

BELLINI,
TITIAN,
AND LOTTO

*North Italian Paintings
from the
Accademia Carrara,
Bergamo*

BELLINI, TITIAN, AND LOTTO

North Italian Paintings from the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

ANDREA BAYER

M. CRISTINA RODESCHINI



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Distributed by Yale University Press, New Haven and London

This catalogue is published in conjunction with “Bellini, Titian, and Lotto: North Italian Paintings from the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo,” on view at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from May 15 through September 3, 2012.

The exhibition is organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in collaboration with the Accademia Carrara of Bergamo.



Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and
General Manager of Publications

Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager
Michael Sittenfeld, Managing Editor
Robert Weisberg, Assistant Managing Editor

Marcie M. Muscat, Editor
Jennifer Van Dalsen, Production Manager
Sophia Wagner-Serrano, Bibliographic Editor

Translations from the Italian by Frank Dabell

Designed by Carl W. Scarbrough
Typeset in Columbus and Quadraat
Printed on Creator Silk

Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois
Printed and bound by Meridian Printing, East Greenwich,
Rhode Island

Map by T. R. Lundquist

Cover illustrations: front: Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Portrait of a Twenty-nine-year-old Man*, 1567 (cat. 14, detail); back: Bergognone, *Saint Ambrose and Emperor Theodosius I*, 1490 (cat. 4, detail)

Additional illustrations: p. ix: Bergognone, *Saint Ambrose and Emperor Theodosius I*, 1490 (cat. 4, detail); p. x: Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Portrait of a Little Girl of the Redetti Family*, ca. 1570 (cat. 15, detail); p. 14: Bergognone, *Madonna and Child (Madonna del Latte)*, ca. 1485 (cat. 3, detail); p. 26: Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of Lucina Brembati*, 1518–23 (cat. 12, detail); p. 37: Giovanni Cariani, *Portrait of Giovanni Benedetto Caravaggi*, 1517–20 (cat. 10, detail)

Unless otherwise specified, all photographs were supplied by the owners of the works of art, who hold the copyright thereto, and are reproduced with permission. Every effort has been made to obtain permissions for all copyright-protected images. If copyright-protected work appears in this publication without permission, please contact the Metropolitan Museum's Editorial Department. Photographs of works in the Metropolitan Museum's collection are by The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Additional photographs are courtesy of Archivio fotografico Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, and Marco Mazzoleni, Bergamo.

Copyright © 2012 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
1000 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10028
metmuseum.org

Distributed by
Yale University Press, New Haven and London
yalebooks.com/art
yalebooks.co.uk

Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library
of Congress.

ISBN 978-1-58839-453-8 (pbk: The Metropolitan Museum
of Art)

ISBN 978-0-300-17956-9 (pbk: Yale University Press)

Contents

Sponsor's Statement · iv

Director's Foreword and Acknowledgments · vi

The Accademia Carrara and Its Influence
in Bergamo and Beyond

Andrea Bayer · i

The Accademia Carrara in Bergamo:
Centuries of History, Collecting,
and Connoisseurship

M. Cristina Rodeschini · 15

Bergamo and the Genius of
North Italian Renaissance Painting

Andrea Bayer · 27

Plates · 37

List of Plates · 68

Sponsor's Statement

IT IS OUR HOPE that visitors to The Metropolitan Museum of Art will be struck by the outstanding quality of these paintings from the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, and that this unique collaboration between our two institutions will lead the American public to a greater understanding of our collections and spark interest in the fascinating history of our museum. The exhibition is anchored by a core group of works that indubitably count among the masterpieces of the history of art, executed by a select roster of artists active in northern Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—a time when the Italian contribution to art and culture was among the most decisive in history.

While it is indisputable that the origins of the Renaissance were centered around Florence, the true richness of the Italian cultural heritage resided in the dissemination of the epochal innovations taking place in Tuscany to artistic centers throughout Italy, where they were interpreted freely and according to the respective traditions of each region. The result of such collaboration was the construction of a new visual canon dictated by the discovery of perspective, but rather than slavishly replicate the new model, North Italian artists completely reinvented it, thus multiplying the strengths of the initial idea. Indeed, exchanges between a tight-knit network of artists in Lombardy and the Veneto, from Bergamo to Venice, generated works that reinvigorated the traditional building blocks of visual culture—religious imagery and portraiture, for both public institutions and private patrons—and permeated the very societies of which they were faithful expressions.

The Accademia Carrara in Bergamo occupies a unique position in the history of North Italian art, boasting high-quality collections

deeply rooted in the culture of the region they represent. Upheld by the superlative collecting practices that surrounded their creation, their merits have withstood the vicissitudes of time. Thanks to the forward-thinking vision of its founder, Giacomo Carrara, the museum and its riches have been accessible to the public for more than two hundred years, fulfilling an educational ideal that continues to be a cornerstone of the museum's mission to this day.

We are certain that the American public and the many visitors to the Metropolitan Museum will be overcome by the beauty of these paintings, and we encourage them to come to Bergamo to experience the full impact of seeing these works of art within their natural setting. Today, our efforts are focused on the reopening, slated for 2013, of a renovated and reimagined Accademia Carrara, which will strive to present to an international public the outstanding quality of our artistic patrimony—an objective toward which the present exhibition is a significant first step.

For their work on this project, we would like to thank the following colleagues in Italy: Erminia Carbone, Executive Director, Culture and Tourism, Comune di Bergamo; M. Cristina Rodeschini, Head of the Accademia Carrara, and Galleria d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Bergamo, Director; Sandrina Bandera, Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici di Milano e delle Province Lombarde, with Amalia Pacia; Maria Benedetto Bonomo and Luigi Ferrara at COBE Direzionale spa; and Marina Geneletti, Laura Luzzana, Rossella Garattini, and Fabrizia Previtali.

Franco Tentorio

Mayor of Bergamo

Claudia Sartirani

Commissioner, Cultural Affairs and Entertainment, Bergamo

Tito Lombardini

President, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

Director's Foreword and Acknowledgments

THE ACCADEMIA CARRARA in Bergamo ranks as one of Italy's finest museums, uniquely combining the stateliness of a great neo-classical building with distinctive collections that reflect Bergamo's rich artistic heritage and civic-minded benefactors. The director and curators of the Accademia Carrara, which is currently under renovation, have set out to expand its reputation internationally through a series of carefully selected loan exhibitions. The present exhibition continues the longstanding cooperation between the Accademia Carrara and the Department of European Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, memorably inaugurated by "The Still Lives of Evaristo Baschenis: The Music of Silence" (2000–2001), an exquisite installation that introduced our public to one of the outstanding masters of still-life painting in Italy and a native son of Bergamo.

We are delighted to once again have the opportunity to benefit from this relationship by presenting a group of fifteen exceptional North Italian paintings dating from 1450–1550 from the collection of the Accademia Carrara. Some of these works are by major regional artists such as the Bergamasque Andrea Previtali or the Brescians Vincenzo Foppa and Moretto, while others are by the great Venetians Giovanni Bellini, Titian, and Lorenzo Lotto. Most of the artists represented established ties with the city's major patrons and collectors; Lotto, for one, had a decade-long presence in the city, which from 1428 was part of the Venetian state. These artists moved easily back and forth across North Italy, between Bergamo and Venice, exchanging new ideas and producing such masterpieces that this moment in Bergamo's history is often considered a "golden age." Exhibited within the context of the

Metropolitan's paintings galleries, they will add to an already considerable presentation of paintings from Lombardy and the Venetian territories.

The exhibition was initiated by M. Cristina Rodeschini, Head of the Accademia Carrara, and Galleria d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Bergamo, Director; and Giovanni Valagussa, Curator, Accademia Carrara, in conversation with Everett Fahy, former John Pope-Hennessy Chairman of the Department of European Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The project was carried forward under the direction of Dr. Rodeschini, working with Andrea Bayer, Curator, and Keith Christiansen, the current John Pope-Hennessy Chairman of the Department of European Paintings, at the Metropolitan Museum. We thank our colleagues in Bergamo for proposing this exhibition and for all their efforts in ensuring its success. The support of Franco Tentorio, Mayor of Bergamo, Claudia Sartirani, Commissioner, Cultural Affairs and Entertainment, Bergamo, and Tito Lombardini, President of the Accademia Carrara, has been essential. At the Metropolitan Museum the organizers wish to thank Meryl Cohen, Josephine Floyd, Sophia Geronimus, Sarah Higby, Kirstie Howard, Daniel Kershaw, Marcie Muscat, Eveline Baseggio Omiccioli, Jennifer Russell, Carl Scarbrough, Linda Sylling, and Jennifer Van Dalsen. Although a project of modest scale, the exhibition and catalogue have received attentive care and creative planning from all of the above.

Thomas P. Campbell

Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BELLINI, TITIAN, AND LOTTO

North Italian Paintings from the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo





The Accademia Carrara and Its Influence in Bergamo and Beyond

Andrea Bayer

ARRIVING AT THE Accademia Carrara is a memorable experience, especially if traveling to Bergamo by train from Milan (fig. 1). Greeted upon arrival by the lower part of the town, the visitor follows a route past the historic Teatro Donizetti before beginning the climb toward the great medieval neighborhood of Bergamo Alta perched on the hills above. Along the way, one passes a number of the city's most important churches, home to some of Lorenzo Lotto's greatest paintings, as well as the twisting Via Pignolo, lined by noble Renaissance palaces. Finally, the great fortifying walls of the upper city appear, and there on an irregular piazza stands the neoclassical building that houses the city's extraordinary art collections, the result of more than two hundred years of collecting and a direct outgrowth of the local culture embodied in these very streets, churches, and homes. The Carrara provides a link between the older and newer parts of town, and its history reflects the strength of the city's independent artistic traditions as one of the major centers in Lombardy.

When the pioneering connoisseur Giovanni Morelli (figs. 2, 11) bequeathed his collection to the Accademia Carrara upon his death in 1891, it was the third major collection to come to the thriving public gallery. The first had been the collection of its founder, Count Giacomo Carrara (figs. 3, 14), who died in 1796 and whose goal was to create both a school of art (*scuola d'arte*) and a gallery that reflected his passionate interest in the painting of the region of Lombardy and elsewhere in northern Italy. His widow, Marianna Passi, became the first president of the committee that ran both the school and the gallery, whose official inventory ran to more than twelve hundred paintings.¹ The collection came to be housed



FIG. 1. The northern regions of Italy, with Milan, Bergamo, and Venice highlighted

in an imposing neoclassical building designed by the local architect Simone Elia that opened in 1810 (fig. 4).

The second, astonishingly fine collection, of Guglielmo Lochis (1789–1859), came to the Carrara by a more circuitous route. Lochis (fig. 13), whose collections spanned the Italian peninsula but who also had a concentration of works from Lombardy and the Veneto (fig. 5), built his own gallery in a villa at Crocette di Mozzo, where he intended his collection to be installed. However, from the moment of his death in 1859, a city commission sought to undermine his plans and avoid the cost and difficulty of administering this rather remote location. Eventually, it was Morelli who, in 1865, contributed to the choice of the approximately two hundred forty paintings that went instead to the Carrara, leaving Lochis's heir the right to dispose of the rest of his legacy, including the villa.² Morelli's heavily annotated copy of the 1858 catalogue of the collection—with its more than five hundred paintings—is



FIG. 2. Franz von Lenbach. *Portrait of Giovanni Morelli*, 1890. Oil on canvas, $48\frac{1}{2} \times 35\frac{1}{2}$ in. (123 × 90 cm). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo



FIG. 3. Fra' Galgario. *Portrait of Count Giacomo Carrara*, ca. 1737. Oil on canvas, $36\frac{1}{2} \times 30\frac{1}{2}$ in. (92.5 × 77.4 cm). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

evidence of his close study of this remarkable group of paintings and their attributions and monetary value.³

Morelli lived in Bergamo until 1874, when an inheritance from a cousin enabled him to spread his wings a bit in Milan. Although numerically his bequest was smaller than those that had come before, a description of one of his rooms in Milan, written by his friend and follower the author Gustavo Frizzoni (a Bergamo native) (fig. 12), gives an idea of the level of quality that his collecting had achieved: “A drawing-room toward the garden, on whose walls hang, on one side, the great work by Botticelli [the magnificent *Story of Virginia*]; . . . on another, a group of Lombards, among which one of the best is a certain benign figure of Saint Martha [a panel by the Milanese artist Bergognone]; while in the center of the third, one’s eye is attracted by a Madonna by Giovanni Bellini [probably the great *Madonna and Child with a Pear*]” (fig. 6); all these



FIG. 4. The facade of the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

paintings are now in the Accademia Carrara.⁴ Frizzoni's influence may have played a role in Morelli's decision to leave his paintings to the Carrara, which also would have been an endorsement of the museum's distinctive character. They were installed in their own galleries in 1892 under the direction of Frizzoni, who continued in his role as Custode della Galleria Morelli until 1919, the year of his death (by which time, to his chagrin, the galleries housing the Carrara's other collections were installed in a more integrated way, diminishing the impact of each collector's sensibility). The 1890s also saw such transformative purchases as that of the predella panels (cats. 7–9; figs. 8, 16–19) of Lorenzo Lotto's first major altarpiece in the city, the so-called Pala Martinengo (fig. 15), painted in 1513–16 for the church of SS. Stefano e Domenico.

Of the fifteen exceptional North Italian paintings dating from about 1450–1550 included in this catalogue, all either originated



in the Carrara, Lochis, or Morelli collections or were purchased during these formative decades in the Carrara's history. Together they created a *pinacoteca* that was rare in Italy—neither a state institution nor one that had grown from princely collections but a genuine outgrowth of local interests and convictions. As the historian Angela Ottino della Chiesa described the Carrara in a 1955 catalogue (redolent of postwar Italian sentiment), “it was not born of the contribution of demolished churches and suppressed convents, of sequestrations and expropriations, like the Pinacoteca di Brera; it was not born of the power of money or fashionable ambition, like many foreign (*‘oltramontana’*) galleries, but from the wishes and passion of a culture and a group of patricians, poor in material goods, rich in style and tradition.”⁵

The influence of these collectors—and their collections—went well beyond the walls of Bergamo. Indeed, the impact they had on the collecting of North Italian art in the latter half of the nineteenth century, especially in England but also in Germany and,

FIG. 5. Detail of cat. 2

FIG. 6. Giovanni Bellini. *Madonna and Child with a Pear*, ca. 1488. Oil on panel, $33\frac{1}{4} \times 25\frac{3}{4}$ in. (84.3×65.5 cm). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo



ultimately, the United States, is significant. They provided a fundamental introduction to painting in Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, and elsewhere in Lombardy and the western Veneto, and to the artists who moved from this region to Venice. Both Charles Eastlake, the first director of the National Gallery, London, and Otto Mündler, the Gallery's traveling agent, made repeated visits to see the Lochis collection in the 1850s, with the express intention of buying its masterpieces (fig. 7). In that decade Lochis intimated that he was interested in selling the entire collection en bloc (an odd stance for one who ultimately decided to keep it intact and in the precious home built for it), and therefore no agreement could be reached between the two parties. Nevertheless, as the records of his visits show, Eastlake's interest remained keen.

Eastlake's wife, Elizabeth, who shared her husband's travels and enthusiasm, wrote about their impressions following a visit to

Lochis in 1855, describing his collection and the building in which it was housed as “one of the richest temples of cinquecento art. The light was bad but nothing could obscure the beauties, and we proceed to feast.”⁶ The extremely careful notes that Eastlake took on that occasion document his intense interest in the paintings—sometimes making attributions but always analyzing them in terms of composition, palette and tonality, and preservation, as well as commenting on their quality. Of the moving *Christ and a Devotee* (cat. 11), he suggested that, although presented with “no name,” it was “perhaps 1st manner of Moretto?”—a reference to the Brescian artist Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, an artist whom he respected.⁷ Eastlake was enthusiastic about paintings in the collection by Lotto, Palma Vecchio, and Andrea Previtali—all from the region of Bergamo or active there—as well as many others. At the same time he could be quite severe, saying of Carpaccio’s *Birth of the Virgin* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) that it was “well preserved but dry, and scattered in composition.”⁸ He visited Lochis again in 1857 and there began a list of the “first pictures which, under all circumstances might be selected”; this list of top works included thirty-four paintings.⁹

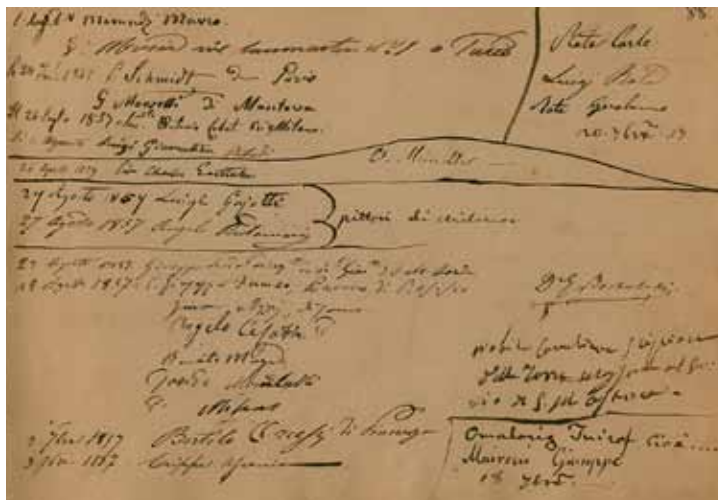


FIG. 7. Album page signed by visitors to the Lochis collection, with the signatures of Charles Eastlake and Otto Mündler set off by pen-drawn lines, 1857



After the collector's death in 1859, British buyers such as Austen Henry Layard, himself a great benefactor of the National Gallery, made attempts to gain access to the paintings. In 1862 Eastlake was still reporting that "nothing is yet settled respecting the bequest of the Lochis Gallery to the Museum at Bergamo," but in time London became the nodal point for the dispersion of the portion of the Lochis collection that did not go to the Accademia Carrara, and major European and American collections ultimately benefited from it. Some three hundred paintings made their way in 1874 to the restorer and dealer Raffaele Pinti in London, including Battista Dossi's charming *Battle of Orlando and Rodomonte* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford), first purchased by William Graham and exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1875; various others became part of the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford or entered collections elsewhere.¹⁰

FIG. 8. Detail of cat. 9

In a somewhat tortured way, Morelli was part of the escalating movement of paintings away from Bergamo. In a letter written in 1865 to Carlo Lochis, Guglielmo's heir, Morelli reported that Layard would be coming with him to Bergamo, hoping to acquire paintings, but added that up to that point, all the works that the collector had indicated as desirable had been chosen "for the city"; despite his shepherding of the avid English collector, Morelli had to admit that the division had been done carefully and that the pool of works of interest to someone of Layard's stature was shallow.¹¹ Morelli surely felt torn about his role in exporting North Italian Renaissance paintings from the country, a tension most famously revealed in 1862 when he sold his important Lorenzo Lotto portrait of *Agostino della Torre with His Son Niccolò* to Eastlake for the National Gallery, where it remains. (This occurred at the same time as the director's last, unsuccessful visit to the Lochis collection and must have been a considerable consolation to him.) Following the sale, Morelli wrote to Eastlake, saying, "I know only too well that I am not behaving in too patriotic a manner by severing from its own homeland a masterpiece such as this picture."¹²

On the other hand, Morelli was certainly sincere in his wish to educate English collectors, especially Layard, about the qualities of these underrated schools of painting. Thus, when in 1864 Layard was attempting to buy works by Moretto and Lotto from the Averoldi collection in Brescia (a neighboring city, and, like Bergamo, part of the western Venetian *terraferma* during the Renaissance), he wrote to the connoisseur, saying, “I want very much to possess something by these great masters whose acquaintance I owe to your kind introductions.” Morelli’s reply steered him toward the Morettos, “two charming pictures by a master who is so eminent and pleasing and who only now begins to be appreciated. For my taste, Moretto is one of the most pure painters, most harmonious and noble of the sixteenth century, and, I would add, one of the most original that I know. I hope that these two fine examples, owned by a Layard, will contribute more than all praise to make this eminent genius better known and appreciated in England.”¹³ Both paintings, and many others related to them, became the nucleus of the National Gallery’s exceptional array of North Italian works. Decades later, when the *Entombment* (fig. 9), a late work by Moretto, was purchased for the Metropolitan Museum, the curator responsible for the acquisition, Bryson Burroughs, used nearly identical terms—“balanced arrangement” and “nobility”—to characterize its qualities for a new American audience.¹⁴ Burroughs certainly came to his appreciation of Moretto and many other artists through his reading of Morelli and Frizzoni.

The earliest painting in the present exhibition, Vincenzo Foppa’s *The Three Crosses* (cat. 1), was purchased by Count Giacomo Carrara about 1764. He studied it with his friend Giovanni Bottari, well known for his printed collections of letters relating to the arts, and the two remarked on the signature and inscription, which confirmed the artist’s place of birth in Brescia and that he was already a mature artist in 1456 (a date that is sometimes disputed). They additionally noted the remarkable control of the scene’s



FIG. 9. Moretto da Brescia (Alessandro Bonvicino). *The Entombment*. Oil on canvas, $94\frac{1}{2} \times 74\frac{1}{2}$ in. (240×189.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1912 (12.61)

perspective, in which the architecture functions as a triumphal arch framing the sacred group, itself placed well beyond the arch and therefore distinctly separate from it.¹⁵ Here, we encounter the origins of a long—and ongoing—discussion concerning the achievements of artists such as Foppa that rippled out from the Accademia Carrara. Today, we still consider Foppa's pictorial exploration of space as both measurable and symbolic to be a significant aspect of his work, and this painting to be a defining example of a larger phenomenon in Lombard art. The conversations begun by Carrara and Bottari were continued by Lochis,

Morelli, Eastlake, and Layard, and helped shape our understanding of Renaissance painting in these important cultural centers.

In the same way, the Accademia Carrara became a fundamental stop for visitors interested in its paintings from Lombardy and the Veneto, collected and interpreted with such passion over the course of more than two centuries. In recent years the Carrara has organized and participated in exhibitions looking closely at artists whose works defined the visual culture of the city of Bergamo and its neighbors during the Renaissance. These have ranged from monographic exhibitions of the portraitist Giovanni Battista Moroni (1979) and of Lorenzo Lotto (1998) to broader thematic studies, including “Bergamo, l’altra Venezia” (Bergamo: The Other Venice, 2001), and presentations of masterpieces of the collection, such as the recent “I grandi veneti” (The Great Venetians, 2010–11). The selection of works in the present exhibition brings together one small but cohesive group of paintings that exemplify the collections for which the Carrara is so justifiably admired.

NOTES

- 1 Francesco Rossi, “La galleria: Realtà e imagine,” in *Giacomo Carrara (1714–1796) e il collezionismo d’arte a Bergamo: Saggi, fonti, documenti*, ed. Rosanna Paccanelli, Maria Grazia Recanati, and Francesco Rossi (Bergamo, 1999), p. 163.
- 2 Giovanna Brambilla Ranise, *La raccolta dimezzata: Storia della dispersione della pinacoteca di Guglielmo Lochis (1789–1859)* (Bergamo, 2007), pp. 3–37.
- 3 Matteo Panzeri, “Morelli e la collezione Lochis nella Pinacoteca dell’Accademia Carrara,” in *Giovanni Morelli e la cultura dei conoscitori: Atti del convegno internazionale, Bergamo, 4–7 giugno 1987*, ed. Giacomo Agosti, Maria Elisabetta Manca, and Matteo Panzeri (Bergamo, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 221–40.
- 4 Simone Facchinetti, “Giovanni Morelli (Verona, 1816–Milano, 1891): Privato e pubblico,” in *Pittura italiana dal Rinascimento al XVIII secolo: Capolavori dell’Accademia Carrara di Bergamo*, ed. Simone Facchinetti and Giovanni Valagussa, exh. cat. (Lausanne, 2008), p. 34.
- 5 Angela Ottino della Chiesa, *Accademia Carrara* (Bergamo, 1955), pp. 7–8.
- 6 Brambilla Ranise, *La raccolta dimezzata*, p. 16.

- 7 Susanna Avery-Quash, *The Travel Notebooks of Sir Charles Eastlake*, Walpole Society, vol. 73 (Wakefield, 2011), vol. 1, p. 244; and pp. 242–46 for the entire visit.
- 8 Ibid., p. 243.
- 9 Ibid., pp. 347–48.
- 10 The complicated history of the paintings that made their way to London and into the hands of Raffaele Pinti is told in Brambilla Ranise, *La raccolta dimezzata*, especially pp. 16–22. For examples of paintings that entered other collections, see *ibid.*, pp. 72–74 (Giovanni Battista Moroni, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), 116–18 (Battista Dossi, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford), 158–60 (Martino Piazza, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and 236–48 (Dosso Dossi, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).
- 11 Ibid., pp. 9–10.
- 12 Nicholas Penny, *The Sixteenth Century: Italian Paintings, National Gallery Catalogues* (London, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 60–61, also discusses the various reasons why Morelli may have gone through with the sale.
- 13 Madeline Lennon, “Morelli and the Layard Collection: Influence as Intellectual Exchange,” in *Giovanni Morelli e la cultura dei conoscitori*, ed. Agosti, Manca, and Panzeri, vol. 1, pp. 245–46. Both paintings are now in the National Gallery, inv. 3095, 3094 (as North Italian).
- 14 Bryson Burroughs, “The Pietà by Moretto da Brescia,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 7 (June 1912), p. 113.
- 15 Francesco Rossi, “Sedici capolavori della Galleria Carrara,” in *Giacomo Carrara*, ed. Paccanelli, Recanati, and Rossi, p. 170.



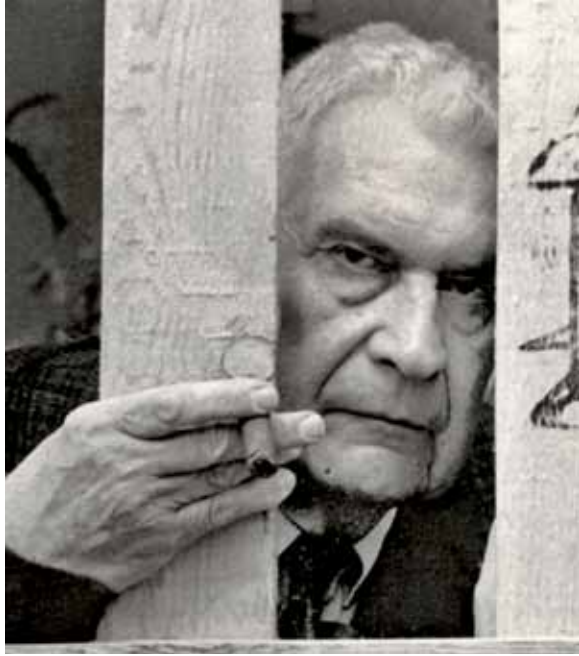
*The Accademia Carrara in Bergamo:
Centuries of History, Collecting,
and Connoisseurship*
M. Cristina Rodeschini

A SMALL EUROPEAN MUSEUM, the Accademia Carrara, and a grand American one, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, come together thanks to an exhibition of fifteen pictures drawn from the rich store of Renaissance paintings housed in the city of Bergamo. For the American public, this exceptional exhibition, devised to highlight northern Italy's contribution to the development of Italian art as a whole, will probably be a surprise, not least for its venue: an exhibition space at the heart of the Metropolitan Museum's permanent collection, in close proximity to the galleries of Renaissance painting offered to its visitors.

The decision to exhibit a concentrated group of works painted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from such a specific area of Italy—Lombardy and the Veneto—was made by the Metropolitan Museum's curators, to whom this shared project was proposed in view of the current refurbishment of the Accademia Carrara's historic premises and ahead of a new display of its collection. The redesign of the Carrara thus presented a unique opportunity to engage in projects that will no longer be possible once the galleries are again open to the public.

The histories of the Accademia Carrara and the Metropolitan Museum are obviously quite different, yet the evolutions of their respective collections are marked by a number of points in common, of which the most intriguing—and important—to the study of Italian painting in both collections is the figure of Federico Zeri (1921–1998). As both a scholar and a connoisseur, Zeri (fig. 10), contributed to the expertise on Italian paintings in the Metropolitan Museum, which entrusted him with the writing of its catalogues on its holdings from the Florentine, Venetian, Sienese and Central

FIG. 10. Federico Zeri, 1980s



Italian, and North Italian schools, published between 1971 and 1986.¹ He was similarly involved at the Accademia Carrara: having nurtured a precocious and extraordinary interest in its collections, which he had assiduously explored since the 1950s, Zeri was involved in the preparation of that museum's scholarly catalogue of the collection of Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891), published in 1986.² Doyen of European connoisseurs during the second half of the nineteenth century, Morelli (figs. 2, 11) had left his collection of painting and sculpture to the Accademia Carrara, confirming the city of Bergamo and its museum as the epitome of the culture of art collecting.³

Studying the Morelli collection, Zeri familiarized himself with the connoisseur and the horizons he had sought in his research, and it is therefore fitting that Zeri, in turn, bequeathed his own sculpture collection to the Carrara in 1998. Although defined in part by an interesting group of works by sixteenth- and seventeenth-



FIG. 11. Giovanni Morelli, ca. 1890.
Photograph by Giulio Rossi.
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

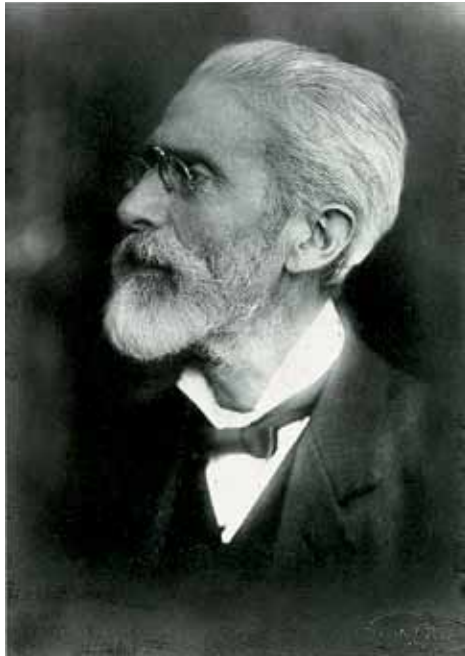
century Roman artists, the collection—whose unsystematic character Zeri was fond of invoking—also had strong sentimental value for him, reflecting his curiosity, intuition, and continuous questioning about objects and their lives, following a working method that broke the customary boundaries of the discipline. The sculptures housed in his residence-cum-studio at Mentana, near Rome, together with his books, formed the landscape of the scholar's daily life, and the capacity of each of these works to suggest a moment of knowledge constituted a sort of diary in images.

The elective affinity between Federico Zeri and Giovanni Morelli is a connecting thread in the history of the museum, a critical link between past and present. In its role as custodian of the art collections of two connoisseurs, the Accademia Carrara also became the heir of two remarkable figures in the international culture of art, each of whom had a profound effect on collections being formed in their lifetimes, including several in New York City.

When Morelli's collection entered the Accademia Carrara, the connoisseur's executor and the custodian of his collection—Gustavo Frizzoni (1840–1919), a strenuous defender of Morelli's wishes—was himself a highly significant figure in the world of international connoisseurship during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To cite but one example critical to the appearance of the Carrara's galleries, Frizzoni (fig. 12) succeeded in retaining the integrity of the Morelli bequest upon the museum's 1912 reinstallation by Corrado Ricci, who merged the collection of the founder, Giacomo Carrara—or, rather, what remained of it after a significant portion was auctioned off in 1835—with that of Guglielmo Lochis.

The debt of gratitude owed by Frizzoni to Morelli, a family friend, went beyond the dutiful respect of a pupil for his teacher. Frizzoni, who lost his father at a tender age in 1849, had in fact grown up under Morelli's wing, and the two developed a near

FIG. 12. Gustavo Frizzoni, ca. 1900.
Photograph by Italo Pacchiani.
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo



familial bond. Morelli took care of his charge's education, and Frizzoni went on to earn a degree in Italian literature in Pisa in 1864. Frizzoni also shared his patron's political and cultural convictions. Morelli, an active participant in the Italian Risorgimento after the Unification of Italy in 1861, served as a Member of Parliament from 1860 to 1870. He was committed to a new form of cultural politics that addressed the safeguarding and development of Italian artistic heritage according to specific guiding principles: Morelli assigned a prominent role to private collecting, believing in the active stewardship of national heritage and advocating the reform and growth of Italy's public galleries.

Frizzoni, who began writing about art in 1869, moved to Milan in the early 1870s and began to collect works of art, having come into a small fortune.⁴ There he was introduced to the rich network of international relations cultivated by Morelli through the artistic interests and political and diplomatic roles that defined his existence. He gradually took Morelli's place as organizer of Milanese cultural institutions: the Brera Gallery, the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, and the Civic Museums of the Castello Sforzesco. His scholarship was held in such high standing that he was one of the nominees when the first national chair of art history was established in Italy in 1886. In 1891, the year of Morelli's death, Frizzoni published his own studies on the Italian Renaissance,⁵ which he had come to know and appreciate under Morelli's capable guidance. Through his high-profile role in public institutions, his dealings with private collectors and the international art market, and his status as a recognized authority in art history—in short, by taking up Morelli's complex cultural legacy—Frizzoni assured himself a special position in the art world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Given that the Italian Renaissance, and in particular the Lombard and Venetian schools of painting, lay at the center of Frizzoni's scholarly work, collectors and museums often turned to him before making acquisitions. He built close relationships with a number of major figures in the international art world, most notably the young

American scholar Bernard Berenson (1865–1959), who had settled in Florence and considered Frizzoni to be Morelli's true heir.⁶ Indeed, Berenson recognized Frizzoni and Morelli—whom he had met in 1890, just one year before Morelli's death—as the most dependable connoisseurs of the day. He ascribed Frizzoni's strengths, in part, to his use of modern methods such as photography, which gave him true material assistance for his studies.⁷ The relationship between Frizzoni and Berenson is well documented, from their initial meeting at the Brera, arranged by Morelli himself, in the early 1890s; through their correspondence between 1904—when Berenson returned to the United States after an absence of seven years—and 1915; in Berenson's frequent references to the Bergamasque connoisseur in his writings;⁸ and, ultimately, in the role Berenson played in the dispersion of Frizzoni's collection, which, unfortunately, did not share the destiny of Morelli's and enter the Accademia Carrara.⁹ Conflicts with the public administration and a series of disappointments led Frizzoni to break up his collection, which was sold between 1910 and 1915 on the American market through Berenson.

As we make this journey back in time, punctuated by meetings with important figures who shaped the history of the Accademia Carrara, we should emphasize that the most important contribution to the public collections of the city of Bergamo was made by a nineteenth-century collector, Guglielmo Lochis (1789–1859) (fig. 13). The finest works in the Lochis collection entered the Carrara after a laborious agreement between the municipality of Bergamo and the collector's heir.¹⁰ Following a dispute between the interested parties, the municipality entrusted the assessment and selection of artworks to a committee of specialists that included Morelli, who was sought out not only for his expertise but also for his strong rapport with the mayor of Bergamo, Giovan Battista Camozzi Vertova, with whom he had stood enthusiastically in favor of Unification.

Lochis, on the other hand, had been part of the political opposition, and stood for the Restoration. A man of high moral stature, a fine diplomat, and loyally bound to the Austrian court,

Lochis had held the post of *podestà*, the highest public office in Bergamo, from 1842 until 1848, the explosive year of pan-European insurrections (Italy's included). Several times president of the Accademia Carrara, he sat on its board of trustees from 1822 until his death. For more than thirty years, starting in the 1820s, Lochis built up an exceptional collection, founded on expert knowledge and infallible taste, of more than five hundred paintings, by artists such as Bellini, Bergognone, Cariani, Crivelli, Lotto, Moretto, Moroni, Perugino, Raphael, Titian, and Tura (the present exhibition includes no fewer than eight works with a Lochis provenance, revealing the superb quality of his collection); it also contained items from non-Italian schools. Lochis assembled his paintings through a rich web of contacts—as reflected in hundreds of letters housed in Bergamo's Civica Biblioteca Angelo Mai—ranging from the high nobility and elite collectors to a structured network of dealers, antiquarians, and conservators.



FIG. 13. Giovanni Carnovali. *Portrait of Guglielmo Lochis*, 1835. Oil on canvas, $19\frac{3}{8} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ in. (49×42 cm). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

Lochis's collection, documented in three printed catalogues (1834, 1846, 1858) written and published by the nobleman himself and displayed in a specially built gallery a few miles from Bergamo, was open to whomever wished to visit.

In contrast to Lochis's wishes, which dictated that his collection remain intact and housed in perpetuity at his villa at Crocette di Mozzo, an agreement between the municipality of Bergamo and the collector's heir, Carlo Lochis, resulted in the transfer of two hundred forty works to the Accademia Carrara. This action contributed to the museum's becoming the designated home for the city's private collections, following a tradition established at the end of the eighteenth century by its founder, the Bergamo native Giacomo Carrara (1714–1796).

It is with a profile of this Bergamasque nobleman (figs. 3, 14)¹¹ and an account of his cultural project that we draw to a conclusion. Collecting art, making it available to all, and using its educational potential to train young artists: these are the foundations on which the Accademia Carrara was built. The value of Giacomo Carrara's ideas—made concrete at the end of the 1700s in Bergamo with the opening of an art gallery and an adjacent school of painting—endures, and they are shared to this day.

In the mid-eighteenth century, after an educational journey through Italy that was typical of the prosperous classes, Carrara created the basis for his art collection by broadening his knowledge and becoming acquainted with leading figures of Italian culture and art collecting. An active participant in Bergamo's cultural institutions and a profound connoisseur, Carrara began cultivating friendships with contemporary artists from an early age, eventually developing an extensive network of contacts. Having realized his project with the opening of both the gallery (1785) and the art school (1793) in a purpose-built structure, Carrara died in 1796, aged eighty-two, leaving all his effects to the institution he had brought to life. The early nucleus of the collection, which numbered more than one hundred paintings, had descended in his



FIG. 14. Giovanni Pezzotta. *Portrait of Count Giacomo Carrara*, ca. 1765. Oil on canvas, $37\frac{3}{4} \times 29\frac{7}{8}$ in. (96 × 76 cm). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

family, and over time Carrara expanded upon these initial holdings with purchases of works on the art market; from other Bergamasque collections destined for dispersion; and from what became available after the suppression of the religious orders. From the 1770s onward his acquisitions became more focused, often through the recommendation of trusted correspondents. As a collector, he had a clear predilection for the Lombard quattrocento—reflected in the present exhibition by Vincenzo Foppa’s masterpiece *The Three Crosses* (cat. 1)—and the Venetian cinquecento, as well as a desire to document the finest artists of Bergamo and its environs. The catalogue of the collection, drawn up in 1796 upon Carrara’s death, accounts for more than twelve hundred paintings, harmoniously displayed according to the quality of the works and their format. The integrity of the Carrara bequest was compromised following an auction in 1835, organized by the Gallery’s commissioners (among them Guglielmo Lochis) with the aim of thinning it out

and honing its quality. Of the original collection of paintings, four hundred remain in place today.

Giacomo Carrara's conception of a scheme dedicated to artistic culture has not only withstood the test of time but has continually nourished itself on the idea underlying its centuries-old life: education through art while offering great works to the public. The fact that collectors such as Guglielmo Lochis and Giovanni Morelli, among many others, believed in this luminous project, albeit through years of sometimes uneven history, has made the Carrara one of the most refined picture galleries in Europe.

Following the restoration of its historic premises after more than fifty years without any significant changes, the reopening of the Accademia Carrara in 2013 and the unveiling of its newly installed galleries will mark an important cultural event. Both the scholarly community and the public are expectant, each recognizing that, from its very beginnings, the Carrara has pursued and maintained an exceptional artistic legacy. The history of the museum owes much to the admirable taste and skill with which the collections were assembled, thereby ensuring the excellence of the Carrara's holdings and imbuing its masterworks and the cultural values it espouses with a distinctively Italian character that reflects the community of which it is part. Indeed, the profound municipal commitment to fostering this legacy is as valuable a quality as that of the Carrara's collections. Standing testament to all this is the community of Bergamo itself, which for centuries has reaffirmed itself through art with a level of civic pride that has few equals.

NOTES

- 1 Federico Zeri, with the assistance of Elizabeth Z. Gardner, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*: vol. 1, *Florentine School* (New York, 1971); vol. 2, *Venetian School* (New York, 1973); vol. 3, *Sienese and Central Italian Schools* (New York, 1980); vol. 4, *North Italian School* (New York, 1986).

- 2 Federico Zeri and Francesco Rossi, *La raccolta Morelli nell'Accademia Carrara* (Milan, 1986).
- 3 On June 4–7, 1987, the city of Bergamo hosted an international symposium entitled “Giovanni Morelli e la cultura dei conoscitori.” Its proceedings, edited by Giacomo Agosti, Maria Elisabetta Manca, and Matteo Panzeri and coordinated by Marisa Dalai Emiliani, appeared in three volumes, published by Pierluigi Lubrina in Bergamo in 1993, corresponding to the symposium’s three sessions: “Giovanni Morelli e la connoisseurship europea dell’ottocento”; “Giovanni Morelli tra politica e cultura artistica nell’Italia del Risorgimento”; and “Il metodo di Giovanni Morelli e la sua eredità.”
- 4 In 1873 Frizzoni wound down his family business, a solid Lombard company active in the manufacture and export of silk; see the entry on Frizzoni by G. Kannes in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1998), vol. 50, pp. 581–83.
- 5 Gustavo Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del Rinascimento: Saggi critici* (Milan, 1891); this edition gathers the author’s principal writings on Renaissance culture, dating from the 1880s.
- 6 Early evidence of their relationship appears in Berenson’s preface to his *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, with an Index to Their Works*, 2nd ed. (New York and London, 1895), vol. 1; in 1895 the thirty-year-old Berenson completed his monograph on Lorenzo Lotto.
- 7 Frizzoni’s rich photographic archive is housed in the library of the Accademia di Brera, Milan, and is currently being recatalogued.
- 8 Bernard Berenson, *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York and London, 1910); see pp. vii–viii, where the American scholar states that Morelli knew the Milanese school better than anyone else, and that he was no less indebted to Gustavo Frizzoni.
- 9 Four paintings from the Frizzoni collection were sold through Berenson to the American John G. Johnson, whose collection now forms part of the Philadelphia Museum of Art; it was Berenson who wrote *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects [from the Collection of J. G. Johnson]*, vol. 1, *Italian Paintings* (Philadelphia, 1913). See Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson, the Making of a Connoisseur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).
- 10 For Guglielmo Lochis and the complex events surrounding the dispersion of half his collection, see Giovanna Brambilla Ranise, *La raccolta dimezzata: Storia della dispersione della pinacoteca di Guglielmo Lochis (1789–1859)* (Bergamo, 2007); see also Andrea Bayer’s essay “The Accademia Carrara and Its Influence in Bergamo and Beyond” in the present volume.
- 11 The figure of Giacomo Carrara as a man of culture and a collector has been explored by Rosanna Paccanelli, “Tra erudizione e mecenatismo: Itinerario biografico di un collezionista illuminato,” in *Giacomo Carrara (1714–1796) e il collezionismo d’arte a Bergamo: Saggi, fonti, documenti*, ed. Rosanna Paccanelli, Maria Grazia Recanati, and Francesco Rossi (Bergamo, 1999), pp. 95–162.



Bergamo and the Genius of North Italian Renaissance Painting

Andrea Bayer

AMONG THE MASTERPIECES of Venetian Renaissance painting is an extraordinary, monumental altarpiece showing the Madonna and Child on a fantastical throne surrounded by saints and set within an ecclesiastical setting with a great oculus above (fig. 15). It was painted by Lorenzo Lotto in 1513–16 for the Dominican church of SS. Stefano e Domenico, his first work in the city of Bergamo, where he was to live for more than ten years. The grandeur, inventiveness, and modernity of this altarpiece left an indelible impression on the artists of the city, which lies at the westernmost border of the Venetian *terraferma*. The era it inaugurated has long been recognized as a golden moment in the artistic heritage of the region. The altarpiece (whose central panel measures more than fifteen feet in height) is no longer seen in SS. Stefano e Domenico, which was demolished in the mid-seventeenth century, but in the church of San Bartolomeo, whose friars sold off subsidiary portions of it in the nineteenth century. Among these were its three predella panels (cats. 7–9), which since 1893 have been in the Accademia Carrara, where they joined an already notable group of works by the artist.

As a predella, the panels originally would have been placed below the main altarpiece, beginning with the Saint Dominic scene at the left and ending with the stoning of Saint Stephen at the right—each panel referring to one of the church's patron saints, shown immediately to either side of the Virgin's throne in the larger painting above. Between the two panels is another with the Entombment of Christ. In each narrative the artist has brought the event before our eyes with remarkable vividness and unprecedented emotional fervor. In the first (cat. 7) a young man from the

FIG. 15. Lorenzo Lotto. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* (Pala Martinengo), 1513–16. Oil on panel, 17 ft. $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 98 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (520 \times 250 cm). San Bartolomeo, Bergamo



noble Orsini family, killed in an accident with a horse, sprawls in dramatically steep foreshortening with his hair and garments spread across the foreground (fig. 16), while Saint Dominic prays for his resuscitation, and his uncle, the cardinal in rich red robes at the left, gestures with his hand over his heart. In the third panel (cat. 9) Stephen, a deacon ordained by the apostles, kneels on the ground,



FIG. 16. Detail of cat. 7

his vulnerable back and legs exposed, while his executioners heave boulders and stones at him, twisting dynamically in space as they do so (fig. 8). Two other soldiers—one in armor, the other unclothed (perhaps referring to a passage in the *Golden Legend*)—stand in almost balletic poses at the left (fig. 17). The dog that leaps away in fright is so characteristic of the artist as to seem almost a signature. In the central panel (cat. 8) the Entombment has an equally rhythmic composition, with the swooning Virgin forming part of a hemispherical group around the figure of Christ. The artist draws our attention to the pitiless details—the nails, pliers, and rope (figs. 18, 19)—and to the figures emerging up the hill, breaking into the private grief of the participants. Lotto has composed in these panels scenes in which figures move freely in space, through vast atmospheric landscapes marked with ancient and modern buildings, each actor individually delineated, each narrative bathed in ever-shifting light and shadow. In creating these effects, Lotto drew on all the lessons he had learned in a career still close to its beginning but already impacted by important experiences in Venice (above all, in the art of Giovanni Bellini) and in its neighboring towns, as well as in central Italy, especially Rome during the early years of Raphael's work there, about 1508.



FIG. 17. Detail of cat. 9

Most of the artists in the present exhibition were contemporaries of Lotto, many of them in direct contact with one another, working for patrons who lived in the same neighborhoods, and sharing similar cultural horizons, though none was as peripatetic as Lotto himself, who worked not only in Bergamo and Venice but also in the region of the Marche. One of the group, Bergognone, was a Milanese artist who, beginning in the early 1490s, had strong ties to the court of the Sforza dukes, painting both altarpieces and frescoes for the great Certosa of Pavia, founded by the Visconti and continued by the Sforza. One of these altarpieces was dedicated to Saint Ambrose, the fourth-century bishop of Milan for whom one of the greatest monastic centers of that city was created. Its predella, imbued with evocative details that allude to the architecture and decoration of the Certosa itself, includes a scene of Ambrose with Emperor Theodosius I (cat. 4). According to Ambrose's biographer, in an act of great courage the saint refused the leader of the Eastern Roman Empire entrance to the church unless he publically repented earlier violent deeds. Behind the action—played out in subdued gestures and glances—an animated Milanese street recedes toward the slender tower of the church of San Gottardo, not far from the city's famous cathedral. The simplicity and decorousness of the narrative, with its figures dressed in alluringly lavish garments and set before a recognizable cityscape bathed in silvery light, gives this work a characteristically Lombard quality with deep roots in



FIGS. 18, 19. Details of cat. 8

the painting and illumination produced for the Milanese court. Bergognone's devout style—Giovanni Morelli said of him that he was the Lombard Fra Angelico—was also much sought after in nearby Bergamo, where he received various major commissions for altarpieces.

The influence of Milan and its artists was, however, increasingly undermined by the arrival of the latest ideas from Venice, farther away geographically but Bergamo's political ruler from 1428 (save for some moments of war early in the sixteenth century). An extraordinarily fruitful exchange between the capital and its thriving western territory shaped the artistic culture of the city. Several artists, including Andrea Previtali and Giovanni Cariani, were from small communities outside Bergamo but trained as artists in Venice, moving back and forth between the two areas. Previtali was in Venice from about 1500 and probably returned home about 1511, following a formative stint in Giovanni Bellini's workshop. Soon after his homecoming, in 1515, he painted one of his greatest altarpieces for the brothers Giovannino and Bartolomeo Cassotti Mazzoleni in the church of Santo Spirito (fig. 20). The central figure is Saint John the Baptist, who stands atop a fragment of delicately carved architecture set within an imagined ruin, open at the rear and looking out to a brilliantly lit landscape with a tumbling stream, probably in reference to the Baptism. The descriptive conception of space and light and the imaginatively portrayed

FIG. 20. Andrea Previtali. *Saint John the Baptist between Saints Nicholas of Bari, Bartholomew, Joseph, and James, Archdeacon of Bergamo*, 1515. Oil on panel, 8 ft. 8¼ in. × 9 ft. 6½ in. (265 × 290 cm). Santo Spirito, Bergamo



landscape speak to the artist's understanding of Bellini. Previtali was to work for other members of the same Bergamasque family, including Paolo Cassotti—probably the richest man in the city—and his wife, Agnese, for whom around 1523 he painted a devotional work of the Madonna and Child that included their patron saints, Paul and Agnes, as well as their own portraits as donors (cat. 13). Paolo's rivetingly direct glance and self-possession show that by that date the artist had taken stock of the portraits painted in Bergamo by Lorenzo Lotto, who was proving himself one of the greatest portraitists of the sixteenth century. For instance, Lotto's portrait of Lucina Brembati (cat. 12), painted about the same time, combines an incomparable ability to capture the truth of Lucina's appearance, and to demonstrate her standing precisely through her jewels and clothing, with an almost romantic rebus of a moon and tiny golden letters that spells out her first name (fig. 21). The next generation would also take up the challenge of

portraiture, with Giovanni Battista Moroni, renowned throughout North Italy, creating works of the most striking naturalism and, often, empathy for the sitter. Regarding Moroni's *Portrait of a Twenty-nine-year-old Man* (cat. 14; fig. 22), the great historian Roberto Longhi wrote that it was a depiction "so real, simple, documentary that it actually communicates a sense of certainty of having known the model."¹

Giovanni Cariani was also probably born in Bergamasque territory but had his earliest and most lasting experiences in Venice, beginning about 1510. His first recorded work, known only through a description, was of a "Cupid, bow in hand, seated in an 'inferno,'" which sounds like a young artist's attempt to work the magic of Giorgione, famous for his enigmatic secular subject matter.² By the later 1510s Cariani had introduced Giorgione's and the young Titian's painterly styles and brilliant use of color to his canvases for patrons in Bergamo and smaller centers nearby. His portrait of Giovanni Benedetto Caravaggi (cat. 10) shows the Paduan-trained doctor in a broadly painted, vibrant red robe set before an evocatively lit landscape. Perhaps inspired by the mountains just outside Bergamo (and certainly not Caravaggi's hometown of Crema, on the flat plains of the Po River), the landscape includes a castle lit by breaks in the clouds and tiny cantering horsemen—elements that would have been recognized immediately as drawing on Titian's pastoral vocabulary of about the same date.

Indeed, the exhibition is anchored by paintings by the two greatest of Venetian artists—artists who were unconnected with Bergamo but whose works were sought out continuously across northern Italy and revered by the other artists represented here—Bellini and Titian. Bellini's tragic and deeply moving *Pietà with the Virgin and Saint John* (cat. 2; fig. 5), purchased with enthusiasm by Guglielmo Lochis but neglected and long unrecognized following the collector's death, was reevaluated by Roberto Longhi as an early masterpiece in his review of the magisterial exhibition on the artist in Venice in 1949 (in which the painting did not appear).³



FIG. 21. Detail of cat. 12



Longhi noted its striking evocation of Byzantine art, which can be seen both in the hieratic placement of the figures and in the exquisite Greek lettering above. The powerful emotions evoked by the scene, especially the tears welling up in the eyes of the Virgin and Saint John and rolling down John's cheek, have led viewers to think of Horace's words in the *Ars Poetica* (126): "If you would have me weep, you must feel grief yourself."

Titian's *Orpheus and Eurydice* (cat. 6) plays on the emotions in an entirely different way. At the left the beautiful nymph Eurydice is attacked by a dragonlike serpent as she attempts to escape the unwanted advances of Aristaeus; the narrative proceeds at the right, where Orpheus has been granted the right to release Eurydice from the Underworld and the couple races away, only to be thwarted when the musician glances back at his bride, which Hades has forbidden him to do. The force of the painting resides in the contrasting drama of its landscape: the raging inferno of the Underworld at the right opposed to the serenity of the rising sun over a town and rolling hills at the left. One represents the world that Orpheus knew before it was overturned by Eurydice's death; the other, the pain of her loss. That this work, painted in the earliest years of Titian's long career, was also deeply appreciated by Guglielmo Lochis and entered the Accademia Carrara with his collection shows the continuing sway of Venetian art over collecting practices in Bergamo.

FIG. 22. Detail of cat. 14

NOTES

- 1 Roberto Longhi in *I pittori della realtà in Lombardia*, ed. Renata Cipriani and Giovanni Testori, exh. cat. (Milan, 1953), p. 53.
- 2 Francesco Rossi, "Giovanni Cariani," in *Bergamo, L'altra Venezia: Il Rinascimento negli anni di Lorenzo Lotto, 1510–1530*, exh. cat. (Milan, 2001), p. 148.
- 3 Roberto Longhi, "The Giovanni Bellini Exhibition," in *Ricerche sulla pittura veneta, 1946–1969*, Opere complete di Roberto Longhi, vol. 10 (Florence, 1978), p. 103.

PLATES



With his Paduan experience still fresh in mind, in 1456 Foppa painted the "Crucifixion," today in Bergamo. Here the apparently classical scenography is steeped in—at times corroded by—light and shade that can no longer be called Gothic, for they move through a space that can be freely navigated. But neither can they be compared to Masaccio's chiaroscuro, owing to the affectionate way in which they come together, settling languidly onto shapes until becoming part of them.

—ROBERTO LONGHI, 1968

I. VINCENZO FOPPA
The Three Crosses
1450 or 1456



2. GIOVANNI BELLINI
Pietà with the Virgin and Saint John
ca. 1455–60



[Consider] this corner of a Po Valley village from the Madonna in Bergamo: the pruned poplars among the houses; the hens pecking at food in the fresh shade between door and hall; above, the last lights in the sky touching the trees' foliage, anointing the window of the belfry.

—ROBERTO LONGHI, 1968

3. BERGOGNONE
(Ambrogio di Stefano da Fossano)
Madonna and Child (Madonna del Latte)
ca. 1485



4. BERGOGNONE
(Ambrogio di Stefano da Fossano)
Saint Ambrose and Emperor Theodosius I
1490



A Saint Jerome in meditation, seated in his hermitage appears . . . in a painting in tempera on canvas by Bartolomeo Montagna. Although time has darkened its colors, the painting was, quite rightly, held dear by its deceased owner [Giovanni Morelli] because of the refined and loving way in which every detail was executed.

—GUSTAVO FRIZZONI, 1907

5. BARTOLOMEO MONTAGNA
(Bartolomeo Cincani)
Saint Jerome in a Landscape
ca. 1505



6. TITIAN
(Tiziano Vecellio)
Orpheus and Eurydice
ca. 1508–12







7. LORENZO LOTTO
Saint Dominic Reviving Napoleone Orsini
1513–16







8. LORENZO LOTTO
The Entombment
1513–16



9. LORENZO LOTTO
The Stoning of Saint Stephen
1513–16



10. GIOVANNI CARIANI (Giovanni Busi)
Portrait of Giovanni Benedetto Caravaggi
1517–20



IO. BENED. CARIANUS
PHILOS. ET MEDICVS
AC STVDY. PATAVINI
RECTOR ET LECTOR.

IOANES
CARIANUS
• TI •

II. MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(Alessandro Bonvicino)
Christ and a Devotee
1518



It is a temptation to speak of [Lotto's] portraits at greater length than their relative number warrants, because they gave freest scope to psychological treatment. . . . They all have the interest of personal confessions. Never before or since has any one brought out on the face more of the inner life.

—BERNARD BERENSON, 1901





13. ANDREA PREVITALI
*Madonna and Child with Saints Paul and Agnes,
and Paolo and Agnese Cassotti*
ca. 1520



Sometimes men are born with natural talents that help them excel with little effort, as in the case of Moroni, who created such faithful portraits that Titian would advise the rectors elected by the Venetian Republic for the city of Bergamo to have their portraits done by the artist, who worked from nature.

—CARLO RIDOLFI, 1648



15. GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI
Portrait of a Little Girl of the Redetti Family
ca. 1570



List of Plates

1. VINCENZO FOPPA

Brescia, active by 1456—died 1515/16, Brescia

The Three Crosses, 1450 or 1456

Tempera on wood

26 ³/₄ × 14 ¹⁵/₁₆ in. (68 × 38 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Giacomo Carrara Collection,
1796 (58 AC 00040)

2. GIOVANNI BELLINI

Venice, active by 1459—died 1516, Venice

Pietà with the Virgin and Saint John, ca. 1455–60

Tempera on wood

17 ³/₁₆ × 12 ³/₄ in. (43.7 × 32.4 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection,
1866 (81 LC 00138)

3. BERGOGNONE

(Ambrogio di Stefano da Fossano)

Milan, ca. 1453–1523, Milan

Madonna and Child (Madonna del Latte), ca. 1485

Oil and tempera on wood

24 ¹/₄ × 17 ¹/₂ in. (61.6 × 44.6 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection,
1866 (81 LC 00131)

4. BERGOGNONE

(Ambrogio di Stefano da Fossano)

Milan, ca. 1453–1523, Milan

Saint Ambrose and Emperor Theodosius I, 1490

Oil and tempera on wood

13 ¹/₈ × 8 ³/₈ in. (33.4 × 21.8 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection,
1866 (81 LC 00219)

5. BARTOLOMEO MONTAGNA

(Bartolomeo Cincani)

Vicentine, before 1459–1523

Saint Jerome in a Landscape, ca. 1505

Oil and tempera on canvas

25 ⁵/₈ × 22 ¹⁵/₁₆ in. (65.1 × 58 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Giovanni Morelli Collection,
1891 (58 MR 00022)

6. TITIAN (Tiziano Vecellio)

Pieve di Cadore, ca. 1485/90(?)–1570, Venice

Orpheus and Eurydice, ca. 1508–12

Oil on wood

15 ⁹/₁₆ × 20 ⁷/₈ in. (39.6 × 53 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection,
1866 (81 LC 00179)

7. LORENZO LOTTO

Venice, ca. 1480–1556, Loreto

Saint Dominic Reviving Napoleone Orsini, 1513–16

Oil on wood

20 ³/₈ × 38 ³/₈ in. (51.8 × 97.5 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Acquired from the Church of
San Bartolomeo, Bergamo, 1893 (58 AC 00070)

8. LORENZO LOTTO

Venice, ca. 1480–1556, Loreto

The Entombment, 1513–16

Oil on wood

20 ¹/₁₆ × 38 ¹/₈ in. (50.9 × 96.8 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Acquired from the Church of
San Bartolomeo, Bergamo, 1893 (58 AC 00071)

9. LORENZO LOTTO

Venice, ca. 1480–1556, Loreto

The Stoning of Saint Stephen, 1513–16

Oil on wood

20³/₁₆ × 38¹/₄ in. (51.2 × 97.1 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Acquired from the Church of San Bartolomeo, Bergamo, 1893 (58 AC 00072)

10. GIOVANNI CARIANI (Giovanni Busi)

San Giovanni Bianco, ca. 1485–after 1547,

Venice

Portrait of Giovanni Benedetto Caravaggi, 1517–20

Oil on canvas

32⁵/₁₆ × 32⁵/₁₆ in. (82 × 82 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection, 1866 (81 LC 00184)

11. MORETTO DA BRESCIA

(Alessandro Bonvicino)

Brescia, ca. 1498–1554, Brescia

Christ and a Devotee, 1518

Oil on wood

30¹³/₁₆ × 24³/₈ in. (78.3 × 61.9 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection, 1866 (81 LC 00177)

12. LORENZO LOTTO

Venice, ca. 1480–1556, Loreto

Portrait of Lucina Brembati, 1518–23

Oil on wood

20¹¹/₁₆ × 17³/₈ in. (52.6 × 44.8 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Acquired from the Countess Degnamerita Grumelli Albani of Bergamo, 1882 (58 AC 00068)

13. ANDREA PREVITALI

Berbenno, ca. 1480–1528, Bergamo

Madonna and Child with Saints Paul and Agnes, and

Paolo and Agnese Cassotti, ca. 1520

Oil on canvas

37 × 47³/₈ in. (94 × 121 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Acquired from the Solza family, 1854 (58 AC 00059)

14. GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI

Albino, no later than 1524–1578, Albino

Portrait of a Twenty-nine-year-old Man, 1567

Oil on canvas

22³/₈ × 17¹/₂ in. (56.9 × 44.4 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection, 1866 (81 LC 00174)

15. GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI

Albino, no later than 1524–1578, Albino

Portrait of a Little Girl of the Redetti Family,

ca. 1570

Oil on canvas

15³/₄ × 12³/₈ in. (40 × 32 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Guglielmo Lochis Collection, 1866 (81 LC 00175)



ISBN 978-0-300-17956-9



9 780300 179569