Capomastro and Courier: Giacomo Borzacchi and Bernini's Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV in Transit

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Making and Moving Sculpture in Early Modern Italy

Edited by
Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio

ASHGATE
On February 24, 1684, Giacomo Borzacchi was given small iron pegs and wooden wedges by the members of the Fabbrica (Building Works) of St. Peter’s, “which he needs for the armature that he is making for the horse and statue of the King of France.” Borzacchi was a kind of handyman—a mason and engineer—who was in the regular employ of the Fabbrica for almost 30 years. His project in 1684, the “armature,” must have been the wooden support structure needed to safeguard Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s equestrian statue of French King Louis XIV on its long trip to Paris. The previously unpublished Fabbrica payment is the earliest dated indication of action being taken to start Bernini’s horse on its journey from the artist’s former studio at the Vatican, near the Santa Marta gate. Acting as a belated ambassador for Bernini, it was Borzacchi who accompanied the statue when it finally made its way to France in 1685.

Borzacchi’s voyage to France with the equestrian Louis XIV was a modest echo of the pomp and circumstance of Bernini and his entourage in Paris 20 years earlier, yet we know little about this relatively humble individual and his trip. In his day-to-day work, Borzacchi was an essential, but largely unremarkable part of the creation of one of Rome’s most spectacular monuments, St. Peter’s. Accompanying Bernini’s equestrian Louis XIV to France was a high profile role, which momentarily brought Borzacchi under the eyes of the French king and earned him international praise and a notable financial boost. The moment was, however, short-lived, and Borzacchi returned to his work among the largely anonymous craftsmen who performed the physical labor required to bring ‘Bernini’s Rome’ into existence. Bernini’s social and professional standing was remarkable, giving him a rank all of his own, as a kind of artist-prince. Over his lifetime he was able to amass a considerable fortune, and to secure respectable positions for his children.
It seems to have been more difficult for most artists and craftsmen, individuals like Borzacchi and Bernini’s main assistant Mattia de’ Rossi, to capitalize on all of the rewards that professional opportunities could bring to them. Their status was more fluid—they rose to the attention of royalty at times, and fell back to the humble wages and tasks of day laborers at others, their efforts to gain recognition blocked by middlemen and ministers. Looking further into the practicalities, problems and personalities that lay behind the scenes of early modern sculptural production provides an opportunity to gain a more nuanced understanding of the ranks of artists, artisans, and craftsmen who created Baroque Rome and represented it abroad.

Bernini’s Louis XIV was essentially completed by 1673, although small changes continued to be made until 1677. It then remained in Bernini’s Vatican studio for another eight years, long past the artist’s death in 1680. No steps were taken to bring it to France until, as we have seen, early 1684. As Borzacchi was already gathering materials for the armature in late February, the practical process of moving the horse and rider must have begun by late January or early February of 1684. The timing confirms that it was the Marquis de Louvois, who became the Superintendent of Building, Art and Factories after Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s death in September 1683, who finally made progress in getting the horse moving.

On July 24, 1684, the Duc d’Estrees wrote to M. de Relinge to report that the day before the statue had been loaded onto a boat in Rome that would take it to the port of Fiumicino, in the first leg of its maritime journey. The statue left several days later, only to then get stalled at its next port of call, Civitavecchia, on orders from d’Estrees, who wished to hold things up until he received further information from the King. The reason for the additional delay is not clear. Roman avvisi suggested that the French feared run-ins with the Genovese. In fact, the boat sent by the French to retrieve the statue had been attacked on its way to Civitavecchia by a fleet of 37 Spanish ships. The French ship, Le Bon, and its escort had to retreat to Livorno for some time to recover. The French feared similar problems on the return trip, estimating that the voyage “would not be without much risk.” Meanwhile, D’Estrees mentioned in a letter that “it is no little job to put such a large contraption on a boat,” and the logistics of packing and moving the statue were an on-going problem. Unlike the majority of Baroque equestrian statues, Bernini’s was carved out of a single piece of solid marble. His biographers remarked upon the size of the stone and the sheer audacity of the undertaking, boasting that it was made out of the largest piece of marble ever seen in Rome. The statue measures in at 366 high x 364 long x 150 wide (in cm; approx. 12 x 12 x 5 in ft). Borzacchi called in considerable reinforcements to move the sculpture, including borrowing an assortment of large metal pulleys, as well as fir and chestnut planks and beams, some of them over 25 feet long, from the Fabbrica. He later returned “two iron cases as well as the four metal pulleys, which served only at the Ripa to lower and embark the statue.” Some of these were instruments that had been made for Domenico Fontana to move the Vatican obelisk to
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nini's was carved out upon the size of ting that it was made statue measures in x 5 in ft). Borzacchi sculpture, including as fir and chestnut he Fabbrica. He later s, which served only as were instruments the Vatican obelisk to its present location in front of St. Peter's; Borzacchi's use of Fontana's tools suggests the enormity of the task of moving the Louis XIV. Earlier equestrian monuments made for transport, such as Pietro Tacca's Henry IV (begun 1604), Philip III (begun 1606) and Philip IV (begun 1634), were produced in bronze. This facilitated shipping, as they could be cast in pieces that were then crated separately and assembled on arrival. Even so, the challenges were substantial (the statue of Henry IV weighed 13,095 lbs and was almost lost at sea), the risks were high, and the delivery times long. In executing his Louis XIV in marble—and in a single piece of marble no less—Bernini showed a particular disinterest for the exigencies of shipment.

The French would encounter similar difficulties two years later in the process of shipping Domenico Guidi's History Writing the Deeds of Louis XIV (1677-85). Like Bernini's equestrian, Guidi's monument to Louis XIV was made in marble and unwieldy—particularly as it stands at 2.9 m or over 9.5 ft tall. Guidi apparently had his own way of packing the work ("ayant voulu la faire à sa mode"), in what Carlo Cartari described as "a spacious, and tall case." The French were suspicious of the projected expense, in particular for the crating; the cost alone of moving the statue from Guidi's studio to the Ripa Grande for embarkation was set at 300 scudi. De la Teulière found himself in a bind: he wanted to get a second estimate about packing prices from someone trustworthy, but was wary of risking Guidi's anger should anything happen to the statue en route. There were further problems with finding an appropriate boat, especially given the Tiber's low water level. Guidi's History ended up waiting at the port for 20 days (costing the French 3 scudi a day) as the French waited to receive two more statues, of Germanicus and Cincinnatus, to add to the shipment. The History couldn't be loaded until everything else intended for the shipment had arrived—in its crating it was apparently so big that it blocked anything else from being put onto the boat. De la Teulière's frustration with the whole process burst through at the end of his letter to Louvois, as he griped: "I do not believe that there are more stubborn people in the world than the people of this country [Italy] on the occasions when they think that you cannot do without them." A certain "Morelli"—likely Giovanni Battista, a member of Guidi's studio—"and his companion" accompanied the History; they were each paid 3 livres tournois per day.

We don't know any details about how the equestrian Louis XIV was packed, but a useful starting point may be found in the documentation related to the transport of Bernini's bust of Francesco D'Este to Modena, in its "machina." The bust was packed in a crate and covered by a mattress, which was placed on a small litter, and covered with waxed canvas. Bernini, who apparently oversaw the whole process quite closely, had devised the set-up when he sent his bust of Charles I to England. Giovanni Battista Ruggieri, d'Este's agent in Rome, had an aesthetic appreciation for the very packing materials—he describes the canvas as "very beautiful and very good." The whole thing weighed in at more than 1,000 libbre (approx. 748 lbs) and was accompanied
by one of Bernini’s trusted servants, Cosimo Scarlatti. The weight and size of the equestrian Louis XIV would have made the challenge of packing it several orders of magnitude larger.

It seems to have been around August 1684 that Matthieu de La Teulière, then the head of the French Academy in Rome, suggested bringing Borzacchi to France to oversee the sculpture’s arrival. We don’t know exactly how Borzacchi’s name got to de la Teulière, or if he had prior connections with the French. Perhaps he was nominated by Cardinal Alderano Cibo who, as we shall see, later promoted him to colleagues in France, or by Mattia de’ Rossi, who was connected with the French Academy in Rome.

The question of who was chosen to accompany sculptures in transit, and the possible social or professional rewards of such a task, is an interesting one. When Michelangelo sent his Risen Christ to Rome from Florence in 1521 it went with an assistant, Pietro Urbano. Urbano was a sculptor, and was charged with fixing any damages to the work once it had arrived. It was important to have someone capable of overseeing things on arrival, particularly if the work required any assembly. When Tacca’s Philip III arrived in Spain there were complaints that the men who had come with the horse were not capable of erecting it, nor did they have the measurements to begin planning the base.

In planning the shipment of the bust of Francesco d’Este, Bernini told Ruggieri that he “[would] find a man in the profession” to accompany it to Modena. Presumably by “the profession” he meant a sculptor. Yet, as we have seen, it was Scarlatti, who is described in another letter as someone “who takes care of many things in [Bernini’s] house,” who eventually accompanied the work. By “the profession,” did Bernini mean someone who specialized in moving and protecting substantial works of sculpture?

When the recipient of a work was high ranking, the possible rewards of successfully delivering a sculpture apparently went up. In 1613 Fra Roberto Dati campaigned to accompany and present Tacca’s statues of Philip III and Henry IV. Dati argued that the task was an honorable one that should not be left to “some simple artisan.” In the end it was Tacca’s brother, Andrea, who went to Madrid with the Philip III, along with a team of assistants and servants. Andrea was granted 500 scudi once the work was installed.

Overseeing the shipment of Bernini’s equestrian Louis XIV to France must have been a daunting, but perhaps also an enticing task, as it held out the promise of potentially interacting with the French king himself, and making professional and financial gains.

The Louis XIV statue remained in Civitavecchia until at least October 21, 1684. At some point the statue disembarked in Genoa, with Borzacchi there to assist in the process. By November 1 it was in Toulon, where Pierre Puget’s Andromeda joined it on the boat; Puget’s work was in the care of his son, who was also a sculptor and a painter, and who was paid 1,100 livres tournois for the trip. The standard path for works travelling from Italy to Paris and Versailles was via river and overland. Works were set on the Rhone waterway and pulled by teams of horses on shore until Lyon. At Lyon cargo was transferred onto
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Bernini’s equestrian Louis XIV would finally arrive in Paris on March 10, 1685. It did not however remain there, instead moving on to Versailles, where its poor reception by Louis XIV is legendary. Louis apparently hated the work so much that on first sight he ordered it destroyed; he was eventually contented with Girardon’s transformation of the sculpture into a Marcus Curtius (Figure 9.1). Borzacchi was on the French payroll and physically in Paris by December 20, 1684. Perhaps he went from Genoa overland to France to prepare for the equestrian’s arrival; he would reunite with the work outside Paris, in Sévres, to oversee its subsequent transfer overland to Versailles.

While for Bernini the trip to France was largely a misadventure, for Borzacchi it seems to have precipitated a professional step up, at least temporarily. The first record we have of Borzacchi is from the archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter’s: in 1662 he was given nails for “il tiro di S. Agost[in]o”—presumably the nails were part of the equipment needed to pull the statue of Saint Augustine into its position on Bernini’s Cathedra Petri. In a 1674 Fabbrica payment Borzacchi is referred to as a “muratore,” a mason. Ten years later Parisian nunzio Angelo Ranuzzi identifies him as a “capomastro della Fabbrica di San Pietro” (master-mason of the Building Works of St. Peter’s), suggesting that he had moved up the ranks of craftsmen. Borzacchi worked under Bernini in the latter half of the seventeenth century on various projects in St. Peter’s, including the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament and the Constantine. Much of his work was quite mundane: in 1681 he was given materials to make a temporary shelter in St. Peter’s. At other moments he was engaged in producing scaffolding for Carlo Maratti for the decoration of the Chapel of the Presentation of the Virgin, and on another date he was given copper wires to hang two standards: an old one and one acquired more recently, which had been taken from the Turks in battle by the King of Poland and sent to the Pope as a gift. Borzacchi was engaged on all the major projects for St. Peter’s, and was involved peripherally on some smaller ones as well, like Bernini’s bust of Clement X. In the late 1660s and early 1670s Borzacchi worked on the installation of the Constantine. In the summer and
In France, Borzacchi’s professional standing seems to have taken a step up. In French payment records and correspondence he is identified as a “Roman engineer” and an architect. From December 1684 to July 1685 Borzacchi received roughly 330 livres tournois a month from the French king to accompany Bernini’s horse to France. In August 1685 he received the same sum “for his subsistence” (“pour sa subsistance”)—a daily allowance. We can contextualize his salary somewhat by comparing it with what he likely received from the Fabbrica and to the sums given to Bernini and his entourage on their trip. Capomastri masons of the Fabbrica likely received between 40 and 50 baiocchi per working day. In Rome there were roughly 274 working days in a year, or 23 per month, putting a capomastro’s earnings at around
were hauled into or the walls around and the walls in expectation of its sites was logged have taken a step is identified as a 1684 to July 1685 on the French king received the sameily allowance. We with what he likelyti and his entourage received between 40 roughly 274 working earnings at around 11.5 scudi per month (taking the upper end of the salary range). Borzacchi's monthly French salary of 330 livres was the equivalent of approximately 64 scudi—about 5.5 times his usual salary.

For his work in France, Mattia de' Rossi was paid 9,000 livres for a year (May 1666 to May 1667)—that is, 750 livres a month, or just over double what Borzacchi received. It would seem that for his skills and training Borzacchi was at a lower pay grade than De' Rossi, Bernini's closest assistant. De' Rossi's ability to command a higher salary may well have been thanks to his draftsmanship, as he created finished drawings of Bernini's projects. There is no evidence that Borzacchi had similar abilities, and he seems rather to have kept to technical and engineering tasks. As a capomastro at St. Peter's, managing a team of craftsmen would also have been among Borzacchi's capacities, and while in France Borzacchi had people working under his direction in moving the equestrian from Sèvres to Versailles.

In October 1685, a large payment of 6,050 livres was ordered for Borzacchi, "par gratification"—as a bonus. He received 1,500 livres in France, and the rest on his arrival in Rome. On the king's behalf, Louvois also instructed de La Teulière that on the day of his return, Borzacchi was to receive a gold medal. When De' Rossi was assigned a bonus in 1666 it was 6,000 livres, the same as that indicated for Borzacchi; by comparison, one of Bernini's sculptural assistants, Giulio Cartari, was given only 1,200 livres. None of these sums came close, of course, to what Bernini received: 30,000 livres were sent to him in Rome before he even started his trip to France. Borzacchi's sizeable bonus is a significant sign of French recognition for the daunting task that he had successfully completed—having accompanied and acted as the guardian for the equestrian statue from its crating in the Vatican studio to its installment at Versailles. It was also apparently the last major expense that the French were prepared to pay for the horse; in June and November of 1685 Louvois twice wrote to de La Teulière to tell him to stop sending De' Rossi's designs for a grand setting for the horse to Paris, as the plans "were so expensive that they were of no use."

Borzacchi's name comes up frequently in letters written between the nunzio to France, Angelo Ranuzzi and Cardinal Alderano Cibo (1613–1700). Both were concerned to recommend him and his work to the French king, and took advantage of his trips between Paris and Rome to use him as a trusted courier. Cibo, who received a secret pension from Louis XIV starting in 1671, presented Borzacchi as a "trustworthy person." Borzacchi arrived in Paris with letters from the Cardinal that urged Ranuzzi to also "represent [Borzacchi's] abilities to the King, and the much that he contributed to the secure transport of the statue of his majesty." Ranuzzi must have done as Cibo urged, for a later letter from the nunzio reported that the king was pleased with Borzacchi's "zeal" and his service. We get a glimpse of Borzacchi's prowess with the niceties of courtly culture in Pierre Cureau De la Chambre's Eloge du Cavalier Bernini. Borzacchi makes a witty, although anonymous, appearance, responding to potential criticism of the Louis XIV
statue for the lack of reins with the “agreeable” observation that “[h]e who can rein in the whole world has no need to rein in this horse.” 77

On his return trip to Rome, Borzacchi was also expected to courier writings related to current affairs, including materials against the ex-Jesuit Louis Maimbourg, who published his provocative Traité historique de l’établissement et des prérogatives de l’église de Rome et de ses évêques (Historical Treatise on the Establishment and the Prerogatives of the Church of Rome and its Bishops) in 1685. 78 Giovanni Battista Lauri, Ranuzzi’s auditor, had also thought of sending a copy of Adrien Baillet’s Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs (Judgment of the Learned on the Principal Works of Authors) back to Rome with Borzacchi, but decided against it. 79 Maimbourg and Baillet’s texts were related to two of the papacy’s main ongoing concerns in France: Gallic pretension to ecclesiastical independence and Jansenism. Presumably it was important to send such controversial materials, and whatever commentary may have accompanied them, with a “trustworthy person.”

Borzacchi returned to Rome around August/September 1685 and went back to work at St. Peter’s on the tomb of Clement X under De’ Rossi’s direction. 80 In another curiously faint echo of Bernini’s career, which was troubled at the end of the artist’s life over continued questions about the stability of his interventions at the crossing of St. Peter’s, Borzacchi may have suffered some professional difficulties later on: there are a number of references to a roof over the bell tower “verso Campo Santo,” which had to be torn down and rebuilt. 81 However, he continued to work for the Fabbrica until months before his death on October 3, 1689.

A resident of the Borgo Pio, Borzacchi had no surviving children. His wife Cecilia Olimpia Spezia inherited his meager possessions, among them two large still life paintings of fish and fruit, eight small religious paintings, an unframed battle scene, 11 unnamed paintings, a head in gesso, and a wax model. 82 The head and model are tantalizing and frustratingly unidentified—perhaps Borzacchi was in possession of some of the models Bernini made for his studio’s use? The brief royal recognition that Borzacchi enjoyed in France, made material in the form of the bonus and gold medal, do not seem to have translated into a professional promotion back in Rome. An anonymous “Roman engineer” to Cureau de la Chambre, Borzacchi died in Rome a modest craftsman in the Vatican’s employ, his feat in successfully overseeing the transport of Bernini’s Louis XIV apparently forgotten.

Notes

My sincerest thanks to Maria Grazia d’Amelio, David Boffa, and Anna Seidel for their insights as this essay developed, and to the staff of the Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro for their assistance in my research there.

1 Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro (hereforward AFSP), Armadio 27, B, 381 (Uscita di munizioni 1680–85). “A di 24 Febraro 1664 a Jacomo Bozzache Caviche
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the orthography of the documents from the AFSP as they are. For terminology
see: Angela Marino, Sapere e saper fare nella fabbrica di San Pietro. Castelli e ponti
di maestro Nicolò Zabaglia 1743 (Rome: Gangemi, 2008), 152, 134. Borzachi's
name appears in documents in a variety of different forms, including Borzachi,
Borzachy, Borzache and Borzatti. In his will he is named as "Borzacchius"; I have
thus used "Borzacchi."

2 As Maarten Delbeke has argued, the tendency in Bernini scholarship is toward
"the merging of Bernini's art with his persona and of the persona with his age."
Maarten Delbeke, The Art of Religion: Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's
Rome (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 2–3.

3 Franco Borsi, ed., Gian Lorenzo Bernini: il testamento, la casa, la raccolta dei beni

4 See note 71 (Louvois's letters to Matthieu de La Teulière about Mattia de' Rossi's
designs).

5 On the chronology of the statue's production see Rudolf Wittkower, "The
Vicissitudes of a Dynastic Monument: Bernini's Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV,
in De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. Millard Meiss

6 Wittkower, "The Vicissitudes," 529–30, doc. 74.

7 Wittkower, "The Vicissitudes," 529–30, docs 74 and 75.

8 Wittkower, "The Vicissitudes," 530, doc. 76.

9 Daniela del Pesco, "Il viceré del Carpio e la statua equestre di Luigi XIV di
Bernini," in Studi sul Barocco romano. Scritti in onore di Maurizio Fagiolo
dell'Arco (Milan: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, 2004), 317.


11 "... n'estant pas une petite affaire de mette une si grande machine dans la
barque ..." Thierry Sarmant and Raphael Masson, eds, Architecture et beaux-arts
à l'apogée du règne de Louis XIV: édition critique de la correspondance du Marquis
de Louvois, Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi, Arts et Manufactures de France,
1683–1691, conservée au Service Historique de la Défense (Paris: CTHS, 2007), vol. 1,
170–71, letter 493. Letter to Matthieu de La Teulière, Chambord, September 30,
1684. "Les cables que vous aves fait faire pour la statue equestre estant inutiles,
je croy que vous devriez les faire embarquer sur le vaisseau du roy afin que l'on
puisse s'en servir pour la débarquer à Paris."

12 Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Image of the Sun King," in Past-Present. Essays on
Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso (Berkeley: University of California
Press, 1993), 584, n. 65.

13 According to Lavin's calculations, the Louis XIV must have been carved from a
block 19.98 m³; quite a bit larger than the Constantine, which Domenico Bernini
reports was carved from a marble block of 30 carretate, or 30 x 362.43 cm³ = 10.87
m³. Lavin, "Bernini's Image of the Sun King," 585.
AFSP, Registro delle robe vendute, arm. 27, rip. B, vol. 377, f. 95: “due casse di ferro quanto le 4 girelle di metallo, servite solamente a Ripa per calare e imbarcare la statua.” I thank Maria Grazia D’Amelio for sharing this document with me.

Maria Grazia d’Amelio, private correspondence.

Kelley Helmsutler Di Dio, forthcoming.


Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 155, letter 261. “... ce que j’ay créu ne pouvoir pas luy refuser, parce que, s’il estoit arrivé quelque accident à son groupe, il s’en serait pris à moy.”

Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 155, letter 261.

Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 155, letter 261. “… et qui ne peuvent estre renversés sur la fluste qu’après le groupe, aussy bien que le tableau, parce que la caisse du groupe bouchait le passage.”

“... je ne croy pas qu’il y ait des gens dans le monde plus intraitables que Jes gens de ce pays dans des occasions où ils croient que l’on ne saurait se passer d’eux ...” Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 155, letter 261.


Mancini, “Appendice,” 63, doc. 35.


*Architecture et beaux-arts*, vol. 1, 170-71, letter 493. Letter to de La Teulière, Chambord, September 30, 1684. “Mandez-moy un peu à quoy vous croyez que l’on pourroit appliquer en ce pays-ci le nommé Borzalti [sic], ce que vous m’en dites estant si général que je ne puis comprendre de quoy l’on le pourroit charger si on le voulloit retenir en France. Expliquez-vous donc plus clairement.” De La Teulière was sent to Rome on October 18, 1683 “to serve the king.” Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 128, entry 237. Unfortunately de La Teulière’s correspondence is only collected from September 1684. Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 144.

Cibo was *maggiordomo pontificio* under Innocent X, which gave him the power to select artists for papal projects. Cibo also had quite close connections with Bernini. Fabrizio Federici, “Un giovane prelato, Bernini e Borromini: il primo soggiorno romano di Alderano Cybo,” *Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte* 79 (2003): 96-100.
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de Louis XIV, vol. 2
domenico Guidi, 231.

n, Bernini e l’immagine
1998), 55.

j, doc. 41.

Le La Teuliére,
oy vous croyez
[i sic], ce que
de quoi l’on le
z-vous donc plus
8, 1683 “to serve the
fortunately of La
r 1684. Montaignon,

gave him the power
connections with
romini: il primo

31 William E. Wallace, “Miscellanea Curiositae Michelangelae: A Steep Tariff, a Half

32 Helmstutler Di Dio, forthcoming. Letter of September 15, 1616, Orso d’Elci to the
court in Florence.

33 Mancini, “Appendice,” 63, doc. 35.

34 Mancini, “Appendice,” 64, doc. 41.

35 Helmstutler Di Dio, forthcoming.

36 Helmstutler Di Dio, forthcoming.

37 Helmstutler Di Dio, forthcoming.

38 Wittkower, “The Vicissitudes,” 77.

s.r Borzachi, ingénieur romain, pour six mois de ses appointements, pour avoir
conduit la statue de marbre de S. M. à cheval, de Rome en France, et pour frais
de débarquement de ladite statue à Gênes, 2,020 l.”

40 Jacques Vanuxem, “Quelques témoignages français sur le Bernin et son art—
L’Abbe de la Chambre,” in Actes des Journées Internationales d’Étude du Baroque
(Toulouse: Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences
Humaines, Toulouse avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche
Scientifique, 1965), 163. Guiffrey, Comptes, col. 666. Puget “fils” —Francois—was
paid on July 15. For comparison, Pierre Puget was paid 15,000 livres tournois
for the sculpture.

41 Dominique Sérénà-Allier, Louis XIV et la Vénus d’Arles. La plus belle femme de mon
royaume (Arles: Actes Sud, 2013), 44.

43 Architectura et beaux-arts ... vol. 2, letter 669. Letter to Jean-Louis Habert de
Montmort, in charge of the port at Le Havre, Versailles, January 31, 1685. “Le
sieur de La Chambre, qui vous rendra cette lettre, estant envoyé pour prendre
soin de faire descharger la statue équestre du roy, je vous suplique de luy donner
toutte l’assistance dont il vous requerra et, en cas qu’il y ait besoin d’argent
pour l’exécution des ordres qu’il a, de luy en faire fournir, dont j’auray soin de
vous faire rembourser icy à qui vous désirerez sur le premier avis que vous
m’aurez donné de ce que vous aurez fait payer audit sieur de La Chambre.”

44 Guiffrey, Comptes, vol. 2, col. 759. “8 avril: à Dedieu, sculptor, pour le voyage
qu’il a fait au Havre pour débarquer et conduire la statue équestre du Roy du
Havre à Sève ... 280° (livres tournois).” Sérénà-Allier, Louis XIV et la Vénus d’Arles,
43-5.
45 Wittkower, “The Vicissitudes,” 530, doc. 78.
47 See Berger, “Bernini’s Louis XIV Equestrian.”
49 Guiffrey, Comptes, vol. 2, col. 758. “12 septembre-14 octobre (1685): au s.r FossinR, pour estre employé suivant le requisitoire du sieur De La Chapelle-Besse, au paiement des ouvriers qui travaillent sous le sieur Borzachi à conduire la statue equestre de S. M. de Sève à Versailles, depuis le 27 aoust jusqu’au 28 septembre, 1,173 l. 9 s. 6 d.”
52 Neveu, ed., Correspondance, vol. 1, 459. See note 48 above. On the role and responsibilities of a capomastro see C. Paola Scavizzi, Edilizia nei secoli XVII e XVIII a Roma. Ricerca per una storia delle tecniche (Rome: Ministro per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1983), 63–5. One of the requirements mentioned by Scavizzi is that a capomastro have his own munitions (in the sense of equipment or stores), as Borzacchi did. AFSP, Arm. 27, B, 365, Libro della munizioni 1668–82, 40. “1685 Havere a di 3 Aprile n.o uno trovato in mano di Giacomo Borzatti (da renderne conto) nella sua monitione vicino la stanza di S. Lorenzo Berti sopra San Sisto, come per Inventario fatto il corr.e giorno n.o 1.83.”
54 AFSP, Armadio 27, B, 381 (Uscita di munizioni 1680–85), [5r]. “A di 4 Aprile 1681 a Jacomo Bossachi Chiodi per la capanna fatta in S. Pietro libre sei.” The “Uscite di munizioni” contain records of materials given out by the Fabbrica, with their value by weight. They do not therefore tell us anything about how much Borzacchi was paid for his work.
55 AFSP, Armadio 27, B, 381 (Uscita di munizioni 1680–85), 5v. “A di 13 maggio 1681 a Jacomo Borzache chiodi per fare il ponte alla Capella dello Presentazione che deve servire per il Sig. Carlo marata che deve fare li cartone [libre] 6.”
AFSP, Armadio 27, B, 381 (Uscita di munizioni 1680–85), 12v. “A di 12 ottobre 1683 a Jacomo Borzache filo di Rame che deve servire per attachare lo stenardo vechio et lo stenardo venuto ultimamente mandat dal Re di Polonia Presso in bagliata alli Turchi [proposed: libre] 3 tre.”

56 AFSP, Arm. 27, B, 365, Libro della munizioni 1668–82, 154. 1675 “E a di 4 detto [maggio] a Jac.o Borzatti per fare un Posto dove lavora il S. Cav.re Bernini per il ritratto di Papa Clement X, bol___1791___ libre 6.”

57 AFSP, Arm. 27, B, 358, Libro mastro del Fattore 1667–84, unnumbered. Between August 27 and September 29, 1668, Borzacchi was paid “... di tirare et metere in opra li conci del Piedestallo del Costantino ...”, “... murare et metere in opra li marmi del Piedestalo del Costantino ...,” and between November and December for “... murare li buchi di ponti et inbianchare et pulire li muri atorno la statua del Costantino e di fare lo stecchato per la domenica delavento che si scopri ...”. He was paid again in 1672 to “… fare la stricho per lo matonato tagliato sotto il Piedestallo del Costantino.”

58 See for example AFSP, Arm. 27, B, 358, Libro mastro del Fattore 1667–84.


60 See note 48.

61 Guiffrey, Comptes, col. 565.

62 Scavizzi, Edilizia, 64.

63 Scavizzi, Edilizia, 65. That would be roughly 138 scudi per year, which is probably slightly high. In studying painters’ earnings, Spear and Sohm assumed a working year of 250 days. Their estimations of the earnings of painters who worked for a daily wage are in the same range of what I have estimated here for Borzacchi. Borzacchi and his wife (they had no children, or none who lived to adulthood) were thus likely above the “subsistence level” of 20 scudi per year per person, but my estimations do not take into account professional expenses or personal misfortunes (sick days, injuries). Richard Spear and Philip Sohm, eds, Painting for Profit. The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 21–2, 36. For comparison, Bernini’s highest paid position was architect of the Fabbrica of St. Peter’s, at a salary of 200 scudi per year. Together, Bernini’s various positions brought him 744 scudi per year. See Scavizzi, Edilizia, 66. All currency calculations are based on Angelo Martini, Manuale di metrologia ossia Misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente e anticamente presso tutti i popoli (Rome: Ed. E.R.A., 1976). My thanks to Michael Porti for help with the numbers.

64 Wittkower, “The Vicissitudes,” 517.

65 De’ Rossi’s role is mentioned many times by Chantelou. See Daniela del Pesco, Bernini in Francia. Paul de Chantelou e il ‘Journal de voyage du cavalier bernin en france’ (Naples: Electa, 2007).


67 Guiffrey, Comptes, col. 597. “16 octobre. dud s.r du Metz, 6000° pour delivrer au s.r Borzachy, ingénieur roman, par gratification, et 50° pour les taxation ... 6050°.”
MAKING AND MOVING SCULPTURE IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

68 Guiffrey, Comptes, vol. 2, col. 668. "Au s.r Borsachy, ingénieur romain, 1500° en déduction de 600° [sic] que S. M. lui a accordées par gratification .... 1500°." Architecture et beaux-arts, vol. 2, 474, letter 2123. Letter to Mathieu de La Teulière, October 17, 1685. "Vous verrez arriver à Rome peu de jours après cette lettre le sieur Borsachy, que j'y charge d'une autre lettre pour vous, par laquelle je vous mande que, le roy lui ayant accordé six mil livres en considération du service qu'il a rendu icy, je lui en ay payé 1,500 livres, qu'il a désiré toucher en ce lieu et que vous débvez lui faire remettre à Rome les quatre mil cinq cents livres restans. Pour vous donner moyen d'y satisfaire, je vous envoie une lettre de change de six cens pistoles, et vous verrez par la lettre dont je l'y ay chargé qu'autre cet argent, S.M. m'a aussi commandé de lui donner une médaille d'or à laquelle on travaillé, que je vous adresseray au premier jour pour la lui donner. Vous aurés soin d'employer en recepute dans vos compte les 6,600 livres de ladite lettre de change et en despense les 4,500 livres que vous donneres audit Borsachy."

69 See note 68.

70 Wittkower, "The Vicissitudes," 517.

71 Wittkower, "The Vicissitudes," 517. Bernini's heirs would however fight to receive money owed to their father by the French crown for many years after the artist's death.

72 Architecture et beaux-arts, vol. 2, 299–300, letter 1554. Letter to de La Teulière, June 25, 1685. "Quand j'auray vu le dessein du sieur Matthia de Rossy, le roy jugera s'il mérite plus que la médaille que je vous ay envoyée pour lui donner; mais je dois vous dire qu'une autre fois il ne faut pas faire des desseins qui coûtent si cher lorsqu'ils ne servent de rien." Architecture et beaux-arts, vol. 2, 499, letter 2206. Letter to de La Teulière, November 6, 1685. "J'ay receu vostre lettre du 16e de ce mois [sic]. Pour respondre à ce que vous me mandez sur le dessein du sieur Mathia Rossi, je ne puis m'empescher de vous dire que cet ouvrage est si inutile que j'estime que la médaille et tout l'on luy pourroit donner est de l'argent perdu. Ainsy, vous debves vous conteniter de lui doney ladite médaille."

73 Neveu, ed., Correspondance, vol. 1, 461, letter 1054; 499, letter 1201; 508, letter 1238; 545, letter 1360; 576, letter 1482; 605 letter 1589; 608–9, letter 1598; 633 and letter 1678. Neveu unfortunately does not publish the complete texts of the many of the letters, instead he short summaries of their contents; I have not been able to consult the originals and am working from Neveu's indications.


79 Neveu, ed., *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 608–9, letter 1598. Lauri to Cibo. Paris, October 22, 1685. Possibly for security reasons, but it also may not have been printed in time.

80 Borzacchi’s stipend from the French king covered July and August of 1685, and by September 1685 he was once again employed by the AFSP. Arne Karsten and Matthias Pabsch, “Das Grabmal Clemens X. Altieri,” *Städel-Jahrbuch* 17 (2000): 300. Karsten and Pabsch refer to him as “Borzatti.”
