Augustin Pajou *Royal Sculptor*



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ROYAL SCULPTOR

1730–1809

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

GUILHEM SCHERF

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

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Director's Foreword

Exhibitions devoted to classic sculptors of the past are exceedingly rare. In general, we pause before submitting their works to travel, thinking of their size, fragility, or sheer importance. And, it must be remarked, our eyes are often more regularly trained on paintings. In the case of Pajou, several factors have overcome our scruples. First, obviously, is the grandeur, the harmony, the distinction and freshness of his vision, on a par with the most eloquent painters. Second is the way he sustains our attention on so many levels. His drawings and brisk, unfaltering terracotta models are realized with stylish assurance. The marbles, full of soul but always impeccably carved, speak grandly for themselves. There are many revelations along the way, and we might single out the heroic *Monument to Buffon*, which has been lent by the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, and which the exhibition has literally brought to light. Indeed it is our good fortune that most of Pajou's works are in museums and that their directors have agreed to share them and thus help in the reconstruction of so distinguished a career. I thank these various custodians for contributing to this auspicious reconstitution and also those private collectors lucky enough to harbor works by the master and generous enough to part with them even briefly in the name of the same re-creation of a great talent.

The ultimate reason for us to take part in this celebration of Pajou is to bring forth the fascinating researches of the individuals who have worked determinedly to bring it off: Guilhem Scherf of the Musée du Louvre and James David Draper of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Dr. Draper informs me that theirs has been an uncommonly warm and reciprocal collaboration. With them I thank the staff members of both the Réunion and the Metropolitan who brought this project to completion.

The exhibition could not have been realized without the generous support of The Florence Gould Foundation, to whom we give our most appreciative thanks.

Philippe de Montebello
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Director's Foreword

Sculpture is said to be less liked than painting or drawing. Is this not simply because it is less often shown? True, both the Musée du Louvre and The Metropolitan Museum of Art have carried out spectacular reinstallations of their sculpture collections. But temporary exhibitions, especially those devoted to a single sculptor, are still too rare, even though there is growing interest in France—witness the exhibitions of Clodion at the Louvre in 1992, of Puget in Marseilles, of Préault at the Musée d'Orsay and the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Blois—and elsewhere in Europe (for example, the exhibitions of Canova in Venice, Sergel in Stockholm, and Schadow in Berlin).

All the more reason, then, to hail the joint initiative of the two curators, James David Draper and Guilhem Scherf, who, thanks to a cordial and exemplary collaboration, offer us this opportunity to rediscover one of the greatest artists of the eighteenth century.

Augustin Pajou, though little known today, pursued a glorious career and was much celebrated in his lifetime. Awarded the first prize for sculpture at the age of eighteen and made a member of the Académie Royale at thirty, he became a professor at the Académie and proved an able administrator. His accomplished discharge of his responsibilities would have singled him out as *premier sculpteur du roi* under Louis XVI, had the title existed. Pajou's virtuosity as a sculptor, his talents as a draftsman—one of the revelations of this exhibition—and his style in all its early Neoclassical elegance make him an exceptional personality.

The success of this panorama of Pajou's work is clearly due to the generosity of the lenders, among them many private collectors as well as institutions, and to The Florence Gould Foundation, which has once again undertaken to sponsor a Franco-American event. They all have our warmest thanks for their interest in the project and for the confidence they have shown in our ability to realize it.

Pierre Rosenberg
of the Académie Française
President and Director,
Musée du Louvre

Acknowledgments

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The catalogue could not have been realized without the encouraging cheer and competence of Laurence Posselle in Paris and Kathleen Howard in New York; their unstinting efforts are much appreciated. We thank Jean-Pierre and Guillaume Rosier in Paris for their elegant layout; we are also grateful to Bruce Campbell for his careful adaptation of their work for the English-language catalogue. In New York Stefanie Walker and Alison Lonshein contributed greatly to our research, not only checking details but discovering connections. The typescript was the work of Esther Krell, Roger Haapala, Hillit J. Zwick, and Stephanie Post. In the Metropolitan's Editorial Department we thank

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JDD and GS

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Augustin Pajou



Pajou, *Pluto Keeping Cerberus in Chains* (detail, cat. 28)

For Pajou

Almost everyone in Paris is a *Philosophe,* reported Horace Walpole in 1765, by which he meant a blend of rationalism and optimism.[1]

Pajou epitomizes the spirit of the Enlightenment. This searcher for truth recalls the best features of the age: its thoroughgoing dedication to logic, its work ethic, its pronounced anthropocentricity, its effusions of confidence and geniality, its ideals of balance and unforced naturalness, its equal regard for proper form and personal style.

The logician is present even when Pajou is being playful, as in his earliest drawings. Take the rich antiquarian feast prepared by infants in the *Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans* (cat. 23): in this tour de force he shows the babies pink and lively, unveiling an "ancient" relief, and convinces us through line, color, and shading that the world of the children and that of the antique are mutually exclusive. His ambitious sense of organization is never in doubt nor his wish to be esteemed as a draftsman. His later submissions of drawings to the Salon, such as *The Roman Army under Camillus Assaulting the Temple of Juno at Veii* (cat. 74; see overleaf), assert an intellectuality that is always present even if not always obvious in his sculpture. In fact, that appeal to reason would most openly and challengingly resonate midway in his career, in his *Monument to Buffon* (cat. 112).

Because of its enterprise and scope, the aforesaid *Camillus* drawing was, with the bust of his master Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne (cat. 26), one of Pajou's few works to earn praise from his archcritic Diderot. It must be remarked that Diderot's lasting fame lies in his achievements as an encyclopedist and not as an art critic and that Pajou was generally held in high regard by others who took part in the fashionable literary game of Salon criticism.

A leading Neoclassicist, Pajou searched for the ideal, training his eye on the perfect specimen or a combination of perfect specimens. In their busts he celebrated the best physical traits of beautiful young women and presented his male sitters as brimming with intelligence. This tendency toward perfectionism was most fully expressed in the *Buffon* (cat. 112) and the *Psyche Abandoned* (cat. 134), but it had been there all along. Beaulieu has noted Pajou's penchant for repeating himself[2]—but why should he not, having developed types so pleasingly idealistic? The habit of reiteration is encountered throughout his career. To cite just one figure, a teenage winged genius supporting the royal coat of arms at Versailles (fig. 63) reappears in the drawing of a fountain assumed to be related to the Place du Peyrou in Montpellier (cat. 40) and then recurs in reverse on Pajou's most popular clock model (cat. 78).[3] The repetition of types is a foundation of a recognizable style. In themes as in typology, Pajou reinvestigated classical material, extracting new meanings from the myth of Anacreon, for example, over the course of thirty-five years (cat. 1, 47, 80–83).

Practice, practice . . . Pajou's rapid clay sketches show him to be one of the best modelers of all time. Only through constant manipulation could he achieve those glorious falls of drapery. Smooth, harmonious folds were ever his boast, appearing in his portraits as well as his figures beginning with the *Pluto Keeping Cerberus in Chains* (cat. 28). The *Pluto* was the most deliberately meditated and most dramatically satisfying of the entire century's sculptural morceaux de réception (those demonstrations of virtuoso talent with which artists made their bows before the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture). Instantly recognizable, Pajou's accurate and elegant characterizations of fabric and coiffure—always logical, always pleasing—have the glints of expressive "fire" and the evidence of secure "touch" that the age demanded.[4] Our sculptor would have felt his efforts were well understood by the gadfly commentator Bachaumont, who wrote of his bust of the composer Grétry (fig. 148): "Everyone judged it to have the greatest truth; the artist has passed into this head all the subject's heat, and his eyes sparkle with fire. Master Grétry seems tormented by that burning fever that attacks him each time he writes."[5] Pajou excavated deeply into the clay to achieve this lively sensation, bringing to his performance the incisive instincts of a draftsman. He was the preeminent draftsman-sculptor of his era.



Pajou, *The Roman Army under Camillus Assaulting the Temple of Juno at Veii* (cat. 74)



Central to Pajou's nature was a profound academicism. Taught by excellent masters, he took his educational duties to heart and was evidently a great teacher, attracting the very best pupils. The succession of discipleship that stretches from Lemoyne to Pajou to Roland to David d'Angers guaranteed the purest, most artistocratic bloodlines in French sculpture. Whether impressing his students or his sovereign, the royal academician was always on public view. He had to be perceived by one and all as correct and as faithful to his subject matter. Through his training he was well-rounded and versatile, equal to the most varied tasks. At the same time he had to achieve not only that fire of spontaneity but also a certain feeling of relaxation. His good friend Mme Labille-Guiard's painted portraits were judged "natural without pretension,"[6] and Pajou struck exactly this amical note in his busts of Sedaine and Hubert Robert (cat. 99, 108).

Pajou always knows how to register his regard for intellect. We share his awe when facing Buffon (cat. 111-19) and the delight he took in a provincial scientist who measured the yearly rainfall in Montpellier (cat. 141). Above all, the busts astonish by their analytical ability to communicate a personality in its entirety, and this comprehensiveness is what ranks him among the philosophers. The statue of Pascal (cat. 127) is a thinker-to-thinker confrontation in which both parties emerge triumphant. The conviction grows that Pajou could embrace and convey whatever his subjects presented, no matter how complex or daunting. JDD

1. Gooch 1956, p. 267.
2. Beaulieu 1979, passim.
3. Olga Raggio, to whom I am grateful for many a conversation about Pajou over the years, spotted the fountain-clock connection.
4. Martin 1989, pp. 68, 70.
5. *Mémoires secrets,* vol. 18 (October 4, 1781), p. 73.
6. *Réponse à toutes les critiques sur les tableaux du Sallon de 1783 par un frère de la Charité,* Deloynes, vol. 307, p. 54. See Sheriff 1996, p. 187.



Pajou, *Louis Deranc* (cat. 139, detail)

Pajou and His Peers

"The present volume is an attempt to restore to favor an artist who is too little known."[1] It is tempting to adopt as our own this remark made by Pajou's biographer, Henri Stein, in 1912, for since then, and despite Stein's outstanding work, Pajou has remained largely underestimated. Of course, everyone is familiar with his portrait of "that proud Du Barry, with her playful swank, youthful bravura, the vulgar adventuress beneath an assumption of aristocracy,"[2] or his *Psyche Abandoned*. In recent years he has even been described as a "genius."[3] But the neglect into which an important part of his oeuvre has fallen—the architectural decorations, the drawings of historical subjects, the statuettes for collectors—has distorted the critical view of him, being limited almost exclusively to his portraits and monumental sculptures.[4] In these two domains, furthermore, our artist suffered from Houdon's celebrity (to which we shall return) and from the lack of interest in Neoclassicism during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century.[5] Not since the previous century has there been a judgment that acknowledges the full range of the sculptor's art: "Pajou was one of the creators of the grand modern manner, of which Rude and David d'Angers are the most complete expressions."[6] This comment is in the tradition of Le Breton, who in 1810 noted that "Lemoyne and even Pigalle had lost the art [of sculpture]: Pajou was the first to show a better road and begin to build it up again."[7] One of the aims of this exhibition and its catalogue is to underscore Pajou's central place in the elaboration and superb realization of the Neoclassical aesthetic, precisely in the period between Lemoyne and David d'Angers.

The most common image of Pajou is as an "official" sculptor, and his splendid career cannot belie the reality of his recognition by the establishment. A gifted student of the school of the Académie Royale and a member of the Académie at age thirty, he succeeded Vassé two years later as assistant professor, forestalling his senior colleague Caffieri.[8] On December 6, 1766, on the death of Nattier, he was named full professor—again, before Adam and Caffieri (he in fact replaced Falconet, who had left for Russia). This extremely rapid promotion, which can be explained in part by the paucity of sculptors in the Académie at the time, continued thereafter at a slower pace,[9] but it was crowned by Pajou's appointment as treasurer in 1781. Moreover, in 1772 Pajou had won the competition to become draftsman to the Académie des Inscriptions, succeeding Bouchardon and Vassé. Finally, the confidence placed in him by the comte d'Angiviller after the Buffon affair (see cat. 112) would be demonstrated time and again throughout the comte's mandate as director of the Bâtiments du Roi under Louis XVI, beginning in 1774. In fact, if the title had existed, Pajou would have been made "first sculptor to the king." Indeed, in the space of fifteen years, he was commissioned to do six marble statues and numerous portraits of the king and his late father, and he enjoyed the support of the court at Versailles for ambitious projects such as the royal statue in Brest. Along with all of this, in 1777 he was appointed keeper of modern sculptures in the royal collection and became a member of the commission charged with setting up the Muséum Central des Arts de la République. Such an accumulation of assignments, all of them carried out in full, was unparalleled; in Pajou's dealings with d'Angiviller, the sculptor attained a standing almost equal to that of Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre, *premier peintre* and director of the Académie. It was Pierre who told d'Angivillers in 1777 that Pajou "combines with his talent the necessary head for detail."[10]

Pajou's activity, however, cannot be restricted to this one field. If he appears as a protégé of the court as early as 1770—the year of his decorations for the Royal Opera at Versailles, designed with the *premier architecte* Gabriel, and of his introduction to Mme Du Barry—his talents as a decorator had already been employed on large-scale projects by the duc d'Orléans, the prince de Condé, and the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson. In addition, his small-scale marble pieces were bought by the most discriminating collectors of the day (La Live de Jully, Choiseul), as were his terracottas (by the prince de Condé), some of his most prestigious plaster models (by Dufort de Cheverny), and his large history drawings (by the comte de Vaudreuil, the duke of Sachsen-

Teschen, and the minister Bourgeois de Boynes). This lofty social network, however, was backed—and for Pajou this was very important—by a solid fabric of friendships. The strongest of these dated from his student years (Edme Dumont, Doyen, Barreau de Chefdeville, Trouard, Moreau-Desproux), and some of them lasted more than fifty years (De Wailly, Hubert Robert, Sedaine).

Indeed, Pajou was greatly valued as a man; the quality and durability of his friendships attest to this, even though we have few written testimonies to go by. Robert commented to La Borde on "this artist whom we both love."[11] For her part, Angélique de Vandeul, Diderot's daughter, spoke of "the excellent Pajou, who has always showered me with marks of his friendship"[12] and criticized the harshness with which her father derided Pajou's financial success in his discussion of the Salon of 1767:[13] "If the author had known the artist he was talking about, he would not have taxed him with thinking about money."[14] It is true that Pajou's reputation has perhaps suffered from his repeated requests to the Bâtiments du Roi for payment, but it should be acknowledged that the administration was often tardy in settling its accounts, forcing artists to go into debt in order to pay their collaborators.[15]

One proof of Pajou's disinterestedness—and of the importance he placed on bonds of friendship—was his decision to complete, free of charge, the group *France Embracing the Bust of Louis XV*, left unfinished upon the death of Edme Dumont, his former classmate at the École des Élèves Protégés.[16] Another indication of his considerate nature is given by a letter, fortunately preserved, in which he advised his son-in-law Clodion, after the latter had indulged in a fit of bad temper, to moderate the "impetuousness" of his character: "trust and forbearance are the ties that bind society."[17] On more than one occasion Pajou showed himself to be a concerned and conciliatory family man, whether supervising his son's training under the painter Vincent (the husband of his friend Adélaïde Labille-Guiard); taking in his daughter after her separation from Clodion and helping her second husband, Saint-Martin, find work; or organizing the disposition of his own estate in 1797, two years after his wife's death. A more fitting homage to that kindly and attentive father than the superb family portrait painted by his son, Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou (cat. 151) can hardly be imagined. When Edme Dumont died, Pajou took Dumont's fourteen-year-old son, Jacques-Edme, into his studio and later enrolled him in the Petite École. He was always protective of his young pupil, even if his guidance must have struck the lad as rather heavy-handed.[18] His letters to Rome when Jacques-Edme was staying there are full of affectionate advice,[19] and he did his best to settle a dispute between the young man and Louis-Pierre Deseine.[20] All the evidence confers on Pajou the image of a benevolent man with a regard for others, who did not sacrifice the warmth of human relations to the dictates of his career.

It is not surprising, then, that Pajou was a supremely gifted teacher. He had retained a great veneration for his own master, Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne. A professor as early as 1762, Pajou had an impressive number of students and protégés at the Académie.[21] If most of his pupils are now forgotten, there were nonetheless some who later became sculptors of renown: Philippe-Laurent Roland (in the studio in 1764), Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet (at the Académie in April 1765), Robert-Guillaume Dardel (at the Académie in February 1766 and in 1769),[22] Claude-André Deseine (at the Académie in August 1769), Joseph-Charles Marin (at the Académie in March 1778), and the "sculptor from Monaco" Bosio (at the Académie in 1783), as well as Jacques-Edme Dumont (in the studio in 1775 and at the Petite École beginning in 1777) and Louis-Pierre Deseine (1780). We can also cite some great foreign artists (Weidenhaupt, the protégé of the Danish ambassador; the Russian Ivanov; Dannecker and Scheffauer, both protégés of the duke of Würtemberg),[23] as well as some less famous sculptors (Claude Choisy in October 1770, Callamard,[24] Julie Charpentier),[25] and even the painter François Gérard (September 1782).[26] Naturally, Pajou did not take an equal interest in all his students: he would always favor Roland, who on several occasions acted as his assistant and whose career he actively promoted,[27] and Jacques-Edme Dumont.[28]

An establishment figure, a faithful friend, an attentive father, a sought-after teacher, Pajou was first and foremost a complete artist, interested in every means of expression. No doubt one of the great surprises for the visitor to this exhibition will be the presence of a large number of drawings:[29] the training sketches of his youth, demonstrating a careful study of antiquity (cat. 2–6) and of the Renaissance (cat. 7, 8) and Baroque masters (cat. 10–12); drawings elaborating a

projected sculpture (cat. 42, 67) or recording a finished one (cat. 41, 44–46, 113, 122); and large original compositions, ambitious works exhibited at the Salon (cat. 23, 54, 62, 77) and often engraved (cat. 65, 74–76), in rivalry with contemporary history painting.[30] Pajou's involvement in this great genre was much noted: "his drawing of Albinius [see cat. 76] recalls the noble style of Poussin; the architecture is rendered with taste, the groups are well arranged, and the general effect is finely expressed."[31] At the close of the Salon of 1783, a letter to the *Journal de Paris* (October 8) even upbraided Peyron for having plagiarized Pajou in his oil sketch *Young Athenians Drawing Lots to Be Sacrificed to the Minotaur*:[32] "the groupings are absolutely the same as those in a print engraved by Martini after M. Pajou" (see cat. 75). Peyron, of course, protested, replying: "I see nothing humiliating in the wish to get close to the composition of a great man."[33]

Still, Pajou's primary activity of course remained his sculpture, which included architectural decorations, small-format sculptures for collectors, portrait busts, and marble statuary. He was not as blessed as Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, Pigalle, and Guillaume II Coustou, who worked at the height of Louis XV's reign, when large commissions for bronze statues and ambitious funerary monuments were relatively plentiful. He was not able to show the full measure of his talents in these two domains, and he made some of his most accomplished designs—the statue of Louis XVI for Brest (1784–85; see Chronology) and the double tomb of the Sheremetevs (1789; cat. 62)—too late for their realization. He, however, enjoy exceptional favor with the head of the Bâtiments du Roi under Louis XVI and this meant that he could freely develop his gifts as a sculptor of marble.

How did Pajou stand in relation to his contemporaries? At the beginning of his career, about 1750, the French school of sculpture was dominated by Edme Bouchardon (1698–1762) and Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne (1704–1778).[34] While the former lost the public's favor with his *Cupid Carving a Bow from Hercules' Club* (fig. 207), he would triumph with the equestrian monument to Louis XV. Did Caylus introduce the young Pajou to Bouchardon after Pajou's return from Rome? Did Pajou have the chance to examine Bouchardon's portfolios, and did this later inspire him to assemble, like Bouchardon's disciple Vassé (1716–1772), a group of drawings based on his own sculptures?[35] Possibly. However, the two artists probably saw very little of each other: Bouchardon became ill at almost the same time that Pajou was received into the Académie. Bouchardon, moreover, did not care much for Lemoyne and might have been prejudiced against the latter's students.[36] Pajou, for his part, was particularly close to Lemoyne,[37] with whom he had studied even before entering the Académie's school, and he was always faithful to Lemoyne's memory, exhibiting his bust to the public on three occasions (see cat. 26, 27). For Pajou, Lemoyne represented the grand tradition of French sculpture: his father, after all, had done the portraits of Hardouin-Mansart and the regent and had worked on the royal residences at Versailles, Marly, and La Muette. The younger Lemoyne had continued in the same line, becoming Louis XV's official portraitist and monumental sculptor. His busts of the principal court figures had dominated portraiture since the 1730s, and in 1770 his bust of the dauphine, Marie-Antoinette (fig. 1), was widely hailed as one of his masterpieces.[38] Pajou must have examined it closely, and the carefully worked-out conception of his own bust of Mme Du Barry (cat. 95–98) can be seen as a brilliant response to his teacher's precedent. The dauphine's sumptuous wrappings are shed in favor of a subtle dishabille, a supple tunic that leaves the shoulders and upper bosom exposed; the almost severely arranged braids of the royal coiffure are changed into artfully loosened ringlets; and the imperious Habsburg face softens into the smiling image of the king's beloved.[39] With Pajou, the court portrait is transformed and rendered sensual.

Almost nothing is known of Pajou's relations with Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–1785). Sixteen years Pajou's elder, he had been a pupil of Lemoyne's and had benefited from the golden years of Louis XV's reign, carrying off at mid-century the large, prestigious commissions that were to elude Pajou.[40] But his star began to wane at the beginning of the 1770s with his *Nude Voltaire* (fig. 181), the plaster cast of which, on display since 1771, inspired considerable hostility. Pajou skillfully took advantage of the controversy over the appropriate garb for a philosopher in perfecting his *Buffon* (cat. 112) and made a lasting name for himself as a sculptor of historic figures.

Pajou might have felt threatened by the talent of Jean-Jacques Caffieri (1725–1792), another student of Lemoyne's.[41] Luckily for Pajou, the abrasive Caffieri

proved to be his own worst enemy, even as far back as his time in Rome. Pajou, who was younger, was always given preference over him at the Académie. In the 1760s Caffieri specialized in highly refined sculptures for the collector. At the Salon of 1767, for example, he exhibited a marble statuette of Innocence (fig. 2) that was bought by Choiseul. This work, reflecting a subtle Neoclassical taste and very finely executed, was the equal of the marble statuettes in La Live de Jully's collection. In the same year Pajou with his *Neptune* (cat. 71), also acquired by Choiseul, answered his rival in a manner far removed from the "Greek" taste (*goût grec*) then in vogue—even though he had no trouble making it his own (cat. 69), proving thereby his stylistic diversity. In the same way he was able to compete with the lighthearted terracottas of Clodion (1738–1814), even though this side of his activity is little known today (fig. 103). Indeed he may well have been stimulated by his son-in-law's extreme dexterity—Clodion was as expert in the art of modeling as he was in the perceptive ordering of motifs.

When Caffieri turned to portraiture in the 1770s, his rival was no longer Pajou—who was mainly interested in rendering the likenesses of his friends and had no desire to make his living as a portraitist—but Houdon. Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) appeared on the Paris art scene at the beginning of the 1770s, when he exhibited his bust of Diderot at the Salon of 1771 (the work is now in the Louvre). This masterpiece, in which the writer is shown in idealized antique fashion but with striking realism, was the first of an unrivaled gallery of portraits of the principal figures of the Enlightenment, a milieu that Pajou did not frequent and in which Caffieri came to grief.[42] Houdon's tremendous fame has long obscured the works of his contemporaries, notably Pajou—not in their own time but among later historians. There is no doubt that his often-reproduced portraits of Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau, d'Alembert, Franklin, Condorcet, Mirabeau, and others have identified Houdon as the privileged interlocutor of the eighteenth-century elite, those spokesmen of the Enlightenment who have been so much the subject of studyin France since the Third Republic. Desultory in his attendance at the Académie (he did not become an assistant professor until 1792), scorned by d'Angiviller (his *Tourville* was his only sculpture for the Bâtiments du Roi; fig. 199), Houdon was courted by the philosophes, the influential



Fig. 1. Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, *The Dauphine Marie-Antoinette*, 1770. Marble. Vienna, Kunsthistorischesmuseum

Freemasons' lodge of the Nine Sisters, and the Francophile foreigners who were the cause of his travels; he represented the revenge of the city on the château, the triumph of Paris over Versailles. The centennial of his death was widely celebrated, and numerous monographs on him were published in France and abroad. We can, in fact, easily orient ourselves in Houdon's eighteenth century: the faces that he modeled are well known (they are part of history) or universally affecting (his wife and children); he cast in bronze, a medium always highly prized by collectors; and his style is one of admirable ease. Pajou, however, suffers from more than one handicap: he illustrates an eighteenth century rooted in institutions, plunged into the aesthetic debate over Neoclassicism (interest in which was revived only some thirty years ago), and exemplified by large-scale marble works whose political and aesthetic significance has been lost. Pajou has been readily given credit for the success of the Royal Opera at Versailles and for his busts of Mme Du Barry and Hubert Robert. But it proved more difficult to esteem his *Buffon* or *Psyche Abandoned*, with their innovative aesthetic approach, whereas Houdon's *Seated Voltaire* is so evidently witty, his *Diana* so graceful and seductive. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Houdon has elicited every sort of praise, with no real concern for analytic subtlety. Surely the time has come to rekin-

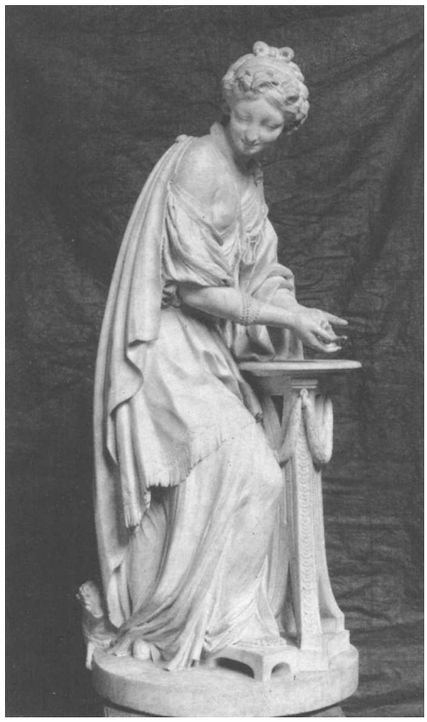


Fig. 2. Jean-Jacques Caffieri, *Innocence,* 1767. Marble. Private collection

dle the debate in all its complexity and restore to Pajou (despite the "error" he committed in enjoying institutional privilege) his stature as a great and intellectually demanding artist. Pajou, as already noted, played the part of "first sculptor to the king" under Louis XVI. If he confronted Houdon on only a few issues[43]—the latter's portrait of *Buffon* (fig. 3; see chapter VI and cat. 114), the characterization of the Great Men of France (see chapter VII and cat. 114), and the aesthetics of Neoclassical statuary (see chapter VIII and cat. 134)—their competition was no less intense for all that.

To what extent Pajou's personality is revealed through his students is uncertain. The most faithful of them was Roland (cat. 150), who pursued the tradition of excellence learned at the Académie and in his master's studio.[44] Dardel, on the other hand, is more like a negative image of his master, repeating his subjects (fig. 4) with evident fascination and an obsessive desire for originality, unfortunately limited by the bibelot scale forced on him by necessity.[45] Deseine (cat. 148)[46] and, to a lesser degree, Beauvallet were inspired by Pajou's style before developing their own personalities.[47] As for Jacques-Edme Dumont, after his dazzling debut with a superb marble relief influenced by Bouchardon and Bridan (fig. 5), he created small terracottas in the spirit of Marin, quite removed from the aesthetic principles of his teacher.[48] A little-known sculptor, Louis-Jacques Pillon (1741–after 1806), a student of Lemoyne's and, apparently, of Pajou's,[49] appropriated a subject that Pajou treated in 1783, *Friendship in the Person of Pollux Driving Away Death;*[50] he made a model (possibly conceived by the Danish scholar baron de Tott) that was cast and chased by Thomire (fig. 6).[51] This work, however, is stylistically very different from Pajou's art. On the other hand, François-Nicolas Delaistre (1746–1832) was not a student of Pajou's but a friend: Pajou presented him at the Académie when Delaistre was received, on July 30, 1785, and was a witness at his marriage on February 21, 1786. Pajou's influence can be felt in Delaistre's earliest works, notably the superb marble *Rosière* (a virtuous maiden crowned with roses) for the funerary monument containing the heart of the marquis Gallyot de Tourny at the Château de La Falaise (private collection), whose face is clearly derived from that of the *Psyche.* Pajou's art did not leave people indifferent: it could either mark a personality for life (as with Roland, Deseine, and Delaistre) or else provoke a frankly independent reaction (as in Dardel, Pillon, and Dumont).

No artist in the second half of the eighteenth century had as rich a career as Pajou in such a variety of areas, even if in each of these genres he seemed to measure himself against others: Chambers or Robert in his copies after the antique and the great masters, Michel-Ange Slodtz and Guillaume II Coustou in architectural decorations, Bouchardon and Cochin in the large-scale narrative drawings, Pigalle and Coustou in funerary monuments, Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne in portraits, Caffieri, Clodion, and Lecomte in sculpture for collectors, Pigalle and Houdon in statuary. However, Pajou is unique in that he could handle every one of these genres with exceptional talent. His profoundly classical style adapted itself to all kinds of project, and in his most ambitious works (*Buffon* and *Psyche Abandoned* [cat. 112, 134]), by virtue of his iconographic choices, he was lyrical and innovative. There could be no more pertinent comment on his art than the advice he gave toward the end of his career to the young Dumont, then in Rome: "The most beautiful works of the Greeks that you have before your eyes must make you understand that what has rendered them the foremost artists in the world was the study of Nature, from which they never departed, but with that exquisite discernment that puts such a great distance between the artist who imitates without delicacy and the artist who

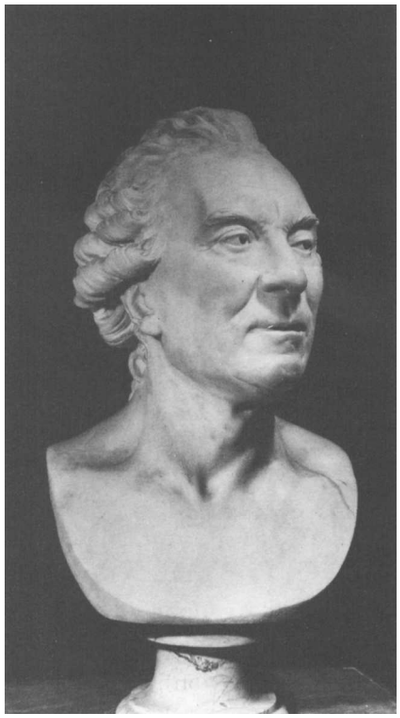


Fig. 3. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Buffon,* 1782. Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre

knows how to make the right choice; this is the whole secret of the finest works by the famous modern masters that you see around you."[52] Antiquity viewed through *la belle Nature,* intelligence vivified by experience: the art of Pajou is a lesson in intellectual mastery and feeling. GS

1. Stein 1912, p. vi.
2. Schneider 1926, pp. 177–78. For several other examples, see "Critical Fortunes."
3. Arnason 1976, p. 7.
4. On the portraits, see, for example, Vitry 1934, p. 96: "One of Pajou's merits, and not the least among them, must be sought in his abundant series of portraits. He shows neither the picturesque verve of Caffieri nor Houdon's depth of expression; but his work found favor because of its precise and sufficiently lifelike accuracy and the air of natural elegance that he conferred on his models."
5. On the monumental sculptures, Stein's comment on *Buffon* (cat. 112) is indicative of his fundamental incomprehension—which he shared with the historians of his generation—of the spirit of Neoclassical art: "This work can be criticized not only for its dimensions and ridiculous approach, but also for a certain stiffness and affectation in its movements, and an annoying tendency to dramatize" (1912, p. 168). *Psyche Abandoned* (cat. 134) is described as "a pretty chorus girl. . . . This Greek weeps just like a Greuze" (Schneider 1926, p. 178).
6. Larousse 1866–76, p. 44.
7. Le Breton 1810, p. 357.
8. Caffieri, who was received into the Académie on April 28, 1759, did not become an assistant professor until March 2, 1765. Pajou was also ahead of Nicolas-Sébastien Adam (born in 1705), but the latter had been late in presenting his morceau de réception (on June 26, 1762).
9. Pajou would long await his turn to be named assistant rector in 1790; preceding him were Pigalle (1770), Allegrain (1781), and Falconet (1783), but neither Caffieri nor Houdon ever attained this honor. Pajou became rector in 1792, the year in which Houdon was appointed assistant professor.
10. Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 128.
11. Cayeux 1989, p. 162.
12. Seznec and Adhémar 1960, p. 241.
13. "Pajou has posted on his door as a motto Petit-Jean's maxim [in Racine's *Les Plaideurs*]: 'Without money, without money, honor is but a sickness.' . . . This is a talent crushed under a sack of gold: let him stay there" (Bukdahl et al. 1995a, p. 491).
14. Seznec and Adhémar 1960, p. 242.
15. Pajou suffered greatly from continual discussions with Marigny, Terray, and d'Angiviller regarding the settlement of his account for the Versailles Royal Opera, repeatedly disputed even though the work had been completed in record time. This slight explains his harassment of the Bâtiments du Roi, which he assumed to be a systematically late payer.
16. "I, Pajou, out of affection for the memory of the aforesaid M. Dumont, my colleague, and to ease the misfortunes of his widow and children, by ceding to them the revenue that the said late M. Dumont would have received had he executed the project assigned to him, declare that I will assume the said project and bring it to completion, without expectation of any remuneration or personal fees" (February 16, 1776; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 131).
17. Letter dated October 17, 1781 (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt collection).
18. "I cannot cease to admire the zeal and constancy that M. Pajou has shown in helping us. I would have liked him to be as gentle in his manner of giving advice to his students as he is obliging. Although I have always been convinced of his good intentions in my regard, the tone and manner in which he has always expressed himself to me have unwittingly taken away the trust that I would have wished to place in him" (Jacques-Edme Dumont to his mother, from Rome, late 1788; Vattier 1890, p. 49).
19. He signed a letter of January 11, 1791, "your friend Pajou" (BNMs, Nouv. acq. fr. 24839, fol. 432).
20. As Deseine (a new member of the Académie in 1791) had requested a studio in the Louvre, Edme Dumont's widow was obliged to give up part of her lodging, thereby depriving her son, then in Rome, of a space he would need on his return. She wrote to him: "M. Pajou, your teacher, asks that you not get too upset; he will give you a suitable area in which to work in his own studio" (Vattier 1890, p. 64).
21. The distinction is made in the manuscript lists of students at the Académie (ENSBA, Mss. 45, 95).
22. Roland and Dardel were part of the team that worked on the Versailles Opera, as were several artists who were not students of Pajou's, such as Dejoux, Milot, Deschamps, Mérard (Stein 1912, doc. xx), and Jean-Baptiste Julia, who in 1777 created the stuccos for the hôtel in Toulouse of the comte Jean Du Barry, brother-in-law and former lover of the royal mistress (Bruard 1992, pp. 284–85).
23. Pajou presented Sergel to the Académie in 1779; the latter mentions him in one of his notebooks (Paris 1975, p. 99). Three "pensionnaires of the king of Spain" ("Joseph Alvarez of Cordoba," "Emmanuel Michel of Madrid," and "Joseph Aparicio of Alicante") lodged in Pajou's house on the rue Fromenteau in the month of Vendémiaire, year VIII (1799–1800).
24. *Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 184.
25. Salon of 1796, no. 608 in the *livret.*
26. There was correspondence between Pajou and Gérard (see Chronology, 1792), and the latter was a witness at the wedding of Pajou's son on July 15, 1795.
27. Pajou used Roland "by choice on all his works in marble" (Quatremère de Quincy 1834, p. 105). Apparently, Roland also helped Pajou on the Palais-Royal, then at the Versailles Opera, where he figures in first place and for the largest fee (twenty-three thousand livres) on the list of Pajou's collaborators (invoice of 1779; Stein 1912, doc. xx).
28. During the 1790s, thanks to Jacques-Edme Dumont and his son, Pajou kept up a network of relations with the painters from David's studio, writing to Gérard (see n. 25 above) and Girodet (a witness at



Fig. 4. Robert-Guillaume Dardel, *Turenne,* 1782. Bronze. Chantilly, Musée Condé

Flore Pajou's second marriage on January 31, 1796), and being visited by Gros in Montpellier (for details, see especially Chronology, 1791–93, and chapter IX).

29. Since Bouchardon, the position of draftsman to the Académie des Inscriptions had generally been reserved for a sculptor-draftsman. It went to Pajou because, as De Wailly wrote to the marquis d'Argenson on November 18, 1772 (Poitiers, BU, P 172, 42), "he is the only one of the sculptors who draws so well." Pajou, however, considered his nomination over rivals such as Cochin and Pierre to be quite a coup.
30. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century there was a serious decline in the recruitment and quality of history painters, which was keenly felt at the Académie (see Michel 1993, pp. 108, 111, 116). Pajou's positive and conspicuous activities in the field must be seen in this context, before d'Angiviller resumed control.
31. Review published in the *Avant-Coureur* in connection with the Salon of 1773 (Deloynes, vol. 49, p. 1328).
32. Peyron's sketch, made in Rome in 1778 (London, Wellington Museum, Apsley House), was shown at the Salon of 1783 two days before it closed (Rosenberg and Van Sandt 1983, pp. 81–84, no. 20, pl. I, fig. 21).
33. On this exchange, see Deloynes, vol. 13, pp. 312–14.
34. We might add Michel-Ange Slodtz (1705–1764) and Guillaume II Coustou (1716–1777), whose work as architectural sculptors was deeply admired by Pajou in the 1760s.
35. Like Pajou, Vassé was fairly systematic in drawing after his own works in red chalk (among them *Comedy, Cupid with Doves, Venus and Cupid,* and the funerary monuments for Princess Gallitzin, Feydeau de Brou, and the heart of Marie Leszczinska).



Fig. 5. Jacques-Edme Dumont, *The Discovery of the Relics of Saint Gervase and Saint Protase,* 1783. Marble. Cathedral of Sées

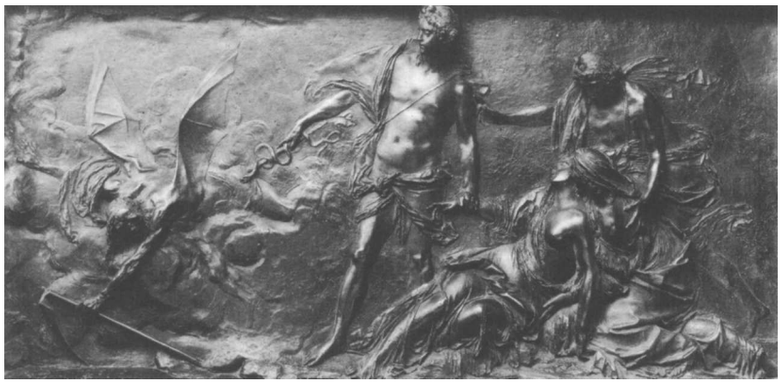


Fig. 6. Pierre-Philippe Thomire, *Friendship in the Person of Pollux Who, Armed with the Scepter of Aesculapius, Drives away Death Who Is about to Strike Down a Young Girl in the Flower of Youth, after Louis-Jacques Pillon,* after 1783. Bronze. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

36. Except for Pigalle, whom he designated as the artist most worthy of finishing the equestrian monument to Louis XV.
37. A painting by Pierre, *A Sculptor's Studio,* signed and dated 1756 (anonymous sale Paris, Drouot, March 26, 1953, no. III, ill.; whereabouts unknown), was identified as depicting Lemoyne pondering a bust of Louis XV while an apprentice—the young Pajou (?)—prepares his tools (Réau 1927, p. 49).
38. Commissioned on July 5, 1770; presented to Louis XV on September 15, 1771, and then at the Salon (not in the *livret*); sent to the court of Vienna in March 1772 (Versailles 1955, no. 20). "Lemoyne has made the bust of madame the dauphine, to be sent to Vienna; he has turned marble into flesh. It is a precious work. The king has told him that it is his masterpiece, and the evidence of my eyes agrees" (François Tronchin, letter of December 15, 1771: Tronchin 1895, p. 286).
39. Pajou, Louis XVI's official portraitist, never did a bust of Marie-Antoinette. It was Louis-Simon Boizot who obtained a quasi-monopoly on the queen's features (see Thérèse Piquenard in Paris 1996, pp. 92–100). The bust of her by Lecomte at the Château de Versailles was privately commissioned by the abbé de Vermond (Versailles 1955, no. 64), and when Boizot sculpted the king, it was at the queen's request (marble bust dated 1777 in the Château de Versailles; Versailles 1955, no. 122).
40. The royal monument in Reims and the completion of the one by Bouchardon in Paris; the funerary monuments for the maréchal de Saxe and the comte d'Harcourt. Pigalle's links with Mme de Pompadour probably lost him the favor of Mme Du Barry, who for her own glory preferred to use an artist such as Pajou, more recently known to the court.
41. Étienne-Maurice Falconet (1716–1791) should also be cited; but Falconet left France for Russia in 1766, and when he returned he was too ill to sculpt.
42. Caffieri was a cantankerous rival of Houdon in the field of portraiture, so much so that he made himself unbearable to people (such as Franklin) who at first were inclined in his favor. He even dared to do the bust of the enemy of the philosophes, Palissot (terracotta; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine).
43. The hostility between Pajou and Houdon has been greatly exaggerated. Their rivalry over the royal monument in Brest (see Chronology, 1784–85) was that of two competing artists, at a time when large-scale commissions were growing ever more scarce. It is true that during the Revolution Houdon tried to secure for himself the position of keeper of modern sculptures in the Salle des Antiques, which Pajou had long held; but the latter was in Montpellier at the time, and there was really no reason for the responsibility to be assumed by his son (see Chronology). During the Directory the two sculptors, both given honorary appointments at the Institut on November 20, 1795, saw each other socially in the company of their mutual friends Dufort de Cherverny and Sedaine (see Dufort de Cheverny 1909, vol. 2, pp. 187–88, 270).
44. "He works marble superlatively well and in every respect he should fully satisfy any demand made of him" (Pajou recommending Roland to d'Angiviller for the assignment of a Great Man, October 22, 1783: Stein 1912, doc. XXXIV). On Roland, see Genoux 1964, 1965, and 1966 and Draper 1992.
45. In 1782 Dardel created the model for his statuette of Turenne (bronze; Chantilly, Musée Condé), and in the same year at the Salon de la Correspondance he exhibited a *Descartes* (terracotta; London, Wallace Collection), two subjects treated by Pajou, albeit very differently. It is not known how he conceived his "Buffon preparing to write, surrounded by all the objects that he encountered in his natural history, or by all the symbols that can represent them" at the Salon de la Correspondance of 1785 (see cat. 117), his standing *Bossuet* holding his notebooks, or his *Pascal* "tracing the cycloid" (the last two at the Salon de la Correspondance of 1787), but they indeed seem to have been responses to statues by Pajou. Dardel often saw Pajou's son at the Commune Générale des Arts during the most turbulent days of the Revolution, and Pajou *fils* kept some of Dardel's works throughout his life (see Chronology, December 11, 1828, no. 53). On Dardel, see Sorel 1990.
46. Take, for example, Deseine's *Hebe* and *Bacchus* created for the dining room of the prince de Condé in Chantilly (marble, signed and dated 1789; now in the grounds of the château).
47. While Pajou tried in 1785 to replace Beauvallet in executing the new decor of the Château de Compiègne, he is likely to have helped him in 1788 obtain the commission for the funerary monument of the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson, intended for the Château des Ormes (Poitiers, BU, D 38), and he presented him to the Académie when Beauvallet was received on September 26, 1789. On Deseine, see Le Chatelier 1906 and Lapparent, forthcoming; on Beauvallet, see Scherf 1994.
48. On Dumont, see Vattier 1890 and Isabelle Leroy-Jay-Lemaistre in Paris 1992b, pp. 96–99.
49. Cited in the *livret* of the Salon of 1806. On this somewhat rebellious artist, who was at odds with the institutions of the ancien régime and was appointed curator of sculpture at Versailles in 1795, see Lami 1911, pp. 256–59.
50. Plaster relief exhibited at the Salon of 1783 (now lost); see Chronology.
51. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 541-1869; see Chronology, August 25, 1783, no. 217. The work bears the inscriptions *PILLON S.*; *THOMIRE C.*; and *B. DE TOTT F.*
52. Pajou to J.-E. Dumont (in Rome), Paris, January 11, 1791 (BNMs, Nouv. acq. fr. 24839, fols. 431–32).

I. *Training*

Augustin Pajou was born in Paris on September 19, 1730. His paternal grandfather, his great-uncle, and his father (cat. 146) were all sculptors in wood. His maternal grandfather came from a similar background, as did his godfather.[1] These were modest artists: Pajou did not have the good fortune to grow up amid a powerful dynasty of sculptors to the king, as did Lemoyne, Coustou, and Caffieri. From his origins, he evidently retained lessons of determination and tenacity. It is unknown under what circumstances he met Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne: was Lemoyne a professional acquaintance of his father's or simply a neighbor? Without espousing the poetic effusions of Mme Grandsard, who reconstructs the artist's edifying youth under the protection of his mentor,[2] we have to acknowledge that the adolescent was at a precocious age when his talents, honed indeed in the shadow of the family undertakings, were noticed by Lemoyne. According to Chaussard,[3] Pajou was fourteen when he was admitted into Lemoyne's studio. His master soon gave him a special pass so that he could get into the halls of the Académie and benefit from the pedagogic arsenal in force: practical exercises after the old masters, in sculpture in the round, and in the life class, studies in anatomy and perspective. In July 1746 he won the second-place medal in the district prizes, and first place in April 1747;[4] progress was rapid. Finally, the culmination of his efforts was to be awarded Grand Prize in sculpture on December 7, 1748.[5] This was in a second contest, specially organized to provide resident students for the new École Royale des Élèves Protégés. As Pajou was only eighteen years old at the time, the honor was exceptional, indeed "without precedent since the founding of the Académie."[6]

Pajou's earliest training, then, took place under the eye of Lemoyne. Relations between the two men remained excellent. The teacher helped Pajou at crucial points in his life, such as his acceptance and induction into the Académie (see cat. 28), and no doubt recommended him at the time of his first major public commissions (the *Saint Augustine* for the Dôme des Invalides). Pajou was not ungrateful. Three times he exhibited his portrait of Lemoyne (see cat. 26, 27), justly celebrated for its sincere and human rendering of the sitter. During the second half of the 1740s Lemoyne was a recognized master. Some of the best sculptors of the century had already passed through his studio—notably Pigalle, Falconet, and Caffieri—and it was considered the best nursery for talent in its day.

Taking up his prize, Pajou entered the École Royale des Élèves Protégés (the stepping stone to the Académie de France in Rome) as a member of its very first graduating class. The school had been founded by Lenormant de Tournehem and Charles-Antoine Coypel in order to offer Grand Prize recipients a complement to the scholarly curriculum provided by the Académie and to prepare them for their Italian sojourn. For three years, the student would continue his dual training: practical, under the guidance of the school's governor (Dumont le Romain, then Carle Van Loo), and intellectual, under the tutelage of an instructor in history and literature (Bernard Lépicié). The latter's courses were meant to give students the knowledge of iconographic sources they would need in order to develop the grand style expected of them. Three mornings a week, for an hour and a half, they attended a class in "history, fable, and geography," intended to "furnish the minds" of the youngsters. Each period gave rise to the subject of a composition that the students worked at rendering. According to a report written by Lépicié in 1749, "after supper, we read poetic history, and successively we will read Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and the rest of the authors who have written on the fable."[7] The aim of these intensive readings was to lead to great familiarity with classical subjects. The students' works were exhibited every year at Versailles, summing up the teaching provided by the school, which was supported by the royal administration. In January 1750 Pajou showed *Anacreon Plucking a Feather from Cupid's Wings* (cat. 1). The following year he presented a group called *Charity Accompanied by Two Children;* this is now lost, but there may be a reflection of it in an exquisite small terracotta dated 1778 (fig. 236). At the same exhibition in Versailles, Pajou's friend Edme Dumont showed *Polyphemus Trying to Crush Acis, Loved by Galatea,*[8] a statuette that can be identified with the terracotta in

the Institute of Arts in Minneapolis (fig. 7).[9] In 1752 Laurent Guiard exhibited *Hercules Slaying the Dragon of the Hesperides,*[10] which can also be traced; it is now in the Museo Glauco Lombardi in Parma (fig. 8). These three sculptures, almost miraculously preserved, bear witness to the work done in the school, which was based on an assimilation of the classical masters. Among the elite scions of the Académie, Pajou developed, beyond the skills needed for sculpture, a literary culture that never left him, as attested by his taste for historical subjects and the numerous books in his library (see Chronology, 1797).

On October 17, 1751, he left the École to go to the Académie de France in Rome, where he arrived on February 14, 1752, accompanied by the painter La Traverse and the architect Barreau de Chefdeville. Pajou soon won the admiration of the painter Natoire, the director of the institution,[11] and the comparison the latter drew between him and Caffieri was entirely in Pajou's favor.[12] Vandières had every reason to be satisfied: "Encourage M. Pajou, on my behalf, to continue; what you have written me about him gives me infinite satisfaction. I hope that he will serve as an example to his comrades."[13] Among these comrades, apart from La Traverse and Barreau, were the architects Trouard (who arrived in 1753) and, as of 1754, De Wailly and Moreau-Desproux, together with the sculptors Louis-Félix Delarue (who stayed only a few months) and Guiard. Pajou became very friendly with the four architects, who were later joined by William Chambers, as well as with the painters Doyen, La Traverse, Deshays, and Hubert Robert (the last in Rome in November 1754).[14]

Pajou produced a great many drawings while in Rome and Naples,[15] both from the antique (cat. 2–6) and from the masters of the Renaissance (cat. 7, 8), Mannerism (cat. 9), and the Baroque (cat. 10–12). Lavallée's comments about his friend De Wailly could just as easily be applied to him: "Imagine, if you will, a young, impetuous, ardent [Pajou], athirst for models, devoured by the need to know, to study, to compare; sensing the beauties of antiquity as Columbus sensed the New World . . .; having only three years in which to enrich himself with the magnificence of twenty centuries."[16] He was also a keen observer of scenes of everyday life (cat. 13, 14) and created personal compositions of great power, both in the field of decorative art (cat. 15–17) and in that of the narrative subject (cat. 18–23).

Pajou left Rome on June 2, 1756,[17] carrying a letter written by the abbé Barthélemy to the comte de Caylus: "A young sculptor from the Académie de France, named Pajou, has recently left to return to Paris. I have given him a letter for you, my dear count. He did not need it; his talent alone entitles him to your

Fig. 7. Attributed to Edme Dumont, *Polyphemus.* Terracotta. Minneapolis, Institute of Arts



Fig. 8. Laurent Guiard, *Hercules Slaying the Dragon of the Hesperides.* Painted plaster. Parma, Museo Glauco Lombardi



Fig. 9. Pajou, *Virgin and Child.* Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown



patronage; but in any case I have recommended him to you."[18] Pajou had already been in contact with Caylus (see cat. 4); this letter recalled him to Caylus's favorable recollection. As an associate member of the Académie Royale, Caylus wielded great influence there, and his recommendation could prove useful while Pajou was preparing for his induction. Indeed his *Head of a Man* of July 1757 (fig. 28), with its marked features, may be a *tête d'expression,* a head intensely imbued with expression, in keeping with the famous contest sponsored by Caylus, or it may rather be a study for *Pluto* (cat. 28). The two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive.

In July 1757, too, Pajou produced a *Virgin and Child* (fig. 9),[19] also in terracotta. The sculptor was measuring himself here against a noble tradition. It is possible that he was trying to emulate Pigalle's group, which he had admired at the Dôme des Invalides (Pigalle's statue is now in the church of Saint-Eustache).[20] But he also took pains to make his work stand on its own: the child is carried on the Virgin's right shoulder and the spirit of her drapery is different. Her lowered eyes may come from Bouchardon's silver statue, much admired at Saint-Sulpice.[21] Whatever the case, this modest terracotta, intended for an unknown collector, signaled Pajou's talent for small domestic sculpture.[22] By contrast, the two stone works dated 1758, and installed much later in the park of the Folie Sainte-James in Neuilly (see cat. 24), were short-lived attempts at garden statuary.

On January 27, 1759, Pajou was admitted to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (see cat. 28).[23] He could now bear the title "sculptor to the king" and exhibit his work at the Salon. On April 9 he complained of having been "seized" by master painters from the rival Académie de Saint-Luc. The Académie Royale, alarmed, demanded that the painters be brought up on charges.[24] On July 31 an indignant letter was addressed to Marigny: "they claimed to dispute Pajou's right to work in Paris on works of sculpture"; the master sculptors, they said, should not be allowed to prevent artists who had returned from Italy, and who "have no intention of being inducted into the community of master artists" from working by persecuting them or seizing their belongings.[25] The dispute with the master artists was resolved amicably: Pajou, having been accredited by the Académie Royale, did not have to justify his activities. The exact cause of this physical assault by members of the Académie de Saint-Luc is not known, except that they were trying to keep the young artist from working in marble. Indeed, at the time he was sculpting the stele for the *Princess of Hesse-Homburg,* exhibited on August 25 at the Salon (cat. 53); he might also have begun his *Pluto Keeping Cerberus in Chains* (cat. 28), since the group was finished by January 26, 1760, the date of his reception into the Académie Royale. That day, practically the entire company was gathered. Pajou was no doubt particularly proud of his success before his teachers, especially Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, and before the other accredited sculptors: the instructors Pigalle, Allegrain, and Guillaume II Coustou, as well as the assistant instructors Falconet and Vassé.[26]

Now a full-fledged academician, Pajou was free to think about marrying, and so he did on January 27, 1761. His bride was Angélique, daughter of the wood sculptor Claude Roumier. The latter, a member of the Académie de Saint-Luc since 1738, was the brother of François Roumier, a more famous artist—a rival of Degoullons—whose studio he apparently took over after François's death in 1748.[27] Roumier had already married one of his daughters in 1746 to the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Pitoin,[28] a relative of Pajou's. This marriage strengthened the bonds between Pajou and the milieu of wood sculptors, bonds that he recalled in 1768 when he had to put together a team to handle the decoration of the Royal Opera at Versailles.[29] Lemoyne and his wife were named as witnesses on the marriage contract. Pajou's fortune was still modest: "The goods of the future husband, less what he owes, amount to the sum of 5,100 livres 5 sous and 6 deniers in personal effects."[30] For his part, Claude Roumier "grants as a dowry to the said young lady, his daughter, first the sum of 5,473 livres 12 sous and 6 deniers in silverware, furniture, linens, and household items, clothing, personal belongings, underwear, lace, etc. Jewelry for the use of the said future wife. 2. the sum of 2,000 livres in cash. . . . 3. 400 livres in perpetual annuity free and clear of public taxes [the young couple gave up this allowance in 1765]." The overall sum was less than 8,000 livres.[31] The newlyweds went to live in the Roumier family home on the rue Froidmanteau, very near the Louvre and the École Royale des Élèves Protégés, which Pajou had attended in his youth.

On July 30, 1762, Pajou was appointed assistant instructor at the Académie Royale, after having brought in his works "according to custom."[32] His colleagues now considered him ready to begin teaching others. GS

1. Jal 1867, p. 932; Guiffrey 1876, p. 80.
2. In one of the marvelous dialogues in her book, published in 1864 and reissued in 1881 (in the series Bibliothéque chrétienne de l'adolescence et du jeune âge), Mme Grandsard (p. 31) recounts how "Master Alain [*sic*] Lemoyne" decisively intervened to persuade Martin Pajou to allow his son freedom to pursue his vocation: "More than ever I am convinced that one day he will be one of our most illustrious sculptors, and that the entire universe will glorify his works and his name."
3. Chaussard 1806, p. 462.
4. Cahen 1993, p. 73.
5. *Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 6, p. 135.
6. Chaussard 1806, p. 462; Le Breton 1810, p. 355. This fact is recalled in his epitaph: "he won the grand prize in sculpture at the age of eighteen, the first to do so in the history of the Académie."
7. Courajod 1874, p. 34.
8. Ibid., p. 35.
9. In fact, the work is stylistically quite similar to *Milo of Crotona,* the model of which Dumont showed at Versailles in January 1752 and the marble of which became his morceau de réception in 1768 (Paris, Musée du Louvre).
10. Courajod 1874, p. 35.
11. Natoire wrote to Vandières, the director of the Bâtiments du Roi, on September 12, 1752: "[Pajou] seems to be a good student who takes direction well" (*Corr.*, vol. 10, p. 412). And on October 16, in a letter from Vandières to Natoire, Pajou was described as a "promising subject" (ibid., p. 418).
12. Natoire wrote to Vandières on March 14, 1753: "I am very happy with M. Pajou; this young sculptor has taste and a lot of talent and does not have a high opinion of his own merit like his colleague Caffieri" (ibid., p. 441). The latter left the Académie on July 28.
13. Letter from Vandières to Natoire, April 8, 1753 (ibid., p. 446).
14. On Pajou's stay in Italy and his relations with the other pensionnaires, see Draper and Scherf, forthcoming.
15. He stayed in Naples from October 1755 to the beginning of 1756.
16. Lavallée, year VII, p. 12.
17. Natoire to Marigny: "Pajou, who is about to leave, will make a sculptor of merit; he models with much feeling" (*Corr.*, vol. 11, p. 138).
18. Rome, June 9, 1756 (ibid., pp. 140–41).
19. The group (H. 60 cm [23⅝ in.]) bears the inscription *A. PAJOU. JUILLET 1757* (A. Pajou, July 1797; Stein 1912, p. 11, ill. as in Paris, Étienne Moreau-Nélaton collection). The work was unsuccessfully offered to the Louvre on June 9, 1856, by Robert Frossard: "it is a Virgin and Child that we acquired when we bought the establishment known as the Société des Arts Industriels" (AMN, s^5 9 and June 20, 1856).
20. Gaborit 1985, p. 9, ill.
21. This *Virgin* was destroyed under the Revolution but is known from various descriptions.
22. At the Salon of 1759 Pajou exhibited an oval relief of a *Virgin and Child Accompanied by Angels,* which was either bought by Trouard or given to him by the sculptor (see cat. 15). There was also "A Virgin" at the Salon of the Académie de Toulouse in 1770 (no. 6 in the *livret*: Mesuret 1972, p. 217, no. 2036).
23. *Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, p. 81. Pajou had been a member of the academy of Bologna since June 9, 1757. The date of his admission into the academy of Parma is not known (see Chronology, 1761 and 1777).
24. *Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, p. 88.
25. *Corr.*, vol. 11, p. 288.
26. The instructor Bouchardon was absent, as was assistant instructor Saly (in Denmark).
27. Pons in Paris–Lunéville 1986, pp. 154–57.
28. Ibid.
29. There is a Pitoin on the list of his collaborators (Stein 1912, p. 187 n. 2).
30. AN, Min. Cent., VII, 428, January 18, 1761.
31. Pajou's financial situation would improve considerably: twenty years later, in 1781, his daughter brought a dowry of seventy thousand livres to her marriage with Clodion (AN, Min. Cent., XXI, 499, January 21, 1781).
32. *Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, p. 195–98.



1

1. *Anacreon Plucking a Feather from Cupid's Wings*

Terracotta
H. 56.5 cm (22¼ in.), W. 42 cm (16½ in.), D. 39 cm (15⅜ in.)
Incised on leaf of open book: οδεσ ερστιθθεσ (erotic odes)

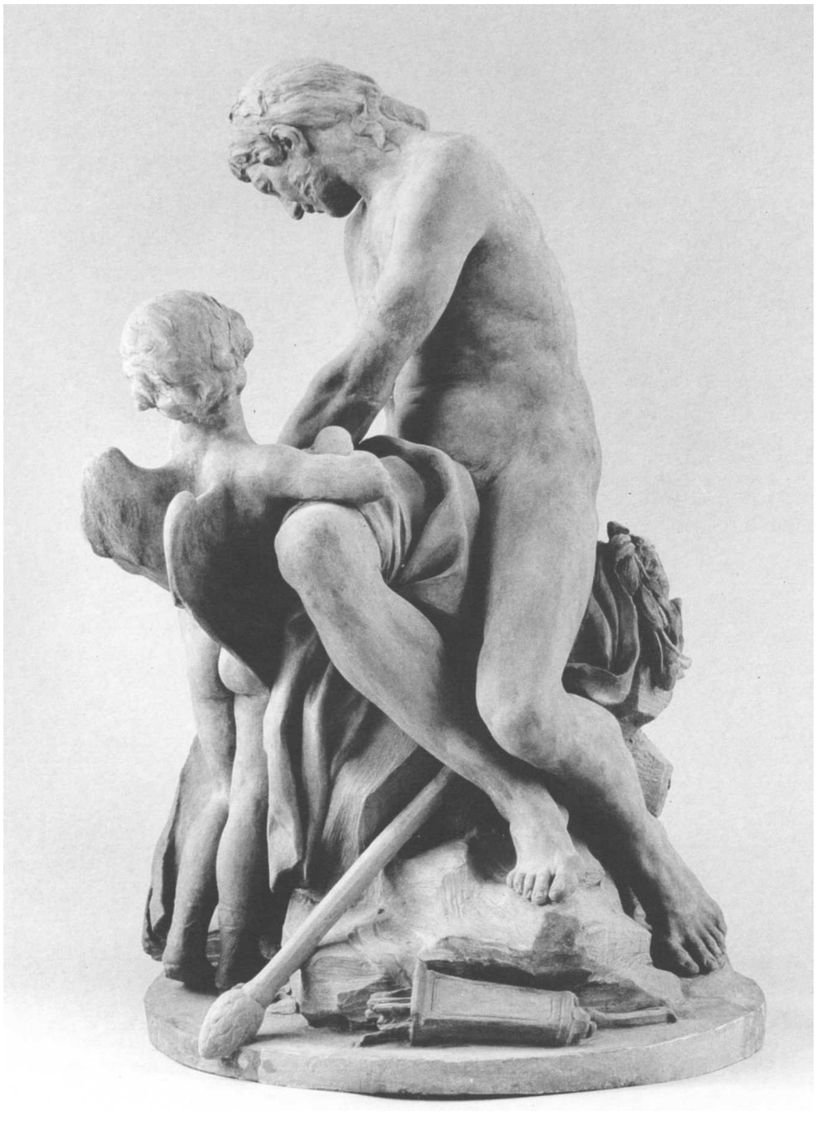
Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 3418)

PROVENANCE: Monte Carlo art market (*The Connoisseur*, December 1976, p. 17, ill.); acquired by writ of export in 1979

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Courajod 1874, p. 35; Lami 1911, p. 203; Stein 1912, pp. 2, 395; Beaulieu 1979, p. 159, ill.

RELATED WORK: A copy in marble executed by Marchand, a student of Boizot's, was in the Claude-Henry Watelet collection; sold Paris, June 12, 1786, no. 63. (Now in the National Trust collection, Waddesdon Manor: Hodgkinson 1970, p. 66, no. 23, ill., fig. 10).

This terracotta group is Pajou's first known work. When it was acquired by the Louvre in 1979, it had a brown patina which had been later applied. Analysis of several samples by the Research Laboratories of the Musées de France revealed layers of various materials: the sculpted terracotta itself is white, "rich in particles of crushed quartz used as a brightener" (report by J.-P. Rioux). This base is coated with layers of different-colored clays, a common technique that can be seen on other terracottas by Pajou: "these layers, showing no trace of organic binder, seem to have been fired and are probably part of the original work" (ibid.).



Cat. 1: reverse

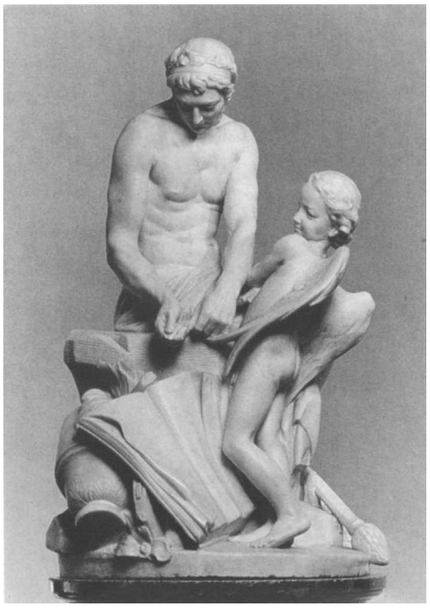
The group was executed when Pajou was at the École Royale des Élèves Protégés, shortly after he had won first prize in sculpture and before he went to stay at the Académie de France in Rome. The work was presented to Louis XV at the Château de Versailles in the school's inaugural exhibition of student works in January 1750 (Courajod 1874, from files O^1 9127 at the AN). This *Anacreon* is therefore highly important: it bears witness to Pajou's Parisian training and to the level of teaching at the newly established École des Elèves Protégés, where he was in the first graduating class.

At the annual exhibitions in Versailles, the works shown to the monarch encapsulated the teaching provided by the school at the royal administration's expense. In January 1750 the six subjects covered biblical history (Old Testament), fables (Ovid, Anacreon), and epic literature (Racine). We find the same balance of subjects until the last presentation in April 1755 (Courajod 1874, pp. 34–37).

Anacreon Plucking a Feather from Cupid's Wings was created by a learned young artist eager to display his recently acquired knowledge. The subject is rare and might seem frivolous, if not for the inscription on the book in Greek characters, referring to *Odes*, a famous volume of poems in which the author, Anacreon, appears as a character. It matters little that today the *Odes* are dated from the Greco-Roman epoch (Dowley 1961, p. 11), much later than the Greek poet himself (about 582–485 B.C.). The volume was well known in Pajou's time, thanks to translations by Mme Dacier (1681, with later editions) and François Gacon (1712, with later editions). It would have been standard read-

ing at the École des Élèves Protégés. Carle Van Loo himself conceived of a composition on the theme of Anacreon Warming Cupid, engraved by Picot. Dowley (1961, pp. 15–16) notes that the figure of Anacreon, often used in the second half of the eighteenth century, rarely appeared in the first half. Indeed, for the earlier period he cites only works by Antoine Coypel and Van Loo and a drawing by Bernard Picart. To this list we can add *Anacreon Warming Cupid, Who Rewards Him Poorly*, exhibited by Collin de Vermont at the Salon of 1750, and the interesting *Anacreon Pierced by Cupid's Arrow* by Nicolas Bertin (about 1695–1700; Autun, Musée Rolin; Lefrançois 1981, no. 43, fig. 22), which, like Pajou's group, is inscribed in Greek, "erotic odes." The poet is not shown as a bearded old man (traditional since antiquity) but young and beardless, as he is in the present terracotta. Pajou does not illustrate the third ode, which tells of Cupid's being warmed by Anacreon and then piercing the poet with his arrow—a subject he treated at a later date (see cat. 80). Instead he presents an invented episode, which is Anacreontic in spirit: the poet plucks a feather from Cupid's wings and uses it to write his odes—Anacreon's inspiration thus comes from love itself.

Fig. 10. Marchand, *Anacreon Plucking a Feather from Cupid's Wings, after Pajou.* Marble. National Trust, Waddesdon Manor



Pajou's idea may have its origins in *Venus Pulling Cupid's Wings*, a small bronze group by Soldani (about 1715–20; a version is in the National Gallery in Ottawa), where the goddess holds a cluster of feathers. But the sense is quite different: Soldani's Venus punishes her mischievous son by preventing him from flying, whereas Pajou's Anacreon is inspired by the very essence of love and thus becomes more worthy of expressing it.

Apart from creating a new composition on a lovely theme, Pajou was interested in the contrast between the nude man and the boyish Cupid. The twisting composition has multiple viewpoints, and the artist varies the protagonists' expressions (the poet's attentive gesture, the child's dreamy face), details the typically Anacreontic accessories—book, vase, bunches of grapes, thyrsus, crown, Cupid's quiver of arrows—and creates delicate patterns of intertwined limbs.

A marble copy by Marchand (fig. 10), executed before 1786, was probably made from a plaster by Pajou. It is similar to the terracotta, despite the differences in material. It decorated the cabinet of the famous collector Watelet and went for a high price at auction—slightly more than eight thousand livres. This was a testament to the beauty of Pajou's composition but also a recognition of the permanence of his art: by 1749–50, the date of the terracotta, the sculptor had already developed his own style.

All of Pajou's art is encapsulated here: Anacreon's body faithful to the living model's irregularities; the drapery with its deeply hollowed folds; the hands rendered with astounding virtuosity; Cupid's face an almost triangular oval with an exquisite smile, revealed by the swept-back hair; and the composition's well-balanced architecture, which is the signature of his Classicism. GS



2



Fig. 11. Krater. Antique carnelian intaglio. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

2. *Krater, after an Ancient Gem*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash; smaller image at lower right is in brown ink
18 × 12.2 cm (7⅛ × 4¾ in.)
Annotated at lower left, brown ink: *pierre gravée / antique* (engraved gem, antique); below, cut off at edge of sheet: *médaille anti[que]* (antique medal)

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 32)

PROVENANCE: From an album assembled by Pajou, probably one of three that remained in the possession of his son, Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou (mentioned in AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, December 11, 1828, no. 58, and sold in the estate sale of the same, January 12–13, 1829, no. 110 [see cat. 7, 13]; the two albums now in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts bear English notations and indicate a price of thirty-five guineas); acquired by the Parisian collector Jean Masson and bequeathed by him in 1925.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

This drawing is the first from Pajou's Italian years (1752–56) considered in this catalogue.

Finding that the ancients' cameos and intaglios disclosed some of their most succinct and memorable compositional statements, Pajou took the copying of these gems seriously. He studied eighteenth-century volumes on the subject, often tracing engravings of the gems' images; he knew others from gypsum casts, which circulated widely among enthusiasts, and he drew a handful from the precious objects themselves. He had a well-informed taste for the subject, participating in the new enthusiasm for Greek gems. The present drawing records a carnelian intaglio with the image of a krater with grotesque masks for handles; the krater bears a carved scene of Nike directing her quadriga above two confronted sphinxes (fig. 11). Thrilling to the experience of this tiny gem, and underscoring the carver's phenomenal control, he drew it closer to actual size at lower right (H. 1.5 cm [⅝ in.]). Despite the extremely delicate transparency of the wash, it is certain that he did not draw from the actual gem but from a plaster replica (the drawing is reversed in relation to the object). In the eighteenth century the intaglio itself was in the celebrated collection of Baron Philipp von Stosch in Florence (Winckelmann 1760, p. 487, no. 108). Frederick the Great acquired the entire Stosch collection in 1764. JDD

3. *Cup with the Apotheosis of Homer and Medallion with Satyr Playing a Lyre, after the Antique*

Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash
22.2 × 16.7 cm (8¾ × 6⅝ in.)
Annotated at left, brown ink: *dal museo del re / dalle due Cisilie a / Portici sono queste / due in argento / e / trovato nella citta / nominata* [*anchi,* stricken] *antica / mente, Erculanum / e che stava situato / vicino al vesuvio* (from the museum of the king of the Two Sicilies at Portici are these two in silver; found in the city called in ancient times Herculaneum which was located close to Vesuvius)

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24,. 73)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming



3

Pajou, although interested in antique Roman objects of daily life, knew them chiefly from engravings. His delight can be imagined, then, when in 1755–56 he got to Naples and saw the king's collections of Roman artifacts at Portici, newly unearthed from the lava at nearby Herculaneum. These atmospheric sketches show two sumptuous pieces of domestic silver, now in the Museo Archeologico, Naples: the celebrated tumbler depicting the Apotheosis of Homer in high relief and—set on its side to save paper—a medallion showing a musical satyr from the bottom of a dish (for the objects, see Borriello et al. 1986, nos. 35, 57). Pajou's inscription, in rather carefree Italian, shows the extent of his acclimatization to the peninsula.

JDD



4

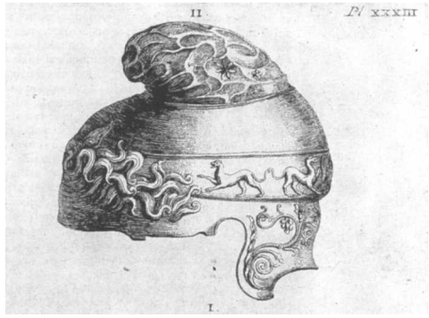


Fig. 12. Probably after Pajou. *Etruscan Helmet.* Engraving from Caylus 1752–67, vol. 3, pl. XXXII

4. *Etruscan Helmet, after the Antique*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash
27.8 × 23.7 cm (11 × 9⅜ in.)
Annotated at lower left, black chalk: *casque frigien* (Phrygian helmet)
Verso: a double receptacle for oil and vinegar, and two trees, pen and brown ink, annotated below, brown ink: *un vase de verre / qui sert pour mettre / de l'huile et du vinagre / c'est a Naples que je l'é dessiné* (a vase of glass which serves to contain oil and vinegar, it is at Naples that I drew it) / [stricken] *1755*. Notation with reference to the recto: *ce Casque est chez M^r le conte de / Gasola a Napoli cest un antiquité* (this helmet is at the conte di Gazzola's in Naples; it is an antiquity)

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 89)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

RELATED WORK: Engraving in Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités* (fig. 12; discussed below)

Statues, reliefs, and gems were the Greco-Roman antiquities that typically concerned Pajou in his sketchbooks, but the most detailed and poetic account—surely the most beautiful of all his copies—is this view of a helmet, admittedly a highly sculptural one, today in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Cushioned by grass, the helmet, seen from the back, displays embossed work incorporating a swan and griffins as well as foliate ornament. It is a trompe l'oeil affair: stitchery is imitated at back, and at top a Phrygian cap is translated from soft leather into metal. The opening for the ear is directly above the plants, and a small part of the front—a forehead sporting a curly mop of fictive hair—is visible.

The helmet's first modern owner was the conte Felice Gazzola, the cultivated commander of artillery in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Gazzola was a connoisseur of drawings (Morellet 1988, p. 92) who commissioned designs of fantastical andirons from Pajou during the artist's months in Naples (figs. 19, 20). At the time of its discovery the helmet was much discussed by the leading antiquarians of the day. On a visit to Naples the abbé de Barthélemy wrote approvingly of it and its owner in letters of December 1755 and February 1756 to his friend the comte de Caylus (Barthélemy 1802, pp. 55–56, 90). Barthélemy presumably advised Caylus on its purchase, but Caylus, though he admired the piece and retained a drawing of it, never owned it. Including the helmet in his *Recueil d'antiquités*, Caylus said it had been found at Herculaneum and came from the collection of the king of the Two Sicilies, adding that his engraving was after a drawing sent to him from Italy (Caylus 1752–67, vol. 3, p. 128, pl. XXXII). If we recall that it was Barthélemy who recommended Pajou to Caylus, it is but a short leap to suppose that Pajou drew the object twice. The engraving (fig. 12) would then be based on his first study of the object, and he would have kept the second (the present, more imaginative image) for his own delectation. The helmet itself entered the Bibliothèque Nationale as the gift of the duc de Luynes, who acquired it in 1836. It is presumably Etruscan, on the analogy of a comparable example at Perugia (found near Orvieto: Giglioli 1935, pl. CCCX, fig. 4). JDD

5. *Atlantid-Canephore, after an Ancient Marble Fragment*

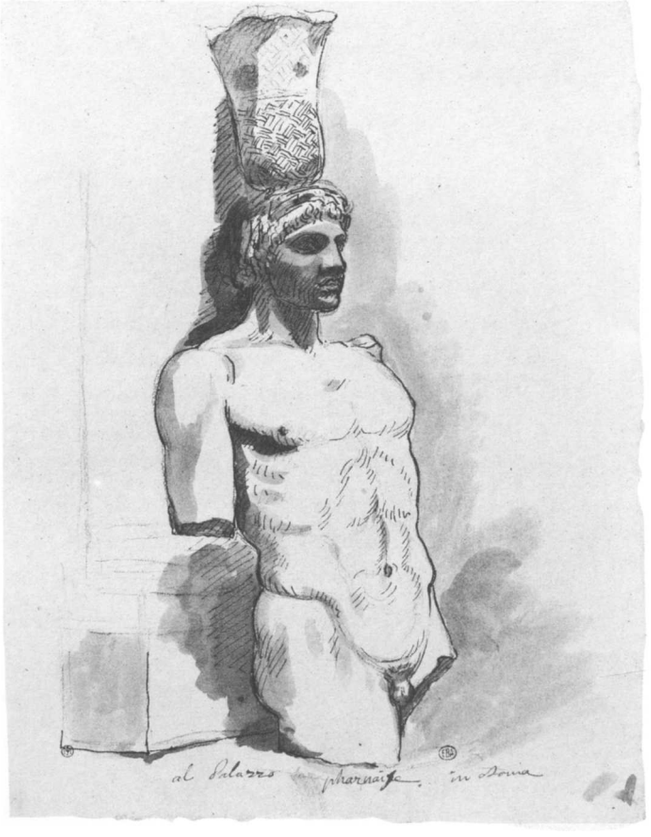
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash
28.6 × 20 cm (11¼ × 7⅞ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *al Palazzo* [*fan* effaced] *pharnaise in Roma* (at the Palazzo Farnese in Rome)

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 48)

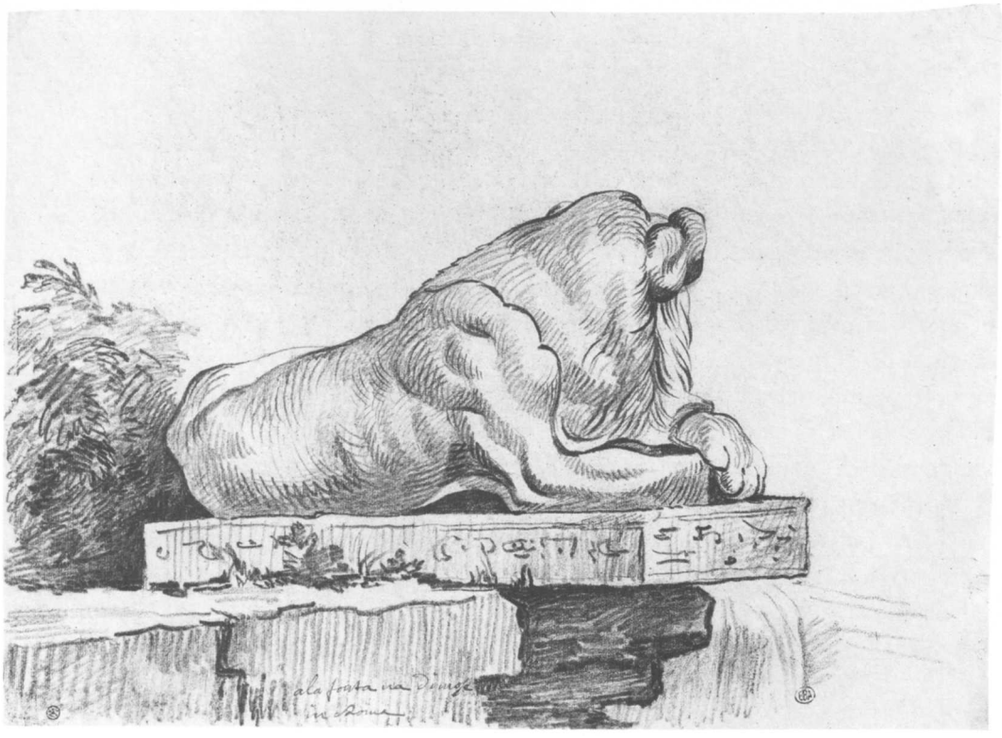
PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

By the late eighteenth century the sculpture seen here, a fragment of an atlantid-canephore, had reposed for two hundred years against a column in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, facing the famous *Farnese Hercules*. For whatever reason, however, it did not enter the royal collections in Naples with the rest of the Farnese possessions and has since been lost. In Rome artists as diverse as Annibale Carracci, Giovanni Paolo Pannini, Pompeo Batoni, Charles de La Traverse, Johannes Wiedewelt, and Pajou had recorded it. Winckelmann (1767, vol. 2, pp. 267–69) left an appreciative commentary without particularly advancing our understanding. All these artistic renderings are sympathetic, but none more so than that of Pajou, who characteristically assumes an off-center viewpoint, so that the youth's smooth contours and the carving of the basketry atop his head can be more easily appreciated. JDD



5



6

6. *Recumbent Lion of Nectanebo I, after an Ancient Egyptian Sculpture*

Black chalk
22 × 30 cm (8⅝ × 11⅞ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *a la fontana di mose in Roma* (at the fountain of Moses in Rome)

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 45)

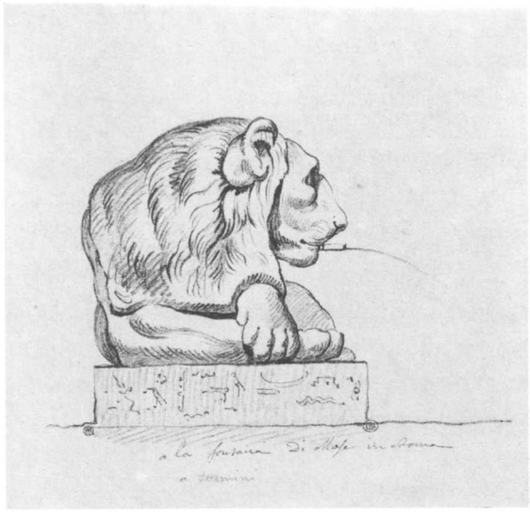
PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

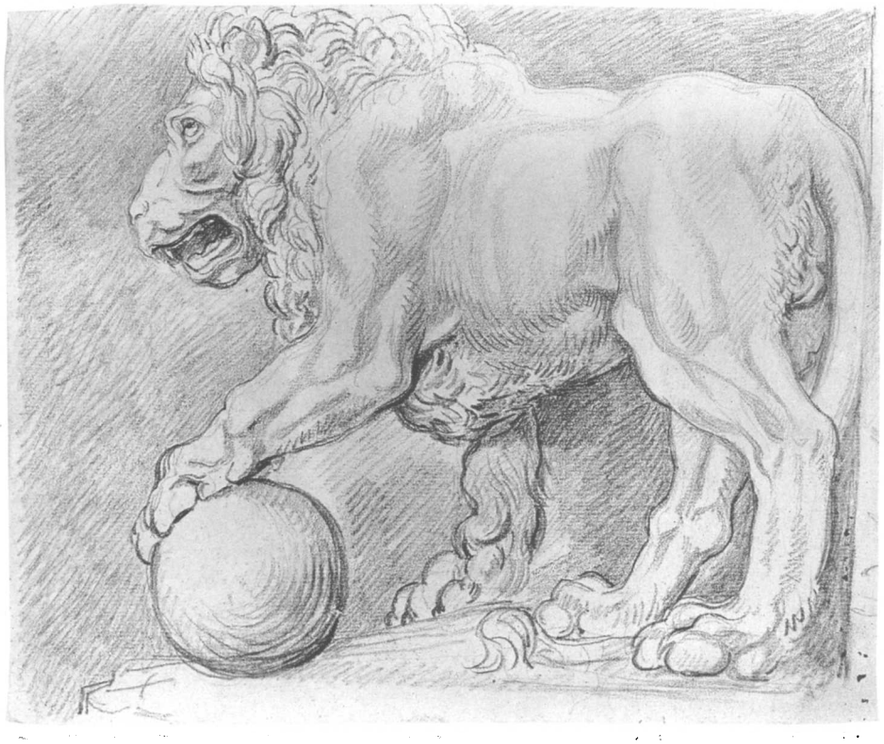
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

RELATED WORKS: The Paris albums contain additional drawings of this lion and its mate: ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 140, vol. 2, nos. 46 (our fig. 13; 21.6 × 21.5 cm [8½ × 8½ in.], inscribed *a la fontana di Mose in Roma* and *termini*), 142.

This granite lion and its companion, dating from Dynasty 30, bear hieroglyphs relating their dedication by Nectanebo I (380–363 B.C.). In Pajou's day they stood with two other lions on the Fountain of the Acqua Felice in Rome, a Mannerist structure whose central figure is Moses (hence the drawing's inscription). Today they are in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio of the Vatican (see Botti and Romanelli 1951, pp. 14–18). Pajou delighted in the great stone felines that graced the gardens and public spaces of Rome. One would hardly guess from its supple contours that this one was made of unyielding granite. Pajou clearly relished the comfortable way in which it occupies its block and the almost casual gesture of one paw draped over the other. JDD

Fig. 13. Pajou, *Recumbent Lion of Nectanebo I.* Black chalk. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts





7

7. *Medici Lion, after Flaminio Vacca*

Black chalk
20.7 × 25 cm (8⅛ × 9⅞ in.)

Princeton University, The Art Museum (1948–432)

PROVENANCE: From an album assembled by Pajou, probably one of three that remained in the possession of his son, Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou (mentioned in Paris, AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, December 11, 1828, no. 58, and sold in the estate sale of the same, January 12–13, 1829, no. 110; see cat. 2, 13); acquired in 1925, probably in London, by Dan Fellows Platt of Englewood, New Jersey; his bequest, 1948

EXHIBITION: Princeton 1983, checklist p. 47

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

RELATED WORKS: Other drawings of this lion are in the Paris albums: ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 126, vol. 2, nos. 44 (details of paws), 53, 81.

The Roman Mannerist Flaminio Vacca fashioned this lion by 1594 as a pendant to an ancient one that had been removed from the via Prenestina, outside the Porta San Lorenzo to the Villa Medici. The antique marble, originally in high relief, was recarved by a Tuscan sculptor, Giovanni Sciarano, about the same time. Vacca cut its companion from a huge ancient capital that had been found behind the Palazzo dei Conservatori. At the Villa Medici, where they flanked the top of the stairs leading into the garden, the two sculptures long prompted comment and copies, with Vacca's *Lion* being generally preferred and accepted as proof that the moderns could outshine the ancients. Pajou certainly concurred, as he presented its rhythmic contours from various points of view in several drawings. In 1787 the *Medici Lions* were removed to Florence, where they still command the entrance to the Loggia dei Lanzi (for their history, see Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 247–50). JDD



8

8. *Satyr Playing a Horn, after the School of Raphael*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash
24.7 × 16.6 cm (9¾ × 6½ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *al vaticano* (at the Vatican); on the verso, brown ink: *entique / al vatiquand* (antique at the Vatican)

Princeton University, The Art Museum (1948–434)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 7

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

The embellishment of the Vatican Loggias about 1519 was carried out by artists of the school of Raphael, notably the great *stuccatore* Giovanni da Udine. On the Loggia vaults, reliefs in stucco, conceived as large fictive cameos, alternate with frescoed grotesque ornamentation *all'antica.* The satyr seen here is actually part of a mandorla-shaped relief (Dacos 1977, pl. CXIIa). In creating a vignette that is sprightlier than the original, Pajou increased the role of the horn, while preserving the solidity of the forms overall. He made a number of drawings of the Loggia *stucchi,* but because of his elaborations some are hardly recognizable as copies (see also ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 82; Princeton 413, 422). JDD



9

9. *Roman Horseman and Soldier, after Giuseppe Valeriani*

Black chalk, gray wash
26.4 × 19.9 cm (10⅜ × 7⅞ in.)

Princeton University, The Art Museum (1948–401)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 7

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

The catholicity of Pajou's interest in painting is seen in this splendid wash drawing. He looked not only at the Roman and Bolognese masters of the Baroque, who still found widespread favor and whose images fill his albums, but also at the earlier Roman masters of the Counter-Reformation, who were generally held in lower esteem. This image is a detail of a group of centurions from the *Way to Calvary* painted by Gaspare Celio, after the design of Padre Giuseppe Valeriani, in the haunting Chapel of the Passion in the Gesù, Rome (see Zeri 1957, fig. 67). In the adjacent Chapel of Saint Andrew, Pajou recorded two female martyr saints painted by the contemporaneous Agostino Ciampelli (ENSBA, vol. 1, nos. 33, 129). Pajou evidently relished the churning horseman in Valeriani's composition, and it is a pity that he never received a commission for an equestrian monument, a normal ambition for a sculptor of his gifts. JDD



10

10. *Tomb of Urban VIII, after Gian Lorenzo Bernini*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash
30.6 × 26.5 cm (12 × 10⅜ in.)
Annotated at right, brown ink: *Tombeau / d'urbin / VIII* (tomb of Urban VIII)

Princeton University, The Art Museum (1948–449)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 7

EXHIBITION: Princeton 1983, checklist, p. 47

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

RELATED WORKS: Other studies of the tomb are in the Paris albums: ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 40 (detail of a supporting lion's paw) and vol. 2, no. 96 (detail of the sarcophagus with the writing skeleton).

Pajou paid numerous visits to the basilica of Saint Peter, producing multiple studies of Bernini's Baroque monuments, especially the great bronze baldachin and the lavish tomb raised to Urban VIII between 1628 and 1647 (for the latter, see Wittkower 1981, pp. 198–99, pl. 49). Characteristically taking an oblique viewpoint, he was concerned here with the dynamics of the tomb's architecture and of the figures' rotation. It is likely that the drawing was prompted by his colloquy with architecture students at the Académie de France, notably his lifelong friend Charles De Wailly. JDD

11. *Magnanimity, after Alessandro Algardi*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, gray wash, some strokes of black ink
21.1 × 13.1 cm (8¼ × 5⅛ in.)
Annotated at right, brown ink: *au Tombeau de Léon X. / par Algardi a / S^t. Pierre a Rome* (at the tomb of Leo X [*sic*] by Algardi at Saint Peter's in Rome)

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 97)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

This allegorical figure stands at the left on the tomb of Leo XI in Saint Peter's, which was carried out by Alessandro Algardi between 1634 and 1644 (for the marble, see Montagu 1985, vol. 2, pp. 434–35, pl. 38). Algardi's noble compound of Classical and Baroque elements long endeared him to the French school. Taking a stance well to the right, Pajou has accentuated *Magnanimity*'s profile, giving it real bite through a vigorous, economical use of dark wash. JDD



11

12. *Saint Matthew, after Camillo Rusconi*

Black chalk
32.2 × 22.2 cm (12⅝ × 8¾ in.)
Annotated at bottom, black chalk: *S^t Matieu*; brown ink: *par Rusconi*

Princeton University, The Art Museum (1948–414)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 7

EXHIBITION: Princeton 1983, checklist, p. 47

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benisovich 1955, p. 14, fig. 2; Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

The twelve marble apostles that fill niches along the nave of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, were commissioned from a group of sculptors, French as well as Italian, who freely consulted the drawings of the painter Carlo Maratta. *Saint Matthew*, dating from 1715, is one of three apostles by Camillo Rusconi and the most characterful of the lot, with a brooding countenance which Pajou, standing two paces to the right of the figure, presents in profile (for the statue, see Enggass 1976, vol. 2, p. 101, figs. 60–63). The Lateran Apostles were obligatory subjects for copyists of the French school, becoming something like class assignments. Pajou rose to the occasion with large chalk studies that are his most painstaking at this date (Princeton and the École des Beaux-Arts have four each). He may have had some thought of competing in spirit with his predecessor at the Academy, Edme Bouchardon, who was in Rome from 1723 to 1732. It is not known whether he actually saw Bouchardon's drawings, now in the Louvre, but they would have continued to enjoy a legendary status because of their meticulous finish.

JDD



12

13. *The Cardinal Grand Penitentiary*

Black chalk, pen and dark gray ink, gray wash
12.2 × 17.8 cm (4¾ × 7 in.)
Annotated, black and brown ink: *pour les peche* [*péchés*] *venielles a Rome* (for venial sins, in Rome)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Van Day Truex Fund, and Anne and Jean Bonna, Adriana Mnuchin, Sally Sample Aall, and Sarah Ann and Werner H. Kramarsky Gifts, 1996 (1996.24)

PROVENANCE: From an album assembled by Pajou, probably one of three that remained in the possession of his son, Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou (mentioned in AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, December 11, 1828, no. 58, and sold in the estate sale of the same, January 12–13, 1829, no. 110; see cat. 2, 7; the album in question was subsequently dismembered); acquired by the Museum in Paris, 1996

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

The mode of absolution in question, peculiar to Saint Peter's Basilica, lasted into modern times. It is vividly described in the slightly scornful accents of a nineteenth-century American witness:

> One of the drollest sights of the Holy Week is to see the Cardinal Grand Penitentiary from his throne dispensing absolution to the crowds that flock to him. He alone can absolve in these cases which the Pope reserves to himself, besides granting dispensation for contravention of civil law, illegitimate birth, vows, simony, and every sin or error which, for cause good or bad, the Church takes upon herself to pardon. . . . A large crowd surrounded the confessional box in which the cardinal sat. Several valets preserved order, and made the crowd approach and disappear as rapidly as possible. Some five or six would kneel at once. He touched in silence their heads lightly, and as rapidly as one could count, with the tip of a long brass rod, and the ceremony for them was over. A woman brought up her daughters of six and four years of age. At first he declined putting the rod to their heads; but the children, who obviously had been taught to consider that some mysterious good was connected with the operation, refused to budge. The cardinal at last impatiently gave the elder the required tap; while the younger, who kept bowing and kneeling, was thrust aside unabsolved to make way for fresh sinners. (Jarves 1856, pp. 261–64)

Pajou adored the constant public spectacle of popular religion in Rome. His reportage, with the contrite mothers and their offspring huddled at right, is remark-



13

ably similar to the later text even if perhaps more indulgent. The sheet is closest in spirit and freedom of wash to two in Detroit—one showing a censing bishop; the other, worshipful peasants at the Porta Santa in the portico of Saint Peter's (Carlson et al. 1992, nos. 103, 104). JDD

14. *The Bear Tamer*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, on two sheets mounted together
11.7 × 14.5 cm (4⅝ × 5¾ in.)
Annotated at lower left, brown ink: *A Pajou D'apres Nature* (by Pajou after nature). The verso also bears notations.

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 130)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

The performance of bears trained to dance was an extremely popular eighteenth-century spectacle, occasionally glimpsed by artists (e.g., Hubert Robert in a drawing of ca. 1778: Washington, D.C., 1978–79, no. 48). It is clear from the foreshortening of the figures that Pajou viewed this entertainment while seated. The show was perhaps mounted on a small stage, enhancing the friezelike nature of his account. The drawing was taken very quickly from nature, as the inscription relates. On another occasion he sketched a camel at Naples, perhaps belonging to the royal menagerie there, "in two minutes" (ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 22). JDD



14



15

15. *The Body of Saint Sebastian Being Delivered to the Roman Widow Lucina*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, gray wash
24.7 × 34.5 cm (9¾ × 13⅝ in.)
Signed and dated at lower right, brown ink: *A. Pajou. fecit Romae 1754*. Verso (cut down), black chalk: male nude torso; signed and dated, brown ink: *Pajou f. a Rome 1754*.

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM 1/1984)

PROVENANCE: Claude Kuhn, Basel; acquired in 1984

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bjurström 1986, addenda, no. 1849; Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

This hitherto unexplained subject can be deciphered thanks in part to a note in English by "ASL" penciled on the drawing's mat: "The body of St. Sebastian thrown into the Cloaca Maxima? (cf. Ludovico Carracci)." The reference is to a starkly lit canvas by Ludovico in the J. Paul Getty Museum showing Romans slipping the young saint's corpse into the sewer so that the Early Christians could not venerate it (Fort Worth 1994, no. 70). The episode comes from the *Golden Legend*, as does the more usually depicted narrative of the saint's survival after being shot by arrows. The scene chosen by Pajou, also from the *Golden Legend*, is rarer still. After Sebastian appeared to the widow Lucina in a dream, telling her where to find his body, she had it retrieved from the sewer for proper burial and veneration. Here Lucina is the draped woman coiled at left whose expectant attitude is shared by the other participants; at right her barque has brought the body onto the stone landing. Pajou's com-

Fig. 14. Jean-Baptiste Deshays, *Tobias Burying the Dead*. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, white heightening. Collection Jeffrey E. Horvitz (photo: Fogg Art Museum)



position has nothing in common with the handful of surviving medieval representations. Instead his tenebrous vision echoes the horrific if heroic strain that runs through Baroque painting, found notably in the works of Salvator Rosa and in two distinctly Roman altarpieces—Guercino's *Burial and Glory of Saint Petronilla* (Rome, Museo Capitolino) and, nearer in date (1746), Pierre Subleyras's *Saint Camillo de Lellis Rescuing the Sick during the Flooding of the Tiber in 1598* (Museo di Roma). Reflections of these masters abound in smaller works from Pajou's circle. Drawings representing Tobias Burying the Dead by Louis-Félix Delarue (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina) and Charles de La Traverse (Paris, private collection) have affinities with Pajou's sketch. Even closer, so close as to posit reliance on Pajou, are a drawing by Jean-Baptiste Deshays representing the Tobias subject, dated 1757 (fig. 14; see Roland Michel 1987, p. 195), and Deshays's subsequent oil sketch, also dated 1757 (Paris 1985, no. 10). The vaulted subterranean spaces and pyramidal groupings lit by smoldering torchlight are too similar for mere coincidence.

The nude male torso on the verso is difficult to discern because the ink of the recto has soaked through. The figure, who steadies what looks to be an oar with his raised left hand, may be an abandoned idea for one of the recto's oarsmen. JDD

16. *Virgin and Child in Glory*

Black chalk, brown wash
23.4 × 18.2 cm (9¼ × 7⅛ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *par Pajou statuaire* (by Pajou statuary)

Princeton University, The Art Museum (1948–438)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 7

EXHIBITIONS: Toronto–Ottawa–San Francisco–New York 1972–73, no. 104, pl. 123; Princeton 1983, checklist, p. 47

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benisovich 1953, fig. 1 opp. p. 296; Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

RELATED WORK: Terracotta relief of this subject, Salon of 1759 (discussed below)



16

The shimmering golden brown wash and the rich setting (with a cartouche for an inscription) indicate that this composition was probably intended for execution in gilt bronze in the manner of devotional medallions that had become a specialty of the Roman school from the time of Algardi on. Pajou is original and effective in the genre, integrating in a circular field the seated Virgin, the standing Christ Child (radiating divine rays), and a small tumult of angels.

The next stage in the evolution of the design was presumably an oval terracotta sketch-model (*Virgin Holding the Christ Child, Accompanied by Angels*) exhibited in the Salon of 1759, his first Salon (Salon of 1759, no. 140, p. 288 of the *livret*). This was probably the work that appeared in the Trouard sale (Paris, February 22, 1779, no. 297: "a relief, oval in shape, representing the Virgin and Christ Child, on clouds, and surrounded by angels. This piece, of a superior merit, is in a gilt-wood border"). JDD

17. *The Infancy of Bacchus*

Black chalk, red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown, black, gray, and red washes, white heightening
40 × 49.9 cm (15¾ × 19⅝ in.)
Signed at lower right, brown ink: *Pajou fecit in Roma* and dated twice (somewhat effaced with brown wash and cut off at margin): *1754*

Los Angeles, Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California at Los Angeles (1958.4.1)

PROVENANCE: Marquis de Marigny, Paris(?); E. Parsons & Sons, London, 1914; acquired in New York in 1958

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Campbell 1981–82, p. 99, ill.; Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

The compound medium—broad dark ink strokes interwoven with red chalk and four colors of wash, most notably red—lends proper mystery to this Bacchic happening. The title derives from the humanoid infant deity who reclines at lower left while his satyr fellows suckle and play. The brightly lit center makes it seem as if the viewer has stumbled upon the scene while following a path through a dense forest.

Three Pajou drawings with sylvan subject matter in this mixed technique survive from the Roman period: the present one; another, signed and dated 1755, whereabouts unknown, that could pass for an Infancy of Bacchus and that could be a pendant to the first except that it is a bit larger (fig. 15; 41.5 × 55 cm [16⅜ × 21⅝ in.], last seen in Paris, Drouot, May 12, 1937, no. 83); and an unpublished vertical sheet with an amorous river-god and naiad in the Albertina (fig. 16; inv. 12.862; 37.5 × 24 cm [14¾ × 9½ in.]). The last has much the same sudden revelation in a clearing, the naiad's milk-white flesh gleaming amid her bosky surroundings. It is otherwise less resolved than the other two, either of which would have an excellent claim to be among the drawings which Natoire sent to the marquis de Marigny in 1755. Acknowledging their receipt, the marquis singled out one: "His sketch of a subject with satyrs appeared to me especially very ingeniously composed, touched with a lot of taste and good character" (see Chronology, 1755).

A Bacchic drawing by Gabriel-François Doyen in much the same format as the present one and also mixed in technique is in the Louvre (fig. 17; Guiffrey 1910, no. 3664). Doyen apparently referred to it in preparing a large canvas of the same subject, *The Feast of the God of Gardens* (Priapus), since lost, that was in the Salon of 1759 (Seznec and Adhémar 1975, vol. 1, p. 54). However, because of its close resemblance to

Fig. 15. Pajou, *Bacchanale.* Pen and ink with washes, including red wash. Whereabouts unknown



Fig. 16. Pajou, *River-god and Naiad.* Pen and black ink, red chalk, gray and brown washes. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

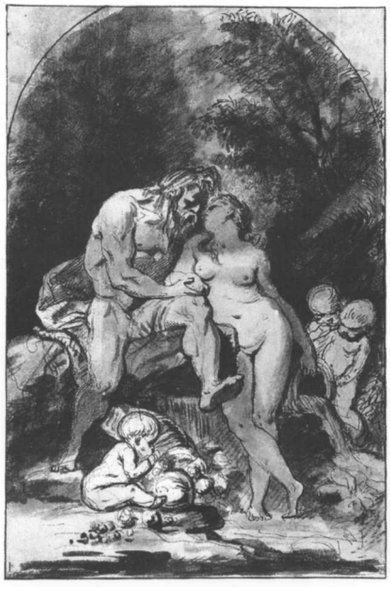


Fig. 17. Gabriel-François Doyen, *Feast of the God of Gardens.* Black chalk, red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and red washes, some white heightening. Paris, Musée du Louvre





17

Pajou's drawings in this genre, the sheet in all likelihood dates from Doyen's Roman years (1750–54), and it is accordingly probable that the type and even the technique were not completely original to the Roman pensionnaires but were recommended to them from on high. Perhaps both were emulating Natoire, who occasionally explored this rich vein himself (see an undated red and black chalk drawing with watercolor and white heightening, sold Christie's, London, July 6, 1993, no. 134, ill.). Or perhaps Natoire was inspired by the efforts of his scholars. By any standard, Pajou's work in this manner is more compositionally and dramatically satisfying than either Doyen's or Natoire's.

Among antecedents of such images, Pajou would have been aware of Bacchic scenes by Poussin, set against crisscrossed tree limbs, and it is likely he knew related compositions in the technically complex drawings by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, which involve oil paints (Bean 1979, no. 115). In fact, an etching of 1642 by Castiglione inspired the Albertina drawing (Bartsch 46, no. 15 [17]), although both Castiglione and Pajou show knowledge of the ancient group of Pan and Daphnis, the best example of which was in the Farnese collection (Bieber 1961, fig. 628). Pajou also cited Greco-Roman statuary in the Pan at right in the missing drawing (fig. 15), a reversal of one of several Hellenistic marbles that represent a young satyr playing a flute (Bieber 1961, fig. 86).

In the present drawing Pajou seems to translate centaur families into satyr families. The foreground satyress giving suck is triangulated much in the manner of a centauress performing the same motherly duty, a group that occurs in ancient sarcophagi. Pajou quoted the motif in one of his Paris albums (ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 28). JDD



18

18. *Pyrrhus and Glaucias*

Black chalk, pen and brown and black ink, brown wash, white highlights
17 × 22.3 cm (6¾ × 8¾ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *Pyrrhus, Presanté a Glaucias, Plutarque. H^m. / Pajou* (Pyrrhus, presented to [crossed out] Glaucias, Plutarch. Hm. [*Hommes illustres*] Pajou); on verso: indecipherable annotation

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 17)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

19. *Pyrrhus and Glaucias*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, white highlights; the lower right corner, with traces of gray wash, has been reattached
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *Pyrrhus Presanté a Glaucias, Plutarque. Hom / Pajou* (Pyrrhus, presented to [crossed out] Glaucias, Plutarch. Hom [*Hommes illustres*] Pajou); on verso: indecipherable annotation

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Mas. 1300, Rec. 24, 18)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

RELATED WORKS: Pajou further developed the figure of the seated Glaucias in a drawing of a draped man enthroned, dated 1754 (Louvre; cat. 18).

"Superb drawing made in Rome, depicting Pyrrhus presented to Glaucias, King of Slavonia . . . 24 inches high by 34 wide [61 × 86.4 cm]" was part of Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne's collection, along with *Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans* from 1756 (cat. 23), with which it was no doubt exhibited at the Salon of 1759 and sold on August 10, 1778 (whereabouts unknown; see cat. 23).

Drawing annotated *PAJOU statuaire. 1779* (Paris, private collection; fig. 136), a relief in copper (cat. 84), and two reliefs in plaster, one of which bears the inscription *PAJOU STATUAIRE / 1779* (cat. 85), reprise the composition of cat. 19.



19

The scene—the young Pyrrhus presented to King Glaucias—was based on an episode from Greek history related in Plutarch's *Lives* (the book had become well known in France after its translation as *Vies des hommes illustres* by Jacques Amyot, first published in 1559).

After a revolt in Epirus, the infant king Pyrrhus, driven from his homeland, is carried into hiding by several faithful followers:

Fig. 18. Pajou, *Achilles Mourning the Death of Patroclus.* Black chalk, pen and brown ink. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



> Thus safe and out of the reach of their pursuers, they arrived before Glaucias, king of Slavonia, and finding him sitting at home with his wife, they put the child down in the middle of the floor in front of them. The king began to weigh the matter, fearing Cassander [second regent of the empire after the death of Alexander], who was a mortal enemy of the Aeacides [the race of Pyrrhus], and, being deep in thought, said nothing for a long time. Pyrrhus, crawling on all fours, gradually got near and laid hold of the king's robe and so helping himself to his feet against the knees of Glaucias first moved the king to laughter, and then to pity, as a little, humble, crying petitioner. Others say he did not throw himself before Glaucias but, catching hold of an altar to the domestic gods, pulled himself up and hugged him. Glaucias, taking this as a divine omen, put the child into his wife's hands on the spot, ordering her to have him nurtured with her own.

The two drawings, which Pajou glued onto a single page of an album from the École des Beaux-Arts, show two versions of the same scene with important variants. In cat. 18 the king and queen, staring pensively at the small Pyrrhus, are standing in a palace room, whose walls are decorated with hangings. In cat. 19 the king and queen are seated in a room that gives onto the outdoors through large arcades, thus opening up the com-

position. Both drawings express the same general idea of the composition: the child on the left is surrounded by a soldier, a figure with raised hands, a kneeling woman, and a woman pushing him forward; to the right are the statue of Minerva (part of a domestic altar) and the royal couple.

The artist worked hard on this scene in Italy: witness the drawing in which Glaucias is further elaborated, most likely from a live model (cat. 20). A large finished drawing (whereabouts unknown) that belonged to Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne was presented at auction in 1778 as a companion to *Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans* (cat. 23), with the same dimensions.

The sculptor returned to the subject in a relief more than twenty years later (cat. 85); about the same time, in 1779, after trying out the composition in reverse (fig. 136), he took fresh inspiration from cat. 19, altering the queen's attitude.

Pajou used wash strokes here with great expressive power, bursts of shadow heightening the pathos and violent emotions that grip the leading characters in Plutarch's story. The same technique is used in the study dated 1754 (cat. 18). The artist used washes in a similar fashion in other history compositions—for example, the *Virgin and Child in Glory* at Princeton (cat. 15) and the nocturnal celebrations at the Capitoline (ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 44). However, a scene such as *Achilles Mourning the Death of Patroclus* (13.7 × 20.5 cm [5⅜ × 8⅛ in.]; ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 1; fig. 18), drawn directly on a page of one of the Italian albums, eschews dramatic pictorial effects. We have then two styles for treating history.

Was Pajou inspired by another work on the same subject? We do in fact know of several paintings and drawings depicting the meeting of Pyrrhus and Glaucias. The scene was drawn about 1652 by Poussin (Paris 1994b, no. 213, ill.); since it was apparently neither painted nor engraved, it seems doubtful that Pajou would have been familiar with it. However, it is certain that in 1747 our young Académie student examined Collin de Vermont's treatment of Glaucias. The painting, part of the famous competition organized by Lenormant de Tournehem among eleven officers, was exhibited in the Galerie d'Apollon as part of the Salon of 1747. The subject is described at length in the catalogue. Collin de Vermont's composition (Musée de Besançon; Locquin 1912, fig. 4) is quite different from that of Pajou; they have in common only a reception room with its large arcades to the outdoors and Glaucias's being seated on a dais. While in Italy did Pajou consciously tackle a subject that had struck him several years before, or was the choice pure coincidence? The loss of his large drawing, kept by Lemoyne to the end of his life, deprives us of a document crucial in answering that question. GS

20. *Study for King Glaucias*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, touches of red chalk; cropped at left
42 × 33.5 cm (16½ × 13¼ in.)
Signed and dated at lower right, brown ink: *Pajou f a Rome 1754*
Verso, black chalk: male nude drawn from life

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 36.101)

PROVENANCE: Philippe de Chennevières (sale Paris, Drouot, April 4–7, 1900, part of lot 378); M. Michel; P. Lavallée; M. Lavallée; gift of the latter, 1972

EXHIBITION: Paris 1984a, no. 90

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chennevières 1894–97, pt. 20, vol. 14, p. 101; Méjanès 1984a, p. 61, ill.; Méjanès 1984b, pp. 64–65, ill.; *Inventaire général des dessins*, 1997, no. 10, ill.

This is the only important example known of Pajou's drawing from a posed studio model. An advanced thought for the enthroned figure of King Glaucias in the scene of Pyrrhus before Glaucias, it falls between the École des Beaux-Arts sketches (cat. 18, 19) and the reliefs (private collections; cat. 83, 84). In the latter the king assumes a less taut, more conventional pose; here he has a certain *terribilità* as he muses on the consequences of saving young Pyrrhus. This drawing is a résumé of some of the artist's most intense Roman

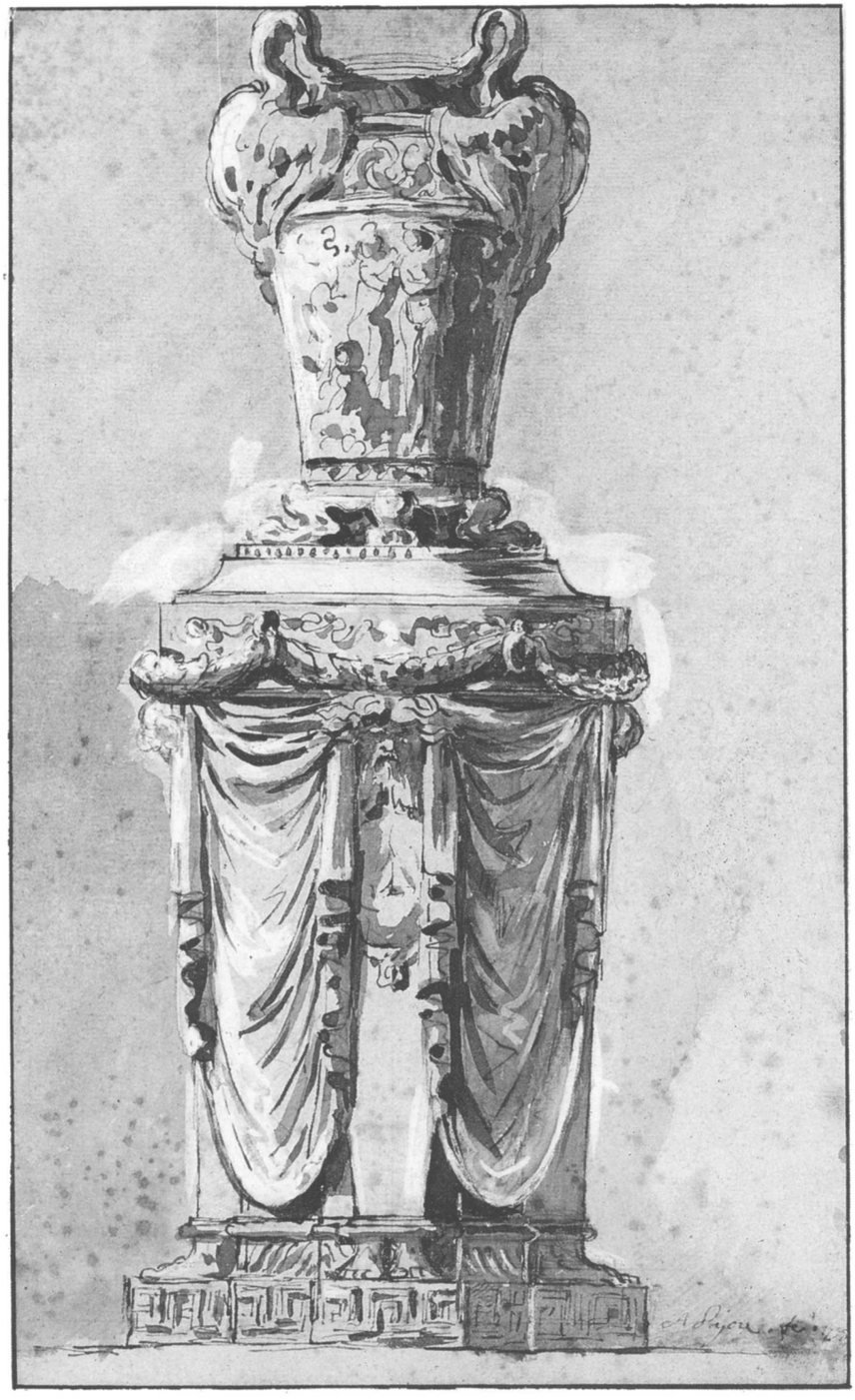


20

experiences, combining the seated philosophers of ancient statuary (placed upon a curule throne with lions' legs like that in San Pietro in Vincoli, which Pajou copied; ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 97) and the more massively draped, brooding prophets of Pietro da Cortona and his school.

The vigorous model, with his domed skull, concentrated features, and full beard, lived on in Pajou's memory and evolved into a stock virile type, reappearing in the *Saint Francis de Sales* and the *River-god* and the models associated with them (cat. 39, 63, 64).

JDD



21



Fig. 19. Pajou after Charles De Wailly, *Studies for Andirons.* Pen and brown ink on tracing paper. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts

21. *Vase and Pedestal*

Black chalk, pen and brown and black ink, brown wash, white heightening; edges ruled in brown ink
32.8 × 19.6 cm (12⅞ × 7¾ in.)
Signed and dated at lower right, brown ink: *A Pajou. fe. 1755*[?]

The Art Institute of Chicago (1963.809)

PROVENANCE: M. P (Pradeau?), sale Paris, January 23–24, 1882, no. 234; H.D. (Hippolyte Destailleur?), Lugt 1300; A. Decour, sale Paris, Drouot, April 10–11, 1929, no. 240; acquired in Paris with the Worcester Sketch Fund, 1963

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1963a, no. 32; Chicago 1976, no. 56

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 228, 409; Joachim 1977, pp. 47–48





Fig. 20. Pajou after Charles De Wailly, *Studies for Andirons.* Pen and brown ink on tracing paper. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts

The date at lower right has been interpreted as 1778 or 1798, but 1755 is a far likelier reading. The first 5 in the date has the same lack of a top and the same heavy downstroke as the 5 in a drawing of 1756 made in Bologna (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 31). The last numeral, which touches the ruled line, has been seen as an 8 but is more likely to be a cutoff 5 of slightly different form—Pajou was no more consistent in his formulation of numbers than in his spelling. In any case the drawing has a Roman context—the Rome of the French architects and designers there in the 1740s and 1750s, when fantastic vase drawings were given the same attention as fantastic tomb studies (Eriksen 1974, pp. 30–33). The Piranesian vase drawings of Jean-Laurent Legeay, the 1732 Prix de Rome winner, continued to reverberate in the Eternal City, although he had left in 1743. They were well known, for example, to Pajou's friend Sir William Chambers (cat. 30, 31, 34) (Harris 1967). Another forerunner in this field was Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain, who made several important

vase studies in Rome between 1740 and 1743 (Rosenberg 1978, pp. 184–85). When Pajou and De Wailly arrived a few years later, such studies must have been virtually a standard exercise. The urn in the present drawing has much the same towering structure and bizarre humor seen in a group of studies for andirons which the young friends collaborated on in 1755 for the conte Felice Gazzola in Naples (figs. 19, 20; ENSBA, vol. 2, nos. 13, 14; 30 × 22 and 30.5 × 21.7 cm [11⅞ × 8⅝ and 12 × 8½ in.], inscribed *A. Pajou invenit et fecit* [illegible words, effaced] *a Naples* and under the vase at right *celui si est executé en modele* [Invented and made by A. Pajou; this one was completed as a model] and *14 gembre M:DCCLV. Pour les chenais que le conte de Gasola voulait faire faire en bronze* [September 14, 1755. For the andirons that the conte di Gazzola wanted to have made in bronze]. De Wailly's drawings are in album O.1755 of the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts: Draper and Scherf, forthcoming). Studies such as these were valued for their element of surprise. Although Pajou states that he worked up a three-dimensional model for one of the andiron designs, it is questionable how seriously execution in metal was contemplated in these designs and in the present one. While the signature makes clear that Pajou took pride in fashioning this marvelous invention, with its base formed of priapic herms peeping out between swags of drapery, he surely did so in close conjunction with De Wailly, who perhaps suggested the Greek-key motif of the foot. In all, this is a herald of the massive but fluent manner known as "le goût grec" that would engross the best French designers in the coming years. JDD

22. *Covered Vase on a Console*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, white heightening
31.6 × 18 cm (12½ × 7⅛ in.)
Signed twice at lower right, brown ink: *Pajou* and *Pajou f.* Verso, black chalk: a few lines indicating an architectural molding

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1937 (37.165.104)

PROVENANCE: Alliance des Arts; Eugène Tondu, sale Paris, May 10–13, 1865, part of no. 373; Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, sale Paris, February 15–17, 1897, no. 224; bought by Morgand for Rahir, Paris; ceded by the latter to the marquis de Biron; Biron sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 9–11, 1914, bought in; acquired by the Museum in Geneva, 1937

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1879, no. 563; Paris 1880, no. 291; Minneapolis 1961, no. 65, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chennevières 1880, p. 99; Goncourt 1881, vol. 1, p. 132; Stein 1912, pp. 228, 418; Williams 1939, p. 52, fig. 5; New York, Metropolitan Museum 1943, no. 33, ill.; Hautecoeur 1943–57, vol. 4 (1952), p. 400 n. 6; Benisovich 1953, p. 298, fig. 5; Bean 1964, no. 60, ill.; Bean and Turčić 1986, no. 224, ill.; Launay 1991, no. 242, ill.

RELATED WORK: See cat. 21

Even in an age that had an unbounded appetite for extravagant vase designs, this study stands out for its sheer exuberance. The honking swan, writhing infant Tritons, and straining satyrs on the body challenge our credulity, and we are cajoled into laughing right back at the grinning adult Triton on the console below.

The technical means are identical to those of the Chicago drawing (cat. 21): chalk plumb line down the middle, warm brown wash, and broad expanses of white heightening providing relief. This drawing is to be dated to precisely the same time as cat. 21, whose date we read as 1755. The formal relationship to the andirons drawn for the conte di Gazzola is equally close (fig. 19, 20), and the impact of Roman sources is if anything more in force. Pajou's sketches include numerous ancient vessels, some with Tritons. The writhing ones that make up the console might seem at first in the tradition of Puget, but they have even more in common with the creatures with intertwined tails that sustain the basin of the 1715 fountain in the Piazza della Bocca della Verità by Carlo Francesco Bizzacheri and Francesco Moratti, which Pajou also included in his albums (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 115). By the 1760s De Wailly's vase designs had become relatively restrained (Eriksen 1974, figs. 324–28). A relationship between Pajou's studies and his documented work on marble vases in the 1760s and 1770s—all lost—has been presumed (Williams, Launay), but an actual sculpture can hardly have been intended here. On the contrary, if forced to choose a medium, we might say at most that the design looks forward to the well-measured frivolities of early Sèvres porcelain.

There is a fair possibility that this and cat. 21 were in

the collection of Gabriel Briard, Pajou's fellow pensionnaire at the Académie de France in Rome in 1750–53 (sale Paris, January 7, 1778, no. 26: "Two vases adorned with pedestals; they are accompanied by figures and ornaments. These two drawings are in pen and bister, and heightened with white and brush, by M. Pajou"). However, lacking more detailed description, we cannot be quite sure.

At the Tondu sale in 1865 the Goncourt brothers bought the present drawing and another half its size with a design for a perfume burner, ascribed to Pajou. The whereabouts of the second are unknown and we know it only by description. Although technique and composition seem consonant with those of Pajou—the design featured a cupid seated between two satyrs—catalogues of the sales at which it last appeared hedged at giving it to Pajou outright (H. Michel-Lévy, sale Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, May 12–13, 1919, no. 105; Léon Michel-Lévy, sale Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 17–18, 1925, no. 82). JDD

23. *Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans*

Black and red chalk, pen and black ink, gray and red washes
58 × 84 cm (22⅞ × 33⅛ in.)
Signed and dated at lower left, black ink: *Pajou. fecit. Romae. 1756*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 40.437)

PROVENANCE: Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, sale Paris, August 10, 1778, no. 67; Charles De Wailly, sale Paris, November 24, 1788, no. 87; Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart, sale Paris, March 22, 1792, no. 94; Donjeux, sale Paris, April 23, 1793, no. 463; Charles-Louis Cardon, Brussels, about 1912; Moses Taylor, sale New York, Parke-Bernet, October 16–17, 1959, no. 253; acquired in Paris, 1983

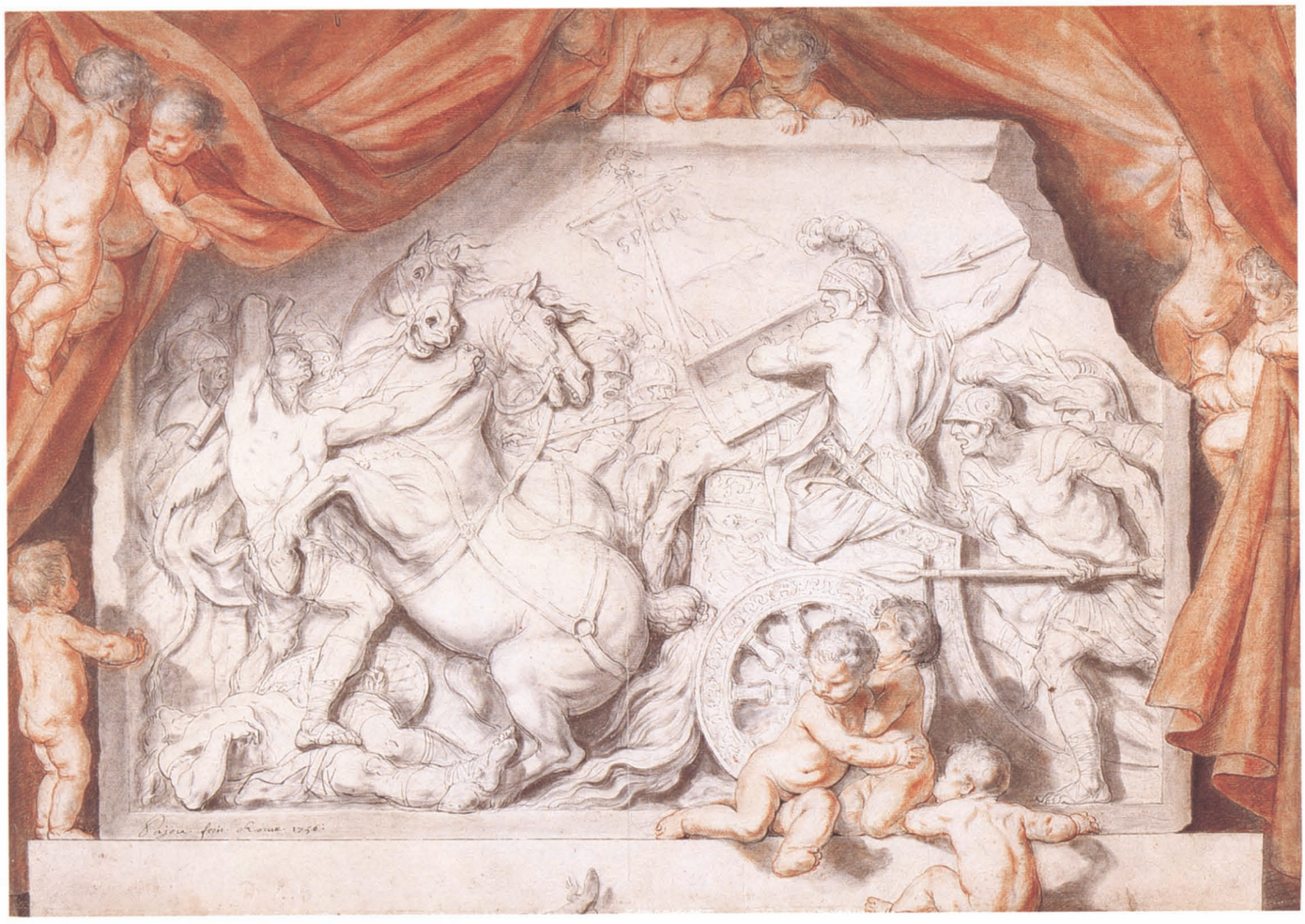
EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1759, no. 142; Paris 1984a, no. 91

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blanc 1857–58, vol. 1, p. 436; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, pp. 6, ill. p. 7, 396; Roland Michel 1987, p. 143, fig. 162; Méjanès 1984a; pp. 62, ill., 64; *Inventaire général des dessins,* 1997, no. 12, ill.

Here Pajou would have us believe that a noble but violent battle relief is revealed by toddlers who part the curtain to allow daylight in. The logic of the representation is witty and carefully worked out. The infants' shadows fall across the stone. The putto on the lower ledge right of center, oblivious of the churning melee behind him, recoils from a lizard crawling up the ledge just left of center. Pajou's sources for this sort of visual game are far from clear, but he made many drawings of the famed illusionistic Baroque ceiling of the Gesù in Rome by Giovanni Battista Gaulli and Antonio Raggi in which angels of all ages assist in the revelation of mysteries (numerous instances in Draper and Scherf, forthcoming). He undoubtedly knew more intimate Roman ensembles where elements are exuberantly framed by swag- or garland-wielding children, such as those by Giacomo Cortese and Andrea Pozzo that have recently come to light in the corridor leading to the chambers of Saint Ignatius Loyola above the Gesù (see Lucas 1990, pp. 20–22). But as yet no real parallel for the astonishing device here has been found.

The drawing has been known by its present title since its appearance at the Salon of 1759, the first at which Pajou exhibited (no. 42: "one of two drawings each two feet in width by three feet in height. The one representing Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans, his squire killed beside him. The subject of the other is explained at the bottom"). His master Lemoyne later owned the pair. The 1778 catalogue of Lemoyne's sale (no. 66) makes it clear the pendant was a finished version of Pyrrhus before Glaucias (see cat. 18, 19; without providing further elucidation Jean-François Méjanès [in Paris 1984a, no. 91] stated he believed he had located the *Pyrrhus*). By 1788, in the sale of works owned by De Wailly, *Diomedes* no longer had *Pyrrhus* as a mate but was instead paired with a *Camillus at Veii* (see cat. 74). *Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans* was ever the delight of fellow artists; it appeared by itself at the 1792 sale of the architect Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart.

The fictive relief, one corner broken away as if to emphasize its venerable status, is a lively amalgam of Pajou's Italian impressions. A literary source eludes us, for this incident—Diomedes warring alongside the corpse of his squire—is not found in the *Iliad.* There Diomedes, youngest of the Greek leaders, is "good at the war cry"; although styled "tamer of horses," he does



23

Fig. 21. Pajou, *Ancient Soldiers, after a Lost Composition by Polidoro da Caravaggio.* Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash. Private collection



most of his fighting on foot. Here he is evidently the helmeted Greek in the biga, the corpse of his squire slumped over its front. The incongruous SPQR banner further confuses matters. In addition to the reliefs on the Column of Trajan, Pajou has absorbed a variety of Renaissance and Baroque battle scenes. He would not have seen Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Te fresco in Mantua, sometimes identified as "Diomedes Fighting Igeus and Phlegus" (Hartt 1958, vol. 2, fig. 389; but see Massari 1993, no. 312), but he surely knew an engraving, for the present drawing has much in common with it, making allowance for the reversal of direction. The marble relief by Pierre-Étienne Monnot with the Raising of the Siege of Vienna on the tomb of Innocent XI in Saint Peter's comes equally to mind but again in reverse (Enggass 1976, vol. 2, fig. 27).

For individual figures Pajou turned to his sketchbooks. He perfected Diomedes' muscled back by reference to his drawing after a composition attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio—apparently one of the latter's

since-destroyed façade decorations *all'antica* (fig. 21; 18.7 × 13.1 cm [7⅜ × 5⅛ in.]). Another drawing after the same painted frieze, with the same technique and dimensions and in the same collection, is inscribed *pin sur le mur de Polidor a Rome* (painted on the wall of Polidoro in Rome). Contemporaries knew this derivation: when *Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans* appeared in the 1793 sale of the dealer Donjeux, it was described as representing "a bas-relief composed in the style of Polidoro." JDD

24. *Silenus*

Stone
133 × 60 cm (52⅜ × 23⅝ in.)
Inscribed on the rock near the right foot: *Pajou.f^t / 1758*

Amiens, Musée de Picardie (MP. 55–331–1)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Either commissioned by Georges-Nicolas Baudard de Vaudésir (d. 1771), treasurer for the French colonies in America, and given after his death to his son Claude Baudard de Sainte-James (1738–1787), treasurer general of the navy, or acquired by the latter; installed about 1777 in the park of the Sainte-James country house in Neuilly; offered without success to the Louvre, via the scholar Prosper Tarbé, by Dr. Pinel, September 26, 1860 (AMN, S^5); Robert de Montesquiou, Hôtel de Neuilly, 1912; Octave Homberg, sale Paris, Georges Petit, June 3, 1931, no. 284, pl. XVI ("plaster"); acquired by Gérard de Berny (1880–1957), former senator from the Somme; his bequest to the city of Amiens, 1957

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dulaure 1786, p. 148 ("*Bacchus*"); Thiéry 1788, p. 289 ("*Bacchus*"); Villiers 1802, pp. 156–57; Bouillet 1894, p. 740, pl. XXIX ("plaster"); Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, pp. 15–17 ("plaster"), ill., 496; Vitry 1924, p. 576; Richard 1971, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Stone statue, *Pan*, same dimensions, inscribed on rock near child: *Pajou. f / 1758*; same provenance (Amiens, Musée de Picardie; fig. 22).
Terracotta statuette (cat. 25).

This work, like its companion, *Pan* (fig. 22), comes from the park of the Folie Sainte-James, a country house in Neuilly. The property was described by Dulaure (1786, p. 148): one sees "a magnificent trellis composed of five porticos, two of which are filled with flower pots arranged in tiers and three with stone figures; one of these figures represents Bacchus, executed by M. Pajou [the second group was by Lemoyne: see below]. In the third portico is a Sylvanus showing a child how to play the flute; it was sculpted by M. Pajou." In 1788, after the property had belonged to the duc de Choiseul-Praslin for a year, Thiéry (p. 289) expatiated: "The gardens are in English style. Alleys of greenery, trellised porticos, extensive lawns, make different settings; various ornaments, artistic riches, among which we notice a Bacchus and a Sylvanus showing a child how to play the flute, beautiful pieces of sculpture by M. Pajou." The trellis with its five porticos is again described in 1802 by Villiers (pp. 156–57), who basically repeats Dulaure's text. In 1806 Chaussard (p. 472) mentions only the "statue of a satyr playing the flute with a child."

This renowned property was created for the immensely wealthy Claude Baudard de Sainte-James (1738–1787) and was named after his barony in the Touraine, Sainte-Gemmes-sur-Loire. The child of a Touraine family, he succeeded his father in 1758 in the lucrative position of treasurer for the American colonies and in 1772 became treasurer of the navy. In July 1772 he bought from Marie-Camille Fillion de Villemur (the former tax collector general for the Paris region) a mansion with furniture and outbuildings in Neuilly, and he continued to expand his property until 1777. That year, tantalized by the success of the small adjacent Château de Bagatelle, built for the comte d'Artois in two months, he engaged its architect, Bélanger, to completely redesign his home and gardens (Gjesdahl 1962). After Sainte-James's spectacular bankruptcy in 1787, the duc de Choiseul-Praslin acquired the property, which later passed to his widow.

Beginning in 1795, the property had a number of owners (a businessman, a banker, the duchesse d'Abrantès, and so on; Bouillet 1894, pp. 741–47). In 1851, when it was bought by Dr. Pinel, who had rented it since 1845, the sales deed specified that the park was "adorned with statues." Pinel transformed the mansion into a sanatorium (Toulouse-Lautrec was treated there for alcoholism) and tried in vain to sell the four largest

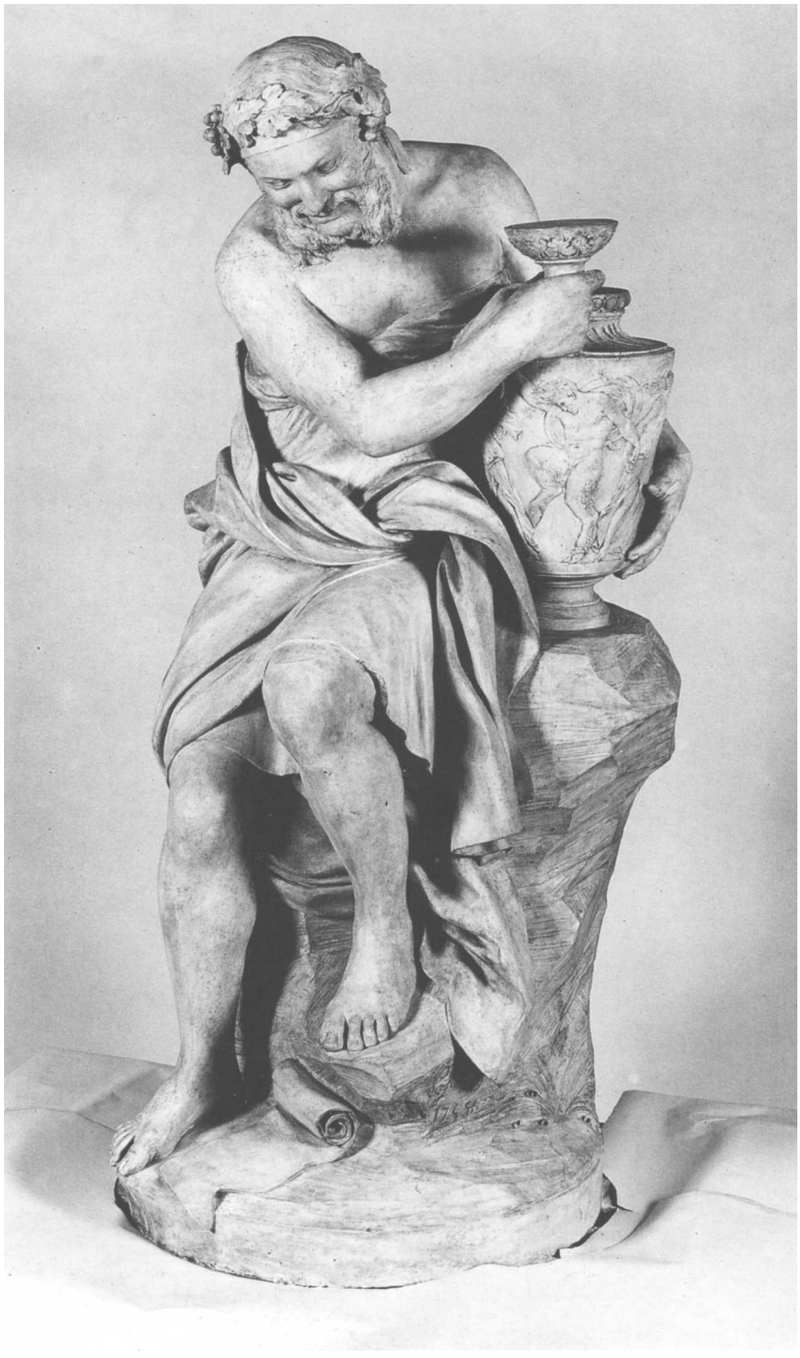




Fig. 22. Pajou, *Pan.* Stone. Amiens, Musée de Picardie

garden sculptures to the Louvre. Two works by Pajou now in the Musée de Picardie and his pretty *Venus with Her Son Harnessing Two Doves to a Sea Conch* (since lost; a 1775 marble version by Pfaff von Pfaffenhofen has also disappeared: see Foucart-Borville 1996, pp. 65–71, ill.) later resurfaced in the Neuilly mansion of Robert de Montesquiou and were then in the collection of Octave Homberg, who sold them in 1931. J.-B. II Lemoyne's *Vertumnus and Pomona* was acquired by the collector Rodolphe Kann (now in the Louvre).

In Neuilly the sculptures were disposed in specially built structures: a Chinese pavilion with an ice cave and a room of rockery; a subterranean area with a Gothic chapel; an ornamental pool with an island of Love. One of the curiosities of the site was an enormous boulder transported from Fontainebleau, decorated on the outside with an Ionic peristyle and a pediment and on the inside with a stucco bath and underground galleries. Engravings by Le Rouge (1788; Le Rouge 1776–89, cahier 20, pls. 9–13) and by Krafft

and Ransonnette (1812, pls. 97–115) preserve the memory of this splendid Anglo-Chinese garden, which has in large part disappeared. The abundance of structures and sculptures betokened ostentatious wealth, irritating the prince de Ligne: "Near Neuilly, there is a garden that would be quite handsome if it weren't too much so. With four hundred thousand francs less, M. de Sainte-James would have fared better. Too many outbuildings too close to one another have served him ill. But we can forgive him this because of the good taste that prevails in the works, despite everything" (1786; Ligne 1922, pp. 226–27). The comte d'Artois felt "crushed by the wealth of his neighbor Sainte-James," remarking, "I wish I could divert toward me one arm of the stream of gold that flows from my neighbor's boulder" (Oberkirch 1989, p. 480).

Pajou's statues, signed and dated 1758, and Lemoyne's group (1760) were created well before Sainte-James's purchase of the Neuilly property (1772) and Bélanger's grandiose renovations (1777). Were these sculptures already in place when the property was bought? If that were the case, they would have been executed for Nicolas-François Fillion de Villemur, senior member of the council of state and guardian of the royal treasury, who bought the property in 1750 and whose son sold it in 1772 (Bouillet 1894, p. 732). They are not mentioned, however, in documents relating to the 1772 sale (AN, Min. Cent., xx, 672, 1 vii [1772]). Were the works acquired by the father of Baudard de Sainte-James, Georges-Nicolas Baudard de Vaudésir, treasurer for the French colonies in America and lord of Sainte-James in Anjou? In 1756 his Anjou lands were elevated into a barony (Ozanam 1969, p. 5), and two years later he gave his son proxy of his office as treasurer for the American colonies (Ozanam 1969, p. 6). Could these two events have led him to commission the sculptures to enhance his Anjou gardens, where he often received guests (in Paris he only rented)? The idea



Fig. 23. Pajou, *Altar in the Villa Medici, after the Antique.* Black chalk, pen and gray ink, gray wash. Private collection



Cat. 24: detail

is appealing, and since the sculptures were considered mere garden decorations, it is perhaps not significant to find no mention of them in his posthumous inventory (AN, Min. Cent., xx, 669, 28 II, 18 III and 30 VI [1771]). There remains a third hypothesis: the sculptures might have been bought by his son from an as-yet-unidentified person to decorate a park that had been considerably enlarged after 1777. Whatever the case, Pajou's works are mentioned as being there as of 1786.

The sculptor was no stranger to the world of financiers. In 1759 he worked for the farmer-general Fontaine in Cramayel and several years later for his neighbor Pâris de Montmartel in Brunoy (cat. 64) and for La Live de Jully. At Claude Baudard's wedding in 1764, the duc de Choiseul, who had surely met Pajou in Italy, was one of the witnesses (Ozanam 1969, p. 6). Members of this milieu with a taste for contemporary art bought his works (Bergeret, Boutin) and gave him commissions (Laborde de Méréville).

The present sculpture and its companion, *Pan*, suffered from exposure to the elements and were painted. In 1860 Longpérier, curator at the Louvre, thought they were made of terracotta (AMN, S^5 12 X 1860); Stein said they were of plaster, and they were sold in 1931 as plaster casts. In fact, they are unquestionably made of stone, probably a fine limestone such as *pierre de Tonnerre*.

In his depiction of Silenus, Pajou echoes a description by Lacombe de Prezel (1756, p. 258): "Old satyr, Bacchus's foster father. The poets and all the painters after them give him a bald head, a large turned-up nose, and thick corpulence. One can easily recognize him by his crown of ivy, the cup he holds, and his joyful, contented, slightly mocking air." The statue indeed represents the fat Silenus—and not Bacchus, as suggested by Dulaure and Thiéry—whom Pajou did not give the goat's hooves of a satyr, rightly reserving that picturesque element for its companion.

In the garden of the Sainte-James country house, this monumental work was part of a large decorative setting whose exact appearance is not known. Pajou's composition, in any case, does not allow for many viewpoints: Silenus is seated on an enormous rock, whose mass makes it difficult to see his back and left side. This inconvenience is offset by the delicate decoration, in subtle relief, of the vase featuring a bacchanalian dance. Was the artist recalling here his sketch of an altar at the Villa Medici (18.3 × 12.8 cm [7¼ × 5 in.]; annotated at bottom "*a La villa medicie a Roma*" [at the Villa Medici in Rome]; fig. 23)? His Roman sojourn was not long past, and Pajou often leafed through his sketchbooks for finishing touches for his designs.

This *Silenus* is turned toward the right, looking at his companion piece, *Pan* (fig. 22), a very charming composition in which the satyr is teaching the flute to a young cupid. His plump physique is not that of the wiry satyrs of Bacchic iconography and corresponds more to *Silenus*; Pajou covered a large part of the latter's flesh with a superb drapery with long, hollowed folds.

These works, which Pajou sculpted shortly after his return from Italy, have nothing antique about them (except for the vase on *Silenus*). Was this stylistic choice an effort to free himself from the antique statuary of his studies? Was he wary of creating a pastiche that would have betrayed his young age? Four years later he created the colossal *River-god* for the gardens in Brunoy (cat. 64). He then abandoned garden statuary, perhaps by a conscious decision, perhaps not. GS

25. *Silenus Seated on a Rock*

Terracotta
H. 47.5 cm (18¾ in.), W. 20 cm (7⅞ in.)

Amiens, Musée de Picardie (MP. 55–331–2)

PROVENANCE: Gérard de Berny (1880–1957), former senator from the Somme; his bequest to the city of Amiens, 1957

RELATED WORK: A version in terracotta (New York, Sackler Foundation; Washington, D.C.–New York–Cambridge, Mass. 1979–82, pp. 176–77, no. 78, ill.), rendered in a slack and hasty style that does not at all correspond to Pajou's, might have come from the studio of Visseaux (see below).



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This terracotta is a study for the stone *Silenus* once at the Folie Sainte-James (cat. 24). It offers slight variations, particularly in the vase with its Bacchic ornament. We do not know its early history.

This statuette's quality sets it apart from the forged terracottas that have been made in such great numbers. In the early twentieth century the Visseaux studio specialized in such pastiches (see Charageat 1966), concentrating on Pajou's mythological works, such as the *Bacchante with a Tambourine and Children*, the stone version of which is in the Louvre (see Lapauze 1924; fig. 44), and the *Silenus-Pan* pair from the Folie Sainte-James. The Pan group, with its charming child figure, was especially popular with forgers. One *Pan* is signed and dated 1763 (sale Paris, Hôtel George V, June 8, 1990, no. 8, ill.); another has a second child (sold Paris, Drouot, March 20, 1992, no. 50: "Clodion," ill.); one is dated 1785 and bears Clodion's "signature" (sold Paris, Galliéra, December 10, 1975, no. 38, ill., then Drouot, December 8, 1976); and so on.

Of course, these pastiches cannot obscure the achievement of Pajou's two Bacchic compositions, which correspond thematically to the *Bacchante with a Tambourine and Children* from the Salon of 1765, created for the comte de Voyer d'Argenson and beautifully drawn by Saint-Aubin (fig. 117), and the *Bacchante with a Young Satyr* shown at the Salon of 1779, also sketched by Saint-Aubin (Dacier 1955, pl. XI). These Bacchic subjects were less common in 1758 than they would be later, when motifs taken from Arcadian mythology found favor with such artists as Clodion, Lecomte, and Boizot. GS

26. *Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne*

Terracotta
H. 59.5 cm (23⅜ in.), W. 36 cm (14⅛ in.), D. 23.5 cm (9¼ in.)
Incised on back of socle, at bottom: *J.B. / Le Moyne / Par Augu.Pajou / ce 18 juin 1759.* (J.-B. Lemoyne by August Pajou, June 18, 1759)
According to Nicolle and Dacier, in 1913 there was a printed label on the front of the socle with the verses by Ducis that are found on the base of the bronze version in the Louvre (see cat. 27).

Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts (1836)

PROVENANCE: Gift of Lemoyne's grandson, naval administrator in Nantes, to the museum before 1859

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1759, not in catalogue; Paris 1984–85, no. 140, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 1859, no. 1065; Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 1876, no. 59; Merson 1887, p. 174; Dilke 1900, p. 129; Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 1903, no. 83; Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, pp. 14 n. 2, 396 ("bronzed terracotta," as in all the above); Nicolle and Dacier 1913, no. 1836 ("painted terracotta"); Vitry 1924, p. 578; Réau 1927, p. 49; Benoist 1953, no. 1836 ("solid terracotta"); Cousseau 1991, pp. 56–57, ill.; Levey 1993b, p. 155

RELATED WORKS (draped version): Terracotta with no inscription: Germain Bapst collection (sale Paris, December 11, 1893, no. 97, as "self-portrait" of Lemoyne), then Félix Doistau collection (H. 60 cm [23⅝ in.]; sale Paris, March 5, 1937, no. 210); it was no doubt this copy that resurfaced at the sale of the collection of the New Yorker René Fribourg at Sotheby's London, June 28, 1963, no. 728, ill.

Plaster inscribed on back: *J.B. Lemoyne sculpteur par le citoyen Pajou. le VIII juin de l'An* MDCCLVII (J.-B. Lemoyne, sculptor, by Citizen Pajou. June 8 of the year 1757 [*sic*]), given by Yves Lemoyne to the Château de Versailles in 1906 (H. with base 62 cm [24⅜ in.], W. 35 cm [13¾ in.], D. 25 cm [9⅞ in.]; Hoog 1993, p. 226, no. 1019, ill.). Yves Lemoyne had a casting done by the Trocadéro Pouzadoux in 1897, of which at least six copies were made (handwritten notation in the file on the bronze version at the Louvre). Another copy was sold in Paris, Drouot, November 29, 1979, ill.

One of Pajou's most famous works is his portrait of Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne (1704–1778). Diderot's praise at the Salon of 1759 (see below) was repeated by commentators, and the bronze version in the Louvre (cat. 27) is illustrated in anthologies of eighteenth-century portraiture.

When he created the bust of his former teacher, Pajou had been back from Rome for two years. He had approached the last stage of his training—his induction into the Académie Royale—in a strong position because of the advantages of a stay in Italy. On his return he must have rushed to see Lemoyne, who was known for being well liked by his students. Pajou executed this portrait at the same time as his morceau de réception (cat. 28). Did he consider it an obligatory step to win the the Académie's approval or, less cynically, was the bust a personal testimony to the esteem and affection he felt for his teacher on the eve of finally becoming his colleague? At the time, Lemoyne was a renowned and influential professor (he became assistant rector on August 1, 1761). He attended Pajou's acceptance and induction in 1759 and 1760.

Fig. 24. Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, *Noël-Nicolas Coypel.* Terracotta. Paris, Musée du Louvre



The present bust, dated 1759, bore a layer of bronze paint that disappeared before 1953, allowing the orange color of the terracotta to be seen. The work was no doubt made in two stages: the even cut at the top of the base indicates that the sculptor reconsidered the stand and chose to provide a high pedestal with a drapery.

This is without question the piece that was exhibited at the Salon of 1759. No doubt finished too late to be included in the catalogue, it was commented on by several critics, one of whom specified that it was in terracotta: "One need only have glimpsed M. le Moyne to be struck by the astonishing resemblance that reigns in his terracotta portrait" (*Lettre critique à un ami sur les ouvrages de messieurs de l'Académie*, Deloynes, vol. 7, no. 90, p. 29). Diderot—sincerely, as he did not know Pajou personally (he mentions only that the artist was



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one of the model's students)—was enthusiastic: "Oh, such a beautiful bust of Le Moine, my friend, such a beautiful bust! He lives, he thinks, he looks, he sees, he hears, he is about to speak" (May and Chouillet 1984, p. 103). On the copy of Diderot's *Salons* intended for the printer, his son-in-law Vandeul (who was a friend of the sculptor's and on several occasions tried to stifle his critics) noted: "M. Pajou promises to be a clever man" (ibid., p. 104). In the *Mercure de France* (October 1759, p. 191) Marmontel is in tune with his colleagues: "a bust . . . no less astonishing for the truth, the vigor, and the fire with which it has been modeled. Those who know the genius and soul of M. le Moine cannot see this bust . . . without feeling a sweet emotion."

Pajou knots the drapery casually like a scarf, a treatment that emphasizes the sense of life that emanates from the present bust. Is this nonchalance, which breaks from neo-antique conventions, a reference to the swirling drapery which Lemoyne designed for the portrait of his friend Noël-Nicolas Coypel (1738; fig. 24) and which, as here, escapes its confines and slips over the pedestal? GS

27. *Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne*

Bronze
H. 48 cm (18⅞ in.) (with gray marble socle 62 cm [24⅜ in.], L. 31 cm (12¼ in.), D. 20.5 cm (8⅛ in.)
Incised on back: *J.B.LEMOINE SCULPTEUR DU / ROI ANCIEN DIRECTEUR ET / RECTEUR DE L'ACAD.ROYALE / DE PEINT.ET SCULPT. / PAR PAJOU EN 1758* (J.-B. Lemoyne, sculptor to the king, former director and rector of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, by Pajou in 1758); on front coat of arms: *Tu vois icy Le Moine; on connoit son cizeau. / Nul n'enseigna son art avec plus d'éloquence / L'amitié, la nature et la reconnoissance / Ont avec la vertu pleuré sur son tombeau. / Par M^r Ducis de l'Academie francoise* (Here you see Lemoyne; his chisel is renowned. / None ever taught with greater skill his art. / Friendship, nature, virtue, and the grateful heart / Have shed their tears on his burial ground. / By M. Ducis of the Académie Française)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 1211)

PROVENANCE: Probably the bronze bust, "lifesize, chiseled by the cit. Thomire after the cit. Pajou, valued at two hundred forty livres," described in Pajou's studio on April 6, 1797 (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 607); on an undetermined date acquired (perhaps as a gift from Pajou) by Pierre-Hippolyte Lemoyne, the sitter's youngest son; his descendants; offered for sale by Yves Lemoyne, 1893, and refused on the basis of a negative report by Émile Molinier, who deemed the asking price of eight thousand francs too high (correspondence, AMN, s^6); acquired by the museum from Yves Lemoyne for the sum of fifteen thousand francs, 1899

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1950a, no. 51, ill.; Munich 1958, no. 484; Paris 1963b, no. 309; Brisbane–Tokyo 1988, no. 37, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, p. 473; Bénédite 1899, p. 2; Michel and Vitry 1907, no. 1051; Lami 1911, p. 203; Stein 1912, pp. 14–15, ill., 396; Vitry 1922, no. 1434; Vitry 1924, p. 578; Réau 1927, p. 49, ill.; Rostrup 1932, pp. 86–87, pl. XC; Levey 1993b, p. 155

RELATED WORKS (undraped version): A plaster cast patinated to resemble terracotta, formerly in the David-Weill collection (Morice 1907, p. 234; cited in Stein 1912, p. 14, as a "terracotta"), should probably be identified with a superb plaster cast (today without that patination; fig. 25) bearing the same inscriptions: on the socle, to right: *Pajou / 1758*; and on the rear of the socle *J.B. / Le Moyne / S. du Roi / Encien* [*sic*] *directeur / & recteur de / S. Acad. de peint. / et Sculpture* (J.-B. Lemoyne, sculptor to the king, former director and rector of his Academy of Painting and Sculpture); H., without the pink marble socle, 48 cm [18⅞ in.], W. 33 cm [13 in.]; sold Paris, Galliéra, May 23, 1975, no. 69, ill.; acquired at that sale by a collector of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Pastel by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, dated 1782, depicting Pajou modeling Lemoyne's face (cat. 147).

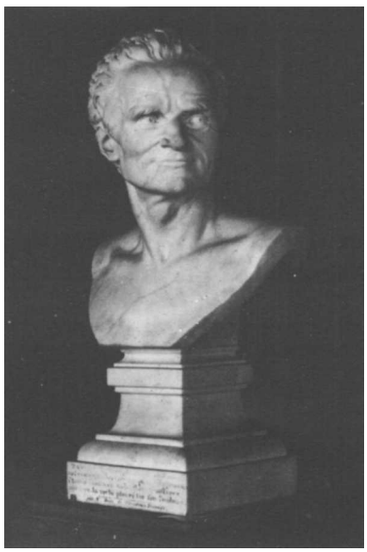
Marble inscribed *PAJOU 1759*, and with Ducis's quatrain engraved on the countersocle (fig. 26); exhibited at the Salon of 1789 (no. 208); kept by Pajou, and described as being in his studio in April 1797 (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 607) as well as in the posthumous inventory of his son on December 11, 1828 (no. 106; see Chronology), but not in the sale of his belongings on January 12, 1829. Mentioned by Chaussard in 1806 (p. 470), it was preserved by Augustin-Désiré Pajou: we find it in his posthumous inventory (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641, April 12, 1878) and in the subsequent auction, on December 16, 1878 (p. 3, no. 1). In a letter to the Louvre of February 4, 1893 (AMN, s^6), Yves Lemoyne indicates that the marble "was sold at the Salle Drouot, several years ago, for 6,100 frs."; on March 31, 1893, he specifies that it was acquired by the expert Lefebvre. We then find it in the Bischoffsheim collection (Réau 1927, p. 49) and after that in the collection of Mme Francis de Croisset (H. 67 cm [26⅜ in.]; Stein 1912, pp. 14, 396); it was still with Mme de Croisset in 1950 (H. 70 cm [27½ in.], W. 36 cm [14⅛ in.]; Paris 1950b, no. 173, not ill.; a photograph is in the Frick Art Reference Library in New York); whereabouts unknown.

RELATED WORKS (type unknown): A bust said to be of Pajou by Lemoyne, but in all likelihood representing Lemoyne by Pajou, not described, was exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondance in 1779

Fig. 25. Pajou, *Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne*. Plaster. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, private collection



Fig. 26. Pajou, *Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne*. Marble. Whereabouts unknown





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(Bellier 1864–65, vol. 20, p. 420), in other words, shortly after Lemoyne's death.

Stein (1912, p. 414, not ill.) mentions as an autograph work a terra-cotta medallion representing Lemoyne, signed and dated 1787 (Diam. 17 cm [6¾ in.]), then preserved in the Paris collection of M. de Schorstein. We mention this work with reservations, since its whereabouts are unknown and we have seen no photographs of it.

This bronze bust and its plaster model (fig. 25) are dated 1758, but they bear inscriptions giving honorary titles that Lemoyne did not receive until 1768. The format—a head upon bare shoulders—is seen in Labille-Guiard's 1782 portrait of Pajou at work (cat. 147) and again in a marble (fig. 26) shown at the Salon of 1789 (but dated 1759). This composition is close to a common Neoclassical type of the 1780s, popularized especially by Houdon. We have to wonder whether Pajou conceived this innovative formula at the end of the 1750s or whether later (probably after Lemoyne's death in 1778) he reused a study of the head made in 1758 and intended for the Salon of 1759 (see cat. 26).

The bronze in the Louvre, a lost-wax casting that is relatively thick but that shows superb reworking in the chiseling of the hair, is no doubt the work by Thomire cited in 1797. Like the versions in plaster (fig. 25) and marble (fig. 26), it is a living image of Lemoyne. We are a long way from the stuffy profile drawn by Cochin

(and engraved by Dupuis in 1755) but very near Quentin de La Tour's masterpiece (a pastel shown at the Salon of 1763, no doubt the one now in the Louvre; Paris 1984–85, no. 87, ill.). Several years separate the two portraits. Again we see the high forehead, the swept-back hair, the broadly smiling mouth, the lines beside the nose, the dimples, and especially the liveliness of the eyes—well noted by Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun—which appear extremely mobile. Lemoyne was quite sociable, "loved by all who knew him" (Mariette 1851–60, p. 134); he could be seen at Mme Geoffrin's, where Marmontel noted his "witty and soulful" gaze (quoted in Réau 1927, p. 48), and he received a select circle at his own home. According to Mme Vigée-Le Brun, "Le Moine was utterly unpretentious; but he had the good taste to gather around him a crowd of famous and distinguished men. His two daughters were perfect hostesses. . . . At these dinners we often saw Grétry, Latour, the famous pastel artist; everyone laughed and had a good time" (Vigée-Le Brun 1986, pp. 48–49). Perhaps the high-spirited Ducis, a friend of Pajou's whose bust the sculptor did in 1779 (fig. 147), was one of these occasional guests. It was he who wrote the posthumous quatrain, another heartfelt and laudatory testament from a man of letters, which appears on the bronze base of the Louvre portrait and is repeated on the countersocle of the marble.

Directly transcribing the human warmth of his beloved teacher, Pajou rendered homage to Lemoyne three times, in 1759, 1779, and 1789 (not to mention the inclusion of the bust in Labille-Guiard's pastel, which was exhibited at the Académie and at the Salon).

GS

28. *Pluto Keeping Cerberus in Chains*

Marble
H. 71.7 cm (28¼ in.), W. 49 cm (19¼ in.), D. 50.2 cm (19¾ in.)
Incised on back of rock: *PAJOU.F. / 1760*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 2982)

PROVENANCE: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture; taken back by the sculptor between the years II and VI (1793–97); returned at the written request of Antoine Renou, former perpetual secretary to the Académie, on April 5, 1798; allocated to the École Spéciale de Peinture et de Sculpture, June 19, 1798; after 1816 in the Salle des Archives of the École des Beaux-Arts; requested for the Louvre in 1851 by the marquis Léon de Laborde, curator of sculpture; entered the museum in 1866

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1761, no. 135

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dezallier d'Argenville 1781, p. 131; Chaussard 1806, pp. 463, 470; Le Breton 1810, p. 356; Clarac 1841–53, vol. 5, p. 332; Barbet de Jouy 1873, no. 282 *bis*; Bellier and Auvray 1885, vol. 2, p. 192; *Proc.-Verb.* 1885–92, vol. 7, p. 116; Michel 1897, no. 771; Dilke 1900, p. 125; Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, pp. 8–10, ill., 397; Vitry 1922, no. 1429; Vitry 1924, p. 575; Fontaine 1930, p. 160, no. 176; Levey 1993b, p. 155

RELATED WORKS: A copy, most likely in plaster, was installed on May 23, 1761, in the main room of the Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti in Parma (since lost; letter from the architect Petitot to Frugoni, first secretary to the Accademia; Parma archives, *carteggio* 1761/54; written communication from Carlo Mambriani and Olivier Michel).

A terracotta was sold at a combined auction (La Reynière, Donjeux, marquis de Chevigné) on February 10, 1773, no. 47: "original terracotta, whose fine execution warranted M. Pajou's induction into the Académie" (H. 63.5 cm [25 in.]); then Nogaret sale, February 23, 1778, no. 205.

A plaster cast was sold at the auction of the abbé *** on December 2, 1765, no. 214: "the plaster has been made and restored by M. Pajou, and served to have him accepted at the Académie Royale."

Another (or the same?) appears in the Bourgeois de Boynes sale of March 15, 1785 (no. 133 *bis*): "a handsome plaster molded from the clay, presented for the induction of this famous artist into the Académie Royale. . . . Well restored and of a nicely imitated antique bronze color. Height 27 inches [68.6 cm]." Could this be the "bronzed plaster" from the sale of the architect Le Carpentier on March 14, 1774, no. 114, "30 inches [76.2 cm] in height"?

Plaster casts are mentioned in two other sales from the eighteenth century, but it cannot be determined whether they are the same as those cited above or other copies: auctions of Philippe Caffieri (October 10, 1775, no. 37) and Hubert Robert (April 5, 1809, no. 380).

A version in patinated plaster, of significantly larger dimensions than Pajou's marble, decorates one of the hallways in the house of the architect John Soane in London (today the Sir John Soane Museum): it was described by Soane himself (1835, "terracotta") as *Hercules Holding Cerberus* by Henry Webber, a sculptor active in the manufactory of Wedgwood.

Another interpretation was given by the better-known sculptor Gilles-Lambert Godecharle: Pajou's *Pluto* (without Cerberus) was transformed into *Vulcan*, with anvil and shield (stone statue: H. 145.5 cm [57¼ in.], W. 109 cm [42⅞ in.], D. 98.5 cm [38¾ in.]; probably 1821; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts; Van Lennep 1992, p. 223, ill.).

A version in bronze is housed at the Museum of Western and Eastern Art in Odessa (Odessa, *Museo* 1987, no. 105, ill., as by Bouchardon).





Fig. 27. Pajou, *Head of a Bearded Man Wearing a Crown.* Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash. Private collection

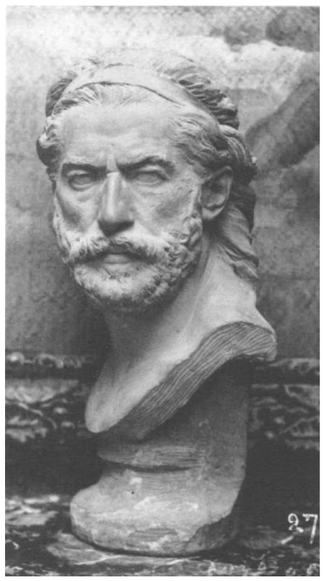
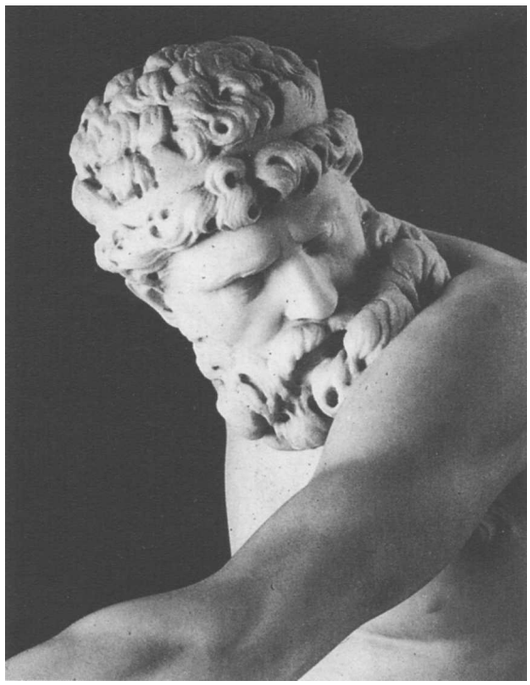


Fig. 28. Pajou, *Head of a Man.* Terracotta. Paris, private collection



Cat. 28: detail

On January 27, 1759, Pajou, introduced by his teacher Lemoyne and "having had some of his works brought" according to the ritual formula, was accepted into the Académie Royale with the proviso that "he will execute the model he presented [that is,] Pluto, god of the underworld, holding Cerberus in chains" (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 81). The model itself was exhibited at the Salon from August 25 of the same year. We do not know whether it was in plaster or terracotta, as the notices of 1765 and 1773 are contradictory (see Related Works). Pajou executed the marble version with remarkable speed. He was accepted into the Académie on January 26, 1760, again in the presence of Lemoyne: "His morceau de réception [was] a figure of Pluto with the dog Cerberus in chains at his feet, which he executed in marble following the model approved by the Company" (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, p. 116). The work was shown to the public at the next Salon, on August 25, 1761 (no. 135; see fig. 233). It then entered the Académie collections at the Louvre, where Dezallier d'Argenville described it as being in the "Great Hall," and on May 4, 1798, it was selected by the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts—which Pajou chaired—as an example of "modern" sculpture for the École Spéciale de Peinture et de Sculpture at the Louvre (Cantarel-Besson 1992, p. 309).

Stein (1912, p. 8) suggests that Pajou chose the subject while he was in Rome. We have no proof of this, but it is a likely hypothesis, since his Italian sojourn was devoted to preparation for reception into the Académie. Did the sculptor draw his inspiration from a specific ancient prototype? It can hardly have been the statue of Pluto solemnly seated on a throne and dressed in an ample toga at the Capitoline (Clarac 1841–53, vol. 4, pl. 757). That work—apart from the presence of Cerberus—is entirely foreign to Pajou's conception of the god. Perhaps he remembered the head of a bearded man wearing a crown that he drew in a sketchbook (17.2 × 13.2 cm [6¾ × 5¼ in.]; fig. 27), since "Pluto must be depicted with an ebony crown" (Caylus 1755, p. 70). We recognize in the marble version the imperious profile set off by a diadem; the narrowed eyes, the hooked nose, the beard, and the abundant hair of this source are vivified by the study of a living model. A head in terracotta, signed and dated July 1757 (fig. 28), sensitively executed, also bears witness to this drawing and mixes sculptural reference and live study.

The antique iconography for representing Pluto is not as abundant as that of the other Olympian gods, but during the Renaissance and the seventeenth century he was depicted many times, notably carrying off Persephone. Perhaps the masterfully curled hair of Pajou's *Pluto* was meant to rival Bernini's masterpiece in the Villa Borghese. Caraglio's engraving after Rosso

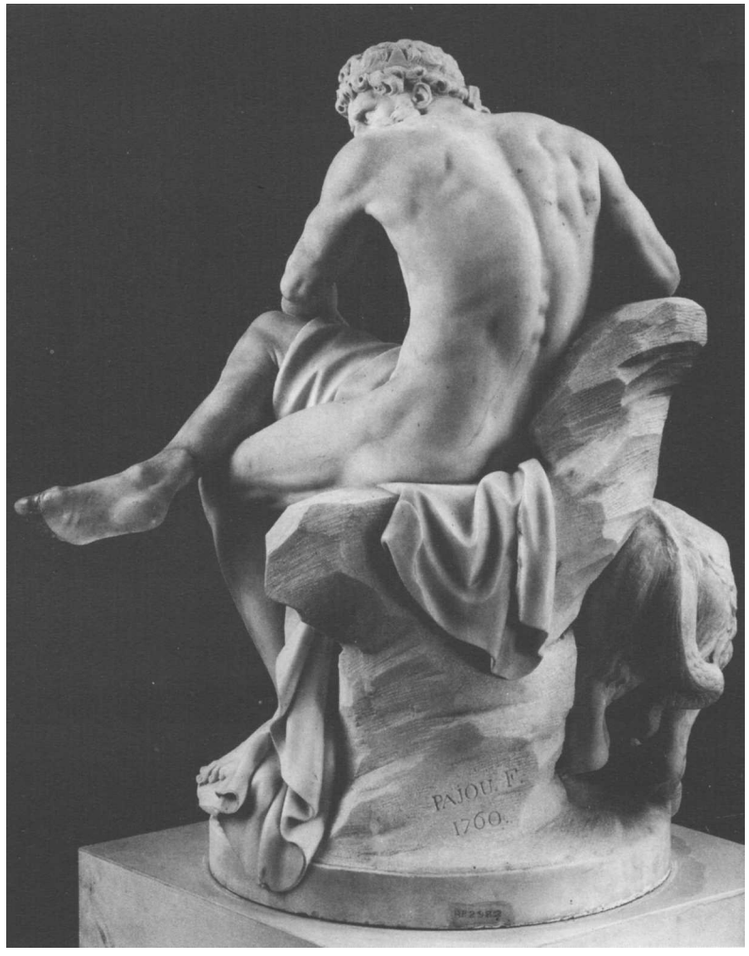
describes Pluto as standing, bearded and crowned, and accompanied by the three-headed Cerberus. Another powerful image of this solitary and unsociable god is that by Michel Anguier; the work was engraved, and Pajou must certainly have known the small bronze version of it as well. Pajou's *Pluto* differs from that of Anguier in certain details such as the hair. However, the treatment of the male nude is analogous (wide calves, thick belly, and massive shoulders); the position of Cerberus's three heads is similar; the same *terribilità* emanates from both works.

One of Pajou's inventions is the elegance of the god's pose. His crossed legs evoke not only authority but also tension. A similar composition can be found in a decorative fragment sketched in Italy, unfortunately not identified (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 36), and in a large altarpiece by Jouvenet (the statue of the god in the background of *The Martyrdom of Saint Ovide*, 1690, Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts). We might also note the possible influence of Caffieri's *River-god* (Musée du Louvre), his morceau de réception, which was shown at the Salon of 1759 beside the model for *Pluto*. Indeed, both marble works have multiple viewpoints, but Caffieri's unbalanced figure is more dependent on the Mannerist examples of Giambologna. At the Salon of 1759 the author of the *Lettre critique à un ami sur les ouvrages de messieurs de l'Académie* (Deloynes, vol. 7, no. 90, p. 29) stated: "[Pajou's *Pluto*] has a lot of expression, his muscles are executed with understanding, and the contrast throws a poor light on M. Caffieri's river-god."

Pajou in fact may not have resorted to a specific model to invent a figure as powerful as his Pluto. Of course, he wanted to appear knowledgeable to his future colleagues and to show that he had assimilated the standard references. The very choice of Pluto as subject may not have been entirely innocent. Michel Anguier's famous lecture of 1669, in which he compared his own *Pluto* with the *Farnese Hercules*, had been discussed in that same chamber of the Académie by the comte de Caylus. The presentation of a new Pluto was a sign of the attention Pajou paid to the Académie's ongoing considerations.

The success of a morceau de réception, however, depended on more than merely iconographic criteria. Pajou owed his triumph to his technical mastery. Any morceau de réception was expected to demonstrate excellence of technique in the rendering of anatomy, drapery, accessories (here, the three-headed dog), and, of course, expression. Pajou's talent in handling marble, already evident in the stele for the princess of Hesse-Homburg (cat. 53), won him, here and at the Salon of 1761, unanimous acclaim. On November 23, 1761, the engraver Floding wrote to the comte Tessin, "M. Pajou's Pluto [attracted] the admiration of the public and of all the connoisseurs" (Lundberg 1931–32, p. 294).

The critics under the Empire, represented insofar as Pajou is concerned by Chaussard and Le Breton, saw in his *Pluto* the starting point of a new era: "M. Pajou created his statue of Pluto at a time when sculpture was barbaric, mannered, and lacking any sort of principle. This figure is full of truth: the arms and legs are beautifully formed. M. Pajou proved then and there that



Cat. 28: reverse

one could do nothing without studying Nature, and he proved that he had studied it. This is his constant recommendation" (Chaussard 1806, p. 463). By studying a live model, the artist avoided the conventions of "mannered" art, as Le Breton (1810, p. 356) also stressed: "The workmanship is knowledgeable and polished. We begin to feel in it the study of nature, a principle that not only was not yet admitted at the School, but that was even censured, especially by Pajou's teacher." Pajou was moving away from the picturesque effects of Lemoyne, which even at the time were being condemned by the critics.

Its perceived excellence—and Pajou's advancement in the Académie's hierarchy (he was soon named assistant professor)—caused *Pluto and Cerberus* to be widely disseminated. A letter from Petitot to Frugoni mentions that a version of the work arrived at the Accademia in Parma in May 1761 (see Related Works). Pajou, most likely a member of that institution by then (see Chronology), had evidently lost no time in sending proof of his talent to Italy. Other versions were listed in Paris auction catalogues (see Related Works). While keeping in mind that the same work may appear at several successive auctions, we can nevertheless distinguish at least one example in terracotta and two plasters—one bronzed, the other not. Artists—among them the architect Le Carpentier, the sculptor Caffieri, and the painter Robert—seemed to have a special interest in the piece (Pajou and Robert were friends; Pajou and Le Carpentier worked together at the Palais Bourbon and were both associated with Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne).

It is not known if Pajou allowed a mold to be made of this work. Copies created from morceaux de réception were executed by students at the Académie and circulated more or less clandestinely; sales in Paris increased to such an extent that a 1777 regulation declared that these versions had to be made solely with the permission of the original artist or, if appropriate, of the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 8, p. 288). Whatever the case, the number of recorded comments seems to indicate that Pajou's work was among the most popular morceaux de réception (along with Pigalle's *Mercury* and Allegrain's *Narcissus*), and today it remains one of the best of that series in the Louvre.

GS

II. *Architectural Sculpture*

Pajou's activities in the field of architectural decoration were especially praised by his early biographers, Chaussard,[1] himself an architect, and Le Breton: "What difference does it make to his renown and your interest if I cite some one hundred and eighty works of sculpture by him in marble, bronze, lead, stone, wood, and even paperboard? Suffice it to say that in general the true style of monumental sculpture, as applied to architecture, was unknown in France at the time; but that, even in his bas-reliefs, M. Pajou held a rank that set him apart from his contemporaries."[2] Indeed, in this regard, the artist followed in the tradition of Michel-Ange Slodtz and Guillaume II Coustou, and outclassed the artists of his generation (Caffieri, Gois, Duret, Berruer, Mouchy) throughout the 1760s.

We can trace Pajou's interest in architecture as far back as his stay in Italy. In fact, his first work in Rome was a model for a monumental decoration. On October 18, 1753, Natoire wrote to the director of the Bâtiments du Roi, Vandières (the future marquis de Marigny): "M. Pajou is working on the small study for the royal arms that you consider should be made for the façade of the [Mancini] palace; as soon as he has finished, I shall have the honor to send you a small drawing and an estimate of what it might cost."[3] On November 14 Natoire sent Vandières the drawing, "done from a very artistically executed little model that M. Pajou has just made . . . one of his two young figures can represent the Genius of France holding a laurel wreath, while the other supports the royal crown on the coat of arms." He hoped the project would be approved, as Pajou "has great talent."[4] Vandières, however, preferred "a simple coat of arms . . . this one is too large and too ornate for its destination."[5] A sketch by Pajou showing two angels flanking a royal coat of arms decorated with fleurs-de-lis (fig. 29), on the back of a drawing of an Italian landscape, is most likely an idea for this project. The artist, although unable to carry out the work on the Palazzo Mancini, never forgot this early design; the two angels flanking a coat of arms recur in his later work, like a persistent leitmotif.[6]

In Italy, Pajou became friendly with a group of architecture students his own age: Barreau de Chefdeville, Trouard, De Wailly, Moreau-Desproux. With them he traveled and drew, in company with another visitor, William Chambers.[7]

The deep bonds of affinity that held this group together lasted after the sculptor's return to France in 1756 and led to numerous collaborations. Pajou took a great interest in the decoration of the Louvre (cat. 29) and then worked with Barreau de Chefdeville on the château of the *fermier général* François Fontaine in Cramayel-en-Brie (Seine-et-Marne),[8] though details about his involvement have unfortunately been lost.[9] He again worked with this friend on the decoration of the "Flemish Room" in the Hôtel La Live de Jully.[10]

In 1764, when Trouard built the Chapelle des Catéchismes, also known as the Chapelle de la Providence, in the left arm of the transept of the cathedral of Saint-Louis in Versailles,[11] Pajou sculpted five stone reliefs on the exterior representing the four cardinal Virtues and Faith (fig. 30–32). Inside, eight stone medallions of the haloed heads of saints in profile, without distinctive iconographic signs, have been convincingly attributed to him (fig. 109).[12]

Pajou's large-scale decoration places him in the tradition of Michel-Ange Slodtz, who several years earlier (in 1756–58) had executed the *Virtues* and medallions of the Evangelists in the peristyle of Saint-Sulpice.[13] This masterpiece of monumental decoration suffuses

Fig. 29. Pajou, *Two Angels Flanking the Royal Coat of Arms.* Black chalk. Private collection

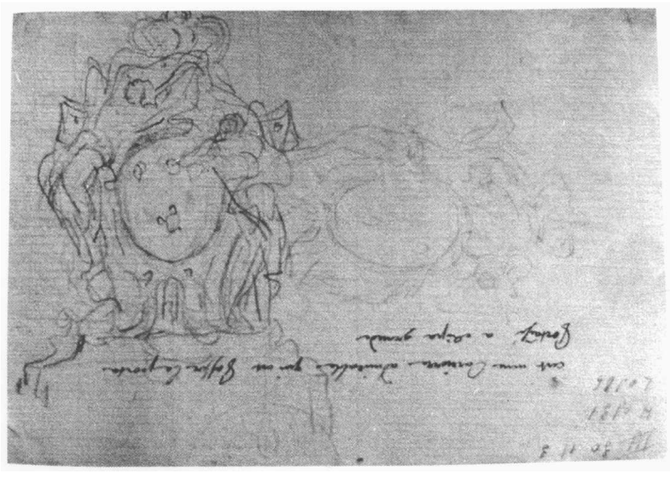




Fig. 30. Pajou, *Temperance* (left) and *Fortitude* (right). Stone. Versailles, cathedral of Saint-Louis, Chapelle de la Providence

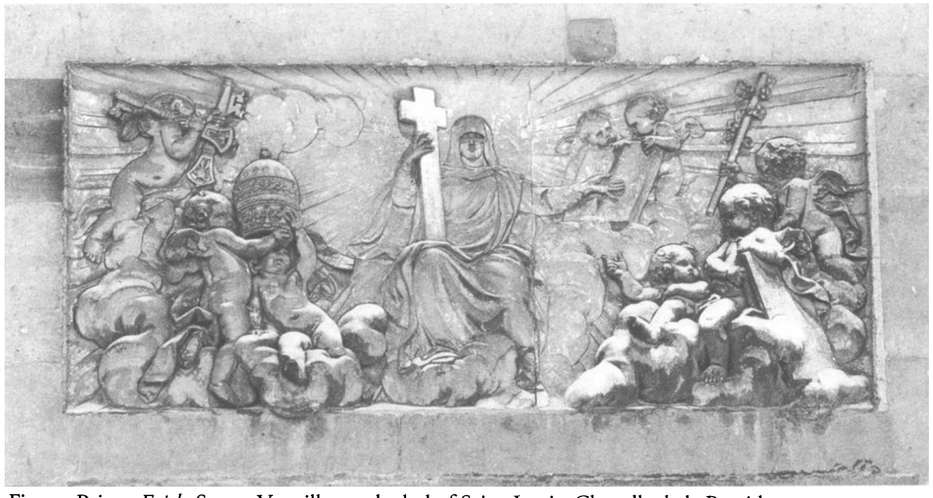


Fig. 31. Pajou, *Faith.* Stone. Versailles, cathedral of Saint-Louis, Chapelle de la Providence



Fig. 32. Pajou, *Justice* (left) and *Prudence* (right). Stone. Versailles, cathedral of Saint-Louis, Chapelle de la Providence

the Versailles reliefs. Pajou must have been fascinated by Slodtz's stylistic fluidity, the ease with which he organized his compositions, and his masterly handling of drapery: according to Cochin, "he has few equals in an aspect of the art that is more difficult than one would think, the art of drapery. No one has surpassed him in the taste with which he could arrange, shape, and carve the folds of delicate draperies; [he successfully created] a smooth continuity between different surfaces." Cochin also commented on "the grace in his composition, the nobility and richness in his adornments."[14] Pajou adopted the compositional principles employed by Slodtz at Saint-Sulpice (the dialogue between woman and child). But whereas his elder created superb connections between the two bodies, sculpting the faces head-on, turning their heads and moving their arms, handling the transitions with great success, Pajou confined himself to lateral views, relegating the child to a subsidiary role. He appears to have been somewhat constrained by Ripa's iconographic codes, illustrated in too cursory a fashion. It was certainly not easy for Pajou to sculpt the Versailles cycle only a few years after Slodtz's success.

Shortly afterward he faced a similar challenge with the pediments of the new Palais-Royal, built by another friend from Rome, Moreau-Desproux (cat. 41). Here, too, the reliefs of Slodtz and Guillaume II Coustou on the buildings overlooking the Place Louis XV, completed in 1765 and 1766,[15] gave dazzling proof of their artistic maturity. Pajou sought to distance himself from them by designing for his pediments two pendent female figures instead of one central image dominating the composition, as was more traditional.[16] Again, however, he seems to have been a prisoner of the architectural form and was still hampered by the constraints of iconographic transcription. He was more comfortable with sculpture in the round: the four seated divinities (cat. 42), reminiscent of Coustou's masterly works at the Invalides,[17] are in the grand tradition of classical French statuary.

If it is difficult today to appreciate the true stylistic nature of the sculptures at the Palais-Royal, which have been so drastically restored, it is utterly impossible to judge Pajou's creations for the Palais Bourbon, built by Le Carpentier. He executed important works for it in 1769, 1770, and 1771, but they disappeared during subsequent renovations. All that remains are his invoice (settled on May 6, 1772),[18] old descriptions,[19] precious renderings done between 1777 and 1782 by the Swedish architect Carlberg, and engravings.[20] According to these sources, above the main entrance were two angels in *pierre de Tonnerre* supporting the coat of arms of the house of Condé and "a large relief placed above the archivolt, composed of a lion's pelt, a shield, a lance, a sword, and other attributes of war, with a garland of oak leaves" (fig. 35). In the main courtyard, decorating the two projecting bays of the lateral wings, were pediments with marble reliefs representing "attributes of war" and the prince's coat of arms. Above were two facing groups of Muses in *pierre de Tonnerre.*[21]

The situation is better with regard to the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson, realized in collaboration with De Wailly. Although the hôtel was demolished in 1923, Pajou's sculptures were carefully preserved. The reliefs of the garden façade (cat. 30) and the statues for the carriage-entrance passage (cat. 32, 33) subtly assimilate the art of Goujon at a time when he was not yet in fashion. In particular, the four magnificent overdoors in the salon (cat. 35–38) reveal an artist mastering the constraints of interior space, the necessary artistic references, and a style of great linear suppleness.

These qualities recur in a little-known decorative context, much of which has unfortunately disappeared. On March 11, 1766, Pajou's friend De Wailly signed a contract for alterations to be done on the marquis de Villette's hôtel on the quai Voltaire.[22] He undertook to finish them by October 15, which he did. Pajou participated in this project on the second floor. A letter dated April 10, 1769, and a receipt dated March 17, 1771, provide details of his involvement. Of all the works realized,[23] the only ones remaining are two oval reliefs in stucco for the ceilings of the rooms off the salon:[24] the *Birth of Venus* (fig. 33) and the *Judgment of Paris* (fig. 34). These roguish compositions, voluptuous reflections of canonical images, were executed with the same brio as the overdoors of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson.

The end of the 1760s saw the apogee of Pajou's career as an architectural sculptor: under the auspices of the elderly Ange-Jacques Gabriel, *premier architecte du roi,* and with De Wailly's assistance, Pajou designed the masterpieces of interior decoration that are the auditorium and foyer of the Royal Opera of Versailles (cat. 44–48). His success there led to his involvement in the construction of the dining room at the Château de Bellevue, a project in which Louis XV himself took a personal interest (cat. 49, 50).



Fig. 33. Pajou, *The Birth of Venus.* Stucco. Paris, Hôtel de Villette



Fig. 34. Pajou, *The Judgment of Paris.* Stucco. Paris, Hôtel de Villette

After the king's death, followed shortly afterward by that of Gabriel,[25] the grand architectural projects initiated by the crown slowed down considerably, and Pajou distanced himself from architecture rather abruptly. His participation in 1780 in De Wailly's work on the small Théâtre de Seneffe was extremely modest,[26] as was his contribution to the Palais de Justice. For this latter work, the sculptor was in all likelihood brought in by Moreau-Desproux, who for a time was in charge of the site. Pajou executed the sculptures (fig. 36) for the base of the dome on the main façade overlooking the Cour du Mai,[27] but in this instance he had only to rework a familiar if not slightly hackneyed motif.

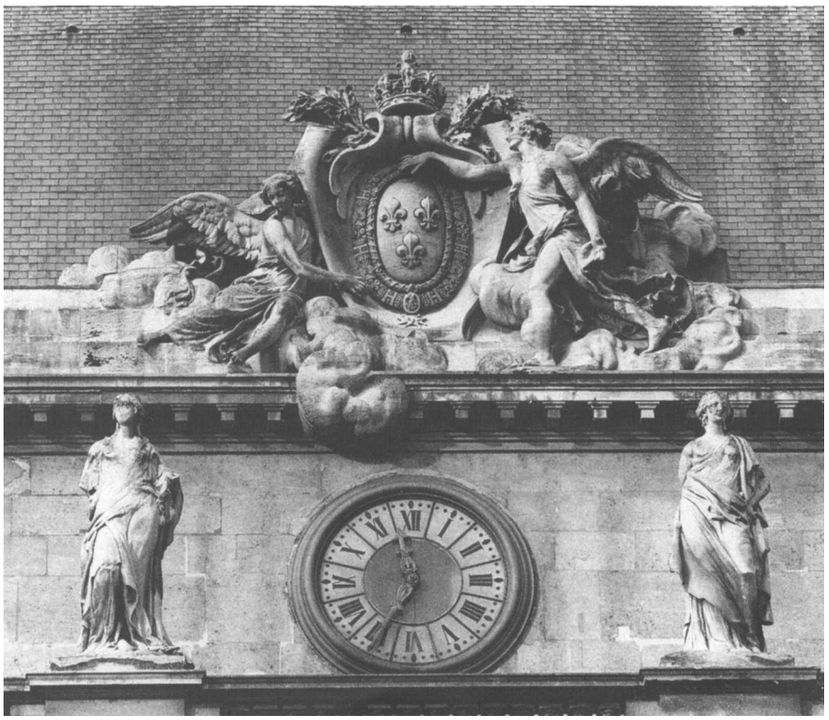
Finally, as a last trace of Pajou's activity in this field, there are the famous stone reliefs on the Fontaine des Innocents: three Naiads (fig. 38) in the style of those of the sixteenth century, two figures of Fame, and a relief of children's games (fig. 37).[28] Pajou was delighted to rediscover the art of Goujon,[29] which was the subject of study at the time by a group of young artists newly interested in the school of Fontainebleau (Moitte, Boichot).

If few large architectural decorations escaped Pajou before 1770, the situation changed dramatically thereafter. True, he remained in Gabriel's good graces,[30] but he no longer supplied whole projects as before. At the beginning of Louis XVI's reign, many of the architects who had employed him were dead or retired (Barreau de Chefdeville, Le Carpentier, Gabriel, Trouard); even his friends Moreau and De Wailly scarcely ever

Fig. 35. Carlberg, *Entrance to the Palais Bourbon.* Göteborg, Röhsska Konstslöjdmuseet



Fig. 36. Pajou, *Two Geniuses Flanking the Royal Coat of Arms.* Stone. Paris, Palais de Justice



employed him.[31] Did the artist turn away from this kind of work, absorbed by d'Angiviller's various commissions? The insistence with which he petitioned the latter in 1784 to be assigned the decoration of Compiègne shows how much he still hoped to sculpt pediments and monumental ensembles.[32] In fact, the most interesting architects of the period seem to have avoided employing him.[33] Antoine, for his Hôtel de la Monnaie, employed four artists of Pajou's generation: Caffieri, Gois, Mouchy, and his friend Edme Dumont. Chalgrin teamed up with Duret, Gondoin and Victor Louis with Berruer, two sculptors who were almost his age. As for Ledoux and Brongniart, they relied on younger artists, such as Lecomte, Clodion, and Moitte.

Pajou's talents, however, were diversified enough for him not to suffer from this decline in commissions. After an exceptionally rich fifteen years in the field of monumental decoration, he devoted himself to another dimension of the sculptor's art, large works in marble for the crown, thus gloriously taking up the torch from Bouchardon and Pigalle. GS

1. Chaussard 1806, p. 464.
2. Le Breton 1810, p. 357.
3. *Corr.*, vol. 10, pp. 474–75.
4. Ibid., p. 477.
5. Letter of December 13, 1753 (ibid., p. 480). Natoire acknowledged the decision on January 9, 1754 (ibid., vol. 11, p. 3).
6. At the Palais Bourbon (fig. 35), the Palais-Royal (fig. 52), Sainte-Croix, Orléans (fig. 43), the Royal Opera of Versailles (fig. 63), and the Palais de Justice (fig. 36).
7. On all of this, see Draper and Scherf, forthcoming.
8. Records of an entire series of payments for the year 1759 have survived: an installment of 400 livres on August 5 (Charavay, no. 52065: see AN, AB XXXVIII, Charavay XL, "Pajou"); 190 livres on October 15 (Paris Drouot, April 30, 1985, no. 73; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Foundation); 200 livres on November 15; and 156 livres on November 26 (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt collection, no. 6728).
9. Pajou's participation is cited, without details, by Lhuillier (1882, p. 271). There is no proof that the four stone statues representing the Seasons, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, come from the Cramayel orangery (Bapst 1922; see also cat. 69).
10. Pajou created the overdoors and a plaster statue for the niche representing the Art of Painting, exhibited at the Salon of 1763 (no. 171).
11. Gallet 1976, pp. 205–6.
12. Chaussard (1806, p. 473) mentions only four Evangelists. The ensemble was subsequently attributed to Pajou by Clément de Ris (1886, p. 142), followed by Stein (1912, pp. 194–95). The five exterior reliefs and one of the medallions were drawn by the Swedish architect Carlberg between 1777 and 1782 (Göteborg, Röhsska Konstslöjdmuseet). The *Almanach de Versailles* (1774, p. 64) describes with their subjects the five exterior reliefs "by M. Pajou . . . very well executed, albeit in stone." Dezallier d'Argenville (1779, p. 142) and Dulaure (1786, p. 312) state only that "the sculptures in relief . . . are by M. Pajou."
13. Souchal 1967, pp. 684–85, pls. 37–39.
14. Charles-Nicolas Cochin, quoted in ibid., pp. 576, 577.
15. Ibid., pp. 691–94, pls. 10–12.
16. An overall view of the pediments sculpted in the eighteenth century is difficult because so many monuments have been destroyed. Notably missing milestones are those by Guillaume II Coustou at Bellevue, executed about 1750.
17. Souchal 1980, pl. 44.
18. Chantilly, Archives du Musée Condé, AC *carton* 6 (Stein 1912, doc. v).
19. Dezallier d'Argenville 1778, p. 390; Hurtaud and Magny 1779, p. 705; and Thiéry 1787, pp. 599–600.
20. See Paris 1987, passim.
21. Pajou also restored the group *Apollo in His Chariot* by Guillaume II Coustou that decorated the central pavilion at the back of the courtyard, and created "two groups of trophies composed of attributes of war and helmets."
22. Stern 1938, p. 213.
23. See ibid., pp. 214–15. Pajou executed two plaster reliefs for the dining room for 400 livres each (*Bacchus Accompanied by a Panther* and *Erigone and Cupid*), as well as six circular reliefs "representing various subjects" in stucco, for the rooms off the salon, at 120 livres apiece. Payments to Pajou were staggered from 1768 to 1773 (ibid., pp. 214–15; Pons 1990, pp. 130–31; BM, Ms. 2219, 17 III 1771). Pajou's letter of 1769 also mentions two groups in marble that he was originally supposed to do but that were not executed by him.
24. Medallions in white stucco on a stucco background fashioned to

Fig. 37. Pajou, *Cupids and Winged Geniuses Floating on Shells or Riding Dolphins.* Stone. Paris, Fontaine des Innocents

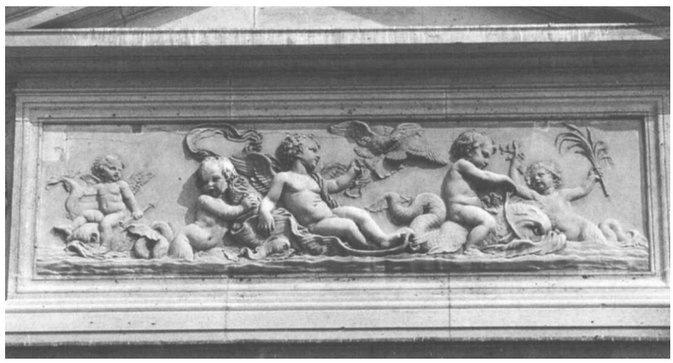
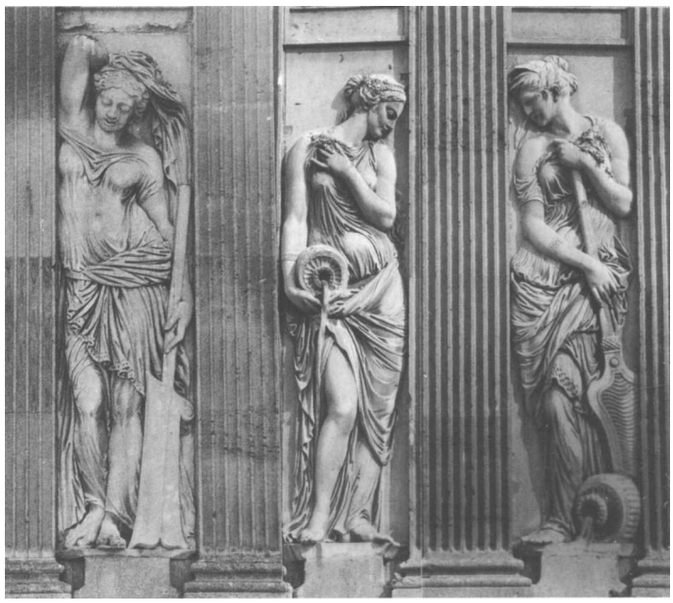
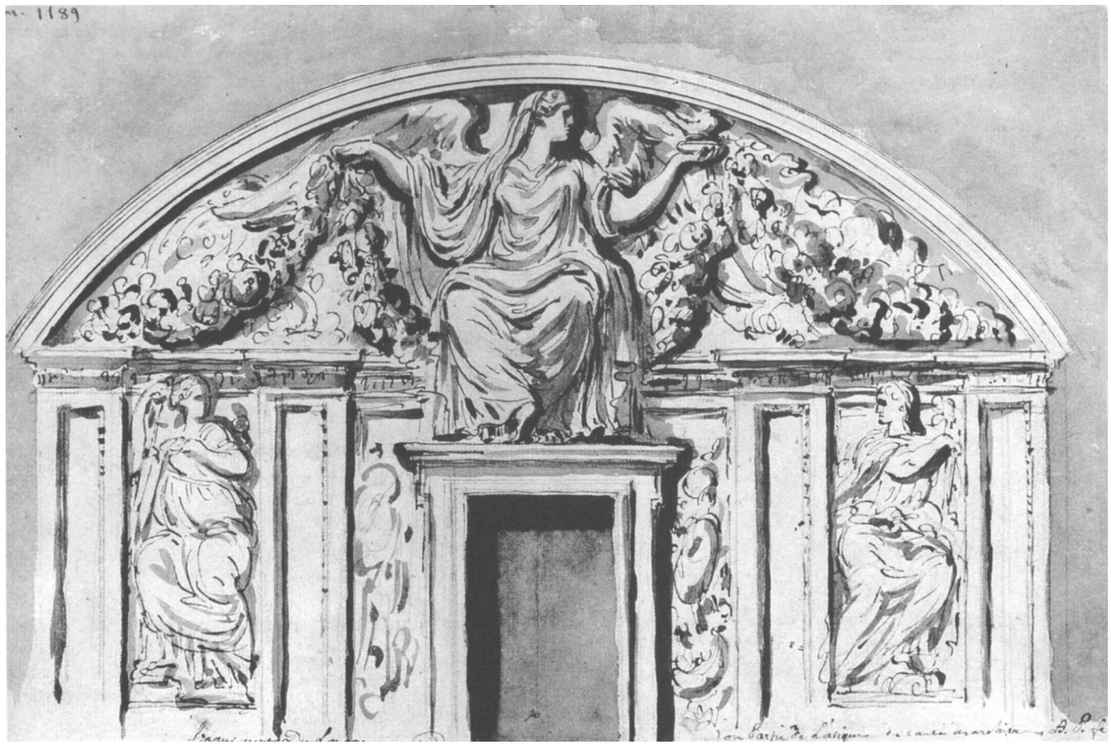


Fig. 38. Pajou, *Three Naiads.* Stone. Paris, Fontaine des Innocents



imitate *bleu turquin* marble. For the *Birth of Venus* (45 × 91 cm [17¼ × 35⅞ in.]) and the *Judgment of Paris* (35.5 × 71.5 cm [14 × 28⅛ in.]) Pajou received three hundred livres for each.

25. Gabriel had intended to employ Pajou for the decoration of the Grand Stairway at Versailles (Baulez 1982, p. 192).
26. On March 29, 1780, a letter notified Joseph Depestre, comte de Seneffe, that a wagon had been loaded with five crates of sculptures from Pajou's studio: "Four containing one plaster bust each. One containing a figure in plaster. There are still seven crates to load at M. Pajou's" (Mons, AE, no. 251). On June 19, "Seven crates [were loaded] at M. Pajou's, six of which contain busts and one large one a figure in plaster" (ibid.; Duquenne 1978, p. 232 n. 949). These ten busts and two plaster statues were intended for the theater at the Château de Seneffe (south of Brussels), which stood on its own in the park, a piece of picturesque garden architecture built by De Wailly in 1780 (the plans were dated September 1779: Duquenne 1978, p. 232 n. 947; Paris 1979a, p. 13, ill.). An inventory of 1804 (Mons, AE, F.336: Duquenne 1978, pp. 278 n. 821, 283 n. 949) mentions a "Ceres in plaster by Pajou in its crate" at the theater, which may already have been noted in an inventory of 1791 (Mons, AE, 613, p. 28); the sculpture has since disappeared. Pajou's busts are thought to be the ones decorating the oculi on the façades of the theater; they were recently taken down, restored, and photographed before being put back in place. The (obscure) iconography of these works—six busts repeated three times, plus two other busts—does not correspond to the description of them given by Goetghebuer in 1827 ("Sophocles and Euripides, Plautus and Terence, Racine and Molière").
27. Gallet 1959, p. 98. The *Mémoires secrets* of October 19, 1783 (1995, vol. 23, pp. 211–13), mentions that "the new palace [of Justice] is beginning to emerge from the rubble of the covered stalls that hid it from view. The main building is decorated with architectural ornaments. Visible on the pediment are the French arms in relief, supported by two angels, in the manner of M. Pajou." For this relief Pajou was paid seven thousand livres (letter from Pajou to d'Angiviller, February 25, 1785, concerning Compiègne: AN, O^{1} 1390, p. 139). Pajou's work is mentioned by Dulaure as early as 1785 (p. 458), followed by Thiéry (1787, p. 23). This decor has been highly restored, notably in 1911 by Denys Puech (see Stein 1912).
28. On January 31, 1787, a press campaign was led by Quatremère de Quincy (*Journal de Paris,* p. 181) to save the Fontaine des Innocents by Lescot and Goujon from demolition. The fountain was dismantled piece by piece by the engineer Six and the architects Bernard, Poyet, Molinos, and Legrand, and then reerected as a freestanding aedicule in the middle of the market that replaced the former cemetery of the Innocents. Pajou sculpted the fourth (south) side of the fountain—facing the present rue de la Ferronnerie—and a Naiad on the west side (Thirion n.d., pp. 139–43, figs. 135–138). Pajou asked nine thousand livres for these six sculptures in his tender to Thiroux de Crosne (Lemonnier 1907–8; Stein (1910), who published Pajou's invoice of November 15, 1789 [BHVDP, Ms. 1212, fol. 15]; Stein 1912, pp. 234–39; Doucet, *carton* 41, mf 20294; Stein 1912, doc. LVI, LXIII). The fountain was installed on February 15, 1788.
29. On November 14, 1787, d'Angiviller wrote to Pierre: "M. Pajou had notified me last month of his very laudable desire to make a mold of one of Jean Goujon's figures [*Peace*], placed above the door to the Salle des Antiques, in order to enter more fully into the style of the artist beside whom he has to place himself in completing the superb Fontaine des Innocents" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 215, and Lemonnier 1907–8, passim).
30. By contrast, Soufflot consistently ignored him, preferring, for example, to employ Guillaume II Coustou's team for Sainte-Geneviève.
31. It was Caffieri who was assigned in part the interior decoration of the Théâtre de l'Odéon, built by De Wailly and Peyre.
32. See Scherf 1994, p. 22.
33. Even Boullée, with whom Pajou had worked at Saint-Roch (cat. 39), did not engage him.



29

29. *Piety*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash
20.7 × 31.5 cm (8⅛ × 12⅜ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *fraguement Du Louvre ou Partie de L'atique du cauté des archives. A.P.fet / 1758* (fragment of the Louvre or part of the attic on the archives side. A.P. made this, 1758); at upper left, brown ink: *enr. 1189* [old registration number]

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (CD 367)

PROVENANCE: Formerly Bibliothèque de l'Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs; transferred to the museum, 1974

This unpublished drawing by Pajou depicts a pediment on the south attic of the Cour Carrée, executed in the sixteenth century after Jean Goujon's models by his studio (fig. 39). The pediment representing Piety could still be seen in situ in the eighteenth century, along with another illustrating Justice. The main female figures of these two tympana were taken down at the beginning of the nineteenth century and remounted above the inner portals of the central passage of the Colonnade (Bresc-Bautier 1989, pp. 102–4, figs. 10, 11), while the reliefs below them that develop the subject, once housed in the Musée des Monuments Français (the current École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts), are now in the Louvre (Bresc-Bautier 1989, figs. 23–28). This part of the Lescot wing, near the Pavillon du Roi, was in effect radically transformed under the Empire, following the design of the rear façade of the Colonnade, erected by Gabriel and Soufflot beginning in 1754 (third level of columns and attic with balustrade). Only the west wing by Lescot and Lemercier (up to the Pavillon de l'Horloge) was preserved. When this wing was completed during the Empire as far as the Pavillon de Beauvais, the sculptors Moitte, Roland, and Chaudet were asked, out of a concern for symmetry, to create segmental pediments like those of the sixteenth century.

Pajou's sketch shows no significant variations in the

Fig. 39. Studio of Jean Goujon, *Piety.* Stone. Paris, Palais du Louvre, formerly pediment on the south attic of the Cour Carrée



main figure. The latter, which Clarac entitles *Religion*, should actually be called *Piety*, parallel with the other seignorial Virtue of the neighboring pediment, *Justice* (see Bresc-Bautier 1989, pp. 104–10, for a study of the iconographic program of the sixteenth-century façades): set against a garlanded backdrop, draped in a veil, she "holds in one hand a box of incense, and in the other a patera, symbols of prayer and offerings" (Clarac 1841–53, vol. 1, p. 429, pl. 22). The patera was not drawn by Pajou, who probably could not see it from the ground. The reliefs flanking the window, below the female figure and intended to explain it, were also omitted by Pajou, who no doubt had trouble identifying the characters: he drew good likenesses of *Roman Charity* (without the man) and the *Justice of Cambyses* (Clarac's "David"), whose attitudes facing each other were easily visible, but without worrying about the barely intelligible secondary details; nor did he bother to depict the two lictors (Bresc-Bautier 1989, figs. 26–28). Besides, did he really need to make a faithful copy? He was recapturing here the state of mind of his Italian sojourn, studying a composition new to him in order to understand it and to draw its main lines.

It is worth mentioning that Pajou copied this pediment at a time of great activity around the Louvre. The palace was no longer a royal residence, but a chaotic complex housing various inhabitants, including academies, artists receiving official pensions, and institutions such as the foreign-affairs archives—in the Pavillon de l'Horloge—to which Pajou alluded: "The Cour Carrée was littered with private houses. The half-abandoned palace was in need of repair. . . . On every side, the Louvre was hemmed in by a mix of privately owned properties, in which seignorial mansions stood shoulder-to-shoulder with hovels" (Gallet 1982, p. 290). Perrault's Colonnade, the glorified masterpiece of French taste, stood unfinished, abandoned, and unmaintained, threatening to collapse; in any case it was completely obscured by the accumulation of buildings haphazardly erected between Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois and the Louvre (Roland Michel 1980, pp. 55–61).

In 1754 Marigny appointed Soufflot comptroller of Paris to organize the necessary construction work, supervised by the *premier architecte,* Ange-Jacques Gabriel. The residents of the Cour Carrée received orders to evacuate the site, and demolition began on the buildings in front of the Colonnade. About 1758 Guillaume II Coustou worked on the pediment of the Colonnade's rear façade: "a shining globe decorated with three fleurs-de-lis and with the collar of the royal orders, supported by two angels" (statement of account from the years 1757–58 with drawings by the artist, AN, O^1 1669, p. 430; a Gallic cock replaced the king's insignia during the Revolution; in situ, hideously restored). This pediment was the only "historiated" sculpture dating from the middle of the eighteenth century in the Cour Carrée. Pajou, who could have seen the model for it in Coustou's studio or been present at its installation on the façade and examined it there, was less interested in it than in the powerful linear style of Goujon, who fascinated him throughout his life. At the time, the twenty-eight-year-old sculptor had been back from Italy for two years. He was working on several projects, but above all was preparing for his induction into the Académie. Although he was not then living near the Louvre, as a former student of the Académie and of the École Royale des Élèves Protégés he knew the area well. Moreover, he had to visit the Louvre several times to model the head of his instructor Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, who had his studio there.

The drawing of the Louvre *Piety* shows how interested Pajou was in architectural sculpture. His taste for it was already quite evident in his Italian sketches: he was attracted on several occasions by the placement of figures in an architectural setting (pendentives: ENSBA, vol. 1, nos. 11, 71, 121, vol. 2, nos. 108–11; lunettes: ENSBA, vol. 1, nos. 79, 110; arches: ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 52; ceilings: ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 106, vol. 2, nos. 8, 128, Princeton 425; niches: ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 136, vol. 2, no. 120, Princeton 410; architecturally structured tombs: ENSBA, vol. 2, nos. 55, 104) and sometimes by a façade (Saint John Lateran: ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 87), even if never by an isolated historiated pediment. On his return to France, he took part in some work—undocumented, unfortunately—on the Château de Cramayel, and after 1760 he became involved in architectural decorations with his architect friends, fellow ex-students of the Académie de France in Rome. There is no doubt that this drawing from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, with its strong wash accents reminiscent of De Wailly's style, is important to our understanding of the young Pajou's attraction to the monumental. GS

The Decoration of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson

The Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson, better known as the Hôtel de la Chancellerie d'Orléans, is a famous structure, often referred to, researched thanks to excellent photographic representation and a good bibliography, and yet paradoxically "unpublished," as it has been invisible since the early part of the twentieth century: after the hôtel was torn down, its architectural and decorative elements were stored away in crates. The majority of Pajou's works for it, now restored, are on public display for the first time in seven decades.

On April 24, 1702, Philippe, duc d'Orléans, acquired from his *premier valet de chambre* a house near the Palais-Royal; on September 17 he granted the usufruct therein to the abbé Dubois, who thus lent his name to the construction (Pons in Paris–Lunéville 1986, p. 190). The ownership without usufruct—with rights to the views and walkways of the Palais-Royal gardens—was granted in 1707 to Mlle de Séry, the duke's mistress, soon to be the comtesse d'Argenton. Germain Boffrand built a small hôtel on the property between the courtyard and the garden, with elegant interior decorations, for which Antoine Coypel painted a huge ceiling panel, *Love's Triumph over the Gods* (completed in 1708).

The hôtel, which was sold in 1710 after the mistress fell out of favor, was bought ten years later by Louis, duc d'Orléans, who granted the usufruct in December 1725 to his chancellor, Marc-Pierre de Voyer de Paulmy, comte d'Argenson. D'Argenson hired Boffrand to make some modifications (Pons in Paris–Lunéville 1986, pp. 191–93). In 1742, appointed a senior minister—he would be named secretary of war the following year—he resigned from his post as chancellor, and on June 23, 1752, after the death of Louis d'Orléans, he was given ownership of the hôtel without usufruct by Louis's son, Louis-Philippe. In February 1757 d'Argenson fell into disgrace and went into exile. The house was then taken over by his son, Marc-René de Voyer d'Argenson, the marquis de Voyer.

Between 1762 and 1770, the marquis de Voyer had the building redecorated in the style of the day by Charles De Wailly (Paris 1979a, pp. 44–45). On April 24, 1784, the heirs of the marquis (who had died in 1782) sold the hôtel back to Louis-Philippe-Joseph, then duc d'Orléans. The future Philippe-Égalité turned it once more into a chancellery. The building was sold by his creditors on August 13, 1793, and from that point on it had various owners. During the Second Empire it was rented to the newspaper *Le Constitutionnel.* After that, the baronne Thénard, who had bought it in 1866, rented it to the bronze founder Gustave Sandoz. The latter, who occupied the sumptuous rooms on the ground floor, conceived a passion for the history of the hôtel; it is thanks to him that a book about it was published in 1881, illustrated with photographs by Darcel. A copy was donated by Sandoz's son in 1898 to the Union Central des Arts Décoratifs (which occupied the site from 1896 to 1899) and another to the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris. This work was complemented by magnificent photographs taken between 1889 and 1913 by Godefroy and Atget (prints of which are in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris); some of these photographs were reproduced in *L'architecture et la décoration françaises aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (vol. 2, pls. LXXIII–LXXX; vol. 3, by Dimier, pls. X–XV).

The hôtel itself, however, was in danger. Indeed, since the last third of the nineteenth century, the Banque de France, having outgrown its offices, had been looking to expand close to its sumptuous headquarters in the Hôtel de Toulouse. The threat became all the more real in 1913, when the bank acquired several houses on the rue de Valois. The published minutes of the Commission du Vieux Paris give an account of the debates that took place between 1913 and 1916 in an attempt to save the hôtel from demolition (*Proc.-verb.* 1912, p. 220; 1913, p. 185; 1914, pp. 31–32, 64; 1916, pp. 92–95, 114). Its classification by the Service des Monuments Historiques on February 25, 1914, "with absolute consent of the owner," was not sufficient protection, as the municipal council was simultaneously approving plans for the present rue du Colonel Driant, which would entail the hôtel's destruction. On December 16, 1915, an order by the high court of the Département de la Seine sealed its expropriation. Despite the publication of a major article by Jacques Mayor in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* accompanied by photographs and a detailed presentation of the building's crucial importance, its removal was authorized on June 19, 1916, "with the support of the Commission Supérieure des Monuments Historiques," and its declassification was ratified in the state council on August 5, 1923. An agreement was signed between the city of Paris and the Banque de France on June 15, 1921:

the hôtel, which was to be dismantled after an exhaustive photographic campaign (the prints can be consulted at the Musée Carnavalet) and a precise listing of its contents, was to be rebuilt on another site, with all decorations intact and "at the sole expense of the Banque de France." It was demolished beginning in the summer of 1923 (for the sequence of events, see Francoeur 1984). The decorations were crated for storage in the bank's warehouse in Asnières, where they have remained until recently.

But what of the man who commissioned these decorations, the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson (1722–1782)? Son of a secretary of war, he pursued a brilliant military career, notably distinguishing himself at Fontenoy. At the end of 1751 he was made director general of the royal stud farm, in 1754 commanding officer of the Château de Vincennes, and in 1759 lieutenant general of the royal armies. About 1750 he hired Mansart de Sagonne to build the Château d'Asnières, with sumptuous interior appointments and a picture gallery (Pons 1995, pp. 270–82). But in 1757 the exile of his dishonored father—followed by the latter's death in 1764—to the Château d'Ormes in Poitou, which he visited often and where De Wailly was working, caused him to abandon Asnières and finally to sell it in 1769. In 1775, during the war against England, he was given command of Poitou and Saintonge and put in charge of coastal inspections.

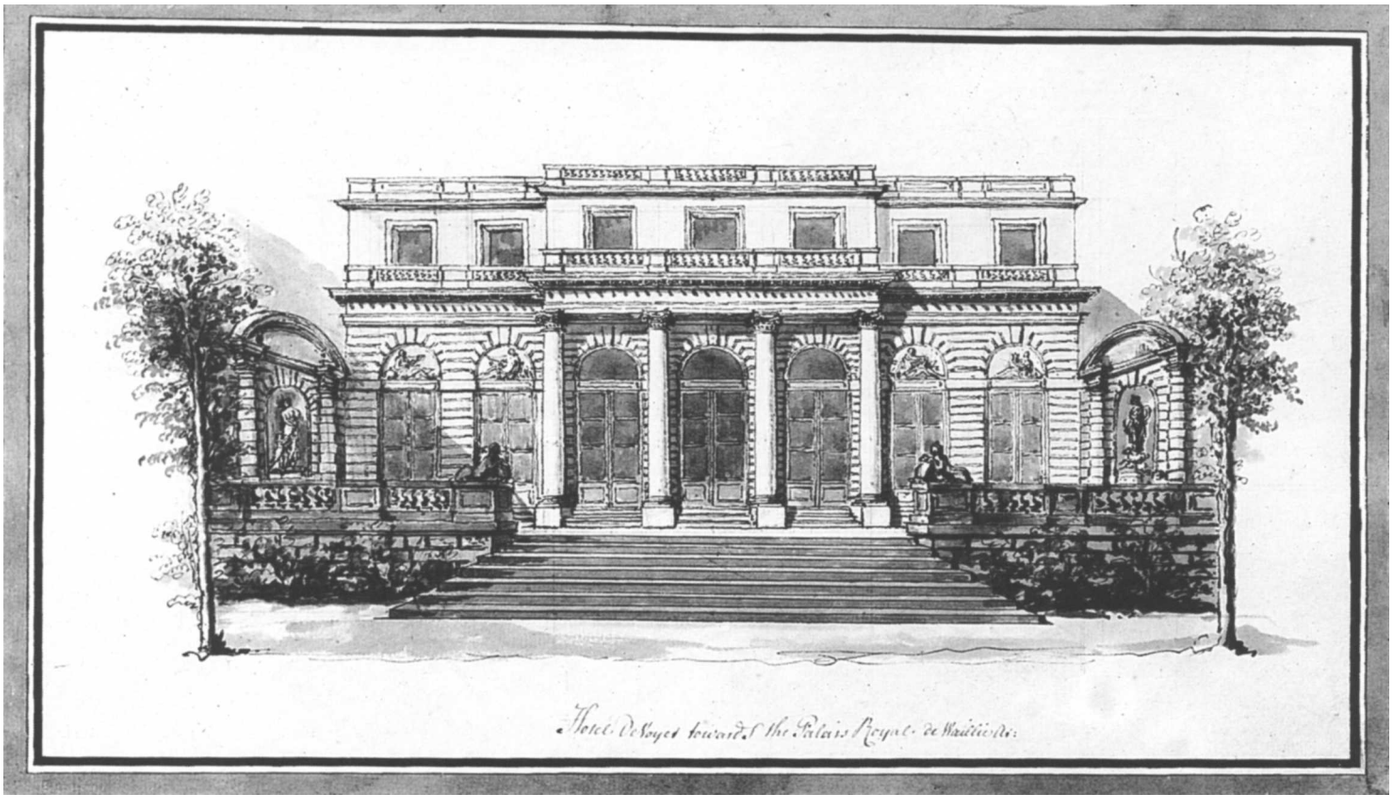
Afflicted by his father's downfall, often in retreat at Ormes, Voyer d'Argenson spent little time at the court of Versailles, developing instead a close friendship with Choiseul, who since 1770 had been in exile in Chanteloup. He had been a member of Mme Geoffrin's salon, alongside Caylus and La Live de Jully, and maintained a correspondence with Voltaire. In 1749 he was elected to the Académie Royale as an *associé libre amateur,* and in 1767—the year in which Pajou exhibited portraits of two of his children at the Salon—he was made an *honoraire amateur.* Several years after the Asnières decorations with their still-Rococo aesthetic, this man of refined sensibilities made his hôtel on the rue des Bons-Enfants an early, exquisite example of Neoclassicism, which was hailed forthwith as such.

The marquis de Voyer and De Wailly had long known each other: the latter wrote to de Voyer upon his arrival in Italy, in November 1754, and the marquis gave De Wailly financial assistance (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 1). In 1761 De Wailly was already described as the "architect, foreman, and contractor" for work on the hôtel. He kept elements of the original decor, in particular Coypel's ceiling, but altered the rooms and brought in several artists. His friend Pajou is cited as early as 1761 as sculptor of the decorations on a magnificent column supporting a vase (today in the Wallace Collection in London: see Chronology and fig. 99); Pajou also created reliefs for the garden façade, provided a statue for one of the niches on the terrace and two statues for the niches in the vestibule on the rue des Bons-Enfants side, and helped with the interior decorations. In January 1770 he suggested further improvements for Mme de Voyer's bedroom (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 17; see Chronology). Also involved in the project were the painters Fragonard, Durameau, Lagrenée *le jeune,* and Briard; the sculptors Boiston and Hermand; the bronze founder Gouthière; and even the architect Bélanger (for the "arabesques"). Payments to the artists were long in coming. Pajou received several installments—notably 3,500 livres in 1766 (Poitiers, BU, D 325)—but no payments were made in 1772 (Pajou complained in a letter of March 24, 1772, about a reduction of 6,000 livres in his outstanding account, which had risen to more than 21,000 livres: Poitiers, BU, P 163).

These important works were praised by the critics of the time. The hôtel was immediately mentioned by Le Roy (1767, p. 10), drawn by the architects Chambers (1774) and Carlberg (1777–82), and described by Pingeron (1771, p. 452) and Thiéry (1787, p. 287). GS

Fig. 40. *Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson, Façade on the Rue de Valois.* Photograph by Eugène Atget, 1913. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris





30

30. William Chambers, *Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson, Garden Side*

Pencil, pen and gray ink, gray wash, border in black and gray wash
21.2 × 36.5 cm (8⅜ × 14⅜ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *Hotel de Voyer towards the Palais Royal de Waillie Ar*[*chitect*]

London, Royal Institute of British Architects (AF 10/33–3)

Paris only

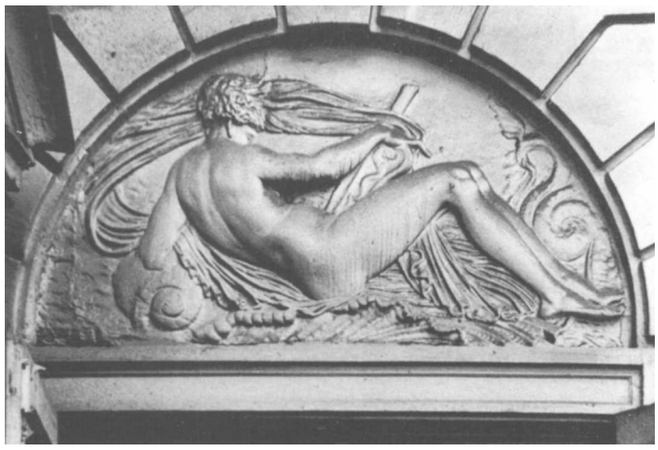
PROVENANCE: Gift of Philip Charles Hardwick, February 13, 1885

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1979a, no. 158, not ill.; London 1996, no. 43

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harris 1963, p. 60, fig. 3; London, Royal Institute of British Architects 1972, p. 20, no. 3; Braham 1982, pp. 91–93, fig. 117

The drawings made in Paris in 1774 by the English architect William Chambers (1723–1796), known since their publication by John Harris in 1963, are crucial to the history of Parisian architecture. Chambers had been in Paris in 1749 as a student with De Wailly of Jacques-François Blondel at the École des Arts. He lived in Rome in 1750–51 and again from 1753 to 1755 and there got to know the residents of the Académie de France (Le Roy, Barreau de Chefdeville, and Pajou subscribed to his *Treatise on Civil Architecture* in 1759 [Pariset 1962, p. 78; London 1996, p. 68]); and he spoke of his friendships with De Wailly, Doyen, and Pajou in his correspondence with the marquis de Voyer (Harris 1963, p. 55; Barrier 1996, p. 209 n. 1). His Roman drawings, housed mainly in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, reveal similar interests and frequent outings in common. So it is no coincidence that, once back in France in May–June 1774, he should closely follow his friends' new buildings: he produced six renderings of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson alone, considering it the city's most perfect edifice (letter of August 12, 1774, quoted in Harris 1963, p. 85; Barrier 1996, p. 29). This drawing shows the façade of the hôtel overlooking the gardens of the Palais-Royal.

Boffrand's building, mentioned by Brice and engraved by Mariette (1727), Blondel (1752–56), and Boffrand himself (Paris–Lunéville 1986, p. 35, ill.; Braham 1982, fig. 116), was greatly altered by the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson (whose talents as an amateur architect were admired by Chambers) and especially by



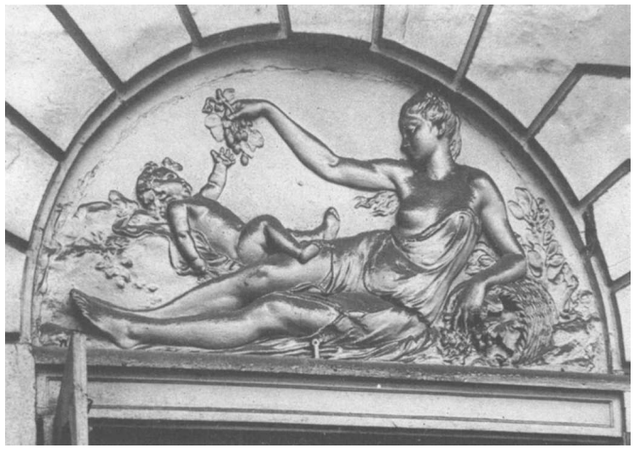


Fig. 41. Pajou, *Nymph from the Fontaine des Innocents, after Jean Goujon*, plaster, and Pajou, *Woman Offering Grapes to a Child*, plaster. Photographs by Eugène Atget, 1913. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.



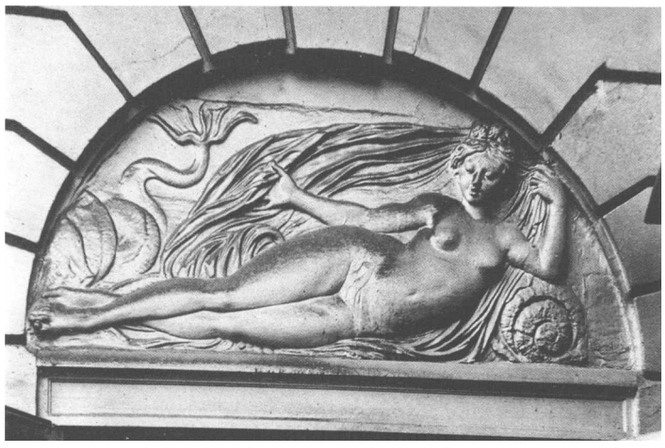


Fig. 42. Pajou, *Woman Presenting a Vase to a Cupid*, plaster, and Pajou, *Nymph from the Fontaine des Innocents, after Jean Goujon*, plaster. Photographs by Eugène Atget, 1913. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris

Charles De Wailly. Boffrand had raised the main dwelling above the inner courtyard: seen from the Palais-Royal gardens, the hôtel appeared to be perched on a terrace. The façade became famous for its four Ionic columns (Braham 1982, p. 91). To the left and right, Boffrand's arched windows were maintained by De Wailly, who embellished them with four stucco reliefs (now at Asnières and in fairly poor shape). Two of these reliefs are casts based on Goujon's reclining *Nymphs* on the Fontaine des Innocents, today in the Louvre (Mayor 1916, pp. 337–39; Beaulieu 1978, nos. 142, 144; fig. 41), while the two others are creations by Pajou (fig. 42). A drawing by Carlberg, made between 1777 and 1782, shows the four reliefs placed together on the façade (Göteborg, Röhsska Konstlöjdmuseet: Beaulieu 1979, p. 162, fig. 9). Moreover, both Thiéry (1787, p. 287) and the descriptive inventory of the hôtel in 1791 (AN, 300 API 144; see also a duplicate, 300 API 127) mention Pajou's outdoor reliefs. As evidence of his appreciation of Goujon, De Wailly later installed casts based on reliefs from the Fontaine des Innocents in his own home on the rue de la Pépinière.

Photographs taken on site by Atget in 1913 (fig. 40), by which time the façade no longer looked out on the gardens but onto 10 rue de Valois, show how thoroughly Pajou—twenty years before his own contribution to the fountain—had adopted Goujon's style. Goujon's compositions were abbreviated to match the curved format of the arches on the façade: the children accompanying the nymphs disappeared, and a few minor adjustments had to be made at the corners. But above all Pajou reworked the casts in order to imbue them with his own touch: the hair in particular is treated "in Pajou style," with long, fine locks that are quite different from Goujon's stone masses aerated by drill holes. The modeling of the bodies is smooth and the draperies are light, giving these sixteenth-century figures a very handsome Neoclassical appearance.

Alongside these revisited Goujons were two new compositions by Pajou. As Michèle Beaulieu has noted, he was largely inspired by works of his own, intended for his friends Moreau and Trouard: the young woman offering a bunch of grapes to a cupid recalls—in reverse—*Liberality* at the Palais-Royal (fig. 54), while the woman presenting a vase to another cupid is not unlike *Temperance* in the Chapelle des Catéchismes, dedicated to Providence, at Versailles (fig. 30). But these are not copies: at the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson the figures have been stripped down to make them more like Goujon's.

It is difficult to establish an iconography for this ensemble (the document of 1791 mentions only the subjects "of the fable") in light of the need to account also for the *Nymphs*. Both Mayor (1916, p. 337) and Beaulieu (1979, p. 163) have identified it as representing Autumn and Water. Following that idea, perhaps one might simply suggest the opposition between Water, symbolized by the two Goujon nymphs, and Wine, evoked by the bunch of grapes and the vase—in other words, nature and human industry.

To the left and right of the terrace facing the garden (and later the rue de Valois) were two niches. The one on the right, visible in a 1913 photo by Atget (fig. 43), was occupied by the statue of a full-length antique Bacchus of rather mediocre quality (this plaster statue, now in the Asnières warehouse, is probably not the one that stood in the niche in the marquis de Voyer's time). The niche on the left contained a work by Pajou, which is described in the inventory of 1791 (AN, 300 API 127): "a bacchante sitting on a tree trunk and holding a tambourine to amuse two children beside her." This is the *Bacchante* today housed in the Louvre (*pierre de Tonnerre*, H. 182 cm [71⅝ in.], W. 94 cm [37 in.], D. 73 cm [28¾ in.]; inscribed *Pajou.fe 1774*; RF 3025; fig. 44). It was donated to the museum by the children of Zénon Fastré—who had rented the hôtel to *Le Constitutionnel*—in September 1866, just before the place was sold to the baronne Thénard (Beaulieu 1979, pp. 161–63).

The model of the statue was exhibited at the Salon of 1765 (no. 208) with a note: "will be executed lifesize, for M. le Marquis de Voyer" (it was drawn by Saint-Aubin; fig. 117). Mathon de la Cour deemed it "a bit cold." Diderot's response was frankly unfavorable: "miserable,

Fig. 43. *Plaster Statue of Bacchus on the Terrace of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson.* Photograph by Eugène Atget, 1913. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris

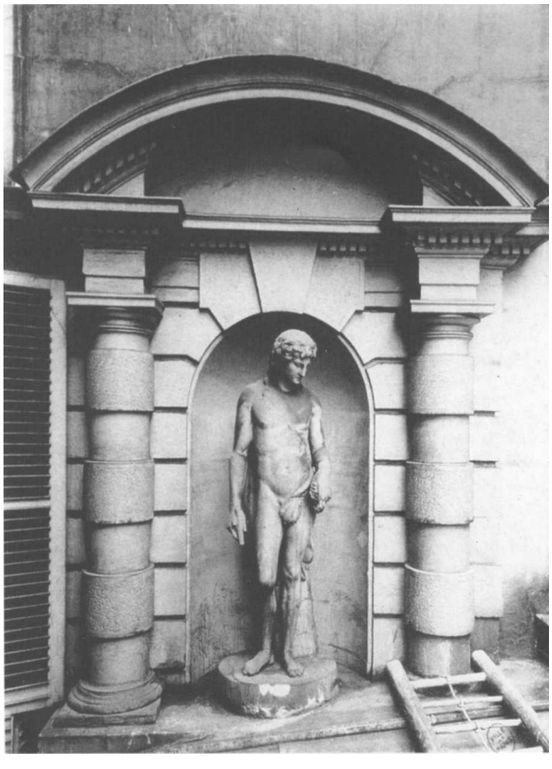
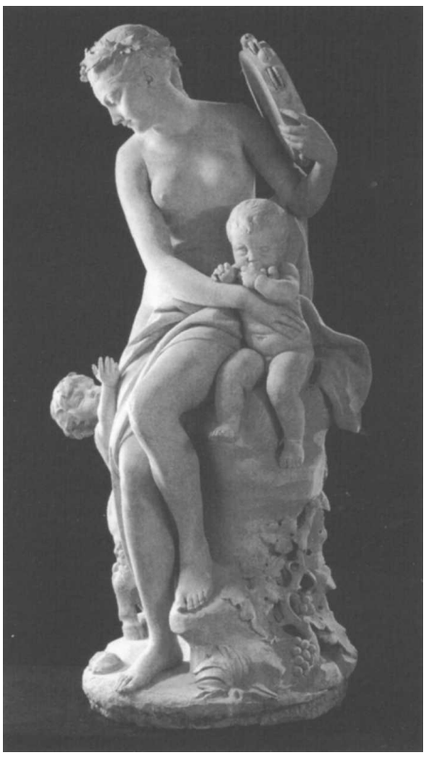


Fig. 44. Pajou, *Bacchante with a Tambourine and Two Children.* Stone. Paris, Musée du Louvre



miserable; the woman and child poorly arranged" (Bukdahl and Lorenceau 1984, p. 301). Nonetheless, this charming composition won many admirers, to judge from the terracotta miniatures—regrettably fake—that still encumber the storerooms of museums (such as the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore and The Metropolitan Museum of Art), not to mention the art market, from the Marché aux Puces to the dealers of the Quai Voltaire—even though Lapauze had identified the skillful forger as early as 1924 (the sculptor Visseaux, who was active at the turn of the century; see Charageat 1966, p. 245). Versions in plaster, marble, and even ivory (Parma, Fondazione Magnani Rocca) are also known.

Finally, the 1791 inventory notes two lead sphinxes near the grille; these are mentioned by Chaussard (1806, p. 473) as supports for cartouches and as executed by Pajou. GS

31. William Chambers, *Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson, Courtyard and Vestibule*

Pencil, pen and brown ink, pink and blue wash, border in black wash
19.8 × 33.7 cm (7¾ × 13¼ in.)
Annotated at lower left, brown ink: *Court of the Hotel de Voyer*; at lower right, brown ink: *Vestibule of the Hotel de Voyer*

London, Royal Institute of British Architects (AF 10/33–4)

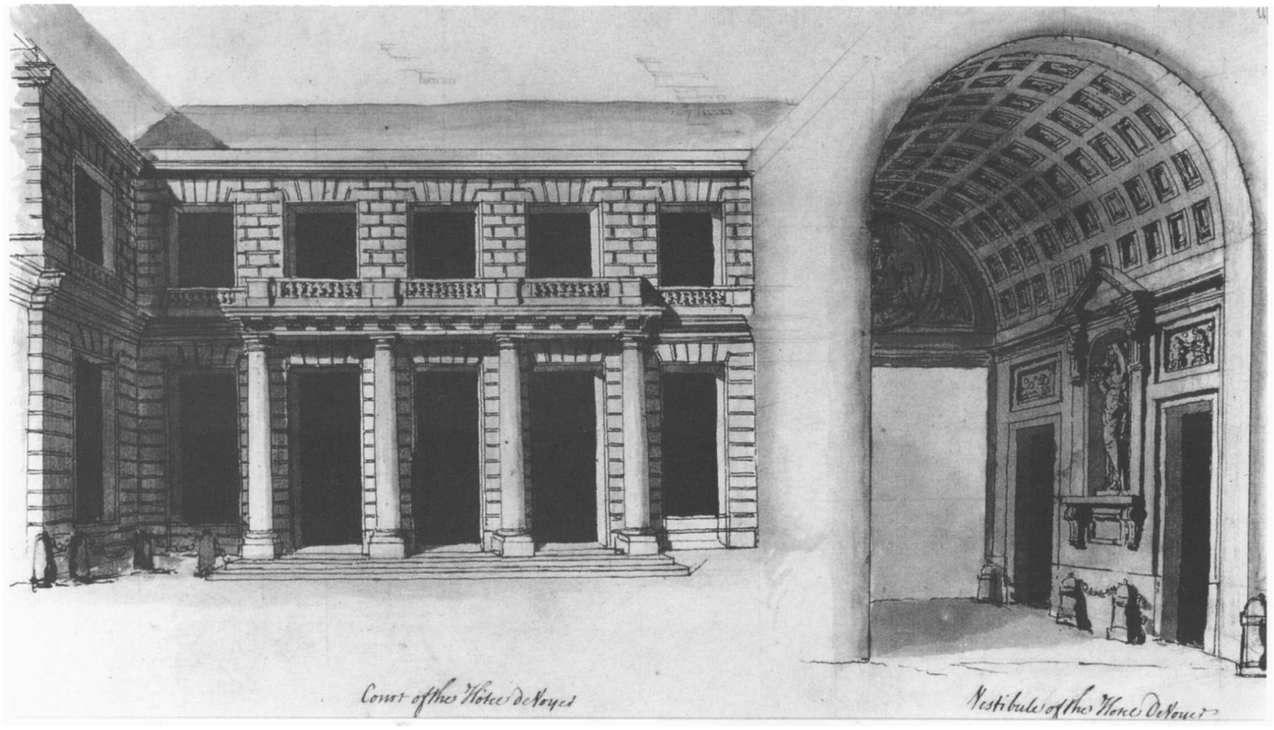
Paris only

PROVENANCE: See no. 30

EXHIBITION: Paris 1979a, no. 159, ill. p. 44

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harris 1963, p. 61, fig. 4; London, Royal Institute of British Architects 1972, p. 20, no. 4; Braham 1982, pp. 91–93, fig. 117

This "vestibule," as Chambers puts it, or "carriage-entrance passage" (1791 inventory), linking 19 rue des Bons-Enfants to the hôtel's inner courtyard, was furnished with an antique coffered ceiling following the style of the first Neoclassical buildings. Chambers's drawing and old photographs (fig. 45) show the decor: four plaster reliefs, each a different composition depicting children's games, framed two niches. Three of these reliefs are preserved at Asnières (the fourth had already disappeared by Mayor's time); like the reliefs on the



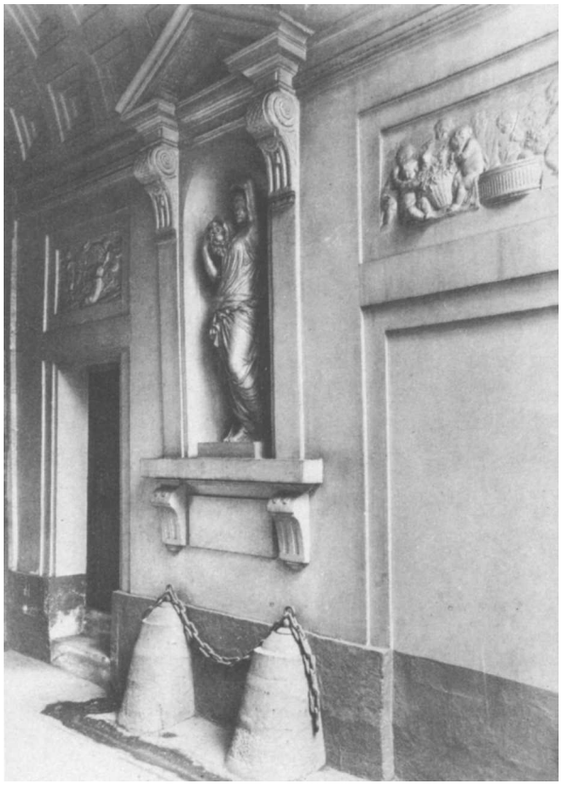


Fig. 45. *View of the Carriage-Entrance Passage to the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson from the Rue des Bons-Enfants.* Photograph by Eugène Atget, 1913. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris

façade, they were damaged in the course of being dismantled, and backup castings (with a border) were made as a precaution. Mayor (1916, p. 336) regards these reliefs of the Four Seasons as "commercial models" and thus unworthy of Pajou's art. It is, of course, difficult to appraise these damaged works, barely visible even in the old photographs. But we cannot reject the hypothesis that Pajou furnished the models of these reliefs, which are spirited adaptations of known compositions by François Duquesnoy: here and there we can recognize his style in the various types of children. We should also note that in the mid-1760s this kind of relief on Parisian buildings was not nearly as common as it would be a decade later. Only after 1775 do we find frequent use of niche statues framed by quadrangular reliefs (for example, in the stairway of the Hôtel Brochet de Saint-Prest d'Antoine: Gallet 1964, fig. 12); at this point plaster reclining female figures decorating door lintels or building façades were produced on an almost industrial scale by D'Hollande (see, for example, the main drawing room of the Hôtel Mercy-Argenteau or the façade of the Guérard building: Gallet 1964, figs. 45, 46). GS

32. *Water*

Painted plaster
H. 160 cm (63 in.), W. 52 cm (20½ in.), D. 37 cm (14⅝ in.)

Asnières, warehouse of the Banque de France (Chancellerie d'Orléans, no. 59)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Vestibule of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson, 19 rue des Bons-Enfants; stored since 1923 by the Banque de France in its warehouse at Asnières; restoration in 1996 funded by the Banque de France

EXHIBITION: Paris 1979a, no. 164, not ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mayor 1916, p. 335 ("Nymph"); Beaulieu 1979, pp. 163–64, ill; Francoeur 1984, p. 40

RELATED WORK: A plaster statue, very like this one and with similar dimensions, is located in a stairway niche at 69 rue Sainte-Anne, Paris, its presence going back to an unknown date.

This figure and its pendant (cat. 33) are described in the inventory of 1791 (AN, 300 API 144): "In each of the two walls to right and left of the said carriage-entrance passage and between the said false doors is a niche surmounted by a projecting pediment with a tympanum. . . . In each of the said two niches is a life-size figure in limestone representing a woman, each supported on a circular stone base three inches thick; all in good condition."

This eminently graceful work derives, as Michèle Beaulieu has demonstrated, from Goujon's naiads on the Fontaine des Innocents: the elegant motif of the urn balanced on the left shoulder by the two arms was taken from Goujon, as was the damp garment clinging to the skin. And it is fascinating to note that the interest in antiquity in the 1760s—for Pajou, just back from Italy and in touch with La Live de Jully—also took in a study of the works of Goujon, considered by Dezallier d'Argenville (1787, p. 109) to be the man who "reestablished sculpture."

The statue is assembled in two parts held together by two brackets, their joins level with the collar of the thighbone. It is covered with at least five layers of paint: two in light colors (no doubt imitating stone), then one in dark green (to imitate bronze), and finally two in brown. These successive coats of paint can be



32



33

explained by the location of the work: its placement under an outdoor porch left it exposed to the wind and rain. Cleaning has revealed the liveliness of the sculpture beneath the light-colored paint. The backs of the two sculptures were left unfinished, since each was made to stand in a niche. GS

33. *Earth*

Painted plaster
H. 163 cm (64⅛ in.), W. 54 cm (21¼ in.), D. 40 cm (15¾ in.)

Asnières, warehouse of the Banque de France (Chancellerie d'Orléans, no. 60)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: See no. 32

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mayor 1916, p. 335 ("Flora"); Beaulieu 1979, pp. 163–64, ill.; Francoeur 1984, p. 40

Although a cornucopia replaces the urn, this statue by Pajou is even closer than *Water* (cat. 32) to its Goujon model, in the left arm folded above the head, the draped sash, and the contrapposto. The transformation of Goujon's reliefs into statues in the round gives them a different kind of life: turning in space, lit by intense plays of light and shadow (by virtue of the niche), they lose their very detailed linear graphism. Pajou has simplified Goujon's effects—small crotchets, superimpositions of various cloths—to keep only the masterfully arranged envelope of the drapery. GS

34. William Chambers, *Salon of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson*

Pencil, brown, pink, and blue wash, border in black and gray wash
23.8 × 28.9 cm (9⅜ × 11⅜ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *Saloon of the Hotel de Voyer*

London, Royal Institute of British Architects (AF 10/33–6)

Paris only

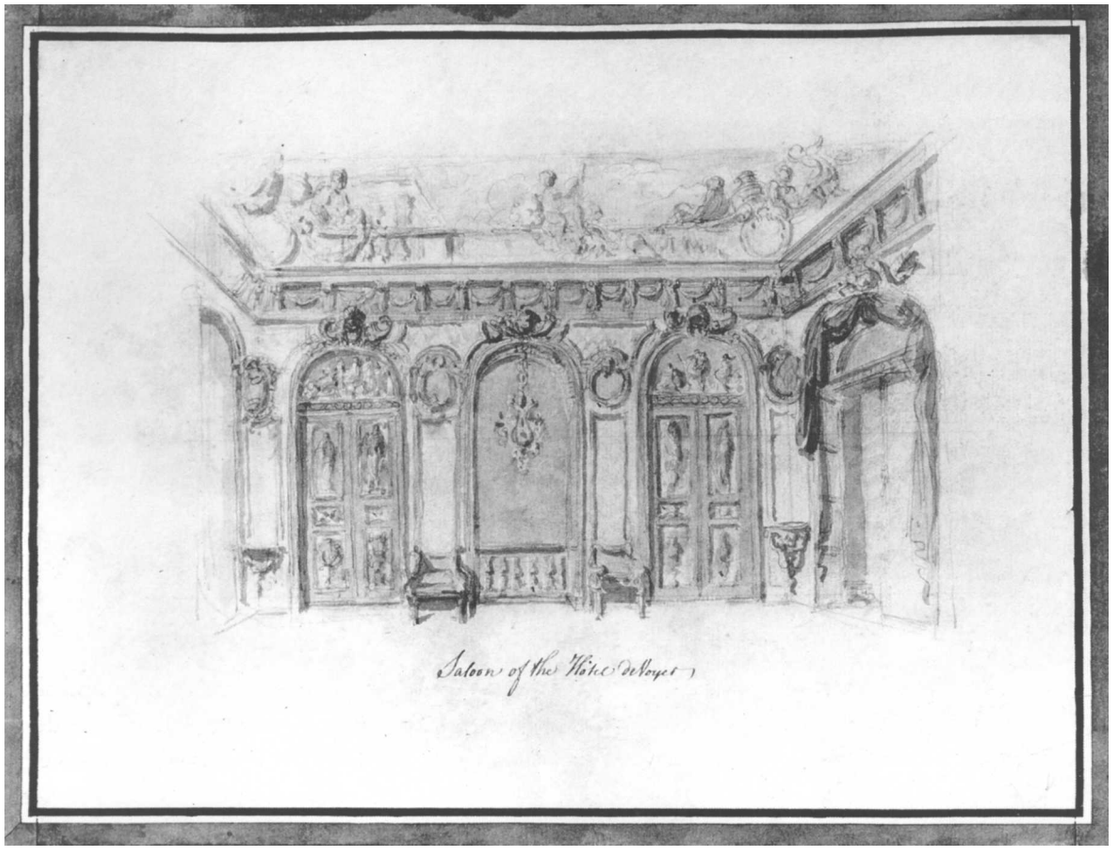
PROVENANCE: See cat. 30

EXHIBITION: Paris 1979a, no. 161, not ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harris 1963, p. 63, fig. 6; London, Royal Institute of British Architects 1972, p. 20, no. 6; Braham 1982, fig. 117

While keeping Coypel's great ceiling in this salon, De Wailly profoundly altered Boffrand's decor. His "inspired stroke was to quadruple the surface and apparent volume of this relatively small room [surface area 55 sq. m (ca. 594 sq. ft.)], given the height of the ceiling [6.46 m (ca. 21 ft.)], by adding three enormous mirrors stretching from the floor to the carved cornice, which by reflecting each other projected the images to infinity. In response to Boffrand's three arched windows that opened onto the gardens, three series of three huge arcades gave rhythm to the three other walls; and it was in each of the three central arcades that the enormous mirrors were placed, protected . . . by lovely balustrades" (Francoeur 1984, pp. 49–50; fig. 46). The four folding doors (height 3.1 m [ca. 10 ft.]), also visible at Asnières, were painted by Charles Monnet with full-length figures of gods and goddesses in monochrome bronze hues. Above them were deployed Pajou's reliefs on the theme of the Four Elements (cat. 35–38). A letter from De Wailly to the marquis de Voyer, dated April 4, 1767 (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 6), indicates the state of progress: "except for portions of the mosaics and the doors, the salon is entirely gilt." He mentions the doors in green monochrome as well as the chimneypiece (still lacking Gouthière's bronzes), but not Pajou's compositions.

Pajou also created works for the adjacent dining room, decorated with a ceiling fresco by Lagrenée *le*



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jeune. The letter from De Wailly to the marquis of April 4, 1767, notes that in this room "the stucco workers have yet to place their pilasters, after which M. Pajou will place the figures" (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 6). Could these be the superb sphinxes on the entablature (Mayor 1916, p. 355, ill.), perfectly preserved at Asnières and so similar to the ones in Piranesi's decorations for the Caffè degli Inglesi in Rome? We know that Pajou produced other models for the decoration of this hôtel: the column for the vase in 1761 (fig. 99) and a chimney-piece mentioned by De Wailly in 1773.

Finally, for the bedroom—also adjacent to the salon, with a ceiling painted by Durameau—it seems reasonable to follow the suggestions of Mayor (1916, pp. 354, 359, ill.) and Francoeur (1984, p. 57) and to attribute to Pajou the four pairs of cupids decorating the door lintels (which are actually two compositions repeated and facing each other). Godefroy's photographs (fig. 46; see also *Architecture* n.d. [1910], pl. LXXIX) record their gracefulness: stylistically, they are similar to Pajou's figures of children at the Versailles Royal Opera. As for the girandoles that De Wailly wanted to install in the bedroom in 1770, using Pajou's model for Versailles (see Chronology), we do not know whether they were realized. GS

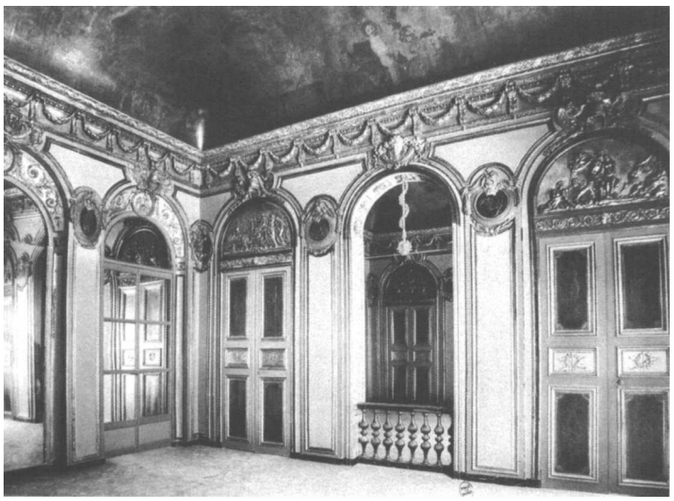


Fig. 46. *View of the Salon of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson.* Photograph by Godefroy, 1898. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris

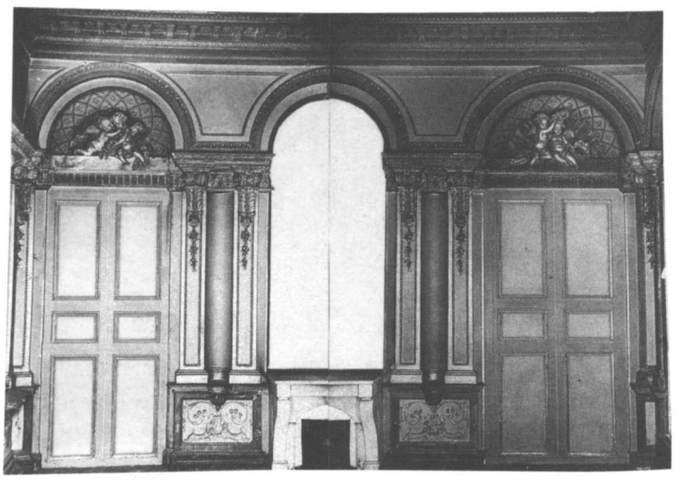


Fig. 47. *Groups of Cupids, Overdoors in the Bedroom of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson* (attributed to Pajou). Photograph taken before 1923. Paris, Musée Carnavalet (on deposit from the Banque de France)

35–38. *The Elements*

Plaster ground coated with dark blue stucco, supporting gilt plaster reliefs

PROVENANCE: Salon of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson, 19 rue des Bons-Enfants and 10 rue de Valois, Paris; stored since 1923 by the Banque de France in its warehouse at Asnières

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thiéry 1787, vol. 1, p. 288 ("bedroom corresponding to the dining room"); Sandoz 1881, p. 69; *Architecture* n.d. [1910], pls. LXXVI [38], LXXX [35–37]; Lami 1911, p. 207 (follows Thiéry); Stein 1912, p. 400 ("destroyed"); Mayor 1916, pp. 346–49; Francoeur 1984, p. 54

These four works, restored by Frédérique Berson and Bruno Perdu, are in plaster reinforced by iron armatures. The entire surface was incised in order to receive a light blue coat, which in turn was scored for the final dark blue coat probably of stucco. This ground may have been realized before placement of the reliefs, for here and there are cavities into which the sculptures fit snugly. The heavily encrusted edges were covered in situ with a molding. Each of the four scenes consists of several pieces of plaster (certain joins are visible). After the installation and gilding of the reliefs, a varnish or colored wax was applied, turning the blue greenish, although it is impossible to say if this was an original addition.

Those spectacular reliefs quickly became famous. Thiéry mentions them as depicting the Elements. Mayor (1916, pp. 347–48), comments on "the aged gilding [that] gives them an air of venerable and precious bronzes." In fact, they had been "brightened up" in 1880 by Gustave Sandoz (Romain-Boulenger 1880, p. 123): "the dulled gilding, under a century's worth of smoke and dust, has taken on a warm coloration that the oblique light caresses with its satin reflections" (Sandoz 1881, p. 69). Perhaps because of this cleaning the gilding on *Water*, *Fire*, and *Earth* is not nearly so dark as that on *Air*, whose warmer tone resembles that obtained with copper sheets. These golden tones against a uniform blue background must have lent the room, "which is not sparing with reliefs, sculptures, or gilding" (Thiéry 1787, p. 258), a splendid polychromatic note.

Should this magnificent gilding be attributed to Médard Brancour, painter and gilder to the Bâtiments du Roi? Brancour indeed had a hand in several rooms in the hôtel, gilding various "sculptural ornaments" in the salon (AN, Z^{1J} 944, December 3, 1770; reference supplied by Vincent Droguet); but we must recognize that he was mainly a specialist in wood and cabinetry, and he makes no explicit mention of historiated overdoors.

An invoice from the stucco worker Hermand, dated August 7, 1765 (Poitiers, BU), also concerns "the salon in stucco for monsieur le marquis de Voyer after drawings by M. Devally," stating specifically that "the twelve pilasters as well as the panels for the overdoors . . . will be in well-formed, unpolished stucco, and made good and ready for gilding"; on the basis of this document, Francoeur (1984, p. 54) attributes to Hermand the invention of the very hard stucco used for Pajou's reliefs. If so, could he also have been responsible for molding the reliefs from models designed by Pajou? Hermand's work on the hôtel was significant—he received forty-five hundred livres on October 21, 1766, while Pajou was paid only thirty-five hundred (Poitiers, BU, D 325)—and, like Boiston, he designed numerous ornamental details. As far as Pajou's reliefs are concerned, however, Hermand's contribution was no more than that of an excellent technician. GS

35. *Fire,* or *The Abduction of Persephone*

H. 91 cm (35⅞ in.), W. 151 cm (59½ in.), D. 70 cm (27½ in.)

Asnières, warehouse of the Banque de France (Chancellerie d'Orléans, no. 19B)

The scene of the Abduction of Persephone was traditionally used to represent Fire after the iconographic program established by Le Brun for the Parterre d'Eau at Versailles. Indeed, the general idea of the composition was taken directly from Girardon's group with the relief on the pedestal, easily visible in the center of the Bosquet de la Colonnade (1696–97; Souchal 1977–93, vol. 1, p. 42, ill.). In addition, Pajou subtly reworked—with variations, of course—his two contemporary statuettes (cat. 28, 68). The large sheaf held by Ceres probably came from the painting that Vien exhibited at the Salon of 1757 (now in the Musée de Grenoble), in which Persephone's mother is shown as a statue, anticipating Pajou's use of this motif. The horses plunging headlong into the flames evoke the famous mounts of Aurora's chariot in the ceiling fresco



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by Guercino at the Casino Ludovisi. The sculptor's remarkable foreshortening replaces the painter's view *da sotto in sù*.

Enriched by this visual culture, Pajou here offers one of his most beautiful compositions. The eye glides from the frontal view of Ceres past the two profiles of her weeping handmaidens to the impetuous nude figure of Pluto, then turns with the chariot wheel to gallop with the horses in an astounding vanishing perspective, which must have been even more impressive when seen at the height of an overdoor. The mastery of a sculptor who could also draw is very much in evidence here. GS

36. *Air,* or *The Abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas*

H. 91.5 cm (36 in.), W. 149 cm (58⅞ in.), D. 70 cm (27½ in.)

Asnières, warehouse of the Banque de France (Chancellerie d'Orléans, no. 19A)

The subject here is that of one of the scenes of abduction from the Parterre d'Eau at Versailles, the work of Gaspar Marsy and Anselme Flamen and today housed in the Louvre (1684; Souchal 1977–93, vol. 3, p. 66), even though Oreithyia more closely resembles Girardon's *Persephone*. The young wind-god balancing on a cloud, like Gaulli's angels that Pajou sketched in the church of the Gesù, has the vibrancy of the adolescent figures on Roman fountains or of those by Tuby on the Bassin d'Apollon; his silhouette, all legs, is also reminiscent of Bouchardon's *Proteus* from the Bassin de Neptune (Roserot 1910, p. 44, pl. IX). The drapery flying above him, breaking into folds or opening out into a smooth, flat area, is pure Pajou, as are the ringleted head and the puffy cheeks. GS

37. *Earth,* or *The Triumph of Cybele*

H. 88.5 cm (34⅞ in.), W. 147.5 cm (58⅛ in.), D. 70 cm (27½ in.)

Asnières, warehouse of the Banque de France (Chancellerie d'Orléans, no. 20B)

This scene disturbed Mayor, who notes how different it is from the other three reliefs with their themes of abduction. Basing his comments on a detail of the engraving in the Krafft and Ransonnette album (even though this album is highly suspect), he believes that the relief might have been the cast of a work that decorated Pajou's house—a curious hypothesis, given the fact that the house was built some ten years afterward.

The scene shows Cybele seated in a chariot, which is drawn by two lions guided by an attentive little cupid; she is represented as a matron draped in antique garb, her head decorated with a crenellated band and her hand holding a scepter. Mother of the Gods, goddess of nature, Cybele is traditionally linked to the iconography of Earth (Lacombe de Prezel 1756, p. 277). She is accompanied here by the Four Seasons: Spring to her right; Summer in the foreground; Autumn, who wears a crown of vine leaves; and Winter, a superb bearded old man.

Pajou took his inspiration from several sources, notably the drawings he made in Italy. Summer is here derived from one of the women sacrificing on an ancient relief sketched at the Villa Pamphili (ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 47; 21 × 15 cm [8¼ × 5⅞ in.], inscribed *a La ville Pamphile a la porte St pencrace a Rome* [at the Villa Pamphili at Porta San Pancrazio in Rome]; fig. 48); Pajou copied the ample folds of the drapery formed by the act of gathering fruit in her garment. These long

Fig. 48. Pajou, *Woman Sacrificing, from an Antique Relief.* Black chalk. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



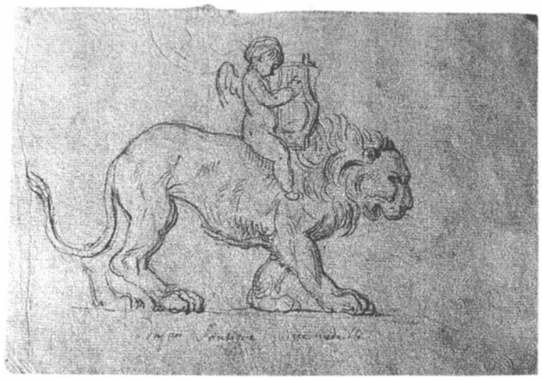


Fig. 49. Pajou, *Cupid Mounted on a Lion and Playing the Lyre, from an Antique Engraved Gem.* Black chalk, pen and brown ink. Private collection

parallel folds, reinforced in the drawing by black chalk, are hollowed out in the relief in order to intensify the play of light and shade and add depth to the figure. It is a magnificent example of how a drawn model can be translated into a relief, much as the vestibule statues transformed a relief into a sculpture in the round (cat. 32, 33). Was Winter, seen here in profile, based on the drunken, bearded *Bacchus* recorded at the Villa Pamphili (ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 51; 21 × 14 cm [8¼ × 5½ in.], inscribed *a la villa p* and *panfile* [at the Villa Pamphili])? Cybele herself seems to correspond to the imposing antique *Cybele* that Pajou also sketched at the Villa Pamphili (fig. 84). The theme of Love Dominating Force, expressed as a lyre-playing cupid astride a lion—a common subject on antique cameos—was also nicely rendered by Pajou: a drawing (13 × 19 cm [5⅛ × 7½ in.]; inscribed *d'apres L'antique une medaille* [after the antique, a medal]; fig. 49) directly foreshadows the design of the d'Argenson relief. For the two beasts pulling the chariot, reference might be made to the lions that Pajou carefully sketched at the Villa Medici (cat. 7).

All these allusions are not happenstance. Pajou leafed through his sketches to find ideas for his subject. The more or less distant sources cited here are so many clues to understanding his work.

Would it be going too far to see Pajou's composition as in turn the model for the procession of the Four Seasons by his student Roland? Cybele, indeed, is absent from this work, but it includes the chariot drawn by lions and guided by a cupid (terracotta model for a clock, ca. 1798; Ottomeyer and Pröschel 1986, vol. 1, fig. 5.5.1; cast by Thomire: signed and dated example in Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage; Zek 1994, pp. 142–44). GS

38. *Water,* or *Neptune Protecting Amymone*

H. 92.5 cm (36⅜ in.), W. 148 cm (58¼ in), D. 70 cm (27½ in.)

Asnières, warehouse of the Banque de France (Chancellerie d'Orléans, no. 20A)

This relatively rare subject comes from Hyginus: Amymone, one of the fifty daughters of Danaus, is saved from a satyr by Neptune, to whom she yields out of gratitude. Pajou surely saw the large painting by Carle Van Loo depicting the same subject at the Salon of 1757 (Nice, Musée des Beaux-Arts Jules Chéret; for the series of tapestries *Loves of the Gods*, see Nice–Clermont-Ferrand–Nancy 1977, no. 159, ill.) and was closely inspired by it.

It would be difficult, however, standing before this Neptune protecting the nymph Amymone from an enterprising satyr, not to be reminded of Lambert-Sigisbert Adam's morceau de réception, *Neptune Calming the Waves*, especially in the swirl of the drapery; this was a work influenced by Bernini's sculpture of the same subject, then visible in Rome in the gardens of Cardinal Montalto (today in London, Victoria and Albert Museum). Nor must we forget a fairly obvious comparison: the sea-god painted by Antoine Coypel in the "new gallery" of the Palais-Royal (Garnier 1989, ill.), of which Pajou owned an engraved reproduction. The nymph comes, barely altered, from Anguier's *Amphitrite* in the Bosquet des Dômes; and the Triton is surely kin to the Tritons of the Bains d'Apollon, both at Versailles.

Pajou used these various sources of inspiration to create a new composition on an unusual subject. The difference between the virile body of Neptune and that of the terrified Amymone is beautifully rendered, as are the two movements (attack and flight) of the god and the satyr. Especially notable here are Pajou's abilities as both draftsman and sculptor: the secondary elements are placed so as to suggest depth; the bodies are modeled in rounded forms to catch the light and heighten contrasts. GS

The Decoration of the Church of Saint-Roch

At the Salon of 1765 Pajou exhibited "a figure of Saint Francis de Sales. Model two feet six inches [76.2 cm] in height, which is to be executed in large scale for the church of Saint-Roch in Paris." The work belongs to a rich architectural and sculptural framework within the church (Babelon 1972).

The resulting statue forms part of the altar decoration in one of the transept chapels that the parish priest Jean-Baptiste Marduel commissioned from the architect Boullée during the last building campaign in the church (1763–67). In the chapel of Saint Denis (on the west side, the church being oriented to the north) is a painting by Vien (*Saint Denis Preaching in Gaul,* Salon of 1767), flanked by statues: on the left Jean-Baptiste d'Huez's *Saint Augustine* and on the right Pradier's *Saint Andrew* (this plaster figure is a nineteenth-century substitute for a lost *Saint Charles Borromeo,* begun by Simon Challe and finished after his death in October 1765 by Charles-Antoine Bridan). The chapel opposite, dedicated to Saint Genevieve, contains in the center a painting by Doyen (the *Miracle "des Ardents,"* depicting the cure, by intercession of the saint, of the burning fever, occasioned by a devastating outbreak of ergotism, Salon of 1767), with on the left the sculpture of Saint Gregory by Challe, also completed by Bridan, and on the right Pajou's *Saint Francis de Sales.* The statues by d'Huez, Challe, and Pajou survive only in the form of stucco molds taken from the original stone sculptures (see the restoration reports to the Conservation des Oeuvres d'Art Civiles et Religieuses of the city of Paris).

In the church of Saint-Roch, Boullée created an astonishing architectural illusion: in the archway of each door he simulated a perspective effect using false archivolts with coffers borne by false piers decorated with vine leaves and grapes and gilt ears of wheat, ornaments applied directly to the bare wall. This playfulness is faithful to the overall spirit of the church interior, which was conceived as a large and ambitious scenography: "Boullée's entire work is a theatrical mirage" (Pérouse de Montclos 1969, p. 58). It is in a context of extroverted religious emotion, so strongly perceived in Saint-Roch by his contemporaries, that Pajou's work must be placed. GS

39. *Saint Francis de Sales*

Terracotta
H. 79 cm (31⅛ in.), W. 40 cm (15¾ in.), D. 38.5 cm (15⅛ in.)
Incised on back at left, on page of open book: *Pajou.fe./1765*

Toulouse, Musée des Augustins (Ra 915)

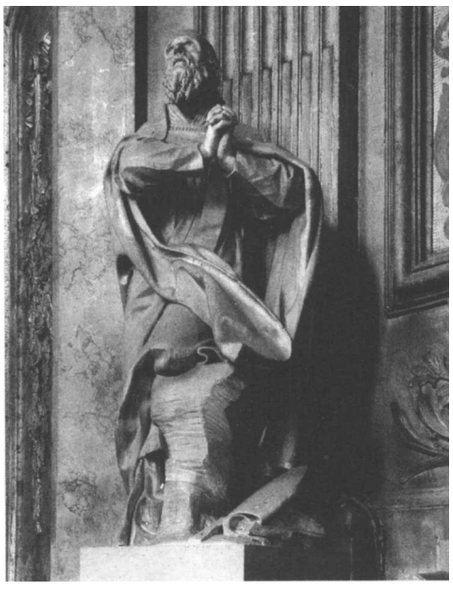
PROVENANCE: Model for the statue executed for the church of Saint-Roch in Paris, 1765; morceau de réception for the Académie de Toulouse, 1767; Académie de Toulouse until its dissolution in 1793; acquired by the museum and there catalogued since the year III (1794–95)

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Paris, 1765, no. 207, p. 34 ("Saint Francis de Sales"); Salon of the Académie de Toulouse, 1767, no. 6 ("A Bishop Saint"); Salon of the Académie de Toulouse, 1777, no. 276 ("A Bishop Saint"); Toulouse 1950, no. 28; Toulouse 1968, p. 39, no. CXXXII; Toulouse 1975–76, no. 28

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toulouse, *Catalogue* 1794–95, no. 54 ("Saint Augustine at Prayer"; so identified in all subsequent publications before Réau 1924); Musée de Toulouse 1805, no. 58; Musée de Toulouse 1818, no. 36; Musée de Toulouse 1865, no. 889; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Lami 1911, p. 206; Musée de Toulouse 1912, no. 915 (with complete bibliography); Stein 1912, p. 12; Réau 1924, pp. 137–38, ill. ("Saint Francis de Sales"); Mesuret 1972, p. 175, no. 1627, ill., p. 325, no. 3389

RELATED WORK: The statue in the church of Saint-Roch (fig. 50; see below)

Fig. 50. Pajou, *Saint Francis de Sales.* Cast stucco on stone. Paris, church of Saint-Roch, Chapel of Saint Genevieve





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Pajou's statue was created under the auspices of Falconet, in charge of the sculptural program at Saint-Roch, as we learn from the *Avant-coureur* of August 25, 1766: "The four figures intended for the two chapels of the transept of [Saint-Roch] have been transported from M. Falconet's studio to [this church]; to all intents and purposes, they are merely studies." The model of d'Huez's *Saint Augustine* was, like Pajou's, exhibited at the Salon of 1765; it makes quite a point of the saint's flaming heart. What Challe's lost *Saint Charles Borromeo* looked like is not known. As for Challe's other figure, *Saint Gregory*, it was inspired by Lemoyne's marble sculpture, then to be seen in the Dôme des Invalides (known today by a terracotta study, about 1746, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée Municipal).

The terracotta *Saint Francis de Sales* was rather significantly—until Réau's article in 1924—confused with the *Saint Augustine* that Pajou had executed shortly before for the Invalides (model exhibited at the Salon of 1761, drawn by Saint-Aubin; fig. 233), and it is but one indication of the great importance of this building site for the religious sculpture of the day. The statue was singled out at Saint-Roch by Dezallier d'Argenville (1778, p. 130) and Dulaure (1785, p. 504).

Saint Francis de Sales (1567–1622), bishop of Geneva, known for his devotional writings of great merit, was the founder of the Order of the Visitation. Although he was not declared a doctor of the church until 1869, his intellectual and spiritual stature explains his presence in Saint-Roch with Gregory, Augustine, and Charles Borromeo. Committed to the reform of the church, the four saints between them framed the two Gallican saints—Saint Denis, patron of France and the French monarchy, and Saint Genevieve, patron of Paris.

From an iconographic viewpoint, Pajou was inevitably influenced by the enormous body of engravings—almost all anonymous—depicting Francis de Sales in various ways. He is identified by his bald head, his beard, and his (often) folded hands; several prints show him with hands clasped and eyes raised to heaven, as in Pajou's version. One direct source nonetheless seems possible: the statue by Paolo Reggiani in travertine that decorates the Colonnade of Saint Peter's in Rome (1702–3; Martinelli 1987, no. 55, ill.). Although it was drawn several times (see Martinelli 1987), no sketch of it by Pajou has yet come to light. We know, though, how strongly

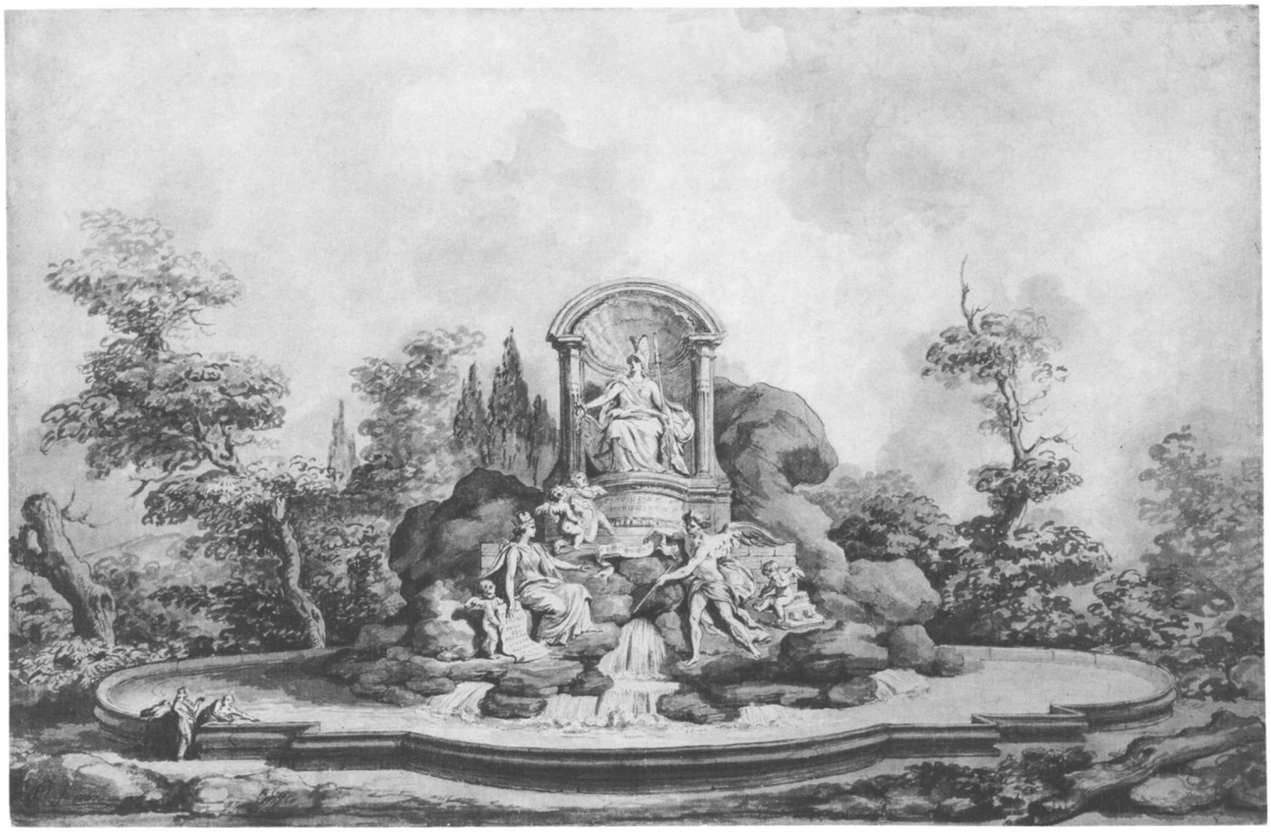
he was attracted to the Vatican during his stay in Italy; he drew the exterior of Saint Peter's and the Colonnade several times. Pajou can be said to have made excellent use of all these images. Nonetheless, the *Avant-coureur* (review of the Salon of 1765: Deloynes, vol. 48, no. 1295) found that the head of the statuette did not bear much of a likeness to the saint—which was a shame, since he was "well known to every artist"—and Réau indicates the possible influence on Pajou of an engraving by Audran after a head of Saint Francis of Paola.

Chaussard in 1806 (p. 472) notes that "the head [of the stone statue] was broken during the Revolution and remade by a mediocre artist." Indeed, it bears no trace of Pajou's style: there is no delicacy in the rendering of the beard and hair, and the rather bland facial expression is a far cry from the spirit of deeply felt, ardent concentration evoked by the terracotta. The saint, bareheaded—which characterizes him as the man of faith rather than as ecclesiastical dignitary—rests his left knee on a rock while his hands are joined before him in a fervent gesture of adoration. This movement allows Pajou to sculpt a great sweep of drapery athwart the body, creating a magnificent visual effect that cuts obliquely across the composition. The dynamic quality of the *Saint Francis de Sales* is particularly evident when compared with its companion figure, the static and solemn *Saint Gregory* by Challe (Babelon 1972, p. 43, fig. 34). The back had little detail, since the statue was to be set against the wall of the chapel: an indication of drapery barely animates the bottom of the terracotta. The statue is faithful to the model, including the attributes, the miter resting on an open book.

Pajou made use of the terracotta again, two years after the Salon, as his morceau de réception for the Académie de Toulouse, and it was immediately shown at the Salon there. Pajou was admitted as a nonresident honorary associate artist. He thus formed part of the fourth class at the academy, after the founders, the honorary associates, and the ordinary associates, who constituted the most distinguished residents of the Languedoc (Toulouse 1950, pp. 35–36). Among these were the archbishop of Narbonne, president of the États du Languedoc, and the director of public works for the province, P.-A. Garipuy. Given the context, it is hardly surprising that Pajou should execute, precisely in 1767, a large drawing in honor of the Languedoc (cat. 40).

The Académie de Toulouse had been founded in 1750 by letters patent from Louis XV (Mesuret 1972, passim). As early as 1751 it was organizing exhibitions that took place at the Capitole, the town hall. Meetings were held at the Hôtel de l'Académie, Place du Capitole, where in 1769 a room was opened to house the collections, featuring works by associate artists and morceaux de réception by nonresident honorary associate artists. Among the Languedoc artists represented were Caylus, Natoire, and Vien, the last in 1767, as well as Dantoine in 1774. Pajou in 1767 was the first of the Parisians; among those who followed him were Lemoyne and Houdon, both in 1776. One wonders why Pajou, who had no particular attachment to the region, should be part of this academy. Was it simply a matter of prestige? Did he wish to follow the example of Natoire and Caylus, and did they support his reception? Various works by Pajou were exhibited at the Toulouse salons after 1767—specifically in 1770 and 1777 (see Chronology)—which indicates how keenly his art was appreciated by connoisseurs in that city.

GS



40

40. *Project for a Monumental Fountain*

Black chalk, pen and brown and black ink, brown and gray wash
39.6 × 61 cm (15⅝ × 24 in.)
Annotated at bottom left, black ink: *P. fe 1767*; under central figure, brown ink: *PROVINCIAE / MUNIFICIENTIA* (by the munificence of the province); on banderole at center: . . . *FEM* . . . ; on scroll lower left of center: . . . *PRINCI / ANNO / FEL / REGNAN / CIVITA* / . . .

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1979 (1979.388)

PROVENANCE: Acquired in Paris, 1979

EXHIBITION: Paris 1979a, p. 116, no. 143, not ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bean and Turčić 1986, pp. 199–200, no. 223, ill.

This drawing, dated 1767, was related at the time of the De Wailly exhibition of 1979 to plans for developing the Place du Peyrou in Montpellier, a hypothesis taken up by Jacob Bean and Lawrence Turčić in 1986.

In 1685 the États du Languedoc decided to erect an equestrian statue of Louis XIV in a city chosen by the king, who designated Montpellier. The statue realized by Mazeline and Hurtrelle was unveiled in 1718 on the Promenade du Peyrou, created in 1689 on a hill then outside the city. Various plans to lay out a royal square around the monument succeeded one another up to the reign of Louis XVI (see cat. 132).

At the same time, work proceeded on the completion of the immense aqueduct of Saint-Clément (built between 1742 and 1764), whose intake reservoir was located on the promenade, by necessity serving as a backdrop to the royal statue. The design of this reservoir was assigned to the municipal architect Jacques Nogaret under the direction of Henri Pitot, director of public works for the province. A drawing of 1761 (formerly Thuile collection; Montpellier 1980, p. 32, fig. 23) provided for a pool with rockery and fountains in front of the structure. The idea later evolved of concealing the reservoir in an ambitiously architectural construction. A drawing, probably made by Nogaret about 1763 (Paris, Archives of the Monuments Historiques, no. 1822; Montpellier 1980, p. 35, fig. 27),

shows a building decorated with an Ionic order and topped by a cupola: "under a large niche, a sculpture of Neptune with his team of sea horses rests on a rockery and is reflected in a pool" (Montpellier 1980, p. 34). None of the designs proposed by the city was accepted by the provincial commissioners, and the Peyrou project was opened to general competition on March 6, 1764. Two parties were in the running: Nogaret and Jean-Antoine Giral, in association with the latter's pupil Jacques Donnat (for the details, see Montpellier 1980). The final choice was made on January 27, 1766, in favor of Giral's project, which showed a hexagonal water tower overlooking three oval pools. In March 1767 Giral and Donnat converted the Ionic order to a Corinthian one and eliminated two of the pools. The final plan, approved on September 18, 1768, provided for a single ornamental pool in front of the building as it now stands, a small, templelike structure in antique style, sober in design and featuring no fountain with rockery as part of its decor.

Pajou's drawing, dated 1767, is therefore contemporary with the development of plans for the water tower. That very year the sculptor was admitted to the Académie de Toulouse (see cat. 39). No doubt the Montpellier project, financially supported by the États du Languedoc—which met in Toulouse and whose eminent members were part of the academy there—was closely followed.

Fig. 51. Pajou, *Minerva, after the Antique.* Black chalk. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



In the center of the fountain a helmeted Minerva, seated in a niche, holds a lance and a shield on which can be seen the cross of the arms of Languedoc (the latter appears clearly in the *Allegory of the Languedoc* engraved by Cochin: Vic and Vaissete 1730, frontispiece; see Bean and Turčić 1986, p. 199). Beneath Minerva is the inscription PROVINCIAE MUNIFICIENTA, no doubt an allusion to the financial efforts of the États du Languedoc to bring about the embellishment of the promenade. Seated below and to the left of Minerva is the City of Montpellier, represented as a goddess with crenellated crown. The winged genius to the right causing the spring to flow from among the rocks would symbolize water from the source brought by the Saint-Clément aqueduct. But what is the significance of the medallion presented to Minerva by the two putti? It shows a male profile, perhaps that of the archbishop of Narbonne, president of the États. To the right of the winged genius is a small putto holding a chisel and mallet, representing Sculpture.

Pajou's work is in no way a competition drawing, and it could not have been entered into contest against the architect's designs. The artist proposes here a personal and poetic evocation. His fountain in its verdant setting is the pretext for the execution of a perfectly composed drawing that we can well imagine him showing to his Toulouse colleagues as a marginal variation on the Peyrou project.

The work is important in the context of the evolution of Pajou's art. The trees are sketched freely in ink and wash, possibly suggesting the influence of Fragonard. The classical-style figures derive from motifs drawn in Rome: Minerva's prototype decorates the stairway of the Palazzo Senatorio in the Campidoglio (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 106; 30.5 × 21.8 cm [12 × 8⅝ in.]; fig. 57); the personification of the city is reminiscent of the *Cybele* in the Villa Pamphili (private collection; fig. 84). The other figures belong very much to Pajou's world, the putti as much as the genius, a brother of the one on the Belle-Isle tomb of 1761 (cat. 54). GS

The Decoration of the Palais-Royal

In 1692 Louis XIV gave the Palais-Royal to his brother Philippe I, duc d'Orleans, on the marriage of the latter's son, Philippe, to Mlle de Blois, a legitimized daughter of the king by the marquise de Montespan. This significant increase in the Orléans appanage was in violation of the last will and testament of Richelieu, who had bequeathed the Palais Cardinal to the crown on condition that the property should forever remain inalienable. In 1701 the younger Philippe succeeded to his father's title, and from 1715 until his death in 1723 he was regent of France during the minority of Louis XV. This was the golden age of the Palais-Royal; under the Regency its decor was completely altered by Gilles-Marie Oppenord, who created for it a sumptuous Rococo setting that vanished without a trace at the end of the eighteenth century. Antoine Coypel decorated the new gallery with famous paintings based on the *Aeneid,* of which Pajou owned an album of engraved reproductions. The regent's son, Louis d'Orléans (1703–1752), had a self-effacing personality; deeply religious, he retired permanently to the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in 1742, abandoning the Palais-Royal to his son, Louis-Philippe. The latter embarked on a number of costly projects, wishing to rebuild the Opera that then existed in the building and to renovate his quarters. And indeed, if the palace was admired for its decorations and the art collections it housed, it was roundly criticized for its lack of architectural unity.

In 1752 Louis-Philippe, who had become duc d'Orléans on his father's death, called on Pierre Contant d'Ivry (1698–1777), his chief architect, who also worked for the maréchal de Belle-Isle at the Château de Bizy. Contant d'Ivry rebuilt the west wing in order to create new apartments for the duchess (completed in 1756). Their decor, recorded in Blondel's engravings in the *Encyclopédie,* was considered an expression of avant-garde taste and was one of the first important manifestations of emergent Neoclassicism in France. The comte d'Argenson wrote in his memoirs: "Contant d'Ivry, a man of fashionable taste."

Only after April 6, 1763, when a fire destroyed the Opera and damaged adjacent parts of the palace, was a second building campaign undertaken, lasting from 1764 to 1773. It was headed jointly by Contant d'Ivry and Moreau-Desproux, director of the Bâtiments de la Ville de Paris since 1763 (the city of Paris having been judged accountable for the disaster). Moreau's responsibility included anything having to do with the Opera, which was not to be visible from the exterior, as well as the façades on the entrance court and the rue Saint-Honoré. Contant, meanwhile, was in charge of the interior decorations and the façade of the main courtyard overlooking the gardens (Joudiou 1984, pp. 91–99; Paris 1988, pp. 53–143).

Pajou, through his services to the two architects, played a considerable part. Dezallier d'Argenville (1770, p. 77) began his desciption with the "first courtyard," facing the rue Saint-Honoré: "the central bay is decorated with columns, and above them rises an attic topped by a segmental pediment, in which M. Pajou has sculpted two figures that support an escutcheon bearing the arms of the house of Orléans [fig. 52]. The trophies of arms placed on the bay have been executed by Master Defernex," the latter designated as "sculptor to the duc d'Orléans." The description continues: "the two wings of the building end at the rue Saint-Honoré in two bays with two rows of columns, crowned by a pediment displaying emblematic figures of women and children that flank a shield with the monogram of the duc d'Orléans; two groups of antique-style trophies are placed beside each pediment and complete the decoration of this building, the figures and trophies being the work of M. Pajou." After this comes a mention of the garden façade: as for the bay, "raised, facing the center" of the second courtyard, "its foundation is simple; eight Ionic columns rise above it, and the entire edifice terminates in an attic and a roof. There are four figures

Fig. 52. Pajou, *Two Geniuses.* Stone. Paris, Palais-Royal



in *pierre de Conflans* executed by M. Pajou; to wit: Mars or military talents, Prudence, Liberality, and the Fine Arts or Apollo" (pp. 77–79) Hurtaud and Magny (1779, pp. 748–49)—after a laudatory mention of Pajou ("we have already discussed this excellent artist")—describe the two pediments:

> in the pediment terminating the building on the side of the opera house is an escutcheon bearing the prince's monogram and accompanied by two women, one representing Prudence and the other Liberality, with children holding the attributes that characterize them. In the corresponding pediment that terminates the building on the side of the rue de Richelieu is again an escutcheon bearing the same monogram as the first, accompanied by two women, one representing Force and the other Justice, also with children bearing their attributes. These escutcheons are once again the work of M. Pajou.

These two descriptions were briefly repeated by Dulaure (1785, pp. 453–55) and Thiéry (1787, pp. 237–38), then by Chabrol (1879, pp. 118–19), who mentions the reconstructions done after the Commune fire, and by Stein (1912, pp. 195–98, 200 and 201 ills. [the two trophies]), who published photographs taken before the reconstructions. Quatremère de Quincy notes that Roland, Pajou's favorite pupil, assisted his master with the pediments. GS

41. *Prudence and Liberality*

Black and red chalk
20.6 × 58 cm (8⅛ × 22⅞ in.)

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Eugène Tondu; his sale Paris, May 10, 1865, no. 373; bought by the Goncourt brothers; their sale Paris, February 16, 1897, no. 226 ("decorative motif"); bought by Léger; sale Paris, February 8, 1954, no. 22, not ill.; New York art market; bought by the present owner in New York, 1965

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1880, no. 289; London 1968a, no. 527, not ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goncourt 1881, p. 132; Stein 1912, p. 197 n. 2; Launay 1991, pp. 405–6, no. 243 ("whereabouts unknown")

RELATED WORK: Stone pediment on the Palais-Royal (fig. 53)

Wilbrod Chabrol (1879, pp. 118–19) dates Pajou's sculptures on Moreau-Desproux's buildings from 1765, with the proviso that what is there today are reconstructions made after the Commune fire of 1871:

> The right wing of the entrance court, known as the Valois wing, and the upper part of the main building . . . were rebuilt between 1872 and 1874 by [Prosper] Chabrol, who endeavored to reproduce the façades of these buildings faithfully, as they existed before those sad events. The pediment sculptures on the main building were redone by M. [Hubert] Lavigne. . . . The pediment on the right-hand pavilion of the Valois wing was executed by M. [Jules] Franceschi, and the trophies on the right and left sides by M. [Adolphe] Thabard.

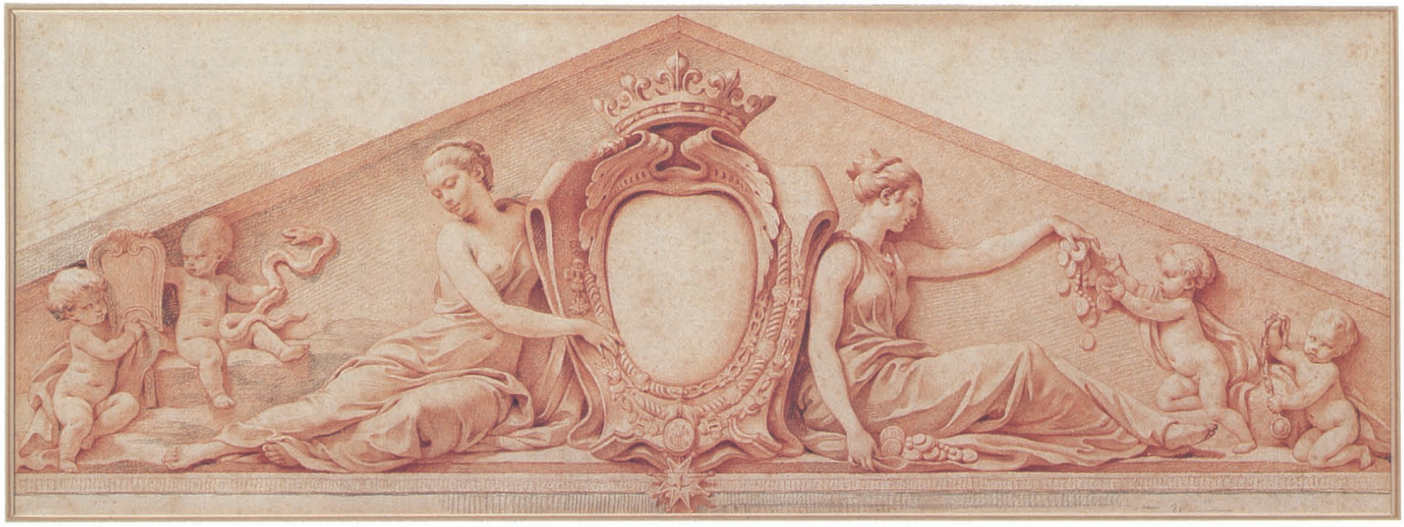
The sculptures on the left pavilion were not spared by the restorers either, and what the visitor sees today of the exterior of the Palais-Royal—not to mention the clock face flanked by figures of geniuses in the entrance

Fig. 54. Pajou, *Prudence and Liberality*. Stone. Paris, Palais-Royal



Fig. 53. Pajou, *Force and Justice*. Stone. Paris, Palais-Royal





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court, replacing the Orléans coat of arms that was destroyed during the Revolution—is but a shadow of what it was in the eighteenth century.

Nonetheless, Pajou realized here a subtle example of the decorator's art, which found favor and for which he was paid a substantial amount: the pediments earned him the sum of six thousand livres each—as he rather proudly announced to the comte d'Angiviller regarding a later invoice, which d'Angiviller deemed exorbitant, for the pediments at Compiègne (see Chronology, 1785). Still, he concluded that "for each of these projects, all things considered, my fees covered barely a quarter of the care and efforts I took" (AN, O^1 1390, p. 139). Note that in 1793, Pajou had an outstanding balance of thirty thousand livres with the duc d'Orléans (see Chronology), although it is impossible to determine whether this related to the decorations of the Palais-Royal or to other projects.

Stein (1912, p. 197) believed Pajou's entry for the Salon of 1767 (no. 201)—plaster casts of "Magnificence and Wisdom [which] will be executed in large scale for the Palais-Royal"—to be early versions of the pediment sculptures; but he is confusing them, as Seznec did after him, with the statues of these subjects created for the garden side (see Bukdahl et al. 1995a, p. 489), the models for which were shown at the Salon of 1769 (see below).

The pediments represent, on one side, Prudence and Liberality (fig. 54), and on the other, Force and Justice (fig. 53). Whoever was responsible for the choice of themes, it was surely not Pajou alone. It bears little trace of originality, remaining instead within the familiar context of an apologia for the prince's virtues, symbolized by figures to either side of his coat of arms (Blondel 1772, p. 228). Pajou was certainly influenced by the superb creations of Michel-Ange Slodtz and Guillaume II Coustou on Gabriel's pavilions in the Place de la Concorde, which represent similar subjects even if their compositions are radically different: *Royal Magnificence* and the *Progress of Commerce* for the first and *Public Felicity* and *Agriculture* for the second (1758–70; Souchal 1967, pp. 691–94, no. 180, pls. 10–12) in fact present a single allegorical figure in the center of the pediment, with the children and attributes artfully distributed beneath the inclines. This arrangement was, indeed, the most common among French figural pediments. Admittedly, the simple, monumental approach, further endowed with the elegance characteristic of Slodtz's style, gives the reliefs in the Place de la Concorde a grace that is lacking in the Palais-Royal figures, which are placed in flatly symmetrical fashion around the coats of arms. Slodtz's monumental facility also inspired Pajou when the latter created the exterior decoration of the Chapelle de la Providence at Versailles (figs. 30–32), the model this time being the reliefs of the Virtues on the peristyle of Saint-Sulpice (1756–58; Souchal 1967, pp. 684–85, pls. 37–39).

The drawing for *Prudence and Liberality*, which fortunately survives, shows us precisely the fine details of Pajou's original work as well as the felicitous arrangement of the attributes: the delicate red- and black-chalk lines accentuate the charm of the children's figures, the grace of the faces, and the minutiae of the women's hairstyles. GS

42. *Generosity*

Black and red chalk
34.5 × 19.2 cm (13½ × 7½ in.)
Annotated at bottom, brown ink: *A Pajou Exécuté en Pierre au Palais Royale Côté du Jardin / La Generosité* (A. Pajou, executed in stone at the Palais-Royal, garden side, Generosity)

Paris, Musée Carnavalet (D 7047)

PROVENANCE: Beurdeley; his sale, March 13, 1905, no. 190 ("Generosity"); Félix Oppenheim from 1912 at the latest; bought from M. Brunet by the museum, 1916

Paris only

EXHIBITION: Paris 1988, no. 155

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lami 1911, p. 207; Stein 1912, pp. 198–99, ill. p. 400; *Dessins parisiens* 1971, p. 36, no. 91, ill. p. 44; Paris, Musée Carnavalet 1974, p. 47

RELATED WORKS: Stone statue at the Palais-Royal (fig. 55).
Drawing of *Liberality*, black chalk, 41.5 × 31.5 cm (16⅜ × 12⅜ in.); annotated at bottom right by Pajou: *Exécuté en pierre pour Mgr le duc d'Orléans* (Executed in stone for His Royal Highness the duc d'Orléans) and *Pajou* (Stein 1912, p. 325, ill.; Marius Paulme sale, May 14, 1929, no. 194, pl. 126; whereabouts unknown; fig. 56)

This *Generosity* is a preparatory sketch for *Liberality*, one of the four statues that Pajou executed in stone on the façade of the main courtyard of the Palais-Royal built by Contant d'Ivry.

At the Salon of 1767 Pajou exhibited plaster models of two statues from this group (no. 201), *Magnificence* (our *Generosity*, later *Liberality*) and *Wisdom* (later *Prudence*), visible in the large watercolor by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (Paris 1984–85, cover). Ignored by Diderot, they were mentioned by Bachaumont in his *Mémoires secrets* (1995, p. 8), who saw "genius" in them. Nonetheless, Bachaumont's tone changed in 1769, when the four figures of the façade—no doubt the models—were shown at the Salon: "it is difficult to discover their merit, from the vantage point in which they are placed; but combining two moral entities [*Prudence* and *Liberality*] with two mythical gods [*Mars* or *Military Abilities* and *Apollo* or the *Fine Arts*] makes for a clumsy and tasteless mix" (1995, p. 20). The *Année littéraire* (letter 13, September 4, 1769) was laconic ("they do honor to the artist"), and Diderot remained as silent that year as he had been in 1767.

Pajou's stone sculptures—*Mars* (military valor), *Prudence, Liberality,* and *Apollo* (the arts)(fig. 55)—which are nearly 2.9 meters (82¼ in.) high, separate the windows in Contant d'Ivry's attic bay. The idea of using these four seated figures as building decorations was out of the ordinary at that date. Guillaume Coustou, with his *Mars* and *Minerva* on the Invalides doorway (Souchal 1980, p. 133), had, it is true, executed comparable ones, but they were visible at eye level. Contant d'Ivry's decor, with its four clearly demarcated monumental statues subtly echoing one another via the interplay of gazes and symmetries, is distinguished by its breadth and nobility. The iconography of this group mixes Christian and pagan allegories, to Bachaumont's

Fig. 55. Pajou, *Mars*; *Prudence*; *Liberality*; and *Apollo*. Stone. Paris, Palais-Royal

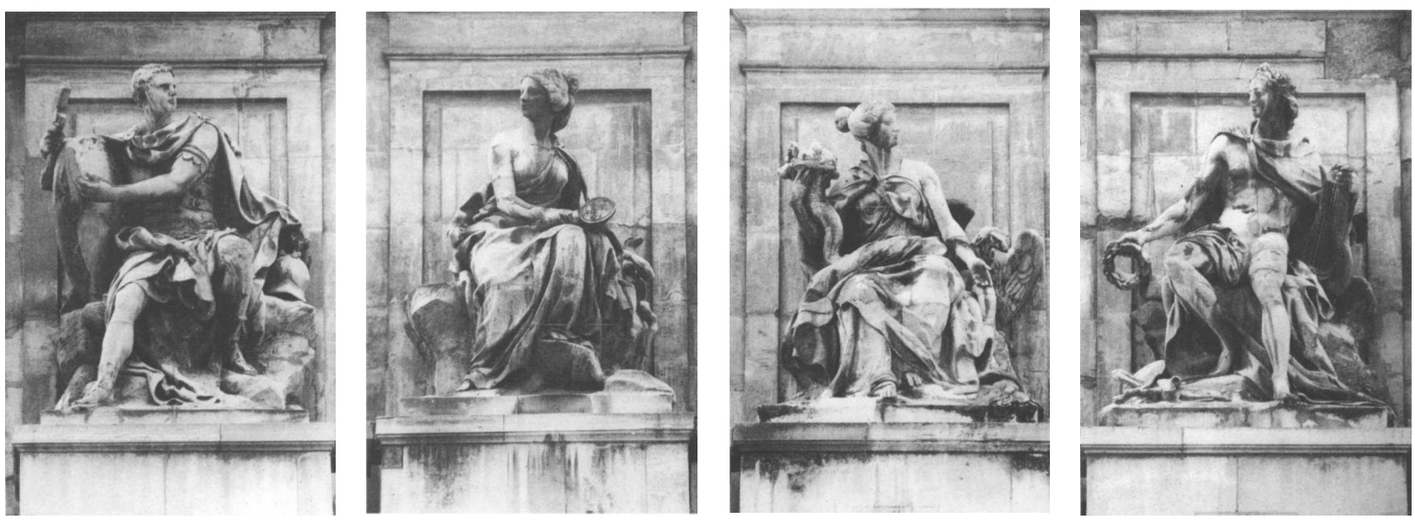




Fig. 56. Pajou, *Liberality.* Black chalk. Whereabouts unknown



chagrin; but the program itself, glorifying the prince's virtues, is hardly surprising and conforms with Blondel's recommendations (1752, p. 96). There are even repetitions of the subjects of the pediments on the rue Saint-Honoré side (*Prudence* and *Liberality*), demonstrating the lack of unity in the decorative program of the palace.

The Musée Carnavalet drawing is a preparatory sketch for the stone statue, as indicated by the inscription in Pajou's hand—the title "Generosity" was not retained—as well as by the alterations in red chalk that shorten the pedestal garland on both sides and by the hesitant black-chalk lines that pass several times over the same features, the better to delineate their shape and outline the contours, already almost hollowing out the folds and defining the highs and lows in order to catch the light.

Pajou made another drawing of this composition,

formerly in the Marius Paulme collection (see Related Works; fig. 56), which is significantly different from the Carnavalet drawing. The general idea of the seated female allegory is similar: the same profile to the right, the same position of the feet on the rock. But there are countless small variants: among them, for example, the hair styled with crown and tresses in the Paulme drawing, gathered into a chignon in the other; draperies conceived in a different spirit; attributes arranged differently (wide visual plane and lowered cornucopia in the Paulme, raised cornucopia and eagle in the Carnavalet); and different garland designs.

The statue as it was executed is extremely faithful to the Carnavalet drawing. It is true that the latter was better suited for translation into a large-scale, elevated sculpture: the crown and the visual plane in the Paulme drawing would have been invisible from ground level, and the lowered cornucopia confusing. The eagle, however, is immediately identifiable, as is the raised cornucopia, while the wide, agitated "belt" of drapery in the drawing already has the appearance of a piece of monumental sculpture. Unfortunately, the pedestal now lacks Pajou's garland, which was probably destroyed during all the handling that these decorations have undergone.



Fig. 57. Pajou, *Abundance and Peace.* Wood. Versailles, foyer of the Royal Opera

The iconography of Liberality is often confused with that of Generosity, Prodigality, and even Abundance (fig. 57). Lacombe de Prezel (1756, p. 167) discusses it briefly, mentioning the cornucopia as an attribute. Ripa, however, is quite expansive. He describes Prodigality as "a blindfolded woman who holds in both hands a cornucopia upside down, spilling pell-mell pieces of gold and silver; by which it is signified that she is blind in her profusion, and that in all the gifts she bestows she ordinarily observes neither rule nor measure"; and Liberality as "a beautiful young woman who with her right hand liberally distributes pieces of gold and silver to small children, taking the coins from a goblet that she holds in her left hand" (Ripa 1643, pt. 2, pp. 169, 131).

Pajou's *Liberality* is faithful to Ripa's prescriptions: she is dressed simply, for she has no shadow of self-interest; the cornucopia that she holds shows "that great riches carry a spirit generous in its will to do good" (Ripa 1643, pt. 1, p. 101). The addition of the eagle on the Carnavalet sheet demonstrates still more fidelity to Ripa: it is there "to teach us that the highest point of this virtue does not lie in the action of giving casually to others what is ours; but in doing so by habit and intention: which is also characteristic of other virtues. Thus it is that the eagle, according to Pliny, having caught a prey, does not eat so much of it that she cannot always leave a portion for the other birds, proud as she is to see several animals living off her kill" (ibid.). GS

The Decoration of the Façade of the Cathedral of Sainte-Croix, Orléans

The cathedral of Sainte-Croix was destroyed several times in the Middle Ages. Henri IV promised to restore it to its former splendor in 1599, and on April 18, 1601, he laid the first stone of the reconstruction. Building operations lasted throughout the seventeenth century; then the Romanesque façade, which had been spared, was demolished in 1727 to make way for another more in keeping with the new edifice. The Gothic style was adopted, as it had been in the seventeenth century for the façades of the transept. In 1739 the royal architect, Jacques V Gabriel, presented a large-scale wooden model of the new façade to Louis XV in Versailles (the model is now in Orléans, in the stairway of the bishop's palace). It is decorated with statuettes and with three tympana of similar dimensions: the central tympanum has a relief of two angels flanking the royal arms, while the lateral tympana show Christ Bearing the Cross and the Lamentation of the Virgin. In 1742, the year of Gabriel's death, Louis XV laid the first stone of the façade. Construction continued under the direction of engineers until the arrival of Louis-François Trouard, architect to the Économats—an authority established by Louis XIV to manage the holdings of refugee clergymen (mainly Protestant) and vacant bishoprics, which devoted its income to religious building works. Trouard was officially put in charge of the site in 1766. The architect created two designs that were approved by the king in 1767: one followed Gabriel's model; the other presented two original projects (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale). It was this latter drawing that was engraved on a medal by Duvivier, struck the same year (*Trésor de numismatique* 1837, pl. L, no. 1); the other was again taken up by Trouard in 1769 in a large elevation in ink (Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts). Trouard's spirit is faithful to Gabriel's, even if he made a few slight alterations (the central tympanum is enlarged at the expense of the two others, which lose their historiated decoration).

Trouard's sculpture program is partially revealed by an estimate dated 1768 (ADL, Jarry collection, 2 J 2774; Desmas 1994, pp. 74–75): four marble statues were planned near the doors and twelve figures of apostles for the towers, but no mention was made of the decoration of the central tympanum, or of the eight statues for the niches of the pinnacled buttresses, or of the statues of Henri IV (cat. 120) and Louis XV. All these works were assigned in part to Pajou, but probably at a later date. Trouard was not able to finish the cathedral. After the downfall of Choiseul in 1770, his close friend Jarente de la Bruyère lost his post as director of the Économats; his successor, Feydeau de Marville, dismissed Trouard in 1774 in favor of another architect, Étienne-François Legrand, who would, however, remain faithful to his predecessor's vision.

In 1775 Legrand signed a contract with Edme Dumont (Dumont 1877, p. 267), whereby that sculptor undertook to execute two statues (for the towers), *Saint Andrew* and *Saint Barnabas,* but only the terracotta models had been completed upon Dumont's death in November of the same year (see below). Houdon also made four statues for the façade: *Saint Catherine* and *Saint Stephen* (for the buttress niches, recognizable in situ) and *Saint Peter* and *Saint Bartholomew* (on the second story of the towers)—as noted in his list of works dating from 1784 (Vitry 1907, p. 195). These statues are likely also to have been commissioned by Legrand (Desmas 1994, pp. 96–97), and the same is probably true of the works by Pajou mentioned above. The four Evangelists for the ground-level niches were likewise commissioned about 1775 by Legrand—but not in marble—from Beauvais, Dupré, and Chardin (in situ; Desmas 1994, pp. 99–100). Finally, eight stone angels bearing the instruments of the Passion top the gables of the buttress niches; one of them, now in the Musée Historique, Orléans, was attributed to Pajou by Chenesseau without documentary evidence (*Beaux-Arts,* 1928, p. 170, ill.; Desmas 1994, p. 106, fig. 41).

In 1787 responsibility for the work site devolved on Pierre-Adrien Pâris, the new architect to the Économats, a student and friend of Trouard, who built the fourth story of the towers, decorated with statues of angels by Delaistre, his former fellow student at the Académie de France in Rome (greatly restored statues in situ; terracotta models in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon). Under Pâris's direction, the royal arms were obliterated in August 1792. The façade was finally completed during the Restoration; the royal arms on the tympanum were redone by Romagnesi in 1820 (Chenesseau 1921, vol. 1, p. 364).

The loss of many of the Économats archives (which were dispersed during the Revolution following the

suppression of ecclesiastical property, particularly those parts concerning building repair or construction), together with the destruction during World War II of the Loiret departmental archives in Orléans, has deprived us of crucial information about the Sainte-Croix building projects, notably with regard to Pajou's exact involvement in this long process. The book by Canon Chenesseau, who had access to the Orléans archives, and especially the excellent research of Anne-Lise Desmas, who graciously allowed me to consult her work, nonetheless enable us to draw a number of conclusions, despite gaps in documentation. GS

43. *Two Angels Flanking the Royal Arms*

Red chalk over black
30.2 × 37.7 cm (11⅞ × 14⅞ in.)

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum (1984.600)

PROVENANCE: Martial Pelletier; his sale Paris, Drouot, April 29–May 4, 1867, no. 1384; Germain Seligmann (his stamp, lower right); acquired through the Louise Haskell Daly Fund and the Friends of the Museums of Harvard University, 1984

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Richardson 1979, no. 59, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Drawing in pen and black ink, with gray wash, 9 × 8.5 cm (3½ × 3⅜ in.); inscribed at lower left, brown ink: *Pajou* (Pierre-Adrien Pâris Collection, Bibliothèque de Besançon; fig. 58)

Red-chalk drawing (formerly Émile Biais, Angoulême; whereabouts unknown; fig. 59)

Stone relief on the tympanum of the façade of Sainte-Croix, Orléans (fig. 60)

This drawing illustrates the stone sculpture by Pajou on the tympanum of the central portal of Sainte-Croix in Orléans. Two angels on clouds flank the royal coat of arms, which is surmounted by a crown and encircled by the collars of the royal orders (Saint Michael and the Holy Spirit), suspended from which are their respective badges (the uppermost representing Saint Michael slaying the dragon, and the one below, the dove of the Holy Spirit). A ribbon bearing the inscription *LOUIS LE BIEN AIME* (Louis the Well-Beloved) floats above the royal arms.

Another drawing in red chalk, formerly in the Émile Biais collection in Angoulême (fig. 59), includes the following inscription at the bottom of the sheet, cited by Stein (1912, p. 265): *Exécuté en pierre au-dessus de la principale porte de Sainte-Croix à Orléans par Pajou 1769* (Executed in stone above the main portal of Sainte-Croix in Orléans by Pajou, 1769) (reproduced without

Fig. 59. Pajou, *Two Angels Flanking the Royal Arms.* Red chalk. Whereabouts unknown

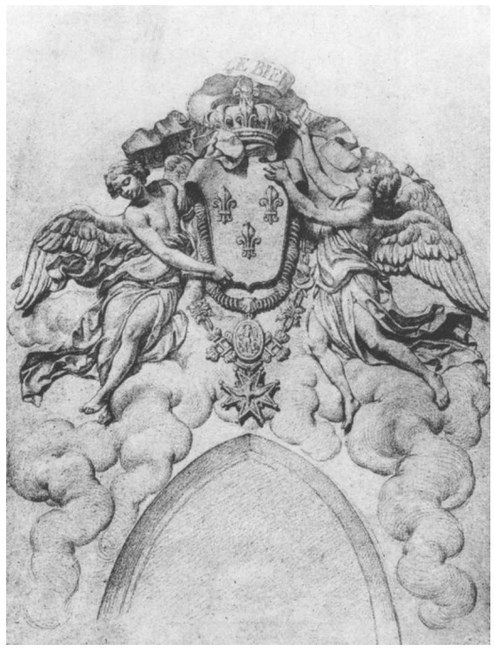
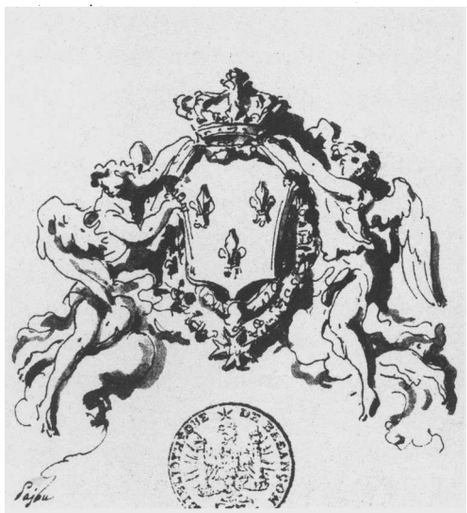
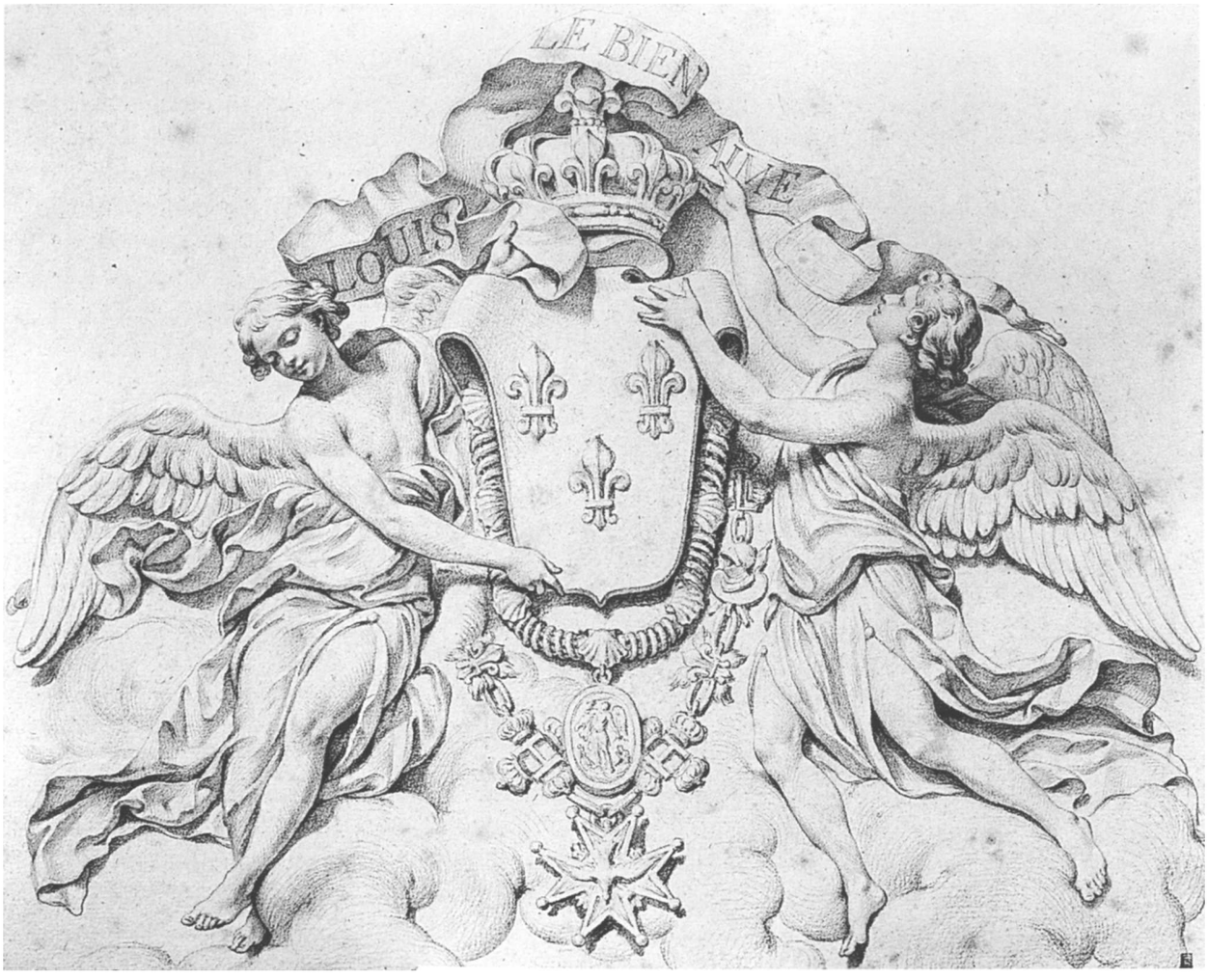


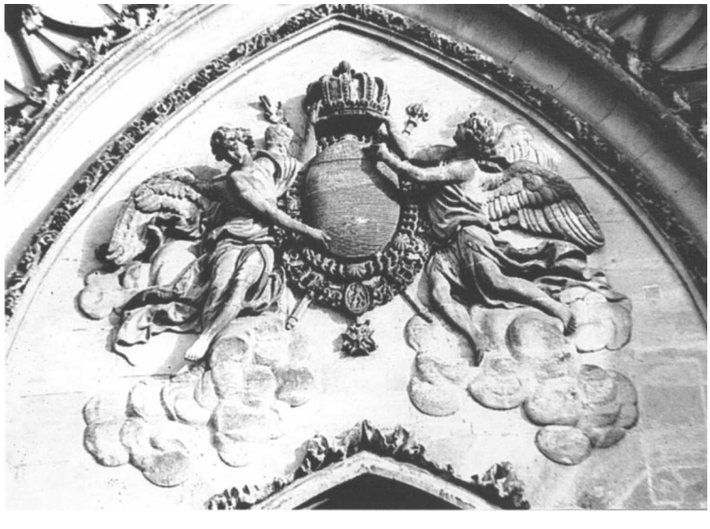
Fig. 58. Pajou, *Two Angels Flanking the Royal Arms.* Pen and brown ink with gray wash. Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale





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Fig. 60. Pajou, *Two Angels Flanking the Royal Arms.* Stone. Orléans, cathedral of Sainte-Croix



the inscription in Chenesseau 1921, album of plates, endpaper). These two drawings are identical to the stone relief except for a few details: the ribbon bearing the king's name and the fleurs-de-lis were removed during the Revolution; in the nineteenth century the scepter and the hand of Justice were added, rendering the composition rather confused (fig. 60).

In the same year, 1769, Pajou had finished his decorations for the Chapelle de la Providence, built by Trouard as an addition to the church of Saint-Louis in Versailles and also paid for by the Économats. It therefore seems quite natural that the two friends (who had known each other since their days in Rome) should find themselves together again on this project. Trouard owned a significant number of Pajou's works, in particular the sketch of a tomb for the marquis de Muy, who for a while was responsible for overseeing the Économats (see Chronology, 1779, and cat. 57).

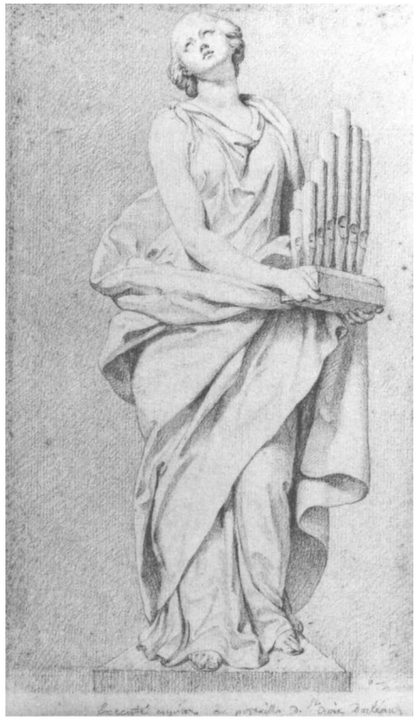
As we have seen, the motif that Pajou treated was envisioned from the start in Gabriel's earliest plans. A minuscule signed drawing in pen and brown ink in the

Pâris collection (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale; fig. 58) gives a preliminary idea of the composition, which appears in identical form in the plan by Trouard presented to Louis XV in 1767 (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale). The final relief shows the installation of the ribbon to the glory of Louis XV: the two angels hold it up; the one on the right is looking at it, while the angel on the left supports the shield. This version of the composition is better thought out, more intelligible and dynamic. If the Pâris drawing is attractive for its bold style and generous wash accents, the two red-chalk drawings show a deeper understanding of the subject and its three-dimensional conversion. How Pâris came to have the drawing in his collection is not known; he probably acquired it directly from Trouard, who was a close friend.

Pajou first worked with the motif of two angels flanking a coat of arms in Italy in 1753, when at Natoire's request he created a similar design for the Palazzo Mancini, though this was finally not used. A quick sketch dating from his Roman period preserves two ideas (fig. 29); the shield is round, and the two angels are not symmetrically arranged.

Admittedly, no small effort of imagination was needed to treat the subject freshly. The motif had been explored under every conceivable aspect in Rome: Pajou sketched Bernini's rendering of it at S. Andrea al Quirinale (Princeton 452), and he must have noticed it on the contemporary Trevi fountain, drawn in particular by Chambers (Barrier 1996, p. 22, fig. 25). It was also to be found in Paris (on the dome of the Invalides, for example, and on the pediment of the rear face of the Colonnade by Guillaume II Coustou in the Cour Carrée of the Louvre) and even in Orléans itself (pediment of the episcopal stall in the cathedral, sculpted by Degoullons in 1706). Pajou made extensive use of it in his own work—for the Palais-Royal (fig. 52), the Palais Bourbon (fig. 35), the Versailles Royal Opera (fig. 63), and finally the Palais de Justice (fig. 36).

Fig. 61. Pajou, *Saint Cecilia.* Black chalk. Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Chaussard in 1806, in his valuable list of Pajou's works, indicates that Pajou executed three stone statues of saints for Sainte-Croix: *Saint Andrew, Saint Anastasius,* and *Saint Cecilia.* The haphazard preservation of the stone statues still in place and their inaccessibility make any research into them difficult. But we are fortunate today in the recent reappearance of a beautiful black-chalk drawing by Pajou depicting Saint Cecilia (Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts; fig. 61), bearing an inscription in the artist's hand: *Exécuté en pierre au portaille de S^te^ Croix Dorleans* (Executed in stone for the portal of Sainte-Croix of Orléans). This drawing has made it possible to locate the work on the church façade: severely damaged, its portable organ no longer recognizable, the statue stands in a niche on one of the pinnacled buttresses to the south of the central portal (to the viewer's right when facing the façade); the second niche contains Houdon's *Saint Stephen.*

The comparison here between Pajou and Houdon is an interesting one, even if the present condition of the statues makes any iconographic or stylistic discussion impossible. Let us note simply that unlike the medieval reconstructions of a Geoffroy-Dechaume in the nineteenth century, neither Pajou nor Houdon tried to create works in neo-Gothic style. If Saint Cecilia's attitude (eyes raised to heaven) and attribute (the organ) evoke Raphael, the ample drapery that loosely encircles her body is markedly reminiscent of seventeenth-century Roman sculpture—as, indeed, are the dynamic angels on the tympanum. GS

The Decoration of the Royal Opera, Versailles

Louis XV had spent the first five years of his life at Versailles, until the death of his great-grandfather Louis XIV, and he always retained a great veneration for the château, agreeing to renovations only after long deliberation. He completed three essential projects left in their preliminary stages by Louis XIV: the Salon d'Hercule, the Bassin de Neptune, and the Royal Opera.

The construction of a large, permanent theater at the Château de Versailles was one of the monarchy's constant preoccupations. As early as 1685 Louis XIV had planned to build one at the end of the north wing, but financial problems and the wars conducted at the end of his reign made him abandon the project. Until 1770 only a single, small playhouse existed, in the narrow confines of the Cour des Princes; for large-scale spectacles, temporary theaters had to be fitted out at great expense. A memorandum dated June 1746 finally gives an indication of Louis XV's desire to begin construction of a theater in the château. But he had to wait for the end of the Seven Years' War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 before he could give serious consideration to Ange-Jacques Gabriel's plans (see Verlet 1957 and Boucher 1982 for a detailed chronology of the construction).

In May 1763 the contractors received the architect's drawings for the façades. The Opera was to be entirely contained within the château walls—like Moreau-Desproux's within the Palais-Royal—at a time when theatrical architecture was nonetheless beginning to make itself felt in the urban landscape. Near the reservoirs, a central projecting bay echoed the façades overlooking the gardens. In 1768 Pajou replaced the royal arms on the tympanum of the pediment, initially chosen as the motif, with a *Lyric Poetry* accompanied by three small geniuses holding crowns (fig. 62). The artist described this work in his invoice (see below).

For the interior of the Opera, Gabriel had at first envisioned a court theater with a magnificent royal box showing Italian influences—a plan from 1764 illustrates the box with four telamones (Paris 1974–75a, no. 7)—but the king rejected this design. A drawing from the period 1765–68 shows an elevation of the royal box with indications of the decorations to be sculpted: included are three groups of children that were never realized, as well as the friezes of the floor-level and first-tier boxes (AN, O^{1} 1787; Eriksen 1974, fig. 74 ["Gabriel or Pajou?"]). Another drawing, an elevation of the stage (ca. 1768–70; AN, O^{1} 1786, no. 3; Paris 1974–75a, no. 6), shows clearly on either side of the royal arms the angels that were sculpted by Pajou.

Financial difficulties halted construction in 1766 and 1767. But Louis XV ordered that it be finished by May 1770 for the wedding of the dauphin (the duc de Berry, future Louis XVI) to the archduchess Marie-Antoinette, daughter of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa. Work intensified between February 1768 and May 1770; and on May 16 the Royal Opera was inaugurated with a banquet given for the dauphin's marriage. Before March 28, 1770, by dint of unprecedented effort, the entire painted decoration, the gilding, and the final sculptures were completed. On March 1, 1770, five hundred artists and workmen were still toiling feverishly on the site (Gruber 1971, p. 93).

The last stage of completion is the one that raises most questions about the actual role of Gabriel, *premier architecte du roi,* representing (with Marigny) the administration of the Bâtiments du Roi (on this question, see Boucher 1982, pp. 209–11, partly in response to Gruber 1971). For all the preceding projects, Gabriel had been assisted by the Slodtz brothers and by the architect Potain, the latter having traveled around Italy on his behalf. For the final phase he was seconded in particular by Charles De Wailly, since 1766 assistant comptroller at the château; Pajou, responsible for the sculpted decorations (with a team of twelve to sixteen artists, including the decorative artists Rousseau,

Fig. 62. Pajou, *Lyric Poetry.* Stone, exterior pediment. Versailles, Royal Opera





Fig. 63. Pajou, *Two Angels Supporting the Royal Arms.* Paperboard. Versailles, Royal Opera

Guibert, and Absile); the woodworker Delanois; and the painter Durameau, creator of the large central ceiling. In addition, Gabriel's influence was counterbalanced by the department of the Menus Plaisirs, or "minor pleasures," responsible for organizing ceremonies and celebrations, and supported by the court nobles—especially the duc d'Aumont—who had direct access to the king.

The involvement of the brilliant engineer Blaise-Henri Arnoult, seconded after 1767 by the architect Bélanger, was a determining factor in forcing the architecture to accommodate a complex apparatus that would allow the theater to be easily adapted to the needs of the court: the pit required a mobile floor that could be raised to stage level, since the theater was to serve equally as concert hall, banqueting room, and ballroom. Arnoult's contribution, however, was limited to the Menus Plaisirs' sphere of influence (the stage and the machinery). Anything concerning the decoration of the theater and the foyer was the province of the Bâtiments du Roi. In this regard, the importance of De Wailly, working alongside Gabriel, is not to be overlooked: Bélanger, who wrote De Wailly's obituary, attributes the decoration of the foyer and the royal box to him. On December 23, 1769, De Wailly wrote to the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson: "For the last two weeks I have been extremely busy with the Opera at Versailles, overseeing the painters of the decorations and other works, making all the enlarged drawings for them, such as arabesques, door ornaments, ceilings, panels, etc." (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 15). Gabriel indeed appears here as an "orchestra conductor who knew how to harmonize the talents of his collaborators" (Boucher 1982, p. 213).

This magnificent Opera was used for the marriages of the comtes de Provence (1771) and d'Artois (1773), then served relatively little under Louis XVI—five or six times a year. Under Louis-Philippe, it was fairly radically transformed: the floor of the orchestra and the pit was lowered, a single royal box was created, the entire auditorium was repainted red, and the foyer whitewashed. In the early days of the Third Republic, the Opera was even turned into a parliamentary assembly hall. It was not until the Fourth Republic that a complete and exemplary restoration was undertaken: Durameau's ceiling was restored and reinstalled (in place of one in glass), the chandeliers were remade, the royal box was returned to its eighteenth-century style, and the red paint was removed to recapture the original

Fig. 64. Pajou, *Juno and Jupiter Framed by Profiles of the Muses.* Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera



blue and gold harmonies. On April 9, 1957, the restored Opera welcomed Queen Elizabeth II in a royal visit reminiscent of past celebrations.

Pajou had a considerable hand in decorating the Opera (for interesting illustrations of his sculptures, see Brière n.d., pls. CLXII–CLXIX; Ernest-Charles 1920, passim; Maurichéau-Beaupré 1920, p. 523). This was the apogee of his career as a decorator of monuments. He employed a sizable team of sculptors to assist him—including Roland, Dardel, Dejoux, and Deschamps (AN, O^{1} 1785, d. 7, p. 266; Stein 1912, doc. XX: see "Pajou and His Peers" in the present catalogue)—and had to ask permission to build a shed in the Cour Carrée of the Louvre to house his collaborators (Stein 1912, p. 184). The exact list of works created under his aegis in the auditorium and foyer is known thanks to an invoice for the models he made in 1768 and 1769 (AN, O^{1} 1785, d. 6, p. 214; Stein 1912, doc. I), as well as to another, very detailed one reviewed by Lécuyer, the comptroller of the Bâtiments du Roi, and dated December 24, 1770 (for work done in 1769–70), and finally to the reception of the works by Gabriel (AN, O^{1} 1785, d. 6, p. 218; Stein 1912, doc. IV). The decorations were executed in limewood (letter from Pajou to Gabriel: AN, O^{1} 1785, d. 1, p. 19), except for the royal coat of arms supported by two angels that was placed above the stage, which was in paperboard for reasons of time and economy.

For the auditorium, Pajou furnished principally the following models: the two angels supporting the royal arms (fig. 63) and the groups of children on the entablature of the proscenium; the reliefs for the floor-level boxes representing the twelve gods of Olympus (fig. 64; the two drawings from the Grosseuvre auction of April 18, 1934, no. 409, *Ceres* and *Apollo,* today at the Château de Versailles, are copies [Pératé 1932, p. 53, ill.]), alternating with fourteen female profiles, including the Muses; and the thirteen reliefs of the first-tier boxes representing subjects taken from lyrical works and amusingly enacted by children: *Castor and Pollux, Bacchus and Ariadne, Tithonus and Aurora, The Triumph of Love, Rinaldo and Armida, The Triumph of Bacchus, Theseus, Pygmalion and Galatea, Orpheus and Eurydice, Astronomy, Music, Painting,* and *Dance and Pleasures.* For two of these scenes (*Rinaldo and Armida* and *Pygmalion and Galatea* [figs. 66, 67]), we have a rare sketch of Pajou's, presenting several variants, that came from his heirs (cited in Stein 1912, p. 402: Christie's, New York, January 12, 1995, no. 184; fig. 65). These compositions are separated by the signs of the zodiac. Various other decorations are described in the invoice, not to mention the trophies and other strictly ornamental reliefs executed by Rousseau and Guibert. Pajou also decorated the foyer with important reliefs (see below).

Having completed the decorations on time, Pajou went lastingly into debt, and his correspondence with the a series of directors of the Bâtiments du Roi—despite attentive and well-disposed letters from

Fig. 65. Pajou, *Rinaldo and Armida, Pygmalion and Galatea.* Black chalk, pen and brown ink. Private collection

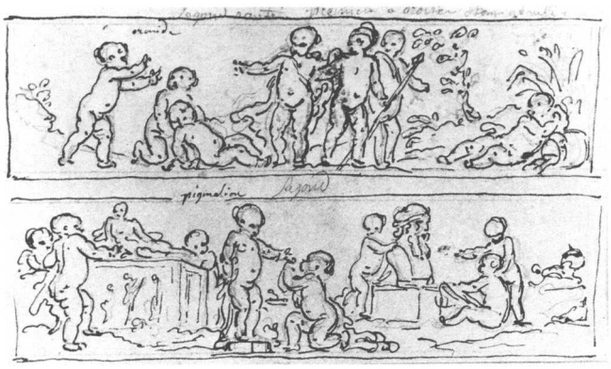
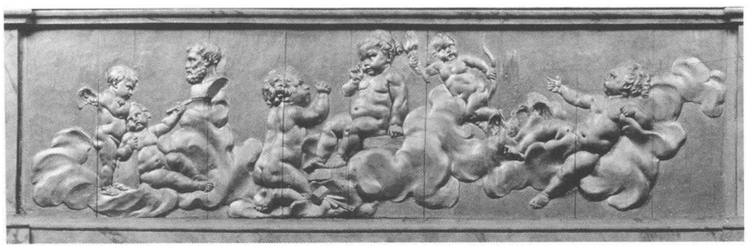


Fig. 66. Pajou, *Rinaldo and Armida.* Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera



Fig. 67. Pajou, *Pygmalion and Galatea.* Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera



Marigny and Terray (AN, O[1] 1785, d. 6, pp. 209, 210)—is littered with requests for settlement of his invoices. He had charged the exorbitant sum of 155,629 livres, which was reduced by Gabriel to 83,420 livres. Pajou, while disputing these calculations, lowered his sights and on August 13, 1776, proposed to d'Angiviller a settlement of 135,533 livres (AN, O[1] 1785, d. 6, p. 247; Stein 1912, doc. x). The latter asked Pierre for arbitration by the four rectors of the Académie (AN, O[1] 1785, d. 7, p. 258; Stein 1912, doc. xi), who found for Gabriel (on the entire affair, see Stein 1912, pp. 188–92, and doc. xvi–xviii). Pajou, who had his wife write for him, returned to the subject several times before the end of the ancien régime, emerging heartsick from the dispute.

The Royal Opera was highly admired by contemporaries. The *Mercure de France* ran a long description of it in August 1770 (p. 183), which was copied by the authors of various guidebooks to the Île-de-France: Hurtaud and Magny (1779, vol. 4, pp. 801, 802) mention Pajou, as do Dulaure (1786, pp. 277, 278, giving a more detailed description), Thiéry (1788, p. 382), and Villiers (1802, pp. 284–91). The Swedish architect Carlberg made detailed drawings of it during his trip through France, being particularly interested in Pajou's sculptures in the foyer (1777–82; Göteborg, Röhsska Konstlöjdmuseet; Boucher 1982, p. 212, fig. 334). GS

44. *Apollo's Lyre Flanked by the Geniuses of Poetry and Music*

Red chalk, original blue mount, pasted on a calendar for 1870
21.5 × 30.1 cm (8½ × 11⅞ in.); with mount 29.2 × 38 cm (11½ × 15 in.)
Annotated by Pajou below on the mount, brown ink: *Bas relieff Exécuté en pierre audessu de La porte de la Salle de / L'opera a versailles par Pajou Sculpeteur du Roi* (Relief executed in stone above the door to the auditorium of the Opera at Versailles by Pajou, sculptor to the king); on back of blue mount, black ink: *Madame H. Farrell / Juin 1858. n°6* (Madame H. Farrell, June 1858. no. 6)

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (33824)

PROVENANCE: Alexis Godillot, 1912; his bequest, April 7, 1938

EXHIBITION: Paris 1979a, no. 201, not ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 181, ill., 183–84, 402

RELATED WORK: Stone relief in the Royal Opera, Versailles (fig. 68)

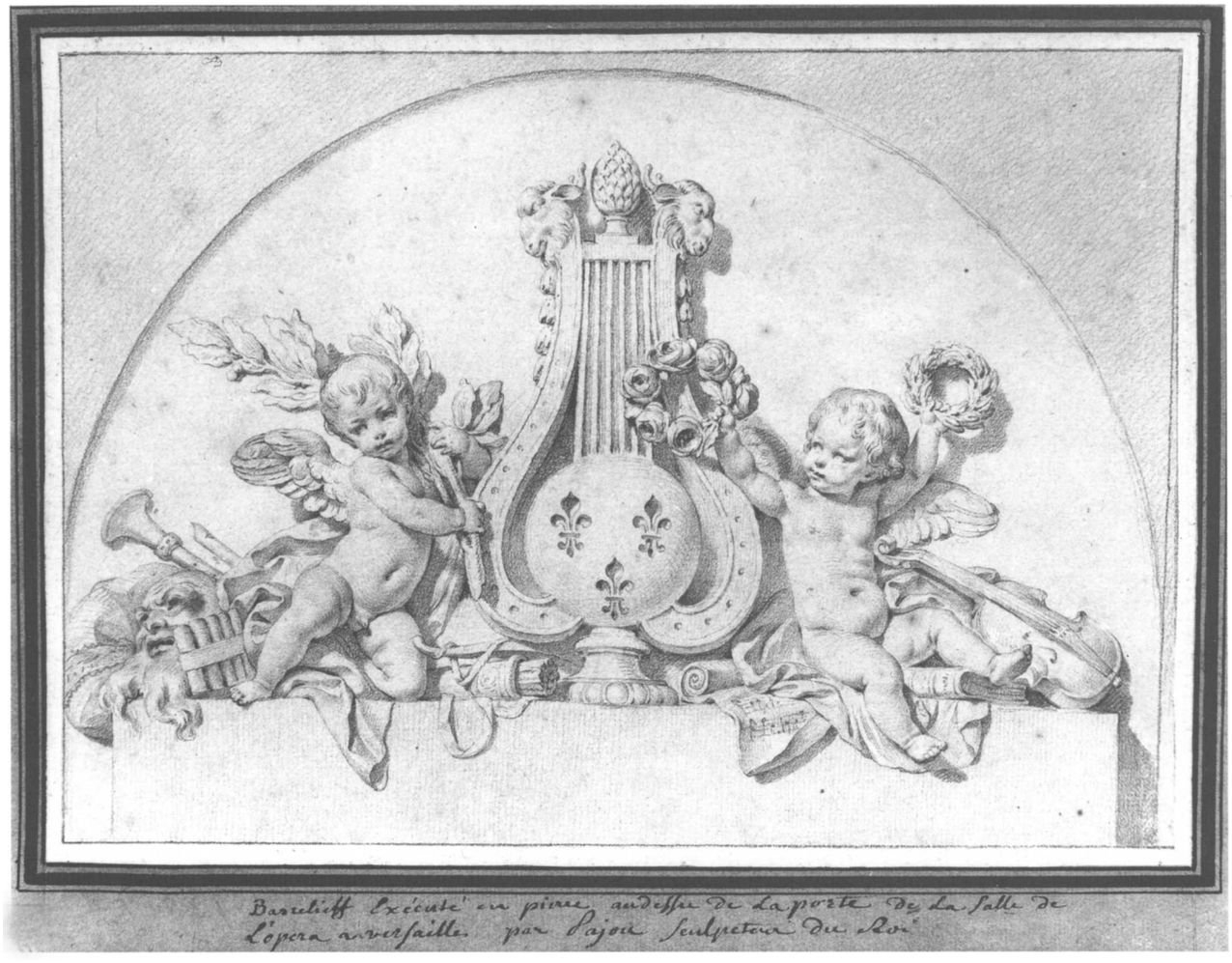
This composition is described in Pajou's invoice, as certified by Lécuyer on December 24, 1770: "Article II. For the model of the overdoor at the end of the gallery on the same floor as the Royal Tribune, depicting Apollo's Lyre flanked by two Geniuses symbolic of Poetry and Music, with the attributes that characterize them . . . six hundred livres" (Stein 1912, doc. iv, p. 313). The molding costs amounted to three hundred livres, the execution in stone to six thousand livres (the children being four feet high).

The stone relief (fig. 68) is located outside the auditorium and foyer, but within the château, at the end of the gallery leading from the upper vestibule of the chapel to the auditorium. There it decorates the lintel of the door that leads to the royal box.

The drawing is faithful to the sculpted composition, down to the fleurs-de-lis (undoubtedly removed during the Revolution, then restored in the nineteenth century). The two boys, lively and animated, are the brothers of the little geniuses of the arts, with their chubby cheeks and unruly hair, who accompany Apollo in the foyer (fig. 70). Pajou remained partial to this kind of youthful subject, which recurs, for example, in *Fickle Love* and *Constant Love* (cat. 89, 90).

Is this drawing a copy, a preparatory sketch, a rendering of the project to be shown to the authorities of the Bâtiments du Roi—in this case, Gabriel and Marigny, even De Wailly—before its execution in stone, or was it done after the fact from the relief itself as a graphic memento of the composition? The question is the same for all the finished drawings that adhere very closely to the completed sculptures. This issue arises, for example, in discussing Louis-Claude Vassé, also a sculptor-draftsman, who preceded Pajou in the position of draftsman at the Académie des Inscriptions.

The drawing is certainly a work in Pajou's own hand: given the admirable quality of the draftsmanship and the roundness of the forms, it could not be a copy by another. Its very finished appearance makes it unlikely to have been a preparatory study. However, it is impossible to decide whether it is a presentation drawing



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done from the plaster model (or even the studio model)—as was no doubt the case for the *Buffon* at Montbard (cat. 113)—or a work based on the finished stone sculpture, probably before it was installed above the doorway.

Fig. 68. Pajou, *Apollo's Lyre Flanked by the Geniuses of Poetry and Music.* Stone. Versailles, Royal Opera



Pajou used red chalk rather sparingly, and then mainly for drawings related to architecture. Was he interested in duplicating the sculpted composition with a work that could be circulated to the delight of connoisseurs, much like a scale model or smaller version? No such drawings after sculptures appear in old auction lists, although these provide evidence for the fact that Pajou's ambitious history compositions passed from hand to hand. Perhaps the artist simply wanted to create for himself a "gallery" based on his own works, in line with the albums of his Italian sketches. In that case, his actions would be comparable to those of Bouchardon and Vassé, whose posthumous inventories include a great number of drawings directly related to their sculptures. For the former, these were mainly preparatory sketches (Roserot 1895, p. 592), while for the latter the inventory notes "another portfolio containing eighteen drawings by M. Vassé after various works executed in marble and stone by the said M. Vassé" (Coural 1978, p. 206). GS

45. *Apollo and the Geniuses of the Arts*

Black and red chalk
35.2 × 24.5 cm (13⅞ × 9⅝ in.)
Annotated at bottom, black chalk: *Exécuté dans la gallerie qui précède la Sale de Lopera a Versailles* (Executed in the gallery leading to the auditorium of the Opera at Versailles); at bottom, pencil: *D. n°843*; at lower right, brown ink: *Pajou*; at lower left, black ink: *344*

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (843)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Jules Maciet; his gift, July 10, 1882

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932a, no. 83, pl. xv; Paris 1979a, no. 198, not ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 182, ill., 403

RELATED WORK: Relief in wood in the foyer of the Royal Opera, Versailles (fig. 70)

The sculpture (fig. 70) is described in Pajou's invoice, as certified by Lécuyer on December 24, 1770: "Article XXVII. A large piece of sculpture placed on a door in the middle of the gallery through which the king passes to enter the amphitheater. For the model of the aforesaid piece representing Apollo, father of the Muses, accompanied by four geniuses of the fine arts [Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Poetry], with the attributes that characterize them . . . 900 livres." Pajou charged 180 livres for the molding and 6,264 for the execution in wood, Apollo being seven feet tall (ca. 210 cm) and the children three feet (ca. 90 cm) (Stein 1912, doc. IV). GS

46. *Venus Disarming Cupid*

Black and red chalk
35.1 × 23.7 cm (13⅞ × 9⅜ in.)
Annotated at bottom, black chalk: *Exécuté dans la gallerie qui présède la sale de Lopera de / Versailles* (Executed in the gallery that leads to the auditorium of the Opera at Versailles); at lower right, brown ink: *Pajou*; at lower left, black ink: *345*; pencil: *D n°842*

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (842)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: See no. 45

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932a, no. 84, pl. xv; Paris 1979a, no. 199, not ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 183, ill., 403

RELATED WORK: Relief in wood in the foyer of the Royal Opera, Versailles (fig. 71)

Fig. 69. View of the foyer of the Royal Opera at Versailles decorated with reliefs by Pajou

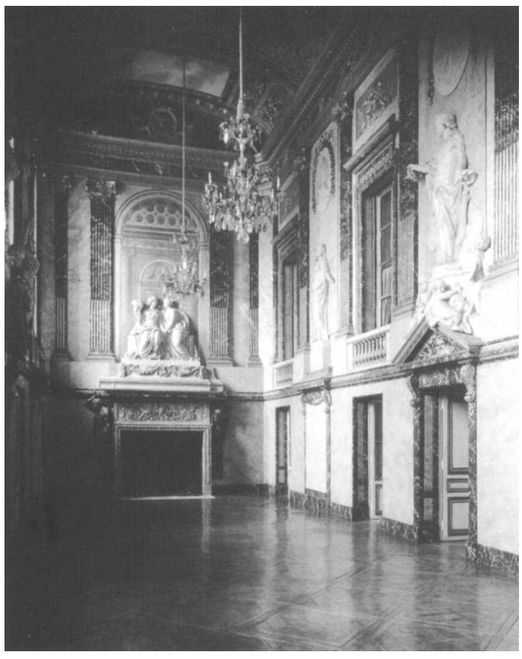
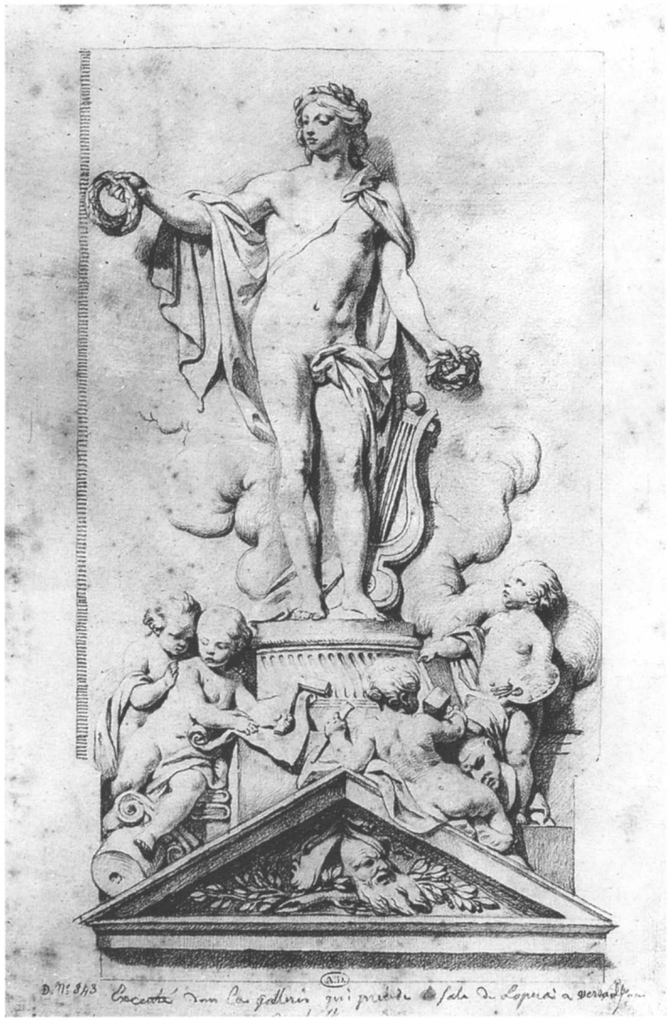


Fig. 70. Pajou, *Apollo and the Geniuses of the Arts*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera

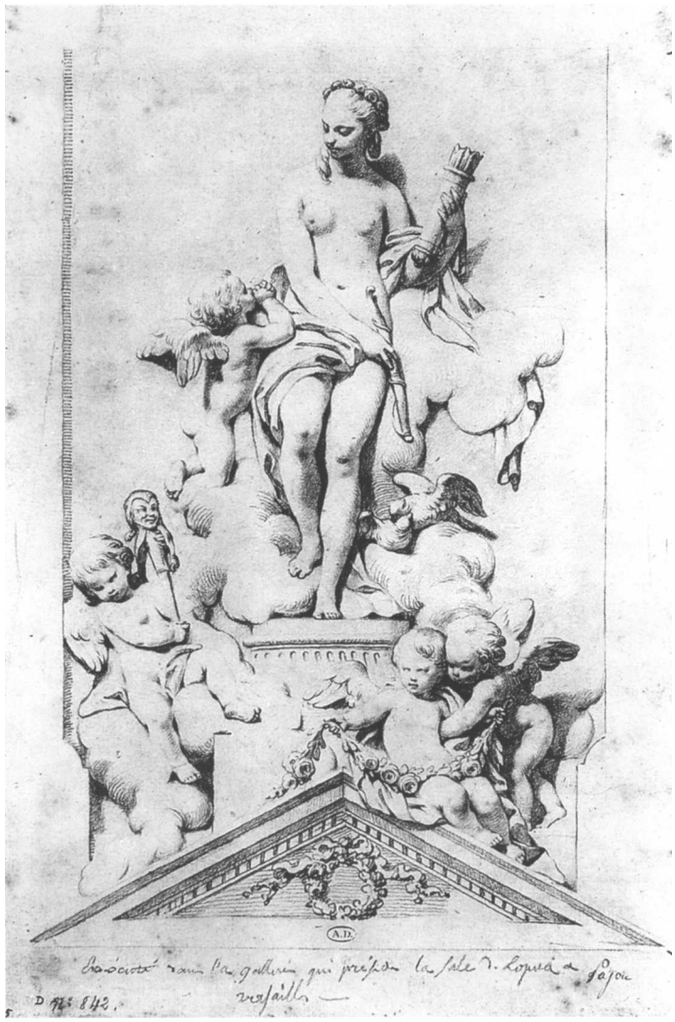


Fig. 71. Pajou, *Venus Disarming Cupid*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera





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The sculpture (fig. 71) is described in Pajou's invoice, certified by Lécuyer on December 24, 1770: "Article XXVIII. For the model of another large piece of sculpture placed opposite the aforesaid [*Apollo*] on a similar false door. This piece represents Venus, who has disarmed Cupid, who seems to be begging his mother to give him back his bow and quiver of arrows; at her feet are two pigeons billing and three children, one holding a cap and bells and the two others with a garland of flowers . . . 900 livres" (not 90 livres, as in Stein). Pajou charged 180 livres for the molding and 6,264 for the execution in wood, Venus being seven feet tall (ca. 210 cm) and the children three feet (ca. 90 cm) (Stein 1912, p. 321).

The foyer of the Royal Opera, called the Gallery in the eighteenth century, is lavishly decorated with reliefs by Pajou, all in wood (fig. 69). The color scheme is quite different from that of the auditorium, where gilt wood predominates; here the largest reliefs are white, which italianizes the gallery by giving the decorations the appearance of stucco.

Apollo and the Geniuses of the Arts—Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Poetry—faces *Venus Disarming Cupid*, an old Anacreontic theme. These two main works decorating the two long walls of the gallery are framed by the four figures of Poetry—lyric, dramatic, pastoral, and heroic (figs. 72–75)—whose attributes are specified by oval medallions. Four square reliefs also illustrate the Fine Arts. The two short walls of the foyer are decorated, one with a chimneypiece featuring superb telamones—also from models by Pajou, as is the relief of a group of children—and a high relief representing Abundance and Peace (fig. 57), the other with a door to the Salle des Gardes (which vanished under Louis-Philippe) featuring the same telamones and a high relief depicting Youth and Health (fig. 122). Finally, Pajou created models for the decoration of the upper part of the gallery: two groups of children on the entablature and some ornamental pieces.

These two drawings (cat. 45, 46), worn and considerably faded through exposure to light, need to be

reexamined. Like *Apollo's Lyre* (cat. 44), they show no essential differences from the finished reliefs, even if there is a change in the surface appearance: the wood, though softened by its coat of paint, retains its roughness of texture.

The style of these drawings is slightly different from that of cat. 44. The technique is not the same, nor is the red chalk: here it is darker and more finely used. The alliance between the red and black chalks must once have been superb; now we are left with only a vague idea of it.

We cannot say if the drawings of Apollo and Venus were presented to the directors of the Bâtiments, if they served as studio models, or if they were done by Pajou after the sculptures were executed and kept in his personal picture gallery. GS

47. *Comedy*

Red chalk; framing lines in red chalk (partly cut off) and in pen and black ink
30.8 × 21.8 cm (12⅛ × 8⅝ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 29097)

PROVENANCE: Probably M.-J.-F. Mahérault; his sale Paris, May 27, 1880, no. 239; Mme Alexis Godillot; Alexis Godillot Bequest, 1929, with a life interest; entered the museum, 1938

EXHIBITION: Paris 1932a, no. 86 ("Thalia")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, p. 182, pl. VII ("Thalia"); *Inventaire général des dessins*, 1997, no. 14, ill.

RELATED WORK: *Comedy*, red-chalk drawing (London, Christie's, April 12, 1983, no. 150, ill.)

This beautiful female figure holding two masks—hence her traditional identification as Thalia, the Muse of Comedy—was preceded by another Pajou drawing, also in red chalk (see Related Work) but executed with less fluidity. The more finished, rounder appearance of the present drawing does not suggest a copy but simply another way of conceiving and handling the same subject. The first may have been a preparatory sketch and the second a presentation drawing. GS

Fig. 72. Pajou, *Lyric Poetry*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera



Fig. 73. Pajou, *Dramatic Poetry*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera



Fig. 74. Pajou, *Pastoral Poetry*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera



Fig. 75. Pajou, *Heroic Poetry*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera





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48. *Music*

Red chalk
30.9 × 19.5 cm (12⅛ × 7⅝ in.)

Jeffrey E. Horvitz collection, on loan to Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (L.1993.104)

PROVENANCE: Probably M.-J.-F. Mahérault; his sale Paris, May 27, 1880, no. 237 or 239; acquired by its present owner in Paris, 1989

RELATED WORK: *Terpsichore* (Woman playing a harp); red-chalk drawing, 29.2 × 20.3 cm (11 ½ × 8 in.); sold New York, Sotheby's, January 29, 1997, no. 127, ill.; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

This previously unpublished red-chalk drawing is extremely close to the one of Comedy in the Louvre (cat. 47) in both style and subject: playing music, crowned with roses, and with a lit torch at her feet, the figure corresponds to Ripa's description of Erato. Should Pajou's drawings on the theme of the Muses be related to the decoration of the foyer of the Opera at Versailles, or are they entirely separate works?

At first glance, we might be tempted to exclude these two sheets from the Versailles project, for the goddesses in question do not appear on the walls of the foyer. Conversely, Pajou created two series of Muses, one during the same period (at the Palais Bourbon), the other a little later (at Bellevue) at a time when he was still making red-chalk drawings of his sculpted works (for example, the Louveciennes torchère, fig. 160). But these Muses are statues in the round, while the Louvre and Horvitz drawings evidently have to do with reliefs. In fact, the two works, which echo each other almost like companion pieces, are conceived from a strictly frontal viewpoint, with subtle perspective effects: shadows give an effect of high relief to Comedy's forearms as well as to the stool supporting Music's leg.

The connection with the decor of the Royal Opera foyer (following Stein's surmise with regard to *Comedy*) is feasible if the drawings are compared stylistically with the reliefs that were actually installed there. The

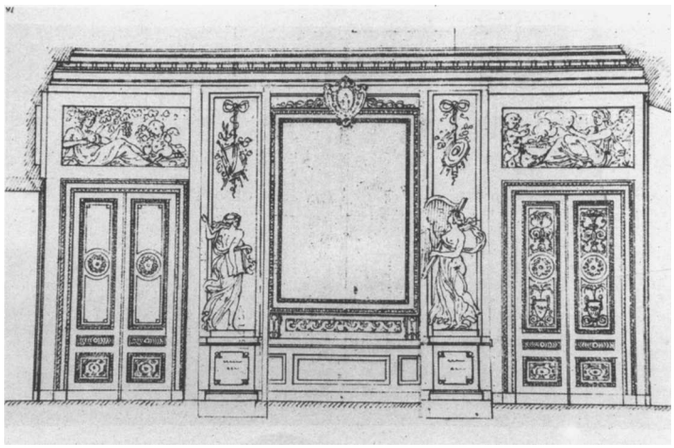
four figures depicting lyric, dramatic, pastoral, and heroic poetry (figs. 72–75) are elegantly draped, deploy their arms with eloquence, and present their attributes—all in a vein similar to that of the figures in the two drawings. Besides, the Muses and Poetry in its different forms are iconographically close: according to Lacombe de Prezel (1756, p. 221), for example, it is Erato who presides over Lyric Poetry and Calliope over Heroic Poetry. Music in this drawing and Lyric Poetry (fig. 72) each hold a stringed instrument and have one breast bared; Comedy (cat. 47) displays her masks and Dramatic Poetry (fig. 73) her dagger.

The spirit of the Royal Opera reliefs is so similar to that of the drawings that it suggests the latter were highly finished renderings shown to the commission for the Bâtiments du Roi and then kept by the artist following a change in the iconographic program for the foyer; four kinds of Poetry, it was concluded, were more easily understood than a selection of the nine Muses. GS

The Decoration of the Dining Room of the Château de Bellevue

In 1748 Louis XV purchased a large property at the edge of the plateau of Meudon. There the architect Lassurance oversaw construction of the Château de Bellevue, which was built for Mme de Pompadour and inaugurated in November 1750. It was a rectangular edifice with nine windows on the main façade and six on the sides, featuring pediments by Guillaume II Coustou. In 1757 Louis XV, who was fond of the place, bought it back from Mme de Pompadour. The domain was then turned into a royal residence, and it underwent considerable alterations under the direction of Ange-Jacques Gabriel. In 1767 Gabriel built two small ground-floor wings on either side of the courtyard façade. In 1773 these wings were merged into buildings that comprised a new dining room, designed according to the sovereign's personal specifications (fig. 76). The château no longer exists (Biver 1933; Tadgell 1978; and Poisson 1982). GS

Fig. 76. Ange-Jacques Gabriel, *Project for the Dining Room in the Château de Bellevue.* Paris, Archives Nationales



49. *Homer*

Terracotta
33.5 × 52 cm (13⅛ × 20½ in.)

Versailles, Musée Lambinet (84.7.1)

PROVENANCE: Acquired in 1984

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gendre 1986, p. 292, ill.

50. *Anacreon*

Terracotta
33 × 50.5 cm (13 × 19⅞ in.)

Versailles, Musée Lambinet (84.7.2)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 49

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See cat. 49

These two terracotta reliefs are a reminder of the lost decorations for the dining room at Bellevue.

On January 9, 1773, Gabriel wrote to Marigny: "Yesterday the king handed me a notion that he had sketched on paper for expanding the outlying portions of the Bellevue pavilion, to give himself a second reception chamber and a large dining room. . . . He has instructed me to draw up plans to carry out his ideas." Work would proceed at a healthy pace under the administration of the abbé Terray, encouraged by Mme Du Barry, who had, as it were, assumed the mantle of Mme de Pompadour; the new buildings began to rise as early as April 1773, and on September 3 the dining-room floor was tiled (Biver 1933, pp. 184–85). It was a large room of superb dimensions (14 × 9.2 m [46 × 30 ft.]), with four windows overlooking the Seine and three the parterres. A fair number of designs show variations based on Louis XV's personal involvement. In general, one can say that Gabriel's daring conception—of a cold, almost strict elegance, following the stylistically rigorous principles then in fashion—was not wholly realized. Louis XV added personal touches to the designs (musical motifs and hunting trophies, for example) that tended to subdue his architect's rigid lines with graceful effects.

The decorative iconography was developed by 1773 on the basis of Gabriel's designs (Biver 1933, p. 186): niches punctuating the walls housed statues of the nine Muses. The earliest plans called for overdoors decorated with reliefs depicting the Four Seasons, a traditional subject for a dining room: Spring, a half-reclining young woman holding out to a cupid the flowers that she has plucked from a large vase; Summer, a seated woman holding a sheaf of grain and a scythe; Autumn, a woman sheltered under a trellis and offering a bunch of grapes to a cupid (on another drawing it is a "drunken Bacchus"); a chilly Winter warming herself over a brazier (Biver 1933, p. 186; Tadgell 1978, figs. 127, 128; Poisson 1982, figs. 390, 391; fig. 76).

These motifs may have been found to be trivial and commonplace, but in any case the reliefs finally executed in stone by Pajou were completely different. The ultimate choice of subject was more literary—the poets who created the fables rather than the characters populating them. Two Greek authors were selected, Homer and Anacreon—the same choice as on the overdoors painted elsewhere by Le Prince in 1767 (Dowley 1961; figs. 77, 78)—and two Latin, Ovid and Virgil. Initially a portrait of the king was to be placed in the space between the Muses. This plan was abandoned in favor of an allegorical depiction—a statue of Apollo in a niche holding a mask—more in keeping with the spirit of the setting (Biver 1933, p. 187, pl. 26). A recess in the wall across from the terrace was to receive a very large relief representing the Banquet of the Gods (Biver 1933, pl. 27).

On April 20, 1773, the plan was complete (Biver 1933, p. 188). The dining room as envisioned by Gabriel was a beautiful example of the Neoclassical style: very low moldings framing the doorways, reliefs embedded in the walls without any framing, modillion-supported cornices; beneath the *Banquet of the Gods* relief ran a "Pompeian" frieze (a garland of flowers supported by goblets and vases).

While the ornamental sculptures were assigned to Guibert, the ten statues (the nine *Muses* and *Apollo*) and the five reliefs (the four overdoors and the *Banquet of the Gods*) were commissioned from Pajou, to be made of *pierre de Tonnerre* (estimate: AN, O[1] 1533, p. 163; Biver 1933, p. 190). The sculptor, in a letter to the comte d'Angiviller dated November 26, 1787, summarized the work that he had completed. First, he had drawn up an estimate "upon seeing [Gabriel's] drawings," which he then discussed with Terray. The total amount was set at forty thousand livres:

> Upon which I went forward. This room was to be decorated with nine statues of Muses and an Apollo, six feet high [183 cm], and with four reliefs above the four



doors, representing four poets, two Greek and two Latin. Here are their names: Homer, Anacreon, Ovid, and Virgil. Then a large relief that was to represent the banquet of the gods and goddesses and that was to be placed in the recess above the sideboard. By the time of the king's death, when I was told to stop work, I had executed in *pierre de Tonnerre* the nine above-mentioned figures, with the four overdoors, and the worked-up model of the statue of Apollo. The reliefs exist and have been deposited in the Salle des Antiques, and the model of *Apollo* is in my studio. For the large relief [which was to measure 2.59 m (8½ ft.) in height] I had done only a sketch, which I still have. (AN, O[1] 1919, d. 5, p. 247; Stein 1912, doc. XLVII)

The price of each *Muse* was set at three thousand livres and each overdoor at six hundred livres, as was the model for *Apollo*. At this point Pajou requested payment of ten thousand livres. He had already received from the head office of the Bâtiments du Roi an advance of twelve thousand livres during the 1773 accounting period (AN, O[1] 1533, p. 163). He asked nothing for the *Banquet of the Gods*, which had only been sketched.

Fig. 77. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, *Homer*. Oil on canvas. Athens, private collection





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A note dated 1775 and probably written by d'Angiviller (Biver 1933, p. 191) indicates that Louis XV personally asked Pajou to do the sculptures for the dining room. The artist was clearly in favor at court, after his highly admired decorations for the Royal Opera at Versailles and his no-less-noticed works for the comtesse Du Barry. To what extent did the latter, with her great interest in Bellevue, exert her influence on Pajou's behalf?

After the death of Louis XV, the château was sold by his successor in July 1775 to his aunts the princesses Adélaïde and Victoire, known as Mesdames, who made important modifications: the dining room became the Grand Salon and was redecorated by Mique (Biver 1933, pp. 223ff.). The four overdoors, which had never been installed, were deposited by Pajou—as noted in his letter of November 1787—in the Salle des Antiques (they are not, however, mentioned in the inventory drawn up in 1792 and published by Furcy-Raynaud in 1907). They vanished, as did the model for *Apollo* and the sketches for the *Banquet of the Gods* (perhaps among the works not described as being in his studio in 1797; see Chronology) and for the nine *Muses*.

An attempt was made to identify one of these *Muses*

Fig. 78. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, *Anacreon.* Oil on canvas. Lawrence, University of Kansas Museum of Art



with a statue representing Calliope (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art: Middeldorf 1976, p. 109, figs. 184, 185). Since the Washington work is in marble, the identification does not hold up, and on stylistic grounds the attribution of this Calliope to Pajou cannot be sustained.

Fortunately the Bellevue decorations survive in the small reliefs seen here. The two terracottas are ruled with a squared grid giving the measurements in feet, incised in the *Anacreon*: this is a first attempt to determine the scale (Gendre 1986, p. 292). The stone reliefs were 1 by 1.92 meters (39⅜ × 75¼ in.). Pajou had already created the overdoors for the "Flemish Room" in the Hôtel de La Live de Jully and for the salon of the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson. He therefore had experience with this kind of decoration, even if in Bellevue it was to be executed in stone rather than stucco.

Homer's appearance is recognizable enough, with his hair bound by a philosopher's fillet and with his beard and bony face. Writing on a tablet held by a child genius bearing a laurel wreath, he is armed with the trumpet of Fame. Gabriel's drawings already show a subtle interplay between the female figures of the *Seasons* and the cupids with whom they disport themselves: this dialogue is re-created here. Once more, Pajou is revealed as a sculptor particularly sensitive to children's attitudes.

Anacreon, surrounded by Dionysian attributes (thyrsus, amphora), raises a goblet to a cupid playing the lyre to accompany his ode. In 1750 Pajou had presented Louis XV with an Anacreon and Cupid, a testimony to his youthful erudition (cat. 1); and the subject, seen in greater depth, attracted him again several years later (cat. 80). GS

III. *Funerary Art*

Despite undeniable improvements in public health, the eighteenth century displayed a widespread fixation on death and the consequent feelings of loss and grief. The most spectacular memorials prompted by these emotions were the catafalque, an ephemeral monument, and the tomb, an enduring one. Robert Favre, a leading investigator in this realm, wrote of a "taste for death," which he believed was rooted in the human attraction to, and resulting need for, strong impressions.[1] Stimulating and satisfying a genuine demand, artists brought their abundant rhetorical and compositional skills to funerary efforts.

The French passion for tombs has frequently been traced in part to their Anglomania, which included a high regard for English funerary monuments. Westminster Abbey, in which national heroes were honored with increasingly theatrical tombs, was the envy of the French.[2] The rage for commemoration led to a purely imaginary envisaging of tombs, an early example being the pictures of invented tombs for English worthies that the Irishman Owen MacSwinny commissioned from leading Italian painters in the 1720s. Some of these were published in 1741 in London under the French title *Tombeaux des princes grands capitaines et autres hommes illustres, qui ont fleuri dans la Grande-Bretagne vers la fin du XVII et le commencement du XVIII siècle*.[3] Fanciful mortuary schemes proliferated in France and in the French sphere of influence (for example, the etchings of Hutin at the Dresden court and the drawings of Petitot for the court of Parma). Many of these works were not intended to describe structures that might actually be built; rather they were virtuosic displays of the broad possibilities of shape and content in funerary design, a latitude eagerly enjoyed by such planners of tombs as Pajou.

In mid-century Europe, France "incontestably" led the way in funerary monuments.[4] At the Salon of 1743 Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, Vinache, Ladatte, Bouchardon, and Nicolas-Sébastien Adam all showed their models for the tomb of Cardinal de Fleury, each no doubt exciting detailed comment as to its appropriateness and originality. Thereafter sculptors frequently showed tomb models at the Salon, none oftener than Pajou. A significant event took place in 1756 when Pigalle opened his studio for visitors to see his model for the tomb of the maréchal de Saxe. It was eagerly discussed among the philosophes, and its composition was of inestimable value to Pajou's even more rigorously scrutinized project for the tomb of the maréchal de Belle-Isle (cat. 54). French tombs of this period were created in an atmosphere of intellectual ferment and aspiration. While Diderot believed that literature was the supreme art, he wrote to Falconet that "the orator, the poet, the philosopher, the historian, the painter and the sculptor—types of poets and historians—all propose immortality to men" in monuments as in odes.[5]

The century saw a dramatic decline in specifically Christian tomb imagery, which meant a release from repetitive strictures and an embrace of new eschatological concepts, even as some traditional conceits were updated. Nobody explored the afterlife more comprehensively and farsightedly than Pajou, even while he retained certain devices, such as the smoking cassolettes that occur in several of his drawings, a throwback to the seventeenth century.[6] The great movements of the day—deism, universalism, skepticism, rationalism, classicism, desacralization, and laicization, and above all the prizing of sensibility and good taste—censured pietistic excess. Dying in Christ need no longer seem incompatible with Voltaire's mot: "It is ridiculous to think that God occupies his time by roasting some poor devil over an infinity of centuries."[7] The abbé Barthélemy expressed his resentment of the terror he felt before the tomb of Alexander VII (1671–78), which is dominated by a figure of Death: "I forget about the pope, I forget about Bernini. I see only death opening a deep gulf into which humanity is obliged to throw itself."[8] This is not to say that the eighteenth century rejected the horrific. As one writer notes, and as we sense in the drawings for the *Belle-Isle* monument (cat. 54), "the macabre remained an acceptable dramatic ingredient."[9] Whatever the individual recipe, dolorousness and melodrama were essential components. Diderot praised a tomb study by Berruer as "a tomb with a lugubrious character. . . . Quite pathetic figures,

the one sad and mute, the other active and speaking. The first is Purity, who adorns a cinerary urn with a garland. The other is Friendship, who gives herself up to sorrow. Fine drapery, quite poetic; fine character in the heads; fine thought."[10] Pajou was equally in fashion when his drawings stressed the ties of friendship and paternal, fraternal, or conjugal bereavement.

From the outset, as in the drawing of 1750 in Minneapolis (cat. 51), Pajou entered into the freewheeling mania for projects without overt Christian meaning. The Minneapolis drawing is untouched by his Roman experiences; the tomb even calls to mind the narrow confines of a French Gothic church. The tomb's marked verticality may reflect the structure of a catafalque; designs of ephemeral decorations of that sort fell to first-rate artists in the royal service of the Menus Plaisirs. Artists as talented as Michel-Ange Slodtz and Charles-Michel-Ange Challe had charge of the grandiose decorations that accompanied obsequies at the court of Louis XV and that were recorded in engravings. Charles-Nicolas Cochin, who engraved many of these towering conceits, expressed his regret that the talents of Slodtz's brother Paul-Ambroise were wasted on such productions.[11]

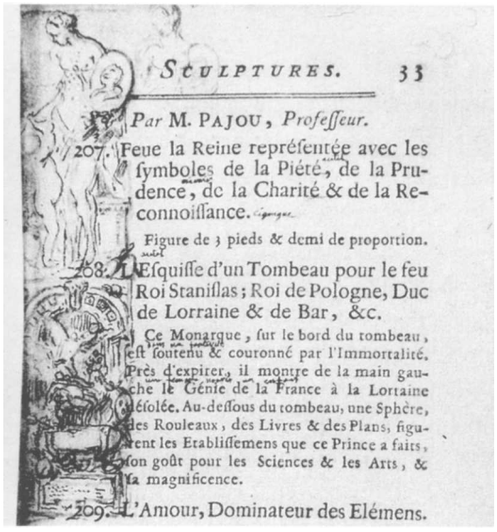
Once in Italy, Pajou copied innumerable Baroque tombs and ancient altars. His independent thoughts in the Roman drawings include a new spaciousness and the introduction of novel geometric configurations, especially the pyramid (cat. 52; fig. 83). Later in the 1750s, the Hesse-Homburg stele (cat. 53) and the Belle-Isle proposal (cat. 54) show what a somber and dignified style evolved from the Roman experience. The gloomy subterranean interactions of the Belle-Isle family must have played rather spectacularly on the nerves of contemporary viewers, for the fear of being buried alive was widespread among the populace.[12]

The "sketch of a tomb in terracotta" that Pajou showed in the Salon of 1767 is unknown to us; it has been supposed with little foundation to be the same as the model for the tomb of King Stanislas that he showed two years later.[13] The latter model, known only through Saint-Aubin's drawing, was one of the most complex and ambitious of Pajou's mortuary musings (fig. 79). The lost sketch for a tomb for the late king Stanislas was described at the Salon of 1769: "This monarch, on the edge of the tomb, is sustained and crowned by Immortality. About to expire, he indicates with his left hand the Genius of France to a desolate [figure of] Lorraine. Below the tomb, a sphere, scrolls, and plans represent the establishments which this prince founded, his taste for the arts and sciences, and his magnificence."[14] In speaking of Pajou's sketch, Diderot shows how minutely the learned public entered into the nuances of such designs: "This composition is not bad; the artist should just have taken care to join it up better by placing the genius's right hand on the king's knee and the king's hand on the genius's arm; the moribund man would then have been all the more pathetic."[15] At the same Salon of 1769 Pajou showed his statue of the recently deceased Queen Marie Leszczynska clutching the medallion of her late father, Stanislas (cat. 55), a novel form of royal sepulchral statuary, which, for all its excellence, had few repercussions.

The drawing and model of 1775, generally but wrongly associated with the maréchal de Muy, are the only funerary works from that busy decade (cat. 56, 57). Here Pajou is merely floating some ideas during a pause in work. For all their problems of identification, these incidental studies bring out the best in him. He presents the maréchal firmly astride his sarcophagus and makes the medallion an active compositional element with the hero gazing fervently at his wife (in the drawing) or at his father (in the model). The interchangeability of the object of affection, as well as the coat of arms, surely indicates that these appealing works were created without a commission.

In the course of the century, pestilence and infection created a growing opposition to urban cemeteries and to burial of the dead in churches. A royal decree of March 16, 1776, applicable to the entire country, ordered that cemeteries be moved out of the heart of French cities wherever possible and that only parish priests (bishops in cathedrals), patrons, and nobles were to be interred in churches. New stipulations governed the depth and quality of mortuary stonework.[16] The extent to which the law affected Pajou's sepulchral trade is uncertain, but his next designs were markedly simpler.

The portrait medallion was the chief motif of three memorials from the 1780s—the *Mme de Palerne* and *Le Prince,* both of 1782 (cat. 58, 59, 60), and the *Vaucanson* of 1786, known only from a now-lost plaster.[17] Economics, as well as aptitude, may have prompted these modest but wonderful works (Mme de Palerne's medallion was steadied by a solemn young genius, cat.


SCULPTURES. 33

Par M. PAJOU, *Profeſſeur.*

207. Feue la Reine repréſentée avec les ſymboles de la Piété, de la Prudence, de la Charité & de la Reconnoiſſance.

Figure de 3 pieds & demi de proportion.

208. Eſquiſſe d'un Tombeau pour le feu Roi Staniſlas; Roi de Pologne, Duc de Lorraine & de Bar, &c.

Ce Monarque, ſur le bord du tombeau, eſt ſoutenu & couronné par l'Immortalité. Près d'expirer, il montre de la main gauche le Génie de la France à la Lorraine déſolée. Au-deſſous du tombeau, une Sphère, des Rouleaux, des Livres & des Plans, figurent les Etabliſſemens que ce Prince a faits, ſon goût pour les Sciences & les Arts, & ſa magnificence.

209. L'Amour, Dominateur des Elémens.

Fig. 79. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, page from the *livret* of the Salon of 1769 with sketches after Pajou in pen and ink. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

59). All three, with their tender, undulating play of lines and planes, assert Pajou's gift for relief sculpture. The marble relief with the profile of the Dauphinois scientist Jacques Vaucanson was in Sainte-Marguerite, Paris, before 1821, but the whereabouts of it and of a plaster formerly in Grenoble are not known. The *Vaucanson,* with its hints of Roman republican austerity, carries Neoclassicism several steps further than the other two.

The most rigorously Neoclassical of Pajou's memorials is that erected to honor Captain James Cook, now at Jeurre near Étampes (fig. 80). Originally at Méréville, it was one of several imaginative works designed by Hubert Robert for the marquis de La Borde, who, like his sovereign, was a great admirer of the English navigator. Hubert's sketches date from 1786; he also produced a three-dimensional model. The base derives from Roman funerary altars where portraits of the deceased were placed in shallow niches. The ornamental carving including the urn—which does not contain Cook's ashes—was by Mézières, commissioned in 1787.[18] Pajou's portrait was described as a relief,[19] and the bust in place today is in this format. Over time the tomb became weathered (it was recently enclosed in glass), and the bust was replaced by a late copy. A worn marble, which is presumed to be the original but which is in the round, was recently on the Australian art market. The subject's idealization is the result not only of a generalizing Neoclassicism and wear but also of Pajou's lack of a strong likeness of Cook to serve as a guide. This is not to deny the work its success, for it was replicated during Pajou's lifetime in a marble signed by Lucien Le Vieux, also in the round, now on deposit at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (fig. 81).[20] Le Vieux was one of the practitioners hired by Robert for other work at Méréville.[21]

In a 1787 competition, the *Study for the Tomb of Bayard* (cat. 61) lost to a freestanding monument offered by Joseph Chinard (fig. 97), a project which never saw completion, being a casualty of the Revolution. Pajou's entry was a wall monument in which his Neoclassicism was muted by proto–*style troubadour* details and a certain amount of asymmetry. The scene above—the expiring Bayard lecturing Charles de Bourbon—has great painterly naturalism; seen as if through an arch, it has an atmosphere entirely distinct from the architecture of the tomb below.

With the *Study for a Funerary Monument to Count and Countess Sheremetev* (cat. 62), Pajou pulled out all the stops, acknowledging his colleagues' Neoclassical advances and flaunting his own flair for rhetoric and the funerary genre. The final instance of his commitment to Neoclassicism was a now-missing drawing. On July 19, 1805, it was placed, with a drawing by the architect Jacques-Guillaume Legrand, on the desk of the Parisian banker Emanuel von Haller (the project was a monument to his father, the prolific Swiss writer Albrecht von Haller, in his native Bern). Legrand's idea is not described, but Pajou's contribution is said to have been little more than a herm-bust of exceedingly simple form.[22]

Often preoccupied with mortuary themes, Pajou had a manifest genius in this realm, and it is regrettable that he never executed a truly important funerary monument (with perhaps the exception of the *Marie Leszczynska* statue [cat. 55], which was singular in every way) and that none of his most ambitious proposals got beyond the drawing board.

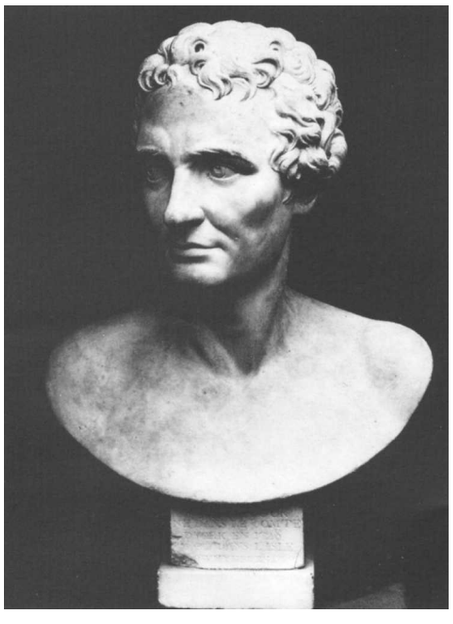
JDD

1. Favre 1978, p. 415.
2. Ibid., pp. 515–17.
3. Haskell 1980, pp. 287–91.
4. S'Jacob 1954, p. 222.
5. *Le pour et le contre,* quoted in Favre 1978, p. 526.
6. Ingersoll-Smouse 1912, pp. 58–59.
7. From his *Correspondance* of January 1761, quoted in McManners 1981, p. 178.
8. Barthélemy 1802, p. 177.
9. McManners 1981, p. 338.
10. Seznec 1967–83, vol. 2, p. 223.
11. Cochin 1880, p. 131.
12. Favre 1978, pp. 365–66.
13. *Livret* of the Salon of 1767, p. 38, no. 202; Dacier 1909–21, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 33; Stein 1912, p. 92.
14. *Livret* of the Salon of 1769, p. 33, no. 208.
15. Seznec 1967–83, vol. 4, p. 114.
16. McManners 1981, pp. 303–12.
17. Stein 1912, pp. 158–59, ill.
18. See Chronology, 1786; Lassus 1976, pp. 281–82; Geneva 1979, nos. 97, 98; Cayeux 1989, pp. 160–62.
19. Villiers 1802, p. 83.
20. Cust 1901, p. 301, no. 984.
21. Letters of December 8, 1789, and March 3, 1790, in Lassus 1985, "Documents II."
22. Weese 1909, p. 108.

Fig. 80. Pajou and Mézières after a design by Hubert Robert, *Monument to Captain Cook.* Château de Jeurre



Fig. 81. Lucien Le Vieux, *Captain Cook, after Pajou.* Marble. Greenwich, National Maritime Museum



51. *Study for a Funerary Monument*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and gray washes, white heightening; paper extended at top by addition of a separate piece about 5 cm (2 in.) high
39.5 × 21 cm (15½ × 8¼ in.)
Inscribed on columns, brown ink: *DOMI* and *PAJOU*; on base, brown ink: *DOMIN*; in bar of gray wash on base, black ink: *1750 Pajou marseille*; on bottom of base, center, brown ink: *tumulus*; at lower left of base, brown ink: *Pajou Sculpteur fecit*

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts (68.50)

PROVENANCE: Acquired in London in 1968 with the John R. Van Derlip Fund

EXHIBITION: Paris 1968, p. 15, no. 35

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Campbell 1981–82, pp. 98–100, fig. 5; Roland Michel 1987, p. 142, fig. 154

This 1750 drawing, the earliest known by Pajou, shows him a prodigy with a strong personal style, as witness the rich modeling with wash and the thoroughly realized mellow draperies of the allegorical veiled figure with the laurel branch, whom Campbell (1981–82, p. 108 n. 43) identifies as Meditation because of the books that accompany her. Little in the forceful draftsmanship betrays inexperience. However, in his drive for recognition, Pajou has overinscribed his name—it appears three times—and the DOMI and DOMIN of the inscriptions appear to be a misunderstanding of D.O.M. (deo optimo maximo [To God, the Greatest Good]), the standard epigraphic invocation of the Deity. The date of 1750 agrees with his other work of that year; the smoothly turning winged genius with downcast eyes is a compositional complement to the *Anacreon* of the Louvre (cat. 1).

From the outset Pajou's tomb drawings are remarkable for their vertical stacking of elements. There is as yet nothing Neoclassical about this one; on the contrary the construction has a slightly overstuffed Late Baroque quality. The medallion with double profiles, steadied by the genius, is a fairly conventional device employed from the seventeenth century on. It is almost certainly wrong to assume as others have that the pair represent the artist's grandparents Gabriel Pajou, a *menuisier*, and his wife, Suzanne (née Davignon). Even given his known filial piety, Pajou is not apt to have honored a humble joiner and his spouse in so sententious a way. Many elements are fanciful—perhaps even the mysterious "*marseille*" in the band of gray wash, for neither he nor his family had any known connection with that city—and it is best to agree with Campbell (1981–82, p. 100) that the tomb was likely "a pure flight of fantasy on the part of the precocious young sculptor."

JDD



51

52. *Study for a Funerary Monument*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash
24 × 33 cm (9½ × 13 in.)
Inscribed, brown ink: *DIS MANIBVS* (To the spirits of the dead), followed by five lines of unintelligible Greek and Latin characters and ending with the signature and date *PAJOU. FECITE ROMAE 1756*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 36039)

PROVENANCE: Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse; his son Louis-Robert Carrier-Belleuse; by inheritance to M. and Mme Lallemand; acquired by the museum in 1975

EXHIBITION: Paris 1979a, no. 54

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Campbell 1986, p. 107 n. 40; *Inventaire général des dessins,* 1997, no. II, ill.

RELATED WORK: Variant compositional study (fig. xx; discussed below)

The subject of the present work appears in a second, slightly more successful meditation in the same technique (Paris, private collection), clearly made during the same Roman campaign and also bearing DIS MANIBVS and the same lines of unintelligible Greek and Latin (fig. 82; see Paris 1986, no. 43). The lighting is the same in both, with the shadows brushed briskly and convincingly to the right; both were probably made with reference to a small, rough, strongly lit clay sketch-model. In the second, however, which is provided with more mellifluous drapery, Pajou has decreased the number of steps and the size of the inscription tablet (both texts are gibberish), thus giving the allegorical figures a more firmly triangular arrangement. The monument's top has also been lowered so that the central figure's head is framed by a medallion.

The progress of these designs can be charted in Pajou's Roman drawings after the antique. The kernel of both was an ancient seated statue of Cybele, or rather two statues of Cybele. One, which he saw in the garden of the Villa Pamphili (fig. 83; 18.5 × 12.8 cm [7¼ × 5 in.], inscribed *A la villa pamphile a Rome—Cybèle mere des Dieux* [At the Villa Pamphili in Rome—Cybele, mother of the gods]), gave him the idea for the central figure's massive frontality and the charming spill of drapery over her leg. The other, now lost but once in the garden of the villa of Cardinal da Carpi, he knew only as a plate in the opus of Jean-Jacques Boissard (ENSBA, vol. I, no. 30; 15 × 9 cm [5⅞ × 3½ in.], bearing the fanciful inscription DIS MANIBVS / AVG. GERMANICUS; Boissard 1597–1602, pt. 4, pl. 95). His rapid sketch shows how he prized the pyramidal form of the Carpi *Cybele*. To her Pajou added a Piranesian crowning element with sphinxes, adapted from his study of sarcophagus lids, and on the sides his signature smoking braziers. Nothing this progressively

Fig. 82. Pajou, *Study for a Funerary Monument.* Black chalk, pen and black ink, brown wash. Paris, private collection



Fig. 83. Pajou, *Cybele, after the Antique.* Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash. Paris, private collection





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Fig. 84. Pajou, *Cybele, after the Antique*. Pen and brown ink, brown wash. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



Neoclassical had yet been seen in contemporary sculpture in France or Italy, and Pajou must owe the solemnity and stability of these drawings in part to earnest discussions held with young architects—De Wailly and Barreau de Chefdeville among them—who were his copensionnaires at the Académie de France in Rome.

JDD

53. *Anastasia Ivanovna, Princess of Hesse-Homburg, in the Guise of Minerva, Consecrating the Ribbon of the Order of Saint Catherine on the Altar of Immortality*

Marble
105 × 62 cm (41⅜ × 24⅜ in.)
Incised on altar: *IMMORTALITATI / SERENISS. ANASTASIA. LANDGRAV DE HESS HOMBOURG / NATA TRUBETSKOI PRINCEPS / EQUESTREM SANCTAE CATHARINAE FASCIAM / ILLA IPSA NOCTE / QUA ELISABETHA AUGUSTA DEBITUM SIBI IMPERIUM / AD RUSSORUM FELICITATEM RECUPERAVIT / AB EADEM AUGUSTA / E PECTORE DETRACTAM SIBIQUE IMPOSITAM / IN HOC VASE MORIENS CONSECP[sic] AVIT. / NATA ANNO DMI MDCC OBIT ANNO MDCCLV* (For eternal commemoration: Her Serene Highness Anastasia Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg, born Princess Troubetzkaya, at her death consecrated in this bowl this ribbon of the Order of Saint Catherine drawn from the breast of the empress Elizabeth and placed on her own on that very night when the same empress regained the sovereign power which was hers by right, to the well-being of the Russian people); on left side of altar: *Pajou. fec. 1759*; on stone at lower left of bottom relief: *restituit rem. 25.9.1741* ([she] restored order, September 25, 1741)

Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage (N. sk. 948)

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by General Ivan Ivanovich Betzkoy by 1757; presented by him to the Academy of Fine Arts in Saint Petersburg, July 1765; removed to the Hermitage, 1926

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1759, no. 141 ("A bas-relief of marble three feet in height by two in width, representing the Princess of Hesse-Homburg, in the figure of Minerva, who deposits in a vase and consecrates upon the Altar of Immortality the Ribbon of the Order of Saint Catherine, with which she was decorated by the reigning Empress of all the Russias"); Leningrad–Moscow 1987, p. 216, no. 439

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fortia de Piles 1796, vol. 3, p. 185; Dussieux 1876, p. 558; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 192; Dilke 1900, p. 125; Vrangel 1908, pp. 116–17; Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, pp. 12–13; Réau 1922, vol. 1, p. 83; Réau 1924, pp. 181–82; Lundberg 1957, vol. 1, p. 148; Kosareva 1975, pp. 450–51, fig. 15; Seznec and Adhémar 1975, p. 58, pl. 36; Zaretskaia and Kosareva 1975, p. 39, no. 11; Levey 1993a, pp. 155, 302 n. 1, fig. 159; Black 1996, pp. 27–28; Draper and Scherf, forthcoming

RELATED WORKS: Drawing now in Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett (fig. 89; 20 × 12.5 cm [7⅞ × 4⅞ in.], inscribed *par Pajou statuaire/Executé pour le General Betzkoi/en Russie* [by Pajou, statuary. Executed for General Betzkoy in Russia]; discussed below)

A model for the relief, or more likely a plaster cast of it, rests on the desk of the subject's half brother, Ivan Ivanovich Betzkoy, in his portrait by Roslin, dated 1757, formerly in Saint Petersburg, Academy of Fine Arts (Stockholm, private collection; fig. 87; discussed below). An autograph replica of Roslin's portrait, dated 1758, was in the Hermitage until 1936 (Lundberg 1957, vol. 1, pl. 28, vol. 2, p. 25, no. 98; sale London, Sotheby's, November 25, 1970, no. 83).

Anastasia Ivanovna, born Princess Troubetzkaya (1700–1755), married in 1717 Prince Dmitrii Cantemir. Widowed in 1723, in 1738 she wed Ludwig Wilhelm, Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, Grand Master of the Artillery and General Field Marshal in Russian service. The princess attended Elizabeth Petrovna, a daughter of Peter the Great, during the night of November 25, 1741, when she asserted her right to the throne, wresting it from the infant Ivan VI. The moonlit scene at the bottom of the relief, serving as a sort of predella, shows the empress in her nightcap yet wearing the Order of Saint Catherine, exhorting the elite Preobrazhensky Guards to march on the Winter Palace (as it appeared before Rastrelli rebuilt it). Pajou's scene has a floating, stage-set quality, and his reconstruction of the coup d'état does not match that of a medal commemorating the episode (fig. 85). The grateful empress bestowed her Saint Catherine ribbon upon Anastasia as well as a golden bowl of which more is said below, a sable cloak, and a fan (Kosareva 1975, p. 450). In the main carving the loyal princess (recently deceased) personifies Minerva and sacrifices the empress's ribbon on the altar of immortality—just as reported in the inscription and described in the Salon catalogue. Curiously, Pajou or his source erred in placing the action in September rather than November 1741—the incorrect date appears on the stone in front of the Winter Palace.

The marble relief was commissioned by the princess's doting natural half brother, Ivan Ivanovich

Fig. 85. Timofeï Ivanov, reverse of a bronze medal of Empress Elizabeth, representing her coup d'état of November 25, 1741. Paris, Bibliothèque




IMMORTALITATI

Betzkoy (1704–1795), a well-educated cosmopolite and influential courtier. He presumably dealt with Pajou directly when sojourning in Paris with the late princess's daughter Princess Ekaterina Dmitrievna Galitsina and the latter's husband. They left Saint Petersburg in August 1756 and were in Paris by late November. In February 1760 Galitsin was appointed Russian ambassador to France. Betzkoy ordered the marble for the present work by 1757, the year in which the plaster model (without the "predella" scene) figured in his portrait by Alexander Roslin (fig. 86). Roslin depicts the pensive Betzkoy holding an engraving of Anastasia's posthumous portrait—which was also painted by Roslin and which appears at top right in this portrait, a brilliant conceit that unites the pendent pictures of brother and sister (fig. 87; for the Roslin portraits, see Lundberg 1957, vol. 3, pp. 24–25, nos. 95–98). The patron and sculptor may have been brought together by the Swede Roslin—Betzkoy's mother, Baroness Wrede, was Swedish, and he spent his childhood in Sweden—but Betzkoy was in any case well connected in French intellectual circles, being acquainted with Rousseau and Mme Geoffrin. He also commemorated his sister with medals ordered from Duvivier *fils* and Roettiers *fils* (Iversen 1880, vol. 1, p. 146, pl. XLII). In Roslin's portrait of Betzkoy one such medal rests against a book on his *bureau plat*—the fourth image of the lamented Anastasia to appear therein. Betzkoy was fastidious about all her portraits, complaining that the engraving after Roslin's portrait, which he commissioned from Jean Daullé, was a poor likeness (Roux 1930–55, vol. 6, pp. 128–29).

Returning to Russia in 1763, Betzkoy served as the president of the Academy of Fine Arts in Saint Petersburg from 1764. In July 1765 he donated the present relief to that institution, which also owned Roslin's paintings. A 1908 photograph of the relief shows a covered metal bowl resting on the altar. The bowl's bulbous shape is also seen in the preliminary drawing by Pajou (fig. 88) and in Roslin's portrait of Betzkoy, where it rests on the plaster model (fig. 86). The vessel, which clearly figured in Pajou's early considerations, was that presented by Empress Elizabeth to Anastasia. This Mughal object also entered the Hermitage but is now in the Department of Oriental Antiquities (fig. 89). Made of gold and encrusted with 105 diamonds and 20 emeralds set off by dense but translucent red, green, and white enamel (H. 9.1 cm [3⅝ in.]; see Ivanov

Fig. 86. Alexander Roslin, *General Ivan Ivanovich Betzkoy*. Oil on canvas. Stockholm, private collection

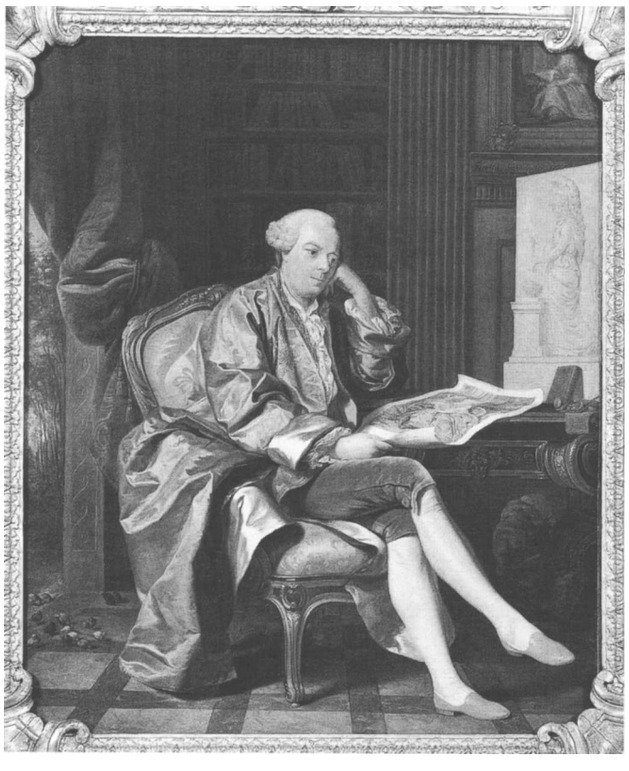


Fig. 87. Alexander Roslin, *Posthumous Portrait of Princess Anastasia Ivanovna of Hesse-Homburg*. Oil on canvas. Stockholm, private collec-





Fig. 88. Pajou, *Study for the Monument to the Princess of Hesse-Homburg.* Pen and brown ink, brown wash. Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett



Fig. 89. Mughal, 17th century, covered bowl. Gold, diamonds, emeralds, and translucent red, green, and white enamel. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage

et al. 1984, no. 103), the bowl was one of a number of gifts sent to the imperial family in Saint Petersburg by Nadir Shah, the Turkish conqueror of Delhi. Accompanied by fourteen elephants, the embassy which carried these treasures started its trek northward on October 23, 1739, and reached Saint Petersburg some two years later. The bowl's recipient was Anna Leopoldovna (mother of the deposed child czar, Ivan VI). One can imagine that Betzkoy, revering as he did his late sister the princess, decided the bowl was a fitting addition both because of its preciousness and because of its connection to the drama of Elizabeth's succession. Touchingly, while the golden bowl remained at the Academy, it still contained the remains of a ribbon of the Order of Saint Catherine (Vrangel 1908, p. 117).

There has been some confusion between this monument and Anastasia's tomb, which was in the Annunciation Church of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery in Saint Petersburg along with that of her daughter Princess Galitsina (neither tomb has survived). Although the inscriptions on Pajou's stele and the Saint Petersburg tomb are completely different (Bogdanov and Ruban 1779, pp. 375–76), it has often been assumed that the two were the same object, in part because Chaussard conflated information, listing among Pajou's works "a tomb for General Besky [*sic*] in Saint Petersburg" (Chaussard 1806, p. 471). In fact, Betzkoy had two separate memorials made for his half sister—the first the present work by Pajou and the second the monastery tomb in Saint Petersburg. Black (1996) has incontrovertibly demonstrated that Betzkoy commissioned tombs from Louis-Claude Vassé for both Anastasia and her daughter and has identified a Vassé drawing for Anastasia's tomb. He also notes (1996, p. 30) that Roslin's second version of the Betzkoy portrait (1758) includes not only Pajou's model for the stele but also Vassé's model for the tomb. Princess Galitsina's tomb survives in Vassé's drawings and as an image on a medal (for the tomb, see Mariette 1851–60, vol. 6, p. 42; for the drawings, see Scherf in Paris 1989a, no. 95, and Black 1996, pp. 22–25; a marble weeping figure destined for the mausoleum was in the Salon of 1763, no. 166, and the plaster model for the whole was in Vassé's estate sale in 1773; for the medal by Roettiers *fils*, doubtless conceived as a sort of pendant to that of her mother, Princess Anastasia, see Iversen 1880, vol. 1, p. 154, pl. xv).

Fig. 90. Pajou, *Minerva*, detail of an ancient marble candelabrum. Black chalk, pen and black ink. Paris, private collection



Pajou's first important work after his return from Italy, this stele shows him still deeply immersed in



Fig. 91. Pajou, drawing of one of the *Horae* on a marble frieze now in Munich, Glyptothek. Black chalk. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



Cat. 53: detail

Italian impressions. The preliminary drawing, superb in its economy of means (fig. 88), unites several motifs. Mining the stances and accoutrements of various Minervas and other personifications in his drawings, he produces a composite image that reflects several key sources. His sketchbooks record dozens of ancient cameos bearing helmeted profiles, especially that of Minerva (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 1, black chalk on tracing paper; 30.5 × 21.5 cm [12 × 8½ in.]), and he relied greatly on his memory of the austere goddess as she appears on a marble candelabrum then in the Borghese collections and now in the Louvre (fig. 90; 14.9 × 9.1 cm [5⅞ × 3⅝ in.]). One of the Horae on a frieze then in the Palazzo Mattei, now in Munich, Glyptothek, was responsible for Anastasia's gracefully activated skirt (fig. 91; ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 29; 21.1 × 14.7 cm [8¼ × 5¾ in.]). Perhaps Algardi's serene Magnanimity from the Tomb of Leo XI produced the most forceful impression of all (see cat. 11).

The relief excited no comment at the Salon of 1759, and subsequent assessments have been tepid at best. Stein found it vapid, deploring particularly the "poor shrub" from which the Hesse-Homburg coat of arms is suspended, and Réau thought it cold and mediocre. However, Pajou reconciles a great many demands in this work, which a later generation may find more to its liking. It should be borne in mind that the principal motifs were dictated by the patron: No sculptor would freely choose to heroize such an obscure event. By deciding on a predella for the scene, Pajou separated the narrative from the loftier concept above. He wanted the main image to have maximum legibility, and he simplified it, relying on classical precedent; even the laurel "shrub" fits with his spare concept. European sculpture of this date knew nothing of a Neoclassicism as advanced as that espoused here, and had it not been located in distant Russia, this work surely would have been emulated by fellow enthusiasts of classical antiquity. Throughout there are endearingly elegant passages (such as the helmet topped by a lion couchant) and numerous revelations of personality. Not least remarkable is that when one looks Minerva straight in the face, she looks much more humanly pretty—quite like the princess of Roslin's portrait (fig. 87), in fact—than one would have suspected from her profile alone.

JDD

with the participation of
Sergej Androssov



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54. *Project for a Monument to the Maréchal de Belle-Isle*

Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray, brown and red washes, white heightening, on yellow-brown paper, border ruled in pen and black ink
90 × 56.9 cm (35⅜ × 22⅜ in.)
Signed and dated at lower right, black ink: *Pajou. fe invé 1761.*
Inscribed at bottom, on central tablet, black chalk and black ink: *DIS MANIBVS* (To the spirits of the dead), followed by two lines of indecipherable characters; on two tablets to the sides, black chalk and black ink: *DOM* (deo optimo maximo [To God, the Greatest Good]), each followed by indecipherable lines of text; on base of monument, faded brown ink: *Projet d'un tombeau pour le Maréchal de Belle isle / allégorie / le Maréchal Entre dans la chambre Sepulcrale ou Sont les tombes de Sa femme et de Son fils / le Comte de Gisors tous deux morts avant lui / Leurs ombres Sont Supposés Sortire de Leurs tombeaux pour le Recevoir, et L'ange de la mort ferme la porte / de la chambre Sepulcrale. pour indiquer que le Marechal fut le Dernier de Sa famille* (Project for a tomb for the maréchal de Belle-Isle. Allegory. The maréchal enters the sepulchral chamber in which are the tombs of his wife and his son, the comte de Gisors, both dead before him. Their shades are imagined as leaving their tombs to receive him, and the Angel of Death shuts the door of the sepulchral chamber to indicate that the maréchal was the last of his family)

New York, Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution (1931–73–234)

PROVENANCE: Possibly comte André-Gaspard-Parfait de Bizemont Prunelé, Orléans, 1837; Alfred Hubert, sale Paris, May 24, 1876; E.H.R. (possibly Édouard Rodrigues, sale Paris, October 8–11, 1878); John J. Peoli, sale New York, American Art Galleries, May 8–9, 1894, lot 473; Sarah Cooper Hewitt, New York; gift of Sarah and Eleanor Hewitt

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1765, under no. 211; New York 1962, no. 10; Cleveland 1964, no. 38; Washington, D.C., 1967, no. 207; London 1968a, no. 503; Ann Arbor 1969, no. 64; New York 1981, no. 41; Los Angeles–Philadelphia–Minneapolis 1993–94, no. 20

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, p. 226; Benisovich 1953, pp. 297–98, fig. 10; Benisovich 1959, pp. 59–60, fig. 4; Licht 1980, p. 97, fig. 96; Eisler 1981, p. 63

Charles-Louis-Auguste Fouquet (1684–1761), grandson of Louis XIV's renowned minister, enjoyed an illustrious military and political career under Louis XV (for his life, see Maurepas and Boulant 1996, pp. 196–201). He was created successively governor of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, maréchal de France, duc de Belle-Isle and peer of France, one of the forty of the Académie Française (exceptionally for a military man), and ultimately secretary of state for war. As Pajou's legend states, he was the last of his line, having been predeceased by his second wife, Marie-Thérèse-Casimir de Béthune (1709–1755), and their son, the comte de Gisors (1732–1758), who died of wounds received at the Battle of Krefeld. In Pajou's grand scheme mother and son have thrust aside the heavy lids of their crypts to receive the maréchal into the family mausoleum. She wears a shroud; he has generically classical armor much like his father's. Doubtless both are as idealized as is the maréchal—the central warrior bears no resemblance to the unheroic features of Belle-Isle, recorded in the 1741 frontispiece of his political testament (Chevrier 1762a). The finality of death is strongly expressed, suggesting that Pajou had visited Pigalle's studio to see the model for the maréchal de Saxe's monument, in which the hero descends unflinchingly into his tomb.

Pajou's scheme is audacious, without precedent in several respects. Although the honored dead had occasionally been depicted upright at their hour of death in both French and English funerary monuments and were sometimes shown being mourned by survivors, their reception into the afterlife by already dead relatives had never been visualized like this. Compositionally, Belle-Isle's relatives take the place of the Christian allegorical figures that would have usually appeared. Belle-Isle and his son have the most progressively Neoclassical dress yet to occur in tombs. Another original touch is the Angel of Death shutting the door behind him. A half-open portal is a familiar funeral device in Roman sarcophagi (Panofsky 1964, pp. 35, 37). In more modern works Death usually does not close the door, as in the present drawing, but rather enters through it, as in Louis-François Roubiliac's contemporaneous *Nightingale Monument* (1758–61) in Westminster Abbey (Bindman and Baker 1995, pp. 325–27 and passim, no. 13).

Despite its originality, the drawing was largely overlooked when Pajou eventually exhibited it at the Salon of 1765. Saint-Aubin included it in one of his invaluable sketches showing groups of objects at the 1765 Salon (Victor Carlson in Los Angeles–Philadelphia–Minneapolis 1993–94, p. 153; see also Seznec 1967–85, vol. 2, fig. 5). Diderot gave rather heavy-handed advice ("M. Pajou, give it a sepulchral and lugubrious air if you want me to say something good about it"; Seznec 1967–85, vol. 2, p. 220), while Mathon de la Cour (1765, p. 79) admired it but was surprised at the maréchal's dying while still erect.

The drawing suggests such great depth of physical space and offers such extremes of rhetoric that it must be doubted whether the project was really intended for execution. The abundant smoke from the braziers lends a purely pictorial atmosphere. The only indication of material that could have been used is the veined marble at the base—otherwise the washes do not indicate stone or bronze. The drawing's inner logic is a bit confused. While the wife rises cold and stiff from her sarcophagus, the son is more *mouvementé*, and the red tints that sparingly light up the maréchal's countenance suggest that he is somehow less dead than they. In sepulchral usage the dead can rise from their graves (e.g., the mother of Charles Le Brun in her tomb by Le Brun and Collignon, Paris, Saint-Nicholas-du-Chardonnay, 1668–90; Souchal 1977–93, vol. 1, pp. 108–9), but they are more apt to be accompanied by the triumphal blast of a trumpet than the thud of a slammed portal.

Pajou seems to have made this drawing on speculation upon learning of the maréchal's death. The arms at top, hastily sketched, are not those of Belle-Isle. There is no physical resemblance to the maréchal and his wife as they appear in pastel portraits by Maurice-Quentin de la Tour (his shown in the Salon of 1748; last seen

together at Sotheby's Monaco, June 17–18, 1992, nos. 60, 61). However, the sculptor shows some knowledge of the commander's gloomy disposition and his family's melancholy circumstances. Belle-Isle's biographer relates that the maréchal, "cold by nature" and "born sober," had an abiding mistrust of institutionalized religion although he was buried "as a Christian and a sage" (Chevrier 1762a, p. 168; Chevrier 1762b, pp. 260, 263). Mme la maréchale was a "woman of austere piety" (Chevrier 1762b, p. 247). As for the comte de Gisors, "one could not speak of the father without placing some flowers on the tomb of a son so worthy of him" (ibid, p. 204).

The same source relates that Belle-Isle "hoped that a superb catafalque would be raised to his memory in the church of the Hôtel Royal des Invalides" (Chevrier 1762b, p. 264). However, his estate was encumbered by debts, and his heir, the comte de Castries, was not able to realize an ephemeral catafalque, much less Pajou's proposed tomb whose verticality and theatricality were probably influenced by catafalque traditions. The tomb that was eventually realized for Belle-Isle after 1762 in the collegiate church at Vernon, commissioned by Castries from the architect Chaussard, with a portrait medallion and military trophies (and correct coat of arms), since destroyed, was a far tamer affair than Pajou's forceful invention (Millin 1790–99, vol. 3, p. 22, no. XXVI, pl. 5). JDD

55. *Allegory of Queen Marie Leszczynska as Charity*

Marble
H. 161 cm (63⅜ in.), W. 85 cm (33½ in.), D. 63 cm (24¾ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 426)

PROVENANCE: Executed without a commission and returned to the sculptor's studio after the Salon of 1769; put up for sale by Pajou in January 1771 but left unsold; announced on December 18, 1777, as being on view in his studio in the "courtyard of the old Louvre," to be sold on January 15, 1778; acquired at an unknown date by an unidentified collection, the heirs to which were associated with J. Cailliers de l'Estang; found buried in the cellars of the Palais des Cinq-Cents, December 17, 1797; offered to the government—against a quantity of marble "of similar value"—by J. Cailliers de l'Estang; refused by the minister of the interior, Letourneur, in a letter of June 29, 1798, to J. Cailliers de l'Estang, "founder of the Veterans," as not "appropriate to the Republic"; donated sometime later by J. Cailliers de l'Estang to the Musée des Monuments Français "on behalf of the heirs of the family to whom [the sculpture] belonged"; transferred, after the closing of the Musée des Monuments Français, to the basilica of Saint-Denis, May 14, 1818; incorporated in 1841 by the architect Debret in the cenotaph erected in memory of the queen; taken down soon afterward; deposited in the Louvre after a resolution of September 20, 1881 (AMN, s^4 1881 [August 24])

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1769, no. 207 ("The late queen represented with the symbols of Piety, Prudence, Charity, and Gratitude"); Paris 1984–85, no. 141, ill. ("Allegory of Queen Marie Leszczynska"); Tokyo–Dijon 1991–92, no. 93, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Annonces et affiches*, Thursday, December 18, 1777, p. 1575, no. 99 ("a woman under the emblem of Beneficence, Piety, and Prudence"); Chaussard 1806, p. 470 ("a group representing beneficence: it is the portrait of Marie Leszczynska, wife of Louis XV"); Lenoir 1816, p. 107, no. 330; Guilhermy 1848, p. 320, no. 121 ("Marie Leszczynska"); Courajod 1878–87, vol. 1, p. CXXI, vol. 2, pp. XXV, vol. 3, pp. 459–60 ("Marie Leszczynska with the attributes of Pity, Prudence, and Charity"); *AMMF* 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 109 (nos. CV, CVI), vol. 2, pp. 352, 353 (no. CCLXI), vol. 3, pp. 162 (no. 117), 243 (no. 117), 245 (no. 330); Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Courajod 1885, pp. 38–39; Michel 1897, no. 772; Dilke 1900, p. 126; Lami 1911, p. 207 ("Queen Marie Leszczynska in the guise of Beneficence"); Stein 1912, pp. 91–93, ill., 401 ("Charity in the guise of Queen Marie Leszczynska"); Vitry 1922, no. 1430 ("Queen Marie Leszczynska, bearing the medallion of King Stanislas, her father, with the attributes of Piety, Prudence, and Charity"); Vitry 1924, p. 578; Bresc-Bautier 1980–81, p. 122

RELATED WORK: Sketch by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin in the margin of a copy of the *livret* of the Salon of 1769 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Dacier 1909, p. 33, ill.)

This work in marble, of rather considerable dimensions—the figures are life-size—was not commissioned by the administration of the Bâtiments du Roi. Pajou sculpted it on his own initiative, an indication of his personal fortune: procuring a marble block of this size and quality was not within everyone's reach. Diderot's remark in his *Salon* of 1767 comes to mind: "This is a talent crushed under a sack of gold" (Bukdahl et al. 1995a, p. 491). Indeed, there is little doubt that Pajou was well paid for his work for the duc d'Orléans, the Palais-Bourbon, the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson, and the marquis de Villette, for his busts of the royal family, as well as of the marquis de Mirabeau, the maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre, and Marchal de Sainscy, among others, and for the acquisitions made by La Live de Jully and Choiseul. Nonetheless, Pajou's decision to sculpt such a group must have been dictated by powerful motivations that outweighed the risk of not finding a buyer for the piece.

The subject here is an allegory of Queen Marie

Leszczynska, who had died the year before, on June 24, 1768. Her death followed shortly after that of her father, Stanislas Leszczynski, former king of Poland, duc de Lorraine et de Bar, on February 23, 1766. Pajou had hoped to obtain the commission for Stanislas's tomb. After Marie Leszczynska's death, the monument to her father was opened to competition. At the Salon of 1769 Pajou presented a study in terracotta (no. 208) for a funerary monument for Stanislas, whose ambitious composition was described at length in the Salon *livret* (see Chronology). The present marble group was exhibited nearby, perhaps offering evidence of his attachment to the royal family (at the Salon of 1767 he had shown the portrait of the dauphin, who had died in 1765, and of his three children). Was the present work conceived before the death of Marie Leszczynska, "contrasting the representation of the living queen to that of her deceased father, portrayed on the oval medallion" (as suggested by Jean-René Gaborit in Paris 1984–85, p. 472), or was he hoping to get the commission for the queen's tomb, failing that of Stanislas? The choice of Vassé for Stanislas's monument had been made the year before. Diderot remarked, somewhat sarcastically: "Vassé, who has just as much talent as Pajou, but who is more adroit, did him out of the commission for Stanislas's tomb" (Bukdahl et al. 1995a, p. 112); and the *Lettre adressée aux auteurs du Journal encyclopédique* (Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 133, p. 368) expressed regret that Pajou's piece "was not to be executed on a large scale." Shortly afterward, Vassé was even chosen to execute the monument for the queen's heart (monuments for both father and daughter in Nancy, Notre-Dame du Bon-Secours). Pajou's defeat was clearcut: no commission for a funerary monument came his way, and his marble allegory found no buyer.

Two factors may explain this setback. Pajou, presenting himself as the sculptor for four generations of the royalty, was trying to force the hand of the Bâtiments (Marigny, who was very aware of his own prerogatives, must have found Pajou's maneuvers arrogant and annoying). But the main strike against Pajou was the critics' poor reception of his marble group (see below), which clouded the favorable reaction to his study for the tomb of Stanislas. In May 1770 the brilliant success of the decor of the Versailles Royal Opera erased this failure, and soon Mme Du Barry's favor would raise the sculptor to the firmament of portraitists.

The allegorical portrait of Marie Leszczynska nevertheless remained in Pajou's studio until he was forced to sell it to repay the huge sums that he had borrowed to pay his team of collaborators on the Opera. On January 14, 1771, a "Notice to the Public" was printed announcing:

> Statue in white marble for sale. This statue is in beautiful white marble, four and a half feet in height [137.2 cm]. The pedestal, in veined white marble, is also four and a half feet in height. It is by M. Pajou, sculptor to the king. It will be sold in his studio at the Louvre. It represents Charity, with all her attributes. It was deemed appropriate, the better to characterize the statue, to add to it the medallion of the king of Poland, duc de Lorraine, Stanislas I, the beneficent, with the attributes belonging to him. (BI, Duplessis, octavo, 127)

Notable in this text is how Pajou avoided mentioning the queen's name and how he used an iconographic characterization to introduce the presence (incongruous at first glance) of the portrait of Stanislas. Unfortunately, the work found no buyers, and he had to resort to another public announcement before putting it up for auction in January 1778. The group was then acquired by collectors at an unknown date; in 1798 their heirs offered it to Alexandre Lenoir, through the offices of J. Cailliers de l'Estang. It had been hidden, no doubt at the height of the French Revolution, in the cellars of the Palais des Cinq-Cents—that is, the Palais Bourbon—and was unearthed on December 17, 1797. Offered as an "Allegory of Beneficence" to the Directoire government, it was refused by the minister of the interior, the subject being quite easily identified as the wife of Louis XV. Its subsequent donation to the Musée des Monuments Français, however, met with no resistance, although Lenoir waited until the Restoration to include it in the printed catalogue (note that in 1806 Chaussard had correctly identified it in the museum). We know almost nothing about J. Cailliers de l'Estang, other than that he was called "founder of the Veterans" by the minister in 1798 and "parliamentary counselor" by Lenoir in 1816. Sent to the abbey of Saint-Denis after the closing of the Musée des Monuments Français, the marble became under the July Monarchy the centerpiece of a contrived monument—Pajou's posthumous revenge—erected in honor of the queen.

The group was described in the *livret* of the Salon of 1769 as the "late queen represented with the symbols of Piety, Prudence, Charity, and Gratitude." It is therefore



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an allegorical portrait of Marie Leszczynska, with a funerary connotation, personifying her under recognizable aspects. Pajou was here taking up a tradition established well before him. But if the statues by Coysevox (*The Duchesse de Bourgogne as Diana*, 1710, Musée du Louvre) and Pigalle (*Madame de Pompadour in the Guise of Friendship*, 1753, Musée du Louvre) are distinguished by their realism, that by Guillaume Coustou (*Marie Leszczynska as Juno*, 1731, Musée du Louvre; fig. 92) presented the queen, who was then in the bloom of youth, in a more idealized manner. Pajou studied Coustou's work, installed in the gardens of Versailles, and the features of his own Marie Leszczynska bear some relation to those carved by his predecessor. Pajou avoided creating a literally veracious portrait of the queen by personifying her as a timeless Virtue. The medallion, however, realistically depicts the heavy, scowling face of Stanislas, little ennobled by the laurel wreath on his brow.

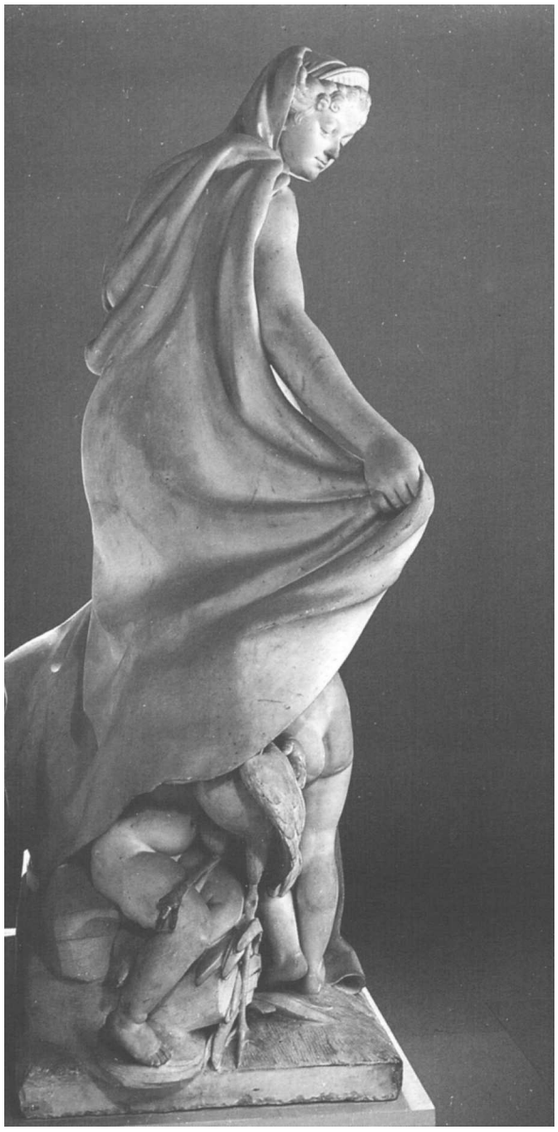
The qualities associated with Marie Leszczynska are recognizable by their attributes: Piety (the altar), Prudence (the mirror and serpent), and Charity (the children). The stork is the emblem of Gratitude (Lacombe de Prezel; see also the annotation by Saint-Aubin beside his sketch) as well as that of Filial Piety (Ripa and Lacombe de Prezel); this motif recurs twelve years later on the tomb of Mme de Palerne (see cat. 58, 59). The queen's breasts are partly bared—to the horror of contemporary critics—but this undress may allude to the theological virtue of Faith, as described in Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (Gaborit in Paris 1984–85, pp. 473–74), or may evoke Motherhood, a role to which Marie Leszczynska, who gave birth to seven girls and two boys, was dedicated. Multiple interpretations are possible.

The wealth of iconographic meanings in the work generated a muddle of critical commentary. If Diderot was not too severe—"I do not dislike the sculpture of the queen, although one could find the main figure a bit mediocre; the two orphans sheltered under her cloak are well conceived" (Bukdahl et al. 1995a, p. 106)—this was not the case with the majority of reviewers. The image of the queen seemed obscured by the allegorical elements, and the bared bosom was deemed shocking. The *Lettre sur l'exposition* (Deloynes, vol. 49, no. 1315, p. 45) noted: "To realize the portrait of this princess, I would have asked M. Pajou to imitate her extreme propriety; her image would have been truer for it. Otherwise, the style is good, and the draperies are well arranged." Fréron in the *Année littéraire* (September 4, 1769, pp. 316–17) was clearer in his condemnation: "I shall not consider whether the head truly has that air of goodness that mirrored the sensitive soul of that amiable princess. . . . But it seems to me that it offends modesty, which was one of the queen's greatest virtues, to have left several parts of her nude. How different from Coustou's proud *Juno*!" These damaging criticisms, and no doubt the comparison with Coustou's work, destroyed Pajou's hopes of being awarded a monumental project relating to Marie Leszczynska.

It is sometimes said that in the present work Pajou reused his old composition of "Charity represented as a woman accompanied by two children," exhibited in Versailles in January 1750; the earlier work has disappeared, leaving the question open. But the originality

Fig. 92. Guillaume Coustou, *Marie Leszczynska as Juno*. Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre





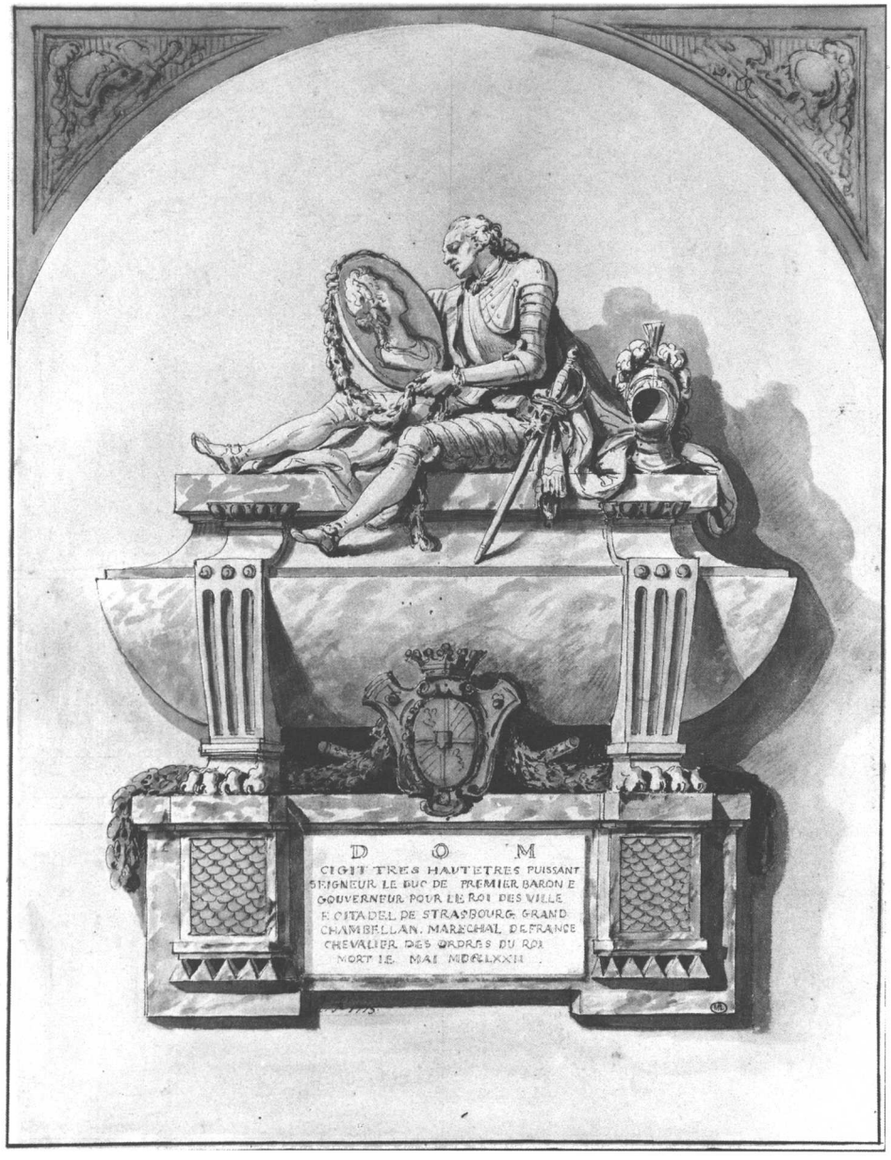
Cat. 55: detail



Cat. 55: detail

of the large marble group remains intact, for it imbued the traditional motif with many unfamiliar references.

Iconographic commentary aside, let us simply admire the beauty of the sculpture. The elegance of Marie's gesture as she covers the children with her cloak (which allows the sculptor to execute a superb piece of drapery at the back of the group), the naturalness of the children's expressions (one engagingly hugging the stork, the other drawing attention to it), the virtuosity of the carving, which expresses the various details with the greatest freedom—though for safety Pajou had to leave a support under the medallion—the finesse with which the hair is chiseled, and the softness of the contours make this composition one of the artist's greatest triumphs. GS



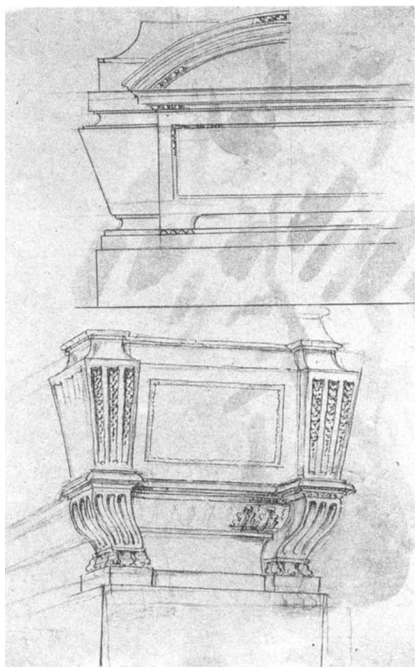


Fig. 93. Pajou, *Studies of Monuments*. Above: black chalk, pen and black ink; below: black chalk, pen and brown ink. Private collection

56. *Study for a Tomb of a Marshal of France*

Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray and brown wash, touches of red and yellow watercolor, double border in black and pink
44.5 × 34.8 cm (17½ × 13¾ in.)
Annotated below left of console, pen and black ink: *Pa. fé 1775*; on a piece of paper pasted lower center of console, pen and black ink, gray wash: *D[EO] O[PTIMO] M[AXIMO] / CI GIT TRES HAUT E TRES PUISSANT / SEIGNEUR LE DUC DE PREMIER BARON E / GOUVERNEUR POUR LE ROI DES VILLE / E CITADEL DE STRASBOURG GRAND / CHAMBELLAN. MARECHAL DE FRANCE / CHEVALIER DES ORDRES DU ROI / MORT LE MAI MDCCLXXII* (To God, the Greatest Good. Here lies the very high and very mighty lord the duke, first baron, and governor for the king of the city and citadel of Strasbourg, grand chamberlain, marshal of France, knight of the orders of the king, died May 1772)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 29.496)

PROVENANCE: Paul Cailleux, Paris; his gift to the museum, 1946

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932b, no. 60; Paris 1934, no. 163 *bis*; Copenhagen 1935, no. 653; Paris 1964b, no. 1, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Réau 1936, pp. 18–19; Mongan and Sachs 1940, pp. 336–37, ill; Aubert 1946, pp. 9–11, fig. 6; *Inventaire général des dessins*, 1997, no. 13, ill.



Fig. 94. Pajou, *Funerary Monument in Ruins.* Black chalk, pen and gray ink, gray wash. Private collection



Cat. 57: detail

57. *Study for a Tomb, Said to Be for a Marshal of France*

Terracotta; traces of bronzing, gilding, and various fillings of unknown date on background
H. 45 cm (17¾ in.), W. 36 cm (14⅛ in.), D. 8.7 cm (3⅜ in.)
Incised on sarcophagus: *D[EO] O[PTIMO] M[AXIMO]* / [three lines of meaningless Greek letters]; at bottom, on background: *Echele de six piedes* (scale of six feet)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 2579)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 56

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932b, no. 59; Paris 1934, no. 163 ("project for a funerary monument to the marquis de Muy"); Copenhagen 1935, no. 648 ("project for a funerary monument to the marquis de Muy"); Paris 1974–75a, no. 46, ill. (as "anonymous")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Réau 1936, pp. 18–19, ill.; Mongan and Sachs 1940, pp. 336–37, ill.; Aubert 1946, pp. 9–11, fig. 5

These two studies for a funerary monument with the same composition raise problems of an art-historical nature that have yet to be resolved.

The drawing bears the abbreviated signature *Pa.*, which was often used by Pajou at the time (see cat. 79 and other examples in the Chronology). Thus there is no reason, following Michèle Beaulieu (in Paris 1974–75a, no. 46), to doubt its attribution to Pajou,

especially since the style of the work perfectly agrees with his. The terracotta essentially repeats the composition, making it difficult there too to dispute the attribution to Pajou.

The colors in the drawing indicate the monument's materials allusively: the sarcophagus might be in white marble flecked with gray; the console supporting it, forming the ground for the epitaph, in red marble; and the coat of arms and the garland, as well as the scale patterning on the console, the interior of the pilasters, and the ova, in yellow marble. The male figure with traces of brown would be made of bronze. The helmet motifs in pen and black ink and in black chalk, drawn at the top of the sheet, would decorate the spandrels of an arch in a funerary chapel. The sheet is framed—beneath the present mat—by a handsome pink rule, probably in the artist's hand.

As we have seen, while in Italy Pajou became interested in strongly architectural sculpted monuments. In one drawing (27.4 × 17.4 cm [10¾ × 6⅞ in.]; fig. 93) he made a detailed transcription of one side of a tomb with epitaph whose decorative elements are reminiscent of the sarcophagus in the present drawing. The idea of superimposing the sarcophagus on a console may have come from another drawing, also made in Italy, of an unknown tomb rendered in the spirit of a picturesque ruin (17.8 × 12.7 cm [7 × 5 in.]; epitaph with illegible characters; fig. 94). These two drawings could well have been consulted by Pajou some twenty years after they were done.

Commentators have tried to discern in the soldier on the present relief a debt to Lemoyne's terracotta statuette of the maréchal de Lowendahl (private collection; Réau 1936, p. 18, ill.). These works were once in the same collection. The style of both officers in armor, modeled in terracotta, is fairly similar, but the spirit of the compositions is different.

Difficulties appear when we try to identify the subject represented in Pajou's drawing and maquette. Paul Cailleux (in Paris 1934) drew a parallel, rather seductive at first glance, with a listing in the auction catalogue for the collection of Pajou's friend, the architect Trouard (February 27, 1779, no. 298, under "Terracottas"): "A study for the tomb of the Marquis de Muy." The marquis de Muy was the director of the Économats under Louis XV; it was he who had Mansart de Sagonne build the church of Saint-Louis at Versailles, where he was buried in 1756 (Gallet 1976, p. 202) and where both Pajou and Trouard later worked. The terracotta, which the architect kept throughout his life, indicates that a funerary monument was planned at one time, no doubt for the church of Saint-Louis, without ever being realized. The date of 1772 on the drawing, however, does not correspond with that of de Muy's death; de Muy was not a duke, nor was he governor of Strasbourg. Moreover, the armorial bearings, whether in the drawing or on the terracotta, are not those of his house.

Beaulieu (in Paris 1974–75a) proposed another candidate: the duc d'Aiguillon (1720–1788), whose arms could be likened to those in the drawing. D'Aiguillon was governor and lieutenant general of Alsace (1762–88), secretary of state for foreign affairs (1771–74), minister of state (1771–74), and secretary of war (January–June 1774) before his fall from favor at the beginning of Louis XVI's reign (Maurepas and Boulant 1996, pp. 164–69); he was close to Mme Du Barry and to the abbé Terray. Nonetheless, even if the armorial analogy is conceded—and it is not really convincing—d'Aiguillon was not a marshal of France, and the date of 1772 corresponds to nothing particular in his biography.

Can other candidates be considered? The marquis de Contades (1704–1793) was commander in chief of Alsace (it was he who actually exercised gubernatorial control) from 1762 to 1788; but if he was indeed a marshal (as he was called by Mme d'Oberkirch [1989, p. 66]), he was not a duke. The brother of the minister Choiseul, Jacques-Philippe de Stainville (1727–1789), who became duc de Choiseul after the minister's death, was governor of Strasbourg from 1770 to 1788, then governor of the province of Alsace (1788–June 2, 1789), while concurrently holding the title of commander in chief (for all these points of Strasbourg history, I have relied on a written communication from Jean-Pierre Klein, to whom I am indebted for his help); but he was not a marshal of France. Finally, Oberkirch (1989, p. 94) notes that in 1777 the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson, who knew Pajou well, was lieutenant general, commander of Alsace; but the epitaph on the drawing cannot apply to him. The conclusion to be drawn from all this, no doubt, is that the inscription and coats of arms are pure invention.

At issue is a single composition for a funerary monument, with two main variants: in the drawing, the profile head in the medallion is that of a woman, in the



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terracotta that of a man. Other details, too, vary from one version to the other: the open helmet of the drawing is closed in the relief; the garland swagged above the epitaph on the front of the terracotta sarcophagus is differently sited in the drawing, where by contrast the epitaph is placed below the coat of arms. These small changes may indicate that Pajou was here designing a generic composition that could be adapted to the client's wishes: the latter would be able to alter the nature of the medallion or express a preference as to the placement of the epitaph and coat of arms.

It is a pity that the tomb was never executed as a monument. Its composition would have been entirely original in France, where no officer had had himself depicted straddling a sarcophagus, holding a medallion after the fashion of traditional allegories, with such a sensitive and melancholy look about him. This freedom of treatment was practically without equivalent save in England, but we have no proof that Pajou ever went there. These two projects remain a mystery. GS

58. *Mme de Palerne*

Marble
H. 59 (23¼ in.), W. 46.5 cm (18¼ in.)
Incised on *tranche*: *PAJOU, REGIS SCULPTOR* / 1782 (Pajou, sculptor of the king, 1782)

Paris, Saint-Gervais (L.P.559–M.V.6410)

PROVENANCE: Fragment of Mme de Palerne's funerary monument, erected in 1782 in the Pacy chapel of Saint-Gervais, Paris; entered the Musée des Monuments Français, July 17, 1794; sent to the Château de Versailles, March 25, 1834; installed in Saint-Gervais in the former Pacy chapel (now dedicated to Saint Lawrence), 1931

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Monument: Dulaure 1785, p. 276; Thiéry 1787, p. 714; Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Stein 1890, p. 34; Lami 1911, p. 217; Stein 1912, pp. 157–58, 346–48, 412; Tuetey 1912–17, vol. 1, pp. 30–31. Medallion: *AMMF* 1883–97, vol. 2, p. 165 ("List of objects placed in the said depot. . . . The 29th of the said month [messidor, year II, i.e., July 17, 1794]. From the same place [Saint-Gervais], a portrait of a woman executed in relief in white marble by Citizen Pajou"); Marquet de Vasselot 1898, pp. 20–21; Stein 1912, pp. 156–58, ill., 412; Brochard 1932, pp. 143–45; Brochard 1938, pp. 148, 313; Hoog 1993, no. 1388

59. *Conjugal Love*

Marble
H. 137 cm (54 in.), W. 43 cm (16⅞ in.), D. 44.5 cm (17½ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 4450)

PROVENANCE: Fragment of Mme de Palerne's funerary monument (see cat. 58); entered the Musée des Monuments Français, 1795 (perhaps in March or April: in his *Journal*, Lenoir wrote: "On the 15th, 18th, and 21st [of germinal, year III, i.e., April 4, 7, and 10, 1795], received, from Saint-Gervais, various marble pieces, without identification. Several remains of monuments composed of children and coats of arms" [Courajod 1878–87, vol. 1, p. 61]); sent at an unknown date to the Château de Versailles, where it remained in storage; entered the museum, March 1880

EXHIBITION: Duisburg–Karlsruhe–Gotha–Paris 1989–90, no. 27, ill. (as anonymous and mistakenly classified RF 481)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lenoir, year IV (1795/96), no. 266 ("Saint-Gervais. Hymen extinguishing the torch of life, executed in marble by Citizen Pajou"); Lenoir, year V [1796–97], no. 361 ("from Saint-Gervais. A genius, extinguishing the torch of life; executed in marble by the same [Pajou]"); Marquet de Vasselot 1898, p. 21

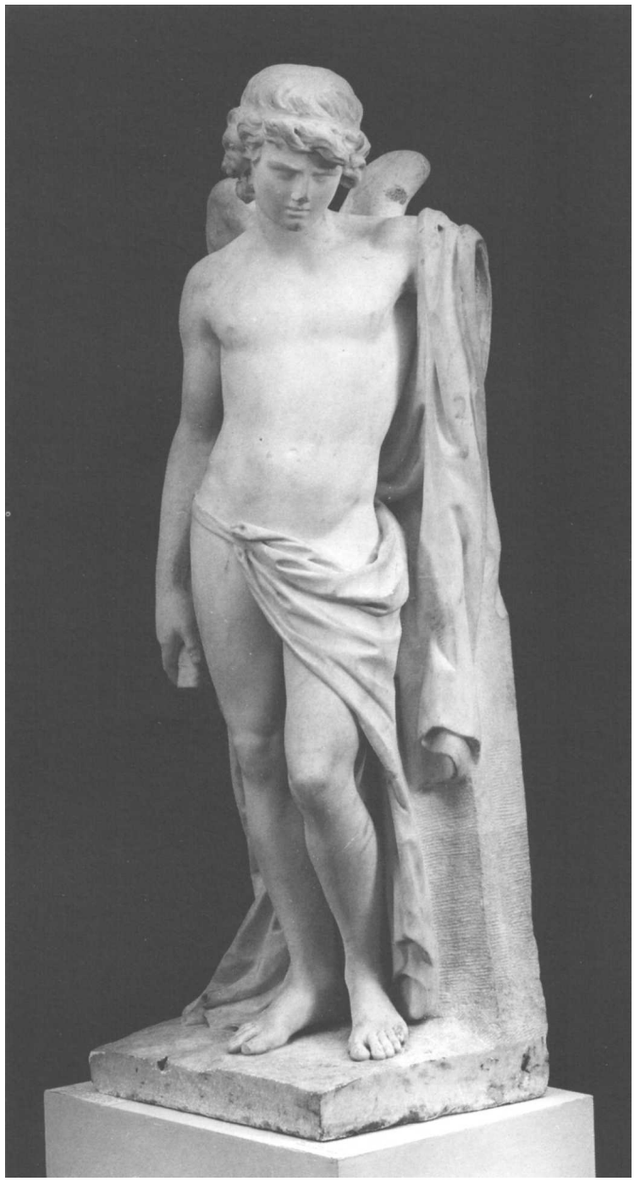
The funerary monument of Marie-Gabrielle Le Subtil de Boisemont, wife of Simon-Zacharie de Palerne, is known to us today thanks to the descriptions by Dulaure and Thiéry, and especially to the estimate presented by Pajou to M. de Palerne on February 2, 1781 (Doucet, *carton* 41, mf. 20297–99; Stein 1912, doc. XXIII). The text is as follows:

> A funerary monument will be sculpted and erected to the memory of the late Mme de Palerne for placement in the chapel called de Passy [*sic*], her family's burial site, in the parish church of Saint-Gervais.
>
> This monument will be composed of a medallion of the late Mme de Palerne, in as faithful a likeness as possible, according to any painted or relief portraits of her that exist and the observations that will be provided to the sculptor. This medallion, placed before a socle, will be encircled by cypress branches, and a funerary urn will rise above it.
>
> Two children, a bit larger than life, will be leaning against the pedestal, one representing Conjugal Love, whose emblem is an extinguished, inverted torch; the other will represent Filial Piety, who will have a stork as emblem. This group will be posed on the cornice of a slab bearing the epitaph in double projection on a background with crossettes, the lower part contoured to receive a cartouche with two coats of arms decorated with cypress. The whole will be enveloped in a drapery, the upper portion of which will cover part of the urn. This drapery will descend in folds on the sides of the epitaph, in such a way that the bottom will seem fringed below the cartouche. The monument will be approximately five and a half feet [ca. 168 cm] in width, measured from the end of the cornice. Its height will be in proportion, and the whole in conformity with the design that will be presented to, agreed upon, and signed by both parties.
>
> The medallion, the socle serving as a support for the two children, their attributes, and the slab for the inscription will be in white marble. The cornice and the slab forming the background and frame for the epitaph, as well as the funerary urn, will be in *bleu turquin* marble. The drapery, the ornaments on the urn, the cypresses around the medallion, the cartouche and its accompaniments will be in lead, gilt, bronzed, and painted as appropriate. . . . The aforesaid work shall be begun without delay and continued without interruption, so that it can be finished before the end of the current year . . . for the flat fee of six thousand livres.

Full payment was made on December 23, 1782 (autograph, formerly Vatimesnil collection, Paris: Stein 1912, doc. XXIII, addendum). Delivery was therefore made on time.

The tomb is mentioned as early as 1785 by Dulaure:

> To the left on entering, one sees the first chapel, next to the altar, a small monument in marble executed in 1782 by M. Pajou, sculptor to the king, in memory of Marie-Gabrielle Le Subtil de Boisemont. It is composed of a funerary urn in white-veined black marble, which is supported by a white marble socle on which we can see a medallion of this lady, accompanied by two geniuses in tears. Below this, on a large slab of black marble, is an epitaph in gilt letters in Latin, of which the following phrases will give an idea of the deceased: "Deserving of great admiration for her physical beauty and the gaiety of



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her disposition. She died on November 9, 1779, after having lived for forty-five years."

The monument was included by Le Brun in the inventory of works in Saint-Gervais on December 7, 1793 (AN, F[17] 1272), and was then dismantled. The portrait medallion went to the Musée des Monuments Français in July 1794. It was not catalogued by Lenoir but was certainly known to Chaussard, who in 1806 mentioned the tomb of Mme de Palerne as being at the Petits-Augustins. Later, at the Château de Versailles, it was confused with the profile of Mme La Live de Jully by Falconet—and inventoried as such (L.P.559)—before being finally identified in 1898 by Marquet de Vasselot.

Conjugal Love, however, appears in the catalogues of the Musée des Monuments Français in the years IV (1795–96) and V (1796–97), correctly attributed to Pajou even though it is unsigned and described as coming from Saint-Gervais. Still, its relation to the medallion was not remarked on, and it was soon lost. It is missing from the catalogue for the year VI (1797–98), as well as from the catalogues of subsequent years, which suggests that it might have left the Petits-Augustins as early as 1798 (perhaps to decorate the Parc Monceau, like other marble works from the Musée des Monuments Français). It resurfaced at an unknown date in a storeroom of the Château de Versailles, hav-

ing lost its attribution and any record of its origins: it is listed as "Unknown. Winged Genius that must have formed part of a funerary monument" in a logbook recording its move from Versailles to the Louvre in March 1880. It was then mistaken for another piece of tomb sculpture (RF 481) and was not correctly inventoried until 1994.

Little is known about Marie Gabrielle Le Subtil de Boisemont. She married Simon-Zacharie de Palerne, and she died in the Château de Montgermont on November 9, 1779, and was buried in her family's chapel in Saint-Gervais, founded (according to Brochard 1938, p. 313) by the two Pacy brothers. She gave birth to one daughter, Marie-Joséphine, who in 1770 married Alexandre de Gontaut, marquis de Saint-Blancard (Favre-Lejeune 1986, vol. 2, p. 1032). This alliance with the illustrious house of Gontaut earned one of those blows to pride in which society under the ancien régime took such pleasure. Moufle d'Angerville relates the following anecdote (*Mémoires secrets*, November 11, 1779, vol. 14, p. 263): "Mme de Palerne has just died. It was noticed that on her funeral announcements, contrary to custom, no relatives' names were mentioned. They should, of course, have read 'from Monsieur le duc and Madame la duchesse de Gontaut, her daughter and son-in-law'; it has been learned that this nobleman did not wish his name to figure below that of Palerne. A fine lesson for financiers and rich bourgeois, who have the stupid habit of marrying their daughters to persons of the court."

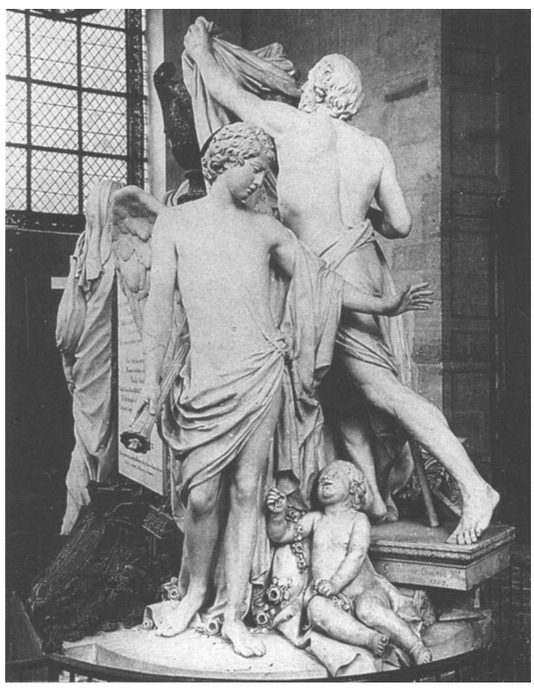
The dead woman's husband, Simon-Zacharie de Palerne (1723–1786), son of a Lyons merchant who was treasurer to the duc d'Orléans, was indeed a noble of recent vintage, having purchased the office of secretary to the crown from the high chancellery of France (Favre-Lejeune 1986, vol. 2, p. 1032). He was also treasurer general for the houses, domains, and finances of the duc d'Orléans (d'Argenson papers: Poitiers, BU, D 325) and, according to Stein, captain of the hunt at Melun.

Pajou's relations with the Palerne family are easily accounted for. When he was working for the duc d'Orléans (see cat. 41), he naturally had dealings with the duke's treasurers (the elder Palerne died in 1765)—just as with the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson and his friend Moreau-Desproux (the latter, despite his rift with De Wailly, was a witness at Flore Pajou's marriage in 1781).

No longer available to us, unfortunately, is the drawing that Pajou presented along with the estimate for the tomb. It was lost by the last third of the nineteenth century, since it is not described with the estimate in the successive catalogues of autograph works put up for sale by Charavay (AN, AB XXXVIII, Charavay XL, "Pajou": nos. 242, 39633, 62546). Stein, moreover, did not find it with Doucet, the buyer of the manuscript, and it is not in *carton* 41 at the Bibliothèque Doucet, where the estimate is now filed. The description of the monument is nonetheless enough to give us an idea of its overall composition. It was a tomb with medallion of middling size, alternating white marble—the portrait and the figures, even if this last point was overlooked in the description given in the estimate—with polychromatic effects liberally supplied by the *bleu turquin* marble and the gilt and bronzed lead.

The funerary accessories belonged to the standard vocabulary that had been in place since the seventeenth century: the two geniuses, the cypress branches, the funerary urn, and the Latin epitaph are all traditional in concept, in the style of monuments by Girardon that continued throughout the eighteenth century. The genius holding a spent, inverted torch was an obligatory motif in Neoclassical funerary sculpture. It appears, for example, on the small monument to Mme La

Fig. 95. Attributed to Pierre Julien, *Conjugal Love, from the Tomb of the Dauphin and Dauphine*. Marble. Sens Cathedral



Live de Jully by Falconet in Saint-Roch (Paris 1996, p. 78, fig. 22c) and on the monument by Defernex in Dijon (Paris 1996, no. 22, ill.), although in these two cases the figures are of small children. In the estimate for the tomb of Mme de Palerne, this figure is identified as representing Conjugal Love, for which an adolescent was deemed more appropriate. Pajou clearly took his inspiration from the statue of the same subject on the tomb of the dauphin and dauphine in Sens (1777; fig. 95): both works show the figure of a young man in slight contrapposto, with his head bowed, torso nude, and right arm holding the inverted torch (broken off in Pajou's sculpture) along his body. As for the other genius, who with his stork represented Filial Piety, one wonders if he resembled the small children (also with a stork) accompanying Marie Leszczynska (cat. 55).

It is worth considering whether the medallion itself was inspired by one of Mme Du Barry that the artist had executed some ten years earlier (lost; see cat. 95). The present face suggests a woman older than the royal favorite: her chin is heavier, her cheek full, her eye in profile pronounced and less tapering. The sculptor was committed to respecting the features of the deceased, using portraits that he was given. Her hair is done in a different style. And yet how familiar seems the carving of her ringlets, the spiraling of the lock that lands softly on her shoulder, brushing her neck.

Mme de Palerne's tomb is thus rich in references. Its composition appears to have been closely controlled by the client and was perhaps even developed by him, thus inhibiting Pajou's own inspiration. We are a long way here from the dreams of his plan for a monument to the maréchal de Belle-Isle (cat. 54) or for the double tomb of the Sheremetevs (cat. 62). In comparison, this work seems rather modest (an impression heightened by the fragmentary appearance of the surviving *Genius*, whose missing left arm undoubtedly pointed toward the central medallion). It serves, however, as evidence of the weight of convention in a strictly supervised type of work and as a rare example—unhappily for Pajou, too rare—of a tomb that he actually brought to fruition.

GS

60. *Jean-Baptiste Le Prince*

Marble
76 × 58 cm (29⅞ × 22⅞ in.)
Inscribed on self-molding: *JEAN LE PRINCE PEINTRE DU ROI, ET CONSEILLER DE SON ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE PEINT^RE ET SCULPT^RE*; on *tranche* of bust: *Par son. Ami Pajou, / Sculpteur du Roi; 1782* (Jean Le Prince, painter to the king and counselor of his Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. By his friend Pajou, sculptor to the king; 1782)

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (3434)

PROVENANCE: Church of Saint-Denis-du-Port; Horace, comte de Viel-Castel, Paris, by 1852; M. de Lafaulotte, sale Paris, Drouot, April 5–13, 1886, no. 207; L. Tabourier, sale Paris, Drouot, June 20–22, 1898, no. 251; gift of Mlle Euphrosine Beernaert, 1898

EXHIBITION: Brussels 1925, no. 68

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chennevières 1852, n.p.; Hédou 1879, pp. 69–70; Jacquot 1899, p. 470; Stein 1912, pp. 36–37, ill., 412; Metz 1988, under no. 4

RELATED WORK: A lithograph by Frédéric Legrip (fig. 96, from Chennevières 1852) records the memorial when the medallion and a tablet below it, since lost, were still together in the Viel-Castel collection. (Photograph courtesy of the Library at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts)

The early talent for painting evinced by Le Prince (1734–1781), son of a *sculpteur-doreur* of Metz, gained him the support of the provincial governor, the maréchal de Belle-Isle (the same Belle-Isle whose tomb Pajou envisaged, cat. 54). The maréchal took Le Prince to Paris, where he entered Boucher's studio. Reasonable



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doubt has been cast on a presumed trip to Italy in 1754–56 (see Metz 1988, under no. 14). From 1758 to 1763 Le Prince worked in Russia, exploiting the picturesque riches found among the peasantry in a series of genre pictures. Several of these were shown in the Salon of 1765 and drew an ad hominem attack from Diderot: "I will not answer for the Russian imitations; it is up to those who know the locale and the ways of the country to pronounce upon them; but I find them for the most part feeble like the artist's health, melancholy and sweet like his character." Speaking of a picture to which he grudgingly gave slightly higher marks, the *Baptême russe* (Le Prince's *morceau de réception*, now in the Louvre), the philosophe added condescendingly, "I swear to you that the artist did that one in an interval of good health" (Seznec 1967–85, vol. 2, pp. 172, 180). Baron Grimm chimed in: "Le Prince certainly has some talent, but he is in very bad health. He has some wit, and has a keen and shrewd air about him" (quoted

Fig. 96. After Pajou's monument to Le Prince. Lithograph published in Chennevières 1852



in Hédou 1879, p. 33). In a self-portrait of about 1775 Le Prince's features do seem to express frailty and weariness (Metz 1988, no. 3), aspects that Pajou conveys while also suggesting an amiable wittiness.

Known for his charming landscapes, Le Prince achieved lasting importance as an inventor of aquatint. A *conseiller* of the Académie (appointed in 1772), he occupied lodgings at the Louvre near those of Pajou. The friendship of the painter and the sculptor, attested to by the present work's inscription, may have been invigorated by the barbs of Diderot, their mutual critic. At his death in 1781 Le Prince owned three works by Pajou ("a head of a young man, lifesize, very well modeled"; "another, of small proportion"; and "a bust of an old man larger than life and wearing a full beard" [sale Paris, November 28, 1781, nos. 102–4, reprinted in Hédou 1879, pp. 310–11]). The last work was either one of the two examples of Pajou's bust of an old man of 1761 or the turbaned elder in Bayonne (see cat. 63). As treasurer of the Académie, Pajou arranged payments to Le Prince's heir, his niece Marie-Anne, after she sold the master's aquatint formula to the Académie (Hédou 1879, pp. 76–78).

Le Prince's medallion and the tablet below it, since lost, were created for a chapel of the church of Saint-Denis-du-Port near Lagny (Seine-et-Marne; Hédou 1879, p. 69), where, plagued by ill health, he spent his last years. The top of the oval medallion is slightly wider than the bottom so that the portrait would be seen in proper perspective when placed fairly high on a wall. The inscription on the tablet, seen in a later lithograph (fig. 96), relates that the memorial was commissioned by Marie-Anne Le Prince with financial assistance from M. Pellier, a local squire.

JDD

61. *Study for the Tomb of Bayard*

Black chalk, pen and gray ink, beige paper with two strips of paper added at top
33 × 19 cm (13 × 7½ in.)
Some words inscribed and then effaced on the club of the putto at left, including *Chev*[?] *Bayard*

Musée de Grenoble (MG 242)

PROVENANCE: Presumably deposited by the Intendancy of Grenoble

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 194; Roman 1892, pp. 102–3; Stein 1912, pp. 262–64, ill.; Benisovich 1953, p. 297; Michel 1992, pp. 131–39, fig. 1

Pierre Terrail, seigneur de Bayard (1473–1524), the immortal *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* (knight without fear and without reproach), was invoked with increasing fervor toward the end of the eighteenth century in poetry, painting, tapestry, and sculpture. As he was a royalist hero in the service of Francis I during the Italian Wars, these works were often crown commissions. The present project was originated by a group of subscribers in Grenoble, eager to erect a monument in the city to which his body was borne at his death. There is a seventeenth-century monument to him in the church of Saint-André, but it is unclear whether his remains were deposited there. This uncertainty may be reflected in the apparent freedom the Grenoblois allowed the competing sculptors in deciding the memorial's form—whether it should be a wall tomb, Pajou's contribution, or a statuary group in the round, the solution of the only other project that has come down to us in the form of a drawing (fig. 97) and a model by Joseph Chinard. These last, both dated 1789, are important discoveries of Patrick Michel (1992). The other contestants are unknown to us, but in an 1803 letter Chinard wrote: "It is I who, presented by Terray [a Lyonnais official] in 1787, won the honor, after a competition among several artists, to be charged with the execution of a Monument to Bayard; I produced the drawings for it and the models which were sent and deposited at the Intendancy of Grenoble." In an autobiographical note of about 1808, he stated that "on [my] return from Rome [1787], [I] was admitted to the competition for a monument to Bayard which was to be erected on the public square in Grenoble" and whose execution was entrusted to him and which was "suspended by the Revolution" (both texts in Michel 1992, p. 132). The various alternatives inspired heated local discussion, and there was even the possibility of raising an equestrian monument. One subscriber, the baronne de Montauclos, came down on



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the side of an idea like that in Pajou's sketch but more theatrical: "[The baronne] would have a dying Bayard, backed up against a tree, his face to the enemy, seizing the hilt of his sword and thus rendering to God his virtuous soul; beside him, she would have Victory and, half-prostrated upon Bayard's body, Humanity, who, with uplifted arm, would seem to wish to oppose the death of him who was so often her supporter and her avenger" (affiches of the Dauphiné, June 19, 1789, cited in Michel 1992, p. 139, no. 50).

The present drawing, neither signed nor dated, was said to be by Pajou in the earliest reference to it (Bellier and Auvray 1885). It is just as complete as his most enterprising tomb studies, but it is smaller in scale and its closely knit penwork has less impact at first glance. At left the infant military genius with the lion's mask

and club of Hercules and a sword is feeble for Pajou, but the two principals above are sufficiently eloquent, as are the relief scenes which find precise counterparts in those incised on the sides of the Henri IV maquette at Pau (cat. 131).

Pajou's immediate literary source was *Histoire de Pierre Terrail dit le chevalier Bayard, sans peur et sans reproche,* a recent life of Bayard by Guyard de Berville (1772, republished 1786), which was closely based on the life by "le loyal serviteur" Jacques de Mailles (1527, numerous subsequent editions). The scene at top, naturalistically distinct from the tomb at large, shows the chevalier dying from an arquebus ball that lodged in his back when he was defending the Sesia River in northern Italy against the imperial forces. After he ordered that he be laid down beneath a tree, "his face to the enemy," the Spanish forces rushed to have a last look at their foe as he lay dying, his dignity very much intact. Pajou presents the final interview between the hero and Charles de Bourbon, erstwhile connétable de France, a turncoat who had passed into the emperor's service but who could not help expressing his pity to the dying man. Bayard then "gathered up his forces and said to him in a steady voice: 'My lord, I thank you but there is no pity left in me who lie dying a man of honor and the servant of my king; you should pity yourself for bearing arms against your prince, your country, and your oath.' The connétable stopped with him a short time and informed him of the reasons he had had for leaving the kingdom; but Bayard exhorted him to seek to reenter the king's good graces lest he should remain all his life without possessions and without honor" (Guyard de Berville 1786, pp. 407–9). No wonder France, the female figure beside the royal escutcheon at right, weeps at the loss of such a patriot.

The reliefs below show earlier deeds. The wide-angle scene in the base shows Bayard defending the bridge over the Garigliano River in Latium against two hundred Spaniards. The one on the sarcophagus shows Bayard conferring knighthood on Francis I, following the victory at Marignano, near Milan, which owed much to the knight's valor. Chinard in turn opted for the embrace exchanged by the sovereign and his knight-protector as the principal theme of his group (fig. 97), with two of the subsidiary reliefs devoted to the defense of the Garigliano bridge and Bayard's statement to Charles de Bourbon.

Fig. 97. Joseph Chinard, *Model for a Monument to Bayard.* Terracotta. Avignon, Musée Louis Voulard



The Neoclassicism of many of Pajou's other tomb studies is less evident here because of the proto–*style troubadour* Renaissance armor and the asymmetrical disposition of the military genius at left and the much larger France at right. Without quoting, he shows awareness of various monuments, especially those of the Late Baroque, from the tomb of the archbishops of Vienne (1740–43) by Michel-Ange Slodtz in the cathedral of Saint-Maurice, Vienne, with the somber colloquy between its two subjects, to the tomb of the duke of Argyll (1745–49) by Louis-François Roubiliac in Westminster Abbey, in which Eloquence bends away from the action above much as our France directs her sobs well to the side. It is uncertain in what form he could have known the latter.

JDD

62. *Study for a Funerary Monument to Count Pyotr Sheremetev and Countess Varvara Sheremeteva, née Cherkasskaya*

Black chalk, pen and gray ink, gray and yellow washes and watercolor, border ruled with dark gray wash
95 × 62.5 cm (37⅜ × 24⅝ in.)
Inscribed on tomb, gray ink: seven lines of indecipherable Greek and Latin characters; at lower right, brown ink: *Pajou invé. et delinéavit / 1789*; at bottom: *Son Excelance Monsieur Le Comte de Chérémetof tendrement attaché a La mémoir de Son pere et de sa mere veut Leur ellever un monument qui transmette a La Postérité Le souvenir de Leurs vertus et les Regrets / cest pour quoi il est Représenté sou Lembleme de la Piété filial levant La voile funéraire et paraissant pleurer et prier pour eux. au pied du lit mortuaire ou ils sont couchée L'himen est appuié sur son / flambau Eteint et paroit dans l'affliction* (His Excellency Count Sheremetev, tenderly attached to the memory of his father and mother, wishes to raise to them a monument which transmits to posterity the remembrance of their virtues and his regrets. That is why he is represented under the emblem of Filial Piety, lifting the funerary shroud and appearing to weep and pray for them. At the foot of the funerary bed where they lie, Hymen leans upon his extinguished torch and appears to be in a state of affliction)

Berlin, Kunstbibliothek (Hdz 8735)

PROVENANCE: Count Nikolai Sheremetev, from 1789; anonymous sale Paris, Drouot, June 23, 1977, no. 24; bought by the Kunstbibliothek, 1978

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1789, no. 211 of the *livret* (*Project for a Tomb for a Lord of Russia* [quoting while lightly correcting the text at the bottom edge of the drawing])

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 260–63, 372–73, 376–78, 381–83; Réau 1924, pp. 183–84; Marianne Fischer in Berlin, Kunstbibliothek 1980, no. 20, ill.; West, forthcoming

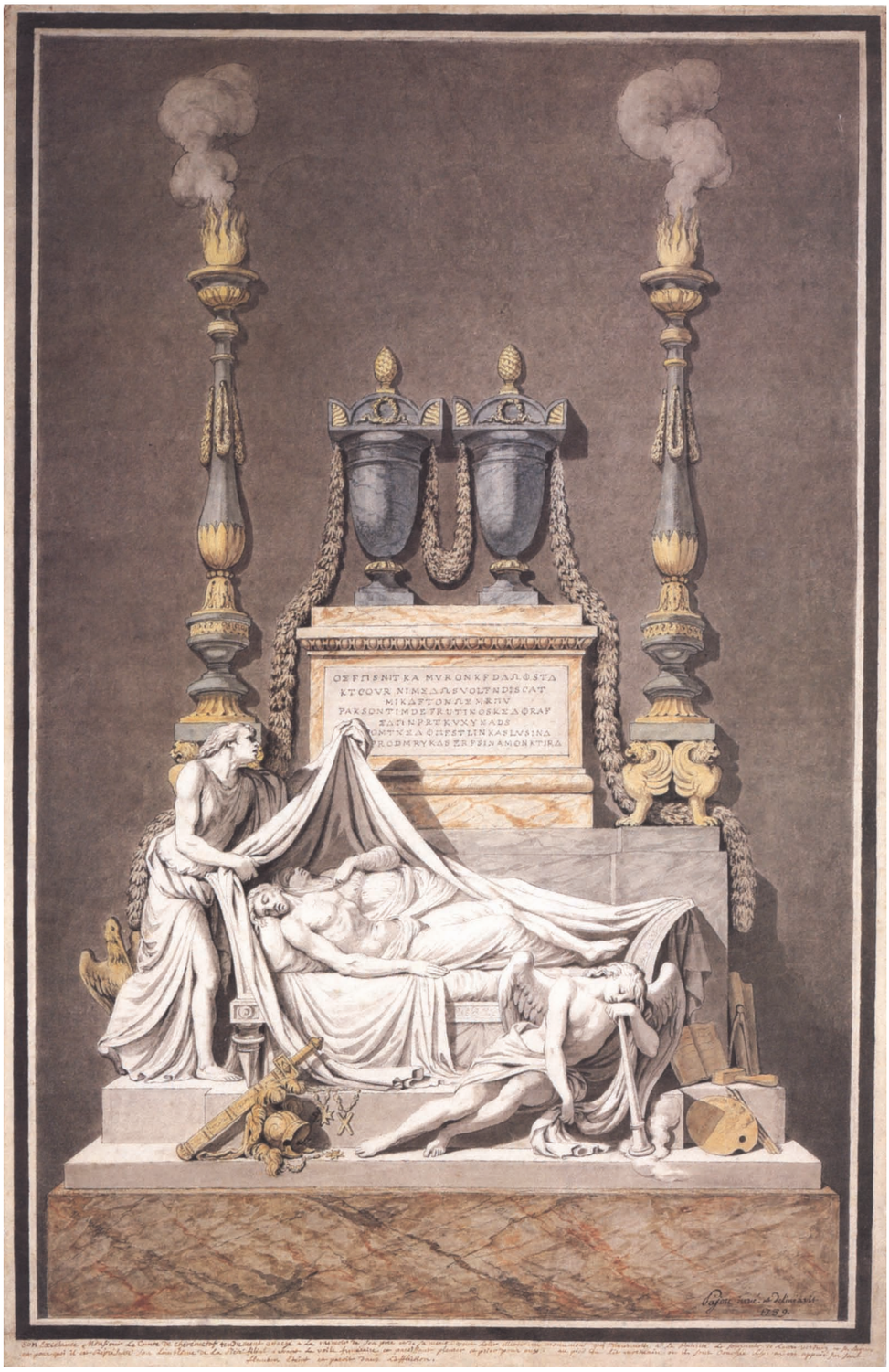
The most ambitious of Pajou's tomb projects, rendered in his largest drawing, was intended to honor Pyotr Sheremetev (1713–1788), the son of Field Marshal Boris Sheremetev, upon whom Peter I had conferred the title of count, and Pyotr's wife Varvara (1711–1767), daughter and sole heir of Prince Aleksei Cherkassky by his second marriage, to Maria Troubetzkaya (a cousin of Anastasia; see cat. 53). The immense wealth inherited by their son Count Nikolai Sheremetev (1751–1809) encompassed vast tracts of land across seventeen provinces, including the noble country seat of Ostankino, and an estimated 210,000 serfs.

From the correspondence once in the Sheremetev family archive, we know that Count Nikolai initiated the project in which a tomb by Pajou would be in a mausoleum designed by the visionary Neoclassical architect Boullée.

On February 20, 1789, the count's agent in Paris, one Le Sage, addressed a letter to Sheremetev, saying he had visited both Pajou and Boullée. Pajou craved permission to suppress a window in the chapel, marked *A* in the plan, which he feared would disturb the tomb's effect. He wanted to know the mausoleum's dimensions in French feet. Expecting that the tomb would "sustain and even augment his reputation," Pajou hoped it could be shown to the public. Boullée needed a few extra days to study the letter and plan that had been sent to him (Stein 1912, doc. LI).

On August 25, 1789 (the very day the Salon opened, despite Revolutionary distractions), Pajou wrote pressingly to Le Sage:

> In the time since you put yourself to the trouble of coming to me to communicate the wishes of His Excellency the Count Sheremetev regarding the tomb which he wants to raise to the memory of his late father and mother, I have applied myself to the drawing and the composition of the said monument.
>
> Already several months after it was finished, I had begged you to inform Monsieur le Comte in order to know his latest resolution on this object and whether I need to send the said project to him so that he might judge for himself if I have met his intentions. It seems to me, Monsieur, that your private affairs have made you forget to write to him about it or that he himself having given up the idea, you did not want to let me know. However, it is necessary that I be certain of the refusal or the acceptance, [and] I recall the terms of his letter in which he says that at least I will be paid for my drawings if the execution of the said monument does not take place.
>
> In this case I ask for the sum of 1,200 livres which I estimate for my work and the time I spent to do it.
>
> If on the contrary he continues to desire its execution, this is what I ask for furnishing the marbles of various colors, the bronzes and other accessories which enter into this composition, a sum of 85,000 livres, without charging before completion for the costs of packing nor those of wagons for the said crates from Paris to the point of embarkation.
>
> I beseech you earnestly, Monsieur, if you would care to say to the count in the letter you write to him, that I beg him to pull me out of the uncertainty I am in over this thing.
>
> If you want to send the *livret* of the Salon, he will see there the explanation of the monument in question, because I exhibited the drawing to the eye of the public. (Stein 1912, doc. LIV)



62

Le Sage wrote almost immediately to Sheremetev, August 28, 1789:

> I have the honor to send you enclosed herewith a letter from M. Pajou, who is very upset that you do not give him any news.
>
> M. le Comte will want to share with me what he will decide for M. Pajou [he then alludes to his own favors and expenses on behalf of the count and his father]. I had forgotten to let Your Excellency know that in case he should order the mausoleum, M. Pajou asks for the portraits of M. le Comte and Mme la Comtesse as well as your own. (Stein 1912, doc. LV)

Nothing having come of this, Pajou then wrote to Sheremetev on February 22, 1791:

> In sending you the drawing-project for a tomb that you asked of me, I enclosed a detailed letter which contains the sum that I asked for the execution of the monument in question, if it takes place, and whose receipt I pray you to acknowledge.
>
> It must have reached you, because the bankers into whose hands it passed in order to get it to you have sent it to their correspondents; it is now actually sixteen months since this project left my hands and . . . the uncertainty occasioned by your silence is a very painful state for me. . . . Deign, Monsieur le Comte, to color it with a word of reply.
>
> I have nothing to reproach myself with for the zeal I put into satisfying your wish; if I did not meet with your intentions, it was not for lack of wanting to succeed. You have had the goodness to tell me, by the letters which have reached me by means of M. Le Sage, that your intention, if the monument should not be executed, [is that] I shall be paid a sum of 1,200 livres as the price of the project. I await with the liveliest impatience what you will have determined in this matter. (Stein 1912, doc. LXII)

The response, if any, to his last letter to Sheremetev, August 1, 1791, is unknown:

> It is now plenty of time since I had the honor of sending you the drawing project for the monument which you asked of me. The letters which made your wishes known to me were sent to M. Le Sage with orders from you, Monsieur le Comte, to communicate them to me; they show that you committed yourself to paying for the project. In consequence you will allow me to regard your silence as a perfect consent which authorizes me to draw on you a draft of 1,200 livres payable to the order of Messieurs John Tametz, in Moscow. (Stein 1912, doc. LXIV)

Apart from the rather bland pairing of the urns on top, the present design is satisfyingly dramatic and one can only lament that the Pajou-Boullée enterprise never materialized. Sheremetev had excellent up-to-the-minute Neoclassical taste as shown by his estate of Ostankino with its additions by De Wailly. He evidently did not reveal to Pajou that he had changed his mind, perhaps out of fear that the plan's implementation was menaced by the Revolution in France. On March 19, 1791, Sheremetev undertook to rebuild the dilapidated church at Novo Spassky near Moscow as a funerary chapel for his family. Erected in 1795 by the architect Nazarov, a pupil of De Wailly, the chapel contains two unadorned tombs for Sheremetev's parents which have no connection with Pajou.

In the present drawing Pajou uses gray wash and pinkish watercolor to define the colored stone against which the white marble figures would have shone. Yellow wash indicates the gilt bronze of the candlestands (with lion protomes whose forms reach back to his Roman studies), of the stork (for Filial Piety, see cat. 55, 58, 59) and military trophy at lower left (in which the crosses of Malta and Saint Andrew identify the deceased count), and of the symbols of the Arts at lower right. The androgynous youth at left, representing Filial Piety as Pajou's subtitles state, is far from a portrait of the grieving Sheremetev, nor are his dead parents recognizable as individuals (as known from Le Sage's letter, Pajou planned to use portraits of them, intending to give intimations of personality in the final product).

The design evokes important sources. The celebrated nude marble gisants of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis by Germain Pilon in Saint-Denis come to mind, providing the Russian Maecenas with a flattering allusion to French royalty. One may be pardoned for sensing an echo of double Etruscan funerary monuments even though it is uncertain which ones Pajou could have known about or seen at this date. To demonstrate that the master kept up with Neoclassical developments, West (forthcoming) correctly cites the massive pyramidal design of David's *Hector and Andromache* (1783) and that of Canova's *Monument to Clement XIII* (the model, which he must have known about in some fashion, dates from 1783–88), the latter with its Genius of Death in the place occupied by Pajou's afflicted Hymen. JDD

IV. *Works for Collectors*

Monsieur Pajou, a young and celebrated artist, combines a singular ease of execution with subtle thinking and felicitous innovations. He possesses that kind of genius that, superior in the person it embraces, would have equally suited all others."[1] Nowhere more than in the works for private collectors, generally exhibited every other year at the Salon, do we sense the happy diversity of Pajou's talents: delicate statuettes, historical compositions, clocks, small reliefs, models for the Sèvres porcelain works, landscape drawings—the artist tried his hand at almost every genre.

If Pajou often appears as the "sculptor to the king," favored when it came to official commissions, and if he was the portraitist of Mme Du Barry, of several nobles, and especially of his friends, he was also an artist attentive to his personal clientele, receptive to changing fashions and open to any number of disciplines.

As befitted his celebrity, Pajou had many private collectors. A number of his friends, such as De Wailly, Robert, Trouard, Briard, Lemoyne, Le Prince, and Le Carpentier,[2] owned works by him, both sculpted and drawn. But it is difficult to tell which of these were actual purchases and which were gifts from the artist.

From as far back as his stay in Italy, Pajou had known informed collectors. His status as a pensionnaire at the Académie de France and the patronage of Natoire designated him as a promising artist. We have, however, few details about his contacts. He certainly knew Choiseul, the wealthy ambassador to the Holy See, and perhaps Farsetti, a collector of terracottas with close ties to the Académie. The only definite trace of a commission while in Italy was from the count Felice Gazzola (see cat. 4), artillery commander of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, for whom he drew some models for andirons (figs. 19, 20).

On his return to Paris, Pajou was armed with a letter of recommendation from the abbé Barthélemy to the comte de Caylus. It was Caylus who helped him obtain from General Betzkoy, in 1757, the prestigious commission for a monument in honor of his half sister (cat. 53). The cosmopolitan Russian courtier was employing Vassé, Caylus's protégé, on similar projects at the time. Pajou's introduction into the milieu of Francophile Russians did not prove productive—members of the aristocratic Golitsyn family preferred Houdon—and he had to wait until the end of the 1780s before working on a commission from Sheremetev (cat. 62).

For any artist of the period the world of financiers was the most fertile source of collectors interested in contemporary art. Pajou was introduced into these circles, meeting such figures as Baudard de Vaudésir,[3] Fontaine de Cramayel, and Pâris de Montmartel (cat. 64). He rapidly gained the confidence of the most discriminating collector of the day, La Live de Jully, son of a *fermier général* and ally of Fontaine. La Live bought the plaster model of Pajou's *Peace* at his first Salon, in 1759, and commissioned the marble version (listed in the *livret* for the Salon of 1761): "A figure two feet [61 cm] in size, representing Peace who holds in her right hand the statue of Plutus, god of wealth, and in her left a torch, with which she burns the instruments of war." This work, unfortunately lost, may survive in a drawing that seems to be an early idea for the statuette, with a lictor's fasces in place of the figure of Plutus (fig. 98). This rather dramatic drawing, with its vigorous ink scratchings and its patches of wash, looks more like the work of Doyen or La Traverse, Pajou's fellow students in Rome.

La Live and his architect, Barreau de Chefdeville, then engaged Pajou for the sculptural part of the decorations for the "Flemish room" of La Live's hôtel, where paintings from foreign schools were hung. Pajou executed the overdoors and the statue of the Art of Painting in one niche; this allegorical figure, now lost, held "a palette and brushes in one hand, and in the other a portcrayon."[4] The work was in keeping with the furniture designed by Le Lorrain in the "Greek taste."[5] When it came to representing La Live himself, however, it was not the classical mode that Pajou proposed: instead, La Live's bust shows him in contemporary dress, caught in a moment of privacy with his shirt wide open.[6] This sensitive portrait indicates the quality of the two men's friendship. La Live, an honorary member of the Académie, was present in 1760 for Pajou's induction. With him were other members of the collecting fraternity, such as Julienne, Mariette,



Fig. 98. Pajou, *Peace*. Black chalk, pen and brown ink. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat

Fig. 99. Charles De Wailly, *Model for a Column*. Pen and ink, touches of watercolor. Poitiers, Bibliothèque Universitaire



Gougenot, and Valory, but they seem not to have acquired works by the sculptor.[7]

Several important members of the aristocracy took note of Pajou at that time. The duc de Choiseul, a great collector of paintings, had a marked taste for small, precious marble figures; in this he resembled La Live de Jully. He owned at least two by Pajou—*Peace* (acquired from La Live) and *Neptune* (cat. 71)—and possibly commissioned a third (cat. 69). The marquis de Voyer d'Argenson used Pajou's talents in a different way, ordering decorative works to embellish his Paris hôtel.[8] Pajou produced several pieces of architectural sculpture (cat. 30–38), as well as, less typically, some ornamental items. Thus he designed the decoration of a porphyry column supporting a vase, after a drawing by Charles De Wailly (fig. 99);[9] his models of two caryatids were cast in bronze and chased and gilt by Robert-Joseph Auguste.[10] Pajou also provided models of chimeras for a chimneypiece.[11] Finally, we can attribute to him the two oval medallions representing Orpheus in Hades and Hercules Chaining Cerberus that decorated a piece of furniture drawn by Chambers during a visit to the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson.[12] Two bronze plaques that appeared on the Paris art market in 1989 recapture these figures (fig. 100). Their style is typical of Pajou's art: solid forms in a clearly defined space, subtle suggestion of perspective, vigorously modeled masculine bodies, individualized locks of hair, and draperies with well-defined folds signal the master's hand (even down

Fig. 100. Attributed to Pajou, *Orpheus in Hades* and *Hercules Chaining Cerberus*. Bronze. Private collection



to the repeat of the motif of the three-headed Cerberus), in keeping with the overdoors in the salon (cat. 35–38).

Pajou's participation in decorative projects, working closely with bronze specialists, was not limited to the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson. Other sources indicate his interest in metalworking, and the dissemination of works in metal allowed him to reach a wider circle of collectors. After his collaboration with Auguste in 1761, he was in contact with François-Thomas Germain in 1762,[13] although nothing is known of the nature of their transactions, and then in 1765 with Jean-Joseph de Saint-Germain (cat. 66). The success of Pajou's clock model for the king of Denmark brought him a commission for another clock, ordered by the prince de Condé in 1775 (see cat. 78). Finally, he worked with Pierre-Philippe Thomire, who is thought to have been his pupil, although here too essential information is missing as to how they met and when Thomire cast and chased the bust of Lemoyne (cat. 27), the statuettes *Constant Love* and *Fickle Love* (see cat. 89, 90), or even the *Seated Buffon* (cat. 118) and *Psyche Abandoned* (cat. 135), and for which collectors or dealers. And in what form was the small relief of *Pyrrhus in the House of Glaucias* (cat. 84, 85) to circulate? We lack crucial details that would lead to a better understanding of the relations between Pajou and the bronze founders of his day.[14]

Pajou's models for fountains, subsequently cast in lead, constitute yet another little-known aspect of his activity, demonstrating his ability to adapt to varied formulas in order to satisfy his clients' wishes. The fountain that he apparently created for the *fermier général* Lemonnier represented three women bearing a shell.[15] We know more about *Cupid Mastering the Elements,* designed for the duchesse de Mazarin, the model for which was shown at the Salon of 1769.[16] The fountain was placed in an arched niche in the dining room of her hôtel on the quai Malaquais.[17] It has since disappeared but is known through two of Pajou's drawings: one was in the Jean Masson collection in Amiens[18] and the other, showing the pedestal, in the Beurdeley and Félix Oppenheim collections (fig. 101).[19] The work is full of charm, and we can easily recognize in it Pajou's typical child. It garnered reproaches from Diderot: "Really, Monsieur Pajou—is this big, heavy, potbellied child a master of the elements just because he carries a fish under one arm and some birds in his hand, and stands on a turtle? I really wish you had seen the one by Van Dyck, the pride with which he endowed his Cupid's posture, his look, his face, how he holds his arrow, how he threatens the sky, the earth, and the underworld."[20] As so often, the writer, imbued with the memory of a painting,[21] composed an image of the work he had once had before his eyes.

Diderot had already, in 1767, criticized the composition of Pajou's drawing depicting the Death of Pelopidas by comparing it with Poussin's *Eudaminas.*[22] Certainly, the sculptor anticipated the problems he might incur when presenting large history compositions at the Salon (cat. 65, 74, 76). By espousing the wishes of contemporaries such as Cochin, who lobbied in favor of the grand style, Pajou risked being blamed for abandoning his chisel for the pen or pencil and for trying to replace the history painters. As it happened, however, he was generally praised.[23] On August 3, 1771, the engraver De La Fosse asked the Académie to examine his new graphite pencils; Pajou, his competence as a draftsman thereby acknowledged, was part of the jury, together with Bachelier, Lepicié, Le Prince, and Cochin.[24] His works were bought by important collectors of drawings, such as the comte d'Artois's close friend the comte de Vaudreuil (cat. 74), the secretary to the navy Bourgeois de Boynes (see cat. 79), and the duke of Sachsen-Teschen.

These rich art lovers came from the world of the court, where Pajou was known for his busts of the royal family (Salon of 1767), his decorations for the Versailles Opera (1770), and the favor of Mme Du Barry. Under Louis XVI, he became the king's official portraitist and the accredited sculptor to the comte de Provence. It is no surprise, therefore, to see listed in the collection of the latter's mistress, the comtesse de Balbi, "a group representing Friendship sacrificing to Love, in marble, height five feet three inches, width three feet [160 × 91.5 cm]."[25] This work must have been close in spirit to the group shown at the Salon of 1787, *Venus Receiving an Apple from the Hands of Cupid* (fig. 102),[26] the subject of which had been conceived some fifteen years earlier, but in the form of a terracotta study;[27] it corresponded to the general taste for gallantry and fable.

During the 1770s, in fact, Clodion's celebrity led amateurs of sculpture to turn toward entertaining themes, derived from an Arcadia reinvented from Horace, Virgil, and Ovid. The prince de Conti's collection was a model in this regard, and it featured Pajou

prominently with some of his more lighthearted works. These terracottas are known today only through the sketches made by Gabriel Saint-Aubin in the margins of the auction catalogue when Conti's collection was sold on April 8, 1777. In the first group, *Two Children, One Asleep on Sheaves* (fig. 103), Pajou returned to the artful arrangement of infantine bodies that he demonstrated in the Royal Opera at Versailles.[28] The work fitted admirably among the terracottas by (or after) Duquesnoy, Delarue, and Clodion. The latter's influence appears still greater in the *Little Girl Watching Two Billing Doves* (fig. 103)—even though the sole remaining visual record of it conveys neither the effect of sculpture in the round nor any details of texture. Pajou produced other works in the same vein, such as the *Little Girl Carrying Eggs in Her Chemise and Fighting Off a Rooster,* which Mme De Wailly kept all her life.[29] Evidently Pajou, whose "grave air" made an impression,[30] could also show a more frivolous side.[31]

Jean-Nicolas, comte Dufort de Cheverny, who for many years was master of ceremonies at court, might have been expected to figure among the collectors of this joyous art. But if the man himself was a lighthearted companion, a happy and spirited guest, his *Mémoires* reveal him as also having great moral integrity. He was a friend of both Sedaine and Pajou. For six weeks in early summer 1779, the sculptor stayed with him at the Château de Cheverny in the Val de Loire, where the comte had lived since 1765. A passage in the *Mémoires* refers to the artist's presence on the feast of Saint John the Baptist (June 24).[32] On that occasion, Pajou collaborated with Sedaine on an album page for his host wittily relating several episodes from his youth. The sketches were annotated in Dufort's hand:[33] "This was drawn by M. Pajou, famous sculptor, for the feast of Saint John in 1779; given by M. the président de Salaberri to M. the comte de Dufort. The couplets are by M. Sedaine." The friendship between the two men, mentioned several times in the *Mémoires,* was sealed when Pajou gave Dufort the plaster models of two of his most important sculptures: *Buffon* (see cat. 112) and *Pascal* (see cat. 127). These works, now lost, were placed in a room in the château that the owner called his "museum," in which "thirty marbleized plinths" were arranged to receive "plaster casts by the most superb masters."[34] Unlike the prince de Conti, Dufort de Cheverny had a pronounced taste for the sublime and for the retrospective portrayal. Such taste was not very common among the collectors in his milieu. *Buffon* was largely misunderstood, and d'Angiviller's series of Great Men was a commercial fiasco when the Sèvres manufactory tried to market reproductions of it. Examples such as these provide a particularly clear measure of the difference between public commissions, which at the time hewed to lofty inspiration, and private taste, which preferred less austere subject matter.

Collectors' motives were obviously many and varied. The prince de Conti liked to surround himself with agreeable figures. Dufort de Cheverny wanted to create in his château in the provinces a summary of the grand visions conceived for the capital. For the gallery of his hôtel on the rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs in Paris, their contemporary the abbé Terray dreamed up a collection of sculptures on an entirely different principle. The talented but unpopular comptroller general of finances, and briefly the director of the Bâtiments du Roi at the end of Louis XV's reign, Terray conceived a program in 1773 intended to illustrate his personal glory.[35] Four statues were to symbolize the activities placed under the minister's vigilant and efficient administration:[36] Pajou's *Mercury* (commerce), Mouchy's *Apollo* (the arts), Tassaert's *Pyrrha* (the people), and Pigalle's

Fig. 101. Pajou, *Cupid Mastering the Elements.* Red chalk. Whereabouts unknown



Abundance (agriculture).[37] This group of statues was not finished at the time of the abbé's death, and it received relatively few comments from the critics—a remarkable show of indifference considering his controversial personality. Pajou's work (fig. 104) interested only Moufle d'Angerville, who noted in it a renewed approach to the subject. The god had, in fact, been spectacularly treated by Pigalle, and though his statue had been exiled to Prussia,[38] the memory of it was still vivid. Pajou "has avoided the comparison by representing [Mercury] as the god of commerce. . . . The active cupidity characteristic of the merchant can be seen in his face. Using the slightly stooped posture [of the model], the artist has given himself the means of displaying his superior knowledge of anatomy in the expression of the back and chest muscles; the feet, legs, arms—all the limbs are beautifully proportioned."[39]

In 1789 Pajou exhibited at the Salon (no. 210) a curious sculpture that has no equivalent in the rest of his work. The *livret* describes it thus: "A traveler having a thorn pulled from his foot by a man. The artist's aim in this composition is to unite the expressions of pain and attention in the same work. Terracotta study." Seen by Stein in 1912 (fig. 105),[40] it bears the following inscription on the plinth: *Réminiscence d'un groupe antique / L'attention et la douleur / par Pajou 1789* (Reminiscence of an antique group; *Attention and Pain*, by Pajou, 1789). Two ideas are recapitulated in the inscription and in the *livret* account: the re-creation after the antique—hence the nudity, the fillet binding the head of one of the two men, with its curly, close-cropped hair, the flow of drapery, the cup—and the study of expressions. It is difficult to believe that so demonstrative a terracotta could have been produced without a precise end in mind. Was it designed as a model for students, at a time when Pajou was deeply engaged in teaching, both at the Académie and at the Petite École? Or was it intended for a specific collector, even commissioned by one? Since the terracotta was owned at the beginning of the twentieth century by a descendant of the Vandeuls, Stein conjectured that it had been given by the artist to Diderot's daughter.[41] If Diderot himself did not like Pajou, who was not part of his world and did not belong to his circle, the sculptor was highly regarded by Diderot's daughter and son-in-law Vandeul.[42] Among the best proofs of this are the erasures made in their copy of the *Salons*: the Vandeuls censored Diderot's unfavorable remarks about Pajou and added their own flattering comments.[43] Perhaps the sculptor got wind of their plan to publish and of

Fig. 102. Pajou, *Venus Receiving an Apple from the Hands of Cupid*. Marble. Whereabouts unknown

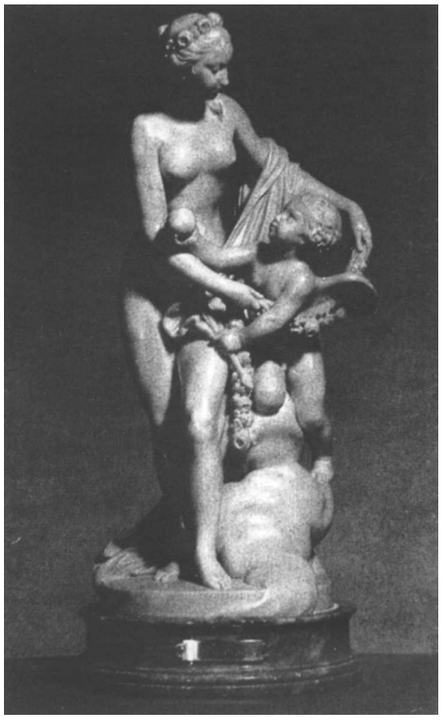
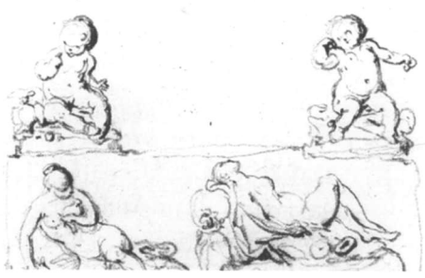


Fig. 103. Gabriel Saint-Aubin after Pajou, top: *Two Children, One Asleep on Sheaves*; bottom: *Little Girl Watching Two Billing Doves* (beneath *Seated Bacchantes Playing Castanets* by Lainé). Sketches. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes



1271 Un autre vaſe de même forme & hauteur que le précédent, auſſi par M. *Clodion*.
1272 Un Satyre enfant, tenant d'une main un hibou, & de l'autre un thyrſe. 400
1273 Une petite fille tenant un pigeon & une cage. Ces deux morceaux charmants, ſont de *M. Clodion*; hauteur, chacun de 9 pouces.
1274 Deux enfants, dont un eſt endormi ſur des gerbes; ce grouppe
O iv 77

320 *Terre cuite.*
qui a un grand mérite, eſt de *M. Pajou*.
1275 & 1276 Deux morceaux en pendants, l'un par *M. Pajou*, repréſente une petite fille conſidérant deux colombes qui ſe careſſent; l'autre une Bacchante aſſiſe jouant des caſtagnettes, & ayant à côté d'elle un maſque & des raiſins, par *M. Lainé*. 150
1277 Une femme careſſant un pigeon,



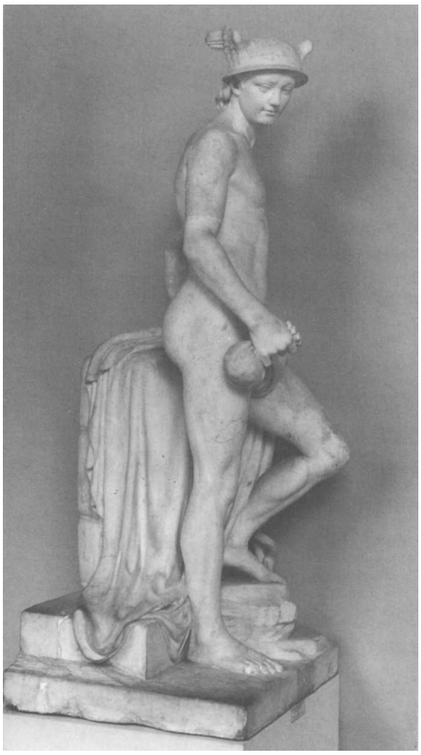


Fig. 104. Pajou, *Mercury*. Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre

their favorable intentions concerning him. Perhaps he did create *Attention and Pain* with the idea of giving it to these friends. The intellectual subject would certainly have pleased them.

Whatever the case, the group shows one side of the astonishing diversity of Pajou's talent, capable of creating funerary, decorative, historical, romantic, expository, austere, and literary works for a wide range of collectors. Indeed, one key to his success was his ability to fit into different sectors of society. As an established artist under the reign of Louis XVI, his brilliant professional situation allowed him to widen his network of contacts, and it led him, like every ambitious man of his day, to the Freemasons' door. He became a member of the Paris lodge, "Simple Hearts of the Polar Star" of the Grand Orient of France.[44] Certainly, this was neither the aristocratic "Olympic Society" (whose members notably included his friend Hubert Robert), nor the "Nine Sisters," the Enlightenment coterie (where Houdon officiated), nor even the "Reunited Friends," filled with financiers (where Clodion had usefully placed himself). The "Simple Hearts" lodge was mainly distinguished by the number and quality of its ennobled officeholders and artists. There Pajou, along with his friend De Wailly, came into contact with a number of architects (Bellicard, Chaussard, Le Camus de Mézières, Chalgrin), eminent members of the house of the comte de Provence, the crown jeweler Aubert, the king's clockmaker Pierre Julien Le Roy, and the king's physician P.-I. Poissonnier, among others. It is of course difficult to gauge precisely the impact of these contacts on the development of the artist's career. But useful relations may well have been formed there with Chaussard (Pajou's first biographer), Aubert (an admirer of his works and the man who sold him a plot of land on rue Neuve-Saint-Charles on July 24, 1778),[45] and Poissonnier (whose portrait he did in 1789).[46]

Pajou retained a taste for this kind of sociability. Under the Revolution, he joined in De Wailly's initiatives for the creation of the Société des Amis des Arts in 1790[47] and regularly participated in its exhibitions.[48] Well before that, he had consented to having his work shown in settings other than the Salons of the royal academies (of Paris or Toulouse), thereby indicating considerable open-mindedness.[49]

Pajou's collectors, then, came to him via many different channels. To those responsible for public administration, to friends and colleagues were added eminent personalities of the court and the city; the artist restricted himself to no one segment of society. The multiplicity of his talents and his means of expression allowed him to serve, throughout his official career, an important private clientele to whom he offered extraordinarily varied works. What other sculptor could boast so versatile a palette? This freedom is what gives Pajou's rich career its unique character.

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1. Daudet de Jossac, *Sentimens sur les tableaux exposés au Salon de 1769* (Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 122).
2. Nothing is known about Pajou's relations with Boucher (he did the portrait of his son-in-law Baudoin), Philippe Caffieri, or Suvée. The first owned a *Standing Cupid Eating Grapes* in stone, which was bought after his death by the financier Boutin. The second and third each had a plaster cast of *Pluto and Cerberus* (cat. 28). Brongniart owned the large drawing of Diomedes (cat. 23); little is known about the personal relations between Brongniart and Pajou, except that they probably met several times at the home of Pajou's son-in-law, Clodion, who was on friendly terms with the architect.
3. If we accept that the latter commissioned from him the two groups dated 1758 (see cat. 24).
4. Catalogue of the sale of the La Live de Jully collection, March 5, 1770, no. 215.
5. "I gathered all the foreign paintings in one room at the end of the apartment. This room is decorated with furniture designed in the antique style, or, if I may employ a word that is currently thoroughly misused, in the Greek taste. . . . The figure in the niche that terminates this room is simply and nobly composed, and draped in the best of taste" (Mariette and La Live de Jully, 1764). "One can

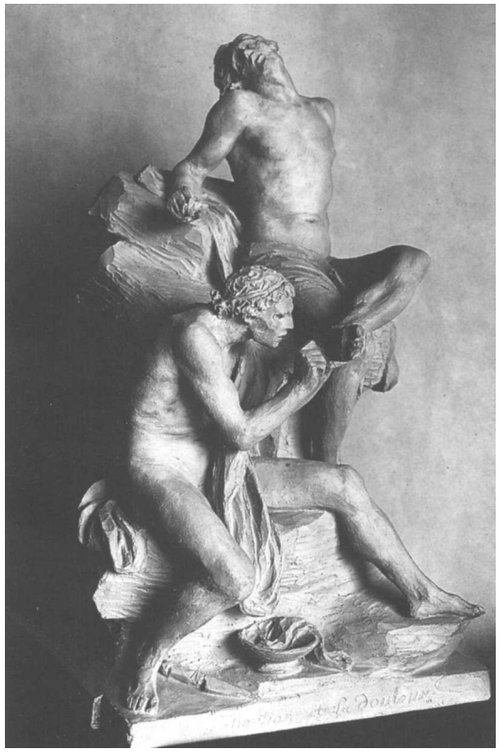


Fig. 105. Pajou, *Attention and Pain*. Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown

say, without overdoing the praise, that this figure is a triumph of the antique style. The innocence and tranquillity of the figure's pose, like the character of the cloth and the flow of the folds, form a felicitous ensemble of graces and interesting simplicity" (*Mercure de France,* November 1763, p. 211).

6. Private collection. Stein 1912, p. 137, ill. (p. 398: as belonging to the duc de Fezensac, Paris).
7. There were also Caylus (see cat. 4) and Bergeret, who owned "the head of an old man and its companion piece, the head of a woman" (see cat. 63).
8. Pajou also did portraits of his children, exhibited at the Salon of 1767 (now lost).
9. The contract for this work is dated February 25, 1761: "I the undersigned De Wailly hereby agree, undertake, and bind myself with regard to Monsieur the marquis de Voyer to deliver to him and install in his gallery in Paris, by the first day of the year 1762, a porphyry vase belonging to him, mounted on a porphyry column conforming to the attached model, the different parts of which will be executed as follows: the part in sculpture by M. Pajou; the part in bronze, chasing, inscription, gildings, etc., by M. Auguste from the models of the said M. Pajou; and the part in marble by M. Adam. All three being party to the said agreement. The column that I, De Wailly, undertake by my agreement to buy and pay for will be of porphyry only on the visible side. The other side will be in painted wood or stucco, at my discretion; the visible base and capital will be in white marble, as will the two supporting plinths or caryatids and the two women's heads crowning them. . . . And I, the marquis de Voyer, bind myself and undertake to pay the said M. De Wailly, architect, foreman, and contractor of the said work the sum of three thousand livres" (Poitiers, BU, D 325). On December 19, 1762, Pajou, via De Wailly, requested the sum of six hundred livres "for the model, marble, and other expenses for the two supporting busts applied to the column" (BM, Ms. 2219; repeated on February 23, 1764: Poitiers, BU, P 173, d. 3); Hughes 1996, nos. 271 and 284, ill. (Hughes suggests [p. 132] that Pajou also conceived the heads that adorn the vase).
10. The column and the vase are now in the Wallace Collection in London. See Paris 1979a, p. 53; London 1984–85.
11. Letter from De Wailly to Voyer d'Argenson, June 25, 1773 (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 49).
12. Harris 1963, p. 64, fig. 7 (lower right).
13. Pajou appears in Germain's accounts on August 2, 1762, as owing him ninety-one livres (Perrin 1993, p. 49).
14. Niclausse 1947, pp. 12, 20.
15. Our only source is Chaussard 1806, p. 473.
16. Salon of 1769, no. 209: "Cupid, Master of the Elements. This life-size Figure was executed in lead for Madame the Duchesse de Mazarin." Saint-Aubin made a sketch of it (Dacier 1909–21, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 83–84, ill.).
17. Pajou's invoice, dated November 22, 1769, has survived: the artist was paid three thousand livres (Archives du Palais de Monaco, S 429; cited in Faraggi 1995, p. 79 n. 14).
18. Stein 1912, p. 218, not ill.; sale Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, May 7–8, 1923, no. 179, ill. (whereabouts unknown).
19. Stein 1912, p. 310, pl. XI (whereabouts unknown).
20. Bukdahl et al. 1995b, p. 106. *Fire* was most likely depicted on the reverse.
21. Diderot had already written on Van Dyck's painting in 1767 (ibid., p. 79).
22. Ibid., pp. 489-90.
23. "M. Pajou, sculptor, in whose hands clay and marble pleasingly take on any form he likes. Like Bernini or Puget, he can certainly enliven a canvas when he wishes, adding to all his other talents that of painter. A genius can try everything, and with success" (*Lettre du baron de * * * à Milord * * **: Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 144).
24. *Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, pp. 80–81.
25. Seized during the Revolution and registered at the dépôt de Nesle (AN, F^{17} *372, fol. 307); also figures in Le Brun's inventory of June 17, 1796 (AN, F^{17} 1196, a document brought to my attention by Patrick Leperlier).
26. The work is signed and dated 1787. No doubt brought to Montpellier, it was acquired there by a local collector, M. Fortin, then bought in the mid-nineteenth century by Anselme-Salomon de Rothschild; it remained in that branch of the family until its sale at Parke Bernet, New York, November 1, 1958 (no. 302, ill.). Its whereabouts are unknown.
27. Salon of 1771, no. 240. A comparable subject was shown at the Salon of 1779, no. 198: "The power of love."
28. Especially the *Geniuses of the Arts* under the figure of *Apollo,* in the foyer (fig. 70).
29. Comtesse de Fourcroy sale, March 16, 1810, no. 52.
30. According to the critic for the *Journal général de la France* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 339, p. 31), apropos of the bust of Deseine (cat. 148).
31. Two groups in marble representing a Satyr and a Satyress, each with a child, bearing the inscription *Pajou fe. 1772*, were accepted as authentic and reproduced by Stein (1912, pp. 212–13), before being exhibited in New York in 1935–36 (nos. 90, 91, ill.; photographs in the Frick Art Library, New York; whereabouts unknown). It is impossible to arrive at a judgment about these heterogeneous and stylistically disconcerting works without having seen them.
32. Dufort de Cheverny 1909, vol. 2, pp. 18–19.
33. Private collection. See Rey 1906, ill., and Stein 1912, pp. 66–67, ill.
34. Dufort de Cheverny 1909, vol. 2, pp. 18–19.
35. The ensemble was not finished at his death. See Bailey 1993.
36. This program was completed by four groups of children symbolizing the Arts and Sciences (by Caffieri, Clodion, Lecomte, and Tassaert).
37. *Mercury* and *Apollo* are in the Louvre, *Pyrrha* was recently rediscovered in the park of the Château de Ferrières (Grandsart 1997), and *Abundance* is in a private collection.
38. Pigalle's *Mercury* was given to Frederick II of Prussia by Louis XV in

1750. It is now in the Bodemuseum in Berlin, after having long adorned the park of the Schloss Sanssouci, Potsdam.
39. *Mémoires secrets,* July 16, 1780.
40. Stein 1912, pp. 63–64, ill. (whereabouts unknown).
41. Ibid., pp. 64, 416.
42. "My father's work on painting has been published. I think it has been stolen from the home of our friend [Grimm], as there are some notes by him. . . . Without concern for the moral character of my father, who would a thousand times sooner have consigned all his works to the flames than offend a good man, several pages have been left that must distress those whom they concern, including the excellent Pajou, who has always showered me with marks of friendship" (letter from Diderot's daughter, Angélique de Vandeul, in the *Correspondance littéraire,* reacting to the unauthorized publication in the year IV of some unpublished works by her father: quoted in Seznec and Adhémar 1960, p. 241).
43. Intended for an edition of the *Salons.* Bukdahl and Lorenceau 1984, pp. 301, 331–32; May and Chouillet 1984, pp. 162–63.
44. From 1775 to 1778; see Le Bihan 1966, p. 381.
45. AN, Min. Cent., LXXI, 12. For details, see Chronology.
46. Chaussard 1806, p. 471.
47. He also attended the meetings of the Société Philotechnique at the Louvre
48. In 1790, 1791, and 1792 (see Chronology).
49. In 1779 and 1783, several of his works in private hands were shown at the Salon de la Correspondance, an unofficial event that did not exactly have d'Angiviller's blessing, though apparently he did not go so far as to protest.

63. *Head of a Bearded Old Man*

Terracotta
H. 56 cm (22⅛ in.), W. 43.6 cm (17⅛ in.), D. 28.5 cm (11¼ in.)
Incised on socle, to left: *Pajou. fé. / ce 8 May / 1761*

London, Victoria and Albert Museum (A. 8–1974)

PROVENANCE: Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, posthumous sale, November 28, 1781, no. 104 ("Terracotta. Bust of an old man larger than life and wearing a long beard" [?]); Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret, sale, April 24, 1786, no. 380 ("Head of an old man [with a woman's head as companion piece], by M. Pajou, on a square base of *brèche d'Alep marbre*. H. 20 in. [50.8 cm]" [?]); Vieux Viller, sale, February 18, 1788, no. 298 ("Terracottas: Head of an old man" [?]); Joubert, sale, April 15, 1793, no. 90 ("Lifesize head of an old man" [?]); David David-Weill, Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1912 and 1924; acquired by the museum on the London art market, 1974

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1761, no. 139; New York 1940, no. 29

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Lami 1911, p. 205; Stein 1912, p. 20, ill. pp. 23, 397; Vitry 1924, p. 575

RELATED WORKS: A nearly identical head, though of slightly smaller proportions (H. 55 cm [21⅝ in.], W. 40.5 cm [16 in.], D. 29.5 cm [11⅝ in.]), which came onto the London art market (London 1981, no. 32, ill.), is now in Toronto (Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Margaret and Ian Ross, 1992; "Museum Acquisitions" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, March 1994, fig. 62; fig. 106); see below.

Another head in terracotta, similar in design but wearing a turban (H. 64 cm [25¼ in.], including 12 cm [4¾ in.] for the socle, W. 36 cm (14⅛ in.]), was in the collections of Henri Rochefort (Rochefort 1905, pp. 4 ["bust of his usual model"], 16 ["Moses"], ill.); David David-

Fig. 106. Pajou, *Head of a Bearded Old Man.* Terracotta. Toronto, Art Gallery

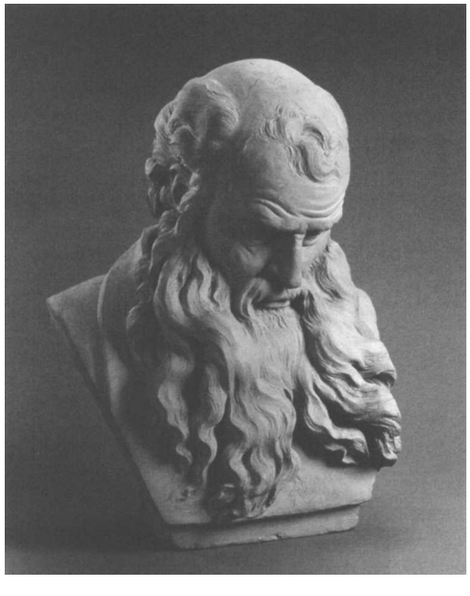
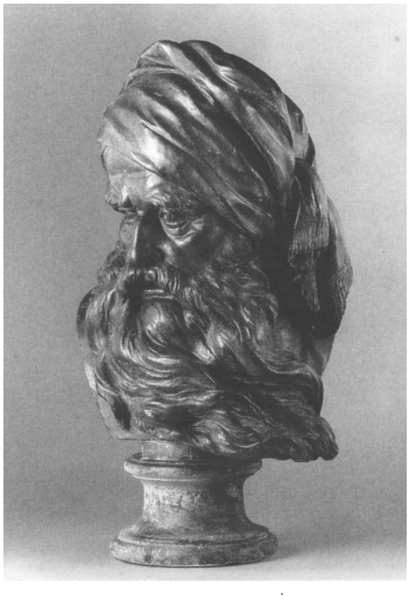
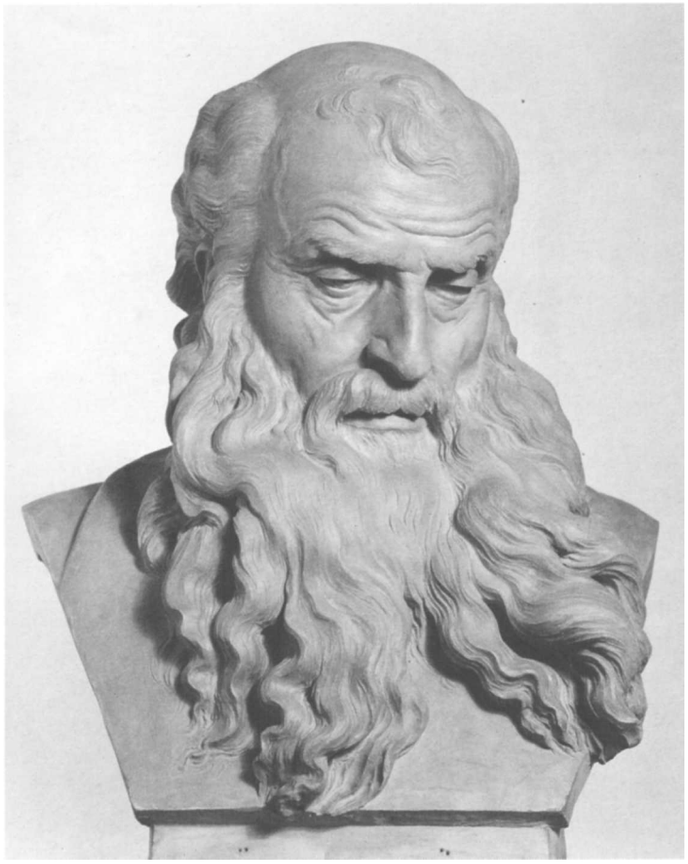
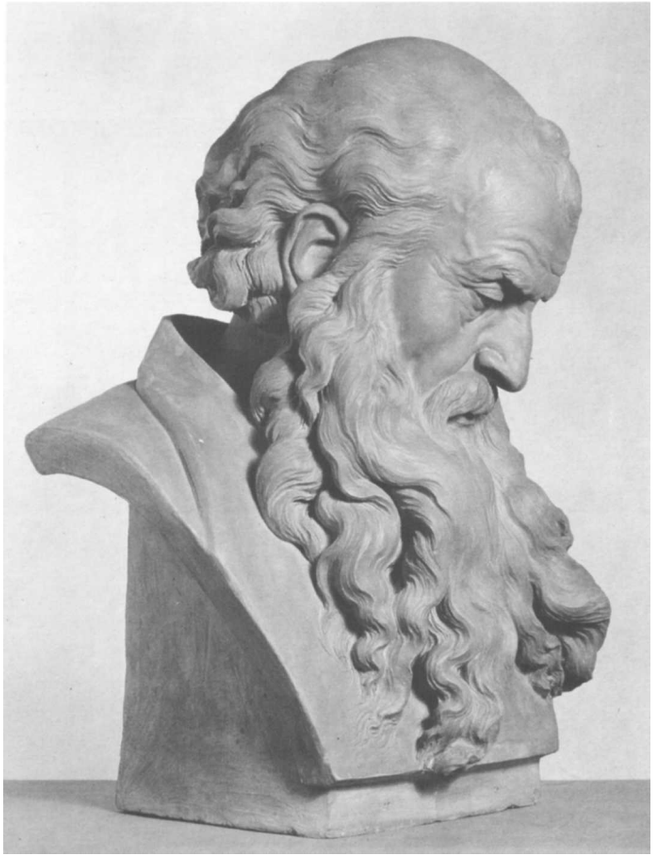


Fig. 107. Pajou, *Head of a Bearded Old Man Wearing a Turban.* Terracotta. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat





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Weill, Neuilly-sur-Seine (Stein 1912, pp. 20, 419; Vitry 1924, p. 575); Léon Bonnat; now in the Musée Bonnat (inv. 809; Bayonne, Musée Bonnat 1930, no. 555, and 1952, no. 555; fig. 107).

This head of a bearded old man, signed and dated 1761, can be related to a *livret* entry (no. 139 for the Salon of 1761): "head of an old man. In terracotta." It is a character piece, though unlike the "têtes d'expression" created for the comte de Caylus's competition, this particular work does not describe a specific, carefully analyzed mood. Some scholars have identified it with the model for the head of Pajou's *Saint Augustine*, a study for which was shown at the same Salon. But a sketch by Saint-Aubin in the margin of a copy of the *livret* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; reprinted in Dacier 1909–21, vol. 6; fig. 233) shows the saint wearing a miter. Still it is possible that Pajou was working with a view toward his large statue of Augustine for the Hôtel des Invalides, at the time a very important commission for him. Terence Hodgkinson, in a report written for the museum's acquisition of the work, suggests that the present head could be a model of the same size as the head of the statue or a very polished study. It is possible that the same live model was used for the three known heads in terracotta (see Related Works), for *Saint Augustine*, and perhaps for the *River-god* (cat. 64).

The work now in Toronto (fig. 106), which is of very high quality, has been described as a "preliminary model" for the head in London (London 1981). A detailed examination turned up no real variations in the molding of these two sculptures—the one in Toronto is no sketchier than the one in London—but there are some differences between the two works in size and especially in condition. The Toronto sculpture is described by a museum conservator as a terracotta coated with fine layers of slip. The work's surface now shows an extensive network of wide, deep cracks, which no doubt appeared as the work dried. Pajou, recently named an academician, could not show technically imperfect works at the Salon. He must have begun the piece over, and this time he succeeded. The



Fig. 108. Pajou, *Three Studies for a Head of a Bearded Old Man.* Black chalk. Private collection



Fig. 109. Pajou, *Head of a Saint.* Stone. Versailles, Saint-Louis Cathedral, Chapelle de la Providence

London terracotta displays a smoother, much less fragile surface and, carefully signed and dated, it could be exhibited to the public.

The existence of several heads of old men by Pajou (fig. 107) confirms the artist's interest in this exercise. During his Italian sojourn, he sketched different views of a bearded head (inscribed *une taîte antique* [an antique head]; fig. 108) on three pages of a small notebook (18.7 × 13 cm [7¾ × 5⅛ in.]). This sharp profile appears on one of the medallions in the Chapelle de la Providence at Versailles (fig. 109). All these figures are bald (except for the one in Bayonne) and have a bony face, a straight nose, and a very heavy beard.

This interest in bearded old men was shared by other artists of Pajou's day. Mariette had in his cabinet a drawing by Bouchardon on the same subject (engraved by Demarteau to imitate red chalk). Fragonard, Le Prince, Vien, and many others also treated the same theme, although it is rare to find a sculpture that does not portray a specific subject.

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64. *River-god*

Terracotta
H. 55 cm (21⅝ in.), W. 68 cm (26¾ in.), D. 42 cm (16½ in.)
Incised on back, on rock: *Pajou / Fé. le 28 juillet / 1762*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 2636)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Mme Esmond, née Deutsch de la Meurthe; anonymous sale Paris, Drouot, June 4, 1948, no. 35, ill.; acquired by the museum at that sale

EXHIBITIONS: Tokyo 1969, no. 55; Paris 1974–75a, no. 77

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pradel 1949, pp. 34–35, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Colossal stone statue decorating a pool in the gardens of the Château de Brunoy (lost, but known through the engraving by Choffard after Gravelot, 1763; fig. 110).

Plaster model of the statue was exhibited at the Salon of 1761, no. 136 (lost, but drawn by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin; fig. 233).

At the Salon of 1761 Pajou exhibited "the model of a figure of a river-god," drawn by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin in the margin of a Salon *livret* (BN, Cabinet des Estampes; Dacier 1909–21, vol. 6, p. 31; fig. 233). The work in stone was commissioned from Pajou about 1760, since it was deemed finished in the *livret* account: "it is executed at fifteen feet [ca. 5 m] in height at the home of M. de Montmartel, in Brunoy." Dezallier d'Argenville described it in the park of the Château de Brunoy (1779, p. 347):

> One climbs to a terrace via stairways bordered by two courses of running water, fed by a canal of roughly two hundred *toises* [1,300 ft.], the middle of which widens into a circular area. It is in this canal, decorated with two very high jets, that all the waters of the cascade, built to designs by Laurent, meet in a large expanse. The head of the canal is decorated with the handsome figure of a river-god, fifteen feet high, carved in stone by M. Pajou. From his urn, as well as from the rocks supporting the figure, flows a very large quantity of water that rushes down an extremely steep slope into an ornamental pool, from which two jets rise.

The statue was therefore raised high, to some extent blocking the viewer's perspective.

The Fountains of Brunoy were engraved in 1763 by Choffard after a drawing by Gravelot (fig. 110). The scenography of a tumultuous cascade topped by a

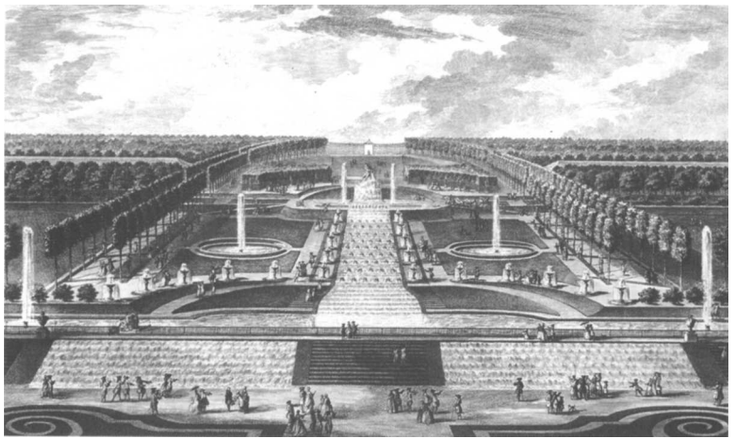


Cat. 64: reverse

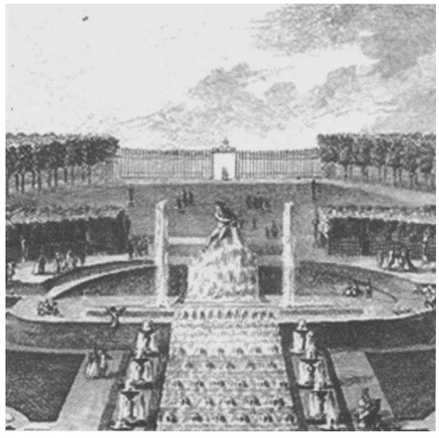
colossal statue was highly admired (Piganiol de la Force 1765, pp. 56–58). The duc de Croÿ, during a visit to Brunoy on August 29, 1763, called the ensemble "the effect of Neptune . . . a unique piece" (Croÿ 1906–7, vol. 2, p. 101). Twenty years later, when fashions had changed, the prince de Ligne proved more grudging in his praise (1786, p. 163): "At Brunoy, which cost immense sums of money, there is nowhere to walk; there is nothing but the most beautiful cascade. But what can one make of a beauty that depends on so many men and so many machines?"

These fountains were created for a man of prodigal wealth, Jean Pâris de Montmartel (1690–1766). He was of modest social origins, being the son of a country innkeeper. Like his three brothers, he had a brilliant career in finance. Treasurer of the Ponts et Chaussées, then senior member of the council of state, in 1722 he became guardian of the royal treasury and then banker

Fig. 110. Pierre-Philippe Choffard, *View of the Gardens of Brunoy with Pajou's "River-god," after Gravelot.* Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes



Cat. 64: detail



to the court. His influence was such that he is said to have set the interest rates on money and to have been consulted on the choice of comptrollers general. Godfather of Mme de Pompadour, whose links to his family are well known, he was named marquis de Brunoy by Louis XV. He used his immense fortune to transform the Brunoy seigniory, bought in 1722, into a sumptuous domain that was later acquired by the comte de Provence (Dubois-Corneau [1917]).

Brunoy was near Cramayel: did the *fermier général* Fontaine advise Pâris on the choice of Pajou? Other figures close to the world of finance, such as La Live de Jully and possibly Baudard de Vaudésir, were already among the sculptor's clients. In any case, Pâris de Montmartel liked sculpture. He asked Pigalle to execute the marble portrait of his one-year-old son—the famous *Child with Birdcage* in the Louvre, exhibited at the Salon of 1750—and no doubt he commissioned from Pajou the terracotta reduction of his *River-god*. This does not figure in his son's posthumous inventory (AN, Min. Cent., LIII, 559, April 25, 1781), but its perfect finish calls to mind the carefully executed models that collectors of taste liked to admire in their cabinets, following the example of La Live de Jully. Nothing is known about the significance of the date July 28, 1762, inscribed on the back of the terracotta.

The *River-god* is a rarity in Pajou's oeuvre. Indeed, Pajou created garden statues as an exception (see cat. 24) and then only at the beginning of his career. The idea of a colossal image, isolated in a garden, no doubt came from Giambologna's *Apennino*, which Pajou sketched in Pratolino during his journey through Tuscany in 1756 (ENSBA, vol. I, no. 124; fig. III), but the style is naturally different. Pajou's work can be likened more readily to one of Bernini's figures, such as the *Ganges*, on the Fountain of the Four Rivers in the Piazza Navona, Rome, or to the *Oceanus* of Pajou's teacher Lemoyne in the Bassin de Neptune at Versailles. But however many references Pajou may have had in mind when he conceived this monumental figure (the subject itself had been common enough since antiquity), he did not abandon his fidelity to the live model or to anatomical observation—as is evident, too, in his *Pluto*, from roughly the same period (cat. 28).

The modeling of the terracotta is handled with great sensitivity, felicitously rendering the stiffness of a thigh, the softness of the belly, and the multiple highs and lows of the torso. The back of the piece, which in the stone version was quite visible in the gardens of Brunoy, is a masterpiece of organization: the arm, extended by the oar, and the leg balance each other on either side of the slightly twisted dorsum—a composition that was later adapted by Pajou's future son-in-law Clodion (Poulet and Scherf 1992, no. 13). The body itself is set on a rock embellished with foliage and some discreet drapery, highlighting the perfectly rendered anatomy of a figure "fiercely tensed over his urn, unstable in his vehement pose" (Pradel 1949, p. 34).

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Fig. III. Pajou, *Apennino, after Giambologna*. Black chalk, pen and brown ink. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



65. *Lycurgus Presenting Their New King to the Spartans*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and gray washes, borders ruled in brown ink
31.3 × 46.2 cm (12⅜ × 18¼ in.)
Signed and dated at lower right, brown ink: *en 1762 Pajou invé fé*; below on the tan, peach, and gilt mount: *La Veuve du frere de Licurgus envoya Secretement lui faire entendre s'il vouloit lui promettre de l'epouser qu'elle se feroit avorter, Licurgus eut grande horreur de sa mechanseté, / toute fois il fit semblant d'accepter L'offre qu'elle lui fesoit qu'il n'etoit pas necessaire de faire perir son enfant, qu'elle se mettoit en danger elle même qu'il falloit qu'elle eut patience jusqu'a a ce qu'elle fut accouchée, car / alors il trouveroit moyen de se defaire, il n'eut pas plus tost apprit* [*qu'elle*] *étoit prete d'accoucher qu'il envoya des Gardes pour assister a son travail auqel il donna ordres que si elle fesoit une fille ils la laissasent entre les mains des / femmes, et si cetoit un garcon qu'ils le lui apportassent incontinant en quelque lieu qu'il fut, et quelques affaires qu'il eut, si avint qu'elle se delivra d'un fils au moment qu'il etoit a table avec les officiers de la ville, et entrerent ses serviteurs dans la sale, et lui presenterent le petit Enfant, le quel il prit entre ses bras, dit aux assistants, voila un Roy qui vous vient de naitre Seigneurs Spartiates. tiré des hommes illustres de Plutarque, Traduction d'Amiest* [*Amyot*]. (The widow of Lycurgus's brother sent secretly to let him know that if he wished to promise to marry her she would procure an abortion. Lycurgus felt great horror at her wickedness. However, he pretended to accept the offer she made him, [saying] that it was not necessary to cause her child to perish, that she was only putting herself at risk, and that she would have to be patient until her delivery because then he would find a means of getting rid of her child. He no sooner learned that she was ready to give birth than he sent guards to attend her labor, ordering them that if she bore a daughter they should put her into the hands of the women, and if it was a boy they should bring him to him forthwith, no matter where he was and what he was doing. It so happened that she delivered herself of a son at the moment when he was at table with the officers of the city, and his servants entered into the room and presented him with the little child, whom he took in his arms, saying to those present: "Spartan lords, behold a king who has just been born to you." Taken from the Famous Men of Plutarch, translation by Amyot)

Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (822–1–65)

PROVENANCE: Probably the architect Louis-François Trouard, sale Paris, February 22–27, 1779, no. 181; the crown jeweler Aubert, sale Paris, March 2, 1786, no. 95; Mlle Henry, sale Paris, October 10–11, 1807, no. 35; the painter Gabriel Lemonnier; his gift, 1822

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1763, no. 175, p. 35 of the *livret* ("A drawing, sketch, representing Lycurgus, giving a king to the Lacedaemonians. It is about three feet by eighteen inches"); Paris 1974–75b, no. 108; Copenhagen 1975, no. 83

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Lebel 1890, p. 94, no. 872; Lami 1911, p. 205; Minet 1911, p. 140, no. 1138; Stein 1912, pp. 223–25, ill., 397; Seznec and Adhémar 1975, p. 190; Wisner 1990, pp. 130–31, ill.

RELATED WORK: Aquatint by François-Philippe Charpentier (fig. 112) and aquatint counterproof (discussed below). An example of the aquatint was in the Paignon-Dijonval collection (Anonymous 1810, no. 9121).

This episode from the life of Lycurgus, lawgiver of Sparta, comes from Plutarch's *Lives* (Lycurgus 3). The long inscription in Pajou's hand beneath the drawing is his abridgment from the sixteenth-century translation by Jacques Amyot, which appeared in numerous editions. When Lycurgus's older brother King Polydectes died, the latter's widow proposed to abort her unborn child so that the crown would pass to Lycurgus. Lycurgus feigned complicity, but when the heir was born, he immediately hailed the infant, called

Fig. 112. François-Philippe Charpentier, *Lycurgus Presenting Their New King to the Spartans, after Pajou*. Aquatint. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina



Fig. 113. Pajou, *Sketches after the Antique, Including a Lion Protome*. Black chalk, brown wash. Private collection





65

Charilaus, as the rightful king of the Lacedaemonians. As the inscription relates, Lycurgus made this proclamation while he was at table. He is the heavily draped figure in the folds of whose mantle Charilaus is displayed. The latter, with his egg-shaped skull, is a fine early example of Pajou's familiar infantine type, just as the attentive dog at lower right is the first of many variations on its type. Pajou projects the hall along diagonal lines leading to the sturdy Doric pillars and creates within it a masculine company reminiscent of those in Poussin's Sacraments. A sign that he continued to look to his Roman drawings for archaeological flourishes is the table with lion legs, taken from a protome he recorded in the Museo Capitolino (fig. 113). At left the curvilinear statue of Hercules (sacred to the Lacedaemonians) has no precise prototype.

The scene is reversed in the undated aquatint by François-Philippe Charpentier, one of the originators of this new printmaking process which aimed to convey the fluidity of wash drawings (fig. 112). Because of the liquid medium, aquatints can be counterproofed like drawings. Vilain assumes (in Paris 1974–75b, p. 108), no doubt correctly, that it was one of the aquatints and not a counterproof of Pajou's drawing that Stein saw in the collection of the marquis de Lubersac (Stein 1912, p. 223, evidently reproducing the Rouen drawing and not the Lubersac "counterproof" as captioned). The Albertina, whose aquatint we reproduce, also owns an aquatint counterproof printed in the same direction as the drawing (inv. 11789). The aquatint is dedicated to the architect Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux, whose arms it displays. The dedication cannot have been entirely disinterested; Pajou surely anticipated collaborations that would result from his old friend's being named architect to the city of Paris in 1763.

With this drawing Pajou aligned himself with the Neoclassical vanguard at the Salon of 1763. As Vilain reminds us, Vien that year showed his famous keystone of Neoclassical painting, *Loves for Sale* (Paris 1974–75b, p. 107).

At the previous Salon, Cochin had presented his firmly Neoclassical drawing *Lycurgus Wounded in an Uprising* (Seznec and Adhémar 1975, pl. 84). The Lycurgus-Charilaus episode was apparently not often depicted before Pajou, but it became popular afterward and was considered emblematic of integrity and magnanimity (Wisner 1990, p. 130). André Ségla essayed it in a relief with which he won the *premier grand prix* in 1773 (whereabouts unknown). Moreau *le jeune* added it to his repertory in an engraving of 1783 (Wisner 1990, p. 130, fig. 4), and in 1791–93 Le Barbier *l'aîné* took it up in a painted sketch in Blois and a lost canvas known from an engraving (Wisner 1990, figs. 1, 8). Although Le Barbier simplified the action in accordance with advanced Neoclassical canons, Pajou's composition must have prompted his diagonally positioned table with lion protomes and lesser details such as the foreground oenochoe. Wisner notes that Lycurgus's selfless example suited Le Barbier's convictions at a time when he had gone from being a Revolutionary firebrand with David to adopting moderate views in common with Pajou (Wisner 1990, p. 134). Together Pajou, Le Barbier, and Vincent fought the losing battle to preserve the Académie (Lacroix 1905, pp. 618–19).

This is probably the "large and beautiful design, of a capital composition and whose subject is taken from the famous men of Plutarch" in the 1779 Trouard sale. Although Pajou would fill other sheets with scenes from Plutarch, it is the only known drawing whose legend specifically acknowledges Plutarch as its source.

JDD

66. *Clock: The Genius of Denmark, Protector of Agriculture, Commerce, and the Arts*

Case of bronze, gilt bronze, enamel, and glass
H. 144 cm (56¾ in.), W. 86 cm (33⅞ in.), D. 56 cm (22 in.)
Inscribed on left side, stamped letters: *INVENTÉ ET MODELÉ PAR PAIOU. ET EXECUTÉ PAR DE S^R [sic] GERMAIN. A PARIS*; on sheet of music in front, engraved initials: *JB* and *MB*. Modern dial signed: *Frederik Jürgensen/Kiobenhaven.*

Copenhagen, Danish Royal Collections

PROVENANCE: Ordered by King Frederik V of Denmark by 1765 but delivered after his death (1766) to King Christian VI in 1766 or 1767; audience hall of Christiansborg Palace; since 1866, first antechamber of the Amalienborg Palace of Christian IX; now the residence of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II

EXHIBITION: Copenhagen 1935, no. 921, ill.

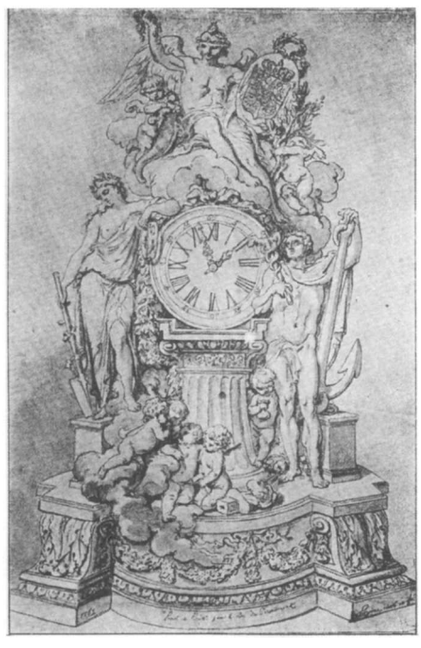
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jonge 1783, p. 505; Biais 1890, p. 726; Biais 1900, pp. 165–66; Lespinasse 1912–13, pt. 1, p. 406; Stein 1912, pp. 201–3, 399, pl. x; Krohn 1922, vol. 2, pp. 205–7; Eriksen 1974, pp. 100, 221, 344, fig. 189; Ottomeyer and Pröschel 1986, vol. 1, p. 163, fig. 3.3.9, vol. 2, pp. 525–26; Verlet 1987, p. 34, fig. 23; Augarde 1996, pp. 70–71, ill., 82

RELATED WORKS: Preliminary drawing (fig. 114; discussed below).
Drawings sent to Frederik V of Denmark, mentioned in a memorandum of 1766 (discussed below).
Full-scale model shown at the Salon of 1765 (discussed below).

Frederik V (r. 1746–66), like many of the Danish royal line, was an admirer and patron of French artists. The crowning glory of his acquisitions, which he did not live to see, was this spectacular bronze clock case. Indeed it is the most opulent example of its curious, complicated, quintessentially eighteenth-century species to survive in any land.

Pajou showed the model at the Salon of 1765. Probably made of impermanent materials such as plaster (or terracotta), wax, and wood, as was his model of a clock for the prince de Condé (see cat. 78), it was described as "The model for a clock, four feet in

Fig. 114. Pajou, *Project for the Danish Royal Clock*. Pen and ink, brown wash. Location unknown (formerly collection of Émile Biais, Angoulême)




Frederic Meyer
Kiøbenhavn

height. The subject is the Genius of Denmark, protector of Agriculture, Commerce, and the Arts. This work will be executed for His Majesty the King of Denmark" (Salon of 1765, no. 209, p. 35 of the *livret*). The composition must have by then acquired its final form. A project of such significance entailed exhaustive study and reworking, as can be seen in a drawing that set forth the basic concept which Pajou eventually found too jammed and frontal (fig. 114). The Genius of Denmark on top, supporting the royal arms, is successfully drawn, but in the bronze his gestures are more protective and nurturing. The bunch of grapes the Genius brandishes in the drawing has disappeared, perhaps thought not entirely appropriate for a northern land. The infants with cornucopia and laurel have grown relatively subdued in the bronze. Agriculture at left has not been radically altered except that her spade has moved from one hand to the other and she has gained a child with a plough. At right Commerce has been reconsidered in the bronze: he is seated, thus increasing the attractive asymmetry among the figures. Commerce's attributes, apart from a caduceus borrowed from Mercury, are a bag of Danish coins and an anchor. In the end Pajou must have decided that the five babies in front, industriously personifying the Arts and Sciences, were too much of a good thing, so he reduced them to two, achieving greater dignity and coherence. They now have for attributes a lyre, horn, musical composition, hammer, palette, calipers, protractor, and map of Northern Europe. The pedestal with supporting column in the middle remained most constant, but here too Pajou improved matters by clarifying the swags of oak and laurel and replacing the stiff side volutes with handsome masks and trophies of winged helmets and caducei.

Pajou's model was appreciated at the Salon, the *Mercure de France* finding it "quite well composed and very ingeniously disposed. . . . This artist, already known and worthy of being so, gives fresh proofs of his progress at each exhibition" (November 1765, p. 166). The critic Mathon de la Cour (1765, p. 80) agreed but could not resist caviling, finding "the idea rather ingenious but the heads cold."

Eriksen, Augarde, and Verlet cite payments of 1,800 livres to Pajou; 5,480 to the bronze founder Jean-Joseph de Saint-Germain (1719–1791); 2,400 to an unnamed gilder; and 1,500 to an unnamed clockmaker (Eriksen 1974, p. 100; Jean-Dominique Augarde in Ottomayer and Pröschel 1986, vol. 2, pp. 525–26; Verlet 1987, p. 34; Augarde 1996, p. 71). All give Krohn (1922, vol. 2, pp. 205–6) as their source. However, the document published by Krohn does not reveal payments to specific artisans but is a memorandum written by President Jean-François Ogier, French ambassador to Denmark, detailing the arrangements for the clock's shipment:

> Note. His late Majesty King Frederik V having desired to have executed in Paris a fine clock with chimes, according to the drawings that were presented to His Majesty, His Excellency Count Moltke [omnipotent marshal of the Danish court] asked President Ogier to charge some able worker with the job. This work, agreed upon for the sum of 9,900 livres and a bonus of 600 to the profit of Master Billet, who was charged with directing the execution of all its parts, had already been started at the time of that prince's death, and the king his son approved its continuation around May of last year. 4,500 livres have been paid toward the above sums. This clock must by now be finished and may even have left Paris. President Ogier will probably have the honor of providing information about it to His Excellency Baron Bernstorff [Danish ambassador to France]. In the meantime, [Ogier] has ordered M. Leseurre [an agent] to notify [Bernstorff] that it should be sent with the next shipment, in order that [Bernstorff] should see to its reception and to having remitted to Paris what will be necessary to round out the agreed-upon price and to cover any incidental expenses. As it will no doubt be necessary to have an intelligent clockmaker assemble the clock, President Ogier, with the consent of Count Moltke, gave advance notice to Master L'arpent [Isaac Larpent, clockmaker in Copenhagen] and brought him up to date on everything relative to this object. Leseurre believed it his duty to have the honor of informing His Excellency Baron Bernstorff about these various circumstances. At Copenhagen, October 29, 1766 (Krohn 1992, vol. 2, p. 206)

On January 2, 1767, Ogier noted: "I received from Messieurs Tourton & Baur the sum of 6,000 livres on order of Messieurs Pierre His & Son of Hamburg for payment to artists and workers who were employed on the clock sent to his Danish Majesty" (ibid.).

The clock began life with a French movement "with chimes," but the name of the French clockmaker is never given, only that of Larpent, who assembled the works. The present mechanism by Jürgensen is a later replacement.

The Danish royal archives also contain a 1767 bill for 381 rigsdalers from the sculptor Carl Frederik Stanley, who provided the white marble pedestal with bronze

ornaments on which the clock was formerly placed (Krohn 1922, vol. 2, pp. 206–7). Destroyed by fire, this pedastal has been replaced by a painted wood one. The earliest description of the clock (as opposed to the model), which stood gleaming surrounded by tapestries in the audience chamber at Christiansborg, is apparently that of Jonge (1783, p. 505).

Finally, we have cause to admire the superb job of chasing by Saint-Germain, usually the supplier of Rococo clock cases but here responding elegantly to Pajou's Neoclassicism (for Saint-Germain, see Augarde in Ottomeyer and Pröschel 1986, vol. 2, pp. 521–38, and Augarde 1996). The tooling is vigorous and texturally quite varied. A multifigured bronze work of this sort required the joining of many pieces, and there are some fascinating repairs, notably the keying-in of Agriculture's arm. Great coloristic éclat resulted from setting the darkly patinated figures against two colors of gilding, a brightly burnished red-gold being used for the architectural elements at lower center. JDD

67. *Ceres*

Black and red chalk
34.4 × 22.6 cm (13½ × 8⅞ in.)
Annotated at bottom left, brown ink: *A Pajou*; in the center: *Ceres*

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (4185)

PROVENANCE: Mark of the collection Borély de la Touche or of the dealer Abel Laroche (mid-nineteenth century; Lugt 1708a); Jules Maciet; his gift to the museum, January 9, 1888

EXHIBITION: Paris 1979a, no. 198

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 206–7, ill., 400; Bapst 1922, p. 2, ill.

68. *Ceres*

Terracotta
H. 62.5 cm (24⅝ in.), W. 19 cm (7½ in.), D. 19 cm (7½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, C. Michael Paul Gift, Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation Inc. Gift, and Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Paul Foundation Inc. Gift, 1978 (1978.2)

PROVENANCE: Mme de Polès; her sale Paris, June 22–24, 1927, no. 215, pl. LXXVII; sold Paris, Galerie Charpentier, March 12, 1937, no. 35, pl. XI; gift to the Museum by C. Michael Paul, Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation, Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, 1978

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1765, not in catalogue but visible in the large drawing with watercolor by Saint-Aubin (Musée du Louvre; fig. 118)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bapst 1922, p. 2; Draper 1991–92, p. 14, ill.

69. *Ceres*

Marble
H. 73.2 cm (28⅞ in.), W. 29.5 cm (11⅝ in.), D. 26 cm (10¼ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 4615)

PROVENANCE: Pajou's studio at the time of the inventory of property after his wife's death, April 6, 1797 (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 607: "a figure of Ceres in marble, two feet three inches [68.6 cm] in height, valued at two hundred fifty pounds"); posthumous inventory after the death of his son, December 11, 1828 (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, no. 56: "an unfinished figure of Ceres, thirty francs"); his posthumous auction, January 12, 1829, no. 117; Jules Burat, 1883; his sale Paris, April 28, 1885, no. 210 ("73 cm [28¾ in.]"); Mme Burat, in 1912; gift of Daniel Wildenstein to the museum, 1996

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1883–84, no. 272; Paris 1888, no. 87; Brussels 1904, no. 17, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blanc 1857–58, vol. 1, p. 381; Dilke 1900, p. 128; Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, pp. 206–7, pl. VIII, 214, 400; Bapst 1922, p. 2; Vitry 1924, p. 575

RELATED WORKS: A drawing in red chalk, (48.3 × 30.1 cm [19 × 11⅞ in.]; private collection; fig. 117), bearing the mark of the collection Borély de la Touche or of the dealer Abel Laroche (mid-nineteenth century; Lugt 1708a), was probably executed after the terracotta, since the ears of wheat are clearly indicated.

A "large copy in terracotta" has been brought to our attention, without our having seen it (private collection).

A copy of uncertain date, in stone and larger than lifesize, is now housed at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It is part of a group of the Four Seasons bought on the French art market in 1923 by Edward T. Stotesbury and given to the museum in 1938 (inv. 1938-24-1–4). This group of statues was published by Germain Bapst in 1922 in a sumptuous limited-edition catalogue and was related by him, without any proof, to a hypothetical decoration for the Orangerie of the Château de Çramayal (see Chronology, 1759).

A *Ceres* is mentioned in 1804 at the theater of the Château de Seneffe ("Plaster Ceres by Pajou in its crate"; Mons, AE, F.336: Duquenne 1978, p. 278 n. 821, p. 283 n. 949); it might have figured in an inventory of 1791 (Mons, AE, 613, p. 28). It has since disappeared, and we do not know what the composition looked like. Pajou had worked in 1780 on the decorations for this theater south of Brussels built by his friend De Wailly.



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Fig. 115. Pajou, *Profile of a Woman Wearing a Tiara, after the Antique*. Pen, ink, and wash. Private collection



Fig. 116. Pajou, *Juno, after the Antique.* Black chalk. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



The terracotta *Ceres* at the Metropolitan Museum, with the traditional attributes of a sheaf of wheat and a sickle, was exhibited at the Salon of 1765, where it was drawn by Saint-Aubin. Pajou's drawing at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs must have been done earlier, as its drapery is slightly different from that on the terracotta and marble versions. In the drawing the folds create a large, smooth surface on the right hip, an area marked by bulges and deep linear creases in the two sculptures. The facial expression in the drawing prefigures that of the marble, with its lowered eyes and visible upper lids. The incised eyes of the terracotta, on the other hand, are wide open and look directly at the viewer. However, these differences are minimal; the three works follow the same overall design.

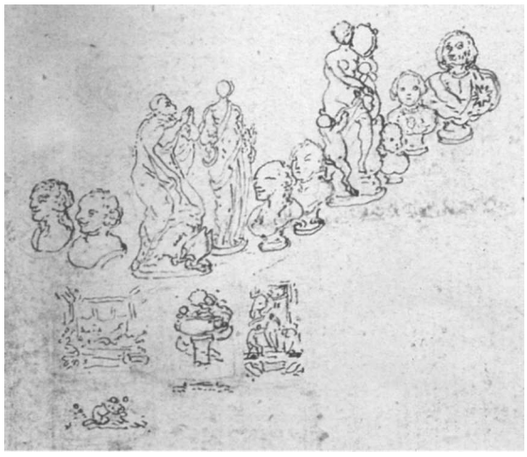
Was the work commissioned by Choiseul, as Stein supposes, following Chaussard's 1806 list? The minister was, in fact, an admirer of Pajou; the sculptor delivered his *Neptune* (cat. 70) to him in 1767, and between 1764



Fig. 117. Pajou, *Ceres*. Red chalk. Private collection



Fig. 118. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Works by Pajou Shown at the Salon of 1765: Ceres in the Center*. Paris, Musée du Louvre



and 1770 Choiseul bought Pajou's *Peace* from La Live de Jully. But we have no documents to prove that he commissioned or owned *Ceres*. The terracotta does not appear in his posthumous inventory (AN, Min. Cent., LXXXIV, 615, June 8, 1785, deteriorated and partially illegible) or in the sale of his property on December 18, 1786; the marble version remained in the sculptor's studio, unfinished, in 1797. We might suggest the following hypothesis: the minister noticed *Ceres* at the Salon and ordered the marble version, but his fall from favor in 1770 and his subsequent financial reverses made him abandon the purchase just as the statuette neared completion; the work therefore remained unfinished in the sculptor's studio, with the sheaf of wheat and the figure's back barely chiseled, the

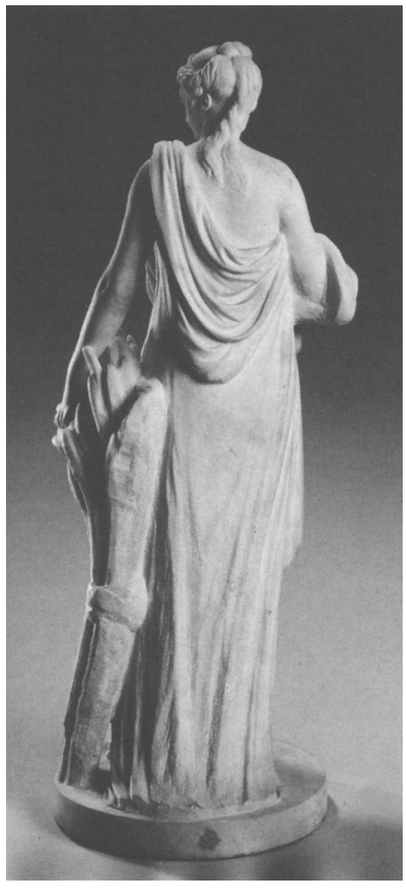
right arm still attached to the marble block, and the braid merely sketched in.

The sophisticated Neoclassicism of this work would suit Choiseul's predilection for refined cabinet sculptures (such as Caffieri's *Innocence*, exhibited at the Salon of 1767; fig. 2); in this, he followed La Live de Jully's tastes (evident in Falconet's *Gentle Melancholy*, which the latter commissioned in 1763; fig. 119). The careful recollection of antiquity might also have reminded Choiseul of his time at the Roman embassy, when he knew Pajou and his friends from the Palazzo Mancini.

Was Pajou influenced by a specific antique source? The highly admired *Ceres* in the Palazzo Mattei (now in the Vatican; Haskell and Penny 1982, no. 22, fig. 94) was the most famous depiction of the goddess in Rome (a marble copy was sent to Louis XIV and installed in the park at Versailles). As far as we know, Pajou never drew the statue (though he often sketched at the Palazzo Mattei), but he was certainly familiar with it and may have been influenced by the diagonal drapery and the nude shoulder. His youthful *Ceres*, however, has none of the austere rigidity of the Roman matron. Pajou's drapery is more fluid and lighter, gracefully revealing the right calf. The garment with its highly contrasted accents—evident in the terracotta and even more marked in the marble—continues an obsession found in Pajou's Italian drawings: the study of drapery as a living material, capable of infinite variations of pose with fabrics superimposed to capture light and alternate channels of shade with broad, luminous lines. Pajou's drawing of the *Juno* in the Cesi collection and now Rome, Museo Capitolino (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 92; 27 × 17 cm [10⅝ × 6¾ in.]; inscribed *Junon antique*; fig. 116), for example, shows the intense attention he gave to analyzing antique costumes. His *Ceres* is a purified and supremely elegant vision of the goddess. Her hair is a masterpiece of grace; the fine coiling of locks with a tiara is again found, barely altered, on another version of Ceres drawn in the Quirinale garden (19 × 13.3 cm [7½ × 5¼ in.]; inscribed *a monte cavallo nel jardine del Papa* [on Monte Cavallo in the pope's garden]; fig. 115).



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69

Fig. 119. Falconet, *Gentle Melancholy*. Marble. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage





69

While conceiving this work, Pajou may have looked at his Italian sketches and may have used a detail from the antique, but his creation is an original one. His Ceres is not a copy but a refined interpretation of the subject. She is dressed in antique garb but composed in an original style. The marble version, which until recently was long out of public view, offers the quintessence of the "Greek" style so fashionable in the 1760s. It is a fine example of the rarefied elegance characteristic of small cabinet statuary produced for the most demanding collectors.

GS

70. *Neptune*

Terracotta
H. 27 cm (10⅝ in.), W. 16 cm (6¼ in.), D. 15 cm (5⅞ in.)

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (CM 400/17)

PROVENANCE: Group auction (La Reynière; Donjeux; marquis de Chevigné) Paris, February 10, 1773, no. 49 ("Neptune threatening the Winds; study in terracotta 11 inches [27.9 cm] in height; of which the marble is in the cabinet of the duc de Choiseul"); Alfred II Beurdeley; his second sale Paris, May 31, 1895, no. 374; Paul Cailleux, before 1932; his children, after his death in 1964; acquired from them by the museum, 1983

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932b, no. 56; Paris 1934, no. 164; Paris 1937a, no. 1062; Paris 1985–86, no. 85, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blanc 1857–58, vol. 1, p. 213; Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, p. 205; Réau 1936, p. 17; Fleming 1957, p. 6, fig. 7; *FRAM* 1985, no. 528, ill.; Ducourau 1988, p. 77, ill.; Ducourau 1995, p. 11, ill.

71. *Neptune*

Marble
H. 78 cm (30¾ in.), W. 38 cm (15 in.), D. 41 cm (16⅛ in.)
Inscribed on back, on prow: *PAJOU. fé / 1767*

Collection Madeleine Pillet-Will, comtesse de Pimodan

PROVENANCE: The duc de Choiseul; his sale Paris, December 18, 1786, no. 158 ("M. Pajou. The *quos ego*, character subject, treated with all the feeling and energy of which this beautiful genre is capable. The composition presents the sea-god in the proud and noble attitude that suits him; he is borne on a conch shell and leans against the prow of a vessel: we know of few more magnificent and more perfect pieces of sculpture in our century. Height 28 inches [71.1 cm]"); mentioned in Stein 1912 as being in the collection of the comte Pillet-Will, Paris

EXHIBITION: Paris 1956, no. 177

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, p. 470; Du Seigneur 1862, p. 131; Dilke 1900, p. 128; Lami 1911, p. 204; Stein 1912, pp. 205–6, ill., 400; Vitry 1924, p. 575

The presence in this exhibition of the marble *Neptune*—along with the terracotta study—is an event. Since *Peace* from the La Live de Jully collection has disappeared and the group *Venus Receiving an Apple from the Hands of Cupid* in the Salon of 1787 (fig. 102) cannot be located, *Neptune* gives us a brilliant evocation, alongside the *Ceres* from the Louvre, of Pajou's virtuosity in conceiving midsize marble statues for elite collectors.

The work was part of the duc de Choiseul's collection before 1773, the date it was mentioned in the auction catalogue for the sale of terracottas. At Choiseul's, *Neptune* joined the marble *Peace* from the cabinet of La Live de Jully, described in the catalogue of his holdings in 1764 and acquired by the duc before the sale of that collection in 1770. The two marble sculptures figured together in Choiseul's sale of 1786, when *Peace* (no. 162) was described in an approximate fashion and without attribution by the author of the catalogue, the painter Paillet. *Neptune* might perhaps be identified with the "river-god" or the "god Mars" listed as being in the gallery of Choiseul's hôtel at the time of his posthumous inventory on June 8, 1785 (AN, Min. Cent., LXXXIV, 615). In any case, the work was not



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reproduced on the famous snuffbox painted by Louis-Nicolas van Blarenberghe about 1770 (although Caffieri's *Innocence* is there on a bookcase in the "bedroom"; see Watson 1963, p. 13, ill.).

The collection of the duc de Choiseul, renowned during his lifetime for its paintings and prints (Dacier 1949), thus included two marble works by Pajou. Chaussard, in his list of 1806 (p. 470), followed by Stein, mentions two other works by the artist: *Ceres* and *Bellona*. We have no evidence to place the former in the Choiseul collection (see cat. 67–69). As for *Bellona*, one might consider identifying it with no. 160 in the sale of 1786: "Beautiful figure of a warrior, whose movement and expression are characteristic of vengeance; several children and various attributes combine to form an interesting group. Height 27 inches [68.6 cm], including the gilt wood base." Paillet mentions no artist's name, but he also neglects this detail for *Peace* (and he does not mention that *Hebe*, no. 164, was by Berruer). Could he have confused a helmeted, armed goddess with a warrior? What source did Chaussard have at his disposal? An annotated catalogue? Dacier, in his 1949 article on the Choiseul collection, writes (p. 71), "none of the surviving copies of this catalogue is annotated," and no copy has yet been found with drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. The question remains, and it is hardly dispelled by the recent appearance of a "Bellona" in marble (*Burlington Magazine* 130 [March 1988], p. [xxxix], ill.; *Revue du Louvre*, no. 2 [1990], n.p., ill.), the subject of which could indeed correspond to the 1786 description, if we accept the hypothesis that Paillet made an error in

determining the sex of the figure; the execution, however, is anything but convincing, especially by comparison with such a masterpiece as *Neptune*. One wonders if Chaussard confused it with a *Minerva*—which was, however, terracotta—exhibited at the salon of the Toulouse academy in 1770 and listed in the sale of the Alexandre Lenoir collection, Paris, December 11, 1837 (no. 282); this work was described as "protecting the arts" in the sale of "Doctor P * * * *" (Paris, November 26, 1840, no. 15) and dated to 1750(?) in the sale of the "comte de S * * * *" (February 13, 1888, no. 50).

Pajou certainly knew the comte Étienne-François de Choiseul de Stainville (1719–1785) in Italy, where Choiseul took up his post as ambassador to the Holy See in November 1754, having brought with him his protégé Hubert Robert, who lived at the Palazzo Mancini. Choiseul regularly received artists from the Académie de France at the embassy. His rise was constant from 1758—when he was made secretary of state for foreign affairs and created a duke, after having been ambassador in Vienna—to 1770, the year of his fall from favor.

Choiseul's taste for contemporary French art was no doubt reinforced by the great example of the La Live de Jully collection. As far as sculpture was concerned, Choiseul, like La Live, preferred small, precious works in marble. Pajou's *Peace* came from his collection, as did the marble *Hebe* by Berruer (whereabouts unknown), the terracotta of which was shown at the Salon of 1767. The jewel of Choiseul's sculpture collection, together with Pajou's *Neptune*, was Caffieri's *Innocence* (private collection; fig. 2), also shown at the Salon of 1767, a small, delicate marble piece very much in keeping with the works collected by La Live.

The quotation "quos ego," which serves as title to the *Neptune* in the auction catalogue of 1786, comes from Virgil (*Aeneid* 1.135): they are the words that the irritated Neptune utters against the storm that would thwart Aeneas's destiny. Neptune calms the storm and confronts the winds that dare to upset his realm: "Quos ego—!" (What are they to me?). The theme was magnificently treated by Antoine Coypel on the ceiling of the Galerie d'Anée in the Palais-Royal (Pajou owned an album of engravings that included this work).

Pajou had already sculpted a relief of the sea-god at the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson (cat. 36) and another on one of the boxes of the Versailles Royal Opera. The marble statuette, prefigured by the small, vibrant study in terracotta, is of an entirely different scope. The subject was hardly new, and Bernini, Michel Anguier, and Lambert-Sigisberg Adam had rendered it brilliantly before him: Bernini as a garden sculpture, surmount-

Fig. 120. Michel Anguier, *Neptune*. Bronze. Private collection



Fig. 121. Pajou, *Ulysses* (figure in reverse from an antique intaglio, with *Victory* from a different gem). Black chalk, pen and brown ink. Private collection





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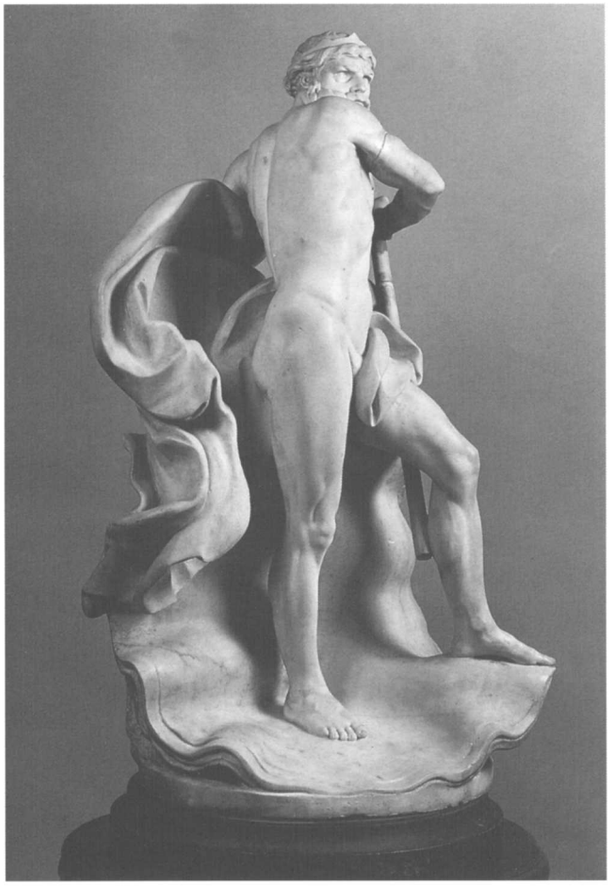
ing a pool in Rome (London, Victoria and Albert Museum); Anguier as a small bronze (mid-seventeenth century, engraved by Desplaces; fig. 120); Adam as a morceau de réception for the Académie (1737, Musée du Louvre). Pajou took his inspiration from these three sources. From Bernini and Adam comes the position of the legs and from Anguier that of Neptune's right arm, thrust violently across his torso; the drapery on his left thigh also exists in Adam's work, but the impression of complete nudity comes from Anguier. Pajou's sculpture is distinct in its abandonment of Baroque body language, simply evoked by the billowing drapery, in favor of an immobile posture: the god, standing on his seashell, has decided to take up his trident and to calm the storm; in contrast to the three earlier works, he is not yet in action.

The wiry physical type, with a fairly slim body, of Pajou's bearded and austere god occurs in a drawing

done by him a dozen years earlier, in which the figure of Ulysses was taken from a scene of the Rape of the Palladium on an antique intaglio (14.2 × 18.5 cm [5⅝ × 7¼ in.]; inscribed *Bas relief antique*; fig. 121).

The large shell propped against the prow of the ship is entirely original. The whole, of course, forms a support necessary to the balance of the marble figure with its swirling drapery; but above all the shell offers a smooth backdrop that admirably highlights Neptune's heroic nudity. With other details, such as the trident (the end of which is missing, as is the god's left hand), the anchor, and the prow, it allows easy identification of the character. The sculpture was not designed to be seen from the back—which is occupied by the mass of the boat—but it offers superb side views, notably from the right, where the threatening head of the dog with its fangs bared indicates the god's strength. This animal is reminiscent of Cerberus in Pajou's morceau de réception (cat. 28).

The overall composition of the marble piece is identical to that of the admirably and vividly modeled study in the Musée Bonnat. This came up for sale in 1773 at an auction combining the properties of various owners, which included several terracotta works by Pajou, including the models for *Pluto* (cat. 28) and *Henri IV* (cat. 120). GS



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72. *Head of a Young Woman Turned to Her Left, Eyes Raised*

Terracotta
H. 44.5 cm (17½ in.), W. 33 cm (13 in.), D. 16 cm (6¼ in.)
Incised on back: *Pajou. / faciebat.*

Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum (87.SC. 114.1)

PROVENANCE: Gaillard Walter, sale Paris, March 15, 1831, no. 152 ("Two busts of women, terracottas by Pajou"); M. de Monet de la Marque; by inheritance, his niece, the comtesse de Valicourt in Versailles (documentation from the J. Paul Getty Museum); Mme Huard, 1931 (photograph in the Département des Sculptures at the Musée du Louvre); acquired by the museum in New York, 1987

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1771, no. 241 ("Two heads of women. Studies in terracotta")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, p. 404, not ill.

73. *Head of a Young Woman Turned to Her Right, Eyes Lowered*

Terracotta
H. 43.8 cm (17¼ in.), W. 31 cm (12¼ in.), D. 13.2 cm (5¼ in.)
Incised on back: *Pajou / faciebat.*

Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum (87.SC. 114.2)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 72

EXHIBITION: See cat. 72

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See cat. 72

These two superb female heads, signed simply on the back with an unusual *Pajou faciebat*, are in all likelihood to be identified with the "Two heads of women. Studies in terracotta" exhibited at the Salon of 1771. Fréron (*Année littéraire,* letter XIII, September 8, p. 303) was ecstatic: "several of M. Pajou's heads are full of soul, life, art, aptness, and clarity." But Diderot commented briefly, "not too finished" (Bukdahl et al. 1995b, p. 230), echoing a remark in the *Lettre de Raphael le Jeune* (Deloynes vol. 9, no. 141, p. 54): "these two heads of women are not too finished." It was the presentation of these heads without drapery, and probably without stands, on cubic clay bases as if in the studio, as well as their designation as "studies" in the Salon *livret*, that gave rise to this remark. Note that the head of an old man at the Salon of 1761 (cat. 63) was exhibited in the same way.

The two faces are visibly companion pieces: one raises her eyes to her left, the other lowers her eyes to her right. These are the idealized countenances of young women, without any particular expression. Pajou enjoyed rendering their hairstyles in wonderful detail: the first has her locks twisted and gathered up at the back; the second has a kind of chignon ending in curls

Fig. 122. Pajou, *Youth and Health*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera

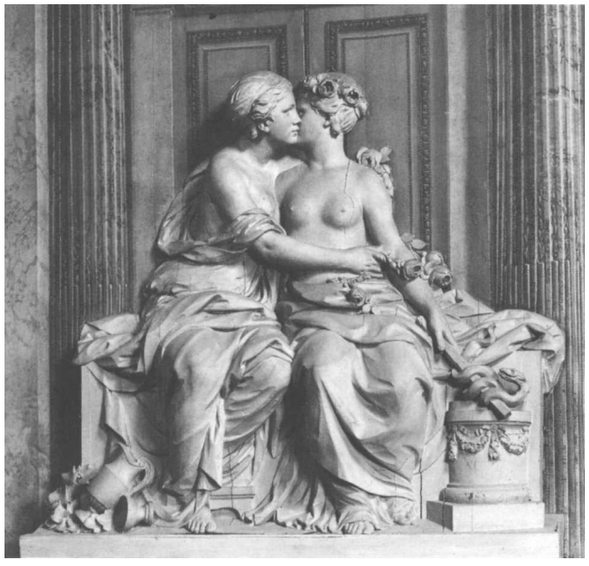
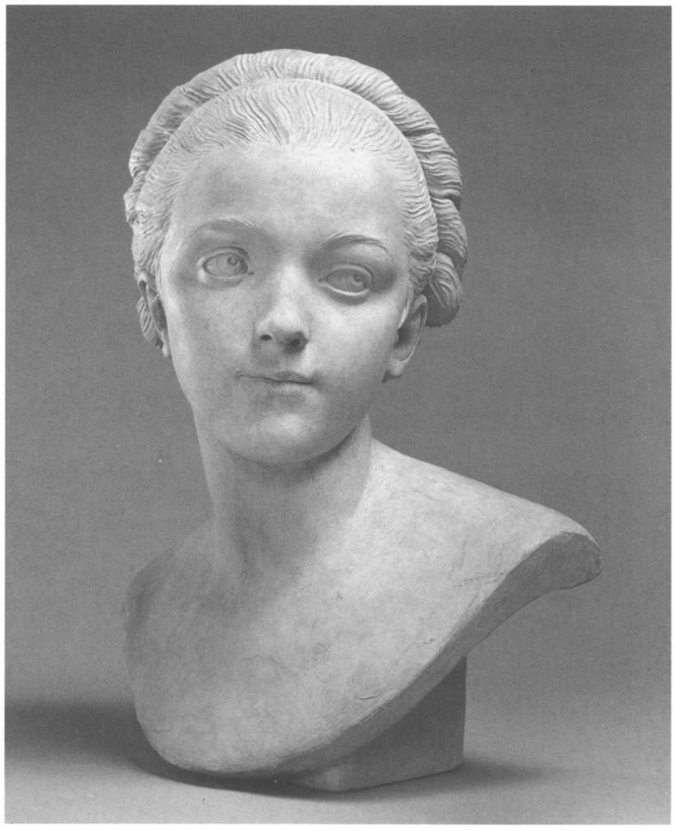


Fig. 123. Pajou, *Muse*. Wood. Versailles, Royal Opera





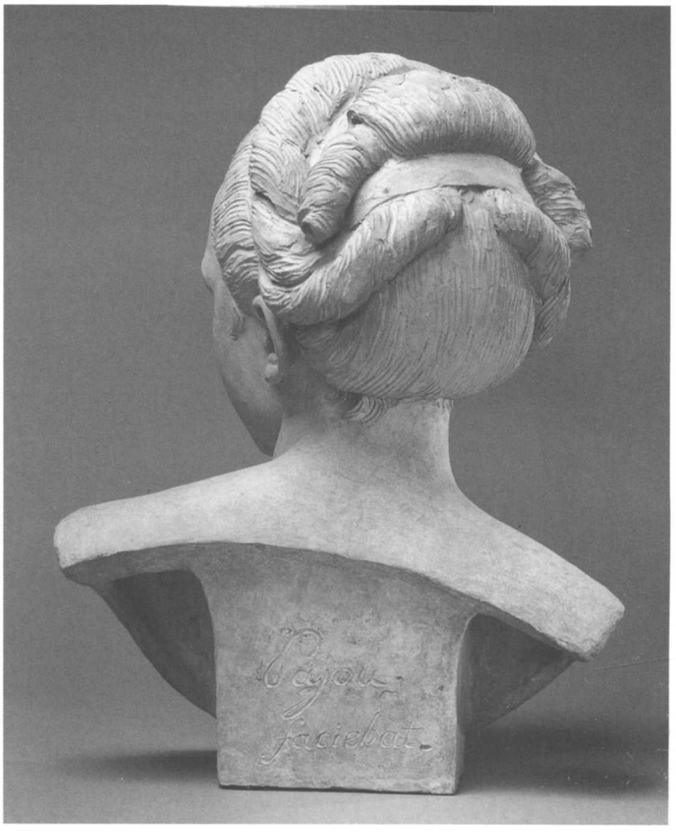
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on top of her head. These elegant coiffures are contemporary with the earliest busts of Mme Du Barry (see cat. 95).

A comparison of the two terracottas with the decor of the Royal Opera at Versailles, completed in May 1770, supports their identification with the heads exhibited in the 1771 Salon. The issue here is one of stylistic affinities: these heads did not serve as models, since Pajou's work at Versailles consisted mainly of reliefs. Pajou did create two models of women's heads to decorate the consoles of the large proscenium balconies (Stein 1912, p. 316), but their faces are lowered and their hair, incorporated into the architecture of the consoles, is not visible.

The two heads recur elsewhere in the Royal Opera. Their smooth faces, large eyes, small mouths, and elaborate hairstyles are seen on numerous female heads, in the foyer—the *Venus* with lowered eyes (fig. 71); *Lyric Poetry* and *Pastoral Poetry*, with their beautiful, regular features (figs. 72, 74); *Youth* (fig. 122), whose hair caught up in a *kekryphalos* has a circularity like the coiffure of the head with lowered gaze (cat. 73)—and in the auditorium, in the marvelously intricate hairstyle of Venus and the profiles of the Muses (fig. 123). Despite their beauty, however, these wooden sculptures lack the fully rounded, velvety aspect of the terracottas.

These two heads by Pajou are precious evidence of the pure joy of sculpting, modeling a well-turned face with infinite delicacy, contrasting smooth skin with strands of hair, and alternating lines and volumes to create a moment of grace. GS

74. *The Roman Army under Camillus Assaulting the Temple of Juno at Veii*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and gray washes, white heightening, on two joined sheets
52.5 × 96 cm (20⅝ × 37¾ in.)
Signed and dated at lower left, brown ink: *Pajou f^t 1771*

Private collection

PROVENANCE: M. *** (comte de Vaudreuil); sale Paris, November 26, 1787, lot 160; Vincent Donjeux, sale Paris, April 29, 1793, lot 462; sale Cheverny, Orangerie du Château, April 25, 1993, no. 14 ill., bought by the present owner

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1771, no. 243, p. 43 of the *livret* ("A drawing, sketch washed in Chinese ink; Camillus besieging the city of Veyes in Tuscany; his soldiers, by his order, had mined beneath the Temple of Juno. They appeared there at the moment when the Veyans were offering sacrifice, and they cast fright among the people and seized the entrails of the victim in order to bear them to Camillus")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Lami 1911, vol. 2, p. 210; Stein 1912, pp. 224–25, 404; Seznec 1967–85, vol. 4, p. 219; Bukdahl et al. 1995b, p. 231

RELATED WORKS: A drawing in a private collection focuses on figures at the altar (fig. 124; 30 × 23.4 cm [11¾ × 9¼ in.], signed and dated *P. fé 1772*.) These figures seem rather less evolved than their equivalents in the present composition, yet Pajou dated the excerpted study one year later than the present work—perhaps he was relying on memory at a subsequent point.

Another drawing of the overall composition was in the collection of Charles De Wailly (sale Paris, November 24, 1788, no. 87: "the drawing for the taking of Veii by the Romans. Line drawing, pen and ink on white paper, engraved by M. Tilliond [Tilliard]." The engraving by Jean-Baptiste Tilliard was apparently never published. Pajou owned the unfinished copperplate (see Chronology, 1797).

Engraving by Pietro Antonio Martini, 1776: cat. 75.

In a drawing in the collection of Jean Masson, which Stein introduced as a preliminary study for this scene, the penmanship does not look like Pajou's and the setting and subject differ; a sacrifice is taking place in a smoke-filled temple but there is no hint of Romans bursting through its pavement (Stein 1912, p. 224, ill.; sale Paris, Drouot, December 6, 1923, no. 113).

Pajou sent his *Death of Pelopidas*, an epic composition visualized from his reading of Plutarch, to the Salon of 1767, where Diderot roasted it, accusing the artist of insincerity and sterility (Seznec 1967–85, vol. 3, pp. 325–26). That drawing is lost, but this splendid offering for 1771 is again rooted in Plutarch (Camillus 5). The fifth-century B.C. Roman general Camillus besieged the intransigent Etruscan citadel of Veii as a diversion while his soldiers dug tunnels beneath it. They penetrated to a point below the magnificent temple of Juno just as the Etruscan commander was offering sacrifice upon its altar. When the priest cried out that the goddess would award victory to the fulfiller of the sacrifice, the Romans exploded through the pavement, terrifying and dispersing the enemy, seizing the sacrificial entrails and bearing them to Camillus. After this recitation Plutarch adds dryly, "But perhaps this will seem like fable."



Episodes from the life of Camillus were in vogue in eighteenth-century France (especially Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii, popularized by Poussin's painting), but there is no other known depiction of the complex incident at Veii. Pajou intended to have this scene engraved (cat. 75), but first he wanted to see how the drawing was received at the Salon. Diderot was for once complimentary, remarking on the work's ambition and order: "There is much invention in this drawing, and the idea of it is grand and quite rich." An even more enthusiastic response ("a genius can strike for anything, and with success") came from an anonymous reviewer who assumed the drawing was for a painting and who made reference to such luminary sculptors who also painted as Bernini and Puget (*Lettre du baron *** a Milord *** traduit de l'Anglais*, Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 144, pp. 18–19).

Fig. 124. Pajou, *Frightened Veiians*. Black chalk. Private collection



The lighting is dramatic—one is virtually invited to hear the clash and smell the brimstone. The action is ordered against a high screen of Ionic columns bearing a frieze of bucrania and garlands. The numerous figure groups in this simultaneous rendition are exceedingly well orchestrated, almost in a wide-angle, cinematic sense, allowing the eye to move from knots of frightened worshipers at left to the tumultuous center, where the Romans burst through the floor, to the interrupted sacrifice and those who flee at right. A great deal of research went into this scheme. The drawing for the Veiians on the altar steps (fig. 124) was probably only one of many sketches to establish individual groupings and motifs.

Pajou's considerable familiarity with the function and typology of ancient sculpture allowed him to create a delightful miscellany of archaeological motifs. Without being a quotation, the colossal seated statue of Juno evokes the *Minerva* of the Capitoline, which

Pajou had drawn in Rome (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 106). The two-part relief above, apparently showing the goddess's delivery of a child (Mars?), seems to be of his own imagining, but the military trophies between relief and statue are pure Louis XV. The female personifications in niches along the back wall recall, again without exactly quoting, the numerous records Pajou had made of such statues in Rome, and in the table at right he cites again the lion protomes he had drawn there (fig. 113).

The present drawing and that drawn for the engraving *Lucius Albinius Ceding His Chariot to the Vestal Virgins Fleeing Rome* (cat. 76; whereabouts unknown) formed pendants when in the collection of the comte de Vaudreuil (sale Paris, November 26, 1787, lot 160, the two considered to be "of great correctness and noble style, which stems from the finest genius"). Vaudreuil was something of a Pajou collector; the hôtel de Vaudreuil also contained a female bust in marble by his hand (Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, p. 548). The drawings were still together when sold by the dealer Donjeux (sale Paris, April 29, 1793, lot 462, praised in nearly identical terms). The Donjeux catalogue states that they came from the Vaudreuil sale, where they fetched seven hundred livres. Therefore the drawing that was sold in 1788 from the collection of Charles De Wailly (see Related Works) must have been another preliminary study. JDD

75. *The Roman Army under Camillus Assaulting the Temple of Juno at Veii*

Etching and engraving
37.6 × 63.5 cm (14¾ × 25 in.)
Inscribed at lower left: *Pajou inv. 1771*; lower right: *P. Martini Sculp 1776.*; legend below: *A Monsieur le Comte de la Billardrie d'Angiviller Directeur et Ordonnateur Général des Bâtiments du Roi &c. / Par son très humble et très Obéissant serviteur / Pajou. / Pendant que l'Armée Romaine, sous la conduite de Camillus, donne un assaut général à la Ville de Veïes, une Troupe de Romains intrépides pénètre sous terre jusqu'au Temple de Junon, au moment que le Général Toscan sacrifie aux Dieux et / que le grand Prêtre s'écrie, la Victoire est à celui que fera l'Oblation du Sacrifice, cette Troupe, qui l'entend, perce la Mine, sort avec des cris effroyables, met en fuite les Veïens, ravit les entrailles des Victimes et les porte à Camillus. Plutarque Vie de F. Camillus. / à Paris chès Pajou, Sculpteur du Roi, place du Louvre et chez Poulleau, place de l'Estrapade, chez M. Fournier fondeur en Caractères la porte cochere à côté de la Cazerne.* (To monsieur le comte de la Billardrie d'Angiviller, director and ordonnateur général of the Bâtiments du Roi, etc. By his very humble and very obedient servant Pajou. While the Roman army, under the supervision of Camillus, lays a general assault to the city of Veii, a troop of intrepid Romans penetrate underground to the temple of Juno. At the moment when the Tuscan general sacrifices to the gods and the high priest cries out, "Victory goes to him who will make the oblation of sacrifice," this troop, who hear him, break through the floor, exit with frightful cries, put the Veiians to flight, take away the entrails of the victims, and carry them to Camillus. Plutarch Life of F. Camillus. In Paris [sold] at [the studio of] Pajou, sculptor to the king, place du Louvre, and at Poulleau's, place de l'Estrapade, at M. Fournier's, typefounder, at the carriage entrance beside the barracks.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.602.596[1])

PROVENANCE: Collection of the princes of Liechtenstein, Vienna; acquired by the Museum, 1962

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Portalis and Béraldi 1880–82, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 33; Stein 1912, pp. 225–26, ill. (example in the Bibliothèque Nationale), 404

RELATED WORKS: Preliminary drawings, discussed under cat. 74.

Unfinished copperplate by Tilliard (see cat. 74, Related Works).

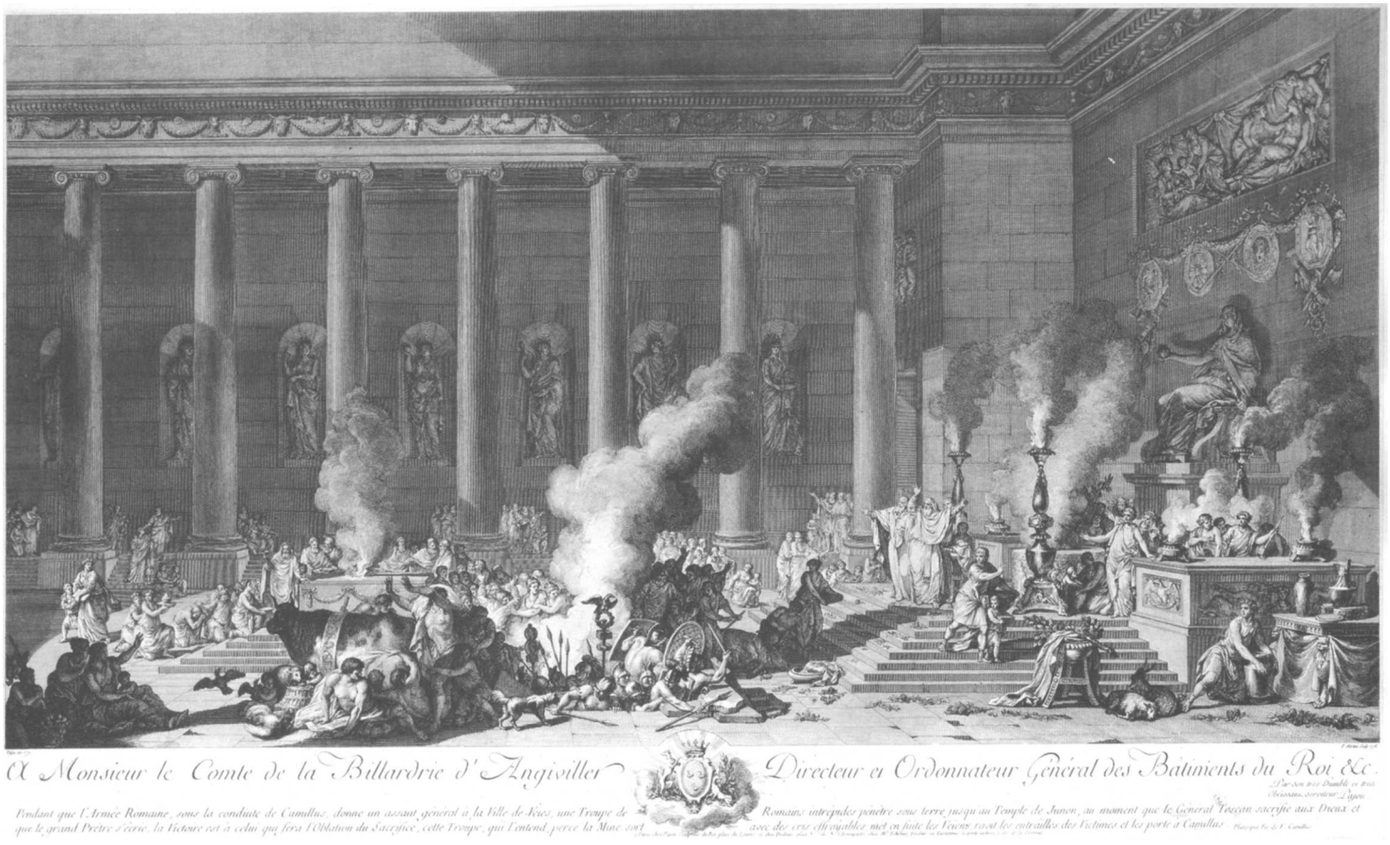
Pajou owned an example of the present engraving and cat. 76, as well as Martini's copperplates for them (see Chronology, 1797).

An example of the present engraving was in the collection of the painter Brenet, sale London, July 5, 1792, no. 53. The Bibliothèque Nationale owns an impression. An example and one of the pendant (cat. 76) were in the Paignon-Dijonval collection (Anonymous 1810, no. 9122). Examples of both are also in the Albertina, Vienna.



Fig. 125. Pajou, *Eagle, after the Ancient Relief at SS. Apostoli, Rome.* Black chalk, pen and black ink. Paris, private collection

The dedication to the powerful d'Angiviller was no doubt an expression of Pajou's gratitude at having been awarded the commission for the statue of Buffon (cat. 112) and a reminder of the artist's continuing interest in projects involving architectural sculpture. But, as important, Pajou surely wanted to perpetuate the masterly reconstruction of an ancient building that he had achieved in his drawing (cat. 74). His collabora-



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tor, the Parmesan engraver Pietro Antonio Martini, succeeded in capturing the drawing's atmosphere. The print is reduced in scale. Otherwise, one of Pajou's few departures from the drawing was the elimination of smoking altars along the rear wall to gain greater clarity. His more modest veiling of the colossal Juno at right is in keeping with her maternal dignity. On the altar at right the drawing contains a pentimento in which a sculpted bucranium can just be made out; in the print it has been replaced by an eagle in a garland, based loosely on the great Trajanic relief in the portico of SS. Apostoli in Rome, of which Pajou preserved a sketch (fig. 125). The pendant to this engraving is *Lucius Albinius Ceding His Chariot to the Vestal Virgins Fleeing Rome* (cat. 76). JDD

76. *Lucius Albinius Ceding His Chariot to the Vestal Virgins Fleeing Rome*

Etching and engraving
37.5 × 63.2 cm (14¾ × 24⅞ in.)
Inscribed at lower left: *Pajou Reg. Sculptor, inv. 1772*; lower right: *P.A.Martini Scul. 1779;* legend below: *A Monsieur le Comte de la Billardrie d'Angiviller Directeur et Ordonnateur des Bâtiments du Roi &c / Par son très humble et très / Obéissant serviteur / Pajou / Les Gaulois, sous Brennus, prirent, et saccagèrent Rome. Tout ce qui n'étoit pas propre à la Guerre prit la fuite. Les Vestales s'enfuyoient aussi à pied chargées de ce qu'elles avoient pû emporter des choses sacrées, / L.Albinius qui accompagnoit sa famille montée sur un Chariot, les rencontrant, fit descendre sa femme, et ses enfans, pour les y faire monter; préferant l'honneur et la Religion à ses interêts particulieurs, et au salut de sa famille. Plut[arque] / à Paris chès Pajou rue Fromenteau et chès Poulleau Graveur à l'Estrapade.* (To monsieur le comte de la Billardrie d'Angiviller, director and ordonnateur général of the Bâtiments du Roi, etc., by his very humble and very obedient servant Pajou. The Gauls, under Brennus, took and sacked Rome. Everyone not fit for war took flight. The Vestals too fled on foot, laden with all the sacred things they could carry. L. Albinius, accompanying his family who were riding on a chariot, on encountering them [the Vestals], had his wife and his children get down in order to let them ride, preferring honor and religion to his private interest and his family's well-being. [Sold] in Paris at Pajou's, rue Froidmanteau, and at Poulleau's, engraver, at the Estrapade.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.602.596[2])

PROVENANCE: Collection of the princes of Liechtenstein, Vienna; acquired by the Museum, 1962



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BIBLIOGRAPHY: Portalis and Béraldi 1880–82, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 33

RELATED WORKS: The preliminary drawing (whereabouts unknown) was in the Salon of 1773 ("Albinius, fleeing the city of Rome with his family, encounters the Vestals, and offers them the chariot in which his wife and his children are riding. Drawing three feet [91.4 cm] in width by one foot [30.5 cm] in height"; no. 201, pp. 39–40 of the *livret*).

Pajou owned an example of the present engraving and cat. 75, as well as Martini's copperplates for them (see Chronology, 1797).

An example and one of the pendant (cat. 75) were in the Paignon-Dijonval collection (Anonymous 1810, no. 9122). Examples of both are also in the Albertina, Vienna.

Martini's little-known print was published some six years after Pajou's drawing (whereabouts unknown) appeared at the Salon. It was clearly a pendant to *The Roman Army under Camillus Assaulting the Temple of Juno at Veii* (cat. 75), although their thematic relationship is perhaps not obvious at first glance. Both episodes from Roman republican history are in Plutarch's "Life of Camillus" (the present scene is from Camillus 21), and both emphasize the hero's piety: Camillus is determined to win Juno's blessing, and Lucius Albinius is dedicated to preserving the sacred vessels.

This composition is the furthest Pajou would go toward sublime landscape. The smoke behind the wall indicates the Gauls laying waste to Rome. At left the vestals shoulder their precious burden, while Lucius Albinius on horseback urges them to take his family's chariot (at no small cost to the comfort of his wife and children). The arch set at an angle and the falling diagonal of the evacuees' procession countered by that of the hill at right show the keenest appreciation of the scenographic effects of Joseph Vernet (and of Claude Lorrain before him). Indeed in 1773 the "noble style of Poussin" came to the mind of the critic of *L'Avant-Coureur* (Deloynes, vol. 49, no. 1348, p. 111).

In the temple pediment at center Pajou repeats the eagle from SS. Apostoli (fig. 125). The scene on the tomb at right quotes an ancient relief, *Toilet of the Young Bride*, which then graced the Albani collections. Pajou knew either it or a fine seventeenth-century copy by Michel Monier, which was transferred in the eighteenth century to Paris from the Académie de France in Rome (Souchal 1977–93, vol. 3, p. 136, no. 3, ill.).

The example of this print in the Bibliothèque Nationale is in an album, and Stein was not aware of it. The rare subject was treated by Lagrenée *le jeune* in a painting shown at the Salon of 1775 (no. 139, p. 25).

JDD

77. *Study for a Clock*

Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray and black wash, on two sheets of horizontally joined paper
79.5 × 57.2 cm (31¼ × 22½ in.)
Inscribed at lower left with the number *15* in brown ink and stamped with the collector's mark of Duke Albert Casimir von Sachsen-Teschen; old mount inscribed *Pajou.*

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (15394)

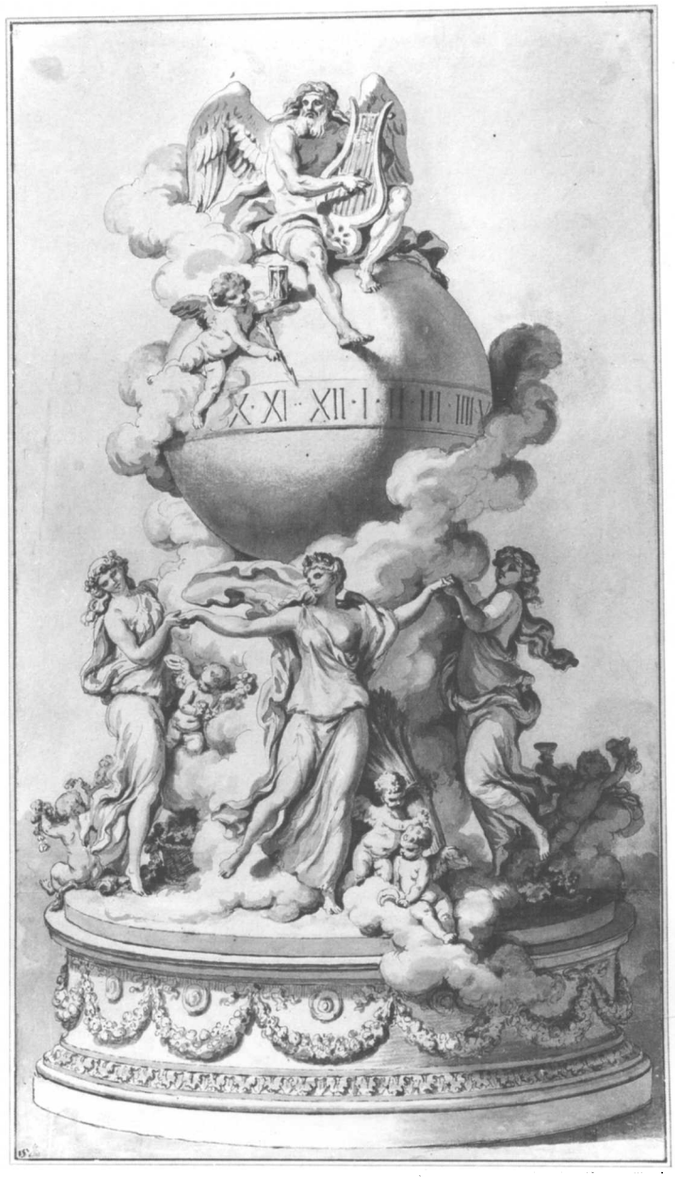
PROVENANCE: Bequest of Duke Albert Casimir von Sachsen-Teschen

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1771, no. 244, p. 43 of the *livret* ("A drawing, sketch washed in india ink, whose subject is a project for a clock, in which one sees Time seated on the globe, holding a lyre which he appears to pluck and to make the seasons dance.")

This magnificent sheet, clearly that exhibited in 1771, has never been published. Like the *River-god and Naiad* (fig. 16), it comes from the collection of Duke Albert Casimir von Sachsen-Teschen, who may have acquired both during a visit to Paris in 1786 (the duke's collections form the heart of the Albertina's holdings).

The clock proposed here was meant to be realized in gilt bronze. As Father Time plucks his lyre, Cupid's arrow indicates the hour on the numbered band which would revolve—in fact, in this *mouvementé* confection, the horizontal dial is the only part that would actually budge. The billowing cloud formations lend vibrancy. The maidens are Seasons, identified by the attributes with which the putti play (Spring: flowers, Summer: wheat, Autumn: grapes). Hidden on the far side, Winter would look something of a bad sport in this frolicsome company.

Except for the use of the Seasons instead of the Wheel of Fortune, the thematic language is identical to that of Poussin's *A Dance to the Music of Time* (London, Wallace Collection; Blunt 1995, pl. 127). In fact, that title could easily serve for Pajou's drawing. A fleeting bow to the ancient relief known as the *Borghese Dancers* (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 195–96) may also be detected. JDD



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78. *Mantel Clock (pendule de cheminée)*

Case of gilt bronze, copper, enamel, and marble
H. 94 cm (37 in.), W. 107.3 cm (42¼ in.), D. 33 cm (13 in.)
Incised on front of globe: *Lepaute à Paris*; on backplate of movement: *LEPAUTE G^AD PARIS*.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.2126)

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York; his gift to the Museum, 1917

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1972, no. 79; New York 1982–83, no. 70

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vincent 1972, pp. 164–65, ill.; Ottomeyer and Pröschel 1986, vol. 1, p. 244, ill.; New York, Metropolitan Museum 1987a, pp. 41–49, ill.

RELATED WORKS: The three-figure group—Father Time with a child winding a garland about his hourglass and Cupid with a torch—first appeared on a more complex model which Pajou made for the prince de Condé in 1775 (discussed below). The timepiece was to have been executed by the clockmaker Lepaute, but the model apparently did not find favor.

An unfinished clock of the present type was said by the bronze founder Feuchère in 1824 to have been begun for the duchesse de Mazarin, who died in 1781. The works were by Lepaute; the figures, modeled by Pajou, were cast by Martincourt; and the pedestal had corner caryatids modeled by Stouf. Feuchère put this clock up for auction in 1824, 1829, and 1831. It survives in the form of a drawing (fig. 126; discussed below).

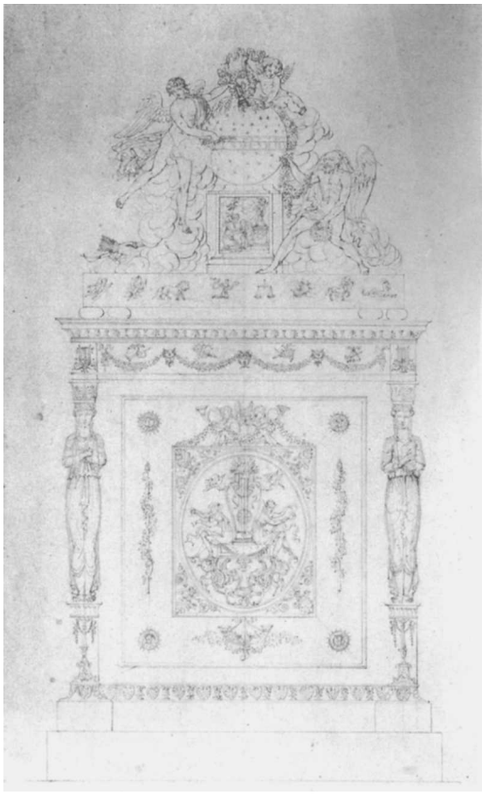
A clock probably of the present type stood on the mantel in the *grand salon* of the hôtel of the princesse de Monaco in 1790 (discussed below).

Other examples with white marble bases unadorned by relief ornaments have appeared at auction: collection of Frederic R. Halsey, sale New York, Anderson Galleries, January 22–25, 1919, no. 34; sale Paris, Drouot Montaigne, November 29, 1992, no. 27; sale Los Angeles, Butterfield and Butterfield, November 6–8, 1989, no. 1641, described as early nineteenth century. One on an unadorned pink granite base is in the Palais Princier, Monaco, acquired in 1947.

Two drawings of this basic clock type in the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (inv. 28085, 30133), have variant colorations and relief ornaments (fig. 127; discussed below). A clock with relief ornaments more or less corresponding to the Hermitage drawings was sold Paris, Palais Galliera, March 31, 1977, no. 48, described as late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

The firm of Beurdeley, revivalist Parisian bronze founders, probably also took up this clock type. An example is seen in an old photograph of the *grand salon* of the Hôtel Beurdeley (Dorival 1989, p. 213). Some of the several extant clocks with overly rich details and patinations, such as another specimen in the Palais Princier, Monaco, in which a profile of Louis XVI embellishes the relief panel that covers the movement, may belong to a Beurdeley phase in the 1880s or '90s (Rome, Paris, Monaco 1996–97, no. IV, 23, ill.).

Fig. 126. French, early nineteenth century, *Drawing of a Clock on an Elaborate Pedestal*. Pen and ink. Paris, private collection



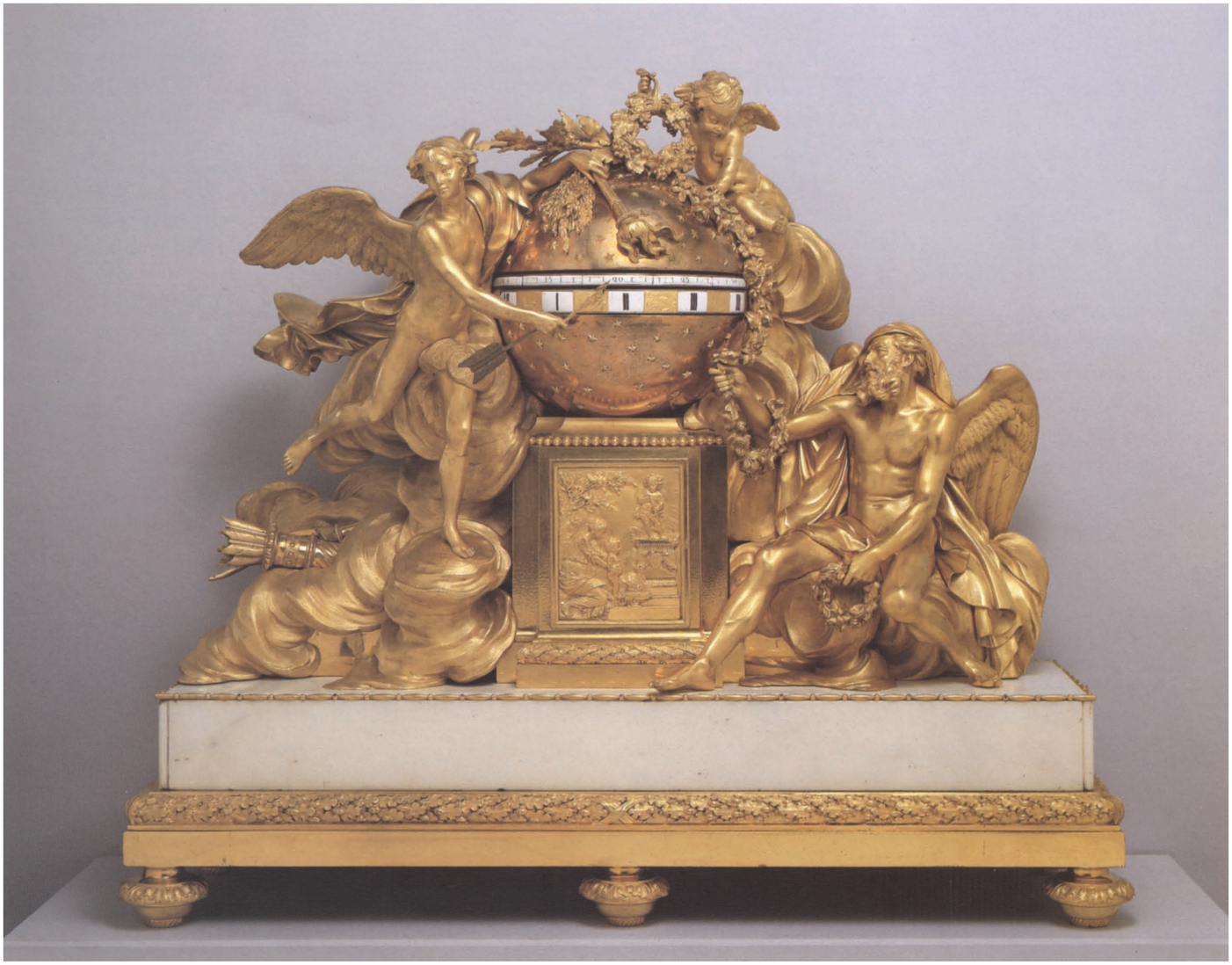
In this clock the hours and minutes are enumerated on separate chapter rings that revolve between the globe's hemispheres, and the time is indicated by the arrow held by the winged genius. Below the globe and behind the panel in relief, the case contains the hour-striking, spring-driven movement with a dead-beat anchor escapement and short pendulum, now with a Brocot suspension.

The high quality of the present clock's figural castings and its Lepaute signature indicate that it was made early in the commercial production of this model. The

Fig. 127. French, early nineteenth century, *Drawings of a Clock*. Pen and ink, watercolor. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage







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model's success over the years is seen in the several repetitions mentioned above (Related Works).

The Lepaute family ran one of the most distinguished clockmaking establishments in Paris. Appointed clockmaker to the king in 1775, Jean-Baptiste Lepaute *le jeune* had the use of a workshop near Pajou's at the Louvre until 1779. He also maintained an establishment at the Palais-Royal and later (1778–83) in the rue des Échelles Saint-Honoré. After his retirement in 1789, the business was continued by his nephews well into the nineteenth century (see Jean Nerée Ronfort in Wilson et al. 1996, pp. 179–82).

The first evidence of a collaboration between Lepaute and Pajou dates from 1775: in a memorandum Pajou described "the model for a clock which was supposed to be executed in bronze for his Serene Highness monseigneur the prince de Condé" (Chantilly, BMC, AC, *carton* 6; Stein 1912, doc. xv, p. 334). He continues: "The said model was made under the supervision of M. Bellisard, [Condé's] architect, by master Pajou, sculptor to the king, in the course of the year 1775." The model, of wood, plaster, and wax, was embellished with ten figures disposed around a globe. Four children impersonating the Seasons in dancing poses surmounted the globe. In Pajou's words, "at the two sides of the said globe are two figures a foot and a half [45.7 cm] tall, one of which represents Time accompanied by a child who winds a garland of flowers about his hourglass; the other represents Cupid, one of whose hands leans a torch on the globe as if to set it afire while the other holds an arrow with which he marks the hours." Three other babies were in the act of tossing flowers. The four putti dancing to the music of Time on top were in some measure a repetition of the theme of the Albertina drawing of 1771 (cat. 77). The whole, accompanied by billowing clouds, was placed on a "very richly ornamented pedestal."

The model was three feet tall [91.4 cm], three feet wide [91.4 cm], and a foot and a half deep [45.7 cm]. Pajou claimed the whole took him four months to prepare with the aid of two assistants, as well as a carpenter for the globe, a plaster worker who made a cast of the globe, and a specialist in modeling wax ornaments who supplied those on the pedestal. The charges amounted to 3,591 livres, but on September 23, 1778, Bellisard knocked the total down to 2,400 livres (ibid). The payment of this sum on October 4, 1778 is recorded in the Palais Bourbon's register *Travaux de 1769 à 1791* (Chantilly, Archives du Musée Condé, 117 D 34, fol. 98), and Pajou acknowledged it on November 18 (Chantilly, Archives du Musée Condé, AC, *carton* 6; Stein 1912, doc. XV, p. 334). Pajou's remark that this extravagant design "was supposed to be executed" seems to indicate that it was not realized in metal. The intended site may have been the mantelpiece in the *grand salon* of the Palais Bourbon. A memorandum by Lepaute of March 18, 1777, describes a different clock, the collaboration of Lepaute and Houdon for the exacting prince de Condé, that was made to replace one that had been in this room and that "did not please him" (Chantilly, Archives du Musée Condé, AC, *carton* 7; Verlet 1980, p. 202).

Pajou's memorandum indicates that the imagery of the Condé clock emphasized the triumph of Love over Time, a typical conceit of the period. The Condé clock in turn inspired a less complicated model, represented by the present clock, which went to the core of the idea. Cupid, the winged genius, is the dominant figure as a lesser love-god ensnares Father Time in a harmless chain of roses, perhaps suggesting that time seems to stand still when one is in love.

In 1790 the furnishings of the *grand salon* of the hôtel de Monaco, built by Brongniart for the princesse de Monaco, included a mantel clock representing the terrestrial ball "with a figure of bronze and a cupid, which clock is by Lepaute" (Silvestre de Sacy 1940, p. 30). It may or may not have been a clock of the present type, but it was in any case an appropriate fixture for the princesse, she having been the love object of the same prince de Condé who had ordered the larger model.

A Pajou-Lepaute clock is said to have been begun for the duchesse de Mazarin, who died in 1781. It is worth mentioning that Lepaute was among the duchesse's creditors (Stern 1930, vol. I, p. 154). The first actual mention of this clock was in an auction catalogue of the bronze founder Jean-Pierre Feuchère (sale Paris, November 29, 1824, no. 143):

> Large piece of furniture, clock with flute mechanism, movement by Lepaute. The group that crowns this piece was made for the duchesse de Mazarin; the figures are by M. Pajou, the execution in bronze is by Martincourt; the caryatids of the piece [i.e., the pedestal] are by M. Stouf; all the accessories are chased by the ablest artists. This piece, once finished, will be extraordinary; a flute mechanism of several cylinders has not been adjusted. The cost to date is considerable. It is at present easy to finish this piece, which will be without parallel.

The clock with its pedestal, the whole measuring more than seven feet (210 cm) tall, was offered twice more by Feuchère at auction (sale Paris, January 19, 1829, no. 61, the group on top now described as "Time, a genius marking the hour on the globe of the world, and a cupid who enchains time with flowers," and sale Paris, December 12, 1831, no. 30).

The descriptions of the "Mazarin" clock indicate that it was a clock of the present type. Ottomeyer and Pröschel (1986, vol. I, p. 165) have suggested that it was the same model as a smaller timepiece in the Wallace Collection; Pajou's figural style is not, however, apparent in that work. A line drawing in a private collection shows a clock of our type resting on a rich pedestal with caryatids, presumably along the lines of those modeled by Stouf (fig. 126). The clock base sports signs of the zodiac. The drawing is likely to have been made in connection with one of Feuchère's auctions. A sumptuous cabinet-pedestal with musical motifs identical to those described in the drawing is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (W.18–1955, unpublished; we owe knowledge of it and the drawing to Alexis Kugel).

The watercolors in the Hermitage (fig. 127) have tonalities to suggest varying ratios of dark bronze to gilt metal; they would have appeared, probably in the early nineteenth century, in dealers' prospectuses offering choices of patination.

We have saved for last the charming plaque with a mother warming her child at an altar to Love, found on most examples of the clock as well as in the drawings mentioned. It also appears in oval form on secretaries by Riesener in the Wallace Collection and the J. Paul Getty Museum. The relief is not in Pajou's manner, nor do we recognize Clodion, who has been suggested (Winthrop Edey in New York 1982–83, no. 70).

JDD

79. *Landscape with a Terrace Decorated with Statues and a Fountain*

Red and black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash, white highlights on buff-colored paper
26.3 × 36.5 cm (10⅜ × 14⅜ in.)
Annotated at bottom left, brown ink: *Pajou f.1776*

Paris, private collection

PROVENANCE: Anonymous auction Poitiers, April 16, 1983, ill.

This drawing allows us to discuss Pajou as a landscape artist, a little-known side of his genius. The body of work that has survived is not very abundant but is of extremely high quality. In Italy, like a number of his fellows, he made rapid chalk or pen sketches, such as a view of Saint Peter's colonnade (private collection) and a monumental stairway under a portico (Princeton, Art Museum, verso inv. 1948–400), as well as more elaborate compositions (examples in Detroit, Institute of Arts [Carlson et al. 1992, no. 105 verso, ill.], and in Princeton, inv. 1948–412). In general his works in this genre are city views, but he also produced country landscapes. One black-chalk drawing (13 × 18.9 cm [5⅛ × 7⅜ in.], private collection) depicts the Ripa Grande quarry. In Rome the artist, like his fellow student Doyen, was especially interested in architecture and its organization in space (19 × 26.8 cm [7½ × 10½ in.]; inscribed *à Rome d'après Nature* [in Rome from Nature]; fig. 128), a concern still evident in a 1792 drawing made in Montpellier (25.4 × 36 cm [10 × 14⅛ in.]; inscribed *Pajou. f. montpeltier 1792*; fig. 129).

On his return to France Pajou continued to draw, concentrating on historical compositions, which he regularly exhibited at the Salon, and on studies for his sculptures. In the 1770s he showed a renewed interest in landscape, and such scenes were an integral part of the *Lucius Albinius Ceding His Chariot to the Vestal Virgins* (1772, Salon of 1773; cat. 76), as well as two versions of Cupid and Venus and Mercury (n.d., Salon of 1777; figs. 133, 134) and *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*



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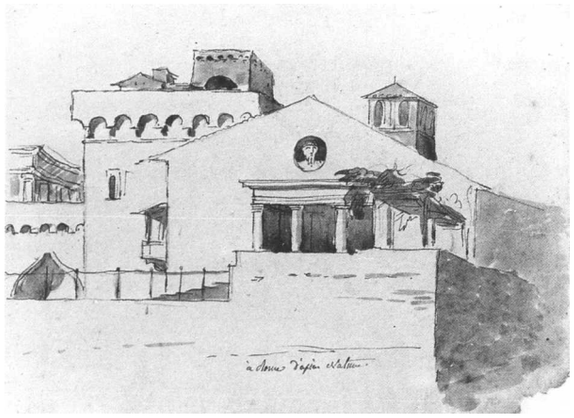


Fig. 128. Pajou, *Roman Landscape*. Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash. Private collection

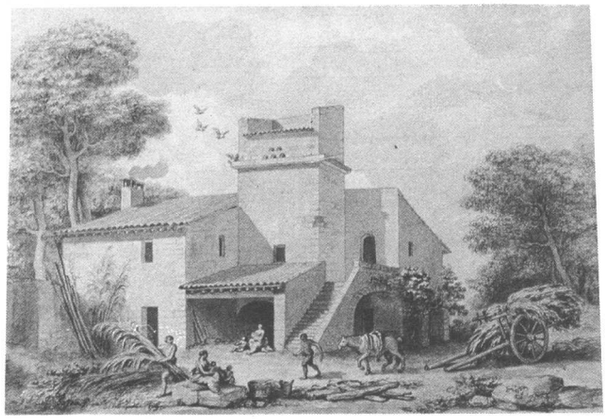


Fig. 129. Pajou, *Landscape near Montpellier*. Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash. Private collection

(n.d., Salon of 1784; fig. 135).

Two large drawings exhibited at the Salon of 1777 (no. 215) were described in the *livret* as "two landscape drawings in India ink." These works, sketched by Saint-Aubin (Dacier 1909–11, vol. 4, p. 55, ill.), were part of the collection of Bourgeois de Boynes, the secretary of the navy (sale March 15, 1785, nos. 206, 207; see Chronology). These drawings were later sold in Paris (Pénard y Fernandez, Hôtel Drouot, December 19–20, 1960, no. 57) and in New York (Sotheby's, April 30, 1982, nos. 70, ill., 70a). The first is *Landscape with an Antique Bust* (28.5 × 45.6 cm [11¼ × 18 in.]; inscribed at bottom left, in black ink, *Pa.*[jou in sepia ink] *fe.1777*; fig. 130a); the second is *Landscape with a Lion on a Sarcophagus* (28.6 × 45.2 cm [11¼ × 17¾ in.]; inscribed at bottom left, in black ink, *Pa.*[jou in sepia ink] *fe.1777*; fig. 130b). Another drawing, whose location is unknown, was seen by Stein (1912, pp. 226–27) at the home of Mme Meslin, the artist's great-granddaughter. Annotated at the left *Pajou 1779*, it represented "a pleasant landscape with people, animals, boatman in a skiff under a stone bridge, and large trees, the whole dominated by a terrace at the right." After 1780 landscapes by Pajou are extremely rare (or have not yet come to light); the only known example is the charming scene of country life executed in 1792 in Montpellier (fig. 129).

The present panoramic drawing shows a stairway leading to a terrace, flanked by two reclining statues representing unspecified arcadian divinities. To the left, a headless female torso is posed next to a variation on

Fig. 130a. Pajou, *Landscape with an Antique Bust*. Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash, white highlights on buff-colored paper. Private collection

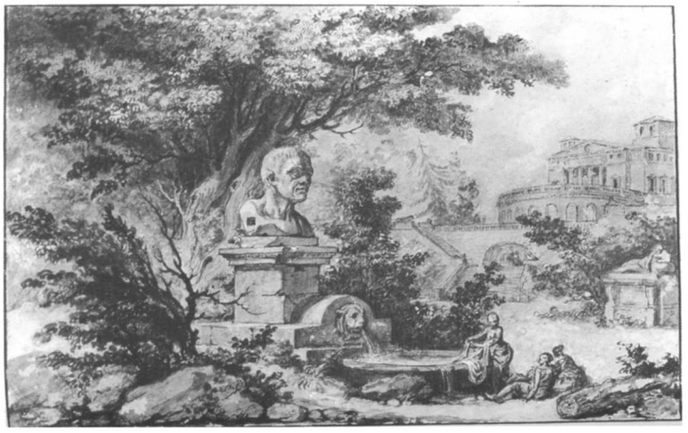


Fig. 130b. Pajou, *Landscape with a Lion on a Sarcophagus*. Black chalk, pen and black ink, gray wash, white highlights on buff-colored paper. Private collection



the *Farnese Hercules*, cousin to the hero with a club dominating the banquet in *Lycurgus* (cat. 65); the pedestal supporting the *Hercules* bears a frieze showing a bacchanale of the sort found on ancient marble kraters. A balustrade borders the walkway, which leads to a tree-filled landscape; in the distance an abundant fountain is decorated with a seated Minerva(?), much like that at the Campidoglio (fig. 128) or that in the classical perspective of the stairway of the Villa Negroni, familiar to the students at the Académie in Rome. In the background rises the powerful outline of the Castel Sant'Angelo, the ideal backdrop for a classical landscape. One could easily apply to this drawing the comment in the de Boynes sale: Pajou "represents in these happy sites something of the soul of Italian gardens."

Made a year before the two compositions from the Salon of 1777, the present sheet has several points in common with them. Both are strewn with sculptures. The reclining figure to the right of the *Landscape with an Antique Bust* resembles that in the left foreground of the 1776 drawing; the stairway in the background of the *Landscape with a Lion on a Sarcophagus* is similar to that leading to the terrace in the earlier work. The groups of figures that enliven the compositions are treated in the same manner, with linear definition of their contours, the folds of their garments, and the shadows they cast. These form lively little playlets: the family with its newborn, the washerwomen, the mother and child watching the father depart with a goat.

It is interesting to speculate whether Pajou had specific compositions by his colleagues in mind when he came to create his landscapes. Although we can note several analogies—the large tree on the left is reminiscent of Fragonard, the human figures of Hubert Robert—the panoramic composition, which balances wide perspectives with a pronounced taste for sculpted decorations, belongs to Pajou's own world. Evocations of aristocratic Roman gardens commingle with recollections of French parks (the terraces of Marly or the Jardin de la Fontaine in Nîmes). These compound visions are full of charm, though not entirely devoid of occasional awkwardness in their arrangement on the page. At the time Pajou was engaged in numerous sculptural commissions, and these drawings should also be understood as rather moving instances of relaxation, in which he glances back fondly to the time when he was in Rome at the Palazzo Mancini.

GS

80. *Anacreon Inspired by Cupid*

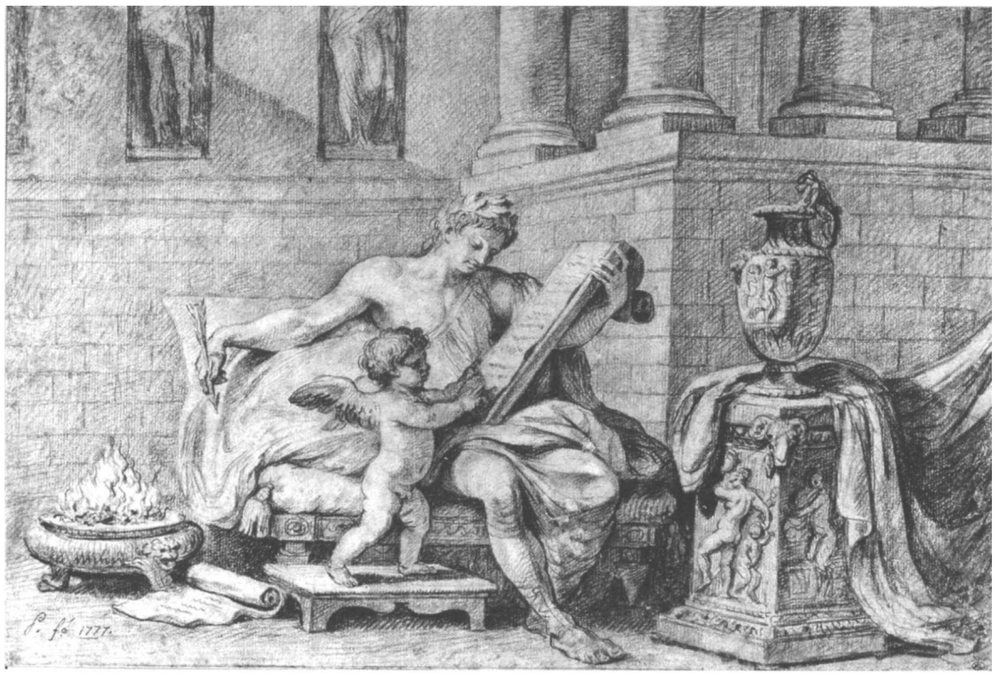
Red chalk
30.4 × 45 cm (12 × 17¾ in.)
Annotated at bottom left, in red chalk: *P. fe. 1777.*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 51023)

PROVENANCE: Stuart de Clèves; his bequest to the museum, 1996

This drawing, recently acquired by the Louvre, illustrates the theme of Anacreon and Cupid, which Pajou treated several times in his career (see cat. 1 and 50 and below). Here the poet, beardless and laurel-wreathed, holds a plume in his right hand and a tablet in his left, as he awaits inspiration or advice from Cupid, who stands on a stool reading his text. At the right, the altar with bacchic reliefs—a satyress, a standing bacchante holding a tambourine and a thyrsus, with a child—and the vase on top of the altar identify Anacreon's environment as Arcadia. The smoking brazier at the left suggests the famous scene narrated in Anacreon's third ode (see cat. 82), which was partially rendered by Pajou in the companion piece to this drawing. In the pendant, which is in the Horvitz collection (30.2 × 45 cm [11⅞ × 17¾ in.]; signed and dated *Pa.fe 1777*; sold New York Christie's, January 13, 1993, no. 95, ill.; fig. 131), an elderly, bearded Anacreon—more like a satyr than a Greek poet but recognizable by his lyre and thyrsus—warms Cupid near a brazier just after the little fellow, caught in the rain, burst in upon the poet during the burning of an offering to the three Graces.

The theme of Anacreon was treated many times in the eighteenth century by musicians (Rameau), writers (Sedaine), and artists (see cat. 82). Dowley (1961, p. 20)



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counted at least nineteen visual interpretations from the second half of the century, and one could surely find more. The diversity of the subjects is astounding: the poet inspired by Cupid (Le Prince, fig. 78), the scene from the third ode (Collin de Vermont, 1750; François Lucas, 1784), as well as more general themes, such as Anacreon with his mistress (J.-B. Restout, Salon of 1765), Anacreon caressed by the Muses (Lagrenée *l'aîné,* Salon of 1773) or making a sacrifice to the Graces (N.-R. Jollain, Salon of 1779) or to Venus (Lagrenée *le jeune,* about 1780), and Anacreon crowned by Venus (Doyen, Salon of 1779). And one of the heroes at the Greek banquet given by Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun about 1785 was a poet disguised as Anacreon.

Fig. 131. Pajou, *Anacreon Warming Cupid.* Red and black chalk. Jeffrey E. Horvitz collection, on deposit at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University



The subject suited that period's taste for fable, "the most fecund resource of the arts. Elegant and varied, it provides at once a tableau of every passion, the surest means of making these passions felt, and the advantage of presenting them in a form that is always noble, always interesting, without requiring the attitudes or constraints to which the artist of historical themes is always subject" (Caylus 1755, p. 7).

An accumulation of accessories, more or less adapted from sketches made in Italy, provides the drawing with an antique decor, combined with more recent references. The background of the composition is identical to the one in cat. 75: a large wall with regular stone facing, columns at bottom, statues in niches. The seat with its frieze of posts—which we also find in the Horvitz drawing—is worthy of the furnishings of La Live de Jully.

Pajou's style is recognizable in both drawings. The Cupids are similar to his other little boys, and the draperies are characteristic—supple, deeply hollowed out, creating areas of shadow as if they had been sculpted.

GS



81



82

81. *Anacreon Inspired by Cupid*

Terracotta
H. 17 cm (6¾ in.), W. 14 cm (5½ in.), D. 11 cm (4⅜ in.)

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (CM 400/20)

PROVENANCE: Paul Cailleux, before 1932; his children, after his death in 1964; acquired from them by the museum, 1983

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932b, no. 58 ("Cupid's Education"); Paris 1934, no. 167 ("Cupid's Education: The Pedagogue"); Paris 1973, no. 87, ill. ("Cupid's Instruction")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Réau 1936, p. 17 ("Cupid's Education" by Mercury[?]); Fleming 1957, no. 4, ill. ("Cupid's Education: The Pedagogue"); *FRAM* 1985, p. 123, ill. ("Cupid Inspiring Ovid[?]")

82. *Anacreon Warming Cupid*

Terracotta
H. 19 cm (7½ in.), W. 17 cm (6¾ in.), D. 11 cm (4⅜ in.)

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (CM 400/19)

PROVENANCE: See cat. 81

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932b, no. 57 ("Cupid's Education"); Paris 1934, no. 168 ("Cupid's Education: The Poet"); Paris 1973, no. 86, ill. ("Anacreon Warming Cupid")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Réau 1936, pp. 17–18, pl. v, fig. 7 ("The Poet Wounded by Cupid"); Fleming 1957, no. 4, ill. ("Cupid's Education: The Poet"); *FRAM* 1985, p. 123, ill.

RELATED WORKS: "A statue of Anacreon" is cited in 1806 by Chaussard in his list of Pajou's works (1806, p. 472). Was he confusing this with the group made at the École Royale des Élèves Protégés (cat. 1)?

These two works, along with *Neptune* (cat. 70), were part of the important collection of terracottas assembled during the first half of the twentieth century by the great collector and antiquarian Paul Cailleux. They were acquired by the Musée Bonnat with two other terracottas attributed to Pajou—*Faun Returning from the Hunt* (inv. CM 400/18; *FRAM* 1985, p. 123, ill.), for which the attribution is not certain, and *Nude Man Seated* (inv. CM 400/16; *FRAM* 1985, p. 123, ill.), whose precise anatomy and linear elegance are close to his style.

Anacreon Warming Cupid (cat. 82) is based on Anacreon's third ode, as translated by Gacon in 1712 under the title *L'Amour mouillé* [Drenched Cupid]:

> When weary of the noise and toil, / The man did gently doze, / Then through the nighttime silence / Love shattered my repose. / Who comes knocking so late at night? / I cried out with a start. / It was no more than a rain-soaked child— / But his words tugged at my heart. / "It's raining; please, I've lost my way: / Please open, for Pity's sake." / And at these words, to let him in, / My lamp in hand I took. / When I saw him, I will confess, / His quiver and his bow / Did give me pause, as did his wings, / And yet I seemed to know / That he was just a gentle lad. / So I brought him to the fire, / And dried him off and warmed his hands / 'Til life returned anew. / But when the chill had left his bones, / Then back he drew: "Let's see / If the rain and cold that numbed my hands / Have spoiled my arrows," said he: / And with these words he drew a bolt / And pierced me to the breast; / That done, he gave a merry laugh / As he set his bow to rest. / And then: "Congratulate me, friend!" / He said with a roguish air: / "My bow is good as e'er it was. / —Though your heart's beyond repair!"

The text had already inspired Ronsard, La Fontaine in one of his *Tales* (curiously, Fragonard did not illustrate it), and, closer to Pajou, his friend Sedaine in a short play written in his youth in 1754 and performed at the Comédie Italienne in 1758.

Pajou's little group retains only the final anecdote in

Fig. 132. Desplaces. *Anacreon Warming Cupid, after Antoine Coypel.* Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 133. Pajou, *Mercury Instructing Cupid.* Black chalk. Private collection

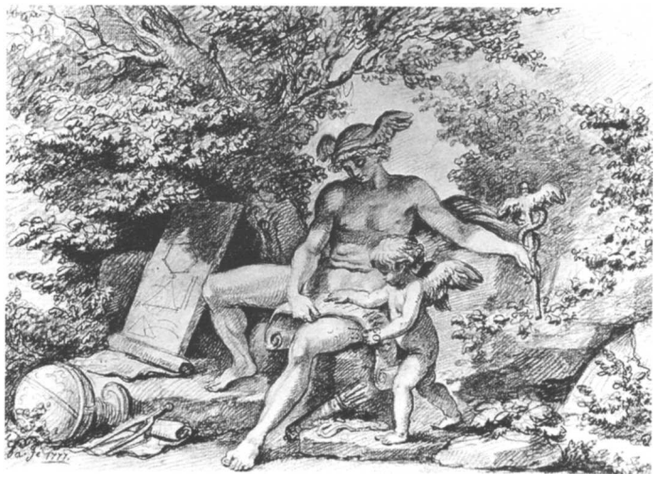


Fig. 134. Pajou, *Venus Disarming Cupid.* Black chalk. Private collection



which the warmed Cupid pierces Anacreon's heart. Perhaps Pajou had in mind the witty engraving by Desplaces after Coypel (fig. 132) in which sly Cupid lets himself be caressed by the poet while drawing an arrow from his quiver.

The subject depicted in the other group (cat. 81) is not so clear. The youthfulness of the beardless man holding up a tablet to Cupid has troubled many commentators. Réau (1936, p. 17), who identifies him as Mercury, was no doubt influenced by a drawing signed and dated *Pa. fe 1777* that shows the god educating the little Cupid (27.5 × 42 cm [10⅞ × 16½ in.]; fig. 133; the companion piece depicts Venus disarming Cupid, inscribed *Pa. fe 1777*; fig. 134); but in the drawing Mercury is distinctly wearing his petasos and holding his caduceus, whereas no attribute distinguishes the figure in the terracotta. The 1985 catalogue (*FRAM*, p. 123) speculates that he is Ovid, in which case the figure would be a Latin counterpart of a Greek poet, both authors being exponents of "the art of love." This hypothesis is seductive, although there are no other eighteenth-century examples (as far as I know) of a similar iconography of Ovid as a pedagogue or as inspired by Cupid. Pajou could, however, have invented it.

Our suggestion, instead, is that this is a new image of Anacreon, not bearded and victimized by a roguish Cupid, but beardless and inspired by him. Thus, we would have terracotta companion pieces to the two drawings of 1777: the libertine Anacreon teased by Cupid and, correspondingly, the poet inspired by Love.

Although neither is signed or dated, the two sculptures have always been unanimously perceived as being by Pajou's hand. Indeed, we can recognize the sculptor's grace, his ability to describe a scene, and—here as in his first youthful group (cat. 1)—to create a subtle balance between two figures, to model flesh with sensitivity, and to incorporate meaningful accessories.

Given the lack of indicator, it is difficult to date these works precisely. In 1973 Roland Michel compared them to the two drawings of Mercury and Venus cited above, which bear the same date (1777) as the drawings in the Louvre and the Horvitz collection; therefore, why not relate the two studies from Bayonne to that period?

Did Pajou, interested in the theme of Anacreon like his friends Sedaine and Le Prince, intend to use these studies as the basis for large-scale works? To what does Chaussard allude when he mentions in his 1806 list (which is rarely in error) a stone statue of Anacreon? These questions remain unanswered.

GS

83. *Anacreon Inspired by Cupid*

Black chalk heightened with white
26.3 × 39.2 cm (10⅜ × 15⅜ in.)
Annotated at bottom left, black chalk: *Pajou:/ 1780*

Lyons, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (MAD 3054)

PROVENANCE: Sold Paris Drouot, November 29, 1926, no. 271 ("Cupid Dictating Verses to Anacreon"); probably acquired at that auction by the museum

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paris 1974–75b, p. 155 ("Cupid Dictating Verses to Anacreon")

This new composition, dated 1780, is perhaps the most "classical" of all of Pajou's variations on the theme of Anacreon. The poet has the same bearded, ringlet-framed face as the antique effigies that the artist could have seen in Rome—the Borghese collection had two statues, one standing (today in the Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen), the other seated with a lyre—or known through engravings or bronzes cast in the eighteenth century, such as the bust now at the Château de Versailles (Hoog 1993, p. 34, no. 29, ill.). Anacreon is clothed in a drapery of majestic folds. Most of the accessories surrounding him are taken from the two drawings of 1777 (see cat. 80); we again find the vase, the bench, the stool, and the lyre. The table with legs styled as the protome of a griffin is familiar (see cat. 65), as is the monumental wall decorated with statues in niches (see cat. 74). This sheet is characterized by charming inventions: Anacreon's



83



Fig. 135. Pajou, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Black chalk. Private collection

stylet is a quill entrusted to him by Cupid, who has plucked it from his quiver, leaning against a bench to the right; the poet's thyrsus is prettily fondled by two doves. In the background to the right a view opens onto a garden, featuring handsome trees with distinctly rendered leaves, as if they were seen straight on, from above. Indications of perspective are also absent from other landscape drawings by Pajou, such as the two large ones from the Salon of 1777 (figs. 130a, 130b) and the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, dated 1784 (fig. 135). The composition of the latter work, clearly balanced—with the central group, the pyramid to the left, the tree and shrubs to the right—derives from the same spirit as the drawing in Lyons. Moreover, the chubby little Cupid, with his wavy, swept-back hair and eyes marked by a single black line, is very much a native of Pajou's universe.

GS

84. *Pyrrhus in the House of Glaucias*

Copper
26.5 × 34 cm (10⅜ × 13⅜ in.)

Private collection

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Sale Paris, Drouot, April 17, 1985, no. 67 (no catalogue)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Angers 1994–95, p. 52, fig. 38 (mistakenly described as a bronze: an analysis at the research laboratory of the Musées de France made in December 1996 indicated that the relief is more than 99 percent pure copper)

85. *Pyrrhus in the House of Glaucias*

Plaster
25.4 × 33.6 cm (10 × 13¼ in.)
Inscribed at right: *PAJOU STATUAIRE / 1779*. (Pajou, sculptor, 1779)

Private collection

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Pajou's descendants, including in 1912 Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain; mentioned in 1940 as part of the estate of Mme Marie-Saint-Germain in Bougival (family papers); still property of her heirs

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 220–21, ill., 410

RELATED WORKS: For the drawings from the Italian period, see cat. 18–20.

A plaster relief almost identical to the one dated 1779, but without inscription, is preserved in a private collection in Paris; it has an old frame with an escutcheon bearing the work's exact title (from an anonymous auction without catalogue, Paris Drouot, just after February 2, 1971).

A wax relief (H. 23 cm [9 in.], W. 32 cm [12⅝ in.], D. 4 cm [1⅝ in.]), almost identical to the two plasters, is housed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Angers (inv. MBA 763); gift of David d'Angers, 1851, who according to legend received it from Roland, Pajou's favorite pupil and his own teacher; falsely characterized by David as Pajou's "Prix de Rome"; the subject was for a long time interpreted as the "Judgment of Solomon": Jouin 1870, p. 233, no. 739; Gonse 1904, p. 48, ill.; Lami 1911, p. 222; Stein 1912, pp. 220–21, ill., 410; *Sculptures en cire* 1987, pp. 118–19, no. 19, ill.; Angers 1994–95, pp. 52–55, no. 10, ill).

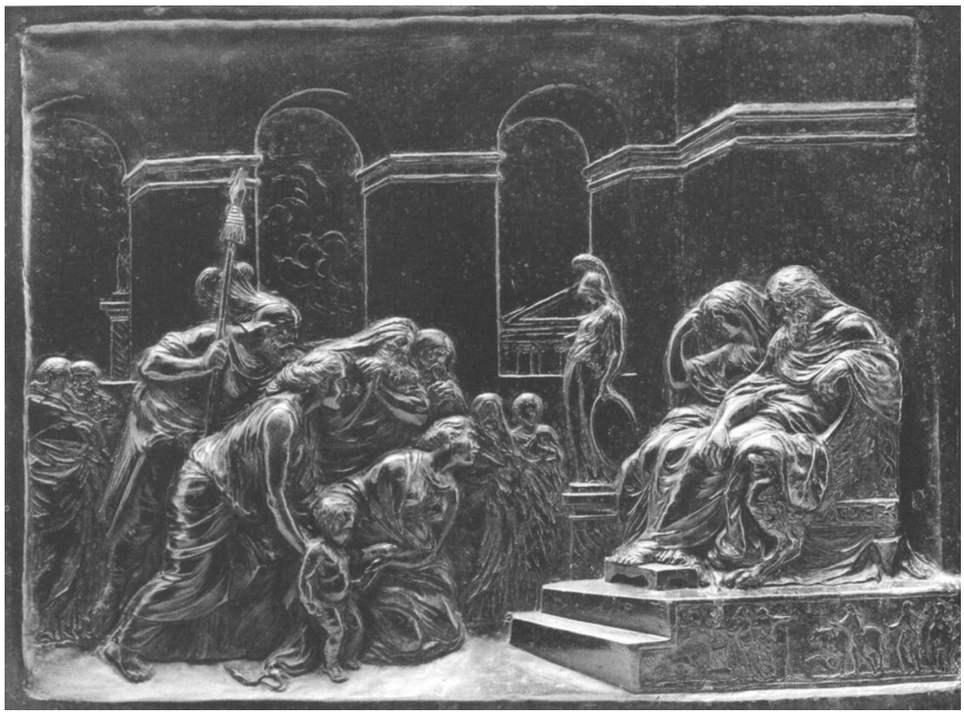
A black-chalk drawing with several highlights in brown wash (21.7 × 30.2 cm [8½ × 11⅞ in.]; approximate dimensions, taken while the drawing was framed under glass), inscribed at bottom left in black chalk: *PAJOU statuaire. 1779* (Pajou, sculptor, 1779), on label on back of frame: *collection d'autographes de M. Léon Muller, Saint-Mandé* (Léon Muller autograph collection, Saint-Mandé) is preserved in a private collection in Paris (coming from the same auction as the plaster version without inscription). The composition is inverted and presents several variants (see below; fig. 136).

A mediocre oil on wood after Pajou's composition (26 × 39 cm [10¼ × 15⅜ in.]; sold Paris, Drouot, December 16, 1992, no. 16, ill.)

The meeting in which the child Pyrrhus asks asylum of King Glaucias, taken from a story in Plutarch, was treated by Pajou as far back as his Italian sojourn (see cat. 19, 20). It is the perfect example of a youthful composition revisited by the artist twenty years later. One of his sketches from the Italian period (cat. 20) already shows the definitive composition: in a room open to the outside by a large arcade, Pyrrhus, accompanied by four faithful followers, comes before the king and his wife, who sit on a dais near a statue of Minerva.

The relief in copper (cat. 84), neither signed nor dated, repeats the composition with some modifications. We again find Glaucias and his wife looking at the child, but isolated, without the soldier and the two figures behind them. Pajou, to balance this empty space, created a handsome narrative relief—the sacrifice of a bull—to decorate the dais. He added a bearded old man among Pyrrhus's friends and clarified the secondary characters in the background. The lines of the countryside seen through the three arches have also been sharpened. Although he eliminated the oculi above the pillars, Pajou retained the temple near Minerva and the cloud—without architecture—seen through the central arch. He engraved a column topped by a statue behind the third. Other variants can be noted, including the column supporting Minerva and the drapery of the kneeling woman.

We find this same composition in two plaster copies: one inscribed *PAJOU. SCULPTOR 1779*, still owned by the heirs of Pajou (cat. 85), and the other with no inscription. A version in molded wax at the museum in Angers is identical to the plaster ones. There are, however, a few noticeable differences between these and the copper version. They mainly concern the right-hand portion of the scene. On the plaster and wax versions, the king's head is raised and his right hand makes a sign of welcome, which was already sketched out in the drawing in the École des Beaux-Arts (cat. 20); his left hand holds a scroll of paper; the queen looks at Glaucias, not Pyrrhus; the ornaments on the throne are different: the protome of a griffin is not half-covered by a drapery, and (in cat. 85) the artist has substituted his signature and the date for the relief on the dais. These



important modifications augment the readability of the story: in the plaster and wax versions, Glaucias, persuaded by his wife who is looking at him, welcomes the child; whereas the Italian drawing and the copper depict the moment of reflection that preceded this decision as related by Plutarch in the first part of his narrative.

We also know of a drawing bearing the inscription *PAJOU sculptor. 1779* (fig. 136) and having the same composition as the plaster and wax versions except that it is inverted and, here again, presents variants. We find all the elements of the scene: Pyrrhus's five friends, Glaucias's welcoming gesture, the queen looking at the king, and the protome of a griffin emerging from the drapery. The secondary characters are a bit more numerous, however, particularly in the right background; a soldier appears in the left foreground; and one can discern the hint of a canopy above the king. The very sketchy character of the two latter elements seems to disprove the hypothesis that this black-chalk drawing, meticulously highlighted in wash to indicate the degrees of relief, was actually a counterproof (of a version of the drawing made in Rome that Lemoyne owned, for example).

Fig. 136. Pajou, *Pyrrhus and Glaucias.* Black chalk, brown wash highlights. Paris, private collection

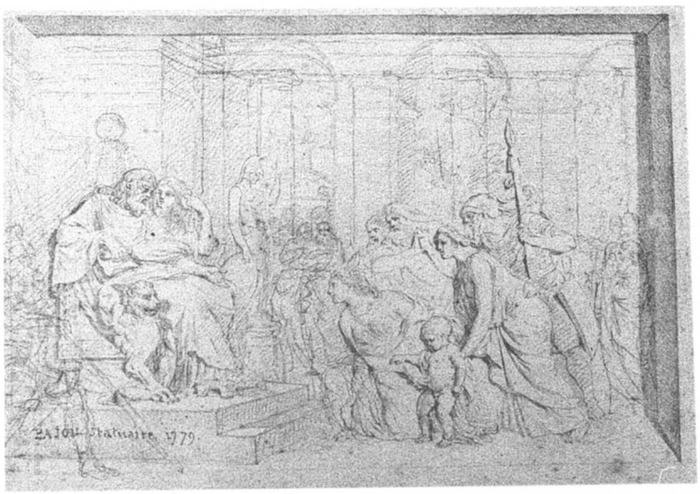


Fig. 137. Nicolas-René Jollain, *Pyrrhus and Glaucias.* Oil on canvas. Soissons, Musée Municipal





85

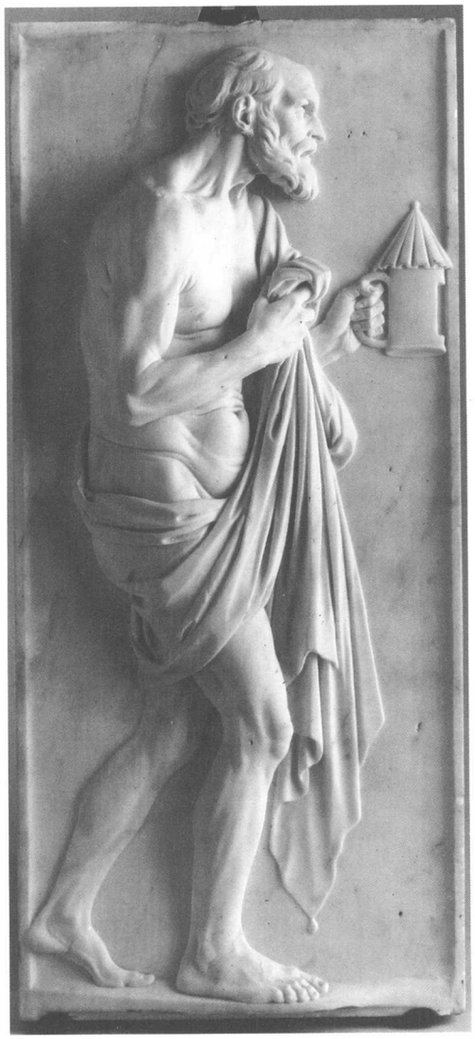
The framing at the top and to the right—the perspective laid in with stump—simulates the depth of relief and indicates that the drawing was created in preparation for a sculpture. The large, rather mechanically inscribed characters used to annotate the study of the soldier could have been conceived by the artist as writing simple enough to be legible if transcribed in metal.

The motif of the griffin decorating Glaucias's throne, fully seen on the sketch (cat. 20), already existed in a headless version in the drawing from 1754 in the Louvre (cat. 18). It was partly hidden on the copper (cat. 84) and did not truly emerge until the drawing of 1779 and the plaster casts. At the time, Pajou no doubt leafed through his Italian sketches to develop this motif and refresh his memory. He might have particularly scrutinized a detail from Raphael (ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 39; 21.1 × 15 cm [8¼ × 6 in.]; inscribed *au vatiquand d'apres la dispute du St Sacrament de Raphael* [at the Vatican after the *Disputà* of Raphael]) or from an antique frieze (ENSBA, vol. 1, no. 116); but the closest thing to this griffin is one of the andirons of Count Gazzola (fig. 19), itself inspired by a foot drawn "at the Capitol" (fig. 113), which was glued into the album of the École des Beaux-Arts a few pages before the two sketches.

It is difficult—notably in the absence of the drawing from the Lemoyne collection—to suggest a chronology for all these works. The drawing with the inverted composition is dated 1779, as is the plaster relief belonging to Pajou's descendants. The copper relief could have come slightly before these two works because the queen is looking at Pyrrhus as in the Italian sketch (cat. 19). However, the wax from Angers must be contemporary with them and was perhaps a trial run before a possible replication in metal.

Why did Pajou return in 1779 to a subject he had already treated in Italy? The theme had been taken up by Poussin and especially by Collin de Vermont in 1747 (see cat. 19, 20). An engraving by Levasseur after Collin de Vermont's painting was exhibited at the Salon of 1773 (no. 268), and a painting by Nicolas-René Jollain on the same subject (Soissons, Musée Municipal; Defente 1992, p. 74, ill.; fig. 137) was shown at the Salon of 1775 (no. 108). These two precedents might have stimulated Pajou and given him the desire at last to disseminate his own composition. In that regard, we might relate the date of the plaster cast to that of Pajou's own contemporaneous operations involving casting—the bronze *Lemoyne* (cat. 27) and the lead version of the fountain for the duchesse de Mazarin—and note that precisely at that time he was in close contact with the world of art casters.

"What an exquisite bronze plaquette it would make!" said Gonse (1904, p. 48) about the wax version in Angers. Pajou must have had the same thought, although we know of no version of this composition in bronze. GS



86



87

86. *Diogenes*

Marble
H. 61.3 cm (24⅛ in.), W. 27.5 cm (10⅞ in.), D. 8.5 cm (3⅜ in.)
Inscribed on back: *INVENTE ET COMMENCE PAR / M.SALY, SCULPTEUR ORD.[INAIRE] DU ROI / ET ANCIEN PROFESS.[EUR] DE SON ACAD.[ÉMIE] / DE PEINT.[URE] ET SCULPT.[URE] EN 1746 / FINI PAR PAJOU SCULPTEUR / ORDIN. DU ROI. ET PROFESS. DE / SON ACAD. DE PEINT. ET SCULPT / EN 1779* (Invented and begun by M. Saly, sculptor in ordinary to the king and former professor in his academy of painting and sculpture, in 1746. Finished by Pajou, sculptor in ordinary to the king and professor in his academy of painting and sculpture, in 1779.)

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts (s 87.58)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Offered for sale by subscription to the Société des Amis des Arts, 1793, no. 969 ("two marble reliefs Diogenes and Glicera [*sic*] by Pajou nos. 58, 59"); acquired by Sarazin (AP, 2 AZ 178, p. 2); his sale Paris, 2 Germinal, year IX (March 23, 1803), no. 27 ("Demosthenes, lantern in hand," 24 inches [61 cm] high, coming from "the Société des Arts, to which the owner was a subscriber"); F[ouquet], sale Paris, January 31, 1805, no. 82 ("Diogenes"); the sculptor Jacques-Philippe Dumont, sale Paris, February 25, 1822, no. 2 ("Diogenes seeking a man"); Mme [Gaucher], sale Paris, May 14, 1892, no. 42; Henri Rochefort, Paris; Léon Hamoir; his gift to the museum, 1930

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Liste des numéros gagnants de la loterie de la société des amis des arts, dout le tirage a été fait publiquement le 30 juillet, 1793,* no. 969; Rochefort 1905, pp. 6, ill., 15; Stein 1912, pp. 229, 410; Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 1931, no. 667, pl. XLVI

Fig. 138. Jacques-François Saly, *Diogenes.* Plaster. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



87. *Diogenes*

Terracotta
H. 43.4 cm (17⅛ in.), W. 25.5 cm (10 in.), D. 6 cm (2⅜ in.)
Incised at bottom: *dedié à monsieur manein. curé de s^t denis / Pajou. fecit. 1781:* (dedicated to Monsieur Manen, curate of Saint-Denis, made by Pajou, 1781); on back, three barely decipherable, half-erased annotations in different handwriting: in pencil, *Journet*; in black ink, *Collection F. Capdevielle qui est . . . /F. Capdevielle 17.5.1927 / Collection Prince.* [*Argutirski*] [?].

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 4466)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Philippe-Joseph Manen (1737–1817), curate of the church of Saint-Denis, Montpellier; anonymous sale Paris, Drouot, May 8–9, 1911, no. 160, not ill.; Paris, 1912, collection of the expert Georges Sortais; anonymous sale Paris, Drouot, December 11, 1925, no. 151, not ill.; Félix Capdevielle[?], Paris; sale Paris, Drouot, October 21, 1994, no catalogue; Paris, art market; acquired by the museum in Paris, 1994

EXHIBITION: Paris 1996, no. 25

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 162, 229, 410, ill. p. 163; Scherf in Paris 1996, pp. 87–91, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Relief by Saly composed and realized in Italy in 1746 on the theme of Diogenes the Cynic, as companion piece to a depiction of Antisthenes, Diogenes' teacher (Copenhagen 1778, no. 11); exhibited in 1750 at the Salon du Louvre (no. 150), where it was described as a "study," which would seem to indicate that it was a terracotta; terracotta shown by Saly at the first exhibition of the Kongelige Danske Kunstakademi of Copenhagen in 1769, then again in 1778. This terracotta has apparently been lost, but a plaster cast (from the collection of the sculptor Th. Stein, who at the end of the nineteenth century was president of the Kunstakademi) is housed at the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen (44 × 27.2 cm [17⅜ × 10¾ in.]; Jouin 1895, pp. 285–86; Olsen 1980, p. 113, fig. 126; fig. 138).

A version in terracotta without an inscription was mentioned by Stein in 1912 (p. 410) as being at the Château de Lavèvre (Cher), from the Bourquenod collection in Montpellier. It was sold in Paris Drouot, shortly after February 2, 1971 (no catalogue), before being acquired by the Heim Gallery in London (56 × 38.1 cm [22 × 15 in.]; whereabouts unknown).

Another version in terracotta was mentioned to Stein by a Montpellier antiques dealer: it apparently bore the engraved signature of Jean-Louis (sometimes called Joseph) Journet, a native of Languedoc and Saly's collaborator in Denmark, who returned to France in 1769. Based in Montpellier, he exhibited at the Salon of the Société des Beaux-Arts of Montpellier in 1779 "a marble relief depicting Diogenes" (no. 7 in the catalogue). The terracotta and marble by Journet have not been located (Stein 1913, pp. 365–403; Anatole 1975, pp. 19–22).

The composition of this work depicting Diogenes was conceived by Jacques-François Saly in 1746 in Italy. He showed it in the form of a terracotta at the Salon du Louvre in 1750, then twice at the Salon of his academy in Copenhagen. He seems to have been particularly attached to it, because he began to sculpt it in marble at an undetermined date. The present marble (cat. 86) remained unfinished at his death in 1776 and was completed by Pajou in 1779. Pajou then adopted Saly's composition in 1781 in a slightly smaller terracotta version (cat. 87), which he signed. The Languedocian sculptor Journet, who might have brought back from Denmark a mold of the relief by his collaborator, Saly, also executed replicas in terracotta and marble at Montpellier during the same period.

The connection between Saly and Journet is well documented—the latter was his "customary molder" in Denmark (Anatole 1975, p. 20, quoting Lespinasse 1928, p. 149)—but Pajou's relations with Saly are largely unknown. Certainly, Pajou would have rubbed shoulders with him at the Académie Royale (Saly was accepted in 1750 and inducted in 1751) and would have seen the relief at the Salon of 1750. But there is no indication of any particular ties between the two artists other than Pajou's acceptance of one of Saly's Danish students, André Weidenhaupt, into his studio in 1760. Nor do we know the origins of the marble in the museum at Valenciennes. Perhaps Saly, who returned to France in 1774, personally asked Pajou to complete the piece. Or perhaps a potential buyer contacted Pajou about finishing the work after Saly's death in 1776. In any case, there must have been bonds of friendship between the two artists or at least strong admiration on the part of Pajou, who was very busy in the early years of Louis XVI's reign, for him to accept such an assignment. Note that in that same year, 1779, Pajou graciously completed the marble group *France Embracing the Bust of Louis XV*, left unfinished on the death of his friend Edme Dumont. Completing others' creations was evidently not a problem for him.

The Louvre terracotta, signed and dated 1781, is dedicated to a person in Montpellier, the abbé Philippe-Joseph Manen (1739–1817), curate of the church of Saint-Denis. We know little about him except that his brother-in-law was the Montpellier painter Jean Coustou (1719–1791), the great-nephew of the illustrious brothers Nicolas and Guillaume Coustou, the latter of whom was professor (and for a time unofficial director) of the Société des Beaux-Arts in Montpellier and protector of Journet, one of the teachers in the

company. Although Manen might well have met Journet at the Société, we do not know the circumstances of his acquaintance with Pajou. Named curate of Saint-Denis on October 25, 1765, he remained there for the rest of his life. Documents indicate one trip to Paris but not until 1783.

To understand the dedication, we would have to assume that Pajou went to Montpellier before 1781 and met the abbé. Would this have been for the creation of the Société des Beaux-Arts of Montpellier (February 1779) for which he might have been consulted as a member of the royal academies of Paris and Toulouse? His friend Maurice Riban, one of the academy's thirty founding associates, with whom Pajou and his family stayed eight and a half years later, was its treasurer (Stein 1913). Pajou might also have made contact with Manen through Jean Coustou.

Moreover, Clodion had signed with the States of Languedoc the final contract for the marble version of his group *Condé and Turenne* for the Place du Peyrou (see cat. 132) on October 15, 1780, several months before his marriage to Flore Pajou. That same year, he was named "nonresident associate artist" in the Société des Beaux-Arts. Perhaps he, too, met Manen at the time—Manen, who was protected by the bishop of Montpellier, himself highly esteemed by the president of the States, the archbishop of Narbonne (Boigne 1989, p. 50).

Even if we still lack concrete information to tie together the various threads of these meetings, we must recognize the existence of a social network in Montpellier that linked all of these protagonists, at least in 1776 (see Chronology, July 15, 1776), 1778 (installation of Clodion's plaster group in the Place du Peyrou, which he attended), 1779 (creation of the Société des Beaux-Arts with Coustou, Journet, and Riban, then Clodion in 1780), 1781 (dedication of Pajou's *Diogenes* to the curate Manen), and 1784 (contract signed by Pajou for his own group in the Place du Peyrou).

The inscription on the relief in the Louvre should by all appearances be interpreted as a personal *hommage* to Manen, who was honored for his humanity and charitable spirit. Might he have recognized himself in this modest Diogenes, seeker of truth? And might the dedication to a man of the church favor a Christian interpretation of the theme?

The subject had held a place of honor in Western art, particularly since the Renaissance (for the rich iconography, see Herding 1982 and Scherf in Paris 1996). It describes the philosopher Diogenes in broad daylight with a lantern in his hand, looking for "an honest man." This isolated and exigent figure calling out to humanity held special appeal for the eighteenth century. In the assembly hall of the Académie at the Louvre, there was a print by Thomassin after Autreau showing Diogenes, lantern in hand, holding a portrait of the cardinal de Fleury with the legend "I am looking for a man." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who described himself as a second Diogenes—Voltaire called him "Diogenes' monkey"—wrote in his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1753; *Discourse on the origin of inequality*): "Since the human race of one age is not the same as the human race of another, the reason Diogenes could not find a man is that he was searching among his contemporaries for a man of a time that no longer existed . . . as original man gradually fades away, society now offers the sage no more than an assemblage of artificial men and counterfeit passions" (*Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3, p. 192 [1964]).

Pajou's interest in the theme can also be understood in a more personal context. Two years before he finished Saly's marble, his *Buffon* "in the garb of a philosopher" (cat. 112) was installed in the Jardin du Roi. The excitement in intellectual circles over Pigalle's *Nude Voltaire* (marble, dated 1776; Paris, Musée du Louvre), the establishment of rules governing the truthful depiction of philosophers, and the appearance in 1778 of Diderot's *Seneca* no doubt created a climate that focused Pajou's attention on this kind of subject.

The relief's philosophical import, however, soon became secondary. The marble was offered to the Société des Amis des Arts and was presented to potential buyers as a "study figure" (see above, catalogue from 1803 sale), a

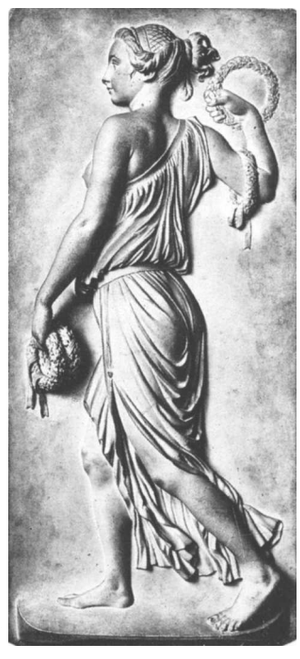


Fig. 139. Pajou, *Nymph Bearing Crowns*. Marble. Whereabouts unknown

male counterpart of the *Nymph Bearing Crowns* (dated 1786; fig. 139). The latter was identified in 1793 as depicting Glycera, the lover of the Greek painter Pausias; it thus forms a titillating literary companion piece to the austere philosopher.

If the composition of the work is entirely Saly's doing—as the plaster attests (fig. 138)—Pajou nonetheless fully claimed his due, as indicated by the inscriptions on the reliefs in Valenciennes and the Louvre. Indeed, we find on the marble and terracotta his stylistic mark: the long, clearly hollowed folds of the drapery, exploiting little surface accidents to create interplays of shadow and light; the long, tapering fingers; the ease with which the marble is treated; and the sinewy graphic accents of the modeled clay are the artist's signature, much more telling than the insignificant variations made on Saly's model.

GS

88. *Venus and Cupid: Allegory of the Birth of the Dauphin*

Plaster
45.5 × 25 cm (17⅞ × 9⅞ in.)

Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Longtime property of the Manufacture Nationale, Sèvres

BIBLIOGRAPHY (on the biscuit in general): Troude [1897], p. 59; Bourgeois 1907–8, pt. 1, pp. 35–36, ill.; Bourgeois 1909, pp. 164–65; [Bourgeois 1909], no. 467, ill.; Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard n.d., nos. 446, 447, ill.; Stein 1912, pp. 99–103, 348–50, 412, ill.; Brunet and Préaud 1978, p. 233, fig. 324

RELATED WORKS: There exist a number of later, sometimes enlarged versions of Pajou's composition. Among the most commonly reproduced are the plaster with terracotta-colored patina in the Musée National du Château de Versailles (45 × 25 cm [17¾ × 9⅞ in.]: Hoog 1993, p. 263, no. 1200, ill.) and the stone group in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels (H. 95 cm [37⅜ in.]; inscribed on back *PAJOU F*; gift of the baronne Vaxelaire, 1948: Devigne 1925, pp. 4–5, ill.).



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The much-awaited birth of a son to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette took place on October 22, 1781. Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François was dauphin of France until his premature death on June 4, 1789. As of September 27, 1781, "in the event that the queen should give birth to a prince," Pajou was to design a medal on a subject chosen by the king: "France sitting on an antique pedestal holding a child in her arms" (AI, A 107). After the dauphin's birth, in the excitement of the various commemorations held to celebrate the event, the comte d'Angiviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, commissioned Pajou to make a group in Sèvres porcelain. This was a fine mark of favor. Louis-Simon Boizot, a highly talented sculptor who had already done several portraits of the royal couple, had been director of the sculpture studios at the porcelain works since 1773, and by rights the assignment should have fallen to him. Nonetheless, as an officer at the Académie Royale, Pajou outstripped him in seniority. Pajou's invoice is preserved in the archives of the porcelain works:

> Invoice for a group in clay composed and finished by M. Pajou, sculptor to H.M., on the orders of the comte d'Angiviller . . . to be executed in porcelain at the Manufacture Royale des Porcelaines de France, and delivered on the 24th of this month of December 1781. This group, sixteen inches (40.6 cm) in height, represents Venus emerging from the waves borne by dolphins and carrying Cupid in her arms. For the making of the

above-mentioned group and the special care it required, the sum of six hundred livres." (AS, H2, *liasse* 2; Stein 1912, doc. XXV).

Payment was made on January 22, 1782 (AS, VF31 [1781]).

The group did not find favor, however, with the royal couple. On January 20, 1782, Montucla, one of d'Angiviller's principal clerks, wrote to Régnier, the director of the porcelain works: "The comte d'Angiviller, Monsieur, has instructed me to write you concerning the three following points. . .We would like to change the physiognomy of Venus's head, while preserving her beautiful woman's figure, to make it so that she does not resemble the queen. The comte would also like, if possible, to have a change in the drapery, which would mainly consist in eliminating the fleurs-de-lis" (AS, H2, *liasse* 3; Stein 1912, doc. XXVI).

On February 3, 1782, Montucla again wrote to Régnier:

> Having gone to Paris today, Monsieur, I saw on behalf of the comte M. Pajou, whom I asked for news of the change in the head of the group that you know. He told me that he had in fact received, several days ago, that part of said group, but dried out and even mishandled to such an extent that he could not do anything whatsoever with it; and even that it was only a few days ago that he learned from M. Boisot [*sic*] what the comte d'Angiviller wished in that regard. . . . He asked me to mention to you that you will need very soon to introduce a head into the mold and the surrounding part in clay, and to send it to him in a sufficient state of softness for him to be able to work on it. I am therefore wasting no time in informing you, so that you can promptly satisfy him on this score. As you will see M. Boisot at the porcelain works on Monday, you can talk with him and he will surely second the need to do what M. Pajou has asked. . . . M. Pajou has asked me whether it would be possible to have a plaster cast of the group in question, the better to judge the whole thing; likewise on the matter of removing the fleurs-de-lis from the drapery: he told me there was nothing to change in the mold, and that the restorers could simply do away with them. (AS, H2, *liasse* 3; Stein 1912, doc. XXVII)

The changes were made, and the modified group was put up for sale at the porcelain works. In 1782 three copies were sold to the king at a price of 240 livres; the comte d'Artois bought another on August 16, 1782 (AS, VY 8, fols. 146, 147, 214; I am grateful to Tamara Préaud for her help). In January 1783 a fifth was bought by the duchesse de Civrac for Mme Victoire. It seems that no further copies of the biscuit de Sèvres were sold under the ancien régime (oral communication by Anne Billon). According to Pierre Ennès (oral communication), a copy was on the table at the official banquet held in honor of the queen on January 21, 1782, at the Paris Hôtel de Ville (probably one of the figurines that are visible in the print by Moreau *le jeune*).

We would expect to find copies of the modified version in large porcelain collections because it was distributed by the porcelain works, but this is not the case. What are frequently found are more modern castings, made during the Second Empire and after, going back to Pajou's original idea. "It seems that for a much later new edition of the work, models and molds were redone, with the goddess's cloak once again bearing its fleurs-de-lis" (Brunet and Préaud 1978, p. 233). These later biscuits de Sèvres are unfortunately the only ones we know of today, including the oft-cited examples at the Musée National de Céramique in Sèvres (inv. MNCS 15325: Brunet and Préaud 1978, p. 233, ill.) and at the Château de Versailles (inv. MV 6474: see Versailles 1955, no. 49). We should no doubt be wary of Stein's enthusiastic commentary on the copy with fleurs-de-lis that belonged to Mme de Croisset (from the sale of the Prince Demidoff collection in Florence, San Donato, March 15, 1880, no. 461; Stein 1912, p. 99, ill.), which he believed to be one of the two extremely rare examples that had belonged to d'Angiviller.

The Sèvres porcelain works has several models in plaster, with and without fleurs-de-lis, the dates of which are uncertain. The one presented here, without fleurs-de-lis, has the quality of an eighteenth-century model.

The composition is full of charm: Venus, seated on two dolphins, holds a child in her arms. Despite the modified face, we can recognize Marie Antoinette by her nose and pronounced eyebrows. Venus's posture, notably her back, is somewhat similar to the *Bacchante* of 1765–74 (fig. 44). The little boy is a typical Pajou child with large head and straight hair, wide-open eyes, and puffy cheeks. The draperies are also recognizable, their irregular folds falling in well-furrowed and contoured lines. Even the dolphins are familiar, as Pajou drew several of them while he was in Italy. We need cite only the sketch after the famous marble once in the Farnese collection and now in the Museo Archeologico, Naples (inscribed *dans un grand escalier du palais farneise a Rome* [in a large stairway of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome]; private collection).

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89



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89. *Fickle Love*

Plaster with bronze patination
H. 26.5 cm (10⅜ in.), W. 12 cm (4¾ in.), D. 12 cm (4¾ in.)

Private collection

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Pajou's descendants; Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain, descendant of the artist, Paris, 1912; estate of Mme Marie-Saint-Germain, Bougival (family papers), May 18, 1940; still property of the family

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 219, 418, ill. p. 333

90. *Constant Love*

Plaster with bronze patination
H. 26.5 cm (10⅜ in.), W. 12 cm (4¾ in.), D. 12 cm (4¾ in.)
Incised on back: *Pajou*

Private collection

Paris only

PROVENANCE: See cat. 89

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 219, 418, ill. p. 332

RELATED WORKS: "Two children representing constant love and fickle love chiseled by citizen Thomire after models by Citizen Pajou" are mentioned among the bronzes in the inventory of Pajou's studio in 1797 and are valued at three hundred livres (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 607). They are then mentioned in 1806 by Chaussard (p. 473), who does not repeat the reference to Thomire, and next in the posthumous inventory of Pajou's son, on December 11, 1828, no. 129 (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, no. 129), also without mentioning Thomire's contribution. The pair, left unsold after the auction of January 12–13, 1829, was kept by Pajou's grandson, Augustin-Désiré Pajou, and appears again in his posthumous inventory, dated April 12, 1878 (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641), and in the subsequent auction on December 16, 1878, no. 5 ("Bronzes. Two lovely statuettes, signed Pajou, 1787 [Cupid with a butterfly and a young girl carrying a dog], on round bases of white marble").

A pair in bronze is listed in the posthumous inventory of Pajou's friend Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, dated April 29, 1803, in her studio (Passez 1973, p. 308); we find the pair again—measuring "roughly 10 inches [25.4 cm] in height"—in the will of her husband, the painter François-André Vincent (the former teacher of Pajou's son), on May 22, 1816, bequeathed to his brother (Passez 1973, p. 310).

A pair in bronze on cylindrical bases of white marble, n.d. [1787], from the [Leboeuf de Montgermont] collection, was sold on June 16–19, 1919, nos. 359, 360, ill.

A pair in marble has been housed since 1942 at the Cleveland Museum of Art. *Constant Love* (H. 26.1 cm [10¼ in.], W. 11.4 cm [4½ in.], D. 10.4 cm [4⅛ in.]) apparently comes from the Maurice de Rothschild collection in Paris (fig. a); *Fickle Love* (H. 25.9 cm [10¼ in.], W. 11 cm [4⅜ in.], D. 14.4 cm [5⅝ in.]) from the Mme Demotte collection (Paris 1916, no. 21, ill.): the pair was reconstituted by Grace Rainey Rogers and given to the museum in 1942. Inscribed on the back of both statuettes: *Pajou f 1787* (Ditner 1989, pp. 236–39).

A pair in plaster from A. Seligmann in Paris, n.d. [1787], was part of the sale of the Mrs. Henry Walters collection, New York, Parke-Bernet, April 23–26, 1941, no. 665, ill. (Ditner 1989, pp. 236–39).

Another (?) pair in plaster (one signed, both dated 1787; H. with wooden base 30.5 cm [12 in.]) was sold in Paris, Galerie Charpentier, on March 20, 1959, no. 35, ill. pl. XI.

These two charming statuettes were highly appreciated during Pajou's lifetime, especially in the form of bronzes. The great Thomire himself chased a pair, carefully preserved by Pajou and later by his son. Another pair was probably given by Pajou to his friend Adélaïde Labille-Guiard; she and her husband, the painter Vincent, kept it for the rest of their lives. It is perhaps one of these two pairs that resurfaced in the Laboeuf de Montgermont sale in 1919. No copies of these subjects in bronze have been located.

Although we have found no other mentions of the bronze version, it seems that versions in different materials circulated during the artist's lifetime. The handsome pair in marble, today in the Cleveland Museum of Art, probably executed with help from the studio, attests to this.

Apart from the two statuettes still belonging to Pajou's descendants and exhibited here, we have found no copies in plaster, and it is difficult to make any determinations based on old reproductions in auction catalogues. The statuettes currently with the artist's family may have been models for the bronzes or replicas. Their bronze color already existed in 1912 (Stein 1912).

The 1797 inventory of Pajou's studio and Chaussard's list of 1806 give us the exact title of the pair. Moreover, the children's attributes are very clear: the little girl holds a dog, symbol of Fidelity (see Ripa and Lacombe de Prezel), and the winged boy with a quiver represents Love. He is looking at a butterfly, "symbol of thoughtlessness, frivolity, and inconstance. . . . On ancient monuments, we find Cupid holding a butterfly by the wings that he torments and rips apart, to express the slavery of a soul dominated by love" (Lacombe de Prezel 1779, vol. 2, p. 131). The insect is also associated with Psyche, "a Greek word meaning 'soul.' The ancients had made her a divinity, giving her the wings of a butterfly" (Lacombe de Prezel 1779, vol. 2, p. 172). We know how much the heroine of Apuleius's story was in vogue during the Neoclassical period (see cat. 134). We can therefore understand the two motifs: Psyche is faithful to Cupid, who receives her in the form of a butterfly, symbol of the soul. We should not look too hard, however, for grand interpretations. Pajou mainly wanted to sculpt two charming companion pieces with children as their subject. In this, he was following a fashion that was as strong in sculpture (Falconet, Clodion, Pigalle, Bridan) as it was in painting (Greuze and many others).

We can easily recognize in these statuettes the physical type of Pajou's children, especially the two faces, pensive for the girl, somewhat mischievous for the boy. The pair is an engaging example of the production of statuettes for the cabinets of collectors, which, while quite typical of the times, was rare in Pajou's oeuvre.

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Cat. 89: reverse



Cat. 90: reverse

V. *Portraits*

A visitor to the Salon of 1759 wrote that "the attention of people in society goes straight to the portraits, because that's the story of the day."[1] Pajou took this truth to heart. At the same Salon, his first, he showed the magnificent bust of Lemoyne (cat. 26), and at the twenty subsequent Salons at which he exhibited, he always included at least one portrait bust and often several.

There are no doubt manifold reasons why the eighteenth-century French school brought portraiture to such a high standard. Not least was the celebration of personal elegance and ego. For celebrities, busts became props in the game of public relations. Both Philidor and Buffon followed the propagation of their likenesses with keen interest (cat. 103, 111).

Pajou's busts stand out even in an age that demanded accurate, well-rounded, energetic, and psychologically acute portraiture. The *Lemoyne* exhibits all the required "fire" and "touch" and set a dauntingly high early standard that Pajou would only occasionally surpass.[2] The date in the signature—June 18, 1758—suggests it was achieved in a single day, thus emphasizing the sculptor's rapid grasp of his subject. The delineation of features is quite exact, as we can tell by comparison with various other portraits of the venerated master. The implication of activity, which Diderot admired, is all the more estimable if one reflects that a sculpted bust cannot, as a painting can, show an artist exercising his profession (on the other hand, the sculpted bust is a three-dimensional simulacrum and thus more than a mere image). In this performance, compounded of truth and idealization, the disciple ascribes to his mentor immense potential and great stores of wit and inspiration.

A virtual policy of the French academicians was to exhibit their likenesses of one another and one another's families at the Salon.[3] Some of Pajou's finest efforts would be to that end. He and his generation would have had no quarrel with the function of portraiture as defined in the Renaissance. A portraitist's primary aim is to achieve a resemblance, as Leon Battista Alberti observed centuries earlier. Alberti wrote the following lines on painting but in a period when the interdependencies of painting and sculpture were as great as they have ever been: "Painting possesses a truly divine power in that not only does it make the absent present (as they say of friendship), but it also represents the dead to the living many centuries later, so that they are recognized by spectators with pleasure and admiration for the artist. . . . Through painting, the faces of the dead go on living for a very long time."[4]

Pajou would not have read Alberti, but he did have some familiarity with Cicero, whose *De amicitia* may have inspired the lines just quoted: "Again, he who looks upon a friend looks, as it were, upon a sort of image of himself. Wherefore friends, though absent, are at hand."[5]

In the portraits of academicians the features are generally frank, urbane, and agreeable, as if the portrayer were aware, with Cicero, that "friendship cannot exist except among good men."[6] The collegial exchange—you paint me, I'll sculpt you and your wife or, carried further, I'll help you with such and such a contract—fits into a benevolent, Ciceronian framework: "It is not the case . . . that friendship attends upon advantage but, on the contrary, that advantage attends upon friendship."[7]

Pajou agreed with the prevailing wisdom that the portraitist's duty was to present his subject's character—his very soul—as well as his features. The chevalier de Jaucourt stated in the *Encyclopédie* that "the principal merit of [painted portraits] is exact resemblance, which consists in expressing the character and the physiognomical air of the persons that one is representing."[8]

Maurice Quentin de La Tour was admired because he "is not content just to render a face. He knows how to express the spirit and the distinct character of the person he paints."[9] At her Salon debut in 1783 Mme Labille-Guiard was praised for her portraits of Pajou and other artists: "One imagines oneself conversing with the people whose faithful images she offers . . . the soul seems painted on the face."[10] And psychological acuity is the chief wonder of Pajou's best busts: they keep friends alive by celebrating not only their beloved faces but also their psyches. Pajou is never less than

graceful, and he frequently makes a virtue of physical flaws, using them to define his subject. He does not skate over defects as the generation of Lemoyne, Nattier, and Drouais might, but embraces them with the analytical painters who stretch from Tocqué and Aved to Duplessis and Roslin to Labille-Guiard, Vincent, Vestier, David, and Danloux. These artists often find a strain of the humorous in man, consciously or unconsciously, whereas Jaucourt in the *Encyclopédie* recommended decorum in portraiture: "The smile, for example, would be disagreeable in nature if it were perpetual. It would degenerate into idiom, insipidity, imbecility. . . . In any portrait, and one cannot say it often enough, resemblance is the essential perfection. Anything that can contribute to weakening that, or to disguising it, is an absurdity."[11] Like the painter Joseph Ducreux, most of whose subjects openly grin at us, Pajou ignores such strictures in the interest of setting forth the individual at his best, smiling.

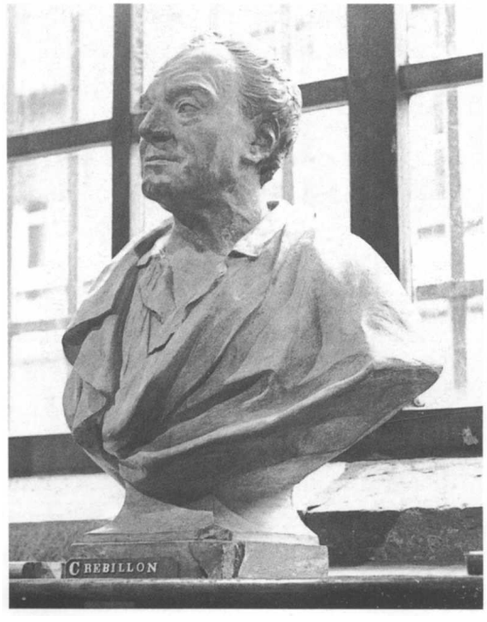
In the busts of the painter Aved and his wife (cat. 91, 92), modeled in 1763 and 1764, the élan of the *Lemoyne* (1759) has given way to a more prosaic spirit. We easily imagine the couple's domestic life and down-to-earth humor. The new literalism and stolidity of the Aveds are seen in Aved's own portraiture, and the busts thus pay him a stylistic compliment. A move toward realism was in evidence at the Salon of 1761 where Greuze showed his *Babuti,* Falconet his *Dr. Camille Falconet,* and Lemoyne himself went as far as he could toward candor, especially with regard to the aged, in his *Crébillon* (fig. 140).[12] Even while these images relentlessly explore the sitters' wens and wrinkles, they elicit respect and veneration. After providing a veritable inventory of the woes of aging, Jaucourt concluded: "Such is the decrepitude of old age. . . . However, let not that sad winter of life alarm those whose lives have been spent in the cultivation of the mind, in charity, and in the practice of virtue. Their white locks are respectable. Their writings, their good deeds are even more so. It is to those men, so rare upon earth, that our shining, flourishing youth owes its consideration, its homage, and its altars."[13]

Busts of women, relatively rare about 1700, came into vogue during the eighteenth century. The busts of the Aveds are one of four recorded pairs of wedded people by Pajou. They strike a note of reciprocity, and even of equal footing, between the partners. As life expectancy increased during the century, "conjugal affections could more often deepen in intensity"[14] and the couple serve as bastions for each other. The jurist Pothier's *Traité de la puissance maritale* (Treatise on marital strength, 1774) seems to be forecast in these busts.

In the *buste en négligé* the sitter wears a carelessly open shirt denoting hard work and inspiration, as if he has been interrupted in a moment of intense creativity. Pajou did not invent this format, but he perfected it, beginning with *Aved.* In the 1760s his busts are truncated rather high on the chest and often the clay is worked exuberantly, as in the bust of 1768 that has been mistakenly identified as Marchal de Sainscy but the attire of which does mark him as a man of artistic temperament or of literary or scientific bent (fig. 141).[15] The bust in a shirt *en négligé* or in jacket or cravat *à la française* (as opposed to classically draped or bare-chested busts *à l'antique*) became Pajou's favorite format for male portraits, although he sometimes offered busts both *à la française* and *à l'antique* in the case of important sitters such as Buffon (cat. 111, 114–16).

Pajou's earliest surviving bust of an important official is the marble *Maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre* of 1767 (cat. 93). The maréchal's chest is rather long in order to display the proofs of his distinction. Far from shrinking from his difficult physiognomy, with its tiny, perhaps supercilious eyes, huge jaw, and tremendous nose, Pajou celebrates it. Even Diderot, who lambasted the

Fig. 140. Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, *Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon.* Plaster. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

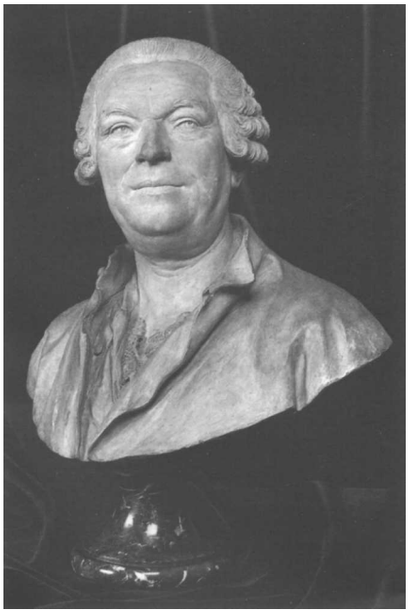


bust's "insipid" air, could not deny the ravishing touch of the chisel that brings the maréchal vibrantly before our eyes.

Although he was well paid for them, his busts of royalty form the weakest aspect of Pajou's portraiture. He made no official portraits of Louis XV apart from the Besançon sketch for a full-length figure (fig. 194);[16] Lemoyne, that king's favorite sculptor, supplied plenty. I wonder, however, whether an idealized version of the monarch's genial traits and the stiffer mien of his consort, Marie Leszczynska, are not present in the *Apollo* and the *Liberality* which Pajou carved for the Palais-Royal in 1767–69 (fig. 55). His graceful idealization of royalty continued in the *Charity with the Features of Queen Marie Leszczynska* of 1769 (cat. 55).

Pajou's big Salon for royal busts was that of 1767, when he showed a marble *Louis de France* (the late dauphin, who had died in 1765) and terracottas of his sons, the dauphin (the future Louis XVI), the comte de Provence (the future Louis XVIII), and the comte d'Artois (the future Charles X).[17] While the *Mercure de France* claimed that viewers regarded the late *Louis de France* "with sensibility"[18] and Bachaumont said that "the public rush in crowds" to see the busts of the princes,[19] Diderot trashed the whole lot: "Duller, more ignoble, more foolish than I know how to tell you."[20] The bust of Louis de France, the late dauphin, shown at the Salon of 1767, has disappeared. In 1776 additional busts of him were ordered from Pajou, indicating the tenacious conservatism of Bourbon iconography. In three lackluster marbles at Versailles[21]—none signed, one with variants—the late dauphin's soft, benign features greatly resemble those in a painting by Roslin.[22] None appears to be autograph.

Fig. 141. Pajou, *Unidentified Man* (the so-called *Marchal de Sainscy*). Terracotta. London, private collection



After Louis XVI's coronation in 1774, d'Angiviller announced that the king's "flattering choice" fell upon Duplessis for the official painted standing portrait and upon Pajou for the official bust. His majesty would pose simultaneously for both (see Chronology, 1774). Despite criticism of Pajou's model, the crown required numerous copies; no example of this first type has been identified so we do not know how flattering Pajou was in his turn. An updated model was in the Salon of 1779. The best example, at Versailles (although even in it the monarch's raiment sits uncomfortably on his shoulders),[23] is clearly superior to unsigned ones in the Louvre and the Musée Lambinet, Versailles.[24]

Aside from the group of Marie Antoinette and the dauphin allegorized as Venus and Cupid (cat. 88), Pajou does not seem to have been to that queen's taste. We can exclude from his oeuvre an oval medallion with her likeness, dated 1774, at Versailles.[25]

In 1775 Pajou was named sculptor to the comte de Provence. A marble bust of that prince in Bordeaux and a companion one of the comte d'Artois by Étienne Gois commemorated the royal brothers' visit to the Bourse there in 1777. The signature is not a guarantee that Pajou expended much personal effort in yet another dispiriting royal command (fig. 143).[26]

The eighteenth-century upsurge in child portraiture was perhaps sparked by Drouais, who made quite a specialty of it. As McManners remarks, the whole "conjugal family—husband, wife, and children—was a subject for enthusiasm in the eighteenth century."[27] Never more so than when the progeny were beautiful and charming. At the same Salon of 1767 at which he showed four royal portraits and the *Maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre*, Pajou exhibited two pairs of busts of children, including offspring of the marquis de Voyer. It is a pity that these works are lost and that more do not exist, for Pajou was singularly adept at capturing tremulous young flesh and innocent expressions, as witness two busts of 1772 (fig. 144, 145).[28]

As he did on other occasions, Pajou showed the terracotta model of his bust of Mme Du Barry at the



Fig. 142. Pajou and atelier, *Louis XVI*. Marble. Versailles, Petit Trianon

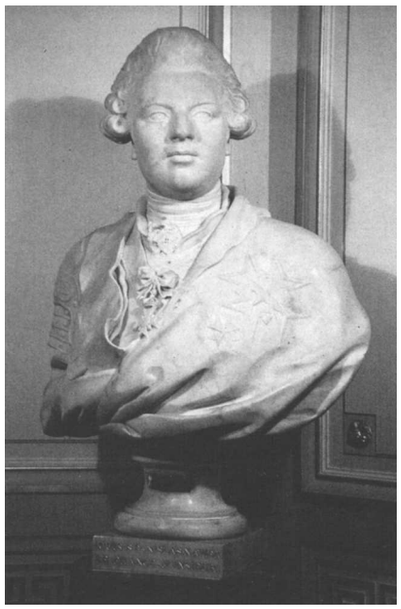


Fig. 143. Pajou and atelier, *The Comte de Provence*. Marble. Bordeaux, Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie

Salon of 1771 before exhibiting the marble (cat. 98). The latter joined the marble *Buffon* (cat. 111) as Salon entries in 1773. In addition to demonstrating that he stood in favor with the royal mistress and the lionized scientist, Pajou vaunted his flawless marble-carving technique. In these rather cool performances his mastery of the hair, studied minutely yet grandly, is supreme.

The busts of the 1770s and 1780s amount to one triumph after another. His portraits of admired friends have special appeal. In them he comes closest to the goals of painters and their effects of concentrated expression.[29] Walsh offers a phrase we find apt for Pajou and his grasp of his sitters' sentient natures when she speaks of "the Enlightenment ideal of a feeling heart guided by reason and will."[30] Because of his sprightly air, we would take the abbé Frottier (fig. 146) for an intelligent and kindly friend even without the inscription engraved on his socle: "Pajou did it out of friendship."[31] And what witty-looking comrades he had: the canny Sedaine and his piquant wife (cat. 99, 102), and other friends from the theatrical world, among them the beaming Ducis (fig. 147),[32] the feverishly successful Grétry (fig. 148),[33] Philidor calculating his next move (cat. 103). They have for contemporaries a flock of lissome, consummately Parisian beauties who reflect the chic of the *Mme Du Barry*. The *Mme Hall* (figs. 149, 150)[34] and the presumed *Mlle de Pange*[35] date from 1775, the same year as the *Abbé Frottier* and the *Sedaine*. If his masculine subjects are seldom conventionally handsome, these charmers are lovely and welcoming; he was unmistakably attracted to them, reveling in the glories of their hair and bosoms. Two years later, in 1777, he set forth his wife, Angélique, in slightly more complex terms, respecting her relative restraint but again lavishing his talent on the display of hair (fig. 229). Over and over, he enters into the mind of the hairstylist so that we can follow every strand no matter how extravagant the overall do. Similarly, the elegantly twining draperies are invariably logical in their realization. These trappings of his female sitters make their portraits more expansive and often larger than those of the men, and for the terracotta female busts (as for the largest of the terracotta male busts) the sculptor usually adopted a molding technique in order to ensure a safe firing.

Pajou returns to character studies in the quaint but brilliantly matched *Andouillé* and his wife of 1778–79 (cat. 100, 101). Despite Mme Vigée-Le Brun's manifest charm in his 1783 bust (cat. 104), there is a wistful

Fig. 144. Pajou, *Unidentified Girl*. Terracotta. Private collection



Fig. 145. Pajou, *Unidentified Boy*. Terracotta. Private collection



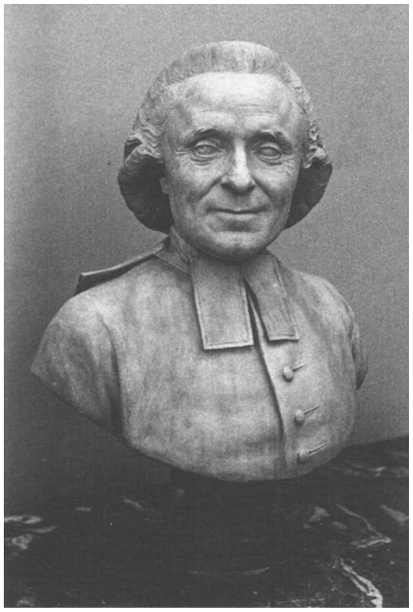


Fig. 146. Pajou, *The Abbé Dauphin-Louis Frottier*. Terracotta. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 147. Pajou, *Jean-François Ducis*. Terracotta. Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art



Fig. 148. Pajou, *André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry*. Patinated plaster. Private collection

melancholy in her turn to the side, which must have been a typical gesture, perhaps a slightly defensive and neurasthenic one. The passionate division between the fans of Vigée-Le Brun and those of Labille-Guiard did not prevent Pajou from being a great friend of both. The bust of Vigée-Le Brun and that of Labille-Guiard's elderly father (cat. 105) are only a year apart, and in them our artist shows an amazing ability to change stylistic horses, creating in the *Labille* his quietest yet most resoundingly classical portrait, closely basing its plan on an ancient bust of Cicero (fig. 166). Similarly, in his portraits of two dignitaries which date from 1788, *Thiroux de Crosne* (cat. 106) and the *Baron de Breteuil* (cat. 107), he shows the one austere and the other outgoing, using opposed strategies according to his perceptions of rank and demeanor.

The Salon of 1789, the year of the Revolution, was a summit for Pajou, who offered two mesmeric compositions: the vigorous, challenging *Hubert Robert* (cat. 108) and the elegant, grave *Mme De Wailly* (cat. 109). The rapt and vivacious *Mlle de Laborde* (cat. 110) dates from the same year. Each of these gratifyingly complete characterizations has a unique aura. In their subtle modulation and total comprehension they equal the best of Duplessis and David. The standing figure of Nathalie de Laborde (fig. 178), legs crossed in the manner of an antique nymph,[36] seems forever serenely above conflict, but it was realized only a short time before Pajou left the agitated capital for Montpellier. His busts from the sojourn in the south have a markedly different character and belong to a later chapter.

Pajou made a number of posthumous portraits. There is something rather frozen despite the subject's grandiloquence in his early bust of the actor Bertinazzi which, realized in 1763, the year of the comedian's death, makes us think that the likeness is very probably posthumous.[37] Upon occasion—as with the dramatist Dufresny (cat. 130)—Pajou produced commissioned portraits of long-dead worthies in period costume. His skill would have been sharpened by his increasing involvement in, and the crown's burgeoning appetite for, statues of the Great Men. For departed friends, or when simple funerary monuments were preferred, he favored the roundel in relief, which he handled with delicacy and aplomb (cat. 58, 60).[38] For a man who was a much-lamented father, however, he gives the neck a strong, jutting movement, as if to defy the fact of death (cat. 138). To return to Alberti, we are given further evidence of the artist's "truly divine power"—keeping "the absent present."

This overview of the portraiture is far from complete, and it should not necessarily be deduced, if such and such a bust is missing from it, that we do not endorse its attribution to Pajou. Indeed, the story will never be fully told until more busts are recuperated. Should they reappear, we might recognize the features of the *Marquis de Mirabeau* from the Salon of 1765 or the *Trudaine* from that of 1779, but what of the minia-

ture painters *Baudouin* (1765) and *Hall* (1775) and the wives of artists such as *Mme Adam* (1777)? Fortunately, if any of these are found, they are likely to be signed. His robust signatures express Pajou's pride in his accomplishment. There are few unsigned busts that we can claim as his, exceptions being the *Ducis* (fig. 147) and the *Mlle Des Hours-Farel* (cat. 143), both inscribed on their bases rather than signed on the back or edge as usual, and the royal busts that emanated from his studio and in which he took little interest or pride. Other unsigned busts are those of Buffon *à l'antique* (cat. 114, 115), the unforgettable *Poitevin* (cat. 141), and another male subject from the Montpellier interlude (fig. 214), but we cannot stress enough how rare these exceptions are.

Stein did a creditable job of reintegrating the oeuvre, but under rigorous examination certain of his attributions can no longer be defended. These include the unsigned bust of the Swedish miniaturist Peter Adolf Hall in the Frick Collection for which Hodgkinson advanced an attribution to Simon-Louis Boizot, which is surely correct.[39] Further, we are not confident about Stein's attributions to Pajou of *Mme Debure,*[40] *Mlle de Romans,*[41] the *Maréchal de Mailly,*[42] the *Marquis de Montferrier* and his spouse,[43] and the smooth unidentified gentleman now in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.[44] Remarkably few busts have been discovered since Stein. On the basis of photographs we cannot accept Saintenoy's attribution to Pajou of a bust he believed to represent the comte de Mercy-Argenteau.[45] The problem with it and the others mentioned is not merely that they are unsigned but that they have insufficient stylistic references to works that are certainly by Pajou. In fact, with the obvious exception of the Montferrier couple, all the members of this group are by different hands.

One refinement since Stein's day has been the partial reintegration of busts by Roland, who, unlike Pajou, frequently left his works unsigned. A case in point is the terracotta bust of a lady sold in 1917 as by Pajou.[46] A plaster, now in the Louvre, has been restored to Roland and identified as a portrait of his wife.[47]

Stein sounded a warning about fakery, reproducing a bust of a lady in the Musées Royaux, Brussels, as a representative modern takeoff (fig. 151). We repeat her image and Stein's advice: "This work, unsigned, is perhaps seductive and graceful, but neither the modeling of the flesh nor the assembling of awkwardly adjusted draperies allows us to suppose that Pajou could have been its author. It was acquired in 1900 in Paris. I have every reason to believe, contrary to the assertion of the catalogue of the Brussels museum, that we are in the presence of a downright fake, of a rather successful specimen of that fraudulent fabrication of antique works of art which has inundated the market with its products."[48]

Stein's pronouncement did not slow down the fakers, whose products have been manufactured well into this century. The market for them has at times been insatiable. In a drawing room laid out in the best Louis XVI taste by the American decorator Elsie de Wolfe, for example, a bust by "Pajou" or "Vassé" on the mantelpiece was de rigueur, and we find the "signatures" of both applied indiscriminately to such objects. The *Basan* (cat. 94), *Philidor* (cat. 103), and *Hubert Robert* (cat. 108) were particularly imitated, as detailed in the present catalogue. The overstressed features of some of these bring to mind character actors in the cinema; there is even a Louis Jouvet phase.

Busts of children have been exceedingly popular with fakers. Despite Pajou's manifest success in this genre with the paired children of 1772 (figs. 144, 145) and the Montpellier busts of 1794 (cat. 142, 143), we do not recognize his hand in many others. Gaborit helped expose some frauds in this area by drawing attention to a Pajouesque bust of a boy signed *Fernand Cian, 1771* and suggesting that this was the signature of one Fernando Ciancianaini who exhibited at the Société des Artistes Français between 1907 and 1928.[49]

Another problematic type is the miniature bust, "signed" examples of which abound. We illustrate as examples a miserable pastiche, with a good provenance, in Boston (fig. 152)[50] and the "*Marquis de Marigny*" in Copenhagen, an equally flaccid and unconvincing miniature (fig. 153).[51] Wax miniatures are another field demanding extreme caution. We have seen only photographs of three unsigned wax medallions of members of the Riban family of Montpellier, which Stein said had to be handled in order to appreciate fully their fresh modeling; we hesitate before disagreeing with his assignment to Pajou, but the case for his authorship does not look strong.[52] It is not impossible that reduced circumstances during the Revolutionary years led the sculptor to model in this scale. The names of the Riban children inscribed on these roundels are not in his hand, but at least they are of his period. The great

number of sculptures large and small that pretend to be by Pajou but are not await a day when they can be studied attentively and disinterestedly.

JDD

1. *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers, ou Journal général de France*, September 12, 1759, no. 37, p. 147, quoted in Doria 1929, p. 82.
2. See above, "For Pajou," n. 4.
3. See Martin 1989.
4. Alberti 1972, p. 123.
5. Cicero, *De amicitia*, 7.23.
6. Ibid., 5.18.
7. Ibid., 14.51.
8. Jaucourt 1765a, p. 153.
9. Jean-Baptiste Le Blanc, *Lettre sur l'exposition des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture. . .l'année 1747*, quoted in ibid.
10. *Année littéraire*, 1783, quoted in ibid., p. 66.
11. Jaucourt 1765a, p. 154. Possibly Jaucourt meant to say *idiocy* rather than *idiom*.
12. Seznec and Adhémar 1975, figs. 67, 78; Réau 1927, no. 115.
13. Jaucourt 1765b, p. 260.
14. McManners 1981, p. 462.
15. H. with socle 58 cm (22⅞ in.), signed and dated *Pajou. fé. 1768.* Stein (1912, pp. 152–55, 401) strains matters to put a bust dated 1768 into the Salon of 1769.
16. A now-lost marble bust of Louis XV was at Louveciennes, said to be by Pajou in a Revolutionary inventory of Mme Du Barry's furnishings (Stein 1912, p. 87), but this was surely an error; a 1774 Louveciennes inventory speaks no doubt correctly of a bust by Lemoyne (see Christian Baulez in Marly-le-Roi 1992, p. 75 n. 62).
17. Mme Pajou wrote to d'Angiviller in 1783 saying that the sculptor still had the busts of "the princes" in hand—it is unclear whether she meant terracottas or marbles—and would willingly turn them over; Stein 1912, p. 353; see Chronology, 1783.
18. *Mercure de France*, November 1767, p. 175.
19. *Mémoires secrets*, vol. 13, p. 24.
20. Seznec 1967–83, vol. 3, p. 324.
21. Hoog 1993, nos. 649–51.
22. Lundberg 1957, no. 216.
23. H. with socle 79 cm (31⅛ in.), signed and dated *Pajou / Regis / Sculptor /* MDCCLXXIX; Hoog 1993, no. 1119.
24. Stein 1912, p. 109. The Musée Lambinet example was a royal gift to the Hôtel de Ville of Versailles in 1790.
25. Ibid., p. 107, ill.
26. H. with socle 88 cm (34⅝ in.), signed and dated *Pajou. Sculpt. / Reg. Faciebat / 1778;* Lacroix 1972, pp. 40, 55, pl. XXIII. A truncated terracotta, dated 1777 but not signed, is in Stein 1912, pp. 114–15, ill.
27. McManners 1981, p. 458.
28. H. with socle, girl, 36 cm (14⅛ in.), boy, 34 cm (13⅜ in.), both signed and dated *Pajou / fec / 1772*; Stein 1912, pp. 30–31, 404. See also the girl identified as Mlle Martin, signed and dated 1777, sold Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, May 21–22, 1928, no. 173.
29. See discussion in Fried 1980, especially his summary of the "primacy of absorption," p. 7.
30. Walsh 1996, p. 546.
31. H. with socle 60 cm (23⅝ in.), signed and dated *Pajou / fé / 1775.*, socle inscribed *ARTIFICIS· MANV· FECIT· AMICITIA· AN· REP· SAL· MDCCLIIII*; Marie Pessiot in Bergot et al. 1994, p. 28.
32. H. with base 78 cm (30¾ in.), inscribed on base *JEAN-FRANÇOIS DUCIS, L'UN DES QUARANTE / DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇOISE. SECRETAIRE / ORDINAIRE OE MONSIEUR FRERE DU ROI. / PAR PAJOU, SCULPTEUR DU ROI, / 1779*; Houston 1986–87, no. 17.
33. H. with base 75 cm (29½ in.), signed and dated *Pajou F. 1780,* Stein 1912, pp. 54–55, 411; see Chronology, 1780, and Salon of 1781.
34. H. with socle 78.7 cm (31 in.), signed and dated *Pajou / fec / 1775.* Hodgkinson 1970a, pp. 110–13.
35. Stein 1912, pp. 130–34, ill., 407; now in a South American collection.
36. See, for example, a nymph at the Villa Albani; Bol et al. 1988–94, vol. 4, no. 508.
37. H. with socle 75 cm (29½ in.), signed and dated *PAJOU SCULPSIT 1763*; Stein 1912, pp. 155–57, ill., 398.
38. Stein (1912, p. 145) also mentions a terracotta medallion of Jean-Évariste Poterlet (1744–1813) sold in 1886.
39. Hodgkinson 1970a, pp. 106–9.
40. Terracotta in Stein 1912, pp. 68–71, ill.

Figs. 149, 150. Pajou, *Mme Hall, née Marie-Adélaïde Hall.* Terracotta. New York, The Frick Collection



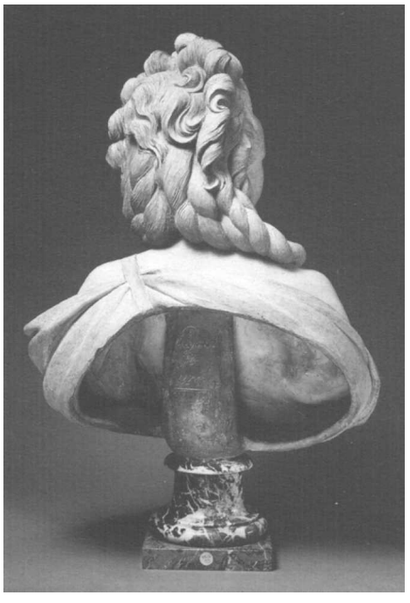


Fig. 151. Imitator of Pajou (before 1900), *Unidentified Woman.* Terracotta. Brussels, Musée d'Art Ancien





Fig. 152. Imitator of Pajou, *Unidentified Woman*. Cast terracotta. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Fig. 153. Imitator of Pajou, "*The Marquis de Marigny*." Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



41. Terracotta in ibid., pp. 87–91, ill.
42. Ibid., pp. 145–46, ill. We have seen this bronze whose base bears an inscription in nineteenth-century characters; Stein knew other bronze casts.
43. Terracottas in ibid., pp. 159–61, ill. The *Marquis de Montferrier* is now in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
44. Terracotta in ibid., pp. 288–89, ill.
45. Saintenoy 1945, ill.
46. Collection Léon Levy, sale Paris, June 18–19, 1917, no. 99.
47. Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre in Paris 1992b, no. 27.
48. H. with socle 75 cm (29½ in.); Stein 1912, p. 424; see his pp. 419–28 for dubious attributions.
49. Gaborit 1974.
50. H. with socle 36.8 cm (14½ in.), "signed" and dated *Pajou.f.177*[?]. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1992, no. 103. A sister to this bust (H. without socle 20 cm [7⅞ in.]), "signed" and dated 1779 and once in the Ephrussi collection, was sold Paris, Drouot, May 29, 1929, no. 1.
51. H. 31.6 cm (12⅜ in.), incised *Meur le Marquis de Marigny directeur général Pajou sculptor 1767*. Olsen 1980, vol. 1, p. 94, vol. 2, fig. 117. The large marble bust sold Paris, Drouot, May 14, 1947, no. 92, said to represent Marigny, is another unconvincing Pajou attribution.
52. Stein 1912, pp. 278–79, ill., 416–47.



91



92

91. *Jacques-André-Joseph Aved*

Terracotta
H. 44 cm (17⅜ in.) (with terracotta base 54.5 cm [21½ in.]), W. 36.5 cm (14⅜ in.), D. 28 cm (11 in.)
Incised on back, in circular fashion: *J.A.J. AVED PINTRE DU ROY / PAR PAJOU CE 27 MAY 1763* (J. A. J. Aved painter to the king by Pajou this 27th of May, 1763)

Private collection

PROVENANCE: The sitter; by descent in his family through his son Charles-François Aved de Magnac

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1763 (one of "three busts; portraits," p. 35 of the *livret*, under no. 173)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 38 ill., 398; Wildenstein 1922, vol. 1, frontispiece, pp. 95–96, 107, 132, vol. 2, p. 182; Vitry 1924, p. 578; Seznec and Adhémar 1975, p. 189 n.

92. *Madame Aved, née Anne-Charlotte Gaultier de Loizerolles*

Terracotta
H. 45 cm (17¾ in.) (with terracotta base 56 cm [22 in.]), W. 35.5 cm (14 in.), D. 24 cm (9½ in.)
Incised on *tranche*: *PAR PAJOU SCULPTEUR DU ROI CE 14 SEPT. 1764*; on back: *ANNE / CHARLOTTE / GAULTIER DE / LOISEROLLE / FEME DAVED / PEINT. DU / ROI* (Anne Charlotte Gaultier de Loizerolles, wife of Aved, painter to the king)

Private collection

PROVENANCE: The sitter; by descent in her family through her son Charles-François Aved de Magnac

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1765, no. 205, p. 34 of the *livret* ("The portrait of Mme Aved")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lami 1911, p. 205; Stein 1912, pp. 39, ill., 398; Wildenstein 1922, vol. 1, pp. 107, 133, ill., vol. 2, p. 139; Vitry 1924, p. 578; Seznec 1967–83, vol. 2, p. 48 n



92



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Aved, born in Douai in 1702, the son of a doctor, entered the studio of Alexis-Simon Belle in Paris in 1721. He died in 1765, having devoted virtually his entire career to portraits. He cultivated a matter-of-fact brand of portraiture that often implied solid moral strengths. He was an academician (a *conseiller* of the Académie from 1744) and a connoisseur engaged in collecting and dealing. In addition to the normal points of contact one would expect, such as attending séances of the Académie or serving as witnesses to a fellow artist's marriage contract (Stein 1912, p. 35), Aved and Pajou had patrons in common. Aved painted the marquis de Mirabeau twice, in 1743 and 1757 (Wildenstein 1922, vol. 2, nos. 67, 68), and Pajou sculpted his bust (lost) in 1765. The maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre was Aved's protector, his near neighbor in Paris, and the lord of Saintry where the painter had a considerable country establishment. Aved's portrait of Clermont-Tonnerre dates from 1759 (fig. 155), and Pajou's terracotta and marble busts from 1765 and 1767 (cat. 93). It is likely that these commissions to Pajou, and possibly others, were arranged through Aved. The painter's effigy was one of the "three busts, portraits" shown at the Salon of 1763, as the *Mercure de France* informs us (November 1763, p. 211).

Certainly Pajou shows Aved every mark of respect. The lace rivulets on the shirt, open *en négligé*, offer only momentary distractions from the fleshy head, in which noble and plebeian traits seem to commingle, with its substantial nose and discerning gaze. Pajou renders him vigorous yet frankly aging; he would die within three years. The reddish clay is briskly activated all over in arc-shaped strokes.

Aved was twenty-three in 1725 when he married the thirty-year-old Anne-Charlotte Gaultier de Loizerolles, the daughter of a retired army captain. Demonstrably sturdy by nature, she long outlived the painter and was still alive in 1783. He was deeply attached to her, painting her in 1740, when she already had a double chin, and again in 1753 (Wildenstein 1922, vol. 2, nos. 6, 7). Aved added the second portrait to the background of his splendid self-portrait of 1753 (fig. 154). She is less a muse, perhaps, than a watchful partner. She was sixty-nine when she sat for Pajou, no doubt in the Aved household, where he could consult her husband's bust, for the two sculptures are a thoughtfully calibrated, reciprocal pair. Each looks ever so slightly toward the other, their very wattles implying colloquy, the fringed veil on her right shoulder complementing the flip of collar on his left. As deliberately plotted as these busts seem, the actual sittings were apparently brief, each being dated to the precise day of its completion. The color of madame's clay is a delicate blond, and its surface is smoother than that of Aved, every contour leading purposefully to one of the most riveting of Pajou's heads. The candor of his performance, three wens and all, is balanced by his manifest sympathy; the disposition of a good and humorous manager emerges in the attentively arched eyebrows and determined mouth.

The pair must be seen as tributes to Aved's own blunt portraiture. Pajou would also have found his verism sanctioned in Roman portraiture. Ever mindful of his place in relation to his forebears, he perhaps thought too of the familial spirit of the bust of Nicolas Coustou by his brother Guillaume (ca. 1700–10) and that by Coysevox representing Rigaud's mother, Marie Serre (1706), both in the Louvre (Souchal 1977–93, vol. 1, pp. 151, 213, nos. 82, 86).

JDD

Fig. 154. Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, *Self-portrait*. Oil on canvas. Private collection





93

93. *Gaspard de Clermont-Tonnerre, Maréchal de France*

Marble
H. 74.2 cm (29¼ in., with socle of white veined marble), W. 62 cm (24⅜ in.), D. 41 cm (16⅛ in.)
Inscribed on back: *Pajou / fe / 1767*

Beaune, Hospice de la Charité

PROVENANCE: Descendants of the sitter; the Château d'Ancy-le-Franc, in the Yonne, since at least 1903; gift of the prince de Mérode to the hospice, 1980

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1767, no. 197; Paris 1935, no. 255

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 148, 399; Vitry 1924, p. 579; Gramont 1950, p. 99, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Bust (in terracotta or plaster) exhibited at the Salon of 1765 (no. 202).

Bust in terracotta (apparently in kaolin, or white clay) mentioned by Stein (1912, p. 148, ill. p. 147); British art market, 1977 (London 1977, no. 38, ill.).

Gaspard, the marquis de Clermont-Tonnerre (1688–1781), had a brilliant military career. Lieutenant general in 1734, he became governor of Belfort in 1739, was active in the Bohemian campaign, and distinguished himself in the great battles of the War of the Austrian Succession under the orders of both the maréchal de Belle-Isle and the maréchal de Saxe. Clermont-Tonnerre participated in the siege of Prague and the defense of Alsace. He also shone at the battles of Fontenoy (1745) and especially Lawfeld (1747). On September 17, 1747, he was made a marshal of France, as was the comte de Lowendahl, the brilliant victor of the siege of Berg-op-Zoom. Clermont-Tonnerre had the honor of carrying the royal flag at

Louis XVI's coronation, and in June 1775 he was created duke and peer. We are a long way from Stein's cruel assessment (1912, p. 148), describing him as "this tired old soldier coming to the unremarkable end of an undistinguished life."

When Pajou made this bust in 1765, the maréchal was seventy-seven years old. Apart from his military honors, he was a great lord from a venerable lineage and, after June 3, 1724, a knight of the Order of Saint-Esprit who wore its badge and great ribbon proudly on his cuirass.

The present bust was severely criticized by Diderot. In 1765 he compared it unfavorably to the painting by Aved exhibited at the Salon of 1759 (Wildenstein 1922, no. 26, ill.; fig. 155): "I seem to recall another portrait of this marshal; don't you remember it? It was hung above the staircase. The soldier was there in buffalo [the marshal wore a buffalo vest under his armor: Bukdahl and Lorenceau 1984, p. 488], standing, near his tent, looking noble and proud. Pajou, however, has made him stupid and innocent" (Bukdahl and Lorenceau 1984, p. 300).

Then, in 1767, Diderot reproached Pajou for having agreed to portray an unattractive face while otherwise praising his artistic qualities:

> What is this fury to eternalize a face, when it is that of a fool? It seems to me that when one chooses to occupy oneself with an imitative art, one must first have the vanity of examining what this art can do. If I were the artist and someone brought me a face this bland, I would transform it as much as it could stand, not in the manner of Puget or Falconet, but in my own. And once the bland face had gone away, I would rub my hands contentedly and say to myself, Thank God; I would not suffer before that work for six months. There is nonetheless a sculptor's touch, some beauties of skin and flesh in this insipid face. It is made generously; there is some suppleness, feeling, life. (Bukdahl et al. 1995a, p. 488)

The other commentaries (in 1767) are much more laudatory: the *Avant-coureur* (Deloynes, vol. 49, no. 1301, p. 219) praised the "truth" of the portrait, and the *Année littéraire* (letter IV, September 24, 1767) admired the likeness and its "virile, knowledgeable execution."

Pajou certainly had access to Aved's painting, as he knew the artist (see cat. 91). Pajou's bust preserves the pomp of that grandiose effigy with the very conspicuous insignia of the Order of Saint-Esprit. The maréchal also wears a cuirass and "the kind of wig called a *bigotière,* worn by the army and former officers; it consisted of a rather short queue with a knotted ribbon and two short, twisted braids" (Ruppert et al. 1996, p. 146).

The marble has been worked with great delicacy: Pajou knew how to convey the texture of the different materials (mantle, badge, cuirass, ribbon, lace jabot, wig, flesh) and to give the face a benevolent expression

Fig. 155. Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, *Maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre.* Oil on canvas. Ancy-le-Franc, Château



Fig. 156. J.-B. II Lemoyne, *Maréchal de Lowendahl.* Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre



by making a slight smile hover about the lips. In the latter regard, the work is much like Lemoyne's animated *Maréchal de Lowendahl* (about 1750; fig. 156). Such humanization of a soldier's features is not common. The solemn, lofty portrait of the maréchal d'Harcourt (1760; private collection; Réau 1927, fig. 61), again by Lemoyne, is much more typical in expressing a certain depersonalization rooted in his qualities as a victorious and dispassionate leader of men. GS

94. *Pierre-François Basan*

Terracotta
H. 43 cm (16⅞ in.) (with gray marble socle 58 cm [22⅞ in.]), W. 45 cm (17¾ in.), D. 24.7 cm (9¾ in.)
Incised on back in script: *Pierre François Basan.graveur né à Paris le 23 Octobre 1723.Pajou.faciebat.1768* (Pierre François Basan, engraver, born in Paris October 23, 1723. Made by Pajou, 1768)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 1928)

PROVENANCE: Parguez collection; acquired by the museum through the arrearages on the Audéoud bequest, 1927

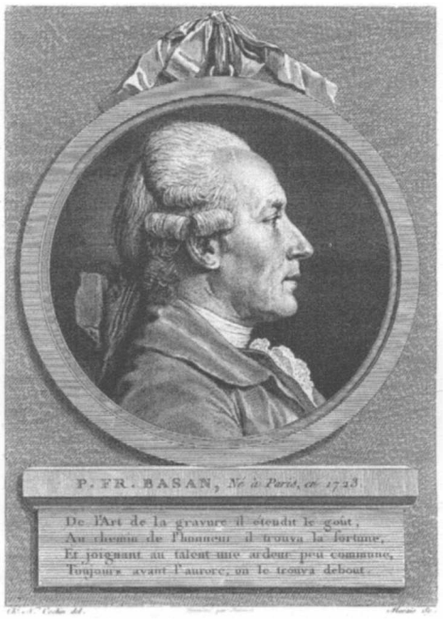
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vitry 1922–33, suppl. no. 1849; Vitry 1927, p. 313, ill.

RELATED WORKS: At least four modern imitations (discussed below)

Pierre-François Basan (1723–1797), the son of a Parisian wine merchant, was an enterprising engraver who turned to printselling and publishing, auctioneering and collecting. At the time of Pajou's portrait he was tasting the first fruits of success. The earliest volume of his *Metamorphoses* of Ovid as well as his *Dictionnaire des graveurs* appeared in 1767. He was shortly (1769) to move from the rue du Foin to grander premises in the rue Serpente, from which he issued auction catalogue after auction catalogue. His personal collection was sold in eighteen sessions from December 1 to December 19, 1798. No mention of the present bust occurs in the inventory of his estate or in his own auction catalogue or those of his sons. In the engraving by Pierre-Philippe Choffard that serves as a frontispiece to the 1798 sale the late retailer is shown seated amid his portfolios and following the dictates of Mercury, god of commerce, and the "Genius of Activity" (Casselle 1982, pl. II opp. p. 160). Basan must have impressed most of those who knew him as a fervid, decisive man of business, and these qualities are summarized in Pajou's bust, with its quick sideward turn and harried expression. He looks relatively calm in a contemporaneous engraving after Cochin (fig. 157). The matte slip on the flesh of the face and neck is slightly soiled but otherwise perfectly preserved.

The bust is not in Stein and was not published before it reached the Louvre, but the quality of the likeness, modeling, and inscription leave no room for doubt as to its autograph status. It did provide a springboard for the talents of a group of fakers well into modern times whose output has not ceased to mislead. The most skillful of these perpetrators was responsible for a bust sold at Christie's, New York, January 11, 1994, no. 78 (H. with socle 68 cm [26¾ in.], "signed" *Pajou. Sculptor 1775*). Its subject was unidentified although it

Fig. 157. Marais, *Basan, after Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils*. Engraving. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Joseph Verner Reed, 1950 (50.576.12)







clearly adhered to the composition and traits of the Louvre *Basan*, only with a lower truncation and a slightly younger look despite the date. The same hand also used this model, with light variants, and identified the subject in the inscriptions as Basan while "signing" it "*L. Vassé F., 1769*" (sale Paris, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 22, 1934, no. 57). The format is the same, but the features are yet more haggard in a bust, probably by a second forger, that is unsigned and undated yet inscribed as representing "*Pierre François Basan graveur à Paris le 23 Octobre 1773*" (sold Paris, Drouot, March 1, 1994, no catalogue). The coarsest of these frauds, by a third hand, is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acquired by George Blumenthal by 1930 (Rubinstein-Bloch 1930, pl. LVI; H. with socle 73 cm [28¾ in.]; fig. 158). In it the printseller is not recognizable even though the back is fully inscribed as representing him. Since this bust is in a public institution, it is the one we illustrate, along with a detail of the inscription in which the master's figure-eight capital *P*'s are roughly approximated, although the narrow 7's are hopeless (fig. 159). Another telltale sign of the forger is the queue of hair abruptly terminated midway.

JDD

Fig. 158. Twentieth-century imitator of Pajou, *Basan*. Terracotta. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.35)

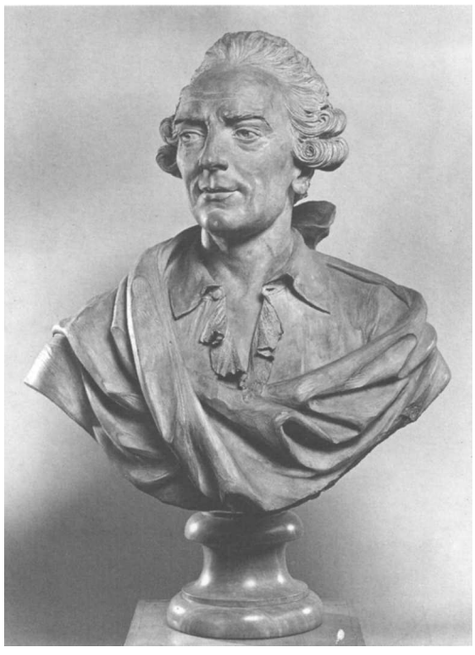


Fig. 159. Detail of the back of fig. 158



Pajou and the Comtesse Du Barry

If the favor that Pajou enjoyed with Mme Du Barry damaged his standing with Marie Antoinette, of whom he never did a portrait (despite a legend and some tenacious attributions that often strip Boizot of authorship), it won him great celebrity as a portraitist of women. Pajou's career in this domain truly began with his busts of the royal favorite.

We do not know under what circumstances Pajou met Mme Du Barry. The sculptor was known at court from at least the Salon of 1767, at which he presented busts of the dauphin and his three children. The success of Pajou's decorations for the Versailles Opera in 1770 completed the making of his reputation. When Mme Du Barry approached him about sculpting her portrait, Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne had already executed a marble of the dauphine (Salon of 1771; fig. 1). As portraitist to the king and courtiers, he could not entertain a similar request from the favorite mistress. Pajou seized the opportunity and soon found himself rivaling his teacher. He executed five different busts of the comtesse, the last of which, in marble, was an unqualified triumph at the Salon of 1773.

Pajou sculpted other works for Mme Du Barry, notably for the new pavilion of Louveciennes. The interior decorations, which were finished in 1773, included a medallion portrait (lost), "placed above the door," for ninety-six livres and "a figure in white marble four feet two inches [127 cm] in height, depicting a young girl holding a horn of plenty, which was meant to carry lights" (Pichon 1856, pp. 285–86). This standing lamp was favorably shown at the Salon of 1773 (see Chronology). It was delivered "two days before illness struck the late king," and Pajou received ten thousand livres for it in July 1774. A superb drawing from the Horvitz collection most likely preserves an image of it (fig. 160). At the Salon of 1771 the sculptor had also exhibited *Hebe, Goddess of Youth,* a terracotta study that was "to be executed in marble, lifesize, for the comtesse Du Barry" and that has been related to a group in the former Flameng and David-Weill collections (fig. 161). We know that the marble was not realized, as Pajou never requested payment.

It seems, on the other hand, that we should not include in the catalogue of Pajou's works the stone statue sent by the Louvre to the Musée-Promenade de Marly-le-Roi, *Fidelity in the Guise of Mme Du Barry Holding the King's Heart* (inv. FF 2731; Paris 1974–75a, no. 80, ill.). This peculiar work, unsigned (which is not altogether uncommon with Pajou), of recent provenance (it was donated in 1953), is explained by no doc-



Fig. 160 (far left). Pajou, *Standing Lamp.* Red chalk. Jeffrey E. Horvitz collection, on deposit at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University



Fig. 161. Pajou, *Madame Du Barry as Hebe.* Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown

umentary source, whereas one would expect to find this pious royal souvenir in one of the numerous existing inventories of the comtesse's property. Despite a vague resemblance, there is no compelling reason to identify its model with the terracotta study *Fidelity* from the Salon of 1779. Moreover, its cold, dry style bears no relation to Pajou's works, and the sculptor's name has been linked to it only because of his connection with Mme Du Barry.

It is also difficult to accept as authentic a small marble bearing the inscription *Pajou ft*, representing a nude young woman reclining on a mattress, traditionally identified as Mme Du Barry in all her lush splendor (Dépôt du Louvre, Château de Versailles, inv. RFR 52; 30 × 62 cm [11⅞ × 24⅜ in.]: Beaulieu 1958, pp. 40–43; Paris 1974–75a, no. 79, ill.). This "sleeping woman in white marble, on a mattress of the same" apparently decorated one of the consoles of the gallery in the Château de Louveciennes as the companion piece to a reduction of the antique Hermaphrodite (inventory of June 30, 1774, of Mme Du Barry's collections, without mention of Pajou's name, which is cited elsewhere [Baulez 1992, p. 85 n. 156]). Although it can thus be placed in the eighteenth century, there is no reason to see the sculpture as a portrait of the lady of the house. Its rather pedestrian style (remarked by Beaulieu) leads us to think that the signature is a forgery, no doubt put there to lend credence to a rather scandalous identification. The work is reminiscent of the libertine subjects executed at the time, such as Mignot's *Reclining Venus*, which caused a scandal at the Salon of 1757, a marble reduction of which was shown at the Salon of 1761 (versions are at the Birmingham Museum and City Art Gallery and at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Penny 1992, no. 292, ill.). GS

95. *Mme Du Barry*

Biscuit de Sèvres
H. 26 cm (10¼ in.) (with socle 32 cm [12⅝ in.]), W. 21 cm (8¼ in.), D. 12 cm (4¾ in.)

Versailles, Musée Lambinet (646)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Charles Vatel; his bequest to the Bibliothèque Municipale, Versailles, 1883; transferred to the museum in 1932

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Auscher 1901–2, p. 73, ill. p. 72; Lami 1911, p. 210; Stein 1912, pp. 118, 403, ill. p. 117 (Stein's excellent chapter on Mme Du Barry, one of the best in the book, was published in extenso in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* September 1911, pp. 216–30; it acted as a kind of prepublication announcement for the monograph. This reference, being of no use to us, is not repeated below.)

RELATED WORK: A copy (H. 25 cm [9⅞ in.] [with stand 32 cm (12⅝ in.)], W. 20 cm [7⅞ in.], D. 11 cm [4⅜ in.]) is at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, gift of Margaret Black-Gould, 1933

96. *Mme Du Barry*

Biscuit de Sèvres
H. 26 cm (10¼ in.) (with socle 34 cm [13⅜ in.]), L. 22 cm (8⅝ in.), D. 13 cm (5⅛ in.)
Inscribed on back: *Pajou / S. Regis / faciebat/ 1771*

Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique (MNCS 6704)

PROVENANCE: Acquired by the museum in 1869

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Auscher 1901–2, p. 73, ill. p. 72; Bourgeois 1909, pp. 102–3; [Bourgeois 1909], p. 29, no. 411, ill.; Stein 1912, pp. 119–20, 403, ill. p. 119; Brunet and Préaud 1978, no. 317, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Several copies are known. Among those dating from the eighteenth century are the one in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 97) and the one formerly in the collection of the king of Poland Stanislas August Poniatowski (no doubt based on this model; Réau 1932, p. 248). Numerous versions were made later in biscuit de Sèvres as well as in terracotta, plaster, and bronze.

Two plaster versions are preserved at the Sèvres porcelain works.

97. *Mme Du Barry*

Biscuit de Sèvres, mounted on a painted and gilt porcelain column
H. 27 cm (10⅝ in.) (with column 38 cm [15 in.]), W. 20 cm (7⅞ in.)
Inscribed on column medallion: *DB* (the initials of Mme Du Barry), gilt and with intertwined roses; inside column: two *L*s intertwined with the letter T (signifying the date 1772)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Blumenthal, 1943 (43.163.3a,b)

PROVENANCE: Octavius E. Coope, London; his sale London, May 3, 1910, no. 172, ill.; acquired at that sale by Wertheimer; George and Florence Blumenthal, New York, 1912; gift of Ann Payne Blumenthal to the Museum, 1943

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1949, no. 173; New York 1980, no. 58

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 123, 404, ill. p. 121



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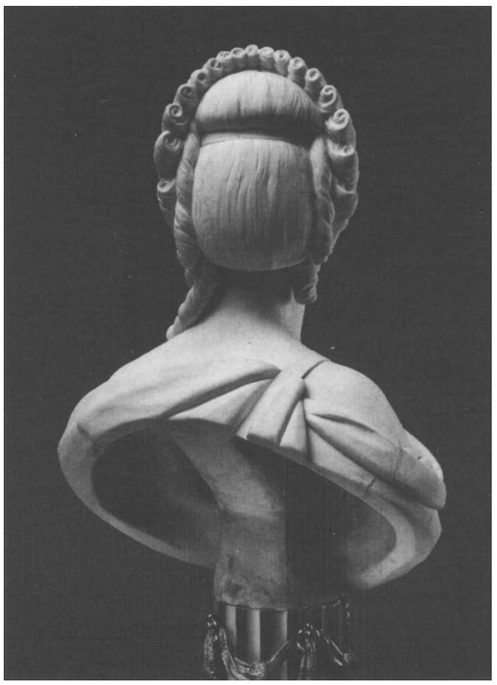
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98. *Mme Du Barry*

Marble
H. 56 cm (22 in.) (with white marble socle 71 cm [28 in.]), W. 48.5 cm (19⅛ in.), D. 26 cm (10¼ in.)
Inscribed on edge, in back: *PORTRAIT DE MADAME LA CONTESSE / DU BARY* (Portrait of madame la comtesse Du Barry); at center: *PAR / PAJOU. SECUL / DU ROY / E PROFESSEUR / DE SON ACAD. DE / PINT. E SCUL. / 1773* (By Pajou, sculptor to the king and professor of his academy of painting and sculpture, 1773)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (MR 2651)

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Mme Du Barry, most likely in 1772, since it was nearly finished in the spring of 1773; shown in the salon of the Château de Louveciennes, according to an inventory of June 1774; then in the new pavilion, according to the inventory (drawn up by Boizot) of December 19, 1793; seized in Louveciennes under the Revolution, February 17–18, 1793; inventoried in the storage at the Château de Versailles, 1824; placed in the historical galleries of the Château de Versailles, November 22, 1838; acquired by the Louvre before 1855

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1773, no. 197; Paris 1957–58, no. 102, pl. XLII; Paris 1989b, no. 1064, ill.; Marly-le-Roi 1992, no. 31, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (selective, the work being cited in the most varied publications): Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Versailles, *Notice,* 1839, p. 313, no. 563 ("central part, ground floor, king's vestibule"); Clarac 1841–53, vol. 6, no. 3592, pl. 1125; Barbet de Jouy 1855 and 1873, no. 284; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Michel 1897, no. 774; Dilke 1900, p. 129; Auscher 1901–2, p. 74, ill. p. 73; Tuetey 1902, p. 243; Lami 1911, p. 210; Stein 1912, pp. 123–26, 405, ill. p. 128, pl. v; Vitry 1922, no. 1435; Vitry 1924, p. 580, ill.; Rostrup 1932, p. 86, pl. XCII; Scott 1973, p. 69, fig. 16; Bresc-Bautier 1980, no. 46, ill.; Baulez 1992, pp. 69, 83 n. 140; Gaborit in Marly-le-Roi 1992, pp. 125–26, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Plaster, said to be old (Stein 1912, p. 124), in the Decourcelle collection; its sale May 29, 1911, no. 199, ill.; acquired at that sale by the comte de Sartiges.

Giacometti, in a short polemical work published in 1925, appraised a plaster bust of Mme Du Barry in the Henry Bondonneau collection in Paris (illustrated in an unsigned, unpaginated article, "Le carnet d'un curieux," *Renaissance de l'art français et des industries de luxe,* June 1925) as being the original plaster molded from the terracotta version of 1770. This plaster cast, identical to the marble of 1773, is in fact a version of the Louvre bust.

Moselius, in an article published in 1926, tried to represent a marble copy after the one in the Louvre (Albin Malmström collection, then in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) as the one that Mme Du Barry hypothetically sent to Gustav III, following upon a wish related by Ambassador Creutz to his sovereign on September 20, 1772. The ensuing break in their correspondence proves on the contrary that this curious present was never sent.

Copy by the Locré porcelain works: see below.

The renown of the bust in the Louvre was huge, and it is impossible—and not very fruitful—to list all the copies that have gone up for public auction since the second half of the nineteenth century as well as all the versions housed in public collections. It was notably distributed in France by the molding studios of the Louvre (since 1864: Rionnet 1996, p. 272, no. 1158; moreover, it is still being marketed: *Moulages* 1991, p. 169, no. 5986), by Éditions Barbedienne (which in 1880 offered the work in three different sizes), Susse (mentioned in the company's 1874 catalogue), Sanson (Marly-le-Roi 1992, p. 186, no. 89, ill.), and Servant; in Italy the Signa works was a major distributor. Copies exist in many materials (including marble, terracotta, plaster, biscuit, bronze, wax, and stone) and in many variations (see, as a curiosity, a biscuit with colored drapery in the Museo Pignatelli, Naples; Naples 1967, no. 159, pl. LXXVI), including some with grotesque accoutrements (as Flora, as Diana, as a sultana).

Sketch by Cézanne (private collection: Berthold 1958, no. 200, ill.).

Jeanne Bécu (1743–1793), born "the illegitimate daughter of a monk and a cook" (Besenval 1987, p. 211), was reared in Paris by the Sisters of Sainte-Aure, a community devoted to the Sacred Heart. She held several small jobs, including shopgirl in a well-known fashion boutique on the rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs owned by Mme Labille (whose husband sat for Pajou [cat. 105]). Jean Du Barry took her as his mistress and, with the help of the libertine duc de Richelieu, arranged for her to meet Louis XV at the beginning of 1768. She was then precipitously married, on July 23, to Du Barry's brother, the comte Guillaume Du Barry—who lived in Toulouse and returned home immediately after the ceremony. Mme Du Barry was presented at court on April 22, 1769, and settled in Versailles. The following August 25, her two portraits painted by Drouais attracted such a crowd at the Salon that Horace Walpole could not get close enough to see them (Scott 1973, p. 60). Pidansat de Mairobert (1776, p. 127) did not appreciate Drouais's work, which gave her "a simpering look, called by the minor masters a 'sidelong glance'; this is not at all the true gaze of that Beauty, which is very clear, very frank, and very candid." Mme Du Barry, openly protected by the king, adapted fairly easily to the customs of high society. Nonetheless, she could not overcome the hostility of Choiseul and, after his disgrace and exile in 1770, of the dauphine, Marie-Antoinette. She left the court on May 4, 1774, six days after the death of Louis XV.

The first mention of a bust of Du Barry by Pajou dates back to Easter of 1770—in other words, at more or less the moment when the Royal Opera was inaugurated. An invoice from Pajou, published by Pichon in 1856 (p. 283), mentions a "lifesize terracotta portrait of Madame the Comtesse, made in Versailles at about the Easter holidays of the year 1770 and exhibited at the Salon du Louvre on August 25 of that same year (this bust is in my possession and I am ready to deliver it). For this item . . . twelve hundred livres." There was no Salon in 1770, but rather in 1771. A bust of the comtesse in terracotta was shown there (no. 239 in the *livret*) but, according to the critics of the time (see below), it was smaller than lifesize. This was no doubt the model of a second bust described in Pajou's invoice (Pichon 1856, p. 284): "Another bust of madame the comtesse half the size of the preceding one, to be executed in porcelain at the Sèvres works, which was furnished and executed for the first of the year 1771. For this item . . . six hundred livres." This work is known today through the version in biscuit de Sèvres at the Musée Lambinet (cat. 95).

The terracotta version did not go unnoticed by the critics at the Salon of 1771. The printed broadside called "The Wandering Muse at the Salon: Critical Apologia in Free Verse" (*La muse errante au Salon*; Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 145, p. 44) defended it in a brief text: "Is it Venus I see in this ideal? / No, it is Du Barry with the same appeal! / This charming portrait, a masterpiece of sculpture / So pleases the eye it's like seeing nature. / About this perfect bust, which with avidity / Everyone watches while praising its beauty, / I could easily have much more to say! / But awe has taken my tongue away."

The *Année littéraire* (September 8, letter XIII) praises the likeness; the *Mercure de France* (October, p. 197) and the *Avant-coureur* (Deloynes, vol. 49, no. 1317), politically astute, focus on the protectress of the arts. The *Lettre de Raphaël le Jeune* (Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 141, p. 54), written by Daudet de Jossac, is more critical: "Here is a very graceful portrait, a good likeness; but why not use the proportions of real life instead of making her so small?" The *Mémoires secrets* (letter XIII; 1995, p. 30) compared Pajou's sculpture with a painting by Drouais exhibited at the same Salon, in which Mme Du Barry was portrayed as a Muse:

> One's heart . . . swells, Monsieur, at the sight of the bust of the comtesse Du Barry. The sculptor has done a

> much better job than the painter. No one could fail to find in that head all the elegance, all the sensuality that M. Drouais's brush failed to capture. But if the latter made the mistake of trying to render Mme Du Barry in colossal proportions, the former made the one of having deprived her of her natural size. The head is too small and suggests a young girl in adolescence.

Drouais's painting was withdrawn from the Salon because, according to a rumor that swept Paris, the model's thighs were found to bear too close a resemblance to Mme Du Barry's own (cited in Wrigley 1993, p. 78 n. 239).

Pajou's invoice mentions a third bust (Pichon 1856, p. 284): "another bust of Madame in the same size, ordered and furnished to the Sèvres works, adjusted and coiffed differently from the preceding version, and which is executed in porcelain. For this item . . . six hundred livres." This has been identified with the biscuit in the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres (cat. 96). The latter is signed and dated on the back like a sculpture—*Pajou sc. regius faciebat 1771* (the royal sculptor Pajou made this in 1771)—contrary to the practice at the porcelain works, which had its appointed modelers. At the time, the director of decorations was a painter, Jean-Jacques Bachelier, who was also in charge of the sculpture studio (in the period between Falconet's departure in 1766 and Boizot's arrival in 1773). He could not set himself up as a rival to Pajou. Moreover, the position of Mme Du Barry, her taste for the productions of the Sèvres works, and the unprecedented flood of orders that she placed (Baulez 1992)—no doubt trying to compete with Mme de Pompadour—were well worth the troublesome privilege of realizing her portrait by the manufacturing studios, following the sculptor's precise model. Pajou's intervention, delivering his own models to Sèvres, is in fact quite exceptional. If Bachelier had supervised the realization in 1767 of a bust of Voltaire after Rosset and in 1768 one of Rameau after Caffieri (see Taylor 1974, pp. 29–30, 37), these were merely repetitions of works conceived elsewhere. Pajou, on the other hand, was following in the footsteps of Lemoyne, whose portraits of Louis XV were distributed by the porcelain works.

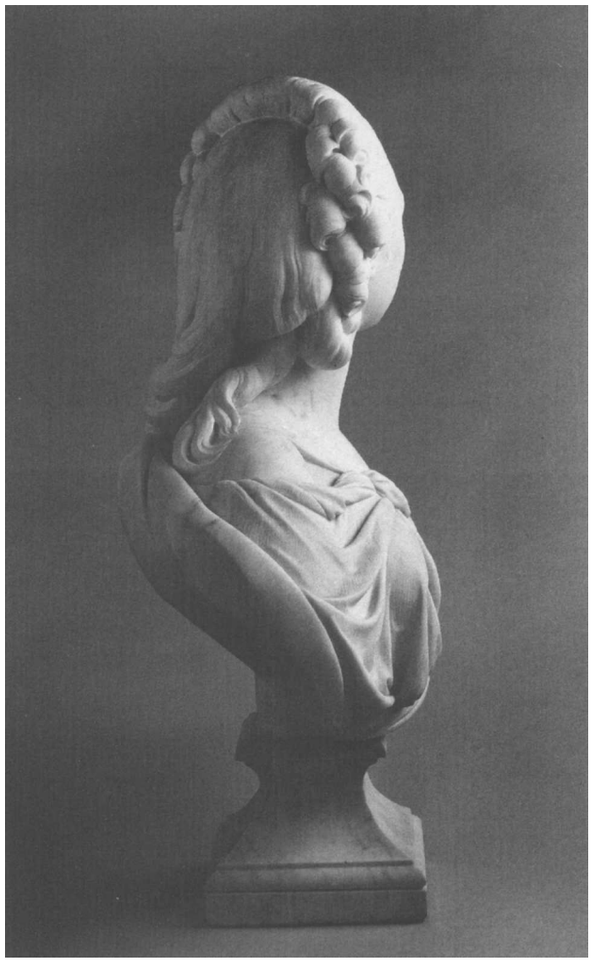
The copy in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 97), dated 1772, is a version of the same model. There is no reason to think, with Stein (1912, p. 123), that we have here an "intermediate pose" between the biscuit in the Sèvres museum and the marble in the Louvre. The bust in New York still has its beautiful porcelain base in the shape of a blue-and-white column shaft, decorated with a garland bearing a medallion with the monogram of Mme Du Barry.

We read in the invoice (Pichon 1856, pp. 284–85): "another bust of madame that she asked me to make coiffed in the style of the bather by M. Falconet which after having been made and having taken a month of my time, including several trips to Versailles and other royal mansions, did not win her approval and was canceled. For this item . . . six hundred livres." On December 14, 1771, Mme Du Barry's steward had written to Pajou to inform him of this new caprice (Stein 1912, pp. 120–21): "the comtesse desires several modifications in the headdress," and the artist was asked to take his inspiration from the *Bather* by Falconet, a marble version of which (now in the Louvre) adorned Louveciennes.

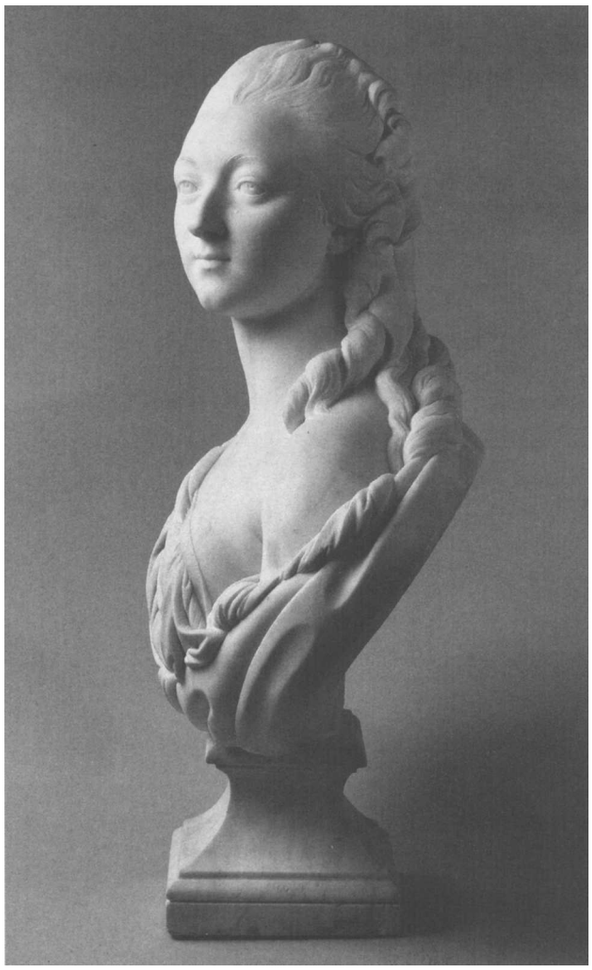
Finally, the invoice mentions a fifth work (Pichon 1856, p. 285): "another bust of madame, lifesize, different from the others in its posture and arrangement, which was executed in white marble of the same size by the orders of madame the comtesse, exhibited at the Salon du Louvre on 25 August of the year 1773, and delivered to madame the comtesse who was in Versailles (paid). For this item, including the materials and the pedestal, which is in *brèche d'Alep marbre* . . . six thousand livres." This marble, now in the Louvre (cat. 98), was nearly finished in the spring of 1773. The price was reduced to four thousand livres, paid beginning in 1775, in four installments, until January 20, 1777 (Doucet, *carton* 21, mf 20295).

The marble of the Salon of 1773 was universally acclaimed a masterpiece. Here again Pajou bested Drouais, whose portrait of the comtesse was removed as not meeting her specifications. According to the *Mémoires secrets* (letter III; 1995, pp. 43–44), Pajou "comes out far ahead in the estimation of various connoisseurs. There is nothing so beautiful as this bust, unique in its authenticity, charm, and expression. It strikes even the most inept viewers with the air of sensuality that infuses the face; the gaze and posture support the sculptor's intentions. No one seeing this celestial figure can fail to recognize the rank it occupies nor fail to cry out with M. de Voltaire: The original was made for the gods." Grimm was enthusiastic: "This piece is perhaps M. Pajou's masterpiece; and I know few works by our modern sculptors with happier exe-





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cution, more precious finish. Enthusiasm for a charming model seems to have elevated the artist's imagination to a perfection of ideal beauty in which, while barely altering nature, he has managed to bring to the purity of Greek forms the piquant air of French grace with the most gentle and voluptuous expression" (*Correspondance littéraire*; Grimm 1877–82, vol. 10, p. 380). In short, the comtesse "breathes within the marble" (*Avant-coureur;* Deloynes, vol. 49, no. 1328, p. 711).

The execution of the bust, as noted by Jean-René Gaborit (in Marly-le-Roi 1992, p. 125), had been considered an "affair of state" and treated very seriously by Marigny. Francin's studio at the Louvre, left empty by his death, was put at Pajou's disposal on May 4, but only for the time required to execute the bust. His pension was increased on August 16 (for all this, see Chronology) by the new director of the Bâtiments du Roi, the abbé Terray, who could refuse little to the beautiful comtesse (in his previous position as tax inspector general he had found himself "the slave of her favor" [Choiseul 1982, p. 201]).

Mme Du Barry was so pleased with Pajou's work that she asked him to deliver "a plaster bust, carefully restored and furnished, to the porcelain works in the Faubourg du Temple to be executed in the same material, lifesize. Which was done and presented to madame the comtesse who received it and gave it as a present to Mlle Du Barry [her sister]. For this item . . . ninety-six livres" (Pichon 1856, pp. 286–87). In December 1773 this bust was lent to Jean-Baptiste Locré, head of the recently established German porcelain works—created in July 1773—located on the rue Fontaine-au-Roi in La Courtille. Locré asked the comtesse for twelve thousand livres for the biscuit but received only three thousand (BN, Ms. fr 8158, fol. 22: Davillier 1870, pp. 74–75). Certain copies are signed with the name of the craftsman and future director of the porcelain works, Laurent Russinger, and are dated 1775—in other words, after the death of Louis XV, when Mme Du Barry had already been exiled from court (Stein 1912, p. 128, ill. p. 127; Plinval de Guillebon 1986, p. 44): what singular luck for a portrait to survive its model's fall from grace! The Locré biscuits faithfully reproduce the marble bust (see the one sold at Monaco,

Monaco, Christie's, June 18, 1989, no. 56, ill.), signifying that the plaster provided by Pajou and handed over for a modest sum must have been either molded from the marble or from a studio casting after the original model—"carefully restored," of course.

All of Pajou's busts of Mme Du Barry are composed in the same way: the face is slightly turned to the left so that we can admire the hairstyle, which as we have seen was extremely important to the comtesse. The garment is not a reproduction of court dress or simply of contemporary clothing: it is a cloth thrown freely over the body, held by a ribbon across the shoulder. This simple "tunic" is Greek in spirit, although there is no attempt at historical accuracy. In truth, this is more like a boudoir negligee, which leaves the throat and shoulders bare and admirably highlights the young beauty's slender neck and bosom. Although the main lines of the garment did not change between 1770 and 1773, the artist made minute variations. The illustrations make long descriptions unnecessary. Nonetheless, I take the liberty of underscoring a few details. The costume of the Versailles biscuit is more complex than that of the Sèvres/New York models: the ribbon, tighter in front, is the pretext for a swelling of cloth between the breasts; and the organization of the creases in that area is necessarily different, up to the cut of the right shoulder. This generosity in the folds, so characteristic of the Versailles biscuit, was subsequently tempered. The surface on the front of the Sèvres/New York biscuits is calmer, more "classical," with a more rigorous definition of the folds in rows starting below the chest. The marble in the Louvre happily recaptures the exuberance of the Lambinet biscuit, and the larger dimensions allow Pajou to take it even further. We again find the movement of the creases around the ribbon a bit more lively with a few coqueteries in the cloth covering the strap, natural crumplings that the artist's skill allowed him to render so convincingly. The negligee turns back under the left shoulder, a bit of provocation highly regarded in a professional seductress. In this masterpiece of dressing, Pajou has minutely organized the almost abstract interplay of hollows and reliefs while never sacrificing suppleness or elegance.



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The other showpiece—the importance of which is conveyed by the documents cited above—is the hairstyle. In 1770 the fashion was still a long way from the piles of hair and various accessories that became common in the 1780s. The 1770s style was known as *tapé*, or "crazy" hair. It "left the forehead uncovered; the hair was lifted and frizzed finely so as to form a kind of halo or diadem around the face, while the hair on the back remained smooth . . . ringlets on the neck were allowed only at court; this fashion would become common under Louis XVI" (Ruppert et al. 1996, p. 147). This hairstyle is also worn by the dauphine (fig. 1), but the comtesse looks very different, thanks to her grace and Pajou's skill. Mme Du Barry had a very sure ability to make her beauty stand out in the king's eyes: she was Hebe, restoring youth to the aging monarch.

The arrangement in the Versailles biscuit is similar to that in the portrait by Drouais (1769; Agen, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Marly-le-Roi 1992, p. 17, ill.): the hair at the top of the uncovered forehead is pulled back and waved in irregular locks on both sides; on the left a lock leaves the ear exposed, and on the right two curls are superimposed above the admirable movement of the hair that flows onto the back of the left shoulder, leaving one truant wisp to caress the top of her breast. Because of this pose, the back of the bust acquires great suppleness, and there is no need to insist upon the eminently sensual artifice of the hair brushing the skin above the armpit. We sense here the spirit of a bust

modeled by a great sculptor: no one at the Sèvres porcelain works would have been capable, at that time, of inventing such a composition. The hairstyle was radically changed in 1771: the forehead is still uncovered and the hair swept back on top of the head. But in place of the undulating sinuousness of the Versailles biscuit, free and haphazard in spirit, is a regular, almost mechanical arrangement of curled locks running parallel. The ears on both sides are half-hidden by these straight cylinders, called "shells" by Stein (1912, p. 125) and wittily described as "close-set rolls, as on the head of a Roman empress" by Bourgeois (1909, p. 103), which we also find in another portrait by Drouais (1769; Marly-le-Roi 1992, p. 53, ill.). Any freedom in hairstyle was strictly forbidden by the tyranny of the curler. In this regard, the back of the piece is extremely rigid. If the first model reveals an impish and charming Mme Du Barry, the second shows her all done up, ready for an evening in society—the only thing missing is her finery.

The comtesse, as we know, became infatuated with the head of Falconet's *Bather.* Was she trying to look like a new Mme de Pompadour, whose protégé Falconet had been? It is a shame that Pajou's plaster was not preserved; it would have been interesting to see Mme Du Barry with her hair knotted in back, straight, with a part in the middle and a band at the top of her head. Pajou understood the lesson of the favorite's refusal: the bust in the Louvre delightfully restores the free concept of the first biscuit, but with the ceremony made possible by the scale and peculiarities of marble. The high forehead is prolonged by the straight hair that imperceptibly waves into curls; this subtle passage is unified by the chisel strokes, and we know that at least since *Pluto* Pajou was a virtuoso in working marble. The curls at right end in a well-formed lock that stops at the shoulder (a detail not included in the Versailles biscuit), while the mass of the hair leans toward the left shoulder, covering the back of the neck, to end near the throat in a superb corkscrew curl. This masterpiece deserves the unanimous admiration that has been given it. GS

99. *Michel-Jean Sedaine*

Terracotta
H. 48.5 cm (19⅛ in.) (with wood socle painted gray 60.2 cm [23¾ in.]), W. 46 cm (18⅛ in.), D. 22.5 cm (8⅞ in.)
Incised on back: *PAJOU FÉ 1775*; written on socle in faded ink (barely legible): *Sedaine / Fait par Pajou*

London, Victoria and Albert Museum (A.27–1959)

PROVENANCE: The sitter; his widow (d. 1826); their daughter Anastase-Suzanne Sedaine, who married in 1804 Achille-Louis-François, chevalier, later marquis de Brisay (d. 1855); by descent in the Brisay family, Eugène Kraemer, Paris; David David-Weill, Paris; property of a gentleman; sale London, Sotheby's, July 3, 1959, no. 71, bought by the museum

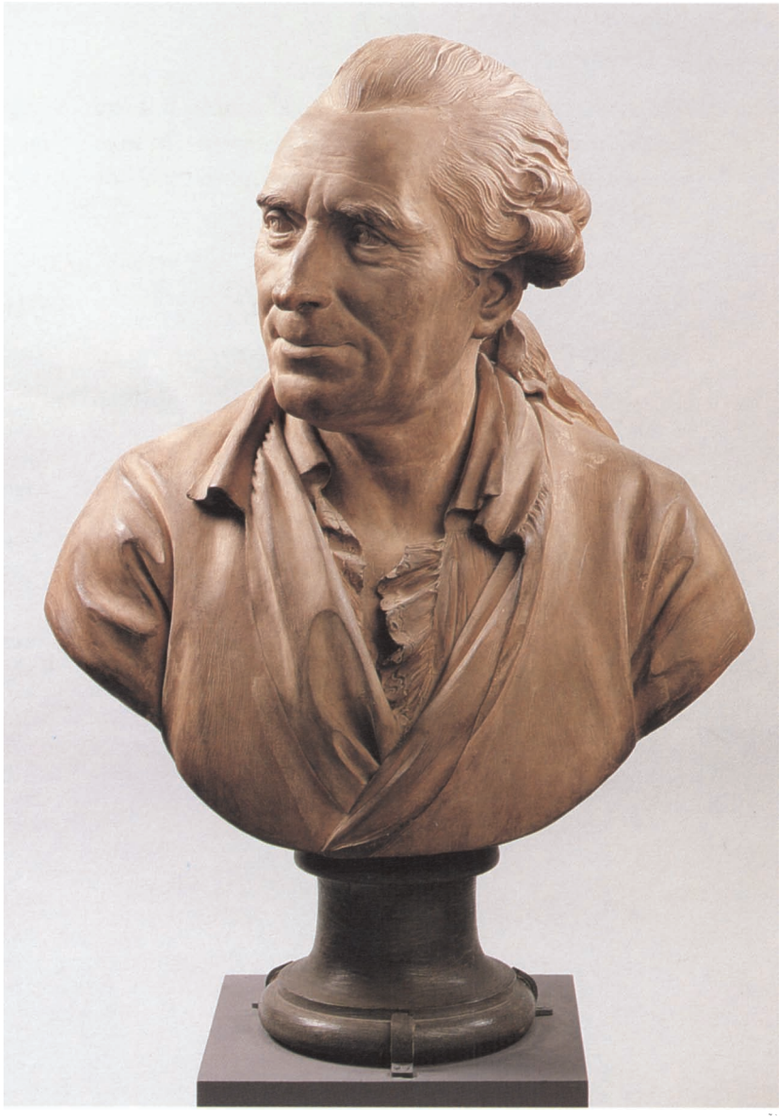
EXHIBITIONS: Probably Salon of 1775, p. 35 of *livret* under no. 223 ("several busts, of which one is of marble"); Paris 1935c, no. 1110; New York 1940, no. 31

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rey 1904–5, pt. 2, pp. 99, ill., 118; Lami 1911, p. 213; Stein 1912, pp. 58, 60, ill., 407; Henriot 1925, p. 14, pl. XXVIII; Frankfurter 1940, p. 9, ill.; Hodgkinson 1972, pp. 104, 105, figs. 5, 6

RELATED WORK: A plaster said to be old, H. presumably including socle 64 cm. (25¼ in.), collection of Monsieur X, sale Paris, Drouot, May 11, 1927, no. 136

The portrait is "sensitive and unemphatic," as Hodgkinson (1972, p. 104) says, but it also concentrates a wealth of subtle and intimate perceptions concerning its extraordinary subject. The poet Sedaine (1719–1797) provided texts for operas by Philidor, Monsigny, and Grétry, lending such philosophical depth to their collaborations that he has been called the greatest librettist in the history of French opera (Arnoldson 1934, p. 10). The son of a failed architect, he started life as a stonecutter. He was saved from this situation by a contractor whose wife was the aunt of Jacques-Louis David, to whom Sedaine was able in turn to lend his own protection once he had established himself by his own talent and connections. In 1768 he was elected perpetual secretary of the Académie Royale d'Architecture, which meant an income and extensive lodgings (twenty-two rooms) in the Louvre.

It is not known when Pajou became acquainted with



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him, but their paths no doubt crossed at the Louvre as well as elsewhere prior to the making of this bust. In later years they enjoyed days spent together in the country, during one of which, in 1779, they presented to their host, Dufort de Cheverny, a page of witty little drawings by Pajou with legends written by Sedaine (whereabouts unknown; Rey 1906). In 1789 Dufort introduced his friends Pajou and Sedaine to the Jacobin club Friends of the Constitution; they were apparently rather scandalized by the session they attended (Rey 1904–5, pt. 2, pp. 103–4). Finally Dufort reports arriving in Paris too late to assist at the poet's final moments and finding his widow dining with family and friends who included both Pajou and Houdon (ibid., pt. 3, pp. 122–23).

In this 1775 bust the librettist is fifty-six, with numerous successes behind him. His work that year was *Les Femmes vengées*, a comic opera in one act with music by Philidor. Pajou represents a Sedaine more amiable than he looks in a miniature that descended in his family (Rey 1910, p. 4), where he wears formal dress and a keen, perhaps suspicious expression. Our bust is closer in features and spirit to an oval portrait, apparently lost, which David is believed to have painted of Sedaine (Paris–Versailles 1989–90, p. 561, fig. 158; for an engraved variant, see Guieysse-Frère 1907, frontispiece).

The present *Sedaine* is a near paraphrase of the composition of Pajou's 1773 *Buffon* (cat. 111), but the subject seems much more accessible. The head emerges all honesty and intellect from the open-necked robe and rather plain lace. This is an exceedingly complex analysis of character in which we sense the energy and pride of the self-made man. The vertical wrinkles to either

side of the nose contribute a note of foxiness, but the mouth, not quite riant, is decidedly generous, the eyes penetrating and just a bit skeptical. In all, we are not surprised to learn that the poet was something of a recluse while yet possessing the gift of friendship to a rare degree. JDD

100. *Madame Andouillé, née Marguerite Droin*

Terracotta
H. with gray marble socle 51 cm (20⅛ in.), W. 45 cm (17¾ in.)
Incised on back: *PAJOU/F./1778*

Paris only

Switzerland, private collection

101. *Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Andouillé*

Terracotta
H. with gray marble socle 57 cm (22½ in.), W. 60 cm (23⅝ in.)
Incised on back: *J.B.A. / ANDOUILLÉ / ÉCUYER CONSEILLER / D'ÉTAT PREMIER / CHIRURGIEN DU / ROY / DE L'ACADÉMIE / DES SCIENCES. 1779* (J.B.A. Andouillé, equerry, counselor of state, first surgeon to the king, [member] of the Academy of Sciences. 1779)

Switzerland, private collection

Paris only

PROVENANCE OF BOTH: The sitters and their descendants; M. J. Froberville, Paris (the same as the collector in the boulevard Raspail cited by Lami?); sale Monaco, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, June 14–15, 1981, nos. 20, 21, bought by the present owner

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1779, no. 195, p. 38 of the *livret* (*Andouillé* only, among busts in terracotta: "M. Andouillé, first surgeon to the king, by succession")

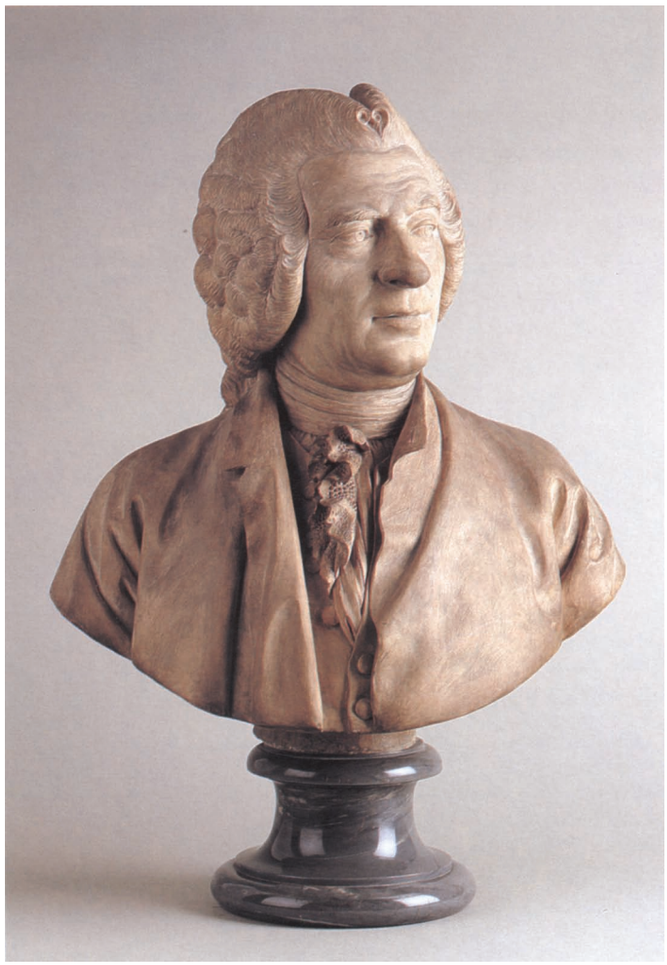
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, p. 401; Lami 1911, p. 216; Stein 1912, pp. 143–44, both ill., 409



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Cat. 101: reverse



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As with the Aved couple (cat. 91, 92), Pajou fitted man and wife into his schedule separately, this time starting with madame. Marguerite Droin, the daughter of a surgeon, married Andouillé in 1745 and outlived him, dying in 1801. One senses a diminutive, bustling woman of forthright manner, who may have been slightly older than her husband. She is vividly alive in this bust, a wonderful mix of fact and tact, with her veil, a slightly out-of-date feature by then, framing and mitigating her sharp glance. As endearing as this firm but subtle characterization is, Pajou may have felt it was too candidly realistic for the Salon. His exhibits at that of 1779, itemized, include the husband but not his helpmate. As her bust is dated 1778, Stein erred in imagining it was among the unnamed busts at the Salon of 1777.

Andouillé (1719–1799), whose father was a surgeon, enjoyed an official career in medicine. His titles included counselor of state, first surgeon to the king, and president of the Royal Academy of Surgery. He was a man of some resourcefulness. After Louis XV's death in 1774 from a particularly nasty case of smallpox, it fell to Andouillé, as one of five royal surgeons, to determine what would happen to his sovereign's remains. Mme Campan reports that "on leaving the bedroom of Louis XV, the duc de Villequier, first gentleman of the chamber for that year, enjoined M. Andouillé, first surgeon to the king, to open the body and embalm it. The first surgeon would of necessity have died of it. 'I am ready,' replied Andouillé, 'but while I operate you will hold his head: it is incumbent upon your office.'" The duc desisted and the body was quickly buried (Campan n.d., pp. 58–59).

Just as Mme Andouillé looks like a shrewd housewife, Andouillé seems to be a good provider. To sleek, able features and excellently wrought costume is added a wig whose parting displays a curious concave heart.

One of the couple's two daughters married Thévenin de Margency; the other, Saleur de Grisien—both of whom were *fermiers généraux* (farmers general). The busts long remained in the family. Stein noted a copy of a painted portrait of Andouillé after Roslin at the

Faculté de Médecine, Paris (Stein 1912, p. 144). It perished when the Musée d'Histoire de la Médecine burned in 1992.

Chaussard (1806, p. 47) lists busts of "M. Poissonnier, doctor" and his wife in his overview of Pajou's oeuvre. The physician Pierre-Isaac Poissonnier (1720–1798) belonged to the same Masonic lodge as Pajou. Stein never saw a plaster of Poissonnier, signed and dated 1789, whose existence on the Paris art market was confirmed to him by Samuel Rocheblave (Stein 1912, p. 145). It would be a fine thing if the Poissonnier busts were to reappear, especially if Pajou invested them with comparable insight. JDD

102. *Madame Sedaine, née Suzanne-Charlotte Sériny*

Terracotta
H. 61.2 cm (with gray marble socle 76.7 cm [30¼ in.]), W. 52 cm (20½ in.), D. 23 cm (9 in.)
Incised on back: *PAJOU FÉ 1781*

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (65.2220)

PROVENANCE: The sitter and her husband, Michel-Jean Sedaine (see cat. 99); their daughter Anastase-Suzanne Sedaine, who married in 1804 Achille-Louis-François, chevalier, later marquis de Brisay (d. 1855); by descent in the Brisay family; Eugène Kraemer, Paris, sale Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, April 28–29, 1913, vol. 1, no. 127; John List Crawford, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, sale New York, Parke-Bernet, January 26, 1946, no. 51; Forsyth Wickes, Newport, Rhode Island; his bequest to the museum, 1965

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1781, no. 230, p. 41 of the *livret*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rey 1904–5, pt. 2, pp. 118–19, ill.; Lami 1911, p. 213; Stein 1912, pp. 60–63, ill., 411; Vitry 1924, p. 579; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1992, p. 334, no. 359

Suzanne-Charlotte Sériny (1739–1826) married the poet Michel-Jean Sedaine in 1767 when she was twenty-eight. He was her senior by twenty years. She triumphed over two rivals: a Mme Le Conte and her own mother, the widow of a parliamentary lawyer. During Sedaine's visits with the mother, the daughter had come under his increasingly appreciative eye. Mme de Sériny declined to attend the wedding, which took place, it has been calculated, when the bride was already several months pregnant. The marriage was by all accounts an eminently happy one, and by the time of her bust his wife had presented the librettist with three children (see Rey 1910).

Although this was doubtless intended for the same room as the bust of Sedaine, made six years earlier (cat. 99), the two are not perfect pendants. Pajou must not have had the other before him when modeling this. Both face slightly to their right rather than having complementary orientations. Mme Sedaine is larger, her ample forms and massive coiffure causing her to occupy considerably more space than her lean husband. Unlike his bust, hers has been fashioned by molding and was covered with a slip of clay that was then worked. The back was reworked with plaster, presumably to make it fit on the socle, and the signature



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and date were incised in this area of patinated plaster. Hers is apparently the earliest of the press-molded portraits in our exhibition, although Pajou had used a more or less identical procedure for the *Mme Hall* of 1775 in the Frick Collection (fig. 149). The technique results in somewhat matte surfaces that can be less texturally exciting than freshly modeled clay. Pajou no doubt employed it because works of this mass are more safely fired when they are molded than when they are directly modeled. Its surface and an unpleasant coat of tan paint (which has since been removed to the work's great advantage) led it to be condemned as a late imitation of Pajou (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1992), but in fact it is one of the master's most vibrant ceramic creations. He was manifestly fond of his subject, whose pep and wit he conveys in abundance. The same intelligent gaze meets ours in an oval painted portrait paired with that of M. Sedaine (whereabouts unknown), which is believed to be by David (Paris, Versailles 1989–90, p. 561, fig. 159). A rare treatment for Pajou is the incision of radiating lines that define the irises, possibly adapted from an occasional usage by Houdon for enlivening sitters' eyes.

Pajou was obsessed by Mme Sedaine's magnificently

groomed hair, built up on two winglike projections in back, much like the fancy wigs *à la Junon* or *à la dryade* or *à la capricieuse* of the period (Corson 1980, pls. 82d, 82f, 83m). Yet he has skillfully kept this confection within bounds, not allowing her to be a fashion victim. He probably thought of the hairdress as an elaboration of the ones seen in ancient Roman portrait busts, and he may have conceived of the crushed muslin winding over her breast as a similar perfecting of an ancient usage. Not only her winning personality but also the asymmetric interplay of the delicate textures of hair and fabric make this portrait one of his most captivating.

JDD

103. *François-André Danican Philidor*

Terracotta
H. 49 cm (19¼ in.), W. 40 cm (15¾ in.), D. 24.5 cm (9⅝ in.)
Square self-base incised on front with a lyre and *PHILIDOR*; on back: *Pajou. 1783*

Paris, Musée Carnavalet (S 3340)

PROVENANCE: Mme Philidor, Paris(?); gift of the Société des Amis du Musée Carnavalet and of the Lutèce Foundation, 1977

EXHIBITIONS: Tokyo 1978, no. 209; Paris 1980, unnumbered checklist

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guicharnaud 1978, pp. 29–30, fig. 1; Jacques-François Dupont-Danican in Philidor 1995, p. 5

RELATED WORKS: A tinted plaster belonged to Dr. André Jousset, who was related to the Philidor family (Stein 1912, p. 69, ill.), signed on the right: *PAJOU / REGIS / SCULPTOR / 1783*.

At least two terracotta copies made for Philidor's descendants, doubtless produced in the nineteenth century, remain in the hands of the family (dimensions of one of these: H. 45.5 cm [17⅞ in.], W. 41 cm [41 in.], D. 23 cm [9 in.]).

A terracotta example (H. 60 cm [23⅝ in.]) signed *Pajou. F. 1783* was sold Monaco, Sotheby's, February 6, 1978, no. 113, ill., as probably nineteenth century.

Another terracotta (H. 60.3 cm [23¾ in.]), inscribed *PHILLIDOR*, was sold New York, Sotheby's, March 21, 1996, no. 146, ill.

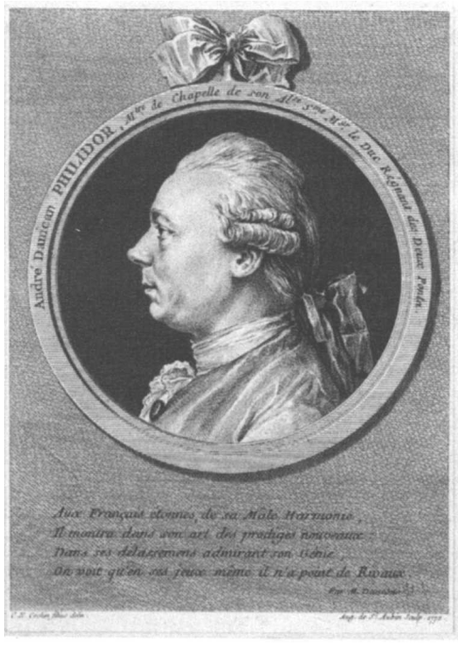
A generalized version (H. 60 cm [23⅝ in.]) said to be of "glazed clay" was sold Paris, Palais Galliera, April 10, 1962, no. 105, ill.

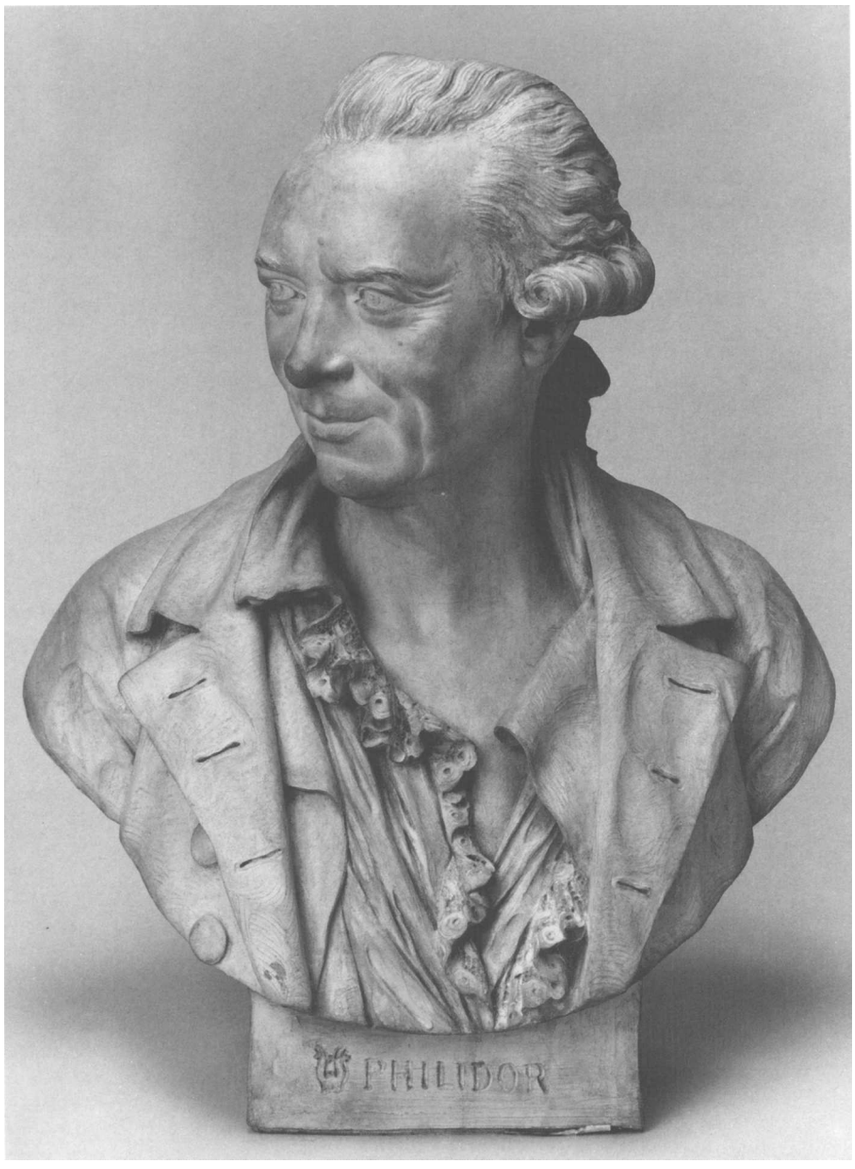
A bronze was among the several modern casts known to Stein (1912, p. 413).

Modern plasters were produced by the Musée de Sculpture Comparée (Ateliers de Moulages du Trocadéro, 1928, no. 1497; H. 50 cm [19⅝ in.], W. 45 cm [17¾ in.]). Plasters are still marketed by the Réunion des Musées Nationaux (*Moulages* 1991, p. 169, no. 59841, not ill., as "collection of Dr. André Jousset").

Philidor (1726–1795), a gifted composer, was also the greatest chess player of his century. The 1772 engraving by Saint-Aubin after Cochin (fig. 162) shows the same snub-nosed profile as the present work, created some eleven years later, when he was fifty-seven. George Allen's *Life of Philidor* describes him as "rather cheerfully quiet and serious," qualities that seem to be borne out by the bust's spare grin and shrewd eyes. Allen adds that "by no possibility could he be made to comprehend a joke" (Allen 1863, pp. 52–54), but this does not seem credible, given his comic operas, notably *Tom Jones* (1765). Based loosely on Henry Fielding, the mediocre libretto by Poinsinet had to be rewritten by Sedaine before it could find an audience. The piece included the first operatic septet (here a riotously funny ensemble). The frequent collaborations of Philidor and Sedaine raised musical comedy from vaudeville to comic opera and were important forerunners of true opéra comique (Arnoldson 1934, p. 56). Pajou presumably had access to Philidor through Sedaine (see cat. 99).

Fig. 162. Augustin de Saint-Aubin, *Philidor, after Charles-Nicolas II Cochin.* Engraving. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.3468)





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Allen states that a terracotta bust of Philidor, "pronounced by his family to be an admirable likeness," was ordered from Pajou by the city of Paris and "afterwards" (after the composer's death?) presented to Mme Philidor. We assume that this was the present bust (which has mistakenly been described as of patinated plaster: Guicharnaud 1978, p. 41 n. 2). The only one with a square self-base that bears an incised lyre, it is presumably the bust that Jean-François Dupont-Danican remembered in the billiards room of his grandparents' home (Philidor 1995, p. 5). Stein (1912, pp. 67–69, 413) cites only later replicas of this bust.

Philidor took an interest in the dissemination of his likeness. On February 6, 1784, he wrote from London to his wife in Paris with a view to obtaining examples for his English admirers: "Find out if my bust [presumably one by Pajou of this model] is ready. I should like to have two plasters for London as soon as I can: they will go by way of Rouen, and from Rouen they will be embarked for London" (Philidor 1995, p. 93). In addition to the straightforward copies made for Philidor's descendants, the work has spawned numerous modern imitations of every stripe (see Related Works). JDD

104. *Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun*

Terracotta
H. 55.5 cm (21⅞ in.) (with *bleu turquin* marble socle 67.5 cm [26⅝ in.]), W. 44.5 cm (17½ in.), D. 20.5 cm (8⅛ in.)
Incised on back, on rear support: *Pajou. fe. 1783*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 2909)

PROVENANCE: Rhoné collection; its sale Paris, May 13, 1861, no. 259; Henri Didier; his sale Paris, June 10–11, 1868, no. 114, acquired for 6,050 francs; Mme Denain; her sale Paris, April 6–7, 1893, no. 182, not ill., acquired for 16,800 francs; Wilbrod Chabrol, Paris, in 1908 and at least until 1912; bought by Nathan Wildenstein, 1919; Edward J. Berwind, New York, 1935; his younger sister Julia A. Berwind, New York; her sale New York, Parke Bernet, February 9–10, 1962, no. 322, ill.; New York art market, first offered to the museum in 1963, acquired in 1967

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1783, no. 218; Paris 1874, 1st ser., p. 49, no. 7, 2nd ser., p. 60, no. 17; Paris 1883–84, no. 270; Paris 1908, no. 136; New York 1935–36, no. 94, ill.; Paris 1967–68, no. 311; Duisburg–Karlsruhe–Gotha–Paris 1989–90, no. 77, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Dilke 1900, p. 129; Brière, Vitry, and Stein 1908, pp. 178–79; Lami 1911, pp. 217–18; Stein 1912, pp. 44–47, 413; Vitry 1924, p. 579; Gimpel 1963, p. 146; *The Connoisseur* 163, no. 656 (October 1966), p. 117, ill.; Baillio 1982, p. 44, fig. 8

RELATED WORKS: Marble bust, exhibited at the Salon of 1785, no. 199 *bis*; Quilliet collection; its sale, April 15, 1818, no. 239; Olmade collection, Toulouse; its sale Paris, December 7, 1868, unnumbered (H. 78 cm [30¾ in.]; whereabouts unknown).

A terracotta bust, inscribed on the back *Pajou. fec. 1783,* "Earl of Rosse" collection, August 1956, appears dubious on the strength of a photograph (Metropolitan Museum archives, New York).

In 1908, with regard to the bust now in the Louvre, Brière, Vitry, and Stein mentioned "another, almost identical (but unsigned) terracotta that is now in Germany and that was supposedly bought in Paris some forty years ago."

A photograph of a room in the Musée de Sarlat, taken in 1934, shows a version that we cannot currently identify (AMN, z^{66}).

Versions similar to the terracotta in the Louvre, but with neither date nor signature:

Among terracottas recently offered for sale: bust on a base of *vert campan* marble, offered to the Louvre in 1968 (photo in Louvre dossier on the present bust); another sold Marseilles, Hôtel Terminus PLM, December 13, 1980 (ill. in a brochure); another exited French customs December 15, 1984, destined for Munich; another sold New York, Christie's, June 13, 1987, no. 256, ill.; another New York, Christie's, May 14, 1991, no. 22, ill., was resold New York, Christie's, August 24, 1994, no. 38, ill.; another, Paris, Drouot, November 21, 1991, no. 58, not ill.

A plaster bust (H. with stand 72.5 cm [28½ in.]), neither signed nor dated, whose patination looks in a photograph to have been rather vigorously stripped, was put up for sale at the Galerie Black-Nadeau in Monte Carlo in 1979–80 (Monte Carlo 1980, no. 26, ill.).

A marble for distribution (H. 53 cm [20⅞ in.]), bearing on the back the inscription *E=G,* was sold (London, Christie's, April 7, 1981), no. 109, ill. Another marble, bearing on the back the inscription *Foucou Lan*(?), was said to be in London in 1996. Until June 1984 the RMN sold a plaster version bearing the inscription *Houdon* on the back.

Versions different from the bust in the Louvre:

In May 1976 a terracotta bust, n.d. (1873), was put up for sale in the auction hall in Troyes: the costume is completely different from that of the one in the Louvre, with a drapery that covers the entire right side and leaves the shoulder and camisole exposed on the left. This composition is perhaps a mirror image of the marbles.

About 1980 in Santa Barbara, California, a very surprising terracotta appeared for sale in which Mme Vigée-Le Brun was depicted half as Diana—her hair held by a diadem with lunar crescent—and half as a bacchante—an animal skin with head attached covering her chest (ill. in promotional materials in Pajou file at the Conway Library, London).

At the Salon of 1894, Gustave Deloye exhibited a terracotta bust depicting Mme Vigée-Le Brun; he produced a marble version of that work in 1895. An edition was manufactured at the Sèvres works. A signed, colored plaster cast was sold at London, Sotheby's, December 5, 1989, no. 201, ill.

The bust in the Louvre, restored for this exhibition, has more or less recovered its former beauty. Indeed, it had suffered from a fair amount of clumsy handling and, in particular, had been very poorly molded and patinated. In 1908 Brière, Vitry, and Stein noted that it had been "recently repatinated." The work was bought in 1919 by Nathan Wildenstein and soon shipped to the United States. We do not know when it was molded. Most of the versions in circulation carry no indication: the signature and date *Pajou 1783,* incised in the back of the support of the present bust, were left out when the impression was taken. This process was poorly executed. According to the Louvre's restorer (M. Zezzos), who examined the sculpture after it was acquired by the museum, the bust had been prepared for molding with a material containing silicate. During the operation, the silicate penetrated the terracotta and caused irreversible damage. An attempt to remove a dark stain on the left cheek by manual scraping left a horrible scumble. Then, to unify the surface, it was decided to apply a coat of pink-ocher pigmented varnish. An analysis performed by Sylvie Colinart at the research laboratory of the Musées de France in 1995 showed that this coating contained "white lead with vermilion and a few grains of iron oxide and silica." Despite its thickness, however, it did not entirely hide the stain on the cheek. About 1967 Zezzos had tried to dull the painted surface, but it remained glossy, as if waxed. The work was in such unsightly condition that it had to be removed from exhibition, as both the pub-



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lic and connoisseurs took it for a fake. For the present exhibition, a new restoration was undertaken (by Claire Scemla). The layer of paint was delicately removed so that the orangish color of the terracotta is now visible. On large areas of the surface—the neck, left shoulder, and part of the face—the marvelous and tender modeling of the skin can now be seen. Still, the left cheek remains irreparably damaged, as does the drapery, which was worn down by these various interventions.

The 1996 restoration also provided the occasion for changing the bust's socle. In 1908 Brière, Vitry, and Stein indicated that the bust was "mounted on a marble socle embellished with gilt copper," a base that to them "seemed modern" (this marble base appears to be the one described as an "embasement" in the catalogue of the Didier auction). In 1962, for the Julia Berwind sale, the socle was described as being in *bleu turquin* marble. In 1967 the bust went to the Louvre with a plaster base tinted the same pink-ocher as itself. Because the original support had been lost for many years, it seemed pointless to retain the plaster one,

painted in a color that no longer matched the restored sculpture. A socle of *bleu turquin* marble, reminiscent of the one the sculpture had once had, was chosen to replace it.

The exact nature of the relations between the painter Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun (1755–1842) and Pajou is not known. She does not mention him in her *Souvenirs,* and it is therefore unlikely that he was a close friend. Nonetheless, they knew the same people. Doyen, Pajou's fellow student at the École Royale des Élèves Protégés and at the Académie in Rome, was her father's best friend. Vigée-Le Brun painted Grétry, Ducis, Sedaine's daughter, and Hubert Robert, of whom she was particularly fond. She frequented the salon of Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, the joyful company of the comte de Vaudreuil and of the financier Boutin (who owned works by Pajou); she was on very good terms with the family of the architect Brongniart, whose friendship with Clodion is well known. Might she have recommended Pajou to Mme Du Barry when she painted her at Louveciennes in the 1780s? After the Revolution, Pajou returned the kindness: he was one of the 255 signatories to the petition addressed to the Directoire on July 26, 1799, asking that her name be removed from the list of émigrés (Girodié 1927, pl. XLVI).

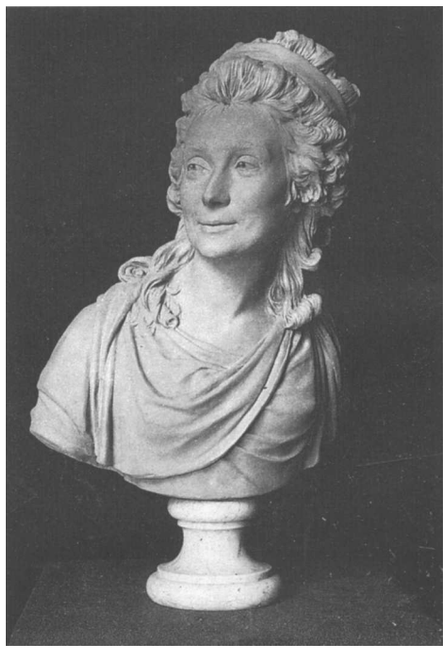
Pajou did his first portrait of Vigée-Le Brun when she was twenty-eight years old. The year 1783 was a triumphant one for her. She was received into the Académie Royale on May 31—the same day as her rival, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, who presented her portrait of Pajou (cat. 147). Vigée-Le Brun had overcome the hostility of the king's first painter, J.-B. Pierre, who tried to eliminate her on the grounds that her husband was an art dealer. The favor of the king and queen smoothed over such difficulties. On her return from a trip to Flanders, where she admired Rubens, she painted a superb portrait of herself wearing a straw hat and holding a palette (private collection; see Baillio 1982, p. 46, fig. 7). It shows a woman sure of her talents and was included among her impressive entries to the Salon of 1783, alongside her morceau de réception and the bust by Pajou, as a determined affirmation of herself.

Pajou's terracotta was well received at the Salon of 1783. The *Mercure de France* (September 20, p. 133) praised the "charming and lifelike bust"; *Momus au Salon* (Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 292, p. 70) called it "lifelike and full of spirit"; and the *Année littéraire* (letter XVI, n.d.) said it possessed "great authenticity." The marble version garnered critical praise at the Salon of 1785 (even though most of the attention went to *Pascal* and *Psyche*). The *Mercure de France* (October 1, pp. 38–39) was enthusiastic—"the resemblance is striking,

Fig. 163. Pajou, *Portrait of an Unidentified Woman.* Terracotta. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André



Fig. 164. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Mme de Sabran.* Terracotta. Potsdam, Neues Palais



and the physiognomy full of warmth, expression, and kindliness"—as was the *Journal de Paris* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 351, p. 844), which found "much delicacy" in it. A "very graceful head," said the *Réflexions impartiales sur les progrès de l'art en France* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 331, p. 33); while the critic for the *Journal général de France* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 339, p. 28) showed more originality: "[Pajou's] portraits are handsome, although his forms are a bit round. The one of Madame Le Brun, nonetheless, breathes all the spirit of its model." Unfortunately, the marble is lost. (As early as 1912 Stein lamented having lost track of it after its appearance at the Olmade auction in 1868.)

Pajou's work is indeed quite seductive. The dealer René Gimpel noted in his journal on December 17, 1919, that "Nathan Wildenstein has just bought [the bust] for two hundred twenty-five thousand francs. It is more beautiful than the Du Barry. A less haughty but more aristocratic bust, less authoritarian but more spirited, less Versailles, more Paris." This comment still holds true. The portrait of Mme Du Barry is that of a goddess, sovereign, conscious of the power of her beauty; the one of Mme Vigée-Le Brun is gentler, her expression characterized by a slight smile and dreamy gaze.

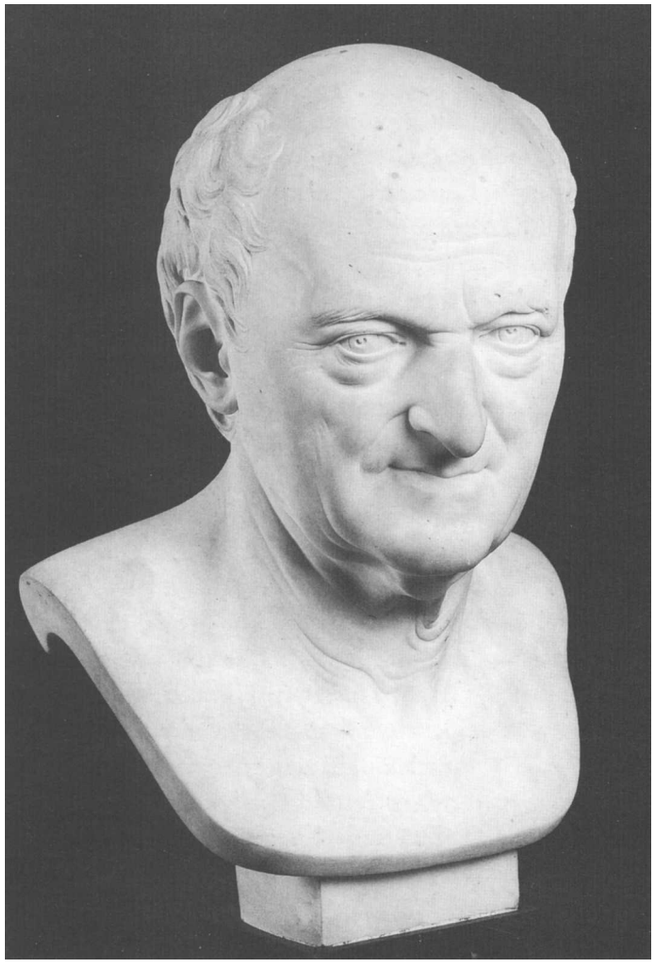


Cat. 104: reverse

Ten years separate the two busts, and how the artist's style has changed! At the beginning of the 1770s, he was just starting out as a portraitist of women and was attentive to the externals—to the minute, almost obsessive description of locks of hair, of each ringlet. With *Mme Vigée-Le Brun,* he freed himself from such constraints. She preferred to wear simple, unaffected outfits and successfully endeavored to have her sitters do the same. Pajou entered into a similar quest for simplicity: the painter's hair is pulled back informally, treated as a solid mass. The viewer is not asked to distinguish each individual lock but rather to embrace the work as a whole. This new way of treating hairstyles can also be noted in a female bust (signed and dated 1785; fig. 163), which in other respects is quite different in spirit, having an antique drapery. During the same period, Houdon was treating hairstyles in similar fashion (fig. 164). The drapery is typical of Pajou: numerous folds are formed by the ribbon that bunches and crumples the fabric between the breasts; they are rendered by an abundance of small puckers and hollows that give life to the surface, a permanent element of Pajou's aesthetics.

The terracotta in the Louvre is composed without much depth, almost as if in high relief (except, of course, that the back of the hair is admirably rendered). The squared shoulders and forward-facing chest seem to encourage a single point of view; yet Pajou has deliberately turned his sitter's head to the left, following a habitual contrast in his work but one that is particularly evident here. The viewer must move to see the two eyes head-on but is then impeded by the bold line of the bust that intersects the right shoulder. Perhaps Pajou designed the terracotta with a particular block of marble in mind. It was between 1785 and 1789 that he produced most of his marble busts for private clients (*Labille, Vigée-Le Brun, Thiroux de Crosne, Lemoyne, Mme De Wailly*), and we know how difficult it was to obtain this material. Most of his work in marble at the time was for official commissions (*Psyche,* portraits of the king), which meant that he was in contact with suppliers from whom he could buy remainders. It is therefore entirely plausible that he might have calculated the proportions of this bust based on an available piece of marble. We can only hope that the marble version from the Salon of 1785 will one day resurface so that we may finally compare the two versions.

GS



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105. *Claude-Edme Labille*

Marble
H. 45.5 cm (17⅞ in.) (with white marble socle 62.5 cm [24⅝ in.]),
W. 31 cm (12¼ in.), D. 27.5 cm (10⅞ in.)
Incised on back: *Pajou. Regis. Sculptor. 1784.*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (N. 15487)

PROVENANCE: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard; inventory of her studio in the pavilion of the Collège des Quatre Nations, Paris, 13 floréal, year XI (1803) (see Passez 1973, p. 308); Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou, Paris; inventory of his estate, December 11, 1828 (AN, Min. Cent. XLVI, 831, no. 55); Augustin-Désiré Pajou, Paris; his gift to the museum, 1852

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1785, no. 198 *bis,* p. 46 of the *livret* ("the father of Mme Guiard, Academician"); Bregenz–Vienna 1968–69, no. 356; Duisburg–Karlsruhe–Gotha–Paris 1989–90, no. 47

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, p. 470; Barbet de Jouy 1855 and 1873, no. 286; Michel 1897, no. 776; Lami 1911, p. 218; Stein 1912, pp. 47–48, 413; Vitry 1922–33, pt. 2, no. 1437; Passez 1973, pp. 7, 8, ill., 19, 25, 82, 158, 308

RELATED WORKS: A terracotta, presumably the model, belonged to the sculptor Augustin-Alexandre Dumont, sale Paris, Drouot, May 30, 1884, no. 85.

Mme Labille-Guiard included the marble in her self-portrait with students (fig. 165; discussed below).

Fig. 165. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Artist with Two Pupils, Mlle Capet and Mlle Carreaux de Rosemond.* Oil on canvas. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.5)

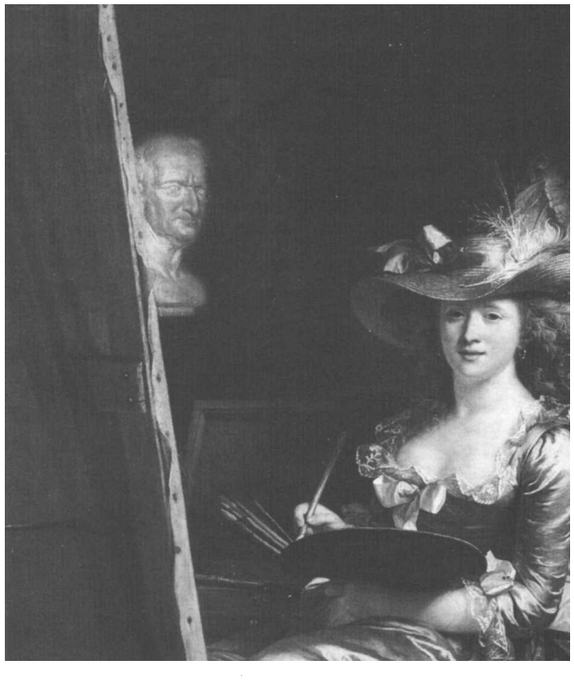
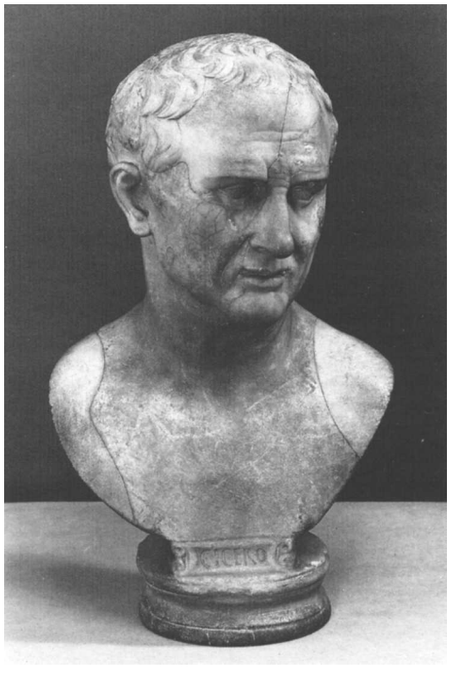


Fig. 166. *Cicero.* Roman marble bust. London, Apsley House



Claude-Edme Labille (1705–1788) was the proprietor of a luxurious women's clothing boutique in the rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs under the sign "À la Toilette." The establishment's chic is suggested by the fact that the eighteen-year-old Jeanne Bécu, the future Mme Du Barry, worked there as a shopgirl in 1761–62. It is hardly surprising, then, that Labille's daughter, the celebrated portraitist Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), rendered the dainty stuffs and furbelows of her subjects with such verve and knowing accuracy.

The high quality of the present bust has been acknowledged from the start (it was called a "sublime head study" in *Réflexions impartiales sur les progrès de l'art en France* [1785], Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 331, p. 32), as has its profoundly classical nature ("the bust of Mme Guyard's father recalls an ancient head of an old man": *Mercure de France*, October 1785, p. 39). Scherf (in Duisburg–Karlsruhe–Gotha–Paris 1989–90, no. 47) points out that Pajou followed Houdon in digesting a great deal of ancient art for this ostensibly simple composition. Here the intensely meditated head is set upon a naked chest truncated by an elegant curve, as in Houdon's *Diderot*, a terracotta of which was first shown in 1771. In fact, *Labille* is rather closely based on a once-celebrated and oft-reproduced *Cicero*, then in the Mattei collection in Rome and now at Apsley House in London (fig. 166; bought by the duke of Wellington at Cardinal Fesch's sale in 1816; Goette 1985, pp. 295–300). Pajou has paid particular attention to the *Cicero*'s complex, introspective nature and the softly modeled hair. It is not clear what the allusion to the Roman statesman and philosopher meant to Pajou or his sitter. The haberdasher, sculpted at age seventy-nine, had by this date lived for several years in retirement at Étampes (Passez 1973, p. 31). One wonders whether he was appreciated for his sagacity—a trait that can be inferred from the owlish features—or whether the Ciceronian compliment was meant chiefly for his daughter. With it Pajou thanked Mme Labille-Guiard for her earlier pastel portrait of him (cat. 147). Certainly the bust had much significance for her. Exhibited at the same Salon as her magnificent self-portrait with her pupils (fig. 165; Passez 1973, no. 62), the bust also appears in that canvas to her easel's right beside what looks to be a terracotta example of Houdon's vestal virgin statuette (Arnason 1975, pp. 11–12, fig. 55). The self-portrait and bust remained together in the painter's studio until her death in 1803. It is not known how the bust entered into the possession of the Pajou family—perhaps it was a gift from Mme Labille-Guiard's second husband, the painter François-André Vincent (1746–1816), to the aged Pajou or to Pajou *fils* or perhaps it was bought by the father or the son. On the death of Pajou *fils*, the bust was inventoried as "the portrait of the father [an obvious confusion with father-in-law] of Monsieur Vincent."

JDD

106. *Louis Thiroux de Crosne*

Marble
H. 78 cm (30¾ in.) (with socle of veined white marble 92 cm [36¼ in.]), W. 60 cm (23⅝ in.), D. 33 cm (13 in.)
Incised on back, on the edge: *PAJOU.F. 1788*

Versailles, Musée National du Château (MV 8329)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Traditionally said to come from the Château d'Arconville, residence of the sitter's family; Félix Doistau, Paris; his sale Paris, June 9–11, 1909, no. 263, ill.; acquired by Jean Seligmann; Alfred Süssmann, Paris, 1912; his sale Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, May 18–19, 1922, no. 67, ill.; estate of M. G., sale Paris, Drouot, February 8–9, 1939, no. 105, pl. VII; Conquet collection, Marseilles; gift of M. Conquet to the museum, 1966

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1900, no. 4717; Paris 1908, no. 138

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Tourneux 1901, p. 43; Brière, Vitry, and Stein 1908, p. 180; Vitry 1908, p. 10, ill.; Lami 1911, p. 219; Stein 1912, pp. 151–52, ill. p. 415; Vitry 1924, p. 579; Antoine 1978, p. 237, ill. p. 238; Hoog 1993, p. 348, ill.

RELATED WORKS: The plaster model was exhibited at the Salon of 1787 (no. 233). It was erroneously attributed to Caffieri in the *Mémoires secrets* and then by Guiffrey (1877, pp. 377, 501).

A version in cast terracotta, produced by the studio, is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen (inv. 847.5.1; gift in 1847 of the comte Thiroux de Gervillier, the sitter's grandnephew; Gaultier de la Ferrière 1878, p. 56). The work, covered with a "thick coat of oil paint" (Guey 1923, pp. 315–16, ill.), was recently restored and the paint removed.

This portrait, which had long remained anonymous, known only as "portrait of a magistrate" or "portrait of a parliamentarian," was identified by Stein. Unaware of the terracotta in Rouen, he made the connection through the plaster version exhibited at the Salon of 1787.

Louis Thiroux de Crosne (1736–1794) belonged to a prominent family of parliamentarians. His father, Louis-Lazare Thiroux d'Arconville (1712–1789), was the president of the Paris parliament from 1749 to 1758 (Antoine 1978, pp. 236–37); his uncle, Thiroux d'Epersenne, was a judge of inquiry in the Conseil d'État and an enlightened collector of sculpture, notably works by Falconet (Babelon 1964). Thiroux de Crosne had two brothers, Thiroux de Gervillier and Thiroux de Mondésir.

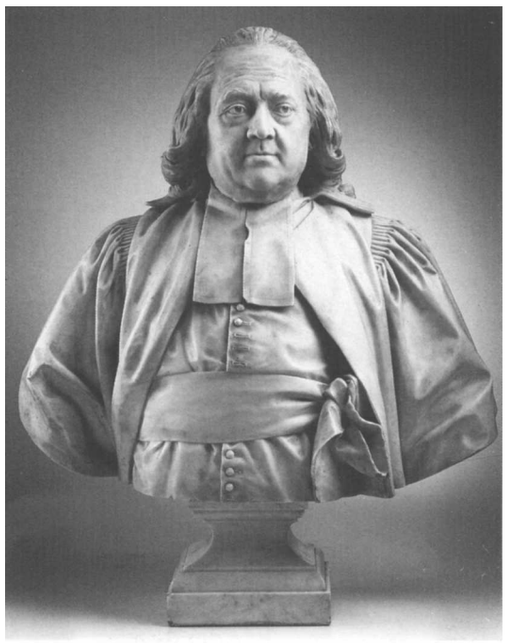
Appointed counselor to the king at the Châtelet de Paris in 1756 and, two years later, adviser to the Paris parliament, Thiroux de Crosne became a judge of inquiry in 1761 and in 1763 won justified renown as judge advocate in the appeals trial of the Calas affair. In 1763 he married the daughter of the provincial administrator of Rouen, François de la Michodière, whom he succeeded in 1767. He maintained good relations with the first president of the parliament, Hue de Miromesnil (the future guardian of the royal seals), and in 1771, after the dismissal of the chancellor, Maupeou, added to his position as provincial administrator that of first president of the Conseil Supérieur. His administration in Rouen was highly popular (Gaultier de la Ferrière 1928). He became an associate member of the Rouen academy, then in 1780 a titular academician. On August 11, 1785, he succeeded Lenoir as lieutenant general of the Paris police force. In connection with the baron de Breteuil, secretary of state of the Maison du Roi and the person responsible for the département of Paris (see cat. 107), Thiroux de Crosne became interested in urban planning. Under his administration, the structures encumbering the quais and bridges of the Seine were torn down, the Pont Louis XVI was built, the Quai d'Orsay was completed, and a number of cemeteries inside the city were closed. One of these, the cemetery of the Innocents, he transformed into a marketplace. It was during this period that Pajou worked directly with him on the transformation of the Goujon fountain (see Chronology, January 31, 1787). In July 1789 Thiroux de Crosne's mansion was sacked by rioters. Thiroux, after resigning, immigrated to England. Returning to France in 1794, he was arrested and, on April 28, guillotined.

When Pajou exhibited the plaster at the Salon of 1787, Thiroux de Crosne was already represented at the Salon by the portrait painted by Roslin (no. 43; now lost), who had previously done portraits of his mother and his wife (Babelon 1964, p. 110).

Thiroux is shown here wearing a magistrate's robe with a double band and wide belt. Pajou produced an earlier marble bust of the magistrate, which had remained anonymous (H. 56 cm [22 in.]; formerly Édouard Kann collection: Stein 1912, p. 151, ill. p. 153); although neither signed nor dated, the work is surely by Pajou and can be situated in the mid-1770s, as it is stylistically similar to the bust of Andouillé (cat. 101).

It is a shame that the plaster from the Salon of 1787 has disappeared. The Salon critics were in fact quite laudatory—though perhaps they were merely exercising prudence in praising a portrait of the police official in charge of censorship. The critic for the *Ombre de Rubens au Sallon* (Deloynes, vol. 15, no. 371, p. 41) noted "the gentleness which is painted across the face." The reviewer for *Tarare au Salon* (Deloynes, vol. 15, no. 377, pp. 12–13) was enthusiastic: "His goodness is painted on his forehead; the frankness and conciliatory spirit that come so naturally to him are stamped on his kind and considerate physiognomy. . . . The primary

Fig. 167. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Président de Nicolaÿ*. Marble. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum



merit of this bust is that it is so lifelike. It inspires the same feelings of gratitude as the person of the magistrate himself." The close likeness was also noted by the *Journal de Paris* (Deloynes, vol. 15, no. 394, p. 785).

The bust of Thiroux is known today in two versions, both originating with the sitter's family: the terracotta in the Rouen museum, which is a good product of the studio, and the marble version in Versailles, dated 1788, which is probably also largely the work of the studio as suggested by the somewhat mechanical rendering of the torso and wig. However, Pajou himself had a hand in finishing the handsome, shrewd, and commanding face. Not surprisingly, several replicas were made of this bust and, during the same period, of the *Baron de Breteuil* (cat. 107). Similarly, Houdon made—and caused to be made—several copies of his *Miromesnil,* which were distributed among members of the sitter's family.

Of Pajou's works, *Thiroux de Crosne* is the one that most resembles a bust by Houdon. The latter's portraits were favored by the *noblesse de robe*, and Pajou was forced to imitate somewhat his rival's creations. Accordingly, the composition of the bust of Thiroux de Crosne is not unlike that of Houdon's *Président de Nicolaÿ* (1779; fig. 167) and his anonymous magistrate (marble, 1788, Montpellier, Musée Fabre: see Arnason 1976, fig. 147). Still, while the men are presented in similar fashion (these were, after all, primarily functional portraits, not leaving much room for the imagination), their faces strongly reflect the personalities and styles of the sculptors. Houdon's head of Lenoir (1784; fig. 168) suggests an epicurean good nature, accentuated by the lively gaze that the artist obtained by his particular way of hollowing out the eye sockets. Pajou's bust of Thiroux, who succeeded Lenoir as Paris police chief, is much more severe. Although the lips betray a slight smile, the eyebrows are knitted and the eyes (which Pajou hollowed out more than he normally would) are rather inquisitorial. It is interesting that at a date more or less



Fig. 168. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir.* Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre



the same as those of the busts of his two close friends, Hubert Robert (cat. 108) and De Wailly (fig. 174), Pajou also produced more conventional portraits of men such as Breteuil (cat. 107) and Thiroux, whom he was expected to depict in a way commensurate with their stature in society. Pajou, of course, had already tried his hand at this exercise in the portrait of the maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre (cat. 93) and on that occasion had borrowed the style of Lemoyne. Here, he took his inspiration from Houdon. But we have to agree with Vitry (1924, p. 579) that its "coldness can be blamed on the sitter's dignity." GS

107. *Baron de Breteuil*

Terracotta
H., with red marble socle, 70 cm (27½ in.), W. 55 cm (21⅝ in.), D. 40 cm (15¾ in.)
Inscribed on back: *M^R / LE BARON DE BRETEUIL. / 1788. PAR PAJOU* (The baron de Breteuil, 1788, by Pajou)

Château de Breteuil

PROVENANCE: The sitter's descendants

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Briat 1973, pp. 6–7, ill.; Maurepas and Boulant 1996, p. 278

RELATED WORKS: An old version in plaster is housed at the Château de Breteuil.

A version in marble inscribed on edge of right shoulder *PAR PAJOU 1788* (By Pajou, 1788), and on the socle *LOUIS AUGUSTE B^ON DE BRETEUIL ET DE PREUILLY / I^ER B^ON DE TOURAINE M^AL DES CAMPS ET ARMEES DU ROY / AMBASSADEUR A VIENNE ET A S^T PETERSBOURG / MINISTRE DE LA MAISON DU ROY ET CHEVALIER DE SES ORDRES / 1744–1807* (Louis-Auguste, baron de Breteuil and de Preuilly, first baron of Touraine, maréchal of the king's camps and armies, ambassador to Vienna and Saint Petersburg, minister of the king's household, and knight of his orders, 1744–1807); photographic archives of the Getty Foundation, Los Angeles). Photographs of this bust have not convinced us of its authenticity.

The baron de Breteuil (1730–1807) was grandnephew of the minister of war under Louis XV and grandson of a master of ceremonies at court. He benefited from an influential family network and a handsome fortune. Backed by his great-uncle, he began his career in the military—he attained the rank of brigadier in 1780 and even became interim secretary of war in 1787—but quickly moved toward diplomacy. He became plenipotentiary minister to the elector of Cologne (1758–60) and then ambassador to Saint Petersburg (1760–63), Stockholm (1763–70), Naples (1770–75), and Vienna (1775–83). His deftness at the last post, notably at the time of the Congress of Teschen (1779), when his effective mediation resulted

Fig. 169. Jean-Laurent Mosnier, *Baron de Breteuil.* Oil on canvas. Lyons, Musée des Tissus, on deposit from the Musée du Louvre



Fig. 170. Cubert, *Baron de Breteuil, after Van Loo and Bonnieu.* Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes





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in peace between Austria and Prussia, won him success at Versailles and the personal esteem of Louis XVI. In 1783 he became secretary of state of the king's household (until 1788). Under his stewardship, the ministry broadened its scope and expanded its powers. His circular to the provincial administrators in 1785 practically put an end to the despised lettres de cachet. He was one of the architects, along with Malesherbes, of the edict of tolerance in favor of Protestants (1787). When put in charge of the département of Paris, he took measures to help the sick and the poor. He worked on a plan to renovate the Hôtel-Dieu and obtained free care for the destitute. He and the lieutenant general of police, Thiroux de Crosne (cat. 106), collaborated on several important urban planning projects, such as the demolition of houses on bridges and the closing of several cemeteries, including that of the Innocents. The baron was an honorary member of the Académie des Inscriptions and of the Académie des Sciences (1784) and, as of September 1, 1787, an *honoraire associé libre* of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. His interest was particularly engaged by the first hot-air balloon flights.

He left the government on July 26, 1788, but retained the king's friendship and was brought back on July 11, 1789, to replace Necker as president of the Royal Exchequer. Poorly regarded by the public, this ministry lasted only one hundred hours (Maurepas and Boulant 1996, p. 275). Breteuil resigned on July 17 and immigrated to Solothurn and then to Hamburg. In October 1790, on a mission to foreign sovereigns on behalf of Louis XVI, he became one of the conspirators in the ill-fated attempt to rescue the king, whose escape was thwarted at Varennes in June 1791. The baron returned to France in 1802.

Contemporary opinion about him varied. The abbé de Véri reproached his "ambitious and dangerous character" and "questionable rectitude" (cited in Maurepas and Boulant 1996, p. 276), and the comte d'Allonville described him as "vain and hard, without manners or morals" (cited by G. de Diesbach in Besenval 1987, p. 539). According to Dufort de Cheverny, he "loved

pleasure [and led a] sybaritic life" (1990, p. 141), and this view is confirmed by the baronne d'Oberkirch: "He is very sharp and is said to be quite adroit. . . . Invitations to his dinner parties were sought after; one mixed in very good and very amusing company. It was where the greatest number of anecdotes and stories of all kinds were told. He gladly received poets, people of wit, and even artists" (1989, p. 338). The prince de Ligne spoke of his "excellent mind" (1922, p. 12); and according to Bailly, the first mayor of Paris, he was "a good, sensitive, loyal, and just man. As a minister, he always appreciated what was useful, noble, and beneficial for his king and country" (quoted in Maurepas and Boulant 1996, p. 276).

Pajou entered into contact with the baron de Breteuil and the police chief Thiroux de Crosne at the time of the transformation of the Innocents cemetery into a marketplace and the removal of the Goujon fountain (see Chronology, January 31, 1788). The fountain was installed in its new location on February 15, 1788, and Pajou's portraits of both officials must be placed in that same period.

Breteuil had been painted by Jean-Laurent Mosnier in official regalia, presenting Poyet's plans for the new Hôtel-Dieu (Salon of 1787; fig. 169). While Pajou knew this painting (of which several replicas exist), he was also inspired by the portrait painted by Louis-Michel Van Loo, engraved by Cubert after a drawing by Bonnieu (fig. 170).

The bust displays almost as many decorations as does Mosnier's painting. The ribbon and badge of the Order of Saint-Esprit are quite visible, for the baron was knighted on January 3, 1776 in Louis XVI's first round of appointments. In his buttonhole is the insignia of the Order of Saint-Louis and, beneath that, the Order of Malta.

The baron de Breteuil as sculpted by Pajou has a rather severe look that is not present in Mosnier's painting or in the engraving. The display of honors certainly inspires the viewer's respect. This was surely one of the artist's avowed aims: the baron de Breteuil, a personal friend of the king, "minister of the king's household and of Paris," as Besenval called him (1987, p. 378), was not a man to be treated lightly. GS

108. *Hubert Robert*

Terracotta
H. 55 cm (21⅝ in.) (with wood socle painted black 66.5 cm [26⅛ in.]), W. 53.5 cm (21⅛ in.), D. 31 cm (12¼ in.)
Incised on back: *H. ROBERT Peintre du Roi PAR Pajou.1787*; stenciled on socle: *ROBERT. / .1766* and on bottom rim: *donné à l'École par M^r REY*

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (4286), on deposit at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valence

PROVENANCE: The sitter; M. Rey; his gift to the École des Beaux-Arts, 1832

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1789, no. 209, p. 44 of the *livret* ("Portrait of M. Robert, painter to the king and councilor of the academy. Bust in terracotta"); Paris 1933, no. 202; Paris 1965a, no. 134; Paris 1969, no. 114; Paris 1979a, no. 57; Stuttgart 1987–88, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 1087; Valence 1989, no. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Müntz 1883, p. 161; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Gabillot 1895, p. 136; Lami 1911, p. 220; Stein 1912, pp. 40–43, ill., 415; Vitry 1924, p. 579; Grate 1985, p. 8, fig. 2; Cayeux 1989, p. 10; Cleveland Museum of Art 1991, p. 118; Levey 1993a, p. 156, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Terracotta bust, apparently modern, H. 65 cm (25⅝ in.), inscribed *Pajou, 1787. Portrait de Monsieur Hubert Robert peintre paysagiste.* On the Paris art market in 1969.

Miniature terracotta bust, apparently modern, H. 27 cm (10⅝ in.), inscribed *Monsieur Hubert Robert. peintre paysagiste Pajou 1788.* Sale Paris, Galerie Jean Charpentier, March 12, 1937, no. 81.

Modern terracotta bust, H. 70 cm (27½ in.), inscribed *Portrait de Monsieur Hubert Robert Peintre Paysagiste Pajou f. 1788.* Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk 2257), acquired on the English art market in 1982 (fig. 173; Grate 1985).

Modern terracotta bust, H. 71 cm (28 in.), inscribed *Hubert Robert, peintre paysagiste Pajou, Sculptor.* Cleveland Museum of Art (87.8), acquired on the New York art market in 1987 (Cleveland Museum of Art 1991, p. 118).

Terracotta bust, apparently modern, H. 54 cm (21¼ in.), inscribed *Pajou 89* and *Portrait de Monsieur Hubert Robert Peintre Paysagiste.* On the New York art market in 1991.

The painter Hubert Robert (1733–1808), here portrayed at the age of fifty-four, was one of Pajou's fastest friends. They overlapped in Rome at the Académie de France for a year and a half in 1754–56. Their positions as crown officials ran parallel, with Robert keeper of the king's pictures just as Pajou was



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keeper of antiquities. Their ateliers at the Louvre had a common access, they were fellow academicians and Freemasons (although Robert applied himself to Freemasonry more seriously), and they worked together toward the creation of the Museum (the first museum project rendering the royal collections of the Louvre accessible). The painter looked after the sculptor's interests, bringing him to the attention of Jean-Joseph de Laborde, for example. He owned a drawing from the Roman period by Pajou and a plaster of the latter's *Pluto* (cat. 28), just as the sculptor collected his pictures (see Chronology, 1797).

Robert radiates benevolence in this wholeheartedly sympathetic portrait. The contrary movement of head and chest is emphasized by his minutely studied costume, which, however, appears unarranged and impetuous. The left lapel covers over part of his shirt lace; the right curls back under itself. An old accident has caused some damage to his strong neck. He has a powerful and substantial torso, and his face is fleshy

but sensitive. He is a fine example of a superior sort of *bon bourgeois*, whose affections were perhaps more paternal than fraternal.

Portraits of artists or their families, always a most pleasing genre of portraiture, were much in evidence at the Salon of 1789. Besides repeating his *Lemoyne* (cat. 27), with which he debuted in this field, Pajou also offered *Mme De Wailly* (cat. 109). Roland showed busts of the painter Suvée, of the daughter of the architect Potain, and of two children of the architect Rousseau; Deseine that of the architect Le Roy; and Chaudet that of the painter Ménageot. Mme Vigée-Le Brun exhibited her own *Robert* (fig. 171), along with a portrait of the wife and daughter of the architect Rousseau and one of Mlle Brongniart, daughter of the architect. Mosnier showed his painting of Lagrenée *l'aîné*, while François Dumont included Pierre, Vien, and Drouais *fils* among his portrait miniatures. Pajou's bust is thus part of a concerted effort among the academicians to show their portraits of one another and their families. Viewers in 1789 could compare Pajou's bust with Vigée's more assertive, energetic image of her friend painted the year before, in which the painter is more obviously balding and slightly more disheveled (fig. 171). Vigée painted *Hubert Robert* as a pendant to her *Self-portrait with Her Daughter* of 1787 in the Louvre, and Robert was again part of a friendship pairing when Marguerite Gérard painted pendent portraits of him and Charles De Wailly (Paris, private collection).

The present terracotta was the gift of one M. Rey to the École des Beaux-Arts in 1832. Gabillot explains that following the deaths of all of Robert's children, he and his wife took in two orphan girls, the demoiselles Chatourelle, whom he called his nieces. One wed a painter named Rey. About him nothing is known except that a source interviewed by Gabillot told him that this Rey was Robert's favorite pupil (Gabillot 1895, pp. 224 n., 227). But a M. Rey, "a domestic of Robert's," is also mentioned in papers connected with the artist (AS, D2AZ 178, cited in Valence 1989, p. 32). The donor Rey has also been described as a conservator of works of art at the École des Beaux-Arts (see Cayeux 1989, p. 312). The bust has been in recent years on long-term loan to the Musée de Valence.

At least five modern takeoffs of this bust exist. None

Fig. 171. Élisabeth-Louise Vigée-Le Brun, *Hubert Robert.* Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée du Louvre

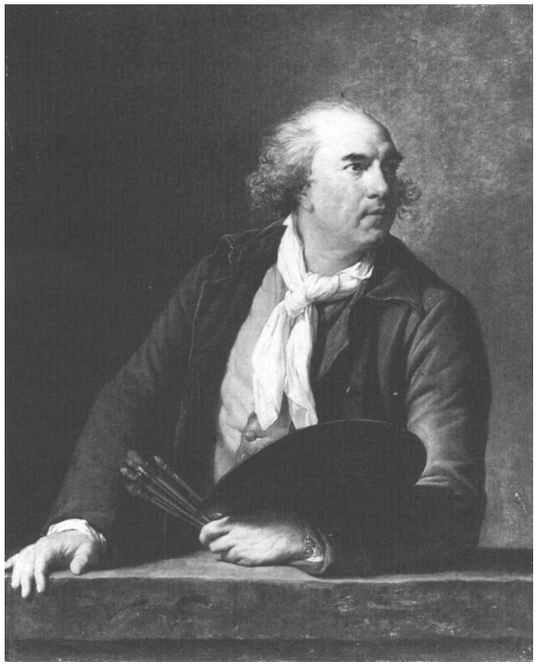
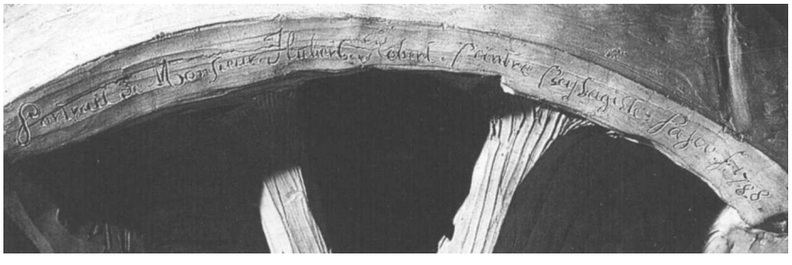


Fig. 172. After Pajou, *Hubert Robert.* Terracotta. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



Fig. 173. Detail of fig. 172 with signature



was known to Stein; an imitation first appeared in 1937, when a miniature terracotta of this basic composition was sold at auction (see Related Works). Of these imitations we have examined only the busts in Stockholm (fig. 172) and Cleveland, but it is likely that the following remarks are relevant to the group as a whole. In these raw and grainy works the tooling of flesh and fabric is performed in a random, streaky, superficial manner. The handwriting is not Pajou's, although his looping *P* is gracelessly approximated. The essential composition is retained in each, including hair and costume. However, although the untrimmed eyebrows are usually aped, there is no organic connection between Robert's features in Pajou's portrait and in these later busts. The imitator shuns his solidity and force, slimming the figure down and settling for a look of malaise instead of Pajou's challenging psychology. The forged busts are dated 1788 and 1789, probably because their makers had not seen the present bust with its date of 1787; Lami and Stein both assumed a date of 1789, the year of the bust's Salon appearance. The correct date of 1787 is on the bust that was on the Paris art market in 1969, but this version is the least like Robert. JDD

109. *Mme De Wailly, née Adélaïde-Flore Belleville*

Marble
H. 62.2 cm (24½ in.) (with gray marble socle 76.2 cm [30 in.]), W. 47 cm (18½ in.), D. 27 cm (10⅝ in.)
Incised on back: *PAJOU. F. 1789*

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.105)

PROVENANCE: Presumably the sitter; Mme Camille Lelong, Paris, sale Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, April 27–May 1, 1903, no. 298; Princesse de Wagram, Paris; David David-Weill, Neuilly; [according to a note in the Louvre files, it was offered to the Louvre in 1927 by Camoin acting on behalf of George Blumenthal, but this probably is not accurate]; Mrs. William Salomon, New York, sale New York, American Art Association, January 4–7, 1928, no. 748; J. Horace Harding, New York, sale New York, March 1, 1941, no. 68; Baronne Cassel van Doorn, Englewood, New Jersey, sale Paris, Galerie Charpentier, May 30, 1956, no. 75; bought by the Museum

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1789, no. 207, p. 44 of the *livret* ("Portrait of Mme De Wailly. Bust in marble."); New York 1920, p. 12; New York 1935–36, no. 95; Washington, D.C., 1976, no. 218

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Lami 1911, p. 220; Stein 1912, pp. 27–30, 415, pl. II; Vitry 1924, p. 579; Devigne 1925, p. 6; Phillips 1957, p. 151, ill. p. 154; Gimpel 1963, p. 53; Wilhelm 1963, p. 10; Paris 1979a, pp. 8, ill., 12, 22; Grate 1985, p. 13, ill.; New York, Metropolitan Museum 1987a, p. 55, fig. 34

RELATED WORKS: The companion marble bust of Charles De Wailly has disappeared, but the composition survives in the form of at least one plaster example (fig. 174; discussed below).

De Wailly included his bust by Pajou as well as that of his wife in a large drawing at the Salon of 1789 (Paris, Musée Carnavalet, discussed below).

The bust of Mme De Wailly (presumably the marble) appears in a painting of her husband by Marguerite Gérard (fig. 176; discussed below).

Photographs of a terracotta example of Mme De Wailly's bust (fig. 175) do not persuade us that it is by the hand of Pajou. The top rows of curls, taut and elaborate in the marble, are simplified, lowered, and slackened, and the lock on the left shoulder is a limp strand. The terracotta bears a signature and date of 1784. The date is troubling: the terracotta lady looks more than nineteen, and it is difficult to see why our artist would wait five years to realize a marble of essentially the same composition when a sitter so evidently fashion-conscious was involved. The terracotta, said to have been in the collection of Lemaire, Edmond Guillaume, and Mme Lami (daughter of the painter Eugène Lami), was lent by Felix Wildenstein to a "Loan Exhibition of Eighteenth Century French Art" at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, no. 27 (catalogue not published), was sold in New York, Parke-Bernet, November 17–19, 1955, no. 453 (H., undoubtedly with socle, 72.4 cm [28½ in.]), and was last noted on the New York art market in 1960.

A terracotta bust sold Paris, Drouot, December 5, 1989, no. 36, attributed to Pajou and "very probably representing Mme De Wailly," has nothing to do with the artist or his elegant neighbor.

Adélaïde-Flore Belleville (1765–1838) was the daughter of the painter Nicolas Belleville, who exhibited a flower piece at the Salon of 1756 (little else is known of him). She captured the heart of Pajou's old friend the architect Charles De Wailly, who had remained a bachelor, and they were wed in 1781, when she was sixteen and he fifty-one. In the present bust she is a young matron of twenty-four.

Pajou conceived a pendent bust of De Wailly known today only in the form of plasters. One was formerly in the Musée des Monuments Français, the gift of the widowed Mme De Wailly in 1799 (Lenoir 1806, pp. 41, 239, no. 504). She wrote that year to Alexandre Lenoir, director of the then-new museum, saying that Pajou himself would make the plaster and that she regretted that she did not own the marble (AN, 17, 24, 5, fol. 144, *pièce* 39). That plaster was sent to the Paris Hôtel de Ville on May 14, 1818 (*AMMF* 1893–97, vol. 3, p. 293),

and to the Château de Versailles about 1838. It was catalogued at Versailles in 1880 (Soulié 1880, no. 865) but unfortunately disappeared in 1911 (Hoog 1993, no. 1748; H. given as 55 cm [21⅝ in.], undoubtedly without socle). A photograph, perhaps representing it or perhaps another plaster, is in the J. Paul Getty Museum photo collections (fig. 174; from photo archives assembled by the American sculptor Malvina Hoffman). A plaster now in a Paris collection was owned by Baron de Bethmann, Paris, when Stein knew it (1912, pp. 27–28, ill., 415, reporting a signature identical to that on the back of *Mme De Wailly*; Bethmann sale, Paris, Drouot, June 21–22, 1923, no. 204, H. with socle 74 cm [29⅛ in.], later in the Vaxelaire collection, Brussels: Devigne 1925, pp. 5–6; exhibited Paris 1979a, p. 7).

A leonine aspect is noted by all viewers of the architect's bust, and it was likely intended that his wife's proud mien and her mane of curls would complement his fierceness and his fur collar—a refined stroke of anthropomorphism to set apart two such splendid types of the species (Pajou was perhaps borrowing from his ideas for *Buffon*, cat. 112). In a far tamer portrait of De Wailly (hitherto unrecognized; previously thought to represent Fragonard's doctor Maubert or the painter Louis Lagrenée), Marguerite Gérard painted madame's bust dominating the architect's desk (fig. 176; Wells-Robertson 1978, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 112, ill.).

De Wailly's bust, presumably the marble, was apparently also in the 1789 Salon although added too late for the catalogue. Wilhelm showed that the architect included it in a well-known drawing of that year, in which he proposed a remodeling of the Louvre's Salon Carré to allow more art to be shown (Wilhelm 1963, pp. 8–9, ill.). In the lower right corner the busts are visible to the left of Mouchy's *Harpocrates*, flanking a *Leda* by Julien, and placed beneath architectural drawings by De Wailly himself (he exhibited about twenty at this Salon). Most of the paintings and drawings in that Salon are identifiable in the drawing in question, even though it is a program, not a record. It is of note that the bust of Mme Vigée-Le Brun (cat. 104), which appears to be at the far right in De Wailly's drawing, is also not in the *livret*.

Mme De Wailly looks forthright but initially rather austere and grave for one so young, although she is perhaps friendlier in profile. Seen full face in close-up, she becomes decidedly more sympathetic, with a visage as wide and cheeks as soft as those of the sculptor's ideal heads (cat. 72, 73). In part her gravity is a matter of the artist's keeping pace with style, for in its solidity and

Fig. 174. After Pajou, *Charles De Wailly*. Plaster. Whereabouts unknown



Fig. 175. After Pajou, *Mme De Wailly*. Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown

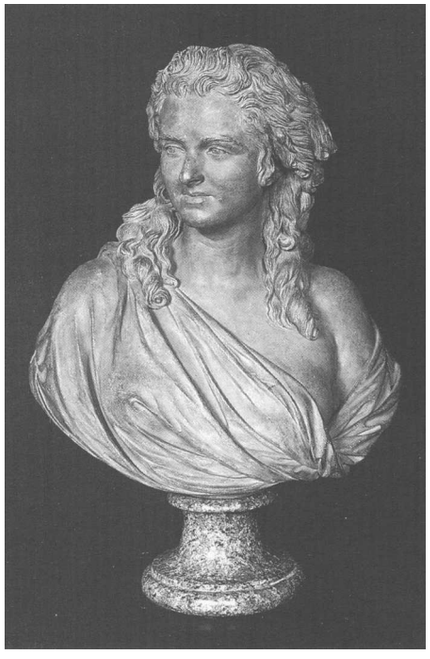
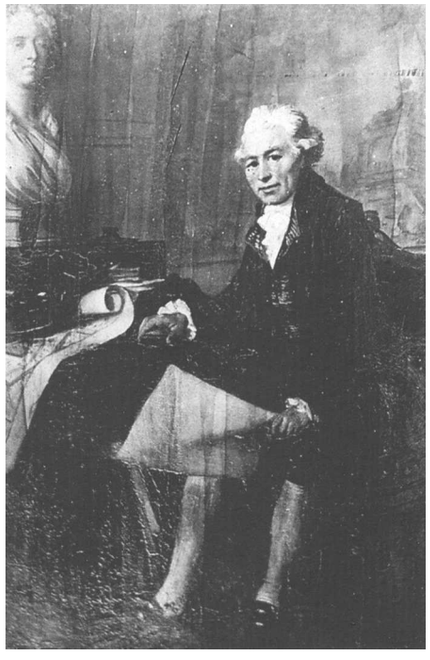
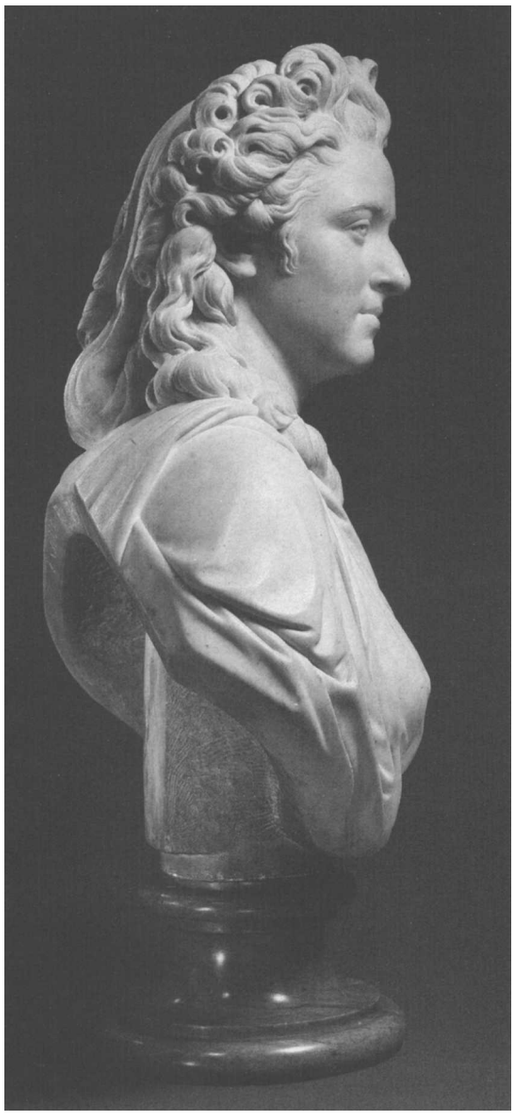


Fig. 176. Marguerite Gérard, *Charles De Wailly with the Bust of His Wife*. Oil on wood. Whereabouts unknown







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analytic geometrizing this is surely the most Davidian of Pajou's portraits. The sculptor also kept in mind the proportions of ancient busts, even if the coiffure and partially exposed breast are his own inventions. The way in which the supple drapery allows a glimpse of her bosom is undeniably alluring. Stein lauds the "distinguished beauty and penetrating charm" with which "nature had amply favored" Mme De Wailly (Stein 1912, p. 29) and which clearly attracted Pajou.

Baron Gérard painted a double portrait of Mme De Wailly, then Mme de Fourcroy, and her cousin Baronne Pichon; the canvas was once in the Léon Coblentz collection, Paris (sale Paris, Drouot, December 10, 1904, no. 6, not ill.). Another portrait, presumably a painting, was in the collection of Henry Le Monnier in 1906 (Perroud 1906, pp. 342–43; Stein 1912, p. 29 n. 1).

De Wailly died in 1798, and in 1800 Adélaïde-Flore married her relative Antoine-François de Fourcroy (1755–1809), later a count of the Empire. Fourcroy, a scientist and a high-ranking administrator and politician, obtained a divorce in order to marry her. The two seem to have been amorously involved before the architect's death, judging from the tone of the nine long letters Fourcroy wrote to her in 1797 while he was on a mineralogical tour of the Auvergne with De Wailly (Smeaton 1962, p. 75). Mme de Fourcroy was widowed a second time in 1809. A number of works by Pajou, inherited from De Wailly, were in a sale of her possessions on March 16–17, 1810; these small works, not including the busts discussed here, testify to her long-time friendship with our sculptor. A "bust in terracotta by Pajou," the subject not given, was in her estate sale (Paris, April 2–3, 1839).

JDD



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110. *Nathalie de Laborde*

Terracotta
H. 47.5 cm (18¾ in.) (with *bleu turquin* marble socle 19.8 cm [7¾ in.]), W. 29 cm (11⅜ in.), D. 25 cm (9⅞ in.)
Incised on edge of right shoulder: *Pajou. f. 1789*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 4381)

PROVENANCE: M. H. Deutsch de la Meurthe, 1900; Mme Raba Deutsch de la Meurthe, 1912; sale Paris, Drouot, October 21, 1991, no. 39, ill.; acquired by the museum at that sale

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1883–84, unnumbered; Paris 1900, no. 4716 ("bust of a woman"); La Vallée-aux-loups 1992, no. 82, ill. ("Natalie de Noailles, duchesse de Mouchy"); Paris 1992b, no. 24, ill. ("presumed portrait of Nathalie de Laborde")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Montaiglon 1884, p. 41 ("the young duchesse de Mouchy"); Migeon 1900, p. 377–78, ill. ("bust of a woman"); Stein 1912, pp. 162, 415, ill. p. 361 ("bust of a young woman"); Jean-René Gaborit in Paris 1992b, pp. 80–83.

RELATED WORKS: Marble *Filial Piety in the Guise of Nathalie de Laborde:* see below.

This superb portrait, which gained much notice at the Paris exhibitions of 1883 and 1900 and was given a full-page illustration by Stein, won universal agreement as to its quality but not as to its identification. Despite a correct caption by Montaiglon in 1884, doubts about the sitter's identity began to surface in 1900, summarized in Stein's lapidary phrase (1912, p. 162): "this pretty head passes for a portrait, wrongly in my view, of Nathalie de Laborde." The question remained open at the time of its sale in 1991 and its



acquisition and publication by the Louvre the following year. However, the comparison with the head of the marble statue *Filial Piety in the Guise of Nathalie de Laborde* (fig. 177), later than the terracotta by just three years, removes all doubt: the bust in the Louvre indeed depicts the same person.

Nathalie (1774–1835) was the daughter of Jean-Joseph de Laborde. A fabulously wealthy banker to the court, the successor of Pâris de Montmartel, and a friend of Choiseul, Laborde had prestigious family connections: he was the son-in-law of Nettine, banker to the court of Vienna, and, most notably, the brother-in-law of La Live de Jully; his cousin was the wife of the comte d'Angiviller. Laborde was also a great art collector and builder (Boyer 1961). In 1784 he acquired the Méréville property, south of Étampes. He had Bélanger transform the château and Hubert Robert design the grounds in 1786 (Lassus 1985). The latter wrote to Laborde on August 7, 1786, that he had contacted Pajou about doing Captain James Cook's cenotaph (fig. 80). On August 23 the small-scale model was ready (see Chronology). In December 1787 another letter from Robert to his client indicated that Pajou had completed "the small-scale model of the figure intended for the interior of the temple" (Lassus 1985). This construction, a replica of the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli, can be seen today in the park at Jeurre. The contract for the statue of Virtue, which was to decorate one of its niches, was signed on February 24, 1788, and

Fig. 177. Pajou, details of *Filial Piety in the Guise of Nathalie de Laborde* (fig. 178)





came to nineteen thousand livres (Mouchy private archives, inventory of papers from J.-J. de Laborde Estate: AD, EI MI 333, *cote* 684). This statue was meant to be an allegorical portrait of Mme de Laborde holding a medallion containing the profile of her husband, both portraits being done "from life"—or so we are told in a letter from Hubert Robert dated February 25, in which he asked on the sculptor's behalf on what date the Labordes would be available "to begin the drawings" (Lassus 1985). It is most likely at this stage that the bust of Nathalie was done. In 1790 the statue portraying Mme de Laborde was completed, but she rejected it "probably due to sensitivity about her age" (Lassus 1976, p. 282). While the profile of Laborde was retained (fig. 179), the sculptor had to modify the female figure, which, two years later, became the celebrated *Filial Piety in the Guise of Nathalie de Laborde,* the daughter having been substituted for the mother. It is one of Pajou's masterpieces (fig. 178).

The statue (H. 178 cm [70⅛ in.]), executed in superb white marble, bears the following inscription on the left side of the plinth: *PAJOU SCULP. DU ROI / ET CITOYEN DE PARIS / 1792* (Pajou, sculptor to the king and citizen of Paris, 1792); the title on the front of the plinth—*NATHALIE DE LABORDE D^E^SSE DE MOUCHY* (Nathalie de Laborde, duchesse de Mouchy)—was added at a later date. It was in the artist's studio in April 1793. Pajou was then in Montpellier but hoped to install it at Méréville himself. A letter from Robert to Laborde, dated April 18, 1793, says that if it was not possible to wait for Pajou's return, his faithful pupil Roland could oversee the installation (Lassus 1985, n.p.; Cayeux 1989, p. 369 n. 5). After the death by guillotine of Jean-Joseph de Laborde, the sum of seven thousand livres was still outstanding (Pajou's request for payment at the settling of the Laborde estate, Mouchy private archives: AD, E I MI 332, *cote* 684). In 1802 the statue was not yet installed (Villiers 1802, p. 83). It is still privately owned

Fig. 178. Pajou, *Filial Piety in the Guise of Nathalie de Laborde.* Marble. Private collection



Fig. 179. Pajou, detail of the profile of Jean-Joseph de Laborde, *Filial Piety in the Guise of Nathalie de Laborde* (fig. 178)



(Stein 1912, p. 138, ill. p. 150, pl. VI; Lassus 1978, p. 282, fig. 7) and, to our immense regret, could not be displaced for the present exhibition. It would have been fascinating to see, by putting the two works side by side, just how extensively Pajou used the terracotta in executing the marble version's face.

The portrait captures the features of a young woman destined to have a cruel fate. Nathalie de Laborde was born in 1774. In 1789 her father asked the acclaimed Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun to paint her portrait; but the artist, who was terrified of the coming Revolution and in fact emigrated that October, refused: "she was barely sixteen and she was charming. But the issue was no longer success or fortune; the issue was to save one's neck" (Vigée-Le Brun 1986, p. 143). On June 1, 1790, Nathalie married the eighteen-year-old comte Charles Arthur de Noailles, future duc de Mouchy, the eldest son of the comte de Poix and grandson of the maréchal de Mouchy. Robert had written to Laborde on March 31 to congratulate him on "your daughter's betrothal" (Lassus, "Documents II," 1985, n.p.). In 1791, when the comte de Noailles emigrated, Nathalie remained in France with her daughter. She joined him in London in September 1792, but her presence was clearly unwelcome as he was conducting an open affair with a well-known actress, Mlle Duthé. Heartbroken, Nathalie returned to France at the end of November, only to be imprisoned until September 1794. She knew the sorrow of having her father and a large part of her husband's family die in the Reign of Terror. In 1795 she returned to London to find that her husband was now busy competing with the Prince of Wales over another mistress. He tried to rid himself of his wife by tricking her into a liaison with one of his friends. Outraged, she returned to Paris "at the time of the saturnalia of the Directoire, in which she took an all-too-active part" (Boigne 1989, p. 204). In the spring of 1805 she met Chateaubriand: "of all his women friends, [she was] the one who had the largest place in his heart" (Boigne 1989, p. 203). Their passionate affair lasted until 1812. Already suffering from bouts of mental instability, she lost her reason during the Hundred Days, which reawakened her memories of the harrowing events of the Revolution: "the Hundred Days arrived; the terror took hold of her, and her strangeness increased. For several months they tried to keep it hidden, but finally they had to recognize the situation and have her committed. As of this writing [between 1835 and 1843], she has been confined for the last twenty years and has never regained her reason. And this was the fate of one of the most happily endowed women that nature ever created" (Boigne 1989, p. 206).

Nathalie's face as executed by Pajou in 1789, "very finely and surely modeled," as Stein rightly notes (1912, p. 162), has not yet been altered by tragedy. She is a young woman with regular features, whose smooth skin contrasts magnificently with her abundant and carefully styled hair. Pajou rediscovered here with pleasure the skillful layering of curls and locks that bring us back to the time of the portrait of Mme Hall (fig. 150). The sidelong glance that he delicately transcribes imbues Nathalie with an intense internal reverie, particularly moving for those who know the tragic course her life would take. GS

VI. *Buffon*

A seminal figure of the Enlightenment, the future comte de Buffon was born Georges-Louis Leclerc on May 7, 1707, in the Burgundian town of Montbard, which remained a primordial part of his existence. After inheriting a fortune from an uncle, he acquired the *château fort* of the dukes of Burgundy that dominates Montbard. He razed most of the fortress to install his tree nurseries and eventually a large menagerie and spent almost half of each year there. His first scientific undertakings were in mathematics. In 1733 he became an associate of the Académie Royale des Sciences with an essay calculating the odds in *franc carreau,* a popular game. Although he seems never to have visited England, in 1735 he published a translation deemed excellent of Stephen Hales's *Vegetable Staticks,* followed in 1740 by one of Newton's *Method of Fluxions.* In 1739, when his ideas on improving forests had come to the attention of the crown, he was made superintendent of the center for botanical study in France, the Jardin du Roi (the future Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle). Ten years later he published at the crown's expense the first three volumes of his *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière: La théorie de la terre, L'histoire des animaux,* and *L'histoire naturelle de l'homme.* Written in a large, confident, and attractive style, this work was an immediate sensation, outselling the *Encyclopédie* and Voltaire and gaining an international readership, as well as the disapproval of the Sorbonne and the enmity of several philosophes and men of science. He was widely criticized for refusing to adopt the Linnaean system of classification because he found it too rigid; instead he used a more personal program of observation, description, and commentary that was more accessible to his readers.

In 1752 Buffon wed Marie-Françoise de Saint-Belin-Malain, an impoverished young Burgundian noblewoman. They had but one son, Georges-Louis-Marie, universally known as Buffonet. The marriage was by all accounts happy, and Buffon deeply regretted her early death in 1769. A supporter of Philippe-Égalité, Buffonet would perish by the guillotine in 1794.

In 1753, on his entrance into the Académie de France, Buffon presented his *Discours sur le style.* In this mandatory eulogy for the archbishop of Sens (the deceased academician whose place he had taken), Buffon did not mention his name, loftily referring to the cleric merely as a "loss."[1] The *Discours,* with its famous motto "style is the man himself,"[2] is a fundamental Enlightenment text, but it was the briefest diversion from his continuing labor on the *Histoire naturelle.* Twelve volumes on quadrupeds (1753–67) were followed by nine on birds (1770–81). Then came five on minerals (1783–85), the stately *Époques de la nature* (1788), and several volumes of *Suppléments* (1789–1804) and posthumous revised texts on reptiles, fish, and cetaceans. The whole came to forty-four beautifully engraved tomes. Despite his relentless curiosity and appetite for work, he could not have accomplished this alone and turned to such investigators as Daubenton, Guénaud de Montbeillard, the abbé Bexon, and Lacépède as collaborators. All the while, he husbanded his estates, introducing up-to-date technology, such as the celebrated iron forges he installed along the stream at his village of Buffon near Montbard.

Buffon added to his titles the ceremonial ones of director of the Académie de France and perpetual secretary of the Académie des Sciences. In February 1771 he suffered a terrifying attack of kidney stone and lay in agony near death. He had obtained royal approval for Buffonet to succeed him in the superintendency of the Jardin du Roi, but since Buffonet was then only seven, his claims had little force. There was some jockeying for the position Buffon had made so conspicuous and prestigious, and Charles-Claude de Flahaut, comte de La Billarderie d'Angiviller, soon to be director general of the Bâtiments du Roi, contrived to capture the superintendency. While it was true that d'Angiviller had some interest in chemistry and collected minerals, on Buffon's recovery the appointment was seen as a terrible gaffe. In May 1771 Louis XV informed him that he was elevating the estate of Buffon to an earldom and giving the newly made comte entrée to the royal bedchamber. The king also commissioned Pajou's statue of the philosopher as another expiatory gesture (cat. 112).[3]

Although he handled the royal bureaucracy adroitly to get what he wanted at the Jardin du Roi, Buffon was something of a recluse, needing tranquillity to order his vast designs. At the same time he had a strong natural vanity, and he enjoyed his celebrity and the network of powerful acquaintances it brought him. When he irritated Thomas Jefferson by insisting that the mammals of North America were generically inferior in size to those of Europe, Jefferson, basically one of his admirers, sent stuffed animals from the American West as a rebuttal. The dying Mme de Pompadour sent her pug, her monkey, and her sapajou to Montbard. European monarchs contributed specimens from their realms, and a visit to the Jardin du Roi or to Montbard was on the itinerary of many a noble or royal visitor to France. When Buffon died on April 16, 1788, he was attended by his platonic lover, Mme Necker, wife of the great finance minister. The funeral was one of the grandest of the period.

Buffon's handsome appearance was recorded in a host of images.[4] The most familiar is that of Drouais (fig. 180). The Bibliothèque Nationale has scores of prints, all different, deriving from the Drouais painting. In addition to sculptures by Pajou, Houdon, Deseine, and Dardel, a rather stern plaster bust of 1774 by Defernex has recently been acquired by the Musée du Château de Montbard.[5]

As art historians we are hardly competent to comment on Buffon's scientific triumphs and shortcomings. With such an amazing productivity and range he was bound to have plenty of both. In later volumes he corrected some earlier mistakes (and coined the happy maxim "an error corrected is in effect a truth").[6] From the outset his detractors were numerous, but even Baron Grimm, one of the foremost, praised his eloquence: "But one admires in all the writings of M. Buffon . . . that noble, elevated, majestic style which enchants and, as it were, elevates the reader."[7] As many of his scientific theories were superseded, it was said repeatedly that his oeuvre emphasized style over substance, and this criticism has damaged his reputation into our time. However, there has recently been a great deal of research and revisionist thinking, stimulated by the 1988 celebration of his bicentenary, and Buffon is finally emerging as a many-sided visionary as well as a fluent stylist.[8] JDD

1. Recent reprint edition, Buffon 1992, p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 30.
3. The oft-told tale is to be read, for example, in Roger 1989, pp. 469–72.
4. For Buffon portraiture, see Stein 1912, pp. 164–76; Errera 1929–32, vol. 2, p. 634; Bourdier 1952, pp. 167–80; Colton 1981, pp. 531–48; Paul-Marie Grinevald in Taquet et al. 1988, pp. 37–47.
5. Réau 1931, fig. 10; Ickowicz 1997, p. 94.
6. Buffon, *Histoire naturelle,* Supplément, vol. 3 (Paris, 1776, p. 291), quoted in Roger 1989, p. 504.
7. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire,* July 1, 1764, quoted in Roger 1989, p. 445.
8. See, for example, Fellows and Milliken 1972; Roger 1989; essays in Beaune et al. 1992.



III

III. *Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon*

Marble
H. 57.8 cm (22¾ in.) (with *marbre de brèche* socle 73.3 cm [28⅞ in.]), W. 52.5 cm (20⅝ in.), D. 32 cm (12¾ in.)
Inscribed in back, on *tranche:* M^R LE COMTE DE BUFFON. DE LACAD. FRANCOISE. E. DE / LACAD. DES SCIENCES. INTANDENT. DU JARDIN ROYAL. E. DES PLANTES; on vertical: PAR / PAJOU / SCUL / DU / ROY. / PROFESSEUR / DE SON ACAD. DE / PINT. E SCULP. / MDCCLXXIII. (M. le comte de Buffon of the Académie Française and of the Académie des Sciences, superintendent of the Jardin Royal des Plantes. By Pajou, sculptor to the king and professor of his Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1773)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (MR 2650)

PROVENANCE: Revolutionary confiscation; removed from the Salle des Antiques at the Louvre to storage at Nesle, 1796; assigned to the Musée des Monuments Français by ministerial authority of May 17 and October 2, 1796; received by Alexandre Lenoir for the Musée des Monuments Français, December 28, 1796; assigned to the Louvre by ministerial decision of July 6, 1818; entered the Louvre, February 15, 1819; claimed for the Louvre by the administration of the Musée Royal in 1821 and inventoried in place, 1824

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1773, no. 198, p. 39 ("the portrait of M. le comte de Buffon. Bust in marble"); New York 1935–36, no. 92; Paris 1949, no. 139; Paris 1980, unnumbered checklist; Paris 1989b, no. 219

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lenoir, year V (1796–97) and subsequent editions, no. 408; Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Clarac 1824, no. 80; Clarac 1841–53, vol. 6, no. 3658; Barbet de Jouy 1855 and 1873, no. 283; Courajod 1878–87, vol. 2, p. 22, no. 408; *AMMF* 1883–97, vol. 3, p. 200, no. 408, p. 312; Bellier and Auvray 1885, vol. 2, p. 193; Michel 1897, no. 773; Dilke 1900, p. 129; Lami 1911, p. 211; Stein 1912, pp. 164–67, ill., 405; Brière 1913, p. 357; Vitry 1922–33, pt. 2, no. 1436; Mayer 1929, p. 180; Bourdier 1952, p. 173; Guicharnaud 1978, p. 29; Colton 1981, p. 535

RELATED WORKS: A terracotta signed and dated 1772, published in Mayer 1929, pp. 180–81, ill. (without dimensions), when in a South German private collection. Judged by the photograph, in terms of quality it could well be the preliminary model, and the date convincingly precedes the marble by a year. The terracotta is slightly truncated, showing one button less than the marble. Mayer assumes it is the same as the bust lent by a M. Burat to Paris 1883–84, no. 271. We do not know whether it is the same as a terracotta purporting to be the original that was brought to the attention of the Musée du Louvre by a M. Gély, dealer in Toulouse, in 1959 (documentation in the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre).

Two busts which Buffon mentions in a letter to Mme Daubenton in January 1776 were conceivably of this model, but see discussion below.

Plaster casts are in Semur-en-Auxois, Musée Municipal, H. 70 cm (27½ in.), and elsewhere. A tinted plaster from the collection of Jacques Seligmann was sold Paris, Drouot, May 18, 1925, no. 85. Plasters that were at Saint-Victor in 1794 and in the town library at Chartres in 1799 may have been of this model (*AMMF* 1883–97, vol. 3, p. 412).

The molding studios of the Musées Nationaux have produced plaster copies for many decades, as for example one ordered in 1893 for Versailles (Hoog 1993, no. 260, H. with socle 83 cm [32⅝ in.], W. 54 cm [24¼ in.], D. 32 cm. [12⅝ in.]). In fact these casts are still sold by the Réunion des Musées Nationaux (*Moulages* 1991, p. 169, no. 5985, H. with base 74 cm. [29⅛ in.]).

A "*terre biscuitée*" (clay painted white?) from the G. Sortais collection is mentioned in Stein 1912, p. 167 n. 1, p. 405.

Several later busts exist in *biscuit de Sèvres*, including one at the Château de Coppet near Geneva (H. 51.5 cm. [20¼ in]; Engel 1968, p. 22, ill.) and another recently acquired by the small museum at the Forges de Buffon outside Montbard. Tamara Préaud, archivist of the Manufacture de Sèvres, reports that there is no record of *biscuit* busts of Buffon made by the manufactory in the eighteenth century.

A marble which Gruyer (1922, p. 568) illustrates as by Pajou is not of this type nor by him.

It is not known who ordered this bust nor who owned it when it was seized during the Revolution (perhaps it was in the possession of Buffon's son Buffonet). It is also not known with certainty when and where Buffon granted his sittings, although it can probably safely be assumed that it was in 1772, the date on what we trust is the terracotta model (see Related Works), and we might venture the guess it was in Paris in the fall or winter of 1772; Buffon usually spent the warmer months at Montbard. It might fairly be inferred that the bust was among the crown's efforts to placate the sage of Montbard following the gaffe to which we have alluded (see p. 275), when the king reneged on Buffonet's claim to the superintendency of the Jardin du Roi. Pajou almost surely did not yet have in mind the statue that would later be among these royal blandishments (cat. 112). The gentlemanly tone of the bust and the heroic flavor of the statue are miles apart, although the basic position of the head and the muscular throat are the same in both. Obviously Pajou referred to this model when rethinking his subject's physiognomy, but one of his immediate concerns was surely to provide a strong contrast to his *Mme Du Barry* at the Salon of 1773 (cat. 98). The mundane beauty and the virile intellectual respond compositionally to each other to this day in the Louvre. As Pidansat de Mairobert observed (September 21, 1773, *Mémoires secrets,* letter III, 1995 ed., p. 44): "The artist dedicates himself not only to painting the graces [Mme Du Barry], [but] his proud chisel aspires to the male traits of genius, as he proves with the portrait of M. le comte de Buffon, where one meets again with the nobility and vigor of that philosopher's head, truly picturesque." According to the *Mercure de France* (October 1773, vol. 1, p. 178), this portrayal of Buffon was judged a good likeness: "The animated expression of this bust characterizes him very well." Given the pains Pajou took to make the stone appear to yield tenderly to his touch, he must have been proud that the critic of the *Journal encyclopédique* mentioned *Mme Du Barry* and *Buffon* in the forefront of works evincing such lapidary sensitivity (Deloynes, vol. 49, no. 1327, p. 690): "As for sculpture it seems all the time to acquire yet greater force among

Fig. 180. François-Hubert Drouais, *Buffon.* Oil on canvas. Private collection



us and marble has never had more docility under the most famous masters."

Pajou seems deliberately to have turned his back on the most familiar likeness of Buffon: the painting by Drouais which shows a fuller-faced courtier gorgeously dressed with lots of gold braid and with his chevalier's sword at his hip (fig. 180; it remained in Buffon's family until 1883; Bourdier 1952, pp. 168–69). The philosopher's natural healthiness and robust frame were the envy of Voltaire: "He is marvelously fit. An athlete's body and the soul of a sage, that's what it takes to be happy" (Voltaire to Helvétius, October 27, 1740; Roger 1989, p. 58). By the time of the bust he was less fleshy owing to the ravages of his latest illness, but an impression of intellectual and physical energy is still paramount. He is now about sixty-five years old. The looming brow has grown more pronounced. Pajou somewhat minimizes two characteristics that have been remarked by anatomists, Buffon's sloping forehead and slightly hooked nose (Heim 1979, pp. 11, 16). The bust's frankly sensual features have a disturbingly bald, almost peeled quality, and there is the slightest hint of momentary irritation, as if this is a man who would not suffer fools gladly despite essentially courteous intentions. But there are also an eagerness in his sudden turn and a penetrating observation in his gaze. Pajou even manages to convey the quality of his conversation, the somewhat old-fashioned discourse of a gentleman rich in experience and anecdotes and accustomed to flattery.

Much has been written about Buffon's vanity. He was especially proud of his hair. One of his secretaries, Humbert-Bazile, remembered: "His coiffure never varied; every morning one put him in curlpapers passed through an iron and then divided his hair at the temples into three equal sausages; M. de Buffon did not wear wigs; at the end of his life he still had all the hair that a wigmaker could possibly use; only he powdered it less, because it was a gallantry of the noble old fellow to leave his magnificent white hair without extraneous finery" (Nadault de Buffon 1863, p. 11). Hérault de Séchelles (1785) in his *Visite à Buffon* writes that even when he was ill the maintenance of his hair was "one of his manias" (in Buffon 1992, p. 48). In its obituary of Buffon, *Le Journal de Paris* added that he liked to gossip with his hairdresser during his lengthy toilet. The latter "was for him an occasion for relaxation; every day without exception his hair was passed through the curling iron without ever being altered [in style], and it happened when the wind roughed it up that he had it curled two or three times a day" (Buffon 1971, vol. 2, p. 415). Two Buffon familiars, his housekeeper Marie Blesseau and the Jesuit priest Ignace Bougot, stoutly refuted the charge that he gossiped with his hairdresser (ibid., pp. 403, 407), but no one could deny the interest he took in his appearance, which Pajou has shrewdly registered in his faultless curls and lace.

Buffon looked after his portraiture with much the same attention. He wrote from Montbard to Mme Daubenton in Paris on January 10, 1776: "The busts arrived in very good condition thanks to your care, and I give you many thanks. They are both in my salon; you shall choose one on your return. You will never see it as nearby as I wish to see you" (ibid., p. 299). It is unclear whether he meant busts of this type or busts of the type of the statue (cat. 112, 114–16)—perhaps he was even offering her a choice of types. The secret of the statue had been kept from him all this time (he first acknowledged his surprise only two days after this letter in another written to the président de Ruffey, discussed under cat. 112), but busts based on the statue existed by fall of 1775 (see cat. 114) and we know that he was familiar with their form in the summer of 1776 (see cat. 116). Similarly, we cannot be altogether sure on which type of bust Mme Necker shed her tears as described in a tragical letter to Mme Nadault after the philosopher's death: "I have placed his bust in a solitary spot, I shall gather there his presents and his precious letters; and there, if the weight of years and the derisions of youth come to humiliate me in my last days, I shall go to recall to myself that I was nevertheless loved by M. de Buffon, and the tears I shall pour on this marble—living, for me—will assure me only too well, alas, that my glory was not a dream" (Buffon 1860, vol. 2, p. 625, appendix v, vi, n.d.). By this late date, Mme Necker's tearstained marble may well have been of the more up-to-date model by Houdon (fig. 3). JDD

112. *Monument to Buffon*

Marble
H. 290 cm (9 ft. 6½ in.), W. 135 cm (53½ in.), D. 87 cm (34¼ in.)
Incised on back of tablet held by Buffon: *PAJOU F.é / 1776*; on front edge of self-base: *MAJESTATI NATURAE PAR INGENIUM* (a genius equal to the majesty of Nature)

Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (649)

PROVENANCE AND EXHIBITIONS: Commissioned by Louis XV in 1773 for the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle and installed there in late 1776 or early 1777. For its movements within the Muséum, see below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (selective, the work being cited in the most varied publications): *livret* of the Salon of 1777, p. 43; Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, p. 172; Chaussard 1806, p. 470; Deleuze 1823, pp. 41–42; Boitard 1842, p. x; Cap 1854, p. 43; Jouin and Stein 1887, pp. 5, 11; Jouin and Stein 1889, p. 103; Dilke 1900, pp. 127–28; Lami 1911, pp. 201, 213; Stein 1912, pp. 167–72, ill., 408; Réau 1923, p. 58, ill.; Digard 1936, pp. 155, 163–64; Bourdier 1952, pp. 172–74, pl. XVII; Colton 1981, pp. 531–48; Paul-Marie Grinevald in Taquet et al. 1988, pp. 42–43, ill.; Hargrove 1989, p. 22; Roger 1989, p. 472; Vezin 1990, pp. 36, 40, ill.; De Caso 1992, pp. 19–20, fig. 13; Levey 1993a, p. 156

RELATED WORKS: For the bust of 1773, see cat. 111.

In 1779 Pajou gave a plaster model, apparently as a house present, to his friend Dufort de Cheverny, who installed it in his "museum" at Cheverny (see Chronology, 1779). Of unknown size, it has disappeared.

For busts based on the head of the statue, see cat. 114–16.

For drawings and an engraving after the statue, see discussion below and cat. 113, figs. 185, 186.

In this extraordinary monument the philosopher-scientist towers above the world of brute matter, stylus poised, ready to record his latest finding or sequence of thoughts. It embraces past (admired accomplishment), present (moment of observation or discovery), and future (clairvoyance). For all the work's formality, Pajou delivers an intimate sense of this striver for truth, who remarked: "I confess that the discovery of a new fact in Nature has always sent me into transports" (*Histoire naturelle,* supp., vol. 3, p. 14).

The statue was intended for a niche, and its back is unfinished, the stone roughly dressed. This royal commission was ordered by Louis XV and eventually paid for by Louis XVI. It was to adorn the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle (exhibition hall of natural history), as the future Muséum was styled. The statue was undertaken to mollify Buffon after the comte d'Angiviller had been prematurely named his successor at the Jardin du Roi (see p. 275). The abashed d'Angiviller was closely involved in all phases of the enterprise.

No documents survive for the original commission, but there are several dealing with positioning and payment. The papers about payment in 1780 state that Pajou had begun work in 1773. The year 1773 showed increased activity at the Jardin du Roi, especially at the École des Plantes (Raitière 1981, p. 113). Buffon was accustomed to paying for all work at the Jardin du Roi and later being reimbursed by the royal treasury. Since the statue was meant to be a surprise, special arrangements had to be made, and there was some delay in paying Pajou. On April 27, 1780, d'Angiviller wrote to the king's first painter, Jean-Baptiste Pierre:

> You have known, Monsieur, as has all the public, about the honor which the late king wished to render M. le comte de Buffon by having his statue erected at the entrance to the cabinets of the Jardin du Roi. The secrecy which His Majesty wanted to place around this act of his kindness became the principle for an arrangement whose inconvenience can only be recognized and which has determined the orders I have just received from the king. M. le duc de la Vrillière had been authorized to list the monument's expense under funds for the maintenance of the Jardin du Roi because it did not occur to anybody that M. Buffon, as superintendent of the Jardin du Roi, personally receives and disburses the funds which are allocated to it. You may conceive all that would have been contrary to delicacy in this step if it had been taken; he began by forbidding it, and the king having at last been told about it, His Majesty hit upon a motive to ensure the execution of his elder's pledge while assuring its true meaning to the glory of M. de Buffon, by taking the expense of the statue in question away from the direction of the Bâtiments du Roi and thus classifying this monument in the rank of those which His Majesty destines for the great men who have merited [statues] from the nation; such in consequence are the orders the king gave me last Sunday. Their execution requires that the monument and its expense be noted by memorandum as usual in such cases; this must be written up under the name of M. Pajou, to whom the work was entrusted, and will include the standing statue, accompanied by all the attributes of natural history, and two busts: the whole for fifteen thousand livres. The period is from 1773 to 1775. You will want to give this memorandum all the proper form it requires and address it to me afterward, so that I can see to the financial operation. (AN, O^{1} 1773^{A}, p. 183 [copy]; Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, pp. 305–6)

A "memorandum concerning a statue of marble, life-size [see p. 287], made for the king's service, under the


MAJESTATI NATURÆ PAR INGENIUM

order of M. le comte d'Angiviller, by Master Pajou, during the year 1773 and following" was drawn up: The statue "represents M. le comte de Buffon, standing and in the costume of a philosopher; the accessories that accompany this statue designate his genius and his talents. It is placed in the vestibule of the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle in the Jardin du Roi, with its pedestal. The said figure estimated at fifteen thousand livres. Inclusive of two busts executed after it, by the same Master Pajou, sculptor. Settled on May 9, 1780 at fifteen thousand livres. [Signed] Brebion, Jardin and Pierre" (AN, O^{1} 1922^{B}; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 239).

The payment was registered on May 31, 1780: "To Master Pajou, the sum of fifteen thousand livres for payment to him of a statue and two busts of M. le comte de Buffon, which he made in 1773, according to a memorandum certified and settled. Herewith . . . fifteen thousand livres" (AN, O^{1} 2277, p. 379; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 239).

The statue was ready for installation by May 25, 1776. Buffon was in retreat at Montbard for the summer, as usual. On that day de La Touche, the architect at the Jardin du Roi, wrote to d'Angiviller in the latter's capacity of "intendant titre de survivance" of the Jardin du Roi (he was since May 1774 also director of the Bâtiments du Roi). De La Touche had gone to the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle with Pajou, and both realized that the spot which d'Angiviller had chosen, on the wall facing the entrance door, was too narrow. To accommodate the statue, they had to ask d'Angiviller to gain the treasury's approval to order a bulge of some three and a half feet (107 cm) in the exterior masonry on the rue du Jardin side (this and the following unnumbered pages are in AN, O^{1} 2124[6], alluded to in Genet-Varcin and Roger 1954, p. 517, no. 29, and in Colton 1981, p. 546 n. 30).



Cat. 112: detail

D'Angiviller wrote to the Bureau des Finances for permission to refashion the wall (d'Angiviller to Marin, May 29, 1776). This was duly granted (Marin to d'Angiviller, June 15, 1776). D'Angiviller passed the permission along to de La Touche, pointing out that he was serving as Buffon's surrogate only in this exceptional case and giving him the go-ahead to work it out with Pajou (d'Angiviller to de La Touche, June 18, 1776).

It is clear that much cost and effort went into the display of a monument of this importance. By October, Pajou had a new idea, and d'Angiviller wrote to the architect de La Touche: "M. Pajou has no doubt informed you of his observation on the need to open up the height of the niche in order to let in some light to fall upon the statue to its advantage." His patience may have been wearing thin, as he postscripted: "I should quite like this statue to be placed in the course of the month" (d'Angiviller to de La Touche, October 12, 1776).

However, Pajou, who was out of town, had not shared his new plans with de La Touche, who was miffed at the sculptor for going over his head. The architect responded:

> The niche for the statue of M. le comte de Buffon at the Jardin du Roi is ready and the socle placed to receive it. M. Pajou is in the country whence he is to return in five or six days; as soon as he is back we shall consult as to the transport and the positioning as well as to the opening up which he wishes to have in the top of the niche in order to shed better light on the statue. I presume it is out of forgetfulness that he has not yet spoken to me on this point, as he saw it several times even a few days before his departure for the country. (De La Touche to d'Angiviller, October 14, 1776)

De La Touche obviously did not want to be blamed for further delay and for a new extravagance that Pajou,

back from the country, announced to d'Angiviller:

> I should like to be in the situation of announcing to you the positioning of the statue just as you desire it. We have been with M[r] de La Touche at the Jardin to agree on our arrangements and to seek a means of giving it a favorable light, but the place where it should be required to build a crossing is found to be occupied by the lodgings of the servants of M. Daubenton [Buffon's esteemed collaborator] and if one could find a place to receive them we would have the freedom to draw in the light which we need. I confess that I desire ardently that this might be done because the figure will gain by it. Next week will not pass without its being in the niche. We have a carpenter's sledge from the École Militaire which is large and convenient [for the move]. (Pajou to d'Angiviller, November 8, 1776)

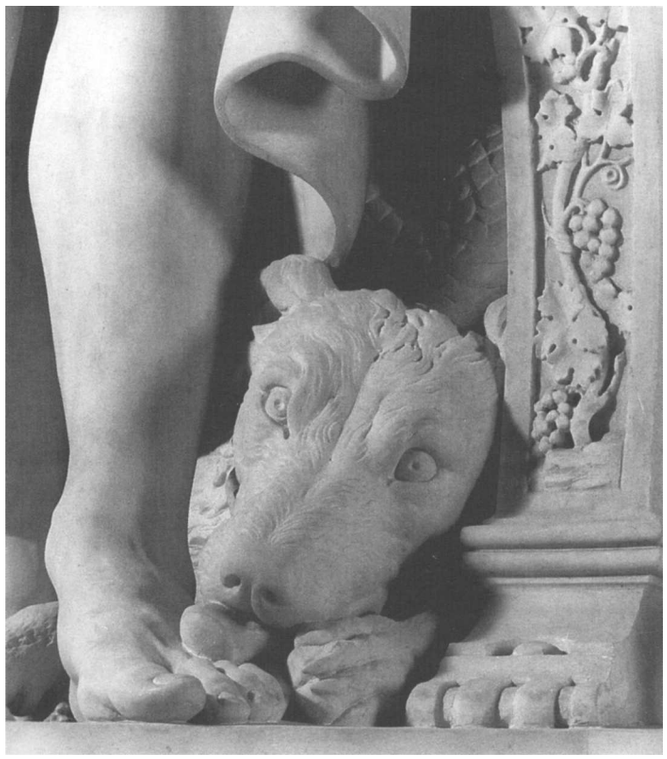
Writing to inform d'Angiviller that the sculpture was installed, de La Touche seconded Pajou's request to relocate Daubenton's staff in the interest of better lighting. He was aware that d'Angiviller was reluctant to give orders in Buffon's absence, but he hoped he would agree, if only to spare Buffon's natural delicacy (de La Touche to d'Angiviller, November 19, 1776, AN O[1] 1914 [1], p. 343; this and the following also indicated in Genet-Varcin and Roger 1954, p. 517, no. 28, and in Colton 1981, p. 546 n. 30).

D'Angiviller declined to take the responsibility, responding with gratitude to de La Touche for the

> care which you have given to this object of interest to the public and especially to me, in view of the desire I had to give this celebrated man a mark of my admiration and attachment. It remains to me to consult with M. de Buffon both on the place and on the means of lighting this statue better. You are right to think that his delicacy would not allow him to give the necessary orders, but I shall beg him to turn over to me the authority of which he is the sole possessor, for this purpose, and I shall try to arrange it some day this winter. (d'Angiviller to de La Touche, December 18, 1776, AN O[1] 1914[1], p. 344)

Still d'Angiviller hesitated to tell Buffon, and we do not know exactly when and how the secret was revealed to him. Bachaumont (*Mémoires secrets,* vol. 12, p. 31) reports after the fact (July 1, 1778) that the statue was unveiled without improved lighting and in Buffon's absence. The philosopher certainly knew by January 12, 1777, when he wrote from Montbard with some asperity to the président de Ruffey, his old friend in Burgundy, who had ventured to offer congratulations: "I thank you for the part you have had the goodness to take concerning the statue, which I did not in effect request nor solicit, and it would have given me greater pleasure if it were installed only after my death. I have always thought that a wise man must rather fear envy than attach importance to glory; and all this has been done without my being consulted" (Buffon 1971, vol. 1, p. 334). The word "modesty" could seldom be applied to Buffon, but at least he had a lively sense of proportion. When another monument to his glory, this time on a hillock at the Jardin du Roi, was proposed in 1784, Buffon asked André Thouin, his right hand at the Jardin, to discourage "these fine schemes which it is no longer possible to think about . . . as administrator of the Jardin du Roi, I must do here only that which His Majesty orders me to do and which is approved by his ministers and I cannot consent to any expense which would concern my personal glory" (Buffon to Thouin, August 4, 1784, from the Soubrier-Mignot archives; sold Paris, Drouot, February 13, 1995, no. 39).

The statue was not shown at the Salon, but the *livret* for 1777 advertised, exceptionally, that this royal command existed and could be viewed: "One sees by the same artist, at the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle, at the Jardin du Roi, the statue of M. de Buffon, executed in marble at His Majesty's expense" (Salon of 1777, p. 43



Cat. 112: detail

of the *livret*).

The front edge of the plinth originally bore the Latin legend *Naturam amplectitur omnen* (He embraces all of Nature), but a wag scrawled beneath it *Qui trop embrasse mal étreint* (He who embraces too much grasps poorly). The present, more grandiloquent inscription was concocted about 1782 to replace the defaced one: *Majestati Naturae par Ingenium* (A genius equal to the majesty of Nature; see Buffon 1971, vol. 1, pp. 334–35 nn).

From the outset the statue of Buffon was mocked for the vainglory it seemed to incorporate. Sedaine, Pajou's stalwart friend, sent him a curious epistle thanking him on the part of the forest denizens:

> In the forest of Montbard, on behalf of the animals of this terrestrial globe: Man Pajou! we are very obliged to you. We did not know how to thank the man Buffon for having painted us, and you, with your instinct, your chisel and your stone, have rendered our sentiments and his countenance; you have given an idea of his intelligence as perfectly as he, with his thoughtfulness and the pen of one of our own true friends, has rendered ours. Do you realize that one needn't be soft-headed to register the gratitude of beasts? It is pure, our gratitude, it is not like yours, always spoiled by conceit. When we receive a kindness, we don't believe we have deserved it. We don't say that of you—you must be like the man Buffon, good and true. You should have come, the two of you, from our ranks; you'd have been a lion and he an eagle. Adieu. (Grimm 1877–82, vol. 11, p. 428, under February 1777; Stein 1912, pp. 171–72)

The *Correspondance secrète* of François Métra quibbled with this passage: "I don't quite get how M. Pajou would be a lion. It isn't by the strength of his hands that he succeeds in bending the marble to the movements of his genius" (Métra et al. 1787–90, vol. 4, p. 109; Stein 1912, p. 172). Yet the sculpture was admired even under adverse circumstances, as reported by Bachaumont:

> You can now see at the foot of the staircase in His Majesty's Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle the statue of the comte de Buffon, which is quite badly situated in that position, and this colossal monument does not have the optical viewpoint it should. M. de Buffon is standing, in the attitude of a man composing. Genius sets ablaze his face, full of nobility; he holds with one hand an awl and with the other a scroll [in fact, a broken-off stylus and a tablet], following ancient custom.

Below the ceremonial title are four lines of doggerel:

> The monarch ordains and the marble respires
> Under Buffon's features.
> Nature applauds and throughout her empire
> Causes his name to be revered.
> (*Mémoires secrets*, July 1, 1778, vol. 12, p. 31)

An ardent fan of Buffon's, the poet Ponce-Denis Écouchard Le Brun (Le Brun-Pindare), contributed verses to the same effect:

> In the marble Buffon lives. In those traits full of fire
> Am I seeing nature or the painter or the god?
> (Écouchard Le Brun 1829, p. 459)

Le Brun-Pindare also composed an ode to Buffon in which Envy reviles the statue:

> The sight of him is my torture, and just to heighten it
> A marble that I abhor
> Hallows my insults with his odious features
> (Écouchard Le Brun 1829, p. 47)

The Le Brun-Pindare mode was spoofed by Antoine Rivarol in a parody of *Athalie*:

> It was while resting from work in the night
> That the image of Buffon presented itself to me,
> Pompously bedecked as at the Jardin des Plantes.
> His errors had not in the least lowered his pride . . .

and so on (Roger 1989, p. 496). The work also haunted the memory of the hapless Buffonet, as he wrote from his imprisonment in the Conciergerie just three days before he was beheaded: "While the statues of kings lie in powder, that of my father is standing in the Jardin National where the grateful populace see it every day" (Buffon 1971, vol. 1, p. 335 n).



Cat. 112: detail

Early guidebooks shed some light on the original location at the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle. Dezallier d'Argenville reports: "They have just placed in a niche of the Cabinet's staircase the figure in marble of M. de Buffon, made by M. Pajou. Near this academician is a shepherd dog who licks his feet in gratitude" (Dezallier d'Argenville 1778, p. 262). Thiéry adds: "A grille [doubtless of iron from the forges at Buffon, which the sage sold to the crown] announces the entrance . . . on the first landing of the staircase that leads to the halls which comprise this Cabinet is seen the statue in marble of the French Pliny" (Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, p. 172).

When the professors of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle gathered in April 1798 to discuss the remodeling of the former Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle, they decided to place the statue in the first gallery, but on April 25 they postponed their decision and charged "the director to invite Citizen Pajou, author of this statue, to come to the Muséum and communicate his views to the administration on the best way to place this monument before the eyes of the public" (minutes of the professors of the Muséum, vol. 3, p. 64, in Digard 1936, p. 164). It is not known if Pajou accepted, but it is likely that he did so and gladly. The upshot was that on November 14, 1798, the professors required that "in the briefest delay the statue of Buffon be placed in the Muséum's library between the two doors and in the most suitable manner" (minutes, vol. 4, p. 42, in Digard 1936, p. 164).

Sometime in the nineteenth century the statue was sent to the Muséum's Gallery of Fishes (Jouin and Stein 1889, p. 103). In 1942, resuming something like its old location, it returned to the foot of a staircase (at an entrance, not normally open, to today's Galleries of Zoology). It is no longer in a niche, and its rare visitors can see part of its unfinished back. In 1988 it was cleaned for the bicentenary commemorations of Buffon.

The statue's pedestal serves at the same time as support and as reliquary. On April 17, 1788, the day after his death, an autopsy revealed that Buffon had died of kidney stone. The savant's votaries would not have been surprised that Buffon's "brain was found to have a slightly greater capacity than that of ordinary brains" (*Mercure de France*, April 26, 1788, p. 176; Nadault de Buffon 1863, p. 141). He was interred in the seignorial chapel of the church of Saint-Urse in Montbard. The chapel's contents were badly disturbed during the Revolution, and a campaign to reintegrate Buffon's remains was successfully undertaken in recent years (Heim 1979). Certain of his vital parts had been left to science as he wished. His heart he left to Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond, who was his last collaborator on the *Histoire naturelle des minéraux*, and his generous brain to Buffonet. The two then exchanged these relics. His heart presumably perished about the same time as the guillotined Buffonet. His brain, preserved in a crystal urn on which was engraved "Cerebellum of Buffon, conserved by the method of the Egyptians," descended in the Faujas de Saint-Fond family until 1867, when Mme Faujas prevailed upon Henri Nadault de Buffon, the philosophe's great-great-nephew, to acquire it for the Ministry of Public Instruction. The cerebellum in its container was solemnly installed in a cavity of the pedestal of Pajou's statue, behind the marble plaque that records the joint gift of Mme Faujas and M. Nadault, on October 17, 1870. Only a few scientists were around to witness the ceremony because the Siege of Paris was just under way (see Variot 1928 for the cerebellum's history).

As to the origins of Pajou's statue, it was a rare event, but not unprecedented, to honor a living man of genius with a marble statue. An important forerunner across the Channel was Louis-François Roubiliac's *Handel*, erected by admirers of the composer in Vauxhall Gardens in 1738 (Bindman and Baker 1995, pp. 65–71, pls. 28, 35). Closer to home, scholars have always noted the immediate antecedent of Pigalle's *Voltaire* (fig. 181), to which Pajou's figure is in many ways a deeply meditated response (see especially Colton 1981). A group of subscribers underwrote Pigalle's figure, which had a lengthy gestation between 1770 and 1776. The half-naked statue of the aged philosophe was derived, on Diderot's suggestion, from the ancient *Seneca* then in the Borghese collection, Rome, now in the Louvre. Pajou would have closely followed the composition's evolution in Pigalle's studio and the swirl of critical discussion surrounding the philosophe's state of undress and Pigalle's candid description of his aged body.

Colton (1981, p. 534) points out that although the comte d'Angiviller was no ally of the philosophes, he did frequent the circle of Voltaire supporters who commissioned Pigalle's statue, and he must have followed the discussion about propriety. The commission of the *Buffon* proceeded under his guidance, and he would never have tolerated a similar lapse of decorum; in any case the depiction of naked old age would have been foreign to Pajou's taste and inclinations. The *Buffon* is

not only a royal homage to its subject but also a deliberate idealization of a servant of the king in contradistinction to the clinical depiction of the libertine Voltaire. The figure's half-nude condition is dependent on Pigalle's precedent, but in effect it has a virtually opposite meaning. Those who ventured out to see the work advertised in the Salon of 1777 *livret* largely concentrated their attacks on Buffon's nudity. Thus the critic for the *Année littéraire* (Deloynes, vol. 49, no. 1333, pp. 823–24) wrote:

> You no doubt already know the skeleton so well made by the first [*Voltaire* by Pigalle] and if you have been to see the standing statue of the second [*Buffon* by Pajou], placed in the vestibule of the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle at the Jardin des Plantes, you will surely agree that it is absurd to allow posterity to believe that the French Pliny dressed himself not like the old one [Pliny the Elder] but as you would paint Saint Jerome in the desert, that is to say, absolutely naked, enveloped only by a drapery to conceal from view those parts which modesty orders one to hide. It seems to me on the contrary that in a statue made to be passed on to posterity, that once you observe the resemblance, you must join to it the costume and accessories that can indicate the condition, the rank, the quality of the person you represent, as well as the region and the century in which he lived; after that nothing is more natural than to represent Messieurs Voltaire and de Buffon just as men of letters are normally dressed in their studies.

Also chiming in was the *Mercure de France* (October 1777, vol. 1, pp. 194–95), which stated that the two sculptors presumed they could "neglect this truth" in dress but sensibly suggested that the thrust of their statues was essentially allegorical.

In modern times critical appreciation of the statue has tended to be personal and superficial. The tone of Delacroix's elegant put-down—"Statue of Buffon not bad, not too ridiculous" (Delacroix 1932, vol. 1, p. 163)—is, alas, typical. Genuine sympathy has seldom been forthcoming even when an observer understands that complex forces are at work—as, for example, in Levey's characterization of "the unfortunate marriage of actual and symbolic which produced the full-length *Buffon*" (Levey 1993a, p. 156). No one seems ever to have recognized that the work is based upon the most profound reading of Buffon's works, and until this is acknowledged, the statue is all too apt to be belittled or misun-

Fig. 181. Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *Voltaire*. Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre, on deposit from the Institut de France

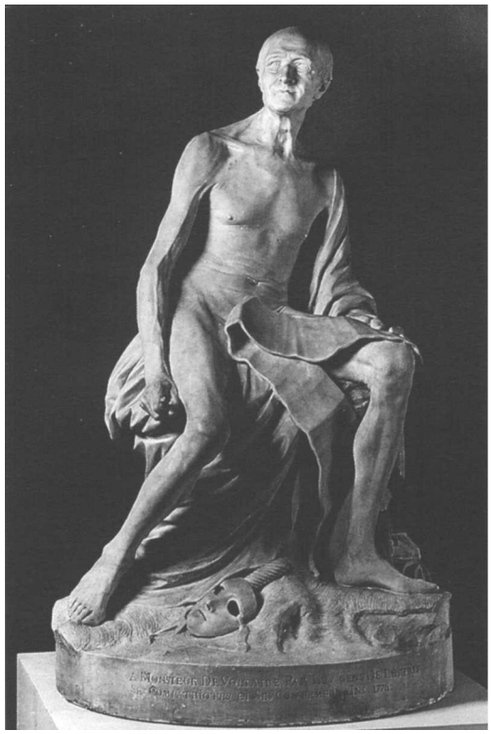


Fig. 182. Antique marble representing a philosopher, called *Zeno*. Rome, Museo Capitolino

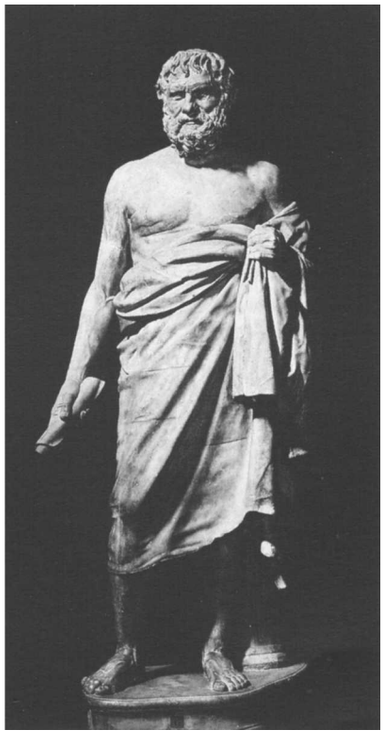


Fig. 183. Pajou, *Antique Marble Tripod Once at Rome, Museo Capitolino (Now at the Louvre)*. Black chalk. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



derstood. If we undertake this reading with Pajou and discover how he rendered Buffon's thought tangible, we will see Neoclassical practice at its most comprehensive and most searching.

In keeping with Neoclassical convention, everything about the statue is elevated and beautified through deeply pondered idealization—beginning with the subject's height. Buffon's appetite for work, robust health, and majestic demeanor were frequently noted (in his eulogy Condorcet remarked that he had "an advantageous height, a noble air; an imposing face, a physiognomy at once pleasant and majestic," quoted by Paul-Marie Grinevald in Taquet et al. 1988, p. 43). He is invariably described as tall (as for example by d'Angiviller; Silvestre de Sacy 1953, p. 46), yet when his skeleton was reassembled about 1971, he was estimated to have stood only five feet five inches tall (about 1.65 m; Heim 1979). His heroic half-nude condition certainly contrasts with the withered form of Pigalle's *Voltaire* (and less of Buffon's body is actually shown). Pajou has selected a fine figure of a man for the living model who probably stood in for Buffon—a combination of models is also not out of the question. The splendidly muscled chest and arms express ripe virility and an ideal maturity. The display of flesh is only emphasized by the magnificent sheet of drapery that enshrines it.

Bodily perfection was necessary for a depiction that is both the man and the idea of the man. In the spirit of Buffon's noble prose, he had to be rendered as a beautiful specimen. Since Aristotle, the human anatomy was regarded as the most perfect conceivable, and Buffon in his *De l'âge virile* agreed: "Everything in man, even outwardly, shows his superiority over all other beings. He carries himself straight and tall, his attitude is that of command, his head looks to heaven and presents an august face on which is printed the character of his dignity. The image of the soul is painted there by his physiognomy, the excellence of his nature breaks through his material organs and animates the features of his face with a divine fire. His majestic bearing and his firm, bold step announce his nobility and his rank" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 2, p. 518). This passage is central to the meaning of Pajou's richly ideated simulacrum, down to the "firm, bold" positioning of the feet.

The statue makes unmistakable appeals to Judeo-Christian tradition. The hero stands Adam-like, a perfect representative of a perfect creation, man, and, in Buffon's words, "a man such as one can believe the first man was at the moment of creation, that is to say a man whose body and organs would be perfectly formed, but who would wake up all new to himself and to everything that surrounds him" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 3, p. 364). Pajou captures this sense of sudden alertness in the erect posture and sweeping glance. Adam is implicit in the figure of man confronting the animals, including lion and dog, that appears in a vignette of the *Histoire naturelle* (vol. 2, p. 429; fig. 184). Its scale notwithstanding, Pajou obviously retained this tyrannical little figure in the back of his mind (he had little use for the allegorical group at right). In addition to Adam, Pajou invokes the lawgiver Moses with his tablet and the stylus that may move less to the dictation of God than to that of Nature (although Buffon was far from being the enemy of religion that many made him out to be).

The half-nude statue also followed an ancient statuary type of the philosopher. As Pigalle and Diderot traced Voltaire to Seneca, Pajou and d'Angiviller sought a purer and less startling type. Once again Pajou relied on memories of Rome. The relationship of flesh to drapery here corresponds most closely to an ancient marble from the Albani collection in the Museo Capitolino that was then held to represent Zeno (fig. 182; Colton 1981, pp. 541, 547 n. 42, indicates the "Zeno" among other possible prototypes but it is by far the closest; for it see Jones 1912, pp. 347–48, no. 8). The bare chest, long hair, and lined brow are all ancient conventions. Pajou also reached back to Rome for the globe stand, adapted from his drawings of an antique tripod then also in the Capitoline (fig. 183; ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 76; 27.2 × 12 cm [10¾ × 4¾ in.]; annotated: *capitole urne de Marbre Blanc* [capitol urn of white marble]; restudied from another angle in a drawing with brown wash in a private collection in Paris). To the Neoclassical mind, to Pajou as well as to Buffon, who was ever mindful of his relationship to Aristotle and Pliny, such incorporation of ancient imagery validated a modern work.

It is of interest that the area of the globe turned toward us at top is a rather inchoate view of the Mediterranean—an appropriate location for the most Eurocentric of writers. The marble's very whiteness could echo this Great Caucasian's understanding that "white appears to be the original color of Nature" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 3, p. 502).

Pajou referred to his model for the 1773 bust (cat. 111) but meticulously rethought the head, which is now prouder and more abstracted. The carefully tended curls now cascade in a leonine mane. Borrowings from the king of beasts have in fact often been remarked in the head (e.g., Colton 1981, pp. 541–42). For the rest, the air of commanding omniscience was prompted by Buffon's writings: "Love for the study of Nature presupposes in the spirit two qualities which appear to be opposite: the large-sightedness of an ardent genius who embraces all in a glance, and the small attention of a laborious instinct which attaches itself to a single point" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 1, p. 4). Although a student of Nature must have "general views" and "a firm glance" (*Histoire naturelle,* vol. 1, p. 51), Buffon himself was extremely nearsighted (Silvestre de Sacy 1953, p. 46). The irreducible serenity in the features here may echo lines by Le Brun-Pindare: "While the black tempest / Growls at his feet, his noble head / Retains a majestic calm" (Écouchard Le Brun 1829, p. 3).

The most charming portrait of Buffon is the watercolor by Carmontelle dated 1769 at the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Paul-Marie Grinevald in Taquet et al. 1988, p. 10, ill.). Pajou probably did not consult it, but some elements of the statue are already present: the globe and a selection of animals, including a lion. The attributes in the statue are far more ordered, more symbolic, and more reflective of the philosopher's musings.

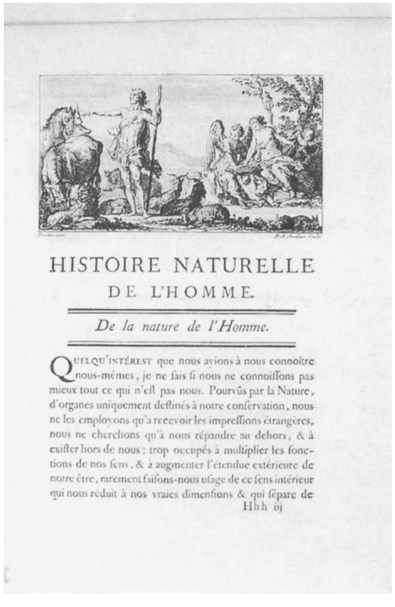

HISTOIRE NATURELLE
DE L'HOMME.
De la nature de l'Homme.
QUELQU'INTÉRÊT que nous ayions à nous connoître nous-mêmes, je ne fais ſi nous ne connoiſſons pas mieux tout ce qui n'eſt pas nous. Pourvûs par la Nature, d'organes uniquement deſtinés à notre conſervation, nous ne les employons qu'à recevoir les impreſſions étrangères, nous ne cherchons qu'à nous répandre au dehors, & à exiſter hors de nous; trop occupés à multiplier les fonctions de nos ſens, & à augmenter l'étendue extérieure de notre être, rarement faiſons-nous uſage de ce ſens intérieur qui nous réduit à nos vraies dimenſions & qui ſépare de
Hhh iij

Fig. 184. François-Antoine Aveline after Jacques de Sève, *Man Dominating the Animal Kingdom and Nature Divulging Her Secrets to the Genius of Natural History.* Engraving in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle.* Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle

For Buffon, man is the center of the universe and at the summit of the scale of beings which he constructed. When man places himself "at the head of all created beings, he will see with astonishment that one can descend by almost insensible degrees from the most perfect creature [himself] to the most shapeless matter, from the best-organized animal to the crudest mineral; he will recognize that these imperceptible nuances are the great work of Nature" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 1, p. 12). One of these nuances, on the base of the statue, is the sponge, transitional between vegetable and animal (see Roger 1989, p. 127). Much nearer the top of the scale would be the lion, man's natural enemy. But man dominates his fellow creatures "because of the superiority of his nature and because he has a well-reasoned project, an order of action, and a coherence of means by which he constrains the animal to obey" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 2, p. 438). If, like the lion, they cannot obey, these lesser creatures fall and die. Pajou's recumbent lion is certainly lifeless, impervious to the snake writhing on its head. Buffon noted: "The lion not having enemies other than man, . . . his species [found] itself reduced to a fiftieth or, if you prefer, a tenth of what it formerly was" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 9, pp. 3–4). Having vanquished the lion, man in the person of Buffon can symbolically appropriate some of his traits.

The lion is separately carved. Another attribute, the piece of crystal resting on the front left corner, is not very distinguished in execution, and one would think it had to be an afterthought, except that it also appears in the engraving by Martini (fig. 186, discussed below). The whole then consists of five stone pieces: the figure with most of the base, the sponge, the lion, the crystal, and the small block on which the last rests.

An element integral to the statue is the sheepdog licking Buffon's feet. The action does not indicate servility as much as the virtue of submission: "When its sentiment is gentle, exquisite, when it can be perfected by education, the animal becomes worthy of entering into society with man; it can work toward his plans, watch over his safety, help to defend him, flatter him; it can by its assiduous services, by its reiterated caresses, win over its master, captivate him, and make of its tyrant a protector" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 5, p. 185).

The statue was Pajou's first big chance to prove his intellect and his ability to grapple with complex issues. He responded excitedly to his subject's energy, genius, and sense of order and to that air of majesty so often remarked in him. Pajou was seduced by Buffon's writing and its aesthetic emphasis, and he adjusted his own sculptural language to express his subject's godlike nature. For the statue finally is meant to embody man in the person of Buffon: man is "the king of the Earth . . . he ennobles it, peoples and enriches it, he estab-

lishes order, subordination and harmony among living beings" (*Histoire naturelle*, vol. 20, p. 313). The sculpture's meaning and style can be understood only in terms of Buffon the author.

The philosopher's *Discours sur le style* sounds a clarion note that our Neoclassicist cannot have missed:

> If one rises to the most general ideas, and if the object of it is equally great, the tone will rise to the same height; and if in sustaining it at this elevation, the genius provides enough to give to each object a strong light, and if he can add the beauty of color to the energy of the drawing, if he can, in a word, represent each idea by a vivid and well-finished image, and form of every train of ideas a harmonious and moving picture, the tone will be not only elevated, but sublime. . . . The tone of the orator and the poet, if the subject be great, must always be sublime. (Buffon 1992, pp. 29, 31)

Given the ardor of Buffon's followers, Pajou would have been found lacking had he not striven to strike the same ringing tone.

The Bibliothèque Nationale owns an unpublished counterproof of a drawing of the statue (or rather the plaster model without the crystal) in the red-chalk manner of Pajou's atelier (fig. 185; inv. D 100701, 44.9 × 29.6 cm [17⅝ × 11⅝ in.]); the original would have been comparable in quality to cat. 113. The corner point of view emphasizes the exalted air of the philosopher's head. In other drawing the sculptor assumed a slightly more frontal view; this latter survives in the form of a counterproof in a private collection, Paris, and bears in reverse a convincing signature and date, *Pajou / 1777*, while on the mount is penned, equally convincingly: *Pajou invenit et Delineavit / Allégorie relative a Bufon dont La statue est Exécuté en marbre dans Lescalier/du cabinet d'istoire Naturel au jardin des plantes a Paris* (Designed and drawn by Pajou / allegory relative to Buffon whose statue is executed in marble in the stairway of the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris). The original of this drawing was given to Pietro Antonio Martini for his engraving (fig. 186), which has a dramatically charged atmosphere. A young genius soars aloft, one hand holding a diadem above Buffon's head, the other pushing aside a curtain to reveal the statue. Some coquillage and grasses have been added to the base. The legend below—*Naturam amplectitur omnen* (He embraces all of Nature)—is, it will be recalled, the inscription that originally graced the pedestal. This engraving served as the frontispiece for Buffon's *Des époques de la nature* (*Oeuvres complètes*, 1774–89, vol. 6). JDD

Fig. 185. After Pajou, *Buffon*. Counterproof of a red-chalk drawing. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France



Fig. 186. Pietro Antonio Martini after Pajou, *Buffon*. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France





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113. *Record of the Monument to Buffon*

Two shades of red chalk, edges ruled in brown ink
39.1 × 25.1 cm (15⅜ × 9⅞ in.)

Montbard, Musée Buffon (95.6.1)

PROVENANCE: The Arthur M. Sackler Collections, New York; sale New York, Christie's, January 12, 1995, no. 181

RELATED WORKS: See cat. 112

Buffon's native city is fortunate in this recent acquisition. It is an extremely finely shaded record of the statue (cat. 112) or, more likely, of Pajou's full-scale plaster, produced in the same spirit as the best of the red-chalk copies from his studio (see, for example, cat. 44). Absent are certain details, such as configurations on the globe, which were best left until the final carving of the stone. Also absent is the crystal formation on the front left corner, a detail added to the marble which presumably derived from Martini's engraving (fig. 186) rather than from the monument as first planned. JDD

114. *Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon*

Marble
H. 42 cm (16½ in.) (with gray marble socle 59 cm [23¼ in.]), W. 43 cm (16⅞ in.), D. 36 cm (14⅛ in.)

Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (545)

PROVENANCE: Ordered by the comte d'Angiviller together with the marble statue and terracotta bust (cat. 112, 115); among properties confiscated from the émigré d'Angiviller, 1794; sent to storage in the Dépôt de Nesle; sent to the Muséum; in storage in the library since 1942

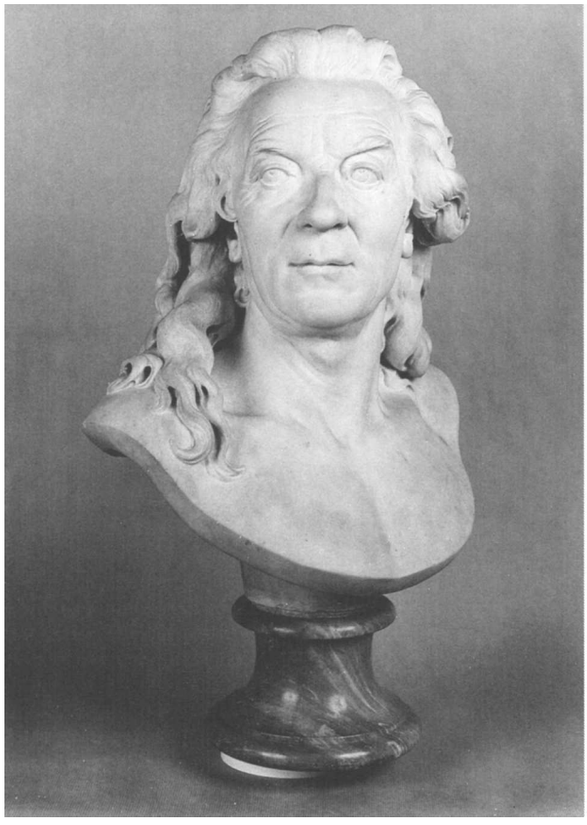
EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1932b, no. 54; Paris 1935b, no. 160; Paris 1937a, no. 1064; Paris 1949, no. 140

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berrier and Jouin 1879, pp. 314–15; Jouin and Stein 1889, p. 115; Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 335, no. 1; Stein 1912, pp. 171, ill., 173, 407; Brière 1913, p. 357; Réau 1923, p. 57; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 239–40; Bourdier 1952, p. 174; Colton 1981, p. 547 n. 43

RELATED WORKS: See cat. 112 and 115

A bust of Buffon by Pajou is not in the Salon *livret* for 1775, but we know from two sources that he exhibited one then. Neither mentions its material but the descriptions can refer only to a bust of this model. The *Mercure de France* (Deloynes, vol. 10, no. 165, p. 741) calls it a "piece with character and strong expression," while the author of the "Glance at the Salon of 1775 by a Blind Man" (Deloynes, vol. 10, no. 162, p. 23) cites "M. de Buffon with straggly hair like an actress at the Opéra, I have no idea why." One is quite aware of the hair when the head is excerpted from the statue (cat. 112) in this way.

The comte d'Angiviller's admiration for Buffon is underscored by his ownership of this bust and of cat. 115. When he was in exile in Maastricht, the Committee for Public Instruction drew up a register of objects of art belonging to émigrés and deemed worthy of confiscation. Among the objects in d'Angiviller's house at 6 rue de l'Oratoire that were included in a report of March 24, 1794, were "The two busts of Buffon in mar-



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ble and the terracotta by Pajou" (AN, F[17A] 372, p. 4). This sounds like two marbles and a terracotta, but the clerical error was corrected in a follow-up inventory of April 10 and 21, 1794, that mentions only "The bust of Buffon in marble, and the terracotta, by Pajou" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 335, no. 1).

The adaptation of the statue's head for busts *à l'antique* with simple arcs for edges often resulted in quite compelling objects with overtones of abstraction. Brought closer to the viewer, Buffon's vaunted mane of hair and his decisive glance become even more dramatic. Brière (1913, p. 357) may have had this model in mind when contrasting Houdon's *Buffon* (fig. 3) with Pajou's: "There is more finesse, penetration, fidelity in Houdon, and in Pajou's manner a tendency toward effect and the theatrical; Houdon sees the man and Pajou wants to make his genius felt." There is little to dispute in this assessment. Houdon's softer focus has the paradoxical effect of greater realism, allowing us to sense the pathos of Buffon's myopia and the unsettling effect it had on acquaintances such as d'Angiviller, who spoke of "the weakness of his eyesight which, not allowing him to distinguish anything, prevented him from gazing fixedly and gave his discourse a prophetic air and an inspiration which were imposing" (Silvestre de Sacy 1953, p. 46). Pajou turns the head sideward so



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we are less immediately aware of this condition; in full face, however, the eyes do indeed seem to strain to take in everything they can. Both artists would agree with d'Angiviller: "Listening to him, I imagined . . . an ancient oak which raised its head majestically in the middle of the wood" (ibid. 1953, p. 46). Houdon followed the contours of Buffon's skull quite precisely (Heim 1979, p. 16, fig. 4). The carapace constructed by Pajou is less deep, but our artist is nonetheless a phrenologist, working the features until they convey all the philosopher's acuity, conceit, and triumph.

Neither Pajou's marble nor his terracotta is signed or dated. The marble is carved with particular brilliance. It is demonstrably sharper than the 1773 bust (cat. 111) and it is possible that Pajou's was not the hand responsible. Might we suspect Roland, his favorite practitioner, just back from study in Italy? Roland's bust of Pajou (cat. 150) dates twenty years later, but it is carved with much the same clarity and ultradistinction.

JDD

115. *Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon*

Terracotta
H. 42 cm (with terracotta base, apparently integrally cast with the bust, 59 cm [23¼ in.]), W. 37 cm (14⅝ in.), D. 28 cm (11 in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine (132)

PROVENANCE: Ordered by the comte d'Angiviller together with the marble statue and a marble bust (cat. 112, 114); among properties confiscated from the émigré d'Angiviller, 1794; sent to storage in the Dépôt de Nesle; sent to the Bibliothèque Mazarine and exhibited in the reading room



EXHIBITION: Paris 1993–94, no. 3

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tuetey 1901–2, vol. 1, p. 335, no. 1; Stein 1912, pp. 173, 407; Brière 1913, p. 357; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 239–40; Rostrup 1932, pl. XCI; Bourdier 1952, p. 174; Colton 1981, p. 547 n. 43

RELATED WORKS: See cat. 112, 114, 116

The documentation for the marble statue (cat. 112) states that d'Angiviller acquired both the marble bust (cat. 114) and this one in terracotta "executed after it" (that is, based on the statue's head). Stein describes the terracotta as a model for cat. 114. It is, to be precise, a faithfully cast copy of the same model that was used for the marble (in the back, one can see how the clay has been pressed into a mold), but it has a powerful presence of its own. The surface has been carefully reworked so that graphic details, such as the veins at the temples, are even more striking.

JDD

116. *Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon*

Terracotta, painted in imitation of bronze
H. 58.5 cm (with marble socle 72 cm [28⅜ in.]), W. 56 cm (22 in.), D. 32.5 cm (12¾ in.)
Inscribed on back (cast-in signature, barely visible): *P[a]j[ou] / 1776*

Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale (Buste 13)

PROVENANCE: Buffon's gift to the Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Dijon, 1776; following the suppression of all literary societies by decree of August 8, 1793, transported, along with others of the Académie's busts, to the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Dijon, where it has remained

EXHIBITION: Dijon 1959, no. 269

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 173–74, 326, 408; Réau 1923, p. 58; Bourdier 1952, p. 174; Quarré 1958, p. 133; Colton 1981, p. 548 n. 3

RELATED WORKS: Stein (1912, p. 408) mentions terracottas that belonged to Henry Roblot, Semur, and to E. Seligmann, Paris, but they may have been of the type of cat. III, since Semur and a man named Seligmann are mentioned in connection with other versions of that model (see cat. III, Related Works).

An exact replica in plaster, copying even the socle, is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (Réau 1923, p. 57, ill.).

Buffon was elected a member of the Académie of Dijon in 1753. The academicians had been embellishing their hall with busts of illustrious sons of Burgundy for some years, employing notably Caffieri. They were especially active in 1776, and at their session of June 8, 1776, they were busily assembling pilasters and columns to accommodate the busts (Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon, *Journal de l'Académie,* manuscript, vol. 8, fol. 158r). Stein (1912, p. 173 and n. 6), citing as his source a M. Metman, an attorney at Dijon, says that deliberations of the Académie on July 4, 1776, reveal that the bust of Buffon was the gift of the prince de Condé in his capacity as governor of Burgundy. While the prince was occasionally a benefactor of the Académie, a close reading of the *Journal de l'Académie* (vol. 8) does not disclose his participation in this instance; in fact there was no session on July 4, 1776.

At the session of June 8, 1776, however, Buffon's longtime correspondent Baron Guyton de Morveau "said that a letter from M. de Buffon put him in the sit-



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uation of giving the Académie some hope of having the bust of that celebrated academician soon" (*Journal de l'Académie*, vol. 8, fol. 159r). On July 11 "M. de Morveau shared the text of a letter from M. Pajou, sculptor, announcing to him that he had had sent to his address a terracotta bust of M. le comte de Buffon for which he had received the order from the Académie but that the clay having gotten discolored during the firing he decided to bronze it [that is, to paint it a bronze color]" (*Journal de l'Académie,* vol. 8, fol. 173r). On July 18 "the same academician announced that he had received the bust of M. de Buffon. He asked whether it would not be a case of writing to M. de Buffon to display his gratitude and the satisfaction of the Académie. It was decided that the secretary would write this letter and as all the gentlemen academicians who have seen the bust have praised the artist's work, it was said the secretary should address a letter of felicitation to M. Pajou on the execution of this beautiful piece" (*Journal de l'Académie,* vol. 8, fol. 176r–176v; this and the previous deliberation in Stein 1912, doc. VIII).

On August 1 Buffon wrote from Paris to Dr. Maret in Dijon: "The Académie, monsieur, owes me no thanks, while I owe it all affection and respect; I shall thus always seek occasions to display my feelings for it, and I am very pleased that it has received kindly the bust and the molds that I have taken the liberty of presenting to it" (Buffon 1971, vol. 1, p. 320). Nadault de Buffon (in Buffon 1860, vol. 2, p. 259 nn) assumes that the molds (*creusets*) were sent to allow replication of the bust. This perhaps explains the presence of the plaster copy in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (see Related Works).

The bust was inaugurated on August 18, when a local poet, Pierre Baillot, read some verses which do not seem to have survived (Buffon thanked him graciously on August 25, 1776, adding, "I think nevertheless you should suppress the two strophes, which are too exclusive for glory and which might give birth to a literary civil war between the city of Dijon and our other capital cities"; Buffon 1971, vol. 1, p. 322).

The dark bronzish pigment both hides the blemishes that occurred in casting and makes allusion to a material that is nobler and, with its blue-green hints of verdigris, suggestive of antiquity, as is the splendid throw of drapery which recalls Roman statuary. With it Pajou offers a third choice, having first presented Buffon *à la française* in open-throated lace (cat. III) and then Buffon *à l'antique,* first nude (cat. 114, 115), now draped. JDD

117. *Buffon Seated*

Terracotta
H. 21 cm (8¼ in.), W. 12 cm (4¾ in.), D. 10 cm (4 in.)
Inscribed on front on the self-base, brown ink (not in Pajou's hand): *a Buffon*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 1065)

PROVENANCE: Gift of the widow of the engraver Charles Normand, 1895

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1949, no. 143; Rome–Milan 1959–60, no. 213; Vienna 1966, no. 354; Paris 1984b (not in cat.); Leningrad–Moscow 1987, no. 440; Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, 1988 (no cat.); Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1988–89 (no cat.); Dresden 1994, no. 1/83

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Louvre 1907, no. 1053; Brière 1911, p. 405, no. 187; Lami 1911, p. 213; Stein 1912, pp. 174–76, ill., 408; Vitry 1922, no. 1439; Bourdier 1952, pp. 3, 172–73, pl. XVI; Colton 1981, pp. 535–39, 546 n. 32; Hargrove 1989, p. 22, ill.; Pupil 1992, p. 322

RELATED WORKS: See cat. 112 and 118

It has been routinely assumed that this is a preliminary model for the marble monument (cat. 112), but it cannot be. We do not sense a logical, organic evolution starting with this relatively timid composition and moving on to the heroic stance, while preserving the same movements in the upper body and some of the same attributes at the foot—sponge, globe, and dead lion (here the beast is crushed beneath a weighty tome, suggesting that man defeats his natural foes through superior intellect). The monument's colossal proportions must have been envisioned from the beginning, while this model is miniaturist not only in size but also in intent. With minor adjustments it was refashioned for an edition of bronze statuettes, of which three sur-



Cat. 117: reverse



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vive (see cat. 118). There are variations in the bronzes, chiefly the deletion of the lion and the refining of the Louis XVI armchair, but there can be little doubt that the terracotta served as a maquette for them rather than for a greater entity.

The Versailles bronze (cat. 118) has been ascribed to the talented Robert-Guillaume Dardel on the basis of the description of a terracotta he entered at the Salon de la Correspondance of 1785: "Buffon surrounded by all the objects he covered in his *Histoire naturelle* or all the signs which can represent them, ready to write" (Bellier 1864–65, vol. 19, p. 366). Dardel had worked under Pajou (Stein 1912, pp. 187, 342), but surely he would not pay his master so blatantly imitative a compliment. Dardel's tribute to Descartes, a terracotta in the Wallace Collection, London, that was shown in the Salon of 1782 as *Descartes Piercing through the Gloom of Ignorance* (Mann 1931, pl. 16), is a work of striking originality and exacting workmanship (for Dardel, see also Sorel 1990, pp. 140–44). Colton (1981, p. 546 n. 32) also defends the old Pajou attribution for the present maquette. Its main thrust is to establish the essentials of the composition, especially the twist of cloth at the knee of the philosopher's dressing gown (his favorite garment at home, "made of damask fabric with broad flowers," was described by Humbert de Bazile, among other visitors; Nadault de Buffon 1863, pp. 11–12). The robe's generous, mellow folds are consistent with some of Pajou's best drapings, and precisely the same compositional sense is evident in other works in this scale (cat. 82, 83, 132), including the brisk blocking out of attributes at the corners. The tablet leaning against the hip is borrowed from his own *Pascal* (cat. 125). As often, Pajou is his own best imitator.

Repairs are visible in the proper right hand, whose direction was accordingly altered, and in the top of the chair at back. JDD



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118. *Buffon Seated, after Pajou*

Bronze
H. 27 cm (10⅝ in.), W. 20 cm (7⅞ in.), D. 18.5 cm (7¼ in.); mounted on white marble base H. 15.5 cm (6⅛ in.), W. 24.5 cm (9⅝ in.), D. 22 cm (8⅝ in.)

Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles (MV 2155)

PROVENANCE: Among confiscated crown properties brought to storage at Versailles during the Revolution (BHVDP, Ms. M.S. 796 [undated], fol. 132 seq., no. 3593), inventoried in storage in the Cour Royale at Versailles in 1846 (Archives du Louvre, D. De 22)

EXHIBITIONS: Chicago–Toledo–Los Angeles–San Francisco 1962–63, no. 141, ill.; Tokyo–Osaka–Nagoya 1970, no. 100

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Soulié 1859–61, vol. 2, no. 2155; Nolhac and Pératé 1896, p. 220; Brière 1911, p. 405, no. 187; Stein 1912, pp. 174–75, ill.; Maricheau-Beaupré 1949, p. 76; Colton 1981, pp. 535, 546 n. 32; Hoog 1993, no. 261

RELATED WORKS: Terracotta model (cat. 117).
Two other bronze examples in the same scale and mounted on marble, both with some missing attributes, in Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, and Sèvres, private collection

These bronzes should be viewed as after Pajou rather than as by Dardel, the current attribution at Versailles (Hoog 1993, no. 261). Bourdier (1952, p. 173) supposed the terracotta model (cat. 117) was not followed for the statue because it "resembled a clock ornament a bit too much." As we have shown, he was right in a sense: the model was meant to be realized in bronzes that are in the scale of smaller clock embellishments. The three surviving bronzes have minute variations in their patinations and details. The present example is the one in which the attributes are best preserved and can be best appreciated—as, for example, the tulip engraved on the open book at the foot of the globe. Such particulars advertise the prowess of the bronze founder, and here as elsewhere (cat. 27, 135) we might well suspect the talents of Pierre-Philippe Thomire and his foundry. A photograph of the example in the Hermitage is labeled as having been cast by Thomire in 1788. We do not yet know on what information this is based, but such a dating is supported by the high quality of the chasing and by the strong likelihood that the bronze edition was a posthumous tribute after Buffon's death in April 1788.

JDD



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119. *The Genius of Buffon*

Terracotta
H. 30 cm (11⅞ in.), W. 17.5 cm (6⅞ in.), D. 15.2 cm (6 in.)
Inscribed on front of self-base: *LE GÉNIE DE BUFFON.*; on back: *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU. / L'AN 4 DE LA / RÉPUBLIQUE / F. 1796. V. Stile* (by Citizen Pajou, year 4 of the French Republic, 1796 old style)

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Sale Paris, Drouot, June 6, 1943, no. 16; acquired by the present owner in New York, 1997

EXHIBITION: New York 1989, no. 95, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baillio 1989, p. 36, ill.

RELATED WORKS: See cat. 112, 117, 118



Cat. 119: reverse

Pajou distills his revered subject into pure spirit, replacing the philosopher with a handsome, dreamy youth who represents his motivating genius. This is a classic case of revisiting and recombining past achievements (the model in turn strongly influenced a genre group of 1799 [cat. 144]). Extraordinarily long-limbed (perhaps the most elongated of all Pajou's figures), the quasi-angelic adolescent is clad in a toga and a mantle that falls across his back and is gathered gracefully at his side. In him is manifest the pose of *Buffon Seated* (cat. 117); this is another reason to certify Pajou as its author. The marble statue's slavering canine (cat. 112) is retained for a picturesque effect that is also provided by the heap of coral, conchs, and nautiluses. The boot of Italy seems indicated in the incisions on the globe. JDD

VII. *The Great Men*

"When M. d'Angeviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, conceived the felicitous idea of executing in marble the statues of the celebrated men of France, M. Pajou was one of the first chosen; he was assigned the statue of Descartes, then the statues of Bossuet, Turenne, and Pascal. This is where the artist must be judged, because nothing is more difficult to make than a good statue. One must, so to speak, write the life of a man in a single figure."[1]

This passage, excerpted from the first biography of Pajou, clearly shows the importance of his statues of famous men to his immediate posterity. But even when these statues were exhibited at the Salon (see cat. 112, 122, 127–129), the numerous comments—for the most part in print—that they elicited indicate how closely they responded to public interest.

The second half of the eighteenth century, particularly under Louis XVI, was the period when the French national past was commemorated most obsessively, as is superbly shown by Turpin's *La France illustrée, ou le Plutarque françois,* published in 1780. This "French Plutarchism" has been much studied, and readers interested in the context can refer to a large bibliography on the subject.[2]

From 1708 to 1721 Louis Garnier produced a singular monument in bronze, the *French Parnassus* (fig. 187), at the request of a literature and music lover named Evrard Titon du Tillet (1677–1762).[3] The latter, on the eve of his death, decided to have some additions made by Pajou. The work,[4] today at the Château de Versailles, shows Mount Parnassus crowned by the figure of Apollo, accompanied by Pegasus and the three Graces, together with eight writers and a musician who lived during the Sun King's reign, in antique garb and various postures.[5]

As early as 1727 and in later editions of his book until 1760, Titon du Tillet declared that he wanted to add new writers, even living ones, to his monument. At first he thought of depicting them on medallions; then the plan of adding statuettes began to form in 1742, when Titon announced his intention to include a figure of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau (fig. 188), a personal friend who had died the previous year.[6] If Rousseau indeed appears on an engraving of the Parnassus by Tardieu in 1757, it seems unlikely that Pajou could have realized the bronze figure at that time because he was just back from Italy and not yet accredited. Probably the commission was awarded sometime later, at the beginning of the 1760s. The figure of the writer Prosper de Crébillon (fig. 189) was probably commissioned after his death, in June 1762, and about this date Pajou received a commission for a statuette of Voltaire (fig. 190).[7] It is not known why Titon chose Pajou, who was a very young artist at the time. Perhaps he was recommended by Caylus or Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne. He scrupulously followed the aesthetic plan determined by Titon: a depiction in antique style.[8] Thus Pajou's *Rousseau, Crébillon,* and *Voltaire* are essentially an appendix to the *French Parnassus*, created at the beginning of the century to express the unusual concept of a single individual. The statue of Henri IV planned for the cathedral of Sainte-Croix in Orléans (cat. 120) might have become a significant addition to the iconography of the founder of the Bourbon dynasty, but Trouard's dismissal from the construction project effectively halted execution of the statue, and therefore its influence.[9]

The sculptor first tackled a retrospective monument with his *Turenne* in the École Militaire, the image of which survives in Duflos's engraving (fig. 197). The model was shown at the Salon of 1773, with three other statues (one of the three was a work by Mouchy [fig. 191]).[10] The *Mercure de France* saw right away what was at stake: "If sculpture is regarded from a moral standpoint, no doubt the loftiest goal of this art is to perpetuate the memory of famous men."[11] The idea of commemorating someone outside of a funerary context was, of course, not new. Beginning with the reign of Louis XIV, the great soldiers of the past had had their statues erected, alone or in pairs, illustrating antiquity,[12] the nation's history,[13] and even recent glories.[14] With the École Militaire program, however, there was evidently the pedagogic intent of exhibiting four great soldiers of the realm together in order to edify the new generation of combatants.[15] Two of these soldiers had, moreover, already been the subject of lifesize commemorative sculptures.[16]



Fig. 187. Louis Garnier, *The French Parnassus*. Bronze. Versailles, Musée National du Château



Fig. 190. Pajou, *Voltaire*. Bronze. Detail of *The French Parnassus* (fig. 187)

Fig. 188. Pajou, *Jean-Baptiste Rousseau*. Bronze. Detail of *The French Parnassus* (fig. 187)

Fig. 189. Pajou, *Prosper de Crébillon*. Bronze. Detail of *The French Parnassus* (fig. 187)





The critics at the Salon of 1773 deplored the uniformity with which the four statues had been conceived, each figure shown wearing a breastplate and "long mantle."[17] The costume debate was raging at the time. Diderot exclaimed: "When a people's garb is mean-looking, art must leave costume behind. What do you expect a sculptor to do with your jackets, your breeches, and your rows of buttons?"[18] Still, heroic nudity was not yet the fashion for national warriors. Bouchardon might indeed have paved the way with his statue of the prince de Waldeck: according to a letter of August 24, 1730, from Vleughels, director of the Académie de France in Rome, Bouchardon "has finished the clay version of the portrait of the prince de Waldeck, and is very happy with it; he is to carve it in marble, nude and lifesize."[19] But the prince was killed in a riding accident in November 1731,[20] and the work was never executed. Two drawings from Mariette's collection are the only extant illustrations of the project: in one, the hero is nude, like an academy figure, while in the other he wears a Roman drapery (fig. 192). Large-scale realization of such a statue—especially at that time—would have been an event, less for the relative glory of the subject than for his public representation, worthy of Winckelmann's account of ancient Rome.[21] Thirty years would pass before the idea of such a heroicization of a contemporary figure was taken up again, and in both cases—Pigalle's *Nude Voltaire* and Pajou's *Buffon* (cat. 112)—the subjects were intellectuals, shown "in philosopher's garb."[22] Nudity was not acceptable for an admiral or army general. When the comte d'Angiviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi under Louis XVI, initiated and developed the commission for the Great Men of France to decorate the Grande Galerie in the Louvre (which in his mind was already a museum), the costume debate did not affect his notion that these famous men—writers included—should be shown in the clothing of their time. In this regard Pajou was the docile executant of this policy (cat. 122–29).

To return to the series initiated by d'Angiviller: desirous of giving new impetus to both historical painting and historical sculpture, d'Angiviller organized shortly after his nomination, on August 24, 1774, an ambitious policy of public commissions. On January 4, 1775, he sent J.-B. Pierre, *premier peintre* and director of the Académie, a letter in which he unveiled his plan for sculpture: the king had authorized him to announce to the Académie that "his intention is to have executed, each year . . . two statues in marble. . . . He wishes these statues to present to the nation the image of those who have honored it."[23] The choice of the first famous men had already been made. On March 14, 1776, in another letter to Pierre,[24] d'Angiviller specified that four sculptures were to be presented every other year at the Salon. The director selected the artists commissioned to execute, for ten thousand livres apiece, a marble statue for the next Salon. Apart from the *Fénelon,* already assigned to Lecomte, Pajou was given first choice, as he was the most senior:[25] for the Salon of 1777 it was *Descartes* (cat. 129), followed by *Bossuet* for the Salon of 1779 (see cat. 122), *Pascal,* the plaster cast of which was shown at the Salon of 1781 (and the marble version in 1785: cat. 127), and *Turenne* in 1783 (cat. 128).

The iconographic choices for the series, made by d'Angiviller, were subtly split between writer-philosophers and men of the church or state. The first four illustrated a wide historical range of abilities,[26] which afterward narrowed to an almost exclusive glorification of the century of Louis XIV. As of the third Salon (1781), the military branch of the monarchy's servants was added, among them three heroes of the École Militaire.[27] The selection of subjects encountered difficulties when it came too close to recent history or to current political events of a sensitive nature.[28] On the latter point Pajou learned the hard way when in 1787 he expressed the desire to create a fifth Great Man; d'Angiviller's embarrassed reply to Pierre, on December 4,[29] shows how the sculptor's influence could not be ignored. From the list proposed by the director of the Bâtiments du Roi, Pajou chose a famous individual, Guillaume de Lamoignon (1617–1677), first president of the Paris parliament. As it turned out, the royal chancellor in 1787 was Lamoignon's direct descendant; and in the bitter atmosphere of parliamentary insurrection at the end of Louis XVI's reign, it was impossible to single out a member of that family, illustrious though he was, since its



Fig. 191. Louis-Philippe Mouchy, *The Maréchal de Luxembourg.* Plaster. Whereabouts unknown

current representative was too unpopular with the public.[30] The idea had to be abandoned—an outcome that proved hard on Pajou, for no other subject was proposed in its place.[31] Still, the artist had little reason to complain about his director general: he had already been assigned more Great Men than any of his colleagues, ahead of Mouchy (three statues), Gois, Lecomte, Caffieri, Bridan, and Julien (two statues each); the others were each entitled to only a single commission. This dazzling mark of favor on d'Angiviller's part is evidence of Pajou's preeminent role under Louis XVI—he was in truth "first sculptor to the king," even though no such title existed.

The comte d'Angiviller wanted to disseminate this ambitious collection of the Great Men of France created by the sculptors to the king and members of his Académie.[32] As early as 1782 he expressed the desire to have them "executed in porcelain and in miniature":[33] the artists were to provide—for one thousand livres when the statues were already executed, gratis afterward—terracotta reductions of their figures, twenty inches high (50.8 cm; these models are today housed in the Musée National de Céramique in Sèvres), and to supervise the execution of the molds. The king set an example by systematically buying the first copy of each bisque statuette, which he then exhibited in his library at Versailles; and by giving a complete series to the king of Sweden in June 1784 and another to Prince Henry of Prussia in October 1784. Despite this promotional effort, however, the enterprise was a commercial failure. The diffusion of the statues by means of these statuettes had the same logic for d'Angiviller as that of the Gobelins tapestries based on paintings of the history of France.[34]

Pajou, of course, carried out his assignment. Just before June 17, 1783, he delivered to the porcelain works the models for *Pascal* (before its execution in marble: cat. 125) and *Turenne* (done at the same time as the marble: see cat. 128); then, probably on July 26, 1783,[35] the two models based on earlier statues, *Descartes* (see cat. 129) and *Bossuet* (see cat. 123). The four bisque statuettes were available at the beginning of 1784.

Concurrently with the series of statues intended for the Louvre,[36] which were paid for by the king, a similar enterprise was taking place, this one privately financed. In 1771 the Comédie Française had adopted an astute policy of commissioning work from sculptors: the latter supplied the portrait, and the company in return gave a lifetime free admission to performances. Caffieri was the champion of this operation, producing nine busts (including two terracottas), among which are some of his masterpieces (for example, *Corneille,* 1777, and *Rotrou,* 1778). Other artists, including Houdon (*Molière* and *Voltaire*, 1778), Boizot (*Racine,* 1779), Foucou (*Regnard,* 1779), Berruer (*Destouches,* 1780), d'Huez (*Crébillon* after Lemoyne, 1778), and Pajou himself (*Dufresny,* 1781; cat. 130), participated in the enterprise. Their sculptures decorated the theater of the Comédie Française, newly built on the Place de l'Odéon by De Wailly and Peyre, and were afterward transferred to the theater's current location on the Place du Palais-Royal, where they are still visible in the public foyer. Besides this gallery of writers, portraits of the most famous actors and actresses (*Mlle Clairon* and *Mlle Dangeville* by J.-B. II Lemoyne, *Larive* by Houdon) are dispersed throughout the building. This series of retrospective busts had a precedent some fifteen years earlier in Troyes, where in 1756 the writer Grosley commissioned from Vassé busts of the city's most illustrious natives.[37]



Fig. 192. Edme Bouchardon, *Study for a Statue of the Prince de Waldeck.* Red chalk. Paris, Musée du Louvre

Pajou received the commission for *Dufresny* while he was working on his Great Men for d'Angiviller (between the marble versions of *Bossuet* and *Turenne*). He had few adjustments to make in his approach, since the gallery of the Comédie Française followed the same aesthetic conventions as the Bâtiments: fidelity to clothing of the personage's time and a likeness that conformed to established portraits.

The program of sculptural decoration on the Place du Peyrou in Montpellier (cat. 132) was an extension of the commemoration of that French-style Plutarchism so favored by d'Angiviller, even if Faugères, the sponsor of the Languedoc project, launched the idea before the

director of the Bâtiments came to power. Both men, in fact, were formed by a powerful groundswell, fed by literary tributes and the panegyrics of the Académie Française—following the example set by Pierre Patte, who in 1765 yearned to see on the Pont Neuf "all the circular recesses on the sidewalks decorated with bronze figures raised on pedestals, representing most of the nation's great men. So it is that all our monuments should resound with the glory of these immortal heroes, whose names will last as long as the monarchy."[38] GS

1. Chaussard 1806, p. 465. Le Breton goes one better: "By a stroke of good fortune that we congratulate ourselves for, M. Pajou's most beautiful statues represent Frenchmen illustrious in the sciences, the military, and high eloquence: they are *Descartes, Pascal, Turenne, Bossuet,* and *Buffon*" (1810, p. 358).
2. Dowley 1957; Leith 1972; Colton 1976; Pupil 1985; McClellan 1993; Scherf 1993.
3. He was a son of the general arms contractor to the kingdom, protected by Louvois.
4. Souchal 1977–93, vol. 2, p. 7, no. 10, ill.
5. On this work, see Colton 1979.
6. Ibid., pp. 160, 162.
7. Titon had long wanted to include him in his *Parnassus,* but the philosopher had no particular desire to be there (see the long discussion in Colton 1979, pp. 165–78, of the bittersweet relations between the two men). A definitive reconciliation took place in 1760 when Voltaire agreed to house, in Ferney, Corneille's penniless great-niece, who earlier had been helped by Titon. The correspondence between the two men became warmer.
8. Evrard Titon du Tillet died on December 26, 1762. In his will, he instructed his nephew and executor, Jean-Baptiste Maximilien Titon, councillor at the Paris parliament, to offer the king his *French Parnassus.* After several hesitations, the gift was finally accepted in 1766, and the donor's heir received six thousand livres as a gratuity. The nephew had Pajou add a supplemental figure representing his uncle (fig. 234), payment for which was covered by the Bâtiments du Roi in recognition of the gift of the monument. For the correspondence between Titon's nephew and Marigny in 1766, see Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 235–38. The three figures of Rousseau, Crébillon, and Voltaire were completed in 1766; Pajou received one thousand livres for each of them that same year (Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 2, p. 54). The sculptor's invoice for *Titon du Tillet* dates from only 1776. On July 8, 1775, in a letter to d'Angiviller (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt collection, no. 7694), he had asked for payment of the sum, fixed at one thousand livres, but he was not paid until 1780.
9. The study for a statue of Louis XV (fig. 194) was based on established effigies by Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne (see Réau 1927, pls. XXIV, XXVII).
10. With Pajou's *Turenne,* there were Lecomte's *Condé,* Mouchy's *Luxembourg,* and d'Huez's *Maréchal de Saxe.* The statues occupied the niches in the Grand Stairway. They were noted by Dezallier d'Argenville (1778, p. 411), Dulaure (1785, p. 154), and Thiéry (1787, p. 628), before being destroyed during the Revolution. See Gagne 1931.
11. October 1773, p. 178.
12. We can cite Sébastien Slodtz's *Hannibal* (Paris, Musée du Louvre; Souchal 1967, pp. 584–86, pl. 2) and Nicolas Coustou's *Julius Caesar* (Paris, Musée du Louvre; Souchal 1980, p. 249, pl. 8), both in the Tuileries gardens in 1722 after having been intended for Versailles.
13. *Saint Louis* (Nicolas Coustou; Souchal 1980, pp. 250–51, pl. 49c) and *Charlemagne* (Coysevox; ibid., pl. 49d) have guarded the entrance to the Dôme des Invalides since 1706.
14. Examples are the *Great Condé* by Coysevox (1687–90; park of the Château de Chantilly: Souchal 1977–93, vol. 1, p. 198, no. 47) and the *Maréchal de Villars* by Nicolas and Guillaume Coustou (1719–33; Aix-en-Provence, Hôtel de Ville; Souchal 1980, p. 254, pl. 26b); the latter follows Coysevox's Louis XIV–style model.
15. "[It is a question] of making four statues [at the École Militaire] that will remind the young nobles being educated there of the most famous warriors of the last century or of this" (Pidansat de Mairobert, letter III [Salon of 1773]: *Mémoires secrets* 1995, p. 44).
16. The *Great Condé* by Coysevox (see n. 14 above) and the *Maréchal de Saxe* by Pigalle, the latter being a grandiose allegorical composition of greater amplitude than the traditional funerary monument.
17. Comments in the *Éloge des tableaux* . . . (Deloynes, vol. 10, no. 148, p. 73).
18. Diderot, *Pensées détachées sur la peinture:* Bukdahl et al. 1995b, p. 445.
19. Roserot 1910, pp. 24–25.
20. Letter from Vleughels, November 13, 1731: ibid., p. 28.
21. "Augustus . . . had installed in the Portico of the Forum the statues of the great men of the nation who had contributed to the glory of the fatherland and caused to be mended the ones of those that were already there" (Winckelmann 1766, pp. 273–74).
22. Pajou's invoice for *Buffon*: Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 239.
23. *Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, 1888, p. 177.
24. Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 400.
25. Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 81.
26. The chancellor de l'Hospital (ca. 1504–1573), the minister Sully (1560–1641), the intellectual Descartes (1596–1650), and the bishop Fénelon (1651–1715).
27. The *Maréchal de Saxe* is missing.
28. For the *Montesquieu,* which Clodion had to start over from scratch, see Poulet and Scherf 1992, pp. 279–86.
29. Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2 pp. 219–20.
30. In his memoirs, the baron de Besenval (1987, pp. 232, 394), a friend of Chancellor Lamoignon, described the hostility of the parliamentary camp toward his reform projects.
31. Only three figures of Great Men were exhibited at the Salon of 1789.
32. Three agrégés of the Académie were among them: Clodion, Roland, and Moitte.
33. Letter to Régnier, director of the Sèvres manufactory, January 16, 1782: Taylor 1974, pp. 31–34; Pierre Ennès in Paris 1990b, p. 202.
34. See Locquin 1912, passim.
35. Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 28.
36. A retrospective ensemble that is not so well known, since it has been destroyed or scattered, is that of the busts intended for the Salle des Actes at the Collège de France, representing the kings of France "from François I to Louis XV: their execution has been entrusted to Messieurs Lemoyne, Gois, Houdon, Clodion, and Duret" (Dezallier d'Argenville 1778, p. 272). Pajou did not participate in this commission.
37. See Paris 1984–85, no. 143.
38. Patte 1765, p. 227.

120. *Henri IV*

Terracotta
H. 31 cm (12¼ in.), W. 13.5 cm (5⅜ in.), D. 10 cm (4 in.)

Besançon, Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie (D.863.3.18)

PROVENANCE: Combined sale (La Reynière, Donjeux, and marquis de Chevigné), February 10, 1773, no. 48: "Model for a statue of Henri IV. Terracotta 11 inches high [27.9 cm]," sold for 481 livres; Pierre-Adrien Pâris collection, bequeathed to the Bibliothèque de Besançon, 1819; transferred to the museum, 1863

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1957, no. 213; Paris 1964a, no. 97

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pâris 1806, fol. 56, no. 71; [Weiss] 1821, p. 220, no. 478; Blanc 1857–58, vol. 1, p. 213; Lancrenon 1865, no. 561; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 194; Castan 1886, no. 963; Castan 1891, p. 237; *Musée de Besançon* 1910, no. 185; Lami 1911, p. 210; Stein 1912, pp. 265–66, ill., 268, 401; Chenesseau 1921, p. 281; Brinckmann 1925, p. 124, no. 67, ill.; Réau 1936, p. 19; Pupil 1985, pp. 474–75; Desmas 1994, pp. 79–82

RELATED WORK: Drawing in an album from the Pâris collection, Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale (fig. 193)

On the strength of two small drawings signed by Pajou, formerly in the collection of Pierre-Adrien Pâris (12 × 8 cm [4¾ × 3⅛ in.]; figs. 193, 194), and on the basis of Weiss's account of this collection together with the various catalogues of the museum at Besançon, Stein and Chenesseau state without any documentary evidence that Pajou sculpted, for the porch of the cathedral of Sainte-Croix at Orléans, statues of the two founders of the latter-day cathedral: Henri IV and Louis XV (see cat. 43). No existing archive from the time of the architect Trouard, who commissioned the decoration of the tympanum from Pajou, refers to such a project; nor is it listed in the estimate of 1768 (ADL, Jarry collection, 2J 2774). Only a report by the general council of the commune, dated May 10, 1811 (ADL, Jarry collection, 2J 2774; Desmas 1994, p. 79), mentions that "the work still to be done to finish this beautiful monument [includes] the two colossal marble statues that are to represent Henri IV and Louis XV, placed in the peristyle of each tower." Since the Besançon terracotta necessarily dates from before February 1773, when it was offered at auction, it must have been created in direct connection with the works planned by Trouard, whom Legrand did not replace until 1774. Trouard would thus have commissioned Pajou to do the tympanum and perhaps, slightly later, the two statues commemorating the founders of the present church (witness the Latin inscription on the medal by Duvivier, which reads: "In 1767 Louis XV fulfilled the vow of Henri IV"). Pâris, the last architect of Sainte-Croix before the Revolution, thus owned three drawings by Pajou (in addition to the statuette) directly related to the cathedral: the angels of the tympanum (fig. 58) and the two Bourbon kings.

The composition of the terracotta corresponds overall to the sketched *Henri IV* (fig. 193): in armor, with a laurel wreath around his neck, the king stands as if taking a step forward and looks to his left. The effect of

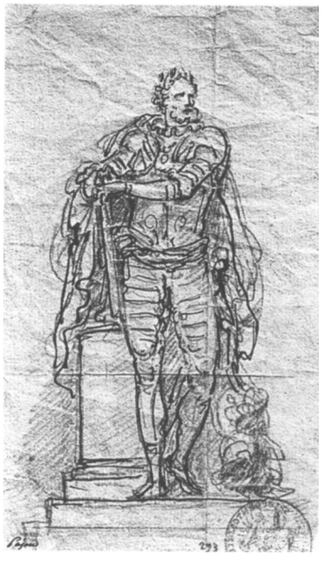




Fig. 193. (far left) Pajou, *Henri IV*. Black chalk, pen and black ink. Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale

Fig. 194. Pajou, *Louis XV*. Black chalk, pen and black ink. Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale



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the ample drapery is accentuated in the terracotta; and while the plumed helmet exists in both sculpture and sketch, the column and scepter in the latter are absent from the terracotta. Of course, since the monarch's right arm in the statuette is broken (which was already the case in the photograph published by Stein in 1912), it is impossible to say what it was holding. This superb figure of Henri IV corresponds to the *Louis XV* (fig. 194), drawn as an exact pendant: similarly standing and laureled, wearing armor, wrapped in drapery, the position of his arms subtly echoing that of the *Henri IV*.

Pajou was conforming here to the abundant imagery for the popular King Henri, scrupulously copying the costume from several engravings showing him in armor and on foot (in particular those of Gravelot and Eisen; Pupil 1985, pp. 470–81).

The idea of placing on the porch of a church the statues of its founders was not new, but neither was it commonplace, especially in France. Perhaps Trouard, a former student at the Académie de France in Rome, remembered Bernini's *Constantine* and Cornacchini's rendering of Charlemagne on horseback, ancestors of triumphant Christianity, who welcome visitors to Saint Peter's Basilica. And perhaps he was familiar with the statues of King Childebert and Queen Ultrogotte, who founded the Hôtel-Dieu in Lyons, built in 1741–48 by Soufflot, and who stand guard above the main entrance (Braham 1982, p. 28, fig. 27). GS



121



Cat. 121: reverse

121. *Bossuet*

Terracotta
H. 65 cm (25⅝ in.), W. 35 cm (13¾ in.), D. 24.5 cm (9⅝ in.)
Inscribed on plinth, in front: *JACOBUS BENIGNUS BOSSUET EPISCOPUS / né à Digon* [*sic*] *le 27. sept. 1627. Mort le 12 avril 1704* (Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, bishop, born in Dijon on September 27, 1627, died April 12, 1704); to right: *Pajou Regis Sculptor. 1779*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (LP 3474)

PROVENANCE: Doctor Cochu; his sale Paris, February 21, 1799, no. 51; Villenave collection; its sale Paris, February 1–5, 1848, no. 486; acquired at that sale by the museum

EXHIBITION: Duisburg–Karlsruhe–Gotha–Paris 1989–90, no. 58, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barbet de Jouy 1855 and 1873, no. 285; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 194; Michel and Vitry 1907, no. 1052; Lami 1911, p. 216; Stein 1912, p. 411; Vitry 1922, no. 1438; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 242; Virely 1938, p. 251

RELATED WORKS: Terracotta study, Marius Paulme sale, Paris, May 15, 1929, no. 341, ill. (whereabouts unknown; fig. 195).

Two drawings showing the statue from different angles; see cat. 122.

Marble statue (fig. 196): inscribed on plinth to left: *Pajou Regis Sculptor, 1779*; on front (with gaps): *JAC.-BENIG. BOSSUET, EVEQUE DE MEAUXZ / NE A D . . . N . . . SEPTEMBRE DE L'ANNEE 1627* [,] *MORT LE . . . AVRIL 1704* (Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, born in D . . . N . . . September of the year 1627, died in . . . April 1704). Paris, Institut de France. Exhibited at the Salon of 1779 (no. 201) and drawn by Saint-Aubin (Dacier 1955, pl. XII). Payments spread out from February 3, 1779, to September 6, 1780 (BMN, Ms. 33; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 241–42).

Plaster mold of this statue ordered in 1835 for the Musée Historique at the Château de Versailles (Versailles, *Notice* 1839, p. 262, no. 445; Hoog 1993, p. 65, no. 196, ill.).



122



123

122. *Bossuet*

Red chalk
47.1 × 33 cm, with mat (18½ × 13 in.)

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Pajou's descendants; Augustin-Désiré Pajou, his grandson, who died on March 29, 1878; his posthumous inventory, April 12, 1878 (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641); his posthumous sale Paris, December 16, 1878, no. 32; Paris art market, 1965; Henri Baderou collection; his posthumous sale, June 3, 1996, no. 101, ill.; acquired by present owner, 1997

EXHIBITION: Paris 1965, no. 38, ill.

RELATED WORK: Red-chalk drawing (whereabouts unknown; photograph in the archives of the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre), inscribed *Pajou*, depicting Bossuet full-face as in the engraving by Pigeot (Gravard 1843–46, vol. 6, no. 482) but with variations

123. *Bossuet*

Biscuit de Sèvres
H. 47.5 cm (18¾ in.), W. 25 cm (9⅞ in.), D. 17 cm (6¾ in.)
Inscribed in intaglio: *LR* (initials of Josse-François Le Riche, director of the sculpture studio at the Sèvres porcelain works from 1780 to 1801) and *21* (probably a number in a series)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (OA 11057)

PROVENANCE: Sale Paris, Drouot, February 27, 1986, no. 237, ill.; acquired by the museum on the Paris art market by decree, July 7, 1986

EXHIBITION: Paris 1990b, no. 99

BIBLIOGRAPHY (for the present work and for biscuit de Sèvres in general): [Bourgeois 1909], no. 120, ill.; Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard n.d., no. 120, ill.; Virely 1938, p. 251; Pierre Ennès in Paris 1990b, no. 99, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Terracotta model most likely delivered to the porcelain works on July 26, 1783, Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique (H. 50 cm [19¾ in.], W. 26.5 cm [10⅜ in.], D. 17 cm

[6¾ in.]; inscribed on plinth, in front, *BOSSUET*; inv. MNC 12.981); paid for on December 27, 1784. Nineteenth-century copies made in Sèvres also exist.

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), bishop of Meaux and guardian of doctrine in the face of the diverse opinions that prefigured the critical movement of the Enlightenment, was the second of three church figures in a series of Great Men of the century of Louis XIV. Fénelon, Bossuet's rival, the bishop of Cambrai and tutor to the dauphin, was the first to be selected. The third, Saint Vincent de Paul, was not honored thus until the Salon of 1787.

The terracotta study of Bossuet from the Paulme sale (fig. 195) was probably created during the summer of 1778. Its composition had not yet been settled: the book is closed and the bishop holds his hat in his hand, exactly as in the painting by Rigaud (Perpignan, Musée Rigaud), the most famous image of the prelate, disseminated as an engraving. No doubt to dissociate himself from the great painter's composition, Pajou conceived an entirely different portrait for the Louvre terracotta. Bossuet is, to be sure, depicted in all the splendor of his position, magnificently dressed in a long cassock, a lace rochet, and an ample cope—over which are an ermine cape, the ecclesiastical bands, and an episcopal cross—with the ends of the stole visible. But unlike Rigaud's prelate, his posture is active: his finger points firmly to a page in a book (whether the Bible, a collection of exegeses, or one of his own works is not clear). His face is expressive, ready to talk and convince. He is a living image moving before the viewer's eyes, not a model merely posing.

The statuette in the Louvre was made of an orange-gray clay covered with a thin coating of unfired orange clay. This coating, now worn and unevenly preserved, was covered at an undetermined date by paint generously mixed with binder (a kind of wax varnish), which was removed for this exhibition, revealing the sculpture's sinewy quality. Of a generous and finished style, the work does not differ from the marble version (including the inscription) and can be considered the presentation model that was probably submitted to the comte d'Angiviller. The comte's Paris mansion was located near the Louvre Colonnade, and it was easy for him to visit artists like Pajou whose studios were in the palace (at the Oratoire entrance—in other words, in the buildings of the Cour Carrée).

The statue was commissioned in 1778 by d'Angiviller as director of the Bâtiments du Roi. On September 8, 1778, he wrote a rather icy letter to Pajou in which he expressed surprise that the model had not yet been started (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 241). On October 14 Pajou replied that the large-scale model was finished but that he was still awaiting delivery of the marble although he had written twice to Cuvillier, one of his main suppliers. He begged d'Angiviller "to give [Cuvillier his orders] as soon as possible. I haven't a moment to lose" (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, no. 1983 A 13; *NAAF* 1887, p. 313).

The marble (fig. 196) was greeted with mixed reviews at the Salon. "This superb figure is not only the most beautiful of the year but also of the last Salon; it is not a cold portrait, it is the bishop of Meaux himself, it is his soul," said one (*Ah! Ah! Encore une critique du Sallon!,* Deloynes, vol. 11, no. 208, p. 27); and another: "M. Pajou has managed to give the statue of Bossuet a noble and lively character reminiscent of the prelate's own brand of eloquence. The silks, laces, and other accessories of his dress offer matte, coarse, and polished areas that create excellent contrasts and spread over the whole the magic of chiaroscuro" (*Janon au Salon:* Deloynes, vol. 11, no. 212, p. 32). There were many dissonant notes, as well. For Dupont de Nemours (1908, p. 115), "Bossuet [has] too virile a nature to put any affectation or pretension in [his] postures . . . although his head and the draperies do honor to the artist." The *Affiches de Paris* (Deloynes, vol. 11, no. 203, p. 217) noted that "the head is handsome, designed with purity, but it does not have the noble and, we might say, proud character appropriate to the eagle of Meaux."

Fig. 195. Pajou, *Bossuet.* Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown



The *Année littéraire* (letter IX, [November 22], p. 212) recognized "the noble and elevated genius of M. Pajou. The figure is nicely cadenced; the draperies, arranged in the best possible taste,

are executed in a large, varied, skilled fashion; the hands are well rendered; but for the head we would have preferred greater grandeur and expression, as the features do not sufficiently convey the virile and sublime eloquence of the immortal prelate." Finally, for the *Mémoires secrets* (1995, pp. 90–91), Pajou's

> task was to present a holy and vehement orator, a profound and irresistible controversialist, a stubborn, vindictive, ardent prelate; all these traits hardly agreed with a calm figure at rest. He thus depicted him standing. But it still has no movement; it is cold and vague. We recognize Bossuet's physical features, but his soul is missing. . . . We are surprised that M. Pajou, whose talents as an artist are joined by those of a man of letters, and who has been deemed worthy of figuring in the Académie des Inscriptions, of which he has been a member for several years, did not prove more inventive and did not wield a more spirited chisel; whatever the case, it is superb . . . all the details are precious (except that he put in too many of them, the better to show off his talents); but he has only made a statue, which the spectators nonetheless prefer over his first of Descartes, and the same goes for the king.

This was also the conclusion reached by the *Journal de Paris* (Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 201, p. 29).

Without entering into the details of a possible antipathy felt by Moufle d'Angerville against Pajou, evidenced by his spite, let us note that his last remark in the preceding quotation is no doubt a key to understanding the design of the statue of Bossuet. The *Descartes* (cat. 129) had been uniformly disparaged at the Salon of 1777, where the figure was criticized for looking like a minor provincial lord buried in a large cloak, whereas the aim was to render the spirit of a philosopher. Pajou reacted by trying to avoid the pitfall of costumes with his *Bossuet:* the imposing outfit here is an allegory of episcopal dignity and obeys the ancient doctrine of decorum requiring conformity between the subject and the way it is interpreted (which was the main criticism of the *Descartes*). While the approach of stressing the pomp was also found wanting, we have to admit that it is powerfully evocative. The gesture of the index finger, decried by Moufle d'Angerville (who compared it rather glibly to that of a schoolmaster), is a way of situating character, an indication of Bossuet's demonstrative eloquence. The marble, in any case, is not the man, and one has to accept certain aesthetic conventions that necessarily make him appear stiffer.

Fig. 196. Pajou, *Bossuet.* Marble. Paris, Institut de France



The critics of the time were unanimous in praising the sculptor's virtuosity, even though the critic for the *Miracle de nos jours* (Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 219, p. 30) deemed Pajou to have "overfinished the sculpture." As noted above, the artist had comparatively little time in which to make the statue (less than a year). He was assisted by a craftsman whose name has come down to us: Joseph-André-Vincent Mazetti, a sculptor from Avignon who received training in Guillaume II Coustou's studio. Mazetti, who lived near the Louvre on the rue des Fossés Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, assisted Coustou on the mausoleum of the dauphin and dauphine and worked for Bridan and even more often for Houdon (notably on the *Tourville*), for whom he served as a witness at his marriage (Réau 1964, vol. 1, pp. 52, 269, 479–80). Mazetti's participation in the *Bossuet* in no way detracts from Pajou's achievement, for the invention and finishing touches are his own.

The superb red-chalk drawing (cat. 122) is an original composition—a view in profile with the low pedestal forming a corner. There is no inscription on the plinth to indicate whether the drawing might have been made from the biscuit or from the plaster model of the statue, as was the red-chalk drawing of *Buffon* (cat. 113). The monumental treatment is so strong that it seems certain that the drawing was not made after the biscuit. This impressive work was a marvelous addition to Pajou's personal picture gallery, those drawings that were not made for sale but were kept in his studio.

Pajou delivered to the Sèvres porcelain works, probably on July 26, 1783 (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 28), a terracotta miniature of his *Bossuet.* Rather dry in execution, this was a studio product showing little reworking by the artist. The biscuit made from this model (cat. 123) faithfully reproduces the 1779 composition: it was part of the first delivery of the Great Men to Louis XVI at the beginning of January 1784.

We know that to conceive their Great Men, the sculptors had to do research and consult existing images. In the case of Bossuet, the task was easy, as there was an abundant iconography of the prelate (see Virely 1938). Most important is the large painting by Rigaud in which Bossuet is shown standing, but there is also a different view—half-length and more intimate—engraved by Edelinck. Nonetheless, we are not able to relate it convincingly to Pajou's invention, which stands as an original image of great force. GS

124. *Pascal*

Terracotta
H. 23.5 cm (9¼ in.), W. 14 cm (5½ in.), D. 12.7 cm (5 in.)
Incised on back of chair: *PROJET / D'UNE FIGURE / DE BLAISE/PASCAL / Par Pajou. / Sculpeteur* [*sic*] *du Roi / 1779* (Project for a figure of Blaise Pascal by Pajou, sculptor to the king, 1779); on tablet: diagram of a cycloid under the fraction $x\,\delta y / \delta\,dx$

Clermont-Ferrand, Musée des Beaux-Arts (992.5.1)

PROVENANCE: Probably Alexandre Lenoir; his sale Paris, December 11, 1837, no. 281 ("Blaise Pascal, study in terracotta of Pajou's statue at the Institut"); private collection, Brussels, 1982 (letter to the Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures, January 26, 1982, with photos showing a work in a rather poor state of preservation); sale Sotheby's Monaco, September 12, 1984, no. 919; sale Paris Drouot, March 27, 1992, no. 109, ill.; acquired at that sale by the museum

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Penny 1992, p. 56; Tisserand 1993, p. 84, no. 12, ill.

125. *Pascal*

Terracotta
H. 33.8 cm (13¼ in.), W. 23 cm (9 in.), D. 37.5 cm (14¾ in.)
Incised on open book: *Lettre a un provincial* (Letter to a provincial [a reference to Pascal's *Provinciales*]); on tablet: diagram of a cycloid and above it another diagram, no doubt referring to Pascal's experiments with air measurement

Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique (MNC 12.979)

PROVENANCE: Delivered to the Sèvres porcelain works just before June 17, 1783; placed in the museum, 1906

EXHIBITION: Paris 1984–85, no. 142, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buret and Lumière 1891, p. 55; Bourgeois 1909, vol. 1, p. 173, vol. 2, pl. 78; Lami 1911, p. 218; Stein 1912, pp. 245–46, ill., 413; Jean-René Gaborit in Paris 1984–85, pp. 474–76; Pierre Ennès in Paris 1990b, p. 202; Penny 1992, p. 56

RELATED WORKS: Two drawings by Augustin-Catherine Pajou dated year VIII (1799–1800)—one housed at the Bibliothèque Marmottan in Boulogne (cat. 149), the other in a private collection in Paris—show Augustin Pajou pointing to a small *Pascal* placed on a turntable; this is a version (in terracotta or plaster) similar to the present work. The same family owns a version in plaster (H. 31 cm [12¼ in.]), not in terracotta: Henriot 1927–29, vol. 3, pp. 335–37; Réau 1936, p. 19).

126. *Pascal*

Biscuit de Sèvres
H. 32.1 cm (12⅝ in.), W. 22 cm (8⅝ in.), D. 29.8 cm (11¾ in.)
Incised on bottom: the letters *V* and *M* etched into the wet clay, unidentified; on open book: *Lettre a un provincial* (Letter to a provincial [a reference to Pascal's *Provinciales*]); on tablet: diagram of a cycloid and above it another diagram, no doubt referring to Pascal's experiments with air measurement

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology

PROVENANCE: According to an old label, the work comes from the Château des Tuileries and was acquired during the Revolution by Gouverneur Morris, Jefferson's successor as American minister to France; given by him to Mme Anthony Walton-White; her descendants; sale London Christie's, March 25, 1985, no. 27; London art market; acquired by the museum in July 1985.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (for present work and for biscuit de Sèvres in general): Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard n.d., no. 485, pl. 43; [Bourgeois 1909], no. 508, pl. 43; Penny 1992, no. 293, ill.

127. *Pascal*

Marble
H. 146 cm (57½ in.), W. 105 cm (41⅜ in.), D. 141.5 cm (55¾ in.)
Inscribed on front plinth: *BLAISE PASCAL*; on plinth to right: *PAJOU. REGIS SCULPTOR. / 1785*; on open book, near left foot: *LETTRES A UN PROVINCIAL* (Letters to a provincial [a reference to Pascal's *Provinciales*]); on sheet, at foot of chair to right: *PENSEES SUR LA RELIGION* (Thoughts on religion [a reference to Pascal's *Pensées*]); on tablet: diagram of a cycloid

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 2981)

PROVENANCE: Louvre, Salle des Antiques, which in 1795 became the Salle des Assemblées de l'Institut, transferred to the Palais de l'Institut, Collège des Quatre-Nations after the decree of March 20, 1805; Institut de France, November 1806, and placed in the "grand vestibule" of the public assembly hall; sent to the Louvre by the Institut in 1960 and inventoried for regularization, 1971

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1785, no. 198, p. 46 of the *livret*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thiéry 1787, p. 340; Chaussard 1806, p. 470; Le Breton 1810, p. 358; Clarac 1841–53, vol. 5, p. 332; Guiffrey 1879, p. 8; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Dilke 1900, p. 127; Lami 1911, p. 218; Stein 1912, pp. 244–46, 413; Vitry 1924, p. 580; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 242–43; Souchal 1979, p. 122; Colton 1979, p. 223; Pupil 1985, p. 233; Penny 1986, pp. 128–29; Penny 1992, p. 56; McClellan 1993, pp. 227, 248; Scherf 1993, p. 60

RELATED WORKS: Plaster model exhibited at the Salon of 1781 (no. 227, p. 41 of the *livret*), then, via the intercession of Sedaine, a friend of both Pajou and Dufort de Cheverny, sent to the latter for the "museum" in his castle at Cheverny (Dufort de Cheverny 1909, vol. 1, pp. 460–69); since lost.

Engraving by Augustin de Saint-Aubin showing the bust in right profile, captioned: *dessiné et gravé par Aug. S^t Aubin d'après la statue en marbre fait par Pajou* (drawn and engraved by Augustin de Saint-Aubin after the marble statue by Pajou).

Partial casting (bust) marketed as of 1883 by the casting studios of the Louvre (Rionnet 1996, p. 272, no. 1155) and still available (*Moulages* 1991, p. 169, no. 5988).

Later editions of the biscuit made at Sèvres.

Saint-Aubin quickly drew a personal composition of *Pascal* in response to a notice published in the *Journal de Paris* on November 27, 1779, and the following day in the *Mémoires secrets* (Dacier 1955, p. 45, pl. XIII).

On October 5, 1779, the comte d'Angiviller wrote to Pierre, the first painter, to inform him that he had submitted and the king had accepted the names of the four Great Men to be depicted for exhibition at the Salon of 1781 (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, pp. 264–65). D'Angiviller gave first choice to Pajou, who picked Blaise Pascal (1623–1662). Pajou was slow to produce the marble version (the plaster model was shown at the Salon of 1781). The reason is unknown but may simply have been exhaustion: he had sculpted *Buffon, Descartes,* and *Bossuet,* all in the space of four years. Such a capacity for work is prodigious, even if craftsmen assisted in rough-hewing and shaping the marble. In addition, he had agreed to produce the *Turenne* (cat. 128). Having committed himself, he had to "make the *Pascal* and the *Turenne* work together," whence a "doubling of expenses" and of "funds that I cannot collect [which] soon went into the hands of my fellow craftsmen" (Pajou to d'Angiviller, March 6, 1783: AN, O^1 1916, p. 68; Stein 1912, doc. XXIX). Payment by the Bâtiments du Roi of sums due was, in fact, constantly delayed, and Pajou was the first to complain. On November 28, 1783, Pajou sent the comte an exact breakdown of what was owed: regarding the Great Men, the four models handed over to the Sèvres works had not yet been paid for, nor had half the *Pascal* and all of the *Turenne,* which had just been shown at the Salon (AN, O^1 1917, d. 1, p. 373; Stein 1912, doc. XXXV). The payments for the marble version of *Pascal* actually stretched from February 8, 1781, to January 8, 1784 (BMN, Ms. 33), with five hundred livres still unpaid on December 4, 1785 (AN, O^1 1918, d. 4, p. 390; Stein 1912, doc. XXXIX).

The study dated 1779 (cat. 124), produced during the fall, already shows a composition close to the final statue. Pascal is depicted as a mathematician, reflecting on the solution to a problem; on the tablet is inscribed a fraction next to the diagram of a cycloid, apparently referring to his experiments with air measurement (Penny 1992). At the foot of the armchair to his right is "one of his arithmetic machines" (Tisserand 1993), an accessory discarded in later versions. The figure is clothed in seventeenth-century style, according to the convention for historical costumes that was applied until 1789 at the insistence of d'Angiviller. Pascal's very recognizable triangular face with its long, aquiline nose, the skin stretched over the bones, and his mid-length hair are treated with infinite delicacy. Pajou has admirably captured his pensive expression.

The iconography of the philosopher is dominated by François II Quesnel's portrait, done from the death mask (Dorival 1976, p. 326, no. 1771), which was the basis for a series of engravings. Pajou might have used the one by Edelinck in which the philosopher is shown with a long nose, thin lips, and a piercing gaze. His hair covers his neck, and he wears a narrow collar trimmed with braid.



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Comparison of the terracotta of 1779 and the plaster from the Salon of 1781 (of which the biscuit and its model of 1783 [cat. 125, 126] are reductions) reveals numerous modifications. Nonetheless, the basic concept has not changed. To accentuate the reflective mood, Pajou has Pascal's head leaning against his right hand with the elbow resting on the arm of the chair in the familiar posture of an intellectual. The unbuttoned jacket, revealing the shirt, gave Pajou the opportunity to create an aesthetic diversion in the contrast between the small, close-set wrinkles representing the rumpled cloth and the smooth surfaces of the stiff jacket against which they are set. This is how Pajou typically enlivened a sculpted surface. The open jacket gives the clothing room to breathe and allows the artist to depict his subject in a natural pose, as if he had been captured in the intimacy of his study. Other variants can be noted: the position of the left hand on the tablet, the design of the cycloid, the organization of the drapery thrown over his knees and spilling over the chair, the presence of a pen and inkwell at the far right (absent in the Oxford example), the position of the books on the low pedestal. It is amusing to note, moreover, that the



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open book—the *Provinciales*—is positioned diagonally in the marble and terracotta versions, while it is placed parallel to the edge of the plinth in the biscuit. Apart from this detail and the fine ribbing on the armrests and back of the chair in the marble version, which is found in neither the terracotta nor the biscuit, there are no notable differences among the three works.

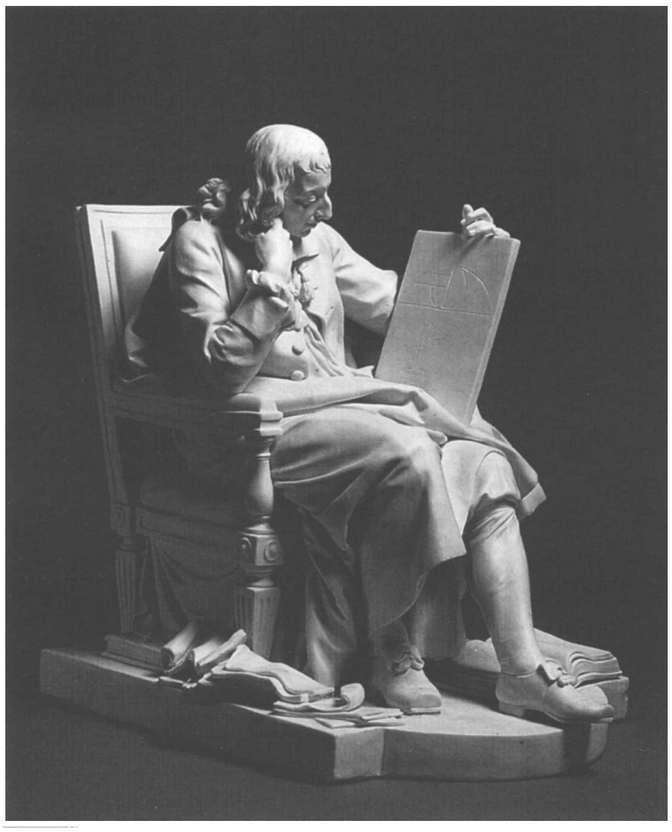
The statue garnered excellent reviews at the Salon. In 1781 the *Année littéraire* (letter XIII, p. 221) started off with a fanfare: "*Pascal* was made by M. Pajou; simply to name the author of that figure is already to sing its praises." The *Mémoires secrets* (1995, p. 105) was also laudatory:

> The first beauty is truth. M. Pajou has shown this in his *Blaise Pascal*, where he observed the most precise details of clothing, down to their austere cut. Moreover, the figure has been unanimously regarded as the most perfect of the four created for the king: its posture is natural and relaxed, like that of a man in deep meditation. . . . We do not know if the man is thinking, but the more one looks at it, the more it makes one think, which is the mark of a great work in any genre. As for the sculpture's execution, it is handled with unique ease; its proportions are admirable, highly rigorous and unbending in their imitation of nature.

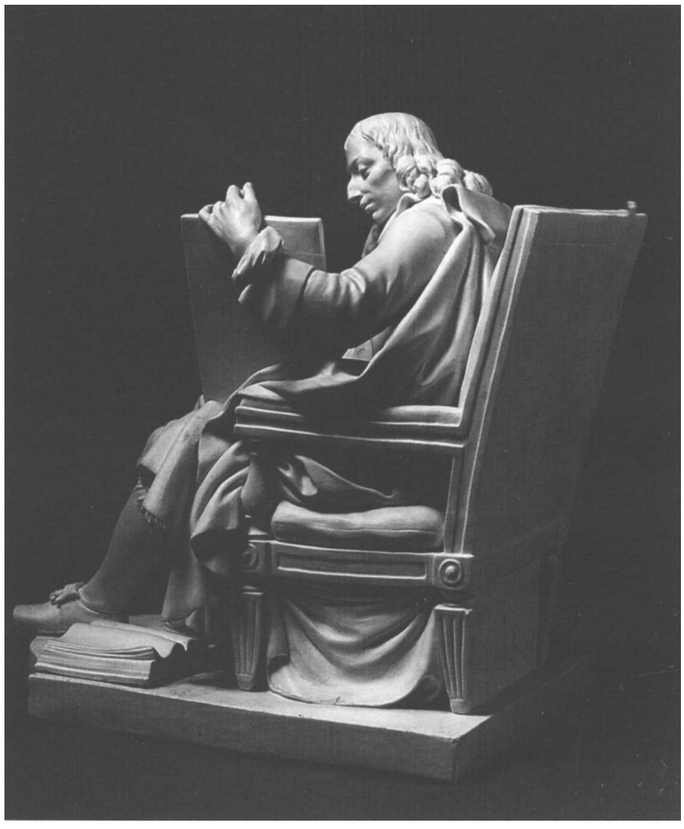
D'Angiviller, in his letter to Pierre of October 5, 1779, called Pascal a "philosopher who enlightened the nation and humanity with his writings." The author of the *Lettre d'Artiomphile à Mme Mérard de Saint-Just* (Deloynes, vol. 12, no. 277, pp. 37–38) regretted that Pajou had depicted the figure not as a philosopher or theologian but as a mathematician:

> I am utterly convinced that the public would have preferred the artist to show Pascal poking fun at the Jesuits or meditating as a genius on God, man, and religion, rather than being occupied by a cycloid, which interests only a handful of those who know Pascal. . . . This beautiful statue, the best of the four ordered by the king, enhances the reputation of M. Pajou, but he would have done better to consult men of wit and taste instead of mathematicians to guide and animate his chisel.

The commentary is fascinating, as it touches on the political context surrounding the statues in this series. The allusion to the Jesuits recalls their recent expulsion; Pascal's meditations on God illustrate Jansenist theses that were violently repressed in France under Louis XV. They fed an irreverent Gallicanism relayed by the rebels in parliament, and traces of that struggle



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were still very much alive at the time. Pajou's composition avoids overly polemical allusions (even though he evokes the *Pensées* and *Provinciales*), no doubt to conform to the desires of d'Angiviller, who, as their neighbor, paid frequent visits to the artists at the Louvre. To depict Pascal by stressing his mathematical talents, which everyone recognized, did not mask his genius (Pajou had understood his error in improperly depicting Descartes as a gentleman; cat. 129), and moreover it had the advantage of being "politically correct." In this regard, Pajou was the right man for the job.

The lesson of Clodion, who was forced to replace his agitated and inspired *Montesquieu* (plaster at the Salon of 1779) with an image reflecting parliamentary pomp and splendor (marble at the Salon of 1783), was fresh in everyone's mind. Still, by giving the face an intensely reflective, even inspired expression, Pajou evoked the totality of Pascal's intellectual activities, thus decisively stirring the viewer's imagination.

It is a bit disappointing not to find a comment on the subject from Diderot, who certainly knew on occasion how to discern the quality of the "significant moment" (Salon of 1783, on Houdon's *Tourville*)—in other words, the moment that fixes the image and gives it heroic quality. In 1781 he simply noted of *Pascal* (Bukdahl et al. 1995b, pp. 352–53) that "the figure seemed to have the appropriate character," then went on to make stylistic critiques—"Drapery a bit heavy, the hands not very beautiful"—while implicitly criticizing the anatomical accuracy of the representation: "And is the head squarely on the shoulders? If he were to remove the hand that holds it up, I'm afraid it would drop. Looking at him from the front, you'd think he was a hunchback." And yet, far from being a sculptor's mistake, the slightly deformed shoulders and the stress laid on the head are an "intentional opposition between the physical weakness of the body and the noble serenity of the mask" (Jean-René Gaborit in Paris 1984–85, p. 474), one that subtly underscores what the sculptor intended to convey: Pascal's spirit.

The critics in 1785 were generally very favorable. There were, of course, those who found Pascal too old (*Jugement d'un musicien sur le Salon,* Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 391, p. 5) and others who disliked his pose: "too contentious to characterize the quick wit of that uncommon genius" (*Journal général de France:* Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 339, p. 27). However, one reviewer noted "my judgment of his Pascal: I admire it with as much fervor as the public does" (*Avis important d' une femme sur le Salon,* Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 344, p. 35), while the *Mercure de France* (October 1, p. 38) provided the definitive opinion: "it is a masterwork for France, and even modern sculpture can honor it." The *Peintre anglais au Salon* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 327, p. 27) noted that the statue "is superbly composed and sublimely rendered." The author of the *Réflexions impartiales sur les progrès de l'art en France* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 331, p. 33) added that the "true head of the philosopher [has] the expression and posture [that] infinitely correspond to the subject." And the critic of the *Promenades de Critès au Salon* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 335, p. 27) was content to "bend the knee before it, to deposit at its feet a letter of thanks and an olive crown with this inscription: TO THE ARTIST." When Benjamin Franklin visited the Salon, he noticed only the two statues by Pajou—the *Pascal* and, of course, the *Psyche*—and not the works by Houdon (Lair de Lamotte, Franklin's secretary, to his grandson, September 27, 1785: Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society; communicated by Yale University, Benjamin Franklin Papers).

A copy of the biscuit was bought in 1786 by Madame Élisabeth (Penny 1992, p. 56), and we know that the king owned another at Versailles (Baulez 1978, p. 360, no. 2). Others were sold by the porcelain works. The reading of documents today neither confirms nor denies the information given by the label as to the provenance of the Oxford biscuit, but its quality clearly pleads in favor of its being from the eighteenth century. According to Penny, we can recognize later editions by the identification of the subject in capital letters on the plinth. GS


BLAISE PASCAL

128. *Turenne*

Biscuit de Sèvres
H. 46.8 cm (18⅜ in.), W. 22.1 cm (8¾ in.), D. 17.3 cm (6⅞ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (OA 11059)

PROVENANCE: Sale London Christie's, December 4, 1985, no. 24, ill.; acquired by the museum in Paris by decree of July 7, 1986

EXHIBITION: Paris 1990, no. 102

BIBLIOGRAPHY (for the present work and for biscuit de Sèvres in general): [Bourgeois 1909], no. 627, ill.; Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard n.d., no. 599, ill.; Pierre Ennès in Paris 1990b, pp. 207–8, no. 102, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Terracotta model delivered to the porcelain manufactory just prior to June 17, 1783 (Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique, MNC 12.976) and paid for on January 22, 1785.

The plaster model of the statue was visible in the sculptor's studio, according to a review of the Salon of 1783 in the *Journal encyclopédique* ("we know what applause greeted the plaster model when the public saw it," Deloynes, vol. 50, p. 1343).

Marble statue exhibited as of August 25 at the Salon of 1783 (cat. 216, p. 41 of the *livret*; Versailles, Musée National du Château; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 243–44; Hoog 1993, p. 355, no. 1662, ill.; fig. 198); payments spread out between April 7, 1784, and January 26, 1785 (BMN, Ms. 33).

Plaster cast of the marble made in 1846 for the Musée Historique at the Château de Versailles (Hoog 1993, p. 355, no. 1663).

Later editions in biscuit made at Sèvres.

The manufacture of this biscuit was started as soon as the terracotta model was delivered to Sèvres. A letter of June 22, 1783, indicates that the work had begun, and on July 26 "two porcelain figures [were] in the hands of the finishers" (Pierre Ennès in Paris 1990b, p. 207). The biscuit of Turenne was therefore one of the first Great Men to be completed at Sèvres. Along with *Bossuet* (cat. 123), it was part of the first group delivered to the king in January 1784.

Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne (1611–1675), a military hero under Louis XIV, stands with sword in hand, protecting the French crown, which rests on a cushion on a pedestal. He is dressed in seventeenth-century costume, prodigiously bedizened, and the details of the garb are rendered with extraordinarily virtuosic effect in the marble. There are virtually no differences among the terracotta, biscuit de Sèvres, and marble versions.

Pajou had already sculpted a statue of Turenne for the École Militaire (model at the Salon of 1773; see Chronology). The engraving by Pierre Duflos based on that work (published in the *Recueil d'estampes* 1780, pl. 21; fig. 197) shows a soldier in armor, wrapped in a long cape, with an emphatically martial bearing. But ten

Fig. 197. After Pajou, *Turenne*. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 198. Pajou, *Turenne*. Marble. Versailles, Musée National du Château



Fig. 199. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Tourville*. Marble. Versailles, Musée National du Château



years later Pajou is a much more powerful artist—Turenne (fig. 198) now lives and seems to move before our eyes; his tensely concentrated visage bespeaks his vigilance in protecting the monarchy. The rhetoric of the "significant moment" (see Dowley 1957) here reaches its height: the character plays out a scene that individualizes him in historical space and depicts him as a decisive actor in the defense of the crown. This approach did not go unnoticed at the Salon of 1783. Moufle d'Angerville in *Mémoires secrets* (1995, p. 121), while commenting that it was "indecent to make the fate of an entire nation depend on one man," recognized that the concept was "sublime"—"the figure of the hero responds to it; although in reality he was rather ugly, the artist has imbued him with so much patriotic zeal and warlike enthusiasm that he immediately becomes superb." The *Année littéraire* (letter XVI, pp. 333–34) observed that if a foreigner did not recognize Turenne and could not read the inscription, he would mistake the general for a king who "would then seem to be saying, 'I owe my crown strictly to my own valor.'" Grimm remarked peevishly: "M. Pajou's *Turenne* is perhaps the most mediocre of all his statues; its costume is rich and polished, but a bit heavy" (*Correspondance littéraire*; Grimm 1877–82, vol. 13, p. 446).

But overall the comments were positive, with the enthusiastic author of the *Impartialité au Salon* (Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 303, pp. 33–34) setting the standard: "Turenne in marble proves that it is possible to emerge victorious from the most unattractive costume. . . . Turenne, with his simple and slightly waved hair, gave the artist a chance to endow his figure with a certain lightness, as well as a fine sense of movement. . . . The work is large and solid and worthy of its creator." *Lustucru au Salon* (Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 289, pp. 4–5) joined in: "It's really Turenne; I recognized him. . . . How martial he looks! And at the same time how Turenne's humanity, gentleness, and modesty breathe in every feature of that handsome head!" The iconography is dependent on Philippe de Champaigne's portrait, which was engraved several times (Dorival 1976, pp. 185–86, no. 402), and on Saint-Aubin's profile. Pajou might also have consulted the print by Vangelisty after Masson, published as the frontispiece to Turpin's *La France illustrée, ou le Plutarque françois* (vol. 2, 1780).

The work, placed very advantageously at the entrance to the assembly room of the Institut at the Louvre (drawing by Charles De Wailly, dated 1796; Musée du Louvre: Scherf 1993, p. 59, fig. 2, ill.), decorated the Château des Tuileries under Napoleon (see engraving of 1832–34 by Clarac in Clarac 1841–53, vol. 3, no. 2657, pl. 370) before being sent to Versailles under Louis-Philippe.



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At the Salon of 1781 Houdon had presented his *Tourville* (Versailles, Musée National du Château; fig. 199), the only Great Man commissioned from this artist, who was disliked by d'Angiviller. Pajou's *Turenne* must be understood in relation to his great rival's work. The "significant moment" in *Tourville* is different from that in *Turenne.* Tourville exhibits the letter from the king ordering him to fight. The agitation in his soul—he foresaw that the royal decision was a mistake and would cause the disastrous rout of the fleet at La Hogue—is suggested by his windblown hair and hat

(the moment occurs on the admiral's flagship on the high seas).

This superb statue, which garnered much favorable comment at the Salon, was a challenge for Pajou. His *Pascal* had been remarkably well received at the Salon, and some had pronounced it better than his three other Great Men (including *Tourville*). But with *Turenne* he was in direct competition with Houdon and had to answer him point for point. The extremely close attention paid to details of clothing and the position of the feet and sword in *Turenne* recall *Tourville.* But where Houdon slipped in the critics' estimation—by giving his admiral an excessively youthful face—Pajou triumphed by remaining faithful to Turenne's appearance without minimizing his plain features.

If Houdon's *Tourville* was appreciated for its elegance and slightly affected grace, Pajou's *Turenne* stood out for its powerful expression and sense of authority. "This year, Turenne eclipses all his rivals. And I cannot say that I do not prefer the wisdom of Turenne, driven by a heroic and well-considered valor, over the fire that inflamed Tourville, quick and brilliant as it may be. There is much greater art in the figure of Turenne" (*Lustucru au Salon,* Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 289, pp. 4–5). The two works were later brought together in an unexpected way: at an unknown date bronze reductions of the portraits in bust form were offered as a facing pair (sale Paris, Drouot, December 2, 1994, no. 146, ill.), thus setting the two sculptors in eternal confrontation.

Dufort de Cheverny, a friend of both Sedaine and Pajou, relates an anecdote about *Turenne* which Pajou himself told him during a 1797 visit to the Salle de l'Institut (formerly the Salle des Antiques) (Dufort de Cheverny 1909, vol. 2, p. 273):

> We all know the verses that were to be inscribed in Saint-Denis: "To Turenne in his tomb, among those of our kings, / His brilliant exploits all honor now bring. / And this is the way that his valiancy's crowned, / So that no difference shows in his future renown, / Between wearing and guarding the glorious crown." Alluding to these lines, Pajou had depicted Turenne defending a crown. At the beginning of the Terror, when everything having to do with coats of arms, fleurs-de-lis, or crowns was proscribed, he was ordered to eliminate the crown or destroy the statue; without hesitation he covered the diadem with a tastefully executed plaster globe, representing the earth. The Jacobins were satisfied, and this beautiful monument will pass into posterity as is, until in some happier time it can be restored to its original version.

An amusing print by Le Vachez based on *Turenne,* "engraved after the marble statue by M. Pajou" and dedicated to Le Laboureur, honorary commander of the Paris guard (BNEst, series N², mf D 273376), shows the soldier looking haggard, defending his crown against the background of an army on the march. The engraving is mediocre—not even a caricature—but it serves to illustrate the popularity of Pajou's statue and the power of his invention. GS

129. *Descartes*

Biscuit de Sèvres
H. 46.5 cm (18¼ in.), W. 20 cm (7⅞ in.), D. 16.7 cm (6⅝ in.)
Incised on the pedestal: *LR / 3* [LR are initials of Josse-François Le Riche, head of the sculpture studio at the Sèvres porcelain works between 1780 and 1801; the numeral no doubt indicates the order of copies made: this biscuit would thus be the third.]

Paris, Musée du Louvre (OA 11737)

PROVENANCE: Sale New York Christie's, May 18, 1989, no. 234, ill.; Paris art market; acquired by the museum in Paris by decree of July 12, 1994

EXHIBITION: Paris 1995, no. 87

BIBLIOGRAPHY (for the present work and for biscuit de Sèvres in general): [Bourgeois 1909], no. 200, ill.; Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard n.d., no. 181, ill.; Pierre Ennès in Paris 1995, p. 206, no. 87, ill.

RELATED WORKS: Terracotta model delivered by Pajou to the porcelain works, most likely on July 26, 1783, and paid for June 3, 1784 (Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique, MNC 79647).

The marble version, now at the Institut de France (fig. 200), was exhibited at the Salon of 1777, no. 214: payments were spread out between July 23, 1776, and September 30, 1778 (BMN Ms. 33). It bears the following inscriptions: on the plinth to the left: *Pajou, Regis Sculptor 1777*; in front: *RENE DESCARTES, / NE A LA HAYE EN TOURAINE, LE I.MARS 1596, MORT LE / 10 FEVRIER 1650* (René Descartes, born in La Haye in Touraine March 1, 1596, died February 10, 1650).

A plaster cast of the marble by Jacquet was ordered in 1835 for the Musée Historique of the Château de Versailles (Hoog 1993, p. 122, no. 480, ill.).

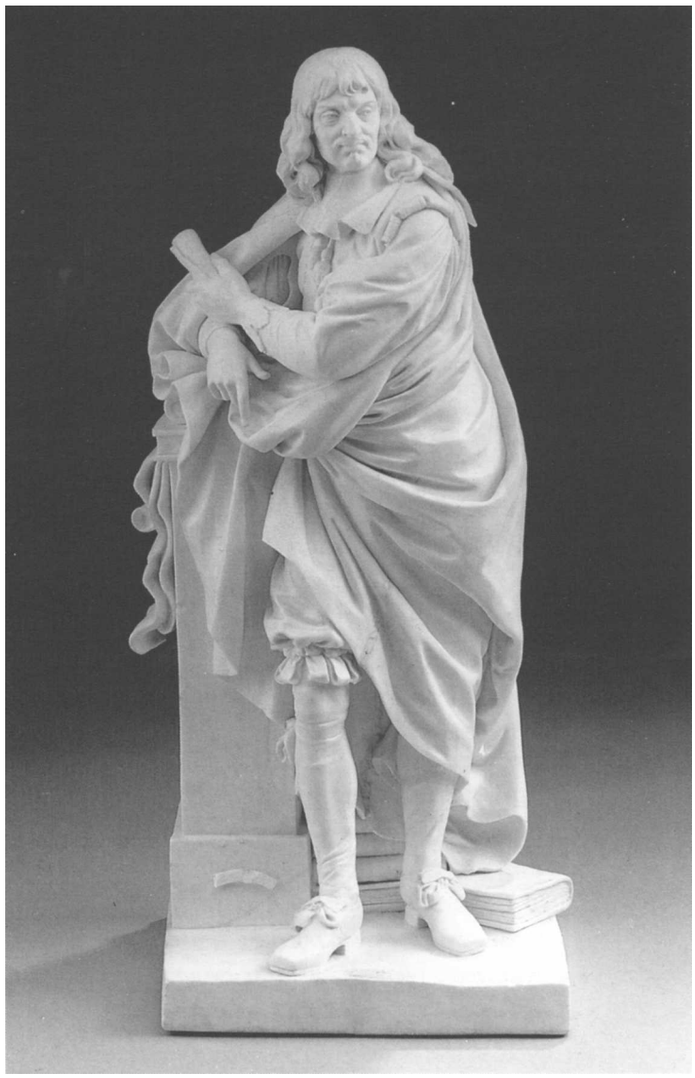
A partial cast of the statue—the bust—was marketed by the casting studios of the Louvre as of 1864 (Rionnet 1996, p. 271, no. 1154); it is still available (*Moulages* 1991, p. 169, no. 5987).

Later editions in biscuit made at Sèvres.

A curious head in terracotta mounted on a stand, clearly based on Pajou's work, is housed at the Musée National de Céramique in Sèvres (MNC 7967).



Fig. 200. Pajou, *Descartes.* Marble. Paris, Institut de France



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The biscuit of Pajou's Descartes was based on a terracotta reduction delivered to the porcelain works some seven years after the marble had been shown. Dry and mechanical in style—like the model for *Bossuet* (cat. 123)—it is clearly a studio work. Pajou must have found miniatures of this kind tiresome in 1783, when he was turning his energies to the *Turenne* and *Pascal* marbles and had begun planning *Psyche*.

The biscuit, very finely produced and faithful to the marble's composition, does not share the terracotta's shortcomings; the model's lack of energy is compensated for by the qualities of porcelain as a material and its skillful handling by specialized craftsmen. The compass and protractor, visible in the terracotta version, have been broken off in the present biscuit (and in the copy that sold Paris, Drouot, May 6, 1994, no. 111, ill.) but are present in the biscuit—late, and bearing an inscription—sold Monaco, Christie's, December 3, 1989, no. 43, ill.). Like the three other biscuits based on Pajou's work, the *Descartes* was part of the first series of Great Men in porcelain, acquired at the beginning of 1784 by Louis XVI.

The decision to include Descartes had been made by d'Angiviller by January 4, 1775. His was one of the first four statues in the series, alongside Fénelon, Sully, and the chancelier de L'Hospital. The selection had been given much thought: it included no military figures but had a man of the church, a statesman, a representative of the people, and an intellectual. Pajou decided to depict the last in March 1776 (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 361). On June 7, 1776, the king's first painter, Jean-Baptiste Pierre, wrote to d'Angiviller that he had seen the models by Gois, Pajou, Lecomte, and Bridan: "All these gentlemen are asking for their marble blocks, or at least the chance to measure them" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 96). Pajou intro-

duced his marble (fig. 200) at the Salon on August 25, 1777. After the exhibition closed, he wanted to take the piece back for further work, as reported by d'Angiviller: "If M. Pajou wishes to have his figure of Descartes returned to him so that he can finish it, I have no objections" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 148). The *Année littéraire* (letter XII, p. 270) and the *Mercure de France* (October 1777, p. 194) also mentioned that Pajou had not added his final touches. The artist must have encountered technical difficulties; Chaussard (1806, p. 465) remarked that the statue "was not quite up to the others in its finish only because of the extreme hardness of the marble; full of emery, it broke even the best-tempered steel tools."

The reviews at the Salon were mainly negative: "apart from artists and learned amateurs, few were able to appreciate the merits of this figure" (*Année littéraire*, letter XII, p. 269). Pidansat de Mairobert in the *Mémoires secrets* (1995, pp. 76–77) objected to the subject's expression: "Descartes . . . looks far-off and dreamy, rather than impressing us with the powerful thoughts of a philosopher creating the world in his imagination." Dupont de Nemours (1908, p. 48) noted that Pajou's work "resembles the portraits we have of the great man, his unhandsome face, his pensive and slightly disdainful air," but he complained:

> Would you believe that they had put at the bottom: René Descartes, seigneur du Perron? When I saw that [reference to his] lordship, I thought it was a different Descartes, whom they were distinguishing by his property so as not to confuse him with the philosopher who is so distinguished by his genius. Could they possibly have thought they were heightening our admiration for this philosophical paragon by engraving on the marble that he owned a small fiefdom in Touraine?

Stein (1912, pp. 240–41) continues in the same vein:

> This standing figure, looking grumpy and antisocial under his opulent wig, enveloped in an overcoat like a musketeer, wearing elegant breeches and fancy shoes like some courtier, accompanied by attributes appropriate to a master mason [a compass and a protractor], holding in his left hand a square whose presence seems fairly ridiculous, appears as an ordinary, vulgar, flat, and indeterminate creature.

It must in fact be recognized that in this first retrospective essay Pajou made a miscalculation: we are far from the sublime conception of his masterpiece, the *Buffon* (cat. 112), the marble of which is, however, precisely contemporaneous. Perhaps the artist was overwhelmed by his responsibilities.

Descartes's face is faithful to his abundant engraved iconography: his mid-length hair, heavy gaze, plump eyelids, slightly disdainful smile, and distinctive collar all derive from the famous portrait by Frans Hals, engraved by Edelinck, Jollain, Picart, Habert, Dupin, Duhamel, and many others. The legend "chevalier seigneur du Perron" is present on a good number of these prints, despite the philosopher's known "aversion to all manner of titles" (Paris 1937b, p. 71, no. 367).

In addition to the constraints imposed by this canonical iconography, Pajou was presented with the further difficulty of a full-length portrait, rather than a simple bust. The part played by the costume was all the more important. Still a novice at glorifying famous men, Pajou showed off his abilities as a marble craftsman: the puckering of the cloth and the abundant ribbons and fine laces make Descartes look like one of the dandies ridiculed by Molière. The sculptor did not discover a "significant moment" that would endow his subject with an exceptional quality: Descartes simply holds an unidentified scroll in one hand, while another scroll, equally anonymous, is unrolled on one side of the pillar against which he leans. These, and the books behind his feet, are the only allusions to the subject's career as writer. How different from the pensive *Pascal* (cat. 127) and *Turenne* (fig. 198), even though the latter's dress is equally elaborate. The *Pascal*'s center of gravity is the subject's head and eyes. *Turenne* depicts an imperious man absorbed by a mission: the tense expression of his face, the blade of his sword, his grip on the crown make one forget the elaborate details of his costume. In *Bossuet* (fig. 196) the book in the philosopher's hand "speaks," and his pointing finger evokes the tongue of a brilliant orator. By comparison, the *Descartes,* despite a beautifully rendered head showing the sharpness of the philosopher's mind, seems devoid of meaning. The work's principal flaw is the subject's passivity, a choice Pajou avoided in the future. Instead of encountering a hero, one who calls to them (*Bossuet*), moves them (*Pascal*), or impresses them (*Turenne*), the viewers meet a sham image. GS



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130. *Charles Dufresny*

Marble
H. 82 cm (32¼ in.), W. 76 cm (29⅞ in.), D. 36 cm (14⅛ in.)
Inscribed at left: *Pajou sculptor 1781*; on plinth, in front: *CHARLES RIVIERE DU FRENY, NE A PARIS / EN 1648, MORT LE 6, 8^BRE 1724, AGE DE 76 ANS* (Charles Rivière Dufresny, born in Paris in 1648, died on October 6, 1724, aged 76)

Paris, Comédie-Française (S 139)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by the Comédie Française following a letter from Pajou of October 22, 1779 (see below); exhibited in the public lobby of the Théâtre de l'Odéon and then in the present theater on the Place du Palais-Royal

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon of 1781, no. 231, p. 42 of the *livret*; Copenhagen 1935, no. 644; Versailles 1962, no. 108; *Comédie Française* 1974–76, no. 58, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Delorme 1878, pp. 8, 12, 43–45, 206; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Monval 1897, p. 40, no. 37; Dilke 1900, p. 129; Dacier 1905, pp. 7, 134; Lami 1911, p. 217; Stein 1912, pp. 244 n. 1, 412, ill. p. 351; Chevalley 1977, p. 27; Moureau 1979, p. 99

RELATED WORKS: In 1848, after resigning from his position at the Louvre, the architect Fontaine mentioned a bust in terracotta of Dufresny housed in the "department of buildings": since it had once belonged to Sedaine—who lived in the palace as secretary to the Académie Française—and had not been claimed by his descendants, he suggested depositing it in the museum (see letter of Fontaine to Jeanron, director of the Musées Nationaux, October 4, 1848, and Jeanron's positive reply on October 9: AMN, Z8, October 4, 1848). The work has disappeared.

Plaster cast produced by Jacquet in May 1835 for the Musée Historique of the Château de Versailles (Hoog 1993, p. 129, no. 520, ill.).

Charles Dufresny, sieur de La Rivière (1657?–1724), was a prominent dramatist in the last decades of Louis XIV's reign and during the Regency. Born to a bourgeois Parisian family, he claimed to be the grandson of Henri IV and a female gardener at the Château d'Anet. "Usher of the king's chamber," he had a lighthearted nature which won him the goodwill of Louis XIV. He was appreciated at Versailles for his high-spirited ingenuity. In 1700 he was named overseer of the king's gardens and in 1710 editor of the *Mercure galant.* Beginning in the 1690s, he devoted more and more of his time to the theater. With the fashionable author Regnard he composed eleven plays for the Comédie Italienne. When the two men fell out in 1696, Dufresny continued writing on his own, mainly comedies, and seventeen of his plays were performed at the Comédie Française (*Dictionnaire* 1995, pp. 427–29).

The present portrait was commissioned by the Comédie Française in response to a letter from Pajou dated October 22, 1779 (*Dufresny* file, library of the Comédie Française; quoted in part in Delorme 1878, p. 8):

> Everyone knows how much your company would like to assemble for its own eyes and those of the public the busts of the great men who have glorified the French stage and whose masterpieces you perform daily. I would have been very pleased if you had charged me with rendering the features of the immortal Racine, but since you have undertaken an arrangement with M. Boizot, you have instead sought to compensate me by offering me the bust of the famous Dufresny; I shall, Messieurs, devote my full attention to it.

Fig. 201. After Charles-Antoine Coypel, *Dufresny*. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



Pajou asked that the same contract previously offered to Caffieri for *Piron* and *Corneille* be applied to him: the portrait in exchange for lifetime free admission. One month later, on November 22, Pajou wrote again (*Dufresny* file, library of the Comédie Française; quoted in Delorme 1878, p. 8): he thanked the company for sending the engraved portrait of Dufresny (see below) and suggested that he also do the bust of La Fontaine against lifetime free admission for his wife (Caffieri, however, had beaten him to that commission). As for the *Dufresny,* Pajou was late in completing his assignment, for on January 30, 1781, Foucou proposed that he do the bust of the writer (Delorme 1878, p. 43). The actors debated the proposal at their meeting of February 26, and Pajou was no doubt urged to finish: in any case, Pajou's marble was ready on August 25 for the Salon.

Pajou may have known the bust of Dufresny by Sébastien Slodtz, made in 1722, when the writer was still alive. A patinated plaster of the Slodtz portrait, signed and dated but with no indication of its original provenance, is housed at the Musée de Cognac (Souchal 1977–93, vol. 3, p. 285, no. 39, ill.); another example, unsigned, is in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Abbaye de Châalis. In any case, the artist was certainly inspired by the portrait Charles-Antoine Coypel painted in 1724, the year of Dufresny's death, which was engraved notably by Joullain (Lefrançois 1994, no. P.53A, ill.; fig. 201). The sculptor did not modify its witty expression, retaining the accentuated smile and the wrinkled brow.

The bust of Dufresny, largely derived from Coypel's model, is less lively than the terracotta portrait of Carlin Bertinazzi, the brilliant actor from the Comédie Italienne, which Pajou sculpted in 1763 (Comédie Française; Stein 1912, p. 157, ill.). Still, its grand execution, reminiscent of that of the *Bossuet* (fig. 196), will impress lovers of fine marblework carving: the billowing wig with its precise and supple masses of curls and the careful rendering of the facial features demonstrate anew the virtuosity of the sculptor's chisel. GS



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131. *Henri IV Trampling the Hydra of Anarchy*

Terracotta
H. 32.5 cm (12¾ in.), W. 16.7 cm (6⅝ in.), D. 15 cm (5⅞ in.)
Incised at right, on base of pedestal: *Pajou invé. fé / 1785*

Pau, Musée National du Château de Pau (P 69.3.1)

PROVENANCE: Rouen, Lefrançois, antiques dealer; his sale, November 17, 1890, no. 691; Rouen, Gaston Le Breton; his sale, December 6, 1921, no. 244, pl. XXVII; Schwob d'Héricourt; sale, Paris, Hôtel Galliéra, November 29, 1968, no. 203, ill.; bought at this sale by the museum

EXHIBITION: Paris 1889b, no. 1641

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 266–68, 269, ill., 414; Biver 1933, pp. 42, ill., 327–29; Réau 1936, p. 19; *Bulletin des amis du château de Pau*, no. 40, 4th qtr. (1968), pp. 3–7; Pupil 1985, p. 475

This is the maquette for a monument to Henri IV planned by the three aunts of Louis XVI, who were known as Mesdames, in the park of the Château de Bellevue. An invoice dated December 9, 1787, and signed by the princesses Adélaïde and Victoire specifies what the sculptor had done: "Monsieur Pajou, sculptor, declares that in 1786 he made by order of Mesdames the model of a monument to the memory of Henri IV which Mesdames desired to place at the end of the great terrace at Bellevue; that he spent about



Cat. 131: detail



Cat. 131: detail



Cat. 131: detail

six weeks finishing the model which has remained in his possession and he is asking for a recompense proportionate to his work. It is proposed that Mesdames grant him a sum of thirty louis and that they order this sum to be so paid" (AN, O^{1} 3777, d. 1; Stein 1912, doc. XLVIII). On December 28, 1787, Pajou signed a receipt for 720 livres, delivered by the general treasurer of Mesdames' establishment as full payment for his labor. The terracotta, dated 1785, now in the Château de Pau, is thus in all likelihood the study for the model presented to Mesdames in 1786 and paid for in December 1787.

Bellevue was an appropriate site for a monument since Henri de Bourbon, the future Henri IV, had taken over the Château de Meudon as his residence and general headquarters during his siege of Paris. Biver (1933, p. 327) quotes "an anonymous note that good fortune has preserved": "the elevation formed at one end of the terrace at Bellevue is the very spot on which Henri IV's tent stood during the siege of Paris, the moment when this great king learned of the capital's decision to lay down arms, to open its doors to him, and to acknowledge him at last. The realm owes to that moment the good fortune of having the Bourbon line on the throne. Mesdames are thought to have recalled this and wished to perpetuate its memory."

Indeed, the idea of commemorating the founder of the current dynasty emerged in the mid-1780s, when the cult of Henri IV experienced its apogee with the realization of the series of Gobelins tapestries devoted to his history. The six paintings (now in the Louvre and the Château de Fontainebleau) were executed between 1783 and 1787 by François-André Vincent, the teacher

Fig. 202. François-André Vincent, *Henri IV Bringing Provisions into Paris*. Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée du Louvre



of Pajou's son. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, "painter to Mesdames," had done Vincent's portrait in 1782—he became her husband in 1800—and Pajou's in 1783 (cat. 147), while in 1784 Pajou executed a bust of her father (cat. 105). Was it perhaps through her that the sculptor was commissioned to do the monument?

Pajou certainly knew Vincent's paintings. He transcribed Vincent's composition *Henri IV Bringing Provisions into Paris* (fig. 202) in reverse on the front of the pedestal of his maquette: half of the scene representing the siege of Paris is occupied by a group led by the sovereign, whose left arm is extended before him, pointing toward a vast landscape (a city in the distance for the painter, fortifications for the sculptor). The two other reliefs decorating the lateral faces of the pedestal—which can be identified as a double submission, that of Henri IV to the Catholic religion and that of the Parisians delivering to him the keys to the city—are more summarily handled and do not refer to Vincent for their iconography.

In general, Pajou took inspiration from a whole body of literature devoted to the glory of Henri IV that had flourished during the eighteenth century (on the historiography of Henri IV, see Pupil 1985, pp. 470–81), from Voltaire's *Henriade* (1723) to the history of Henri IV by Bury (1765), as well as numerous eulogies and theatrical works (listed in the *Bulletin des amis du château de Pau*, no. 4, 4th qtr. [1968], p. 5). It was especially under the influence of the comte d'Angiviller, an apostle of French-style Plutarchism, that history painters devoted some ten canvases to this "popular type of beneficent monarch" between 1777 and 1785 (Locquin 1912, p. 283). Pajou's statue—which was never executed as a monument—thus crowned, with Vincent's paintings, the extensive illustration of Henri IV's career.

The sovereign is depicted standing in armor, in an attitude similar to that of the figure of Henri IV previously created for the cathedral of Sainte-Croix in Orléans (see cat. 120). He stands near a throne with lion heads and feet and treads underfoot the Hydra of anarchy, symbol of the Holy League and its disorders. This heroic motif was invoked fairly frequently for Henri IV and recalls the iconography of Hercules, even that of Saint Michael, with a very human defeated foe most often substituting for the Hydra (as in Mosca's *Triumph of Alessandro Farnese*, which Pajou sketched in Rome [ENSBA, vol. 2, 83; fig. 203]). The most celebrated image is Cordier's colossal *Victory of Henri IV* in Saint John Lateran (1606–9; engraved; Pressouyre 1984, pp. 401–5, figs. 136, 159; fig. 204). Pajou's direct source of inspiration could have been Houdon's *Henri IV Trampling the Hydra of Anarchy*, which the duc d'Orléans commissioned for the gardens of the Palais-

Fig. 203. Pajou, *Mosca's "Triumph of Alessandro Farnese."* Black chalk, pen and brown ink. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 204. Robert Picou and Jérôme David, *Nicolas Cordier's "Victory of Henri IV."* Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes



Royal; since the work was apparently never installed (*Correspondance littéraire* 12 [June 1984], p. 149), Pajou may have seen the model for it (Vitry 1908, p. 16, [after 1783]; Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 292). At the same time, Gois also tackled the subject (Salon of 1783, no. 225; Foliot 1991).

Pajou's Henri IV here holds a sword—the symbol of Force or Justice—in his right hand, its hilt beside the French crown, which rests on a pedestal draped in a cloth decorated with fleurs-de-lis: a protective gesture that strongly evokes that of Turenne, also armed with a sword and standing guard over the royal insignia (cat. 128). Henri IV's left hand rests on a shield adorned with a figure of Victory; near the throne is an open helmet sporting the famous plume.

The interest that Mesdames took in Henri IV—inspired, as we have seen, by the proximity of his camp to Bellevue—must also be placed in context: their nephew, Louis XVI, himself seen as a reformer, appeared as the worthy successor to the founder of the dynasty. This association was given political reality by the edict of tolerance of 1787, reestablishing the freedoms granted to Protestants by the Edict of Nantes. Public monuments would suggest a double commemoration, the most symbolic being the plans by Antoine and Gisors for a new Place Royale at the end of the Place Dauphine, including an equestrian monument to the glory of Louis XVI as a worthy pendant to that of Henri IV erected by Marie de Médicis. Pajou himself, at the time of his model for Bellevue, was working on a monument to Louis XVI for the city of Brest.

Pajou's two figures of Henri IV, well known since Stein, have earned the artist credit for a modest gilt-bronze relief, *Victory Holding the Portrait of Henri IV in a Medallion* (Berlin, Skulpturengalerie: Bloch 1990, no. 1, ill.). As Zick (1990) has judiciously demonstrated, however, this small plaque—which reappears as a clock ornament—certainly cannot be included in the catalogue of Pajou's works. GS

132. *Colbert and Duquesne*

Terracotta
H. 33.5 cm (13⅛ in.), W. 23.5 cm (9¼ in.), D. 22 cm (8⅝ in.)
Incised on plinth, to left: *PAJOU FACIEBAT 1786*; in front: *COLBERT ET DUQUAINE* (Colbert and Duquesne); to right: *CE GROUPE SERA EXECUTE POUR LA PLACE DU PEROU A MONTPELLIER* (This group will be executed for the Place du Peyrou in Montpellier)

Montpellier, Musée Fabre (RF 2767)

PROVENANCE: "Belonged for many years to the artist's family" (Stein 1912); T. Schiff collection; his sale, March 13–17, 1905, no. 486; acquired at that sale by the comte de Gramedo; Miss Elsie De Wolfe, Versailles, 1912; sale Paris, Galerie Charpentier, March 17, 1956, no. 76; acquired at that sale by the Musée du Louvre and deposited in the Musée Fabre

EXHIBITIONS: Montpellier 1956, no. 129; Montpellier 1980, no. 37, ill. p. 64, fig. 69

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lami 1911, pp. 218–19; Stein 1912, pp. 268–71, ill., 414; Claparède 1957, pp. 109–13, ill.; Colton 1979, pp. 220–21

On October 27, 1784, the États du Languedoc concluded an agreement with Pajou and two other sculptors, Pierre Julien and Jean-Guillaume Moitte, to produce groups of Great Men to embellish the Place du Peyrou in Montpellier, which had at its center an equestrian statue of Louis XIV (created by Mazeline and Hurtrelle in the early eighteenth century). Pajou may already have designed in 1767 a plan for a fountain on the Place du Peyrou meant to conceal the terminus of the Saint-Clément aqueduct (see cat. 40). In 1771 the comte de Faugères—a disciple of Buffon and a member in 1772 of the Société Royale des Sciences in Montpellier—recorded his own design for decorating the square (ADH, C7960), which at the time was still unfinished. He suggested placing on the pedestals surrounding the statue of Louis XIV not the royal Virtues, as had previously been proposed, but the Great Men who had lived during the reign of the Sun King:

> The century of Louis XIV was such a glorious era for the nation that we could not go too far in immortalizing it. Under this reign France produced truly great men in every field. The sovereign, by knowing how to recognize them, welcome them, protect them, gratify them with his beneficence, employ them according to their talents and merits, truly contributed to forming them and helping them acquire the fame to which all the following



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centuries have put their seal. (quoted in Montpellier 1980, p. 65)

Faugères, following this impetus, proposed a pantheon of some forty figures, dressed *à la française* and closely inspired by portraits of the time. After having been extensively discussed in Paris, the project was accepted in principle by the États du Languedoc on December 31, 1776, and assigned to the architect Raymond. He planned to install four groups at the four cutoff corners of the Place du Peyrou, a particularly pleasing arrangement that "offered the advantages of circumscribing the square, giving the marble statues a more defined architectural base, and making them visible from afar" (Claparède 1957, p. 110). Raymond was to ask a sculptor of his choice to produce a plaster model of Condé and Turenne "in the same scale that it would afterward have in marble" (Lechat 1894, p. 147). Pigalle had been an enthusiastic candidate as of 1773 (Guiffrey 1882, pp. 252–60), but the architect chose Clodion, a sculptor who was merely accredited at the Académie and whose financial aspirations were expected to be more modest (Pigalle, then at the height of his career, was greedy). Clodion went to Montpellier in 1778 to see the on-site erection of his model "at a height of ten feet [3.05 m]," at which point he received a firm



Cat. 132: reverse

commission for the marble version (the contract was signed on October 15, 1780: see Lechat 1894, pp. 148–52, and illustration [p. 145] of Raymond's drawing following the terms of the contract). The États then reached an agreement, on October 27, 1784, with the three other sculptors—Pajou, Julien, and Moitte—no doubt on the advice of Clodion, Pajou's son-in-law.

The contract with Pajou—"residing in Paris on the rue Froidmanteau" (by then he was no longer living in the Galeries du Louvre; see Chronology, April 11, 1783)—has been published (Fournier 1872, pp. 387–91). He pledged to produce:

> in white Carrara statuary marble of top quality, a group representing statues of Duquesne and Colbert, ten feet in height. . . . The statues will be standing and dressed in costumes appropriate to their stations, from the time in the century when they lived. The one of Duquesne will be grouped and accompanied by attributes of the navy, and the one of Colbert will be decorated and grouped with attributes of the arts, commerce, and abundance and with other details relating to the administration of finance.

The sculptor was also to create a marble relief representing "the genius of navigation indicating Duquesne's

victories over the famous Ruitter [the Dutch admiral Ruyter] and holding the symbols of commerce and finance." Pajou had the rest of 1784 and 1785 to design a model that would "conform" to Clodion's. He was expected to confer with Raymond in the event of any change during production—an indication of how closely his work was being monitored. He would receive twenty-four thousand livres for the group and six thousand for the relief, a good price when compared to the ten thousand livres offered by the Bâtiments du Roi for a Great Man. The marble versions were to be completed in 1790. In the end, however, the États canceled all contracts on February 18, 1789, because of lack of funds. On December 17 Pajou received the sum of two thousand livres in payment for his model and various studies (Lechat 1894, p. 156). Julien and Moitte were compensated at the same rate.

Julien was to depict the chancellors d'Aguesseau and Lamoignon. His study is lost, but those by Moitte (*Bossuet* and *Fénelon*) and Pajou have fortunately been preserved, deposited by the Louvre at the Musée Fabre. The figures repeated the Great Men ordered by d'Angiviller, which had already been executed in marble and exhibited at the Salon: Lecomte's *Fénelon* in 1777, Berruer's *d'Aguesseau* and Pajou's *Bossuet* in 1779. The only one missing was the *Chancelier Lamoignon,* commissioned from Pajou in 1787 but not realized for political reasons (Lamoignon's descendant had fallen out of favor during the parliamentary crisis at the end of the ancien régime). Pajou's composition juxtaposes Colbert, restorer of the navy, and Duquesne, lieutenant of the naval forces and the great conquerer of the Dutch fleet: "Great ministers make great captains. Duquesne had the good fortune to find Colbert at the head of the naval department" (Turpin 1780, vol. 4, p. 32). The iconography of the Peyrou plan was well balanced: ground forces (Condé and Turenne), the navy (Colbert and Duquesne), church (Bossuet and Fénelon), and parliament (d'Aguesseau and Lamoignon) surrounded the monarch.

In Pajou's model, Colbert, shown as an extraordinarily youthful man, gives his instructions to Duquesne, who holds a map. Colbert had not been part of the original series of Great Men, whereas Duquesne had been exhibited in a plaster version by Martin-Claude Monot at the Salon of 1785 (the marble was shown at the Salon of 1787 and is now at the Château de Versailles; Hoog 1993, p. 133, no. 545, ill.). In the portraits by Monot and Pajou, Duquesne is almost identical, even down to his hat, and his mustache matches that in engravings by Habert and Edelinck (his extreme ugliness has, however, been softened). The dynamic quality of Monot's work is remarkable, even if the hero's posture (turned to the left) is taken from Houdon's marble *Tourville* (Salon of 1781; fig. 199). Pajou adopted the impetuous gesture of the right arm, index finger pointing forward, but here the order to the troops emphasizes the decision reached by Colbert. In this regard, the groups for the Place du Peyrou, and especially Pajou's (the ones by Moitte and Clodion being much more static), provide a scenographic movement missing from even the best examples in d'Angiviller's series.

The "significant moment" so dear to Diderot, which one must capture in order to bring these solitary figures to life, is at the center of Pajou's composition: showing a map, Duquesne points out an island to Colbert; the latter holds him by the arm in lively conversation. They begin to move before our eyes, in a dialogue that we witness. Pajou delicately balances the postures of the two. While the seated Colbert takes precedence and can take the liberty of touching Duquesne, it is the admiral who dominates the composition. He stands, hat on head, his imperative index finger symbolizing the decisive power of a warrior-leader. Claparède rightly remarks how Pajou's composition, following Raymond's directives, is a diagonal arrangement, with the characters on a square base and the cannon and anchor constituting a third mass: "The group thus forms a triangle inscribed in the square of the pedestal, which frees up one corner and orients Colbert and Duquesne toward the statue of the king." We can only regret that the marble version was never realized, as it would have subtly completed d'Angiviller's series.

Pajou's terracotta is extremely fine and precise, despite its small dimensions. He invites us to view the composition from all sides, and we are able to see the attributes of Colbert, minister and protector of the navy (globe, books, paper scroll) and of the arts (painting, architecture, sculpture accessories), and those of Duquesne (cannon and cannonballs, enormous anchor with chain in back). GS

133. *Project for a Medal Commemorating the Sinking of a New Pile at Cherbourg in the Presence of Louis XVI*

Black chalk
24.6 × 24.2 cm (9¾ × 9½ in.)
Signed and dated at bottom right: *Pajou F. 1787.*; legend: *MARE PER NOVAM ARTEM FRENATUM CAESARISBURGI*; exergue: *REGE ADSTANTE ET PROMOVENTE / XXIII. IVN. MDCCLXXXVI*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Rés. Pajou B6)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Collection of Léon Borely de la Touche or of the dealer Abel Laroche, mid-nineteenth century (Lugt 1956, no. 1708a); acquired before 1848

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Turckheim-Pey 1995, pp. 1104–7, ill.

On November 18, 1772, Charles De Wailly wrote to the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson, asking him to intervene for Pajou, who wanted to succeed L.-C. Vassé. De Wailly told the marquis that Vassé, "currently at death's door and given up by the whole faculty [of medicine]," was

> draftsman of medals at the Académie des Inscriptions, a position that was once filled by M. Bouchardon and which should go to a sculptor. Consequently, Monsieur, I believe you are familiar enough with Pajou to know that he deserves preference, all the more in that he is the only sculptor who can draw so well. Kindly allow me to join my plea to his, for your recommendation with M. the marquis de Paulmy [the marquis de Voyer's cousin and member of the Académie Française], who will surely give it the utmost consideration, will carry the vote. (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 42)

On December 21 the duc de Vrillière informed the secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions that Pajou had been chosen by the king to fill the post of draftsman for the Académie (*Registre des assemblées et délibérations de l'Académie . . . pour l'année 1772*, p. 6: AI, Z206). On December 30 De Wailly thanked the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson: "The interest that you have so kindly taken in Pajou, Monsieur, succeeded in obtaining what he had requested, even against rivals such as Messieurs Pierre and Cochin. The appointment was made by the minister last Monday" (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 43). Pajou himself thanked the marquis several days later.

This appointment was a ringing acknowledgment of Pajou's drawing talents. When Bouchardon had asked to have Vassé succeed him, he stated that "to fill the position of draftsman of medals, a sculptor who can also draw and who has made studies from beautiful antique statues and reliefs, must be preferred over any other artist, since the drawing of a medal is simply the representation of a sculpture in relief, which is without question the sculptor's domain" (Roserot 1910, p. 146). Pajou would be responsible for designing a large number of the medals and tokens that were engraved up to the fall of the ancien régime. Stein first drew attention to this aspect of Pajou's career by publishing his designs (now lost) for the medal commemorating the completion of the Burgundy canal (see Chronology, August 15, 1783) and for that intended for the public health administration of Marseilles (see Chronology, July 10, 1784). The present large drawing commemorating the royal visit to Cherbourg, discovered at the Bibliothèque Nationale, has been partially published by Turckheim-Pey. Other designs may still come to light.

Correspondence in the Institut archives (A107) explicitly indicates that Pajou was responsible for the following compositions (see Chronology for further information): the emergency war chest token for 1779, medals for the births of madame royale (January 23, 1779) and the dauphin (September 27, 1781), and medals commemorating the invention of the hot-air balloon and its first navigator (January 24, 1784). It is tempting to believe he was responsible for designing all medals and tokens created at the king's request between 1773 and the fall of the monarchy. And, in fact, this was his role at the Académie des Inscriptions, even if an artist such as Benjamin Duvivier, "general engraver of French currency and medals to the king" since 1774, also laid claim to the honor (Nocq 1911). Institut archives (A107) allow us to attribute the following additional works to Pajou: the emergency war chest token for 1773, the medal of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule (1774), and the medals for the coronation of Louis XVI (1774), the Surgical College (1774), the death of Louis XV (1775), the accession of Louis XVI (1775), the alliance with the Swiss guard (1777), the Treaty of Paris, which formally ended the American Revolution (1783), the La Gardette gold mines (a medal that the comte de Provence, owner of the mines, chose to give the king,



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1785), and the birth of the duc de Normandie (1785). Gaps in the correspondence prevent us from compiling a definitive list.

Thanks to an important file devoted exclusively to Cherbourg (AI, A115), we can, however, reconstruct the chronology of this particular medal. Two events were being commemorated: first, the refurbishing of the port of Cherbourg in which piles were sunk to support a new pier and, second, the king's visit on June 23, 1786, to observe the driving of the ninth pile (this was Louis XVI's only trip to the provinces during his entire reign; for details, see Turckheim-Pey 1995, pp. 1105–6). Cherbourg would have a determining strategic importance in the context of any war against England: "Descent into England, which has always been seen as fanciful, becomes probable now that we have a port in the channel owing to the construction in Cherbourg and now that this port is sufficiently near completion to be operational" (Besenval 1987, p. 443). On August 21, 1786, the maréchal de Castries, secretary of the navy, wrote to Dacier, the secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions, informing him that the king had approved the striking of

> a medal on the occasion of the pier that His Majesty has had built to form a roadstead for the port of Cherbourg. . . . This medal should depict on one side the king's effigy; and on the other the design will indicate the new methods that have been used to create the pier. The greatness and utility of the undertaking, the difficulty and nature of the work, the voyage that His Majesty made to Cherbourg to judge for himself the progress of the labor, such are the subjects that should occupy the attention of the Académie and that should be expressed in the legends.

The Académie was instructed to send the king several texts in Latin and French from which he would make his selection. On September 1, 1786, one of three designs submitted to the king was approved:

> On the obverse, the head of the king, with the customary legend: *LUDOVICUS XVI REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS*. On the reverse: we see in the distance several piles that have already been sunk, and another pile is being ferried by two frigates. The Genius of France, symbol of the king,

> wears a cape covered with fleurs-de-lis and floats above the pile, directing its course to the place where it will be sunk [the texts of the legend and of the exergue follow].

This subject was chosen over two proposals that depicted the sovereign more explicitly: In one, "the king, with the attributes of Neptune . . . , mounted on a chariot drawn by sea horses, stretches a hand toward the pile pulled by two frigates"; in the other, "the king is depicted standing," talking with a female allegorical figure representing the city of Cherbourg.

On March 12, 1787, the maréchal de Castries wrote to Dacier concerning Pajou's design, which had been sent on February 21:

> This drawing seems to render perfectly the Académie's idea, which could not express more concisely and clearly the two subjects the medal memorializes. I noted only that the Cherbourg setting was not presented with complete accuracy, especially the fort on the Isle Pelée, today the royal fortress, which rises only slightly above sea level. To give this medal the further merit of rendering the setting exactly, I had a new drawing made that I am joining here to the original [not now in the file] and in which, while preserving M. Pajou's composition, the draftsman has easily managed to depict the piles in the earth in two stages of construction and the conveyance of a new pile into the harbor, with all the marine equipment that this operation requires. Kindly forward this drawing to the Académie, Monsieur, and have it determine whether the drawing's details can be rendered in an engraving. As soon as you are kind enough to relay its decision, I will put the entire case to the king and I will receive His Majesty's orders regarding the production of the work.

He also corrected an error in the exergue as proposed by the Académie: they should have written "June 23" for the king's visit, not "June 11." Another letter from Versailles (March 31, 1787) stated that Pajou's revised design of March 23 had been received: "I saw with pleasure that the Académie has approved the changes I suggested." This second design must certainly be the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which incorporates the correct date of the king's visit. Its size indicates that it was a presentation model. The medal was faithfully engraved from Pajou's model by Duvivier (*Trésor de numismatique* 1837, pl. LVI, no. 4; Nocq 1911, pp. 217–18, no. 227, not ill.) and was shown at the Salon of 1789. The only change was the introduction of an anchor in the genius's left hand, instead of the torch planned by Pajou. Oddly enough, gold or silver specimens of this medal have not been found, unlike others based on our artist's work: the example in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale (diam. 62 mm [2½ in.]; royal series 2872 AO) is in bronze (fig. 205), like that in the Musée de Cherbourg (no. 952). The die, dated 1787, is still housed by the Musée de la Monnaie, Paris.

Following the subject as defined by the Académie des Inscriptions, Pajou conceived a clever composition. The Genius of France with his straight nose, deep-set eyes, and swept-back wavy hair corresponds to the adolescent physical type favored by Pajou (see cat. 54, 62). The drapery is also characteristic of his style: the darkened hollows in the cloth, produce an interplay of light and dark, a technique first seen in his Italian period. While the artist had to follow a subject dictated by the Académie, he nonetheless managed to imprint his own



Fig. 205. Benjamin Duvivier, *Medal Commemorating the Sinking of a New Pile at Cherbourg in the Presence of Louis XVI, after Pajou* (reverse). Bronze. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

style on the composition, as Bouchardon had in his day. Pajou was a worthy successor to Bouchardon: on the Cherbourg medal, the long diagonal formed by the piles and prolonged by the ships, then concluded by an evocation of landscape in the distance, highlights the imperious gesture of the genius pointing at the work already accomplished. This posture is a fine visual invention. Indeed, Pajou had to give a strong indication of the king's will by using his substitute, the Genius of France, whose presence at the center of the composition was required by the written description of the subject. Unhampered by this constraint, the sculptor created a harmonious and significant composition. GS

VIII. *Psyche*

The statue *Psyche Abandoned,* an acknowledged masterpiece and one of Pajou's most studied works (cat. 134), represented an important challenge for him because its success would assure his preeminence within the French school of sculpture. In 1785, the year in which the plaster cast was exhibited at the Salon, Pajou was accumulating honors. He was professor and treasurer at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, draftsman at the Académie des Inscriptions, curator of the royal collection of modern sculptures, member of the committee charged with planning the Louvre's future as a museum, and official portraitist to the king. To all intents and purposes the dean of sculptors,[1] loaded with work by the comte d'Angiviller (director of the Bâtiments du Roi),[2] Pajou had outclassed his colleagues from the beginning of Louis XVI's reign, and especially since the deaths of Guillaume II Coustou and Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne and the gradual eclipse of Pigalle. Pajou's reputation as a sculptor, and an expert routinely consulted by the directors of the Bâtiments du Roi and of the Académie whenever a sculpture was at issue,[3] made him the de facto "first sculptor to the king" (though the title did not actually exist).

The commission from the Bâtiments du Roi for a statue to serve as companion piece to Bouchardon's *Cupid Carving a Bow from Hercules' Club* was a magnificent opportunity for Pajou to establish himself in a position of comparable esteem. He thus became the successor to the great Bouchardon who, though given scant praise during his lifetime, won immense renown after his death.[4] Apart from the glory of receiving such an assignment, however, the stakes hardly interested him: the two statues differ greatly and do not respond one to the other. More important, *Psyche* allowed Pajou to gain advantage over the one artist who was at his level: Houdon. The comparison of *Psyche* with Houdon's *Diana* also enhances the debate over Neoclassical aesthetics at the end of the eighteenth century.

If Pajou could not compete with Houdon as a portraitist or bronze founder, he was nonetheless on firm footing in his field of choice: marble statuary. Already his *Turenne* (cat. 128) had been a strong response to the only royal commission Houdon had ever received, the controversial *Tourville* (fig. 199). In this regard, *Psyche Abandoned* can be seen as a second volley, aimed at his rival's *Diana the Huntress* (fig. 206).[5] Houdon invited d'Angiviller to look at the bronze version of his statue on October 1, 1782.[6] It was time for Pajou to act.

Houdon did not exhibit *Diana the Huntress* at the Salon, and in fact the work garnered little comment in its day.[7] In 1778 Laus de Boissy penned a generally favorable comment: "She is truly Diana the goddess. She perfectly matches the idea that the poets have given of her. These are not simply the actual forms of a beautiful woman. It is that perfection in beauty that rises above nature, self-selected, the purity of form that designates a celestial being. Light, slender, noble, unadorned, and imposing, we could take her for Diana herself, Apollo's sister."[8] The critics of the time did not so much react to the realism of the nude body[9] as fault Houdon for having undressed the huntress, who was traditionally garbed in a tunic.[10] The artist had apparently transposed the iconography, adopting the image of Diana at her bath.[11] If Houdon was responding in some way to Vassé and Allegrain by taking from one the subject and from the other its nudity, his figure is nonetheless entirely original. Point-by-point comparisons aside, his *Diana* successfully synthesizes three different aesthetics: the triumphant nudity of antiquity with serene idealism; the boldness of a rotating composition; and fidelity to beautiful nature in the transcription after the living model.

With his *Psyche Abandoned,* Pajou, too, integrated antique nudity with anatomical veracity; but he also responded to Houdon on two other essential points: the reference to antiquity forces one to adopt a preferential viewpoint, and this viewpoint must be accompanied by an expression derived from real life. Whereas Diana pivots on her foot, favoring multiple vantage points like a work from the sixteenth century, Psyche is seated and must be viewed head-on. This creates a direct dialogue with the spectator. If Diana is impersonal and inaccessible (like the cruel Venus from Apuleius's fable), Psyche exudes humanity and trembles with emotion. She is the mortal woman tormented, like the human soul which she symbolizes.[12] GS



Fig. 206. Houdon, *Diana the Huntress*. Bronze. San Marino, California, Huntington Art Gallery

1. Falconet did no sculpture after his return from Russia, and Caffieri's disastrous temperament proved a considerable liability.
2. In roughly a decade, from *Buffon* to *Psyche,* Pajou received commissions from the administration for six marble statues, not counting replicas of busts of the royal family.
3. The director of the Académie was Jean-Baptiste Pierre, first painter to the king.
4. Bouchardon's *Cupid Carving a Bow from Hercules' Club* did not find favor with the court at Versailles in 1750 and was exiled to the orangery in Choisy. Twenty-six years later, the directorate of the Bâtiments du Roi commissioned Mouchy to copy it for the Trianon. The marble for this copy was in fact provided by Pajou (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 223–26).
5. The plaster version of Houdon's *Diana the Huntress* (Gotha, Schlossmuseum; Arnason 1976, fig. 99) was visible in the sculptor's studio in 1777, as the marble was in 1780 (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation; Arnason 1976, pl. 40a). The first version in bronze (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Art Gallery; Arnason 1976, fig. 100) was shown at the home of Girardot de Marigny as early as 1782.
6. Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 45.
7. According to the review of the Salon of 1802 in the *Journal des Arts* (see also n. 9 below), the plaster model had been rejected by the Salon jury in 1777: Houdon "could not at the time exhibit it at the Salon; sanctimonious hypocrisy opposed it" (quoted in Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 46). Instead, it was shown in the sculptor's studio, like the model of Pajou's *Psyche Abandoned.*
8. *Journal de Paris,* April 14, 1778 (quoted in Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 43).
9. They were much more negative when the second version in bronze (most likely the one in the Louvre, dated 1790) was exhibited without catalogue listing at the Salon of 1802, "at a time when the debate was getting under way between *ideal beauty* and *real beauty*" (Johnson 1992a, p. 340).
10. For example, the famous antique in the royal collection (Musée du Louvre; see Haskell and Penny 1982, no. 30) and the marble statue by Vassé, ordered by Frederick II of Prussia (1769, Potsdam, Bildergalerie).
11. *Diana* by Allegrain (now in the Louvre), introduced at the Salon of 1777, was often cited as the rival to Houdon's plaster. Given by Louis XV to Mme Du Barry, Allegrain's sculpture was placed in the park of Louveciennes. In the catalogue of Houdon's posthumous auction (December 15–17, 1828, no. 2), the caption for his bronze *Diana* (now in the Louvre) notes that "this statue . . . might more appropriately be said to depict 'Venus the huntress.'"
12. Katharina Krause (1993, pp. 11–12) rightly notes one of the innovative aspects of *Psyche:* an individual image sculpted lifesize, it expresses passion on a monumental scale. In this regard, its only predecessor was Puget's *Milo of Crotona.*

134. *Psyche Abandoned*

Marble
H. 177 cm (69⅝ in.), W. 86 cm (33⅞ in.), D. 86 cm (33⅞ in.)
Inscribed on plinth, in front: *PSYCHE PERDIT L'AMOUR / EN VOULANT LE CONNOITRE* (Psyche lost Love by seeking to know him); to left: *PAJOU SCULP.* [*DU ROY* (stricken out by hammer)] / *ET CITOYEN DE PARIS / 1790* (Pajou sculptor [to the king] and citizen of Paris, 1790)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (MR Sup 62)

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by the Bâtiments du Roi, 1783; certified as being in the Salle des Antiques, 1793; Palais du Luxembourg, the garden of Senator Pierre Roger Ducos; placed inside the Palais du Luxembourg, 1802; inventoried on site, 1824 (MR Sup 62); entered the museum, April 18, 1829 (CC 231)

EXHIBITION: Salon of 1791: first *livret*, no. 200 (Scherf 1997, p. 56); second *livret,* no. 789

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY (the work has been widely cited in a variety of publications): Chaussard 1806, pp. 466–67, 470; Le Breton 1810, pp. 359–60; *Explication* 1814, no. 104; *Explication* 1818, no. 92; Clarac 1847, no. 32 *bis*; Clarac 1841–53, vol. 5, no. 2656, pl. 367; Barbet de Jouy 1855, no. 287; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 193; Michel 1897, no. 577; Dilke 1900, p. 128; Furcy-Raynaud 1907, p. 10; Lami 1911, p. 221; Schneider 1912, p. 244; Stein 1912, pp. 250–57, 350–51, 365–67, 416, ill. p. 342 (pl. XII); Vitry 1922, no. 1433, ill.; Vitry 1924, p. 577, ill.; Volk 1971, p. 290, fig. 207; Bresc-Bautier 1980, no. 47, ill.; Johnson 1992, p. 340, fig. 85; Krause 1993, pp. 289–302, ill.; Levey 1993b, p. 156, fig. 161

RELATED WORKS: The "little model of his Psyche in marble. . . precious terracotta by Pajou" was sold in Paris, sale of the collection of the comtesse de Fourcroy (the former Mme De Wailly), March 16, 1810, no. 49.

The full-scale plaster model was exhibited at the Salon of 1785 (no. 199).

A plaster cast (the model cited above?) was given by Hippolyte Riban, grandson of Maurice Riban, who housed the Pajou family, to the Musée Fabre in Montpellier (Montpellier, Musée Fabre 1859, p. 145, no. 584; Lafenestre and Michel 1878, p. 363; Bellier and Auvray 1885, p. 194). In 1912 Stein (p. 416) said it was lost.

A casting was exhibited at the Exposition Universelle of 1889 (*Catalogue de l'exposition centennale de l'art français*, no. 126; see Michel 1889, p. 290, ill. p. 289).

Lifesize plaster reproductions were manufactured by the casting studios of the Louvre as of 1893 and were available for sale until 1955 (Rionnet 1996, p. 272, no. 1156).

A copy in stone was spotted in November 1959 in a private garden in Angoulême (archives of the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre).

For reductions in terracotta and bronze, see cat. 135–37.

A drawing of the sculpture was made by Cézanne (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–van Beuningen; Berthold 1958, no. 163, ill.).

A sketched interpretation was made by Archipenko in 1912 (Dorival 1974, p. 206, fig. 32).

On February 10, 1783, the comte d'Angiviller received a letter from Pajou regarding a royal commission: "I believe I've finally found an appropriate subject for the statue that is to serve as companion piece to Bouchardon's *Cupid*, which you have asked me to deal with. I did a sketch showing Psyche in a state of dejection and pain from having lost her love through indiscretion. At her feet lie the dagger and the lamp, the instruments of her disgrace, which will identify her. I'm pleased with the sketch and I think the posture I've given her will allow for a good development from life. The head offers good possibilities for expression."

Farther on, Pajou asked for written confirmation and secrecy regarding the price to spare him the jealousy of his colleagues. He specified that he would need time "to study and revise my model, find and pay the women who can charge me whatever price they like, as beautiful ones might cost two or three times more than the models we usually use. I have decided to spare neither time nor money to bring this figure to the point of perfection of which I am capable" (Doucet, *carton* 41, mf. 20292; Stein 1912, doc. XXVIII).

As director of the Bâtiments du Roi, d'Angiviller confirmed the commission (about which, oddly, Furcy-Raynaud does not breathe a word). In another letter, dated March 6, 1783, Pajou requested a fee of sixteen thousand livres (AN, O^{1} 1916, p. 68; Stein 1912, doc. XXIX). This was six thousand livres more than the ordinary cost of a statue created "for the king" but only one thousand livres higher than for the *Mercury* (now in the Louvre; fig. 104) commissioned by the abbé Terray, who also provided the marble. On May 27, 1783, Pajou obtained a commitment for fifteen thousand livres (AN, O^{1} 1916, p. 158), which was a considerable sum.

On June 12, 1785, a few weeks before the opening of the Salon, he asked the comte d'Angiviller to visit him and examine the model (AN, O^{1} 1916, p. 181). He had been able to study at leisure Bouchardon's *Cupid Carving a Bow from Hercules' Club* (Musée du Louvre; Roserot 1910, pp. 87–97, ill.; fig. 207), which since September 1778 had been in the Salle des Antiques at the Louvre waiting to be cast (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 53). As curator of that salle, Pajou had handled the matter himself (Pajou to d'Angiviller, October 14, 1778, Fondation Custodia, Paris, no. 1983 A 13; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 224) and had even begun to copy the statue for his own use, a reduction "of three feet . . . a

small figure to place in a private study on some table or corner cupboard" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1 , pp. 218, 221–22).

On August 25, 1785, the model of Pajou's *Psyche Abandoned* was presented at the Salon and described in the catalogue as having been made "for the king." Because of its dimensions, it was placed at the entrance in the courtyard and was very much noticed by the critics (see below). The complete nudity of the statue shocked the curate of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, who successfully petitioned the archbishop of Paris to have the work removed from the exhibition (*Mémoires secrets* 1995, letter III [1785], p. 138). This was done five days after the opening (*Journal de Paris*, no. 242, August 30, 1785, p. 1000; quoted in Johnson 1992, p. 33 n. 4). Exhibited in "the sculptor's studio [located nearby], where it is shown publicly and has created a second, independent gathering" (*Mémoires secrets* 1995, letter III [1785], p. 138), the statue only garnered greater success: "The remedy has furthered the illness, as all of Paris ran and continues to run daily to M. Pajou's studio to see the statue 'under the counter,' as it were. On top of this, the poor curate has been overwhelmed with epigrams posted on the door of his presbytery" (*Correspondance secrète*, September 8, 1785, p. 367; quoted in Wrigley 1993, p. 312 n. 175). Chaussard (1806, p. 467) attributes the entire affair to jealousy:

> M. d'Angevilliers [*sic*], in a rather singular contradiction, having commissioned this work and having seen it several times in the artist's studio, withdrew it from the Salon, where it was exhibited in 1789 [*sic*], on the pretext of nudity. This had been cooked up by Pajou's colleagues, who thereby hoped to remove his work from public admiration; but instead, the incident aroused people's curiosity; and the many commendations our artist received, after he showed his statue in his studio, amply avenged him for the annoyance caused him by jealous mediocrity, always envious, always clumsy.

In June 1785 Pajou asked for the necessary marble (AN, O^1 1918, p. 106). As of February 1786 he was examining the block of marble reserved for him and requesting its delivery (AN, O^1 1919, d. 1, p. 23; Stein 1912, doc. XL). On March 29, 1786, he was promised the marble by Easter (AN, O^1 1919, pp. 191–92; Stein 1912, doc. XLIII). However, the block proved to be "laden with black veins, such that it is impossible to use" (Pajou to d'Angiviller, July 3, 1786; AN, O^1 1919, p. 192). Pajou had noticed another block at the shop of the marble mason Le Prince. Unfortunately, this one, too, was defective (Pajou to d'Angiviller, November 4, 1786, AN, O^1 1919, d. 3, p. 308; Stein 1912, doc. XLV); and the sculptor, despite d'Angiviller's vexation, requested a third block (Stein 1912, pp. 255–56).

In 1790 the statue was finally finished, signed, and dated. The artist intended to exhibit it at the Salon of 1791, and it figured in the two catalogues. After the Salon, it joined Bouchardon's *Cupid* in the Salle des Antiques, where both works were inventoried in 1793. We can recognize them in a drawing by Charles De Wailly exhibited at the Salon of 1796 (Musée du Louvre; Paris 1989b, no. 1054, ill.), showing an ideal entrance to the museum. In 1802 *Psyche* was moved to the Palais du Luxembourg, where it decorated the garden named after Senator Pierre-Roger Ducos, a former director and former consul. Thanks to the intervention of Chalgrin on November 5, 1802, the statue was brought inside, "destined to be part of the Muséum du Sénat" (Stein 1912, p. 257 n. 1). It appeared in the catalogue of works "composing the galleries of the palace of the Chambre des Pairs" in 1814, then in an 1818 catalogue listing works "of the modern French School" exhibited at the Musée du Luxembourg intended for contemporary artists. Transferred to the Louvre in 1829, the statue became a showpiece in the Galerie d'Angoulême.

The work is based on a story by Apuleius, also known through La Fontaine's poem (from which the inscription on the front of the plinth was taken). Psyche (whose name means "soul" in Greek) disobeyed the promise exacted by Cupid that she never try to look upon him during their nights together. Pajou depicts her alone and despondent after Cupid's departure. She sits on a bed decorated with wreaths of myrtle and roses, which surround a butterfly, symbol of the soul. Her accessories—a dagger, in case the lamplight had revealed a monster, and the lamp that awakened the young god—have been dashed to the ground.

Because the plaster version from 1785 has been lost, it is impossible to determine if changes were made between the model and the marble, modifications that might have been precipitated by the critics' arguments. Contemporary reviews were, generally speaking, rather harsh, although tempered by confidence that the artist was capable of correcting his mistakes in the final version. Among the positive reviewers, the *Peintre anglais au salon de peintures exposées au Louvre* (Deloynes, vol.



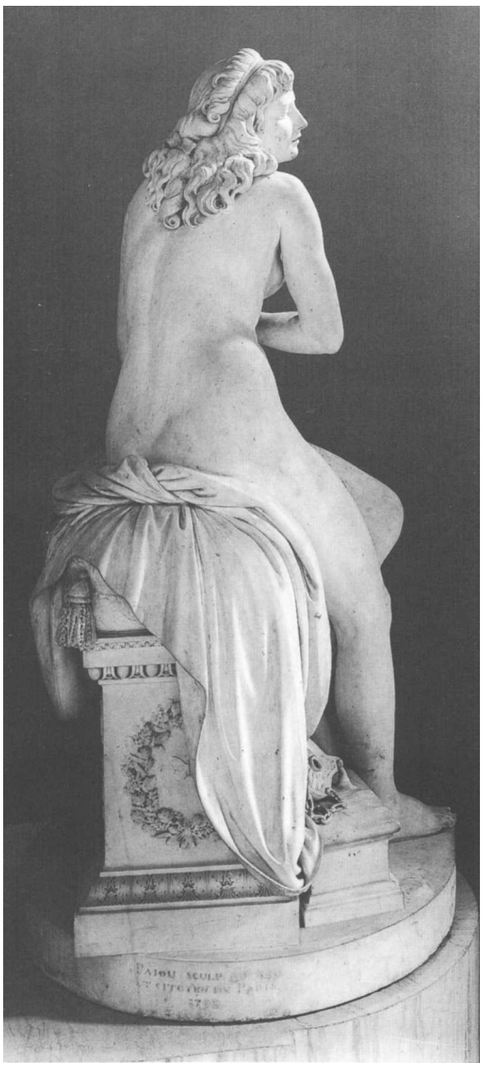
14, no. 327, p. 27) was very enthusiastic: "His Psyche is superb . . . it is charmingly drawn, with so much grace and beauty that everyone cries out [about Pajou], 'What an astonishing man!' Similarly, the *Impromptu sur le Sallon des tableaux exposés au Louvre en 1785* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 338, p. 8) featured this bit of doggerel: "Have you seen Pajou's *Psyche*? That's one I adore! / What a face! What a body! What touching dolor!" The *Espion des peintres de l'Académie royale* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 337, p. 48) deemed the uproar was excessive and concluded that removing the work had been pointless: *Psyche* in the artist's studio "had been relegated there for reasons that neither detract from nor add to the work's merits. . . . The statue was no more to be admired than to be removed."

Against all expectations, the statue's complete nudity was not found overly shocking. Moufle d'Angerville (*Mémoires secrets* 1995, letter III [1785], p. 138), for example, was surprised by the scandal provoked by its supposed indecency: "I was quite amazed to find a figure that, although perfectly naked, was actually quite modest. I shudder at the idiocy of the devout, and I admire the work's beautiful simplicity." An anonymous manuscript, dated September 19, 1785, and intended for the *Journal de Paris* (AN, AB XIX 3066, d. 10, p. 52), offered a spirited defense of Pajou:

> Being perfectly aware that the statue had been removed because of its nudity, I went [to the artist's studio] with a kind of bias against the decency of the execution. . . . After having carefully and lengthily studied it . . . I barely noticed the nudity, or rather, although she is nude, the veil of modesty seemed to cover her entirely and forbade one's imagination to stray toward any indecent thoughts much more successfully than a drapery would. . . . I felt that in all such circumstances, modesty is offended or respected only by action or expression, and not by nudity . . . modesty is respected, decency is not violated, when the intent is honest and the expression touching; and in all fairness neither of these points can be denied to M. Pajou's *Psyche*.

Another manuscript (AN, AB XIX 3066, d. 10, p. 53), also favorable to *Psyche*, cites other examples of artistic nudes that had been censored: Correggio's *Leda* is indecent, "but because of the situation, not the nudity . . . when looking at the statue of a woman, the true art lover is struck by the truth or beauty of the forms; the young man sees only marble and stone. The most pious princess, the best-educated young persons have seen figures of naked men a hundred times in the gardens of Versailles and Marly without being shocked."

The critics spoke more plainly about the facial expression: "The artist's great talent is to impress on his figure's face the spasms of her soul, without making her grimace or in any way altering her beauty" (*Mémoires secrets* 1995, letter III [1785], p. 138). The *Année littéraire* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 349, p. 802) nonetheless regretted that Pajou had distanced himself from the antique: the statue "is well chosen in its forms and felicitous in its posture; but the head does not have an antique character." The *Avis important d'une femme sur le Salon de 1785* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 344, p. 35) is harsh: "She has a French face, her pose and features are mannered: she has contorted herself to preserve her modesty and mainly looks annoyed." In a letter the comtesse d'Albany made a similar remark: "Some mannered sculptors have been compared to the Greeks; I've seen



Cat. 134: reverse

a Psyche who looks like a chorus girl from the Opéra" (quoted in Bordes 1983, p. 126).

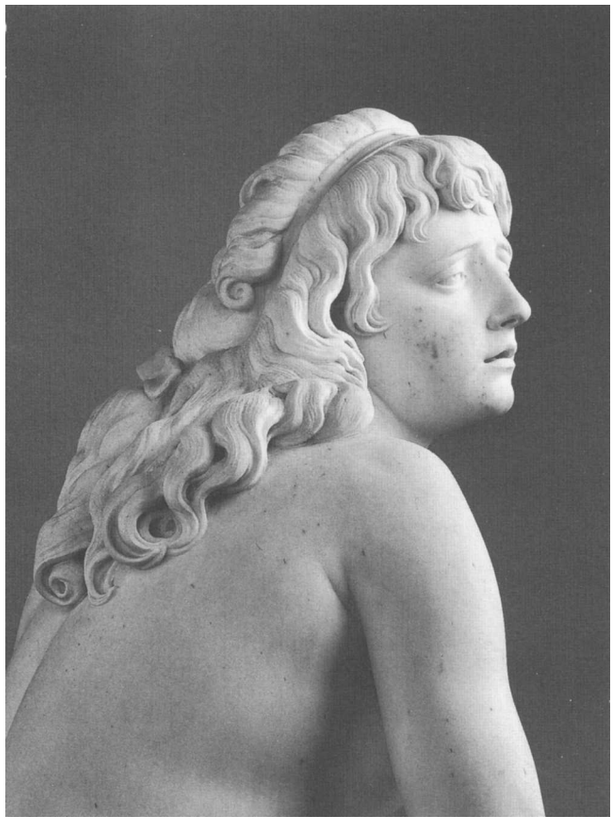
The bodily proportions, which many felt had been taken from a model too old for the subject, were also severely criticized: "The flaw that I, along with a number of viewers, would condemn is that her proportions are overly generous for the kind of young girl we imagine Psyche to be. Her foot is also surely too small for her body: but this statue is only in plaster; it is easy to substitute whatever corrections one wishes, which M. Pajou's taste and judgment will no doubt lead him to adopt" (*Année littéraire,* Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 349, p. 802). According to another critic, "Her hips, thighs, feet, and arms are larger in proportion than her torso and other parts. Moreover, the subject, in its conception, its nature, its pose, and its forms, bears no relation to Bouchardon's *Cupid*, for which it is meant to serve as a pendant" (*Avis important d'une femme sur le Salon de 1785*, Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 344, p. 35). This opinion was shared by the critic for the *Journal général de la France* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 339, p. 28):

> The most enlightened censors did not find in this figure the enchanting graces that one should attribute to Love's lover. Her wrists, the joints of her feet, her knees have, they say, neither the delicacy nor the special quality required of a sublime beauty: even her head lacks it; the workmanship has been found dry. But the execution in marble will leave M. Pajou many possibilities to succeed with this figure, which is to accompany the masterpiece by the immortal Bouchardon, the conception and posture of which are most felicitous.

The critic for the *Mercure de France* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 348, pp. 765–66) followed the general current of opinion:

> It has been observed more than justly that the woman's figure is too pronounced; indeed it is, and M. Pajou seems to have followed too curvaceous a model. When the marble is executed these flaws might disappear. We invite the artist to remember that the scene takes place in Greece; that a nubile young girl in those climates should not have, as has been remarked, the mature proportions of a twenty-five-year-old woman, nor, in a climate such as ours, should she have the figure of a girl entering her adolescence.

We can recognize here an echo of Winckelmann's theory of climates. The reference to antiquity reappeared ploddingly in the *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers*



Cat. 134: detail

(Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 356, p. 871), which unfavorably compared *Psyche* to the *Medici Venus*.

The critic for the *Journal de Paris* (Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 351, pp. 844–45) summarized the debate:

> This figure has caused a great sensation, and I am the first to agree that it has merit; still, I cannot forget that the artist owes us the depiction not of a figure in general, but of Psyche abandoned by Love; consequently, I wish to find a young girl just entering adolescence, whose shape is not yet mature. . . . I see on the contrary a girl twenty-one or twenty-two years old, whose forms are quite developed. The head shows expression, or at least sorrow; but . . . this sorrow does not seem to be of the kind that Psyche should be feeling . . . I need especially to see a great innocence, which I seek in vain in this statue. It is possible that M. Pajou copied his model with great talent, but whatever merit there is in the workmanship, he does not seem to have attained the main goal, which is to show Psyche abandoned by Cupid. They say that this figure is meant to be the companion piece to Bouchardon's *Cupid*. The task is in fact difficult, but we should also expect much from M. Pajou's talents. He will no doubt put into the marble version details and delicacy that the limitations of plaster did not allow him to render; and I am convinced that we will no longer have reason to blame him for that unvarying roundness that characterizes the model, any more than the excessive

> width of the thighs or the too-narrow rib cage, flaws that suggest a woman who, normally, has made use of bodices and skirts.

In 1791 the statue won almost universal praise. The *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers* (Deloynes, vol. 17, no. 449, p. 554) stated: "We lack words to render all the praise that is heaped daily upon this Psyche . . . the marble . . . is perfect in every way." The *Béquille de Voltaire au Salon* (Deloynes, vol. 17, no. 439, p. 43) had a few reservations: "Superb figure, full of life, about which my only reproaches would be not enough firmness in the chest and some unpleasant wrinkles above the eyes."

The most informed commentary, which moreover suggests a settling of scores, is the one in the *Nouvelle critique impartiale des tableaux du Sallon par une société d'artistes* (Deloynes, vol. 17, no. 443, pp. 8–9):

> Her bearing is gracious rather than noble, her posture pleasant rather than naive; her figure pretty rather than beautiful; the gesture of her left hand affected, her hips a bit wide, her thighs too flattened; her knees fat, her legs thick, her feet heavy; her left arm is very pretty; her head is too French; her hair is styled in poor taste; her expression seems outraged, suggesting physical rather than emotional pain. This is a very pretty woman who seems to have spent several years under the yoke of matrimony. For the rest, there is much lifelike truth, a facility of execution, a witty touch, though it is perhaps a bit dry. Ultimately, the beauties outweigh the flaws. It is a good work as an imitation of life, but it is not Psyche.

The criticisms recall those of 1785: posture too mannered, head too expressive, model too old.

These comments were taken up again in Pajou's obituary in the *Journal de l'Empire* (July 29, 1809, p. 3):

> The work that most contributed to M. Pajou's fame is the statue of *Psyche*. [She is depicted at] an age that most consider slightly past the age she should have been. Remove the lamp and the dagger that indicate the situation, and one could just as easily take this tearful woman for Ariadne . . . the overly pronounced expression mars the effect of her head, which itself is lacking in beauty; her hair is poorly styled and too voluminous. Otherwise, the statue is pleasant and well modeled, generous in its design, carefully crafted down to its slightest accessories, which are all in good taste.

Le Breton's commentary in 1810 (pp. 359–60) is indicative of a certain embarrassment before the work. Of course it is admirable, he says, but "public opinion"

Fig. 207. Bouchardon, *Cupid Carving a Bow from Hercules' Club*. Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre

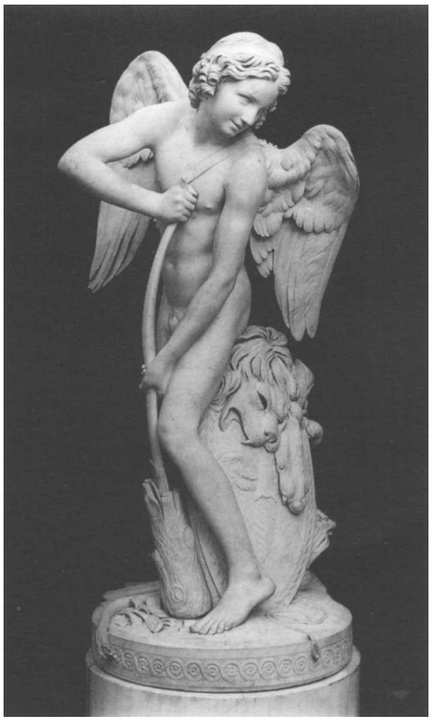


Fig. 208. Italian, seventeenth century, *Porcia*. Marble. Versailles, Musée National du Château

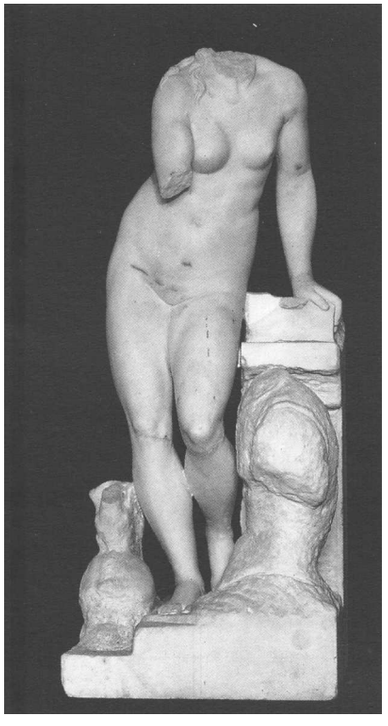


Fig. 209. Léon Davent. *The Dying Cleopatra, after Primaticcio*. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



puts it after the Great Men in the Louvre: "In general, few things are more difficult, particularly in sculpture, than expressing an ideal through the figure of a woman in the springtime of her beauty; perhaps, too, this subject was not as much in the nature of M. Pajou's talents as those in which he excelled." Clarac summarizes rather harshly in 1851: "We could reproach this figure . . . for not being, as a Psyche, the ideal of youthful grace and naïveté, not slim enough in form nor simple enough in pose." And René Schneider reiterates in 1912 (p. 244): "Her plump flesh spreads out under her weight; the slightly common figure seems to everyone to be that of the girl of fashion who served as model, but never that of a Psyche."

Today Pajou's *Psyche* excites by far the most comment of any of his works. The analysis by Johnson (1992, p. 340), developing the idea of classical realism, explains the intense interest in the statue:

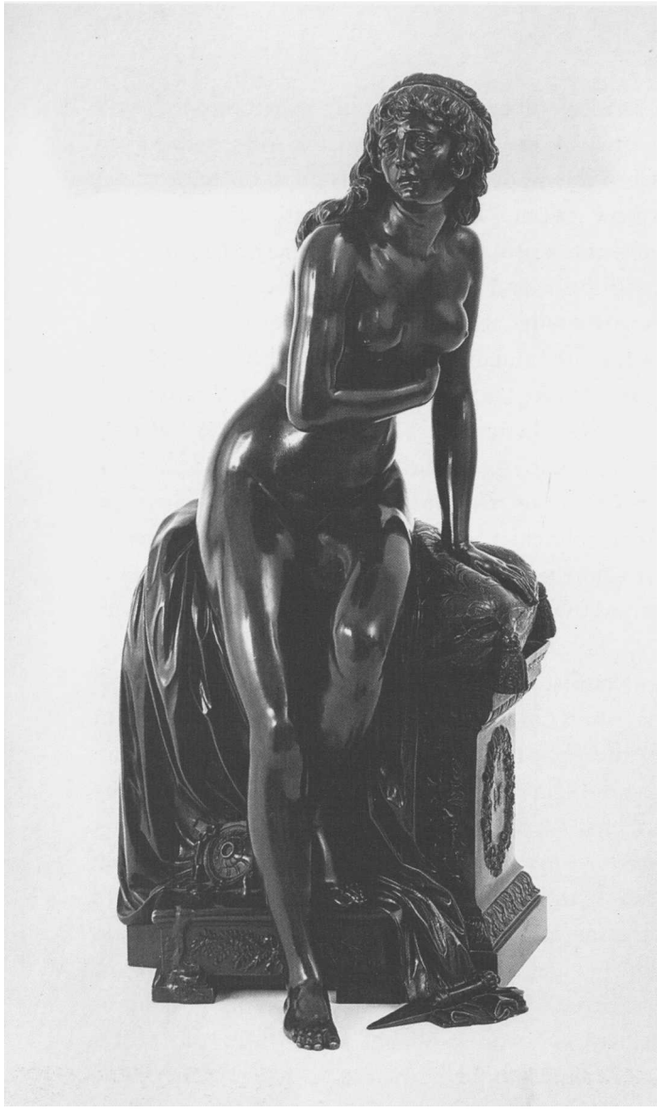
> Pajou managed to combine a naturalism of form with the psychological realism of a figure inspired, apparently, by a contemporary French model. His *Psyche* expresses the fundamental psychology and emotion of the instant in the myth when the young woman, abandoned by her lover, feels anguish, anxiety, and despair. This confluence of psychological realism and formal naturalism reduces the distance between spectator and sculpted figure. The realm of myth approaches the daily modern world.

It is precisely this modernity, the role it gives to the spectator, that was found shocking in 1785. Schneider (1990) has commented on the way this statue convincingly illustrates a soul's passion. The heroine, whose nakedness is revealed without shame before the visitor, appeals to the senses and to the soul. The frontal pose reinforces the impression of proximity. The heroine lives with her pain before the spectator's eyes. What for some is "trivial" is on the contrary the real expression of tragedy, the very essence of ancient drama renewing itself in life. Although some viewers may regret the coldness of the marble, let us admire the sculptor who makes the woman's blood beat under trembling flesh.

It is questionable whether Pajou created, with *Psyche Abandoned*, a true companion piece to Bouchardon's *Cupid Carving a Bow from Hercules' Club* (fig. 207). From an iconographic viewpoint, any link between the two subjects is almost impossible, unless it is to show the omnipotence and cruelty of a god who abandons his victims. We are a long way here from the Neoclassical theme of the soul's redemption, barely suggested by the butterfly. And the difference in age between the models in the two statues, misunderstood by most critics, seems a deliberate affirmation of *Psyche*'s autonomy vis-à-vis the adolescent *Cupid*.

Stylistically, and this has been marvelously observed by Krause (1993), the difference between the two works is even more fundamental. Certainly, Bouchardon was inspired by an ancient statuette (*Cupid Bending His Bow*, after Lysippos, Museo Capitolino, Rome; Schneider 1990, fig. 4) and by Parmigianino's painting (*Cupid Carving His Bow*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Schneider 1990, fig. 5). Bouchardon combined these elements with the careful study of a live model (many drawings in the Louvre; see Roserot 1910, ill. pp. 86, 89). Pajou adopted this process for his own. A seventeenth-century Italian statue in the royal collections, similar in style to antique statuary, provided him with the pose for his *Psyche* (Hoog 1993, p. 314, no. 1452, ill.; fig. 208). He was also influenced by Mannerist works such as Léon Davent's *The Dying Cleopatra, after Primaticcio* (see Bartsch 33, fig. 10 / 313; fig. 209); and, like Bouchardon, he carefully followed the lessons learned from studying his live model (Pajou to d'Angiviller, February 10, 1783; Doucet, *carton* 41, mf 20292; Stein 1912, doc. XXVIII). Whereas Bouchardon—who probably knew from the outset that his work would be placed in the middle of the Salon d'Hercule at Versailles—designed a statue meant to be examined from a multiplicity of angles, Pajou had a different intention: his *Psyche* must be viewed head-on, from a preferential perspective. The round base (similar to the one for the *Cupid*) naturally invites the spectator to walk around it, and Pajou added many beautiful touches, including a superb back, so that the marble could be admired from every side—but the composition is fundamentally frontal, as in antiquity.

Bouchardon's *Cupid* is a highly polished work, and his memorandum to M. Orry, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, stresses that it was "fully and completely finished" (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 50–51). Pajou, always scrupulous about his statuary work in marble, made every effort to take up the torch of perfect execution. The accessories are chiseled with virtuosity, as is the admirable hair. Its disheveled abundance—an indicator of the passion that floods Psyche's soul—contrasts with her smooth, naked skin. GS



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135. *Psyche Abandoned*

Bronze
H. 66 cm (26 in.), W. 31.8 cm (12½ in.), D. 29.2 cm (11½ in.)

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts (74.24ab)

PROVENANCE: Old inventory number stamped into right rear of base; Paris art market, 1971; bought in New York with the William Hill Dunwoody Fund, 1974

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1974, p. 111, no. 6

RELATED WORKS: The marble statue, cat. 134.

A sizable bronze, H. approximately 90 cm (35⅜ in.), with a crisp appearance judging from the photograph, but bearing the unlikely signature *P^fit*, was shown to the Louvre by a Mr. Haakman of New York, who said it came from Montpellier (dossier Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures). In it Psyche's "instruments of her disgrace"—her oil lamp and the dagger at her foot—are omitted, rendering her meaning difficult to decipher.

A bronze said to have an old patina was sold Paris, November 20, 1899, no. 91.

A free bronze reduction with little reflection of Pajou's own ideas was on the New York art market in 1996.

A small reduction embellishing a "Louis XV" ormolu inkwell was sold London, Christie's, September 25, 1991, no. 8.

This, the best bronze reduction of cat. 134 known to us, is a conscientiously faithful copy of the marble or of the plaster model for the marble. The principal differences are at the base. A disk of stone, or more likely of separately cast bronze, originally served as the figure's support. Thus we no longer see the spills of oil from Psyche's lamp and of drapery onto and over the top surface as in Pajou's integral marble base. No documents survive, but there may be clues to the identity of the founder in the metal's excellent workmanship. Emphasizing the ornamental details, the *ciseleur* makes them stand out perhaps even more effectively than in the marble. The elegant cross-hatching and the meticulous rendering overall bring to mind the enterprising Pierre-Philippe Thomire. He had trained as a sculptor with Pajou and Houdon, and he cast compositions by Pigalle, Houdon, Dardel, and Boizot. The work whose chasing is most like that of the *Psyche* is the *Allegory of Napoleon at Austerlitz*, an 1806 collaboration of Boizot and Thomire, which was later refashioned as the *Maréchal de Villars at Denain*, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Draper 1980, pp. 173–80).

JDD

136. *Ariadne Abandoned*

Terracotta
H. 33.7 cm (13¼ in.), W. 13.5 cm (5¼ in.), D. 14 cm (5½ in.)
Incised on plinth, in front: *ARIADNE*; on rock, in back: *PAJOU. F. / 1796. L'AN / 4 DE LA / REPUBLIQUE / FRANCAISE* (Pajou made this in 1796, year IV of the French Republic)

Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 3022)

PROVENANCE: Doctor P., sale Paris, November 26–28, 1840, no. II; London art market, 1968; acquired by the museum in Paris, 1974

EXHIBITIONS: London 1968b, no. 66, ill.; Duisburg–Karlsruhe–Gotha–Paris 1989–90, no. 44, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Beaulieu 1979, pp. 159–61, ill.

137. *Psyche Abandoned*

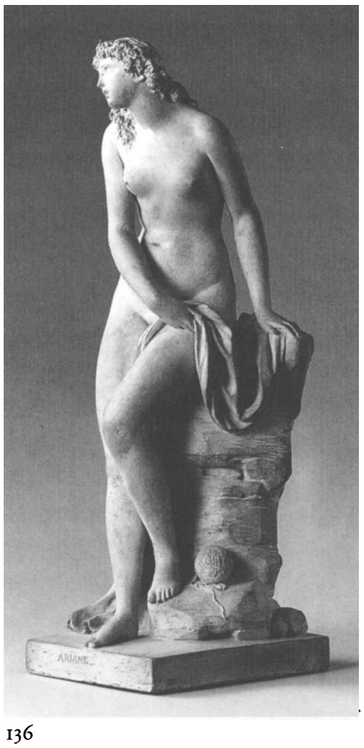
Terracotta
H. 43.2 cm (17 in.), W. 16.7 cm (6½ in.), D. 21.6 cm (8½ in.)
Incised on plinth, in front: *PSYCHE*; on plinth, to left: I ... II; on back, on rock: *PAR LE CITOYEN/PAJOU. / L'an 5^em de La—/Republique—/française./1796. V./Stile* (By Citizen Pajou, year V of the French Republic, 1796. Old style)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.76.78)

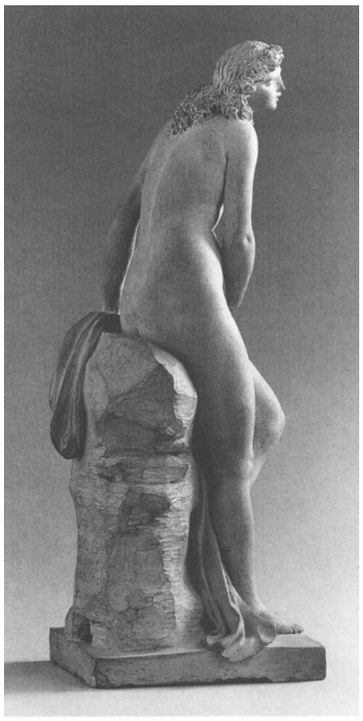
PROVENANCE: Most likely one of the "six little terracotta figures depicting various subjects" mentioned in the inventory of Pajou's studio, April 6, 1797 (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 607); cited in the posthumous inventory of his son, Augustin-Catherine Pajou, on December 11, 1828, no. 130 (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831), and not sold at the posthumous



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auction of January 12–13, 1829; his son, the painter Augustin-Désiré Pajou, who died on March 29, 1878; his posthumous inventory, April 12, 1878 (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641); his posthumous sale Paris, December 16, 1878, no. 3; Georges Wildenstein, Paris; acquired by Mortimer Schiff, New York, 1912; John M. Schiff, New York, 1935; sale New York, Sotheby Parke Bernet, February 17, 1976, no. 62; New York art market; acquired by the museum in New York, as a gift of the Times Mirror Foundation, 1976

EXHIBITION: New York 1935–36, no. 96, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 257–58, 416, ill. p. 257; Rubinstein 1924, pp. 68–71, fig. 3; Beaulieu 1979, pp. 159–61; Schaefer and Fusco 1987, p. 148, ill.; Duisburg–Karlsruhe–Gotha–Paris 1989–90, no. 66, ill.

RELATED WORKS: A terracotta statuette, *Psyche Abandoned,* with Psyche sitting in a chair, inscribed *Pajou Citoyen de Paris. L'an 3 de la République française. 1795 vieux stile* (Pajou, citizen of Paris, year 3 of the French Republic, 1795, old style), and on the front of the plinth: *La curiosité de Psyché punie par la fuite de l'amour* (Psyche's curiosity punished by Cupid's flight); formerly Adolphe Oppenheim, Paris (Stein 1912, pp. 258–59, ill.; whereabouts unknown; fig. 210).

A terracotta statuette, a variant of *Psyche Abandoned* (H. 37 cm [14⅝ in.]), was offered (unsuccessfully) to the Louvre on January 8, 1889, by a certain Arpad Zehnsdorf, residing at 46 rue Blanche (AMN, s^5, January 8, 1889).(Was this perhpas the "little model of his Psyche in marble"? See Related Works, cat. 134.)

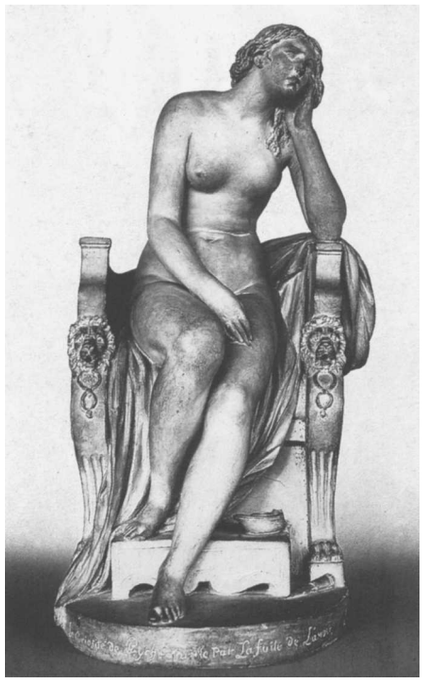
A statuette in tinted plaster was in the collection of the artist's descendants in 1940 (division of the estate of Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain in Bougival; document still owned by the family).

These two terracottas explore the same theme as the large statue *Psyche Abandoned*—although they are not to be confused with the reduced model for the latter work that, in all likelihood, was given by Pajou to his friend Charles De Wailly (see cat. 134). The statuettes in Los Angeles and the Louvre, to which we could add the one formerly in the Adolphe Oppenheim collection (whereabouts unknown), are actually miniatures produced after the fact, following Pajou's return to Paris under the Directoire at a time when several prominent artists from the ancien régime, including Clodion and Houdon, were trying to reconnect with the tastes of their former clientele.

The first statuette, formerly in the Oppenheim collection, is dated 1795 (fig. 210). Generally speaking, this *Psyche* is similar to the statue: nude with no drapery, seated, looking distraught, hair disheveled, foot resting on a stool. Still, there are notable differences. Her right arm is positioned to ensure modesty while the left supports her disconsolate head. A neo-antique chair with armrests has replaced the bed. The spirit of the work has also changed. In this charming object, decency and a decorative prettiness have come to the fore.

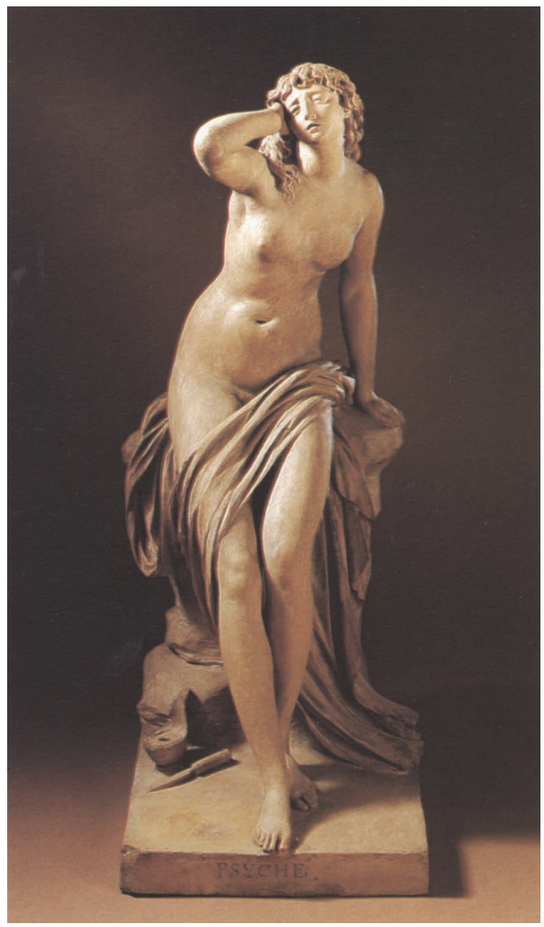
We again find this tendency in the Louvre's *Ariadne* dated year IV–1796 (produced between January and September 1796). The theme is different, as indicated by the inscription on the plinth and by the ball of twine that saved the ungrateful Theseus from

Fig. 210. Pajou, *Psyche Abandoned.* Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown

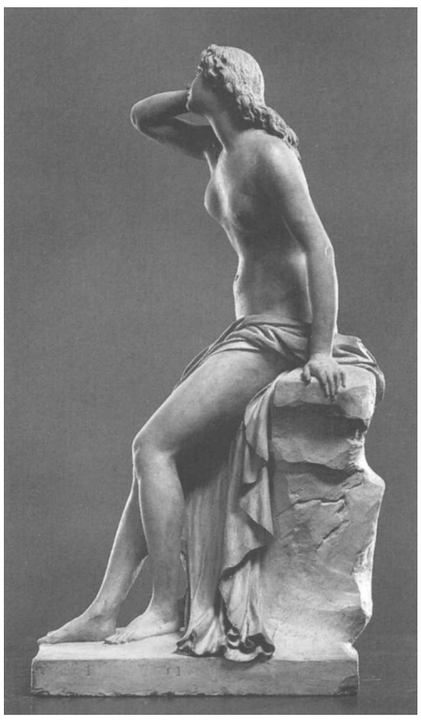


Daedalus's labyrinth. Here, too, the figure is similar to the marble *Psyche*. A rock has been added, however, to establish the natural environment of the island of Naxos, where Ariadne was abandoned. But the essential difference resides again in a concern with decency on the part of the artist, who has fashioned a light drapery between Ariadne's legs. This cloth has a purely aesthetic function, allowing Pajou to render felicitously the contrasts in texture between the smooth skin and the drapery animated by hollows—an effect that Clodion skillfully explored during the same period.

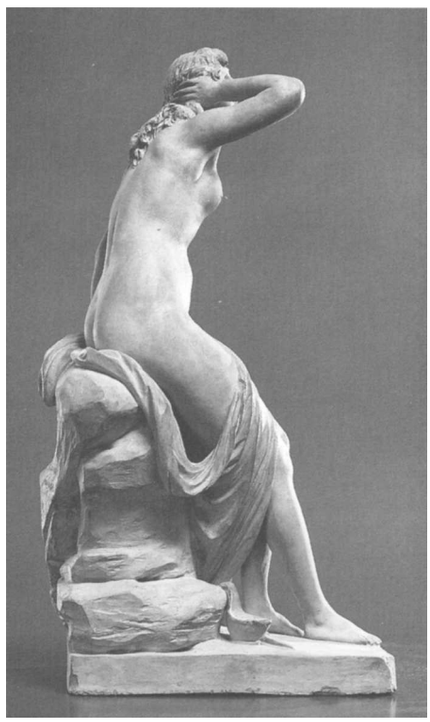
The *Psyche* in Los Angeles is slightly later. Dated the year V–1796, it was produced between September and December 1796. A lamp and dagger at her feet, Psyche leans, like Ariadne, against a rock. The scene now takes place not in her bedroom in Cupid's palace but outdoors, after Cupid has vanished as a punishment for Psyche's transgression. A magnificent drapery masks her upper thighs (which are similarly posed in the marble version) and her left arm. Her right arm, however, is different and supports her face in a superb gesture. Perhaps Pajou was remembering a small, dramatic composition that he had sketched in Italy (16.5 × 14.5 cm [6½ × 5¾ in.]; inscribed *pierre gravée antique* [ancient engraved stone] and *le sacrifice de polixaine*



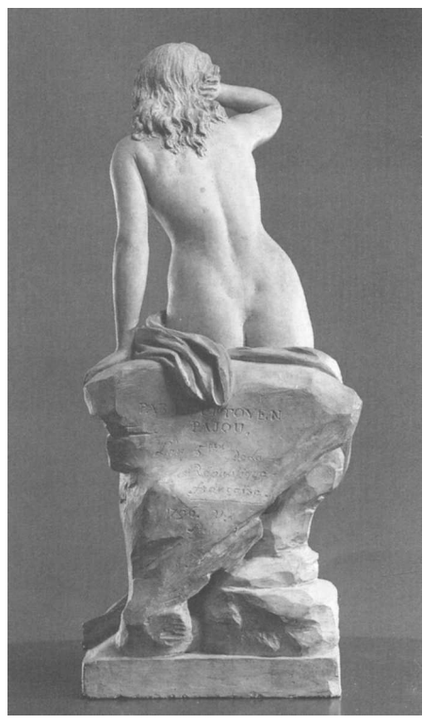
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Fig. 211. Pajou, *The Sacrifice of Polyxena, after the Antique.* Black chalk, pen and brown ink, beige wash. Private collection

[the sacrifice of Polyxena]; fig. 211). The raised arm is similar, as are the lowered head, the circumflex-shaped eyes like chevrons, and the open mouth.

In returning to the composition of the large marble for these delightful terracottas, Pajou was evidently trying to please the libertine clientele of the Directoire period. Still, he could not reproduce the total nudity of the marble in this small scale, even though it was sanctioned by antique statuary. The dissemination of the terracotta versions required concessions to modesty. GS

IX. *Revolution and Empire*

A telling example of Pajou's late work is the bust of a man dated 1791 (cat. 138), of whom we know only that he was a deceased, sorely missed father. The confident equilibrium of the busts from the fateful year 1789 (cat. 108–10) has not vanished but a new disquiet is evident. The vigorous yet pained expression and the restless sideward turn, as if the subject bravely confronts mortality and resists death to the last, may betoken new political realities and spiritual upheavals. Much of Pajou's later portraiture reflects the tribulations and anxieties that the Revolution brought to many French citizens. Can we not sometimes sense a justified paranoia (as in cat. 139)? Given Pajou's psychological and political astuteness, our perception of his general state of mind cannot be only a matter of hindsight.

Pajou was long associated with the traditional artistic machinery of the ancien régime, and when his business was curtailed by Revolutionary social chaos and economic depression, he sought safer pastures. Leaving his museum duties to his son, he left for Montpellier in late October 1792.[1] He made the voyage south not only to wait out the Revolution but also, more urgently, to provide care for his gravely ill wife.[2] In a letter of May 28, 1793, to the minister of the interior Dominique-Joseph Garat, Pajou *fils* wrote that for two years his mother had been "afflicted with almost complete paralysis which prevents her from walking alone and even then with great difficulty."[3]

Pajou may have chosen Montpellier because of its famous medical faculty and favorable climate. It is also conceivable that the project for the Place du Peyrou had already taken him there, as it had Clodion (see cat. 132). Stein accumulated circumstantial evidence that suggests the sculptor's connections to the city go back even further. A legal document of 1776 indicates that Mme Pajou had relations there.[4] Even if we do not accept Stein's attribution to Pajou of boiseries in the Hôtel Boussairoles,[5] the circulation of examples of his Diogenes relief (cat. 86, 87) in Montpellier supports long-term ties.

Pajou's indulgent host was Maurice Riban (1721–1800), a well-to-do perfumer and the benefactor and treasurer of the local Société des Beaux-Arts, which he helped found in 1779.[6] No doubt one of Pajou's first acts was his portrayal of the elderly Riban in an alert, tight-featured likeness dated 1792, which remained in the Riban family and which we know only from the pages of Stein (fig. 212); similarly we know the blunt-featured bust of Riban's son Jean-Baptiste, an amateur painter, dated 1793, only from photographs (fig. 213).[7] Unalike in many ways, they wear carefully rendered high-collared Revolutionary dress, as do Deranc (cat. 139) and others of this period (figs. 214, 216). Working the clay in sheets facilitated the creation of this type of costume.

Montpellier was also hospitable in an artistic sense.[8] Antoine-Jean Gros, the painter and future baron, was briefly stranded in the Hérault and wrote to his mother about encountering Pajou one March evening in 1793 as he drew with the remnant of the Montpellier academy (he "amused himself by drawing").[9] Gros was a friend of Pajou's son and his grandson's drawing master. Some details in his letter approach genre painting:

> The great satisfaction that we experienced upon finding each other, being so far from our common home, led us to embrace each other like two comrades. At length he presented me to the artists who were there and had the kindness to say so much good of me that they all rushed to get me the materials necessary for work. . . . After having stressed my gratitude and the pleasure I felt at this happy encounter, Citizen Pajou led me to his place and as it was dark the first reaction of his wife was to think I was her son; disabusing her of that idea I told them how it happened that I found myself here.[10]

The Riban establishment was clearly a commodious one, for the Pajous already had their daughter, Flore, with them.[11] Pajou even obtained a commission for Gros (fig. 222), whose youth and pleasant ways surely made his visit an agreeable interlude.

The Riban house also afforded Pajou working space. Terracottas and plasters, but no marbles, date from his stay. His resources were probably fairly rudimentary, as we may judge from the rather improvised nature of the busts, no two of which, upon examination of their backs, seem to have been fashioned quite alike. Even



Fig. 212. Pajou, *Maurice Riban.* Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown (photograph from Stein 1912)

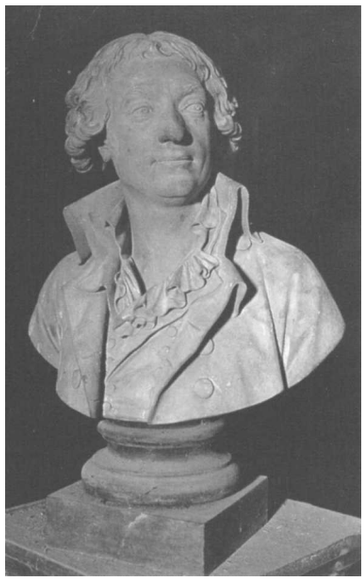


Fig. 213. Pajou, *Jean-Baptiste Riban.* Terracotta. Private collection (photograph from Stein 1912)

the young Des Hours-Farel siblings, for example, conceived as a pair, have quite differently placed inscriptions (cat. 142, 143). The varying nature of the portraits reflects not only the psychological stimulus that each sitter brought to Pajou but also his own mood swings. The *Deranc* of 1793 is a nervous and not quite sympathetic but deeply engrossing characterization (cat. 139). The *Corbin de Cordet de Florensac*, an unsigned bust in the Sackler collection, also created disturbing wavelengths, exacerbated by the contrasts between the rather timid countenance with bulging eyes and the erect posture and superstylish garb and coiffure (figs. 214, 215).[12] The queue pulled up by a comb offered Pajou another opportunity to demonstrate his flair for hair. In 1793 Pajou modeled a bust of Jean-Étienne-François de Maraignié, then a forty-year-old dramatist (author of *The Zoraï, or the Islanders of New Zealand*) and counterrevolutionary.[13] The bust has disappeared, but the subject would seem to have offered an intriguing range of expressive possibilities. In the case of Riban *fils* (fig. 213), the comte d'Espeuilles (fig. 216),[14] and the Des Hours-Farel siblings (cat. 142, 143), however, Pajou did not probe beneath the subjects' pleasing exteriors.

In 1792 and 1793 the Revolution caused little turmoil in Montpellier,[15] and the sculptor felt free enough to portray the city's upper bourgeoisie and minor nobility. Pajou's own politics may have grown more sympathetic to the Revolution in these years. In January and February 1794, he worked at designing *Philosophy,* a statue for a temple of Reason planned for the Place du Peyrou, conceived by the firebrand representative of the people Joseph-Antoine de Boisset.[16] Pajou served from the outset on the commission that directed this project. A letter from Boisset was read to the Convention on February 16, 1794: "On the wreckage of the stupid figure of the fourteenth Capet [an equestrian statue of Louis XIV], in the square formerly known as du Peyrou, . . . a temple to Reason is rising, round in form, surrounded by 160 columns. The statue of Philosophy, executed by the celebrated Pajou, will reveal Truth to the world."[17] Although Boisset reported that a public subscription of five hundred thousand livres had already realized three hundred thousand, the project was abandoned by August because of insufficient funds. A drawing for the temple has been ascribed to Pajou and Jacques Moulinier, the temple's would-be builder, but the sculptor's hand is



Fig. 214. Pajou, *Corbin de Cordet de Florensac.* Terracotta. New York, Arthur M. Sackler collection



Fig. 215. Reverse of *Corbin de Cordet de Florensac* (fig. 214)

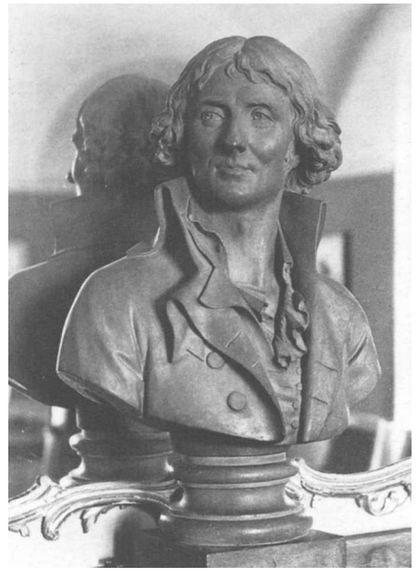


Fig. 216. Pajou, *Antoine-Pierre Viel de Lunas, comte d'Espeuilles.* Terracotta. Private collection

not distinguishable in the sheet, whose thrust is essentially architectural.[18]

Also in Montpellier, Pajou contributed to the iconography of the unfortunate Charles-Nicolas Beauvais de Préau (1755–1794). A physician and a member of the Convention, Beauvais was traveling south to meet the Army of Italy when he was waylaid by the English at Toulon. Freed by Republican forces, he reached Montpellier on March 28, 1794, but soon died from the injuries he had received at Toulon. To the Convention, Beauvais was a martyr and a hero. A plaster bust by Pajou and an urn containing his ashes were forwarded to Paris to be placed in the Convention's assembly room.[19] The Musée Fabre has a specimen of the bust (fig. 217) made of plaster with a coat of terracotta-colored paint.[20] It reveals Pajou grappling a bit bizarrely with the tenets of honest Republicanism. In a description of a death mask, Beauvais's features are said to be ravaged by sickness.[21] Pajou must have consulted it, but he chose to emphasize a healthy, heroic frame while showing Beauvais bald and, in a striking breach of classical decorum, with a whorl of hair on his noble chest.

Angélique, Pajou's wife, died on September 7, 1794, in Riban's house. The bust of the comte d'Espeuilles is dated October 3 (fig. 216). On October 23, 1794, Pajou wrote to his son saying that he was preparing to leave Montpellier with his daughter, Flore, whom he chastised for naughtiness as though she were still a little girl, although she was by then thirty and, since the preceding February, formally divorced from Clodion. After bidding heartfelt adieus to the Ribans, Pajou *père* and *fille* returned to the capital via Béziers, Toulouse, and Bordeaux.[22] His first projects in Paris involved the melancholy task of immortalizing the Convention's martyrs for liberty—first Joseph Sauveur, killed in the Vendée, whose marble bust was to be executed under his supervision, and then Beauvais de Préau, whose marble was authorized by the Committee of Public Instruction but apparently never executed.[23]

The rest is swiftly told. No major commission came his way in his later years. He seems to have drawn far less, but he made a few elegant models in which he revisited past triumphs with an exalted, visionary eye: terracottas of Psyche, 1795 and 1796 (fig. 210 and cat. 137), an *Ariadne* derived from his Psyche musings, 1796 (cat. 136), and the *Genius of Buffon,* 1799 (cat. 119). In *Fidelity, Mother of Constant Love,* 1799, he pointed toward a new direction for genre sculpture (cat. 144).

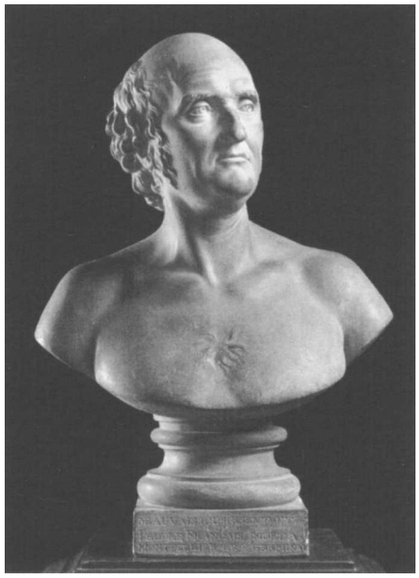


Fig. 217. Pajou, *Charles-Nicolas Beauvais de Préau.* Plaster painted the color of terracotta. Montpellier, Musée Fabre



Fig. 218. Pajou, *Little Girl.* Marble. Whereabouts unknown

The splendid marble bust of a little girl, 1795 (fig. 218),[24] and that of Caesar, 1802 (cat. 145), reveal that while embracing the austerities of Empire style he continued to sculpt with great dexterity. Little evidence survives of the 1804 plaster *Demosthenes,* intended for the Senate but installed in the Palais Bourbon, which is known in only one photograph (fig. 219; see Chronology).[25]

The last decade was marked by honors and by a painful dislocation. He was made chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur in 1805, only to be evicted from the Louvre the following year, along with other state artists, in order to make room for Napoleonic offices. That same year it was said he had been unable to walk for two years, yet he gamely attended sessions of the Institut through the first half of 1808. Toward the end of his life we find several instances of father and son making loans to neighbors (see Chronology). When death finally came on May 8, 1809, Pajou had not worked for several years.

1. Letter from Pajou in Marseilles to Citizen Le Blond in Paris, November 3, 1792 (AN, F[17] 1035, no. 27; Stein 1912, pp. 383–84, doc. LXV).
2. Ibid., p. 383: "A trip I was obliged to make to Languedoc where my wife is sick is the cause" of his absence from Paris. Mme Pajou had perhaps already been sent south ahead of him.
3. AN, F[17] 1059, no. 1; Tuetey and Guiffrey 1909, p. 157, doc. 85. Pajou *fils* pleaded that his father "aged 64 years" and his infirm wife not be assigned the new lodgings in the Louvre which Garat had proposed and which were reached only by mounting 120 steps.
4. Stein 1912, p. 229.
5. Ibid., pp. 229–31, ill.
6. Stein 1912, p. 275; Stein 1913, p. 367.
7. Stein 1912, pp. 276–77, both terracotta busts ill., and 279–80. The bust of Riban *père* was inscribed on the back *PAR PAJOU CITOYEN DE PARIS A MONTPELLIER. L'AN 1792.*The bust of Riban *fils* sold Paris, Galerie Charpentier, March 15, 1956, no. 40, ill.; H. with socle 68 cm (26¾ in.), inscribed on the back *PAR PAJOU CITOYEN DE PARIS, 1793 PORTRAIT DE J. B. RIBAN.*
8. Stein 1913; Larédo 1985.
9. Gros in Montpellier to his mother in Paris, March 25, 1793, copy in the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie (Paris, Fondation Jacques Doucet), Ms. Peintres, *carton* 15; Bordes 1978, p. 232.
10. Ibid.
11. Marginal message in ibid., p. 233: "Just as I am folding my letter M. and Mme Pajou as well as his daughter beg me to send their respects."
12. Alastair Laing in Washington, D.C.–New York–Cambridge, Mass., 1979–82, no. 80. The bust (H. without socle 54 cm [21¼ in.]) descended in the sitter's family.
13. Stein (1912, p. 288) knew it only by description. H. with socle 76 cm (29⅞ in.), inscribed on the back *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU DE PARIS L'AN 3 de la Repu* and on the edge of the proper right shoulder *à Montpellier le / 12 vendemiaire 1794.*
14. It is perhaps noteworthy that the comte's name and title are not indicated on the bust, which remains in the family. We are informed by the sitter's descendants that he was the comte d'Espeuilles and not the marquis, as reported by Stein (1912, pp. 287–88). Two miniature plaster busts of the same composition, but with less focused features, in Canberra, National Gallery of Australia, and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Ackland Art Museum, are inscribed apparently identically on their backs: "*A.L.F. Viel de Lunas marquis d'Espeuilles*" and on the self-plinth on the back "*Par le citoyen / Pajou de Paris / l'an III de la / Republique / a Montpellier / le 3 vendémiaire / 1794*" (A.L.F. Viel de Lunas, marquis d'Espeuilles,

by Citizen Pajou of Paris, year III of the Republic, at Montpellier, the 3rd of Vendémiaire [September 24], 1794). The handwriting on the Chapel Hill bust approximates Pajou's *P*'s but appears otherwise too vertical to be his and the inscriptions as a whole are too lengthy and crowded to be convincing.

15. Fabre 1897, p. 185. For this period in Montpellier, see also Duval-Jouve 1879–81.
16. Larédo 1985, p. 153.
17. Ibid., from *Procès-Verbal de la Convention Nationale,* vol. 32, Paris, year II (1793–94), p. 277.
18. Drawing in Paris, Archives des Monuments Historiques; Montpellier 1983, p. 677, fig. 70.
19. Details of this project in Stein 1912, pp. 290–91, 300, 385–87, doc. LXVII.
20. H. with base 70 cm (27⅝ in.), inscribed on front of base *BEAUVAIS REPRÉSENTANT DU PEUPLE FRANCAIS MORT A MONTPELLIER LE 8 GERMINAL* and on proper left of base *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU DE / PARIS A MONTPELLIER LE 9 FLORÉAL L'AN 2^EM DE LA REPU.*
21. A note by JC (Jules Clarapède), 1950, in archives of the Musée Fabre, mentions the death mask's being in Montpellier, Musée des Archives Départementales.
22. Stein 1912, pp. 290–91.
23. Guillaume 1891–1907, vol. 5, pp. 312, 593.
24. Last seen among sculptures from the David-Weill collection; New York 1940, no. 30. H. with base 42.2 cm (16⅝ in.), inscribed on back *PAJOU F. 1795 / L'AN 3 DE LA REPUBLIQUE F.* Stein (1912, pp. 300–301) assumed for no particularly strong reason that this was the bust in the Salon of 1798, no. 537, p. 84 of the *livret,* "Bust of a child in marble."
25. See Chronology, 1804. Joly (1840, p. 16) noted it at the entrance to the library of the Palais Bourbon, where it was destroyed by fire in 1962.



Fig. 219. Pajou, *Demosthenes.* Plaster. Paris, seen here in the Sénat, later moved to the Palais Bourbon.

138. *Head of a Man*

Terracotta
H. 53.5 cm (21⅛ in.) (with wood *faux marbre* base 69 cm [27⅛ in.]), W. 43 cm (16⅞ in.), D. 23.5 cm (9⅛ in)
Incised on edge, in back: *Par Pajou Citoyen de la Ville de Paris. 1791* (By Pajou citizen of the city of Paris, 1791.); on countersocle, in front: *SI TROMPANT NOS DOULEURS, D'UN PERE QUI N'EST PLUS / CETTE ARGILE A NOS YEUX SAIT RETRACER L'IMAGE, / DANS NOS COEURS AFFLIGES, OU VIVRONT SES VERTUS, / NOTRE AMOUR LUI CONSACRE UN PLUS DURABLE HOMAGE* (If to ease our pain, of a father who is no more / This clay in our eyes can preserve the image, / Still our sorrowful hearts shall his virtues restore, / And our love render more permanent homage)

Montpellier, Musée Fabre (68–2–100)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Sale Paris, Galerie Charpentier, May 30, 1951, no. 67; Mme Sabatier d'Espeyran; her bequest to the museum, 1967

RELATED WORKS: A very similar version in plaster—with several variants in the treatment of the hair—on a small stand of dark-colored wood, with a socle foot bearing the same inscriptions as the terracotta, was part of the Wolff collection; then, before 1900, of the Pierre Decourcelle collection (Stein 1912, pp. 72, 73, 146, ill. p. 75); then that of his wife (Paris 1932b, no. 55); then of his daughter, Mme Jacques Loste (London 1968a, no. 814, fig. 349); in 1972 it was shown at the Galerie Black-Nadeau in Monte Carlo; acquired in 1975 by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.75.101; see *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Member's Calendar* 14, no. 4 [April 1976]; Schaefer and Fusco 1987, p. 148, ill.; fig. 220).

Another plaster bust, mounted on a wood socle patinated to resemble marble, is in a private collection.

This handsome portrait, known chiefly by the plaster version then in the Decourcelle collection, has always been listed, following Stein, as a portrait of Jean-Sylvain Bailly (1736–1793). This eminent man, an astronomer and member of three academies, guardian of the royal painting collection, and Parisian deputy to the States General, became the first mayor of Paris on July 15, 1789; he resigned on July 17, 1791, and was guillotined on November 12, 1793. Stein notes that Bailly, who would have met Pajou through Sedaine (1912, p. 72), intervened on the sculptor's behalf at the end of 1789 and in 1790 to get payment moving for work done on the Fontaine des Innocents (1912, p. 239). The date *1791* on the bust and Bailly's goodwill toward Pajou make this identification possible. Still, there is no documentary proof; and, more important, two major questions remain. First, the features of the man portrayed by Pajou do not at all resemble the very recognizable Bailly, of whom many images exist. To consider only sculpture, the busts by Louis-Pierre Deseine (Salon of 1789; Bordes and Chevalier 1996, pp. 174–76, no. 43) and Houdon (Salon of 1791; fig. 221) show a long, narrow face, completely at variance with Pajou's portrait. Second, Bailly—who married a fifty-year-old

Fig. 220. Pajou, *Bust of a Man.* Plaster. Los Angeles County Museum of Art

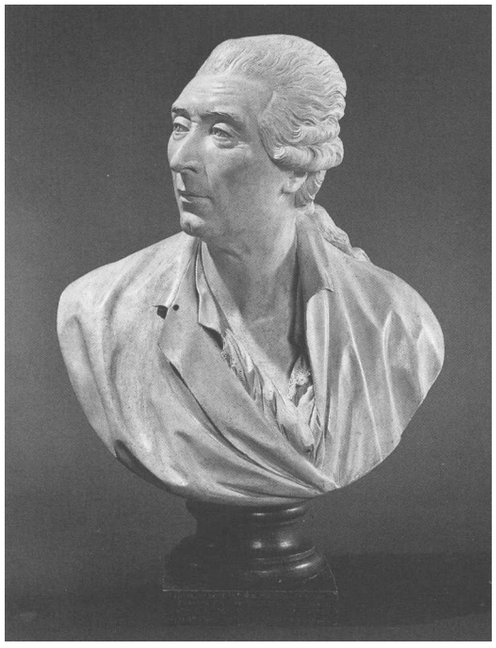
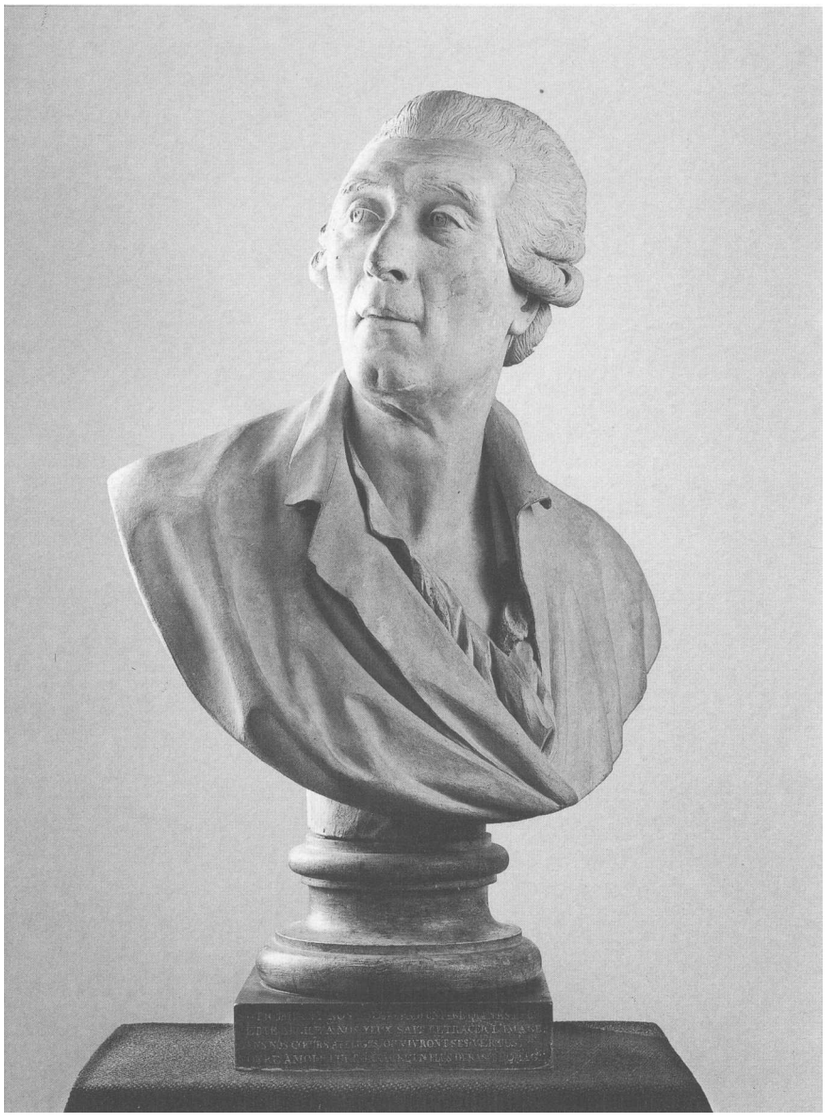


Fig. 221. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Jean-Sylvain Bailly.* Terracotta. Altenburg, Lindenau Museum





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widow in 1787 (Fernand-Laurent 1927, p. 104)—had no children, and therefore the inscription on the pedestals of the different versions cannot apply to him.

Unfortunately, we are unable to suggest any other identification, and this portrait must join the list of busts by Pajou whose sitters remain anonymous—among them, the portrait of a man dated 1768 (formerly presumed to be Marchal de Sainscy; fig. 141), the one of a woman in the Musée Jacquemart-André (fig. 163), the bust of a magistrate in the former Kann collection (Stein 1912, ill. p. 149), and the terracotta bust said to be of Mme de Pange in the former Decourcelle collection (dated 1775; Stein 1912, p. 131).

The terracotta bust presumed to be Bailly was given a "chocolate-colored" coating upon its sale in 1951 (note by Pierre Pradel, archives of the Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre), which was removed after its acquisition by the museum in Montpellier. This coating concealed the orange marks and fissures, caused by uneven firing in the kiln, which are evident today. This is one of Pajou's most handsome portraits, very lively and spirited. As usual, the artist had the sitter turn his head, making the frontal presentation all the more dynamic. Another characteristic of Pajou is his taste for superimposing materials, textures, and lines. The jacket partly covers the shirt and the two collars touch, creating areas of shadow. The broad depressions and contours of the jacket contrast with the multitude of small wrinkles in the shirt and the openings in the lace. Here we find a very animated surface reminiscent of the bust of Hubert Robert (cat. 108). Inspired by a comparable affection, it is a lively, sensitive, and very personal portrait. We long to learn which of Pajou's contemporaries, a friend recently deceased and mourned by his children, is hiding behind the features of this unidentified man. GS



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139. *Louis Deranc*

Terracotta
H. 50 cm (19⅝ in.) (with socle of *brèche du Languedoc* marble 65 cm [25⅝ in.]), W. 47 cm (18½ in.), D. 34 cm (13⅜ in.)
Incised on back in wide tabletlike rectangle: *LE CITOY. LOUIS DERANC*; below: *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU / DE PARIS L'AN 1793* (Citizen Louis Deranc by Citizen Pajou of Paris, year 1793)

Abbaye de Châalis, Musée Jacquemart-André (1269)

PROVENANCE: Mme Édouard André; her gift to the Institut de France, which administers the Musée Jacquemart-André

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lami 1911, p. 221; Stein 1912, pp. 286–87, 417; Gillet 1914a, pp. 24, 27, ill.; Institut de France 1914, no. 160

This is presumably the work cited by Lami as representing "Citizen Defrance," seen by him at Wildenstein in 1906. Stein could find no traces of the sitter, Louis Deranc, nor can we. He very tentatively suggested that Deranc could have been a descendant of the painter Jean Ranc of Montpellier. He found the bust less firm and characterful than others of the Montpellier period, but to us it seems a deeply insightful psychological investigation. Gillet's characterization strikes us as wrong-headed: "the face of a fop, an elegant buck, with the effeminate features of an elegiacal voluptuousness—the Desmahis of *Les Dieux ont soif* [a novel by Anatole France]" (Gillet 1914a, p. 24). Quite to the contrary, Deranc's sagging flesh and worry lines betray a man in his fifties with some of that age's attendant and oncoming ailments. Here the sideward



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turn suggests a stiff neck and a certain wariness. The citizen's gaze is careworn and frankly unhappy. Yet he wears the last word in youthful costume, with high notched collar and open throat, a choice that is unsettlingly discordant with the portrayal.

The work was recently cleaned, allowing the restitution of the tremulous working of the clay, which is quite pale, and of the remains of a fine coat of orangish granular terracotta, which helps keep the viewer's eye in constant motion across the surface. JDD



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140. *Mme Allut, née Élisabeth André*

Terracotta
H. 51.5 cm (20¼ in.) (with marble socle 67 cm [26⅜ in.]), W. 44 cm (17⅜ in.), D. 24 cm (9½ in.)
Incised on back: *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU DE PARIS* (by Citizen Pajou of Paris)

Montpellier, Musée Fabre (68.2.101)

PROVENANCE: By descent in the sitter's family to Maurice Gauchon, Paris; Mme Sabatier d'Espeyran, Montpellier; her bequest to the Musée Fabre, 1967

EXHIBITION: Paris 1909, no. 154

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lami 1911, p. 222; Stein 1912, pp. 281–82, ill., 417; Gillet 1934, p. 403; Foissy 1980, p. 49

Élisabeth André (1767–1799), from a Calvinist family of Nîmes, married her coreligionist Jean Allut (1746–1818) of Montpellier in 1788, when she was twenty-one and he forty-four. Like Pajou's host Riban, Allut stemmed from a Montpellier family of perfume merchants and undoubtedly belonged to the same circle of cultivated friends as the Ribans. The Allut house was at 20 rue du Petit-Saint-Jean. Allut was actively engaged in the politics of Montpellier, serving as deputy to the States General of the Hérault and, like Poitevin (cat. 141), being elected in 1790 to the municipal corps of officers. An ally of Joseph Cambon, he served Montpellier's interests in Paris the following year in a dispute with Béziers over the rights of the rival cities. Mme Allut bore him four children. Although Pajou's undated likeness was made when she was twenty-six or twenty-seven, she could easily be taken for a woman in her forties. She would live only another five or six years, and Allut would survive her by almost twenty years.

For the draping of the breast, Pajou reaches all the way back to *Mme Du Barry* (cat. 98), yet taming and straightening the fabric so that the delicate hint of bosom now expresses a matronly virtue. Her bleak, unflinching gaze and large, aquiline nose seem to have been treated without idealization. Her fashionable coiffure, with its locks tumbling very low on the brow, was in her case a rather disastrous choice, and he could but render it with his usual care. The work has been through a lot, the shoulders having been broken and fleshed out in plaster. Yet it remains a gripping portrait precisely because of the gap between fickle mode and firm character that it memorializes. JDD

141. *Jacques-Alexis Poitevin de Mézouls*

Terracotta
H. with self-base 73 cm (28¾ in.), W. 48 cm (18⅞ in.), D. 25 cm (9⅞ in.)

Abbaye de Chaalis, Musée Jacquemart-André (1265)

PROVENANCE: By descent in the subject's family at Mézouls (commune of Mauguio in the Hérault) to the Des Hours de Calviac family, Montpellier; bought by Mme Édouard André, 1908; her gift to the Institut de France, which administers the Musée Jacquemart-André

EXHIBITION: Montpellier 1896, p. 39

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Martin de Choisy 1808, pp. 28–29; Stein 1912, pp. 283–85, ill., 417; Gillet 1914a, pp. 13, ill., 24; Institut de France 1914, no. 162; Chevalier 1994, p. 54, ill.

RELATED WORK: According to Martin de Choisy (1808, p. 29) and Stein (1912, p. 285 n. 2), the Société Centrale d'Agriculture of Montpellier kept a plaster example of this bust on the mantelpiece of its assembly room, but it apparently has not survived.

Jacques-Alexis Poitevin (1742–1807), lord of Mézouls, Maureillan, and Carignan, figures frequently in the chronicles of Montpellier during the Enlightenment. The family abode, at what is now 6 rue Eugène-Lisbonne, was next to that of the Alluts. Like Jean Allut (see cat. 140), Poitevin was a rich Calvinist involved in civic life. He fought for the edict of tolerance which restored civil rights to Protestants in 1787 and was among the notables elected to the general council of the commune in 1790. Agronomist and meteorologist, bibliophile and collector of astronomical instruments, he became a member of the Société Royale of Montpellier in 1766 and was elected first president of the Société Centrale d'Agriculture in 1799. He penned commentaries on solar eclipses and measured the city's annual rainfall every year between 1767 and 1791.

Poitevin and his wife, Suzanne, née d'Alaret des Pradels, had four children. According to Martin de Choisy, the bust was an *hommage* from his children; Poitevin in turn addressed to them a bit of doggerel which "he put at the base of his bust" (Martin de Choisy 1808, pp. 28–29; see also Stein 1912, p. 286):

> One of you has placed my bust before your eyes,
> But in my great tenderness I belong to you all,
> For a doting father's regard on all must fall,
> Must kindle your hearts, must strengthen your ties.
> If I dare borrow from a creative art,
> That my looks may last when I'll no longer be,
> Let that sweetest of virtues,
> Brotherly love, play its vital part,
> Bind you by its warmth, ever drawing you to me,
> And urge you, join you, in the fondest camaraderie.



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The bust, even with its glimmers of patriarchal benevolence, may not inspire the same lofty sentiments in later viewers. We see instead one of Pajou's more hardheaded, practical individuals, facing us straight-on, yet with his eyes darting to the side in lively curiosity. He is captured as if in mid-speech, every inch the "provincial orator," as Gillet said (1914b, p. 333). Puffy but powerful of visage, he enlists every muscle of his capacious cheeks and throat in utterance. Gillet (1914a, p. 24) sensed goiter and a touch of smallpox; we might detect a hint of palsy in the uneven lips of this man hardly more than fifty. The costume, with its cascading ruffle and crisscross of fur on the dressing gown's collar,

is the most intensely researched and successful attire of any in the master's late busts. The testimonial is all the more vivid when compared to the only other known portrait of Poitevin, a stiff painted likeness that belonged to the Société Centrale d'Agriculture in Montpellier in commemoration of his presidency of that body (Société Centrale d'Agriculture de l'Hérault 1900, p. 408, ill.). JDD

142. *Paul-François Des Hours-Farel*

Terracotta
H. 42 cm (16½ in.) (with socle of *bleu turquin* marble 58 cm [22⅞ in.]), W. 38 cm (14¾ in.), D. 24 cm (9½ in.)
Incised on back: *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU DE PARIS 1794/à Montpellier le / 3 Préréal L'an / 2 de la République / française* (By Citizen Pajou of Paris 1794, at Montpellier the 3rd of prairial, year 2 of the French Republic [May 22, 1794])

Montpellier, Musée Fabre (78–1–1)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: By descent in the Des Hours de Calviac family, Montpellier, to S. Guiraud, Paris, by 1912; with the dealer Édouard Arcade, Paris, by 1923; his sale Paris, Galerie Charpentier, May 25, 1951, no. 66; collection M.S., sale Paris, Palais d'Orsay, February 21, 1978; bought by the city of Montpellier

EXHIBITION: Montpellier 1979, no. 16B

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 285–86, ill., 417; Foissy 1980, pp. 48, ill., 49; Chevalier 1994, p. 55, ill. and n. 3

RELATED WORKS: Numerous later imitations in which the placid head of another, younger boy, of a type often seen on busts with false *Pajou* signatures, is implanted in a costume copied directly from that of the present bust (e.g., a terracotta, H. 28 cm [11 in.], sale London, Sotheby's, April 22, 1993, no. 157).

Stein (1912, p. 286) identified this and cat. 143 as representing two grandchildren of Jacques-Alexis Poitevin de Mézouls (see cat. 141). He called the little boy "Paulin Des Hours Farel." Alain Chevalier has shed further light on the lad's identity. The Farel family of Montpellier were landowners who began the cultivation of cotton in the Hérault. The Farel fortune came into the hands of one François Farel, a bachelor who adopted as his heir a nephew, Paul-François Des Hours. Antoine-Jean Gros painted the live-wire Paulin, triumphantly showing off the goldfinch he has just trapped with his hat (fig. 222). The estate of Lavalette, part of his inheritance, is brushed in behind.

Gros mentions the commission, obtained through Pajou, in the letter written to his mother on March 25, 1793 (Bordes 1978, p. 232). He first planned a standing portrait but changed his mind and carried out the work rapidly (within two days he received the passport for Italy for which he had been anxiously waiting; Chevalier 1994, p. 57). Were it not for the certainty of the boy's identity (the picture remained with the Des Hours de Calviac heirs until at least 1936), one would not spontaneously associate the features of painting and bust. The bust followed the painting by just over a year, so Paulin is perhaps somewhat older and wiser (following further along this path, he would briefly serve as mayor of Montpellier in 1832–33). Pajou has lavished his expertise on the hair, clipped but still meandering and unruly, and on the admirable costume, ruffling up the delicate collar so that Paulin seems to have just stopped for breath.

Fig. 222. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Paul-François Des Hours-Farel.* Oil on canvas. Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts





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143. *Mlle Des Hours-Farel*

Terracotta
H. 43.4 cm (17⅛ in.) (with terracotta self-base 55 cm [21⅝ in.]), W. 39 cm (15⅜ in.), D. 24 cm (19½ in.)
Incised on the terracotta base, proper left: *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU DE / PARIS, A MONTPELLIER LE / 10 MESSIDOR L'AN 2^M DE LA / REPUBLIQUE 1794* (by Citizen Pajou of Paris, at Montpellier the 10th of messidor, 2nd year of the Republic, 1794 [June 28, 1794])

Montpellier, Musée Fabre (68–2–57)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: By descent in the Des Hours de Calviac family, Montpellier, to S. Guiraud, Paris, by 1912; probably with the dealer Édouard Arcade, Paris, in 1923; sale Paris, Drouot, December 3, 1948, no. 36; sale Paris, Galerie Charpentier, May 25, 1951, no. 65; bought by Frédéric Sabatier, Montpellier; bequest of Mme Sabatier d'Espeyran to the Musée Fabre, 1967

EXHIBITIONS: Montpellier 1979, no. 16A, ill.; Biron–Nancy 1989, no. 57, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 284, ill., 286, 417; Foissy 1980, p. 49, ill.

We are presented with a girl in her earliest teens. Although it has not been established that Paul-François Des Hours-Farel (no. 142) had a sister, there is no reason to doubt that this girl, whose likeness followed his by a month, was an older sibling. The busts are complementary in posture, and they shared the same provenance and identical bases until sometime after 1912, when Stein knew them in the hands of the dealer Guiraud. They were then separated for a time and the bust of Paulin acquired a new marble socle. The manipulation of the clay is broader and slacker in the girl's bust; perhaps Pajou was less engaged by her calmer personality. For the authors of the Biron–Nancy catalogue, "the simplicity of the finely pleated dress, the girl's natural expression and her loose hairdo come close to the Rousseauesque idea of an idyllic childhood, with a freshness as yet uncorrupted by civilization."

JDD

144. *Fidelity, Mother of Constant Love*

Terracotta
H. 39.5 cm (15½ in.), W. 19.1 cm (7½ in.), D. 20.3 cm (8 in.)
Incised on front: *La fidélité Mère de L'amour constant* (Fidelity, Mother of Constant Love); on back: *Pajou f. / L'an 7 de la Ré f. / 1799* (made by Pajou, year 7 of the French Republic, 1799)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts of J. Pierpont Morgan and Irwin Untermyer, by exchange, 1986 (1986.282)

PROVENANCE: Mme A. Arman de Caillavet, Paris (sale Paris, Drouot, May 7, 1920, lot 194); acquired by the Museum in New York, 1986

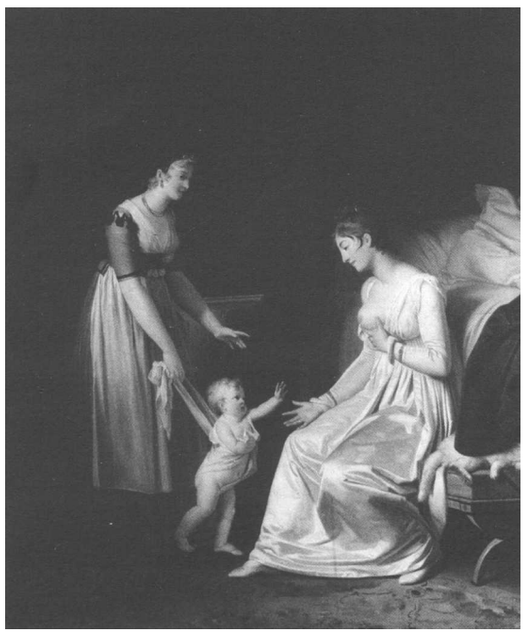
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Saunier 1907, pp. 9, ill., 14–17; Stein 1912, pp. 301, ill. 418; Draper in New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1987b, p. 30, ill.; Draper 1991, pp. 96–97, ill.; Draper 1991–92, pp. 7, 40–41, ill.

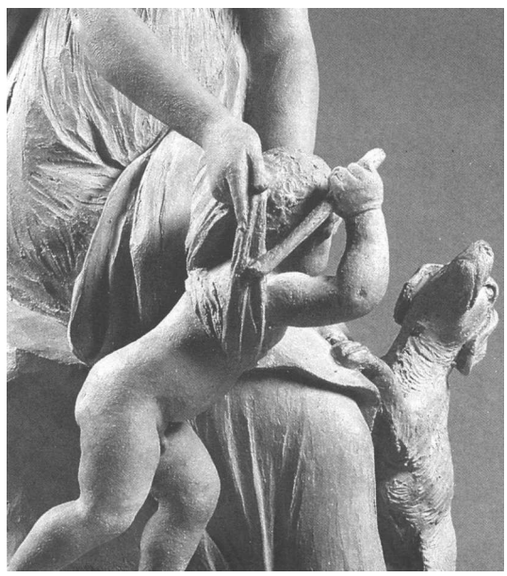
Fidelity, a young mother, gently restrains her impulsive son with a halter as he tries to swat her faithful dog with a stick. With this uplifting theme Pajou enters the lists with moralizing genre painters such as Marguerite Gérard and Louis-Léopold Boilly. In fact Mlle Gérard used the halter motif in a slightly later painting, shown at the Salon of 1804 (fig. 223). The subject alludes to an ongoing sociological argument. In the second half of the eighteenth century the centrality of the child in family life was increasingly emphasized, as was the importance of the mother's direct, solicitous role in child rearing (the use of wet nurses came under criticism, for example).

Pajou had shown a figure of Fidelity at the Salon of 1779, of which no visual record survives (Salon of 1779, no. 197, p. 38 of the *livret*; see also Chronology). With the Revolution he began to produce the occasional genre group, such as the *Man Extracting a Thorn from a Traveler's Foot* in the Salon of 1789 (fig. 105), whose stated aim was "to unite in a single piece the expressions of pain and thoughtfulness" (Salon of 1789, no. 210, p. 44 of the *livret*) and whose ethical overtones cannot be denied. Although his aptitude for this sort of work is clear, his essays in this vein did not appear often at the Salon and were probably aimed at the private collectors he hoped to cultivate during these lean years. Few such pieces have been identified; how we would like to see the *Little Girl Carrying Eggs in Her Shift and Warding off a Rooster*, which must have been a pure exercise in description and which was in the sale of his old friend Mme De Wailly (by this time the comtesse de Fourcroy; sale Paris, March 16–17, 1810, no. 52).

Fidelity is one of the most elongated of Pajou's figures. Her hair is cut short in a fashionably economical bob that was called *à la Titus*. Her dress and mantle show an unrivaled mastery of simple drapery. While

Fig. 223. Marguerite Gérard, *The Mother Nurse*. Oil on canvas. Grasse, Musée Fragonard





Cat. 144: detail



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this is not yet Pajou's "swan song," as Stein called it (1912, p. 302), it is certainly a proof that his powers were undiminished at the age of sixty-nine. The entire composition can be read as a near mirror image of the *Genius of Buffon* of 1796 (cat. 119); he almost surely had the latter before his eyes while modeling this on his trestle table.

The sculpture's underside documents the care Pajou took in preparing his terracottas. Here he excavated the clay in a grooved concavity to ensure that the heat spread evenly throughout the piece during firing (Draper 1991–92, p. 7, ill.). JDD



Cat. 144: underside

145. *Julius Caesar*

Marble
H. 66 cm (26 in.), W. 38 cm (15 in.), D. 32 cm (12⅝ in.)
Incised on front: *C.J. CÉSAR D^ICT.* (Gaius Julius Caesar, dictator); on proper left side: *Pajou fecit an 9.* (made by Pajou in the year 9 [1800–1801])

Paris, Palais du Luxembourg, Sénat (91–01568)

PROVENANCE: Executed for the Gallery of the Consuls in the Palais des Tuileries, Paris, 1802; briefly at the Château de Fontainebleau, 1804; Palais du Luxembourg, Sénat, Hall of the Messengers, 1804 until about 1836; in the senators' cloakroom from 1902; today in the Salle René Coty

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1802, no. 438, p. 74 of the *livret* ("Bust of Caesar, in marble. Destined for the Galerie des Consuls"); Paris 1916, no. 8

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grivaud de la Vincelle 1807, pp. 60–61; Bellier and Auvray 1885, pp. 193, 194; Hustin 1905, p. 28; Lami 1911, p. 222; Stein 1912, pp. 302, ill., 418; Benoît 1985, pp. 16, 19 n. 16, 20 n. 52; Poulet and Scherf 1992, no. 73, fig. 181; Paris, Sénat, 1996, p. 206, ill.

Following Napoleon Bonaparte's installation of himself as first consul in the ex-royal Palais des Tuileries, on February 19, 1800, the palace's refurbishing became a matter of priority. His brother Lucien Bonaparte, minister of the interior, wrote to the central administration of the new museum on March 23, 1800:

> Citizens, the Gallery of the Consuls must be decorated by twenty-two busts. There is already one in fact, that of Brutus. Citizen Houdon has been charged with the execution of two others, to wit Wasingthon [*sic*] and Mirabeau. There remain nineteen to be executed, and I have chosen for this work nineteen artists whose names I enclose herewith. As it would be difficult to indicate to each of them the bust that he should execute, I thought it would be necessary to assemble these artists. . . . I invite these nineteen artists collectively to take counsel among themselves as to the distribution of the busts. (AMN, s[6], March 30, 1800, quoted in Poulet and Scherf 1992, p. 344)

At the same time, Lucien wrote to the sculptors, inviting them to meet and select their subjects:

> To the citizen artists chosen for the execution of the nineteen busts which must adorn the Gallery of the Consuls: I have chosen the artists of the national institute who had been charged with the former public works and the artists who, in the various competitions which have taken place, especially in the years 7 and 8 [1798–99 and 1799–1800], have been deemed worthy of being encouraged. I join to this letter the list of the nineteen great men whose busts must be part of those which will be placed in the Gallery of the Consuls. I did not at all wish to indicate to each of you the bust which he will be charged to execute: I leave this distribution in your care, following the manner which you will deem most just. (Ibid.)

The nineteen then named a committee of Pajou, Jean-Joseph Espercieux, and Pierre Cartellier to visit



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the architect Étienne-Chérubin Lecomte and determine the dimensions of the busts and the place each was to occupy (AMN, s^6, March 30, 1800, cited in Benoît 1985, pp. 13, 19 n. 19). Because of his seniority, Pajou no doubt had his pick of subjects.

The evocation of Bonaparte's spiritual ancestors in the Gallery of the Consuls was deeply rooted in classical example. Augustus Caesar erected statues of his triumphant predecessors in the two colonnades of his forum, as a reminder both to himself and to his successors, proclaiming: "I have contrived this to lead the citizens to require me, while I live, and the rulers of later times as well, to attain the standard set by those worthies of old" (Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 2.31.5).

The twenty-two subjects for the Gallery of the Consuls were a mix of ancient and modern heroes. Eight represented the greats of antiquity. They were the above-mentioned *Brutus*, which Joseph Boiston had presented to the Convention in 1792 (the one now in Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts; see Paris 1989b, vol. 2, no. 555, and Poulet and Scherf 1992, p. 344); *Demosthenes*, allotted to Pierre Julien; *Alexander* to Claude Dejoux; *Hannibal* to François-Marie Suzanne; *Scipio* to Claude Ramey; *Cicero* to Espercieux; *Cato* to Jean-François Lorta; and *Caesar* to Pajou. The various sculptors exhibited their products at the Salons of 1801 and 1802. Like the present one, all but the aforementioned *Brutus* were herm-busts. It is likely that the busts of ancients were meant to be thematically paired—i.e., *Alexander* with *Caesar*, *Demosthenes* with

Cicero, *Hannibal* with *Scipio*, *Cato* with *Brutus*. In any case, the original disposition of busts in the Gallery of the Consuls did not last for long. On January 25, 1804, the architect Charles-Jean-Thérèse Chalgrin recommended that the Senate's praetors ask Vivant Denon, general director of the Musée Napoléon, to obtain four busts that had previously been selected (AN, CC 117, d. 472, p. 4). The praetors wrote to that end on January 29, 1804 (AN, CC 170, register of letters received or sent), and Denon responded on February 19: "I have the honor of informing you that the busts in marble of *Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, Julius Caesar,* and *Cato* which you have asked of me for the Hall of the Messengers of the Senate, are ready to be turned over to you" (AN, CC 117, d. 479, p. 1). However, by then the busts had apparently gotten to Fontainebleau (AMN, S^{12}, January 24, 1804, cited in Benoît 1985, p. 21 n. 52), along with others of the series. The four, together with a *Rubens* by Jean-Baptiste Stouf (presumably destined for the Gallery of Marie de Médicis), were sent to the Luxembourg on February 23, 1804 (AMN, S^{12}, Mutation x).

At Fontainebleau, the transformation of the Gallery of Francis I into the Gallery of the Emperor had become a second serial project with more busts of Napoleonic dignitaries in varying formats added, the whole since dispersed (for their complicated history, see Benoît 1985). Julien's *Demosthenes* and Dejoux's *Alexander* are still at Fontainebleau in the Gallery of Diana. These various relocations were a blessing in disguise, allowing the busts to escape the fire that ravaged the Tuileries in 1871.

Drawings by Chalgrin in the archives of the Sénat's Service de l'Architecture show two of the busts (not *Caesar*) centered above the doors of the Hall of the Messengers, each backed by military trophies (this and other information has kindly been supplied by Robert Provansal). Today's modern settings are bleaker, each bust being planted on a square stone support in an unembellished niche.

In the Sénat one is struck by the *Caesar*'s imposing mass. Its most important quality is, however, the sheer brilliance of its conception and execution. Of the three other busts, only Ramey's *Scipio* begins to approach its proud characterization and lapidary virtuosity. The use of the drill is especially noticeable and articulate. It would not be surprising to learn that the aging master turned to a favorite student-practitioner for this feat of carving. Stein (1912, p. 302) found the *Caesar* "rather boring," but Scherf (Poulet and Scherf 1992, p. 347) pronounces it an "authentic masterpiece." The difference lies in the quantum leap art history has taken in its attitude toward Neoclassicism for which Stein had no taste (beginning with the stele with the *Princesse de Hesse-Homburg*, cat. 53) and for which we feel far greater enthusiasm today.

An obvious principal source for Pajou was Nicolas Coustou's much-admired statue of Caesar with its commanding gaze, completed in 1713 (fig. 224). It stood, paired with Sébastien Slodtz's *Hannibal*, in the Tuileries Gardens throughout Pajou's lifetime (even though there was some confusion over the statue's identity—for some reason, probably because Scipio was deemed an apter companion for Hannibal, Coustou's statue was known at the end of the eighteenth century as *Scipio*, but Pajou is not likely to have made the same error). As a good Neoclassicist, Pajou probably tempered the impression gained from Coustou through a consultation of ancient images, of which coins are the most reliable. Indeed we find in the

Fig. 224. Nicolas Coustou, *Julius Caesar*. Marble (detail). Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 225. Roman, 44 B.C., silver denarius of Julius Caesar. London, British Museum





Fig. 226. Pajou, *Laureate Head of a Roman, after the Antique*. Black chalk, brown wash. Paris, private collection

coinage of Caesar two of the bust's more notable features: the oversize laurel wreath and accented creases in the neck (fig. 225). A drawing from his Roman years suggests that the essential idea of the bust, especially its toughness, lay in Pajou's mind for nearly half a century (fig. 226; 18 × 12.4 cm [7⅛ × 4⅞ in.]; inscribed *a la ville medicise*). The antique source for it (and a companion profile drawing of the same size and technique in the same collection) was a bust formerly at the Villa Medici which does not survive except in Pajou's copy and one by David some twenty-five years later (Sérullaz 1991, no. 75, described as a "priest of Isis"). David shows that Pajou was not alone in interpreting this lost antiquity as a frighteningly harsh work. In 1802 there was not much in the way of current Caesarean iconography for Pajou to consult. The dictator was by no means in fashion during the Revolution, and it is a sure sign of shifting political winds that one of Bonaparte's earliest decorative schemes should include not merely a Caesar but one of such authoritative and vigilant mien.

JDD



Cat. 151: detail

X. *Pajou and His Family*

Artists' portraits of each other gained greatly in popularity during the eighteenth century. In view of his connections, it is only to be expected that Pajou's appearance is recorded in a number of works. In the earliest likenesses, he has a slightly corpulent and perhaps self-satisfied appearance. Roslin turned this plumpness to advantage in his 1769 painting, the first known portrait of the sculptor (fig. 227).[1] Eager, earnest, rosy with success, he is clad in a dressing gown of green-and-gold brocade and, tied loosely at his throat, a red-white-and-gray plaid scarf. He does not hold a lowly sculptor's tool but wields a brass draftsman's implement that holds white and red chalk. The companion portrait of Angélique Pajou in silk, lace, and flowers discloses her enjoyment of their good fortune.[2] Prosperity and a courtier's air are suggested in Cochin's 1777 profile drawing of the sculptor (fig. 228).[3]

In 1777 Pajou himself had a banner year in family portraiture. He drew his father's venerable head (cat. 146, copied in turn by his young son) and captured his wife's shapely and good-natured features (fig. 229).[4] He may have modeled his children from time to time but this is not certain.

Mme Labille-Guiard's splendid 1782 pastel of the sculptor (cat. 147) resumes the ennobling theme of the Roslin canvas, using the chalk Pajou holds to emphasize the draftsman's intelligence that guides the sculptor's muscular arm. Much the same hierarchical ordering of intellect and skill is evident in the first portrait of 1795 by Pajou *fils* (fig. 230),[5] where the sculptor is shown deep in Plutarch, the old mainstay of his drawings.

The great bust by Roland (cat. 150)—the terracotta dating from 1798 and the marble from 1800—gives Pajou a new and epic grandeur; he is as benevolent as ever but has a positively Jovian presence. Roland, whose origins were if anything even humbler than his master's, blossomed under Pajou's guidance and strove to mirror his success. He had four disciples, far fewer than Pajou, but he lavished his attention on them.

Fig. 227. Alexander Roslin, *Augustin Pajou.* Oil on canvas. Stockholm, collection of Mrs. Antonia Ax:son Johnson



Fig. 228. Charles-Nicolas Cochin *fils, Augustin Pajou.* Black chalk and stump. Paris, Musée du Louvre





Fig. 229. Pajou, *Mme Pajou, née Angélique Roumier.* Terracotta. Private collection

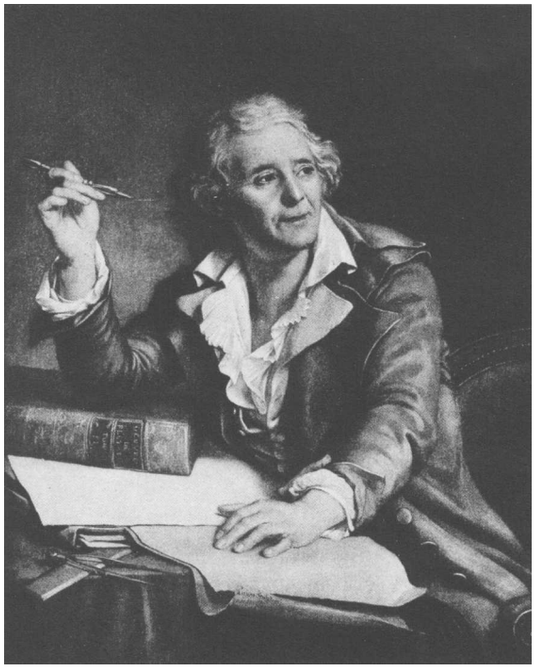


Fig. 230. Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou, *Augustin Pajou.* Oil on canvas. Whereabouts unknown

David d'Angers, the most gifted, tells us that, like Pajou, Roland was devoted to his family and mentors: "Roland had hung on the wall of his apartment the portrait of his father, that of his mother, that of his beloved master, and some engravings of Poussin."[6]

The Roland bust influenced all subsequent representations of the sculptor, even the family portrait of 1802 that is the masterpiece of Pajou *fils* (cat. 151). This era saw an ever more kindly paternalism celebrated in French literature and encouraged in French legislation.[7] The new spirit suffuses this tender scene. The welfare of children and mothers assumed increasing importance, and indeed all family members acquired ever more responsible roles, while the child became "an indispensable element of daily life."[8] The constitution of 1795 declared, "No one is a good citizen if he is not a good son, good father, good husband." While the filial piety of Pajou *fils* is no doubt entirely genuine and personal, his picture memorably registers the age's obsession with the child and the good father.[9] JDD

1. Inscribed on the frame *A. Pajou Sculpteur du Roy et Professeur de son Academie Royale agé 38 ans.* Shown in the Salon of 1769 among several unnamed portraits, no. 43, p. 12 of the *livret.* Lundberg 1957, vol. 2, pl. 94, vol. 3, p. 50, no. 274. For the portraiture of Pajou, see Stein 1912, pp. 50–52, reproducing portrait miniatures by Pajou *fils* and Sicardi, and 304–6.
2. Private collection, Sweden; also shown in the Salon of 1769. Lundberg 1957, vol. 2, pl. 93, vol. 3, p. 50, no. 275.
3. Inscribed on verso *Mr. Pajou sculpteur 1777.* Paris 1967, no. 69.
4. H. without socle 60 cm (23⅝ in.); incised on back *Angélique Roumier / femme / Pajou / Par Pajou en / 1777.* Shown in the Salon of 1777 among several unnamed busts, no. 212, p. 43 of the *livret;* Stein 1912, pp. 21, ill., 22, 409.
5. Painting formerly in the David David-Weill collection, inscribed *PAJOU SCULPTEUR. PAR SON FILS LAN 3ᵉ REPᶜᴬᴵᴺᴱ. 1795 V. STIL.* (Pajou, sculptor, by his son, Republican year 3, 1795, old style). Henriot 1926–28, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 285–86, ill.
6. Quoted in Jouin 1878, vol. 2, p. 245.
7. Garaud and Szramkiewicz 1978; Hunt 1992.
8. Ariès 1960, p. 457.
9. The book on Pajou *fils* by Nusbaumer (Nusbaumer 1997) appeared too close in date to our catalogue to take serious advantage of it.

146. *Martin Pajou, the Artist's Father*

Black chalk
31 × 31 cm (12¼ × 12¼ in).
Inscribed around portrait: *MARTIN. PAJOU. SCULPTEUR, PAR. AUGUSTIN. PAJOU. SCULPTEUR. DU. ROY. ET. PROFESSEUR. DE. SON. ACAD.*; below, on mat: *MDCCLXXVII* (Martin Pajou, sculptor, by Augustin Pajou, sculptor to the king and professor of his academy; 1777)

Paris, private collection

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Pajou's descendants; inventory after the death of Augustin Pajou, April 12, 1876 (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641); his sale, Paris, December 16, 1878, no. 34; mentioned in 1940 in the succession of Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain at Bougival (family papers) and still owned by her descendants

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, p. 3, ill.

RELATED WORK: Unpublished copy of the drawing by Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou, black chalk, 28.2 × 26.7 cm (11⅛ × 10½ in.), annotated at bottom: inscribed beneath *M. . . pagoux, Sculpteur agé de 89. / dessiné par son petit fils En 1789* (M. Pajou, sculptor, age 89; drawn by his grandson in 1789). Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, bequest of Mathias Polakovits (PM 2886)



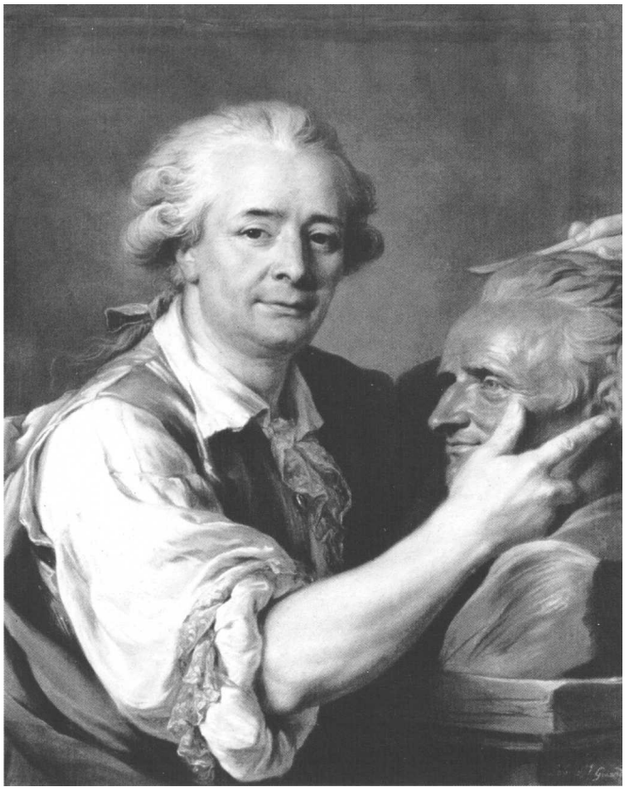
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This is Pajou's only known portrait drawing. If the writing under the copy of it by his son, Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou (see Related Work) can be trusted, Martin Pajou was eighty-nine years old at the time of the copy. The other inscription, dating the copy to 1789, is less credible and must be a later approximation, for the laborious copy is that of a fledgling. It is more likely to have been done by the eleven-year-old Jacques-Augustin-Catherine, working at his father's side at the time of the present drawing, which is dated 1777, than by an accomplished sophisticate of twenty-three, which would have been his age in 1789.

Fig. 231. Jacques-Augustin-Catherin Pajou, *Martin Pajou*. Black chalk. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



We know very little about the role Augustin Pajou's parents played in his later life. Martin Pajou's birth and death dates are not known; Augustin's mother was born in 1717 (Stein 1912, p. 308). At Augustin's baptism Martin Pajou was described as a "journeyman sculptor" who "does not know how to write" (see Chronology, 1730). A fairly humble woodcarver, he nevertheless encouraged his son's brighter talents and higher ambitions from the outset, and the drawing conveys the son's appreciation. In the portrait old Martin is ever modest but thoroughly respectable, the paradigm of the man who has spent a lifetime at honest labor. The drawing is a brilliantly shaded study of curves, and its subtle assimilation of relief sculpture causes us to reflect on Pajou's practice as a draftsman for medals (see cat. 133). JDD



147

147. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), *Augustin Pajou*

Pastel on blue-gray paper
71.3 × 58.5 cm (28⅛ × 23 in.)
Signed and dated at lower right, white chalk: *Labille f. Guiard 1782.*
inscribed, on cartouche of original gilt-wood frame: *Mr PAJOU / Par Mme GUIARD*

Paris, Musée du Louvre (27.035)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Morceau de réception to the Académie Royale de la Peinture et de Sculpture, Paris, May 31, 1783; collection of the Académie Royale, Paris; Musée Spécial de l'École Française, Versailles, year X (1801–2); Musée Royal du Louvre, Paris, from May 15, 1818

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon de la Correspondance, February 1783; Salon of 1783, no. 125, p. 28 of the *livret* ("M. Pajou, modeling the portrait of M. Lemoine his master. It is the author's morceau de réception"); modern exhibition history as in Passez 1973, p. 109; Paris 1980, unnumbered checklist

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, p. 47, pl. 1; Monnier 1972, no. 57, ill.; Passez 1973, pp. 17, 25, 109–10, no. 37, pl. xxvii (with exhaustive bibliography to 1973).

RELATED WORK: For the bust of Lemoyne that figures in the pastel, see cat. 26, 27.

Mme Labille-Guiard succeeded so well with this grand and meditative work that she selected it for her first morceau de réception to the Académie Royale, May 31, 1783 (a second morceau was to follow). On that extraordinary occasion when she was both accepted and received into the Académie, her presenter was Roslin. She was welcomed by her teachers Quentin de La Tour and François-Élie Vincent (father of her future second husband) as well as by Pajou, Bachelier, Suvée, Vernet, Beaufort, and Cochin *fils*. At the Salon that year, her portraits of the artists Vien (Montpellier, Musée Fabre), Bachelier (Louvre), Gois, Suvée (École des Beaux-Arts), Beaufort (Louvre), and Voiriot accompanied that of Pajou. She was obviously touched to find herself among such talents and was fascinated by the special bonds between masters and followers. Pajou, modeling his revered master's bust, is a visual résumé of those sentiments. It is a symbolic homage—possibly prompted by Pajou himself, as Passez says (1973, p. 110)—for he had actually first modeled the bust, one of his greatest, when he was twenty-eight. Here he is fifty-two. Lemoyne had died four years earlier. The painter, a thirty-three-year-old, looks awestruck at these ties. Not only does Pajou the disciple bring his master to life through his manipulation of the clay, but his fingers also have the effect of caressing it. Looking us straight in the face, he seems all-knowing.

At the Salon the pastel was universally praised, as for example in *Les peintres volants ou dialogue entre un français et un anglais sur les tableaux exposés au Sallon du Louvre en 1783* (Paris, n.d., pp. 13–14, quoted in Passez 1973, p. 110): "But come see the masterpiece among Mme Guiard's portraits . . . such a male and living physiognomy! how the naked arm, correctly drawn, appears to be in relief and to come forth from the canvas [*sic*]." And that is the point. The upper hand grasps a modeling tool, but it is the powerful proper right arm that brings the work into being. That arm has the delicate white flesh of a gentleman, which is how our sculptor wishes to appear, precisely as a gentleman-sculptor cum philosopher, with fine lace at his neck and on his rolled-back sleeve and with the toss of a good red mantle visible at his back. In this ravishing color study pale tones generally predominate: powdered hair, creamy shirt, golden silk vest, and a cool gray for the bust atop the trestle table.

In 1783 Labille-Guiard portrayed Pajou's daughter, Flore, Mme Clodion, in a pastel (see Passez 1973, no. 49, ill.) We do not find a compelling resemblance to the fine terracotta bust by Pajou, signed and dated 1786, that was presumed to represent Flore, sold Paris, Galliéra, April 10, 1962, no. 107. JDD

148. Louis-Pierre Deseine (1749–1822), *Augustin Pajou*

Terracotta
H. 46 cm (18⅛ in.) (with base 55.5 cm [21⅞ in.]), W. 41 cm (16⅛ in.), D. 22.5 cm (8⅞ in.)

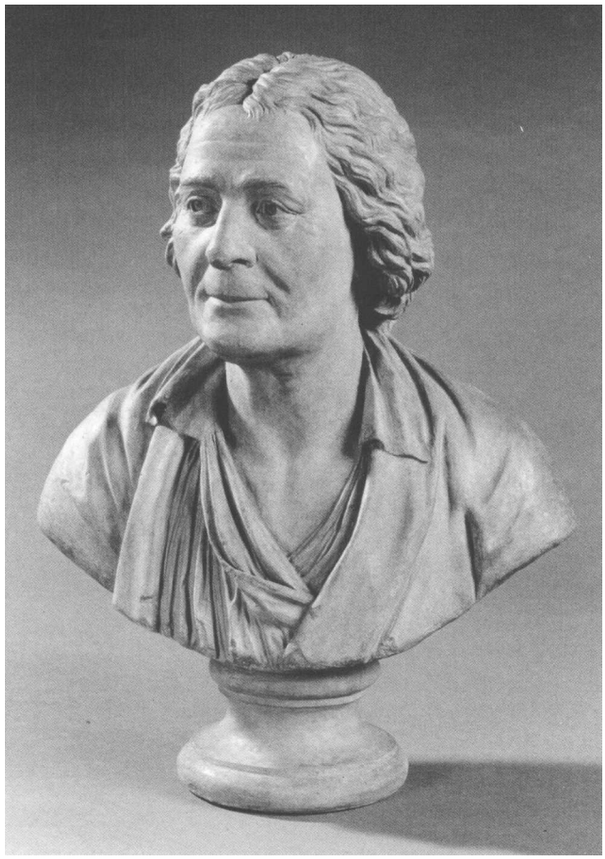
Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 4595)

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Mme Toulmouche, Paris, 1878; the painter Auguste Toulmouche (1829–1890), 1883–91; his posthumous sale Paris, Drouot, March 2, 1891, no. 101 (as Houdon); sale Paris, May 24–25, 1928, no. 57, ill. (Houdon); acquired by the museum in Paris, 1996

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of 1785, no. 260; Paris 1878, no. 677 (Houdon); Paris 1883–84, no. 253 (Houdon)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouin 1879, p. 144, no. 677 (Houdon); Lami 1910, p. 434 (Houdon, with doubts); Gazel 1928, p. 192, ill. ("bust of Pajou by himself"); Le Chatelier n.d., p. 13 (mentions the Salon); Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 372 (by a student of Pajou's: Roland or Deseine)

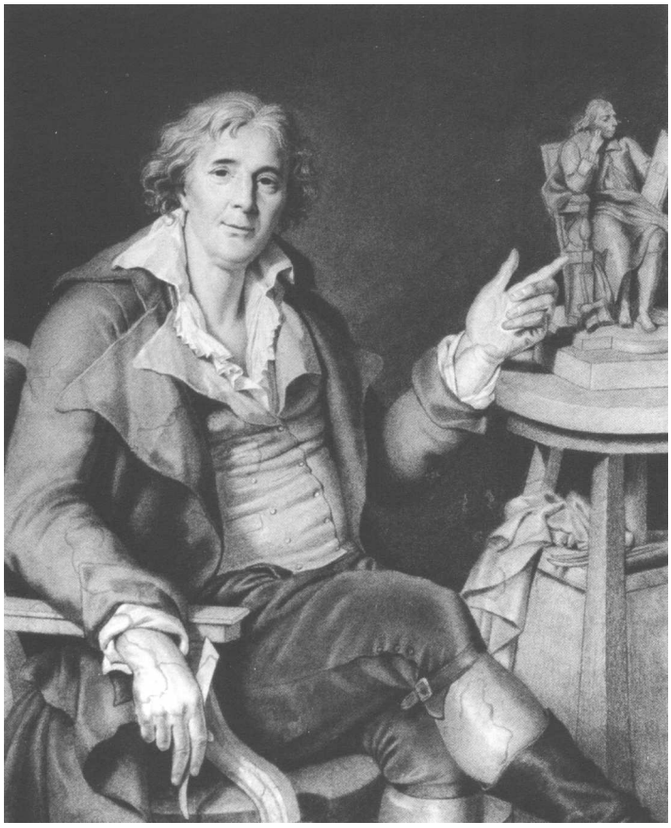


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This bust has always been identified as representing Pajou. It was first attributed, from 1878 to 1928, to Houdon; then in 1928 to Pajou himself and finally, in 1964, to one of his students, before it was recognized as the one by Louis-Pierre Deseine at the Salon of 1785 (confirmed orally by Anne-Marie de Lapparent, a specialist on the artist, in 1996). In the course of its history, the bust was given several coatings, notably a bronze patination of which a few traces remain on the back.

This is a work of exceptional quality in which Pajou's student shows the influence of both his master and Houdon. From Pajou he took the contrasting design of the garments with their deeply hollowed creases, the superimposition of various fabrics (the collar of the shirt over the jacket), and the textural effects (the small pleats of the shirt forming puckers that contrast with the large smooth surfaces of the jacket). The hair, its locks clearly separated, also shows Pajou's teaching. However, the treatment of the face, with its sensitive modeling, and especially of the eyes denotes the powerful influence of Houdon. The eye sockets are deeply etched, and a relief element in the eyes catches the light and simulates the liveliness of the pupil. The subject's gaze is thus the dominant feature of the work. Deseine was well suited to the creation of the bust of a fellow artist. That of 1789 of the architect Leroy, known from a drawing by his sister (Le Chatelier n.d., fig. 11), is similarly presented.

The bust of Pajou was noticed at the Salon of 1785. One critic wrote that he "complimented with all my heart M. de Seine for having introduced me to M. Pajou" (*Promenades de Critès au Salon,* Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 335). But another complained, "The portrait of M. Pajou . . . seemed a bit too pleasant, and does not have the studious air that would be so appropriate to the face of an artist as serious as M. Pajou" (*Journal général de la France,* Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 339, p. 31). That critic must have been impressed by the artist's preeminent status in the French school of sculpture, especially after the death of Pigalle (that same year, 1785), as we do not find any particular gravity in the known portraits of Pajou. The pastel sketch by Labille-Guiard in 1782 (cat. 147) portrays him as frank and serious but with the same lively and benevolent gaze as in Deseine's bust. GS



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149. Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou *(1766–1828), Augustin Pajou*

Black chalk with stump and white heightening on cream paper, mounted on board
39 × 31 cm (15⅜ × 12¼ in.)

Boulogne-Billancourt, Bibliothèque Marmottan (70–195)

PROVENANCE: Paul Marmottan; his bequest to the Institut de France, which administers the library, 1932

EXHIBITION: Paris 1889a, no. 1714

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stein 1912, pp. 304–5 n. 7; Fleuriot de Langle 1938, p. 18, no. 28; Nusbaumer 1997, p. 55, no. 40, fig. 4, with further details of provenance

RELATED WORK: Drawing, black chalk "with gouache heightening," 47 × 37 cm (18½ × 14⅝ in.), signed and dated at bottom *Pajou statuaire par son fils. L'an VIII* (Pajou, statuary, by his son. Year VIII [1799/1800]). Descended in Pajou's family; inventory after the death of Augustin-Désiré Pajou, December 12, 1873 (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641); his sale Paris, December 16, 1878, no. 31; Paris, David David-Weill (Henriot 1926–28, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 335, ill.).

This is a reduction, with little variation, of the drawing formerly in the David-Weill collection (see Related Work). An old sticker on the back of the present drawing bears the name of the art supplier Niodot *fils*. The mount is inscribed on the back in brown ink, in what looks to be an old hand, *Pajou 1782*. This date is not reliable in view of several considerations: Pajou's apparently greater age; the year VIII on the ex–David-Weill sheet; and the fact that the likeness is based very closely on Roland's bust, the model of which dates to 1797 (cat. 150). In the drawings the sculptor contentedly indicates his model for the *Pascal* resting on a trestle table (cat. 125). In an earlier painting that was also formerly in the David-Weill collection, Pajou *fils* evinced greater ingenuity (fig. 230; Henriot 1926–28, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 285–86). There his father, one elbow planted on a volume of Plutarch, gazes soulfully into the distance, his chalk poised to record his thoughts. This work is undoubtedly number 18 in the estate sale of Pajou *fils* (see Chronology, 1828). The painting shows the artist with longish hair and in his broad-collared working attire, and there is a possibility that Roland in his turn made oblique reference to it in his bust (cat. 150). JDD



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150

150. Philippe-Laurent Roland (1746–1816), *Augustin Pajou*

Marble
H. 57 cm (22½ in.) (with white marble socle, 75 cm [29½ in.]),
W. 52 cm (20½ in.)
Incised on back: *Roland f^t / L'an. 8. de la R^que / 1800. v. s.* [*vieux style*] (Made by Roland, year 8 of the Republic, 1800 old style); on front of socle: *PAJOU STATUAIRE* (Pajou, statuary)

Abbaye de Chaalis, Musée Jacquemart-André (1267)

PROVENANCE: Augustin Pajou; Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou (inventory of December 11, 1828, no. 107; see Chronology); inventory after the death of Augustin-Désiré Pajou, April 12, 1878 (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, no. 1641); his sale Paris, December 16, 1878, no. 2; E. Secrétan, sale Paris, July 4, 1889, no. 214, bought by Mme Édouard André; her gift to the Institut de France, which administers the museum

EXHIBITIONS: Salon of the year VIII (1800), no. 449, p. 77 of the *livret* ("the bust in marble of C[itizen] Pajou, statuary"); Paris 1883–84, no. 278

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chaussard 1806, pp. 468–69; David d'Angers 1846 (Jouin 1878, vol. 2, p. 233); Montaiglon 1884, p. 41, no. 278; Souliès 1901, p. 39; Lami 1911, p. 301; Stein 1912, pp. 51–52, 304; Gillet 1914a, pp. 3, ill., 24; Gillet 1914b, p. 393; Institut de France 1914, p. 63, no. 161; Brière 1921, pp. 202–6; Joubin 1922, pp. 280–81; Paris 1939, mentioned under no. 181; Gimpel 1963, p. 63; Paris 1964, mentioned under no. 92; Paris 1989b, mentioned under no. 1115

RELATED WORKS: Terracotta model, Paris, Musée du Louvre, bought from Pajou's descendant, Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain, in 1887, RF 778. H. with gray marble socle 71 cm (28 in.), W. 51 cm (20⅛ in.), D. 31 cm (12¼ in.), inscribed on back *Portrait du citoyen Pajou Sc^ulpteur / par le C^en Roland / son élève. de l'an VI de la Républi^que / et 1797 / V.S.^til.* [*vieux style*] / *tous deux membres de / l'Institut National* (Portrait of Citizen Pajou, Sculptor, by Citizen Roland, his pupil, from the year 6 of the Republic and 1797 old style, both members of the Institut National). This is probably the bust of Pajou, material unspecified, in his son's estate sale, no. 18 (see Chronology, 1828), but that bust is said to be by "Pajou," in all likelihood a slip of the pen for "Roland." See most recently Paris 1989b, no. 1115.

A plaster that remained in the Pajou family; mentioned in 1940 in the succession of Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain at Bougival (family papers) and still owned by her descendants.

Plaster painted the color of terracotta, Montpellier, Musée Fabre (855–2–1), the gift of Hippolyte Riban, a member of the family of Pajou's old friend, in 1885. H. with marble base 80 cm (31½ in.), inscribed on back *Roland F. l'an VI de la République* (made by Roland, year 6 of the Republic [1797]). Because it is dated the same year as the Louvre plaster, Brière (1921, p. 203) realized the plaster had to be

taken from the latter rather than from the marble. The quality of this plaster justifies Joubin's claim that it was retouched by Pajou himself.

A plaster in Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (8.834), the gift of Jules Thomas in 1895, H. 57 cm (22½ in.), inscribed on back *Roland F. l'an 6ème de la Rep.que 1797* (made by Roland, sixth year of the Republic, 1797).

Plaster, given by Roland to the Musée des Monuments Français (Lenoir 1806, p. 42, no. 516); turned over to the Préfecture de la Seine (AMMF, 1883–97, vol. 3, p. 302); destroyed while on deposit in Paris, Hôtel de Ville (Brière 1921, p. 204).

Marble copy by Augustin-Alexandre Dumont in Paris, Institut de France, signed on back: *AUGUSTIN PAJOU / par Atin DUMONT D'APRES ROLAND* (Augustin Pajou by Augustin Dumont after Roland). Dumont's terracotta, sold Paris, Drouot, December 10, 1980, no. 31, is now in a private collection.

A small edition of bronze medallions, Diam. 30 cm (11¾ in.), with the image of Roland's bust in profile truncated at the throat, engraved around the portrait *AUGUSTIN PAJOU STATUAIRE MBRE DE L'INSTITUT, ET DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR NÉ A PARIS LE 19 7BRE 1730, DÉCÉDÉ DANS LA M ME VILLE LE 8 MAY 1809.* (Augustin Pajou, statuary, member of the Institut and of the Légion d'Honneur, born in Paris, September 19, 1730, deceased in the same city, May 8, 1809). The medallions were issued after Pajou's death; however, the model dates earlier, for the medallions are signed and dated on the *tranche* of the bust *Roland Statuaire 1802* (Roland, statuary, 1802). One example is in the possession of Pajou's descendants (mentioned in 1940 in the succession of Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain at Bougival [family papers]), and another belonged to Edmond Courty. See Genoux 1965, pp. 197–98, and New York 1968, no. 95, both illustrating the Courty medallion.

Pierre-Charles Bridan in turn followed the Roland medallion rather than the bust in order to produce the portrait medallion signed and dated 1809 on his exquisite marble funerary monument to Pajou, which was presented by the family to the Musée Impérial des Monuments Français in 1812 and is today in Paris, Musée Carnavalet. The Bridan version, rather than the Roland medallion, influenced Jacques-Noël-Marie Frémy's line engraving of a bust in profile, which serves as the frontispiece to Chaussard 1806 (p. 461, pl. XXIII), even though the legend describes Roland as author. For other engravings of Pajou, see Guiffrey 1910, pp. 219–20.

This marble by Roland was commissioned by Pajou himself. In spite of their close bonds, master and disciple approached the project as a straightforward business matter, as demonstrated by the contract published by Brière (1921, p. 202, citing a catalogue of manuscripts sold by the dealer Noël Charavay in 1918, no. 88696):

> We the undersigned agree to the following: Be it known that I Philippe Laurent Roland commit myself to Citizen Pajou to execute his bust in marble, lifesize, following the model that I have made of it; the marble was furnished to me by the said Citizen Pajou *père*. And I Pajou *père* commit myself to pay Citizen Roland for the work mentioned above the sum of twelve hundred francs in coin. Thus agreed done and signed in duplicate between us in Paris this seventh of Messidor year VI of the French Republic [June 25, 1798]. The above writing approved. Roland. Pajou *père*. [Added in Roland's hand] I received all of it.

Roland did very well by this bust, gaining a further six thousand francs when it won him the Prize of Encouragement at the Salon of 1800 (Deloynes, vol. 56, no. 1763, reported by Gallini in Paris 1989b, no. 1115).

These practical considerations aside, "one feels in this work the lively emotion the pupil must have felt," as David d'Angers put it (1846; Jouin 1878, vol. 2, p. 233). It occupies a distinguished place in the tradition of homages paid to masters by their disciples, as in Pajou's own Lemoyne (cat. 26). Roland perfected his carving technique under Pajou and was apparently his favorite carver. Therefore the homage was bound to be a tour de force of lapidary precision as well as a revelation of the subject's wise, paternal character. Roland tempers his own Neoclassicism, grown increasingly reductive by this date, to place Pajou in the ample context of a figure of the Enlightenment, providing the costume and tousled hair of a noble laborer, the flawless execution of which was bound to impress the master. There is tremendous latent force in the deep chest and much enterprise in the sweeping, all-encompassing gaze. Indeed it has been acclaimed as one of Roland's finest works, in much the same spirit as Pajou's *Lemoyne*, which it otherwise so little resembles. With justice, Joubin called it "the last of the beautiful French busts of the eighteenth century" (1922, p. 281). JDD



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151. Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou *(1766–1828), The Pajou Family*

Oil on panel
63 × 52.5 cm (24¾ × 20⅝ in.)

Private collection

Paris only

PROVENANCE: Pajou's descendants; inventory after the death of Augustin-Désiré Pajou, April 12, 1878 (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641); his sale Paris, December 16, 1878, no. 18, but remained in the family; Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain, by 1912; mentioned in 1940 in the succession of Mme Léon Marie-Saint-Germain at Bougival (family papers) and still owned by her descendants

EXHIBITION: Undoubtedly the work shown in the Salon of the year 10 (1802), no. 217, p. 43 of the *livret* ("A family picture")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Journal des Arts*, no. 232, 20 vendémaire, year X (1801), p. 99; Stein 1912, pp. 305–6, ill.; Nusbaumer 1997, pp. 60–63, no. 50, figs. 5–7, with further details

The spiraling composition shows four generations of the Pajou family. Old Martin Pajou's painted portrait hangs on the rear wall (recognizable thanks to cat. 146). Our by-now familiar sculptor is shown in profile at right, clad in his dressing gown and guided solicitously by Jacques-Augustin-Catherine, who rests his left hand on his father's back while indicating the glorious epiphany of his own son with his right. The proud father in his dove-gray suit is the picture of vigorous manhood. His wife of seven years, née Marie-

Marguerite Thiébault, is seated in an unlaced muslin gown, having just finished nursing the baby boy she dandles on her lap, the blond wonder Augustin-Désiré, born in 1800. A rattle is suspended from the top of her chair. A young girl (whom Nusbaumer [1997, p. 62] identifies as the goddaughter of the painter's wife) steadies a mirror while the child tests his strength against it. Above, turbaned and gazing admiringly down, is the boy's aunt, Catherine-Flore, fresh from her second divorce, now grown stout but still as comely as in her likeness by Labille-Guiard made some twenty years earlier (Passez 1973, no. 49). The whole has a rapt, crystalline quality, as if it were a secularized bourgeois Holy Family in which high sentiment and prosperity are inextricably mixed.

The painting is the masterpiece of Pajou *fils,* who never enjoyed total success but whose portraits deserve more investigation. Slightly better known as a history painter than as a portaitist, he combined the two functions in a work shown at the Salon of 1798 (Paris, Musée Marmottan): "Family portrait: a father consults his wife before giving some books to their daughter as a reward for perseverance in study" (Salon of 1798, no. 812, p. 99 of the *livret*). The faces have nothing to do with those of the Pajou family, as has been asserted (Paris 1990a, no. 24). The present family group, part of a claim he was staking out in the realm of portraiture, was accompanied by single portraits at the Salon of 1802; and in the following Salon he showed his son Augustin-Désiré playing with his dog (Salon of 1804, no. 354, p. 65 of the *livret*). Augustin-Désiré in turn produced a lithograph in 1822 that shows members of the family past and present, each presented as a medallion (Stein [1912, p. 306 n. 1] knew only one example; the Bibliothèque Nationale has another one). JDD

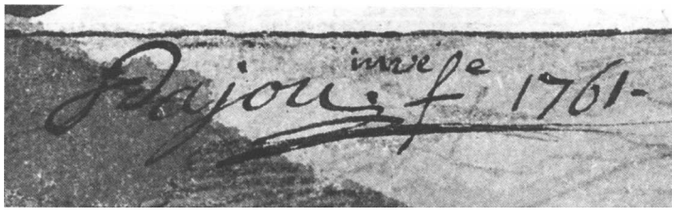
Fig. 232. Augustin-Désiré Pajou, *The Pajou Family.* Pastel with touches of white. Paris, private collection



Some of Pajou's Signatures



Cat. 14



Cat. 54



Cat. 63



Cat. 39



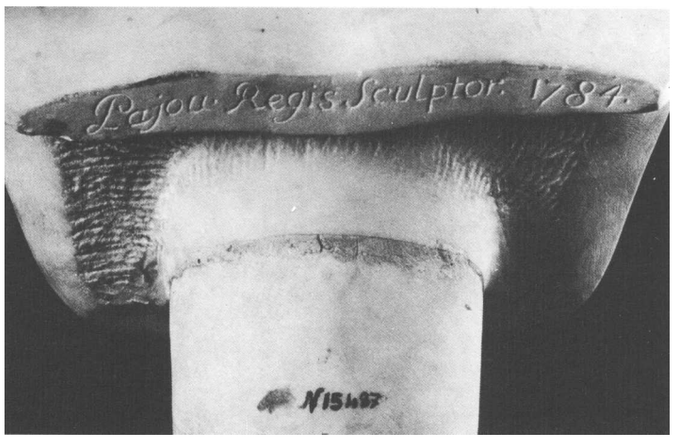
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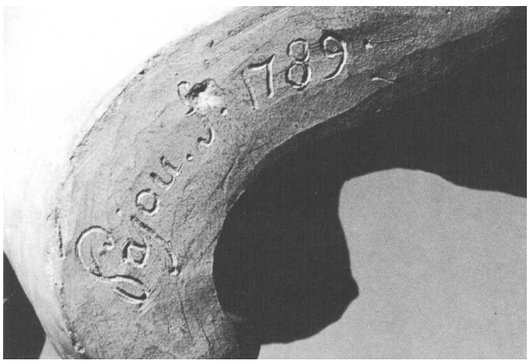
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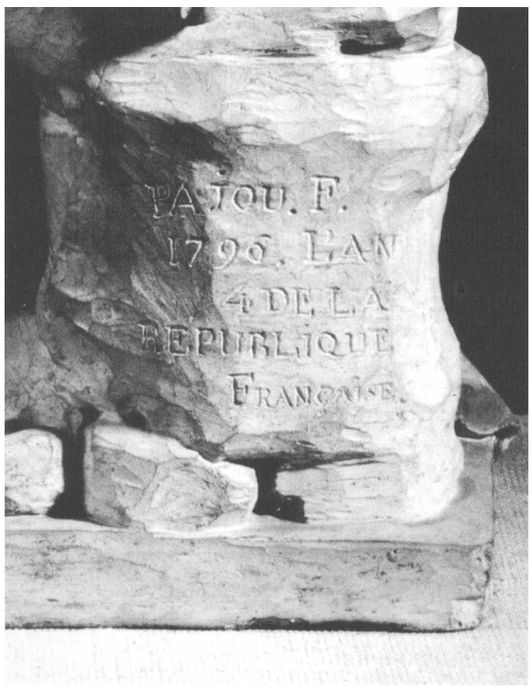
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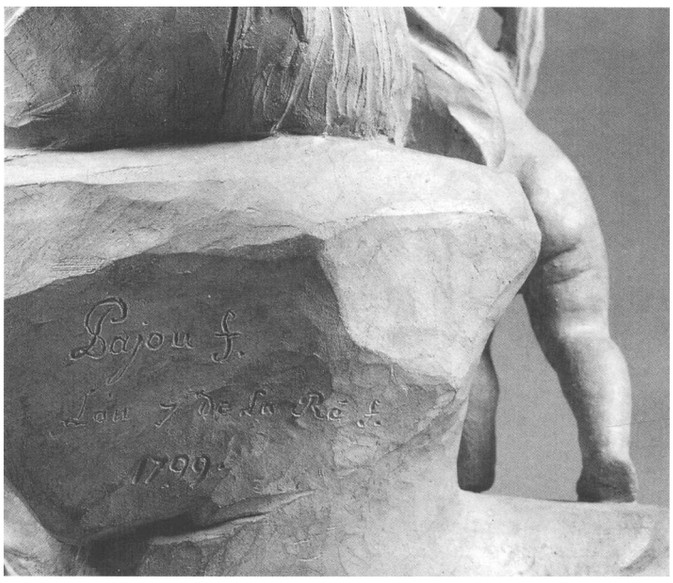
Cat. 110



Cat. 109



Cat. 136



Cat. 144

Chronology

1730
September 19: Birth of Augustin Pajou in Paris, Grande-Rue-Saint-Antoine (Jal 1867, p. 932). He is baptized the same day in the parish of Sainte-Marguerite, faubourg Saint-Antoine: "son of Martin Pajou, journeyman sculptor [see cat. 146], and of Étiennette-Françoise Pitoin, his wife, Grande Rue. Godfather, Augustin Grenier, sculptor, rue au Fer, parish of Saint-Eustache; godmother, Marie Claude Pitoin, daughter of the late Jean Claude, Grande Rue. The father is unable to sign" (Guiffrey 1876, p. 80).

1744
Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne is named professor at the Académie Royale (he had become an assistant professor in 1740). According to Chaussard, it is in 1744 that Pajou meets Lemoyne, after having learned the rudiments of the trade from his father (Jal 1867, p. 932). Lemoyne obtains a special pass for Pajou, allowing him to enroll in the Académie school.

1746
July: Pajou is awarded second-place medal in the district prizes (Cahen 1993, p. 73).

1747
April: He is awarded first-place medal in the district prizes (ibid.; see *Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 6, p. 58, "23 juin").

1748
September 7: On the basis of a drawing contest, he is allowed to compete for the grand prize in sculpture (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 6, p. 135).

December 7: Pajou, "who made the bas-relief marked E"—subject not specified (Duvivier 1857–58, p. 295)—is awarded first prize in sculpture (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 6, p. 143).

1749
January 1: He enters the École Royale des Élèves Protégés, with Edme Dumont, Doyen, and La Traverse among others (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 6, p. 146; Courajod 1874, p. 29).

1750
January: He exhibits in Versailles, before the king, *Anacreon Plucking a Feather from Cupid's Wings* (cat. 1).

September 5: Awarding of the grand prizes by Lenormant de Tournehem, director general of the Bâtiments du Roi (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 6, p. 228).

Drawing of a funerary monument with the notation: *1750 pajou marseille* (cat. 51).

(?) Terracotta statuette of Minerva, inscribed: *Pajou 1750* (sales Paris: A. Lenoir, December 11, 1837, no. 282; Doctor P., November 26, 1840, no. 15, "Minerva protects the arts"; Comte de S., February 13, 1888, no. 50; May 25, 1888, no. 195; whereabouts unknown; see below, August 25, 1770, no. 8).

1751
January: Pajou exhibits in Versailles, before the king, "Charity accompanied by two children, group in the round" (Courajod 1874, p. 35; lost).

October 16: He receives his certificate as a pensionnaire of the Académie de France in Rome (*Corr.*, vol. 10, p. 311). On October 17 he leaves the École Royale des Élèves Protégés and receives the customary allowance of three hundred livres to cover his travel expenses (ibid., p. 240).

1752
February 14: He arrives in Rome accompanied by the painter La Traverse and the architect Barreau de Chefdeville (ibid., p. 368).

May 8: Natoire plans to assign Pajou work on the church of San Luigi dei Francesi (ibid., p. 385).

Dated 1752: Drawing of an antiquity at the Villa Medici (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 54).

1753
August 8: Natoire judges Pajou worthy of "making a pretty piece in this location"—that is, of redoing the royal coat of arms on the façade of the Palazzo Mancini, seat of the Académie de France in Rome (*Corr.*, vol. 10, p. 460). However, the model does not please Marigny (fig. 29).

Dated 1753: Quick sketch "from nature" of the upper part of Bernini's baldachin in Saint Peter's (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 86).

1754
December 30: Pajou is paid forty écus for work done on the vault of San Luigi dei Francesi (Lavalle 1981, pp. 282–83). This may have been the stucco frame around the fresco that Natoire painted beginning in 1754.

Dated 1754: Three drawings: *The Infancy of Bacchus* (cat. 22); *The Body of Saint Sebastian Being Delivered to the Roman Widow Lucina* (cat. 15); and *Study for King Glaucias* (cat. 20).

1755
August 13: Letter from Natoire to Marigny: "I have engaged M. Pajou to restore a plaster cast that was given me, molded on a small antique torso of a young girl from the collection of Cardinal Albano [Albani], of very good quality. The parts he has added to it are a marvel and make a very pretty figure that he shows as a young Bacchante" (*Corr.*, vol. 11, p. 102).

September 16: Natoire intercedes on Pajou's behalf to let him stay in Rome until the spring of 1756 (ibid., p. 104).

October 11: Marigny grants Pajou an extension until the spring of 1756 (ibid., p. 109). Without waiting for this authorization, Pajou leaves for Naples with Barreau de Chefdeville (ibid., p. 111). Two drawings from Naples dated 1755 survive (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 14, annotated: *14 novembre 1755*; vol. 1, no. 12).

According to the catalogue of an anonymous sale (March 12, 1782; see below), Pajou executed "in Rome" in 1755 "two small figures in talc . . . one of which represents Study and the other Religion. They are set on stucco bases. Total height 9 inches, width 6 inches [22.9 × 15.2 cm]."

Dated 1755: Two drawings: *Bacchanale* (fig. 15) and *Vase and Pedestal* (cat. 21).

1756
First quarter of the year: Pajou annotates a drawing of a temple in Paestum (pen and ink on cardboard, 40 × 27 cm [15¾ × 10⅝ in.]): *un temple grec desiné à Pestume à 20 lieux de la ville de Naples par Pajou sculpeteur du Roi en Lannée 1756* (a Greek temple drawn in Paestum twenty leagues from the city of Naples by Pajou, sculptor to the king, in the year 1756) (Stein 1912, p. 396, not ill.: "Paris, M. de Schorstein collection"; whereabouts unknown).

At the end of the winter of 1755–56, Pajou is back in Rome. The following works are dated 1756: two drawings of funerary monuments at Santa Maria sopra Minerva (ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 55, and Princeton 450); a study for a funerary monument (cat. 52); a double herm bust of Isis and a bull in the Capitoline, Rome (black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 24.8 × 14.6 cm [9¾ × 5¾ in.]; private collection); and a large historical composition, *Diomedes Assailed by the Trojans* (cat. 23).

March 10: Pajou will soon depart. Natoire writes to Marigny: "Would you like him to send you something? He has just finished a small bust in marble, copied from the antique, which is very good. He would like to find a buyer for it, so as to help him pay for his journey" (*Corr.*, vol. 11, p. 127).

June 2: Natoire notes: "Pajou has just left" (ibid., p. 140). Pajou stops en route in Tuscany (Florence, Pratolino, and Siena) and Emilia (Bologna, Parma), before embarking at Genoa: "I left Parma on October 16, 1756, in miserable weather and I arrived on the twenty-first of the same month in Genoa" (annotation on a drawing; ENSBA, vol. 2, no. 31). He seems to have gone by way of Toulon before arriving in Paris (drawing of one of Puget's *Atlantes*, black chalk, pen and brown ink; 19 × 12 cm [7½ × 4¾ in.]; private collection).

1757
June 9: Pajou is made an honorary member of the Accademia Clementina in Bologna, with his architect friends De Wailly and Moreau-Desproux (Oechslin 1972, pp. 113, 181 n. 57) and, it seems, Doyen (Sandoz 1959, p. 76). Like Doyen, Pajou was also a member of the Academy of Parma (see below, May 23, 1761, 1777, and Salon of 1789).

July: Two terracotta works dated to the month: *Virgin and Child*, inscribed: *A.PAJOU. JULIET 1757*, H. 60 cm (23⅝ in.) (Stein 1912, p. 11, ill.: "Paris, coll. Et. Moreau-Nélaton"; fig. 9); and *Head of a Man*, inscribed: *1757. JULIET. A.PAJOU*," H. 48 cm (18⅞ in.) (ibid., p. 8, ill. p. 343; sold Paris, Drouot, April 2, 1971, no. 58; fig. 28).

The *Journal encyclopédique*, in a review of the Salon of 1759 (Deloynes, vol. 47, p. 1258), notes that "the plaster model of a relief representing the princess of

Hesse-Homburg" was exhibited two years before this Salon, and declares that "this model, executed in marble, has borne out the reputation that it had acquired." The plaster model could not have been exhibited at the Salon of 1757, since Pajou had not yet been officially accredited (see cat. 53).

1758

January 14: The comte de Caylus intervenes with Marigny to obtain a block of marble for Pajou (*Corr.,* vol. 11, p. 203), no doubt intended for the princess of Hesse-Homburg relief (cat. 53).

December 21: Pajou is one of the signatories of Edme Dumont's marriage contract (Dumont 1877, p. 257).

Dated 1758: Sketch of a pediment of the Louvre (cat. 29); two stone statues (cat. 24); and two busts of Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne without drapery (cat. 27).

1759

January 27: Pajou, presented by Lemoyne and "having had some of his works brought," is received into the Académie Royale: "He will execute the model that he has presented" (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 81)—that is, "Pluto, god of the Underworld, keeping Cerberus in chains" (see cat. 28).

August 25: The Salon opens at the Louvre ("M. Pajou, Accredited"):

no. 138: "Pluto, god of the Underworld, keeping Cerberus chained" (see cat. 28);

no. 139: "A figure two feet [61 cm] high, representing Peace holding in her right hand the statue of Plutus, god of wealth, and in her left a torch, with which she burns the instruments of war." Probably the plaster model that was acquired by A.-L. La Live de Jully (his sale, May 2 [postponed from March 5], 1770, no. 216 [see below]; whereabouts unknown). A signed drawing in black chalk and pen and brown ink at the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne (fig. 98) may be an early study for this composition (Stein 1912, p. 19, ill.);

no. 140: "An oval sketch in terracotta. The Virgin holding the Child Jesus, accompanied by angels," a relief was acquired by L.-F. Trouard (see below, February 22, 1779, no. 297);

no. 141: "A marble relief three feet high and two feet wide [91.4 × 61 cm], representing the princess of Hesse-Homburg, in the person of Minerva, who places in a vase, and consecrates on the Altar of Immortality, the ribbon of the Order of Saint Catherine, which was bestowed on her by the empress of all the Russias" (cat. 53);

no. 142: "Two drawings, each two feet high by three feet long [61 × 91.4 cm]. One depicting Diomedes assailed by the Trojans, his squire slain beside him" (cat. 23). "The subject of the other is explained at the bottom"; this must be the drawing *Pyrrhus and Glaucias,* of the same dimensions, offered with *Diomedes* at the Lemoyne sale (see below, August 10, 1778; and cat. 20);

Not listed in the *livret* but described by the critics: terracotta bust of Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne (cat. 26).

In a version of Diderot's *Salon,* his son-in-law Vandeul—who was partial to Pajou—added the following text to the commentary on the bust of Lemoyne: "Do you recall the one of Diana that this artist gave us at the same time? You would have thought it a piece that had escaped from the ruins of Athens or Rome. What a face! And how her hair was dressed! how the drapery flowed! and her hair and that plant twining around her! M. Pajou already promised to become a great artist" (Bukdahl and Lorenceau 1984, pp. 103, 331). This work has since been lost; or it could be that Vandeul was confused and was mistakenly describing Mignot's *Diana* (no. 137 at the same Salon) or a head of Iphigenia by M.-A. Slodtz, which was highly praised by the *Mercure de France.*

Pajou receives payments for work executed at the château of the *fermier général* François Fontaine at Cramayel-en-Brie (Seine-et-Marne) under the direction of his friend Barreau de Chefdeville. His contribution was probably modest (the known records of payments made do not exceed one thousand livres). Pajou's participation is cited, without details, by Lhuillier (1882, p. 271).

Pajou, Barreau de Chefdeville, Le Roy, and Blondel are the French subscribers to William Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture,* published in London in 1759 (Pariset 1962, p. 78).

Dated 1759: A terracotta bust (cat. 26) and a marble bust (see cat. 27) of Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne.

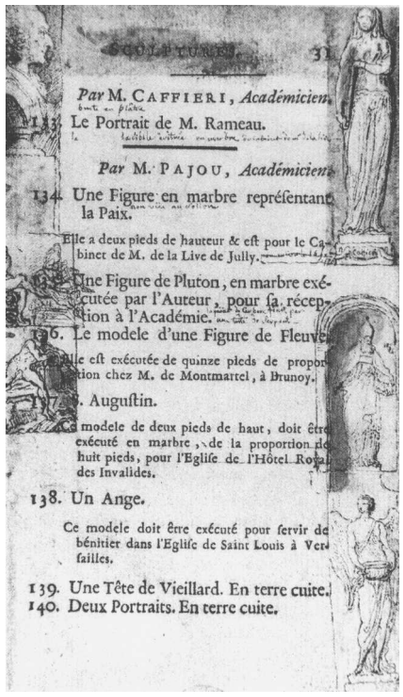

Par M. CAFFIERI, *Académicien.*
133. Le Portrait de M. Rameau.
Par M. PAJOU, *Académicien.*
134. Une Figure en marbre repréſentant la Paix.
Elle a deux pieds de hauteur & eſt pour le Cabinet de M. de la Live de Jully.
135. Une Figure de Pluton, en marbre exécutée par l'Auteur, pour ſa réception à l'Académie.
136. Le modele d'une Figure de Fleuve.
Elle eſt exécutée de quinze pieds de proportion chez M. de Montmartel, à Brunoy.
137. Auguſtin.
Ce modele de deux pieds de haut, doit être exécuté en marbre, de la proportion de huit pieds, pour l'Egliſe de l'Hôtel Royal des Invalides.
138. Un Ange.
Ce modele doit être exécuté pour ſervir de bénitier dans l'Egliſe de Saint Louis à Verſailles.
139. Une Tête de Vieillard. En terre cuite.
140. Deux Portraits. En terre cuite.

Fig. 233. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Sketch of the Works by Pajou Exhibited at the Salon of 1761.* Executed in the margins of the *livret.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes

1760

January 26: Pajou is received into the Académie: "for his morceau de réception, a figure of Pluto, with the dog Cerberus chained at his feet, which he has executed in marble following the model approved by the Company" (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 116; cat. 28).

1761

In the *Almanach royal* of 1761, Pajou is cited under the rubric of the Académie Royale (p. 370) as living "in Le Roule [once a suburb of Paris, now part of the 8th arrondissement]."

January 18: Signing of marriage contract (AN, Min. Cent., VII, 428) of Pajou, "of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture," residing in Paris on the Chaussée d'Antin, parish of Saint-Eustache, son of Martin Pajou, "sculptor," and Étiennette-Françoise Pitoin; and Angélique Roumier, daughter of Claude Roumier, "sculptor to the king," residing in Paris on the rue Froidmanteau, parish of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, described as a widower.

January 27: Marriage at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois of Pajou, "parish of Saint-Eustache and before that of Saint-Pierre-du-Roule," and Angélique Roumier, "age twenty-four-and-a-half years, daughter of Claude Roumier, sculptor to the king, and of the late Marie Marguerite Lançon, de facto and de jure, place du Vieux Louvre," in the presence of Lemoyne, Doyen, Quentin de La Tour, and Demachy (BN Ms, Nouv. acq. fr. 12163, Laborde file, *fiche* no. 51.579).

February 25: Contract between the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson and De Wailly (Poitiers, BU, D 325) for the execution of a porphyry column (London, Wallace Collection; see London 1984–85) with sculpted decorations designed by Pajou and cast in bronze by the goldsmith Auguste.

May 23: Arrival in Parma and installation in a room of the Academy there of a copy of *Pluto and Cerberus* (see cat. 28).

August 25: The Salon opens at the Louvre ("M. Pajou, academician"):

no. 134: "A marble figure representing Peace. It is two feet [61 cm] high and is for the cabinet of M. de la Live de Jully." Gabriel de Saint-Aubin notes in his copy of the *livret*: "not seen at the Salon" (Dacier 1909–21, vol. 6, p. 69, ill.). Mentioned in the catalogue of the La Live de Jully collection in 1764, the marble was in the possession of the duc de Choiseul before 1770 (see below, May 2, 1770, no. 216);

no. 135: "A figure of Pluto, in marble, executed by the artist for his reception into the Académie" (cat. 28);

no. 136: "The model of a figure of a river-god. It has been executed at a height of fifteen feet [4.6 m] on the property of M. de Montmartel, at Brunoy" (see cat. 64);

no. 137: "Saint Augustine. This model, two feet [61 cm] in height, is to be executed in marble, at a height of eight feet [2.44 m], for the church of the Hôtel Royal of the Invalides"; drawn by Saint-Aubin (Dacier 1909–21, vol. 6, fig. 1). The documents pertaining to the commission were published in Dreyfus 1908, pp. 272–77: a memorandum (undated, between January and August 1760) addressed to M. de Crémille, general administrator of the hôtel, in which Pajou is recommended by Lemoyne, and one from La Borde; a letter of August 23, 1760, approved by the maréchal duc de Belle-Isle, secretary of state for war since March 3, 1758; and an estimate from the sculptor dated September 3, 1760, in which he undertakes to make a statue 7 feet 3 inches [2.21 m] high for seven thousand livres within three years, the model having been approved by the duc de Belle-Isle or M. de Crémille. This *Saint Augustine* is noted as being in the chapel of Saint Augustine in the Dôme des Invalides by Dezallier d'Argenville (1770, p. 412). On May 28, 1799, *Saint Augustine* was delivered to Lenoir upon the receipt of Citizen Boucault (Courajod 1878–87, vol. 1, p. 101; it was catalogued at the Musée des Monuments

Français beginning in the year V [1796–97] under no. 360). It has since disappeared. A plaster cast was sold in the auction of Philippe Caffieri's effects (October 10–17, 1775, no. 37);

no. 138: "An angel. This model is to be executed to serve as a holy-water stoup in the church of Saint-Louis in Versailles"; drawn by Saint-Aubin (ill.: Dacier 1909–21, vol. 6, fig. 1). "The idea of an angel presenting a vase to the people to serve as a holy-water stoup is most felicitous" (*Année littéraire,* letter 1, p. 18). A "finished study" for this figure—a "lifesize terracotta bust"—and "three different sketches for the same object" were owned by Trouard, Pajou's former comrade at the Académie de France in Rome and the architect in charge of Saint-Louis (see below, February 22, 1779);

no. 139: "Head of an old man. In terracotta" (cat. 63);

no. 140: "Two portraits. In terracotta." They are not identified by the critics, who nonetheless stress their quality: "two terracotta portraits, which attract attention" (Diderot, quoted in May and Chouillet 1984, p. 162); "two portraits . . ., by the precision of their work, allow us to judge the fidelity of the likeness" (*Année littéraire*: ibid.).

Dated 1761: The drawing *Study Project for a Funerary Monument to the Maréchal de Belle-Isle* (cat. 54).

1762

In the *Almanach royal* for 1762, Pajou is listed (p. 378) as living on the "chaussée d'Antin, near the cemetery of Saint-Roch."

January 6: Birth of Pajou's daughter Angélique-Reine, who "died young" (Stein 1912, p. 24).

February 22: Pajou is witness at the marriage at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois of "Jean-Antoine de la Rouvière, merchant, thirty years of age; and Françoise-Victoire Rouvière, nearly twenty-eight years of age, daughter of Jacques Rouvière, master hosier in ordinary to the king" (see below, August 27, 1766). The sculptor appears to have been a witness for the bride (BN Ms, Nouv. acq. fr. 12164, Laborde file, *fiche* no. 51.943).

July 28: Cochin to Marigny: "The death of M. Bouchardon leaves in abeyance a stipend of one thousand livres. The nonfunded sculptors who are eligible to ask you for a share in it are few in number. . . . The one in whom we believe we discern the greatest signs of true talent is M. Pajou" (Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 1, p. 373).

July 30: Pajou is appointed assistant professor at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 198), after having had his works taken there, "according to custom" (ibid., p. 195).

August 2: He appears in the accounts of the goldsmith F.-T. Germain as owing ninety-one livres (Perrin 1993, p. 49).

December: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 209).

Commission by Évrard Titon du Tillet for statuettes of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, Prosper de Crébillon, and Voltaire, to complete the *French Parnassus* (figs. 188–90).

Dated 1762: The drawing *Lycurgus Presenting Their New King to the Spartans* (cat. 65).

1763

In the *Almanach royal* for 1763, Pajou is listed (p. 380) as living on the "chaussée d'Antin, near the cemetery of Saint-Roch, or rue Frémanteau" (and again in 1765, p. 384).

July 30: Pajou is chosen by lot to be a member of the committee "for the examination of paintings to be exhibited at the Salon," in order particularly to monitor their decency (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 224).

August 25: Opening of the Salon at the Louvre ("M. Pajou, assistant professor"):

no. 171: "Painting. Plaster model 4 feet 6 inches [137 cm] in height, from the cabinet of M. de la Live de Jully, introducer of the ambassadors," ornament of the collector's "Flemish room" in his hôtel on the rue de Menars, which was designed by Barreau de Chefdeville, with overdoors by Pajou. Painting, now lost, appears in the catalogue of the La Live de Jully collection in 1764 (see below) and is described in the sale catalogue, May 2 (postponed from March 5), 1770, no. 215: "She holds a palette and brushes in one hand, and a portcrayon in the other";

no. 172: "A Cupid. Executed in *pierre de Tonnerre,* lifesize; from the cabinet of M. Boucher, painter to the king." According to the *Mercure de France* (November 1763), the figure "is eating grapes while walking." This work appears in the catalogue of the sale of Boucher's effects (see below, February 18, 1771);

no. 173: "Three busts; portraits." Among these is the portrait of Jacques-André Aved (cat. 91);

no. 174: "Cephalus, abducted by Aurora. Sketch for a relief in terracotta, length 1 foot [30.5 cm], width 7 inches [17.8 cm]";

no. 175: "A drawing, sketch depicting Lycurgus, giving a king to the Spartans. It is approximately 3 feet by 18 inches [91.4 × 45.7 cm]" (cat. 65).

According to the *Année littéraire* (Deloynes, vol. 47, no. 1286), "especially remarked was a well-formed angel's head in the grand manner" (model for the holy-water stoup in Saint-Louis, Versailles? See above, Salon of 1761, no. 138, and below, Salon of 1765, no. 210).

The *Lettre* by Mathon de la Cour refers to another drawing exhibited, "the idea of which . . . did not seem extremely happy" (Deloynes, vol. 8, p. 101).

December: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 236).

Terracotta bust of Charles-Antoine Bertinazzi, known as Carlin, an actor in the Comédie Italienne, inscribed: *PAJOU / SCULPSIT / 1763,* and on the base: *CARLIN BERTINAZZI* (Paris, Comédie Française, gift of the subject's grandson; Stein 1912, pp. 155–57, fig. 2). Lady Dilke (1900, p. 129) suggests that this bust might have been exhibited at the Salon under no. 173, but the subject was surely too well known to have escaped the attention of the critics.

Marble bust of Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully, inscribed: *PAJOU / SCULPSIT / 1763* (Stein 1912, pp. 135–36, 398, ill. p. 137: "Paris, duc de Fezensac"; private collection). (See below, Salon of 1765, no. 204.)

1764

August 27: Cochin to Marigny: "You have had the goodness to consent to allow those of the sculptors of the Académie and others who have asked you for the privilege to install themselves on the ground floor of the Louvre, depending on the space to be found there, and you have directed me to have M. Soufflot oversee this little arrangement. . . . These ground floors are naturally divided; it remains only to separate one from the other by means of partitions and to close these with paper-covered door frames; none of them is unaware that this is a temporary privilege and that they must expect to leave at the first signal. Moreover, since this is only a concession, I believe it is essential for there to be no official warrant, not even a letter on the subject." Pajou appears at the head of the list of artists, followed by Huez, Challe, and Bridan among others (Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 1, p. 318).

October 27: Cochin proposes to Marigny that Pajou be given a stipend of six hundred livres, to be taken from the eight hundred livres previously allocated to the deceased Slodtz (ibid., p. 336).

November 10: Marigny answers Cochin, who had suggested to him (on October 27) that Pajou execute the unrealized *Minerva* of Falconet: "You must have great confidence in the art of M. Pajou, to suggest to me that he execute the figure of Minerva that M. Falconnet did not dare undertake" (ibid., p. 339). (See below, September 20, 1765.)

November 17: Birth of Pajou's daughter Catherine Flore, future wife of Clodion (1781), and baptism on the same day at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Herluison 1873, p. 331). Godfather: Martin Pajou, sculptor. Godmother: Catherine-Dorothée Lanson, a carpenter's widow.

December: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 277).

Construction by Trouard of the Chapelle des Catéchismes, dedicated to Providence, in the left arm of the transept of the church of Saint-Louis at Versailles (Gallet 1976, pp. 205–6; figs. 30–32, 109).

Publication of the catalogue of the La Live de Jully collection, written by Mariette and La Live de Jully:

p. 107: "A marble figure by Pajou representing Peace, who with one hand burns all the instruments of war, and with the other holds the god Plutus. This figure is full of grace and simplicity. Height 2 feet 1 inch [63.5 cm]" (see above, Salon of 1761, no. 134);

p. 121: "The figure in the niche that terminates this room is simply and nobly composed, and draped in the best of taste. It represents Painting; it is by Pajou, as are the overdoors in relief. Height 4 feet 6 inches [137 cm]" (see above, Salon of 1763, no. 171).

Dated 1764: Bust of Mme Aved (cat. 92).

1765

January 1: Thanks to Cochin's efforts (see above, July 28, 1762, and October 27, 1764), Pajou is granted a stipend of six hundred livres, made available by the death of M.-A. Slodtz (Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 2, p. 2; *Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 286).

August 25: Opening of the Salon at the Louvre ("M. Pajou, assistant professor"). Saint-Aubin drew a large overall view of the Salon, showing Pajou's works arranged on a table (fig. 118):

no. 202: "Portrait of M. the maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre. Bust" (see cat. 93);

no. 203: "Portrait of M. the marquis de Mirabeau. Bust";

no. 204: "Portrait of M. de la Live de Jully, introducer of the ambassadors. Marble bust" (see above, Salon of 1763);

no. 205: "Portrait of Mme Aved" (cat. 92);

no. 206: "Portrait of M. Baudouin *fils*." Identified by Stein (1912, pp. 37–38) as the painter Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, Boucher's son-in-law;

no. 207: "A figure of Saint Francis de Sales. Model 2 feet 6 inches [76.2 cm] in height, which is to be executed in large scale for the church of Saint-Roch, in Paris" (cat. 39);

no. 208: "A bacchante, holding the infant Bacchus. Model, 2 feet [61 cm] in height, which will be executed lifesize for M. the marquis de Voyer" (see below, 1774; and cat. 30);

no. 209: The "model for a clock, four feet [121.9 cm] in height. The subject is the Genius of Denmark, protector of Agriculture, Commerce, and the Arts. This work will be executed for H. M. the king of Denmark" (see cat. 66);

no. 210: "Sketch of a holy-water stoup. This project is to be executed for the church of Saint-Louis, in Versailles." The study differs from the one at the Salon of 1761: according to the *Lettre* of Mathon de la Cour, "it is a shell surrounded by clouds and heads of angels. Its arrangement is felicitous; I am convinced that this model will benefit from being executed" (Deloynes, vol. 8, p. 111; see fig. 118). In 1779 Dezallier d'Argenville remarks (p. 141): "at the entrance to the church there are to be two holy-water stoups supported by an angel, for which M. Pajou has made the models." In 1780, Pajou was called on as an expert—and paid forty-eight livres—to judge the financial claims of the sculptor Hersent, who was commissioned to make a pair from a different model (Levron n.d., pp. 33, ill. 39). In 1786 Dulaure again attributes the holy-water stoups to Pajou (p. 311);

no. 211: "Three drawings, under the same number: one of a bacchanalia; another of an anatomy lesson; the third a study for a tomb." The first composition is possibly related to the decoration of the Hôtel de Villette (see below, March 11, 1766). Diderot mentions the second drawing: "That's an anatomy lesson? It's a Roman banquet! Remove the cadaver, put a large turbot in its place, and it would be a print ready-made for the first edition of Juvenal" (Bukdahl and Lorenceau 1984, p. 302). The third drawing is the *Project for a Funerary Monument to the Maréchal de Belle-Isle* (cat. 54);

Not listed in the *livret*: *Ceres* (see cat. 68).

September 20: Marigny, at Cochin's suggestion, gives Pajou his first commission for the Bâtiments du Roi (he replaces P.-A. Slodtz and Falconet, both ailing): a *Venus Urania*—instead of a *Minerva*—for the Bosquet de la Paix in the Parc de Choisy, for ten thousand livres. This statue was never executed (Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 2, p. 73; and Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 235).

December: N.-S. Adam replaces Pajou, "occupied by pressing matters," in his month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, pp. 313, 315–16).

December 2: Sale of the abbé * * *:

no. 214: "A plaster cast representing Pluto who keeps the dog Cerberus chained; this plaster was made and restored by M. Pajou, and served to have him accredited at the Académie Royale; it has been restored by the artist himself" (see cat. 28).

Jean-Baptiste Le Prince dedicates to Pajou the engraving of a Muscovite, from a costume series (Stein 1912, p. 36 n. 3). (See below, December 11, 1828, no. 69; and cat. 60.)

1766

In the *Almanach royal* of 1766 Pajou is listed (p. 389) as living "in the old Louvre" (and again in 1767, p. 392). He has carpentry work carried out "in his studio at the Château du Vieux Louvre" under the direction of De Wailly in March and April, mainly a floor, a staircase, and a mezzanine, for 886 livres (BN, Ms. 2218, d. VII). The areas made available to artists on the Cour Carrée side in fact had only walls and a dirt floor (Hubert Robert also had the necessary flooring installed in his studio; see Paris 1979b, p. 57 n. 57).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, p. 322).

March 11: De Wailly signs the contract for alterations to the hôtel of the marquis de Villette on the quai Voltaire (Stern 1938, p. 213). He undertakes to finish them by October 15, which he does. Pajou collaborates on this project on the second floor (see ibid., pp. 214–15; figs. 33, 34).

Mid-July: Falconet is chosen to create an equestrian statue of Peter the Great in Russia for two hundred thousand livres. Other sculptors had been approached, among them Pajou, who had asked the highest sum, six hundred thousand livres (Réau 1922, vol. 1, pp. 83–84).

August 27: Birth of Pajou's son Jacques-Augustin-Catherine and baptism on the same day at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Herluison 1873, pp. 331–32). Godfather: Jacques La Rouvière, hosier in ordinary to the king (see above, February 22, 1762). Godmother: Catherine-Marie Baraud, wife of the furnisher J.-A. Rovreau.

October: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, p. 340).

October 7: Marigny agrees to pay one hundred pistoles for the statuette of Évrard Titon du Tillet (fig. 234)—commissioned from Pajou by the subject's son to complete the *French Parnassus*—in recognition of the gift of this monument (see Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 2, p. 74, and cat. 120).

October 21: Account of payments received for work at the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson: Pajou receives 3,500 livres in four payments (Poitiers, BU, D 325; see cat. 30).

December 6: Pajou is appointed full professor at the Académie Royale (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, pp. 346–47).

1767

April 4: Letter from De Wailly to the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson giving a progress report on the work being done for his hôtel: in the dining room, "the stucco workers have yet to place their pilasters, after which M. Pajou will place the figures" (Poitiers, BU, P 172, 6; see cat. 30).

June: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 7, p. 359).

July 24: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the committee "for the examination of the paintings and models to be exhibited at the Salon" (ibid., p. 361).

August 25: Opening of the Salon at the Louvre ("M. Pajou, professor"). Saint-Aubin drew a large overall view of the Salon, showing Pajou's works arranged on a table (private collection; Paris 1984–85, cover ill.):



Fig. 234. Pajou, *Évrard Titon du Tillet*. Bronze. Versailles, Musée National du Château

no. 193: "Portrait of Monseigneur the late dauphin. Marble bust; belonging to M. the duc de la Vauguyon" (tutor of the dauphin's children). Replicas were ordered from Pajou in 1776;

"Three portraits," "Terracotta busts":

no. 194: "Monseigneur the dauphin";

no. 195: "Monseigneur the comte de Provence";

no. 196: "Monseigneur the comte d'Artois." According to a letter from Mme Pajou to d'Angiviller, July 18, 1783 (AN, O^{1} 1917, d. 1, p. 216; Stein 1912, doc. XXX), at these busts were still in Pajou's studio;

no. 197: "Portrait of M. the maréchal de Clermont-Tonnerre. Marble bust" (cat. 93);

"Terracotta busts":

no. 198: "Two portraits: the children of M. the marquis de Voyer." In terracotta, according to the *Mercure de France*;

no. 199: "Portrait of M. de Sainscey"—that is, L.-P.-S. Marchal de Sainscy, treasurer general of the clergy of France, benefactor of Bachelier's École Gratuite de Dessin, and collector; related by Stein to a terracotta bust dated 1768 (see below);

no. 200: "Two other portraits of children";

no. 201: "Magnificence and Wisdom. Two plaster sketches. These figures will be executed in large scale for the Palais-Royal" (see cat. 41);

no. 202: "Sketch of a tomb. In terracotta." (Could this be an early study for the funerary monument to Stanislas Leszczynski, who died February 23, 1766? See below, Salon of 1769, no. 208);

no. 203: "A drawing of the death of Pelopidas, Theban general. After having won victory, he was killed, and was carried into his tent by his soldiers, who were so grieved by his loss that they were willing to let themselves die of hunger" (whereabouts unknown). (See below, Salon of 1787, no. 234.)

August 25: Opening of the Salon of the Académie Royale de Peinture, Sculpture et Architecture de Toulouse in the city's Hôtel de Ville:

no. 6, as "Belonging to the Académie": "A bishop saint, model in terracotta, by M. Pajou, sculptor to the king, for his reception into the Académie de Toulouse" (cat. 39).

Work on the Royal Opera of the Château de Versailles: Pajou executes the pediment on the north façade, *Lyric Poetry* (fig. 62), and the interior decorations for the auditorium (figs. 63, 64, 66, 67, 123) and foyer (figs. 57, 69–75, 122).

Dated 1767: Marble statuette, *Neptune* (cat. 71); drawing, *Project for a Monumental Fountain* (cat. 40).

1768

In the *Almanach royal* for 1768 Pajou is listed (p. 396) as living on the "rue Fromanteau, facing the Place, and at the Louvre." He thus has both a lodging in the home of his in-laws, adjoining the Louvre, and an atelier—with living quarters besides—in the Cour Carrée of the old Louvre. This address is repeated in the *Almanach,* unchanged, until the year IV (1795–96).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 7, p. 384).

Terracotta bust of a man, inscribed on the back: *Pajou fe. 1768* (sale Paris, Drouot, February 7, 1990; private collection, fig. 141), identified by Stein (1912, pp. 152–55, ill.) as being the portrait of Marchal de Sainscy exhibited at the Salon of 1767. It seems more likely, however, that this bust was shown at the Salon of 1769 (see below).

Portrait bust of Pierre-François Basan (cat. 94).

1769

July 29: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the Salon committee (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 17).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, professor"):

no. 207: "The late queen represented with the symbols of Piety, Prudence, Charity, and Gratitude. The figure is 3 and one half feet [106.6 cm] in height" (cat. 55);

no. 208: "Sketch of a tomb for the late King Stanislas; king of Poland, duc de Lorraine and de Bar, etc. This monarch, at the edge of the tomb, is supported and crowned by Immortality. On the point of expiring, he shows with his left hand the Genius of France to a grief-stricken Lorraine. Below the tomb, a sphere, scrolls, books, and plans represent the establishments that the prince has created, his taste for the sciences and the arts, and his magnificence" (whereabouts unknown); drawn by Saint-Aubin (Dacier 1909–21, vol. 2, ill.; fig. 79). (See above, Salon of 1767, no. 202; and cat. 55);

no. 209: "Cupid, Master of the Elements. This lifesize figure was executed in lead for the duchesse de Mazarin." In the dining room of the Hôtel Mazarin on the quai Malaquais, the group—now lost—was placed in an arched niche. Two drawings record its appearance (fig. 101).

"M. Pajou has recently completed four stone figures nine feet [2.74 m] in height for the new projecting bay of the Palais-Royal, on the garden side. They represent: Mars or Military Talents, Prudence, Liberality, and the Fine Arts or Apollo" (fig. 155, and see cat. 42).

The *Lettre adressée aux auteurs du Journal encyclopédique au sujet des ouvrages exposés au Salon du Louvre en 1769* (Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 133) mentions "terracotta busts," perhaps works entered by Pajou at the last minute. Were *Pierre-François Basan* and the bust of a man, both dated 1768, among them?

Roslin exhibits at the Salon a portrait of Pajou in a medallion, not mentioned in the *livret* but noted in the *Mercure de France* of October 1, p. 185 (fig. 227); it was drawn by Saint-Aubin (Paris, BN).

In payment for "works of sculpture made for the Palais-Royal as well as other houses and châteaux of His Serene Highness," estimated at thirty thousand livres, Pajou obtains from the duc d'Orléans a settlement of three annuities with an income of four hundred livres each, with a capital of ten thousand livres, payable every six months starting January 1, 1770 (AN, AP 300 (I) 38A; reference communicated by Brigitte Woehrelé: notary contracts: AN, Min. Cent., CXV, 849). (See below, September 20, 1793.)

Executed in 1769, 1770, and 1771, works by Pajou at the Palais Bourbon for the prince de Condé, the king's cousin, are now lost (fig. 35).

Pajou executes a model of a torchère for the Château de Versailles (see below, January 6, 1770), no doubt the one commissioned in 1769 for the Galerie des Glaces of which twelve examples were carved in wood by the woodworker Babel, who entrusted the figure to Pajou as Foliot did with Duret (see Beaulieu 1979, p. 163, fig. 10; Pons 1985, pp. 139, 147; Verlet 1985, p. 135).

Dated 1769: Drawing (whereabouts unknown; fig. 59) representing the two angels on the central portal of the cathedral of Sainte-Croix, Orléans. For the works Pajou designed for this cathedral, and notably the three stone statues mentioned by Chaussard in 1806, *Saint Andrew, Saint Anastasius,* and *Saint Cecilia* (there is a drawing of the last, annotated in the artist's hand; fig. 61), see cat. 43.

1770

January 6: According to a letter from De Wailly to the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson (Poitiers, BU, P 172, 17), Pajou could make for Mme de Voyer's bedroom a "figure of a woman carrying a sheaf of wheat or cornucopia, from which girandoles would issue," after a model created for Versailles, no doubt one of the torchères in the Galerie des Glaces (see above, 1769).

February 23: A few weeks before the inauguration of the Versailles Royal Opera, Pajou asks to be excused from his month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 35).

Spring ("Easter"): At Versailles, Pajou makes the "lifesize" bust, in terracotta, of Mme Du Barry (see cat. 95).

May 2 (initially planned for March 5): Sale of the La Live de Jully collection:

no. 215: "A beautiful figure of a woman, draped in fine style, by M. Pajou. She holds a palette and brushes in one hand, and a portcrayon in the other. Height: 4 feet 6 inches [137 cm]." It sold for 207 livres (see above, Salon of 1763, no. 171);

no. 216: "Peace, allegorical subject, represented by a woman who with her left hand sets fire with a torch to a bundle of weapons, and with the other holds the god Plutus. This piece is by the same artist as the preceding. It is 2 feet 1 inch [63.5 cm] high. The original is owned by M. the duc de Choiseul." It sold for 10 livres, 4 sous. (See above, Salons of 1759, no. 139, and 1761, no. 134.)

May 16: Inauguration of the Versailles Royal Opera (see cat. 44–48).

August 25: Opening of the Salon of the Académie de Toulouse:

no. 6: "A *Virgin,* by M. Pajou, sculptor to the king" (Mesuret 1972, p. 217, no. 2036);

no. 8: "A *Minerva,* by Pajou, belonging to M. the président de Sauveterre"—that is, Louis Emmanuel de Boyer-Drudas, marquis de Sauveterre, president of the parliament of the États du Languedoc and a member of the Jeux Floraux, an ancient literary academy in Toulouse (ibid., no. 2038).

1771

January 1: Delivery of the bust of Mme Du Barry in soft-paste porcelain biscuit by the manufactory of Sèvres, "half as small" as lifesize (see cat. 95).

February 18: Start of the sale of François Boucher:

no. 155: "A cupid eating grapes, standing figure [handwritten note: *pierre de Tonnerre*], by M. Pajou. Height 2 feet 2 inches [66 cm], placed on a gilt-wood socle" (see above, Salon of 1763, no. 172), acquired by M. de Mailly. The work was later in the collection of the great connoisseur Boutin, seized during the Revolution (registered in the dépôt de Nesle: AN, F17 372*, fol. 126).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 64).

August 3: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the Salon committee (ibid., p. 80).

August 3: The engraver De La Fosse asks the Académie to examine "new graphite pencils of his invention." With Bachelier, Lépicié, Le Prince, and Cochin, Pajou—his ability as a draftsman thereby acknowledged—tries them out and approves (ibid., pp. 80–81).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, professor"):

no. 239: "The portrait of Mme the comtesse du Barry. Bust in terracotta," smaller than lifesize (see cat. 95);

no. 240: "Three sketches in clay":

"The first, Venus, or Beauty, who enchains Cupid; the second, Venus receiving from Cupid the prize of Beauty." Stein relates two drawings to one of these compositions: the first, in red chalk (its attribution to Pajou, however, seems hypothetical), formerly in the Allard de Meeus collection, is in the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, New York (Stein 1912, p. 246, pl. IX; Washington–New York–Cambridge, Mass. 1979–82, p. 180, ill.); the second, in black chalk, formerly in the Beurdeley collection (sale, March 13, 1905, no. 189, ill.), is now lost. The Sackler collection also owns a terracotta (Washington–New York–Cambridge, Mass. 1979–82, p. 178, ill.) that is, alas, completely foreign to Pajou's style (Bukdahl et al. 1995a, fig. 20). (See also below, Salon of 1787, no. 232);

"The third, Hebe, goddess of youth. This last will be executed in marble, lifesize, for Mme the comtesse du Barry." A terracotta group formerly in the François Flameng collection (H. 30 cm [11⅞ in.]; Stein 1912, p. 129, 130, ill.; Flameng sale, May 26, 1919, no. 210, ill.), then in the David-Weill collection (Henriot 1926–28, vol. 3, p. 331; New York

1940, p. 14, no. 27, not ill.), could be this sketch (fig. 16). A red-chalk drawing repeating the composition was sold Paris, Drouot, February 13, 1939, no. 58, pl. x, with an annotation perhaps misread or apocryphal: *Par Pajou, statuaire 1776* [*sic*]. (A counterproof in red chalk, formerly in the Beurdeley collection [Stein 1912, p. 96, pl. IV] and then in the David-Weill collection [Henriot 1926–28, vol. 3, pp. 331–33], was sold New York, Christie's, January 12, 1995, no. 183, ill.);

no. 241: "Two heads of women. Studies in terracotta" (cat. 72, 73);

no. 242: "A head of a satyr." Known by Chaussard in 1806: "We regret that M. Pajou did not execute in marble a satyr's head that he modeled on his studio assistant . . . . This head is a masterpiece" (now lost);

no. 243: "A drawing, sketch with india-ink wash; Camillus laying siege to the city of Veii in Tuscany; his soldiers, on his orders, had tunneled under the temple of Juno. They appear there just as the Veiians are offering a sacrifice, sow terror among the people, and seize the victim's entrails in order to bear them to Camillus" (cat. 74);

no. 244: "A drawing, sketch with india-ink wash, the subject of which is a project for a clock, in which Time is seen seated on the globe, holding a lyre that he appears to play and make the seasons dance" (cat. 77).

September 28: Pajou presides over the competition for the *tête d'expression,* or head expressing an emotion, for which he assigns the subject: "the head of a woman expressing admiration" (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, pp. 54, 85).

Dated 1771: Signed miniature bust of Mme Du Barry in biscuit de Sèvres (cat. 96).

1772

February 11: Establishment of lifetime annuities in favor of Pajou, "residing in Paris, rue Froidmanteau," by the prince de Condé: four of 400 livres against payment by the sculptor of 10,000 livres each; and one of 240 livres against payment of 6,000 livres (AN, Min. Cent., XCII, 746).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 95).

March 24: Letter from Pajou to the marquis de Voyer in which he protests a reduction of six thousand livres on his invoice for twenty-one thousand "and a few hundred" livres (Poitiers, BU, P 163).

June 30: Establishment of annuity: Pajou pays six thousand livres to M. Peyre to create for himself a perpetual annual income of three hundred livres. This contract is annulled on March 9, 1774 (AN, Min. Cent, XCII, 750).

December 21: The duc de Vrillière informs the secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions that Pajou has been chosen by the king to fill the post of draftsman to the Académie (*Registre des assemblées et déliberations de l'Académie . . . pour l'année 1772,* p. 6: AI, Z 206; see cat. 133.)

Dated 1772: Miniature bust of Mme Du Barry in biscuit de Sèvres (cat. 97).

Pajou executes the model of a bust of Mme Du Barry, her hair dressed in the style of Falconet's *Bather* (see cat. 95).

Busts of a little girl and a little boy in terracotta, inscribed: *Pajou/fet/1772*; mentioned by Stein (1912, pp. 30–32, ill., as owned by "M. the marquis de Lubersac"; figs. 144, 145), and doubtfully identified as the children of Pierre-Louis Moreau.

Terracotta model of the bust of Buffon (whereabouts unknown; see cat. 111); drawing, *Lucius Albinius Ceding His Chariot to the Vestal Virgins Fleeing Rome,* exhibited at the Salon of 1773 (see below, Salon of 1773, no. 201; and cat. 76).

1773

January 11: Pajou and his father-in-law, Claude Roumier, "both of rue Froidmanteau, friends of the bride," are witnesses at the marriage at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois of J.-B. Creusefond, baker, and B. Salomon, daughter of the deceased "laborer" Jean Salomon (BN Ms, Nouv. acq. fr. 12182, Laborde file, *fiche* no. 59.220).

January 15: Letter from Pajou to the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson informing him of and thanking him for his nomination as draftsman to the Académie des Inscriptions: "for the position that I obtained I had several competitors, the most formidable being Messieurs Pierre and Cochin" (Poitiers, BU, P 163).

February 10: Combined sale (la Reynière; Donjeux; marquis de Chevigné):

no. 47: "Pluto keeping the dog Cerberus chained; original terracotta, the execution of which gained M. Pajou his reception into the Académie: H. 25 inches [63.5 cm]. The reputation that this artist enjoys renders superfluous the praise that could be bestowed on this piece." Sold for 599 livres 19 sous. (see cat. 28);

no. 48: "A project for a statue of Henri IV. Terracotta, 11 inches [27.9 cm] in height" (cat. 121);

no. 49: "Neptune threatening the winds; terracotta sketch 11 inches [27.9 cm] in height; the marble of which is in the cabinet of M. the duc de Choiseul." It sold for 17 livres (cat. 70);

no. 50: "Four other terracotta pieces for different projects; they will be sold separately."

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 117).

May 4: Marigny to Pierre: Pajou can take possession of the atelier and lodging on the mezzanine of the Galeries du Louvre that had been used by Francin, now deceased, but this is temporary; Pajou must "work there and put the finishing touches to the figure of M. de B. [Mme Du Barry]." The arrangement must be kept secret. In one year, the atelier and the lodging must go to Gois (Furcy-Raynurd 1903–4, pt. 2, p. 272).

June 25: Letter from De Wailly to the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson: "I have the honor to inform you that your chimney piece has arrived from Carrara; I was very pleased with it, both for the choice of marble and for the execution. If you deem it advisable for me to have it installed, Monsieur, I will do so immediately; all the more easily in that the chimeras after M. Pajou's model, which Boiston is handling, are completely chased and ready for gilding" (Poitiers, BU, P 172, d. 49).

July 31: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the Salon committee (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 128).

August 16: Letter from the abbé Terray to Pierre: Pajou receives two hundred livres as a result of the death of Francin, which releases the latter's stipend (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 3). Pajou's stipend thus rises to eight hundred livres.

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, professor"):

no. 197: "The portrait of Mme la comtesse Du Barry. Marble bust" (cat. 98);

no. 198: "The portrait of M. le comte de Buffon. Marble bust" (cat. 111);

no. 199: "A model of the statue of the vicomte de Turenne. This figure is to be executed in large scale for the École Royale Militaire." Both model and statue have disappeared, but an engraving by Duflos records Pajou's composition (fig. 197);

no. 200: "A woman holding a cornucopia. Marble figure 4 feet 8 inches [142.2 cm] in height, intended to decorate the Pavillon de Lucienne." This "torchère" in white marble, for which Pajou was paid ten thousand livres (Pichon 1856, p. 286), together with another in marble by Félix Lecomte exhibited at the same Salon (no. 215), decorated the "vestibule" (Thiéry 1788, p. 459) or the "dining room" (inventory of 1793: Baulez 1992, p. 69) of the new pavilion of Louveciennes. Apparently Martin-Claude Monot also exhibited a model at the Salon, probably in plaster, not mentioned in the *livret* but noted by the critic for the *Dialogues sur la peinture* (Deloynes, vol. 10, no. 147). According to the *Mémoires secrets* (letter III, September 21, 1773), "Mme the comtesse Du Barry . . . wished these figures to resemble her." A drawing (fig. 166) that in all likelihood related to this project;

no. 201: "Albinius, fleeing with his family from the city of Rome, meets the vestals and offers them the chariot carrying his wife and children. Drawing 3 feet [91.4 cm] wide by 1 foot [30.5 cm] high" (see above, 1772, and cat. 76).

September 4: Pajou is godfather to the son of the sculptor Pierre-Étienne Quenet (BN Ms, Nouv. acq. fr. 12175, Laborde file, *fiche* no. 56.381).

As early as December: Delivery of a "lifesize" bust of Mme Du Barry in porcelain from the Locré manufactory (see cat. 98).

Pajou begins work on the statue of Buffon (cat. 112).

Sculptures for the dining room of the Château de Bellevue (see cat. 49, 50).

1774

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 145).

March 14: Sale of the collection of the architect Le Carpentier:

no. 114: "A figure in bronzed plaster, 30 inches [76.2 cm] high, representing the god Pluto by M. Pajou" (see cat. 28).

December 11: D'Angiviller informs Pierre that Pajou is to do the king's portrait: "so as not to waste the king's time, it has been arranged that while M. Duplessis works at painting His Majesty, M. Pajou will execute the model of his bust" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 31). (See below, Salons of 1775, 1777, no. 211, and 1779, no. 192.)

Bacchante with a Tambourine and Two Children, group in stone, inscribed *Pajou.fe.1774* (Paris, Musée du Louvre; fig. 44). (See above, Salon of 1765, no. 208; and cat. 30.)

1775

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-*

Verb., vol. 8, p. 181).

April 8: Pajou serves on a committee to study a reorganization of the teaching program, formed at d'Angiviller's request (ibid., p. 184).

July 27: Letter from d'Angiviller to Pierre indicating that, "although the marble portrait of His Majesty cannot yet be completed," he has ordered three copies: "only two of the copies have been assigned—one is for M. de Maurepas, the other for me; the third is to substitute occasionally for the original, which will remain with the king" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 46; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 245; d'Angiviller's copy was seized in April 1794: register of the dépôt de Nesle, AN, F[17]* 372, fol. 7; Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 335).

July 29: Pajou and Lemoyne (on behalf of Mme Du Barry), with Coustou and Pigalle (on behalf of Caffieri), appraise Caffieri's *Love and Friendship,* a group commissioned by Mme Du Barry, in Caffieri's studio (Montaiglon 1858–60, pp. 27–28).

July 30: Date of the warrant naming Pajou first sculptor to the comte de Provence; he succeeds Tassaert (AN, AA[66] 720; Stein 1912, doc. VII). (See below, 1778.)

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, professor"):

no. 223: "Several busts, including one in marble." Thanks to the *Mémoires secrets* and the *Mercure de France* (Deloynes, vol. 10, p. 165, giving the medium), Pajou is known to have exhibited a bust of Louis XVI in plaster (and not, apparently, in terracotta, as indicated in Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 245), competing with a plaster *Louis XVI* by C.-A. Bridan. Maumené and d'Harcourt (1929–30, p. 476, no. 68) cite a terracotta bust, H. 45 cm (17¾ in.) (*A. Pajou, 1775*), "belonging to Mme the comtesse G. de Gontaut-Biron [which] was given by Louis XVI to the États de Bourgogne in 1782, during the administration of the comte de Virieu." (The bust illustrated by Stein [1912, p. 108] without date or signature, a slightly larger version of which was given to the Musée du Breuil de Saint-Germain in Langres in 1858, appears to be a forgery.) There was also a bust of Buffon (see cat. 115).

Some other portraits were shown at the Salon, including "two small ones that seem hardly worthy of him" (*Lettre de M. le comte de . . .*, attributed to Cochin, Deloynes, vol. 10, p. 160).

Dated 1775: Terracotta bust of Michel-Jean Sedaine (cat. 99).

Terracotta bust of the abbé Frottier, inscribed: *Pajou/fé/1775* (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts; fig. 146).

Terracotta bust of Marie-Adélaïde Hall, inscribed: *Pajou/fé/1775* (New York, Frick Collection; figs. 149, 150).

Bust presumed to represent Françoise-Louise de Pange, the future duchesse de Saint-Simon, inscribed *Pajou/fé/1775* (formerly P. Decourcelle collection as portrait of Mme Du Barry; left France, 1982; private collection; Stein 1912, p. 133, ill. p. 131).

Marble bust of the marquise de Gestas, inscribed *PAJOU 1775* (Stein 1912, p. 141, not ill.; sold London, Christie's, June 17, 1987, no. 19, ill.).

September 29: Letter from Pierre to d'Angiviller: Edme Dumont is dying. "His eldest son, fourteen years old, is studying with M. Pajou and is very promising; M. Pajou has singled him out" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 51).

October 10–17: Sale of the collection of the bronze founder Philippe Caffieri:

no. 37: "Saint Augustine; Pluto: both by M. Pajou" (see cat. 28).

November 6: Inventory of the effects of Claude Roumier, Pajou's father-in-law, "sculptor in ordinary to the king," widower (his will of August 26, 1775 [AN, Min. Cent., VII, 417], is quoted at length in Stein 1912, p. 24 n. 1). His daughter, Angélique, is his sole heir. Roumier occupied the second floor of the house on the rue Froidmanteau. He owned several paintings (not described), five pieces of sculpture including "the bust of the king" and a terracotta bust (the latter neither described nor appraised, since it represented the deceased), and other family portraits. Among his papers is a contract of sale to P. F. L. Astruc, honorary president of the Cour des Aides, for a small building attached to the house on the rue Froidmanteau, for an annuity of 300 livres (see below, July 15, 1776), and for another annuity of 300 livres provided by the marquis de Vibraye (see below, April 6, 1797). The Pajou family, one of the seven tenants in the house, paid Roumier 560 livres in annual rent (AN, Min. Cent., XXI, 476).

November 15–20: Pajou is named expert, with Berruer, for the posthumous inventory of his friend Edme Dumont (AN, Min. Cent., LXXXII, 540; reference supplied by Anne-Lise Desmas).

Pajou presents the model of a clock to the prince de Condé (see cat. 78).

1775–78: Pajou is a member of the Paris lodge of the Grand Orient of France, "The Simple Hearts of the Polar Star," a Masonic lodge distinguished by the number and quality of its ennobled officeholders and its artists (Le Bihan 1966, p. 381).

Terracotta group, *Dangerous Distraction,* inscribed: *Pajou 1775* and, on the front of the plinth: *LA DISTRACTION DANGEREUSE* (H. 30 cm [11⅞ in.]; see Stein 1912, pp. 214–16, ill., fig. 9).

Dated 1775: Drawing, *Study for a Funerary Monument of a Marshal of France, Governor of Strasbourg* (cat. 56).

1776

Pajou is mentioned as living on the "rue Froidmanteau, facing the place du Vieux Louvre" in the *Almanach* of the abbé Lebrun (1972, p. 71).

January: Letter from Buffon to Mme G.-L. Daubenton, niece of his collaborator, in which he proposes to have a bust made of his daughter "Betzy," born in March 1775; the portrait was executed by Pajou in plaster and seen by Nadault de Buffon (whereabouts unknown; Stein 1912, pp. 175–76).

February 16: Agreement between Pajou and the widow of Edme Dumont for the completion, "without claiming any recompense or personal fees," of *France Embracing the Bust of Louis XV* (marble, Libourne, Hôtel de Ville). The model for the group was made by Falconet (Salon of 1748), based on an idea of C.-A. Coypel, to commemorate the recovery of Louis XV in 1745; abandoned by Falconet in 1762, the sculpture was entrusted to Dumont in 1765, who left it unfinished at his death in 1775; completed by Pajou in 1779 (see Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 131–33; ill.; Levitine 1972, figs. 12, 13).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 8, p. 211).

March 13: Acquisition by Pajou and his wife from the Paris Mint, as a leasehold, of a plot of land 393 by 14 *toises* (852 × 30 yd. [766 × 27 m]) on the rue Neuve-Saint-Charles, or rue de la Pépinière, near the Barrière du Roule in the faubourg Saint-Honoré (AN, Min. Cent., XXXIV, 703). De Wailly builds a house there (today 49 rue La Boétie, completely remodeled), described in the deed of sale of August 6, 1795 (see below). Its outer appearance is known from engravings, especially those published in the Krafft and Ransonnette album (1801; pls. XLIII [Stein 1912, ill. p. 392], XLV) and in the Campion album (engraving by Sergent and Robert: Paris 1979a, p. 46 ill.).

March 14: Pajou is on the list of sculptors chosen to sculpt a Great Man of France for the next Salon (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 81). (See below, Salon of 1777, no. 214; and cat. 129.)

April 1: Sale of the Sorbet collection:

no. 183: "Religion and Science, pleasing, slender figures, beautifully sculpted in talc by M. Pajou: each one is 6 inches [15.2 cm] high, not counting the stucco bases, in glass cases mirrored in back. They are on black marble socles."

Spring: Pajou is chosen, along with Caffieri, Mouchy, and d'Huez, to decorate the Grand Degré, Gabriel's monumental stairway at the Château de Versailles; the project is never realized (Baulez 1982, p. 192).

July 11: He announces that the bust of Buffon has been sent to the Académie of Dijon (cat. 116).

July 15: Receipt for reimbursement by Pajou to the widow of a lawyer at the Parliament of Toulouse, Maître Journet, she being the heir of his nephew P. F. L. Astruc, honorary president of the Cours des Aides, delivered by her son-in-law D. Chaumel, *conseiller du roi* at the Cours de Comptes of Montpellier: repurchase and reimbursement of an annuity established on behalf of Claude Roumier (see above, November 6, 1775), whose sole heir is Pajou's wife (AN, Min. Cent., XXI, 479; Stein 1912, p. 229). This document is an indication of the links between the Roumiers and Montpellier.

July 22: D'Angiviller commissions Pajou to "execute two new marble busts of Monseigneur the late dauphin, which His Majesty intends to give as presents" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, pp. 103–4; see below, September 14).

August 3: Pajou's name is mentioned for the first time in the considerable correspondence addressed to De Wailly by the marble mason Tagliafichi in Genoa (BM, Ms. 2216, d. 1, January 1776–October 1782; other letters in Poitiers, BU); he is frequently mentioned in 1777 for blocks of white statuary marble for busts (May 12) and an order of a dozen vases (July 20). Tagliafichi is an important supplier: in France, to La Borde, Chalgrin, Bocciardi; in Italy, to Baratta, Lazzarini, and others; and even to Sergel (July 30, 1781), "friend" of De Wailly.

September 14: D'Angiviller asks Pajou for two copies of his bust of the dauphin (the father of Louis XVI), for the comte de Maurepas and for himself. D'Angiviller's example was seized in April 1794 (register of the dépôt de Nesle: AN, F17* 372, fol. 7; Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 335). This is no doubt the one that figured in the Musée des Monuments Français, received at the dépôt de Nesle on July 27, 1797 (*AMMF,* 1883–97, vol. 2, p. 404). Three marble busts, unsigned and of mediocre quality, with and without drapery, are in the Château de Versailles (Stein 1912, pp. 95–96, ill. p. 97; Furcy-Raynaud 1912, p. 251; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 246–48; Hoog 1993, nos. 649–51, ill). (See above, Salon of 1767.)

Dated 1776: The statue of Buffon (cat. 112), installed before November 19; a terracotta bust (cat. 116); a landscape drawing (cat. 79); the engraving by Martini after Pajou's drawing *The Roman Army under Camillus Assaulting the Temple of Juno at Veii* (cat. 75).

1777

In the *Almanach royal* of 1777, Pajou is listed (p. 443) as "of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and the Académies Élémentaires of Bologna and Parma, and that of Toulouse." The mention of these three academies is repeated through 1785.

He is again mentioned as living "on the rue Froidmanteau, facing the place du Louvre" in the abbé Lebrun's *Almanach* (1972, p. 55).

January 31: Pajou is granted a plot of land measuring 8 *toises,* 1 foot, and 4 inches (53 feet, 4 inches [16.25 m], on the rue de la Pologne in Le Roule. He is responsible for paying the dues and taxes (AP, DQ10 1504, d. 3229). On August 27, 1813, the director of the Domaines de Paris asks Pajou and his wife to settle twenty-four years of arrearages in respect of their real-estate acquisitions of March 13, 1776 (see above), and January 31, 1777, or a total of 9,651.60 francs (AP, DQ10 1339, d. 81).

February 3 (postponed until April 8): Sale of the prince de Conti's collection:

no. 1274: "Two children, one of whom is sleeping on sheaves of grain; this highly meritorious group is by M. Pajou"; drawn by Saint-Aubin (fig. 103);

nos. 1275, 1276: "Two companion pieces, one by M. Pajou, representing a little girl watching two doves billing; the other is a seated bacchante playing the castanets, with a mask and some grapes beside her, by M. Lainé"; drawn by Saint-Aubin (fig. 103).

February 8: D'Angiviller asks Pajou for a new copy in marble of his bust of the king for Marigny (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 247).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 259).

April 16: Pajou and Pigalle appraise a marble statue of a Venus Pudica offered by De Wailly to the prince de Condé for six thousand livres (Chantilly, BMC, AC, *carton* 6).

April 27: Letter to De Wailly from the Rouen carrier Fréret, who handles the architect's business, as well as that of Pigalle and Pajou (BM, Ms. 2216, d. 1).

May: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 264).

June 23: Opening of the Salon at the Académie de Toulouse:

no. 269: "A. M. Lucas, professor of sculpture," "the portrait of the king" (Mesuret 1972, p. 324, no. 3378);

no. 276: "At the Académie," "A bishop, by M. Pajou, professor at the Académie de Peinture in Paris; this is his *ouvrage de réception* for that of Toulouse" (see above, 1765, 1767, and cat. 39).

July 26: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the Salon committee (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 274).

August 11: After the death of Guillaume II Coustou (July 14), Pajou is named keeper of the royal collection of modern sculptures in the Salle des Antiques at the Louvre (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 278; Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 134), thanks notably to a recommendation by Pierre (letter of July 19, 1777: Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 128) stating that "he combines his talent with the necessary head for detail." The keeper was responsible for managing the sculpture repository in the Salle des Antiques—now the Salle des Cariatides—at the Louvre. He receives four hundred livres in wages (AN, O1 1915, d. 4, p. 59; Stein 1912, doc. XXI).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, professor"):

no. 211: "The bust of the king." If in terracotta, as stated in the *Mercure de France* (Deloynes, vol. 10, p. 191), this might be the one that the artist presented to the Académie Royale in 1789 (Fontaine 1930, p. 215). Furcy-Raynaud (1927, p. 245) thinks rather that it was in marble, since Pajou had by then already executed the marble version (see above, July 27, 1775, and below, Salon of 1779, no. 192). This bust (drawn by Saint-Aubin: Dacier 1909–21, vol. 4, p. 55) was described with the marble bust of the king by L.-S. Boizot exhibited at the same Salon and now in the Château de Versailles;

no. 212: "Several busts, including three in marble, and the others in terracotta, under the same number." Saint-Aubin's annotation on his copy of the *livret* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Dacier 1909–21, vol. 4, p. 55)—"Mme Adam, [Mme] Pajou, doctor's wife"—allows at least two of these to be identified: first, the portrait of the wife of N.-S. Adam, whose name is on the marriage contract between Flore Pajou and Clodion in 1781; then that of Pajou's wife, inscribed *Angélique/Roumier/Femme Pajou/fait par Pajou en/1777* (Stein 1912, p. 24, ill. p. 21; fig. 229). The third bust, according to Stein, was that of Mme Andouillé, but this is dated 1778 (cat. 100);

no. 213: "A figure of Mercury, representing Commerce." This is the plaster model of the marble statue in the Louvre (fig. 104), executed for the abbé Terray. (On this commission, see below, January 20, 1779, and July 16, 1780; and Bailey 1993);

no. 214: "René Descartes. Statue, 6 feet [1.83 m] high, executed in marble for the king" (Paris, Institut de France; see cat. 129);

no. 215: "Two drawings of landscapes, in india ink" (private collection; see below, Bourgeois de Boynes sale, March 15, 1785; and figs. 130a, 130b).

September 15: Pajou lodges J.-E. Dumont as a student in receipt of a royal stipend, following the new system of the Petite École established by d'Angiviller after the closing of the École Royale des Élèves Protégés (Courajod 1874, pp. 148–49). Dumont is still in the atelier in June 1780 (Stein 1912, doc. XXII).

October 5: D'Angiviller asks Pajou for a marble copy of his bust of the king for the chevalier de La Ferrière, and another for himself (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 248). Could a marble evidently executed by the studio, and neither signed nor dated (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MR 2653; Paris 1989b, no. 564, ill.), be one of the five copies ordered by d'Angiviller, over which the sculptor bitterly disputed his fees (AN, O1 1915, d. 4, p. 59; Stein 1912, doc. XXI)? In 1787, Thiéry (p. 85) mentions a bust of Louis XVI by Pajou "in Beaujon's rear cabinet" at the Hôtel d'Evreux (it was in white marble on a pedestal of *portor* marble: Coural 1994, p. 37).

Dated 1777: Terracotta bust of Marie-Louise-Albertine Martin, age fourteen, inscribed: *Pajou. Sculp. Reg. faciebat 1777* (Paris, Galerie G. Petit, May 21, 1928, no. 173, ill.; fig. 23). (See below, February 21, 1786.)

(?) Unsigned terracotta bust of the comte de Provence, bearing the inscription: *Monsieur, frère/du roy Louis XVI/Comte de/Provance etc.. 1777,* described in the sale catalogue for the M. de S. collection, May 5, 1886, no. 26, as coming from Augustin Dumont (Stein 1912, p. 114, ill. p. 115, "Marly-le-Roy, Mme Alexandre Dumas"; whereabouts unknown).

Two drawings, *Mercury Instructing Cupid* (fig. 133) and *Venus Disarming Cupid* (fig. 134), both inscribed: *Pa.f.1777.*

Dated 1777: Two drawings in black and red chalk, *Anacreon and Cupid* (see cat. 80); a drawing of Martin Pajou, the artist's father (cat. 146).

Dated 1777: Profile of Pajou drawn by C.-N. Cochin (Paris, Musée du Louvre; fig. 228).

1778

January 7: Sale of the collection of the painter F. Briard, a fellow student of Pajou's at the Académie de France in Rome, and with him one of De Wailly's collaborators on the decorations for the Hôtel de Voyer d'Argenson:

no. 26: "Sheets of drawings. Two vases embellished with pedestals; they are accompanied by figures and ornaments. These two drawings are in pen and sepia ink highlighted in white with brush, by M. Pajou" (see cat. 16, 17).

January 9: According to a letter from Pierre to d'Angiviller, Pajou is an intimate of the singer Sophie Arnoult, of whom Houdon had made a bust three years earlier (Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 2, p. 165).

January 19: Sale of the dealers Lebrun and Lerouge:

no. 173: "Terracottas," "Two small cupids, companion pieces, seated, and holding a medallion decorated with garlands of flowers."

February 17: Pajou—with H. Robert, Beaufort, and J.-B. Pierre—appraises paintings at the Convent of the Célestins with a view to enriching the royal collections (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 177).

February 23: Sale of the Nogaret collection:

no. 205, "The figure of Pluto in terracotta, H. 8 inches [20.3 cm], by M. Pajou" (see cat. 28).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 8, p. 326).

March 28: Pajou presents Dejoux, his former collab-



Fig. 235. Pajou, *Marie-Louise-Albertine Martin.* Terracotta. Private collection

orator on the Versailles Opera, to the Académie, and he is accepted (ibid., p. 328).

April 1: Pajou, with Pierre, H. Robert, and De Wailly among others, serves on the committee set up by d'Angiviller to consider the installation in the Grande Galerie of "everything the king possesses in the way of paintings, statues, and other precious works of art" (letter from d'Angiviller: AN, O^{1} 1544; see Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 190, and Paris 1979b, p. 6).

May: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 8, p. 333).

Fig. 236. Pajou, *Seated Woman with Two Children.* Terracotta. Private collection



July 24: Acquisition by Pajou and his wife from crown jeweler Aubert of a plot of land adjacent to the one bought in 1776, one *toise* in width by 29 and a half *toises* in depth (6½ feet wide by 192 feet deep [1.98 × 58.52 m], on which a two-story building with a carriage entrance is erected (AN, Min. Cent., LXXI, 12), described in the deed of sale of August 6, 1795 (see below; Stein 1912, doc. LXX).

August 10: Sale of the Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne collection:

no. 66: "A superb drawing done in Rome, depicting Pyrrhus presented to Glaucias, king of Slavonia" (see cat. 20);

no. 67: "Another beautiful drawing, also done in Rome, showing a relief imitating the antique. These two large compositions are 24 inches high by 34 inches wide [61 × 86.4 cm]" (cat. 23);

no. 117: "Terracotta," "A human Charity composed of three figures. A piece perfectly executed and offering interesting and pleasing details. H. 27 inches [68.6 cm]." (See below, April 24, 1786.)

September 8: The comte d'Angiviller expresses surprise that the model for the statue of Bossuet, the second Great Man assigned to Pajou, has not yet been started (see cat. 122).

September 12: Mouchy is chosen as professor at the Petite École; but two sculpture students are already lodged with Pajou (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 226; see above, September 15, 1777).

November 1: Pajou is mentioned in a correspondence between Versailles and the Académie des Inscriptions (AI, A 107); he is to design the token for the emergency war fund (year 1779), taking a subject chosen by the king from among proposals made by the Académie des Inscriptions: "Pallas holding a sword in one hand, and in the other the rudder of a boat."

December 21: Anonymous sale:

"Gilt-bronze":

no. 8: "Two porphyry vases decorated in gilt-bronze with ormulu, after models by M. Pajou. Height 10 inches [25.4 cm], including their black granite socles";

no. 12: "Two vases in agated oriental granite decorated in gilt-bronze with ormulu, after models by M. Pajou. Height 13 inches, width 12 inches [33 × 30.5 cm]";

no. 13: "A vase in oriental alabaster, decorated in gilt-bronze with ormulu, after models by M. Pajou; H. 13 inches, W. 12 inches [33 × 30.5 cm]";

no. 36: "Two groups of children, bronze-colored terracotta, by M. Pajou";

no. 37: "Two children by MM. Pajou and Larue, representing a little girl who holds eggs in her chemise, and a little boy holding fruit; terracotta and plaster, H. 16 inches [40.6 cm]."

Dated 1778: Marble bust of the comte de Provence, in the chamber of commerce, Bordeaux, inscribed on the back: *PAJOU SCULPT./REG. FACIEBAT./1778*; and in front, on the base: *LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER/DE FRANCE. MONSIEUR*; height 88 cm (34⅝ in.) (19 cm [7½ in.] including the socle and foot), W. 57 cm (22½ in.), D. 37 cm (14⅝ in.) (Lacroix 1972, p. 55, pl. XXIII; fig. 143). The portrait was commissioned and paid for by the Juridiction Consulaire of Bordeaux, which gave it to the chamber of commerce to commemorate the visit of the comte de Provence to the Bordeaux exchange in 1777.

Dated 1778: Bust of Mme Andouillé (cat. 100).

Small group in terracotta representing a seated woman with two children, inscribed: *Pajou. Sculpt. Reg. Faciebat 1778* (fig. 11). (See below, Salon of 1779, no. 200.)

1779

January 20: Sale of the abbé Terray collection:

"Marble":

no. 23: "The statue of Mercury symbolizing Commerce. This god's attributes are a bundle on which he is leaning and a bag in his right hand; at his feet is a caduceus. The relief that accompanies this figure represents merchants with sacks of money receiving goods; it is composed of six figures. The statue is lifesize. It is not entirely finished, and art lovers can see a model of it in the sculptor's atelier, Cour du Vieux Louvre" (Paris, Musée du Louvre; fig. 104).

January 23: Pajou is mentioned in a correspondence between Versailles and the Académie des Inscriptions (AI, A 107); he is to design the medal commemorating the birth of Madame Royale, taking a subject chosen by the king from among proposals made by the Académie des Inscriptions: "France, with her attributes, holding a newborn child in her arms" (*Trésor de numismatique* 1837, pl. LIII, no. 3). Pajou is known to have created the token for the emergency war fund this year (AI, A 107).

January 30: Pajou presents Sergel to the Académie, and he is accepted (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 8, p. 364).

February 22: Sale of the collection of the architect Trouard:

no. 181: "A large and very beautiful drawing of a capital composition, the subject of which is taken from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*" (see cat. 20, 65, or 74);

"Terracotta":

no. 294: "A lifesize bust. Completed study for the figure that decorates the holy-water stoup of the church of Saint-Louis in Versailles" (see above, Salon of 1761);

no. 295: "Three different studies for the same object" (see above, Salon of 1761);

no. 296: "Four studies, subjects Venus and Cupid, and others, which will be sold separately" (see above, Salon of 1771);

no. 297: "An oval relief representing the Virgin and the Child Jesus on clouds surrounded by angels. This piece, of superior merit, is framed by a gilt-wood border"; it sold for two hundred livres (see above, Salon of 1759, no. 140);

no. 298: "A study for the tomb of the marquis de Muy"; it sold for fifty-one livres (see cat. 57).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (ibid., p. 369).

May: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (ibid., p. 380).

May 1: The painter Simon-Bernard Lenoir, accredit-

ed, future professor at the École Académique of Besançon, is to execute as his morceaux de réception the portraits of Pajou and Lagrenée (ibid., p. 381). They were never done.

June: Pajou stays for six weeks at the Château de Cheverny with Dufort de Cheverny, a friend of Sedaine. Sedaine presents Dufort de Cheverny with a page of annotated sketches by Pajou, wittily recounting several episodes from his youth (whereabouts unknown; Rey 1906, ill.; Stein 1912, pp. 66–67, ill.).

July 31: Pajou presents Dejoux to the Académie, and he is accepted (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 8, p. 390).

July 31: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the Salon committee (ibid., p. 391).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, professor):

no. 192: "The bust of the king, in marble." The *Journal de Paris* specifies that this was the one given to the comte d'Angiviller, and therefore one of the copies ordered in 1775 and 1777 that were to bear the inscription "gift of the king" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, pp. 249, 251). The copy that is now in the Château de Versailles (MR 2652), mainly executed by the studio, is inscribed on the back: *PAJOU/REGIS/SCULPTOR/MDCCLXXIX* (Stein 1912, ill. p. 111; Hoog 1993, no. 1119, ill.; fig. 142). There is a signed and dated replica of the bust in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, probably a diplomatic gift to the grand duke of Tuscany (Maumené and d'Harcourt 1929–30, p. 480, no. 81).

no. 193: "M. de Trudaine." This must be Jean-Charles-Philibert Trudaine de Montigny, administrator of finance, who died on August 5, 1777, "probably while the bust was in the course of being made." Stein (1912, pp. 148, 151) cautiously suggests identifying it with the bust of Trudaine in the museum of the Abbaye de Chaalis; that bust, however, must be assigned to E.-P.-A. Gois.

no. 194: "A philosopher." Probably in marble, as the list of terracottas begins on the following line (see also the *Mercure de France,* Deloynes, vol. 11, p. 230). This may be the bust of a bearded old man in marble, inscribed: *Pajou Regis Sculptor 1779,* formerly in the Château de Champlâtreux (Jarry 1924, pl. 7; fig. 237), whence it was stolen in 1990 (*Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot,* no. 43 [November 30, 1990], ill.); there it was identified as a portrait of President Molé (*Merveilles des châteaux de l'Île-de-France* [Paris, 1963], p. 125, ill.). However, no bust of Molé by Pajou is cited in the seizure of the Champlâtreux collections during the Revolution (AN, F17 1266/7); the bust might have been returned to the family under the Restoration;

"Terracotta busts":

no. 195: "M. Andouillet [*sic*], first surgeon to the king, by privilege of succession" (cat. 101);

no. 196: "M. Ducis, secretary in ordinary to Monsieur, and one of the forty of the Académie Française," inscribed on the foot of the marble base: *JEAN FRANCOIS DUCIS, L'UN DES QUARANTE/DE L'ACADEMIE FRANCOISE, SECRETAIRE/ORDINAIRE DE MONSIEUR FRERE DU ROI/PAR PAJOU, SCULPTEUR DU ROI/1779* (Ward and Fidler 1993, p. 195; fig. 147);

"Studies in terracotta":

no. 197: "Fidelity";

no. 198: "The power of love";

no. 199: "A bacchante, with a child and a goat"; drawn by Saint-Aubin (Dacier 1955, p. 44, pl. XI);

no. 200: "A Charity, accompanied by two children." No doubt the group signed and dated 1778 (see above, 1778);

no. 201: "Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. Statue, executed in marble, 6 feet [182.9 cm] in height, for the king" (Paris, Institut de France; see below, February 21, 1799; and cat. 122).

October 5: The four Great Men of France for the Salon of 1781 are selected, as are their sculptors. Pajou is given first choice (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, pp. 264–65; see cat. 124).

Dated 1779: Terracotta statuette of Pascal (cat. 124); plaster relief, *Pyrrhus and Glaucias* (cat. 84); marble relief, *Diogenes* (cat. 86).

Terracotta group *Cupid Straddling a Lion,* inscribed: *Pajou regis sculptor 1779* (Stein 1912, pp. 220, 341 ill.; Lehmann sale, June 4, 1925, no. 44, ill.; whereabouts unknown).

Dated 1779: Engraving by P.-A. Martini after Pajou's drawing *Lucius Albinius Ceding His Chariot to the Vestal Virgins Fleeing Rome* (cat. 76).

Landscape drawing (whereabouts unknown; see cat. 79).

1780

February 5: Pajou serves on the committee assigned by the Académie Royale to examine the works sent by the Académie de France in Rome (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 4).

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (ibid., p. 14).

March 22: Pajou is to provide a marble copy of the bust of Louis XVI to the marquis de Montesquiou. He must not be paid more than 2,400 livres: "I will not conceal from you the fact that if M. Pajou is not satisfied with the price, I shall have no hesitation in entrusting these copies to another sculptor, namely M. Dupré" (d'Angiviller to Pierre, quoted in Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 288). The bust is delivered in 1784 (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 251–52).

March 29 and June 19: Crates containing ten busts and two statues in plaster leave Pajou's studio for the theater of the Château de Seneffe, south of Brussels (Mons, AE, no. 251; Duquenne 1978, pp. 232, 283 n. 949). An inventory of 1804 (Mons, AE, F.336; Duquenne 1978, pp. 278 n. 821, 283 n. 949) lists in the theater a "plaster Ceres by Pajou in its crate," which is thought to have been already listed in an inventory of 1791 (Mons, AE, 613, p. 28); the *Ceres* has disappeared.

May: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 23).

May 1: Le Bègue, a student in receipt of a royal stipend to attend the Petite École, lodges with Pajou (along with J.-E. Dumont and Auger) (Stein 1912, doc. XXII). In 1780 and 1781 Pajou has four pupils in receipt of royal stipends (Stein 1912, p. 80). He receives a fee of six hundred livres on July 28, 1780, for lessons given between September 15, 1777, and December 1779 (BMN, Ms. 33, fol. 302).

July 16 (*Mémoires secrets,* vol. 15, p. 223): "Art lovers will see in M. Pajou's studio a white marble statue ten feet [3.1 m] in height, representing Mercury with the attributes of the god of commerce. Since it had been ordered by the abbé Terrai and is soon to be removed by his family, the public will be able to enjoy this sight for only a few days." The work (fig. 104) is dated 1780. (See above, Salon of 1777, no. 213, and January 20, 1779.)

September 12: Pajou has to go to Versailles with Pierre for the moving of the sculptures in the Bains d'Apollon (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 299; see below, 1781).

October 1: He is granted a stipend of eight hundred livres by the Bâtiments du Roi (Guiffrey 1876, p. 80).

November 3: Pajou recommends "a certain Graaf, his student," for the Petite École (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 304).

Dated 1780: Plaster bust of A.-E.-M. Grétry (see below, Salon of 1781, no. 228).

Terracotta bust of Mme de Bonnard, wife of the chevalier de Bonnard, undergoverness of the children of the duc de Chartres, and daughter of the painter Silvestre, drawing master to the royal children (one of her aunts was the wife of J.-B II Lemoyne); inscribed: *PAJOU.F.1780* (Stein 1912, pp. 71–72, ill. p. 335: "comtesse Guéhéneuc de Boishüe"; a plaster cast was sold by Sotheby's, Monaco, June 16, 1990, no. 812, ill., and again on June 22, 1991, no. 560, ill.).

Drawing in black chalk, pen and black ink, wash, with white highlights, *Seated Child with a Doll,* inscribed: *Pajou f./1780,* diameter 22.5 cm (8⅞ in.) (Kaieman sale, 1854; Paris Drouot, December 14, 1981, no. 124, ill.).

Drawing of Anacreon and Cupid (cat. 83).

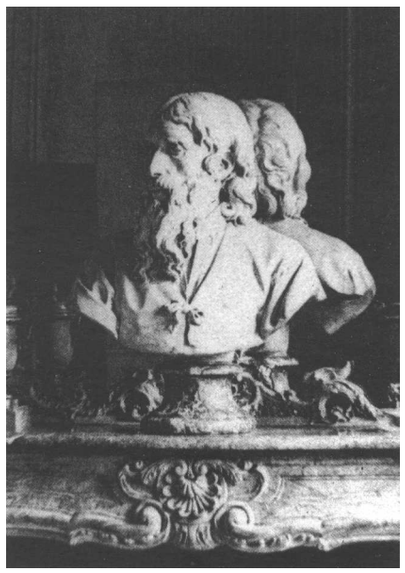


Fig. 237. Pajou, *Bearded Man.* Marble. Formerly Château de Champlâtreux; whereabouts unknown

1781

January 21: Marriage contract between Flore Pajou and Clodion (AN, Min. Cent., XXI, 499; Stein 1911, pp. 193–99; Poulet and Scherf 1992, p. 60). The bride's witnesses were d'Angiviller, J.-B. Pierre, and Moreau-Desproux. Flore was sixteen years and three months old and brought a dowry of 70,000 livres. Clodion was forty-two years and two months old and had a net worth of approximately 33,400 livres.

February 2: Pajou presents his estimate for the *Funerary Monument for Mme de Palerne* (cat. 58, 59).

February 26: Marriage of Flore Pajou to Clodion. The couple, who had no children, were ill matched. In 1786 a laundress aged twenty-seven brought a complaint (subsequently withdrawn) against Clodion, accusing him of fathering her unborn child and of abandoning her. In July 1789 Flore left her husband and went to live with her father; the couple were divorced on February 1, 1794. A letter from Pajou to his son, written from Montpellier, is critical of Flore's conduct (Stein 1912, p. 291). She remarried on January 31, 1796, and then divorced again on September 24, 1801.

March: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 58).

March 31: Pajou is named treasurer of the Académie, replacing Hallé (ibid.). He already held the post on an interim basis in 1779; his last official memorandum is dated March 18, 1790.

April 28: *État des logements du château du Louvre, fait et vérifié sur les lieux* (AN, O1 1675, p. 31): this inventory of lodgings in the Louvre shows Pajou's atelier (no. 21) as on the ground floor, Porte Saint-Germain side—near the Oratory and the Cour Carrée—consisting of "two rooms used as an atelier and two fireplaces, two rooms on the mezzanine and one fireplace." His neighbors include Berruer, H. Robert, Lecomte, Monot, the widow Dumont, Bridan, and Caffieri. He is not mentioned in the Galeries of the Louvre (ibid., p. 36).

État des logements aux Galeries du Louvre, dated January 1, 1778, but completed later (ibid., pp. 30, 32), states that lodging no. 19 "goes to M. Pajou upon M. Lagrenée's departure to become director of the Académie de France"—that is, on May 1, 1781. (See below, April 11, 1783.)

May: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 63).

July 28: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the selection committee for the Salon (ibid., p. 72).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, professor, keeper of the Salle des Antiques, and member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, etc."):

no. 227: "Blaise Pascal. Statue 6 feet [1.83 m] in height, for the king. Pascal seems preoccupied with the cycloid drawn on a tablet that he holds in his left hand; at his feet are scattered papers containing his *pensées*; to the right, an open book in which are the letters" (see cat. 124);

no. 228: "The bust of M. Grétry, commissioned by the États de Liège, birthplace of this celebrated musician; it is to be executed in marble and placed in the town theater" (see above, 1780). The *Lettre d'Artiomphile* (Deloynes, vol. 12, no. 277) indicates that the bust is in plaster; it could be the one inscribed: *PAJOU F.1780,* mentioned by Stein (1912, pp. 54–58, ill. p. 55; formerly David-Weill collection; fig. 148). The work was commissioned from Pajou by the council of the city of Liège to decorate the proscenium of the theater. The marble was executed from his model by a Liège sculptor, Everard, who completed it in 1782; it was destroyed in a fire on January 1, 1805. A late, repainted cast is exhibited in the Musée Grétry in Liège (Bourgault 1911, p. 35 ill.; Stein 1911, pp. 250–55; Froidcourt 1937). The original bust, or another version of it, was exhibited in 1783 at the Salon de la Correspondance (see below).

no. 229: "The bust of Mme de Bonnard" (see above, 1780);

no. 230: "The bust of Mme Sedaine" (cat. 102);

no. 231: "The bust of Dufresny, in marble, intended to decorate the foyer of the Comédie Française" (cat. 120);

no. 232: "The bust of Mme le Comte." The sitter cannot be the wife of the sculptor Félix Lecomte (Stein 1912, p. 49), who was a bachelor; possibly she is Marguerite Le Comte, Watelet's companion.

September 27: Pajou is mentioned in a correspondence between Versailles and the Académie des Inscriptions (AI, A 107). He is to design the medal commemorating the birth of the dauphin, taking a subject chosen by the king from among the proposals made by the Académie des Inscriptions: "France seated on a pedestal in the antique manner holding a child in her arms" (*Trésor de numismatique* 1837, pl. LIII, no. 5).

November 28: Sale of the collection of the painter Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (see cat. 60):

no. 102: "Terracotta. A head of a young man lifesize, very well modeled, by M. Pajou; H. including the pedestal, 18 inches [45.7 cm]."

no. 103: "Terracotta. Another, small in size, by the same."

no. 104: "Terracotta. A bust of an old man larger than lifesize, with a long beard, by the same" (see cat. 63).

December 24: Delivery of *Venus and Cupid,* a group in clay intended to be executed in biscuit de Sèvres (see cat. 88).

In the gardens of Versailles, Pajou supervises "the transportation of the statues for the Bains d'Apollon [*Apollo Served by Nymphs* by Girardon and Regnaudin and the two groups of the *Horses of the Sun* by Marsy and Guérin] from the place where they were [the Bosquet du Marais] to the rock where they are now [in the new bosquet designed by his friend Hubert Robert]" (AN, O1 1919, d. 5, p. 246; Stein 1912, doc. XLVI).

Pajou makes two plaster copies of the bust of Louis XVI, one for the religious of La Charité at Anou-lez-Fontainebleau and the other for the Gobelins manufactory (paid July 21, 1783: BMN, Ms. 33, fol. 346).

Commission for *Turenne,* the fourth Great Man (see below, Salon of 1783, and cat. 128).

Dated 1781: Terracotta relief of Diogenes (cat. 87).

1782

February 27: Lagrenée, the director of the Académie de France in Rome, asks d'Angiviller for a plaster cast of the bust of Louis XVI by Pajou, which he will have copied in marble by one of the students (*Corr.*, vol. 14, pp. 191–92).

March 2: Pajou presents to the Académie the "aspiring sculptor" Roland, thirty-five years old, who is accepted (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 103).

March 12: Sale of the dealer Dubois:

no. 262: "Two small figures in talc, by M. Pajou, made in Rome in 1755, one of which represents Study and the other Religion. They are positioned on stucco stands. Total H. 9 inches, W. 6 inches [22.9 × 15.2 cm] under their glass case." Bought by the dealer Verrier.

March 30: Pajou is commissioned to execute the last statue for the Dôme des Invalides, a marble figure of Saint Marcellina (sister of Saint Ambrose) for the Saint Ambrose chapel, replacing the plaster figure by Le Pautre. Pajou's statue was most likely destroyed in 1798, as it was not delivered to Alexandre Lenoir for the Musée des Monuments Français in 1799 (Dreyfus 1908, pp. 309–10).

June 10: Pajou has to accompany Pierre to the Château de Saint-Ouen, home of the duc de Nivernais, to examine busts taken from the Salle des Antiques and installed there when the château belonged to the duc de Gesvres, governor of Paris (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 346).

October 17: Marriage contract between Roland and the daughter of the architect N.-M. Potain, comptroller of the Bâtiments du Roi. Pajou, "friend of the bridegroom," is a witness, together with the architect P. Rousseau (Potain's son-in-law), the painter Vincent and P.-A. Gois, cousins of the bride, and the painter David, "friend" (AN, Min. Cent., XCI, 1208).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 129).

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (ibid., p. 133).

Dated 1782: Funerary medallion of Mme de Palerne (cat. 58); medallion of Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (cat. 60).

Pastel portrait of Pajou by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (cat. 147).

In 1782 and 1783, Pajou lodges three students in receipt of royal stipends at the Petite École (Stein 1912, p. 80).

1783

March 18: Mme Du Barry wishes to buy several antique statues for the king; d'Angiviller asks Pierre and Pajou to assess the quality of the works that have been offered her (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 11).

March 31: Anonymous sale:

drawing, no. 285: "an academy figure . . . by Pajou, frontal view, in black chalk with white highlights."

April 11: The painter Danloux, having arrived from Rome, "begins to settle into the lodgings in the Galeries [du Louvre] lent him by M. Pajou, while waiting for M. Pajou to make up his mind" (Pierre to d'Angiviller; Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 12). This lodging, no. 19 in the Galeries, was in fact relinquished to d'Angiviller by Pajou (Guiffrey 1873, p. 133), as had been agreed earlier (AN, O1 1920, d. 1, p. 87; Stein 1912, doc. XLIX; see above, May 4, 1773). On May 16, it is granted to Lépicié (AN, O1 1675,

pp. 30, 32; Guiffrey 1873, p. 101). In compensation, d'Angiviller promises Pajou a forthcoming increase in his stipend (currently eight hundred livres), in the amount of six hundred livres (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 15).

May 14: Pajou is called in as expert for the posthumous inventory of J.-B. Defernex (AN, Min. Cent., XLV; reference communicated by Brigitte Woehrlé).

July 17: "MM. Durameau and Brenet, painters, and MM. Pajou and Mouchy, sculptors, have been appointed special professors" at the Petite École (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 25). Mouchy will be replaced by Lecomte.

July 26: "MM. Pajou, Mouchy, and Berruer have submitted their small-scale models of the Great Men to M. Boizot" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 28), in accordance with the previous year's request by d'Angiviller (see cat. 123, 125, 128, 129).

July 26: Chosen by lot, Pajou serves on the selection committee for the Salon (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 162).

August 15: A letter from Perronet to the Académie des Inscriptions, following Louis XVI's approval to strike a medal commemorating the completion of the Burgundy canal, suggests a subject while leaving it to the Académie "for the choice and expression, as well as to the talents of M. Pajou" (AI, A 107). On September 4, the Académie sends Versailles three projects. The first is known today through a very sketchy black-chalk drawing, dated 1783: *The King Leaning on Peace Receives with the Other Hand the Plan of the Burgundy Canal, Which Is Presented to Him by a Guiding Spirit* (AI, A 107). But it was the second project—*New Junction of the Two Seas. Canal from the Saône to the Yonne*—that was finally approved, one similar to Perronet's concept: "The Saône bending over the Rhône gives its hand to the Yonne, which is leaning on the Seine. . . ." Pajou's design was reproduced by Stein (1912, p. 428; Paris, formerly Henry Nocq collection; whereabouts unknown). Two versions were struck. One, with legend and motto in Latin, as in the drawing, was engraved by Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux (dated 1785; Cabinet des Médailles, BN, *série royale* 2774, an example in gold; *Trésor de numismatique* 1837, pl. LV, no. 1). The second version, with inscriptions in French, was engraved by Benjamin Duvivier (dated 1785).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and those of Bologna, Rome, etc., professor and treasurer"):

no. 216: "Turenne. The maréchal de Turenne seems to have the intention of defending the French crown, which he supports with his left hand, while with the right he holds his drawn sword" (marble, Château de Versailles; see cat. 128);

no. 217: "Relief, with an allegorical subject, three feet [91.4 cm] long, in plaster. It represents Friendship in the person of Pollux, who, armed with the scepter of Aesculapius, drives away death about to strike down a young person in the flower of youth, whose existence brings happiness to all those who are close to her." A small bronze relief of Castor and Pollux, inscribed *PILLON S., THOMIRE C., B. DE TOTT F.* (fig. 6), offers us, if not a reflection of it, an adaptation by a Pajou pupil, Pillon (see below, April 6, 1797);

no. 218: "Portrait of Mme Le Brun, academician. Terracotta bust" (cat. 104).

Under no. 125 of this Salon, A. Labille-Guiard presents her morceau de réception to the Académie Royale: "M. Pajou modeling the portrait of M. Lemoine, his master" (cat. 147).

October 19: The *Mémoires secrets* (vol. 23, pp. 211–13) reports that "the French coat of arms in relief, supported by two angels, in the manner of M. Pajou" can be seen on the pediment of the new Palais de Justice (fig. 36).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 174).

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (ibid., p. 176).

December 24: Letter from d'Angiviller to Pierre requesting that the Académie's sculptors compete for a monument commemorating the invention of the hot-air balloon (see below, 1784).

Two works by Pajou are presented at the Salon de la Correspondance in Paris: a drawing of the Flight into Egypt, "from the cabinet of M. the abbé de Saint-Martin, counselor to the Châtelet" (see below, 1784); and the bust of Grétry, contributed by a friend of the musician, the abbé Rose, canon of Cambrai (see above, 1780, and Salon of 1781, no. 228; Bellier 1864–65, vol. 21, p. 44).

Dated 1783: Terracotta bust of Philidor (cat. 103).

1784

January 24: The Académie des Inscriptions is informed by Versailles of the king's choice of subject for two medals, one commemorating the invention of the hot-air balloon and the other the first navigator; Pajou is to design them (AI, A 107). For the first: "M. de Montgolfier's balloon in the air; next to it a wingless genius, a flame on its head, lightly touching the balloon with one hand, and with the other holding a torch that it applies to the opening used for heating the balloon." Below is the Earth in the person of an astonished Cybele (*Trésor de numismatique* 1837, pl. LIV, nos. 5, 6).

February 9: Pajou's name appears in the will of Quentin de La Tour, in a list of artists to whom he has bequeathed "their portraits" (Wildenstein 1928, p. 117).

March 4: Pajou notifies d'Angiviller that he has completed the designs and model for the monument commemorating the invention of the hot-air balloon (Stein 1912, p. 273). Eight other sculptors are also submitting designs. The director asks Pajou and three of his competitors for a new model. But the project is soon abandoned; d'Angiviller declares on August 4, 1785, that he has "not been entirely satisfied with any of these works." None of the models is exhibited at the Salon, and they are stored in the Salle des Antiques. Pajou receives sixteen hundred livres (AN, O¹ 1179, pp. 191–92; Stein 1912, doc. XLIII; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 417–21). The inventory of sculptures in the Salle des Antiques (see below, 1793) mentions the presence of seven clay models, though not Pajou's (but see below, 1797).

March 27: Pajou presents Stouf to the Académie, and he is accepted (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 190).

July 3: Pajou mentions his atelier in the Oratory of the Louvre—including a small living area—in a letter to d'Angiviller. He would like to have some work done on it: "It will be a small compensation for what I lost by giving you back the lodging in the Galeries that you were kind enough to obtain for me from His Majesty" (AN, O¹ 1917, d. 3, p. 243; Stein 1912, doc. XXXVI; and see above, 1778, and April 28, 1781). D'Angiviller refuses (AN, O¹ 1917, d. 3, p. 242).

July 10: The Académie des Inscriptions is informed by Versailles of the king's choice of subject for the medal honoring the public-health administrators of Marseilles; Pajou is to design it (AI, A 107): "A port in which ships are docking; from one of them goods are being unloaded that are being transported to the Lazaretto [quarantine station]. To one side . . . is the city of Marseilles, her coat of arms at her feet, arm outstretched toward the Lazaretto as if to show that she is ordering the goods to be delivered there, and holding in her other hand a staff with a serpent coiled around it, the standard attribute of Hygeia and sometimes of Security. For the legend: *Securitas Publica.*" The drawing, inscribed: *PAJOU F. 1784,* was reproduced by Stein (1912, p. 233; formerly Jean Masson collection, sale December 5, 1923, no. 112, not ill.; whereabouts unknown). The medal was engraved by Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux (dated 1784; Cabinet des Médailles, BN, *série royale* 2762, example in silver; see *Trésor de numismatique* 1837, pl. LV, no. 3).

July 19: Pajou's stipend of eight hundred livres is increased by two hundred livres (AN, O¹ 1917, d. 3, p. 242; Guiffrey 1876, p. 80; Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 57).

September 23: Pierre gives d'Angiviller particulars about "the current list of students at the Petite École . . . sculptors lodging with M. Pajou: Dupré, fifteen years old. . . . Not as bright, not very advanced. Jacomin, about fifteen years old. Good sort, mad about painting" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 73).

October: J.-A.-C. Pajou, painter, obtains a third-class regional medal from the Académie (Cahen 1993, p. 77).

October 27: The États du Languedoc conclude an agreement with Pajou—as well as with Moitte and Julien—to create marble groups of Great Men to be located in the place du Peyrou, Montpellier (see cat. 132).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 216).

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 219).

December 15: Following a deliberation by the États de Bretagne approving the erection of a royal statue, Pajou writes to d'Angiviller to solicit his support; he would like to get the commission for a full-length statue in bronze of Louis XVI accompanied by allegorical figures characterizing the king's beneficence. Three days later, d'Angiviller intervenes on Pajou's behalf with the comptroller general Calonne, the baron de Breteuil, and the provincial governor, the marquis de Montmorin (see Stein 1908; and below, 1785).

December 19: Pajou approves the acquisition of a bronze of Louis XIV for the royal collections (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 90). This advice stems from his duties as keeper of modern sculptures in the royal collection.

Dated 1784: Marble bust of Labille (cat. 105); drawing, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Munich, Weinmüller, May 20, 1941, no. 680, ill.; fig. 135).

1785

January: Calonne intervenes with the administrator of Brittany on Pajou's behalf: "M. the comte d'Angiviller urges me to make this recommendation to you, and he is in fact the best artist you could hire" (Stein 1908, p. 9). Louis XVI chooses the city: Brest.

January 26: Pajou receives a fee of 2,016 livres for teaching at the Petite École from January 1, 1780, through December 31, 1783 (BMN, Ms. 33, fol. 373).

February 1: Pajou asks d'Angiviller for his support in obtaining the commission for the royal monument in Brest; the backing of Calonne and of the baron de Breteuil seems to him already won (AN, O1 1390, p. 133).

February 13–17: Pajou is at the Château de Compiègne, where he would like to supplant his former student Beauvallet. He offers to execute the pediment for the central pavilion looking onto the main courtyard, the two pediments for the Salle des Gardes, and a marble statue eight feet (2.44 m) high representing Flora or Meleager for the niche in the Escalier de la Reine. Despite the formal consent of d'Angiviller, these projects were not realized. Pajou nonetheless obtains the requested sum of twenty-four thousand livres, of which he gives nine thousand to Beauvallet, the actual author of the three pediments (AN, O1 1390, p. 137; Scherf 1994, pp. 22, 31).

February 24: Inauguration of the École de Dessin in Mâcon, whose director was appointed as a result of a competition; one of the jury was Pajou, in his capacity as commissioner of the École Royale Gratuite de Dessin (Lex and Martin 1889, p. 653).

March 15: Sale of the collection of Bourgeois de Boynes, the secretary of state for the navy:

no. 133bis: "A handsome plaster cast from the clay model that served for the reception of this famous artist into the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture; it represents Pluto, god of the Underworld. Well restored and colored in a very good imitation of antique bronze. Height 27 inches [68.6 cm]." It sold for thirty-seven livres. (See cat. 28);

no. 206: "a drawing in india ink, highlighted in white; it depicts one of those lovely spots from the interior of a garden in Italy. In front is a picturesque fountain with a pedestal and a bust, a lion's head spouting water, and a pool to receive it; women are washing their linen; seen farther off is a great deal of landscape and large terraces leading to a rustic casino that handsomely terminates this interesting composition" (see above, Salon of 1777, no. 215; fig. 130a);

no. 207: "another drawing done in the same manner: it depicts a picturesque site adorned with an antique sarcophagus, on which is a lion, and with large masses of trees, stones, and rocks in a fine style; seen farther off are figures and wide stretches of a stairway, embellished with structures that lead into a very beautiful garden that terminates this lovely drawing. Both [drawings] are the same size, each being 19¼ inches [48.9 cm] wide, and 13 inches [33 cm] high." (See above, Salon of 1777, no. 215; fig. 130b.)

May: Pajou delivers to the Bâtiments du Roi an example of the bust of Louis XVI in marble, intended for the marquis de Montesquiou (AN, O1 1918, d. 4, p. 390; Stein 1912, doc. XXXIX).

June 5: The *Mémoires secrets* (vol. 29, p. 59) announce that "M. Pajou, sculptor to the king, appointed by the province [of Brittany], will be going to this port [Brest] in order to view the location and subsequently compose the accessories of the monument placed under his direction" (see below).

June 12: Pajou asks d'Angiviller to intervene in order to obtain the commission for the Breton monument to Louis XVI (AN, O1 1918, d. 2, p. 181; Stein 1912, doc. XXXVIII; letter from Pajou, July 6, 1785: BI, Ms. 2160, no. 21).

June 27: The *Mercure de France* announces that the États de Bretagne are opening the project of the royal statue to competition; in effect, they are suspicious of any kind of pressure. Apart from Pajou, Houdon and Gois have submitted plans. The project is finally abandoned in 1787 (see Stein 1908).

July 30: Pajou presents N.-F. Delaistre to the Académie, and he is accepted (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 9, p. 247).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, of the Académie des Inscriptions, and those of Bologna, Rome, and Toulouse, professor"):

no. 198: "Blaise Pascal, marble" (cat. 127);

no. 199: "Psyche abandoned, plaster" (see cat. 134);

"Busts in marble":

no. 198bis: "The father of Mme Guiard" (cat. 105);

no. 199bis: "Mme Le Brun, academician" (see cat. 104).

Pajou's student L.-P. Deseine exhibits a bust of him at the Salon (no. 260; cat. 148).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 9, p. 265).

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 9, p. 267).

Portrait of an unidentified woman, terracotta bust, inscribed on the back: *Pajou. f: 1785,* height 60 cm (23⅝ in.) without socle (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André; Stein 1912, pp. 141–42, ill. p. 139; Biron–Nancy 1989, no. 56, ill.; fig. 163).

Dated 1785: Terracotta study for *Henri IV Trampling the Hydra of Anarchy* (cat. 131).

1786

February 21: F.-N. Delaistre marries Marie-Louise-Albertine Martin, daughter of the *vernisseur du roi,* in the presence of Pajou and Roland (Jal 1867, p. 483). (See above, 1777, and below, January 31, 1796.)

March 2: Sale of the collection of the crown jeweler Aubert:

no. 95: "A magnificent drawing, historical subject from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives,* translated by Amyot. Note: The historic deed is described at the bottom of the drawing" (see below, December 10, 1807; cat. 65).

March 7: Pajou asks twenty-four hundred livres for his studies for the monument to the hot-air balloon (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, pp. 156, 158).

March 29: D'Angiviller informs Pajou that 576 livres have been sent to him "for lessons given by you to young students of the Pension du Roi [the Petite École]" (AN, O1 1179, pp. 191–92; Stein 1912, doc. XLIII).

April 24: Sale of the collection of Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret, receiver general of the treasury:

no. 380: "A head of an old man and a head of a woman as pendant, by M. Pajou, on a square socle in *brèche d'Alep* marble. H. 20 in. [50.8 cm]."

April 24: Sale of the collection of the dealer Lenglier:

no. 148: "Human Charity, group of three figures in terracotta. This handsome group is carefully finished and is a credit to the distinguished talent of M. Pajou." It sold for 140 livres. (See above, August 10, 1778.)

June 12: Sale of the collection of the connoisseur Watelet, "counselor to the king. Receiver general of the finances of Orléans":

no. 163: "By M. Marchand after M. Pajou. . . . A handsome group in marble, the subject being two figures, one representing Anacreon, who borrows a feather from Cupid's wings to write his poems. This piece shows great purity in the contours of the design and is as well executed in its workmanship as is possible in the art of sculpture" (fig. 10; see cat. 1).

July 5: A letter from C.-A. Bridan to the chapter of Chartres Cathedral refers to the fact that Pajou, along with Berruer and Caffieri, was solicited for reliefs for the choir of the cathedral. Bridan, who had created the group for the high altar, was again selected because he claimed to be a specialist in marble but above all because he was the least expensive (Archives Départementales, Eure-et-Loire, G 413, item 3; reference supplied by Anne Génin).

August 7: Letter from Hubert Robert to Jean-Joseph de La Borde: "I have done the design for the monument to Couq [Cook]. I am now having a small model made of it, and as there is to be a relief and other analogous details in the way of figures, I have already notified M. Pajou who will take great pleasure in executing it" (Mouchy private archives: see Lassus 1985, "Documents II"; Cayeux 1989, p. 160). Pajou is thus associated with the project for the *Cenotaph to the Memory of Cook* conceived by Robert, the designer of the Jardins du Roi and responsible for the gardens of La Borde's property at Méréville (Seine-et-Oise) since 1786. Robert's drawing has survived (Geneva 1979, no. 98, ill.).

September 26: Contract between Pajou and J.-J. de La Borde for a "bust of Cook" intended to adorn the cenotaph, for four thousand livres (Mouchy private archives, inventory of the papers of the J.-J. de La Borde estate: ADE, 1 Mi 333, no. 684). The cenotaph was installed at Méréville in March 1788 (Lassus 1976, p. 281). In 1802 Villiers (p. 82) mentions that "the bust in relief decorates the pedestal." The cenotaph can be seen today in the Parc de Jeurre (Seine-et-Oise) (fig. 80).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 9, p. 298).

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 9, p. 301).

December: Report by Pajou on two unsatisfactory students at the Petite École: Dupré and Jacomin (Courajod 1874, p. 163).

December 18: Sale of the duc de Choiseul collection:

no. 158: "Marble" "the *Quos ego,* a character study, treated with all the feeling and energy that this beautiful genre can convey. The composition presents the sea-god in the proud and noble attitude that suits him; he is borne on a conch shell and leans against the prow of a vessel: we know of few more magnificent and more perfect pieces of sculpture in our century. Height 28 inches [71.1 cm]" (cat. 71);

no. 162, without the artist's name: *Peace,* from the La Live de Jully collection (see above, Salon of 1761, no. 134, and May 2, 1770, no. 216): "A very beautiful female figure, allegorical subject; she holds in her right arm a small figure, the emblem of abundance, while with her left hand she upends the torch of war on military attributes. Height 24 inches [61 cm]."

Dated 1786: Terracotta group, *Colbert and Duquesne* (cat. 132).

Marble relief, *Nymph Bearing Crowns,* or *Fame,* inscribed: *PAJOU FACIEBAT. 1786* (Paris, formerly Jules Descamps collection; Stein 1912, p. 220, ill. p. 329; whereabouts unknown; fig. 139). (See below, March 23, 1803.)

Plaster cast of the medallion for the *Funerary Monument to Jacques Vaucanson,* inscribed: *PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU, 1786;* 58 × 48 cm (22⅞ × 18⅞ in.); perhaps cast during the Revolutionary period from a terracotta model that remained in the artist's studio; acquired in Paris in 1799, formerly in the Musée de Grenoble (Roman 1892, p. 193; Stein 1912, pp. 158–59, ill.), now lost. The marble medallion was in the church of Sainte-Marguerite in Paris, Vaucanson's parish. On March 18, 1798, it entered the Musée des Monuments Français (Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Courajod 1878–87, vol. 1, p. 131; *AMMF* 1883–97, vol. 2, p. 409) and was catalogued beginning in the year VIII (1799–1800) under no. 505. It was included on April 11, 1818, in a list of monuments claimed by the churches of the city of Paris (no. 505; see Lambeau 1925, p. 48). Sent to Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet on September 8, 1820 (*AMMF* 1883–97, vol. 3, p. 306); this marble, too, has disappeared.

Dated 1786: Terracotta bust of a woman, signed, presumed to represent Flore Pajou, 67 cm (26⅜ in.) high (formerly E. Courty collection, Châtillon-sur-Seine: Bregenz–Vienna 1968–69, no. 355, fig. 347; whereabouts unknown). There is at least a plaster cast of it, inscribed *Pajou f.1786,* 58 cm [22⅞ in.] high (formerly Jansen collection, Paris: Stein 1912, p. 414, ill. p. 377; sale Paris, Galliéra, April 11, 1962, no. 107, ill.).

Terracotta group, *Time Plucking a Flower from Beauty's Crown,* inscribed: *Pajou invenit F.1786,* 26 cm (10¼ in.) high (Mme Levaigneur sale, Paris, Drouot, May 2, 1912, no. 265; Stein 1912, p. 414, not ill.; Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, March 1–2, 1920, no. 132; Paris, Galerie Charpentier, December 4, 1954, no. 30; whereabouts unknown; fig. 238).

(?) Dated 1786: Marble bust of a little girl, formerly Baron Gevers collection, exhibited in Berlin in 1910 and commented on by Vitry (1910, p. 359), who accepted its authenticity (see also Stein 1912, p. 162).

1787

In the *Almanach royal* for 1787, Pajou is listed (p. 529) as "treasurer [of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture], draftsman at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, [member] of the academies of Bologna, Rome, and Toulouse. . . ."

January 28 and February 11: Two letters from Pajou, published in the *Journal de Paris,* arguing in favor of preserving the monument at the Pont-au-Change (erected by Simon Guillain in 1647, now in the Louvre).

July 28: J.-A.-C. Pajou, painter, is awarded a first-class medal in the Académie's district prizes (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 203; not cited in Cahen 1993).

August 7: Agreement between Pajou and De Wailly enumerating the practical consequences of joint use of the chimney flues, etc., common to their attached houses; the document was necessary in case either party wanted to sell his house (AN, Min. Cent., XII, 790, under "13 mars 1802").

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, of the Académie des Inscriptions, and of the academies of Bologna, Rome, and Toulouse, professor"):

no. 232: "Venus receiving the apple from the hands of Cupid. Statue in marble, 18 inches [45.7 cm] in height." The group, inscribed: *PAJOU F.1787,* was sold for eight thousand francs to a Montpellier collector during the Revolutionary period and was later (after 1850?) in the Forton collection, Montpellier; Anselme-Salomon de Rothschild, Vienna; 1866, his son Nathaniel de Rothschild; 1905, his nephew Alphonse de Rothschild, d. 1942 (information communicated by Pauline Prevost-Marcilhacy); sale New York, Parke-Bernet, November 1, 1958, no. 302, ill.; whereabouts unknown; fig. 102). (See Stein 1912, pp. 215–16, not ill.; and above, Salon of 1771, no. 240.) A version in *pierre de Tonnerre,* "six feet [1.83 m] in height," is listed as unfinished in Pajou's studio in 1797 (see below);

no. 233: "M. de Crosne, lieutenant general of the police. Plaster bust" (see cat. 106);

no. 234: "Honors rendered to Pelopidas, Theban general, by his soldiers, after his death, drawing, Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*" (whereabouts unknown; see above, Salon of 1767, no. 203).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 9, p. 341).

November 16: Pajou and Gois appraise works executed by Roëttiers de la Tour in the context of a lawsuit against the duc de Brissac (Carlier 1994, p. 64).

November 26: Sale of the collection of the comte de Vaudreuil, grand falconer of France:

no. 160: "Two superb companion drawings: one depicts Albinius who makes his family descend from their chariots. . . . The other shows the irruption of the Romans via an underground passage into the temple of Juno in the city of Veii" (see cat. 74, 76). Thiéry (1787, p. 548) mentions that in the bedroom of Vaudreuil's hôtel is "the bust of a woman in white marble, by M. Pajou, sculptor to the king."

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.,* vol. 9, p. 343).

December 5: Pierre informs d'Angiviller that Pajou hopes to make a statue of another Great Man (Guiffrey 1907, p. 170). The Great Man in question would have been Guillaume de Lamoignon, but for political reasons the commission was abandoned.

1787 and 1788: Pajou has only one student in receipt of a royal stipend (Boizot *fils*: Stein 1912, p. 80) at the Petite École (which is closed in 1790).

Dated 1787: Terracotta bust of Hubert Robert (cat. 108); two statuettes in plaster with bronze patina, *Fickle Love* and *Constant Love* (cat. 89, 90); drawing showing the back of the medal commemorating the new construction work on Cherbourg port (cat. 133).

1788

In the *Almanach royal* for 1787, Pajou is listed (p. 529) as "treasurer [of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture], draftsman at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, [member] of the Academies of Bologna, Rome, Parma, and Toulouse. . . ." These titles continue unchanged until 1793 (p. 319), when the title "treasurer" disappears.

February 15: Installation of Goujon's Fontaine des Innocents with Pajou's stone reliefs executed in the style of Goujon (see cat. 107).

February 18: Sale of the Vieux-Viller collection:

no. 298: "Terracottas," "A head of an old man, and the head of a young woman, by M. Pajou, on a square pedestal of *brèche d'Alep* marble."

February 21: Following the death of Quentin de La Tour, his stipend of one thousand livres is in abeyance. Pierre to d'Angiviller: "M. Pajou has some rights to a stipend, in compensation for his lodging. The promise was made six years ago" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 227).

March 17: M.B. sale:

no. 105: "Two drawings by MM. Pajou and Lagrenée."



Fig. 238. Pajou, *Time Plucking a Flower from Beauty's Crown.* Terracotta. Whereabouts unknown

March 20: Pajou receives five hundred livres as "indemnity for the lodging that had been granted him in the galleries and that certain circumstances of his position have not allowed him to use" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 231). His stipend thus rises to fifteen hundred livres (Herluison 1873, p. 331; AN, O¹ 1920, d. 1, p. 87; Stein 1912, doc. XLIX).

October 4: At the Académie Royale Pajou's son wins first prize in the *tête d'expression* category (Wille 1857, p. 189).

October 22: Pajou calculates at more than 180,000 livres the amount owed him by the Bâtiments du Roi over eighteen and a half years (AN, O¹ 1785, d. 7, p. 268; Stein 1912, doc. L).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 379).

November 24: Sale of the Charles De Wailly collection:

"Drawings":

no. 87: "A large drawing of a composed relief; it represents a combat with a Greek hero in a chariot, his squire lying slain beside him . . ." (cat. 23);

no. 88: "The drawing of the capture of Veii by the Romans, in pen and ink on white paper, engraved by M. Tilliond [Tilliard]" (see cat. 74);

no. 87 [*sic*]: "The fountain of Silenus, borne by cupids; very beautiful drawing in bister wash, mixed with red chalk and highlighted in white";

"Another drawing of the base of a monument in a garden, decorated with figures";

"Bronze":

no. 175: "Two children, one holding a nest and the other a bird, after M. Pajou and La Rue, on a gray granite socle." These two companion figures recall the couple after Clodion and Delarue (Poulet and Scherf 1992, pp. 136–49).

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 9, p. 383).

Dated 1788: Marble bust of Thiroux de Crosne (cat. 106); terracotta bust of the baron de Breteuil (cat. 107).

1789

February 18: Cancellation of the contract with the États du Languedoc (see cat. 132).

April 8: Pajou receives the sum of 288 livres for lessons given in the years 1787 and 1788 to a sculpture student not designated as attending the Petite École (BHVDP, "Autographes," vol. 81, fol. 18).

June 26: D'Angiviller to Vien, new *premier peintre*: After the death of Dandré-Bardon (July 1778), his lodgings in the Louvre were converted into two small ateliers, one of them occupied by Pajou's son, following Pierre's authorization (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 260).

August 25: Opening of the Salon ("M. Pajou, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and the Academies of Bologna, Parma, and Toulouse, treasurer of the Académie and professor"):

no. 207: "Portrait of Mme de Wailly. Marble bust" (cat. 109);

no. 208: Portrait of the late M. le Moyne, sculptor to the king, former director and rector of the Académie. Marble bust" (fig. 26; and see cat. 27);

no. 209: "Portrait of M. Robert, painter to the king and counselor to the Académie. Terracotta bust" (cat. 108);

no. 210: "A traveler from whose foot a man extracts a thorn. The artist's aim in this composition is to unite in a single piece the expressions of pain and thoughtfulness. Terracotta sketch." Inscribed on the plinth: *Réminiscence d'un groupe antique/L'attention et la douleur/PAR PAJOU, 1789*; height 18 cm (7⅛ in.). The work was once in the collection of the baron de Vandeul, a descendant of Diderot; its whereabouts are unknown (fig. 105).

no. 211: "Drawing. Project for a tomb for a Russian lord. His Excellency Count Sheremetev, tenderly attached to the memory of his father and mother, wishes to erect a monument to them . . ." (cat. 62).

The bust of Charles De Wailly was exhibited at this Salon (see cat. 109), not mentioned in the *livret*.

September 25: Among the announcements of "various patriotic offers" is "a renunciation of three livres per hundred of the sums due to M. Pajou, sculptor to the king . . . for his works at Versailles, Bellevue, on the Fontaine des Innocents, and other tasks done since 1769" (*Procès-Verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale*, vol. 3 [Paris, 1789], p. 7; Stein 1912, p. 83 n. 11).

September 26: Pajou presents his student Beauvallet to the Académie, and he is accepted (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 27).

September 30: One hundred thirty-three women artists or wives of artists have deposited their jewelry at the Galerie d'Apollon as a patriotic gift to the nation. Mme Pajou was treasurer of the movement, the idea for which came from Mme Moitte (Wille 1857, pp. 219–33).

October 30: Pajou is appointed to a commission, with Mouchy and Julien, to examine the restorations to be undertaken on the Porte Saint-Denis (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 30).

November: Month of teaching at the Académie (ibid., p. 34).

December: Additional month of teaching at the Académie (ibid., p. 38).

December 5: The Académie thanks Pajou for donating the bust of Louis XVI (ibid., p. 39).

Dufort de Cheverny, a founding member of the Jacobin club Friends of the Constitution, has Pajou and Sedaine admitted (Dufort de Cheverny 1909, vol. 2, p. 25).

According to Chaussard (see below, 1806), followed by Stein (1912, pp. 144–45), Pajou executed marble busts (inscribed *PAJOU F.1789*) of Pierre-Isaac Poissonnier—*conseiller d'État* of the Académie des Sciences, consulting physician to Louis XVI, and former lodge brother of Pajou (see above, 1775)—and of his wife (whereabouts unknown).

Dated 1789: Terracotta bust of Nathalie de Laborde (cat. 110).

Terracotta statuette representing Force, inscribed: *PAJOU F.1789*, described in the sale catalogue of the M. de S. collection, May 5, 1886, no. 27: "She is represented standing, head held high and looking to the right; in her right hand she holds a mass of weapons and her left hand is supported on a shield resting on the ground. . . . Height 30 cm [11⅞ in.]" (Stein 1912, p. 219, not ill.; whereabouts unknown).

Terracotta relief, *Four Cupids Forming an Orchestra Conducted by a Fifth Cupid*, inscribed: *PAJOU. S^t 1789*, 72 × 80 cm (28⅜ × 31½ in.) (Stein 1912, p. 184 n. 2, not ill.: "Paris, A. de Ridder collection"; whereabouts unknown).

Dated 1789: Miniature of Pajou by Sicardi (Rouen, formerly Le Breton collection; Stein 1912, pp. 51–52, ill.).

1790

January 30: Pajou is named assistant rector of the Académie, with Carle Van Loo (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 44).

March 6: Pajou is named commissioner representing the officers of the Académie (Houdon and David notably representing the academicians) in drawing up new statutes (ibid., p. 52).

March 18: Date of Pajou's last memorandum as treasurer of the Académie.

April 13: Louis XVI donates his bust to the municipality of Versailles. Pajou has no example of it under way, but "he will restore a plaster cast that can be used in its place, until the marble is finished" (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, pp. 283–84). Pajou would like the king to consider him—rather than Boizot—if the city of Strasbourg decides to order his bust in marble (ibid., p. 289).

May 2: Pajou begins the marble replica of his bust of Louis XVI, donated by the king to the municipality of Versailles (Versailles, Musée Lambinet; AN, O1 1920, d. 4, pp. 36, 52; Stein 1912, doc. LVIII, LIX). (See below, 1791.)

May 31: Anonymous sale:

no. 171: "Two superb companion drawings, one depicting Albinius who makes his family descend from their chariots. . . . The other shows the irruption of the Romans via an underground passage into the temple of Juno in the city of Veii. . . . They come from M. Vaudreuil's sale" (see cat. 74, 76).

June: Pajou has to substitute another work for a marble statue initially commissioned by J.-J. de Laborde, which had failed to please (see cat. 110). The first statue can be converted into a Liberty (letters of H. Robert of March 31, June 10, and August 24, 1790, in Lassus 1976, p. 282; Lassus 1985, "Documents II"; Cayeux 1989, p. 162).

July 13: Opening at the Louvre, with a printed catalogue, of the first exhibition of the Société des Amis des Arts (Lagrange 1861, p. 299), of which Pajou was a founding member, with De Wailly and Robert among others (AP, 2 AZ 178, p. 7; see the bylaws at 2 AZ 178, p. 3). Pajou shows two sculptures: no. 32, "Venus and Cupid, in marble, or the Price of Beauty, with its pedestal of *bleu turquin* marble"; and under no. 33, "Plaster of Venus and Cupid" (see above, Salon of 1787).

August 24: Pajou *fils* is awarded the prize for a half-length figure painting established at the Académie by Quentin de La Tour (Wille 1857, p. 262).

September 6: Five commissioners—including Pajou, in his capacity as treasurer—are assigned to draw up a memorandum requested by the National Assembly "so that it may learn which members of our Académie would deserve stipends" (ibid., p. 265).

September 21: An ambitious text of eighty-five

pages—setting out proposals for the "Central Academy" agreed on by the majority of members of the Académie Royale "in deliberative assembly," and signed in particular by Pajou as "acting chairman"—is sent to the National Assembly: *Adresse et projet de statuts et règlemens pour l'Académie centrale de peinture, sculpture, gravure et architecture, présentés à l'assemblée nationale par la majorité des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et sculpture en assemblée délibérante* (Paris 1790: Deloynes, vol. 53, p. 1488; *Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, pp. 81–82; Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 1, pp. XLV, XLVI). Pajou, assistant rector, presided over this session in the absence of Vien (Wille, p. 266). The proposals contained in the *Adresse* were rejected by Vien and d'Angiviller.

September 29: The Commune des Arts invites all citizens to attend meetings in order to help it "in the regeneration of the arts, to which the National Assembly will soon turn its attention"; the invitation is signed "Pajou, president" (Deloynes, vol. 53, p. 1474).

October 2: Pajou argues against partial meetings of the Académie that would separate the officers from the academicians (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 84).

October 5: Pajou, Vincent, and two painters sign a petition to the president of the National Assembly to express "their concerns about the paintings and artistic monuments that are going to be mixed up in the sale of goods owned by the clergy" (holograph, Charavay sale, February 21, 1891, no. 78).

October 8: Pajou protests against the use made of his name in the invitation of September 29; he specifies that his title of "acting president" applied to the entire Académie gathered to discuss the new statutes, and not only to the Commune des Arts (Deloynes, vol. 53, p. 1475)

November 8: First meeting of the members of the "commission appointed by the committee on the transfer of national property to undertake research into monuments relating to literature, the sciences, and the arts"—known as the Commission des Monuments—established following a decree of the National Assembly dated October 17, 1790. Pajou belongs to the seventh division, notably with Doyen, David, and Mouchy (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, pp. vi, vii, 4).

November 20: Meeting of the members of the Commission des Monuments: "Pajou imparts observations on the means of preserving statues" (ibid., p. 7), which will result in a publication (see below, September 4, 1796).

Pajou is named in a list of lodgings at the Louvre: "Louvre, Porte Royale, near the place Froidmanteau. Porte Saint-Germain. Atelier and lodging of M. Pajou, sculptor" (Guiffrey 1873, p. 145). He is still a neighbor of Caffieri and H. Robert.

Dated 1790: Marble sculpture, *Psyche Abandoned,* shown at the Salon of 1791 (cat. 134).

1791

January: Pajou is a member, with David, of the jury appointed to choose among the models to be used in minting the future constitutional coinage (decision rendered on April 9; Benzaken 1988, pp. 972–73).

January 11: Letter from Pajou to his student J.-E. Dumont, pensionnaire in Rome: "You are aware how greatly France, and particularly the city of Paris, has been shaken up by the overthrow of the ancien régime" (BN Ms, Nouv. acq. fr. 24839, fols. 431, 432; cited in the *BSHAF,* 1923, p. 377).

February 1: Pajou informs the Commission des Monuments that he has seen disappear from the Salle des Antiques a certain number of marble statues "presumed to have been transported to the estate of Menars," the marquis de Marigny's château near Blois (Loir-et-Cher); Marigny, who had died in 1781, had been director of the Bâtiments du Roi for over twenty years before resigning the post in 1773. Pajou is invited to "send detailed notes on the objects that he believes to have been misappropriated from the Salle des Antiques" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 19). At the meeting of February 22, he reads his report on the statues removed from the Salle des Antiques (ibid., pp. 21, 24, appendix pp. 267–68).

March 26: Pajou presents his student Deseine to the Académie, and he is accepted (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 98).

April 16: Pajou serves on the committee appointed to set up a competition for a monument to Rousseau (ibid., p. 102).

April 19: M. de la Mure sale:

no. 147: "A portrait of an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes. This beautiful piece is by M. Pajou."

April 28: Pajou resigns as treasurer of the Académie (Lecomte succeeds him). On this occasion, a separate position is created for keeper of the Académie collections, which is given to Caffieri (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 162).

July (?): In the catalogue of the second exhibition of the Société des Amis des Arts, Pajou, one of the "artist commissioners," alongside De Wailly, "commissioner general," is listed as showing, under no. 56, a "Head of a Greek philosopher (marble)." This is also exhibited at the Salon of the Académie in September (see below).

August: Printing of the first version of the Salon *livret,* which is pulped after the National Assembly decides to delay the opening of the Salon in order to open it to all artists (Scherf in Paris 1996) ("M. Pajou of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, of the Academies of Bologna, Parma, and Toulouse, assistant rector and treasurer":

no. 200: "Psyche. Lifesize marble statue, ordered for the king, and intended as a companion piece for the statue of Cupid by M. Bouchardon, which has been deposited in the Salle des Antiques until it can be placed in the Muséum" (cat. 134).

September 8: Opening of the Salon, with the printing of a second *livret* ("M. Pajou, Ac."):

no. 451: "Lifesize bust, in marble. A philosopher" (see above, Salon of the Société des Amis des Arts, July[?]);

no. 789: "Statue in marble, lifesize, representing Psyche" (cat. 134).

Pajou is listed at the end of this second *livret* as living at 196 rue Froidmanteau.

September 13: The report by Pajou and Mouchy on the works of art in the church of Saint-Louis (now Saint-Paul and Saint-Louis) is filed at the Commission des Monuments (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 47).

September 20: Pajou acknowledges having received two hundred livres as salary in his capacity as keeper of modern sculptures at the Louvre for the first six months of 1791 (Reims, BM, Ms. Tarbé, *carton* XX, no. 21).

September 24: Visit with Le Blond to the Couvent des Feuillants to draw up an inventory of its artworks (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 2, pp. 50, 51).

October 1: Pajou, as treasurer of the Académie, receives the sum of 33,900 livres granted to the Académie for its expenditures, by order of a decree from the National Assembly dated September 17, thereby settling an overdue account going back to the years 1787, 1788, and 1789 (AN, Min. Cent., VII, 508).

Dated 1791: Marble bust of Louis XVI, inscribed: *Pajou sculpteur et citoyen de la ville de Paris 1791*; and on the pedestal, *donné par le roi à la municipalité de Versailles en 1790* (Stein 1912, ill. p. 109); Versailles, Musée Lambinet, inv. M.R.SUP.3620). (See above, 1790.)

Dated 1791: Portrait of an unidentified man (cat. 138).

1792

February 14: Pajou consults the Commission des Monuments about "the inventory that he believes should be made of the Salle des Antiques at the Louvre, of which he is keeper" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 74).

February 27: Pajou is an acting commissioner on the jury gathered, until June 3, to examine the incentive awards given out after the Salon of 1791 (Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, pp. 1–3).

March 14: Pajou consults the Commission des Monuments on what he should do about a request by Thierry de Ville d'Avray, administrator of the Garde-Meuble, who is claiming objects from the duc d'Aumont's sale bought for the king in 1782 (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 80).

March 20: Pajou is one of the signatories of the first financial report of the Société des Amis des Arts, for the year 1791; his name appears first—and also at no. 30—on the list of expenditures (he has been paid more than eighteen hundred livres), and De Wailly's last (AP, 2 AZ 178, p. 5).

March 22: Sale of the collection of the architect Brongniart:

no. 94: [Pajou] "a drawing, the subject a relief, done in the beautiful antique style, in three kinds of chalk on white paper" (cat. 23).

April 24: Pajou, Mouchy, Regnault, and Moreau "are appointed to proceed forthwith to the survey of the monuments of science and art that are to be found in religious houses" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 86).

April 27: "Certificate of residence (by the section of the Tuileries) delivered to Augustin Pajou, statuary sculptor to the king, residing at 196 rue Froidmanteau" (Paris Drouot, May 6, 1935, no. 140).

May 15: Pajou is among those appointed "to make the survey of the monuments in the former abbey of Saint-Victor and in the house of the former Bernardins" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 90).

June 5: Pajou and Moreau "are to go tomorrow before the Comité d'Instruction Publique to request authorization to sell mediocre or bad paintings, the large number of which is beginning to encumber the provisional repository" (ibid., p. 98).

July 3: "MM. Pajou, Mouchy, and Boizot are requested to survey the artistic monuments that have remained in the churches of the former Jacobins, rue Saint-Jacques, and of the Sainte-Chapelle" (ibid., p. 106).

July 7: Pajou, "the most senior of the assistant rectors, is duly promoted to the class of the rectors" (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 169).

July 31: Mouchy, Pajou, and Boizot present their report to the Commission des Monuments "on the monuments of painting and sculpture in the departments of the Haute-Saône and Haute-Marne" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 113).

August 6: The artists housed in the Louvre, including Pajou, send a letter to the National Assembly to thank it for not having evicted them after a counter-Revolutionary fusillade was fired from the Grande Galerie (AN, C 161, d. 353, p. 18).

August 7: Pajou suggests to the Commission des Monuments that the tomb of Crébillon, designed by his teacher Lemoyne, "which he has under his care, in the Salle des Antiques," be transferred to the Pantheon (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 114).

August 14: "MM. Pajou, Mouchy, and Boizot are instructed to proceed immediately with the survey and inventory of the paintings and sculptures located in the houses of the Sorbonne and the Carmelites" (ibid., p. 115).

August 21: In Pajou's presence, the Commission des Monuments conveys to the Comité d'Instruction Publique the draft of a decree designed to save bronze monuments worthy of preservation from being melted down (ibid., p. 116).

September 11: Certificate of residence at 196 rue Froidmanteau delivered by the section of the Tuileries. Pajou has given his "civic oath" (AN, AP 300[1]38A).

October 20: First session of the new Commission des Monuments, which replaces the commissions created October 13, 1790, and September 16, 1792. Pajou's name still appears on the list of members (Guillaume 1891–1907, vol. 1, p. 8; Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, pp. 130–31).

November 3: Pajou writes from Montpellier to Le Blond, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions, asking him to notify his colleagues that he is in the Languedoc with his wife, who is ill. He gives his address as care of Maurice Riban, rue Sainte-Foix, near the Pénitents Blancs (Stein 1912, doc. LXV).

November 20: In the elections for director of the Académie de France in Rome—a position never held by a sculptor—Pajou receives four votes; he is widely outstripped by Suvée (thirty-two votes), who wins on the second round, and Vincent (fifteen votes) (*Proc.-Verb.*, vol. 10, p. 190).

December 18: Letter from Pajou in Montpellier to J.-E. Dumont, pensionnaire in Rome: "Mme Pajou left Paris at the beginning of August to consult the best doctors in Montpellier about her illness." In Paris, Pajou is thus separated from his wife, as well as from his son, who leaves soon after his mother to join the army: "The terrible catastrophe that happened on August 10 plunged my spirits into a state difficult to describe. I decided to leave the capital with my daughter in order for us to join my wife"; "Mlle Thiébault" (no doubt his son's future wife: see below, July 15, 1795) is with them. He advises Dumont to stay in Rome until calm returns in France. He has also written to Girodet: "We expect to remain [in Montpellier] until the month of September next year 1793, unless unforeseen circumstances force us to return to Paris earlier" (BN Ms, Nouv. acq. fr. 24839, fols. 433, 434; cited in *BSHAF*, 1923, p. 377; see also the letters of Pajou *fils* to his friend the painter F. Gérard: Gérard 1987, pp. 86–88).

Pajou's name appears (under no. 17 "rue Fromenteau") in the 1791–92 shareholders' list of the Société des Amis des Arts: *État d'émargement ou quittance de la remise et délivrance des actions pour l'année 1791 à 1792* (undated), still at the top of the list, after De Wailly (no. 3) and before Robert (no. 18); they are the first three artists on the list (AP, 2 AZ 178, p. 6).

Dated 1792: Marble statue, *Filial Piety with the Features of Nathalie de Laborde Holding a Medallion of Her Father* (see cat. 110).

Terracotta bust of Maurice Riban, inscribed: *PAR PAJOU CITOYEN DE PARIS A MONTPELLIER L'AN 1792* (Stein 1912, p. 279, ill. p. 276: private collection; fig. 212).

Dated 1792: Landscape drawing done in Montpellier, depicting a farm (fig. 129).

1793

January 15: Le Blond, secretary to the Commission des Monuments, is instructed to write Pajou "and to ask him for an exact listing of the marbles and bronzes under his care" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 1, p. 169).

February 5: Pajou asks Le Blond to protect his positions as keeper of modern sculptures in the Salle des Antiques, which Houdon has his eye on, and as draftsman to the Académie des Inscriptions (ibid., pp. 183–84; Stein 1912, doc. LXVI).

April 4: Letter from Pajou [in Montpellier] to J.-E. Dumont, pensionnaire in Rome: he advises him to remain in Florence until the end of his allotted time: "After Rome, it is the city most replete with beautiful things." He adds, "My poor wife is still very ill, her condition worries us a great deal" (BN Ms, Nouv. acq. fr. 24839, fols. 435, 436; cited in *BSHAF*, 1923, p. 377).

April 15: Sale of the Joubert collection:

no. 87: "a group in white marble representing Venus and Cupid, on a socle of *bleu turquin* marble under a domed glass case" (see above, Salon of 1787 and July 13, 1790);

no. 90: "terracotta," "A lifesize head of an old man" (see cat. 63).

April 16: Letter from Pajou *fils* ("196 rue Fromenteau, facing the entrance to the Louvre") to Minister of the Interior Garat to plead his father's cause in seeking to retain his position as keeper of the Salle des Antiques. At the same time, he sends Garat the list of objects under his father's care (Tuetey and Guiffrey 1909, p. 117).

April 23: Sale of the dealer Donjeux's collection:

no. 462: "Two superb companion drawings: one depicts Albinius . . ., the other shows the irruption of the Romans into the temple of Juno. . . . They come from M. de Vaudreuil's sale" (see above, November 26, 1787; cat. 74, 76);

no. 463: "A beautiful pen-and-ink drawing, subject a relief, composed in the style of Polidoro. Height 24 inches, width 34 [61 × 86.4 cm]" (see cat. 23).

April 29: Letter from the Commission du Muséum to Garat: Pajou *fils* (on his father's behalf) and Guignes, keeper of antique sculptures, are to remove from the Salle des Antiques the works intended for the Musée de l'École Française; in his reply of May 15, Garat specifies that living artists must be excepted (Tuetey and Guiffrey 1909, pp. 141–42). A letter dated the same day from Pajou *fils* to the "citizen commissioners" stresses that his father cannot be held responsible for the objects in the Salle des Antiques, since he never received a list of them from his predecessor, but that an inventory of the modern statues will be made. He defends his father, who is detained in Montpellier caring for his mother, and expresses concern that his father's atelier in the Louvre is threatened (AMN, S 30).

May 15: Garat's reply to Pajou *fils*: he has received the list of works in the Salle des Antiques, and he agrees that Pajou should continue as keeper in receipt of "the provisional salary of six hundred livres that had been granted him in that respect. I believe it is also right to pay him what he has been owed of this salary since August 10, as soon as he sends me a written request" (Tuetey and Guiffrey 1909, pp. 152–53).

May 23: In a report, *État de la Société des Amis des Arts*, Pajou is listed (no. 17) as having received three hundred livres (AP, 2 AZ 178, p. 8).

May 28: Pajou *fils* to Garat: he thanks him for "the lodging that you have granted him [Pajou] at the Louvre in your letter of the nineteenth of this month, which I have informed him of. . . . My father is sixty-four years old and my poor mother has been afflicted for the past two years with a nearly total paralysis that prevents her from walking alone and even then only with great difficulty [consequently, he asks Garat for a lodging that does not involve climbing stairs]. You can have confirmation of these facts from Citizen David or from any of the artists who know my father" (Tuetey and Guiffry 1909, pp. 156–57).

July 8: Sale of the collection of M. Bauvais:

Terracotta and plaster: no. 122: "Two children, by Pajou."

July 18: First session of the Commune Générale des Arts, presided over by Dardel, which takes the place of the moribund Académie. Pajou *fils* (he and Isabey were the youngest artists) is named provisional secretary, then—the following day—acting secretary (Lapauze 1903, pp. xxi–xxii, 6, 9).

July 24: Pajou *fils* is named acting commissioner, joining other commissioners such as Roland and De Wailly, "assigned to prepare for the destruction of all the attributes of royalty" (ibid., pp. XXXV, 22).

July 30: Public drawing of a lottery organized by the Société des Amis des Arts (the numerous works of art were exhibited at the Muséum). The printed list of winning numbers includes, under no. 969: "two

marble reliefs of Diogenes and [Glycera] by Pajou no. 58, 59," acquired by Sarazin (*Liste des numéros gagnants de la loterie de la société des amis des arts, dont le tirage a été fait publiquement le 30 juillet 1793*: AP, 2 AZ 178, p. 2) (see cat. 86).

August 8: Decree of the convention suppressing academies and literary societies.

August 10: Opening of the Muséum des Arts at the Louvre.

September 20: Pajou swears before a notary in Montpellier that he has received from the treasurer of the duc d'Orléans, Philippe Égalité (then imprisoned), the sum, in assignats, of 30,820 livres (AN, Min. Cent., XVI, 905).

September 28: Decree establishing in Paris, at the Louvre, the École Spéciale de Peinture, Sculpture et Architecture, made final by the decree of October 22, 1795, and by Daunou's report on the setting up of special schools (*Rapport sur l'organisation des écoles spéciales,* 1797). Pajou is listed as one of the professors, as a former professor at the Académie Royale (AN, AJ^{52} 35).

October 4: "The National Convention decrees that the statue of Descartes, made by the celebrated Pajou, which is now in the Salle des Antiques, shall be taken from there to be placed in the Pantheon on the day when the ashes of this great man are transferred thither" (Guillaume 1891–1907, vol. 2, p. 578).

October 14: Pajou files—that is, has had filed, no doubt by his son—his academic credentials with the office of the Commune Générale des Arts (Lapauze 1903, p. 163).

October 24: The Commission des Monuments designates Boizot and Mouchy, assisted by Pajou *fils*, to inventory the works in the Salle des Antiques in order to sort them out: they "shall indicate the division to be made among the objects and the places where that which is considered unfit to stay in the Salle can be consigned" (Tuetey 1901–2, pt. 2, p. 55; and Furcy-Raynaud 1907).

December 18: The Commission des Monuments is dissolved. Its functions are transferred to the Commission Temporaire des Arts, of which Pajou is not a member (Tuetey 1912–17, vol. 1, p. VI). On February 6, 1794, a decree specifies that the members of the Conservatoire du Muséum National belong to this commission (ibid., p. ix; see below, April 16, 1795).

The register of the dépôt de Nesle, where the collections taken from the émigrés and those condemned to death are accumulated, includes:

from Boutin: "a young Cupid eating grapes, in *pierre de Tonnerre*" (see above, 1771; AN, F^{17} *372, fol. 126) and "the preliminary study for one of the drawings engraved after Pajou in black pencil on white paper, height 20 inches by 30 [50.8 × 76.2 cm]" (AN, F^{17} *372, fol. 150);

from Montmorency-Laval: "terracotta. A funerary monument executed in Switzerland representing a woman emerging from the tomb with her child; height 15 inches, width 10 [38.1 × 25.4 cm], in a pearwood box" (AN, F^{17} *372, fol. 333; see below, March 21, 1794);

from the comtesse Balbi, mistress of the comte de Provence: "a group representing Friendship sacrificing to Love, in marble, height 5 feet 3 inches, width 3 feet [160 × 91.4 cm]" (AN, F^{17} *372, fol. 307).

Dated 1793: Terracotta bust of Jean-Baptiste Riban, inscribed: *par Pajou citoyen de Paris 1793 porterait de J. B. Riban* (Stein 1912, p. 280, ill. p. 277; Paris, Galerie Charpentier, March 15, 1956, no. 40; fig. 213). Stein mentions three wax medallions—then belonging to Riban's descendants—representing the children of J.-B. Riban, which he attributes to Pajou (Stein 1912, pp. 278–79, ill.). Terracotta bust of Louis Deranc (cat. 139).

1794

January 8: The Representative of the People Boisset entrusts the Committee on Agriculture and the Arts (of which Pajou is an associate member, along with Chaptal among others), administered by the Société Régénérée des Sans-Culottes of Montpellier, with the building of a Temple of Reason on the promenade du Peyrou, Montpellier: "He has already given the celebrated sculptor Pajou and the architect Moulinier the idea for a temple that will be dedicated to Philosophy and Truth" (Larédo 1988, pp. 152–53).

February 1: Clodion and Flore Pajou divorce. They have been separated since July 1789 (Stein 1912, p. 26).

February 26: At the National Convention, a letter from Boisset (dated February 6: *Procès-Verbal de la Convention Nationale,* vol. 32, Paris, year II, p. 277) is read: "In the aforesaid place de Peyrou . . . rises a temple to Reason, circular in shape, flanked by 160 columns. The statue of Philosophy, executed by the celebrated Pajou, will reveal Truth to the world" (Larédo 1988, p. 153). Because of lack of funds and opposition from the Thermidor faction, this project was never realized. A drawing depicting the temple (Archives des Monuments Historiques; Montpellier 1980, fig. 71) is attributed to Moulinier and Pajou.

February 28: Pajou *fils* reminds the Commission Temporaire des Arts that his father is "guardian," or keeper, of the Salle des Antiques (Tuetey 1912, p. 88).

March 21: Decree authorizing the removal of works selected for the Muséum from the general repository of objects confiscated from the émigrés (at the Hôtel de Nesle on the rue de Beaune): "A funerary monument, executed in Switzerland, representing a woman emerging from the tomb with her child, in a walnut box, by Pajou," 15 × 10 inches [38.1 × 25.4 cm], from the collection of Louis-Joseph de Montmorency-Laval, grand almoner of France (Furcy-Raynaud 1912, p. 302). (See above, 1793.)

May 22: Date on the bust of Paul-François Des Hours-Farel (cat. 142).

June 28: Date on the bust of Mlle Des Hours-Farel (cat. 143).

August 11: Death of Mme Pajou, aged sixty, at the home of Maurice Riban in Montpellier (ADH, 3E 177/323). No inventory was made after her death (see below, April 6, 1797).

October 4: Terracotta bust of Antoine-Pierre Viel de Lunas, comte d'Espeuilles, brother of the marquis d'Espeuilles, inscribed on the back on the *tranche:* PAR LE CITOYEN PAJOU DE PARIS L'AN 3 DE LA RÉPU; and on the right shoulder *tranche: a Montpellier Le/12 Vendemiair/1794* (Stein 1912, pp. 287–88, ill.; fig. 216).

October 5: Presentation to the National Convention of a plaster bust of Beauvais de Préau, representative of the people in Montpellier, who died in that city after being held captive by the British at Toulon and was designated "martyr for Liberty," donated by the artist (AN, F^{17} 1281, p. 180; Stein 1912, doc. LXVII). An example of the bust—inscribed on the base under the pedestal, in front: *Beauvais représentan du/peuple français, mort à/Montpellier le 8 germinal*; and, at right, *par le citoyen Pajou de/Paris à Montpellier le 9/floréal l'an 2e de la repu*—is in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier (Joubin 1926, p. 284, no. 950, ill; fig. 217). At the Convention, Fourcroy, complaining "that the sculptures produced since the Revolution [are] only in plaster . . . asks that the bust of the martyr for liberty, donated by Pajou, which, moreover, is a masterpiece, be executed in marble" (Deloynes, vol. 54, p. 1597).

October 21: Letter from Pajou to his son mentioning the order from the National Convention (decree of October 3, 1794) for the marble bust of Beauvais (Doucet, *carton* 23, mf B XII, 9920–25; in Stein 1912, pp. 290–91). But the marble version was never made.

October 23: Letter from Pajou to his son: he is leaving Montpellier the next day with his daughter for Béziers, Toulouse, and Bordeaux (where he will be staying with his "friend Maupoix") before returning to Paris (Doucet, *carton* 23, mf B XII, 9920–25; Stein 1912, pp. 290–91). Pajou sketched the profile of a young man, no doubt Riban's son, next to his son's address.

December 12: The Comité d'Instruction Publique declares that the bust of the martyr for liberty Joseph Sauveur, killed in the Vendée, will be executed in marble by Taveau "under Pajou's supervision" (Guillaume 1891–1907, vol. 5, p. 312; Tuetey 1912–17, vol. 1, p. 581 n. 1).

1795

February 12: From a list of the quarters assigned in the Louvre (*Tableau général de la distribution des logements du bâtiment national et de la galerie du muséum*) it appears that Pajou still enjoys, on the Cour Carrée side in the "old Louvre," the use of a "ground-floor atelier" (near the entrance on the rue du Coq side), where his neighbors are H. Robert, Julien, Deseine, Berruer, and De Wailly (Sedaine is one flight up; d'Argé 1958, p. 249); and, on the Grande Galerie side, of living quarters in the Galerie du Muséum, where he has "ten small rooms, cellar, and bathroom facing the quai (with his wife, his son, his daughter, a female domestic, and a cook)"; his neighbors are again Robert, Fragonard, Vincent, and Mouchy (ibid., p. 300). The lodgings in the "Galeries du Louvre"—beneath the Grande Galerie—looked out on both the quai de la Seine and the rue des Orties; a long corridor was shared by all the inhabitants who were lodged on two or three mezzanines (Paris 1979b, pp. 11–13).

March 5: Pajou, henceforth one of the treasurers of the Société des Amis des Arts, signs the financial accounting for the year III (1794–95). He receives one thousand livres, one of the largest sums (AP, 2 AZ 178, p. 7).

March 10: Responsible for the execution of the bust of Beauvais, Pajou applies to the Comité d'Instruction Publique, which directs Curée to present to the National Convention the draft of a decree requesting the production of this bust (Guillaume 1891–1907, vol. 5, p. 593).

April 15: Amicable settlement between Pajou and his children. The sculptor's address is now "Galeries du Muséum, no. 21, Tuileries section." The text, once preserved in the family archives (it has since been lost), is published in full by Stein (1912, doc. LXVIII). It is decided to sell the house on the rue de la Pépinière. (See below, April 6, 1797.)

April 16: Notice from the Comité d'Instruction Publique naming the members of the new Conservatoire du Muséum National des Arts—called the "second Conservatoire"—responsible for dealing with all the problems relating to its organization: Pajou, Robert, De Wailly (who replaces Vincent), Fragonard, and Picault, the last two being survivors of the first Conservatoire (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 1, p. 156).

April 20: Pajou chairs the first session of the second Conservatoire du Muséum (ibid., p. 165). He remains chairman through the meeting of May 22.

June 22: Pajou and De Wailly are appointed by the Conservatoire to go and claim objects "in the repository of the Maison Infantado opposite the Garde-Meuble" (ibid., p. 190).

July 6: Pajou, De Wailly, and Fragonard "report on their official verification of the art objects housed in the Garde-Meuble, deemed sufficiently valuable to be accepted by the Muséum"; the objects were checked against an inventory drawn up by Le Brun (ibid., pp. 196, 292–94).

July 15: Marriage of Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou, residing at 21 rue des Orties, to Marie-Marguerite Thiébault; the painter François Gérard is a witness (Herluison 1873, p. 332).

July 16: Pajou is one of six commissioners named by the Jury des Arts to evaluate the statue of Fame—destined for the Pantheon—in Dejoux's studio (AN, F[17] 1135).

July 16: Pajou's name appears on the list of artists entitled to three thousand francs as a national recompense (Guillaume 1891–1907, vol. 6, pp. 427, 591, 628; *Mercure de France,* September 11, pp. 334–35).

August 6: The Pajou family, residing at 21 rue des Orties, a section of the Muséum (that is, the Galeries du Louvre), sells to the merchant T.-F.-C. Popp the house at 790 rue de la Pépinière, faubourg du Roule, and the developed plot attached for five hundred thousand livres "in assignats or other accepted currency"—a risible sum given the devaluation of the currency (AN, Min. Cent., LXXV, 900; Stein 1912, doc. LXX). The money will be used to buy a farm, Fontenelle, at Lixy in the Yonne (and not apparently at Lisy-sur-Ourcq, as Stein has it). (See below, April 6, 1797.)

August 10: Sale of the baron de Besenval collection: no. 92: (marble?): "A pretty bust of a child, by Pajou."

August 14: Pajou and De Wailly are requested by the Conservatoire "to go to Fontainebleau to advise on the quickest means of transporting to the Muséum des Arts all the bronzes and other objects" previously selected; their journey is ultimately canceled (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 1, pp. 218, 223).

August 16: Pajou participates in the petition sent to the Directory to protest the displacement of the works of art coming from Rome (Quatremère de Quincy 1989, pp. 141–42).

August 22: Pajou and Fragonard report to the Conservatoire on their "selection of volumes of drawings from among the 177 volumes of drawings and prints that came from Cologne and are deposited at the Muséum" (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 1, p. 222).

August 31: Pajou is still considered "curator of the Salle des Antiques" by the Conservatoire (ibid., pp. 226, 259).

September 3: Pajou and Picault are appointed by the Conservatoire to verify the treasurer's accounts (ibid., p. 227).

September 23: Beginning of Pajou's second chairmanship at the Conservatoire du Muséum (ibid., p. 239), which runs through the session of October 21.

November 20: By order of the Directory, Pajou is named a member of the Institut National (6th division: sculpture), together with Houdon (De Wailly and Gondoin are in the architecture division). In December, Julien and Moitte are elected, and then Roland and Dejoux (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 1, p. lxxix). Pajou attends the meetings faithfully, as he did in the time of the old Académie Royale; this is evident from the attendance records ("Livres du droit de présence": AI, D12, D13, and so on) and the minutes published by Bonnaire.

November 22: The Conservatoire du Muséum appoints Pajou to supervise the casting of three works in plaster (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 1, pp. 277–78).

December 26: Pajou and Picault are appointed by the Conservatoire to go "to the national glassworks" to select works for the Muséum (ibid., p. 295).

Dated 1795: Terracotta statuette, *Psyche Abandoned* (fig. 210).

Marble bust of a little girl, bearing the inscription: *PAJOU F. 1795/L'AN 3 DE LA REPUBLIQUE F.,* height 16¾ inches (42.2 cm) (Stein 1912, pp. 300–301, ill.; formerly David-Weill collection; fig. 218). (See below, Salon of 1798, no. 537.)

Dated 1795: Painting of Pajou by his son (Stein 1912, p. 304, not ill.; formerly David-Weill collection, "from the artist's descendants": Henriot 1926–28, vol. 1, pp. 285–87, ill; fig. 230).

1796

Pajou reappears in the *Almanach national* for the year IV (1795–96; he was absent from the editions of the years II and III [1793–94 and 1794–95]) under the heading "Institut National des Sciences et des Arts" with his address as "rue des Orties, no. 21" (p. 446). The following year, the *Almanach national* stops giving the addresses of Institut members.

January 25: Pajou, De Wailly, and Picault report to the Conservatoire on their visit to the Château du Raincy: "they have marked various objects worth transporting to the Muséum," which must not be sold (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 2, p. 14).

January 31: Pajou assists in the official verification of the paintings from the collection of the Stadtholder (ibid., p. 18).

January 31: Marriage of Catherine-Flore Pajou to Louis-Pierre Martin, known as Saint-Martin, the son of an architect and of Marie-Françoise Vassé, perhaps related to the sculptor. Flore was living with her father and brother on the rue des Orties. Among the witnesses, apart from Pajou and his son, were the painter A.-L. Girodet and Marie-Louise-Albertine Martin, wife of the sculptor Delaistre and in her teens the subject of a portrait bust by Pajou (fig. 235; see 1777 and February 21, 1786) (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 602).

February 18: Pajou and De Wailly have selected at Marly the works "worthy of the Muséum," including a "head in marble, copied from the Venus de' Medici" (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 2, p. 35).

February 20: Beginning of Pajou's third chairmanship at the Conservatoire du Muséum (ibid.), running through the meeting of March 19.

February 26: Pajou and De Wailly report to the Conservatoire on their mission to effect an official verification at the dépôt de Nesle (ibid., p. 40).

April 20: Pajou and Robert are appointed by the Conservatoire to verify the treasurer's accounts (ibid., p. 55).

April 22: Pajou and De Wailly are appointed by the Conservatoire to visit the Palais du Corps Législatif (ibid., p. 57).

May 18: Pajou and Robert are appointed by the Conservatoire to visit the Hôtel des Monnaies (ibid., p. 69).

June 3: Pajou and Fragonard report to the Conservatoire on their mission to select drawings at the dépôt de Nesle (ibid., p. 74).

June–July ("Messidor year IV"): The names of Pajou and his son appear on the list of the nonmobile Garde Nationale of Paris, Tuileries division, as "volunteers" ("residing in the Galleries, no. 10") (AP, VD* 2694-2721, register 16, fol. 35).

July 19: Pajou's fourth chairmanship at the Conservatoire du Muséum (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 2, p. 91), running through the meeting of August 16.

August 6: Pajou and Fragonard are appointed by the Conservatoire to visit the dépôt de Nesle again in order to assist in the "definitive selection of objects to be saved for the Muséum" (ibid., pp. 98–99).

August 20: Pajou and De Wailly are instructed by the Conservatoire to supervise an exchange of pedestals with the Archives Nationales (ibid., p. 106).

September 4: Pajou reads a paper at the Institut on the need to change the method of cleaning public statues (*Mémoire sur la nécessité de changer le mode de Nettoyement des statues, placées dans les Endroits publics:* Bonnaire 1937–38, vol. 1, p. 27). On October 14, 1798, provision is made for the text to be printed (ibid., p. 162). A report signed by the artists in the sculpture division is sent to the Minister of the Interior on July 17, 1800 (published in full, ibid., pp. 243–48).

December 1: Pajou and Fragonard are appointed by the Conservatoire to verify the treasurer's accounts (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 2, pp. 149–50).

December 21: Pajou's fifth chairmanship at the

Conservatoire du Muséum (ibid., p. 155), running through the meeting of January 19, 1797.

Dated 1796: Terracotta group, *The Genius of Buffon* (cat. 119); terracotta statuette, *Ariadne Abandoned* (cat. 136); terracotta statuette, *Psyche Abandoned* (cat. 137).

1797

January 5: By decision of the minister of the interior, the Muséum takes the name Musée Central des Arts as of January 20. It will henceforth be run and administered by a board of artists, an administrator, and an assistant (Cantarel-Besson 1992, p. 13).

January 18: Pajou and Fragonard are appointed by the Conservatoire to verify the treasurer's accounts (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 2, p. 166).

January 27: Last session of the Conservatoire, which is dissolved. The Muséum administrator is Dufourny, and his assistant is the former secretary and treasurer of the Conservatoire, Foubert. The board of artists—called the administrative council as of the first meeting, on January 27—is made up of three members of the Conservatoire—Pajou, Robert, and De Wailly—and two newcomers, Suvée and Jollain (ibid., vol. 1, pp. xxxix–xl; vol. 2, p. 171), a secretary (Lavallée), and an appraiser (Le Brun) (Cantarel-Besson 1992, pp. 14, 24–26).

January 28: Pajou and De Wailly are appointed to verify the Conservatoire's final accounts (Cantarel-Besson 1981, vol. 2, pp. 173, 174).

March 13: Pajou is asked by the administrative council of the Musée Central des Arts to examine a bust of President d'Aguesseau, which two days later he suggests sending to the Musée des Monuments Français (Cantarel-Besson 1992, pp. 51, 53). His address is also specified: "Pajou, sculptor at the Galeries du Louvre" (ibid., p. 52).

April 6: Liquidation and division of property after the death of Mme Pajou and the sale of the house on the rue Neuve Saint-Charles (rue de la Pépinière) (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 607; Stein [1912, p. 297] had access only to a partial copy of the deed without the inventory of effects). No inventory had been taken after Mme Pajou's death (see above, August 11, 1794), hence this division of property. Proceeds from the sale of the house on the rue Neuve Saint-Charles have been used "for the acquisition of a small farm called Fontenelle located in the Lisy district of the department of the Yonne [Fr. *Lyonne*]" for sixty-three gold louis (approximately six thousand livres); according to Stein, the place is Lisy-sur-Ourcq, northeast of Meaux, but in fact there is a farm called Fontenelle in the Yonne, at Lixy. Also sold is an outstanding debt of thirty thousand livres owed by the late duc d'Orléans. The list of the remaining property includes a debt of seven thousand livres owed by the late Jean-Joseph de Laborde (see above, 1792), a lifetime stipend of three thousand livres granted by the state, and an annuity to be recovered from M. de Vibraye, émigré (see above, November 6, 1775). Ownership of the house on the rue Froidmanteau is transferred, by means of various arrangements, to Pajou *fils* (who mortgages it on November 29, 1804, setting its value at "fifty thousand francs and more": AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 649). Pajou retains the usufruct of a large portion of the property.

The great interest of this document lies above all in the appendix, the huge inventory of effects present in the house on the rue Froidmanteau, "at Saint-Cloud" (?), and in the atelier at the Louvre, signed by the three Pajous and Saint-Martin. The list of pictures is impressive. There are a large number of paintings by the Northern school (Teniers, Van de Velde, Jordaens—notably a Charity with her children—school of Rubens, Pynacker), by seventeenth-century French artists (Champaigne, Virgin and Child; Bourdon, landscape; pupil of Claude Lorrain, landscape), and by the Italians (Lanfranco, head of an old man; a sketch by Solimena), but especially by Pajou's contemporaries: Philibert Delarue (sketch of a battle scene), La Traverse (sketch of moonlight), Clérisseau (large gouache), several by Robert (cascades at Tivoli; landscape with rocks and waterfalls), Pierre (family scene), Le Prince (sketch of a female figure; Russian scene; landscape), Aubry (family scene), Vincent (sketch for the Pilgrims at Emmaus; study of a head), David (study of a woman and child), Taunay (two small gouaches), and others. In addition, there are copies after Raphael, Rubens, Reni, Guercino, Jouvenet, Le Prince, Vernet (a seascape). Framed drawings come next: the artists include Giulio Romano, Rubens, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Both, Vouet, Poussin, Bourdon, Le Brun, Verdier, Loir, La Fage, Domenichino (after), Sacchi, Maratti, de Troy (seven drawings after), Natoire (after Michelangelo), Briard (a fellow student in Rome), Lagrenée *le jeune,* Boucher, Philibert and Louis-Félix Delarue (group of children), Robert (several works, including a view of Paris), Fragonard (numerous works, including a landscape and copies after Veronese and Rubens), Ango (copies of the Italian masters), Huet, Le Prince, Moreau, Lantara, and Vincent (academy figure). The list continues: "twenty-two drawings by Citizen Pajou *père,* including four copies after Raphael, valued at two hundred livres"; "by Pajou *père,* a drawing of a funerary monument, three feet high by two feet wide [91.4 × 61 cm], under glass, 72 livres"; a drawing by Pajou *père* valued at 24 livres; "a large folio volume containing one hundred thirty-nine drawings by Poussin, Bouchardon, Rubens, and Pajou *père,* valued at 250 livres"; "seven drawings by Pajou *père,* valued at 60 livres"; "a drawing of a pulpit under glass, 6 livres"; and over two hundred more drawings by different masters. The works in the library are described: they include volumes by Cicero, Terence, Vitruvius, Plutarch, Rollin's *Histoire ancienne,* the *Voyage d'Anacharsis* by the abbé Barthélemy, several histories of France, works by Lairesse (no doubt his treatise on painting), the *Galerie du Palais-Royal* (A. Coypel) and the engravings of the d'Orléans collection, the *Description de Paris* by Piganiol de la Force, the *Ruines de la Grèce* by Leroy, the *Voyage* by Saint-Non, the *Voyage de Sibérie* by the abbé Chappe, fifty-eight volumes of Voltaire's works, Rousseau's *Émile,* six volumes of Buffon, etc., for a total of 608 volumes. Then come more than 530 prints, kept in portfolios or framed. Among them are works by Dürer, Raphael (the *School of Athens* and the Vatican Logge, and other subjects), Polidoro, Rubens and his school, Ribera, Pietro da Cortona, Le Sueur, Le Pautre, Pérelle, Poussin (the *Seven Sacraments*), Le Brun (the *Battles of Alexander*), Bouchardon (the *Lupercalia* and other subjects), Rigaud, Le Prince, Moreau *le jeune,* Bartolozzi, Palmieri, Parizeau, Vien (the *Roman Masquerades*), Masquelier (*View of the Port of Ostend*), as well as "four framed prints under glass including two after Citizen Pajou by Martini" (cat. 75, 76), "two copperplates engraved by Martini after drawings by Citizen Pajou with ninety-seven impressions from the two plates, valued at 200 livres," "another engraved copperplate, unfinished, by Tillard after the drawing by Citizen Pajou, 50 livres." Then there are some 512 medals, including the large portrait of President Jeannin by Dupré, commemorative medals of Louis XIV and Louis XV, and a portrait of Franklin in silver.

Sculpture follows, beginning with the description of the "raw marble" kept in the studio, including "four blocks of statuary white marble" roughly seventeen feet (5.18 m) in height, and various fragments. Works in hand are listed:

"a rough-hewn marble statue ten feet [3.05 m] high, valued at 200 livres";

a "head of a child mounted on a base of *bleu turquin* marble by Citizen Pajou *père,* 96 livres";

a "lifesize portrait of Lemoine, valued at 200 livres" (see cat. 27);

"a marble figure of Ceres two feet three inches [68.6 cm] high, valued at 250 livres" (cat. 69);

"an antique mask of Parian marble on a pedestal of veined white marble, valued at 10 livres." This mask can be related to an antique Parian marble portrait bust, called *Demetrius Poliorcetes,* today identified as representing Ptolemy I Soter (Paris, Musée du Louvre, MR 457; fig. 18), which was entrusted to Pajou by the diplomat baron de Tott in 1778; returning with the bust from a voyage to the Levant, he asked Pajou to restore it. The latter kept it until Tott's death (1793, abroad as an émigré), then delivered it—before 1805—to the Musée Napoléon; it was reproduced and published by Petit-Radel in 1805 (no. XXIII, as "Otho," ill.), and cited in the inventory of 1810 drawn up by Visconti ("Demetrius Poliorcetes. Collection of the late M. Pajou, sculptor"). Marianne Hamiaux, to whom I am grateful for this information, notes that only the face of the bust in the Louvre is ancient (would the marble complement therefore be the work of Pajou?), which is not inconsistent with the mention of a "mask" in the sculptor's inventory. Baron de Tott's name is inscribed on the *Castor and Pollux* bronze relief (see above, Salon of 1783, no. 217; fig. 6);

"two heads of . . . ancient Egyptian, valued at 48 livres." This item can be related to a head of Isis in black marble (Paris, Musée du Louvre, MR 19), listed in the inventory of the Musée Napoléon (1810, p. 325) as "given to the museum by the late M. Pajou, who had it from M. de Tott's collection";

"a large medallion in white marble, unfinished head, valued at 24 livres";

Additional items in marble include a copy of the tomb of Agrippa and ten garden vases. Works in stone, terracotta, and wax follow:

"an unfinished group in *pierre de Tonnerre* representing Cupid giving Venus an apple, six feet [1.83 m] in height, valued at 150 livres" (see above, Salon of 1787: according to Chaussard, the work was commissioned by the marquis de Voyer d'Argenson and completed by Boizot). Stein (1912, p. 217) reproduces a group in stone of the same subject (formerly V. Sardou collection; United States, private collection).

"six small terracotta figures representing various subjects by Citizen Pajou, valued at 150 livres";

"three other small terracotta models, one representing the power of Love, valued at 72 livres";

"two models in wax and wood, one of the tomb of Stanislas, king of Poland, the other of Montgolfier, valued at 30 livres."

The inventory concludes with objects in metal (iron and lead) and wood: chimneypiece plaques, etc.; more than three hundred tools, and stools, easels, cases, etc.; and finally works in bronze:

"two children representing Constant Love and Fickle Love [see cat. 89, 90] chased by Citizen Thomire after models by Citizen Pajou, . . . valued together at 300 livres";

a "copy from the antique representing Ceres and Proserpina, valued together at 60 livres";

"two greyhound bitches on a gilt-bronze base, valued together at 24 livres";

"the small portrait of Voltaire, chased by Citizen Thomire after Citizen Houdon, valued at 72 livres";

"two sphinxes copied from the ones on the Capitol, by Citizen Rolland, chased by Citizen Thomire, valued together at 120 livres";

"the lifesize bust of Lemoyne, chased by Citizen Thomire after Citizen Pajou, valued at 240 livres" (cat. 27);

"a large medallion portrait of Henri III's doctor, valued at 48 livres."

April 20: Pajou's first chairmanship of the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts (Cantarel-Besson 1992, p. 65), running through the meeting of May 20.

April 30: Pajou—in his capacity as chairman of the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts—presides over the jury assigned to "select the works of the French school that are to make up the Musée Central des Arts and the special museum of the French school at Versailles" (ibid., pp. 71, 361, 364).

May 24: Pajou chairs the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts, replacing De Wailly (ibid., p. 85). Pajou's assiduous attendance at board meetings—particularly during the establishment of the Musée de l'École Française at Versailles—is remarkable; as senior member, he presided several times over the assembly, in addition to his normal terms of office as chairman (twenty-one times between May 30 and September 25; ibid., pp. 86–159 passim).

June 8: First public meeting at the Louvre of the Société Philotechnique; the group's president is Joseph Lavallée, and among its members, in addition to Pajou, are De Wailly, Fourcroy, Barbier l'Aîné, Lacépède, Cuvier, and Méhul (Nantivel 1797, p. 127).

November 23: Pajou's second chairmanship of the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts (Cantarel-Besson 1992, p. 177), running through the meeting of December 18.

Dated 1797: Terracotta bust of Pajou by Roland (see cat. 150).

1798

January 4: Pajou, like his colleagues in the museum administration, gives twenty-five hundred francs as a patriotic donation to the government "to assist in the execution of the Government's plans against England" (ibid., p. 197).

January 22: Pajou proposes to the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts that they employ the brother of the painter Sablet in the restoration of paintings (ibid., p. 221).

February 17 and 27, March 1, 4, and 7: Pajou chairs the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts (ibid., pp. 231, 236, 238, 251).

February 23: Pajou, with Suvée and Jollain, is appointed by the board of the Musée Central to examine Citizen Borduge's collection of drawings (ibid., p. 234).

April 12: Pajou, with Roland, Dejoux, De Wailly, and Regnault, is appointed by the commissioner of the Institut to appraise works by Lemot in the palace of the Conseil des Cinq-Cents (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 1, p. 116).

April 19: Pajou requests a place on the board of the Musée Central for his son-in-law, Saint-Martin, Flore's second husband (AN, F*86, fol. 21 [reference communicated by Yves Carlier]; Stein 1912, pp. 296–97, doc. LXXI).

May 4: Pajou chairs the meeting of the administrative board of the Musée Central des Arts (Cantarel-Besson 1992, pp. 279, 306–9). He is appointed, with Chaudet and the painters Peyron and Moreau *le jeune,* to select "the pieces of sculpture coming from the former Académie" (see cat. 28).

July 19: Opening of the Salon ("Pajou *père* of the Galeries du Muséum"):

no. 537: "Marble bust of a child. This bust belongs to the Société des Amis des Arts." Probably the marble portrait of a little girl dated 1795 (fig. 218; see below, June 19, 1801).

August 11: Pajou is appointed by the commissioner of the Institut, with Peyre, Raymond, and Vincent, to inspect the condition of the Château de Fontainebleau, which is about to be bought by a private individual. The report of August 20 is a spirited plea for the château (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 1, pp. 139–42).

November 8: Pajou, with Le Blond, Mongez, Vincent, and David, is asked to present to the Institut a project for a medal (ibid., p. 163).

1799

February 21: Sale of Dr. Cochu's collection:

no. 51: "Bénigne Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, model of the figure executed in marble and exhibited at the Salon du Louvre in 1779. Height 65 cm [25⅝ in.]" (cat. 121).

April 2: Pajou signs an artists' petition presented to the Ministry of the Interior requesting that public works projects be assigned through competition, not by favor (Aulard 1902, p. 444).

July 26: He signs the petition requesting that É. Vigée-Le Brun's name be stricken from the list of émigrés (Girodié 1927, pl. XLVI).

October 25: Letter of resignation from an unspecified assembly, identified (Vasseur-Depoux and Verlet 1981, p. 121) as the Conseil des Cinq-Cents (BHVDP, Ms. 776, fol. 251); however, research undertaken to discover whether Pajou was a member of the Conseil has not resolved the question.

Dated 1799: Terracotta group, *Fidelity, Mother of Constant Love* (cat. 144).

Dated "year VIII" (1799–1800): Drawing by Pajou *fils* depicting the sculptor next to his *Pascal* (formerly David-Weill collection: Henriot 1926–28, vol. 3, pp. 335–37, ill.; see cat. 149).

1800

January 8: Transaction between Clodion and Flore Pajou, wife of Saint-Martin, "judge at the court of appeals." The sculptor acknowledges that the sixty thousand livres—the amount of his marriage settlement (see above, January 21, 1781)—that he paid her in assignats after their divorce does not take into account the devaluation of the currency. In consequence, he voluntarily renounces the three hundred francs in alimony that she has been obliged to pay him (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 619).

March 23: Letter from Lucien Bonaparte, minister of the interior, to the administrators of the Muséum asking them to select sculptors for the twenty-two busts that are to decorate the Galerie des Consuls in the Château des Tuileries. Pajou is one of these sculptors from the outset (see below, Salon of 1802, no. 438; cat. 145).

April 23: The administration of the Musée Central des Arts asks that Lange be allowed to take an impression of Pajou's head of Turenne to help him with his bust for the Galerie des Consuls. "Reply deferred" (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 1, p. 232).

September 3: Opening of the Salon ("Pajou [Augustin], member of the Institut National"):

no. 442: "Plaster bust of a young man; lifesize";

no. 449: marble bust of Pajou by Roland (cat. 150).

September 10: Napoleon Bonaparte asks the minister of the interior (his brother Lucien) for a list of the best artists. The list was probably drawn up by Amaury Duval, head of the bureau of fine arts at the ministry. Pajou is in second place (after Moitte) with a qualified appreciation (Tuetey 1910, pp. 258–59; see "Critical Reputation" in the present catalogue).

1801

April 4: From a letter by A. de Saint-Aubin to his nephew it appears that Pajou is "very friendly" with a minister who might be Chaptal, of whom Roland did a portrait (Advielle 1896, p. 597).

June 19: Lottery of the works of art bought from living artists by the Société des Amis des Arts. A bust of a child by Pajou (see above, Salon of 1798) was won by Citizen "van der Burk" (probably the landscape painter Van der Burch) (*Journal des Arts,* no. 139, 5 Messidor, year IX [1801]; communicated by Philippe Nusbaumer).

August 20: Decree evicting artists from the studios of the Cour Carrée. Pajou ignores it (see below, 1805).

August 27: The minister of the interior names a committee, which includes Pajou (who had signed a petition protesting the dispersal of artists from the Louvre; see below, May 18, 1806), to find places in which to accommodate them (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 3, pp. vii, viii).

September 24: Flore Pajou and Saint-Martin, "of independent means," divorce. They were living at 27 rue du Cimetière Saint-André des Arts. On September 30 the division of community property is drawn up, which does not include a description of objects. It is signed by Pajou *père* and *fils* (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 629).

September 30: In a letter to the minister of the interior, the professor of drawing at the École Centrale in the department of the Hérault, Bestieu, cites Pajou as his authority in order to obtain the dispatch of works of art that will be the core of the future Musée Fabre in Montpellier (Lafenestre and Michel 1878, p. 192).

October 11: The École de Peinture, Sculpture et Architecture is transferred to the Collège Mazarin,

which takes the name Palais des Beaux-Arts. Gois and Julien (rectors), Lecomte (administrator), and Houdon, Boizot, and Dejoux (professors) are housed there (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 3, pp. xi–xiii), but not Pajou.

1802

September 18: Opening of the Salon ("Pajou *père,* member of the Institut National, at the Galeries du Louvre"):

no. 438: "Bust of Caesar, in marble. Intended for the Galerie des Consuls" (cat. 145);

no. 439: "Plaster bust. Portrait of Citizen B * * *." Was this the bust of Beauvais de Préau? (See above, October 5, 1794.)

Pajou *fils* exhibited under no. 217 a "picture of a family," undoubtedly cat. 151.

November 19: Vivant Denon is named director general of the Musée Central des Arts. He radically alters its administration. Pajou, like the other artists, is excluded; but until his death he receives an indemnity as a "member of the administrative board of the Musée Napoléon" (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 678, under the date May 23, 1809; see also XLVI, 678, May 24, 1809).

Dated 1802: Bronze medallion of Pajou in profile, by his pupil Roland (Genoux 1965, p. 197, ill.), used by Bridan *fils* for his funerary monument (fig. 20; see below, May 8, 1809, and 1810).

1803

January 22: The administrative committee of the Sénat-Conservateur decides on "the choice of statues that will be executed beginning immediately in order to decorate the Senate chamber." Pajou, at the head of the list, is the first to pick his subject: Diogenes, instead of Lycurgus, his original choice (AN, C 115, 402, d. 5).

January 28: Decree signed by the first consul announcing the list of members of the new Fine Arts division at the reorganized Institut: Pajou is first among the sculptors, before Houdon, Julien, Moitte, Roland, and Dejoux (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 1, pp. x–xii, 129–33).

February 20: Pajou undertakes "to complete within the space of six months from today's date the model of a statue 1.885 m [6 ft. 2¼ in.] . . . in height representing Demosthenes, molded, of which one plaster cast will be placed in the chamber and the other will serve for the execution in marble when that takes place; and this for the price of forty-five hundred francs, payable in three installments" (AN, CC 115, 404, d. 8). Pajou is paid on June 25 (two thousand francs) and December 19, 1803 (one thousand francs) (AN, CC 119, 565, p. 14); the remainder is paid on January 5, 1805 (fifteen hundred francs), the receipt for which is signed by his son ("for my father"), an indication of the elderly sculptor's deteriorating health (AN, CC 140, 1599, d. "statues," p. 127; Chaussard 1806, p. 467). The marble was never ordered. The work was placed in the Senate chamber in 1803 (Chaussard 1806, p. 471; Grivaud de la Vincelle 1820, pp. 32–33), and then taken to the Palais Bourbon during the July Monarchy; Joly in 1840 (p. 16) notes it at the entrance to the library, where it was destroyed in a fire in 1961 (fig. 219).

March 23: Sale (Gosselin or Sarazin):

no. 27: "[marble] Two beautiful figure studies in half-relief, 24 inches [61 cm] in height, representing Demosthenes [*sic*] with his lantern in hand, and a nymph holding crowns. Pieces correct in design and in execution worthy of the author's renown, they come from the Société des Arts, to which the owner was a subscriber, as do various modern items from this collection" (see cat. 86). The "nymph holding crowns" must be identified with *Fame,* dated 1786 and cited by Stein as formerly in the Descamps collection (see above, 1786; fig. 139);

no. 28: "Four alabaster figures. Work in Carrara marble personifying the Seasons: they are mounted on lava pedestals, with capitals and bases."

April 11: Pajou sends an Institut colleague (Huzard) a warm recommendation in favor of the botanist Dr. Degland for a teaching position in Strasbourg (BI, Ms. HR 5*, vol. 10, p. 12).

September 4: Jean-Baptiste Dumard, brokerage dealer, and his wife owe Pajou 17,600 francs in repayment of a loan (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 641).

October 21: Marguerite Gilbert owes Pajou, "at no. 21 Galeries du Louvre," five thousand francs in repayment of a loan (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 642).

December 18: Pajou is named by decree a chevalier of the Legion of Honor (Lievyns et al. 1844, p. 137).

1805

Pajou, hitherto assiduous in attending Institut meetings—as earlier he had attended those of the Académie Royale—now shows up less and less regularly (and is entirely absent for the months of August, September, and October).

January 31: Sale of the F[ouquet] collection:

no. 82: "Two marble reliefs, by Pajou. One represents a figure of Flora; the other Diogenes" (cat. 86).

July 19: A drawing by Pajou (now lost) is presented to the Société des Amis des Sciences Naturelles in Bern. It was a study for a funerary monument to Albrecht Haller, which for financial reasons was never made; a bust executed in 1803 by Caldelari was used instead (Weese 1909, pp. 108–10; cited in Stein 1912, p. 262).

A list of the establishments and lodgings of artists and scholars below the galleries of the Musée Napoléon (*État des Établissements, logements d'artistes et savants qui sont sous la gallerie du Musée Napoléon; dont les différentes entrées sont sur la rue des Orties depuis le guichet du Carrousel jusqu'à la Gallerie d'Apollon:* BN Ms F 6586, fols. 144–49; dated by N. Garnier from before 1805: see Paris 1979b, p. 57 n. 58) places "M. Pajou sculptor member of the Institut" at no. 21 (fol. 145), neighbor of Moitte, Dejoux, Denon, Robert, and Fragonard among others; and in the "Vestibule on the rue du Cocq side" (fol. 147) "the atelier of M. Pajou sculptor with the mezzanine above," immediately adjoining the ateliers of Julien and Robert.

A list of the artists who have relinquished the lodgings that they occupied in the galleries on the rue des Orties (*État des artistes qui ont évacué les logemens qu'ils occupoient aux galleries rue des Orties:* BN Ms, Ms. F 6586, fol. 150) includes among the "artists who have been unable to arrange for their relocation," at no. 21, "Pajou. Repairs to the lodging that he is going to occupy could not be started before 15 Messidor [July 4]."

September 23: Pajou, listed at "no. 15 rue Froidmanteau," receives a lifetime pension of one thousand francs as an "indemnity for the lodging he enjoyed in the Louvre galleries" (AN, F^{21} 511, d. 2).

1806

January 4: Pajou is elected vice-president of the Fine Arts division at the Institut for the year 1806, before David (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 3, p. 1). Despite this, he is often absent between July and October.

May 18: Decree by Napoleon evicting all artists from the Galeries du Louvre. Accordingly Pajou receives a lifetime pension of one thousand francs (Stein 1912, p. 303).

August 5: Letter from Vivant Denon, director general of the Musée Napoléon, to Estève, treasurer general to the crown: "[You have] given orders that all persons attached to the Musée Napoléon . . . should appear every month before the cashier to sign for and receive their emoluments and salaries. . . . Among the employees of the museum are seven honorary administrators, most of them septuagenarians and infirm, to whom His Majesty has granted a retirement pension, and who receive their payments at home. Some of them are invalids, such as M. Pajou, who has not been able to walk for the past two years. Can this old man be required to have himself carried to your cashier every month?" (AMN, AA5, "Correspondance de Denon," p. 259, no. 989; document communicated by Marie-Anne Dupuy).

August 7: J.-B. Benon de Bline and his wife owe Pajou ("residing at no. 15 quai Malaquais") four thousand francs, in repayment of a loan (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 660).

August 7: The widow of M. Fournier d'Arthel owes Pajou (at the same address) six thousand francs, in repayment of a loan (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 660).

November 6: By order of the Prefecture of the Seine, following the decree of February 26 ordering the construction of the rue de Rivoli, the house at 15 rue Froidmanteau is to be demolished. Pajou receives an indemnity of 116,875 francs after various calculations (AP, DQ^{10} 1339, d. 81; Stein 1912, doc. LXXII).

Publication of an article on Pajou's life and works by Chaussard in the *Pausanias français.* Chaussard, an architect and a lodge brother of Pajou's, gives in an appendix an invaluable "List of M. Pajou's works, executed between 1757 and 1805." He mentions several works that may have been executed by Pajou but that have not been referred to earlier: a group in lead of three women supporting a shell and forming a fountain, for the *fermier général* Lemonnier; a statue representing Study, and another of Anacreon (see cat. 80).

1807

April 6: Sale of the Armand-Frédéric-Ernest Nogaret collection:

no. 750: "two groups of satyrs and children, by Pajou";

no. 755: "Two vases surmounted by a mass of flowers and fruits, by Pajou."

April 28: Pajou, "no. 15 quai Malaquais," receives from L.-T. Maurice and his wife the sum of five thousand francs (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 664).

May 20: Pajou gives his son power of attorney to collect in his name "all the sums due to him from the government, in settlement of his emolument for the months of Thermidor and Fructidor, year VIII [July–September 1800], as a member of the board of the Musée Central des Arts" (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 665).

December 10: Sale of Mlle Henry collection:

no. 35: "A magnificent and highly important drawing, by M. Pajou *père*. It depicts a historic act by Lycurgus. . . ." (see above, March 2, 1786; cat. 65).

Pajou is assiduous in attendance at the Institut from January to the beginning of July. The meeting of July 11, 1807, is the last at which he is present (Bonnaire 1937–43, vol. 3, p. 104).

1808

January 2: "M. Pajou, ex-president, thanks the division [of Fine Arts at the Institut] for the concern that it has shown him over the state of his failing health, which has prevented him from attending the meetings" (ibid., p. 145).

1809

March 20: Recognizance by the decorative painter S.-F. Moench in favor of Pajou, "residing in Paris, no. 15 quai Malaquais," who has lent him nine thousand francs. Pajou's signature, in a shaky hand, is a sign of his rapidly declining health. The same day Pajou's *fils* lends Moench another six thousand francs (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 677).

April 5: Sale of Hubert Robert collection:

no. 145: "Beautiful chalk drawing from Italy, by M. Pajou";

no. 380: "Very handsome plaster cast of Pluto by Pajou, placed on an oak pedestal, forming an armoire in its overall height" (see cat. 28).

May 2: Sale of the Cailar (or Caylard) collection:

no. 161: "Several marble works, such as busts and medallions, among them the large-scale one of Louis XVI executed by M. Pajou."

May 8: Death of Augustin Pajou at 16 rue Jacob in Paris. The death certificate is dated the following day (registry of death certificates at the town hall of the 10th arrondissement: AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 678, May 24, 1809; also published in *Le Curieux*, vol. 1, no. 15 [Paris, January 1885], p. 240). The funeral is held on May 10, with a religious service at Saint-Germain des Prés (see an invitation to the procession, service, and interment of Pajou, "member of the Institut de France, chevalier of the Legion of Honor, rector-professor of the Écoles Spéciales de Peinture et Sculpture": BI, Ms. HR 5*, vol. 26, p. 28). As a chevalier, Pajou was entitled to military honors (see his personal file in the Chancellery of the Legion of Honor; reference supplied by Jean-Marcel Humbert). He is buried in the Cimetière de l'Ouest, otherwise known as the Cimetière de Vaugirard. Bridan *fils* executes a small funerary monument in marble, dated 1809 (see below, 1810).

May 12: The *Moniteur universel* (no. 132, p. 529) publishes an obituary notice: "The sorrow caused by this loss has been keenly felt by the great number of artists who followed his procession." It refers to the speech by Joachim Le Breton, perpetual secretary of the fine arts division at the Institut, who laments the loss of the "patriarch of sculpture" and declares: "The long suffering that made his final years so painful has now ended."

May 23: Flore Pajou, divorced from Saint-Martin since September 1801, gives her brother power of attorney to allow him to collect in her name various sums of money related to Pajou's estate (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 678).

May 24: Affidavit after the death of Pajou. Two individuals—the lawyer Charles and one M. Lavoisier—certify that no posthumous inventory was made: his property has been divided evenly between his son and his daughter (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 678).

July 29: Obituary notice in the *Journal de l'Empire* (see "Critical Reputation" in the present catalogue).

1810

January 8: Sale of the Sauzay collection:

not in sale catalogue (handwritten note): "A pretty bust of a young girl. Marble by Pajou."

March 16: Sale of the collection of the comtesse de Fourcroy, Charles De Wailly's widow:

"Terracotta":

no. 49: "Valuable terracotta by Pajou. Small model for his marble Psyche" (see cat. 134);

no. 50: "An old bacchante by the same artist, after an antiquity in the Capitoline Museum [Rome]. She embraces a bottle wreathed in vines";

no. 51: "Two groups of children and animals, bronze-colored, also by Pajou";

no. 52: "Little girl holding eggs in her chemise and defending herself from a rooster. Piece finished by Pajou";

"Bronze":

no. 46: "Bronze. A figure of Friendship, by Pajou, placed on a section of a column of pink oriental granite, with antique green base."

October 6: Joachim Le Breton, in a public session at the Institut, reads an account of the life and works of Pajou, which was printed in Millin's *Magasin encyclopédique* (vol. 5).

The 1810 catalogue of the Musée des Monuments Français lists under no. 470: "marble monument, erected by a virtuous and grateful son, to Augustin Pajou, sculptor, member of the Institut de France, of the Legion of Honor, and rector of the Écoles de Peinture et de Sculpture." Stein had in his hands the receipt from Alexandre Lenoir, once in the Pajou family archives (Stein 1912, p. 303 n. 7, with the curious date of May 10, 1812, no doubt a mistaken reading). The piece is mentioned in the *AMMF* (vol. 3, p. 204) and attributed to Bridan *fils*. This small marble monument, signed *BRIDAN FECIT 1809*, is today in the Musée Carnavalet (Stein 1912, pp. 303–4, ill.). It is decorated with a medallion bearing Pajou's profile, a copy of the one executed by Roland (see above, 1802, and May 8, 1809; engraved by Frémy).

The history of the monument has several gray areas. The monument was inventoried by the Louvre during the July Monarchy (LP 561); on the inventory it is noted as having been delivered to the prefect of the Seine on July 16, 1836. On October 21, 1837, Pajou's remains were exhumed from the Cimetière de l'Ouest—that is, the Cimetière de Vaugirard, which was to be closed—following a request from the Académie des Beaux-Arts to the prefect of the Seine published in the *Moniteur universel* of July 28 ("Cimetière de l'Ouest" file and "Pajou" entry in the archives of the Prefecture of Police; see Coeuret 1996). Were Pajou's remains and monument then moved to the cemetery in Clamart? In 1885 Montaiglon stated that "after the closing and deconsecration of the Clamart cemetery, the Musée Carnavalet received a certain number of interesting funerary inscriptions, engraved on stone or marble." Among these, he describes the monument to Pajou with its medallion, and he copies the text of the epitaph (Montaiglon 1885, pp. 26–28). Nothing to date, however, has confirmed this provenance. In any case, Augustin-Désiré Pajou, the son of Jacques-Augustin-Catherine (who is buried in the Père-Lachaise cemetery, Paris), established a burial plot for his family in Fontenay-aux-Roses (see below, 1820) on February 15, 1859, and March 8, 1865 (Fontenay, Archives Communales; see Coeuret 1996). There is a stone slab in the cemetery at Fontenay that bears an inscription in honor of Pajou inspired by the Carnavalet monument; its date is unknown. According to Gaston Coeuret's hypothesis, Pajou's remains were moved in 1837 to the property in Fontenay-aux-Roses acquired by his son in 1820 and relocated to the communal cemetery there after 1859.

1811

November 8: Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou buys a house at 20 rue Saint-Dominique in Paris (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, under the date December 11, 1828).

1820

May 25: J.-A.-C. Pajou buys a country house in Fontenay-aux-Roses, "formerly called La Seigneurie" (see AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, under the date December 11, 1828).

1822

March 18: Marriage contract between Augustin-Désiré Pajou, only son of the painter, and A.-F. Ansiaux (see AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831, under the date December 11, 1828).

Dated 1822: Drawing of the entire Pajou family in medallions, including the grandfather (fig. 232; the lithograph is mentioned in Stein 1912, p. 306, not ill.).

1828

December 11: Posthumous inventory of J.-A.-C. Pajou, who died at 20 rue Saint-Dominique on November 28, 1828, and was buried in the Père-Lachaise cemetery (plot bought by his son on November 29). His only heir is his son, Augustin-Désiré Pajou (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 831), who inherits numerous books in the library constructed in the studio, and engravings and drawings after the masters (see above, April 6, 1797). The inventory of works of art was made by the painter Bon, "expert in art objects." Among them are the following items with a direct relation to Pajou:

no. 14: "Pajou, father of the deceased, Roman Charity. Sketch. Valued at 4 francs";

no. 18: "Pajou. Portrait of M. Pajou sculptor, father of the deceased, 30 francs" (see cat. 150);

no. 53: "Nine subjects in terracotta by MM. Roland, Dardelle, and others, valued at 5 francs";

no. 54: "A lot of about 20 plasters or figures in the round, 3 francs";

no. 55: "Pajou *père*, portrait of the father of M. Vincent executed in marble, 160 francs" (cat. 105);

no. 56: "By the same, an unfinished figure of Ceres, 30 francs" (cat. 69);

no. 58: "Three volumes of drawings and sketches in pencil and wash by divers hands, 15 francs";

no. 67: "A medals cabinet containing 127 bronze medals, series from the century of Louis XV, valued at 20 francs";

no. 68: "Similar item containing 289 medals of Louis XIV, 79 of Louis XV et cetera . . . valued at 80 francs";

no. 69: "Le Prince. Portrait of a child, valued at 20 francs";

no. 87: "Pajou. Head of a woman representing Peace, 30 francs" (Pajou *père*?; see above, 1759);

no. 89: "Pajou *père*. Regulus leaving for

Carthage, a highly important drawing in chalk and stump, 20 francs"; the work was painted by Pajou *fils* (the painting, described as "highly important" in the inventory—which lists it under no. 4, valued at 500 francs—is in the Louvre);

no. 90: "By the same, Louis XIV at the tomb of Molière" (also by the son);

no. 106: "Pajou, sculptor, marble bust of his teacher Lemoine, 100 francs" (see cat. 27);

no. 107: "M. Roland, marble bust of M. Pajou, sculptor. 100 francs" (cat. 150);

no. 126: "Pigalle, child with a cage, colored plaster, 5 francs";

no. 127: "Two figures in Florentine bronze, Ceres and Juno, 80 francs";

no. 129: "Pajou, two bronze Cupids, 80 francs" (see cat. 89, 90);

no. 130: "By the same, terracotta, Psyche abandoned, 5 francs" (cat. 137).

1829

January 12 and 13: Posthumous sale of the collection of J.-A.-C. Pajou (annotated catalogue, London, British Library), including the following works by Pajou:

no. 55 (among the paintings): "Roman Charity. Sketch," sold for 5.45 francs;

no. 102 (drawing): "portrait of a monk" (by Pajou? or his son?);

no. 110: "Three volumes of drawings and sketches, in pencil and wash, by divers hands," sold for 11.50 francs;

no. 117: "A figure of Ceres, unfinished, executed in marble," sold for 47 francs (cat. 69).

1841

December 8: Death in Paris of Flore Pajou, 34 rue de l'École de Médecine, of independent means, childless. Her heirs are her nephew, Augustin-Désiré Pajou (see below, 1878), and a few legatees (AP, DQ8 1047).

December 14: Posthumous inventory of Catherine-Flore Pajou (AN, Min. Cent., XLVI, 930). No works of art are mentioned, except for a terracotta group in a cupboard. A few objects of no particular value are described in her will of April 30, 1840 (AN, Min. Cent., XCII, 1210: missing from the file, but cited in Stein 1911a, pp. 191–92).

1878

March 29: Death at Elbeuf of Augustin-Désiré Pajou, widower of Angélique Ansiaux, residing at 37 rue Mazarine in Paris. His sole heir is his son, Joseph-Augustin Pajou (1824–1885), residing at 3 Grande Rue, Fontenay-aux-Roses. According to the terms of his will, dated June 17, 1874, his share is bequeathed to his grandchildren: Louise-Isabelle Pajou, wife of Jules-Augustin Marie-Saint-Germain; Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Pajou, wife of Léon-Alexandre Marie-Saint-Germain; and Geneviève-Émilie-Augustin Pajou (a minor; her married name was later Meslin).

April 12: Posthumous inventory of Augustin-Désiré Pajou (AN, Min. Cent., LXX, 1641). The works described therein appear in the sale that took place in Paris on December 16, 1878:

no. 1: "Bust of Lemoyne by Pajou" (see cat. 27);

no. 2: "Bust of Pajou, sculptor, by Rolland" (see cat. 150);

no. 3: "A terracotta Psyche by Pajou" (cat. 137);

no. 5: "Two bronzes by Pajou on a marble base" (see cat. 89, 90);

no. 18: "Pajou family by J. A. Pajou" (cat. 151);

no. 31: "A drawing (portrait of M. Augustin Pajou) (see cat. 149).

no. 32: "A drawing in red chalk (Bossuet) by M. A. Pajou" (see cat. 122, 123);

no. 34: "Portrait of M. Martin Pajou by A. Pajou (drawing)" (cat. 146).

Other works are cited in the inventory, including no. 59, "a plaster statuette of a bacchante, valued at five francs"(?), and a miniature by J.-A.-C. Pajou of his father (which has always remained in the family's possession). In the sale, under no. 4, there was also a "model of a pediment decorated with five heads of hunting dogs in relief, by Pajou"(?). The reader is referred to the original documents for what specifically concerns J.-A.-C. and Augustin-Désiré Pajou and their painter friends.

Critical Reputation

1753

"I am very happy with M. Pajou; this young sculptor has taste and a lot of talent and does not have a high opinion of his own merit like his colleague Caffieri" (Natoire: *Corr.*, vol. 10, p. 441).

1755

"I am very pleased with his drawings; I find in them precision and correctness. . . . I have great hopes of him and I exhort him to work more and more to perfect a talent of which I have the most favorable opinion" (Marigny: *Corr.*, vol. 11, p. 109).

1756

"Pajou . . . will make a sculptor of merit" (Natoire: *Corr.*, vol. 11, p. 138).

1760

On the commission for *Saint Augustine* at the Invalides: "The minister [the comte d'Argenson] had thought to distribute these kinds of works among the sculptors most likely to distinguish themselves. M. Pajou is one of these, having been received into the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture with applause, having spent eight years as a pensionnaire of the king in Paris and Rome. . . . There is an advantage in making use of an artist whose head is newly filled with all the beauty that Italy has to boast" (quoted in Dreyfus 1908, p. 273).

1761

"M. Pajou's models are fashioned with taste and well-disciplined genius" (*Année littéraire,* vol. 6, letter 1).

1764

"The death of M. Bouchardon leaves vacant a stipend of one thousand livres. The nonfunded sculptors who are eligible to ask you for a part of it are few in number. . . . The one in whom the greatest signs of true talent are thought to be discernible is M. Pajou" (Cochin to Marigny, July 28; quoted in Furcy-Raynaud 1903–4, pt. 1, p. 373).

On the marble version of *Peace*: "This figure is full of grace and simplicity; the artist, although very young, already enjoys a reputation beyond his years" (Mariette and La Live de Jully 1764).

1765

"This artist, who is already well known and already deserves to be, gives new proof of his development with every exhibition" (*Mercure de France,* November 1765).

1767

On Pajou's entries to the Salon of 1767 in general Diderot commented: "For God's sake, my friend, turn away from that corner! Do not look at those children of M. de Voyer, or at M. de Sansey [Sainsey], or at that figure of Magnificence, of which Pajou has not the first idea, or at that Wisdom. All of it is unbearably mediocre. Yet Pajou knows too much about his art not to be aware that sculpture needs to be grander, more pithy, more original than painting, and at the same time simpler in its choice of characters and its expression; and that in sculpture, there is no middle ground: it is either sublime or flat. Or as a man of the people remarked at the Salon, everything that is not sculpture, is sculptery. This year Pajou has made us a lot of sculptery. . . . Pajou has posted on his door as a motto Petit-Jean's maxim [in Racine's *Les plaideurs*]: 'Without money, honor is but a sickness.' Out of everything he has exhibited, I can respect none of it. I have followed that long parade of busts, constantly and fruitlessly seeking something to praise. This is what happens when you go running after money. I see coming from this artist's mouth the legend *De contemnendâ gloria* [On disdain and glory]; on a scroll around his roughing-chisel *De pane lucrando* [On earning one's daily bread]; and on the hem of his coat *Fie on glory, long live cash.* He has done only one good thing since his return from Rome. This is a talent crushed under a sack of gold: let him stay there" (quoted in Bukdahl et al. 1995a, pp. 489, 491).

This harsh and well-known passage was revised for the Vandeul version of the text, intended for the printer: after "sculptery," Diderot was made to say, "and he could create sculpture by worrying less about earning money and by working with more accuracy and less haste. He is an honest man whom I respect and like" (Bukdahl and Lorenceau 1984, p. 332). Angélique de Vandeul, Diderot's daughter, had been outraged: "if the author had known the artist he was talking about, he would not have taxed him with thinking about money" (quoted in Seznec and Adhémar 1960, p. 242).

1772

"He is the only one of the sculptors who draws as well" (De Wailly to the marquis d'Argenson, November 18; Poitiers, BU, P 172, 42).

1775

"I have learned through one of your notes of the dangerous and almost desperate state of M. Dumont the sculptor. I am delighted to see M. Pajou offer his services, in case of accident, to protect the interests of the widow and children by completing the group that [Dumont] was assigned. This offer does him credit and I take pleasure in seeing these signs of disinterestedness that honor the arts" (d'Angiviller to Pierre, September 30, 1775; quoted in Furcy-Raynaud 1905, p. 54).

1777

Concerning Pajou's nomination to the post of keeper of the royal sculpture collection at the Louvre, J.-B. Pierre, first painter to the king and director of the Académie, informed d'Angiviller that Pajou "combines with his talent the necessary head for detail" (letter, July 19, 1777; quoted in Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 1, p. 128).

1779

Concerning *Bossuet*: "M. Pajou was fortunately born and endowed with facility even in childhood: an advantage that has perhaps been eclipsed, for without contradiction he could become an excellent sculptor. Having reached a certain age, he has sought to rediscover the traces of nature that he had lost; he has even tried to follow those of M. Pigalle, whose ability he did not have; and doing, as I readily believe, what he did not feel, his works have become minor. Finally, urged on by the desire to please, he has done what mediocre painters do, if one can use the expression: he has overfinished [licked] his sculpture" (*Miracle de nos jours,* Deloynes, vol. 11, p. 219).

1781

On *Pascal*: "it suffices to name the author of this figure to give it its praise" (*Année littéraire*, vol. 7, letter XIII).

1786

Concerning the price asked by Pajou for the monument to hot-air balloons: "I told [Julien] that it was customary for every sculptor to charge special prices when it was a question of a special project. . . . I added that everything M. Pajou had earned by his seniority and his facility was a personal matter" (Pierre to d'Angiviller, March 10, 1786; quoted in Furcy-Raynaud 1905–6, pt. 2, p. 158).

1792

"Why should we let the chisels of Roland, Moitte, Pajou, and Julien lie idle? The marble awaits only patriotic or other subjects in order to come to life in their hands" (*Affiches, annonces, et avis divers,* or *Journal général de France*, no. 69 [March 9, 1792], supp., pp. 961–62; quoted in Bordes 1983, p. 166).

1794

Concerning a request for paintings and sculptures in the public domain to be released for teaching purposes: "I do not believe that to teach the elements of drawing, one needs marble statues such as those of Pascal and La Fontaine, masterpieces by Pajou and Julien, which must figure in the Museum among the best works of our modern artists" (*Rapport du citoyen Bonvoisin sur un état d'objets de peinture et de sculpture demandé à la commission temporaire des arts par le citoyen Neveu, instituteur de l'école centrale des travaux publics,* session of 10 nivôse, year III [December 30, 1794]; quoted in Tuetey 1912–17, vol. 2, p. 15 n. 3).

1800

"He has enjoyed a great reputation. And indeed some of his works that decorated the Palais de Versailles and quite a large number of buildings in Paris seemed to justify it. But in several others one sees too many signs of the bad taste that had infiltrated the fine arts toward the middle of the century of Louis XV. Pajou, following the example of the artists of that period, took pride in scorning the ancients; he would prefer them not to be studied. He shrugs his shoulders at the Apollo Belvedere; he does not know that the only good things he has done were when he inadvertently moved nearer to the taste and style of the ancients" (Amaury-Duval; quoted in Tuetey 1912–17, vol. 2, pp. 258–59).

1806

Publication of the *Notice inédite et historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Augustin Pajou, statuaire, membre de l'Institut de France et de la Légion d'Honneur* by P.-J.-B. Chaussard, in the *Pausanias français:* "M. Pajou created his statue of Pluto at a time when sculpture was barbaric, mannered, and lacking in any kind of principle. This figure is full of

truth: the arms and legs are beautifully formed. M. Pajou proved then and there that one could do nothing without studying nature, and he proved that he had studied it. This is his constant recommendation. . . . There exist several engravings after M. Pajou's drawings which prove, 1. that he could compose a large scene very well; 2. that he brought to all his compositions the spirit of reason that characterizes him; 3. that the knowledge he had of antiquity was very extensive, at a time when no one had any notion of it."

1809

Obituary by M.B. in the *Journal de l'Empire* (July 29, 1809, pp. 1–4): "His admission into the Académie goes back to 1760. At that time, sculpture, without having fallen as low as painting, was nonetheless in serious decline from what could still be seen only a century earlier, in the time of Puget, Girardon, Coysevox, Coustou; the point had been reached when it was thought that a sculptor could dispense with studying antiquity by looking at original masterpieces. . . . M. Pajou is one of those who contributed by example and precept toward the revival of serious study. His long career was itself marked by progress; and he could take pride in his students. . . . Few artists can boast as productive a career as M. Pajou. The number of his finished works reaches almost two hundred. As he disdained no aspect of his art, in which he was among the most talented, he embraced them all. . . . Only the infirmities of old age put an end to his work."

1810

Publication of the *Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Pajou (Augustin), sculpteur* by Joachim Le Breton, read before a public meeting at the Institut de France on October 6, 1810: "Lemoine and even Pigalle had lost their art: Pajou was the first to pave the way and to begin raising it up again. . . . One might conjecture, with a fair degree of likelihood, that in abandoning the inadequate system that dominated the French School, M. Pajou was imbued with the sculpture of Bernini and Puget. He proved superior to the first, not falling in with his tendency to exaggerate and equaling him in ease of execution; if Bernini had more of the ardor of genius, Pajou was better at conceiving and designing his statues. He did not possess Puget's skill or feeling but he was better versed in composition and the principles of his art" (*Magasin encyclopédique,* 1810, vol. 5, pp. 357, 360).

1860

On *Buffon*: "[Pajou] did not represent the great naturalist in his oversleeves, since he made him completely nude, with a sheepdog licking his foot. Pajou's error lies not in having represented the historian of nature nude; but rather in not having understood that in showing him thus, he was obliged to accentuate his character. In seeking the truth, he fell short of truth. People used to say 'simple like Pajou,' but sometimes he was too simple. In works of art, nature without a sense of the ideal is no longer nature" (Arsène Houssaye, *Histoire de l'art français au dix-huitième siècle* [Paris, 1860]; chapter 9 is devoted to Pajou).

1864

Publication in Limoges and Paris, in the series "Bibliothèque chrétienne de l'adolescence et du jeune âge, publiée avec approbation de Monseigneur l'évêque de Limoges" of a work by Mme A. Grandsard, *Le célèbre artist, ou Vie d'Augustin Pajou.* This book of 142 pages—which features as a frontispiece a touching engraving of Pajou as a young man—is the edifying story, punctuated by dialogues, of a very young sculptor named Pajou who learns his trade in Paris—from the master Alain Lemoyne!—and in Rome, and who wins fame thanks to his courage and hard work. At one point Lemoyne declares: "More than ever I am convinced that one day he will be one of our most illustrious sculptors, and that the entire universe will glorify his works and his name" (p. 31).

1866–76

"This master, whose name filled the entire end of the eighteenth century, is no longer accorded the high repute that he enjoyed among his contemporaries. But despite the difference between our taste and theirs, we have to recognize that Pajou was one of the creators of the grand modern manner, of which Rude and David d'Angers are the most complete exponents. His talent, moreover, remained unparalleled despite several lapses. Thus, we must not only pay homage to his true worth, but we must also measure carefully the extent of his influence on French art. This, the most interesting side of Pajou's personality, has been neglected by his best biographers."

On *Pluto and Cerberus*: "We know how Mannerism dominated French art in that period. We can imagine, therefore, the profound impression that must have been produced by this virile sculpture in which realism of execution reared itself up like an energetic protest against every accepted idea. We are, of course, not unaware that this group has been surpassed many times by David d'Angers and others; but in the period when it first appeared, it was more remarkable, even with its imperfections, than the later masterpieces of French sculpture, dazzling as they are" (Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* [Paris, 1866–90], vol. 17; reprint Nîmes, 1991, p. 44).

1881

"A sculptor who draws with the colorfulness and verve of a professional draftsman. His drawings, which are few in number, usually feature a warm bister wash over strokes of the pen" (Edmond de Goncourt, *La maison d'un artiste* [Paris, 1881], vol. 1, p. 132).

1889

Concerning the cast of *Psyche* presented at the retrospective exhibition of 1889: "In the last half of the eighteenth century this artist enjoyed an immense reputation, which today is not easily explained. Through his study of nature, which attracted little attention before him, and his freedom of execution, he exerted such an influence on the sculpture of our century that he can be considered the creator of the modern manner, of which Rude and David d'Angers were the first great masters" (anonymous [probably C.-I. Huard], *L'exposition chez soi: 1889* [Paris, 1889], vol. 2, p. 1418).

1895

"All that can be said of Pajou can be summed up in one phrase: exquisite grace. Even when he tries to heighten the emotional level, even when he becomes violent or tender, Pajou remains graceful—with Clodion, the most graceful of French sculptors. . . . While not quite the equal of Pigalle, Caffieri, and Houdon, Pajou is a brilliant, delightful artist. . . . Pajou's eye is rapid, his conception light and brilliant. He knows what he sees and he knows how to render it to perfection. . . . If he is preoccupied with antiquity, it is discreetly, from afar, and with subtleties that enchant" (Louis Gonse, *La sculpture française depuis le XIVème siècle* [Paris, 1895], p. 229).

1900

"This suavity and breadth are the two most constant features of Pajou's work, which otherwise lacks individuality. He belongs in truth to that group of artists whose exquisite sensibility to surrounding influences hinders them from taking a continuous direction on their own account. The diverse and brilliant achievements which he has left us—his 'Salle de l'Opéra,' his busts, his 'Psyché abandonnée'—cannot therefore impress us as forming a coherent and characteristic whole, but this absence of definite and ordered development is in itself an attraction, for it is the result not of want of intelligence or purpose, but of that enchanting facility with which Pajou's delightful genius lent itself to every varied form of style and expression" (Lady Dilke, *French Architects and Sculptors of the XVIIIth Century* [London, 1900], p. 129).

1912

Publication of the important monograph *Augustin Pajou* by Henri Stein, curator of the Archives Nationales; profusely illustrated, it is notable for the abundance and rigor of Stein's archival research and the accuracy with which he identified and located Pajou's works: "The present volume is an attempt to restore to favor an artist who is too little known. . . . Of all the French sculptors of the eighteenth century, Pajou has become one of the most sought after by collectors in the past few years. In some recent auctions, his works have fetched high prices. He is one of those who have been the most readily imitated, those to whom mediocre works are too easily attributed" (Stein 1912, pp. VI–VII).

Henri de Curzon reviewed Stein's book: "Nothing had yet been written about Pajou! Isn't this surprising, especially at a time when the artist's works are more sought after than ever by collectors? . . . Augustin Pajou has truly been undervalued. The importance of his genius in the evolution of art has not been recognized, nor has any attempt been made to reconstruct his career in order to bring out the character of this original genius. Judgment of him has been limited to two or three known works, and he has been rapidly passed by, like so many others. But he is not like so many others, and this needed to be said" (*Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature,* vol. 74 [Paris, 1912], pp. 173–74).

1913

"The Comité des Inscriptions in Paris proposes mounting a commemorative plaque on the building at 16 rue Jacob (still in situ): *Augustin Pajou/statuaire/né à Paris le 19 septembre 1730/est mort dans cette maison/le 8 mai 1809* [Augustin Pajou, sculptor, born in Paris September 19, 1730, died in this house May 8, 1809]" (*Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité,* supplement to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1913, p. 2).

1924

"Official circles were particularly impressed [by Pajou's merit], perhaps because his easy talent and industrious temperament allowed him to satisfy every commission by bowing within decent limits to the average taste of the times. If his slightly chilly sculpture sometimes lacks a personal note, it never lacks style" (Paul Vitry, "La sculpture française dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle," in *Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours,* published under the direction of André Michel, vol. 7, pt. 2 [Paris, 1924], pp. 549–98). Vitry, like Stein who inspired him, admired Pajou's qualities as a portraitist—"one of the main aspects of Pajou's talent and oeuvre"—and the Versailles decorations, but was reticent about the large marble

statues: *Buffon,* the Great Men, *Marie Leczinska,* and to a lesser degree, *Psyche.* Thus, he denied the artist the noblest part of his art.

Others were harsher: "Augustin Pajou is considered the most important French sculptor of his epoch, characterized by a preference for Baroque elements and a pictorial effect. This master is all the more interesting in that he was the first teacher of the classical German sculptor Dannecker. His art shows an ambiguity that results from a failure to decide between the old tendencies of the Baroque and the new classical ideal—a phenomenon already noted in Pigalle. But with Pajou, who had less of a sense of the plastic, this ambiguity leads to an almost unbearable weakness and lack of character. . . . His work constitutes a characteristic link between Pigalle's *Mercury,* which concentrates on the plastic expression of movement, and the statues of Thorvaldsen, which favor contour. The works of Pajou and Thorvaldsen have in common a last trace of the Baroque feeling for nature, together with a slackening of interest in plastic organization and the passive function of attributes. Since Pajou never abandons the old tradition of contrapposto and fails to attain the abstract relief style of Neoclassicism, his works are unsightly hybrids" (E. Hildebrandt, *Malerei und Plastik des 18. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich* [Potsdam, 1924], pp. 78–79).

1926

"Pajou poses a curious case for the historian. What is a man to do when tempted by French-style realism, Rousseau-like sentiment, and classical 'correctness'? But he found his salvation. Less lyrical in his portraits than Caffieri, less penetrating than Houdon, he loved, more than they did, women and the moistness of their flesh. And so he unveils it very generously. He is the master of the beautiful bosom. His finest bust is the proud Du Barry (1773), with her youthful bravura, the vulgar adventuress concealed beneath an assumption of aristocracy. The weaker one is, the more one is subject to the influences of one's milieu; more than Houdon, then, he bowed to the antique. By the 'purity' of its style, *Psyche Abandoned* (1785–90) raises to mythological nobility a pretty chorus girl. But this Greek weeps just like a Greuze" (René Schneider, *L'art français: XVIIIème siècle (1690–1789)* [Paris, 1926], pp. 177–78).

1932

"The most famous of Lemoyne's students, after Pigalle and Falconet, is Augustin Pajou. In his art, too, classicism and realism meet, but his style is less noble than Falconet's and his naturalism less vigorous than Pigalle's. He lacks imagination, and his portraits are capable of showing something almost sadly bourgeois" (Haavard Rostrup, *Franske Portraetbuster fra det XVIII Aarhundrede,* with a summary in French [Copenhagen, 1932], p. 118).

1945

"Pajou is a sculptor of charm. If he plays with the modeling of a beautiful body, with the delicacy of a face, it is in order to seduce. He thus shows himself the pleasantest of decorators, and in this vein the Versailles Opera constitutes his principal success (1768–70). . . . An art so delicious can be forgiven its limitations. Pajou's lyre has only one string, but how charming it is! . . . with Pajou, his work as a sculptor of busts is as important as his work as a decorator. Since one always succeeds with those one loves, his relations, his friends, and women must be set apart" (Luc Benoist, *La sculpture française* [Paris, 1945], pp. 195–96).

1966

"Well liked by those in power and a hard worker, Pajou, taking from classical statues only those elements that suited his fundamentally realistic temperament, perfectly embodies the various aspirations of the sculptors of his day, who had more talent for executing works than for expounding theories that were difficult to put into practice" (Gérard Hubert, *La scultura francese del' 700,* pt. 2 [Milan, 1966]).

1972

"Any excitement engendered by great events is banished in Pajou's work, in which the mood is quiescent, tending to lapse into the sentimental and particularly into the inert. To that extent he was—rather like Vien—born oriented towards Neoclassicism rather than the Baroque. His training under Lemoyne did little to affect this preference for stillness over movement and for the linear over the three-dimensional. After Bouchardon he was probably the sculptor who produced the finest drawings in the period. Nor is it any accident that much of his best sculpture is bas relief; even in fully modelled work his effects are often markedly linear—as, for example, on portrait busts where the pupils of the eye are usually incised very lightly" (Michael Levey in Wend Graf Kalnein and Michael Levey, *Art and Architecture in the Eighteenth Century in France* [Harmondsworth, 1972], p. 103).

1975

"[Pajou] adapted so easily to changing styles that his sculpture constitutes a one-man history of the rapidly changing scene from Louis XV to Napoleon" (H. H. Arnason, *The Sculptures of Houdon* [New York, 1975], p. 8).

1984

"Pajou's dominant trait is his extraordinary ability to adapt: he skillfully conformed to the prevailing style, and still more so to the wishes of his clients, becoming (as circumstances dictated) severe or graceful, sentimental or sensual, belated Rococo or early Neoclassical" (Jean-René Gaborit in *Diderot et l'art de Boucher à David,* exh. cat., Paris, Hôtel de la Monnaie, 1984–85, p. 470). GS

Key to Abbreviations

AAF: Archives de l'art français, published by the Sociéte de l'Histoire de l'Art Français
ADE: Archives Départementales de l'Essonne, Corbeil-Essonnes Mouchy papers
ADH: Archives Départementales de l'Hérault, Montpellier
ADL: Archives Departementales du Loiret, Orléans, Jarry papers
AI: Archives de l'Institut de France, Paris
AMMF: Archives du Musée des monuments français (see Bibliography)
AMN: Archives des Musées Nationaux, Paris
AN: Archives Nationals, Paris
AP: Archives de Paris
AS: Archives de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres
BHVDP: Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris
BI: Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris
BM: Bibliothèque Centrale du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, De Wailly papers
BMN: Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, Paris
BNEst: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Département des Estampes
BNMs: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Département des Manuscrits
BSHAF: Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français
Chantilly, BMC: Bibliothèque du Musée Condè,
Corr.: Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome (see Bibliography)
d. (with file number): dossier
Deloynes: collection of manuscripts and printed pamphlets, begun by Mariette, continued by Cochin, and completed by Deloynes (BNEst., Paris)
Doucet: Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Université de Paris Panthéon-Sorbonne, established by Jacques Doucet
ENSBA: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris. The numbers indicated after this abbreviation are those of the drawings executed in Italy and now kept in two volumes at the ENSBA.
livret: Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800, published by J.-J. Guiffrey, Paris, 1869. Reprint, Nogent-le-Roi, 1990.
mf: microfilm
Min. Cent.: AN, Minutier Central (Central Minute Book)
Mons, AE: Archives de l'État, Mons, Belgium, Depestre de Seneffe papers
NAAF: Nouvelles archives de l'art français, published by the Société de l'Histoire de l'Art, Français
Poitiers, BU: Biblothèque Universitaire, Poitiers, d'Argenson papers
Princeton: Art Museum Princeton University. The numbers indicated after this abbreviation are those of the drawings executed in Italy and now in the collection of the museum.
Proc.-Verb: Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1648–1793 (see Bibliography)
Reims, BM: Bibliothèque Municipale, Reims, Prosper Tarbé collection
Stein 1912: Henri Stein, *Augustin Pajou* (Paris, 1912)
Stein 1912, doc. no.: document published by Henri Stein in the appendix to his 1912 monograph

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