Contents

Foreword i

I Review of Rudolf Wittkower, Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque 1

II Bernini and the Theater 15

III Bozzetti and Modelli. Notes on sculptural Procedure from the Early Renaissance through Bernini 33

IV Bernini and the Crossing of Saint Peter’s 62

V Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a revised Chronology of his Early Works 186

VI Bernini’s Death 287

VII Afterthoughts on “Bernini’s Death” 354

VIII Letter to the Editor on a review by Howard Hibbard of Bernini and the Crossing of St. Peter’s 371

IX Calculated Spontaneity. Bernini and the Terracotta Sketch 376

X On the Pedestal of Bernini’s Bust of the Savior 393

XI High and Low before their Time: Bernini and the Art of Social Satire 397
XII  Bernini’s Memorial Plaque for Carlo Barberini  
XIII  Bernini’s Baldachin: Considering a Reconsideration  
XIV  Bernini’s Bust of Cardinal Montalto  
XV  Bernini’s Cosmic Eagle  
XVI  Bernini’s Image of the Sun King
Afterthoughts on ‘Bernini’s Death’

In my essay on Bernini’s death (The Art Bulletin, LIV, 1972, 159–86) I published what I take to be Bernini’s last and long lost sculpture, the bust of the Savior in the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia (Figs. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9). Following the appearance of that article, Professor Eric Van Schaack of Goucher College signaled to me the existence, in the Cathedral at Sées (Orne) in Normandy, of what can almost certainly be identified as the lost copy of the Savior mentioned in a contemporary source (Figs. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10). Professor Van Schaack generously allowed me to publish this important discovery, which I present here together with some additional material that has come to my attention.

The copy was commissioned by the artist’s friend Pierre Cureau de la Chambre (1640–1693). Cureau, who was abbé of the royal palace church of Saint-Barthélemy in Paris, had met Bernini during the latter’s visit to that city in 1665. He accompanied Bernini on his return trip to Rome, and remained there a year, during which time he saw the artist frequently. Thereafter, their friendship continued in an exchange of letters that lasted

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throughout the remaining fifteen years of the artist’s life. In February, 1681, as soon as the news of Bernini’s death reached Paris, Cureau published in the Journal des Sçavans an Eloge de M. le Cavalier Bernin in which he mentions the bust, adding that ‘on verra bien-tost une belle Copie a saint Barthelemy.’ Cureau planned to write a biography of Bernini, of which the Preface was delivered as an address to the Academy on January 3, 1685, and was published separately along with a reprint of the Eloge. In the reference to the bust here, he notes that ‘nous avons icy une belle copie.’ Cureau in the end kept the sculpture not at Saint-Barthélemy but in his home, where he also had other works by Bernini, including a self-portrait (cf. Fig. 12) and a bust of Cureau’s father. Nothing more is known of Cureau’s copy, although two points concerning the phraseology of his remarks are worth making. The first is that the copy was clearly begun while Bernini was still alive, since Cureau says that he wrote his Eloge immediately upon receipt of the news of the artist’s death, at which time the copy was nearly finished.

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4 ‘Eloge . . . que je lis pour me consoler de sa perte à la premiere nouvelle qui nous vint de sa mort’ (Bernini died November 28, 1680), (Préface, 15).

5 Journal des Sçavans, February 24, 1681, 61.

6 Cited in note 3 above. For the date, see P. Bayle, Nouvelles de la république des lettres, January, 1685, in Œuvres diverses, 4 vols., The Hague, 1727–31, I, 201 f; also 362 f.

7 Page 24.

8 This emerges from a passage in C. Le Maire, Paris ancien et nouveau, 3 vols., Paris, 1685, I, 302–03: ‘La Maison où demeure Monsieur l’Abbé de la Chambre de l’Academie Française, est entre l’Hostel de Conty, & le Collège des quatre Nations . . . l’on trouve chez luy ce qu’il y a de plus rare à voir: entr’autres trois Busts en Marbre faits par le Chevalier Bernin. Le premier est le Bust du Chevalier Bernin mesme, fait à Rome peu de temps avant sa mort. Le second est un Bust du Christ; & l’autre est de Monsieur de la Chambre Père . . . & des modeles en Cire de quelques Statuës de Bernin . . .’ Cureau mentions the self-portrait in his Eloge of 1681: ‘. . . un buste de luy nouvellement arrivé icy, qui est parlant & comparable à tout ce qu’il y a de plus precieux & de plus achevé en ce genre-là’ (p. 62; it is presumably that which appears in the engraved vignette to Cureau’s Préface, by S. Leclerc [Fig. 12]).

Cf. Vanuxem, ‘Quelques témoignages’ (cited in note 2 above), 160, 162, 163 and Fig. 18.
Furthermore, there is nothing to prove that the copy was made in Italy and shipped to Paris, as has been assumed.  

Neither the authorship nor the provenance of the bust in Sées is recorded. As far as I can discover it appears only in the local literature on the Cathedral, where it is attributed vaguely to Caffieri and said to have been acquired by J.-B. Du Plessis d’Argentré (1720–1805). D’Argentré, who had been preceptor to the grandsons of Louis XIV, was bishop of Sées from 1775 until the Revolution; he was responsible for extensive alterations and embellishments to the Cathedral.

Let it be said at once that the Sées sculpture is effectively excluded as a candidate for the original by its size. Bernini’s Savior was recorded in an inventory of 1713 as being 103 cm. high (‘alto palmi di passetto 4 e due terzi’). The Norfolk bust is 93 cm. (92 cm. wide), that in Sées 74 cm. high (67 cm. wide). Anyone familiar with inventories of the period will realize that the former is a negligible discrepancy, whereas the latter is not.

The work is of fine quality, with neither the awkward proportions and strained pose, nor the uneven handling of the Norfolk sculpture. The surfaces of skin and drapery are polished to a uniform luster and the hair and beard are treated as a regular system of striated masses, in contrast to the lacy drill work and sharp penetrations of the marble that form the locks of the Norfolk head. Consistent with these differences are the facts that the large fold of drapery at the center is attached to the back of the right hand, and that marble struts join the fingers; in the Norfolk bust all these forms are carved free. In sum, the Sées sculpture is careful and unadventurous.

9 This assumption evidently originated in a misleading phrase of S. S. Ludovici (‘una copia della statua era pervenuta in Francia’), who first called attention to the passage in Cureau’s Eloge in the Journal des Sçavans (ed. of F. Baldinucci, Vita di Gianlorenzo Bernini, Milan, 1948, 259).

10 I am greatly indebted to the Curé Flament, archivist of the Cathedral, who searched, in vain, for documentation concerning the bust, and provided the references given in the following note.


13 A large section at the left elbow has been broken off and reattached; condition otherwise excellent.
   Norfolk, Va., Chrysler Museum
   (photo: R. Thornton, Providence, R.I.).
2. Copy after Bernini, *Bust of the Savior*.
Sées, Cathedral
(photo: Piels, Sées).


12. S. Leclerc, Frontispiece to P. Cureau de la Chambre, Preface . . . (1685), engraving.
— exactly what one would expect from an able copyist; that in Norfolk isold and challenging — exactly what one would expect from the aged
Bernini.

In view of these considerations the Séès bust acquires an altogether
unexpected interest, since it is in many respects closer to the autograph
Corsini drawing (Fig. 11) than the Norfolk piece. The palm of the right
hand is not turned outward in an ambiguous gesture of abhorrence and
protection, but has the straightforward suggestion of benediction implied
in the drawing. The head and glance are not upward, but the head looks
directly to the side; the arrangement of hair and beard generally corresponds
more accurately with the drawing. To be sure, there are certain details in
which the Norfolk bust is closer: the locks falling on the right shoulder from
fluffy, clockwise spirals, whereas at Séès they turn back in tight, counter-
clockwise curls; the silhouette of the drapery at the Norfolk figure’s left is
also more like that in the sketch. Nevertheless, the Séès sculpture evidently
represents the conception shown in the Corsini drawing, whereas that in
Norfolk is a further development.

There is a simple and obvious explanation for this remarkable state of
affairs, the clue to which is provided by the inscription on the drawing. The
inscription — ‘chez S. A. M. le Duc de Bracciano’ — refers to the bust and
indicates that it belongs to the Duke of Bracciano (Livio Odescalchi, who
inherited the work from Innocent XI, became Duke of Bracciano in 1696).
The inscription is in French, whence it is apparent that the drawing was
then in a French collection.14 In fact, Cardinal Neri Maria Corsini
(1685–1770), the great amateur and founder of the Corsini Collection,
spent years in Paris as minister of Grand Duke Cosimo III, and made many
acquisitions there.15 In all probability, Cureau’s copy was made not from the
original, but from the drawing now in the Corsini Collection. Bernini him-
self must have sent the sketch to his friend, before his own work was finally

14 There was a French librarian of the Corsini in the early eighteenth century, J. D.
d’Inguimbert (1683–1757), native and subsequently Bishop of Carpentras (O. Pinto, Storia
della biblioteca corsiniana e della biblioteca dell’Accademia dei Lincei, Florence, 1956, 22, 25,
40 f); but he wrote and published many works in Italian, and his handwriting was com-
pletely different from that of the inscription (R. Caillet, Un prélô bibliophile et philan-
thropique. Monseigneur D’Inguimbert. Archevêqûve-évêque de Carpentras. 1638–1757, Audin,
15 Pinto, Storia, 24 (cited in the preceding note); cf. F. Cerroti, Memorie per servire alla
storia dell’incisione compilate nella descrizione e dichiarazione delle stampe che trovansi nella
biblioteca corsiniana, I, Rome, 1858, preface.
The inscription was added to the drawing while it was still in France.

If this hypothesis is correct, the situation perhaps has an analogy in another work commissioned by Cureau in Paris, reputedly after a design provided by Bernini. This is the virtually unknown tomb of Cureau's father Marin Cureau de la Chambre (1635–1669), physician to Louis XIV, in Saint-Eustache at Paris (Fig. 13). Immortality is represented holding a medallion portrait of the deceased. The Cureau tomb was executed by the Frenchified Roman sculptor Jean-Baptiste Tuby (1635–1700); there are some similarities, in the treatment of the drapery of the allegory and the hair of the portrait, which suggest that Tuby might also have made the Sées bust.

Above all, I would emphasize the confirmatory evidence the Sées sculpture provides for the conceptual development between the Corsini drawing and the version in Norfolk. While the unprecedented allusion within the Salvator Mundi theme to Christ as intercessor was included from the outset, the horizontal glance and declamatory gesture of the Sées bust are distinctly extroverted; one modern observer understandably described the figure as 'teaching.' The upward glance and reversed turn of the hand in the Norfolk sculpture, by contrast, introduce a note of visionary withdrawal and exaltation. I can think of no clearer insight into the tendency of Bernini's mind as he approached the end.

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16 Brauer and Wittkower had suggested, and I doubted ('Bernini's Death,' 172, n. 49), that the head on the Corsini drawing was a later addition copied from the final work. Perhaps the solution is that the head was added, to show Cureau how it would be.

17 The work was long at Versailles, but has recently been returned to Saint-Eustache. According to another tradition, explicitly denied by M. Piganiol de la Force (Description de Paris, 8 vols., Paris, 1742, III, 7), the design was by Le Brun (H. Jouin, Charles Le Brun et les arts sous Louis XIV, Paris, 1889, 253 f, 615 f). Cf. also E.-T. Hamy, 'Note sur un médaillon de J.-B. Tuby représentant le portrait de M. Cureau de la Chambre, démonstrateur au Jardin Royal (1635–1669),' Bulletin au Muséum d'histoire naturelle, I, 1895, 229–32; E. Soulié, Notice du musée national de Versailles, 3 vols., Paris, 1880–81, II, 67.


18 On the tomb type, see R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750, Harmondsworth, 1965, 294 f.

On the attitude toward death in the period generally, a valuable contribution will be found in M. Costanzo, *Il 'Gran teatro' del mondo*, Milan, 1964, 47 ff, Pt. II, ‘Mors victa.’


Concerning the group of drawings by Baciccio related to Bernini’s Sangue di Cristo composition, which B. Canestro Chiovenda, seconded by myself, associated with Baciccio’s unexecuted decoration for the vestibule of the Baptismal Chapel in Saint Peter’s, see now H. Macandrew, ‘II. Baciccio’s Later Drawings: A Rediscovered Group acquired by the Ashmolean Museum,’ *Master Drawings*, X, 1972, 253 ff.

In considering the sources and meaning of the bust of Louis XIV and the pedestal Bernini intended for it, which included a terrestrial globe with the words ‘Picciola basa,’ I referred to the king’s *impressa* appearing on a medal of 1664. This showed the sun rising over a terrestrial globe with the motto ‘Nec Pluribus Impar’ (‘not unequal to many’). My emphasis was upon the visual analogy, but since discovering Ernst Kantorowicz’s genial study of the theme represented by Louis’s device, ‘Oriens Augusti Lever du Roi,’ *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVII, 1963, 117–177, esp. 165 ff, it has become plain to me that Bernini’s motto, too, was an allusion to that of the king: this world is small for Louis, who is great enough to rule many. Concerning the apparent weightlessness of the bust, suspended above the globe by the wind-blown drapery, a passage in Domenico Bernini’s biography of his father documents the sculptor’s intention in this respect: ‘Gli

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20 ‘Bernini’s Death,’ 169 ff, Fig. 3.
23 C. W. Faber, *Symbol und Devise Ludwigs XIV.*, Mülhausen, 1878 (*Städtische Gewerbeschule zu Mülhausen, Programm No. 427, Beilage*).

sopra venne allora da Roma un bel concetto d’ingegnoso Poeta, che in questi pochi versi volle lodar l’Artefice, l’Effigiato, e l’Opera.

Entrò l’Bernin’ in un pensier profondo
Per far al Regio Busto un bel sostegno,
E disse, non trovandone alcum degno,
Piccola base a un tal Monarca è il Mondo,

e il Bernino incontanente rispose con ammirazione, e lode del Rè, e della Corte:

Mai mi sovvenne quel pensier profondo
Per far di Rè sì grande appoggio degno:
Van sarebbe il pensier, che di sostegno
Non hà bisogno, chi sostiene il Mondo.24

(‘It never entered my head to give so great a king a worthy base; the notion is vain, for he whom the world sustains needs no support.’)

Jennifer Montagu of the Warburg Institute reminded me that the Colonna Claudius now in the Prado, to which I attributed a significant role in the genesis of the Louis XIV, was restored by the sculptor Orfeo Boselli (Fig. 14).25 Boselli mentions the fact in his manuscript treatise Osservazioni della Scultura Antica.26 Although he does not say so, Boselli may also have

26 Bibl. Corsini, Rome, MS 36. F. 27, fol. 172r. Boselli also notes that he wrote a discourse on the significance of the work.

been responsible for the elaborate pedestal (Fig. 15) with eagles at the corners, relief landscapes representing cities, and phoenixes looking up toward radiant emblems of the zodiac.  

27 On the pedestal cf. J. Villaamil y Castro, ‘Grupo de mármoles conocido por la Apoteosis de Cláudio que se conserva en el Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura,’ Museo Español de Antigüedades, V, 1875, 39 ff. We may add that the image of the phoenix looking toward the zodiac recalls an emblem of the eagle gazing at the sun in G. Ruscelli’s Le imprese illustri, Venice, 1566 (cf. F. A. Yates, ‘The Emblematic Conceit in Giordano Bruno’s De Gli Eroici Furori and in the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences,’ Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, VI, 1943, 106) which, incidentally, appears as a religious symbol on the balustrade of the altar of the Sacrament in San Giovanni in Laterano.