

Irving Lavin, with Marilyn Aronberg Lavin

Bernini's Bust of Prospero Farinacci

I. Discovery

At the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University in late January of 1967 I gave a lecture presenting, among other things, my discovery of the bust of Antonio Coppola [Figs 2–3] in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome.¹ Immediately following the lecture an elderly gentleman approached me holding a photograph he wished me to see. It was an image of a marble bust of an old man who looked a lot like Coppola except he was dressed in black. Glancing at the photograph briefly I dismissed the man with a curt remark that he was holding the picture of some kind of copy without worth. Very soon after that I realized I had made a terrible mistake, and that whatever the bust in the photograph might be, it surely held great interest for my topic. For a very long time I tried to locate the man with the photograph and to find where he and the bust might be. But to no avail.

Some twenty years later I received in the mail the catalog of an up-coming sale at the auction house Sotheby's New York, where, lo and behold, the black and white bust [Figs 1 a–c] was pictured and listed for sale. The company was asking for my opinion on Lot 132 which was described as:

Fine and Rare Roman Marble Portrait Bust, attributed to Giovanni Antonio Dosio or his Circle, fourth Quarter of the 16th Century, the elderly statesman shown with thin hair, long moustache and



1 a.

1 a–c. Gianlorenzo Bernini (here attributed to), «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci», about 1617–1619, white marble head, black Belgian marble bust, grey marble base; inscribed: *FARINACCIO*, letters filled with yellow paint, height without base: 20 × 22 in. (51.5 × 56 cm); base 5 1/4 in. (13 cm); left shoulder broken and repaired, Princeton, NJ, Marilyn and Irving Lavin. Photos: Andrea Kane Photography



1 b.



1 c.

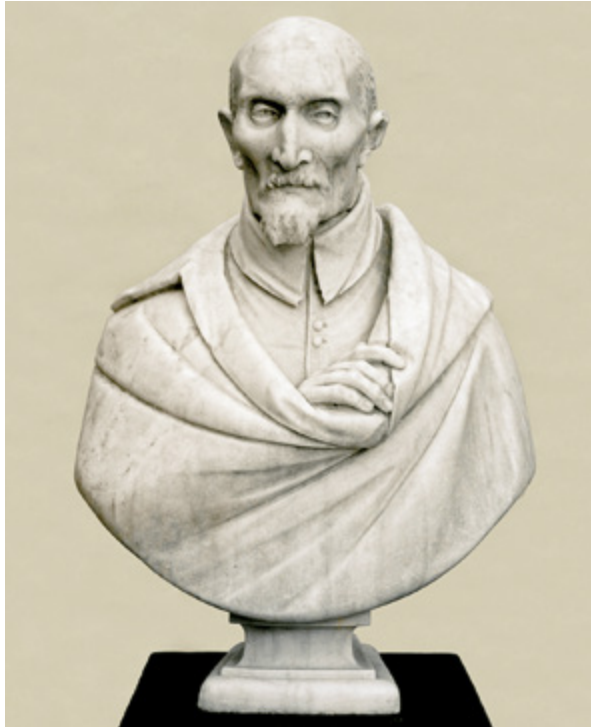
beard, pronounced downed curved nose, and commanding eyes, set into a black marble bust, broken and repaired on his proper left, on grey marble base inscribed FARINACCIO. 19½ in. (49.5 cm.) high.²

Instead of answering the letter I made a bid. The auction took place. My wife and I held our breath. There were no other bidders (perhaps because of its 'broken' condition). So we gathered our savings together and bought the sculpture for the lowest listed price. Because of its enormous weight (to be explained later), it took four men to carry the object into our living room in Princeton, NJ where it has been on display as a friendly spirit for the last thirty-five years.

Gratuitously attributed to Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1611), the bust clearly demonstrates close affinities with the youthful innovations of Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) in the Antonio Coppola bust (dated 1612) in both style and technique.³ At the time of the sale, in a personal letter to me, Sotheby's representative Mr J. David Wille, supplied the further information from the owner that the sculpture had 'been purchased in the

United States just before or just after World War II and that it came from the estate of a man who had been an ambassador to Rome around 1860–65'.⁴ After a couple of years Mr Wille divulged the name of the seller of the bust: Dr Eleanore S. Isard (d. 2008), widow of Mr Bertram Isard (b. c. 1917), a Philadelphia art collector. Attempting to contact Dr Eleanore proved fruitless and I was told by her nephew that she had always refused to discuss the purchase, apparently because she thought there was some question about the export of the object from Italy and its importation to America.⁵

The bust is composed of three pieces of marble: a white head inserted into a black Belgian marble torso, which in turn rests on a grey marble inscribed pedestal. The back is covered with grey paint that appears to be modern. The sitter wears a white-collar shirt under a six-button black jerkin with sleeves slashed at the shoulder, and a folded outer-garment over the left shoulder. This style of dress, often worn by lawyers, is seen frequently in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, as in the bust of a member of the Aldobrandini family and in Gianlorenzo Bernini's 1622 bust of Antonio Cepparelli



2.



3.



4.



5.

2. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Portrait of Antonio Coppola», 1612, marble, 67 cm (26 3/8 in.), Rome, Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. Photo: Author's archive

3. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Portrait of Antonio Coppola», three-quarter view (detail), as in Fig. 2. Photo: Author's archive

4. Attributed to Ipolitto Buzio (1562–1634), «Member of the Aldobrandini Family», c. 1604, marble, Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Aldobrandini Chapel. Photo: Author's Archive

5. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Portrait of Antonio Cepparelli», 1622, marble, 70 cm (27 5/8 in.), Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. Photo: Author's archive

[Figs 4–5].⁶ The work has been sadly mistreated. Portions of the head have a yellowish cast and satin-like texture from the application of oil and beeswax [Fig. 6]⁷, and the proper left shoulder appears to have been broken off and reattached, with several lacunae in the torso filled with plaster painted black [Fig. 7]. A likely hypothesis is that the bust was broken and repaired only when it was put up for sale in Rome in the 1850s.⁸ In other respects, however, the work is in excellent condition and of exceptional quality. The drapery is rendered in black Belgian marble, a stone that is extremely hard, very dense, and notoriously difficult to carve [Fig. 8]. Here it is amply cut, even fluid, and full of enlivening dimples and folds. Frequently another artist, a specialist in carving this intractable material, was called in to execute such work. A *marmista* like Tommaso Fedeli who worked for the Barberini family and with Bernini in later years, comes to mind.⁹ It is also possible that the youthful Bernini himself wished to try his hand at the hard stone. Since nothing of the sort appears in all the rest of his *œuvre*, we can image that one try was enough.

It is the concept itself, however, that demonstrates the artist's intellectual depth, and the virtuoso handling of the marble shows a budding *tour de force* of technique. In contrast to the Coppola bust, Farinacci is distinctly animated with a subtle turn to the left, the right shoulder slightly raised, and a downward inclination of the head. It is as if he were in direct communication with the viewer, as was his wont as a barrister and a judge – and in anticipation of the open-lipped 'speaking likenesses' that were to come. The movement drawing back the left shoulder lowers the right collar tip to touch the breast and leaves the left tip standing free. The collar then arches in a V-shape masterfully inserted in the opening of the vest and makes a support hidden behind the bottom of the beard. Moreover, the head is modeled with subtle gradations from the smooth cranium to the soft textures of the skin and beard. Even more than in the Coppola bust, where a few tresses at the back of the head delicately touch the upper collar [Fig. 10], the locks of Farinacci's soft and



6. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (detail of Fig. 1): face. Photo: Andrea Kane Photography



7. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (as in Fig. 1): three-quarters left. Photo: Andrea Kane Photography



8. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci»
(as in Fig. 1): three-quarters right.
Photo: Andrea Kane Photography



9. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci»
(detail of Fig. 1): collar and beard.
Photo: Andrea Kane Photography



10. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Portrait of Antonio Coppola» (detail): view of back of skull. Photo: Author's Archive



11. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (as in Fig. 1): collar, lower beard and drill marks, proper right. Photo: Andrea Kane Photography



12. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (as in Fig. 1): view through perforated lower beard. Photo: Author

fluid beard are perforated by bold drill work executed with great bravura, extending as much as an inch and a half under the chin and outer curls [Figs 9, 11–13]. The gentle treatment of the features and penetrating eyes impart the qualities of thoughtfulness and attentiveness that suffuse the visage of this thin and seemingly frail old man. It is possible, as is documented in the case of the Coppola, that the physiognomy was done from a death mask, although with the Farinacci, the effect is more vivified, less desiccated than in the Coppola [Figs 2–3]. There is, however, much the same overall quality of contemplation and sympathy. Along with the same elements of movement, there is a further formal development of fundamental importance: the Farinacci is proportionately wider and more robust than the Coppola, adding to the hints of things to come in later years – ever more imposing bust portraits, first perspicaciously discussed by Sheila Rinehart in her analysis of the *Bust of Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo*, which is also identified by an inscription [Fig. 14].¹⁰ This process of monumentalization in expanded width and sense of levitation in the bow-shaped lower outline culminated toward the end of Bernini's life with the wind-borne apotheosis of Louis XIV and the elevated bust of the Savior. Because of these characteristics, more and more, I became convinced that the young Gianlorenzo Bernini was indeed the author of the Farinacci bust.



13. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (as in Fig. 1): lower proper right face, collar, and drill marks, and light in perforation.
Photo: Andrea Kane Photography



14. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Portrait of Archbishop Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo», c. 1622, marble, 82.5 cm (32 1/2 in.), Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland. Photo: courtesy museum



15. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (as in Fig. 1): inscription.
Photo: Andrea Kane Photography

With no mention of such a commission in standard Bernini documents, the research I began followed the evidence of the object itself, namely the inscribed name on the plinth: FARINACCIO, carved lightly into the surface with the letters filled with yellow paint [Fig. 15]. The portrait thus represents Prospero Farinacci (1544–1618), one of the most famous, and infamous Roman jurists of his time. The son of a Capitoline notary, he studied law at La Sapienza in Rome, receiving his doctorate in 1567 at the early age of twenty-three. Prospero reached the height of his professional career as the Papal Datario (the officer of the Curia Romana who investigates candidates for papal benefices) under Clement VIII (1592–1605). He went on to become Giureconsulto e Procuratore Fiscale della Camera Apostolica (Consulting Jurist and Tax Attorney for the papal Treasury) under the next pope Paul V (1605–1621). He was known for his legal decisions and opinions which he published in four massive tomes and many editions.¹¹ Along with this eminence, he was also a notoriously difficult character with quite a checkered private life. In 1582 he

was stabbed in the face in a street fight, leaving him with a diagonal scar on the left cheek and a blind left eye. In 1584 he was jailed for the serious crime of bearing arms in public. And 1595 he was accused of sodomy with a sixteen-year-old page in the Palazzo Altemps, the house of his benefactor. (Later under torture, the boy recanted his accusation.) Moreover, his life was filled with court cases that he brought, and that were brought against him by fellow Romans over finances, property, and ideas. Later in 1595, he was absolved of all crimes by the pope under whom he worked.¹² Farinacci was perhaps most famous as the advocate in the criminal case of the century, the scandalous trial for murder, actually patricide, of Beatrice Cenci and her relatives (1599), which ended in their gruesome and very public beheadings. Farinacci played a major role in the defense and although he was not able to save the girl, he did convince the pope to allow the youngest brother, Bernardo, to survive, albeit forced to witness close up the grisly scene at the Castel Sant'Angelo.¹³ A year later (1600) Farinacci produced a son with a prostitute



16. Cavaliere d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari), «Prospero Farinacci in his Study», c. 1607, oil painting, 198 × 148 cm, Rome, Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo. Photo: Under licence from Italian Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Rome

called Cleria. After the birth, he had her banished from Rome forever (probably because she tried to blackmail him). When his son, whom he named Ludovico, was about a year old, he placed the child with a washer woman called Caterina who lived in Trastevere (near Farinacci) with her shoemaker husband. She nursed and reared Ludovico for the price of 25 *giuli* a month. What is surprising is that this gruff and public man, who never married, remained utterly devoted to the boy who, from the age of five and thereafter, was provided with three generous annual pensions. Ludovico later joined the clergy and in the end became his father's sole heir.¹⁴

As the Procurator General of Pope Paul V, Farinacci played a role in another famous court case between the painter called *il Pomarancio* (Cristoforo Roncalli, c. 1553–1626) and the Cavaliere d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari, 1568–1640), painter, dealer and art entrepreneur. On 1 March 1607, the latter was accused of plotting to have the former murdered, of having several firearms in his apartment, and of not paying his taxes. Within two months, on 4 May 1607, he was tried and found guilty and, to escape death, he agreed to have his entire art holdings (his own works and those of other artists) taken over by the *guardaroba* of the Palazzo Apostolico. At that point he was left an utter pauper. In the interim, d'Arpino painted a large, formal portrait of Farinacci, showing him in his study wearing his professional robes, and displaying his literary output [Fig. 16].¹⁵ It has previously been said that this painting must have been d'Arpino's gift in gratitude for Farinacci's help in the trial, an idea lacking in logic since the trial was lost. More reasonably, Röttgen suggests that the painting was done in propitiation to the jurist to defend him well in the case.¹⁶ If this is so, and it seems likely, the painting would have preceded the trial, and therefore could be dated between 1 March and 4 May 1607. We will see shortly what became of this work of art.¹⁷

In the year 1600, the year his son Ludovico was born, Farinacci was fifty-six and he began to think of his legacy, drawing up the first of what would become a series of seven testaments. He seems to have been quite ambivalent about where he wanted to be buried and changed the locale three times. In his first testament, dated 12 April 1600, he specified that he would be interred in the church of Sant' Apollinare, across the piazza from the Palazzo Altemps, where at the time he was employed as the teacher to one of the daughters. As if looking for



17. View of Palazzo Farinacci, Rome, Piazza San Callisto.
Photo: Courtesy Francesca Lombardi

ignominy, he ordered that his body be taken for burial 'at night [...] in a black sack without any ceremony'.¹⁸ Six years later, 28 September 1606, after a severe illness, he wrote a second will, whereby he was to be interred in his family's tomb in Santa Maria in Trastevere, literally around the corner from the Farinacci home on the Piazza di San Calisto [Fig. 17].¹⁹

Farinacci wrote his third will on 18 May 1609.²⁰ This testament is quite brief. However, it is important because here we find the first evidence of his decision to be buried in his final resting place, the church of San Silvestro al Quirinale. He also refers to the tomb he already had made for himself. The phraseology for his burial plans, including the license for the interment(s) granted by Pope Paul V, remain constant in all versions of his testaments that post-date 1609, only subtracting the 'black sack' instructions concerning his body:

meum cadaver sepeliri volo in ecclesia S. Silvestri in Monte Quirinali in sepultura a me in dicta ecclesia constructa quod cadaver meum de nocte, et sine pompa deferri mando.²¹



18. San Silvestro al Quirinale, right wall, view of Cornaro Cenotaph and Farinacci Tomb. Photo: Alessandro Vasari



19. Anonymous artist, «Farinacci tomb portrait», c. 1609, marble, *rosso antico* bib, and grey marble cloak, white marble frame. Photo: Alessandro Vasari

In the spring of 1617 the jurist was stricken with what was called apoplexy (perhaps a cerebral hemorrhage or stroke) after which he drew up a sixth will dated 21 May.²² A final will was then redacted on 1 October 1618, three months before he was to die on New Year's Eve. The *Avviso* of the next day, 1 January 1619, announcing his death says succinctly that he was buried 'honorably' in the Theatine monastic church of San Silvestro al Quirinale 'in a tomb he had made while he was alive'. He was 74 years of age.²³

While no documents concerning the commission of the San Silvestro tomb have come to light, there is now enough circumstantial evidence to suggest a date of about 1609. A more pertinent question is, what motivated Farinacci to choose San Silvestro for the site of his mortuary chapel, since the church had no history of familial connections and was not near his home?²⁴ Perhaps uppermost in his decision was his long-standing friendship and intellectual relationship with his spiritual advisor, the very distinguished Theatine priest who lived in the monastery, Padre Michele Ghislieri (1563–1646).²⁵ Ghislieri, who had been living in the monastery since the 1570s, became a high ranking member of the order, as well as a great scholar in languages, literature, history and theology. He not only contributed his own academic works to the monastery library but also helped to enhance the library's holdings in both quality and quantity.²⁶ The friendship of the two men is reflected in the fact that, among other things, Farinacci left his collection of books and his own literary remains to the library. He bequeathed one hundred *scudi* directly to Ghislieri for the purpose of having one of his manuscripts re-copied and published posthumously. Encouraged by this relationship, he also placed his son Ludovico with the Theatine monks where he became a prelate, and was part of the monastic life there.²⁷

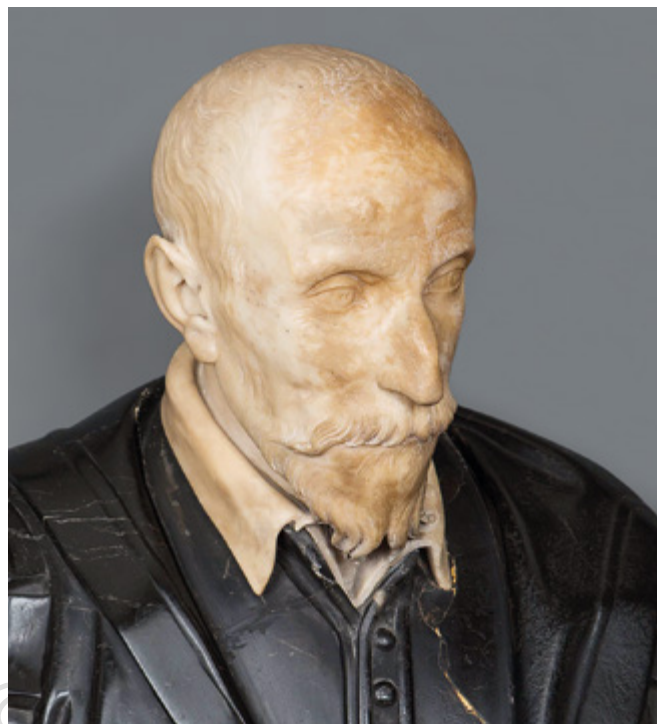
Formally, the design of Farinacci's wall tomb [Fig. 18] matches and balances as a pendant the cenotaph of Cardinal Federico Cornaro. The Cornaro structure is well documented: the architectural and decorative parts were designed by Domenico Fontana and the portrait bust of Cornaro was carved by Giovanni Battista Della Porta (1591–1596).²⁸ Both these artists were dead by the time of Farinacci's commission, and although the workshops continued to function for a time there is no record of a repeat performance.²⁹ Moreover, in terms of date, the striking bust of Farinacci [Figs 19–20], as is often recognized, is visually related to the Cavaliere d'Arpino portrait. In both, Farinacci is dressed in the official garb of the Fiscal Procurator General: black robes with a red bib (the bust is outlined with very dark grey marble and the bib is *rosso antico*).³⁰ Although in different ways, in both works, the mutilation of Farinacci's face from his unfortunate early encounter is alluded to: in the painting the proper left side is turned into almost complete shadow conveniently obscuring it, while in the frontal bust the unseeing eye and the scar are clearly shown. In fact, the likeness on the tomb, full



20. Detail of Fig. 19.
Photo: Alessandro Vasari



21. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Portrait of Antonio Coppola», three-quarters right (detail). Photo: Author's Archive



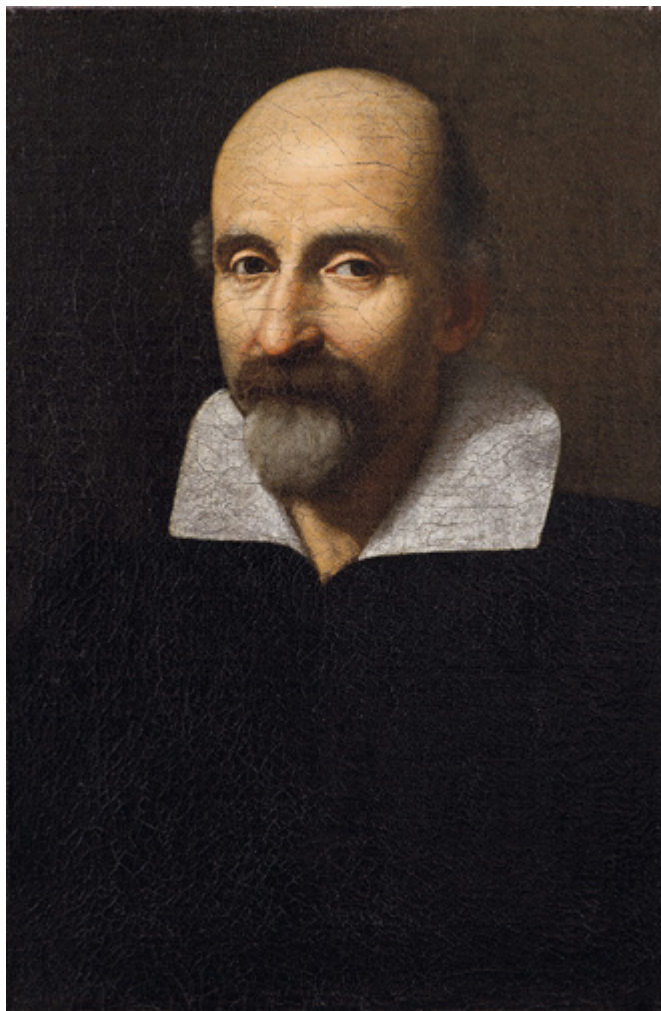
22. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (as in Fig. 1): detail of head. Photo: Andrea Kane Photography

of grim and adamant self-possession, is of a man who could plausibly be a robust 60–65 year old, and not the old man of 76 at the time of his death as in the black and white bust. A date around 1609 for Farinacci's tomb, including the portrait, would bring it closer to the Cornaro monument and thus less conspicuously anachronistic than has been suggested.³¹

The Lavin marble shows Farinacci as a frail and thin, even emaciated person, the left eye [Figs 1, 7, and 22] straying outward with, contrary to his earlier life, a certain air of reverie and acceptance. The bust brings him back to health and gives him a sweetness that corresponds to his devoted feelings for his offspring. The advanced age indicates it must have been carved either shortly before death or, possibly after.

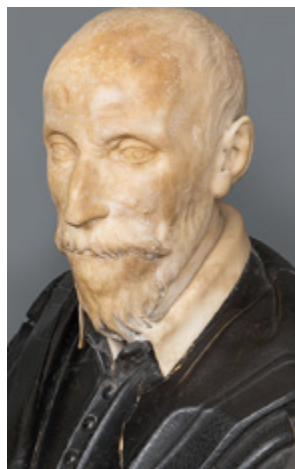
Whatever brought about its creation, the new Farinacci bust is virtually the twin of the retrospective portrait of Giovanni Coppola [Figs 21–22], with which it shares both circumstance and style. The analogies, in fact, seem too close to be explained simply as a coincidence of unrelated commissions. One suspects, rather, that the success of the Coppola bust must have reinforced Gianlorenzo Bernini's precocious reputation as a portraitist, capable of creating a 'living' image from observation of an ill or even dead subject. He would thus have been

sought out as a particularly gifted candidate to repeat the feat for the bust of Farinacci. The explicit classical reference in the design of the earlier portrait of the physician Coppola, is here replaced by a deliberate contemporaneity in dress and alertness in demeanor surely meant to evoke Farinacci's life-long professional status. Who would have commissioned Bernini to do Farinacci's portrait, and where it was meant to be displayed, however, remain unknown. Ludovico, the one person who owed Prospero the greatest debt, probably did not have the funds.³² Father Michele Ghislieri is another possible patron. We remember that the jurist left 100 *scudi* to his scholarly colleague to oversee publication of a manuscript. Ghislieri could have used some of this money to have a tangible memorial, a sculptured bust, made to be placed along with his books in the intellectual heart of the monastery – the library.³³ Such a move would again parallel the Coppola commission where the cost of the bust was exactly 50 *scudi*.³⁴ If this theory is true, the bust would date between 1617 (after Farinacci's illness) and 1619, immediately after his death.³⁵ Perhaps the bust then remained in the monastery library until the monks, two centuries later, sought to realize some profit from it in the usual fashion. We will return to this point.

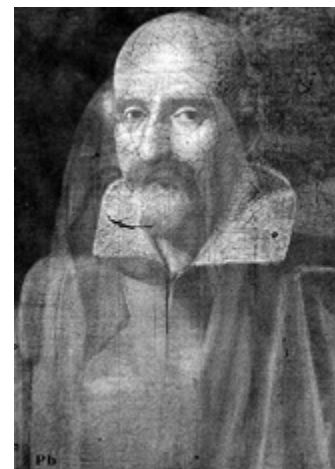


23. Caravaggio, «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci», c. 1595, oil painting, 61 × 40.5 cm, Private Collection.
Photo: Courtesy Emmebi Diagnostica Artistica srl, Rome

Lacking further documentation I decided to turn back to Mr Wille's remark that the bust was 'purchased in about 1860 by a man who was an ambassador to Rome', and look for an ambassador who might have asked for an export license in the Customs Offices of the city in that period. A lucky search in the records led to the following: in July 1857 an American named Lewis Cass, requested and obtained permission to export works of art, including paintings, tapestries, various objects, and 'Thirteen marble busts, eight of which are modern copies, and five [are] modern heads above busts of alabaster and colored marble'.³⁶ This man was Mr Lewis Cass, Jr. (1814–1878), who, after



24. «Portrait of Prospero Farinacci» (as in Fig. 1), tilted for comparison



25. Macro X-Ray Fluorescence image (MA-XRF). Photo: Courtesy Emmebi Diagnostica Artistica srl, Rome

working in Rome for a few years, was appointed ambassador not to the Italian state, but to the Holy See. It was pure speculation that this was the person who actually brought the Farinacci bust to America, and my efforts at that time to trace Cass and his objects in the United States proved fruitless.³⁷ I felt I had reached a dead end in proving that the young Bernini was the author of the bust. And for more than twenty years our family simply enjoyed having a handsome, benign marble grandparent in our living room.

II. New Evidence

All that changed in the spring of 2016. News of the spectacular rediscovery of a Caravaggio portrait of Farinacci [Fig. 23] appeared in the pages *Artibus et Historiae*, and the physiognomy of the two likenesses caught my eye. Despite the basic age difference, the physiognomies are visually consistent: they have the same high-rounded cranium, arched lower forehead structure, prominent nose, deep-set cheeks and facial hair. They have the same deviated eyes [Fig. 6] with the left eye straying outward. In a superb and elaborately documented article by a team of scholars and scientists, the painting is identified as the one listed in a Giustiniani inventory of 1638.³⁸ The authors make judicious comparison of the features in the Caravaggio with the tomb bust and the d'Arpino painting. Adding our bust to the group makes the identification even stronger (Fig. 24, tilted for comparison). In the newly discovered painting Farinacci would be



26. Matteo Bonarelli (?), «Portrait of Alessandro Rondinini» (?), 1632 (?), marble, Rome, Castel Sant'Angelo. Photo: Under licence from Italian Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Rome (see note 47)



27. Domenico Guidi, «Portrait of Alessandro Rondinini», c. 1665, marble (base intended for a portrait of Card. Paolo Amelio Facchia 1609), Bergamo, Accademia Carrara. Photo: Courtesy Museum (see note 47)

about 45; in the d'Arpino and the tomb portrait he would have been 60–65; and in the black and white marble he would be about 74–76. The Caravaggio and marble are, in fact, even more deeply related. Whereas, in the d'Arpino painting and the tomb portrait, Farinacci is shown in his official garb as *Giureconsulto Romano* featuring the bright red bib lining at the neck, in both the new painting and our bust, he is shown in 'business' attire: a white-collared undergarment; a black doublet with a puffed and slashed ornament at the shoulder seam, with a cloak thrown over the shoulder. Because of the darkened condition of the Caravaggio painting, the right shoulder ornament is visible only in one of the article's macro X-ray illustrations [Fig. 25].³⁹ In both images the ornament is shown on the proper right shoulder and the cloak on the left.

The two portraits are drawn together also on theoretical grounds. The authors of the Caravaggio article bring to bear the writings of Giulio Mancini (1559–1630, physician and art connoisseur). He is documented as knowing Caravaggio, as being the doctor of Maffeo Barberini, and he doubtless also knew Bernini. In his *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (1617–1621, unpublished until 1956), Mancini most amazingly actually names Farinacci's portraits (both the tomb bust and the d'Arpino painting) to articulate the ancient theory of two types of portraits: realistic likenesses and those that include the correction of defects, that, is idealized.⁴⁰ As opposed to the 'official' portraits, which delineate scars and strong temperament, the new Caravaggio and the Lavin bust 'idealize' the sitter, portraying a smooth face and only the intimation of a sightless eye. One wonders if



Fig. A

the young Bernini did not know the Caravaggio painting, pay it honor, but record the greater age of the sitter, and express a different and changed disposition as well. The painted portrait projects a glance of controlled and willful power while the sculpture exudes the mellow reserve of maturity.⁴¹ The distance of likeness between the Farinacci tomb image [Fig. 20] and the bi-colored bust that previously had deterred my belief in the person represented, was now dispelled. The strikingly similar physiognomy with the painting's sitter not only re-ignited my faith in the identity of the marble but also in the attribution to the young Bernini.

Once this thought matured, another revelation became clear. The relationship between the marble bust and the Cavaliere d'Arpino painting [Fig. 16] was much stronger than I had previously noticed. Observed in a series with the Caravaggio, one can see a continuous evolution in the man's physiognomy. A sequence [Fig. A] composed of the Caravaggio portrait of 1595, the d'Arpino portrait 1607, the tomb portrait of 1609 (seen three-quarters, from below), and the Bernini portrait of 1617–1619, presents an observable progression in the life of this strong historical personality.

III. Afterlife

Resuming the hunt, I returned once again to the American ambassador Lewis Cass, who took his collection through the customs office in the Palazzo Braschi in Rome in July of 1857. The first step was to put Cass's acquisitions into the context of conditions in Rome at the time of his stay (1854–1858). To say nothing of the international wars raging in the north, Italy was still besieged with the 'Risorgimento', the effort to unify the peninsula

into a single state that had begun in 1815.⁴² The movement brought conflicting factions, unrest, and financial upheaval. Even earlier, in 1810, the Napoleonic laicization laws had been put into effect, meaning that monasteries and religious houses lost their independence and had their properties, including precious libraries and treasuries, confiscated. Although the laws were rescinded within about twenty years, most houses were impoverished one way or another. Since the law forbade the induction of novices, the actual numbers of prelates, monks, friars, and nuns were greatly diminished. By the 1830s and '40s, what was left in the churches and abbeys by way of artistic valuables became the means for them to gain liquidity.⁴³ Even before the Napoleonic law, the Theatines at San Silvestro, whose numbers had been dwindling, abandoned the property. The Theatines left in 1798 and in 1801 another catechetical society called the Lazarists (also known as 'the Priests of the Mission') took over. This was a free religious group, with members living as a community, held together only by persuasion since each individual was accountable only to God.⁴⁴ It must have been sometime after the Lazarists had established themselves that they were informed that their church building would have to undergo a major remodeling over which they would have no control. This warning would have been part of a much larger revamped urban plan designed to bring access to a new central railroad terminal to the east, and up the hill to the soon-to-be royal palace at the Quirinal.⁴⁵ The project was to involve widening the street then called the Via Pia by regularizing and setting back the façade of the church of San Silvestro. To make this change the first two chapels of the nave would be cut off and the entrance would be reoriented.⁴⁶ It could be that in anticipation of the coming modifications, the Lazarists cleared their premises of what counted as portable



28. «Lewis Cass, Sr», c. 1850, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-pga-05888 (digital file from original item) LC-USZ62-2889. Photo: Library of Congress



29. The Cass, and then Baldwin Mansion, Fort and 5th Sts, Detroit, MI. Photo: Library of Congress

property. The Farinacci bust, if it was still there – no longer having meaning for the austere religious inhabitants – could have been among the objects put on the market and therefore available when Cass was making his collection.⁴⁷

By the same token, precisely in this period, the man Farinacci was again put into the public consciousness, so to speak, since interest in the story of Beatrice Cenci was undergoing a popular revival. Percy Bysshe Shelley wrote a long verse play called *The Cenci*. And even more suggestive: Stendhal (Marie Henri Beyle, 1783–1842) in 1833 when he was in Rome did research on the subject, and in 1837 published his short story *Les Cenci*, where Farinacci plays an important role.⁴⁸ This association surely was a selling point when the titillating detail was pointed out that the name on the bust showed the sitter to be the famous lawyer who defended Beatrice Cenci. All this, of course, is again speculation. But the facts, which we can now prove, are that Mr Cass bought the bust in Rome between 1854 and 1858 and, with the permission of the Italian Customs Office, brought it to his home in Detroit, MI.

Needless to say, the connection between Lewis Cass, the Customs Documents, and the city of Detroit was the result of another treasure hunt in which knowledge and luck joined hands. This connection will be clarified shortly. Meanwhile, I pursued the background of Ambassador Cass and found that he was the son of a very famous American statesman: Lewis Cass, Sr (1782–1866, Fig. 28), a military officer who rose to the rank of general and then had a long political career. He served as governor of the Michigan Territory, an American ambassador to France, was elected a US Senator representing Michigan after it became a state, and from 1857 to 1860, became the Secretary of State under President James Buchanan. He had debated in the Senate for diplomatic relations with the Vatican saying ‘the question of religious rulership (against the Protestants) had nothing to do with this issue’. When the current ambassador to the Holy See, Jacob Martin, died in office in Rome, Cass Junior, who had been working in Rome since 1854, was appointed ambassador and served until 1858. When it came time to think about leaving Rome, Ambassador Cass asked for and received permission to export the art collection he had amassed.⁴⁹ With the proper papers, Cass had his collection shipped to Detroit, MI, and deposited in his father’s palatial home on Fort and Fifth Streets [Fig. 29]. Cass Jr soon returned to Europe, taking up residence in Paris where he lived for the rest of his life. The collection remained in his father’s house, and is so mentioned in General Cass’s will.⁵⁰

Following Lewis Cass, Sr’s death in 1866, the Cass property, including all the furnishings and art, was bought by Henry Porter Baldwin (d. 1892; Fig. 30), an associate of Cass Sr, and one of the next governors of Michigan. In his testament, Baldwin willed the sculpture collection to the Detroit Museum of Art. Officials of the museum describe the arrangements; the sculptures would come to the museum:



30. Unknown artist, «Honorable Henry Porter Baldwin», c. 1870, Washington DC, Library of Congress, Prints and Photograph Division, LofC, Repro No. LC-DIG-bellcm-00187



31. Detroit Museum of Art, James Balfour, architect; opened in 1888; transformed for government use in 1927; destroyed in 1960

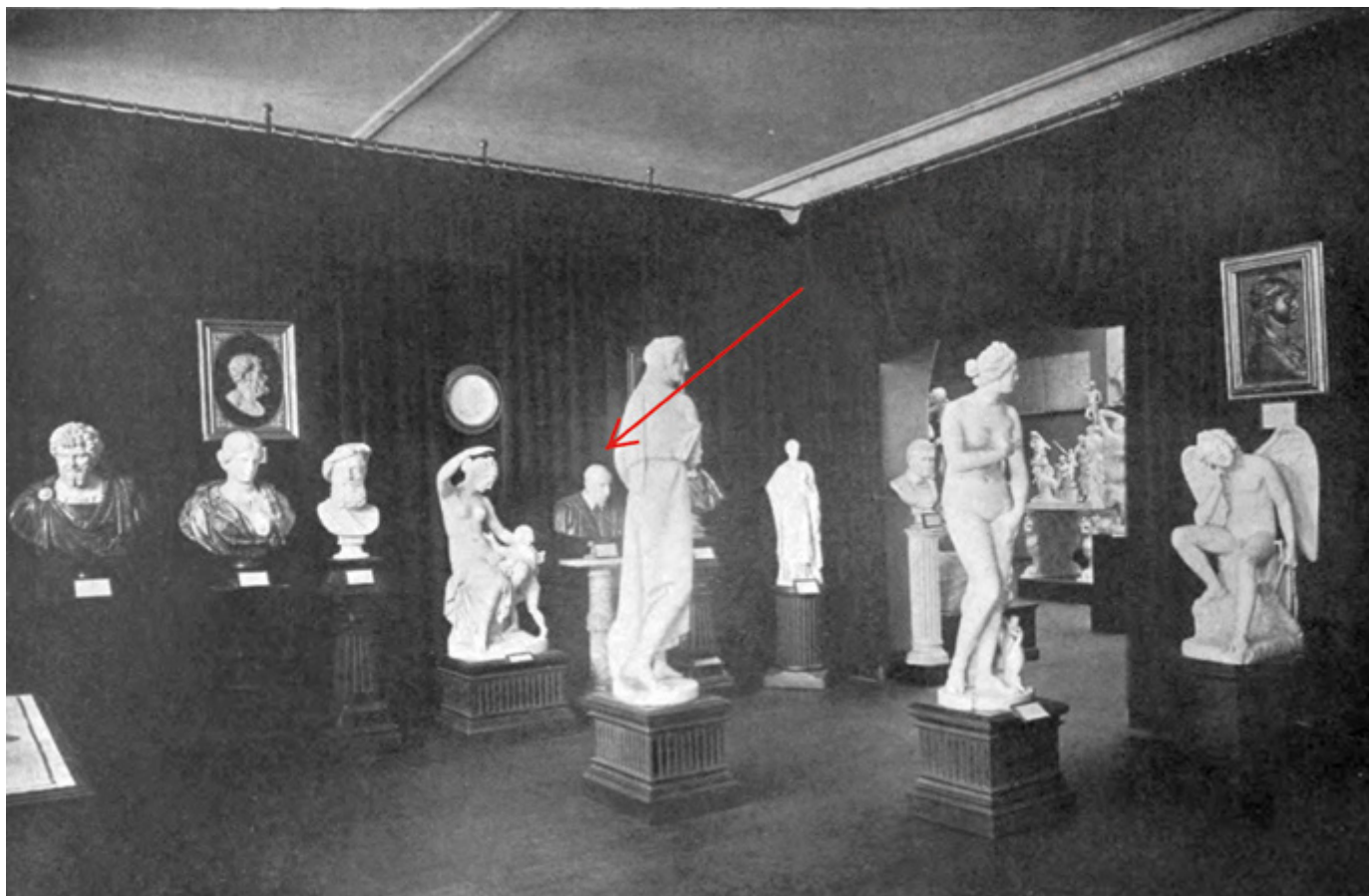
provided a room could be arranged for them. They consist of some twenty-five pieces (actually 31), busts and groups, a part of which is known as the General Cass Collection, the other pieces being secured by Gov. Baldwin at different times when he was abroad. Mrs. Baldwin has signified her readiness to turn them over to the Museum.⁵¹

The collection had stayed in place at 110 Fort Street until 1902, at which time it was delivered to the Museum [Fig. 31] and housed in a section adjacent to the main gallery. The installation is pictured in a 1902 publication [Fig. 32]⁵², where the Farinacci bust can be seen among the sculptures.⁵³ It was a chance view of this very photograph that led to the Detroit chapter of my research. The collection was accompanied by a partial list of the sculptures dated 25 January 1902, in the hand of Mrs Sibyle L. Baldwin (Henry's widow) which contains the following entry on the Farinacci bust:

Farinaccio – Original Bust

The judge in his official robes – who was council for Beatrice Cenci. 'Was procured from the Countess Guiliano [sic] Zampa – the last representative of the Cenci family, and the Italian government reluctantly permitted it's [sic] exportation'.⁵⁴

The list is marked as vetted by a lawyer (Armand H. Griffith) before being announced in the newspaper. Indeed, an article came out a few days later, repeating information gleaned from Sibyle's list but correcting some of the phrases, and again naming most of the works with their 'find spots'. The passage on Farinacci reads: 'The Farinaccio was obtained from Countess Zampa, the last of the Cenci family, and it is said the Italian Government was loath to let it leave Italy'.⁵⁵ The reference to a member of the Cenci family could have been a point of startling interest, implying that the bust had been commissioned by the Cenci and kept by the family all these years. However, in searching for a 'Contessa Zampa' living around the time of Cass's purchase (1854–1858), with the garbling of the name – feminine 'Countess' and masculine (and misspelled) 'Guiliano' – locating such a person proved difficult. I did find a Contessa *Caterina* Zampa, née: Cenci, wife of Cavaliere Cesare Cusani who had lived in Turin. But I also found that, according to her will, she owned no sculpture of any kind.⁵⁶ The most interesting aspect of Sibyle's list is the fact she carefully places her identifications in quotation marks. This gesture implies that she was quoting another source. The implication bolstered a theory I had had from the beginning, namely that from the time of their arrival in Detroit, many of the pieces in the Cass



32. Photograph of Ex-Gov. H. P. Baldwin Room, c. 1902, Museum of Art, Detroit, MI; arrow indicating bust of «Farinaccio». Photo: Detroit Museum of Art, Copyright Detroit Institute of Arts, Collections of the Research Library & Archives

collection were still accompanied by 'documentary' papers of some kind – attributions, affidavits, guarantees, references – authentic or fabricated, that continued to be part of their long history of ownership.⁵⁷ And in fact, the nomenclature given for several sculptures in Sibyle's list and in the newspaper article are identical to those in the Cass Roman customs document (reproduced in note 36). Here was the proof that many of the objects in the Baldwin gift were those collected by 'an ambassador to Italy (Cass, Jr) about 1860' and that among the modern busts listed in Mr Cass's custom document was the bust of Prospero Farinacci.

By 1924 the collection had been put into storage in preparation for the museum's new building project. At that point the three daughters of Gov. Baldwin – Katherine, now Mrs Walter Phelps Bliss, and her two sisters – found the condition under which the sculptures were being housed unacceptable.⁵⁸ They

ordered ownership be returned to the Baldwin heirs and the collection sent to Katherine's domicile in New York City. The sculptures arrived at 6 East 87th Street, a four-story brownstone where she lived, with a bill of lading that included the bust of Prospero Farinacci.⁵⁹

Although her husband had died suddenly in January 1924, Mrs Bliss and the sculptures, remained on 87th Street until the early 1930s. After the 1929 stock market crash, it became impossible to maintain the large building and she moved into 740 Park Avenue, a famous duplex apartment building, still luxurious but not big enough to house the marbles. How she disposed of the pieces is not known. But clearly the Farinacci bust went on the market, perhaps at Parke Bennett which became Sotheby's in the 1960s, and was ultimately bought by Bertram ('Bun') Isard and sent to Philadelphia, as his wife said, 'either before or after the Second World War'.

And so my story returns to its beginning, when I was serendipitously introduced to Signor Jurista Prospero Farinacci, a character long known to the intellectual history of Italy, in a work of art previously unknown to me. Faced with an object that identified itself but not its maker or its provenance, I followed the long lists of clues based on singular and sometimes

contradictory scraps of information. And finally I have traced what I believe to have been the journey of the object itself. All the while I felt assured of what my intuition led me to believe in the first place: the bust labeled 'Farinaccio' was another conceptual, aesthetic, and physical accomplishment of Gianlorenzo Bernini *giovane*.

IV. Appendix

The following Appendix has nothing directly to do with attributing the Farinacci Bust. Rather I take this occasion as an opportunity to gather together a few loose scholarly ends concerning the protracted controversies over the dating of Gianlorenzo's early works and the continuing disbelief in, or I should say, the outright denial of, sources that record his astonishing success at a very early age. I offer this reconstruction under four rubrics: 1) his professional status; 2) his age at the time of productions; 3) documentation that has been altered or suppressed: 3a) concerning works by Gianlorenzo; 3b) concerning one work by Pietro Bernini; and finally 4) the presentation of still another early portrait bust here attributed to Gianlorenzo Bernini.⁶⁰

1. The Young Gianlorenzo's Professional Status

One year before Gianlorenzo Bernini's birth (7 Dec. 1598), the marble workers of Rome founded a new organization that was tasked to oversee the social, religious, and physical safety of young boys wishing to enter the profession. The headquarters was on the Caelian Hill in the Chapel of San Silvestro within the properties of the church of SS. Quattro Coronati. Called the *Compagnia dei Quattro Coronati*, the organization was empowered by the older *Università dei Marmorai* (founded in 1406), the actual technical school where classes were held. The new organization centered on preparing youngsters, morally and artistically, to be *statutari* (sculptors) or *lapicidari* (lapidaries). For this

function, in 1598 statutes were drawn up to provide strict rules for procedures. Families who wished to enroll their sons had to make a request to the *Governatore*, then to the *Maestri dei Novizi della Compagnia*, and then present their offspring. If the boys were found to be of *buone qualità*, artistically as well as morally, they could enter the *Compagnia* as *novizi* (novices), but only having completed '12 anni finite' (after the thirteenth birthday).⁶¹ Having entered, the novices could make their choice of fields, whether fine arts or applied, and follow the appropriate courses. Apparently, as minors, they were allowed to perform tasks, but they could not take personal payment. Only when they were judged to be proficient and mature enough, could they sign contracts and receive payment in their own names. Although we have found no lists of novices from this period, Gianlorenzo seems to have followed this path, entering as a *novizio* on or after his thirteenth birthday (7 December 1611), and then six years in the workshop (*officina*) of his father, after which, while he was still quite young, he was recognized as *scultore*.⁶² Documents show that the first time this procedure was followed for Gianlorenzo was on 5 December 1618; two days later he would be 20 years old. Gianlorenzo remained a member of both the *Compagnia* and the *Università degli scultori e dei marmorari* throughout his life, and is recorded making frequent donations for architectural restorations of various kinds, and for personal devotional purposes.⁶³

2. Chart of Gianlorenzo Bernini's Works up to 1619

SCULPTURES	DOCUMENTS/ REFERENCES	GIANLORENZO'S AGE
Goat Amalthea , Borghese (base for)	1609+ (opinion) 1615, August, Doc., (I. Faldi)	12 16
Giovanni Santoni , head only; (Pietro surround), Sta Prassede	after 1610, April; nephew raised to bishop; memorial for uncle Lavin B, p. 137	12–13
Portrait of Antonio Ludovisi (lost)	before March 1612	13
Antonio Coppola , Museo di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini	1612, 16 July, blank first name; blank check; Lavin A	13 legal <i>novizio</i>
Clement VIII Tomb (two versions) , Sta Maria Maggiore	1 st : Jan. – Dec. 1611 (sent to Borghese) 2 nd : Nov. 1612– Jan. 1614; Lavin A	13 13–16
Borghese Herms , with Pietro, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY	1616 (opinion)	16–17
San Lorenzo , for Strozzi, Uffizi	1616 (opinion)	16–17?
Four Seasons , with Pietro, Aldobrandini (Frascati)	1616–1617 (opinion)	17–18
Faun, Three Putti, & Panther , with Pietro, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY	1616–1617 (opinion); kept in house	17–18
Putto with Marine Dragon , Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA	1617, 1 Dec., bought by Maffeo Barberini	18
Saint Sebastian , Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid	1617, 29 Dec., bought by Maffeo Barberini	19

Putto Bitten by Dolphin , owned by Ludovisi, Bode Museum, Berlin	1618 (opinion; first doc: 1623); Inventory	19–20
Prospero Farinacci , Lavin Coll., Princeton, NJ	1617 – early 1619 (opinion)	19–20
Giovanni Angelo Frumenti , Hermitage, St Petersburg	1617–1618 (opinion)	19–20
Giovanni Angelo Frumenti , Sta Maria Maggiore, Baptistery	1615–1622 (opinion)	17–24
Two Putti , on 'Frontispiece', in Barberini Chapel, S. Andrea della Valle	1618–1619, in docs; with Pietro; first mention of Gianlorenzo by name	18–20
Two Putti from S. Andrea della Valle (lost)	1618–1619, Inventory	18–20
Saint Sebastian , for Aldobrandini, Frascati (lost)	1618, 5 Dec. paid in own name, 1619, 8 Jan. ditto	19
Giovanni Vigevano , Sta Maria Sopra Minerva	1618–1620	20
Aeneas And Anchises , Borghese	1618–1619	20
Camilla Barbadori (Maffeo's mother), Copenhagen	1619, April; paid in own name; docs	20
Anime Beata e Dannata , Palazzo di Spagna	1619, December, docs	20–21
Gianlorenzo was created Cavaliere della Croce, Vatican	1621, 30 June	22



33. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Putto Breaking Mouth of a Marine Dragon» (fountain), c. 1617, marble, 57.5 cm (2½ *palmi*), Los Angeles, CA, Paul Getty Museum. Photo: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program



34. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Putto Breaking Mouth of Marine Dragon» (detail of face). Photo: Lynton Foesterling Photos, St. Louis

3. Documents Altered or Suppressed⁶⁴:

3a. Gianlorenzo Bernini

Most of the documents cited here were published in Lavin A and reprinted in Lavin B. They were also printed in the context of the Barberini inventories from which they are drawn: M. A. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*, New York, 1975. Where pertinent, other sources are indicated.

i. Barberini Material

- **Putto Breaking the Mouth of a Marine Dragon** [Figs 33–34], J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA. Document confirming sale to Card. Maffeo Barberini from Pietro Bernini, 1 Dec. 1617 for 20 scudi; see S. Schütze, attributed to Pietro Bernini.⁶⁵

Card. **Maffeo** Barberini sold to: 'a di 9 detto (December, 1617) sc. 20 m.ta a Pietro Bernino, scultore p una statua venduti ... sc. 20'. (Lavin, *Barberini*, p. 7)

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, Inventory, 1623–1631, fol. 28^r, 6 Dec. 1627 (Lavin *Barberini*, numbering):

'120) Un putto a sedere sopra un drago moderno al nat.le' (from Don Carlo [Francesco's Father; brother of Maffeo] 28 Jul. 1628)

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, Inventory compiled by Nicolo Menghini (sculptor/curator), 1632–1640, fol. 6^v, 2 August 1640 (Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering)

'110) Un putto qual tiene un drago alto palmi 2½ fatto dal Cavalier Bernini n.o 40'

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, 1651, p. 1, 12 June 1651 (Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering)

'6) Un altro Putto del natural, che tiene un Drago p[er] la Bocca alto p.mi 2½'

Card. **Carlo** Barberini, Inventory 1692–1704, fol. 242^r, inventory of statues belonging to Don Urbano, Prince of Palestrina (Palazzo Barberini; Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering):



35. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «St Sebastian», c. 1618, marble, 103.5 cm (4 *palmi*), Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza. Photo: Author's archive

'454) Un ercoletto à Sedere sopra un Drago, che Con una mano li rompe la bocca (*in margin*): Donato à Filippo V Re di Spagna da S.E. in occ'one della Leg.ne di Napoli'. (See also no. 538 and no. 616 for two other gifts to the King Philip, age 14, who traveled throughout his dominions in Italy during 1702).

Card. **Carlo** Barberini, Official report of gifts given during the legation: 'Una statuetta rapresentante un Ercholetto che sbrana il serpente in eta puerile opera del s[igno]r **Cavaliere Lorenzo Bernini**'.⁶⁶



36. Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Putto with Drapery», 1617–1618, marble, Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Barberini Chapel. Photo: David Lees

King Philip V, official report of gifts received: 'inoltre presentogli un'altra bellissima statua, che rappresenta un'Ercole, che spezza un serpente, scolpita in finissimo marmo bianco similmente d'un sol pezzo, per mano del **Bernini**'.⁶⁷

• **Saint Sebastian** [Fig. 35], Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza di Madrid. Document confirming sale to Card. Maffeo Barberini from Pietro Bernini, 29 Dec. 1617 for 50 *scudi*; see S. Schütze, attributed to Gianlorenzo Bernini.⁶⁸

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, Inventory 1623–1631, fol. 28^r, 6 Dec. 1627 (Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering):

'115) Un San Bastiano minore del natural legato ad un tronco posto a sedere frezzato con suo scbellone minore dell'altri'

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, Inventory compiled by Nicolo Menghini (sculptor/curator), 1632–1640, fol. 6^v, 2 August 1640 (Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering):

109) 'Epiu un San Bastiano di palmi 4½ alto fatto dal Cavalier **Bernini** n.o 39'.

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, Inventory, Cancelleria, 1651, p. 1, 12 June 1651 (Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering) p. 3: 'Nella Stanza dove mangia S. Em.za 31) Una Statua di San Bastiano'.

• **Two Putti**, formerly on the pediment in the Barberini Chapel, Sant' Andrea della Valle, lost (Fig. 36, one of second matching pair, in situ)

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, Inventory compiled by Nicolo Menghini (sculptor/curator), 1632–1640, fol. 6^v, 2 August 1640 (Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering):

'114) Eppiu dui petti (putti) nel Naturale nudi a sedere con un pannino che li cingie fatti dal Cavalier bernini uno al n.o 44, L'altro n.o 45'

Card. **Francesco** Barberini, Inventory, Cancellaria, 1651, p. 1, 12 June 1651 (Lavin, *Barberini*, numbering):

'5) Due Putti, che erano sul frontespizio della Cappella di Papa Urbano al naturale p.mi 4'

ii. Aldobrandini Material

• **Saint Sebastian, lost**, 8 *palmi* (82 cm), made and paid for by Card. Pietro Aldobrandini; Lavin B:

Card. **Pietro Aldobrandini**, Archivio Doria Pamfili; Fondo Aldobrandini Busta 19, Reg. de' Mandati, Card. Pietro Aldobrandini 'H' 1618–1620:

fol. 39^r: 'a di detto [5 xbre 1618] paga.ti a Gio: Lorenzo Bernini scultore sc. 100 m.a et sono a buon c.to d'uno S.to Bast.o di Marmo che ha fatto p. s.vitio di Casa n'ra—sc 100'

fol. 42^v: 'a di detto [8 di Genn.o 1619] pag.ti a Gio: Lorenzo Bernini scultore sc 150 m.a et sono a complim.to di sc 250 p.to [per resto] et intero pagam.to d'uno S.to Bast.o di marmo fattoci p. s.vitio di casa n'ra che rest.o sc 100 seli sono fatti pag.re sotto di 5 di xbre pass.to che con sua ric.ta vi si fan.o boni—sc 150'

The dates of these two documents are the first payments to Gianlorenzo himself, designated as 'scultore'. Thenceforth he received payment in his own name as an adult.

iii. Confraternity of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini Material

An example of egregious manipulation and misrepresentation of documents was perpetrated by Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma vista da Roma*, Rome, 1967. Having heard my lecture at the American Academy⁶⁹, he went to the archive of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini where he mustered material to add to a book-in-progress that would refute my arguments and pre-date my own publication by almost a year. In doing so, he produced a text that has often been followed but is faulty in facts and exposes quite clearly his revisionist agenda. In general, D'Onofrio did not believe Gianlorenzo as a minor could have carried out any project for which his father received payment. He forcefully argued this point in relation to the Antonio Coppola bust, thereby attributing this likeness to a man (Pietro) who is not documented as ever having made a portrait in his long and successful career.⁷⁰ D'Onofrio insisted on this point in all instances where the name of Pietro Bernini was involved. His treatment in the case of the bust of Antonio Cepparelli [Fig. 5] will exemplify his method (p. 109). He does not reproduce in full the documents of 1622–1623 pertinent to the commission. Rather, he chooses only certain

documents, prints them in modern prose, and leaves out parts wherever he wishes. Moreover, he omits several documents that flatly contradict his argument. He claims that when the officers of the Confraternity of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini wrote *Bernini, scultore*, 'si debba piuttosto intendere Pietro' [one *should rather understand* (they meant) *Pietro*]. His rationale was that because they paid (Pietro) only 45 *scudi* for the Cepparelli bust, and since that price was 5 *scudi* less than they had paid him (Pietro) for the bust of Coppola twenty years earlier, they could not have meant Gianlorenzo, by now a public figure, a *Cavaliere* with important work at the Vatican. D'Onofrio even implies that the Confraternity had wanted Pietro to do the Cepparelli, but that his son had usurped the commission. The full documents, however, show the cost of the bust of Cepparelli to have been not 45, but 70 *scudi*. It was disbursed in two payments to Cavaliere Gianlorenzo, with the money for the first twenty-five *scudi* paid in *bon conto* (which D'Onofrio did not report) – received by his father, as when he was a boy. See the original publication in Lavin A, pp. 79–80, and below:

• **Bust of Antonio Cepparelli**

23 April 1622 (ASGF-651, fol. 57 right): E più si faccia fare una statua di marmo co' inscrizione a detto s. Ant. e mettere nello spedale come quella del Coppola, e fu detto al s. Girolamo Ticci' che ne parlassi al Bernino scultore — che si facessi quanto p.^a—

7 August 1622 (ASGF-651, fol. 60 left): Al s. Cav.re Giälorenzo bernini p-a bon conto della statua che deve fare del s.Ant.^o Cepperelli in marmo fu fatto m.to _____ ∇25

7 August 1622 (ASGF-205, middle of volume): Mag.^{eo} m. Santi Vannini nr^o Camarlengho à piacere al S.^r Cav.^{re} Gio: lorenzo bernini scudi venticinque mta. quali sono a bon conto della testa di marmo che deve fare del ritratto del S.^r Ant.^o Cepperelli che con una riceuta saranno ben pagati Dal Nr Cong.e li 7 di Agto 1622 _____ ∇25m^{ta}

[signatures] Hor Salco n sup.^{re};

Fran.^{co} Scacchi Dep^{to};

Domenico Migliari De Putato;

Seb.^{no} Guidi p.^{re}

[verso]: lo pietro bernini scultore ricieuto li detti scudi venticinq.e contanti oggi li 13 d'agosto in fede o scritto la precedente di mano p p^a; lo pietro bernini mano propria

24 September 1622 (ASGF-430, p. CX): E adi 24 di 7bre ∇ venticinque di m^{ta} pag.^{ti} con mand^o a m. Pietro schultore p la testa fatta di Marmo _____ ∇25

23 December 1623 (ASGF-651, fol. 64 right): Al d^o [Sebastiano Guidi] scudi quaranta cinque fattili pagare da Ticci al Cav.^{re} bernini p la statua di marmo fatta del s. Ant.^o Cepparelli benefattore e messo nello spedale—sono p resto _____ ∇45

23 December 1623 (ASGF-205, toward middle of volume): Mag.^{eo} Lorenzo Cavotti nr.^o Cam.^o à piacere pagare a m Seb^{no} Guidi nr Prov^{re} scudi quaranta cinque tali fattili pagare da Ticci



37. Pietro Bernini, «Satyr Fountain», 1595, veined marble, Berlin, Bode Museum. Photo: Author



38. Detail Fig. 37

al s. Cav.^{re} Bernini p la statua di marmo fatta a S^r Ant. Cepparelli e posto nel nostro spedale p memoria del beneficio havuto da lui che con rict.^o saranno ben pagati Dal Nr Cong.^f li 23 di Xbre 1623 ▽ 45 p resto

[signatures] Piero Landi, deput.^{to};

Io Seb.no Guidi ho

ri.^{to} quanto sopra Seb.no Guidi Prov.^{re};

23 December 1623 (ASGF-430, p. 118: E adi detto [23 December 1623] ▽ quarantacinque m.^{ta} p resto della statua fatta di d.^o Ceparello _____ ▽ 45

Thus, *pace* d'Onofrio, the price for the Cepparelli bust was 25+45 or 70 *scudi*, actually twenty *scudi* more than was paid for the Coppola, the higher price reflecting the Confraternity's satisfaction and Bernini's now official high position.

3b. Pietro Bernini

i. Sesto Fiorentino

The *Satyr Astride a Panther* Fountain in Berlin [Figs 37–38] has frequently been mentioned as being by Gianlorenzo Bernini, or possibly by a combination of father and son, Pietro and Gianlorenzo. There is evidence, however, that the fountain was created at least three years before Gianlorenzo was born.⁷¹

The Berlin sculpture was purchased in Florence in 1884 by the then Director of the Berlin Museum, Wilhelm Bode, from the well-known Roman art dealer Stefano Bardini. Frida Schottmüller in 1933 catalogued the fountain as the work of an unknown Tuscan sculptor of the early seventeenth century.⁷² The matter rested there until Olga Raggio, in publishing the Metropolitan *Faun*, related it to the Berlin fountain, which she also labeled as Tuscan, early seventeenth century.⁷³ Since then there



39. Attributed to Gianlorenzo Bernini, «Giovanni Angelo Frumentini», 1615–1622, marble, 54 × 42 cm, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, Baptistery (right wall). Photo: Alessandro Vasari



40. Attributed to Gianlorenzo Bernini, identified as «Giovanni Angelo Frumentini», c. 1617–1618, 60 cm, veined marble. St Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum. Photo: courtesy S. Androsov, Hermitage Museum

has been an increasing tendency to attribute these works, and a number of others, that share their elements and motifs to Gianlorenzo.⁷⁴ They certainly are all inspired by the same guiding spirit. The fact is, however, that the Berlin fountain, unlike the Aldobrandini *Seasons* and the Metropolitan *Herms* and the *Faun*, it is not a Roman work at all, but Florentine, that is to say precisely, it came from the Villa Corsi Salviati at Sesto Fiorentino, a once famous property of the Corsi bankers and still fairly well preserved. Since Pietro Bernini was himself a native of Sesto Fiorentino, the provenance of the fountain in itself proves beyond any reasonable doubt that he was the sculptor. It is important to note first, however, that Pietro had already made a name for himself in Naples where he produced a similar sculpture, now lost, for which he was paid in May 1589:

una statua di marmo attaccata con un albero con un puttino sopra nome del bacco che fa il moto di spremere l'uva.⁷⁵

In Florence, Pietro spent his brief interlude during 1594–1595 working with Giovanni Battista Caccini. Aside from being

a native of Sesto, perhaps it was on the basis of his previous work on the theme in Naples that he got the Corsi commission. So began a long series that continued through the works he made, often in concert with his young son and colleague, subsequently in Rome. The problem of the origin of the Berlin fountain is, moreover, resolved, happily or unhappily depending on your point of view. A single, seemingly quite innocent document published by Pasquale Rotondi in 1933, and almost completely overlooked since then, involves a tax notice of August 1595, the title of which reads:

M.o Pietro di Lorenzo Bernino, lavora sul Prato di scultura, Angelica di Giovanni di Giovanni Galanti, l'anno 1595 in Gabella T. 5 Notif. 87.⁷⁶

Rotondi did not connect the document with the Berlin sculpture because, understandably, he took 'prato' to mean the quarter of Florence inside the city walls toward the Porta al Prato and he sought in vain to relate the document to the Palazzo Corsini located there. But the term in this case clearly refers to



41. Three-quarters view of Fig. 40

the vast area northwest of Florence from which the city of Prato takes its name. Sesto Fiorentino lies in the virtual center of this plain, and the villa Corsi is located on the Prato road just before Sesto. Quite by accident, on a visit to the villa some years ago, I discovered an exact copy of the Berlin fountain in an open loggia in the east wing of the garden façade.⁷⁷ I have uncovered no record of the substitution as such, but we know that before the turn of the century the Marchese Bardo Corsi sold some of his art (including a bronze Mercury by Zanobi Lastricati and Ciani Campagni in 1879) to finance a major renovation of the villa, most especially the garden, which was his passionate interest. This was the circumstance under which Bode acquired the piece for the Berlin Museum in 1884, and the replacement with a very accurate copy must have been part of the arrangement. Thanks to a publication of the fountain by Michael Knuth,



42. Back of Fig. 40

mistakenly attributing the work to Gianlorenzo, we now know that it was first mentioned in the records of the Berlin Staatliche Museen on 19 March 1883, as actually having belonged to Marchese Corsi.⁷⁸

4. Bust of Giovanni Angelo Frumentì, here identified as, and attributed to Gianlorenzo Bernini

In 2016, Steven F. Ostrow introduced an important personality in early seventeenth-century Roman culture who had until then been overlooked by history. This is Giovanni Angelo Frumentì (1541/42–1621), a native of Como, who moved to Rome fairly early in life and became a competent and distinguished ‘project architect’ supervising and bringing to completion major constructions for the Vatican and churches elsewhere in Rome. He was a canon of Santa Maria Maggiore, and by the end of his life, was living in the canons’ palace at the NE end of the basilica. Ostrow brought Frumentì into the light to identify a marble bust [Fig. 39] placed high on the wall of the baptistery of Santa Maria Maggiore, which he attributes to Gianlorenzo Bernini.⁷⁹ The bust is displayed in an oval niche at the head of an elegant cenotaph adorned with gorgeous black columns and many colored marbles. The very long inscription below elaborately describes Frumentì’s life and career.⁸⁰ Originally mounted midway down

the nave on the right wall of the basilica, the cenotaph itself is in amazingly fine condition, considering it was taken down and somehow stored away in Ferdinando Fuga's 1746–1747 reordering of the church, and then reinstalled by Giuseppe Valadier (1726–1785) almost a century later in the baptistery he created. The bust, however, seems to have been severely 're-managed' to fit into the oval niche at the head of the ensemble. It is cut at the sides and bottom leaving the torso formed into a truncated triangle. Ostrow accounts for this disfiguring on the possibility that the bust was once free-standing and later reshaped to 'fit' into the oval niche.

The figure is dressed in an outer garment of caracul, half with the fur side turned up and twisted to show the shiny leather backing covering the proper left shoulder. Ostrow rightly observes that this is a first in the bust genre to include 'convincingly' rendered fur, pointing to Bernini's realism in drawing the hairs up into separate, pointed tufts. In this case, the scarf adds a strong sense of dignity and high-borne status to the sitter. Both Pietro and Gianlorenzo in their work had already tackled animal fur; the former in the *tunica exomis* of John the Baptist in the Barberini Chapel (1615) in Sant' Andrea della Valle and the latter in the *Goat Amalthea*. What is new here is the treatment to distinguish the breed of sheep that produced the fur.⁸¹

When I first saw a clear reproduction of the face of Giovanni Angelo I was immediately struck by its resemblance to another portrait bust over which I had long been ruminating. This puzzle is a sculpture in the Hermitage in St Petersburg [Figs 40–42], first published by Sergey Androsov with an attribution to Gianlorenzo Bernini.⁸² Androsov reports that the bust had come to the museum some time before 1917 but with no identification whatsoever. It had suffered a broken nose, chips on the fingers and ears, but otherwise was in good condition. It is truly an arresting piece, first of all because it is made not of pure white statuary marble but of a marble that is heavily veined.

It is, in fact (as both Androsov and I observed) similar to but more intensely veined than the stone of the Berlin Satyr Fountain discussed above). The veining gives the likeness a strange, otherworldly effect, as if seen through a netting, sharply visible yet screened. In design, it repeats the classical motif of the right hand emerging from the drapery and grasping its edge that Bernini revived with the Coppola portrait and repeated in the Vigevano bust. Here, the gesture is combined with a huge, arching double collar, a many-button jerkin (the row of buttons continues under the collar), and an outer garment held at the neck with a strap-and-button fastener. This sartorial bravura is combined with a flaring, bow-shaped lower outline (a premonition carried forward in the *dal Pozzo* bust [Fig. 14]), that lifts the figure and contrasts with the downward pressure of the man's thick neck. What brings the Hermitage and Roman portraits together is the similar set of the jaw and the peculiar closing of the lips, along with the high cheek bones and a certain grim wit that makes me confident of the sitters' identity. The analogous physiognomies provide identity for the Hermitage portrait and corroboration, to some extent, of the attribution to Gianlorenzo for the Roman bust. The subtler yet stronger quality of the 'Russian' bust makes it even sadder that the condition of the Roman Frumentii calls into question the priority of the duo. For the dating of the Roman sculpture, Ostrow gives the reader the choice of 'made from life, 1615–1617', and 'made posthumously' i.e., 1622 and after.⁸³ I place the Hermitage bust again in the busy period of 1617–1619. The Hermitage sculpture, moreover, has a metal ring in the back [Fig. 40] for attaching it to a support, suggesting that it too could have been destined for a public commemoration. As things are, I can only indicate that the history of Frumentii's monument is probably even more complicated than Ostrow suspected. One thing is certain, withal: when the young Gianlorenzo took up a task, the wheel of tradition turned with astonishing speed.

Because the discovery and research here presented are mine, I have spoken in the first person. However, as the genial idea for the assemblage, presentation, and much of the actual writing are Marilyn's, her name appears on the title line. I have received generous help over the years from: Amy Dunn and Alan Darr in Detroit; Antonella Pampalona, Carla Cerati, Elisa Camboni, Giulia Viciosa, and particularly Francesca Lombardi in Rome; Jennifer Cooke and Michela Goi in Turin; and above all my assistant in Princeton, Uta Nitschke-Joseph, who has kept me sane and fruitful, and who has been with me every step of the way.

Please note that Marilyn and I are aware of the unusual step that we are taking in introducing an object to the history of art that belongs to us personally. In spite of the controversy such a step might evoke, we do so objectively in the hope of bringing about something of a change in the ethos of our profession. We feel it is high time that the disingenuous and unscholarly phrase 'private collection' be discarded in favor of announcing the correct and true provenance of any object, particularly when it is being introduced to the repertory for the first time.

- 1 I discovered the bust in September 1966, and then, having reported it to the Ministry of Fine Arts in Rome, made the discovery public in a lecture on 12 January 1967, at the American Academy in Rome; my scholarly account was published in: 'Five Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of his Early Works', *Art Bulletin*, 50, 1968, pp. 223–248. Revised and reprinted as 'Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of his Early Works', in I. Lavin, *Visible Spirit: The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini*, 2 vols, London, 2009, vol. I, pp. 186–286. All versions of this article can be found in PDF form at: <http://publications.ias.edu/sites/default/files/Lavin_FiveNewYouthfulSculptures_2007.pdf>. See note 3, below.
- 2 *Sotheby's European Art*, New York, November 23 and 24, 1984, p. 125. The name may be spelled *Farinacci*, *Farinaccio*, and *Farinacio*. The sales catalogue states that the 'bust was purchased in Rome around 1860-65 and was subsequently brought to this country'.
- 3 Documents regarding the Coppola bust record the following: Immediately after the Florentine doctor, Antonio Coppola died in the first week of March, 1612, the officers of the Confraternity of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome, paid 4 scudi to have a death mask cast. At the same time they sent two of their members, Cavaliere Piero Paulo and Signore Francesco Ticci, to engage 'bernino scultore' to have made ['far fare'] a marble head of Coppola to be placed in their hospital (then in construction on the Tiber, opposite the Vatican). By 16 July 1612 the bust was finished, a fact recorded by the confraternity officers in an extraordinary manner. They drew up a check [*mandato*], to pay for the marble head, but in assigning it, they left a wide empty space before the name Bernini, omitting the given name ['pagare a (**blank space**) Bernini scultore']; also contrary to all normal procedure the payment was a blank check, the amount not specified ['fatto il mandato in bianco'], and further, they told S.re Ticci to pay as little as possible ['pagar meno che si puo']! I represent that these carefully worded and out-of-the-ordinary stipulations show: 1) that Gianlorenzo Bernini was given the commission with the proviso that he produce a bust they found acceptable before they would name a price. They did not know which Bernini would complete the work so they left the first name space blank. If it were to be Gianlorenzo, they tried to keep the price as low as possible because he was a novice and not a professional (he was thirteen years old at the time). The final price was 50 scudi paid on 10 August 1612 to the distinguished sculptor Pietro Bernini (1562–1629), father to the son who was too young to accept direct payment. I tell this story at length because a certain group of scholars who have written on the subject in the intervening years, have failed to take the documents, their orthography, and their historical implications, into consideration. They have, in fact, dismissed all documents, anecdotes, stories, and reports of Gianlorenzo's youthful prodigious abilities. On this account, M. A. Lavin has prepared an Appendix which includes a chronological list, charting the sculptures produced during Gianlorenzo's career through 1619, according to the objects, their dates (insofar as they are known), and Gianlorenzo's age at the time or the proposed time of production. The list is preceded by information concerning the statutes of the marble workers guild. It is followed by copies of pertinent documents that have often been ignored or otherwise suppressed in efforts to discredit most biographies and traditional accounts. The comparative chart shows that Gianlorenzo worked as a *novizio* or legal novice, for about six years, with his father signing for his pay, before coming of age and receiving his first direct payment, on 5 Dec. 1618, two days before his twentieth birthday.
- 4 Wille added 'that at the time of the mid-20th-century purchase, the bust still seemed to have papers describing legal difficulties of exporting the bust from Italy around 1860', Sotheby's, letter dated 17 Dec. 1984. To this point, see further below.
- 5 Mr Robert Isard, with whom I spoke several times, was extremely accommodating and very interested. However, he said he knew nothing about Bertram's purchase and/or the subsequent sale after his death; only that he heard his aunt say that she remembered the piece and had some data but did not want to share her records or talk to any strangers; email letter, 17 Jan. 2015.
- 6 In the Aldobrandini Chapel, Sta Maria sopra Minerva; the bust attributed to Ippolito Buzio, 1604, wears this costume, beautifully described by A. Angelini, *La Scultura del Seicento a Roma*, Milan, 2005, pl. 5: 'faretto di cuoio tagliato e cucito all'altezza della spalla, per favorire l'ampiezza del movimento, con il mantello informalmente gettato sulla spalla sinistra' [a leather jerkin, cut and sewn at the height of the shoulder, to allow for the amplitude of movement, with the cloak informally thrown over the left shoulder]. Antonio Cepparelli, whose profession is not known, wears the same outfit in Gianlorenzo Bernini's 1622 bust [Fig. 5].
- 7 As was the case with the Coppola bust in 1967.
- 8 See below for speculation on the bust's interim whereabouts.
- 9 For notes on Fedeli (or Fidele), see D. Di Castro, 'Tommaso Fedeli, virtuoso del porfido', *Antologia di Belle Arti*, nos 43–47, 1993, pp. 150–157. I thank Stefano Pierguidi for this reference. Nicolas Cordier (1567–1612), the Frenchman who worked in the Aldobrandini Chapel in Sta Maria sopra Minerva and to whom the bust in Fig. 4 is often attributed, did his own carving of hard colored marbles; S. Pressouyre, *Nicolas Cordier: recherches sur la sculpture à Rome autour de 1600*, 2 vols, Rome, 1984, *passim*.
- 10 *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 109, no. 773, 1967, pp. 436–443.
- 11 See: N. Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio: Giureconsulto Romano (1544–1618)* (Collana della Fondazione Marco Besso, 18), Rome, 1999, from which most of the biographical information presented here is gleaned. For summations and descriptions of Farinacci's writings see Del Re, pp. 89–91. Examples are: *Prosperi Farinacii iurisconsulti Romani, Praxis, et theoricæ criminalis partis primæ tomus primus secundus [...]* *Carcerum, carceratorum, indiciorum, ac torturae materiam in duos titulos distributam... desumpti fuerunt; Consilia sive responsa atque decisiones causarum criminalium. Summariis & argumentis vniciuique consilio & decisioni adiectis, ac indice rerum & sententiarum locupletissimo; Questionum et communium opinionum criminalium*. His works had frequent editions, which were printed primarily in Venice.

- 12 These events are documented by Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, pp. 22–23, and Docs III–IV, and ‘Minuta del breve assolutorio di Clemente VIII in favore di Prospero Farinacci [...] 7 agosto 1596’, Doc. VII, pp. 115–118.
- 13 Farinacci himself reports at length on the Cenci affair, and the famous *Anonymous Narrative* that purports to be an eyewitness account, published in 1837 by Stendahl, reflects public opinion of the time. (I will return to the Stendahl publication below.) F. Cordero, *Criminalia. Nascita dei sistemi penali*, Rome and Bari, 1985, pp. 111–403, analyzes at length Farinacci’s report in relation to the *Anonymous* text. Two unfavorable accounts of Farinacci are in A. Bertolotti, *Francesco Cenci e la sua famiglia: studi storici*, 2nd edn, Florence, 1879, and C. Ricci, *Beatrice Cenci*, 2 vols, trans. by M. Bishop and H. L. Stuart, New York, 1925. It appears that Ricci’s negative attitude was based on his deeply religious disapproval of the purported homosexuality of Farinacci. Truth be told, accusations of sodomy were frequently used to enhance enmity and slander against individuals throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Leonardo was so accused for this reason), and as often as not, the accusations had little to do with reality. Nevertheless, the early 21st century Gay community has taken Farinacci as a hero; see: <<http://www.giovanidallorto.com/biografie/farinacci/farinacci.html>> (accessed on 28 July 2017). See also *Beatrice Cenci: la storia, il mito*, ed. by M. Bevilacqua and E. Mori, Rome, 1999, an exhibition that gathered together much pertinent visual material on the subject.
- 14 Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, pp. 65f.
- 15 *Il Cavaliere d’Arpino*, ed. by H. Röttgen, exh. cat., Rome, 1973, pp. 45–46, 118–119; *Il Genio di Roma: 1592–1623*, ed. by B. Brown, Rome, 2001, pp. 142–145 (entry by C. Whitfield).
- 16 *Il Cavaliere d’Arpino: Un grande pittore nello splendor della fama e nell’incostanza della fortuna*, ed. by H. Röttgen, exh. cat., Rome, 2002, pp. 132–133, 382–383. Röttgen reads the note tacked on the back wall above the sitter’s head as: *Al Fiscale che sta da N. Sig.re à hore 20*, which he interprets as a prayer to Farinacci to defend him (d’Arpino) well when he (Farinacci) solicits the pope on the artist’s behalf. Röttgen suggests it represents a note written by d’Arpino from prison, one night at the hour of 20, pointing out how it is emphasized by its prominent placement in the painting.
- 17 A. Cirinei, ‘Conflitti artistici, rivalità cardinalizie e patronage a Roma fra Cinque e Seicento: Il caso del processo criminale contro il Cavalier d’Arpino’, in *La nobiltà romana in età moderna: Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali*, ed. by M. A. Visceglia, Rome, 2001, pp. 255–305, esp. 255–261. The painting is not mentioned in the list of works confiscated from d’Arpino: see A. De Rinaldis, ‘Le opera d’arte sequestrate al Cavalier d’Arpino’, *Archivi d’Italia*, 3, 1936, pp. 10–18, and therefore was already in the possession of Farinacci.
- 18 ‘di notte [...] con un saccho nero senza pompa alcuna’ in the church of Sant’Apollinare. See Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, p. 63 n. 26: Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Notari A.C., Testamenti, vol. 62, fol. 48. Much of the data concerning Farinaccio’s testaments and death are scattered through Del Re’s biography, e.g. pp. 8, 41–42, 62–64, 131–146, and Appendix XII.
- 19 After Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, p. 42 n. 12: ASR, Notari A.C., Testamenti, vol. 62, fols 48 and 51. Also in Sta Maria in Trastevere is the important Altemps Chapel. Prospero lived in his natal house with three of his siblings: Julia, Egidio, and another brother, Marcantonio, who was also a lawyer. Another sister, Francesca, was a nun in the Franciscan convent of Santa Margherita della Scala in Trastevere; Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, p. 42 n. 13.
- 20 After Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, p. 131 n. 7: Arch. Vat., Sec. Brev. 443, fols 369–370, 373.
- 21 The subsequent wills are:
 No. 4) 1 January 1615; does not survive but is mentioned in No. 5.
 No. 5) 3 February 1616 (ASR Miscellanea della Soprintendenza, Fascicolo 13, Busta 7, fols 1–13), which mentions No. 4 and No. 3, in that order. Having changed heirs in two earlier testaments, Farinacci now and forever after designates his son Ludovico as his universal heir.
 No. 6) 21 May 1617 (ASR Miscellanea della Soprintendenza, Fascicolo 13, Busta 7, fols 23–31), which mentions No. 5 and No. 3. An inventory of household appurtenances includes mention of the d’Arpino portrait, portraits of Card. Altemps and Card. Borghese, and a Madonna and Child. Farinacci’s handwriting on this testament and the following shows severe impairment.
 No. 7) 1 October 1618 (reproduced by Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, Appendix XII, pp. 131–144), the final will, which mentions No. 3. The inventory gives specific and firm orders that the portrait (by d’Arpino) of himself shall never be sold. It also repeats rules forbidding Ludovico ever to see Cleria, his mother; if she should try to enter Rome, he must see that she is again expelled or locked in a convent.
- 22 Minor amendments and signatures in Farinacci’s own hand can be seen in the 1617 testament, wavering and reduced to illegibility by his illness. For the discovery of this testament, see Cirinei, ‘Conflitti artistici’, p. 297. Before this date Farinacci had moved to rooms in the Palazzo Manfroni on the Via del Corso, which he rented for the rest of his life; see R. Carloni, *Palazzo Bernini al Corso. Dai Manfroni ai Bernini, storia del palazzo dal XVI al XX secolo e della raccolta di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, Rome, 2014, pp. 23, 32 n. 39.
- 23 Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, Appendix XII, p. 132: ‘meum cadaver sepe-
 liri volo in ecclesia S. Silvestri in Monte Quirinali in sepultura a me in dic-
 ta ecclesia constructa quod cadaver meum de nocte, et sine pompo de-
 ferri mando, cum inscriptione sepulturae cum his verbis videlicet: Ossa
 Prosperi Farinacij luris consulti Romani qui natus die prima Novembris
 1544. Obijt die [...]’ (p. 132). Del Re notes that the dates reported in the
 contemporary sources do not exactly correspond to those recorded in
 the inscription, transcribed in V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d’altri
 edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols, Rome, 1869–
 1884, vol. IV, 49, no. 118:
 O SSA
 PROSPERI FARINACII • I.C. ROMANI
 NATVS DIE XXX OCTOBRIS MDXLIII
 OBIT IPSO DIE OBEVNTIS ANNI MDC XVIII
- 24 San Silvestro, an eleventh-century foundation on the Via Pia, was entrusted to the Theatine order in 1555 by Pius IV. It retained its primary function as the home of the order’s novitiates when, in 1590, ground was broken for what would become the order’s general seat at Sant’Andrea della Valle, a much larger establishment. As a teaching institution, the Quirinale monastery was and remained a center of learning for scholars studying classical languages. Growth of an impressive library, instituted by Cardinal Carafa before he was pope, was a parallel development. See L. Mezzandri, *S. Silvestro al Quirinale: Arte Storia e Spiritualità*, Rome, 2017, pp. 15–17. We give heartfelt thanks to Padre Luigi Mezzandri, Rector of San Silvestro, for generously sending us the proof of his soon-to-be published monograph on the church, and for his praiseworthy work in revitalizing the spiritual and physical life of this important monument. The church took on great importance when, in 1592, the popes began using the nearby Quirinal Palace ceremonially and as a residence.

- 25 A. F. Vezzosi, *I scrittori de' Chierici regolari detti Teatini*, vol. I, Rome, 1780, pp. 391–397, cited in Del Re, who discusses this point in *Prospero Farinaccio*, p. 63. See also the detailed entry by F. Crucitti on Ghislieri in <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-ghislieri_(Dizionario-Biografico)/> (accessed on 28 July 2017); also A. Mazzacane, 'Farinacci, Prospero', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XXXV, 1995, pp. 1–5.
- 26 The library, known as the *Biblioteca sancti Silvestri*, was already notable. Ghislieri, when he became the full-time librarian, continued this development, buying 140 works of Latin and Greek authors, at the cost of the significant sum of 426 *scudi*, amassed from the sale of his own well-received publication *Commentarii in Canticum Cantorum Salomonis*.
- 27 'R.D. Michaeli Ghislerio Presbytero in dieta Ecclesia S. Silvestri relinquo iure legati scuta centum moneta eidem solvenda una vice tantum ad effectum che Sua Rev.a possi far ricopiare un opera che vuol far stampare'; a passage from Farinacci's 1618 will, Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, Doc. XII, p. 135.
- 28 Murzio Quarta and Melchiorre Cremona assisted Fontana; see G. Iole, *Prima di Bernini: Giovanni Battista Della Porta scultore (1542–1597)*, Rome, 2016, pp. 92–94, Fig. 96.
- 29 Giovanni Della Porta died in 1606 and Domenico Fontana died a year later, in 1607.
- 30 Another example of jurists' red bib is seen in the tomb portrait of Girolamo Gabriello, d. 1587, in Santa Maria sopra Minerva; A. Grisebach, *Römische Porträtbüsten der Gegenreformation*, Leipzig, 1936, No. 55, p. 138.
- 31 The author of this impressively robust portrait remains unknown. D. Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli: Bildhauer zwischen Neapel und Rom*, Frankfurt am Main and New York, 1997, pp. 14–15, Fig. 7 makes the far-fetched suggestion that the author is Finelli and dates it c. 1622.
- 32 In spite of prohibition of the sale of any of Farinacci's property, furniture and books were sold six months after his death for a total of 825 *scudi*. After payment of debts and expenses, Ludovico received 169 *scudi* to call his own; Del Re, *Prospero Farinaccio*, p. 141.
- 33 In addition, Ghislieri was a member of a very well-to-do converted Jewish family and probably could have easily financed such a commission outright.
The library was rich enough to have been pilfered by the famous bibliophile Cardinal Domenico Passionei (1682–1761) who added many of the books, primarily those in Greek and Latin, to his own collection (which became the basis for the Biblioteca Angelica). See E. Sciarra, *Breve storia del fondo manoscritto della Biblioteca Angelica*, Rome, after 2008, *passim*. Further bibliography on the subject includes: M. Vernier, *The Libraries of the Suppressed Religious Houses, Rome, 1876*, Rome, 2008. Venier describes how the libraries of the suppressed religious houses were confiscated for the benefit of the newly created National Central Library (1876). Her entry for San Silvestro al Quirinale on the last page of her Appendix reads: 'A.C. 9 (XIX cent.) Ex.; a.c. S. Silvestro al Quirinal, Congregazione della Missione (Lazaristi), 2,471*' (number of volumes delivered to the National Library).
- 34 Lavin, 'Five Early Works', p. 224 and Doc. 6.
- 35 This dating would add the bust to a very busy time in Pietro Bernini's studio which included his son Gianlorenzo as part of the cadre. In the period 1616–1619 no less than seventeen works have been cited as completed or in progress of which only six are documented or partially documented (see Appendix for a list of works during this time). As Gianlorenzo was born on 7 Dec. 1598, during most of 1616 he was 17 years old and did not turn 20 until December 1618. The disbelief surrounding stories of his childhood and prodigious youth persist, becoming ever more dispiriting as time goes on. Librarian and self-publisher Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma Vista da Roma*, Rome, 1967, pp. 89–106, 176–177, 432–438, began the movement with a chapter entitled 'L'Automitografia di Gian Lorenzo Bernini', in which he accused the two major biographers, Filippo Baldinucci (1624–1696; *Vita del Gio: Lorenzo Bernino scultore, architetto, e pittore*, Florence, 1682) and Domenico Bernini (1657–1723; Gianlorenzo's son, *Vita del Cav. Giovanni Lorenzo Bernino*, Rome, 1713), of simply mouthing the fantastical words of the egomaniacal octogenarian artist. More will be said of this author's methodology below in the Appendix. D'Onofrio was followed, with some arrogance, by A. Nava Cellini, *La Scultura del Seicento*, Turin, 1982, pp. 30–32, who asked, 'Chi volesse dare ancora affidamento alla vita di Gianlorenzo scritta dal figlio Domenico, fautore principale, forse con la complicità paterna, della favola del fanciullo prodigio' [Who would still give credence to the life of Gianlorenzo written by his son Domenico, his principal supporter, perhaps with paternal complicity, of the fable of the prodigious little boy]. S. Schütze, 'Satiro molestato da putti', in *Bernini scultore: la nascita del barocco in casa Borghese*, ed. by A. Coliva and S. Schütze, Rome, 1998, p. 84, says: 'La datazione eccessivamente precoce delle prime opere, proposta da Domenico Bernini e Baldinucci, viene così smascherata, ancora una volta, come una sottile invenzione dello stesso Bernini, che mirava a sottolineare la precocità del proprio genio' [The excessively precocious dating of the first works, proposed by Domenico Bernini and Baldinucci, are thus once again unmasked as a subtle invention of Bernini himself, who tries to underline the precociousness of his own genius]. (See again the Appendix for further remarks on Schütze). And F. Mormando, *Bernini: His Life and His Rome*, Chicago, 2011, p. 7, who purports to have an inside line in knowing what is true and what is false in the sources (i.e. Baldinucci, Domenico Bernini, and Chantelou), says for example 'Domenico's work in large part created the enduring "Bernini myth" [...] [involving] mythologizing untruths or exaggerations [...]'.
To counter this chorus of disparagement I draw on the words of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII and Gianlorenzo's greatest patron under whose aegis Bernini transformed the face of Rome. In 1618, Maffeo, considering the young man's great success, regarded him as the successor of Michelangelo, capable of completing an unfinished work by the great master: 'Rome, 12 October 1618: Mi disse una volta S.^r Caval.^r Passignani che al Sr Michelangelo Buonaroti restava qui verso il Palazzo d'Aless.^{no}: una statua cominc^{ta} già da Michelangelo, et che ne Sarebbe fatto fuori, Se si puo haver p. buon mercato sotto mano col mezo del med^{no} Passig:^{no} la piglierei p.che il fig.^{lo} del Bernino che fa gr̃ riusc.^{ta} la p.fetionerebbe' [The Cavaliere Passignano once told me that Michelangelo Buonaroti (Jr.) still possessed here, toward the Palazzo d'Alessandrino, a statue begun by Michelangelo, and that he might be parted from it. If it can be obtained cheaply through Passignano, I would take it because the son of Bernini, who is having a great success, would finish it], Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Barb. Lat. 10078, Letters from Card. Maffeo to his brother, Carlo Barberini (then in Florence), 1618–1622, fol. 75^v. See C. Mallarmé, *L'ultima tragedia di Michelangelo*, Rome, 1929, p. 80. At this time Gianlorenzo was 19.
- 36 ASR, Ministero dei lavori pubblici, industria, agricoltura, commercio e belle arti, Sezione 5, Titolo 1, Articolo 5b, Esportazioni di oggetti d'arte, Busta 415, N. 30: Ministero del Commercio e Lavori Pubblici, anno 1857, Numero del Protocollo 7841:

14 Luglio 1857;

Si risponde ad foglio; dei 29 giugno 1857

(bottom) sig.re A. Ardisson, Vice Console di America, palazzo Braschi, con permesso di estrazione

Il sott.o Ministro del Commercio e Lavori Pubblici riscontrando il pregiatissimo foglio della s. V. Ilma dei 29 Giugno le acclude il permesso per la estrazione degli oggetti di arte in marmo e in tela domandato da s. E. Il sig. re Ministro di America. E con distintissima stima e considerazione ha l'onore di offerirsi [signed, illegible]

Fol. 1^r

Roma li 29 giugno 1857

Consolato degli Stati Uniti di America

A sua eccellenza r.ma,

Monsignor Milesi, Ministro del Commercio, Belle Arti ec. ec. ec.

L'Onorevole Sig.r L. Cass, Ministro di America, impedito, presso la s. Sede, in combenza il sottoscritto vice Console, a rivolgersi a Sua Eccellenza r.ma Monsignor Milesi, Ministro del Commercio, Agricoltura, Belle Arti, ec. Ec. Ec. Per pregarla di avere la bontà di permettere ai s.s. Assessori delle Belle Arti, Pittura e Scultura di recarsi al palazzo Braschi, per esaminare alcuni oggetti in marmo ed in tela i quali devono essere esportati à l'estero.

Lo scrivente nell'anticipare a Sua Eccellenza r.ma i suoi ringraziamenti, si dà l'ónore di confermarci

Di sua eccellenza r.ma.

Il.mo Obbl.mo ed Ob.mo Servo

Ardisson, Vice Con.le

Addi 4 Luglio 1857:

N.o.

1. S. Agnese al. P. 30 lon. P. 2.0.9 sc 30

2. Marina col sacrificio della messa celebrato sulla rive del mare per la partenza di colombo al. P. 4.0.3 lo. P. 6 sc 30

3. La Natività di s. Giovanni al. P. 8 lon. P. 5.0.5 sc 10

4. la Vergine addolorata di p. 3.0.3 lon. P. 2.0.9 ovale sc 3

Totale scudi 73

Io sott. H[av]e visitato gli sud.i quattro quadri antichi, che stima scudi settanta tre, ho visitato ancora un quadro moderno, quale valuto scudi venticinque, per le quali pittura si può accordare il richiesto permesso

No. di Antichi 73 e mod.i 25

L'Ass.re della pittura I. Fioroni Pit.e

A di 11 luglio 1857

Un gruppo di marmo moderno di grandezza naturale rappres.a venere ed Amore –

Statua di marmo idem rapp.a amore sedente –

La copia in marmo della venere de medici di grandezza naturale –

Rocchie di colonne con base di marmo bianco –

Un sgabello impellicciato di marmo colorato –

Undici tondi di marmo con teste in bassorilievo di rosso

Tavola di bardiglio con mosaico

No. 13 busti di marmo, otto, (fol. 1^a), dei quale copie moderne, e cinque, con teste moderne sopra busti di alabastro e marmi colorati –

Una tavola di marmo porto venere alta pal. 2 1/2 per 2 –

Due tondi di marmo con teste di bassorilievo antichi –

Una testa dei Nerone in bassorilievo in marmo nero antica di pessime sculture –

Due cofanetti antichi con figurine in avorio –

Tavola di mosaico antico ordinario lunga pal. 8 per 4 –

Cassa di legno antica con bassorilievi ed uno sgrigno intarsiato di avorj –

Molti altri mobili antichi di niun valora per l'arte, ed alcuni piccoli ogetti in marmi colorati di lavoro moderno –

I sudetti descritti ogetti stimo i moderni scudi duemila Quattro cento 2,474 settanta Quattro, e l'antico in scudi duecento trenta due (232)= e per i quale si puole accordare il richiesto permesso di estrazione

antico 232

moderno 2474

===l'assessore della scultura ,

Assess.e Mast.o Laboureur,

Adi 13 Luglio 1857

In vista della relazione del mio assessore della Pitt.a, e Scultura non vi è difficoltà in contrario

Il Commissario delle Antichità, P. E. Visconteo

37 I did ultimately find him, as we shall see.

38 M. Cardinali, M. B. De Ruggieri, G. Leone, W. Prohaska, M. Alfeld, K. Janssens, 'The Rediscovered Portrait of Prospero Farinacci by Caravaggio', *Artibus et Historiae*, 73, 2016, pp. 249–283. We thank these authors for very kindly allowing us to reproduce their images in our Figs 23 and 25.

39 Fig. 25, a Macro X-Ray Fluorescence image (MA-XRF).

40 G. Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla Pittura*, 2 vols, Rome, 1956, vol. I, pp. 115–116, 162–163, vol. II, pp. 63–64.

41 We should remember that the proposed date of the Caravaggio portrait is near the time Farinacci stood under accusation and would coincide with Pope Clement's punning 'barzelletta' when questioned about the absolution he gave, saying that the jurist was 'good flour [farina] in a bad sack'. 'Farina ista bona est; vel pollis est potius; sed non saccus cui ille includitur bonus est, sed foedus ac turpis' [The flour is good, though pollin is better; but not the sack in which that good is enclosed, but filthy and ugly] (G. V. Rossi, *Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium doctrinae vel ingenii laude virorum*, Lipsiae 1712, p. 239).

42 *Stato, Chiesa e nazione in Italia: contributi sul Risorgimento italiano*, ed. by A. Carteny, S. Pelaggi, Rome, 2016. The goals of the Risorgimento were achieved on 20 September 1870, Italy was unified, and the Kingdom of Italy established.

43 Sir Charles Eastlake (1793–1865), Keeper of the National Gallery, London in the 1830s and '40s, reports on his many purchases for the gallery of Italian ecclesiastical and monastic paintings; see D. Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, Princeton, 1978.

44 Founded in 1625 in France by St Vincent de Paul, and established in Rome by 1639; by the end of the eighteenth century, the Lazarists had twelve houses in Italy. They had a long and complicated relationship with Napoleon before coming to an agreement. See J. W. Carven, CM, *Napoleon and the Lazarists*, The Hague, 1974.

45 All the new plans were carried out during the reign of Pope Pius IX, the longest reigning pope in the history of the church (1846–1878). The area that went under reconstruction was the region known as 'I Monti', bounded by what became the Piazza di Risorgimento at the Baths of Diocletian, down the Via Cavour to the Via Trionfale, and at a different angle, all the way down what became the Via Nazionale to the Largo Magnanapoli and up what is now the Via XXIV Maggio, to the Piazza Quirinale (or Monte Cavallo).

46 The convent was sequestered by the government in 1873 and, while the Lazarists were allowed to remain in a curtailed space, the church was used as a barracks for soldiers during the work of rebuilding. The long-established architectural firm of Busiri Vici, with the son Andrea in charge, designed and built the new staircase and façade (1871–1877).

The name of the street was changed from the Via Pia to the Venti-Quattro Maggio, the day in 1914 when Italy entered World War I.

- 47 Something of the same sort must have occurred with the Cavaliere d'Arpino's *Portrait of Farinacci*. As we have said, the painting was willed to Ludovico Farinacci with the proscription it should never be sold. Ludovico lived in the monastery of San Silvestro al Quirinale and the painting must have been taken in there and kept as a treasure. Three hundred years later, in 1905, it was discovered in the window of an auction house on the Corso Umberto by Romolo Artioli, who inspected it, had it cleaned, and saw that it was put up for sale: R. Artioli, 'La verità su Beatrice Cenci e la scoperta del ritratto del suo difensore', *L'Italia Moderna*, 3, 1905, no. 28. It was bought by the Comune di Roma and hung in museum in the Castel Sant'Angelo (now Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo), Rome, Room 21, where it is still to be seen today.
- In the same room is an interesting seventeenth-century bust [Fig. 26], sold to the Comune by the twentieth-century antiquarian-dealer Baron Michele Lazzaroni as a portrait of Prospero Farinacci. However, the sitter bears no resemblance to the Caravaggio, the tomb bust, the d'Arpino painting, or our sculpture. The sculptor, until now, is unknown. Meanwhile I have a suggestion for the sitter's identity: Alessandro Rondinini (d. 1639), a well-known Roman intellectual, botanist, art and antiques collector. A commemorative marble portrait bust of this gentleman [Fig. 27] by Domenico Guidi, was commissioned by his wife, Felice Zacchia (d. 1667), along with busts of other members of the family, now dated by various scholars as after 1654 and before 1667; see U. Schlegel, 'Il ritratto di Felice Zacchia Rondinini di Domenico Guidi', *Antologia di Belle Arti*, 1, 1977, 1, pp. 26–28; *Il Conoscitore d'arte. Sculture dal XV al XIX secolo della collezione di Federico Zeri*, ed. by A. Bacchi, Milan, 1989, no. 11, pp. 36–37; M. G. Barberini and C. Giometti, 'Domenico Guidi e il monumento funebre per i cardinali Zacchia e Rondinini: un capolavoro ritrovato', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 2008, no. 145, pp. 115–120, and L. Lorizzo, 'Alessandro Rondinini e Felice Zacchia. Collezionismo e cultura eterodossa nella Roma del primo Seicento', *Storia dell'Arte*, 2015, 1, pp. 53–72. The bust, given to Bergamo by Federico Zeri, is mounted on a base, inscribed with the name of Cardinal Paolo Amelio Zacchia, and the date 1609 which was incorrectly added at a later date. The Rondinini bust and the bust in the Castel Sant'Angelo seem to me deeply related physiognomically by the shape of the cranium, forehead and cheek bones, style of the mustache and goatee, and folds of the chin. Even the fashion of the collars is similar, with the later, more idealized version lifted in a tour de force of undercutting and chiseling. Among the documents of Alessandro published by Lorizzo (p. 67) is the following: '[...] a di 22 detto [febbraio, 1632] pagati a Mattheo Benvicelli [sic per Bonarelli?] per una testa di marmo – scudi 25 [...]', of which the author says: 'non sappiamo se acquistata o eseguita ex novo'. Bonarelli was a sculptor on Rondinini's payroll (mostly for restoring antiques), a member of Gianlorenzo Bernini's workshop, and husband of the famous Costanza, Bernini's mistress. With trepidation, I suggest that Matteo might be the author of the Castel Sant'Angelo bust, which could have served as a model for the Bergamo memorial.
- 48 Percy Bysshe Shelley's verse drama *The Cenci: A Tragedy in Five Acts* was composed during a visit to Rome and Villa Valsovano near Livorno, May – August, 1819. It was published by C. & J. Ollier, London, 1820. As mentioned above, Stendhal also became fascinated by the Cenci story, particularly after he found one of the several manuscripts of the Anonymous Narrative in Rome, this one titled *Relazione della Giustizia sequita in Roma in giorno di Sabato 11 Settembre 1599 sotto il Pontificato di Clemente Octavo, nelle persone di Giacomo, e Beatrice Cenci, e di Lucrezia Petroni Cenci Loro Madrigna Paricidi*, and dated 14 September 1599. He translated it into French and with a brief commentary, in which he says he also read Farinacci's own account, had it published unsigned in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1837. Two years later it appeared as a book. The modern edition is in *Stendhal: Romans et Nouvelles*, ed. by H. Martineau, Paris, 1984, vol. II, p. 543 and pp. 678–709.
- 49 The document is reproduced above, note 36. It should be emphasized that there was no difficulty in exporting the bust from Italy; on the contrary, since the objects were assessed at relatively low value, the officials gave their permission with flourishes of politesse.
- 50 'There are in the rooms I occupy sundry works of art belonging to my son, which he will take on my decease', *Detroit Free Press* (1858–1922), 1 July 1866, p. 1.
- 51 *The Detroit Museum of Art, Annual Report, 1901*, Detroit, 1901, p. 7. This paragraph mistakenly refers to the owner as *General* Cass, without mentioning Lewis Cass, Jr. Incidentally, General Cass, who had been an ambassador in Paris in the 1830s, also collected art, but which objects mentioned in his will or in the museum list were his personally (and not his son's) is not indicated.
- 52 Int-GP2127-1002.jpg Detroit Museum of Art, Interior. Baldwin Collection, c. 1902. Copyright Detroit Institute of Arts, Collections of the Research Library & Archives.
- 53 *A Hand Book to the Detroit Museum of Art, a Brief History of the Detroit Museum of Art and its Collections*, Detroit, 1902, p. 20. The collection was officially accessioned in 1902, and identified with painted inventory numbers. In red paint on the back of Farinacci's base is the number 02–11, being the accession year and the number 11 out of a list of 31 objects.
- 54 Handwritten three-page list on Mrs Baldwin's private stationery; Baldwin Collection, c. 1902. Henry P. Baldwin File. Dealer/Donor Files. Registration Department. Detroit Institute of Arts. Detroit, MI. Copyright Detroit Institute of Arts, Collections of the Research Library & Archives.
- 55 'Valuable Collection: Baldwin Marbles are Being Placed in Art Museum', *The Detroit Free Press*, 6 February 1902, p. 1.
- 56 ASR, Ministero dei lavori pubblici, industria, agricoltura, commercio e belle arti, Sezione 5, Titolo 1, Articolo 5b, Esportazioni di oggetti d'arte, Busta 415, N. 30.
- 57 This idea was stimulated by a remark of Mr Wille (letter, 17 December 1984), stating that the marble portrait (at the time of its purchase) 'still seemed to have papers describing the legal difficulties of exporting this bust from Italy [...]'. These papers must have been Ambassador Cass's copies of the export license reproduced in note 36 above, which were mistakenly interpreted by all the heirs (who, judging by Sibyle's spelling errors, perhaps did not read Italian). Another example that Sibyle cites in quotation marks is a marble 'Psyche and Cupid', said to have been bought from the 'Prince of Canino', i.e. Lucien Bonaparte (d. 1840), the brother of Napoleon. Other 'find spots' for sculptures quoted by Sibyle and the newspaper were: 'in Ostia near the mouth of the Tiber'; 'Found in 1849 – in excavating near the Coliseum [sic] in Rome'; 'at the Bath of Diocletian', and so on. It should be noted that no 'find spots' are mentioned in the original certificate of export.
- 58 The building of the Detroit Institute of Art (DIA) at a new location had begun and many of the objects from the old building had been put into storage, including the Baldwin Collection. [*Arts Commission Meeting Minutes*, 3 April 1924. Research Library & Archives. Detroit Institute of

- Arts. Detroit, MI; Sibyle A. Baldwin to Armand H. Griffith, 25 January 1902. Henry P. Baldwin File. Dealer/Donor Files. Registration Department. Detroit Institute of Arts. Detroit, MI; Armand H. Griffith to Frederick E. Driggs, 4 February 1902. Henry P. Baldwin File. Dealer/Donor Files. Registration Department. Detroit Institute of Arts. Detroit, MI].
- 59 See P. Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, ed. by A. Blunt, annot. by G. C. Bauer, trans. by M. Corbett, Princeton, 1985, introduction, where Blunt signaled his disapproval of the 'disbelief' stance.
- 60 Information in the Appendix depending on my earlier publications will be indicated as follows: Lavin A ['Five Youthful Sculptures', as in note 1, above]; Lavin B ['Bernini giovane', in *Bernini dai Borghese ai Barberini. La cultura a Roma intorno agli anni venti*, ed. by O. Bonfait and A. Coliva, Atti del convegno, Rome, 17–19 February 1999, Rome, 2004, pp. 134–148; revised English version: 'The Young Bernini', in *Studi sul Barocco romano. Scritti in onore di Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco*, Milan, 2004, pp. 39–56]; Lavin C ['The Young Bernini', in Lavin, *Visible Spirit*, vol. II, pp. 1127–1173]. These works may be consulted through: <<https://publications.ias.edu/il>>. See also M. A. Lavin, 'Adventures in the Barberini Archives', in *I Barberini e la Cultura Europea del Seicento*, ed. by L. M. Onori, et al., Rome, 2007, pp. 659–666, esp. pp. 664–665.
- 61 This information comes from the *Statuto della Compagnia dei SS. Quattro Coronati*, 1598, cc. 29^v–31^r. I give my deepest thanks to Elisa Camboni, Archivio Storico, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, for gaining access to this archive and making this material available to me. The standard literature on these institutions includes: A. M. Bessone Aureli, *I marmorari romani*, Milan, 1935; A. Martini, *Arti mestieri e fede nella Roma dei Papi* (Roma Cristiana, 13), Bologna, 1965, p. 49; A. Kolega, 'L'Archivio dell'Università dei Marmorari di Roma (1406–1957)', *Rassegna degli archive di Stato*, 52, 1992, no. 3, pp. 509–568; and M. Leonardo, 'Gli statuti dell'Università dei marmorari a Roma: scultori e scalpellini (1406–1575)', *Studi romani*, 45, 1997, pp. 269–300; I. Colucci, 'I Santi Quattro Coronati nelle vicende artistiche della Confraternità dei Marmorari', *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, n.s. 17, 2003, p. 167. See also the web site: <<http://sisa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?TipoPag=comparc&Chiave=207166>> (accessed on 4 Sept. 2017).
- For a discussion of the relationship between the Università dei Marmorari and the Accademia di San Luca, see P. M. Lukehart, 'The "Accademia dei Scultori" in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Rome', in *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture*, ed. by A. Colantuono and S. F. Ostrow, University Park, PA, 2014, pp. 21–40.
- 62 See above, IV, 3a, ii.
- 63 See S. Frascchetti, *Il Bernini: la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo*, Milan, 1900, pp. 102, 418; and *Statuto della Compagnia*, A[rchivio] M[armorari], Congregazioni e decreti, 68, c. 85^r; 68, c. 136^r; 69, c. 13^v; 69, cc. 34^r, etc.
- 64 I have also discussed this kind of obfuscation in relation to later works by Gianlorenzo Bernini, e.g.: 'Bernini's Baldachin: Considering a Reconsideration', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 21, 1984, pp. 405–414. Revised and reprinted in Lavin, *Visible Spirit*, vol. I, pp. 480–495; 'The Baldacchino. Borromini vs Bernini: Did Borromini forget himself?', in *St. Peter in Rom 1506–2006, Akten der internationalen Tagung 22.–25.02.2006 in Bonn*, ed. by G. Satzinger and S. Schütze, Munich, 2008, pp. 275–300, revised and reprinted in Lavin, *Visible Spirit*, vol. II, pp. 1336–1384.
- 65 *Bernini scultore. La nascita del Barocco in Casa Borghese*, exh. cat., Rome, 1998, pp. 83–84. In his comment on this document, while admitting that it does not confirm the attribution, the author says it does imply the date of creation. But later in the text, he says that 1617 is the date of the statue. In fact, since the document is a sales receipt, it does not record when or for whom the statue was created. It proves only that the statue was complete on that date.
- 66 BV, MS Barb. lat. 5638, 'Legatione del Card: Carlo Barberini al Rè di Spagna Filippo V'. L'Anno 1702', fol. 174, 'Notta delli regali fatti da s.e. nella Cita di Napoli in ochasione della sua Legatione al' Rè Filippo Quinto'. First given in Lavin A, p. 230.
- 67 A. Bulifon, *Giornale del Viaggio d'Italia dell' Invittissimo e gloriosissimo Monarca Filippo V. Re delle Spagne e di Napoli, etc.*, Naples, 1703, p. 171; first given in Lavin A, p. 229.
- 68 Same reference as in note 65, above.
- 69 See note 1, above.
- 70 The matter of Bernini's prodigious juvenile gift as a sculptor of portrait busts originated many years later in 1665 when he was in Paris to design a new Louvre and carve a bust of Louis XIV. A detailed diary of his visit was kept by his companion designated by the king, Chantelou *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, p. 260 reports a remark by Bernini during one of the sittings for the portrait: 'He said that at six years he had done a head in a bas-relief by his father, and at seven another'. Although no one in France would have recognized it, the reference can only be to the two reliefs of the Coronation of Clement VIII on his tomb in S. Maria Maggiore, the first, begun in January and finished in December 1611, is lost; the second begun in November 1612 and finished January 1614. The payments to Pietro for these works were first published by A. Muñoz, 'Il padre del Bernini. Pietro Bernini scultore (1562–1629)', *Vita d'arte*, 4, 1909, pp. 466–470, and re-edited by H.-U. Kessler, *Pietro Bernini (1526–1629)*, Munich, 2005, pp. 71, 178f., 322–325. Kat. A. 24, Figs 85, 92–93, Doc. Nos: 98, 111, 116–119. And the same story is repeated in the posthumous biographies of Bernini by his son Domenico, 1713, and by Filippo Baldinucci, 1682, commissioned by Bernini's friend Queen Christina of Sweden. All of these pronouncements have often been ridiculed as blatant self-promotion, although T. Montanari ('Chi perde vince': un 'Salvatore' di Gian Lorenzo e Pietro Bernini (1617–19 circa), *Prospettiva*, 2015, nos 157–158, pp. 176–191, cf. 178, 180), has repeated *expressis verbis* (without acknowledgement) an *obiter dictum* of mine that Bernini never, ever made portrait busts. In his fine discussion of the sculpture-painting nature of the Coronation relief, S. Ostrow ('Playing with the Paragone: The Reliefs of Pietro Bernini', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 57, 3, 2004, pp. 329–364) fails to note its most salient feature, that the portrait of the pope, unlike the willfully dramatized and distorted bystanders, looks like a solemn human being! This is no accident, but expresses the profound significance of the image in its context: the pope at his coronation becomes a new, elevated persona with a new name and supernal dignity as the successor to St Peter.
- The manifest age discrepancy, perhaps a self-serving exaggeration, possibly an involuntary memory lapse after half a century, recalls Bernini's acknowledgment of his failings toward the end of his life when he said he felt sure that the divine judge he will meet will not count half-pennies (Lavin B and Lavin C, p. 983).
- 71 I set forth this material for the first time in Lavin B, pp. 44–46.
- 72 F. Schottmüller, *Kaiser-Friedrich Museum. Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke der Renaissance und des Barock*, Berlin, 1933, p. 209.
- 73 O. Raggio, 'A New Bacchic Group by Bernini', *Apollo*, no. 108, 1978, pp. 406–417.

- 74 A notable exception is Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, who attended my presentation of this material at the Villa Medici (19 February 1999) and adopted my attribution to Pietro Bernini of the Sesto fountain and the related sculptures in the exhibition he subsequently organized with M. G. Bernardini: *Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Regista del barocco*, exh. cat., Rome, 1999, p. 18, fig. 33, n. 19. See also Kessler, *Pietro Bernini*, Kat. A5, pp. 30–31, 272–276, pls 23–27.
- 75 G. Ceci, 'Per la biografia degli artisti del XVI e XVII secolo. Nuovi documenti. II. Scultori', *Napoli nobilissima*, 15, 1906, p. 117.
- 76 P. Rotondi, 'L'educazione artistica di Pietro Bernini', *Capitolium*, 11, 1933, p. 397. The document cited by Rotondi is a later abstract from the original tax records, which I traced in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, and published in Lavin B, p. 20.
- 77 See Fig. 28 in Lavin C. The sculpture in Sesto is exactly the same size as that in Berlin, 138 cm high, and must have been copied from the original by the mechanical technique of pointing off.
- 78 M. Knuth, 'Eine Brunnen-Skulptur von Gian Lorenzo Bernini', *Bildende Kunst*, 4, 1989, p. 58; Knuth's attribution was followed by Schütze, *Bernini Scultore*, p. 58.
- 79 S. F. Ostrow, 'Giovanni Angelo Frumentì and his tomb in S. Maria Maggiore: a proposed new work by Gian Lorenzo Bernini', *Burlington Magazine*, 158, July, 2016, pp. 518–528, an exceptional piece of historical sleuthing. He cites a document of 1610 showing that Frumentì ordered the sled to drag Pietro Bernini's relief of the *Assumption* to its place over the altar in what is now the baptistery of Santa Maria Maggiore: ASR, Camerale I, Fabbriche, b. 1541, fasc. 1, fol. 291^v, 3 June 1610: 'Per lo strascino fatto p[er] ordine del sig.r Formento per portare l'istoria di marmo che hà fatto il Bernino dalla stantia del Palazzo vecchio portata nel Choro con doi tavolini di faggio', Ostrow, p. 522 n. 25.
- 80 Ostrow, 'Giovanni Angelo Frumentì', n. 1.
- 81 Many years later, Giuliano Finelli took up the motif in his Francesco Bracciolini bust, 66 cm, c. 1630, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, representing another kind of fur, but carving the shoulder garment twisted to show both sides of the pelt. See Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli*, pp. 88–91, Kat. A 39, Figs 84, 85.
- 82 S. Androsov, 'Unfinished Works of Gianlorenzo Bernini' [in Russian], *Iskusstvo*, 12, 1989, pp. 68–71 and *idem*, *The State Hermitage Museum. Italian Sculpture 17th 18th Centuries. Catalogue of the Collection*, St. Petersburg, 2014, no. 25, pp. 59–61 (in Russian). I offer special thanks to Dr Androsov for his generous and thoughtful help in providing me with copies of his important articles and for supplying the scans that are reproduced here. See also Kessler, *Pietro Bernini*, pp. 71, 178ff., 325–328. Kat. A. 25, Figs 99 and 100, who attributes the bust to Pietro Bernini and dates it to 1614–1618.
- 83 Ostrow, 'Giovanni Angelo Frumentì', p. 528.