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a cura di Giuseppe Capriotti e Francesca Coltrinari

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Scoperte

# Ancona, 1534: new documents concerning Lorenzo Lotto and Giovanni del Coro

Francesca Coltrinari\*

## *Abstract*

Among the least documented periods in the career of Lorenzo Lotto there is the years between 1533 and 1539, spent in the Marche, during which the artist painted several pictures for the towns of Ancona, Fermo, Jesi, Loreto, Cingoli, Osimo, Recanati and was imitated by local painters such as Giovanni Andrea de Magistris, Durante Nobili from Caldarola and Luca di Costantino from Ancona. Starting from the names of different notaries mentioned in the *Book of various expenses* of the painter, some notary deeds that are also recorded in the *Book* have been retraced and, above all, a new document has been found, dated October 1534, where we find evidence of contacts between Lotto and

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Giannetto from Ancona. He was probably the son of the architect Giovanni del Coro, who was known to be Lotto's friend only starting from 1542. This article presents this important finding, formulating new hypothesis about the time spent in the Marches by the painter.

Nella carriera di Lorenzo Lotto uno dei periodi più scarsamente documentati sono gli anni fra il 1533 e il 1539, trascorsi nelle Marche, durante i quali l'artista eseguì dipinti per le città di Ancona, Fermo, Jesi, Loreto, Cingoli, Osimo, Recanati e viene imitato da pittori locali, quali Giovanni Andrea de Magistris, Durante Nobili di Caldara, e Luca di Costantino da Ancona. Partendo dalle indicazioni dei nomi di vari notai contenute nel *Libro di spese diverse* del pittore, si sono rintracciati alcuni atti notarili registrati anche nel *Libro di spese* e soprattutto un nuovo documento dell'ottobre 1534 che documenta Lotto ad Ancona in rapporto con Giannetto, probabilmente il figlio dell'architetto Giovanni del Coro, noto come suo amico solo a partire dal 1542. L'articolo rende noto questo importante ritrovamento, formulando nuove ipotesi per il soggiorno marchigiano del pittore.

During the last decades Lorenzo Lotto has gained a great deal of attention by both the public and the scholars and this is shown through essays, restorations and exhibitions which allowed us to considerably increase our knowledge about his works<sup>1</sup>. The many existing documents regarding the artist, often written directly by him, such as the letters and the notes in the *Book of expenses*, supply a large amount of information that can also reveal different aspects of the painter's personality, culture and religiousness<sup>2</sup>. However, some periods of Lotto's activity are still scarcely documented: among those, there are the years between 1533 and 1539, which he spent in the Marches, for which no written record was found. In effect, we last read about Lotto in January 1533, when in Venice he dictated a codicil to be added to his testament dated 25 March

<sup>1</sup> Restricting to the last decade only, the following can be recommended: the monograph by Claudia Bertling Biaggini (2005), the studies of Elsa Dezuanni on portrait painting in Treviso (Dezuanni 2005); the international studies itinerant conference in the towns of the Marches where works by Lotto are preserved (Mozzoni 2009) and the recent study-day in Loreto on portrait painting (Frapiccini, Punzi in press); the volume about Lotto's works in the Marches, containing the results of a vast campaign of diagnostic studies (Garibaldi, Villa 2011); the recent exhibitions in Roma (Villa 2011), Venice (Battaglia, Ceriana 2011), Turin (Barucca 2013); many are also the articles dedicated to single works or aspects of the painter's production.

<sup>2</sup> The main sources for our knowledge of Lorenzo Lotto are the *Book of various expenses* and the letters written to the *Consortio della Misericordia* of Bergamo in occasion of his work for the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore. The Book was published by Pietro Zampetti in 1969 and re-published with a fac-simile version of the manuscript by Floriano Grimaldi and Katy Sordi (Grimaldi, Sordi 2003). For a critique of these two editions see Cortesi Bosco 2008, pp. 81-82, note 1; although I agree with the critique done by Francesca Cortesi Bosco to the 2003 edition of the text, I preferred in this context to use only the latter, using the numeration that re-proposes the one of the manuscript, that can be double-checked thanks to the presence of the fac-simile; furthermore, I preferred to adopt the traditional title *Libro di spese diverse*, although not original. On the *Book of expenses* see De Carolis 2013; for letters and documents on the choir of Bergamo see Cortesi Bosco 1987. Other documents were published in Zampetti 1969, pp. 257-317; a record of the documents about the Marches is in Mozzoni, Paoletti 1996, pp. 186-208.

1531<sup>3</sup>, then we have again news of him in August 1535, when he is in Jesi in occasion of the realisation of a «cona», that had been lost, for the chapel of Priori palace<sup>4</sup>. On 1<sup>st</sup> August 1538 in Ancona, Simone de Pizoni commissions to Lotto the altarpiece for the high altar of Saint Agostino's church, known as *The altarpiece of the Halberd*<sup>5</sup>. On 14 October 1539 the painter is in Macerata, from this town he writes to the priors of Cingoli to request the full payment for the *Madonna of the Rosary*: Lotto specifies he is about to «levarmi de la provincia a repatriarmi» and his only obstacle is the failure to pay «de la mia mercede con voi»<sup>6</sup>. The artist is already in Venice in January 1540, when the notes on the *Book of expenses* start. Thanks to them we can follow his story with continuity until his death, which occurred between 1556 and 1557 in Loreto<sup>7</sup>.

Making up for the lack of written record, there are the many works, signed or dated, produced during those years, in particular the altarpieces, such as the

<sup>3</sup> Cortesi Bosco 1998, pp. 11-12; the codicil is from 15 January, while the registration with the notary is from 28 January 1533. On the 1531 testament there is also the article by David Frapiccini in the same number of the journal (Frapiccini 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Gianandrea 1887, p. 3; Annibaldi 1980, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> The news of the finding of the contract, with a picture of the deed, was published in 1991 by Raffaella Micaletti (Micaletti 1991); the deed, despite its undeniable importance and the frequent quotes (see Micaletti 1992; Polverari 1992; Polverari 2009, pp. 306-307; C. Costanzi, in Garibaldi, Villa 2011, p. 169), was never transcribed, therefore I thought it would be suitable to provide in this context an integral transcription (see Appendix, doc. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Lotto's letter was published by Bernard Aikema in 1981 (Aikema 1981); Lotto threatens to turn to the Papal Legate in case of failure to pay for his work (see R. Coltrinari 2009, pp. 224-225); to Roberto Coltrinari goes the credit for finding the documents in the municipal archive of Cingoli, dating the commissioning of the Dominicans' altarpiece to the beginning of 1537, at the same time and in competition with the Franciscans who in that period were having their altarpiece, in addition he retraced the role in the commissioning and the relationship with Lotto of the Simonetti and Franceschini families, in particular with Dario Franceschini, merchant of fabrics often mentioned in the *Book of expenses*; they are probably the «gentiluomini» mentioned by Lotto in the letter dated 1539; also interesting is the reference to the Papal Legate, who in 1539 was the cardinal Rodolfo Pio from Carpi, an important figure during the last period spent by Lotto in Loreto: the cardinal had arrived in Macerata in June and stayed there until October 1539 when, together with cardinal Gaspare Contarini, patron of the Holy House of Loreto, spent an entire month in Recanati (Paci 1971, p. 241; Leopardi 1993, vol. II, p. 183; Coltrinari in press), while on 23 and 24 September 1539 pope Paolo III was in Macerata (Paci 1971, p. 243; Leopardi 1993, vol. II, p. 181); Lotto perhaps was able to witness this event, considering that 20 days later he was indeed writing from Macerata.

<sup>7</sup> Most scholars date the start of the *Book of various expenses* in November 1538, when Lotto recorded the debt with the Protonotary Apostolic Giovanni Maria Pizoni from Ancona, for whom he had painted a portrait. The client did not finish paying his debt, so this was passed on to Bartolomeo Carpan «quale lo acconcia in san Bortolomio apostolo» (see Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 57v-58r). I agree with Francesca Cortesi Bosco's hypothesis (2008, pp. 81-82), re-proposed and vastly argued by Francesco De Carolis (2013, pp. 48-50) who dates the book starting from January 1540, when the artist recorded his stay at the house of his nephew Mario d'Armano. The note about Pizoni's portrait is clearly a remnant of the outstanding matter from his previous stay in the Marche; after all, also in other occasions, Lotto added notes about facts and trades that had taken place earlier (ivi, p. 53).

altarpiece of Fermo from 1535, *Saint Christopher with the Saints Rocco and Sebastian* in Loreto, the *Annunciation* in Recanati, the *Visitation* in Jesi, the now lost *Virgin with the Child and Angels* in Osimo, and the already mentioned altarpieces of Ancona and Cingoli<sup>8</sup>. As Francesco De Carolis observed, in the Marche Lotto must have painted also *The Holy Family with Saint Ann* now in the Uffizi, signed and dated 1534. Lotto repeated this composition, except for the figure of *Saint Girolamo*, in the painting that is currently in the Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery in London (fig. 1). The composition of this painting was imitated by Giovanni Andrea de Magistris in the lunette of the *Virgin of the Rosary* of Caldarola, which unfortunately was stolen during the '80s and is now known only in photo (fig. 2)<sup>9</sup>. The same painter reproduced the figure of *Saint Rocco* from the painting of Loreto in the frescoes, recently published by Gabriele Barucca and dated 1536, in the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Monte San Martino (figg. 3-4), obviously supplying a *terminus ante quem* for Loreto's work, mostly already dated around 1534-1535<sup>10</sup>. Durante Nobili signed and dated 1535 his oldest known work, the *Virgin in Glory with Saints Cosma e Damiano* of Caldarola, which resembles, as pointed out by Pietro Zampetti, the altarpiece of Fermo (figg. 5-6)<sup>11</sup>. The visual traces of Lotto's work on local painters such as Durante Nobili, Giovanni Andrea de Magistris, and also Luca di Costantino from Ancona, who imitate him in their compositions dated between the 1530s and the 1540s, are a significant proof of the bond Lotto had with the territory in that period and of his influence. Lotto's inventions are used, for example, by Giovanni Andrea de Magistris in the *Resurrection*,

<sup>8</sup> On the altarpiece of Fermo see G.C.F. Villa in Villa 2011, pp. 132-133 and Aramini 2012; the altarpiece of Osimo, originally in the Franciscan church of the SS. Annunziata, was stolen in 1911 from the town hall, after having been published by Frizzoni (1896, pp. 225-224) and we only know it from a black and white picture (ivi, p. 225); according to local sources it was commissioned by Andrea Guzzolini, exponent of a historical family from Osimo (ivi, p. 224). See Zampetti 1999 and Massa 2009, pp. 322-324. The composition is probably the prototype for other versions and especially famous are the two samples in Postdam and at the Hermitage, pointed out by Irina Artemieva in the '40s (see Artemieva 2008 and 2009). The works from Fermo and Osimo, fundamental for the reconstruction of Lotto's activity in the Marche, have not been included in the volume by Garibaldi, Villa 2011, where the works the artist had produced for the Marche region are listed; for the other works mentioned in the text we can instead refer to this volume.

<sup>9</sup> F. De Carolis in Barucca 2013, pp. 84-86. The Florentine painting is a variation on the composition known also for another version in the Courtauld Gallery of London dated 153(?), maybe 1535 (see Braham, Seilern 1981, p. 25, n. 37) or 1538 according to Mario Lucco (Lucco 2003, p. 76); a comparison with the altarpiece of Caldarola is done by Pietro Zampetti (P. Zampetti 1981). See Coltrinari 2014 p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Barucca 2008 and 2010; Coltrinari 2014, pp. 31-32. The same model was used by Lotto in the *Saint Rocco*, currently in the National Gallery of the Marche in Urbino, identified with the one painted by the artist together with the *Saint Sebastian* for Santa Maria di Posatora church in Ancona in 1549 (see L. Mochi Onori in Barucca 2013, pp. 96-97).

<sup>11</sup> The scholar hypothesized a direct intervention by Lotto in the execution of the painting of Durante Nobili (see Zampetti 1981, pp. 324-325; on the painting see G. Barucca in Barucca 2013, pp. 116-118).



today in the Civic Gallery of Massa Fermana, dated 1542 (fig. 10), by Luca di Costantino in the *Deposition from the Cross with Saints Anthony from Padova and Francis* in Montegranaro, dated 1535 (fig. 11), and, after many years, by Durante Nobili in the altar-step of the *Crucifixion* in Matelica dated 1569, the central part of which derives instead from the altarpiece of Monte San Giusto (figg. 7-8-9)<sup>12</sup>. In addition, *The altarpiece of the Halberd* was imitated, around 1540-45, by a painter from Romagna, maybe Girolamo from Faenza who in 1541 was commissioned to paint Farnese's arms in every part of the State of Fermo, in the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with Saints*, today in the diocesan museum of Recanati, but originally in San Francesco church in Fermo (figg. 12-13)<sup>13</sup>. Although his stay in the Marche, the success he obtained all around the province and the wide net of relations that could have caused it are proved facts, is the geographical diffusion that fostered the doubts about Lotto's place of residence<sup>14</sup>; moreover, without documents, there are no names, dates and specific circumstances helpful to reveal clients, collaborators and friends of the artist.

A new lead for research, recently undertaken, has quickly led to the finding of an important document, enabling us to solve some of the doubts about this mysterious period in the painter's activity and opening new paths for in-depth analysis. The lead had actually already been traced in that essential document, that is the *Book of various expenses*: re-analysing the last period of the artist, spent between Ancona and Loreto and documented by the notes in the *Book*, it

<sup>12</sup> See Coltrinari 2014, pp. 30-33.

<sup>13</sup> See State Archive of Fermo, A.M. Marini, *Rubrica eorum omnium quae continentur in libris conciliorum et cernitarum illustrissimae Communitatis civitatis Firmane*, vol. III (1528-1599), c. 118r, ante 21 February 1541: «Concilium tenetur in sala palatii Moliani. Pinguntur in omni terra status insignia d A. Cardinalis de Farnesio per magistrum Hieronimum Faventinum»; this Girolamo faentino might be the painter, coming from the Veneto-Romagna cultural area and with very recognisable characteristics, to whom we can attribute at least four altarpieces in Fermo and Ascoli Piceno: the *Virgin with the Christ Child in Glory with Saints John the Baptist, Anthony from Padova, Francis and Rocco*, currently in the sacristy of San Francesco church in Fermo; another *Virgin with the Christ Child in glory with the Saints James the Greater, James of the Marca, Andrew and Peter*, on the left wall of the same church; a *Mary with Christ Child on the throne with Saints Mark, John the Baptist and Domenico* in the diocesan museum of Ascoli Piceno, coming from the cathedral, published by Walter Scotucci and Paola Pierangelini (1994, pp. 24-25) attributed to «Ignoto fanese» (Unknown from Fano); finally, the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with Saints Mark, Joseph and Louis of Toulouse*, currently in the diocesan museum of Recanati, but originally in San Francesco church in Fermo. At least three paintings were moved from San Francesco church to the museum in Recanati in the 1950s through unknown channels (in addition to the mentioned altarpiece, there were the *Visitation* by Girolamo Morale from Fermo and the *Immaculate Conception* by the roman painter Benigno Vangelini; see Coltrinari 2012, pp. 32, 37 and p. 51, note 197).

<sup>14</sup> Pietro Zampetti, for example, considering his relation with Durante Nobili and later the one with Ottavio di Giulio from Macerata, and also the letter dated 1539, believed that Lotto had stayed mainly in Macerata (see Zampetti 1981, pp. 324-325). For Ottavio from Macerata see Frapiccini 2009 and 2014.

becomes clear how Lotto was in the middle of a tight net of relations having as main focal points Venice and Ancona<sup>15</sup>.

In Venice Lotto was commissioned the altarpiece of Mogliano and the one of the *Assumption of the Virgin* for the altar of the Todini family in San Francesco alle Scale, for the realisation of these pieces he moved to Ancona in 1550<sup>16</sup>. The contract for *The altarpiece of the Halberd*, which is the only document related to a painting in the period 1533-1540, says it «modo moram trahens in civitate Ancone»<sup>17</sup>. One of Lotto's closest friends is the Anconitan architect Giovanni del Coro<sup>18</sup>; also the first contact with Gaspare de Dotti, governor of the Holy House of Loreto and advocate of the artist's move to Loreto and of his oblation to the sanctuary, took place in Ancona in 1552, and between Loreto, Ancona and Recanati many of the people mentioned in the *Book of expenses* move around for business, such as merchants Tommaso della Vecchia, Agostino Filago, Giovanni Paolo Corbetta and the apothecary Quintiliano da Montolmo, who acted as intermediary for the realisation of the now lost standard of Corridonia<sup>19</sup>.

Our idea is to try and “project” backwards the experience Lotto lived in Ancona in 1550-1554, presupposing that also the previous stays in the Marches, in particular the one in the '30s, had had the Adriatic town as a focal point. Ancona, after all, guaranteed to the artist numerous chances for contacts and a mercantile environment similar to the one in Venice: during the first half of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, the town witnessed a remarkable increase in political and economic importance, becoming the main harbour of the Papal State and favourite commercial pole for exchanges with the East from Florence and Rome and, in competition with Venice, from Northern Europe. In Ancona acted the great Tuscan bankers and a thriving colony of Jews which will be harshly attacked in 1556, year of the massacre of the marranos of Ancona, carried out, among others, by Gaspare de Dotti as inquisitor<sup>20</sup>.

Starting from this work hypothesis, I have identified, in the *Book of various expenses*, the characters that are easier to follow through a documentary

<sup>15</sup> On this topic see Coltrinari 2014, pp. 29-33 and Coltrinari in press.

<sup>16</sup> On the altarpiece of Mogliano see M. Paraventi, in Garibaldi, Villa 2011, pp. 202- 211; on the *Assunta* M. Massa, *ivi*, pp. 214- 220.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix, doc. 2.

<sup>18</sup> See farther in this text.

<sup>19</sup> Coltrinari in press; see Paparello 2009.

<sup>20</sup> On the political-economic importance of Ancona within the Papal State see Caravale, Caracciolo 1978, *passim* e pp. 227-228; *Ancona* 1982. On the trade with Venice, Ragusa and the East, see Anselmi 1969; Earle 1969; Delumeau 1970; Ashtor 1976. On Jews in Ancona during the XV century see Ferretti 1979; *Ancona* 1982, pp. 129-145. On the Portuguese – Jew community in Ancona and on the massacre of the Marranos of 1556 see Toaff 1974, pp. 261-280; Bonazzoli 2001-2002; Segre 1985. On the role of Gaspare de Dotti as inquisitor and examining judge of the Anconitan trial see Firpo 2001, pp. 298-312; Lavenia 2011, pp. 16-22; Lavenia 2012, pp. 140-144; Coltrinari in press.

research, that is the various Anconitan notaries mentioned by Lotto, both as acquaintances and as clients and, most of all, as professionals he refers to when he needs to stipulate notary deeds<sup>21</sup>. In total, in the period between 1540 and 1556, Lotto seems to have drawn up notary deeds about ten times, always in occasion of transactions related to his period in Ancona and included between September 1550 and February 1552. More specifically we have: the apprenticeship contract with Marco Catalenich from Fiume, of 9 September 1550, drawn up by Riccardo Mazzei<sup>22</sup>; the rental contract for a house of 13 November 1550, stipulated by Pier Gentile Senili<sup>23</sup>; a payment receipt for the *Assunta* Todini, of 24 November 1550, the apprenticeship contract and a receipt with Giovan Matteo from Pesaro, of 26 November 1550, all three drawn up by Girolamo Giustiniani<sup>24</sup>; the agreement with Francesco from Rocca Contrada related to the sale of paintings by Lotto in Rome, dated February 1552, stipulated by notary Francesco Vecchioni from Ancona<sup>25</sup>; finally, the contract for the Amici altarpiece of Jesi, of 19 August 1552, with two payments of 26 July and 30 October 1553 by notary Aurelio Aureli from Jesi<sup>26</sup>. In substance, most of the professional contracts stipulated by Lotto – like for many other artists of that period – was not publicly recorded, but was done through private contracts or non-written agreements<sup>27</sup>: without the painter's workshop book,

<sup>21</sup> Angelo Cicconi, who in 1538 drew up the contract for the *Altarpiece of the Helbard*; Ciriaco Todini, who wrote the contract for the Todini altarpiece for San Francesco alle Scale church in 1549; Pier Francesco and Piergentile Senili; Riccardo Mazzei and Girolamo Giustiniani. The contract for the Amici altarpiece of Jesi, in August 1552, was drawn up by Aurelio from Jesi, «speciale». The oblation act for the Holy House of Loreto, on 8 September 1554, was drawn up by one of the canons of the Holy House who was also a notary, Lorenzo Massarotti (Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 53r, 84r; see Grimaldi 2002, pp. 178-179).

<sup>22</sup> Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 81v.

<sup>23</sup> Ivi, c. 65v.

<sup>24</sup> Ivi, cc. 136rv.

<sup>25</sup> Ivi, c. 43v.

<sup>26</sup> The documents for Jesi (the contract and some payments) were published by Giovanni Annibaldi (Annibaldi 1902); we can also find them in Mozzoni, Paoletti 1996, pp. 206-207. For the records on the *Book of expenses* see Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 99v (the contract recorded by Lotto on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, the day after the stipulation with the notary); c. 9r (guarantee provided by Antonuccio from Jesi); c. 100r (payment of May 1553; Lotto records it as «principio di magio», while the notary act is dated 17 May; see Mozzoni, Paoletti 1996, p. 206).

<sup>27</sup> For instance in August 1540 Lotto borrows from Giovanni Maria Giunta 4 gold ducati «senza altro segno o cautione né scritto» (Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 57r) and on 14 and 15 July borrows from him 13 more *ducati* leaving as a deposit his 17 cameos «como apar de mio pugno nel suo libro » (ivi, cc. 57r e 124v). And he will do the same in the Marches: for example in November 1550 he receives 20 ducati from the Anconitan merchant Francesco Bernabei «i quali ho promesso con la cautione de mio pugno» (ivi, c. 43r; see c. 42v). Making arrangements for his stay at the house of his nephew Mario d'Armano, on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1542, Lotto says that «di tal pato io gliene detti chiarezza de mio pugno» (ivi, c. 78r). In addition to the *Book of expenses*, Lotto owned at least another book to keep a record of the rentals; in March 1546 he pays a rent instalment to Giovanni della Volta, owner of the Venetian house where he was living, «nel suo studio, presente la dona sua [...] como apar de suo pugno al libreto mio de la aftason» (ivi, c. 60v; see c. 18r); many of Lotto's

then, we would have hardly had any information about many of the works he realised and the transactions he carried out; for the years preceding the *Book*, it is thus clear that it is not going to be possible to find the same amount of information that is available for the sixteen years going from 1540 to 1556.

Among the notary deeds preserved in the State Archive of Ancona we find two deeds recorded in the *Book of various expenses*: the apprenticeship contract with Marco Catalenich from Fiume, dated 9 September 1550, and the rental contract for a house with Girolamo Scalamonti, the next 13 November, already published in 1963 by Ileana Chiappini Di Sorio<sup>28</sup>. Lost is the volume from 1550 containing the deeds by Girolamo Giustiani, while the deeds by Francesco Vecchioni<sup>29</sup> have not been preserved; in addition, the documents related to the altarpiece *Amici* for the Cathedral of Jesi had long before been published, drawn up by notary Aurelio Aureli and accurately recorded in the *Book*<sup>30</sup>.

It is interesting to read the document from 1550 comparing the two versions, that are the official notary deed and the record made by the artist on his workshop book<sup>31</sup>. Lotto wrote down with precision all the terms of the deeds, but he added further details compared to the notary deed: it is, for example, from the *Book* that we learn the age of Marco Catalenich («puto de circha 14 anni») and is also in the *Book* that Lotto explains an aspect of the deed that was not really clear: Marco's six-years apprenticeship was going to be divided into two three-years periods. During the first three years the boy would

professional transactions were settled in a similar way. Exemplar is the case of Mogliano altarpiece: on 16 November 1547 the «acordo e patto» for the painting is settled with a private contract: «Et cossi ho promesso, como sta nel scritto de mio pugno a lui [Giacomo Boninfanti] et la copia de esso restarà a me de mano mia con sottoscritto de la mano del dito miser Jacomo Boninfanti sopra ditto» (ivi, c. 63r). Similarly in February 1548, Lotto draws up a private contract with the wood carver Bartolomeo from San Cassiano for the frame of the painting («de tal mercato convenuti lui me ne ha fatto un scritto de mano sua et con receputo de ducati 10 alla mano», ivi, c. 17v). «Per promesione de suo pugno» on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1549, doctor and apothecary Giovanni Battista Lupatino makes his relative Paolo Rossini an apprentice in Lotto's workshop (ivi, c. 134v). The agreements for the Todini altarpiece in San Francesco alle Scale are written down by Ciriaco, nephew of the client Giovan Francesco Todini, who went to Venice with this purpose, «et di tal accordo loro hanno apresso sé lo autentico con li testimonii et io ne feci far la copia de esso scritto al nipote de misser Zuan Francesco, Chiriaco Todini; qual copia tengo io apresso me» (ivi, c. 135v); some of the payments will be later recorded on the back of this document (payment of 16 September 1549 recorded «de mio pugno su l'acordo a tergo», ivi, c. 136r). The agreement with wood-carving master Domenico Salimbeni for the frame of the *Amici* altarpiece of Jesi, on 20 May 1552, finally, was drawn up by merchant Giovan Paolo Corbetta (ivi, c. 33r).

<sup>28</sup> Chiappini di Sorio 1963 and Zampetti 1969, pp. 306-307.

<sup>29</sup> Francesco Vecchioni acts as witness for the house rental from Giovanni Battista Scalamonti (see Appendix, doc. 4); he is also among the arbitrators for the controversy with the heirs of Ludovico Grazioli for the payment of a portrait made by Lotto (Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 70v, 20 October 1551; see note 37). For Ludovico Grazioli see farther in this text.

<sup>30</sup> See above, note 26.

<sup>31</sup> For this reason the acts have been re-published in Documentary Appendix, doc. 3 and 4 together with the records on the book, double-checked with the original (see Documentary Appendix, doc. 3bis and 4bis).

have worked mainly as a servant, preparing the table, cooking and cleaning the house «et quel de tempo che si avanza possi studiar a imparar»; during the following three years, he would still carry out the «servicii» at home, «el sia più libero de studiar nell'arte»<sup>32</sup>. Conversely, the contract specifies that Lotto would teach the boy «artem depingendi et designandi»<sup>33</sup>. The rent due to Girolamo Scalamonti amounted officially to 14 *ducati* a year, but the book specifies that they were actually 12 and that in the contract a higher rate had been declared «per non degradar el solito fito»<sup>34</sup>: the *Book of expenses* served also to keep a record of non-written agreements between the parties. On the contrary, the agreement for the Amici altarpiece has been recorded in the *Book of expenses* more synthetically than in the related deed, especially for what the description of the subject of the painting is concerned: Lotto, in effect, does not even mention the subjects to be painted which are instead specified by the notary, saying only that the work would be done «secondo il disegno et misure segnate [...] quale è apresso me con le figure che ci vano»<sup>35</sup>; clearly, in this case, the artistic aspect was documented by the drawings signed by the notary; but it is thanks to the *Book of expenses* that we know Aurelio Aureli's profession – main or parallel profession? –, apothecary «al segno della phenice»<sup>36</sup>.

The next step was to analyse the protocols of the notaries who we know were in contact with Lotto for different reasons, also during the 1530s. Although the research is still in progress, I thought it would be appropriate to share the first positive result of this approach. This is a notary deed stipulated by Lotto in Ancona on 24 October 1534 and drawn up by Angelo Cicconi, the same notary of the contract for *The altarpiece of the Halberd*. The deed was drawn up in the workshop of a Croatian master, Gregorio di Pietro «a schioppetis» – maybe a gunsmith – who acted as witness together with the Anconitan Ludovico Grazioli; «magister Laurentius Lotus de Venetiis pictor et habitator Ancone» nominates as delegate master Giovannetto of master Giovanni del Coro from Ancona to collect any amount of money due to him for anything and by anyone, issue the respective receipts and sell his paintings<sup>37</sup>. In 1534, then, Lotto lived in Ancona and this is already a fundamental point to anchor his stay in the Marches in

<sup>32</sup> Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 81v; for an integral transcription of the text in *Book of various expenses* see Documentary Appendix, doc. 3 bis.

<sup>33</sup> Documentary Appendix, doc. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 66r; Documentary Appendix, doc. 4 bis. See Mozzoni, Paoletti 1996, p. 206.

<sup>35</sup> Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 99v.

<sup>36</sup> Lotto presented two drawings, one «per figure et pictura» shown to the clients, subscribed by the notary which stayed in Lotto's hands; the other, regarding the frame, left to the merchant from Bergamo residing in Jesi Sebastiano Marchetti (see Mozzoni, Paoletti 1996, p. 206). For the profession of ser Aurelio Aureli see Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 9r (note linked to the painter Antonuccio from Jesi, guarantor for Lotto in a payment for the altarpiece of Jesi dated 1553) and 99v.

<sup>37</sup> Documentary Appendix, doc. 1.

the '30s. The painter was already spending time with some of the people who we can later find among his relations of his last period in Ancona: Ludovico Grazioli, in effect, is a representative of the Anconitan aristocratic class who, between 1550 and 1551 lent money to Lotto in different occasions, also taking his Cameos as a guarantee. The artist had also painted his portrait, which Mario Lucco proposed to identify as the *Portrait of a man* of the Cavallini-Sgarbi Foundation in Ferrara (fig. 14)<sup>38</sup>. In those months Ancona was going through a turbulent period, linked to the administration of cardinal Benedetto Accolti: in September 1532 the town had been deprived of its autonomy by Clemente VII and posed under direct papal administration exercised by the *Legato della Marca*, cardinal Accolti, who, after taking residency in Ancona, had established a dictatorial regime, carrying out violent acts and sending to exile many members of the town's patrician class<sup>39</sup>. With the ascent on the papal throne of Paolo III, in October 1534, Accolti was removed from his office and in the spring of 1535 he was subjected to a trial in which many Anconitan citizens testified, among them there was also Ludovico Grazioli<sup>40</sup>. Grazioli then had an active role in the town's administration, re-established by pope Farnese; the pope in 1534 appointed him *ufficiale del danno dato*, important office that was confirmed in 1538 and again in 1541, while in 1550 he was among the *Regolari*<sup>41</sup>. Michele Polverari attributed the altarpiece of Ancona, that had been commissioned to Lotto in 1538 by Simone di Giovannino de Pizoni, to the

<sup>38</sup> See Lucco 2003, pp. 73-74; see M.R. Valazzi in Sgarbi 2007, pp. 164-165, n. 27. For Ludovico Grazioli in the *Book* see Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 32v (2 March 1550, together with Angelo Freducci is a Regulator for the Council of Ancona and has to pay Lotto for the flags of the municipal trumpeters); around November 1551 he is present at the stipulation of a rental contract and of another act regarding the realisation of a «lumiera» in the workshop rented from Girolamo Scalamonti (ivi, cc. 65v, 66r) and on 9 March 1552 he is at the payment of a rent instalment (ivi, c. 65v); in September 1550 he lends Lotto two *scudi*, given back on 5 October (ivi, cc. 69v-70r); 20 more *paoli* are lent on May 1551 and given back by 28 July (ivi cc. 70v-71r); Grazioli supplied Lotto with wine and oil (ivi, c. 71r, 31 October 1551). On 3 March 1551 Ludovico lends Lotto 10 *scudi*, for them Lotto leaves as a deposit 16 cameos and 8 «canelli» of lapis lazuli (ivi, c. 72r). On 10 October 1551 Ludovico, maybe feeling close to his death, had commissioned his portrait to Lotto «per lassar a li soi heredi memoria di sè, vendendolo», promising as a payment «vini o altre cose che li piacerà a benelacito et pagarmi molto ben, da esser ben servito»; however, after his death, Lotto and the heirs had a controversy, brought to closure only on 20 June 1552 with an arbitration done by Bernardino from Osimo, Francesco from Staffolo and Francesco Vecchioni, following which Lotto had to accept less than the 20 *scudi* the portrait was valued (ivi, cc. 70v, 71v, 72r); Francesca Cortesi Bosco proposed to identify Ludovico Grazioli with the *Portrait of an old man* in the Ermitage of Saint Petersburg (see Cortesi Bosco 2006, p. 212).

<sup>39</sup> See Costantini 1891; Massa 1960; Natalucci 1960, pp. 20-38.

<sup>40</sup> Grazioli reported episodes from June 1532, three months before Accolti's seizure of power, when he was in Rome and was secretly called by the cardinal who was plotting to undermine the faith of the Anconitans in the pope, so to take over the city's administration; see Costantini 1891, pp. 34-36.

<sup>41</sup> The designations of Grazioli as *ufficiale del danno dato* are recorded in some parchments in the Municipal Historical Archive of Ancona, published in Mazzatinti 1911, pp. 3-4. His office as Regulator results from a note in the *Book of expenses* (see above, note 37).

period of Accolti's administration: starting from the upside-down halberd held by Saint Simon, linked to the fact that Accolti had a private guard of German Landsknecht<sup>42</sup>, the scholar interprets the painting as a visualisation «della fine dell'usurpazione della tirannide» of the cardinal<sup>43</sup>. Anyway the Anconitan document from 1534 suggests that Lotto had a direct experience of Accolti's administration and knew direct witnesses, like Grazioli.

In the same document Lotto nominated a fiduciary to sell his paintings, «magistrum Johannettum magistri Johannis del Choro de Ancona»: here the painter shows to be already familiar with a merchants' practice well documented in the *Book of expenses*, related to the trade of artwork through intermediaries<sup>44</sup>. However, in my opinion the most interesting aspect in this case is the identity of the fiduciary, master “Giovannetto” of master Giovanni del Coro: his name reminds us of «Zanettus del C°», author of the famous writing on the back of the *Christ Crucified with the symbols of Passion* of the Berenson collection (fig. 15), dating back to the 1530s<sup>45</sup>. Scholars mostly identify him with Giovanni del Coro, the architect from Ancona, friend of Lotto, who often appears in the *Book of various expenses* starting from 1542<sup>46</sup>; «Zanettus», that could be rendered in Italian as “Zanetto” or “Giannetto” could indeed easily

<sup>42</sup> See Costantini 1891, p. 65.

<sup>43</sup> Polverari 2009, p. 306; see Polverari 1992, p. 24. This hypothesis could be supported by the information that Giovanni Pizoni was one of the patricians sent to exile by the Legate (Polverari 2009, p. 306); such information, though, is not found in the sources mentioned for support, that is Costantini 1891 and Natalucci 1960 (see also Anselmi 1982, p. 628). The hypothesis is revived by Francesca Cortesi Bosco (2006, p. 208) and by Costanza Costanzi, who finds references to Accolti's oppression also in two Anconitan paintings of the time, the altarpiece by Girolamo di Tiziano with the *Stigmata of Saint Francis and the saints Leonard and Mark* in the Municipal Gallery of Ancona and the *Flight into Egypt* attributed to Jacopo Bassano, originally in the church of Annunziata in Ancona, currently in the United States (see Costanzi 2009, pp. 298-302 and C. Costanzi in Garibaldi, Villa 2011, pp. 169-170).

<sup>44</sup> On the commercial procedures used by Lotto see Matthew 1998; Frapiccini 2000 and 2009; Coltrinari 2009; De Carolis 2013, Coltrinari in press. Lotto's fiduciaries for the sales are mostly artists, such as Jacopo Sansovino and the gilder Giovanni Maria from Legnago, jewellers such as Lauro Orso and Francesco from Rocca Contrada, or merchants, such as Agostino Filago and Francesco Petrucci (see Frapiccini 2000, pp. 162-169).

<sup>45</sup> The writing is reported by Gustavo Frizzoni (1896, p. 428): «Questo quadro è fatto di mano di messer Lorenzo Lotto, omo molto divoto, et per sua divotione il fece la septimana santa all'ora della passione di N S Gesù Cristo. Io Zanetto del C°. ò scritto acciò si sappia e sia tenuta in quella veneratione che merita essa figura». Berenson compared this Christ with the one on the altarpiece of Monte San Giusto and linked this work to the altar-step of the altarpiece of Santa Lucia, dated around 1532 (Berenson 1955, ed. 1990, p. 120); according to Mariani Canova this work was closer to the altarpiece of Cingoli (Mariani Canova 1975, p. 117, n. 228), while Cortesi Bosco dated it around 1540 (Cortesi Bosco 2006, p. 211). On the painting see Humfrey 1998, p. 174, n. 39; Firpo 2001, pp. 270-272 and Collareta 2011, p. 145.

<sup>46</sup> The identification with Giovanni del Coro was suggested to Frizzoni by Pietro Gianuzzi (Frizzoni 1896, p. 428), archivist for the Holy House of Loreto and discoverer of Lotto's *Book of various expenses* (about Gianuzzi see Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, p. 225) and later taken up by different scholars (most recently see Firpo 2001, p. 270, Cortesi Bosco 2006, p. 211 and Collareta 2011, p. 155, nota 1).

be interpreted as short for “Giovanni”. However, the truth seems to be much more complicated: there is actually a different Giannetto, who can be linked to Lotto, that is «magistro Jannecto domini Francisci del Choro» witness for the contract for *The altarpiece of the Helbard*<sup>47</sup>: the latter can probably be identified as the son of the wood-carving master Francesco di Giacomo from Lendinara also called “del coro”, whose presence was documented in Ancona between 1480 and 1502 and who was known for his realisation of the choir of the same church of Sant’Agostino<sup>48</sup>. It is not unlikely, considering the epithet «maestro», that he had followed his father’s path and thus that he was involved in the creation of the frame for the altarpiece. It is just as plausible that the writing was made by “Giovannetto di maestro Giovanni del Coro”, of the document dated 1534. As it often happens with archival research, the questions are still open and only an in-depth analysis can help clarifying the many doubts and the confusion among the different characters linked to this story.

The fact that Giovannetto of master Giovanni acted as an agent in the sale of «*pitture*» demonstrates the possibility that he had a greater familiarity with the painter’s works, which he must have had the chance to handle, especially considering that the paintings that Lotto used to sell through intermediaries were mostly devotional images, such as the *Christ crucified with the symbols of Passion*. The writing sounds like an “avvertenza” left to those who will receive the wooden board, so they could treat it «in quella veneratione che merita essa figura» because of his special devotional meaning<sup>49</sup>. Finally, very likely is the chance that «maestro Giovanni del Coro», father of master Giovannetto, Lotto’s delegate in 1534, was his friend the Anconitan architect. In my opinion, after all, the acquaintance between Lotto and Giovanni del Coro must have started earlier than 1542, and it could have extended also to the architect’s family<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> See Documentary Appendix, doc. 2. His presence was recorded, without comments, by Polverari 2009, p. 306, while Cortesi Bosco 2006, p. 211 identifies him with Giovanni del Coro.

<sup>48</sup> See Mazzalupi 2008a, pp. 266 and 273, note 209 and Mazzalupi 2008b, docc. 462, 465, 493, 512, 629, 630, 641, 650, 669, 670, 674, 676, 690. Francesco di Giacomo, previously documented in Ferrara at the service of Ercole I d’Este, finishes only in 1495 the choir for Sant’Agostino church, which he had started before 1480 (Mazzalupi 2008a e 2008b, docc. 462 e 630). It is possible that the epithet «del coro», that appears in most of the Anconitan documents, comes from this work. On 10 February 1502 he is a witness at the contract for the reconstruction of Santa Maria di Posatora church between the church dean and Pietro Amoroso (ivi, doc. 690), architect of the Holy House of Loreto.

<sup>49</sup> Marco Collareta 2011, pp. 145- 146 uses the *Christ Crucified* of the Berenson collection with its writing to introduce a general reflection on devotional artworks in Italian Renaissance, and in Lotto’s work, highlighting the choice of the Crucifix as a privileged object for meditation especially in the Counter-Reformation era and the adoption by Lotto of a *sermo humilis*, which has its roots in the experience of the Suardi Oratory.

<sup>50</sup> In 1553 and 1556 Lotto paid his debts toward Giovanni to his widow Margherita, residing in Ancona (see Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 137rv and following note). Also in the case of Sansovino, whose relation with Lotto was less close than the one the artist used to have with Giovanni del



Divided between Venice and Ancona, as recorded in the *Book of expenses*, Giovanni del Coro was a constant presence next to Lotto until his death, which took place between the end of 1551 and 1552<sup>51</sup>. It is sufficient to review the documents related to this friendship: Giovanni appears for the first time in the *Book of expenses* on 18 October 1542, mentioned among the people who were informed about the agreement with Giovanni dal Savon, regarding the move to Treviso<sup>52</sup>; we find him again in Venice in 1546 where he, in various occasions, acts as witness at Lotto's house<sup>53</sup>; the artist, in the testament dated 25 March 1546, mentioned «miser Iohan dal Coro» together with Giovanni del Savon and the Carpan brothers among the «particulari» to whom he would have wanted primarily his most precious belongings to be sold, meaning the lapis lazuli, the paintings, the cameos and his ring with the carnelian<sup>54</sup>. Giovanni on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1548 is present at one of the payments for the altarpiece of Mogliano and, between February and March, lends money to the artist and leaves him a deposit, as he was about to leave «per terra tedesca»<sup>55</sup>. This journey, done during one of the periods of highest tension in the European religious crisis, led Massimo Firpo to wonder whether this could be a clue of a «propensione filoriformata» in Giovanni del Coro<sup>56</sup>. Surely is a sign of the openness and vastness of the experiences lived by the Anconitan architect, probably shared with his friend Lotto.

On 29 March 1549 Giovanni lends Lotto the money to go to Ancona and on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June he acts as guarantor for the agreement on the altarpiece of San Francesco alle Scale, for which he builds the frame<sup>57</sup>; on 25 August 1550 he is in Ancona, witness for the apprenticeship contract of Giovan Matteo from Pesaro<sup>58</sup>. In addition, he bought 20 tickets for the lottery of Lotto's paintings in the *Loggia dei Mercanti*, giving as a name, perhaps ironically, «l' homo pocco avventurato»<sup>59</sup>. In November 1551 he came back from Venice to go to Loreto to make an agreement with master Sante for the frame of the Amici altarpiece; however, because the master died soon after that, the work was evaluated by wood carver Domenico Salimbeni to whom it was later assigned<sup>60</sup>. Lotto's debts

Coro, he met his son Francesco (see Davis 2011, pp. 39-41).

<sup>51</sup> In November 1551 Giovanni came back from Venice to go to Loreto to seal the agreement for the frame of the Amici altarpiece; Lotto writes down that his friend died shortly after (Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 136v-137r; c. 33r). The payment of the debt to Giovanni's heirs takes place between 7 November 1553 and 26 April 1556 (ivi, cc. 137rv). So far our efforts to find a possible testament by Giovanni del Coro among the deeds of Anconitan notaries have been unfruitful.

<sup>52</sup> Ivi, c. 59v.

<sup>53</sup> Ivi, cc. 16v, 70rv, 78v.

<sup>54</sup> See Zampetti 1969, p. 304 and Brusegan 2011, p. 167.

<sup>55</sup> Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 62v, 87v, 134r, 133v.

<sup>56</sup> Firpo 2001, p. 271.

<sup>57</sup> Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 134v-137r.

<sup>58</sup> Ivi, c. 137r.

<sup>59</sup> Ivi, c. 136v.

<sup>60</sup> Ivi, cc. 136v-137r; c. 33r. On Domenico Salimbeni, wood-carver of Florentine origins, very

towards his friend are payed to his widow Margherita between 7 November 1553 and 26 April 1556<sup>61</sup>.

The only information known so far on the architectural activity of Giovanni del Coro allows us to consider him a non-secondary figure: in effect, in September 1546 in Venice, he is consulted, together with other seven engineers and architects, among them Sanmicheli and Sansovino, by the *Savi alle acque*, for the project of the new Rialto bridge<sup>62</sup>; surely Lotto, who had a remarkable architectural culture and used to spend time with masters such as Sebastiano Serlio and Jacopo Sansovino<sup>63</sup>, prized him also as an architect, considering that he assigned him the realisation of the frames for the *Assunta* of San Francesco alle Scale and for the Amici altarpiece of Jesi<sup>64</sup>. Pietro Zampetti attributes to Giovanni del Coro the monumental frame of Monte San Giusto altarpiece, an idea that I think deserves to be taken into account, and which would date the relationship between the two artists to long before the '30s<sup>65</sup>. Almost sure is, by now, the identification of Giovanni del Coro with the character in *Portrait of an architect of Berlin* (fig. 16), proposed in 1953 by Pignatti

active in Ancona also for Pellegrino Tibaldi, see Sacco 2002.

<sup>61</sup> Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 137rv.

<sup>62</sup> Calabi, Morachiello 1987, pp. 216-218. See Cortesi Bosco 2006, p. 211. The opinion of Giovanni del Coro is from 10 September 1546; it was about the project presented by architect Pietro di Guberni for a new wooden bridge; the experts' judgment was asked about resistance, convenience and durability of the bridge. Giovanni del Coro expressed quite a positive opinion, while the other architects were very disapproving of the project (Calabi, Morachiello 1987, pp. 216-218).

<sup>63</sup> Lotto, as we know, is a witness at Serlio's testament of 1528 (see Frommel 1998, p. 16) and on 15 February 1541 comes up as a debtor, receiving from the architect, who is about to leave for France, «chiodi, olio de lin purgato, mastice... lacha de grana» (Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 199v; Cortesi Bosco 2006, p. 209); for the relation with Jacopo Sansovino see Cortesi Bosco 2008, pp. 88-95; Davis 2011. Interesting observations on Lotto's architectural knowledge that can be inferred from the frame of his early works can be found in De Carolis 2011.

<sup>64</sup> The appellation «del coro», more than a surname, reminds of a possible activity as wood-carver carried out by Giovanni, following a common custom of the time; as an example, effective also to prove the use of this custom in Ancona, we can point out the already mentioned Francesco di Giacomo «del coro» (see above note 47), or the better known master from Siena Domenico di Niccolò dei Cori; wood-carving practice is also a data included in the professional charter of architects for the entire XVI<sup>th</sup> century. On the projects by Giovanni del Coro for Lotto's frames see Trionfi Honorati 2003, p. 81. On the frame of Jesi and its realisation by wood-carvers Sante from Treviso and Domenico Salimbeni from Ancona see Coltrinari, in press.

<sup>65</sup> Zampetti 1989, p. 231. This hypothesis matches the information we have now, that is the fact that Giovanni del Coro worked mainly in Venice, considering that Monte San Giusto altarpiece was executed in Venice between 1527 and 1528 and sent to Monte San Giusto by 1529 (on the altarpiece and its chronology, to be placed before September 1529, when the church was re-consecrated see Cortesi Bosco 1996, pp. 31-34, 38-40; Giordano 1999, pp. 116-124; Paolucci 2009; M. Massa in Garibaldi, Villa 2011, pp. 108-115). The name of Giovanni del Coro could be considered in relation with the fact that Lotto's altarpiece, with its frame, was only one element of a «un progetto unitario», architectural and decorative, which included a choir, a pipe organ and the bishop's sepulchre (see Cortesi Bosco 1996, pp. 39-40; Giordano 1999, pp. 88-90).

and authoritatively supported by Firpo, Cortesi Bosco and Davis<sup>66</sup>. We hope, thus, that archival research will still be able to provide precious information to deepen our knowledge about an artist like Lotto, whose life was rich and intense, and about the environments in which he worked.

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<sup>66</sup> Set aside the identification with Sebastiano Serlio (Frommel 1998, p. 19), the identification with Jacopo Sansovino was recently re-proposed (see most recently E. Dezuanni in Villa 2011, pp. 228-229). Davis convincingly argues against this identification, also mentioning the physical description of the architect from Florence done by his son Francesco; he remembers his father's red beard, which is in contrast with the thick black beard of the architect in Lotto's portrait (Davis 2011, p. 40). In favour of the identification with Giovanni del Coro are Pignatti 1953, p. 146; Firpo 2001, p. 271; Cortesi Bosco 2006, p. 211 and 2008, p. 95, note 33.

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*Appendix*

Fig. 1. Lorenzo Lotto, *The Holy Family with Saint Ann*, London, Courtauld Galleries



Fig. 2. Giovanni Andrea de Magistris, *Virgin of the Rosary*, Caldarola, Church of Saint Gregory



Fig. 3. Lorenzo Lotto, *St. Christopher with St. Rocco and St. Sebastian*, Loreto, Museum Ancient Treasure of the Holy House



Fig. 4. Giovanni Andrea de Magistris, *St. Rocco*, Monte San Martino, Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie



Fig. 5. Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin in glory with Saints Andrew and Jerome*, Private collection



Fig. 6. Durante Nobili, *Virgin in Glory with Saints Cosma e Damiano*, Caldarola, Collegiate Church of St. Martin



Fig. 7. Lorenzo Lotto, *Crucifixion*, Monte San Giusto, Church of Santa Maria in Telusiano



Fig. 8. Durante Nobili, *Crucifixion*, Matelica, Church of St. Francis



Fig. 9a, b, c. Durante Nobili, *Crucifixion*, Matelica, Church of St. Francis, predella (*Descent from the Cross*; *Christ in Limbo*; *Resurrection of Christ*)



Fig. 10. Giovanni Andrea de Magistris, *Resurrection*, Massa Fermana, Civic Museum



Fig. 11. Luca di Costantino, *Deposition from the Cross with Saints Anthony from Padova and Francis*, Montegranaro, Church of St. Francis

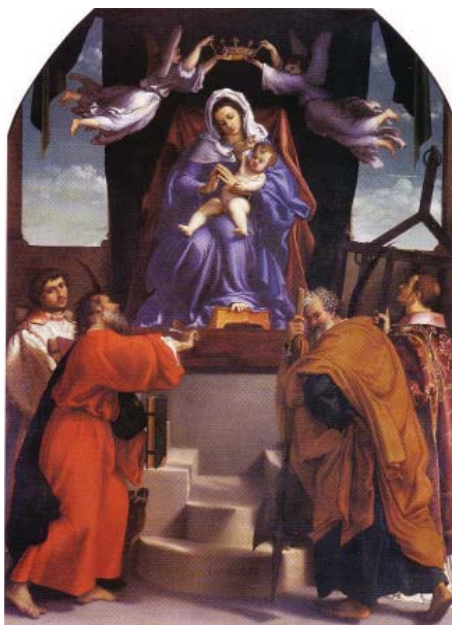


Fig. 12. Lorenzo Lotto, *The altarpiece of the Halberd*, Ancona, Civic Museum

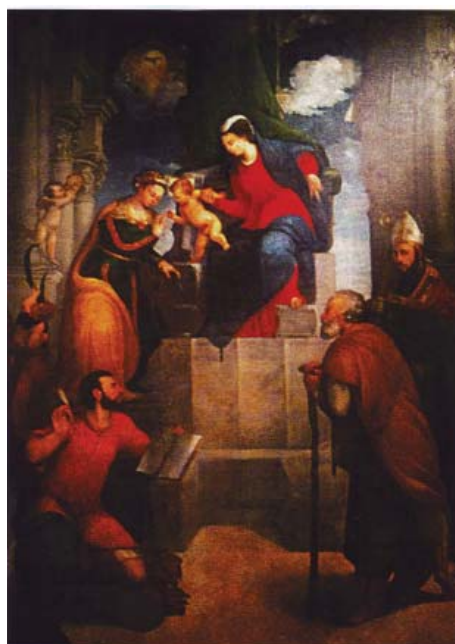


Fig. 13. Painter from Romagna (Girolamo from Faenza?), *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with Saints*, Recanati, Diocesan Museum



Fig. 14. Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of a man (Ludovico Grazioli?)*, Ferrara, Cavallini-Sgarbi Foundation





Fig. 15. Lorenzo Lotto, *Christ Crucified with the symbols of Passion*, Florence, Villa I Tatti, Berenson Collection



Fig. 16. Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of an Architect (Giovanni del Coro?)*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

### *Documentary Appendix*

ANA = Archivio di Stato di Ancona (State Archive of Ancona), Notaries of Ancona.

ASSC = Archivio Storico della Santa Casa di Loreto (Historical Archives of the Holy House of Loreto).

document 1

1534, ottobre 24, Ancona

ANA, Angelo Cicconi, vol. 279 (1534), c. 298v-299r.

*Procura magistri Laurentii Loti de Venetiis.*

*Die xxiiii mensis octobris. Actum in apoteca quam tenet magister Gregorius aschioppettis de Curvatia posita in parochia Sancti Nicolai iuxta res Camere anconitane undique, viam publicam a parte ante et alia latera, presentibus Ludovico Petri Stephani de Gratiolis de Ancona et magistro Gregorio Petri a schioppettis habitatori Ancone testibus ad hec vocatis, habitis et rogatis.*

*Magister Laurentius Lotus de Venetiis pictor et habitator Ancone, non revocando alios suos procuratores in re dicta facta et gesta per eos, sed illos potius confirmando, fecit, constituit et sollepniter ordinavit magistrum Johannettum magistri Johannis del Choro de Ancona presenti et acceptanti eius verum et legitimum procuratorem, actorem, factorem etc spetialiter nominatim et expresse ad petendum, exigendum et habuisse et recepisse confitendum omnes et singulos pecuniarum quantitates ipsi constituenti per quascumque homines et personas sibi debitas et quibuscumque de causis et de eo quod habuerit seu receperit vel habuisse et recepisse confessus fuerit finem et quietationem faciendum, reddendum quod constituentis picturas vendendum et pretium earundem exigendum. Et si opus fuerit pro premissis omnibus et singulis in qualibus curia spiritali et temporalis et coram quibuscumque iudicibus quacumque auctoritate presentibus et futuris comparendum, agendum et diffendendum etc. Item si opus fuerit substituendum etc Promictens etc relevans etc.*

document 2

1538, agosto 1, Ancona

ANA, Angelo Cicconi, vol. 282 (1538), c. 469 [modern pencil numbering], c. 433 original; see Micaletti 1991 (mention).

*Simon Jannini de Pizonibus de Ancona et magister Laurentius Lottus pictor.*

*Die primo mensis augusti. Actum in ecclesia sancti Augustini de Plano de Ancona ut supra posita et laterata, presentibus magistro Gerardo de Munduplho, fratre Petro de Bonplanis ordinis sancti Augustini de Ancona et magistro Jannecto domini Francisci del Choro testibus ad hoc vocatis, habiti et rogatis.*

*Magister Laurentius Lothus pictor etc modo moram trahens in civitate Ancone promisit et sollepniter obligavit Simoni Jannini de Pezonibus civi et habitatori Ancone presenti, stipulanti et recipienti pro se et suis heredibus, depingere et depictam tradere et consignare dicto Simoni presenti unam conam mensure et magnitudinis inter eos conventarum, de coloribus bonis et ut vulgo dicitur fini, in qua appareat depecta Virgo celorum Maria cum eius unico filio in bractis et duo angeli ponentes coronam in capite dicte Virginis, ac Sanctus Simon Juda, Sanctus Johannes Evangelista, Sanctus Stephanus et Sanctus Laurentius, in cuius tabule seu cone scabellum depingere promisit, videlicet in triangulis scabelli subtus colupnas duo ar[ma] domus eiusdem Simonis media dictarum armarum et scabelli bea[tam*

*U]rsulam cum eius societate in intermedio et in [ ] inter Arma et dictam beatam Ursulam pingere vulgariter se dicit frecze? [\*\*\*] in mezo?, in frontespitio autem cone prefate Spiritus Sanctus, omnibus que ad magisterium, telas et colores dicti magistri Laurentii sumptibus et expensis, infra annum proximum futurum, salvo tamen iusto casu et alio, et pro pretio scudorum octuaginta auri ad grossos xx<sup>ti</sup> pro quolibet scuto, de quo pretio et pro parte eiusdem dictus magister Laurentius habuit et recepit in monetis a domino Simone actualiter solemniter coram dictis testibus et me notario infrascripto scudos viginti quinque auri pro parte, de quibus fecit dicto Simoni presenti finem et quietationem. Residuum vero dicti pretii dictus Simon per se et suos heredes promisit et convenit dicto magistro Laurentio presenti etc dare et solvere in dictis terminis, videlicet scudos viginti quinque in medio operis et scutos treginta finales finito opere et de inde ad omnem prefati Laurentii termini et petitionis. Hoc tantum declaratum inter dictas partes, videlicet si dictus Laurentius predicta cum effectu non forent in dicto termino et quod eo casu teneatur ad restitutionem dictorum scutorum viginti quinque etc renuntiantes dicte partes etc [...].*

document 3

1550, settembre 9, Ancona

ANA, Riccardo Mazzei, vol. 514 (1549-1550), cc. 205rv. See Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 81v.

*Locatio famuli magistri Laurentii Lotti de Venetiis. Die nona mensis septembris. Actum Ancone in unico heredum quondam Joannis de Florenis et presentibus Angelo quondam Antonii Picchi et Hieronimo quondam Joanis Florenis de Ancona testibus.*

*Magister Paulus Terentii de Pisauro sutor et Petrus Juliani de Trigasio habitatores Ancone in solidum per eos etc apposuerunt et dederunt et locaverunt Marcum domini Georgii Chatalenichi de Flumine presentem et stare volentem magistro Laurentio Locti de Venetiis habitatori ad presens Ancone presenti etc pro se etc ad addiscendum artem depingendi et designandi pro tempore sex annorum proxime futuri hodie incipiendo et ut sequitur finiendi et deinde. Et hoc pro eo quia dictus magister Laurentius pro se etc promisit et convenit dictis magistro Paulo et Petro dictam artem docere dicto Marcho bene et diligenter juxta posse sui etc et dare victum et vistitum secundum eius conditionem. Et in fine dicti temporis sex annorum, dictus magister Laurentius promisit dicto Marco dare, solvere et numerare sine aliqua lite et pro salario ipsius scutos decem monete. Et casu quo dictus Marcus non compleverit standi cum dicto magistro Laurentio per dictos sex annos, quod tunc et eo casu dictus magister Laurentius non tenetur dare dicto Marco aliquod salarium. Promittens dictus Marcus dicto magistro Laurentio operas suas dandi. Et bene, fideliter et studiose operabit juxta posse sui omnia et quacumque quod dictus magister Laurentius imponet et mandabit per tres annos. Et deinde alios tres annos promisit dictus magister Laurentius docere in se dictam artem depingendi et designandi dicto Marco ut supra. Promictens dictus Marcus non discedere et furtum non facere a dicto magistro Laurentio etc renumptians etc quam locationem etc. Et omnia et singula supradicta etc sub pena dupli etc Et obligatione bonorum etc que bona etc in quibus bonis etc in forma camere apostolice etc juraverunt.*

document 3 bis

1550, settembre 9, Ancona

ASSC, Lorenzo Lotto, *Libro di spese diverse*, c. 82v.; See Chiappini di Sorio 1963; Zampetti 1969, p. 142; Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, c. 82v.

In Ancona, dì 9 settembre del 1550, acordato io Lorenzo Lotto pictor per garzone Marcho da Fiume quondam Zorzi Catalenich, de consenso in presentia et nome sua mastro Paolo sartor ... et misser Pier Zulian da Trieste, et ditto Marcho puto de circha 14 anni tolto per

servicii de casa, aparechiar e tenir netto et cocinar e spender e imparar l'arte mia, cioè habbia a star sei anni a spese e vestir mio, et li primi tre anni atenda a tutti li servicii et bisogni a tempo, et quel tanto de tempo chel si avanza possi studiar a imparar, ma che prima atenda al bisogno de miei servicii ut supra, etiam servicii de l'arte et li altri secondi tre anni ultimi el sia più libero del studiar ne l'arte, ben facendo servicii ut supra, ma non tanto strettamente, et in capo del suo tempo li debo dar scuti diece curenti da grossi 20 per scuto portandosi bene, et in caso chel non fornisca el tempo, non son obligato darli un quatrino, et di questo ne fu rogato ser Ricciardo Mazei di Ancona, presente misser Angelo Piero et misser Hieronimo Fiorini de Ancona, etiam li sopra di mastro Paolo et misser Pier Zulian adì ut supra scritto.

document 4

1550, novembre 13, Ancona

ANA, Piergentile Senili, vol. 302 (1550), c. 485r. See Chiappini di Sorio 1963; Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 65v-66r.

*Locatio domus ad naulum Yheronimi Johannis Baptiste de Scalamontis de Ancona. Die tertia decima mensis novembris, Ancone, in apoteca Antonii Muti etc presentibus ser Francisco Vecchiono et Ludovico Gratiolo de Ancona testibus.*

*Yheronimus Johannis Baptiste de Scalamontibus de Ancona pro se etc locavit ad naulum magistro Laurentio Locto de Venetiis in presentiarum habitatori Ancone presenti et conducenti pro se etc domum per ipsum Yheronimum emptam a Nicolao Polutii de Ancona positam Ancone in parrocchia Sancti Petri iuxta res Johannis de Graellis, viam publicam etc pro tempore videlicet hinc per totum mensem augusti proxime futuri, promittens dictus locator etc. Et hoc pro nauulo et conductione scutorum quatuordecim anno quolibet exinctorum et solutione datii ut in fine, quod nauulum ad dictam cautionem dictus conductor pro se etc solvere promisit dicto locatori presenti per totum mensem martii proxime futuri et de inte etc renuntians [...].*

document 4 bis

1550, novembre 13, Ancona

ASSC, Lorenzo Lotto, *Libro di spese diverse*, cc. 65v- 66r; See Zampetti 1969, pp. 115, 117; Grimaldi, Sordi 2003, cc. 65v- 66r.

Adi contrascritto die dar el prefato misser Hieronimo Scallamonti per cunto contrascritto de la portione de fitto de dita casa bolognini 100, fattosi de receputi nel contrato rogatosi ser Piergentile Senili.

Adi 13 novembre del 1550, die haver misser Hieronimo Scalamonti per fito de una casa drieto a San Pietro apresso el porton de San Domenego, fino per tuto agosto proximo che vene, a rason de scuti 12 l'anno cioè scuti da grossi 20 per uno, e tamen el contratto dice per non degradar el solito fito è fato de scuti 14 l'anno et sul contratto haversi havuti bolognini 100, presente misser Lodovico Gratioli et misser Francesco Vechioni et rogatosene ser Pier Gentile Senili.

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