIM ET AETAS*” (Figure 63). The phrase refers to the one prescribed by Ripa in the *Iconologia*, “*HIEMS ET AESTAS*,” meaning “Summer and Winter,” a reference to the endurance of

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<sup>262</sup> Boizot also is credited with an unusual relief sculpture of *The Four Elements Paying Tribute to Friendship* in which Friendship again simply gestures to her breast rather than producing the heart. The dynamic relief panel is dated 1783 and depicts Cybele with two lions as Earth, Triton and Nereid as Water, Zephyr as Wind, who reaches towards Jupiter holding a bolt of lightning that symbolizes Fire. It is currently in the Getty Museum of Art in Los Angeles.

<sup>263</sup> Musée Lambinet de Versailles, *Louis-Simon Boizot, (1743-1809): Sculpteur du roi et directeur de l'atelier de sculpture à la Manufacture de Sèvres* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), cat. 39.

<sup>264</sup> Musée national de Céramique, Sèvres, *Falconet à Sèvres*, 184. Both the marble and the biscuit were assumed to have been designed by Falconet because of his earlier sculptures, but they have been attributed more recently to Boizot.

friendship through all seasons.<sup>265</sup> Pigalle and Boucher represented this phrase, as did Ripa, with garlands or wreaths of flowers of all seasons, namely myrtle and pomagranate. The source of the Sèvres biscuit, and perhaps of Boizot's marble, may have been the emblem of Friendship designed by Gravelot. Their iconographies indicate that female friendship was folded gradually into marriage in the last quarter of the century.

In the decorative objects created after Pompadour's death, the relationship between Love and Friendship was of primary concern. The union of Love, Fidelity, and Friendship in many of these objects made it possible to apply the friendship iconography to representations of alternative types of female friendship, namely that between husband and wife or between romantic lovers. Madame de Pompadour had adopted the identity of friend as an alternative to her role as lover; to assert friendship was to assert the sublimation of romantic love and to claim equality with a (male) friend of a higher status. Perhaps the representation of friendship in marriage was a claim to a similar equality, a claim to status on the part of the wife who commissioned these decorative objects. On the other hand, it seems possible that folding female friendship into marriage might have been a way to neutralize the threat of women who claimed that relationship actually achieving equality in any meaningful way.

The proliferation of decorative objects depicting friendship in the decades after the death of Madame de Pompadour may have been a symptom of the *embourgeoisement* of conceptions of friendship later in the century. Although it is impossible to know precisely who owned most of these objects, their costs made them more accessible to the bourgeoisie than were unique commissioned paintings and sculptures. Their proliferation signals the commodification of an iconography previously reserved for the elite. Katie

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<sup>265</sup> Ripa, *Iconologie* (Paris, 1636), 11-12.

Scott has demonstrated that the decorative arts and interiors were a point of entry for the bourgeoisie to claim higher status, that the distinctions between bourgeois and noble became murky in the arena of the ornamentation of homes.<sup>266</sup> She argued that the upper classes eventually rejected the Rococo decorative modes because of the increasing ability of the bourgeoisie to purchase luxury goods, the democratization of interior designs through the circulation of prints, and the displacement of Rococo decorative painting from its functional context in decorative schemes to the public Salon exhibits. In response, this nobility replaced their Rococo interiors with more classicizing modes by the final quarter of the century.

Indeed, the appropriation of an iconography devised for Madame de Pompadour, herself a member of the bourgeoisie who rose to the nobility, might have seemed an avenue to claim higher status. The conception of friendship as a virtue gendered female and characterized as noble could have been useful for the bourgeois woman. However, these later objects would not have served the same function or signified the same meanings as Pompadour's, both because they did not belong to a site of friendship and because they adapted "true friendship" to the realm of marriage and romantic love.

#### Love and Friendship at Madame du Barry's Château de Louveciennes

The comtesse du Barry, *née* Jeanne Bécu (1743-1793), was Pompadour's successor as the king's official mistress and, eventually, in the role of friend. She commissioned representations of friendship between 1771 and 1773, during her affair with the king, including the famously rejected series called the "Progress of Love" by

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<sup>266</sup> Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), the paintings by Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809) that replaced Fragonard's, Jean-Jacques Caffieri's *Friendship Surprised by Love*. Each of these has been examined individually by historians of eighteenth-century art in terms of its iconography of friendship. My contribution will be to study them more closely as a group located purposefully and meaningfully at Louveciennes and to compare them with the single known example of a friendship representation that Du Barry commissioned after the king's death and her return from exile.

Like other female friends of the eighteenth century, Du Barry's social, economic, and marital status motivated her to adopt this identity. The countess was the daughter of an unmarried domestic servant, but she received a good education through her fifteenth birthday.<sup>267</sup> She became a saleswoman in a reputable shop with rich clientele in Paris and the companion of the wealthy and opportunistic *fermier général* Jean, comte du Barry (1723-1794). In 1768, she attracted Louis XV's interest, and the comte arranged her marriage to his younger brother, Guillaume du Barry (1732-1811) the same year so that she could be presented at court on 22 April 1769. She was propelled by her political faction, including the Abbé Joseph Marie Terray (1715-1778), Chancellor Maupeou (1714-1792), and the duc d'Aiguillon (1720-1788). Because of her low birth, du Barry relied on her social network to obtain favor at court and to fend off the challenges of powerful men like the duc de Choiseul and his camp, including Marie Antoinette. Madame de Pompadour built multiple residences, but Louveciennes was the primary home of du Barry and the primary site of her sociability. She held more celebrated events there than had Pompadour at Bellevue. Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune's (1741-1815) print

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<sup>267</sup> On du Barry's biography: Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 25-6.

(Figure 64) of the dinner held at her new pavilion on 2 September 1771, while renovations of the chateau still were underway, is an example. A number of extravagant parties followed until the king's death. It is not surprising that this was the site from which Du Barry deployed a program that countered Pompadour's iconography of friendship while affirming her own friendship network and celebrating her active love affair with the king. She elaborated precedents set by Pompadour and previous female occupants to establish Louveciennes as a site for the performance of her lucrative friendships.

Du Barry's activities as a patron have received less attention than Pompadour's, in part because of her relatively short affair with the king.<sup>268</sup> Her major building projects were a hôtel on the rue d'Artois in Paris and the small Château de Louveciennes and its Music Pavillion near the royal Château de Marly. She also intervened in the renovations of the Château de Bellevue in 1770 and occupied an apartment on the ground floor when she and the king visited.<sup>269</sup> By this date Bellevue was no longer the "site of friendship" that it had been during the residence of Pompadour. The château had been converted from *maison de plaisance* to *maison royale*; it no longer fulfilled the requirements of separation from court and seclusion to function as a site of friendship itself.<sup>270</sup> Furthermore, Pompadour's allegorical sculptures had been removed, leaving the portrait of Louis XV alone to reign over the central alley.

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<sup>268</sup> On the history of Louveciennes: Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 159-168. Their relative impacts on the developments of styles in the eighteenth century have been debated. See especially, Barbara Scott, "Madame du Barry, a Royal Favourite with Taste," *Apollo* (Jan 1973): 60-71.

<sup>269</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 180-1.

<sup>270</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 155-163. On Louis XV's renovations to Bellevue in the 1760s. Bellevue would return to its earlier state as a site suitable for friendship for one of its subsequent owners.

The location and history of Louveciennes, on the other hand, were appropriate for a site of friendship. Like Bellevue, the property was in the vicinity of Versailles and Paris, but it was far enough to be considered a retreat from both. It was a simple building surrounded by woods and a garden, which du Barry gradually expanded during her residence. Two women close to the king and queen had resided there prior to the countess, and their status and lifestyles may have set the tone for the function of the château. Marie-Anne de Bourbon, mademoiselle de Clermont (1697-1741), was the superintendant of the queen's household and occupied Louveciennes later in life when she was a widow.<sup>271</sup> Clermont had wed her lover, the duc de Joyeuse, and had no children. Subsequently, Louveciennes passed to Marie-Victoire-Sophie de Noailles, the comtesse de Toulouse (1688-1766), and a confidante of the king. According to Charles Vatel, the nineteenth-century biographer of Madame du Barry, she and Louis XV had been friends since the king's childhood, and she helped him secure mistresses. Both Clermont and Noailles also were descendants of Louis XIV's mistresses, suggesting that Louveciennes was a retreat where one could discretely house women of illegitimate birth. The same qualities that were conducive to discretion were essential to the site of friendship, especially female friendship. After Noailles' death, the château passed briefly to the duc de Penthièvre, who sold it after the death of his son, at which time it was given to du Barry. For most of the eighteenth century, Louveciennes was a site for the retreat or separation of women of illegitimate birth who were affiliated with the court.

Du Barry began meeting Louis XV at Marly in 1769, and on July 24<sup>th</sup> of that year, the king gifted the château, gardens, and outbuildings “for her to enjoy throughout her

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<sup>271</sup> Charles Vatel, *Histoire de Madame du Barry* (Versailles: L. Bernard, 1883), 1:256.



life.”<sup>272</sup> The small building featured four principle rooms on each of its three levels.

Ange-Antoine Gabriel (1735-1781), *contrôleur de Marly*, oversaw the modifications for du Barry under the direction of his father, Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698-1782), *premier architecte du roi*, from October 1769 to March 1771. In late 1770, she also commissioned the celebrated neoclassical architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806) to design a pleasure pavilion that would overlook the Seine. It was completed the following year, and consisted of only one story and no bedrooms. Its size and setting indicate that the pavilion was a site for the leisurely enjoyment of music, art, lavish interiors, and friendship.

Ledoux probably secured the celebrated French Academy member, Fragonard, to paint the series of the “Progress of Love” for the pavilion’s Salon du Cul de Four [the Apse Salon] in 1771, but as Colin Bailey has convincingly argued, the comtesse du Barry also participated closely in the commissions for Louveciennes.<sup>273</sup> There is no reason to doubt that she at least approved Fragonard’s plans for the series, and perhaps contributed to them herself. The paintings were installed by the summer of 1772, but they were returned to Fragonard the following summer having been rejected by the countess. The many analyses of Fragonard’s “Progress” at Louveciennes have focused on its order and arrangement within the salon.<sup>274</sup> One of the earliest known descriptions of the series as

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<sup>272</sup> Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 159. Louis XIV had made pleasure trips to the Château de Marly nestled in a wooded park overlooking the Seine River in order to escape the nearby Versailles, when the latter was under construction. He built the small Château of Louveciennes for the manager of the Marly waterworks in 1681. The previous resident, the princesse de Lamballe also might have been a model for Du Barry in the years after the king’s death.

<sup>273</sup> Bailey, *Fragonard’s Progress*, 59.

<sup>274</sup> The bibliography on Fragonard’s series is extensive. See: Dore Ashton, *Fragonard in the Universe of Painting* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988). Franklin M. Biebel, “Fragonard and Madame du Barry,” *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 140 (October 1960): 207-08. Andrei Molotiu, “Allegories of Love in the Late Work of Jean-Honoré Fragonard,” (PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1999). Andrei Molotiu, *Fragonard’s Allegories of love* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007). Donald Posner, “The True Path of Fragonard’s ‘Progress of Love,’” *The Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 833 (August 1972): 526-34; Marianne Roland-Michel, “Fragonard illustrateur de l’amour,” in *Aimer en*

representing the “Four Ages of Love,” suggests there is a narrative sequence, which has been interpreted primarily through their location in the salon and the prescribed entry of the viewer.<sup>275</sup> It seems that the matter of their exact sequence has not been settled, but Colin Bailey has demonstrated convincingly that the viewer entering from the Salon du Roi (Figure 65) first encountered *The Pursuit* (Figure 66) and *The Meeting* (Figure 67) flanking the opposite doorway onto the garden terrace.<sup>276</sup> The other two paintings, *The Lover Crowned* (Figure 69) and *Love Letters* (Figure 68), flanked the entryway from the Salon du Roi and were visible when the viewer turned around. Whether they were intended to be read precisely in that order, or the viewer was to begin from another point, to proceed clockwise or counterclockwise, or simply to wander through the room and its paintings without a prescribed order will not be settled here. But it is significant for the present study that this series of paintings about love, intended for a pleasure pavilion in a garden removed from court and public life, and belonging to the lowborn mistress of the king included a representation of friendship.

The allegory of friendship appears in *Love Letters* (Figure 68). Here, the couple embraces tenderly. She is seated on a pedestal, and he leans on her shoulder and gazes at her face. The woman looks at a sheet that must contain the correspondence between them, and more letters are stacked loosely at her right. A dog lies at the foot of the pedestal, and a parasol is tucked into the vines that are wrapped a second pedestal

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France, 1760-1860; *actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand*, eds. Paul Viallaneix and Jean Ehard (Clermont-Ferrand: Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand, 1980), 25-34.; Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988); Willibald Sauerländer, "Über die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge von Fragonards "Amours des Bergers," *Münchener Jahrbuch Der Bildenden Kunst / Hrsg. V. D. Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen U. D. Zentralinstitut Für Kunstgeschichte in München* (1968): 127-156.

<sup>275</sup> From the inventory of Louveciennes, May 1772. Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress*, 69.

<sup>276</sup> Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress*, 66-69. He determined the order of the paintings based on the dimensions of their canvas. Two were wider to accommodate the curved wall of the salon.

supporting a garden sculpture of Friendship and Love. The iconography of the sculpture includes the traditional attributes derived from emblem books. Friendship is in profile, wearing a robe with her breast and leg exposed. She holds her heart in her right hand as Love reaches up towards her. However, she does not extend her heart, nor does she appear to acknowledge Love's pleas for attention. Instead, she gazes at the lovers below. The formal elements of *Love Letters* signify the comforts and endurance of friendship. It is the least dynamic of the four paintings, the others depicting emphatic gestures and implied diagonal lines. The composition is circular and contained. Its dense trees close around the source of the daylight that unites the pair in the foreground and emphasizes that this is a private place, echoed in real life by the grounds outside the garden doors of the pavilion at Louveciennes.<sup>277</sup>

Art historians generally pair *Love Letters* with *The Lover Crowned*, both in the space of the Salon du Cul de Four and in the narrative of the "Progress," arguing that one or the other is its conclusion. In *The Lover Crowned*, the lady places a wreath on her beloved's head as Cupid sleeps comfortably in his success. Donald Posner asserted that it is the last of the series, preceded by *Love Letters*. He cited sixteenth-century sources on a kind of friendship or "friendly behavior" that precedes love, as a stage of courtship.<sup>278</sup> More recently, Colin Bailey has proposed that *Love Letters* is the final painting of the series and represents the popular eighteenth-century notion that marital love is best expressed in friendship.<sup>279</sup> The garden sculpture of Friendship and Love confirms Posner's interpretation and counters Bailey's. Unlike other depictions of the pair in the

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<sup>277</sup> Colin Bailey also noted a connection between the paintings facing *Love Letters* and the garden outside the doors of the Salon de Cul de Four. Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress*, 68.

<sup>278</sup> Posner, "The True Path," 530.

<sup>279</sup> Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress*, 85. This arrangement first proposed by Sauerlander.

eighteenth century, Love has not willfully forfeited his arrows or made sacrifice to Friendship. He still reaches for her heart. The gesture recalls the sculpture depicted in *The Meeting* (Figure 67), where Venus withholds Cupid's arrows, indicating that the young woman is not yet ready for love. In *Love Letters*, romantic love is refused again, this time by friendship. Love's pleading implies he is not done, that love will triumph in the way we are led to believe it will in *The Meeting*.

The friendship presiding in *Love Letters* is not the friendship of sublimated love. In this way, the painting contradicted Pompadour's model of friendship, and perhaps intentionally. As Katherine Gordon observed, a representation of friendship modeled on Pompadour's, in which true friendship sublimates passionate love, could not have served the young du Barry who still was involved sexually with the king.<sup>280</sup> The series almost certainly was not intended to be a portrait of Du Barry or an accurate narrative about her relationship with the king and ascendance at court, but certainly her visitors would recognize the emphasis on love as related to her position.<sup>281</sup> In the last decades of the eighteenth century, the model of female friendship that had served the marquise de Pompadour was elaborated into a virtue that was the consolation for the unmarried, aged woman. This arrangement would be depicted by Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée (1725-1805) in his painting, *Friendship Consoling the Elderly Woman on the Loss of Beauty and the Retirement of Pleasures* (Figure 70), exhibited at the Salon of 1787.<sup>282</sup> Here, a gray-haired woman slumps in her seat, attended by Friendship who exposes her breast.

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<sup>280</sup> Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 260 n. 91. Confirmed by Posner, "The True Path," 529.

<sup>281</sup> The young man has been interpreted as a portrait of Louis XV. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, Joseph-Marie Vien, Jacques Lugand, and J. Paul Getty Trust, *Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre Du Roi (1716-1809)* (Paris: ARTHENA, 1988), 85.

<sup>282</sup> *L'Amitié consolant la Vieillesse de la perte de la Beauté & du depart des Plaisirs*. Janson, *Paris Salons* (1787), 5, no. 7.

The Three Graces representing beauty and the young Love flee to her left. Two men at the woman's right join in consoling her, suggesting the possibility of heterosocial friendship in this stage of life. This model for the post-nubile woman could not have appealed to the then twenty-nine-year-old comtesse du Barry, who at one moment preferred to be depicted as Hebe, the goddess of youth, as she was by Augustin Pajou (1730-1809) in 1771 (Figure 71).<sup>283</sup> Likewise, a picture of friendship in marriage might not have been appealing to a young mistress who could not desire to be the king's wife.<sup>284</sup> On the other hand, the conception of friendship preceding love in the stages of courtship did not appear with any regularity in the eighteenth-century treatises or representations of friendship in art. It seems to have been an outmoded notion. The ambiguity of *Love Letters*, and the possibility that viewers could perceive it as adopting the Pompadouresque model, might have contributed to their rejection. Whether love or friendship ultimately triumphs in the series remains undetermined, and perhaps this caused problems for Fragonard. That an altogether different model of friendship was preferred for Fragonard's series and *Louveciennes* is supported by the revised and more explicitly asserted conception of friendship that was represented in the paintings and sculptures commissioned in the year that the "Progress" was removed.

The commission of the Neoclassical painter Joseph-Marie Vien to replace Fragonard's paintings has been attributed to the shift in taste from the Rococo to the Neoclassical or, more recently, to the disjunction between the dynamic style of Fragonard

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<sup>283</sup> James David Draper, Augustin Pajou, and Guilhem Scherf, *Augustin Pajou: royal sculptor, 1730-1809* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 237.

<sup>284</sup> *The Lover Crowned* also is replete with symbols of marriage, another reason why the series might not have been desirable. Posner, "The True Path," 533.

and the harmony pursued in the rest of the pavilion interior.<sup>285</sup> But can it be coincidence that the triumph of love, specifically over female friendship, was asserted more explicitly in the series by Vien? The artist eliminated both of the models of heterosocial female friendship that were idealized in the contemporary literature as well as the outmoded one suggested by *Love Letters*. In doing so, he removed the possibility of confusion with Pompadour's iconography and model of friendship. The title of the series, "The Progress of Love in the Hearts of Young Girls," is the first indication that the model of female friendship presented in the earlier paintings, whether as comfort in marriage or sublimation of passion on the path to love, have been revised to emphasize youthful romantic attraction, even if to critique it. The first painting, entitled *Two Young Grecian Girls Promise Never to Fall in Love* (Figure 72), was exhibited in the Salon of 1773 and promptly installed at Louveciennes. It depicts an oath between female friends in the form of an offering of garlands of flowers at the altar of friendship. A seated allegorical figure who might represent friendship presides over the garden fountain in the right background (Figure 73). Time, seated in the foreground, had stoked the altar's flame, but now he sleeps, indicating that their oath is fleeting. Love takes advantage of his slumber to light an arrow at the altar's flame. At the same moment, a young man passes behind them and will cause their friendship to dissolve. The painting recalls two of the contestants who appear before the goddess of Friendship in Voltaire's allegorical poem, "The Temple of Friendship" (1732):

Later came, with an air of complacency,  
Lisa and Chloe who, from their tender infancy,  
Confided all their small plans,

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<sup>285</sup> Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress*, 101.

Caressed each other, spoke without speaking,  
 And without subject were always laughing,  
 They loved each other, alas! So tenderly!  
 Our two beauties embraced in public.  
 A *Richelieu* passed at the moment:  
 For him, *Lise* and *Chloe* tussled each other's hair.<sup>286</sup>

Voltaire and Vien described the form of female friendship that Madame Lambert, Thiroux d'Arconville, and their predecessors treated with suspicion. According to them, certain female friendships were threatened by passions and coquettishness. Vien's series proceeds from the broken vow of friendship, through courtship (Figure 74 and Figure 75), and finally to the lasting vow of love. In the final painting, *Two Lovers Who Swear Eternal Affection* (Figure 76), the altar of friendship is replaced by an altar of love, and a female attendant releasing two doves presides over the oath. Love is without doubt the victor in this series, and Vien does not attend at all to the possibility of friendship between lovers, active or not.<sup>287</sup> His treatment of the subject of friendship, as a fleeting

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<sup>286</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 22-3, lines 89-97.

Plus loin venaient, d'un air de complaisance,  
 Lise et Chloé qui, dès leur tendre enfance,  
 Se confiaient tous leurs petits desseins,  
 Se caressant, se parlent sans rien dire,  
 Et sans sujet toujours prêtes à rire,  
 Elles s'aimaient, hélas! si tendrement!  
 Nos deux beauties en public s'embrassèrent.  
 Un Richelieu passa dans le moment:  
 Lise et Chloé pour lui se décoiffèrent.

<sup>287</sup> The painting is sometimes called *Two Lovers United at the Altar of Hymen*, but the mention of the god of marriage does not appear until well after the painting's debut, and neither he nor his attributes figure prominently in the painting. In the 1779 edition of the *Voyage Pittoresque des environs de Paris*, Dézallier d'Argenville described it after a visit to Louveciennes: "La quatrième a pour sujet l'Amour qui conduit une jeune fille à l'autel où son amant lui promet une fidélité durable. L'esclave de la jeune Grecque donne la liberté à deux colombes qui sont l'offrande, et les amours sortent du Temple pour couronner les amants et les enchaîner de fleurs." Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque* (1779), 180. Gaehgtens, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, 84. Although the two clearly make a commitment tantamount to marriage, the overt representation of that bond may have been too risky for the mistress.

bond between two coquettes, could be interpreted as a harsh dismissal of Pompadour, her faction, and her iconography.

Madame du Barry might have intended to carry the theme of love triumphant into the garden outside the pavilion. In 1773, she commissioned the French sculptor Jean-Jacques Caffieri (1725-1792) to create an allegory of friendship for the garden at Louveciennes.<sup>288</sup> He was an appropriate choice because he featured that allegory in various statues during two decades. At the Salon of 1767, he exhibited a terra cotta model for a tomb on which Friendship sits beside the grave mourning the deceased. A plaster model by Caffieri, presumably of the same design, survives in the Louvre (Figure 77). At the Salon of 1773, Caffieri submitted another model for a tomb featuring friendship, the finished version of which was dedicated to the actress, Madame Favart (Figure 78).<sup>289</sup> And in the same year he exhibited a plaster model for a sculpture entitled *Friendship Surprised by Love* for du Barry. That model is lost, but the Salon catalog described it: “Unacquainted, [Friendship] hugs [Love] with trust; the child caresses her and seizes the

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<sup>288</sup> Du Barry or one of her agents acquired a third representation of friendship in 1773. At the Salon that year, Louis-Simon Boizot (1743 - 1809) exhibited a model for candelabra with figures of Love and Friendship and a pendant with the lovers, Zephyr and Flora. These were delivered from Sèvres to Louveciennes on 29 August 1773. Bourgeois, *Le Biscuit de Sèvres*, 114. Davillier, *Les porcelains de Sèvres*, 54, 68. Janson, *Paris Salons*, (1773) 47, no 240.

<sup>289</sup> He exhibited a terra cotta model for another tomb described in the Salon livret as “Friendship crying over the ashes of her Friend [*Amie*], and scattering flowers...” [“L’Amitié pleure sur les cendres de son Amie, & y répand des fleurs; l’urne cinéraire est posée sur un Autel; une des Muses est appuyée sur une harpe, & couronne le Médailon qui est attaché à une colonne funéraire, surmontée d’une cassolette; la colonne est en partie enveloppée & accompagnée de cypress; aux pieds de la Muse sont divers instrumens de musique, un livre & un masque. Terre cuite de 3 pieds de haut. On execute ce morceau en marbre de cette meme grandeur.”] Janson, *Paris Salon*, (1773) 40, no. 203. This was the model for the tomb of the low-born actress Madame Favart, which was completed in 1774. The catalog noted that it would be finished in marble, but did not indicate for whom. It was common to omit the identity of female patrons and subjects in the public venue of the Salon, but the strong reaction against the tomb suggests its audience knew for whom it was intended. The tomb was commissioned by Favart’s friend and lover, the Abbé Voisenon, who worked with her husband. Favart was a famous actress, and her husband a playwright. The feminine “*amie*” indicated the gender of the deceased. Later, at the Salon of 1789, he exhibited another model for a tomb featuring friendship weeping over the ashes of the deceased beneath a cypress tree. In the catalogue of that year, the deceased also was called “*Amie*,” indicating it would be the tomb of a woman. Janson, *Paris Salons*, (1789) 45, no. 213. Adelaide Labille-Guiard presented the portrait of Madame Victoire with a sculpture of friendship, and Boizot exhibited his *Friendship* in that year as well.



moment to wound one of her features.”<sup>290</sup> Extant bronze (Figure 79) and terracotta (Figure 80) versions probably were adaptations of the plaster model exhibited at the Salon, and may give an impression of what the plaster looked like.<sup>291</sup> Although they differ from each other in some details, both surviving examples include the broken trunk on which Friendship rests and the quiver of arrows discarded by Love as in earlier sculptures of the pair.<sup>292</sup> Whether it was the idea of Caffieri, du Barry, or a third party, *Friendship Surprised by Love* contributed the dart that wounds Friendship’s breast to the traditional iconographies of friendship. The weapon is lost from the terracotta model, but its place is suggested, and it survives in the bronze.

The viewer might read the wounding of friendship in two ways. The first has been suggested by Malcolm Baker, who proposed that Caffieri’s *Friendship Surprised by Love* reversed the emphasis of Pompadour’s iconography from friendship to love and was linked not only to du Barry’s relationship with the king but also with her political allies.<sup>293</sup> To elaborate his reading, the violent act indicates that the tables have turned in this composition so that Love has the upper hand. In the classical mythology, the wound delivered by the petulant child’s arrow is the one that sparks romantic desire.<sup>294</sup> Therefore, Caffieri’s arrangement is a clever modification of the gentle, playful, and maternal relationship between Friendship and Love depicted in the friendship images of

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<sup>290</sup> “Ne le connaissant pas, elle l’embrasse avec confiance; cet enfant la caresse et saisit le moment de la blesser d’un de ses traits.” H. 5 pieds 6 pouces. Janson, *Paris Salons*, (1773), 40, no. 202.

<sup>291</sup> Anthony Radcliffe, Malcolm Baker, and Michael Maek-Gérard, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Renaissance and Later Sculpture: With Works of Art in Bronze* (London: Sotheby’s Publications, 1992), 258, 261.

<sup>292</sup> Caffieri added a burning torch to the terracotta, recalling the earlier images of the altar of friendship but not depicting it directly. The torch might represent the passion of love sustained and controlled by friendship, or the nuptial torch if the terracotta was intended to represent friendship in marriage.

<sup>293</sup> Radcliffe, Baker, and Maek-Gérard, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*, 258-263, Cat. 49.

<sup>294</sup> It may also allude to sexual penetration, emphasizing that the comtesse, unlike Pompadour, maintained a sexual relationship with the king.

Madame de Pompadour. It also reverses Madame Lambert's prescription for attraction as the foundation of heterosocial friendship.

I would argue, however, that the sculpture should be interpreted in the context of Vien's series, especially the first painting. In this light, the wounding of Friendship in Caffieri's sculpture is the death of youthful, false (read female) friendship as a result of the "surprise" of romantic love. Both Vien and Caffieri's friendship images were exhibited at the Salon of 1773, so that salon goers could have made the connection directly, and du Barry could have asserted publicly her distinction from the previous royal mistress. When she commissioned the sculpture, the king was in good health and their relationship was not platonic. Unlike Madame de Pompadour, she did not need to invent an alternative identity to maintain her position at court. As a political metaphor, the wounding of Friendship in Caffieri's sculpture may have been symbolic of the blow to Madame de Pompadour's (a.k.a. Friendship's) faction in favor of du Barry's. The countess had been opposed by the powerful duc de Choiseul, a member of the faction that supported Madame de Pompadour. Louis XV dismissed Choiseul on December 24, 1769, in favor of du Barry's faction. He appointed l'Abbé Joseph Marie Terray (1715-1778) to Choiseul's position the following day.<sup>295</sup>

The political implications of the sculpture were confirmed in 1777, when Terray commissioned a pair of bronzes from Caffieri, one of which was the copy of *Friendship Surprised by Love*. Its pendant was *Cupid Vanquishing Pan* (Figure 81). The small sculpture of Love springing off of the lap of Pan, grasping the god's horn, is inscribed "Omnia vincit Amour, L'Amour triomphe de tout." Caffieri had exhibited a terra cotta

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<sup>295</sup> Perhaps only coincidentally, this was the same year that Choiseul commissioned his pagoda dedicated to friendship in his own garden at Chanteloup, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

model of it under the title *Omnia vincit Amor* at the Salon of 1771.<sup>296</sup> The livret explains that Pan—his body and attributes--were symbolic of the natural world in ancient Greek philosophy. His horns, for example, represent the sun. Like its companion allegory of friendship, the bronze sculpture asserts the superior force of love.<sup>297</sup>

Colin Bailey has analyzed the iconographic program of sculptures intended for Joseph-Marie Terray's Paris hôtel and has argued that his patronage was motivated by politics and ideology.<sup>298</sup> These did not include the Caffieri bronzes, but Terray's political motivations can be extended here. As mentioned above, he and the Chancellor Maupeou (1714-1792) and duc d'Aiguillon (1720-1788), known collectively as "the triumvirate," aided du Barry in her successful bid to become the king's mistress. Terray's commission of a copy of a sculpture intended for Du Barry would have recalled that alliance. This was not the first time Terray had purchased a sculpture famed for its association with his friend. He owned a copy of Falconet's *Bather* and a later casting of Lemoyne's monument to Louis XV.<sup>299</sup> Terray had reason to recall his political friendships in those years. After the king's death in 1774, Terray was hated for his financial policies and dismissed from his position, and his effigy was carried through Paris.

Ultimately, Caffieri did not deliver *Friendship Surprised by Love* to the garden at Louveciennes because of du Barry's financial constraints. Caffieri must have understood that du Barry could not pay for the marble execution of his *Friendship Surprised by Love*.

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<sup>296</sup> Jules Guiffrey, *Les Caffieri, sculpteurs et fondeurs-cise-leurs. Étude sur la statuaire et sur l'art du bronze en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, J. Laget, 1993[1877]), 205.

<sup>297</sup> Terra-cotta models of both sculptures also were sold at the Godefroy Sale in 1785. Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues*, 80.

<sup>298</sup> Colin B. Bailey, "The abbé Terray: An Enlightened Patron of Modern Sculpture," *The Burlington Magazine* 135, no. 1079 (Feb., 1993): 121-132.

<sup>299</sup> Bailey, "The abbé Terry," 125. Also like Du Barry, Terray did not pay Caffieri for the bronze *Friendship Surprised by Love*; it remained with the artist until he received payment from the patron's estate in 1778.

During the 1773 Salon, he attempted to secure the purchase by the notoriously parsimonious Terray (1715-1778).<sup>300</sup> This may have been encouraged by the comtesse to make the marble a royal commission to be installed at Louveciennes nevertheless. In a letter dated 17 September 1773, the First Painter, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (1714-1789) advised Terray not to purchase a sculpture “that could not be placed anywhere but a garden bosquet.”<sup>301</sup> Pierre’s statement that a sculpture of friendship would be suitable only for a garden bosquet confirms the association between this virtue and the intimate garden space. Terray refused. By the middle of 1774, Louis XV had died and Madame du Barry was exiled from court without purchasing the marble of *Friendship Surprised by Love*.<sup>302</sup>

In 1774, du Barry’s friends were disgraced or exiled; she was banned from Versailles and Paris, and she lost her home at Louveciennes. However, her status and resources, though diminished, did not disappear after Louis XV’s death. She purchased the Château de Saint-Vrain, where she moved all of her possessions. However, already in autumn, 1775, she was allowed to return to Louveciennes for some days. In 1776, her freedom was restored completely, and she recovered her personal belongings, use of her properties, and her income. In those years, there was no incentive to cultivate an artistic program that pointedly rejected the one invented for her predecessor, whose faction could

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<sup>300</sup> Guiffrey, *Les Caffieri*, 213-14.

<sup>301</sup> Guiffrey, *Les Caffieri*, 214.

<sup>302</sup> Guiffrey, *Les Caffieri*, 220. Radcliffe, Baker, and Maek-Gérard, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*, 260-1. Caffieri was in a poor financial state, and in 1775, after the removal of Terray, he again petitioned for payment of his labor and the marble he had purchased for the sculpture. The leading French sculptors, Coustou, Pigalle, Lemoyne, and Pajou were assembled to determine the appropriate price for the sculpture and Caffieri eventually received payment. The first two were in favor of Caffieri and the latter of Du Barry. They decided on a price of 3600 livres for the labor and that the marble should be repaid either with the entire cost of 2400 livres or with 600 livres allowing Caffieri to keep the marble. On August 7, 1774, he received 4200 livres. A group listed as “Friendship and Love of natural size” was noted in his studio in the inventory taken at his death in 1792, but it is not clear if this was the plaster or marble. Cécile Navarra-Le Bihan, “L’inventaire après décès du sculpteur Jean-Jacques Caffieri,” *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 138, no. 1592 (Sep 2001): 101.

no longer be a threat to Du Barry's power or that of her own friends. Furthermore, Du Barry herself exemplified a model of female friendship closer to that defined in the earlier eighteenth-century literature and deployed by Madame de Pompadour.

The comtesse was in the unique position of having been a young mistress, of low status by birth, who was presented to the king in the last years of his life, and who therefore had to maintain some income and authority for decades after his death. By the age of 31, she was too old to marry, and she was separated from court and city at her small chateau. However, she continued to receive guests at Louveciennes, and rumors circulated about her relationships with her male guests in particular.<sup>303</sup> In 1777, the emperor Joseph II visited Louveciennes. Voltaire arrived in early 1778 on his way to Paris for the last time before his death. Du Barry did have an affair with the English Lord Seymour, who had moved with his wife into the château neighboring Louveciennes. Eventually, he ended the relationship due to his jealousy of his mistress' relationship with the duc de Brissac (1734-1792), with whom she also was rumored to have had an affair.<sup>304</sup> However, the painter Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842) observed in her memoirs that their behavior left no doubt that she and Brissac were only friends with a "tender attachment" between them, although this may have been an attempt to flatter her patron.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 164. On the comtesse's visitors after 1774.

<sup>304</sup> They became acquainted in 1770 at Versailles. Around 1780, they were seen together at the Opéra, and shortly after he moved into Louveciennes for some time.

<sup>305</sup> "rien dans ses manières et dans celles de madame Du Barry ne pouvait laisser soupçonner qu'il fût plus que l'ami de la maîtresse du château. Toutefois il était aisé de voir qu'un tendre attachement unissait ces deux personnes." Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs de Mme Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun* (Paris, 1835), 1:111, letter X. Also quoted in Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 165, 170 n. 24.

Vigée-Lebrun's memoirs confirm that during this period the comtesse led a lifestyle consistent with the model of female friendship in advanced age that was described in eighteenth-century literature and art. The painter observed that du Barry walked in her park regardless of the weather and was always very casually dressed in "dressing gowns of percale or white muslin."<sup>306</sup> These garments were popular for dressing in the country, favored for their simplicity, and referred to as "English" in style.<sup>307</sup> They also recall the simple garment of Friendship. Vigée-Lebrun noted that du Barry's solitude was valuable to her. These conditions might seem inconsequential and unavoidable for a woman in her position, but they demonstrate that du Barry existed in the prime circumstance for female friendship, which included age, solitude, and separation.

From the second half of the decade until its seizure during the Revolution, Louveciennes was transformed into a site of friendship. The countess may have commissioned a sculpture of herself in her new role of friend, one she was so reluctant to adopt during the king's life. The Louvre holds a lifesize stone sculpture entitled *Fidelity in the Guise of Madame du Barry holding the heart of the king* (Figure 82), which is currently in deposit with the Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes and called *Fidelity*. It has been attributed to Augustin Pajou (1730-1809), who frequently worked for du Barry, and who submitted a model for a sculpture of *Fidelity* to the Salon of 1779.<sup>308</sup> The French art historian and curator of sculpture at the Louvre, Guilhelm Scherf, rejected

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<sup>306</sup> "robes-peignoirs de percale ou de mousseline blanche." Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 167.

<sup>307</sup> They were made popular by Marie Antoinette. Mary Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 143-5.

<sup>308</sup> Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 172.

this attribution on the bases of style and lack of documentation.<sup>309</sup> However, the sculpture in question does closely resemble other portraits of the comtesse, including the bust by Pajou (Figure 83), and whether or not it was completed by that artist, it probably is an example of her desire to develop this identity later in life. Although called *Fidelity*, the sculpture clearly appropriates elements of emblems of friendship. Her right breast is exposed. She holds the heart in her left hand and stands beside a short, broken column decorated with a garland and the head of a dog, which is the only allusion to fidelity. Notably, the hem of the drapery is lowered modestly to her feet, whereas Friendship's leg usually is exposed. While the current scholarship on the sculpture leaves many unanswered questions, it seems reasonable to assume that it is a representation of the comtesse du Barry with attributions of a model of friendship quite unlike that depicted by Vien and Caffieri. The modest, faithful woman holding a heart in this sculpture was the more appropriate guise for the aging du Barry at Louveciennes. The title indicates that she holds the heart of the deceased king, but this would be a wholly unique manner of depicting a royal mistress' devotion to the king after his death and rare for any mistress or wife. It is more likely that the Louvre sculpture is another clever appropriation by Madame du Barry of the powerful iconography deployed by Pompadour, but in a way that distinguishes the two mistresses. A portrait as "friend" would have served du Barry not only as the former mistress of a deceased king, but also as the current mistress and friend of powerful visitors to Louveciennes.

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<sup>309</sup> Draper and Scherf, *Augustin Pajou*, 237-8, 388. Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, *Madame Du Barry: de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 126-7. The Louveciennes catalog indicates that the sculpture was created in an inexpensive stone because of the royal monopoly on marble that prevented Du Barry's access. H. Stein indicated it was modeled in terra cotta for exhibition at the Salon: H. Stein, *Augustin Pajou* (Paris: 1912), 410.

At her Château de Louveciennes and its small pavilion, Madame du Barry may have needed to distance herself from Pompadour, but the marquise was an inescapable model for the employment of art and building projects to acquire and maintain power. Furthermore, Friendship was a virtue that was difficult to deny at Louveciennes because of the women it had housed before the countess. Du Barry's place and position insisted that she deal with the iconography of friendship developed for the marquise de Pompadour, and she did so in distinct and subtle ways as she transitioned from the young mistress of the living king to a moderately wealthy and unattached woman in her thirties after his death.

#### Madame Victoire and the Renewal of Bellevue as a Site of Friendship

The princess Marie Louise Thérèse Victoire de France, called Madame Victoire (1733-1799), lived at the Château de Bellevue in the 1780s, in rooms that had been occupied by her father's mistress, the marquise de Pompadour. The maintenance of Bellevue was too costly for Louis XVI; he did not have his predecessor's affection for the property, and it had fallen into some degree of disrepair.<sup>310</sup> The king's chief advisor, the duc d'Angiviller, considered the château unfit for a *maison royale* and advised the king to gift Bellevue to his aunts. On 24 September 1775, Louis XVI signed a contract confirming the sale of Bellevue for 150,000 livres to his aunts, three of the seven daughters of Louis XV: Madame Adelaide, Madame Victoire, and Madame Sophie, known collectively as "Mesdames Tantes."<sup>311</sup> With the enormous inheritances they received from the deaths of both their father and mother (in 1768), along with the

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<sup>310</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 218.

<sup>311</sup> Biver *Château de Bellevue*. The other surviving daughter of Louis XV, Marie Louise, had become a Carmelite nun and resided in the convent.



generous monthly allowances granted them by the court, they renovated and expanded the château and gardens over the next decade. The interior was complete by 1784, and Victoire established residence in an apartment that included the former *chambre* and *toilette* of the marquise de Pompadour.<sup>312</sup> The rooms opened onto the grand terrace behind the château and overlooked the garden that was represented as the setting of Victoire's images of friendship.

Place was meaningful to Friendship in the eighteenth century, and its inhabitants were keen to experience and exploit its memories. Madame Victoire constructed an image of herself in art and in her correspondence that was located at Bellevue and drew on associations with Pompadour. She employed the history of Bellevue's ownership and the iconographic programs deployed there over its first twenty-five years to their own political ends. Madame Victoire in particular presented herself as a friend in the vein of Pompadour. This was not merely an allusion to the reign of her father, but a claim to possess a virtue that was located purposefully in the gardens of Bellevue and was associated with a powerful woman.<sup>313</sup> The gardens were represented as the setting of a portrait by the French court painter Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749-1803) depicting Victoire offering a sacrifice to a sculpture of friendship (Figure 84). In her correspondence, Victoire located the performances of her friendships within the gardens as well. But these were not merely the fanciful friendships of a wealthy courtier with leisure time and intimate spaces in which to spend it. Victoire also indicated that she engaged friendship intellectually.

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<sup>312</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 235-6, 244-6, 286-9.

<sup>313</sup> Laura Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Artist in the Age of Revolution* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), 63. She insists that the friendship iconography was a point of nostalgia for the age of Victoire's mother and father.

At Bellevue, Mesdames lived with the influence and memory of three women who had in various ways posed threats to their relationships with the king throughout their lives. Pompadour and du Barry had lived at Bellevue; Marie Antoinette had stayed there during her tenure as princess, and her official architect, who recently had completed her hamlet at Versailles, was hired for the garden expansion. A biographer of Louis XV's daughters, Casimir Stryienski, characterized the relationship between the king and his daughters as interrupted by the presence of Madame de Pompadour. Like other courtiers who sought power through proximity to the king, Mesdames viewed her as a political opponent and competed with her for their father's attention. Madame Adelaide requested access to her father's rooms via the private staircase at Versailles, a privilege established for Pompadour during her tenure there.<sup>314</sup> Madame Victoire was introduced at court in 1748 and made her first entry into Paris in 1749. Descriptions of her from the time tend to emphasize her physical attractiveness and her charm, while the duc de Luynes criticized her etiquette.<sup>315</sup> On the occasion of Victoire's entry into Paris, her father was at Le Havre with Madame de Pompadour.

After Pompadour's death, the relationship between father and daughters reportedly became closer.<sup>316</sup> Mesdames' relationship with Madame du Barry was similar. Correspondence between a court diplomat and the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II (r. 1765-1790) records Madame Adelaide instructing her sisters that it was "better to put up with [du Barry] than run the risk of having a Queen."<sup>317</sup> When du Barry was made countess, Mesdames interfered with the ceremony, postponing it until 1769. Afterwards,

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<sup>314</sup> Casimir Stryienski, *The Daughters of Louis XV (Mesdames de France)*, trans. Cranstoun Metcalfe (London : Chapman and Hall, 1912), 110.

<sup>315</sup> Stryienski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 46-48.

<sup>316</sup> Stryienski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 110.

<sup>317</sup> Stryienski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 117.

du Barry was installed in Adelaide's former apartments at Versailles, and the relationship between father and daughters became strained again.<sup>318</sup>

The tension between the daughters and their father's mistresses was later mirrored by the tension between them and their nephew's queen. Madame Adelaide had not supported the selection of the Archduchess of Austria, Marie Antoinette, to marry Louis XVI. Empress Marie Thérèse of Austria advised her daughter, Antoinette, to resist the influence of the sisters: "...they have never won the good opinion of the people nor the affection of their family. Their own goodness, and their habit of letting themselves be influenced by anyone, have only resulted in making them unpopular, disagreeable, and wearisome for themselves and the object of all sorts of cabals and chicanery."<sup>319</sup> But one discovers disagreement between the sisters on this competitor for the affections and benefits of the king. Madame Victoire opposed her sister's attempts to manipulate Antoinette, and in response Adelaide attempted to discredit Victoire to the queen.<sup>320</sup> The king's aunts were isolated at Bellevue after 1775. They were reputed to be petty, impressionable, and disagreeable. The Empress Marie Thérèse wrote that they were "the object of all sorts of cabals and chicanery."<sup>321</sup> This was perhaps a false stereotype of aristocratic women who failed to marry by old age, that they would grow to be "sour" and "difficult," rather than the truth of their characters.<sup>322</sup> Nevertheless, at Bellevue they commenced a keen program to project their images as loyal to the king and tolerant of the new queen.

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<sup>318</sup> Stryiński, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 119.

<sup>319</sup> Letter of 31 October, 1771, quoted in Stryiński, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 146.

<sup>320</sup> Stryiński, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 144. The author cites correspondence between Marie Thérèse and the Comte de Mercy Argenteau (I, 68).

<sup>321</sup> Letter of 31 October, 1771, quoted in Stryiński, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 146.

<sup>322</sup> Stryiński, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 152. A page who served them at Bellevue wrote that "I think the loneliness had soured their temper a little; they were difficult to please."

The history of Bellevue as both a *maison de plaisance* and a *maison royale* imposed itself on the character of the renovations and decoration of its interiors and garden. Mesdames employed the history of the site and its occupants to assert their political authority during their geographic and social separation from Versailles. They commissioned the royal architect, Richard Mique (1728-1794), to complete renovations. Mique achieved some success in the court of Stanislas Leszinska in Lorraine and worked for Marie Leszinska and Marie Antoinette at Versailles. He became Directeur Général des Bâtiments in 1763 and was named official architect of Marie Antoinette in 1770. Mesdames' choice of Mique maintained their connection to the royal family after their move to Bellevue.

There is little documentation of the renovations completed by Mique for Mesdames. Although he updated some rooms in the prevailing neoclassical taste, the floral motifs, *chinoiserie*, and arabesques of the age of Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour survived.<sup>323</sup> They displayed Sèvres vases and clocks favored by their predecessors. In the early twentieth century, the Baron Paul Biver criticized their taste as gauche and unbecoming of their status.<sup>324</sup> But the cultural historian Patrice Higonnet has argued that their intimate interiors and the small objects they purchased reflect elite patrons' appropriation of bourgeois culture in the last quarter of the century.

Madame Victoire blended old and new in her apartment. When Mesdames moved to Bellevue in 1775, Madame Adelaide immediately claimed apartments on the ground floor, while her sisters moved into apartments previously dedicated to the dauphine and

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<sup>323</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 250.

<sup>324</sup> Patrice Higonnet, "Mique, the Architect of Royal Intimacy," in *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550-1850*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 33. Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 215, 234.

dauphin on the floor above.<sup>325</sup> They were relocated as soon as renovations were concluded, in 1783 or 1784, when Madame Victoire established her apartment on the ground floor. Some of the rooms in this new apartment had been occupied by the mistresses of her father, Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry, at various points in the chateau's history.<sup>326</sup> In the plan published by Biver (Figure 86), the rooms taken over by Victoire that had been the personal rooms of Madame de Pompadour are represented by numbers 15-17.<sup>327</sup> They included Pompadour's *chambre*, her "Turkish suite" (so called for the paintings by Charles van Loo depicting maids serving a sultana), and her *toilette*.

In 1782, Madame Victoire commissioned Mique to change the décor of Madame de Pompadour's Turkish suite for Victoire's cabinet. On July 29<sup>th</sup>, she had the wood relief panels by Madame de Pompadour's favorite carver, Jacques Verberckt (1704-1771), removed. These were white panels carved with arabesques and ornaments in the "antique" style. Victoire retained the white color for her small cabinet.<sup>328</sup> The room that was once designated the "Salle des officiers de garde" and served later as part of the residence of both the marquise de Pompadour and the comtesse du Barry, became the "First Antechamber" of Madame Victoire.<sup>329</sup> It retained a wallpaper that had been hung for du Barry. On the chimney of her "Second Antechamber," Victoire had Sèvres vases and a clock that Louis XV had purchased in 1766. Two of the Sèvres vases had

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<sup>325</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 244-5.

<sup>326</sup> On the room of Madame Victoire: Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 235-6, 244-6, 286-9.

<sup>327</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, ill. 24, facing page 190.

<sup>328</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 251.

<sup>329</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 286.

backgrounds of rose and gold and tableaux depicting children at play, forms that were associated with taste of the marquise de Pompadour.<sup>330</sup>

Mesdames' awareness of the history of the property and their keen employment of that history for political purposes also are demonstrated by their commission from Augustin Pajou of a sculpture depicting Henry IV.<sup>331</sup> It was to commemorate the encampment of Henry IV at Meudon, near Bellevue, during the siege of Paris in 1590. The sculpture was intended for the Grand Terrace at Bellevue, where it would have aligned visually with Pigalle's statue of Louis XV. Mesdames aimed to flatter the king by connecting his reign to that of Henry IV. Pajou completed a terracotta model in 1785, but the project was not realized for unknown reasons.

Mesdames' fondness for the gardens at Bellevue is indicated by their commission in 1777 of a relief of the gardens attributed to P.N. Le Roy mounted on a wooden base and displayed on a pedestal under glass (Figure 87).<sup>332</sup> When Mesdames acquired Bellevue, the picturesque English garden style dominated French landscape architecture. Between 1777 and 1778, Madame Victoire established a "*Jardin Fleuriste*" containing a pavilion that housed a cabinet, salon, and lodging for the gardener.<sup>333</sup> In a letter written in 1787 to her dear friend, the Comtesse de Chastellux, Victoire described an evening she spent there:

Do you know I passed the whole of Thursday night in the garden. Oh, how lovely the sunrise was, and what glorious weather! I went to bed, however,

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<sup>330</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 289.

<sup>331</sup> Paul Biver describes the sculpture and quotes a record of Pajou's request for payment for the model and Mesdames' compliance. He also describes a terracotta in the collection of a Monsieur Garretta in 1925 that might be the one completed by Pajou. It represents Henry IV giving advice to Louis XVI and is inscribed "Bellevue. bandeToul" Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 328-329.

<sup>332</sup> The maker, P. N. Le Roy, was a royal engineer and servant of the comte d'Artois. Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 323.

<sup>333</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 331-3.

at eight o'clock in the morning, after a breakfast of excellent onion soup and a cup of coffee with cream. I did not feel any the worse for my youthful frivolity. How you would have scolded me! Madame de Mesmes was with me, in a delightful mood. I was really enchanted with the fine weather, the beautiful moon, the dawn, and the splendid sun; and then with my cows and sheep and chickens, and the movement of all the work-people, who began their day's work so light-heartedly.<sup>334</sup>

The letter reveals that for Victoire, the garden was a place of simplicity, a “happy retreat.” It was a site where Victoire and her companion Madame de Mesmes were separated from society. She relayed her escapade to her distant friend, on whom she called to administer the proper scolding for her unconventional behavior. I would argue that the need for correction reflects both the traditional responsibility of the friend to correct wrong action and the threat associated with female friendship, that it might disrupt the proper gendered social hierarchies. But in this place, in the garden at Bellevue, that threat was minimized.

In 1779, Mesdames commissioned royal architect Richard Mique (1728-1794) to explore the possibility of expanding their property to create an English garden following the river meander to the southeast (Figure 88).<sup>335</sup> For this expansion known as the “English Garden,” he designed new bosquets, a bridge, a hermitage, and a hamlet with a functioning dairy, which were later depicted by Louis Albert Ghislain Bacler d'Albe (1761-1824) in his guidebook to the landscape around Paris (Figure 89 and Figure 90).<sup>336</sup> Mique had earned his reputation for the landscapes he designed for royal female patrons,

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<sup>334</sup> Stryenski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 154.

<sup>335</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 335-340.

<sup>336</sup> Biver, *Château de Bellevue*, 80-114. *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, 99-102, 104-5.

especially Marie Antoinette, for whom he created the hamlet at Versailles in 1783. According to Patrice Higonnet, Mique's designs contributed to the *embourgeoisement* of royal garden architecture.<sup>337</sup> The intimacy and informality of his gardens intentionally countered the public performance of court and embraced the intimacy preferred by bourgeois culture. These qualities lent his garden at Bellevue to representations of friendship. Whereas royal women could not claim the equality of friendship at court or in any public settings, they could do so in the picturesque garden like that elaborated at Bellevue. This is perhaps why Adelaide Labille-Guiard represented Victoire in this setting.

Finding herself "advanced in age" like the Marquise de Lambert, and isolated from court in her country château, Madame Victoire was positioned to make a claim to perfect friendship. In Labille-Guiard's portrait, the princess is depicted standing on a terrace overlooking a garden and gesturing towards a sculpture of the goddess Friendship. The identification of the goddess is confirmed by the phrase "*Longe et Prope*" inscribed at its base and by the catalog of the 1789 Salon, where the canvas was exhibited. Victoire holds wild flowers, corn-flowers, and corn-poppies in her hands, and two vases rest at the base of the statue's tall pedestal. A second sacrifice to friendship is depicted in relief on the vase of flowers next to the pedestal. Its composition is similar to other images of sacrifice, including Pompadour's own print of Love sacrificing to Friendship (Figure 22).<sup>338</sup> The flowers and vases are Victoire's offerings to friendship, symbolizing her

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<sup>337</sup> Patrice Higonnet, "Mique, the Architect of Royal Intimacy," 25-41.

<sup>338</sup> Asen Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning: The Art Patronage of Catherine the Great (1762-1796)* (Athens, Georgia: The Georgia Museum of Art, 2013), 23-4. The exhibition catalog discusses vessels as symbols of femininity in the eighteenth century, and there is likely a connection between these objects, the gendering of the virtue of friendship in the eighteenth century, and the growing association between the private realm and femininity in eighteenth-century bourgeois culture.



devotion to the goddess. We are witnesses to Madame Victoire's act of giving, which is a traditional responsibility of friendship.

The pedestal of the garden sculpture is inscribed: "Dear to humans and beloved of the gods / I, alone, possess a temple and altars near the throne."<sup>339</sup> The speaker is made feminine and seemingly refers to the goddess, but the mention of a "throne" ostensibly belonging to her must also allude to Victoire, who also was "close" to the French monarchy. And a third allusion may be found in Voltaire's description of Friendship at the end of his poem: "Froze[n] to death on her sad altars." Despite being "dear to humans and beloved of the gods," none of Voltaire's contestants were able to exhibit true friendship. I interpret the inscription as a claim that true friendship may exist for a ruler, but that it is rare. In other words, Victoire's portrait claims that she is a rare friend despite her royal status and her gender. This is a claim to equality and political influence, one which she also made through the evocation of friendship in her letters. On 21 January, 1787, Victoire wrote to Chastellux: "I beg you, Madame, to be assured of my friendship. I embrace you with all my heart."<sup>340</sup> The comtesse was her lady-in-waiting until her death in 1786, when, on Victoire's authority and amidst some contention, the post passed to her daughter-in-law, Angélique Victoire de Durfort-Civrac (1752-1816), who inherited the position of comtesse de Chastellux. Victoire wrote to the new comtesse de Chastellux: "It is a great consolation to me, after the tender friend whom I have lost, to find one again in her daughter..."<sup>341</sup> Stryenski noted that a replica of Labille-Guiard's painting of Victoire

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<sup>339</sup> Anne Marie Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1749-1803: Biographie et Catalogue Raisonné De Son Œuvre* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1973). "Précieuse aux Humains et chère aux Immortels / J'ai seule, auprès du Trône, un Temple et des Autels."

<sup>340</sup> Stryenski, *Daughters of Louis XV*, 326-7.

<sup>341</sup> Stryenski, *Daughters of Louis XV*, 327.

was presented to her, signed by the artist and dated, 1789.<sup>342</sup> Madame Victoire also bequeathed to her a liqueur case, scapulary, reliquary, traveling bed, Brussels point lace, and a large portion of Victoire's library.<sup>343</sup>

Victoire's intentional, though cautious, appropriation of Pompadour's program of friendship representations and her keen awareness of the importance of their context are further illustrated when one compares the settings of François Boucher's portrait of Pompadour (Figure 12) to Labille-Guiard's of Victoire. Pompadour is portrayed sitting in a secluded, overgrown garden, surrounded by trees with pink and white flowers, perhaps the same jasmine and roses described in the Bosquet of Love and depicted on Pigalle's friendship allegories (Figure 11 and Figure 29). Indeed, the square pot behind her holds white blooms similar to jasmine. She leans against the pedestal supporting Pigalle's *Love and Friendship* and gestures with her fan towards her beloved dogs looking at her attentively from a garden bench. Boucher's portrait describes the ideal site for Pigalle's allegory of friendship as secluded, informal, and fecund.

In Madame Victoire's portrait, the sculpture of Friendship is sheltered by an overhanging tree that offers the seclusion appropriate to this virtue. However, the artist suggests that an expansive view of the garden beyond is blocked by Victoire. The juxtaposition of the intimate space occupied by the sculpture and the broad view behind Victoire was characteristic of the English garden style, but we are not granted full access to either in this portrait. Madame Victoire's gesturing left arm leads the viewer's eye to the sculpture of friendship but also arrests it in the foreground plane. It limits entry into her private space on the terrace and the garden beyond. The viewer can see that the view

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<sup>342</sup> Stryenski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 190.

<sup>343</sup> Stryenski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 190. The library was lost in the Adriatic.

from the terrace is broad. The trees around its periphery appear to be haphazardly arranged and a powerful fountain enters from the viewer's right (Figure 85). The suggested breadth and asymmetry of the garden, having a fountain only on one side rather than isolated in a central alley, also are typical of the English garden style. Therefore, the portrait informs the viewer that the garden represented behind Victoire is a place appropriate to friendship, but like those who would linger on semi-public road to the northwest side of the Château de Bellevue, we are not granted access. It is Victoire's alone, in part because the intimacy of Pompadour's portrait would have been inappropriate for an official portrait of a member of the royal family, but also because Victoire's separation is a condition of her friendship. Her gesture with the left arm creates a barrier between her body and the viewer and reinforces her separation and the rarity of friendship. This delineation of social spaces was all the more important because the painting was exhibited at the Salon of 1789.

Victoire's awareness of the contemporary literature on friendship is supported further by her commission of a now lost portrait by Armand Vincent de Montpetit (1713-1800). Montpetit is best known for his portrait of Louis XV on glass, painted in 1774 (Figure 91), the year of the king's death.<sup>344</sup> He was a scientist and miniaturist who worked in the courts of Louis XV and Louis XVI. The former shared interests in science,

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<sup>344</sup> Montpetit's *peinture érudorique* reflected and refracted the light of their environment as well as the image of the viewer. They were objects well-suited to the eighteenth-century cabinet hung with large mirrors and windows. The painting of Louis XV probably was located in the Petite Trianon at Versailles. The king's torso is in profile like widely circulated official images, but he turns to engage the viewer for a more intimate encounter. Kevin Justus argued that the accoutrements of royal power have been eliminated because the king's body has taken their place: "To Louis XV, his portrait on glass acts as a private reverification, a resanctification of his authority to reform and revivify the monarchy, to create his version of an enlightened and paternal kingship." (37) I would argue, however, that the portrait created the year he died straddles the line between public and private, and that the king engages the viewer with an intimacy characteristic of the new gardens, of bourgeois culture, and of friendship. Justus, "A Fractured Mirror," 33, 37.

invention, engineering, and optics with the painter.<sup>345</sup> According to the historian Casimir Stryienski, Montpetit depicted Madame Victoire “half-length, life-size, as a model for little portraits” to adorn boxes and bracelets.<sup>346</sup> Madame Victoire confirmed the existence of such a portrait in a letter to the Comtesse du Chastellux dated 12 August 1787: “I do not know where my portrait by Montpetit is; I would have applied to him if I knew where he lived.”<sup>347</sup> One copy of the portrait attached to the lid of a box depicted Victoire holding a book inscribed “*Traité de l’amitié*.”<sup>348</sup> Whether the volume represents a specific text in Victoire’s library or it served to claim generally that the sitter was aware of such publications, it confirms that the theme of friendship in the portrait by Labille-Guiard was significant for Victoire and one that she wished to appear engaging intellectually.

Labille-Guiard was the official painter to the king’s aunts, and her portrait of Madame Victoire typically has been analyzed by the comparison with those of her sisters.<sup>349</sup> The portrait of Madame Adelaïde (Figure 92) was exhibited at the Salon of 1787 with a pastel study for the head of Madame Victoire. The portraits of Victoire and Sophie were exhibited at the following Salon in 1789. Collectively, these portraits have been interpreted as assertions of alternative, nonsexual feminine influence over Louis

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<sup>345</sup> In 1783, Montpetit submitted his to Louis XVI a prospectus for the construction of an iron bridge across the Rhône River. Armand Vincent de Montpetit, *Prospectus d’un pont de fer d’une seule arche, proposé, depuis vingt toises jusqu’à cent d’ouverture, pour être jeté sur une grande rivière... par M. Vincent de Montpetit*. Paris: 1783.

<sup>346</sup> The price of the model is recorded at 25 louis. The only thing that seems to have survived of the commission is a list of works in the collection of M. Paul Fromageot. Stryienski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 191.

<sup>347</sup> Stryienski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 191.

<sup>348</sup> Stryienski, *The Daughters of Louis XV*, 191. The author notes the price of the painting and that the only record of it is a list of objects in a private collection.

<sup>349</sup> Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 61-3. Melissa Lee Hyde, “Under the Sign of Minerva: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard’s *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde*” in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Melissa Lee Hyde, and Jennifer Dawn Milam, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2003), 130-3.

XVI in order to combat Marie Antoinette's challenges to that influence and to profess their loyalty as Daughters of France. Madame Victoire's portrait can also be understood as part of her independent program to project an identity as friend, one that was bound to the Château de Bellevue, not only because it was the former residence of Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV, but also because it was a perfect site of ideal friendship, the character of which was known by contemporary literature on the subject. For both Madame de Pompadour and Madame Victoire, the role of friend was not only an alternative intimate relationship with the king, but also a promise of loyalty to whomever would be a true friend in return. Their possession and deployment of the virtue of friendship, independent of their relationship with the king, potentially provided them access to power. However, they could only claim it in a prescribed location, a site of friendship that promoted intimacy, seclusion, and equality despite class or gender distinctions. The geographic location, topography, and the style of gardens at Bellevue were exploited by Madame de Pompadour and, later, Madame Victoire to traverse boundaries of status and gender in order to achieve the prerequisite intellectual and moral equality of perfect friendship.



Figure 33 Augustin de Saint-Aubin, after Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Profile of Madame Le Normant d'Étiolles*, 1764. Etching and burin, 24.6 x 16.7 cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.



Figure 34 Etienne-Maurice Falconet, "Madame de Pompadour as Friendship"  
[« Friendship of the Heart Representing Madame de Pompadour »], 1755. Porcelain,  
height .265m. Sèvres, Cité de la céramique.



Figure 35 Etienne-Maurice Falconet, "Madame de Pompadour as Friendship" [*Offering of the Heart*],1755. Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Athaneum.





Figure 36 Etienne Maurice Falconet (after), *Friendship with Her Heart in both Hands*, 1765. Sèvres, Musée de la Céramique.



Figure 37 Louis-Philippe Demay, *Love Sacrificing to Friendship*, Tabatiere, ca. 1765. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 38 Jacques Charlier, after François Boucher, *The Altar of Friendship*, 18<sup>th</sup> century. Vellum, gouache; .29 x .20 m. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 39 François Boucher (attr.), *The Altar of Friendship*. From Bourgarel Collection sale catalog, Paris, 1922, no. 66.



Figure 40 Mantel Clock, ca 1780, Sèvres porcelain, enamel, gilt bronze, marble. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Figure 41 "Clock with the Figure of Friendship Holding a Medallion," ca. 1785. Ormolu and porcelain, overall 13 5/8". Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Museum.



Figure 42 Charles Dutertre (master clockmaker from 1758(?)), "Clock," ca. 1775. Sèvres porcelain, enamel, gilt bronze, marble; 13-5/8 x 10 in. (34.6 x 25.4 cm). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 43 François Ageron, attributed (master 1741?, died after 1783), "Mantel Clock" [*pendule de cheminée*], about 1780. 34.8 x 25.7 x 15.7 cm (13 11/16 x 10 1/8 x 6 3/16 in.); Gilt bronze; white marble; Sèvres soft-paste porcelain column; enameled metal dial; steel; miniature on ivory (?). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



Figure 44 Follower of Étienne Maurice Falconet, *Fidelity*, c. 1760 - 1790 (model and cast). Gilt-bronze. Marble base; Statuette, Height: 28.6 cm; Pedestal, Height: 15.3 cm. London, The Wallace Collection.





Figure 45 “L’Amitié,” in Hubert François Bourguignon d’Anville and Charles Nicolas Cochin. 1764. *Almanach iconologique ... pour l’année 1765 (-1779). Orné de figures, avec leur explications, par M. Gravelot (M. Cochin)* (Paris: 1764-1779).





Figure 46 Detail of Figure 45



Figure 47 Jean-Baptiste Jacques Augustin, "Woman playing a lyre near an altar to friendship," 1795. Ivory, diameter .78m. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 48 Jean-Baptiste Jacques Augustin, "Portrait of Mlle Fanny Charrin," late 18<sup>th</sup>/early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Ivory, .157m x .111m. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 49 "Souvenir," 1780-1781.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New  
York.



Figure 50 "Souvenir," 1781-1789.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Figure 51 "Souvenir," 1774-1780. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 52 Augustin Dupre (engraver; 1748-1833), *Homage to Friendship*, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Pewter; diameter, 3.2cm. France, Saint-Etienne, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie.



Figure 53 Augustin Dupre, *Sacrifice to Friendship*, 1776. Pewter; h. 4.3cm; l. 3.47cm. Saint-Etienne, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie.





Figure 54 Jean-Baptiste Isabey (1767-1865), after Augustin Dupré, *Altar of Friendship*, ca. 1800. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 55 François Dumont, *L'Amitie* (verso), 1790. Ivory, Diameter .064m. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 56 François Dumont, *Portrait of a Woman* (recto), 1790. Ivory, Diameter .064m. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 57 Angelica Kauffmann, *Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi, Pointing to Her Children as Her Treasures*, ca. 1785. Oil on canvas; h. 40 in. x l. 50 in. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.





Figure 58 François-André Vincent (1746-1816), *Arria and Pætus commit suicide*, 1785. Oil on Canvas; 322 x 257 cm. Amiens, Musée de Picardie.





Figure 59 François-André Vincent (1746-1816), *Arria and Pætus*, 1784. Oil on canvas - 101 x 121.9 cm. Saint Louis, Saint Louis Art Museum.



Figure 60 Louis-Simon Boizot, *Friendship Designating the Location of Her Heart*, c. 1789. Marble. Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 61 Louis-Simon Boizot, after, *Friendship Designating the Location of Her Heart*. Biscuit porcelain, H. 32.5 ; L. 15.2; D. of the base, 12.9 cm. Musée national de Céramique, Sèvres.



Figure 62 Detail of Figure 61



Figure 63 Detail of Figure 61

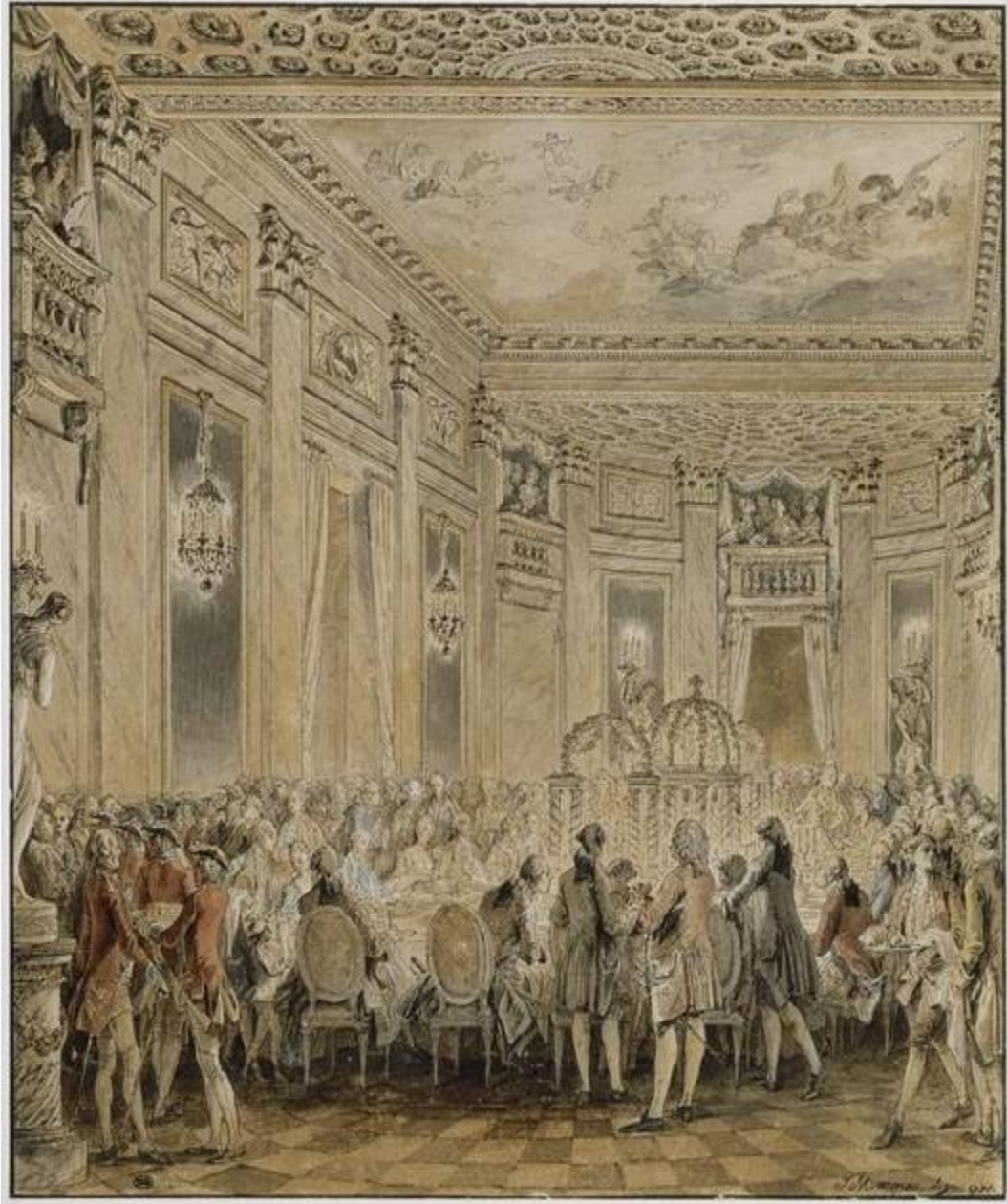


Figure 64 Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune, "Party given at Louveciennes, 2 September 1771." Paris, Musée du Louvre.



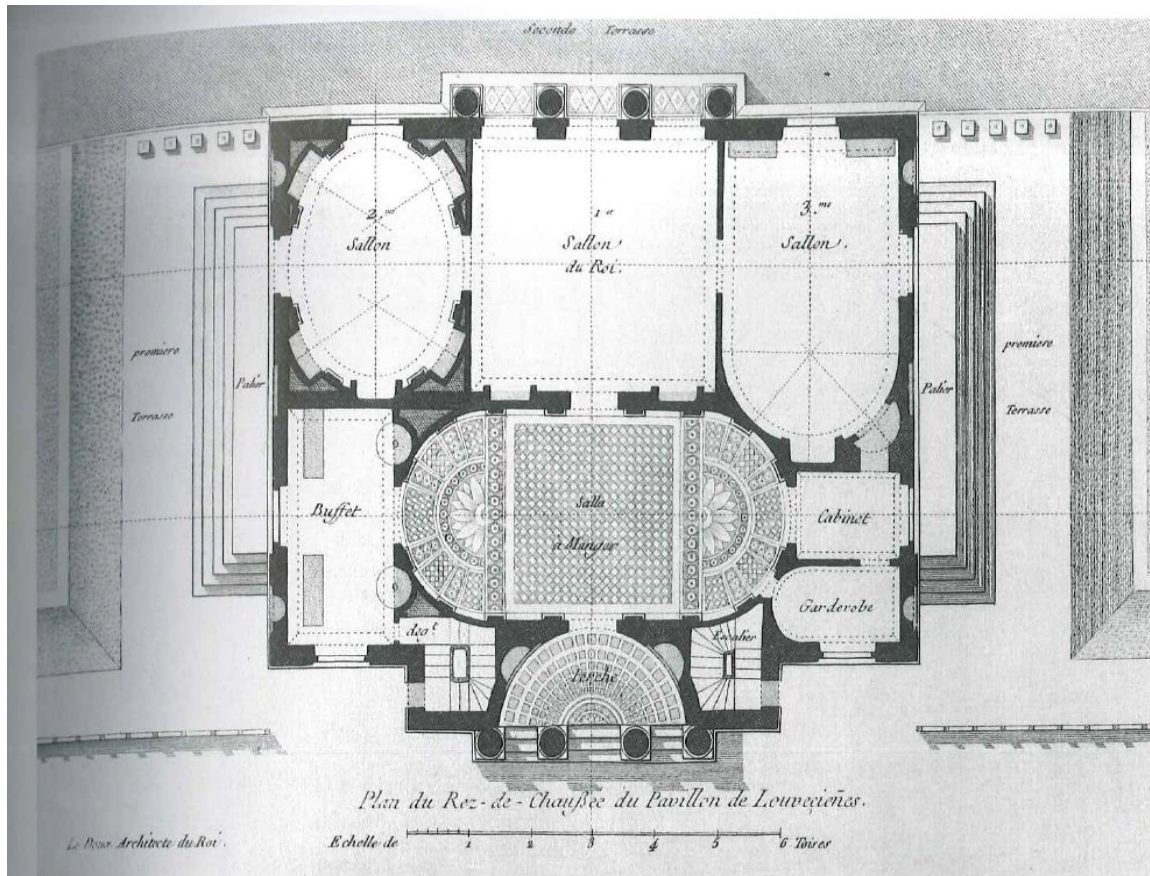


Figure 65 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Floorplan of the Pavillon de Louveciennes, 1770-1771. In Ledoux's *L'Architecture considéré sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation* (1804). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut nationale d'histoire de l'art, Collections Jacques Doucet.



Figure 66 Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732 - 1806), *The Progress of Love: The Pursuit*, 1771-72. Oil on canvas; 125 1/8 x 84 7/8 in. (317.8 x 215.6 cm). New York, Frick Collection.





Figure 67 Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732 - 1806), *The Progress of Love: The Meeting*, 1771-72. Oil on canvas; 125 x 96 in. (317.5 x 243.8 cm). New York, Frick Collection.



Figure 68 Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732 - 1806), *The Progress of Love: Love Letters*, 1771-72. Oil on canvas; 317.2 x 216.9 cm. New York, Frick Collection.



Figure 69 Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732 - 1806), *The Progress of Love: The Lover Crowned*, 1771-72. Oil on canvas (lined); 317.8 x 243.2 cm. New York, Frick Collection.



Figure 70 Louis Jean François Lagrenée , *Friendship Consoling the Elderly Woman on the Loss of Beauty and the Retirement of Pleasures* , 1786-87. Oil on canvas; h. 74 cm x l. 103 cm. Whereabouts unknown.





Figure 71 Augustin Pajou, *Comtesse du Barry as Hebe*. Whereabouts unknown. Photo reproduced in Draper, *Augustin Pajou*, 237.



Figure 72 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Two Young Grecian Girls Promise Never to Fall in Love*, 1773. Oil on Canvas; h. 270 cm x l. 230 cm. Chambéry, Préfecture.



Figure 73 Detail of Figure 72



Figure 74 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Two Young Girls Meet the Sleeping Cupid*, 1773. Oil on canvas; 355 x 194 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.





Figure 75 Joseph-Marie Vien, *The Lover Crowning His Mistress*, 1774. Oil on canvas; 355 x 202 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 76 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Two Lovers Who Swear Eternal Affection*, 1774. Oil on canvas, 270 x 240 cm. Prefecture of Chambéry.



Figure 77 Jean Jacques Caffieri, *Friendship Weeping Beside a Grave*, 1767. Plaster; 45 x 46 x 28 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 78 Jean Jacques Caffieri, *Monument to the Memory of Mme Favart*, 1774. Marble; 93.2 x 45.41 x 28.1 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.





Figure 79 Jean-Jacques Caffieri, after (?), *Friendship surprised by Love*, 1777. Bronze; H. 20 in. (with base), H. 16 5/8 in. (without base). Toledo, Toledo Museum of Art.



Figure 80 Jean Jacques Caffieri, *Friendship Surprised by Love*. Terracotta; H. 112 cm. Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza.



Figure 81 Jean-Jacques Caffieri, *Cupid Vanquishing Pan*, 1777. Bronze; h. 16  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". London, Wallace Collection.



Figure 82 Augustin Pajou (attr.), *La Fidelite*, 1779. Stone; h. 190 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, deposited at the Musée-Promenade de Marly-Louveciennes.





Figure 83 Augustin Pajou, *Jeanne Bécu, comtesse Du Barry*, 1773 . Marbre; H. : 0,56 m. ; L. : 0,48 m. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 84 Adelaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame Victoire de France with a Statue of Friendship*, 1788. Oil on canvas; 271 x 165 cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.



Figure 85 Detail of Figure 84



Figure 86 Annotated plan of the Château de Bellevue in 1786 indicating the rooms occupied by Madame Victoire and previously occupied by the Marquise de Pompadour. Published in Paul Biver, *Hisotire du Château de Bellevue* (Paris, 1933).



Figure 87 P. N. Le Roy, Maquette of the gardens at Bellevue, 1777. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, GE A 274.



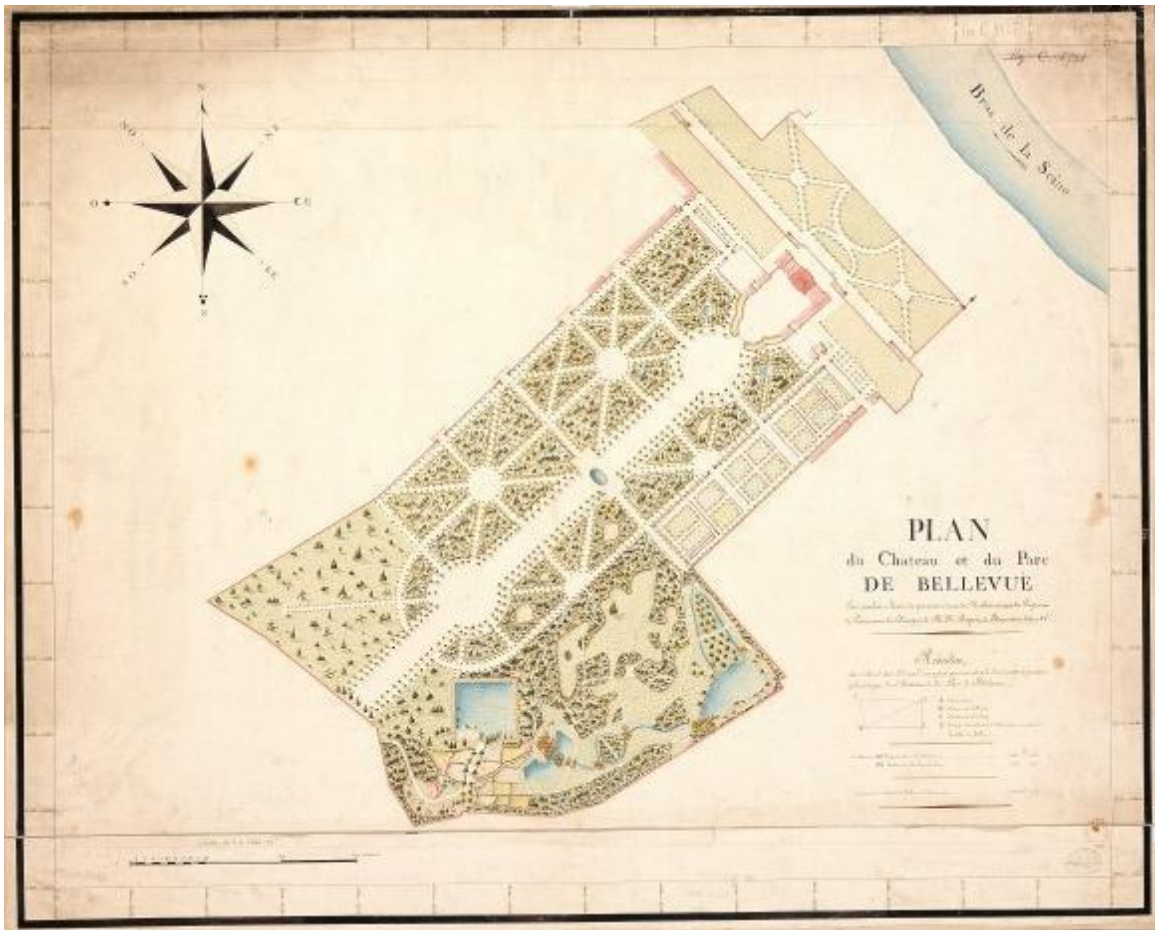


Figure 88 "Plan du château et du parc de Bellevue par Duport et Bourgeois, cartographes," 1803. Colored manuscript plan ; 91 x 73 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Cartes et Plans, GE 5125.



Le Moulin du Hameau, par BACLER D'ALBE

Figure 89 Louis Albert Ghislain Bacler d'Albe, "The Hamlet Mill," in Bacler d'Albe's *Promenades pittoresques et lithographiques dans Paris et ses environs*. Paris: G. Engelmann rue Louis le Grand n° 27, 1822.



La Ferme, par BACLER D'ALBE

Figure 90 Louis Albert Ghislain Bacler d'Albe, "The Farm," in Bacler d'Albe's *Promenades pittoresques et lithographiques dans Paris et ses environs*. Paris: G. Engelmann rue Louis le Grand n° 27, 1822.



Figure 91 Armand Vincent de Montpetit, *Louis XV*, 1774. Oil on glass ; 72 x 62 cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.





Figure 92 Adelaide Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Marie-Adelaide de France, Called Madame Adelaide*, 1787. Oil on canvas, H. 271cm, L. 195cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.



## CHAPTER 4

### “HAPPY RETREATS”: GARDEN TEMPLES OF FRIENDSHIP

Temples dedicated to friendship were erected in gardens across Europe throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>350</sup> The nineteenth-century French garden historian Arthur Mangin (1824-1887) included the Temple of Friendship among the standard motifs of the English garden style: “The English school, which made the garden a summary of nature, which simultaneously lavished on it the rustic little houses, hermitages, softly murmuring streams and symbolic monuments, temples to Love and to Friendship, philosophical and sentimental adages, could not fail to please such a fiction-loving [*romanesque*] society.”<sup>351</sup> Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld (1742-1792) illustrated the elevation and floor plan of a Temple of Evening and Friendship in his 1779-1785 *Theorie des Gardenkunst* (Figure 93).<sup>352</sup> These texts establish the place of allegorical temples of friendship in the eighteenth-century English style, picturesque landscape. Historians of landscape architecture have argued that the theoretical foundations, arrangements, and follies of this garden type in Europe had broad social and intellectual significance, especially for the expansion of the bourgeoisie and the

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<sup>350</sup> In addition to those that will be discussed in this chapter, temples were dedicated to friendship in the gardens at Clisson in France, at the Imperial and Royal Park of Laeken in Belgium, at St. Anne’s Hill in England, and at Schönbusch in Bavaria.

<sup>351</sup> Arthur Mangin, *Les jardins: histoire et description* (Tours: A. Mame et fils, 1867), 277.

<sup>352</sup> C. C. L. Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, ed. and trans. by Linda B. Parshall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001 [1779-1785]), 389.

expression and dissemination of Enlightenment ideas.<sup>353</sup> This chapter will rely on these studies to examine the temples of friendship in five gardens across Europe.

The selected gardens are representatively diverse in form and geographic location, but they also are interconnected through their patrons, motivations, sources, and meanings. The earliest temple was commissioned in 1737 by Lord Cobham and located in one of the most famous English gardens of the early eighteenth century at Stowe in Buckinghamshire. Next, I will discuss the pagoda dedicated to friendship in the garden at the Château de Chanteloup commissioned in 1773 by the exiled duc de Choiseul. Although the pagoda did not follow Cobham's temple chronologically, and their structures diverge drastically, in the type of friendship represented and in their political motivations, they closely parallel each other. The third temple was commissioned in 1768 by the Prussian Emperor Frederick the Great for his garden at Sanssouci and the fourth in 1778 in honor of the Russian Empress, Catherine the Great at Pavlovsk, the estate of her son and daughter-in-law. These two share the classicizing circular temple form and they express the liberal ideas of these "Enlightened despots." Finally, the Temple of Friendship at the Princess of Monaco's Château de Betz commissioned in 1784 conveyed aspects of the conceptions of friendship, e.g. the relative merits of love and friendship, that informed its representation in other media in France at that time, but like the other temples it also expressed the patron's political interests. The meanings conveyed by these five temples will be explored through their iconographies, their locations within the

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<sup>353</sup> Michel Baridon, *Le jardin paysager anglais au dix-huitième siècle* (Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 2000). Michel Conan and John Dixon Hunt, *Tradition and Innovation in French Garden Art: Chapters of a New History* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, *The Genius of the Place: The English landscape garden, 1620-1820* (London: Elek, 1975). Brigitte Weltman-Aron, *On other grounds: landscape gardening and nationalism in eighteenth-century England and France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

garden design, and the motivations of their patrons. Together, the temples demonstrate the correspondence between eighteenth-century conceptions of friendship and the English style garden, represent friendship as a private virtue with implications for the public lives of its possessors, and embody certain women's claims to heterosocial friendships during the second half of the century.

Before looking at the individual garden temples, it will be useful to suggest how the garden temple generally and the friendship temple specifically were experienced or imagined in the eighteenth century. The garden temple reached the height of its popularity with the English style garden, also called the "natural" or "picturesque" style. Temples dedicated to truth, night, or sleep, to various gods and goddesses, or to a myriad of other themes, were placed in vistas opening from winding paths, wooded hills, lakes, and rivers. Although the French formal garden and the Italian Renaissance garden included temples and other follies, the examples of those dedicated to friendship may have been original to the eighteenth century. An altar to friendship was supposed to have stood on the Acropolis, and Aristotle was said to have erected an altar to the goddess *Philia*, but there currently is no known ancient temple dedicated to friendship.<sup>354</sup> At the end of the entry on friendship in the *Encyclopédie* (1751-1772), Denis Diderot added a curious note insisting that the ancients had neither temples nor altars to friendship.<sup>355</sup> Regardless of the truth of Diderot's assertion, its inclusion evidences a contemporary belief in or desire for such temples. Perhaps their appearance in eighteenth-century gardens and gardening treatises compelled him to include the note. In other eighteenth-

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<sup>354</sup> On the Acropolis altars, citing Graevius and Gronovius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum et Graecorum* (Leiden, 1699): Mab van Lohuizen-Mulder, *Raphael's Images of Justice, Humanity, Friendship: A Mirror of Princes for Scipione Borghese* (Wassenaar: Mirananda, 1977), 165, n. 343. On Aristotle: Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 103.

<sup>355</sup> Yvon and Diderot, "Amitié."

century art, Friendship was figured as a goddess or priestess that ought to have her own temple. Joshua Reynolds's portrait of *Lady Sarah Bunbury Sacrificing to the Three Graces* (Figure 2) might be a glimpse of the imagined interior of a temple of friendship. The British portraitist depicts the devotee performing her rite before a female companion. The Graces often were associated with the virtue of friendship because of their equality and reciprocal benevolence. One of them seems to gesture toward Lady Bunbury, perhaps an offering of her heart, and in response Bunbury empties her oil dish over the flame. The sacrifice occurs under a classicizing arch opening onto a landscape, which has prompted the British architectural historian Christopher Christie to suggest that it could be read as a typical eighteenth-century garden structure resembling an antique temple.<sup>356</sup>

Voltaire's allegorical poem, "The Temple of Friendship" (1732), was a key source for the imagined temple of friendship and the ritual devotions that occurred in its interior. Indeed, he "constructs" two temples in the earliest manuscripts and publication, the first in his original dedication and the second in the poem itself. The poem was dedicated first to the comtesse de Fontaine-Martel, who was a court favorite and a patron of writers, and in whose house Voltaire lived in 1731. Later, he changed the dedication to honor Frederick II. In the original he described having "built" the "immortal temple" in her honor and wishing to pass "the most beautiful days of [his] life there."<sup>357</sup> The idyllic and isolated place he described in the poem itself resonates with the house he shared with his female patron, "where one sacrifices rarely." In the poem, he provided a form and setting that could easily be adapted to the eighteenth-century English style garden.

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<sup>356</sup> Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 194. Christie also noted that a temple had been constructed to house Antonio Canova's *Three Graces*, which could be another example of a Temple of Friendship.

<sup>357</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 493. See chapter one of the present volume for the complete dedication in French and English.

By adopting the ancient temple form in both the dedication and the poem itself, Voltaire asserted the purity of friendship that so many associated with antiquity, an association that he emphasized by naming classical heroes who were examples of true friends. By locating the temple deep in the woods, he likewise alluded to the absence of true friendship in contemporary society. Both the temple-home of Fontaine-Martel and the allegorical temple of the poem are idyllic representations of places governed by friendship. Throughout the remainder of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, patrons across Europe built physical temples in classicizing forms that were dedicated to friendship in semi-secluded landscape gardens. Although Voltaire probably was not a direct source for all of the forms and iconographies of these friendship temples, the patrons and architects of garden temples did take up the general conceptions and criticisms of friendship articulated in Voltaire's poem. But what strikes me as the richest commonality between Voltaire's poem, its dedications, and the temples of friendship in eighteenth-century landscapes is the convergence of the private virtue of friendship and its public celebration. Voltaire claimed that perfect friendship was absent in contemporary society, but he wrote two dedications to patrons who possessed the virtue of friendship and so deserved to be celebrated publicly in this allegorical poem despite the perceived complications of their gender and absolute authority. The temple of friendship in eighteenth-century gardens accommodated the paradoxes of conceptions of friendship in the eighteenth century as a relationship that was both private and public and natural and contrived, between pairs who were both intimate and separated and youthful and aged.

## The Temple of Friendship at Stowe

“...the Temple of Janus, sometimes open to war, and sometimes shut up in factious  
cabals’  
Horace Walpole, in *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, P. Toynbee, ed., 1903, III, 392.

The earliest eighteenth-century Temple of Friendship (Figure 94) was commissioned by Richard Temple, Lord Viscount Cobham (1675-1749) for the gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, England. The architect James Gibbs designed and supervised its construction between 1737 and 1739. Cobham was a commended general and military hero in the early years of the eighteenth century.<sup>358</sup> He was a member of the Whig party removed from service by the Tories in 1713, when he first retired to Stowe and began building the estate. In 1714, he returned to serve George I (r. 1714 – 1727). During the period in which the temple was constructed, Cobham was in the opposition again, this time publicly hostile to the policies of Britain’s first Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745). Walpole was a member of the opposition faction of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (1707-1751), whom Cobham supported. At the time, Stowe was recognized as a site where Cobham gathered a group of young supporters from the Whig party, nicknamed the “Cobham Cubs,” to oppose Walpole.<sup>359</sup> In 1733, Cobham was exiled again for his promotion of the young prince and for his opposition to the Prime Minister. He retired to Stowe and expressed his discontents through the renovations of his gardens. Stowe ostensibly had served as a place of retirement from public life, twice, and therefore was a suitable location for a Temple of Friendship *à la*

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<sup>358</sup> On Cobham’s political biography: Matthew Kilburn, “Temple, Richard, first Viscount Cobham (1675–1749),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed October 2005, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/article/27119>.

<sup>359</sup> Michael Bevington, *Stowe: The Garden and the Park* (Stowe: Capability Books, 1996), 37-41.

Voltaire's "happy retreat."<sup>360</sup> Its decorative program employed the tropes of eighteenth-century conceptions of perfect friendship—its sacredness, rarity, separation—to claim the virtue of Cobham's public political alliances.

Benton Seeley's guidebook, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire* [sic] (first edition 1744) thoroughly describes the temple and its location within the garden. Perhaps the earliest example of a guidebook to a private garden, it was quite successful and published in multiple editions by Seeley and his son through the end of the century.<sup>361</sup> Seeley called the Temple of Friendship "a noble structure of the Doric Order" for the Doric pediment and entablature, but its columns are the related Tuscan Order. It was modeled on the architecture of Palladio and on the Roman temple.<sup>362</sup> The façade was inscribed, *AMICITAE S*, meaning "sacred to friendship," but exactly where it was inscribed is not indicated by Seeley.<sup>363</sup> The façade niches, the central doorway, and the loggia openings are round arches. The temple originally was crowned by a lantern, but alterations carried out between 1772 and 1774 eliminated the pitched roof and lantern in favor of an elevated, flat roof (Figure 95) so that it would be visible from another structure on the estate, the Queen's Temple.

In 1742, *The Gentleman's Magazine* published a poem by Samuel Boyse celebrating the garden at Stowe. He emphasized the masculine form of the temple and of friendship itself:

"Manly as is the theme it means to grace,

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<sup>360</sup> Bevington, *Stowe: The Garden*, 11, 37-41.

<sup>361</sup> Benton Seeley, *A description of the gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire. The 2nd ed., corrected and enlarg'd ...* (Northampton: Printed by W. Dicey and sold by B. Seeley, writing-master in Buckingham, 1745), 26.

<sup>362</sup> Seeley, *Description* (1745), 26.

<sup>363</sup> Some accounts describe the date of construction, 1739, inscribed in Roman numerals on the façade in addition to *AMICITAE S*. The inscription was removed in the renovations of the temple in 1772-1774. Bevington, *Stowe: The Garden*, 109-110.

The lofty square displays its Doric face.”<sup>364</sup>

The poem suggests that this temple was informed by the traditional definitions that privileged male friendship and excluded women. Because of its plainer surfaces and stouter proportions, the Doric Order was considered the most masculine in ancient Greece as well as eighteenth-century Europe, which might explain Seeley and Boyse’s insistence on referring to the Order by its Greek name rather than the more accurate Roman one, which was used in later editions of the *Descriptions*.<sup>365</sup> The emphasis on the masculinity of the exterior and of friendship itself also is reflective of the artistic program of the interior, which is no longer intact but was described by Seeley in some detail.

The temple housed ten marble busts of Cobham’s political allies including the Prince of Wales, whose bust was located directly across from that of Lord Cobham and six of the “Cubs.”<sup>366</sup> The now lost busts have been attributed to the Flemish sculptor Peter Schleemaker (1691-1781).<sup>367</sup> On the ceiling, the Italian painter Francesco Sletter (1685-1775) depicted Britannia approving the reigns of Queen Elizabeth (r. 1558-1603) and Edward III (r. 1327-1377), and rejecting a king whose name was hidden, but which

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<sup>364</sup> Quoted in George B. Clarke, ed. *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe 1700-1750*, Buckinghamshire Record Society (Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1990), 109-10, and in Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 190.

<sup>365</sup> Semes, *Architecture*, 33. The Temple of Friendship was called a Tuscan building in editions of Seeley’s *Descriptions* published in 1777, 1797, 1827, and 1838.

<sup>366</sup> Malcolm Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 57-60. Bevington, *Stowe: The Garden*, 109-10. The busts included, in clockwise order: Frederick Prince of Wales, Earl of Chesterfield, Earl of Westmoreland, Earl of Marchmont, Cobham, Earl Gower, Earl Bathurst, Earl Temple, the Earl of Chatham, Lord Lyttelton. They were sold from the estate in 1848.

<sup>367</sup> Bevington, *Stowe: The Garden*, 68. *Stowe; a description of the house and gardens of his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, at Stowe, in the county of Buckingham* (London: 1838), 34. They were not all installed at the same time. In Defoe and Richardson’s guidebook to Britain, a visitor remarked seeing the busts of the Prince of Wales, Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Cobham, and William Pitt *en situ*, and he did not know who the others would be. Defoe and Richardson, *A Tour Thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain*. Appendix to the third edition (1742). In Clarke, *Descriptions*, 92. It is possible that Cobham left pedestals open for those who would become his friends.



was widely recognized as a picture of George II (r. 1727-1760).<sup>368</sup> Some visitors also described emblems of Friendship accompanied by Justice and Liberty, which also have been attributed to Sleter.<sup>369</sup>

No women were included among the busts in the Temple of Friendship at Stowe. However, Anne Halsey, Lady Cobham (married 1715), whose inheritance had financed the construction of Stowe, had a counterpart to the temple built in Hawkwell Field between 1742 and 1748. It was called the Lady's Temple but was referred to unofficially as the Temple of Female Friendship.<sup>370</sup> In 1748, Jemima Yorke, Marchioness Grey (1722-1797) visited Stowe and mentioned both temples in her journal: "The Temple to Friendship is reckoned the Best, but that to Female Friendship is the best Room, indeed the Only good One."<sup>371</sup> On the interior walls, Francesco Sleter painted women at needlework, shellwork, painting, music, and other 'Exercises suitable to the Fair Sex.'<sup>372</sup> The separate temple suggests that female friendship was a distinct virtue and that the appropriate activities for female bonding were domestic, rather than political or public.

The landscape architect Charles Bridgman (1690-1738) designed the garden at Stowe from 1716 to 1718 in a formal French style. However, during Cobham's second exile in the 1730s, when the Temple of Friendship was constructed in the southeastern edge of the property, Cobham commissioned the landscape architect William Kent (1685-1748) to establish an idealized, Arcadian landscape. It is among the earliest examples of

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<sup>368</sup> Seeley, *Description* (1745), 26. Bevington, *Stowe: The Garden*, 69.

<sup>369</sup> Anonymous [A Gentleman of Oxford], *The New Oxford Guide, or, Companion through the ...to which is added, A tour to Blenheim, Ditchley, Heythrop, Nuneham, and Stow ...* (Oxford: Printed for J. Fletcher, S. Parker ... , [1767?]), 133. George Bickham, "The Beauties of Stow (1750)," in Hunt, *The Gardens at Stow*, 31-2. J. d. C., *Les Charmes de Stow: ou Description de La belle Maison de Plaisance de Mylord Cobham par J. d. C.* (London: J. Nourse, 1748), in Clarke, *Descriptions*, 170. Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 192.

<sup>370</sup> In the 1770s it was renamed the Queen's Temple in honor of Queen Charlotte (1744-1818).

<sup>371</sup> "Letterbook of Jemima, Marchioness Grey (July, 1748)," in Clarke, *Descriptions*, 142-3.

<sup>372</sup> Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 196.

the English garden style.<sup>373</sup> Kent designed the area of the garden called the Elysian Fields, which was the primary location of the political statement against Walpole at Stowe. The adjacent Hawkwell Field is the site of the Temple of Friendship (Figure 96); although annexed and planned in the same decade as the Elysian Fields, its designer is unknown. In his essay, “The Beauties of Stowe” (1750), George Bickham (?1706 – 1771) eliminated the boundaries between the two areas when describing the view after one descends from the temples of Ancient and Modern Virtue: “From this Spot we have no distant Prospect; but, notwithstanding that, it abounds with lasting Beauties: It is really placed in a Sort of Paradise; and Things rising adequate to that Name, you see Friendship flourishing in immortal Youth: Here are sweet purling Streams, resembling the melodious Sounds of Birds.”<sup>374</sup> He described the ideal location of friendship in the eighteenth century as an isolated place, where nature presides. “Paradise” suggests the sacred nature of friendship, and “Immortal Youth” recalls the kind of friendship bond praised by the ancients. Bickham suggested that ideal friendship, which was rooted in classical philosophy, rare, and remote, is represented by the garden temple and its setting, despite the clear assertions of political alliance. In his view, the conception of friendship as a private and rare virtue was not at odds with its political and public expression at the middle of the century.

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<sup>373</sup> In the 1740s, Lancelot “Capability” Brown would update Bridgeman’s formal designs to the English style. Colin Anson, “Temple, Richard,” *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed July 17, 2014, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T083755>. Daniel Defoe’s eloquent description of the view from the Temple of Friendship emphasizes the structure’s theme: “In the Garden is likewise the Temple of Friendship, from which the Pavilion at the Entrance, the Cascade, the Lake, one of the Fields that is inclosed [*sic*] in the Garden, all together afford a Scene truly charming.” Defoe and Richardson, *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain*, Appendix to the third edition (1742), in Clarke, *Descriptions*, 81.

<sup>374</sup> Bickham, “The Beauties of Stowe,” in Hunt, *The Gardens at Stowe*, 20.

The conjunction of private virtue and public life in the setting of the Temple of Friendship also was suggested by Seeley, who advised approaching the Temple of Friendship from the Gothic Temple across the Palladian Bridge.<sup>375</sup> In the earliest editions of the *Description*, the Gothic Temple—also constructed by Gibbs—was called the Temple of Liberty and inscribed, “To the Liberty of Our Ancestors.” Its form, symbolizing English cultural heritage, likewise represented the political freedom enjoyed by Cobham’s political predecessors in contrast with his own restrictions under Walpole’s term.<sup>376</sup>

The historian of Stowe, Michael Bevington observed that both the Gothic Temple and the Temple of Friendship were political comments on the ministry of Walpole, as were other landscape follies there, including the Temple of British Worthies in the Elysian Fields. Expanding on that observation, I propose that the Palladian Bridge connecting the Gothic and Friendship temples expanded Cobham’s expression of friendship to an assertion of his loyalty to the British empire. Palladian architecture was associated in the eighteenth century with both Rome and England, and was therefore an appropriate style connecting the Roman and English temples. Furthermore, the bridge, a secular and functional structure, asserted British imperial and economic power through its relief sculptures by Scheemaker depicting the four corners of the world bringing goods to Britannia. It connected the sacred, English Gothic Temple to the sacred, Roman Temple of Friendship—the latter’s holy status emphasized by the inscription *AMICITAE S*, and in doing so extended the idealized notions of liberty and friendship to the empire itself. The arrangement of follies in this area of the garden at Stowe therefore symbolized a

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<sup>375</sup> Seeley, *Descriptions* (1745), 25.

<sup>376</sup> Bevington, *Stowe: The Garden*, 77.

particular conception of the relationship between private virtue and public life.<sup>377</sup> This conception was elaborated, with specific reference to Cobham and Stowe, by the contemporary English poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744).

Pope was a friend of Viscount Cobham, and as expressions of that friendship he published *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Lord Visct. Cobham* (1733) as well as his *Epistle to Burlington* (1731), in which he praised the landscape at Stowe.<sup>378</sup> These were the same years during which Cobham experienced renewed political conflicts and tests to his friendships. In 1733, his disagreement with Robert Walpole over the excise tax forced Cobham into retirement at Stowe. The British literary historian Lawrence Davidow described the particular conception of friendship suggested by Pope in those and other epistles as one of a private virtue that could be expressed in the public life of the honorable man.<sup>379</sup> I will argue that this conception specifically informed the Temple of Friendship.

According to Davidow, Pope located friendship in the realm of private virtue, exaggerated its anti-court aspects, and distinguished private virtue from public life.<sup>380</sup> Like Voltaire, Pope was suspicious of the flattery and servility of potential “friends” at court. Nevertheless, Pope held that if the honorable public man maintains his capacity for private virtue, particularly the virtue of friendship, it could prove beneficial to his career.

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<sup>377</sup> In his appendix to the third edition of Daniel Defoe’s (c. 1660 – 1731) *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1742), Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) noted the view from the temple as bringing together other buildings in the park: “In the Garden is likewise the Temple of Friendship, from which the Pavilion at the Entrance, the Cascade, the Lake, one of the Fields that is inclosed in the Garden, all together afford a Scene truly charming.” [*sic*], in Clarke, *Descriptions*, 81.

<sup>378</sup> Alexander Pope, “Epistle IV, To Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington” (1731), *Project Gutenberg Consortia Center*, <http://ebooks.gutenberg.us/WorldBookLibrary.com/bepisburl.htm>.

“Nature shall join you; time shall make it grow

A work to wonder at—perhaps a Stowe.”

<sup>379</sup> Davidow, “Pope’s Verse Epistles,” 151-2.

<sup>380</sup> Davidow, “Pope’s Verse Epistles,” 151-2.

This was an advantageous position for the poet because his epistles frequently celebrated the virtues of statesmen who he considered friends, and on whose patronage he depended. His epistle to Lord Cobham is not about friendship *per se*, but his observations on the false virtue of men are related to his conception of friendship and relevant to Cobham's political situation. In it, he criticized the false man who behaves differently in public life than he does in private life: "His constant Bounty no one friend has made."<sup>381</sup> But the poet insists that Cobham's love of country is his guide and pure motivation, which prevents him from being false.<sup>382</sup>

By including the anti-court implications of friendship as a virtue, Pope worked in the tradition of earlier writers on friendship—from Cicero to Lambert—but considered more thoroughly its effects on public life. His conception was of perfect friendship, but I think that his emphasis on the notions of public life and private virtue reflect the demands of the growing public sphere in England. One does not find so clear an assertion of public and private virtue in the contemporary French literature on friendship in the first half of the century. Writers like Madame Lambert insisted on separation and solitude, but as ideal states rather than as conditions that improve one's public life. The evocation of private virtue and public life by Cobham's temple and Pope's epistles might be attributed to the more rapid expansion of the bourgeois public sphere in England during this period. Pope associated friendship with virtues that would be considered domestic and bourgeois such as goodness, happiness, and duty.<sup>383</sup> The possessors of these virtues theoretically could be equals regardless of their class status. His conception of friendship justified

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<sup>381</sup> Alexander Pope, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Lord Visct. Cobham* (London: Lawton Gilliver, 1733), 10.

<sup>382</sup> Pope, *Lord Visct. Cobham*, 13.

<sup>383</sup> Davidow, "Pope's Verse Epistles," 152.

Pope's claims to this bond with his titled superiors like Lord Viscount Cobham, and justified Cobham's claims to friendship with princes and poets alike. All of them could be brought together at Stowe as men possessing the virtue of friendship.<sup>384</sup>

Davidow argues that Pope's epistles are domesticated versions of the heroic ethic and ideal of epic and pastoral poetry, and that his epistolary descriptions of the gardens of retired military heroes like Cobham transformed those gardens into domestic Arcadias.<sup>385</sup> These Arcadias, like the garden at Stowe, could symbolically overcome social distinctions between friends. This equalizing function of Stowe is confirmed by William Gilpin, whose description of the garden claims that Stowe's emblematic aspects celebrate public achievement and commend private virtue.<sup>386</sup> In practice, the Temple of Friendship at Stowe served as a recreation room, a place where Cobham entertained guests. Friends who socialized in this room, who engaged in conversation or dined together, would be on equal terms and exhorted to exercise their private virtue of friendship in their public lives.

### The Pagoda of the Château de Chanteloup

More than twenty years after the completion of Lord Cobham's temple to political friendship and private virtue, the duc de Choiseul (1719-1785) commissioned his own monument dedicated to the friends and allies who dared to visit him at his Château de

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<sup>384</sup> It may be a coincidence that the first observation that there was no bust of a monarch in the temple was made by an anonymous visitor in the French language guide to Stowe published in 1748. The author, known only as J.d.C., concluded that this is to insinuate that such men are not capable to love or be loved. C., *Les Charmes de Stowe*, in Clarke, *Descriptions*, 170. His description probably had minimal circulation, as the only known printing was included in a pirated edition of B. Seeley's *Descriptions* of 1748. However, it was repeated in George Bickham's 1750 description of the gardens, *The Beauties of Stowe*, in which he states: "It is full of illustrious Busts, but not one Monarch amongst them; perhaps to hint, that this Set of Men do not seem to be formed to love, and much less to be loved," Bickham, *The Beauties of Stowe*, in Hunt, *The Gardens at Stow*, 32-3.

<sup>385</sup> Davidow, "Pope's Verse Epistles," 156-8.

<sup>386</sup> William Gilpin, *A Dialogue Upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (1748, 1749, 1751), ed. John Dixon Hunt (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1976), i.

Chanteloup during his exile from the court of Louis XV between 1771 and 1774. It had an eclectic form of a pagoda-like structure (Figure 97) that towered above the blended *anglo-chinois* and French formal gardens. Although not officially named a “temple,” its combination of pagoda, Doric colonnade, and interior vaulting recalled sacred structures of both eastern and western ancient cultures as well as contemporary garden temples in Europe. Its location, function, and meanings are consistent with and directly related to other temples of friendship in eighteenth-century Europe. Nevertheless, its distinguishing characteristic, the pagoda form, was not incidental, insignificant, or merely driven by garden fashion; it was informed by the duke’s career and the particular kind of friendship that was “worshiped” here. The Château de Chanteloup had been purchased by Choiseul in 1761 as his formal and official country estate, but at his death it was a site of friendship, a place imbued with the particular eighteenth-century conceptions of that virtue.<sup>387</sup>

The château was located in the province of Touraine near the village of Amboise in the Loire River valley; roads extended from the north façade and gardens of the château to the river (Figure 98 and Figure 99). The property, much of which was composed of the Amboise Forest to the south of the château, confirmed Choiseul’s status and his position of *gouverneur général* of Touraine. The duke had been supported by Madame de Pompadour in his rise at court, beginning with his nomination as ambassador

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<sup>387</sup> He purchased it from Louis d’Armentières, who was the son-in-law of Jean Bouteroue d’Aubigny, who had been a political figure at the court of Spain (under the rule of the French king, Philip V) until his own disgrace in 1714. He acquired Chanteloup and constructed the château for the Princess des Ursins, lady-in-waiting to the Queen of Spain. Chanteloup was, therefore, intended to be both a formal estate fitting the status of a princess and a site for two would-be lovers, one of whom was of lower status. The princess did not reside at Chanteloup, but its formal gardens and classicizing architecture already were determined when Choiseul purchased the property from d’Aubigny’s heir in 1761. Véronique Miltgen, *Chanteloup: un moment de grâce du duc de Choiseul* (Paris: Somogy, 2007), 17-18. This recent exhibit catalog is the most thorough source for information on the history of *Chanteloup*, the art and architecture patronage of the Duke de Choiseul, and life in exile.

to the Holy See in 1753. His promotion from comte de Stainville to duke followed in November 1758. He became *gouverneur général* of Touraine in July 1760. He had planned to acquire the lands in that province that secured the marquisate for Pompadour, but the king's disapproval of their negotiation prompted Choiseul to request the larger property in the Amboise Forest as augmentation to the property of Chanteloup.<sup>388</sup> The duke's highest title was the Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs (1758-1761, and again 1766-1770).<sup>389</sup> He served during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), and in January 1761, he successfully negotiated an alliance between the branches of the Bourbon family in France and Spain against the English. His successes did not prevent him from being relieved of his ministerial role, refused at Versailles, and exiled to his property at Chanteloup in 1770. His fall was due primarily to his opposition to Madame du Barry and the "triumvirate" of friends who supported her, the "*clan des dévôts*."<sup>390</sup> After the death of Louis XV in 1774, he was permitted to return to court, but he never resumed the status he held in the previous decade.

When Choiseul's career was on the rise, the gardens at Chanteloup were maintained in the official French formal style. However, in the 1770s, the conditions of daily life in a kind of forced retirement and the proliferation of the trend for English gardens converged there, prompting the destruction of most of the formal garden and the construction of an *anglo-chinois* garden (Figure 100). For this large garden with winding paths, rivulets, and groupings of trees that obstructed and revealed vistas for the visitor,

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<sup>388</sup> B. Abbs, "The Gardens of the château de Chanteloup," *Garden History* 21, 1 (1993): 122. Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, 20-1.

<sup>389</sup> His positions included: Secretary of State of foreign Affairs (1758-1761), Minister of State (1758), Secretary of State of the War (1761-1770), Secretary of State of the Marine (1761-1766), Secretary of State of foreign Affairs (again, 1766-1770)

<sup>390</sup> Choiseul's dismissal also was due to accusations of mishandling the finances of the war and his strategy favoring resumption of hostilities with England, which the king opposed.



the duke commissioned a hamlet with windmills, stables, pastures, and barns. A herd of Swiss cows grazed in the pastures, and the farm was productive.<sup>391</sup> The choice of a pagoda for his monument to friendship also was informed by English landscape theorists like William Chambers (1723-1796). The trend of Chinese architecture and decorative elements in French gardens proliferated in the 1760s and 1770s due largely to the publication and translation of Chambers' *Designs of Chinese buildings, furniture, dresses, machines, and utensils: to which is annexed a description of their temples, houses, gardens, &c* (1757) (Figure 101 and Figure 102).<sup>392</sup>

The pagoda was located on the bank of a half-moon basin that concluded the "Avenue of Spain," the primary axis from the château leading south through the Amboise Forest. The alley featured a long parterre lined on each side with small equally spaced trees. The basin was constructed at the point previously called the "Port of Spain," where the avenue branched into multiple roads leading out of the garden. This area, although immediately adjacent to the new *anglo-chinois* garden, was distinctly formal. The similarities between paintings of the garden created in 1762 (Figure 103) and 1778 (Figure 5) reveal the continuity of style in this avenue from the château to the south gates, despite the imposition of the pagoda. The eighteenth-century French garden theorist, Pierre Panseron (b. ca. 1742) coined the term "*goût mélange*," or "*blended style*" for French gardens constructed between 1770 and 1780 with both formal structures and picturesque parts, but not much is known about their designers' intentions.<sup>393</sup> The confrontation of garden styles at Chanteloup might be understood better by examining the

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<sup>391</sup> Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, 34-5.

<sup>392</sup> William Chambers, *Desseins des edifices, meubles, habits, machines, et ustenciles des Chinois ; Auxquels est ajoutée une descr. de leurs temples, de leurs maisons, de leurs jardins, etc.* (London: 1757).

<sup>393</sup> Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, 78-79. The author gives the example of the Marquis de Marigny's garden at Menars.

particular conception of friendship that motivated the construction of the pagoda and its formal and iconographic elements.

Choiseul's personal architect, Louis-Denis Le Camus (fl. 1742-1775) designed the pagoda in 1773, combining Chinese and classicizing forms and motifs. Like Chambers' "Tower near Canton" (Figure 101), it has seven stories that taper to a partial story and finial. Le Camus' pagoda of local soft white tufa is crowned by a golden ball at 144 feet (44m). Wrought-iron balconies circle alternating stories. These also are depicted in Chambers' illustration, but there they are featured on every level. At Chanteloup, long rectangular windows were chosen instead of the round arch openings of Chambers' tower. During the residence of the duke de Choiseul, bells hung off the eaves on each level (Figure 104) as they do on Chambers' tower. Geometric patterns were carved in the surfaces above the larger openings on several of the floors; these also could have been adapted from Chambers' illustrations such as the "Bridge in a garden near Canton" (Figure 102). Elsewhere, as in the wreath above the windows of the third story, Le Camus included classicizing motifs and architectural elements. The ground floor has a peristyle of sixteen Doric columns echoing those of the château. The architect uniquely combined the structure of the pagoda with a classicizing ribbed dome vaulting in the ground floor of the interior (Figure 105). The curving staircase begins at this level and disappears through a gap spanning three of the ribs to continue to sitting rooms above.

Direct references to friendship were confined to the interior of the pagoda. Chinese ideograms signifying "wisdom" and "friendship" appeared, probably in paint, on the interior entablature above the colonnade.<sup>394</sup> A pair of remarkable documents (Figure

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<sup>394</sup> Nic Barlow and Caroline Holmes, *Follies of Europe; Architectural Extravaganzas* (Woodbridge, 2008), 124. The documents discussed below indicate colors for the figures, which could have been both carved

106) from the period of construction show the precise forms of the ideograms, their transliteration, and their intended placement on the pagoda, presumably to instruct the artist who carried out the design.<sup>395</sup> Wisdom was a quality of friendship that eighteenth-century treatises characterized as best expressed in old age.<sup>396</sup> It was related specifically to the deliberate selection of friends, the trait of discernment, which the duke likely found lacking in the king's relations with du Barry and her clan during the years of the duke's exile.

Beneath the “*Caractères Chinois*” on one of the sheets is a second type of decoration entitled “*Caractères Arabes*,” a term which may reference their numeric or geometric quality. They appear to be eight trigrams of the ancient Confucian divination manual, the *I Ching* [the *Changes*], arranged octagonally. Trigrams are the reduction of the original 64 hexagrams that composed the *I Ching* written around 3000 BCE. They consist of solid and broken horizontal bands stacked atop each other into similar rectangular shapes. Depending on the position of a broken or solid band in the stack and its location on the hexagram, they conveyed highly complex meanings, which were interpreted by a priest or scholar in the eastern tradition.

The *I Ching* was translated and brought to Europe in the seventeenth century by Jesuit missionaries. It is a guide for managing change in one's life, positive or negative, but its cultural origins generally have marked it as “other” in the western world, and it has been used as a countercultural text.<sup>397</sup> Is it possible that the *I Ching* was employed

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and painted into the tufa or on attached pieces of stone. The French architectural historian, Véronique Miltgen, noted that the ideograms actually mean “gratitude” and “wisdom,” but the documents demonstrate that they were understood to mean “friendship” and “wisdom.” Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, cat. 28.

<sup>395</sup> Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, 80.

<sup>396</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, especially of Lambert's treatise.

<sup>397</sup> Richard J. Smith, *The I Ching: A Biography*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 10. It would be interesting to investigate the broader implications of this text on the development of European gardens

similarly at Chanteloup, as an assertion of an alternative to the relationships that governed at court? Its content was relevant to the duke's position in exile from a court with shifting factions and allegiances. Regardless of whether Choiseul and/or Le Camus interpreted the *I Ching* as subversive, it seems clear that the pagoda served a deeper program than the simple appropriation of an English trend or a *chinoiserie* taste. The art historian, Thibaut Wolvesperges has observed that the duke and duchess did not collect many decorative objects in the Chinese style for the rooms in the château.<sup>398</sup> The garden structures, including a Chinese kiosk erected in the 1770s (Figure 107), were the only marks of interest in eastern forms. This suggests that the style was particularly meaningful when applied to the gardens, certainly in the sense that it recalled Chinese gardening traditions, but perhaps also that it referenced eastern religion and philosophy.

The assimilation of the pagoda with a classicizing temple interior also indicates that Choiseul and his architect understood classicizing forms as part of the iconography of friendship. In the decorative program, the Chinese characters were accompanied by marble reliefs inscribed with the names of the friends and family who visited the duke and duchess in exile. These were installed on the ground floor interior of the pagoda, but are no longer extant. Here, instead of the pantheon of mythological and historical friends visible in other temples, Choiseul commemorated present-day heroes of friendship, his

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in the eighteenth century. Are the moral or philosophical elements of the eighteenth-century garden a reflection of the import of eastern religion? The inscription on the Chanteloup document pertaining to these characters is mysterious. It states: "the 8 *couas* applied to the eight principal winds [*vents*]." *Couas* refers to the eight trigrams. The *Encyclopédie* has an entry for "wind" as a gardening term, calling it the gardener's greatest nuisance and elaborating on the various directions and sources of the winds. Alembert and Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, 17:23. The figures of the *I Ching* also can indicate the cardinal directions. Perhaps here they oriented the pagoda within the garden and drew attention to the concern for its function or productivity while maintaining some symbolic meaning. The "Eight Winds" are also a force for negative change in some eastern traditions.

<sup>398</sup> Thibaut Wolvesperges, "Choiseul, Chanteloup et la Chine. Réflexions sur l'évolution de la chinoiserie sous Louis XVI: l'anglo-chinoiserie," in Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, 283-4.

personal and political allies willing to defy the king's order. Unlike Cobham's small band of friends depicted at Stowe, Choiseul's was a broad network of more than a hundred participants.

The inscribed marble reliefs have disappeared, but accounts written after 1780 claim more than one hundred names.<sup>399</sup> These all could not have been the perfect and rare friendships idealized in other temples, sculptures, and decorative objects of the eighteenth century. Rather, the pagoda at Chanteloup exposes the possibility that there were political aspects underlying friendship representations. It is not a structure tucked away in the corner of an English garden, but rather one that defiantly declares itself in the open through scale and style. In 1830, Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) alluded to its importance and visibility: "You know that once in Touraine and on the Loire, from whichever side you are on, from whichever house that you would go to, each property owner has the intention to show you the pagoda of Chanteloup. If you do not see it, you are a lost man."<sup>400</sup> The description indicates the visibility of the pagoda from the surrounding area, and it suggests an understanding of it as a public monument in the nineteenth century.

In his retirement with his family and financially secure, the duke declared his friendships boldly through the pagoda, which could be seen from outside of the boundaries of his property. Friends who visited the duke and duchess observed a life of retirement in the manner prescribed by Alexander Pope decades earlier. The primary sources for information about their lives in exile are the letters exchanged between the duchesse de Choiseul and her friends Marie Anne de Vichy-Chamrond, marquise du

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<sup>399</sup> Abbs, "The Gardens of the Château de Chanteloup," 126, n. 9.

<sup>400</sup> "Vous saurez qu'une fois en Touraine et sur la Loire, de quelque côté que vous soyez, en quelque maison que vous alliez, chaque propriétaire a la pretention de vous faire la pagoda de Chanteloup. Si vous ne la voyez pas, vous êtes un homme perdu." From Balzac, *Les Deux Amis* (1830). Quoted in Véronique Moreau, "L'exil à Chanteloup. Vie quotidienne et train de maison", in Miltegen, *Chanteloup*, 69.

Deffand (1697-1780) and l'Abbé Bernis (1715-1794), who also was a personal friend of the marquise de Pompadour. The entire Choiseul family resided at Chanteloup and spent their time entertaining friends, dining, hunting, attending theatrical and musical performances, reading, writing, and sleeping. Choiseul's contemporaries observed that he cultivated his land in the manner prescribed by the *philosophes* in the *Encyclopédie*.<sup>401</sup>

The duchess described her husband's sentiments to the marquise du Deffand:

The interest that one shows him, the love that one feels for him, are his glory and make his happiness; happiness that he feels deeply and that may alone sustain, meanwhile that his friends would be gathered and that he would become accustomed to the new way of life to which he is forced.

Do not worry that the praises that one gives him embitter his enemies; they have exhausted most of the harm and they have as much to do among themselves, that soon they will not think of him again.<sup>402</sup>

Her letter suggests that the pagoda represented friendships that both comforted the duke and declared his political defiance from his place of retirement.

The pagoda dedicated to friendship in the garden of the Duke de Choiseul is a unique monument to this virtue in the eighteenth century through its structure and style, but also through its combination of meanings and functions. It asserts political alliance in the tradition of Lord Cobham at Stowe, but it necessarily recalls the friendship program asserted by Choiseul's protectress, Madame de Pompadour. Its centrality within the

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<sup>401</sup> Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, 21.

<sup>402</sup> "L'intérêt qu'on lui marque, l'amour qu'on lui porte, sont sa gloire et font son Bonheur; Bonheur qu'il ressent vivement et qui seul peut le soutenir, en attendant que ses amis soient rassemblés et qu'il soit accoutumé au nouveau genre de vie auquel il est forcé. Ne craignez pas que les éloges qu'on lui donne aigrissent ses ennemis; ils ont épuisé les moyens de lui nuire et ils ont tant à faire entre eux, que bientôt ils ne penseront plus à lui." Marie du Deffand, *Correspondance complète de Mme Du Deffand avec la Duchesse de Choiseul, l'abbé Barthélemy et M. Craufurt* (Paris: Michel Levey frères, 1866), 1:312. Miltgen, *Chanteloup*, 21-2.

gardens and its visibility make it a more public structure than any of its contemporaries. Yet, it is located in a site characterized by the isolation—not merely of the countryside and *maison de plaisance*—but of forced exile, a kind of separation that, for a cabinet minister and a duke, was perhaps as great as that demanded of female friends in eighteenth-century societies.

### “Exaggerated Adulation”: Frederick the Great’s Temple at Sanssouci

Emperor Frederick II of Prussia (b. 1712, r. 1740-1786) commissioned the architect Carl von Gontard (1731-1791) to design a Temple of Friendship (Figure 108), which was constructed between 1768 and 1779 at the imperial retreat of Sanssouci in Potsdam, near Berlin. The name of the palace is French, meaning “carefree,” indicating that it was modeled on the French pleasure estate [*maison de plaisance*]. Frederick I had commissioned a formal French garden there around 1715, and it was expanded by his successor. As a retreat and a country estate with gardens that eventually adopted elements of the English landscape style, it was a site suitable to the theme of friendship.

The English Palladian style of the temple was typical of Frederick II’s garden structures, and both the architect and patron certainly were aware of Stowe as well. Gontard’s Temple of Friendship is the *monopteros* type, meaning a round temple without a *cella*, on a raised pedestal with a domed roof and columns only along the front.<sup>403</sup> The architect designed and constructed the emperor’s *Antikentempel* at Sanssouci in the same

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<sup>403</sup> Helmut-Eberhard Paulus, “The monopteros and the temple of Antiquity – A theme of the European horticultural arts between allegory, yearning for Antiquity and Palladianism,” in *Prussian Gardens in Europe: 300 Years of Garden History* (Leipzig : Edition Leipzig, 2007),17-18. No example of the monopteros survived from antiquity; it was a theoretical form derived from the architecture books of Vitruvius and Palladio. A temple at Stowe was among the earliest 18<sup>th</sup>-century examples. The author asserts that as crown prince, Frederick II built a Temple of Apollo in the same form and dedicated it to his sister as a gesture of friendship. His source is a letter demonstrating that the temple was dedicated to Wilhelmine, but it does not indicate that she represents friendship.

years adopting a similar style. A staircase rises to the widest space between two columns marked above by a narrow false pediment, directly opposite a large niche that holds a sculpture (Figure 109) of the emperor's deceased sister, Wilhelmine of Prussia, Margravine of Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1709-1758), to whom the temple is dedicated. Of Frederick II's nine siblings, Wilhelmine was his closest and favorite.<sup>404</sup> After becoming emperor, he was estranged from the rest, but remained close with her. Wilhelmine died in 1759, and the emperor commissioned an ode to honor her from Voltaire. Almost ten years later, he commissioned the Temple of Friendship.

The pose and some attributes in the sculpture were taken from a painting by the French-born, Prussian court painter Antoine Pesne (1683-1757) depicting the margravine dressed as a pilgrim to the island of love (Figure 110).<sup>405</sup> The heavy dark dress adorned with shells alluding to her pilgrimage were exchanged for a loose, classicizing drapery more appropriate to both the medium of marble and the temple in which she is placed. The neckline of the marble dress was lowered to reveal one of her breasts as is the convention of friendship emblems. The dog is transformed from her traveling companion to a symbol of her faithfulness, especially appropriate in friendship. The sculpted figure retained the book, although it seems proportionally larger, and her gaze and expression no longer suggest that her reading has been interrupted. Rather, her head appears to lean against her left hand and she looks down as though she is in reflection. In that the temple is a memorial to Frederick II's deceased sister, she parallels the figure of Friendship who froze to death alone on her altar at the sad conclusion of Voltaire's 1731 poem. Through

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<sup>404</sup> Benjamin Marschke, "The Crown Prince's Brothers and Sisters," in Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, eds., *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300-1900*, (London and Oxford: Bergahn Books, 2011), 128.

<sup>405</sup> Pesne's painting as a source identified in Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Absent Love in Pleasure Houses. Frederick II of Prussia as Art Collector and Patron," *Art History* 24, 2 (Apr 2001): 244.



these layers of appropriation, Wilhelmine became like Voltaire's goddess, languishing in her temple without true devotees. The book on her lap is perhaps the book of true friends that is so lamentably short, and her rest is one of resignation to the absence of true friendship. The emperor's description of the temple's function confirms its nostalgic and mournful mood: "I go here often to remember my losses, and the happiness which I enjoyed in the past."<sup>406</sup> The grief and nostalgia claimed by Frederick II were for the days with his sister who is represented at the temple, but "losses" implies that he remembered other true friends here as well.

The temple at Sanssouci resonates with Voltaire's poem, which was a direct source for the temple design. On 31 March, 1736, when Frederick was the crown prince, he received a manuscript copy of "The Temple of Friendship."<sup>407</sup> At that time, Voltaire was living in the Château de Cirey, which belonged to his friend and lover Madame du Chatelet in the Franche-Comté on the French border with Switzerland. The *philosophe* was in exile after the publication of his "English letters" (1734). In a letter to Frederick written in 1737, Voltaire did not mention his poem specifically, but conjured some of its sentiments, calling Cirey, "a little temple dedicated to friendship."<sup>408</sup> On the 21<sup>st</sup> of September, Frederick wrote to Voltaire that he was "edified to see revived at Cirey the times of Orestes and Pylades... You give the example of a virtue that in our times, unfortunately exists only in fable."<sup>409</sup> The ancient Greek writer Lucian (b. 120; d. after 180 C.E.) described the friendship between Orestes and Pylades in his *Amores*. They

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<sup>406</sup> Horst Drescher and Sibylle Badstübner-Gröger, *Das Neue Palais in Potsdam: Beiträge zum Spätstil der friderizianischen Architektur und Bauplastik* (Berlin: Akademie, 1991), 162.

<sup>407</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 15.

<sup>408</sup> Voltaire, *Lettres de Prince Royal de Prusse et de M. de Voltaire*, vol. 84 of *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*. (Société Littéraire-Typographique, 1785), 122.

<sup>409</sup> Voltaire, *Lettres de Prince Royal de Prusse*, 158. "édifié de voir revivre à Cirey les temps d'Oreste et de Pylade... Vous donnez l'exemple d'une vertu qui, jusqu'à nos jours, n'a malheureusement existé que dans la fable."

were boyhood friends who traveled together; Pylades cared for Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, when he was ill. When their plan to steal the cult statue from the temple of Diana was discovered, they each offered to be executed to spare the other. Ultimately, Orestes' sister Iphigenia, whom he had not seen since their father was willing to sacrifice her to allow the Greek army to sail to Troy, recognized him and helped the pair escape. Lucian wrote of their friendship: "Such love is always like that; for when from boyhood a serious love has grown up and it becomes adult at the age of reason, the long-loved object returns reciprocal affection, and it is hard to determine which is the lover of which, for-as from a mirror-the affection of the lover is reflected from the beloved."<sup>410</sup> His evocation of reciprocity and the metaphor of the mirror justify Voltaire's praise of the ancient heroes as true friends. However, Lucian's suggestion that they were romantic lovers, or at least had been in boyhood, perhaps made them an identifiable pair for Frederick the Great, who had taken a male lover during his own youth. The German architectural historian, Christoph Martin Vogtherr, argues convincingly that the artistic program at Sanssouci reveals Frederick II's homosexuality and mourning of his teen lover, Hans Hermann van Katte (b. 1704).<sup>411</sup> The two attempted to run away together in 1730 when Frederick was eighteen years old; after their capture, the crown prince was imprisoned and Katte was executed. Frederick was not permitted to return to Berlin until 1731, when his sister married the Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth. In Vogtherr's interpretation, the Temple of Friendship neutralized such love between men by equating it with Frederick's asexual

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<sup>410</sup> Lucian, "The History of Orestes and Pylades" (2<sup>nd</sup> Century A.D.), in *Amores*, trans. W. J. Baylis, *Internet History Sourcebooks Project* (New York: Fordham University), accessed April 16, 2015, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/pwh/lucian-orest.html>.

<sup>411</sup> Vogtherr, "Absent Love," 231-46.

relationship with his sexually unapproachable sister.<sup>412</sup> In his analysis of the broader artistic program at Sanssouci, Vogtherr further interprets evidence of the emperor's general suspicion of women and of heterosexual love.

Voltaire also evoked the friendship between young men that was idealized by Frederick the Great in the former's rededication of the "Temple of Friendship" to the emperor. In the year after Frederick received the poem, Voltaire replaced his dedication to Madame de Fontaine-Martel with one to Frederick II:

My heart, wise and charming friend,  
Was not linked to yours,  
When I said that to Friendship  
No mortal paid homage.  
She now has in her court  
Two hearts worthy of youth:  
Alas! Does true love  
Have much more?<sup>413</sup>

In the new dedication, Voltaire insists that their bond is an exception to his otherwise pessimistic account of Friendship's fate. His claim of their friendship's worthiness of youth matches the idealized boyhood friendships of antiquity evoked in their letters and

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<sup>412</sup> Vogtherr, "Absent Love," 244.

<sup>413</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 31.

Mon cœur, ami charmant et sage,  
Au vôtre n'était point lié,  
Lorsque j'ai dit qu'à l'Amitié  
Nul mortel ne rendait hommage.  
Elle a maintenant à sa cour  
Deux cœurs dignes du premier âge :  
Hélas ! Le véritable amour  
En a-t-il beaucoup davantage?

contrasts that advocated for women, who were consoled by friendship in their old age. In their correspondence and in the new dedication, Voltaire and Frederick II focus on exceptions to the dearth of true friends in contemporary society, which was an important theme of the Temple of Friendship at Sanssouci.

The devotees of Frederick's friendship temple are ancient heroes, depicted bust-length in marble relief roundels appearing to hang from sculpted ribbons on each of the eight columns (Figure 111). This pantheon of heroes and friends appeared more frequently in the last quarter of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Most of these legendary men were youthful friends who eventually sacrificed their lives for each other, like Orestes and Pylades. In his poem, Voltaire also reminisced about exemplary friends from antiquity that no longer existed in his own time:

In old language one sees on the façade  
The sacred names of Orestes and of Pylades,  
The medallion of good Pirithous,  
Of the wise Achates and of the tender Nisus,  
All great heroes, all true friends.  
These names are beautiful, but they are of fables.<sup>414</sup>

Voltaire's ancient friend pairs were Orestes and Pylades, Pirithous and Theseus, Nisus and Euryalos, and Achates and Aeneas. At Sanssouci, all the same appear except that

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<sup>414</sup> Voltaire, *Complete Works*, 17, lines 11-16.  
En vieux langage on voit sur la façade  
Les noms sacrés d'Oreste et de Pilade,  
Le médaillon du bon Piritouïs,  
Du sage Acate et du tendre Nisus,  
Tous grands héros, tous amis véritable.  
Ces noms sont beaux, mais ils sont dans les fables.

Hercules and Philoctetes were substituted for Aeneas and Achates.<sup>415</sup> The medallions connect Frederick II's personal mourning for his sister and for his male lover(s) with a general nostalgia for an age of antiquity in which true friendship supposedly existed. Like Voltaire's goddess of friendship the sculpture of Wilhelmine, with her head rested on her left hand in the melancholic philosopher's pose, nostalgically contemplates the true friendships of antiquity immortalized by the medallions of these heroes. For Voltaire, these ancient friendships seemed like fictional, impossible ideals, but for Frederick II, they represented real relationships from his own past.

It is possible that Voltaire emphasized ancient male friendship bonds in his correspondence with the emperor to suggest a celebration of male love that would appeal to Frederick's inclinations. In response, the emperor may have deployed an iconography of friendship that idealized male homosocial friendship, perhaps as an expression of his homosexuality, at Sanssouci. In the same letter to the crown prince calling Cirey a small temple of friendship, Voltaire implies that masculinity is a prerequisite for friendship. In order to pronounce her chateau a temple of friendship, Voltaire assures Frederick that Madame de Chatelet, "has all the virtues of a great man, with all the graces of her sex."<sup>416</sup> He praises her as a generous host to the "friend of Frederick." I interpret Voltaire's remarks on Cirey and Madame de Chatelet as creating a framework for his friendship

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<sup>415</sup> Philoctetes was the attendant to Hercules on his "labors," and according to some ancient sources built and lit Hercules' funeral pyre. In return for his service, Hercules bequeathed his bow and arrows dipped in poisonous dragon's blood to his friend. After Hercules' death, on his way to fight the Trojan war, Philoctetes was bitten by a snake and left by his men on the island of Lemnos. The gods later made the Greek soldiers return for the bow and arrows, without which they would not be able to win the war. He eventually slew Paris, winning the war for the Greeks. Perhaps Frederick was more attracted to the isolated, suffering figure of Philoctetes, who mourned his friend rather than lived and died with him, as a character appropriate to Sanssouci and the Temple of Friendship, which also was a memorial. He also would become a hero of the Neoclassical and Romantic periods in art and literature. See Jean Germain Drouais (1765-1788), *The Wounded Philoctetes at Lemnos*, Musée des Beaux Arts, Chartres.

<sup>416</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes*, 122.

with the crown prince. He presents the possibility that a woman could be a friend if she possesses the virtue of a man. Furthermore, he elevates Chatelet to the position of goddess of the temple of friendship at which the men pledge their devotion. This is an arrangement that later would be embodied by Frederick's temple at Sanssouci, with the emperor's sister in place of Voltaire's host.

Thirty years passed between Frederick's first reading of Voltaire's "Temple of Friendship" and the construction of his own at Sanssouci. The two met in 1740, and Voltaire visited the Prussian court twice in the following decade, but he and the emperor did not part on good terms. They maintained a more limited correspondence in the following decades, and in 1773 Frederick II sent the poet a drawing of the temple, confirming the latter's influence on its conception and iconography.<sup>417</sup> In the letter that accompanied the picture of Frederick's temple, the emperor wrote: "Be it weakness, be it exaggerated adulation, I have erected for this sister that which Cicero would plan for his *Tullie* [*sic*]."<sup>418</sup> Cicero's daughter, Tullia Ciceronis, died in 45 CE and in his correspondence the senator described a sanctuary with a small temple that he would erect in her honor. By evoking this plan, Frederick [Cicero] confirms that Wilhelmine [Tullia] is not so much a lost friend, but rather a virtuous female relative. In the letters between Voltaire and Frederick, and in the latter's descriptions of his temple, the female "host" does not actively participate in any ideal friendship. She is not a friend; she is Friendship.<sup>419</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> Vogtherr, "Absent Love," 243.

<sup>418</sup> Drescher and Badstübner-Gröger, *Das Neue Palais*, 162. "Soit faiblesse, soit adulation outré, j'ai exécuté pour cette soeur ce que Cicéron projetait pour sa Tullie."

<sup>419</sup> I am not suggesting that Voltaire thought women were incapable of being true friends, but that the correspondence between the writer and this particular patron does little to counter that notion.

### The Temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk

The Russian empress, Catherine the Great, was deified in the Temple of Friendship (Figure 112) at Pavlovsk Palace near Saint Petersburg. Her son, the Grand Duke Paul Petrovich, and his wife, the Grand Duchess Maria Federovna, commissioned the temple in 1778 to honor their mother and benefactress, but Catherine the Great played an important role in its construction and wrote about it during the year of its completion in 1782. Like the temples at Stowe, Chanteloup, and Sanssouci, the Pavlovsk temple has multiple strata of meaning that refer to private virtue, kinship bonds, and political alliances, and it satisfies the criteria of heterosocial friendship in the eighteenth century. The temple engaged an international discourse on friendship and its “place” in the eighteenth century, which had special implications for the relationships between women, rulers, and political allies. Its tholos form and its exterior embellishments are similar to those of Frederick the Great’s temple and appropriate for this powerful female friend. Its conception and location, however, might have been informed more by Lord Cobham’s temple at Stowe.

The Russian nobility traveled throughout Europe during the 1760s through the 1780s, and they returned to their country estates to construct gardens in the English style like those they toured in England, France, Prussia, and elsewhere.<sup>420</sup> Some of them constructed temples dedicated to friendship as had their western European counterparts.<sup>421</sup> The location of the temple of friendship at Pavlovsk, tucked into a wooded peninsula extending into the Slavianka River (Figure 113 and Figure 114), was

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<sup>420</sup> On the import of English gardens: Anthony Cross, “Russian Gardens, British Gardeners,” *Garden History* 19, 1 (Spring 1991): 12-20.

<sup>421</sup> Priscilla R. Roosevelt, *Life on the Russian Country Estate: A Social and Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 64, 85.

consistent with those chosen for the temples in England, France, and Russia. Pavlovsk also exemplifies Catherine the Great's passion for the English garden and English Palladian architecture, and it suggests a keen understanding of the political meanings of the temple at the garden of Stowe. The historian of Russian art and architecture, Peter Hayden, has argued for the likelihood of Catherine's familiarity with Seeley's guidebooks on Stowe, which included detailed descriptions of the temple of friendship and the political significance of the various garden structures.<sup>422</sup>

The empress gifted the palace and park of Pavlovsk to her son and daughter-in-law in 1777, on the occasion of the birth of their son, Alexander I (1777-1825), the eventual heir to the Russian throne. The Grand Duchess oversaw the design of the extensive gardens with input from her husband and mother-in-law. Historians have remarked on Maria Federovna's attention to family, as evidenced by the number of memorials to her family relations in the garden of Pavlovsk, and have interpreted the temple as her effort to mend a strained relationship between Catherine the Great and her son.<sup>423</sup> The Grand Duke had quarreled with his mother over the production of an heir and the couple's financial situation, among other points, and the temple is seen as a gesture of reconciliation among the family, owed in large part to the arrival of the heir.<sup>424</sup> The inscription above the entryway on the interior states: "Here one has vowed love, respect,

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<sup>422</sup> Peter Hayden, "British Seats on Imperial Russian Tables," *Garden History* 13, 1 (Spring, 1985): 21. Peter Hayden, "The Russian Stowe: Benton Seeley's Guidebooks as a Source of Catherine the Great's Park at Tsarskoe Selo." *Garden History* 19, 1 (Spring 1991): 23. Catherine the Great's broader interest in the English garden will be discussed further in the final chapter.

<sup>423</sup> Margrethe Floryan, *Gardens of the Tsars: A Study of the Aesthetics, Semantics, and Uses of late 18<sup>th</sup> century Russian Gardens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Aarhus University Press, 1996), 94-6.

<sup>424</sup> Marina Alexandrovna Flit and Alexandra Vassilievna Alexeieva, *Pavlovsk* (Paris: Alain de Gourcuff Éditeur, 1993), 14.



and gratitude.”<sup>425</sup> The temple was a celebration of the empress and matriarch’s benevolence and the reconciliation of the family, and originally was called the Temple of Gratitude.<sup>426</sup> As such, it also was a metaphor for the property and palace of Pavlovsk itself. Asen Kirin has observed a synecdochic relationship between garden temple and house in another temple of friendship belonging to the empress’ lover (and probable husband), Prince Gregory A. Potemkin (1739-1791).<sup>427</sup> Both the temple and the house were gifts from the empress, gestures of friendship, and shrines to their relationship. One finds a similar relationship between temple and palace at Pavlovsk.

Catherine the Great’s interest in the construction of the Pavlovsk palace and the Temple of Friendship was demonstrated when she reassigned to them the architect who had worked on her nearby imperial residence of Tsarskoe Selo. The Scottish architect Charles Cameron (1745-1812) designed and constructed the Temple of Friendship between 1778 and 1782. The peninsula on the Slavyanka was isolated visually by dense forest, and this part of the property linked the palace area with the vast landscape beyond.<sup>428</sup> The temple’s dome barely is visible above the trees at the center of an engraving (Figure 115) after the Russian Romantic landscape painter Sil’vestr Feodosiyevich Shchedrin (1791-1830).

The temple evidences Cameron’s architectural studies in Rome. It is a tholos, a round temple with an enclosed central chamber. The only source of light is a window at the center of the corbelled dome. It is surrounded by sixteen Doric columns supporting a

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<sup>425</sup> “*Ici on a voué amour, estime et reconnaissance*”. Flit and Alexeieva, *Pavlovsk*, 189. The authors do not specify the language of the inscription.

<sup>426</sup> Dimitri Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect. British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 148.

<sup>427</sup> Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning*, 23.

<sup>428</sup> Flit and Alexeieva, *Pavlovsk*, 185.

Doric entablature. The carved reliefs on the metopes (Figure 116 and Figure 117) alternately depict interlaced withered and flourishing vines and intertwining dolphins. The vines recall the withered elm and flourishing grapevines of Cesare Ripa's emblem of friendship (Figure 9). Likewise, there are sixteen allegorical medallions on the drum that have compositions and female figures similar to those of illustrations commonly found in emblem books. The marble floor is inscribed with seven concentric circles.<sup>429</sup> Alternating rectangular and semicircular niches line the interior walls and are topped by round arches of sculpted vines. As at Sanssouci, a portrait sculpture in the guise of the temple goddess stood in a niche opposite the entrance. An inventory of 1790 records a sculpture of Catherine the Great as Ceres, the Roman goddess of agriculture, in the temple. However, a portrait of the empress as Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom and war and a common guise of her portraits, probably stood in this place during the 1780s. As Minerva, Catherine the Great was celebrated for her enlightened, virtuous, and strong governance.<sup>430</sup> A cameo of Catherine as Minerva (Figure 118) was manufactured in Paris at the same time as the construction of the temple. It exemplifies the international popularity of such portraits after the Russian defeat of the Ottomans at Chesme, which

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<sup>429</sup> The Pavlovsk State Museum asserts that between the columns on the cella wall were four medallions by J.-D. Rachette (to whom they also attribute the plaster of Ceres) depicting Catherine the Great as the personification of Generosity, as the personification of Equity, as Minerva Victrix, and as the benevolent patroness conferring the deeds of ownership to Pavlovsk. I have not been able to confirm this in French and English sources on Pavlovsk, but the iconography would be fitting to the functions and meanings of this site as well as to the traditional conceptions of friendship. Margrethe Floryan noted allegories of Fame, Fortune, Charity, and Justice. Charles Cameron's drawings confirm that there were medallions on the exterior and interior walls of the cella, but they suggest there are more than four on each wall. Floryan, *Gardens of the Tsars*, 96. "The Temple of Friendship," *Pavlovsk State Museum* (website maintained, 1999-2006), accessed December 6, 2014, [www.pavlovskart.spb.ru](http://www.pavlovskart.spb.ru). Maintained, 1999-2006.

<sup>430</sup> Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning*, 114.

solidified her strength and right to rule in the face of criticisms, especially from a group in France led by the duc de Choiseul.<sup>431</sup>

The sculpture at Pavlovsk was replaced for unknown reasons, but the figure of Ceres was appropriate to a garden temple that in good weather functioned as a dining room, where a breakfast table was placed at the center and lounging sofas occupied the other wall niches.<sup>432</sup> The goddess also was associated with motherhood and fecundity, an appropriate guise for the empress in a classicizing temple that celebrated the production of a male heir, a temple that also functioned as a dining room within a garden landscape setting. Furthermore, like the portraits of Catherine II as Minerva, the portrait as Ceres represented her modern, enlightened ideas and actions as ruler. Ceres had appeared as a reference to Catherine the Great on the potpourri vase (Figure 119) she commissioned for her then lover, Count Grigory Orlov (1734-1783). On that object, the Roman goddess, who had been the protectress of the plebeian laws in Rome, signified Catherine's own attempts to modernize Russian law and improve the rights and conditions of the lowest classes, which she codified in her *Nakaz or Instruction of Her Imperial Majesty Catherine the Second for the Commission Charged with Preparing a Project of a New Code of Laws* (1765-1766).<sup>433</sup> Therefore, at Pavlovsk, Catherine the Great as Ceres was

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<sup>431</sup> Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning*, 78.

<sup>432</sup> Flit, and Alexeieva, *Pavlovsk*, 189. Cameron designed a rustic kitchen nearby to service diners in the temple. Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect*, 151.

<sup>433</sup> Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning*, 69-70, 91-94. The empress showed the *Nakaz* to Count Gregory Orlov, then her lover, before it was completed. She also sent the text in German to Frederick II and in French to Voltaire. Her lover after Orlov, Prince Gregory Potemkin, was at the laying of the foundation of the Temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk and, as noted, had his own Temple of Friendship in front of his home. The figure of Ceres, which also had figured on the Orlov vase, may not have been placed at Pavlovsk until around 1790. At that time, the empress was in grief over Potemkin's failing health (he would die in the summer of 1791), and Orlov, Voltaire, and Frederick II (and Joseph II) were deceased. One wonders if the temple was, on a more personal level, a tribute to these men with whom she had such close correspondence and shared intellectual bonds, and in the cases of Orlov and Potemkin, with whom friendship had sprung from attraction and romantic love.

both the Enlightened despot and devoted mother and benefactress of the Grand Duke and Duchess.<sup>434</sup>

The Temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk projected the image of an intimate and stable royal family on the occasion of the birth of its heir. It signified the strength and solidity of the Russian empire during a period when Catherine the Great was expanding its borders and making efforts to present an enlightened Russian monarchy to Western Europe. A letter from Catherine to her children in May 1782 confirms the success of the temple as a gesture of reconciliation and monument to the family relationship:

The third day, I went to Pavlovsk where I found a lot of snow on every side of the path. Arriving near the gate of the garden, I left my carriage [...]. For the freshly traced path, we descended from the hill near the temple that Cameron constructed. The building is nearly finished and its exterior appearance is very beautiful. [...]. It is a shame that the Masters of these places would be absent, we have obliged them to travel a bit more [...]. Now, because they are not here, all appears so sad and so empty that my heart tightens. Return quickly, not for anything but to remove from Pavlovsk this sad air. Good by my children. I embrace you.<sup>435</sup>

Her sentimental regard for her children is clear, but the letter also is significant because it suggests a path to elaborate the meaning of the temple beyond the family relationship. In this letter Catherine the Great positions herself as the goddess of the temple by employing

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<sup>434</sup> Massie, S., *Pavlovsk. The Life of a Russian Palace* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990), 20.

<sup>435</sup> Quoted in Flit, and Alexeieva, *Pavlovsk*, 190. "Le troisième jour, je suis allée à Pavlovsk où j'ai trouvé de chaque côté de la route beaucoup de neige. Arrivée près de la grille du jardin, je suis sortie de ma voiture [...]. Par le chemin fraîchement tracé, nous sommes descendus de la colline très près du temple que construit Cameron. Le bâtiment est presque terminé et son aspect extérieur est très joli. [...] Il est dommage que les Maîtres des lieux soient absents, ils nous auraient obligé à courir un peu plus [...]. Maintenant, puisqu'ils ne sont pas là, tout paraît si triste et si vide que mon coeur se serra. Revenez vite, ne serait-ce que pour ôter de Pavlovsk cet air triste. Au revoir mes enfants! Je vous embrasse. [...]"

the criteria of female friendship. In her forties at the writing of the letter, she engaged the familiar tropes of female friendship: separation, isolation, age, loyalty, and the mourning of the absent friend. As the goddess of this temple, the empress could make broader claims to friendship, which she did specifically to affirm the alliance between the Russian and Austrian empires, and between their female and male enlightened rulers.

At the succession of Catherine the Great's husband and predecessor, Peter III (r. January 5 – July 8, 1761), during the Seven Years' War, Russia was allied with the Holy Roman Empire, then ruled by Francis I (r. 1745-1765). In an unpopular decision, Peter III rejected this alliance in favor of one with the Prussian emperor, Frederick II. After Francis I's death and Catherine the Great's succession, the tsarina attempted to repair the rupture between the states. She colluded with Francis' successor, Joseph II (r. 1765-1790), in a military campaign against the Turks, and the two shared Enlightenment ideals. The Holy Roman Emperor visited Pavlovsk in 1780, and participated in the ceremony of laying the first stone for the Temple of Friendship.<sup>436</sup> There can be little doubt that the ceremony was timed to coincide with the emperor's visit, which was a campaign for the Russian-Austrian alliance. All involved might have recognized the connections between the temple at Pavlovsk, the temple described in the allegorical poem by the emperor's hero and the empress' friend, Voltaire, and the temple commissioned by Frederick II, the third great European enlightened monarch and proclaimed model to the younger Joseph II. This network of signification was elaborated during the remainder of Joseph II's visit to Russia.

During the same tour, on June 24, 1780, Joseph II was the guest of honor at the Chesme Palace (previously Kekereksinen) on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the

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<sup>436</sup> Flit, and Alexeieva, *Pavlovsk*, 189.

Russian victory at the Battle of Chesme.<sup>437</sup> He participated in the consecration of the church dedicated to the Birth of Saint John the Baptist. Dinner was served on the Green Frog Service, a porcelain service commissioned from the British manufactory of Josiah Wedgwood in 1773. On each of the 952 pieces, the emperor would have encountered views of British country estates, of which Stowe was depicted most frequently. The benevolent hostess reinforced her claims to friendship at Pavlovsk through these two-dimensional representations of sites of friendship; she mapped a geographic network between Russia, Britain, Austria, and Prussia. She marked places for herself and the Austrian emperor at the table of the French *philosophes*, a communion that will be discussed in more depth in the subsequent chapter.

The alliance between Russia and Austria was cemented in the following year through their agreement to deal with the “Eastern Question,” the project to reclaim the European territories of the Ottoman state. Catherine the Great wanted to place her grandson, Konstantin Pavlovich on the throne at Constantinople and restore the Orthodox Greek Empire. The Grand Duke and Duchess left Russia that year for their Grand Tour of Europe under the pseudonyms of the comte and comtesse du Nord. The purposes of this trip included furthering the Russo-Austrian alliance and establishing Russia as a progressive nation and with enlightened rulers. The prince de Condé hosted them at Chantilly, Queen Marie Antoinette at Versailles, and Emperor Joseph II of Austria at his palace at Schönbrunn. They traveled from September 1781 to November 1782, during the major phase of the construction of the temple of friendship. Letters between the Grand Duchess and her steward, Karl Ivanovich Küchelbecker demonstrate the extent of her

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<sup>437</sup> Hayden, “British Seats,” 21. Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning*, 80. Three years earlier, King Gustav III of Sweden (reign 1771-1792) also had been invited to attend the ceremony for laying the foundations of the church, and the implications of the friendship temple might extend to him as well.

involvement even while traveling.<sup>438</sup> The dates of their travels and the construction of the temple may not have been coincidental. Rather, the duke and duchess were traversing the friendship network suggested to Joseph II on his visit to Pavlovsk. The temple was a key component of an intensive publicity campaign informed by eighteenth-century conceptions of friendship. From its earliest stages it served to relay an image of the Enlightened and powerful Russian monarchy to the world west of Russia, an image that employed kinship, personal, and political bonds under the banner of friendship.

### The Temples at Betz and the Palais-Bourbon

The nuanced conceptions of heterosocial friendship that were represented in art commissioned by women at the French court in the eighteenth century, with their varied implications for romantic love and prerequisites of age and separation, were represented again in the Temple of Friendship (Figure 120) erected in 1784 for Marie-Catherine de Brignolé, Princess of Monaco (1737-1813), at the Château de Betz in Normandy. The temple's subject and design were probably the result of a collaboration with her companion of more than a decade, likely her lover, and her future husband, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1736-1818). Monaco had acquired the property near the Condé family Château de Chantilly in 1780. The prince had employed the temple's architect, Jean-François Le Roy (1729-1791), at his own properties during the same period.<sup>439</sup> The temple at Betz has been understood as a reference to the prince and princess' relationship, but its connection to the criteria of heterosocial friendship in the

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<sup>438</sup> Yuri Vitalievich Mudrov and Valeria Afanassievna Belanina, *Pavlovsk: watercolours, paintings and engravings from the 18th and 19th centuries*, ed. Emmanuel Ducamp, *Imperial Palaces in the vicinity of St Petersburg* (Paris: De Gourcuff, 1992), 8-9.

<sup>439</sup> Le Roy assumed the post as lead architect at the Palais-Bourbon after the death of Bellisard. Macon, *Les arts de la maison de Condé* (Paris: 1903), 125.

eighteenth century. Its allusions to the prince de Condé's own Temple of Friendship at his Palais-Bourbon in Paris as well as Pompadour's gardens at Bellevue, and its political implications have not been explored.<sup>440</sup>

The Italian Maria-Caterina Brignolé married Honoré III Grimaldi, Prince of Monaco (d. 1795) in 1757. Contemporary accounts assert that their marriage was unhappy from early on, and he was suspicious of his wife's friendship with the prince de Condé.<sup>441</sup> The princess fled to a convent in 1770, and shortly thereafter the French parliament granted her a formal separation from her husband. She maintained homes in proximity to the prince de Condé for the remainder of her life, commissioning the hôtel de Monaco in Paris near the prince's Palais-Bourbon, and the Château de Betz near the Condé family estate at Chantilly. She also stayed at the prince's properties frequently and had her own designated rooms. They fled France together at the beginning of the Revolution and were married in London, where she would die in 1813. Their companionship of more than forty years was honored by temples dedicated to friendship that both of them commissioned for their gardens.

The prince de Condé commissioned his Temple of Friendship in 1774 for the courtyard of the Petits Appartements in the official headquarters of the Condé family in Paris on the quai d'Orsay. Neither the Château de Betz nor the Palais-Bourbon have been published widely. The historian, archivist, and curator of the Château de Chantilly and the Musée Condé, Gustave Macon (1865-1930), wrote *Les Arts dans la maison de Condé* (1903) and *Les Jardins de Betz, description inédite publiée pour le Comité archéologique*

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<sup>440</sup> Katherine Gordon mentions the copy of Pigalle's *Love and Friendship* in the temple at the Château de Betz, but she does not discuss its patron (except to identify an early twentieth-century owner of the property, M. Roblin) or its connections to the Palais-Bourbon. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour," 258.

<sup>441</sup> Macon, *Les Arts*, 2.



*de Senlis* (1908).<sup>442</sup> These books and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century guides to Paris and its surrounding estates remain the primary sources of information on both the Palais-Bourbon and the garden of the Château de Betz. The historian Henry Coutant's *Le Palais-Bourbon au XVIIIe siècle* (1905) expanded Macon's study of the Parisian home of the Condé family in the eighteenth century.<sup>443</sup> The garden of Betz has been discussed in a number of more recent histories of landscape architecture as a significant example of the late eighteenth-century French "irregular" garden, which was derived from the English style, but their accounts of the history of the garden also were drawn largely from the early twentieth-century books.<sup>444</sup> The history of the Palais-Bourbon in the eighteenth century has been overshadowed by its Revolutionary history; it was confiscated by the Republic and became the home of the National Assembly.<sup>445</sup> Nevertheless, it was a significant site in terms of the history of architecture and landscape design in Paris. The garden of the hôtel de Lassay, one of the buildings on the property, has been considered among the earliest example of the English garden in urban France, but there is not enough evidence to confirm such a claim.<sup>446</sup> It also was a significant site for the history of

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<sup>442</sup> Macon owed his career and was appointed to his position at Chantilly by the Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, the fifth son of King Louis-Phillipe and a leader of the Orléanistes, a faction supporting the constitutional monarchy in the nineteenth century. It is perhaps because of this affiliation that he does not relate the Prince de Condé's affair with the Princess de Monaco. Nicole Garnier-Pelle, "Macon, Gustave," in *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art*, Institut Nationale d'histoire de l'art, accessed August 30, 2014, [www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/macon-gustave.html?article2426](http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/macon-gustave.html?article2426).

<sup>443</sup> Henry Coutant, *Le Palais-Bourbon au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1905), Google E-Books, accessed April 16, 2015, <http://books.google.com/books?vid=HARVARD32044087935813&printsec=titlepage#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>444</sup> Adrian von Buttlar, *Der Landschaftsgarten* (Munich, 1980). Günter Herzog, *Hubert Robert und das Bild im Garten* (Warms, 1989). *Jardins en France 1760-1820. Pays d'illusion, terre d'experiences*, Exh. cat. Hotel de Sully (Paris, 1977).

<sup>445</sup> One exception is: Violaine Lanselle, "Le Palais-Bourbon et l'hôtel de Lassay," *Monuments historiques de la France* 144 (Apr-May 1986): 109-132. The author added her findings from archival research to the earlier studies, but the period before the Revolution is a small portion of the article and it is not well-cited.

<sup>446</sup> Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France* (London, 1978), 115

sociability in Enlightenment France; its character as both official Parisian residence of the Bourbon family and pleasure house was established by Louis Joseph's predecessor.

Louise François, mademoiselle de Nantes, duchesse de Bourbon (1673-1743), commissioned multiple architects during the construction of the Palais-Bourbon, including Robert de Cotte (1656-1735), Giovanni Giardini (1646-1721), Pierre Lassurance (1655-1724), and Jean Aubert (1702-1741), who was primarily responsible for the design.<sup>447</sup> After the death of her husband, the duchesse reportedly had an affair with the marquis de Lassey, Armand de Madaillon de Lesparre (1652-1738).<sup>448</sup> She was in her fifties when she built the hôtel de Bourbon across the Seine river from the Champs-Élysées and financed the adjacent hôtel de Lassay for the marquis.<sup>449</sup> The hôtel de Bourbon had to be sufficiently dignified to be inhabited by a member of the royal family and to serve in company with the hôtel de Lassay as a "pleasure house" for the older lovers.<sup>450</sup> The intimidating façades visible from the exterior and pictured in early engravings (Figure 121 and Figure 122), and the triumphal arch at the entrance from the rue de l'Université lent gravitas to the building, while the smaller hôtel de Lassay and its garden provided a more intimate impression. This dual function of the Palais-Bourbon persisted under the ownership of the prince de Condé.

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<sup>447</sup> Robert Neuman, "Aubert, Jean," *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed December 9, 2014. Coutant, *Le Palais-Bourbon*, 23. She was the legitimized daughter of Madame de Montespan and Louis XIV. She received the title of duchess and princess through her marriage to the Duke de Bourbon and the sixth Prince de Condé, Louis III (1668-1710). Coincidentally, their daughter was Mademoiselle de Clermont, who lived at the Château de Louveciennes prior to Madame du Barry. The classicizing style and choice of architect have been attributed to the taste of the Marquis de Lassay who had spent some time in Rome. Lanselle, "Le Palais-Bourbon," 110.

<sup>448</sup> Macon, *Les Arts*, 122. The French writer, Louis du Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1675-1755) described her as having a great spirit, but "incapable of friendship." Coutant, *Palais-Bourbon*, 25, 28-9.

<sup>449</sup> Coutant, *Palais-Bourbon*, 42. Henry Coutant credited the idea for the smaller hôtel to the elder Marquis de Lassay. It also has been credited to the son, but this seems unlikely as it was begun before the former's death.

<sup>450</sup> The duchesse left the hôtel de Condé for the new location, which had the advantage of additional space and a view of the Tuileries, the Seine, and the most fashionable hôtels in Paris. Lanselle, "Le Palais-Bourbon," 109.

By 1764, Louis XV had acquired the property and returned it to the prince for a minimal price as reward for his service in the Seven Years' War.<sup>451</sup> Four years later, the prince de Condé acquired the hôtel de Lassay from a descendant of its original occupant. He assembled a team of leading French architects to expand and renovate the palace to accommodate his family and household, a project which persisted into the following decades. The prince de Condé had been widowed in 1760, and he remained unmarried throughout his time as master of the Palais Bourbon. He lived in the large apartment of the hôtel de Lassay until his son was married in 1772, at which time he settled in one of the two smaller apartments.<sup>452</sup> In that year he also expanded the garden on the side of the cour des Invalides towards the rue de Constantine, and the architect Claude Billard de Belisard (*fl* 1722–90) oversaw the completion of the hôtel known as the Petits Appartements (Figure 123).<sup>453</sup> It was a small u-shaped building between the expanded garden, the stables, and the new service buildings.<sup>454</sup>

The interior of the Petits Appartements and its garden were the pleasure quarters of the Palais-Bourbon, and they were ornamented in a style reminiscent of Madame de Pompadour's projects. The garden façade was trellised and featured two sculptures of Venus and a bas-relief of a naiad.<sup>455</sup> The prince commissioned a plaster model of the

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<sup>451</sup> Coutant, *Palais-Bourbon*, 70-76. It had been purchased from the daughters of the duchesse de Bourbon in 1756.

<sup>452</sup> Macon, *Les arts*, 127.

<sup>453</sup> He also had an English garden added to the formal French landscape at Chantilly, the more famous estate of the Condé family, in 1772.

<sup>454</sup> The *Petits Appartements* had been designated for the prince's daughter, Princess Louise. However, Henry Coutant asserted that Louise decided to move to a convent rather than marry, and the hôtel. Coutant, *Palais-Bourbon*, 92-3. Gustave Macon did not mention the princess of Monaco in any section of his history of the patronage of the Condé family, but he wrote a separate history of the Château de Betz in which he referred to her strictly as the prince's friend. Monaco had a residence at Chantilly from 1770, and it is possible that she stayed in the *Petits Appartements* when she visited the Palais-Bourbon. Macon, *Les arts*, 130. Eleanor DeLorme, *Garden Pavilions and the 18<sup>th</sup>-Century French Court* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1996), 218.

<sup>455</sup> Macon, *Les arts*, 131.

French court sculptor Edmé Bouchardon's (1698-1762) *Love Cutting his Bow from the Club of Hercules* (1750), a copy of which had also been ordered for Pompadour's Bosquet of Love at Bellevue, but was never delivered. According to Macon, a copy of Étienne Maurice Falconet's *Love* (original of 1757) was placed in the garden of the Petits Appartements in 1779.<sup>456</sup>

Louis Joseph commissioned an English garden and *parterre* for the Petits Appartements, and he placed the Temple of Friendship in the center of the latter. Macon described the temple as a trellised pavilion [*pavillon de treillage*] and attributed it to two obscure sculptors, known only by their last names, Albert and Auger.<sup>457</sup> In his 1787 guide to Paris, Luc Vincent Thiéry (b. 1734) described a curved, trellised Ionic colonnade at the Petits Appartements, but he did not call it a Temple of Friendship, though this is likely the building identified as such by Macon.<sup>458</sup> Macon's identification of a Temple of Friendship here is supported by the prince de Condé's acquisition of Pigalle's *Love and Friendship* (Figure 28). The artist had purchased it from Pompadour's estate and sold it to the prince de Condé for 20,000 livres in 1772.<sup>459</sup> It remained at the Palais-Bourbon until it entered the collection of the Louvre.

In her memoirs, Henriette Louise de Waldner de Freundstein, baronne d'Oberkirch (1754-1803), called the *Petits Appartements* "a gem...the most beautiful

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<sup>456</sup> Macon, *Les arts*, 136. The sculptor [Jean-Baptiste?] Boiston made a wax model, which was cast in bronze for the garden but replaced by a plaster version.

<sup>457</sup> Macon, *Les arts*, 130.

<sup>458</sup> Luc-Vincent Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs a Paris, ou, Description raisonnée de cette ville, de sa banlieue, & de tout ce qu'elles contiennent de remarquable* (Paris: Chez Hardouin & Gattey, 1787), I:606.

<sup>459</sup> Gustave Macon notes that the sculpture was restored to the Prince de Condé after the revolution and remained at the Palais-Bourbon until the property was transferred to the state, at which point the sculpture was deposited at the Musée du Louvre. Macon, *Les arts*, 130.

bauble in the world...that of fantasies and of bibelots...”<sup>460</sup> There was a theater in the new building that entertained an audience of the nobility and bourgeoisie, and the prince held elaborate parties there of guests from diverse nations and classes.<sup>461</sup> The prince de Condé had a reputation for his liberal politics, Enlightenment sympathies, and loyalty to the crown, especially to Queen Marie Antoinette.<sup>462</sup> He fought alongside the Prince de Soubise (1715-1778), his future father-in-law, during the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763). His Temple of Friendship, containing the sculpture of *Love and Friendship* that once belonged to Madame de Pompadour, was perhaps symbolic of more than his relationship with the princesse de Monaco. It also could have symbolized his loyalty to the king and to Pompadour’s faction, which had included the Prince de Soubise. This allegorical representation of a private companionship and a relatively intimate past political alliance might seem to contravene the eighteenth-century criteria for friendship temples because of its location in an urban hôtel, but the unique character of the Palais-Bourbon facilitated the function of the temple here.

Despite the extensive renovations of the 1770s, the public face of the Palais-Bourbon maintained the classicizing austerity of its Doric columns, the triumphal arch at the entrance from the rue de l’Université, and the prominent horizontal cornice of the French Baroque style.<sup>463</sup> These were visible to passersby on the streets and to those promenading in the public park at the Tuileries across the river (Figure 121). The public façade and private interior were distinguished through their styles and functions. Despite

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<sup>460</sup> Coutant, *Palais-Bourbon*, 110. Friend of Maria Federovna of Russia; visited Paris for the first time in 1782.

<sup>461</sup> Coutant, *Palais-Bourbon*, 127-8.

<sup>462</sup> Nicole Gouiric, “Betz: préambule,” *Polia: Revue de l’art des jardins* 6 (Autumn, 2006): 90.

<sup>463</sup> The renovations of the Palais-Bourbon were not completed until 1788, and the Prince de Condé fled Paris the following year because of the Revolution. In 1791, it was confiscated by the Republican state and again renovated. The Temple of Friendship probably was demolished during this period, although Pigalle’s sculpture was returned to the prince and passed to the collection of the Louvre.

the urban setting outside its gates and the imposing buildings that asserted the authority of the family to passersby, the Palais-Bourbon was an appropriate site for a temple to friendship because of the character of its private spaces. Like Pompadour's Château de Bellevue, and unlike her Parisian hôtel d'Évreux, the public and private spheres were juxtaposed against each other at the Palais-Bourbon, and friendship was located securely in the private space beyond the walls.

At Betz, the prince de Condé hired artists, architects, and consultants for the renovations of the château and its landscape. Many of these also had worked for him at the Palais-Bourbon, and it was almost certainly on his recommendation or in his honor that a Temple of Friendship like the one constructed in his own gardens was erected. The landscape architecture theorist François Henri, duc d'Harcourt (1726-1802) and the landscape painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808) were consulted in the planning of the garden. It was in the English style and included a Valley of Tombs, faux medieval ruins designed by Robert, and a Pavillion of Repose. The introduction of Joseph Antoine Joachim Cérutti's (1738-1792) 1792 poem "Les Jardins de Betz" described it as, "the most beautiful English garden that exists in France."<sup>464</sup> Its function as a place of respite is evidenced by the Pavillion of Repose, which featured a relief sculpture of a sleeping woman above the door.<sup>465</sup>

A print by Jacques Chéreau (Figure 124) illustrates the details of the façade of the now lost Temple of Friendship. It was elevated on a platform in the Roman style. A

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<sup>464</sup> Joseph Antoine Joachim Cérutti, *Les Jardins de Betz, poème: Accompagné de notes instructives sur les travaux champêtres, sur les arts, les lois, les révolutions, la noblesse, le clergé, etc.* (Paris: Desenne, 1792), 3.

<sup>465</sup> Gustave Macon, *Les Jardins de Betz. Description inédite publiée pour le Comité Archéologique De Senlis.* Senlis: E. Dufresne, 1908), 21. The sculpture was either by Jean-Baptiste Landragin, who also worked for the prince at Chantilly, or by Stouf.

stairway led to the Ionic columns of the portico, which supported an entablature inscribed “To Friendship.” The pediment featured a decorative cornice, but was otherwise empty. Another pediment mounted the doorway, which was flanked by two rounded niches and two Ionic pilasters at the corners. Four of Voltaire’s friendship heroes of antiquity were represented at the temple, in the façade niches and on an interior relief. Jean-Baptiste Stouf (1752-1826), who also worked for the prince de Condé at Chantilly, carved the sculptures of Castor and Pollux in the niches.<sup>466</sup> These heroes of friendship are known as the Dioscuri, twin sons of Leda; Castor was fathered by a mortal and Pollux by Zeus. The latter shared his immortality, and as a consequence they had to spend half the year in the Underworld and half on Mount Olympus.<sup>467</sup> Temples were dedicated to them, especially to Castor, in ancient Rome, notably in the Forum Romanum. Stouf depicted Castor and Pollux carrying a flame and shield and a star and sword, respectively.

The sculptor also carved a lost bas-relief depicting Orestes and Pylades before Iphigenia to be placed in the interior above the entrance to the temple at Betz.<sup>468</sup> Stouf represented the moment when the two friends offered their lives to spare the other. Their would-be executioner was Orestes’ sister, the princess Iphigenia, who had been living in isolation in Tauris for so long that neither sibling recognized the other. The earliest popular source of the story is *Iphigeneia in Aulis* (410 BCE) by the Greek playwright

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<sup>466</sup> Buttlar, *Der Landschaftsgarten*, 101.

<sup>467</sup> "Dioscri," The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, ed. M.C. Howatson and Ian Chilvers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), Oxford Reference Online, Oxford University Press, Harvard University Library, accessed 2 February 2011, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t9.e981>. Macon, *Les jardins de Betz*, 20-1.

<sup>468</sup> Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis, *Comptes rendus et memoires* 10 (Senlis: Eugène Dufresne, 1908 [1907]), 198.

Euripides (480-406 BCE).<sup>469</sup> Iphigenia's father, the Greek King Agamemnon, had been instructed that his ships would not sail to Troy until he sacrificed his daughter to appease an offended Artemis. He lured Iphigenia to Aulis under the pretence that she would be betrothed to Achilles there. When she arrived, she discovered her father's intentions. In Euripides' play, the princess willingly went to the altar to sacrifice herself. Ultimately, Artemis pitied her and helped her to escape, leaving a stag on the altar in her place. Iphigenia's willingness to sacrifice herself allowed the Greeks to sail to Troy, but she had to abandon her desire to marry Achilles.

Euripides' sequel to the story, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, describes her life as a priestess of the temple of Artemis in the barbarian Tauric land. It was there that Orestes and Pylades encountered her in their pursuit of a sculpture of Artemis, which they had to return to Greece as penance for killing Orestes' mother. When Orestes and his friend were discovered, they were brought before Iphigenia for execution. She offered to spare only one of them. This was the moment depicted most often in the eighteenth century, as in the American painter Benjamin West's version of 1766 (Figure 126). The friends decided that Orestes should be sacrificed, but before the execution, he and Iphigenia recognized each other as siblings, and they escaped with Pylades.

The stories and individual figures were depicted frequently in eighteenth-century painting, sculpture (Figure 125), theater, and opera. The French composer, Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787), wrote operas adapting both *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774) and *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779). The first libretto, written by Bailli du Roulet (1716-1786), recounted an alternative version of the story, in which Iphigenia escapes from Aulis to

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<sup>469</sup> Julie E. Cumming, "Iphigenia in Aulis," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/O003405>.



marry Achilles. The second libretto was based on a popular drama written in 1757 by Guimond de la Touche (1723-1760).<sup>470</sup> The French literary historian, Nicole Gouiric, interpreted the sculpture as a reference to that opera, which was received as a victory for the French *gluckistes* in the debate over the relative merits of French and Italian opera.<sup>471</sup> According to Gouiric, it signified the princess of Monaco's (and presumably her companion's) allegiance to France and the queen. The popularity of the subject in the eighteenth century opens the sculpture at Betz to the potential of multiple, layered meanings.

The bas-relief may have had personal significance for the princess (and prince).<sup>472</sup> The patrons chose the moment in the narrative that includes the heroic friendship pair as well as the heroine in favor of representing two isolated heroes of friendship, as on the façade of the same temple or in the medallions at Sanssouci (Figure 111). This narrative moment was perhaps symbolic of the life and virtue of the princess. The princess Iphigenia, who had been isolated at Tauris, unwed and separated from her country and family, a devoted attendant of the temple of Diana, may have been a model for the princesse de Monaco and of the eighteenth-century conception of female friendship. The princess also had fled her home and husband. In 1770, the French parliament had granted her a "separation of body and home" and had prohibited her husband from interfering "directly or indirectly with her liberty."<sup>473</sup> In 1780, she had inherited her own property, including Betz, a country château suited to her status. As separated, mature women who

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<sup>470</sup> Julie E. Cumming, "Iphigenia in Tauris," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/O004775>.

<sup>471</sup> Nicole Gouiric, "Betz: préambule," *Polia. Revue de l'art des jardins*, 6 (2006), 88. Piccini debuted the Italian version of the opera in 1781.

<sup>472</sup> Voltaire also wrote a popular tragic play entitled *Oreste* (1750) based on Sophocles' account of Iphigenia's sister, Electra, after the escape of the three from Tauris.

<sup>473</sup> Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis, *Comptes rendus*, 197.

sacrificed the possibility of marriage, both Iphigenia and Monaco could be heroic figures and equals, in friendship, of men. The presence of Iphigenia within the temple at Betz was a claim to heterosocial friendship, one that was reinforced by the centerpiece of the interior.

The temples at Betz and the Palais-Bourbon were connected directly by the presence of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle's *Love and Friendship* at their centers. The one at Betz (Figure 127) was a plaster cast created by Claude Dejoux (1732-1816) in 1783. It is now in the Walters Museum of Art collection mounted on a plaster pedestal inscribed:

WISE FRIENDSHIP: LOVE SEEKS YOUR PRESENCE:

ENAMOURED BY YOUR SWEETNESS, ENAMOURED BY YOUR  
CONSTANCE,

IT COMES TO PLEAD WITH YOU TO EMBELISH ITS BONDS,

WITH ALL THE VIRTUES THAT CONSECRATE YOURS.<sup>474</sup>

The text evokes the dominant conception of friendship that also informed Pompadour's allegories at Bellevue and was expounded by Madame Lambert—that friendship endures longer and is sweeter and more virtuous than love. Further, it suggests that friendship can be founded in romantic love, and perhaps it alludes to the bond between the prince and princess, which was sparked by attraction but endured in friendship.

The same inscription appears on the pedestal in a twentieth-century postcard photograph of the temple interior (Figure 128), but the shortage of information on the temple at Betz before the French Revolution makes it difficult to say with certainty when

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<sup>474</sup> *SAGE AMITIÉ: L'AMOUR RECHERCHE TA PRESENCE:  
ÉPRIS DE TA DOUCEUR, ÉPRIS DE TA CONSTANCE,  
IL VIENT TE SUPPLIER D'EMBEILLIER SES LIENS,  
DE TOUTES LES VERTUS QUI CONSACRENT LES TIENS.*

this pedestal was added. In his text published in 1908, Gustave Macon described different inscriptions in the temple interior, but he appears to have been mistaken about both of them.<sup>475</sup> Neither of the two that he offers matches the one currently on the Walters Museum of Art pedestal. His account was based largely on Cérutti's philosophical poem, "Les jardins du Betz," written in 1785 and published posthumously in 1792. Macon asserted that the inscriptions in the temple of friendship were quotations of Cérutti. He gave the following verse for the pedestal:

From the pure and fertile source of happiness,  
Tender Friendship, my Heart rests with you!  
The world where you are absent is a wilderness for me.  
Are you in a wilderness? Take me anywhere in the world with you!<sup>476</sup>

He also observed a second quotation of Cérutti inscribed on a table against the wall behind the sculpture:

Gift of the gods, sweet charm of humans,<sup>477</sup>  
Oh divine Friendship, come penetrate my heart.  
Hearts burn with your flame  
With the pure pleasures that are only from serene days.  
In your arms all is enjoyment;  
Time only adds a luster to your beauty,

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<sup>475</sup> Macon, *Les jardins de Betz*, 22-23.

<sup>476</sup> De la félicité source pure et féconde./Tendre Amitié, mon Coeur se repose avec toi!/Le monde où tu n'es pas est un desert pour moi./Es-tu dans un desert? tu me tiens lieu du monde!" Macon, *Les Jardins de Betz*, 22. The poem by Cérutti was not published until the year of his death, but it was written in 1785. The copy of Pigalle's sculpture was completed in 1783; therefore, the inscription probably was not part of the earliest conception of the temple.

<sup>477</sup> There is a curious proximity between this line and the inscription on the pedestal of Madame Victoire's sculpture of friendship in the portrait by Labille-Guiard painted four years later: "Dear to humans and beloved of the gods."

And you will be the delight

If man has his innocence.<sup>478</sup>

The postcard photograph of the interior of the temple indicates that the inscription quoted by Macon beginning “From the pure and fertile source of happiness” was carved into a plaque hung on the wall above the sculpture, rather than on its pedestal. The pedestal inscription that is pictured in the postcard appears to be the same as that on the Walters pedestal. However, neither are direct quotations of Cérutti. The shorter inscription has only the lines evoking the wilderness in common with his poem. Cérutti might have copied these lines from the inscription that he observed in the temple at Betz in 1785, incorporating them into his own poem. Alternatively, the inscription that Macon observed on the pedestal and behind the sculpture could have been added after the publication of the poem, and after the Revolution. The inscription on the Walters pedestal, in that it evokes romantic love directly, is closer to the conception of friendship that was discussed by Lambert, depicted for Pompadour, and that was appropriated by female patrons in France after the latter’s death.

Cérutti and Macon also identified a circular altar to Friendship with an “antique” base in front of the sculpture of *Love and Friendship* and ten truncated columns that were intended to support busts of “distinguished persons.”<sup>479</sup> They also observed that the busts were not yet in situ and Cérutti offered suggestions of twenty “immortals,” the “kings,

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<sup>478</sup> Macon, *Les jardins de Betz*, 22-23.

Présent des dieux, doux charme des humains,  
O divine Amitié, viens pénétrer mon âme.  
Les coeurs éclairés de ta flame  
Avec des plaisirs purs n’ont que des jours sereins.  
C’est dans tes bras que tout est jouissance;  
Le tems ajoute encore un luster à ta beauté,  
Et tu serais la volupté  
Si l’homme avait ton innocence.

<sup>479</sup> Macon, *Les jardins de Betz*, 21-22. Cérutti, *Les jardins de Betz*, 33.

heroes, and scholars” of friendship from past eras. In a footnote, he listed friends from antiquity through Montaigne, and he noted specifically that there was not a priest or a woman among them because women were shut up at home without the opportunity to form friendships.<sup>480</sup> The fact that Cérutti chose to address this problem, to historicize the limits of female friendship rather than to ascribe them to women’s characters, is continued evidence of a shift away from the traditional conception of perfect friendship as excluding women. Furthermore, it suggests that the image of Iphigenia, a female hero of friendship in this temple, was significant to the poet and potentially effective in making the case for heterosocial friendship.<sup>481</sup>

The character, reputation, and function of the princesse de Monaco’s garden at Betz was similar to Pompadour’s at Bellevue. It was a country château for the retreat of a beautiful, aged woman, located adjacent to the home of her lover and friend. References to Pompadour and her milieu were direct and meaningful, as demonstrated most clearly by the copy of Pigalle’s sculpture.<sup>482</sup> Pompadour’s model of heterosocial friendship was a precedent for that between the prince and princess, and for their claims of fidelity to the reigning monarchs and the faction of the late Pompadour in the years after du Barry’s rise at court. The prince de Condé was reportedly a strong supporter of Marie Antoinette.<sup>483</sup> His loyalty to the crown would be tested at the onset of the Revolution, when the prince

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<sup>480</sup> Cérutti, *Les Jardins de Betz*, 33 n. 31.

<sup>481</sup> The criteria of heterosocial friendship discussed in eighteenth-century treatises were recognized by Cérutti, but his poem is of the post-Revolutionary period. An analysis of Cérutti’s account of the friendship temple at Betz could suggest the changes in conceptions of friendship immediately after the Revolution. His characterization of Friendship as a “Sister of Liberty; Companion of Silence” is especially interesting in the light of the Prince de Condé’s own military and political action during the Revolution and the existence at Betz of a pyramid dedicated to the American Revolution.

<sup>482</sup> There also was a Column of Tancrède in the gardens, perhaps a reference to the play of the same title composed by Voltaire, performed in 1760, and dedicated to the marquise.

<sup>483</sup> Bouyssey, Maité, “Un philosophe moral dans la parc de Betz: Le promenade de Bertrand Barère en 1788,” in *Polia: Revue de l'art des jardins*, no. 6 (2006): 89.

and princess went to Germany, where he attempted to stage a military response to the revolutionary government. After its failure, they fled to London, where they were married. She died in exile in 1813, and he returned to Paris with the Bourbon monarchy in 1814. Their temples of friendship were expressive of mutual, and by all accounts genuine, lasting companionship, and simultaneously of the political alliances and continued loyalty of the prince.

### Friendship and the English Style Garden

The unique conceptions of friendship in eighteenth-century Europe, defined by prerequisites of isolation, separation, and age, accessible by both women and princes, were represented in, or adjacent to, the English style garden. That style can be interpreted in some ways as a metaphor of, or at least parallel to, friendship in that century. The combination of intimate spaces and long vistas signified the paradoxical alliance of perfect, intimate friendship and physical separation. Friendship increasingly was defined as occupying the space between private (kinship, domestic) and public (professional, courtly). The English garden also existed in the liminal space between public and private. Typically, it was situated in the country, but its impressions of privacy were compromised in various ways: by its publication in guidebooks, its access to visitors, or its installation within an urban center as at the Palais-Bourbon. This sort of compromise was present especially in the gardens discussed in this chapter. All of them, with the exception of Betz, were built on older French formal gardens and often maintained aspects of that style. One of the key characteristics of the English garden is its eclectic incorporation of forms representing various corners of the world and historical periods,

from Chinese pavilions to Egyptian pyramids, regardless of the natural geography or cultural environment of the site. The garden reached across boundaries of geography and culture, assimilating “other” forms into itself. Likewise, temples of friendship could point to broad geographic networks that gave the illusion of equality, a network created under the banner of Enlightenment.

The enlightened patrons and “deities” of friendship temples in the eighteenth century shared a space in some manner on the margins, due primarily to their age, but also to their gender, their sexual and/or marital status, and their political alliances or misalliances. Catherine the Great, in her doubly marginalized role (in terms of friendship) as woman and empress, had exceptional incentive to gather friends around her and, as much as decorum permitted, to represent those friendships to broader audiences. Perhaps it is understandable that those who ostensibly had the fewest friends sought to claim friendship most often, and some of them quite boldly.

In the decades following the death of Lord Cobham, a woman possessing the virtue of friendship was honored at the Temple of Friendship at Stowe, previously a bastion of homosocial male friendship in the classical mode. This perhaps reflected the need for upper-class women to claim the virtue in the second half of the century. The 1773 edition of Seeley’s *Descriptions*, included a panegyric, sometimes attributed to the Countess Cobham, in honor of the British Princess Amelia, who had visited Stowe in 1767.<sup>484</sup> In the poem, Apollo and the Muses, in lieu of her deceased parents King George II and Queen Caroline, guide the princess through the gardens. The poem praises her tenderness and maternal qualities and describes her encounter with the Temple of Friendship:

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<sup>484</sup> The poem is reproduced in editions of Seeley’s *Descriptions* published from 1773.

when she condescends to stand,  
The first in Friendship's spotless Band,  
Preferring to the Courtiers Art  
Truth and Simplicity of Heart!

The poem for the princess indicates a shift from the conception of friendship as a “manly theme”—represented on the temple by the Doric Order—to a virtue possessed by a woman. Furthermore, she is not merely the goddess of the temple, but rather a participant in a “band” of friends. This shift also was expressed architecturally at Stowe during the 1770s when the Lady's Temple (Temple of Female Friendship) and the Temple of Friendship were elevated to connect them visually. The panegyric and the raising of the temples of male and female friendship suggest women's increased access to friendship, although it did not necessarily follow that their friendships had a corresponding impact on public life.



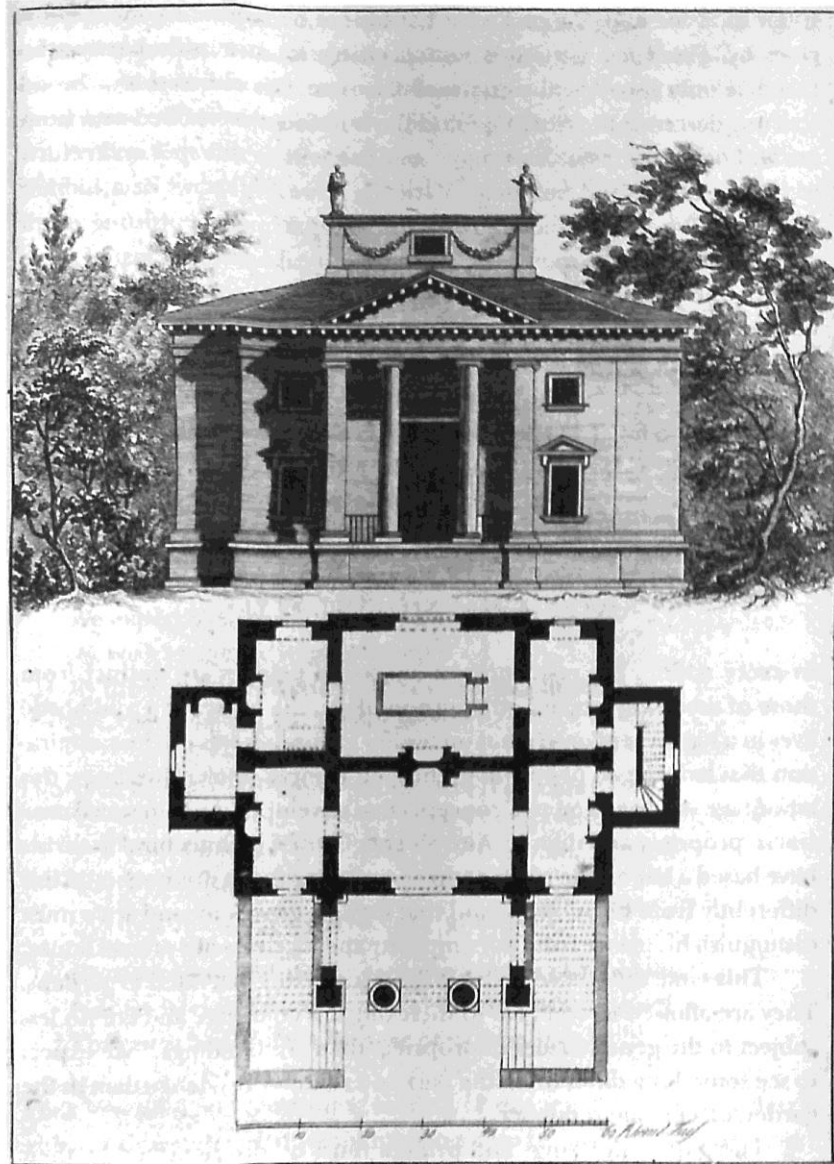


Figure 93 Design for a Temple of Evening and Friendship, from C. C. L. Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, ed. and trans. Linda B. Parshall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001 [1779-1785]).

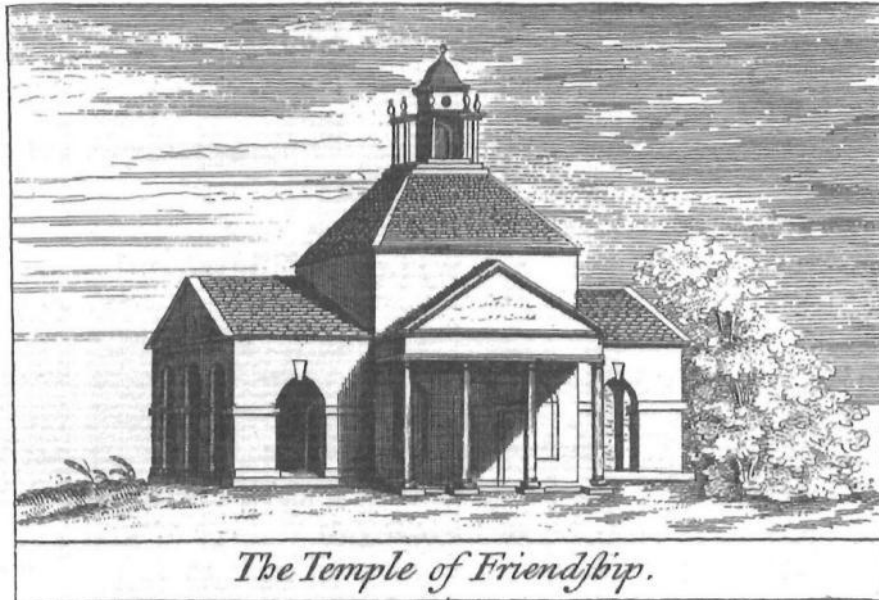


Figure 94 Benton Seeley, "The Temple of Friendship," in *Views of the Temples and other ornamental Buildings in the Gardens*, 1750.

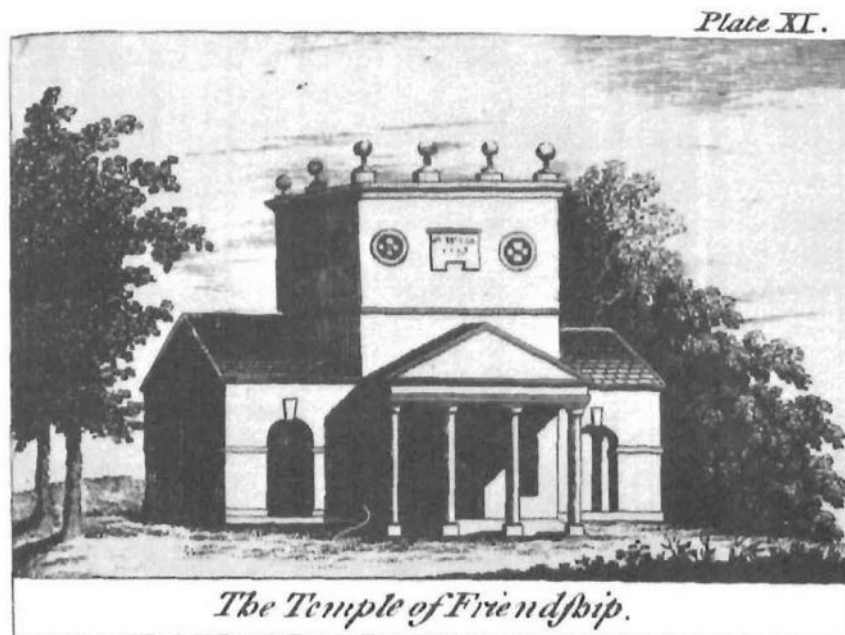


Figure 95 "The Temple of Friendship," in Seeley, *Descriptions* (1777).

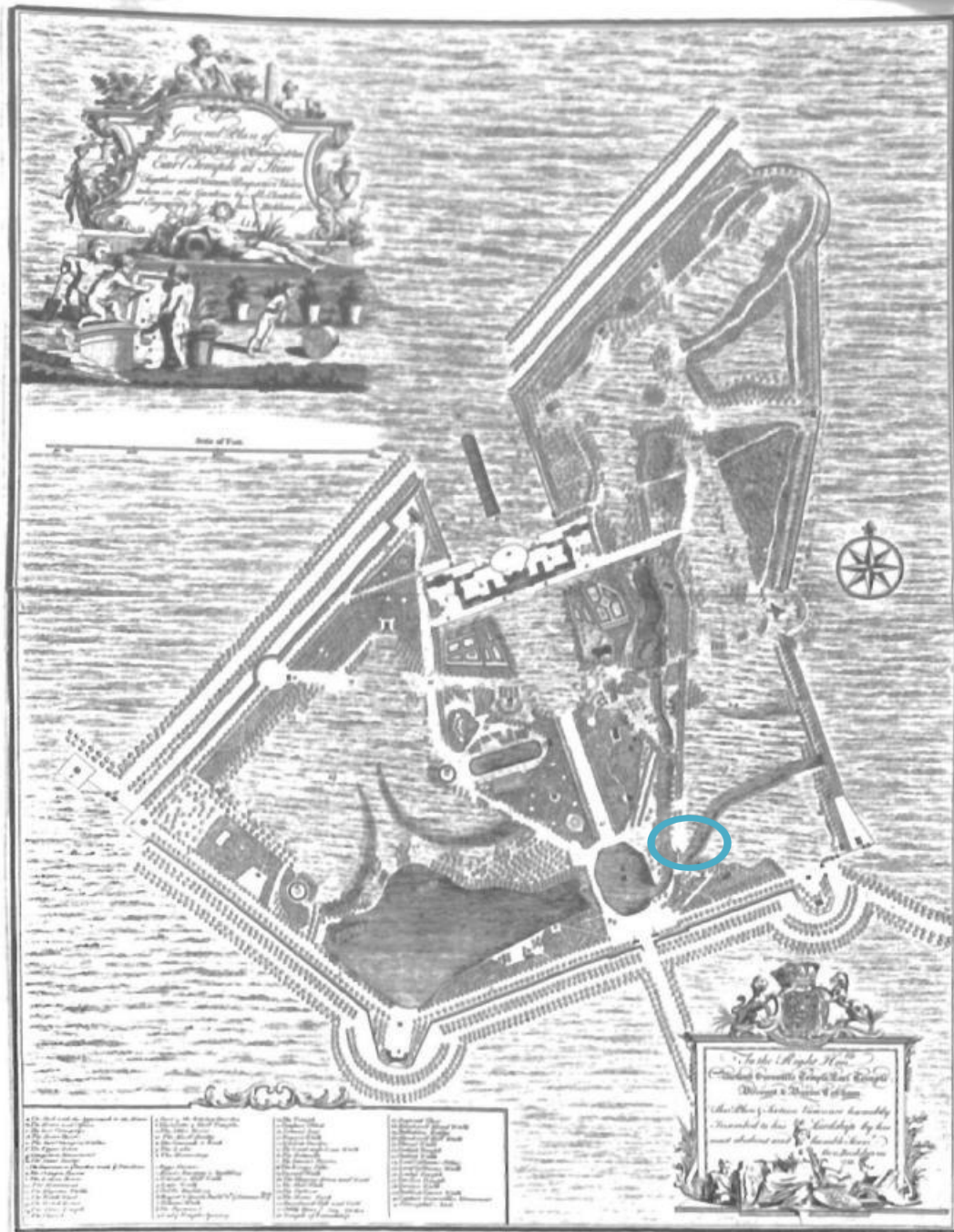


Fig.5  
George Bickham's Plan of 1753

Figure 96 Annotated plan of Stowe by George Bickham, 1753, with the Temple of Friendship circled. Reproduced in G.B. Clarke, ed., *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700 – 1750)* (Buckingham: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1990).





Figure 97 Louis-Denis Le Camus (fl. 1742-1775), Pagoda, Château de Chanteloup, Touraine, France, commissioned 1773.

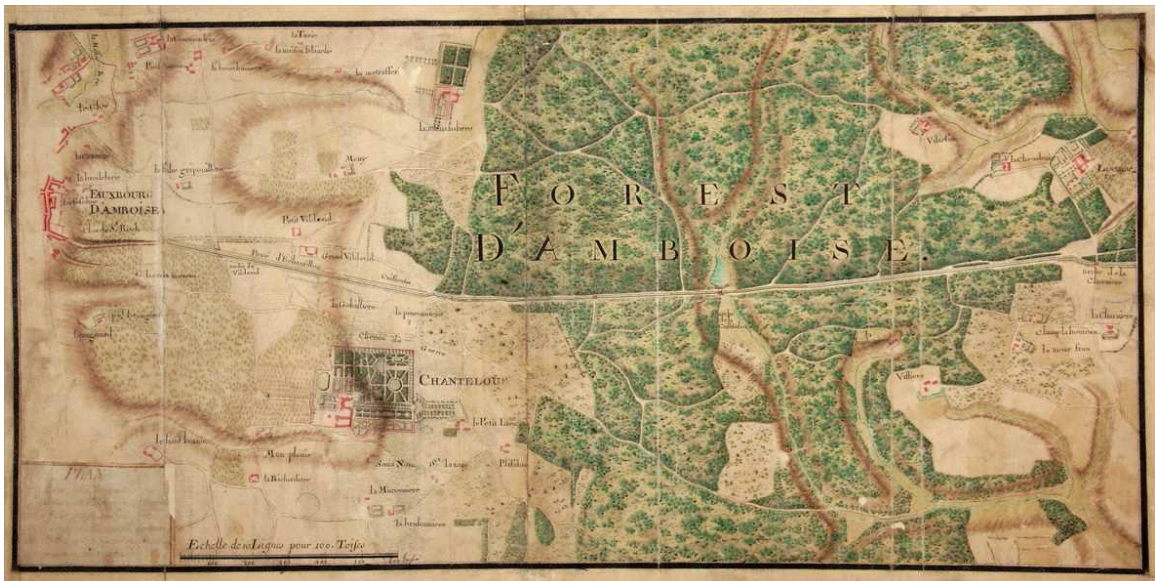


Figure 98 “Geometrical plan of the Chateau de Chanteloup and its environs,” 1761. Pen and ink, watercolor; 62 x 96 cm. Tours, Bibliothèque municipale.

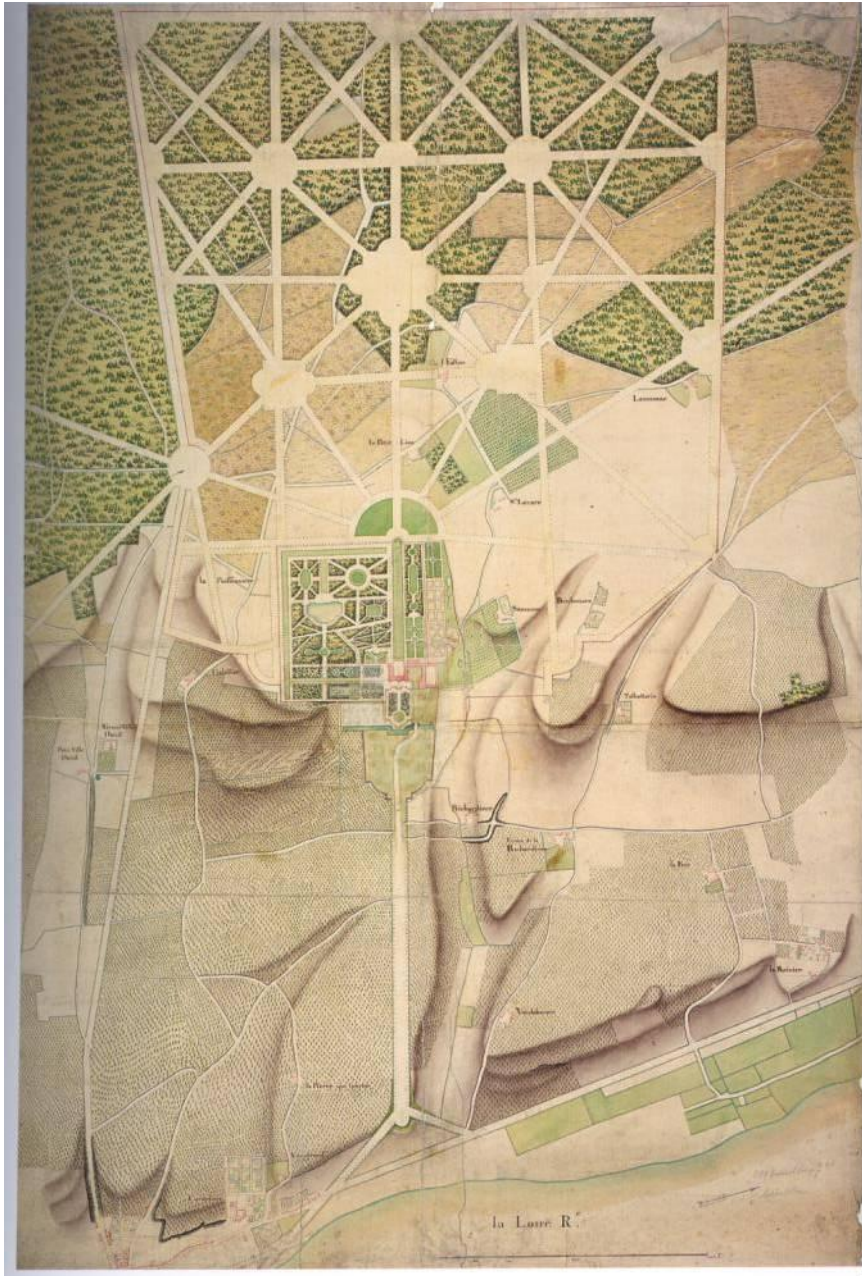


Figure 99 "Plan of Chanteloup in 1761." Pen and ink, watercolor; 140 x 95 cm. Paris, Archives nationales.



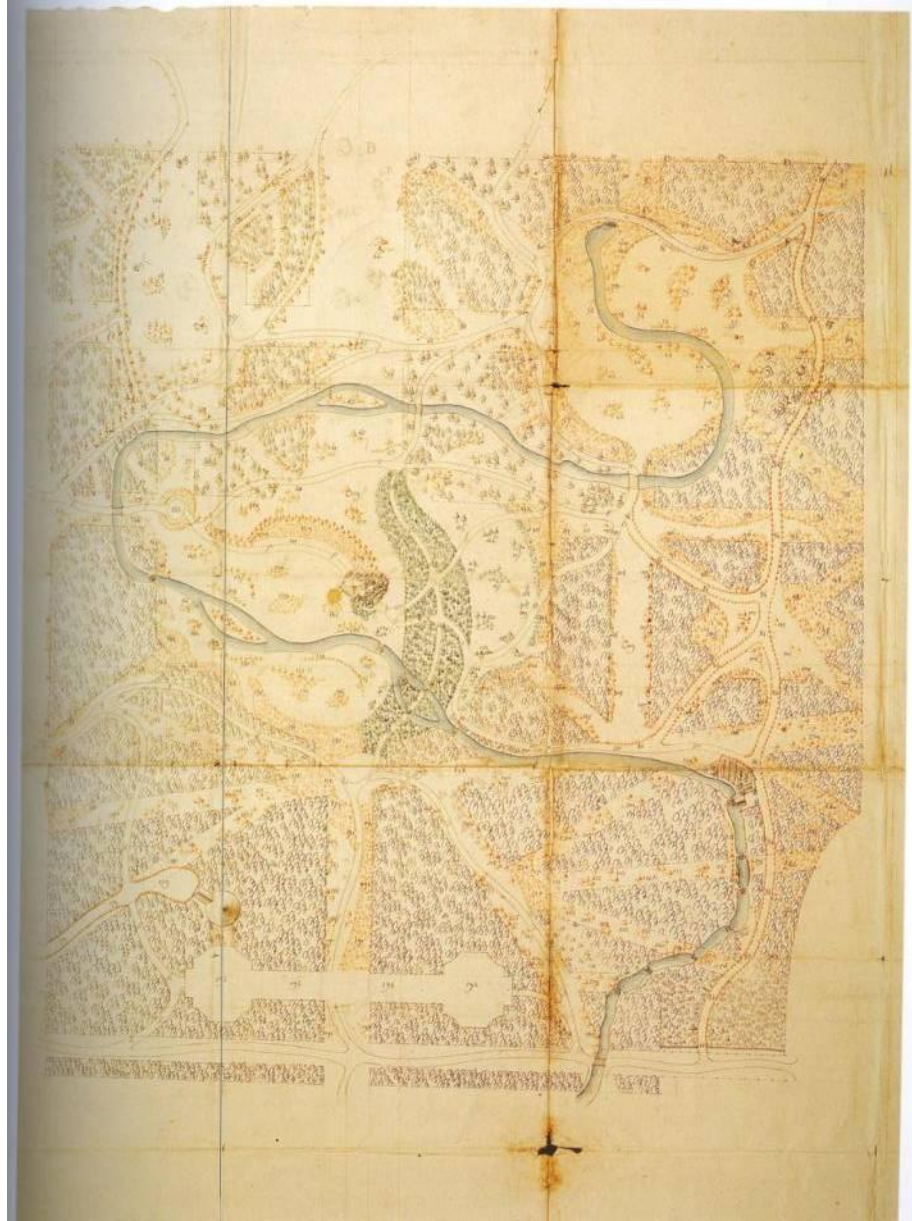


Figure 100 “Project for the *anglo-chinois* garden,” ca 1776. Pen and watercolor; 156 x 131 cm. Private Collection.

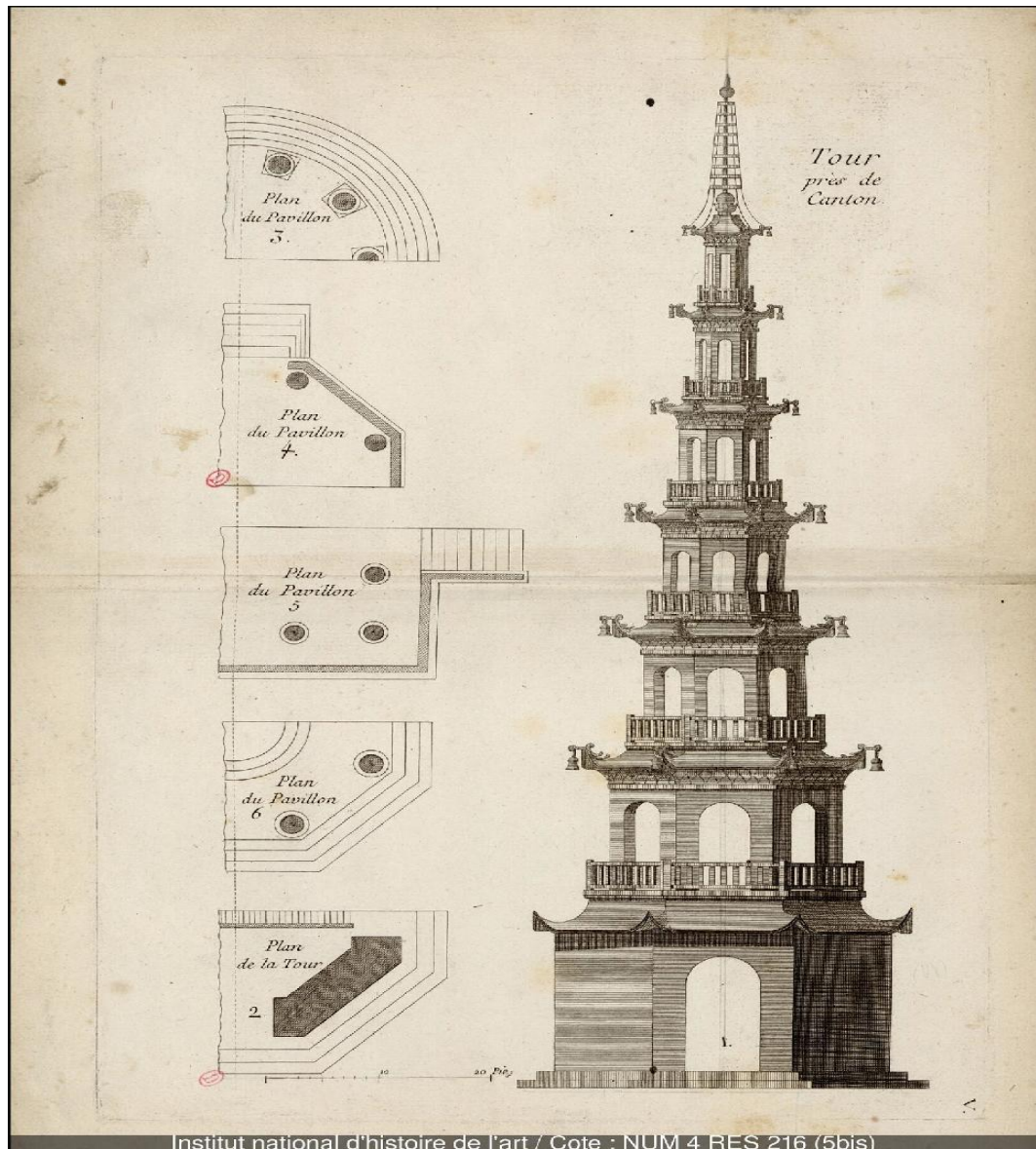


Figure 101 “Tour pres de Canton,” in William Chambers, *Desseins des edifices, meubles, habits, machines, et ustenciles des Chinois ; Auxquels est ajoutée une descr. de leurs temples, de leurs maisons, de leurs jardins, etc.* (London, 1757). Paris, Institut national d’histoire de l’art.



Figure 102 “Pont dans un jardin Canton”, in William Chambers, *Desseins des edifices, meubles, habits, machines, et ustenciles des Chinois ; Auxquels est ajoutée une descr. de leurs temples, de leurs maisons, de leurs jardins, etc.* (London, 1757). Paris, Institut national d’histoire de l’art.



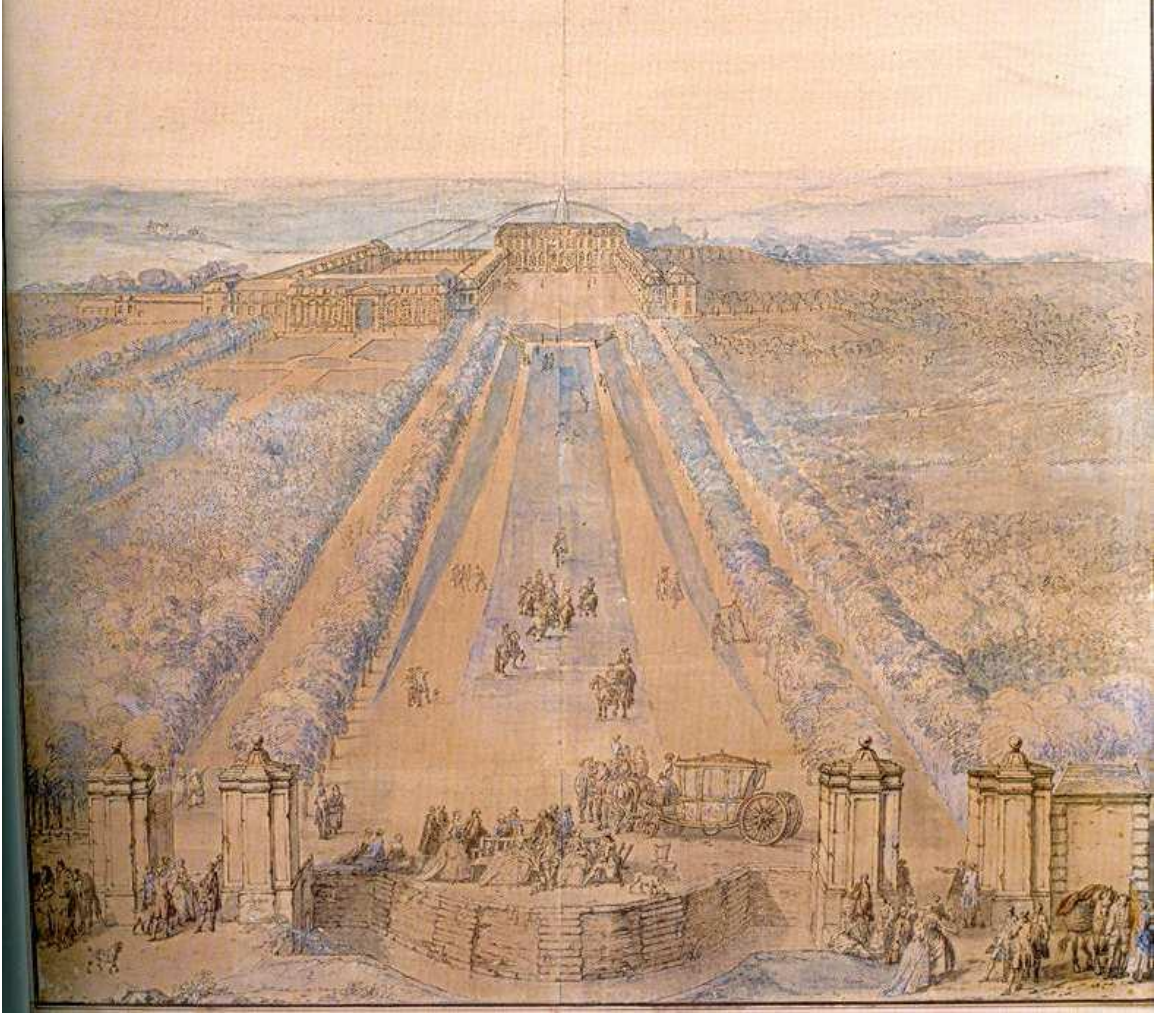


Figure 103 Pierre Lenfent (1704-1787), *View of Chanteloup from the gates of the route from Spain*, 1762. Graphite crayon, pen and ink, lavis bistre, gouache; 117.3 x 117 cm. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 104 Anonymous, "View of the pagoda of Chanteloup and its surroundings near Amboise in Touraine," 1787. Ink and pencil; 37.3 x 44 cm. France, Private Collection.





Figure 105 Interior of the Pagoda at Chanteloup, Touraine, France.

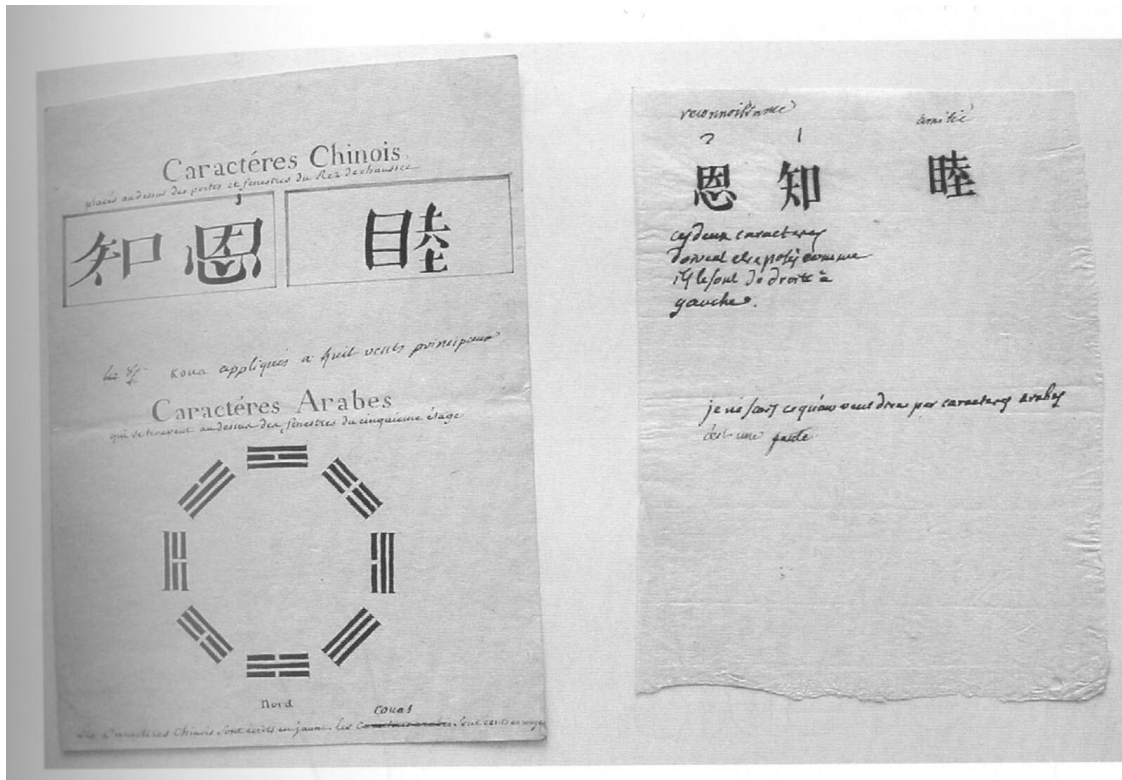


Figure 106 "Inscriptions of the pagoda at Chanteloup." Vésoul, Archives départementales.

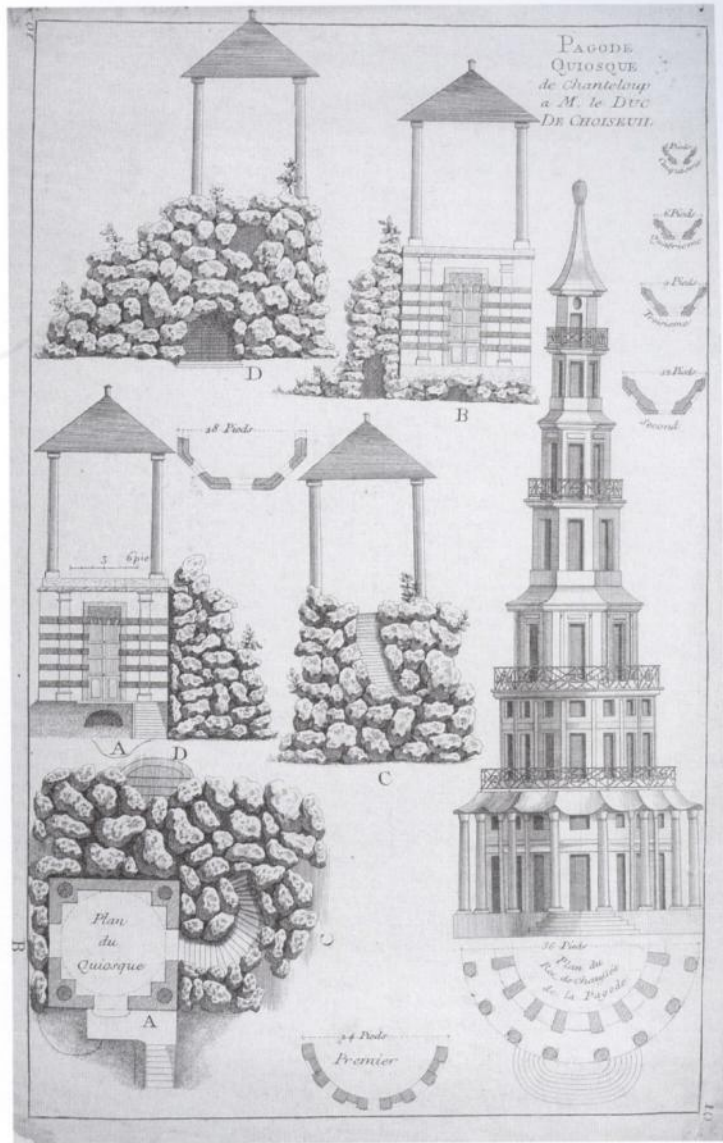


Figure 107 Georges-Louis Le Rouge (1712-179?), “Pagoda Kiosk of Chanteloup of M. le duc De Choiseul,” Plate 10 of Volume 7 of *Jardins anglo-chinois à la mode* (Paris, 1779). Engraving; 37.7 x 24 cm. France, Private Collection.



Figure 108 Carl von Gontard (1731-1791), Temple of Friendship, Sanssouci, Prussia, 1768-70.





Figure 109 Johann David Rantz and Johann Lorenz Whilhem Rantz, after Antoine Pesne, "Margravine Wilhelmine of Brandenburg-Beyreuth," Temple of Friendship, Sanssouci, Potsdam, Germany.



Figure 110 Antoine Pesne (1683-1757), *Margravine Wilhelmine of Brandenburg-Beyreuth*, ca. 1750. Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg.



Figure 111 Details of the medallions on the columns of the Temple of Friendship at Sanssouci: a) Pylades and Orestes; b) Hercules and Philoctetes; c) Pirithous and Theseus; d) Euryalos and Nisos



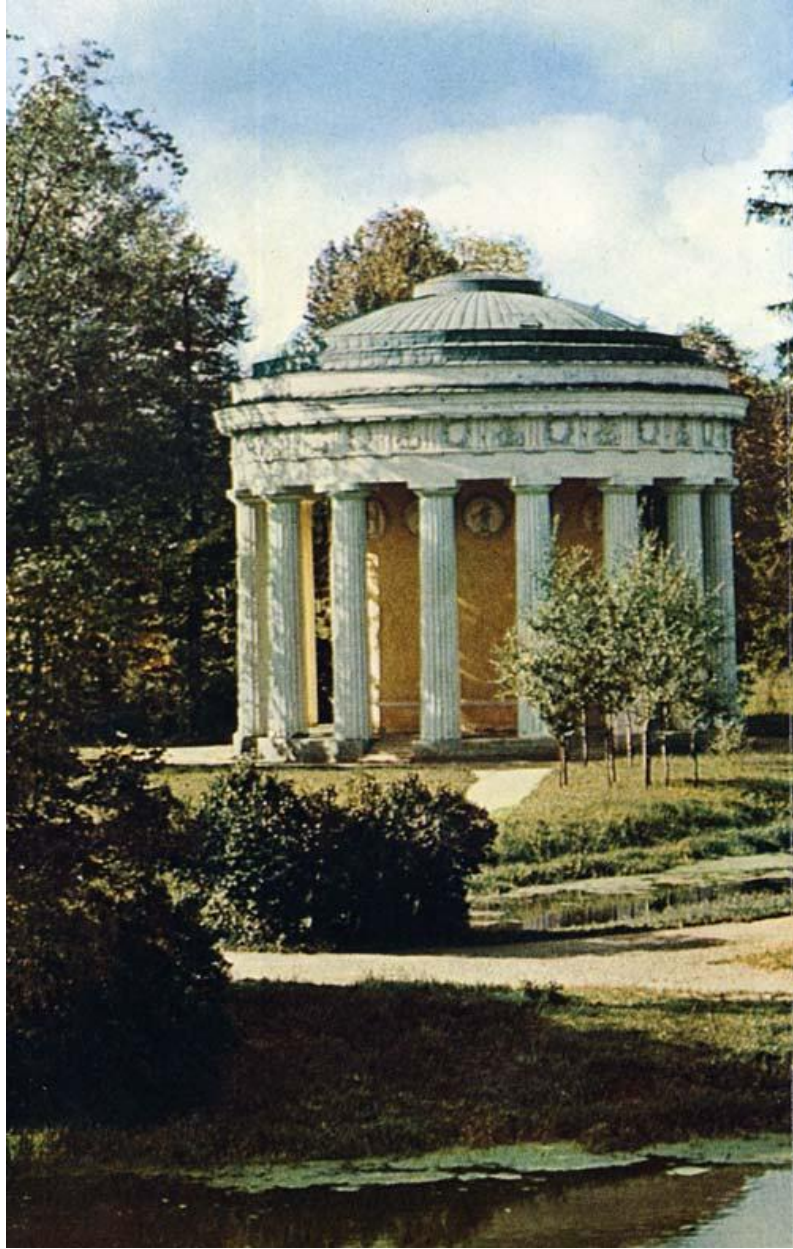
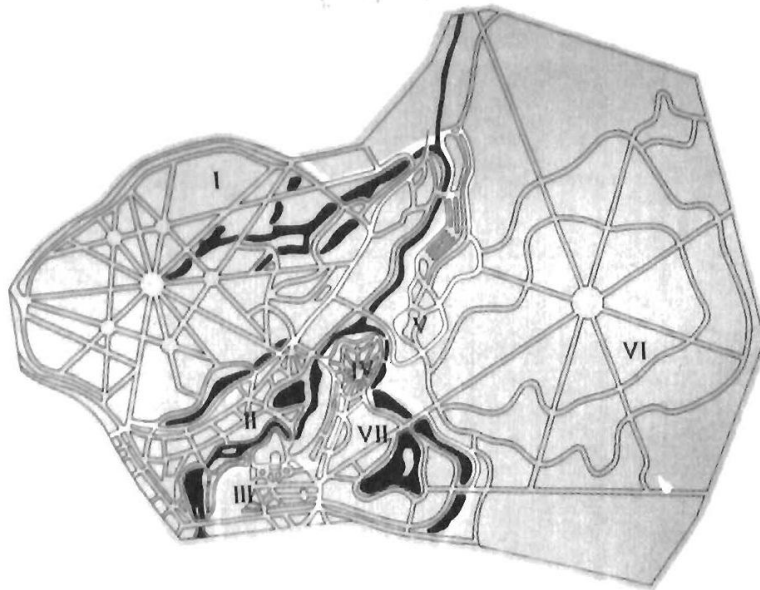


Figure 112 Charles Cameron, Temple of Friendship, Pavlovsk Palace, Russia, 1778-1782.



- I – The Great Star
- II – The Slavianka Valley
- III – The Palace Area
- IV – The Old Sylvia
- V – The New Sylvia
- VI – The White Birch Area
- VII – The Parade Ground

Figure 113 “Plan of Pavlovsk Park,” from Valeria Afanasevna Belanina, *Pavlovskii park* = *Pavlovsk park* (Leningrad: Vneshtorgizdat, 1988).

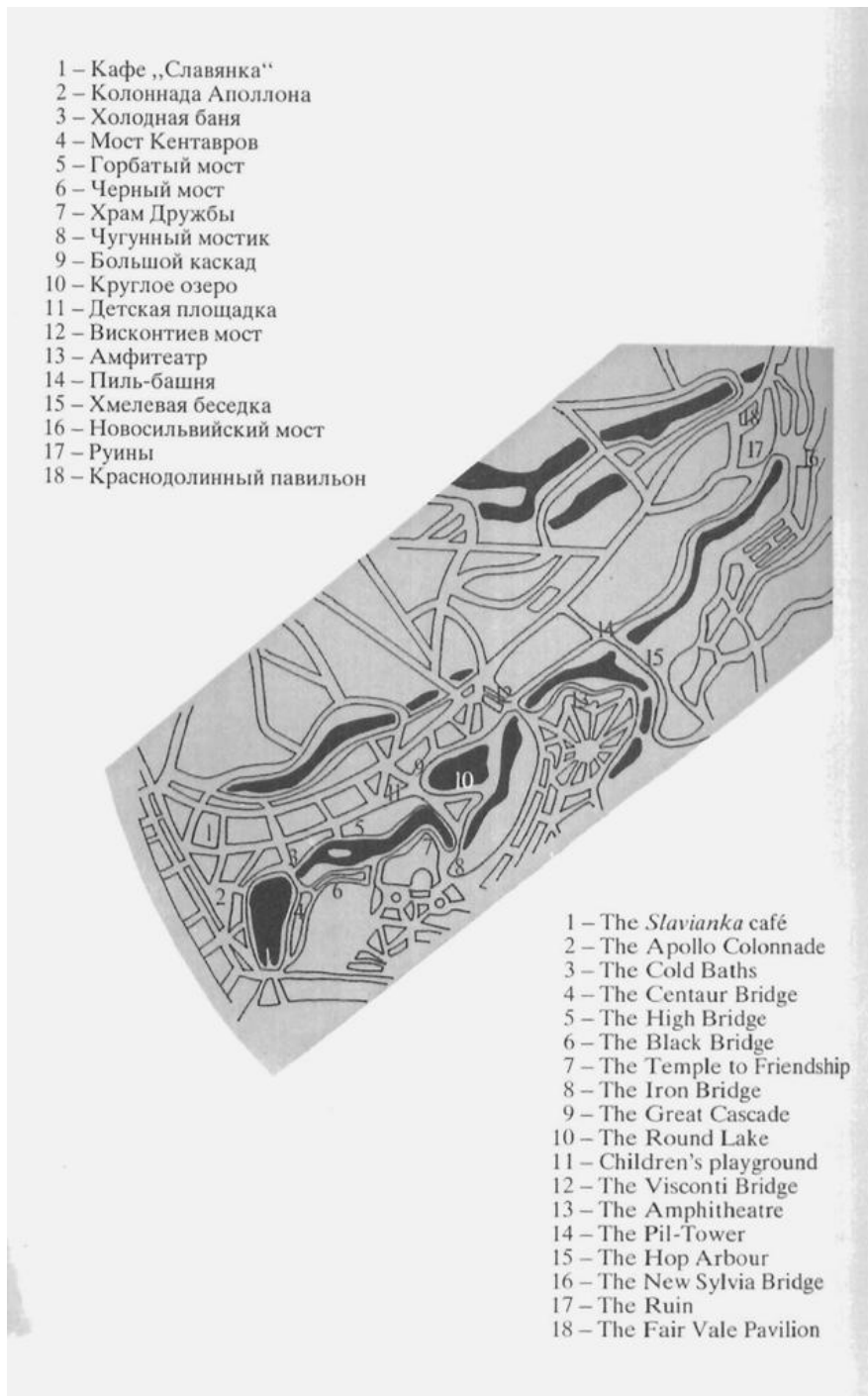


Figure 114 Detail of Slavianka Valley, from Valeria Afanasevna Belanina, *Pavlovskii park = Pavlovsk park* (Leningrad: Vneshtorgizdat, 1988), 18.

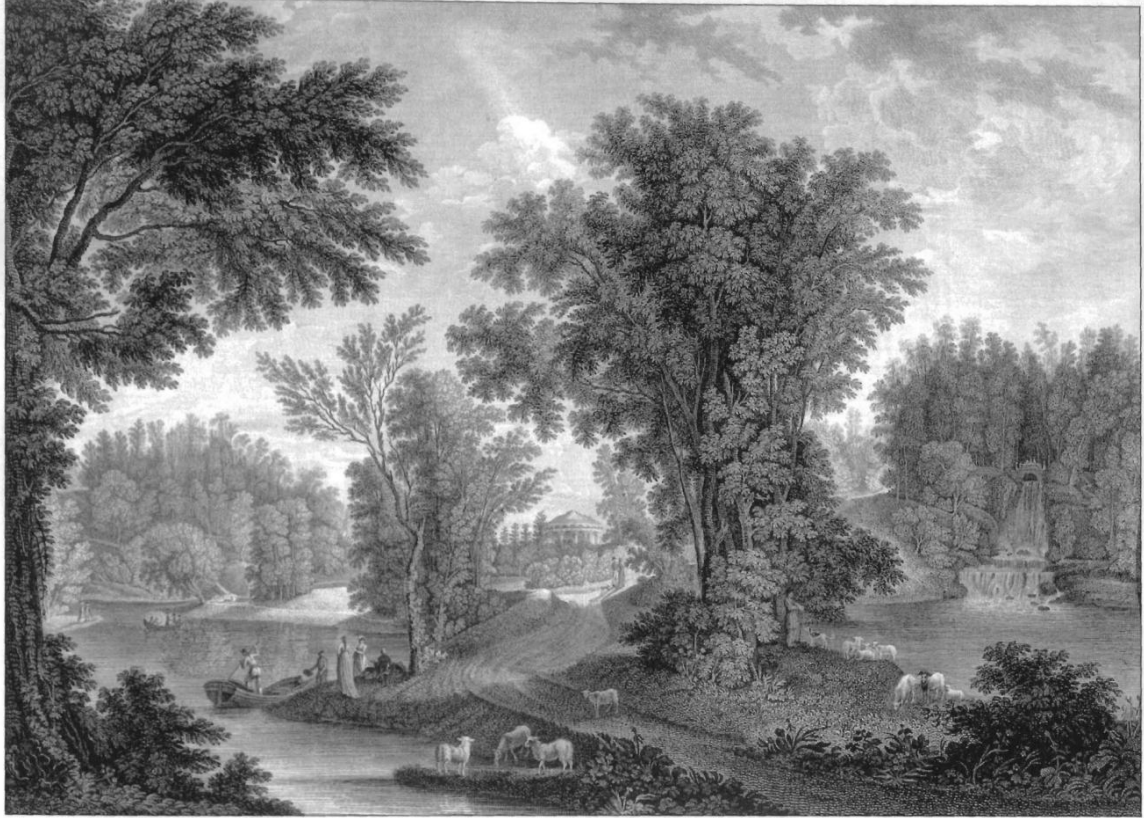


Figure 115 Tchesky, I. V., after Sil'vestr Feodosiyevich Shchedrin, "Pavlovsk Park," ca. 1806. In Yuri Vitalievich Mudrov and Valeria Afanassievna Belanina. *Pavlovsk: watercolours, paintings and engravings from the 18th and 19th centuries*, ed. Emmanuel Ducamp, Imperial Palaces in the vicinity of St Petersburg (Paris: De Gourcuff, 1992).



Figure 116 Charles Cameron, “Design for the Temple of Friendship, Pavlovsk,” 1779. In Dimitri Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 151.



Figure 117 Detail of the façade of the Temple of Friendship, Pavlovsk, Russia.





Figure 118 Round box with Catherine II as Minerva, Paris, 1781-82. Gold and verre églomisé. Washington, D.C., Hillwood Museum and Gardens.



Figure 119 Jean Pierre Ador (1724-1784), Potpourri vase with classical figures, 1768. Gold and enamel *en plein* and painted enamel *en camaieu*; 27.8 x 14.9 x 11.7 cm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum.





Figure 120 Postcard picturing the Temple of Friendship at the Château de Betz, Normandy, 1907.

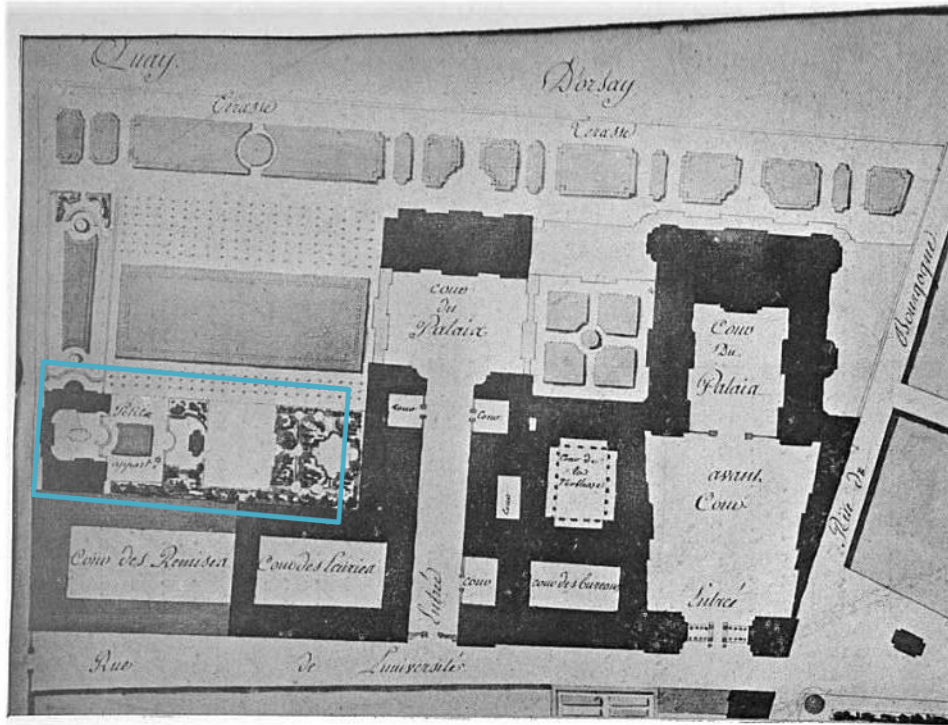


Figure 121 Masquelier, after Louis-Nicolas de Lespinasse, “View of the Palais-Bourbon from the terrasse des Tuileries,” 1778.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 122 Jean-François Janinet (1752-1814), after Durand, «The Palais Bourbon from the River.» Printed by chez Esnauts et Rapilly, rue Saint Jacques, à la Ville de Coutances, N° 259. Gravure en taille-douce, en couleur ; 16,8 x 24,8 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Le Palais-Bourbon et l'Hôtel de Lassay en 1776

Figure 123 Annotated plan of the Palais-Bourbon and Hotel de Lassay in 1776, with the *Petits Appartements* outlined. From Macon, *Les Arts*.



Fig. 1. Jacques Chéreau, *Le temple de l'Amitié*, entre 1800 et 1810, G. Maçon, *Les jardins de Betz*, 1907.

Figure 124 Jacques Chéreau, *The Temple of Friendship*, ca. 1800-1810. Reproduced in G. Maçon, *Les jardins de Betz* (1907).



Figure 125 Michelange Slodtz, *Iphigenia, Princess of Diana*. Marble, height 75 cm. Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 126 Benjamin West, *Pylades and Orestes Brought as Victims before Iphigenia*, 1766. Oil on canvas, 1003 x 1264 mm. London, Tate Britain.



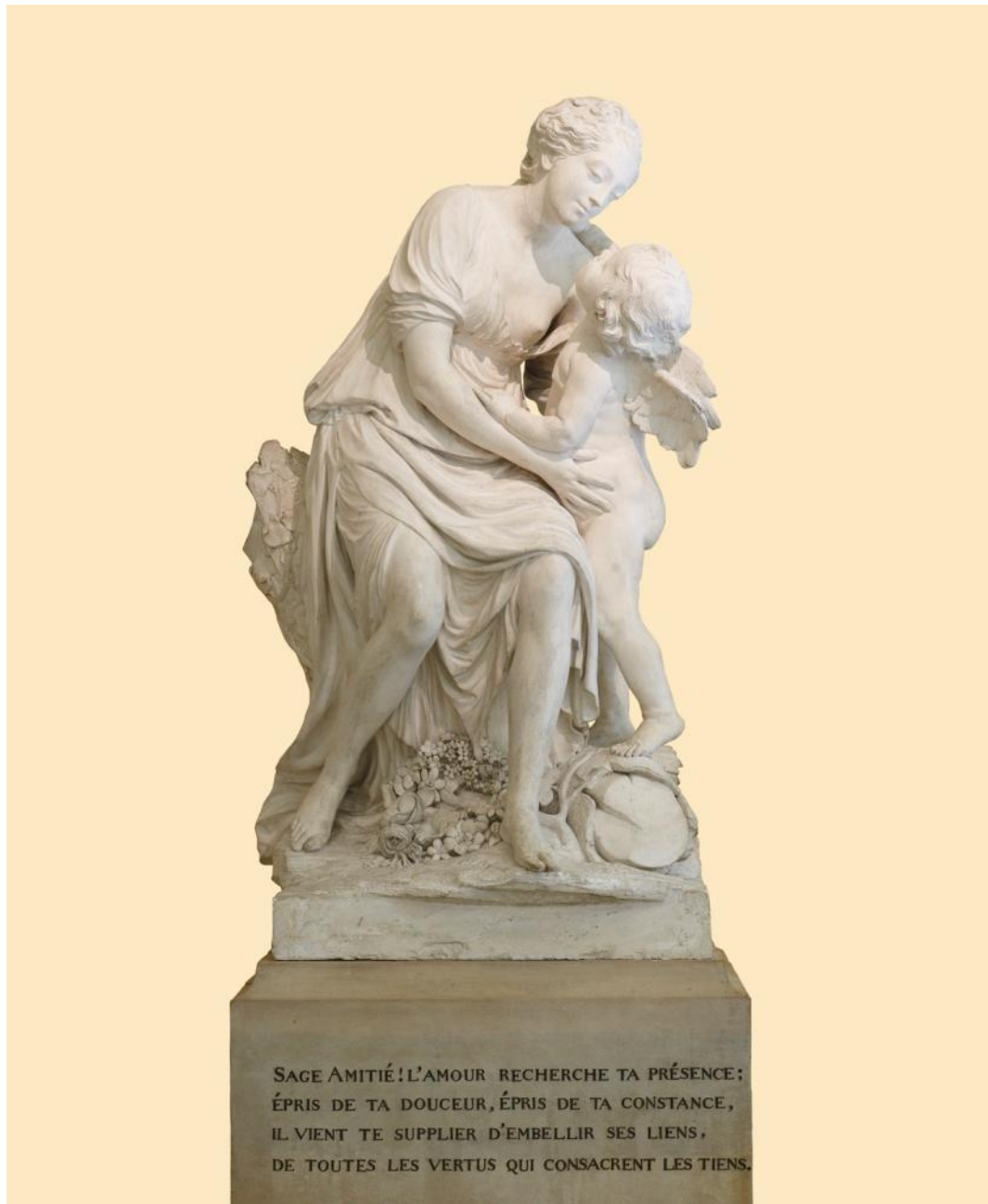


Figure 127 Claude Dejoux (1732-1816), after Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1784), *Love and Friendship*, 1783. Plaster, limestone, and metal base; h. 57", plinth 40 ½ in. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum.



Figure 128 Postcard of the interior of the Temple of Friendship at Betz

## CHAPTER 5

### FRIENDSHIP AND FOOLERY: CATHERINE THE GREAT AND VOLTAIRE IN THE GARDENS OF TSARSKOE SELO AND FERNEY

Voltaire (1694-1778) and Catherine the Great (reign 1762-1796) never met; their ages and positions restricted them from traveling the distance between Russia and Voltaire's home at Ferney, Switzerland. But their dotage and separation made possible and sustainable a friendship that was manifest in a correspondence of more than fifteen years. In their letters, they demonstrated mutual respect and admiration, described their interests and activities, and exchanged advice. The empress was one of his patrons, and he promoted her status as enlightened despot. They had a mutual interest in defying members of the French aristocracy and nobility who had mistreated them and in appealing to those who might be amicable. As testament to their friendship, Catherine the Great commissioned no fewer than fourteen paintings and sculptures depicting Voltaire by French and Swiss artists. In the years surrounding the writer's death, she developed a plan to build a model of his Ferney château in Russia that would house portraits of him, his library, and his body, which had been refused proper burial by the Catholic Church in France. Had the "New Ferney" been realized, it would have been a secular temple of friendship in the Enlightenment mode that also engaged traditions of the Eastern Orthodox Church. It would have projected an image of a modern Russia that also preserved its medieval Byzantine heritage, both of which were consistent goals of Catherine the Great's art patronage throughout her reign. Catherine the Great's New



Ferney project and its components assimilated Russian heritage and religion into the eighteenth-century criteria of heterosocial friendship.

Their friendship began at the request of the empress. In 1763, she had her Genevese secretary, François-Pierre Pictet (1703-1768), friend of Voltaire and actor in the amateur productions of his plays, write to Ferney on her behalf. The first letter of their correspondence thanked Voltaire for copies of the second volume of the *History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great* (1763) that had been sent to her court.<sup>485</sup> The content of their letters to each other during the following fifteen years was rarely of an intimate nature. The two equally expressed their admiration for each other in grand, verbose praise. In 1766, Voltaire wrote to her: “I am so much of a prophet that I boldly predict for Your Majesty the greatest measure of glory and happiness. Either men will become completely mad, or they will admire all that you do that is great and useful.”<sup>486</sup> They discussed natural history, theater, and philosophy. Catherine sent Voltaire expensive gifts, and his association with a powerful monarch certainly enhanced his reputation. Voltaire also gave Catherine political advice. He supported the Russian invasion of Poland and the war with the Turks because both were tied to the cause of advancing religious tolerance.<sup>487</sup> It should not be assumed, however, that each of them was involved in this friendship for purely selfish reasons. They seem to have had a genuine respect for each other’s intellect.

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<sup>485</sup> *Histoire de l’empire de la Russie sous Pierre le Grande*. The first volume had been published in 1757 and the second in 1763.

<sup>486</sup> Voltaire to Catherine, 22 December 1766. Gorbатов, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 80-81. W. F. Reddaway, ed, *Catherine II. Documents of Catherine the Great; the Correspondence with Voltaire and the Instruction of 1767, in the English text of 1768* (Cambridge: The University press, 1931), 11-13.

<sup>487</sup> Gorbатов, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 85-7.

One topic that Catherine and Voltaire rarely discussed was the series of paintings of him (Figure 130 through Figure 138) that she commissioned from the Swiss painter and caricaturist Jean Huber (1721-1786) to hang in a pavilion [*kiosque*] in the garden at Tsarskoe Selo, her summer palace outside of St. Petersburg.<sup>488</sup> This pavilion was the precursor to the New Ferney, a monument to their friendship in the same garden. It was a garden folly dedicated to the relationship between the empress and the philosopher located in her country retreat, her site of friendship. On 20 January 1776, Catherine the Great wrote her last known letter on the series to her agent, Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm (1723-1807), who had secured the commission for her. The previous June, presumably when the paintings arrived at Tsarskoe Selo, she had insisted that no one should see the paintings before her except the framers.<sup>489</sup> The letter written the following January fulfilled her promise to Grimm that she would describe her response to the paintings:

I have promised to recount the impression that the first view of the pictures by Huber have on me, but I do not know how to accomplish my promises in view of the circumstances. Upon my arrival at Tsarko-Sélo [*sic*], I found the pictures in an excessively dark and cold place, nevertheless I burst into laughter at the rising of the patriarch; which is original to me: the vivacity of his character and the impatience of his imagination prevent him from doing one thing at a time. The kicking horse

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<sup>488</sup> Perhaps she also noted this condition to Grimm because of a mutual understanding that they were ideally seen on a warm, sunny day in the garden.

<sup>489</sup> She told Grimm of her instructions in her letter dated June 30, 1775. Catherine II, *Lettres de Catherine II à Grimm = Pis'ma Imperatritsy Ekateriny II k Grimmu, 1774-1796*, trans. I.A. K. Grot (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoï akademī nauk, 1878), accessed April 16, 2015, <<<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009625315>>>, 27.

that Voltaire corrects is very good too; I enjoyed the distraction of the cabriolet, but what should I do for the great Huber that has let me have the pictures? Tell me that clearly.<sup>490</sup>

Catherine's attention to the individual paintings indicates their importance to her. The letter of January 1776 also indicates that the paintings were not intended to poke fun at Voltaire but to depict an impression of his character and energy. Finally, her observation of the poor conditions in which she first saw them demonstrates the importance of the viewing environment in the eighteenth century generally, and for these paintings in particular. She wrote again to Grimm in August that they would arrange the Huber paintings when he visited St. Petersburg later that year.<sup>491</sup> I propose that the paintings were meant to be seen in the context of the gardens of Tsarskoe Selo in order to connect that site to Voltaire's own château, thus creating a place for the empress and the philosopher to "meet." The paintings and the pavilion visualized and embodied their friendship as it was defined in their correspondence.

The history of the commission and its production—of which paintings were shipped, when they arrived, and which have been lost or never were completed—is dizzying. In a letter written by Madame Huber-Alléon in 1768, she described a series of twenty paintings by her husband intended for Catherine as thanks for a medal she had given honoring Huber for a now unknown reason.<sup>492</sup> Baron Grimm, Catherine the Great's personal friend and consultant in matters of collecting art, promoted the artist's career and publicized the series of Voltaire paintings in his *Correspondance littéraire*,

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<sup>490</sup> Letter from Catherine the Great to Baron Grimm, January 20, 1776, reprinted in Garry Apgar, "The Life and Work of Jean Huber of Geneva (1721–1786)" (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1988), 295-6.

<sup>491</sup> Apgar, "Life and Work," 296 n. 759.

<sup>492</sup> Apgar "Life and Work," 290-2.

*philosophique et critique*, the “underground” manuscript periodical to which Enlightenment figures including Catherine the Great subscribed. In the issue published on March 15, 1769, he announced Jean Huber’s intention to venture into the medium of painting in order to make a series on Voltaire’s domestic life for the empress, and he documented the shipment to Russia of Huber’s painting of Voltaire receiving the imperial ambassador at Ferney.<sup>493</sup> The commission was rather risky because Huber was not a trained painter. He had been known almost exclusively as a maker of *découpeurs*, or paper cutouts, often religious figures and narratives or comic images of Voltaire (Figure 129). Grimm gave the empress a few of these before she commissioned the paintings. The first, and perhaps only, major shipment of Huber’s paintings did not arrive in Russia until 1775. Huber’s slow progress has been variably attributed to his reported lack of focus, hypochondria, and “faintness of heart.” The artist himself ascribed it to his lack of professional experience as a painter.<sup>494</sup>

If a plan for twenty paintings had been formed, as Huber’s wife indicated, it likely did not last long. By 1770, Huber had sent the painting “Reception of the imperial ambassador” and “Voltaire and the peasants,” which the empress acknowledged receiving in a letter to Voltaire on March 31, 1770: “...Monsieur Huber promised me several through a third party; but apparently he only produces one a year. So far I only have two. However, the subjects he has chosen are so interesting that I would very much like to have a complete set...”<sup>495</sup> In 1773, Grimm wrote to Prince Alexander Golitsyn (1718-1783) quoting a letter from the artist that assured progress on a complete set of

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<sup>493</sup> Apgar, “Life and Work,” 293.

<sup>494</sup> Letter from Huber to François Tronchin, 7 May 1775. Reprinted in Apgar, “Life and Work,” 294-5.

<sup>495</sup> Apgar, “Life and Work,” 294. Floryan, *Gardens of the Tsars*, 238, n.5.

paintings and an idea for the overall program.<sup>496</sup> Huber intended to paint four themes of four scenes each. Grimm suggested they would be completed in a particular order: “The first four pictures, the Homebody’s Life [*Vie casanière*]. The next four, the Horseman’s Life [*Vie cavaliere*]. The other four, Theatres [*Tripot théâtre*]. Then will come the Rustic Life [*Vie rustique*], and also the snails, etc., etc., etc.”<sup>497</sup> The artist noted to Grimm that he had finished four of the paintings and sketched another four, and he promised that once he completed four more, he would send the twelve to Catherine. In a 1775 letter to the empress, Grimm listed the titles of twelve paintings, which he noted had been shipped late that year (Appendix).<sup>498</sup> By 1776, Catherine the Great had received at least fourteen paintings of Voltaire by Jean Huber including these twelve, but only nine survive in the Hermitage Museum. They were discovered in the 1930s in the Crimean château of the Vorontsov family, who apparently received them after Catherine the Great’s death. The dimensions of the nine suggest they might be divided into at least two separate themes. Five of them are approximately 21 inches high and 17 inches wide; the other four are approximately 24 inches high by 18 inches wide. Art historians have attempted with some difficulty to identify the Hermitage paintings with reference to the four categories mentioned by Huber and the titles given by Grimm.<sup>499</sup> I do not intend to sort them out here; rather, my concern is to explore the meanings of the four categories themselves and of some of the individual pictures. The specialist on the art of Jean Huber, Garry Apgar,

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<sup>496</sup> Apgar, “Life and Work,” 298-300.

<sup>497</sup> There are no remaining prints or *découpeure*’s that depict Voltaire performing his experiment with snails, and the “etceteras” are not really informative, but it seems clear that there were some miscellaneous pictures intended for Catherine in addition to these sixteen. Apgar, “Life and Work,” 300.

<sup>498</sup> S. Karp, “La ‘Voltaireiade’ De Huber: Identification D’un Tableau,” *Cahiers Voltaire. Revue annuelle de la Société Voltaire (Ferney-Voltaire)* 2 (2003): 107.

<sup>499</sup> See especially Garry Apgar, “La Voltaireiade,” 106-35, and Yekaterina Vadimovna Deryabina’s entry on the series in *Catherine the Great: Art for Empire, Masterpieces from the State Hermitage Museum, Russia* (Montréal : Montreal Museum of Fine Arts ; Gand, Belgium : Snoeck, c2005), 269-71.

has claimed that “There is no secret underlying significance to this cycle: simply an attempt to represent in humorous, Hogarthian fashion the multiple aspects of Voltaire’s private life as Patriarch of Ferney and the curious but endearing foibles of the great man.”<sup>500</sup> But as a patron and collector of art Catherine the Great was brilliantly adept at harnessing a single work of art or a larger program to convey a multiplicity of subtle and overt meanings in, and there is no reason to believe she did not do so here as well.

The degree to which she was involved in choosing the subjects is ambiguous. In one letter to Voltaire, she complemented Huber for the choice of subjects, but in another letter she thanked Grimm for having Huber paint a scene she requested.<sup>501</sup> In November of 1775, Catherine told Grimm that the theatrical scene Huber painted at her request made her laugh and that the rest of the paintings were under lock and key at Tsarskoe Selo.<sup>502</sup> Although the exact origins of the subjects of each of the pictures might be impossible to locate, and Huber might have intended some of them to appeal to a broader market, I propose that the general subject categories and some of the specific scenarios were informed by the friendship between the empress and the *philosophe*. Voltaire frequently signed his letters, “The Hermit of Ferney” or “your very humble and very devoted hermit.”<sup>503</sup> This self-ascribed identity as a recluse in an isolated place probably informed the decision to depict Voltaire in and around his chateau, and especially for the

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<sup>500</sup> Apgar, “Life and Work,” 301.

<sup>501</sup> Letter from Catherine to Voltaire about Huber’s choice of subjects, April 1770: Apgar, “Life and Work,” 294. Letter from Catherine to Baron Grimm, November 29, 1775: Apgar, “Life and Work,” 297. In November of 1775, Catherine told Grimm that the theatrical scene Huber painted at her request made her laugh and that the rest of the paintings were under lock and key at Tsarskoe Selo. This must have been one of the twelve sent that year, but she was able to view it separately from those that were kept at Tsarskoe Selo, which she did not see until January.

<sup>502</sup> 29 November 1775. Catherine II, *Lettres de Catherine II à Grimm*, 39. Apgar, “Life and Work,” 297.

<sup>503</sup> Reddaway, *Catherine II*, XXIX (17 October 1769) and XXVI (2 September 1769).

category of the “Homebody’s Life.”<sup>504</sup> The subjects selected by or for the empress represented some of the humorous aspects Voltaire that he presented in his letters and that had attracted the empress. Baron Grimm, Jean Huber, and Catherine the Great offered a few explanations of the pictures in their correspondence, but the spirit of these anecdotal scenes resonates with the content and the general language of Catherine and Voltaire’s correspondence. Furthermore, they were especially meaningful to Catherine in the context of Russian religious and cultural traditions.

In *Voltaire Rising* (Figure 130), the picture with which the empress was so pleased in 1776, the *philosophe* in his nightshirt and cap has leapt from his bed, the covers of which are thrown back, and he attempts to put on his pants. His left shoe clearly is on, probably indicating that in his hurry to dress he put on his shoe before his pants, and now he struggles with the right pant. At the same time he points to his secretary seated at the left, a gesture indicating his dictation of an idea, the very one that propelled him from bed. In 1769, Voltaire wrote to congratulate the empress on her victories against the Turks, saying, “Your Imperial Majesty restores me to life in slaying the Turks. Your letter made me jump out of bed, crying *Allah Catherina! Te Catherinam laudamus.*”<sup>505</sup> Furthermore, his waking disturbed by an idea probably was familiar to Catherine. She reportedly woke very early in the morning and immediately began reading and writing before taking breakfast.<sup>506</sup>

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<sup>504</sup> The four scenes of “The Homebody’s Life” likely include *Voltaire Rising*, *Voltaire’s Breakfast*, *Voltaire Playing Chess*, and *Voltaire Receiving Visitors*.

<sup>505</sup> Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 88. Reddaway, *Catherine II*, letter XXXI, 38-9.

<sup>506</sup> Robert K. Massie, *Catherine the Great: Portrait of a Woman* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2012), 494.

Prior to Huber's completion of this painting, the *philosophe* leaping out of bed in response to some word from the empress had been depicted in the lost "Voltaire receiving the imperial ambassador." Such a visit actually occurred at Ferney in February 1769. It was described in the memoirs of a British visitor to Ferney at the same time, Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, who identified the Russian ambassador as Prince Dolgoroukiy. The diplomat brought a lavish fur robe, and in return Voltaire sent the empress "his portrait drawn by my friend Huber... accompanied by a copy of verses in the Empress's praise."<sup>507</sup> This drawing surely was intended to secure a commission for Huber, who had planned for one as early as 1768, but which the empress may not have approved until later in 1769.

In the same letter to Grimm of January 1776, Catherine the Great praised *Voltaire in a Cabriolet* (Figure 135) and *Voltaire Taming a Horse* (Figure 136) as well.<sup>508</sup> *Voltaire Riding a Horse* (Figure 134), which Grimm described as, "The Patriarch Taking a Riding Lesson. His squire positions his legs" is the third surviving painting of the group illustrating "The Horseman's Life."<sup>509</sup> The joke is the so-called horseman not knowing how to ride or control a horse, but Voltaire's letters again provide a conceit for this category. The cavalier was another role Voltaire assumed. In October of 1769, he signed, "...your Imperial Majesty's very old and unworthy cavalier..."<sup>510</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> The description of the event was published in James Callander of Craigforth, *Memoirs of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas* (London, 1832) and quoted in Apgar, "Life and Work," 285, n. 738 and in Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 84-5.

<sup>508</sup> To Grimm, January 20, 1776: "...The horse kicking and Voltaire controlling it is also very good. I liked the one of him in the cabriolet." Translated in *Catherine the Great: Art for Empire*, 25. Garry Apgar proposed that the engraving entitled, *La Chaste Suzette*, is the fourth in "The Cavalier's Life." Garry Apgar, *L'art singulier de Jean Huber: voir Voltaire* (Paris: A. Biro, 1995), 107, fig. 45. *Catherine the Great: Art for Empire*, Cat. 19 E, F, and G; 270-1.

<sup>509</sup> *Catherine the Great: Art for Empire*, Cat. 19 E, 170

<sup>510</sup> Translated in Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 87.



Five of the paintings in the Hermitage collection are set out of doors, and *Voltaire Receiving Visitors* depicts a landscape overdoor painting within the picture that shares qualities with the landscapes in the other pictures. Voltaire and Catherine's mutual interest in gardens and garden design probably was the impetus for these outdoor scenes. Voltaire had a reputation for his personal management of the garden at Ferney, and he and Catherine discussed their garden design preferences. The landscapes featured in the series imply that the viewer is looking at Voltaire's property at Ferney, which was designed according to his landscape preferences. We are not shown a formal garden with trimmed shrubs assembled in crisp arabesques, but rather rolling and rocky hills with structures tucked into tree lines as in the English style garden. The painting of *Voltaire Planting Trees* (Figure 138) has been related to Voltaire's gardening activities, which some referred to as an obsession with arranging his own garden.<sup>511</sup> To express his affection for gardens, Huber here rhymed Voltaire's own haggard, crooked body with the thin, bare trees that he assembles in a row. Catherine also preferred the more informal garden style. In one letter to him, she wrote: "At present I love English gardens to distraction...I love curved lines, soft slopes, ponds and archipelagoes, and I strongly disdain straight lines and double alleys."<sup>512</sup> In addition to the qualities enumerated by Catherine, the eighteenth-century, informal English garden created the experience of broad vistas opening around a corner from narrower spaces or framed by tree lines, and it featured a variety of embellishments in the forms of Chinese pagodas or other pavilions that provide shade and serve as quiet, cool retreats. This type of structure appears in the background of *Voltaire Riding a Horse* (Figure 134) and is the setting of *Voltaire on*

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<sup>511</sup> *Catherine the Great: Art for Empire*, Cat. 19 H, 271.

<sup>512</sup> Greg King, *The Court of the Last Tsar: Pomp, Power, and Pageantry in the Reign of Nicholas II* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2006), 185.

*Stage [The Wood Thief]* (Figure 137). Visitors standing in one of Tsarskoe Selo's pavilions would see Huber's series and simultaneously view the grounds of a Russian and Swiss friend's retreat.

Another picture of Voltaire among the peasants of Ferney in the Swiss landscape is known to have been shipped to Catherine. In the previously mentioned letter from Huber's wife, she described a view of the Alps in which Voltaire eats hors d'oeuvres with a gesture of enthusiasm in the presence of a group of villagers.<sup>513</sup> She confirmed that a picture of this subject was sent to Catherine, but she did not specify its medium. It was not described among the twelve paintings listed by Grimm and may never have been painted for the pavilion at Tsarskoe Selo. However the painted copies and prints of the subject suggest that it was one of Huber's most popular pictures of Voltaire. A copy after Huber by Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702-1789) entitled *Voltaire Narrating a Fable* (Figure 139) fits the description offered by Madame Huber, primarily because it depicts Voltaire gesturing enthusiastically in the landscape setting.<sup>514</sup> Here, as in the paintings by Huber, Voltaire creates a spectacle while less active figures look on in a puzzled amusement, to which he seems oblivious.

The category of "Theatres" is the most challenging to define, in part because all of the paintings have elements of theatricality or spectacle. *Voltaire on Stage* (Figure 137) has been placed in this category because of two letters written in 1775 in which Catherine discussed with Grimm her desire to have a "dramatic picture" [*tableau*

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<sup>513</sup> Apgar, "Life and Work," 291-3. Garry Apgar, "La Voltairiade de Jean Huber," in *Voltaire chez lui: Genève et Ferney*, eds. J.-D. Candaux and E. Deuber-Pauli (Geneva: Skira, 1994), 110.

<sup>514</sup> Apgar also suggested the possibility of a painting of Voltaire trying to give an enema to a dying bull, as described by Huber in a letter to Tronchin in May 1775. Apgar, "Life and Work," 301.

*dramatique*].<sup>515</sup> In the second of these letters, she thanked her agent for convincing Huber to paint Voltaire as one of his characters, Narbas, from the play *Mérope* (1743).<sup>516</sup> She wrote that he was right in choosing this subject for the theater scene she requested because, “Narbas Voltaire or Voltaire Narbas has made me laugh...” Identifying *Voltaire on Stage* as the painting of Voltaire-Narbas, as Gary Apgar did, is problematic in that the only characteristic linking the painting to the drama is the fact that Voltaire, like Narbas, is an old man. This gathering of men around a bundle of wood is not found in any scene of *Mérope*, nor does it seem to have any other parallels with the play. Rather, *Voltaire on Stage* is more likely the painting identified by Grimm as illustrating a popular story about Voltaire’s gracious treatment of a man caught stealing wood from his property. Deryabina recognized the picture as a painting described by Grimm: “The Wood Thief. One day they brought to the Patriarch a man who [was caught] cutting wood on his property; who, believing he was done for, threw himself at his feet. To reassure him, the Patriarch also threw himself on the ground.”<sup>517</sup> Huber here depicted both the thief and Voltaire kneeling, while the attendants apprehensively squat around him, not knowing whether they, too, are expected to kneel or remain standing. Despite the fact that

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<sup>515</sup> Letters to Grimm on 30 June 1775 and November 29, 1775. Cited in Apgar, “Life and Work,” 296-7. It appears that Huber was resistant to the idea at first. The empress wrote on 30 June 1775: “Je suis fâchée de ce que Huber ne se sent pas tenté de la proposition que vous lui faisiez de donner un tableau dramatique du patriarche.” Catherine II, *Lettres de Catherine II à Grimm*, 27. However, by November of that year, she thanked Grimm for encouraging Huber further: “Vous avez deviné juste: Narbas Voltaire ou Voltaire Narbas m’a fait rire; je vous ai beaucoup d’obligations de vous en être privé pour me l’envoyer. Huber fera ce qu’il voudra; ce que je tiens de son ouvrage, est enfermé sous clef à Tsarsko-Sélo, et m’y attend: je partirai d’ici à la mi-décembre. Grand et très grand merci, merci de toutes les belles protestations et répétitions de protestations que vous me faites à la fin de vos lettres patentes.” Catherine II, *Lettres de Catherine II à Grimm*, 39.

<sup>516</sup> “Vous avez deviné juste: Narbas Voltaire ou Voltaire Narbas m’a fait rire; je vous ai beaucoup d’obligations de vous en être privé pour me l’envoyer. Huber fera ce qu’il voudra; ce que je tiens de son ouvrage, est enfermé sous clef à Tsarsko-Sélo, et m’y attend: je partirai d’ici à la mi-décembre. Grand et très grand merci, merci de toutes les belles protestations et répétitions de protestations que vous me faites à la fin de vos lettres patentes.” Catherine II, *Lettres de Catherine II à Grimm*, 39.

<sup>517</sup> *Catherine the Great: Art for Empire*, Cat. 19 I, 271.

the story of the wood thief is not taken from a theatrical work, its status as one of the few narratives in Catherine the Great's Voltairiade, lends it a kind of spectacular quality.

If one accepts that the painting in the Hermitage is "The Wood Thief," then only three of the pictures described by Grimm in his list of 1775 did not survive. They are: "Voltaire as Lord of the Parish, in a Red-trimmed Costume, Gala Wig, with Cap in Hand," "Voltaire Meditating in a Blue Dressing Gown with his Papers in front of Him," and "Voltaire in a Grey Nightgown Showing the Immortality of the Soul in the Chopped Snail Experiment." One can be relatively certain that an additional painting of Voltaire as Narbas was received by Catherine in 1775, and that paintings of "Voltaire among peasants" and "Voltaire receiving the imperial ambassador" were among the earliest scenes sent.<sup>518</sup> This brings the total number of paintings confirmed as delivered to Catherine the Great to fifteen, if one accepts that the nine extant paintings were among the twelve listed by Grimm, which seems likely.

Some of Huber's paintings referenced tropes in the letters exchanged in the first decade of friendship between Voltaire and Catherine the Great. As such, they must have had personal value to the empress. However, that relationship was formed against a backdrop of political conflicts between the French and Russian monarchs and aristocracies, and the paintings may have been valuable to Catherine's efforts to resolve these as well. The tensions between the rulers of France and Russia began before Catherine's succession to the throne. In 1741, Louis XV (r. 1715-1774) aided Elizabeth Petrovna (1709-1762) in a *coup d'état* with the expectation that she would maintain the

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<sup>518</sup> Grimm, 15 March, 1769, *Correspondance littéraire*: reprinted in Apgar, "Life and Work," 293. The "snail" painting, presumably of an experiment Voltaire did on snail regeneration, was mentioned by Huber as being in a miscellaneous category outside of the sixteen divided among the four categories. Apgar, "The Life and Work," 298-300.

balance of power in Europe by acting in favor of France's allies and against its enemies.<sup>519</sup> Their tenuous relationship began to crumble during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in large part because of Russia's ties with Britain, which was the greatest challenge to French security in Europe.<sup>520</sup> Within Elizabeth's court, there were those who favored alliance with the French and those who favored alliance with the British; the Grand Duchess Catherine was among the latter. The duc de Choiseul managed the effort to sway Catherine toward an alliance with France. In the years before Catherine's succession, Choiseul and Louis XV also took covert actions to damage the future empress. Their activities were not merely diplomatic or militaristic; rather, they involved personal manipulations and challenges to her reputation. One such manipulation was Choiseul's plan to win the favor of the Grand Duchess by sending the ambassador, the Baron de Breteuil to seduce her. Elizabeth Petrovna was the only assurance of the fragile French-Russian alliance during the Seven Years' War, and her failing health and imminent death threatened an end to political and commercial alliances. Her future successor, the Grand Duke Peter (1728-1762), asserted his personal fondness for Emperor Frederick II, and not for Louis XV.

Peter III broke Russia's alliance with France in favor of Prussia, leaving Russia at least unpopular, if not somewhat isolated and mistrusted by the French government at Catherine the Great's accession.<sup>521</sup> Choiseul and Louis XV continued to send covert agents to the Russian court (and other European courts) in the guise of independent

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<sup>519</sup> On the history of French-Russian relations before and during the Seven Years' War, see: Jay Oliva, *Misalliance: A Study of French Policy in Russia During the Seven Years' War* (New York: New York University Press, 1964); and Isabel de Madariaga, *Catherine the Great: A Short History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

<sup>520</sup> Russia had sold troops to Britain in 1748 for use in defending Hanover. Oliva, *Misalliance*, 3-5.

<sup>521</sup> Madariaga, *Catherine the Great*, 38.

tourists or sometimes as admitted representatives of France, but with ulterior motives.<sup>522</sup> Louis XV and his closest advisors managed a network of ambassadors and other French loyalists installed in various European courts unbeknownst to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with instructions to affect certain changes and gather information to be reported directly to the king. The King's Secret, as this surreptitious campaign is called, had as its goal in Russia to discover the state of the Russian army and the exact nature of the British-Russian relationship as well as to find ways to limit Russia's power. They published texts that promoted their agenda and sought to tarnish the image of Russia and of Catherine the Great personally.<sup>523</sup> Claude-Carloman de Rulhière (1735-1791) wrote *Anecdotes of the Revolution in Russia in 1762* about Catherine's *coup d'état* and Peter III's questionable death, and he included disparaging rumors about her personal life.<sup>524</sup> It was not published until after her death because of interventions by her friends in France, but the manuscript circulated in Paris salons, including Choiseul's, damaging Catherine's reputation among the French intelligentsia. Later, Louis XV commissioned Chappe d'Auteroche to write *Voyage in Siberia* (1768) about his travels in Russia, characterizing the landscape as ugly and the state as weak.<sup>525</sup>

In 1770, Catherine responded to Chappe d'Auteroche's text point by point with her own book that recognized the French monarch's involvement in the earlier publication. She was under attack on many fronts and she reproached her opponents in print as well as on the battlefield. Russia's advances on Poland (1772), a state which Louis XV and his ministers wanted firmly under their influence, further upset their

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<sup>522</sup> Oliva, *Misalliance*, 8-13.

<sup>523</sup> Marcus C. Levitt, "An Antidote to Nervous Juice: Catherine the Great's Debate with Chappe d'Auteroche over Russian Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32.1 (1998): 51-2.

<sup>524</sup> Levitt, "An Antidote," 52.

<sup>525</sup> Chappe d'Auteroche, *Voyage en Sibérie* (1768). Levitt, "An Antidote," 51.

relationship. After the dismissal of Choiseul and his exile to Chanteloup in 1770, there was an opening for Catherine the Great to find favor in the French court. It is no stretch of the imagination to view her commissions of art that celebrated and memorialized the French Enlightenment thinker who challenged her enemies as, at least in part, an additional means by which to reproach the king and attract the more liberal nobility. At the same time that Catherine was expanding the borders of the Russian empire and making even her allies nervous by her exhibition of military power, she also understood that it was beneficial to her, if not essential, to be accepted personally by the French aristocracy and nobility in order to have Russia seen in a positive light. Louis XV must have understood this too, as demonstrated by his efforts to damage her reputation in the Paris salons and by his censorship of the liberal *Instruction* for the reform of Russia's laws which Catherine had published in French, among other languages.

Catherine began the *Instruction* by stating confidently that "Russia is a European state," clearly demonstrating the way in which she wished to be perceived during these years.<sup>526</sup> Supporting the Enlightened *philosophes*, chief among them Voltaire, had the triple advantage of potentially undermining the French government, promoting Catherine's reputation abroad as an Enlightened monarch, and impressing Russians at her own court who embraced the Enlightenment ideas arriving from France.<sup>527</sup> Catherine showed her support of the French philosophers through her volumes of correspondence and the publishing of her own writings that championed, to varying degrees, individual liberties and religious tolerance. She offered to publish the final ten volumes of that seminal Enlightenment publication, the *Encyclopédie*, after it had been censored in

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<sup>526</sup> Martin Edward Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 50.

<sup>527</sup> Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 17-19.

France, and she was among the cultural elite in Europe that received the bi-monthly, *Correspondance littéraire*.<sup>528</sup>

Catherine's efforts did not go unrecognized in France. In June of 1767, the duchesse de Choiseul wrote:

She has had the wit to realize that she needs the protection of men of letters. She flatters herself that their base eulogies will impenetrably conceal from the eyes of her contemporaries and from posterity the heinous crimes by which she has astonished the universe and revolted humanity... That obscure, vile, low mercenary writers lend to her their abject pens, I can understand; but Voltaire!<sup>529</sup>

The letter demonstrates the distaste for the empress among Choiseul's supporters, but more importantly it reveals that Catherine's support of the *philosophes* was recognized as a ploy to distract from the perception that she had approved of, if not sponsored, the assassination of her husband. Her relationship with that most highly esteemed Enlightenment thinker, Voltaire, had the greatest potential to serve her image.

Voltaire's relationship with the French monarchy during these years was likewise troubled. His early criticisms of Louis XIV (1638-1715) prompted two stints in the Bastille, and his *English Letters* (1734) praised England at the expense of France prompted his first exile.<sup>530</sup> It was also under exile that Voltaire moved to Ferney on the Swiss border in 1758, where he would spend the rest of his life. He was not allowed to

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<sup>528</sup> This was also because Catherine appreciated the positive manner in which Peter the Great was referenced. Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, viii and 19; Isabel de Madariaga, *Catherine the Great: A Short History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 96-7; Isabel de Madariaga, "Catherine and the Philosophes," in *Russia and the West in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Anthony Glenn Cross (Newtonville, Mass: Oriental Research Partners, 1983), 273.

<sup>529</sup> To Mme du Deffand, Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 72.

<sup>530</sup> Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 59.



return to Paris until 1778, the year of his death. Catherine the Great's correspondence with Voltaire began in 1763, when he was 69 years old and she only 34, but his relationship with the Russian court began well before then. He had been a fan of the rule of Peter the Great, especially for his creation of the Holy Synod, which instituted secular control over the church.<sup>531</sup> Voltaire was a champion of limiting the power of religious institutions, especially the Catholic Church, and of religious tolerance.<sup>532</sup> In 1746, he was made an honorary member of the Russian Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, and in 1757, Elizabeth appointed him Historiographer of the Russian Empire.<sup>533</sup> In this capacity, he wrote *The History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great*, the first volume of which was published in 1759. Catherine the Great funded the second volume shortly after their first correspondences in 1763.

The lack of documentation outlining the program and placement of the series of Voltaire and the apparent contributions of Catherine and Grimm to Huber's selections of subjects limit the interpretation of how they express the empress's relationship with Voltaire and how she might have employed the commission politically or propagandistically. Nevertheless, aspects of these paintings related both to Western and to Russian medieval and Christian Orthodox traditions that were relevant, meaningful, and useful to the Russian empress in her political and cultural agendas. The first set of these Western and Russian traditions is evident in the humorous mode of the paintings. In his book on Jean Huber, Gary Apgar traced the development of caricature beginning in

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<sup>531</sup> Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*, 44.

<sup>532</sup> He praised Peter the Great in one of his early books, the *History of Charles XII* (1731), which positioned Peter as the antithesis to the despotic rule of Louis XIV. Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*, 42-3.

<sup>533</sup> Gorbатов, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 62-3.

Italy and spreading especially to England during the seventeenth century.<sup>534</sup> It was not until the eighteenth century that caricature became popular in England largely due to the paintings of Hogarth, who was a hero of Huber. According to Apgar, caricature did not catch on so quickly in France because it was seen as an English genre and because the historical and mythological genres had such a strong hold on the idea of “high art” in the Catholic country as opposed to Protestant England and Geneva. Early in his career, Huber lamented that his work was not of French taste, and he would have to try to sell in England. Caricature seems to have been considered characteristic of English taste, which was not the best thing to be in many aspects of French eighteenth-century culture. The Englishness of Huber’s paintings might have been another reason for Catherine the Great to embrace them. She was allied informally with Britain against the French during the 1760s and 1770s and already had expressed her love for English style gardens.

The development of caricature in the eighteenth century as a mode associated with England had a parallel in Russia. The cultural historian, Dianne E. Farrell, has explored a shift in Russian prints at the middle of the century from “medieval popular humor” to satire.<sup>535</sup> The medieval humor was characterized by parody, farce, clowning, nonsense, comic violence, indecency, and foolishness. It intended to challenge social hierarchies but not to negate or overthrow them. The satirical prints, or *lubki*, on the other hand, did attempt to challenge society and provoke change, but it did not criticize individuals or particular institutions. The trend might have derived from French sources, including fashion criticism and images of the extravagances of upper classes. According

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<sup>534</sup> Apgar “Life and Work,” 247-73.

<sup>535</sup> Dianne E. Farrell, “Laughter Transformed: The Shift from Medieval to Enlightenment Humour in Russian Popular Prints,” in *Russia and the World of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. R.P. Bartlett, A.G. Cross, and Karen Rasmussen. (Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia. Indiana University at Bloomington, USA, September 1984. Slavica Publishers, Inc.), 157-8.

to Farrell, Catherine the Great used the *lubki*, printed in state-sanctioned presses, as modes of propaganda, for example, to justify the seizure of ecclesiastical properties in 1764.<sup>536</sup> In terms of the reception of traditional prints, there was a kind of blended mode in which subjects that had been common before the middle of the century were reinterpreted as satirical prints.<sup>537</sup> One typical subject of these prints was the “conversation,” i.e. between the peasant and the nobleman. Another was a picture of a crime, such as theft, in which the offensive act was treated as humorous and the audience was supposed to empathize with the thief. These reinterpreted themes also appeared in the theatrical interludes of performances during the period. By the end of the century, the old prints were exclusively consumed by the peasantry, except during Carnival.<sup>538</sup>

Jean Huber’s paintings depicting Voltaire have some striking similarities to the later eighteenth-century Russian prints that reinterpreted the “medieval popular humor” into a contemporary satire. In them, the French *philosophe* is pictured in unflattering, indecent, foolish circumstances, but Catherine’s response to them confirms there was no unkind intention, even as she laughed at them. The painting of *Voltaire Riding a Horse* (Figure 134) exemplifies the method of disrupting social hierarchy in this mode of humor. His effort to whip his “squire” while he attempts awkwardly to balance himself on a horse that is too small makes the servant appear sympathetic and the master ridiculous. However, the more important hierarchy upset by these images was not between the two men pictured, but between Catherine the Great and Voltaire. The latter’s appearance in the prints and Catherine’s laughter, her consumption of them, allowed the two to be equals, a prerequisite of perfect friendship.

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<sup>536</sup> Farrell, “Laughter Transformed,” 159-60.

<sup>537</sup> Farrell, “Laughter Transformed,” 162.

<sup>538</sup> Farrell, “Laughter Transformed,” 164.

The series of paintings of Voltaire at Ferney simultaneously demonstrated her Enlightened status and her support of the Orthodox traditions. Huber's mode of humor in his depictions of the "Sage of Ferney" relate to Catherine's political intentions as well as her devotion to the Eastern Orthodox Church, a loyalty she needed to confirm repeatedly throughout her reign due to her Lutheran upbringing. To that end, the paintings conjure the tradition of the holy fool, which was popular among the Russian people and useful for Catherine the Great to promote her devotion. The holy fool has been present in the Christian tradition from its early beginnings (and in pagan traditions before that). The historian Sergey Ivanov defined the holy fool in the Orthodox Church as a person who "voluntarily takes upon himself the mask of insanity in order that he may thereby conceal his own perfection from the world and hence avoid the vanity of worldly praise."<sup>539</sup> Voltaire referred to himself as "hermit," "sage," "unworthy cavalier," and as a result may have prompted a comparison with the figure of the holy fool, but he did not appreciate the pictures that depicted it. Huber's sale of his earlier caricatures caused a rift with the *philosophe*, and Voltaire barely mentioned them in correspondence with Catherine the Great.<sup>540</sup> It is not critical that Voltaire be a willing and self-conscious "holy fool;" rather, holy foolery suggests a way in which Catherine, a great admirer and personal friend of the intellectual, could have received positively the paintings that appear to make fun of him and which he disliked.

As a holy fool, Voltaire was implied to be beyond reproach and not vain, so that to emphasize his foibles only made him more endearing and humble. Ivanov recognized

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<sup>539</sup> Sergey A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, trans. Simon Franklin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1.

<sup>540</sup> In his 1772 poem, *Épître à Horace*, Voltaire insulted Huber by calling him a maker of *pasquinades*. Voltaire was not, however, offended by the scene of him rising to thank Prince Dolgorukiy for the gifts. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, November 1 1772. Reprinted in Apgar "Life and Work," 287.

an element of spectacle in holy foolery that parallels the theatricality of most of Huber's paintings of Voltaire. As part of that spectacle, the holy fool's "insanity" also was meant to scandalize or provoke the audience, creating temptations which they might overcome. The provocation of the spectators in the paintings appears more incidental, as they often are tolerant of Voltaire's foolishness, but an audience is nevertheless required in order to distinguish the holy fool. Later in the eighteenth century, according to Ivanov, men who flaunted strange behaviors would be seen as having some disorder and sent to clinics, thus indicating that the religious implications of holy foolery were waning.

The secular saint or priest was an image perpetuated by Voltaire and other French Enlightenment thinkers. In the *Holy Communion of the Patriarch* (Figure 140), one of Huber's best known paintings and one that was familiar to Catherine the Great at least in print, Voltaire and other famous *philosophes* are gathered around a dining table as though at the Last Supper. The painting was referred to as Voltaire and his "disciples" or his "apostles," who had made the "pilgrimage" to Ferney, although not all of the men present had actually visited Voltaire at his château.<sup>541</sup> Father Antoine Adam, a defrocked Jesuit who lived with Voltaire and performed services at Voltaire's chapel, is seated in profile at the left side of the table.<sup>542</sup> Adam also is pictured in *Voltaire Playing Chess* (Figure 132) and is a fixture in other prints and drawings by Huber as an accomplice to Voltaire's antics. In the *Holy Communion*, his rigid posture, puffed out cheeks, and blank stare at the table, suggesting that he is more concerned with his food than conversation, appear to make Baron Grimm (at Adam's left) smirk. In Huber's print, *The Chaste Suzette* (Figure

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<sup>541</sup> Grimm, November 1772, *Correspondance litteraire*. Reprinted in Apgar "Life and Work," 303. Interestingly, Huber included himself among the disciples of Voltaire, suggesting a kinder motivation for his caricatures than was perceived by the philosopher.

<sup>542</sup> Apgar, "Life and Work," 304-7 and 311-12.

141), Adam prods the squeamish woman to go with Voltaire and witness the scene of mating horses that he wants to show her. In this way, Voltaire has with him a fellow “priest,” who, though now defrocked, might also be a secular holy fool.

Voltaire referred to his group of philosophers as a “sect” and to each of them as “brothers.”<sup>543</sup> Baron Grimm was known as “the little prophet” and the “deacon of philosophy.”<sup>544</sup> Catherine also was made a member, or more appropriately a deity, in Voltaire’s cult of the *philosophes*. He signed his letters, “The priest of your temple,”<sup>545</sup> and in 1773 he told her: “[Diderot and I] are lay missionaries who preach the cult of Saint Catherine, and we can boast that our church is almost universal.”<sup>546</sup> Huber wrote that in the little garden pavilion, Voltaire would be “god of the garden.”<sup>547</sup> This secularization of religious language and tradition is a general Enlightenment trend that Catherine would have embraced in this context because it challenged the French Catholic monarchy, but the empress probably also recognized a reference to her personal correspondence with Voltaire and a correlation with the veneration of the holy fool.

Catherine the Great commissioned Marie-Anne Collot, the companion of Étienne-Maurice Falconet during the French sculptor’s residence in Russia, to sculpt *Voltaire in a Wig* around 1770 (Figure 142). During that decade she also commissioned busts of Voltaire’s fellow French thinkers with whom she also had a personal correspondence, including one of Diderot (Figure 143) by Collot and of Buffon (Figure 144) by Jean-Antoine Houdon. Yet, no figure received the level of attention that she lavished on

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<sup>543</sup> Apgar “Life and Work,” 307.

<sup>544</sup> Apgar, “Life and Work,” 307.

<sup>545</sup> Voltaire to Catherine, 22 December 1766. Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 80-81. Reddaway, *Catherine II*, 11-13. It is appropriate that the priest of Catherine’s temple was a kind of role Voltaire would literally play in the *kiosque* dedicated to him at Tsarskoe Selo.

<sup>546</sup> Reddaway, *Catherine II*, CXXXVII, 1 November 1773, 190-91.

<sup>547</sup> Quoted in a letter from Grimm to Alexander Golitsyn in 1773. Apgar, “Life and Work,” 301.

Voltaire in terms of the volume of her correspondence, her financial assistance, or her patronage. The grandest of the later commands were those given to Jean-Antoine Houdon for a bust (Figure 145) and the full-scale statue *Voltaire Seated* (Figure 146). On February 10, 1778, Voltaire returned to Paris after nearly thirty years in exile and during that visit agreed to sit to the sculptor. From these sittings, Houdon eventually produced two busts (Figure 147 and Figure 148). The artist also created *Voltaire Seated* for the writer's niece and made numerous copies of each. In April of 1778, a few days before Houdon's first bust was completed, Catherine discussed with Grimm the possibility of commissioning a bust for herself.<sup>548</sup> Grimm had informed the empress that Voltaire was deathly ill, and while he would not die until the following month, the bust must have been intended to serve a memorial function. Houdon sent two versions to St. Petersburg by October 1778, so that Catherine could choose the one she preferred to have made in marble. One was a bronze of Voltaire bald, the first bust he had created in April. A terracotta copy (Figure 147) survives in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. The second version was a plaster model of Voltaire in a wig, or *a la française* (Figure 148, here a marble version commissioned by Frederick II). Catherine chose the former, stating: "I like the bust without a wig better; you know of my aversion to wigs and busts with wigs in particular; it always seems to me that wigs are used to inspire laughter," and later, "since [their arrival] I have not stopped looking at the one without the wig, whereas the one with the wig does not interest me in the slightest."<sup>549</sup> The one "without the wig" was to become *Voltaire in a Toga*, but it is not clear at what point the decision was made to add the drapery.

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<sup>548</sup> *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, Cat. 25, 163.

<sup>549</sup> Catherine to Grimm, 1 October and 30 October, 1778. *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, Cat. 25, 164. *Catherine the Great: Art for Empire*, 101.

Another motivation for Catherine's choice of *Voltaire in a Toga* is suggested by Frederick II of Prussia's explanation of his own choice between the two models. He rejected the version of Voltaire "à l'antique" stating, "Let's not insult his country by giving him a costume that would make him unrecognizable; Voltaire thought in Greek, but he was French. Let's not disfigure our contemporaries by giving them outfits of a nation that is now vilified and degraded under the tyranny of the Turks, their conquerors."<sup>550</sup> In preferring the bust *à l'antique*, Catherine may have sought both to reject the version *a la française* and embrace the Greek heritage at a time when she had as her aim to revive the empire at Constantinople. In 1779, her second grandson was christened Constantine to signal that he would become the first emperor of the Greek Orthodox Empire that she would restore by driving the Turks out of Europe.<sup>551</sup> Recalling also that Voltaire despised the Turks for their intolerance, the classicizing dress seems all the more appropriate. *Voltaire in a Toga* was exhibited at the Salon of 1779 with the inscription: "Ordered by S. M. J. Empress of all Russia. Made by Houdon in 1778."<sup>552</sup> It was well received and confirmed Catherine's reputation as the enlightened ruler of Russia, patron of the arts, philosopher, and friend of Voltaire.

Baron Grimm was also a force behind the commission of one of the most famous portraits of Voltaire, the *Voltaire Seated* (Figure 146) by Houdon. In November of 1778, while the recently ordered bust was still in production, Grimm suggested to Catherine a commission of a life-sized standing Voltaire in distinction to the monumental seated statue that had been requested by Voltaire's niece.<sup>553</sup> The empress instead chose to

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<sup>550</sup> *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, Cat. 24, 157-9.

<sup>551</sup> Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*, 80.

<sup>552</sup> Detail of the signature in *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, Cat. 25, 165.

<sup>553</sup> *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, Cat. 25, 164.



commission a copy of the sculpture commissioned by Voltaire's niece. It depicts Voltaire in his robe, a costume appropriate to the domestic writer and one donned by Voltaire in Huber's images of him, but it also is a classicizing costume. Voltaire appears old and weak, but alert in his eyes, mind, and imagination in the tradition of effigies of medieval scholars and Renaissance popes. This Voltaire is no longer the holy fool, but the intellectual, whom Catherine called "my master" and proclaimed, "I am his pupil."<sup>554</sup>

The empress began her friendship with Voltaire immediately after her succession to the throne, and she relied on that friendship throughout her reign. She adopted a vocabulary and commissioned pictures that both elevated him to the status of a secular saint and humanized him. In this way, he became the tsar's secular patron saint and her holy advisor, both important figures for the Russian ruler. Peter the Great's (reign 1682 – 1725) patron saint was the ascetic Saint Isaac, a hermit in Constantinople who was persecuted for predicting the demise of the heretic Emperor Valens (reign 364-378).<sup>555</sup> Saint Isaac became, by extension, the patron saint of the Romanov dynasty and Saint Petersburg, where a cathedral was erected in his honor. Peter I enlisted a holy man, the Archbishop Theophan Prokopovich (1681-1736) as his advisor to help implement his reforms. In 1766, Voltaire wrote to Catherine the Great: "I am so much of a prophet that I boldly predict for Your Majesty the greatest measure of glory and happiness."<sup>556</sup> His statement summarizes his position as her secular Saint Isaac, her hermetic patron saint who foretold the demise of an abusive French monarchy. But he also was her living advisor, the enlightened leader of a "sect" of philosophers who would help further her

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<sup>554</sup> To Grimm, 1 October 1778. *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, 165.

<sup>555</sup> Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning*, 50.

<sup>556</sup> Voltaire to Catherine, 22 December 1766. Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 80-81. Reddaway, *Catherine II*, 11-13.

own reforms. To honor him, as was done for Saint Isaac, she proposed to build a “holy house,” a secular temple that would house the icons and texts that were indicative of their friendship.<sup>557</sup> The empress intended to gather the sculptures of Voltaire and his library in a scale model of his Ferney château, a “New Ferney,” in the garden of her summer palace, Tsarskoe Selo.

The chronology of the project and the reason for its abandonment are unclear. Voltaire died on May 30, 1778. The earliest surviving documentation of the empress’ plan to build a memorial to Voltaire housing his library is her letter to Baron Grimm dated June 21 of that year:

*Helas!* I can do nothing but explain to you the remorse that I have felt on reading your letter [about Voltaire]. Until now I hoped that the news of the death of Voltaire was false, but you confirmed it, and immediately I had a feeling of discouragement with everything and grave contempt for all things of this world [...] One publicly honored, just a few short weeks ago, a man that today no one will risk burying, and what a man! The best of the nation and they should glorify him well and duly. Why did you not personally take possession of his body, in my name? You should have sent it to me [...] I promise you he would have had the most splendid tomb possible, but if I cannot have his corpse, at least you would not deny me a monument at my home. When I return to town this autumn, I will reassemble the letters that the great man has written me, and I will send them to you. I have a great number, but it is possible, to arrange the

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<sup>557</sup> Monique Bory, “Le Château de Ferney,” *Voltaire chez lui: Genève et Ferney*, edited by J.-D. Candaux and E. Deuber-Pauli (Geneva: Skira, 1994), 55.

purchase of his library and all the rest of his papers, including my letters.

For me, gladly, I would pay his heirs generously, that I think they do not know the price of any of all this.<sup>558</sup>

She proceeded to tell Grimm that she also would like him to compile a list of all Voltaire's works so that she could dedicate a room to him. It is not clear from this letter whether she conceived of a monument to Voltaire as a model of Ferney, a site for Houdon's sculptures, or a cenotaph. She seemed aware at this early date that his body could not be delivered to Russia, and was disappointed with Grimm over the matter.

On 19 October 1778, Catherine the Great requested a view of the façade and a plan of the interior apartments of the Ferney château and its furnishings. "Because," she said, "the park of Tsarskoe Selo will not exist any longer, better the Château de Ferney come to take its place."<sup>559</sup> It is not surprising that the empress expressed her grief through the garden, a passion she had shared with her friend during his life. Her effort to construct the monument housing his "letters" and the objects of their friendship in this site was an effort to maintain that friendship. In suggesting that friendship exists even after death, in the ultimate absence of the friend, the proposed monument engaged concepts that were central to writing on friendship through the eighteenth century. As discussed in the first chapter of this volume, the treatises of Cicero, Seneca, Montaigne, and Lambert evoked the deceased friend. This was, especially for the heterosocial friendship, the extreme form of separation that permitted claims to equality and oneness.

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<sup>558</sup> Catherine II, *Lettres De Catherine II À Grimm*, 93-5. Excerpts also were quoted and translated in Inna Gorbatov, "From Paris to St. Petersburg: Voltaire's Library in Russia." *Libraries & Culture* 42, no. 3 (January 1, 2007): 308-324. *American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*, EBSCOhost, 311-312, 322 n. 13-15.

<sup>559</sup> Catherine II, *Lettres De Catherine II À Grimm*, 105.

In addition to the views and plans of Ferney, Catherine the Great also asked Baron Grimm to request from Voltaire's secretary in Switzerland, Jean-Louis Wagnière (1739-1802), the descriptions of fabrics, wallpapers, and furniture.<sup>560</sup> According to Monique Bory, it was Baron Grimm who added a maquette of the Château de Ferney to Catherine's orders, all of which were filled.<sup>561</sup> A maquette signed "Made at the château de Ferney in the year 1777 par Morand" (Figure 149 through Figure 151) is currently in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.<sup>562</sup> If the date is accurate, it predates Voltaire's death and was perhaps not intended for Catherine the Great. Grimm, knowing of the existence of a maquette, may have negotiated its sale to the empress for her project. Alternatively, Catherine the Great might have conceived a New Ferney before her friend's death.

The maquette's ceiling and façade are removable, revealing the wallpapers, wainscoting, mirrors, fireplaces, and other decorative elements of the interior of Ferney. One can identify the intended library on the floor above the ground level. Catherine the Great's interest did not stop at the château façade and interior. A watercolor by the Swiss architect Léonard Racle (1736-1791) inscribed *Plan of the Gardens and Part of the Village of Ferney, for Her Majesty Empress of all the Russias, Jan 1779* (Figure 152), indicates that her plan to recreate the landscape at Ferney had not been abandoned as of that date, six months after Voltaire's death. It also suggests that the gardens, which had figured so prominently in their correspondence, also would figure in the memorial. She

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<sup>560</sup> Bory, "Le Château de Ferney," 55-56.

<sup>561</sup> Bory, "Le Château de Ferney," 55.

<sup>562</sup> Galeries nationales du Grand Palais and Association française d'action artistique, *La France et la Russie au Siècle des lumières: relations culturelles et artistiques de la France et de la Russie au XVIIIe siècle : Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 20 novembre 1986-9 février 1987* (Paris: Ministère des affaires étrangères, Association française d'action artistique, 1986), 93.

even asked that Wagnière report which apartments looked onto Lake Geneva and which onto the Jura Mountains.<sup>563</sup> Huber's paintings, which had featured these mountains, may not have figured in her plans for the New Ferney after Voltaire's death. The empress wrote to Baron Grimm on August 11, 1778, that she had received the "heads" designed by Huber in the same shipment as the busts by Houdon, but she no longer felt like looking at the former.<sup>564</sup>

Voltaire's library arrived in St. Petersburg in August of 1779 after a long journey from Ferney to Paris, to join his collection there.<sup>565</sup> Wagnière accompanied the shipment and it immediately was housed in the Hermitage of the Winter Palace adjacent to the empress' study. The New Ferney was never constructed, but its pieces, like the library, were deposited in privileged and meaningful locations. *Voltaire Seated* was placed in "the Grotto" at Tsarskoe Selo in 1784 and later moved to the Raphael Loggia in the Hermitage.<sup>566</sup> A foreign visitor to Russia saw the bust *à l'antique* exhibited between 1790 and 1792 in the gallery overlooking the Summer Garden (also called the Hanging Garden) next to a corridor that connected the throne room with the Winter Palace.<sup>567</sup> Later, a bust of Voltaire was reported in the open air Cameron Gallery, also in the gardens at Tsarskoe Selo.<sup>568</sup>

It has been proposed that after Voltaire's death or after the French Revolution, some if not all of the paintings and sculptures were shut away and the New Ferney never completed either because of Catherine's grief or her disapproval of the Revolution, but

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<sup>563</sup> Bory, "Le Château de Ferney," 56.

<sup>564</sup> Catherine II, Empress of Russia, *Lettres De Catherine II À Grimm = Pis'ma Imperatritsy Ekateriny II K Grimm, 1774-1796* (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoï akademii nauk, 1878), 95.

<sup>565</sup> Gorbatov, "From Paris to St. Petersburg," 316.

<sup>566</sup> Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 105.

<sup>567</sup> Description by Fortia de Piles, published in 1796, quoted in *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, Cat. 25, 164. He also noticed the symbolic importance of this ceremonial location.

<sup>568</sup> King, *Court of the Last Tsar*, 186, Pl. 17.

there seems to be little evidence to support this. Her disapproval of the Revolution was real, as surely was her grief. The events of 1789 and the following years soured her opinion of the *philosophes*, largely with the exception of Voltaire who escaped the Revolution unscathed in Catherine's memory. Despite the fact that Voltaire advocated liberty and was against the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons, he favored an enlightened despot over complete individual freedom. His tempered call for liberty allowed Catherine to admire him and perpetuate his reputation, in part through the collection of objects representing their friendship, without too much worry of prompting or appearing to advocate the overthrow absolutism in Russia. He was an example to the Russian intelligentsia at her court not to embrace the more radical ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, and he supported and promoted her claims to be an enlightened monarch.

In 1788, Catherine prepared her own tomb inscription in French, accompanied by directions for her burial. Neither was followed after her death in 1796, but the epitaph illuminates the multiple aims and the spirit in which she pursued the monuments to her friendship with Voltaire:

Here Lies

Catherine the Second

Born in Stettin on April 21/May 2, 1729

In the year 1744 she went to Russia to marry Peter III. At the age of fourteen, she made the threefold resolution, to please her consort, Elizabeth, and the Nation.

She neglected nothing in order to succeed in this.

Eighteen years of boredom and solitude caused her to read many books.

When she ascended to the throne of Russia, she wished to do good and tried to bring happiness, freedom, and prosperity to her subjects.

She forgave easily and hated no one.

She was good-natured, easy-going; was of a cheerful temperament, republican sentiments, and a kind heart.

She had friends.

Work came easy to her; she loved sociability and the arts.<sup>569</sup>

The epitaph, like her Voltairiade, interweaves her status, intellectual and political goals, artistic patronage, and personal friendships. She presents herself in many roles, but, most importantly for the present study, as a woman who could be equal to a man in terms of her qualities and capacity for perfect friendship. Through her projects to represent her

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<sup>569</sup> Reproduced in Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers*, 13; and Kirin, *Exuberance of Meaning*, 18.

friendship and memorialize Voltaire, Catherine the Great did not seek to occupy the pedestal of the goddess of friendship held by most female friends in that century and instead asserted the equality required of true and perfect friendship.





Figure 129 Jean Huber, *Voltaire Dancing*, ca. 1775. Découpage mounted on green background, 88 x 58 mm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Figure 130 Jean Huber, *Voltaire Rising*, ca. 1768-1775, oil on canvas, 52 x 43 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 131 Jean Huber, *Voltaire's Breakfast*, ca. 1768-1775, oil on canvas, 52.5 x 44 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.





Figure 132 Jean Huber, *Voltaire Playing Chess*, ca. 1768-1775. Oil on canvas; 53 x 44 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 133 Jean Huber, *Voltaire Receiving Visitors*, ca. 1768-1775. Oil on canvas; 53 x 44 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.





Figure 134 Jean Huber, *Voltaire Riding a Horse (The Patriarch Taking a Riding Lesson)*, ca. 1768-1775. Oil on canvas; 62 x 51 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 135 Jean Huber, *Voltaire in a Cabriolet*, ca. 1768-1775. Oil on canvas; 62 x 51.5. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.





Figure 136 Jean Huber, *Voltaire Taming a Horse*, ca. 1768-1775. Oil on canvas; 62 x 50 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.





Figure 137 Jean Huber, *Voltaire on Stage (The Wood Thief)*, ca. 1768-1775. Oil on canvas; 61 x 49 cm, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 138 Jean Huber, *Voltaire Planting Trees*, ca. 1768-1775. Oil on canvas; 52.5 x 43 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.





Figure 139 John-Etienne Liotard (attr.), after Jean Huber, *Voltaire Narrating a Fable* , ca. 1768-72. Oil on canvas; 31.2 x 21.2 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 140 Jean Huber, *The Holy Communion of the Patriarch*, ca. 1772-3. Oil on panel; 80.5 x 60 cm. Oxford, Voltaire Foundation.



Figure 141 Jean Huber (or after), *La chaste Suzette*, ca 1775. Engraving; 260 x 340 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque national de France.

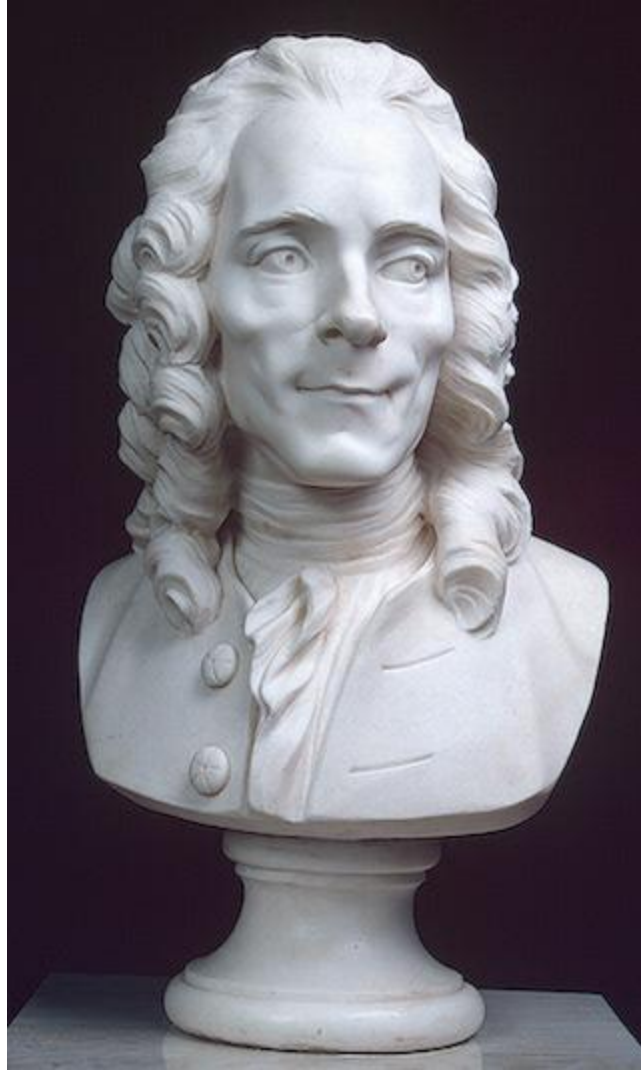


Figure 142 Marie-Anne Collot, *Voltaire in a Wig*, ca. 1770. Marble; H. 49 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum..





Figure 143 Marie-Anne Collot, *Bust of Denis Diderot*, 1772. Marble; H. 57 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.

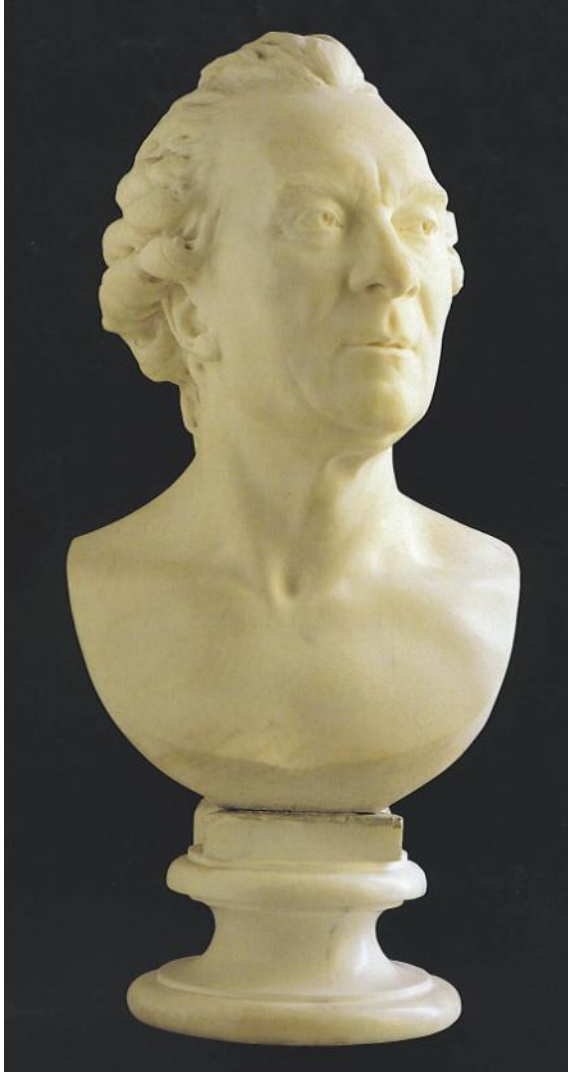


Figure 144 Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Bust of Georges-Louis Leclerc, Count of Buffon*, 1782. Marble; H. 50 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.



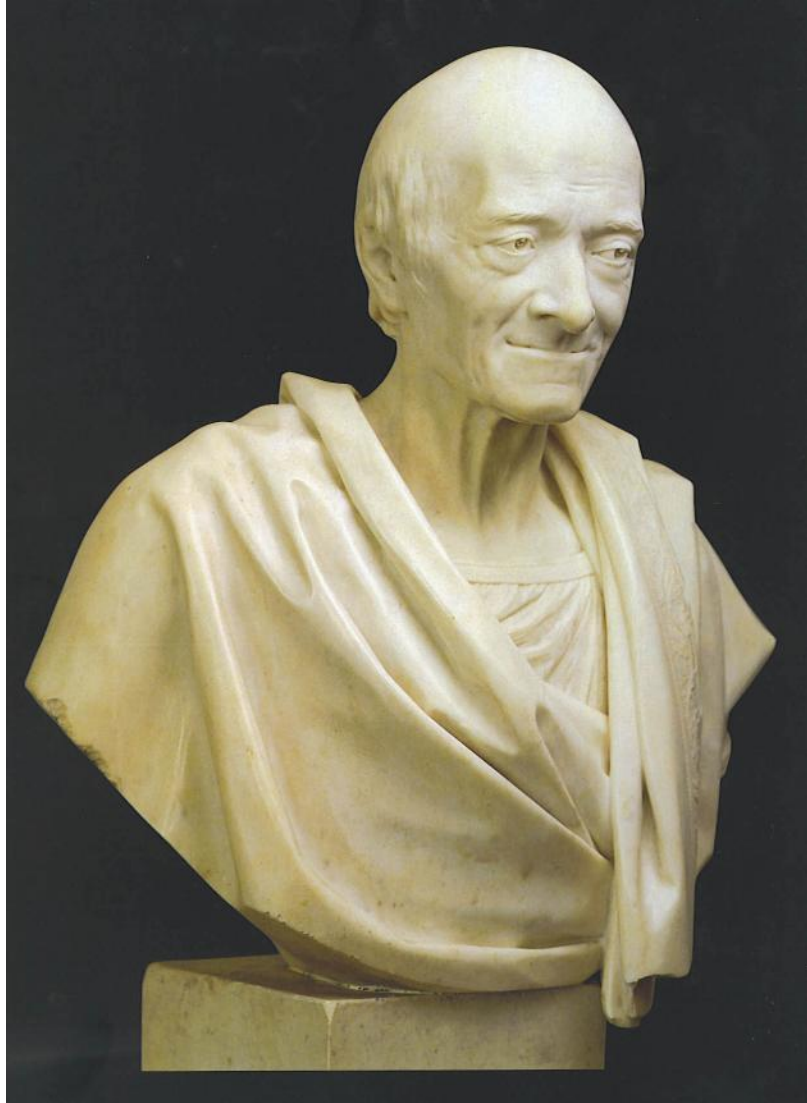


Figure 145 Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Voltaire in a Toga*, 1778-9. Marble; h. 68 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 146 Houdon, *Voltaire Seated*, 1781. Marble; H. 138 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.

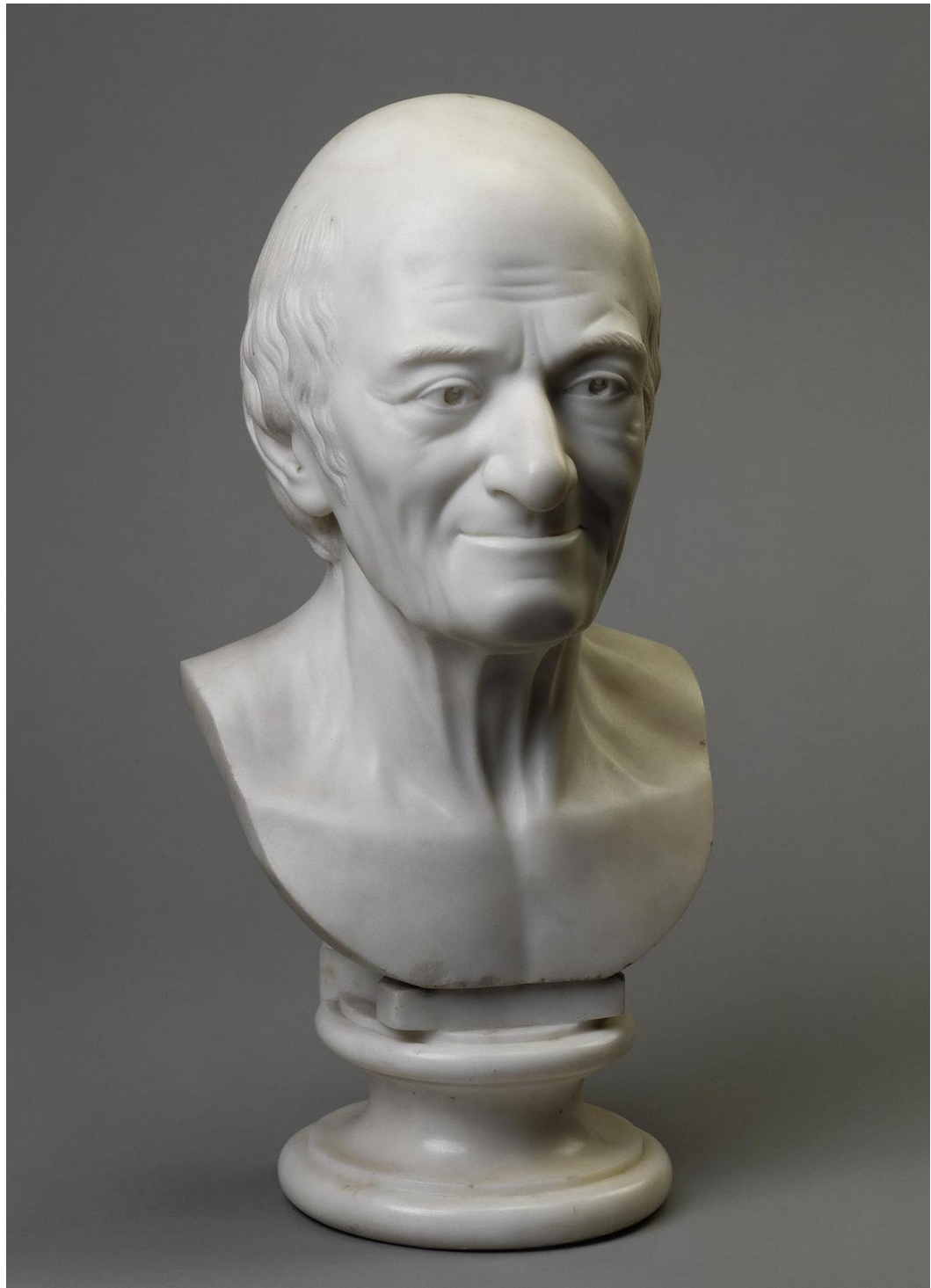


Figure 147 Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Bust of Voltaire*, 1778. Marble; 48 cm x 22 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 148 Houdon, *Bust of Voltaire a la française*, 1786. Marble, 61.7 x 53.8 cm.  
Berlin, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften Archiv.



Figure 149 Pierre Morand, *Model of Voltaire's Mansion in Ferney*, 1777. Wood, paper, glass, metal, plaster; 48 x 100 x 65 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Figure 150 Pierre Morand, *Model of Voltaire's Mansion in Ferney*, 1777. Wood, paper, glass, metal, plaster; 48 x 100 x 65 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.





Figure 151 Pierre Morand, *Model of Voltaire's Mansion in Ferney*, 1777. Wood, paper, glass, metal, plaster; 48 x 100 x 65 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.

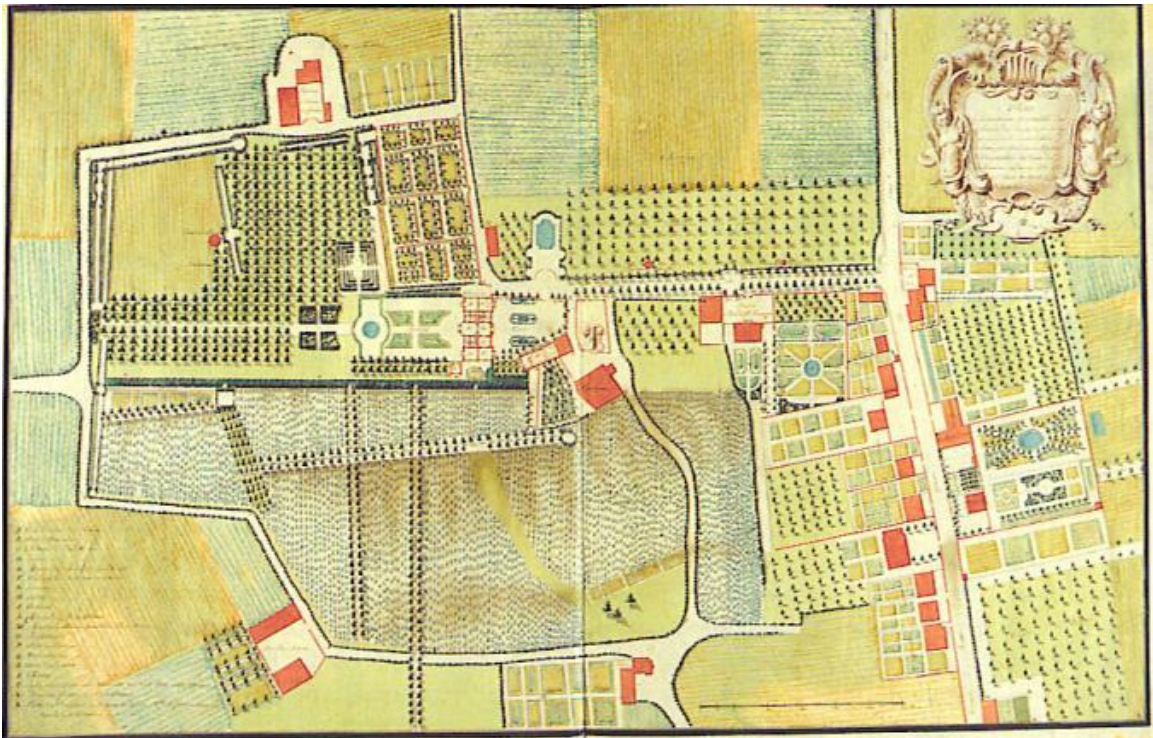


Figure 152 Léonard Racle (1736-1791), *Plan of the Gardens and Part of the Village of Ferney, for Her Majesty Empress of all the Russias*, Jan 1779. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia.

## AFTERWARD

### REPRESENTING FRIENDSHIP AFTER REVOLUTION

The patronage of works of art that conveyed an ideal of virtuous and perfect friendship between individuals appears to have been less politically and socially advantageous after the French Revolution. There are fewer surviving allegorical figures of friendship in the following century. The exceptions discussed below include examples that were created around the turn of the century and later that conscientiously recalled eighteenth-century images of friendship. Few of them appear to celebrate heterosocial friendships. While an exhaustive study of representations of friendship in the nineteenth century is beyond the scope of the present study, it is useful to look briefly at a few later examples in order to distinguish the eighteenth-century objects as unique expressions of that century's conceptions of friendship.

Allegories of friendship created in France after the Revolution include Pierre Paul Prud'hon's *Love and Friendship* (Figure 153) exhibited at the Salon of 1793. It is similar in both its composition and iconography to the sculptor Jean Guillaume Moitte's (1746-1810) earlier (1791) terracotta model of *Love and Friendship* (Figure 154). Both depict an older Eros standing and embracing Friendship, who sits to his right. Moitte exposed the right breast of Friendship but covered her legs. Prud'hon revealed Friendship's entire breast but painted a swath of fabric across her lap that covers her ankles. The gesture of modesty and the union of Friendship with the older Eros might indicate that this is the

Friendship of marriage in the tradition of the Friendship-Fidelity figures depicted in earlier sculptures discussed in the third chapter, including Louis Simon Boizot's *Friendship Designating the Location of Her Heart* (Figure 60). Napoleon Forquet's (b. 1807, died 19<sup>th</sup> century) *Oath of Friendship* (Figure 155) exhibited at the Salon of 1857 recalls Jean Antoine Pigalle's *Love and Friendship* (Figure 28) completed approximately one hundred years earlier for Madame de Pompadour. However, Forquet departed from Pigalle to depict a pair of doves beneath Love's right hand. The doves appear again in flight beneath two embracing putti in Georges Dupré's (1869-?1909) metal inscribed *amitié* (Figure 156). Perhaps the subject was suggested to him by the metals depicting friendship (Figure 52 and Figure 53) that were created by his relative Augustin Dupré. These later French allegories seem to continue the eighteenth-century trend, established after the death of Pompadour, of depicting friendship as an element of romantic, often conjugal, love.

Jean Huber's painting of around 1772 to 1773, depicting Voltaire's "holy communion" (Figure 140), might have been an early sign of a departure from the models of friendship depicted in art of the eighteenth century. The group depicted in the picture is bound by fraternal friendship, which was a model of friendship praised most by writers, artists, and politicians during and after the revolutionary period in Europe. The French genre painter, Etienne Aubry's *The First Lesson of Fraternal Friendship* (Figure 157) also presents this model of friendship in the domestic setting. The painting depicts two families of distinct classes, as indicated by their differences in dress and posture, whose (male) children embrace. Aubry's domestic drama is in the tradition of that genre established by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), which Emma Barker has identified as



an expression of bourgeois sentiment, and a moralizing painting that aimed to develop a “paternalistic sense of identity.”<sup>570</sup> Aubry’s painting, like Greuze’s presents a form of social solidarity between classes. His lesson in fraternity is also a lesson in democracy, and as such it represents a kind of friendship that departs from the highly selective and exclusive conception of friendship represented in the eighteenth century.

The notion of “*fraternité*” is enshrined in the motto of the French Revolution, and its meanings were varied and complex, but whatever its social and political implications, it is a traditional model of friendship.<sup>571</sup> Just as friendship systems and representations could affirm the existing political order in the eighteenth century, they could threaten it as well. Immanuel Kant’s correlation of friendship to good government was discussed in chapter one. He advised overthrowing the government that restricted friendship. Likewise, Horst Hutter claimed that revolution in ancient Greek and Rome was an airing of friendships and enmities.<sup>572</sup> Aristotle and the Stoic philosophers also demonstrated that fraternal friendship correlates with democracy because its requirement of universal goodwill can be fulfilled only insofar as all [male] human beings are connected in a brotherhood of friends.<sup>573</sup> The model of fraternal friendship served the democratic ideals that threatened authoritarian states at the end of the eighteenth century. Like other models of friendship, fraternal friendship insists on an equality that is mutually advantageous for the friends. But rather than creating equals of two individuals with distinct status, the ideal of equality in the fraternal model is universal. The question of how broadly that

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<sup>570</sup> Emma Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2-3, 12-13.

<sup>571</sup> Mona Ozouf, “Fraternity,” *A critical dictionary of the French Revolution*, eds. François Furet and Mona Ozouf (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 694-8.

<sup>572</sup> Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 8.

<sup>573</sup> Aristotle, “*Nicomachean Ethics*. Books VIII and IX,” trans. W. D. Ross, 12. Hutter, *Politics as Friendship*, 43-47.

equality can apply and who may be included in the brotherhood has been a fundamental problem and the source of the varieties of meanings of “fraternity” in the history of friendship as an idea as well as in its application during and after the French Revolution.<sup>574</sup>

Conceptions of friendship articulated in the dialogues of the eighteenth century were unique in that they provided avenues for the socially and/or politically marginalized to access or at least to claim power through their individual bonds with powerful people. Ostensibly, the model of friendship that dominated the first half of the nineteenth century could leave no room for the marginalized. One was either included or excluded from the “universal” friend group. The meanings and representations of French *fraternité* and the corresponding ideals that developed in other parts of Europe could not be investigated thoroughly here. However, it is clear that the prominence of the term indicates a shift away from the kinds of friendship represented by the objects discussed in this dissertation and promoted in the eighteenth-century literature on the subject. The renowned scholar of the French Revolution, Mona Ozouf, wrote that French *fraternité* was “the concept least deeply rooted in Enlightenment thought: one could write a history of liberty or equality in the eighteenth century; it would be less easy to write a history of fraternity.”<sup>575</sup> While the Christian, fraternal model of friendship certainly existed in the eighteenth century, it seems not to have offered the same access to political authority as other models, especially for women. Despite having owned a copy of Jean Huber’s painting of Voltaire with his disciples, Catherine the Great’s projects for Tsarskoe Selo had little to do with the kind of friendship it suggested. Instead, she privileged their individual bond

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<sup>574</sup> Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*, page.

<sup>575</sup> Ozouf, “Fraternity,” 694.

publicized in such a way as to claim political and cultural authority. In other words, this image of a fraternal model served the ideal of perfect friendship between a pair of individuals.

In the nineteenth century, however, images of friendship that ostensibly depict individuals engaged in friendship alluded to fraternal models. This was the case especially as regards artist friends. In his book, *Emulation*, Thomas Crow has examined the bond between the students of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), which one might identify as a fraternity that developed in the studio of the master painter and patriarch of that group.<sup>576</sup> In France, some of these students formed the group called the Barbus. The Nazarenes in Germany and Italy and the Pre-Raphaelites in England likewise exemplify a desire for fraternal groups modeled on the tradition of Christian brotherhood and organized as collections of marginalized artists.<sup>577</sup> In *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*, the German art historian Klaus Lankheit (1913-1992) claimed that there had been a “cult of friendship” among German Romantic visual artists.<sup>578</sup> He argued that their images and ideals of friendships were expressions of their disillusionment created by the European revolutions at the turn of the century and by a deeply held anxiety over their survival, financial and physical, as they pulled away from the official academies. In order to protect themselves in the absence of academic support, these painters came together in the manner of the medieval artist guilds. The German writer, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), wrote about these friendships in a religious language in his journal, *Athenaeum* (1798-1800), referring to them as of a caste of Brahmin, or the

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<sup>576</sup> Thomas E. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

<sup>577</sup> Levitine, George. 1978. *The dawn of bohemianism: the Barbu rebellion and primitivism in neoclassical France*. University Park (US): Pennsylvania State university press.

<sup>578</sup> Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild Der Romantik*, 87-95.

"municipality of the holy ones" that see in each other the highest holiness of their souls.<sup>579</sup> Like Jean Huber's painting of Voltaire and his disciples, Carl Philipp Fohr's (1795-1818) watercolor painting of a student group at Heidelberg seated around a long table in a wooded landscape purposefully alluded to the Last Supper. Lankheit characterized the latter as a depiction of a cult act of the new religion of friendship as well as part of a new friendship iconography based on the Christian tradition.<sup>580</sup>

With the exception of Fohr's small watercolor, images of the devotees of the Romantic "cult of friendship" were not as common as one might expect. Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) painted the famous landscape picture entitled *Two Men Contemplating the Moon* (Figure 158), which depicts the artist with his young colleague, August Heinrich (1794–1822).<sup>581</sup> Romantic artists, like generations of artists before them, also painted portraits of one another that must be considered representations of friendship, but there are few paintings of the artist groups gathered together. Interestingly, one of the most famous nineteenth-century paintings of a group of artists, Henri Fantin-Latour's *Hommage to Delacroix* (Figure 159), honored a Romantic painter of the previous generation as though in commemoration not only of Delacroix but also of the brotherhoods of artists that existed earlier in the century.

In rare examples created after the eighteenth century, Franz Pforr (1788-1812) and Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) both depicted the allegorical figure of friendship. Pforr's drawing of an allegory of friendship (Figure 160) established a new

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<sup>579</sup> Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*, 90.

<sup>580</sup> Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*, 115. Perhaps this is also the context in which the monument to Gothic friendship included in the guide to Saxon gardens: Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker and Johann Adolf Darnstedt, *Das Seifersdorfer Thal* (Leipzig: Bei Voss und Leo, 1792), 90.

<sup>581</sup> Friedrich painted three versions of the painting. Unlike the eighteenth-century cultivated garden, for these German Romantic artists, unadulterated nature appears to have been the appropriate site of friendship. Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*, 103.

iconography, elements of which were included in Overbeck's later painting of Italia and Germania (Figure 161). Pforr and Overbeck were German by birth but lived in the community of artists in Italy who called themselves the Nazarenes. In Pforr's drawing the women hold a three-leaf clover, and the initials "P. O. P." are inscribed on the wall behind them, symbolizing the group of artists and friends Pforr, Overbeck, and Johann David Passavant (1787-1861). In the upper right corner a group gathers around a table in a clear reference to the Last Supper, which likewise took place in an upper room. There are only ten men, suggesting that they represent the brotherhood of artists to which Pforr, Overbeck, and Passavant belonged, rather than the twelve apostles.

In both Pforr and Overbeck's pictures, the two women sit close, holding hands. Like Friedrich's gazing figures, the allegorical figures are dressed in costumes inspired by the artists' impressions of the middle ages, which was a period they associated with German nationalist pride.<sup>582</sup> Friendship between nations had been depicted in previous centuries as well. Pompadour herself engraved an image of the alliance between France and Austria at the conclusion of the Seven Year's War. Her nationalist sentiment was intended to honor the leadership of Louis XV, to whom the prints were dedicated. Pforr, Overbeck and Passavant, and Friedrich and Heinrich asserted their unity in a brotherhood under the German fatherland, or as Christian brothers under God, rather than to honor a specific ruler.

The heroic friends of Greek and Roman mythology who were mentioned by Voltaire and represented in the medallions on Frederick the Great's Temple of Friendship were depicted differently by Neoclassical and Romantic artists after the Revolution. Antoine Julien Potier (1796-1865) painted *Orestes Defended by Pylades* in 1822 (Figure

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<sup>582</sup> Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*, 131.

162). The pair had been the subject of the relief panel in the princesse de Monaco's Temple of Friendship and of the American Neoclassical painter Benjamin West's painting of 1766 (Figure 126). However, instead of the moment in the narrative when the two encounter Orestes' sister, Iphigenia, who saves them, Potier depicts Pylades defending Orestes when they are captured for attempting to steal the cult statue of Artemis. The picture emphasizes the function of their friendship to defend one another against external threats, which was one function of the fraternity as conceived in the early nineteenth century.<sup>583</sup> It also omits Iphigenia and with her the possibility of female friendship. Neoclassical painters and sculptors frequently depicted Greek and Roman male friend groups gathered as the loyal servants of a leader acting in his defense or mourning him. Jacques-Louis David's painting *The Death of Socrates* (Figure 163) and David d'Angers' (1788-1856) relief depicting the death of Epiminondas (Figure 164) are examples.

This brief overview of representations of friendship is not intended to suggest that all representations of friendship in the nineteenth century were representations of fraternal friendship. This would be an oversimplification. For example, art historians have identified suggestions of homoeroticism and homosexuality in the paintings of David and his followers.<sup>584</sup> The ambiguous boundaries between homosocial friendships and homosexuality in cultures that did not have spaces for gay and lesbian relationships

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<sup>583</sup> Ozouf, "Fraternity," 698.

<sup>584</sup> Thomas Crow, *Emulation*, 306. Whitney Davis, "The Renunciation of Reaction in Girodet's *Sleep of Endymion*," in *Visual culture images and interpretations*. Eds. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith P. F. Moxey. (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 168-201. Sylvain Bellenger, *Girodet. 1767-1824* (Paris: Gallimard, Musée de Louvre Éditions, 2006), 81-97.

have been studied in cultural and literary histories of friendship.<sup>585</sup> Instead, I have aimed to demonstrate here that representations of perfect friendship as a virtue possessed by an individual, especially that expressed in heterosocial relationships, effectively did not serve Europe's elite patrons during the first half of the nineteenth century. After the dramatic political, social, and economic disruptions that occurred as a result of the Revolution, the eighteenth-century places and spaces for friendship had disappeared.

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<sup>585</sup> See the discussion of Foucault's interview entitled, "Friendship as a Way of Life," in the first chapter of the present volume.



Figure 153 Pierre Paul Prud'hon, *Love and Friendship*, c. 1793. Oil on canvas; 57 ½ in. x 44 ½ in. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.





Figure 154 Jean Guillaume Moitte, *Love and Friendship*, c. 1792. Terracotta; H. 16 cm. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie.



Figure 155 Napoleon Forquet, *Oath of Friendship*, 1857. Plaster; h. 130 cm, l. 45 cm.  
Dole, Musée des beaux arts.



Figure 156 Georges Dupre (1869-1909?), *Souvenir*, late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Metal alloy; h. 26cm. Saint-Etienne, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie.



Figure 157 Etienne Aubry, *The First Lesson of Fraternal Friendship*, 1776. Oil on canvas; 76.2 x 95.25 cm. Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum.





Figure 158 Caspar David Friedrich (German, 1774–1840), *Two Men Contemplating the Moon*, ca. 1825–30. Oil on canvas; 13 3/4 x 17 1/4 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 159 Henri Fantin-Latour, *Hommage to Delacroix*, 1864. Oil on canvas; H. 160 cm; L. 250 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay



Figure 160 Franz Pforr, *Allegory of Friendship*, after 1808. Pen; 24.2 x 18.7 cm. Frankfurt am Main, Stadelsches Kunstinstitut.



Figure 161 Johann Friedrich Overbeck, *Italia and Germania*, 1811-28. Oil on Canvas; 94.4 x 104.7 cm. Munich, Neue Pinakothek.



Figure 162 Antoine Julien Potier, *Oreste defendu par Pylade*, 1822. Oil on canvas; H. 115 cm., L. 147 cm. Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.





Figure 163 Jacques Louis David, *The Death of Socrates*, 1787. Oil on canvas; 51 x 77 1/4 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 164 Pierre Jean David, called David d'Angers, M. Brigiotti (caster), *The Death of Epimiondas*, 1811. Plaster; H. 125 cm; L. 162 cm. Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts.



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## APPENDIX

1. Un Voltaire en seigneur de paroisse, habit rouge galonné, perruque de gala et son bonnet 'a la main
2. Un Voltaire méditant, en robe de chambre bleue, avec ses papiers devant lui.
3. Un Voltaire en robe de chambre grise, démontrant l'immortalité de l'ame par l'expérience des limacons coupés en morceaux. C'est de ce tableau que l'auteur dit dans sa seconde lettre qu'il n'y a que la tête qui soit bonne.
4. Le Lever du Patriarche. Il sante dans ses culottes en dictant 'a son secretaire. C'est 'a ce tableau et au suivant que l'auteur fait grace dans sa lettre. Ce dessin lui a été volé et gravé ensuite avec de méchants vers dessous, contre le Patriarche, ce qui n'a pas peu contribué 'a lui donner de l'humeur contre les essais pittoresques du grand Huber.
5. Le Déjeuner du Patriarche. C'est celui que l'auteur appelle le Caffé. Moi je dis que c'est du chocolat. Ce qu'il y a de sûr c'est que le Patriarche déjeunait en conte 'a l'aimable Agathe qui baisse modestement les yeux.
6. Une Présentation. Voltaire recevant un étranger qu'on lui amene, et faisant le moribond. L'auteur l'appelle dans sa seconde lettre le Tableau de la Visite.
7. Le Voleur de bois. On amena un jour au Patriarche un homme qui coupait du bois chez lui, et qui se croyant perdu, se jetta 'a ses pieds. Le Patriarche, pour le rassurer, se jetta aussi 'a terre.
8. Voltaire Plantomane. Il est dit un mot de ce tableau dans la seconde lettre. Un des pieds du Patriarche se trouve caché sous une éclaboussure de couleur qu'il faut oter; je nai osé y toucher.
9. Voltaire jouant aux echecs avec Pere Adam. Mine excellente.
10. Le Patriarche menant un cabriolet et sur le point de verser en passant sur un tas de pierres.
11. Le Patriarche prenant une leçon d'équitation. Son écuyer lui place les jambes.
12. Le Patriarche en colere faisant une correction 'a coups de pied 'a un cheval qui rue."<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>586</sup> Karp, S. "La 'Voltairiade' De Huber: Identification D'un Tableau." *Cahiers Voltaire. Revue annuelle de la Société Voltaire (Ferney-Voltaire)* 2 (2003): 107.