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Canova and Thorvaldsen at Chatsworth

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Fig.8.1. Chatsworth Sculpture Gallery (looking north). (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

Canova and Thorvaldsen at Chatsworth

ALISON YARRINGTON

THE SUBJECT FOR this essay in honour of David Bindman is the singular response to the sculpture of Thorvaldsen and Canova by one of the nineteenth century's most discerning patrons of contemporary sculpture, William Cavendish, Sixth Duke of Devonshire. The formation of his sculpture collection in its purpose-built gallery at Chatsworth between c.1819 and 1834 (Fig. 8.1) has been examined in detail elsewhere, as has Canova's central place in its continuing evolution.¹ But comparatively little attention has been paid to Thorvaldsen's *Venus with an apple* (Fig. 8.2), which the Sixth Duke placed opposite Thomas Campbell's portrait statue of *Paolina Borghese*, or indeed to Thorvaldsen's other works in this setting and elsewhere in the collection. The abundance of Canova's work and Canovian reference at Chatsworth is in sharp contrast to Thorvaldsen's more muted presence there. Some explanation for this can be teased out from contemporary correspondence and other documents.

In 1844, when the Sixth Duke was writing his *Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick*, reviewing his acquisitions, their settings and the meanings they held, he provide little commentary on Thorvaldsen's statue beyond stating that she is 'a perfectly beautiful woman – not at all Goddess'.² His response corresponds with other contemporary critical reactions to Canova and Thorvaldsen that David Bindman has recently addressed. Bindman has found that Thorvaldsen's *Venus* proved to be a 'disconcerting' figure for some contemporary viewers, emphasising that her pose is 'strikingly unclassical', a naked figure with 'an adolescent, maidenly quality', very different from Canova's conception of *Venus*.³ In the Sculpture Gallery the interchangeability of Goddess and Princess was highlighted by the Sixth Duke's placing of Paolina's mourning bracelet for her brother Napoleon on the wrist of the *Venus*, part of a strong underlying Napoleonic frame of reference. Thorvaldsen's reliefs of *Night and Day*, and of *Briseis taken from Achilles by Agamemnon* and *Priam petitioning Achilles for the body of Hector*, originally ordered by Agar Ellis and transferred to the Sixth Duke's ownership at the same time as he placed the *Venus* commission, are positioned respectively in the east and west walls of the gallery. For the Sixth Duke there were 'few things more beautiful', and it is clear that Thorvaldsen's

1. See J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'A ducal patron of sculptors', *Apollo*, 96, new series, no.128 (1972), pp.322–31; A. Yarrington and C. Noble, "'Like a Poet's Dreams': the redisplay of the 6th Duke of Devonshire's Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth', *Apollo*, no.170 (2009), 570, pp.46–53; and A. Yarrington, "'Under Italian Skies": the 6th Duke of Devonshire, Canova and the formation of a sculpture gallery at Chatsworth House', *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, 10 (2009), pp.41–62.

2. William Cavendish, Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick*, London, 1845, p.102.

3. D. Bindman, *Warm Flesh, Cold Marble: Canova, Thorvaldsen and Their Critics*, New Haven and London, 2014, p. 96.



Fig.8.2. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Venus with an apple*, 1821. Marble (pedestal: cipollino), 163 cm high (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)



Fig.8.3. David Ducci, *Head of Christ*, version of the *Head of Christ* by Thorvaldsen, 1846. Marble (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

smaller works and portraiture pleased him.⁴ Thorvaldsen's post-mortem bust of Cardinal Consalvi, was, in the Duke's words, 'made from memory' and informed by Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait, resulting in the most 'perfect likeness'.⁵ It faces Canova's bust of Laura, which is accompanied by pedestals and other objects made out of rare and sought-after coloured marbles. This arrangement references both the Sixth Duke's network of art, politics, family and friendship in Rome – which included his stepmother Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, the Cardinal and the sculptors – and his love of marble and its working. Elsewhere in the house, Thorvaldsen's bust of Lord Byron links with more troubled familial connections with Lady Caroline Lamb.⁶ Copies of Thorvaldsen's works are found in the garden and there is also an unusual later addition to the collection ordered in 1846, a version by David Ducci, an assistant in Francesco Bienaimé's Carrara studio, of

4. *Ibid.*, p.103. The reliefs were dispatched from Leghorn by Gabrielli in August 1824 (Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Sculpture Accounts, letter to the Sixth Duke from Rome, 14 August 1824). They were received at Chatsworth on 7 January 1825, see the Sixth Duke's Diary entry for that date (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/1).

5. Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.91.

6. Thorvaldsen modelled the bust from life in April–May 1817. There are four known versions of this herm-type bust. The Chatsworth bust was originally the property of Francis Hodgson, a friend of the poet and of the Sixth Duke.

Thorvaldsen's *Head of Christ* (Fig. 8.3), from his colossal statue of Christ (completed 1833) for the altar in the Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen. This later acquisition and the early commissions for the sculpture gallery show that the Sixth Duke's interest in Canova and Thorvaldsen clearly operated at different levels of intensity and interest, from the first commissions he placed in 1819 until his death in 1858. It seems that the nature and extent of Thorvaldsen's direct involvement in the sculptural process, and specifically the carving of his figures, were at issue.

The Sixth Duke's enduring love of Canova's work was both impeded and spurred by the sculptor's death in October 1822, an urgency which contrasts with his apparent lack of interest in acquiring further 'poetic' works by Thorvaldsen, despite the fact that by 1824, as John Gibson pointed out to his friend John Crouchley, 'Cavalier Thorvaldsen' had assumed Canova's place as 'the prince of sculptors'.⁷ The reasons for the Sixth Duke's relative indifference seem to be connected with his overwhelming passion for marbles and minerals, and the ways in which a sculptor could transform these cold and inert materials to create 'warm flesh', colour and poetry. His selection of works for display in the Sculpture Gallery and at his other properties exemplifies this, not least the setting of Thorvaldsen's *Venus*, placed on pedestal of a rare, richly coloured, cipollino marble, its natural wave patterns alluding to the sea foam from which the goddess was born.

The Sixth Duke's first extensive post-Waterloo tour across northern Europe and Russia had awakened him to the beauties of contemporary sculpture, in particular to Canova, whose works he encountered in princely settings. This sculptural epiphany, occurring at a time when he was often in the company of his friend Crown Prince Nicolas of Russia, would shape and sustain his collecting career. The Prince was also a connoisseur of marble and the two friends would continue to exchange gifts of rare minerals, such as the Siberian vases and the malachite objects that were sent from St Petersburg to the Duke at Chatsworth, arriving there in 1844. Sculptures by Canova and Thorvaldsen were in the Imperial collection, and there was a continuing demand for their works in Russia as there was in other European royal and aristocratic circles with which the Sixth Duke had direct contact. Thorvaldsen's portraits of Russian sitters included his bust of Alexander I, modelled from the life in Poland during the sculptor's 1819–20 tour, and there were those other impressive, full-length portrait statues and busts, many of which now populate the Thorvaldsen museum in Copenhagen. The flow of Russian artists to Rome, wishing to study with Canova and Thorvaldsen, perpetuated their artistic practices. Perhaps the most eminent of these disciples was Boris Ivanovic Orlovski, who was sent from the St Petersburg Academy to study with Thorvaldsen in 1823.⁸ Therefore from the outset the Sixth Duke would have been keenly aware of both sculptors' international reputations, as well as the market for their works and their place in a variety of elite locations.

The project for the Sculpture Gallery gathered momentum after Canova's death, generating both energy and anxiety, as is indicated in diary entries, correspondence and plans. Time was of the essence in realising this major project, and the Sixth Duke would have been aware of the recent installation of Canova's *Three Graces*

7. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, Copenhagen, Letter from John Gibson to John Crouchly from Carrara, 27 August 1824 (original National Library of Wales MS 4914D-30), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/e45809>.

8. See R. Giuliani, 'Thorvaldsen e la colonia romana degli artisti russi', in P. Kragelund and M. Nykjaer, eds, *Thorvaldsen: l'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum 18*, Rome, 1991, pp.131–47.



at Woburn and the tardiness of Thorvaldsen in completing his subsidiary commission for a statue of Georgina Russell (plaster model 1815, marble 1818). John, First Earl Russell, wrote an exasperated note to the sculptor, asking if the work had been completed and urging him to make arrangements for its dispatch to England.⁹ However, delays over this commission were as nothing compared to the twenty-five years Thorvaldsen took to complete *Jason and the Golden Fleece* for Thomas Hope (now at the Thorvaldsen Museum), from the original commission of 1803 to its final realisation in 1828. The Sixth Duke's commission for the *Venus* was placed at a time when there was an increasingly acrimonious correspondence between Thorvaldsen, Hope and Prince Torlonia who was acting as the patron's intermediary. Torlonia, a member of the Sixth Duke's and Duchess Elizabeth's Roman social circle, was tasked with ensuring the completion of *Jason* and urging the sculptor's immediate resumption of this work on his return to Rome in December 1820. It was not only potential delay that would have concerned the Sixth Duke but an underlying question of artistic integrity.

Gibson summarised the significance and power of Thorvaldsen's recent work in his previously cited letter of 1824: 'How it would surprise you to see his great studio and his colossal works. He has lately made a statue of Christ. [...] this is by far the finest figure of Christ executed by man – the simplicity, the majesty and the beauty of the head is beyond description.' The full-scale clay model for this work had been made by Pietro Tenerani, Thorvaldsen's pupil and assistant (who also seems to have made one of the bozzetti) and was completed by December 1822. The plaster visible in Ditlev Martens's painting *Pope Leo XII visiting Thorvaldsen's atelier on the Palazzo Barberini in 1826* (1830; Thorvaldsen Museum) (Fig. 8.4) was on show to all visitors.

9. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from John Russell to Thorvaldsen, Brussels, 31 August 1816 (m4 1816, nr.38), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/m41816,nr.38>.

Fig.8.4. Ditlev Martens, *Pope Leo XII visits Thorvaldsen's studio near the Piazza Barberini, Rome, on Saint Luke's Day October 18th 1826, 1830*. Oil on canvas, 100 × 138 cm (National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen)

The statue itself was finally cut in marble in Carrara in 1827–33 by Pietro Bienaimé, with Thorvaldsen visiting the studio workshop to instruct on the finish in August 1828, not himself carrying out this crucial stage. On Whitsunday 1839 the altar with the statue of Christ in place was consecrated and by this date the *Baptismal angel*, his personal gift to the church, was also installed (Fig. 8.6a).¹⁰

The Sixth Duke saw these works in Thorvaldsen's studio during his frequent visits to Rome. A diary entry for Friday 20 December 1822 records that he ordered from Tenerani, 'a pupil of Thorvaldsen ... a groupe [*Venus and Cupid*] which has already been executed for prince Esterharzy'. He then states, 'We met Thorvaldsen and he shewed me his grand works, but I see him as a modellino not a sculptor', an indication that he was not impressed by the grandeur of the final works that lacked a true sculptor's intervention.¹¹ Gibson's letter praises Tenerani's skills: 'a Venus which I think would do honour to Praxiteles. Cupid is drawing the thorn out of her foot.'¹² In the *Handbook* the Sixth Duke comments that Tenerani had now become 'distinguished' and, perhaps more tellingly, that 'he was for many years the finisher of Thorvaldsen's works'.¹³ It was the working of the marble that made the art: if the hand of the sculptor was absent at this stage (as could often be the case with contemporary workshop practices) or the final touches were not supervised by the sculptor, what difference was there between a copy and an authentic work? Gibson in his letter also refers to Thorvaldsen's other pupils Mathieu Kessels and Pietro Finelli, as well as Thomas Campbell, Joseph Gott and Richard James Wyatt, all of whom were commissioned by the Sixth Duke to make works for Chatsworth during his 1822–23 Rome visit. Given the Duke's appetite for the innovative and contemporary, it is not surprising that at this pivotal moment in the Sculpture Gallery's evolution he chose not to commission more 'poetic' works from the 'prince of sculptors'.

The progress of Canova's and Thorvaldsen's first works for the Sixth Duke helps to clarify the distinction he drew between them. During the first Continental tour he managed only a first brief encounter with Italy, making a visit to Venice and the Veneto, Canova's homeland. When finally in 1819 he made the journey to Rome and the heartland of contemporary sculpture, he made sure that he immediately put in place commissions for major pieces of sculpture for his new Gallery at Chatsworth. Significantly these were from Canova an original work, the *Endymion* (Fig. 8.5), and from Thorvaldsen a version of his recently completed *Venus with an apple* (1813–16). Both commissions were overseen directly by his Roman agent Gaspare Gabrielle, but further information on progress was supplied by other intermediaries. Duchess Elizabeth was resident in Rome, a companion when he was there and a correspondent who provided news of his commissions and the art world. She was another Canova *aficionado* and also a keen admirer of Thorvaldsen's work. It seems likely that it was thanks to her encouragement that the Sixth Duke made his commitment to the *Venus*. In the Thorvaldsen museum there is a gift from the Duchess to Thorvaldsen of a recent edition of Horace's *Satires*, with her handwritten

10. See E. Henschen, 'The making of the Thorvaldsen statue' and 'The practical progress of the work with the statue', in A.-M. Gravgaard and E. Henschen, *On the Christ by Thorvaldsen*, Copenhagen, 1997, pp.45–52 and p.52.

11. This distinction was noted by John Kenworthy-Browne; see *op. cit.* (note 1), p.324, and that the Sixth Duke valued Thorvaldsen's work only 'rather slightly', citing the diary entry.

12. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from John Gibson to John Crouchley, Rome, 19 November 1819 (original Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, MD207/6), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/ea5637>.

13. Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.90.



Fig.8.5. Antonio Canova, *Endymion*, 1822. Marble, 185 cm long (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

dedication.¹⁴ Thorvaldsen took a copy of this publication to Augustus Foster, the Duchess's son, on her behalf in 1819.¹⁵ She and Thorvaldsen also corresponded over the monument to Canova,¹⁶ and the two busts of Consalvi destined for the monument in the Pantheon and for Chatsworth.¹⁷

Evidence of the contractual basis for the *Venus* is found in a receipt from Thorvaldsen to the Sixth Duke, dated 5 May 1819. This acknowledged his agreement to sculpt a *Venus* 'della grandezza naturale' in 'best-quality Carrara marble' within a year.¹⁸ However, whilst Canova made excellent progress with the *Endymion*,

14. Horace, *Satyrarum Libri I. Satyra V*, Rome, 1816, Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, M431.

15. Foster was plenipotentiary to Denmark between 1814 and 1824. Thorvaldsen's transmission of this volume was recorded in W. Jerdan, ed., *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, etc.*, no.159, 5 February, 1820 (London), pp.93–94.

16. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from Thorvaldsen to Elizabeth Devonshire, 26 June 1823 (original source Accademia di S. Luca, Archivio Storico, vol.73, nr.2), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/ea4682>.

17. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from Elizabeth Devonshire to Thorvaldsen, after 24 January 1824, m9 1824, nr.105, <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/m91824,nr.105>. See also Devonshire MSS, Sculpture Accounts, p.87, letter from Gaspare Gabrielli to the Sixth Duke, Rome, 4 November 1824, which announces the completion of the Sixth Duke's bust of Consalvi.

18. Devonshire MSS, Sculpture Accounts, p.5; and Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, 19 May 1819: 'Io sottoscritto ho ricevuto dal Sige. Duca di Devonshire Scudi Mille quali sono a conto di Scude

Thorvaldsen's commission for the *Venus* appeared to falter during a year-long absence from his Roman studio when he left all work then under way in the care of his assistants. He departed in July 1819, travelling to Switzerland and arriving on 3 October in Copenhagen, where, among other business, including safely delivering the volume from Duchess Elizabeth to her son, he began modelling portrait busts of the Danish royal family. He was also intent on securing important public commissions, including the statue of Christ that Gibson so admired and the other sculptural work for the Church of Our Lady.¹⁹ He eventually returned to Rome on 16 December 1820.

The Duke was aware of Thorvaldsen's protracted absence through correspondence with Gabrielli, the Duchess Elizabeth and Gibson. In a letter of 18 October 1819 Gabrielli reported from Rome on the progress of the various commissions that also included Johann Gottfried Schadow's *Filatrice* which was 'nearly finished'. Canova's *Endymion* was also making progress, being modelled in clay. Thorvaldsen's *Venus* however was 'much backward he is gone at last to Danemark'. In a letter to the Duke dated 4 December 1819 Gibson reports that the *Venus* 'is in a forward state' and the marble of good quality, although there were 'a few faint spots about the lips but nothing worth mentioning'. While the Duke might have been comforted to hear of the material's quality (an issue that had so hindered the progress of *Jason*), it would have been clear to him that the execution of the statue lacked the intervention of not only the hand but, more seriously, the discerning and controlling eye of the sculptor. In October 1821 Gibson commented more informally (and more frankly) to Rose Lawrence on the state of the marble being used: 'Thorvaldsen's *Venus* for the Duke of Devonshire is very badly spotted', adding that 'he never changes a figure on account of the spots in marble'. He contrasts this with the very great care that Canova took 'over the working of marble in his group for the King which had several spots on it, this is the third time which he has done it. The first and second he actually threw on one side being very much marked.'²⁰ Questions of authorship and attention to quality are mentioned by the Sixth Duke in the *Handbook* where he refers to evidence he has of *Endymion* being 'finished by Canova', adding that the 'quality of the marble is so fine, so hard, so crystalline, that Canova would not change it' when a stain was found on the cheek and arm.²¹

Given these circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that, in a letter to the Sixth Duke dated 10 October 1821, Gibson was scrupulous in providing details of work and progress on his own *Mars and Cupid* destined for Chatsworth, indicating that he was a sculptor of the genus Canova rather than Thorvaldsen. He informs his patron that the marble block 'of the most exquisite quality and colour' was currently in his studio; the workmen had been 'cutting away on it for fifteen days so that we can now form some idea of its purity'. But he also refers to Thorvaldsen's apparently perennial bad luck with his own material; he had seen Gibson's marble 'three

Duemille. Valuta fissata per una Venere della grandezza naturale che m'obbligo scolpirgli in Marmo di Carrara della prima qualita nel termine [di] un Anno a me contante dico 1000/ questo di 19 Maggio 1819'. Thorvaldsen was dyslexic (see Kira Kofoed, 'Thorvaldsen's spoken and written language' trans. D. Possen, <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/articles/print/thorvaldsens-spoken-and-written-language>). It would appear that the receipt in the Devonshire archive is written by an amanuensis.

19. Henschen, *op.cit.* (note 10).

20. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from John Gibson to Rose Lawrence, 27 September 1821 (original source unknown, a copy exists in the archives of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/ea5890>.

21. Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.105.

days ago and exclaimed bello, bello, bello! He says he would have given anything to have had such a block for his Three Graces, the marble of which has turned out very bad, but he is finishing it up.' Gibson then concludes with a firm indication of the time that completion would take, being 'afraid to promise to finish the group in less than a year and a half'.²²

The idea that Thorvaldsen took insufficient care over his choice of marble, and had a rather cavalier attitude to carving and finish, could have been reinforced when the *Venus* eventually arrived at Chatsworth. As the statue was unpacked, a fracture in three parts across the wrist and the ankle was revealed, which may have been caused in transit.²³ Details of the fracture were confirmed by Allan Cunningham, who completed its repair in early January 1822.²⁴ Six months later Duchess Elizabeth, reporting on the progress of the Sixth Duke's works, wrote both of the damaged *Venus* and of Thorvaldsen's commission for the Church of Our Lady: 'Thorvaldsen was in a sad [state] at the misfortune to his Venus – he has done a great deal & a magnificent Christ for a Church in Copenhagen'. She also mentions Gibson 'going on with your Mars & – promises well'.²⁵ It is interesting to note that in the *Handbook* more attention is paid to the detail of Cunningham's repair of the *Venus* than to the beauty of the statue itself. This makes it very unlike the section devoted to *Endymion*.

Thorvaldsen's death in March 1844 coincided with a time of reflection and reassessment for the Sixth Duke, concerning both his life and his possessions. It was also a time when he was facing an urgent need to economise after a lifetime devoted to lavish spending. His delicate health accompanied an increasing awareness of his own mortality and a deepening religious sensibility. His apparently belated purchase in 1846 of the version of Thorvaldsen's magisterial *Head of Christ* – an otherwise aberrant Christian work in his sculpture collection – makes sense in this context. In addition the death of his sculptors always gave him pause: in 1822 those of Schadow and Canova had disallowed any further original commissions from them, and potentially disrupted his plans for the Sculpture Gallery, as Duchess Elizabeth commented: 'I grieve for poor Schadow – he is a great loss – it is well you had the filatrice & the bas reliefs'.²⁶ In 1846 the Duke took an extended European tour which he considered would help him to economise, but during it he made several significant commissions: from Ludwig von Schwanthaler in Munich he ordered the *Nymph and huntsman*, which proved to be the sculptor's 'swansong', as it is designated on its elaborate pedestal in the Sculpture Gallery, from Raffaele Monti in Milan a veiled head and a kneeling *Veiled Vestal*.²⁷ It was also at this time that he ordered the *Head of Christ*, as well as copies after Thorvaldsen's *Adonis* and Canova's *Danzatrice* for the

22. Devonshire MSS, Sculpture Accounts, p.115, letter dated 10 October 1821.

23. The Sixth Duke's Diary records its arrival at Chatsworth on 18 December 1821 and the fact that it had been broken in 'nailing up' by Peter Furness and his men (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/5).

24. Devonshire MSS, letter from Allan Cunningham to the Sixth Duke of Devonshire, 4 January 1822. Cunningham was foreman to Francis Chantrey, another of the Sixth Duke's sculptors, who with Westmacott advised on the Sculpture Gallery.

25. Devonshire MSS, letter from Elizabeth Duchess of Devonshire to Sixth Duke of Devonshire, Rome, 3 June 1822.

26. Devonshire MSS, letter from Elizabeth Duchess of Devonshire to the Sixth Duke, Rome, 3 June 1822.

27. The bust was ordered immediately before the commission for the kneeling *Veiled Vestal* (*Vestale*): 'ordered clever veiled bust from Monti's Milan studio', see Sixth Duke's Diary, Monday 12 October 1846 (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/26).



Fig.8.6a. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Baptismal angel*, 1839. Marble (Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen)



gardens at Chatsworth from Bienaimé's studio workshop in Carrara.²⁸ The *Head of Christ* and the *Veiled Vestal* could be seen as referencing and echoing Thorvaldsen's *Baptismal angel* and thus his grandest of sculptural schemes, that for the Church of Our Lady (Fig. 8.6), although the Sixth Duke may not have been conscious of this beforehand. It is perhaps significant that he chose to purchase a reduced version of the Christ – inscribed '*Invenzione ed Esecuzioni David Ducci*' by the workshop assistant in order to proclaim its originality – as his memento of the Prince of Sculptors, who always remained for him more a 'modellino' than a sculptor.

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Fig. 8.6b. Raffaele Monti, *Veiled Vestal*, 1847. Marble, 37.5 inches high (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

28. In the diary entry for Sunday 8 November 1846 the Duke records his visit to Carrara with Francesco Bienaimé: 'I saw and settled the 5 next statues, Minerva, Telemarco, the Adonis of Thorvaldsen, & the 2 danzatrices of Canova. I bought – Christo – of [scribbled out] workman of Bienaime' (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/26).