Salon
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From the 16th century onward, women cultivated in salons a specific form of conversational conviviality and also registered their participation in the res publica litteraria in a framework defined by the ideal of the honnête femme. In addition to the international Francophone salon tradition, native-language salons developed with modified structures in some cases. These salons were often affiliated with each other, but also with literary and musical circles as well as cultural institutions (academies, theatres, museums etc.). Up to the upheavals of the early-20th century, the salons were an expression and a medium of a European conversational and personality culture and they contributed to the emancipation of women.

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See also the article "Le salon : un modèle de sociabilité pour les élites européennes?" in the EHNE. (→ Media Link #ab)

Introduction

No lesser personage than Voltaire (1694–1778) (→ Media Link #ac) described how the French esprit de société radiated to the whole of Europe. The French salon also became a Europe-wide phenomenon. However, the term "salon" itself is the subject of academic debates. In the last 30 years, intercultural, interdisciplinary research on the phenomenon of the "salon" has made considerable progress. The list of research literature below provides an overview of the fruitful debates and varied approaches involved. In the discussion below, "salon" does not refer to all kinds of elegant reception conviviality. Similarly, the evenings organized by men, which were also referred to in France as "salons", are not considered here. Here salon refers to a specific form of conversational conviviality, which has a particular social-historical and Intellectual-historical relevance, involving men and women around a female host with a particularly attractive personality. Like Christine de Pizan's allegorical cité des femmes, the salon in its intellectual sense (over and above its concrete forms) became a topos of a feminine cultural space in Europe.

Female-dominated salons differed in their structure from the social gatherings of male hosts, and advanced the freedom and intellectual self-realization of women in various ways and to varying degrees (even if the husbands often played a more prominent role in the salons, as legend has it). At a time when women still had a subservient status legally and socially, the salon enabled them to
explore their social, intellectual, and literary and cultural leanings and capacities. Salons represented an aesthetically-designed feminine ambience in the home, the traditional domain of the woman. Here, the woman set the tone of conversation and had the last word. She also appeared as a natural conciliator and mediator. The salon of a lady was also a space closed off from the outside world, where a particular style of conviviality was cultivated.

**Intercultural Transfer Processes: Naming, Structure and Genesis of Salons**

The phenomenon and its names

In the 16th and 17th centuries, in addition to non-specific terms such as conversation and société the new phenomenon of salon conviviality was referred to using more concrete terms such as bureau d’esprit or simply by the time and place (chez Mme de ..., chambre bleue, ruelles, samedis). Drawing on a long-standing Italian tradition from early humanism, the salons were also referred to as (convivial) academies. The art exhibitions in the salon carré of the Louvre were referred to as "salons" from the mid-18th century due to the location (from the Italian salon, meaning large hall). The term implied something recurring regularly. The earliest instances of "salon" referring to a social gathering come from the end of the ancien régime. Daily or weekly social gatherings started to be referred to as "salons" in Paris. These salons became stimulating institutions of social interaction; some of them naturally developed into important conversational salons or "literary salons". The historical term bureau d’esprit, which tended to have sarcastic connotations, was replaced in the early-19th century by salon (initially salon académique) when referring to social gatherings in the tradition of the Hôtel de Rambouillet.

The fact that the term "literary salon" (salon littéraire) ultimately became dominant does not mean that only literature was discussed. At the centre of these events was conversation ranging over a variety of topics and combined with other convivial activities. When one takes into account the spectrum of meaning of "literary" in its broadest sense (including the sciences and the arts), then the term "literary salon" appears appropriate for the basic form of the salon. Literary discussions formed the basis for conversation about general human affairs and created a bridge to philosophical and potentially educational, as well as critical and rationalizing conversation in a light tone. In the salon, conversation ranged widely with open changes in topic, and even salons with specific preferences or focuses (music (Media Link #ad), politics, the creative arts, etc.) were also conversational salons. Thematic classifications thus help to structure the historiography, but they also obscure the function of the salon as a mediating institution between different social and cultural areas. A salon evening did not have a programme. Prearranged readings by poets or concerts were rare – and they were often improvised where necessary. As salons drew together many strands of social life and of mondanité, they also represented a kind of meta-conviviality, which was suitable for the discussion of many impressions gleaned elsewhere.

Conversation was at the heart of the salon, even if those present dined together (forms and times changed). After the meal, other friends and acquaintances joined the company in an informal way. As the fashion for drinking tea grew (Media Link #ae), the conversational conviviality increasingly shifted to the tea after the meal during the 18th century. Subsequently, it completely shifted to the tea time in many cases, and "tea" (which did not involve much catering) consequently became a synonym for salon conviviality. Normative literature helped to consolidate a tradition, which meant that the ideals of salon conviviality remained relatively stable. In 1808, the salonnière Virginie Ancelot (1792-1875) (Media Link #af) described an ideal salon by citing the characteristics of continuity, urbanity, connection with the hostess, trust and politeness among the guests, appreciation of the real achievements of each individual, and the primacy of esprit over rank and wealth.

The interest of broad sections of the population in elegantly furnished salons and stereotypical ideas of historical salon conviviality gave rise to an inflationary trend in the 19th century, which soon became a large burden on the perceptions of the salon. Some women tried to use their "salon" for social advancement. The hostesses of the real conversational salons ("salonnières" was an artificial word which emerged later) generally spoke very simply about their "Thursdays" etc. (jour fixe). Salon plagiarism became a popular topos in novels (similar to Molière's play Précieuses Ridicules). Common composite terms such as "salon music" and "salon poet" had connotations of triviality with a misogynistic undertone.
The intercultural genesis of salon culture

The theory of European conversational culture reaches back to classical antiquity (Media Link #ag). From the Renaissance onward, knowledge of these classical traditions influenced female-dominated conviviality. Both chivalric courtly culture and aristocratic culture, as well as the participation of women in humanist conviviality became components of salon conviviality. The invention of printing (Media Link #ah) aided the dissemination of poetically idealized versions of such circles.

In France, humanistically-minded royal ladies, such as Margaret of Navarre (1492–1549) (Media Link #ai) and Margaret of Valois (1553–1615) (Media Link #aj), also provided inspiration for the emergence of the salon, as did François Rabelais (ca. 1490–1553) (Media Link #ak). His famous utopia of the academy of Thélème aimed to enable men and women to have a free, self-determined philosophical life. The earliest Paris salons in the narrower sense emerged in the last third of the 16th century. The most prominent example was the cabinet vert of the classically educated Catherine de Clermont, Duchess of Retz (1543–1603) (Media Link #al), in which eclectic conversations occurred.

The salon of Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet (1588–1665) (Media Link #am) played an important role in influencing the further development of salons and in establishing the salon tradition. The conversation was a mixture of serious and jovial, and she also enjoyed love casuistry and love poetry in the style of Petrarch, as well as music and short plays. Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1597–1654) (Media Link #an) lauded Madame de Rambouillet as a worthy successor of the Romans and documented her interest in classical Roman oratory in a Discours dedicated to her, in which another catchword which was important for salons appeared: urbanité. Neo-stoical ideas among learned people – where Latin still remained the dominant medium – and references to the chivalric Arcadia, which was conjured up in the novels of the time, contributed to the lively intellectual atmosphere of the salons. The concepts of politesse and honnêteté in the salons were initially a code of behaviour in the aristocratic milieu, which could be adapted by recently ennobled people (in the 17th century even the nobility was subject to change) and the bourgeoisie. Ideas from the Essais by Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) (Media Link #ao) explicitly supported the right of educated laypeople to participate in intellectual life, including and especially in a convivial, non-pedantic, improvised form. Jean Chapelain (1595–1674) (Media Link #ap) enthused that in the Hôtel de Rambouillet (Media Link #aq) the conversation was not scholarly, but reasonable, that no other place contained more healthy human understanding and less pedantry. Salon conviviality combined both, intellectual conversation in an aristocratic ambience and a forum for good (as determined by women) taste in literary, artistic and moral affairs.

Around 1600, the salons also contributed to the refinement of conversation in the vernacular on the basis of classical education. The translatio studiorum, i.e. the translatio imperii of the humanist disciplines (Media Link #ar) from Italy to France, assisted this development. In other words also, salon culture blossomed in a symbiosis with national literatures, a development which had long since occurred in Italy. In the German-speaking territory, where the Thirty Years’ War (Media Link #as) hindered this development, Sprachgesellschaften (Media Link #at) (language societies) and poets’ circles that included women – as well as “printed salons” in the form of published conversations – performed some of the functions of real salons.

The French Salons of the Ancien Régime and Their Influence on Europe

The French salons of the ancien régime

The individual construct of salon conviviality in the Hôtel de Rambouillet and in the salons of its successors were in a complex mutual relationship with the tradition of humanist education as well as with the ideal of honnêteté (French for honesty, uprightness), which was propounded by authors such as Nicolas Faret (ca. 1596–1646) (Media Link #au) and Jacques Du Bosc (ca. 1600–1664) (Media Link #av). However, while the primary purpose of the salons was to cultivate a humanistic, aristocratic lifestyle, important secondary functions also emerged. The salon could be utilized as a feminine free space and as a sphere of influence, whether in the area of intellectual creativily or politics. Salonières such as Anne Geneviève de Bourbon-Condé, Duchess of Longueville (1619–1679) (Media Link #aw) and Anne Marie Louise d’Orientales de Montpensier (1627–1693) (Media Link #ax) participated in the Fronde rebellion. In the second half of the 17th century, the salons continued to exist in a tension between the individual, the court and society. However, the aspects of pessimism and escaping from the world now appeared too. The communication and retreat spaces of salon culture could
even be found in the Port-Royal de Paris monastery, where Madeleine Marquise de Sablé (1598–1678) (Media Link #ay) explored the human psyche (witness the fashion for "portraits" and character descriptions, which were designed as a jeu d'esprit) and discussed with friends her Neoplatonic ideas about the educative value of love and of abstinence. The letters of Marquise Marie de Sévigné (1626–1696) (Media Link #az), which were published in 1725 and quickly circulated throughout Europe in countless editions, introduced a broad public to the Paris salon circles of the time.

The literary emancipation of women repeatedly provoked resentment. This was the case also with Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701) (Media Link #bo), who as a representative of préciosité tried to advance the spiritualization of love and a feminine language as well as rhetoric (Media Link #bt). Molière's (1622–1673) (Media Link #b2) comedy Les Précieuses Ridicules about clumsy imitations of refined conversation created a misleading picture of authentic précieuses, which created a general suspicion of mannerism against the women of salon circles. Mademoiselle de Scudéry explored the conviviality of Madame de Rambouillet in her key novels and founded her samedis (in full bloom in the period 1653–1659), at which Cartesianism, literature and friendship (amitié tendre) were discussed. Her novels, and subsequently also her Conversations which were published separately, became classics of honnêteté (Media Link #b3) and like the other classics were read, translated (Media Link #b4) and imitated throughout Europe.

The death of Louis XIV (1638–1715) (Media Link #b5) did not bring about dramatic change for salons, even if the salon circles of the Régence – led by the eccentric Duchess Louise Bénédicte de Bourbon-Condé du Maine (1676–1753) (Media Link #b6) and Claudine Marquise de Tencin (1681–1749) (Media Link #b7) – with their thirst for knowledge and life suggest otherwise. The continuing influence of the king's widow, Marquise Françoise de Maintenon (1635–1719) (Media Link #b8), was manifested among other things by her niece Marthe-Marguerite Marquise de Caylus (1673–1729) (Media Link #b9), who was considered a model of urbanité. Anne-Thérèse Marquise de Lambert (1647–1733) (Media Link #ba) was another link between the periods. She emphasized her independence from the tastes of the time, compared the Hôtel de Rambouillet with Plato’s symposia, and wrote pointedly that the brilliant amusements at the Hôtel ruined neither one's morals nor one's wallet. The first bourgeois salonnière in Paris, Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin (1699–1777) (Media Link #bb), by no means received unreserved social acceptance. She structured her salon, which was orientated towards patronage, as a convivial matriarchy.

The Paris salons did not go unnoticed by new European communication channels such as Melchior Grimm's (1723–1807) (Media Link #bc) Literary Correspondence (Correspondance Littéraire). Marquise Marie du Deffand (1697–1780) (Media Link #bd), who had gone blind at a comparatively young age, enjoyed great fame as a master of conversation, as well as for her international circle of guests and her correspondence (Media Link #be). When in 1754 Madame du Deffand took in her niece Julie de Lespinasse (1732–1776) (Media Link #bf) and familiarized her with holding a salon, their shared interest was "the study of mankind, of his soul and his passions as revealed in the closed world of one room". After the two women parted company (1764), Mademoiselle de Lespinasse demonstrated her own convivial qualities in a salon of her own, in which she "was able to ... reconcile the most different, even sometimes contradictory minds". Such virtuosity was not evident in all of the salons of Paris at the end of the ancien régime.

At this time, conviviality – including that of salon society – suffered from a stiffening of form, as well as from intellectual and aesthetic feuds, and tensions between new ideas and surviving traditional ordering concepts of honnêteté. This crisis was also reflected in the conflicts that Suzanne Necker (1739–1794) (Media Link #bg) was drawn into as a result of her salon. As a bourgeois Protestant from Geneva, she was an outsider in established Paris salon circles and she condemned the superficiality and craving for distraction of the latter. Her critique remained private and literary, but it was an indication of the state of salon culture, which was no longer a free Wunschraum (wish space), but was dominated by group conformity with the leading circles. Madame Necker's love of literature and her willingness to (outwardly) conform helped her salon and indirectly also the career of her husband Jacques Necker (1732–1804) (Media Link #bh). When he became finance minister in 1776 under Louis XVI (1754–1793) (Media Link #bi), the salon became noticeably political in character. From the late-1780s, her daughter Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (1766–1817) (Media Link #bj) was also active in literature and politically engaged. At that time, crisis symptoms of conviviality were frequently identified. The strongest critics of the grand monde were Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) (Media Link #bk) and the moralists of the late ancien régime. Rousseau's views did not prevent him from becoming a famous frequenter of salons, where he had numerous female patrons.
The reception of early salon culture outside France

Already in the 18th century, the ladies of the early Paris salons were immortalized in literature. Travellers, diplomats, exiled Huguenots, and after 1789 the emigrants of the revolutionary period served as direct ambassadors of the salons. Of course, the social circumstances were far less favourable for the emergence of salons in other cities than in the populous French metropole, in which an influential society set the tone culturally and politically. Consequently, salon-type conviviality emerged outside of France initially primarily in Francophone court circles or was initiated by female poets, who gathered convivial circles around themselves.

The Italian women who had also contributed to the formation of the Paris salons went their own – if similar – way in salon conviviality. In Rome, the old centre of western history and culture, it was not only Roman aristocratic women who cultivated conviviality, but also outsiders who had made Rome their home, such as the ex-queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689) and in the 18th century the Swiss painter Angelika Kauffmann (1741–1807). Up to 1800, salon conviviality was usually referred to as academia or conversazione (contact, gathering, conversation). Then beginning with the term salotto di conversazione, the term salotto became established (but not salone/salon). The rich culture and the political fragmentation of Italy assisted the emergence of salons in many cities. In Venice, there was the convivial hybrid of the casino. Venetian women hosted their friends in the chambres séparées of the inns on the Piazza San Marco, where they engaged in relaxed conversation without etiquette.

French salon culture had a demonstrable influence in Germany, for example at the courts in Munich, Celle and Berlin under Bavarian Electress Henriette Adelheid of Savoy (1636–1676), Eleonore d’Olbreuse, Duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Celle (1639–1722), Queen Sophie Charlotte of Prussia (1668–1705). The early salons in the imperial city of Vienna, where French, Italian and German were spoken, were strongly musical. The decline of the cities and the confessional and linguistic fragmentation of Germany after the Thirty Years’ War meant that German-speaking salons emerged late and were initially scarce. Christiane Mariane von Ziegler (1695–1760), a patrician poet, translated Mademoiselle de Scudéry’s Conversations and founded the first German salon in Leipzig around 1723. In the last third of the 18th century, an increasing number of women became involved in literary and artistic circles. Here and there between Koblenz and Königsberg salons emerged in which the bourgeoisie and educated nobles were brought together by their shared literary and musical interests, for example in Ehrenbreitstein at the home of the writer Sophie von La Roche (1730–1807).

In Scandinavia, early salon conviviality developed primarily in aristocratic circles. As a traditional alliance partner of France, Sweden had a pro-French party among the nobility. Among this party, mothers, daughters and daughters-in-law of the aristocratic de Gardie family, which was politically active and interested in literature, theatre, music and science, brought forth a dynasty of salonnières. Catherine Charlotte Countess de la Gardie, née Taube (1723–1763), a lady-in-waiting of Queen Louisa Ulrika (1720–1782), had the last witch trial in Sweden stopped in 1758. In Copenhagen, the salon of Countess Charlotte Schimmelmann (1757–1816) was international in tone, both culturally and politically. As the capital of different territories held together in a personal union by the king of Denmark, Copenhagen played a particularly important role in German-Danish cultural relationships, for example through the support that the Danish royal family and nobility provided to German poets. Ladies from the interrelated Schimmelmann, Bernstorff, Baudissin and Reventlow families with an interest in literature cultivated aristocratic conviviality in rural Holstein as well as salon gatherings in Copenhagen in the winter (the "Nordic circle").

In England, a tradition of literary gatherings at landed estates remained the predominant form for a long time. Around 1780, Elizabeth Montagu (1720–1800) put the ideas of salon conviviality into practice in modified form in London. The ladies of the Bluestocking Circle held salon gatherings at alternating meeting places. In Enlightenment Edinburgh in the late-18th century, the "auld alliance" with France and the Paris connections of David Hume (1711–1776) promoted openness to salons, though these were of a local flavour. The poet Alison Cockburn (1712–1794) invited her friends, who included David Hume and the young Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), to her tiny flat, where the hospitality was very simple: "It was a miniature salon, with Scots tongues, broad, voluble and homely." Around 1810, the salon of Jane Aitone (1780–1855) had a special status in Edinburgh because the hostess was acquainted with Madame de Staël.
Paris Salon Culture in the 19th Century

The French Revolution (🔗 Media Link #c3) felt like a break with the past, but it by no means spelt the end of the salons.66 Up to 1792, Madame de Staël and Manon Roland (1754–1793) (🔗 Media Link #c4) attempted to influence current events with their political salons. As soon as the Terreur was over, the salons opened their doors again in mid-1794. After 1799, Madame de Staël’s salon was increasingly viewed with suspicion by Napoleon (1769–1821) (🔗 Media Link #c5), and she herself was banished for political reasons during the imperial period.67 Her writings, her travels and her international salon at Coppet Castle (🔗 Media Link #c6) on Lake Geneva made her – for a long time after her early death in 1817 – a mediator between the cultures, a trailblazer for romanticism in France, and an authority on the relationship between literature and society, conversation and company.68

The period of peace and Restoration after 1815 (🔗 Media Link #c7) favoured the emergence of new salons and witnessed a growing stream of European travellers coming to Paris.69 The most significant salon in the period between 1815 and 1848 was led by Madame de Staël’s friend Juliette Récamier (1777–1849) (🔗 Media Link #c8) in the Abbaye-aux-Bois.70

During the Restoration and the July monarchy, the growing latitude for political conversation turned many salons of diplomats and the aristocracy into political salons.71 For example, the political salons of Adèle Countess Boigne (1781–1866) (🔗 Media Link #c9) and of the Russians Princess Dorothea Lieven (1784–1857) (🔗 Media Link #ca) and Sophie Swetchine (1782–1857) (🔗 Media Link #cb) had an international flavour to them. The salon in exile of the Italian Princess Cristina Belgioioso (1808–1871) (🔗 Media Link #cc) provided a meeting point for supporters of the national unification of Italy. Other salonnières of this time, including Stéphanie-Félicité Countess de Genlis (1746–1830) (🔗 Media Link #cd), Laure Junot, Duchess d’Abrantès (1784–1838) (🔗 Media Link #ce), Sophie Gay (1776–1852) (🔗 Media Link #cf) and her daughter Delphine de Girardin (1804–1855) (🔗 Media Link #cg), and Virginie Ancelot (1792–1875), were also successful writers. A number of salonnières viewed some developments in salon culture in the 1830s as indicative of a crisis, for example, the writer Marie d’Agoult (1805–1876) (🔗 Media Link #ch), the sometime friend of Franz Liszt (1811–1886) (🔗 Media Link #ci) and mother of Cosima Wagner (1837–1930) (🔗 Media Link #cj). Her much-quoted description of the typical conventional salonnière as being driven by social ambition and a self-negating cult around a famous man was a clear criticism and a personal distancing. Madame d’Agoult found her own style for her salon, which had a strong musical and literary flavour to it.72

The Englishwoman Mary Clarke-Mohl (1793–1883) (🔗 Media Link #ck) represented a salon concept that was free of stereotypes. She was in the tradition both of Madame de Staël and of Madame Récamier. Unconventional and lively, an advocate of romantic literature, she created a modern international Paris salon from the 1830s onward, and in 1847 she married the German orientalist Julius Mohl (1800–1876) (🔗 Media Link #cl).73 The history and the present of salons came together as Madame Mohl wrote a book about her friend Madame Récamier, to which she appended a history of salons, and among the regulars at her salon was the biographer of the salonnières of the grand siècle, Victor Cousin (1792–1867) (🔗 Media Link #cm).74 Madame Mohl frequently acted as an intermediary between authors, translators and publishers to get the works of her friends disseminated internationally.75

The salon conviviality of the Second French Empire was scarcely adversely affected by the fact that most of the salons belonged to the Legitimist, Orléanist and Republican opposition. From the 1840s, Princess Mathilde Bonaparte (1820–1904) (🔗 Media Link #cn) occupied a special position in salon culture. Her salon was a social focal point of the empire, while refusing to have any truck with current affairs. During the Third Republic, the princess cultivated a purely historical Bonapartism in her salon.76 The gatherings of Jeanne de Tourby (1837–1908) (🔗 Media Link #co), whose real name was Marie-Anne Detouray, also continued for decades. They had developed out of the receptions of a lady of the half-world, and under the protection of leading literati they became a fully-fledged salon.77 After marrying the Count de Loynes (1872), Madame de Tourby was even accepted in high society. She owed her success to her sense of style, her convivial talents and her salon, which was open every day for decades.78 Towards the end of the century, the Dreyfus Affair caused a split in Paris salon society. Additionally, the boundaries between salons and bohemian society (which in contrast to classical salons rejected traditional values and manners) started to become blurred.79
In many salons, there was an attempt to confront crisis developments in society and conviviality through the medium of music. In this context, the salon of Geneviève Halévy-Bizet-Straus (1849–1926) (Media Link) was a particularly important salon in the Paris of the Third Republic. She was the widow of the composer Georges Bizet (1838–1875) (Media Link) and her son was a friend of the young Marcel Proust (1871–1922) (Media Link).

### Development and Connections in European Salon Culture in the 19th Century

Even after the cultural hegemony of France in Europe came to an end in 1815, French conviviality continued to be considered exemplary. From the perspective of the 19th century, the view that "conviviality is pure conviviality, company that is pure company" is only to be found in France, was justified, given the position of Paris as the cultural centre of Europe, and the specific convivial talents and activities of the French. Salons based on the French model but modified to local circumstances nonetheless emerged in many places (Media Link), and were clearly distinct from other social gatherings. It is only possible to sketch a rough outline of the salon landscape with some characteristic features and examples that emerges from the research that has been done to date. New means of transportation (Media Link) such as steamships and railways made international contact between salons easier. Under certain conditions, salons as a style of conviviality could travel with their salonnieres, establish connections with spa and rural conviviality, and be improvised at congresses and world's fairs (Media Link).

### Rome and other cities in Italy

Prior to national unification in 1861–1870/1871, the Italian salons of the 19th century existed in a tension between traditional elements (Dante cult) and the challenges of the political situation. They nevertheless retained their strong international dimension as the arcadia of travellers, scholars and artists. In Rome in the 1840s, the Cologne archaeologist Sibylle Mertens-Schaafhausen (1797–1857) (Media Link) particularly liked to frequent the salon of Maria Luisa Tolstoy, Princess of Orsini (1804–1883) (Media Link). Among the prominent men of Roman salon society, the statesman, art connoisseur and Dante researcher Michelangelo Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta (1804–1882) (Media Link) deserves particular attention. The salon of his daughter Countess Erstilia Caetani Lovatelli (1840–1925) (Media Link), who was an archaeologist, was frequented by such luminaries as Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821–1891) (Media Link) and Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) (Media Link).

### Berlin

Berlin salon culture developed between 1780 and 1806. Personality culture and neohumanism were a modified version of the classical French educational ideals in the salons. Reform ideas emerged out of critiques of conviviality in the late-ancien régime, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. During the periods of classicism and romanticism, the salons also promoted interest in literature and participated in the shaping of the German cultural nation. In the correct dosage, the two great opposing ideas of the 19th century, "Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat" (cosmopolitanism and the nation-state) (Friedrich Meinecke), could be very fruitful for salon culture. That Berlin became the capital of the German-speaking salons was thanks to young women with an interest in literature from the Jewish "Ersatzbourgeoisie" of Berlin connected with the Haskala (Media Link). Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) (Media Link) had called for social "Politur" (polishing) to be also an expression of "culture" and "enlightenment". At that time, different emancipation campaigns (Media Link) became interconnected. As outsiders of the estate-based society, Jewish women created a reformed salon conviviality. In these salons, which were open to Christian aristocrats and bourgeoisie as a separate sphere, there were varying mixtures of traditional and new (liberal) elements of salon culture. The first salon of this kind was founded.
by Henriette Herz (1764–1847) (Media Link #db) in the form of literary teas, which developed as an offshoot of the scholarly social gatherings of her husband and at which different social groups came into contact. The dinners and teas organized by Sara Levy (1761–1854) (Media Link #dc), which were initially held in French, were more strongly influenced by French salon forms. A banker’s wife and Bach expert, she had close links with music circles in Vienna.96 Through her independence of thought, Rahel Levin-Varnhagen (1771–1833) (Media Link #dd) created her own kind of early-romantic salon conviviality. She combined the study of the human psyche, and of questions of truth and authenticity with the older salon tradition. She admired the ideal of the French femme de lettres, an ideal which was difficult to realise in Germany around 1800.97 Her attitude to French salon culture in toto was ambivalent, though she acknowledged that the French had a particularly advantageous “Geselligkeitstrieb” (drive to be sociable), which she believed was ultimately the “höchste Menschenaufgabe” (highest human duty).98

In patriotic salons in the period 1806–1814, national sentiment directed against Napoleonic oppression only rarely displaced the admiration for the French language and culture, even if there was an increasing enthusiasm for “das Altdutsche” (ancient German language and culture).99 In 1814, Madame de Staël’s critique of the stiffness that she perceived in German conviviality and conversation in the salons of Berlin was initially rejected by some, though it did provide an important impetus for improvements.94 The Berlin salons were influenced by the numerous conviviality theories of their time95 and, in spite of the many political and humanitarian difficulties of the period of Restoration and reaction (after 1815), they were characterized by an intensive literary and musical life. The Jewish, Christian, aristocratic and bourgeois salon circles of educated Berlin increasingly seeped into each other during the 19th century. The literary horizon expanded into a Europe-wide one. In Berlin salons, people increasingly shared Goethe’s idea of a dawning epoch of “Weltliteratur” (world literature).95 In her salon, the poet, translator and former lady at court in Weimar Amalie von Helvig (1776–1831) (Media Link #de) cultivated contact with Scandinavia. Elise von Hohenhausen (1789–1857) (Media Link #df) translated and disseminated the English romantics. The memory of Rahel Varnhagen not only continued to influence salon circles in Berlin after her death, but spread far beyond Berlin. Through her letters, which were published under the title Rahel. Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde (the first volume was already published in the year of her death 1833), Rahel Levin-Varnhagen remained a presence in educated circles. Her spirit also continued to have an influence in the Berlin salons of her friend Henriette Solmar (1794–1889) (Media Link #dg) and her niece Ludmilla Assing (1821–1880) (Media Link #dh).97

In the dense Berlin salon process at play in the salons were also reflected in the salonnières dynasties, which were symbols of tradition and change.98 For example, the salon of Elisabeth von Staegemann (1761–1835) (Media Link #dl) survived through three generations, being continued by her daughter Hedwig von Olfers (1799–1891) (Media Link #di) and her granddaughter Marie von Olfers (1826–1924) (Media Link #dk). During the reign of King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia (1795–1861) (Media Link #dl) in particular, the famous "Gelbe Saal" (yellow hall) of the Olfers on Museum Island was a literary and artistic focal point of Berlin.99 Though there were no political salons in the narrower sense in Berlin before the 1848 Revolution, political differences nonetheless came to the surface, which made interaction between salons with different political viewpoints difficult. In the 1850s, a number of significant literary and also liberal salons emerged, for example those of Fanny Lewald (1811–1889) (Media Link #dm) and Lina Duncker (1825–1885) (Media Link #dn). From the beginning of the Bismarck era and particular from German unification in 1871, permanent political salons appeared, for example those of Hildegard Baroness von Spitzenberg (1843–1914) (Media Link #do) and Marie Princess Radziwill (1840–1915) (Media Link #dp).100 The salon of Marie Countess von Schleinitz (1842–1912) (Media Link #dq), the wife of the Prussian minister of the royal household, not only provided a meeting place for liberal circles and opponents of Bismarck, but also for the art world and the Berlin Wagner community (Media Link #dr).101 The most prominent personage among the Berlin salonnières of her generation was Anna von Helmholtz (1834–1899) (Media Link #ds). Her “Tuesdays” in Bismarck-era Berlin brought together a broad spectrum of guests from the worlds of academia, literature, music, the arts and politics.102 The National Liberal politician Ludwig Bamberger (1825–1899) (Media Link #dt), who had lived in Paris for a long time, expressly placed the salon of Frau von Helmholtz on a par with the best salon conviviality of the French capital.103 The salon of Felicie Bernstein (1850–1908) (Media Link #du) was very international and characterized by very generous patronage. As early as 1880, it was possible to admire an excellent collection of impressionist paintings here, which the Bernstein family had acquired in Paris. Conversations in this salon subsequently provided the impetus for the foundation of the Berlin Secession.104

Vienna and Prague

In Vienna, the salons were always dominated by music. Even in specifically "literary" salons, music was enjoyed and cultivated intensively, for example at the salon of the writer Caroline Pichler (1769–1843) (Media Link #dv).105 The most prominent of the Viennese salons, which combined music, literature, theatre and a social context, was that of Fanny Baroness von Arnstein (1758–
1818 (Media Link #dw), who was one of the founders of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (Society of Friends of Music in Vienna), and that of her daughter Henriette von Pereira (1780–1859) (Media Link #dx). Both salons were in close contact with Berlin salon circles and established the prominence of Jewish salonnières in Vienna too. During the socially turbulent months of the Congress of Vienna in 1814/1815, numerous temporary salons emerged in international diplomatic circles.

The small number of ladies among the Viennese court nobility who had literary interests had in many cases come from outside the capital, such as the Polish Countess Rosalie Rzewuska (1788–1865) (Media Link #dy) and Marie Princess von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1837–1920) (Media Link #d2), at whose salons the theatre world also came together from the 1860s onward. Ottile von Goethe (1796–1872) (Media Link #e0), who from the late-1830s lived much of the time in Vienna, represented a close link between Vienna and Weimar. The tradition of literary-musical salons was maintained over decades by the sisters Sophie Baroness von Todesco (1825–1895) (Media Link #e1) and Josefine von Wertheimstein (1820–1894) (Media Link #e2). Around 1900, an impressive late blossoming of Viennese salon culture occurred in the context of the fin de siècle and Jugendstill art. The dominant figure of this was the writer and journalist Berta Zuckerkandl (1864–1945) (Media Link #e3). Her salon remained in existence even after the First World War (up to 1938).

In the multi-ethnic empire of the Habsburgs, the growing confidence of the nationalities became increasingly apparent from the mid-19th century onward. The upsurge in Czech literature and – closely connected with it – women’s questions shaped the Prague salons of this time. The salon of Honoráta Zapová (1825–1856) (Media Link #e5), who wrote a book about women’s education (1855), is considered the first literary salon in Prague. The salon of the writer Anna Lauermannová-Míšková (1852–1932) (Media Link #e6) was also a particularly prominent meeting point for literary circles from about 1880 until after the First World War.

Northwestern and northern Europe

While there is the impression that English family, social and club life did not allow a very concentrated salon culture to emerge, salon conviviality was more prevalent in London that is apparent at first glance. For example, the little "eight o’clock teas" of the writer and translator Elizabeth Benger (1775–1827) (Media Link #e7), whose conversation Madame de Staël greatly valued, have been all but forgotten. Around 1800, the receptions of the politically influential and musically engaged Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire (1757–1806) (Media Link #e8) were famous. However, it is primarily the political salon of Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland (1770–1845) (Media Link #e9) that has remained in the collective memory, as well as the glamorous salon of the writer Lady Marguerite Blessington (1789–1849) (Media Link #ea). There were also hostesses who were socially active or engaged in literature who had a jour fixe, but who did not particularly identify with the salon tradition.

Salons in Scandinavia witnessed a blossoming of intercultural conviviality during the romantic period in particular. In the Swedish city of Uppsala, the writer Malla Silfverstolpe (1782–1861) (Media Link #eb) had her "Fridays". On her travels in Germany in 1825, she visited Berlin, where she quickly made contact with Berlin salon circles through her friend Amalie von Helvig. In Copenhagen, the much-travelled writer Friederike Brun (1765–1835) (Media Link #ec) – who had spent a few years in Rome – held a salon from 1810 onwards, which was even frequented by the Danish crown prince. The poet Kamma Rahbek (1775–1829) (Media Link #ed) hosted the writers of Danish romanticism in the old Bakkehuset (in Frederiksberg in Copenhagen). Subsequently, the salon of the poet Thomasine Baroness Gyllemberg-Ehrensvard (1773–1856) (Media Link #ee), the mother of the poet and philosopher Johann Ludwig Heiberg (1791–1860) (Media Link #ef), and the salon of her daughter-in-law, the actress Johanne Louise Heiberg (1812–1890) (Media Link #eg), were an important cultural focal point of Copenhagen.

Eastern Europe

The high aristocracy of eastern Europe developed a keen interest in salon culture at an early point. Dynastic connections promoted French influence in Warsaw, and the links between the Polish King Stanislaus August II (1732–1798) (Media Link #eh) and Madame Geoffrin appear to have inspired his own famous conviviality in Warsaw (and subsequently in St. Petersburg). The Warsaw salon
culture of the romantic period was particularly fertile. Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849) (Media Link #1), who also had connections with France – not least with George Sand (1804–1876) (Media Link #1) – frequented the salons of the widow Countess Aleksandra Potocka (1760–1831) (Media Link #2) and of the patron and art collector Princess Izabela Czartoryska (1746–1835) (Media Link #3). There was also a whole series of significant musical salons, some held by bourgeois women.120 The national tragedy of the partitions of Poland (Media Link #4) adversely affected salon culture, but it also gave rise to many cross-border connections and to Polish aristocrats becoming prominent figures outside Poland, e.g. in Vienna and Berlin (Media Link #5).

In Russia, salon culture had its roots in the cultural engagement of Catharine the Great (1729–1796) (Media Link #6) and her connections with the western European Enlightenment (Media Link #7).121 The French colony in St. Petersburg, which grew with the arrival of refugees from the Revolution (Media Link #8), also promoted French tastes and lifestyle there.122 Grand Princess Helena Pavlovna (1807–1873) (Media Link #9), who had been brought up in Paris, held a salon in St. Petersburg from around 1824 in the form of her "Thursday soirées".123 However, the salon of Ekaterina Karamzin (1780–1851) (Media Link #10), the widow of Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin (1766–1826) (Media Link #11), was the most prominent one, even if its actual focal point was her stepdaughter Sophia Karamzina (1802–1856).124 There were also bourgeois salons, such as that of the writer Eugenia Malkova (1803–1880). For Moscow, the salons of Zinaida Volkonskaia (1789–1862) (Media Link #12), Avdotia Glinka (1795–1863) (Media Link #13) and, in particular, the poet and translator Karolina Jaenisch-Pavlova (1807–1893) (Media Link #14) deserve mention.125 Towards the end of the salon era, salons of Symbolism emerged in St. Petersburg, though they were scarcely distinguishable from bohemian subcultures.127

The End of Salon Culture as an Era (1914/1918)

In some cities, there was a late blossoming of the salons before the First World War. It is instructive that Jugendstil artists were supported by some salons.128 Here, the old conviviality style of the "salon" was able to combine one last time with a European artistic style that encompassed all areas of life. That the salons nevertheless proceeded to fade away was due in no small part to the fact that many educated women had found fields of activity outside of the salon.129 The 20th century witnessed a break with traditional values and structures in many regards. The humanist educational ideals, the fundamentals of which (with their moral, aesthetic, social and convivial aspects) had remained the same since the Renaissance, were called into question by modernity. The emancipation of women (Media Link #15), social restructuring, modern mass societies and the mass media (Media Link #16) made the salons, or at least their secondary social and communicative functions, dispensable. The end of the monarchies also played a role. Already in France during the Third Republic, a connection was often drawn between the passing of the last ladies from the imperial period and the demise of the salons.130 Multi-layered relationships of attraction and differentiation bound the salon circles to parts of the courtly world. The old individualism and personalism, personality culture (with all its intellectual, psychological, religious, moral, familial, societal and political subdivisions), which also included the hereditary monarchies with their structures, no longer had any real chance as a culture-carrying and state-carrying factor in modern mass society with its systems of rules.131 The end of the monarchical era (1918) brought a definitive end to "old Europe".132 While there continued to be brilliant women after the First World War who continued to cultivate or resuscitated the tradition, war and revolutions (1914/1918) with their far-reaching consequences for the whole of Europe brought a definitive end to the Europe-wide salon culture.

Concluding Remarks: Salon Culture and Saloonières

Salon culture as a whole was more significant than the individual salons. However, the idea of a homogenous salon culture would be misleading. Salon culture must always be interpreted as a complex construct of ideals and traditions, individual biographies and variable concepts, nuances of meanings and structures within the respective broader context. Paris salons differed from salons in the French countryside. Notwithstanding the many direct borrowings and similarities, outside France the picture was in some cases a very heterogeneous one with different local flavours. The greatest similarities – independent of location – were between prominent salons whose hostesses had thought intensively about the tradition of salon conviviality. In France, the salons were largely defined by the form of brilliant conversation, though Madame de Staël saw this as being realized only in a small few circles even in Paris. Where the desire for general conversational conviviality was less pronounced, thematic aspects, such as literature and music, came to the fore. Changes in the general perception of women and in the self-image of saloonières also constantly affected the practice of salon culture and its functions.133
The convivial endeavours and in particular the personality of the salonnière were constitutive for the salon. It was she, whom one wished to meet and talk to, who was in demand in her various roles (which she had to play and, where necessary, to improvise), and who was also responsible for the tone and the spirit of the salon. The true salonnière saw "only the person and never the rank" – this was the actual source of the aspects of freedom and equality in the salons. Whether a hostess succeeded in realizing the very demanding and half utopian conviviality style of the "salon" depended on an inconspicuous didactic skill, which the best salonnière personages had along with their education and their charm. What was central to the practical success of salon conviviality in all its historical, social and cultural forms was the basic combination: "menschliche Menschen, treue Freunde ... und bewegliche Geister und Gemüter."  

Peta Wilhelmy-Dollinger (→ Media Link #ez)

Appendix

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Notes


2. "In academic debate, the definitions of "salon" diverge considerably in some cases, in other cases these definitions are rejected as fundamentally pedantic and contradicting the spirit of the salon (Fumaroli, Preface, in: Craveri, Madame du Deffand 1999, pp. 14–15). The term "salon" itself was often used with reservations, and in the German-speaking world in particular many salonnières distanced themselves from it with a certain understatement. The fact that the phenomenon of the "salon" already existed before it was referred to as such is a cause for further confusion. It is necessary to differentiate between salons and pseudo-salons, mondanité and mondanité fausse. But this article cannot give an overview of the research of or of the approaches involved, so I refer the reader to the first 27 endnotes, particularly endnotes 14 and 18.


6. In 1811, the writer Madame de Genlis, who herself had maintained a salon in Paris before 1789, called Madame de Rambouillet’s salon "une espèce de petite académie". Genlis, Influence 1811, p. 62.

7. In his "Maxims" (printed in 1795), the French moralist Nicolas Chamfort (1741–1794) condemned "society, its circles, salons, etc." as a "poor theatre play" that was only held together by its decorations: "La société, les cercles, les salons, ce qu’on appelle le monde, est une pièce misérable, un mauvais opéra, sans intérêt, qui se soutient un peu par les machines et les décorations." Chamfort, Maximes 1968, p. 393.

8. Genlis, Dictionnaire 1818, vol. 1, pp. 94–95. For further discussions of the tradition of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, see note 24.

9. The common differentiation between "glamorous" (mondan) salons and "literary" salons is a false one to the extent that all salons were part of the "mondanité" in its original sense (secular, rather than clerical gatherings). On the mondanité, see Craveri, Conversation 2005, Introduction, and Lilit, Salons 2005, pp. 7–14 and 407–416. Lilit argues convincingly that it is not possible to draw a sharp distinction between glamorous sociability and literary conviviality ("literary salon"), and that the salons were an integral part of social life in general. Over time – and particularly through the subsequent transfer to foreign languages – the meaning of "mondanité" shifted to mean elegance. It often also had connotations of intellectual triviality or became "mondanité fausse". On mondanité fausse, see Martin-Fugler, Salons 2010, p. 421. Madame de Staël herself commented critically on "salons dorés". Staël, Considerations 1836, p. 387. On Madame de Staël’s often conflicting comments regarding salons, see: Gardiner, Staël 2008, pp. 56–65, particularly pp. 61–62; also Krapoth, Staël 1999, pp. 251–252, and Craveri, Conversation 2005, pp. 351–357. "Glamorous" (mondan) salons, understood here as salons in a context of splendor, could indeed be culturally-historically relevant (though this was not the case with salons where playing cards was the main pursuit). Historiographically, the primary distinction is between amusing "trivial salons" and salons of historical interest, even if the border between the two was blurred. For greater detail, see Wilhelmy-Dollinger, Salons 2000, p. 4.

10. "Die Lecture webt ein neues, geselliges Band unter schönen und verwandten Seelen, und wird zum Dolmetscher dunkler Ideen und Empfindungen" was an opinion around 1800 in German salon circles. Staegemann, Fragment 1846, p. 158 ("Reading weaves a new, convivial tie among beautiful and kindred souls, and becomes an interpreter of dark ideas and feelings" transl. by N. Williams).

11. "For the latter part of the salon era, see the opinion of the financier, politician and salon connoisseur Ludwig Bamberger (1823–1899) on literature as a point of contact with "allgemein Menschliche[s], welches das wahre Fundament [der Solongeselligkeit] bilden soll". Bamberger, Formen 1895, p. 99 ("general humanity, which should be the true foundation [of salon conviviality]").

12. Lilit’s thesis (Salons 2005) regarding the overlap between aristocratic entertainment, and literary, political, and social and other activities is valid. However, it is questionable whether one should discard an established concept instead of expanding its definition. The salon was a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, see Zimmermann, Retz 2012, pp. 283–284.


15. A bon mot which circulated in many variations in Paris, London and Berlin in the late-19th century stated: Some women believe they have a salon but all they have is a dining room (or a restaurant); Liebermann, Bernstein 1914, p. 50 (in contrast with the real salon of Felicie Bernstein); Schlumberger, Souvenirs 1934, vol. 2, pp. 177–178; cf. Martin-Fugier, Salons 2010, p. 8.

16. The comedies Les Précieuses Ridicules (1659) and Les Femmes Savantes (1672) by Molière (1622–1673) were directed against bad imitations of préciosité and ridiculization.


18. See in detail in Fumaroli, Conversation 1992. It is hard to get a sense of female-dominated conversational conviviality (Sappho and others) in antiquity; it was not till the chivalric medieval period in the 12th century that educated noblewomen such as Eleanor of Aquitaine (around 1122–1204) were able to become more prominent in convivial courtly life. Even though the historical accuracy of the "cours d'amour" is questionable, the role of this patron and mediator between cultures and traditions was nonetheless exceptional. See Pernoud, Aliénor d'Aquitaine 2007; Weir, Eleanor of Aquitaine 1999. Aristocratic ladies served as patrons, adjudicated among other things on literary questions, and arranged their conviviality around poetry, courtly language and love service. These traditions continued to influence the intellectual world of Italy in the 14th century, and ladies in northern Italy were soon participating in the early academies, in the intellectual flowering of humanism. This led to a level of female education that was unique in Europe. See Mohl, Récamier 1862, pp. 155–176; Burckhardt, Renaissance 1928, pp. 373–384 and 391–395. Craveri, Conversation 2005, p. xii. See also: Habermas, Strukturwandel 1962, p. 19, and Seibert, Salon 1993, p. 25.

19. The tendency in recent research to describe the circles of Italian Renaissance ladies as being salons of a sort is in principle justified, notwithstanding the touch of anachronism involved.

20. In the context of the emerging "Querelle des Femmes", writers such as Christine de Pizan (around 1364 – around 1430) brought "feminist" aspects into the discussion. See Zimmermann, Pizan 2002, and in the 17th century the role of the feminist writer Marie de Gournay (1565–1645), who worked as a librarian for Queen Margaret of Valois, published Montaigne's Essais and was in contact with salon circles.


22. Within the background story of the Heptameron, Margaret of Navarre depicted conviviality and Neoplatonic ideas of spiritual love. Grewe, Navarra 2008; Probst, Marguerite von Valois 2008; Viennot, Marguerite de Valois 2005; Rabelais, Gargantua, vol. 1, chapters 52–57 (L’Abbaye de Thélème), in: Oeuvres undated, pp. 89–99. Salon-type circles around female poets and humanists in Lyon, Poitiers and elsewhere have been rediscovered recently. The humanist circle of the Morel family in Paris must also be viewed in the context of the genesis of the salon. Outside Paris, humanists such as Madeleine (1520–1587) and Catherine (1542–1587) des Roches and poets such as Louise Labé (1522?–1566) laid claim to participation in the conviviality of the res publica litteraria. Pieper, Des Roches 2008, Pieper, Labé 2008. For more detail, see Zimmermann, Kulturtransfer 2007; on the Paris "family salon" of Jean Morel (around 1510–1581), his wife Antoinette de Loynes (1505–1567) and their children, see Zimmermann, Kulturtransfer 2007, pp. 48–52.

23. Zimmermann, Retz 2012. Her "album" documents the intellectual and aesthetic background of her circle and shows the significance that poetry had for the conversation of educated men and women. Other early salons were created by Madame des Loges (1585–1641) and Vicountess d’Auchy (1570–1646). See Viennot, Marguerite de Valois 2005, pp. 78–79; Zimmermann, L’access 2005, pp. 63–94; Zimmermann, Salon 2005; Craveri, Conversation 2005, pp. 2–3. The central significance of poetry in the concept of education of the lay culture of late-humanism has been described by the Englishman Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586). According to him, poetry was the true teacher of life. The poet, as a psychologist, had insight into souls and could harmoniously combine philosophical thoughts and morality through suitable examples, he argued. Sidney, Apology 1793, pp. 106–107. As aspects of Neoplatonic education, goodness, truth, beauty and love influenced the salons.


30. For example, Georg Philipp Harsdörffers (1607–1658) "Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele" (1641–1649). Harsdörffer, Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele 1668.
31. Faret, L'Honnête Homme ou l'art de plaire à la cour (1630); Du Bosc, L'Honneste Femme (1632–1634). On the concept of honnêtehet and its significance for salons, see Pekacz, Tradition 1999, pp. 15–72 and 73–142. It is also conspicuous how well Cicero's thoughts on the relaxed philosophical conversation of leisure time in De officis (and variants of this in late-antiquity) combined with chivalric elements and the new self-confidence of women. In contrast with public rhetoric, Cicero's discussion of conversational culture focused on practical life philosophy in leisure time: conversation about art and literature, jovial philosophical (literary, artistic, comical) conversations, simplicity and naturalness (in the sense of oitum cum dignitate, serenitas, honestas, decorum). -- Cicero, De officiis 2007, first book, particularly chapters 16–38 (50–137), cf. Cicero, Tusculum 1987, I, 7, pp. 12 f. These ideas were described more vividly in Gallus, Noctes Atticæ: Attische Nächte 1988 (cf. preface, pp. 9–12) in thematizing book wisdom and life wisdom, pedantry and true philosophy, the rejection of the exclusivity of knowledge, etc. -- This thinking also entered (in some cases without references to original sources) the conversational culture of the honnêtehet homme. Cf. Bury, Honnête homme 1996; Magendie, Politesse 1925, Pekacz, Tradition 1999.
35. For her, conversation also performed didactic functions: "Konversation ist das gesellschaftliche Band aller Menschen, das größte Vergnügen der Leute von Anstand und das geläufigste Mittel, nicht nur die Höflichkeit in die Welt einzuführen, sondern auch die reinste Moral, die Liebe zum Ruhm und zur Tugend." Scudéry, Konversation 1986, p. 166 ("Conversation is the social link between all people, the greatest pleasure of people of decency and the most common means of introducing not only politeness into the world, but also the purest morality, and the love of reputation and virtue.") transl. by N. Williams). "[L]a Conversation est le lien de la société de tous les hommes, le plus grand plaisir des honnestes gens, & le moyen le plus ordinaire d'introduire, non seulement la politesse dans le monde, mais encore la morale la plus pure & l'amour de la gloire & de la vertu". Scudéry, De la Conversation, in: Conversations 1682, vol. 1, p. 1.
36. See Aronson, Scudéry 1978; Krajewska, Scudéry 1993; on the reception in Germany: Koloch, Scudéry 1999; on the "de-canonization" of Madeemoiselle de Scudéry in France from Boileau onward, see Baader, Scudéry 1999. See the interesting "discussions on conversation" of the clever Graubünden native Hortensia von Salis (1659–1715; married name Gugelberg von Moos); for greater detail, see Zeller, Salis 1991.
37. The salon, or rather the court of muses, of the eccentric duchess in Sceaux remained in memory because the memoirs of Marguerite Jeanne Baroness Staal de Launay (1684–1750), which were published in 1755 and described this circle, were widely read. See Grimm, Korrespondenz 1977, August 1755, p. 115.
38. Educated, pious and strict, Madame de Maintenon combined "world" and "values". As patron of the girls' school of Saint-Cyr, she wrote literary didactic conversations (the "Loisirs"). For greater detail on Madame de Maintenon and Madame de Caylus, see Fumaroli, Europe 2001, pp. 41–42, cf. pp. 42–66.
39. Her influential pedagogical writings were translated into German, Russian and other languages. Lambert, Réflexions 2007, p. 86, cf. p. 112.
41. For example, in 1764 it was said that "Frau du Deffand ist durch die Vorzüge ihres Geistes und die gute Gesellschaft, die sie um sich versammelt, in Paris berühmt". Grimm, Korrespondenz 1777, May 1764, p. 223 ("Madame du Deffand has become famous in Paris for the merits of her intellect and the good company that she gathers around her.") transl. by N. Williams).
42. See the account of Horace Walpole (1717–1797), with whom she corresponded for many years, to Thomas Gray (1716–1771), Paris, 25th January 1766, in: Walpole, Letters 1959, p. 441.
44. See Melchior Grimm, "Philosophische Neujahrespredigt" 1770, in: Korrespondenz 1777, 3, May 1776, pp. 378–380. An obituary by Grimm in 1776 also stated: "Politik, Religion, Philosophie, Geschichte, Neugkeiten, nichts war aus ihren Unterhaltungen verbannet ... Die allgemeine Unterhaltung wurde nie schleepend, ... es schien, als drängte der Zauber einer unsichtbaren Macht alle Sonderinteressen unaufhörlich zu einer gemeinsamen Mitte hin". Grimm, Korrespondenz 1777, Mai 1776, pp. 378–380 ("was able to... reconcile the most different, even sometimes contradictory minds" "Politics, religion, philosophy, history, recent developments, nothing was off limits in her conversations ... The general conversation never dragged, ... it was as though the magic of an invisible power forced all individual interests unavoidably towards a common middle ground." Transl. by N. Williams).
46. For more detail, see Boon, Necker 2011, Lilti, Necker 2006 and Dubau, Necker 2013.
48. His sponsors included the sisters-in-law Sophie d’Houdetot (1730–1813) and Louise d’Epinal (1726–1783). Cf. Unfer Lukoschik, Gräfin d’Albany 2008. – The earliest known Bern salonnière Julie von Bondeli (1731–1778) was also very enthusiastic about him, took up correspondence with him, and sought to draw attention to his work.
49. Also in foreign reference works such as the Zedlersches Universallexikon. Cf. Zedlersches Universallexikon 1732–1754 [16/05/2019].
52. In some cases, for example that of the poet Caterina Dolfin Tron (1736–1793), the "casino" was very much like a salon, even if the element of the domestic atmosphere was absent. Kospoth, Tagebuch 2006, p. 98.
55. Ziegler, Der Mme Scudéry scharfsinnige Unterredungen von Dingen, die zu einer wohl anständigen Aufführung gehören (1735); Luise Gottsched (1713–1762) translated among others the following works: Der Frau Marggräfin von Lambert Neue Betrachtungen über das Frauenzimmer (1731); Nachrichten die zum Leben der Frau von Maintenon und des vorigen Jahrhunderts gehörig sind [von Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle] (1757). – Schneider, Ziegler 1997 [16/05/2019], see in particular pp. 95–107. For a comprehensive discussion, see Koloch, Scudéry 1999.
57. In Königsberg at the home of the musically and artistically gifted Caroline Countess of Keyserlingk (1727–1791), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) gleaned some material for his conviviality theories and proved himself to be a brilliant talker. See Recke, Tagebücher 1902, pp. 148–149.
58. As a crown prince, King Gustav III of Sweden (1746–1792) had been a guest at Paris salons (Madame du Deffand). – Sørensen, Salonkultur 1998.
59. Hedwig Katharina Countess of Lilje (1695–1745), prominent in the pro-French party of the "Hats" in Stockholm, promoted literature and theatre. Her daughter Eva Countess de la Gardie (1724–1786), who became Countess Ekeblad after she married, became famous as a pioneer in the area of agriculture and held a musical salon in Stockholm.
60. She was a friend of the poet Hedwig Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718–1763). The latter played an independent role in the literary life of Stockholm; she was a member and the convivial heart of the literary academy "Tankebyggarorden" ("master builders of thought") founded in Stockholm in 1753. Im Hof, Geselligkeit 1984, p. 224.
61. Jensen, Musiklivet 1998; Sørensen, Salonkultur 1998, and particularly Sørensen, Kreds, pp. 147–170. See also Dansk kvindebiografisk leksikon [16/05/2019]. Louise Countess Stolberg (née Countess Reventlow (1746–1824)) and Julia Countess Reventlow (née Schimmelmann (1763–1816)) were particularly important for German cultural history. – Else Countess Bernstorff (1789–1867) had a salon in Berlin since 1818, when her husband was appointed Prussian foreign minister. Wilhelmy, Salon 1899, pp. 615–616.
62. For example, Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk (1689–1767) in Twickenham.
63. For a detailed discussion, see Harcstmyrk, Bluestocking Circle 1990; Scott, Bluestocking Ladies 1947; Preibisch, Bluestockings 2003.
65. Holland, Recollections 1872, pp. 81 and 87–88. – Eliza Fletcher (1770–1858) held a political salon in Edinburgh.
66. For a detailed discussion, see Kelle, Salons 2004.
67. For example, see Blennerhassett, Staal, 3 vols., 1887–1889; Gardiner, Games 1999, Gardiner, Staal 2008, Krapoth, Staal 1999, as well as the copious relevant literature which cannot be cited here.
68. See in particular De la littérature and De l’allemagne. For a detailed discussion, see Gardiner, Staal 2008, cf. Gardiner, Games, 1999; Detken, Staal 1999.
69. On the salons of the Restoration period, see for example Gans, Rückblicke 1995, pp. 67–68.
70. The Berlin lawyer Eduard Gans (1798–1839) declared that the salon of Madame Récamier was a purely conversational salon on the highest formal and intellectual level. He also described Madame Récamier in the spirit of the contemporary medieval romanticism as a tournament queen, who praised the eloquent "Kämpfer, wenn sie sich manhaft und gut geschlagen haben", summarized points of contention, and sought "sich selbst zu einem Endurtheile zu verhelfen". Gans, Rückblicke 1995, pp. 147–
163, quotation on p. 150 ("warriors when they had fought manfully and well", "to lead to a final conclusion herself", transl. by N. Williams).


72. ^ D’Agoult, Mémoires 1990, pp. 259–269. In the 1860s, she gave her young friend Juliette Lamber(-Adam) advice on organizing a salon. See Adam, Armes 1904, pp. 461–463.

73. ^ Lesser, Letters 1984, see also the commentaries. – See Bamberger, Erinnerungen 1899, p. 435.

74. ^ Madame Mohl’s niece Anna reported: "Cousin kam auf sein Steckenpfend, Mme. de Longueville zu sprechen, mit einem Enthusiasmus, als ob er sie täglich gesehen habe. ... Mme. de Sévigné setzt er zum Teil weniger hoch als ihre Tochter, was Onkel [Julius Mohl] sehr alterierte." To Pauline von Mohl, Paris, 18th October 1852, Helmholz, Briefe 1929, vol. 1, p. 41 ("Cousin came to talk to Mme. de Longueville about his hobby horse with an enthusiasm as though he had seen her every day. ... To an extent, he treated Mme. de Sévigné with less regard than her daughter, which very much annoyed uncle [Julius Mohl].").

75. ^ Among the closest friends of the house were the English writer Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–1865) and Florence Nightingale (1820–1910), who was greatly helped in her career by the Mohls.


77. ^ This special genre of Paris salons had been founded by Ninon de Lenclos (1620–1705); however, only very few of her successors exhibited her stature. On the courtesan salons of the Italian Renaissance and the issues of this conviviality, see Seilbert, Salons 1993, pp. 28–32.

78. ^ Desanges, Loynes 2011.


80. ^ She stands at the start of a succession of salonnières, all of whom are poetically immortalized in his monumental novel in Search of Time Lost (written 1908/9 to 1922), for example Elisabeth Countess of Greffulhe (1860–1952) and Léontine Arman de Caillavet (1844–1910; Egeria von Anatole France). Additionally, Princess Hélène Bibesco (1855–1902) deserves mention, who was the aunt of the poet Anna Countess of Noailles (1875–1933). Proust’s ingenious power of suggestion shaped the image of the Paris salons of the belle époque; however, it is fiction, and not historiography.


83. ^ For example, these came together around 1800 at the house of Countess Louise of Albany (1752–1824), a friend of the poet Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803), in Florence. By birth she was Countess Stolberg from the Austrian Netherlands and was married to the last Stuart pretender to the British throne, Charles Edward (Count Albany; 1720–1778). Cf. Lacretelle, Comtesse d’Albany, chapter XIV, pp. 179–196, on the salon of the countess in Florence (chapter IX on the Paris salon 1786–1796). See also Unfer Lukoschik, Gräfin d’Albany, pp. 219–241, particularly pp. 221f. On other salons, see Ujma/Fischer, Florenz 1999; Betri, Salotti 2004; Musiani, Circelli 2003; Palazzolo, Salotti 1985.

84. ^ Thus she recorded: "Bei der Fürstin Orsini, der Frau des Senators von Rom, habe ich Zutritt zu der kleinen gewählten Gesellschaft, die sie jede Woche einmal um sich versammelt und wo sie die liebenswürdige Hausfrau in bürgerlicher Einfachheit macht." She wrote in 1846 about her own, very colourful international salon conviviality: "Deutsch, französisch, dtänisch, russisch, polnisch und neugriechisch klingen da gegeneinander ... Und nicht nur die verschiedenen Nationen, auch die Stände gehen ruhig durcheinander: hier: brillante Salondamen, Gelehrte, Geistliche, gute Hausfrauen, Künstler, musikalische Zelebritäten, Touristen, der Monsignore und die Schriftstellerin, der Kaufmann und der Prinz". Sibylle Mertens-Schaafhausen to her sister Lilla Deichmann, Rome, 22/IV/1846, Briefe 1935, p. 347. Cf. Lewald, Tagebuch 1927, p. 65 (1845) ("At the house of Princess Orsini, the wife of the son of Rome, I gained entry to a small select group that she gathered around her once a week and in which she plays the most lovely housewife in bourgeois simplicity.") "German, French, Danish, Russian, Polish and modern Greek are all heard there. ... And not just the various nations, the different classes also mix easily: brilliant salon ladies, scholars, clerics, good housewives, artists, musical celebrities, tourists, the monsignor and the female writer, the merchant and the prince.", transl. by N. Williams).

85. ^ As the capital of Piedmont-Sardinia, Turin was an early centre of the salons of the Risorgimento. Giuditta Bellerio Sidoli (1804–1871), a widow of a member of the Carbonari and a friend of Mazzini, held a political salon there around 1852 for Italians in exile. Barbiera, Contessa Maffei 1895; Tatti, Risorgimento 2007.

87. She was friendly with Malwida von Meyenburg (1816–1903; salon in Rome). She was also a member of numerous archaeological societies and academies in Italy, France, Austria and Germany, and in 1894 she was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Halle-on-Saale. Gregorovius, Briefe an Gräfin Lovatelli 1896, pp. 123 and p. 176; cf. Münz, Lovatelli 1896, pp. 53–58. Mori, Sociabilita 2000, pp. 188–189.


95. Including by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and Adam Müller (1779–1829); see Schmölders, Konversation 1986, and Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829). On the literary conviviality of women around 1800 in general, see Becker-Cantarino, Handlungsspielräume 2005; on educated bourgeois culture around 1800, see Gaus, Geselligkeit 1998, pp. 61–113 on conviviality theory of the time.

96. Martini, Goethe 1970, p. 113. – Spanish, Greek and Oriental poesy was also read. On Goethe’s encouragement, Therese von Jakob (1797–1870; "Talvi") translated Serbian folk songs, which were also very popular among her Berlin friends. Dollinger, Volksleider 2005; for a detailed discussion, see Dollinger, Biedermeier 1998.


98. Cornelia Richter (1842–1922) was the granddaughter of the Berlin salonnier Amalie Beer (1767–1854) and the youngest daughter of Meyerbeer and his wife Minna (1804–1886); she was prominent around 1900 as a promoter of music and Jugendstil. See Kuhrau, Beer 2004. Other salons which ran for generations included the salons of the Hohenhausen, Arnim/Oriola, Lepsius and von Schwabach families, as well as the aristocratic Radziwill family. See Wilhelmy, Salon 1989.

99. There was a lot of music at the home of Elisabeth von Staege mann; in 1816 the "Ur-Müllerieder" emerged there from of a "writing game" in a circle around her daughter Hedwig. They were originally set to music by Ludwig Berger (1777–1839), then they were extended into a large cycle by Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827), before being made famous in Schubert’s composition. Dollinger, Hensel 2005, Wilhelmy-Dollinger, Salons 2006, pp. 24–29, Olfers, Lebenslauf 1908–1914, vol. 1–2, cf. Wilhelmy, Salon 1989, pp. 749–771, pp. 848–860 and elsewhere.


101. After the death of her first husband, the countess married the Austrian diplomat Count Anton Wolkenstein-Trostburg (1832–1913) and in the period 1894–1903 she also held a salon in the Austrian embassy in Paris.


105. Her mother Charlotte Greiner (1740–1816), who formerly read to Empress Maria Theresia, had already held a salon in Vienna. Gerstinger, Salons 2002; Pichler, Denkwürdigkeiten 1914.


108. This conviviality was not limited to Vienna; Ludwig Bamberger described Frau von Wertheimstein as "eine Dame von bezaubernder Schönheit und Liebenswürdigkeit, die nicht nur in ihrer österreichischen Residenz, sondern überall, wo sie sich aufhielt, einen Hof von Künstlern und Schriftstellern um sich versammelte". Bamberger, Erinnerungen 1893, p. 478 ("a lady of enchanting beauty and kindness, who gathered a court of artists and writers around herself not only in her Austrian residence but everywhere she went"), transl. by N. Williams).

109. Her sister had married a brother of Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929); she herself was active as a translator of modern French theatre plays (including Anouilh) among other things. Dollinger, Kultur 1995, pp. 32–35; von Essen, Zuckerkandl 1999.
110. Also worthy of mention are the salons of her younger competitor Ruzena Svobodová (1868–1920) and of the painter and graphic artist Zdenka Braunerová (1858–1934), whose friends included Berlin salonnières of Bohemian heritage. Braunerová was close friends with the painter and craftsman Marie Kirschner (Kirschnerová) (1852–1931) and her sister Aloisia (1854–1934; as a writer under the pseudonym Ossip Schubin), who held a salon in Berlin in the winter. In summer, they returned to their home in Bohemia (cf. Wilhelmy, Salon 1989, pp. 357–358). For a detailed discussion of the Prague salons, see Dörflová, Salony 2009, pp. 17–18 and pp. 38–53.


113. Schmid, Salons 2013. See Schmid, Salons 2013 also on the salon of Horace Walpole's friend Mary Berry (1763–1852), who held a salon with her sister and who wrote books about French and British conviviality culture. — The "Dienstage" (Tuesdays) of Frances von Bunsen, née Waddington (1791–1876), the wife of the Prussian ambassador Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen (1791–1860), in Carlton Terrace around 1850 were also very international. Bunsen, Briefe 1889, vol. 2, p. 340. In Rome in the 1820s and 1830s, the "yellow salon" of the Bunsens in Palazzo Caffarelli was a focal point not only for the colony of German artists.

114. In the 1860s and 1870s, the painter and suffragette Barbara Bodichon (1827–1891), who was friends with George Eliot, held a salon; she campaigned for access to education and university for women both in her writing and in practical ways.


116. She was friendly with Madame de Staël, Caroline von Humboldt (1766–1829) and Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844). Jensen, Musiklivet 1998.

117. Sørensen, Rahbek 1998.

118. See also Dansk kvindebiografisk leksikon [16/05/2019].


120. Goldberg, Chopin 1999.


123. She was a Württemberg princess. Ladies-in-waiting and teachers of princes such as Vassili Andreevich Zhukovskii (1783–1852) also contributed to multi-layered contact with the European salon world, as did Russians in exile. The international salon (1829–1839) of Dorothea Countess Fiquelmont (1804–1863), wife of the Austrian ambassador and granddaughter of the famous General Kutusov (1745–1813), was complemented by the salon of her mother, Countess Lisa Khitrova (1783–1839), in the same house. In her first marriage, Elisabeth Kutusov was married to Count Ferdinand Tiesenhausen (1782–1805). In her second marriage, she was married to Count Nikolai Khitrovo (1777–1819), the Russian ambassador in Florence. Clary-Aldringen, Geschichten 1977, pp. 35 and 40–41. Cf. Vitale, Pushkin 1999, pp. 120–121. The salon of the writer Countess Evdokiya Rostopchina (1811–1858) also deserves mention; she was banished from the capital because of an allegorical poem about Russia's policy towards Poland. On the Russian salonnières, see Brodskij, Salony 1930; Vowles, Muse 2002; for a comprehensive account, see Barker, Russia 2002, and Ledkovsky, Dictionary 1994.


126. Jaenisch-Pavlova had a passionate affection for the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855). After her divorce in 1853, she travelled, and from 1858 she lived a quiet life in Dresden, were she translated Schiller, Heine and other authors into Russian and French. Hexelschneider, Pavlova 2013, cf. Kuhnke, Pavlova 1992.

127. The salons of the poet and writer Sinaida Gippius (Hippius) (1869–1945), who married her colleague Dmitrii Merezhkovskii (1865–1941) and was known as the "muse of decadence", had the character of bohemian conviviality, as did the "Wednesday evenings" of the writer Lidia Sinovieva-Annibal (1866–1907). Keller / Sharandak, Salondamen 2003, particularly pp. 32–83. Cf. Selbert, Salonen 1993, pp. 441–442.

128. For example, by Berta Zuckerhandl in Vienna and Cornelie Richter (1842–1922) in Berlin.

129. Around 1900, the German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918) interpreted the "house" (and thus also the salon) as a holistic sphere, and one that is subjectively dominated by the personal (and as, in his opinion, the only genuinely female cultural creation). This was an indirect homage to a salon culture that was under threat (cf. Simmel, Weibliche Kultur 1986, pp. 229, 239 and 243–247). Jürgen Habermas commented: "... eine (nicht nur schmeichelhaft charakterisierte) weibliche Kultur erscheint ihm als das Heilmittel gegen die Entfremdung der lebendigen Subjektivität von den erstarrten Objektivationen einer 'männlichen Kulturarbeit', die sich die Würde des allgemein Menschlichen zu Unrecht bloß vindiziert." ("a (by no means only flatteringly termed) 'female culture' seems to him to be an antidote to the alienation of spontaneous subjectivity as contrasted with the rigidified objectifications of 'male cultural work', which incorrectly merely claims to represent the dignity of general humanity.") Simmel, Weibliche Kultur 1986, preface, p. 16. — Simmel's friend, the painter and salonnière Sabine Lepsius (1864–1942), also drew a causal connection with the emancipation of women in her essay on the "Aussterben der
'Salons'” (The Extinction of ‘Salons’) (1913). Lepsius, Aussterben 1913. – Outside Europe, for example in the the Arab world in the 20th century, some women appear to have used a salon-like conviviality as a literary and emancipatory forum; a phenomenon that needs more research.


133. ^ In conclusion, I come back to the central role of the host, the structurally unifying element of every salon conviviality in the interpretation of the phenomenon of the "salon" put forward in this article. A key to understanding the salon is the perspective of the female tradition of European salons, which has become fixed in literature. As regards the salon historiography of the salonnieres specifically, the writings of Countess Stéphanie-Félicité of Genlis (1746–1830) (1811/1818) have for a long time been greatly underestimated in terms of the formation of the "canon" of the Paris salons compared with subsequent works by famous male literary historians – Pierre Louis Graf Roederer (1754–1835), Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) and Victor Cousin – (Genlis, Influence 1811). – See Sainte-Beuve, Causeries du lundi (1851–1861, published in serial form from 1829); Roederer, Société Polle 1965; Victor Cousin, numerous works on women of the Fronde and of Port-Royal from 1844 onward (Madame de Longueville 1853, Madame de Sablé 1854). In 1862, Madame Mohl made an attempt to depict the intellectual-historical development of Paris salon culture from its medieval roots up to Madame Récamier. (Mohl, Récamier 1862, pp. 176–180. She drew heavily on Claude Faurel’s Histoire de la Poésie Provençale [1846]. – Cf. Lesser, Letters 1984, pp. 152–178, also on criticism of this work, which is an important essay in spite of some errors.) The quality of works written by salonnieres on the topic of the "salon" was very varied – ranging from the undependable works of the Duchess of Abrantès to the excellent biography of Madame de Staël that the Munich salonnière Lady Charlotte Blennerhassett (1843–1917) already published in 1887/1889. The great national economist Moritz Julius Bonn (1873–1965) wrote of Lady Charlotte Blennerhassett (née Countess Leyden; Dr. phil. h.c.): "Sie gab keine großen Gesellschaften, aber man fand in ihrem Hause, in dem man die Luft der großen Salons der Vergangenheit zu atmen vermeinte, immer ein paar interessante Persönlichkeiten." (Bonn, Geschichte 1953, p. 154.) ("She did not hold large gatherings, but in her house, in which one often felt one was breathing the air of the great salons of the past, one always encountered a few interesting personalities.") (transl. by N. Williams). The European-wide critical processing of the responsible female perspective of the salon tradition is an area of research that has not yet been exhausted.

134. ^ Gans, Rückblick 1995, p. 68, on Duchess Albertine of Broglio (1797–1838; daughter of Madame de Staël); there have been similar statements about Rahel Levin-Varnhagen, Hedwig von Offers and many others.

135. ^ Florence Nightingale wrote in 1883 about her recently deceased friend Madame Mohl: "I believe that people scarcely knew what a high ideal she had. She was so natural, so sympathetic, so outspoken, always saying the thought that arose at the moment – so clever – so literary – that people did not imagine that she had a considered object in life – which was, I believe, to do for the rich, what is done in England for the poor: to raise them – to give them real interests in their lives – to banish from conversation all triviality and gossip – to 'overcome evil with good' in the daily spirit of our minds." London, 25th May 1883, in: Helmholtz, Briefe 1929, vol. 1, p. 266. The qualities mentioned here are very reminiscent of the thoughts of Mademoiselle de Scudéry on educational conversation (see above). Similarly, the Berlin salonnière Fanny Lewald described the attitude that was most decisive in the salon as "... jenes Wohlwollen und jene Duldsamkeit, welche das Kennzeichen vollendeter Bildung sind" ("... the goodwill and patience that are the hallmark of perfect education").


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Eingordnet unter:
Crossroads ▶ Knowledge Spaces* ▶ Salon

Indices
Locations

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Celle DNB (http://d-nb.info/gnd/4009657-9)
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