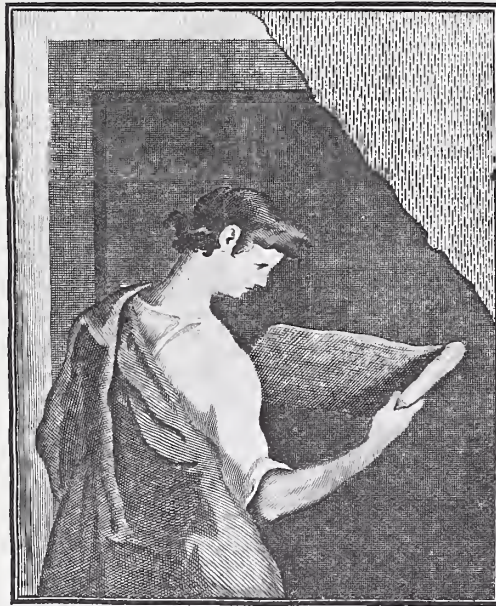




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VINCENZO FOPPA



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THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

LONDON: NATIONAL GALLERY

VINCENZO FOPPA
OF BRESCIA, FOUNDER OF
THE LOMBARD SCHOOL
HIS LIFE AND WORK
BY CONSTANCE JOCELYN FFOULKES &
MONSIGNOR RODOLFO MAIOCCHI, D.D.
RECTOR OF THE COLLEGIO BORROMEIO, PAVIA
BASED ON RESEARCH IN THE ARCHIVES OF MILAN
PAVIA, BRESCIA, & GENOA, & ON THE STUDY OF
ALL HIS KNOWN WORKS. WITH 90 ILLUSTRATIONS
15 IN PHOTOGRAVURE, AND 97 DOCUMENTS

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
GIOVANNI MORELLI
AND
GUSTAV LUDWIG

PREFACE

IN the course of the production of this book we have received much help and kindness from a great number of persons, all of whom it would be impossible to mention by name. We desire, however, especially to record our gratitude to the following : and first to Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni of Milan, for never failing help and valuable advice during many years and for informing us of the existence of several works by Foppa which might otherwise have escaped our notice ; and to Cav. Pietro Da Ponte of Brescia, for much assistance and kindness, and especially for directing our attention to the Archives of S. Alessandro and for obtaining for us permission to study there as well as in other Archives of Brescia. Our gratitude is also due to : Prof. Cicogna and to Dr. Rizzini, who with the utmost courtesy granted us free access to all the MSS. under their care, whereby our researches were greatly facilitated : to the Directors of the Archivio di Stato and the Archivio Notarile at Brescia : to Don Paolo Guerrini, Keeper of the Episcopal Archives in that city, for several valuable notices which have been acknowledged in the text : to Don Santo Losio of S. Alessandro, to Prof. Manziana, and to the late Monsig. Fé d' Ostiani, from all of whom we received much kind assistance. To Dr. Giulio Carotti of Milan, for information relating to various questions and for the loan of two negatives of the altarpiece of S. Maria di Castello at Savona. To Senatore Luca Beltrami, Count Malaguzzi Valeri, Nobile Gerolamo Calvi, Profs. Verga and Diego Sant' Ambrogio, Cav. Luigi Cavenaghi, Signor Agostino Caravati and others at Milan, who have aided us in different ways, and more especially we would here record our deep indebtedness to that brilliant connoisseur the late Cav. Giov. Battista Vittadini, whose death has been an irreparable loss to all students of Italian Art.

Our gratitude is also due to : Comm. Vittorio Poggi, Director of the Gallery at Savona ; to Prof. Luigi Cervetto, Librarian of the Biblioteca Civica at Genoa ; and to the Keepers of the University Library and of the Archivio Notarile in that city. To Mr. Theodore Davis of Newport, Rhode Island, and to Sir Martin Conway for permitting pictures in their collections to be photographed for this book and for kindly furnishing information relating to them ; to M. Victor Goloubew, for generously placing his

views regarding a lost fresco by Jacopo Bellini at our disposal ; to Prof. Holmes, for permission to reprint documents first published in the *Burlington Magazine* ; and to Mrs. Herringham for her valuable note on the technique of Foppa's pictures in England.

We desire also to acknowledge our indebtedness to all owners of works by Foppa for allowing their pictures to be reproduced in this book ; to the Directors of the National Gallery, the Wallace Collection, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, for permission to have pictures in the collections under their care photographed ; and to Signor Domenico Anderson of Rome who, most liberally waiving his rights, accorded permission for the free reproduction of his photographs in the present volume.

To all whom we have named and to many others to whom in the course of this work we may have been indebted for assistance, we desire to express our deep sense of obligation.

Finally, we owe a very special debt of gratitude to Mr. John Lane and to all concerned in the printing and publishing of this work, for the time, thought, and care which they have bestowed upon the production and illustration of the volume.

C. J. Ff.
R. M.

INTRODUCTION

THE LOMBARD SCHOOL has received less attention from students of the history of Italian Art than any other school of painting in Italy. This may perhaps serve to explain the singular fact that no complete life of a master who may justly be termed the true founder of the Lombard school has ever appeared, though many valuable contributions to the subject have been made in recent years by Alizeri, Beltrami, Malaguzzi, and others.

The school which for many years was dominated by Vincenzo Foppa is usually termed the "Milanese"; hereby, of course, should be understood not the school of painting which flourished in the city of Milan alone, but that of the whole area of Milanese territory within the limits of the Duchy. We have preferred, however, to use the more comprehensive term "Lombard" as a designation more applicable to the school of Foppa in contradistinction to the later school of Leonardo da Vinci, which is pre-eminently the "Milanese school."

In this volume the life of Foppa has been treated from the historical rather than from the critical standpoint, the conclusions being founded upon the testimony of documents, wherever this was possible.

Documentary research is one of the most important factors in the accurate and scientific study of the history of art; for where historical basis is lacking even the most closely reasoned arguments are liable to break down. At the same time, it would be impossible to overrate the importance of the work achieved by the critic. It is obvious that in their several ways both archivist and critic may render invaluable assistance to the true understanding of the subject; but to this end both must work in harmony, the one completing and verifying what the other has accomplished. Only by such means can we ever hope to achieve a history of art resting upon the sure foundation of established fact, and not upon the visionary fabric of individual impressions. From this point of view, therefore, we venture to hope that some small service may have been rendered to the cause which we have so much at heart, by bringing together all the particulars relating to Vincenzo Foppa that we have been able to discover, by testing them and arranging them in chronological order for the use of future students in this field.

The year of Foppa's birth is not known, but for the reasons stated in the Appendix (I, Notes 2 and 3) it appears to us that it most probably took place in 1427; yet the earliest documentary record which we possess relating to the painter is of 1456—i.e. his signed and dated work in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo—from which we should certainly assume that he was at that date a fully developed artist. We are therefore entirely in the dark as to his early years and artistic training. Unaided by documents, we have in this case been forced to rely wholly upon the evidence of what we believe to be his earliest known works, and have hazarded the opinion that the master, to whose personal influence and teaching Foppa owed most, was Jacopo Bellini. In making this suggestion we are aware that we put ourselves in opposition to accepted opinion and to the traditional theory as to his years of apprenticeship; though, as we have endeavoured to point out in the text, that theory rests on no foundation whatsoever, being based upon words ascribed to Filarete which, in point of fact, that writer never uttered. The severity and rigid outline of the Squarcionesque school of Padua, under the guidance of which Vincenzo is usually said to have learned his art, is altogether absent from his earliest known works and, instead, we find in them qualities which we meet with in the early school of Verona and also in the works of Jacopo Bellini. Of this master we are so constantly reminded in the art of Vincenzo Foppa that we are constrained to think the two painters must have stood in the relation of master and pupil to one another.

The work of Jacopo Bellini has now been brought within reach of students by means of photography and through the publications of Prof. Corrado Ricci and of M. Victor Goloubew. We have thought it best to refer the reader to these works and to Giraudon's photographs, rather than to give reproductions ourselves (except in one instance) of isolated examples of Jacopo Bellini's compositions. To our great regret we have been unable to consult M. Goloubew's book *Les Dessins de Jacopo Bellini*, which will undoubtedly be of the utmost importance to students of this subject.

The present state of our knowledge of the Lombard school is, however, limited in the extreme, and we can put forward the above suggestion only with the utmost reserve, since the discovery of a document might at any moment subvert a theory based upon individual impressions alone. We should certainly be amongst the first to welcome with genuine satisfaction any fresh light which a further discovery of documents may in the future shed upon this obscure period of Foppa's early life and training.

The term of the master's life, as will be shown from the evidence of documents, has been prolonged by c. twenty-four years. Much of his work, therefore, may still be in existence; yet thus far only thirty-five paintings are known, which can with any show of probability be ascribed to him. Even if

we add to this number from our list of "missing works" the panel pictures and cycles of frescoes which he is known to have executed, the number is still incredibly small, as the result of a life of strenuous activity extending over a period of eighty-nine years and devoted moreover, so far as we know, exclusively to painting. In course of time, through the combined efforts of the archivist and the critic, it may be possible to increase this scanty list by the re-discovery of other works of indisputable authenticity.

We have dedicated this book to the memory of two who will ever stand pre-eminent among the pioneers of art criticism and of documentary research in the nineteenth century.

The name of Giovanni Morelli is a household word to all those who devote themselves to the serious study of Italian art, from the historical and critical standpoint; and the value of what he achieved is now universally acknowledged. In details, many may differ from him, but in the main his work will endure and his writings hold their ground as a classic among future generations of art critics. No more convincing proof of the value of Morelli's teaching can be cited than the testimony of one of his most distinguished followers:—

"It has happened again and again," writes Mr. Berenson, "that my own researches have compelled me to return to his conclusions after having departed from them . . . fifteen years of tossing backward and forward over this incredibly unequal painter (Bernardino dei Conti), have brought me back to the problem as Morelli left it."¹

And what is true of Bernardino dei Conti is equally so in the case of other difficulties. The problems which Morelli left are, in many cases, problems still; since few are gifted with his intuitive perception, his profound knowledge, and unerring judgment.

We ourselves gratefully acknowledge that whatever we may have learned in this wide field is due to his writings, and to his personal teaching and direction; and though in our desire to be strictly impartial and to avoid all polemical questions, we have quoted his works only as we have quoted those of other writers, in all that pertains to the critical appreciation of the work of Foppa, this book is founded upon the principles laid down by Morelli. Whatever in it may prove of value, must be ascribed primarily to his teaching, and where the conclusions are at fault, the failure is doubtless due to a misapplication of his principles and method.

To Gustav Ludwig, students of the historical and documentary side of Italian art owe scarcely less. His researches in Venetian archives have led, as is well known, to the most surprising results; and much doubtless yet

¹ *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, p. 7.

remains to be given to the world as the fruit of his labours. His researches were carried out under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, with a self-sacrifice which was little short of heroic, and in spite of continued ill-health. To his aid and advice one of the present writers owes a debt of gratitude which it would be difficult to over-estimate.

C. J. Ff.
R. M.

LONDON AND PAVIA
October, 1908

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ERRATA

Page 25, line 16 from above, *for* Averulino *read* Averlino.

,, 103, note 1, *for* Gian Galeazzo *read* Galeazzo Maria.

,, 120, line 15 from above, "In 1833 it was engraved," *insert* "the central panel" was engraved.

Pages 157, 271, *for* Herr Reinholt Sarasin-Warnery *read* Herr Reinhold Sarasin-Warnery.

Page 167, line 17 from above, *for* effected *read* affected.

,, 190. On illustration facing this page, *for* June 15 *read* June 12.

,, 270. *For* Eustorgio, *read* S. Eustorgio.

,, 367 (Bibliography). The article on the Abbey of Morimondo attributed to Mongeri is by Diego Sant' Ambrogio; the title should be "La Badia di Morimondo" (*Arch. Stor., Lomb.*, 1891).

To our great regret the name of M. Victor Goloubew has been wrongly printed in the text (p. 12 and note 1), an unfortunate mistake for which we offer our most sincere apologies to this distinguished writer and critic.

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VINCENZO FOPPA

OF BRESCIA, FOUNDER OF THE LOMBARD SCHOOL

HIS LIFE AND WORK

CHAPTER I

1427 (?) TO 1462

Vincenzo Foppa's origin—His first training—Earliest known work—Signed and dated work at Bergamo—Connection with Jacopo Bellini—Fresco at Verona by that painter—Foppa's marriage—Removal to Pavia—Pavia and Milan centres of artistic activity—Painters at Pavia and Milan in 1456—The Castle at Pavia—Frescoes of the Arengo Palace, Milan—First documentary notice of Foppa at Pavia—His colleague and brother-in-law Paolo Caylina—Caylina's pictures—Foppa goes to Genoa—The Duke of Milan recommends him to the Doge of Genoa—Foppa's work in a chapel at Genoa.

THE question as to where Vincenzo Foppa was born has long been a disputed point. Milanese, Pavians, and Brescians have all claimed him as a compatriot, but for the reasons stated in the Appendix¹ we are justified in assuming that he was of Brescian origin. He was the son of a tailor, a certain Giovanni who came from a hamlet called Sandrina, near Bagnolo,² a place situated on the River Mella eight miles to the south of Brescia, and was born, most probably in that city, between 1427 and 1430, though the date of his birth cannot be exactly determined.

We have not the slightest clue as to the circumstances of his life during his early years, nor have we any means of ascertaining whether Vincenzo's first artistic training was received in his home. Brescia appears to have been singularly devoid of local talent and to have produced few painters of note in

¹ I, Note 1.

² Appendix I, Notes 2 and 3.

the early fifteenth century, so that when Pandolfo Malatesta¹ desired to have the chapel in the Palace of the Broletto painted (between 1410 and 1418), he entrusted the work to Gentile da Fabriano probably because there was no painter at Brescia equal to the task.

Two Brescian masters are indeed greatly extolled by the historian Elia Capriolo:² Ottaviano Prandino, who is now generally identified with the painter Ottaviano Bressano mentioned by the Anonimo³ (on the authority of Andrea Rizzo) as having worked at Padua in company with the Veronese Altichiero,⁴ and Bartolomeo Testorino, who according to Brescian writers executed a fresco in the Crypt of S. Faustino Maggiore at Brescia.⁵ We have definite references to this painter at Brescia in 1416,⁶ 1421, and 1426, but he was already dead by 1430.⁷ It is therefore chronologically impossible that Vincenzo could have received instruction from either of these masters, who belong to the first quarter of the fifteenth century.⁸

In the Brescian Archives we meet with the names of many painters living in different quarters of the city between 1430 and 1440, but they came mostly

¹ Pandolfo Malatesta, having wrested Brescia from the Visconti in 1404, ruled the city until 1421, when it was retaken by the troops of Filippo Maria Visconti under Carmagnola. Eventually Brescia was taken by the Venetians, and in accordance with the terms of peace concluded on December 30, 1426, and signed in S. Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, Brescia with the greater part of its territory was then ceded by Filippo Maria Visconti to the Republic (see Battistella, *Il Conte Carmagnola, etc.*, p. 144). Vincenzo Foppa must therefore have been born a Venetian subject.

² *Delle Historie . . . di Brescia*, Lib. IX, p. 167.

³ *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, ed. Frizzoni, p. 78.

⁴ Michele Savonarola, writing in 1445, mentions that a painter "Octaviano" executed frescoes at Padua with Altichiero, and it is generally assumed that he was identical with "Ottaviano Bressano" (see Muratori, Vol. XXIV, ed. Carducci, and Fiorini, Città di Castello: *Libellus de magnificis Ornamentis R. Civitatis Paduæ, a cura di A. Segarizzi*).

⁵ The frescoes in the crypt, mentioned by Rossi and other writers, perished when the old church was destroyed in the autumn of 1620 (see Bianchi, *Diario*, November 5, 1620, in *Miscellanea Zamboni*, MS. Queriniana Library, Brescia).

⁶ See Libri d'Estimo (the tax-payers' registers), an. 1388 and 1416, II Sancti Joannis, Archivio Antico Municipale Brescia.

⁷ Provvisioni del Consiglio Cittadino, June 18, 1421, where mention is made of paintings executed by "Bertolino, dicto Testorino," and other masters. He was still living in May, 1426, as his name is entered in a volume of accounts of that year, an autograph MS. by Cristoforo Soldo, f. 16 v., No. 192. By 1430 the painter was already dead, as his widow is spoken of in that year (Estimo 1430 f. 12 v.).

⁸ Moreover, we have never found a trace of Ottaviano Prandino in the Registers at Brescia, and must assume that he was not a citizen and did not live there; another reason why he could not have taught Foppa.

from Bergamo, Milan, and Cremona.¹ The most important of them all, so far as we can judge, must have been Enrico da Milano,² son of a painter Jacobino, who, in the Deliberations of the Special Council of Brescia of March 4, 1449, is spoken of as having been long resident in the city where he diligently practised his art,³ and is further described as one of good repute and character and well skilled in the art of painting.⁴ Here, then, we have evidence of an artist of some standing, capable, it is to be assumed, of training others, though no works of his have been preserved to testify to his merits.⁵ In the school of Jacopo and Enrico da Milano it is possible that the

¹ In the *Estimi* and *Indexes* of the *Custodie Notturme* of these years we find the following painters registered as living in different quarters of the city:—

I. S. Faustini.

Christophorus de Mediolano, pintor, 1438.

III. S. Faustini.

Simoninus de Valle S. Martini, pintor, 1438.

VI. S. Faustini.

Jacobinus de Mediolano, pintor, 1430, 1434.

VII. S. Faustini.

Andreas de Napolis, pictor, 1439.

Antonius de Napolis, pictor, 1439.

Citadella.

Andreas de Bergamo, pictor, 1438.

Andreas de Cremona, pictor, 1434, 1442, 1459.

I. S. Joannis.

Christophorus de Mediolano, 1438.

II. S. Joannis.

Mr. Aricus de Alemania, pintor, mortuus peste 1439.

Jacobinus pintor de Mediolano, 1438, 1442.

Zilianus Mri. Jacobini, 1438, 1469, pictor.

Arichus Jacobini, 1438, 1459, pictor.

Bartholomeus de Bergamo, pintor, mortuus peste 1439.

Heredes quondam Joannis de Cortexijs pictoris 1430, 1434.

IV. S. Joannis.

Jacopus de Mediolano pictor, mortuus peste 1439.

² See under II. S. Joannis: Arichus Jacobini.

³ "Quod multo tempore habitavit Brixie et artem depingendi fideliter exercuit" (*Prov.*, etc., Vol. 495).

⁴ "Persona bone conditionis et fame et valde peritus in arte depingendi" (*ibid.*).

⁵ Among early frescoes at Brescia the authors of which still await identification, may be mentioned the Descent of the Holy Ghost and Coronation of the Virgin over the first altar on the right in the Church of the Carmine, and the frescoes in a small chapel on the north side of S. Giovanni Evangelista, which are now in process of being recovered from whitewash.

boy Vincenzo may have learned the first rudiments, but the fact that so many painters from other parts of Italy were employed at Brescia proves that even in the second quarter of the fifteenth century the indigenous art life of the city must still have been at a low ebb, and that no local school of any importance had as yet arisen there.

It has usually been asserted that Foppa went early to Padua, and was there taught in the school of Squarcione; but the theory rests only upon a very insecure foundation—namely, upon a passage in Vasari, the meaning of which is ambiguous. In the *Life of Carpaccio*, after speaking of various painters at Padua, the biographer begins a fresh paragraph with these words: “Fu tenuto in pregio ne’ medesimi tempi Vincenzo pittore bresciano, secondo, che racconta il Filarete, e Girolamo Campagnuola, anch’egli pittore padoano, e discepolo dello Squarcione.”¹

The sentence has been variously translated and punctuated by different annotators of Vasari. Crowe and Cavalcaselle interpret it as follows: “Filarete and Campagnola both say that Foppa was a disciple of Squarcione.”² It appears to us, however, that Filarete merely says that Vincenzo was a Brescian, and it is quite certain, moreover, that he never speaks of Squarcione in connection with Foppa throughout his *Trattato*; in the second part of the sentence it would seem as if Vasari was here alluding to Girolamo Campagnola himself, as the Paduan disciple of Squarcione, though local writers, it must be admitted, never speak of him as a painter.³

Vincenzo was no doubt well known at Padua, and there is nothing remarkable in Vasari’s casual mention of him when speaking of painters in that city; but it is of little consequence what Vasari actually intended to convey by this sentence, since all his information relating to Lombard painters is of a very cursory and unreliable nature.⁴ The main point is, have we any evidence in Foppa’s early work of Paduan influence and of the teaching of Squarcione?⁵

¹ “Highly esteemed too at this period was Vincenzo, a painter of Brescia, according to Filarete, and Girolamo Campagnola, who was also a Paduan painter and a disciple of Squarcione” (ed. 1568, I, p. 521).

² II, 3. See also Kallab, *Vasari Studien*, p. 351.

³ Kristeller, *Giulio Campagnola*, p. 6.

⁴ This is not surprising when we remember that it was third-hand information, being all derived from a letter (now lost) written by the above-named Girolamo Campagnola to Leonico Tomeo (1456–1531), a Venetian and Professor of Greek in the University of Padua (Vas., ed. Mil. III, 385, notes 1 and 2, and 634, note 1, and Kallab, *op. cit.* 347–354). Girolamo was the father of the painter and engraver Giulio Campagnola (Kristeller, *op. cit.*).

⁵ The important discoveries of Signor Lazzarini have thrown a flood of fresh light upon the history of Squarcione and the early school of Padua (see *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XII, p. 165, and *Rassegna d’Arte*, Sept., 1906). His latest article in the *Nuovo*

The earliest at present known is the charming Madonna and Child with angels in the collection of Cavaliere Aldo Nosedà at Milan, a picture in the highest degree characteristic of Foppa and full of the most poetic feeling, but showing no trace of Paduan tendencies.

In the absence of all documents which might throw light on the history of the painter's early development, the only possible clue is afforded by his own works, and judging from this picture it is to be assumed that he may have received his first training in the school of Verona.

Verona was in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the centre and focus of painting in North Italy. Here Altichiero and his followers worked and left their mark; hence came Antonio Pisano,¹ whose influence was so penetrating and far-reaching in the first half of the fifteenth century; and here flourished that painter, or one might almost say that group of painters emanating from Pisanello, on whom art historians have bestowed the generic name of Stefano da Zevio; for it is hardly to be assumed that all the works which pass under this name could have been produced by one master. The influence of Pisanello must have been paramount at Verona at this period, and Vincenzo Foppa's earliest known works prove that he felt it in no small degree, though we cannot tell if he was ever his direct pupil. The recent discoveries of Professor Biadego render it not improbable; he has shown that Pisanello, though often engaged upon work in other places, was a taxpayer—and as such a citizen and householder—at Verona from 1442 onwards.

The early history of the school of Verona still remains to be written, and among its many obscure problems awaiting definite solution is that relating to Stefano da Zevio.

A certain number of works still in existence at Verona and elsewhere, some of them signed "Stefanus pinxit," all more or less closely related in feeling and general characteristics, seem to prove that they were all produced in one workshop at varying periods of time and by different hands. From that workshop came the painter who produced the Madonna in the rose garden with St. Dorothea and angels of the Verona Museum; a Madonna and Child belonging to Princess von Bülow at Berlin; the lunettes of S. Giovanni in Valle and S. Eufemia at Verona, the latter

Arch. Ven. we have been unable to consult, but it will doubtless contain many surprises for art critics, and will prove once more that only by combining documentary research with æsthetic criticism can we ever hope to attain to the truth. Signor Lazzarini has been good enough to inform us that he has never found the slightest trace of Vincenzo Foppa at Padua.

¹ See Biadego, *Pisanus Pictor* (1908), who has proved that the painter's christian name was Antonio and not Vittore, and that he was born in 1397 (not in 1380), and died in 1455. (See also G. F. Hill in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1908.)

signed "Stefanus," a signature now almost obliterated; the Madonna and Child with angels in the Colonna Gallery, Rome; the Adoration of the Magi in the Brera signed "Stefanus 1435"; the lunette of the Madonna and Child with angels at Illasi, near Verona, and many more. It is unlikely that these and other works at Verona, which chronologically cover a considerable period of time, are all by the same hand; but being closely allied in feeling and containing elements present in a greater or less degree in all, they must certainly have been produced by painters who followed the same general tendencies.

It has also been suggested that Foppa's art may have been derived from Gentile da Fabriano. That there was some connection between the two painters is undoubtedly true, though the influence was scarcely a direct one.

Vincenzo's earliest leanings towards art may have been fostered in the Broletto Chapel at Brescia, painted many years before his birth by Gentile;¹ but Odorici's statement that the latter lived at Brescia and there taught Testorino, Prandino, and Foppa is certainly incorrect. If Foppa was first taught at Verona, his earliest impressions would have been strengthened in that school, for the "Stefano" of the Brera Adoration of the Magi is manifestly a close follower of the painter of Fabriano. Gentile certainly had no workshop in North Italy in the years when Foppa was being trained, for he is known to have died in Rome in 1428;² but as one of the great pioneers of art, to whom his contemporaries assigned a very high place among the painters of that day,³ his influence was indirectly felt throughout North Italy, and is perceptible in many works of the early fifteenth century. Links with the art of Gentile are apparent also to some extent in Cav. Nosedà's picture,⁴ though it is more intimately connected in feeling with the school of Verona—with Pisanello as seen, for instance, in the Madonna of S. Fermo Maggiore at Verona, and with the group of artists dependent upon this great master, as seen more especially in the compositions just alluded to in the Colonna Gallery, the Brera, and the Verona Museum.

¹ Marino Sanuto (*Itinerario per la Terra Ferma*, 1483, p. 71) speaks of the extraordinary beauty of this chapel, which he says cost Pandolfo Malatesta 14,000 ducats. Ubertino Puscolo (*De laudibus Brixie*, MS. Querin. Lib.) also mentions the paintings with great admiration, and especially praises the composition representing St. George on horseback slaying the dragon. It is interesting to remember that Cosimo Tura, when commissioned to paint the Chapel of Belriguardo, before beginning his work visited Brescia in order to see Gentile's frescoes there (see Venturi, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 1884, fasc. iv, p. 606, note).

² Zonghi, *L'anno della morte di G. da Fabriano*.

³ B. Facius, *De Viris illustribus*, p. 45; see also *Arte*, Anno XI, fasc. i, p. 51.

⁴ Compare it, for instance, with Gentile da Fabriano's Madonna and saints in the Berlin Gallery, and with the Madonna and Child at Pisa.

But Vincenzo was never a servile imitator ; he assimilated, from those who taught him, what appealed to him most ; the charming poetic incidents so often met with in his compositions seem like an echo of early Veronese *motives*, yet his own strong individuality is always dominant in his work. In this, his earliest known painting, built on a Veronese foundation, his characteristic manner of expression is present everywhere, so that it would be impossible to ascribe it to any other master. The finished beauty and refinement of the slender ethereal figures in the Colonna picture, the light-hearted gaiety, the dainty grace and fanciful *motives* of the garden at Verona, with its myriads of angels and birds flitting among the roses, are here cast in a more homely mould and treated in a more sober and serious spirit, which, if more akin to earth than the Paradise of the Veronese masters, is infinitely charming in its way. The strongly built wattle fence here replaces the rose-covered bower ; the types have already the solid forms so eminently characteristic of Foppa throughout his life ; the angel musician on the left, the little figure on the right turning the pages of a book for its two companions (an idea no doubt borrowed from a similar incident in the Verona picture), are both so entirely characteristic of the Brescian master as to be tantamount to a signature ; while the third angel of the group shows again a connection with the school of Verona as exemplified more especially in the fresco at Illasi. The flesh painting is peculiarly distinctive of Foppa with its all-pervading silvery greyness of tone, a quality which proved so attractive to his followers that it became the distinguishing feature of the Lombard school ; and among minor details eminently characteristic of the master in this picture may be noted the drawing of the eyelids and of the eye-sockets, the opaque quality of the iris, the form of the lips, and the treatment of the hair—characteristics which are always found in a more or less marked degree in his works, and recur also in those of many of his pupils and imitators.

In colour, it must be admitted, Foppa's panel has little in common with Verona. From Stefano's Adoration in the Brera, for instance, with its exquisitely refined harmonies and pearly tones, it is widely removed ; but here again Vincenzo strikes out a line of his own and gives us a colour scheme of wonderful force and brilliancy, in which the many-hued wings of the angels, the vivid scarlet, golden red, and deep green of the draperies interspersed with more delicate shades of pink and grey-blue, are combined with great originality and skill ; the whole is tempered by the sober tone of the background, and by the dark trees on the right, which stand like sentinels against the golden sky, as though their office and purpose were to keep perpetual watch at the gate of Paradise.¹

¹ The trees on the left are a recent addition.

There can be no doubt that this is the earliest work at present known by Vincenzo Foppa. The primitive drawing of the figure of the Madonna betokens a youthful hand; the purity and naive simplicity of her expression, the earnest intentness of the angels, the long, nerveless hands, so closely connected with those in early Veronese drawings in the Louvre, the Ambrosiana, and elsewhere, the arrangement of the drapery resembling the treatment in early pictures of Verona, the exquisite feeling and lyrical charm of the whole composition which link it closely not only with Verona, but also with the Paradise pictures of the North and more especially with those of the Central and Lower Rhine,¹ all stamp it as a work of the first half of the fifteenth century.

Of the earlier history of this enchanting picture we unfortunately know nothing. It was bought some years ago at Cremona by Signor Cantoni, the Milanese picture-dealer, and was at once recognized as the work of Foppa by the late Professor Bertini, Director of the Brera. At that time, however, the composition consisted only of the Madonna and Child with the four angels on the right, and, there being no angel on the left, the panel was in consequence narrower by several inches than it now is. From Signor Cantoni it passed into the collection of Marchese (now Prince) Trivulzio, and subsequently to this, a curious accident led to the discovery of the missing portion. The Trivulzio picture having been sent to the atelier of Professor Cavenaghi to be restored, it was found that a small picture representing an angel musician belonging to another Milanese collector (Cavaliere Aldo Nosedà), which was also awaiting restoration, undoubtedly belonged to the same composition.² For some reason, unknown to us now, the portion containing the angel must have been sawn from the main panel, carrying with it a part of the Madonna's mantle, the rest of the picture being then cut down in order to bring it into better proportion. The angel was formerly in the Passalacqua Collection at Milan, beyond which it has been impossible to trace its pedigree; in the sale of that collection in 1885 it was described in the catalogue as by an "Unknown Florentine painter" (!)³ On that occasion it was withdrawn,

¹ Cf. especially the works of Hermann Wyrnich von Wesel (all formerly ascribed to the mythical Meister Wilhelm), the exquisite Paradise picture by an unknown master in the Museum at Frankfurt, the Madonna in the rose garden by Stephan Lochner, and others. We have for many years been firm believers in this connection between Verona and the schools of the Rhine, to which Dr. L. Venturi has recently drawn attention in a very interesting chapter of his history of the early Venetian school (chap. III, 73 and foll.). One of the first to lay stress upon the relations between the painters of Verona and those of the North was Professor Schlosser in an important article in the *Jahrbuch der Kunstsamml. des Allerhöchst. Kaiserhauses*, XVI, 180 and foll.

² See *Arte*, 1899, p. 321.

³ *Cat. della Coll. Passalacqua*, 1885: "École Florentine, Inconnus XIV-XV siècle: No. 22, Un ange jouant du Violon, bois, h. 22 c., l. 13 c."



Anderson Rome Photo

Emery Walker del. sc.

THE MADONNA & CHILD WITH ANGELS

IN AN ENCLOSED GARDEN

MILAN: NOSEDA COLLECTION

but subsequently, in 1897, was disposed of with other remaining pictures of the Passalacqua Collection in the Negroni sale, and with better judgment was then ascribed to Civerchio,¹ a name retained by the purchaser, Cavaliere Nosedà.

That these two panels (Trivulzio and Nosedà) originally formed one picture, there can be no question. The angel completes and brings into harmony the whole composition, which without it would have been an overcrowded and ill-balanced fragment, and shows moreover the closest and most intimate connection with the group on the right in character and expression and in every detail of drawing and technique. The facts being absolutely incontrovertible, the possessor agreed to cede the angel to the owner of the Madonna. The panel was heightened to its original size,² and was thus, after a separation of many years (perhaps even of centuries) reunited to the main composition. The picture is now owned by Cavaliere Aldo Nosedà, who acquired it from Prince Trivulzio in 1903.

Unfortunately no other works by Foppa of this class are known, and the next in order, the Crucifixion at Bergamo, which is his earliest dated work, shows that he must have developed and perfected his art in another school; for side by side with the Veronese elements other tendencies are manifest. We have no works which would give us a clue to Foppa's gradual development and fill the gap intervening between the Nosedà picture and the Crucifixion at Bergamo. In this last, the connection with Verona, as represented by Pisanello, is still very striking in parts; but the dominant influence is, we think, that of Jacopo Bellini. At Verona, Vincenzo Foppa must have been familiar with Jacopo's great fresco of the Crucifixion, painted in 1436 in the chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas in the cathedral, a work in which, according to the inscription, the painter described himself as the pupil of Gentile da Fabriano.

In Foppa's Crucifixion at Bergamo, in addition to the links with Pisanello, we have proof of the influence of Jacopo Bellini, an influence so strong that it can only be explained, it appears to us, by assuming that Vincenzo was the direct pupil of Jacopo, probably at Venice.

From documentary evidence we may assume that Jacopo Bellini had a workshop at Venice from 1440 onwards, and we meet with notices of him in that city, which appears to have been his settled home, between the years 1429 and 1470.³ In this Venetian workshop his sons Gentile and Giovanni

¹ See *Cat. della Coll. del fu Sig. Conte G. B. Lucini Passalacqua*, II^a Parte, Milano, 1897: "No. 22, Angelo con violino. Pittura su tavola illuminata in oro. Del Civarchio [*sic*] alt., 0.22 x 0.14."

² The trees on the left were added on this occasion.

³ Paoletti, *Racc. di Doc. inediti*, fasc. 1.

were taught, and it was doubtless often visited by Mantegna, who became Jacopo's son-in-law in 1453, as well as by other Paduans, for it seems probable that the school of Jacopo Bellini was one of the most frequented of the day, and that as a teacher he enjoyed a great reputation in North Italy. But in course of time the fame of the pupils completely overshadowed that of the master, and Vasari's depreciatory words: "I will say no more of Jacopo, because his works are not remarkable as compared with those of his sons," no doubt contributed to thrust him yet further into the shade.¹ By his contemporaries he was nevertheless considered of equal if not of greater importance than Pisanello, as appears from the oft-quoted lines of the fifteenth century poet Ulysses² describing the portraits of Lionello d'Este painted in competition by Jacopo and Pisanello.³ The palm was awarded to Bellini by the Duke Niccolò III, who pronounced this painter's likeness of his son to be very living. "Hence," continues the poet, "he (Jacopo) was first and il Pisano second."⁴

From the close connection between Foppa's Crucifixion at Bergamo and Jacopo Bellini's works, we may assume that Vincenzo was one of those who frequented his workshop certainly before 1450. The few paintings which still exist by Jacopo Bellini would not be sufficient in themselves to prove the closeness of Foppa's relations with him, i.e. the Madonnas of Lovere, Venice and Bergamo, the fresco transferred to canvas, Christ upon the Cross, in the gallery at Verona, and a few other works ascribed to him by different critics; but it is in his drawings, principally contained in the well-known sketch-books in London and Paris,⁵ that this connection is most strikingly apparent.

¹ I, 431, ed. 1568.

² Venturi (*Arch. Ven.*, T. XXX, 1885, p. 412) identifies him with the Paduan notary Ulisse de' Aleotti who in 1448 settled a dispute between Squarcione and Mantegna (Stefani, in *Arch. Ven.*, XXIX, pp. 191, 192).

³ The competition must have taken place, according to the proofs adduced by Venturi, in the summer of 1441. Before the end of August of that year both competitors had left Ferrara, Pisanello having gone to Mantua and Bellini to Venice. The literature dealing with this subject is considerable. Among the more important contributions are the following: A. Venturi, *G. da Fabriano and Pisanello*, p. 46 and foll., and his articles in *Riv. Stor. It.*, Anno I, fasc. iv, 1884, and *Kunstfreund*, 1885, No. 19; Spaventi, *Pisanello*, 1892, p. 10; Hill, *Pisanello*, 1905, p. 139, etc.; C. Ricci, *Jacopo Bellini e i suoi libri di disegni*, I, pp. 12 and 52, 1908.

⁴ "Onde lui (Jacopo) primo, et poi il Pisan secondo." The poem, with the heading "Ulixes pro insigni Certamine," is in the Royal Library at Modena. See Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 52, who publishes the whole poem and a second, less frequently quoted, in praise of Jacopo by the same poet.

⁵ A Madonna and Child, acquired for the Uffizi in 1906 and ascribed to Jacopo Bellini, is evidently founded upon a drawing by this master in the Paris sketch-book, though doubts have been cast upon the authenticity of the painting.



Photo.

Filippi, Venice

LATE AND ALTERED COPY OF A LOST FRESCO (IN THE CATHEDRAL VERONA (?))
 BY JACOPO BELLINI
 FORMERLY VENICE: ALBARELLI AND ALBRIZZI COLLECTIONS

It is not known when these drawings were produced, but the date inscribed in the London book, 1430, is usually assumed to be approximately correct, and the Paris book with its many indications of a connection with Ferrara and the Este has been placed as late as 1450.¹ The great decorative works which Jacopo Bellini executed in Venice have long since perished, and the fresco at Verona, which was one of his masterpieces and might have thrown an important light on all these points, was ruthlessly destroyed in 1759.² Until a few years ago it was always considered that a picture which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was in the Albarelli Collection at Venice, and more recently in Casa Albrizzi in that city, preserved the composition of this lost fresco—a view supported by the fact that on this picture were the lines, signature, and date known to have been inscribed on the fresco.³ An outline drawing of this composition was made by a nineteenth century engraver, Paolo Caliari, with the full inscription; and three paintings, copies of the same composition, are still in existence at Verona, where Caliari's drawing is also preserved. The Casa Albrizzi picture was evidently the prototype of this group of reproductions, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle call it a contemporary copy or even a replica by Jacopo Bellini himself,⁴ but judging from the photograph this seems quite impossible, for it is evidently a sixteenth century copy;⁵ but in the three principal figures, which alone concern us here, some-

¹ See Gronau (*Chronique des Arts*, 1895, p. 55), who considers both books contemporaneous. The acquisition of the Paris sketch-book was referred to in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires*, July 30, 1884. See also Müntz, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1884.

² By order of one of the canons of the cathedral on June 25, 1759; Cr. and Cav. (I, 110) make the curious mistake of ascribing this act of vandalism to Memmo the Bishop, who was, on the contrary, the donor, by whom the fresco was commissioned from Jacopo Bellini in 1436. The whole history of this work is summarized by L. Simeoni in his article on the subject published in *Atti dell' Accademia . . di Verona*, Ser. IV, Vol. V, 1904, p. 29; see also Professor C. Ricci, *Jacopo Bellini e i suoi libri di disegni*, I, p. 30 and foll.

³ The inscription on the fresco was as follows (Simeoni, *op. cit.*):—

Mille quadrigintos sex et triginta per annos
 Jacobus haec pinxit, tenui quantum attigit artem
 Ingenio Bellinus, idem praeceptor at illi
 Gentilis Veneto fama celeberrimus orbe
 Quo Fabriana viro praestanti urbs patria gaudet.

⁴ I, 110, 111.

⁵ We are unacquainted with the picture itself, which has now disappeared from Venice, and no one is able to furnish any information as to its present whereabouts. Some years ago the late Dr. Ludwig informed us of its existence and had a negative of it made for us from which our illustration is taken; it was his conviction that this copy preserved the composition of the lost fresco at Verona.

thing of the spirit of Jacopo Bellini still survives. M. Victor Goboulew, who with the utmost courtesy has placed his views on this subject at our disposal, states, that basing his opinion on the drawings of the sketch-book, he has no hesitation in affirming that the copyist has not modified these figures, and he sees no reason why this canvas should not be regarded as a reproduction (with certain modifications) of the fresco. This is also our own conviction, in spite of the contrary opinions of Prof. Simeoni and Prof. Ricci,¹ and from this point of view the copy is of great interest for us, for we may assume that, at least so far as the three figures on the cross are concerned, it preserves the central composition of the lost fresco.

From this copy we see that the thieves were bound with cords to crosses² fashioned of tree stems rudely put together and set at right angles to the Cross of Christ; this form of representation Vincenzo has adopted for his picture, while in other particulars he appears to have taken as his model a drawing by Jacopo Bellini in the Paris sketch-book, and in the pose and outward relations of the figures to one another he follows in the main in his master's footsteps. The different points of resemblance between these three works will be seen on comparing the illustrations, which show how far Vincenzo formed himself upon the drawing or upon some composition closely resembling it, and in what particulars he must have followed the original of the Casa Albrizzi picture, i.e. the fresco at Verona.

¹ Both these writers, while denying that it represents the composition of Verona, nevertheless consider that it is the copy of some other lost work by Jacopo Bellini, though their arguments on this point are not convincing. The discrepancies which they refer to between this copy, and the description of the fresco written by an eye-witness a few days after the destruction of the work, are easily explained when we consider that in a copy of small dimensions it would have been impossible to reproduce the whole of what was contained in a large fresco covering the entire wall of a chapel. The measurements of the picture were given by the late Vicomte Both de Tauzia as 1.15 h. by 0.98 w.; see *Dessins, etc., du Louvre*, 1888, p. 14. This composition therefore can only be regarded as a free version of the original, in which the sixteenth century copyist introduced numerous changes and modifications; he omitted, for instance, the angels in long white robes (receiving the blood of the Redeemer(?)) mentioned by the eye-witness Cignaroli, a fifteenth century *motif* which, as M. Goboulew points out, would have been considered too archaic by a painter of that date; for the same reason, doubtless, the scrolls with inscriptions, referred to by Cignaroli, were omitted; and for lack of space the donor with his attendant clergy also found no place in the copy, where moreover their presence would have had little significance. But this has no bearing on the case from our point of view, for, as already observed, our sole concern is with the three central figures.

² This was the more usual manner of representing the thieves, both in early art and throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in order to emphasize the difference between the Saviour and the malefactors, though there are exceptions, and Duccio and Fra Angelico, among other painters, have depicted the thieves nailed to their crosses.

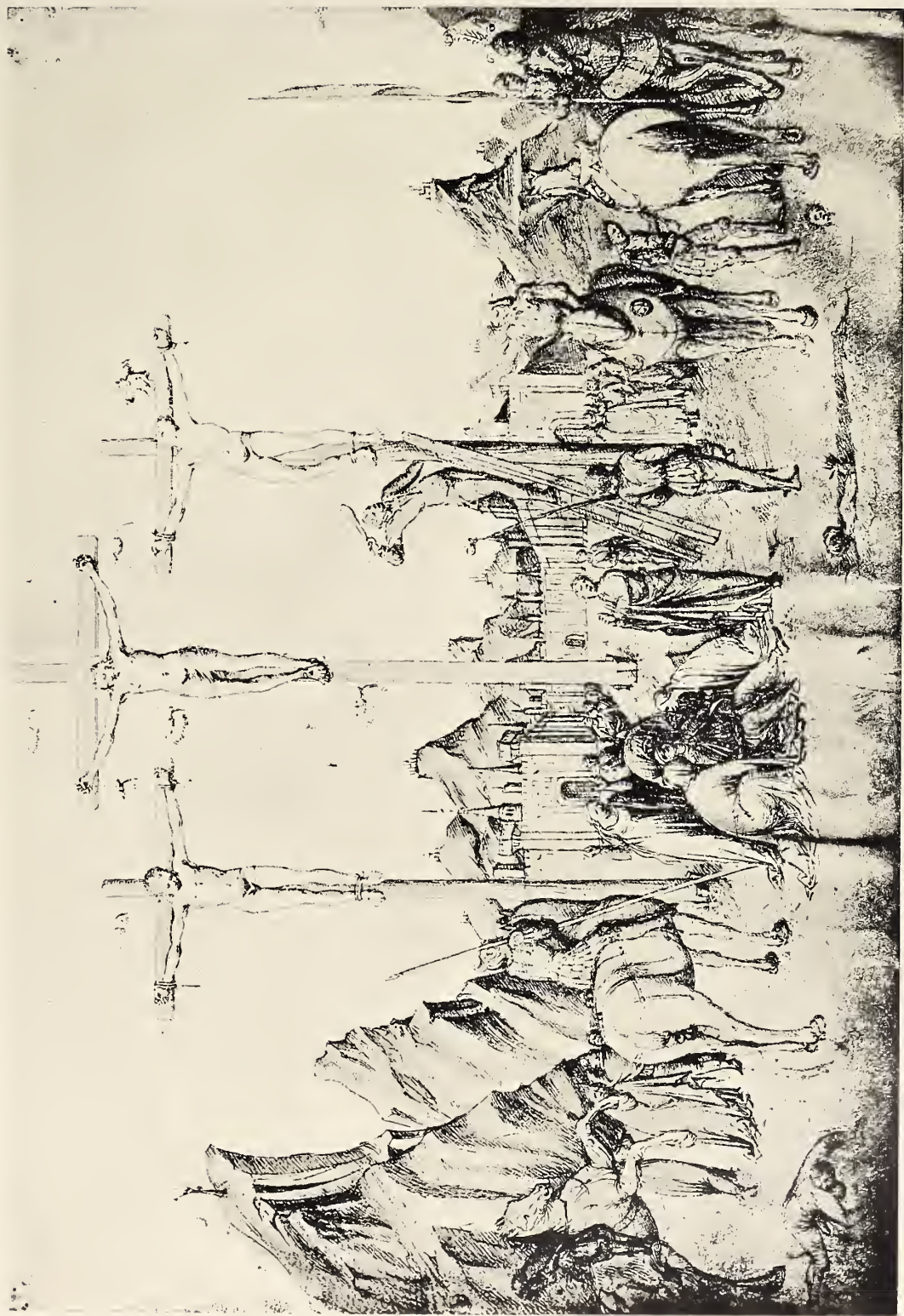


Photo.

Girardon

THE CRUCIFIXION
(Drawing by *Jacopo Bellini*)
PARIS: LOUVRE (SKETCH BOOK)

Upon these or similar compositions, Vincenzo, it would seem, founded his Crucifixion at Bergamo, so far as the general plan and arrangement of the three figures in his panel are concerned; but his psychological standpoint differs from that of Jacopo, and in his treatment of the human form he shows himself greatly in advance of his master, so far as we can judge from Jacopo's Crucifixion of the Verona Gallery and from his numerous drawings of this subject and of other nude figures in the London and Paris sketch-books.

Here in the Bergamo Crucifixion we have no longer haggard forms sparsely covered with flesh and bounded by contours of abnormal length, flat planes in which the presence of bone, muscle, and sinew is either entirely ignored or is indicated by violent and exaggerated lines, but human bodies of flesh and blood showing plastic roundness of form, skilful modelling, and an intimate knowledge of structural principles unusual at this early date. The central figure is well preserved and deserving of close study from a technical point of view, the flesh painting being unusually luminous and enamel-like in quality. In the main the treatment of this figure follows the conventional lines; the thinness of the limbs and of the upper part of the body, and certain exaggerations in the curve of the leg and in the drawing of the arms, recall the methods of earlier painters, but in the treatment of the other two figures the striving after a more developed realism is apparent; the harsher qualities are modified and softened, and the whole conception shows an intimate and diligent observation of nature. Without undue contortions or exaggerated gestures, Vincenzo succeeds in conveying exactly the tension and strain upon the muscles produced by a body dependent for support upon the cords which bind it to the cross.¹ The calm dignity and significant characterization of the central figure, the peaceful expression of the penitent thief with his head sunk on his breast, are admirably contrasted with the vehement agitation depicted on the countenance of the other, who turns an agonized gaze upon the demon hovering above his head and whose every movement betokens impotent despair. This power of expressing different

¹ Here also Foppa shows himself in advance of his age. As a rule, in treating this subject of the malefactors bound to their crosses, the Italian masters avoided the exaggerated methods by which northern painters sought to give actuality to the scene, but they failed to carry conviction owing to their frequent "violation of all physical rules." Mantegna, in his impressive predella (now in the Louvre) belonging to the S. Zeno altarpiece (1457-59), represents the thief on the left with one foot loosely bound to the cross and the other free, the support thus given being obviously inadequate to sustain the weight of the body. Jacopo Bellini is still more unconvincing in his treatment in this particular, but Foppa in his composition has attempted a more truthful rendering. Each figure is securely bound, and the lines and attitude of the body are studied and considered in relation to the position on the cross and with some regard for physical rules.

phases of emotion with startling reality, of seizing a psychological moment and depicting it with a truth that is wholly convincing, is a very remarkable achievement at this early date, and proves that the tendency of the new school of naturalism inaugurated in North Italy by Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini had found in Vincenzo one of its ablest and most enthusiastic exponents. Sincerity, the keynote of his art from his earliest to his latest works, led him to develop these tendencies on different lines from those of his predecessors. The conception here is as unusual as it is poetical and impressive. The sombre sky flecked with lines of light towards the horizon forms a most appropriate background to the three figures and throws them into strong relief. On them Vincenzo has concentrated all his power; he has conceived of them as forsaken by all, set in the midst of a dark and hilly landscape without the city over which the hush of a profound and awful stillness broods. Not a living thing disturbs the infinite solitude; not an insect stirs; not a bird flits across the sky; and in the midst of this deep silence of nature one note of intensely human anguish is struck in the conception of the impenitent thief. By excluding all mortal witnesses and banishing from his panel every disturbing element and trivial accessory, the painter has increased tenfold the significance and solemn dignity of his composition.¹ It is not surprising that the author of a work so original and spontaneous should at once have sprung into the first rank among his contemporaries.

The picture is not well preserved throughout and in parts has suffered irreparable injury. The flesh tones in the body of the impenitent thief have lost their original character, and the bushes on the right and all the architectural and decorative details have been unmercifully repainted; but injured though it be, and marred in many parts by the trivial and lifeless touch of the restorer, the composition as a whole remains to us as one of the most impressive and striking examples of the ideal representation of the Crucifixion ever produced, in contradistinction to the historical treatment, with its crowded groups of figures and many accessories.

¹ Professor Ricci (*op. cit.*, pp. 21, 44, etc.) makes the interesting observation that in Jacopo Bellini's drawings we constantly meet with a strain of lyrical feeling and an all-pervading sense of profound and awe-inspiring solitude. He instances, among other compositions, the impressive drawing in the Paris sketch-book representing the moment after the Crucifixion when all had been accomplished and the three empty crosses are seen in the wild landscape with one solitary figure passing by (No. 62). As the qualities here alluded to are precisely those which we have for many years regarded as distinctive also of the art of Foppa, we look upon Professor Ricci's words as a most striking indirect proof of the bond of union between the two painters, and as a further confirmation of our view that Jacopo Bellini was, in all probability, the master of Vincenzo Foppa.



THE CRUCIFIXION
BERGAMO: ACCADEMIA CARRARA

The Bergamo picture has been cited as a proof of Foppa's Squarcionesque training, but the connection which it shows with Verona and with Jacopo Bellini is infinitely closer. The arch within which the picture is framed and the medallions with busts in profile have been pointed to as showing his Paduan descent, but Vincenzo must have been intimately acquainted with such *motives* at Verona, for in the frescoes of a chapel in S. M. della Scala, executed, according to documents recently discovered by Prof. Simeoni, by Giovanni Badile in 1443,¹ we find the round arch supported by columns with medallions on either side used in two of the compositions, and we also meet with it in numerous drawings by Jacopo Bellini. It was in fact merely one of the favourite *motives* of the day, for the artists of the early fifteenth century were quick to appreciate the decorative qualities of ancient coins and to adapt them to their own purpose.

The treatment of trees in the landscape is absolutely identical with Pisanello's manner in S. Anastasia at Verona, and in our National Gallery, and the character of the landscape itself, with its hummock-shaped hills, is most intimately connected with the landscape of Bono da Ferrara in his St. Jerome of the same gallery, a picture in which the painter describes himself as a disciple of Pisanello. This similarity was long ago pointed out by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,² and was again referred to by Mr. Herbert Cook in his admirable Catalogue of Milanese pictures at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1898.³ A very similar quality of landscape and treatment of trees is seen in the Madonna and Child in the Louvre, ascribed by some critics to Jacopo Bellini, by others to the school of Pisanello, and again, in the predella of the Annunciation in S. Alessandro at Brescia—a work closely connected with Jacopo Bellini—we find the same hummock-shaped hills in the background of the Visitation. Yet in spite of this evident connection with Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini, the landscape of the Bergamo Crucifixion is deeply imbued with Foppa's own character; in the exquisite feeling and balance of the composition and in the delicate tones of the colouring, Vincenzo already shows that intimate appreciation of nature which he develops in so remarkable a degree in his later works and which proves him to have been one of the ablest landscape painters in the Lombard school of his day.

The central composition, as already observed, is derived from Jacopo Bellini, though in the hands of Foppa it assumed a totally distinct character. From this picture therefore it would also be impossible to infer that Vincenzo was a pupil of Squarcione.

¹ See *Nuov. Arch. Ven.*, T. XIII, pt. 1, p. 152 and foll.

² II, 3.

³ p. xxvi. See too *Pisanello*, by G. F. Hill, where Foppa's picture is twice referred to.

In the walled city seen in the background Don Pietro Moiraghi believed that he could identify a number of buildings at Pavia:¹ the great tower of the city known as Torre Maggiore, the towers of the Carmine, of S. Giovanni Domnarum, and of the Broletto—a purely imaginary theory, for the round tower, to which prominence is here given, is of a form unknown at Pavia. The tower of Boëthius, though round in form,² was of a totally different character to the one seen in the Bergamo picture; and among the hundred or more towers which were standing at Pavia in Foppa's day, and are represented in a fresco of 1522 by Bernardino Lanzani da S. Colombano in S. Teodoro at Pavia,³ not one has the form of the tower in the Bergamo Crucifixion.⁴ If it is to be identified with any known building, it might with greater likelihood be held to represent the medieval tower in the Castello at Brescia known as Mirabella, to which it bears some resemblance; but in all probability the background was merely a fanciful composition, the result of impressions received by Vincenzo in his intercourse with other painters from different parts of Italy, either in the workshop of his master or when he had come to his full maturity. A very similar tower is seen in Crivelli's Blood of the Redeemer in the Poldi Museum at Milan, and in Giovanni Bellini's picture of the same subject in the National Gallery; and in this last, too, we find the *motive* of the paved floor and the parapet opening out upon the landscape, though in place of Bellini's symbolical bas-reliefs⁵ we have on the parapet of the Bergamo picture the painter's signature and the date:—

○ · CCCC ·	· VINCE ·
LV · DIC ·	CI 3 BRI
MENSIS	.. IC SIS
APRILIS ·	PIN IT ⁶

The inscription is undoubtedly original, though it has suffered considerably, the "A" of "Aprilis" having at some period been changed into an

¹ *Almanacco Sacro Pavese*, 1897, p. 331.

² See A. M. Spelta, *Aggiunta all' Historia sua*, p. 142, where a reproduction of this tower is given.

³ Reproduced by Don P. Moiraghi in *Bollettino Stor. Pavese*, 1893.

⁴ For the towers of Pavia see Zuradelli, *Le Torri di Pavia*.

⁵ For the symbolical significance of this class of composition, see the late Dr. Ludwig's important article in the *Jahrbuch d. K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1902.

⁶ "1456 Die Mensis Aprilis Vincencius Brixienis pinxit."

"M"; the day of the month is not specified, though the space left after "DIE" might lead us to suppose that the painter had intended filling in the date, but eventually forgot to do so. It has been suggested that the date may be 1455, and that the last numeral refers to the day of the month, in which case it would run "MCCCCLV—I DIE Aprilis"; but such a reading is obviously unsatisfactory, and it seems clear that the master finished the picture in April, 1456, though he failed, perhaps through forgetfulness, to insert the day in the space left for the purpose.

The pedigree of the picture cannot be traced further than July, 1764, when Count Giacomo Carrara, writing to Bottari from Bergamo, informs him of his purchase of this picture, but unfortunately without giving any clue as to its earlier history.¹

The importance of these two early works cannot be overrated, representing as they do some of the phases through which Foppa must have passed in the course of his development. They prove conclusively that the school of Padua could have had no part in his training, that the master who exercised the most penetrating influence on his art was not Squarcione, but Jacopo Bellini, in whose workshop Vincenzo was probably the fellow-pupil of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, and would certainly have known Mantegna and other artists; and that at some early period of his career he must have been powerfully affected by the art of Pisanello and his followers. The Paradise picture belonging to Cavaliere Nosedà is the only existing work which can with any certainty be ascribed to the years before Vincenzo Foppa became independent, and in this the inspiration and poetic charm of the composition seem undoubtedly derived from Veronese ideals. Hence we might infer that Foppa's connection with Verona preceded the years of his apprenticeship under Jacopo Bellini.² The Bergamo picture proves that the influence of Jacopo, and in a lesser degree of Pisanello, became the determining factors

¹ Bottari, *Racc. di Lett.*, etc., IV, p. 326; see also V, p. 233.

² That the Veronese influence preceded that of Jacopo Bellini in our painter's development appears to us probable from a study of the Nosedà and Bergamo pictures, but we have no certainty whether the first-named, the sole surviving example, as far as we know, of Foppa's years of apprenticeship, actually belongs to the group of his earliest works, that is, whether it was produced at Verona or in the workshop of Jacopo Bellini. The links with the art of Gentile da Fabriano, which the picture shows, might point equally to the influence of the Veronese follower of the master or to that of Jacopo Bellini, who proclaimed himself a pupil of Gentile on his fresco at Verona. Our knowledge of this period of Foppa's career is *nil*, and one solitary undated work is insufficient to afford the necessary proofs. But as to the main points these two early works leave us in no doubt, namely, that the art of Vincenzo Foppa is a product of the schools of Verona and Venice, and was wholly unaffected by Padua, as represented by Squarcione.

in his art, and remained paramount for many years, so that even in 1456, at which time he had certainly attained independence as an artist, his descent from these two masters is still distinctly traceable, though, as in the Nosedà picture, his own individuality is so patent that it would be impossible to ascribe it to any other painter.

We have no certain information as to the length of Foppa's stay at Verona, or as to the time when his training under Jacopo Bellini came to an end; but indirect evidence enables us to set the limit with tolerable certainty. Knowing as we do (see Doc. No. 15) that in 1456 he was a married man with a family and assistants, the natural inference is that by 1450 he must certainly have been independent. In all probability he returned to Brescia intending to settle there, and soon after married the daughter of a Brescian named Caylina, her mother being a certain Caterina de Bolis, of Cremona.

What actually induced him to leave his home for Pavia we cannot tell, but it was not likely that the narrow limits of a small city like Brescia would have satisfied an artist of Foppa's great endowments for any length of time; he must, after a few years' residence there, have felt the need of a wider field for the exercise of his powers, and he turned his thoughts to Lombardy as the sphere of activity most likely to satisfy all his ambitions.

Lomazzo's statement¹ that Filippo Maria Visconti was one of his patrons is certainly incorrect, for the Duke died in 1447, and prior to this period, if our surmises as to the date of Foppa's birth and the time of his apprenticeship be correct, he would scarcely have been fitted to undertake independent work. No trace of his presence in Milanese territory at so early a stage of his career has thus far come to light, and the first definite mention of him at Pavia is of the year 1458, though we have reason to think, from the document alluded to above (No. 15), that he had settled there with his family as early as 1456. The idea of seeking employment at the Court of Francesco Sforza may first have been suggested to Foppa by his compatriot Bonifazio Bembo,² who had been for years in the service of the Duke. Through the instrumentality of Bembo, or through the relations of his wife, the de Bolis of Cre-

¹ *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, p. 26.

² Bembo, though usually called of Cremona, was by birth a Brescian (see F. Sacchi, *Notizie, etc.*, p. 212, and Caffi, in *Arch. Stor. Lombardo*, 1878, p. 82). In one of our documents (January 20, 1477, App. II, No. 31) Bonifazio is called "de Benbis de Cremona, son of Giovanni"; this makes it probable that he may have been of the same family as the painter Andrea da Cremona (see p. 3, note 1), who in a Brescian document of February 27, 1451, is called "Andrea quondam Mr. Johannis de Banbis de Cremona" (see Atti di Giov. Roberti, *Arch. Ant. Mun.*, Brescia).

mona,¹ Foppa may have been brought to the notice of Bartolomeo Gadio, a native of that city, who had long filled the post of architect and engineer to the Duke, and in 1454 had been appointed overseer-in-chief of all the works in the Castello at Milan. The splendid openings which Pavia and Milan must at this period have offered to artificers of every description, added perhaps to the deplorable conditions then prevailing in his home, doubtless hastened Vincenzo's resolve to remove with his family to Pavia, for towards the close of 1455 Brescia was ravaged by plague and devastated by floods caused by the Garza having overflowed its banks, and "by reason of this deluge," says Capriolo, "all things were subverted."² Pavia had been for centuries one of the most notable cities in Italy; a royal residence in the days of Theodoric, a centre of culture and learning in the Middle Ages (for by an edict of King Lothaire of 825 all the youth of Lombardy was summoned to attend her schools³), and later one of the busiest emporiums of trade and commerce in the land, by reason of her situation on the Ticino and near the River Po, the two great commercial waterways of Lombardy. From the time when Galeazzo Visconti II, the founder of the University, chose the city as his residence and declared his intention of building a palace which should surpass in splendour all other buildings of its kind in Italy, the art life of Pavia—first quickened into being by extraneous influences—developed rapidly. In this building, which Petrarch called the most princely of all modern edifices,⁴ and Corio, the first palace in the world, painters found continuous employment from 1366 onwards, and there, according to the Anonimo, who quotes from Cesare Cesariano, Pisanello painted a series of magnificent frescoes, "so smooth and brilliant that one still can see one's face in them."⁵

The Visconti, though historians have branded them as brutal tyrants and monsters of cruelty, exercised a most beneficent influence over every branch of art. The building of the Cathedral of Milan and of the Certosa of Pavia,⁶ the restoration and embellishment of the ducal palaces and other buildings in both these cities, gave employment to an innumerable throng of craftsmen; and the rulers of the Duchy, by their powerful patronage, succeeded in gathering round them the most distinguished among the architects, sculptors, and painters of the day. Their Court came to be regarded as the most brilliant in

¹ Cremona had since 1419 belonged to the Duchy of Milan, having been bought by Filippo Maria Visconti from Gabrino Fondulo for 35,000 ducats (Verri, II, 42).

² "Per lo qual diluvio andò ogni cosa sotto sopra" (*op. cit.*, p. 230).

³ See Vidari, *Frammenti, etc.*, I, 238, 239.

⁴ Lettere Senili, Lib. V, lettera 1, 264.

⁵ "Tanto lisce e tanto resplendenti che fin oggidì si pol specchiar in esse" (Anonimo, ed. Frizzoni, p. 121).

⁶ Begun respectively in 1386 and 1396.

Italy, and their chief cities of Milan and Pavia became the centre of a great art movement, a focus of strenuous effort and boundless activity, drawing to itself artists from far and near by the power of an irresistible attraction. And what the Visconti had initiated attained its highest development under the Sforza, whose reign, covering the last fifty years of the fifteenth century, marks the most glorious epoch in the annals of Lombard art.

To this great centre of activity came Vincenzo Foppa in the early years of the reign of Francesco Sforza as Duke of Milan. The painter may have chosen Pavia for his abode in preference to Milan, not only on account of the prospects of remunerative employment in the Castello and the Certosa, but also perhaps because of its convenient situation and pure air; for Pavia, the "Urbs saluberrimi aëris" of Petrarch¹ and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini,² lying amid luxuriant vegetation on the banks of the Ticino, had always been regarded as peculiarly healthy.

When Foppa first settled in the city, he found there a group of native artists exercising their craft whose names we meet with constantly in contemporary records at Pavia. In the Archivio Notarile no less than thirty-five documents are preserved relating to painters in this one year, 1456, from which we gather that Foppa must have found at least eight colleagues in art working in the city. First among this group of painters was Giorgio Mangano, a member of a noble and distinguished Pavian family, who is known to have executed works in the Certosa as early as 1434.³ Pavian writers on art were only acquainted with this one notice of him,⁴ which we are now able to supplement. He was the son of a certain Simone, and husband of a Pavian lady of good birth, Caracossa Morbio, whom he had married as early as February 26, 1417, and who made her will on April 14, 1456, dying without children. The painter owned a large property at Mornico, in the district of Oltrepo, and at Buttirago, in the Campagna sottana of Pavia.⁵ His life must have been a long one, for a record of July 11, 1470 (a receipt for rent), proves that he was still alive at that date.

The well-known family of Vaprio, which gave so many painters to Milan, is represented at Pavia by two artists, Giovanni and Nicola, sons of a Giacomo da Vaprio. After being first employed in the cathedral at Milan,⁶ they settled at Pavia. The earliest notice there of Giovanni is of 1443, in which year, on June 21, we find that he entered into partnership with Giovanni

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

² Oratio Prima (Pro Œcum. Concil.), p. 27, pars 1.

³ See Magenta, *I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia*, Vol. II.

⁴ Moiraghi, *Almanacco Sacro Pavese*, 1897, p. 197.

⁵ The district lying east of Pavia.

⁶ Caffi, *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 540.

da Senago, this being the first mention of both these artists in Pavian records.¹

Giovanni da Vaprio, who practised his art for many years at Pavia (he died in the last decade of the fifteenth century), was the father of the painter Agostino;² he shared a workshop with Giovanni da Senago in the parish of Santa Maria Gualtieri, and in 1455, when still a young man, joined the third order of St. Francis, of which, in his old age, he became a superior.

Both painters, being hard-working and thrifty, succeeded in amassing small fortunes, which enabled them to buy houses in Pavia and property in the country. In January, 1445, we find Senago already purchasing land, and in 1456 Vaprio, with his brother Nicolino, also acquired property.

The painters Giovanni da Caminata and Giovanni Mezzabarba were members of noble and wealthy Pavian families. We find notices of the first-named towards 1453, and a signed fresco by him is in the Church of S. Giacomo della Cereda, near Belgioioso; he died in the first years of the sixteenth century. Giovanni Mezzabarba, son of a physician named Guglielmo, is mentioned in only two Pavian documents of March 19 and July 7, 1456; but after this his name disappears from the records. He may possibly have migrated to Genoa, a city in closest intercommunication with Pavia at this date, and where from December 19, 1455, we meet with notices of a painter Marco Mezzabarba, who was certainly of Pavian origin.

Leonardo and Antonio Vidolenghi, who came from a small village in Pavian territory, from which they are also called "da Marzano," where the family still exists, were sons of Gerardo Vidolenghi, a rich miller who for many years had been living at Pavia, where another of his sons, Ambrogio, was educated and eventually became a notary. Antonio and Leonardo are first mentioned as painters in documents of 1453. Leonardo was the better artist of the two, and a fresco by him of 1463 in the Carmine at Pavia proves that he had considerable ability. He also worked in Genoa, as we gather from Pavian records of May 11, 1463, and April 14, 1466.³ Pavian writers

¹ "Socii assumptio facta per magistrum Johannem de Senago et Magistrum Johannem de Vaprio."

² Numerous painters of the family of Da Vaprio were working at Milan in the second half of the fifteenth century, and we know from Calvi and others that their surname was Zenoni. We have never met with the name in the archives at Pavia, and cannot therefore tell whether the Milanese and Pavian artists were of the same family. Some writers have affirmed that Costantino da Vaprio, the best known of all the painters of the name, was the son of the Giovanni mentioned above, but this is incorrect, as we know from the will of the latter, preserved in the Archivio Notarile at Pavia, that he had only two sons, Gian Giacomo and Agostino.

³ Leonardo Vidolenghi was the master of Agostino da Montebello, by whom there is a large fresco in the apse of S. Michele at Pavia, and of Lorenzo Fasolo. It has been

place the death of Leonardo about 1470,¹ but documents prove that he was still living in 1499, and that his brother Antonio survived until 1502.

These were the painters whom Foppa found on his arrival at Pavia. What their relations with him were we have been unable to discover, but our documents testify to the fact that some connection existed between him and Leonardo Vidolenghi and his pupil Antonio Rovati,² a painter whose name is first met with in a deed of June 19, 1455.³

The endowments of these eight masters just named, to judge from the few works by them still in existence, were not of a high order, and only a comparatively humble place can be assigned to them in the history of art; yet the very fact of the existence of such a group of painters proves that Pavia was no unfruitful soil, and that artists must have found abundant employment there at this early date.

At Milan, on the other hand, Foppa must have found a school already flourishing and firmly established, a school deriving in its origin perhaps from the teaching of Michelino da Besozzo, known also as Michelino da Pavia,⁴ and other contemporary artists, and owing much to the determining influence exercised by Pisanello during the years when he was painting in the Castello at Pavia, and by the Tuscan Masolino during his sojourn in Lombardy.

Among the painters known to us by name who were independent masters

suggested that Leonardo Vidolenghi may be the author of the picture which Alizeri mentioned as in the Palazzo Municipale at Genoa, representing the Madonna with SS. John Baptist, Erasmus, Francis, and Clara, signed "Opus Leonardi de Pavia MCCCCLXVI" (Alizeri, *Notizie de' Professori del disegno, etc.*, I, 261, and Magenta, *op. cit.*, I, 362; see also Suida, *Genoa*, p. 75). The picture is now in the Palazzo Bianco, but is certainly inferior to the fresco at Pavia.

¹ Moiraghi, *Alman.*, p. 281.

² See Appendix II, Docs. Nos. 8 and 16.

³ The documents here referred to, which are all in the Archivio Notarile at Pavia, will shortly be published in a work now in preparation dealing with the painters of Pavia, by Rodolfo Maiocchi, D.D.

⁴ In 1388 Michelino executed in the second cloister of S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro at Pavia a series of frescoes dealing with the history of St. Augustine which were destroyed soon after 1670 (see *Cod. diplom. Ord. E. S. Augustini Papiæ*, Vol. I, pp. 143, 144), and in August, 1394, he painted a picture for the Chapel of S. Nicolò da Tolentino in the Church of Santa Mostiola, a work which was signed and dated (*ibid.*, p. 200). A signed work by him bearing the date 1418 in the Treasury of the Cathedral at Milan proves that he was an artist of no mean order. In the *Codex Picenardiano* (quoted by Malaguzzi, *Pitt. Lomb.*, p. 297) Michelino is spoken of as a painter of equal merit as Gentile da Fabriano; Uberto Decembrio (d. 1427) praises him highly (*Cod. Ambrosiano*, quoted Mal., p. 207), and Lomazzo (*Lib. VI*, ch. 32, p. 359) calls him the principal painter of his day in Italy. Marcantonio Michiel in 1530 saw a book of his drawings in the house of Gabriele Vendramin (Anonimo, ed. Frizzoni, p. 221).

at the time when Foppa came to Pavia must be mentioned in the first place the brothers Zavattari,¹ by whom we have one absolutely authentic work, practically the most important existing example in North Italy of the early Milanese school—the well-known series of frescoes in the Chapel of Queen Teodolinda in the Cathedral at Monza, which in addition to the signature bear the date 1444.

These frescoes may be taken as a criterion of the capacity of the artists of that day and of the quality and tendencies of the pre-Foppesque school of Lombardy, a school evidently still primitive in character, full of charm in many respects, but incapable of freeing itself from the traditional methods of the Pisanellesque period and of breaking fresh ground, a school which must consequently be termed retrograde rather than progressive.

Such also, we must assume, was the quality of the art practised by the numerous other artists of the school of Milan prior to the advent of Vincenzo Foppa, painters whose names are familiar to all students of Italian art, though unfortunately few of them are represented by extant works in the present day. All these artists, as we know from numerous documents, were painters of renown in their day, and were for the most part independent before 1458; hence when Foppa settled at Pavia, they must have been in the zenith of their power and leading masters of the school which flourished at Milan and in the surrounding territory. Among them may be mentioned Giacomino and Costantino Zenoni da Vaprio, Zanetto Bugati, Cristoforo Moretto,² Giacomo Valperga, Gian Giacomo da Lodi, Giacomo Vismara, Melchiorre Lampugnano, Gottardo Scotti,³ and others, and perhaps to this group of painters who are known to have been working in 1458, we may add the names of those with whom we have proof that Foppa was more or less connected in later

¹ According to Calvi (II, 144, note 1) the Zavattari in 1453 painted a chapel in the Certosa of Pavia (see also Magenta, I, p. 108). A signed work by Gregorio Zavattari is mentioned in the *Arch. Stor. Lombardo* (VIII, p. 60) as in the Santuario of Corbetta, and frescoes in the Church of Monzoro, near Cusago, are also ascribed to this family of artists (Malaguzzi, *Pittori Lombardi*, p. 92). The frescoes in the cortile and in two rooms on the ground floor of the Palazzo Borromeo (No. 7 Piazza Borromeo) at Milan are ascribed by some to the Zavattari, whose authorship is certainly more probable than that of Michelino, to whom these frescoes have also been attributed. Another work of the Zavattari hitherto unknown in the history of art was executed in 1465, namely, the ceiling frescoes of the Capella Maggiore of S. Vincenzo in Prato at Milan, of which we have a detailed description in an interesting document of the Archivio Notarile in that city (see *Rivista di scienze storiche*, Pavia, July, 1908).

² A signed work by him in the collection of Cav. Bassano Gabba at Milan.

³ By whom there are two signed works in the Poldi Museum and in the collection of Avvocato Cologna at Milan. Cf. also Motta, in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, June 1895, p. 411.

years, namely : Bonifazio Bembo,¹ Pietro Marchesi, Stefano Fedeli, Stefano de Magistris, Pietro da Corte, Vincenzo Peregallo, Leonardo Ponzano, etc., a not inconsiderable number therefore of painters of note, and doubtless there were many more of whom we know nothing.² Yet, in spite of the fact that Foppa, when he settled in the Duchy of Milan, found so large a company of painters already in possession of the field, we have no hesitation in claiming for him the honour of having been the true and actual founder of the early Lombard school in the sense that he radically changed its nature and endowed it with a new and potent vitality. There is not the slightest doubt that in a few years' time his influence made itself powerfully felt throughout the schools of Milan and Pavia, that his contemporaries, even those who were senior to him in years, were unable to hold aloof from the vigorous methods of the new art which was springing up in their midst, planted there by a stranger from the Venetian province of Brescia, an art which gained ground so rapidly that in the brief space of three or four years we find Vincenzo Foppa surpassing all his fellow-workers, taking his place as the acknowledged head of the school, and, as time went on, training in his *bottega* pupils whose works testify to their direct descent from him, as will be seen later.

Of Foppa's first works at Pavia we have no record, but in all probability he was one of those who obtained employment in the Castello, where Bembo, Costantino da Vaprio, and Zanetto Bugati—all painters with whom we find him associated at a later date, were engaged in executing frescoes. Bembo, who may, as already observed, have been instrumental in persuading Foppa to try his fortunes at Pavia, appears to have been one of the most influential among the painters there. In December, 1456, he had been summoned from Cremona, and in February, 1457, was lodged in the castle with his assistants, and by order of the Duke every facility was afforded him for carrying on his work there ; in the following year, when engaged in painting one of the rooms, he was commanded to take other artists to assist him³ in order that the work might be completed without delay, and it is by no means improbable that one of these painters may have been Foppa. The frescoes of the great hall, which remained intact until Lautrec's bombardment in 1527, and were

¹ That Bembo had already been in the service of the Milanese Court as far back as 1447 in the reign of Filippo Maria Visconti we know, from a letter published by Caffi in the *Arch. Stor. Lombardo*, Anno V, p. 82.

² We have included in this list only such artists as we know to have been employed as fresco painters and at the Court of the Sforza, and who therefore must have stood in the first rank of the school.

³ *Archivio Stor. Lombardo*, 1876, 546, 552, 553 ; Nagler, *Künstlerlexicon*, III, ed. 1885 ; Malaguzzi, *op. cit.*, 99, 100, etc.

seen and described by Breventano,¹ must have been completed by 1461, for the Florentine ambassadors, on their way home from France, whither they had been sent to congratulate Louis XI on his accession, lodged in the castle and described this hall as "most beautiful and well painted."²

The usual theory with regard to Foppa's presence in Milanese territory at this period is, that he was summoned to Milan by Francesco Sforza in order to paint the Medici Bank, the Hospital, and the Palazzo dell' Arengo. The evidence, however, seems strong that he could not have undertaken either of these two first-named works until after 1462 or 1463, and with regard to the Arengo, if he painted there at all, which is certainly probable, his work must have been executed between 1459 and 1461.

The Arengo Palace, called also Corte Ducale or Broletto Vecchio, was built by Matteo Visconti and enlarged and beautified by successive rulers. The building appears, however, to have been in a ruinous condition in the early years of the reign of Francesco Sforza, and is said to have been then restored by the Florentine Antonio Averulino, known as Filarete,³ who had been in the service of the Duke since 1451.⁴

In January, 1459, the restoration must have been complete, for the Duke was already living there and personally superintending from thence the building of the hospital;⁵ but the paintings executed in the Arengo by Bembo, Cristoforo Moretto of Cremona, Costantino da Vaprio, and others were not finished, it is said, until 1461. These works are mentioned by nearly all the writers of Milan and Cremona, and among the latter, Zaist⁶ affirms that they were still in existence in his day, and he noted the signature of Bembo and the date 1461, though the building itself, we learn from Gualdo Priorato,⁷ had been completely modernized by the Governor in 1666. The only writer who includes Foppa among the painters of these frescoes is

¹ *Istoria della Antichità di Pavia*, ch. III, p. 7, ed. 1570.

² *Archivio Storico Italiano*, I Serie III, p. 44.

³ A passage in Filarete's *Trattate*, ed. Oettingen (Bk. I, p. 58), would certainly seem to refer to this building, though the most recent biographer of Filarete, Signor Munoz, makes no mention of the Arengo in connection with the Florentine architect; see his remarks on a letter which, he states, has been erroneously held to refer to the works in this palace (*Filarete, etc.*, p. 224), but cf. also Oett., *Tratt.*, p. 690, note 9, and *Life of Filarete*, p. 35.

⁴ Filarete's letter to Piero de' Medici, thanking him for his recommendation to the Duke of Milan, is dated December 20, 1453 (Pini, *Scrittura di artisti It.*, I, No. 37).

⁵ R. Sanseverino, *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, in *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, 1888, p. 322.

⁶ *Notizie de' pittori di Cremona*, I, p. 52, ed. 1774.

⁷ *Relatione della Città di Milano*, p. 16, ed. 1666.

Lomazzo,¹ but as he also includes Civerchio, who could scarcely have been born at that date, his mention of Foppa proves nothing. It is certain, however, that before 1461 Vincenzo must have executed some works for Francesco Sforza in which he gave proof of his ability, otherwise the Duke would scarcely have recommended him in such eulogistic terms to the Genoese (Doc. No. 4). Moreover Filarete's allusion to him as one of the few painters capable of decorating the palace of a prince² makes it probable that he would not have been passed over for this work.

We may assume then that his first employment in the service of the Duke was in the Castello of Pavia, though being at that time wholly unknown as an artist and as it were merely on trial, he finds no mention in documents of this date dealing with the paintings in that city. His work there must at once have established his reputation, and gained him further orders and a few years later he had so far outstripped all his rivals that he was universally acknowledged to be "the best painter in the whole land."

On May 15, 1458, we have the earliest reference to Foppa in a legal document (see App. II, Doc. No. 2); here he is called the "son of the late Johannis," and a citizen and inhabitant of Brescia. This latter statement seems at first sight to contradict a passage in a letter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza,³ according to which the painter was living at Pavia in 1456. Vincenzo's mother-in-law had, however, at some date unknown to us bestowed upon him a house at Brescia in the Contrada S. Agata,⁴ and we may assume that he was already then the owner of it, and was therefore perfectly justified in describing himself as an inhabitant or householder of Brescia, though at that time actually living at Pavia; it is probable also that even if he had then been living for some years at Pavia, he had not as yet definitely decided to quit Brescia altogether.

With him is named in this document another painter, who is also designated a citizen and inhabitant of Brescia, "Paulus de' Calino, the son of the late Petri." There is no doubt that this "Paulus" was a brother of Foppa's wife,⁵ though the Pavian notary has misspelt the surname. The Calini were a noble family of Brescia who filled many public offices there but never, so far as we have been able to discover, numbered a painter among their ranks. The

¹ *Trattato dell' Arte della Pittura*, p. 405.

² The painters mentioned by Filarete as capable, in his estimation, of decorating the palace of a prince are: Filippo da Firenze (Filippo Lippi); Piero del Burgo (P. della Francesca); Andrea da Padova detto Squarcione (? Mantegna); Gasmè da Ferrara (Cosimo Tura); and Vincentio Bresciano (Foppa) (*Tratt.*, ed. Oettingen, p. 302).

³ App. I, Note 1, p. 279 and App. II, Doc. No. 15.

⁴ Chap. VI, p. 136, and App. II, No. 33.

⁵ Chap. VI, p. 137.

Caylina, on the other hand, to which family Foppa's wife belonged, were of much humbler origin, and in the Brescian Libri d'Estimo we meet with tailors, painters, locksmiths, and other craftsmen of this name throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A painter Paolo Caylina executed works for the Brescia Government at different periods up to 1475, when his name disappears from the registers, and there is no doubt, as will be seen later, that this painter was identical with Foppa's associate at Pavia.

According to this document of May 15, 1458, Foppa and his companion paid to a certain "Nicolò de' Franceschi, son of the late Giorgio, citizen and inhabitant of Venice," the sum of lire 22, soldi 9, denari 1, the recipient professing himself satisfied therewith; at the same time Master Vincenzo and Paolo de' Calino acknowledged that all their claims upon Nicolò de' Franceschi had also been discharged to the full. We do not know what the question at issue between the two Brescian painters and this Venetian¹ may have been, and the document scarcely justifies the late Don Pietro Moiraghi's supposition that it must necessarily have referred to a work of art.² We gather that the disputants had agreed to submit their differences to the decision of an arbitrator, and had chosen for this office Giacomo Codazza of Pavia, the deed appointing him having been drawn up by the notary Domenico de' Tintoribus³ in this same month of May, 1458. But before Codazza could intervene the matter had been arranged, and it is to this amicable settlement that our document refers. Among the witnesses was the Pavian painter Giacomino son of Giovanni de' Meliis, and the deed was drawn up in the house of Giacomo Tibolderiis of Mortara, a fact which tends to connect Paolo Calino with an extant painting; for in this year 1458, an altarpiece signed "Paulus Brisien[s]is" was executed for the Church of S. Albino at Mortara.⁴

¹ We have no clue as to the status of this Nicolò de' Franceschi; was he himself a painter, or a patron who commissioned a picture from the Brescian master? or was it purely a matter of business to which the document refers? We cannot tell, but it might perhaps furnish a further indirect proof of Foppa's connection with Venice and sojourn there at an early period of his career, namely, during his years of apprenticeship.

² This writer conjectured that the document referred to the Bergamo Crucifixion (see Moiraghi in *Almanacco*, 1897, p. 333). He assumed that this picture was the centre of a triptych, the wings of which he believed he had discovered in two small panels in the Gallery at Bergamo (*ibid.*, p. 332), once ascribed to "Paolo Bresciano" (Fenaroli, *Dizionario degli Artisti Bresciani*, p. 73), though they are in point of fact the work of a local painter of Bergamo. It is scarcely necessary to add that they have nothing to do with Foppa's panel, which never formed part of a triptych.

³ The deeds of this notary have all perished, and we are unable therefore to explain the cause of the dispute referred to in this document (No. 2).

⁴ The picture was painted for the Church of S. Albino, but was later transferred to S. Lorenzo at Mortara. The signature, which is on the central panel, is as follows:

The picture, a very mediocre performance, is now in the Turin Gallery, and shows that, like Foppa, this Brescian painter must have learned his art in Venetia, though in the school, not of Jacopo Bellini, but of the painters of Murano. It is now practically certain that the "Paolo da Brescia" of the Mortara altarpiece is identical with the "Paolo Calino" who appears with Foppa in the house of a native of Mortara at Pavia, and that both are also identical with the Brescian painter Paolo Caylina.¹ We can point to no work by Foppa of these years except the Bergamo Crucifixion, and possibly the lost frescoes in the Castello at Pavia and in the Arengo at Milan, though there can be no doubt that he executed other paintings in both these cities.

In 1460 plague raged in Italy, and Pavia, in spite of its splendid air and healthy situation, was not exempt from the scourge; it is possible that from this and other causes, employment for painters may have been slack at this time. At Milan the hospital and other buildings, for the decoration of which the best artists would have been required, were not yet sufficiently advanced to admit of the execution of frescoes, hence Vincenzo may have been forced to seek for work elsewhere, and he turned his thoughts to Genoa.

Liguria, though singularly devoid of local painters of any merit, was the favourite resort of artists from other parts of Italy. In the fourteenth century the Tuscan element predominated; but in the fifteenth the influx was from the north, more especially from Milan and Pavia, for during the space of fifteen years (from 1421 to 1436) Genoa had been subject to Filippo Maria

"PAVLVS BRISIEN[S]IS PINXIT MCCCCLVIII" (see Tapparelli d'Azeglio, *La R. Galleria di Torino*, IV, p. 195; *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1902, and *Anonim. Ticinens.* ed. Maiocchi and Quintavalle, 1903, p. 22, note 6).

¹ We may take this opportunity of emphatically protesting against the attribution to Paolo Caylina of the beautiful Annunciation in S. Alessandro at Brescia. Most critics are now agreed that it is probably by Jacopo Bellini, though some guide-books, on the authority of certain writers, continue to ascribe it to Paolo da Brescia. The figures of the angel and of the Madonna are modernized by repainting (see Capilupi, *Sulla tavola . . . nella chiesa di S. Aless., etc.*), but the predella is still in fairly good condition, and here the close connection with Jacopo Bellini's drawings is at once apparent. On the other hand, we may claim as a late work by Paolo Caylina the panel for the Shoemakers' Guild in the fourth chapel on the right in S. Nazzaro at Brescia, which bears considerable resemblance to the altarpiece at Turin, though it is evidently some fifteen years later in date. It represents the Madonna and Child enthroned with two angel musicians on the arms of the throne; on the right a bishop, on the left St. Laurence. The picture is in a terribly injured state and has been unmercifully repainted, but in the types of the Madonna and of the saints, in the drawing and pose of the Child and of the angels, in the treatment of the draperies and character of the hands, the manner of Paolo Caylina is apparent. It is evident from these two works that he was a painter of very limited ability, and that he could have had little intercourse with his brother-in-law Vincenzo Foppa, probably because most of his life was spent at Brescia.

Visconti. Throughout the fifteenth century, in spite of the wars by which the Genoese were constantly harassed, painters from North Italy continued to flock to Genoa, probably because in these years some harsh clauses in the statutes of the Painters' Guild were considerably modified, and they were enabled to pursue their art under more favourable conditions.¹

The Pavians were quick to seize the opportunities which Genoa offered them; many painters opened workshops there and ended by settling altogether in the city, and in the early fifteenth century one of the busiest and most populous streets of Genoa was known as the "Carrubeo de Papia."²

In 1446 the Duke of Milan, in order to facilitate intercourse between Pavia and Genoa, had caused special arrangements to be made relating to safe-conducts. In 1460 the Podestà of Pavia was a Genoese, and that year was a remarkably prosperous one for Genoa. Giustiniani observes: "In the beginning of the year 1460 everything was quiet in the city, there was no talk of war, and . . . business was attended to."³ The moment was therefore a favourable one for an inhabitant of Pavia to try his fortunes in Liguria, and there can be no doubt that Vincenzo betook himself thither in the course of this year.

The document proving his presence at Genoa is of January 2, 1461 (see App. II, Doc. 3), and states that Master Vincenzo de Bressia, inhabiting Pavia, agreed to paint both the walls and the ceiling of the Chapel of St. John Baptist in the Cathedral of Genoa⁴ with subjects selected by his employers, the priors of the confraternity of that saint.⁵

¹ Alizeri, *Notizie de' Professori del disegno, etc.*, I, 209 and foll. ² *Ibid.*, 262.

³ "Nel principio dell' anno 1460 in la città le cose erano quiete e non si parlava di guerra anzi si attendeva . . . alla mercanzia" (*Annali di Genova*, II, 419, ed. 1854).

⁴ The document says the paintings were to be "in facie et in coelo," from which we should naturally infer that they were on the ceiling and entrance wall or façade of the chapel. The latter, however, was, as we know, entirely decorated with sculpture, and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that Foppa's frescoes must have been executed on the interior walls of the chapel.

⁵ The bones of St. John Baptist were said to have been brought from the East by a Genoese in the eleventh century, and after some vicissitudes were solemnly deposited in the cathedral (Olivieri, *Carte, etc.*, p. 219). In the fourteenth century a confraternity was formed to guard the precious relics, and the chapel where they were enshrined, erected by the Campanari family in the fourteenth century, was later reconstructed and beautified by the confraternity (Accinelli, *Liguria Sacra*, f. 15; Giscardi, *Origine delle Chiese, etc.*, di Genova, f. 345; and Alizeri, *Guida di Genova*, p. 16, etc.). The external decoration of the chapel, a work of remarkable beauty which is still existing, was executed by the Lombard sculptors Domenico and Elia Gaggini between 1448 and 1465, and about 1460 the question of the pictorial adornment of the interior was considered. (For the work of these sculptors see Luigi Cervetto, *I Gaggini da Bissone*; Suida, *Genua*, p. 51; L. Filippini in *Arte*, 1908, fasc. I, and others.)

The terms of the agreement were extraordinarily harsh. Vincenzo was to provide all the colours and other requisites with the exception of the gold and silver; the price of each picture was to be determined by the priors, the painter agreeing to abide by their decision. He was to begin the work on the 1st of April; nevertheless, if before that date the priors should have found another painter whom they considered more competent, Vincenzo bound himself to relinquish the work, and to restore the fifteen gold ducats which he had received from the priors as earnest money, and for which Gaspare dell' Acqua, a painter of Lodi, living at Genoa, had become surety.

It is most surprising that Foppa, who had already made his mark as a painter and stood in high favour with the Duke of Milan, should ever have agreed to such a contract. Only the necessity of obtaining work, added perhaps to the desire of gaining fame in a new place, could have induced him to stay in Genoa and accept the terms of the priors. No better painter seemingly was found by them, and that Vincenzo actually began the work, as agreed, in April is clear from the next document (No. 4). Apparently, after working for some weeks in the chapel, he reflected that he might better his position with his employers by obtaining a personal recommendation from Francesco Sforza to the Doge of Genoa, and he therefore returned to Pavia in order to solicit this favour. On June 28 the letter of recommendation was written and entrusted to Vincenzo, together with a copy for the priors of the confraternity, his employers, and armed with these missives he probably set out immediately on his return to Genoa. The ducal missive speaks in the warmest terms of Vincenzo Foppa the painter, as one thoroughly well skilled in his art; and though the Duke expresses his conviction that no words of recommendation are needed, yet, to meet the painter's wishes, and because his excellence in painting and his loyalty and devotion to the Sforza family merit such recognition, and "in order that he may apply himself more diligently to *the work which he has begun* in the Chapel of St. John Baptist in your city," Francesco Sforza earnestly commends him to the Genoese authorities.

This document is most important from several points of view. In the first place, it proves beyond all possibility of doubt that Vincenzo of Brescia who undertook to paint the chapel in January, 1461, is identical with Vincenzo Foppa, though Moiraghi,¹ in order to support his theory of Foppa's Pavian origin,² endeavoured to deny this identity and ignored the letter. As it was published as far back as 1878³ it must be assumed that he was aware of its existence. Secondly, the letter clearly demonstrates that Vincenzo did

¹ In *Alman. Sac.*, p. 333.

² App. I, Note 1.

³ *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, p. 104.

execute paintings in the chapel, though Alizeri and Moiraghi cast doubts upon this point.¹ From the evidence of the documents it is certain that Foppa began to paint the chapel in April, and resumed work on his return to Genoa with the Duke's letter of recommendation. That he was still working in that city on September 15 of the same year we know; for on that day he, with Bernardo Re and Ottobuono d' Annone, "painters in Genoa" as they are designated, settled a dispute between Gaspare dell' Acqua² (Foppa's surety in his first dealings with the priors), and his assistant Giovanni de' Gazo (Doc. No. 5). From a record of May 10, 1463, we know that at that date an admirable representation of the Almighty had been executed on the ceiling of the chapel. In this document Giovanni Mazone, a Piedmontese painter living at Genoa, agreed to paint an altarpiece for the chapel which was to equal, or if possible to surpass, the representation of the Almighty "existing on the ceiling (*supra troinam*) of the aforesaid Chapel of St. John Baptist."³ *Troina* (called also *truina*) is a term met with in fifteenth century documents to describe a vaulted roof or ceiling. It is clear, therefore, that Foppa did fulfil his contract to paint the chapel "in coelo," and that it was this work which he began in April and probably finished towards the end of the year. The rest of the paintings in this chapel, which according to the document were to be "in facie," appear to have been executed at a later date.

¹ Alizeri, *op. cit.*, while apparently admitting it in two paragraphs (I, 356, and II, 22), leaves us in doubt as to his opinion in another (IV, 257).

² Gaspare dell' Acqua, a native of Lodi, had enjoyed a great reputation at Genoa from 1460 onwards; a member of the Painters' Guild there, his name is first on the list of decorative artists, and he was constantly employed in adorning and beautifying the palaces of Genoese nobles. The *cassoni* produced in his workshop, where he employed numerous assistants, were in great request.

³ "Quod dicta Majestas sit ita pulcerima et dives ac bene laborata, quod dici possit in similitudine, et melius si esse potest, ymaginis Dei Patris existentis supra troinam capellæ predictæ sancti Johannis Baptistæ." (That the said Majesty be so beautiful, rich, and well executed that it might be equal to, or if possible better than, the representation of the Eternal Father on the ceiling of the aforesaid Chapel of St. John Baptist.) Aliz., II, 23, Atti del Not. Tommaso Duracino, Fogliaz. 7, 1463.

CHAPTER II

1462, 1463 AND LATER

Foppa returns to Pavia in 1462—His work for the Abbot of Morimondo—Frescoes in the Church of S. Tommaso—Summoned to Milan by Francesco Sforza—Takes a house at Pavia for four years—Its position—Foppa again sent for by the Duke in March, 1463—His frescoes in the hospital at Milan—Canvases there once wrongly ascribed to Foppa—His frescoes in the Medici Bank—Drawing at Berlin—Giovanni Maria da Brescia's engraving—The Regisole—The fresco at Hertford House.

ON the completion of the fresco in the ceiling of the Chapel of St. John Baptist at Genoa, Foppa most probably returned to Pavia, for, if we are to believe the testimony of Bossi, the Church of the Carmine in that city contained in his day a signed work by the master dated May, 1462. The painting was seen by Bossi in the second chapel on the right on entering the church by the principal door, but this writer being chiefly concerned with the inscription, mentions it only in the briefest terms as "in Capella S. Bernardini";¹ then follows the inscription without further comment and without any clue as to its position in the chapel:—

Istud opus Baptista Comes celeberrime condens
Digne Monasterii Morimundi Malleta Pastor
In Christi eterno genitricis honore Marie
Te facis eternum divinis laudibus unus
Vincēntius de Fopa pinxit anno 1462 de mense madii.²

From this brief notice later writers have inferred that Foppa was employed

¹ *Memoriæ Ticinenses Novantiquæ*, f. 196. Girolamo Bossi, who left numerous MSS. (now in the University Library) relating to Pavia, was born there in 1588 and died in 1646. The MS. of the "Chiese" was his latest work, and contains notices of events up to the year of the writer's death. The *Mem. Ticin. Novantiq.* is earlier, but the precise date cannot be determined. The MS. received additions in the eighteenth century by Siro Rho.

² "Thou Battista Malleta, renowned Count and worthy Abbot of the Monastery of Morimondo, by causing this work to be produced to the eternal honour of Christ's mother Mary, makest thyself immortal among other men in praising God. Vincenzo de Fopa painted it, in the month of May of the year 1462."

by the donor, Battista Maletta,¹ Abbot of Morimondo (a Cistercian abbey between Pavia and Milan), not only to paint the whole chapel in fresco,² but also to provide the altarpiece, the subject of which Don Pietro Moiraghi went so far as to endeavour to reconstruct,³ thus making *two* works by Foppa out of Bossi's notice.

With these views we cannot agree. The Chapel of S. Bernardino was not founded by the Abbot of Morimondo, and the inscription recorded by Bossi certainly did not refer to a work originally painted for this chapel, for we gather from an inscription still preserved there that the chapel and altar dedicated to SS. Bernardino of Siena and John the Evangelist were a foundation of Bonifazio de' Torti, who died on November 22, 1454. According to the terms of his will, dated March 3, 1454, he left all his possessions to the Hospital of St. Matthew at Pavia, providing that out of this bequest his heirs were to found and endow this chapel, the rights of patronage being assured to the de' Torti family in perpetuity.⁴

The Abbot Maletta had therefore no part nor lot in this foundation, and Foppa's work, which we know from the inscription to have been produced for him, could have had no connection originally with the Chapel of S. Bernardino.

But how then could Bossi, in the first half of the seventeenth century, have seen a picture there with the names of the painter and of the Abbot Maletta inscribed upon it? The facts, hitherto wrongly explained by art historians, become perfectly clear if we turn to the Official Report of the Apostolic Visitation of Monsignor Peruzzi,⁵ who in 1576 had been sent by

¹ Maletta, who belonged to a noble Pavian family, was, on the recommendation of the Pope, made Abbot of Morimondo by Francesco Sforza in 1451, a post which he held until his death in September, 1462 (see *Indice Registri Ducali*, Arch. di Stato, Milan, fol. 143 v., anno 1451, November 24). For other notices relating to Maletta see Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, IV, 144; *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1881, 628; Robolini, *Notizie Storiche di Pavia*, III, 261, etc.

² Calvi, *Notizie, etc.*, II, p. 63, and Cr. and Cav., *op. cit.*, II, 5.

³ *Alman. Sacr.*, p. 335.

⁴ The stone covering the vault of Bonifazio de' Torti is on the floor of the chapel in front of the altar, and bears the following inscription: "Hoc est sepulcrum nobilis viri Bonifacii de Tortis qui decessit de anno curso MCCCCLIII die 22 Nov. quod una cum ista capella fieri fecerunt agentes pro Hospitali novo Papie tamquam heredes ipsius Bonifatii." (This is the tomb of the noble Bonifacio de' Torti, who died on November 22, 1454, which the administrators of the new hospital at Pavia, as the heirs of the said Bonifacio, erected together with this chapel.) A copy of the will is preserved in a MS. of the University Library at Pavia, a Register of S. Maria del Carmine entitled *Liber dictus Rubeus*, No. 47, f. 30.

⁵ A MS. preserved in the Episcopal Curia at Pavia.

Pope Gregory XIII to Pavia, to ascertain if the reforms decreed by the Council of Trent had been duly carried out. His report reflected the greatest credit on Ippolito de' Rossi, Bishop of the diocese (who has been called the S. Carlo Borromeo of Pavia), for Peruzzi pronounced the diocese to be the best regulated among all those which had come under his notice. In the course of his visitation he inspected the principal churches and gave the most stringent commands for a general system of restoration and renovation, chapels to be painted afresh and altarpieces to be restored; moreover, in some cases the order was accompanied by the threat that if within six months the patrons of the chapels had not attended to these injunctions, they would be liable to forfeit all the rights they had hitherto enjoyed in connection with these chapels. The report is of great value for the light which it often sheds upon the condition, at that period, of buildings and works of art at Pavia. In this case we learn that when the Bishop visited the Church of the Carmine, he found that the walls of the chapel, dedicated to St. Bernardino and St. John the Evangelist, were not whitewashed and that the altar was denuded of ornaments; he ordered that these should be provided together with a beautiful altarpiece (*ycona*) with its curtain, etc.¹ In consequence of these peremptory orders the chapel must have been speedily provided with what was lacking, and especially with an ancona, and we believe it was in obedience to the Bishop's injunctions that Foppa's altarpiece of the Madonna² was placed in the chapel by the de' Torti family. It must have been removed from an altar dedicated by the Abbot Maletta in the Church of the Carmine by the patrons of the Chapel of St. Bernardino, who, to avert the danger of forfeiting their rights, were, by some means which we are now unable to explain, permitted to place the picture over their own altar.³

It was merely a chance circumstance, therefore, which led to its being in this chapel when seen by Bossi in the seventeenth century, though the inscription quoted by him proves indisputably that Vincenzo painted such a picture for the Abbot Maletta.

¹ "Altare in capella sub titulo sanctorum Bernardini de Senis et Joannis Evangelistæ, quod dicitur esse illorum de Tortis, visum fuit denudatum et carere omnibus ornamentis. Capella non est dealbata . . . Propterea ordinavit eidem altari provideri de ycona pulchra cum sua cortina, etc." (Curia Vescovile di Pavia—*Liber Visitationis Apostolicæ* . . . anni 1576, Vol. I, f. 316.)

² It was dedicated "To the eternal honour of Christ's mother Mary" (see the inscription, p. 32).

³ In the volume of the *Visitationis Apostolicæ*, f. 318 r., we find thirteen altars mentioned in the Church of the Carmine which, by order of Monsignor Peruzzi, were all to be removed because they were either outside the chapels, or were placed against the pilasters or columns in the church. Possibly it was from one of these condemned altars that Foppa's picture was taken.

The chapel is now dedicated to St. Apollonia, and the only relic of the original foundation is the stone commemorating Bonifacio de' Torti, which is still in its place before the altar. The present altarpiece, representing St. Apollonia and other saints with the Madonna and Child in glory, is the one seen by Bartoli¹ in the eighteenth century, and according to Prelini² was painted by Michelangelo Pellini in 1664, by order of Damiano de' Torti. No trace of Foppa's work or of the inscription recording it is to be found now; it must have disappeared during one of the processes of restoration and remodernization to which this chapel has been frequently subjected.

Another lost work, frescoes from the life of the Blessed Isnardo of Vicenza in the Dominican Church of S. Tommaso at Pavia, of which up till now we have only had a vague record, may be mentioned here, though we have no clue as to the date of their production. The earliest authority who mentions them is Borselli (Hieronymus Albertucci called Borselli), a Dominican of Bologna who wrote in the last decade of the fifteenth century, and among whose unpublished MSS.—formerly in the Convent of S. Domenico at Bologna and now in the University Library in that city—was a life of the Beato Isnardo.³ Speaking of the burial place of the saint he says: "He now lies in the Convent of S. Tommaso within the city of Pavia in the . . . chapel painted by the hand of that great artist master Vincenzo of Brescia."⁴

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Rectors of the University, desiring to have a chapel in this church, applied to the Prior of S. Tommaso, and in 1392 the finest chapel then existing in the building, that of the B. Isnardo, was granted them, and was then rededicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria, the Patroness of the University.⁵ More than half a century must

¹ *Notizia delle pitture, etc.*, p. 7.

² "*Il Tempio di S. Maria del Carmine*," in *Alman. Sacr.*, 1878, p. 271.

³ The B. Isnardo (d. 1244) had been the means of establishing the Dominican order at Pavia in the early thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth, after many vicissitudes, the friars of the order were allowed to establish themselves at S. Tommaso. They then set about rebuilding the church, which eventually, owing to the munificence of the Folperti, the Bottigella, and other great Pavian families, became one of the most magnificent churches of the city. The first chapel erected in the church was dedicated to the B. Isnardo, and hither his body was removed from S. Andrea de' Reali (whither it had in turn been transported from S. Maria di Nazaret) and enshrined in a tomb of Verona marble. His portrait, by Tommaso da Modena, is in the refectory of the Dominican Monastery at Treviso.

⁴ "Nunc jacet in Conventu S. Thomae intra Papiam in capella . . . depincta per manum magistri Vincentii Brixienensis magni pictoris," quoted by Pio, *Nobile Progenie di S. Domenico*, Lib. II, p. 393. See also Leandro Alberti, *De Viris Illustribus*, Lib. V, 189-90; Maiocchi, *La chiesa di S. Tommaso*, pp. 142, 143, etc.

⁵ Bossi, *Memoriæ*, f. 33, and *Chiese*, f. 777.

certainly have elapsed before the pictorial decoration of the chapel was undertaken, and then, out of compliment to the Dominicans, who had stipulated that the tomb of the founder of their order at Pavia was to be scrupulously respected, the University employed Foppa to represent upon the walls episodes from his life. It was not until 1509 that they added an altarpiece in which their own patron saint, Catherine of Alexandria, was represented.¹

Spelta, writing in 1597,² mentions paintings representing miracles of the saint near his tomb in the chapel, but no subsequent writer speaks of them.

We have had the good fortune, however, to discover some interesting particulars relating to the work among the MS. notes of a Dominican of S. Tommaso at Pavia, who, towards the close of the eighteenth century, was engaged in collecting material bearing upon the cultus of the Beato Isnardo.³ Among other proofs of the devotion paid to the saint he mentions: "two pictures hanging on the wall on either side of the High Altar in the Church of S. Tommaso, representing respectively the B. Isnardo visiting the prisons to console and admonish the captives, and the saint standing on the threshold of the ancient Pavian Monastery of S. Maria di Nazaret praying for the blessing of the Almighty and the inspiration of the Spirit on behalf of a brother who was about to set forth to preach."⁴

That these compositions dealing with the life and acts of the B. Isnardo were connected with Foppa's frescoes and in what degree, we also gather from the notes of this anonymous Dominican writer, who states that the canvases "were not products of the artist's imagination, but were very faithful copies of an early original painting existing in the Chapel of St. Catherine on the right of the High Altar."⁵ They were therefore copies of Foppa's frescoes in this chapel, paintings which were unfortunately destroyed, to the deep regret of the Dominicans, who thereby suffered the loss of a most important document

¹ Riluenti, *Annali del Convento di S. Tommaso*, p. 47; Pio, *op. cit.*, Lib. II, 397; Maiocchi, *op. cit.*, 65.

² *Historia delle Vite di tutti i Vescovi di Pavia*, p. 326.

³ These papers are preserved in the Archives of the Cathedral at Pavia: Arch. della Fabbriceria, Cartella 24, No. 22.

⁴ "Tabulas pictas duas quæ parietibus sacrarii suspensæ Isnardum exhibent vel carceres visitantem (B. Isnardus solatur carcere detentos, according to the inscription) vel in aditu monasterii cui præerat fratri benedicientem (B. Isnardus evangelizantibus S. Spiritus dona precatur)."

⁵ "Non ad libitum pictoris fuisse confectas, sed fideliter excerptas tamquam ex originali pictura vetustiore sacelli ad dexteram aræ maximæ ecclesiæ S. Thomæ existentis atque S. Catharinæ V. et M. dicati . . . huius aram utrinque ambiebant muri pictæ imagines B. confessoris binæ divina operantis" (*loc. cit.*).

relating to the B. Isnardo. This act of vandalism was perpetrated in 1763 in consequence of the importunities of Lorenzo Scagliosi, Rector of the University, who desired to have the Chapel of St. Catherine decorated with paintings, stucco, and gilding.¹

Thus perished a work of the great master of which we are unable to give any more precise description, for even the copies are no longer in existence. The Church of S. Tommaso is now a barrack, and the only remaining relic of the Chapel of St. Catherine is an almost obliterated lunette fresco on the south wall of the building, facing down the present Via Felice Cavallotti, which in character belongs to a later period than that of Foppa.

Vincenzo had scarcely completed his work for Battista Maletta, when he received a summons to come immediately to Milan, where the Duke desired his services "in certain affairs of ours" (Doc. No. 7).² Evidently Francesco Sforza had had no communication with the painter since his return from Genoa, for the missive is addressed to the Duke's representative at Pavia, who is instructed to find Foppa at once. What these "affairs of ours" may have been we cannot tell, but the work was undoubtedly of sufficient importance to decide Foppa's plans for the next few years. A return to Genoa was not to be thought of under the circumstances, but instead, little more than a month after the Duke's summons—on July 15th of this year 1462—we find the painter taking a house at Pavia *with a workshop*, for a term of four years from the coming Michaelmas; for which he was to pay an annual rent of eighteen florins (Doc. No. 8).

Among the witnesses to the contract was the painter Leonardo Vidolenghi, of Marzano, who, according to Bossi, painted a fresco in the Church of the Carmine in 1463. This work, a Madonna and Child with saints and donor, still exists (as already noted, p. 21) on a column on the left, the furthest from the west door. As one of the few extant works of the early school of Pavia it is of considerable interest; but being now, as a protective measure, covered by a heavy wire netting, it can only be very imperfectly seen. The signature and date, which were still legible some twenty years ago, have unfortunately disappeared.

The position of Foppa's house is accurately described in the contract as in the quarter of Porta Laudense, that is of the Lodi Gate, in the parish of S. Martino in Pietra Lata, on two sides facing the street, and on the third adjoining the Monastery of S. Martino in Pietra Lata, a site now occupied by

¹ A parallel case therefore to that of the barbarous destruction of Jacopo Bellini's fresco at Verona.

² "In alcune nostre cose."

the buildings of the University. This house was in fact in the very centre of the art-life of Pavia, for almost opposite the Monastery and Church of S. Martino was the parish Church of S. Maria Gualtieri, and in that district, in the street known as Strada Nuova (the present Corso Vittorio Emanuele), the painters of Pavia had their workshops. From a deed of August 25, 1463,¹ we learn that Giovanni da Vaprio, Giovanni da Senago, and Leonardo Vidolenghi da Marzano all had their *botteghe* here. From another deed of September 27, 1464,² we gather that Bertolino della Canonica, a painter whose close connection with Foppa at Pavia and Genoa is well known, must also have been a near neighbour of Master Vincenzo, his workshop being spoken of as "situated in the quarter of Porta Laudense, in the parish of S. Martino in Pietra Lata." Near this workshop, in the neighbouring quarter of Porta S. Vito, we find Bertolino acting as a witness on September 21, 1466, in company with Foppa's brother-in-law Bartolomeo Caylina of Brescia, who had settled at Pavia.³

On March 3rd of the following year, 1463, we have another ducal missive, this time addressed to Foppa himself, ordering him to go at once to Milan and to take with him a panel which he had received from Papi, the Duke's servant, in order that it might serve as a model for a picture of the Madonna which Foppa was to paint for Francesco Sforza, a work referred to in the document as "a figure of Our Lady for us" (Doc. No. 9).

This document was incorrectly deciphered by Caffi as "a figure of our Lady and ourself" ("Nostra Donna et noi"), and was consequently interpreted to mean that Foppa had been summoned to Milan in order to paint the portraits of the Duke and Duchess.⁴ Count Malaguzzi has now given the correct version, which is "a figure [or representation] of Our Lady for us." The painter is further ordered to take with him the picture which had served as his model, even if his own version of it was not finished, which proves that his services were urgently needed at Milan; and the Duke adds the reason, "because we desire to employ you in other works for us, therefore come at once with the said picture."⁵ In all probability these works at Milan had to do, among other things, with the decoration of the hospital, the first stone of which was

¹ Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Battista da Vailate.

² Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Guiniforte Strazzapatti.

³ Atti di Guiniforte Strazzapatti.

⁴ *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 99. Caffi also failed to note that this document certainly did not refer to a work which Foppa was to execute at Milan, but to a picture which he had already begun and possibly even completed at Pavia, for the document says "whether finished or not."

⁵ Doc. No. 9.

laid with great ceremony by Francesco and Bianca Maria on April 12, 1457,¹ the building being dedicated to the SS. Annunziata.²

All the incidents relating to this ceremony were, according to Filarete, depicted on the walls of the colonnade "by the hand of good masters."³ This writer does not name the painters, but in the second edition of Vasari's *Life of Filarete* it is stated that under the colonnade these incidents were depicted by the hand of Master "Vincenzo di Zoppa Lombardo, because no better painter was found in the land."⁴ As, however, the building progressed very slowly, it is probable that the paintings were only executed some five or six years after the laying of the stone. In 1457 Filarete was occupied in rebuilding the Church of S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, which he looked upon as one of the great achievements of his life, though nothing now remains to prove his share in the building, and throughout the winters of 1458 and 1459 the works ceased altogether. It was only in February, 1460, that Filarete was appointed architect of the building at a fixed salary,⁵ and the work seems then to have proceeded more energetically. In 1460-61 a frieze, columns, and other stonework were furnished for the "portico" and "facciata del portico verso il Cascinotto," and in 1463 and 1464 Filarete was still providing columns and further materials for the same colonnade, while

¹ Oettingen, *Über das Leben u. die Werke von . . . Filarete*, p. 22, and *Trattato*, pp. 366, 367; L. Corio in *Il Politecnico*, 1873, p. 728, and others. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the date of the foundation, but April 12, 1457 (the date given by Filarete and Vasari), seems from every point of view the most likely to be correct (see Oettingen, *Filarete*, note 44, p. 59; Meyer, *Oberitalienische Frührenaissance*, I, 81; and Munoz, *op. cit.*, p. 187).

² Ave and Ave Maria is continually repeated in the decorative work throughout the building, and the arms of the hospital are a dove with a spray of olive in its beak. According to some Milanese writers (Corio, *Stor. di Milano*, Pt. V, 400-1; Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, I, 332; Sormani, *Giornata I*, etc., 77), Francesco Sforza, who had been proclaimed Duke of Milan in February, 1450, made his state entry into the city on March 25, in commemoration of which he placed the hospital under the special protection of the Virgin of the Annunciation; Colombo (*Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1905, pp. 52 and 95) has, however, proved conclusively from contemporary records that the actual day of the ceremony was March 22.

³ *Trattato*, Bk. XI, 367 ("fatte per mano di buoni maestri").

⁴ Vasari, ed. 1568, p. 348, and ed. Mil., II, 457. "Furono poi dipinte nel portico queste storie, da Maestro Vincenzo di Zoppa Lombardo per non essersi trovato in quei paesi miglior maestro."

⁵ This salary was, however, to date from 1457 (see Canetta, *Cronologia dell' Ospedale Maggiore*, 1460, February 29. Cf. also Oett., *Filarete*, 31, 32 and note 52; and Munoz, *op. cit.*, p. 187, note 1).

Ambrogio del Conte in 1464 was furnishing the columns for the "portico verso S. Nazzaro."¹

From Filarete's *Trattato* we are able to form some idea of the position and subjects of Foppa's frescoes. In Book XI he devotes several pages to discussing the plan and methods to be followed in erecting a hospital (ostensibly in the imaginary city of Sforzinda), and he gives an elaborate sketch of the building.² The frescoes in the hospital at Sforzinda were to be painted, he states, in the colonnade, like those in the hospital at Milan, which were painted "in the colonnade in front" ("nello portico della parte dinanzi"), by which we assume he may have meant the outer colonnade which surrounded the building on three sides towards the street. A good idea of this is given in various reproductions of the Milanese hospital as it was in the early sixteenth century.³ It seems probable, therefore, that Foppa's frescoes were in the colonnade on the north-west side, the "portico principale verso Cascinotto," which between 1463 and 1464 might have been ready to receive paintings, but could scarcely have been so earlier.

Filarete then proceeds to give an account of the subjects treated, which represented the ceremonies attending the laying of the stone. The most important incident was the procession, headed by the Archbishop and clergy, with Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza and their children, among whom he specially notes Galeazzo, Ippolita, and Filippo Maria. They were attended by a large retinue of courtiers, many of whom he mentions by name; hence this fresco must have been a very interesting historical document, containing a great number of contemporary portraits. In the composition representing the laying of the stone were depicted Francesco Sforza, the Archbishop, and Filarete himself. These subjects, with other minor incidents, were all painted by order of the Duke, and were executed, Filarete adds, in a praiseworthy manner by good masters; and the building was shown to the Duke's visitors as one of the finest in the land, all who saw it being well pleased with it. From the way in which Filarete and Vasari mention these paintings it is clear that they were frescoes; but De Pagave, in a note to Vasari's *Life of Filarete*,⁴ put forward the idea that they were painted on

¹ See Canetta for all these points: *Cronologia dell' Ospedale*, 1884; *Cenni sull'Ospitale Maggiore*, 1885; *Elenco de' Benefattori, etc.*, 1887; Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 79 and foll.; Malaguzzi in *Italienische Forschungen*, I, 1906; and Munoz, *op. cit.*, p. 198-202.

² Oett., pp. 363-71, and Munoz, plate 7, for Filarete's sketch.

³ See especially Gilinus, *Hist. Foundationis Hospitalis Magni Mediolani*, frontispiece (and chap. vi for a long account of the building); Cesare Cesariano, *Di L. Vitruvio Pollione "De Architectura,"* Lib. VI, p. 99, and others.

⁴ IV, p. 342, ed. 1808.

canvas, and were identical with two pictures which in his day hung in the church of the hospital; in this view he was followed by Fenaroli,¹ though Calvi had already pointed out² that these could not possibly be Foppa's works. The pictures seen by De Pagave are still in existence in the council chamber of the hospital, and in their present condition can only be regarded as very late productions. One represents Francesco Sforza and his wife kneeling before Pope Pius II, who promulgated a Bull, authorizing the erection of the hospital; the other, the Duke and Duchess with their family and attendants kneeling before the altar of the Annunciation under the protection of St. Ambrose and presenting offerings for the building.

What the true history of these pictures is, we cannot say, but they are most certainly not the works mentioned by Filarete, Vasari, and others; nor can they be copies of these, for Foppa, as we have just stated, painted the laying of the stone and the ceremonies attending it. Equally impossible is it that they could be the works of a contemporary of Foppa, an otherwise unknown painter Francesco de' Vico, whose name appears several times on the books of the hospital in 1472. On September 4 of that year Vico, who had painted the Duke and Duchess on a canvas placed in the chapel,³ is ordered to restore these heads after the manner of those over an altar in the cathedral. On another occasion, payments are recorded to Vico for two pictures with the Pope and rulers of Milan.⁴ Canvases answering to these descriptions are known to have been for centuries exhibited every 25th of March on the occasion of the dedication festival and of the Festa del Perdono,⁵ which was instituted in 1460 for the purpose of collecting alms for the building of the hospital and of the cathedral. Doubtless in course of time the originals perished, as the chapel erected for the celebration of the Festa has also long since been destroyed,⁶ all that remains of this building

¹ *Dizionario degli Artisti Bresciani*, p. 133, ed. 1877.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 62, ed. 1865.

³ In 1464 it had been resolved by the Chapter of the Hospital that, as a lasting memorial of the good deeds of Francesco Sforza, his portrait and that of the Duchess should be painted (Canetta, *Elenco*, p. 9).

⁴ These notices are in the Archives of the Hospital, and were kindly communicated by the President of the Committee; see *Ordinazione Capitolare*, Settembre 4, 1472, and *Stralcio dal Mastro dell'anno 1472*, foglio 63 v. and 132 v. The entries would lead us to infer that the two paintings there mentioned were on the curtain which protected the altarpiece, since in both cases the payments are "pro pictura duarum copertinarum" (see chap. VIII, p. 192 and foll. for decorative paintings of this description). They could not therefore have been identical with the canvases mentioned above, though the compositions were similar in all.

⁵ Caimi, *Notizie, etc., del Grande Ospedale*, p. 35.

⁶ Oett., *Filarete*, p. 31 and note 49.

being a stone ball with the date 1460 preserved in one of the courtyards.¹ Vico's works were presumably replaced by later versions devoid of all original character, in which the features of the Duke and Duchess, which must have been so well known to all fifteenth century painters, have been travestied by the copyist.²

The fact that it was customary to exhibit these pictures under the colonnade on either side of the main entrance may account for their having been confused in later times with Foppa's frescoes. The outer colonnade, which, as we learn from Latuada, was originally closed by iron grilles, was eventually walled up, in order to provide an increased number of wards; but the arches, beneath which ugly square windows were subsequently introduced, are still distinctly traceable on the side looking to the street the present Via dell' Ospedale, and towards S. Nazzaro. Foppa's frescoes must certainly have perished when this alteration took place even if they were still existing at that time, which may be doubted, for the Milanese writers who so greatly extol the building (Morigia, among others, says it had no equal in Italy³) never mention the paintings.

Contemporaneously with his work in the hospital, Foppa probably executed the frescoes in the Medici Bank at Milan, which must have added greatly to his reputation.

The house situated in the narrow Via de' Bossi was purchased from the brothers of that name by Francesco Sforza and given by him on August 10, 1455,⁴ to Cosimo de' Medici, who placed there, as his representative to watch over his interests in North Italy, Pigello, son of Odoardo di Folco Portinari, a member of the illustrious Florentine family. Cosimo, to show his appreciation of Francesco Sforza's gift, had the palace rebuilt and decorated on a most magnificent scale. On the authority of Vasari,⁵ Michelozzo is credited with having been the architect; but Vasari's statement does not bear investigation, for he only refers to Filarete as the source of his information, and the

¹ This chapel stood in the centre of the "Montagna," the site of which is now occupied by the Cortile Maggiore, erected in the seventeenth century by the architects Pessina and Ricchini.

² Count Malaguzzi also considers that these canvases are "evidently copies of lost fifteenth century works" (*Ital. Forsch., etc.*, p. 94). Signor Munoz, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, p. 210 note), maintains that they are the original tempera paintings, though he admits that the process of restoration to which they have been subjected has obliterated all trace of fifteenth century colour, and, we must add, has entirely destroyed all original character. The pictures are reproduced by both these writers.

³ See *Sommario delle cose mirabili della Città di Milano*, pp. 34 and 68.

⁴ Casati, in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1885, 584, and Oettingen, *Trattato*, Bk. XXV, p. 679.

⁵ II, 345, ed. 1568.

latter nowhere states who the architect was; throughout his *Trattato* the name of Michelozzo is only once mentioned,¹ and then not in connection with any special work.² Towards the end of his *Trattato* Filarete devotes a whole chapter to describing the splendours of the palace with its terra-cotta decorations, its loggie and marble doors,³ and its great halls, more beautiful than anything in Milan, with ceilings like those in the Florentine palace of the Medici. Though we have no proof, as already stated, that Filarete himself had anything to do with the building as architect, he tells us that Portinari took counsel with him about the paintings. Filarete's *Trattato* was begun c. 1460 and finished in the spring of 1464,⁴ and his account of the Medici Bank is contained in the last chapter. When he wrote many of the frescoes were still under discussion, but some portion of Foppa's work had already been

¹ Oett., *Tratt.*, p. 212.

² The façade, of which Filarete has left a sketch in his *Trattato* (repr. Oett., 681, and Munoz, pl. 16; see also the small reproduction in our illustration, p. 54), shows no connection with Michelozzo's Palace of the Medici at Florence, but is on the whole more nearly related to the work of Filarete himself in the Milanese hospital, though there is no proof that he ever had any share in the building as architect. It is not unlikely that Cosimo would have wished to employ a Florentine, but Michelozzo was by no means the only one available for the purpose in North Italy. At the same time, knowing as we do with what jealousy Filarete had been regarded when he first entered the service of Francesco Sforza (see his letters of December 20, 1451, and June, 1453, published respectively in *Il Buonarroti*, 1869, p. 82, and in *Il Castello di Milano*, Beltrami, 1894, p. 142), it is more probable that Cosimo, who wished above all things to please the Duke, would have employed either a North Italian or at least a Florentine who, like Filarete or Benedetto Ferrini, had for some time been engaged at the Milanese Court. Meyer's conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 109) is that Michelozzo may have sent designs for the work which was executed by Lombard sculptors and decorators, among whom should, he thinks, be included the young Amadeo. There is undoubtedly a close connection between the fragments of decorative work in terra-cotta from the Medici Bank preserved in the Castello Museum and Amadeo's work in S. Lanfranco at Pavia and elsewhere, but it is difficult to believe that he could have taken any prominent part in the decoration of the Bank if it was actually finished in 1460, at which date he would have been little more than thirteen.

³ The principal door of the palace, which is described by Filarete and all later writers, and with which Michelozzo is in part credited, was sold to a Milanese dealer in 1863 and was acquired by the Archæological Museum in the following year (see *Perseveranza*, June 17, 1863, and January 27 and June 17, 1864). It has now found a permanent home in the Sculpture Museum of the Castello at Milan. A small reproduction is seen in our illustration, p. 54; reproduced also by Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Malaguzzi, *Amadeo*, p. 20; and by many other writers.

⁴ Oett. Fil., 40 and 67, note 71; Vasari (ed. 1568, Vol. II, p. 348) says Filarete dedicated his *Trattato* to Piero di Cosimo de' Medici in 1464; it was presented to him in the following year, Kallab, *op. cit.*, p. 344. See also Munoz, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

carried out. This therefore gives us a fairly certain chronological basis for the pictorial decoration, and some further indirect evidence is afforded by certain scattered notices in the State Archives at Florence, where a great number of letters from Pigello Portinari and his brother Azzareto to the Medici are preserved. Between August, 1455 (when Francesco Sforza presented the house to Cosimo), and October, 1468 (the date of Pigello's death), we have over eighty-five of these letters; yet the references to the palace are tantalizingly few and of the briefest character, containing not the slightest allusion to the architect or artists employed in the reconstruction and decoration. The most we gain is perhaps a further glimmer of light as to the date of its completion. On December 17, 1459, Pigello, writing to Giovanni Cosimo de' Medici, reminds him of his promise to visit Milan for one month during the coming Lent, and after speaking of important business that will have to be transacted, he adds:—

“You would also come just in time to have the house adorned, and you would then order it according to your taste, which would be much more to the purpose.”¹ From this we may infer that the principal adornment, under which head would of course be included the painting, was not executed at that date. The house, however, was not ready by the spring, for on March 9, 1460, Pigello writes again to Giovanni Cosimo that he will not press his coming, as he would wish the house to be finished first; “by September,” he continues, “it will be in order . . . still if you wish to come sooner . . . we shall always be in readiness to do you honour, though not in the same way as if the house was finished . . . which, when you see it, will please you I think; and though the cost will be far greater than was first intended, yet, considering the honour, the fame, and the beauty of it . . . to my thinking we need not regret the expense . . . and you will have cause to be well satisfied . . . for it will do you great honour. How pleasing it will be to you, and how much His Highness delights in it, not to mention the admiration of the whole city—you will see and understand at your coming.”²

¹ 17 dicembre 1459 da Milano, *Pigello Portinari a Cosimo dei Medici*: “Verresti anche a punto al tempo di fare aconciare la chasa e ordinerestila voi a vostro modo che verrebbe tanto più a proposito” (Mediceo avanti al Principato, Filza VI, No. 434, Archivio di Stato, Firenze).

² “Io non vi richordo il venir qui come chredo sia la intenzione vostra, perchè prima vorrei avessimo compiuto la chasa . . . al settembre sarà in ordine . . . tutta volta, volendo venire prima, non guardate a quello, che sempre saremo in ordine a farvi honore, ma non in quella forma come quando la chasa sarà fornita . . . la quale, quando vedrete, chredo vi piacerà e sebene la spesa sarà assai più di quello si designò, considerato lonore e la fama e la grazia di qua . . . a mio parere . . . non chredo che v' abia a dolere esta spesa, ma ne avite a essere molto contento . . . perchè faravvi

This proves therefore that the house was not finished before September, 1460; and knowing as we do from former letters that the work was constantly delayed, and that the rebuilding and decoration occupied at least five years, it may be doubted whether it was actually completed by the date named in Pigello's letter, and by that time, or soon after, Foppa was probably in Genoa and would not have been available for executing paintings in the building. In June, 1462, as we saw, Francesco Sforza ordered his representative at Pavia to find Foppa, as he required his services. Had the painter at that date been working in the Medici Bank the Duke would certainly have been aware of it, for we know, from Pigello's letter just quoted, that he took the deepest interest in all that concerned this palace. We may be certain, therefore, that up to the summer of 1462 Foppa had not begun to paint his series of frescoes there. The Duke's summons brought him into notice again at Milan, and doubtless led to his being employed by Pigello Portinari, to whom he was in all probability recommended personally by Francesco Sforza. We think, therefore, taking into consideration all these facts as well as Filarete's statement alluded to above, that we may assume with tolerable certainty that Foppa's work in the Medici Bank was begun between 1462 and 1464.¹ Of the position of these frescoes and the subjects represented, Filarete gives so precise an account that it is best to quote this well-known passage *in extenso* :—

“The loggia which is on the left of the entrance is twenty-eight braccia in length and eight in width, and is being painted by the hand of a good master called Vincenzo de Foppa, who up to now has painted the image of Trajan in a most meritorious and excellent fashion with other figures for ornament; and thus he is to paint all this part with figures, with the effigies of Roman emperors eight in number,² and with

honore compiutamente: quanto sia grato a voi e il piacere n' ha la S. Sua, non vi vo dire di tutta la città, lo vedrete e intenderete ala vostra venuta” (Filza VIII, No. 395).

Other letters containing brief allusions to the building are the following: October 4, 1455, Filza IX, No. 184; November 15, 1455, *id.*, 188; April 9, 1456, *id.*, 204; April 24, 1456, *id.*, 207; May 14, 1456, *id.*, 227; March 18, 1457, F. XII, 244.

¹ The Florentine ambassadors (see chap. I, p. 25) dined at the Medici Bank with Pigello Portinari on November 11, 1461 (*Arch. Stor. It.*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 11), but make no comment upon the building, another proof that the decoration was not far advanced at that date, for they were appreciative of all they saw, and wrote enthusiastically of the Palazzo dell' Arengo as one of the beautiful sights of the world, and of the Castello as the finest existing fortress. They would scarcely, therefore, have failed to make some remark about the decorative work and frescoes in the Medici Bank, had these been in existence at the time of their visit.

² The *Anonimo* (ed. Frizzoni, p. 95) gives a short account of the palace, which he calls “the most beautiful house in Milan.” He mentions the “Representations of

the portraits of the Duke Francesco Sforza, of his illustrious consort and their sons."¹

Further on, Filarete speaks of the great improvements that are still to be made when all the houses which obstruct the light in front have been pulled down, and especially when all the paintings have been executed, "about which we conferred together with Pigello Portinari, who directs and manages all the business they have at Milan, with whom I had many discussions as to what was to be painted."²

It is to be assumed that all was finished by 1467, for some German pilgrims who came to Milan just after the death of Francesco Sforza speak of it as "ein kostlich Haus hetten des Kosman de Medici Kaufleut innen."³

Filarete mentions the one fresco by Foppa which was completed at that date as the "image of Trajan with other figures." Vasari, who makes no mention of the palace in his first edition, describes the subject of this painting in his second as episodes from the life of Trajan by the hand of "Vincenzo di Zoppa, a painter of no small repute at that date and in that district,"⁴ the same master, therefore, whom he mentions as having executed the frescoes in the hospital and as being the first painter in the land, an artist who by common consent has been identified with Vincenzo Foppa, the substitution of "Z" for "F" being obviously a mistake. Vasari's version of the subject—episodes from the life of Trajan—has been adopted by all later writers, and if the biographer was correct in his statement, it is probable that the fresco represented the story of Trajan and the widow, a subject frequently treated in art,⁵

famous Romans" in the loggia on the left, but names neither the painter of these works nor the architect of the building.

¹ "La loggia che è a mano manca alla entrata si è di lunghezza braccia 28 e larga braccia 8, la quale si dipinge per mano di uno bono maestro per nome chiamato V. de Foppa, il quale per infine al presente ha fatto il simulacro di Traiano degnissimo e ben fatto con altre figure per hornamento e così l'a a dipignere tutta questa partita a figure e imagini di imperadori, li quali saranno otto e l'immagine e simulacro dello ill^{mo}. Francesco Sforza e della ill^{ma}. Madonna e figliuoli" (Bk. XXV, 680 and foll.).

² "Del quale ragionamo insieme con Pigello Portinari, el quale regge e guida tutto el traffico che anno a Milano, col quale ebbi ragionamento di quello che depignere s'aveva" (*ibid.*, 686).

³ "A sumptuous house for the merchants of Cosmo de' Medici" (see *Bibl. des literarischen Vereins*, VII, 1844, p. 193: "Des bohmischen Herrn Leo's von Rožmítal . . . Pilgerreise durch die Abendlande, 1465-67," etc.).

⁴ "Pittore in quel tempo e in quel paese di non piccola stima" (II, p. 345, ed. 1568).

⁵ Professor Giacomo Boni, in a very important article on this subject, reproduces numerous compositions bearing upon it, including two panels of the school of Verona in the National Gallery (see *Nuova Antologia*, November, 1906, pp. 1-39).

which Dante describes as sculptured on the mountain of Purgatory,¹ and which, according to M. Gaston Paris, had its origin in some antique bas-relief representing a conquered province.²

We are the more inclined to this view because of the existence of a most interesting drawing formerly in the collection of Herr v. Beckerath and now in the Print Room at Berlin, one of the rare drawings which may with some probability be assigned to Foppa. It is true that Professor Adolfo Venturi, who reproduced it in the *Archivio dell' Arte*,³ ascribed it to the early time of Ercole Roberti, while the late M. Eugène Müntz, who was the first to recognize the meaning of the composition as the "Justice of Trajan,"⁴ attributed it to Jacopo Bellini, with whom it is undoubtedly connected.⁵ Many types are borrowed from Jacopo, but the figures for the most part are cast in the heavier and more solid mould which early became characteristic of Foppa; the horses are of a build constantly met with in North Italian art at this date, both in painting and in sculpture.⁶ A comparison between this drawing and Foppa's picture in the English National Gallery is most instructive. The picture was most probably painted many years after the drawing was produced, yet in many particulars Foppa, the most conservative of painters, has in this, one of his latest works, returned to the impressions of his youth. The figure on horseback on the left in the drawing is closely connected with a figure in a similar position in the picture; the fragment of an arch slightly indicated in the drawing as the background to this figure is in the picture elaborated into a ruin such as we see in the works of the later painters of the Milanese school; the structure and feeling of the hands is similar in both drawing and picture, and the treatment of the horses in the latter shows that towards the close of his life he still reverted to the impressions received in the workshops of Verona and Venice.⁷ The pose and movement of the horse on the left in the drawing, involuntarily recall the pose of the Regiole, the equestrian statue which for centuries had been so intimately bound up with the life of the Pavians as to be often spoken of by writers as the emblem and palladium of the city.⁸ It was engraved upon the seal of the Commune of Pavia—the earliest

¹ Canto x, 70.

² See *Mélanges publiés par l'École des Hautes-Études*, 1878.

³ 1889, p. 359.

⁴ *La Légende de Trajan, Extrait de la Revue des Traditions populaires*, p. 5, 1892.

⁵ Ascribed to Jacopo Bellini also by Professor Boni, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁶ See Weiszäcker, *Jahrbuch der K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. VII, on the subject of the horse in Italian art.

⁷ Weiszäcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 53, 159, for the horses of Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini.

⁸ The *Anonimo Ticinese* gives us the origin of the name: "This statue, because it shines with wonderful lustre, reflecting the rays of the sun, and because it probably did so also in former times, is called 'Radisol' by the people, that is, 'Sunrays' or

reproduction of it extant; it figured upon the golden cup presented by the citizens to Isabella of Aragon on her marriage with Gian Galeazzo Sforza; on the bell of the Torre del Comune; on the banner of the city; in woodcuts of early printed books from the press of Jacopo de Borgofranco, and in countless other examples. According to Petrarch, the statue was a masterpiece of art,¹ and it would naturally have appealed to the painters and sculptors of the day, who adapted it for their own works.² Leonardo da Vinci himself studied it for his equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza; Amadeo introduced it on the façade of the Certosa and in the background of one of his sculptures in the Colleoni Chapel at Bergamo;³ Bernardino Colombani represented it in a medallion on the front of his altarpiece in the Carmine at Pavia; and Foppa has given us reminiscences of it in works of his early and of his latest period.

The date of the drawing of the Justice of Trajan would certainly coincide with that of the paintings in the Medici Bank, and if Foppa actually treated the subject in the loggia, it is not improbable that in this sketch we may have his design for that composition.⁴ From this point of view the value of the Berlin drawing is greatly enhanced, for it would then, with the fresco in the Wallace Collection, be the only surviving relic of the compositions in the Palace of Via de' Bossi. The same subject treated with much greater

'Regisol'—'Ruling the Sun'—because, according to tradition, it imitated the rotation of the sun by means of a mechanical or magical contrivance." ("Que statua cum repercussione solis mirabiliter radiet et quia forte sic etiam antiquitus radiabat, Radisol ab incolis appellatur, quasi radius solis: vel dicitur Regisol, quasi regens solem, eo quod sicut fertur, antiquitus artificioso vel incantato motu, girum solis imitabatur." See *Anonim. Ticinens.*, p. 18, ed. Maiocchi and Quintavalle, 1903.)

¹ See *Lett. Sen.*, Lib. V, lett. i, p. 264.

² The statue was said, by various Pavian writers, to be of Marcus Aurelius, and to have been brought from Ravenna to Pavia; but it more probably represented Theodoric. It was of gilded bronze, and the pose of the figure and of the horse must have closely resembled the Marcus Aurelius of the Capitol. It stood in the Piazza Piccola at Pavia, which was called from the statue Piazza del Regisole, and is seen in Colombani's fresco of 1522. During the sack of Pavia by Lautrec in 1527 it was carried off together with the golden gates of the Porta Palacense; but at Cremona it was stopped, and by the aid of the Cremonese was sent back to Pavia and set up in its original place. But the statue so beloved by the Pavians, and so jealously guarded that any one injuring it in early times was severely punished, in 1796 fell a prey to the mob; it was dragged from its place with ropes and terribly mutilated, and in 1809, to the eternal disgrace of the Pavians, was broken up and sold as old metal (see Maiocchi, *Un Vessillo di Pavia . . . e la Statua del Regisole*).

³ Reproduced, Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁴ The drawing is pricked for transfer, and was undoubtedly the sketch for a more elaborate cartoon.



THE JUSTICE OF TRAJAN

Pen and bistre drawing

Foppa?

BERLIN: ROYAL PRINT COLLECTION

elaboration of detail and with the addition of Pope Gregory, who is seen on a balcony praying for the soul of Trajan, is met with in a rare engraving by Giov. Maria da Brescia, dated 1502;¹ and another Brescian, a painter named Giovanni, appealed to the Doge of Venice in 1514 for permission to publish a series of woodcuts illustrating the history of Trajan;² the subject was therefore a favourite one with artists of this city. Giovanni Maria da Brescia's plate, though executed at a considerably later period, is clearly founded upon the drawing in the Print Room at Berlin or on some lost version closely related to it. The similarity of the two versions is so obvious that it is unnecessary to point out all the numerous links which connect the one with the other; they will be seen at once on comparing the illustration of the Berlin drawing with that of the engraving.³ The latter shows also in many particulars a dependence upon other works by Foppa which belong in all probability to the close of the fifteenth century or the early years of the sixteenth; such as the Pietà at Berlin, and more especially the Adoration of the Magi in our National Gallery, to which we have already alluded,⁴ a connection easily explained, for at the time when this engraving was produced (1502) both artists were living at Brescia.

The attribution to Foppa of the Berlin drawing was first proposed, we believe, by Dr. Frizzoni, and the suggestion was adopted by other critics; but as no drawings by the master are known, and as it cannot be said that his character is deeply impressed upon every part of this sketch, we can only venture to ascribe it to him tentatively, after having pointed out what appear to us to be its most Foppesque features.

We regret to see that recent criticism has returned to the view that it is by Ercole Roberti, and as such it is now catalogued at Berlin;⁵ but we can see no connection between any of this master's known works, either pictures or drawings, and this sketch for the Justice of Trajan. Setting aside the fact that Ercole Roberti's outward characteristics are absent from this drawing, we feel convinced that a master who excelled as did he, in depicting scenes of violent agitation and emotion, would not have treated a subject which was capable of a highly dramatic rendering, in so calm and placid a spirit, while it is precisely these qualities which appear to us to link the composition closely with Jacopo, and through him, to a certain extent, with Foppa.

It is strange that Professor Ricci should deny that the drawing shows any

¹ Bartsch, XIII, 312, 313; Passavant, *Peintre Graveur*, V, 113.

² Gaye, *Carteggio*, II, 136, No. lxxxi.

³ Our illustration is taken from the impression in the Albertina, Vienna. Professor Boni, *op. cit.*, p. 22, reproduces the impression in the Ambrosiana.

⁴ See also chaps. VIII and X, pp. 209, 259.

⁵ Zeichnungen . . . im K. Kupferstichkabinet . . . Berlin, XX, E.

connection with the first-named master. Dr. Lionello Venturi, on the other hand, while ascribing it to Ercole, admits that an inexperienced eye might easily fall into the mistake of attributing it to Jacopo Bellini on account of its remarkable affinity with him.¹ We have reproduced it here because of the manifest links which it shows with Foppa's picture in the National Gallery as well as with a work of his bottega—the predella of the altarpiece of S. Maria di Castello at Savona, because of the close connection between these works and Giovanni Maria da Brescia's engraving, which was undoubtedly founded upon a composition by Vincenzo, and also because of its possible bearing upon the fresco in the Medici Bank. We are at a loss to understand why a drawing by Ercole Roberti should have any connection with these works; nor, so far as we know, do those who ascribe the sketch to that master attempt to offer any explanation of these difficulties. Dr. Frizzoni's attribution seems therefore from every point of view the most probable, and we should certainly be disposed to reject the name of the Ferrarese master and to substitute for it that of Vincenzo Foppa.

Filarete refers to other frescoes in the Medici Bank—episodes from the Story of Hercules, the History of Susanna in terra verde, and the Virtues—but mentions no painter's name in connection with them. Some part of the pictorial decoration seems to have been still existing in the second half of the eighteenth century, for Albuzzio writing about 1776 observed that most of the frescoes had then been recently whitewashed.²

De Pagave, who gives a long account of the palace as it was in his day (1808), states that one fresco only was then existing in the cortile, which might be regarded as the remains of the original decoration (or, as he puts it, "of the paintings ordered by Michelozzo"), though much decayed, and he proceeds to describe it as follows: "It represents a business man in his office sitting astride and apparently reading, though whether a letter or a book is not clear; and this painting proves that Cosimo had his bank here as stated by Vasari."³ Cassina, writing in 1840, when the building was owned by the heirs of Count Vismara, also refers to this, as the sole surviving fresco in the courtyard;⁴ and it was still existing in 1862, when it was mentioned by Mongeri as a youth seated surrounded by books, commonly called Pico della Mirandola, though it might also, he thought, be a figure having some reference to the bank.⁵ Here Mongeri evidently adopted De Pagave's view that it must represent "a business man" connected with the bank.

It is to be assumed that the fresco mentioned by all these writers is

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

² *Memorie, etc., de' Pittori . . . Milanesi* (copy in the V. and A. Museum, f. 44).

³ Note to Vasari's *Life of Michelozzo*, Vol. IV, p. 331, ed. 1808.

⁴ *Fabbriche di Milano*, Vol. I, text to plate 13. ⁵ *Perseveranza*, December 5, 1862.



Photo.

Schramm, Vienna

THE JUSTICE OF TRAJAN

Engraving by Fra Giovanni Maria da Brescia, 1502. From an impression of an early state

VIENNA: ALBERTINA

identical with the composition in the Wallace Collection known as "Gian Galeazzo Sforza reading Cicero," to which we referred briefly on page 48. The description given of it by these Milanese writers, inexact as it is, nevertheless leads us to think of that composition to which, with certain restrictions, even De Pagave's words might be taken to apply. Considering the height at which the fresco was placed and the appearance it probably presented at that date, being no doubt covered with dust and dirt and weather-stained after centuries of exposure in an open cortile, it is easy to understand that De Pagave may have received a false impression of the composition, hence his misleading account of it. After its removal from the wall it passed out of Italy and into the hands of a collector in Paris, but some record of it was preserved at Milan, and Signor Agostino Caravati, in a very interesting article in *Arte Decorativa*,¹ stated, on the authority of Professor Pogliaghi, who derived his information from the late Professor Bertini, that it occupied a position on the front of a parapet. In his reconstruction of the cortile, this writer reproduces on the parapet of the upper loggia what might be termed a free version of the Wallace fresco, resembling it in the general lines of the composition, but differing from it in details; while in the lower portion of his sheet of studies (see illustration) he gives a faithful reproduction of the Hertford House composition without further comment.² We shall return to this question later.

Years ago the fresco of the Wallace Collection was ascribed to Foppa by the late M. Eugène Müntz and was reproduced by him;³ but the attribution did not find favour at the time, and art historians were disposed to ascribe it to Bramantino. Modern criticism has, however, revived M. Müntz' attribution, and Mr. Berenson in his latest volume on the North Italian

¹ 1895, pp. 21-31.

² We may briefly summarize here the history of this reconstruction (kindly communicated to us by Dr. Carotti), to which our illustration owes its origin. A series of drawings of the cortile had been made by Professor Bertini prior to its destruction. His pupil, Signor Pogliaghi, Professor of Decorative Art at the Academy, Milan, decided to utilize these sketches for a reconstructive study, and organized a competition among his pupils. The successful competitor was Signor Caravati, who, as a result of his work, published the paper in *Arte Italiana Decorativa*, alluded to above. Professor Bertini, who was still alive at the time, himself supervised the whole scheme, and made numerous additions and corrections to his own sketches. It is probable that the composition of the youth on the parapet may thus have drifted further and further from its original prototype, which would explain the differences noticeable between it and the fresco of the Wallace Collection.

³ *La Renaissance en France et en Italie*, p. 261. The fresco is here spoken of as over the door, which was certainly incorrect. M. Müntz reproduced it again in his *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 134, 1899.

painters of the Renaissance,¹ and the Director of the Wallace Collection in the most recent edition of the Catalogue,² now ascribe the fresco definitely to the master on stylistic grounds,³ an attribution which seems in every way justified by the aspect of the work.

Comparing the fresco with other authentic paintings by Foppa, and especially with the altarpiece of S. Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo now in the Brera, we find many points of similarity between the two works in outward characteristics: the straight nose, the drawing of the eyes, the manner in which the hair is parted on the forehead and falls over the ears are very similar in both compositions. The form of the right hand resembles that of the angel striking the chords of the lute in the Brera altarpiece, and the pose and form of the left hand holding the book, in spite of the defective drawing of the thumb, recall the manner of Foppa in other works, while in the more modern spirit which this fresco displays, and in the greater freedom and development of the whole composition, it seems more nearly allied to works of later date, such as the fresco in the Brera of 1485, and the Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery.

The child of the Wallace fresco is clad in light blue, with an overdress of red shading to lilac; a lighter shade of the same colour is seen in the socks, which are drawn over his blue hose. This shade of reddish lilac is a colour which we shall find constantly repeated in Foppa's works, and for which he appears to have had a special predilection; light blue and red is again seen in the bindings of the books in the recess on the right. The trees and bushes in the background, seen through an opening in the centre of the composition,⁴ are painted in a manner altogether reminiscent of Foppa, and the architectural and other details have also much in common with his methods of treatment and design.⁵

¹ p. 219.

² p. 52, ed. 1908.

³ It is only fair to state that more than two years ago Signor Attilio Schiaparelli of Milan informed us that he considered this fresco "an undoubted work by Foppa."

⁴ In this background we may have a reminiscence of the garden of the palace, which was reached from the main courtyard, and had a loggia twenty-seven braccia in length opening on to it. This is the loggia referred to in four letters of Pigello (Nov. 15, 1455, April 9 and 24, and May 14, 1456), in which the arms and devices of Cosimo and Piero de' Medici were to be painted, and here too were the episodes from the story of Hercules, mentioned by Filarete, and therefore executed before 1464. The garden loggia is quite distinct from the loggia of the palace, where Foppa's Justice of Trajan and other frescoes were painted.

⁵ Compare especially the Arcore Annunciation, details in the predella of the Brera altarpiece (chap. v), the background of the St. Sebastian Brera (chap. vi), and certain architectural features in the National Gallery altarpiece (chap. viii).



FRESCO FROM THE CORTILE OF THE MEDICI BANK, MILAN
(*Niccolò as "Gian Galeazzo Sforza reading Cicero"*)
LONDON: WALLACE COLLECTION

The great charm of the composition lies in its extreme simplicity, in the winning expression of the child, who studies his Cicero with absorbed attention, and in the natural pose and easy grace of the figure.

The flesh painting and modelling of the head are of remarkable beauty, and the whole work, according to the opinion of an expert in technique, is, with the exception of a few unimportant retouchings, practically in its original state. This is the more remarkable as for several centuries the fresco must have been exposed to the action of the weather; it must also have successfully survived the processes of restoration which the building is known to have undergone, and especially that of 1688, when the house was owned by Count Barnaba Barbò.¹ For all technical questions relating to this work and its present condition we refer our readers to Mrs. Herringham's note in Appendix I, which, as the opinion of one of the most accomplished connoisseurs of technique in England expressed after a close and searching examination of the fresco, is of special interest and carries great weight.

Unlike the few remaining fragments of fresco by Foppa, which have all been transferred to panel or canvas, and have in consequence suffered severely, this is a portion of the actual wall of the Medici Bank. Hence the authoritative attribution to Foppa is of the very first importance, for it restores to him what is undoubtedly the most beautiful existing example of his work as a fresco painter and the most notable criterion of his style in this branch of art which we possess. But in classing this fresco among the works of Foppa, it is scarcely necessary to observe that it has nothing to do with the series in the loggia on the left of the entrance, executed, as we assumed, between 1462 and 1467, a series which included the portraits of Francesco Sforza, his wife and children. The whole aspect of the painting proves that it must have been produced at a later period, and though it agrees in some particulars with the Brera altarpiece, it is certainly maturer and more advanced in date. If it could be proved that the child actually represents Gian Galeazzo Sforza, we should then have a sufficiently certain chronological basis for the production of the work, for Gian Galeazzo, born in 1469, would, judging from the age of the child here represented, have been ten or twelve when this fresco was painted, and we might assume that the latest date to which it could be assigned would then be 1481. But have we any more justification in this case for the name of Gian Galeazzo, than for that of Pico della Mirandola, by which it appears to have been known in the time of Mongeri? This brings us once more to the difficult question of the history and origin of the fresco.

¹ De Pagave, *op. cit.*, p. 332, note, and Casati, *op. cit.*, p. 588.

It is almost impossible to obtain any definite information relating to it, as there is no one now at Milan who recollects the palace, once known as the Medici Bank, before its final demolition. One painting, however, is said to have been rescued from the general wreck by the late Professor Bertini, and this is assumed, by many persons, to have been the composition which was eventually acquired by Sir Richard Wallace.¹

Numerous studies of the courtyard and of other parts of the building, showing all that remained of the pictorial decoration, had been made by Professor Bertini (about 1863?), and among them was a water-colour sketch of this fresco on the parapet of the upper loggia, which eventually served as the basis for Signor Caravati's version of the subject as seen in our illustration. Professor Bertini's aim was doubtless to give a general idea of the building and its scheme of decoration, rather than an exact copy of any special portion (for photographic accuracy is hardly to be expected in the case of a hasty sketch); it is therefore quite possible that the figure on the parapet may be identical with the fresco at Hertford House, in spite of its obvious divergency in matters of detail. If Professor Bertini and Professor Pogliaghi, who afterwards made use of these sketches, depicted the figure as a youth, which would tally better with the appearance of the Wallace fresco than with the description given of it by Milanese writers (who speak of it as a "business man . . . connected with the bank"), we can only assume that Professor Bertini examined it more attentively than his predecessors and possibly also under more favourable conditions, that is, after it had been cleaned and removed from its place on the parapet. In any case, it seems certain that what Bertini saw and made a drawing of, was the Wallace fresco. De Pagave, it is true, speaks of it as in a bad state, whereas in the opinion of Mrs. Herringham the Wallace fresco is remarkably well preserved; but this would not necessarily point to two distinct works. The Hertford House fresco, as we now see it, must certainly have undergone a process of cleaning (if not of restoration to any appreciable extent), while De Pagave saw and described it in the state to which it must have been reduced after having been for over four centuries in the courtyard of the palace. We are therefore inclined to think that the "one fresco existing" at the time of this writer, which he described somewhat inaccurately, is identical with the composition at Hertford House. Originally it must have formed part of a series² which decorated the front of the parapet in the courtyard, as in Filarete's day it had

¹ According to Dr. Frizzoni, it was first in the collection of Vicomte Both de Tauzia, and from thence passed to Sir Richard Wallace; this is confirmed in the latest edition of the Catalogue of the Hertford House Collection, p. 52.

² Professor Caravati kindly informs us that he is also disposed to think that the fresco of the Wallace Collection formed part of a series in the cortile.

CORTILE · 0075 ·



PORTA ·

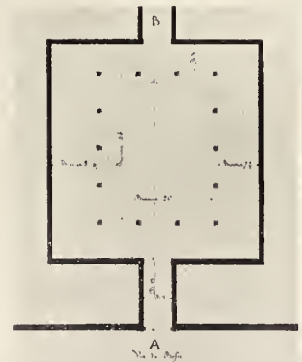


FACCIATA ·

· DA VII · DISÉGNO · DI · FILARETE ·



PIANTA · 1100 ·



CORTILE ·

I · CONNICETTE DEL ·

· PARAPETTO ·

II · AFFRESCO ·

III · COLOMINA DEL ·

IV · LA LOGGIA · SUP ·



THE MEDICI BANK

Reconstruction of the Loggia and Parapet showing the position of the fresco ; on the right the principal door and the façade

MILAN : CASTELLO, SCULPTURE MUSEUM (FROM STUDIES AND SKETCHES BY SIGNOR A. CARAVATI OF MILAN)

been proposed to adorn some part of the same parapet with representations of the Virtues.¹

A certain connection between this fresco and that of 1485 in the Brera, in colouring and other particulars, leads us to infer that it may have been produced between this date and Foppa's return to Genoa about 1487, and we should assume that the series belonged to the period when the bank, as such, had ceased to exist and the house had passed out of the hands of the Medici; for we know that in 1484 Lorenzo the Magnificent was in such financial difficulties that he was forced to sell it for the sum of 4000 ducats.² We are unable to say how it came to pass that Foppa was again employed in the building in these later years, but we know that he was engaged in executing frescoes in Milanese churches at this period, and as his reputation was still great at the time, it is probable that the new owners of the palace entrusted him with the redecoration of the building. The idea that the figure of the parapet had some reference to the bank, is therefore as far-fetched as the other surmise that it represented Pico della Mirandola, or that the Wallace fresco was a portrait of Gian Galeazzo Sforza.³ That the child in the Hertford House composition is occupied in reading Cicero is evident from the

¹ Filarete, *Trattato* (ed. Oett.), p. 685, says that on entering the door (of the palace) and raising one's eyes, the frescoes of the History of Susanna were seen in the upper loggia, and "on the front of the parapet are to be painted the Cardinal Virtues."

² Lorenzo de' Medici was in such straitened circumstances at the time, that he was obliged to borrow 4000 ducats from Lodovico Sforza. The necessity of parting with the bank affected him deeply, and it is probable, says Guicciardini, "remembering his generous and prodigal nature, that he sold it with tears in his eyes" ("è a credere, rispetto alla sua natura liberale e magnifica, lo facessi colle lagrime in su gli occhi"). Guicciardini, *Opere inedite, Storia Fiorentina*, Vol. III, p. 88.

³ All these names must be regarded as purely imaginary, the invention of later times, and wholly irrelevant to the scheme of decoration planned by the fifteenth century painter and his employer. Mongeri in the *Perseveranza* of January 27, 1864, stated that Lorenzo de' Medici sold the house to Lodovico Sforza, an inaccurate interpretation of the words of Guicciardini, who merely states, as already noted, that Lorenzo was forced to borrow 4000 ducats from Lodovico Sforza, and to sell a house which he owned at Milan for another 4000; but who the purchaser of the house was, does not appear. Here perhaps we have the explanation of the name which the fresco now bears. Professor Bertini, relying upon the words of Mongeri, may have come to the conclusion that the child represented would naturally represent a prince of the Sforza family, in all probability the young Duke himself, and thus "Pico della Mirandola" would have passed out of Italy as the portrait of Gian Galeazzo Sforza. As the name has clung to the fresco ever since, and as the composition is likely to go down to posterity as the authentic portrait of the young Duke of Milan, it is perhaps desirable to point out that such a designation lacks all historical basis, having been bestowed upon the fresco within the last fifty years only.

inscription "M. T. CI—CERO" (Marcus Tullius Cicero), but we have no clue as to what may have been inscribed on the other frescoes of the series or as to the compositions treated.¹ It is probable, however, that they replaced the earlier decoration of the parapet, consisting (if the scheme mentioned by Filarete was carried out) of the Virtues, and that the whole series was planned and executed, at all events in part, by Foppa.

According to the chronological method which we have endeavoured to follow in this volume, the Wallace fresco, as a work of later date, should have been more appropriately discussed in a subsequent chapter; but as the only surviving relic of the pictorial decoration of the palace in Via de' Bossi it seemed more logical to include it here, though in the list of Foppa's paintings, arranged according to the approximate dates of their production, it will be found classed with works of 1480-90.

¹ Many probabilities suggest themselves as to the possible meaning and intention of this series, but as we have no further clues it would be idle to attempt to offer any explanation or to enter into a discussion on these points.

CHAPTER III

C. 1465—C. 1473 AND LATER

The Portinari Chapel—Foppa's frescoes in the Certosa—His brother-in-law Bartolomeo Caylina working there also—Death of Francesco Sforza—Foppa's altarpiece for a church at Monza—His letter to Pigello Portinari—Foppa acquires property and citizenship at Pavia—The Duke takes him into his service and grants him a safe-conduct for six years—Notices of a painter Vincenzo in the Castello at Milan—Not Vincenzo Foppa—Foppa seeks employment in the Campo Santo, Pisa—Takes a house at Pavia for four years—Returns to Genoa—His signed altarpiece for a church at Brescia—Returns to Milan—Values frescoes there—Documents relating to the valuation of works of art—Foppa's Madonnas: in the Castello Museum, Milan—At Berlin—Milan—Settignano—Philadelphia—Newport, U.S.A.—Decorative borders of drapery—Picture by Foppa at Addlington Castle, near Maidstone.

Most intimately connected in its decorative *motives* with the Medici Bank, was the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr, which Pigello Portinari erected in the Church of S. Eustorgio at Milan, for the love which, according to Bugati the chronicler of S. Eustorgio, he bore to the saint, and partly also, according to later writers, in order to gratify the Milanese,¹ and more especially the Duchess Bianca Maria, who had a particular devotion to this church. The chapel, which was later known as "Cappella a capite Sti Petri," was to contain the head of the saint, which had been severed from the body by order of the Archbishop Giovanni Visconti, and had been placed in a silver tabernacle when the saint's remains were removed in 1340 from their original resting-place in the church, and were enshrined in the marble sarcophagus made to receive them by Giovanni Balducci. Pigello had caused himself to be portrayed in a panel picture kneeling at the feet of St. Peter Martyr, which probably gave rise to the popular belief, repeated by many of the earlier writers, that the saint had appeared to him in a vision and commanded him to build a

¹ Pigello had already ingratiated himself with the Milanese in 1450 by building, with his brother Azzareto, the sacristy and choir of S. Pietro in Gessate, on the exterior of which some traces of the Portinari arms may still be seen; this further act, of building a chapel for the head of the Dominican saint, greatly increased his popularity at Milan.

chapel.¹ The picture still hangs on the wall of the chapel and bears the inscription "Pigellus Portinarius nobilis Florentinus huius sacelli a fundamentis erector A.D. 1462," and though entirely repainted, it is to be assumed that the inscription reproduces the one originally placed upon the panel; as the date of the foundation here named, coincides with that given by the earliest writers, it may be accepted as correct, in spite of Torre's statement that the chapel was built in 1464.²

As in the case of the Medici Bank, we have no certain information respecting the architect, though here again the Florentine element, blended with Lombard tendencies, is conspicuous. The connection with a group of Florentine buildings, and especially with Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel, has often been pointed out; and many earlier writers asserted that the architect of the Portinari Chapel took that of the Pazzi family in S. Croce as his model; but Senatore Beltrami, one of the greatest authorities on the Portinari Chapel, and indeed on all matters relating to Milanese and Lombard buildings, has shown that although the general plan of construction follows the same principles as those commonly employed for ecclesiastical buildings in Tuscany, and although there is great affinity between the architectural and decorative features of the Pazzi and Portinari chapels, "the ground plan, which more than anything else would serve to prove a derivation of the St. Peter Martyr from the Pazzi Chapel, is, as a matter of fact, different."³ Michelozzo is often named as the architect and as the author of the beautiful terra-cotta angels who move round the drum of the cupola with slow and rhythmic movements, holding ropes from which are suspended bells of fruit. They involuntarily recall many Florentine *motives* in painting, terra-cotta, and marble; in this case, as Herr Meyer pointed out,⁴ they seem to give plastic expression to Filarete's description of the reception of a prince in the palace of Carindo by a company of children, who greet

¹ See De Pagave, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 329, 330; *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1892, p. 274, etc.

² Torre, *Ritratto di Milano*, ed. 1674, p. 92. Giulini, it may be noted (VI, p. 548), correcting Latuada, who gave the date of the foundation of the chapel as 1462, states that in the inscription on the picture the date was originally 1362, but was afterwards corrected. An examination of the inscription, however, proves conclusively that Giulini was mistaken.

³ *Italian Wall Decoration*, p. 22. See also Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 111, who gives an illustration of the ground plan of both chapels; Romussi, *Milano nei suoi Monumenti*, II, plate 8; *Archivio Stor. dell' Arte*, 1892, p. 267 and foll.; *Arte Italiana Decorativa*, 1895, IV, No. 9, p. 75; *Emporium*, VIII, No. 47, November, 1898; *Architectural Review*, Vol. VIII, 1900.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 106.



Photo.

Alinari

THE TOMB OF ST. PETER MARTYR WITH PIGELLO PORTINARI KNEELING BEFORE THE
SAINT (PANEL PICTURE)
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)

him with song and dance, holding ropes of flowers in their hands.¹ The charm of the building is indescribable; unity of effect is attained by a felicitous combination of architecture, painting, and the most delicate plastic modelling, every detail being so harmoniously blended that it is at times difficult to distinguish between painted ornament and plastic relief. The severe and simple character of the Florentine buildings is here replaced by a wealth of ornament and decorative *motives* which is almost overpowering. The whole is dominated by a strain of exuberant gaiety, of pure delight in the possibilities of form, colour, and pictorial effect, which, in spite of the many changes which the building has undergone and the injuries it has sustained, will ever cause it to rank as one of the gems of Italian art in the fifteenth century, and as an important link between the tendencies of local Lombard art and those of the early Renaissance, of which it heralds the approach. Many writers have definitely stated that Michelozzo built the chapel;² but though the connection with his Cappella del Noviziato in S. Croce and with other Florentine buildings erected by him is striking,³ and although we find a great number of decorative and architectural features in the Portinari Chapel which also occur in the works of Michelozzo, no records have yet been discovered to prove his co-operation here, nor have we the slightest clue as to who designed the chapel and planned its scheme of ornament. In the decorative *motives* used with such profusion and with admirable taste and effect throughout the building, we certainly find reminiscences of similar compositions in Florentine works. The frieze of cherubs' heads, for instance,⁴ is directly imitated from the beautiful frieze in the vestibule of the

¹ Oett., *op. cit.*, p. 476.

² De Pagave, for instance (*op. cit.*, p. 330), states that the chapel was designed and built by Michelozzo. There is not, as far as we know, the slightest authority for this statement, which has, however, been repeated as a fact by subsequent annotators of Vasari.

³ M. Marcel Reymond (*Sculpture Florentine*, p. 165), among many other writers, draws attention to this, though he admits that documents do not permit the certain attribution to Michelozzo. It is curious that the same writer, when speaking of the Medici Bank, should say: "We know that Michelozzo went to Milan in 1457 to rebuild the palace given by Francesco Sforza to Cosimo de' Medici" (*ibid.*). But do we know it? At present there is no documentary evidence to prove the personal presence of Michelozzo at Milan in these years, for Vasari's statement that Michelozzo painted the portrait of Cosimo in the Medici Bank (Vol. II, p. 345, ed. 1568) is unworthy of credence; we saw (chap. II, p. 42) that all the biographer's information respecting this building was derived from Filarete, yet the latter never alludes to such a portrait.

⁴ The same *motive* is met with in the rose window of the Carmine at Pavia, the date of which is not known. The terra-cotta work throughout this building is, however, closely connected with the work in the cloisters of S. Lanfranco, which is known to have been executed in 1467.

Pazzi Chapel. The clusters and garlands of fruit springing from vases and often bound with fluttering ribbons, a *motive* continually introduced on archivolts and pilasters, is one frequently met with in Florence ; but this *motive* was not of Tuscan origin ; it was undoubtedly borrowed in the first instance from antique bas-reliefs, and was adapted by the Florentines of the early fifteenth century to their own use. Through this channel it may have penetrated to North Italy, though it is equally probable that it was diffused there by the direct study of Roman monuments, for Padua, Verona, Brescia, and other cities, would have afforded ample opportunity for such study, and we know from Jacopo Bellini's drawings that these subjects appealed to him in no small degree.¹ In any case these decorative designs were enthusiastically adopted in North Italy, and found expression in a great variety of forms, not only in marble and terra-cotta, but also in frescoes, panel pictures, and even in miniature art. The pyramid of fruit appears equally in the marble framework of the door of the Medici Bank, in the stucco ornamentation of the pilasters in the chapel, in the terra-cotta bells which the angels swing to and fro in the drum, in the decorative details of one of the cortiles in the Certosa of Pavia, in a drawing ascribed to Mantegna at Vienna, in a missal with paintings by Cristoforo de Predis at the Madonna del Monte, Varese, and elsewhere. The swags held by rings with pendent ribbons, sometimes separated from one another by cherubs' heads,² we meet with in the works of Michelozzo and of many other Florentines, in countless examples of painting and sculpture throughout North Italy as well as in illuminated MSS., while the great wreath of fruit, tightly bound, of which we have a splendid example surrounding the drum of the cupola in the Portinari Chapel, is constantly chosen to ornament the ribs of a vaulted chapel or as the framework for painted medallions. They were in fact the favourite decorative *motives* of the day, and were greatly in vogue, more especially throughout North Italy. If the general design and plan of the building was Florentine, the execution was certainly in great part Lombard ;³ but whoever the architect and other craftsmen may have been, one thing is certain, that they were in closest relation and

¹ See among other examples in the Paris sketch-book Giraudon, Nos. 725, 791, and Ricci, *op. cit.*, No. 50.

² At Castiglione d' Olona, in the background of one of Masolino's frescoes in the Baptistery and in the sculptures of the Chiesa della Villa, *putti* take the place of cherubs' heads and sustain the garlands (see the reproduction in Meyer, I, p. 72).

³ The angels in the drum of the cupola, it may be noted, as pointed out by Mongeri (*L'Arte in Milano*, p. 63) at the time when the chapel was being restored, though of terra-cotta, have no trace of the vitreous glaze distinctive of Florentine work, but their draperies, where the colour was preserved, were found to be painted according to the methods in vogue among Lombard artificers.



THE PORTINARI CHAPEL: SHOWING THE SECTIONS OF THE CUPOLA
AND BUSTS OF APOSTLES

(From the model in the Victoria and Albert Museum)

MILAN: S. EUSTORGIO

sympathy with the painter who planned the pictorial decoration, for the most complete harmony and unity of purpose reigns in the chapel and determines the whole scheme. As to who the master was, we have no certain information; but a vague allusion to the author of the frescoes is contained in Bugati's MS. chronicle,¹ which, as the earliest existing notice of these works, is of great interest.

"The painter," he says, "was Vincenzo Vecchio, a rare master of that day."²

Lomazzo, following Bugati, speaks of "Vincenzo *Civerchio* called il Vecchio, author of certain histories of the miracles of St. Peter Martyr in the chapel of that saint in the Church of S. Eustorgio at Milan";³ and all later writers, Torre, Allegranza, Bianconi, etc., give the name of the painter as Vincenzo Civerci or Civerchio, surnamed il Vecchio.

Caffi was the first to point out that Civerchio, who was still living in 1544, could scarcely have executed works which were finished by 1468,⁴ and here therefore we find Foppa il Vecchio confounded with the later Vincenzo Verchio or Civerchio, a mistake also made by Vasari and other writers.⁵

Who the real authors of the pictorial decoration of this chapel were, is however, still an unsolved problem, and beyond Bugati's mention of the painter Vincenzo, we have not the slightest clue in any known documents which would throw light upon the subject. The great divergencies, in style, in types and general character, between the frescoes, render it impossible that they could all have been executed by one hand. The Four Fathers of

¹ The Dominican, Padre Gaspare Bugati (d. 1583), wrote a history of his Monastery of S. Eustorgio, which is preserved in the State Archives at Milan, and brings the record down to 1564. It is the earliest and most trustworthy chronicle relating to the building which we now possess, and no doubt embodies many notices gathered from documents then existing, which have long since disappeared.

² "Il pittore fu Vincenzo Vecchio in quella età raro" (G. Bugati, *Stor. del Convento di S. Eustorgio*, f. 20 v.).

³ "Vincenzo Civerchio cognominato il Vecchio, autore di alcune storie di miracoli di S. Pietro Martire in S. Eustorgio di Milano, nella capella di quel santo" (Lomazzo, *Trattato*, p. 317).

⁴ A recent writer in *Arte* (fasc. VI, 1906, p. 448) has published a picture in the Bordonaro Collection at Palermo bearing the signature "V. Civerchius," and the date 1471. Judging from the illustration, we should, however, infer that the picture had little connection with Civerchio, and was certainly much later in date than 1471. It does not therefore affect our contention that it was chronologically impossible for Civerchio to have worked in the Portinari Chapel before 1468. Mr. Berenson (*N. Italian Painters, etc.*, p. 196), we may add, gives 1541 as the year when the Bordonaro picture was painted—a much more probable date.

⁵ See App. I, Note 1.

the Church have always been traditionally assigned to Vincenzo Vecchio, i.e. Foppa, because in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were the only portions of the frescoes which had not been whitewashed; the remainder having been covered up after the plague of 1630. They were therefore the only paintings to which Bugati's words could have been applied by writers of a subsequent epoch.¹ Art criticism has been completely baffled by these frescoes and knowledge respecting their authorship has not advanced in the slightest degree since the time when their surface was first freed from whitewash. In the main, Lombard elements predominate, and in the Fathers of the Church there is a decided connection with Foppa; yet there is little which affords any definite clue, and in this case it must be admitted that the discovery of a document relating to the work would be of inestimable value.² The first composition which strikes the eye on entering the building, on the arch above the inner chapel containing the altar, is the Annunciation. Portinari, we might conjecture, would have given prominence to this subject in the scheme of decoration, partly because of his particular reverence, as a Florentine, for the Virgin of the Annunciation, and partly, perhaps, in order to please Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza, who, as we saw, had placed the hospital under the especial protection of the Santissima Annunziata. Hence it might have been supposed that the execution of the fresco would have been entrusted to Foppa himself. There is little, however, which would justify the attribution of this painting to the master; the figures of both the Madonna

¹ When Lomazzo's annotator wrote in 1844, the frescoes were still under whitewash (II, p. 133), but apparently the Four Fathers had never been covered up, for Bianconi, writing in 1787, saw them and speaks of them as by "V. Civerchio detto il Vecchio" (p. 217). The paintings existing in the chapel in his day were two large canvases by Storer and Gherardini, and a ceiling painting by Ercole Procaccini, all of which have perished. In 1871 the restoration of the chapel was begun, the frescoes being freed from whitewash by the painter Agostino Caironi (see Mongeri, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62, and P. Rotta, *Cronaca . . . dei Ristauri . . . nella Basilica di S. Eustorgio, etc.*).

² The subjects of the frescoes are as follows:—On entering the chapel we have on the right: (1) The Devil appearing to the Cathari in the form of the Madonna and encouraging them to persevere in their heresy; St. Peter Martyr forces him to show himself in his true form (*Acta Sanctorum*, April 29, pp. 686, 687). (2) The Saint preaching in the open air; the miracle of the cloud, an incident also depicted in one of the reliefs on the tomb of the Saint, is represented; according to the legend, at the word of the preacher a cloud gathered and shielded the faithful from the sun throughout the sermon. On the left: (3) The legend of the young man who kicked his mother and was so moved by a sermon of the Saint that he cut off his foot; the Saint at the prayer of the mother restores the limb. (4) The death of the Saint in the wood of Farga, near Barlassina, between Como and Milan. Opposite the entrance: (5) The Annunciation; and above, the Eternal Father in a glory of cherubim with groups of angels on either side; the small busts in medallions below this composition and on either side of the



Photo.

Ponti, Milan

ST. AMBROSE

A MIRACLE OF ST. PETER, MARTYR PART OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE ASSUMPTION
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)



Photo.

Ponti, Milan

ST. GREGORY
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)

and the angel are unsatisfactory; the forms beneath the draperies are defective in drawing, and in type, pose, and other particulars, the composition seems far removed from him. This angel, according to the testimony of the restorer, the late Agostino Caironi, was the best preserved of all the figures in the building. In many parts of the chapel he found that the colour had entirely disappeared (for instance, in the robes of some of the angels in the drum); many figures (as in the Assumption) had vanished altogether, leaving only the contours visible; but this angel, he stated, was absolutely intact. Yet, judging from the colouring as we see it now, it may be doubted whether all that Caironi found intact was actually original, and a certain feeling of disappointment which many will perhaps experience on entering the building, is doubtless due to the fact that the frescoes had already been repainted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries prior to their being whitewashed in 1630; for we know that the chapel was several times "restored," notably in 1583.¹ The four medallions containing the compositions of the Fathers of the Church recall the similar *motives* on the ceiling of the Eremitani Chapel at Padua. The frescoes in that chapel are by different hands, but the most important part was the work of Niccolò Pizolo (the pupil of Donatello) and Mantegna, on whom Pizolo appears to have exercised a powerful influence,² and the date of the execution of these paintings is placed between 1448 and 1455.³

Foppa, during his years of apprenticeship with Jacopo Bellini, may therefore have seen the designs for the decoration of the chapel, even if he did not see the whole work completed. But it is extremely probable, during the years

arch above the entrance to the inner chapel, recall similar *motives* used by Foppa in the Bergamo Crucifixion and in other works. On the arch above the entrance to the chapel: (6) The Assumption with angels, and the apostles on the earth below. In the pendentives below the cupola, the Four Fathers of the Church; and beneath these in the spandrels, four angels standing on consoles holding a shield with the arms of the Portinari family. Above the frieze of terra-cotta angels in the drum, the busts of eight apostles in rounds of black and white marble, alternating with circular windows. The sections of the cupola, sixteen in all, are filled with an imbricated design; the colour scheme is very effective, passing from deep red through shades of yellow and green to a delicate azure as it approaches the lantern. The painting of the lower portion of the walls and of the altar chapel is modern. A good idea of the chapel may be formed from the model in the Victoria and Albert Museum made by Adolfo Consolani, of Rome (of which we give an illustration), the paintings being executed by Professor D. Gnoli. Similar models are in Edinburgh and in Dublin.

¹ Caffi, *Chiesa di S. Eustorgio, etc.*, 1841, and *Cappella di S. Pietro Martire*, 1873.

² See *N. Arch. Veneto*, N. Ser., Anno VI, T. XII, pt. 1, p. 161 and foll.

³ Kristeller, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Cf. also Berenson, *N. Ital. Painters*, p. 255, who extends the period to 1459.

when the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr was still in the builder's hands, that Foppa, on the initiative of Portinari, may have gone to Padua in order to study the scheme of decoration in the Eremitani Chapel, which already at that date must have ranked high in the estimation of Italian artists, and between which and the Portinari Chapel there is undoubtedly a close connection. It is clear, as we have seen from the testimony of Foppa's early works, that the teaching of Squarcione had no part in his development; but it is extremely probable that the genius of Mantegna and the virile and striking quality of his art would have attracted Vincenzo. From the scheme of the Eremitani Chapel at Padua, the Brescian master perhaps adapted what seemed to him most suitable for the decoration of the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr, though there is no question of plagiarism or direct imitation.

The stern severity and seizing qualities of the Eremitani "Fathers" would have been out of place amid the cheerful surroundings of the Portinari Chapel. The saints here, so admirably set in the deep perspective of the medallions and looking benignly down upon the scene below, strike a note altogether in harmony with the pictorial design and decorative scheme of the whole. The St. Ambrose in type and life-like expression and in every particular of line and form seems so closely connected with Foppa that we hold the traditional attribution to "Vincenzo Vecchio" to be well founded; and in the SS. Augustine and Gregory the modelling and expression of the heads, so far as can be judged from the floor of the chapel, the form of the hands, and the character of the drapery, seem also in the main, to justify the ascription; but the fourth figure, of St. Jerome, is manifestly inferior to the other three.

Of the busts of the apostles above the drum it is impossible to speak, owing to the great distance from the eye and the absence of any adequate reproduction of these compositions, but in general character some at least appear to be nearly related to the manner of Foppa.¹

A master of great individuality was the painter who produced the admirably composed frescoes of the Preaching, Miracles, and Death of the Saint on either side of the two windows; an artist who shows considerable power of characterization in his treatment of heads.² The background of the wood of Farga in the scene of the martyrdom is a very attractive composition, but is so remarkably modern in feeling, in the touch of the trees and in the treat-

¹ Mongeri pronounced these figures to be by the same hand as the Four Fathers of the Church; as he wrote in 1872 when the restoration was being carried out, it is possible that he may have had the advantage of examining these heads at close quarters from the scaffolding.

² This is seen in the Preaching and in the two Miracles; in the Death of the Saint, on the other hand, the drawing of the figures and treatment of the heads is remarkably poor; the head of St. Peter Martyr's assailant, indeed, appears to be quite modernized.



Photo.

Ponti, Milan

THE PREACHING OF ST. PETER MARTYR
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)



Photo.

Ponti, Milan

A MIRACLE OF ST. PETER MARTYR
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)



Photo.

Ponti, Milan

THE DEATH OF ST. PETER MARTYR
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)

ment of the foreground, that in its present state it can scarcely be ascribed to 1468; much of it must be due to the epoch of restoration. In the two Miracles and in the Sermon of the Saint the types are so distinctive that it seems strange no art historian should thus far have succeeded in piercing the obscurity which shrouds the personality of the artist and in assigning to him his proper place in relation to Lombard art.¹

In the Preaching of the Saint the painter gives us a scene which he doubtless witnessed himself; for the preaching of the Beato Rocco Porzi at Pavia² and elsewhere, of S. Giovanni da Capistrano at Brescia,³ and of many more of great renown in the second half of the fifteenth century, drew such vast throngs of eager listeners that the pulpits from which the preachers discoursed with extraordinary eloquence had to be set up in the largest open spaces of the city.

Here and there in these frescoes we are reminded of Foppa,⁴ but in the main they differ considerably from any other works of his known to us, and among all the figures of the four principal compositions (those, namely, relating to St. Peter Martyr) we have failed to find any of his well-known and characteristic types. Yet we must remember that none of the extensive and numerous cycles of wall paintings executed by the master have been preserved, and it must also be taken into account that a wide gulf separates works of this description from easel pictures and altarpieces, and that panel pictures are no criterion of the manner and capacity of a master in fresco painting; under the circumstances, therefore, no definite judgment is possible. That Foppa took a personal share in some part of the decoration seems certain, and, as the best painter in the land, it is probable that Pigello entrusted him with the work of planning and designing the whole, and appointed him to direct and superintend the execution. From this point of view it is easy to understand that Bugati should have named him alone as the painter of the chapel, though he

¹ Lomazzo, Lib. VI, p. 317, gives high praise to the frescoes of the Miracles, which he ascribes, as already stated, to Vincenzo Civerchio surnamed il Vecchio, "the master of Zenale" (!). Civerchio, we may note, must have been at least twenty years younger than his supposed pupil; Foppa, on the other hand, was probably about nine years older than Zenale. This therefore affords further proof that the painter called by Lomazzo "Vincenzo Civerchio surnamed il Vecchio" was certainly Vincenzo Foppa.

² The preaching of this renowned Augustinian is one of the subjects represented in the Library of S. Barnaba at Brescia (see chap VII, 168).

³ For an account of the preaching of S. Giovanni da Capistrano at Brescia in 1451 see *Annales Brixiani*, Christofori Soldi, Rer. It. Script., Vol. XXI, f. 865, 866; see also Faini, *Raccolta di Varie Notizie* (in *Memorie*, etc.) *di Brescia*, and Zamboni, *Misc. de Rebus Brixianis* MSS. in the Queriniana Library, Brescia.

⁴ For Foppa's share in the frescoes of the Portinari Chapel cf. Beltr., *Empor.*, 1898; Malaguzzi, *Pitt. Lomb.*, p. 157, etc., and *Milano*, part I, pp. 150, 151, 1906.

may only have executed a small part himself, being perhaps engaged at the same time upon works for the Duke and for other patrons.

By a different and certainly weaker hand than that of the painter of the scenes referring to St. Peter Martyr, is the composition of the Eternal Father in a glory of cherubim with groups of kneeling angels on either side, which fills the arch on the wall above the Annunciation, and that of the Assumption on the arch above the entrance to the chapel, with groups of apostles on either side, and a landscape with rocks, water, and distant hills in the background.

Both these compositions are evidently by the same painter, but it appears to us that they must have suffered severely at the time of the restoration in 1871-73. The apostles on the left are quite modern in type,¹ and the angels in both have lost much of their fifteenth century character, so far at least as the heads are concerned.

The Annunciation must from the first have been intended to form part of the composition of the Eternal Father in glory, yet it appears to be certainly the work of another hand; and in this fresco, more particularly, we might perhaps suspect the co-operation of some Florentine painter,² since the types and general grouping of the composition seem on the whole, more Tuscan than Lombard.³

We might conjecture, then, that no less than four masters were associated in the pictorial decoration of the Portinari Chapel, inclusive of Foppa, who we assume may have superintended the whole, and exclusive of the minor artists who must have been employed to paint the draperies and flesh tones of the terra-cotta angels, to lay on the gold wherever it was required,⁴ and to execute other decorative work throughout the building. But there would be nothing remarkable in this. We know from countless documents that it was usual for painters at this period to work in companies, and the artists in whose company we find Foppa most frequently named are those with whom he was for many years intimately associated in works at Pavia:⁵

¹ It has already been stated (p. 63) that when the whitewash was removed it was found that only the contours of many of the figures in this fresco remained; the modern aspect of these apostles is therefore easily explained.

² The angel's mantle is, however, of that shade of reddish lilac so frequently met with in the works of Foppa and his followers; the white robe, as already stated, is of admirable quality, but the mantle of the Virgin is entirely restored.

³ We cannot follow Mongeri in ascribing the Assumption and the Almighty in Glory, to the painter of the Four Fathers of the Church. In the Annunciation he noted "reminiscences of some Florentine contemporary of Fra Filippo Lippi" (*op. cit.*, p. 63).

⁴ For decorative work of this description see chap. VIII and Doc. No. 69.

⁵ See chap. IV.

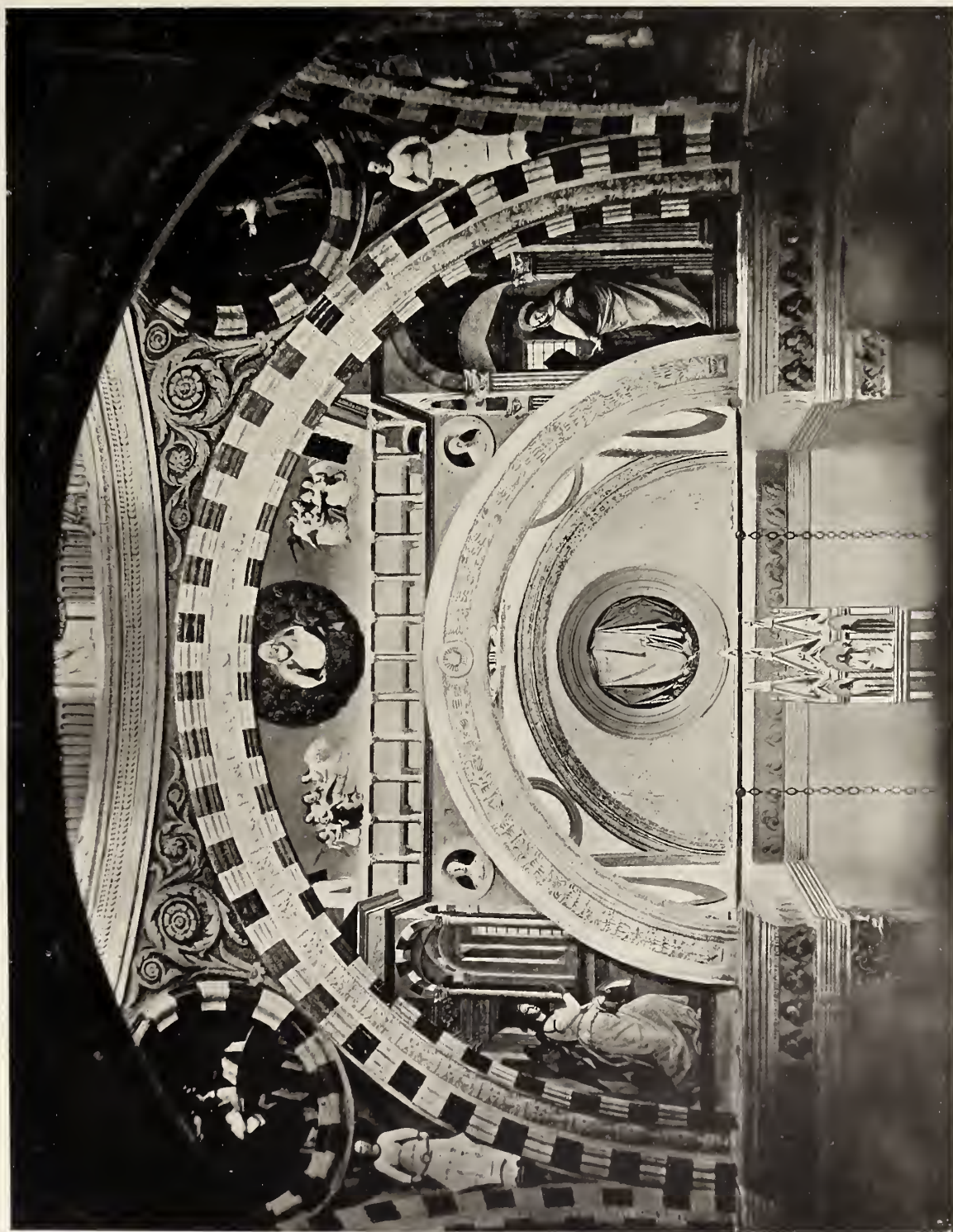


Photo.

THE ANNUNCIATION AND THE ETERNAL FATHER WITH ANGELS
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)

Ponti, Milan

Bembo,¹ Zanetto Bugati, Costantino da Vaprio (a painter who was ever putting himself forward and who eventually stood high in the favour of Galeazzo Maria Sforza), and Giacomo Vismara.

A certain connection is traceable between some of the paintings in the Portinari Chapel and the much injured frescoes of what was once the Oratory of the Collegio Castiglioni at Pavia, which were executed in 1475, and the general plan of which was undoubtedly borrowed from the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr. These frescoes were commissioned, according to the inscription, by Cardinal Branda Castiglioni, nephew of his more celebrated namesake, the founder of the college. Dr. Carotti, in his interesting article on these paintings,² assigned them to Foppa himself,³ and the connection with the master is undeniable; but the execution is manifestly inferior to his own work, and points to some feeble painter who felt his influence. The favourite decorative *motives* are employed in a very attractive manner in the ceiling; the emblems of the four Evangelists are set in medallions of serpentine and white-veined marble surrounded by a thick garland of fruit and foliage bound by fluttering ribbons, which is also introduced on the ribs of the vaulting.

We know from a Pavian document recently discovered, that on September 28, 1475, the four painters just alluded to of Foppa's company, came to inhabit a house near the Collegio Castiglioni, which they rented from the Countess Elisa Sforza Attendolo for one year, and this might lead to the supposition that one or other of these artists was concerned in the decoration of the Oratory, which was completed in this year. At the same time it is in no way conclusive, for in all probability the painters took this house at Pavia in order to be nearer to other much more important work upon which they were also engaged—the ancona for the Chapel of the Castello and the frescoes for the Church of S. Giacomo, with which we shall deal in the next chapter. Assuming, however, that the frescoes of the Collegio Castiglioni may have been executed by one of this company, there might be some grounds for connecting the weaker paintings of the Portinari Chapel, such as the Almighty with angels and the Assumption, with the same artist, though we should certainly not be disposed to ascribe to this painter the very interesting compositions

¹ The name of Bembo was first suggested in connection with the Portinari Chapel in the early days of the restoration of the building. Beltrami and other writers also consider it probable that this painter may have been one of Foppa's associates here.

² *Arch. dell' Arte*, Ser. II, Anno II, fasc. iv. See also Moiraghi in *Alman. Sacr.*, 1897; Malaguzzi, *Pittori Lombardi*, 121, 122; and R. Maiocchi, *Le Chiese di Pavia*, Vol. I, p. 35 and foll.

³ This distinguished writer, however, informs us that a renewed examination of these frescoes has now induced him to modify his former opinion.

relating to St. Peter Martyr, which, as already observed, are by an artist of marked individuality.

Another painter has recently been suggested¹ as possibly co-operating in the paintings of the chapel, viz. the Brescian Bartolomeo da Prato. He appears to have enjoyed the special patronage of Pigello, being, according to a document referred to by Caffi, "singularly favoured by him," while in a petition addressed by Bartolomeo to the Duke after the death of Pigello, it is said that the latter had been "eager to benefit him."²

In August, 1472, a "Bartolomeo Brexano" was paid for paintings executed in the Cascina Mirabello, a country house belonging to the Portinari family.³ From many records we know Bartolomeo da Prato to have been an admirable painter of "bards,"⁴ a branch of art which was regarded as his special profession, and the greatest generals of the day applied to him for these trappings "perché é il suo mestiere";⁵ but we have no information as to his merits as a fresco painter, and this being so, the reasons for connecting his name with the decoration of the Portinari Chapel seem insufficient.⁶

¹ *Emporio*, 1898, and Malaguzzi, *Pittori Lombardi*, p. 153 and foll.

² "Curioso di farli del bene" (*Rassegna*, November, 1901, and Malaguzzi, 154).

³ Malaguzzi, 155, note 3. See also for Mirabello: Beltrami, *Reminiscenze di Storia ed Arte; Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, XIII, p. 593, XVII, p. 671; *Arte Italiana Decorativa*, 1906, etc.

⁴ Painted bards or horse trappings were in great demand in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the art was practised not only by decorative painters, but also by many of the great masters (see Vasari, ed. Mil., Vol. II, 553, 554; III, 544; IV, 498, etc.).

⁵ *Rassegna*, *id.*, 165, 166.

⁶ We do not think it by any means certain that the "Bartolomeo Brexano" who executed frescoes in the Cascina Mirabello was Bartolomeo da Prato; it is quite as probable that he may have been Bartolomeo Caylina, the brother-in-law of Foppa, who was also a Brescian, and who we know was sometimes spoken of as Bartolomeo Bresciano. We have never found Da Prato mentioned as a fresco painter; but Caylina, we believe, was working in the Certosa in 1465 with other painters (see pp. 71, 138), among them his brother-in-law Foppa, and between 1475 and 1476 he was deputed by Costantino da Vaprio to take his place in the execution of certain frescoes—part of a very important work—in the Church of S. Giacomo at Pavia (chap. IV, pp. 107–13). Foppa, writing to Pigello Portinari in June, 1467, says: "I am sending to you Bartolomeo my brother-in-law" (Doc. No. 12), which may be variously interpreted. It might of course only have referred to the circumstance of Bartolomeo being the bearer of Foppa's letter; but, on the other hand, it might have referred to work to be executed by the Brescian painter Caylina for Portinari. So far as we know, however, there is no extant specimen of this master's work. Nothing remains at Mirabello which could throw any light upon the subject, for the few inferior fragments still existing there could scarcely have belonged to the principal scheme of decoration, and it is therefore out of the question to attempt to connect his name with any of the frescoes of the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr.



Photo.

THE ASSUMPTION
MILAN: THE PORTINARI CHAPEL (S. EUSTORGIO)

Ponti, Milan

Some years ago the idea prevailed that these frescoes were all the work of an unknown Tuscan painter;¹ but whether in architectural and decorative features we are to regard the building as more Tuscan than Lombard, or vice versa, in the pictorial adornment of the chapel we are disposed to think that Lombard influence predominates, and, taking into consideration the relations of Foppa with Pigello Portinari, his position at that period in regard to other artists—being admittedly the best painter in the land as well as the best judge of the capacities and merits of others—and the fact that the earliest writer who mentions the chapel speaks of the painter as Vincenzo Vecchio, we think we are justified in regarding him as the leading spirit in the work, and as the one who directed and superintended the whole. As to the date, Bugati, who states briefly that everything was completed by 1468, is again our only guide. It must be admitted that it is extremely difficult to accept this early date for all the frescoes; yet the unanimity which prevails in the entire system of decoration makes it hard to believe that the whole series was not produced at one period.² The colour scheme is the same in all the frescoes, and this also might tend to show that they were executed simultaneously.³

¹ It may here be noted that Bonifazio Bembo is sometimes quite erroneously held to be of Tuscan origin. The error is traceable to Lomazzo, who for no apparent reason calls him Fazio Bembo da Valdarno (*Tratt.*, p. 405). The mistake is repeated by later writers, among them Calvi (II, p. 87) and Malaguzzi (*Pittori, etc.*, p. 97), who both refer to documents published by Sacchi in proof that the family came from Valdarno. We have found no confirmation in these documents to support such a theory, nor among all the records known to us relating to Bembo, is he ever spoken of as “da Valdarno,” but almost invariably as “da Cremona.” It is desirable to make this clear, as we have heard it suggested that the “Tuscan origin” of Bembo might account for certain Tuscan elements in the frescoes of the Portinari Chapel, an idea which seems to have been first put forward by Mongeri, *op. cit.*, p. 63. The existence of a “Lago” and “Conca d’Arno” in Brescian territory—namely, in the Val Camonica—might possibly explain the subsequent confusion with the Tuscan valley of the same name.

² We might of course conjecture that Foppa planned, and produced during the lifetime of Pigello Portinari, the Four Fathers of the Church and the busts of the apostles only, and that he may have been employed in later years to superintend the painting of the walls; or it might be assumed that Bugati made a mistake in writing the date 1468, and that the decoration of the chapel was actually executed at a later period. In that case, however, nothing but the architectural part of the work would have been completed before the death of Pigello; but neither of these suggestions are very probable, and the traditional date seems on the whole the most worthy of credence.

³ The prevailing colours are: a light watery blue, bright green, deep red shading to a lighter tone and to lilac, and orange yellow. The chapel, as already observed, was several times restored, but we may assume that the general plan of the colour scheme has been preserved in spite of later retouching.

With the meagre information at present available, no solution of this difficult problem relating to the date of the frescoes is possible ; and equally futile is it, in the absence of all documentary proof, to attempt to bring the different frescoes into relation with any individual Lombard painter, since, with the exception of Bembo, none of the artists to whom we have referred are represented by any extant works.¹ But the probability remains that if Foppa was the one in authority, he would have selected painters intimately associated with himself to carry out the work. It is strange that we should have no records referring to a work of such importance and commissioned by a donor so distinguished as Pigello Portinari ; sooner or later we feel convinced that more documents relating to its history will come to light,² and until that time we must be content to look upon the Portinari Chapel as one of the many unsolved problems of Italian art.

Pigello Portinari, who for some years had held a high position at the Court of the Sforza³ and had been succeeded at the Medici Bank by his brother, Azzareto, died in the same year in which, according to Bugati, the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr was completed. Two pathetic letters in the State Archives at Milan from the wife and brother of Pigello to the Duke and his mother Bianca Maria, announced his serious illness, and his death on October 11, 1468. He was buried on the same day in the chapel, according to the inscription on his tombstone, preserved by Milanese writers ;⁴ the tomb being now no longer in existence.

The family retained their rights in the chapel until 1654, when, in spite of the provisions made by Pigello to preserve it to his heirs in perpetuity, it was sold to the Marchese Modroni by Flaminia, widow of Ottavio Portinari.⁵

Contemporaneously with his work for Pigello Portinari, Foppa must also have executed paintings in other places. In 1465 we have a brief notice of payments made to him for frescoes of prophets and other figures in the great cloister of the Certosa of Pavia (Doc. No. 10) ; the account book containing

¹ We have strong proof, however, from many laudatory references to these painters in contemporary documents, that they must all have been masters of considerable ability. The frescoes executed by Bembo and Vismara in the Church of S. Maria di Caravaggio, for instance, were pronounced by those who valued them, so beautiful, that they would have been worthy of a place in the Cathedral of Milan ; and certain Venetians who saw them, were struck by the exceptional merit of the portraits of the Duke and Duchess and of other personages represented there (Malaguzzi, *Pitt. Lomb.*, pp. 117, 118).

² An exhaustive search in the Archivio Notarile at Milan might lead to some results in this direction.

³ Giulini, Vol. VI, p. 549, ed. 1857.

⁴ Allegranza, *De Sepulchris Christianis*, p. 93.

⁵ Caffi, *Chiesa di S. Eustorgio*, 1841, p. 93.

this entry was seen by Caffi in the possession of Count Paolo Sozzi, of Bergamo.¹ In the same year a Pavian painter, Bertolino della Canonica, with whom later Vincenzo was intimately associated, and a painter Bartolomeo, whom we believe to have been Foppa's brother-in-law Bartolomeo Caylina, were engaged in executing paintings on the walls and on the ceiling of the small cloister of the Certosa. The entry in the account book quoted by Beltrami² states that M. Bertolino et M. Bartholomeo "omnes de Papia pictores" (both painters of Pavia) were paid for this work in 1465.

Moiraghi³ made the curious mistake of supposing that these two painters who both bore the name of Bartolomeo (of which Bertolino is only another form) were brothers, and the circumstance that they were working at the Certosa at the same time as Foppa appears to have led him to the further erroneous conclusion that in this year 1465, Vincenzo married their sister. That this conjecture was wholly unfounded is proved by two documents of the Appendix: No. 15, the letter of the Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza (see p. 74), which shows that in 1456 Foppa was already a married man with children, and No. 33, his petition to the Duke, from which it appears that the painter's wife was a Brescian, the sister of Bartolomeo Caylina, whom we now know to have been a painter living, like Foppa, at Pavia; and as no other artist of the name of Bartolomeo is known to have been working at Pavia at this date, it seems reasonable to suppose that the associate of Bertolino della Canonica at the Certosa was Bartolomeo Caylina. His connection with Bertolino is further proved by the fact that both painters were acting as witnesses in a legal transaction at Pavia on November 21, 1465.⁴

On March 8, 1466, Vincenzo's patron, Francesco Sforza, died in the Palazzo dell' Arengo; his eldest son, Galeazzo Maria, was then in Dauphiné commanding the troops which had been sent to the assistance of the French King, but on receiving the news he set forth immediately for Italy, and on March 20 made his state entry into Milan.⁵

In spite of his cruelty and depravity, which made Corio stigmatize him as a second Nero,⁶ Galeazzo Maria was an enthusiastic patron of art and a munificent friend to many of the best painters and craftsmen of the day; often, as we see from documents published by Rosmini, Casati, and others, expending large sums on the pictorial decoration of buildings both secular

¹ *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 99.

² *Certosa*, p. 61, ed. 1895.

³ *Memorie e Documenti, etc.*, 1898, p. 100.

⁴ *Arch. Not. Pavia. Atti di Guiniforte Strazzapatti.* Caylina is here called: "Bertolameo de Brissia pictore, filio quondam Magistri Petri habitatore Papie" (Bartolomeo of Brescia, painter, inhabiting Pavia, son of the late Master Pietro).

⁵ Corio, VI, 414, Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 426.

and ecclesiastical throughout his dominion. He took the keenest personal interest in the progress of these works, and gave minute instructions to Gadio, his Commissioner General, and others, as to the manner in which they were to be carried out; occasionally, indeed, he himself drew up a list of the subjects to be treated, interviewed the painters, and passed judgment upon their designs. The result of this close supervision, by one so critical and sagacious in matters of art as Galeazzo Maria, must have had the best possible results in raising the standard to a very high level and in encouraging the keenest competition among the best masters at his Court. Inferior painters would have had little chance; yet among the throng of artists employed there we find Vincenzo still in the first rank, and maintaining at the Court of Galeazzo Maria the same high position which he had won for himself under Francesco Sforza.

The first document we have relating to Foppa in the new reign is a ducal letter of May 12, 1466 (Doc. No. 11), of which Vincenzo himself is the bearer, addressed to the Commissioner of the works of S. Maria delle Grazie at Monza, and relating to a "Maestà" which the Duke desires that Foppa should paint there. Francesco Sforza had manifested great interest in the building of this church, which was begun in 1461;¹ in all probability he had intended having an altarpiece painted by Foppa, but he died before he was able to carry out his intentions. Galeazzo lost no time in fulfilling his father's wishes, as we see from this letter, which was written less than two months after his accession. From it we learn that Vincenzo is to receive as earnest money twenty gold ducats, and he binds himself to ask for no more until the whole work is completed. The Duke directs that the money be paid to Foppa, and bids the authorities see to it, that the matter be not unnecessarily delayed.

It was formerly supposed that this painting was merely an "Immagine," a simple votive picture ordered by the young Duke;² but from the letter of May 12 we must infer that it was a much more important work, namely, a large altarpiece, for which "Maestà"³ was the generic name. The amount of the earnest money—five ducats more than Vincenzo received at Genoa when he contracted to paint a whole chapel—would point to a work of greater magnitude than a simple votive picture.⁴ There is no reason to doubt that a work in which Galeazzo took so warm an interest was executed; and in all probability the Duke, who in August, 1468, was staying with his newly married

¹ Gonzaga, *De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis Franciscanæ*, Pars. II, 347.

² Beltrami, *op. cit.*, *Emporium*, Nov., 1898.

³ The word "Maestà" is still used in the Pavian dialect to describe any representation of the Madonna or saints. See also chap. IV, p. 104 and note 3.

⁴ Senatroe Beltrami seems now to be of the opinion that it was an altarpiece (see *Italian Wall Decoration*, p. 28).

wife Bona of Savoy in the Rocca at Monza, saw it completed at that date. It must unfortunately be included in the long list of large works executed by Foppa which have absolutely disappeared, leaving no trace or record behind them; but there always remains a hope that some portions of these altarpieces may still be in existence hidden away in village churches in North Italy or in private collections in that country or abroad, and may yet be brought to light.

The next documents of the years 1467, 1468, so convincingly prove that Vincenzo stood in the highest favour both with the Duke and with Pigello Portinari, that we may unhesitatingly affirm that he had carried out the works ordered by them to their entire satisfaction; they afford therefore an indirect proof that the Monza altarpiece was executed and approved. The first of these documents is a letter from Vincenzo to Pigello (Doc. No. 12) which is an important testimony to the intimate relations at that time existing between the painter and his patron. It was written from Pavia, and the bearer of it was Vincenzo's brother-in-law Bartolomeo, whom we now know to have been Bartolomeo Caylina of Brescia. Vincenzo is desirous of buying a house at Pavia; but though he had been living there for close upon eleven years he had not acquired the rights of citizenship, and no strangers were permitted to buy property in the city or in Pavian territory, or to enjoy the rights and privileges of those, who were either citizens by birth or on whom that honour had been conferred.¹ According to the laws of those days, a person desirous of buying property in a city of which he was not a native was bound, first to apply to the authorities for permission to acquire citizenship, and had then to pay a certain tax, which at Pavia, as we learn from Foppa's letter, amounted to ten florins. The Duke, however, as supreme head, had the power, by a special decree, of granting to his friends or members of his household the privilege of acquiring property without any of the usual formalities. It was to obtain this favour and to spare himself expense that Foppa decided to approach Portinari on the subject, being desirous first to attain to all the rights and privileges of a citizen and to buy property in the city, and later on "to cause himself to be made a citizen" ("più adaxio mi farò fare cittadino)."

Portinari lost no time in complying with the painter's wishes and must at once have broached the subject to the Duchess, for less than a week after the receipt by Pigello of Foppa's letter, Bianca Maria wrote to the authorities at Pavia warmly recommending "our well-beloved Vincentio de Fopa" ("dilectum nostrum") and directing that he is to be permitted to acquire whatever he

¹ See *Statuta Civilia Civitatis et Comitatus Papie*, Rubrica CXLVII, ed. Borgofranco, Pavia, 1505.

desires in Pavia or its territory, and to be granted equal rights and privileges with the Pavians, as though he were a native and true-born citizen of Pavia (Doc. No. 13). Her commands referring to Foppa are, she adds, to be inviolably observed, "subject to the penalty of our displeasure."

A letter couched in such strong terms received immediate attention from the authorities at Pavia, for by the autumn of 1468 we find Foppa must have been the owner of a house in that city (Doc. No. 15); and having, through the intervention of the Duchess, obtained all the rights and privileges accruing to a citizen, he now took steps to cause himself to be formally recognized as such.

On October 14, 1468 (Doc. No. 15), Galeazzo Maria, writing from Novara, addressed a letter on behalf of Foppa to the Podestà and Presidents of the Council of Twelve at Pavia,¹ urging them to elect the painter as their fellow-citizen. After alluding to the fact that for the past twelve years Foppa had been living at Pavia with his family, and had therefore every right to be regarded as a citizen, the Duke proceeded to speak of him in the most flattering terms as a painter "who in his profession is surpassed by none" and one whose election to the citizenship would be an honour to Pavia, not only by reason of his great artistic merits, but also on account of his high moral character and law-abiding qualities. The Duke therefore commanded that Master Vincenzo should be elected a citizen of Pavia with all the necessary formalities, but without being put to any expense.² This letter sufficiently testifies to the high opinion which Galeazzo Maria entertained of Foppa, and in another missive of a month earlier (Doc. No. 14), according to the terms of which the Duke appoints him an honorary member of his household, we have yet further proof of that esteem. This honour, conferred upon Foppa in recognition of his conspicuous merits, must have been very gratifying to the painter, the more so as the privilege carried with it immunity from taxation. In the same letter the Duke also grants him a safe-conduct for six years, from which fact we might infer that Foppa must then have had it in his mind to seek work beyond the limits of Milanese territory. The safe-conduct provided that Foppa and persons travelling with him were to be given a free pass throughout the Duke's dominions, and to be exempted from tolls, taxes, and other charges, and further, the rulers of other states are solicited

¹ The Twelve who presided over the city formed the so-called *Consiglio di Provvisione*, a body which under the presidency of the Podestà managed the ordinary affairs of the Commune. For business of special importance the Twelve convened the General Council, whose members were called "*Cittadini aggiunti*."

² The Duke's words are: "We therefore desire and command you of the Council of Twelve, together with the same number of members of the General Council, to elect . . . Master Vincenzo," etc.

in this letter, as a personal favour to the Duke of Milan, to grant similar immunities to the painter when passing through their dominions. The privileges named in this decree are granted to him as the "just due of his virtues and skill in the art of painting," and also in recognition of the "faithfulness and devotion to us and our government displayed by our well-beloved Master Vincenzo de Foppa."

Notices of Foppa in the next few years are extremely scanty, and we have no certain information as to the work which occupied him.

We know that the painters with whom we found him associated in earlier years, and others with whom his name is coupled later, were busily engaged in the Castello of Pavia decorating the rooms for the advent of Galeazzo and Bona after their marriage in 1468; and later the Duke, with the aid of Gadio, drew up a programme for the redecoration of many of the apartments; but the painter most frequently named is Bembo, and strange as it may seem, considering what we know to have been the Duke's opinion of Foppa's powers, his name never appears among the painters working there at this date.

It is true that Malaguzzi¹ cites Foppa as one of those employed there, and refers to the years 1469-71 as the period of Bembo's activity in the Castello of Pavia, "for the paintings of which he, with Zanetto Bugati and Foppa, had composed the designs"; but the document to which he refers as a proof of this is in point of fact of 1474, being one of the well-known series dealing with the ancona for the Chapel of the Relics (see chap. IV, pp. 93-107). It is possible that documents proving Foppa's co-operation with these painters at Pavia between 1469 and 1472 may be in existence, but so far we have been unable to trace them.

From 1469 onwards we have many notices relating to painters in the Castello at Milan.² A "Magistro Vincenzo" is then spoken of in company with the painters Pietro and Baldassare. On February 22 Gadio is commanded to have scaffolding erected for the paintings of Master Vincenzo, and on the following day the Ducal Treasurer is ordered to prepay the painters, Pietro, Baldassare, and Vincenzo, for their work. On May 27 the Duke sends from Abbiate to order that certain rooms are to be painted; one, the Saletta, is to be decorated by Master Vincenzo with lilies and stars on an azure field; according to a letter of Gadio's of May 31, 1469, the azure for the decoration of this room (one of the most costly items required by painters³ in those days) was bought at Nuremberg.⁴ It does not appear, however, that "Master Vincenzo" carried out this plan of decoration, for at the beginning

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

² Beltrami, *Castello di Milano*, ed. 1885, p. 102, and 1894, p. 240 and foll.

³ Calvi, II, 91 note.

⁴ Beltrami, *Cast.*, 244 note.

of December the Duke writes to Gadio that he intends to spend Christmas in the Castello and that the rooms are to be provisionally painted as rapidly as possible, the Saletta in murrey¹ and white, the Sala Grande in green; and the painters were to work day and night in order to have it ready. By the 17th the work was far advanced, for one of the household who had come to Milan to see whether all would be in readiness by Christmas writes that the Duke will be well satisfied.² We may conclude that Vincenzo and his colleague were the painters employed in these two rooms; but is this Vincenzo Foppa?

We can scarcely believe that a master, who by the Duke's own showing was the most distinguished in the land, would have been employed on purely decorative work such as any ordinarily skilled house-painter could have executed, and it seems much more probable that this Vincenzo was V. de Pestegallo (or Peregallo), whom we find on other occasions associated with Pietro Marchesi,³ and who was evidently one of his "Compagni." In 1472 they received payment for work executed in the upper chapel, and they were subsequently sued by Santino da Ello for the sum of ninety-three ducats, the cost of gold leaf supplied for the decoration of this chapel.⁴ Pietro Marchesi is never, we believe, mentioned as an associate of Foppa, but seems rather to have belonged to a rival company who some years later sought to oust the Brescian master and his colleagues from employment in the Castello of Pavia. That Foppa should have taken an active part in the decoration of the castles of Milan and Pavia is extremely probable, but no records are at present known to prove that he was working there in these years,⁵ and moreover we have indirect evidence that in 1469 he could not have been engaged upon any work of great magnitude and importance, as in that year he appears to have sought employment in the Campo Santo at Pisa. His application was made by letter, but as arrangements had already been concluded with Benozzo Gozzoli, Vincenzo's offer was declined, the authorities "returning him eleven soldi as requested in his letter" (Doc. No. 17).

Unfortunately, we do not know in which month this correspondence took

¹ Morello, that is mulberry colour (see the treatise on colours in Lomazzo, *Trattato*, Haydock's translation, Book III, chap. III, p. 99 and foll.).

² Beltr., 246-48. For the paintings in the Castello at Milan see also Angelucci, *Catalogo della Armeria Reale di Torino*, pp. 43-46, note.

³ Beltr., *Sala delle Asse*, p. 18. See also *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, June, 1895, p. 411.

⁴ Beltr., p. 382 note, and Malaguzzi, pp. 220, 225.

⁵ Signor Beltrami (*La Vita nel Castello di Milano*, p. 20, ed. 1900) indeed states that in February, 1469, the Duke gave orders that scaffolding was to be prepared for the painter Vincenzo Foppa; but the only record known to us relating to the painter Vincenzo in this month and year is the letter of February 22 (alluded to on the preceding page) and here no mention of the painter's surname occurs. For the reasons stated in the text we think we are justified in identifying him with Vincenzo Pestegallo.

place, as Vincenzo's letter is no longer in existence; but an entry recording the fact is in the Archivio del Capitolo at Pisa, and was discovered by Signor Supino,¹ who kindly informs us that no further notice relating to our painter is to be found in the Pisan Archives. In the winter of this year 1469 we find him witnessing a contract for the division of certain lands between a priest Giovanni Andrea Cattaneo da Brignano and his brother Giorgio (Doc. No. 16). The transaction took place on February 6 in the cloisters of the Church of S. Maria Gualtieri at Pavia, and is of great interest as showing Foppa's connection both with that church and with the contracting parties at this early date, for it was for the Church of S. Maria that he painted one of his most important pictures, a great altarpiece which we shall find minutely described in a document of 1499, his collaborator in the work being Giovanni Siro, the son of this Giorgio Cattaneo just mentioned. We may infer that in 1469 Foppa was still living in the house at S. Martino in Pietra Lata, which was almost opposite to S. Maria Gualtieri, where he had been summoned to act as a witness. In the summer of 1470 Vincenzo was still at Pavia, for on the 15th of June he took another house up to February 1, 1474, this time in the parish of S. Gregorio, near Porta Marenga (Doc. No. 18). He must have been in flourishing circumstances, for he was himself the owner of some house property at Pavia as we know, and though there is no mention of a workshop in the new lease, it is evident, from the wording of the document, that this house was a larger and more important building than his former abode in the quarter of Porta Laudense, though he paid less rent for it (thirteen instead of eighteen florins per annum); it was sublet to him by a certain Gregorio di S. Gregorio, who had taken it himself for a term of four years, as recently as February of this year.

The painter's new house was situated in what is now Corso Cavour, not far from the statue known as "Muto dall' accia al collo,"² a quarter less central and less frequented than that of S. Martino, which was, as we saw, the very centre of the art life of Pavia. This, and the fact that there was no workshop, would account for the lower rent. That Foppa should have given up his workshop in Strada Nuova, and taken a house removed from the centre of activity as far as art was concerned, is perhaps an indication that the house was for his family, and that he himself had decided to leave Pavia for a time and seek work in other cities, availing himself at last of the Duke's safe-conduct, which had been granted to him in 1468; as we have

¹ See *Il Campo Santo di Pisa*, p. 28.

² The name bestowed upon this mutilated Roman statue by the people of Pavia, who mistook the folds of the toga for a skein hung loosely round the neck (see Moiraghi, in *Appendice al giornale Il Ticino*, 1892, and C. Dell' Acqua, *Guida . . di Pavia*, p. 33).

direct proof of his presence in Genoa in 1471, it is probable that he returned there in the autumn of 1470 or in the spring of the following year, with the idea perhaps, of again obtaining employment in the chapel which he had left unfinished in 1461.

The Priors of the Confraternity of St. John Baptist had, as we saw, employed Giovanni Mazzone to paint the altarpiece (chap. 1, p. 31), but apparently they always looked for the return of Foppa to complete the decoration of the chapel, for it will be remembered that he only painted the ceiling in 1461, and that it was to be decorated both "in facie" and "in cello." The preliminaries respecting this work may have taken some time, and probably he had other patrons there anxious to employ him; in any case, the earliest document relating to the fact that the Brescian painter had resumed work at Genoa, is of July 12, 1471. In this (Doc. No. 19) "Vincenzo de Fopa de Brisia" promises to paint the Chapel of St. John Baptist with the compositions agreed upon in the contract drawn up on that day by the notary Filippo Bonaver; Foppa received forty ducats as earnest money, which he agreed to restore if he did not fulfil his contract. Unfortunately all the deeds of this notary were destroyed by fire in the bombardment of 1684, and we cannot tell what negotiations may have preceded this agreement. A further entry of November 6, presumably of the same year, tells us that Vincenzo received from Pietro Frevante the sum of ten ducats. As Frevante was one of the Priors of the Confraternity, there is no doubt that this was a further instalment of payment for work done in the chapel; Frevante was besides a Director of the Bank of St. George at Genoa, and it is probable that these entries were simply his own memoranda, copies of payments and receipts hastily jotted down, which would account for the irregular way in which they are entered. On the last page of the book in which they are contained (the *Decret. Officii Sti Georgii*) is the notice of July 12; while a few pages earlier we have the obviously later entry of November 6. The book contains records—entered in no chronological sequence—of the years 1471–74, which perhaps led Crowe and Cavalcaselle to infer that this last entry was of 1474, an obvious mistake, for we know Foppa to have been at Pavia at this date. There is reason to think that even during this second visit to Genoa, Vincenzo did not complete his work in the chapel, for a document of March 10, 1478,¹ proves that the decoration was far advanced at that date, but that money was lacking to complete it. The Priors therefore petitioned the Signoria for help, urging as one reason, their dread of the adverse criticism of the people if the work was left unfinished. The result of this was that they obtained a government grant of

¹ *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, IV, 24, note.

200 lire for two years, and with this we may conclude the pictorial decoration was completed. Twenty years later the chapel was redecorated with marbles and sculpture, which must have resulted in the destruction of Foppa's ceiling painting, for Jean d'Auton, who came to Genoa in 1502 in the suite of Louis XII, speaks of the chapel as "magnificent . . . all of marble white and brown, and the vaulting of marble; painted also with fine gold and rich azure and sown throughout with fleurs de lys."¹

The chronicler gives a minute account of the sculptures, but says not one word of frescoes in the chapel; even if any of Foppa's work had survived to that time it must certainly have perished in 1532, when the chapel was entirely restored, and Mazzone's altarpiece—probably the last relic of fifteenth century painting within its walls—was removed.

We have no certain information as to the date of Foppa's return to the north, but the fact that an altarpiece bearing his name and the date 1472 was in the seventeenth century in the Church of S. Maria Maddalena at Brescia, might lead us to infer that on quitting Genoa he went to Brescia in order to execute this work. The altarpiece is mentioned by Faini, the earliest writer who attempted any systematic account of the paintings in that city, in a manuscript entitled *Pitture nelle Chiese di Brescia*,² as follows: "The Church of the Maddalena is small and of ancient date; the picture over the High Altar, divided into various compartments, is by the hand of Vincenzo Foppa the Brescian, a good painter in those days."

This information from the pen of a seventeenth century writer would in itself be of no value as a guarantee that the work in question was actually by Foppa, but in another place Faini adds the important notice that the picture bore the signature of Foppa and the date 1472: "In the Church of S. Maria Maddalena, formerly belonging to the Umiliati, the picture of the High Altar, in which is seen a company of diverse saints, and in it is his [Foppa's] name and the date 1472."³

Referring again to the manuscript *Pitture nelle Chiese di Brescia*, we

¹ "Une mirifique chapelle laquelle est toute de mabre biz et blanc voutée de mabre aussi toute paincte à fin or et riche azur et partout semée de fleurs de lys" (*Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 74).

² f. 174; the writer, Bernardino Faini, died in 1673.

³ "Nella chiesa di S. Maria Maddalena altre volte de frati Humiliati, la Pala dell' altar maggiore in cui si vede una compartita di diversi santi in essa vi è il suo nome e la data 1472." This is a MS. note in what must have been Faini's own copy of Ottavio Rossi's *Elogi Historici di Bresciani Illustri*, and is written in the margin of Rossi's brief and very inaccurate notice of Foppa, p. 508. The volume contains numerous other notes in the same handwriting, one of which is signed in full "Bernardinus Fainus." The book is in the possession of one of the present writers.

find at the end of the volume a page headed "Additions to be made after revision," and among the entries the following: "In the Church of the Maddalena to add: the altarpiece by Giugno representing the Magdalen borne upwards by six angels which was painted for the purpose of being placed above the High Altar, when it was reconstructed, *in place of the picture by Foppa.*"

Thus Faini, to whom we owe the information that a picture painted by Foppa in 1472 was still in existence at Brescia in the seventeenth century, is also the only writer who records the reason of its removal—namely, in order to make way for a work by the decadent painter Francesco Giugno (d. 1636). Foppa's picture was then no doubt placed in some less prominent position in the church or in the sacristy, and was soon forgotten. This explains why neither Paglia, Averoldi, nor any other writer on the paintings of Brescia mention the picture by Foppa; but all speak of the altarpiece of S. Maria Maddalena as the work of Giugno. We have no clue as to the subsequent fate of Foppa's altarpiece, which from Faini's description may in some particulars have resembled the polyptych for S. Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo, being composed of single figures of saints in different compartments.

After completing the altarpiece at Brescia, Foppa most probably returned to his home at Pavia, and he appears to have been at Milan in 1473. We know that he, with other painters, was deputed about this time to value certain frescoes in the Castello di Porta Giovia in that city, and as far as we can judge from facts at present known, the valuation took place in that year. In 1472² Stefano de' Fedeli was painting in the lower chapel of the Castello, and in a document of January, 1474,³ it is stated that Giacomo Vismara and his companions were to be paid for their work in this chapel, which was completed in 1473. It was valued on July 13 of that year by three masters, whose names are not given. From an undated petition of Stefano de' Fedeli, praying to be paid for his share of this work, which he states was the sixth part of the lower chapel,⁴ we gather that he was one of Vismara's companions. According to this document, the frescoes were valued by *four* masters, and confusing and involved as these records are, it nevertheless seems clear that this must have been the valuation spoken of in July, 1473; the names of the four masters are given as: Vincenzo Foppa, Cristoforo Moretto, Stefano de' Magistris, and Battista Montorfano,⁵ the two latter having also valued

¹ See Beltr., *Castello*, 283; *Emporium*, Nov., 1898, p. 10; and Malaguzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 84, who state that the valuation took place in 1472, which does not appear certain from the documents.

² Beltr., 283.

³ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 379.

⁵ The lower chapel, called also Cappella Ducale and dedicated to S. Donato, was situated on the ground floor looking into the Corte Ducale; parallel to it was the Saletta



THE MADONNA AND CHILD.

MILAN: CASTELLO MUSEUM.

decorative works by Stefano de' Fedeli in one of the apartments of the Duchess.¹

Valuing frescoes was always a serious business; the painters who undertook the task swearing solemnly that they would judge the work with the utmost rectitude and impartiality, the oath being administered by the Commissioner of Works—in this case Bartolomeo Gadio.²

Four pictures, which from their appearance would seem to belong to a comparatively early period of Foppa's career, may perhaps be ascribed to these years, 1460–70, i.e. the Madonnas in the Castello Museum at Milan, in the Berlin Gallery, and in the collections of Prince Trivulzio at Milan and of Mr. Berenson at Settignano. The first-named is a most admirably character-

(mentioned on p. 76), called also Sala Celeste (see the plan of the Castello, Beltr., pt. I, and pt. II, ch. I; and *Sala delle Asse*, p. 13). After the death of Galeazzo Maria 500 ducats were still owing to the painters for their work here, and it may have been in the hope of obtaining his share of these arrears that Stefano de' Fedeli sent in his petition (Beltr., 379); a further valuation seems to have been ordered by the reigning Duke in February, 1477, though probably the expression "non essendo estimado" is to be understood as "if the work has not already been valued"; for as we know that this had been done by Foppa and his associates in 1473, it was hardly likely to have been repeated, and in July, 1477, Gadio was ordered to settle accounts with the painters (Beltr., 381). The chapel now forms part of the Sculpture Museum in the Castello, and at the entrance has been placed the marble door of the Medici Bank. Some of the frescoes on the ceiling and walls (the Resurrection, figures of Saints, and the Annunciation), were recovered from whitewash in 1897. The principal references to the paintings in this chapel are in Beltrami, *Castello*, 283, 319, 379, 693, etc. Senatore Beltrami's information is repeated by Count Malaguzzi and others, but no further light is thrown on the subject. An article in the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1894, also deals with these paintings, though the castles of Milan and Pavia have there been confused. Some critics affirm that Foppa's hand may be recognized among the frescoes of this room, but we must confess that nothing among these injured fragments appears to us worthy of his name; moreover, the identity of the painters employed in the decoration of this chapel seems fairly proved, from the documents referred to. Vincenzo would scarcely have been chosen to value the work had he himself had a share in its execution.

¹ Beltr., *Cast.*, p. 318.

² The form of administering the oath is almost invariably referred to as follows: "Ad chi fo dato il sacramento per domino . . . Comissario generale delli lavorerii ducali che estimassino giustamente" (To whom the oath was administered by the Commissioner General of the Ducal works that they should judge with rectitude). Occasionally, as in a letter to Gadio (December, 1472, Miss. 110, f. 122) relating to works by Bembo, Leonardo Ponzano, and Zanetto Bugati, he is ordered to administer the oath to the two valuers "de giudicare secondo la verità" (to judge according to the truth).

An interesting specimen of these artistic valuations is contained in a Pavian document of November 10, 1489. The works in question are the four shutters of a carved

istic example, and marks a new phase in the painter's development, in which he shows himself in closest sympathy with plastic art. The whole conception, the modelling of the flesh, the treatment of the forms and of the drapery, exhibit an intimate connection with terra-cotta and marble bas-reliefs, a proof not so much of the influence of sculptors on Foppa as of his desire to emulate and surpass them by the mastery of his brush. Painting and sculpture, as Morelli pointed out, often curiously reflect one another at this epoch;¹ many plastic works in the Castello Museum at Milan, in the churches at Brescia and Pavia, and in other places, so vividly recall Foppa as to produce the effect of pictures in stone by the master. But in this little painting the reverse is the case; here Vincenzo has evidently set himself the task of translating into the language of graphic art the forms and modes of expression of sculpture, and has solved the manifold difficulties of such an undertaking with remarkable success. From this point of view the picture is a masterpiece, and within the narrow limits of this small panel Foppa has attained to a point of perfection in modelling and plastic rendering of form which he did not always reach in his more ambitious work. Against the clear blue of the sky which forms the background, the head of the Madonna stands out in wonderful relief; the flesh, warmer in tone than usual, with grey shadows and sharp touches of

altarpiece for the Hospital at Pavia executed by Giacomo de Maino, the Pavian wood-carver, and they are valued by two Pavian carvers, Gian Pietro Fugazza and Agostino Grassi. We gather that the latter first inspected the deed appointing them to the office of valuers in order to make sure of the extent of their authority in the matter. They then carefully examined the whole work, "not once, but repeatedly," discussed it thoroughly both amongst themselves and with those concerned in it, and having further heard and seen everything which could possibly bear upon the question and given the matter mature consideration, and after taking the oath and invoking the name of Christ, they pronounced that Giacomo was to receive 300 lire imp. and no more as the value of his work. "Prius per eos magistros estimatores viso compromisso ac potestate et baylia in illo et per illud eis attributa :Item visis et oculis corporeis subiectis suprascriptis portis et suprascripta anchona ac diligenter consideratis non semel sed pluries, et participato insimul inter se ipsos de et pro predictis, et auditis dictis partibus semel et pluries, ac denique visis et auditis omnibus et singulis his que videnda et audienda fuerunt et sunt in predictis: et super ipsis omnibus et singulis matura et diligenti deliberatione prehabita, Christi nomine invocato, in hiis scriptis retulerunt et referunt suprascriptos Agentes pro dicto Hospitali dare debere dicto Magistro Jacobo pro eius mercede et retributione suprascriptarum portarum et anchone in summa libras tercentum imperiales et tantumdem et non ultra ipsum Magistrum Jacobum meruisse et mereri pro ejus manufactura dictarum portarum et anchone. Et ita dicunt et referunt cum eorum juramento per eos prestito, in manibus mei notarii infrascripti, ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, manu corporaliter tactis Scripturis et pro veritate" (Arch. Not. Pavia. Atti di Francesco Strazzapatti, pacco 1486-90).

¹ *Italian Painters*, II, p. 6.



Photo.

Hans Staezel

THE MADONNA AND CHILD
BERLIN: ROYAL GALLERY

light, is modelled with great skill and knowledge ; the white veil framing her face and outlined upon the golden glory follows, in the main, the principles of sculpture, but has been admirably adapted to the exigencies of painting ; the folds of the blue mantle are of a character which from this time forward we meet with in a more or less accentuated degree in all the master's genuine works. The robe of the Madonna, a very triumph of his palette, is of a splendid shade of red, like translucent enamel with golden lights ; this same glowing shade of red is also adopted for the groundwork of a band of ornament introduced on the columns on either side of the parapet on which stands the Infant Saviour, and framing in the whole picture. On this band the following inscription is decipherable : "AVE . SANCTISIM[a] . MARIA . PORTA . PA . RADIXI . DOMINA . MONDI . PURA . SINGULARIS . M[at]E[r] . VIRGO . SINGULARIS . IN . CONCET . . ." ¹

The outward characteristics of Foppa are present in every part of the picture, but of far greater importance than any external tokens of the master's hand are the psychological qualities, the inherent marks of his genius. The Madonna, in spite of certain obvious defects in the drawing of the features which might cause this picture to be stigmatized as repellent, is nevertheless in some respects, one of the noblest he ever composed ; a type at once strong and gentle, and of remarkable dignity. So majestic in conception is this little work that it seems far removed from the ordinary sphere of subjects of this class, with which countless examples have familiarized us in Italian art ; they represent, as a rule, the Mother and Child treated in a more or less homely fashion with many charming details of the everyday life of the period, and nothing more ; but Foppa's picture differs fundamentally from such works, and the idea underlying this representation places it on a higher plane, for in the Virgin it was evidently the painter's intention to depict the Mother of God, and in the Child with his dignified attitude and hand uplifted in blessing, the Saviour of the world, a form of composition closely connected in feeling with Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini. Though lacking the outward charm of expression found in the works of these masters, it has assumed in the hands of Foppa a more severe and solemn character.

Buttinone took this Madonna as a model for his picture now in the Brera, but has entirely missed the significance of Foppa's composition and returns

¹ The jewel-like red illumined with gold so freely used in this picture is met with in many works by Foppa ; in the Adoration of the Magi in our National Gallery, for instance, produced certainly in the later years of the master's career, and in the Madonna and Child in the collection of Mr. Davis at Newport, Rhode Island. The technique is very similar to what we find in Mantegna's triptych in the Uffizi, in a tondo ascribed to Pisanello at Berlin, and in other contemporary works.

to the ordinary class of treatment. Here the Child stands sideways upon the parapet, and looks out of the picture over his right shoulder, grasping his Mother's mantle with his right hand.¹ From many indications the Castello picture is evidently an early work; at the same time the care and diligence bestowed upon the technique and modelling are most remarkable and render it probable that it must have been produced for a donor of great importance, and involuntarily our thoughts turn to that Madonna which Francesco Sforza refers to in the letter in which he summons Vincenzo hurriedly to Milan in March, 1463 (Doc. No. 9), a date which would be in complete accordance with the aspect of the picture. Unfortunately, however, we have not the slightest clue to its earlier history. All that we know is, that it was formerly in the Museo Civico, whither it came with other pictures of the Guasconi bequest,² and eventually with all the collections in this museum it was removed to the Castello.

Akin to the Virgin of the Castello in point of date and sculptural tendencies, though far inferior to it in every particular, is the Madonna and Child of the Berlin Gallery, a picture now in such a terrible state of decay that no just estimate of it is possible. In the face and hair the colour has scaled off in patches, leaving the panel bare,³ the flesh tones and the colours of the drapery have greatly deteriorated, owing to the action of damp or the neglect to which this painting must have been subjected, it having probably shared the fate of many of the Solly pictures, to which collection this Madonna formerly belonged; for more than fifty years after their purchase by the Prussian Government they were stacked in lumber rooms, piled one on the other, and exposed to every kind of injury and indignity.⁴ The Madonna is undoubtedly Foppa's in type and character, and the structural qualities of the figure seated upon the wooden throne with the Child firmly planted upon her knee are admirably understood; in this respect Vincenzo has solved a difficulty, which was not always easily surmounted even by the greatest masters at this date, with complete success. In the treatment of the Child it cannot be denied that the qualities which as a rule render his works so attractive—charm and earnestness of expression, grace of movement, dignity and impressiveness of pose—are absent from this panel; the painter here has striven after character alone, and has drawn the figure of the Child with all the skill and knowledge at his command, but with no regard for beauty of type or expression, for the features are coarse, unpleasing, and wholly uninspired, and the forms are heavy

¹ An inferior copy of the Castello picture is in the Malaspina Gallery at Pavia.

² In 1863 (see *Perseveranza*, November 17, 1863).

³ Our illustration is from a photograph by Hanfstaengl, taken some years ago, in which the present deplorable state of the picture is not so apparent.

⁴ See *Jahrbuch d. K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VII, p. 238.



Photo.

Anderson

THE MADONNA AND CHILD
MILAN: TRIVULZIO COLLECTION



THE MADONNA AND CHILD
SETTIGNANO NEAR FLORENCE: BERENSON COLLECTION

and ungainly. The woodwork of the throne is light in colour; the robe of the Madonna is of a deep cherry red, a shade rarely met with in the works of Foppa, her mantle pale blue, lined with sage green. The landscape is composed altogether in his spirit and in touch is closely connected with his manner in many other works; the lights on the trees and bushes are put in with white, and not with gold, as is often the case in paintings of this date. The workmanship throughout must always have been coarser and far less careful than in the Castello Madonna; but in spite of this, of its divergency in some particulars from Foppa's typical methods, and of its present damaged condition, the panel must certainly be included in the category of the master's genuine works. As in the picture of the Castello Museum, Foppa here introduces a *motive* much in vogue with the painters of Northern and Central Italy, the string of red beads suspended above the head of the Virgin, these two pictures being the only examples by him known to us in which this decorative accessory appears. In this instance it hangs from the cord, stretched across the top of the picture, which supports the cloth of honour forming the background to the figure of the Madonna. Owing presumably to the injured condition of the picture, it is not exhibited in the gallery, but is kept in the *depôt*.

Not far from these two pictures in the chronological development of Foppa should, we think, be placed the Madonnas mentioned above, in the collections of Prince Trivulzio and Mr. Berenson, the former being perhaps the earlier of the two, though later in date, we should assume, than the Virgins of the Castello and of the Berlin Gallery. The weakness of drawing noticeable in the Trivulzio Madonna, especially in the leg and foot of the Infant Saviour and in the outline of the Madonna's throat, might indeed induce some to reject it altogether from the category of the master's genuine paintings; yet the picture contains so many individual traits distinctive of Foppa, that we think it must certainly be included among his authentic, though less successful, works. Many of the outward characteristics which we found in the Nosedà picture are present here: the type of the Madonna with the straight nose and heavy eyelids, the opaque quality of the iris in both the Virgin and Child, and the form of the lips of the Infant Saviour. The manner in which the hands are drawn shows a great advance upon the hands in the Nosedà picture; the left is a development of the hand of the Virgin in the Castello, while the right is more nearly connected with the type of hand found in Jacopo Bellini's drawings,¹ and this picture, in the feeling of the charming composition and in the general design—equally with the three other Madonnas to be mentioned immediately—is a further distinct proof of Foppa's

¹ See especially Giraudon, No. 745.

Venetian training. The hair brushed back from the high forehead and showing the ear is treated in a manner almost reminiscent of the methods of Northern art, and in this particular, and in the arrangement of the drapery about the head, closely resembles the treatment in Mr. Berenson's Madonna. The spontaneous gesture of the Infant Saviour and the great vitality of expression manifest in the treatment of the head give proof of Foppa's intimate observation of nature and power of representing it in a manner wholly convincing, qualities which we shall frequently have occasion to note in his authentic paintings. Taken in conjunction with other external characteristics of form and colour, they stamp his compositions with the hall-mark of authenticity, and enable students to distinguish with some measure of certainty between his own works and those of his followers and imitators.

Later in date than the Trivulzio Madonna, but most intimately connected with it, is the Virgin and Child just alluded to in the collection of Mr. Bernhard Berenson at Settignano, near Florence. The Madonna seated holds the Infant Saviour to her breast;¹ he turns his head and looks out of the picture with an ingenuous expression and with a charming infantile gesture clutches at his right foot, the master in this repeating a *motive* treated in the lunette fresco of Illasi (by Stefano da Zevio?). On the left we have a simple tapestry hanging, brown in tone with golden threads, which fills three-quarters of the background; in the small remaining space is a window opening through which is seen a landscape of that distinctive type for which Foppa always had a special predilection, with bushes, water, and hills, relieved against a sky light in tone towards the horizon and cloudy above. The flesh tones are as usual very grey with white lights about the eyes and nose. The robe of the Madonna is of a vivid shade of red, her mantle dark blue with decorative border in gold. The Child wears a little shirt of a yellow shade with strong lights, the left sleeve of which shows all Foppa's characteristic manner of treating folds and drapery; the left hand of the Madonna is full of feeling and is identical in form with the right hand of the Virgin in the Trivulzio picture; it also shows a close connection with the hands of the angel in the Annunciation at Arcore and with those of the Ecce Homo in the Cheramy Collection

¹ This subject, so frequently treated, known in Italian as "la Vergine allattante," was the medium through which primitive art sought to emphasize the Divine maternity of the B. Virgin and to give graphic expression to the words of the ecclesiastical liturgy: "Salvatore[m] sæculorum, ipsum regem angelorum, sola Virgo lactabat ubere de cœlo pleno" (The Virgin of Virgins fed at her heaven-filled breast the Saviour of the world even the King of Angels. *Roman Breviary*: Feast of the Circumcision, 8 resp. at Matins)—a beautiful idea which undoubtedly inspired many of these compositions in the best period of art.



THE MADONNA & CHILD.

PHILADELPHIA U.S.A.: JOHNSON COLLECTION.

in Paris.¹ The beautiful drawing and pose of the head of the Madonna, the plastic modelling of her features, the life-like attitude and animated movement of the Child, added to the extreme simplicity and charm of the composition, render this one of the most attractive works by Foppa of this date known to us. The decorative borders adorned with letters on the mantle and robe of the Madonna, a peculiarity noticeable in this picture, though also seen in a lesser degree in the Nosedà and Trivulzio pictures, were much in vogue with painters of this date, though by few were they used so profusely and with such persistent frequency as by Foppa and his school. Constant intercourse with Orientals induced the early Venetian painters to adopt arabic letters as their models, in place of the geometrical patterns formerly used, imitating perhaps those amulets of parchment or gold inscribed with a verse of the Koran which were worn as charms by the Mussulman population of the East. Foppa having no Oriental models to copy adapted to his own use the ordinary alphabet, occasionally reversing the letters and interspersing them with other devices, seemingly with no object beyond that of decorative effect. It is quite the exception if we are able to detect any meaning in the letters which decorate these Foppesque borders, and for the most part they show us capricious and arbitrary combinations and nothing further. Still, in his picture of the Pietà at Berlin, on the border of the garment of Nicodemus, the painter's name may be read, and in the drapery of some of his Madonnas, for example on the border of the mantle and robe of the enthroned Madonna of the Brera altarpiece, we are able to decipher fragments of the most beautiful of the prayers and hymns which the Church has dedicated to the Virgin, such as : *Regina Coeli laetare*, etc., *Ave Maris stella*, etc., and the antiphon *Diffusa est gratia*, etc.

A picture derived from the Berenson Madonna, but far more elaborate in composition and much later in date, is the Virgin and Child lately in the collection of Sir Martin Conway and now in that of Mr. J. G. Johnson, of Philadelphia. It represents, like the Settignano picture, a seated figure of the Madonna holding the Infant Saviour to her breast. In the background is a hanging which fills three-quarters of the picture, and on the right a window opening, through which a landscape is seen. In general lines this later version follows its prototype closely. The hands are very similar in outward character and pose, though inferior in feeling and coarser in drawing, as will be seen on comparing the illustrations of the two pictures, in which the close connection and obvious differences between these two works are manifest. The naïveté and freshness which imparted so much charm to the Settignano panel appear to us to have vanished from this later and more commonplace

¹ See chap. v.

version. The earlier composition, with its extreme simplicity of detail, has here assumed a more elaborate character. The head of the Madonna has developed into a type belonging to a much more advanced period of art, and though in some degree connected with the Madonnas of Savona and of the National Gallery, and also with earlier works, it is difficult to determine its place in the chronological development of Foppa's art. For purposes of comparison we have reproduced it here, though we should assume it to be at least twenty years later in date than the picture at Settignano. Characteristic of Foppa and his school are : the quality of the flesh painting—in tone almost colourless with sooty shadows—the folds on the sleeves of the Infant Saviour's shirt, and the colouring, especially the vivid scarlet of the Madonna's robe and the cap worn by the Child, the drawing of whose head curiously recalls that of a *putto* by Amadeo on the door of the small cloister in the Certosa of Pavia. The landscape, seen through the window on the right, is full of charm in composition, though somewhat coarse in execution. We must, however, remember that this picture, when discovered by its former owner in a private collection at Brescia, was in a much injured condition. Every part, except the face of the Madonna, was entirely repainted, and several landscapes had to be stripped from the surface before the original background was reached.¹ Under these circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that the picture is incapable of arousing much enthusiasm, though it seems to be by Foppa in a comparatively uninspired mood. Nothing is known of its history prior to May, 1887, when it was purchased at Brescia, as already observed, by Sir Martin Conway ; in 1906 it passed into the possession of its present owner.²

A strikingly characteristic picture which it is interesting to compare with this group of Madonnas, though, like Mr. Johnson's picture, it is much later in date, is the Madonna and Child in the collection of Mr. Theodore Davis of Newport, Rhode Island. We cannot unfortunately speak of the picture from personal knowledge ; but through the great kindness of the owner we are able to illustrate it, and, judging from the photograph, should say that it was a picture of the utmost charm. The mantle of the Madonna, according to the description which Mr. Davis has been good enough to furnish, is crimson shaded with gold—a technique no doubt similar to that of the robe of the Madonna in the Castello picture—the border is ornamented with letters in gold used this time in a purely decorative manner. The same shade of crimson with golden lights is worn by the Infant Saviour, and both Mother

¹ Kindly communicated by Sir Martin Conway when the picture was still in his collection.

² Exhibited at the Milanese Exhibition, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898, and reproduced in the illustrated catalogue.



Photo

Alman, New York

THE MADONNA & CHILD.

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND U.S.A.: THEODORE DAVIS COLLECTION.

and Child have waistbands of dark green, a colour repeated in the Virgin's robe and in the braces which pass over the shoulders of the Child. Rose bushes grow up on either side, and the background, as in the Castello picture, is blue, though shading down to white. Mrs. Berenson, who is acquainted with the picture, kindly informs us that in execution it is soft and in colour golden and fused, the paint being "much more flowing and easy than in the earlier works," qualities which would point to the late period of the master's career to which she ascribes the picture.

The exquisite purity of feeling dominating every part of the composition and the intimate bond of sympathy uniting the two figures, appear to us to link this late work with the mystical ideals of an earlier period of art; while, on the other hand, the profound significance of the expression connect it with none so closely as with the Bellini,¹ more especially with Giovanni, with some of whose compositions this Madonna appears to be in closest relation. It is certainly one of the most perfect examples of the Mother and Child, as the Castello picture is one of the most striking of that other class to which we have referred, and from this point of view we have included it in this group, though chronologically it is considered, by those who have seen the picture, to belong to the close of the master's life. The Madonna has all the characteristics which tend to make the art of Foppa, at its best, so impressive. Infinite tenderness is depicted on her countenance and a strain of profound sadness, yet withal an undercurrent of strength is manifest in every line and a dignity of bearing which is altogether admirable; in contrast to this calm strength and sadness born of foreknowledge, we have the great vitality of the Infant Saviour with his spontaneous and child-like gesture of endearment and his expression of unclouded happiness. Like all the other works just mentioned, this picture has no pedigree; all that is known is that it was formerly in the Graham Collection, where it was ascribed to Zenale. On the sale of these pictures on April 9, 1886, it passed to America, where it was purchased by its present owner in 1904. That these six Madonnas, produced at varying periods of time, are connected with one another by the closest ties there can be no question after placing them side by side, and we think the attribution to Foppa by the respective owners of the pictures is in every case fully justified.

To these years, between 1460 and 1470, should perhaps be assigned the Pietà in the collection of Sir Martin Conway at Addlington Castle, near Maidstone. It represents a half-length figure of Christ standing in the tomb surrounded by a halo of golden rays; two scourges are suspended from the

¹ For the pose of the hands compare also the drawing by Jacopo Bellini already referred to (Gir., No. 745).

arms of the cross which is seen against the dark blue background, and on either side are the reed and spear.

The owner of this picture and Morelli (who saw it when it was first acquired), considered it to be not much later than the Crucifixion of 1456.¹ The drawing of the cranium certainly recalls that of the central figure in the picture at Bergamo, and the hands, in form, come very near to the hands of the Trivulzio and Berenson Madonnas. The expression of the head is significant and touching, though the type is unusually soft and gentle. The outline is still rigid and primitive, but the modelling of the body is remarkably good for so early a date, and in this particular it is interesting to compare the drawing of the form with the figure in the three versions of the St. Sebastian, with the Dead Christ in the Pietà of the Berlin Gallery, and with that of the Bernasconi Collection, all works of much later date.²

Innumerable examples of this subject are met with in every branch of art from the fourteenth century onwards;³ and among panel paintings this picture may have been the prototype of a vast number of works of the school, many of which are still existing in North Italy and in Liguria. An example in fresco which in some respects comes fairly near to the master himself, though it is manifestly on a lower plane than the Conway picture, is reproduced in chap. x.⁴

¹ This is also the opinion of Dr. Gustav Pauli, see *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge X, Heft 5, p. 106, 1898. In the case of pictures in private collections, the opinion of an owner who is also a connoisseur, would certainly carry more weight than that of an outsider, to whom only a brief and casual inspection of the picture would be possible. Hence, though opinions may differ as to the chronology of this work judging from the photographic reproduction, the views of the owner, based upon long years of intimate acquaintance with the picture, and supported by the verdict of Morelli, whose knowledge of Lombard art was probably unrivalled, must be accepted as the most likely to be correct.

² Chaps. VI and VIII.

³ The subject is sometimes erroneously termed the "Ecce Homo" (see note to the predella of the Brera altarpiece, chap. v, p. 121), though, as pointed out by the author of the *History of Our Lord . . . in . . . Art*, "if further distinguished as the Eucharistic Ecce Homo, no fitter title could be bestowed upon it." The mode of representation hardly varies: "the figure is always erect, self-supporting, and therefore alive, yet with His eyes closed . . . and with those signs on His body which show that He has already undergone the death of the Cross" (II, pp. 92, 360 and foll.). The significance of this composition is readily understood when we remember that the original purpose of this class of subject was to adorn the door of the ciborium.

⁴ Among examples of this subject may be mentioned one at Brescia which, in composition, appears to approach nearly to the pictures mentioned in the text. It is a fresco at the corner of the Via S. Martino and Via Moretto, but the wire grille which protects the painting renders it impossible to see more than the general outline.



Photo.

Loud

THE DEAD CHRIST IN THE TOMB
ADDLINGTON CASTLE, NEAR MAIDSTONE: CONWAY COLLECTION

Sir Martin Conway acquired his picture in 1887 from a gentleman at Bergamo, but nothing further is known of its history. It was lent to the Exhibition of Milanese Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1898,¹ and received brief notices from Dr. Frizzoni,² Dr. Gustav Pauli,³ and other critics.

¹ Catalogue, etc., No. 4.

² *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1898, *Exposition des Maîtres de l'École Lombarde à Londres*, p. 295.

³ *Op. cit.*

CHAPTER IV

1473—C. 1477

Painters in the Castello at Milan—The ancona for the Chapel of the Relics at Pavia—Gadio's letters relating to the work—The ceiling painting for the chapel—The ancona executed by Foppa and his company—The death of the Duke Galeazzo Maria—The inventory of the relics of 1487—The relics and parts of the ancona removed to the cathedral in 1499—The frescoes of S. Giacomo at Pavia, by Foppa and his associates—The principal part by Foppa—Frescoes by other masters probably inspired by the series at S. Giacomo.

BETWEEN 1473 and 1476 a great number of painters were actively employed in the ducal palaces at Milan and Pavia, and Galeazzo Maria, desiring to have one of the large rooms in the Castello di Porta Giovia painted (the Sala della Balla?), summoned four masters to Pavia to discuss the question with him. These painters, however, declined to do the work, declaring that they could only execute a portion of what was required in the given time. On February 5, 1474, the Duke therefore writes from Pavia to Gadio bidding him find out "who, besides these four, are good painters in Milan capable of carrying out the work to perfection and of undertaking an important and honourable commission such as this."¹ On the following day (February 6) Gadio summoned the masters Gottardo, Giov. Pietro da Corte, and Stefano, to discuss the matter, but Foppa's name does not occur. There is no doubt that he would have fulfilled the prescribed conditions of carrying out such a work to perfection, but it is not improbable that he may actually have been one of the four masters originally consulted, who declined to do the work on account of the shortness of the time allowed. If this was the case, it is to be assumed that Foppa was then at Milan² (occupied in executing paintings of which we know nothing), from whence the Duke would have summoned

¹ "Apto ad fare cosa in perfectione et ad pigliare una grande et digna impresa come è questa" (Beltrami, p. 335). From a letter written in answer to this on the same day by Gadio, in which he shows some temper at not having been consulted before about the decoration of this room, he declares that he is not aware who are the four painters referred to by the Duke (Beltr., p. 336).

² We have already alluded to his presence at Milan in 1473, when he valued the frescoes of Stefano de' Fedeli (see chap. III, pp. 80, 81).

him to Pavia to discuss the question of the decoration of the Sala della Balla.¹

If, however, we have no information relating to Foppa's work at Milan, we have many documents which throw light on his share in the great ancona which was to serve as the shrine of innumerable relics in the Chapel of the Castello at Pavia, a work which since 1471 had been occupying the attention of Gadio. This chapel was on the ground floor² near the great staircase and contained these relics, which were among the most treasured possessions of the Sforza.³ The Milanese Archives contain a great number of published and unpublished letters relating to this work which throw a most interesting light upon the methods pursued in preparing and setting up the structure. The earliest reference to it is, we believe, of November 24, 1471, and is contained in a letter written by Gadio to the Duke on that day, in which he complains bitterly of the high-handed conduct of Benedetto Ferrini, the Florentine architect,⁴ who was always a thorn in the flesh to him, and whom he never loses an opportunity of abusing. After stating his grievances and inquiring whether it was the Duke's pleasure that Master Benedetto should spend the money allotted for a certain work without giving account to any one, he proceeds further to ask if it were in accordance with the wishes of the Duke that Ferrini should stop the works of the ancona of Pavia, "by taking away the masters engaged upon it, as he has done without my permission and without saying a word to me about it."⁵ Subsequently to this letter, we have no further direct references to the ancona until two years later.⁶ On Septem-

¹ How elaborate the decoration of this room was to be we gather from a MS. in the Archivio di Stato, Milan (published by Beltrami, p. 365), which contains a list of the subjects to be painted on the walls.

² There was a second chapel in the castle which in documents is described as the chapel "with the loggetta above the moat" (see F. Sacchi, *Notizie, etc.*, p. 219).

³ Some of these relics had been given to Gian Galeazzo Visconti on December 24, 1389, by the Emperor of Constantinople, as we learn from the inventory of the relics of November 22, 1499 (Arch. Not. Pav. Atti di Agostino Gravanago). They were shown to any of the Duke's visitors who happened to come to Pavia: the Florentine ambassadors saw them in 1461 and wrote of them with great enthusiasm; they were also shown to King Christian of Denmark in 1474, and to many other distinguished personages.

⁴ For some notices of Ferrini see *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1885, p. 166, and Paoletti, *L'Architettura . . . in Venezia*.

⁵ ". . . Et cosi se vole toglia de li lavori de lanchona de Pavia e leva li magistri da essa opera de detta anchona come ha tolto e fato senza mia licenza e senza havermene parlato" (Arch. di Stato Milano, Ingegn. Architetti, Gadio B. XVIII, Sezione Storica). This letter is alluded to in the *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1876, p. 536, but is wrongly dated December 24.

⁶ From an incidental notice in an unpublished letter of Gadio's of November 22, 1473, relating to events of the past year and earlier, we gather that the works of the

ber 20, 1473,¹ Gadio writes from Milan to the Ducal Secretary, Simonetta, to inquire if it was actually the Duke's intention to place the ancona, which was being made at Milan, in the castle at Pavia. If so, he would at once send an engineer and one of the carvers in order to inspect the place where it was to be set up; for as we know from another letter of September 26,² Gadio had found that it would be necessary to go to some expense in preparing the wall and floor of the chapel to receive a work of the size of this ancona. Gadio's plan was also to have a wall built across the chapel (probably a species of screen) similar to the one in the chapel of the Castle at Milan,³ with a door in the centre and a window on each side, through which those in the chapel "might be able to follow the Mass and also see the ancona."⁴

Gadio also noted that the ancona was fifty braccia⁵ in length and eight in height, a size which he considers excessive, for, according to him, two-thirds of the dimensions would have been sufficient; "which ancona," he adds, "will fill three sides of the chapel,⁶ that is presumably of the sanctuary, and we must infer that this immense structure filled not only the altar wall, but also the north and south walls of the chancel."⁷

This letter⁸ gives us an idea of the unparalleled size of the ancona, which

ancona must have been engaging his attention between 1472 and 1473. Though in very bad health at the time (he was a chronic sufferer from gout), Gadio states that he had been forced to go three times to Pavia to attend to certain works, not specified; and at the end of the letter he alludes to "that blessed ancona of the relics," an expression which seems to imply that the work had already been occupying him for some time and had given him considerable trouble.

¹ Arch. di St. Milano, *ibid.*, Beltrami, p. 309.

² Gadio to Simonetta, Beltrami, 309 note.

³ "Fare uno muro traverso come è quello alla cappella di questo Castello" (letter of September 20, written from Milan).

⁴ "Acciò che melio si possa veder messa et così lanchona" (Beltr., *ibid.*).

⁵ A braccia—one cubit, equal to sixty centimetres.

⁶ "Quale, secundo intendo è longha braccia 50 e alta 8, che in vero bastaria li due terzi, quale anchona andarà di tri canti della cappella" (*ibid.*). The ancona would therefore have measured thirty metres in length and four metres eighty centimetres in height.

⁷ This chapel was evidently a building of considerable size. D'Adda, *Indagini*, p. 147, quotes a document which speaks of it as "cappella o vero gexia (chiesa)"; and Elia Giardini, *Memorie topografiche di Pavia*, p. 16, calls it a large chapel.

⁸ The whole of this letter was not printed by Beltrami. In the unpublished portion Gadio speaks of the time which will be required for providing the carvings, both on account of the paucity of carvers at Milan, and also because Ferrini had removed the carvings, already executed for the ancona, and had used them for another Majestas ordered by the Duke. He concludes by saying that "though it is not my province to provide altarpieces (sebbene non è mio ufficio di far fare ancone), still I will do my utmost to carry out the Duke's wishes."

was practically a gigantic reliquary rather than an altarpiece. On September 25 the engineer Pietro da Lonate¹ returned from Pavia, where he had gone some days before in order to take measurements of the place where the ancona was to be set up,² and on the following day Gadio applies to Simonetta for confirmation of the Duke's orders with regard to the placing of the structure, being still uncertain as to whether it was destined for the chapel at Pavia. He notes that in this work there are to be twenty-four arms and devices carved in wood (all relating to the Sforza family), and he inquires whether in these twenty-four are to be included the arms of the Duchess and of the King of France, which by the Duke's orders had been introduced in other works.³

Some weeks later Gadio receives information that the ancona is destined for Pavia, and moreover that the Duke wishes it to be in its place before Christmas.⁴ Benedetto Ferrini, who, as we saw, had seriously retarded the work, was now no longer at Milan, having gone to Savona, and Gadio was therefore free to take the whole direction of affairs into his hands. He at once added to the number of masters who were already at work upon the carvings, but owing to the failure of Ferrini to give them the designs had progressed very slowly. In the course of six weeks the work had made such strides under Gadio's direction that he was able to boast, in writing to the Duke, that more had been done in this short space of time than had been accomplished by Ferrini in six months. He further assures Galeazzo that, though feeling very ill with gout, he will have the woodwork sent to Pavia and will go there himself to superintend the placing of the ancona.⁵ On the

¹ The same who some ten years earlier is constantly mentioned in connection with works in the hospital: in 1463 he was engaged in preparing large and small windows for this building from drawings by Filarete (Canetta, *Cenni*, p. 10; *Cronologia*, 9 and 10; and Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 94).

² This is mentioned in an unpublished letter of September 22 from Gadio to Simonetta. Pietro was assisted in taking the measurements at Pavia by a Master Antonio Borro, apparently one of the carvers, as it is stated that he had made part of the said ancona ("ha facto una parte della ditta anchona"). Gadio adds that Borro and one other were the only masters at Milan capable of executing the carvings for this work. Considering this lack of carvers at Milan and Gadio's desire to expedite the work, it is difficult to understand why he should not have applied to some of the carvers of Pavia, of whom there were many at this date. Among those known to us from numerous documentary sources may be mentioned: Baldino de Surso, son of a Maestro Urbanino, and his brother Andrea; Zanetto della Brusata of Ivrea, who was employed in Baldino's workshop in 1476; and Maestro Luigi de Agatis, all of whom were working at Pavia between 1470 and 1480.

³ Beltrami, p. 309 note, letter of September 26.

⁴ Arch. di St., letter of November 5, 1473.

⁵ Letter, November 5, 1473.

evening of November 8 we learn, from a letter written by Gadio to Simonetta, that he had had the whole of the woodwork for the ancona shipped for conveyance by water to Pavia;¹ and on the following day he went with it himself (being too ill to ride), taking with him two of the masters who had been engaged upon it. "It is a work," he observes, "which no one can touch but those who are thoroughly competent, and of such I have only found three at Milan." A fourth, we know from Gadio's letter of November 5, was at Como, and did his share of the work there.

A further letter to Simonetta of November 17² states that the matter was then proceeding well, though at first, so the writer informs the secretary, he had been confronted with many difficulties. The carvers employed by Ferrini having no conception of the general scheme of the whole, Gadio had been forced to summon Guiniforte Solario to assist him in reducing things to order. He was now on the point of leaving Pavia, but the unfortunate man was again in such a crippled state that he had to be carried in a litter to the barge which was to convey him to Milan.

Letters of February, 1474, from Gadio to Simonetta³ speak of the alterations that were to be carried out in the chapel at Pavia, and notably those connected with the window. The letter of February 6 refers especially to this, to a plan proposed by Gadio for admitting more light into the chapel, and to the fact that one of the masters of the ancona had been with him.

By June the ancona was set up; but it appeared that the Duke, through Simonetta, had been expressing his displeasure at the slow progress of the work. At this Gadio protested, and in a letter to the secretary⁴ declared that, on the contrary, everything was being pushed forward rapidly: the carvers, he stated, were busy at Milan upon the decorative work for the balcony or gallery running round the chapel,⁵ and others were preparing the two hundred "capsette" or caskets destined for the relics; while the painted glass for the window (with a representation of the Resurrection, which was also being made at Milan) was all but finished. At the same time Gadio states that he had sent several painters to inspect the chapel and the ancona in order to make designs for the pictorial adornment. He does not specify the names of these painters, but from another of his letters of June 8 (Doc. No. 21) we know that they were Vincenzo Foppa, Giacomo

¹ Or rather to Binasco (letter, November 8), from whence, as we learn from the letter of November 5, it was to be transported by carts to Pavia.

² Beltr., p. 311.

³ Of February 3 and 6, 1474, Arch. di. St.

⁴ Letter of June 4, 1474: Magenta, II, No. 375.

⁵ "Qui ho due Magistri a laborare circha gli intaglii che vano ad ornare il balchone dessa cappella" (*ibid.*).

Vismara, and Bonifazio Bembo. These painters had not only prepared the drawings for the decoration of the ceiling of the chapel, but had also made special studies for the paintings of the great ancona, which they proposed should have a background either of gold throughout, or of white with only the decorative parts in gold; but the paintings of the ancona could not be begun, we learn from Gadio's letter to Simonetta of June 4, till the questions relating to the two hundred caskets, which were to be placed in the ancona,¹ were settled. Over each casket was to be placed a panel containing the figure of a saint, whose relics were enshrined in the casket; but as these relics were in some cases very minute, it was necessary to put several into each reliquary, and the question then arose as to which saint was to take precedence and be represented in painting. This matter had to be decided by the Duke,² and caused considerable delay, for the painting of the two hundred panels could not be proceeded with, it is clear, until the question as to which saint was to be represented on each had been decided.

From these letters of Gadio and from certain scattered notices in an inventory of November 29, 1487 (see p. 104), we are able to form some idea of the general plan of the work. The main portion, it would appear, was to be composed of various large panels, each containing a *Majestas*, which formed the ancona proper; the *Majestas* was in every case a painting on wood with a representation of Christ, the Madonna, saints, etc. (see pp. 104-6), and round these paintings, in small compartments protected by glass or crystal, were inserted some of the relics. The number of these compartments varied, as we gather from the inventory just alluded to; one *Majestas*, for instance, contained only eleven, another seventeen, while a third of these large panels contained as many as thirty-one compartments. The two hundred caskets it was perhaps intended to dispose in niches throughout the structure, since they are spoken of in the letter of June 4, as placed *in* the ancona; these niches for the reliquaries we may conjecture were to be placed vertically on the north and south walls of the chapel,³ reaching to a height of nearly five metres.⁴ Over these niches would have been placed the panels with the saints, the whole being designed to form part of the main structure and to be surrounded by a framework of carvings and decorative ornament. The

¹ "Non se potria poi anche dare principio a dipingere la dicta anchona perchè . . . gli vanno dentro 200 capsette," etc. (letter, June 4).

² "Sarà necessario sapere et intendere dal nostro Ill. Sig. quelle [namely, the relics] se doverano mettere insieme et el Sancto che se li haverà a depingere sopra; che più de uno non gli ne potria star sopra caduna capsetta et per essere le reliquie diverse, bisognerà che Soa Signoria dica quale Sancto se li harà a fare" (letter, June 4 and Doc. No. 21).

³ See p. 94, letter of September 20, 1473.

⁴ *Ibid.*

height of each of the two hundred saints to be represented on these panels was, as we learn from Doc. 29, three-quarters of a cubit (45 c.). It is clear, therefore, that paintings of this size could not have been on the small caskets, and though the inventory of 1487 speaks of some of them as "painted," and "painted with figures," it is certain that these figures could only have been of very small dimensions. The words "sopra caduna capsetta"¹ must therefore be interpreted as "over" not "upon," each reliquary, the width of the panel in each case being sufficient for the figure of one saint only.² The arrangements relating to these two hundred caskets and paintings, as we have seen, caused considerable delay; and then came the further question of the expense. Two thousand ducats had been assigned for the whole work, of which only one thousand now remained to defray the cost of painting, which Gadio considered insufficient, and he made elaborate calculations as to the probable cost and as to the cheapest way of having the work done. To gild the whole ancona and the decorative work in the chapel would, he calculated, amount to nearly 2,200 ducats, while, on the other hand, if it was all painted in white, with only the decorative part in gold, the expense would be less and would come to rather more than 1,600 ducats.

He therefore informs Simonetta that he proposes to send the drawings by Guiniforte Solario or some other master, and he hopes that the Duke will select whichever design may appear to him most suitable, and will also state which painters he would propose to engage, "for," he observes, "all the painters of Milan, both good and bad, desire to be employed on this work."³

This is the letter already referred to of June 4; and four days later Gadio writes two further despatches on the subject. The first is to Simonetta (Doc. No. 20),⁴ and contains the important information that he is sending the masters Vincenzo, Bonifazio, and Zanetto with designs for the ancona and the ceiling of the chapel, and he begs the secretary to introduce these painters into the presence of the Duke. The second, much longer letter is addressed to the Duke himself (Doc. No. 21),⁵ and informs him that he (Gadio) had sent the painters Vincenzo, Bonifazio da Cremona, and Giacomo Vismara a short time before to see the chapel and the ancona at Pavia in order to make designs and an estimate of the probable cost of the paintings, and that he is now sending Vincenzo, Bonifazio, and Zanetto with these designs for the

¹ June 4; Magenta, 375. Compare also Doc. 21: "The saints which are to be painted above or over the spaces of these caskets" ("sopra li spazii di quelle tale capsette").

² "Che più de uno non gli ne potria star sopra caduna capsetta" (June 4).

³ "Perchè tutti questi (pittori) di Milano, et li sufficienti et li non, rechedono di dipingerla" (Magenta, No. 375).

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 377.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 376.

ancona and the ceiling of the chapel, the design for the latter being very simple, and consisting only of golden rays on an azure ground, with the Dove in the centre. Gadio begs the Duke to inspect these drawings and to decide which of the two designs for the ancona he prefers—the more costly composition, in which the background would be entirely of gold, or the other, less expensive in character, with a white background and only the decorative parts in gold; he then goes thoroughly into the question of these different designs and of the expense.

The Vincenzo here mentioned is undoubtedly Foppa—he is so called in a later communication of June 27 (Doc. No. 24)—and with him are associated the masters who were certainly among the best of the day: Bembo, Zanetto Bugati the portrait painter, and Giacomo Vismara. A most interesting light is thrown on Vincenzo's position in regard to other painters by the following passage in this letter. Gadio having again emphasized the fact that all painters, good and bad (“*et li perfetti et li imperfetti*”), were aspiring to do the work and causing him great annoyance, says: “but if your Highness desires to know which are the most competent to carry out the work, Master Vincenzo will tell you, for every painter is not equal to the task.”

An entirely different meaning has always been given to this sentence by the misinterpretation of one word, a reading which no doubt has puzzled many, and has certainly put Vincenzo in a totally false light. In Magenta's version of the document the sentence runs thus: “*Magistro Vincenzo gli lo dirà perchè come dipintore non gli è bono*,” leaving the impression that though Vincenzo might be good at giving advice he was worthless as a painter. The document is in a very bad state of preservation, and parts are entirely obliterated, but this word fortunately is still legible, and it is quite certain that the reading should be “*onia*” or “*ogni dipintore*,” referring clearly to the painters who were capable of undertaking the work, and not to Vincenzo Foppa, and we learn from this letter (Doc. 24) that, besides being the “best painter in the land,” as stated by Vasari, he was also the best judge of the works of others and the one whose advice was sought by the Duke in matters of art.

At the end of this letter Gadio refers to the two hundred caskets, which he informs the Duke will be ready very soon, and he proposes to have them lined with sandal-wood furnished by “Gottardo.”

As a result of this correspondence and of the interview of the three painters with the Duke, we have a letter of June 21, 1474 (Doc. No. 23), addressed to Gadio by Galeazzo Maria, in which he refers to the fact of the painters Bembo, Vincenzo, and Zanetto having been with him at Pavia, and gives his opinion of the designs for the ceiling and the ancona, which they had laid before him. He commands that the ancona is to be finished (though

he does not specify which of the two designs for it he has selected), but, with the exception of this, he states, he has no intention of having any paintings executed on the panelling of the chapel.¹ As to the ceiling, his commands are that it is to be adorned with a figure of the Eternal Father in the centre and with figures of angels or cherubim relieved upon a blue ground with stars in gold. He states further that after his interview with Foppa and his colleagues, other painters had presented themselves who (with small sense of comradeship towards their fellow-artists) had done their best to supplant Foppa and his company and to obtain the commission for themselves by offering to do the whole work for a lower sum than that named by their rivals. The Duke enjoined Gadio to summon all these painters and to entrust the work to those who would make the best terms from a financial point of view.

The best terms, it seems, were not made by Foppa and his colleagues, but by a rival company; and the painting of the ceiling was therefore entrusted to Pietro Marchesi (the same, it will be remembered, who in 1469 was doing decorative work in the Castello at Milan), Stefano de' Fedeli (one of the painters of the Cappella Ducale in that city, see p. 80), Raffaele da Vaprio, Gian Pietro da Corte, and others of the same company. Gadio, having been informed by the four painters just named that the Duke's intention was to suspend the work of the ancona and to have only the ceiling of the chapel painted, wrote to Simonetta on June 22 to ask for instructions, and inquired further which of the two designs for the ancona already laid before the Duke by Foppa and his colleagues was to be adopted, in case Pietro Marchesi's story as to the suspension of the work, should prove to be incorrect.² Shortly after this Gadio must have received Galeazzo Maria's letter written on June 21 (Doc. No. 23), and having acted upon the instructions contained therein, he wrote on June 27 giving full particulars of all that he had done, addressing the letter to the Duke himself (Doc. No. 24). In it he states that he had summoned the painters of the rival companies, who were all trying to obtain the commission; he found that the company of Gian Pietro da Corte, which numbered among its ranks, in addition to the painters already named, Melchiorre Lampugnani and Gottardo Scotti, proposed to paint the ceiling with the Eternal Father in the centre in a golden glory surrounded by cherubim (or according to another design without cherubim) and with twelve angels in each section of the vaulting, except in the section near the window, where there would be space for six only. The price of this would be 175 ducats.

¹ "Non volemo ultra la dicta ancona far fare altre depincture alle asse intorno ad dicta cappella" (Doc. No. 23). From this it is to be inferred that the lower part of the walls of the chapel were panelled after the manner of those in the "Sala delle Asse" in the Castello at Milan.

² Magenta, II, No. 378.

Vincenzo Foppa with his colleagues, Bonifazio Bembo and Zanetto Bugati, said they were willing to do the work for 160 ducats; but upon this their rivals offered to reduce their price to 150 ducats.

This estimate, Gadio added, was to cover all expenses for scaffolding and fresh plaster, as well as for removing the old plaster from the wall; and was also to include "a border (or framework) half a braccia in width (30 c.), of the colour of the woodwork of the ancona, to reach to the ceiling, and to be painted in similar fashion to the ancona." Gadio concluded by saying that he had failed to find those painters who (according to information which he had received in a letter from the Duke) had offered to paint the ceiling of the chapel for 100 ducats; the painters unanimously declaring that they had never named so low a price.

To this letter the Duke of Milan replied on July 1, and informed Gadio that, of the two drawings for the ceiling which had been sent for his inspection, he preferred the one with the Eternal Father in the centre surrounded by cherubim, by Giov. Pietro da Corte and his company. For the vaulting he directed that, instead of the twelve angels proposed for each section, the painters were to execute representations of the Annunciation, Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection, and he wound up his letter by saying that he was satisfied that the work should be entrusted to this company of painters.¹

Thus, for niggardly reasons of a too rigid economy, the Castello of Pavia lost a series of works by Vincenzo Foppa, who was undoubtedly more fitted than any other master to undertake the commission, since to him was eventually entrusted the most important item in the decorative scheme of the whole chapel—i.e. the ancona—between which and the frescoes of the vaulting it was certainly intended that the most complete harmony should prevail; for the members of Giov. Pietro da Corte's company, though considered good enough to decorate the ceiling, were evidently not thought "sufficiently skilled" to undertake the paintings of the ancona.

In 1475 Foppa, who may at that moment have been at Brescia painting the martyrdom of the Beato Simonino (?) (see pp. 114-17), received an urgent summons from Simonetta, dated May 22 (Doc. No. 26), bidding him mount his horse and come at once to Pavia, as the Duke desired his presence on account

¹ This letter was published by Magenta (Doc. No. 380), but with an error of punctuation which alters the sense. The explanation which we have given in the text is confirmed by an unpublished letter from Gadio to Simonetta of July 2, 1474 (Arch. di St. Mil.), in which it is clearly stated that the four scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, etc., were, by order of the Duke, to be painted *in the sections of the vaulting in place* of the twelve angels. At the end of the letter Gadio begs that the drawing submitted to the Duke and in part approved, may be returned to the painter Stefano de' Fedeli, who was to execute the frescoes on the ceiling.

of certain paintings which were to be executed there ; and without doubt one of these paintings was the chapel altarpiece. From this and other notices we might infer that the date when the painting of the ancona was begun was the summer of 1475. We know that in June, 1474, Pietro da Corte had informed Gadio that the Duke had decided only to have the ceiling painted and to let the ancona stand over ;¹ and as the letters of the end of June and later speak only of the painting of the ceiling, we may assume that the statement was correct. But by the following May the Duke must have made up his mind to have the ancona executed, and in consequence summoned Foppa.

That the artists were busily engaged in the Chapel of the Relics throughout the winter of 1476 we know from an unpublished letter of Gadio's to the Duke of August 6, 1476, in which he says that Coyro the treasurer had complained of the heat of the chapel owing to the proximity of an oven near the wall where the altar formerly stood ;² Gadio observes that more than a year ago he had written to the governor of the castle, Count Giovanni Attendolo, to have this oven removed, but the order was not carried out. The painters had now petitioned that it might be left through the coming winter, as it would be a great convenience to them and advantageous to their work, especially in the matter of laying on the gold. Their wishes were acceded to, and it was decided not to remove the oven until the winter was passed.³ The work in the chapel, however, had not continued uninterruptedly, for as far back as July 10, 1475, the four painters of the ancona had bound themselves by contract to execute a series of frescoes in the Church of S. Giacomo, near Pavia, for Madonna Zaccarina Beccaria Lonati, as we shall see later.

On December 7, 1476 (Doc. No. 29), Gadio announces that 400 lire imperiali have been paid to the painters Vismara, Bembo, Foppa, and Costantino da Vaprio (the latter having probably taken the place of Zanetto Bugati, who had died in the early part of the year), for painting the chapel, in the hope that these masters may be able to finish the work by Christmas. This they say is impossible, but they promise to have it ready before Easter.

¹ See p. 100, and Magenta, II, No. 378.

² The altar would, of course, have been removed from its original position when the operations connected with the ancona commenced and the structure was set up in the chapel.

³ See also D' Adda, *Indagini . . . sulla Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca*, p. 147, and Magenta, II, 330, where the "camera e gli è il forno" (the room containing the oven) near the chapel is mentioned in a list of rooms in the Castello, the paintings of which were in a bad state and in need of repair. The date of this list is said by Magenta to be 1469.

The figures of the saints for the panels over the reliquaries apparently caused the delay, for as the painters desire that the work shall be uniformly perfect, they will not allow any artist outside their own company to touch it. Vismara and Costantino, we learn, are at work upon some of the panels at Milan, but Master Bonifazio and Master Vincenzo are working at the ancona at Pavia. The principal parts, the large panels of the ancona, were therefore the work of these two masters, and their desire was to execute it in the best possible manner.

This is the last document we have relating to this great work, then, after so many years of anxious thought and toil, nearing its completion. We have no record even to prove that it was ever finished, for on the 26th of December everything was thrown into confusion owing to the sudden death of the Duke, who was assassinated in the Church of S. Stefano at Milan, whither he had gone to attend Mass;¹ and for some time after this tragic event documents make no mention of painters and their works, except in so far as the settlement of claims for arrears of payment was concerned. In the troublous years which followed, the energies of Gadio were directed entirely to fortifications and to strengthening the defences of buildings within and without, the pictorial decoration being altogether neglected. But what of the long labours of Foppa and his companions in the chapel? Was the ancona ever completed, or was the whole work suddenly brought to a standstill?

The meagre information which we are able to glean from certain inventories, relating to the relics in the Castello (to which we have already alluded), seems to show that the work was never proceeded with, that the relics were never placed in the honourable position destined for them by the murdered Duke, and that probably only certain portions of the paintings prepared by Foppa had been preserved, and moreover not in the chapel.

From the inventory which was drawn up on November 29, 1487, when the relics were consigned by Count Giovanni Attendolo to the keeping of the new governor of the Castello of Pavia, Guido Antonio Arcimboldi, it is clear that at this date the relics were not preserved in the great ancona of the chapel, as would certainly have been stated had Foppa's work been completed, but were stored in chests in another part of the building; for whereas the chapel was situated on the ground floor on the right of the great entrance hall,² the relics, according to the inventory, were "in the chamber on the ground floor of the *tower of the castle looking towards the park and facing west*, where the treasure of the Illustrious Prince was

¹ See C. M. Ady, *Milan under the Sforza*, pp. 111-13, for a full account of Gian Galeazzo's violent death.

² Elia Giardini, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

formerly kept . . . and the chests (containing these relics) were standing round about the wall of the said chamber.”¹

There is no doubt, therefore, that the relics, instead of being in the chapel, were in a totally different part of the Castello; and this authorizes the belief that after the death of the Duke the decoration of the chapel was never finished, and probably was never thought of more. From this same inventory, however, as well as from a later one of November 22, 1499,² we might perhaps conclude that a portion at least, of Foppa's work had been preserved, namely, some of the large paintings executed by him which were intended to form the most important part of the ancona reliquary. This we gather from the following extracts from the inventory, which make it evident that numerous relics, instead of being in the usual caskets of wood, ivory, or glass, were inserted in the pictures themselves which were painted on panel.

1. Item, a Majestas³ painted on wood, with eleven pieces of glass or compartments, containing the undermentioned relics, viz. a relic of the Holy Cross, etc.

2. Item, another Majestas painted on wood, with thirteen compartments, round, with the image of Our Lord and Saviour hanging on the Cross in the centre of the Majestas, and with the following compartments inserted in the said Majestas, viz. first, relics of the B. Virgin, etc.

3. Item, in a certain Majestas, painted on wood, the following relics are inserted, viz. first, some bones of St. Dorothy. Item, the blood of St. Thomas the Martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury, etc. etc., and . . . these relics are all under glass in the said Majestas.

4. Item, a Majestas covered or wrought with embroidery golden or yellow

¹ “In camera inferiori existente in ture dicti castri respondente deversus parcum et deversus sero, ubi alias erat thesaurus Ill^{mi} Principis, et . . . sunt . . . capse circum circa murum ipsius camere” (Inventory, November 29, 1487. Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di L. Gravanago, pacco 1517-30).

² Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Agostino Gravanago.

³ The term Majestas was principally used to denote a figure of the Almighty enthroned, or of Our Lord upon the Cross, but it was also employed in a more general sense to describe any representation of the Madonna and saints (see also chap. II). We have countless examples in fifteenth century documents of the use of “Maiestas lignea” to denote a painting on panel.

“1. Item maiestas una lignea cum undecim petiis vitreis sive capitulis in quibus sunt infrascripte reliquie videlicet: de ligno sancte Crucis, etc.

“2. Item alia maiestas lignea cum tredecim capitulis cum imagine Domini Salvatoris nostri pendentis super cruce in medio maiestatis, et cum infrascriptis capitulis in dicta maiestate insertis, videlicet: primo reliquia sancte Marie, etc.

“3. Item in maiestate quadam lignea adsunt infrascripte reliquie incluxe videlicet: primo de ossibus sancte Dorotee. Item de sanguine Sancti Thome martiris

on both sides. On one side is the image of the Virgin Mary, on the other an image of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ with glass sides, precious stones and pearls, and containing many relics—namely, seventeen—the names of which are not known. This Majestas is adorned with letters round about.

5. Item, a large Majestas in the form of an ancona with thirty-one compartments containing relics under squares of glass, and with the image of the Annunciation of the B. Virgin Mary adorned with pearls on one side, and on the other an image of the same B. Virgin with the Child on her knee, having on one side the figure of St. Catherine and on the other that of St. John Baptist; likewise adorned with pearls; at the bottom is a large oculus of glass with the figure of St. John baptizing Our Lord and Saviour in the River Jordan, and many oculi which ought to have glass are wanting (which possibly means that the glass of many oculi is missing).

These notices are too fragmentary to permit of any attempt at a reconstruction of the position of these paintings in the ancona, but they are not without importance, as they afford some idea of the principal part of the work and give us a clue as to the subjects treated by Foppa and Bembo. Item 5, the great Majestas in the manner of an ancona, which contained an unusually large number of relics (thirty-one in all), may possibly have formed the centre of the whole work, occupying the place of honour over the altar; while the panels referred to as painted on both sides (Items 4 and 5), may perhaps have been the shutters of an inner shrine containing some of the most precious of the relics.¹

No trace is found in this inventory of the two hundred figures of saints, the execution of which had been entrusted to Costantino da Vaprio and Giacomo Vismara. We know that in December, 1476 (Doc. No. 29), these paintings

archiepiscopi Canturiensis, etc. etc., et omnia suprascripta capitula sunt reposita sub lateribus vitreis in ipsa maiestate.

“4. Item maiestas una coperta sive laborata ad ocellos gialdos sive croceos in duabus particulis: ab una adest imago Virginis Marie et ab alia ymago Passionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi cum lateribus vitreis et lapidibus ac perlis et cum multis reliquiis numero XVII inclusis quorum nomina ignorantur et que est laborata cum litteris circum circha.

“5. Item maiestas una magna ad modum ancone cum capitulis XXXI reliquiarum incluxis sub tegulis vitreis et cum ymagine Anuntiate Virginis Marie laborata perlis ab una parte et ab altera parte est ymago Beate Marie Virginis cum puero in gremio habens ab una parte imagines sancte Catharine et ab alia parte sancti Johannis Baptiste similiter laborate perlis et in fondo adest oculus magnus vitreus cum imagine sancti Johannis baptizantis Dominum Salvatorem Nostrum in flumine Jordane et deficiunt oculi multi qui debebant habere vitreos.”

¹ From the later inventory of 1499 we know that the Majestas of Item 1 was provided with shutters or “wings” (see p. 106, note 5).

were being prepared by the two artists just mentioned at Milan, and it is improbable that they were brought to Pavia after the death of the Duke. The absence of any mention of them among the fragments deposited in the treasury of the Castello suggests their never having been delivered.

After the inventory of 1487 we have no further reference to the relics until twelve years later. Apparently they remained in the treasury until the French occupation of 1499, when Lodovico Sforza was forced to fly from his dominions and Louis XII took possession of the Duchy of Milan.

Through the good offices of Teodoro Guainerio,¹ the physician and privy councillor, the city of Pavia then obtained the permission of the French King to remove the relics from the Castello to the Cathedral, and in the beginning of September, 1499 (as we learn from the Deliberations of the Council at Pavia²), this removal took place; after which the relics were officially inspected. On the 22nd of November a report relating to this inspection was drawn up,³ in which it was stated that four chests and one ancona ("capse quatuor et anchona") had been deposited in the Archives of the Cathedral.⁴ Among the countless items enumerated in this list as contained in the first chest we recognize several which were mentioned in the earlier inventory of 1487 (see p. 104); for instance, the Majestas of Item 1, which, we learn from this later inventory, had two shutters or "wings" with a gold ground, and contained, in addition to the wood of the Holy Cross, a fragment of the Winding-sheet of our Lord and a portion of the Lance which pierced His side;⁵ and the Crucifixion of Item 2, with the additional information that this panel also had a gold ground;⁶ a third entry may possibly be identical with

¹ Guainerio, though by birth a Pavian, had for years been in the service of the French King. He was one of the envoys sent from France to Pavia in 1491, and on this occasion the Duke gave orders that he was to be treated with special honour (see the document of February 26, 1491, published by Magenta, II, 446, 447).

² Atti di Provvisioni, September 1 and 5, Arch. del Museo di Storia Patria, Pavia.

³ Atti di Agostino Gravanago, November 22, 1499.

⁴ The fact is confirmed by another entry, according to which the Pavian Council, on November 22, 1499, relieves Ambrogio Bozzoli and Benedetto Ripalta of all further responsibility in the matter, declaring that they had duly deposited in the Archives near the Sacristy in the Cathedral of Pavia these four chests with the relics and the ancona. "Quod fideliter consignarunt capsas quatuor cum reliquiis et anchonam in Archivio prope Sacristiam in ecclesia majori Papie" (Atti di Prov., etc., Arch. Mus. Stor. Patria, Pavia).

⁵ "Item quedam Maiestas cum duabus allis lignea, deaurata in qua sunt loca undecim munita reliquiarum, primo de ligno S. Crucis. Item de vello in quo involutum fuit corpus D. nostri Jesu Christi. Item de lancia de qua vulneratus fuit," etc.

⁶ "Item alia Maiestas lignea deaurata que habet in medio imaginem Crucifixi in qua est de ligno crucis, item de reliquiis S. Marie," etc.

Item 3 of the inventory of 1487;¹ but a fourth Majestas of the later inventory, which was apparently very small, we have not been able to identify with any item in the inventory of 1487.²

It seems certain, therefore, that a part of the unfinished ancona of the Chapel of the Relics was deposited in the cathedral, but beyond this it has been impossible to trace it, and we are unable to state whether it was still in existence at the time of the frightful sack of Pavia by Lautrec in 1527 and if it was then totally destroyed, or whether any fragments may have survived to the present day³ and still await identification.

Gualla,⁴ Breventano,⁵ De Gasparis,⁶ and other Pavian writers of the second half of the sixteenth century all refer to the fact of the relics having been removed to the cathedral; but although they devote pages to enumerating them, not a single word is said of the ancona or its paintings, and we must assume that by that time all record of the work was lost.

During the period when Vincenzo Foppa and his associates Bonifazio Bembo, Zanetto Bugati, Costantino da Vaprio, and Giacomo Vismara, were engaged upon the ancona for the Chapel of the Relics, a wealthy Pavian lady of noble birth entered into negotiations with them concerning a great series of frescoes which she desired to have executed in the Church of S. Giacomo at Pavia.

This little church,⁷ situated outside the Gate of S. Maria in Pertica, was a very ancient foundation, but had already been restored by Gian Galeazzo Visconti in the fourteenth century. In 1421 Pietro Grassi, Bishop of Pavia, had granted it to S. Bernardino of Siena, who, being desirous of establishing

¹ "Item quedam Maiestas lignea cum certis vitris depictis cum infrascriptis reliquiis videlicet . . . de ossibus S. Thome martiris . . . de sanguine sancti Thome apostoli . . ." etc.

² "Item quedam Maiestas parvula et coperta carta ubi continentur infrascripte reliquie, primo de ossibus S. Catheline in minima quantitate; item de ossibus S. Marte . . . S. Margarite . . ." etc.

³ According to a deliberation of the Council of Pavia of May 7, 1530, it was on that day decided that a fresh inventory should be made of what little remained of the relics, and the question as to their guardianship in the future was discussed. It was also stated that the relics, formerly deposited in the sacristy of the cathedral, were nearly all removed at the time of the siege and only a few had been recovered: "Quia reliquie Comunitatis alias existentes et reposite in Sacristia ecclesie maioris Papiæ, tempore sacomani, pro maiori parte fuerunt exportate et alique pauce reperte sunt." This proves that many of the relics perished at that time, but no light is thrown upon the paintings of the ancona.

⁴ *Sanctuarium Papiæ*, ed. 1587. ⁵ *Istoria . . di Pavia*, 1570.

⁶ *Diario . . delle cose della Città di Pavia* (Bibl. Univ. Pavia).

⁷ See Maiocchi, *Le Chiese di Pavia*, II, p. 140.

a branch of his Order at Pavia, came there himself in order to receive the building from the hands of the Bishop. As the earliest Franciscan foundation of the city, the church soon came to be regarded with special and ever increasing devotion by the Pavians. Among its benefactors were many distinguished and learned men, members of the most illustrious families of Pavia, who in life gave proof of their devotion by munificent gifts to the church, and directed that in death their bodies, clothed in the habit of St. Francis, should be laid to rest beneath the peaceful shadow of its sacred walls, these directions being accompanied by large bequests for the adornment of the church and for the good of their own souls.

In 1475 Count Augusto Beccaria, a member of that powerful family which played so conspicuous a part in the annals of Pavia and for a considerable time ruled the city, was buried, as directed by his will, in the chapel of his family in S. Giacomo. His loss was mourned by the whole city which owed so much to him, for by the terms of his will he bequeathed his vast estates at Borgo S. Siro, Gambolò, and della Sforzesca to the Hospital of St. Matthew at Pavia, a princely endowment which secured that institution against all pecuniary anxiety in the future.

His wife was Zaccarina Lonati, a member of another illustrious family, feudatory lords of Sorli, in the territory of Tortona.¹ As a mark of devotion to her husband, Zaccarina determined to erect a tomb to his memory which should be at once an eloquent proof of her affection and a worthy testimony to his greatness and many virtues, and she therefore applied to the most celebrated masters of the day to carry out her wishes. The result was a monument of such magnificence that, had it been preserved, it would undoubtedly rank as one of the chief art treasures of Pavia. Boni,² the earliest writer who mentions it, speaks in the first place of the inscription, which he transcribes as follows: "The tomb of the most excellent knight Augusto Beccaria lord of Gambolò, Tromello, and Borgo San Siro, who died on January 6, 1475, and this is his effigy";³ and beneath these words, as stated by Boni, was his portrait sculptured in marble,⁴ perhaps a bust, or more probably a medallion in relief. The writer then goes on to relate that on the front of this wall, beneath the arch of which one passes to the sanctuary, was a fresco

¹ To this family belonged Bernardino Lonati, secretary to Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza (the brother of Lodovico il Moro), and in later times himself a Cardinal of the Holy See.

² L. Boni, *Beccariæ gentis Monumenta*, etc., f. 23.

³ "Sepulchrum præstantissimi militis domini Augusti de Becharia, Gambolati, Tromelli et Burgi Sancti Syri domini, qui obiit anno natali christiano 1475 die sexta Januarii et eius hæc est effigies."

⁴ "Adest ibi illius imago marmore sculpta."

representing the Crucifixion "with all the mysteries" (i.e. the Life and Passion of Christ), and below, on either side, were the painted portraits of Augusto and his wife Zaccarina, that of the former closely resembling his marble effigy on the tomb. On the wall were also inscribed some lines chronicling the date of Augusto's death, and the fact that the knight had chosen the Church of S. Giacomo as the place of his burial and had bequeathed the bulk of his property to the Hospital of St. Matthew at Pavia. At the end the painted portraits are again referred to, and it is stated that both the frescoes and the tomb were executed by order of the widow, Zaccarina Lonati.¹

The "Mysteries of the Life and Passion of Christ" to which Boni here alludes, as painted on the façade of the wall separating the choir from the body of the church, are in point of fact the frescoes with which we now propose to deal, for they were important works of Vincenzo Foppa and the painters of his company.

The contract between Madonna Zaccarina Lonati and these painters for the frescoes in the Church of S. Giacomo was drawn up on July 10, 1475, and was signed by the five masters, who bound themselves to execute the work within a given time.²

The first document we have relating to it is a formal protest made by Madonna Zaccarina on August 5, 1476, against the conduct of Foppa and his associates (No. 27). In this she states that she had commissioned the masters Bonifazio Bembo, Vincenzo Foppa, Costantino da Vaprio, Giacomo Vismara, and Zanetto Bugati to paint the Life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Crucifixion in the Church of S. Giacomo.

The painters being then at Pavia, engaged upon the ancona for the Chapel

¹ "Item supra fornicem illum sub quo iter est in chorum euntibus ad maius sacellum, adsunt carmina hæc quæ vetustatem redolent, in frontispicio chori, ubi inest pictura hæc quomodo Jesum Dominum Judæi crucifixerint, cum mysteriis omnibus et in parte ima utrinque effigies picta tum Augusti huius, quæ optime marmoreæ respondet, tum uxoris cernitur."

"Lustra novem decies bis centum et quinque peracta
Algentisque dies Jani jam sexta rigeat
Post Christi natale Dei, cum clara propago
Becharia Augustus superas migravit ad arces.
Insignis miles templo hoc sua ossa recondi
Jussit dumque piis quam maxima prædia linquit.
Hunc tibi dextra refert, uxorem læva potentem
Signat imago suam, qua nunc opus et monumentum
Hoc, auctore vides, nomen si forte requiras
Et genus egregium dicam Zacharina Lonata."

² The actual contract is not in existence, but these facts are referred to in documents Nos. 27 and 30, and the date of the contract is given at the beginning of No. 30.

of the Relics, undertook to execute the frescoes for Madonna Zaccarina by the date agreed upon, in the certainty that they would be able to produce both works—for S. Giacomo and the Castello—contemporaneously.

The series to be executed at S. Giacomo was duly apportioned among the five masters of the company, to each being allotted a given number of subjects, and the work was begun; but Costantino da Vaprio, instead of fulfilling his share of the contract, appointed a substitute to take his place in the person of a painter named Bartolomeo—in all probability Bartolomeo Caylina, Foppa's brother-in-law, whom we already know as his associate in art and the bearer of his letter to Pigello Portinari¹—and the other masters, being constantly urged by the Duke to finish the paintings in the Chapel of the Relics with as little delay as possible, progressed but slowly, and finally ceased work altogether in S. Giacomo.

The situation was perplexing for Madonna Zaccarina. The time limit specified in the contract with the painters had expired, yet none of the frescoes were finished. She recognized and appreciated Foppa's great merits and was aware that the success of the work depended largely on his co-operation; should he relinquish the contract the result would be disastrous to the whole undertaking; yet his treatment of her could not be overlooked, but required a strong protest, and she determined to take immediate action. On August 5, 1476, she therefore summoned Vincenzo Foppa to her house with his two colleagues, Vismara and Bembo, to remind them of their obligations and of the terms of the contract by which they had bound themselves on July 10, 1475. She pointed out that the time there set down had expired, and little or nothing had been done; she asked whether they were prepared to recommence work in the church and to finish it themselves, without calling in the help of other painters and within a reasonable time, having due regard to the dimensions of the work and to the number of the painters in their company. In the event of their failing to comply with her demands she then

¹ We believe we are justified in identifying this Bartolomeo with Bartolomeo de Brisia the son of Pietro, who is mentioned as one of the witnesses at the end of this document and is without doubt Bartolomeo Caylina. At this date the only other painter named Bartolomeo at Pavia was Bartolomeo della Canonica, and in documents he is always called by the diminutive of "Bertolino." That Bartolomeo appears as one of the witnesses to Madonna Zaccarina's protest would not preclude his having been Costantino da Vaprio's substitute, for the protest was not made against his conduct, but against that of the painters who had signed the contract of July 10. Copies of this protest were handed to Vincenzo, Bonifazio, and Giacomo Vismara, but not to Bartolomeo. We have no document which would prove that Costantino da Vaprio's proxy was legally responsible for the work; the protest could not therefore have been directed against him, and consequently there was nothing to prevent Bartolomeo from acting as a witness on this occasion.

threatened them with an action for breach of contract with costs, and declared moreover that she would employ another company of artists to do the work at the expense of the defaulters. The painters, who were manifestly in the wrong, sought to mollify their employer by assuring her that the delay was not due to any fault or negligence on their part, and that they still held themselves bound by the contract of July 10.

Zaccarina Lonati, whether satisfied or not with their assurances, decided that the most effectual means of obtaining what she required for S. Giacomo would be to appeal directly to the Duke for his support in this controversy with the painters. Her petition received prompt attention, for on August 23, 1476 (Doc. No. 28), the Duke writes to Vincenzo Foppa, Bembo, and Vismara, commanding them not to break their contract with Madonna Lonati, but so to arrange matters that without in any way retarding the work in the Chapel of the Relics, one of the company should be deputed to carry on the work in S. Giacomo. By this means the contract would be fulfilled, and the risk of the work being spoiled by the collaboration of too many painters would be avoided. The Duke directs that Costantino da Vaprio (who was not then at Pavia) be informed as to the arrangements for the work at S. Giacomo and be given to understand that nothing prejudicial to his interests in the matter is intended.¹ Not a word is said about Bugati, as he had died in March of this year, having painted at S. Giacomo only a fifth part of the large border framing the whole composition.

Thus matters were satisfactorily settled; and by the end of 1476 the frescoes at S. Giacomo were finished. The document containing this information—of December 16, 1476 (No. 30)—is especially important, as it gives us a precise account of the leading part taken by Foppa in this work.

The Life and Passion of our Lord were depicted in twenty-one sections (*capitoli*, as the document calls them), the whole being framed by a large decorative border. The central composition, the Crucifixion, was four times the size of the other pictures, and this great fresco, occupying the centre of the wall, was the work of Vincenzo Foppa, who also painted part of the border and six of the smaller compositions. For these last he received as payment 165 lire imperiali, 15 soldi; for the central composition 85 lire imperiali; and for his share of the border (the fifth part) $8\frac{1}{2}$ lire imperiali.²

¹ At the end of the missive the injunction is reiterated: "this is not to be prejudicial to the interests of Master Costantino *or to the work executed in his name*"—that is by his substitute Bartolomeo Caylina; a further interesting proof that this master probably did execute some part of the work and must therefore have been a fresco painter of merit.

² The Milanese lira imperiale in the second half of the fifteenth century was worth 20 soldi imp.; one soldo imp. was worth 12 denari. The total amount of Foppa's remuneration for his work in S. Giacomo was lire imp. 279, soldi 5; and as one lira imp. was equal to lire 2, soldi 10, in the present day, the price of Foppa's work may

Bonifazio Bembo painted six of the small compositions, for which he received the same remuneration as Foppa, i.e. 165 lire imperiali, 15 soldi, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ lire imperiali for his share of the border (again one-fifth of the whole).

Costantino da Vaprio¹ painted only three pictures, and for these was paid on January 20, 1477 (Doc. No. 31), and like the other masters he also painted one-fifth of the border.

Zanetto Bugati apparently, as we saw, did nothing but his share of the border; Vismara, on the other hand, painted five of the small pictures and his share of the border, and on February 11, 1477, was paid for his work, i.e. 82 lire imperiali, 12 soldi, 6 denari, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ lire imperiali for the border.

Owing to the total destruction of these frescoes we are unable to speak of their merits, but the documents afford us a most convincing proof of their great artistic importance. The description which they give us of this series from the Life and Passion of Christ is sufficiently full to enable us to form some idea of the plan of the work, and it is not improbable that certain cycles of frescoes still existing in North Italy and dealing with the same subject may have been closely allied in the general scheme of the composition with the series in S. Giacomo. Among these wall paintings may be named the series in twenty-one sections in the church of the suppressed convent of S. Bernardino, near Ivrea, by a Piedmontese master, most probably Martino Spanzotti;² the frescoes by Gaudenzio Ferrari, also in twenty-one sections, in S. Maria delle Grazie, at Varallo; and those by Luini in S. Maria degli Angeli at Lugano; while the earliest version was perhaps the series in the Church of the Annunziata di Borno in the Val Camonica, in which, in the compartments on either side of the large central composition of the Crucifixion, we have scenes from the Life of Christ interspersed with episodes from the history of St. John Baptist. The series in S. Giacomo in all probability established a precedent which exercised an enduring influence and was long adhered to by painters; for the frescoes at Borno, Ivrea, Varallo, and Lugano cover a period, roughly speaking, of over fifty years.³ The fame of the series

be put roughly at about lire 650, of current coin. We must, however, remember that this does not represent the actual money value of the period, which at the time of Foppa was much higher than it is to-day. The final payment to Foppa on December 16 (Doc. No. 30) was only lire 93, soldi 15, but as he acknowledges that this is the full and complete remuneration for his work, we must conclude that he had received various sums on account at different times. This was also the case with Costantino, who received the sum of lire 82, soldi 17, denari 6 (Doc. No. 31), due for his work.

¹ Or his substitute. ² See L. Ciaccio in *Arte*, fasc. XI-XII, 1904, p. 446 and foll.

³ The frescoes at Borno date from the last quarter of the fifteenth century; those by Gaudenzio Ferrari were completed by 1513 and those of Luini by 1529. The date of the frescoes at Ivrea is not known, but they must certainly be earlier than those of Gaudenzio Ferrari.

at Pavia spread rapidly, and when the Monastery of S. Giacomo was chosen as the seat of the General Chapter of the Franciscans in 1478, not the least weighty among the reasons which conduced to this decision was no doubt the universal desire on the part of the members of the order to see these paintings, of which they had heard so much, adorning the walls of one of their own churches.

The documents relating to the paintings of S. Giacomo, it may be added, have only recently come to light in the Pavian Archives and are now published for the first time.¹ Hitherto these frescoes were known only through one record published many years ago by Caffi (Doc. No. 28), from the wording of which it was impossible to tell whether they were ever executed. Our documents are therefore of great value for the new facts they give us relating to the history of the work, for the light they shed upon the proceedings of a company of painters and upon the methods by which a series of this description was apportioned among the different members of the company,² but above all, for the brilliant picture they give us of Vincenzo, who once more stands forth among his colleagues as the head and leader of his company, and as the one to whom the most important share of the work was assigned. With documentary evidence so astonishingly full and precise it would have been a comparatively easy matter, with the aid of critical methods, to separate the work of the different masters, and what a flood of light might not then have been cast upon the whole history of the early Lombard school and its many unsolved problems, had the paintings to which such definite reference is made, been still in existence. It is therefore a matter of more than ordinary regret that they, like so many other treasures of art, should have fallen victims to the spirit of destruction which wrought such havoc in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In all probability they perished between 1724 and 1731, during which period S. Giacomo was almost entirely rebuilt and the choir was decorated with frescoes by the painter Magatti.³ Towards the close of the century the monastery was suppressed, and in 1805 the church was razed to the ground.

¹ Nos. 27, 30, 31.

² We have no doubt that the work in the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr at Milan was conducted upon lines very similar to those followed at S. Giacomo, and that in the methods and proceedings of the company of painters employed by Donna Zaccarina, we have an example, perhaps, of the manner in which the frescoes in the chapel of Pigello Portinari may have been apportioned among different painters of one company.

³ Maiocchi, *Chiese di Pavia*, II, 158.

CHAPTER V

PAINTINGS C. 1470-1480

The Painting of the Beato Simonino at Brescia—The ceiling of the Averoldi Chapel in the Carmine Brescia—The altarpiece for S. Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo, now Brera—The St. Francis—St. Jerome, Bergamo—Madonna, Frizzoni Collection, Milan—Annunciation, Arcore—In the Borromeo Collection, Milan—Ecce Homo, Collection of M. Cheramy, Paris.

IF Brescian writers be correct in saying that Foppa painted in the Church of the Carmine at Brescia (in the third chapel on the right) the figure of the Beato Simone or Simonino of Trent, we might assume that he returned to that city in 1475. Capriolo, the first edition of whose history was published in 1505, says there was a painting of S. Simone in the Church of the Carmine.¹ The child Simone Viendorben² is said to have been murdered by Jews at Trent on Good Friday, March 24, 1475; in the summer of the following year a terrible hailstorm devastated the country round Brescia and destroyed the crops, and on this occasion, says Capriolo, "the image of the Beato Simone Trentino, a painting in the Church of the Carmine, was seen to shed tears," a manifestation which, according to Faini, who quotes from earlier chronicles,³ continued for some days, and was witnessed by crowds of people, who even flocked thither by night with torches to see the miracle! We have therefore definite evidence that the work must have been produced between March 24, 1475, and July, 1476; and if Foppa was the painter and executed it at Brescia, the most probable date would have been April to May, 1475.

We saw (Doc. No. 26) that on May 22 of that year Foppa was apparently not at Pavia, as he received a summons from the Duke bidding him mount his horse and start at once for that city. Later we know that the painter was

¹ In *Chronica de rebus Brixianorum*, p. lxxx.

² Or "Unferdorben," as he is sometimes called. See *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1889, p. 135.

³ Faini (*Memorie*, etc., MS. unpagged) quotes from Giovanni Maria Faustini, who in turn derived his information from two early chronicles by the Brescian citizens Paolo and Bonifazio Borelli, and Angelo Curvo.



Photo.

Capitano, Brescia

CEILING FRESCO
(Ascribed to Foppa)

BRESCIA: CHURCH OF THE CARMINE, AVEROLDI CHAPEL



Photo.

Capitano Brescia

CEILING FRESCO, DETAIL

(Ascribed to Foppa)

BRESCIA: CHURCH OF THE CARMINE, AVEROLDI CHAPEL

fully occupied in the Chapel of the Relics and at S. Giacomo. Assuming, therefore, that he was the author of this representation of the B. Simonino and that he painted it on the spot, the most likely date for its execution appears to be the one mentioned above. That a painting commemorating the child-martyr should have been executed at Brescia not two months after his death need not surprise us, in view of the extraordinary proportions to which the cultus immediately attained. Brescia must have received the news of the tragedy before it penetrated elsewhere, for one of her own citizens, Mattia Tiberino, was physician to the Bishop of Trent at the time, and a few days after the occurrence wrote a very full account of it to the authorities at Brescia. In this letter he extolled the child-martyr, recounted numerous miracles wrought by him, and stirred up hatred against the Jews.¹ Thus if Foppa was at Brescia at that moment, it is extremely probable that he was the author of the painting in the Carmine in which the death of the child was depicted, though whether it was a simple votive fresco executed in a brief space of time or a more elaborate panel picture commissioned from Foppa at Brescia and painted in the master's workshop on his return to Pavia we cannot tell.² The rapidity with which the devotion to the B. Simonino spread, especially in Venetian territory, was so startling as to alarm both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. In the course of this year, 1475, it was brought to the notice of Pope Sixtus IV that in consequence of this devotion popular sentiment was being violently aroused against the Jews. On October 10, 1475, he therefore issued an Encyclical prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, the diffusion of particulars relating to the death of the child by means of sermons, publications, or any form of representation.³ The Doge of Venice, Pietro Mocenigo, was requested to enforce this Papal decree throughout his dominions, and he proceeded to do so in the month of November by means of a Ducal missive

¹ Copies of this letter in the Arch. Mun. Brescia, Registrum C, f. 45 v., and Reg. E, ff. 24-26, though the date is wrongly given as 15 Kal. Aprilis (March 18), an evident mistake of the copyist. On referring to the copies of the letter printed at Nuremberg and Vicenza we find the date given there as *secundo nonas Aprilis*, and though this is a date not found in the Roman Calendar, it is a well-known fact that it was a very common mistake to use *secundo nonas* for *pridie nonas*. The date of the letter was therefore April 4 ("pridie nonas Aprilis"), and the news must have reached Brescia a few days later.

² Earlier writers, like Capriolo and the chroniclers quoted by Faini, do not mention the painter, and give us no clue as to whether the work was a fresco or a panel picture; but from the manner in which later writers (who ascribe it to Foppa) allude to it we might infer that it was a panel; and Maccarinelli, who wrote in the last years of the eighteenth century, speaks of it as the altarpiece of the chapel, from which—assuming that he did not write from hearsay—we might infer that it was still in existence at that date.

³ See Martène, *Veterum Scriptorum*, II, col. 1516.

addressed to all the principal cities within the jurisdiction of the Republic,¹ subsequently to the reception of which at Brescia, no painter would have been permitted to treat this forbidden subject on the walls or over the altar of a church.² Hence, whoever the painter, the work must perforce have been executed between April and November, 1475. Averoldi was apparently one of the first writers to ascribe it to Foppa,³ and he was followed in this by Carboni⁴ and others. The painting was apparently still in existence at the end of the eighteenth century, for Maccarinelli⁵ mentioned it as the altarpiece of the third chapel on the right in the Carmine;

¹ See Ricci in the *Emporium*, XIII (1901), p. 131, for the missive addressed to the City of Ravenna.

² Numerous publications treating of the death of the B. Simonino appeared in 1475, among them a poem published at Mantua and several letters on the subject written by the above-named Mattia Tiberino, who also furnished the account of the tragedy which was published at Augsburg in the same year. A poem entitled "Simonidos," by Ubertino Puscolo (1431-88), a Brescian disciple of Guarino, was written about 1475, but was not printed until 1511. Sixtus IV by a Papal Bull of 1478, greatly modified the prohibition contained in the Encyclical, and merely instructed the Bishop of Trent to see that the cultus of the new martyr was not opposed to the Apostolic traditions of the Church. In consequence of this the devotion to the B. Simonino again assumed considerable proportions. Poems on the death of the child were published about 1480 by Giorgio Summariva of Verona and c. 1481 by Giovanni Calfurnio of Brescia; the Passio B. Simonini was commemorated in the *Missale Curiae Romanæ* (Venice, 1487), and the subject once more became very popular, and was treated in paintings, sculptures, and woodcuts. Frescoes were executed c. 1488 at Palazzuolo and Chiari, near Brescia (see Calogierà, *Raccolta d' Opuscoli*, T. 48, p. 467), at Bergamo (see *Rass. d' Arte*, 1902, p. 72), at Albosaggio near Sondrio, and in many other places. The fresco still existing at Albosaggio (Valtellina)—a much injured work in a place now used as a stable—is by some feeble imitator of Foppa. In one compartment is represented the Madonna adoring the Child who lies on her knee, and in the next the martyrdom of the child Simonino, which may perhaps have been founded on the composition in the Carmine at Brescia. This last was perhaps also the model for Schedel's engraving of the subject in the *Weltchronik* (Nürnberg, 1493), in which the northern craftsman has treated the martyrdom with much brutal elaboration of detail. The cultus and history of the Beato Simonino is a decidedly interesting one in the annals of art, and the literature on the subject is considerable (see, among numerous other publications, *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol, etc.*, 1893, containing an article by Dr. Wellenhof on Hinterbach, Bishop of Trent 1465-86, in which numerous MSS. are referred to at Vienna, Innsbruck, Rome, etc., bearing on the history of the child-martyr; see also *Acta Sanctorum*, 24 Mart., pp. 493-500; Ghinzoni in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1889; Glissenti in *Ateneo di Brescia*, 1890, 1891, etc.).

³ Averoldi, *Le scelte Pitture, etc.*, p. 23.

⁴ *Le Pitture, etc.*, p. 32.

⁵ *Le Glorie, etc., di Brescia*, Bibl. Querin., f. 250.



ALTARPIECE OF S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, BERGAMO

(By permission of the Ist.º Italº d Arti Grafiche Bergamo)

MILAN: BRERA

by 1826 it had disappeared, as Brugnoli speaks only of a Crucifixion there, which he does not, however, connect with the name of any artist.¹ We may assume that the work mentioned by Brugnoli is identical with the painting now existing above the altar, a most inferior production which strangely enough is ascribed to Foppa, though it has certainly nothing to do with him, nor indeed with any other artist of his day. The tradition which connected the name of Foppa with the altar of S. Simonino was seemingly revived about the middle of the last century in favour of this late and feeble Crucifixion, and from that time forward local writers have persistently referred to it as a work by that master.²

Brescian writers, from Rossi downwards, have connected the name of Foppa also with the frescoes on the ceiling of this chapel in the Church of the Carmine, representing the four Evangelists and four Fathers of the Church. The scheme of decoration followed in this ceiling is one which we find constantly adopted in other examples in Brescian territory, in the Val Camonica and elsewhere. Like the plan of decoration in the Portinari Chapel and in S. Giacomo, the precedent once established became the model for imitation, and was soon adopted as one of the most satisfactory methods for the harmonious distribution of paintings in the sections of a vaulted ceiling. It recurs with almost monotonous frequency in the works of Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo, a painter who, if not actually a pupil of Foppa, was a contemporary who felt his influence, and who early transplanted the *motives* of Vincenzo's workshop at Pavia into his native Val Camonica.

The ceiling of the Carmine at Brescia, though much injured in parts, is undoubtedly one of the best among the many examples of this class of subject existing; yet the deviations from Foppa's own characteristic manner are so great as to exclude all possibility of its being his work, and after a close study of all the details of the painting we are forced to reject the attribution of Brescian guide-books.

Three of the Evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are of a type never met with in the works of Foppa, and his typical colouring and treatment of drapery are not apparent in any part of these frescoes. The only figures which remind us in some degree of Vincenzo are St. John the Evangelist and St. Ambrose, and this remote connection may perhaps have induced Brescian writers to ascribe the whole series to the master himself.

The *grisaille putti* beneath the Fathers of the Church have some affinity with the *putti* in the sculptures of the west door of the Carmine and in those of the altar of this chapel, as well as with the *putti* above the throne in the

¹ Brugnoli, *Guida di Brescia*, p. 186.

² Fé, VIII, p. 28, and others.

altarpiece at Savona (see chap. VII, p. 176), and with similar compositions in many other contemporary works of painting and sculpture.

The very close connection between the types of the saints in the Carmine and those in the ceiling of the desecrated Church of S. Antonio at Breno, and the similarity in colouring, decorative *motives*, and other particulars between the two works, make it probable that both are by the same hand, though we are unable to identify the painter. This similarity was pointed out by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,¹ who observed that the frescoes at Breno "are painted in a way reminiscent of Foppa and Civerchio."²

From the diary of Pandolfo Nassino,³ and from many other sources, we know that this chapel in the Carmine belonged to the great Brescian family of the Averoldi. Several of their tombs still exist before the altar and on the eastern wall, and their Arms may even now be seen high up on the exterior of the south wall of the church, but no records have yet been discovered which would throw any light on the history of the paintings, and they can only be classed for the present among works traditionally ascribed to Vincenzo Foppa on insufficient grounds.

Two possibilities suggest themselves as to the work which occupied Foppa in the years immediately succeeding the assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza—that he undertook to paint the altarpiece for S. Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo, and that he then returned to Genoa, for the works which we know he executed in the latter city would have necessitated his presence there for longer periods than the records we at present possess would lead us to suppose. As the documents which might decide these questions are conspicuous by their absence, we can only collect the facts, so far as they are at present known, relating to these works, in the hope that eventually some further clue may be found to elucidate the subject.

The appearance of the altarpiece now in the Brera seems to justify the assumption that in these years Foppa may have received the commission to paint it for the great Franciscan Church of S. Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo. In 1476 the Bishop, Ludovico Donato, instituted in this church

¹ II, 363.

² We might conjecture that this was also the opinion of Mr. Berenson. In his index of places (*op. cit.*, p. 309) we find the name of Civerchio as an artist represented in the Carmine at Brescia, though no mention is made of this church in his index to the works of Civerchio (p. 195); yet these frescoes are clearly the only works upon which the name of that painter could be bestowed in the Carmine. The frescoes of Brescia and Breno, however, appear to us to be by one of the many anonymous masters of Brescia who were working in that city towards the close of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth.

³ *Registro di Memorie di Brescia*, Bibl. Querin., f. 257, 276, etc.



THE MADONNA & CHILD WITH ANGELS.

Copy of the altarpiece of S. Maria delle Grazie Bergamo

MILAN BRERA

the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception.¹ In the years immediately succeeding this event the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie became the object of special devotion, and it seems not improbable that some munificent donor, fired with religious ardour, should have ordered for the High Altar a picture in which special prominence was given to the Madonna crowned by angels, and in which the chief saints of the Franciscan Order were to be commemorated. For, that it was seen adorning the High Altar in 1525, we know from the well-known passage in the *Anonimo* :—

“The ancona of the High Altar of Our Lady with the two figures on each side in gilded niches in tempera, was by the hand of Master Vincenzo Bresciano vecchio, as I believe.”²

Two hundred and fifty years later it was seen and described by Pasta:³ “The large panel at the end of the choir being an old picture must not be omitted; it represents in eight gilded compartments the B. Virgin between two angels in the centre, and at the sides SS. Alessandro, Bonaventura, Antonio, etc., and above St. Francis receiving the stigmata, flanked by SS. Augustine, Monica, and others; at the base [that is in the predella] there is an Ecce Homo between two angels of small dimensions, and at the sides the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Flight into Egypt.”⁴

In May, 1810, the Franciscans of S. Maria delle Grazie were suppressed, and most of their possessions were acquired by the Congregazione di Carità.⁵

¹ D. Calvi, *Effemeride*, III, p. 384; Mutio, *Sacra Istoria di Bergamo, Parte Terza*, p. 50; Peregrinus, *Vinea Bergomensis*, pt. II, cap. 86, p. 35; Finazzi, *Dell' antica Chiesa di S. Maria delle Grazie*, pp. 9, 10, etc. (who mentions that the confraternity had already dedicated an altar in S. Francesco at Bergamo some years previously); Ronchetti, and others.

² “In S. Maria delle Grazie, Monasterio dei Frati di S. Francesco Osservanti, fuori della Porta di Cologno: La ancona dell' altare grande della nostra Donna con le due figure per ciascun lato in nicchi dorati a guazzo, fu de man de Maestro Vincenzo Bressano vecchio come credo” (ed. Frizzoni, p. 137).

³ *Le Pitt. notab. di Bergamo*, p. 104, ed. 1775. It is mentioned also some years earlier in the MS. of Tassi's *Pittori Bergamaschi* (1761) as in the choir “di gusto antico.”

⁴ “La gran tavola nella testata del coro comeché sia antica non é da omettersi e rappresenta in otto caselle dorate la Beata Vergine fra due angeli in mezzo, e dai lati i SS. Alessandro, Bonaventura, Antonio, etc., e sopra S. Francesco stimatizzato con ai fianchi i SS. Agostino e Monica ed altri; nel basamento v' ha un Ecce Homo fra due angeli in picciole figurine e dalle bande l' Annunziazione, la Visitazione, Natività e Gita in Egitto.”

⁵ See the documents in the Archives of the Casa di Ricovero (Stabilimento delle Grazie a Casa di Ricovero) Doc. di Proprietà, fasc. IV, Istr. 24, Gennaio 1811. The inventory had been presented on June 3, 1810.

Foppa's altarpiece must, however, have been removed previously,¹ in accordance with the decree issued by the Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais, which provided that the best pictures belonging to religious bodies which had been suppressed, were to be removed either to Milan or Venice. The Head of the Milanese department—which had to pass judgment on the merits of the pictures and have them removed to the suppressed monastery of the Passione, from whence they eventually found their way into the Brera—was the well-known painter Andrea Appiani, a man of immense energy and full of enthusiasm from the artist's point of view, though for the history of art he unfortunately cared nothing; the records kept by him were consequently of the most summary description. Between 1809 and 1811 he had removed 773 pictures to Milan, principally from Lombardy and the Marches, and among them was Foppa's altarpiece from S. M. delle Grazie, shorn, however, of its predella.² At that date it appears to have been registered as "in the manner of Leonardo da Vinci!"³ In 1833 it was engraved by C. Borde for a volume dealing with paintings in the Brera as by an unknown master, whose identity Gironi, the writer of the text, was unable to determine, though he considered that the painter might have been a pupil of Bramantino;⁴ of the other panels he made no mention. Eventually the work came to be ascribed to Zenale, and under his name it hung for many years in the Brera. Morelli was the first to attribute these panels definitely to Foppa,⁵ and to prove conclusively that they formed part of the altarpiece mentioned by the *Anonimo* and by Pasta.⁶ At that time (about 1880) the St. Francis receiving the stigmata was not among the pictures constituting the altarpiece as we now see it in the Brera, for as a picture independent of the ancona it had, as far back as 1848, been ceded to the parish church of Busto Garolfo, where it remained until 1896, when it was discovered by Dr. Giulio Carotti and removed to the Brera.⁷ Professor Corrado Ricci, formerly Director of that gallery,⁸ following his admirable system of grouping the works of each school in chronological order, hung these panels in one of the large rooms in the Brera,

¹ Its place in the church was taken by a picture by Cavagna (see *Diz. della Prov. Bergamasca*, di G. M. Ponte, ed. 1819, p. 96).

² See *Catalogue of the Brera*, ed. 1901, introduction, p. 9 and foll., and Corrado Ricci, *La Pinacoteca, etc. . . di Brera*, p. 83, 1907.

³ See *Catalogo di Brera*, di F. Malaguzzi Valeri, 1908, p. 183.

⁴ Bisi and Gironi, *Pinacoteca, etc. . . di Milano*, Vol. III, ed. 1833.

⁵ The attribution to Foppa was suggested by Caffi in the *Arch. Stor. Lombardo*, 1878, p. 102.

⁶ Lermolieff, *Die Werke Italienischer Meister*, p. 8, note.

⁷ *Gallerie Italiane*, Vol. II, p. 25.

⁸ Professor Ricci is now Head of all the museums and galleries in Italy with the title of Director General of Fine Arts.



Photo.

Broggi

ST. JEROME

ST. ALEXANDER

MILAN: BRERA ALTARPIECE



Photo.

ST. VINCENT



Brogi

ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA

MILAN: BRERA ALTARPIECE

reconstructing the altarpiece as far as possible according to its original scheme, and, guided by the words of Pasta quoted above, he included in this scheme the St. Francis, placing it above the central composition of the Madonna.¹ Professor Ricci's methods of grouping and classification are as a rule beyond all praise, but in the case of the position of the St. Francis we venture to question his arrangement for reasons which will be stated later.

In Foppa's altarpiece we have a work composed on the old plan then still in vogue, consisting of eight saints in separate compartments, with coffered ceiling and golden hangings in the upper tier, calculated for decorative effect as seen from below, while nearer the eye in the lower course the painter, though still retaining the coffered ceiling, abandons the conventional gold ground and gives us a charming landscape with trees and water, for which he always shows a special predilection. A few years ago a fortunate chance led to the discovery of the predella belonging to the altarpiece, which never left Bergamo, but appears to have been detached from the remainder of the picture and subsequently to 1811 to have passed into the collection of a Count Albani in that city. In the spring of 1901 the present representative of the family sold it to a dealer at Milan, where it was recognized as a Foppa, and bought by the late Signor G. B. Vittadini for his choice collection at Arcore near Monza. That it is the long-lost predella of the Brera altarpiece there cannot be the slightest doubt. The subjects are identical with those recorded by Pasta, with the exception of the *Ecce Homo*, which is missing;² every detail,

¹ See also *Arte*, 1899, p. 320.

² Some critics, it may be noted, have sought to identify this missing part with a small panel belonging to Prince Trivulzio at Milan, and representing a half-length figure of the Dead Christ standing in the tomb. Taking into consideration the width of the altarpiece and the sizes of the various panels of the predella, we assume that the lost picture must have been of small dimensions, and might have corresponded in size with Prince Trivulzio's picture, which measures twenty-six by twenty-eight centimetres; Pasta may have inaccurately described the subject as an *Ecce Homo*, though it is quite certain, having regard to the compositions on either side (adoring angels with instruments of the Passion), that the central panel actually did represent the Dead Christ in the tomb or "Eucharistic *Ecce Homo*" (see note to chapter III, p. 90, 3). The picture in question, however, appears to us to be poor in quality, and we are loth to believe that it could have had any connection with Foppa or with the polyptych of S. Maria delle Grazie. It is not ascribed to Foppa by the owner himself, who has been good enough to inform us that in his opinion it has nothing whatever to do with the Brera altarpiece. It is therefore to be regretted that in the new catalogue of the Brera (p. 183) the identity of this picture with the missing panel of the predella should again have been put forward, and we trust that the suggestion will not be included in future editions of the catalogue.

even to the decorative design upon the pilasters separating the different scenes, which finds its counterpart in the framework of the altarpiece, proves the intimate connection between them, and it is a most fortunate circumstance that, instead of falling into the hands of some foreign collector, who would have removed it from Italy, the predella should have come into the possession of a distinguished Italian connoisseur. In course of time it may thus perhaps be reunited to the altarpiece of which it forms so integral a part. The whole composition is a peculiarly complete example of what (borrowing an heraldic term) we may venture to call a "canting" altarpiece, that is to say, without any previous acquaintance with its history it would at once be self-evident that it must have been painted for a church at Bergamo belonging to the Franciscans. In the upper and lower tiers we have five of the great Franciscan saints: Clara, Bonaventura, Louis of Toulouse, Bernardino of Siena, and Anthony of Padua. One of them, S. Bernardino, lived for eleven years at Bergamo,¹ and was most intimately connected with the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie as its founder.² Another, St. Louis of Toulouse, was the patron saint of the Bishop, Ludovico Donato, who ruled the see from 1465 to 1484, founded in the church the confraternity alluded to above, and consecrated in 1474 another great church dedicated to one of the patrons of the city—St. Alexander.³ This last-named saint is represented in the most prominent position on the right of the Madonna, and on her left is a second patron of the city, St. Vincent, to whom the cathedral had originally been dedicated, and some of whose relics reposed in S. Maria delle Grazie.⁴

Considered as a whole, none will deny that the picture is a singularly characteristic work of Foppa, in spite of occasional lapses into unexpected weakness of drawing. In the central panel we have a remarkably individual example of the master's work in the splendid monumental figure of the

¹ Mutio, *op. cit.*, p. 238, ed. 1621.

² The church owed its origin to the religious enthusiasm aroused by the Lenten sermons of S. Bernardino, and the site was given to him and to Brother Simone of Milan by a native of Alzano. The first stone was laid by the saint in 1422 (Calvi, *Eff.*, II, 360, and others), and it was consecrated five years later. After the institution of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception in S. Maria delle Grazie, devotion to this church was ever on the increase; the chapels dedicated to the great Franciscan saints, and especially that of the Immaculate Conception, were enriched with frescoes, altarpieces, and sculptures, and the church soon became a very temple of art. It was situated in the Borgo S. Leonardo, outside the gate, in what is now the Viale; after the suppression, the building and all its remaining contents passed into the hands of the Congregazione di Carità, and in 1856 the church was razed to the ground. An exhaustive account of the church is given by Finazzi, *op. cit.*

³ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, T. IV, p. 484; Ronchetti, Finazzi, and others.

⁴ B. Peregrinus, *Kalendarium*, f. 2, February 22. Bibl. Civ., Bergamo.



Photo.

Brogi

ST. CLARA

ST. BONAVENTURA

MILAN : BRERA ALTARPIECE



Photo.

ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE

ST. BERNARDINO

MILAN: BRERA ALTARPIECE

Bregio

Madonna with her attendant angels. The type of her head with the massive pillar-like neck, the modelling of the features, the vitality and seriousness of expression, the drawing of the hand resting upon the book, the impressive and dignified pose of the whole figure, are all typical of the painter in the highest degree.¹ Foppa's character is deeply imprinted on every part of the panel, and is strikingly apparent in the correct and beautiful rendering of the arch above the head of the Madonna which forms the background to the composition, in the modelling of the angels' heads, and in every detail of form and gesture. Here, again, in the composition and treatment of the Infant Saviour and of the angels we find the same intent expression and earnestness of purpose as in the Nosedà picture. Certain charming *motives* in this altarpiece also link it in feeling with that youthful work, as, for instance, the very attractive composition of the Flight into Egypt in the predella, and the poetic and original presentment of the Infant Saviour in the central panel, who turns with a spontaneous and winning gesture to strike a chord upon the angel's lute. Though several decades probably separate the one picture from the other, there cannot be the slightest doubt, after comparing them carefully, that both emanate from a common source and are pervaded by the same spirit. The four angels seem to sum up as it were all that is most characteristic in Foppa's art when treating such figures; in them we find innumerable points of contact with his earlier and his later work—types, forms, and modes of expression which constantly recur in his own works, and which reappear in a weakened form in those of his pupils and imitators. This central panel of the Brera altarpiece may therefore be regarded as the most important point of departure for the study of Foppa, and the most striking criterion of his style, as a painter of pictures of this class, which we possess.

Among the eight saints, the well posed and firmly planted figures of SS. Anthony of Padua and Vincent appear to us to be especially characteristic. The modelling, type, and expression of the heads, the form and pose of the hands, are all in Foppa's distinctive manner, and vividly recall similar types and forms in other undoubtedly genuine works by him. It may be noted, however, that the hands of many of the saints in this altarpiece are disproportionately small, a defect which we very frequently meet with in the works of Foppa. Well posed too, and of considerable vitality in the expression of the heads, are the St. Jerome and the other four Franciscan saints: Clara and Bonaventura, Louis of Toulouse and Bernardino of Siena.

Here and there we may be conscious of a certain weakness and timidity of

¹ The dignity of conception, the massive character of the head, and other particulars link this figure again with Jacopo Bellini (see especially Giraudon, No. 745, and the Madonna of Lovere).

outline in the drawing of some of the figures, or may note occasional defects and blemishes in the delineation of the features, but on the whole the simplicity and directness of all these figures carry conviction at once, for each one is deeply imbued with the master's spirit and vivified by his touch. The St. Alexander, on the other hand, seems on a somewhat lower plane; the features are comparatively insignificant and empty in expression, and the drawing of the figure is poor. This is certainly surprising, for, as the patron saint of Bergamo, it might have been supposed that the painter would have devoted special care and attention to the treatment of this particular panel. The mode of representation may, however, be partially responsible for the unsatisfactory nature of the composition, and the unstable pose of the warrior saint and the weakness of the form may be due, in part, to the rigid nature of the armour by which the figure is encased; we find the same defects in another example of a figure in armour treated by Foppa, the St. George in the processional banner at Orzinuovi, a work of much later date.

The drapery throughout is eminently characteristic of Vincenzo and his school, clinging to the limbs after the manner of sculpture in some of the figures, as in the angels in the central panel, or falling in ample folds about the feet in others, as in the Madonna and the St. Jerome, the master's system being at times curiously exaggerated, as, for instance, in the drapery of the saints in the upper tier, which was perhaps the work of assistants.

The robe and mantle of the Virgin, as we have already stated, are bordered with letters, and fragments of three verses of the hymn "*Ave Maris Stella*" and the antiphon "*Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis*" are decipherable, as well as other sentences all having reference to the Madonna; but we have failed to find any letters which could be taken to refer to the painter, as is the case in a picture by Foppa at Berlin. In the panels with the saints, embossed ornament is frequently used as a decorative border on the draperies; gesso overlaid with gold and colour is also employed for the glories, for the pastoral staff of the Bishop, for the disk of St. Bernardino, for the crown which the angels place on the head of the Madonna,¹ and for other details of a like nature throughout the altarpiece.

The colour for the most part is bright and strong; red predominates, with warm olive and brownish yellow, but in the drapery of the angel on the right in the foreground of the central panel we have a delicate shade of willow green which is very attractive; peculiarly typical of Foppa are the bands of brilliant scarlet edged with pearls with which he borders the draperies

¹ This crown is an integral part of the original altarpiece and not, as in the case of the crowns in the Savona polyptych, an addition of later date. In design it is closely connected with the crowns of the Magi in the National Gallery altarpiece.



THE ANNUNCIATION

THE VISITATION



Phot.

Ermenegildo Zegna

THE NATIVITY

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

(Predella of the Brera Altarpiece)

ARCORE (NEAR MONZA): VITTADINI COLLECTION

of his angels at the neck and wrists. This is a characteristic met with in the Savona altarpiece and in other works, as well as in numerous examples of his school.

The grey flesh tints which, as already observed, are so distinctive of Foppa, and through him became the heritage of the early Lombard school, are everywhere present; but in some of the heads, more especially in those of the angels in the central panel, the colours have so deteriorated as to be unpleasant in tone. This curious and unnatural hue in the colour of the flesh is met with in a few other works by Foppa, for instance, in the St. Sebastian of the Castello Museum, and may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that the unusually delicate glazes used by the master have not always been proof against external injuries, but have succumbed to the numerous processes of severe overcleaning to which his works have been subjected; in the case of these angels scarcely anything beyond the underpainting now remains.¹

The predella, though showing many indications of the co-operation of assistants, was undoubtedly produced from the master's designs; the charming compositions of the Nativity and Flight into Egypt² are his in conception, if not in execution, and certain figures show unmistakable traces of his own hand, such as the two angels holding the instruments of the Passion, and more especially the angel of the Annunciation, which is so strikingly Foppesque in character as to be tantamount to a signature.

On the whole, therefore, this altarpiece is certainly the most notable and representative existing example of Foppa's art, being one of the few complete works of the kind by him at present known. In general character it represents the principles laid down by the master towards the close of what we may term his early middle period, when, having achieved success in copying nature—though from the standpoint of character rather than of beauty—with the utmost truth and fidelity, he now sought to idealize his types and to endow his figures with a larger measure of outward attractiveness. The innate feeling for grace and beauty so apparent in his earliest works, but

¹ As this deterioration of the flesh tints is seen to a greater extent in the works of Foppa than in those of any of his followers, it might perhaps be due in certain cases to some inherent defect in the quality of the mediums used by the master, with which he may have been experimenting in painting flesh. This may have caused the flesh tints to decay more rapidly than other parts of the work, than the colours of the draperies, for instance, which are on the whole fairly well preserved and have retained their original character.

² Foppa's composition of the Flight into Egypt appears to have been the prototype for many later versions of the subject. See especially the compositions of Bramantino and Gaudenzio Ferrari, reproduced by Dr. Suida (*Jahrbuch, etc., des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. XXVI).

overshadowed to some extent by the sterner and more rugged influences dominating his art in his early middle period, now re-asserts itself, and is perceptible in his evident striving to attain to a higher æsthetic level. This tendency is manifest in all the figures of the central panel, and in the heads of SS. Louis, Vincent, and Clara. The type of the Madonna and that of the Infant Saviour in the Brera are clearly identical with those of the Virgin and Child of the Castello ; but while in the latter composition beauty subordinated to character was still, so to speak, elementary and apparent only in general lines, in the Brera altarpiece the painter, while preserving the original types, refines, softens, and adds qualities of external grace in so considerable a degree, that this work as a whole marks a very distinct advance in his development. This tendency to develop his art on more ideal lines becomes ever more marked in his later work ; it was this aspect of his art which appealed more especially to his followers, and it was these inherent qualities which rendered the Lombard school of Foppa peculiarly receptive of Leonardesque principles.

As to the question of the date we have, as already observed, no certain clue ; nevertheless it seems probable, both from the style of the picture and the general scheme of its composition and from what we know of the circumstances of Foppa's life, that it might have been produced between 1470 and 1480.

The picture may have been painted at Bergamo, the woodwork being prepared by some local carver, and Foppa himself being lodged in the convent and given every facility for superintending the work and executing the paintings on the spot ; such arrangements are not without parallel in the history of Italian art. On the other hand, it is by no means necessary to assume that the altarpiece could only have been executed in this manner. A polyp-tych of this kind, composed as it was of separate panels, could easily have been produced in a Pavian or Milanese workshop, one of the many carvers who were employed at Pavia in these years furnishing the woodwork under Foppa's directions and after his designs, the panels being then painted and gilded in Master Vincenzo's workshop.

If the altarpiece was executed in Foppa's *bottega* at Pavia it could easily have been transported by water to Milan and thence to Bergamo ; the way in which the ancona for the Chapel of the Relics was produced gives us an insight into the working of these matters and into the arrangements attending the transport and placing of altarpieces.¹

¹ We have many instances in the history of Italian art of paintings thus produced at a distance and then sent to their destination ; but one example may suffice—that of an altarpiece for the Church of S. Pietro in Ciel d' oro, which was executed at Venice and transported from thence by water to Pavia : “Item maiestatem unam magnam, sitam super



Ermenegildo Zegna

ANGELS WITH INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION

(*Predella of the Erena Altarpiece*)

ARCORE (NEAR MONZA); VITTADINI COLLECTION

Thus far we have not alluded to the St. Francis receiving the stigmata, now forming part of the altarpiece in the Brera and placed exactly over the fine central composition of the Madonna; but we have done this advisedly, because, though it is certainly an admirable work by Foppa, we think it doubtful, as already stated, that it originally formed part of the polyptych of S. Maria delle Grazie. Apart from the obvious differences in style, in the quality of the background, and in the proportions of the figure between this composition and the other panels of the altarpiece, we would point out that the position of this St. Francis, whose feet are, so to speak, actually on the head of the Madonna, is opposed to the liturgical rule of the Church. That a saint should have been placed in a more exalted and honourable position than that assigned to the Mother of God, or even on an equality with her, is an anomaly which would scarcely have been permitted and which is at variance with the best traditions of early Italian art. In the numerous altarpieces still existing which have retained their original form, not a single instance can be cited in which, above the figure of the Madonna in the centre, a saint of the same dimensions as the Virgin (much less of superior proportions) is introduced. Figures of saints in painting or carving, when placed above the central composition of the Madonna, are always of such proportions as clearly to indicate the secondary part assigned to them in the scheme of the whole, that is to say, it is at once evident that they were introduced more for purely decorative purposes than from any motive of devotion which might aim at placing them on a level with, or even on a higher plane than, the Virgin, a practice contrary to precedent in the Ecclesiastical Liturgy. The subjects which it was permissible to introduce in the centre of an altarpiece above the Madonna and of proportions equal to hers were: representations of the Eternal Father, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. It may be objected that our contention is invalidated by Pasta's description of the altarpiece (quoted by us, p. 119), in which these words occur—"and above St. Francis receiving the stigmata"; but we are bound to point out that from this writer's description it would be impossible to draw any logical conclusion as to the construction of the work. His account of it is extremely confused and inaccurate, and proves that he could only have examined the picture very superficially. Among other mistakes he speaks of the saints flanking the St. Francis as "SS. Augustine and Monica." In the Brera altarpiece, however,

altari magno dicte ecclesie, que constitit Veneciis, cum victura et constare comuni estimacione potuit florenos ducentum." (A large Majestas over the High Altar of the said church, the price of which, with expenses of transport, was settled at Venice; at the ordinary valuation it might well amount to two hundred florins.) See R. Maiocchi and N. Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. E. S. Augustini Papiæ*, Vol. I, p. 161, 1905.

these saints are conspicuous by their absence; are we to assume that Pasta mistook St. Clara for St. Monica and St. Louis of Toulouse for St. Augustine? Such a solution seems hardly credible, more especially as the name of the saint represented is inscribed upon each respective panel. But granting that Pasta was right in speaking of the St. Francis as part of the polyptych, we are inclined to think that what he described was in point of fact a later reconstruction, for the Anonimo, who saw the altarpiece in its original position above the High Altar of S. Maria delle Grazie, does not mention the St. Francis, but speaks only of the Madonna as the most important figure, and of saints in compartments at the sides of this panel. Is it not possible that Pasta's words, "and above¹ St. Francis receiving the stigmata flanked by SS. Augustine, Monica, and other saints," may have applied to other pictures independent of the altarpiece, but hanging above it on the same wall? Such a possibility is suggested by some further words of Pasta; immediately after speaking of the predella of the ancona he continues, "and above at the sides there is a picture of the B. Virgin with the Child, and below S. Bernardino by the hand of Giacomo Cotta,"² thus proving that at this date other pictures had been hung in closest proximity to Foppa's work.³

On the whole, then, a reconstruction based upon Pasta's words does not appear altogether convincing; but assuming that our doubts may be unfounded, we should then have in this ancona of S. Maria delle Grazie a rare instance of a painter allowing himself an almost unprecedented licence and acting in direct opposition to liturgical rule and tradition.

As to the question of its authenticity as a work by Foppa there can be no doubt, though we are disposed to think that it belongs to a somewhat later period of his career than that to which we have assigned the Brera altarpiece. It appears to be more nearly related in style and feeling to certain frescoes, to be mentioned later, which were formerly in the Church of S. Maria del Giardino at Milan. It must once have been a typical work, and like these frescoes full of the best qualities of his art in point of expression and feeling; this is apparent, in spite of its injured condition, in the illustration which we give of the picture when it was first removed from Busto Garolfo. Before being placed in the Brera the necessary restoration had to be undertaken, and we are reluctantly obliged to admit that this has completely changed the original character of the work, and the fervent expres-

¹ i.e. above the eight gilded compartments of the ancona.

² "Lateralmente in alto v' ha la B. Vergine col Bambino e sotto S. Bernardino, di mano di Giacomo Cotta" (Pasta, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

³ For in Pasta's day, it must be remembered, the ancona was no longer in the position where it was seen by the Anonimo, i.e. over the High Altar, but had been removed to the wall at the end of the choir.



ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA

(Before restoration)

MILAN: BRERA ALTARPIECE

sion and fine characterization of the head, as seen in our illustration, are now practically lost.

The very inferior head of Christ which has been hung above the St. Francis within the last few years can have had nothing to do with this altarpiece, and is certainly not to be included in the category of Foppa's works. It was only acquired in 1901 from the same dealer who bought the predella from Count Albani at Bergamo. We regret to see that in the latest catalogue of the Brera¹ Count Malaguzzi upholds the authenticity of this panel and defends its right to be considered a part of the polyptych of S. Maria delle Grazie. We trust that in the next edition of this otherwise admirable publication the author will see his way to reverse this judgment and will remove the picture from a position to which it is clearly not entitled. We have the strongest reasons for believing that it never formed part of the altarpiece, and have therefore omitted it from our illustration of this polyptych.

Closely connected with the Bergamo altarpiece are two small pictures, of which we have no record, but which would seem to have been produced about this period, the St. Jerome of the Bergamo Gallery and the Madonna belonging to Dr. Frizzoni at Milan. In the St. Jerome, which appears to be earlier by some years than the Madonna, we have a very impressive conception. The penitent kneels under the shadow of a great rock before the Crucified Saviour, who towers above him in the sombre landscape a lonely and pathetic figure silhouetted against the tranquil sky. Here, again, as in the Bergamo Crucifixion, the infinite solitude of the surroundings and the fervent expression of the penitent are very striking, and the quality of the flesh painting and technical finish in the head of the saint are of remarkable beauty ;² here too we have Foppa's outward characteristics : the type and modelling of the features and the arrangement of the folds of the drapery. The hands are in the main similar in form to those of the St. Vincent in the Brera altarpiece. The left hand with the thumb bent back as we see it here is a peculiarity often met with in the works of Foppa and his followers, but in the Bergamo picture it is exaggerated into a physical defect. For this, Foppa cannot be held responsible ; it is perhaps due, as the inventory of the Lochis Collection³ has pointed out, to the injuries which the picture has sustained.

In the treatment of the background we have again a striking example of the master's intimate study of nature. This is no fantastic imaginary mass of rock behind the saint, such as we often see in the landscape backgrounds of this date, but a remarkably accurate rendering of strata closely observed and skilfully drawn, and, in the opinion of an expert, geologically correct ;

¹ 1908, pp. 182, 183. ² Cf. also Jacobsen, *Jhrb. d. K. Pr. Ksmgln.*, 1896. ³ No. 66.

a rock such as Foppa must often have seen in his Brescian home or in the neighbouring Bergamesque valleys.¹

The panel is inscribed
known works bearing the
two being at Berlin and
deed been cast upon the

OPVS VINCE
NTII FOPPA

and is therefore one of three painter's surnames, the other Versailles. Doubts have ingenuineness of this signature, but a careful examination has proved that such doubts are unfounded and that it is absolutely original. It is possible that in this composition we may have a reminiscence of Pisanello's lost picture of St. Jerome adoring the Crucified Saviour mentioned by Bartolomeo Facio,² and painted for the humanist and poet Guarino. The latter, according to Venturi, received the picture as a gift from Pisanello in 1438, and, in acknowledgment composed a poem, in which he gives an interesting description of the painting.³ After eulogizing the painter's many virtues and talents he proceeds to discuss the St. Jerome. "The noble gift of St. Jerome the beloved which you send is a marvellous specimen of your virtue and your art; his splendid hoary beard; his holy forehead, austere frowning, rapt in contemplation towards God; he is present, yet we see that he is far away; he is here and yet not here; the cave holds his body, his soul tastes the joys of heaven. The image, though but painted, speaks so vividly that I scarce dare to utter a sound, and I whisper low, lest my voice break in upon his contemplation of God and the kingdom of heaven. . . ." These words in many particulars, apply admirably to Foppa's picture, and we may be sure that if, as Mr. Hill has pointed out, Pisanello's composition was the source whence Bono da Ferrara drew his inspiration for his picture of the same subject in the National Gallery, much more was it so with Foppa, since his work is a far more eloquent interpretation of Guarino's words than is Bono's picture, in which, moreover, the saint is not adoring the Crucified, but is merely seated in a landscape with his lion beside him.

Dr. Frizzoni's Madonna, like the St. Jerome, is also a representative example in which every detail shows the hand of the master. In technique,

¹ Professor Ricci, in his recent volume on the drawings of Jacopo Bellini, ascribes to that master a somewhat crude picture in the gallery at Verona, St. Jerome kneeling before the Crucified Saviour in an arid landscape, which it is interesting to compare with Foppa's version of the subject.

² *De Viris Illustribus*, ed. 1745, p. 48: "Hieronymus Christum Crucifixum adorans."

³ The poem was first published by Cavattoni (*Tre carmi latini*, Verona, 1861), and republished with corrections by Prof. Venturi (*op. cit.*, p. 39). Mr. Hill (*op. cit.*) devotes a chapter to the poem (pp. 113-18) and gives a paraphrase of it, from which the quotation in the text is taken.



THE MADONNA & CHILD WITH AN ANGEL.

MILAN FRIZZONI COLLECTION.



Photo.

Anderson

ST. JEROME
BERGAMO: GALLERY (LOCHIS COLLECTION)

colouring, types, and forms, in the expression and vitality of all the heads, in the treatment of the drapery, and in many other minor details, this admirable little picture at once proclaims its authorship by the overwhelming testimony of internal evidence. The modelling of the head and treatment of the hands connect it closely with the Castello Madonna and with the St. Jerome, while the charming angel on the left, with its eager and life-like expression, recalls the angels in Cav. Nosedà's picture and in the Brera altarpiece. The colour is of great force and brilliancy; red predominates, as in the robe of the Madonna and in the curtain on the left, which forms the background to the figure of the little angel and envelops its right arm. The plant in the majolica pot, here set on the ledge of the open window, is one of Foppa's favourite accessories, and is almost identical with the *motive* in the foreground of a late work by the master, the processional banner at Orzinuovi.

The St. Jerome was formerly in the collection of Count Guglielmo Lochis, and came by bequest with many other pictures to the Bergamo Gallery in 1866.¹ Of its earlier history nothing is known, and the same must unfortunately be said of the Frizzoni Madonna, whose owner is unable to furnish any information relating to the *provenance* of his picture.

In the category of works probably produced between 1470 and 1480, may be included the beautiful and highly characteristic Annunciation belonging to Madame Vittadini at Arcore, with unusually gentle types and an almost Carpaccio-like feeling in the treatment of the foreground. In its way, this picture is as perfect and representative an example of this period of Foppa's career, as was the Nosedà Madonna of the master's early time, and in its simplicity and poetic feeling is almost equally enchanting. In every part of the work the master's character is strikingly apparent, as will be seen on comparing it with the illustrations of numerous other pictures by him. The hands, both of the angel and of the Madonna, which are identical in form and pose with the hands in so many of these examples, and the rapt and earnest expression of the Virgin, would alone stamp it as an indubitable work of the Brescian master. In colour too it is characteristic, notably in the brilliant scarlet of the angel's mantle, a shade very distinctive of Foppa and his followers in the Lombard school. The Madonna is clad in the usual blue mantle worn over a pink robe, and the drapery on her head is of a light shade of yellow.

All the details—the majolica pots with plants in the foreground, the landscape framed in by the arched opening in the centre, the bedroom of the Madonna seen through the half-open door on the right—are exquisitely finished and give proof of the loving care bestowed by Foppa upon work which must have been so far above the level of the eye, that a less conscientious painter might have been inclined to scamp that portion of his task; for

¹ See *L'Arte in Bergamo*, pp. 22 and 51.

this panel is undoubtedly only a fragment of a large altarpiece, and its original position may very probably have been in the centre of the architrave, in a polyptych consisting perhaps of several tiers.¹

A note of originality is struck by the introduction into the background of St. Jerome as a penitent, a very unusual accompaniment to the Annunciation; the composition with some modifications, being a repetition of the example at Bergamo. The picture was bought by the late Signor Vittadini from a Milanese dealer and was in a much injured condition, the whole of the centre being hidden under a coating of dark paint. This was removed by Professor Cavenaghi, and the composition of St. Jerome kneeling before the Crucifix then came to light.²

A very impressive work of this period was discovered by Dr. Frizzoni in the collection of M. Cheramy in Paris. It is a figure of the Ecce Homo seen to the waist against a dark green background wearing the purple robe, which in this case is of Foppa's characteristic shade of reddish lilac, and the crown of thorns; the hands, which bear the closest resemblance to the hands in the Arcore Annunciation and in other authentic works by Foppa, are crossed upon the breast. The whole picture is characteristic of the master in the highest degree in form and colour scheme, in modelling of the features, in the very typical drawing of the upper lip and of the eyelids, and more especially in the severe and solemn expression which alone would be sufficient to proclaim the authorship of Foppa. The iris of the right eye is opaque in quality, as is almost invariably the case in the works of Foppa; the treatment of light in the left eye, on the other hand, is unusual with this master and may be due to later retouching.

The picture was formerly owned by M. Ravaisson Mollien, who ascribed it to Mantegna, and on the dispersal of his collection it was acquired by its present owner. In May, 1908, M. Cheramy disposed of many of his pictures at the Galerie Georges Petit,³ and it was stated by some papers that the Ecce Homo by Foppa was among those sold,⁴ but this is a mistake; the picture was not included in the sale, and is still in the possession of M. Cheramy, through whose kindness we are able to give an illustration of this very interesting composition.

¹ See chap. VIII, p. 194.

² Dr. Frizzoni (*Arte*, 1899, p. 322) pointed out the similarity between this composition and that of an Annunciation in the Borromeo Collection at Milan, which he therefore considered to be by Foppa. The Borromeo picture like that in the Vittadini Collection is also the fragment of a large altarpiece of which no other parts are at present known. An illustration of this picture is given in chap. x.

³ See *The Times*, May 11, 1908.

⁴ See *Corriere della Sera*, March 6, 1908, where it was stated that the picture fetched 4,000 francs.



THE ANNUNCIATION

ARCORE (NEAR MONZA); VITTADINI COLLECTION

CHAPTER VI

C. 1478-1489

Foppa's probable return to Genoa—The Spinola altarpiece—Foppa at Pavia in 1483—His petition to the Duke of Milan—The Caylina family—Foppa a citizen of Milan—His sons—He buys a house at Pavia in the parish of S. Invenzio—His fresco of 1485 for S. Maria di Brera at Milan—Votive pictures against plague—St. Sebastian, Brera—Foppa's connection with Donatello, Mantegna, and Bramante—St. Sebastian, Castello—Milanese writers on the Brera fresco—The restoration of the Castello picture—Frescoes for S. Maria del Giardino—Negotiations with Ambrogio Griffi in 1487—Foppa in Liguria—His altarpiece for the Confraternity of St. Sebastian—For the Doria Chapel at Rivarolo—Fragments of lost altarpieces, Arcore, Nosedà and Trivulzio Collections, Milan—Two saints, Sarasin-Warnery Collection, Basle.

It has already been mentioned that in March, 1478, the Priors of the Confraternity of St. John Baptist at Genoa, applied to the Signoria for pecuniary assistance to enable them to continue the decoration of their chapel, and that the request was acceded to by the grant of 200 lire for two years. Did the Confraternity then summon Foppa to continue the decoration of the chapel, which we have no reason to suppose was wholly completed in 1471? It seems not improbable, and when once there he doubtless undertook other works, and among them was probably the altarpiece for the Spinola Chapel in the great Church of S. Domenico,¹ a picture later recommended as a model for imitation to two other painters (see Docs. Nos. 38 and 40). On June 8, 1485 (Doc. 38) Giovanni Barbagelata agreed to paint for the Confraternity

¹ This picture, like the altarpiece for the Doria Chapel in the Certosa of Rivarolo, to which we shall have occasion to refer later, was certainly executed in Liguria. Documents are silent as to the place of Foppa's residence at Genoa, but from Pavian records we might infer that when in that city, he lodged with Bertolino della Canonica and shared his workshop. This would explain the business relations which for many years existed between them, and the circumstance that Bertolino, as we saw, often acted as surety for the Brescian master. The fact that one of Bertolino's sons bore the name of Vincenzo would lead us to infer that Foppa was his godfather, and testifies to the friendship which must have existed between the two painters for many years, until their good relations were broken owing to disputes about money matters which eventually involved them in a lawsuit.

ternity or Disciplina of S^a. Brigida, a Majestas with St. Bridget, St. John Baptist, and other saints, and above, the Crucifixion with the two thieves, St. John the Evangelist, the Madonna, and the Magdalen, all which figures, as also the Crucifixion, were to be of a like degree of excellence as those painted and composed by "Master Vincenzo of Milan" for the altar of the late Battista Spinola in the Church of S. Domenico; and on October 2, 1486 (Doc. 40), Giovanni Mazone of Alessandria, the same who in 1463 had been commissioned to paint the altarpiece for the Chapel of St. John Baptist and to surpass in it Foppa's paintings on the ceiling, was ordered by the Guild of the Berettieri to paint for their chapel in the choir of S. Agostino at Genoa, an altarpiece with the Madonna and four saints, these last to be chosen by Brother Nicola of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. It was to be composed upon the same lines as "the Majestas with the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of S. Domenico over the altar of the Spinola family."¹ These documents give us a clue to the composition of the Spinola altarpiece; the upper course evidently contained the Crucifixion with saints, which composition was copied by Barbagelata; in the lower, were represented the Madonna and Child with St. John Baptist, the patron of Battista Spinola, and probably three other saints chosen by the donor. In the document of 1485 Foppa's picture is spoken of, as over the altar of the late Battista Spinola, and Alizeri's statement² that Battista had, before 1485, *ordered* an altarpiece from Foppa for his chapel in S. Domenico, seems hardly in accordance with facts, and it has led to the very inaccurate statement being made that Battista Spinola ordered the picture *in 1485*, which is an impossibility, for Battista died and was buried in this chapel in 1470.³

The Spinola Chapel proper seems to have been that founded in 1423 by Emmanuele and Raffaello Spinola and dedicated to the most Holy Name of God and later to St. Bartholomew.⁴ In this chapel Battista di S. Luca the

¹ A second picture was also proposed for Mazone's imitation, that of the Fieschi family over the altar of St. George in the cathedral (Alizeri, II, 54). No painter's name is mentioned in connection with either of these works, but we know from the document of June 8, 1485, that the painter of the Spinola altarpiece was "Vincenzo of Milan." Possibly, therefore, he was also the painter of the Fieschi altarpiece, for it is evident that both these works were regarded as masterpieces; in that case he would have been employed by three out of the four greatest Genoese families, the "Capo de' Nobili," i.e. the Spinola, Doria, and Fieschi, the fourth being the Grimaldi (see Giustiniani, *Annali di Genova*).

² I, 365.

³ See De Augustini, *Elenchica . . . Conventus Divi Dominici, etc.*, 1678, f. 97; Pasqua, *Memorie e Sepolcri . . . nelle Chiese di Genova e suoi suburbii*, f. 50.

⁴ See Federico Federici, *Scrutinio della Nobiltà Genovese*, and Battilana, *Genealogie, etc.*; De Augustini, 97; Pasqua, 50, etc.



THE ECCE HOMO

PARIS: CHERAMY COLLECTION.

son of Giorgio, Count of Lerma, a most distinguished member of a great family, was buried in August, 1470.¹

If therefore Alizeri was correct in saying it was painted for Battista Spinola, we should have to assume that Foppa produced it during his probable stay at Genoa between 1469 and 1471; but it was certainly not placed in the chapel during the lifetime of Battista, for we know from Augustini's MS. chronicle of the Monastery of S. Domenico that up to 1477 the altarpiece of the Spinola Chapel was a Greek (Byzantine) Madonna known as "La Mora." It seems therefore very unlikely that Battista Spinola should, before his death in 1470, have ordered a picture for his chapel, which was already provided with an altarpiece. On the other hand, it is out of the question that it should have been commissioned in 1485 by the other Battista, the son of Simone of the Lucoli line, for his Chapel of St. Catherine of Siena was a much later foundation, and his agreement with the Prior relating to it bears date October 9, 1501, a contract executed in accordance with the will of Battista di Simone's wife, Margherita Centurione.²

In 1477, according to De Augustini, the Dominicans having granted to Galeazzo da Levanto the rights over one of the chapels in their church, gave him permission also to remove from the Spinola Chapel the picture known as "La Mora" and to place it in his own chapel, which from that day forward was known as the Chapel of the Beata Madonna della Misericordia.³ The fact that the Dominicans should have thus disposed of a picture apparently belonging to the Spinola family, leads us to infer either that it was actually the property of the monks, or that in this year (1477) it was presented to them by the Spinola.

Battista Spinola di S. Luca had several sons,⁴ of whom Luca the fourth was a great patron of art; it seems probable that after the removal of the Greek Madonna to the Chapel of Galeazzo da Levanto they should have considered the desirability of providing their chapel with a more worthy altarpiece, and should have taken steps to secure the services of Foppa for the purpose. By June, 1485, the picture must have been for some time in its place over the altar,⁵ for it was then proposed as a model for the painter

¹ Deza, *Storia della Famiglia Spinola*, p. 272, and Auberto Mireo, *Storia degli Uomini Illustri della Fam. Spinola*, f. 91, who both give the epitaph on Battista's tomb in his chapel at S. Domenico. The tablet to his memory in the Boschetto (Pasqua, 125), was of 1476 and was therefore placed there six years after his death.

² De Augustini, *loc. cit.*, 91, 252; Pasqua, 52; Semeria, *Secoli Cristiani della Liguria, etc.*

³ De Augustini, *loc. cit.*, 103, 109, 110, 161, 196, 234, etc.

⁴ Battilana, *op. cit.*, Genealogy of Battista quondam Giorgio.

⁵ Nothing is known of the ultimate fate of this altarpiece. The Church of S. Domenico, which contained so many priceless treasures of art, was ruthlessly destroyed in the early years of the nineteenth century to make way for the present Teatro Carlo Felice (see *Miscellanea di Scritture Ecclesiastiche relative a Genova*).

Barbagelata. We have no clue as to the exact date of its production, but it must certainly fall between the years 1477 and 1483.¹ We have indirect evidence in a little memorandum in the Archivio Notarile at Pavia that Vincenzo must about this period have undertaken to execute another large work at Genoa. In this document (No. 37), which is dated Pavia, June 3, 1485, Agostino della Canonica, brother of Bertolino, acknowledges that he has received on behalf of his brother, from Vincenzo, the sum of sixty-five lire, twelve soldi, which money had been restored by Bertolino to a certain Genoese, being earnest money "for a work to be executed at Genoa by the same Master Vincenzo."

The inference is that Foppa never executed the work for this Genoese, and being pressed to return the earnest money, and being then at Pavia, he paid it back to Bertolino's brother in the workshop of his neighbours, the brothers Gazzaniga. The paper is among the deeds of the notary Ludovico Leggi, but it has not the usual formalities of a legal document, and is merely the rough draft of a deed, which accounts for the obvious mistake respecting Foppa's father, who is here called Giacomo, whereas in numerous documents,² the correctness of which cannot be questioned, Vincenzo is always described as the son of Giovanni. The importance of this brief memorandum lies in the proof it affords of Foppa's presence at Pavia in the summer of 1485 and of his activity in Liguria before that date.

A very important document (No. 33), to which allusion has already been made (p. 71), Foppa's petition to the Duke of Milan, is unfortunately not dated,³ but must have been drawn up at some period prior to the middle of July, 1481, as the Duke's letter, enclosing the petition to the Podestà of Pavia, bears the date July 19 of that year.

The petition states that Dame Caterina de Bolis of Cremona had, at some period not mentioned, made a deed of gift to her son-in-law Vincenzo de Fopa, painter and citizen of Milan, of a house situated in the Contrada S. Agata (the street of St. Agatha), in the city of Brescia, subject to certain conditions, of which we give the substance here, as they afford some interesting glimpses of the painter's domestic affairs. The first condition was that he was to maintain his mother-in-law for the remainder of her life; and that he was also to support a certain granddaughter of hers up to the

¹ In May, 1483, as we gather from document No. 35, Foppa was certainly at Pavia and could not therefore have been working at Genoa at that date. Documents 33 and 34, however, seem to authorize the belief that by 1481 he had already returned to Pavia, and we might consequently assume that the Spinola altarpiece was produced between 1477 and 1481.

² See Appendix I, Note 3.

³ Petitions and documents of this description were never dated.

time of her marriage, and was then to defray all expenses connected with the marriage and provide the dowry. Further, he was to pay to Bartolomeo Caylina, son of Caterina de Bolis, a certain sum of money, being the equivalent of Bartolomeo's share of the inheritance to which he was entitled. Foppa, it appears, had only fulfilled his obligations towards his brother-in-law in part, at which the latter was justly indignant, and retaliated by endeavouring to sell the house in order to obtain the money due to him, though in point of fact he had admitted Foppa's rights to the property and had recognized the validity of his mother's deed of gift. Vincenzo was therefore forced to take steps to protect himself and secure his rights, and to this end he appealed to the Duke. The petition having been handed in, the Duke on July 19, 1481 (Doc. No. 34), forwarded it to the authorities at Pavia, commanding them to force Bartolomeo to respect the deed of gift made by his mother if it should appear that he had consented to it, as Foppa on his part declared himself willing to satisfy to the full all Bartolomeo's claims in the matter of the inheritance. How the dispute ended we do not know; but the petition (No. 33) is of great value for the light it throws upon the family history of Foppa. These incidental notices are by no means so trivial as may at first sight appear, and this document has practically been the means of unravelling, step by step, the history of Foppa's later years, and thus of proving that he did not die in 1492, as was formerly supposed, but that his life was prolonged for about twenty-four years beyond that date.

From this and other sources we gather, that Foppa's wife was the daughter of Caterina de Bolis of Cremona and of a Brescian named Pietro Caylina, the latter being probably identical with a tailor of that name, who was living in the second ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro at Brescia between 1430 and 1442.¹

One of her brothers was that painter Paolo Caylina "son of Pietro," who, as we saw (chap. I), was at Pavia with Foppa in 1458.

In 1451 he was living in the Contrada S. Agata at Brescia,² perhaps therefore inhabiting with his mother the house which she eventually made over to Foppa, and between 1459 and 1475 he is registered in the Estimi as living in the first ward of the quarter of S. Giovanni,³ the same ward, it may be noted, in which was situated the Contrada S. Agata. Paintings by Paolo at

¹ See the Libri d' Estimo of 1430-42, f. 60.

² Atti di Antonio di Pederzolo Codeferini de Riva: "Paulo f. q. Petri de Cailina pictore in contrata S. Agathæ" appears as a witness. ("Commutatio inter monacos S. Petri in Oliveto Brixie et Comune de Bagolino," Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia A. VII, 157. Kindly communicated by Don Paolo Guerrini, Keeper of the Episcopal Archives, Brescia.)

³ Lib. d' Est., 1459, f. 20; 1469, f. 22 v.

Brescia are referred to between 1471 and 1473,¹ but after that date we find no further mention of him, and we may conclude that he was either dead or had left Brescia.

The other brother Bartolomeo seems, like Foppa, to have made his home at Pavia, which accounts for the absence of all allusion to him in the Brescian Archives. The mention of his surname in this petition shows that he cannot be identified with Bartolomeo Prato da Brescia, the noted painter of bards to whom we alluded in chapter III, and who in Milanese documents is called de Prato or da Prato;² the name Prato was a very common one at Brescia, and is frequently met with in the *Libri d' Estimo* throughout the fifteenth century, and to some branch of this numerous family, Bartolomeo Prato must have belonged.

It is equally certain that Bartolomeo Caylina cannot be identified with Bertolino della Canonica³ the Pavian, as some writers have suggested.⁴ Since the document in the Milanese Archives established the identity of these members of the Caylina family and their connection with Vincenzo Foppa, a great number of important records relating to them have come to light in the Archives of Pavia. Bartolomeo, we now know, was also a painter, and we may reasonably conclude that he was often associated with Foppa artistically throughout the years when they were living at Pavia. In an extremely interesting document (No. 50), to be mentioned later, we have definite proof of this. We cannot tell whether Bartolomeo Caylina accompanied his brother-in-law to Pavia when he first settled there, but we know from a record of November 15, 1465,⁵ that he was at that date living in the city. In this, the first Pavian document which mentions him, he is called "Bartolomeo de Brissia pictore, filio quondam Petri," and he appears as witness to a payment of rent in the workshop of the Caracci brothers in the parish of S. Vito; this was near S. Invenzio, the quarter of Pavia where Caylina appears then to have been living, and where later he had as a near neighbour his brother-in-law Vincenzo Foppa; previous to their dispute about the house at Brescia, they seem to have lived on good terms.

We have already alluded to his work in the Certosa of Pavia, executed in

¹ Provvisioni, September 13 and October 4, 1471, and March 25, 1473.

² See *Rassegna d' Arte*, November, 1901.

³ Bertolino is the diminutive of Bartolomeo.

⁴ That they were two distinct painters is conclusively proved by the document of November 21, 1465, already referred to in chapter III, p. 71 (*Atti di G. Strazzapatti*), in which they are mentioned as follows: "Bertolino de la Canonicha filio domini Johannis, et Magistro Bertolomeo de Brissia pictore filio quondam Magistri Petri, habitatoribus Papie."

⁵ Arch. Not. Pavia, *Atti di Guiniforte Strazzapatti*.

company with Bertolino della Canonica in 1465,¹ the year when Foppa was also working there. In 1467, as we saw, he was the bearer of Vincenzo's letter to Pigello Portinari,² and from this time forward we have frequent notices of him. Before 1482 he had married Margarita, a sister of the well-known Pavian notary Girolamo Moracavalli, who on several occasions pays the painter the interest upon his wife's dowry of 125 florins. The last mention of him occurs in December, 1489, and in a document of 1503 relating to his son, the painter Paolo Caylina,³ he is spoken of as deceased. Another interesting fact which we gather from this petition is, that Vincenzo was at that date a citizen of Milan, though at present no one has succeeded in discovering when these rights were acquired by him. The citizenship of Milan might be regarded as a distinction which had been conferred upon the painter on account of his great artistic merits, it being customary only to confer it on such persons whose election would redound to the honour and credit of the city. At the same time the fact probably indicates that Foppa had purchased some property at Milan, for as a rule application for the rights of citizenship was only made by persons desirous of acquiring houses or lands.

In 1483 Foppa determined to buy the house in the parish of S. Invenzio at Pavia, which he had inhabited with his family⁴ for nine years—that is, ever

¹ See chap. III, p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ Who might be designated Paolo Caylina the younger, to distinguish him from his uncle, the painter Paolo referred to on pp. 26, 28, 137, etc.

⁴ Foppa had two sons, Giovanni Francesco and Evangelista, of whom we know nothing beyond the few scattered allusions in the documents of the Appendix (see II B, Foppa's sons). The first notice of them is of August 10, 1479 (B, No. 1). They must both have been of age then—that is over eighteen—as they had been summoned to witness the will of a neighbour who lived in the parish of S. Invenzio. Seemingly neither of them followed their father's profession, unless, indeed, a reference in the document of December 19, 1485 (B, No. 3), could be taken as an indication that Francesco was a painter. From this we learn that he was then living at Torre del Mangano, close to the Certosa, hence the natural inference would be that he was painting there; the spelling of the word "painter" in the Latin document leaves us in doubt as to whether it should be referred to Francesco or to his father Vincenzo. In this document Francesco appears as one of two witnesses to the will of Margharita de Rossi, widow of Bartolomeo de Mangano, and is called "Francisco de Fopa filio domini Magistri Vicentii pictoris." Here the word "pictoris" refers of course to the father; but in the Archivio Notarile there is another copy of this deed in which the word is written "pictore," and would therefore refer to the son. As, however, this may be only a slip of the pen, and as no other document speaks of Francesco Foppa as a painter, we should scarcely be justified in regarding him as such. He must have died young, as our last notice of him is of 1489. Evangelista constantly appears as his father's representative at Pavia, as will be seen from documents Nos. 4, 8-14 (App. II B.), and is traceable up to 1502; but he also predeceased his father.

since he left the parish of S. Gregorio,¹ and for which he paid an annual rent of 20 florins. The owner of the house was Giovanni Antonio de Martis of Varese, a citizen of Pavia, who on June 20, 1474, had received 50 gold ducats as a deposit from Vincenzo, which he promised to return within six years (Doc. No. 22). This sum, which at first sight appears to be a loan repayable in six years, was in reality the security for six years' rent of a house which Giov. Antonio da Varese on this same day (June 20, 1474) had let to Master Vincenzo Foppa, whose lease in the parish of S. Gregorio had expired in this year (1474). The new house was near Porta Palazzo in the parish of S. Invenzio, and according to the contract Foppa was allowed to make any necessary alterations and improvements short of erecting new buildings, Giov. Antonio binding himself to defray the cost after valuation by two mutual friends.

On these terms Foppa took the house for six years, paying down 50 ducats (or 66 florins, as mentioned at the end of the document) at once, and promising to pay the balance of the amount of the rent in six yearly payments of 9 florins.²

The exact situation of the painter's new house cannot be determined, but we know that it was very near the church and precincts of S. Invenzio, and would therefore coincide in a general way with one of the houses on the right in the present Largo di Via Severino Boezio, the street running from Piazza Petrarca towards the Church of S. Gervasio. This house Foppa now desired to purchase, and on May 24, 1483, we find him borrowing 200 florins from Girolamo Beccaria (probably a relation of Donna Zaccarina), and though the reason of this loan does not appear in the present document (No. 35), it is evident from the next record of February 19, 1484 (No. 36), that Vincenzo borrowed the money in order to purchase Giov. Antonio da Varese's house in the parish of S. Invenzio; Vincenzo repaid half of the sum on this day,

¹ Chap. III, p. 77.

² Two other documents of the Appendix have reference to these transactions relating to the house rented by Foppa in the parish of S. Invenzio. On August 6, 1474 (Doc. 25), Giov. Antonio acknowledges the receipt of 25 gold ducats from Foppa, a sum which, from the wording of the deed, we might infer to have been of the nature of a temporary deposit. This, however, is not the case; the sum represents a prepayment of rent by Foppa in order to avoid having to make the payment of 9 florins every year. Thus the provident master, who according to his agreement was to pay 120 florins as rent for the whole six years, is found to have already paid in the first year 99 florins or 75 ducats. There still remained therefore to be paid by him, to make up the whole of the rent, a sum approaching 20 florins (taking into consideration the fluctuating value of money at the time); when therefore in the second document just alluded to, of June 8, 1478 (No. 32), we find the painter paying again 18 florins, we may conclude that this sum represents his final settlement with De Martis for the rent of his house.

February 19, Girolamo Beccaria granting him an extension of time till January, 1485, for the repayment of the remainder, and binding himself not to molest Vincenzo nor to impound the house purchased by him, in order to have the money before that date. Although the deed relating to the purchase of this house (referred to in Doc. No. 36 and drawn up, as there stated, by the Pavian notary Santino Valdemagna) is no longer in existence, we may assume from the evidence of the documents just mentioned (Nos. 35 and 36) that Foppa bought the house between May, 1483, and the following February.

But Giovanni Antonio, though to all intents and purposes the possessor of the house which he sold to Foppa, had not absolute rights over it, but held it from the administrators of the Hospital of S. Invenzio as the owners in fee; he consequently paid a small annual sum to them in recognition of their title. When Foppa bought the house the payment of this nominal sum, called in Italian "*livello*," devolved upon him, and was paid with great regularity by himself or his representative, as we shall see later.¹ It is clear from these documents that our painter was again at Pavia in 1483. We have no actual proof of his presence there between the years 1479 and 1483; but, as already stated, the dispute with Bartolomeo Caylina appears to have come to a climax in 1481, and we think it probable that by this date Foppa must have returned to his home from Liguria. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the Spinola altarpiece at Genoa was completed by this time, and that in these years he was actively employed both in settling his own private affairs and in artistic work at Pavia and Milan. Between 1482 and 1486 it is to be assumed that he was executing frescoes at Milan, and of this series we have one dated work which gives us some clue to his style at that time, the fresco in the Brera of October, 1485, representing the Madonna and Child beneath an arch adorned with medallion heads in grisaille—that favourite *motive* of painters and sculptors at this period—and on either side two kneeling saints, St. John Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

It is not mentioned as the work of Foppa by any early writers, but the attribution, which was first put forward we believe by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,² is certainly justified, so far at least as the Madonna and Child are concerned, whose types and forms are strikingly characteristic of the Brescian master. The arch framing the central composition with its slabs of porphyry and serpentine, vividly recalls the scheme of the medallions with the Fathers

¹ This payment appears to be of the nature of a fee farm rent, but for convenience sake we shall use the Italian "*livello*" when referring to this payment. Foppa had the beneficial ownership of the house, the "*dominio utile*"; the hospital, as owner of the fee, the "*dominio alto*, or *diretto*."

² II, 8.

of the Church in the Portinari Chapel. The figure of the Madonna is admirably set within the space beneath this arch; the drawing of the head shows the same refined feeling for line and pose as the early Madonna at Settignano; the Child, with arms outstretched pointing to the scrolls held by the saints on either side, and radiant expression, is composed in one of the painter's happiest moods, and is drawn with great skill and knowledge, and the accomplishment displayed in the treatment of the arch and of the consoles on which kneel the two saints, fully corroborates the praise bestowed upon Foppa by Lomazzo, who speaks of him as a master of perspective.¹ The painter's intimate observation too is felt in the exquisite rendering of the *tappeto* hanging from the parapet, with the waved lines of the border and the beautiful design and colour scheme. The modelling of the flesh is softer than is usually the case with the master, and the scale of the colouring throughout this fresco, is lighter and gayer in tone than is Vincenzo's wont in his panel pictures. As already observed (chap. II), it shows considerable affinity in colouring and other particulars with the fresco in the Wallace Collection, a work probably produced about the same period as this Madonna. The Virgin in the fresco of 1485 wears a blue mantle lined with green and a pink robe, the Infant Saviour a yellow shirt with a waistband of reddish lilac, that shade found also in the Wallace fresco, for which, as already noted, Foppa had a special predilection; through him it became popular with many painters of the school, even in the second generation. A certain nervelessness in the appearance of the Madonna's left hand, which rests against the body of the Child, but seems incapable of grasping it securely, is a peculiarity almost invariably met with in Foppa's work; we find it more or less accentuated in the Madonnas of Savona and of the National Gallery, in the Virgin with the dead Christ at Berlin, and in many other works. The same feeling is apparent in the pose of the hand of St. John Baptist, which may be compared with the treatment of the hands in the Annunciation at Arcore and in M. Cheramy's picture. The head of the saint and the upper part of the body show all Foppa's individual traits, and the colour of the mantle is again of that shade of reddish lilac so characteristic of this painter; but in the treatment of the folds the master's typical methods have been exaggerated, and we note the same defects which were manifest in the draperies of some of the figures in the Brera polyptych. The surface is broken up into numerous meaningless and contorted folds, and there is little sense of form, structure, or proportion beneath this mantle; here again therefore it would seem that Foppa may have made use of the services of an assistant. The saint on the right, St. John the Evangelist,

¹ *Trattato*, Lib. VI, 317, and *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, 108.



Photo.

Anderson

THE MADONNA AND CHILD, SS. JOHN BAPTIST AND JOHN THE EVANGELIST
(Fresco transferred to panel)
 MILAN: BRERA

appears out of harmony with the character of the remainder of the composition, owing to its modernized condition. Originally it may have approached in type and expression some of the more gentle visaged saints of the Brera altarpiece, but the face and form as we see them now with empty expression and exaggerated sweetness of mien and the broad and flowing lines of the drapery, have scarcely a trace of fifteenth century art. The figure belongs for the most part, it would appear, to the era of restoration, when this fresco was removed from the wall of the sacristy of S. Maria di Brera, for which it was painted, and transferred to panel.

The fresco may be identical with the one mentioned by Bianconi¹ as over the door in the sacristy of the Church of S. Maria di Brera; he describes it as one of the first works of Bramantino, but it receives no mention from Lomazzo or any of the earlier writers. When the church was destroyed it was removed to the Museo Archeologico, and from thence by Professor Bertini to the Brera. It is not improbable that Bramantino took from this composition the idea for his own fresco in the Palazzo del Broletto (now in the Brera), in which the *motive* of the Child with outstretched arms and radiant expression is also treated, and in a very attractive manner.

For the same Church of S. Maria di Brera, Foppa painted his celebrated fresco of St. Sebastian. Pictures of this saint were usually votive offerings dedicated during some specially virulent outbreak of plague. According to Predari, who quotes from a MS. in the Ambrosiana,² Milan was eighteen times depopulated by this scourge between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. It was exceptionally severe at Milan and Pavia during the period of our painter's career of which we have been speaking—that is between 1479 and 1486. In 1479 the city of Pavia had recourse to special intercessions, of which Bossi has left us an interesting record in his *Storia Pavese*.³ By July, 1486, the disease had carried off fifty thousand persons at Milan,⁴ and it continued with more or less severity till 1489, having by that time claimed

¹ *Guida*, etc., p. 392.

² *Dissertazione cronologica di varii contagii*.

³ Vol. V, anno 1479. He states that when the pestilence was at its height the whole city had recourse to the intercessions of the blessed martyr Sebastian; the clergy and people, accompanied by the Podestà and the entire governing body of the city, went in solemn procession to the Church of S. Pietro in Vinculi to visit the relics of the saint preserved there, and immediately after, he adds, the plague was miraculously stayed. The chroniclers give us innumerable examples of these special appeals to the saint; at Brescia, for example, "in tempo di contagio" it was determined to make a procession with the sacred relics of the Cross and erect an altar to St. Sebastian in the hospital (Zamboni, *Collect. de rebus Brix.*).

⁴ Corio, Lib. VI, p. 443.

one hundred thousand victims.¹ The severer the visitation the more ardent waxed the devotion to St. Sebastian, who from very early times had been regarded as the "dispeller of pestilence"; with him in the fourteenth century was associated St. Roch, and representations of these saints became widely diffused throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Foppa twice treated the subject of St. Sebastian on a large scale,² and both paintings undoubtedly owed their origin to one of these outbursts of religious fervour, and were dedicated either to obtain the intercession of the saint on behalf of the plague-stricken city or as a thank-offering for deliverance from the scourge, though we are unable to specify the exact date of either of these compositions.

The St. Sebastian of the Brera³ is a finely imagined figure: he stands bound to a column and pierced by many arrows, but free from all exaggeration of gesture or pose; a calm and heroic figure, unmindful of his own physical sufferings, but turning his gaze upon his executioners as though compassionating their ignorance and misguided zeal. The form is anatomically correct in drawing; the limbs and surface of the body are modelled with great dexterity and knowledge, and in the features Foppa's powers of characterization and expression are manifest. The architectural setting shows the same skilful treatment and acquaintance with the laws of perspective as we found in the fresco of 1485; above, on the left of the arch, is a little medallion containing not the usual profile head, but a small seated figure, taken perhaps

¹ Three times during these years Lodovico il Moro organized solemn processions in which the young Duke Gian Galeazzo and all the principal persons in the city took part, many of whom went about the streets clad in sackcloth scourging themselves (Morigia, *Historia dell' Antichità di Milano*, etc., p. 165). In the years 1502 and 1503 during the French occupation, and again between 1512-14, the plague caused great havoc at Milan (Verri, *Storia di Milano*, II, 107, 119).

² A small panel picture of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian was discovered by Dr. Frizzoni in the winter of 1906 in the possession of a dealer at Milan, and was ascribed by him to Vincenzo Foppa on the evidence of the colouring, technique, and other particulars, an attribution which we are unable to accept. It is possible that this may be the little panel mentioned by Caffi some five-and-twenty years ago in the collection of Signora De Cristoforis at Milan, and there ascribed to Civerchio (see *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1883, p. 342).

³ A very feeble drawing in the Venice Academy is sometimes erroneously held to be a study for this fresco (Braun, No. 78256), a drawing perhaps identical with a study referred to in a MS. in the Melzi Library (a library now belonging to the Marchese Soragna at Milan); the passage is dated October 21, 1771, and speaks of the drawing as in the Bossi Collection and as "the study for the figure of St. Sebastian in fresco executed in water-colour on red-tinted paper and heightened with white." Another drawing of a St. Sebastian, in the collection of Mr. Fairfax Murray, is also ascribed to Foppa—an attribution which does not appear to us convincing.



Phot.

Anderson

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST SEBASTIAN.

(Fresco transferred to Panel)

MILAN. BRERA.

from a coin or plaquette, and recalling the medallions with which Jacopo Bellini so often decorates the buildings in many of his drawings.

The colours throughout are bright and strong; green with purple and dark red predominates in the garments of the foremost archer, red with orange yellow in those of the second, while the officer in the background is clad in plate-armour and wears a green tunic over his shirt of mail. The two archers and the officer commanding them are placed beneath the arch in a manner constantly met with in the drawings of Jacopo Bellini.¹ The small space into which these figures are crowded produces a somewhat cramping effect, and the composition in consequence appears lacking in freedom of movement and atmosphere; but this cannot be laid to the charge of the painter, for in producing this work for the Church of S. Maria di Brera Foppa must have been greatly hampered by existing conditions. He was ordered to fill a contracted space at the side of the altar in one of the chapels, the general plan of the composition and the number of figures to be treated being probably laid down by the donor. Under these circumstances, therefore, the painter had not a free hand; but in spite of these disadvantages we are bound to admit that he has used the means at his disposal with consummate skill. In judging of works of art the conditions under which they were produced must always be taken into account, as well as the fact that a fresco designed to occupy a restricted space in a church can never produce the effect intended by the painter when torn from its surroundings and exhibited on the walls of a public gallery.²

In the large altarpiece of the same subject in the Castello we are transported into a freer atmosphere: the saint is placed in the centre of the composition, bound to a column akin to the one in the fresco and mounted on a very similar pedestal, but raised to a higher level above his executioners, who here stand in the open air and are more convincing in their action and movements than in the Brera fresco; the archway, which in that work tended to produce a cramping effect, is here replaced by a landscape, in which the touch of the trees and bushes, and the treatment of rock and of the water with buildings and distant hills beyond, are in the highest degree characteristic of Foppa; in the town with a hill rising above it on the right some writers have

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle (II, p. 4), speaking of this fresco, observe that it "has the prominent peculiarities of the Paduan school, as shown in the careful setting and measurement of the figures in their places"; but these peculiarities, traceable originally to a study of the antique, are met with equally in the drawings of Jacopo Bellini (see especially Giraudon, Nos. 769, 770, and Ricci, *op. cit.*).

² This also applies to the fresco of 1485, which must have originally occupied a position far above the level of the spectator's eye and was calculated to be seen from below.

recognized Brescia, on account of the supposed resemblance of one of the buildings to the Rotonda—the old cathedral in that city.¹ Full of his character also are the two archers on the left, and the pose of the hand and position of the fingers of one of these marksmen is so distinctive of Foppa, as to be almost equivalent to a signature.

The predominating colours here are scarlet and deep red, combined with yellows golden and ochre, dark purple, and shades of green. Letters are used decoratively on the cuirass of the foremost archer on the left, but though they are clearly decipherable, the combinations appear to be purely arbitrary and without meaning, unless indeed their significance is so subtly concealed as to baffle all attempts at a solution.

Opinions differ as to the probable date of these two representations of St. Sebastian, but from every point of view the Brera fresco appears to us to be the more primitive, and the Castello picture to be more advanced and developed, both in the accomplished treatment of the figure and in the quality of the whole composition. Strictly speaking therefore, as a work of later date in the chronological development of the master, it should have been discussed in a subsequent chapter, but for reasons of comparison it is more convenient to place it here.² The subject of St. Sebastian was treated by Jacopo Bellini, as, for example, in the Paris sketch-book,³ a composition which it is interesting to compare with these two paintings; many points of similarity are noticeable between them, links which serve to show the great advance made by the pupil and his development of his master's *motives*.

As a rule, Milanese writers have left us but scant notices of Foppa's works, but in the case of the fresco in the Brera we have numerous references relating to it, beginning with Lomazzo, who, in the *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*,⁴ writes enthusiastically of the composition, as by the hand of an excellent master of perspective, "the noble Vincenzo Foppa, a Milanese"; and though some attempt was made later to ascribe the fresco to Bramante, nearly all writers of any authority—Torre, Latuada, Albuzzio, Bianconi, and many more—concur in assigning it to Vincenzo. It was in the first chapel on the left, dedicated to St. Sebastian in S. Maria di Brera,⁵ and its position is described

¹ For this building see Fé, *Storia, etc., nelle Vie di Brescia*, VII, p. 6.

² In such difficult questions as the chronology of a painter's undated works finality of judgment is rarely possible, and to argue from merely individual impressions would be futile. All that has been attempted throughout this book is to suggest probable dates, leaving the illustrations to speak for themselves. From this point of view therefore it seemed desirable to facilitate the closest possible comparison of the two works by placing them side by side.

³ Giraudon, No. 749; Ricci, *op. cit.*

⁴ p. 108.

⁵ Latuada, V, 265.



THE MARTYRDOM OF ST SEBASTIAN.

(Panel transferred to canvas)

MILAN: CASTELLO MUSEUM.

by Albuzzio;¹ it was painted, as already noted, on the wall at the side of the altar, its *pendant* on the other side being St. Roch; on the ceiling was represented a glory of angels with foreshortened figures which were greatly praised by Lomazzo. Both these last-named compositions are now missing. The St. Roch, which was still in existence in the time of Bianconi, who ascribes it to Luini,² was then in a very bad state of preservation, and after being transferred to canvas disappeared. According to Latuada,³ the whole chapel was decorated by Foppa.⁴

The picture now in the Castello Museum came from the Church of S. Sebastiano, though not originally painted for that building, which dates only from 1577, and was erected as a thank-offering for the cessation of the plague of 1576 at the instance of S. Carlo Borromeo. Presumably the picture was painted for the earlier church dedicated to SS. Sebastian and Tranquillino.⁵ Torre saw the altarpiece of St. Sebastian hanging over an altar in a chapel on the left, and ascribed it to Bramante;⁶ Latuada, who attributed it to Bramantino, speaks of the richly carved and gilded frame which has long since disappeared,⁷ and many succeeding writers, including Crowe and Cavalcaselle, attribute it to Bramante or Bramantino; Mongeri⁸ pronounced it to be a work of the early Milanese school, probably of Bramantino's first period; but Caffi⁹ was, we believe, the first to ascribe it definitely to Foppa; his suggestion was, however, not adopted, and until 1898 it hung in the church, where it was very imperfectly seen, under the name of Bramante, and it was only when it was removed to the Castello Museum, principally on the initiative of the late Signor Vittadini, that the latter distinguished connoisseur

¹ Albuzzio says: "In the first chapel on the left were represented SS. Roch and Sebastian painted in fresco in the two spaces flanking the altar" (MS. in the possession of Dr. Gerolamo Calvi, of Milan, who kindly permitted us to consult it).

² p. 392.

³ V, 265.

⁴ It is scarcely necessary to observe that there is no justification for Caffi's theory that this St. Sebastian was by Zenale. It was based solely on the fact, that he had discovered in the Archives of S. Maria di Brera an entry of 1518, recording an old debt of 37 lire still owing at that date to "M^{ro}. Bernardo da Treviglio" (see *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 102). There is no reason for connecting this Bernardo, who is not even spoken of as a painter, with Zenale, nor for assuming that this debt referred to the fresco of the Chapel of St. Sebastian, and moreover there is not the slightest ground for doubting the traditional attribution to Vincenzo Foppa, which is confirmed by the character and aspect of the whole composition.

⁵ The Church of S. Tranquillino was a very ancient foundation, and contained relics of St. Sebastian and a miraculous image which had been venerated in the church since the year 1381 and was removed to the new building.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁷ III, 123.

⁸ *Arte in Milano*, 282.

⁹ *Arte in Italia*, p. 77, 1872.

pronounced it to be the work of Foppa, an attribution now very generally accepted.¹ The picture when removed from the church to the Castello Museum was in a very bad condition, disfigured by repaints, covered with opaque varnish, and black and heavy in tone. So long as it remained in this state it was felt that no true estimate could be formed of the painting nor could the authorship of Foppa be regarded as beyond dispute. In 1902 it was therefore removed to the studio of Prof. Cavenaghi, and the operations conducted by him led to the most surprising results, of which Dr. Frizzoni gave an interesting account in the *Perseveranza* of January 7, 1904. Professor Cavenaghi discovered that former restorers, not content with copious repainting, had taken extraordinary liberties, suppressing some important details altogether and adding others in the most flagrant manner. The presentment of the bearded St. Sebastian, whereby the "Christian Apollo" was transformed into a man of mature years²—a deviation from the method of representation usually followed by Italian painters at this date—is now proved to be entirely due to some late restorer. This travesty of the art of the Brescian master has now been unmasked; the quality of the whole composition, the plastic roundness of form, the expression of the features, the treatment of line, as well as other points already mentioned, and more especially the strikingly characteristic landscape, justify the attribution of this altarpiece to Vincenzo in every particular.³

At the same time it must be noted that the effect of the picture is greatly marred by the quality of the flesh tones, to which allusion was made in chapter v; the deterioration of the colours is even more marked here than in the Brera angel, the restoration of the flesh tints having only served unfortunately to accentuate these inherent defects.

In the two works which we have just been discussing, a certain connection with Mantegna and Paduan tendencies is perceptible. That Vincenzo must have been acquainted with this great master during his years of training under Jacopo Bellini there can, as already observed, be no doubt, yet his earliest known works have little or no connection with Mantegna; the Nosedà picture,

¹ Cf. Jacobsen, in *L'Arte*, 1901, p. 299. For a contrary opinion see Von Hadeln, in *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes*, Heft 48, 1906, p. 41.

² As such he is represented in the well-known mosaic of S. Pietro in Vinculi in Rome, and not infrequently also in German art. See some interesting remarks on the subject of the bearded St. Sebastian by M. Em. Théodore in *Moules à enseignes, etc.*, p. 6 and foll. Cf. also Von Hadeln, *op. cit.*, and F. Burger, in *Repertorium*, 1908, p. 179.

³ In the private chapel of Count Borromeo at Cesano Maderno is a small panel representing a St. Sebastian mounted on a pedestal and bound to a marble column, in composition and type closely resembling the central figure in the Castello picture. It is the work of a late copyist.



Photo.

Dubray

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN

(Before Restoration)

(Panel transferred to canvas)

MILAN: CASTELLO MUSEUM

as we saw, has not the slightest indication of Paduan principles, and what Mantegnesque traits there are in the Bergamo Crucifixion must be traced to the source whence both masters drew their inspiration, namely, to Jacopo Bellini. At the period when we assume that Foppa returned to Brescia after his years of apprenticeship were over, Mantegna was still comparatively unknown ; but after the completion of the Eremitani Chapel, in which Andrea had so large a share, and of some of his great altarpieces,¹ his fame must have spread rapidly to every part of North Italy, and the painters of Milan and Pavia would have been eager to make themselves acquainted at least with the compositions of these works, and if possible to see and study the paintings themselves. In the general plan of the frescoes in the Portinari Chapel there is much, as we saw, that recalls the scheme of decoration in the Eremitani, and if, as may be assumed, Vincenzo planned and superintended the work in S. Eustorgio, it is not improbable that he was sent by Pigello Portinari to Padua in order to inspect the frescoes of Mantegna and his collaborators there, and to bring back new ideas for the decoration of the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr. As in the case of the Pavian ancona, different designs may then have been submitted to the donor, who would from them have selected what appeared to him most suitable for the embellishment of his chapel ; but whether in subsequent years Foppa ever came into personal contact with Mantegna we cannot tell.

In the St. Sebastian of the Brera, Crowe and Cavalcaselle² draw attention to the reminiscences of Mantegna which they detect in the posture of the saint, in the soldier leaning on his sword behind the two bowmen, and in the arch, and they add : "It seems obvious that Foppa saw Mantegna's St. James going to Martyrdom" (in the Eremitani Chapel). From other passages in their life of Foppa we gather that they practically regard him as a pupil of Mantegna. These views seem to be shared by many other writers and Kristeller classes Foppa among artists who studied first under Donatello and then under Mantegna.³ The overwhelming influence exercised by Donatello on contemporary art is undeniable and that leaning to the methods of sculpture which we have noted in many of Foppa's compositions, and his plastic manner of rendering form and drapery, was no doubt the outcome of this wave of feeling which swept over North Italy. Yet this tendency does not appear in his earliest known paintings ; neither in the Nosedà picture nor in the Bergamo Crucifixion is there a trace of it, and it is first met with in the works of his early middle period to which we alluded in chapter III. That he could have been a pupil of the Florentine is therefore

¹ Executed between 1454 and 1459.

² II, 4.

³ *Mantegna*, p. 47 (Engl. ed.) ; a few pages further on he appears however to regard him as a pupil of Pisanello.

impossible, though the compositions of Donatello and his followers undoubtedly attracted him powerfully at a certain epoch of his career.

At a later period the works of Mantegna may have affected him to some extent, as we infer from the strain of Mantegnesque feeling occasionally noticeable in some of Foppa's compositions. The St. Sebastian of the Castello, for instance, seems to presuppose an acquaintance with Mantegna's version of the same subject in the Vienna Museum, a work perhaps thirty years earlier in date than Foppa's painting.¹ The connection between the two pictures is seen more especially in the pose of the figure and in the composition of the background; in both, the saint is raised on a pedestal and bound to a column placed against a massive pier, from which springs a broken arch.

But far too much stress has, we think, been laid upon the relations between Vincenzo and the painters of Padua, and we most emphatically deny that he was ever in any sense a pupil of Mantegna or at any time a servile follower of his methods. Foppa's true place in art was defined by Morelli when he referred to him as "that great master who has been far too little appreciated . . . who holds in the schools of Brescia, and more especially of Milan, a position similar to that occupied at Padua and Mantua by the mighty Mantegna,"² a position therefore of equality with Mantegna as head and leader of a school.

The admirable knowledge of architectural design displayed by Foppa in the frescoes of the St. Sebastian of the Brera and of the Madonna of 1485, the more developed feeling for atmosphere and space perceptible in the background of the composition in the Castello, may have been due in some measure to direct intercourse with another master, namely, Bramante, though we have no documents to aid us in proving this with absolute certainty.

From 1474 onwards³ the great Umbrian architect and painter was undoubtedly living at Milan, and in the years when Foppa was executing his frescoes in S. Maria di Brera was engaged upon architectural works and paintings in that city. Moreover, those of Foppa's works in which these more developed tendencies are manifest were certainly produced later than 1474, that is after Bramante had settled at Milan, and judging from that master's noble and impressive Christ at the Column in the Church of the

¹ Three examples of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian by Mantegna exist. At Aigueperse, Puy de Dôme (Kristeller, p. 138, fig. 56, who dates it as about 1454); at Vienna, as noted above, of 1457-59 (Kristeller, p. 168, pl. 10); and in the Ca d' Oro at Venice, a work placed by Kristeller (p. 330, fig. 112) at the close of the master's life.

² Ivan Lermolieff, *Die Galerie zu Berlin*, ed. Frizzoni, 1893, pp. 106, 107.

³ Müntz, I, 127; Beltrami in *Rassegna d' Arte*, 1901; Carotti, *Le opere di Leonardo, Bramante, etc.*, p. 98.



ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA
(Fresco transferred to canvas)
MILAN: CASTELLO MUSEUM

Certosa of Chiaravalle, it is evident that his art and that of the Brescian painter must have been closely allied in sentiment, and that Foppa would naturally have felt himself in fullest sympathy with an artist whose work in its very essence must have had many points of contact with his own.

Hence it is extremely likely that personal intercourse with Bramante at Milan between the years 1474 and 1486 may have affected Foppa to a certain extent,¹ and we think this a far more probable and logical explanation of the new developments perceptible in his work—of his wider range of vision and of the greater knowledge displayed by him in grappling with problems of architectural and aerial perspective—than the assumption that it was the indirect influence of Mantegna which wrought these changes in his art.

But in putting forward the possibility that intercourse with Bramante had some effect upon the art of Foppa at this period, we must not lose sight of the fact that all the works which appear to afford some proof of this are but isolated examples of his art ; that the great cycles of frescoes at Milan executed by him long before the advent of Bramante have perished, and that the only examples still existing in situ which, as we have seen, may with some probability be ascribed to him—the Fathers of the Church in the Portinari Chapel—show an admirable knowledge of perspective in the rendering of the medallions, more especially in that containing the figure of St. Ambrose ; and these medallions, if we are to accept Bugati's date, were executed at least six years before Bramante came to Milan.

In these years (c. 1481–87) Foppa may have painted for the great Franciscan Church of S. Maria del Giardino² the two frescoes of SS. Francis and John Baptist which are now preserved in the Castello Museum. The church, which was of immense size, covered the ground now occupied by Via Romagnosi, and according to Gualdo Priorato,³ it was full of admirable paintings by renowned artists ; unfortunately he specifies none of them, and Foppa's frescoes receive no mention from any Milanese writers. At the time of the Cisalpine Republic the church was desecrated and used for military purposes, but the building remained intact until 1865, when it was destroyed, and during the process of demolition these frescoes were brought to light.⁴ The pillars on which they were painted had, during some process of restoration to the church in the

¹ In the *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, Foppa is catalogued as “influenced later by Bramante,” p. 18 (and see also p. 98), a view also adopted by the author of the Winchester Charts (*Painters of North Italy*).

² The church derived its name from the garden, which was acquired from the Torriani family by the Franciscans with money left for the purpose by Marco Figini, a Milanese gentleman. The building was begun in 1456.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴ *Perseveranza*, August 11 and December 15, 1865.

eighteenth century, been recased; this had the effect of preserving the frescoes and they are consequently in an unusually good condition. The St. Francis receiving the stigmata is a work of profound feeling and admirable modelling typical of Foppa in every particular, and recalling that other St. Francis which we mentioned when speaking of the altarpiece in the Brera. The power of seizing a moment of great psychological interest, of which the Bergamo Crucifixion afforded so striking an example, is conspicuous in the rendering of this Ecstasy of St. Francis. The finely characterized head of the saint shows an intimate knowledge of the emotional side of human nature, but is free from all trace of mawkish and exaggerated sentiment, the deeper qualities of the mind being depicted with remarkable truth and sincerity. From this point of view it is instructive to compare the composition with Gentile Bellini's treatment of the same subject at Venice and with Jacopo's version of it in his drawings. The St. John Baptist is a fine and dignified figure, life-like in movement, expressive in type, and showing a marked connection in composition with the St. John Baptist of the Savona altarpiece, of which figure it was doubtless the prototype. A comparison between the two is particularly interesting, for the Castello picture, being in an unusually good state of preservation, shows us the master's original intention as few other paintings of his are capable of doing, time and neglect having wrought more havoc with the works of Foppa than with those of almost any other Italian master; while the figure of St. John Baptist at Savona, which when first produced must have been in closest relation with this fresco, is now in the last stages of ruin and decay. The Castello picture, in addition to its strikingly Foppesque qualities of composition, form, and expression, reveals the authorship of the master in numerous minor details, such as the distinctive shade of reddish lilac in the drapery, the drawing of the eyes and of the mouth, the arrangement of the folds of the mantle, which though somewhat angular are treated as in many of his works, the little stones in the foreground, which are identical in form with those in the foreground of the St. Jerome at Bergamo, and other particulars. Both this figure of St. John Baptist and its companion the St. Francis seem undoubtedly by Foppa; of the remaining three frescoes from S. Maria del Giardino, two are certainly connected with Bramantino, and the third—St. Anthony of Padua—which some critics are inclined to ascribe to Foppa, is more probably of his school.¹ The frescoes were all rescued from the general ruin by Signor Prospero Loria, who superintended the work of demolition, and presented them to the Museo Archeologico, from whence they eventually found their way into the Castello Museum.

¹ See Antonio Caimi, *Cenni Storici del Museo Patrio di Archeologia*, and Mongeri, *L'Arte in Milano*, p. 365. Dr. Suida (*Oest. Jahrbuch*, XXV, p. 48) considers that this figure of St. Anthony shows a connection with the works of Donato Montorfano.



ST. JOHN BAPTIST
(Fresco transferred to canvas)
MILAN: CASTELLO MUSEUM

In 1487 Ambrogio Griffi, the Ducal Councillor, Prothonotary Apostolic, and Court Physician of the Sforza, entered into negotiations with Foppa respecting the pictorial decoration of the chapel which he had recently dedicated to his patron saint in the Church of S. Pietro in Gessate at Milan; but even so powerful a patron as Griffi,¹ who was one of the most distinguished among the brilliant throng surrounding the Milanese Court in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, was unable to obtain his services, though for the space of two years he seems to have repeatedly urged the painter to fulfil his engagement. That it was of the nature of an engagement is clear from a Ducal missive of 1489 (Doc. No. 46), which speaks of Griffi as "having agreed with Vincenzo the painter in the presence of witnesses." This letter emphasizes the importance of Foppa and the great reputation he still continued to enjoy at Milan; at a time, moreover, when the presence of Leonardo da Vinci was making itself felt there, and his influence was already beginning to turn the course of local art into very different channels. But the new art had evidently no attractions for Griffi; and for two years he waited, hoping to secure the services of Foppa. We shall deal with this document later when speaking of the painter's return to Brescia.

The letter of the Duke dated September 27 speaks of the contract as having been made "two years ago," and we may assume that in the autumn of 1487 Vincenzo was still in Lombardy; but very shortly after entering into the agreement with Griffi he must have returned to Liguria,² and for nearly two years we have evidence, direct and indirect, of his presence there.

On September 15, 1488 (Doc. 41), Bertolino della Canonica received from Marco Grimaldi, Treasurer of the Confraternity of S. Sebastiano, the sum of fifteen lire for Vincenzo de Fopa, who was to furnish four figures in carved wood in relief for the altar of St. Sebastian belonging to that Confraternity in the cathedral at Genoa.³ The work was to be finished by the end of October, but in the event of Vincenzo not completing it in the given time, Bertolino

¹ Ambrogio Griffi by his will of September 4, 1489, bequeathed money for the endowment of a college for eight young students at Pavia; hence he is commemorated in one of the mural tablets in the Famedio (cemetery) of that city. The Griffi came originally from Varese, and one of the family was the well-known notary Albertolo Griffi da Varese. All the most ancient records relating to the University of Pavia in the second half of the fourteenth century are preserved among the deeds of this notary in the University Library at Pavia.

² On November 10, 1487, we might infer that he was not at Pavia, for his annual due to the Hospital of S. Invenzio for his house was on that day paid in his name by his son Evangelista (see App. II B, No. 4).

³ For the Confraternity of St. Sebastian see Aliz., II, 91, and *Guida*, pp. 9 and 120.

was to be held responsible and was to return the money to the said Marco Grimaldi or his representative, an arrangement very similar to that referred to in the little Pavian memorandum of 1485 (Doc. No. 37).

The short space of time allowed for the production of these four figures—from the middle of September to the end of October—proves that they could only have been small carvings destined for the decorative part of an ancona. The money for them was to be paid to Vincenzo, not because he was himself a sculptor or carver in wood, but because the whole altarpiece had probably been designed by him, and he would therefore have made himself responsible not only for the painting and gilding, but also for the carving. On the other hand, we know from a document published by Alizeri¹ that Bertolino della Canonica was a carver as well as a painter, and there can be no doubt that this altarpiece was produced in his workshop, which, as we saw, was shared by Vincenzo during his sojourn in Genoa. But Foppa was evidently not at Genoa when this deed was drawn up, and we may assume that he was executing work for one of his other patrons in Genoese territory, for between 1488 and 1490 we have reference to no fewer than three large altarpieces executed by him in Liguria.

The earliest of these was the ancona for the Carthusian Monastery of Rivarolo in the valley of the Polcevera, five miles from Genoa. It was commissioned for the chapel of the Doria family, which was founded in 1470 by Lazzaro Doria di Opicino and dedicated to SS. Stephen and Anne. Lazzaro had been accredited as Ambassador to the Court of Francesco Sforza in 1465; in 1471 and 1475 he was again the Genoese representative at the Court of Galeazzo Maria,² and when at Milan in these later years, he may have had occasion to discuss with Foppa the question of the decoration of his newly erected chapel. It was situated on the south side of the church opening on to the cloisters; three sides of the cloister are still in existence but the place has been wholly secularized, and the site once occupied by the chapels is now covered by squalid houses and no trace even of a stone or inscription recording the Dorias has been preserved. As at S. Domenico at Genoa, the frenzy of destruction appears to have seized upon those connected with the chapel, and the frescoes, which still existed there some twenty years ago, were ruthlessly torn down and destroyed with incredible barbarity. Giscardi³ has preserved the text of the long inscription, commemorating Lazzaro's bequests to the chapel, which was over the door on the inner side, and of the shorter one on the outside—recording the dates of its foundation

¹ II, p. 31.

² Federici, *loc. cit.*, II, 691; Buonaroti, *Alberi genealogici*, etc., f. 328; Giustiniani, *op. cit.*, II, p. 472.

³ *Origine delle Chiese della città e Riviere di Genova*, f. 76 and foll.



l'photo.

Ermini, Milan

ST. PAUL
MILAN: NOSEDA COLLECTION

and dedication—as well as the inscription on his tombstone, for though Lazzaro died in Rome (in 1486), his remains were brought to Rivarolo and buried in his chapel.¹ The walls were painted in chiaroscuro with the legends and history of various Certosan martyrs, and, if we may believe Remondini,² were good works of the Lombard school; before the destruction of the building a copy of the ceiling was made, by commission of the late Signor Maurizio Dufour, of Genoa. We owe this information to Signor Marc' Aurelio Crotta, the Genoese architect, who very kindly had a tracing of this copy made for us. From it we gain, of course, only a cursory general idea of the scheme of decoration, but it is sufficient to prove that this scheme must have been akin to that met with in many Lombard buildings. The ribs of the vaulting were ornamented with arabesques, scroll-work, and heads in medallions, and the rounds of black and white marble in perspective recall the similar *motives* in the Portinari Chapel and the Collegio Castiglioni. It is probable, therefore, that Remondini was correct in stating that the decoration was executed by some painter of the Lombard school; of the frescoes on the walls we have no record, beyond what was said by this writer.³

The altarpiece may have been planned during the lifetime of Lazzaro Doria, but the project was not carried out until after his death, as the document recording its completion and the final payment for it made to the master, is dated February 23, 1489 (Doc. No. 42), more than two years after the death of Lazzaro; this proves that his sons after their father's death, and probably in accordance with the dispositions of his will, caused the work to be executed. According to this deed, Vincenzo, son of the late Giovanni, acknowledges having received one hundred Genoese lire in large gold ducats from Stefano, son of the late Lazzaro Doria, as final payment for the altarpiece painted and constructed by him, with which payment he declares himself well satisfied. Alizeri,⁴ referring to the price of this altarpiece, observes that the sum, which was only part payment, would have been considerable even as the full price of a large painting; and he takes it as a proof that Foppa's reputation stood very high at this period and that his work was in great request.

¹ His tomb was the work of Michele d'Aria, of Val d'Intelvi, near Como, and his brother Giovanni, who, with a third brother Bonino, were among the best sculptors in Liguria in the second half of the fifteenth century (see Cervetto, *op. cit.*, and Suida, pp. 58 and 61).

² *Della Chiesa di S. Bartolomeo, etc.*, p. 174.

³ For the Certosa of Rivarolo see also: Accinelli, *Liguria Sacra*, f. 457; Remondini, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Schiaffino, *Annali Ecclesiastici della Liguria*, II, 540; Perazzo, *Chiese di Genova, . . . e delle Riviere* (Torino, *Arch. di Stato*); Oggiero Belgrano, *Notizie della Certosa di Rivarolo*, p. 174, etc.

⁴ I, 369.

We have no information as to the subject of this altarpiece, but as the chapel was dedicated to St. Anne and St. Stephen, it is probable that in the centre was represented the Madonna and Child with St. Anne,¹ and that among the saints St. Stephen would certainly have found a place. Lazarus the patron of Lazzaro Doria, and St. Bartholomew, to whom the Certosa was dedicated, may also have been among the saints depicted.

As to its ultimate fate we have no clue ; but at the time of the suppression of the monastery we must assume that the altarpiece was removed by the patrons of the chapel, for it was evidently no longer there in 1859, at which date the chapel had become the property of a Count Sassi ; the building being then in a ruinous condition, he had all the marbles removed to his palace at S. Pierdarena. The Doria altarpiece must unfortunately be included in the list of works which we know to have been executed by Foppa, but which have disappeared leaving no trace behind them.

Of the existence of four such works, executed entirely or in part by the master between 1466 and 1489, we have the clearest possible evidence, namely, the Majestas for Monza of 1466, the ancona for Pavia of 1476, and the altarpieces for the Spinola and Doria families, probably executed between 1477 and 1489 ; but not a single vestige of any of them, so far as we know, exists. On the other hand, we have several pictures by Foppa, evidently fragments of large altarpieces, which it has not been possible at present to bring into line with any polyptych known to have been painted by him. One of these is the Annunciation, already mentioned, acquired by the late Signor Vittadini ; a second is the figure of St. Paul in the collection of Cav. Aldo Nosedà at Milan. From its appearance it is evident, as Senatore Beltrami and Dr. Frizzoni have shown, that the figure must originally have occupied the upper tier of a great altarpiece like that for S. M. delle Grazie at Bergamo, and must have been placed on the right of the spectator.² The panel was bought by the Milanese dealer Brianzi from a family in the province of Bergamo, a fact which leads to the supposition that the polyptych of which it formed part may have been painted by Foppa for some church in Bergamesque territory ; but absolutely nothing is known of its earlier history. It was first ascribed to Foppa by its present possessor, an attribution completely justified by the appearance of the panel and now universally accepted. The correct-

¹ It is possible that a painting in a church at Spotorno in Liguria, representing St. Anne with the Madonna and Child on her knee, may have been inspired by the Doria altarpiece. This subject, so common in early German art, is not very frequently met with in Italy in fifteenth century paintings, hence the fact that a composition of this description exists in Liguria at no great distance from Rivarolo is not without interest, and might point to some connection with Foppa's lost work in the Certosa.

² *Arte*, 1899, p. 319.



Photo.

Ermini, Milan

A BISHOP
MILAN: TRIVULZIO COLLECTION



Photo.

Ermini, Milan

AN ABBOT
MILAN: TRIVULZIO COLLECTION

ness of this attribution is further confirmed by the close connection, in type and modelling, between this saint and the St. Roch in the recently discovered processional banner at Orzinuovi.¹ The saint wears a grey blue robe and scarlet mantle lined with green, the border of which is profusely decorated with letters; the architectural setting is gold and the background blue. The other two works are in the collection of Prince Trivulzio—two full-length figures of saints, a bishop and an abbot, on gold ground, standing in front of a low parapet, similar in character to the parapet forming the background to the terra-cotta angels in the Portinari Chapel. The pose of both figures, slightly inclined to the left, proves that they must have occupied a place on the right of a large altarpiece, in the centre of which was doubtless represented the Madonna and Child.² Both pictures were in very bad condition when they were discovered by their present owner, being disfigured by coarse and late repaints with oil colours, and it is entirely owing to the judicious treatment they have received at the hands of Professor Cavenaghi that the original character has reappeared, thus enabling them to take their place in the category of Foppa's indisputable works. The serious and thoughtful expression of the heads, with the typical drawing of the eyes and modelling of the features, and the form and feeling of the hands, would at once stamp them as admirable works of the Brescian master. These fine and dignified figures, well posed and firmly planted, showing a developed feeling for form beneath the drapery, which in arrangement and quality it is interesting to compare with the drapery of the best figures in the Brera altarpiece, bear eloquent testimony to the correctness of the attribution. In course of time some fortunate chance may lead to the discovery of other parts of this altarpiece, or of that to which Signor Nosedà's panel belonged, though there is little hope that they will ever be entirely reconstructed; but it is possible, by collecting all the information at present available relating to lost altarpieces which Foppa is known to have produced, and by drawing attention to all newly discovered works by the master, that something may eventually be achieved in this direction.

In speaking of works which have come to light within recent years, two figures in tempera on canvas representing St. Gregory and St. Bartholomew may be mentioned here. They were discovered by Dr. Frizzoni in the collection of Herr Reinholt Sarasin-Warnery at Basle, and like Signor Nosedà's St. Paul also came from Bergamo, having been in the collection of Signor Gritti; but nothing further is known of their history.

The St. Gregory seems certainly to be by Foppa, the type and drawing of the features are, on the whole, typical of his manner, and so too is the

¹ See chap. VIII.

² *Arte, ibid.*, p. 318.

decorative part of the composition ; the design of the triple crown on the tiara and the treatment of the collar studded with gems recall the treatment of similar work in the altarpieces of the Brera and National Gallery ; but the picture has lost much of its original character owing to repainting ; and still more is this the case with the St. Bartholomew, which in the type of head and in the form of the hands alone reveals its descent from Foppa. The character of the drapery has been completely altered by restoration and shows no trace of Foppa's manner ;¹ this is due, no doubt, to the treatment it received before it quitted Bergamo at the hands of Signor Gritti, who was himself a painter.

Should these canvases ever find their way to the studio of Professor Cavenaghi at Milan, the true character of the master would doubtless reappear at least in the case of the St. Gregory, which of the two compositions seems the most nearly related to Foppa.

¹ It is very similar in quality and character to the drapery of the St. John the Evangelist in the Brera fresco of 1485 ; both figures probably owe their present aspect in great part to the era of restoration.



Photo.

A. Höflinger Basle

ST. GREGORY
BASLE: SARASIN-WARNERY COLLECTION



Photo.

A. Höflinger, Basle

ST. BARTHOLOMEW
BASLE: SARASIN-WARNERY COLLECTION

CHAPTER VII

1489-1490

Foppa in Liguria; altarpiece for Manfredo Fornari at Savona—Foppa's dispute with Bertolino della Canonica—His arrest and liberation—Leaves the altarpiece in S. Maria di Castello, Genoa, unfinished—Probable return to Brescia in the late spring of 1489; fresco in the Loggetta there—His petition to be allowed to open a school at Brescia—The authorities at Brescia urged by the Duke of Milan to force Vincenzo to fulfil his engagement with Griffi—The Library of S. Barnaba, Brescia—Frescoes there by Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo—Other works by this painter at Bagolino and in the Val Camonica—Foppa's return to Pavia—Ordered to finish the altarpiece at Savona—His dispute with his brother-in-law Bartolomeo Caylina—Foppa's return to Savona in November, 1489, to make arrangements for completing the altarpiece—Is again at Pavia in the beginning of December—Judgment delivered in the dispute between Foppa and Caylina—The Cross for the Carmine at Pavia—Foppa called upon to restore certain goods which he had in his care to Bertolino della Canonica's representative at Pavia—Foppa at Savona completing the altarpiece for the cathedral—The donor of this picture—Discussion of the work.

IN April of the year 1489 Foppa completed a picture for another member of a great Genoese family, Manfredo Fornari, for his chapel (the second on the left) in the Certosa of S. Maria di Loreto above Savona.¹ The Certosa was founded between 1480 and 1481 by a certain Stefano Embrone who, having been miraculously cured of serious illness, vowed to build a church to the Madonna and St. Bernardino.²

¹ For S. M. di Loreto see: Verzellino, *Memorie . . di Savona*, 259; Accinelli, *Liguria Sacra*, I, 495; *Miscellanea di Storie Liguri*, 140; Oggiero Belgrano, *op. cit.*, 175, etc. The name Loreto has nothing to do with the Santa Casa, as might be inferred, but is probably derived from a medieval castle which once stood on the site given by the founder of the Certosa, and which is spoken of in documents of the thirteenth century as *Castrum Loretum*. Two twelfth century windows may be seen on the west side of the monastic buildings, and it is probable that some of the old walls were utilized in the construction of the new building. The castle of Loreto mentioned in these documents has been thought by some writers to refer to another building of the same name near Acqui in Piedmont; but as these records all relate to places in the neighbourhood of Savona, Comm. Vittorio Poggi is probably right in his surmise that it was above the city of Savona.

² A wretched seventeenth century painting, the healing of a paralytic, which still exists over the door, is supposed to represent the miracle wrought by the Madonna for Stefano Embrone (see Picconi, *Dell' Apparizione*, p. 26 and foll.).

Manfredo, son of Niccolò Fornari, was connected by ties of relationship with some of the great art patrons of Liguria¹—with Bendinelli Sauli, with Pietro Gara, Bishop of Savona, and possibly also with the pious founder of the Certosa.² The Fornari chapel in S. Maria di Loreto was the second on the left, destined, as we gather from the inscription in the refectory, for a burial place for Manfredo and his family; until comparatively recent years it contained the altarpiece, and persons still living at Savona remember to have seen it hanging there, but for some reason unknown it was removed from thence to the small, dark chapel on the north of the High Altar. Here it was discovered by Comm. Vittorio Poggi, Director of the Gallery at Savona, who eventually had it removed to that collection.³ The church suffered severely at the time of the French Revolution, and it was doubtless in order to preserve the inscription commemorating the founders of the chapel that the stone tablet was removed to the refectory and covered with whitewash. At that time the picture must also have been roughly handled, for it is now in a deplorably injured condition; but in spite of this the hand of Foppa is still discernible in the central panel, and as one of the four dated works at present known is of great interest. The inscription, which is at the base of the central panel, is as follows:—

1489+DE VIII+MÉSIS+APRIL+NOTE+DNI+MANFREDO+FORNARI

¹ The Fornari family were themselves great patrons of art: Leonardo Fornari, Bishop of Mariana in Corsica, employed Barbagelata in 1489; and Pasquale Fornari, in the early sixteenth century, was the patron of Pier Francesco Sacchi of Pavia (Al., II, 181, and *Guida*, 510). For the history of the Fornari see: Federici, *Abeceario delle Fam. Nob. di Genova*, 143, and *Scrutinio della Nobiltà Ligustica*, 445; F. Ferro, *Libro delle Fam. Nob., etc.*, 144; Giscardi, *Origine, etc.*; Buonaroti, *Alberi genealogici di diverse Famiglie Nobili Genovesi*, 404, 407; Della Cella, *Fam. Genovesi*, etc.

² If this Embrone (sometimes by Picconi and others spelt Embrono) belonged to the Pinelli-Embrone family, he may have been connected with Manfredo Fornari, whose aunt (a sister of Manfredo's father Niccolò) married a Pinello-Embrone (Buonaroti, 404). Accinelli (*Lig. Sacr.*, I, 495) calls him Stefano Embrone da Orco, and states that he was a baker ("fornaro," perhaps a confusion with the name of the Fornari family), a somewhat improbable tale, and it is more likely that the founder of the Certosa who in 1480 obtained the sanction of Pietro Gara, Bishop of Savona, to begin the building—a sanction confirmed in the following year by the Cardinal Legate, resident at Genoa, Giov. Battista Savelli—was a member of the noble Genoese family of Embrone, a branch of which had in the fourteenth century settled at Savona. For the Embrone family see: Federici, *loc. cit.*, II, 763; Della Cella, III, 55; F. Ferro, 203, etc.

³ The picture, however, is not the property of the Gallery, but of the Episcopal Seminary at Savona. The owners are at liberty to sell it so long as they furnish a guarantee that it does not leave Italy.



Photo.

Noack-Paganini

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS AND DONOR, ALTARPIECE OF THE FORNARI
CHAPEL, CERTOSA OF S. MARIA DI LORETO
SAVONA: GALLERY

The head of the Madonna is absolutely identical in character with that of the Virgin in the altarpiece of the Brera and in the polyptych of S. Maria di Castello at Savona, with which we shall deal later. With the last-named work¹ this panel is in closest agreement throughout in the type and drawing of the Infant Saviour, in the character and form of the hands, in the scheme of the drapery and arrangement of the folds. The form of the throne closely resembles that in the Brera polyptych, the low shell-like ornament recalling the decoration of the S. M. di Castello altarpiece, as well as that of many other works proceeding from the school of Foppa.² The donor Manfredo Fornari is very awkwardly placed, his body being half hidden by the twisted column of the frame—a position so strange that we might almost be tempted to think that the composition may have been planned originally to contain the Madonna and Child only, and that the introduction of the donor was an afterthought.

The saints on either side, SS. John Baptist and Jerome in full-length, and the two figures in half-length above, show an intimate connection with the models of Foppa in the Portinari Chapel, in the Brera altarpiece, and in the ancona of S. Maria di Castello at Savona; the St. John Baptist being almost identical in pose with the saint in the last-named picture, and in gesture with same saint in the Brera fresco of 1485.

That Foppa planned the whole composition appears certain; but it is unlikely from the aspect of some of these panels, which in part are careless in treatment and poor in drawing and expression, that he executed them all himself. At that moment, as we shall see immediately, the painter's circumstances and surroundings were the reverse of favourable, owing to financial embarrassments and to the strained relations then existing between himself and certain of his friends whom he had counted among his most intimate associates at Genoa and Pavia. This condition of affairs doubtless affected his art unfavourably to some extent, and forced him to employ the services of an assistant in finishing the work for Manfredo Fornari. Who that assistant was we cannot tell; the names of many painters are known to us with whom Foppa was artistically connected during his sojourn in Liguria, but with the exception of Bertolino della Canonica, whose workshop, as we saw, he shared at Genoa, and of Lodovico Brea, who was his assistant in the altarpiece for the cathedral at Savona, we are unable to point to any artists whose collaboration with Foppa can be definitely proved.³ In all probability

¹ See p. 172 and foll.

² Compare also drawings by Jacopo Bellini, especially Ricci, Nos. 13 and 79.

³ Dr. W. Suida (*Genua*, p. 75) refers to this picture as a proof of how closely other painters imitated Foppa, and his remark that it "bears the name of an otherwise unknown Manfredo" might almost lead us to infer that he regarded Manfredo as the

the two works for the Cathedral of Savona and the Certosa of Loreto were undertaken simultaneously, like those at Pavia for the Church of S. Giacomo and the Chapel of the Ducal Palace; the smaller altarpiece for the Certosa being completed first, and the other being brought to a standstill owing to the painter's sudden departure from Liguria.

In this year, 1489, serious disagreements occasioned by financial troubles arose between Foppa and Bertolino della Canonica, with whom, as we saw, he had for years lived on friendly terms, in spite of occasional differences. Bertolino had by this time attained to a high position at Genoa; he was head of the Painters' Guild in 1481,¹ and about 1477 had married an heiress of the Doria family, Donna Violantina, daughter of Carlo Doria.² Foppa, on the other hand, as we gather from more than one document, was not prospering; he was often out of favour with his employers, owing to his failure, either through lack of time or energy, to fulfil his engagements, and was constantly in money difficulties. In the spring of 1489 his misfortunes came to a climax. Having completed the altarpiece for Manfredo Fornari on April 9, he quitted Savona for Genoa, intending perhaps to proceed with a work which he had undertaken to execute there for the Dominican Church of S. Maria di Castello; but he had scarcely set foot in the city when Bertolino sued him for the payment of certain old outstanding debts. Foppa was either unable to discharge these debts to the full, or evinced a disposition to deny his liability and to dispute the point with Bertolino; in any case, the latter, suspecting that Vincenzo was contemplating flight as a means of evading his creditor, availed himself of a section in the Genoese Statutes³ to lay an information against Foppa before the magistrate, who forthwith, to prevent his flight and preserve the rights of his creditor, issued a warrant for his arrest. This action on the part of Bertolino and the Genoese authorities was vigorously denounced by Foppa's friends, and among them was Bartolomeo d' Amico, who in order to obtain the immediate release of the great master at once became bail for him. Owing either to a direct appeal from Foppa, or to the intervention of Barto-

painter. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that the inscription refers to the donor, and we think it equally certain that the picture itself is, in part at least, by the hand of Foppa, who having undertaken the commission from Manfredo Fornari deputed some other painter to assist him in the work.

¹ *Libro I' dell' Arte della Pittura nella Città di Genova.*

² Alizeri, II, 392.

³ "Statuta et decreta Communis Genuæ [fol. 37 tergo, Lib. II, cap. 1]. Ut debitor suspectus detineatur ad instantiam creditoris per magistratum.

"Quandocumque apparuerit quod debitor sit suspectus teneatur quilibet magistratus personam illius debitoris suspecti creditori deliberare et facere incarcerari. Nec possit ipse magistratus ipsum debitorem . . . detentum relaxare . . . nisi idoneam cautionem ipse debitor præstiterit . . . de se personaliter præsentando tantum et non per



Photo.

Noack-Paganini

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE DONOR, MANFREDO
FORNARI, DATED APRIL, 1489
(Detail of Altarpiece)
SAVONA: GALLERY

lomeo d' Amico or of others of whom we know nothing, a compromise between Della Canonica and his debtor was agreed upon ; both parties declaring themselves willing to submit their differences to the arbitration of a mutual friend, the painter Francesco Ferrari. This took place on April 28, 1489, and on the same day the two litigants released Bartolomeo d' Amico¹ from his bail and from all further responsibility in the matter (Doc. No. 44). Vincenzo would now therefore have been free to execute the altarpiece mentioned above for S. Maria di Castello at Genoa, to which allusion is made in Doc. No. 45. In the chapel of St. Vincent Ferrer, in this church, Brancaleona, widow of Bernardo Giustiniani,² had recently dedicated an altar in accordance with the last wishes of her husband, and Foppa had been commissioned to paint the ancona with the patron saint in the centre, flanked by the figures of SS. John Baptist and Andrew ; but the work did not proceed far, and Foppa must have intimated very decidedly to Brother Domenico da Taggia³ that he did not intend to finish it, for on July 10, 1489, the latter summoned Giuliano Brenta, a member of the Guild, and Francesco de' Verzali, a Pavian, who with his brother Giovanni was considered one of the best painters at Genoa in the second half of the fifteenth century, to value the painting. Fra Domenico would scarcely have taken this step had he cherished the slightest hope that Foppa would complete the work. The valuers pronounced it to be worth no more than lire 12, from which we may conclude that it was in a very elementary condition (Doc. No. 45).

On the whole, it seems most likely that Foppa had begun the work and

procuratorem, coram ipso magistratu semper et quoties et eius parte requiretur et de stando iuri in ordinatione ipsius magistratus usque ad sententiam diffinitivam et eius plenariam executionem."

(Statutes and decrees of the Commune of Genoa.

That a debtor if under suspicion be detained by the magistrate at the instance of the creditor.

That the debtor suspected by the creditor be condemned and imprisoned by the magistrate.

That a debtor be not set at liberty unless he pledge himself to appear in person, and not by proxy, before the magistrate, whenever summoned to do so, and to submit to the rulings of the said magistrate until such time as sentence be pronounced and executed to the full.)

¹ For notices of this painter, Bartolomeo d' Amico da Castellazzo, see Alizeri, I, 294-302.

² The Giustiniani family were munificent patrons of this church and had their burying place in the choir.

³ Domenico Anfossi da Taggia had been Prior of the Monastery of S. Maria di Castello at Genoa between 1485 and 1487, and continued to take a leading part in the conduct of affairs up to 1490 (see *Atti della Soc. Lig., etc.*, 1889, pp. 194, 196).

brought it thus far at the time when he was summoned by Bertolino della Canonica, and that after this incident he quitted Genoa in disgust, oblivious alike of his engagement with Giuliano della Rovere at Savona and with the Dominicans at Genoa. It is probable that he then went to Brescia, for in a Brescian document of December, 1489 (No. 52), allusion is made to the excellence of his paintings in many cities of Italy, and last of all "in our newly erected Loggetta." He must therefore have executed an admirable fresco on the wall of this building before that date, and as we know that he was at Pavia at the end of October, 1489, it is to be assumed that he began work in the Loggetta very shortly after quitting Genoa. Zamboni has left us a fairly exhaustive account of the buildings at Brescia, but curiously enough has confused the Loggetta in the Piazza Maggiore, where Foppa executed his paintings, with another similar building, as we shall see later. On the western side of the Piazza Maggiore rises the Loggia or Palace of Justice; on the southern side were the prisons and Monte di Pietà, which were separated from each other by a Loggetta, and on the eastern side, which is called the head or upper end of the Piazza and is opposite to the Loggia, was a clock-tower erected in 1447; later a Loggetta was built beneath this tower,¹ and in 1485 statues of the patron saints of Brescia, SS. Faustino and Giovita, were added.² It was in this new Loggetta that Foppa executed a painting in the

¹ See Pandolfo Nassino, *Registro, etc.*, f. 11, and Zamboni, *Memorie, etc.*, pp. 27, 28.

² A representation of this tower, showing the Loggetta beneath, is preserved in one of the intarsia choir stalls of S. Bartolomeo at Bergamo (see illustration). Above the Loggetta were the arms of the Commune—St. Mark between SS. Faustino and Giovita—with the legend "Brixia Magnipotens." In Nassino's Diary (f. 340) and in the Provvisioni of 1438 (f. 210) we have a drawing of this composition, which the Brescians had caused to be represented on a banner and placed in St. Mark's at Venice. It was used processionally on the Feast of St. Lucy, because on that day Brescia was said to have been miraculously delivered from the besieging armies of Filippo Maria Visconti under Niccolò Piccinino by the patron saints of the city, Faustino and Giovita. Another far better representation of the Loggetta with the clock-tower above, and on the right the tower of the Broletto and the wall of Cittadella Vecchia, is seen in an interesting fresco in the Victoria and Albert Museum. According to the label on the picture, the place represented is Verona, but there is not the slightest doubt that it is Brescia and that it represents the Piazza Maggiore on the occasion of one of the historic tournaments which are known to have been held there. We believe it to be identical with a fresco mentioned by numerous eighteenth and nineteenth century writers of Brescia—Francesco Gambara, Brugnoli, and others—as in Casa Borgondio della Corte in that city and by the hand of Ferramola. Fenaroli (pp. 121, 122) describes it accurately, and identifies the tournament with one held in the Piazza in honour of Caterina Cornaro (Zamboni, p. 38; Capriolo, Lib. XII, p. 216), who passed several months at Brescia with her brother, then Podestà of the city (Provvisioni of the year 1497). Before

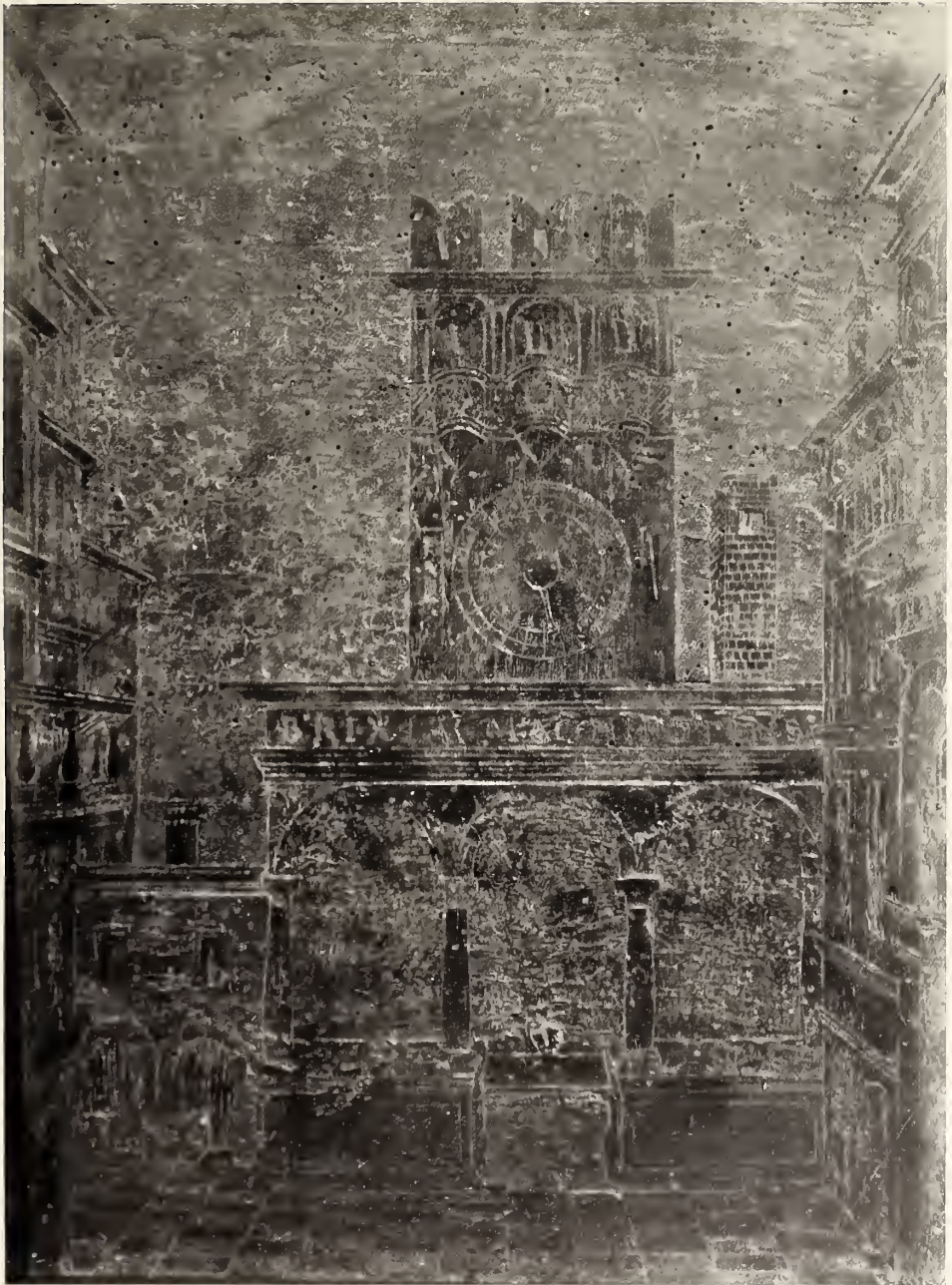


Photo.

Taramelli, Bergamo

THE LOGGETTA ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE PIAZZA MAGGIORE
BRESCIA. THE TOWER OF THE BROLETTO IS SEEN ON THE RIGHT
BERGAMO: S. BARTOLOMEO, INTARSIA CHOIR STALL



A TOURNAMENT IN THE PIAZZA MAGGIORE, BRESCIA; IN THE BACK-
GROUND THE LOGGETTA WITH THE CLOCK-TOWER, THE WALL OF
CITTADELLA VECCHIA AND THE TOWER OF THE BROLETTO

(Fresco transferred to canvas)

LONDON: VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

summer of 1489, and no doubt used his best endeavours to gain the approbation of the authorities ; for he must then have been contemplating a return to his old home, where he was held in high honour, and where he wished to end his days in peace. But if he returned to Brescia it was essential that he should obtain employment there at a fixed salary. He therefore enlisted the support of two of the members of the Council, Giov. Cristoforo da Cazzago and Emmanuele de Lanis, and obtained from them a promise that his desire to repatriate and his petition to be allowed to open a school at Brescia should be brought before the Council at the earliest opportunity ; their recommendation, combined with the excellence of his specimen painting in the Loggetta, would, he had every reason to hope, obtain for him the coveted appointment of official painter to the Brescian Government.

Towards the end of September the Ducal letter already referred to¹ (Doc. No. 46), was sent from Pavia to the Governors of Brescia, begging them to urge Vincenzo to return to Milan in order to begin the paintings which two years before he had agreed to execute for Ambrogio Griffi, "our well-beloved Councillor." As the painter is here spoken of as "Vincenzo of Pavia," some writers have thrown doubts upon the letter having reference to Foppa ; but it seems perfectly plain that it can refer to no one else.

The painter was, as we know, a citizen of Pavia and had been domiciled there since 1456 or 1458 ; the Duke would therefore naturally describe him as of that city when writing to the authorities at Brescia, and it seems strangely far-fetched to identify him, as has been done, with Vincenzo da Pavia called *il Romano*, who worked at Palermo in 1518 and died in 1557.² What possible connection would this painter have had with the Brescian Government ? and is it likely that Griffi would have waited patiently for two years, in the hope of obtaining the services of one who, at that date, must have been at the very beginning of his career ? Many writers must have felt that such a conclusion was untenable, but the first who expressed the opinion that the painter referred to must be Vincenzo Foppa was, we believe, Senatore Beltrami in the *Perseveranza* of May, 1901, and he also takes the only reasonable view that the chapel was the one known as the Griffi Chapel in S. Pietro in Gessate, and not a separate oratory, as some have assumed.³

1877 the fresco had been removed from the wall of Casa Borgondio, the purchaser, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle (II, 365), being an Englishman. These writers were apparently unable to trace it further ; but there can be no doubt, we think, that it is identical with the composition now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which though transferred to canvas and modernized by repainting, is nevertheless of great interest from a topographical point of view (see illustration).

¹ Chap. VI, p. 153.

² For Vincenzo da Pavia *il Romano*, see *Archivio Stor. Siciliano*, 1880, and Di Marzo, *La Pittura in Palermo*, I, 16, 379, and II, 409-11.

³ Magenta, I, 418, etc.

If we take this view, which seems the only plausible one, the rough places in the life of Foppa become smooth and plain at once. It adds another proof to his presence at Brescia at this period, for clearly he was then doing work there for the Community, otherwise there would have been no necessity for the Duke to apply to the Governors of Brescia to allow the painter to return to Milan. But what was the principal reason adduced by Vincenzo for not having fulfilled his engagement? Before, it was always "some hindrance" which caused him to put it off, and his work at Genoa of course intervened to prevent it; but now, he says, "he understood that he was engaged by your Community to paint a certain hall or great room." This, according to Signor Beltrami, must have been the library of the Augustinian Monastery of S. Barnaba, the paintings of which are traditionally ascribed to Foppa. The present condition of this room is neglected and squalid in the highest degree, it being now used as a dormitory for the deaf-mute children of the Istituto Pavoni, a charitable institution established in the buildings of the former monastery, and the frescoes are in a terribly injured and decayed state; but in its original condition this room, with its beautiful ceiling and fine proportions, its walls covered with well-chosen subjects bearing upon the history of the order, with decorative work of remarkable beauty of design, must have formed an appropriate setting to the treasures of the Augustinian Library, and must undoubtedly have produced a striking and harmonious effect. From 1456 onwards considerable sums of money had been spent on the adornment of the church and the buildings of the monastery, and the Brescian Government took a special interest in the progress of the works. In April, 1490, a grant of sixty ducats was made by the General Council for the further adornment of the library,¹ the works there having been for some time in abeyance owing to lack of funds; the paintings must have been finally completed in that year, as the date 1490 is found below the fresco of St. Augustine over the present door.

We are unable either to confirm or deny the statement that the passage in the ducal missive alluded to above, actually refers to this room. It would certainly be difficult to propose a better solution; we know no other building at Brescia to which the words could be applied with equal probability, for the great hall in the Loggia, the Sala Palatij, of which we should naturally think on reading this passage, was not built at this date; moreover, it is extremely probable that Foppa, when engaged in painting the new Loggetta in the summer of 1489, may have been approached by the Augustinians with a view to obtaining his services for the decoration of the library, and that negotia-

¹ See Provvisioni, February 12 and April 28 (1490), on which days the grant was proposed and confirmed.



Photo.

THE PIAZZA MAGGIORE, BRESCIA (PRESENT DAY); SHOWING THE TOWER OF THE BROLETTO AND THE CATHEDRAL ON THE RIGHT

Capitano Brescia

tions may have gone so far as to have justified Vincenzo in giving the evasive answer to Griffi mentioned in the ducal missive of September 27 (Doc. No. 46); but it is quite certain that these negotiations ultimately failed, and that Foppa did not fulfil the engagement himself, for the painter who actually executed the frescoes was that Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo whom we have already had occasion to mention in these pages. His talents were not of a high order, and he rarely rises above the level of a local artist; but being extraordinarily prolific and industrious, and having considerable facility as a fresco painter, his services seem to have been greatly in request, more especially among the Augustinians, for, in addition to the works painted for the order at S. Barnaba, we know from the *Anonimo*¹ that he executed a large cycle of frescoes in terra-verde and colour in the refectory and library of their monastery at Crema, and that in the most celebrated of all their habitations, the great monastery at Cremona, he covered the walls of the cloisters with scenes from the life of St. Augustine.² His dependence upon Vincenzo Foppa is seen in a more or less marked degree from his earliest to his latest work, and he must also have been effected in no small measure by the Paduan school, but the character of his signed works is sufficiently decided to enable us to ascribe to him the wall paintings of the Library of S. Barnaba with absolute certainty. In his signed frescoes of 1475 in the Church of the Annunziata di Borno (Val Camonica) the groups of angels in terra-verde and bronze colour which fill the vault of the choir, are the direct forerunners of the figures of saints and martyrs surrounding the "Christ in Glory" in the large fresco opposite the entrance door in the Library of S. Barnaba; and many other links, too numerous to mention, connect these much earlier works with the series at Brescia; but the most absolute confirmation of the authorship of Pietro da Cemmo is afforded by the frescoes of the Church of S. Rocco at Bagolino, which are much nearer in date to those of S. Barnaba, being of 1486, a series in which he merely signs himself "Cemigena,"³ "Qui hoc opus pinxit Cemigena fuit."

The ceiling of the choir at Bagolino follows the usual scheme of decoration then in vogue, to which allusion was made in chapter v, p. 117, the ceiling of the Averoldi Chapel in the Carmine at Brescia being an almost contemporaneous example.

At Bagolino each Evangelist is surrounded by a glory composed of heads of saints in terra-verde, mostly in profile and with little variety of expression, but in type, drawing, and method of grouping closely resembling some of the terra-verde figures just mentioned in the fresco of "Christ in Glory"

¹ Ed. Frizzoni, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³ That is, a native of Cemo, the present Cemmo in the Val Camonica; the *Anonimo* on p. 145 calls him only "Zuanpiero de Valcamonica."

at S. Barnaba, as well as certain female heads in the preaching of the Beato Rocco Porzi of Pavia, a fresco on the left wall of the library and at right angles to the "Christ in Glory." The St. John the Evangelist on the ceiling at Bagolino, with his right hand uplifted, recalls in pose and gesture the figure in a brocaded robe seated to the left of St. Augustine, in the fresco over the entrance door at S. Barnaba, the raised hand with its broad palm, short, thick fingers, and awkward pose being very similar in both. The St. Matthew at Bagolino, represented as an old man, resembles the white-bearded Pope seated next to this figure above the entrance door at S. Barnaba; and the clumsy left hand of St. Matthew, with broad metacarpus, resting on the knee and the right hand holding the pen are almost identical with the hands of the Pope in the fresco at Brescia.¹ The frieze and other decorative work at S. Barnaba is remarkable for beauty of design and harmony of colour, and is certainly far in advance of the decorative work in Giov. Pietro's other known paintings, with the exception of what is perhaps the latest example of his work, the decoration of a chapel in the old parish church of S. Lorenzo at Berzo inferiore (Val Camonica).² But in all other particulars the points of connection between the works of Giov. Pietro da Cemmo and the frescoes of S. Barnaba are so obvious that there is no need to insist further upon them. Like Ambrogio Griffi, the Augustinians of S. Barnaba, after probably waiting for some time in the vain hope of obtaining the services of Foppa, were forced to content themselves with the facile brush but mediocre talent of the painter of Val Camonica. To give Giov. Pietro his due, we must, however, observe that, in spite of his deficiencies in the drawing and pose of his figures, we have evidence in several heads on the entrance wall of S. Barnaba that he must have been a portrait painter of some ability, and we think it extremely probable that portraits by him may be in existence, though their author has remained unrecognized.³

Foppa, having made all arrangements for his petition to be brought before

¹ Here, as well as in Giov. Pietro's series at Bagolino, in his frescoes in the Annunziata di Borno, at Esine, and in other places, we find numerous *motives* borrowed from the Eremitani Chapel at Padua; in the Annunziata there are also many links with the Portinari Chapel.

² Decorative work of this description was often paid by the palmo (a span—nine inches), and the utmost care and finish was required of the painter. The Pavian master Francesco Verzali was paid as much as one florin (twenty-five Genoese soldi) per span for the frieze executed by him in a private house at Genoa—a very high price. Other painters we find were paid at the rate of nine soldi per span for work of this kind (see Alizeri, II, 350-54).

³ Were these portrait heads reproduced independently of the main composition we have little doubt that they would be ascribed to some painter of established fame.

the Council of Brescia,¹ returned to Pavia, perhaps with the intention of fulfilling his engagement with Griffi ; but here further disagreeables awaited him. The community of Savona, exasperated at the painter's conduct in leaving the altarpiece for their cathedral unfinished, appealed to the Duke to exercise his authority and compel Master Vincenzo to fulfil his agreement. The letter was forwarded to Erasmo Trivulzio, the Duke's Commissioner at Pavia, and on November 3, the latter replies (Doc. No. 48) that he has received the ducal missive ; that he at once sent for Foppa and admonished him to finish the work for the Cathedral of Savona without delay, otherwise he would certainly be arrested and so severely dealt with that he would have cause to regret not having obeyed immediately. To one who had enjoyed the friendship and esteem of former dukes such treatment could not have been agreeable, but we cannot doubt that under the circumstances Foppa lost no time in returning to Savona ; this is indirectly proved by the Pavian documents relating to a certain dispute between the painter and his brother-in-law Bartolomeo Caylina—the same question, in fact, of which we heard so much in Doc. 33, Foppa's petition addressed to the Duke of Milan. In this fresh dispute no more is said of the house at Brescia which Bartolomeo had fraudulently endeavoured to sell,² but Vincenzo seemingly had not even by this time fulfilled his part of the contract in paying all that was due to Bartolomeo as his share of the inheritance, according to the dispositions of Caterina de Bolis, the mother of Bartolomeo Caylina. Both painters, however, on October 29, 1489 (Doc. No. 47) agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the Provost of S. Invenzio and his associate Giov. Antonio Barbausch, and declared themselves willing to abide by their decision or to pay a fine of twenty-five gold ducats. Judgment was to be given within a month though the term might be extended if the parties concerned so desired, which in effect was done, for on November 20 (Doc. 49), the two arbitrators decided to defer judgment for one month, the reason of this evidently being that owing to the absence of Foppa at Savona, the case could not be proceeded with. But although the sentence was deferred for one month, we gather that Foppa returned to Pavia much sooner, for judgment was actually delivered by the arbitrators a fortnight later—namely, on December 5. The inference is therefore that immediately after Trivulzio's admonition, Foppa started for Savona, and after making all arrangements for recommencing work there at no distant date, and after satisfying the authorities that he would not fail them again and giving them the most solemn assurance of his good faith, he was permitted to return to Pavia, which he reached before December 5. The verdict delivered on this day is so full of interest for the light it throws on several points that we give the substance of it here.

¹ See p. 165.

² See chap. vi.

The document affords the most absolute proof that on this day Foppa was no longer at Savona, but at Pavia in person, as it is distinctly stated that judgment was delivered in the presence of Master Vincenzo and Master Bartolomeo. The arbitrators then with the utmost solemnity and after invoking the name of "Christ and His Mother the glorious Virgin Mary, and of the whole Company of Heaven," pronounce sentence: And first, Master Vincenzo is condemned to pay Bartolomeo his brother-in-law the sum of thirty-two lire imperiali; sixteen to be paid within eight days and the remainder by Easter, which money is to cover all Bartolomeo's claims upon his brother-in-law in the matter of his inheritance and of the legacy left to him by his mother Caterina de Bolis.

The sentence on Bartolomeo is of a much more interesting nature. He is ordered to restore at once to Master Vincenzo the materials which he has in his keeping for the ornamentation of a cross for the Monastery of the Carmine at Pavia. Vincenzo is ordered to pay Bartolomeo for the work executed by him in respect of this cross, which work is to be valued by two mutual friends. Should they pronounce the work to be worth less than the eighteen lire imperiali which Vincenzo has already paid in advance to Bartolomeo, the latter binds himself to restore the difference within the year or to do as much work in painting for the master as would amount to this sum.

The decision of the judges was acquiesced in by both painters, and from Doc. 51 we learn that Vincenzo lost no time in performing his part, for on the same day and at the same hour Bartolomeo acknowledges that he has received from his brother-in-law nineteen lire imperiali, being part payment of the thirty-two lire which Vincenzo was ordered to pay to Bartolomeo in the matter of his inheritance. The sentence on Bartolomeo appears to us to be so important for two reasons, that we think it desirable to deal with it more fully.

In the first place, we have the allusion to the cross for the Carmine at Pavia, upon which Bartolomeo was engaged; it had been entrusted to him by Foppa, who had probably been commissioned by the Carmelites to furnish the whole work. It is difficult to say exactly wherein this work consisted, but it may very likely have been one of those large crosses which it was customary in former days to place in one of the aisles of a church, usually near the High Altar. The cross for the Carmine, which is spoken of as *ornamented*, must have been of wood carved and gilded, and perhaps decorated with paintings—with busts of the Madonna and saints, or with small scenes from the Passion. Foppa probably designed the whole, supervised the carver¹ and the decorative

¹ From a document of January 11, 1481 (Atti di Giov. Pietro Serra, Arch. Not. Pavia), we know that Cristoforo Rocchi had been commissioned to carve "the large cross of the Carmine," but unfortunately the record gives us no clue as to the nature of the

artist, who in this case would have been Caylina, and perhaps executed the paintings himself.¹ Then we have the interesting clause which states that Bartolomeo may pay his debt to Foppa by placing his services as a painter at the disposal of Vincenzo and by working for that master. This important item is certainly not to be overlooked, for it is the documentary proof of what is evident in some of the master's own works, namely, of the collaboration with him of pupils or assistants of his *bottega*. Often, as we have seen, the principal parts only are to be ascribed to himself, while in less important details, the accessories, the predella, etc., the execution was more usually entrusted to assistants, one of whom was certainly his brother-in-law Bartolomeo Caylina.

We might infer from a deed of April 14, 1490 (Doc. No. 53), that Foppa was at Pavia at that date. It was drawn up in Bertolino della Canonica's workshop in Genoa, by a notary of that city, and empowers Agostino, the brother of Bertolino and his representative, to remove from the custody

work, we only learn that at that date it was not completed. The document under discussion of 1489 does not specify the year when the commission for the "cross of the monastery of the Carmine" was given, but it may have been some years previously to 1489. It seems on the whole therefore very probable that the crosses mentioned in the records of 1481 and 1489 were identical, and that the carver who collaborated here with Foppa and Caylina was Cristoforo Rocchi.

¹ We have numerous references to such crosses in Italian Archives; for instance, from an unpublished document of the Archivio Notarile at Milan, dated August 8, 1465, we learn that the Confraternity of the Crucified at Gallarate commissioned from the carver Beltramo Gallazzi, son of the late Ambrogio, living at Milan at Porta Orientale in the parish of S. Giorgio al Pozzo Bianco, a large cross with the figure of the Crucified and four other figures in low relief in the upper portion, namely, the Eternal Father, St. John the Evangelist, the Virgin and Mary Magdalen, and with a skull at the foot of the cross. The work was paid for in two instalments, the first on October 17, the second on December 21 of the same year, 1465 (Arch. Not. Milan; Atti di Gervaso Bozzolani).

A cross of this description decorated with paintings and carvings is referred to in a document of January 16, 1496 (Arch. Not. di Pavia; Atti di Stefano Roverini). It was commissioned for the Church of Castel S. Giovanni, and was the work of two carvers, Giacomo Maino and his son Giov. Angelo, who is well known by existing works in the present day. The cross was 6½ braccia in length and 5½ across the arms and was adorned with four carved and painted medallions in which were represented the Pelican feeding her young, the Madonna, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Peter Martyr, with a life-size figure of the Crucified Saviour. The ground was to be painted in fine azure and the glories in gold, and the whole was to have a border of fine gold an inch in width with a small gold cross in the centre of the back. This work therefore passed through the hands of carver, painter, and decorative artist, and we may assume that the cross executed by Foppa and Bartolomeo Caylina was very similar in character.

of Foppa at Pavia ("Vincentio de Brexia pictore in dicto loco Papie") certain goods, not specified, which had been consigned by Bertolino to Vincenzo. The latter, according to the usual form of such deeds of consignment at that date, had bound himself to restore the goods when required, either to Bertolino himself or to his representative, in this case his brother Agostino, who it may be noted had acted in a similar capacity for him in the summer of 1485, receiving money on Bertolino's behalf from Vincenzo (Doc. No. 37).

This deed of April 14, 1490, seems to show that relations between Bertolino and Foppa, which must have been anything but cordial after the Genoese incident referred to in Document 44, were still strained and the wording of it makes it probable that Foppa was then at Pavia. But the altarpiece at Savona required his presence in Liguria, and it is certain that a great part of the spring and summer of 1490 must have been passed there; we know from the inscription on the picture that it was completed on August 5 of that year.

At what period the commission for this important work was first given we cannot tell, but it is to be assumed that during one of Foppa's former visits to Liguria, Giuliano della Rovere, or the authorities at Savona acting on his behalf, had entered into negotiations with the painter respecting an altarpiece for the cathedral. We have no clue as to the date when these negotiations were first opened, or as to when the contract was formally drawn up and upon what terms; the information we at present possess relating to the work is fragmentary in the highest degree. All that we know is that it was commissioned for the High Altar of S. Maria di Castello by Giuliano della Rovere, Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli and later (in 1499) Bishop of Savona, who was a great benefactor to the city, and up to the year 1490 had spent nearly 18,000 gold scudi on the embellishment of the cathedral alone. In Ottobono Giordano's description of the ancient Cathedral of Savona and its contents, written about 1549,¹ the altarpiece was valued at 400 scudi, and in a MS. at Genoa (Univ. library) it is stated that this sum was spent upon it by Giuliano.² Alizeri³ states that according to tradition the altarpiece was the joint gift of the Community of Savona and of the Cardinal; this was the case with the choir screen in the cathedral,⁴ and the fact that it was the authorities of Savona who appealed to the Duke of Milan to compel Foppa to return and finish the work might give some colour to this idea, but no chronicler mentions such an arrangement in connection with the altarpiece, which is always stated to have been the gift of Giuliano, and on the picture itself we have no indication of this co-operation, the arms being those of Giuliano alone, and the inscription

¹ Publ. by Alizeri, I, pp. 83-87.

² *Note varie su Savona*, f. 44.

³ Alizeri, I, 83 and 395.

⁴ *Note varie, ibid.*



Photo.

Noack-Paganini

ALTARPIECE OF THE OLD CATHEDRAL, SAVONA, DATED
AUGUST, 1490

SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO

containing no allusion to any donors except the one whose portrait is introduced. That the authorities at Savona should have appealed to the Duke of Milan to compel Foppa to return and finish the ancona proves not that they had any part in the work as donors, but that they were keenly anxious that the munificent intentions of Giuliano della Rovere should not be frustrated, nor the cathedral of their city be deprived of a work of art of conspicuous merit.

This altarpiece is often cited as Foppa's masterpiece, and in its imposing size and grandeur of design and conception it is certainly the most important existing work by him;¹ yet in many particulars the earlier and far simpler altarpiece in the Brera gives us a more adequate and truer insight into the artistic character of the master. The work must from the very beginning have laboured under the same disadvantages as those complained of by Madonna Zaccarina in the case of the work for S. Giacomo at Pavia, namely, that it was executed by too many different hands.² Its immense size (5 m. 50 h. and 3 m. 50 w.) precluded the possibility of its being produced by one master, and the circumstances of Foppa's life at this time make it clear that he would have been unable to supervise the work personally for any consecutive period, and that his own share must have been subjected to frequent interruptions; hence an altarpiece which in accordance with his own plan and design should have been an impressive and monumental work, suffered at the very outset from disturbing elements and from the collaboration of assistants. This applies also to the work executed by the carvers. A great number of carved figures in niches adorn the tabernacle which rises above the central panel and the pilasters of the outer framework; half-length figures are set in the arched openings of the frieze which separates the middle tier from the large panels of the lower course; while the whole is crowned by pinnacles surmounted by five full-length statuettes in wood. But the figures are mostly poor in quality, and the decorative work is often ungainly and heavy in design and coarse in execution, contrasting unfavourably with the exquisite taste and workmanship of many earlier Italian altarpieces. Either the Genoese craftsmen were not so skilled as those in other parts of Italy, or Foppa was not so particular in selecting the most competent masters as was Gadio in choosing the wood carvers for the ancona at Pavia, and circumstances moreover rendered it impossible for Vincenzo to control and supervise the different artificers. In addition to these disadvantages, the whole work is now in a terribly injured and decayed condition, and in need of careful and judicious restoration. The carved figures, which were originally gilt, have been smeared over with colour; the painting of the principal panels has darkened

¹ For a detailed account of this altarpiece, see Dr. Giulio Carotti's important article, *La Gran Pala del Foppa*, etc., excerpt, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1896.

² See chap. iv.

so much in many parts that the details are almost obliterated; the original colour has scaled off in places, and large portions have been entirely repainted and modernized; while the surface in many parts has been torn and lacerated by nails. In its present position it is most difficult of access¹ and examination, and the conditions of light prevailing in the chapel render all attempts at photography a matter of great difficulty. Under these circumstances no true estimate of the work is possible, and the impression it leaves on the spectator is both disappointing and unfavourable.

The figure of the Madonna in the central panel is closely allied to that of the enthroned Virgin of the Brera altarpiece, though in quality and dignity of conception it falls short of that stately and impressive composition; the modelling of the features, the massive pillar-like neck, the drawing of the hands, which are full of feeling and remarkably characteristic of Foppa, and the details of the drapery are very similar in both works; but the calm serenity and quiet strength depicted on the countenance of the Brera Madonna has given place here to an expression of profound melancholy and abstraction. Unmindful of the donor, who kneels beside the throne, her gaze is riveted upon the book which lies open upon her knee, her spirit wholly absorbed by what she reads, as though in these pages all that in the future was to come upon her Divine Son was revealed to her.

The Infant Saviour, who turns to bless the kneeling Cardinal, has not the solemn dignity which characterizes the Christ Child of the Castello Museum at Milan; neither has it the charm and natural action which we see in the Bambino of the Brera picture; nor the radiant and joyous expression of the Child in the fresco of 1485; though in outward characteristics the Savona altarpiece is more or less closely connected with all these works.² The air of despondency and sadness which has communicated itself in some degree to all the heads and broods like a shadow over the whole of this central panel seems like the reflection of the painter's own temper of mind at that time, when he had been forced to abandon for the moment all his schemes for settling at Brescia and beginning work there under the most favourable circumstances, and had been obliged instead to fulfil the conditions

¹ The oratory is always closed, except on Sundays and Fridays, when Mass is said here, and on one day in the month, when a Requiem is sung for departed members of the confraternity.

² We are unable to agree with the opinion expressed by Dr. Carotti (*op. cit.*, p. 12), that the crowns worn by the Madonna and the Infant Saviour were an integral part of the altarpiece. They differ widely in quality and design from the crown of the Madonna in the Brera altarpiece, which must always have formed part of the master's original composition, whereas at Savona they appear to us disfiguring additions of later date.



Photo.

Noack-Paganini

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND THE DONOR
SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO

of an irksome contract under threat of imprisonment. If we are right in assuming that Foppa executed the altarpiece, now in the Brera, between 1470 and 1480, we have in the central panel of that picture the spontaneous expression of a painter in the zenith of his fame, who put forth all his strength in order to gain the approval of new patrons and to maintain the high position he had won before the world; while at Savona we stand before the work of a master past his prime, who had been coerced under the strongest pressure into finishing an altarpiece in which he had probably lost all interest, and of which he had doubtless hoped to be quit for ever when he turned his back on Liguria in the spring of 1489. Giuliano della Rovere and the authorities at Savona were not so easy to deal with as the monks of S. Maria di Castello at Genoa; they held the painter to his contract, and he fulfilled it to the letter of the agreement. More than this they could not exact from him, and although the outward characteristics of Foppa are abundantly present in this altarpiece, it is lacking in some of those qualities which are rarely absent from his works—spontaneity of feeling, unity of aim and purpose, and that intimate bond of sympathy between all the figures which serves to bring them into closest relation one with the other. It is true that in the present damaged state of the picture it is scarcely possible to guess what may have been its original aspect, yet the injuries which it has sustained cannot be held altogether responsible for these deficiencies, and the circumstances of Foppa's life and the conditions under which the work was produced must also be taken into consideration.

In the angel musicians on either side of the throne, dimmed and disfigured though they now are, Foppa's character may still be recognized in the plastic modelling of the heads and in the warmth and earnestness of the expression. As in the Brera altarpiece, these angels wear bands of red at the neck and wrists of their white draperies; these bands are repeated also in the dark robe of the angel presenting the donor—a figure which must once have been of considerable charm, with its characteristic type, thick fair hair, and attractive expression, though all detail is now lost in the general gloom. The uplifted hand of this angel, somewhat disproportionate in size with short fingers and broad palm (characteristics which we find exaggerated in the saints of the upper tier), is closely connected with the hands of the saints in the Brera altarpiece; while in the beautiful but much injured hand of the Madonna resting upon the book, we have a typical example of another form of hand, and one which constantly recurs in Foppa's Madonnas: in the Brera altarpiece, in the Arcore Annunciation, in the National Gallery Adoration of the Magi, and in other works. Characteristic of the master too are the small grisaille figures of saints in shell niches below the arms and at the sides of the throne, a

favourite decorative *motive* which was constantly repeated by painters of the school of Foppa. The *putti* seated above the wooden throne and making music with pipe and bagpipe, are in closest relation with the methods of sculpture and recall similar types met with, both in paintings and sculptures, in North Italy.¹ The colour of this central panel must originally have been magnificent, for even now if a ray of sunshine chance to fall upon the red and golden brocade suspended at the back of the throne and covering the step in front, or on the deep scarlet of the Cardinal's robe, the effect is one of extraordinary richness and brilliancy, and the dead and blackened panel seems for a moment to glow with living fire.

The kneeling donor is the only adequate example of a portrait by Vincenzo Foppa known. From this point of view it is of unique interest demonstrating the master's skill in this branch of art.² Foppa may have seen Giuliano della Rovere, who paid occasional visits to Genoa and Savona during the years when the painter was in Liguria, and may have sketched his features, but we cannot tell whether the Cardinal ever sat to him; the fine characterization of the head in this panel and the vitality and earnestness of the expression might well point to its having been a portrait from life. The only portraits of Giuliano of this date which could be of any service in verifying the likeness are the two well-known medals—by Sperandio of about 1483–84 (a specimen is in the British Museum)³ and by Giov. Candida of about 1494, reproduced by Fabricy.⁴ The similarity in type and expression between these two medals is not striking, neither is their resemblance to the painted portrait altogether convincing; nevertheless, taken in conjunction with the inscription, with the arms of Giuliano introduced in the predella, and with the undeniable fact that he was the donor of the picture, there can be no doubt that

¹ Dr. Carotti, *op. cit.*, draws attention to the connection with the school of Padua seen in these *putti*. Compare also a Madonna, ascribed to Mantegna, in the Berlin Gallery, which Morelli (III, pp. 73, 74) attributed to Bartolomeo Vivarini.

² The portrait of Manfredo Fornari, (pp. 161–62), cannot be taken as any criterion of his skill in portraiture. Some examples have indeed been ascribed to him, but on insufficient grounds; for instance, the portrait of an unknown man in the Morrison Collection, and the admirable little likeness of Francesco Brivio da Melegnano in the Poldi Museum at Milan, which Morelli attributed to Ambrogio de Predis, the name of Foppa having been bestowed upon it by the late Professor Bertini; our illustration may help to identify others, as yet unrecognized.

³ See *Guide to Italian Medals, etc.*, p. 6, No. 16. Cf. also Gruyer, *Raphaël Peintre de Portraits*, I, 220–88. For Giul. see among others: Pescetto, *Annali*; Verz, *op. cit.*; Brosch, *Jul. II.*; *Mon. per la vita, di G.* etc.

⁴ *Medaillen, etc.*, p. 81, Fig. 143, and Engl. ed., Pl. 33, 7. See also Armand, II, p. 109, No. 2, and *Trésor de Numismatique*, I, XIII, 3; Supino, No. 704, p. 215; *Rev. Numis.*, 1895, p. 420; Carotti, *op. cit.*, p. 10, etc.



PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL GIULIANO
DELLA ROVERE

(Detail of altarpiece)

SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO



THE DONOR, CARD. GIULIANO DELLA
ROVERE

*(Detail of altar-piece, showing the position of the
inscription on the panel)*

SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO



Photo.

Giraudon, Paris

CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE

*(From an altar-piece by Giovanni Mazzone of
Alessandria)*

PARIS: LOUVRE

in the kneeling figure we have a true likeness of the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli.¹ What has been said of this portrait does not apply to the figure as seen in the illustration of the central panel, but to the enlarged detail of the same from which we are able to form some idea of the quality of Foppa's work and of his merits as a portrait painter.

The figure of St. John Baptist on the left side of the altarpiece recalls the composition of the fresco from S. Maria del Giardino in the Castello at Milan, which, as we have already stated, was no doubt the prototype of this panel ; but the figure is a complete wreck, and only in the expression of the head, now a mere shadow, have we some faint indication of the painter's original intention ; yet in spite of its deplorable condition it appears to us that Foppa's own hand is still discernible in it. In the second tier of the altarpiece are represented the four Fathers of the Church ; in type some of these saints are certainly closely connected with the master himself, but the confined space allotted to them must have greatly hampered the painter, who, according to the terms of the contract, was probably ordered to produce seated figures and not half-lengths. The stunted proportions, the absence of all feeling for line and anatomical structure beneath the draperies in some of these figures, are qualities which seem to remove them from the sphere of Foppa's genuine works, and the heads, with the exception of that of St. Ambrose, are inferior to him in truth and sincerity of expression.

Of the four Evangelists in the upper tier it is perhaps scarcely permissible to speak at all, considering the distance from the eye and the conditions of light prevailing in the chapel ; but in the panel on the right, the figures of St. Luke and St. Mark in type and drawing very decidedly recall Lodovico Brea of Nice, the painter of the large panel with St. John the Evangelist in the lower tier of this altarpiece. We think it not improbable that having been entrusted with the execution of so important a share of the work, he may also have been employed to paint the small lunette for the upper tier on the same side of the polyptych. In the lunette of the left side, on the other hand, the figures of St. Matthew and St. John the Evangelist appear to be by a different painter, and here certain particulars, more especially the pose of St. John and the foreshortened features of his upturned face, recall the methods of an artist of the stamp of Buttinone.

The predella is composed of seven panels, corresponding, as will be seen from the illustration, with the different divisions of the altarpiece. On the left,

¹ It bears a close resemblance to the kneeling figure of the Cardinal in Mazzone's altarpiece (now in the Louvre), painted for the so-called Sistine Chapel at Savona, and that this figure represents Giuliano della Rovere there is not the slightest doubt, though, as in the case of Foppa's portrait, we cannot tell if it was painted from life.

beneath the pilaster with carved figures in niches of the framework, we have : (1) the Decollation of St. John Baptist ; then follows, beneath the full-length figure of the same saint, (2) the banquet of Herod ; (3) the Adoration of the Magi under the central panel of the Madonna ; on either side of this are two small panels (4 and 5) containing the Arms of Giuliano della Rovere—the oak tree surmounted by the cardinal's hat ; beneath the full-length figure of St. John the Evangelist we have (6) the saint in Patmos ; and (7) St. John about to be lifted up to heaven—the tomb, from which issue golden rays, is seen to the right of the altar, and near it is the saint kneeling on clouds.

In the general scheme of the compositions and in many individual types and *motives*, these panels show great affinity with the works of Foppa and his *bottega*. The executioner in the panel of the Decollation, the page with the head of St. John Baptist in the banquet of Herod, the young man about to mount his horse in the retinue of the Three Kings, and many incidents in the composition of the Adoration of the Magi, are closely connected with the types, figures, and *motives* of Foppa ; the treatment and technique of the brocaded stuffs, the design and colouring of the carpet covering the steps of the dais in the banquet of Herod, and numerous other particulars link these panels with the master, but in execution they fall far below the level of his art and can only be regarded as products of his workshop.

On the 5th of August, 1490, Vincenzo inscribed the central composition as follows :—

**ANNO SALVTIS 1490 DIE VAVGVSTI·IVL·EPS·OSTIEN·CARD·S
P·ADVINCVLÄ·MAIORÄ·NITENT·VICENCIVS PINXIT**

and five days later Lodovico Brea signed his name upon the large panel on the right side with St. John the Evangelist : “Ludovicus Brea Niciēsis pinxit hāc partē 1490 die X augusti cōplecta.” This, the best preserved of all the compositions,¹ has little connection in style with the other large panels, but shows the hand of a painter who has much in common with Bergognone, and who, like that master, was attracted by the softer side of Foppa's art rather than by its more severe and virile qualities.²

For fifty years the picture remained in its place over the High Altar ; but in 1542 the Government declared it imperative that the defences of

¹ The fact that Brea's panel, which was subjected, we assume, to the same treatment as the remainder of the altarpiece, has come down to us in so good a state of preservation confirms us in the belief that there must have been some defect either in the mediums used by Foppa or in his manipulation of the colours, which has resulted in the deterioration and decay which we so frequently have to deplore in his works.

² Brea, when he collaborated with Foppa, was already a mature artist ; a signed work by him is known of 1475 (Alizeri, II, 276).



Photo.

Noack-Paganini

ST. JOHN BAPTIST
SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO



Photo.

Nonck-Pagenini

SS. AMBROSE AND AUGUSTINE
SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO



Photo.

Nonck-Pagenini

SS. JEROME AND GREGORY
SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO

Savona should be strengthened and a citadel erected, and to that end it was decided to sacrifice a considerable portion of the city. In this scheme of ruthless and wholesale destruction the cathedral, which it had been the pride of Bishop Gara, of Pope Julius II, and of other munificent benefactors to enrich, was included. In vain the people of Savona appealed to the Signoria and sent envoys to plead the cause of their beloved Duomo; the edict had gone forth, and the cathedral, the shrine of so many priceless treasures of painting, sculpture, intarsia, and carving, was doomed to immediate destruction. In April, 1542, it was entirely dismantled, and no one was permitted to enter the building, which was strictly guarded.¹ Eventually some of its treasures, including the magnificent choir-stalls, the gift of Giuliano, and the work of Anselmo de' Fornari and his assistants Gian Michele de' Pantaleoni and Elia de' Rocchi,² were placed in the new cathedral; but the altarpiece was never reinstated, and for fifty years or more after its removal was never heard of. The first mention of it occurs in the year 1600, in the registers of the Confraternity of S. Maria di Castello. From these registers we learn that some years after the destruction of the cathedral the altarpiece was temporarily deposited in the oratory belonging to the confraternity, which in the year 1600 became its permanent home.

The Chapter of the cathedral apparently deemed it unworthy of a place in the new building, and with the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities it was disposed of to the Prior and Sub-Prior of the confraternity for the sum of five hundred lire; the money was paid by instalments, the last payment being of April, 1603. The accurate description given in the registers of the subjects treated in the ancona, and of its former position in the cathedral, leave no doubt as to its identity with the work we have been discussing, although no painter's name is mentioned in connection with it.³

Subsequently Foppa's share in the work was entirely forgotten. It received occasional notice from seventeenth and eighteenth century writers; Soprani⁴ in 1674 praises the work of Brea, but knows nothing of any other painter; and

¹ De Monti, *Compendio, etc.*, p. 183; *Annali, loc. cit.*; Abate, *Memorie . . di Savona*.

² The two first named were natives of Castelnuovo di Scrivia, near Tortona; Elia was a brother of Cristoforo de' Rocchi, of Pavia, to whom we alluded when speaking of the cross of the Carmine, p. 170, note 1. See V. Poggi, *La Strenna Savonese*, 1895, p. 19, and *Il Coro Monumentale della Cattedrale di Savona e gli artisti Tortonesi che lo eseguirono* (in *Bollettino della Soc. per gli Studi . . d'Arte nel Tortonese*, III, 1904).

³ These registers are preserved in S. Maria di Castello, and are contained in the volume entitled *Libro dell' Amministrazione*, No. 22. Through the kindness of the former Prior, the late Professor Niccolò Corrado, we were permitted to consult these entries; the chief passages bearing upon the history of the altarpiece have been published by Dr. Carotti, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

⁴ Soprani, *Le Vite de' Pittori . . in Genova*, p. 13.

Ratti in 1780 says that it was executed for Giuliano by several masters, but the only one he also knows by name is Brea.¹ In later times Torteroli, finding upon it the name Vincencius, reproduced the inscription as "Vin . . Catena pinsit,"² which "wilful forgery" was exposed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who with Alizeri³ were the first to draw attention to this forgotten work. The oratory suffered terribly at the time of the earthquake of February 23, 1887: the roof fell in, three sides of the building were wrecked, and the whole structure seemed on the verge of total ruin; but by a most fortunate chance the east wall where the altarpiece hung remained standing and the ancona was happily uninjured, though in imminent peril, since the wall was in danger of collapsing at any moment.⁴ With admirable courage the Prior, Professor Niccolò Corrado, assisted by five members of the confraternity, at once undertook the hazardous task of detaching this enormous polyptych and removing it from its perilous position on the tottering wall. In the short space of one hour and a half they accomplished the work of rescue, and having taken the ancona to pieces they deposited the panels and all the accessories in a place of safety.⁵

As already observed, we have unfortunately no clue as to the identity of the other painters who collaborated here with Foppa. Alizeri states that according to tradition at Savona, Costantino da Vaprio was one of the executants, but Comm. Vittorio Poggi and others at Savona who are intimately acquainted with the history of the altarpiece are unable to corroborate this, and are ignorant of the source whence Alizeri derived his information. Alizeri's further statement that Bertolino della Canonica probably furnished the carvings⁶ is apparently based on the document of September 15, 1488 (No. 41), already alluded to, which as far as the present argument is concerned certainly proves nothing.

It is probable, however, as in the case of the ancona for the Chapel of the Relics at Pavia and the altarpiece for S. Maria Gualtieri, that the woodwork was set up and the carvings produced some time before the paintings were furnished; hence it is very likely that Bertolino may have undertaken this portion of the work, and that he executed it before April, 1489, and while still on good terms with Foppa. For the paintings, as we have seen, Vincenzo

¹ Ratti, *Descrizione . . delle due Riviere, etc.*, II, p. 42; see also Spotorno, *Storia letteraria della Liguria*, II, p. 329.

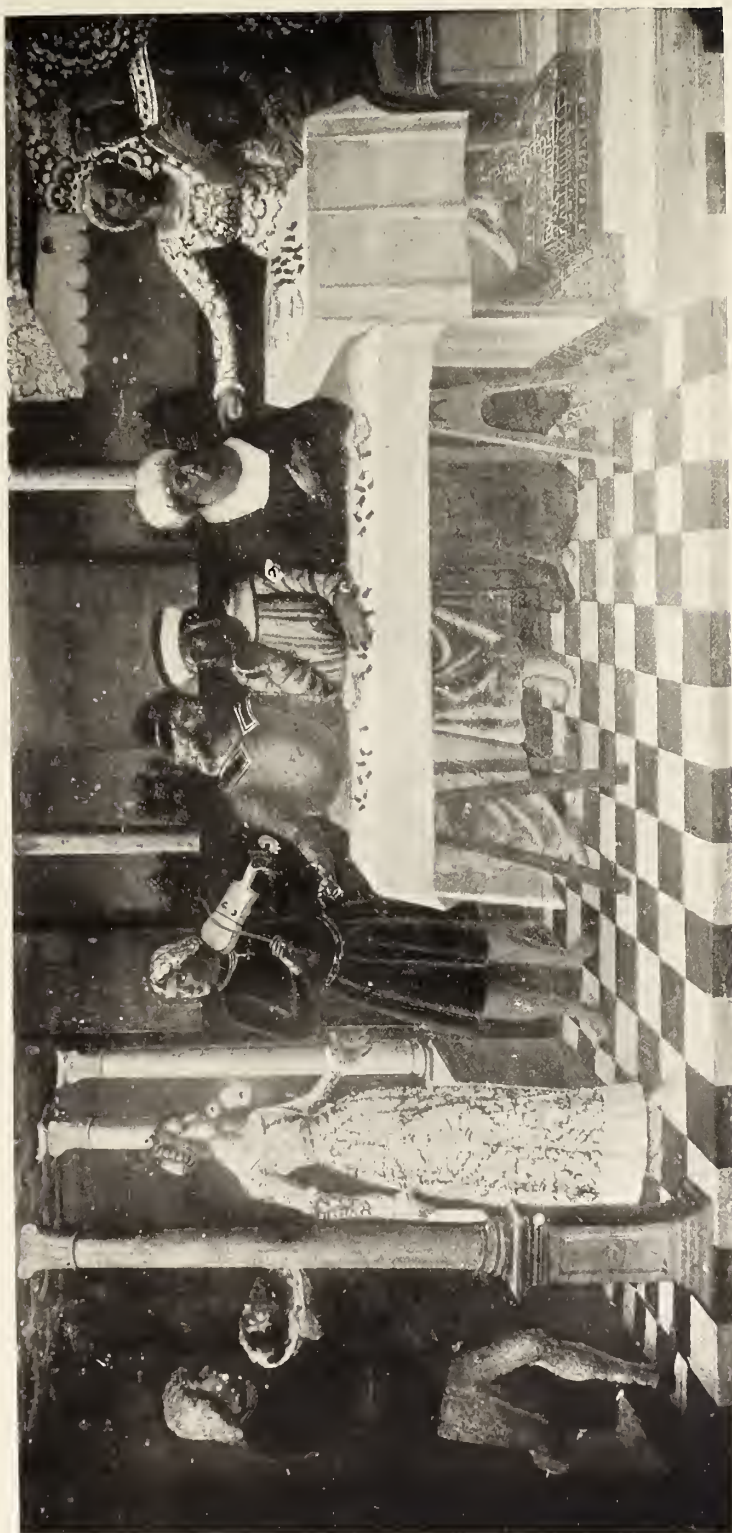
² *Memorie della Città di Savona*, p. 87.

³ I, 359-65.

⁴ An interesting photograph taken immediately after the disaster shows the picture absolutely undamaged hanging upon the altar wall, while all around is a scene of indescribable confusion and ruin.

⁵ See Cesare Beccaria, *Commemorazione del 23 di Febbraio, 1887, etc.*, p. 8 note.

⁶ Alizeri, I, 365 and foll.



Ph. e.

Noack-Paganini

THE BANQUET OF HEROD
SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO



Photo.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI
SAVONA: ORATORY OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO

Nuccio Paganini

must have employed at least two assistants, Lodovico Brea and another whose identity is still shrouded in mystery. Here again, as in that unsolved problem in the history of Italian art the Portinari Chapel, the discovery of a document relating to the work would be of the highest interest ; but until further evidence comes to light the altarpiece of S. Maria di Castello can only be classed as a work undertaken by Foppa and executed in part by himself with the co-operation of other painters.¹

¹ Considering the great importance of this altarpiece and its present deplorable and neglected condition, it is most earnestly to be desired that those in authority at Savona who have the guardianship of the picture might be induced to consign it to the care of Professor Cavenaghi for restoration, before it is too late.

CHAPTER VIII

1489 TO 1500 AND LATER

Foppa's petition read in the Special Council at Brescia—He is appointed official painter to the Brescian Government at a fixed salary—Capriolo's description of Brescia—Foppa works in the Loggetta at Brescia—Said to have painted at Rodengo—Granted leave of absence for one month in 1491 to return to Pavia—"Livello" paid by him to the Hospital of S. Invenzio and disagreement with the administrators—At Pavia again in 1492—Values paintings at Brescia in that year—Dismissed from the service of the Brescian Government, May, 1495—Living in a house at Brescia in 1498—His altarpiece for S. Maria Gualtieri at Pavia—His collaborator Giov. Siro—Formenti the carver of this ancona—Probable date of Foppa's paintings—The different parts of the altarpiece—Date of its consignment to the donors—The Pietà, Berlin—Painted for a chapel in S. Pietro in Gessate at Milan—Foppa's signature—The probable donor—Pietà, late Cernuschi Collection, ascribed to Foppa by Caffi—Pietà for the Oratory of the Disciplina of S. Barnaba, Brescia—For the Augustinians, Crema—In the collection of Signor Bernasconi, Milan—Composition of this subject, S. Giov. Evangelista, Brescia—Terra-cotta group, S. Satiro, Milan—Altarpiece, National Gallery—Picture in a private collection, Versailles—Processional banner, Orzinuovi.

HAVING satisfied the authorities at Savona by furnishing the altarpiece for their cathedral, Foppa was now at liberty to enter upon his duties at Brescia. It will be remembered that before leaving that city for Pavia in the autumn of 1489 the painter had approached two members of the Brescian Council on the subject of his repatriation; all the details relating to this are contained in two important documents, Nos. 52 and 55. The wording of No. 52 plainly shows that at this date Foppa was highly esteemed in his old home, and that these two distinguished Brescian citizens, Giov. Cristoforo da Cazzago and Emanuele Lana, who in their official capacity are continually mentioned in the municipal archives, were eager to serve him.

On December 18, 1489, they presented at the meeting of the Special Council of the governing body of the city "the well-worded petition" of "Master Vincenzo, the excellent painter, our fellow-citizen," adding on their own account an eloquent statement of the great master's wishes, and recommending him in the warmest terms with the view of obtaining a favourable answer in the Council to his appeal. Foppa's chief desire was now, after an

absence of so many years from his old home, to return to Brescia and settle there for the remainder of his life, being weary of continual peregrinations to different cities and dissatisfied with the uncertainty of employment there. His financial conditions, however, were not such as to render him free from all anxiety in the future. He therefore hoped to obtain from the Brescian Government an annual stipend of fifty ducats, which, added to his own small income, would enable him to live in comparative ease. He offered on his part to open a school at Brescia, where the youth of the city might be instructed in painting and architecture, and to adorn the public buildings of the city with paintings.

This petition, presented by the two Brescian magnates, was favourably received by the Council, who had a high opinion of Foppa as an artist who had gained such fame by his works in many cities, and "last of all in our new Loggetta." It was therefore decided, subject to the approval of the General Council (which would not have been likely to reject the motion), to grant the painter a yearly allowance of 100 lire planet, on condition that he settled at Brescia and exercised his art there; the continuance of the stipend, however, it was distinctly stated, was to depend on the good pleasure of the Community. Measures passed at the Special Council did not, however, come into force until they had been approved and confirmed by the General Council; the latter held its sittings as a rule four times in the month, the Special Council four to six times, according to the amount of business to be transacted. In the case of Foppa eight months, however, elapsed before the decision of the Special Council was confirmed, a delay doubtless caused by the fact that until Vincenzo had fulfilled his engagement with Giuliano della Rovere, and had finished the altarpiece for the Cathedral of Savona to the satisfaction of his employers, no permanent post could be given to him at Brescia. But immediately on the completion of that work, that is after August 5, 1490, he must have reported himself to the authorities at Brescia, and at the meeting of the General Council on the 24th of that month, the decision of December 18, 1489, was ratified and the motion carried by sixty-six votes to nineteen, "Master Vincenzo Brixiano the excellent painter" being granted a salary of 100 lire planet,¹ "he himself living in the city of Brescia and exercising there the art of painting, which salary is to continue subject to the good pleasure of the Community" (Doc. No. 55). From Elia Capriolo's history of Brescia we

¹ According to Capilupi (*Stor. MS. della Quadra di S. Alessandro di Brescia*, f. 43), 1 lira planet was equal to 13 lire in the present day; Foppa's salary would consequently have amounted to 1300 lire. Valentini, *Statuti di Brescia*, etc., p. 26, states that the lira was called "planet" to distinguish it from two other Brescian coins, lira vecchia and nuova imperiale. See also Doneda, *Notizie della Zecca di Brescia*, etc., p. 60 and foll.

obtain an interesting glimpse of the city at the close of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth, and from his description we gather that conditions must have been very different then from what they were at the time when Foppa quitted his home to seek more congenial surroundings at Pavia. Capriolo quotes from a letter of Girolamo Campagnola¹ addressed to Cassandra Veneta² at Padua, in which he exhorts her to come to Brescia, a city almost divine ("questa quasi che divina città"), and among other things speaks of the "great multitude of artists who there exercise their craft and produce every kind of work pertaining to the use of man."³ There can be no doubt that the return to Brescia of her most illustrious painter must have given a great impetus to the art life of the city, and the brilliant conditions described by Campagnola may have been due in some degree to the presence and influence of Vincenzo Foppa. The first work entrusted to him was that of completing the frescoes in the new Loggetta, which, as we saw, he had probably begun in the summer of 1489, paintings which had won for him the cordial approbation of the authorities. On October 4, 1490, a measure was passed in the General Council for the further adornment of this building. It was decided to entrust to the Special Council the selection of two deputies who, with Francesco Miglio, one of the Commissioners of Works in the new Loggetta, were to provide for the execution of paintings here by Master Vincenzo, "the excellent painter our fellow-citizen" (Doc. No. 56). On the 26th of November the master petitioned to be paid for paintings which he had executed on the south wall of this Loggetta at the upper end of the Piazza; this doubtless referred to the first works which he had executed in 1489, and the Commissioners were instructed to make a careful examination of these paintings, and then to issue an order to him for the remainder of his pay (No. 57).

These entries make the position of the Loggetta perfectly clear, and also serve to explain Zamboni's mistake, alluded to in chapter VII, page 164; it doubtless arose from his having understood the reference to the south wall to apply to the position of the Loggetta *on the southern side* of the Piazza; whereas there can be no doubt that these entries refer to the building at the head⁴ or upper end of the Piazza, which is the eastern side, *on the south wall of which* Foppa had painted a fresco.⁵

¹ No doubt the same to whom allusion was made in chap. I, p. 4.

² Probably the Cassandra Fedele mentioned by Philippus Bergomensis, p. 165. See also *Anonimo*, ed. Morelli, 1800, p. 102, for another letter to her from Campagnola.

³ *Dell' Istorie, etc.*, Book I, p. 14.

⁴ "A capite platee" (Doc. No. 57).

⁵ See the illustration of this Loggetta in chap. VII.

According to Fenaroli,¹ Foppa in 1491 executed work for the Olivetans of Rodengo, near Brescia, namely, frescoes in the apse; but he gives no authority for his statement, and if such paintings existed they have long been obliterated or covered with whitewash.² A fresco of the Madonna and Child on the façade of the building was also ascribed to Foppa and was seen in its place by Fenaroli. Later it was removed from the wall, and after having been transferred to canvas was included in the exhibition organized by the Ateneo of Brescia in 1878, where it was seen by Dr. Frizzoni, who refers to it in the *Archivio dell' Arte*³ as the work of some obscure compatriot of Foppa. It seems to have been first ascribed to the master himself in 1875,⁴ and the attribution was then adopted by Fenaroli in his Dictionary of Brescian artists, and by the writer of the catalogue of the exhibition of 1878. No one who sees this very feeble picture, which now hangs in the gallery at Brescia, will however, be inclined to support this view, but will certainly concur in Dr. Frizzoni's opinion.

On August 30, 1491, we have another entry among the minutes of the Special Council of Brescia relating to Foppa. He had applied for leave of absence in order to go to Pavia, not to execute paintings, but on account of a lawsuit, which had been brought against him relating to a house which he owned in that city (Doc. No. 58). According to Zamboni, this house had been the dowry of his wife, but the *Provvisione* of August 30, 1491, contains no allusion to this. We do not know from what sources, now lost to us, Zamboni may have derived his information; from Fenaroli's comment that the statement is confirmed by other municipal records, we might infer that he was acquainted with further entries in addition to the one just mentioned in the volume of the *Provvisioni*, which is the only entry relating to the subject at present known to us at Brescia.⁵ We are therefore unwilling to contradict

¹ *Dizionario, etc.*, p. 135.

² The late Monsig. Fé (*Il Comune e l' Abbazia di Rodengo*, p. 69) stated, but without giving his authority, that Foppa il vecchio was summoned to paint the choir in 1498, a more probable date, as in 1491 he was in the service of the Brescian Government and would not have been permitted to undertake extraneous commissions. It must, however, be added that in a MS. of the Arch. Mun. Brescia, *Annali di Rodengo* (a copy in the handwriting of the late Don Angelo Capilupi), no mention is made of the decoration of the choir by Foppa in these years; on the other hand, it is recorded that Cristoforo Rocchi of Pavia agreed with the Olivetans to decorate the choir with mosaics in 1480. ³ 1889, pp. 25, 26, *La Pinacoteca Martinengo in Brescia*.

⁴ See *Relaz. della Commissione, etc., per la Conservazione dei Monumenti della Prov. di Brescia*, p. 19.

⁵ Zani (*Enciclopedia . . . delle belle Arti*, Vol. IX, p. 229) also refers to this house having been the dowry of Foppa's wife, and cites as his authorities certain MS. notes furnished by Zamboni and Oretti.

his assertion, though we are bound to point out two facts: in the first place that Foppa's wife, of the Brescian family of Caylina, would not have been likely to have had as her dowry a house at Pavia;¹ and in the second place that the house owned by Foppa at Pavia was his own acquisition, for we know that he bought house property there both in 1467 or 1468, and in 1483.² Foppa's application was considered by the members of the Special Council and he was granted leave of absence for one month. With regard to this document, it should also be noted that the word "nolle" was formerly deciphered "velle," as though Foppa had applied for leave to go to Pavia not only on account of the lawsuit, but also in order to execute paintings. This, however, is absolutely incorrect. In the original the word is "nolle," and it is clear that Foppa, in petitioning the Council for leave of absence for one month, wished to make it understood that this journey had nothing to do with his profession,³ in order more readily to obtain their consent to his request. He could scarcely have applied for leave to undertake work at Pavia, when, according to the terms of his engagement at Brescia, it was expressly stated that he was to live there and execute paintings in that city only. He did not, however, make use of the permission at once, as we find him at Pavia on November 11 (Doc. No. 59), by which time his leave of absence would have expired had he left Brescia immediately after the resolution was passed. On this day he appears in the Canonry of S. Invenzio as witness to a payment of rent made by his friend Cristoforo Gazzaniga, and subsequently he himself pays in person the "livello" for his house to the Hospital of S. Invenzio; for though, as we saw in chapter VI, page 141, he had the beneficial ownership of the house in that parish, we know from many entries in the Pavian Archives that there was a nominal charge upon it of one soldo per annum due to the administrators of the hospital as owners of the fee.⁴

¹ Zamboni's mistake may have originated in the fact that he had some vague knowledge of a house which had come to Foppa through his wife, though this house, according to Doc. 33, was the gift of the painter's mother-in-law, and was not at Pavia, but at Brescia, in the Contrada S. Agata.

² Chaps. III and VI.

³ "Et dicente aliquam picturæ operam facere nolle" (stating that he would not execute any paintings there).

⁴ The first of these payments is made on November 10, 1487, by Vincenzo's son Evangelista, on behalf of his father, the master himself being then at Genoa (App. II B, No. 4). On this occasion the sum paid is four soldi, being the amount due for four years. After this it was paid annually, and the rate falling due on November 11 in each year, was paid with surprising punctuality either by one of Foppa's sons or by the lawyer acting on his behalf. In addition to the documents relating to these payments which we publish in the Appendix (A and B), we have records in the Pavian Archives referring to it in the following years in the month of November: 1488, 1492, 1494, 1495, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1504, 1505, and 1506.

It is evident that he had now timed his leave of absence so as to be at Pavia to pay the sum in person on the day when it fell due. This fact is not without importance, for though we have no allusion in Pavian documents of this year (1491) to the lawsuit spoken of in the Deliberations of the Brescian Council of August 30, from records of subsequent years we are inclined to think that it actually had reference to this house in S. Invenzio. Foppa by coming himself to Pavia probably settled the dispute satisfactorily for the time being, but in later years the question came up again, and we find it raised in November, 1497 and 1498, by Francesco de Betiis on behalf of the hospital, while Vincenzo's neighbour Cristoforo Gazzaniga enters a protest on behalf of his absent friend (Doc. No. 67).

The cause of this dispute we cannot explain, but it is probable that differences had arisen in consequence of the painter having let the house, when he left Pavia for Brescia, without first applying to the administrators of the hospital for permission. Foppa doubtless believed himself at liberty to act independently, but the administrators considering that their rights as owners of the fee had been infringed and that they would therefore be justified in repudiating their agreement with the painter, would no doubt have endeavoured by every means in their power to prove that Foppa had forfeited his tenure as a leaseholder in perpetuity. This we believe to be the reason why the receipt for the annual payments of the "livello" contains an explicit allusion to the rights of the hospital as opposed to those of Foppa.

Brescian documents are silent about Foppa for the next six months or so, and on June 20, 1492, we find him once more at Pavia (Doc. No. 60). On that day in the presence of the Consuls of the Merchants' Guild, whose office was in a palace almost opposite to the cathedral, Foppa receives from Pietro Paolo Guenzati, a merchant of Pavia, the sum of fifty-one lire imp. nine soldi, a sum owing to the painter, though it is not stated on what account. No notice of this journey to Pavia is found in the Brescian Archives, that is to say, we have no formal permission given, as in the Deliberations of August 30, 1491, and we assume therefore that the period of Foppa's absence from the city being very brief, it was not necessary for him to apply to the authorities for leave on this occasion.

On November 23, 1492 (Doc. No. 61), we have a short entry among the minutes of the Special Council of Brescia to the effect that Master Vincenzo valued paintings executed at Brescia by Pietro Moretto, and though the master's surname is not given here, we may assume that it refers to the official painter of the city, Vincenzo Foppa, and not to Vincenzo Civerchio, who at this date was also at Brescia, and was painting frescoes in a chapel in the cathedral.

During these years Foppa must have been fully occupied at Brescia both

in teaching and in executing paintings in different buildings in the city, according to his agreement, though we have no clue as to what these paintings were.

No frescoes now exist at Brescia which could with any probability be attributed to him, and even works which can with certainty be ascribed to his school are few in number. It is possible, however, that a fresco in the Church of S. Maria Calchera mentioned by Ottavio Rossi¹ as by Foppa may have been among the works of this period.

This writer narrates that Paolo Oriani, the celebrated Brescian philosopher and jurist, having doubted the immortality of the soul, was cured of his scepticism by a supernatural visitation. On All Souls' Day the spirit of his dead father Lanfranco appeared to him, and plucking off the wig of long hair (*zazzera*)—the insignia of nobility—worn by Paolo, revealed to him that thus death would despoil man, even as he, Lanfranco, now removed the hair from the head of his son.

This vision, added Rossi, was painted by Foppa in the ancient Church of S. Maria Calchiri with an inscription recording the incident. As Lanfranco Oriani died in 1488, and his son Paolo in July, 1495,² the fresco must have been executed between these years and as Foppa only returned to settle at Brescia in the second half of 1490, the period of its production, if it was actually by him, would fall between 1490 and 1495. It must, however, be added that no other writer mentions the work, and that in matters of art Rossi is extremely untrustworthy, as proved by his short notice of Foppa, which is a mass of errors. No trace of the work is now to be found in S. Maria Calchera, and it was doubtless destroyed when the church was enlarged and restored in the second half of the sixteenth century on the initiative of the parish priest Silvino Silvini.³ If we are to believe Sala,⁴ another work by "Foppa" executed in 1495 was still existing in 1834, in the collection of Signor Giovanni Averoldi, at Brescia; according to this writer, it bore the inscription "1495 depicta per Magistrum Vincentium Brixensem."

We have been unable to trace this picture; it is no longer at Brescia, and from Fenaroli's allusion to it as "formerly in the collection of Signor Averoldi" it is to be assumed that when he wrote (in 1877) it had already disappeared. Neither have we any clue as to the subject, nor the slightest proof that this Vincenzo Bresciano was Foppa; hence we only mention the fact here with the utmost reserve, and refer our readers to what is said relating to "Vincenzo Foppa the younger" in chapter x, and to the note on the numerous painters Vincenzo of Brescia, in Appendix I, Note 5.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

³ Fé, *op. cit.*, V, p. 42.

² Peroni, Vol. III, pp. 7-9.

⁴ Guida di Brescia.

After 1492 the name of Foppa is not met with again in the Deliberations of the Council until May 15, 1495 (Doc. No. 62), and we have no clue as to the circumstances of his life during the interval between these years; but from the entry just named of May 15, it is clear that on this day the Municipal Authorities at Brescia stopped his salary of 100 lire planet, and cancelled his appointment as official painter to the Government, which he had held since 1490. No reason is given for the summary treatment of one who only a few years before had been spoken of in the highest terms, and had been unanimously appointed to the office which he held for the space of four years. Nor does it appear that the subject had been brought up for deliberation at the meeting of the Special Council before being referred to the General Assembly. As already observed, the *Provvisioni* contain not the slightest allusion to Foppa between November 23, 1492, and this entry of May 15, 1495, which is couched in very uncompromising terms, and merely states that the salary of Master Vincenzo, the painter, is cancelled *in toto*, it having been granted subject only to the good pleasure of the Community. The motion was carried by an overwhelming majority of sixty-five votes to eighteen.

From the next document (No. 63) of June 12, 1495, we infer that the painter's yearly engagement must have dated from June 1, and he therefore sought to recover the small sum to which he was legally entitled for the fortnight intervening between the day on which his salary was cancelled and the end of his official year. On the 12th June, 1495,¹ his appeal was discussed in the Special Council (Doc. No. 63), but the master lost his case by one vote;² at the same time the Council unanimously agreed that the sum of 12 lire 10 soldi, representing perhaps the arrears of his salary up to May 15, was to be paid to him. The sum was to be paid in cash, the authorities modifying a former resolution (no longer existing) of the Special Council, which had provided for the settlement of this debt by assigning to the painter the right

¹ It is unfortunate that the volume containing the minutes of the year 1495 has either been tampered with or has been very carelessly bound: on folio 165 v. the meeting of June 4, 1495, is entered; following this, after two blank pages, we have a meeting of July 10, 1495, with the paging "f. 1." The meetings then succeed one another in their proper order (with the exception of some irregularity in August) for fourteen pages, up to September 11. Then follows f. 166 with the meeting of June 8, which was of course the meeting immediately succeeding that of June 4. The entries of the June meetings extend to f. 175, after which we are taken back to f. 15 and to the entry of September 11; the meetings then follow one another regularly up to the end of the year.

² It is strange that Zamboni, who quotes so many passages from the *Provvisioni* relating to Foppa, should have overlooked the entries of 1495, more especially as we find the fact of Foppa's salary having been stopped in that year, referred to in Poncarali's index (see Ind. Ponc., under *Pictoribus*, f. 319).

to claim the money from a debtor to the Commune. Foppa, however, having failed to obtain the money from this source, it was now decided that a bill for the amount, l.12 s.10, should be drafted in Vincenzo's favour. On July 16 he received the money, and the fact was recorded in the *Bulletario della Città*,¹ a volume in which all such receipts and statements of accounts were entered; Zamboni repeatedly quotes from this book, but no trace of these important records is now to be found in any of the Brescian Archives.

There is no reason to suppose that the decision of the municipal authorities to dismiss Master Vincenzo had in it anything of a personal character; nor is it to be inferred that Foppa had proved himself unworthy of his honourable post or had forfeited the good opinion of his fellow-citizens.² If we consider the wording of the resolution of May 15 (Doc. No. 62)—not independently, but in relation to the other measures passed at that meeting of the Council—it is clear that it was of a general character dictated by the financial embarrassments of the Commune. At this meeting the question of reducing the ordinary expenditure was discussed, and it was proposed not only to stop Foppa's salary (such an outlay being doubtless regarded as a superfluous luxury), but also to cut down the monthly allowance of the excisemen of the milling duties³ from eight lire to six, and to reduce the stipend of the Communal Chaplain of S. Maria dei Miracoli from five lire to one ducat per month. There is no doubt, therefore, that Foppa was deprived of his principal source of income not from any fault of his, but in consequence of a general revision of the Government balance sheet undertaken with a view to retrenchment. The loss to the painter was serious, but for the Brescian Government it was an absolute necessity; the resources of the exchequer being taxed to their utmost capacity to defray the imposts levied by the Venetian Republic, then at war with Charles VIII of France. Venice, to defend herself against the invader, had entered into an alliance on March 31, 1495, with the Emperor, the Duke of Milan, the Pope, and the King of Sicily, and on July 6 of the same year the French King was totally defeated by the allied forces at Fornovo, on the River Taro. All subjects of the Republic, including also the Brescians, were forced to submit to an increased burden of taxation, and the impoverished state to which the Government coffers at Brescia must have been reduced by these war taxes is evident, if

¹ Zamboni, p. 32, note 48; Brognoli, 245, note 64.

² Capriolo's reference to Foppa in the first edition of his *History* (1505) as "a second Apelles whose figures seemed almost to live and breathe" proves that the painter continued to be highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens. The historian ignores the fact of his dismissal, though he states that he had been "engaged at the public expense as an ornament to the city" (Bk. XII, p. lxxx).

³ *Officiali sul Dazio della Macina*.

we glance at the volume of the *Provvisioni* of the year 1495 from the month of April onwards.¹ Further light is shed upon the state of affairs then existing by a letter from the *Provveditore*, Melchiorre Trevisani, relating to the measures to be adopted for extorting war taxes, especially from the Brescians.²

We must conclude that Foppa's relations with the Brescian Government were never renewed, for no further trace of him is to be found in the *Provvisioni*; but we know that he continued to live at Brescia up to the end of his life, and the next notice of him here is in the *Estimo* of 1498, a volume in which he is registered as inhabiting a house in the quarter of S. Alessandro.³ It is probable, however, that he was obliged to seek remunerative employment elsewhere, and in the years immediately succeeding his dismissal from his official post at Brescia he may have renewed his connection with Pavia, and may perhaps have entered into negotiations with some of his former patrons both here and at Milan.

Pavian documents of this period give us no ground for supposing that he ever returned to live in his old house in the parish of S. Invenzio; on the contrary, as just noted, Brescia always remained his head-quarters; but that he had not severed every link with Pavia is proved by Doc. 69, in which we have minute particulars relating to a picture painted by Foppa in the last years of the fifteenth century for the Collegiate Church of S. Maria Gualtieri at Pavia. At a meeting held in the sacristy of that church on October 30, 1499, the Commendatory Abbot, Giov. Battista Botta, and the Canons discussed the question of a certain payment to be made to Giovanni Siro dei Cattanei da Brignano (a painter and member of a noble Pavian family), who had been commissioned by them to provide an altarpiece for their church. The document before us sums up the results of this meeting and enlightens us as to the ways and means by which the Canons proposed to settle their debts with the painter; but it also contains, what is much more important, the full text of the agreement between Siro and the Chapter of S. Maria Gualtieri relating to the altarpiece, an agreement deserving of close study on account of its allusions to Vincenzo Foppa.

Siro's share of the work, it appears, consisted neither of the painting proper nor of the structural parts, but was confined to the gilding of the whole, to the colouring of all the decorative portions, and to the painting of the curtain and of the "cassa" or case; finally, Siro was to put the whole work together, fitting the painted panels and other component parts into the places

¹ *Prov.*, April 28, 1495, f. 154 r.; May 19, f. 160 v.; May 29, f. 165 r.; June 8, f. 167 r., etc.

² *Registrum C*, f. 111, and *E*, f. 243 r., Brescia, Arch. Ant. Mun.

³ Doc. No. 68, which is fully discussed in chap. ix, and Appendix I, Note 3.

allotted to them. These panels, called "figure grande," which constituted the principal part of the altarpiece, were to occupy the six large spaces—"sei campi grandi"—of the ancona, and had already been painted by Master Vincenzo Foppa, together with the predella ("le figure tute et banchetta ha dipinto Maestro Vincentio"), and apparently he had painted them at Pavia in the workshop of Giovanni Siro, for it is stated (Item 11 of Doc. 69) that these paintings were in the keeping of the last-named, "sono apresso del dicto maestro Johanne Syllo";¹ the woodwork, with carvings and ornamentation, was furnished by "Magistro Johanne, who is at present working in the Castle" ("che sta de presenti in Castello," Item 10), and who is in fact the Pavian wood-carver Giovanni Formenti² (see Doc. 66). We said that apparently Foppa painted this, his last Pavian work of which we have any record, in the *bottega* of Giovanni Siro. The circumstances of the master's life at the time render this probable; for Foppa, having settled at Brescia, had no longer a workshop of his own at Pavia, and moreover we know that Siro was in the habit of generously placing his *bottega* at the disposal of any of his colleagues in art who might be in need of it. Thus we learn from a record of October 30, 1506,³ that Bernardino da Cotignola was one of those whom he assisted in this way, and that the altarpiece commissioned from this last-named painter by the foreign students of the University of Pavia for their chapel in the Carmine was painted in Giovanni Siro's workshop in Porta Marenga.⁴

The date when Foppa painted the six large figures and the predella for the Church of S. Maria Gualtieri cannot be exactly determined, but it must certainly fall between July 13, 1497, when Giovanni Formenti had finished the woodwork, and October 30, 1499, at which date Foppa's work must have been for some time completed, these paintings having already been the subject of litigation, as we gather from Item 11. There can be little doubt what caused the dispute. Foppa, having finished the paintings, applied for payment to Francesco Alasia, the Canon representing the Chapter who

¹ The name is spelt variously "Syllo," "Siro," and "Syro."

² The earliest record we have of Giovanni Formenti is of November, 1493. He was the pupil and son-in-law of Cristoforo Rocchi (see p. 170, note 1), the celebrated Pavian wood-carver and the first architect of the cathedral. Giovanni's brother Francesco also followed the same profession, and was the pupil and assistant of another well-known craftsman, Giov. Angelo Maino, to whom we have already alluded when speaking of the cross for the Carmine (chap VII, p. 171, note 1), and who in 1502 was commissioned to carve the stalls for the lay brothers in the Certosa of Pavia.

³ Arch. Not. Pavia.

⁴ The frame of this altarpiece was also executed by Giovanni Formenti, as we learn from a document of September 29, 1505, the last record at present known relating to this craftsman.

had commissioned the altarpiece. But seemingly a certain sum of money on which they had reckoned for defraying the cost of the work was not forthcoming and the Canons were consequently in arrear in paying their creditors. Foppa hereupon appealed to the Vicar-General of the Episcopal Court at Pavia, and with his assistance succeeded in obtaining an injunction restraining the removal of the pictures in Siro's workshop until such time as payment for them should have been made in full. Subsequently the Chapter came to an understanding with Siro by which they undertook to satisfy Foppa's claims, and all difficulties being thus removed, Siro was able to proceed with the work of setting up and finishing the altarpiece, though we know that it was not actually delivered to the donors until the summer of 1501.¹

On December 13, 1499, in the Audience Hall of the Episcopal Palace at Pavia, Foppa in person received from Francesco Alasia 78 lire imp. in full and complete payment of 106 lire imp., the sum due for his paintings. A study of these documents relating to the altarpiece of S. Maria Gualtieri shows that the cost of carving the work amounted to 16 ducats or 64 lire imp. This sum was paid to Giovanni Formenti by Siro, who out of the 40 ducats assigned to him by the Canons had to defray the cost of the woodwork and carvings; his own remuneration for gilding, painting, and setting up the whole work only amounting to 24 ducats or 96 lire imp. The six figures painted by Foppa with the predella came, as we said, to 106 lire imp.; the total cost was therefore 266 lire imp., a sum considerably below the 300 lire which the Canons had originally proposed to expend upon this work.

These records also seem to prove that Foppa's paintings must have been finished in 1498. On July 13, 1497 (Doc. No. 66), we find the woodwork had only just been completed by the carver Formenti, who agreed to let the work stand for three months in order to test its quality. It is therefore impossible that June, 1497, should have been the limit for the altarpiece to have been "finished throughout,"² according to the agreement between the Canons and the painter Siro. It seems more probable that June, 1498, was the actual date of its completion; for we must not be misled by the second part of Doc. No. 70, from which it might be inferred that the amount to be paid to Foppa for his paintings was only agreed upon in 1499, an inference which would naturally lead to the further conclusion that Foppa only executed the work in that year. But this, as we know from the document of October 30, was not the case. The agreement relating to the payment of the sum of

¹ See the note to Doc. No. 70.

² For neither Foppa nor Siro would have been likely to have finished their share of the altarpiece until all risk of the woodwork proving defective was past. Moreover, the painters were not paid until some years later, a further indirect proof that the work was not completed in the summer of 1497.

106 lire, referred to in the second part of Doc. 70, is not the original contract between Alasia and Foppa, but is merely an admission on the part of the Canon of his debt to Vincenzo for these paintings, which had already been executed by the master, and a promise of payment for the same in order to free the panels from the restrictions laid upon them by the Vicar-General at Foppa's request, to which allusion has already been made on pp. 192, 193.

Finally, from this series of documents we gain many important details relating to what may be termed the genesis of the altarpiece and to the methods usually adopted in the production of such works. The painter, guided by the instructions of the donors, prepared a sketch from which a more careful drawing was then made and sent to the carver. This was to serve as his model in constructing the altarpiece and enable him to set the carvings in due relation to the paintings, thereby securing the harmony of the whole. The woodwork when ready was valued by an expert, time being allowed for any flaw in the wood or defect in the workmanship to be detected; should any such flaw or defect become apparent, the carver undertook to repair it at his own expense. The different parts were then passed on to the decorative artist for gilding and ornamentation in colour, while the panels for the principal figures were consigned to the master painter; the background of these figures, however, being gold, was again the work of the decorator, who in some cases was also employed to gild the nimbus and the borders of the draperies.

The text of the agreement between the Chapter of S. Maria Gualtieri and the painter Giov. Siro Cattaneo, with all its particulars and minute details, enables us to reconstruct the altarpiece in part at least. Four columns divided the main portion into three spaces, each space having two compartments, an upper and a lower. These six compartments were destined for the large figures painted by Foppa relieved upon a background of fine gold. Above the columns was an architrave enriched with a frieze, the centre of which would certainly have contained a small representation of the Almighty, the Pietà, the Annunciation, or some kindred subject. The upper part of the frame was decorated with scroll-work or volutes in relief, the fluted parts of which were to be painted in fine azure (" . . . le canale delle origelle . . . metterle de azuro fine." Item 3). Four pinnacles surmounted the whole on which stood four carved figures of angels, gilded throughout with the exception of the flesh-tones, which were to be painted (Item 2). The framework of the six painted panels was ornamented with a design in relief of candelabra and arabesques; the whole was to be gilded and decorated with enamel colours of such tints as would seem most suitable (Item 1), and the frames of the predella were also to be gilded with fine gold (Item 5).

Such was the aspect of the altarpiece of S. Maria Gualtieri. As, how-

ever, it was not designed to hang against a wall, but to stand free above the High Altar, it was needful to enclose it in a "cassa," a case to protect it at the sides and back. The sides of the case and those parts most seen were to be painted in azure of good quality covered with stars in gold; the back was to be decorated with arabesques or any other design, the choice of which was left to the painter (Item 7). Lastly, there was the curtain, which also formed an integral part of the altarpiece, protected it from light and dust and was drawn back on great festivals. This too was painted, and the subjects which Giovanni Siro was ordered to represent upon it were: on the one side the Almighty in glory holding the sphere, and on the other the Madonna with St. Joseph adoring the Infant Saviour (Item 6).

After August 21, 1501, the date, as we saw,¹ when the completed altarpiece was consigned by Giovanni Siro to the Canon Francesco Alasia, it is never again alluded to in Pavian records and all further trace of it is lost; there is no mention of it in the report of the Apostolic Visitation of 1576, in Bartoli's treatise in the eighteenth century, or in the works of any local writer. We are therefore entirely ignorant of its ultimate history and fate, and may pass on to the discussion of other works which, to judge by their appearance and character, may, we venture to think, be ascribed to the later years of Vincenzo Foppa's life. In this category we would include two well-known examples—the Pietà or Lament over the Dead Body of Christ, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, and the Adoration of the Magi, in the English National Gallery.

The Pietà came to the Berlin Gallery from the Solly Collection in the early nineteenth century, but nothing was known of its former history. We believe, however, that we are justified in identifying it with the altarpiece of the first chapel on the left close to the west door in the Church of S. Pietro in Gessate at Milan.

This chapel was founded by a member of the De' Rossi family of Parma, who from being for some years a determined opponent of Milanese rule became, after 1448, a staunch adherent of Francesco Sforza and in 1473 settled at Milan. A reference to the chapel in a Bull of Pope Sixtus IV of February 4, 1475,² proves that it was already completed at this date. Five years later, according to Puccinelli's chronicle of the Church of S. Pietro in Gessate, it was restored,³ or more probably embellished and decorated, by Agostino de' Rossi. Wherein this decoration consisted we cannot

¹ Note to Doc. No. 70.

² Published by Puccinelli, *Chronicon Monasterii SS. Petri et Pauli de Glaxiate*, p. 129, ed. 1655. The original document is preserved in the Archives of the Orfanotrofio di S. Pietro in Gessate.

³ Puccinelli, p. 325.

tell, but we know that c. 1776 Albuzzio, the Milanese writer, saw a picture by Foppa hanging over the altar of this chapel, and he refers to it in the following terms : "By Vincenzo Foppa we have another very beautiful work in S. Pietro in Gessate, the altarpiece of the first chapel on the left on entering the church. The subject is the dead Christ in the lap of His mother, with the aged Nicodemus, St. John, the Magdalen, and other Maries, almost life-size. In the background is seen the city of Jerusalem, Calvary, and a rugged rock with a cave opening, and several figures on horseback. In this work also the emotions are admirably expressed. The colour is fine and well preserved ; only the extremities have suffered somewhat. The hem or borders of the draperies are composed of letters interlaced after the manner of embroidery, and here may be clearly deciphered the name of the painter : "Vincentius de Phop pinxit," which therefore contradicts what was said by Torre, Latuada, and Sormanni,¹ who all speak of this panel as the work of Bramante."²

VINCENTIVS DE PHOP PINXIT ANCOR.

The complete agreement between the picture here so accurately described by Albuzzio and the panel in the Berlin Gallery, added to the fact that the peculiar form of signature "Vincentius de Phop" is easily decipherable on the hem of the garment of Nicodemus³ in the last-named

¹ Torre ascribes the picture to Bramante in his *Ritratto di Milano*, ed. 1674, p. 319, but neither Latuada nor Sormanni mentions it.

² "Di Vincenzo Foppa abbiamo un' altra bellissima opera a S. Pietro in Gessate la quale si incontra medesimamente nella prima capella entrando, a lato sinistro e serve d' ancona all' altare. Il soggetto è un Signore morto, steso in grembo alla madre, con accanto il vecchio Nicodemo, S. Giovanni e la Maddalena, con altre Marie quasi al naturale. Nell' indietro scorgesi la città di Gerusalemme, il Calvario, ed una scoscesa rupe traforata, con alquante figure a cavallo. Anche in quest' opera mirabilmente campeggia la espressione degli affetti ; il colorito è bello e ben conservato. Le sole estremità hanno alquanto sofferto. I lembi, o vogliam dire, i contorni degli abiti non sono che un tessuto di caratteri a guisa di ricami, e vi si vede manifestamente iscritto il nome del pittore : Vincentius de Phop pinxit, con che si smentisce le parole del Torre, del Latuada e del Sormanni, i quali spacciano questa tavola per opera del Bramante" (Albuzzio, MS. in the library of the Marchese Soragna, Milan, Vol. I, f. 54, 55).

³ The existence of this signature was unknown until the summer of 1901 when, upon the photograph of the picture being closely scrutinized, the inscription was discovered by Senatore Beltrami and one of the present writers. Calvi's reference to the Pietà mentioned by Albuzzio had always suggested to us the possibility of its being



THE PIETÀ OR LAMENT OVER THE DEAD BODY OF CHRIST

BERLIN: KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM

panel, leaves no doubt that the two pictures are identical. But was the altarpiece seen and described by Albuzzio actually by Foppa? The attribution of an eighteenth century writer would carry no weight, and the signature would be equally valueless as testifying to the hand of the master unless corroborated by the painting itself. It must be admitted that the present state of the picture is extremely unsatisfactory, for though when Albuzzio wrote it was apparently in a good state of preservation, it must subsequently have suffered irreparable injury and was for many years relegated to the *depôt* of the gallery. The flesh tones have deteriorated to an even greater extent than those of the St. Sebastian in the Castello at Milan or of the angel in the Brera altarpiece, and the colour which we now look upon is altogether modern in quality. We know from the National Gallery Adoration of the Magi how brilliant and telling is Vincenzo Foppa's colouring when in its original state, and it is obvious therefore that the juxtaposition of violent shades of crude scarlet and cold yellow and of other colours which seem altogether foreign to his palette and produce a discordant and inharmonious effect, must be in great part the result of later restoration. In addition to this there are certain defects which cannot be overlooked, such as the abnormal length of the body of the Saviour and the weakness in the drawing of the hands, which are for the most part disproportionally small in size; but notwithstanding these imperfections the master's individuality is stamped on every part of the picture, and we must adhere to the opinion which we expressed some years ago that it is an undoubted work of Vincenzo Foppa,¹ though in the present unfortunate condition of the panel we gain a far better idea of its original character from Hanfstaengl's admirable photograph than from a direct study of the painting. The Saviour's body, in spite of its somewhat exaggerated proportions, is anatomically correct in drawing, and closely connected in form and feeling with the St. Sebastian of the Castello Museum and with the figure of the same saint in the processional banner at Orzinuovi. The very characteristic drawing of the heavy eyelids and of the features in all these figures recalls the

identical with the picture at Berlin, but in quoting that writer's words Calvi (pt. II, p. 63) omitted to give the form of the signature. Albuzzio's MS. was for many years inaccessible to the public, but it is now in the possession of the Marchese Soragna, who kindly allowed it to be consulted in order that Calvi's quotation might be verified. The discovery that the form of signature given in the MS. agrees in every particular with that on the Berlin Pietà, coupled with the fact that Albuzzio's words accurately describe that picture, has dispelled all doubts and has completely proved the identity of the two works. The authenticity of the inscription is beyond dispute and was vouched for some years ago by the late Dr. Ludwig, who at our request examined the painting carefully and pointed out the signature to the authorities of the Berlin Gallery. The history of the picture was fully discussed in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1902, p. 65.

¹ *Repertorium, etc.*, p. 65 and foll.

treatment in Dr. Frizzoni's Madonna, in the Brera altarpiece, in the Trivulzio saints, and in many other works; the arrangement of the drapery, whether falling in deeply cut folds, as in the garments of the Madonna, the Magdalen, and Nicodemus, or clinging to the form, as in the mantle on the Madonna's left arm and elsewhere, is identical with the treatment of the drapery in the Brera fresco of 1485 and in the Madonna of the Castello Museum.

The left hand of the Madonna is of a form which we often meet with in the master's paintings, and the pose—resting lightly on the body of the Saviour though unable to grasp it firmly—is a characteristic to which we have already drawn attention in the works of Foppa, a characteristic which he shares with Ercole Roberti. The panel in short contains innumerable indications of Vincenzo's style, and this is not only true of all the principal figures, but applies equally to the most subordinate details in the background. In the pose and drawing of the horsemen, which involuntarily recall the Regisole, in the treatment of the trees, of the charming landscape seen near the gateway, and of the buildings, we have the clearest possible evidence of Foppa's hand. But setting aside outward forms and characteristics, it is in the psychological quality of the picture that we find the most indisputable proof of the spirit of this sincere and earnest master. Here, as in the Bergamo Crucifixion, the almost frenzied despair of one figure is admirably counterbalanced by the self-controlled and dignified bearing of the others. Foppa's mastery in depicting the emotions is apparent in all the heads, and culminates in the face of the Madonna, which is a very remarkable achievement. There is no recourse here to exaggerated expression or to any external elements; the whole effect is attained by a supreme power of characterization and by the painter's intimate sympathy with the attitude of mind which he has sought to depict. The depth and intensity of an overwhelming grief are portrayed with the utmost simplicity, but with a seizing truth and reality which are wholly convincing. From this point of view the picture stands on a high level and may rank with the most pathetic and touching representations of the subject ever produced.¹

The same profound but restrained feeling is depicted in the countenance of the Mary seated on the right with bowed head and clasped hands, in that of the Magdalen and of St. John, and it is still more strikingly apparent in the fine head of Nicodemus, on whose features sorrow has left her indelible mark, which "stern self-repression has conquered every outward demonstration of woe."

¹ We are glad to see that Mr. Berenson also ranks this picture high, and we cannot do better than quote his appreciative words: "Foppa's compositions," he observes, "are among the most impressive of the century . . . even his action, as we must grant while looking at his two St. Sebastians at Milan, is that of a master, and in a work like his Berlin Deposition of a great master. In what other treatment of this subject do we find such anticipations of Michelangelo's noblest style?" (*op. cit.*, p. 99).

In strong contrast to the silent anguish of this group of mourners is the vehement agitation of the other Mary in the background, who flings up her arms and cries aloud in her passionate grief. For the representation of this figure the painter has made use of that time-honoured *motive* which from all antiquity has been used to indicate despair, a *motive* the significance of which was early recognized and constantly employed to express "the storm of human emotion" by painters, sculptors, and miniaturists in medieval times, as well as by the painters and engravers of the early and later Renaissance.¹

A composition so instinct with all the qualities of Foppa's art fully corroborates Albuzzio's attribution, and to return once more to the question of the provenance, there can be no doubt, from all that has been said, that we have in this picture the altarpiece of the Rossi Chapel in S. Pietro in Gessate painted by Foppa. The obvious conclusion then is, that as there was a picture by this master hanging in the chapel, it must have been the original altarpiece and was consequently ordered from the painter by one of the family. We know that a painting of this subject was seen there by Torre, who assigns it to Bramante, but it receives no mention so far as we know in earlier times.

It is doubtful whether Foppa was at Milan when the "restoration" of the chapel was undertaken in 1480, but we know that he was working there subsequently, and it is extremely probable that Agostino Rossi, like Ambrogio Griffi, may have desired to secure his services. The latter, as already stated,² began to treat with Foppa in 1487, but the negotiations were prolonged for years, and the paintings in the Griffi Chapel were not finally carried out until 1493, and were then executed by other masters; and the altarpiece, it would appear, was painted by order of Griffi's executors.

May we not assume that something of a like nature occurred in the case of the Rossi Chapel? Between the years 1450 and 1486 much had been done towards beautifying the Church of S. Pietro in Gessate. A new choir had been erected by the Portinari family,³ and numerous chapels had been endowed and decorated by various munificent donors. Agostino Rossi of Parma was not behindhand in this matter, as we know from Puccinelli,⁴ and no doubt, like the Florentine Portinari, he sought to ingratiate himself yet further with the Milanese and their rulers by adding to the embellishment of

¹ It is not without interest also to recall the impressive fresco of this subject by some good painter of the Giottesque period in the Church of S. Francesco at Brescia, a composition with which Foppa must have been intimately acquainted. Here the Madonna kisses the dead Christ, who lies in the tomb, and a Mary in the background raises both hands with a gesture of profound grief. Foppa's treatment of the Pietà may also be compared with that of his master Jacopo Bellini in the Paris sketch-book (Giraudon, No. 737).

² Chaps. VI and VII, pp. 153, 165.

³ See chap. III, p. 57, note 1.

⁴ See pp. 122, 325.

one of their principal churches. It would, however, have been strange if in a chapel dedicated to his patron saint, Agostino de' Rossi should have commissioned an altarpiece only, containing not the slightest allusion to St. Augustine.¹ Such a proceeding would have been totally at variance with the methods and tendencies in vogue at the time. It is not improbable therefore that De' Rossi's plan for the decoration of his chapel may have included a series of frescoes dealing with the history of his patron saint. The present aspect of the walls, however, does not justify the assumption that such a scheme was ever carried out, and if negotiations on the subject between Foppa and De' Rossi took place, they were doubtless protracted, the whole scheme being frustrated at last by the death of Agostino in 1486; for we know from Puccinelli that he was buried in his chapel in that year.

But was the picture painted for Agostino? He may indeed have originally commissioned the altarpiece, but it could not have been produced in his lifetime, for in that case we should be forced to assume that it was painted before 1486, a date not justified by the aspect of the picture. After 1487 we know Foppa to have been occupied in Liguria, and then to have entered the service of the Brescian Commune, with the understanding that he was engaged to teach painting at Brescia; he could not therefore have accepted work in other places. But on the sudden termination of his appointment there, we may be sure that he would have been glad to obtain employment outside Brescia, and would doubtless have applied to some of his Milanese patrons of former days.

The wife of Agostino de' Rossi, Simona Bertani of Correggio, survived her husband for many years, and it is extremely probable that it was she who commissioned Foppa to execute the altarpiece after 1495, that she chose the subject of the Pietà, as one peculiarly fitting as a memorial in a chantry chapel, and that she commemorated in it not only her dead husband, but also her daughter-in-law the wife of her adopted son Angelo Chiarissimi, who was buried in the Rossi Chapel in 1495;² but where it was executed—whether at Milan itself, at Pavia in the workshop of Giovanni Siro and contemporaneously with the altarpiece of S. Maria Gualtieri, or at Brescia in Foppa's *bottega*—we have no means of ascertaining. As to the date, some further clue might be gained from a closer study of the inscription. The name of the painter, inscribed, as we have already stated, on the hem of the robe of Nicodemus, is followed by some further enigmatical letters which, allowing for

¹ In the Griffi and Obiani altarpieces, dedicated in the chapels of SS. Ambrose and Anthony, the donors were in each case represented under the protection of the patron saint of the chapel. The Griffi altarpiece is mentioned by Puccinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 151, and other Milanese writers; the Obiani picture is still in its place over the altar, in the Chapel of St. Anthony.

² Puc., *op. cit.*, p. 325.

subsequent unintelligent restoration, might possibly once have stood for the date "AN. MD . ." a period by no means too late, for in many particulars the picture seems more nearly allied in character to the first years of the sixteenth century than to the close of the fifteenth.¹

Simona Bertani died in 1518, and it is reasonable to assume that the picture was placed over the altar in her lifetime, and here it must have remained for centuries, being so intimately connected with the chapel as to have given it an alternative name, for in an inventory of 1741, in which the contents of S. Pietro in Gessate are enumerated, though unfortunately to the almost total exclusion of pictures, we learn that the chapel was called "del Signore morto, intitolato S. Agostino."² Before 1776, as we noted, it was seen and described by Albuzzio, but in 1787 the authorities at Milan, who were engaged in reorganizing all the parishes in the city, decreed that S. Pietro in Gessate was to be raised to the dignity of a parish church; and in consequence it was necessary to provide a baptistery. The Rossi Chapel, being close to the west door, was selected as the most suitable for the purpose, and between December 13 and 16, 1787, the altar was removed, and with it, of course, the altarpiece, if it was still in the church at that date. From Allegranza's incidental mention of the picture, in which he says that it was then existing in the first chapel on the left, in the Church of S. Pietro in Gessate, and that he read the painter's name on the hem of the garment of one of the figures,³ we must infer that he actually saw it and did not copy from Albuzzio. As his MS. is some years later in date than that of the last-named writer,⁴ it seems certain that the picture was not sold at the time of the suppression, which took place in 1771, when the monastery was turned into an orphanage and the

¹ A Hungarian writer draws attention to the fact that Foppa's picture was evidently the prototype for a composition of the same subject in the gallery at Buda-Pesth, which he ascribes to Bergognone and the date of which he places about 1498, basing this opinion upon the connection of the picture with Bergognone's frescoes in the Church of the Incoronata at Lodi. "If this date be correct," he observes, "it would also give us the latest date possible for the production of Foppa's altarpiece" (see Lederer Sándor, *A Szépművészeti Múzeum Milanoi Mesterei*, etc., p. 9). We are unacquainted with the picture itself, but judging from the photograph the attribution to Bergognone seems open to doubt, for the composition, though containing certain figures which are undoubtedly borrowed from that master, in other particulars seems unlike him in character. Hence the date suggested, which rests upon the assumption that the picture is by the same hand and of the same period as the Incoronata frescoes, does not appear to us altogether proved.

² Arch. Civico nel Castello Sforzesco di Milano, Fondo di Religione, Busta 1,910, etc., and *Repertorium*, 1902, p. 77.

³ *Descrizione . . . della Basilica di S. Eustorgio*, chap. xxvii.

⁴ Allegranza died 1785.

Benedictines were transferred to S. Simpliciano. The latter carried with them all they could lay their hands on, and their successors, the Frati Somaschi, were for years reduced to the greatest poverty. Money was urgently needed for the most ordinary items of church furniture, and though some account was apparently kept of the receipts and expenses, it is probable that many works of art were sold to meet current expenses without further comment. Not the slightest clue as to the fate of the Rossi altarpiece has thus far been found in the Milanese Archives, though the most minute details relating to the chapel and its transformation into a baptistery are preserved there, together with a great number of documents relating to the history and administration of the church.¹

The agents of wealthy foreigners were constantly in Italy in these years, and often bought up the entire contents of churches and palaces; at some time unknown to us the altarpiece of the Rossi Chapel was acquired for Mr. Solly, an English banker living at Berlin, whose agents had been so active that when in 1821 his collection was sold to the Prussian Government it contained no fewer than 2,500 pictures. The Pietà thus found its way into the Berlin Gallery, and though in the Solly Collection it had been rightly ascribed to Foppa, it was strangely enough relegated by the Director of that day to the early Milanese school, and as such we find it in Waagen's catalogue of 1835.² The present distinguished Director, who wrote of it in the Prussian *Jahrbuch*,³ rectified this error and ascribed it to Foppa, though apparently he did not consider it to be entirely by the hand of the master. Owing to its injured condition it had been removed from the gallery, and for many years was not accessible to the public. In 1894 it was photographed by Hanfstaengl, a fact not without importance, since it preserves the composition as it was before the recent restoration; a comparison between this photograph and the picture which now hangs in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and is ascribed to Foppa, is instructive and interesting, and renders further comment needless.

A curious mistake was made by Caffi, who, being unaware of the existence of the Berlin Pietà and of its identity with the altarpiece of the Rossi Chapel, applied Albuzzio's description to a totally different picture of the same subject which in 1872 suddenly appeared at Milan in the collection of Signor Cavalleri, and on which he bestowed the name of Foppa.⁴ We have no certain knowledge respecting the former history of this picture, but, in consequence presumably of Caffi's article, it was authoritatively stated that it came from S. Pietro in Gessate.

¹ Arch. di Stato, S. Pietro in Gessate, Chiese, Comuni, Busta No. 1, 146½.

² P. 133, No. 44.

³ Vol. VII, p. 226 and foll.

⁴ *Arte in Italia*, 1872, p. 77.

From the Museo Cavalleri it passed to M. Cernuschi in Paris, and in May, 1900, was sold with other pictures from his collection at the Galerie Georges Petit,¹ being bought by its present owner for the modest sum of £60.² From the reproduction in the sale catalogue³ we gain some idea of the composition and general characteristics of the picture, which suffice to prove that Caffi's attribution to Foppa was wholly unjustified, and that Albuzzio's words would not apply to this composition, except with the aid of certain omissions and additions, to which in point of fact Caffi was obliged to resort in order to prove his case.

Some years later, writing in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*,⁴ he considerably modified his first opinion, and observed that doubts were cast upon the authorship of Foppa and on the genuineness of the signature, and he stigmatized the painting as hard, crude, and showing a want of harmony in the colouring, though he still pronounced it to be identical with the picture mentioned by Albuzzio. But his original dictum was the one which obtained currency, and in consequence the picture figured in the Cernuschi catalogue as the work of Foppa, and as coming from S. Pietro in Gessate, an instructive example of the manner in which gratuitous attributions and assertions rapidly attain to the dignity of established historical facts.

In speaking of the subject of the Pietà we may briefly refer to a composition of the same subject mentioned by Paglia as in his day in the Oratory of the Disciplina of S. Barnaba at Brescia. It represented a dead Christ with the Virgin weeping, the Magdalen and St. John, "figures which express heartfelt grief in a very life-like manner, with the addition of St. Barnabas and St. Augustine, and two half-length figures of Disciplinati taken from life, a work painted in the old manner, but instinct with life, by the hand of Vincenzo Zotto, who moreover in his day had little good fortune," or, as Paglia puts it in another cancelled passage, "which good painter had little luck in his lifetime."⁵

The description of this picture, painted in the old manner, but innate with life and deep feeling, and by a painter who in the circumstances of his life had not been fortunate, involuntarily makes us think of Foppa, and suggests the

¹ According to the sale catalogue of the Cernuschi Collection, the signature of Foppa was legible on the picture, which accounts for Caffi's attribution.

² *Chroniques des Arts*, June 30, 1900.

³ No. 78.

⁴ 1878, p. 98.

⁵ *Giardino della Pittura* (Aut. MSS., f. 437 and 448). In the copy of this work, prepared for the press some years after the death of the author, which underwent much alteration at the hands of the editor, this passage has been greatly curtailed, and reads as follows: "Una tavola del Salvatore con la Madre, la Maddalena, etc., di Vincenzo Zotto, pocho fortunato."

idea that the picture, in composition and sentiment, may have been very similar to the Rossi altarpiece, with the addition of two saints and two half-length figures of members of the Disciplinati of S. Barnaba who were evidently the donors of the picture.

The little oratory was very near the Church of S. Barnaba in the second ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro, and the altarpiece appears to have been in existence up to 1804, when the confraternity was suppressed and the oratory became the property of Count Tommaso Belucanti. Subsequently to this the picture disappeared, and Monsig. Fé¹ was unable to give any clue to its fate. No painter of the name of "Vincenzo Zotto" is met with at Brescia, and writers therefore assumed that Paolo Zoppo was meant;² but the many late and feeble paintings ascribed to him at Brescia in the present day do not warrant the attribution to him of a work which, from Paglia's description, must have been full of feeling and character.

The inaccurate and variable spelling of proper names by sixteenth and seventeenth century writers—due originally, there can be no doubt, to a careless and faulty transcription of MSS.—adds greatly to the difficulties of art historians when seeking to identify painters of earlier times with any certainty. Vasari, as we have seen, calls Foppa "Vincenzo di Zoppa," and it is not improbable that by "Vincenzo Zotto," Paglia intended to designate our painter.³ This writer's mention of his ill luck doubtless refers to the misfortunes which, as we know, so often dogged his footsteps, culminating in his dismissal from his post at Brescia, the circumstances of which were perhaps still known in the time of Paglia. Paolo Zoppo, the friend of Giovanni Bellini who is mentioned in Bembo's correspondence, seems, as far

¹ *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 14.

² Carboni, p. 117 and index (where the painter is referred to as Paolo Zotto or Zoppo); Crowe and Cav., II, 431, note; and others.

³ A study of Paglia's two autograph MSS., in the Queriniana Library at Brescia, has led us to the conclusion that whenever this writer speaks of "Vincenzo Zotto," he intended to designate Vincenzo Foppa; whereas in the numerous instances when he speaks of "Foppa" or "Paolo Foppa," he meant the painter's nephew Paolo Caylina, known as Paolo Foppa. For instance, on f. 133 of the first MS. and f. 149 of the second, referring to the paintings in the Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, he distinguishes between Vincenzo Zotto, "an early painter" ("pittor antico"), and Foppa, whom he usually mentions by this name, but whom on ff. 100, 542, 584, 560, etc., he speaks of more explicitly as Paolo Foppa. In both his MSS. Paglia is consistent in drawing this distinction. Unfortunately, however, as we shall see later when speaking of painters at Brescia (chap. x), Paglia's critical judgment is worthless, and it would be idle to suppose that the pictures still existing, which are identical with those ascribed by Paglia to Paolo Foppa, could with any probability be regarded as genuine works by Vincenzo Foppa's nephew.



THE DEAD CHRIST IN THE TOMB, SUPPORTED BY THE MADONNA AND A BISHOP

(In part by Foppa)

MILAN: BERNASCONI COLLECTION

as we know, to have been a prosperous painter except, if the well-known story of the crystal bowl be correct,¹ at the close of his life.

We have drawn attention to the possibility of this Pietà having been a work by Foppa in the hope that it may some day be brought to light, for Paglia's description is sufficiently full to lead to the identification of the picture should it be still in existence.

Another Pietà by Foppa, a fresco in the Church of the Augustinians at Crema, perished at the time of the suppression of the monastery, and we have no information as to the date or composition of this work. We only know from the pages of the *Anonimo* that it was by Vincenzo Bressano il Vecchio, and that it was a good work.²

A small panel of the Pietà, recently acquired by Signor Bernasconi, a Milanese collector, is ascribed to Foppa by some critics, an attribution first suggested, we believe, by Dr. Frizzoni. The picture is a complete wreck, but the head of the dead Christ is fine in conception and approaches Foppa nearly; the other figures are poor in quality; but as scarcely anything remains but the underpainting it is obviously impossible to form any opinion of the picture. Through the kindness of the owner we are able to illustrate it.

A picture closely connected with the Berlin Pietà, though inferior to it in nobility of conception and power of characterization, is the Lament over the Dead Body of Christ, in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Brescia. Paglia and other Brescian writers ascribed it to Bellini, an attribution which has long been rejected as absurd. More recently it has been attributed to Civerchio, which seems equally wide of the mark, for the picture shows little or no connection in quality, either with Civerchio's triptych in the gallery at Brescia or with the Pietà in the Church of S. Alessandro.³

¹ On this bowl Zoppo, according to Brescian writers, had painted the sack of Brescia, a work which occupied him for two years and was destined as a gift for the Doge Andrea Gritti; but by an untoward accident the bowl was broken, and the painter, overwhelmed by so great a misfortune, died of grief at Desenzano on the Lake of Garda, at some period subsequent to 1530, the exact date not being known.

² "Opera laudabile," *Anonimo*, etc., ed. Frizzoni, p. 144.

³ We are unable to adopt the plan, so much in vogue in the present day, of ascribing all pictures of uncertain authorship but of a given school to one or two painters belonging to that particular school with whose names we happen to be acquainted, as though every work must of necessity have been produced by the very limited number of well-known artists. In the Archives of Pavia and Brescia we find the names of a great number of painters who were working in those cities in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; but most of these artists are practically unknown and are not represented by any extant works. Yet they may have been the authors of many of the pictures which in the present day pass under the usual familiar names.

The central group, composed of the Madonna, the Saviour, and Nicodemus, is very impressive and especially in the feeling and vitality of the heads is not unworthy of Foppa himself. The technique, drawing, and quality of the flesh tones show a close connection with him, and the draperies of the two Maries on the right are of that vivid shade of red which we constantly meet with in the works of the master. The other figures, however, are on a much lower plane, insipid in type, and soft and weak in modelling. It is evidently by a painter who was a close follower of Foppa and who, though approaching him nearly in one part of the composition, in the remainder falls far below him in sincerity of expression and energy of movement and gesture. The colouring, however, is fine throughout, and here this anonymous master, when not imitating the colours typical of Foppa's palette, manifests distinct individuality.

In Civerchio's signed and dated *Pietà*, on the other hand, in the Church of S. Alessandro at Brescia, which also shows its dependence on the Berlin picture, the colour is unpleasantly cold in tone and the modelling of the flesh remarkably loose and fluid in touch. Yet another version of this subject, a terra-cotta group of nearly life-size figures in the Church of S. Satiro at Milan, appears to us closely allied in depth of feeling and vigour of expression with Vincenzo Foppa, though its appearance has been greatly marred by a barbarous application of modern paint to which it was subjected some twenty-five years ago. It was ascribed by Mongeri to Mantegna, and in S. Satiro it bears the name of Caradosso Foppa, though it is difficult to say on what grounds, and its connection with Vincenzo is far more intimate. Recently it has been brought into line with the work of Mantegazza, a sculptor with whom Foppa often shows himself in closest sympathy. No definite attribution is possible, but the great affinity in feeling and execution between this composition and Foppa's treatment of the same subject is undeniable. Many of the figures seem taken from prototypes in his works; in the drawing of the hands and of the hair, in the modelling of the lips and of the eyelids, to name only a few of the outward characteristics, the connection between this group and the paintings of the Brescian master is clearly seen, while the vitality of all the heads, the deep feeling and touching and eloquent expression, seem directly inspired by the leading master of the school. We have no evidence that Foppa himself was ever an exponent of plastic art, but we know that carvings were produced in his workshop, and that he undertook commissions for such work, though he may not have executed it himself. The S. Satiro *Pietà*, a composition of purest Lombard art, appears to be the work of an artist who was powerfully impressed by Foppa or at least by his compositions. Finally, among the paintings of this subject showing a connection with Foppa and the Berlin *Pietà* must be mentioned the altarpiece now in the choir of S. Maria della Passione at Milan. It is manifestly a work of a



Photo.

Aliani

THE PIETÀ OR LAMENT OVER THE DEAD BODY OF CHRIST
(By a follower of Foppa)
BRESCIA: S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA

more advanced period of art than the era of Foppa, and in it are noticeable many qualities characteristic of the later phases and developments of the Lombard school; nevertheless it appears to us that this picture in composition and manner of treating the subject, in its return to types, gestures, and incidents typical of an earlier period, shows certain definite links with the school of Foppa. It has been ascribed to Luini by some critics, and if the attribution be correct it would furnish an undeniable proof that this master, whose artistic origin is still shrouded in obscurity, must have been trained in the school of Vincenzo Foppa.¹

The Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery, the most admirably preserved of all the master's panel pictures, is, like the Berlin Pietà, deeply imbued in every part with his character. It is certainly the crowning achievement of his mature years, and taking it all in all, perhaps the finest and most typical existing work of the Lombard school of this period. The freshness and vigour of the whole composition, the variety of the *motives*, the carefulness of execution even to the minutest details, the crispness of touch and brilliant quality of the colour, might cause us to hesitate in ascribing such a masterpiece to the old age of the painter, who must have been at least seventy when he executed this picture, yet certain particulars make it impossible to believe that it could have been a product of earlier date. Of all Italians, the Brescians have ever been among the most healthful, vigorous, and long-lived, and Foppa was no unworthy representative of this hardy race; like his fellow-citizen Francesco da Mantua, who at ninety was still full of life and activity, Foppa appears to have preserved his faculties and talents unimpaired, and like his great Venetian contemporary Giovanni Bellini, he continued to paint with undiminished energy, as we have reason to think, up to an advanced age. A proof of Foppa's exceptional vigour and of his long activity in the exercise of his profession is afforded by the documents relating to the altarpiece of S. Maria Gualtieri, which show us the master not only executing paintings in the closing years of the fifteenth century, but journeying himself from Brescia to Pavia in 1499, without doubt an arduous undertaking in those days.

In spite of the strikingly Foppesque character of the picture in the National Gallery, it was formerly, like the Brera fresco of 1485 and the St. Sebastian of the Castello, ascribed to Bramantino, and the correct attribution to Foppa was first suggested, we believe, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.² Here once more, in addition to the unanswerable testimony of certain types, it is the form, feeling, and pose of the hands which, as in so many of the works already mentioned, afford evidence of the most convincing character of the authorship of Foppa. The right hand of the Madonna, with fingers outspread upon the

¹ See also chap. x.

² II, 7; cf. also Frizzoni, *Arte Ital. . . nella Gall. . . di Londra*.

body of the Child, the left lightly resting upon his right leg but powerless apparently to grasp it firmly, the right hand of St. Joseph and that of the third king, are all of Foppa's typical form and show his habitual mannerisms. The colouring is of great brilliancy and force, in this recalling his earlier work, with its contrasts of vivid scarlet, delicate blue, and glowing gem-like red. The flesh painting, of beautiful quality throughout, is warmer in tone than is usually the case with the master. From this point of view it is interesting to compare the picture with the grey-toned Bergognone hanging near, a good specimen of that typical quality of flesh painting usually met with in the works of Foppa and his followers, which through him, as already observed, became the heritage of the early Lombard school. The landscape, in spite of the fact that it has darkened considerably, is full of charm and is the most admirable example by him which we possess. The painting of the masses of bush behind the horsemen, of the river-scene in the middle distance, and of the hillside in the background, are of remarkable beauty, and prove that in this respect Vincenzo Foppa was almost unrivalled, for we could name few other works of this date in the whole range of Lombard art which show such exquisite perception, such intimate study and intuitive appreciation of nature,¹ as we find in the background of this altarpiece; and in numerous incidents throughout the picture this close observation of nature is also strikingly apparent. In feeling, the idyllic landscape in the middle distance shows great affinity with the little landscape, with trees and water, in the background of the Berlin Pietà, and the walled city on the hill, with its reminiscences of Milanese and Brescian buildings, is also connected in composition with the background of that picture.

All the characteristics just alluded to, taken in conjunction with many other individual traits too numerous to mention, but self-evident on comparing the picture with other genuine works by the master, render it absolutely certain that no painter but Foppa could have produced it; but at the same time it is extremely interesting to note the development that has taken place in his art, which seems to remove the picture from the immediate sphere of fifteenth century painting and to stamp it as a product of the master's later years.

In type and general character the Madonna is most intimately connected with the Virgins of the Brera and Savona altarpieces. We have the same air of preoccupation, the same strain of sadness as at Savona, but in the National Gallery picture the painter has sacrificed something of the thoughtful earnestness and dignity of his earlier Madonnas to external grace and charm of expression. The strain of sweetness which, to some extent, we

¹ Owing to the very unfortunate position now assigned to the picture in the recent re-arrangement of the National Gallery, it is most inadequately seen, and no just estimate of it is possible.

have found in all the works of Foppa asserts itself more and more in his later paintings, and is so marked in the head of St. Joseph and in the features of two of the Magi, that the Brescian master here appears as the direct forerunner of Luini; from this point of view the picture is an important link in a chain of development showing the lines upon which the Lombard school of Foppa might have proceeded had it followed its natural course undeterred by Leonardesque influence. Side by side with these types we have the strikingly Foppesque figure of the page who holds the crown of the kneeling king, and the vigorous and life-like figures of the negro king and of the horseman with uncovered head behind the second of the Magi, whose features are modelled in Foppa's characteristic manner and whose pose and gesture recall the similar figure in the Justice of Trajan, the drawing in the Print Room at Berlin, to which allusion was made in chap. II (see illustration). It is interesting to compare the two compositions and to note the connection between them, though the picture is certainly much later in date than the drawing. In decorative details and other particulars the master returns in the National Gallery altarpiece to the methods of an earlier period, and in the painting of brocaded stuffs and embossed ornament fifteenth century taste still prevails. The draperies are adorned as before with borders composed of letters treated decoratively in imitation of embroidery; to the second king the master gives a mantle of jewel-like red with golden lights brilliant as translucent enamel, which in texture and handling recalls the robe of the early Madonna in the Castello at Milan; the jewels are treated precisely as in the Brera altarpiece, some being indicated by small sunk hollows glazed with the colour of the precious stone which the painter desired to represent;¹ the crowns of the Three Kings are very similar in design to the crown of the Madonna in the central panel of that altarpiece, and the decorative *motives* throughout the picture recall those in the Brera polyptych and in many other works by the master. The fragment of an arch behind the Madonna, with its massive pier, is drawn with remarkable skill and knowledge and great freedom and sureness of hand, and in treatment closely resembles the architectural features and details in the two compositions of the St. Sebastian. The horses are still curiously reminiscent of Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini, though treated in a more modern spirit, and in the retinue of the Magi in the background we are once more reminded of the Regisole. In every part of this interesting picture we have evidence of Foppa's hand, but in spite of the fact that in certain particulars the master has reverted to the methods of a more primitive period, we think, taking into consideration the greater development of the whole, that

¹ For this and other questions of technique see Mrs. Herringham's note in App. I, No. 6, and also Cr. and Cav., II, p. 8, note.

we are justified in regarding it as a late work, and as a product of the last years of the fifteenth century or even of the opening years of the sixteenth.

The picture was formerly held to be entirely repainted, but Mrs. Heringham who has examined it carefully states that this is not the case, but that on the contrary it is in very good condition. Of the early history of the picture we unfortunately know nothing. The large dimensions prove that it must have been an important altarpiece, and the admirable finish of every detail, the technical skill and carefulness of execution displayed throughout the picture, would lead us to suppose that, like the Castello Madonna, it may have been commissioned by a donor of some prominence. When speaking of the drawing representing the Justice of Trajan we referred to the fact that Giov. Maria da Brescia's engraving of that subject showed a decided connection with the Adoration of the Magi.¹ On comparing the illustration of the picture with that of the engraving it will be seen how close is the analogy between the two compositions in the build and movement of the horses, and in the pose, types, and gestures of many of the figures. Might we not infer, therefore, that a picture with which this Carmelite monk of Brescia was evidently familiar, may have been produced for some Brescian donor, and was at that date (1502) either in Foppa's workshop or hanging over an altar in one of the churches of the city? Brescian guide-books unfortunately make no allusion to such a picture, but neither does any Pavian or Milanese writer mention it; and in the absence of all pedigree and taking into consideration the fact that an engraver of Brescia made great use of the composition for his own work, the Brescian origin of the composition seems not improbable. At some time unknown to us it was bought by the agents of Cardinal Fesch and was one of the numerous pictures which formed his collection in Rome.² Had the Cardinal been allowed to return to his diocese at Lyons the whole of his gallery would have been bequeathed to that city, but this was not permitted, and some years after his death the collection was sold (in March, 1845), and the Adoration of the Magi was purchased by Mr. Bromley Davenport for £200; on the sale of his pictures in 1863 it passed to the National Gallery.³

To this period, perhaps, should be ascribed a picture in the collection of the Abbé Lefèvre at Versailles, representing the Madonna with angels adoring the Infant Saviour and an abbot kneeling behind her, an interesting work which must be regarded as in the main by the hand of Foppa, in spite of

¹ Chap. II, p. 49.

² See *Gal. de feu S. Ex. le Card. Fesch, etc.*, pp. 193, 194.

³ A small composition founded upon this picture and executed by some feeble painter of the Lombard school is in the sacristy of S. Maria Novella in Florence, where it was discovered by Professor Corrado Ricci, who kindly informed us of its existence.

Detached

certain marked divergencies from his manner which it is difficult to explain satisfactorily.

In the first place, inscribed upon a marble step on the left we have what is unusual in the works of our painter, his full name in capital letters, the authenticity of which seems indisputable. On the step immediately over this signature kneels the abbot, who, to judge by the black habit which he wears, probably represents St. Benedict, a figure strikingly characteristic of Foppa, but belonging, there can be no doubt, to his late period. The head is admirably modelled throughout and full of expression and vigour;¹ compared with the Nicodemus of the Berlin Pietà and with the saints in the Trivulzio Collection—types with which this head is intimately associated—it shows a more developed technique and greater accomplishment and knowledge in the disposition of light and shade than any of these examples; extremely characteristic of Foppa also is the hand of the saint in pose and drawing. The Madonna's head is connected in type with a much earlier picture, the Virgin of the Berenson Collection, as well as with the Madonna in the Savona altarpiece of 1490, and the hands are akin in feeling to those in the last-named picture and in the Brera polyptych. The drawing of the neck, the shape and contour of the face, the plastic modelling of the features, the straight nose with sharp touches of light, are altogether in Foppa's typical manner, and in the landscape behind these figures we have the most distinct evidence of his hand. The hill-side where the sheep are grazing is a development of the same *motive* in the National Gallery picture, and the painting of the bushes and of the trees shows a close connection with the treatment in that picture, in the background of the St. Sebastian of the Castello, in that of the Pietà at Berlin, and in other works; while in the charming distance, with winding river and wooded hills, the master returns to the impressions of his earlier period, as seen, for instance, in the background of the Berlin Madonna. In all this part of the picture Foppa's authorship, attested by the signature, is confirmed in every particular by internal evidence; but turning to the other half of the work, we meet with types, forms, and methods of painting which are strangely at variance with the Brescian master's character; the pose of the angel musician on the right seems indeed founded upon a figure in the Brera altarpiece, and the tone of colour in the robe and the treatment of the folds of the drapery are very similar in both pictures; in the three singing angels who hold an open book we are distantly reminded of the composition of the group in the Paradise picture of the

VINÇEN
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¹ The type derives from a model many years earlier in date—the St. Jerome in the Bergamo Gallery.

Nosedà Collection, which might lead us to infer that the painter of these angels was not unacquainted with that early work ; but in the main there is little to connect any of the angels of the Versailles picture with Foppa himself. In type these figures are totally unlike the models of the Brescian master ; the peculiar form of cranium and elongated shape of face, the monotonous drawing of the features, the empty expression, the uniformity in the treatment of the hair, have nothing of his character ; but it is the absence of all individuality and purpose in these heads which renders it practically certain that this part of the picture could not have been composed or executed by him. Of these five angels, who are all engaged in singing, only one seems capable of emitting a sound, and all are lacking in that vitality and earnestness of feeling which the master never fails to impart to his compositions.¹ Nor is it possible to recognize the manner and the spirit of the Brescian painter in the representation of the Infant Saviour or in the angel who kneels beside Him, for neither in type, drawing, nor expression can we discern any true connection with him. That the picture has been excessively repainted there can be no doubt, and to this may be due in part the empty expression noticeable in many of these heads, the smooth texture of the flesh, and the very modern aspect of the two angels in the air,² but it cannot account satisfactorily for the distinct evidence of two different hands which is perceptible in this work. Are we to assume that it was left unfinished by Foppa and completed at a later date ? or that the right side having been injured was restored by another hand ? On the whole this last seems the most probable solution, taking the inscription into consideration, for Foppa, who only signs his pictures on rare occasions, and then not in the prominent manner which we see here, would scarcely have appended his signature to an unfinished fragment. At some date unknown the picture was transferred from panel to canvas, a fact which may also help to explain the present condition of the painting. Of its former history we know nothing, and though Brescian guide-books mention several pictures by Foppa in which this subject was treated, it is impossible to identify it with any of them ; but that it must have been the

¹ In the curious drawing of the lips, as seen in these angels, we have the exaggeration of one of Foppa's characteristics, a trait noticeable in many of his works, beginning with the angels of the Nosedà picture. But whereas in Foppa's work the lines are always full of vitality and expression, in the hands of this anonymous follower the type has degenerated into lifeless imitation devoid of all significance and character.

² The figure on the hill, presumably intended to represent the shepherd receiving the annunciation of the Saviour's birth, seems also to be a palpably later addition replacing an earlier figure, and no doubt owes its origin to the era of restoration. Such a method of representation is altogether out of harmony with the feeling of a painter of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.



Photo.

Giraudon

THE MADONNA AND CHILD, ST. BENEDICT AND ANGELS
(Panel transferred to canvas)
 VERSAILLES: COLLECTION OF M. L'ABBÉ LEFÈVRE

altarpiece of a Benedictine church is proved by the presence of the abbot who kneels on the left—probably the donor of the picture, who had caused himself to be portrayed as St. Benedict—though whether this church was at Pavia, Milan, Brescia, or elsewhere we cannot tell.¹

Like the National Gallery Adoration of the Magi, this altarpiece was once in the Fesch Collection,² and was bought at the sale of these pictures in 1845 by M. Georges, of Paris, for the small sum of £28. Subsequently it was acquired by the late M. Nottret, *Chanoine honoraire* and Almoner to the Augustinian nuns at Versailles. By him it was offered to the authorities of the Louvre, who kept the picture for six months and had it restored, but eventually returned it to M. Nottret. In his collection it was seen by the late M. Eugène Müntz, who recognized in it a work of the early years of the sixteenth century, and being unaware that our painter was still living at that date, assumed that it must be by Vincenzo Foppa "the younger." On the death of M. Nottret it came by inheritance into the possession of its present owner, the Abbé Lefèvre. Through his kindness we are able to publish an illustration of this interesting picture, which may serve to draw attention to it and may perhaps result in some further light being thrown upon its authorship and history.

What may be designated one of Foppa's latest works, executed in part or possibly finished by his assistants, is the processional banner painted for a church at Orzinuovi, a small town between Brescia and Soncino. The picture, in a very neglected state, now hangs on the wall of an oratory called Chiesa dei Morti, opposite to the parish church of Orzinuovi. On the front of the banner is represented the Madonna with the Child on her knee, seated on a wooden throne beneath a red canopy between SS. Bernardino and Catherine of Alexandria, who stands upon the wheel; on the reverse is St. Sebastian bound to a tree, with St. Roch on the right and St. George, the patron saint of Orzinuovi, to whom the castle and one of the churches had

¹ We might conjecture that the picture was produced for some church at Milan, for there is an undoubted connection between certain parts of this composition (the angels in the air, the hill-side on the left, etc.) and one of the frescoes of the Chapel of St. Joseph in S. Maria della Pace (now Brera); the latest edition of the catalogue gives all these frescoes to Luini (pp. 176-79); while Morelli (*Italian Painters*, II, p. 7, note 3) ascribed them to a pupil or imitator of Bramantino; further, the curious flat-topped heads of the angels are undoubtedly connected in form with certain forms of head met with in the works of Luini, especially in those from Villa Pelucca (now Brera), though in the drawing of the features and in expression they differ widely from Luini's characteristic types. Yet we think it is in the Milanese school connected with Bramantino and Luini that the painter or renovator of these angels in Foppa's picture must be sought, rather than in the school of Brescia.

² See *Galerie . . Fesch, cit.*, p. 209.

formerly been dedicated, on the left. Some five-and-twenty years ago this canvas was seen by Morelli hanging on the wall of the Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua, the second on the right in the parish church of Orzinuovi. In the brief MS. note¹ which the great critic left about this picture, he stated that it was probably by Vincenzo Foppa, though much injured, restored, and darkened, and he expressed the hope that it might be transferred to a more suitable place. Some years ago the chapel was restored, and the picture was then removed, first to the Fabbriceria and subsequently to its present position. But the wish expressed by Morelli was not fulfilled, for the existence of the picture was practically forgotten, and its aspect, when rediscovered in the summer of 1906,² was forlorn in the extreme; but in spite of its injured condition it is well worthy of attention, and Morelli's attribution is absolutely confirmed. The head of the Madonna in type resembles the Madonnas in Foppa's later works, while in the Infant Saviour the painter reverts to a much earlier model and gives us almost a replica of the Child in the Brera altarpiece. In that picture He sits on the right knee of His Mother, and turns to touch the lute of the angel who stands on the left of the spectator; at Orzinuovi the positions are reversed, and the Child turns to receive the emblem of S. Bernardino, who stands on the right; but in the modelling of the features, in the expression of the head, which is full of vitality and charm, in the drawing of the limbs, in the pose and in other particulars, the two compositions are very similar. The saints on either side of the Madonna at Orzinuovi—somewhat stiff and rigid in pose, but well adapted to fill the post allotted to each on the banner—are intimately connected with the picture just mentioned, the type of St. Catherine being founded upon that of the angel on the right in the Brera polyptych and the S. Bernardino being a development of the same saint in that picture. The majolica vase with the little plant in the foreground of the Orzinuovi banner recalls similar *motives* in the Arcore Annunciation, and more especially in the background of Dr. Frizzoni's picture of the Madonna. The colour, where it has been preserved in its original state, is of great force and brilliancy—as in the Virgin's mantle, which is of a glowing shade of red. The Infant Saviour wears a shirt of golden yellow of the same tone as that of the waistband worn by His Mother, and touches of vivid scarlet are seen in the canopy above the throne, in the shoes of St. Catherine, in the lining of one of her sleeves, in the books

¹ Now in the possession of Dr. Frizzoni.

² The rediscovery of this forgotten work is due to Dr. Frizzoni, to Cav. Da Ponte, and to the present writers. Its existence was unknown at Brescia previous to July, 1906, and the custodians of the picture at Orzinuovi were certainly unaware of its value. As it has now been brought to the notice of the authorities at Brescia, we may hope that it will receive more care and attention in future.



Photo.

Capitanio, Brescia

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SS. CATHERINE AND BERNARDINO
 (Processional Banner, Front)
 ORZINUOVI: CHIESA DEI MORTI

held by both saints, and in other parts ; gold is sparingly used except in the disk-shaped glories and in the interlaced pattern which borders the whole, framing in the compositions on the back and front of the canvas. On the reverse, which was not seen by Morelli (he being unaware that the picture was a processional banner), we have an extremely characteristic figure of St. Sebastian, the drawing of the form being in closest relation with that of other nude figures by the master—with the drawing of the body of the Dead Christ in the Berlin Pietà, and with that of the two other examples of St. Sebastian treated by Foppa. The figure in the Orzinuovi banner is considerably later in date than either of these two last-named representations of the saint, and in knowledge of structural and anatomical problems is also decidedly in advance of them. The St. Roch on the right is admirably drawn and of the utmost vitality in the expression of the features, a figure which in type vividly recalls the St. Paul belonging to Cav. Nosedà, and affords a further proof, as already noted, of the correctness of the attribution to Foppa of that panel. The St. George, and the angel who hovers above St. Sebastian with the palm of martyrdom, seem to betray a weaker hand than that of Foppa himself, and might lead us to suppose that the aged master may have left the completion of the banner to one of the assistants of his workshop, though the awkwardness of pose may be due, as in the case of the St. Alexander of the Brera altarpiece, to the rigid nature of the armour in which the saint is entirely cased.¹

But taking it all in all the picture is an interesting and valuable addition to the small number, at present known, of late works by Vincenzo Foppa. The strongly marked character of most of the figures, the individual drawing of the forms, the very distinctive quality of the flesh tones, and the colour of the drapery all tend to place the authorship of the master beyond dispute. The painter may in the first instance have been recommended to the donors who commissioned the banner by those of his friends at Brescia who were natives of Orzinuovi or who were otherwise connected with the place.² There is no doubt that the banner was painted to be carried processionally on the occasion of special intercessions in times of plague and trouble ; many allusions to such processions occur in Codagli's history of Orzinuovi,³ and in the Deliberations of the Town Council, though we have been unable to discover the exact date when this banner was dedicated. It is true that Perini in his MS. history of the churches of Orzinuovi, written some twenty years ago, states that it is the

¹ See chap. v.

² We know Foppa to have been personally connected with several natives of Orzinuovi who had settled at Brescia. Matteo Caccia, for instance, whose house the painter eventually bought at Brescia, came originally from that place.

³ F. Domenico Codagli, *Historia Orceana*, ed. 1592, p. 131 and foll.

banner referred to at the meeting of the Council on May 16, 1514;¹ but the notice is inexact, for in the *Provvisioni* of Orzinuovi preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Brescia no such entry is to be found. Meetings of the Council took place on May 12 and May 21,² but there was no meeting on May 16, nor is this painting referred to at either of these meetings, and we have searched in vain for any allusion to it in the *Provvisioni* of the early sixteenth century; on the other hand, some interesting notices which might indirectly bear upon the subject are met with in these volumes. Thus, on December 13, 1511, it was resolved at a meeting of the Council to repair to the Church of S. Bernardino in solemn procession, and also to dedicate a small ancona above the altar of St. Roch in the parish church, in which the last-named saint and S. Bernardino were to be represented.³ In February of the following year, according to Perini⁴ and Codagli,⁵ it was resolved to observe with solemn processions all the feasts of the Madonna as well as those of SS. Roch, John Baptist, Catherine, and George, to observe the vigils of all these days with fasting, and on the Feast of S. Bernardino to make a special procession to the church dedicated to this saint; to add to the imposing nature of these processions, banners painted by the best masters of the day were undoubtedly commissioned.⁶ In 1513, the plague being then very severe, it was resolved on

¹ "La sola memoria esistente è il pallio deliberato dal Consiglio 16 Maggio 1514, che rappresenta le immagini della Beata Vergine Maria, S. Rocco, S. Sebastiano etc. ed è quel quadro che, nella capella di S. Antonio di Padova sta di contro alla Madonna Addolorata del Bagnadore; però le ricordate pitture sono dalla parte che guarda il muro, essendo la tela dipinta in ambo i lati" (Perini, *Delle Chiese di Orzinuovi*, f. 116).

"The only existing example is the painting, discussed at the Council meeting of May 16, 1514, which represents the B. Virgin Mary, St. Roch, St. Sebastian, etc., a picture which now hangs in the Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua, opposite to the Mater Dolorosa by Bagnadore. The paintings referred to, however, hang with their face to the wall, the canvas being painted on both sides"; but this again is inexact, for the Madonna is not on the same side of the canvas as the SS. Sebastian and Roch. Perini's MS. is in the possession of the Archpriest of Orzinuovi, who kindly allowed us to consult it.

² Prov. di Orzinuovi, Vol. XI, ff. 28, 29, Arch. di Stato, Brescia.

³ Prov., Vol. X, f. 432.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, f. 115, 116.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131; in the margin of p. 130 we read: "Voto degli Orciani per liberarsi dalla Peste."

⁶ In the *Provvisioni* (Vol. X), it must be admitted, we have found no entry to correspond with the statements of Perini and Codagli; the only meeting in February, 1512, was on the 14th, f. 444, and no mention of such processions occurs on this page; nevertheless there is every reason to suppose from the entry of December, 1511, which we quote in the text, that such processions were constantly organized in times of plague and trouble.



Photo.

Capitano, Brescia

SS. SEBASTIAN, GEORGE AND ROCH
(Processional Banner, Reverse)
 ORZINUOVI: CHIESA DEI MORTI

January 10 to appoint four members of the Council as special overseers of Public Health,¹ the resolution being prefaced with these words: "To the praise of the Almighty, of the glorious Virgin, and of the Saints, Sebastian, Roch, and Bernard[ino]";² and in the autumn of the same year, conditions having gone from bad to worse, it was determined to "add vow to vow in the hope that the land might be delivered from the scourge,"³ and intercessions were offered to St. Vincent, who from that time forward became the saint more especially invoked against plague at Orzinuovi.⁴ Foppa's picture must certainly therefore have been produced before this devotion to St. Vincent had taken hold of popular sentiment, as he is not one of the saints represented, the chief place in the centre of the banner being still assigned to St. Sebastian. It probably dates from the period when it was determined by the authorities of Orzinuovi to offer special intercessions to SS. Roch, Bernardino, Catherine, and George, all of whom we find represented on the canvas.⁵ It must have been produced either before the outbreak of the epidemic or as a thank-offering after its cessation, for during the time when plague was raging all intercourse with Brescia was cut off, and no Brescians or outsiders were permitted to enter the gates of Orzinuovi.⁶

¹ "Deputati ad sanitatem."

² Prov., Vol. X, f. 518.

³ "Aggiungere voto a voto nella speranza che il Signore avrebbe sollevato il paese da tanti mali." See Provvisioni, October 28, 1513, Vol. X, f. 557, and Perini, f. 115, 116.

⁴ At Brescia, St. Vincent was also revered at this date as the special protector against plague. See Prov. di Brescia, March 14, 1514, f. 104.

⁵ It may be added that Paglia mentions "two banners in oil by Foppa in the Oratory of the Disciplina of SS. Faustino and Giovita at Brescia." In accordance with our theory respecting Paglia's mention of Brescian painters (see p. 204, note 3), we assume that he was here alluding to Paolo Caylina, and if these paintings were in point of fact by him, it would afford a further proof that such works were often produced in Foppa's *bottega*.

⁶ Reference is made to this regulation in the Provvisione of December, 1511: ". . . non permetteret aliquos Brixenses nec aliquos forenses venientes a Civitate predicta ingredi in Contrata Urcei novarum" (Vol. X, f. 431).

CHAPTER IX

1499 TO C. 1515-1516

Last Pavian records relating to Foppa—Documents referring to him at Brescia—The quarters of the city—The Archives of S. Alessandro—Identity of Foppa with the son of Giov. da Bagnolo—Foppa's house—"Livello" to the Administrators of the quarter—Position of Foppa's house—Foppa's accounts—P. Caylina—Foppa's death—Burial—Will—Tombstone—Origin of the mistake relating to date of his death—Polizza d' Estimo of Paolo Caylina—Works wrongly ascribed to Foppa: Camera di Commercio, Brescia—Poldi, Milan—Crespi Collection—Verona Museum—Brera, Milan—Gallery of the Academy of Painting, Pavia—Borromeo Collection, Milan—Sessa Collection—Casa Castani and Cologna Collection, Milan—Late Cernuschi Collection—Malaspina Gallery, Pavia—Ravicz Collection—The Betrayal by Parentino (Borromeo Collection, Milan)—Drawings ascribed to Foppa: Frankfurt—Berlin—London.

WE have now reached the final stage in our painter's career, and must once more turn to the documents in Appendix II as our only source of information touching the last decades of his life; but Pavian and Brescian records here overlap one another, and we have thought it best for clearness sake first to give the results of research in the Archives of Pavia and then to touch upon the documents found at Brescia.

After December 13, 1499, on which day, as we saw, Foppa was paid in the Audience Hall of the Episcopal Palace at Pavia for his altarpiece for S. Maria Gualtieri, we have no further record proving his personal presence in that city. He kept up his connection with Pavia in matters of business, but apparently empowered others to act for him, and never came there himself. Thus in November, 1500 and 1501, the "livello" for his house was paid to the Administrator of the hospital not by Foppa himself in person, but by his representative Cristoforo Gazzaniga, whose friendship with the painter, to which we have several times had occasion to allude, was doubtless due in the first instance to the fact of their having been near neighbours in the parish of S. Invenzio.

Other representatives of Foppa, who might almost be termed his agents at Pavia, were the brothers Leggi,¹ belonging to a noble Pavian family, many

¹ See Appendix II, B, Nos. 7, 9, 10.

members of which were notaries of the city, most famous among them all being that Ludovico Leggi, who is so intimately connected with Pavian history in the second half of the fifteenth century. From time to time we find Foppa's son Evangelista coming as his father's representative to Pavia, that is to say, up to the end of 1502,¹ and in 1504 his nephew Paolo Caylina,² the son of Foppa's brother-in-law Bartolomeo. The fact of Paolo Caylina coming to Pavia on this occasion as his uncle's representative might indicate that at this date Foppa's son Evangelista was dead. The name of the master's other son, Francesco, disappears from Pavian records, as we have already noted, after November, 1489, that of Evangelista after October 13, 1502, and as we have never met with a trace of either of them at Brescia it is to be inferred that by 1504 Foppa had suffered the heavy bereavement of losing both his sons. This seems confirmed by the Brescian documents with which we shall deal later, for they prove that the great master's heir was his nephew Paolo Caylina.

After Foppa's removal to Brescia his house at Pavia was let. The first tenant referred to in documents is a certain Sinibaldo Ferrari,³ whom we believe to be identical with the well-known notary of that name who was then practising at Pavia. Ferrari was succeeded by a certain Giovanni Andrea da Modena (B, Nos. 8 and 10), and he in turn by Beltramino de Erba, Archpriest of Gualdrasco (No. 11).

The document relating to Paolo Caylina's transactions at Pavia as his uncle's representative (No. 75), contains references to some property belonging to Foppa in Pavian territory situated apparently in the district of Oltrepò, though the exact locality is not specified. The annual rent was paid in kind—namely, in eight bushels of wheat of the value of thirty-two lire imperiali. On May 31, 1504, Caylina sold the property on behalf of his uncle to Giovanni Maria Leggi and his brothers. Pavian documents furnish us with little more information of any importance relating to the

¹ See Appendix II, B, Nos. 6-14.

² Appendix II, A, No. 75. This Pavian document proves that in 1504 Caylina must have been of age—that is, eighteen—since his uncle empowered him to act as his representative, and he could not therefore have been born later than 1486. From document No. 78 we might indeed have concluded that he was not born until 1492, as he there states that in 1517 he was twenty-five and his wife Pasquina eighteen; but in a later document of 1534 he gives his age at that date as thirty-five and that of his wife as thirty. This is obviously incorrect, and it is clear that in both cases the painter understated the ages of himself and his wife, and that the Pavian deed of 1504 is the only one that can be regarded as accurate from this point of view. In other particulars, however, the document of 1517 (No. 78) is of great interest and importance, as will be seen later.

³ Appendix II, B, No. 6, December 6, 1501.

master. We have reference to an action brought by Evangelista Foppa on behalf of his father, against certain persons at Pavia, in documents of February 25 and June 6, 1502, and from two further records we gather that Vincenzo was still living in 1513 (Doc. No. 76), and that his heirs owned the house in S. Invenzio at least as late as 1522 (Doc. No. 80). Foppa's "livello" payable to the hospital amounted, as we know, to one soldo imperiale per annum, but his heirs apparently paid a higher rate—namely, three soldi a year (November 11, 1518 and 1522). Owing to the absence of documents we are unable to explain the reason of this increase; nor can we tell who that Margarita Marcelli may have been who in 1518 pays the "livello" on behalf of the heirs of Foppa, they being absent. Was she only the tenant of the house? or some relation of the Foppa family? We have no means of ascertaining.

Thus closes the chapter of Foppa's long connection with Pavia extending over a space of more than thirty years, and we pass on to consider the last period of his life at Brescia. The facts relating to these years have been drawn for the most part from documents in the Municipal Archives at Brescia¹ and in the Fabbriceria of the Church of S. Alessandro in that city.

When the master returned with his family to live at Brescia in 1490, he must have settled in the southern part of the town, for, as already noted in chapter VIII, we find him registered in the Libro d' Estimo of 1498 as occupying a house in the first ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro.

These volumes—the Libri d' Estimo—in the Municipal Archives, to which we have several times had occasion to allude, are the registers in which the names and addresses of all the citizens of Brescia were entered according to the quarter of the city where they resided, together with the amount of tax paid by them to the civic authorities.² These Estimi are often of the greatest use for the light they throw upon certain dates relating to painters and artificers, and in the case of Foppa they have rendered valuable service.

The city of Brescia had in medieval times been divided into four quarters, each bearing the name of one of the principal churches, i.e. S. Faustino, S. Giovanni, S. Alessandro, and S. Stefano.³ The quarter of S. Alessandro, divided into two wards, was situated in the southern part of the city between

¹ Archivio Antico Municipale, now housed in a room on the ground floor of the Palazzo Martinengo.

² Called Censo Comunale or Estimo.

³ These quarters were later subdivided into wards called "quadre" or "vicinie." S. Faustino was divided into eight wards, S. Giovanni into six, S. Alessandro into two. In the early fifteenth century S. Stefano was subdivided into two quarters known as Cittadella Vecchia and Cittadella Nuova.

the gates of Torre Lunga and S. Alessandro (the present Porta Venezia and Porta Cremona), and was bounded on the north by the quarter of S. Stefano, or as it was called later Cittadella Vecchia and Nuova, and on the west by two wards of the quarter of S. Giovanni, from which it was divided by the River Garza. The first ward of S. Alessandro, with which alone we are concerned here, comprised the whole of the parish of that name and part of that of S. Lorenzo, and had besides rights over a certain number of houses in the Via Porta Nova, which though actually outside the limits of the quarter, had been *ab antiquo* under the jurisdiction of S. Alessandro. Like all the other divisions of the city, this first ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro had a well-regulated administration modelled on that of the general governing body of the city, and consisting of two syndics, a massaro or overseer, two legal advisers, twelve councillors, accountants, and other officials, with a General and a Special Council, on the former of which every head or representative of a family was allowed to sit, provided he had lived for ten years in the quarter. Every year he received a voting paper or *buletta* entitling him to record his vote for the election of the new syndic.

The books of the quarter were kept with the greatest precision and accuracy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, it was discovered that the archives of the quarter were in great confusion, and the administrators determined to have them rearranged; many documents were then found to be illegible and some volumes were missing, but on the whole their timely efforts have been of the greatest service to succeeding generations; the volumes containing entries relating to the payment of rents and rent charges due to the administrators of the quarter¹ (*Libro de' Livellarii*), and statements of receipts and expenditure by the various administrators throughout the sixteenth century (*Libro di Cassa*), as well as an earlier volume containing grants of leases (*Libro Istromenti di Investitura*) of the second half of the fifteenth century, and many other original documents of great interest, have been preserved absolutely intact and can be easily deciphered.²

One volume which is unfortunately missing is that in which we know that Francesco da Mantua, one of the massari of the quarter, and his predecessors in office had entered all the accounts pertaining to a term of years prior to

¹ These payments to the administrators of the quarter, termed "canone enfiteutico" (emphyteusis) or "livello," are similar to those mentioned when we were speaking of Foppa's house at Pavia, being of the nature of a fee farm rent.

² The books are now most carefully kept under lock and key in an upper room over the cloisters of S. Alessandro. Through the great kindness of the priest of that church, Don Santo Losio, permission was given to study in these archives, and to examine the volumes of records, a list of which will be found in the bibliography of MSS.

1501.¹ This book, which must have contained all information relating to the payment of the "livello" to the quarter in 1498² and earlier, would probably have afforded further proof that "Vincenzo the painter, son of the late Giovanni of Bagnolo" (App. I, Note 3) was identical with Vincenzo Foppa whom we have traced up to his dismissal by the Brescian Government in 1495, and whom we shall be able to trace in Brescian documents again from 1501 up to the time of his death in 1515 or 1516.³ So far as we have been able to discover, there was no other artist named Vincenzo then—that is up to the end of the fifteenth century—living at Brescia, who could be identified with the Vincenzo of the first quarter of S. Alessandro; it is therefore, we think, permissible to assume that the painter mentioned in 1498 is Vincenzo Foppa, and that he may be rightly described in future as the son of Giovanni da Bagnolo and of Brescian birth.⁴

The whole subject of Foppa's later years has been fully dealt with elsewhere,⁵ but it is necessary for clearness sake to recapitulate some of what has already been said. The next notice which we find relating to Vincenzo Foppa at Brescia is in a volume of the Archives of S. Alessandro.⁶ The first part of this book (from fol. 1 to fol. 71) deals with the rent charge already alluded to, and is called *Libro delle Partite dei Livellarii*. The second part of the volume (from fol. 147 v. to the end), which is divided from the first part by sixty-five blank pages, has no heading, but contains statements of accounts entered by the different massari or overseers of the quarter between the years 1501 and 1523, and may therefore, according to the label on the outside of the volume, be termed the *Libro di Cassa*, or book of accounts.⁷

It was the duty of the massaro, who was elected annually and was re-eligible subject to the approval of the General Council, to collect all sums due to the authorities of the quarter, and to enter them in this volume together with other items of receipt and expenditure. On fol. 147 v. therefore, the first page

¹ See Capilupi, *Storia della Quadra*, etc., ff. 15-34.

² In which year Foppa, as already stated, was living in the first ward of S. Alessandro.

³ App. II. Docs. Nos. 71, 72, 74, 75.

⁴ This question is fully discussed in Appendix I, Note 3, and it has been shown that this Vincenzo of Bagnolo cannot be identified with Vincenzo Civerchio, who was also living at Brescia, but is always referred to as Vincenzo da Crema, and is registered in the Estimo as living in a totally different part of the city, i.e. in the fourth ward of S. Faustino.

⁵ See the *Athenæum*, February 15, 1902, and the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1903, p. 103.

⁶ Labelled: *Quadra Mastro Cassa 1502-1523 Masseria*, 1°.

⁷ For convenience sake these books will in future be referred to as the "rent-book" and the "account-book."

of the account-book, we find that Francesco da Mantua the massaro collected from Master Vincenzo the painter on August 12, 1501, the sum of 9 lire 10 soldi (Doc. No. 71), this sum being, as we gather from subsequent entries, Foppa's "livello," due to the quarter for two years,¹ and we may therefore conclude that about the year 1499 he may have purchased the house in the first ward of S. Alessandro which, according to the Estimo, he was occupying in 1498. The entry further refers to fol. 36, where, it notes, the bollettino will be found. Unfortunately, however, this reference does not coincide with any page in this volume, for fol. 36 here is in the rent-book, and contains no allusion whatsoever to Foppa and his affairs. We have numerous other references of a similar character in the account-book which do not apply to any part of this volume (Mass., I°), and we must therefore conclude that all these bollettini were entered in a volume which is now lost.

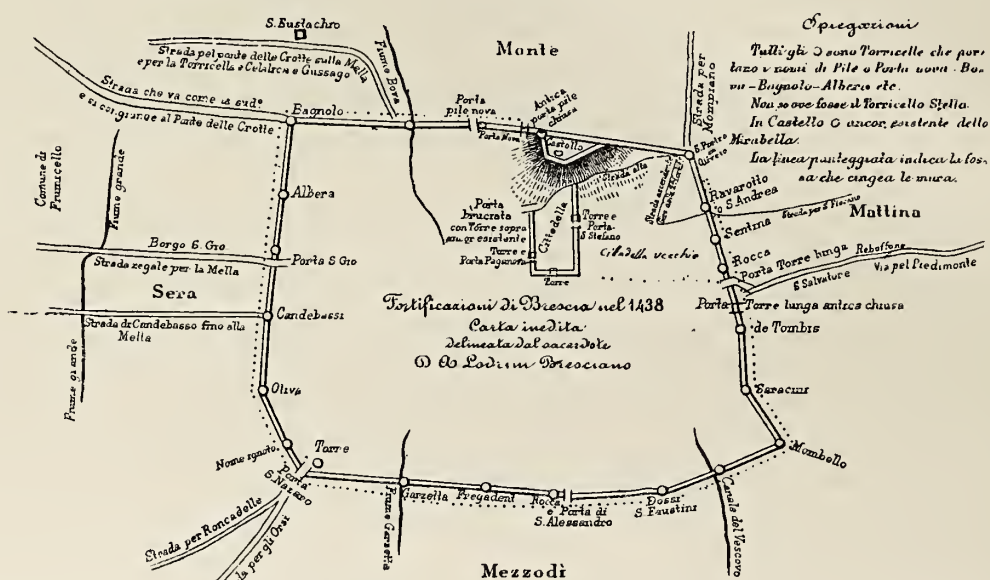
For the next notice of the painter we must turn to the beginning of the Libro dei Livellarii, and here on fol. 2 v. we find that he had purchased the house in the quarter of S. Alessandro from a certain Matteo Caccia who was now dead. The page contains a statement of annual payments made by Master Vincenzo to the massaro of the quarter for the "livello" charged upon his house. The payments date from the 1st of April, 1502, up to the time of his death, and were continued by his heir Paolo Caylina up to 1523, when a new lease was granted to Caylina in his own name.² This page (2 v.) must have been the continuation in a new volume of that fol. 36, in the lost book to which we have referred, where all the payments made by Foppa from the time when he bought the house up to 1502 were undoubtedly entered. From page 2 v. in the rent-book we gather that the sum paid by Foppa to the quarter, and due every 1st of April, was 4 lire 15 soldi, which explains the nature of that former payment of 9 lire 10 soldi,³ a sum collected, as we saw, by Francesco da Mantua in 1501. In this list of payments on p. 2 v. (Doc. No. 72, see illustration), he is called "Master Vincenzo Foppa the excellent painter," and there can be no doubt that the artist there alluded to is identical with the painter mentioned in the Provvisioni between 1489 and

¹ It was the duty of the massaro to collect all moneys due to the quarter, which duty if neglected would have disqualified him for re-election.

² A note at the bottom of page 2 v. states that Paolo Caylina succeeded Foppa in the house: "Quod de suprascriptis bonis investitus fuit Mag^r Paulus de Caylina pictor, ut apparet in isto a f. 71." Fol. 71 here alluded to contains the reference to the new lease drawn up in the name of Caylina and to the list of his payments to the massaro of the quarter (Doc. No. 81).

³ Twenty soldi being equal to one lira planet, this sum represents the "livello" for two years.

1495.¹ The house where he was living is here described as situated in the Contrada Porta Nova contiguous to the street on the east. On f. 1 of the rent-book we gain a little more information on this subject (Doc. No. 73).² From this entry it appears that Master Vincenzo's house had a garden attached to it, the position of which is described as: "to the south of the house owned by the heirs of Ser Venturino de' Sali." This house was also in the Contrada Porta Nova on the spot where "the tower or fort of the Porta Nova of the old citadel of Brescia once stood."³ The map of 1438 shows



FORTIFICATIONS OF BRESCIA IN 1438

the position of the citadel; it had two gates on the east and west, Porta S. Stefano and Porta Paganora, and a tower on the south, which appears to be the one referred to in the document relating to the heirs of Ser Venturino.⁴ The same description of the position of the house—"where the tower or fort

¹ Docs. Nos. 52, 55-63.

² This page contains a list of payments made by the heirs of a certain Ser Venturino de' Sali for the "livello" charged upon their house in the Contrada Porta Nova. We have given an extract from this page in Doc. 73, on account of its allusion to Foppa, and because of the clue which it affords as to the position of his house.

³ Doc. 73. See also Doc. No. 83.

⁴ This map, though incorrect in many particulars, is nevertheless useful in affording some idea of the position of the citadel and of its gates. The late Avvocato Cassa first directed our attention to the drawing by Abate Lodrini, from which our illustration is taken.



Photo.

Capitano

THE SITE OF FOPPA'S HOUSE AT BRESCIA

once stood"—is given in Ser Venturino's lease drawn up by the notary Marco Loda in 1455.¹

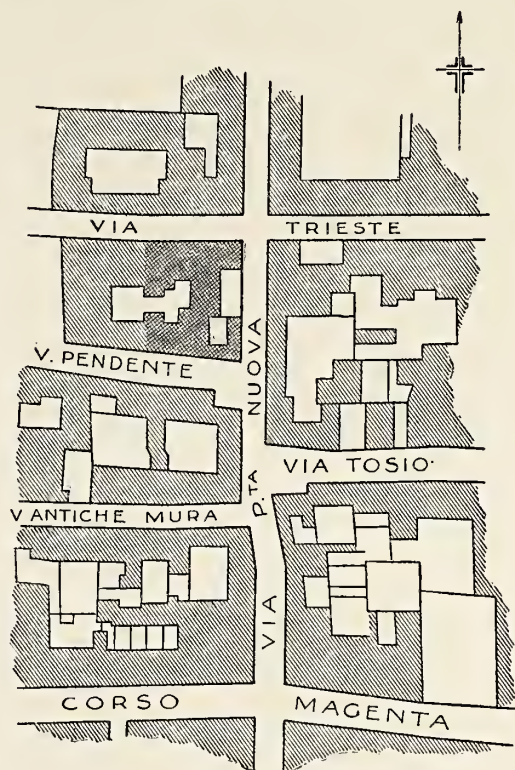
Some remains of an old wall or tower may still be seen in the basement of a house formerly known as Casa Vergine, which stands at the corner of the Via Trieste and Via di Porta Nuova. The late Monsignor Fé d' Ostiani² and Cavaliere Pietro da Ponte, the greatest authorities on Brescian topography, both identify this with the remains of the "tower or fort." If this identification be correct, we should be justified in assuming that the house now standing at the corner of Via Pendente and Via di Porta Nuova occupies the site of Foppa's house. It lies to the south of Casa Vergine and faces east into Via Porta Nuova, the entrance being from the south in Via Pendente.³

¹ See Libro Istro., f. 26, December 23, 1455, and also f. 3, Investitura di Marco Bovarno, whose house joined that of Venturino. As these houses, like that of Foppa, were evidently long leaseholds charged with rents payable to the quarter, we may look upon these leases as models of the agreements of other leaseholders and may assume that Foppa's contract on purchasing his house contained similar conditions.

Ser Matteo Caccia, therefore, before selling the house would have given notice of his intention to the administrators of the quarter, more especially having regard to the transfer of the "livello" or rent charge. Having obtained their sanction, he would then have had the contract drawn up incorporating a clause by which the purchaser agreed to pay the same charge to the quarter as his predecessor, the amount of the sum and the date of payment being noted. Foppa having become the owner of the house handed a copy of the contract to the syndics of the quarter requesting them to grant a new lease in perpetuity, which was done. By this act the syndics formally recognized Foppa's rights as owner of the house, while the painter on his part, by paying the above "livello," tacitly admitted the superior title of the quarter as owner of the fee. Such leases were for life, and on the death of the holder had to be renewed by the successor; this at least was the rule, but often the heir allowed some years to pass before fulfilling the necessary formalities. In the case of Foppa's heir, seven years or more elapsed before the new lease was drawn up.

² *Storia, etc., nelle Vie di Brescia*, VI, p. 48.

³ We must, however, bear in mind that Capilupi in his MS. history of the quarter



PLAN SHOWING THE SITE OF FOPPA'S HOUSE

The list of Foppa's payments to the quarter occupiers, as we have seen, the whole of f. 2 v. in the rent-book; the next page (f. 3) is entirely filled with statements of accounts, principally payments made to different massari between the years 1502 and 1517. This page has no heading, and were it not for the duplicate entries of the account-book we should be entirely in the dark as to the persons referred to on this sheet.

The first entry on f. 3 (see illustration) states that on June 16, 1502, Hippolytus received 48 soldi, or lire 2, soldi 8. Turning to the account-book we find on f. 148 that the person who collected this sum was the massaro of the quarter, Francesco da Mantua, whose surname we know from this and other entries to have been Hippolyto; while the money which he here acknowledges to have received was from "Vincenzo the painter."

The importance of this system of double entry adopted by the massari of the quarter will be seen at a glance if we turn to the Appendix (II, Doc. No. 74), where the entries on f. 3 of the rent-book and the corresponding memoranda in the account-book will be found printed in parallel columns. On f. 3 Foppa is but twice mentioned by name as Master Vincenzo, in the years 1505 and 1513 (Items 2 and 9), and we should be unable to point with any certainty to the identity of the persons whose payments are here recorded, but the entries in the account-book leave us in no doubt; twelve times he is there spoken of as Master Vincenzo the painter and twice as Master Vincenzo Foppa the painter (Items 13 and 14). It is not necessary to discuss each item, but a few require some comment, and for clearness sake all the entries in Doc. 74 have been numbered.

Items 1*a* and 1*b* have no duplicates in the account-book, and the massaro of that year, Apollonio Botano, had evidently omitted to enter them. From Item 1*b*, October, 1503, we learn that Foppa had a wife living at this date who paid her husband's "livello" to the quarter in person, and she is referred to in these rent and account books as acting in this capacity on her husband's behalf in the years 1505, 1509, and 1510.

(f. 145) took a different view, and considered that the house of Venturino de' Sali stood on the site of the house known in his day as Casa Fontana, at the corner of Via Porta Nuova and Via delle Antiche Mura, the aspect being the same as in the house mentioned above. In that case Foppa's house would have been practically built upon the old Roman wall, which was still in existence at that period, and would have looked south towards Contrada Bruttanome, the present Corso Magenta; but such a position would scarcely have been permitted by the Brescian law, which prohibited the erection of any buildings whatsoever in the immediate vicinity of the walls (see the Statutes of Brescia of 1470, first printed in 1490 and reprinted in 1557, Nos. 60 and 67). It seems therefore from every point of view more reasonable to identify the site with that now occupied by the house at the corner of Via Pendente and Via Porta Nuova.

The payment mentioned in No. 1a in April, 1503, was, however, not made by Foppa's wife, but the sum was paid in the name of Vincenzo "per uno puto," by which we may perhaps understand an apprentice from his workshop. The payment was made in the Piazzola S. Alessandro, where stood the house used by the officials of the quarter for the transaction of their business. A stone inscribed *Domus quadrae Scti. Alexandri MCCCCCLXV*, and let into the wall of a house on the north side of the square, still marks the site, according to the late Mgr. Fé, of the original building.¹

Items 2 and 2a and b, record the payment of three different sums to the massaro Bompiano between June, 1505, and July, 1506. This is all condensed into one entry in the account-book f. 152, with the remark that the sum of lire 14, soldi 8 was paid in three instalments, which from f. 3 we know to have been the case.²

Item 8 on f. 3 deals with a sum of money expended on repairs to the door of the workshop which the quarter had bought from an embroiderer, Zuan Pietro.³ We learn from the account-book f. 162 that this sum was paid by the syndic of the quarter Viviano Viviani, and that the workshop "bought from the embroiderer" had been damaged by the French during the siege of 1512. But why should this have been entered on Vincenzo Foppa's page of accounts, there being no allusion to him in either rent or account-book and the money having apparently been paid by the syndic? In spite of appearances, this was not, however, the case, and Item 9 explains the matter. On October 13, 1513, Master Vincenzo paid to Viviano, deputy massaro and syndic of the quarter, l. 2 (f. 3); and on f. 162 v., it is stated that Viviano had received the sum of l. 4, s. 5, in two instalments from Master Vincenzo. Viviano had paid a part of this sum to the quarter and had been repaid by

¹ *Op. cit.*, III, p. 11.

² Twenty soldi being, as already stated, equal to 1 lira planet, these three sums l. 3, s. 13, l. 6, and l. 4, s. 15, make up the total l. 14, s. 8, which, as stated in the account-book (f. 152), was paid by Master Vincenzo in three instalments.

³ This Zuan Pietro belonged to a celebrated family of embroiderers who are also called "de Vescovis." In the book labelled Istromenti, I°, f. 51, we find the deed of sale, according to which on April 2, 1511, Giovanni Pietro and his wife Hellena sold the shop to the quarter—represented by five of the principal officials, among them being the two syndics, Giov. Battista de Monte and Viviano Viviani. The deed was drawn up by the notary Francesco de' Porzani and the money was paid in instalments to Giov. Pietro and his brothers (see Mass., I°, f. 159 v.). After it became the property of the quarter it must have been let to Foppa. Among the witnesses to one of these payments was "M^{ro} Zuan de Vallcamonica," whom we might have been tempted to identify with Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo (see chaps. v and vii), did we not know from the Estimo that this Zuan (Giovanni) from the Val Camonica was a schoolmaster who lived in the first ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro.

Master Vincenzo, i.e. l. 2 s. 5, on September 12, 1513,¹ and the remaining l. 2 on October 13; the embroiderer's workshop having apparently been let to Foppa, who seems to have taken it on a repairing lease. The next item, No. 10, is of great interest, for it states (f. 3) that on March 4, 1514, a certain sum was paid by "his [Vincenzo's] nephew M^{ro} Paulo" to the massaro Ludovico Zerbini, while from f. 163 v. we learn that the sum was from "Master Vincenzo the painter," and we are referred to f. 3. This little sentence on f. 3, which without the double entry in the account-book and without due understanding of the context on this page would convey nothing to the casual reader, is of the greatest importance, as being the final link in the chain of evidence which indubitably proves the identity of this Vincenzo with the painter of 1495 and earlier; for "Paulo his nephew" is the same as "Paulus de Caylina," mentioned in the note at the foot of f. 2 v. (Doc. No. 72), to whom we have constantly had occasion to refer in these pages and whom we can trace as Foppa's heir and successor in rent-books, account-books, and Estimi up to 1545 and later. In the Estimo of 1517 and in his own Polizza d' Estimo of the same year (Docs. Nos. 77 and 78) he is entered as the son of Bartolomeo.² This entry is separated from the preceding one, as we see on referring to the illustration, by a dash, marking as it were the close of a chapter or paragraph, which, so far as Vincenzo is concerned, is actually the case; for his name never occurs again on f. 3, and instead it is always M^{ro} Paulo who either makes the payments in person or sends them by a neighbour. This apparent closing of Foppa's account and the substitution of M^{ro} Paulo's name for that of M^{ro} Vincenzo on f. 3 might lead to the conclusion that Foppa must have died after October, 1513; in point of fact however it has no reference to Foppa, but merely marks the advent of a new massaro whose tenure of office was one of unusual length, having extended from 1514 to 1520. The entries in the account-book exclude the possibility of Vincenzo's death having occurred in 1513, for we could scarcely infer from the mention of him in Items 10 to 15 that he was then no longer living; and further, we have the allusion to him in the Pavian Archives

¹ It may here be mentioned that in one of Albuzzio's MSS. in the library of the Marchese Soragna at Milan is the following note: "It is said that there is at Milan a panel picture in the old style, with the name Vincenzo Foppa and the date, if I am not mistaken, of 1513." ("Una tavola di maniera antica col nome di Vincenzo Foppa e colla data, se non erro, di 1513.") Unfortunately Albuzzio's annotator gives us no clue as to the subject treated, nor does he state whether the picture was in a church or in a private collection. We have no further information relating to this picture, which was ostensibly of the year 1513, and it is not mentioned in the copy of Albuzzio's MS. belonging to Dr. Gerolamo Calvi at Milan. For the Vincenzo da Brescia who in November, 1513, was paid for work executed at Milan, see App. I, Note 5.

² He was the son therefore of Bartolomeo Caylina and Margarita Moracavalli of Pavia, and was Foppa's nephew by marriage.

of November 10, 1513 (Doc. 76), which would also seem to point to his being still alive at that date, since the reference is to himself and not to his heirs. The last payment from Master Vincenzo recorded in the Archives of S. Alessandro is of May 31, 1515 (Item 15, f. 166), and on October 16, 1516, it is noted that the payment was made by his heirs (Item 16); this is repeated on December 16, f. 166, and on July 17, 1517, f. 166 v., after which in both rent and account book the reference is invariably to M^{ro} Paulo. Had Foppa died in 1513 we assume that this plan would have been adopted then, since the entries throughout are made with the utmost regularity and precision, and until further evidence comes to light we may take it as practically certain that Vincenzo Foppa died between May, 1515, and October, 1516.¹

He was buried in the cloisters of the great Augustinian Monastery of S. Barnaba, which though situated in the second ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro, was frequently the burial place of persons who lived in the first ward.² Burial in the parish church was not obligatory; each individual was free to choose his place of interment according to his religious leanings, the only obligation being that his parish priest should follow him to the grave. Had we been fortunate enough to discover the will of Foppa,³ we should in all probability have found that it contained in the first place, and before any mention was made of the disposition of his worldly goods, minute instructions as to his funeral and place of burial, and possibly he would also have stated his reason for choosing the cloisters of the Augustinian Church of S. Barnaba as his last resting-place, for as a rule in wills of this date, the testator provides

¹ On the whole we think it probable that Foppa's death occurred in 1516, as from Doc. No. 78 we gather that legacies and certain debts left by Vincenzo still remained to be paid by his executor Paolo Caylina in 1517.

² Gelmini gives the names of a number of those who were buried at S. Barnaba, and among them we recognize many whose names are familiar to us as inhabitants of the first ward; for instance, members of the Cazzago family, the heirs of de Salis, Aquagno the notary, and many more.

³ That Vincenzo Foppa left a will we know from document No. 82, which states that Paolo Caylina and his sons (at the time of Foppa's death Paolo had two sons, Bartolomeo and Vincenzo, Doc. 78), nephew and great-nephews of the master, were his sole heirs "as provided by his will," but we have failed to find any trace of it at Brescia. We know of at least two Brescian notaries who transacted business for Foppa (Doc. 75 and App. B, No. 11), and we are also acquainted with the names of many more who were living in the quarter of S. Alessandro at Brescia contemporaneously with the master; it seems not unreasonable to suppose that one or other of them would have been summoned to draw up his will, but unfortunately these notaries, if we except the Aquagno family, are wholly unrepresented in the Archivio Notarile at Brescia, and it is greatly to be feared that the will of Foppa has shared the fate of countless other legal documents which have been dispersed or destroyed.

that he is to be buried in that particular church for which he had a special devotion, "ad quam gerit specialem devotionem." Two seventeenth century Brescian writers, Rossi¹ and Cozzando,² mention the fact that Foppa was buried in S. Barnaba, but neither of them gives any particulars relating to his tomb. Zamboni in 1778 was the first to publish a description of the tombstone, which he says existed in his day in the eastern corner of the first cloister; it was inscribed, he states: "Excellentis. ac. Eximii. Pictoris. M. Vincentii. De. Foppis. Ci. Bx. 1492, and the painter's Arms," he adds: "a bean stem with pods and leaves," were sculptured upon it.³ Zamboni does not say that he read this inscription himself, but merely observes that it was in existence when he wrote; he may not therefore have been personally responsible for the dissemination of a totally false statement with regard to the date of Foppa's death. It is probable that the inscription was partially obliterated, and was therefore misread by his informant;⁴ in any case, Zamboni's version of this date as 1492 was universally accepted, and it is only since the fortunate discovery in the municipal archives at Brescia that Foppa was still alive in 1495—a clue which led to the further discovery of all the records in the Archives of S. Alessandro—that it has been possible to prove conclusively that the painter lived about twenty-four years longer than was formerly supposed, a fact fully confirmed, as we have seen, by the Pavian documents.⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

² *Vago Ristretto, etc.*, p. 128.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 32, note 48. In the MS. of this book (*Memorie di Brescia, etc.*), written in 1774, Zamboni makes no mention either of the tombstone or of the inscription. His remarks about Foppa (f. 68) are limited to a reference to the Loggetta paintings and to the documents of 1489-91. The information about the tombstone must have reached him later, and he incorporated it when the book was printed in 1778.

⁴ According to Zani (*Enciclopedia*, IX, p. 226, note 84), it was Oretti who read and copied the inscription and no doubt communicated it to Zamboni. As the question turns upon an inscription which no longer exists, and as in all probability Zamboni himself never saw the original, we cannot refrain from expressing some doubts as to whether this inscription did in effect commemorate Foppa, who not being of noble lineage would not have been entitled to armorial bearings, and whose tombstone, we might infer from Document 78, was of a very simple character. Is it not possible that the tomb was that of a member of the noble and well-known Brescian family of Fava? whose canting arms—a play upon the word "fava" (bean)—were not improbably "a bean stalk with pods and leaves." In this case the inscription, misread by Zamboni's informant, might be reconstructed as follows: "[Sepulcrum] Excellentis[simi] ac Eximii *Doctoris* M[agistri] Vincentii *De Favis* Ci[vis] B[ri]x[iensis] 1492."

⁵ In Calepino's dictionary, which was first published in 1502, Foppa is spoken of with living painters—Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, and Leonardo da Vinci—and there is nothing in this writer's mention of Vincenzo which would lead us to suppose that he was dead; the same may be said of Elia Capriolo's allusion to Foppa in his first edition of 1505 (*op. cit.*, p. lxxx). Nicoli-Cristiani affirms (*Brevi Not.*, p. 157) that

Thus almost mysteriously Foppa disappears, for the close, like the beginning of his long life, is shrouded in impenetrable obscurity. As to the first epoch of his life, extending, roughly speaking, over a period of nearly thirty years, we are, as has been shown, absolutely in the dark. Then the veil lifts, he becomes to us a tangible human personality, and for over forty years the history of his life and the growth of his art may be traced and followed in an almost unbroken line of development. But after 1502 we have only the briefest allusions to him, and every effort to penetrate the gloom surrounding his latter years has been unavailing, both as regards the circumstances of his life and the chronology of his works. One fact only is certain—that his death did not occur until the middle of the second decade of the sixteenth century.

In the absence of all records relating to the close of the master's life even the slightest shred of information is of value, and we would therefore direct the attention of the reader to Doc. No. 78, the Polizza d' Estimo of Paolo Caylina, that is the census, or registered statement of the particulars of his family and property for taxation purposes, a document which at first sight may appear insignificant and trivial, but the second part of which contains some important entries relating to the dispositions of Foppa's will. The paper is undated, but is certainly of 1517, as proved by its position in the case containing other Polizze of this year in the municipal archives at Brescia, where we had the good fortune to find it. It bears the heading: "In the first ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro," and is called the "Polizza [or Census] of Master Paolo the painter, son of the late Ser Bartolomeo Caylina, in Brescia."

The first items refer to the persons constituting Paolo Caylina's family, and then follow statements relating to the house owned by him, to his creditors, and to the debts for which he was liable. Upon this statement of his possessions, his incomings and outgoings, the painter was assessed for the amount of the annual tax due to the Commune. The debts, enumerated by Paolo Caylina (part II) represent practically what, as heir to Vincenzo Foppa, he had to disburse for the illness, the funeral, and the legacies and bequests of his uncle.

The sum of 28 lire, 15 soldi, a not inconsiderable amount, due to the

prior to the publication of Zamboni's work it was traditionally asserted that Foppa was still alive in 1505; Zani (*op. cit.*) says that in spite of the epitaph he must refrain from giving the date of the painter's death, having read somewhere that Foppa was still living in 1505; and Lanzi, it might be inferred, also held this view. Brugnoli, though he admitted that the stone was no longer in existence when he wrote (in 1826), held that Zamboni's statement was conclusive, and it then became an established fact that Foppa died in 1492. In the light of all the recent discoveries alluded to above, we venture to hope that this error may now be corrected in future histories of art.

apothecary Federico Pezza,¹ is a significant item, and seems to indicate that the death of Foppa was preceded by an illness of some duration. The debt to Master Ambrogio, the stone-cutter, probably represents the amount owing for the stone which covered the tomb of Foppa in the cloisters of S. Barnaba. As already noted, this gravestone must have been of the utmost simplicity, containing at most the name of the artist without any ornamentation and certainly without armorial bearings, since the whole cost, including the workmanship, only amounted to 1 lira, 5 soldi. The other items evidently refer to Foppa's bequests.

Having chosen the Augustinian Monastery of S. Barnaba as his place of burial, he directed that 14 lire was to be paid by his heir to the monks, in order that they might celebrate a requiem Mass in their church for the repose of his soul. Nor did he forget his own parish church, but gave proof of his piety and devotion by bequeathing 12 lire to the monks of S. Alessandro, that is, to the Servites by whom that parish was then administered.

Four other legacies—one of 150 lire, the remaining three of 100 lire each—afford a striking proof of Vincenzo Foppa's generous nature and kindness of heart, and they also tend to show that in the course of his long and laborious life he must, in spite of his many financial troubles, have amassed a considerable fortune, out of which he made liberal bequests to needy relations or intimate friends, in each case for the purpose of a marriage portion.

The first legacy of 100 lire is "to a sister-in-law of his" for the dowry of a certain Angela;² then follow 150 lire to Gian Girolamo³ and 100 lire apiece to Lucia and Caterina.

We have no clue as to the identity of these legatees or as to that of the other persons mentioned in this list,⁴ nor are we able to furnish any information with regard to the creditors named in the first part, among whom we observe the Commune of Bagnolo. But one item is especially noteworthy, namely, a payment from the Commune of Orzinuovi. The sum named is very small, but it may have had reference to a final payment for, or possibly some

¹ Pezza is registered in the *Estimo* of 1498 (f. 168 v.) as an apothecary living in the first ward of S. Alessandro.

² It is not clear whether this refers to a sister-in-law of Foppa or of Caylina; the language is ambiguous, but the literal translation, "a sister-in-law of his for a legacy in order to marry—that is Angela," might point to a sister-in-law whose daughter Angela was provided with a dowry by her uncle Vincenzo Foppa.

³ Can this be Gian Girolamo Savoldo? We cannot tell, but the Brescian Archives may some day perhaps supply an answer to this question.

⁴ Among them is a Giacomo Filippo Valabio, doubtless a member of the same family as Bataglinus Valabio, who is mentioned with Paolo Caylina in 1504 (*Doc.* No. 75).

D. J. Lima, A. G. /

Poliz. Nr. 30. Punkt. Lagerort. g. d. technische. mythen. 1871. qual. v.
L. Nr. 5. 1875. 1875. 1875.

- D. *palquinia* ^{juv. pallid.} *form. loma. de mny.* 18. / *monica liquet* al *palquin* e *refusa* de *guzen* *liquet*

Bisulmon. suo filiol. lo mng. 6.

3^a Cien años sus fidel de amig . 3

Jacurina [na] frotfcha; co'lo suo /d'a zo . de mny - 16
ma : exca ; hfa : e sua uffa : leant .

✓ na. cxa. i. bñ. y fue uño. lequ. cxa. p. uñ. naur. curo. libe. x. p. r. a. s. r. q. u. a. n. d. o. d. e. -
toto. s. i. g. n. a. n. d. o. libe. +. s. i. f. o. l. l. i. q. u. i. n. d. e. x. o. l. e. l. i. n. e. l. l. e. s. g. r. i. a. m. o.

Fe la una del Commune de ...

Je la meurtre par Coraline la 3^e

Le nez est commun de Bagnio

~~To the Hon. Secy of the Navy~~

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1

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H. z^a Jacinto y Luna. Letta.

7. *hura* *maxima* *Linna*

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Chadwick 7 1/2

1. pedracho. 2. peza. 3. pirano. 4. -

7 fms. ligne. de fuy de pro

Ex. mo. h. mo. ali. f. mo. de f. mo.

Donna Lucia - - -

In a p. roughness. better. - -

... ..

7. al. *Carya* *ischnocarpa* -

Salix pyramidalis -

2. Como: 1.100

3a form 20

2. (Numero. Veriato. - - -)

1. 7. ambrosia pich pich.

2. A. Discepi / sono. In pin. a.

POLYMER LETTERS

ESCIA: MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES. PO

Photo.

Capitanio, Brescia

POLIZZA D'ESTIMO OF PAOLO CAYLINA
BRESCIA: MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES, POLIZZE D'ESTIMO DEL 1517, 1°S. ALESSANDRO f. 118

repairs to, the processional banner mentioned in chapter VIII, and as the item is crossed out it may be that it referred to a debt already settled which had been entered here by mistake. Finally of great interest is the statement (part 1) made by Paolo Caylina relating to his property, namely, "a house in Brescia for his use, which house may be of the value of 900 lire, and for which he pays a livello every year to the quarter of S. Alessandro of 4 lire, 15 soldi." There cannot be the slightest doubt that this is the house of Vincenzo Foppa so often alluded to,¹ and though the name of the master himself does not occur in this document, it is quite certain, in the light of our present knowledge, that the second part refers to the winding up of his affairs by his executor and nephew Paolo Caylina. Hence, failing the master's will, it is the most important document we at present possess concerning his last years, and were we able to explain all the items in this list and to identify all the persons therein named, some further clues might be obtained for elucidating the history of the painter's life and work.

The fame of Vincenzo Foppa outlived that of many of his less gifted contemporaries, and has survived to the present day, in spite of the neglect of succeeding generations and the misconception of his art in an uncritical age, which has led to some of his best works being ascribed to other painters.²

Like all great masters, he too has suffered the misfortune of being held responsible for paintings which are unworthy of him or which show but a remote connection with his art, though his name has not been so freely used to cover all Lombard works of a certain date as has been the case, for instance, with the name of Giovanni Bellini in the Venetian school.

Foppa, so far as we know, was never employed by the great art patrons who held sway at the courts of Mantua and Ferrara; nor did he ever occupy under Lodovico il Moro the prominent position which he held at the Court of Milan during the reigns of Francesco and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and both in Liguria and at Brescia he fell into disfavour with his employers in his latter years; hence he was comparatively little known outside the limits of his immediate sphere of activity,³ a fact which may in a measure account

¹ See pp. 191, 223 and foll., Docs. Nos. 72, 77, 81-83.

² We may briefly recall a few of these misattributions, which have been referred to in these pages, and were rectified by art criticism in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The Brera altarpiece, formerly ascribed to the Milanese school and subsequently to Zenale; the National Gallery picture and the fresco at Hertford House, ascribed to Bramantino; the St. Sebastian of the Castello Museum, to Bramante or Bramantino; the altarpiece of S. Maria di Castello at Savona, to Vincenzo Catena (!); the Berlin Pietà, to Bramante and later to the Milanese school, etc.

³ Foppa is not mentioned by Giov. Sanzio in the ninety-sixth chapter of his well-known rhyming chronicle, in which he eulogizes so many contemporary painters, nor by Mucius in his *Theatrum*. This is the more remarkable as the last-named, a writer of

for the relatively small number of existing paintings of the Lombard school which bear his name. Among the number we find certain works which are closely connected with the master himself, and others which are more or less related to his school, while some have no claims whatever to his name. It would be obviously impossible and altogether outside the scope of this volume to attempt a categorical list of all known works ascribed to Foppa in the galleries and private collections of Europe and America, even though such a list, for the reasons already stated, would probably be shorter than in the case of any other great Italian master; but we have chosen a few of the most representative specimens of these three classes of "attributed" works in which the influence of the leader of the school upon his followers is seen in varying degrees.

Among works of the school of Foppa which some critics ascribe to the master himself, the first place must certainly be assigned to a very interesting canvas in the Camera di Commercio at Brescia, representing the Madonna and Child enthroned between the patron saints of Brescia, Faustino, and Giovita. In many particulars the connection with Foppa noticeable in this picture is so close, as to lead us to infer that it may have been founded upon one of the master's own works. Though very late in date, and though so much injured in parts that much of its original character has been obliterated, it nevertheless shows a very remarkable affinity with a work of Foppa's earlier period, the altarpiece in the Brera. This is more especially noticeable in the fine figure of S. Faustino, who stands on the right of the Madonna,¹ and vividly recalls the St. Anthony of the Brera polyptych; it is apparent also in the deacon S. Giovita, who reminds us in type of one of the angels, and in certain other particulars of the St. Vincent of that altarpiece, namely, in the pose and gesture of the figure, and more especially in the distinctive form and position of the hand. This characteristic, which may be regarded as one of the distinguishing marks of Foppa's workshop, is repeated by the painter of this altarpiece in the hands of all the other figures: in those of the Madonna and of S. Faustino, who receives from her the palm of martyrdom, and in the hand of the Infant Saviour, who turns to place the palm in that of S. Giovita. Further removed from Foppa himself is the figure of the Madonna, in which the weakness of the drawing is very apparent, though here also the connection with a Foppesque prototype is undeniable; the same may be said of the figure of the Infant Saviour, though on comparing it with the Bambino of the Brera altarpiece, or with the Holy Child in the banner of Orzinuovi, the

Bergamo, constantly refers to Capriolo and Calepino as the authors from whom he derived much of his information—two writers who, as we saw, speak of Foppa in very laudatory terms and class him with the greatest artists of the day.

¹ The left of the spectator.



Photo

Capitano, Brescia

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SS. FAUSTINO AND GIOVITA
(School of Foppa)

BRESCIA: CAMERA DI COMMERCIO

palpable inferiority of the example at Brescia to those just named, is very evident. The connection with Foppa is also seen in the subordinate details of the picture : for instance, in the white damask canopy of beautiful quality and design, which in part is fairly well preserved, and in the carpet covering the step of the throne, which in pattern and colouring recalls the *tappeto* in the Brera fresco of 1485, the carpet in the predella of the Savona altarpiece, and also the border of the processional banner at Orzinuovi ; it is certainly the only work now existing at Brescia which can be ascribed with absolute certainty to the immediate school of Foppa.¹

Of the earlier history of the picture we have no direct information, but it was placed in the Sala dei Mercanti² in 1596, as we gather from the inscription at the bottom of the canvas : “Deiparæ Virginis Imaginem Hanc Consules E Tenebris Ac Situ Erutam Conspicuo In Loco Posuere Ut In Posterum Tam Oculis Quam Animis Piorum Illucescat M D III C.”³

Considering the subject, it would seem not unreasonable to surmise that the picture was painted for some church or oratory dedicated to the patron saints of Brescia, though the clause of the inscription which states that it was taken from “a place of darkness and evil odours” would seem at first sight to preclude the possibility of the picture having been over the altar of a church. But a closer examination of the facts explains the matter. We know that in 1532 a picture of the same subject as the one we are discussing was hanging over the altar of the little Oratory of S. Faustino in Riposo⁴ sotto Porta Brusata. From a volume in the municipal archives at Brescia, *Istrumenti Municipali* (1529-37), we learn that on July 15, 1530, a certain Pietro Tonini of the Val Trompia had been appointed to the guardian-

¹ According to Paglia (autogr. MS., f. 70), the painter whom he calls “Foppa” or “Paolo Foppa” (namely, Paolo Caylina, see p. 204, note 3), decorated the Oratory of the Disciplina of S. Faustino with frescoes from the history of that saint and of S. Giovita, and also painted the altarpiece, which this writer speaks of as a panel picture, and in his first manner. Possibly the picture in the Camera di Commercio may have been connected with these works by Vincenzo Foppa’s nephew, who, as the probable head of his uncle’s workshop, would have carried on the traditions of his school.

² For the old Mercanzia and its relation to the present Camera di Commercio see Fé, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 46, 58, and foll.

³ “This representation of the Virgin Mother of God the Consuls [of the Guild] drew forth from a place of darkness and evil odours and placed in a conspicuous position, so that in the future both the eyes and the souls of the devout might thereby be illumined.”

⁴ So called because, when the bodies of the saints Faustino and Giovita were translated from S. Afra (then S. Faustino ad Sanguinem) to S. Maria in Sylva (now S. Faustino Maggiore), they rested here.

ship of the oratory, and on the above-named day received in charge from his predecessor in office all the contents of the building, among which, however, no altarpiece is mentioned.¹

In November, 1532, Pietro Tonini in his turn retires from the office, and hands to his successor, Andrea Ballini, the inventory of the goods of the oratory; at the end of the list, among "articles provided by the said Maestro Pietro," we have "one picture painted with the figure of the Virgin Mary and SS. Faustino and Giovita, placed over the altar."²

Turning to the Indici Poncarali,³ a volume in the same archives at Brescia, we gain a little further information, namely, that Pietro Tonini was not the donor of the picture, but that he had provided it with the alms of the faithful at some period between 1530 and 1532, the price paid being doubtless a modest one; this might perhaps explain the entire absence of gold throughout the picture in the Camera di Commercio (even for the glories, yellow paint only is used) and the rough and careless painting of some parts of the work. We know from another volume in the Archivio Municipale⁴ that in 1594 the oratory was rebuilt, and the wording of the document recording this fact coincides in a remarkable manner with the wording of the inscription on the picture, which alludes to the gloom of the place whence it was taken. The passage stating the reasons which necessitated the rebuilding is as follows:—

"Because of the darkness and the damp of the place . . . it is with difficulty that the Divine Offices and especially the Mass can be celebrated in the Chapel near Porta Brusata, formerly dedicated by this city to the glorious martyrs Faustino and Giovita," etc.⁵

From the same document we learn that during the rebuilding the relics of SS. Faustino and Giovita enshrined in the altar, were removed to the cathedral. By February 21, 1595, the building was completed, and the relics were on that day replaced in the newly constructed altar;⁶ but no mention is made of the picture. On the other hand, we know from Carboni,⁷ Brugnoli,⁸ and other Brescian writers,⁹ that Bagnadore, the Brescian painter and architect, who flourished towards the close of the sixteenth century, was commissioned to paint an altarpiece for the oratory in which the Madonna and Child with

¹ See Istr., f. 36.

² "Res facte per dictum Magistrum Petrum: . . . unus quadrus pinctus cum imagine Virginis Marie et SS. Faustini et Jovite positus super altare" (Istr., f. 93).

³ f. 264.

⁴ Registrum P. f. 30 v. and foll.

⁵ "Quia tam ob loci obscuritatem et humiditatem . . . divina officia et presertim missa vix poterant celebrari in sacello secus portam brusatam olim per hanc civitatem dicato gloriosissimis Martiribus Faustino et Jovite," etc. (*loc. cit.*)

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, f. 31.

⁷ *Le Pitture, etc., di Brescia*, p. 13.

⁸ *Nuova Guida di Brescia, etc.*, p. 70.

⁹ Fé, VII, p. 5, etc.



Photo.

Anderson

THE MADONNA AND CHILD
(Ascribed to Foppa)
MILAN; POLDI PEZZOLI MUSEUM

SS. Faustino and Giovita were to be represented. This might be taken as an additional proof of the identity of our picture with the altarpiece of S. Faustino in Riposo mentioned in the *Istrumenti Municipali* in the year 1532. That picture was evidently not replaced in the oratory after the reconstruction in 1595, but a year later a painting of the same subject, and provided with an inscription recording its former position, was placed in the Sala de' Mercanti in order "that in the future both the eyes and the souls of the devout might thereby be illumined," an inscription proving that the new owners of the altarpiece valued it highly. Rossi in the first quarter of the seventeenth century¹ alludes to the picture in the "Sala de' Mercanti," but unfortunately he only speaks of it incidentally with reference to the saints being represented in sacerdotal garments as priest and deacon, and not as soldiers;² but beyond this cursory notice we have failed to find the slightest allusion to the picture in the works of any Brescian writer, and the authorities at the Chamber of Commerce are unable to furnish any information as to its former history. It seems to have been practically forgotten for centuries, until the Exhibition of 1904 at Brescia brought it into notice once more.³

Very closely allied to Foppa in many particulars and constantly ascribed to him is the beautiful and well-known Madonna and Child in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum at Milan. Its connection with the Madonnas mentioned in chapter III is evident, more especially with those in the Trivulzio and Davis collections; yet the picture contains so many puzzling divergencies from Foppa's typical manner as to render any definite attribution to him impossible. The type and expression of the Child, the drawing of the eyes, of the hand, and of the feet, connect the picture closely with him; the landscape, with the very characteristic treatment of the trees, which we find in so many of the works already alluded to, is composed altogether in his spirit; on the other

¹ Rossi, *Historia de' gloriosissimi SS. Martiri Faustino et Giovita*, Brescia, 1624, p. 58.

² They are sometimes represented as warriors, in illustration of the legend that during the siege of Brescia by Piccinino in 1438 they miraculously appeared and saved the city. As such they are represented also in certain sculptures of the Museo Cristiano at Brescia, and in the frontispiece of the *Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Faustini et Jovite Brixienis*, printed by Joannes Antonius Brixianinus, 1511, a rare work of which the Queriniana Library at Brescia possesses an example (Coll. Rossi, No. 10 of Valentini's Catalogue). On the frontispiece of the later *Passione de SS. Martyri Faust. e Jov. Cavalieri di Cristo*, printed at Brescia in 1534, they are represented precisely as in the picture in the Chamber of Commerce, the xylograph being perhaps based upon that composition. The place of the Madonna is taken by St. Apollonius, Bishop of Brescia, who is said to have converted these saints.

³ At that Exhibition it was rightly ascribed to the school of Foppa (see *Catalogo*, etc., No. 14).

hand, the type of the Madonna is unduly soft and weak for Foppa and shows nothing of his distinctive character, and her hands are of a form never met with in his works; the scale of the colouring and the technique of the painting seem also far removed from his methods.

The Poldi Madonna, as is well known, has been attributed by some critics to Floriano Ferramola, the Brescian painter; but on comparing it with his signed picture in the Berlin Gallery and with his works at Lovere and Brescia, it is impossible to accept this attribution. That it was produced by some painter who approached Foppa nearly and who was working with him at a comparatively early period of his career is certain, but more than this it is impossible to say, nor have we ever met with a second work which could be ascribed to the author of this picture. He appears to us to be a painter of decided individuality, whose style and technique it should not be difficult to recognize in other works, should any by his hand be in existence.

In the choice collection of Signor Benigno Crespi at Milan is a Madonna and Child ascribed to Foppa and reproduced as such in Professor Venturi's illustrated catalogue of this gallery, but we think that this panel should rather be considered a product of the master's school. The incorrect drawing of the seated figure of the Virgin and the insignificance of her expression, the heavy opaque colour, added to other particulars, such as the form of the Infant Saviour's head, the claw-like hand of the Madonna, the awkward pose of the arm, and the feeble outline of the drapery, seem to indicate that it cannot be by Foppa's own hand, though it is undoubtedly derived from one of his compositions—namely, the Madonna belonging to Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia—and is probably the work of one of the master's immediate followers.

In the category of works bearing the name of Foppa which can only be regarded as by his pupils or assistants we should also place the angel in the museum at Verona, which came originally from Brescia, and was presented to the gallery in 1865 by a Signor Albertini.¹ It is the fragment of a fresco of the Annunciation, in a very bad state of preservation; the type is founded upon the models of Foppa, but it is too weak in drawing, and too poor and empty in expression, to be by his own hand, though connected with works of his school at Brescia;² the form of the head, the mild expression of the features, and the feeble drawing recall a figure of St. Michael in the lower Church of S. Salvatore, which is inscribed with the name of an otherwise unknown painter Johannes de Froschis.

¹ See *Catalogo del Museo Civico*, 1865, p. 43, and Cesare Bernasconi in *L' Adige*, etc., No. 2, January 2, 1869.

² G. Bernardini, *Quadri nel Museo Civico di Verona* (in *Supplemento . . . del Bollettino . . . dell' Istruzione Pubblica*, p. 1446), also considers it too poor to be by Foppa himself.



Photo.

Anderson

THE MADONNA AND CHILD
(Ascribed to Foppa)
MILAN: CRESPI COLLECTION



Photo.

THE ANGEL GABRIEL

(Fragment of fresco, by a follower of Giotto)

VERONA: MUSEUM

Lotze, Verona



THE DEAD CHRIST STANDING IN THE TOMB
(Lunette fresco, School of Foppa)
MILAN: BRERA

The lunette fresco of the Dead Christ standing in the tomb, to which we alluded in chap. III when speaking of the composition belonging to Sir Martin Conway, is catalogued with the works of Foppa in the Brera, though with the remark that even if the hand of the master himself cannot be discerned in it, it nevertheless shows his influence, which is certainly true. It came, like the fresco of 1485 and the St. Sebastian, from S. Maria di Brera, where it occupied a place over a door. In spite of its injured condition it shows considerable affinity with Foppa in modelling and expression, and in the general lines of the composition, and may certainly be regarded as one of the best among the numerous examples of this subject referred to on p. 90, of which Sir Martin Conway's picture was perhaps the prototype. The position now assigned to it in the Brera, above the fresco of 1485 and in close proximity to the St. Sebastian, facilitates the most minute comparison, which serves to prove that it can only be regarded as a good work of the master's school.

To Foppa some critics are now disposed to attribute the altarpiece once in the Bottigella Chapel in the Church of S. Tommaso at Pavia, and now in the Academy of Painting in that city, which has also been ascribed to Bergognone and Bernardino de' Rossi. It represents the Madonna and Child enthroned between SS. Jerome, Stephen, John Baptist, and Matthew; in front kneel the donors Giovanni Matteo Bottigella and his wife Bianca Visconti, who are presented by the Beato Domenico of Catalonia and the Beata Sibillina of Pavia. The Madonna is certainly very Foppesque in type and closely resembles the Virgin of the Berlin Museum, though softer in expression, weaker in drawing, and considerably later in date than that picture. The Child, in its spontaneous and life-like movement, recalls Foppa's compositions, and in the two figures presenting the donors we find many traits which link them with certain figures in the Brera altarpiece; but here all connection with the Brescian master ends, for the saints on either side of the Madonna differ widely in type and expression from those in any known works by Foppa, and the whole method of painting and the crude colour observable throughout this altarpiece are beneath the level of his art. It appears to be by a Pavian painter who fell under the influence of the master in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the picture having probably been produced between 1480 and 1486.¹ The painter has not been identified, for the names of Bergognone

¹ The date of Domenico de Catalonia's death is not known, but he was still alive in 1477, and as he appears here with the halo of a Beato round his head he must have been dead for some years when this picture was painted. The portrait of Bianca Visconti is evidently from life, and as her death occurred on March 24, 1486, the picture would have been produced before that date. From these facts therefore we infer that it must have been painted between 1480 and 1486.

and Bernardino de' Rossi must certainly be rejected ; but it is not without interest to remember that Leonardo Vidolenghi was at this period working in S. Tommaso (for which church, as we saw, this altarpiece was painted) and that he is the only artist of whose connection with Matteo Bottigella we have documentary evidence,¹ though the few paintings at present known by Vidolenghi are not sufficient to enable us to identify his hand in this work with any certainty.

To Foppa, Dr. Frizzoni, as already stated,² ascribes the Annunciation in the Borromeo Collection at Milan on account of its similarity to the Annunciation at Arcore. Crowe and Cavalcaselle considered it was by Zenale following the "early manner of Bramantino."³ The connection with Foppa is of course undeniable, and that this picture was founded upon the much earlier example at Arcore there can be no doubt; but as we have not been able to recognize the hand of the master himself in this panel, which appears to be much disfigured by repainting, we have not included it in the list of his works, though we give an illustration in order that it may stand on its own merits and speak for itself.⁴

A small Holy Family in the Sessa Collection at Milan is ascribed to Foppa, but is certainly unworthy of his name. Some connection with him is discernible in the head of the Madonna, in the treatment of the drapery about her head, of the low canopy beneath which she stands adoring the Infant Saviour, who lies upon a parapet before her, and in the touch of the bushes in the landscape, but in other respects this picture shows little affinity with the master, who could hardly be held responsible for the wooden and lifeless drawing of the badly proportioned Child.⁵

¹ See *I migliori dipinti di Pavia*, by R. Maiocchi, p. 49.

² Chap. v, p. 132, note 2.

³ II, p. 37.

⁴ Dr. Suida, in *Repertorium*, 1902, p. 342, attributes it to an anonymous painter between Zenale and Foppa ; cf. also Jacobsen (*Repert.*, 1901), who ascribes it to Foppa.

⁵ A Madonna with angels in a rose garden adoring the Infant Saviour, in the collection of Mr. Kaupe at Pallanza, has recently been ascribed to Foppa by a Milanese connoisseur, on account of a connection which he detected between this panel and the Paradise picture belonging to Cav. Nosedà at Milan. We are not acquainted with the picture at Pallanza, but judging from a small photograph which the owner was kind enough to let us see, we should certainly hesitate to ascribe it to the master himself or to bring it into line with the beautiful early work in the Nosedà Collection ; for though we are unable to speak of the painting of the details, which according to the owner are finished with the utmost care, or of the colouring and quality of the picture, the general character of the composition as seen in the photograph makes it clear that it can have had nothing to do with Vincenzo Foppa. Behind the Madonna is seen St. Joseph, a somewhat incongruous addition in a picture of this class, and the figure moreover is so awkwardly placed that we venture to think it could not have belonged originally to the composition. The picture came from a church at Ponte S. Pietro, near Bergamo.



Photo.



Dubray

THE ANNUNCIATION.
(*School of Ferrara*)
MILAN: BORROMEO COLLECTION

A fresco of a female figure in the Cortile of Casa Castani at Milan is said by Crowe and Cavalcaselle¹ to be in the style of Foppa's St. Sebastian; but there is not sufficient character in this much injured fragment to admit of any definite attribution. Much injured also and restored, is a fresco transferred to panel formerly in the Bertini Collection, where it was ascribed to Foppa, and now belonging to Avvocato Cologna at Milan. It represents the Madonna enthroned, to whom two donors—probably members of the Borromeo family, who formerly owned the house whence this fresco was removed²—are presented by St. John Baptist and a female martyr. The reproduction in the sale catalogue of the Bertini Collection³ shows that though the heads were on the whole fairly well preserved, the remainder of the composition was in a ruinous condition. It was subsequently restored by Professor Cavenaghi, but it is difficult to guess why it should ever have been ascribed to Vincenzo Foppa, for it contains few of his distinctive qualities, and can only be regarded as the work of some anonymous painter of his school.

We have already referred to the picture in the Cernuschi Collection which was confused by Caffi with the altarpiece of the Rossi Chapel now at Berlin. According to the sale catalogue it was signed "V. Foppa," a signature not visible in the reproduction. Evidently by the same hand is the Entombment in the Malaspina Gallery at Pavia (No. 36) inscribed "V. Foppa F[ecit]," though this is clearly a forgery. We are unable to speak of the colouring of the Cernuschi picture, being acquainted with it only in the reproduction, but in the types, the grouping, and other particulars the two pictures are practically identical, and there can be little doubt that both were produced by the same painter, whose connection with the school of Foppa is evident.

Two saints, a bishop, and an abbot, ascribed to Foppa, were sold in 1900 from the collection of Baron Raviscz at Verona, but the illustration in the sale catalogue would scarcely lead us to suppose that the attribution was justified, and the same may be said most emphatically of a second picture bearing the name of Foppa in the Cernuschi Collection, a feeble work of a painter of the later Milanese school imitating the pose of the central figure in the Cenacolo of S. Maria delle Grazie.

A picture in the Borromeo Collection has by some writers been described as an "important work by Foppa," though it has long been recognized as by the hand of Bernardo Parentino (or Parenzano), from its evident connection with his signed work at Modena. By some extraordinary mistake this picture

¹ II, p. 5.

² The Casa dell' Umiltà, near Santa Maria Fulcorina, a charitable institution founded in 1444 by Vitaliano Borromeo for distributing food to the poor (Giulini, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 391).

³ Plate I, No. 1. The collection was sold on May 15, 1899.

is constantly described as "The Procession to Calvary," though there is not the slightest doubt that it represents the scene in the Garden of Gethsemane immediately after the Betrayal, with St. Peter smiting Malchus in the foreground, and Christ being led away bound to the High Priest. We should not have thought it necessary to refer to this picture, which in the gallery has been relegated to the "School of Squarcione," and was ascribed to Parentino by Dr. Frizzoni as long ago as 1890, had not a recent writer of great authority ascribed it once more to Foppa, speaking of it moreover under the very misleading title of "Christ bearing the Cross."¹

Among drawings bearing the name of Foppa, but which cannot be admitted to be his, may be mentioned the figure of an old man leaning with both hands upon his staff, in the Staedel Institute at Frankfort,² which appears to be by some later Milanese draughtsman, and a horseman in the Print Room at Berlin, in a very bad state of preservation (No. 5035), formerly in the Bertini Collection. This drawing, though showing some analogy in technique with the Justice of Trajan, in the same collection, is too wooden, lifeless, and mechanical in execution to be by the master himself.

It appears to be founded upon compositions by Ercole Roberti, for it shows a very close connection with a horseman in the background of Ercole's Pietà at Liverpool, and with another in the predella of that painter's large altarpiece in the Brera. It is decidedly curious that a drawing ascribed to Foppa at Berlin seems to be undoubtedly a copy after Ercole Roberti, while the Justice of Trajan, which we venture to think might be a drawing by Foppa, is there ascribed to the Ferrarese master.

Two drawings in the British Museum were attributed to Foppa by Morelli: the Crucifixion, an overcrowded composition (probably of the school of Mantegna), and three standing figures;³ but the attribution to Foppa is not convincing, and they do not bear the name of the master in the Print Room.

¹ See Malaguzzi Valeri, *Milano*, ed. 1906, p. 149.

² The late Dr. Ludwig considered that a drawing of the Pietà in the Print Room at Berlin (No. 1539) might be by Foppa. The drawing, which was formerly in the collection of Sir Charles Robinson, is ascribed at Berlin to Ercole Grandi, a name which seems certainly more appropriate than that of the Brescian master.

³ Morelli, III, 108 note.



Photo.

De Bernardi, Pavia

THE ENTOMBMENT

(School of Foppa)

PAVIA: MALASPINA GALLERY

CHAPTER X

PAINTERS TAUGHT OR INFLUENCED BY FOPPA

Foppa's claims to be called an architect—His treatise—His art—His influence, Milan and Pavia—On Piedmontese painters—His influence in Liguria—At Brescia—Paolo Zoppo—Vincenzo Foppa the younger, a myth—Paolo Caylina and Feramola—The transitional group of painters at Brescia—Conclusion.

By some earlier writers Foppa has been described as an architect, and as the author of certain treatises on anatomy and other subjects, statements to which we must now briefly refer. That he was an architect seems proved by the fact that when he returned to Brescia it was expressly stated in the minutes of the Council of December 18, 1489, that he was to teach painting and architecture in the city. Lomazzo in his *Rime*¹ enumerates among the principal architects "Il gran Foppa,"² but, unfortunately, we are unable to connect his name with any known building, nor do any of our documents, beyond the one just alluded to, speak of him except as a painter, and we must assume that his talents in this direction were principally theoretical. Nor have we any more certain information with regard to the treatises which Foppa is supposed to have written, our only authority again being Lomazzo, a writer so diffuse and inaccurate in his statements that little reliance can be placed on his words. In the *Idea del Tempio*, p. 16, he says that Vincenzo Foppa wrote a treatise on the proportions of the human figure and of the horse, "delle quali ne fu anco inventore," and on p. 150, referring to the master's excellence in perspective, he links his name with that of the greatest architect of the day, Bramante, who, as we have seen, was his contemporary for many years at Milan, observing that under Foppa and Bramante "Zenale, Buttinone, Bramantino, and others became famous."

In his *Trattato*³ he states that he intends publishing a treatise written by Vincenzo Foppa, containing "a number of sketches done with the pen," of which Albert Dürer later made considerable use for his own treatise; and

¹ *Dei Grotteschi*, Lib. II, *Architetti*, p. 137.

² See also his allusion to Foppa in the *Trattato*, in his chapter on buildings in general (Lib. VI, p. 405).

³ Lib. V, cap. XXI, p. 275, ed. 1584.

again on p. 320 he reverts to the subject of Foppa's predilection for drawing "figure quadrata," and "Bramante," he continues, "following in his steps, also produced a similar book which afterwards was of great service to Raphael, Polidoro, and Gaudenzio, a book which eventually came into the possession, it is said, of Luca Cambiaso."¹

The substance of this is repeated with more or less accuracy by later writers: by Morigia, in his *Historia dell' antichità di Milano* (1592); by Picinelli² and Argelati,³ who on the strength of this treatise number Foppa among Milanese writers; by Bottari,⁴ in whose hands Foppa's treatise on the theories of proportion and perspective becomes a treatise on architecture; by Albuzzio, who revives the story of Albert Dürer's plagiarism; and by many more. It does not, however, appear that any of these writers ever saw the MS., nor has the slightest trace of such a work ever come to light, and the whole story rests only upon Lomazzo's words. As we know of but one drawing which could with any probability be ascribed to Foppa, it is obvious that we have no means of testing the accuracy of the statement that he was actually the pioneer in whose steps Albert Dürer followed, and the whole tale must be characterized as extremely improbable, though we have no reason to doubt that books of his drawings existed, and that some may have been in the possession of Lomazzo.⁵

In glancing back once more at the life work of Vincenzo Foppa as we see it represented in his known works, we might conclude that his range of subjects was limited, and was confined without exception to the treatment of religious themes, usually of a calm, dignified, but unemotional character. Never, so far as we know—speaking of existing works—did he treat an Old Testament subject, did he venture into the domain of mythology, or did he

¹ Owing to a mistaken interpretation of this passage by eighteenth century writers, it has been wrongly stated that a book containing drawings by Foppa himself, eventually came into the possession of Luca Cambiaso. See Bottari, *Raccolta di Lettere, etc.*, III, p. 341, No. 211, ed. 1759.

² *Ateneo dei Letterati Milanesi*, p. 512, 1670.

³ *Bibl. Script. Med.*, I, 638, 1745.

⁴ Vasari, ed. 1759, Vol. I, additional notes, p. 34.

⁵ In his chapter on the theory of proportion (*Trattato*, Lib. I, p. 100), Lomazzo speaks of the drawings of Foppa, classing them with those of Leonardo, Bramante, and Zenale, and in chap. VIII (Lib. V) he mentions him with the same painters and with Mantegna, as one of the few who understood the principles of aerial perspective and who had written on the subject; on p. 227 (Lib. IV) he eulogizes his skill in the treatment of light, and on p. 317 (Lib. VI) speaks highly of his knowledge of perspective as evidenced by his frescoes in the Chapel of St. Peter Martyr at Milan, though, as already stated in chap. III, he there calls him "Vincenzo Civerchio cognominato il vecchio."

attempt to deal with those romantic and allegorical themes which the Venetian masters handled with such unexampled charm. The pageants and triumphs of Mantegna, founded upon the models of classic bas-reliefs, find no place in the simpler and more homely art of Vincenzo Foppa, and the expression of passionate feeling and violent agitation, which painters such as Botticelli or Ercole Roberti excelled in depicting, was also, it would appear, foreign to his nature. In the whole range of his existing works we can mention but two examples in which he breaks loose, as it were, from his habitual methods and gives expression to strong emotion, i.e. the figure of the impenitent thief in the Bergamo Crucifixion, and the Mary distraught with grief in the Berlin Pietà. Yet these suffice to prove that, when he chose, he was capable of expressing the passion of despair and the poignancy of grief with convincing power. The choice of subjects lay with the donors of the pictures; hence if Foppa's art now appears to us restricted in scope and limited in aim, it can scarcely be laid to his charge, but must rather be attributed to the instructions of his patrons, and it must be borne in mind that those of his paintings which have come down to us—much injured altarpieces and fragments of fresco for the most part transferred to panel or canvas—are but the remnant of his life work, from which no just estimate of the range and quality of his art can be formed. Fresco is the medium in which the true character of every great Italian master finds expression, and from this standpoint alone can he be adequately judged. But in the case of Foppa this is impossible, for the extensive and numerous cycles of fresco executed by him at Pavia, Milan, Genoa, and Brescia, in some of which we know that he treated historical subjects and portraits, have perished, and it would therefore be manifestly unfair to regard the works which we now look upon as in any sense representative, since they can show us but one aspect of his many-sided artistic capacity. Nevertheless, they alone have been sufficient to establish the fame of Vincenzo Foppa for all time, and to vindicate his right to be regarded as the first master of his day in Pavian and Milanese territory.

The great merit of his art, as shown in these works, apart from its obviously high qualities of draughtsmanship and design, appears to us to lie in his grasp of and sympathy with human nature, in the sincerity with which he approached that study, and the convincing truth with which, by the mastery of his brush, he was able to depict the varying phases of human emotion. Herein lay the mainspring of his inspiration, and this was the heritage which he bequeathed to his followers. Endowed with such gifts, he must undoubtedly have exercised a salutary influence over those painters who came in contact with him, and the individual and powerful nature of his art was determining in its effect far beyond the limits of his immediate environment. A school developed upon such lines, had it been permitted to run its natural

course unchecked, should have become one of the strongest and most characteristic among the schools of painting in North Italy; but the good seed sown by Vincenzo Foppa was foredoomed to destruction ere it had reached its full maturity, for the coming of Leonardo da Vinci, himself a genius of the highest order and the most widely gifted of all Italian masters, was fatal to the progress of the early Lombard school. The vigorous growth of native art which flourished at Milan and Pavia received a check from which it never recovered. The school of Foppa gradually fell away from him, and when in 1490 the master himself abandoned the field, it is not surprising that his followers, overwhelmed by the wave of new ideas and methods, were unable to hold their ground. Some few pursued their course undeterred; others sought to combine the two tendencies; but the majority became absorbed and in course of time lost all individuality. That Foppa's influence was dominant before this period, that is from about 1461-85, is certain; all that has been said in the foregoing pages, based upon the evidence of documents and upon the testimony of contemporary writers, only tends to show how great was his reputation among his compatriots and fellow-workers, and how conspicuous was the place he held as a leader in his day.

In order to gauge the extent of his influence on Lombard art, and to distinguish in some measure among his numerous contemporaries those who were more or less affected by him and those who may with certainty be styled his direct pupils, we must briefly recapitulate here what was said in chapter I with regard to Foppa's position as head of the Lombard school.

It was there pointed out that Pavia and Milan, but more especially this latter city, were centres of great artistic activity even in the early fifteenth century; that Foppa on his arrival at Pavia found a group of mature artists in possession of the field, while at Milan he found a flourishing school, many of whose numerous representatives had already been painters of note in the days when Filippo Maria Visconti held sway in the Duchy. It would therefore be misleading to speak of the Brescian master as the actual founder (in the literal sense of the word) of a school which was probably active before his birth and which had itself been preceded by a yet earlier school, as numerous fourteenth century frescoes still existing in Lombardy testify.¹ On the other hand, there is not the slightest doubt that the art which Vincenzo Foppa found dominant in Milanese territory was stagnant and incapable in itself of further development, and that it was his coming, his personal influence and strong individuality, which wrought the vital change and made the school what it

¹ With this school we have no concern here, its origin being altogether Tuscan; it was the outcome of the wave of Giottesque feeling which swept over North Italy in the fourteenth century.

eventually became. Fresh from contact with the greatest masters of the day in North Italy, endowed with those virile qualities and artistic gifts which marked him out as a leader among his contemporaries, Vincenzo Foppa infused into the school those qualities which were lacking in its constitution; he transformed it fundamentally and bestowed upon it new life, so that what we now call the early school of Lombardy,¹ that is the only Lombard school, as such, known to us in the present day through existing works, is practically the school of Vincenzo Foppa; a school therefore which, in a certain sense, may claim him as its true founder, and without restrictions whatsoever, as its supreme leader and head. That the leader of the school formed many direct pupils is proved by the existence of numerous works showing their close dependence upon him. It would certainly be an additional satisfaction if we were able to strengthen this internal evidence by documentary proof, by citing some contract between Foppa and one or other of those painters who served their apprenticeship with him; but though a great number of such agreements between masters and their pupils are known to us, especially in the archives at Pavia, we have never been fortunate enough to discover one relating to Foppa. In this case, therefore, we must rely entirely on the evidence of the works of art themselves.

It would be impossible even to attempt an enumeration of the countless paintings in which the influence of Foppa on contemporary art is apparent, but a few of the most striking examples may be cited among those evidently produced by pupils and even assistants of the master, or by artists who, though removed from the sphere of his immediate influence, still show signs of having been in some degree affected by his works.

Thus in the Ambrosiana we have Bergognone's² celebrated altarpiece from the Church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro at Pavia, which demonstrates in every line, in every type, in the quality of the flesh tones, in the scale of the colouring and technique of the painting, and in many other details its direct descent from Foppa.³ This is proved also by numerous other works of Bergognone,

¹ Which is certainly not to be limited to Milan alone, but includes also the painters of Pavia as well as those of the whole area of Milanese territory.

² This painter is usually, but erroneously, called *Borgognone*, though many years ago Don Pietro Moiraghi proved, from the evidence of documents and of the master's own signature, that the name was unquestionably *Bergognone*; this form of spelling is now very generally adopted by Italian writers. See among others Beltrami, *A. da Fossano, etc.*, Malaguzzi Valeri, *Pittori Lombardi*, and Brera Catalogue, 1908.

³ The author of the Catalogue of the Milanese Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898, however, holds that the "predominant influence in this picture is not Foppa's, but Zenale's" (p. xxxi). For purposes of comparison we give an illustration of this picture which may assist in deciding the question of its artistic descent.

which, in spite of their manifest development and their tendency to refine and soften the traditional types of the early school, yet in the main show so close a connection with Foppa, that there is no doubt art historians are right in classing him among the pupils of the Brescian master, of whose principles and methods this noble artist and admirable painter was certainly the most able and gifted exponent.¹ That Bergognone adhered faithfully to the principles of the school in which he was trained long after Foppa himself had quitted the Duchy of Milan and settled at Brescia, is proved by numerous works of his so-called Certosan epoch, extending certainly up to 1494, and probably beyond this period, and even in his latest work, the Assumption of 1522, many obvious links with his master are still apparent. If he was ever drawn into the vortex of Leonardesque art, its influence upon him could only have been transient, for though from the very nature of his art he may have been favourably disposed towards the tendencies of the new school, they never to any perceptible degree affected his art, which is always, as Morelli pointed out, thoroughly Lombard in character.²

Again, the centre and right wing of Civerchio's altarpiece, executed in 1495 for the Church of S. Barnaba at Brescia³—in which are represented St. Nicholas of Tolentino and St. Roch—as well as other paintings by him in that city and elsewhere, show so decided a connection with Foppa (with whom, as we saw, Civerchio has been constantly confounded from the time of Vasari downwards), that he also is reckoned among the pupils of Vincenzo Foppa. It is extremely probable, even if Civerchio did not accompany the master to Brescia in 1490, that it was the influence of Foppa which obtained for him employment in that city, for, as already noted, he is registered in the Estimo of 1498 as living in one of the wards of the quarter of S. Faustino. At that date therefore he must have been a citizen of Brescia, and we know from notices in the Provvisioni and elsewhere that he executed frescoes in the city between 1493 and 1497,⁴ but we find no trace of him in the Libri d' Estimo of earlier or later date, that is to say, in the registers of 1486 or

¹ It may be added that this painter is not the only one of the name. A second, also named Ambrogio, but whose father bore the name of Giorgio, and who was apprenticed to Leonardo Vidolenghi on January 24, 1481, has recently come to light in the Archives of Pavia. He may possibly be the author of some of the pictures which are clearly not by the well-known master, Ambrogio the son of Stefano, but which for want of a more appropriate attribution are ascribed to him; among them is the interesting Madonna and Child enthroned with a kneeling donor and two saints, signed "Ambrosii Bergognoni 1510," in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace.

² Morelli, III, p. 135.

³ The left wing shows a marked connection with the Leonardesque school.

⁴ Zamboni, *op. cit.*, 109, note 29, and Calvi, II, 211.



Photo.

Anderson

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS, SAINTS AND A CANON REGULAR AS DONOR

By Ambrogio da Fossano, called Bergognone

MILAN: AMBROSIANA

1517. His signed and dated altarpiece of 1504, in the Church of S. Alessandro, the "Lament over the Dead Body of Christ," proves that even at this period he still remained faithful to the principles of Foppa, more especially as regards the composition; the same cannot be said of his later works, such as those in the Tadini Gallery at Lovere (1539), which if they did not bear the authentic signature of Civerchio would scarcely have been ascribed to him, so widely do they differ in every particular from his earlier work.¹

The two painters of Treviglio, Bernardino Buttinone and Bernardo Zenale, are often spoken of as pupils of Foppa, but we are more disposed to consider them as his contemporaries, Buttinone being probably his senior in age. First trained in the precepts of the Lombard school of the early fifteenth century, they were eventually drawn into the circle of Foppa's influence and so decidedly affected by it as to justify the common belief that they were actually his pupils. The earliest known picture by Buttinone, the Madonna and Child with SS. Bernardino and Vincent, which in addition to the signature bears a date variously deciphered 145 . . and 148 . . though the first named is from every point of view the most probable,² affords some idea of Buttinone's manner of painting before he came in contact with Foppa and while still dominated by the methods of the earlier school. The types of the two saints in Buttinone's picture are very similar to those met with also in Foppa's works, a type founded in the main upon the iconographic tradition of early art; but

¹ To Civerchio some critics are disposed to ascribe a Madonna and Child with angels, belonging to Cav. Liannazza at Brescia. The colour, especially the luminous golden red robe of the Madonna, is fine in quality, and the whole picture is in a remarkably good state of preservation, but no definite attribution is possible. It is the work of a good Lombard painter who must have been intimately acquainted with the methods and technique of Foppa, and shows so close a connection in many particulars with the Pietà of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Brescia, that we are disposed to think both pictures may be by the same hand. A picture which, judging from the photograph, appears to have much affinity with the Liannazza panel was formerly in the Cernuschi Collection, where it was ascribed to Bergognone. It represents the Madonna adoring the Infant Saviour, with two angel musicians and three angels in the sky singing from an open book. The pose of the Virgin recalls that of Foppa's Madonna at Versailles, but the types and forms and the rocky landscape in the background, are very close to those in Cav. Liannazza's picture. See for reproductions of these pictures the sale catalogue of the Cernuschi Coll., No. 81, and *Illustrazione Bresciana*, April 1, 1908.

² Calvi (II, p. 104) gives the date as 1454, hence we may assume that in his day the inscription was still decipherable, and we may therefore take it as certain that his reading was the correct one. Malaguzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 20, and foll., and *Rass. d' Arte*, October, 1907, p. 145, also takes this view and gives the date as 1454. See also Corrado Ricci, *La Pinacoteca di Brera*, p. 228.

the difference between the two painters in their early period is as great as that which separates a rigidly conventional form of representation from an art deriving life and inspiration from a direct and intelligent study of nature.

On the other hand, a close affinity between the two masters is apparent in the circular panels with half-lengths of saints in the collection of Cav. Aldo Nosedà at Milan, and in a third example, evidently belonging to the same series, in the gallery at Parma;¹ while the small Madonna and Child of the Brera,² which some critics are disposed to place in the last period of Buttinone's activity, shows a yet more intimate connection with the Brescian master, for he has here taken as his model Foppa's Madonna and Child in the Castello at Milan, as we have already noted in chapter III.

In the Treviglio altarpiece, the joint work of Buttinone and Zenale, commissioned in 1485, links with Foppa are also noticeable in certain types and forms, in the quality of the flesh tones, and in other particulars, and still more is this the case in two panels—fragments of an altarpiece—in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum at Milan, representing SS. Stephen and Anthony of Padua,³ which, owing to their manifest connection with the saints in Foppa's polyptych in the Brera, are now rightly ascribed to his school; they were formerly attributed to Zenale on account of their supposed identity with portions of an altarpiece from Cantù, the central panel of which is said to have been inscribed with the name of Zenale and the date 1507.⁴ Two circular panels with half-lengths of SS. Jerome and Ambrose hanging on the same wall as the SS. Stephen and Anthony, and like those paintings fragments of a polyptych,⁵ are variously attributed to Buttinone and to Zenale. They are, however, pure products of the school, we might almost say of the workshop, of Foppa, and it is clear that the painter of these panels, whether Buttinone, Zenale, or another, must at some period of his career have stood in very close relations to the Brescian master. Intimately associated with Foppa are two panels of saints in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond, which are practically late versions of the SS. Bernardino and Anthony of Foppa's altarpiece for S. Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo (now Brera).⁶ It is very probable that the donor of the lost altarpiece of which these saints must have formed part, may have expressly ordered the painter to take as his model the ancona over the

¹ Malaguzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 31, 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45 and pl. 18.

³ Reproduced *Rass. d' Arte*, November, 1907, p. 164.

⁴ See Morelli (III, 132, 133), who identified these panels with portions of the Cantù altarpiece, but ascribed them to Buttinone; Calvi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123; Malaguzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁵ Morelli, *ibid.*, considered that these panels also belonged to the Cantù altarpiece.

⁶ Cf. illustrations, chap. v.



ST. AMBROSE

(By a follower of Foppa)

MILAN: POLDI PEZZOLI MUSEUM

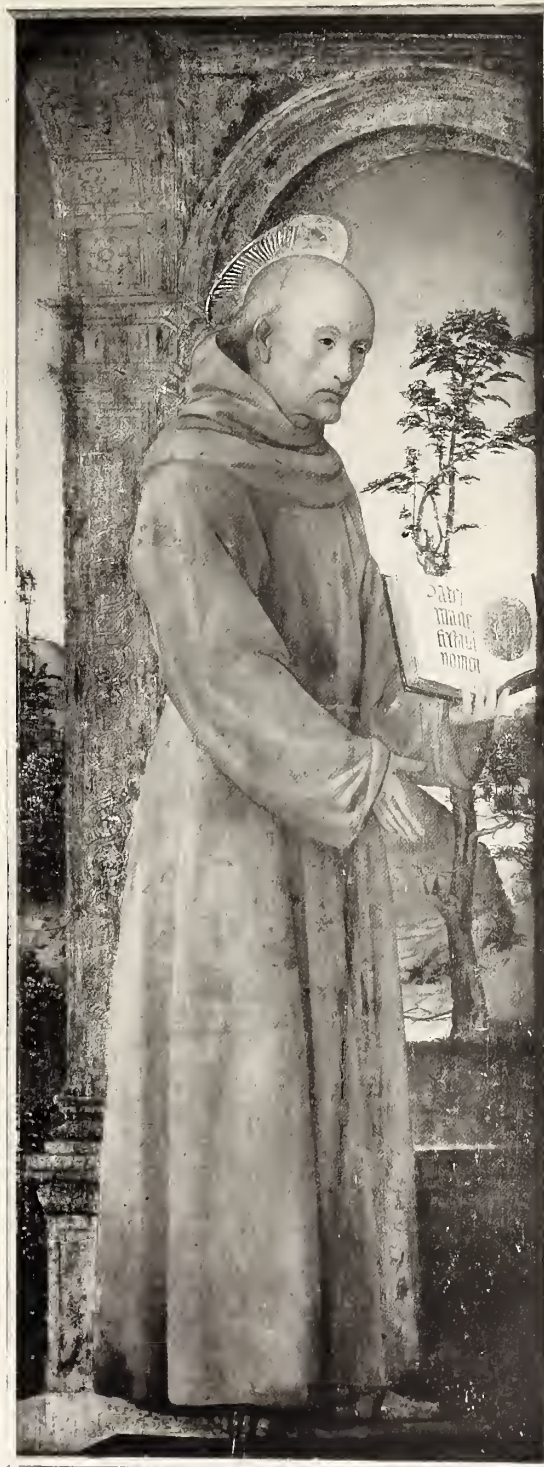


Photo.

W. E. Gray

ST. BERNARDINO OF SIENA
(By a follower of Foppa)
RICHMOND: COOK COLLECTION

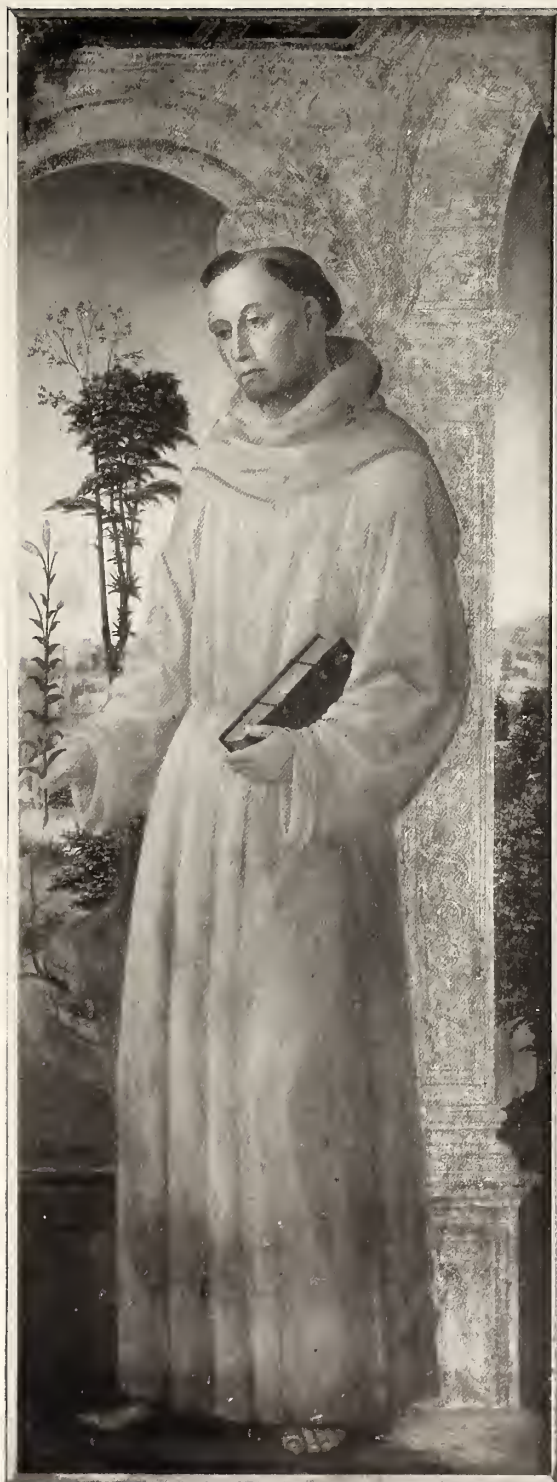


Photo.

W. E. Gray

ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA
(*By a follower of Foppa*)
RICHMOND: COOK COLLECTION

High Altar of the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie. In the case of the ceiling painting of the Chapel of St. John Baptist at Genoa, and of the altarpiece of the Spinola family¹ we know that Foppa's works were the models recommended to the painters Mazzone and Barbagelata. Such instances are of frequent occurrence in the history of Italian art, and would fully account for the fact that the panels of saints in the Cook Collection are closely imitated in every particular from their earlier prototypes in the S. Maria delle Grazie altarpiece; but they seem to be by a weaker and somewhat later hand than that of Foppa himself, being more feeble in drawing and expression, and softer in modelling and handling of the flesh tones, than is ever the case in the works of the master. The landscape also differs considerably from Foppa's typical landscape: the painting of the blue distance is wholly unlike anything we have ever met with in his works and appears to be somewhat late in character. These saints are ascribed to Zenale in the catalogue of the Cook Collection of 1907; recently Mr. Herbert Cook reproduced them in the *Rassegna d'Arte*² and drew attention to the fact that Dr. Frizzoni had suggested the name of Foppa himself in connection with them. He appeals to students to decide the question, hence it is probable that they will arouse some discussion. The reproductions might serve to make an attribution to Foppa probable, owing to the evident connection of these panels, as we have already stated, with the Brera altarpiece; but a direct study of the pictures appears to us to prove that they can only be ascribed to some follower of the master who had access to the models of his workshop.

Another fragment of a polyptych which seems to have been produced by some painter of Foppa's school is in the Lille Museum.³ It represents St. Anthony of Padua, a full-length figure standing against a gold background on which the outline of an arch is still traceable; the calm and earnest expression, the grey flesh tones, the harmonious and subdued colour scheme, the book from which the Saint is reading with its dark red binding and metal bosses in relief, all recall the methods and treatment of Foppa in the Brera altarpiece, and confirm the attribution to his school which was first proposed, we believe, by Mrs. Berenson.⁴

A striking work of the school of Foppa is the panel of the Madonna and Child with angels in the Dijon Museum, there strangely enough ascribed to Carlo Crivelli. The author of this interesting picture has not been identified, but he must certainly have been a pupil of Foppa. The plastic modelling of the heads recalls the treatment in the Castello Madonna and in

¹ Chaps. I and VI.

² April, 1908.

³ Galerie des Primitifs, No. 988.

⁴ See M. Logan in *Chronique des Arts*, 1896, p. 317.

other works by the master of that period. The Infant Saviour in type and drawing shows an intimate connection with the Bambino of the Brera altarpiece and with the Christ Child on the front of the processional banner at Orzinuovi; the gold background with decorative design in black recalls the ornament (now almost obliterated) of the architectural portion of the Brera altarpiece, a method of decoration often adopted by Bergognone for the background of his pictures; extremely characteristic are the angels, which in some particulars recall the types and forms in vogue among the painters of Piedmont. Here again, as in the case of the painter of the Poldi Madonna, we have a distinct personality, an artist of the school of Foppa whom it should not be difficult to identify should other works by him be in existence. Our illustration may serve to make the picture more widely known.

By another but far weaker pupil of Foppa, is the Madonna and Child with angels in the Cook Collection at Richmond: here the throne is also gold with a decorative design in red; the form of the upper portion with the three *putti*, and the hanging of gold and red brocade at the back, recall the composition of the throne in the Savona altarpiece; the angels at the sides are connected with other examples of the school, at Brescia and elsewhere. The brilliant and characteristically Lombard colouring makes the picture as a whole very attractive, but the drawing is feeble throughout, and the heads somewhat empty in expression.

Giovanni Ambrogio Bevilacqua, who is often described as a pupil of Bergognone, though both painters probably worked contemporaneously, may also be classed among followers of Foppa. Like Bergognone, he too was attracted by the more suave and gentler side of Foppa's art rather than by its sterner qualities, but being a painter of limited ability the types of Foppa in his hands are weakened to the verge of insipidity, as is evident in one of his latest works of 1502.¹ Other paintings of his showing a connection more or less close with Foppa are: the frescoes bearing the signature of Bevilacqua and the date 1485 in the Church of S. Vittore at Landriano;² a Madonna and saints ascribed to him by Morelli in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo;³ and an early picture of the Madonna in a rose garden adoring the Infant Saviour, in the Malaspina Gallery at Pavia, of which there is a later version in the Dresden Gallery.⁴

Another painter who may have been a direct pupil of Foppa was Giovanni Donato Montorfano. His large fresco of the Crucifixion in the refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan shows its dependence upon the Brescian master

¹ Brera, the Madonna and Child with St. Peter Martyr, King David, and a donor.

² Mal., *Pitt. Lomb.*, 172-79.

³ Morelli, III, 122 note.

⁴ This was first ascribed to Bevilacqua by Morelli.



Photo.

Cayoz, Lille

ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA

(School of Foppa)

LILLE : MUSEUM



Photo.

Bertrand, Dijon

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS
(*School of Foppa*)
DIJON : MUSEUM

beggar, from the suppressed Dominican Monastery of S. Maria delle Vetere. Here the colouring, the types, the pose of the head and drawing of the features, and the earnest and life-like expression of the saint vividly recall Foppa. We have no certainty, however, that this fresco is by Bramantino, and some years ago it passed as a work by Luini, having evidently belonged to the same series as a St. Ursula by that master which also came from S. Maria delle Vetere. All these works are now in the corridor of the Brera, and every facility is thus afforded for close comparison. If the St. Martin is by Bramantino it would prove conclusively that at some period he must have been influenced by Foppa to a very decided extent.

This brief summary of painters well known in the history of art, most certainly does not exhaust the list of Foppa's pupils and followers. That the art of a great number of other contemporary painters in the Duchy of Milan was largely determined and affected by the master is proved by many existing works of the early Lombard school, though we have no documentary evidence to enable us to connect these anonymous works with any of the numerous Milanese painters of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, who are known to us by name only; but one other master may be mentioned here, who though belonging to a more developed period of art than that of Vincenzo Foppa, nevertheless owed more perhaps than we might at first be disposed to admit to the pre-Leonardesque school of Lombardy, namely, Bernardino Luini; we have already alluded to the connection with Foppa seen in the Pietà in S. Maria della Passione¹ at Milan, which many critics have ascribed to Luini,² and to the fact that Foppa's Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery contains elements which are seen later and in a more developed form in the compositions of Luini; while many minor traits which we have found typical in the works of the Brescian painter are met with also in the Milanese master even in his late period.

Too little is known of the history of Luini and of his artistic training for us to hazard any opinion as to how this relation between the two painters is to be explained; whether it was due in the first instance to the direct teaching of Foppa or to that of his pupil Bergognone, who was considered by Morelli to

¹ Chap. vii, pp. 206, 207.

² Morelli, III, 146; Sandor Lederer, *op. cit.*, 27, etc. Against the attribution to Luini see H. F. Cook, *op. cit.*, LXVII, and G. C. Williamson, *B. Luini*, 16, 1. The picture is extremely puzzling, it must be admitted, with its conflicting elements of the earlier and later schools, and Luini's authorship appears to us by no means certain. A manifest link with the Leonardesque school is the figure of St. John the Evangelist, which recalls a St. Catherine at Munich ascribed by Morelli to Solario, and by Mr. Berenson to some painter between Boltraffio and Melzi (*North Italian Painters*, p. 260).



THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS
RICHMOND: COOK COLLECTION

have been the first master of Luini,¹ but in any case the latter must have been intimately acquainted with the works of Foppa, and must often, especially in his later years, have returned to a study of compositions by the leading master of the early school. In this connection it is not without importance to remember that Bianconi, as already stated,² ascribed to Luini a St. Roch in the Chapel of St. Sebastian in S. Maria di Brera, where Foppa painted one of his most celebrated works, while earlier Milanese writers attributed all the frescoes in this chapel to Foppa.³

The Brera, the Ambrosiana, the Poldi, and many private collections and churches in Milan and its territory afford abundant proof of the influence of Foppa, and even in those numerous works where the Leonardesque element is already dominant we often unexpectedly enough find an echo of the earlier school. Thus the Crucifixion, formerly in the Church of S. Angelo,⁴ which now hangs in the Brera, on the same wall as Foppa's altarpiece, in spite of its evident striving to adopt the new methods and to reproduce Leonardesque *motives*—especially in the landscape and in the group of horsemen in the middle distance—reverts again in many particulars to the tendencies of Foppesque art; the three central figures, for example, in pose and gesture being coarse and exaggerated imitations of the figures in the Bergamo Crucifixion.⁵

This blending of Leonardesque tendencies with types and *motives* in vogue among the painters of the earlier school is seen also in the much discussed altarpiece of S. Ambrogio ad Nemus (now Brera),⁶ and in the Circumcision in the Louvre, with saints and a kneeling donor⁷—according to the inscription Frate Giacomo Lampugnani, Superior of the Umiliati—and bearing, in addition to the date 1491, the monogram X.L., which no one has thus far been

¹ Mor., *op. cit.*, 135, 146; cf. also *Jhrb. d. Oest. Ksmmlg.*, XXVI, p. 367.

² Chap. vi.

³ From this we might infer either that the St. Roch, if by Foppa, was of the type which we associate with his softer mood, or if by Luini, that it was founded upon a Foppesque type of this character, for like Bergognone, Luini was attracted by this aspect of Foppa's art rather than by those sterner qualities which we more readily associate with the name of the leading master of the Lombard school.

⁴ Mongeri, *op. cit.*, p. 262. Malaguzzi, *Cat. Brera*, p. 181. Reproduced *Rass.*, 1907, p. 169.

⁵ Hence the reason, perhaps, of Caffi's attribution to Foppa himself of the Crucifixion of S. Angelo. Another picture connected with the S. Angelo Crucifixion is in the New York Museum (Bryan Coll.), reproduced *Rass.*, 1907, p. 42.

⁶ The Madonna and Child with the four Fathers of the Church and the donors Ludovico and Beatrice Sforza with their two sons. Ascribed successively to Buttinone, Zenale, Bernardino de' Conti, Ambrogio de Predis, and others.

⁷ Various attributed to Bramante, Bramantino, Civerchio, and Zenale.

able to explain satisfactorily.¹ In both these pictures and in many more too numerous to mention the conflicting elements of the earlier and the later schools are apparent. The painters, though deeply imbued with the new ideas, were seemingly unwilling or unable altogether to abandon the principles in which they had been trained.

During the long years of Foppa's sojourn at Pavia it is to be assumed that the painters in that city must have derived much from their constant intercourse with the great master, but owing to the scarcity of existing works of the early Pavian school it is extremely difficult to form any opinion as to the extent of his influence here, and among the numerous documents known to us, four only contain any reference to painters of Pavia in connection with Foppa.² The painters there named are Giacomino de Meliis, Leonardo Vidolenghi, Antonio Rovati, and Giovanni Siro Cattaneo da Brignano, and one alone among them, i.e. the last named, is spoken of as having been in artistic relations with the master; the remaining three being only mentioned as witnesses in certain legal transactions.

We should not therefore be justified in assuming that Foppa's workshop at Pavia was, like that of Giovanni da Vaprio and of Leonardo Vidolenghi, a busy school in which numerous pupils and apprentices were trained. The circumstances of Foppa's life would seem to preclude this, for the master being overwhelmed with work not only for the Dukes of Milan, but also for other patrons in that city, at Bergamo, Genoa, Brescia, Savona, and no doubt for many more of whom we know nothing, would have been unable to devote himself for any length of time to the task of teaching pupils at Pavia. But indirectly, or through the medium of his works, Vincenzo must have influenced the older masters his contemporaries, who in turn transmitted the traditions and the leading characteristics of the school of Foppa to their followers. Thus in the few remaining works of the second half of the fifteenth century at Pavia a relation with the Brescian master is more or less discernible. It is very apparent in the altarpiece of the Bottigella family, formerly in the Church of S. Tommaso, to which we referred in chap. ix, and in the frescoes of what was formerly the Oratory of the Collegio Castiglioni, to which allusion was made in chap. iii. It is seen also in the frescoes by different hands which adorn the pillars of the Church of the Carmine at Pavia, to some extent in the large fresco of the apse of S. Michele executed in 1491 by Agostino da Montebello, the pupil and son-in-law of Leonardo Vidolenghi, and in the small altarpiece of S. Primo, painted in 1498 by Agostino, the son and pupil of Giovanni da Vaprio, though in these two last-

¹ See Carotti, *op. cit.*, p. 155 note, and Malaguzzi, *Catalogo Brera*, p. 281.

² See App. II, A, Nos. 2, 8, 16, and 69.

named works, it must be admitted, the connection with Foppa is comparatively remote. In the last decades of the fifteenth century an extraordinary revival of art took place at Pavia; up to 1480 the names of but ten painters are known to us in documents, but after this date we note a marked increase in their numbers, which seems to indicate a sudden reawakening of the artistic faculty—the result perhaps of the direct teaching and influence of Foppa in the years when we know him to have been living at Pavia and actively employed there, namely, between the years 1473 and 1486; for it is impossible to believe that all these artists could have been trained in the schools of Giovanni da Vaprio and of Leonardo Vidolenghi, or that this remarkable development was due to either of these masters. Into this question, however, we cannot enter here, and it will be more fully dealt with in a volume treating of recent discoveries in the Pavian Archives.

Evidence of Foppa's influence is, of course, most strikingly apparent in the works of Pavian and Milanese masters, though by no means confined to them. It is seen also in several paintings of Piedmont, to some extent in the few remaining works of Gandolfino da Asti, more especially in a signed picture belonging to Sir Henry Howorth, in which a group of singing angels seems founded upon a well-known Foppesque *motive*, and occasionally also in works by Macrino d' Alba. Morelli classed this painter among direct pupils of Foppa,¹ and though more recent writers do not admit this,² it appears to us that a strain of Lombard influence is undeniable in some of his works, for instance, in his altarpiece in the Certosa of Pavia, in another at Tortona, and in certain panels of saints in the Turin Gallery.³

Foppa's visits to Liguria were not of sufficiently long duration to have enabled him to found a school there, yet several of the painters who were working contemporaneously with him at Genoa and Savona evidently felt his influence. This is apparent in the works of another Piedmontese, Giovanni Mazzone of Alessandria, the same artist, it will be remembered, who in 1463 agreed to paint the altarpiece for the Chapel of St. John Baptist in the cathedral at Genoa, and was urged to surpass in it, if possible, Foppa's fresco on the ceiling of that chapel, and who many years later was ordered to take as his model the *Majestas* painted by Foppa for the Spinola family.

In Mazzone's interesting altarpiece for the Sistine Chapel at Savona (now in the Louvre), containing the portraits of Sixtus IV and Giuliano della

¹ III, p. 122.

² See Ugo Flerés, *Le Gallerie Naz. Italiane*, III, p. 69 and foll., and Lisetta Ciaccio in *Rass. d' Arte*, Oct., 1906.

³ An influence of Foppa on Macrino is also admitted by Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Rovere,¹ we have evidence of a close connection between the two painters. Mazone's connection with Foppa is seen also in other works, particularly in an unsigned polyptych in the gallery at Savona, which is now usually ascribed to him, though the Director, Commendatore Vittorio Poggi, has only catalogued the picture as by an "unknown painter of the fifteenth century." It represents the Annunciation in the centre with Saints at the sides, the latter more especially proving that the artist, whether Mazone or another, must have stood in close relation to our painter during his sojourn in Liguria. Ratti, who saw the picture in its original position in the Pozzobonelli Chapel of S. Giacomo at Savona, observed that it was dated 1493²—three years, therefore, after Foppa had quitted Savona for ever. A further proof of the continuance of his influence, even when his personal presence had been removed, is afforded by Barbagelata's signed work at Candiasco above Sestri Levante, a very poor picture by an inferior artist, but interesting as showing its dependence upon Vincenzo, though painted many years after the Brescian master had left Liguria; it bears the date 1499.

Again some links with Foppa are found in a triptych in the Louvre: the Annunciation with Saints formerly ascribed to Justus de Alemanian,³ and now placed in the North Italian school, though the attribution to Lodovico Brea proposed some years ago is by many regarded as the most acceptable, particularly as it has now been proved that the picture came originally from Liguria. The technique and the very peculiar scale of colouring, unlike anything we have ever met with either in the works of Foppa or in those of any Ligurian master, seem, however, to relegate this picture to a place apart, and for this and other reasons the attribution to Lodovico Brea appears to us questionable. It is interesting to note that Brea, the only painter of whose collaboration with Foppa in Liguria we have visible proof in his signed panel in the Savona altarpiece, shows a decided connection with Bergognone, but this is easily explained. The points of contact in the art of these two painters and the characteristic qualities which are common to both seem to be derived from the teaching of one master. This close affinity between Bergognone and Brea might indicate that both learned their art from the same source, and the indisputable fact that Brea was working with Foppa in 1490 as his collaborator or assistant affords a clue to the probable source whence both Brea and Bergognone drew their inspiration. But Brea was not the only painter

¹ See chap. VII; Spotorino, II, 322; *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, II, 433; and Alizeri, II, p. 61 and foll.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 38. The date has now disappeared.

³ Reproduced as the work of this painter by Müntz in *La Renaissance en France et en Italie*, p. 279.

of Liguria to follow the principles of Foppa as practised by Bergognone; his cousin Antonio Brea, a little-known painter of considerable ability and charm, was still working on these lines in the second decade of the sixteenth century, and so too was the author of an earlier altarpiece in the parish church at Nervi¹ (ascribed to Teramo di Piaggio, though scarcely by him), a work directly imitated from some of Bergognone's altarpieces in the Certosa.

Reminiscences of the school of Foppa are at times met with in the works of later Pavian painters who worked at Genoa, such as Bernardino Fasolo² and Pier Francesco Sacchi, who were both employed in Liguria for many years. In the Crucifixion by the latter painter in the Berlin Gallery of 1514, and in the Four Doctors of the Church in the Louvre of 1516, Sacchi appears as one of the strongest representatives of Lombard art at that date, and even in his latest work of 1528—the fine Pietà in the Church of Monte Oliveto at Muledo—*motives* occur which seem like a last echo of Foppesque tendencies.³

At Brescia, as far as we can judge in the present day, though Foppa was resident there for practically five-and-twenty years and was certainly active as a teacher in the last decade of the fifteenth century, we have scarcely any tangible evidence, in existing paintings, of his presence, and the most eloquent indirect testimony to his influence is afforded by documents in the municipal archives in that city, in which we find a notable increase in the names of painters at Brescia in the years when Foppa was working there, that is after 1490. An artist who must have had relations with him in the first years of the sixteenth century was the Carmelite monk Giov. Maria da Brescia.⁴ This is proved by his engraving of 1502,⁵ which shows that he founded his types and manner of composition altogether upon Vincenzo Foppa. The connection between this plate and the drawing for the Justice of Trajan in the Print Room at Berlin, as stated in chap. II (p. 49), is so remarkable that it would be impossible to regard it as purely accidental; and the same must

¹ Reproduced by Suida, *Genoa*, p. 141.

² See especially his St. Sebastian of 1518 in the Santuario del Monte, Genoa, repr. Suida *Jhrb. cit.*, XXVI, p. 355.

³ Many other works ranging over a considerable period of time, from the second half of the fifteenth century to the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth, show occasional traces of a connection with Foppa and his school. For instance, the earlier paintings of Lorenzo Fasolo the Pavian, the beautiful anonymous altarpieces at Cogorno and Pontremoli, and numerous paintings in the churches and collections of Genoa and throughout the province of Liguria. According to Mr. Berenson (*op. cit.*, 99, 121), no nook or cranny between Brescia, the Gulf of Genoa, and the crest of the Mt. Cenis escaped the influence of Foppa; but we should scarcely venture to claim for the master an influence so overpowering and widespread, since it is difficult to see how it can be proved by existing works.

⁴ Chaps. II and VIII.

⁵ See illustration, chap. II, p. 50.

be said of the obvious links between both these compositions and Foppa's Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery. It seems certain therefore that the engraver used a design by that master. Dr. Suida, however, has pointed out that another engraving by Fra Giov. Maria of the same year shows not the slightest connection with Foppa, from which he infers that the Carmelite worked upon the designs of different artists.¹ That he was himself a painter we know from Brescian writers, and his signed frescoes in the cloisters of the Carmine were still in existence in 1825; in that year they were covered with whitewash,² and we have therefore no means of ascertaining whether he was actually a pupil of Foppa.³

Another artist who felt the influence of the master was the fresco painter of the Val Camonica, Giov. Pietro da Cemmo, who, as we saw in chap. VII, probably executed the series for the Augustinians in the library of S. Barnaba. Art historians and guide-books continue to ascribe a most heterogeneous collection of late paintings at Brescia to Vincenzo Foppa the younger, and to Paolo Zoppo,⁴ the former being always described as the son

¹ *Rassegna d'Arte*, September, 1906.

² The inscription was copied by Brugnoli (see *Guida*, etc., p. 187). The woodcuts which this writer assigns to Giov. Maria da Brescia in Bonino de Bonini's edition of Dante published at Brescia in 1487, certainly have no connection with him.

³ Another Carmelite, Fra Girolamo da Brescia, shows his dependence upon Foppa in his signed picture in the Gallery of Savona, a late work of 1519 (see *Cat. della Pinacoteca di Savona*, ed. 1901, No. 25).

⁴ Paolo Zoppo, a painter of Bergamasque extraction (Calvi, *Effemeride*, III, p. 317, Tassi, *Pittori Bergamaschi*, and others), though, according to tradition, domiciled at Brescia (a fact, however, not confirmed by documents in that city), has been confused by Brescian writers with Paolo Caylina, who was also known as Paolo Foppa. The origin of this confusion seems clear. We saw that Vincenzo Foppa was called by Vasari Vincenzo di Zoppa (chap. II, pp. 39, 46), while Paglia, in both his autograph MSS. in the Queriniana Library at Brescia, speaks of him as Vincenzo Zotto or Sotto. Now, as we know that Paolo Caylina in a document of the Archivio di S. Alessandro was called Paolo Foppa, a name by which he was perhaps popularly known at Brescia; and as Paglia throughout his MSS. constantly speaks of Paolo Foppa but never mentions Paolo Zoppo, is it not possible that the whole confusion may be traceable to the fact that the names of the two painters had been incorrectly deciphered in MSS. and that Brescian writers made the same mistake as Vasari, in misreading Zoppa for Foppa?

Thus Ottavio Rossi, in his book on distinguished Brescians (p. 508), ascribed to Paolo Zoppo all the frescoes which in the later MSS. of Paglia, the writer on art, are attributed to Paolo Foppa. Faini, a writer almost contemporaneous with Rossi, following in the steps of the latter, always speaks in his MS. *Pittura di Brescia* of Paolo Zoppo, but at the end of this volume, on f. 178, where he noted "corrections to be added after revision," he several times refers to Paolo Foppa. The misfortune which befell Paolo Zoppo at the end of his life—i.e. the destruction of the crystal bowl—pro-

or nephew of Vincenzo il Vecchio. We have stated elsewhere,¹ and must emphatically reiterate here, that no second artist of the name of Vincenzo Foppa ever existed,² that our painter was called "il Vecchio," not to distinguish him from a younger artist of the name, but on account of the advanced age to which he attained. It cannot be proved, as we have seen, that either of Foppa's sons was a painter; neither of them bore the name Vincenzo, and both, we are bound to assume for reasons already stated, predeceased their father.

bably caused his name to be long remembered at Brescia; hence later writers who had heard of the existence of the painter Zoppo but knew nothing of a Paolo Foppa, misread in documents and possibly also in signed paintings the name of the one for that of the other, and thus the miniature painter Paolo Zoppo came to be confounded with the fresco painter Paolo Foppa, namely, Paolo Caylina.

This confusion between the two artists was perpetuated by all Brescian guide-books from 1700 onwards, but the statements of these writers do not concern us, for they are all traceable to the initial error to which we have referred, the mistaken reading of the MSS., and each writer merely repeats the words of his predecessors. We have already alluded to Paolo Zoppo's friendship with Giovanni Bellini, assuming that he has been rightly identified with the "Messer Paolo Zoppo" mentioned by Bembo, who, however, does not speak of him as a painter (see Gaye, *Carteggio*, II, p. 76, No. xxiv). Some writers give the date of Paolo Zoppo's death as 1515, probably confusing him with Vincenzo Foppa; others state that he was still living in 1530, a more probable date since Gritti, the Doge for whom he is said to have painted the celebrated crystal bowl, was not elected until 1523.

¹ See the *Burl. Mag.*, March, 1903, and Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*, ed. 1904; articles "Caylina" and "Foppa."

² The fable relating to "Vincenzo Foppa the younger" owes its existence to a series of mistakes which must be traced to Zamboni in the first instance. This writer discovered in the *Bulletario della Città* the entry of a payment made to Foppa on July 16, 1495, which (as we saw in chap. VIII, p. 190) was the payment referred to in the *Provvisione* of July 12 of that year. But Zamboni, being unacquainted with this latter entry and the previous one of May 15, and believing that Foppa died in 1492, suggested that the sum might have been paid to his heir. Zamboni's suggestion became a fact in the hands of later writers, and Brugnoli (in his guide-book of 1827), referring to this entry of July 16, 1495, stated definitely (p. 245) that the money *was paid to Foppa's heir*. Some years later Sala in his guide to the pictures of Brescia mentioned a painting in the collection of Signor Giovanni Averoldi inscribed as follows: "1495 depicta per Magistrum Vincentium Brixiensem," and from that time forward the identity of a painter, Vincenzo Foppa the younger, was established and his name was included in all histories and encyclopædias of painting. If the inscription on this picture was authentic, it is possible, as already noted (chap. VII, p. 188), that it was by Foppa himself. Several painters of the name of Vincenzo were working at Brescia in the sixteenth century, as will be seen in Appendix I, Note 5, to which the reader is referred for further information on this point, but none of them, so far as we have been able to discover, were related to Foppa.

Foppa's nephew, the painter Paolo Caylina, his sole heir at Brescia was also his direct descendant in art, and might appropriately therefore have been called the "younger Foppa." We know indeed from several Brescian sources that he was occasionally referred to as Paolo Fophi¹ or Paolo Foppa,² but we have no absolutely authenticated works by him to give us any idea of his manner of painting. We may reasonably conclude that one who was associated with his uncle and who at times, as we know, acted as his representative, would also have approached him in his art, but what is commonly ascribed to the "younger Foppa" at Brescia has nothing whatever in common with the work of Vincenzo Foppa il Vecchio. Such pictures as the Christ bearing the Cross in S. Giovanni Evangelista, the Procession to Calvary and the Last Supper in the Galleria Martinengo, the Annunciation and the Martyrdom of SS. Nazaro e Celso, in the church dedicated to these saints, and other examples in the churches of Brescia, are neither related to one another nor to Vincenzo Foppa, and have not sufficient individual character to admit of their being ascribed to any distinct master, so that "Brescian school of the sixteenth century" seems the only classification possible. On the other hand, a certain number of paintings at Brescia showing a close interconnection, though evidently the work of different hands, undoubtedly derive from a common source and owe their origin to the dominant influence of one or two masters. But the leader in this case was not Vincenzo Foppa. Judging from the signed and dated paintings of Floriano Ferramola at Berlin and Lovere, from his lunette over the west door of the Carmine at Brescia and from other authenticated works, it might be inferred that it was his influence which was in the ascendant in the city in the early years of the sixteenth century and forms the connecting link between the era of Foppa³ and that of Romanino⁴ and Moretto; and with the name of Ferramola

¹ Among the entries of Paolo Caylina's payments he is once designated Paolo de Fophi depentor (Libro di Cassa, Massaria I°, anno 1539).

² Paglia, *Giardino*, etc., MSS. Querin., "Floriano Ferramola concorrente del Foppa," "di Paolo Foppa," etc., ff. 76, 95, 97.

³ Civerchio may also have had some effect upon contemporary art, but he is not traceable at Brescia itself after the early years of the sixteenth century, though he returned there from time to time in later years, and executed work for churches in Brescian territory.

⁴ We are unfortunately not acquainted with Romanino's earliest dated work, the altarpiece representing the Pietà painted in 1510 for S. Lorenzo at Brescia, and are therefore unable to say what share this painter may have had in the development of Brescian art in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Nor can we tell whether this picture showed any connection with the school of Foppa. It was at one time in the Manfrini palace at Venice, from whence it passed into the collection of Lord Wimborne at Canford Manor; beyond this we have been unable to trace it. From the minute

must be linked that of Paolo Caylina. The lunette of the Carmine, we are told by Paglia, was the work of Ferramola "concorrente di Paolo Foppa"; the paintings in the choir of S. Giulia, we gather from a Brescian writer of the sixteenth century, Pandolfo Nassino, were also by these two masters, though he omits to give their surnames. According to him the paintings on the west were by M^{ro} Paolo de —, those on the east by M^{ro} Fiorano de — works which cannot now be identified.¹ These and other similar allusions to Paolo at Brescia,² taken in conjunction with all we now know of him in relation to his uncle, Vincenzo Foppa, render it probable that he was one of the chief among the group of painters of the transitional period, and that Floriano Ferramola, who is alluded to as his "concorrente," was associated with him either in friendly rivalry or as his collaborator.

Among works of that period when the immediate influence of Foppa was waning and the current of Brescian art was being turned into other channels, must be classed the frescoes in a chapel behind the choir of the Carmine at Brescia, and the Pietà in the Church of S. Afra, a picture characteristic in colour which appears to be the direct forerunner of the beautiful composition representing the same subject in the Cook Collection at Richmond, there ascribed—though the attribution is not altogether convincing—to Moretto. The Pietà at Brescia now hangs in a chapel on the south side of the lower Church of S. Afra, having been placed in an old frame and flanked by the panels representing SS. Feliciano and Filastrio, bishops of Brescia. Until recently these panels were hung in the upper church, the two saints on the columns on either side of the west door, and the Pietà in a dark corner behind this door where it was very imperfectly seen. The two saints are so closely connected with Foppa that they might pass for works of his *bottega*, while the Pietà is

description of the picture given in the catalogue of the Canford collection (p. 70), we might infer that in composition it approached in some particulars to the composition of the same subject in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Brescia (see illustration, p. 206). The works of Romanino from 1513 onwards show no connection with the earlier school; and the painters of the transitional period were soon overshadowed by this master whose influence was certainly the most powerful factor in Brescian art after the first quarter of the sixteenth century, far outweighing that of Moretto.

¹ These paintings must have been executed before July 3, 1528, on which day Ferramola died (see Pandolfo Nassino, *loc. cit.*, f. 140, 142).

² All these notices have been taken by art historians to refer to Paolo Zoppo. One more instance may be cited of the confusion between this artist and Paolo Caylina. In 1505 and 1506 a painter was executing work at Ferrara for the Duchess Lucrezia Borgia; in documents he is three times referred to as Paolo da Brescia and once as Paolo da Pavia (see *Archivio Stor. dell' Arte*, 1894, pp. 299, 300). These entries have been considered to relate to Paolo Zoppo, but the mention of Brescia and Pavia would seem to indicate that the painter referred to was most probably Paolo Caylina.

certainly by another hand showing some affinity with Foppa in the forms, but differing from him in type, expression, and colouring. It is the work of a painter of distinct individuality nearly connected with the author of the *Pietà* in S. Giovanni Evangelista, and of the *Madonna* in the collection of Cav. Liannazza. The whole altarpiece is one of the most interesting examples of the transitional school known to us.

Among other paintings at Brescia ascribed variously to Zoppo, Foppa, and Ferramola, may be mentioned the picture hanging over the altar of St. Jerome in S. Maria delle Grazie,¹ the Procession to Calvary in S. Pietro in Castello,² numerous paintings in the gallery, in the sacristy of S. Maria della Consolazione, in the Church of S. Giulia (now Museo Cristiano), in the lower Church of S. Salvatore and elsewhere. Many of these examples, like the series in S. Maria Solario,³ have been entirely modernized and do not therefore come under consideration at all, but in those which have preserved anything of their original character the dominant influence is that of the painters of the transitional group, though a connection with the earlier school is occasionally apparent.⁴ We are forced therefore to the conclusion that the influence of Foppa, which must have been paramount at Brescia in the last decade of the fifteenth century, was neither deeply rooted nor enduring. It was in the nature of things that the older school should be forced to yield to the influx of new tendencies. "All art like human labour," it has been well said, "is continuous, one generation carries on what its predecessor began . . . and each generation must not only add to but preserve the

¹ This picture has little connection with Ferramola, but seems more nearly related to the earlier work of Savoldo.

² Evidently by the same hand is a small and very attractive picture representing the Holy Family with the little St. John, which was shown at the Brescian Exhibition of 1878 (see the Catalogue No. 111) under the name of Vincenzo Foppa the younger, and now belongs to the ex-Governor of Erythrea, Ferdinando Martini, to whom we are indebted for a photograph of the picture. The influence in this picture and in that of S. Pietro in Castello, as well as in other works in Brescian churches ascribed to "Vincenzo Foppa the younger," is evidently that of Calisto Piazza, the follower of Romanino.

³ In their present condition these frescoes, in spite of the date 1518, are works of the nineteenth century, that is of the era of restoration.

⁴ This connection with the earlier school is seen, as already noted, in certain groups of angels in a chapel of the Church of S. Salvatore, in a Crucifixion with saints in the same chapel, and in other examples; for instance, in the wholly repainted fresco in the Oratory of S. Maria della Consolazione representing the Madonna and Child between SS. Roch and Sebastian. The type of the Madonna is founded upon that of Foppa in the Brera fresco of 1485, the angels are imitated from Bergognone, and the St. Sebastian also shows a certain connection with Lombard art, but the remainder is absolutely modern.

heritage which its forerunners have given to it.”¹ Yet though we have so few outward indications of Foppa’s influence at Brescia, there can be little doubt that his work as a pioneer and teacher there prepared the way for those who were to come after, and indirectly laid the foundations of that brilliant school dominated by Romanino and Moretto, which flourished at Brescia throughout the sixteenth century, and was the outcome and natural development of the school formed by that transitional group of artists who were themselves the immediate pupils of Foppa.

Our object throughout this volume has not been to over-exalt the artistic importance of the master or to exaggerate the extent of his influence, but rather to set him at last in his proper light from the historical point of view. With the aid of documents, which alone are able to give us some idea of the circumstances of his life and surroundings, we have endeavoured to make this study a true record of the life of a North Italian artist in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and by giving reproductions of all the master’s paintings, so far as they are at present known, we trust that to some extent our object of allowing him to speak for himself in his works may have been attained.

We have carefully avoided all polemical questions and have purposely abstained from criticism, for, as this must always depend more or less on individual bias, we hold that in a work which for the first time collates all the known material for the study of Vincenzo Foppa’s life and works any personal note would be out of place.

It has been our aim to order this material logically, so far as lay in our power, to correct certain erroneous statements which have gained currency in former biographical notices of the painter, and to lay a sure foundation on which future art-historians might safely build.

As a contribution to the history of the early Lombard school—perhaps the least known of all the schools of painting in Italy—as an introduction to the study of Vincenzo Foppa, and as a forerunner of future critical biographies of the master, we offer it to the consideration of students of this epoch of painting in North Italy.

¹ Conway, *Early Flemish Artists*, p. 234.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WORKS.

(Four dates only are known, inscribed on existing works by Vincenzo Foppa. These dates have been printed in large type. The chronology of his other existing works can only be tentatively suggested, subject to considerations of style, drawing, and technique. All that has been attempted in this list is the grouping of obviously early or late works within certain limits of time.)

Before 1456 (?).

1. Madonna and Child with Angels, Nosedà Coll., Milan.

April, 1456.

2. The Crucifixion, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

1462-1468.

3. The Portinari Chapel, Frescoes: executed under the direction of Foppa and in part by himself (?). S. Eustorgio, Milan.

1460-1480 (?).

4. Madonna and Child, Castello Museum, Milan.
5. „ „ „ Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
6. „ „ „ Trivulzio Coll., Milan.
7. „ „ „ Berenson Coll., Settignano, near Florence.
8. Dead Christ, Conway Coll., Addington Castle, Maidstone.
9. St. Jerome, Accademia Carrara (Lochis Coll.), Bergamo.
10. Madonna and Child, Frizzoni Coll., Milan.
11. Annunciation, Vittadini Coll., Arcore.
12. Ecce Homo, Cheramy Coll., Paris.
13. Altarpiece, Brera, Milan.
14. Predella of above, Vittadini Coll., Arcore.

October, 1485.

15. Madonna and Child between St. John Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, Brera, Milan.

April, 1489.

16. Madonna and Child with Saints and the donor Manfredo Fornari, Savona Gallery.

c. 1480-1490 (?).

- 17. Fresco, Wallace Coll., London.
- 18. St. Sebastian, Brera, Milan.
- 19. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, Castello Museum, Milan.
- 20. St. John Baptist, Castello Museum, Milan.
- 21. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, Brera,¹ Milan.
- 22. St. Gregory, }
- 23. St. Bartholomew, } Sarasin-Warnery Coll., Basle (Foppa?).

August, 1490.

24. Altarpiece with portrait of the donor, Giuliano della Rovere, Oratory of S. Maria di Castello, Savona.

c. 1490-1515 (?).

- 25. St. Sebastian, Castello Museum, Milan.
- 26. St. Paul, Nosedà Coll., Milan.
- 27. A Bishop, Trivulzio Coll., Milan.
- 28. An Abbot " " "
- 29. Pietà, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
- 30. " Bernasconi Coll., Milan. (In part by Foppa?)
- 31. Adoration of the Magi, National Gallery, London.
- 32. Madonna and Child, Johnson Coll., Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 33. " " " Davis Coll., Newport, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
- 34. Nativity with St. Benedict and Angels, Lefèvre Coll., Versailles. (In part by Foppa.) [Detroit]
- 35. Processional Banner, Chiesa dei Morti, Orzinuovi. (Finished by an assistant?)

¹ Exhibited as a part of the Altarpiece, No. 13. See chap. v, p. 127.

CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF VINCENZO FOPPA ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PLACES

The measurements of the pictures are by metres and centimetres.

ENGLAND

Addlington Castle, near Maidstone : Collection of Sir Martin Conway.

THE DEAD CHRIST STANDING IN THE TOMB.—Panel, 0·52 h. by 0·39½ w.

London, Hertford House : Wallace Collection (Gallery III, No. 538 Cat. 1908).

COMPOSITION, known as "GIAN GALEAZZO SFORZA READING CICERO."—
Fresco, 0·93½ h. by 1·28½ w.

London : The National Gallery.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.—Panel, 2·39 h. by 2·11 w.

FRANCE

Paris : Collection of M. Cheramy.

ECCE HOMO.—Canvas, 0·55 h. by 0·35 w.

Versailles : Collection of M. L'Abbé Lefèvre.

THE ADORATION OF THE INFANT SAVIOUR BY THE MADONNA, ST. BENEDICT
AND ANGELS.—Signed : Vincentius De Foppa P. Panel transferred
to canvas, 1·40 h. by 1·08 w.

GERMANY

Berlin : Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Depôt).

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.—Panel, 0·57½ h. by 0·40½ w.

Berlin : Kaiser Friedrich Museum (R. 41, No. 133).

PIETÀ, composition of seven figures. Signed on the border of the gar-
ment of Nicodemus : Vincentius de Phop. Pinxit. Panel, 2·04 h.
by 1·65 w.

ITALY

Arcore, near Monza : Collection of Donna Erminia Vittadini.

THE ANNUNCIATION.—Panel, 0·51½ h. by 0·63 w.

PREDELLA PICTURES :

THE ANNUNCIATION AND VISITATION, 0·87 long by 0·30 h.

TWO ANGELS with emblems of the Passion, 0·28 by 0·28 each.

THE NATIVITY AND FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, 0·87 l. by 0·30 h.

Predella of the Altarpiece of S. Maria delle Grazie Bergamo (see Milan, Brera).

Bergamo : Accademia Carrara : (R. III, No. 154 Cat., ed. 1881).

THE CRUCIFIXION.—Signed MCCCCLVI Die Mensis Aprilis Vincencius Brixienis Pinxit. Panel, 0·68 h. by 0·38 w.

Bergamo : Accademia Carrara (Lochis Collection, No. 225).

ST. JEROME AS A PENITENT.—Signed : Opus Vincentii Foppa. Panel, 0·43 h. by 0·27 w.

Milan : Brera (R. XVII, No. 307 Cat., ed. 1908).

POLYPTYCH.—Ten panels.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS, 1·65 h. by 0·80 w.

SS. JEROME AND ALEXANDER, each 1·37 h. by 0·39 w.

SS. VINCENT AND ANTHONY OF PADUA, each 1·37 h. by 0·39 w.

SS. CLARA AND BONAVENTURA, each 1·26 h. by 0·40 w.

SS. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE AND BERNARDINO OF SIENA, each 1·26 h. by 0·40 w.

ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA, 1·28 h. by 0·82 w.
(For the predella, see Arcore.)

Milan : Brera (R. II, No. 19 Cat., ed. 1908).

THE MADONNA AND CHILD BETWEEN ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.—Dated MCCCCLXXXV Die X Octubr. Fresco transferred to panel, 1·90 h. by 1·70 w.

Brera (R. II, No. 20).

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN.—Fresco transferred to panel, 2·68 h. by 1·73 w.

Milan : Castello Museum.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.—Panel, 0·37 h. by 0·29 w.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN.—Panel transferred to canvas, 2·50 h. by 2 w.

ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA.—Fresco transferred to canvas, 2·12 h. by 1 w.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Fresco transferred to canvas, dimensions as above.

Milan : Church of Eustorgio, the Portinari Chapel.

FRESCOES : Executed under the direction of Foppa and in part by himself (?).

MIRACLES, PREACHING AND DEATH OF ST. PETER MARTYR, THE ANNUNCIATION AND ASSUMPTION, THE FOUR FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, ANGELS HOLDING THE ARMS OF THE PORTINARI FAMILY, AND BUSTS OF EIGHT APOSTLES IN ROUNDS, alternating with circular windows.

Milan, Private Collections :

Signor Bernasconi.

PIETÀ (in part by Foppa ?).—Panel, 0·55½ h. by 0·47 w.

Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH AN ANGEL MUSICIAN.—Panel, 0·39½ h. by 0·31 w.

Cav. Aldo Nosedà.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH FIVE ANGELS IN AN ENCLOSED GARDEN.—Panel, 0·42 h. by 0·43 w.

ST. PAUL.—Panel, 1·03 h. by 0·53 w.

Prince Trivulzio.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.—Panel, 0·37 h. by 0·28 w.

A BISHOP.—Arched panel, 1·20 h. by 0·41 w.

AN ABBOT.—Dimensions as above.

Orzinuovi, near Brescia.

ORATORIO DEI MORTI.—Processional banner (painted on both sides). Canvas, 1·88½ h. by 1·57½ w.

Front.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD BETWEEN ST. CATHERINE AND ST. BERNARDINO OF SIENA.

Reverse.

ST. SEBASTIAN BETWEEN ST. ROCH AND ST. GEORGE.

Savona : Gallery.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SAINTS AND THE DONOR.—Altarpiece in two tiers (with tympanum and predella). In part by Foppa. Panel, 2'43 h. by 1'87 w.

Inscribed at the bottom of central panel : 1489 die VIII Mensis Aprilis Nomine Domini Manfredi de Fornariis.

Savona : Oratory of S. Maria di Castello.

ALTARPIECE IN THREE TIERS.—By Foppa and assistants. Panel, total height 5'50, total width 3'50.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND THE DONOR, CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE.—Inscribed at the bottom of the panel : Anno Salutis 1490 Die V Augusti Jul. Eps. Ostien. Card. S. P. Ad Vincula. Maiora. Nitente. Vincencius Pinxit. (Centre.)

ST. JOHN BAPTIST. (Left side.)

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.—Inscribed : Ludovicus Brea Niciensis pinxit hanc partem 1490 die X Augusti complecta. (Right side.)

ST. JEROME AND ST. GREGORY. }
ST. AMBROSE AND ST. AUGUSTINE. } (Second tier.)

ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JOHN. }
ST. LUKE AND ST. MARK. } (Upper tier.)

PREDILLA (in seven compartments) :

THE DECOLLATION OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND THE BANQUET OF HEROD. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST IN PATMOS, AND ST. JOHN ABOUT TO BE LIFTED UP TO HEAVEN.—Beneath the two central pilasters of the frame, the Arms of Giuliano della Rovere : an oak tree surmounted by the Cardinal's hat.

Settignano, near Florence : Collection of Mr. Bernard Berenson.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.—Panel, 0'47 h. by 0'36 w.

SWITZERLAND

Basle : Collection of Herr Reinholt Sarasin-Warnery.

ST. GREGORY. }
ST. BARTHOLOMEW. } Foppa (?). Tempera on canvas, 1'19 h. by 0'58½ w.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Baltimore : Collection of H. Walters, Esq.

SS. AGNES AND CATHERINE.—Foppa (?).

Not seen; ascribed to Foppa by Mr. Berenson, *N. Italian Painters*, p. 219.

Formerly in the Massarenti Collection, Rome.

Newport, Rhode Island : Collection of Theodore Davis, Esq.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.—Panel, 0·43 h. by 0·30½ w.

Philadelphia : Collection of John G. Johnson, Esq.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.—Panel, 0·43½ h. by 0·34½ w.

DRAWING

Berlin : Print Room (No. 5131, 13 B., 17).

THE JUSTICE OF TRAJAN.—Foppa (?). Pen and bistre, 0·25¾ h. by 0·39¼ w.
(Much injured and restored.)

Formerly Preyer and Beckerath Collections.

LOST OR MISSING WORKS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN
EXECUTED BY FOPPA, AND OTHERS OF DOUBTFUL
AUTHENTICITY ASCRIBED TO HIM BY BRESCIAN¹
AND MILANESE WRITERS

1461.

Ceiling fresco, Chapel of St. John Baptist, Cathedral, Genoa. Docs. 3 and 4, App. II, A ; ch. I, pp. 29-31. Destroyed.

May, 1462.

Signed work, altarpiece (?) for the Abbot of Morimondo in the Carmine, Pavia. Subject unknown, probably Madonna and Saints, see ch. II, pp. 32-35. Missing.

After June, 1462.

Hospital, Milan. Frescoes under the Colonnade : ceremonies relating to the laying of the stone by Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza, with numerous portraits. Ch. II, p. 40. Destroyed.

Begun 1462-1464 (?).

Medici Bank, Milan. Frescoes in the Loggia, left-hand side of principal Cortile : Episodes from the history (The Justice ?) of Trajan, eight figures of Emperors, portraits of Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza and their children, and other paintings. Ch. II, p. 45 and foll. Destroyed.

¹ We have not included in this list the frescoes of the crypt of S. Faustino Maggiore at Brescia, ascribed to Foppa by Rossi (*Hist., etc., de' . . SS. Mart. Faust. e. Giov.*, p. 70), who was followed by Faini and others. According to Faini (*Vita etc., de' SS. Faust. e. Giovita*, p. 104), the series was painted to celebrate the re-discovery of the sarcophagus containing the remains of the saints in 1455. Yet the painter associated with Foppa in this work is stated to have been Testorino, who died, as we saw (p. 2), before 1430. Other writers name Coltrino as the associate of Foppa, a well-known architect in the last decades of the fifteenth century but not a painter, though erroneously described as such by late writers of Brescia. The whole story is so improbable that we have omitted all mention of these frescoes, which perished when the crypt was destroyed in 1620, as stated in ch. I (p. 2, note 5).

1463.

A picture of the Madonna painted for Francesco Sforza. Doc. No. 9 ;
ch. II, p. 38, and III, p. 84. Missing or not identified (?).

April, 1465. Date of payment.

Frescoes of Prophets in the Great Cloister of the Certosa near Pavia.
Ch. III, p. 70. Destroyed or whitewashed.

May, 1466. Negotiations relating to the work.

Altarpiece for Church of S. Maria delle Grazie, Monza. Commissioned
by the Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza and probably executed, but no further
information relating to it known. Doc. No. 11 ; ch. III, p. 72. Missing.

July and November, 1471.

Frescoes in Chapel of St. John Baptist, Genoa. Doc. No. 19 ; ch. III,
pp. 78, 79. Destroyed.

1472.

Altarpiece, signed and dated, with single figures of Saints, in the Church of
the Maddalena, Brescia ; still existing second quarter of seventeenth century.
Ch. III, pp. 79, 80. Destroyed (?) or Missing (?).

1474-1476.

The Ancona for the Chapel of the Relics, Pavia, by Foppa and other
painters. The following panels are known to have been executed : A large
Majestas with shutters ; The Crucifixion on a gold ground ; The Madonna ;
The Annunciation, with the Madonna and Child between St. Catherine and
St. John Baptist on the reverse (Inventory 1487, items 1, 2, 4 and 5) ; 200
panel paintings with figures of saints c. 18 inches in height formed part of the
original design, but not known whether all were executed. Docs. Nos. 20,
21, 23, 29 ; ch. IV, pp. 97, 98, 104, 105. Destroyed (?) or Missing (?).

July 10, 1475 (Contract), to January 1477 (Final payment).

Frescoes in the Church of S. Giacomo della Vernavola, Pavia, for
Zaccarina Lonati Beccaria ; the principal part by Foppa with the co-operation
of the painters employed with him in the Chapel of the Relics. Docs. Nos.
27, 28, 30, 31 ; ch. IV, pp. 109-113. Destroyed.

After March 25, 1475, before July, 1476. (Doubtful if by Foppa.)

Painting (Altarpiece?) of the Beato Simonino, Averoldi Chapel, Church
of the Carmine, Brescia ; still existing end of eighteenth century. Ch. IV,
pp. 114-117. Missing.

Between 1478 and 1481.

Altarpiece for the Chapel of the Spinola di S. Luca family in S. Domenico, Genoa, probably in two tiers, with the Madonna, St. John Baptist, and three other saints in the lower course(?); and above, the Crucifixion with the two thieves, the Madonna, St. John the Evangelist and the Magdalen. Ch. vi, pp. 133-136. Missing.

c. 1485 (?). (Doubtful if by Foppa.)

Frescoes in a Chapel of S. Maria di Brera, Milan, belonging to the same series as the St. Sebastian at the Brera: a glory of angels, ceiling fresco. Ch. vi, p. 147. Destroyed.

St. Roch, same series as preceding, transferred to canvas in the eighteenth century, and ascribed to Luini. Ch. vi, *ibid.* Missing.

February, 1489. Date of payment.

Altarpiece for the Chapel of Lazzaro Doria di Opicino in the Certosa of Rivarolo, near Genoa. Subjects unknown, but probable that in the centre was represented: St. Anne with the Madonna and Child, and among the single figures SS. Stephen, Bartholomew, and Lazarus(?). Doc. 42 and ch. vi, pp. 154-156. Missing.

July, 1489. Date of valuation.

Altarpiece, with SS. Vincent, John Baptist, and Andrew, in the Chapel of St. Vincent Ferrerio, Church of S. Maria di Castello, Genoa. Begun but left unfinished by Foppa. Doc. 45; ch. vii, p. 163. Destroyed(?).

May-September, 1489.

Fresco on the south wall of the Loggetta at the upper end of the Piazza Maggiore, Brescia. Doc. 52; ch. vii and viii, pp. 164, 184. Destroyed.

December, 1489.

Cross for the Church of the Carmine, Pavia; commission undertaken by Foppa; work probably executed in part by himself with the co-operation of his brother-in-law, Bartolomeo Caylina, and of Cristoforo Rocchi, the carver(?). Docs. 50, 51; ch. vii, p. 170 and note 1. Missing.

October-November, 1490.

Further frescoes in the Loggetta at Brescia. Docs. 56, 57; ch. viii, p. 184. Destroyed.

1490-1495. (Doubtful if by Foppa.)

Fresco in the Church of S. Maria Calchera, Brescia, "The Vision of Paolo Oriani." Ch. VIII, p. 188. Destroyed.

1495. (Possibly by Foppa?)

A picture, subject unknown, in the collection of Signor Giov. Averoldi at Brescia, inscribed : "1495 depicta per Magistrum Vincentium brixiensem." Ch. VIII, p. 188, and IX, p. 261 and note 2. Missing.

1497-1501.

Altarpiece for the Collegiate Church of S. Maria Gualtieri at Pavia. The chief part—six large figures on a gold ground, and predella—by Foppa. Docs. 66, 69, 70 ; ch. VIII, pp. 191-195. Missing.

1498(?).

Frescoes in the Choir of the Olivetan Monastery of Rodengo near Brescia (?). Ch. VIII, p. 185 and note 2. Destroyed.

1513. (Doubtful.)

Panel picture, said to have been at Milan in the last quarter of eighteenth century, bearing the name of Vincenzo Foppa and the date 1513 (?). Ch. IX, p. 228, note 1. Missing.

Dates unknown.

Fresco of the Pietà, S. Agostino, Crema. Ch. VIII, p. 205. Destroyed.

Frescoes in the Chapel of the Beato Isnardo, Church of S. Tommaso, Pavia. Ch. II, pp. 35-37. Destroyed.

Probably by Foppa.

Panel picture, Oratory of the Disciplina of S. Barnaba, Brescia. The dead Christ with the Magdalen, SS. John, Augustine, Barnabas, and two members of the Disciplinati in half-length. Ch. VIII, pp. 203-204. Missing.

Doubtful.

Panel picture, a figure of the Risen Saviour said to have formed the upper part of the ancona of the Rossi Chapel in S. Pietro in Gessate at Milan (the Berlin Pietà).¹

¹ This picture is mentioned in the copy of Albuzzio's MS. (see list of MSS., p. 355, note 2), but not in the MS. which we quoted on p. 196, note 2. The reference to the picture is as follows : "Nell' mezzo tondo che serve di finimento all' ancona vedesi una figura in grande benchè non intera, rappresentante il Redentore risorto." We have no further clue to this picture and cannot tell whether it originally formed part of the altarpiece.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

NOTE I.—VINCENZO'S ORIGIN

VINCENZO FOPPA has been claimed as a compatriot by Milanese, Pavians, and Brescians, but the documents now before us prove conclusively that he was of Brescian birth.

The Milanese writer Lomazzo calls the painter "Vincenzo Foppa Milanese,"¹ so also do Morigia, Picinelli, and Argelati, but no contemporary record supports this view.

Among all the documents printed in Appendix II, two only of any importance refer to him as a Milanese, namely, the Pavian document of June 15, 1470 (No. 18), relating to the rent of a house taken by Foppa at Pavia, and the Genoese document of July 10, 1489² (No. 45), in both of which he is called "de Mediolano," though in the last-named deed the description is qualified by the remark, "ut dicitur." It is easy to understand how the mistake arose in this case. Vincenzo was employed during the best and most fruitful years of his life in the Duchy of Milan, and was one of the most favoured and renowned among the painters who worked for the Sforza between the years 1460 and 1480. The monks of S. Maria di Castello at Genoa, who in July, 1489, had the paintings valued which Foppa had begun for their church, but never finished, knowing that when he first came to Genoa in 1461, he had been specially recommended to the authorities by the Duke Francesco Sforza (Doc. No. 4), and being probably aware that in later years he had become a citizen of Milan, would naturally have instructed their notary to describe him as "of Milan, it is said."³

Writers like Morigia and Lomazzo, who could not have known Foppa personally (Morigia was born in 1525, Lomazzo in 1538), but derived all their information about him from others, were anxious in their zeal for the glory of Milan to claim him as a compatriot, and being probably aware that he had been long resident in the Duchy,

¹ On p. 350 of his *Trattato*, Lomazzo speaks of Vincenzo *da Brescia* as admirable in the treatment of "foliage" (decorative *motives*), but it is not certain whether this allusion applies to Foppa.

² In another Genoese document of June, 1485, referring to the painter Barbagelata, Foppa is incidentally mentioned as Master Vincenzo of Milan (see pp. 133, 134, and Doc. No. 38).

³ Persons living in Milanese territory were indeed often designated "of Milan," even if not natives of the city, but the addition "ut dicitur" shows that the monks knew little of the circumstances of the painter's life.

and was a citizen of Milan, they fell into the mistake of supposing that he was also a Milanese by birth. Later writers like Picinelli and Argelati merely reiterated the statements of their predecessors; but it is clear that the theory of Foppa's Milanese origin rests on no foundation, and may be at once dismissed as purely fictitious.

Of late years the view that he was a Pavian has found many supporters, and it has been asserted with great decision that he was born at a place which now bears the name of Foppa, near Bascapé, in the neighbourhood of Pavia. In *Literature* (April 13, 1901) and the *Athenæum* (February 15, 1902) we endeavoured to show that this view was devoid of all foundation, having been first put forward by Campori. In his *Artisti negli Stati Estensi*,¹ this writer mentioned two documents of 1460 relating to the purchase of land at Rubiera and elsewhere by a painter, Bartolomeo, son of "Giovanni da Foppa del territorio di Milano." He then tentatively suggested that this Bartolomeo might have been some relation of Vincenzo Foppa, and he added, "It may be assumed that the family derived their name from Foppa, a village in the province of Pavia."² But what evidence did he produce in support of this theory? Merely the statement of Zamboni, a somewhat untrustworthy guide in questions relating to Foppa, that the painter visited Pavia in 1491 in order to make good his claims to a house which he owned there, and which had come to him "as the dowry or inheritance of his wife."³ Campori then observed (p. 449) that in one (!) document he is called "de Foppa," and that according to Zamboni the inscription on his tombstone speaks of him as "de Foppis."

The fact that Vincenzo's father, like the father of the painter Bartolomeo, was actually called Giovanni, might have given some colour to the theory, but we believe that neither of the two documents which contained this statement had been discovered when Campori wrote in 1855; the contract with the Doria (Doc. No. 42) having been first published by Alizeri in 1870,⁴ the other (Doc. No. 2) by Moiraghi in 1897.⁵

Proofs such as those brought forward by Campori seem wholly insufficient to justify a belief in Vincenzo's Pavian origin, nevertheless it was apparently on these grounds alone that Crowe and Cavalcaselle⁶ stated, without further inquiry, that he was born at Foppa in the province of Pavia.

They were followed later by Don Pietro Moiraghi, a Pavian writer and local patriot who did much valuable research work in the archives of his native place, but whose ardent championship of Pavia seems, in the case of Foppa, to have obscured his better judgment. His views respecting the painter's origin were nevertheless adopted by other writers,⁷ and on this wholly inadequate basis the theory that Foppa was a native of Pavian territory was built up.

¹ P. 209, ed. 1855.

² The hamlet of Foppa di Bascapé, which is merely a group of cottages, would never have been designated as either in Pavian or Milanese territory, being situated in the zone known as "terrarum comunium," the borderland lying between the two provinces (*terre communes inter Papiam et Mediolanum*).

³ See chap. viii, p. 185.

⁴ I, p. 369.

⁵ *Alman. Sacr. di Pavia*, p. 333. Since the publication of these two documents several more have come to light, in which the name of Vincenzo's father is mentioned (see Note 3 of this appendix).

⁶ II, p. 2.

⁷ See among others Beltrami in *Perseveranza*, February, 1899.

On the other hand the facts, so far as they are at present known, relating to Vincenzo Foppa's connection with Brescia, point so strongly to his having been a native of that province that they appear conclusive.¹ The earliest document at present known referring to Foppa speaks of him as Vincentio de Fopa, painter, son of the late Johannis, citizen and inhabitant of the city of Brescia, and is of May, 1458 (Doc. No. 2). That he should describe himself as an inhabitant of Brescia when at that date he appears to have been living at Pavia might show that even as late as May, 1458, he had not definitely decided to abandon his old home and settle permanently at Pavia, and being the owner of a house at Brescia, or having at least some share in it through his wife (as is proved by Docs. 33 and 34, which are discussed in chap. vi), he would naturally describe himself as an inhabitant or householder of Brescia. A letter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza of October, 1468 (Doc. No. 15), gives the clue to the probable date of his removal to Pavia. In it the Duke observes: "We are informed that for the past twelve years, Vincenzo de Fopa, the painter, has resided continuously in this our city of Pavia with his wife, his children, his journeymen, and all his belongings, and has chosen our said city for his habitation and home."

From this we may conclude that Vincenzo's connection with Pavia began about 1456, and to this period belongs his earliest dated work signed Vincencius Brixienis, and therefore probably painted when Foppa was absent from Brescia. In 1461 he appears at Genoa, agreeing to decorate the Chapel of St. John Baptist in the cathedral with frescoes. The parties to this contract were the priors of the Confraternity of St. John Baptist on the one part, and "Master Vincenzo of Brescia" on the other (Doc. No. 3).

The identity of this Vincenzo of Brescia with Foppa is absolutely proved by Francesco Sforza's letter to the Doge of Genoa of June 28, 1461 (Doc. No. 4). A similar letter had also been sent by him to the Priors Niccolò Adorno and Lazzaro Doria; in these missives the painter is called "Vincentius de Foppa," and in them allusion is made to the work which "he has begun in the Chapel of St. John Baptist." This leaves absolutely no doubt that the painter who contracted to execute the work in January, 1461, is identical with the artist so warmly recommended by the Duke, and consequently is "Vincenzo de Foppa da Brescia."

That he was a citizen of Brescia as early as 1458 we know from the document already alluded to (No. 2), and it is probable that this citizenship was his by right of birth, his father, as we shall see in Note 3, having also lived for many years at Brescia. The Pavian citizenship, on the other hand, we know to have been acquired at a much later date. Bianca Maria Sforza, Duchess of Milan, writing to the Podestà of Pavia on June 27, 1467 (Doc. No. 13), on behalf of "our well-beloved Vincentio de Fopa," informs him that Vincenzo desires to acquire property in the city or its territory "in the same manner and to the same extent as though he were a native and true-born citizen." The Duchess would scarcely have alluded to him in these terms had he actually been of Pavian origin. Strangers living at Pavia were not permitted to buy property there, this privilege being only granted to those who were either citizens by birth or had acquired these rights.²

From Bianca Maria's allusion to Foppa, it is clear that in 1467 neither of these

¹ For Foppa's Brescian origin see an article in *La Sentinella Bresciana*, January 15, 1899.

² Moiraghi, *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 339.

conditions applied to him, and it was in order to obtain this exceptional favour for the stranger Vincenzo that she successfully exercised her authority with the Pavian administration.

The privileges must have been promptly granted, for in the following October, 1468, Galeazzo Maria, writing to recommend Foppa for the citizenship, observes: "In consequence of the letters of our illustrious mother, he has been permitted to acquire property, and has already bought a house" (Doc. No. 15). But though a householder and a citizen, Vincenzo never, so far as we have been able to discover, speaks of himself, or is spoken of, except by those who knew nothing of him, as a Pavian, but is invariably called "de Fopa de Brisia," or "de Bressia."

Why, it may be well asked, if he was a Pavian by origin, should he always be careful to proclaim himself a Brescian?

In 1489 (Doc. No. 52) a petition from Master Vincenzo was laid before the Council of Brescia by two of its members, in which he expressed his desire to repatriate with his family, and requested permission to open a school there and instruct the youth of the city in painting and architecture at a fixed salary for the remainder of his life. The use of the word "repatriate" seems an additional proof of his Brescian origin, and was used in a similar sense by his compatriot and associate in art, Bonifazio Bembo, who, though usually called of Cremona, was in fact of Brescian birth.¹ It is noticeable that in the next two deliberations of the Council relating to our painter he is called "Vincentio Brixiano," and then again "de Foppa Brixiano," but there is never a word which would lead us to suspect that he might have been a stranger from the Milanese or Pavian districts who had applied for leave to open a school at Brescia.

The proofs afforded by these documents appear to us to be far more convincing than the statements of sixteenth century writers; but as we have spoken of Lomazzo and others in connection with the theory of Foppa's Milanese origin, it should be mentioned that three contemporaries of the master—Filarete, who knew him at Milan between 1456 and 1465; Calepino of Bergamo, the Augustinian, who published his Dictionary in 1503; and Capriolo, the Brescian historian, whose history was first printed in 1505—all speak of Vincenzo as a Brescian. The "Anonimo" (Marcantonio Michiel), writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, alludes to him twice as "Vincenzo Bressano il Vecchio," and Vasari, in his second edition of 1568, mentions a painter Vincenzo in the lives of Michelozzo, Filarete, and Carpaccio, designating him once Vincenzo Bresciano. In Vasari's first edition, however, of 1550 this Vincenzo is only once mentioned throughout the work, as follows: "At Brescia a certain Vincenzo Verchio exercised his art, a skilled and practised fresco painter who, by reason of his good work, acquired a great reputation in Brescia, his native place."²

Vasari's annotators³ have thought that the biographer was here alluding to Vincenzo Civerchio, but it seems unlikely that a comparatively insignificant artist like Civerchio should have been singled out as the one painter of Brescia worthy of a place in Vasari's

¹ See *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1876, and Nagler, *Künstlerlexicon*, ed. 1885.

² "In Brescia esercitò l' arte un Vincenzo Verchio pratico e valente nel lavorare in fresco, il quale per le belle opere sue acquistò grandissimo nome in Brescia sua patria" (Life of Carpaccio, p. 540).

³ III, 633, ed. Mil.

history; Brescia was certainly not the "patria" (if by this we are to understand the native place) of Civerchio, who is known to have come from Crema, and it is much more probable that the Vincenzo alluded to was Foppa, and that "Verchio" was merely a mistaken reading of "Vecchio,"¹ by which name, as we have seen, the Anonimo mentions him, a name probably bestowed upon him on account of the great age to which he attained. It has been assumed that he was so called to distinguish him from "Vincenzo Foppa the younger," but what has been said in the foregoing pages makes it clear that there was no such person,² and that he was invented merely to account for the appearance of a Vincenzo Foppa in 1495, when it was thought that our painter died in 1492.

NOTE 2. THE PROBABLE DATES OF VINCENZO FOPPA'S BIRTH AND DEATH

No writer mentions the year of Foppa's birth, but recently discovered documents afford some clue to the approximate date.

Ottavio Rossi³ in his short notice of Foppa gives in the margin the date 1407, by which he presumably intended to indicate the period when the painter flourished. But such a date is altogether discredited by Vincenzo's works, which prove that they were products of the last half of the fifteenth century or even of a still later period.

From a document to which we have several times had occasion to allude (letter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza of 1468, Doc. No. 15), we know that Vincenzo was a married man with children in 1456, to which year his first dated work belongs. He could scarcely therefore have been born later than 1430, and taking into consideration the fact that Faini, in his list of Brescian painters at the end of his MS. *Pitture di Brescia*, writes 1427 against the name of Vincenzo Foppa, and assuming that Rossi's date 1407 may have been a misprint for 1427, we should perhaps be justified in placing the birth of Foppa in that year.

Historians have always stated on the authority of Zamboni, the earliest writer who mentions a date in connection with his death, that Foppa died in 1492, but documents in the Brescian Archives prove that he was still living in 1495, and enable us to trace

¹ In chap. VIII, p. 204, we alluded to the fact that many mistakes in the history of art are traceable to the misreading of written documents. Vasari's mistake is, we believe, a case in point. The bulk of his information relating to Lombard artists was derived, as we stated in chap. I, from a letter written by Girolamo Campagnola to Leonico Tomeo. Originally therefore he appears to have read "Verchio" for Vecchio, and as such the name was inserted in his first edition. Before bringing out his second edition he must have added considerably to his knowledge relating to the Lombard school; but even then it is evident that confusion still reigned in his mind on the subject. Thus in Vol. II, part II, p. 521, we have the passage relating to Vincenzo Bresciano (see chap. I, p. 4 and note 1), and on p. 523 the paragraph just alluded to relating to Vincenzo Verchio. On p. 345 in the life of Michelozzo we have Vincenzo di Zoppa, and the same a few pages further on in the life of Filarete. All these notices, we believe, refer to one painter, Vasari having misread "Verchio" for "Vecchio," and "Zoppa" for "Foppa," in the written information at his disposal.

² Chap. x, p. 261, note 2. See also Note 5 of this appendix.

³ *Elogi di Bresciani illustri*, p. 508.

him up to May, 1515.¹ By October, 1516, he was certainly dead, as allusion is then made to his heirs, though the actual date of his death is not stated.²

Taking then 1427 as the year of his birth and 1516 as the date of his death, Foppa would have attained to the ripe age of eighty-nine; the name "Vincenzo Vecchio," bestowed upon him by the Anonimo, was therefore by no means inappropriate.

NOTE 3. VINCENZO SON OF GIOVANNI DA BAGNOLO IDENTICAL
WITH VINCENZO FOPPA³

THE name of Vincenzo's father was Giovanni, as we know from numerous documents,⁴ and an entry in the *Libro d' Estimo* at Brescia of 1498 proves that he came from Bagnolo, which lies on the River Mella eight miles from Brescia. The entry states that in this year, 1498, Vincenzo the painter, the son of the late Giovanni of Bagnolo, was living in a house in the first quarter of S. Alessandro, and in the index of this volume his name is entered as Vincenzo da Bagnolo. At first sight there would seem nothing to connect this Vincenzo da Bagnolo with Foppa, but a closer study of the records leads us to the conclusion that the two must be identical. In all the *Libri d' Estimo* prior to that of 1498 there is no Vincenzo of Bagnolo, and no painter indeed of the name of Vincenzo. The registers were kept somewhat irregularly, and towards the close of the fifteenth century there is a gap between the years 1486 and 1498. About 1490 Foppa returned to Brescia with his family and settled there for the remainder of his life, and his name would therefore appear for the first time in the official register of 1498. From the rent and account books of the first quarter of S. Alessandro, preserved in the archives of that church, we gather that he had bought a house in that quarter at some period prior to 1502 and that he lived there up to the time of his death.⁵ No other painter Vincenzo is mentioned in Brescian records to whom this entry could apply. That it could refer to Vincenzo Civerchio, who was also working at Brescia between 1493 and 1504, is out of the question, for Civerchio in documents of this date is always called "Vincencius de Crema," and moreover we know from the same register of 1498 that he was then living in a totally different part of the town, i.e. in the fourth ward of the quarter of S. Faustino, as will be seen by the following extracts from the register:—

Estimo 1498, fol. 120:—

"Quadra quarta S. Faustini.
Vincentius de Crema, pictor."

Estimo 1498, fol. 168:—

"Quadra prima S. Alex^{dri}
Vincentius q. Johannis de Bagnolo, pictor."

If then Giovanni of Bagnolo was the father of our painter his Brescian origin is absolutely proved, and for the following reasons we consider it most probable that he

¹ See chap. VIII and Appendix II, A, Docs. Nos. 62, 63, 64, 68, 71-74. The fact is confirmed by the Pavian Docs. Nos. 69, 70, 75, Appendix II, A, and Nos. 1-14 in Appendix II, B.

² A further proof that the death of Foppa took place about this period is afforded by Doc. No. 78, from which we gather that in 1517 Foppa's nephew and heir Paolo Caylina paid numerous legacies and bequests in execution of his uncle's will.

³ See too chap. VIII, p. 191 and note 3, and IX, p. 222.

⁴ See Nos. 2, 16, 18, 22, 25, 35, 42, etc.

⁵ Page 223 and foll.

was born at Brescia itself. In the Libro d' Estimo of 1430¹ we find a certain Giovanni di Sandrina da Bagnolo registered as living in the quarter of the Cittadella and paying his annual "livello" of one "denaro di terzuoli."² In the Estimo of 1434 he is registered as Giovanni da Bagnolo,³ and in that of 1442 as Giovannino da Sandrina da Bagnolo, Tailor.⁴

Now as all persons registered in the Libro d' Estimo were citizens of Brescia, and as citizenship as a rule presupposed a residence of some years in the city, it is clear that Giovanni di Sandrina da Bagnolo,⁵ who is first registered in 1430, must have been domiciled at Brescia for some time before that date. Hence it follows that his son Vincenzo, whose birth we have placed, for reasons stated in Note 2, in the year 1427, was most probably born at Brescia in the quarter of Cittadella Vecchia. From the Estimo of 1442, we learn that the father of Vincenzo Foppa, like his father-in-law Pietro Caylina, followed the profession of a tailor. The fact that he is not spoken of as Giovanni *Foppa* da Bagnolo need not surprise us, for it was very usual at this date to omit the surname, especially when the place of origin is mentioned; nor is there anything peculiar in the addition of Sandrina, a place where Giovanni da Bagnolo may have owned some small property. We meet with similar forms in the case of other families of Bagnolo,⁶ and it is not without significance to remember that in document No. 78, among the creditors of Foppa's executor, Paolo Caylina, we find the Commune of Bagnolo.

After 1442 we have no Estimo again until 1459, and in this no Giovanni da Bagnolo is entered, which, assuming him to have been the father of Vincenzo, is quite correct, for we know (see Appendix II, A, Doc. No. 2, and chap. 1, p. 26), that Foppa's father was already dead in 1458.⁷

¹ Arch. Mun. Brescia.

² *Ibid.*, f. 22 v. : Johannes Sandrina de Bagnolo, den. unus.

³ Johannes de Bagnolo, Est. 1434, f. 150 v.

⁴ Johanninus de Sadrina de Bagnolo, Sartor, Est. 1442, f. 245.

⁵ Sandrina is a hamlet still existing in the territory of Bagnolo in the direction of Capriano. Kindly communicated by Don Paolo Guerrini of Bagnolo, Director of the Episcopal Archives at Brescia, who confirms our opinion that these three entries refer to the same person.

⁶ For instance, the Gori family, who owned property at Canello and are styled "del Canello da Bagnolo," or the Pizzamelii, who rented lands in the hamlet of Godi and are called "de Guto" or "de Godis da Bagnolo."

⁷ It may be noted here that in the first half of the sixteenth century a painter of the name of Vincenzo was living at Bagnolo, of which place he appears to have been a native, but we cannot tell if he was related to Vincenzo Foppa. He was the son of a certain Simone, whose surname is not known, and he is first mentioned in 1534 in the Polizza d' Estimo (Queriniiana Library) of a Paolo Roda, who states that he owed money to "Vincenzo son of Simone, painter in Bagnolo" (kindly communicated by Don Paolo Guerrini). We might have been tempted to assume that in the person of "Vincenzo son of Simone" we had the solution to the problem of "Vincenzo Foppa the younger," for it would not be unreasonable to suppose that he may have been a near relation of Vincenzo the son of Giovanni of Bagnolo; but Vincenzo, son of Simone, was absolutely unknown until recently, when he was rescued from oblivion by Don Paolo Guerrini; whereas "Vincenzo Foppa the younger" was an invention of the early nineteenth century, as has been shown in chap. x, p. 261, note 2.

NOTE 4. THE NAME FOPPA

THERE can be no doubt that Foppa was the painter's patronymic, and was not derived from a place, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Moiraghi, and others would have us believe. To have traced its origin to the little hamlet of Foppa which lies close to Bascapé, half-way between Pavia and Melegnano, is purely arbitrary, since there are many other places which bear this name in North Italy—in Pavian and Milanese territory, in the Bergamasque valleys, in the Valtellina,¹ and in other districts.

Foppa as a surname is constantly met with at Milan; besides the patrician family of that name who had their chapel in S. Marco and who are mentioned among the two hundred noble Milanese families in the fourteenth century,² there were many others of humbler origin whose names occur in records from the fourteenth century onwards. But there are no grounds for supposing that Vincenzo was connected with any of them. The surname was by no means peculiar to Milanese and Pavian territory. It was extraordinarily common at Bergamo and in the neighbouring valleys, of which we have abundant proof in documents of the Archivio Notarile at Bergamo. There we find, among others, the following variations in the spelling of the name: Foppa de Buzzone, de Foppa de Clusone, de Fopa de Zonio, de Foppis de Gronis, de la Foppa de Buzzone, etc.

In Brescia, it must be admitted, it is not very often met with; but Moiraghi was certainly wrong in asserting that no trace of the name was to be found there,³ for in the Libri d' Estimo of the years 1434 and later we find the names of the brothers Isepinus and Marchettus della Foppa; in 1469 those of Joanellus and Francescus; in the Custodie Notturme of 1438 and subsequent years Ambrosius, Jacobus, and Dominichus are variously entered as della Foppa, de la Fopa, and de la Foya; and in a parchment of 1448 in the Archives of S. Giovanni Evangelista a Yosef della Foppa is spoken of as a witness. It is clear, then, that the name Foppa was not necessarily derived from a place of that name, but rather, as the numerous examples at Bergamo prove, was a surname borne by persons belonging to many different localities, and in the forms "de Foppa de Clusone, de Fopa de Zonio" we have the exact counterpart of "de Foppa, de Fopa de Brisia," which we meet with in documents relating to the painter.

The word Foppa is merely a dialect form of Fossa, signifying a moat, pit, or grave;⁴ Foppone in Milanese dialect (literally Fossa grande) is a cemetery. The

¹ It is well known that the wife of the painter Gaudenzio Ferrari was Maria della Foppa of Morbegno in the Valtellina, and she, moreover, had a brother named Vincenzo (see Colombo, *Vita, etc., di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, p. 160, and Doc. 13), though we have no proof that any relationship existed between the Della Foppa of Morbegno and Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia; but it was this perhaps which induced Santo Monti to make the curious statement that the painter Vincenzo Foppa was born at Morbegno and migrated to Brescia (see *Storia dell' Arte nella Diocesi di Como*, p. 299, and *Atti della Visita Pastorale . . di F. Ninguarda Vescovo di Como*, pp. 27, 264, etc., for the Foppa of Morbegno).

² Giulini, VIII, 313.

³ *Mem. e Doc.*, p. 90.

⁴ That the word Foppa was commonly used to express a ditch or fosse in the fifteenth century we gather also from a letter of Bartolomeo Gadio's of Jan. 8, 1474, published in the *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1883, p. 363.

name "De Fopa" or "Foppa," "of the moat" or "fosse," may have been adopted by the ancestors of the painter in early times as a distinguishing name, and eventually became the surname of the family, deriving originally perhaps from the position of Bagnolo, even now a place of many waters intersected by streams and ditches, and with its parish church surrounded on three sides by a river.¹ In Brescian dialect the word is usually spelt "Fopa";² in Milanese "Foppa";³ and it is noticeable that in the only document in which Vincenzo was directly responsible for the spelling, viz. his own letter to Pigello Portinari (Doc. No. 12), he uses the Brescian form "Fopa." The Milanese form usually appears in the Italian documents of the years when the painter was living at Milan and Pavia.

NOTE 5. PAINTERS OF BRESCIA BEARING THE NAME OF VINCENZO

It was stated in chap. x (p. 261) that the painter known in the history of art as *Vincenzo Foppa the younger* never existed, but was invented in order to account for certain chronological discrepancies difficult to explain away with the material at the disposition of art historians some few years ago. We now know, however, that any reference to a "Vincenzo Foppa" refers to our painter, who was the only one of his name at Brescia. On the other hand, we meet with several painters who are spoken of as *Vincenzo Bresciano* in the first half of the sixteenth century. First among the artists so designated must be mentioned the *Vincenzo da Brescia* who on November 26, 1513, is named as having been associated with Cesare Cesariano in executing paintings in the Council Chamber of the Fabbriceria of the cathedral at Milan; on the above-named day the two masters were paid 45 lire 12 soldi imperiali for the work on which they had been engaged for nearly two months. That this Vincenzo was not Foppa seems certain; for it is scarcely to be assumed that a master who at that date was over eighty would have been able to undertake fresco painting at Milan, or that he would have been mentioned (as in this document) after Cesare Cesariano, almost as though he were an assistant of that artist. The entry is as follows:—

November 26, 1513.

"Magistris Cesare Cesariano et Vincentio de Brixia pictoribus, l. 45 s. 12 imperialium, occasione operum 57 per eos factorum in pingendo salam residentie dominorum deputatorum noviter relectam," etc.⁴

¹ In an early register relating to the letting of houses in Bagnolo (a volume in the Curia at Brescia labelled *Possessionum et Fictorum in Bagnolo*, unpagged), the following names occur in the year 1274: "Jacobini dela fosina; Gyardus fr. dni Benini dela fossina; Guielmo dela foxina." Here, possibly, we may have the origin of the Foppa family and the ancestors of Giovanni da Bagnolo and his son Vincenzo.

² See Gabriele Rosa, *Vocabolario Bresciano-Italiano*: "Fopa—buca, fossa"; and *Dialetti, etc., delle Provincie di Bergamo e di Brescia*: "Fópa, pófa—cavità, lat. fovea." In the Brescian Archives we occasionally find the name "Foppa" spelt "Poffa" (see Cust. Notturmo, 1465, quadra 3^a Sⁱ Johannis).

³ Cherubini, *Vocab. Milanese-Italiano*: "Foppa—buca, fossa, sepoltura."

⁴ *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo*, Vol. III, p. 165, and App. III, 210.

This room, the Sala Capitolare, was still in existence in 1842, but was unfortunately condemned by a committee of architects as unsafe, and, in spite of the protests of an influential body of artists and connoisseurs of the day, was destroyed. Ambrogio Nava, one of those who considered that the building might have been saved, wrote a brief account of the room,¹ of which he gave an illustration,² and mentioned that the frescoes were executed in chiaroscuro and colours by Bergognone; he also stated that he had made copies of these paintings, but unfortunately his drawings, which might have thrown light upon many points, have disappeared, and no information relating to them is obtainable. The fact, however, that a writer of the first half of the nineteenth century should have ascribed the frescoes to Bergognone leads us to conjecture that they were probably good works of the Lombard school, and that the painter Vincenzo Bresciano may have been trained by Foppa at Brescia; Lomazzo's mention of a Vincenzo da Brescia who was admirable in the treatment of foliage may possibly refer to this artist. We stated in Note 1 that it was uncertain whether the passage referred to Foppa, since Lomazzo evidently sought to draw a distinction between the great Vincenzo Foppa "the Milanese," and Vincenzo of Brescia, whom he apparently considered to be more particularly a decorative artist.

A notice of a painter, *Vincenzo Bresciano*, is contained in a MS. written by a certain Pietro Antonio Cavagnari (?) of Sondrio in 1634-35; the entry is as follows: "The altarpiece of St. John Baptist in the old Collegiate Church of Sondrio was executed in 1525 by Vincenzo, a painter of Brescia, as may be seen by the inscription at the base of the said altarpiece and the same painter, it is said, executed the altarpieces in the church called della Sassella and in the parish church of Caiolo, which paintings are highly praised."³

The altarpiece of Caiolo, near Albossaggio, is still in existence; the main portion is carving, but in the lower part are painted two angels holding a cartellino inscribed: "Opus Vincencii Brixienis Die VII Maii 1539."⁴ Who this Vincenzo the Brescian may have been and whether he was identical with the painter of the Sala Capitolare we cannot tell, but one point we think is certain, that he had nothing to do with Vincenzo Civerchio, who, as already stated, is always called of Crema.⁵ The assumption that every Vincenzo of Brescia who cannot be labelled Foppa must of necessity be Civerchio appears to us extremely arbitrary, considering the numerous other artists named Vincenzo who were working at Brescia in the first half of the sixteenth century. We subjoin the names of a few of these painters, and are confident that this by no means exhausts the list: *Vincenzo Sacchetti*, who is first

¹ *Relazione dei Ristauri intrapresi alla gran Guglia del Duomo all' anno 1844*, p. 15, note 11a.

² *Op. cit.*, plate ix.

³ Of this MS. we have no personal knowledge, but the quotation was kindly communicated to us by Cav. Pietro da Ponte of Brescia.

⁴ Not seen, communicated by Cav. da Ponte.

⁵ It is possible that the author of the carved altarpiece of Caiolo may have been identical with "Vincentius sculptor filius Francisci Rovette," who was living in the second ward of S. Alessandro at Brescia, in 1548 (see Est. of that year, f. 95). For a Vincenzo Bresciano (?) who worked at Mantua in 1531 and 1532 under Giulio Romano, see D' Arco, *Delle Arti e degli Artefici di Mantova*, II, 119; and *Storia di G. Romano*, p. 79 note, etc.; cf. also D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, II, 433, note.

mentioned in the Custodie Notturme of 1513, and belonged to a family of painters at Brescia, six other members of which are known to us; he was still living in 1550;¹ *Vincenzo Guzzago* and *Vincenzo* son of the late Tommaso, who lived with his brother Girolamo, also a painter; both are mentioned in the same volume of the Custodie Notturme, and were still alive in the middle of the sixteenth century.² *Vincenzo* pittore and *Vincenzo Capriolo* son of the late Giovanni Battista, mentioned in the Custodie of 1525;³ *Vincenzo da Chiari* and *Vincenzo da Seriate*, who were living at Brescia in the first quarter of the sixteenth century;⁴ and *Vincenzo da Rodi*, a decorative painter working at Brescia, mentioned by Pandolfo Nassino in 1531;⁵ *Vincenzo Pacchia* and *Vincenzo Lucchini*, who flourished at Brescia after 1525.⁶ *Vincenzo da Bagnolo* son of Simone, to whom we alluded in Note 3 of this appendix, might also, as a native of Brescian territory, have called himself Vincenzo Bresciano.

Further search in the Brescian Archives would doubtless reveal the existence of other painters bearing the name Vincenzo in the first half of the sixteenth century, but for our purpose those we have mentioned will suffice.

NOTE 6. THE TECHNIQUE AND CONDITION OF FOPPA'S PICTURES IN LONDON.

(BY MRS. HERRINGHAM.)

THE picture by Foppa of the Adoration of the Wise Men in the National Gallery has darkened, but does not appear to be much repainted. As to technique, one's first judgment is that it is tempera, as there is a thinness in the paint and a prevalence of hatching in the flesh which are generally indicative of this method. Against this is the fact of the lowering of tone, which is in excess of what is usual in this method, whose great merit, as a rule, is to retain its clearness and high tone. It may possibly be caused by a discoloured varnish, but does not seem to be quite of this nature.

In the transitional period in Italy there are some pictures where the tempera handling is retained, but where the quality and substance of the pigment seem to indicate oil, which is somewhat the appearance of this picture. Oil used alone darkens badly, especially boiled oil. The great discovery in oil painting, which was not at first known to all Italians, was the use of certain varnishes mixed with the oil, which locked up the colours and prevented change. Amber varnish and balsams are of this nature, and probably the latter at least came to be much used in Italy combined with other varnishes and oils. There was endless experimenting in North Italy with complicated varnish mediums. The upper part of the Virgin's mantle has been widened on both shoulders and seems to be a later addition, and the outline of the head may also have been altered. The flesh is painted over a greenish ground and is finished with hatching which is sometimes tight and sometimes loose and stippled. There may perhaps be a little repainting, especially in the fold shadows of the drapery and in the blue robe of the Virgin. The methods of the gold work in this picture are as follows: The collars of the kings' robes and the vases they hold are gilt with gold leaf toned with

¹ Cust. Nott., 1513, f. 148 v.

³ C. N., 1525, f. 53.

⁵ *Registro, etc.*, f. 276.

² Cust. Nott., 1513, f. 174 and 293.

⁴ See Fenaroli, *op. cit.*, pp. 306, 315.

⁶ Fenaroli, pp. 310, 312.

glazes. This leaf gilding may underlie the whole of the three kings' robes and the borders of the draperies, as it certainly does the white robe where the horizontal lines of the pattern are made by scratching down to it through the paint with a pointed instrument. At the present time, however, the rich brocade pattern on the tawny robe is ground gold paint put on with a brush. This may be seen near the leaf-gilt collar as some strokes overlap it, and all over this drapery there seem to be indications of gold lines underneath the present work. The enrichment of the red dress may be partly gold recovered by scraping, and partly brush work. There are a few brush touches on the white robe. It seems probable that this brush work, which is paler in colour than the rest, is a restoration. The gilding of the collars is laid over embossed plaster work, and precious stones are simulated in this by small sunk hollows glazed with appropriate colours to represent rubies and sapphires. The brush method is the usual accompaniment of oil-painting, and the gold leaf method, of tempera. Gold patterns are sometimes also laid on the surface of the picture (especially in tempera) by painting the design with an adhesive mordant and pressing the leaf upon it which, of course, only remains where there is this preparation.

The fresco in the Wallace Collection presents a different technique, which of course is inevitable. In tempera the flesh is always hatched. The treatment in fresco is bolder and much more *au premier coup* and blended. This is fine work of the best quality on rough plaster. The head and face, which are in perfect condition, are very admirably painted with both freedom and delicacy. The construction of the features and the texture and massing of the hair, especially the angle where it divides on the forehead, recall the angel on the left in the Brera altarpiece. The hand on the book is much damaged. The outline of the right hand is blurred, and there is an injury to the first finger; otherwise it is in good condition, and is a well-painted hand, and seems of the same type as the hands of the Brera altarpiece. The red overdress seems to be original work. The blue of the underdress is painted originally in all probability with a bluish terra-verde, but seems to have been a little retouched on the right arm with a water-colour blue pigment or distemper, and perhaps also on the right leg. The blue of the leg on the bench appears to be only terra-verde. To obtain a blue effect with a greenish pigment may seem impossible of belief to the uninitiated, nevertheless it can be done.

There is water-colour retouching on the upper pile of books, but not on the open book nor on the one beneath it. The foot which is on the seat is much injured. The right foot is in good condition except a mark across the toe; and the stone seat is also in good condition. The landscape is fine in quality and well preserved; the tree edges are probably painted in original tempera, but except for this there is throughout the clearness and transparency of fresco proper as opposed to tempera. The architecture on the left and the pavement are the least satisfactory and suggest the possibility of some thin distemper washes by a restorer; but it is not easy to be certain. The black lines in the pavement are rather rigid and unsympathetic. In many places there are cracks which have been carefully tinted with distemper colour which slightly overpasses the edge of the cracks, and there are many fine cracks not tinted. Numerous little holes are filled up, but there is nothing which destroys the clear tone of the fresco. Here and there the surface has lost some quality through age and has a blurred look.

APPENDIX II, A

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO FOPPA

1. Signature and date of the picture of the Crucifixion at Bergamo.

April, 1456.

MCCCCLVI Die Mensis Aprilis Vincencius Brixienis pinxit.

Accademia Carrara, No. 154.

Chap. I, p. 16.

2. Vincenzo Foppa and Paolo de Calino, painters, settle their debit and credit accounts with Nicolò de' Franceschi of Venice.

May 15, 1458, Pavia.

Confessio generalis facta per magistrum Nicolaum de Francischo, filium quondam domini Georgii, civem et habitorem civitatis Venetiarum, versus Vincentium de Fopa, filium quondam Johannis et versus Paulum de Calino filium quondam Petri, ambos pictores, cives et habitores civitatis Brixie, ibi presentes. . . . se ipsum magistrum Nicolaum habuisse et recepisse ab ipsis Vincentio et Paulo libras viginti duas, solidos novem et denarium unum imperiales . . . pro plena . . . solutione et satisfactione totius eius quod ipse magister Nicolaus a dictis Vincentio et Paulo habere debet . . . quovis modo . . . ab hodie retro. Et versa vice suprascripti Vincentius de Fopa et Paulus de Calino . . . confitentur versus dictum magistrum Nicolaum de Francischo presentem . . . sese ab eo habuisse et recepisse plenam . . . satisfactionem totius eius quod ipsi Vincentius et Paulus ab ipso magistro Nicolao habere debent . . . quovis modo . . . ab hodie retro. . . . Et hanc confessionem . . . faciunt . . . renuntiando prius cuidam compromisso per ipsas partes facto in egregium iuris utriusque doctorem dominum Jacobum de Codatiis, de quo rogatum fuit instrumentum, anno, indictione et mense presentibus, per Dominichum de Tinctoribus notarium papiensem, etc.

MCCCCLVIII, indictione sexta, die quintodecimo mensis maij, hora tertiarum . . . Testes : magister Jacobus de Tibolderiis de Mortario, caligarius, filius quondam magistri Otti, habitator Papie ; Franciscus de Tibolderiis, speziarius, filius suprascripti magistri Jacobi et Jacobinus de Meliis, pictor, filius quondam Johannis similiter habitator Papie. In civitate Papie, videlicet in domo habitationis suprascripti magistri Jacobi de Tibolderiis, sita in Porta Laudensi, in Parochia S. Martini in Petra Lata.

Archivio Notarile di Pavia, Atti di Giov. Ludovico Strazzapatti.

Moiraghi, *Almanacco Sacro di Pavia*, 1897, pp. 305, 333.¹

Chap. I, p. 26.

¹ The references are in every case to the archives where the document in question is preserved and to the writer who first published it ; where several publications are referred to it

3. Contract of Vincenzo Foppa with the Priors of the Confraternity of St. John Baptist at Genoa to paint the chapel dedicated to the saint in the cathedral in that city.

January 2, 1461, Genoa.

In Nomine Domini amen. Nicolaus Adurnus et Lazarus de Auria Priores Devotionis almi Johannis Baptiste ac Antonius Gentilis et Lucianus de Rocha, Priores de Vetero parte una, et Magister Vincentius de Bressia, parte altera, sponte, etc. . . . dictus Magister Vincentius promisit dictis Prioribus . . . depingere Capellam Sancti Johannis Baptiste in Ecclesia Januensi existentem, tam in facie quam in cello ipsius capelle, bene et de illis figuris et imaginibus etc. prout dictis Prioribus placuerit; in qua pictura promisit quosvis colores et alia convertere ex ipsius Vincentii pecunia, exceptis argento et auro que dicti Priores promiserunt tradere dicto Magistro Vincentio in ea summa de qua eisdem placuerit: et pro cuius quidem picture pretio et mercede dicti Vincentii, habere debeat ipse magister tantum quantum dictis Prioribus videbitur et placuerit, et pro quo pretio dictus Magister Vincentius se remisit eorum discretionis et arbitrio. Et quod quidem laborerium promisit dictus Magister Vincentius inchoare in Kalendis Aprilis et ipsum perficere bene. Hoc acto quod casu quo dicti Domini Priores intra dictas Kalendas Aprilis reperirent alium Magistrum Pictorem, qui eis magis idoneus videretur ipso Vincentio, teneatur dictus Vincentius tradere et restituere dictis Prioribus ducatos quindecim auri eidem solutos pro arra seu caparra dicti laborerii: et pro ipsis restituendis intercessit Gaspar de Aqua sub etc. . . . Millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo, die Veneris secunda Januarii, in Ecclesia Januensi, videlicet intra dictam Capellam, etc.¹

Archivio Notarile di Genova, Atti di Oberto Foglietta, fogl. 7, 1461.

Santo Varni in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, Vol. IV, p. 23.

Alizeri, I, 354, 355.

Chap. I, p. 29.

4. The Duke of Milan recommends Vincenzo Foppa to the Doge of Genoa and to the Priors of the Confraternity of St. John Baptist, upon the master returning to Genoa to continue the paintings which he had begun there in the Chapel of St. John Baptist.

June 28, 1461, Milan.

Illustrissimo Domino Duci Janue.

Accedit istuc Vincentius de Foppa, pictor, harum exhibitor, qui quidem in hac sua arte, nostri scientia, est valde peritus: ut operi, quod in capella devotionis sancti Johannis Baptiste illius vestre civitatis incepit, diligentius intendat. Quem, etsi vestre illustrissime Dominationi commendatum efficere minime oportere arbitremur, quoniam ex subditis nostris est, quos ut suos Dominationem Vestram eque diligere

usually indicates that the document has been reprinted in a corrected form, or more fully discussed, by a later writer.

¹ The following entry also occurs in the *Index Foliatii Notariorum* (Genoa), Vol. I, rubr. Varia Notabilia 1460, 1461: Priores devotionis sancti Johannis Baptistae mandant magistro Vincentio de Bressa pictori quod pingat capellam dicti sancti in ecclesia januensi tam in facie quam in coelo.

non ambigimus, tamen, ut eius requisitionibus faciamus satis, et quia sic sua in picturis virtus et in nos fides ac devotio exposcit, illum, quo majori possumus studio, in cunctis negotiis suis, Excellentie Vestre commendamus, gratum habituri quicquid favoris et commodi sibi, cum honestate et equitate, Dominatio Vestra impartietur, ad cuius quoque beneplacita sumus ex animo parati. Mediolani, 28 Junii, 1461.

In simili forma scriptum fuit Nicolosio Adurno et Lazarolo de Auria Prioribus Devotionis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Janue.

Arch. di Stato Milano, Missive Ducali anno 1461, No. 52, f. 48.

Caffi in *Arch. Storico Lombardo*, 1878, p. 104.

Chap. 1, p. 30.

5. Vincenzo Foppa and two other painters at Genoa settle a dispute between the painter Gaspare dell' Acqua and his apprentice Giovanni di Gazzo.

September 15, 1461, Genoa.

. . . Joh. de Gazo, pictor . . . pretendit habere debere ab ipso Gaspare de l'Acqua pictore, pro suo salario et mercede, postquam dictus Johannes fuerit etatis convenientis ad laborandum de arte picturarum et fabricandum cofanos, usque in diem presentem etc. . . . et se compromiserunt et plenum, liberum ac generale compromissum . . . faciunt in Bernardum Regem, Octobonum de Anono et Vincentium de Brescia, pictores in Janua.

Arch. Not. Genova. Rog. Antonio Fazio seniore, Fogliaz. 19, 1460-62, f. 251.

Alizeri, II, 412.

Chap. 1, p. 31.

6. Inscription, signature, and date on the painting executed by Foppa in the Church of the Carmine at Pavia, commissioned by Count Battista Malletta, Abbot of Morimondo.

May, 1462, Pavia.

Istud opus Baptista Comes celeberrime condens
Digne monasterii Morimundi Malleta pastor
In Christi eterno Genitricis honore Marie
Te facis eternum divinis laudibus unus.
Vincentius de Foppa pinxit anno 1462 de mense Maii.

Bossi, *Memoriae Ticinenses Novantiquae*, f. 196. MS., Biblioteca Universitaria, Pavia.

Robolini, VI, 183.

Chap. II, p. 32.

7. Letter of the Duke, Francesco Sforza, commanding his representative at Pavia to find Foppa and send him to Milan.

June 10, 1462, Milan.

Dux Mediolani, etc. Referendario Civitatis Papie.

Perché havemo casone de adoperare un pocho in alcune nostre cose uno magistro Vincentio de Bressa, depinctore in quella nostra città, volimo che subito lo faci ritrovare

et deinde lo faci venire qui da nuij et cum lui insieme ne manda moza uno et mezo de gesso, facendo fare capo el dicto depinctore et così consignare questo gesso ad Papio nostro Camerero. Mediolani, die 10 iunij, 1462.

Arch. di Stato Mil., Miss. Duc., 1462, f. 339 v.

Caffi in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 104.

Chap. II, p. 37.

As we desire to employ in certain affairs of ours a Master Vincenzo of Brescia, painter, who is living in our city of Pavia, we command you to find him at once and to send him to us here; send with him also a measure and a half of plaster, and bid him deliver it at Milan to Papio our servant.

8. Vincenzo Foppa takes a house with a workshop at Pavia for four years.

July 15, 1462, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo, indicione decima, die quinto decimo mensis Julii, hora none, in civitate Papie, videlicet in studio . . . domini Mathei de Nazariis, Porte Laudensis, Parochie sancte Marie Venetice. Ibique, etc. Nobilis vir Johannes Dominichus de Oliariis, filius quondam spectabilis juris utriusque doctoris domini Augustini Pauli, sponte . . . locat a festo sancti Michaelis proxime futuro usque ad annos quatuor exinde proxime futuros, magistro Vincencio de Fopa, pictori brisiensi, ibi presenti, etc. nominative domum unam muratam, cupatam et solariatam, sitam in Papia in Porta Laudensi in Parochia sancti Martini in Petra Lata Papie, cum apotheca una, cui coheret a duabus partibus strata et ab aliis partibus monasterium S. Martini in Petra Lata, de qua est investitus ipse Johannes Dominichus a Johanne Antonio de Riciis ad novennium . . . ad solvendum omni anno de pensione florenos decem . . . per terminos infrascriptos, videlicet florenos novem in principio quorumlibet sex mensium. . . Et inde, etc. Presentibus Johanne Bertolameo de Canevariis; Georgio de Nuceto dicto de Giapinis filio quondam Domini Johannis et Magistro Leonardo de Vidolengis de Marzano pictore, inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gio. Bartolomeo Gandello.

Chap. II, p. 37.

9. Letter of the Duke ordering Foppa to come to Milan without delay.

March 3, 1463, Milan.

Dux Mediolani, etc. Vincentio de Brissia, pictori in Papia.

Volimo che, ricevute queste, debij venire qua da nuy et porti con ti quello quadro havesti da Papi nostro camerero per far una figura de Nostra Dona per nuy, o fornita o non fornita che sia, perché te volemo adoperar in altre nostre cose. Si che veni via subito con dicto quadro. Mediolani, III Martij, 1463.

Arch. di St. Mil., Miss. Duc., No. 58, f. 235 v.

Incorrectly given by Caffi, *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 99; republished *Arte*, 1900, p. 145, and *Pittori Lomb.*, p. 156, by F. Malaguzzi Valeri.

Chap. II, p. 38.

To Vincenzo of Brescia, painter at Pavia. We command that on receipt of this you are to come to us here, bringing with you that picture which you received from Papi our servant and which was to serve as your model in making a representation of Our Lady for us, whether your own is finished or not; because we desire to employ you in other works for us. Therefore come at once with the said picture.

10. Payment to Foppa for paintings in the great Cloister of the Certosa, near Pavia.

April 9, 1465, Pavia (Certosa).

Magistro Vincentio de Fopa, pictori, pro certis prophetis factis pro clauistro magno et certis aliis figuris, in summa librarum 2.

Registro di spese, fol. 71, a. 1463-66.

Caffi in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 99, note 19.

Beltrami, *Certosa di Pavia*, Milano, 1895, p. 62.

Chap. III, p. 70.

11. The Duke of Milan to the Commissioners of the building of S. Maria delle Grazie at Monza.

May 12, 1466, Milan.

Dux Mediolani, etc. Deputatis Fabrice Ecclesie Sancte Marie de gratiis, Modoetie.

Vene li da voi el presente exhibitore, mandato da noi, Maestro Vincentio, quale dipintore dè pingere la maestà facciamo fare ad Sancta Maria dalle gratie li. Siamo contenti et volimo li dagati ducati vinti doro: et lui ne ha promisso di fornire dicta maestà ad tutte sue spese senza domandare più denari sino a tanto che lui non habia fornita tutta dicta opera, siché exequireti quanto de sopra è dicto, expedindolo prestissimo. Mediolani, 12 Maij, 1466.

Arch. di St. Mil., Miss. fascicoli staccati, f. 246.

Caffi, *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 105; *Arte*, 1900, 145.

Chap. III, p. 72.

Master Vincenzo, the bearer of this letter sent by us, is coming to you, which painter is to execute the Majestas which we are having painted in your Church of S. Maria delle Grazie. It is our will and desire that you pay him twenty gold ducats and he undertakes to furnish the said work at his own expense and to ask for no further remuneration until the whole is completed. Therefore you are to see to all that is herein set forth without delay.

12. Letter from Foppa to Pigello Portinari asking for a recommendation to the Duchess Bianca Maria in order that he may be enabled to buy property at Pavia, although he has not as yet acquired the rights of citizenship.

June 22, 1467, Pavia.

Magnifico Miser Pigello. Io mando da voi Bartolomeo mio cogniato. Prego la Magnificencia Vostra me voglia far havere una littera da la Signoria de Madona de

potere acquistare così come cittadino de Pavia in Pavia, avixando la Magnificentia Vostra che io haveria fato fare la littera da quelli de Provoxione como cittadino. Ma el me costaria dieci fiorini et quelli dinari me bixognieno in altro. Unde ho havuto consiglio che mediante la Magnificentia Vostra haveria littere da la Signoria de Madona de potere acquistare et uxare li statuti et decreti secondo li boni cittadini de Pavia, perchè più adaxio me farò fare cittadino. Non altro al presente, me ricomando sempre a la Magnificentia Vostra. Ex Papia, die xxii Iunii, 1467. Vester fidelissimus Servitor in omnibus

VINCENTIUS DE FOPA cum recomendatione.

Arch. di St. Mil., Autografi, Pittori, V. Foppa.

Memorie e Documenti per la Storia di Pavia, 1898, fasc. IV-V, p. 96.

Chap. III, p. 73.

Illustrious Messer Pigello. I am sending to you Bartolomeo my brother-in-law. I beg that your Excellency will deign to procure for me a letter from the Duchess which will enable me to acquire property at Pavia as though I were a citizen. I would inform your Excellency at the same time that I might have obtained such a letter from the Council of Pavia, but it would have cost me 10 florins, which money I require for other things. Therefore I was advised to apply to your Excellency in order that I might receive letters from her Highness the Duchess enabling me now to acquire property and to benefit by the statutes and ordinances enjoyed by good citizens of Pavia and later on I shall cause myself to be made a citizen. No more for the present. I commend myself always to your Excellency. From Pavia, the xxii day of June, 1467.

Your faithful servant in all things,

VINCENTIUS DE FOPA.

13. Letters Patent of Bianca Maria, Duchess of Milan, authorizing Vincenzo Foppa to acquire real estate in Pavian territory as freely as if he were a true born citizen of Pavia.

June 27, 1467, Milan.

Ducissa Mediolani, etc. Papie Anglerieque comitissa ac Janue et Cremone domina. Volentes nostra complecti humanitate dilectum nostrum Vincentium de Fopa, eiusque requisitionibus annuere, cum valde plurimumque optet emere et acquirere aliqua bona immobilia in civitate Papie seu eius territorio, ex nunc, harum serie, ex certa scientia et de nostre plenitudine potestatis, ac omnibus modo, iure, via, causa et forma, quibus melius et validius et efficacius possumus, eidem Vincentio licentiam damus, concedimus et impertimur emendi et quod emere, contrahere et acquirere possit in Civitate nostra predicta sive eius territorio, quecumque bona immobilia, ubicumque voluerit et ei opus fuerit, ceteraque pro premissis adimplendis facere et agere tam in iudicio quam extra, ac possit et valeat uti et gaudere beneficio statutorum, decretorum, ordinamentorum et cridarum editorum super bonis immobilibus vendendis, sic et quemadmodum civis, incola et originarius dicte nostre Civitatis Papie et qui occurrentia ibi onera suferunt, supportant et contribuunt: aliquibus statutis, decretis, ordinibus et provisionibus in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus, quibus et in quantum premissis obviarent, vel aliter formam darent, derogamus et derogatum esse volumus et iubemus: supplentes, tenore presentium, omni defectui cuiuslibet solempnitatis que dici posset in premissis

fuisse servanda. Mandantes Potestati, Refferendario et Presidentibus negotiis dicte nostre civitatis Papie ceterisque omnibus officialibus et subditis nostris, ad quos spectat et spectabit quomodolibet in futurum, quatenus has nostras observent literas et faciant inviolabiliter observari, sub indignationis nostre pena. In quorum testimonium presentes fieri jussimus et registrari, nostrique sigilli impressione muniri. Dat. Mediolani, die xxvii Junii, MCCCCLXVII.

Original lost; a contemporary copy was in the possession of the late Don Pietro Moiraghi, and is now in the Episcopal Seminary at Pavia.

Alman. Sacr., 1897, p. 340.

Chap. III, p. 74.

14. Letters Patent of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, appointing Vincenzo Foppa an honorary member of his household, exempting him from taxation, and granting to him and two companions a safe-conduct for six years.

September 26, 1468, Abbiate.

Galeaz Maria Sfortia Vicecomes Dux Mediolani, etc. Sic exigentibus virtutibus et peritia in arte pincture, nec non fide et devotione erga nos et statum nostrum dilecti nostri Magistri Vincentii de Foppa, illum ad servitia nostra assumpsimus ac presentium tenore assumimus, in familiaremque nostrum acceptavimus et acceptamus: Volentes et decernentes quod is omnibus illis gaudeat et potiatur honoribus, dignitatibus, immunitatibus et prerogativis, quibus ceteri familiares nostri gaudent et potiuntur, ac potiri et gaudere posse noscuntur. Cumque aliquando contingat eidem familiari nostro se hinc inde et per varias orbis partes conferre, cupientes eius iter ubique liberum et expeditum fore, harum serie illustrissimos dominos patres, fratres, amicos et benivolos quoscumque nostros attente rogamus, officialibus vero et subditis nostris omnibus injungimus et mandamus, quatenus, memoratum Magistrum Vincentium presentium ostensorem, cum comitiva personarum duarum equestrium vel pedestrium, suisque armis, arnisiis, bulgiis, valixiis, rebus et bonis omnibus, tam per terram quam per aquam, ac per omnes passus, portus, pontes, civitates, terras, oppida et loca libere et expedite ac sine alicuius datii, pedagii, fundinavis et bulletarum solutione ac cuiusvis alterius oneris exactione, ad sui beneplacitum transire permittant et omnino patiantur, si et prout opus fuerit et duxerit requirendum, ac eum in ceteris omnibus bene tractent et propitie suscipiant comendatum. Quod quidem gratum admodum sumus habituri et vices nostras in similibus et maioribus responsuri. Presentibus ad annos sex valituris, servatis ordinibus nostris super facto pestis. Datum Abiate, die xxvi septembris, 1468.

Arch. di St. Mil., Miss. Duc., No. 44, f. 91 (Uffizi, Immunità, Patenti, 1468-69).

Malaguzzi Valeri, *Pitt. Lomb.*, 161.

Chap. III, p. 74.

15. The Duke of Milan to the Podestà and the Council of Twelve at Pavia, commanding them to elect Vincenzo Foppa a citizen free of all charge, and alluding to the fact that the painter had already bought a house at Pavia.

October 14, 1468. Novara.

Dux Mediolani, etc., Potestati et Presidentibus negotiis civitatis Nostre Papie.

Siamo informati come già dodeci anni passati maestro Vincenzo da Fopa depinctore fa continua residentia in quella nostra cità con la dona, figlioli e famegli et suis, et sé ellecto dicta nostra cità per sua abitatione et patria et benchè la Ill^{ma} Madonna nostra madre altre volte gli habia concesso lettere de potergli acquistare, et già se habia comprato una casa et se posa considerare citadino per tanta lunga dimora, secondo li ordini de quella nostra cità, nondimanco ello, ad sua satisfatione, desidera ancora essere creato et electo per vuy. Il perchè avendo nuy piena notitia de le virtute de dicto maestro Vincentio, quale nel mestero suo non ha chi lo antecede, oltra li suoi optimi costumi et civile vivere, ne pare che, non solamente ve doveressevo contentare de satisfare ad questa voluntà sua, ma fargli ogni commoditate, perchè quella nostra cità se lo acquisti posendo cedere se non ad suo grande ornamento. Et però volimo et ve mettiamo che vuy, insieme cum altritanti adiuncti citadini, elegiate et costituate concive vostro et citadino de quella nostra cità dicto maestro Vincencio, con quela solemnità se rechiede, liberamente et senza alcuna spesa, che ne serà grata et del tucto per questa nostra, ex nunc prout (ex tunc), confirmamo et approvamo. Data Novariae, die xiv octobris, 1468.

Arch. di St. Mil., Miss. Duc., No. 82, 1468, f. 98.

Alman. Sacr., p. 343.

Chap. III, p. 74.

The Duke of Milan to the Podestà and Council of our City of Pavia. We have been informed that for the past twelve years Master Vincenzo da Fopa the painter has continually resided in this our city with his wife, his sons, his assistants and all his belongings, and has chosen this our city for his habitation and home. And though the illustrious Duchess our mother granted him letters to enable him to acquire property, and he has already bought a house, and may consider himself a citizen, for his long residence there, according to the ordinances of our city, nevertheless for his own satisfaction he desires to be elected and created a citizen by you. Therefore we, having full knowledge of the merits of the said Master Vincenzo, who in his profession is surpassed by none, and of his virtuous and law-abiding habits, consider that you should not only accede to his wish in this matter, but should also meet him in every way, so that you may possess him as a fellow-citizen, which would redound greatly to the honour of Pavia. We therefore desire and command that you (of the Council of Twelve), together with the same number of members of the General Council,¹ do elect and institute as your fellow-citizen and citizen of this our City, the said Master Vincenzo with all the necessary formalities but without any expense, which thing will be pleasing to us, and we now do ratify and approve it with this our letter. From Novara, October 14, 1468.

¹ The Council of Twelve under the presidency of the Podestà managed the ordinary business of the Commune, and was designated the Consiglio di Provvisione. For business of special importance the Twelve convoked the General Council, whose members were called Cittadini Aggiunti.

16. Foppa appears as a witness.

February 6, 1469, Pavia.

In clauastro ecclesie Sancte Marie Canonice Gualterii . . . Papie . . . the following painters are present as witnesses to a deed for the division of certain lands between the priest Giovanni Antonio Cattaneo de Brignano and his brother George; Magistro Vincentio de Fopa de Brisia, pictore, filio quondam Magistri Johannis et Antonio de Rovatis pictore, filio quondam domini Uberti testibus notis, etc.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Guiniforte Strazzapatti.

Chap. III, p. 77.

17. Vincenzo Foppa applies by letter for permission to execute paintings in the Campo Santo at Pisa, but arrangements having already been made with Benozzo Gozzoli, his offer was declined.

1469.

Vincenzo da Brescia chiede con lettera di poter venire a lavorarvi (Campo Santo Pisa), ma perchè l'Opera avea provveduto a Benozzo, si li rispuosse non venisse, e diessi detti soldi 11, perchè la lettera diceva così.

Pisa, Archivio del Capitolo, filza A, f. 48.

Supino, *Il Campo Santo di Pisa*, p. 28.

Chap. III, pp. 76, 77.

18. Foppa takes a house at Pavia for four years.

June 15, 1470, Pavia.

. . . In civitate Papie, videlicet in apotheca draparie infrascripti Gregorii, sita in Porta Pertuxii, in Parochia Sancti Georgii in Fenarollo . . . nobilis vir dominus Gregorius de Sancto Gregorio, filius quondam domini Steffani, civis et habitator et mercator Papie, . . . concedit et locat ad pensionem . . . a kalendis Julii proxime futuris usque ad finitum tempus locacionis facte ipsi domino Gregorio de infrascripta domo per dominam Magdalenam de Pischatoribus relictam quondam Job de Mirachis . . . et que durat et durare debet a kalendis februarii proxime preteritis usque ad quatuor annos proxime futuros, magistro Vincentio de Fopa de Mediolano, pictori, filio quondam magistri Johannis, habitatori Papie, ibi presenti . . . nominative domum unam muratam, cupatam et sollariatam, cum curia seu orto, canepa, puteo, et aliis suis edificiis, sitam in Papia in Porta Marengia, in Parochia Sancti Gregorii, cui coheret a duabus partibus strata publica, ab alia teragium dicte civitatis, et ab alia illi de Guargualis, . . . Et versa vice suprascriptus magister Vincentius . . . promittit dicto domino Gregorio . . . solvere pro pensione . . . suprascripte domus . . . singulo anno . . . florenos tredecim monete currentis, ad computum soldorum xxxii imperialium pro singulo floreno, solvendo pro medietate in principio quorumlibet sex mensium, cum pactis . . . in dicta locacione facta per ipsum dominum Gregorium contentis respectu expensarum fiendarum et necessariorum in dicta domo . . . Et insuper ipse dominus Gregorius . . . confitetur versus dictum magistrum Vincentium presentem . . . se ab eo . . . recepissee florenos sex cum dimidio . . . pro pensione

primorum sex mensium presentis locacionis, etc., et inde, etc. Presentibus Augustino de Campixe filio domini Antonii, magistro Johanne de Abiate filio quondam magistri Petri et Michaelle de Varzio giapuzio filio quondam Bernardi, habitatoribus Papie, inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Guiniforte Strazzapatti.
Chap. III, p. 77.

19. (1) Vincenzo Foppa agrees to paint the Chapel of St. John Baptist at Genoa and receives, as earnest money, forty ducats, which he binds himself to repay in case of non-fulfilment of contract.

July 12, 1471, Genoa.

Vincentius de Fopa de Brisia, pictor, qui promisit pingere capellam Sancti Johannis Baptiste, juxta compositionem captam vigore instrumenti hodie confecti manu Philippi de Bonaver, et cui debent mutuari ducatos quadraginta, promisit mihi notario stipulanti restituere dictos ducatos quadraginta casu quo non adimpleret contenta in dicto instrumento, sub, etc. 1471, die xii Julii.

Manuale de' Decreti, Arch. di S. Giorgio, Genova, 1471-74.
Belgrano, *Arte in Italia*, Vol. I, p. 72, 1869.
Aliz., I, 356, 357.

(2) Receipt by Vincenzo Foppa for 10 ducats for the above work.

6 November, 1471, Genoa.

Ego Magister Vincentius de Fopa, pictor, confiteor recepisse a domino Petro Paulo de Marinis, solvente domino Petro Frevante,¹ die 6 novembris, ducatos decem sive lib. 27 et sol. 10.

Manuale, etc., Aliz., I, 357.
Chap. III, p. 78.

20. Letter of Bartolomeo Gadio to Simonetta the Ducal Secretary stating that he is sending Vincenzo (Foppa) and his colleagues to lay before the Duke designs for painting the Ancona and the ceiling of the Chapel in the Castle of Pavia.

June 8, 1474, Milan.

Magnifico Messere . . .

. . . Ceterum, mando dal nostro illustrissimo Signore Magistri Vincentio, Zaneto et Bonifatio da Cremona, depinctori, con el dessigno della truina della Capella lì e del anchona per chiarirse con Soa Signoria in che modo se ha a depingere et ornare lanchona et la capella, secondo che per l' alligata gli scrivo. Pertanto prego Vostra Magnificentia li volia mettere nanti a Soa Excellentia, et poy me faza avisare della

¹ The Prior of the Confraternity of St. John Baptist and also one of the Syndics of the Bank of St. George at Genoa.

deliberatione che quella haverà facta et così quali depinctori vorà se togliano a depingerla, che eseguirò quanto intenda essere de mente de Soa Signoria. . . . Me recomando, etc. Eiusdem Vestre Magnificentie servitor,

Mediolani, die 8 Junii, 1474.

BERTHOLOMEUS DE CREMONA.

Arch. di Stato Milano, Autografi, Ingegneri Architetti, B. Gadio.

Magenta, II, No. 377, p. 366.

Chap. iv, p. 98.

I am sending to the Duke our illustrious lord, Masters Vincenzo, Zanetto and Bonifazio da Cremona the painters, with the design for the ceiling of the Chapel there, and for the ancona, in order to come to a clear understanding with his Highness as to how the Chapel and the ancona are to be painted and decorated, as I am informing the Duke in the enclosed letter. Therefore I beg your Worship to introduce them into the presence of his Excellency and then to communicate to me the Duke's decision, informing me also which painters he desires to employ so that I may act according to the wish of his Highness. . . .

Your servant, etc.,

Milan, June 8, 1474.

BARTOLOMEO DA CREMONA.

21. Bartolomeo Gadio to the Duke, relating to the painting of the Chapel and the Ancona of Pavia.

June 8, 1474. Milan.

Ill^{mo} et excell. Sig. mio.

Laltro dì mandai li a Pavia magistri Vincentio, Bonifatio da Cremona et Jacobino Vicemala depinctori per videre quella anchona et la Capella per fare li dessigni et le previxione della spexa va ad ornarle et depingerle. Quali hano facto dicti dessigni et previxione, cioè il dessigno de l' anchona in duy modi : l' uno d' oro et l' altro de biacha bornita, perfilata d' oro, con uno architrave per caduno quadro de dicta anchona, quale se haverà a fare d' oro o vero de biacha come se ornerà l' anchona, del quale architrave sive architravi non fu mai facto alchuna previxione nè parlato se non mo, che li depinctori dicono che l'anchona non staria ben senza essi architravi. Della truina della Cappella hano facto el dessigno in uno sollo modo, cioè de azzurro con una colombina nel ragio ; della quale truina similmente may non fu parlato nè facto previxione ; pur intendo che altramente non staria bene. Sicchè, adciochè la Vostra Ill^{ma} Sig^{ria} possa determinare et deliberare quale modo delli dicti duy se habia a servare et depingere et ornare la dicta anchona, mando da quella magistri Vincentio, Zanetto et Bonifatio depinctori ut supra, con li dicti dessigni. Ma ad ciò che V. Excellentia intenda la spexa circha che andará a fare ornare et depingere le dicte anchona et truina, avisola prima, che volendo ornare l' anchona d' oro secondo il dessigno, gli anderà de spexa secondo la dicta previxione¹ . . . computati li 200 Sancti che se li hano a pingere et l' ornamento delle 200 capsette, circa ducati 1506 q. 1 . . . a fare li architravi d' oro et la truina como sta nel dessigno andará¹ . . . circa ducati 662 omnibus computatis. Volendo mo fare la dicta anchona ne l' altro modo, cioè de biacha bornita et perfilata d' oro, gli andará circa ducati 1175, et a fare li architravi pur de biacha bornita et

¹ Now illegible in the original.

perfilata d' oro gli anderà circa ducati 155 et ornare il balchone de dicta Capella li andarà, secondo loro dicono, circa ducati 50. Delli quali dinari gli ne sarà da spendere de l' assignatione, che fu ducati 2000, circa ducati 1000. Li altre mille ducati son spexi tutti in intalii de lignami de dicta anchona. Sichè bisognerà che delli dinari mancharano, Vostra Signoria gli rangia como gli parerà, et deliberà quali depinctori habbiano a pingere la dicta anchona;¹ perchè tutti quelli di Milano et li perfetti et li imperfetti rechedono di dipingerla et me ne dano gran tedio, et volendo la V. Signoria sapere quale son quelli che son boni a questa opera, Magistro Vicenzo gli lo dirà, perchè onia dipinctore non gli è bono. Appresso, perchè le capsette de dicta ancona sono 200 et io non ho avuto inscripto più como 80 relique et intendo dal Signor Conte Johanne . . . essergline de molte minute et piccole, delle quale bisognerà mettere insieme 4, 5 et sei, vorria sapere da Vostra Signoria quali sancti se harano a depingere sopra li spazii de quelle tale capsette dove serano queste diverse reliquie che ad mi pararia, parendo a Vostra Sig^{ria}, se li depingesseno li principali di quelle reliquie, mettendoli però inscripto il nome di tutti li sancti che harano parte d' esse, secondo che anche intendarà da dicti depinctori, nondimeno mi governarò sicondo al parere de Vostra Sig^{ria}, avvisandola che qui fazo lavorare dui magistri circa gli intagli vano a l' ornato et ligato del balchono et più non gli n' è che li sapisse lavorare. Al qual balchono se fa una bella invidriata con un Cristo in Resurrectione, quale presto sarà fornita. Quam primum Vostra Signoria habia mo' deliberato in che modo se habia a depingere la dicta anchona, non se li perdarà tempo, purché li denari che restano de l' assignatione quali erano contanti et mo' sono assignati in debitori quali ha lassato dominus Gabriele Paliaro alli Magistri delle vostre Intrade da . . . se posseno scodere, che per me non mancharà a sollicitare et far sollicitare li Magistri che se scodano per exequire quanto Vostra Signoria ha ordinato se ne faccia. Nel antedicta spexa non è computata la copertina che anderà a torno a dicta anchona, che coprirà le figure e le reliquie. Ma ho ordinato a dicti depinctori debiano vedere la spexa andarà a fare la dicta copertina senza la depinctura, et però intendano da quella quello vole se li depinga suxo, et vedano quanto potrà montare in tutto. Non è anche computato in dicta spexa quelle figure se harano a depingere nel spatio è fra l' anchona e li architravi, secondo dirano a V^a Sig^{ria} dicti depinctori, quali con il dessigno gli mostraranno dicto spatio per sapere quello se li habia a depingere dentro. Et benchè dinante gabia data tutta la spexa po' andare a depingere et ornare l' anchona et la capella, se ni starà però, fornita opera, alla stima sarà facta per tri o quattro altri depinctori, secondo sè facto per el passato, perchè le dicte previxione non son facte per fermo inditio. Facio anchora fare le dicte 200 capsette, quale presto serano fornite, et fornite che siano, le farò fodrare de sandalo, quale me farò dare da Gottardo secondo disse la V^a Ill^{ma} Sig^{ria}, alla quale umilmente me recomando. Eiusdem dominationis vestre servitor

Mediolani, die 8 Junii, 1474.

BERTHOLOMEUS DE CREMONA.

Arch. di Stato Milano, Ingegn. etc., B. Gadio, *id.*

Magenta, II, No. 376.

Chap. IV, p. 98.

¹ Now illegible in the original.

² This passage can still be deciphered, though it is in a very bad state.

My Illustrious and Excellent Lord.

The other day I sent to Pavia Masters Vincenzo, Bonifacio da Cremona, and Jacobino Vicemala the painters, to see that ancona and the chapel, in order to make designs, and an estimate of the cost of adorning and painting it; which masters have now made the said designs and the estimate, that is to say, the designs for the ancona in two different ways: one in gold, the other in white, burnished and outlined in gold, with an architrave for each compartment of the said ancona, which architrave is to be either in gold, or in white, according to the ornamentation of the ancona. The architrave or architraves have never before been taken into consideration, nor have they ever been discussed till now, but the painters say the ancona will not look well without them. For the ceiling of the chapel they have made only one design, that is with the dove surrounded by rays, on a blue background; which ceiling has never been taken into account either, but I hear that it would not look well in any other way. Therefore, in order that your Excellency may decide which of the two designs is to be adopted for the painting and decorating of the said ancona, I am sending these masters, Vincenzo, Zanetto, and Bonifacio, the painters named above, with the said designs. But in order that your Excellency may understand the relative cost of adorning and painting the ancona and the ceiling, I would observe in the first place that to decorate the ancona with gold as in the design would cost according to the estimate . . . including the 200 saints which are to be painted and the ornamentation of the 200 reliquaries, about 1506 ducats . . . and to gild the architraves and the ceiling according to the drawing would come to . . . about 662 ducats, everything included. To execute the ancona in the other way, that is, in white, burnished and outlined in gold, would cost about 1175 ducats, and to paint the architraves also in white and gold would cost about 155 ducats, and to decorate the gallery of the chapel would amount, they say, to about 50 ducats. For all which about 1000 ducats is available out of the 2000 assigned for the work. The other thousand has all been spent on the carvings of the ancona. Therefore it is necessary that your Highness should arrange as seems best about the money that is still required, and should decide which painters are to be employed to paint the said ancona, for all the painters of Milan both good and bad desire to be employed upon it, and leave me no peace; but if your Highness desires to know which are the painters most competent for this work, Master Vincenzo will tell you, for every painter is not equal to it.

Further, as the reliquaries of this ancona are two hundred in number, and I have not received the list of more than eighty relics, and having heard from Count Giovanni¹ . . . that many of them are very small so that we shall have to put four, five, or six together, I should wish to be instructed by your Highness as to which saint is to be painted over the spaces of these said caskets in which the different relics are to be enshrined; and if it seems good to your Highness, it appears to me that we should have the principal ones painted, though we should inscribe the names of all those saints whose relics are represented, as the painters will inform your Lordship. I shall, however, be guided by the opinion of your Highness, whom I wish also to inform of the fact that I have two masters working here on the carvings destined for the gallery, and there are no others who could do the work. And for the gallery a painted window with the

¹ Giovanni Attendolo, Governor of the Castle of Pavia.

risen Christ is being prepared, which will soon be finished. As soon as your Highness has decided how the ancona is to be painted, there will be no further delay, provided that it is possible to cash the remaining moneys of the sum assigned, which moneys were once in cash and are now calculated among those to be paid by creditors such as Ser Gabriele Paleari has left to your revenue officers. I for my part will not fail to demand them, and will have the officers pressed to cash them in order to execute whatsoever your Lordship has commanded to be done. The curtain which is to go all round the said ancona and to cover the figures and the relics is not included in this price. But I have told the painters that they must see what the cost of this curtain without paintings would be; and if they hear from your Highness that it is to be painted, they will then be able to say what the whole cost will amount to. In this estimate the figures to be painted in the space between the ancona and the architraves have not been included, as the painters will inform your Highness, but with the drawing they will be able to point out these spaces, so that they may know what they are to paint in them. And though before, I had stated what would be the probable cost of painting and adorning the ancona and the chapel, yet when the work is finished we must abide by the valuation, which will be carried out, as is customary, by three or four other painters, for the original estimate is only approximate. I am also having the said two hundred caskets made, which will soon be ready, and when finished I shall have them lined with sandal wood, which I shall procure from Gottardo as directed by your Highness, to whom I humbly commend myself. Your Lordship's servant Bartolomeo da Cremona.

Milan, June 8, 1474.

22. Vincenzo Foppa deposits the sum of 50 gold ducats with Giovanni Antonio de Martis of Varese, as security and part payment in advance for the rent of a house with a garden in the parish of S. Invenzio at Pavia, which he takes for six years from the said Giov. Antonio.

June 20, 1474, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo quarto, indicione septima, die vicesimo mensis junii, hora none, vel circha, in civitate Papie, videlicet in domo habitationis mei notarii . . . in Porta Sancti Petri ad murum, in Parochia Sancte Marie in Pertica . . . Johannes Antonius de Martis de Varixio, filius quondam domini Pauli, civis Papie . . . confitetur versus magistrum Vincencium de Fopa, filium quondam Johannis, pictorem, ibi presentem . . . se ab eo . . . recepisse in custodia, deposito et guardia . . . ducatos quinquaginta auri et in auro . . . ibidem actualiter numeratos et traditos . . . quos ducatos . . . promittit ipse Johannes Antonius restituere dicto magistro Vincencio . . . infra sex annos proxime futuros, etc. Et inde, etc. Presentibus domino Melchione de Georgiis filio quondam domini Augustini, Alexandro de Petra filio quondam domini Ardizoli et Johanne Jacobo de Gravanago filio domini Surlioni, inde testibus.

Eisdem anno, indicione, die, hora, loco et testibus suprascriptis, suprascriptus Johannes Antonius de Martis . . . investit ad fictum . . . hinc ad annos sex proxime futuros, suprascriptum magistrum Vincencium presentem, de domo una sita in Papia, cum canepa, curia, orto, cameris et aliis suis edificiis, posita in Porta Pallacii, Parochia

Sancti Inventii, cui coheret ab una parte strata, ab alia Gregorius de Mortario, ab alia Johannes Franciscus de Tinctoribus, et ab alia Aloisius de Calcinagho . . . pro annua ficti prestacione florenorum viginti monete currentis, etc. solvendorum singulo anno in fine cuiuslibet anni. . . . Cum pacto quod liceat dicto magistro Vincencio facere in ipsa domo melioramenta omnia utilia et necessaria, videlicet in reparando ipsam domum, non autem in faciendo nova edificia, salvo quod possit fieri facere unam fenestram cum ferrata versus stratam. Et que melioramenta in fine locacionis debeant solvi per ipsum Johannem Antonium secundum estimationem duorum amicorum communium. . . . Et fuit confessus dictus Johannes Antonius habuisse . . . a dicto Magistro Vincencio florenos sexaginta sex . . . pro parte solucionis fictorum dictorum annorum sex, ita tamen quod de supra pluri restanti ad integram solucionem totius dicti ficti dictorum annorum sex, teneatur et promittit dictus magister Vincencius solvere singulo anno dicto Johanni Antonio florenos novem. Et inde, etc. Presentibus testibus suprascriptis.

Pavia, Arch. Not., Atti di Agostino Gravanago.
Chap. VI, p. 140.

23. Letter of the Duke to Gadio, relating to the Chapel and Ancona of Pavia.

June 21, 1474, Pavia.

Bartholomeo de Cremona,

Sono venuti qua da nuy maestro Bonifacio, Vincentio et maestro Zaneto de-pintori, con li quali havemo havuto la toa lettera et inteso per quelli quanto scrivi in lo facto de questa capella et ancona, et habiando ancora veduti li dessignì hanno portato dicti maestri, dicemo, respondendoti, che non volemo, ultra la dicta ancona, far fare altre depincture alle asse intorno ad dicta capella; et cossì alla truina dessa capella solamente volemo sia depincta de azuro et stelle doro cum Dio patre in mezo dessa truina, et alla volta et loco de architrave qualche angelo et spiritelli; altra spesa de pictura non intendiamo fare in dicta capella; si che ritornano là li dicti pintori, et altri ancora che poi sono venuti, fra li quali chi ha dicto voler pigliare limpresa de queste cosse per ducento ducati, chi per centocinquanta et chi per cento, molto varia-mente luno da laltro; però li haveray tuti da te, et chi vorrà farne migliore condictione, ad lui deliberaray questa impresa, et questo vole esser de presente senza alcuna dila-tione. Datum Papie die 21 Junij, 1474. per Laurentium.

Arch. di. St. Milano, Miss. Duc., No. 115, 1473-74, f. 372 v.

Arch. Stor. Lomb., 1876, p. 554.

Arte, 1900, p. 146.

Chap. IV, pp. 99, 100.

Bartolomeo da Cremona,

Master Bonifacio, Vincentio, and Master Zanetto the painters have been here and have brought us your letter, and having heard from them what you have written respecting this Chapel and ancona, and having also seen the drawings which these masters have brought, we would say, in reply to you, that besides the said ancona we do not intend to have any other paintings on the woodwork round the Chapel; the

ceiling we only intend to have painted in azure with golden stars, and with the Eternal Father in the centre, and in the vaulting and the architrave some angels and cherubs.

We do not intend to go to any further expense for the painting of this Chapel, therefore these painters are returning, as well as the others who came to see us afterwards; some among them offered to execute the work for 200 ducats, some for 150, and others for 100, all differing widely from one another. However, you may summon them all, and whoever makes the best terms, to him you should entrust the undertaking; and this is to be done at once and without any delay. Given at Pavia, June 21, 1474.

24. Letter of Gadio to the Duke, relating to the painting of the Chapel.

June 27, 1474, Milan.

Ill^{mo} Sig^{re},

El dì de Sancto Iohanne hebbi una litera de Vostra Ill^{ma} Sig^{ria} circha el depingere della truina de quella capella, nella quale inter cetera dicea essere stato da quella alchuni pinctori, fra li quali gli era chi volea pigliar imprexa de questa depinctura per ducati ducento, chi per centocinquanta et chi per cento, et perchè Vostra Excellentia per la prefata litera me commette dovesse havere da mi tutti li dicti depinctori, et deliberare questa imprexa a chi faria meliore condictione, li ho havuti da mi et altri anchora, fra li quali Magistri Iohanne Pietro da Corte, Melchior da Lampugnano, Stephano de' Fideli, Gottardo de' Scotti et Petro de' Marchexi per una parte, li quali se erano offerti depingerla per pretio ducati 175; per l' altra Magistri Bonifatio da Cremona, Zanetto de' Bugati et Vincentio de' Foppa, che se offersono depingerla per pretio de ducati 160. Finalmente li suprascripti Magistri Iohanne Petro et compagni, se sono offerti depingerla per pretio de ducati 150; facendola secondo uno delli dessigni che mando a Vostra Excellentia per uno de loro, cioè però quello che più gli piacerà, cioè o con carubini o senza, con fare il Dio Padre vestito de azzurro ultramarino con rasi et sguinzi d' oro fino relevato, dipingendo la dicta truina de azzurro della bontà et fineza è quello delli dessigni con stelle d' oro fino relegate, et etiam con duodici angeli per caduna quadra della cappella, excepto quella della finestra, dove dicono non poterne fare se non sey, pur ne farano più se gli potranno stare, per li quali ducati centocinquanta deno anche fare una cornixe largha braccia $\frac{1}{2}$ de collore del ligname de l' anchona fin alla volta, quale sia depincta a similitudine de l' anchona, et cosi cavar . . . l' intonegatura vechia della truina et reffarla de novo a sue proprie spexe et mettergli la calzina [dando] loro le asse, cantiri, ferramenti et quello bisogna per fare li ponti et denique darla fornita per lo dicto pretio de ducati 150. Et non essendose trovato chi habia voluto fare meliore partito de loro, gli l' ho deliberata piacendo a Vostra Ill^{ma} Sig^{ria}; sicchè se quella è mo contenta de dicta deliberatione ha advisarmene et deliberare et dire quale dessigno gli piace più delli dicti dui, et finalmente darmene aviso, che quello ordinarò sia seguitato, con rimandarme el dessigno vorà se segua per gonservarlo per vedere, fornita l' opera, se l' azzurro sarà bono et fino secondo la promissa. Quelli depinctori che dice Vostra Excellentia esserse offerti depingere la dicta truina per ducati 100 non se trovano, anzi dicono tutti non havere parlato de cento ducati. Ma questi che l' hano a depingere deno fare l' opera laudabile e perfecta et de boni collori et che onia cosa stia bene, et se la Vostra Signoria volesse

aminuire qualche cosa de alchuno delli dessigni gli dè esser aminuito il pretio, et sia viceversa accresciuto, accrescendoli Vostra Excellentia veruna cosa. Me raccomando, etc.,
Mediolani, die 27 Junii, 1474. B. DE CREMONA.

Arch. di St. Mil., Ingegn., etc., B. Gadio.

Magenta, II, No. 379, p. 368.

Chap. IV, pp. 99-101.

My Illustrious Lord,

On the day of St. John Baptist I received a letter from your Highness relating to the painting of the ceiling of that Chapel, in which, among other things, it was stated that certain painters had been to see your Lordship, and that some had offered to do the work for 200 ducats, some for 150, and others for 100. As in that letter your Excellency commanded me to summon all these painters, so that the commission might be given to those who would make the best terms, I sent for them and others as well; among them were the Masters Giov. Pietro da Corte, Melchiorre da Lampugnano, Stephano de' Fideli, Gottardo de' Scotti, and Pietro de' Marchesi, on the one part, who offered to do the painting for 175 ducats; on the other part were the Masters Bonifatio da Cremona, Zanetto de' Bugati, and Vincentio de' Foppa, who declared they would do the painting for 160 ducats; finally the above-named Giov. Pietro and his companions offered to do the painting for 150 ducats, according to one of the designs which I am sending by one of the painters, so that your Excellency may see which he prefers, namely, with or without Cherubim with a representation of the Eternal Father in a robe of ultramarine blue with rays and a glory of fine gold in relief, the ceiling to be painted in azure, as fine and good in quality as in the design, with stars in fine gold in relief, and also with twelve angels in each section of the Chapel, except in the part near the window, where there would only be room for six, though the painters would introduce more if possible. For the price of 150 ducats they will also paint a border half a cubit in width of the same colour as the woodwork of the ancona reaching to the top of the roof, which is to be painted like the ancona; and they are to remove . . . the old plaster of the ceiling and renew it at their own expense with fresh plaster; . . . they are also to supply the beams, woodwork, iron clamps, and other requisites for making the scaffolding, all which is to be included in the 150 ducats; and having found no other painters willing to make better terms, I have given them the order, subject to the approval of your Highness.

Wherefore, should my choice be approved, I would beg your Highness to inform me which of the two designs is preferred, so that I may attend to its being carried out, returning me the design chosen that I may keep it in order to see, when the work is finished, whether the azure is as good and fine in quality as was promised.

Those masters who, according to your Excellency, offered to paint the ceiling for 100 ducats, are not forthcoming; they all say there was never any question of such a sum, but those who are to do the work undertake to execute it to perfection with good colours, and so that everything will be satisfactory: and if your Highness should wish either of the designs to be made simpler, the price would also be reduced, or *vice versa*, adding anything would also increase the price.

I commend myself, etc.,

Milan, June 27, 1474.

B. DE CREMONA.

25. Foppa deposits twenty-five gold ducats with Giovanni Antonio de Martis of Varese, who promises to repay the same within six years from the coming Michaelmas.

August 6, 1474, Pavia.

In domo . . . mei notarii . . . in Parochia Sancte Marie in Pertica. . . . Johannes Antonius de Martis de Varixio, filius quondam domini Pauli, civis Papie . . . confitetur versus magistrum Vincentium de Foppa, pictorem, filium quondam Johannis ibi presentem . . . se ipsum Johannem Antonium ab eo magistro Vincencio . . . recepissee ducatos viginti quinque auri largos, . . . et hoc in deposito, custodia et guardia . . . Quas quidem pecunias dictus Johannes Antonius . . . restituere . . . promittit et convenit suprascripto magistro Vincentio . . . infra sex annos proxime futuros et incepturos in festo Sancti Michaelis proxime futuro, etc. Et inde, etc. Presentibus egregio (arcium et) medicine doctore domino magistro Matheo de . . . filio quondam Johannis, Vincentio de Subinago filio magistri Filipini et Aluisio de Rambosiis filio quondam domini Donati, inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Agostino Gravanago.

Chap. vi, p. 140, note 2.

26. Letter of the Duke to Foppa commanding him to come to Pavia.

May 22, 1475, Pavia.

Dux Mediolani, etc. Magistro Vincentio de Fopa depinctori.

Volendote nuy adoperare in alcune depincture, che volimo far fare, vogli, ricevuta questa, montare ad cavallo et venire qui da nuy, mossa ogni rasone. Papie, die 22 Maii, 1475.

Arch. di Stato Mil., Miss. Duc., No. 123, 1475-76, f. 33.

Caffi in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1878, p. 105.

Chaps. iv, p. 101, and v, p. 114.

The Duke of Milan, etc., to Master Vincentio de Fopa the painter. It being our wish to employ you in certain paintings which we desire to have executed, we command you on receipt of this to mount your horse and come hither to us, putting aside all other engagements. Pavia, May 22, 1475.

27. Protest of Dame Zaccarina Lonati Beccaria against the behaviour of Vincenzo Foppa and the painters of his company, who had failed to execute the frescoes commissioned by her in the Church of S. Giacomo near Pavia within the time specified in their contract.

August 5, 1476, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo sexto, indictione nona, die quinto mensis augusti, hora none, in civitate Papie, videlicet in domo habitacionis infrascripte domine Zacharine, Porte Pallacensis, Parochie Sancti Quirici, Ibique, etc. Cum hoc sit quod magnifica domina Zacharina, relicta quondam magnifici militis domini Augustini de Becharia, dederit magistris

Bonifacio de Bembis, Vincencio, Constantino de Vaprio, Jacobino de Vicemala et Zane-to de Bugatis, omnibus depinctoribus, et ipsi magistri depinctores acceperint ab ipsa domina Zacharina, ad depingendum in ecclesia Sancti Jacobi extra et prope Papiam, Passionem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, ab Annuntiatione usque ad Mortem inclusive, per et ad terminum ac juxta et prout continetur in lista pactorum ac convencionum fac-torum inter ipsas partes, et subscripta manu propria suprascriptorum magistrorum depinc-torum, in qua promisserunt et se obligaverunt in solidum : Et quod suprascripti magistri Bonifacius, Vincencius, Jacobinus et Zanetus incepterunt dictum opus et prosequuntur, dictusque magister Constantinus ipsum opus non videtur facere nec attentare, seu dare operam faciendi et seu perficiendi juxta capitula pactorum et convencionum predicto-rum : Quodque etiam per dictum magistrum Constantinum et nec magistrum Berto-lameum depinctorem, eius nomine, nec etiam per suprascriptos alios magistros, opus suprascriptum non fuit perfectum et finitum ad terminum prefixum . . . et juxta principia ipsi operi, per ipsos magistros seu aliquos ex eis, pro parte facta seu inchoata, prout tenebantur . . . Modo autem prefata domina Zacharina protestatur contra ipsos et quemlibet ipsorum in solidum . . . de omni mora et negligentia hinc retro et usque in presencia commissis . . . volens ipsa domina Zacharina videre qualis sit ipsorum magistrorum voluntas et citra animum ipsos liberandi a promissionibus et pactis factis inter ipsas partes . . . volens sibi attendi et observari promissa per ipsos magistros, juxta juris et dictorum pactorum formam, petiit et requisivit suprascriptis magistris Bonifacio, Vincencio, et Jacobino, suis et nomine suprascripti magistri Constantini licet absentis et aliorum sociorum¹ suorum et in solidum obligatis ut supra, ibi presentibus, audientibus et intelligentibus, ac petit et requirit ut ipsi magistri in solidum vellint opus per ipsos inceptum, per ipsos magistros et seu saltem de eisdem manibus cum quibus illud inceptum fuit, finiri et perfici facere ad terminum ac juxta listam pactorum et conven-cionum predictorum, et seu saltem infra tale congruum tempus, infra quod verisimiliter deinceps finiri poterit per tot magistros. Alioquin ipsa domina Zacharina protestata fuit et protestatur contra ipsos magistros Bonifacium, Vincencium et Jacobinum, ibidem presentes, audientes et intelligentes et in solidum obligatos ut supra, de inobservancia dictorum pactorum et convencionum et de omnibus suis damnis, interesse et expensis passis et factis ac fiendis et paciendis predicta occasione, et quod dictum opus perfici et finiri faciet juxta ipsius voluntatem, in aliquo non attentis pactis et convencionibus predictis, attento quod non implenti non est implendum. Cuius quidem requisicionis et protestacionis copia in scriptis dimissa fuit suprascriptis magistris Bonifacio, Vincencio et Jacobino ibidem presentibus et predictis non consencientibus, quatenus sint et faciant in eorum preiudicium et in aliis pro se facientibus acceptantibus et non aliter nec alio modo, et offerentibus sese paratos facere quicquid tenentur et debent de jure et secundum formam dictorum pactorum et convencionum, protestantes quod per sese non stetit, nec stat nec stabit quominus faciant et adimpleant ea ad que tenentur per formam juris et dictorum pactorum et convencionum. Et inde, &c. Presentibus Ber-tolameo de Brisia filio quondam magistri Petri² depinctore, Petro de Crivelis filio quon-dam domini Stefani et Francischino de Duglolis filio Petri dicti Gavardi, inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Pietro Imodelli.

Chap. iv, p. 109.

¹ Costantino was at Milan and Zanetto was dead.

² This painter is without doubt identical with Bartolomeo Caylina.

28. Letter of the Duke to Foppa and his colleagues relating to the frescoes of S. Giacomo at Pavia.

August 23, 1476, Pavia.

Dux Mediolani, &c. Magistris Bonifatio de Cremona, Vincentio de Foppa et Jacopino Zaynario pictoribus.

Madonna Zacharina, che fu mogliera del quondam d^{no} Augusto de Beccaria, ne ha sporto l' inclusa supplicatione per la quale se lamenta che per voy et li compagni vostri non gliè stato atteso quanto gli eravate obligati circal dipingere la vita di Cristo in la chiesa de San Jacomo fora di questa nostra cità de Pavia come più ad pieno se narra. Il perchè parendone honesto che gli sii osservato quanto per voy gliè stato promisso, vi dicemo et volimo che voy li atendiate secondo le obligatione vostre, con fare che la depinctura non sii facta per tante mane come pare vorria esser facta, per non fare l' opera disforma : ma uno di voy la fornisca, essendo obligati in solidum, più presto sii possibile ; non intendendo però per questo de preiudicare in aliquo alle rasone de Magistro Constantino, al quale potrete dare notitia de quanto ve scrivemo, eseguendo però uno di voy quanto è dicto di sopra, sì per attendere et osservare l' obligatione vostra, sì per bellezza et honore de la chiesa ut supra, declarandovi che nostra intentione non è che per questo si ritardi l'opra de la capella de questo nostro castello de Pavia, qual opra volimo sii fornita prestissimo. Papie, die xxiii Augusti, 1476. Intendendo nuy chel non prejudicare ale rasone d' esso suprascripto Magistro Constantino, sii per l'opra facta ad suo nome.

Arch. di St. Mil., Miss. Duc., No. 123, 1476, f. 354.

Caffi in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.* 1878, 105.

Chap. iv, p. 111.

The Duke of Milan, etc., to the Masters Bonifazio da Cremona, Vincenzo Foppa, and Jacomino Zaynario, painters.

Dame Zaccarina, widow of the late Augusto de Beccaria, has sent the enclosed petition in which she complains that you and your companions have not fulfilled your obligations with regard to the paintings of the Life of Christ in the Church of S. Giacomo outside our city of Pavia, as fully set forth therein. And her complaint appearing to us just, after hearing what you had promised, we desire and order that you fulfil your obligations towards her, seeing to it that the painting be not executed by too many hands, as appears to be likely, so that the uniformity of the work be not impaired. But one of you should finish it as quickly as possible having bound yourselves to do so. It is not intended, however, that this should be prejudicial to the interests of Master Costantino, whom you may inform of the contents of this letter, but one of you is to carry into execution what is stated above, both in order to fulfil your obligations and for the honour and ornament of the said Church ; and we declare to you that it is not our intention to permit the work in the Chapel of our Castle at Pavia to be retarded for this, which work we desire shall be finished very soon. Pavia, Aug. xxiii, 1476. We repeat that this is not to be prejudicial to the interests of Master Costantino or to the work executed in his name.

29. Letter from Gadio to the Duke relating to the Ancona for the Chapel of the Relics, Pavia.

December 7, 1476, Milan.

Ill^{mo} et Exc. Signore mio,

Hieri sera riceveti una lettera de Vostra Excellentia de dì ij del presente signata Cichus, in exequutione de la quale ho facto che Philipppo Coyro general Thesaurario de li lavorerii de Vostra Signoria, ha acceptato et ricevuto presentemente da Pietro Oldevino libre 400 imperiali, quali poi per epso Philipppo ho facto numerare a magistro Jacomino Vismara et ad Magistro Costantino da Vaprio depinctori et compagni con Magistro Bonifacio de Cremona et Magistro Vincentio de Foppa a depingere la capella nel Castello de Pavia, et ne son facte le debite et opportune scripture cioè, debito et credito adosso a Philipppo Coyro come si conviene. . . . Insuper ho voluto sapere da li dicti magistri Jacomino et Costantino se da qui a Natale proximo saria fornita dicta capella, facendoli intendere che intentione de Vostra Signoria è che la sia fornita a tale tempo et che a questo fine quella gli fa numerar dicti danari. Me hanno risposto non essere possibile, ma che lharano fornita da qui a Pascha, como dicono che anche feceno intendere a V. Extia quando quella fu ad viderla et che gli era messer Cicho et che quella rimase contenta. La maggior parte del oro dicono esser misso como quello alhora potè videre; bene dicono che già saria fornita se havesseno voluto haverli pochi advertentia, ma che gli vanno ducento figure longhe quarte iii luna de quilli sancti sicondo le reliquie sarano in le capsete et che non hanno voluto che ogni magistri li habia misso mano ma loro soli, et così dicti magistri Jacomino et Costantino hanno qui dele tavole de l' anchona suso le quale lavorano. Magistro Bonifacio et Magistro Vincentio sono ad Pavia et lavorano anche loro in epsa anchona, dicono non voleno guardare ad uno poco di tempo più per far la cossa digna et laudabile. Mi racomando continuamente a Vostra Celsitudine, etc.

SERVITOR BARTHOLOMEUS DE CREMONA.

Ex Mediolano, die 7 Decembris, 1476.

Arch. di St. Mil., Autografi, Ingegn. Architetti, B. Gadio, anno 1476.

Sacchi, *Pitt. Cremonesi*, p. 222.

Chap. iv, p. 102.

My Illustrious and most Excellent Lord,

Yesterday evening I received a letter from your Excellency of the second inst. signed Cichus, in execution of which I have arranged that Filippo Coyro, Treasurer of your Highness' Department of Works, having received 400 lire imperiali from Pietro Oldevino, is to pay it to the painters, Master Giacomino Vismara and Master Costantino da Vaprio, who are associated with Master Bonifazio da Cremona and Master Vincenzo Foppa in painting the Chapel in the Castle at Pavia; and the necessary memoranda of debit and credit have been drawn up and placed as a matter of course to the account of Philipppo Coyro. Further, I wished to ascertain from the said masters, Giacomino and Costantino, whether the Chapel could be finished between now and next Christmas, giving them to understand that it was your Highness' intention that it should be completed by that date, and that it was to this end that the above-named sum of money had been paid to them. They replied that it was not possible, but that they would finish it by next Easter as they had stated (so they gave me to

understand) when your Excellency went to see the work with Messer Cicho and was satisfied with it. The greater part of the gilding was then completed, as your Excellency saw; they say it might all have been finished by now if they had devoted less time and care to it, but there are two hundred figures, three-quarters of a cubit in length, of saints whose relics will be in the caskets, and they have not allowed any other master besides themselves to touch them. Thus Master Giacomino and Master Costantino have some of the panels of the ancona here (at Milan), and are at work upon them. Master Bonifazio and Master Vincenzo are at Pavia, and they also are at work upon this ancona. They say they do not wish to regard the question of time if they can do the work creditably and well.

I commend myself always to your Highness, etc., your servant,

BARTOLOMEO DE CREMONA.

From Milan, the 7th day of December, 1476.

30. Payment to Vincenzo Foppa from Dame Zaccarina Beccaria for his share of the frescoes of S. Giacomo at Pavia, i.e. the large composition (the Crucifixion), six smaller ones and a portion of the border. Payment also from the same to Bonifazio Bembo for his share of the work.

December 16, 1476, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo sexto, inditione nona, die sextodecimo mensis decembris, hora terciarum, in civitate Papie, videlicet in domo habitationis infrascripte domine Zacharine, Porte Pallacensis, Parochie Sancti Quirici. Ibique, etc. Cum hoc sit quod alias, videlicet de anno proxime preterito et die X Julii, magnifica domina Zacharina de Lonate relicta quondam magnifici militis domini Augustini de Becharia, fecerit certas conventiones et certa pacta cum magistro Vincentio de Fopa, magistro Bonifacio de Bembris de Cremona, cum magistro Jacobo Vicemala, magistro Constantino de Vaprio et nunc quondam magistro Zaneto de Bugatis, omnibus pictoribus, descriptas et descripta in quadam lista subscripta manu propria ipsorum magistrorum depictorum, et inter cetera quod ipsi magistri depinctores tenerentur depingere in ecclesia sancti Jacobi Papie Passionem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, ab Annunciatione usque ad Mortem, in viginti uno capitulo, computato capitulo Passionis, qui tenet locum quatuor capitulorum, et cornixio uno super, juxta et prout continetur in ipsis pactis et conventionibus, ad quas et que relacio habeatur: Et quod pro ipso opere ipsa domina Zacharina teneretur ipsis magistris depictoribus solvere et dare ducatos centum nonaginta, et tantum minus quantum ipsum opus estimabitur per spectabilem dominum Johannem Antonium de Girardis, ducalem cancellarium et nobilem Florellum de Becharia, quibus data est potestas et commissio per ambas partes, per dictas convenciones et pacta ad quas et que plena relacio habeatur: Sitque verum quod dictum opus fuerit et sit per dictos magistros, et seu per suprascriptos magistros Vincentium, Bonifacium, Jacobum et Constantinum, seu eorum nomine, subsequuta morte suprascripti quondam magistri Zaneti, perfectum et finitum: et quod ipsum jam dictum opus fuerit diligenter per suprascriptos dominos Johannem Antonium et Florellum commissarios antedictos visum, consideratum et estimatum ac declaratum hoc modo, videlicet: Suprascripti viginti capituli, ad computum de libris viginti septem et soldis duodecim cum dimidio pro quolibet capitulo,

et suprascriptum capitulum Passionis, tenens locum quatuor capitulorum, ad computum librarum octuaginta quinque imperialium, et cornisonum ad computum librarum quadraginta duarum et soldorum decem imperialium, et hoc in presencia ipsius domine Zacharine et suprascriptorum magistrorum Vincencii et Bonifacii, ibidem presencium, suis et nomine suprascriptorum magistrorum Jacobi et Constantini, prout ipsi domina Zacharina, magistri Vincencius et Bonifacius ibidem presentes dicunt, confitentur et protestantur fore et esse verum. Pro tanto ipsi Magister Vincentius et Magister Bonifacius depinctores antedicti . . . confitentur, versus suprascriptam dominam Zacharinam ibi presentem, etc., se ipsos magistros Vincencium et Bonifacium habuisse et recepisce ab ipsa domina Zacharina, videlicet ipse Magister Vincencius libras nonaginta septem et soldos quindecim imperiales, ibi actualiter traditas et numeratas in tanta bona moneta argentea, etc., pro plena et integra soluzione librarum centum sexaginta quinque et soldorum quindecim imperialium, quibus in summa ascendit precium capitulorum sex parvorum factorum per ipsum magistrum Vincencium, ad computum librarum xxvii, soldorum xii, denariorum vi, pro capitulo ut supra, et librarum octuaginta quinque imperialium, quibus ascendit summa capituli magni Passionis facti per eundem Magistrum Vincencium. Item et etiam habuisse et recepisce libras octo cum dimidia imperiales, ibi actualiter traditas et numeratas ut supra, pro eius quinta et seu contigenti portione dicti cornisoni, juxta compartitum factum per et inter ipsos magistros, prout ita fore ipsi magister Vincencius et magister Bonifacius ibi presentes dicunt, confitentur et protestantur. Et dictus magister Bonifacius libras centum sexaginta quinque et soldos xv imperiales, quibus ascendit summa capitulorum sex dicti operis factorum per ipsum magistrum Bonifacium ad computum librarum xxvii, soldorum xii, denariorum vi, pro capitulo ut supra. Item etiam habuisse et recepisce libras octo cum dimidia imperiales pro eius quinta et seu contingenti portione dicti cornisoni, juxta compartitum de quo supra. Liberantes et absolventes ipsi magistri Vincencius et Bonifacius pictores antedicti eandem dominam Zacharinam de et pro suprascriptis denariis ut supra exbursatis, de et pro omni toto eo quod ipsi magistri depinctores eidem domine Zacharine petere possent seu vellent occasione dicti operis facti ut supra, etc. Et inde, etc. Presentibus domino Thomaxio de Ancixiis de Florentia filio quondam Dominici, Guillelmino de Butigelis filio quondam domini Lanfranchini et Jacobino de Ranchate filio quondam Antonioli, inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gio. Pietro Imodelli.

Chap. iv, p. 111.

31. Payment by Dame Zaccarina to Costantino da Vaprio for his share in the frescoes of S. Giacomo, and to Bonifazio Bembo on behalf of the heirs of Zanetto Bugati.

January 20, 1477, Pavia.

In nomine Domini amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo septimo, indicione decima, die vigesimo mensis Januarii, hora terciarum, in Pavia, videlicet in domo habitacionis infrascripte domine Zacharine, Porte Pallacensis, Parochie Sancti Quirici. Magister Constantinus de Vaprio filius quondam domini Johannis, pictor, habitator civitatis Mediolani, Porte Nove, Parochie Sancti

Fidelis, sponte . . . confitetur versus magnificam dominam Zacharinam de Lonate . . . habuisse et recepissee ab ipsa domina Zacharina libras quinquaginta unam, soldos septem et denarios sex imperiales . . . pro plena et integra soluzione librarum lxxxii, soldorum xvii et denariorum vi imperialium, que sunt pro precio et eius mercede capitulorum trium operis Passionis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi picte per ipsum magistrum Constantinum seu eius nomine, magistrum Bonifacium de Cremona, magistrum Vincencium de Fopa, et magistrum Jacobum de Vincemala, omnes pictores, in ecclesia Sancti Jacobi extra et prope Papiam, ad computum librarum xxvii, soldorum xii, et denariorum vi imperialium pro quolibet capitulo, et etiam pro completa solutione librarum octo cum dimidia imperialium, pro eius quinta parte sue mercedis cornisoni facti per ipsos omnes quatuor pictores et per suprascriptum magistrum Bonifacium, etiam ultra partem quam nomine quondam magistri Zaneti de Bugatis olim pictoris, qui etiam similiter cum ipsis quatuor pictoribus acceperat ad faciendum dictum opus, sed ante perfectum ipsum opus decessit; qui cornisonus in summa fuit estimatus libras xlii, soldos x imperiales. Et per omnia juxta declarationem de dictis operibus factam per spectabilem dominum Johannem Antonium de Girardis ducalem cancellarium et Florellum de Becharia, judices et commissarios per partes ipsas deputatos, computatis libris xl imperialibus alias per ipsam dominam Zacharinam, seu eius nomine, datis eidem Magistro Constantino. . . . Et inde, etc. Presentibus suprascriptis magistro Bonifacio de Bemis de Cremona filio quondam Johannis, et magistro Vincencio de Fopa filio quondam magistri Johannis, ambobus pictoribus et Julio de Galarate filio quondam Laurencini, famulo domini Johannis Marie de Lonate, inde testibus.

Eisdem anno, indicione, die, hora et loco suprascriptis. Suprascriptus Bonifacius de Benbis de Cremona, filius quondam domini Johannis, suo nomine ac etiam nomine . . . quondam magistri Zaneti de Bugatis, et seu filiorum et heredum suorum . . . confitetur versus prefatam dominam Zacharinam . . . habuisse et recepissee ab ipsa domina Zacharina libras octo imperiales . . . pro quinta parte dicti cornisoni facti per dictum quondam magistrum Zanetum, cui ipse magister Bonifacius dicit exbursasse pro dicto opere dictas pecunias. . . . Et inde, etc. Presentibus suprascriptis magistro Vincencio, magistro Constantino, et Julio inde testibus.¹

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gio. Pietro Imodelli.

Chap. iv, p. 112.

32. Vincenzo Foppa pays 18 florins to Giov. Antonio de Martis, being arrear of rent for two years due for his house in S. Invenzio at Pavia.

June 8, 1478, Pavia.

Confessio magistri Vincentii de Foppa de Brisia habita a Johanne Antonio de Martis.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo octavo, indicione undecima, die octavo mensis Junii, hora post vespervas,

¹ On February 11, 1477, Vismara is paid for his share of the work, l.82, s.12, d.6, Bembo acting for him and receiving the money on his behalf. In this deed, which is very similar to the above, Foppa is not mentioned.

in civitate Papie, videlicet in domo habitationis mei notarii infrascripti, sita in Porta Palatii, in Parochia Sancti Inventii. Johannes Antonius de Martis, filius quondam domini Pauli, . . . confitetur versus Magistrum Vincentium de Foppa, dictum de Brisia, pictorem, ibi presentem . . . se ipsum Johannem Antonium habuisse et recepissee a dicto Magistro Vincentio florenos decem et octo, . . . computatis florenis novem alias datis et solutis per ipsum Magistrum Vincentium Thomasio de Florentia cognato dicti Johannis Antonii. Et hoc pro ficto . . . annorum duorum, finitorum in festo Sancti Michaelis anni cursi mccccclxx sexto, unius domus murate et cupate cum suis edificiis, site in Papia in suprascriptis Porta et Parochia, quam idem magister Vincentius tenet ad fictum seu pensionem a dicto magistro Johanne Antonio. . . . Et inde, etc. Presentibus Juliano de Moracavalis filio quondam domini Uberti, Ricobaldo de Sancto Gregorio filio quondam domini Francisci et Johanne Antonio de Cremonensibus filio Johannis Girardi tinctore, inde testibus, etc.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Lodovico Leggi.

Chap. vi, p. 140, note 2.

33. Vincenzo Foppa's petition to the Duke of Milan, praying him to order the Podestà of Pavia to pronounce judgment between him and his brother-in-law Bartolomeo Caylina, in the case of a house at Brescia which Foppa had received as a gift from his mother-in-law Caterina de Bolis, but his rights to which were disputed by her son Bartolomeo Caylina.

Undated.

Supplicatio Vincentii de Foppa pictoris et civis Mediolani.

Ill^{me} et Ex^{me} Princeps.

Alias domina Caterina de Bolis de Cremona donationem inter vivos fecit fidelissimo servitori Dominationis Vestre Vincentio de Fopa pictori et civi Mediolani eius genero, de domo una iacente in contrata Sancte Agate civitatis Brixie, titulo oneroso, videlicet: quod ipse supplicans teneatur et debeat eam dominam Caterinam alimentare toto tempore vite sue et etiam alimentare quandam eius ablaticam usque ad eius etatem nubilem, et postea ipsam matrimonio copulare suis propriis expensis, et cum onere dandi Bartholomeo de Caylina, eius domine Caterine filio, certas pecunias pro eius legitima. Et licet dictus Bartholomeus voluntarie consenserit donationi, habueritque ab eo exponente certas pecunias pro parte dicte sue legitime, confirmaveritque et approbaverit eiusmodi donationem, ut publico constat instrumento, tamen non erubuit ei contravenire, et de ipsa domo antedicta alienacionem facere, et sic ipsum supplicantem in lictigium et contentionem traducere, contra debitum et promissionem ac ratificationem per eum ut supra factam. Et cupiens pro posse lictigia evitare:

Supplicat ut his attentis, dignemini Potestati Vestro Papie scribere et mandare quatenus, constante sibi de predictis per inspectionem instrumentorum de quibus supra, compellat ipsum Bartholomeum ad observantiam et executionem promissionis et ratificationis per eum ut supra facte, omni exceptione remota, ut debitum est, et ipse supplicans fatiet erga eum quicquid facere tenetur et debet, juxta formam dicte donationis. Procedens summarie, simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii ac sine ulla

lite, non obstantibus feriis. Aliter fraudatus et supplantatus remaneret, quod non credit fore vestre intentionis.

Arch. di Stato Mil., Sezione Stor. Autografi, Pitt. Busta III.

Literature, April 13, 1901.

Rassegna d' Arte, 1902, No. 1, p. 3.

Chap. VI, p. 136.

34. Letter of the Duke of Milan to the Podestà of Pavia enclosing Foppa's petition and ordering him to make inquiries as to the question at issue between the two litigants, and to give sentence accordingly.

Dux Mediolani, etc.

July 19, 1481, Milan.

Domino Commissario et Potestati Papie. Exposuit nobis cum querimonia Vincentius de Fopa pictor et civis noster mediolanensis quantum intelligetis ex inclusa eius supplicatione, et quoniam omni honestati ac iuri convenire videtur ut quod semel placuerit, retractari amplius non debeat, vobis committimus et volumus ut si, visis videndis, constiterit Bartholomeum de Caylina in supplicatione nominatum, legitime semel consensisse donationi de qua agitur, eum cogere debeatis, expedientibus juris remediis, ad observandum quicquid exinde tenetur, ne hic supplicans, qui se facturum offert quod ex latere suo debet, supplantatus inique ac deceptus remaneat. Et ad premissorum expeditionem procedetis summarie, simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii ac omni cessante lite et frivola exceptione, feriis mensium presentibus non attentis, cum rei natura per lites et in longum minime deducenda videatur. Mediolani, die xviii Julii, 1481.

Arch. di St. Mil., Miss. Duc., No. 154, c. 105.

Rass. d' Arte, 1902, No. 1, p. 3.

Chap. VI, p. 137.

35. Vincenzo Foppa acknowledges having received as a loan from Girolamo Beccaria 200 florins, which he promises to repay in cash by the coming Christmas.

May 24, 1483, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo tertio, indicione prima, die vigesimo quarto mensis maii, hora vigesima secunda vel circa. In civitate Papie, videlicet in camera cubiculari domus habitacionis infrascripti spectabilis domini Jeronimi de Becharia quondam magnifici legum doctoris et militis domini Petri, Porte Sancti Johannis, Parochie Sancti Andree de Reali. Ibi-que, etc. . . . Magister Vincentius de Foppa, de Brissia, filius quondam domini Johannis, pictor . . . confitetur versus prefatum dominum Jeronimum de Becharia . . . recepisse ac habere penes se in deposito . . . de denariis propriis ipsius domini Jeronimi, florenos ducentum. . . . Quos quidem florenos ducentum . . . dictus magister Vincentius promisit et convenit . . . eidem domino Jeronimo dare, reddere et solvere in

denariis numeratis tantum, . . . hinc ad festum Nativitatis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi proxime futurum, etc. Presentibus domino Cesare de Belingeriis filio domini Francisci, Damiano de Bienzanis de Pergamo filio domini Augustini et Diserino de Opizonibus notario papiensi filio domini Antonini, inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Santino Valdemagna.

Chap. vi, p. 136, note 1, 140.

36. Girolamo Beccaria acknowledges having received from Vincenzo Foppa 100 florins of the 200 lent by him to the painter, grants an extension of time till January 1, 1485, for the repayment of the remainder, and undertakes not to molest Vincenzo or his goods in the interval nor to impound the house which Foppa had purchased from Giov. Antonio de Martis.

February 19, 1484, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo quarto, indicione secunda, die decimo nono mensis februarii, hora vigesima quarta vel circa, in civitate Papie, videlicet in domo habitationis infrascripti domini Jeronimi de Becharia, sita in Porta Pallacensi in Parochia Sancti Martini foris portam. Ibique, etc., spectabilis vir dominus Jeronimus de Becharia . . . confitetur versus magistrum Vincentium de Fopa, pictorem, filium quondam [*blank*] ibi presentem, . . . se ipsum dominum Jeronimum habuisse et recepisse a dicto magistro Vincentio florenos centum monete currentis, etc., pro parte solucionis illorum florenorum ducentum, de quibus alias dictus magister Vincentius confessus fuit . . . habere penes se in deposito, . . . nomine prefati domini Jeronimi, etc. Presentibus egregio et prudenti causidico papiensi domino Matheo de Canibus filio quondam domini Michaelis, Dixerino de Opizonibus filio domini Antonii notario papiensi, habitatoribus Papie, et Luchino de Villanis filio quondam [*blank*] ortulano, habitatore Burgi Rati Papie, inde testibus. . . .

Eisdem anno et indicione, die, hora, loco et testibus supra scriptis. . . . Prefatus dominus Jeronimus de Becharia sponte, etc., ex sua liberalitate prorogavit et prorogat dicto magistro Vincentio presenti . . . terminum et tempus solucionis . . . fiende de aliis florenis centum, de quibus idem magister Vincentius debitor restat prefati domini Jeronimi, usque ad calendas mensis Januarii proxime futuri mccccclxxxv indicione tertia. Promittens prefatus dominus Jeronimus dicto magistro Vincentio presenti et stipulanti ut supra, ipsum magistrum Vincentium nec ejus res et bona inquietare, molestare, nec ad iudicium provocare usque ad dictas calendas mensis Januarii proxime futuri, etc. Presentibus, etc.

Eisdem anno et indicione, die, hora, loco et testibus infrascriptis . . . Prefatus dominus Jeronimus sponte, etc. promisit, etc. dicto magistro Vincentio presenti et stipulanti, etc. quod ipsum magistrum Vincentium eiusque res et bona indempnem, indempnes et indempnia relevabit et conservabit occasione vendicionis alias facte eidem magistro Vincentio per Johannem Antonium de [*blank*] de domo una murata, cupata et solariata, sita in Civitate Papie in Porta Pallacii in Parochia Sancti Invencii, per instrumentum rogatum, prout asserunt, anno, indicione et die in eo contentis per dictum Sanctinum

de Valdemagna notarium papiensem, et hoc pro florenis 200 monete currentis dumtaxat et non ultra. . . . Et inde, etc. Presentibus, etc.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gio. Andrea Valli.
Chap. VI, p. 140.

37. Vincenzo Foppa repays to Agostino della Canonica, brother of the painter Bertolino, the sum of 65 lire 12 soldi which the latter had paid as earnest money for a work to be executed at Genoa by Foppa.

June 3, 1485, Pavia.

MCCCCLXXXV, die tercio Junii, hora mane. Confessio facta per Augustinum de la Canonica filium D. Johannis, nomine et vice Bertolini ejus fratris . . . versus magistrum Vincentium de Foppa, pictorem, filium quondam magistri Jacobi, [sic] de libris lxx sold. xii, ibi numeratis in tanta moneta aurea et argentea, et sunt ille quas restituit suprascriptus Bertolinus cuidam Januensi, versus quem ipse Bertolinus fuit fideiussor pro quodam opere fiendo in Janua, pro ipso Magistro Vincentio, etc. In civitate Papie, videlicet apud apotecam illorum de Gazanigha, Porta Palacii, Parochia Sancti Inventii.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Ludovico Leggi.
Chap. VI, p. 136.

38. The painter Giovanni Barbagelata ordered to take as his model Foppa's altarpiece for the Spinola family in S. Domenico at Genoa.

June 8, 1485, Genoa.

In nomine Domini, amen. Magister Johannes de Barbazelata, pictor, . . . promisit et solemniter convenit Stefano de Brivei notario et Manuelli de Rapalo . . . Sindicis et Procuratoribus Domus disciplinatorum Sancte Brigide, depingere decenter et convenienter super quadam majestate . . . figuras et seu imagines infrascriptas, videlicet: figuram et seu imaginem magnam Sancte Brigide in medio dicte Majestatis, et ab uno latere. . . . Sancti Johannis Baptiste et ab altero . . . Sancte Consolate: et super imagine . . . dicte Sancte Brigide, Crucifixum cum latronibus, nec non et in spacio seu campo dicte Majestatis depingere figuram intemerate et gloriose Virginis Marie ac Sancti Johannis Evangeliste etiamque et figuram Sancte Marie Magdalene et ut depingi solent in similibus depincturis: et quas quidem figuras, imagines et Crucifixum promisit dictus Mag. Johannes depingere illius modi, nature, qualitatis, bonitatis et perfectionis, cujusmodi sunt ille que depicte sunt in sancto Dominico in altare quondam Domini Baptiste Spinole, posito in Ecclesia dicti Sancti Dominici, fabricato et picto per magistrum Vincentium de Mediolano, et tam de auro quam de aliis. . . . Actum Janue, MCCCCLXXXV, die viii Junii.

Arch. di S. Giorgio, Genoa, Atti del Not. Antonio Pastorino, Fogl. 1, 1485-86.
Aliz., II, 178-80.
Chap. VI, p. 133.

39. Dated Fresco from the Church of S. Maria di Brera, Milan.

October 10, 1485, Milan.

MCCCCLXXXV Die x Octubr.

Brera Gallery, No. 15.

Chap. VI, pp. 141, 142.

40. The painter Giovanni Mazone ordered to take as his model Foppa's altarpiece for the Spinola family in S. Domenico at Genoa.

October 2, 1486, Genoa.

Johannes de Valesturia . . . unus ex duobus Consulibus artis berretariorum . . . ex una parte et magister Johannes Massonus [*sic*], pictor . . . ex parte altera . . . dictus Mag. Johannes promisit . . . facere seu construere . . . bene et decenter, bono opere et laborerio et coloribus quandam majestatem Beate Marie Virginis cum quatuor Sanctis et aliis secundum ordinationem et deliberationem venerabilis domini magistri Nicolle Ordinis Heremitarum S. Augustini et sub modis et formis condecensibus sub quibus constructe sunt majestates, videlicet illa B.M. Virginis Ecclesie Sancti Dominici nobilium de Spinolis et alia B. Georgii Ecclesie Majoris Januensis nobilium de Flisco. . . Actum Janue, MCCCCLXXXVI, die secunda Octobris.

Arch. di S. Giorgio, Genoa, Atti del Not. Quilico di Serravalle, Fogl. 2, 1486-88.

Aliz., II, 54-56.

Chap. VI, p. 134.

41. Bertolino della Canonica receives from the Treasurer of the Guild of St. Sebastian at Genoa 15 lire on behalf of Foppa, who had undertaken to furnish four figures of wood in relief for the altar dedicated to the patron saint of the Guild at Genoa.

September 15, 1488, Genoa.

Bertholinus della Canonica de Papia, pictor, quondam Johannis, sponte et ex certa scientia confessus fuit et recognoscit nobili Marcho de Grimaldis civi Janue quondam Juliani, tamquam massario Societatis sancti Sebastiani . . . nomine et vice dicte Societatis . . . se a dicto Marcho dicto nomine habuisse et recepisse . . . libras quindecim Janue . . . pro Magistro Vincentio de Fopa pictore: qui quidem Bertholinus promisit dicto Marcho . . . construere seu construi facere, in et per totum mensem octobris proxime venturum anni presentis, figuras quatuor relevatas ligni, causa ponendi in altari Sancti Sebastiani Janue dicte Societatis, bonas et sufficientes. Quod si non fecerit intra dictum tempus, quod tunc et eo casu dictus Bertholinus teneatur, et sic promisit . . . reddere et restituere dicto Marco dicto nomine . . . dictas libras quindecim Janue monete currentis, omni exceptione remota. Actum Janue . . . A.D. Nativ. MCCCCLXXXVIII. Indictione quinta secundum Janue cursum, die lune xv Septembris, etc.

Arch. di S. G., Genoa, Atti. del Not. Tommaso Duracino, Fogl. 27, 1488-89.

Aliz., I, 366.

Chap. VI, p. 153.

42. Vincenzo Foppa receives the final payment of 100 Genoese lire from the Doria family for the altarpiece of their chapel in the Certosa of Rivarolo, near Genoa.

February 23, 1489, Genoa.

In nomine Domini, amen. Vincentius de Fopa, pictor, quondam Johannis, . . . confitetur Stephano de Auria quondam domini Lazari, tanquam actori et actorio nomine una cum Melchione de Imperialibus filiorum et heredum dicti quondam domini Lazari patris dicti Stephani, . . . se a dicto Stephano habuisse et recepissee libras centum Januinorum, in ducatis auri largis, pro complemento plenarie et integre solutionis et satisfactionis unius Majestatis per ipsum Vincentium facte, picte, constructe et fabricate in Ecclesia Sancti Bartholomei de Cartusia de Riparolio: et de dictis libris centum Januinorum ad complementum ac pro integra et plenaria solucione predictae Majestatis ut supra, dictus Vincencius se bene solutum, contentum ac sibi integre satisfactum vocavit et vocat. . . . Actum Janue, in Bancis, videlicet ad bancum mei Notarii infra-scripti, Anno Dominice Nativitatis 1489, indictione sexta secundum Janue cursum, die lune vigesima tertia februarii . . . in vespers: presentibus Stefano Lercaria quondam domini Accelini et Augustino de Francis Lodisii, civibus Janue, testibus ad premissa vocatis et rogatis.

Arch. di S. G., Genoa, Atti. del Not. Antonio Pastorino, Fogl. 3, 1489.

Aliz., I, 369.

Chap. vi, p. 155.

43. Inscription on the altarpiece formerly in the Fornari Chapel in the Certosa of S. Maria di Loreto, near Savona.

April 9, 1489.

1489 Die viiii, Mensis Aprilis Nomine Domini Manfredi de Fornari[is].

Savona Gallery, No. 28.

Chap. vii, p. 160.

44. Agreement between Vincenzo Foppa and Bertolino della Canonica to submit matters in dispute between them to the arbitration of the painter Francesco Ferrari; with discharge of Bartolomeo d' Amico from the surety he had given on the arrest of Foppa at the instance of Bertolino.

April 28, 1489, Genoa.

In nomine Domini, amen. Bertorinus de Papia pictor ex una parte et Vincentius de Fopa etiam pictor ex altera, de omnibus et singulis causis, questionibus, controversiis, etc., que verti possent inter ipsum Bertorinum et dictum Vincentium et de et super omne illo et eo toto quod una pars ab altera et altera ab una petere et requirere posset quavis de causa, etc., se se compromiserunt in Franciscum de Ferrariis pictorem, presentem et acceptantem, etc. Et quia dictus Vincentius detentus fuerat ad instanciam dicti Bertorini pro suspecto et pro eo intercesserat et fidejusserat Bartholomeus de Amico pictor, ideo attentis predictis dictum Bartholomeum liberavit a predicta fidejussione adeo quod amplius non sit de cetero obligatus pro dicta fidejussione. Actum Janue,

in Palacio Communis, in prima sala vocata Frasca, videlicet ad bancum mei Notarii infrascripti, Anno dominice nativitatis MCCCCLXXX nono, Indictione sexta secundum Janue cursum, die martis, xxviii aprilis, in terciis: presentibus, etc.

Arch. di S. G., Genoa, Atti del Not. Leonardo Parisola, Fogl. 2, 1488-91.

Aliz., I, 368.

Chap. vii, p. 163.

45. The painters Francesco Verzali and Giuliano Brenta value an unfinished altarpiece by Foppa in S. Maria di Castello at Genoa.

July 10, 1489, Genoa.

In nomine Domini, amen. Magister Franciscus de Verzali de Papia quondam Johannis et magister Julianus Brenta filius magistri Petri, ambo pictores in Janua, requisiti per Fratres monasterii S. Marie de Castello Janue Ordinis Predicatorum Observantie, ad estimandam quandam Majestatem, videlicet picturam Sancti Vicentii, Sanctorum Johannis Baptiste et Andree, quam incepit depingere et non perfecit magister Vincentius Fopa de Mediolano ut dicitur: delato eisdem magistris Francisco et Giuliano corporali juramento per me notarium infrascriptum de bene et legaliter estimando dictam majestatem, videlicet dictam picturam, meliori omni modo et juris forma quibus melius potuerunt et possunt, visa, oculata fide, dicta pictura et diligenter considerato laborerio dicte picture: eorum juramento, tactis corporaliter scripturis, estimaverunt et estimant dictam picturam et ejus laborerium valere libras duodecim Januinorum: De quibus omnibus et singulis suprascriptis venerabilis Religiosus D. Frater Dominicus de Tabia Vicarius dicti Monasterii et Conventus rogavit me Notarium infrascriptum, etc.

Actum Janue in dicto Monasterio. . . . Anno dominice Nativitatis MCCCC octuagesimo nono, Indictione sexta secundum Janue cursum, die Veneris, decimo Julii parum ante vespas, etc.

Atti del Not. Battista Muffola, Fogl. 6.

Aliz., I, 370-71.

Chap. vii, p. 163.

46. Letter from the Duke of Milan to the authorities at Brescia urging them to persuade Vincenzo da Pavia (Foppa) to fulfil an engagement made two years previously with Ambrogio Griffi, to paint a chapel erected by the latter at Milan.

Dux Mediolani, etc., Rectoribus Brixie, etc.

September 27, 1489, Pavia.

Reverendus dominus Ambrosius Grifus protonotarius apostolicus et consiliarius noster dilectissimus nobis exposuit se jam biennio exacto, cum magistro Vincentio de Papia pictore convenisse, coram testibus locupletibus, ut sacellum, quod in Urbe nostra celeberrima Mediolani exedificari fecit, pingeret; cui, cum sepius institerit, ut quod ei promiserat adimpleret, semper impedimentum aliquod in medium adduxit. Nunc vero cum eum magnopere exoptaret ut se Mediolanum conferret ad promissa exsolvendum, ab ista vestra Comunitate conductum fuisse, intellexisse ait, ad aulam quandam seu

salam depingendum. Quare cum ipse dominus protonotarius eundem magistrum Vincentium pro hoc sacello depingendo in presenti habere exoptet, cumque eius desiderium honestissimum sit, Vos hortamur rogamusque ut cum magistro Vincentio omnem operam adhibere velitis quo ipsius domini protonotarii desiderium minime frustretur, quod acceptissimum habituri sumus. Nam et nos, si pro ejusmodi re a vobis posceremur, nullam operam pretermisuri essemus quin voti vestri compotes evaderetis.

Papie, 27 Septembris, 1489.

Arch. di Stato Milan, Miss. Duc., No. 178, f. 100.

Perseveranza, May 27, 28, 1901.

Chap. VI, p. 153, VII, p. 165.

47. Foppa and his brother-in-law Bartolomeo of Brescia submit their differences to arbitration at Pavia, and agree to abide by the decision of the arbitrators under penalty of a fine of 25 gold ducats.

October 29, 1489, Pavia.

Die xxviii Octobris, hora none vel circa, in civitate Papie, videlicet in canonica ecclesie Sancti Inventii, Porte Palatii, Parochie eiusdem ecclesie. . . . Magister Vincentius de Fopa, pictor, parte una, et magister Bertolameus de Brissia eius cognatus, similiter pictor, habitator Papie, parte altera, sponte, etc., compromiserunt et compromittunt . . . in reverendum decretorum doctorem dominum Dionisium de Perego Sancti Inventii Papie prepositum et dominum Johannem Antonium Barbauschum tamquam in ipsarum partium arbitros et arbitratores, etc., nomine, causa et occasione omnium et singularum causarum, controversiarum, questionum, etc., inter partes ipsas versarum et vertentium, etc. Et generaliter et generalissime, etc. . . . Promittentes stare eorum laudo et arbitramento sub pena ducatorum xxv auri applicandorum parti attendenti, etc. Terminum autem presentis compromissi partes ipse durare volunt usque ad unum mensem, etc., cum potestate prorogandi, etc., et inde, etc. Presentibus domino Azone de Canevanova, spectabile juris utriusque doctore domino Donato Guioldo de la Turre, et Johanne Antonio de Gandino, habitatoribus Papie, inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Bernardo Cellanova.

Chap. VII, p. 169.

48. Letter of Erasmo Trivulzio to the Duke of Milan relating to Foppa and the Savona altarpiece.

Ill. Sig. mio.

November 3, 1489, Pavia.

Inteso quanto mi ha scripto Vostra Signoria per il reclamo della Comunità di Savona di Maestro Vincenzo Foppa, il quale non li fornisce l' opera della Maestà principiata nel suo Domo, subito ho tratto a me dicto Maestro Vincentio et ho fatto intender quanto V. S. ha scripto in questa materia, admonendolo che vadi a fornire dicta opera senza più dimora, altrimenti lo farò detenire e proceder contro per modo che

si troverà male contento non averlo fatto. Di che ho voluto avvisantar [*sic*] la V. S. alla quale di continuo mi racomando.

Papie, 3 Novembris, 1489.

D. ERASMUS TRIVULTIUS.

Calvi, II, p. 66 note.

Aliz., I, 363-64 note.

Chap. vii, p. 169.

My Illustrious Lord,

November 3, 1489. Pavia.

Having read what your Highness wrote to me relating to the complaint made by the Commune of Savona against Master Vincenzo Foppa, who did not furnish the Majestas which he had begun in their cathedral, I immediately summoned the said Master Vincenzo. I gave him to understand what was contained in your Highness' letter on the subject, and I admonished him to go and furnish the said work without further delay, otherwise I should have him arrested, and proceedings would be instituted against him, so that he would have cause to regret not having obeyed. Which matter I wished to communicate to your Highness, to whom I always commend myself.

Pavia, November 3, 1489.

ERASMO TRIVULZIO.

49. Judgment in the dispute between Foppa and his brother-in-law deferred for one month.

November 20, 1489, Pavia.

"Die vigesimo mensis novembris, hora parum post tercias, in civitate Papie, videlicet in camera superiori domus habitacionis infrascripti domini Prepositi, sita in canonica ecclesie sancti Inventii" . . . Dionigi Perego, Provost of S. Invenzio, and Giovanni Antonio da Santangelo, known as de Barbauschis, arbitrators in the dispute between "magistrum Vincentium de Foppa et magistrum Bertolameum de Caylina, de Brissia, habitatores Papie," defer giving sentence "a die finituri [termini] ipsius [compromissi]" usque ad unum mensem proxime futurum, retenta iterum baylia pro-rogandi, etc.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Bernardo Cellanova.

Chap. vii, p. 169.

50. Sentence on Foppa and his brother-in-law, Bartolomeo Caylina.

December 5, 1489, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Nos Dionysius de Perego decretorum doctor, ecclesie Sancti Inventii Papie prepositus, et Johannes Antonius de Sancto Angelo, dictus de Barbauschis, arbitri, arbitratores et amiables compositores comuniter et concorditer electi et assumpti per et inter magistrum Vincentium de Foppa pictorem parte una, et magistrum Bertolameum de Caylina similiter pictorem parte altera, ambo habitatores Papie, etc. Primo, viso dicto compromisso et potestate et baylia nobis in illo et

per illud attributis per dictas partes, rogato die xxviii proxime preteriti octobris per Bernardum de Cellanova notarium,

Item visis petitionibus oretenus et viva voce factis per ipsas ambas partes coram nobis,

Et visis etiam responsionibus factis, licet oretenus, per suprascriptas partes dictis petitionibus, hinc inde factis,

Et denique visis et auditis omnibus et singulis que partes ipse coram nobis hinc inde dicere, producere, ostendere et allegare voluerunt in dicta causa seu causis . . . ac cum partibus ipsis, sepe ac sepius habito colloquio, tam simul quam divisim, et super ipsis omnibus et singulis matura et diligenti deliberacione prehabita,

Christi nomine invocato eiusque gloriosissime matris virginis Marie, ac totius celestis Curie triumphantis auxilio implorato, in his scriptis, pro tribunali sedentes super quodam bancho ibi sito . . . dicimus, pronunciamus, sentenciamus, arbitramur, arbitramentamur, declaramus, condemnamus, absolvimus et facimus per et inter dictas partes et in dicta causa seu causis, in omnibus ac per omnia, ac de verbo ad verbum prout infra per singula continetur :

In primis, quidem, sequentes potius equitatem quam stricti juris rigorem, condemnamus dictum magistrum Vincentium de Fopa ad dandum et solvendum, in pecunia numerata tantum et ad terminos infrascriptos, suprascripto magistro Bertolameo eius cognato, libras triginta duas imperiales, videlicet libras sexdecim imperiales de presenti, videlicet infra viii dies post hanc nostram sententiam latam, item et reliquas libras sexdecim imperiales ad festum Pasce Resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proxime futurum. Et hoc pro omni et toto eo et omnibus et singulis hiis, quod et que petere posset et consequi vel habere deberet dictus magister Bertolameus, tam respectu legati eidem facti per nunc quondam dominam Catherinam de Bolis de Cremona¹ eius matrem, quam respectu legitime et hereditatis, seu quacumque alia ex causa, ab hodie retro, que dici vel excogitari quomodolibet posset, a dicto magistro Vincentio seu eius heredibus et sucessoribus.

Item, salvis premissis, habitis dictis libris triginta duabus imperialibus de quibus et prout supra, per dictum magistrum Bertolameum, condemnamus dictum magistrum Bertolameum ad quietandum seu liberandum seu quietacionem et liberationem faciendam dicto magistro Vincentio de omnibus predictis, ita quod nulla ex causa que dici vel excogitari possit ut supra, de cetero nihil petere possit a dicto magistro Vincentio vel eius heredibus, etc. tam occasione dicti legati quam alia ex causa vera vel ficta : Et hoc in pena et sub pena in dicto compromisso contenta, tociens solvenda parti attendenti, quotiens per alteram partium ipsarum fuerit huic nostre sententie et arbitrio contraventum seu contrafactum. Et ita solutis dictis pecuniarum summis per ipsum magistrum Vincentium, ipsum magistrum Vincentium per hanc presentem nostram sententiam arbitralem et arbitramentalem absolvimus et absolutum reddimus a predictis ut supra, eidem magistro Bertolameo in predictis petendis, tenore presentium, silentium imponentes ac imponimus.

Item, salvis predictis, absolvimus ambas partes ab expensis coram nobis in dicta causa factis.

Item, salvis suprascriptis, condemnamus dictum magistrum Bertolameum versus

¹ See chap. vi, p. 136, and following ; Documents Nos. 33, 34. See also *Literature*, April, 1901, the *Athenæum*, Feb., 1902 ; and *Rassegna d'Arte*, Feb., 1903.

dictum magistrum Vincentium ad eidem restituendum de presenti omne laborerium, seu omne et totum id quod penes se habet, pro ornamento Crucis monasterii Carmelitarum Papie. Et quod dictus magister Vincentius teneatur eidem magistro Bertolameo compensare pro rata librarum xviii imperialium eidem magistro Bertolameo exbur-satarum per ipsum magistrum Vincentium super dicto laborerio et pro mercede ipsius magistri Bertolamei operis quod fecit in et super dicto laborerio, juxta estimacionem fiendam per duos amicos comunes si discordia fuerit inter eos. Residuum vero dictarum librarum xviii de quibus supra teneatur ipse magister Bertolameus restituere eidem magistro Vincentio infra annum unum proxime futurum aut eidem magistro Vincentio in dicto tempore, laborare in arte sua pictorie, tantum quod ascendat ad dictam summam et restum dictarum librarum xviii imperialium de quibus supra, prout fuerint inter se concordēs.

Et ita in hiis scriptis pro tribunali sedentes ut supra, super quodam bancho ibi sito, in Canonica ecclesie Sancti Inventii Papie, Porte Palacii, Parochie eiusdem ecclesie, dicimus, pronunciamus, sentenciamus, etc. Lata . . . anno a nativitate Domini corrente millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo nono, indictione septima, die vero veneris, quinto mensis decembris, hora completorii vel circa, in civitate Papie videlicet in canonica ecclesie sancti Inventii, etc. Et hec omnia presentibus, audientibus et intelligentibus suprascriptis magistro Vincentio et magistro Bertolameo et predictam sententiam et contenta in ea omologantibus, etc. et promittentibus in omnibus et per omnia ac de verbo ad verbum prout in ea continetur . . . et inde, etc. Presentibus, etc. inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Bernardo Cellanova.
Chap. vii, pp. 169-171.

51. Foppa pays his brother-in-law Bartolomeo 19 lire imperiali as part of the fine of 32 lire which the arbitrators had condemned him to pay.

December 5, 1489, Pavia.

Die suprascripto, hora completorii vel circa, in civitate Papie, videlicet in Canonica ecclesie Sancti Inventii . . . Magister Bartolameus de Caylina, pictor, habitator Papie, ibi presens . . . confitetur versus magistrum Vincentium de Foppa similiter pictorem, habitatorem Papie, ibi presentem . . . ab eo habuisse et recepisse libras decem et novem imperiales pro parte solucionis librarum triginta duarum imperialium in quibus fuit ipse Magister Vincentius condemnatus versus ipsum magistrum Bartolameum nunc paulo ante per sententiam arbitralem, etc. Et inde, etc. Presentibus, etc. inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Bernardo Cellanova.
Chap. vii, p. 170.

52. The Special Council at Brescia, in response to a petition of Vincenzo Foppa, proposes to grant him a yearly allowance of 100 lire on condition of his living at Brescia and exercising his art there.

December 18, 1489, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXIX, Die xviii Decembris, in Consilio Speciali :

Pro Magistro Vincentio pictore excellentissimo, concive nostro, lecta ejus eleganti petitione cum ornatissima informatione super ea data per nobiles cives D. Jo. Christoforum de Cazago et D. Hemanuellem de Lanis effectualiter continente : Cum ars picture inter alias artes optima et honorifica admodum sit, in ipsaque gratiam haud parvam habeat, nec non in architectura, sicut pictura per eum jam facta pluribus in civitatibus et locis et novissime in lodieta nostra nova amplissime testatur, cum repatriare cupiat cum ejus familia, et in hac civitate artem picture et architecture exercere dum vixerit, et juvenes ipsi arti deditos instruere et docere : Comunitas nostra dignetur de condigna provisione annuali, saltem ducatorum quinquaginta, sibi providere, ut ea mediante se et familiam suam sustentare valeat ac civitatem nostram, præcipue in publicis edificiis, picturis dignissimis decorare : Captum fuit, nemine discrepante, quod dicto magistro Vincentio dentur annuatim de provisione per Comunitatem nostram libre centum planet : ipso habitante et artem picture exercente in civitate Brixie, que provisio durare debeat ad beneplacitum ipsius Comunitatis, et hoc dummodo placeat Consilio generali.

Confirmata, die 24 Augusti, 1490.

Arch. Antico Municipale, Brescia, Provvisioni, die xvij Decembris, 1489 (unpaged).

Zani, *Enciclopedia delle belle Arti*, Vol. IX, p. 228.

Fenaroli, *Diz. Artisti Bresciani*, p. 130, and *Ateneo di Brescia*, 1873.

Chap. viii, p. 182.

53. Power of Attorney granted by Bartolomeo della Canonica to his brother at Pavia to recover certain goods from Foppa.

April 14, 1490, Genoa.

Maestro Bertolino della Canonica appoints his brother Agostino his proxy : Ad petendum, exigendum, recipiendum et recuperandum a magistro Vincentio de Brexia pictore in dicto loco Papie certam quantitatem arnesium, rerum et bonorum penes eum dimissorum nomine custodie per ipsum constituentem.

Actum Janue in apoteca prenominati Mag. Bertholini constituentis, sita in contracta sive carrubeo recto Ortorum Sancti Andree, Anno Dominice Nativitatis 1490, 14 Aprilis.

Arch. di S. Giorgio, Genoa, Atti del Not. Gregorio Ferro, Fogl. 1.

Aliz., I, 372.

Chap. vii, p. 171.

54. Inscription on the altarpiece painted by Foppa for the old cathedral at Savona.

August 5, 1490, Savona.

Anno Salutis 1490 Die v Augusti Julio Episcopo Ostiensi Cardinali Sancti Petri ad Vincula Maiora Nitente Vincencius pinxit.

Oratory of S. Maria di Castello, Savona.

Chap. vii, p. 178.

55. The General Council of Brescia ratifies the grant of a yearly salary to Foppa.

August 24, 1490, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXX, Die xxiiii augusti, in Consilio Generali.

Lecta parte capta die 18 decembris 1489 in effectu continente

Provisio magistri quod magistro Vincentio Brixiano egregio pictori dentur annuatim
Vincentii pictoris de provisione libre C planet, ipso habitante et artem picture
egregii. exercente in civitate Brixie: que provisio duret ad beneplacitum

comunitatis nostre, ut in ipsa parte latius continetur; pars ipsa confirmata est de ballotis 66 affirmativis et 19 negativis.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, Provvisioni, 1490, f. 70.

Fenaroli, *Dizion cit.*, p. 131.

Chap. viii, p. 183.

56. Authority given by the Special Council for the decoration of the new Loggetta in the Piazza Maggiore at Brescia, and especially for the execution of paintings there by Foppa.

October 4, 1490, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXX, Die iiii Octobris, in Consilio Generali.

Vadit pars quod vices et auctoritas hujus consilii comittantur

Libertas data Consilio consilio spetiali ad eligendum duos deputatos, qui cum D.
spetiali pro logieta Francisco de Miliis, etiam deputato ad Fabricam lodiette nove
pingenda et ornanda. Platee magne nostre perficiende et ornande, perfici et ornari

faciant, maxime picturis per Magistrum Vincentium pictorem
clarissimum concivem nostrum pingendis; et captum est de ballotis 88 affirmativis et
3 negativis.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, Prov., 1490, f. 85.

Referred to *Athenæum*, February 15, 1902.

Chap. viii, p. 184.

57. Resolution of the General Council ordering that Foppa's paintings in the Loggetta be inspected and payment for them made.

November 26, 1490, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXX, Die xxvi Novembris, in Consilio Generali.

Pro Magistro Vincentio Brixiano pictore egregio petente quod ei satisfiat pro picturis
per eum factis sub lodietta a capite platee super pariete a meridiana parte; captum fuit
de ballotis octuagintaduabus affirmativis et quattuor negativis quod committatur ac
commisum sit et esse intelligatur deputatis ad fabricam dicte lodiette, et ad eam
ornandam picturis, ut diligenti examinatione facta de ipsis picturis, factis per dictum
Magistrum Vincentium, ei Bulletam fieri faciant de reliquo mercedis sue.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, Prov., *ibid.*, f. 97.

Athenæum, *ibid.*

Chap. viii, p. 184.

58. Licence granted to Foppa by the Council of Brescia to go to Pavia for one month to safeguard his disputed rights in a certain house which he owned there. He undertakes to execute no paintings while absent.

August 30, 1491, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXI, Die xxx Augusti in Consilio Speciali.

Licentia data M^{ro} Vincentio pictori insigni: eundi Papiam et standi per mensem unum. Pro Magistro Vincentio de Foppa Brixiano, pictore egregio, conducto per Comunitatem nostram propter ejus pingendi singularem virtutem cum provisione librarum centum planet in annum, petente quod ei concedatur bona licentia (ut) possit ire Papiam usque, pro tuendo jura sua in quadam domo, quam habet in dicta Papiensi civitate, de qua ei mota est lis, et dicente aliquam picture operam facere nolle: Captum fuit de ballotis undecim affirmativis et una negativa quod ei concedatur bona licentia eundi Papiam per mensem unum, occasione dicte litis ei mote.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, Prov., 1491, f. 47 v.

Zani, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 229, note 84.

Fenaroli, p. 131.

Chap. viii, p. 185.

59. Vincenzo Foppa pays in person the "livello" for his house at Pavia.

November 11, 1491, Pavia.

Francesco de Betiis, Canon of S. Invenzio, acting on behalf of Giacomo de Betiis, administrator of the hospital of S. Invenzio, declares, "versum magistrum Vincentium de Foppa de Brissia pictorem ibi presentem," that he has received from him the "livello" of one soldo, being the charge payable every year upon the painter's house.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Girolamo Moracavalli.

Chap. viii, pp. 186, 187.¹

60. Payment to Foppa of the sum of 51 lire 95 soldi by a merchant of Pavia in full discharge of a debt.

June 20, 1492, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, &c. Anno, &c. in civitate Papie, videlicet ad banchum dominorum Consulum Mercatorum Papie, situm in Porta Marenga, Parochia Sancte Tecle. Ibique, &c. Magister Vincentius de Fopa, pinctor, civis papiensis et habitator in presenciarum civitatis Brisie, . . . confitetur versus me notarium . . . recipientem nomine . . . domini Petri Pauli de Guenzate mercatoris Papie, se ipsum magistrum Vincentium ab ipso domino Petro Paulo habuisse et recepisse libras quinquaginta unam et soldos novem imperiales, pro plena et integra solutione illius debiti alias per ipsum dominum Petrum Paulum confessati versus ipsum magistrum Vincentium, occasione de qua et prout fit mentio in ipso instrumento rogato anno, indicione et die in eo contentis

¹ See also chap. vi, p. 140, note 2, and p. 141; and App. B, Nos. 4 and 5.

per dominum Rainaldum de Strata notarium Papiensem, quod instrumentum in signum vere solutionis promittit dare incisum, etc. Presentibus, etc.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Bartolomeo Strada.

Chap. VIII, p. 187.

61. Foppa values decorative paintings by Pietro Moretto at Brescia.

November 23, 1492, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXII, Die xxiii Novembris in Consilio Speciali.

Pro Magistro Petro Moretto, pictore, petente solutionem picturae facte super cortinis intermediantibus salam habitationis Magnifici domini Potestatis pro qua petit . . . ducatos quatuor, juxta estimationem factam per Magistrum Vincentium pictorem.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, Prov., f. 22 v.

Referred to *Athenæum*, February 15, 1902.

Ch. VIII, p. 187.

62. Resolution of the General Council of Brescia to discontinue Foppa's salary.

May 15, 1495, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXV, Die xv Maii, in Consilio Generali.

Vadit pars quod provisio Magistri Vincentii pictoris, que est de libris centum planet, cassetur in totum: attento quod conductus fuit ad beneplacitum Comunitatis nostre. Et capta est de ballotis sexaginta quinque affirmativis et decem octo negativis.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, Prov., 1495, f. 159 v.

Ch. VIII, p. 189.

63. Decision of the Special Council of Brescia to settle a certain debt with Foppa; refusal to grant his petition for payment of his salary for the fortnight between the date of the resolution rescinding it and the end of his official year.

June 12, 1495, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXV, Die xii Junii, in Consilio Speciali.

Pro Magistro Vincentio pictore egregio, captum fuit nemine discrepante quod ei fiat bulleta de libris xii, s. x planet pro uno debitore impotente pro dicta summa ei assignato; posita etiam parte quod eidem M^{ro} Vincentio pictori fieret bulleta pro diebus xv qui restant ad consumationem anni, a die quo privatus fuit provisione, Pars ipsa reprobata est de ballotis 5 affirmativis et 6 negativis.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, Prov., 1495, f. 167 v.

The Athenæum, *ibid.*

Rassegna d' Arte, February, 1903.

Chap. VIII, p. 189. See illustration, p. 190.

64. Payment of a sum of money to Foppa by the Brescian Commune in settlement of a debt.

July 16, 1495, Brescia.

MCCCCLXXXV, Die xvi Julii. Pro Magistro Vincentio de Foppa, pictore, conducto olim per magnificam Comunitatem Brixie . . . fiat bulleta de libris xii, s. x planet.

Bullettario della Città (now lost), quoted by Zamboni, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 48.

Brogno, *Guida*, p. 245, note 64.

Athenæum, *ibid.*

Ch. VIII, p. 190.

65. Note of a receipt for the charge upon Foppa's house at Pavia.¹

November 11, 1496, Pavia.

Payment by Cristoforo Gazzaniga to Francesco de Betiis acting for the administrator of the hospital Giacomo de Betiis, "nomine et vice magistri Vincentii de Foppa pictoris de Brissia," one soldo for the annual charge upon his house in S. Invenzio.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

Ch. VIII, p. 186, note 4.

66. Giovanni Formenti, a carver in wood, is paid by Silvestro Bottigella, representing the Chapter of S. Maria Gualtieri at Pavia, for an Anchona constructed by him for that Church.²

July 13, 1497, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo, indictione quintadecima, die terciodecimo mensis Julii, hora terciarum vel circa, in civitate Papie, videlicet in sacristia ecclesie sancte Marie Gualterii, sita in Porta Sancti Petri ad murum, in parochia ejusdem ecclesie, ibique, etc. magister Johannes de Furmentis, fabricator et intagliator lignorum, habitator Papie . . . confitetur versus spectabilem virum dominum Silvestrum de Butigellis, civem Papiensem . . . se ipsum magistrum Johannem a dicto domino Silvestro, habuisse et recepisse ducatos septem, . . . pro plena et integra solutione illorum ducatorum sedecim, quos alias dictus dominus Silvester penes se et in deposito confessus fuit habuisse a venerabili Capitulo ipsius ecclesie, pro dando et solvendo ipsi magistro Johanni pro quadam anchona fabricanda dicte ecclesie et quam dictus magister Johannes fabricavit et finivit. . . . Insuper ipse magister Johannes . . . promittit quod si ipsa anchona, per ipsum magistrum fabricata, (demonstraret) infra tres menses proxime futuros aliquod manchamentum, propter quod ipsa anchona, ad laudem cuiuslibet boni magistri, redargui posset, quod ipse magister Johannes, de propriis sumptibus et expensis ipsam anchonam aptabit ad laudem cuiuslibet boni magistri . . . et inde, etc. Presentibus . . . testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Cartella Miscellanea.

Ch. VIII, p. 193.

¹ As in No. 59.

² See Nos. 69 and 70.

67. A receipt similar to that in No. 65, with the addition of a note by Francesco de Betiis asserting the rights of the Hospital and a denial of the same by Gazzaniga.

November 11, 1497, Pavia.

Payment by Gazzaniga, "ad utilitatem magistri Vincentii de Foppa, pictoris, filii quondam [*blank*] licet absentis," with the following note by the Canon Francesco de Betiis: "Quam quidem confessionem dictus dominus Franciscus fecit et facit cum reservatione iurium dicti hospitalis (S. Inventii); cui reservationi dictus Christophorus [de Cazanigha] non consentit in quantum fiat in preiudicium dicti magistri Vincentii.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

Ch. VIII, p. 187.

68. Registration of Vincenzo Foppa in the quarter of S. Alessandro at Brescia, as the son of the late Giovanni da Bagnolo.

1498, Brescia.

Quadra Prima S. Alexandri.

Vincentius quondam Johannis de Bagnolo, pictor.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, *Libro d' Estimo*, 1498, f. 168.

Athenæum, *ibid.*

Burlington Magazine, March, 1903, p. 107.

Chap. VIII, p. 191.

69. The Ancona of the High Altar of S. Maria Gualtieri at Pavia, executed by Foppa and Giovanni Siro Cattaneo da Brignano.

October 30, 1499, Pavia.

In nomine Domini amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo nono, indictione secunda, die trigesimo mensis octobris, hora vespertarum, in civitate Papie, videlicet in sacristia ecclesie Sancte Marie Gualterii . . . Ibiq̃ue, etc., cum sit quod alias domini Comendatarius, Canonici et Capitulum eiusdem Sancte Marie predictę ordinaverint et decreverint, pro ornamento dicte ecclesie, quod ad altare maius dicte ecclesie fieret anchona, modis et formis ac pretio et valore de quibus infra: Sitque etiam verum quod prefati domini . . . pro constructione dicte anchone . . . convenerint cum magistro Johanne Syro de Brignano, pictore, cive papiensi, qui eam construi haberet et deberet modis et formis ac pretio de quibus in infrascripta lista continetur, cuius quidem liste tenor sequitur et est talis, videlicet: Lista delli pacti et conventionē facti cum magistro Johanne Syllo de Catanei da Brignano ad mettere ad oro fino la anchona della ecclesia di Sancta Maria Gualtero de Pavia et:

1. Imprimis, sia obligato el suprascripto maistro Johanne Sylo pictore ad mettere tuto doro fino tuti l'intalii della suprascripta anchona, così il rilievo como il piano indifferenter: et li campi deli candilieri così dorati sopra loro li pingerà ad colore de smalto et di quelli colori parerà meglio alla parte.

2. Item, sia obligato il suprascripto pintore ad mettere doro fino quelli quatro Angeli de rilievo vano in cima delle colonne dessa anchona, salvo la carnasone.

3. Item, le canale delle origelle sono alla cima de supra, metterle de azuro fino.
 4. Item, el suprascripto maistro sia obligato ad mettere doro fino li sey campi grandi dove vano le figure grande et ordinare essi campi in forma honorevole.
 5. Item, sia obligato mettere doro fino le cornise tutte della banchetta dessa anchona.
 6. Item, sia obligato dipingere la coltrina da mettere davanti dessa anchona, videlicet da uno canto un Dio Padre in uno raso col mondo in mano et da laltro canto la Madona che adora el filiolo et farli sancto Josepho apresso.
 7. Item, de pingere la cassa dessa anchona ad azuro bono cum le stelle doro, come quella del Hospitale Novo de Pavia, et alle asse vano atorno al anchona depingerle a foyami aut altro modo come melio parerà al maistro suprascripto.
 8. Et per pretio et merchato delle suprascripte cose tute, el Capitolo de sancta Maria Gualtero predicta, si obliga dare al maistro Johanne suprascripto ducati quaranta de moneta, a callendis de Zugno proximo che vegnerà de l'ano proxime futuro, computando in li ducati quaranta, libre 65 et soldi 6, quali el dicto maistro Johanne Syllo ha hauti per parte de precio et mercede delle spese et factura della dicta anchona dal dicto Capitulo.
 9. Et viceversa el dicto maistro s'è obligato dare alla dicta giesia, videlicet ad domino Preposito et Canonici et Capitulo la soprascripta anchona ben dorata, depinta, et finita nel modo suprascripto, ad laude de bono maistro et al termine de callende de Zugno predicto, senza alcuna exceptione et queste cose suprascripte tute ad omne spexa del dicto maistro Johanne Syllo.
 10. Item, confessa el dicto maistro Johanne Syllo havere hauto la soprascripta anchona tuta, in omnibus et singulis et per omnia como è stata expedita per magistro Johanne che sta de presenti in Castello, della quale anchona ne apare uno designo, quale è per instrumento rogato per domino Johanne Matheo Paltonerio notario, presso esso notario, quale instrumento fu facto quando fu data al dicto maistro Johanne de intaliare.
 11. Item, el suprascripto maistro Johanne Syllo promette dare et consignare al dicto Capitulo le figure tute et banchetta ha dipincto maistro Vincentio, perchè sono apresso del dicto maistro Johanne Syllo come esso protesta, dummodo el sia relevato dal sequestro, facto per parte de messer el Vicario de la corte Episcopalle de Pavia, ad instancia de maistro Vincentio Fopa depinctore, apresso ad esso maistro Johanne Syro in preiudiciu Francisci de Laxia.
- Sitque etiam verum quod infrascripti dominus Franciscus de Allaxia et Johannes Syrus de Leucho, canonici de quibus infra, habuerint . . . a magnifico domino Comite Carolo de (Lugo?), fictabile . . . prebendarum predictae ecclesie, libras tercentum imperiales . . . que quidem libre tercentum . . . per Capitulum dicte ecclesie, deputate fuerunt pro fieri faciendo et ordinando anchonam de auro et coloribus, de quibus et prout fit mentio in dicta lista. . . . Volentes, prout optant, prefati domini . . . devenire . . . ad expeditionem ipsius anchone et providere de mercede pictoris ipsius anchone, quia commodè libre trecentum predictae a dictis dominis Francisco et Johanne Syllo haberi et consequi non possunt de presenti . . . venerabilis dominus Johannes Baptista de Bottis comendatarius predictae ecclesie, nec non et suprascriptus dominus Franciscus de Allaxia canonichus prebendarius dicte ecclesie et dominus presbiter Johannes Novellus de Campixe canonichus dicte ecclesie, . . . liberant et quietant

dominum Franciscum de Cassinis de Laude civem papiensem ibi presentem, etc. de florenis viginti octo . . . de quibus debitor fuit et est dicto Capitulo pro ficto anni unius proxime preteriti . . . nonnullarum proprietatum et terrarum quas ad fictum tenet a dicto Capitulo, etc. attenta maxime promissione per dictum dominum Franciscum de Cassinis facta versus magistrum Johannem Syrum ex Captaneis de Brignano, pictorem, creditorem ipsius Capituli occasione mercedis anchone de qua supra, qui dominus Franciscus de Cassinis, . . . confitetur versus dictum magistrum Johannem Syrum presentem, etc. se fore et esse eius debitorem de florenis xxviii. . . . quos . . . exbur-sare . . . promittit dicto Magistro Johanni Syro . . . per totum mensem Novembris proxime futurum . . . quos quidem florenos viginti octo de quibus supra dictus Magister Johannes Syrus acceptavit et acceptat et ex nunc compensavit et compensat in dictis ducatis quadraginta eidem ut supra promissis et ex nunc dictum Capitulum, etc. liberavit et liberat pro dicta quantitate dictorum florenorum viginti octo. . . . Item ulterius prefatum Capitulum dicto Magistro Johanni Syro presenti, etc. assignavit, etc. . . . fictum unum perpetuum florenorum quatuordecim cum dimidio . . . quod annualiter datur . . . per Symonem et Bertolameum patrem et filium de la Canepa, . . . pro ficto domorum duarum et pro mensibus sex etc. Item et aliud fictum perpetuum florenorum octo cum dimidio, . . . de domo una, quam ad fictum perpetuum tenent Melchion et fratres de Habiata a dicto Capitulo . . . quibus florenis xiiii cum dimidio et florenis viii cum dimidio habitis a dictis de Habiata et de la Canepa, dictus Magister Johannes Syrus compensare promisit . . . in dictis ducatis quadraginta eidem ut supra promissis, etc. Et inde, etc. Presentibus, etc. inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gio. Giorgio Sisti.

Chap. viii, pp. 191-195.

70. Notarial Receipt by Vincenzo Foppa, for 78 lire in full satisfaction of 106 lire due to him for his share of the altarpiece of S. Maria Gualtieri.¹

December 13, 1499, Pavia.

In nomine Domini amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo nono, indicione secunda, die xiii mensis decembris, hora vesperarum, in civitate Papie, videlicet in audientia episcopalis palatii, siti in Porta Pertuxii, in Parochia Sancti Georgii in Fornarolo. Ibique, etc. Magister Vincentius de Fopa, pictor, . . . confitetur . . . versus dominum Franciscum de Allaxia . . . se ipsum Magistrum Vincentium a dicto domino Francisco habuisse et recepisse libras septuaginta octo imperiales . . . pro completa solutione et satisfactione librarum centum sex imperialium, de quibus alias dictus dominus Franciscus fuit confessus se fore debitorem dicti Magistri Vincentii, occasione de qua in dicto instrumento continetur, de quo rogatum fuit instru-

¹ On December 4, 1499, Giovanni Siro had received 28 florins from the Chapter of S. Maria Gualtieri, as part payment for his work connected with this ancona (Atti di Giov. Giorgio Sisti, Arch. Not. Pavia), but the completed altarpiece was not delivered until August 21, 1501. On this day the Commendatory Abbot and Canons of S. Maria Gualtieri acknowledge that they have received it from Siro, and the latter declares that the work has been fully paid (Atti di Siro Pescari, Arch. Not. Pavia). Chap. viii, p. 195.

mentum publicum anno et indicione presentibus, die et mense in eo contentis, per me notarium infrascriptum, etc. et inde, etc. Presentibus, etc. inde testibus.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gio. Giorgio Sisti.

Chap. VIII, p. 193.

71. Extract from the Account-book of the Quarter of S. Alessandro, relating to payments of "livello" by Foppa.

1501-2, Brescia.

Exaction fatta per mi Francesco da Mantua massaro dela prima quadra de Sancto Alexandro, 1501, 1502. . . .

Item, adi 12 agosto, 1501, scossi da Mro Vincenzo pentor liri nove et soldi dese f. 36 et hevi lo boletino 1.9 s. 10.

Archivio di S. Alessandro, Brescia. Quadra Mastro Cassa, 1502-23, Masseria I^o, f. 147 v., 148 r. *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1903, p. 107.

Chap. IX, p. 223.

72. Foppa's payments to the Massaro of the Quarter of S. Alessandro at Brescia.

1502, Brescia.

Maystro Vincenzo Foppa [blank] optimo pictor el qual have cason da quondam Ser Matheo filio de quondam Ser Christoforo di Cazii speciar, dè dar per lo ficto livellario paga ogni anno in kalendi de aprile perpetuo ala antiscritta università de uno sedume murato e coppato cum una stalla et adesso fabricado et dove habita lo suprascripto M^{ro} Vincenzo, zase in la contrada de porta nova, choerentii a doman la strada [blank]. Liri quattro et soldi quindese per chadun anno, adi primo de aprile suprascripto, come appare al libro suprascripto A. a f. 36 et questo per lo anno 1502 finido, videlicet liri quattro et soldi quindese, zoè 1.4 s. 15.

Item per lo anno finito adi primo aprile 1503 1.4 s. 15.

"	"	"	"	1504	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1505	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1506	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1507	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1508	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1509	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1510	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1511	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1512	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1513	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1514	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1515	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1516	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1517	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1518	.	.	.	.	"

Item per lo anno finito adi primo aprile	1519	.	.	.	.	1.4 s.15.			
"	"	"	"	1520	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1521	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1522	.	.	.	.	"
"	"	"	"	1523	.	.	.	.	"

Nota quod de suprascriptis bonis investitus fuit M. Paulus de Caylina pictor, ut apparet in isto f. 71.

Total of Vincenzo Foppa's payments 1.104 s.10.

Archiv. di S. Alessandro, Brescia. Libro dei Livellarii, A. f. 2 v. (Quadra Mastro Cassa, 1502-23, Masseria I°.)

Burlington, p. 107 and foll.

Chap. ix, p. 223. See illustration, p. 222.

Master Vincenzo Foppa [blank], the excellent painter who now possesses what was once owned by the late Ser Matteo son of the late Ser Cristoforo Caccia, chemist, is to pay to the quarter every year on the 1st of April as "livello" for a perpetual lease of a house, walled and tiled, with a stable lately built, and where the above-named Master Vincenzo now lives, situated in the contrada porta nuova looking to the street on the east [blank] four lire fifteen soldi every year on April 1st as already stated and as appears in Book A, f. 36, and this is for the past year 1502, namely, four lire and fifteen soldi, that is 1.4 s.15. Item for the full year 1.4 s.15 up to April 1st, 1503, etc.

Be it noted that the successor to the above-named possessions was Master Paolo Caylina the painter, as appears in this volume on f. 71.

73. Payments by the heirs of Ser Venturino de Sali, and particulars relating to the garden of Vincenzo Foppa and to the position of his house.

1502, Brescia.

Ser Venturino da Sali overo adesso li soy Heredi dè dar . . . per lo livello . . . de una casa . . . che zase . . . in la città de Bressa in la contrada de Porta nova dove soleva essere la torre o vero forteza de porta nova de la cittadella vegia de Bressa a la qual è choerentii amonte et a doman la strada, a mezo di lo orto de maystro Cristoforo di Cazii, o vero adesso de maystro Vincenzo depintor el qual orto have cason de ditta università.

Arch. S. Alessandro, Libro dei Livellarii, f. 1.

Chap. ix, pp. 224, 225.

Ser Venturino Sali, or rather his heirs, are debtors to the quarter . . . for the "livello" . . . of a house . . . situated . . . in the Contrada Porta nuova in the City of Brescia where the tower or fort of the new gate of the old citadel of Brescia once stood, which house is bordered by the street on the north and east; to the south is the garden of Master Cristoforo Caccia, or rather now of Master Vincenzo the painter, for which garden a "livello" has to be paid to the quarter.

74. Payments by Foppa to the Massaro of the Quarter of S. Alessandro.

June 16, 1502, to October 16, 1516, Brescia.

Libro dei Livellarii : Folio 3.

1. E dè havere adi 16 zugno 1502 contadi a Hippolyto soldi quaranta otto
1.2 s.8.
- 1a. Item dè haver numerati a mi Apollonio Botano massaro, adi 29 aprile 1503 per uno puto a suo nome sulla piazzola de S. Alexandro uno ungaro calante trey grani . 1.2 s.19.
- 1b. Item per la dona sua, adi 20 octobris 1503, uno ungaro . 1.3 s.2.

2. Item dè aver numerato a mi Bompà massaro dela suprascripta quadra delo anno 1505, videlicet contadi per la donna del suprascripto maystro Vincentio adi dese de zugno 1505 . 1.3 s.13.
- 2a. It. debet habere numeratos mihi Bompano suprascripto per d.p. Mafeum de Monte solventem eius nomine libras sex planet pro parte ficti domus . 1.6 s.
- 2b. It. debet habere numeratos die tertio Julii 1506 per eum, videlicet (in) domo mey massarii . 1.4 s.15.
3. It. recepti per mi Zoanbaptista da Monte, massaro, a suo nome da Zacharia Tabarni, adi 6 decembre 1508 lire dese et soldi otto, cioè
1.10 s.8.

4. It. dalo suprascripto numerati a M^{ro} Francesco Barbaro a nome de la quadra, adi 24 mazo 1509 1.1 s.5.
5. It. adi 28 augusti 1509 numerati per la sua donna, liri trey in oro 1.3

Libro di Cassa : Folio 148.

1. Exaction fatta per mi Francesco da Mantua massaro . . . etc. . . .
Item adi 16 zugno 1502 scossi da M^{ro} Vincenzo pentor soldi quaranta otto . . . 1.2 s.8.

F. 152.

2. Ego Bompanus de Bompanis massarius prime quadre S. Alexandri Brixie, de anno 1505 et de anno 1506, recepi. . . .

Item recepi a magistro Vincentio pictore libras quatuordecim et soldos octo planet, in tribus postis, ut in isto in folio 3 . . . 1.14 s.8.

F. 156.

3. Prima quadra S. Alexandri dè haver da mi Zoanbaptista massaro(1507-8) . . . scossi a suo nome dali infra-scripti suoi debitori videlicet. . . .
Da M^{ro} Vizenzo depentor como in questo a f. 3 . . . 1.10 s.8.

F. 156v.

4. Da M^{ro} Vincenzo depentor pro parte et questo a di suprascripto (24 mazo 1509) . . . 1.1 s.5.
5. It. dal supr. M^{ro} Vincenzo et numerati per la sua donna adi 28 augusti 1509 . . . 1.3

6. It. numerati a mi adi 30 decembre 1509
soldi dese . . . s.10.

6. It. adi 30 decembre a M^{ro} Vincentio
pictore . . . s.10.

F. 158.

7. It. numerati adi xii novembre 1510
liri quatro, soldi quindese per la
sua dona . . . 1.4 s.15.

7. It. die xii novembris 1510 ab uxore
M^{ri} Vincentii pictoris libras quat-
tuor soldos quindecim planet
1.4 s.15.

F. 162.

La prima quadra . . . dè dar spesi
per mi Viviano de Viviani nodaro
sindico et vice massaro .

8. It. numerati adi xii settembre 1513
per far conzar suso la anta sula
botega compra da Zoan Peder re-
camador adi xii settembre 1513
1.2 s.5.

8. It. per far far lanta sula botega com-
pra dal recamador la quale era stata
rota dai franzosi de ano 1512
1.2

F. 162v.

Scossi per mi Zoanbaptista da Monte
massaro per lo ano 1512 dali in-
frascripti . . .

9. It. contadi a mi Viviano vice massaro
et sindaco per lo suprascripto M^{ro}
Vincenzo adi xiii octobre 1513
1.2.

9. Item da M^{ro} Vizenzo depentore rece-
puti per Ser Viviano in doy posti
como in questo a f. 3 . 1.4 s.5.

F. 163v.

Scossi per mi Ludovigo Zerbi massaro
per lo anno 1514 . .

10. It. contadi a mi Ludovic Zerbi mas-
saro per M^{ro} Paulo suo nipote adi 4
marzo 1514 . . . 1.1 s.10.

10. It. da M^{ro} Vincentio depentor como in
questo a f. 3 . . . 1.1 s.10.

11. It. contadi a mi Ludovic suprascripto
per lo suprascripto M^{ro} Paulo adi
11 marzo 1514. . . 1.2 s.10.

11. It. dallo supr. M^{ro} Vincentio depentor
como in questo a f. 3 . 1.2 s.10.

F. 165v.

12. It. contadi a mi Ludovigo Zerbi supra-
scripto per lo suprascripto M^{ro}
Paulo, adi primo decembre 1514
1.3.

12. It. da M^{ro} Vincenzo depentor como in
questo a f. 3 . . . 1.3

13. It. contadi a mi Ludovigo suprascripto
per lo suprascripto M^{ro} Paulo adi
4 januarii 1515 . . . 1.2 s.5.

13. It. da M^{ro} Vincentio Fopa depentor a
f. 3 . . . 1.2 s.5.

14. It. contadi a mi Ludovigo suprascripto
per lo suprascripto adi 13 marzo
1515 1.2 s.5.

14. It. da M^{ro} Vincentio Foppa supra-
scripto como in questo a f. 3
1.2 s.5.

F. 166.

Mi Ludovico Zerbi massaro . . . debo
dar per li infrascripti denari scossi
dali . . . debitori de essa quadra
et questo per lo anno ciove 1515.

15. It. contadi a mi Ludovigo suprascripto
per lo suprascripto adi ultimo maii
1515 ciove 1.4

15. It. dal M^{ro} Vicenzo depentor come in
questo a f. 3 1.4

16. It. contadi a mi Ludovigo suprascripto
per lo suprascripto adi 16 octobre
1516 1.3

16. It. dali herede de M^{ro} Vincentio de-
pentor come in questo a
f. 3 1.3

Archivio di S. Alessandro, Brescia, Masseria I^o, (Libro dei Livellarii & Libro di Cassa).

Burl., p. 108-111.

Chap. IX, pp. 226-229.

75. Paolo Caylina appointed proxy at Pavia for his uncle Vincenzo Foppa by a deed drawn up by the Brescian notary, Filippo de Petiis. After receiving the rent for land owned by Foppa in Pavian territory, he sells the property to Giov. Maria Leggi.

May 31, 1504, Pavia.

In the house of the brothers Leggi at Pavia, in the parish of S. Invenzio: Paulus de Caylina, filius quondam Bertolamei, nepos et procurator magistri Vincentii de Foppa, filii quondam [blank] pictoris de Brissia, ut patet per instrumentum rogatum per Phillipum de Petiis notarium brisiensem anno corrente 1504, die xxviii mensis maii, receives from the brothers Leggi l.32 . . . pro pretio sachorum octo frumenti, quod frumentum fuit et est pro ficto . . . anni proxime preteriti et completi in Kalendis Augusti proxime preteriti, quod fictum datur et prestatur per Jacopum et fratrem de Panighis suprascripto Magistro Vincentio, de certis terris et proprietatibus sitis in territorio loci de ultra Padum Comitatus Papie per instrumentum rogatum per me notarium. Item et in alia parte libras quatuorcentum viginti unam pro parte solutionis librarum quatuorcentum nonaginta trium imperialium, computatis libris trescentum viginti imperialibus per istos fratres (de Lege) implicatis in ficto suprascripto sachorum octo frumenti acquisito ut supra ut apparet instrumento publico rogato Augustino de Tinctoribus olim notario publico Papiensi.

Immediately after in the same place :—

Suprascriptus Paulus nepos et procurator ut supra et Bataglinus de Valabio de Brissia, filius quondam Johannis, nomine et vice Magistri Vincencii de Foppa, sell the above-named property to Giov. Maria Leggi for 200 florins.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gerolamo Moracavalli.

Chap. IX, p. 219.

76. Foppa's accounts with the brothers Leggi.

November 10, 1513, Pavia.

Magistro Vincentio de Fopa per dinari scossi di la sua casa et spesi in casa

Liri . . . soldi . . . denari. . . .

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti Giov. Maria Leggi.

(Contained on a loose sheet with the heading, "Infrascripti sono li debiti comuni al tempo de la comunione," referring to money transactions of the brothers Leggi.)

Chap. IX, pp. 220, 229.

77. Registration of Paolo Caylina in the Libro d'Estimo of 1517 at Brescia, as living in a house in the quarter of S. Alessandro as Foppa's successor.

Quadra Prima S. Alexandri

1517, Brescia.

Paulus quondam Bartholomei Cayline, Pictor.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia, *Libro d' Estimo*, 1517, f. 450.*Athenæum*, February 15, 1902.

Chap. IX, p. 228.

78. Census of Paolo Caylina of the year 1517.

1517, Brescia.

In Prima (quadra Sancti) Alexandri.

(Part I.)

Poliza de Maestro Paulo depentore quondam d. Bertolameo Caylina in Bressa qual è di età de annj 25.

D. Pasquina sua donna de annj 18. Monicha sua fiolla laqual al presente è nasuta de giorni dexe.

Bertolamè suo filliol de annj 6.

Zan Vicencio suo fiol de annj 3.

Jacomina sua fantescha con lo suo salario de annj 16.

Una caxa in Bressa per suo usso laqual caxa pò valer nove cento libre et paga ala quadra de Sancto Alixandro libre 4 et soldi quindexe de livello ogni anno.

.

Item dè aver dal Comune de Carzago 1.12 s.15

Item dè aver da Pre Coradino da Colognj 1.15

It. dè aver dal Comune de Bagnuolo 1.12

It. dal Comune de Jorci novj (*cancelled*) 1.1 s.10

It. da Maestro Michel medicho de Giarj 1.6

(Part II.)

Debito.

Item a una sua cugnata per uno legato da maritar cioe

angiolla 1. cento

Item Zan Jeronimo per una dotta 1. cento cinquanta.

Item a Lucia per maritar per uno legato	1. cento
Item a Catellina per uno legato per maritar	1. cento
Item a Fedricho Peza spiciaro	1.28 s.15
Item per uno legato ali frarj de Sancto Alixandro	1.12
Item per uno legato ali frarj de Sancto Barnaba	1.14
Item a Donna Lucia	1.1 s.10
Item a Ser Agustino Botta	1.3 s.15
Item a Pedro Aliader da Salò	1.1 s.10
Item al Carona revendarolo	1.1 s.4
Item a Jacomo Filipo Valabio	1.1
Item a Zan fornaro	1.3 s.15
Item a Calimerio becharo	1.2
Item a Maestro Ambrogio picha preda	1.1 s.5
Item a diversi persone de più cosse	1.4 s.10

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia. Polizze d' Estimo per l' anno 1517 della prima quadra di S. Alessandro, No. 251, f. 118.¹

Chap. ix, p. 231-33. See illustration, p. 232.

In the first quarter of S. Alessandro.

(Part I.)

Census of Master Paolo the painter, son of the late Bartolomeo Caylina in Brescia, being of the age of 25.

Dame Pasquina his wife, aged 18, Monica his child, who at the present moment is ten days old. Bartolomeo his son, aged 6, Gian Vincenzo his son, aged 3. Jacomina, his paid servant, aged 16.

A house in Brescia for his use, which house may be worth nine hundred lire, and he pays to the quarter of S. Alessandro a "livello" of 4 lire 15 soldi every year.

Item he is to receive from the Commune of Carzago	1.12 s.15
Item from the Priest Corradino of Cologno	1.15
Item from the Commune of Bagnolo	1.12
Item from the Commune of Orzinuovi (<i>cancelled</i>)	1.1 s.10
Item from Master Michele Doctor, of Chiari	1.6

¹ 1534, Prima Alexandrj.

Poliza de M^{ro} Paulo depentore.

Primo esso M^{ro} Paulo è di età di annj trentacinque. Donna Pasquina sua consorte di età di annj trenta; una sua filiola per nome Barbara di età di annj dodexe . . . uno suo filliolo maschulo per nome Giovan Baptista di età di anni cinque.

Credito, una caxa per suo uxo laqual caxa paga livello ala quadra de Scto. Alixandro ognj anno liri quatro e soldi trej.

Debito. Debiti in doy posti per suma de lirj cento.

Arch. Ant. Mun. Brescia. Polizze . . a. 1534, f. 309.

Chap. ix, p. 219, note 2.

(Part II.)

Debts.

Item to a sister-in-law of his for a legacy to marry, that is Angela	1. one hundred
Item to Gian Jeronimo for a dowry	1. one hundred and fifty
Item to Lucia to marry for a legacy	1. one hundred
Item to Catellina for a legacy to marry	1. one hundred
Item to Federico Peza the chemist	1.28 s.15
Item for a legacy to the monks of S. Alessandro ;	1.12
Item for a legacy to the monks of S. Barnaba	1.14
Item to Donna Lucia	1.1 s.10
Item to Ser Agostino Botta	1.4 s.15
Item to Pedro Aliader of Salò	1.1 s.10
Item to Carona the pedlar	1.1 s.4
Item to Giacomo Filippo Valabio	1.1
Item to Gian the baker	1.3 s.15
Item to Calimerio the butcher	1.2
Item to Master Ambrogio the stone cutter	1.1 s.5
To different people for various items	1.4 s.10

Census for the year 1517 of the first ward of the quarter of S. Alessandro, No. 251, f. 118.¹

79. Receipt for 3 soldi, "livello" paid to the Hospital of S. Invenzio by Margherita Marcelli, on behalf of the heirs of the late Master Vincenzo Foppa.

November 11, 1518, Pavia.

In the house of Giov. Agostino Schiaffinati, in the parish of S. Gervaso, the said Schiaffinati, administrator of the Hospital of S. Invenzio, receives from the notary "nomine et vice heredum quondam Magistri Vincentii de Foppa licet absentium et a domina Margarita de Marcellis nomine dictorum heredum soldos 3," being the due for the year completed on this day, the feast of St. Martin, for the house in S. Invenzio.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

Chap. ix., p. 220.

80. A similar receipt to No. 79, being "livello" for two years from the heirs of Foppa.

November 11, 1522, Pavia.

In the house of Giacomo de Betiis at Pavia, treasurer of the Chapter of S. Invenzio. The above-named acknowledges having received from the notary, "nomine et vice

¹ On f. 309 of the same case of Census papers of the first ward of S. Alessandro we find a further Polizza of Paolo Caylina of the year 1534. His family had by that time been increased by four daughters and one son. He still inhabited the house in S. Alessandro, but the "livello" had dropped from 1.4 s.15 to 1.4 s.3 in accordance with the terms of the new lease of 1524 (see Doc. 81).

heredum quondam Magistri Vincentii de Foppa licet absentium 6 soldos imperialium," being the "livello" charged upon the house in S. Invenzio for two years, ending on the Feast of St. Martin.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

Chap. ix, p. 220.

81. Paolo Caylina is granted a new lease of the house formerly owned by his uncle, the late Vincenzo Foppa.

1524, Brescia.

M^{ro} Paolo de Caylina depentore, dè dare per esser sta investito de li beni de li quali soleva esser investito M^{ro} Vincenzo de Fopa etiam pentore como apare in questo a f. 3. de la qual investitura è sta rogato Instrumento per D. Francesco de Mantua notario sic instantibus D. Jacomo de Cazago et Viviano de Viviani sindici de la suprascripta quadra, de li quali beni paga annuatim de livello perpetuo. . . . libre quatro et soldi tre de planet, cominzando a pagar per lo primo anno el primo dì de Aprile, 1524.

Arch. S. Alessandro, Mass. I^o Libro dei Livellarii, f. 71.

Burlington, p. 115.

Chap. ix, p. 223, note 2.

Master Paolo Caylina, the painter, having succeeded to the lease of Master Vincenzo de Fopa, the painter, as appears on f. 3 of this volume, which lease was drawn up by Ser Francesco de Mantua, the notary, at the instance of the Syndics of the quarter Ser Giacomo da Cazago and Viviano de' Viviani, is to pay the yearly livello in perpetuity of four lire and three soldi planet; payment for the first year to commence on April 1, 1524.

82. Reference to Foppa's will.

1524, Brescia.

Maystro Paulo de Caylina pentor habitator in Bressa che fa per nomine suo et de luy fioli heredi per testamento de quondam M^{ro} Vincenzo de Fopa etiam pentor livellario de la antescritta quadra de una casa . . . cum corte et orto, zase . . . in la contrada de S. Alexandro sive de porta nova . . . cominzando a pagar a kalendi de Aprile, 1524, &c.

Arch. S. Alessandro, Masseria II^o Anno 1524, Libro dei Livellarii, B. f. 20 v.

Chap. ix, p. 229, note 3.

Master Paolo de Caylina the painter inhabiting Brescia, in his own name and that of his sons as heirs under the will of the late Master Vincenzo de Fopa also a painter, holds a house on lease from the quarter with a yard and a garden, situated . . . in the Contrada S. Alessandro or of Porta Nova . . . the livello to be paid by him every first of April beginning in 1524.

83. Foppa's garden sold by his heirs.

1524, Brescia.

Messer Bernardino et Ser Vincenzo fratelli de Bovarni dè dare per esser sta investiti de beni . . . di q. Ser Venturino da Sali . . . comenzando a pagar . . . el primo dì de Aprile anno 1524 . . .

Item dè dare per lo terreno sive orto compro da li heredi fo de M^{ro} Vincenzo depentor annuatim de livello perpetuo, s. 12.

Loc. cit., 68 v.

Chap. 1X, p. 224, note 3.

The brothers Bernardino and Vincenzo Bovarni . . . who succeeded to the possessions of the late Ser Venturino Sali . . . are to pay, for the ground or garden which they bought from the heirs of the late Master Vincenzo the painter, an annual livello in perpetuity . . . of s. 12 . . . beginning from . . . April 1st, 1524.

APPENDIX II, B

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SONS OF FOPPA

1. Francesco and Giovanni Evangelista de Foppa act as witnesses.

August 10, 1479, Pavia.

Francischo et Johanne Evangelista fratribus de Foppa, filiis Magistri Vincentii pictoris, habitatoribus Papie, witness the will of Sebastiano Bassini, Doctor of Medicine in the University of Pavia, in the house of the testator, at Porta Palazzo, in the parish of S. Invenzio.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Guiniforte Strazzapatti.

2. Giovanni Francesco Foppa acts as a witness.

October 11, 1483, Pavia.

Johanne Francisco de Foppa, filio Magistri Vincentii, witnesses a payment of rent in the house of Giov. Antonio Giorgi, at Porta Palazzo in the parish of S. Maria Segreta.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giacomo Pescari.

3. Francesco Foppa, living at Torre del Mangano, acts as a witness.

Dec. 19, 1485, Torre del Mangano.

Francisco de Fopa, filio domini Magistri Vincentii pictoris¹ habitatore dicti loci Turris de Mangano, witnesses the will of Margherita de Rossi, widow of Bartolomeo Mangano, in the castle of Torre del Mangano, near the Certosa.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Pietro Mangano.

¹ See the note referring to this record in chap. vi, p. 139, note 4.

4. Evangelista Foppa pays his father's "livello" to the Hospital of S. Invenzio.¹

November 10, 1487, Pavia.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo septimo, indicione quinta, die decimo mensis novembris, hora vesperarum in civitate Papie, videlicet in domo habitacionis venerabilis domini Francisci de Betiis, sita in Porta Palacii, in Parochia Sancti Inventii. Ibique, etc. Venerabilis dominus Franciscus de Betiis canonicus, etc., tamquam procurator Jacobi de Betiis ministri hospitalis Sancti Inventii Papie, etc. . . . confitetur versus Evangelistam de Foppa filium magistri Vincentii, ibi presentem, etc. . . . recepisse a dicto magistro Vincentio, per manus dicti Evangeliste, soldos quatuor imperiales pro fictis annorum quatuor finiturorum crastina die, unius domus site ut supra, quam dictus magister Vincentius tenet ad fictum perpetuum a dicto hospitali, Renuntiando, etc. Et inde, etc. Presentibus, etc.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Girolamo Moracavalli.

5. Francesco Foppa pays his father's dues to the Hospital.

November 11, 1489, Pavia.

Franciscus de Foppa filius Magistri Vincentii, pays on behalf of his father to the Canon Francesco de Betiis, representing Giacomo de Betiis, administrator of the Hospital, the annual "livello" of one soldo.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Girolamo Moracavalli.

Chap. vi, p. 139, note 4.

6. Evangelista Foppa receives the rent from his father's tenant, Sinibaldo Ferrari.

December 6, 1501.

In the house of Giov. Giacomo Moracavalli, son of the late Giuliano, at Porta Marenga in the parish of S. Gabriele, "Evangelista de Foppa filius et procurator Magistri Vincentii," receives 31 lire imperiali from Sinibaldo Ferrari, "de quibus debitor est pro ficto domus site in Papia ipsius magistri Vincentii, quam ad fictum tenebat."

In spite of this, the above-named Sinibaldo Ferrari, a notary of Pavia, in a deed bearing the same date, affirms that he is in debt to Evangelista Foppa for rent to the amount of 31 lire, and binds himself to pay it at Christmas.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

7. Evangelista Foppa deposits a sum of money on behalf of his father with the brothers Leggi.

December 7, 1501, Pavia.

In the shop of Giacomo Trombi, the barber, in the parish of S. Tecla, Giovanni Maria and Giovanni Pietro Leggi in the name also of their brother Giovanni Andrea,

¹ See chap. vi, p. 141 note 1, 153, note 2, chap. viii, p. 186, note 4, and Docs. Nos. 59, 65, 67, 79, and 80.

affirm that they have received in deposit from "Evangelista de Fopa filius et procurator . . . Magistri Vincentii eius patris, lib. 50, sold. 10 imperial. computato pretio dalmaschini de quo in instrumento rogato nunc quondam Augustino de Tinctoribus olim notario, item et ficto domus ipsius magistri Vincentii anni proxime preteriti finiti in festo Sancti Michaelis ipsius anni, quas quidem pecunias dicti fratres promittunt ipsas implicare iuxta formam et tenorem alterius instrumenti alias inter ipsos celebrati et rogati per suprascriptum Augustinum anno suprascripto," etc.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Girolamo Moracavalli.

The three brothers Leggi acknowledge that they have received as a deposit from Evangelista de Fopa, son and representative of Master Vincenzo, the sum of 50 lire ro soldi imperiali, which includes the price of some damask, as stated in a deed drawn up by the notary, the late Agostino de Tinctoribus, being rent for a house owned by the said Master Vincenzo and due last Michaelmas; the money is to be dealt with as stated in the deed drawn up by the said Agostino in the year 1501, etc.

8. Expenses incurred by Evangelista on behalf of his father in the matter of a lawsuit.

February 25, 1502, Pavia.

Questi si sono li spexi facti da mi Evangelista per	
Piero Simone de Beluscho per domandar liri xxii	
de imperiali, quali lui ha riceuto da Andreyda da	
Modina nostro fictaulo in lano 1501 adi primo.	
Primo per uno grosso dato ala bancha del Vicario	
per far scrivere lo comandamento a die suprascripto	L.— sold. 11— den. —.
Item per mandar una copia per uno oficialo a lui a die	
suprascripto	L.— sold. — den. 6.
Item per dar uno soldo ala bancha per la compari-	
zione	L.— sold. 1— den. —.
Item per dinari dati a misser Matio Cani per far la	
risposta ala sua risposta a die 2 martii	L.— sold. 4— den. —.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

These are the sums expended by me Evangelista in the case against Pier Simone da Belusco, in order to obtain from him the 22 lire imperiali which he received from our tenant Andrea da Modena on the first day of the year 1501. First paid into the court of the deputy (of the Podestà) one grosso for engrossing the summons on the day above-named; soldi 11. Item, for sending him (Belusco) a copy by an official on the same day; den. 6. Item, to pay one soldo to the court for the confrontation; s. i. Item, for money paid to Messer Matteo Cani to make answer to his (Belusco's) reply, on March 2; soldi 4.

9. Evangelista Foppa settles his accounts with the brothers Leggi and absolves them from further financial responsibilities towards himself.

March 1, 1502, Pavia.

In the audience hall of the Episcopal Palace, Evangelista de Foppa filius et procurator Magistri Vincentii de Foppa pictoris, states that the brothers Leggi should have in their keeping lib.50 s.10 nomine, dicti Evangeliste procuratoris dicto nomine, quos habere debebat a certis personis, diversis de causis, videlicet a domino Petro Symone de Beluscho libras xxii imperiales; a domino Andrea de Mutina libras octo et soldos xvi imperiales; a magistro Antonio de Sancto Albano occasione certi dalmaschini libras [blank] et a Sigebaldo de Ferrariis libras iv imperiales . . . Modo dictus Evangelista, dicto nomine, attento quod dicti fratres de Lege ipsas pecunias minime receperunt et nec habuerunt, he absolves them from all obligations towards himself, attento maxime quod dictus Evangelista a dicto magistro Antonio pro causa dicti dalmaschini recepit integram solucionem et a suprascripto Sigebaldo partem debiti et a dicto domino Andrea integram solucionem et solum restat habere libras xxii a dicto domino Petro Symone et pro ipsis habendis convenit dictum dominum Petrum Symonem coram domino Vicario magnifici domini Potestatis Papie.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Girolamo Moracavalli.

Evangelista Foppa, acting on behalf of his father Vincenzo, states that the brothers Leggi should have in their keeping certain moneys owing from different people to Vincenzo, namely, from Ser Pietro Simone da Belusco, 22 lire imp.; from Ser Andrea da Modena, 8 lire 10 soldi imp.; from Maestro Antonio da S. Albano, damask to the value of [blank] lire; and from Sigebaldo Ferrari, 4 lire imp. . . . Evangelista, in the name of his father, absolves them from all further obligation. "And whereas Evangelista has received full satisfaction from Master Antonio in the matter of the damask, and also from Andrea, and as Sigebaldo has paid his debt in part; there remains only the 22 lire from Pietro Simone." Evangelista therefore summoned him before the Deputy Podestà of Pavia.

10. Evangelista Foppa appoints a representative to collect the money due to his father from Pietro Simone da Belusco.

March 2, 1502, Pavia.

In the Episcopal Palace, Pietro Simone Guaschi da Belusco, son of the late Andrea, declares to Giov. Maria Leggi, notary of Pavia, acting on behalf of Magistri Vincentii de Foppa, pictoris, that he is in his debt to the amount of l.19, s.2, pro resto librarum xxii per ipsum habitatum et receptarum, nomine ipsius magistri Vincentii, a domina Susana de Crivellis uxore domini Johannis Andree de Mutina . . . pro parte pensionis domus ipsius magistri Vincentii locate per dictum Petrum Simonem suprascriptis iugalibus.¹ He promises to discharge his debt to the full within two months. In the

¹ Being the remainder of the sum of 22 lire which he (Pietro Simone) collected in the name of Master Vincenzo from Susanna Crivelli, wife of Giov. Andrea of Modena, as part of the house rent due from her to Foppa.

same place and immediately after Evangelista de Foppa, filius et procurator suprascripti Magistri Vincentii, appoints as his representative Giovanni Maria Leggi, the notary, and empowers him to exact from Pietro Simone da Belusco the sum as above.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gerolamo Moracavalli.

11. Evangelista Foppa as his father's representative lets his house at Pavia for two years.

May 24, 1502, Pavia.

In the audience hall of the Episcopal Palace, Magister Evangelista de Foppa filius et procurator . . . Magistri Vincentii, habitator civitatis Brissie,¹ ut de eius procura constat instrumento rogato Antonio Vigino notario Brisie, lets to Beltramino de Erba Archpriest of S. Ambrogio at Gualdrasco, for two years, from next Michaelmas, domum unam muratam, cupatam et solariatam cum curia, putheo et aliis suis hedificiis, sitam in Papia, in Porta Palatii, Parochia Sancti Inventii, cui coheret ab una parte strata publica, ab alia heredes quondam Gregorii de Morutio, ab alia illi de Tinctoribus et ab alia Christoforus de Cazanigha,² the rent being l. 32 per annum.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

12. Expenses incurred by Evangelista Foppa in the lawsuit with Pietro da Belusco.

June 6, 1502, Pavia.

Questa si è la spexa facta da mi Evangelista de Fopa per Piero Simone da Belusco per domandar lire quatrocento et novanta et trey, ultra braza 6 de dalmascho nigro, lo quale lui haviva inter le mani, oni cosa davanti al Vicario domino Pietro de Frescarolo giudice dello maleficio et de tute le rexone in Pavia, facta parte al ostaria de Ruelecha et a mandarlo a citar per dui oficiali in dui volte, et parte ala bancha a far citar li testimoni a dir lo vero de quello che sasiveno de la suprascripta cosa a die suprascripto.

Primo per uno marcheto dato a uno oficiale per farlo			
a citar avanti al suprascripto giudice . . .	l.— sold.	— den.	9.
Item per farlo a citar et mandar a dir de bocha de lo			
suprascripto giudice fussi avanti lui da uno oficiale .	l.— sold.	— den.	9.
Item per dinari dati al suprascripto giudice per la sua			
fatiga exborsati per Zan Piero da Lege a die			
suprascripto	l. 11 sold.	4 den.	6.

¹ Son and representative of Master Vincenzo (an inhabitant of the city of Brescia), having been so appointed by a deed drawn up by Antonio Vigino, notary of Brescia.

² A two-storeyed house with stone walls and tiled roof, with a courtyard, a well, and other appurtenances, situated at Porta Palazzo in the parish of S. Invenzio at Pavia. On one side of it was the street, on two sides the heirs of Gregorio Moruzzi and of the Tinctori family, and on the fourth side Cristoforo Cazzaniga.

Item per dinari expesi per uno disnar ala suprascripta ostaria	1. — sold. 11 den. —.
Item per dinari expesi in quello zorno ala ostaria ala Cerva et alogiar ala Cerva	1. — sold. 4 den. —.
Item per la spesa de dui zorni facta al ostaria de la Cerva de mangiar et bere et alozar	1. — sold. 16 den. —.
Ultra la donzena che ho pagata in casa de quelì de Lege che è di zorni 2	1. — sold. 16 den. —.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Gio. Maria Leggi.

Sums expended by me, Evangelista de Foppa, in a case brought before Messer Pietro da Frascarolo, Deputy Podestà and Judge of the Criminal and Civil courts of Pavia, against Pier Simone da Belusco in order to obtain from him 493 lire besides six braccia of black damask which he has in his possession, as follows: expenses at the hostel of Ruelecha; for sending two officials twice to summon him; for summoning witnesses on the day above named (June 6) to give evidence as to all that they knew of the matter.

First, one marcheto given to an official to serve him (Pier Simone) with the summons to appear before the judge above named	1. — s. — d. 9
Item for a verbal summons from the aforesaid judge conveyed by an official	1. — s. — d. 9
Item a fee to the judge for his services, paid by Giovan Pietro de Lege on the day above named	1. 11 s. 4 d. 6
Item spent for a dinner at the above-named hostel	1. — s. 11 d. —
Item for lodging and other expenses on that day at the Stag Inn	1. — s. 4 d. —
Item for two days' board and lodging at the Stag Inn	1. — s. 16 d. —
In addition to the living for two days which I paid in the house of the Lege family	1. — s. 16 d. —

13. Evangelista Foppa on behalf of his father receives six months' rent from Beltramo Erba.

September 14, 1502, Pavia.

In the Audience Hall of the Episcopal Palace, Evangelista de Foppa filius et procurator Magistri Vincentii . . . constitutus per instrumentum rogatum Antonio de Vicinis notario brisiensi, receives from Giov. Maria Leggi l. 18, being six months' rent, in advance from Beltramino Erba.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giorgio Sisti.

14. Evangelista Foppa receives six months' rent from Bernardo Giorgi.¹

October 3, 1502, Pavia.

In the shop of Gatti the shoemaker in the parish of St. Gervaso, Evangelista de Foppa, filius Magistri Vincentii et procurator . . . dicti eius patris, receives from Bernardo Giorgi l. 16, being six months' rent in advance dating from last Michaelmas, for the house in S. Invenzio.

Arch. Not. Pavia, Atti di Giov. Maria Leggi.

¹ Docs. 6-14 are briefly referred to in chap. IX, p. 219.

MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

(References to the Text are printed in *italics*.)

BERGAMO

ARCHIVIO MUNICIPALE¹

Elenco de' quadri di compendio della Pinacoteca Lochis che giusta la transazione convenuta fra i rappresentanti del fu Conte Guglielmo Lochis e la Giunta Municipale di Bergamo . . . con deliberazione 10 Maggio 1866 spettano alla Città di Bergamo. (A second fuller inventory gives more details of the pictures after they were placed in the Gallery. Inventory Nos. 66, 70.) (*Ch. V, p. 129.*)

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Tassi, Fr. Maria, *Memorie raccolte per servire alla storia dei Pittori Scultori ed Architetti Bergamaschi*, 1761. Cod. Cart. VIII, 12. (*Ch. V, p. 119, note 3.*)

BRESCIA

ARCHIVIO DI S. ALESSANDRO

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Quadra Instrumenti, I^o, 1455-1681. 1455, Dec. 23, ff. 3 and 26 (*Ch. IX, p. 225 and note 1*); 1511, April 2, f. 51. (*Ch. IX, p. 227, note 3.*)

Quadra Mastro Cassa, Masseria I^o, Anni 1502-1523; Libro delle partite delli Livellarij e di Cassa. Libro de' Livellarij A., f. 1-71. Libro di Cassa, f. 147v.-199v. (*Ch. IX, p. 222 and foll.*)²—Libro dei Livellarii, A., 1502-1523; f. 1. (*Doc. No. 73; Ch. IX, p. 224*); f. 2v. (*Doc. No. 72; Ch. IX, p. 223*); f. 3—June 16, 1502, to Oct. 16, 1516 (*Doc. No. 74; Ch. IX, p. 226-229*); f. 71 (or 70v.), 1524. (*Doc. No. 81; Ch. IX, p. 223 note 2, 233 note 1.*)—Libro di Cassa: f. 147v.—1501, Aug. 12. (*Doc. No. 71; Ch. IX, p. 223*); ff. 148, 152, 156, 156v., 158, 162, 162v., 163v., 165v., 166—June 16, 1502, to Oct. 16, 1516. (*Doc. No. 74; Ch. IX, p. 226-229.*)

¹ Numerous documents were also consulted in the Arch. Notarile for Foppa as a surname and place name (App. I, Note 4), but we have not thought it necessary to refer to these in detail.

² The original Libro A.—the volume prior to 1502 (*Ch. IX, pp. 221, 222*) is missing, and what is now labelled A. is in point of fact the second vol. of the series.

Quadra Mastro Cassa, Masseria II^o, Anni 1524-1558: Libro dei Livellarii B., ff. 1-133; Libro di Cassa, ff. 134v.-207 (the last 24 pages not numbered.)—Libro dei Livellarii B. 1524: f. 20v. (*Doc. No. 82, Ch. IX, p. 229 note 3*); f. 68v. (*Doc. No. 83; Ch. IX, p. 224 note 3, 233 note 1.*)—Libro di Cassa Anni 1539 (unpaged): "Paolo de' Fophi depentor." (*Ch. X, p. 262, note 1.*)

ARCHIVIO DELLA CURIA VESCOVILE

Designatio possessionum et fictorum in Bagnolo . . . anno millesimo CCLXXIII.
Cod. Pergameno No. 2, della Mensa Vescovile. (*App. I, p. 285, note 1.*)

ARCHIVIO ANTICO MUNICIPALE¹

Atti di Antonio di Pederzolo Codeferini de Riva; Commutatio inter monacos S. Petri in Oliveto Brixie et Comune de Bagolino 1457, Sept. 11, A. VII, 157. (*Ch. VI, p. 137, note 2.*)

Atti di Giovanni Roberti, 1451, Feb. 27, D.V. 734. (*Ch. I, p. 18, note 2.*)

Custodie Notturme, 1438, No. 192,² preceded by an earlier register with the signature of Cristoforo Soldo and the date 1426. (*Ch. I, p. 2, note 7; App. I, Note 4.*)

— No. 204, 1434; Nos. 880, 881, 882-4, 1438. (*Ch. I, p. 3, note 1; App. I, Note 4.*)

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— No. 896, 1525-1527. (*App. I, Note 5.*)

Estimo Territoriale e Cittadino, No. 434, anni 1388, 1406, 1416. (*Ch. I, p. 2, note 6.*)

— No. 444, 1430-1442; No. 204; 1430, 1434, 1442. (*Ch. I, p. 2, note 7; p. 3, note 1; Ch. VI, p. 137, note 1; App. I, Note 3.*)

— No. 445, 1459, 1469, 1475, and No. 203, 1469. (*Ch. I, p. 3, note 1; Ch. VI, p. 137, note 3; App. I, Notes 3 and 4.*)

— No. 196, 1486. (*Ch. X, p. 248; App. I, Note 3.*)

— No. 446, 1486-98; 1498, ff. 120, 168 (*Doc. 68; Ch. VIII, p. 191; Ch. IX, pp. 222, 223; App. I, Note 3*); f. 168v. (*Ch. IX, p. 232, note 1.*)

— No. 450, 1517-34: 1517, f. 450. (*Doc. No. 77; Ch. IX, p. 228.*)

— No. 452, 1547; No. 455, 1548-68. (*App. I, Note 5.*)

Vacchetta dell' Estimo, No. 449, 1498; No. 451, 1517. (*Ch. IX, pp. 222, 228; App. I, Note 3.*)

Istrumenti Municipali, No. 756, 1529-37: 1530, July 15, f. 36; 1532, Nov. 27, f. 93. (*Ch. IX, pp. 235, 236.*)

¹ The Bullettario della Città containing the entry of July 16, 1495 (*Doc. No. 64 Ch. VIII, p. 190*) may have been in these Archives but is now missing. Its probable fate is indicated by a note in a nineteenth century MS., Arch. Ant. Mun., No. 1827: "Mem. di libri usciti dall'archivio e non ancora restituiti" (mem. of books removed from the Archives and not yet restored).

² An autograph MS. of Cristoforo Soldo wrongly catalogued among the Libri d' Estimo.

Polizze d' Estimo per l' anno 1517, della prima quadra di S. Alessandro, No. 251, f. 118: Poliza di Maestro Paulo depentore quondam d. Bartolomeo Caylina. (*Doc. No. 78; Ch. IX, p. 219 note 2, 231 and foll.; App. I, Notes 2 and 3.*)

Polizze d' Estimo per l' anno 1534; Prima Alexandri, No. 251, f. 309. Poliza di M^{ro} Paulo depentore. (*Doc. No. 78, note; Ch. IX, p. 219, note 2.*)

Poncarali, Achille. Indice N. 1016. Spoglio di tutte le Provvisioni, Decreti, Statuti, Atti della Cancelleria, etc., a. 1100-1593, ff. 264, 319. (*Ch. VIII, p. 189, note 2; IX, p. 236.*)

Registro delle Provvisioni del Consiglio Cittadino. No. 481; 1421, June 18, f. 44. (*Ch. I, p. 2, note 7.*)

— No. 489, 1438-39; 1438, f. 210. (*Ch. VII, p. 164, note 2.*)

— No. 495, 1449-51; 1449, March 4, f. 35v. (*Ch. I, p. 3, and notes 3 and 4.*)

— No. 504, 1471-73; 1471, Sept. 13 and Oct. 4; 1473, March 25. (*Ch. VI, p. 138.*)

— No. 512, 1489-90; 1489, Dec. 18. (*Doc. No. 52; Ch. VIII, pp. 182, 183.*) 1490, Feb. 12, April 28, ff. 21, 43 (*Ch. VII, p. 166, note 1*); Aug. 24, f. 70 (*Doc. No. 55*); Oct. 4, f. 85 (*Doc. No. 56*); Nov. 26, f. 97. (*Doc. No. 57; Ch. VIII, pp. 183, 184.*)

— No. 513, 1491-92; 1491, Aug. 30, f. 47v. (*Doc. No. 58; Ch. VIII, p. 185*); 1492, Nov. 23, f. 23. (*Doc. No. 61; VIII, p. 187.*)

— No. 515, 1495-97; 1495, April 28, f. 154r. (*Ch. VIII, p. 191*); May 15, f. 159v. (*Doc. No. 62; Ch. VIII, p. 189*); May 19, 29, June 8, ff. 160v., 165r., 167r. (*Ch. VIII, p. 191 and note 1*); June 12, f. 167v. (*Doc. No. 63; Ch. VIII, p. 189*); 1497. (*Ch. VII, p. 164, note 2.*)

— No. 524, 1512-1514; 1514, March 14, f. 104. (*Ch. VIII, p. 217, note 4.*)

Registrum C.,¹ f. 45v., 15 Kal. (should be pridie nonas) Aprilis, 1475, G. VIII, No. 1525. (*Ch. V, p. 115, note 1.*)

— E., f. 24-26, *id.* G. VIII, No. 1527. (*Ch. V, ibid.*)

— E., f. 243, 1495, June 16. G. VIII, No. 1527. (See also Reg. C. f. 111, 1495, June 16 and 26.) (*Ch. VIII, p. 191 and note 2.*)

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¹ A seventeenth century copy; the original has disappeared, according to a note at the beginning of the volume.

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- Nassino, Pandolfo.² Registro di memorie di Brescia, C.I., 15. (*Ch. V, p. 118; Ch. VII, p. 164, notes 1 and 2; Ch. X, p. 263, note 1; App. I, Note 5.*)
- Paglia, Francesco.³ Il Giardino della Pittura compartito in sette giornate in cui si descrivono tutte le opere pubbliche e particolari di pittura e di scultura più degne della Città di Brescia. Dialogo di Francesco Paglia, Bresciano. (Autograph before 1675.) G. IV, 9. (*Ch. VIII, pp. 203, 204, note 3; IX, p. 235, note 1; X, p. 260 note 4, 262 note 2.*)
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- Zamboni,⁴ Baldassare. Miscellanea di documenti bresciani, Coll. Rosa, No. 68, VII: Estratto dal tom. I. del Diario di Giov. Batt. Bianchi, 1601, &c., f. 240. (*Ch. I, p. 2, note 5.*)

¹ Died 1673.

² B. 1486, d. after 1541, see Valentini in *Arch. Veneto*, T. XXX, 1883.

³ B. 1636, d. after 1700.

⁴ According to Zani (as already stated, p. 185, note 5, and p. 230, note 4), Oretti, like Zamboni, was also an authority on Brescian subjects, and had in his possession documents relating to Foppa. Many of Oretti's MSS. are now at Bologna, but Professor Sorbelli, Librarian of the Biblioteca Municipale in that city, kindly informs us that there are none which refer to Foppa or Brescian matters.

- Zamboni, B. *Miscellanea de rebus brixianis ex schedis . . Jo. Ludovici Lucchi* (to p. 149) *accedunt collect. varia. di carte 56. H. III. 4. m. 1. Collectanea de rebus Brixiae, &c. H. III. 4. m. 2. (Ch. III, p. 65, note 3; and VI, p. 143.)*
- *Memorie intorno alle fabbriche pubbliche per le Magistrature della città di Brescia, 1774. D. I, II. (Ch. IX, p. 230, note 3.)*

FLORENCE

ARCHIVIO DI STATO : CARTEGGIO MEDICEO INNANZI AL PRINCIPATO

Letters of Pigello Portinari.

- Filza IX. No. 184, 1455, Oct. 4; No. 188, 1455, Nov. 15; No. 204, 1456, April 9; No. 207, 1456, April 24; No. 227, 1456, May 14. (*Ch. II, p. 44, note 2.*)
- XII. No. 244, 1457, March 18. (*Ch. II, ib.*)
- VI. No. 434, 1459, Dec. 17. (*Ch. II, p. 44.*)
- VIII. No. 395, 1460, March 9. (*Ch. II, pp. 44, 45.*)

GENOA

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- Atti del Notaio, Tommaso Duracino, Fogliazzo 7, 1463. (*Ch. I, p. 31, note 3*); Fogl. 27, 1488, Sept. 15. (*Doc. No. 41; Ch. VI, p. 153.*)
- Antonio Fazio seniore, Fogl. 19, f. 251, 1461 Sept. 15. (*Doc. No. 5; Ch. I, p. 31.*)
- Gregorio Ferro, Fogl. 1, 1490, April 14. (*Doc. No. 53; Ch. VIII, p. 171.*)
- Oberto Foglietta, Fogl. 7, 1461, Jan. 2. (*Doc. No. 3; Ch. I, p. 29.*)
- Battista Muffola, Fogl. 6, 1489, July 10. (*Doc. No. 45; Ch. VII, p. 163.*)
- Leonardo Parisola, Fogl. 2, 1489, April 28. (*Doc. No. 44; Ch. VII, p. 163.*)
- Antonio Pastorino, Fogl. 1, 1485, June 8. (*Doc. No. 38; Ch. VI, p. 133, 134*); Fogl. 3, 1489, Feb. 23. (*Doc. No. 42; Ch. VI, p. 155.*)
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¹ The first vol. is dated 1541; the chronicles in the last extend to 1544.

² See also under printed books.

³ See also under printed books.

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— No. 82, f. 98: 1468, Oct. 14. (*Doc. No. 15; Ch. III, p. 74.*)

— No. 86, ff. 32v., 33: 1469, Feb. 22, 23. (Beltrami, *Castello*, 240, 41; *Ch. III, pp. 75, 76.*)

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 — Fasc. staccati (Beltr., 335): 1474, Feb. 5. (*Ch. IV, p. 92.*)
 — No. 115, f. 372v.: 1474, June 21. (*Doc. No. 23; Ch. IV, pp. 99, 100.*)
 — No. 118, f. 37: 1474, July 1. (*Ch. IV, p. 101.*)
 — No. 123, f. 33: 1475, May 22. (*Doc. No. 26; Ch. IV, p. 101, and V, p. 114.*)
 — No. 123, f. 354: 1476, Aug. 23. (*Doc. No. 28; Ch. IV, p. 111.*)
 — Frammenti Cartella, 29 (Beltr., 379): 1477, Feb. 27. (*Ch. III, p. 80, note 5.*)
 — No. 154, f. 105: 1481, July 19. (*Doc. No. 34; Ch. VI, p. 137.*)
 — No. 178, f. 100: 1489, Sept. 27. (*Doc. No. 46; Ch. VI, p. 153, and VII, p. 165.*)
 — No. 182, f. 141v.: 1491, Feb. 26. (*Ch. IV, p. 106, note 1.*)

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Sezione Storica. Autografi: Ingegneri-Architetti, Gadio, B.: 1469, May 31 (*Ch. III, p. 75*); 1471, Nov. 24; 1473, Sept. 20, 22, 26, Nov. 5, 8, 17, 22; 1474, Jan. 8, Feb. 3, 5, 6, June 4, 8, 22, 27, July 2; 1476, Aug. 6, Dec. 7. (*Docs. Nos. 20, 21, 24, 29; Ch. IV, pp. 92 and foll.; and App. I, Note 4.*)

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— Pittori: Stefano de' Fedeli (Beltr., 318): 1473, Dec. 22. (*Ch. III, p. 81.*)

— Pittori: Giacomino Vismara (Beltr., 319): 1474, Jan. 4. (*Ch. III, p. 80.*)

— Letter of Erasmo Trivulzio to the Duke (Calvi, II. 66 note, "Arch. di S. Fedele"): 1489, Nov. 3. (*Doc. No. 48; Ch. VII, p. 169.*)

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NOBILE GEROLAMO CALVI

Albuzzio,¹ (Abate) Antonio. Memorie per servire alla Storia de' Pittori Scultori ed Architetti Milanesi, XVIII century. (*Ch. VI, p. 147, note 1; and IX, 228, note 1.*)

MARCHESE SORAGNA

(1) Albuzzio¹ (Abate) Antonio. Memorie, etc., autograph (?) 2 vols. dated 1776, with notes by a later hand. Formerly Melzi Library.

(2) . . . Memorie, etc. Copy,² with a note on Leonardo in the handwriting of Albuzzio; containing also the copy of a letter from Count Carrara, in which allusion is made to Foppa's frescoes in S. Maria di Brera and to the Bergamo Crucifixion. Not dated or paged. Formerly Firmian and Melzi Libraries, and at one time in the possession of Bellati. (A copy of a part of this vol., made in 1845 by Mrs. Merrifield, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum: 192 G., Box 111.)

¹ For Albuzzio's MSS., see: F. Predari, *Bibl. Enciclop. Mil.*, p. 552 (under De Pagave), and Comolli, *Bibl. . . . d'Arti, etc.*, II, p. 231.

² Differs in some particulars from No. 1. The account of the Pietà of the Rossi Chapel in S. Pietro in Gessate (*Ch. VIII, 196, note 2*) has been slightly altered (cf. the copy V. & A. Mus., p. 42) and a sentence has been interpolated referring to the figure of the Risen Christ (see List of Lost Works, p. 276).

ORZINUOVI

CASA DELL' ARCIPRETE

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CERTOSA

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ARCHIVIO DELLA FABBRICERIA DELLA CATTEDRALE

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ARCHIVIO NOTARILE

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- Atti di Girolamo Moracavalli. 1487, Nov. 10 (*B. No.* 4); 1488, Nov. 11; 1489, Nov. 11 (*B. No.* 5); 1491, Nov. 11 (*Doc. No.* 59); 1492, Nov. 10; 1496, Nov. 11; 1501, Dec. 7 (*B. No.* 7); 1502, March 1, 2. (*B. Nos.* 9, 10); 1504, May 31 (*Doc. No.* 75). (*Ch. VI*, *p.* 153, *note* 4; *Ch. VIII*, *p.* 186, *note* 4; *Ch. IX*, *p.* 219.)
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- Atti di Siro Pescari. 1501, Aug. 21. (*Note to Doc. No.* 70; *Ch. VIII*, *pp.* 193, *note* 1, 195.)
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- Atti di Giov. Pietro Serra. 1481, Jan. 11. (*Ch. VII*, *p.* 170, *note* 1.)
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¹ The picture which forms the subject of this pamphlet is the altarpiece now usually ascribed to Jacopo Bellini. See chap. I, p. 28, note 1.

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POSTSCRIPT

WHILE the last proofs of this book were passing through the press, news reached us from Brescia of the discovery of an interesting cycle of fifteenth century frescoes in a small church known as "La Disciplina" at Remedello Sopra. For details we refer our readers to an article in *Il Cittadino di Brescia* of September 26, 1908, by Don Paolo Guerrini,¹ to whom the discovery is due, and who states that they are good works of the school of Foppa. The Communal Archives at Remedello are said to contain a great number of documents which may elucidate the subject, and the task of examining them has been entrusted to the writer of the article, who, as already stated, is the Keeper of the Episcopal Archives at Brescia. Interesting results may therefore be expected, and it is possible that some additional light may be thrown upon the life and work of Vincenzo Foppa and upon the history of his school, which would tend to confirm what has been said in the Introduction to this book, with regard to the desirability and necessity of combining documentary research with æsthetic criticism.

C. J. Ff.

R. M.

¹ "Reliquie d' arte quattrocentesca a Remedello Sopra."

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¹ On this page should have been added in the text a reference to a drawing in the sketch-book, representing the bearded St. Sebastian.

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¹ Not June 15, as printed by mistake on the illustration to p. 190.

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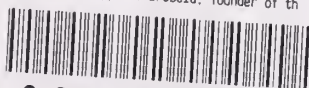
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Ffoulkes, Constance

Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia, founder of th



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