

VISIBLE SPIRIT
THE ART OF
GIANLORENZO BERNINI

VOL. II

IRVING LAVIN



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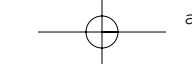
XXV

**Bernini-Bozzetti: One More, One Less
A Berninesque Sculptor in Mid-Eighteenth
Century France***

I AM pleased that this commemoration of the artist's birth affords an opportunity for me to celebrate the golden anniversary of my obsession — love affair might be a better term — with the work of Gianlorenzo Bernini. The affair began when I was a graduate student in search of a dissertation subject at Harvard University in the early 1950s. Partly because travel was expensive and difficult, partly because in those days art history as a discipline was much more attached to objects than it is today, and certainly also partly by inclination, I wanted to work on something near at hand that I could actually get my *hands* on. (In those days museums were somewhat less fastidious than they are now about 'touching' objects.)

It happened that one of the great riches of Harvard's Fogg Art Museum was its collection of some 27 sculptured bozzetti, or small terracotta sketches, including by far the largest group of autograph studies by Bernini in the world, with no more than a very few in any other collection. It was indeed love at first sight. From the beginning I felt a certain communion with the artist who, it was said, worked with such passion and concentra-

* A draft of this paper was first presented in a symposium at Harvard University in April 1998, commemorating the quadricentennial of Bernini's birth. This extended version was published in Hannah Baader, *et al.*, eds., *Ars et scriptura. Festschrift für Rudolf Preimesberger zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 2001, 143–156, and in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Atti dei convegni lincei 170. Convegno internazionale La cultura letteraria italiana e l'identità europea [Roma, 6–8 aprile 2000]*, Rome, 2001, 245–84.



tion that, when interrupted, he exclaimed 'sono innamorato.'¹ The little clay sketches seemed to me the very incarnation of that supreme act of divine love described in Genesis, when God creates Adam from dust. They seemed to me to make that same magic leap from inert, formless earth to heaven itself, at the touch of a finger. In the end, my dissertation, interrupted by a call to military service, remained a fragment of my intention.² But I was in love then, and after half a century I am still in love, especially with the angels — which are my subject today.³

One More

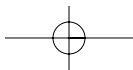
The beautiful terracotta model illustrated in Figs. 1–3, is, so far as I am aware, unknown to Bernini scholarship. It is 20 cm. high, well preserved except for the missing head, and it lives in what at first seems like a very unlikely place, the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Besançon. The model is clearly related to the angel that kneels in devotion with arms folded across its breast, at the right side of the last great work Bernini undertook for St. Peter's, the Altar of the Sacrament (Fig. 4). The model is also clearly related — and herein lies much of its significance for my discussion today — to the series of clay sketches for the sacrament angels now in the Fogg Museum, and it takes its place, proudly and somewhat earlier in the development of the composition, alongside its counterpart there (Fig. 5).

The new bozzetto is in fact quite old, for it has been alive and well since the mid-eighteenth century in the Museum of Fine Arts at Besançon.

¹ According to Domenico Bernini, 'Nel rimanente era sempre tanto fisso nelle sue occupazioni, che a chi distoglier lo voleva per invitarlo al riposo, rispondeva tutto ansioso, *Lasciatemi star qui, che io son innamorato.*' Domenico Bernini, *Vita del cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Rome 1713, p. 179. Reported, with interesting variations, by Baldinucci: '... usò per ordinario fino all'ultima sua età d'impiegare nel lavoro de' marmi, fatica, la quale gli stessi suoi giovani reggere non poteano: a se talvolta alcuno di loro nel voleva distogliere, resisteva con dire: 'Lasciatemi star qui, ch'io sono innamorato.' Stava in quel lavoro così fisso, che sembrava estatico, a pareva che dagli occhi gli volesse uscir lo spirito per animare il sasso;' Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Florence 1682; ed. Sergio Samek Ludovici, Milan 1948, p. 139.

² Irving Lavin, *The Bozzetti of Gianlorenzo Bernini*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard 1955. The Fogg terracottas have now been admirably published by Wardropper: Ian Wardropper *et al.*, *From the Sculptor's Hand: Italian Baroque Terracottas from the state Hermitage Museum*, exhib. cat., Chicago 1998.

³ Some further thoughts on Bernini's angels will be found in my essay 'Bernini at St. Peter's: *Singularis in singulis, in omnibus unicus*', reprinted here.



Traditionally the model has been regarded, with good reason, as the work of Luc-François Breton (1731–1799), a native of Besançon and one of the best-known sculptors of the Franche-Comté. Breton was an altogether remarkable character, partly because he was in many respects typical of his era.⁴ Born of a poor family, he was apprenticed early, with a kind of craft-scholarship, to a local woodcarver, and later entered the sculpture atelier of Claude Attiret at nearby Dôle. In 1754 Breton set out, on foot, for Rome, stopping first at Marseilles, where he worked as a woodcarver and studied the works there of Pierre Puget. With free passage arranged by an influential sympathizer, he set sail for Rome where he arrived, penniless, in 1754. After four years of hard work, in 1758 he entered the sculpture competition of the prestigious *Accademia di San Luca*, and, *mirabile dictu*, he won first prize with a terracotta model representing the assigned subject, *Metellius rescuing the Palladium from the Temple of Vesta* (Fig. 6).⁵ He was the first French artist to win the first prize in sculpture. With this feather in his cap, Breton in 1762 was taken in by the painter Natoire, director of the French Academy in Rome, who gave him a room so that, although he lacked the education and culture requisite for a *Prix de Rome*, he was able to attend classes and study the great works, old and new, that surrounded him. During his stay at the Academy he would have met Houdon, Clodion, Boucher, and many others. He received commissions from French patrons, as well as from Robert Adams, whom he had met in Rome. Adams ordered from him plaster models and casts of classical sculpture and architectural ornaments on Roman buildings.⁶ Adams also commissioned him to produce a terracotta model for a marble relief that decorates Adams's monument to Roger Townsend, hero of the battle of Ticonderoga, in Westminster Abbey. Breton had one major commission in Rome, a colossal figure of St. Andrew for the church of S. Claudio dei Borgognoni, a model which is preserved at Besançon (Figs. 7, 8).⁷ Breton remained in Rome for 17 years,

⁴ For virtually all of what follows concerning the career of Breton see Lucie Cornillot, *Le sculpteur bisontin Luc Breton (1731–1800)*, Besançon 1941?; list of works, including the models discussed here pp. 115–25.

⁵ Vincenzo Golzio, *Le terrecotte della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, Rome 1933, pp. 18 f.

⁶ See the important contribution by John Fleming, 'Robert Adam, Luc-François Breton and the Townsend Monument in Westminster Abbey,' in: *Connoisseur*, CL, 1962, pp. 163–71.

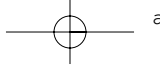
⁷ The façade sculpture was noted recently among French works in Rome at the time of Clodion, by Olivier Michel, 'La Rome de Clodion. Sculpture et tradition,' in: Guilhem Scherf, ed., *Clodion et la sculpture française de la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1993, pp. 59–83, see p. 69.

except for a brief, but for our purposes extremely important, return to his native town in 1765. He passed this time via Florence and Genoa, where he made a copy of Puget's *Saint Sebastian* (Fig. 9). In Besançon he received the commission to carve two kneeling angels for a new high altar of the parish church, Saint-Maurice. The following year he went back to Rome to procure the marble and execute the figures, which were complete in 1768 and installed on the altar in 1769. In 1771 Breton returned definitively to Besançon, where apart from his activity as a sculptor he devoted himself above all to the establishment and directorship of the first free school of fine arts in the Franche-Comté.

The eighteenth century was of course the great age for public education and such schools were mushrooming all over France at the time. For political reasons, the Franche-Comté being fiercely jealous of its independence from the central administration, Breton's school was never accorded the official status of an Academy. In fact, it was the only provincial institution of its kind not associated with the Paris Academy, which meant that it could not send its students to Rome. With a modest subvention from the municipality, however, the school thrived. It opened in 1774 and by 1778 forty-five pupils were enrolled. The rules and program were equivalent to those of the other Academies and very demanding. Each professor upon his appointment, and in alternation each year thereafter, had to donate to the school a piece of his own composition. Lessons took place in the evening in winter, mornings in summer. Students twelve and older from Besançon and the Franche-Comté were admitted free, and others came from Germany, Switzerland, and Alsace. The sessions were open to the public. The aspiring sculptors studied copies after antiquities and the works of their teacher. From 1775 prizes were awarded in several categories: subjects from the imagination; subjects after nature; copies in drawing; and copies in three dimensions. It all came to an end with the Revolution, and was only revived in 1807 by one of Breton's pupils. The Municipality was prescient, however, and when Breton died in 1800 a portion of his material was purchased to serve as models in the courses of design.

We have two early inventories, 1815 and 1820, of the models owned by the École, which list many works by Breton.⁸ Several of these are related to Bernini, more than to any other modern artist. Four can be identified unequivocally: *une femme mourante*; *un ange adoreur*, ronde-bosse;

⁸ Cornillot 1941? (see n. 4), pp. 131–6.



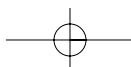
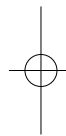
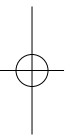
1022



1. Bernini, angel of the sacrament, terracotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon.



2. Bernini, angel of the sacrament, terracotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon.





3. Bernini,
angel of the sacrament,
terracotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Besançon.

4. Bernini,
angel of the sacrament.
St. Peter's, Rome.

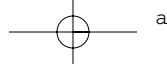




5. Bernini,
angel of the sacrament,
terracotta.
Fogg Art Museum,
Cambridge, MA.

6. Luc Breton,
Metellius rescuing the
Palladium from the
Temple of Vesta,
terracotta.
Accademia di S. Luca,
Rome.





7. Luc Breton, St. Andrew.
S. Claudio dei Borgognoni,
Rome.

8. Luc Breton, St. Andrew,
terracotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Besançon.





9. Luc Breton, plaster cast
of a copy of Puget's Saint Sebastian.
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon.



10. Luc Breton,
copy after Bernini's
Habakkuk and the Angel,
terracotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Besançon.



11. Bernini, Habakkuk and the Angel. S. Maria del Popolo, Rome.

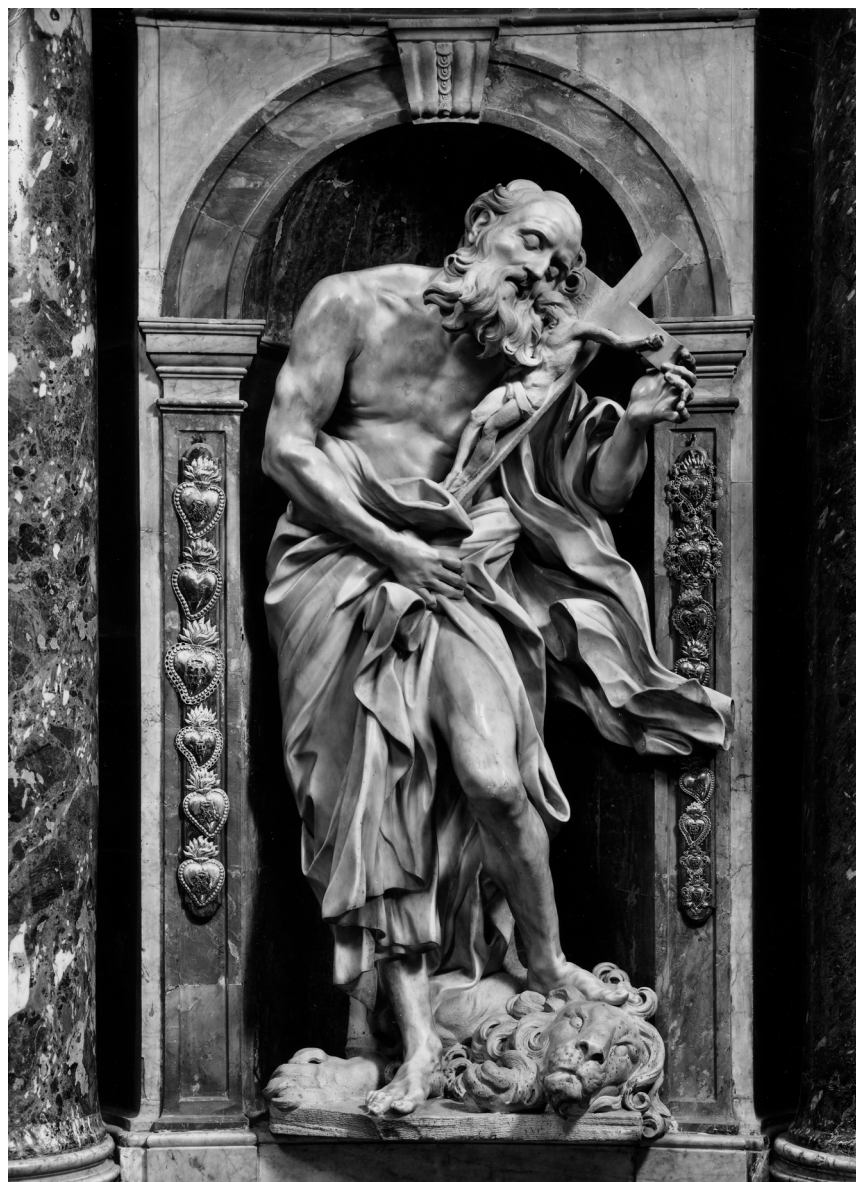
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12. Attributed to Bernini,
St. Jerome, terracotta.
Antiquarium, Termini Imerese.



14. Attributed to Bernini,
St. Jerome, terracotta.
Palazzo Chigi Saraceni, Siena.



13. Bernini, St. Jerome. Duomo, Siena.

1030



15. Bernini,
study for St. Jerome,
drawing.
Museum der bildenden
Künste, Leipzig.

16. Luc Breton,
copy after Benini's
Ludovica Albertoni,
terracotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Besançon.

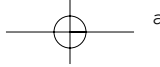




17. Anonymous,
copy after Benini's
Ludovica Albertoni,
terracotta.
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



18. Luc Breton,
kneeling angel.
Cathedral, Besançon.

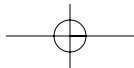
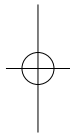
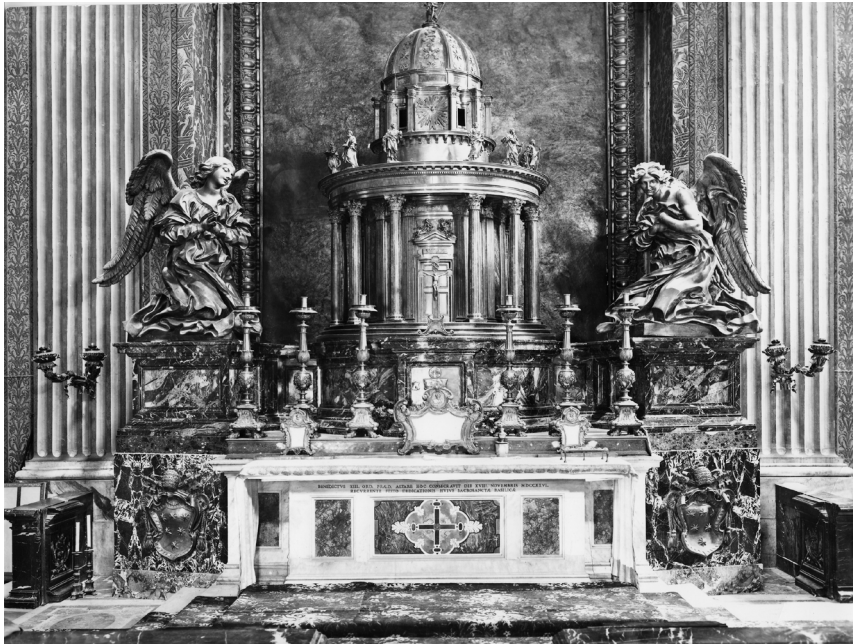


1032



19. Luc Breton,
kneeling angel.
Cathedral, Besançon.

20. Bernini, Sacrament Altar.
St. Peter's, Rome.

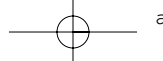




21. Anonymous,
standing angel,
terracotta.
Fogg Art Museum,
Cambridge, MA.



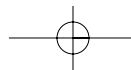
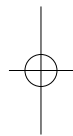
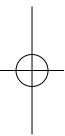
22. Anonymous,
standing angel,
terracotta.
Fogg Art Museum,
Cambridge, MA.



1034



23. Anonymous, standing angel, terracotta.
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA.



24. Bernini,
angel with the Superscription,
terracotta.
Fogg Art Museum,
Cambridge, MA.



25. Bernini,
angel with the Crown of Thorns,
terracotta.
Fogg Art Museum,
Cambridge, MA.

1036



26. Attributed to Antonio Raggi,
studies for angels,
drawing.
Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

27. Anonymous,
standing angel,
gilt bronze.
Pinacoteca Comunale,
Spoleto.





28. Anonymous,
standing angel.
Pinacoteca Comunale,
Spoleto.

29. Anonymous,
ostensorium.
Pinacoteca Comunale,
Spoleto.



Insieme
dell'ostensorio.

Apollon et Daphné d'après le Bernin; Habacuc d'après le Bernin. Except for the *Apollo and Daphne*, they are still preserved. The *Habacuk and the Angel* (Fig. 10) is an astonishingly subtle and intelligent rendering in high relief of Bernini's group in the Chigi chapel in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome, including the niche (Fig. 11). Breton was concerned to convey the crucially important aspect of the sculpture's effect, its relation to its context. The model has a remarkable, and perhaps not entirely fortuitous analogy in another terracotta, which Wittkower accepted as an original bozzetto by Bernini, in an equally unlikely place, a small museum at Termini Imerese on the north central coast of Sicily (Fig. 12).⁹ Represented here is Bernini's contemporary sculpture of St. Jerome in the Chigi Chapel in the Duomo of Siena (Fig. 13). We have comparable models of Bernini niche sculptures, including the *St. Jerome*, that do not incorporate the niche (Fig. 14), but there are also autograph drawings that do (Fig. 15).¹⁰ Whatever the explanation, it seems hard to believe that the coincidence between Breton's model and that in Sicily is purely coincidental. The dying woman of the inventory is the model of the *Ludovica Albertoni*, which belongs to a veritable plague of reductions of this figure in museums and collections around the world (Figs. 16, 17), that in Besançon being the only one to which we can attach a name.¹¹

It is easy to disregard the *Habacuk* and the *Ludovica Albertoni* as mere copies, especially since they are both relatively highly finished and very close to the originals. They are, however, extremely competent, and the syncretistic spirit of the mid-eighteenth century is eloquently illustrated by the fact that the works of Bernini and the monuments of classical antiquity were the two chief subjects of Breton's study. The fact that he worked for Robert Adam and also reproduced the Berninesque angels for the Cathedral

⁹ Maria Vittoria Brugnoli, 'Un bozzetto del Bernini per il "San Girolamo"', in: *Arte antica a moderna*, 1961, pp. 291–3. Nothing is known of the provenance of the piece.

¹⁰ Giancarlo Gentilini, and Carlo Sisi, *La scultura. Bozzetti in terracotta, piccoli marmi e altre sculture dal XIV al XX secolo*. 1989. Siena. Palazzo Chigi Saracini, 2 vols., Florence 1989; I, pp. 229–37, other exemplars illustrated p. 236; on the drawings see Lavin *et al.* ed., *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini from the Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig*, exhib. cat., Princeton 1981, pp. 229–36.

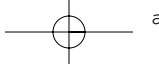
¹¹ Some other exemplars, with greater or less claims to authenticity: Hermitage Wardropper *et al.* 1998 (see n. 2), p. 82 f.; Rome, private collection, *Il Seicento europeo. Realismo classicismo barocco*, exhib. cat., Rome 1956, pp. 257 f.; Victoria and Albert Museum Shelley Karen Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death. The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel*, University Park and London 1990, see pp. 17, 24 f.

shows that he responded equally well to the English neoclassical and the nascent French Rococo.

The case of the little kneeling angel is not so simple, however, because it has all the qualities of a preparatory sketch and is much closer in facture and spirit than the other models to the bozzetti in the Fogg. Having been placed on their intended altar in Saint-Maurice, Breton's marble angels were saved from desecration during the Revolution because they served as emblems of Love on the chariot of the Goddess of Reason in a procession to the Cathedral of Besançon, where they were installed in their present position on the high altar (Figs. 18, 19). It is obvious that Breton upon returning to Rome took as the point of departure for his figures Bernini's kneeling sacrament angels, one in prayerful adoration, the other in ecstatic devotion (Fig. 20). Breton varied the prototypes in significant ways, however, none of which correspond to the model. This fact alone, I think, rules out the Besançon terracotta as a preparatory study for Breton's figures. Two possibilities remain. One is that Breton is here copying not Bernini's final figure, but one of the master's bozzetti — perhaps even the very one now in the Fogg. The Besançon model, which is directly and uniquely associated with a single known artist, raises the tantalizing, and devastating, prospect of Breton's having copied not simply Bernini's executed work but his preparatory style, his 'sketchmanship,' as it were. This would be a striking and precisely documentable instance of what I believe was an important factor in the transformation of the grand and often grandiloquent dynamism of the seventeenth into the lithe and delicate rhythms of the eighteenth century — and the development of a special sensitivity to the small, spontaneous and informal qualities of the preparatory sketch.

In the case, however, I prefer the other possibility: the Besançon angel is not a copy at all, but what it seems to be at first glance, an original bozzetto by Bernini for the angel in devotion at the right side of the Sacrament altar in St. Peter's — which Breton acquired while he was in Rome. Apart from the sheer quality of the work, this hypothesis has one point in particular in its favor, chronology. We know that Breton received the commission and went to Rome in 1766 and that the angels were finished by 1768. He can scarcely have avoided contact with Rome's greatest impresario of restoring, collecting, and purveying sculpture, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1717–99), from whom he may have then acquired his Bernini bozzetto.¹² A decade

¹² Following the pioneering work of Seymour Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. Eighteenth-Century Restorer*, New York and London 1982; the splendid investigative task of



later, in fact, faced with financial problems, Cavaceppi offered part of his vast collection of casts, copies and models for sale to the pope. For this purpose, he drew up a selected list of 100 pieces, in which some of the sculptures now in the Fogg are recorded.

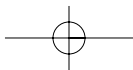
One Less

Although clearly related in conception as well as execution to the angels of the Ponte S. Angelo, one of the models in the Fogg stands apart from the others, and I have long been suspicious of the attribution to Bernini (Figs. 21–23).¹³ The tiny head with mincing features and the pirouetting movement seem incompatible with the powerful action and forthright emotion expressed by Bernini's figures (Figs. 24, 25). Anyone who considers even briefly the array of materials – drawings as well as models – connected with the various angels for the bridge knows that they constitute an immensely intricate visual counterpoint of many motives — arm, leg and head positions, swirls of fluttering drapery, and psychological states.¹⁴ Analyzing these interrelated variables in an effort to define a reasonable sequence is like trying to disentangle the melodic lines of a Bach fugue. The combination of notes being sounded at any one measure is probably unique for the entire composition. Right leg forward, left leg back, right shoulder back, left forward, right arm raised, left arm down, face turned toward left, drapery flowing around the right leg behind the left. Of all the material related to the *bridge angels* that has come down to us only one tiny sketch corresponds to these details, and it corresponds so closely that the relationship can hardly be coincidental. I refer to a drawing in Düsseldorf attributed to one of Bernini's closest followers, Antonio Raggi, who executed the

recovering Cavaceppi's operations and their legacy, was accomplished by Carlo Gasparri and Olivia Ghiandoni, 'Lo Studio Cavaceppi a Le Collezioni Torlonia', in: *Rivista dell'istituto nazionale d'archeologia a storia dell'arte*, XVI, 1993. The correlation between the Cavaceppi inventory and known bozzetti, including those in the Fogg, will also be found in Maria Giulia Barberini and Carlo Gasparri, eds., *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano (1717–1799)*, exhib. cat., Rome 1994.

¹³ Published by Richard Norton, *Bernini and other studies*, New York 1914, p. 45, No. 25, Pl. XXVII, a; Leonard Opdycke, 'A Group of Models for Berninesque Sculpture,' in: *The Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art*, 1937–8, pp. 26–30, see p. 29, identified as for the *Cathedra Petri*.

¹⁴ See the full discussion of the bridge by Mark Weil, *The History and Decoration of the Ponte S. Angelo*, University Park and London 1974.



angel with the Column of the Flagellation for the bridge, where some of the details came to fruition (Fig. 26).¹⁵

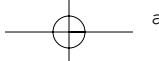
The terracotta has an almost identical counterpart, however, in a quite unexpected place and context, a beautiful small bronze gilt angel now in the Pinacoteca Comunale at Spoleto (Figs. 27–29).¹⁶ The provenance of the piece is not certain. It was rediscovered in 1981 in a storeroom in the Palazzo Comunale, adapted to serve as an ostensorium for the display of the sacramental host. The base, the stem and the custodia were thought to be later additions, although the logic of the figures in the Düsseldorf drawings makes me wonder; if they are later, they must have replaced something quite similar. The heights of the model and the bronze are virtually identical at one Roman palmo (22.5 cm.).¹⁷ The only significant difference is that in the terracotta the right arm is not extended in support, but folded against the angel's breast, and this I believe suggests an interesting and important hypothesis. It would seem that a figure developed from the sketch but never realized on the bridge, came to serve two purposes. In one context, the model was given a practical function as the bronze caryatid at Spoleto, which may have held a candelabrum, as in the Düsseldorf drawing, or, more probably an ostensorium, part of which may (or may not) have been replaced. On the other hand, in the non-supportive, devotional form of the Fogg terracotta, the figure also served as an independent object. In fact, the terracotta was originally colored to resemble bronze. The point I want to make here is that the figure, which evidently had its origin in a project for monumental sculpture, also had a life of its own on a small scale, both as a useful instrument, and as an *objet d'art*. To be sure, this process of miniaturization had a long history; one need only recall the small bronzes of Giovanni Bologna. Indeed, this was only one of many aspects of Giambologna's art — the rough and ready handling of the clay bozzetto was another — taken up by Bernini and his school, that ultimately played a seminal role in the creation of the Rococo.¹⁸

¹⁵ Weil 1974 (see n. 14), p. 86.

¹⁶ See Bruno Toscano, in: *Arte in Valnerina a nello Spoletino. Emergenza e tutela permanente*, exhib. cat., Rome 1983, p. 154–7. — Giampiero Ceccarelli, et al., *Urbano VIII vescovo di Spoleto: nel IV centenario della nascita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, exhib. cat., Spoleto 1998, pp. 46 f.

¹⁷ Published heights: Fogg No. 1937.60: 22.5 cm.; Spoleto: 21.5 cm.

¹⁸ On the relationship of Bernini's to Giambologna's clay sketches, see Irving Lavin, 'Bozzetti and Modelli. Notes on Sculptural Procedure from the Early Renaissance through Bernini,' in: *Stil and Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964*, Berlin 1967, III, pp. 93–104, see p. 102.



It happens that we can make an educated guess how the piece came to, or was created for Spoleto. Cardinal Jacopo Nini who was the Maggiordomo of Alexander VII and Clement IX, and who countersigned with Bernini the payments for the work on the Ponte S. Angelo, and of whom Bernini made one of his famous caricatures, had a twin brother named Carlo (1640–92). Carlo was buried in Spoleto in San Domenico (originally San Salvatore, where the ostensorium would have been especially appropriate), in a tomb whose inscription proudly records his relationship to Jacopo.¹⁹ Our angel is evidently not among those included in Cavaceppi's early sales catalogue; but it could well have been among those listed summarily in the Cavaceppi inventories taken after his death, and there is no reason to doubt that its provenance is the same as for the others.

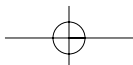
The possibility that both models discussed here may have passed through the same collection in the mid-eighteenth century is in itself not remarkable, but the character and function of that collection suggests a final observation I should like to make in this context. It is important to realize that the acquisition of the major holdings of Roman Baroque bozzetti by the museums that house them was a relatively late development in their history.²⁰ The Farsetti collection was purchased for the czar of Russia in 1799 and installed in the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg, where it remained until it was transferred to the Hermitage in 1919; the Brandegee family purchased the Fogg bozzetti from Giovanni Piancastelli, Director of the Borghese Gallery in Rome, in 1909 and gave them to Harvard in 1937; those in the Palazzo Venezia were acquired in 1949 from the opera singer and omnivorous collector Evangelista Gorga.

The recent research that has revealed the early history of the models has tended to confirm the conviction I have long had that the Bernini bozzetti in the Fogg are not a collection in the sense of having been assembled by an art lover from a variety of sources, but are descended as a group ultimately from Bernini's own studio.²¹ Cavaceppi must have acquired them, directly or indirectly, from someone who had actually worked with Bernini. A likely source, for example, was one of Bernini's favorite pupils, Giulio Cartari, who executed for display on the Ponte S. Angelo the very sensitive variant

¹⁹ Toscano 1983 (see n. 16), p. 157.

²⁰ For an excellent survey of the history of model-collecting, see Dean Walker in Wardropper *et al.* 1998 (see n. 2), pp. 14–29.

²¹ Irving Lavin, 'Calculated Spontaneity. Bernini and the Terracotta Sketch,' in: *Apollo*, CVII, 197 8, pp. 398–405, see p. 399.



of Bernini's own *Angel with the Superscription*; we know that Cartari received a cache of bozzetti from Bernini's studio by 1706.²² Cavaceppi certainly collected on a grand scale, and he had many motives for doing so. Selling the collection, however, was evidently not one of them. So far as we know, during his lifetime he attempted to sell only a small selection, and, failing that, his collection remained intact until his death in 1799. His primary motivation then became clear. What Cavaceppi dreamt of was a school, an academy, in which the figurative tradition and indeed the cultural tradition it represented, handed down from antiquity, especially in sculpture, would be carried on. In his testament he left his entire collection to the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome, where in 1732 he had himself won a prize for a terracotta model of Bernini's *Habakuk and the Angel*.²³ It is important to bear in mind, moreover, that in doing so, he was following the lead of Ercole Ferrata, one of the sculptors who had indeed worked with Bernini, and who had left his considerable collection, partly to the *Accademia di S. Luca*, and partly to the *Accademia Borromeo* in Milan.²⁴ The Roman Accademia promptly proceeded to sell Cavaceppi's collection to the great art collector Marchese Giovanni Torlonia, and thereafter the diaspora began.

Although we have no documentary proof it can scarcely be doubted that there was a close connection between Cavaceppi and another voracious collector who, though not an artist himself, had the instincts of one. The wealthy Venetian Abbot Filippo Farsetti (1703–74) evidently realized that his native city, despite its own noble antiquarian tradition, did not share the grand sculptural heritage that was the particular glory of Rome in the age of Neo-classicism.²⁵ And what Farsetti conceived to fill the lacuna was again, a school. Farsetti spent 1750–3 in Rome, commissioning and acquiring everything he could in the way of antiquities, copies in marble, plaster and terracotta, and models, with the idea of turning his own villa into a

²² Lavin 1978 (see n. 2), pp. 404 f, n. 3.

²³ Barberini and Gasparri, eds., 1994 (see n. 12), p. 18; the sculpture was listed in an Academy inventory of 1807.

²⁴ Walker in Wardropper *et al.* 1998 (see n. 2), p. 23. On the Ambrosian Academy founded by Carlo Borromeo, see Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana. Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan*, Cambridge and New York 1993, pp. 45–55.

²⁵ On Farsetti see most recently Sergej Androssov in Wardropper *et al.* 1998 (see n. 3), pp. 2–13.

museum and an academy for the training of aspiring artists and the education of the public. Early in 1753 Natoire, Director of the French Academy in Rome, made an arrangement with Farsetti that included acquiring a cast of 'la plus belle figure du Bernini,' the *S. Bibiana*. One of Natoire's letters to Paris provides a lively picture of Farsetti's feverish activity, which filled the churches and palaces of Rome with cast-makers and copyists. Farsetti had obtained the permission of Benedict XIV agreeing to provide copies for the *Accademia Clementina* of Bologna (the pope's native city) of everything he acquired for himself.²⁶ It may not be coincidental that Farsetti appointed as curator of his collection a Bolognese sculptor, Bonaventura Furlani, who specialized in that city's ancient tradition of modeling in stucco and clay,

²⁶ The passage is worth quoting *in extenso*: January 17, 1753. 'M. l'abbé Farsetti, noble Vénitien, homme riche, beaucoup de goût pour les arts et que vous aurés veu à Rome, Monsieur, fait une belle collection de modelle en sculpture (c'est la partie où il s'attache le plus); son dessain et de former à Venise une gallerie où l'Ecole vénisienne puisses étudier la bonne manière du dessain. Ceux qui sont attachés à Rome luy voyent enlever ses curiosités avec peine, mais l'argent fait ordinairement remuer les choses les plus inaccessibles. Le Pape luy a permis de faire mouler les antiques les plus distingués et d'autres morceaux modernes des plus renomés, avec une condition: Sa Sainteté voulant enrichir l'Académie de Boulogne nomée l'*Instituto*, accorde à M. l'abbé Farsetti 6,000 écus pour entrer dans la depance nécessaire pour cette operation, au moyen de laquelle il sera aubligé de fournir une figure jettée en plâtre de tous les moules qu'il aura fait faire pour aitre transportée dans laditte Accadémie de Boulogne, tous frès fait; cela yra environ a une sinquantaine de morceaux; on ne voit présentement que des mouleurs rependus dans tous les endrois de Rome, tant dans les églises que dans les palais. Je n'ay l'honneur de vous faire ce detail, Monsieur, que pour vous dire que je vien de faire aussy une petite convention avec ce zellé amateur et qui et pour le bien de l'Académie: il ma demandé la permission de fair mouler la figure de *Germanicus*, dont le marbre ait dans la gallerie de Versailles. Je luy ay fait sentir combien le devois aitre jaloux que rien ne se fit dans l'Académie qui pût tendre à aucun domage, bien au contraire tendre à l'ogmentation de son intérêt. Tout étant bien considéré qu'il n'y auriot aucun danger en accordent ce service, cela vous vaudra la permission aussy d'avoir un plâtre de la belle figure du *Bernin* de le tems pressoit pour ce déterminer, ce qui m'a empêché de vous prévenir pour en attendre votre permission. Nous avons deux plâtres de cette statue; on ne touchera pas à celle qui decore l'appartement; le tout s'exécute avec beaucoup d'attention . . .'

Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France a Rome avec les surintendants des batiments*, 18 vols., Paris 1888–1908, X, pp. 434 f. The correspondence of the directors of the French Academy contains many references to casts and copies of works by Bernini, including an attempt in 1740 by the artist's descendants to sell the statue of Truth, left to them 'in perpetuity,' to the King (IX, 419, 422). On Farsetti, Benedict, and Bologna, see also Francis Haskell, and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900*, New Haven and London 1982, p. 85.

and is mentioned in the Clementina's sculpture competition in 1768.²⁷ Farsetti opened his collection in 1755 and returned to Rome for more acquisitions in 1766–9, precisely when Cavaceppi was preparing his sale. The plausible suggestion has been made that Cavaceppi was one of Farsetti's suppliers, and no doubt the two exchanged ideas concerning their respective academies, as well.²⁸

There is an astonishing coincidence of attitude among the people, collections, and institutions we have been considering: Ferrata, *Accademia di San Luca*, *Accademia Borromeo*, Cavaceppi, Farsetti, *Accademia Clementina*, Breton, *St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts* — they all involve, or are closely related, not only to one another but to the idea of formal, academic instruction in the fine art of sculpture.²⁹ There was a veritable academic 'movement.' Equally remarkable is the wide range of artistic modes that found expression in this studious intellectual climate — from the informal charm and sentiment of Clodion, who at the Paris Salon of 1773 presented a small terracotta that may have been inspired by a Bernini bozzetto then in the possession of Natoire, to Canova, whose art is inconceivable without Bernini and who acknowledged his profound debt to his early studies in the Palazzo Farsetti.³⁰ Paradoxically, the embracing catholicity implicit in this range of interests, was the correlative of the catholicity of method inherent in the very notion of an academy; and together they provided the protean clay from which our own 'academic' appreciation of the bozzetti was formed. In common parlance 'academic' has come to signify the arid pursuit of useless knowledge. On the contrary, inspired largely from Italy, and devoted to the education of the young, the academic tradition has from its inception been a vital creative force in European culture.

²⁷ Eugenio Riccòmini, *Vaghezza e furore. La scultura del Settecento in Emilia*, Bologna 1977, p. 136.

²⁸ Barberini and Gasparri, eds., 1994 (see n. 12), p. 116.

²⁹ A full appreciation of this 'culture' of casts and copies after the antique is provided by Haskell and Penny 1982 (see n. 26).

³⁰ Anne L. Poulet, and Guilhem Scherf, *Clodion 1738-1814*, exhib. cat., Paris 1992, pp. 125–8; for Canova see Walker in Wardropper *et al.* 1998 (see n. 2), p. 27.