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

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Recommended Citation
Making and Moving
Sculpture in Early Modern Italy

Edited by
Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio

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Karen J. Lloyd

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 The previously unpublished Fabbrica payment is the earliest dated indication of action being taken to start Bernini’s horse on its journey from the artist’s former studio at the Vatican,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 Relingue 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
raftsmen, individuals to capitalize on their efforts. Looking further behind the scenes of opportunity to gain a more craftsmen who remained in Bernini’s st’s death in 1680. No seen, early 1684. As ture in late February, must have begun by firms that it was the of Building, Art and 1683, who finally gue to report that the me that would take it arney. The statue left of call, Civitavecchia, still he received further al delay is not clear. ith the Genovese. In been attacked on its ench ship, Le Bon, and r. The French feared voyage “would not be a letter that “it is no logistics of packing nini’s was carved out of marble and chestnut he Fabbrica. He later s, which served only ese were instruments he 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.28 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.29 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.30

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.31 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.32

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.33 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.34 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.35 Dati argued that the task was an honorable one that should not be left to “some simple artisan.”36 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.37 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, 1684.38 At some point the statue disembarked in Genoa, with Borzacchi there to assist in the process.39 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.40 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
ox-drawn carts, and taken overland to the town of Roanne and the Loire River. There cargo was again placed on a riverboat, taking the Briare canal to join the Seine at Saint-Mammès. This was the route apparently taken by Tacca’s Henry IV. The Louis XIV does not seem to have gone this way, as its next recorded port of call was Le Havre, France, where Pierre Cureau de la Chambre was dispatched in January 1685 to receive the statue, and the 24 crates—full of marbles, mosaics, and plaster casts of the Marcus Aurelius—that accompanied it. De la Chambre was joined in Le Havre by a sculptor, Jean Dedieu. Dedieu must have been there as an expert in the river transport of statues, as in 1684 he had overseen the move of the Venus of Arles (his hometown) to Paris. The only way for the Louis XIV to end up in Le Havre is if it went all the way around the Iberian peninsula, in a journey of just over two months. It is quite an astonishing trip, especially given the risks of attack by hostile navies and shipwreck.

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
early fall of 1668 the blocks of the pedestal and the marbles were hauled into place, while in November and December of the same year the walls around the statue were fixed—the holes left by scaffolding removed and the walls whitewashed and cleaned—and an enclosure set up in the expectation of its official unveiling.\textsuperscript{57} Borzacchi’s presence at the construction sites was logged on a day-by-day basis.\textsuperscript{58}

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.\textsuperscript{59} 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.\textsuperscript{60} In August 1685 he received the same sum “for his subsistence” (“pour sa subsistence”)—a daily allowance.\textsuperscript{61} 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.\textsuperscript{62} 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 the walls around the expectation of its sites was logged have taken a step is identified as a 1684 to July 1685 on the French king received the same ity allowance. We with what he likely ti 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 Sévres 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 assistans, 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.”

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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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
on that "[h]e who
\[h\]e re de l'établissement
\[h\]e Bishops) in 1685, to courier writings
le ex-Jesuit Louis
devano servire per l'armatura che detto Per il cavallo e statua
da fabbrica di S. Pietro così per d'ordine di Monsegnore Illustrissimo Vespigniano
segretario et economo della Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Pietro che dette Caviche e
zepe anno peso t. [tutto] asieme libre caviche in 10 libre cento cinque." I have left
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 Nicola Zabaglia 1743 (Rome: Gangemi, 2008), 152, 134. Borzacchi's
name appears in documents in a variety of different forms, including Borzachi,
Borzachy, Borzahe 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


7 Wittkower, “The Vicissitudes,” 529-30, docs 74 and 75.

8 Wittkower, “The Vicissitudes,” 530, doc. 76.

9 Daniela del Pesco, “Il vicere 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'époque 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 cararette, or 30 x 362.43 cm³ – 10.87
m³. Lavin, “Bernini’s Image of the Sun King,” 585.
14 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.
15 Maria Grazia d'Amelio, private correspondence.
16 Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, forthcoming.
18 Giornetti, Domenico Guidi, 230.
20 Montaiglon, Correspondance, vol. 1, 155, letter 261. "... ce que j’ay creu ne pouvoir pas luy refuser, parce que, s’il estoit arrivé quelque accident à son groupe, il s’en serait pris à moy."
22 Montaiglon, Correspondance, vol. 1, 155, letter 261. "... et qui ne peuvent estre renversés sur la fluste qu’après le groupe, aussi bien que le tableau, parce que la caisse du groupe bouchait le passage."
23 "... 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.
26 Mancini, “Appendice,” 63, doc. 35.
29 Architecture et beaux-arts, vol. 1, 170–71, letter 493. Letter to de La Teullière, 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 Teullière’s correspondence is only collected from September 1684. Montaiglon, Correspondance, vol. 1, 144.
30 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.
f. 95: "due casse
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Giometti, Domenico
"L'Erma" di

ademe de France à
res, 1887), vol. 1, 155,
co Guidi, 133.

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Geschichte Zeichnet
ammlungen 17 (1972):
de Louis XIV, vol. 2
omenico Guidi, 231.

, Bernini e l'immagine
1998), 55.

, doc. 41.

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Wittkower, “The Vicissitudes,” 530, doc. 78.


See Berger, “Bernini’s Louis XIV Equestrian.”


Guiffrey, Comptes, vol. 2, col. 758. “12 septembre-14 octobre (1685): au sr Fossner, 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 août jusqu’au 28 septembre, 1,173 l. 9 s. 6 d.”


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: Ministero 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 Borzachi [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.”

AFSP, Armadio 27, B, 381 (Uscita di munizioni 1680–85), [5r]. “A di 4 Aprile 1681 a Jacomo Borzachi Chiodi per fare il ponte alla Capella dello Presentazione che deve servire per il Sig. Carlo marata che deve fare li cartone [libre] 6.”

56 AFSP, Arm. 27, B, 365, Libro della munizioni 1668–82, 154. 1676 “E a di 4 detto [maggio] a Jaco Borzatti per fare un Posto dove lavora il S. Cav.re Bernini per il ritratto di Papa Clement X, boli____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 e metere in opra li conci del Piedestalo del Costantino …”, “between June 11 and July 14, 1669 for having “… murare e metere in opra li marmi del Piedestalo del Costantino …”, and between November and December for “… murare li buchi di ponti et inbiancare e pulire li muri atorno la statua del Costantino e difare lo stecchetto per la domenica dela[ven]to 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 ‘Journe de voyage du cavalier bernin en france’ (Naples: Electa, 2007).


67 Guiffrey, Comptes, col. 597. “16 octobre. dud s.r du Metz, 6000" pour délivrer au s.r Borzachy, ingénieur romain, par gratification, et 50" pour les taxation … 6050.”
68 Guilffrey, Comptes, vol. 2, col. 668. "Au s.r Borsachi, ingénieur romain, 1500° en déduction de 600° [sic] que S. M. luy a accordes 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 Borsachi, que j'ay chargé d'une autre lettre pour vous, par laquelle je vous mande que, le roy luy ayant accordé six mil livres en considération du service qu'il a rendu icy, je luy en ay payé 1,500 livres, qu'il a désiré toucher en ce lieu et que vous debvez luy faire remettre à Rome les quatre mil cinq cens 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'ay chargé que l'outre cet argent, S.M. m'a aussi commandé de luy donner une médaille d’or à laquelle on travaillé, que je vous adresseray au premier jour pour la luy donner. Vous auréz soin d'employer en receu dans vos compte les 6,600 livres de ladite lettre de change et en despense les 4,500 livres que vous donneres audit Borsachi.”

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, 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 Borsachi, que j'ay chargé d’une autre lettre pour vous, par laquelle je vous mande que, le roy luy ayant accordé six mil livres en considération du service qu’il a rendu icy, je luy en ay payé 1,500 livres, qu’il a désiré toucher en ce lieu et que vous debvez luy faire remettre à Rome les quatre mil cinq cens 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’ay chargé qu’outre cet argent, S.M. m’a aussi commandé de luy donner une médaille d’or à laquelle on travaillé, que je vous adresseray au premier jour pour la luy donner. Vous auréz soin d’employer en receu dans vos compte les 6,600 livres de ladite lettre de change et en despense les 4,500 livres que vous donneres audit Borsachi.”


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pour la luy donner.

6,600 livres de
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many years after the

° de La Teulière, June
Rossy, le roy jugera
luy donner; mais
ses qui coûtent
's, vol. 2, 499, letter
votre lettre du 16e
ur le dessein du sieur
uvrage
sionner est si inutile
ionner est de
!

i de La Teulière, Eloge du Cavalier Bernin (S.l. n.d.), 22-4. Stanislao
Fraschetti first recognized Borzacchi as the speaker; Stanislao Fraschetti,
Il Bernini: la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo (Milan: Hoepli, 1900), 361.


22, 1685. Possibly for security reasons, but it also may not have been printed in
time.

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
300. Karsten and Pabsch refer to him as “Borzatti.”

AFSP, Arm. 27, C, 390, Uscite delle munizioni, 1685-1713. unpaginated. “no. 362
libre una per appuntellare ii tetto che si deve demolire, fatto da Giac. Borzatti /
Chiodi da setta librre.” “no. 374 [margin: in debito al Borzatti] A d 9 9mbre A
And. Mre Chiodi da piano/piane libre quattro e mezza per inchiodare piano
che si è rifatto di nuovo, quale haveva fatto Giac.o Borzatti sopra il
Campanile verso Campo Santo per fardi buoni alla fab / Chiodi da piano libre
41.” “no. 376 A di 12 9mbre A Mre. Ane. Mre. piano di selio numero Cinquanta
per metterlo al tetto, che si è rifatto di nuovo, quale haveva fatto giac.o Borzatti
sopra il Campanile verso Campo Santo per farlo buone detto Borzatti alla Revda
fabrica/ Piane di selio numero 50.” “no. 437 [margin: in debito al Borzatti] a di
23 Maggio 1689 a Mre. Ant.o Mre. chiodi da piano libre quattro per inchiodare
un tetto di haveva fatto Giac.o Borzatti sopra i Campanile co. Palazzo rifatto
di nuovo per [danno?] debito al med. Borzatti / Chiodi da piano libre 4.” On
Bernini’s misfortunes see: Tod Marder, “A Finger Bath in Rosewater: Cracks
in Bernini’s Reputation,” Sankt Peter in Rome 1506–2006, Beiträge der internationen
Tagung vom 22–25. Februar 2006 in Bonn, ed. Georg Satzinger and Sebastian
Schütze (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 427-34.

Archivio Capitolino, Notai AC Petrochius 5900, 196r-206v. Jacobus Borzacchius,
October 3, 1689, 200r–201r.