

Communicating (with) the Self in the French Enlightenment: Intellectualism, Naturalism and Embodiment in the Bare-Chested Portrait Bust

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Abstract: This study centres on classicizing portrait busts of French philosophers created during the second half of the eighteenth century. Drawing on Diderot's claim that a sculpture, unlike a painting, requires the viewer to communicate with it, I suggest that the portrait bust of that period should be redefined as a conceptual platform of human interaction. The main observation in this study is that portrait busts of French contemporary philosophers constituted a unique case in art because they epitomized main discourses pertaining both to the French society (as a collective idea) and to the individual. I show that such duality, wherein a collective and patriotic identity is expressed synchronically with the rise of the individual, is most acute in representations of philosophers, who sought to be perceived both as ideal figures and as enlightened individuals. In an era characterized by the flourishing of concepts such as *unique self*, *one and only truth*, and *authenticity*, the use of a classicizing style engendered what seems to be, at first sight, a significant conflict between opposing values. The portraits examined in this essay not only surface this idea but also offer an opportunity to reflect upon the performative role of the busts, considering the communication of the viewer with the works. Prompting a conceptual conversation, portrait busts of philosophers made during the second half of the eighteenth century are thus scrutinized here to delineate the intricate interrelations between the self and the society, between simplicity and virtue, and between the concept of 'here and now' versus eternity.

The delicate relations between naturalism and classicism have long preoccupied scholars studying eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art. Whereas these two theoretical aesthetic schools appeared to be distinguished during the pre-secularized (i.e., pre-Modern) era, this distinction became increasingly ambiguous during the eighteenth century. In France, the realistic Baroque was replaced with Rococo imagery, which maintained a naturalistic air and movement but lacked realistic effects,

favouring a natural form of an ideal beauty. Linda Walsh recognized an exception to this departure from a realist representation: “the Rococo portrait bust, where surface naturalism and transitory (“living”) effects of facial expression were seen as desirable.”¹ While Walsh opposed the perception of eighteenth-century portrait bust as a site of hybridity, in the current study I seek to revisit the function of this bust; focusing on portrait busts of French philosophers sculpted with a classicizing bare chest—a common aesthetic convention—I argue that these busts provided platforms for (self-) communication through the combination of outward realism and inner essence. In tying these works to the unique epistemic conditions of the time and to the relationship between the viewing subject and the object, I wish to unravel whether and how such busts constituted what Walsh termed “the “inner” essence of a natural form.”² The aim of this study is thus twofold: first, to place these busts back in the dialectic discourse of naturalism versus classicism; and second, to unfold the function of these busts as communication devices. Building on Alex Potts’ perception of sculptural objects as the embodiment of the physical power they wield over their beholders, this study is focused on the phenomenological dimensions of the viewers’ interaction with the portrait busts.³ I suggest that the synchronic deployment of naturalistic and classicizing characteristics was aimed to engender a conceptual space, wherein individual and collective identities are shaped and interacted.

The eighteenth century, especially in France, witnessed a growing admiration for contemporary individuals as opposed to intellectual heroes of the past.⁴ This change in focus led to a new perception of the portrait bust, while lending it a new function: its traditional commemorative role was substituted for representing contemporary heroism and intellectualism, which was associated with living Great Men, among whom were prominent military, political and intellectual figures – the latter standing at the heart of this study. Oddly enough, the greatest demand for such French busts of contemporary leading philosophers was in North America, Russia, England, and other countries in continental Europe rather than in France itself. Whereas foreign royalty commissioned these busts, in France they were generally not ordered by the royal court, which was often criticized by those very thinkers and favoured, instead, the evocation of patriotism through figures representing traditional virtues, military valour, and religious devotion. Nevertheless, busts of contemporary French philosophers were extremely popular in the Parisian intellectual milieu, which, in addition to a large part of the aristocracy, also came to include the increasingly significant high bourgeoisie. Those who could not afford to commission a marble bust or to purchase a small-

scale porcelain reproduction acquired terracotta or plaster versions, which were widely reproduced and sold by the artists themselves and by various art dealers. The French private market at this period embraced portrait bust of all types, but was especially enthusiastic about busts of contemporary French philosophers, mainly because these busts denoted the owner's (active or passive) participation in shaping intellectual ideologies. Moreover, such busts also provided the owner or viewer with a reflective image, through which he or she could conceptually communicate with oneself, with another, or with the sitter.⁵

Usually, during the pre-Revolutionary period, such busts were originally commissioned in marble, either by the sitter himself or by a patron who wished to acquire a sculptural portrait of a philosopher. The bust functioned as a statement about the patron, destined for his home or as a gift to another person or an institute, and thus he claimed his identity within the intellectual milieu of Paris. When the represented figure was a celebrated thinker, the contract often specified the production of several terracotta or plaster replicas.⁶ At times, market demand led to the production and sale of several additional copies.⁷ The true scope of the circulation of these busts in Paris at that time is not really known, but primary sources relating to esteemed sitters or successful studios paint a picture that includes dozens of original portraits produced in various materials. The celebrated works were usually emulated and reproduced, indicating that there were probably hundreds of portrait busts of philosophers in different materials and sizes, which were displayed in public and private arenas.

One of these celebrated works was Jean-Antoine Houdon portrait of the philosopher Denis Diderot (fig. 1). Following its exhibition at the Salon of 1771, the celebrated philosopher's concise yet positive response was: 'Très ressemblant.'⁸ The view that it was a good likeness was shared by Pidansat de Mairobert, who discussed this Salon in the *Mémoires secrets*: 'One must praise the fire, the expression M. Houdon was able to put into his work.'⁹ Daudet de Jossan wrote: 'The bust of Diderot, whom the flame of genius seems to animate, struck all beholders with admiration and astonishment.'¹⁰ These words of praise refer not merely to the concern with physiognomic features, but also to the animation perceived in the portrait. This 'natural presence' rendered by Houdon is characteristic of most of his portraits of great men, which were done at a time when their 'genius'

was celebrated.¹¹ Engendering verisimilitude was a technical practice that revealed the artist's skill, but generating 'the fire of life' was a sign of the sculptor's own genius.



Fig. 1: Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Denis Diderot*, Salon of 1771, terracotta, h. 46 cm, Paris: Musée du Louvre

The themes of simplicity, naturalism and truthfulness in art were explicitly promoted by French philosophers during this period.¹² In his review of the Salon of 1769, Diderot wrote the following regarding a portrait of Abbot Réglet by Maurice Quentin de la Tour: 'I have never seen such examples of simplicity and truth; not a shadow of mannerism, just pure, artless nature, no pretention in the touch, no assignment of contrast in the colors, no discomfort in the position.'¹³ In the entry 'Portrait' in the *Encyclopédie*, published in 1751, Louis de Jaucourt stated that:

The principal merit of this style of painting is the exact resemblance that consists in expressing the character and physiognomy of the persons represented In every portrait, it cannot be emphasized too strongly, resemblance is the essential perfection. Anything that

may contribute to weakening or disguising it is an absurdity; that is why any ornament introduced into a portrait at the expense of the effect of the head is an inconstancy.¹⁴

De Jaucourt's objective was not solely to promote verisimilitude, but also to convince his readers that the artist must capture the unique characteristics of the sitter. Similarly, based on his conversations with Pigalle, Diderot asserted that, 'It is in the face where a particular life, character and physiognomy reside.'¹⁵

Whereas the Academy approach advocated the copying of ancient sculpture, the concept of genius, which evolved throughout the eighteenth century, by the middle of that century had come to imply an artistic ability that was beyond simple imitation.¹⁶ Thus, in a way, this notion of 'genius', which is explored further in the following pages, seems to clash with the Classicist attitude associated with academic training: the leading sculptors of the time, such as Jean-Antoine Houdon, Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, Augustin Pajou, and Jean-Jacques Caffieri, all spent several years in Rome, where they immersed themselves in the study of ancient works. Their later realist tendencies and their notions concerning 'genius' bred a tension when they created the classicizing busts of philosophers.

Houdon's portrait of Diderot was a terracotta model for a marble bust commissioned by Prince Gallitzine for the Russian court and completed in 1773.¹⁷ Houdon's realistic and sensitive image was widely admired and praised, and numerous marble, bronze, terracotta, and plaster copies, as well as of several smaller-scale versions of the bust soon followed.¹⁸ The ideals of verisimilitude and truthfulness led to the representation of signs of aging such as wrinkles and a wigless, balding head. Yet along with the realistic representation of facial features, many portrait busts of philosophers featured a nude chest rather than contemporary clothing.¹⁹ These busts, whose bottom part is rounded, were designed *à l'antique*, in a manner that forged a connection between the sitter and the ancient philosophers portrayed in classical sculpture.²⁰ This model was generally reserved for representations of philosophers but, as is demonstrated below, it was also used for portraits of other contemporary men in cases where the artist wished to forge a connection between the sitter and the philosophical milieu.



Fig. 2: Augustin Pajou, *Comte de Buffon*, salon of 1773, terracotta, h. 42 cm, Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine

In many instances the artist would create two or three busts of the same philosopher: a version produced in the *à la Française* style, with contemporary French clothes and a wig; another, a bare-chested bust *à l'antique*, without a wig and usually with a rounded bottom; and sometimes a third version that included classicizing drapery.²¹ Such was also the case of Augustin Pajou's portraits of Comte de Buffon (fig. 2). The evocation of the ancients in the two latter versions was employed by Augustin Pajou and others in order to allude to the historical role played by their celebrated contemporary sitters and to symbolize eternal memory of their lives. Nevertheless, the bare-chested version prompts an opaque design: as in other cases of such busts, the bare chest and the rounded bottom, two traditionally classicizing motifs, are mitigated by the graceful and dynamic face of Buffon; his lavish and playful ringlets go even further, providing the viewer with what seems to be an ambiguous representation for a contemporary philosopher: a Rococoish-*à l'antique* portrait bust. This stylistic hybridity, which at first sight seems to fail in producing a coherent statement, generally characterizes Enlightenment thought and ideology. In an era marked by the rise

of the individual and the promotion of sincerity and uniqueness, the evocation of generic, idealized images drawn from antiquity could have been read as paradoxical. The allusion to antiquity and the association with an idealized image of an ancient philosopher contradicted the sense of the unique identity of the sitter and placed him within a sphere of idealized representations designed to generate a sense of collective identity of Great Men based on the ideal of French virtue.²²

The classicizing style is rooted in contemporary French Academy's theories of representation. Nevertheless, the Academy doctrine, which posited the desired *beau idéal*, attainable through the imitation of the ancients, was not free of controversies.²³ The 'quarrel of the ancients and moderns' played a central role in these controversies and, as a consequence, so did the status of the individual 'genius' of the artist.²⁴ In his entry 'genius' in the *Encyclopédie*, the marquis de Saint-Lambert described the creative practice of the 'man of genius': 'In the heat of enthusiasm he orders [his work] neither according to nature nor the sequence of his ideas. He is transported into the situation of the characters he animates; he has taken on their character.'²⁵ Yet, also in the *Encyclopédie*, Louis de Cahusac adopted a more classicizing approach and maintained that 'Man of genius's reason decomposes the different ideas it had received, refines them and forms a whole.'²⁶ Such disparities were in fact very common and, as Mary Sheriff suggested in *Moved by Love*, 'are not necessarily at odds with the Encyclopedist's aims.'²⁷ Diderot's comments best reflect the conflicts surrounding the Academy approach, in terms of his inconsistency concerning the preservation of those norms versus the display of subjective interpretations and artistic originality. Despite his numerous calls for imitating ancient art, he wrote in his *Pensées détachées sur la peinture*: 'Rules have made a routine out of art and I do not know if they were not more harmful than useful. They were useful for an ordinary person, but not for a genius.'²⁸

The privileging of subjectivity and individualism was not exclusive to aesthetic thought, and was more generally characteristic of the writings of the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁹ One of the most prominent advocates of individuality during this period was Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his autobiography, *The Confessions*, he wrote of his own life mainly in terms of his worldly experiences and his emotions, presenting himself as a unique individual. Although he did not publish it in his lifetime, Rousseau read *The Confessions*, which he wrote between 1765 and 1769, in public in leading salons and other meeting places. This work, which Rousseau defined as a self-

portrait, reflects the period's increasing focus on subjectivity and introspection, opening with the words: 'I have entered upon a performance which is without example, whose accomplishment will have no imitator. I mean to present my fellow-mortals with a man in all the integrity of nature; and this man shall be myself.'³⁰ Rousseau's literary portrayal emphasizes the importance of sincerity and of honest description, even when the traits described are far from ideal. As he writes in Book I: 'Such as I was, I have declared myself; sometimes vile and despicable, at others, virtuous, generous and sublime; ... let each in his turn expose with equal sincerity the failings, the wanderings of his heart...'³¹

Following such accounts, I argue that the bare-chested bust conveys psychological exposure through physical exposure. My interpretation of the bare-chest motif as a visual representation of Enlightenment ideals enables us to neutralize the opacity of the visual formula. The reading of the bare chest as emblemizing self-revelation reconciles the tension between a classicizing style and a natural one, as it downplays the evocation of a generic image in favour of a particular, revealing, and intimate one. In this context, this motif epitomizes the dualism of these hybrid portraits: the evocation of antiquity, which is intrinsic to it, prompts the choice of generic image; yet at the same time, it embodies the contemporary idea of self-exploration and exposure, and thus generates a presentation of a particular individual.³² In this way, the bust functions as a reflective object: it articulates a particular identity that the beholder can identify with, while also generating an ideal and collective concept of French identity, situating the beholder in a conceptual act of social gathering. This last suggestion is a function unique to the portrait bust. When Diderot stretched out his perception of sculpture in comparison to painting, he wrote: "I look at a painting; I must converse with a statue."³³ This communicative essence of the eighteenth-century portrait bust was fundamental to its performativity. I relate to the portrait bust in this context as 'performative' because it, in effect, created situations: encounters between particular people and conceptual identities.

Jean-Antoine Houdon's sculpted portrait of Rousseau (fig. 3) may offer a case in which such epistemic ideas are brought to their zenith through artistic practice.³⁴ Houdon based Rousseau's bust on a death mask made immediately after the philosopher's death in 1778.³⁵ The use of a death mask itself underscores the individual character of the face it portrays and creates an intense tactile

and spiritual experience by capturing the subject's true features. Furthermore, it enhances the conceptual experience of an encounter between the viewer and Rousseau himself. The version executed *à l'antique*, depicts the philosopher with his chest bared and features a rounded bottom. This allusion to ancient iconography and to the eternal spiritual existence of ancient philosophers takes the form of a generic representational convention, which places the sitter within an ideal sphere. It evokes the collective ideal of French virtue and contradicts Rousseau's perception of himself as a unique individual.

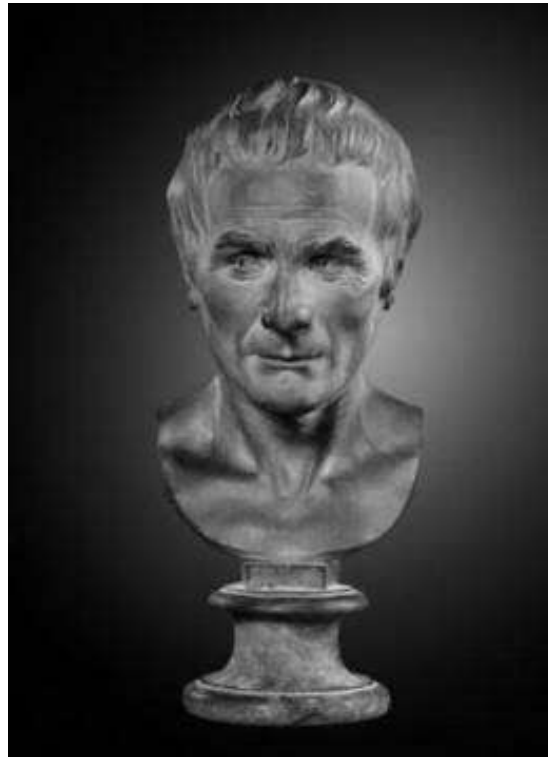


Fig. 3: Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1778, painted terracotta, h. 35 cm, Paris: Private Collection

Nevertheless, the appearance of the face is realistic rather than idealized. Stanislas de Girardin, whose father, the Marquis de Girardin, hosted Rousseau and his wife during the final months of the philosopher's life, praised his father's painted plaster version of Houdon's portrait of Rousseau: '...the resemblance of which is striking, especially when looking at it in profile; a smile of merriment is on his mouth; he is the first artist who makes a cavity for the eyes and indicates the pupils, which gives his portraits a feeling of life that is frightening when looking at them a long

time.³⁶ Houdon depicted Rousseau's large nose, his deep wrinkles, and his sunken cheeks. His severe gaze is mitigated by a delicate smile, which together with the bare head forms a straightforward representation of his personality, rather than an image that conveys nothing but virtue.³⁷ Thus, Houdon created an artistic narrative compatible with Rousseau's literary self-portrait, as well as with the artistic ideal of truthfulness expressed by Diderot.³⁸ Rather than offering an opaque message rising from contradictory attributes, I suggest that this portrait conveys a cohesive, albeit intricate, statement regarding individual and collective contemporary French identity: as a scrutiny and definition of an inner self was an eighteenth-century praxis that contributed to the formation of collective consciousness, busts created in this style bespeak this complexity. Rousseau, as well as other of his colleagues, was not only a theorist of individual subjectivity, but also preached the ideal of collective (individuated) society.³⁹

This hybridization illustrating the dualism of Enlightenment ideals regarding individuality and the virtuous collective identity of great men might have been perceived by the philosophers themselves as an opportunity rather than as a conflict. The philosophers in question arguably wanted to 'have it both ways', evoking through their representation both antique and modern ideas and implications. Since the classicizing bust was traditionally associated with the greatness and heroism of the ancient world, and especially with classical thought and intellectual pursuits, it served to place the philosopher within a context of greatness. The French philosophers admired ancient art, but also acknowledged the greatness of their own time and called for natural and truthful artistic representations. In his remarks on the Salon of 1765, Diderot wrote: 'He who neglects nature for the antique risks being cold, lifeless, devoid of those hidden, secret truths that can be seen in nature alone.'⁴⁰ Nevertheless, his depiction as a philosopher demanded more than resemblance: this 'secret ingredient', which could be identified as a sort of 'ideal air', is alluded to in Diderot's discussion of Michel Van Loo's portrait of him in his remarks on the Salon of 1767.⁴¹ The tension between antiquity and modernity was similarly addressed by Voltaire: 'We have our arts, antiquity has its. We know how to make today a trireme; but we build ships of one hundred cannons.'⁴²

Voltaire's own views and actions demonstrate his approach towards portraiture and individual identity: when Catherine the Great of Russia commissioned a series of paintings

depicting scenes from his private life, Voltaire himself decided on their intimate air and subject matter. One of the most famous paintings in the cycle, which was executed by Voltaire's friend, Jean Huber, shows the great writer getting up in the morning (fig. 4).⁴³ In shaping the narrative and iconography of this particular painting, Voltaire chose to expose himself during a private moment of the day; half-nude, with his sleeping cap, in a simple and everyday posture. I suggest that in this case, the term *self-exposure* serves not merely to define the literal content of the image, but also bespeaks a cultural ideal that was similarly addressed in the literature of this period. The celebration of individuality and the emphasis on self-examination and exposure became, in effect, a prevailing social theme.



Fig. 4: Jean Huber, *Le Lever de Voltaire à Ferney*, c. 1772, oil on canvas, 37.5 x 31 cm, Paris: Musée Carnavalet

During the eighteenth century, the literary genre of autobiography flourished, and numerous personal and subjective accounts of various kinds were published.⁴⁴ The new ideals of subjectivity and self-exposure were similarly given expression in visual art through the frank and realistic portrayal of faces and the use of some measure of physical exposure.⁴⁵ In the case of Huber's

painting, Voltaire's self-exposure stands at the centre of another observation: this natural and authentic moment is not a mute or introverted one. Huber depicted Voltaire at his home in Ferney, dictating his thoughts to his secretary, Cosimo Alessandro Collini. This scene accords with the myth that great writers have their greatest ideas upon waking, hence paralleling the most natural state with the potential of genius. In this case, then, Voltaire's self-exposure alludes to naturalness and truth and consequently to the demonstration of greatness and genius.⁴⁶

The ideals of frankness and self-exploration are also addressed in Diderot's writings. In his *Madame de la Carlière*, published in 1772, he wrote: 'It is the effect of sincerity to create an assembly of people united by a single thought and a single soul. ... People are so good and so happy when sincerity reunites their voices, brings them together, turns them into one!'⁴⁷ Diderot's words not only promoted sincerity and self-exposure, but also presented an ideal of a united society and of solidarity. This emphasis sheds some light on the choice to create a generic representation in portraits of philosophers: arguably, the bare chest can be perceived not only as a classicizing motif but alternatively as a modern statement, as it refers to Modern ideas related to exposure. Especially from the middle of the century onwards, the clearly imposed boundaries between public and private spaces and functions became increasingly blurred.⁴⁸ Parallel to the emergence of a new emphasis on individuality, the private, particular self was paradoxically viewed as part of the modern 'public'.⁴⁹ This modern concept of collectivity, as reflected in the *à l'antique* busts, therefore represented, in addition to a particular individual, the self-proclaimed community of French *philosophes* in the *Republic of Letters*.⁵⁰ By extension, this generic formula, which was associated with the ancient republican state, evoked a modern perception of French society as a cohesive unit endowed with a public consciousness. In light of the political climate in pre-Revolutionary France, the image communicated by these busts is also charged with modern political and social significance.

The tension between modern selfhood and collectivity is also evident in the writing methods of the philosophers. Parallel to the promotion of a collective consciousness, Diderot, in line with his call for sincerity and transparency, gave his own name, as well as those of other people from his social circle, to various characters in his novels and dialogues. In *Le Neveu de Rameau*, written in the 1760s and published in 1772, he presented an allegedly real dialogue between himself and the nephew of the celebrated composer Jean-Philippe Rameau. Literary scholars have long interpreted

this dialogue as representing Diderot's ego and alter ego, the '*moi/lui*' trajectory.⁵¹ In this revealing psychological account, Diderot discusses, among other themes, the concept of genius, implying that the production of a great work comes from self-revelation.



Fig. 5: Marie-Anne Collot, *Denis Diderot*, 1772, marble, h. 57 cm, St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Museum

This literary style is paralleled in artistic representations of Diderot. In 1772 Marie-Anne Collot, who had left France to work at the Russian court of Catherine the Great, sculpted a portrait of the philosopher at the empress' request (fig. 5).⁵² Similarly to the busts discussed above, she used the formula of a realistic face, a soft smile, a bare chest, and a round, *à l'antique* cut. She based the portrait on a life mask created in Paris by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, Collot's teacher, and sent to her in Russia and on a plaster cast of Collot's terracotta bust of Diderot from 1766 (now lost), which belonged to the philosopher's friend, Friedrich Melchior Grimm. This portrait, whose expression was repeated on the marble bust, was praised by Diderot in 1767: 'One of the best portraits of me is the bust by Mlle. Collot, especially the last one, which belongs to my friend M. Grimm. It is good. It is very good. It has replaced another in his home that her teacher M. Falconet had done, which

was not good. When Falconet saw his student's bust, he picked up a hammer and shattered his own in front of her. That is honest and courageous.⁵³ The writer is pictured without a wig, so that his own hair is exposed. His features are natural, his smile conveys sincerity and reflects his inner character, and the bare chest can be linked to ideals of self-exploration and exposure.

It is important to note that this formula – consisting of natural features, an intimate air, and a bare *à l'antique* chest – prevailed in the French bust, whereas it is not seen in English or other continental parallels. The Temple of British Worthies at Stowe, designed by William Kent, contains sixteen historical busts of celebrated British poets, philosophers, scientists, and political figures. The busts were made by Michael Rysbrack and Peter Scheemakers during the 1730s, and – conforming to their overt naturalism – the figures are all draped, thus avoiding the conflict in question. So also is the case with Rysbrack and with England-based Louis-François Roubiliac's busts of Sir Isaac Newton.⁵⁴ Some more similar examples can be found in Joseph Wilton's portrait of Dr. Antonio Cocchi (1755, London, Victoria and Albert Museum) and in Roubiliac's bust of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1745, London, National Portrait Gallery).⁵⁵ These works display naturalistic images, yet their expressions are austere – precluding an intimate relationship with the viewer.⁵⁶

Contextualizing the hybrid formula in the period's thought might help in extracting a coherent message and in defining the hybridization as expressing intricacy rather than opacity, from the point of view of the audience. I wish, still, to examine this issue from the artist's angle as well. From an artistic perspective, concepts such as 'naturalness' and 'truth' are themselves constructions. They are translated into formal choices that express the values of the sitter and the artist. Within the private sphere consumers usually chose to acquire and exhibit busts that represented their subjects dressed *à la française* – a choice that eliminated the stylistic hybridization that might have prompted a blurred conceptualization of contemporary portraiture. Meanwhile, for the artists, this formula provided an opportunity to create an analogy between themselves and the philosophers they depicted: reconsidering Saint-Lambert's observation, which was quoted earlier in this essay, that artists take on the characters of the figures they portray, one can see how these sculptors might have perceived themselves as great men who were taking part in Parisian intellectual life. Indeed, this hybrid formula was used in many cases in which artists portrayed their colleagues and wished to

bestow upon their sitters the characteristics of philosophers or great men. Diderot recognized the connection between artists and philosophers that existed in antiquity and lamented its loss: ‘Why is it that the works of the Ancients have such great character? It is because they attended the philosopher’s schools’.⁵⁷ The adoption of classical motifs thus forged a new connection between French contemporary artists and the philosophical milieu.



Fig. 6: Augustin Pajou, *Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne*, 1758 (cast by Pierre-Philippe Thomire in 1778-89), bronze, h. 48 cm, Paris: Musée du Louvre

In 1759, at the age of twenty-nine, Augustin Pajou exhibited a terracotta bust of his master, the royal sculptor Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, at the Académie Royale’s Salon.⁵⁸ This sculptural portrait of Lemoyne, who was by then at the peak of his success, was praised and celebrated for several decades, in the course of which it was reproduced in various media. The bronze version shown here (fig. 6), which bears the date 1758 on the rear of the bust, was cast in 1789, following the presentation of a marble version in that year’s Salon.⁵⁹ Pajou designed his master’s portrait

according to the visual formula used to represent Enlightenment philosophers. Like Pajou's later busts of Buffon, and similar to those of Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau by Houdon, Lemoyne is portrayed in a naturalistic manner. Phrases such as 'astonishing resemblance' and 'truth' were used repeatedly in referring to this bust by Salon reviewers, and Diderot exclaimed: 'Oh, the beautiful bust which is of le Moine, my friend, the beautiful bust! It lives, it thinks, it regards, it looks, it listens, it is about to speak.'⁶⁰ Another critic wrote: 'One need only to glance at M. le Moyne in order to be struck by the astonishing resemblance.'⁶¹ In the *Mercur de France*, Marmontel was in tune with his colleagues: 'A bust ... no less astonishing for the truth, vigour and ardency with which it was modelled. Those who know the genius and soul of M. le Moyne cannot see this bust ... without feeling a sweet emotion.'⁶²

The severe, classicizing style of the lower part of the bust is moderated by the dynamic upper part. The sitter's head is turned to the side, and his deep-set eyes are directed at something or someone at his eye level. As Pajou had learned from Lemoyne well before Houdon arrived at the same realization, the eyes were a key element in achieving liveliness and movement in sculpted busts. Pajou did not leave out the signs indicating Lemoyne's age, nor did he attempt to mask his unflattering features – the large forehead, the long nose, the high cheekbones, and sunken cheeks. He is wigless and his meticulously carved, natural hair infuses the portrait with a dynamic air, while his extraordinarily warm smile endows him with a simple, real, and sympathetic expression, which fit with his reputation as a great man who was also modest and kind.⁶³

The bare chest and the round cut at the bottom of the bust evoke classical imagery and recall the *à l'antique* formula characteristic of sculpted portraits of contemporary philosophers, thus presenting the celebrated sitter as a leading Enlightenment figure. This association conveys a cultural message concerning not only the status of contemporary artists, but also the status of art in general and of sculpture in particular. Leading artists such as Lemoyne belonged to an elite social milieu. They were usually educated and attended the leading salons of the period, where they became acquainted with the prominent intellectuals of the time.⁶⁴ In some instances, close friendships were formed between philosophers and sculptors – Diderot, for instance, was friendly with both Falconet and Pigalle. The use of this visual formula for the representation of a sculptor

thus suggests an attempt to equate the contributions of sculpture and philosophy to the Enlightenment.

This equation between the status of sculpture and that of philosophy and its correlation with ancient ideals placed sculpture in opposition to painting, which could only recall antiquity through the depicted themes, rather than through the material or its physical essence. It thus touched upon the debate on the *paragone* – that is, on the superiority of either painting or sculpture over the other – as well as on the ‘quarrel’ between the ancients and the moderns, which played a prominent part in the aesthetic discourse of eighteenth-century France.⁶⁵ Through its association with antiquity, proponents of sculpture not only claimed its superiority over painting, but also underscored its privileged relationship to ideal beauty and to virtue. In his review of the Salon of 1765, for instance, Diderot attributed to sculpture qualities such as severity, chastity, nudity, innocence, and eternity.⁶⁶

Jacqueline Lichtenstein points out in her study *The Blind Spot*, which goes beyond a discussion of the technical arguments underlying this debate and examines it from a more theoretical perspective, that the qualities listed by Diderot are philosophical rather than aesthetic.⁶⁷ Taking this argument a step further, she defines the sculptor as a philosopher.⁶⁸ Her claims recognize sculpture as part of the Enlightenment, an assertion that is further supported by the link between the sculptor and the milieu of contemporary French philosophers alluded to by the use of the *à l’antique* formula in portrait-busts of sculptors. In the case of Pajou’s portrait of Lemoyne, this allusion pertains to both Pajou and to his sitter, who was himself a celebrated sculptor.

In 1782, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard painted a portrait of her friend Pajou, who was by then an esteemed sculptor, and depicted him sculpting the famous bust of Lemoyne (fig. 7). This pastel painting, which was exhibited in the Salon of 1783, was so successful that Labille-Guiard was accepted later that year as a member of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, together with Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Labille-Guiard painted Lemoyne’s bust in profile – emphasizing Pajou’s own artistic decision to represent the sitter’s head turned to the side. The realist features and contemporary air of the sculpted bust are clearly represented in Labille-Guiard’s painting, whereas the classicizing motif of the bare chest and round cut at the lower part of the bust are not visible to the viewer.



Fig. 7: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Augustin Pajou Sculpting a Bust of Lemoyne*, 1782, pastel, 71.3 x 58.5 cm, Paris: Musée du Louvre

Painters during this period generally did not use the sculptural *à l'antique* formula, but portrayed both philosophers and artists in a contemporary manner. In this portrait, however, the painter deviated from this representational convention, and showed Pajou himself in a manner compatible with the sculptural representation of philosophers. He is portrayed realistically, his facial expression is soft and sincere, and his smile echoes that of his sculpted master. Whereas the sculpted bust of Lemoyne depicts his natural hair, Labille-Guiard painted her colleague and friend Pajou wearing a contemporary wig. Yet this formal choice is tempered by Pajou's unbuttoned shirt, which partially exposes his chest; this motif clearly ties the painted image of Pajou to sculpted images of philosophers and to the concept of a sculptor-philosopher.

This correlation reflected the belief that artistic activities were of an intellectual nature that transcended the realm of craftsmanship. As such, in Pajou's portrait Labille-Guiard not only stressed the correlation between philosophers and artists, but also related it to contemporary themes of self-exposure and individualism. The effect of the semi-open shirt is enhanced by Pajou's

exposed right arm in the foreground. This is the hand that sculpts, reveals, and shapes personalities and ideas. Displaying it in this manner expressed the ideal of self-exposure, while simultaneously emphasizing the essence of the sculptor's role in formulating and conveying contemporary ideas.

Contemporary French philosophers, however, did not unanimously agree with the implications of this appropriation. Voltaire, for one, objected to the possibility of an artist being a great man: 'A great man is harder to define than a great artist. In art, as in other professions, the one who has far surpassed his rivals, or who has a reputation for having surpassed them, is called great, for just one merit, but the great man must have many merits.'⁶⁹ Diderot, by contrast, acknowledged the possibility of an artist being a Great Man, stating: 'Chardin is not a painter of history, but he is a great man.'⁷⁰ It is worth noting in this context D'Angiviller's Gallery of Great Men, which did include artists, despite the selective approach that characterized its conception.⁷¹ The hybrid artistic formula used in busts of contemporary philosophers explicitly tied the concept of a great man to classical imagery. By appropriating this formula for their own portraits, sculptors presented themselves not only as members of Enlightenment philosophical circles, but as contemporary great men. The artistic formula of a bare-chested *à l'antique* bust, combined with natural, authentic facial features and often including a straightforward smile, thus gave tangible form to an existing cultural dualism. The use of this formula to portray different types of sitters suggests a deliberate attempt to tie a specific sitter to the intellectual milieu of Enlightenment philosophers. It is therefore no coincidence that most of these appropriations were employed on portrait busts of the sculptors themselves: this choice suggests the sculptors' self-acknowledgement as central players in eighteenth-century Parisian intellectual social circles.

Upon conclusion, let us recall eighteenth-century practices of reproduction in relation to the loss of the artwork's aura – that is, its striking sense of uniqueness and singularity. At first, this notion seems to further emphasize the status of such reproductions as generic images that stand in contrast to the sitter's sense of individuality, enhancing the sense of opacity and ambiguity rising from the portrait. Yet as Walter Benjamin argues, the reproduction enables the beholder to meet the work on his own terms, and thus eliminates the distance between observer and image.⁷² As a result, the viewer may perceive the image as that of a contemporary and accessible individual, rather than that of a supreme, ideal, and generic image – allowing him or her in this manner to identify with the

individualistic quest of self exploration. The generic quality of the reproduction was not only mitigated by a direct, individual encounter with the represented figure, but also enabled a visualization of a conceptual society, comprised of multiple individuals. In this manner portrait busts of famous philosophers engendered a conceptual space in which particular individuated identities could be amalgamated. The bust became a communication-related platform for a reflective representation that involved the artist, the sitter and the viewer and that offered an image – synchronically generic and particular – of French contemporary society and individuals.

¹L. Walsh, 'The "Hard Form" of Sculpture: Marble, Matter and Spirit in European Sculpture From the Enlightenment through Romanticism', *Modern Intellectual History* 5 (2008): 458.

² Ibid. 456.

³ A. Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven and London, 2001).

⁴ F. H. Dowley, 'D'Angiviller's Grands hommes and the Significant Moment', *The Art Bulletin* 39 (1957), 259-77; A. Lockwood McClellan, 'D'Angiviller's 'Great Men' of France and the Politics of the Parlements,' *Art History* 13 (1990), 174-91; G. Scherf, 'La galerie des 'grands hommes' au coeur des salles consacrées à la sculpture française du XVIIIe siècle', *Revue du Louvre* 5/6 (1993), 58-67; J.-C. Bonnet, *Naissance du panthéon: Essai sur le culte des grandes hommes* (Paris, 1998); D. A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); E. Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment* (Los Angeles, CA, 2009).

⁵ For porcelain images of French philosophers see: S. Taylor, 'Artists and *Philosophes* as Mirrored by Sèvres and Wedgwood', in: *The Artist and the Writer in France: Essays in Honour of Jean Seznec*, eds., F. Haskell, A. Levi and R. Shackleton (Oxford, 1974), 29.

⁶ G. Scherf, 'Houdon, Above All Modern Artists', in: *Jean Antoine Houdon: Sculptor of the Enlightenment*, ed. A. L. Poulet, exhib. cat. (Washington, DC and Chicago, 2003), 17-27.

⁷ For an analysis of the modern practice of reproducing portrait bust in a historical context, see: M. Baker, 'Replication, Repetition and Reproduction in Eighteenth Century French Sculpture', in: *French Art of the Eighteenth Century at The Huntington*, eds., S. M. Bennett and C. Sargentson (New Haven and London, 2008), 443-52; an overview of the growing market for art in eighteenth century Paris, as well as an analysis of the role of the patron in artistic dialogue and praxis, can be found in: C. B. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (New Haven and London, 2002); see also Baker's 'Reconsidering the Economy of the Eighteenth-Century Portrait Bust: Roubiliac and Houdon', in: *Pygmalions Aufklärung: europäische Skulptur im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Kanz (München, 2006), 132-45.

- ⁸ D. Diderot, *Salon of 1771* in *Héros et martyrs: salons de 1769, 1771, 1775, 1781; Pensées détachées sur la peinture*, ed. Else Marie Bukdahl et al. (Paris, 1995), 242.
- ⁹ In B. Fort, *Les Salons des 'Mémoires secrets 1767-1787* (Paris, 1999), 97.
- ¹⁰ N. MacWilliam et al., *A Bibliography of Salon Criticism in Paris from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration, 1699-1827* (Cambridge and New York, 1991), 214.
- ¹¹ For an inquiry into the naturalism of Houdon's portraits, see: W. Sauerländer, *Ein Versuch über die Gesichter Houdons* (Berlin, 2002).
- ¹² For a discussion of these themes, as rooted in the Enlightenment concept of nature, and their centrality to eighteenth-century thought, see: J. Ehrard, *L'Idée de la nature en France dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1970); D. G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History 1750-1800* (Cambridge and New York, 1984); P. H. Reill, *Rethinking the Enlightenment: Nature and Culture in the High and Late Enlightenment* (Amsterdam, 2008); N. Wolloch, *History and Nature in the Enlightenment: Praise of the Mastery of Nature in the Eighteenth-Century Historical Literature* (Farnham, Surrey, UK and Burlington, VT, 2011); and in the sculptural context, see: P. Griener, 'The Function of Beauty: The Philosophes and the Social Dimension of Art in Late Eighteenth Century France, with Particular Regard to Sculpture', PhD diss. (University of Oxford, 1989); A. Magnien, *La nature et l'antique, la chair et le contour: essai sur la sculpture française du XVIIIe siècle* (Oxford, 2004).
- ¹³ D. Diderot, *Salon of 1769*, in *Œuvres*, ed. Laurent Versini (Paris, 1994-1997), vol. 4, 846.
- ¹⁴ In: *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, eds., D. Diderot and J. le Rond D'Alembert (Paris, 1751-1772), vol. 14, 321.
- ¹⁵ D. Diderot, *Pensées détachées sur la peinture* (1776), in *Héros et martyrs*, eds. Bukdahl et al., 448.
- ¹⁶ On the evolution of the theme, see: K. S. Jaffe, 'The Concept of Genius: Its Changing Role in Eighteenth-Century French Aesthetics', in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41, 1980, 579-99; and in a broader context: D. M. McMahon, *Divine Fury: A History of Genius* (New York, 2013).
- ¹⁷ F. Watson, 'Diderot and Houdon: A Little Known Bust', in: *The Artist and the Writer in France*, eds. Haskell, Levi and Shackleton, 16.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15-20; for the reductions see: G. Giacometti, *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Houdon* (Paris, 1929), vol. I, 38.
- ¹⁹ Judith Colton relates to the aspect of nudity in full-length portraits of philosophers: Colton, 'From Voltaire to Buffon: Further Observations on Nudity, Heroic and Otherwise', in: *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of Horst Woldemar Janson*, eds., M. Barash and L. F. Sandler (New York and Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1981), 531-48.
- ²⁰ for a discussion of the general tendency towards classicizing art during this period, see: G. Faroult, M. Fumaroli, C. Leribault and G. Scherf, (eds.), *L'Antiquité rêvée: innovations et résistances au XVIIIe siècle*, exhib. cat. (Paris, 2010).
- ²¹ For the *à la Française* version see: Augustin Pajou, *Comte de Buffon*, 1773, marble, h. 73 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, referred to in: J. D. Draper and G. Scherf, *Augustin Pajou, Royal Sculptor, 1730-1809*, exhib. cat. (New York, 1998), 277-79, no. 111; for the draped *à l'antique* version, which was the sitter's gift to the Académie des

Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Dijon, of which he was a member, in 1776, see: Augustin Pajou, *Comte de Buffon*, 1773, terracotta, Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, referred to in: Draper and Scherf, *Augustin Pajou, Royal Sculptor*, 293-94, no. 116.

²² A different interpretation of the nude male body in a Neoclassicist context can be found in the early work of Alex Potts, who reads it as a manifestation of male sociability and as a homoerotic index. See: Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London, 1994). His analysis, however, relates to Revolutionary French art, and thus is more difficult to apply to the pre-revolutionary busts discussed here, as the bare-chested portrait was not a prominent masculine formula in general, but rather prevalent in busts of philosophers particularly.

²³ T. Gaehtgens, 'The Tradition of Antiacademism in Eighteenth-Century French Art', in: *The French Academy: Classicism and Its Antagonists*, ed. J. Hargrove (Newark, London and Toronto, 1990), 206-18; The debate over the 'beau idéal' had been discussed in other contexts: D. Johnson, "Le réalisme classique ou le "beau réel" dans la sculpture française, 1790-1816," in *Le progrès des arts réunis: 1763-1815: mythe culturel des origines de la Révolution à la fin de l'Empire*, eds. D. Rabreau and B. Tollon (Bordeaux, 1992), 337-344; C. Michel, *L'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture (1648-1793): la naissance de l'École française* (Geneva and Paris, 2012), esp. 348-362.

²⁴ The most complete study is still H. Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes* (Paris, 1856).

²⁵ J.-F., marquis de Saint-Lambert, 'Génie,' in: Diderot and D'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, vol. 7, 582. Translated to English by M. Sheriff, in: *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago and London, 2004), 18.

²⁶ L. de Cahusac, 'Enthousiasme,' in: Diderot and D'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, vol. 5, 722.

²⁷ Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 18.

²⁸ D. Diderot, *Oeuvres esthétiques* (Paris, 1959), 753-54. Translated into English in: Gaehtgens, 'The Tradition of Antiacademism in Eighteenth-Century French Art', 218, note 26.

²⁹ The formation of the unique self is widely recognized as an eighteenth-century phenomenon. Although scholars of the early-Modern period, such as S. Greenblatt in his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago, 1980), suggested an earlier development of selfhood, this selfhood can be seen as a type of social consciousness, strongly tied to concepts of hierarchy. The rise of individualism in the Age of Enlightenment unfolds a more personal and unique perception of selfhood. For some key sources, see: J. O. Lyons, *The Invention of the Self: The Hinge of Consciousness in the Eighteenth Century* (Carbondale, 1978); R. Martin and J. Barresi, *Naturalization of the Soul: Self and Personal Identity in the Eighteenth Century* (New York and London, 2000); D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (New Haven and London, 2006).

³⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, trans. S. W. Orson (London, 1903). Available on-line through Project Gutenberg, last accessed 15 June 2014, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3913/3913-h/3913-h.htm>

³¹ Ibid.

- ³² The hybridization of naturalism and idealism is recognized also by Linda Walsh, who addresses it in the context of German writings in the age of Romanticism, in: ‘The ‘Hard Form’ of Sculpture: Marble, Matter and Spirit in European Sculpture from the Enlightenment through Romanticism’, in: *Modern Intellectual History* 5 (2008), 455–86.
- ³³ Diderot, *Observations sur la Sculpture et sur Bouchardon* (1763), in *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. Jules Assézat (Paris, 1875-1877), vol. XIII, 41. For broader (and sometimes opposing) views on the paralleling of sculptural figures to real ones during this period, see: Caroline van Eck, “Enargeia ou fétichisme: le rejet de l’image vivante dans les discours sur la sculpture des années 1750,” in *Penser l’art dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, 627-642.
- ³⁴ For this bust see: Scherf, *Houdon 1741-1828*, 86-89, cat. 14.
- ³⁵ G. Bresc-Bautier and G. Scherf (eds.), *Cast in Bronze: French Sculpture from Renaissance to Revolution*, exhib. cat. (Paris, 2009, trans. of *Bronzes français: De la Renaissance au siècle des Lumières*), 484-85.
- ³⁶ Quoted in Poulet et al., *Jean Antoine Houdon*, 168.
- ³⁷ Although referring to Diderot’s bust, Guilhem Scherf mentions Houdon’s technique with regard to the carving of the eye-pupils, which infuses the portrait with a great sense of life, and is antithetic to the Neoclassicist treatment of the eyes. Scherf, ‘Houdon, Above All Modern Artists’, 21.
- ³⁸ For other aspects of Rousseau’s realist artistic depictions, see: D. Fordham, ‘Allan Ramsay’s Enlightenment: Or, Hume and the Patronizing Portrait’, in: *The Art Bulletin* 88 (2006), 508-24.
- ³⁹ J.-J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract, Or Principles of Political Right* (1762), trans. G. D. H. Cole (Whitefish, MT, 2004); see also: Voltaire, *Political Writings*, ed. and trans. D. Williams (Cambridge and New York, 1994); D. Diderot, *Political Writings*, eds. and trans. J. H. Mason and R. Wolker (Cambridge and New York, 1992).
- ⁴⁰ D. Diderot, *Salon of 1765*, Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, in *Oeuvres complètes, vol. 14: Salon de 1765*, eds. E.M. Bukdahl, A. Lorenceau and G. May (Paris, 1984), 279.
- ⁴¹ Denis Diderot, *Salon of 1767*, XI, in *On Art and Artists: An Anthology of Diderot’s Aesthetic Thought*, ed. Jean Sez nec, trans. John S.D. Glaus (Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London and New York, 2011), 104.
- ⁴² Voltaire, ‘Antiquité,’ section V, in *Dictionnaire philosophique* in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1878), vol. 17, 283.
- ⁴³ B. de Montgolfier, *Le Musée Carnavalet: l’histoire de Paris illustrée, un aperçu des collections* (Paris, 1986), 70; G. Apgar, *L’Art singulier de Jean Huber: Voir Voltaire* (Paris, 1995).
- ⁴⁴ P. Lejeune, *L’autobiographie en France* (Paris, 1971); P. A. Meyer Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1976); M. Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Stanford, 1996).
- ⁴⁵ M. Percival, *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-Century France* (Leeds, 2000).
- ⁴⁶ It is important to note that the visual forms representing naturalness and truth in portrait busts are also evident in earlier sculptural depictions of philosophers. Yet since the earlier sitters are dressed *à la française*, their images do not embed the tension or complexity discussed in this study. For an example see: Jean-Jacques Caffiéri, after Antoine

- Coysevox. *Jean Racine*, ca. 1784 (a copy of a seventeenth-century original), plaster, h. 83 cm, Versailles, châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
- ⁴⁷ D. Diderot, *Madame de la Carlière ou Sur l'inconséquence du jugement public de nos actions particulières* (1772), in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot* (Paris, 1819), vol. 5, part II, 658.
- ⁴⁸ D Castiglione and L Sharpe, *Shifting the Boundaries: Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter, 1995); S. Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Montreal, Que., 2003); A. Kahn (ed.), *Representing Private Lives of the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2010).
- ⁴⁹ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). Critiques of the Habermasian claims noted that his assertions disregard status and inclusivity and relate to the masculine and higher social strata of society – which in fact represents the market for the busts discussed here. See: C. Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).
- ⁵⁰ D. Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, 1994); A. Lilti, *Le monde des salons: sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2005).
- ⁵¹ For example: J. Kristeva, *Étrangers à nous-mêmes* (Paris, 1988); P. France, 'Commerce of the Self', in: *Representations of the Self*, ed. E. S. Shaffer (Cambridge and New York, 1990), 39-56.
- ⁵² J. Pomeroy et al., *An Imperial Collection: Women Artists from the State Hermitage Museum* (London, 2003), 204-05; Poulet et al., *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, 141, ill. 146.
- ⁵³ D. Diderot, *Ruines et paysages: Salon de 1767*, eds., E. M. Bukdahl, M. Delon and A. Lorenceau (Paris, 1995), 84.
- ⁵⁴ The bust by Rysbrack was carved in c. 1730 (Private Collection) and that by Roubiliac in 1732-35 (London, Royal Society).
- ⁵⁵ The closest example I have found that bears a similar representational formula is a portrait bust of Amerigo Vespucci by Giuseppe Ceracchi, which, however, was modeled in the 1790s and carved in marble in 1815; thus it was possibly inspired by the busts discussed here (Washington DC, The White House).
- ⁵⁶ M. Baker, 'Making the Portrait Bust Modern: Tradition and Innovation in Eighteenth-Century British Sculptural Portraiture', in: *Kopf / Bild: die Büste in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed., J. Kohl (München, 2007), 347-66.
- ⁵⁷ Seznec, *On Art and Artists*, 140.
- ⁵⁸ The terracotta version of this bust, made in 1758, which was presented at the Salon of 1759, is in Nantes, musée des Beaux-Arts, and it includes classical drapery. Draper and Scherf, *Augustin Pajou, Royal Sculptor*, 68-69, no. 26.
- ⁵⁹ Draper and Scherf, *Augustin Pajou, Royal Sculptor*, 70-72, no. 27; Bückling and Scherf, *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, 214-17, no. 36.
- ⁶⁰ Originally: 'Oh, le beau buste que celui de le Moine, mon ami, le beau buste! Il vit, il pense, il regarde, il voit, il entend, il va parler.' D. Diderot, *Essais sur la peinture (1766). Salons de 1759, 1761, 1763*, eds., G. May and J. Chouillet (Paris, 1984), 103; for other reviews, see: Bückling and Scherf, *Jean-Antoine Houdon*, 214.
- ⁶¹ *Deloynes Collection*, vol. 7, 29, no. 90.

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- ⁶² *Mercur de France*, October 1759, 191.
- ⁶³ L. Réau, *Une dynastie de sculpteurs au XVIIIe siècle: les Lemoyne* (Paris, 1927).
- ⁶⁴ Lemoyne, for example, attended the famous salon of Madame Geoffrin. See: Réau, *Une dynastie de sculpteurs au XVIIIe siècle*, 48.
- ⁶⁵ On the persistence of the *Paragone* polemic in *Ancien Régime* France, see: A. B. Weinshenker, *A God or a Bench: Sculpture as a Problematic Art during the Ancien Régime* (Oxford and New York, 2008), chapter 4, 159-220.
- ⁶⁶ D. Diderot, *Salon of 1765*, eds. Bukdahl et al., 281-83.
- ⁶⁷ J. Lichtenstein, *The Blind Spot: An Essay on the Relations between Painting and Sculpture in the Modern Age*, trans., C. Miller (Los Angeles, 2008), 83.
- ⁶⁸ Lichtenstein, *The Blind Spot*, chapter 2, esp. 72-92.
- ⁶⁹ Voltaire, 'Grand, Grandeur' in: *Dictionnaire philosophique*, in: *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 19, 308-9.
- ⁷⁰ Diderot, *Oeuvres esthétiques*, 494. Translated into English in: Sez nec, *On Art and Artists*, 130.
- ⁷¹ A. McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge and New York, 1999), 90.
- ⁷² W. Benjamin, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (1936), (Frankfurt, 2003), 13.