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Luigi Giovanni Vitale Capello a.k.a. Cappello (1843-1902), itinerant Piedmontese artist of late nineteenth-century Quebec

Alexandra Shtychno

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at Concordia University Montreal, Quebec, Canada

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ABSTRACT

Luigi Giovanni Vitale Capello a.k.a. Capello (1843-1902)
iterant Piedmontese artist of late nineteenth-century Quebec

Alexandra Shtychno

Luigi Capello (a.k.a. Cappello) (1843-1902), painter, theater set designer, and embroidery pattern maker was active in the province of Quebec and the state of New York from the time of his arrival from Europe c. 1875 to the time of his departure in c. 1898. In spite of his non-native origins, during a period of merely two decades, Capello established a studio for theatrical design and embroidery, taught drawing at a Jesuit College, executed approximately twenty-three religious paintings for churches in Quebec and the state of New York, as well as completed numerous fresco decorations for five chapels and churches. His list of works contains a dozen landscapes and portraits which he exhibited at the A.A.M. and R.C.A., as well as theatre curtain and scenery decorations for the Collège de l'Assomption. His most prominent protege was Ozias Leduc (1864-1955).

The first part of this thesis will deal with the artist's biography. The second chapter will document Capello's artistic formation and his teachers. The last section will analyze both Capello's surviving works, and discuss missing and destroyed art.

The intention of this research is to contribute to the
knowledge of artists such as Capello, who taught the Old World traditions and techniques to native Quebec artists, and bridged the gap to the New World.
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Dedicated to my parents
Alec and Olga Shtychno,
immigrants themselves,
whose greatest goal was
to educate their children.
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Abbreviations

A.A.A.T  Archives of the Accademia Albertina di Torino
A.C.A.  Archives of the Collège de l'Assomption
A.C.M.  Archives of the City of Montreal
A.C.J.M. Archives of the Compagnie de Jésus à Montréal
A.F.C.M. Archives of the Frères de la Charité (Montréal)
A.N.Q.M. Archives nationales du Québec (Montréal)
A.M.C.T. Archives of the Museo Civico di Torino
A.M.M.F.A. Archives of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
A.S.C.T. Archivio Storico della Città di Torino
A.S.G.M. Archives of the Soeurs Grises de Montréal
A.S.P.M. Archives of the Soeurs de la Providence (Montréal)
A.U.T.R. Archives of the Ursulines de Trois-Rivières
I.B.C. Inventaires des Biens Culturels


All documents are quoted in their original form.

trans. A.S.  transcribed from the original by A. Shtychno
trans. A. S.  translated by A. Shtychno
INTRODUCTION

In the early nineteenth century very few artists of Italian origin were working in Quebec, but by the middle of the century their numbers were steadily increasing, fulfilling a need for skilled church decorators, statuemakers and artisans in plaster and stucco. The close ties in Quebec with Italy were due to a long tradition of clerical institutions being founded by the Catholic Church in the New World. The Canadian clergy had a decisive role in art, specifically religious art in their parishes: a power they have preserved to the present day. Improvements in mass transport made it possible for the clergy to travel to Rome, to religious orders where they were able to acquire copies of paintings and portraits of their primates and cardinals, belonging to the 'Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide', responsible for Canadian affairs at the Vatican. Eventually, artists from Italy were encouraged by these visiting Canadian clerics to come to work in the province of Quebec, where they had access to an open market with a great demand for their classical training and Counter-Reformation style of art.

Luigi Capello (1843-1902) was educated at the academies in Turin and Rome and arrived in Montreal c. 1875, and within twenty-two years he had established himself as an artist of renown with numerous commissions in the Montreal area and
even New York. This quick integration into the art world of Quebec speaks of the need skilled Italian artists could fulfill in the province.

Our scant knowledge today of Luigi Capello is based on documentation of lost works and approximately two collections of church paintings, three 'tableaux de maître-autel', two fresco programs for churches, and one portrait, still extant. The primary documentation of Capello's work was done by Gérard Morisset, assisted by Jules Bazin, c. 1938. Morisset's notes for the dossier entitled *Artistes et Artisans*¹ makes up the most complete record of Capello's work. Unfortunately, Morisset was particularly unappreciative of the 'influence italienne' which he felt had undermined the attempts made by native artists to establish careers in Quebec.² This lack of objectivity on the part of Morisset is evident in his descriptions of Capello's works and even when quoting remarks made by newspapers in Capello's day about his work, complimentary phrases were omitted. Morisset's inventory was invaluable in locating Capello's works and with the bibliographical references noted after each piece, it became obvious that not all primary research had to be from scratch.

Capello has not been recognized as an artist of note in

¹ I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, *Artistes et Artisans* - Luigi Capello.

Canadian art history, partially because of his origins and because of the prejudicial approach to mural painting as a secondary art of artisan nature. Most references to Capello in Canadian studies are almost entirely in relation to his student/associate Ozias Leduc. Among primary sources that still exist are documents in the archives of the Ursulines de Trois-Rivières where six letters by Capello are preserved: of particular interest are a biographical correction and another describing his work at the monastery. A list of landscapes and portraits between 1880 and 1887 exhibited at the R.C.A. and the A.A.M. are located in the registers at the Archives of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. The closest secondary source to Capello's work is Mlle. Gabrielle Messier who can still recall with some accuracy her teacher, Ozias Leduc speaking about Capello. Albert Laliberté's book, *Les artistes de mon temps*, based on his notes, written in the early twentieth century also mentioned Capello in relation to Ozias Leduc whom he had met, as well as Capello's widow, Marie-Louise.

In recent writings on Leduc, Capello is mentioned in passing, usually in relation to Leduc's early artistic formation. The most complete biographical sketch of Luigi Capello was compiled by J. Russell Harper in 1970 in *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, a seminal volume, since

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reprinted four times. A fairly accurate accounting of Capello's artistic career was given with a listing of exhibitions and a limited biography. This would be the only entry for Luigi Capello in any dictionary of artists, which was devoted entirely to his career. Colin S. MacDonald in *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists* (1971) mentions in the entry on Ozias Leduc, that "he [Leduc] began to paint with Luigi Capello in the decoration of Saint-Paul l'Ermite Church. Capello was an Italian painter who had done church decoration for many churches in Quebec." The accompanying footnote states that this information was based on notes taken by Jules Bazin and Gérard Morisset at the time of their visit with Ozias Leduc, 10 August, 1937. In 1973 Dennis Reid mentioned that Leduc "received his first training about 1880 with Luigi Cappello, one of the many foreign muralists to be employed by Quebec churches in the late nineteenth century." Barry Lord's *History of Painting in Canada: toward a people's art* (1974) states that "he [Leduc] began as a teen-age assistant to Luigi Cappello, an Italian immigrant

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A more detailed study of Leduc's work by Jean-René Ostiguy in 1974 also inspired a little more attention to Luigi Capello. He interviewed Gabrielle Messier (Leduc's student) and wrote that Leduc "frequented the studio of the church decorator Luigi Cappello (1874-1892)" in the year 1883 and in 1888 "worked with Cappello on the decoration for the Yamachiche church." In 1892 according to Ostiguy's catalogue, Leduc "obtains his first church-decorating commission...while still working at Cappello's studio..." and in 1906 "married a distant cousin, Marie-Louise Lebrun, reportedly the widow of his first teacher, Luigi Cappello. Mrs. Leduc (1859-1939) was an amateur musician and painter." Laurier Lacroix's catalogue for an exhibition of Leduc's drawings at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia) in 1978, mentioned that Leduc was "working as an assistant to Luigi Cappello on the decoration...of St. Paul l'Ermite"
and that "Leduc's interest in the theatre and the design of stage curtains may be traced to the period of his apprenticeship with Adolphe Rho and Luigi Cappelo [sic] who themselves designed several of the decorations for college halls or special ceremonies."12 Page twenty-nine of the Lacroix catalogue13 illustration n. 9 shows a seated woman whom the author suggests is the wife of Luigi Capello.

The most recent mention of Capello in any appreciable detail, again in relation to Ozias Leduc, was in a Master's thesis by J. Craig Stirling in 1982. Stirling wrote that Leduc "frequented the studio of church decorator Luigi Cappello (active 1874-1882)"14 with reference to "Cappello's tapestry school [being] located at 17 Place D'armes, [sic] Montreal."15

Limited as the writings on Capello have been, the question of the influence that he had on Leduc and others has yet to be addressed. It will be the intention of this thesis to show how an itinerant Northern Italian artist with academic training primarily from two noteworthy Piedmontese artists, Enrico Gamba and Andrea Gastaldi, established a career of versatility and regional renown in the space of

12 Laurier Lacroix et al., p. 22.
13 Ibid., p. 29, illustration n. 9.
15 Ibid., p. 43.
twenty-two years. The traditions and skills that Capello brought with his work in Quebec enriched the field of mural painting especially and fulfilled a need for European technique as well as instruction in a budding native artistic field.
CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY OF LUIGI GIOVANNI BATTISTA VITALE CAPELLO
(CAPPELLO)\textsuperscript{16} 1843-1902

1 - Life in Italy

Very little is known of the childhood of the painter Luigi Capello, who was born in Turin, Italy on the second of January 1843\textsuperscript{17}, except what has come down to us in a biographical document written by an Ursuline, Mere Marguerite-Marie (Eugénie Lassalle) in 1897.\textsuperscript{18} This brief

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{16} J. Russell Harper, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57, lists the artist as "Cappello (or Capello), Luigi G." In actual fact the reverse is more accurate, i.e., the artist was baptized Luigi Giovanni Battista Vitale Capello but signed his works most commonly as Cappello and sometimes as Capello. Of the seven letters written by Capello to the Mother Superior of the Ursulines in Trois-Rivières, and deposited in their archives, the painter signed his name Luigi G. Capello, Louis J. Capello as well as L. J. V. Capello.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{17} Archivio Parrocchiale Metropolitana di Torino, Atti di nascita e di battesimo, 1842-1843, atto n. 8 del 1843. Capello was baptized at the Metropolitana, also known as the Duomo in Torino. The family’s residence is listed as 15, Monte di Pietà. Unfortunately, the house was the only one destroyed on that street by Allied bombs on August 13, 1943, (fig. 1).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{18} A biography of two pages was written by Mere Marguerite-Marie (Eugénie Lassalle), on the occasion of the opening of the new chapel for the Ursuline Sisters of Trois-Rivières which was decorated by Luigi Capello in 1897. She prepared the notes for Mother Superior, Mère Marie-de-Jésus (Georgine Caron) who studied at the convent of the Soeurs de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, at Yamachiche, and at the age of twelve, in 1860, joined the Ursulines' order at Trois-Rivières. She became Superior from 1896-1899 and again in 1905-1911.
\end{quote}
summary of his life was reviewed and corrected by Capello himself. 19

According to this biography, Capello was born to Catterina Vivalda of Pinerolo and Giovanni Capello, an officer in the army of Carlo-Alberto. 20 The archives of the city of Turin, however, state that Luigi was the son of "Giovanni, invalido alle Regie Finanze" 21 and no specific mention is made of his father serving in the army of the king.

Luigi Giovanni Battista Vitale Capello was baptized at the Metropolitana, i.e., the Duomo of Turin 22 and spent his


20 Carlo-Alberto (Charles Albert) born in Turin 1798, died in Porto, Portugal in 1849. Son of Carlo Emmanuel of the House of Savoy, duke of Carignan. Carlo-Alberto was king of Sardegna-Piedmonte (1831-49) during the turbulent period of the 'Risorgimento', the movement for the unification of Italy. His portrait hangs in the Gallery Sabauda, Turin. Encyclopedia Britannica 15th ed., University of Chicago, vol. 3, pp. 123-4. (fig. 2)

21 Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, Atti di morte, vol. 134, atto no. 2139. One can only speculate as to whether this means he was a wounded veteran, i.e., 'invalido' and was therefore given a job at the Royal Finance Department of Carlo-Alberto, or he was an invalid working for the Finance Department.

formative years in a religious family. Three of his maternal uncles were priests and his only sister, Adelaide, entered the order of the Sisters of Joseph in 1857 at the age of seventeen. An uncle who was also a priest and living in Switzerland, was said to have been an amateur painter. He had encouraged the young Capello to develop his artistic talents by entering, in 1860 at seventeen, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Turin (Accademia Albertina) (fig. 3). There he studied under two prominent Piedmontese

23 There is evidence that Capello had a crooked spinal column. Gabrielle Messier, an assistant to Ozias Leduc, (a student of Luigi Capello's in Montreal in the 1890's), wrote in a letter dated February 2, 1989 to the author that she remembers Ozias Leduc describing Capello, "Luigi Capello avait une déviation de la colonne vertébrale (bossu)." Alfred Laliberté, a prominent Quebec sculptor also described Capello as "son associé [that of Ozias Leduc] étant Italien, et infirme je crois...", Les artistes de mon temps, Le Boréal, Montréal: 1986, p. 78.

24 Mère Marguerite-Marie, op. cit., (appendix n. 4).


28 The Accademia Albertina was originally known as the Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture (Accademia dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti) and was established in Turin in 1678. It was modelled on the Royal Academy of Paris and adopted many of its statutes from the Academy of Rome. From 1833 it was known as the Reale Accademia Albertina after its supporter and patron, King Carlo-Alberto.
artists, Enrico Gamba (1831-1883) and Andrea Gastaldi (1826-
1889) and was awarded numerous prizes at the Academy and
by the Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts of the city of
Turin.

29 A.A.A.T., Discorso pronunciato dal conte, Terenzio
Mamiani Ministro della Publica Istruzione nella solenne
distribuzione dei premi agli allievi della Reale Accademia
Albertina di Belle Arti, July 8, Torino: 1860, p. 22,
confirms Gastaldi and Gamba as members of the faculty.
Enrico Gamba (1831-1883) — teacher of drawing at the
Accademia Albertina, winner of Breme prize was named the
President of the School, in 1861 for his painting entitled Il
voto d'annessione nell'Abruzzo (fig. 4). Andrea Gastaldi
(1826-1889) was a painter and teacher at the Accademia
Albertina from 1860-1893 (?). His paintings were exhibited
in Paris, Dublin, Vienna and London. He is considered a
major figure in late nineteenth-century Northern Italian art.
(Further discussion of Gamba and Gastaldi and the Piedmontese
artistic traditions follow in Chpt. II)

30 In 1862 Luigi Capello received honorable mention for
"Ornato - disegno dalla stampa, origine del capitello
corintio dell'Albertolli", Solenne Distribuzione dei Premi,
July 27, 1862, Torino, p. 12. In 1863 Capello received
honorable mention for "Ornato - disegno dal rilievo, gruppi
di vasi di vario stile", Concorsi Annuali 1862-63, p. 34. In
1866 Capello won second prize for "Disegno dal vero",
Concorsi Annuali 1865-66, p. 13. In 1868 he exhibited two
miniatures entitled Il Principe Umberto, and La Principessa
Margherita at the twenty-seventh exhibition of the Società
Promotrice delle Belle Arti Catalogo degli oggetti d'arte-
alla XXVII Esposizione in Torino del 1868, p.6. In the
Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti Catalogo degli oggetti
d'arte - alla XXVII Esposizione in Torino del 1869, p. 21,
there is mention of a painting by Capello entitled Dopo la
caccia. The last known mention of Capello in Torino is
during the twenty-ninth exhibition of the Società Promotrice
in 1870 where on p. 16 of their Catalogo degli oggetti
d'Arte, his paintings entitled Studio dal Vero and
Conseguenza dei natali are mentioned.
As was the common pattern for artists of the Piedmont, Capello left Turin to study at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome with a sojourn in Florence and Paris much as his teachers Gamba and Gastaldi had done previously. A further rather curious corroborating fact to prove that Capello did indeed stay at the Accademia in Rome, is the very similar composition of the altar painting by Capello L'enfant Jésus entre Sainte-Anne et Saint-Joachim for the church of Saint-Joachim in Pointe-Claire, Quebec (1885) and the painting of Giuseppe Bottani's Madonna col Bambino, S.

31 Andrea Gastaldi had lived at 33 rue de l'Est in Paris in 1853 according to Roseanna Maggio-Serra, Andrea Gastaldi (1829-1889); Un pittore a Torino tra romanticismo e realismo, Fondazione de Pinarise, Cassa di Risparmio di Torino, Torino: 1988, p. 23. Curiously, Luigi Capello is known to have lived at rue Retrait in Paris with the Salesian brothers not two blocks away, when he returned to Paris in 1889, upon leaving Montreal for the last time. He died there in 1902. Enrico Gamba also exhibited at the Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts in 1861 and received the Breme first prize (named after the president of the Association). There is documentation that Gamba travelled to Rome, Naples and Paris visiting the studio of Leighton in 1855, in London. For more information on the Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts see Cultura figurativa e architettonica negli Stati dei Re di Sardegna 1773-1861, Catalogue vol. II, Torino: 1977, pp. 675-688. We know Capello visited Rome, Florence and Paris from the biography of Mère Marguerite-Marie op. cit. see letter in appendix n. 1.

32 Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Joachim, (Pointe-Claire), Livre des délibération 1852-1889 2 Cl al. "1866-Payé tableau de maître-autel 150.00". The painting is signed "L. Cappello 1885".

33 Giuseppe Bottani was a painter who was born in Cremona (Piedmont) in 1717 and died in Mantua on September 17, 1784. He was a student of de Meucci and of Puglieschi in Florence. He studied in Rome under Masucci (1740) where he painted landscapes inspired by Poussin's style, as well as portraits and paintings for 'maître-autel'. His religious
Giovacchino e S. Anna (fig. 6) in the collection of Accademia di San Luca in Rome. The Bottani painting and study for St. Joachim's head appear in L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca. In comparing the Capello work to that of Bottani's there is no doubt that Capello did a direct copy. It would seem highly likely that Capello would have amassed a portfolio of drawings as a means of introduction of his capabilities, not unlike the practice of artists today.

2 - Arrival in Canada

The next chapter in Capello's life, his arrival in the province of Quebec, poses a problem of dating. In the biography of Capello by Mère Marguerite-Marie, she writes "après avoir atteignait [sic] Paris en 1868 (corrected to 1875)" he leaves for Montreal "où les R.R. P.P. Jésuites


34 L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Da Luca (ed.) Roma: 1974 p. 157. Date of the painting is unknown. See illustrations of both Capello's and Bottani's paintings. Infant Jesus between St. Anne and St. Joachim with God the Father and a dove is Capello's subject whereas Bottani's painting is entitled Madonna col Bambine, S. Giovacchino e S. Anna. Note the presence of only one female figure in Bottani's painting yet the mention of the Virgin and St. Anne in the title.

35 A.U.T.R., document CF VII-0031-4. This date of 1868 was corrected by Capello himself to 1875 in a letter addressed to the Mother Superior (undated) (appendix n. 4a).
qui tendent une main généreuse à tous les talents lui confient leurs cours de dessins et de peinture. 36 In actual fact, Capello only obtained the post of teacher of drawing at the Jesuits' Collège Sainte-Marie37 near Berri Street, Montreal in 1881,38 a post he held until 1887. The first signed and dated work by Capello is found at the church of Saint-Paul l'Ermite, Quebec, where one of the four rectangular paintings is dated 1874, yet Capello himself wrote that he was in Paris in 1875. The other three paintings in the series depicting St. Paul's life, are dated 1875. Although back dating is not unheard of, it would seem unnecessary because the 1874 painting entitled Saint-Paul en prière is one of four in a series for which Capello received the full commission. In addition to oil paintings for Saint-Paul l'Ermite, Capello did some decorative frescoes above the windows and behind the 'maître-autel.' The same year as the work for St Paul l'Ermite was finished (1875), Capello also did some 'rosaces' (frescoed medallions), for Saint-Hugues, 36 Antonio V. Spada, in The Italians in Canada, Riviera Printers, Montreal: 1969, p. 162, says "Luigi Cappello, decorator landed in Montreal in 1870, and become popular for his frescoes." Since the author has no footnotes, it is impossible to trace his claim.

37 Collège Sainte-Marie was operated by the Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus (Jesuits) since September 20, 1848. Courses were offered in either classical or commercial streams. Drawing classes were given at the parents' expense.

(Bagot county, Quebec), for which he was paid $16.00. This church no longer exists, having burned in 1979 and no records have been found concerning Capello's decorative program.

3 - Establishment as an artist in Montreal

The Lovell Directory of Montreal (1875-1876) first mentions Capello as "Cappello, Luigi, Italian artist, 54 Notre-Dame, h. 186 1a Gauchetiere". He carried a listing until 1888. Between the years 1876-1887 Capello was described as "artist" in the Lovell, having dropped the word Italian after the first entry in 1875-76. In the last listing, however, that of 1887-88, Capello was described as decorative artist and portrait painter. Having established himself with several commissions for churches early in his career in the Montreal and surrounding regions, Capello augmented his livelihood with theatre decoration, portraits and landscapes. Between 1874 and 1880, Capello worked

39 Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Hugues, Livre des comptes II 1875, "travaux intérieurs-vôûte" show that Capello was paid $16.00 for the four 'rosaces', p. 62.

40 In the Livre des comptes II 1875, p. 62, of Saint-Hugues, mention is also made of Joseph Laliberté's frieze and columns, Aug. [?] Leblanc's medallions, Moise Berthiaume's frieze and 'rosaces'. A total of $1083.93 was spent in 1875 on the decoration of St. Hugues ceiling alone.

41 Refer to footnote n. 16 for an explanation of the two different spellings of Capello.

primarily on church projects but he also supplemented his earnings with portraits such as that of Hercule Dorion (1876), curé at Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche.

For the churches of Saint-Alexandre de Kamouraska (1877) and Saint-Rémi (1877) Capello executed large single oil paintings to be placed behind the "maître-autel". It is possible that he could have completed these works in his studio in Montreal and sent the finished product along having never visited the churches. In the year 1877 Capello also worked on decorative details for the chapel of the Ecole de Réforme de Montréal (fig. 7) on an 'in situ'

43 "maître-autel" - French for large, usually sculpted, main altar piece which holds the ciborium.

44 Lovell's Montreal Directory lists the following locations of Capello's studios: 1875-76, 54 Notre-Dame; 1876-77, 97 Jacques-Cartier; 1877-78, 534 Ste. Marie; 1879-80, 93 St. Francis Xavier; 1880-81, 93 St. Francis Xavier; 1881-82, 141 St. André; 1882-3, 141 St. André; 1883-84, 141 St. André; 1884-85 1468 and 1470 Notre-Dame; 1885-86, 1468 and 1470 Notre-Dame; 1886-87, 1470 Notre-Dame; 1887-88, 1470 Notre-Dame.

45 In an article that appeared in the Minerve dated September 13, 1877, p. 2, it is stated that "Cette toile a été expédiée hier soir à St. Remi où elle doit être exposée au-dessus du maître-autel de l'église paroissiale." The canvas was sent the night before to St. Remi.

46 The chapel of the Ecole de Réforme de Montréal was formerly located on the present day Voyageur Bus Terminal on Berri Street, Montreal. It was consecrated on July 2, 1877, by Monseigneur Fabre for the Brothers of Charity (Frères de la Charité). According to Revue Deus Caritas Est, author unknown, May 15, 1923, publication of the Les Frères de la Charité en Amérique du Nord, p. 50. Capello's work at this chapel was also mentioned in abbé Olivier Maurault's book, La Paroisse: Histoire de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal, Louis Carrier et Cie., Les Editions du Mercure, Montreal: 1929, p. 142.
work in the form of 'grisailles' or frescoes entirely in shades of grey. Where these were painted or what the subject was, is a mystery since only a photograph remains of the chapel's interior and no record of payment or description of the work has survived. One can only speculate that the angels that appear around the semi-circular structure above the altar may be by Capello. The frames are evident in the photo which has survived (fig. 8).

In 1878 Capello was busy setting up his studio and teaching at the, as yet historically unsubstantiated, tapestry school at 17, Place D'Armes in Montreal.47 One of Capello's co-workers at this time was Ozias Leduc.48 In 1878-79 Capello was also involved in a large commission for Notre-Dame Church in Montreal. Twelve large frescoes describing the most important events in the life of the Virgin Mary were executed for the second gallery (six for either side). According to Abé Olivier Maurault,

47 Archives de la Bibliothèque nationale du Québec à Montréal, Fonds Leduc 06-M p. 50. Gabrielle Messier insists in a letter to the author dated February 2, 1989 that Ozias Leduc was never a student of Capello's but rather an employee. Mention of Capello's tapestry school appears in J. Craig Stirling's, Ozias Leduc et la décoration intérieure de l'église de Saint Hilaire, Ministère des Affaires culturelles Québec: 1985, p. 43, unfortunately no other information has been found to date.

48 The exact date that Ozias Leduc became Capello's student/employee, is not known, although there is evidence that he collaborated with Capello and Adolphe Rho on the decoration of the church of Sainte-Anne at Yamachiche in 1879. Letter from Gabrielle Messier to the author dated February 2, 1989.
Sous leur direction [M.M. Ledieu et Brégent], un artiste italien, du nom de Capello, peignit sur les murs de la seconde galerie, entre les retombées des voûtes, plusieurs des douze scènes de la vie de Marie. Ces fresques ont été lavées et rafraîchies, au cours des années 1927 et 1928. Elles ne manquent pas de valeur. 49

Seeing these frescoes today after the 'restorations' one has to be fair to Capello and not judge his artistic caliber by what has remained.

A large painting of L'Éducation de la Vierge (fig. 9) has survived from the sacristy of the chapel of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Old Montreal. The painting has been retouched but clearly bears the signature 'Cappello pinx 1879' in the bottom right corner. No information to date has been found concerning this work.

On January 30, 1879 there appeared in La Minerve, an announcement that "M. Capello, artiste italien, de cette ville, a exposé hier dans la vitrine de M. Dawson, sur la rue St. Jacques, un portrait très bien fait de M. Damase Masson." 50 The portrait has not yet been located.

Another major commission in fresco for Capello was in c. 1879 for the church of Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche. Two


50 La Minerve, January 30, 1879, p. 2.
sources of documentation, one literary and one photographic, are all that remain of this large church (fig. 10) that burned on July 11, 1957. Capello depicted four theological virtues: Fides (Faith), Spes (Hope), Charitas (Charity) and Amor Dei (Love of God) in the four pendentives of the dome (figs. 11-14). Within the cupola he painted in 'fresco-secco' L'archange Michel terrassant Lucifer, Dieu le Père en approbation and the Annonciation (fig. 15). Capello had been assisted at Yamachiche by Ozias Leduc (1864-1955) and Adolphe Rho (1835-1905). While at Yamachiche Capello made some important contacts. At cure

51 A description of Capello's frescoes appear in abbé Napoléon Caron's monograph, Histoire de la paroisse d'Yamachiche, P. Y. Ayotte, Trois-Rivières: 1982, pp. 84-94. Key passages of the abbé's descriptions have been translated by the author and can be found in appendix n. 5.

52 M. Claude Marcotte provided the negatives for figs. 11-15. These photos were taken on March 9, 1957 and the church burned on July 11, 1957.


Dorion's invitation, the Soeurs de la Providence had founded a hospice in 1871 at Yamachiche and Capello was invited in 1880, a year after his work at Ste. Anne, to work at their hospice in l'Assomption. Capello's reputation with the Héroux Brothers, architects of Ste. Anne's, no doubt also helped him acquire similar fresco work for the Ursulines eighteen years later in 1897.

The following year, 1880, Capello exhibited at the Canadian Academy of the Arts' First Annual Exhibition, in Ottawa, on March 8. The catalogue listed the oil painting as "Maison Grecque au temps de Sappho." A few weeks later, on April 14, Capello exhibited the same work at the Art Association of Montreal, a painting entitled this time "Greek Dwelling Time of Sappho" signed L. G. Capello, Montreal. Although no works have been located by Capello for the year 1881 on June 22, 1881 he married Marie-Louise Lebrun (1859-1939) at the Cathedral St. Jacques Le Majeur. According to Gabrielle Messier (Leduc's student), Marie-Louise had a boarding house where Ozias Leduc, her cousin, and Capello had

55 A.M.M.F.A., Canadian Academy of Arts - First Annual Exhibition, Ottawa: March 8, 1880, room no. 2, item no. 27.

56 Art Association of Montreal - Special Exhibition of the Works of Canadian Arts, Phillips Square: April 14, 1880, Art Gallery, no. 68. The value of the painting was listed as $50 and 'L.G. Cappello' was noted as residing at 935 Francis-Xavier St., Montreal.

57 Archives of the City of Montreal, film no. 155-14.
both resided.\textsuperscript{58} That same year Capello appears on the list of professors at the Collège Sainte-Marie working as a teacher of drawing for the Jesuits.\textsuperscript{59} He would remain on their staff until 1887. Capello exhibited four paintings with the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in April of 1882. These were entitled \textit{Sappho on a holiday in Athens}, \textit{St. Jerome}, \textit{Scene on the Prairies},\textsuperscript{60} and \textit{Genovese Woman}. The Borromeo Castle Lake Maggiore and Rev. Mgr. Lafleche were listed in the register\textsuperscript{61} but were returned to Capello and do not appear in the printed catalogue.\textsuperscript{62}

On the 30th of November in 1882, twin girls were born to Marie-Louise and Luigi Capello.\textsuperscript{63} The following year, 1883, Capello again participated in an exhibition with the Art Association of Montreal with \textit{A Shady Nook} and \textit{St. Michael}

\textsuperscript{58} Letter from Gabrielle Messier to the author dated February 21, 1989.

\textsuperscript{59} "A prairie landscape exhibited in 1882 was probably executed on a visit to Winnipeg to carry out portrait commissions", J. Russell Harper, 1981, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{60} A.C.J.M., Collège Sainte-Marie, Montréal-année académique: 1881-82, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87, Eusebe Sénécal & Fils, Montréal.

\textsuperscript{61} A.M.M.F.A., Régistre d'expositions II (Archives of Art Association) March 1880-December 15, 1888.

\textsuperscript{62} A.M.M.F.A., Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Exhibition (oil paintings) April 1882, no. 16, no. 22, no. 39, and no. 115...L.G. Capello. pp. 4, 5, 9.

near Montreal. These were listed as oils by L. G. Cappello for $30.00 each. A watercolor entitled An Italian Peasant Woman had "not shown" written beside the title. The printed catalogue for that exhibition also made no mention of the watercolor. This is the only watercolor by Capello that has been documented. Between 1883-1887 Capello is not listed in exhibitions of either the R.C.A. or the A.A.M.

By fall 1883 Capello was again working in fresco painting for Saint-Joseph (rue du Cimetière now Cathédrale) in Montreal. The Hospice Saint-Joseph was founded in 1841 by Olivier Berthelet and administered by the Soeurs Grises de Montréal from 1854. It was primarily a place of refuge for women and poor children. A chapel was constructed in 1862 and consecrated by Mgr. Bourget in October of 1863. Capello did four frescoes for the chapel, La Nativité, the La Fuite d'Egypte, the Joseph dans son atelier, and Joseph mourant. Unfortunately the chapel was demolished in 1933 and the Soeurs Grises de Montréal have no record of the frescoes being saved. Also in 1883-6, Capello did a major commissions for the Collège de l'Assomption. Mention is made of this

64 A.M.M.F.A., Régistre des expositions II (Archives of Art Association), no. 184, no. 185, no. 186, pp. 65-66.

65 Archives des Soeurs Grises de Montreal, Extracts from the: Chroniques de l'Hospice St.-Joseph (1854-1892), "Mardi, le 23 décembre "Ce même jour, monsieur Capello, artiste italien qui avait entrepris le 24 septembre dernier, les quatre grands tableaux à fresque de notre sanctuaire, les terminaient à notre grande satisfaction. Ils sont beaux, surtout bien expressifs."
work in abbé Forget's history of the college. "Un artiste italien, J. [sic] Capello brosse avec talent les toiles de la scène et le grand rideau de l'avant scène, représentant L'arrivée de Christophe Colomb en terre américaine." His two large theatre curtains were lost in a fire June 25, 1988 that destroyed the old building. The only photographic record left is a small and faded picture reproduced in a souvenir booklet of the college c. 1930 (fig. 16).

From the year 1885 two major commissions have survived. One is a painting of the L'enfant Jésus entre Sainte-Anne and Saint-Joachim (fig. 5) for the maître-autel of the church of Saint-Joachim in Pointe-Claire based on a Bottani (previously mentioned). This large and beautifully executed painting was similar in size to Capello's altarpieces for Saint-Alexandre de Kamouraska and Saint-Rémi de Napierville (1877). In the same year Capello was granted a large commission for the church of Saint-Isidore, located in the village with the same name. Capello painted five rectangular paintings depicting the life of St. Isidore, the patron saint of farmers. The works have survived in relatively good condition compared to a similar ensemble at Saint-Paul l'Ermite (1875). The paintings have been artificially elongated but the adjustments were done poorly.

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67 Ibid.
In May of 1886 Capello made an unsuccessful bid for a commission to decorate Sainte-Cunégonde in Montreal; a contest which was mentioned in the local press.\(^{68}\) He was however asked to complete the work he had begun for the Collège de l'Assomption, for which he had previously done two theatrical curtains in 1883. College chronicles recorded "M. L. G. Capello arrive au Collège pour y peindre les toiles, coulisses etc. du théâtre, le 14 aout 1886."\(^{69}\) In September of that year Capello was involved in a bazaar to raise money for the interior decoration of the Cathédrale de Montreal. A rather interesting panoramic painting by Capello in a 'trompe l'oeil' technique entitled Intérieur de Saint-Pierre de Rome and dated 1886 was exhibited. This painting's whereabouts are unknown although it was a large work of art (14'0" high by 7'0" wide) and was favorably received by the press of the day.\(^{70}\) According to an anonymous document, it was begun by Capello but finished by Ozias Leduc.\(^{71}\)

In 1887 on April 11, Capello deposited two paintings entitled Evening ($60) and Idea ($50) at the exhibition of

\(^{68}\) La Minerve, May 15, 1886.

\(^{69}\) Archives Collège de l'Assomption, Les Chroniques d'Odilon Guilbault, undated.

\(^{70}\) Le Bazar, September 25, 1886, p. 300.
Le Bazar, September 25, 1886, p. 107.

\(^{71}\) An undated and unsigned document written in pencil in Capello's handwriting was found among the papers of the Fonds Leduc, 06-M, (appendix n. 8).
the Royal Canadian Academy at the Montreal Art Association. According to the register he sold Evening to a G. Hague Esq. and it was delivered to the client. The other painting, Idea, was retained for sale in the Gallery.72 In the local paper, Witness, of May 3rd 1887, mention was made of "...L. G. Capello's vined and perfect 'Evening' shading from mauve below to pale above,..."73 The only other fact about Capello which has surfaced for the year 1887 was the unfortunate death of his twin girls within a few days of each other in November due to a smallpox epidemic in Montreal.74

The period 1888-1896 is a mystery in Capello's biography because no works have been found. In a letter to the Mother Superior of the Ursuline Convent in Three-Rivers in 1897, Capello writes, "l'église de Brigport après avoir faite les autres (depuis dix ans) son apparition comme aussi elle est


73 Witness, May 3, 1887.

74 Kathleen Jenkins, in Montreal - Island City of the St. Lawrence, Doubleday, New York: 1966 pp. 418-9, describes the epidemic.

Gabrielle Messier states in a letter to the author dated February 21, 1989 that "de leur mariage deux petites jumelles sont nées, et décédé [sic] toutes les deux vers l'âge de 2 ans (actually at 5 years old), de l'épidémie a Montréal où est décédé tant d'enfants."
disparue." 75 Perhaps this was a commission in the United States which had been destroyed in a fire. He wrote again on December 14, 1896 76 to the Mother Superior to say that Georges F. Héraux 77 had written to him in New York on November 30th to say that the Ursuline building was ready to be decorated. Where exactly Capello was working is not stated; only that "Je lui ai répondu que une ouvrage pour Noël, que j'achève me tratiendrait [sic] encor [sic] quelques jours ici.... 78 It is possible that the church Capello was working on in New York was St. Joachim, the church mentioned in Mère Marguerite-Marie's biography (appendix n. 4). "Il a rendu le Triomphe de la Religion, la Résurrection et la Présentation de Marie au Temple. Dans la même église, il a travaillé aux stations du chemin de la Croix." 79 This church has not been located despite efforts to contact various archives of the Catholic Church in New York state.

One of Capello's major artistic ensembles can be seen today at the Monastery of the Ursulines in Trois-Rivières.


77 Joseph and Georges F. Héraux were architects of both the Ursuline Chapel and the church of Ste. Anne de Yamachiche.


In 1897 Capello decorated the inside of the cupola with L'archange Michel terrassant Lucifer, and four pendentives: Sacré-Cœur devant Sainte-Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, Le couronnement de la Vierge, Sainte-Angèle et Sainte-Ursule and Les allégories de la foi, l'espoir et la charité. Above the altar in the second storey of the Ursuline Chapel hangs Capello's La Cène. These would be Capello's last works in Canada. He remained in contact with the Mother Superior of the convent, Marie-de-Jésus until his death. A letter from Capello was received by the Reverend Mother dated December 10, 1898 from 21 via Maria Vittoria, Turin\textsuperscript{80}, with Christmas greetings. Lovell's Dictionary did not carry a listing for Luigi Capello after 1887-88. From 1888-1907, Marie-Louise Capello was listed as a widow of L. G.\textsuperscript{81} It is known that Luigi Capello was working until 1897 in Trois-Rivières and his letter from Turin means that he was very much alive in 1898. The last letter received by Mother Superior, Marie-de-Jésus, was dated August 12, 1900 from a Salesian Brothers' Orphanage in Paris at 29 rue du Retrait.\textsuperscript{82} In it he writes of dying and the secrecy of his location which he entrusts to the Mother Superior.

\textsuperscript{80} A.U.T.R., document n. VII-0031-5, (transcription in appendix no. 3)

\textsuperscript{81} Lovell's Montreal Directory, John Lovell & Son, Montreal:1875-1907 (appendix n. 16).

\textsuperscript{82} A.U.T.R., document (unnumbered), Fonds L. Capello (appendix n. 7).
Je vous prie par conséquence, ma Bonne Mère, de le faire [sic] savoir [sic], par moyen de quelque religieuse ou religieu, à mon beau père et ma bellemère: (Mr. Pierre Lebrun e Mme. Rosalie-Meunier à St. David-Yamaska) et de prier et faire prier le Sacrécoeur d'accorder à ma pauvre [sic], Marie Louise la même grâce que je vien [sic] d'obtenir...83

Research in Turin revealed that, 'Capello Luigi Giovanni, anni 59, pittore, nato a Torino, figlio di fu Giovanni e fu Catterina Vivalda, celibe, morto a Parigi, XX circondario, via Ritiro 29 il 16 febbraio 1904,'84 but more recent documentation has revealed that Capello died on February 16, 1902. In this archival note of his death, he was listed as a bachelor. Capello lived out his last years in Paris near the Salesian Orphanage on Retrait street and died at n. 29 on February 16, 1902 at 7:00 p.m.. According to his death certificate n. 737 from the Mairie du 20e arrondissement de Paris, no reason for his death was given. Archivist, père J. P. Monnier in a letter dated May 3, 1991 stated that "après recherche dans les cimetières, je n'ai pu trouver tracé de sa sépulture, s'il a été enterré à Paris."85 The Chronique du Patronage St-Pierre of April, 1902 n. 41 announced "M. Louis Capello décédé subitement le 15 Février dans sa 60e année."


The date was not accurate according to the death certificate, (appendix n. 17).

It would seem that he and Marie-Louise parted on good terms in the late 1880's from the concern he expresses in his letter of 1900 (appendix n. 7). Marie-Louise was remarried only in 1906 to his former student/employee Ozias Leduc. Alfred Laliberté wrote, "Il [Leduc] s'était essayé avec une décoration d'église, son associé étant Italien [Capello], et infirme je crois, et marié. La [sic] notre Leduc si timide, d'aspect si sévère, a enlevé la femme de son associé pour la marier après et ils sont encore heureux aujourd'hui."86

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86 Alfred Laliberté, Les artistes de mon temps, Le Boréal, Montréal: p. 78.
CHAPTER II
CAPELLO'S TRAINING IN ITALY

1 - Introduction

In order to understand the influence Capello may have had on Quebec artists that worked with him or observed his work, one has to have a grasp of his artistic and academic background. To state that Capello grew up in an artistically rich country would be an understatement, but one must keep in mind that Northern Italy was unique in many ways. During the latter half of the nineteenth century strong currents of change in the art world's attitudes to art and especially to the interpretation of nature through landscape were reverberating all over Europe. In the Piedmont region where Capello trained, specifically at the Accademia Albertina, two prominent artists, Enrico Gamba and Andrea Gastaldi were his teachers of drawing and painting.87

2 - The academic system at the Accademia Albertina

From the middle of the seventeenth century, the impulse to create art institutions in Italy grew out of a desire to limit the number of Court painters and then only secondly, to elevate the status of the artist. It was specifically the

87 For a detailed survey of the Piedmontese artistic tradition of the nineteenth century refer to appendix. n. 10.
abuses of the Masters, intent on confirming their power and fame, that led to the new establishments. A more independent system of education based on a need for the knowledge of techniques necessary for a career in the arts, spurred the creation of academies. This movement away from single Master's 'bottega' in Northern Italy started in Turin in c. 1678 with the creation of the Accademia di Torino. Academic training evolved over the centuries including the nineteenth century.

Capello would have been subject to a typical curriculum of the day not unlike the one in Rome, or Paris of the day. The formal structure contained the theoretical foundation of the arts, which originated in Italy, and which was adapted in Spain and France. The heart of the curriculum was the stress placed on drawing instruction. In Italy the study of the nude was only permitted at the academy. Two unequivocal principles applied: the study of the antique and a circumspect selection of nature. The live drawing course was considered crucial and was the monopoly of the Academy. This dictum was present up to the last decade of the nineteenth century and was intended to control style, by the control of instruction. The separation of the student's instruction into the practical and the theoretical remained in effect well into the 1860's. One cannot over estimate, as well, the

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88 For a detailed look at the history of the Accademia Albertina refer to appendix n. 11.
influence of the Court on the representative style that the Academy taught based on the taste of its patron. Decentralization in Italian academies came only after Unification when power changed from the monarchy to the State.

Pupils were divided into three levels, denoting their years at the academy and their level of achievement. Through a series of competitions, pupils were able to move from the title of student, to associate, to academician. Very few students would be granted the latter title. The academicians looked to former academicians for the recruitment of teachers for various faculties. The faculties were headed by one particular professor under the authority of the Director General. The Accademia codified its regulations and published them every year with new amendments. The Accademia's curriculum was in the hands of the Director who in turn was appointed by the king until June 26, 1860. As the regulations of the Accademia, written by Director di Breme of 1857 will attest (appendix n. 14), a very traditional curriculum was 'de rigueur', i.e. with heavy emphasis on classical forms and traditional methods.

89 Albert Boime, op cit., on p. 4, describes an identical system at the Academy of Paris.

90 Appendix n. 14, summarizes the regulations as written by Director di Breme for the academic years of 1857-1858. Although Luigi Capello only entered the Accademia in 1860 (at the age of seventeen) it is more than likely that the school regulations had changed very little.
Eventually spontaneity and pictorial expressiveness and the influences of Fontanesi and the school of painting based on a romantic observation of nature dominated Piedmontese art. Teachers such as Gastaldi and Gamba represented the more traditional base of instruction, concentrating on studies of art from antiquity and grandiose historical paintings. Running parallel to the exhibitions and contests of students' works, was the annual exposition, open to the public, offered by the Società Promotrice di Belle Arti of Torino. Luigi Capello gained recognition with both while attending the Accademia. He was the recipient of numerous prizes for work in a variety of media, and exhibited to the general public of Torino with the Promotrice.91

Even from a cursory examination of the curriculum, it is evident the mid-nineteenth century values associated with the arts borrowed heavily from antiquity with little real innovation. The Accademia adopted and supported an ideology by affirming and reaffirming the norms of traditional authority throughout the nineteenth century. When Luigi Capello arrived in Canada in 1875 he brought with him these values which neatly fit the expectations of his equally traditional patrons (primarily members of the Catholic Church). Artists who wished to experiment like Fontanesi

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91 Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino—Catalogo degli oggetti d'arte; 1868, 1869, 1870.
eventually left their posts at the Accademia. In France some of the 'artistes marginaux' would circumvent this dilemma by exhibiting art which answered both independent and Academic criteria as the commission suited them. Economic patronage and public recognition being the goals of most artists, the majority adhered to the academic style.

A more detailed analysis of the curriculum at the Accademia might be helpful to understand the background that formed Luigi Capello's formation. At its most elementary level the Accademia stressed basic instruction in drawing. Students accepted at the School of Drawing were required to attend in equal measure the Schools of Architectural Principles and Perspective. If this requirement was not met, admission to the schools of Painting, Sculpture and Etching was denied.

Instruction consisted of drawing after the cast and the live model, with lessons in anatomy and perspective also provided. Academic art represented the typical product of an

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92 Fontanesi left the Accademia in 1873. Refer to appendix n. 10 for a detailed discussion of the importance of Fontanesi.


art school: an art planned around the gradual mastering of the human form, considered the basis of placing all objects in a visual environment. During the nineteenth century, however, the term 'academic' implied a philosophical rationale and attached itself to a special way of drawing the live model. Stereotypical poses of the model considered noble and classic were labelled 'academic', i.e., they resembled statuary from ancient Greece and Rome (figs. 17 & 18). Eventually these poses became so recognizable that they became banal. They also indicated to what extent the students of the Academy had to adhere to the rigid and tedious manner deemed necessary to prepare them for an artistic career. The principle of this teaching was to proceed from the part to the whole, by grouping elements into an ensemble of the stereotypical pose. In any case, this elementary instruction had a single aim: to assist the pupil in reproducing the model before him. Once grounded in the basic technique, the pupil's vision was established; only with difficulty was it modified thereafter.

At the highest level, the Accademia's curriculum assumed a complex form in a series of annual and triennial competitions. Students registered in the School of Painting and Sculpture were required by school regulations to participate in these contests, being excused only for reasons
of illness, or legitimate and necessary absence. 95 Unlike the French Academy 96 in Paris, the Accademia in Turin did not require specific topics for competitions i.e., historical painting from antiquity or religious subjects (except for one category in the painting competition). Nonetheless the final result was the same; less inspired than an imagined creation. The final 'academic look' was visible in the sober application of color confined within the linear creating tones, employed to reinforce the linear design rather than detract from it with a sensuous textural appeal. Interlinked with this conservative handling of color was the Accademia's doctrine of the finished look, i.e., the smoothness of the pictorial surface.

Yet another level of instruction was provided by visiting other academies such as San Luca in Rome or the Académie de Paris. The abundance of antique models in Rome, and the great treasures of classical art on which it was based, gave a Piedmontese artist the experience of sketching outdoors and in a variety of museums. It was customary for artists to carry a sketch pad and to amass a portfolio of drawings. We can assume that Luigi Capello would have arrived in Canada with just such a portfolio both to show his capabilities and to adapt his array of sketches to his newly

95 A.A.A.T., Regolamenti [...] 1857, appendix n. 13, article 6, p. 6.

96 A. Boime, op. cit., p. 19.
acquired commissions.

Although after the 1850's tastes in art were changing rapidly, especially with the advent of discussions about nature in its romantic and realistic form (appendix n. 10), the academies all over Europe clung to a conservative tradition. Art students had few alternatives for training available except perhaps to work together and form their own 'atelier' based on commonly held principles.

3 - The curricula of drawing and painting at the Accademia (1860-1870)

Admission to the Accademia di Torino was based on a number of criteria. Firstly, the candidate had to be at least twelve years old (amended to fourteen only in 1888). Within days of arrival and prior to full acceptance, the Professor of Drawing would administer an exam under the direction of the 'Consiglio Accademico' (Academic Council). After a three-year period in the School of Drawing, students who had shown no progress were asked not to register again. That is to say they were barred from entering the School of Painting or Sculpture. Any student from outside the Accademia also had to pass an inspection of his work. This was submitted to the School that he wished to join and he was admitted or refused entry on that basis.

97 The Academic Council was made up of professors from all the art faculties i.e. 'schools' and participation was compulsory upon the Director General's request.
Since drawing instruction was the primary consideration for the Accademia, the professors of drawing were preoccupied with their pupils' ability to make a sketch from a live model. According to the student's ability, instruction was divided into copying engravings and plaster casts of individual parts of the body for those with the least mastered skills, and drawing real models for the more gifted. Engraved, and sometimes lithographed images were sharply delineated with accentuated contours and easier to shade than live-models. Shaded areas were composed of individual lines and cross-hatching which facilitated the student's grasp of the illustration (fig. 19). As every line of the model was clearly visible, a student was able to reproduce the entire engraving meticulously. It was a slow and tedious process required of students at the Accademia. Implied in this work was the centuries-old guild system of education which demanded years of commitment to the virtues of labour and industry. At the same time, students that successfully endured, were rewarded with recognition in the form of prizes and commissions as well as a display of their work in the honour gallery of the Accademia. Upon demonstrating a certain facility with basic drawing, at the professor's discretion, the student was told to practise copying complicated shaded models. This forced him to develop a more careful and tighter technique (fig. 20). Drawing models usually consisted of two types: those exhibiting only
contours and those combining contours with shaded areas (fig. 21). Having mastered the rudimentary models, the student then proceeded to perfecting the uses of cross-hatching (fig. 22). The alternate technique to cross-hatching was the use of a small cylindrically-shaped roll of paper, pointed at one end and smudged with a pencil or charcoal (fig. 23).

The copying of engravings\(^{98}\) was an Italian tradition especially dominant during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The academic system encouraged concentration on the reproduction of the object rather than on its pictorial possibilities. The impact of the Romantics discussed in appendix n. 10 and their reliance more on the spontaneous qualities of the newly developing techniques in lithography of the second half of the nineteenth century, led to a greater appreciation of a more 'naturalistic' approach to art. Eventually the improvised sketch 'en plein air' replaced the academic model.

At the Accademia, a systematic approach to learning the features of the face progressing from the eyes, to the nose, and then to the lips. A combination of the three, was

followed by a profile and front view. A sequence of chin studies, a second series of ear models and a third series combining all of the above features, culminated with the model of the head. This form of rough sketch was then rendered into a finished work. Having mastered copying from engravings, the student then proceeded to copying plaster casts which were also arranged in a sequence like the drawing models. Some of these have survived at the Accademia (figs. 17 & 18). The drawing after plastic casts had to be mastered before a student was admitted to the School of the Nude (Scuolà serale del Nudo). Copying the cast was an exercise principally designed to heighten the student's awareness of the effects of light and shade. It was the distribution of light and shade on the plaster that determined the modelling. The cast presented fewer difficulties than the live model because of its immobility and constant effects of light. Studies of the cast represented to the Accademia its link to the antique part of the School's training. Every academy of the day had a collection of famous copies (appendix n. 15). Even contests at the Accademia (appendix n. 13) showed the importance given to both drawings after an antique copy and that of the live model (figs. 20 & 34). A successful drawing showed an understanding of the dramatic effect in terms of light and dark values. The revolution that occurred in nineteenth-century art can be summarized by its simplification of the
light and dark masses in favour of the effect. "Through the elimination of unwanted 'demi-teintes' a sharper effect was realized. [...] This problem also arose in painting from plaster cast."  

A student that was assigned a place before a live model was one that had understood the basics of drawing to his professor's satisfaction. Confronted with a live model, the inexperienced artist had to overcome technical and psychological barriers. The unity of tone and the immobility of the cast were no longer a given. The presence of a nude figure was also an adjustment. Students practised a series of quick poses where only the line and mass were summarized. Eventually details were added. One has to remember that pupils accustomed to copying fragmented elements would not have learned the concept of the ensemble easily. Drawing from the live model was meant to reinforce the concept of the ensemble, unlike the preliminary drawing classes from plaster casts that had stressed the individual parts of the body.

The materials used in drawing classes were not extremely varied, they were basically the pencil and charcoal. The pencil was the preferred instrument because it forced a tight

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and controlled execution (fig. 24) but charcoal became more popular after the 1860's as it permitted a freer and prompter rendering of the live model. Students were expected, upon seeing imperfections in the live model, to show their knowledge of classical proportions and "correct" their drawing. Correction meant perfection, in academic painting. To draw a nude as observed with imperfections was regarded as showing a lack of understanding of classical works and rejecting the accepted academic style i.e., its concept of correction.

Painting was taught only after the pupil demonstrated a thorough understanding of the academic drawing style. This was a common prerequisite in all academies of the day. After a brief familiarization with the tools as required in the outline of the curriculum, the professor would usually assign as a first lesson, the copy of a head (fig. 25) usually painted by him. The next step would be the study of the head on a live model. Students would go about imitating the sequences demonstrated by the professor based on his own methods. To a great extent Luigi Capello's mastery of painting as evident in his works represented an assimilation

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of his professor Gastaldi's techniques, but they were not matched in talent. The usual technique was to instruct students in the employment of a limited range of colors, composed mainly of earth pigments. The typical palette for a head consisted of silver white, Naples yellow, yellow ochre, ivory, black and Prussian blue. The solidity was emphasized by these earth colors. Having mastered the underpainting, areas of light and dark were roughly laid down. The half-tones learned in drawing class were now applied with greater skill and finesse. Models usually changed every week, so few students received the time necessary to work a finished product. Mastery of technical procedures dominated the classes.

At the heart of the academic curriculum at the Accademia was the significance given to the copy. Its intention was to develop the student's understanding of the techniques of the Old Masters and their compositions. Copying was considered indispensable to developing the imagination.

Courses at the Accademia began at eight a.m. and lasted until eleven a.m. for the Architecture and Perspective faculty in the winter. During the rest of the year classes

102 R. Maggio-Serra, Andrea Gastaldi (1826-1889), op. cit., chpt. XI, pp. 81-5. Note the similarity between Gastaldi's Atala of 1862, (fig. 26) and Luigi Capello, Mort de Saint-Paul l'Ermite of 1875 (fig. 27).

103 If one takes St. Alexandre de Kamouraska (fig. 28) by Capello and compares it to La caduta di Simon Mago (fig. 19) by Gastaldi it is evident who was the more accomplished painter.
began at eleven a.m. and ended at two p.m. The Schools of Painting and Sculpture began classes in the winter at nine a.m. finishing at three p.m. (seven a.m. until two p.m. the rest of the year). Nude studies were regularly scheduled at the Accademia from six thirty p.m. until nine p.m. Copying was an integral part of every student's programme in each of the Schools and most of the day was spent in this activity. There was also the underlying commercial advantage that literal replicas could bring to the student. Official copy commissions could be pointed auspiciously towards a particularly gifted pupil through an entente with his professor. The Accademia did not acknowledge the practice. Neither did it forbid it.

4 - The library at the Accademia

The collection of books contained at the Accademia Albertina during the nineteenth century is indicative of the basic materials needed for consultation in any classical academic curriculum. Numerous lists of the holdings of the library were compiled over the years including one in the appendices of Franca Dalmasso et al. The most recent revision was underway during my visit to the Accademia in June 1989.

A cursory glance at the Accademia's collection which would have existed during Capello's years at the school

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(1860-1866?) shows a collection of language dictionaries such as *Dizionario italiano e francese dell'abate Francesco Alberti di Villanova* edited by G. Floteront in Nice in 1778, encyclopedias on costumes from the Middle Ages and antiquity by Robert de Spallart, published in Metz in 1804 and a host of books on architectural principles and famous architects such as Alberti, Vignola, Guarini, etc. Albums of engravings picturing views of Rome, Venice and Greece were also available. Manuals on perspective, statuary and the decorative arts including embroidery and tapestry existed in the library. Although no direct record exists of what Capello may have studied specifically at the Accademia in the department of Decorative Arts, one can speculate that given the work he undertook at the Collège de l'Assomption i.e., the theater curtain and the establishment of a tapestry school, it would preclude a grounding in these fields.

Books and treatises of the Accademia's teachers such as Biscarra and Gilli as well as artists such as Bagetti, Ady, Spalla and others examined in the chapter on nineteenth-century Piedmontese traditions were included in the library. Appendix n. 12 highlights the variety of books from various European countries that found their way into the holdings of the Accademia. Some volumes date from as early as the seventeenth century.

Reference books were available for the consultation of students in the field of painting. Many were anthologies of
Italian and other artistic traditions. In addition to the most renowned painters such as Leonardo, Raphael and Rembrandt, an attempt was also made to collect treatises on the philosophy of painting of German, French and English authors. Fresco-painting technique manuals demonstrate the close links between the many aspects of painting taught at the Accademia. Capello came to Canada in 1875 fully versed in the methods of executing religious and decorative frescoes. One can only conclude that he acquired these skills at the Accademia. To live in Italy was to be among some of the world's largest assemblies of all art styles. The books at the Accademia, such as Joachim de Sandrart's comprehensive texts on decorative programs for churches and homes, as well as specific texts on fresco technique, were available to students, including Capello.

5 - The Gallery of the Accademia

Included with a sizeable collection of lithographic reproductions the school also possessed an array of art works, an abridged list of which appears in appendix n. 15. Under the direction of King Carlo-Alberto, the Galleria acquired most of its paintings, plaster casts, statues and precious metals collections in 1832. Many treasures from the royal palaces such as the Palazzo Madama and other royal residences (discussed in appendix n. 11) were donated to the Accademia. Among the most notable benefactors and donors was
the Archbishop Marchese Vincenzo Maria Mossi di Morano, whose entire artistic collection was decreed in his will to the Accademia.

The holdings of the Galleria included a cross section of traditions in European art. Among the earliest works was I dotori della Chiesa Ambrogio e Gregorio c. 1450 by Filippo Lippi (fig. 30), as well as other artists of the Italian Renaissance such as Giovanni Martino Spanzotti (1480-1526), and Domenico Puligo (1492-1527). Also included in the Galleria's collection were works by Northern Renaissance painters such as Heemskerk, Jordaens, Haeke and Nicasuis. The majority of subjects dealt with religious topics and although the Galleria did not contain a large number of works by renowned artists, it had representational minor artists that reflected the major trends. Among its treasures were the Lippi, a Pietà by Crespi, La Madonna di Loreto, attributed to Raphael, two drawings by del Lagneau (at first attributed to Van Dyck), a cartouche of Sta. Anna attributed to Leonardo, La Vergine col Bambino adorato da un Vescovo, by Filippo Veronese and the Il Cristo della Moneta by Paolo Veronese. The Baroque period included paintings by Caravaggio and his school. A copy existed of Pontormo's Sacra Famiglia con S. Giovannino. The largest collection of works by a single artist was by Gaudenzio Ferrari (1471-1546) whose works dealt primarily with religious subjects. Other works of interest were two landscapes by Salvatore Rosa.
Gugliemo Caccia's (also known as Moncalvo) L'Arcangelo Michele caccia i demoni all'inferno c. 1615 (fig. 31) was also in the collection. 105

The Annunciazione (fig. 32) by Andrea Casalis (1705-1784) is indicative of the classical human features that Capello imitated as well in his paintings such as the Sacre-Coeur devant Sainte-Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (fig. 33). Among the prized possessions of the Galleria was the Nudo accademico from the atelier of Louis David (fig. 34) as well as paintings by Piedmontese artists of renown such as Giuseppe Pietro Bagetti (fig. 35) and Antonio Fontanesi (fig. 36).

The art gallery of the Accademia also contained an important collection of drawings of Ferrari dating to the fifteenth century, Bernardino Lanino's (1512-1583) copies of Leonardo's drawings of Madonna con il Bambino e Sant'Anna and Giuseppe Giovenone il Giovane's (1524-1608) cartouche of San Michele Arcangelo c. 1560 (fig. 37). Other aspects of the Galleria's collection were architectural drawings, decorative drawings such as Arienti's relief sketches in sepia and chalk (fig. 38), Albertolli's lithographic drawings (fig. 39), and various manuals for the teaching of human and animal physiognomy such as the one reprinted by E. Malnate (fig. 40)

105 Given that students at the Accademia were required to sketch in the Galleria, could Capello have seen and copied this painting? Would he perhaps have had this work in mind when composing the fresco for the cupola at Yamachiche in c. 1879?
The Accademia Albertina was by no means comparable in size or importance to the Academies of Florence or Rome, but it did train students in the basics of academic traditions through instruction, practicum and copying of the Masters. The academy used the materials available in its own art gallery and library. Students such as Capello, who wanted to continue their formal education could study further at academies in Rome and Paris knowing that they had perfected the basics required of all similarly trained artists. It was this formation that Capello brought to Montreal in 1875, a tradition which had no academic equivalent for Quebecois students of the day.

6 - Capello's teachers, contemporaries and his achievements at the Accademia

When Capello entered the Accademia in 1860 at the age of seventeen, the reforms of 1855 initiated by King Vittorio Emmanuele II (appendix n. 11). Di Breme was appointed as Director General that same year and

106 See biography of Capello (appendix n. 4a) where he corrected Mère Marguerite-Marie concerning his age upon admission to the Accademia.

107 Ferdinando di Breme (Milano 1807-Florence 1869), watercolorist, amateur painter and student of Natural Science, fig. 41. During a stay in Paris (1837-48) amassed a collection of entomological samples which he donated to the Accademia delle Scienze in Torino. His reputation in the field was so reknown that he was nominated to the post of president of the Entomological Society of France. He became Director General at the Accademia in 1855 and President in 1866 (a post he held until his death).
under his leadership, restructuring took place in the courses\textsuperscript{108} and in the all important competitions (appendix n. 13). The students of the Accademia also had another bonus with di Breme's appointment, his connection to the Società Promotrice.\textsuperscript{109} He had been president of the society since 1851.

The professors at the Accademia in 1860 were Cav.\textsuperscript{110} Arienti,\textsuperscript{111} Cav. Gaetano Ferri,\textsuperscript{112} Cav. Enrico Gamba, Comm.

\textsuperscript{108} "...nella direzione dell'Accademia esercitò un ampia e profonda azione riformatrice sia nella ristrutturazione dei corsi sia scegliendo [choose] come docenti giovani artisti venuti alla ribalta [upset] attraverso le esposizioni internazionale e nazionali e rispondenti con la tematica della loro opere alle aspirazioni unitari della politica sabauda." F. Dalmazzo, P. Gaglia, F. Poli, op cit., p. 40.

\textsuperscript{109} The Società Promotrice di Belle Arti di Torino was the directed members of the aristocracy who were interested in art, and often practised it professionally. It had both an academic and university ambience with the semi-official support of the Court. Its goal was to stimulate a praise worthy works of artists, to promote their reputations in the art world and to help establish a market for art. Annual exhibitions were organized for this purpose.

\textsuperscript{110} Cav. is an abbreviation of 'cavalieri' i.e., the person had served in the military. Sig. meant Signor.

\textsuperscript{111} Carlo Arienti (Arcore Brianza 1801-Bologna 1873) Orderly to Roberto d'Azeglio, artistic counsel to King Carlo Alberto. He painted the ceiling of the School of Painting at the Albertina c. 1843. His painting style embodied the Torinese preference for the romantic drawn from literature. It had a marked influence on the new generation of artists, particularly Gampa, Giuliano and Gastaldi. See fig. 38.

\textsuperscript{112} One of the first students to embrace di Breme's reforms was Gaetano Ferri (Bologna 1822-Oneglia 1896) (fig. 25) who's visit to the Academy of Nice, had resulted in his befriending Paul Delaroche. His works were regarded as a combination of Caravaggio and Greuze. In 1858 he was asked to teach at the Promotrice and is remembered for his
Vela, Prof. Bernasconi, Prof. Simonetta, Sig. Tamone, Sig. Giuliano, Sig. Declos, Cav. Marchini 'Professore Accademico', Domenico and Ferri (architetto, decoratore e pittore di Palazzi Reali).

In the first year of Capello's studies at the Accademia (1860), the school competitions show that he did not participate. A fellow student, Alberto Gilli,\(^{113}\) received honorable mention for painting.\(^{114}\) The importance of Gilli in relation to Capello is their mutual ties to two professors at the Accademia; Enrico Gamba and Andrea Gastaldi. Gilli eventually replaced Gamba as Professor of Drawing at the Accademia in 1888.\(^{115}\) He also took painting classes with Andrea Gastaldi and became his assistant from 1865-1873. There is no doubt that Capello would have been aware of Gilli's talents. Gilli became renowned both in Northern Italy and in Paris for his 'scrupolosa esattezza' as well as costume and decoration (fig. 42), an influence traced to restoration of the frescoes at the Castello de Valentino in Turin and his large commission depicting the Marriage of Adelaide di Susa for the Salon at the Palazzo Reale (Turin). Capello would have been familiar with Ferri as one of the teachers of Painting at the Accademia.

\(^{113}\) Alberto Gilli (Chieri 1840-Calvi 1894) painter and etcher/engraver, was most concerned with decorative art and art applied to industry. For more information on A. Gilli see A. Stella, Pittura e Scultura in Piemonte (1842-1891), Paravia, Torino: 1893, p. 348.

\(^{114}\) A.A.A.T., Lavori Venuti a Concorso nelle Scuole delle R. Accademia di Belle Arti nel 1860, op. cit., p. 28.

\(^{115}\) A. Stella, op. cit., p. 348.
Gamba's meticulous attention to historical fact. Alberto Gilli was particularly interested in the Nazarene movement revered German paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{116}

Professor Enrico Gamba had been a student at the Accademia himself, having gained entry into the art world through his brother Francesco, a landscape artist (1818-87). His studies upon leaving the Accademia included working under Meno in Frankfurt at the Stadelsche Kunst Institute and while in Germany he became influenced by the Nazarene-painter Steinle's rigorous drawing techniques. Gamba also befriended the English painter Frederick Leighton while on a visit to London and together they set up a studio first in Venice then in Rome. Gamba gained recognition for a portrait dated 1852 of Santa Teresa which was exhibited at the Società Promotrice in 1854 and purchased by the Queen Mother. In 1855 Gamba exhibited his masterpiece I funerali di Tiziano (fig. 43) at the Brera in Milan and at the Società Promotrice in Turin in 1856. The painting was acquired by the King that same year.\textsuperscript{117} The subject of the painting was the funeral cortege

\textsuperscript{116} This movement was already popular with Napoléon Bourassa and Edouard Meloche in Quebec. Gilli was responsible for a revival of medievalism in Piedmont. One wonders if Capello would have taken a more radical approach had he remained in Italy and not emigrated to the conservative, more provincial Quebec.

\textsuperscript{117} For a detailed description of this painting and other works of Enrico Gamba see Catalogue Cultura figurativa e architettonica negli Stati dei Re di Sardegna 1773-1861, vol. I, p. 688.
of Venice's famous artist Tiziano proceeded by gondolas along the Grand Canal. Gamba drew on his knowledge of Venetian architecture of the fourteenth century and included over fifty people in the painting with the focus on the gondolier. Studies done for this painting (figs. 22 & 44) as well as the oil canvas itself are now in the Museo Civico di Torino. The drawings by Gamba attest to his talent and the skills he would have taught his students at the Accademia such as Capello, Gilli and others. Gamba was also a fine painter and his landscapes such as Perie Finte are considered by some art historians as "a composition of those elements extracted from nature which render it spontaneous."\(^{118}\)

The painting I funerali di Tiziano and its popularity gained the attention of di Breme who convinced Gamba to join the teaching staff of the Accademia. In 1861 Gamba again was recognized as one of four teachers that were awarded prizes at the Società Promotrice. His painting Il voto d'annessione nell'Abruzzo (fig. 4) won the di Breme prize and was acquired by the Prince of Piedmont for 3,000 lire.\(^{119}\) The subject of the painting was a historical event in Italy's unification, the 'Risorgimento'. Towards the end of his career Gamba worked on the restoration of the frescoes at the Palazzo

\(^{118}\) Article by F. S. Doda in the Gazzetta Piemontese, 1855, n. 185, p. 284.

Reale and Palazzo della Cisterna in Torino. Given Gamba's academic artistic formation, his travels and the popularity of his work, some influence of his teachings must have been conveyed to Capello.

In 1860 Carlo Felice Biscarra\textsuperscript{120}, son of the ex-Director of the Accademia, Giovanni Battista Biscarra\textsuperscript{121} was appointed Secretary of the Accademia. He said of di Breme's accademic changes,

\begin{quote}
Posto per base il rendere l'insegnamento artistico più libero ed efficace (attraverso) l'emulazione, [il di Breme] stabiliva unità di principi e varieta nella loro applicazione unita de principi e varieta nella loro applicazione, unificando l'instruzione, elementare e procurando duplice l'insegnamento superiore all'oggetto di ripristinare in certo qual modo [...] l'esempio delle antiche scuole italiane e stimolare col mezzo del paragone e con nobili gare gli studiosi.\textsuperscript{122}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{120} Carlo Felice Biscarra (Torino 1825-94) After a successful exposition of four of his paintings at the Promotrice in 1850, and the purchase of Cola di Pienzo, by the king, he left for London, Belgium and Paris. Influenced by the pre-Raphaelite movement.

\textsuperscript{121} Giovanni Battista Biscarra (Nizza 1790-Torino 1851), was very influential in the restructuring of the Accademia in 1824 as its Director. He was appointed by King Carlo Felice and led the acquisition for the collection of Egyptian artifacts from Bernadino Drovetnel. He was instrumental in the opening of the Egyptian Museum of Turin, one of the largest collection of Egyptian artifacts after the Museum in Cairo. Biscarra was instrumental in establishing lithography as a relatively inexpensive form of illustration. He worked in partnership with Francesco Gonin (Torino 1808-1889) who did the drawings that he etched. Originals by G. B. Biscarra and F. Gonin can be viewed today in the 'Archivio dell'Accademia Albertina' in Turin.

\textsuperscript{122} P. Venturoli, Dizionario biografico degli italiani, vol. 10, Roma: 1968, p. 792.
Another of C. F. Biscarra's contribution to the Accademia in 1861 was an emphasis on updating and completing the holdings of the library. Some of the texts were mentioned in a speech he gave that year on the occasion of the awarding of the Accademia's prizes. Among the additions were treatises on the industrial arts, a lithographic collection of the works of Raphael and Rubens, and the treatise on architecture by L. Reynaud with drawings.

In 1860, Andrea Gastaldi was asked by Biscarra to join the faculty of Painting. The following year Gastaldi was mentioned in relation to Alberto Gilli, his prize student and recipient of two medals. Andrea Gastaldi (1826-1889) began his formation in Turin in an artistic family in a city of art. His academic instruction began at the Accademia Albertina in the 1840's under Giovanni Battista Biscarra who directed the school and supervised the nude drawing classes. Alessandro Antonelli taught architecture and perspective and under the direction of Pelagio Palagi who headed the Department of Design, Gastaldi was enlisted to help with renovation projects at the royal residence of Carlo-Alberto. Students such as Gastaldi were encouraged by the King to gain practical knowledge of their craft. Carlo-Alberto's insistence on elevating the Accademia to cultural prestige

opened the doors for young artists like Gastaldi. Francesco Gonin,\textsuperscript{124} a contemporary of Gastaldi, worked on the frescoes of the Teatro Carignano in 1845 and the Church of Sacra Santa Trinità. In 1848 Gonin frescoed a large part of the ceiling of the Camera dei Deputati, in the Palazzo Carignano, which showed the Reunification of Italy. Gastaldi's artistic formation was enriched by the Regia Pinacoteca, newly opened in 1832 to the public, located at the Palazzo Madama. The holdings of this gallery appeared in the forty plates of the \textit{Disegni Litografici dei Quadri Classici della Galleria di S.S.R.R.M. il Re di Sardegna}. D'Azeglio, an important Piedmontese landscape artist, published a series of etchings depicting paintings from the gallery in \textit{La Reale Galleria di Torino Illustrata}. Students of art such as Gastaldi profited by the acquisitions of the Galleria at the Accademia of Mossi di Morano that contained the sixty preparatory drawings of the Piedmontese school of the Cinquecento donated by Carlo-Alberto in 1832. Gastaldi's own uncle, Giovanni Volpato (Chieri 1797-Torino 1871) was the restorer of the royal collection of prints and himself a collector.

Gastaldi's artistic style evolved over a long career. His visits to Rome, Florence and especially Paris were very influential. In France he was greatly impressed by the romanticism of Delaroche, Couture and Cabanel whose art was

\footnote{\textsuperscript{124} For more information on Francesco Gonin see appendix n. 10.}
extremely popular in the Salons. The emotional impact of these artists, with emphasis on dramatic body movements and sharp contrasts of dark and light areas was at first imitated by Gastaldi. In 1853, *La perdita del primo amore*, (fig. 45) depicted a young girl on her death-bed next to a young man who sits clutching her hand and holding his head in resignation. Both the subject and the composition are very representational of the Romanticism of the first half of the nineteenth century. Another early painting, *Fra Savonarola tratto prigione fra gli insulti dei Compagnacci* of 1856 (fig. 46) is a closely cropped composition with the monk displaying quiet resignation while the crowd around him pull his cloak and jeer. The Caravagesque light centers on his head, illuminating his face and cloak. The people form a dark halo of humanity with clear and carefully drawn heads displaying a variety of facial expressions. Clearly each head was prepared and added to form a collage of unruly humanity. The overall effect is a contrived, stage-like tableau frozen in time, artificial by today's tastes. Gastaldi synthesized the academic studies of human anatomy, mastered the effects of light and displayed the perfection resulting from years of drawing and redrawing folds and drapery. His *Pietro Micca* (1858) (fig. 47), gained him public recognition at the Salon in Paris.\(^\text{125}\) For Pietro

\(^{125}\) It is at this time that Gastaldi resided at 33, Rue de l'Est, Paris.
Micca, the Accademia Albertina awarded him a prize and the painting was purchased by the City of Turin. The painting depicts the most dramatic moment before the hero commits suicide 'for God and Country'. His eyes look up to heaven as though for reassurance, with a face lit by a burning torch. The tone is one of restrain and calm.

In a monograph on Andrea Gastaldi, Rosanna Maggio-Serra gives a detailed account of the painter's career in Paris and in Turin. Gastaldi's style was definitely influenced by both a romanticism and a classic hedonism disguised as classical subjects reminiscent of Bouguereau. He possessed a fine mastery of portraiture (fig. 48) and landscape techniques (fig. 49) and was an accomplished fresco painter as well. There is no question that Capello would have benefitted from his association with this master.

Both Gamba and Gastaldi were at the Accademia when Capello arrived and they were specifically mentioned in Capello's biography (appendix n. 4). In the 'Concorsi Annuali nel 1862', only two years after starting classes, Capello was given honorable mention, in 'ornato' (design) the competition demanded "disegno della

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stampa, origini del capitello corintio dell'Albertolli."128 The other honorable mention earned by Capello was in the category of Disegno di Figura, "dalla stampa, dietro esame dei lavori annuali."129 This was an example of the importance given to the copy as discussed previously (chpt. II, sec. 3) and the progression a student passed through in the acquisition of the principles of drawing. The School of Ornamental Design divided subjects into two distinct groups. "The first will comprise the theoretical study of various types of ornamental design [hence the copy after Albertolli] (fig. 39) - classified according to the different epoch of art, so as to avoid the confusion of styles [Albertolli's was a Corinthian capital]. The second group will be taught the drawing techniques in ornamentation related to the embellishment of any object."130

The contest rules changed very little from year to year; a) major tri-annual and minor annual awards were awarded, b) prizes were determined by contests open to all students of


129 Giudizi delle Commissioni [...] nel 1862, p. 13, "menzione onorevole...Capello Luigi."

the school, c) decisions were rendered by the 'Commissione Accademia' which was appointed yearly by the President of the school, and d) minor prizes consisted of an award or recognition.  

In the scholastic annual contest of 1863, Luigi Capello again won an honorable mention in the category of 'ornato' for "disegno dal rilievo, gruppi di vasi di vario stile 1600." There was no mention of Capello winning any awards in 1864 but in 1865 he was recorded in the booklet announcing the annually awarded prizes as being among the "promossi ai corsi superiori." His name was spelled as "Cappello, Luigi", again a few lines down under the category of 'Saggi Fuori Concorso menzionati con distinzione', "Capello Luigi" is listed.

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131 Ibid, art. 83, art. 84, art. 85 and art. 88.

132 A.A.A.T., Giudizii delle Commissioni dei Concorsi Annuali [...] nel 1863, "menzione onorevole ... Capello Luigi." p. 34.

133 A.A.A.T., Risultato dei Giudizii delle Commissioni sui Concorsi Annuali nel 1865, p. 51.

134 Ibid., p. 51.

135 Other competition categories that year were; Elementi di architettura; soggetto - intercolonio ionico, ecc. Prospettiva; soggetto - ampio [ample] cortile [courtyard] con porticato, ecc. Saggi Annuali fuori concorso Plastica Ornamentale; 1a classe - soggetto - Copia dal rilievo 2a classe - Copia della stampa 3a classe - decorazione d'una porta per salone (stile del settecento)
Competitions of 1865 there are a few changes; in 'Elementi d'Architettura' a 'intercolonio dorico con arco' was the subject, in 'Prospettiva,' 'volte sotterranee che servano di carcere,' 'Ornato,' the subjects are the same except for the '3a classe' which required 'una finestra interna ornata con veduta del balcone (stile 1600). It was obviously the

Ornato;
la classe - soggetto: disegno dalla stampa
2a classe - disegno dal rilievo, gruppi di vasi di vario stile
3a classe - invenzione: un portafiori (epoca del seicento)

Disegno di Figura;
la classe - dalla stampa, dietro esame dei lavori annuali
2a classe - frammento disegnato dal vero
3a classe - disegno dalla statua

Scultura;
la classe - Copia dal vero
2a classe - nudo dal vero (basso rilievo)
3a classe - la sepoltura di Gesu Cristo
4a classe - testa d'espressione dal vero
5a classe - statua dal vero rappresentante Geremia sulle rovine di Gerusalemme

Pittura (Scuola di Prof. Ferri);
la classe - accademia disegnata dal vero
2a classe - accademia dipinta dal vero
3a classe - La morte di Sara (Sacra Bibbia, cap. 17 al 24)

Pittura (Scuola di Prof. Gastaldi)
la classe - accademia disegnata dal vero
2a classe - accademia dipinta dal vero
3a classe - Il Rimorso (dalle poesie di Berchet)

Pittura (scuole riunite)
la concorso: testa d'espressione
2a concorso: figura nuda rappresentante Sordello (Dante, Divina Commedia)
intention of the Commissione to vary the architectural period to test the familiarity of the students with the different periods. In the 'Disegno di Figura' category, drawing from a fragment after gesso models was added.

By 1866 Capello was still attending the Accademia where Gamba and Gastaldi were still on the faculty. That year Capello won second prize (a copper medal) for "1ª classe-accademia disegnata dal vero." This was the last entry with Capello's name at the academy; however, in 1868 he exhibited at the Società Promotrice. Two miniature paintings of Il Principe Umberto, and La Principessa Margherita were listed in the catalogue for 40 lire each. 136 It is hard to trace Capello's life in Turin at the time but he obviously was trying to make a career with art because in 1869 he exhibited at the Società Promotrice a painting entitled Dopo la caccia, valued at 200 lire by the artist. 137 The last entry for Capello at the Promotrice was the following year, 1870 when he exhibited "studio dal vero" 138 for 30 lire and "Conseguenza dei natali" 139 at 100 lire.

136 Società Promotrice delle Belli Arti in Torino-Catalogo degli oggetti d’arte - alla XXVII esposizione del 1868, Torino: 1868, p. 6. The artist's name was spelled Luigi Cappello.


138 Ibid., 1870, p. 1.

139 Ibid., p. 16.
CHAPTER III
AN ANALYSIS OF CAPELLO'S SURVIVING WORKS

1 - Introduction

Our understanding of Capello's talents as a church decorator and painter of religious paintings is limited to a few works of art that have survived. Some of these paintings are in pristine condition; others have been touched up to the point of only bearing Capello's name. Other major works have vanished in fires or have yet to be located. His reputation as a teacher of drawing and theatrical decoration only exists in cursory mention in periodicals of the time. All of this raises the question, why study Capello at all? What was his contribution to Canadian art and how important were his works?

Capello is by no means an artist of great stature in Canadian art history but he is an important part of it. When he arrived in Canada in 1875, native Canadian artists were not receiving the kind of training that had been available to Capello in Northern Italy. Few artists from Quebec had visited Europe and their knowledge of history paintings was limited to prints and reproductions and the Desjardins
paintings which had arrived in Canada in 1817 and 1820.\textsuperscript{140} There were some very notable exceptions to this generalisation such as François Beaucourt (1740-1794),\textsuperscript{141} regarded by some as the first native-born Canadian of European origin to achieve real distinction as an artist. He had travelled from Quebec to France in c. 1763 to study in Paris. François Baillairge (1759-1830)\textsuperscript{142} also studied in Europe as did Antoine S. Plamondon (1804-1895),\textsuperscript{143} Théophile Hamel (1817-1870),\textsuperscript{144} J. A. Eugène Hamel (1845-1932),\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{140} The Desjardins Collection was an ensemble of 180 imported works, twenty of which were from the Italian School brought to Canada in 1817 and again in 1820. See article by Laurier Lacroix, "Les tableaux Desjardins - un héritage fructueux," Cap-aux-Diamants, vol. 5, n. 3, Autumn 1989, pp. 43-46.

\textsuperscript{141} Beaucourt, François [...] elected member of Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Civil and Naval Architecture of Bordeaux. Decorated various churches and monastaries in Bordeaux district. Visited Russia and other parts of Europe. For more information see Harper, 1981, pp. 21-22.


\textsuperscript{143} Plamondon, Antoine Sebastien [...] began to study in Paris July 1826 [...]. For more information see Harper, 1981, p. 252.

\textsuperscript{144} Hamel, Théophile [...] Painter [...] Began study in Rome c. 1842 [...] studied for 8 months at Academy of Saint-Luc. [...] visited Florence, Bologna and Venice. Went to Paris, copied at the Louvre [...] Studied briefly in Antwerp [...]. For more information see Harper, 1981, p. 142.
Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916)\textsuperscript{146} and Charles Huot (1855-1930)\textsuperscript{147}.

Capello on the other hand had grown up in Italy and had been privileged with to have an education at the most renowned art school in Turin. This academy had a very representational holding of Italian, French and Dutch art (appendix n. 15). His teachers were familiar with the current trends in the European art world (chpt. II, sec. 6). Having studied at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome and having passed through Paris on his way to Montreal, Capello was a part of a group of itinerant artists trained in Europe but earning their living in Quebec in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Upon arrival, Capello established himself in Montreal as an "Italian" artist.\textsuperscript{148} Immigrants from old, established countries famous for their long traditions in art, had an exotic appeal over native 'quebecois' artists. These foreign artists were not always looked upon with kindness by Quebec

\textsuperscript{145} Hamel, (Joseph Arthur) Eugène [\ldots] To Europe for further study: in Antwerp\ldots in Rome\ldots, in Florence\ldots in Paris. For more information see Harper, 1981, pp. 141-2.

\textsuperscript{146} Bourassa, Napoléon [\ldots] In Florence 1852-3, Rome 1853-5\ldots studied in France and Italy 1888-9 [\ldots]. For more information see Harper, 1981, p.40.

\textsuperscript{147} Huot, Charles-Edouard-Masson [\ldots] Travelled and worked in France, Germany, Spain and Italy; in Europe principally Paris, for several years [\ldots]. For more information see Harper, 1981, pp. 167-8.

\textsuperscript{148} See footnote 32.
artists, such as Plamondon, who saw them as usurping the role of native artists.

It would not have been unusual for Capello to set up a studio in what today is known as Old Montreal (below St. Jacques St.) among his fellow Italians. Fulfilling the demand for home decorating services such as plastering, stucco work, and mortuary monument design, were the Italian immigrant artists. The lack of adequate training available in the province to Quebec artists created this void, which was filled by Europeans. Capello, however, strove to break out of the immigrant label by opening a tapestry school and accepting French Canadian students and co-workers, of whom Ozias Leduc is the most famous. After a mere five years in Quebec, Capello married Leduc's cousin, Marie-Louise Lebrun, who came from a farming family of St. David in Yamaska County. Capello was also very conscious of the importance the Catholic Church had in granting commissions via a very closed society of village 'curés'. A good recommendation from one priest to another insured a steady flow of work, as discussed in the first chapter. Capello tried his hand at fresco-work, painting both religious and secular subjects, portraiture and theatre design. His reputation even extended into the state of New York where he did at least two major decorative programs, as yet undiscovered. No doubt references acquired from religious orders or clergy in Quebec gave him an introduction to work there. There is even an
unsubstantiated rumor that he travelled to St. Boniface in Manitoba to do a portrait. Perhaps this would have been of a bishop much in the vein of his portraits of Mgr. Laflèche and Pope Pie IX. A landscape entitled *Scene on the Prairies* which has still to be located may provide an indirect confirmation of Capello's travels out West. Between the various studio-made portraits, tableaux d'autels for various parishes, 'in situ' fresco decorations, and his commissions beyond Montreal's artists' district, Capello established himself to a modest degree as an artist of reputation. To be granted a commission for twelve 'fresco secco' wall paintings, for the second gallery at Notre-Dame Cathedral, was a prestigious coup and showed the extent of his reputation. Conversely, perhaps it also speaks of the lack of native artists capable of doing similar work at the time.

Aucun artiste actif au Québec n'a utilisé la technique traditionnelle de la fresque ("buon fresco") mais plutôt celle de la "fresco secco" où le pigment est appliqué sur l'enduit du mur déjà sec. Le marouflage, qui consiste à peindre sur toile puis à encoller la toile sur le mur, deviendra prépondérant à la fin du XIXe siècle, des raisons économiques (l'artiste peut travailler dans son studio à un coût réduit) et pratiques (climat, matériaux accessibles) motivent l'adoption de ce procédé. L'intégration de la cire au pigment permet d'exécuter de grandes surfaces mates imitant le résultat obtenu avec la fresque. 149

There had been notable Italian artists that had worked

149 Laurier, Lacroix "La peinture murale dans les églises du Québec.", Société canadienne d'histoire de l'église catholique, Sessions d'études, 47, 1980, p. 95.
in Quebec in the early part of the nineteenth century such as Angelo Pienovi (1773-1845), J. F. Schinotti (act. 1831-1832) and F. Pedretti (act. 1854-61). As immigrants from Europe they had established their artistic careers on their knowledge of various decorative techniques and skills as painters. Even before Capello's arrival in c. 1875, Italian artists were known and had been granted notable commissions such as the decoration of the Notre-Dame Cathedral of the Sulpician Brothers and the Gesù of the Jesuits. Of note was also the competition that Capello and other Italians would have faced from equally trained German immigrant artists such as Heldt and Lang who had


established themselves in Montreal some ten years prior to Capello's arrival. Edward W. Beuthier\textsuperscript{155} was also active in the manufacture of embroidery as well as painting. William Lamprecht\textsuperscript{156} who decorated the Church of St. Romuald, was also a popular painter in Montreal.

Luigi Capello's work in Canada can be divided into six categories: wall paintings (fresco), church decorations, easel paintings with religious subjects, portraits, easel paintings of secular subjects and theatre decorations.

2 - Wall paintings and church decorations

Of the six commissions granted to Capello for church decorations in 'fresco', only two have survived. Two churches were destroyed by fire and the other two were demolished for urban expansion in Montreal.

Both of Capello's teachers, Gamba and Gastaldi, had

\textsuperscript{154} Lang, (act. 1868) Painter of several works in vault of church of St. Romuald d'Etchemin, P.Q., dated 1868. Born in Germany but in U.S. prior to working in Quebec Province. J. Russell Harper, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 188.


worked in fresco in Turin (chpt. II sec. 6) and books on fresco techniques (appendix n. 12) existed in the Accademia's library. In retrospect one has to conclude that Capello was able to undertake fresco work in Quebec due to previous training most likely acquired at the Accademia in Turin, and perhaps even at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.

Capello's first commission in this medium dates to 1875 at Saint-Hugues near Drummondville, Quebec. The Livre de comptes for that year shows that he painted four 'rosaces' and was paid $14.00.\textsuperscript{157} The works were in the interior of the vault but no records have remained giving a description of the decorative program of this church. From the same Livre de comptes, mention is made of Joseph Laliberté being paid $470.75 for his work on the frieze and columns. Aub. [?] Leblanc was paid $410.50 for "221 madellions [sic]"\textsuperscript{158} and Moïse Berthiaumin was given $130.00 for the frieze and $45.00 for five rosaces. One wonders why each of Capello's rosace were worth five dollars less. Perhaps he was grateful for the work, having just arrived in Canada and not yet having an established reputation. The church of Saint-Hugues burned in 1979. According to the curé Denis Lépine, "dommage, car il s'agissait d'une des plus belles églises de

\textsuperscript{157} Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Hugues, \textit{Livre de comptes} II, 1875 p. 62.

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., p. 62.
la région sinon du Québec." He also added that "comme le Conseil de Fabrique de l'époque avait donné le champ libre au curé pour la décoration de l'église, il n'existe malheureusement pas d'autres documents." At the chapel for the École de Réforme in 1877, Capello did some 'grisailles' in fresco using shades of grey. One reference to this work, in the writings of Olivier Maurault refers to Capello and his work at Notre-Dame de Montréal. Mention of paintings at the chapel is also made in a periodical: "Le 2 juillet de la même année [1877], lorsque les peintures furent terminées et que la chapelle fut convenablement meublée, Mgr. Fabre en fit la consécration solennelle." From a photo (fig. 8) in the archives of the Frères de la Charité, who ran the l'Hospice Saint-Vincent

159 Letter to the author from curé Denis Lépine dated February 8, 1989.

160 Ibid.


162 Diocèse de Montréal à la fin du XIX siècle, Eusebe Sénécal, Montreal: 1900, p. 177.

163 Les Frères de la Charité were founded in Gand, Belgium in 1807 by Pierre-Joseph Triest. They established themselves in Montreal on February 22, 1865 at the request of Mgr. Ignace Bourget, bishop of Montreal on Rue Labelle in Laval. In 1872 they moved to Montréal to 341 est, rue Mignonne (Desmontigny) and with them 74 delinquent boys to
de Paul for delinquent boys, one can see the elaborate interior decoration of the large chapel. Fig. 7 shows the roof of the chapel with three domes and a steeple on the outside. The chapel was described as,

...un modèle du genre. Elle dresse dans l'azur ses trois coupoles lui donnant un air de grandeur. L'ampleur des proportions et la pureté des lignes ajoutent à la majesté et à la beauté du lieu [...]. En-dessous de la vaste nef, qui peut contenir 700 personnes, se trouvent le réfectoire des élèves et, en-dessous de la sacristie, le premier cimetière des Frères.164

The total cost of the chapel, including the decoration, was $15,691.165 The chapel and the Ecole de Réforme were demolished by the City of Montreal on September 12, 1932.166 According to the present-day archivist, Henri Bolduc, f.c., no records have been found concerning the fate of the artworks in the chapel.

In 1879 Capello was awarded a large commission at the church of Ste. Anne de Yamachiche, in Maskinonge County. In 1876 a portrait of the curé Hercule Dorion by Capello was

their new school L'Ecole de Réforme de Montréal, hence the name of the chapel 'de la Réforme'. The chapel was consecrated on July 2, 1877.

164 Revue Deus Caritas Est, May 15, 1923 p. 50. This periodical is available at the Archives des Frères de la Charité.


166 The school was relocated to a new building, Mont-Saint-Antoine, on Sherbrooke Street in Montreal. Letter to the author from archivist Henri Bolduc, f.c., dated October 15, 1990.
offered to Dorion on the occasion of the benediction of the bells.167 Perhaps this was the means by which Capello, or at least his work, had come to the attention of the curé of Ste. Anne. According to abbé Caron who wrote a monograph about the parish,168 Capello was assisted by Adolphe Rho169 and Ozias Leduc. There is a problem in dating Capello's work at Yamachiche. Abbé Caron writes "l'exécution des peintures de la coupole principale et des pendentifs fut confiée à Monsieur Louis Cappello, artiste italien, né à Turin et fixé à Montréal depuis cinq ans."170 If Capello arrived in 1875 as stated in his biography (appendix n. 4), then he had to be at Yamachiche in 1880. His partner Adolphe Rho would have been forty-four that year, but Ozias Leduc would have been a mere fifteen. According to Jean-René Ostiguy,171 Leduc was working in the 'Atelier' of T. Carli172 in 1883 and with

167 Caron, op. cit., p. 111.
168 I.B.C., Fonds Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, p. 12360.
169 According to J. Craig Stirling, op. cit., in chpt. 3. Ozias Leduc became Adolphe Rho's student "with the death of Cappello ca. 1888-1889." In actual case Capello only died in 1904, but he left for Europe a few years before.
170 Caron, op. cit., p. 85.
172 Tommaso Carli did religious statuary at his studio located at 66, Montcalm Street. In 1884-85 Capello's studio was located at 14 Montcalm Street as well. See appendix n. 16.
Capello in 1888 on the church at Yamachiche. Laurier Lacroix\textsuperscript{173} places Leduc at sixteen in the Ecole modèle at Saint-Hilaire where he was being taught by Mr. Jean-Baptiste Galipeau, and J. R. Harper\textsuperscript{174} states that Leduc was at Yamachiche in 1883. A possible explanation for these discrepancies could be that Capello worked at Yamachiche in 1879 and again c. 1888. The church burned on July 11, 1957 and church records disappeared as well.\textsuperscript{175}

A very detailed description of Capello's frescos "à l'encaustique"\textsuperscript{176} was written by abbé Caron. Excerpts in translation have been included in appendix n. 9. Capello painted four medallions in the pendentives of the vault (figs. 11-14) with the themes of Fides, Spes, Charitas, and the Amor Dei. In the main cupola, Capello drew Dieu le Père en approbation, Archange Michel terrassant Lucifer,\textsuperscript{177} and the Annunciation (fig. 15). Gabrielle Messier, an associate


\textsuperscript{175} Letter to the author dated March 2, 1989 from archivist Jeannine Desaulniers stated that an amateur photographer, Claude Marcotte, took eleven pictures shortly before the fire. Mr. Marcotte supplied the negatives for the illustrations n. 11-15.

\textsuperscript{176} Caron, op. cit., p. 85.

\textsuperscript{177} A painting by Moncalvo of the same subject existed in the Galleria of the Accademia Albertina in Turin (fig. 31). Capello would repeat this theme for the cupola of the Ursuline Chapel at Trois-Rivières in 1888-9.
painter and student of Ozias Leduc, confirms abbé Caron's statement that "Monsieur le Curé [Abbé Hercule Dorion] suggéra que l'on représentat au haut de la coupole, Dieu et ses principaux attributs [...]. S'inspirant de cette idée Monsieur Cappello a fait une oeuvre remarquable, qui fera vivre son nom, bien certainement autant que durera la présente église de Yamachiche."

Messier states that "il [Capello] avait décoré la coupole, d'après les plans de cette coupole de l'Abbé Hercule Dorion, 1872-1889 [...]. She goes on to give her impressions after having visited Ste. Anne de Yamachiche,

...En compagnie de Ozias Leduc vers 1947 il m'a [montré] son travail dans le choeur, j'ai monté jusqu'à la coupole pour voir de près la décoration Capello, bien la marquée italienne était bien présente. C'était l'ascension de Jésus - ciel très bleu, le Jésus de blanc vêtu, très rayonnant, très beau à voir. Les tableaux Leduc était [sic] plus sombres plus canadien."

The taste of the day however was very much in favour of the Italian style, as is evident in the observations of Abbé Caron (appendix n. 9): "N'avons nous pas, dans tout cet ensemble une image fidèle de la Création? [...]." and "Puisqu'il [sic] n'existe qu'en empruntant ses couleurs si

178 Caron, op. cit., p. 89.
180 Ibid.
181 Caron, op. cit., p. 90
vives, si variées [...]"\(^{182}\) The important thing was that if abbé Caron's flowery praises were any indication of the views of Capello's other patrons and observers, he fulfilled their expectations. From where he drew his iconographic program for the images of the four attributes of God (appendix n. 9) one can only guess. In the library of the Accademia Albertina iconographic dictionaries existed (appendix n. 12) and religious paintings were an integral part of the curriculum. Although nothing has remained from Yamachiche, we know that Capello had made valuable contacts\(^{183}\) because he could repeat similar subjects for the Ursulines ten years later.

Capello's 'wall-paintings' or 'fresco secco' work was part of a long tradition of mural painting from Europe. This type of art was conducive to the edifice and indeed became part of it. The artist had to understand the architectural dimensions and curves of the base on which he would paint his work. Problems of lighting, foreshortening, and the more intricate concerns of the durability of the materials had to be considered. In a treatise written in Paris on the

\(^{182}\) Ibid.

\(^{183}\) J.-Alide Pellerin in his book *Yamachiche et son Histoire 1672-1978*, Editions du Bien Publique, 1980, p. 142, mentions that le curé Dorion invited the Soeurs de la Providence to found a hospice in Yamachiche in 1871. Capello would do a painting for them at l'Assomption in 1883. Joseph and Georges Héroux, the architects at Yamachiche also built the chapel for the Ursulines in Trois-Rivières in 1888-9, where Capello was given the decorative commission.
The decoration of churches Mgr. Barbier de Montault wrote:

"Il y a trois sortes de peintures monumentales: la fresque, la mosaïque et le vitrail. La fresque faite dans les bonnes conditions, offre les meilleures garanties de durée; par ses tons doux, elle est pleine d'harmonie et elle plaît à l'âme par son calme religieux. La ou veut plus d'éclat, la peinture à l'encaustique, que l'on peut nettoyer, présente des teintes brillantes." 184

In the late 1870's and the 1880's artists in Quebec such as Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916) had also gained a reputation as muralists with sizeable commissions. 185 Bourassa first visited Florence in 1852-3 and was then Rome in 1853-5 to acquire the techniques and instruction lacking in Quebec. In France he studied the works of Paul-Hippolyte Flandrin (1808-1864), a disciple of Ingres, but this restrained, linear and mystic style was not accepted in Quebec. Given the very unique and flamboyant style of Capello, which seemed to be what the conservative patrons of Catholic Church expected, Bourassa returned to Europe "to investigate art education methods there." 186 Like Capello he worked at St. Hugues

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184 Mgr. X. Barbier de Montault, Traité Pratique de la Construction de l'Ameublement et la Décoration des Églises. 2 vols., Larousse et cie., Paris: 1877. This volume was found in the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec and contains in the book on decoration, chapters dealing with mural decoration, iconography, inscriptions etc. The author makes a case for proper religious decorum in religious arts based on the edicts of the Catholic Church.


186 Ibid., p. 41.
but Bourassa embraced the Nazarene movement after seeing the works of Overbeck (1789-1869) and his work influenced Quebec muralists such as François-Édouard Meloche (1855-1914) and Ozias Leduc (1864-1955).

According to Laurier Lacroix, the method preferred was to paint on canvas in the studio where materials were more accessible and costs could be controlled, and then to glue the work to the wall.

Ce sont les artistes italiens [Angelo Pienovi, Luigi Capello] et allemands [Daniel Muller, Julius Heldt, William Lamprecht] actifs à Montréal et dans les régions du Québec qui apporteront la technique de la 'fresco secco'. La qualité de leur métier la nouveauté de leur style, l'engouement du clergé pour cette forme d'art européen au détriment des tableaux produits par les artistes locaux et la richesse de leur vocabulaire iconographique sont autant de raisons qui expliquent le succès obtenu par les fresquiste européens à partir de 1830.

The largest surviving ensemble of Capello's wall paintings can be seen at Notre-Dame de Montréal. The exact date that they were executed is not known at the present time. Gérard Morisset dates them to c. 1878. According to Abbé Maurault, "sous leur direction [M. M. Ledieu et


Brégent], un artiste italien, du nom de Capello, peignit sur les murs de la seconde galerie, entre les retombées des voûtes, plusieurs des douze scènes de la vie de Marie."190 Beginning at the left side of the church and facing the entrance the frescoes show the most important stages in the Virgin's life; La Visitation, L'Annonciation, Le mariage de la Vierge, La Présentation de la Vierge, l'Education de la Vierge, Nativité de la Vierge, are on the right side facing the entrance. On the opposite wall of the second gallery are: la Nativité, La fuite en Égypte, La Sainte Famille à Nazareth, La Vierge recevant son fils au pied de la croix, l'Assomption de la Vierge, and La Vierge couronnée entourée de saints (figs. 50-61).

It is very difficult to judge the quality of these 'freschi seccni' by Capello because "ces fresques ont été lavées et rafraîchies, au cours des années 1927 et 1928."191 Judging these works in comparison to the wall paintings at the Ursuline Chapel (figs. 63-66 & 68-72), one has to question to what extent they were merely washed and to what extent they were repainted with a heavy hand by a 'restorer'.

As mentioned previously, wall paintings performed well if they adapted to the architectural space. In fig. 62 one can see how Capello has employed a quinte-foil-shaped medallion to the existing neo-gothic arc of the church. The

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190 Abbé Olivier Maurault, op. cit., p. 142.

191 Ibid.
figures are large and fill the framing-device which measures about 3.25m X 3.25m. Capello's paintings are barely noticeable from the nave but they are discernable from the opposite gallery. If one examines the figures, they are statuesque and heavy-looking, draped in folds of material, as in _La Visitation_ (fig. 50). The artist has made attempts at foreshortening the figures with the use of architectural devices such as a stool in the _L'Annonciation_ (fig. 51). Capello used the stairs in _La Presentation_ (fig. 52) and the _Mariage de la Vierge_ (fig. 53) for the same reason. In order to show perspective, he used devices such as receding wood planks in _La Sainte Famille à Nazareth_ (fig. 58), and landscape dotted with pyramids in _La fuite en Egypte_ (fig. 57). The overall effect of Capello's work is belaboured and lacking in skill. One would assume that he was primarily an easel painter if only these examples had remained.

From an iconographic point of view, Capello's mural paintings serve their didactic function very well. According to Lacroix, "la murale joue un rôle didactique plus complet que le tableau d'autel." 192 These twelve murals show the most important stages of the Virgin's life. Her mother Ann is portrayed as old, the lily and the book speak of Mary's instruction and purity, the pyramids and donkey

192 L. Lacroix, "La peinture murale dans les églises au Québec," _op. cit._, p. 95.
easily identify her flight into Egypt and the Nativity is pictured in the stable among oxen and asses. Joseph is found among his traditional carpentry tools, and the Pietà below the cross contains symbols of the suffering of Jesus: the nails and the crown of thorns. The Virgin rises to heaven on clouds amid angels and she sits enthroned beside an angel holding a symbolic lamb of God (her sacrificed son) and St. Catherine, a martyr for the faith, stands with her iconographic symbol, the wheel. Capello has added nuns to the Vierge couronnée entourée de saints, a deviation from the typical illustration of this subject (fig. 61).

The present condition of these wall paintings is deplorable. A few boards behind the frescoes have caused ridges, and years of candle smoke has adhered to the surface. If one can excuse the blatantly heavy hand of the restorer and judge Capello's work merely on its composition and the success of its didactic program, the frescoes are an integral part of the church of Notre-Dame.

The high brow and classical features of the Virgin's face are similar to those found on traditional classical models such as those used at the Accademia and seen in figs. 44 & 45 by Gamba and Gastaldi. They are especially evident in the Visitation (fig. 50) and L'Annonciation (fig. 51). Upon closer inspection of the faces of the Virgin, one sees a disconcerting number of differing shapes of faces. For example if one compares the Virgin's face in
the first six frescoes (fig. 50-55) to the face of fig. 56 in the Nativité and that of La Sainte Famille à Nazareth (fig. 58), one sees the skill of the latter two examples is markedly greater than in the first six. Compare as well the face of the Virgin in the La Vierge recevant son fils au pied de la croix (fig. 59) and the La Vierge couronnée entourée de saints (fig. 61). One has to ask why there is such a variety of facial representation but more importantly, why there is such a variation in skill. Perhaps if one rereads the words of abbé Maurault "...Capello peignit...plusieurs des douze scènes de la vie de Marie," one can suspect that perhaps Capello did not paint all of the frescoes or that the "restoration" was really a "repainting" of the original work. Today the colors are much brighter in the painting in the right gallery than in the first six in the left gallery.

In 1884, more precisely on September 24, Capello started work on four large frescoes for the sanctuary of the Chapelle de l'hospice Saint-Joseph. La Minerve, of October 10, 1884, testifies to the work progressing,

On poursuit actuellement les travaux d'embellissement et de décoration de l'église Saint-Joseph (rue Cathédrale). Ces travaux progressent rapidement et font

193 Abbé Maurault, op. cit., p. 142.

194 A.S.G.M., Chroniques de l'Hospice St.-Joseph (1854-1893), le 13 décembre 1884, "Ce même jour, monsieur Luigi Capello, artiste italien qui avait entrepris le 24 septembre dernier, les quatre grands tableaux à fresque de notre sanctuaire, les terminait à notre grande satisfaction. Ils sont beaux, surtout bien expressifs." p. 214.
honneur surtout au peintre, M. Cappello, l'artiste bien connu, dont le pinceau plutôt créateur qu'imitateur sait produire des merveilles, et qui est en train de donner cette belle et riche église d'une série magnifique de tableaux représentant les principaux traits de la vie de Saint-Joseph. 195

The hospice was moved from rue du Cimetière (which became Cathédrale) to a new building at 1460, boul. Crémazie on May 16, 1931.196 The chapel which contained Capello's frescoes was demolished on May 25, 1933.197

As with Capello's work at Yamachiche, only secondary sources are available to describe the composition of the four wall paintings.

Les quatre grands panneaux du chœur sont maintenant ornés de fresques qui représentent les principales époques de la vie du saint Patriarche, d'une manière très expressive [...]  

Le premier dans le sanctuaire du côté de l'Evangile représente la Nativité de Notre Seigneur à laquelle assiste saint-Joseph [...]  

Le suivant représente sa fuite en Egypte. Saint-Joseph y apparaît comme le protecteur et le fidèle gardien de Jésus [...] Un Prince de la cours céleste plane au-dessus de ce groupe qui fait l'admiration des anges.

195 La Minerve, October 10, 1884, p. 1.

196 The Hospice of Saint-Joseph was founded in 1841 by Olivier Berthelet and given over to the Soeurs Grises in 1854. The chapel was constructed in 1862 and consecrated on October 15, 1863. According to the archivist, Gaétane Chevrier s.g.m., the Catalogue partiel des œuvres d'art de la Maison Mère, prepared in 1973, makes no mention of Capello or his work having survived the demolition. Letter to the author dated October 18, 1990.

197 "Origines de l'ancien hospice Saint-Joseph" La Presse, June 17, 1933.
A droite, du côté de l'Epître, c'est l'intérieur de Nazareth qui est donné à nos méditations. St. Joseph y est représenté travaillant dans son atelier. L'Enfant-Dieu lui présente une petite croix [...] La T. Ste. Vierge a suspendu ses travaux et contemple avec amour ces deux personnages [...] 

Le tableau suivant représente le saint Patriarche mourant, assisté de son Fils adoptif et de sa sainte Epouse. Les anges [...] contempilent cette scène [...] 

Enfin au centre, au-dessus du maître-Autel, [...] la statue de St. Joseph [...] 198

Capello adapted his four wall paintings in 'fresco-secco,' no doubt to suit the rest of the nave which was "aussi à fresque." 199 One can not help but remark how the subjects of the paintings of St. Joseph are similar to those at Notre-Dame de Montréal but this time with a predominance given to St. Joseph. St. Joseph assists at the Nativité, and he is a principal figure in the La fuite en Égypte. The La Sainte Famille is placed in St. Joseph's carpentry shop. The scene depicting the Mort de St. Joseph bears a close resemblance to the deathbed painting of St. Paul l'Ermité mourant (1875). 200

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199 Ibid., p. 215.

200 Both the text of abbé Caron in describing the artistic program at Yamachiche, and the entries in the Chroniques of the Soeurs Grises by an unknown author, delve heavily into religious connotation and interpretation. I have chosen to delete these passages, choosing instead an artistic description where possible. For the passages in their entirety please note the references.
The response that Capello received for his work at St. Joseph was very positive and the patrons were impressed by his expressive style. *La Minerve* on the day before the blessing of the new decorations stated,

> La cérémonie sera très imposante. Il s'agit surtout, comme on le sait, des bas reliefs et des peintures du choeur si artistiquement faites par M. Capello, l'artiste bien connu. L'église Saint-Joseph est aujourd'hui à l'intérieur, l'une des plus belles de la ville.\(^{201}\)

At the time of the impending demolition in 1930 of the chapel, an unknown author laments in the *Annales des Soeurs de la Charité (Soeur Grises)*, "Disparaître! ces magnifiques tableaux de main de maître qui parlent aux yeux et au coeur..."\(^{202}\)

It was not before 1896 that Capello was commissioned to work on another Canadian decorative ensemble,\(^{203}\) the chapel of the Ursuline Convent at Trois-Rivières. The chapel had

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201 *La Minerve*, January 3, 1885, p. 1.

202 A.S.G.M., *Annales des Soeurs de la Charité (Soeurs Grises)* de l'Hôpital Général de Montréal destinées aux maisons de l'Institut 1930-1931, le 10 décembre 1930, p. 269. According to the archivist Gaétane Chevrier s.g.m. this entry in the *Annales* proves that the Soeurs Grises knew that the chapel would be demolished by December 30, 1930 because the land was already expropriated and new property had been purchased on Côte St. Michel. Letter to the author dated November 14, 1990.

203 Capello wrote letters to the Ursulines on April 6, 1897, May 2, 1897 and June 11, 1897 from an undisclosed location in New York.
burned in 1752, then again in 1806. It was reconstructed soon afterward but required complete demolition in 1896 in order to be enlarged. Joseph and Georges Héroux were given the contract.

Mm. Héroux et Frères, architectes, ont obtenu le contrat pour l'agrandissement de la chapelle du monastère des Ursulines de cette ville. Le contrat est de sept mille piastres, paraît-il; l'ouvrage est déjà assez avancé. On a demoli les murs de la vieille chapelle; ces murs qui datent, dit-on, de 1689...Les Dames Ursulines ont décidé d'avoir la plus belle chapelle de la ville.

Capello arrived at the convent on December 29, 1896 after notifying the Mother Superior in a letter dated December 14, 1896 (appendix n. 1) that he had been informed by "Mr. Geo. F. Héroux [par lettre] date du 30 Novembre,...que l'ouvrage pour moi dans votre église était prêt." He explained in the same letter that "je lui [G. Héroux] ai répondu que une ouvrage pour Noël, que j'achève me tratiendrait [sic] encuir quelques jours ici." This letter indicates that Capello had received a commission in New York but the specific location was not mentioned and the


208 Ibid.
church has not been found.

Since the architects at Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche (1879) had also been Joseph and Georges Héroux, perhaps it was on their suggestion that Capello had been given the commission at Trois-Rivières. Certainly Mgr. Lafleche would have been familiar with Capello's work at Yamachiche and his close collaboration with Abbé Hercule Dorion. Capello had proven himself, with an ensemble of twelve frescoes at the church of Notre-Dame in Montreal (c. 1879) and at the chapel of the Hospice St. Joseph (1884).

The similarity of the decorative details at Trois-Rivières with those of Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche are obvious. In the cupola, Capello chose again to show Archange Michel terrassant Lucifer (fig. 63) and in one of the supporting pendentives the theological virtues of Fides, Spes, and Charitas combined. At Trois-Rivières, Capello also executed the Sacré-Coeur avec Sainte-Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (fig. 65) in one of the pendentives. Above the altar in a semi-circular space, at the level of the second gallery,

209 It is not known if Mgr. Lafleche was aware of his portrait by Capello.

210 This was a famous subject for Catholic artists. Abbé Hercule Dorion had painted this theme for the church of Yamachiche in 1883. "Ce magnifique tableau est le don et l'oeuvre à la fois de M. l'Abbé Dorion, curé de Yamachiche... Le tableau représente l'apparition de Notre Seigneur à Sainte Marguerite-Marie, révélant à cette dernière la dévotion de Sacré-Coeur. Cette œuvre d'art, fait honneur au talent artistique de M. Dorion." La Minerve, February 16, 1883, p. 3.
Capello also did La Cène (fig. 64) resembling Leonardo's Last Supper with the exception of two kneeling angels in 'camaieu', which imitated sculpture, in each corner of the painting.

The work of Capello at Trois-Rivières is a masterful adaptation of mural painting on an architectural base. The paintings function on several levels. They are both didactic in their iconographic representation, and are integral to the interior of the chapel. The four pendentives and the Cène show the contact of God with mortals whereas in the cupola high above the congregation, in the symbolic heaven, a battle ensues between good and evil; the archangel Michael banishes Lucifer from the sky. Therefore, as the eyes of the spectator gaze up from the ground level (that of mortals) to the middle ground (that of God and people), they turn towards the only source of the light which floods the cupola (occupied by God alone). The light is symbolic of God and salvation through belief in the Church.

In examining each pendentive carefully one can begin to appreciate Capello's mastery of the curved space and the symbolism necessary to convey abstract concepts. One must not lose sight of the fact that the congregation at this chapel were religious sisters well versed in the knowledge of Christian iconography.

On either side of the organ located behind the congregation and above the door were representations of Sacré-
Coeur avec Sainte-Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (fig. 65) and Sainte-Angèle avec Sainte-Ursule (fig. 66). The Ursuline chapel at Trois-Rivières was dedicated to the Sacred Heart. It is a Catholic belief that Jesus appeared at Paray-le-Monial (France) on numerous occasions (1673-1675) to Sister Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, revealing his heart and saying: "Voilà ce coeur qui a tant aimé les hommes et qui en est si peu aimé!" In Capello's fresco, Sister Marguerite-Marie Alacoque is seen kneeling before Jesus wearing a traditional Ursuline habit with her hands clasped together. Slightly above her stands Jesus with rays coming out of the wounds in his hands, looking down on the kneeling woman. The large triangular space, approximately 15 feet high and 15 feet wide at the top, is painted in shades of grey clouds. A golden light emanates from behind the head of Jesus. The two principal figures although static, maintain a dramatic effect through their placement off-center and on a sharp diagonal. The saint kneels on a patterned floor that curves towards the background. This composition is balanced by a sketch of Gothic church arches to the right of the saint, and a praying

\[\text{211 St. Marguerite-Marie Alacoque was born on July 22, 1647 in Lautecourt near Versvres, (Charlebois) France. She was reported to have seen Jesus on numerous occasions revealing his Sacred Heart. She entered the congregation of 'la Visitation de Paray-le-Monial' and died there on October 17, 1690. She was reported to be the favorite saint of Marie l'Incarnation, the foundress of the Ursulines of Quebec (1599-1672).}\]
angel with a seraphim\textsuperscript{212} above, behind Jesus. Interestingly
the same subject was painted by both abbé Hercule Dorion in
1883 for Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche and by Capello's teacher
at the Accademia, Gastaldi, who also did a painting of
\textit{Apparizione di Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo alla Beata
Margherita Alacoque nel Monastero di Paray-le-Monial in
Francia nel 1675}, (fig. 67). It was painted in 1878, at
least four years after Capello's departure from Italy,\textsuperscript{213}
but the similarity of subject matter makes it interesting to
compare their very different approaches in spite of their
common formation at the Accademia in Turin.

\textsuperscript{212} Angels are organized into nine choirs, or orders,
based on the political organization of the Byzantine empire.
In the first triad, the thrones represent divine justice and
they hold the staff of power. Cherubs (or cherubims)
representing divine wisdom are composed of head, hands, feet
and six wings. Seraphims represent divine love and are
bodiless with six wings. Cherubim are often alternated with
seraphim and they probably evolved from the winged beasts
that guarded the palaces of Egypt and Assyria. 'Seraph' in
Hebrew means the winged or fiery one. The second triad
contains powers (warriors), virtues (censers) and dominions.
Dominions are crowned angels carrying scepters, croziers or
orbs as symbols of authority. The third triad are the
messengers between man on earth and God in heaven. Angels
are guardians of the innocent and the just, and they carry
wands. Archangels carry swords and orbs as warriors of
heaven and they are all saints. The four most prominent
archangels are; Gabriel the angel of Mercy who appears in the
Annunciation, Michael the warrior and judge, Raphael the
healer, and Uriel keeper of the Scriptures.

\textsuperscript{213} This painting by Gastaldi hangs in Torino in the
Chiesa parrocchiale del Sacro Cuore di Gesù. It is a large
rectangular painting (200 cm. x 300 cm.). Unlike Capello's
composition, Gastaldi has placed Jesus on the church altar
with the kneeling saint looking upward with a beautiful and
serene face. Capello's saint has an awkward smirk on her
face.
Laterally across from the pendentive of the Sacré-Cœur is Sainte-Angèle et Sainte-Ursule. Again the setting is an interior in predominately smoking greys and beiges with St. Angela, St. Angela, dressed in the Ursuline habit, kneeling before St. Ursula. St. Ursula in contrast is dressed in a red cloak decorated with ermine with a blue sash. In her left hand she holds a palm branch while above her head lightly sketched seraphim float on clouds. In her right hand is a standard, seen unfurled, with a cross on top and a white flag bearing a red cross. This emblem of victory represents the martyred St. Ursula's victory over death. She passes the

214 Saint Angela Merici was born in Italy in c. 1474. She founded the Institute of the Ursulines in the Northern Italian city of Brescia on November 25, 1535. She placed the order under the protection of St. Ursula from which was derived the name 'Ursulines.' Angela died in 1540 and was canonized by the Catholic church in 1807.

215 Saint Ursula according to medieval legend was an English Christian princess who agreed to marry Prince Conan, a pagan, on the condition that she must first have three years to visit the shrines of Christian saints. She also insisted that Conan convert to Christianity. He agreed, and accompanied Ursula to Rome. On their return they were attacked in Köln (Cologne), Germany by the Huns. Ursula's female companions were slaughtered but she was given a reprieve if she accepted to marry the king of the Huns. She refused and was shot with three arrows.

Ursula usually appears dressed as a princess in elaborate robes, crowned, holding a pilgrim's staff with a white banner and red cross. She is the patron saint of chastity.

216 The palm branch is symbolic of triumph over sin and death and can be held by martyred saints for this reason. The fact that the palm is evergreen gives it a secondary symbolism as a reminder of immortality.

217 A long pole with a flag (a standard) with a red cross is an attribute of St. Ursula.
flag to St. Angela. This is a gesture denoting the passing of power to the Ursuline institution. Off to the left corner of the triangular composition is an altar with a crucifixion and some lightly sketched architectural features including an arch and a column. St. Angela kneels on a patterned terrazzo-like floor which curves and recedes into the background where St. Ursula appears seated, suspended on clouds.

At the secondary gallery level, in the front of the chapel above the altar and to either side of the La Cène, Capello painted the virtues of Foi, Espérance et la Charité (fig. 68) in the left pendentive and the Couronnement de la Vierge (fig. 69) in the right. If the subjects in the other two pendentives were determined by the particularities of the Ursulines, these too were perhaps chosen by Capello. At Yamachiche the subject for the cupola and the pendentives had been prescribed, or at least suggested by abbé Dorion; at Trois-Rivières after almost fourteen years of experience, Capello would have been given greater autonomy. If at Yamachiche the four virtues of the Church had been placed one in each pendentive, at Trois-Rivières they are amalgamated into one composition. The Christian virtues; Faith, Hope and Charity are symbolized by three women and a child. On the left is Hope presented as a long-haired blond woman half-kneeling, dressed in a blue flowing robe and holding an anchor. The anchor was an early Christian symbol for the
Cross; for salvation, hope and constancy. The figure of Faith dominates the center of the composition as a standing woman draped in blue and red, holding a cross in her right hand and a beacon of light with the left, high above her head. The light was associated with goodness and wisdom and the presence of God. The bright red cloak contrasts with the blue dress, and the large size of this figure makes Faith a clearly dominating image, easily discerned at the congregational level in the nave. On the right of the composition is a seated, smiling female figure with a baby in her left arm, and what appears to be bread or a bag of money in her right. This is charity seen protecting a child and holding alms for the poor. She is draped in soft yellow fabric. The two side figures gaze towards the center in contrast to the figure of Faith, who looks directly at the viewer. The tiny child, on the other hand, is preoccupied with play. Capello has placed these virtues symbolically on an island completely surrounded by water. The virtues of the Church are easily associated with salvation and refuge from evil.

The fourth pendentive shows the Couronnement de la Vierge in a triangular composition which mirrors the form of the pendentive itself. Mary is seen kneeling on a cloud, dressed in red with a decorative blue cloak and a white scarf on her head. Her hands are folded in prayer as she gazes solemnly ahead of her. Above Mary and to the left is God the
Father in a yellow ochre robe enveloped by a light blue swag of material, crowning her Queen of Heaven. Capello's choice to depict God the Father is a clear departure from traditional iconography of this event which normally shows Christ crowning his mother. The presence of the round swag can also be seen in the cupola of Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche (fig. 15) although here it is arranged differently. In the right corner is a figure of a winged angel dressed in a flowing blue robe with hands folded across the shoulders. The background, in soft yellows and greys, is filled with clouds upon which float cherubim.

A representation by Capello of the La Cène (fig. 64) after Leonardo, fills the semi-circular space between two pendentives. One's view from the nave is only obstructed by a wooden cornice, bearing a triangular symbol of God the Father in a smaller semi-circular structure with Hebrew script, surmounted by a gilded cross with a suspended heart. Attached to the cross are the first three letters in Greek for Jesus, 'IHS'. The Capello painting is a faithful copy of Leonardo's composition of the Last Supper. There are however, two kneeling statues of winged, praying angels in either bottom corner of the composition which were added by Capello (fig. 70) after Michelangelo's sculpture of similarly kneeling angels holding candlesticks. They are beautifully executed in 'grisaille' showing a transition from sculpted three dimensional space into that of two dimensional space.
They are perfectly in balance with the semi-circular cornice and the semi-circular niche behind. The angels ground the composition on either side, adding points of interest. Seen from the nave, Capello's work is very convincing. The artist once again uses touches of blues and red which heighten interest and accentuate the decorative blue in the cornice bearing the symbol of God the Father written in Hebrew script within a triangle of sun's rays on a blue sky (fig. 64).

It would seem from Capello's own description of his composition in the cupola of the Ursuline chapel (appendix n. 6a) that he was particularly proud of his ceiling fresco La Victoire de l'Archange Saint-Michel sur Satan. From the nave (fig. 72) the spectator sees a dominant St. Michael in traditional Roman centurion garb with wings spread, stabbing a twisted falling Satan. Above St. Michael's head is an eye enclosed by a triangle, with emanating rays symbolizing the omnipotence of God. The tones in the fresco are predominantly soft pinks and blues, with light red and green highlights in the draperies. Darker clouds circle the composition in imitation of the cupola's shape, with the greatest clarity of color in the white clouds and bright blue of the sky in the center. Sixteen windows flood the cupola with light, giving the painting clarity and luminosity.

Capello's personal description of this work is unique because no other has survived to date. In reading his analysis of this composition, one is struck by the difficulty
Capello had in materializing his intentions in fresco. For example he describes, "L'archange St. Michel d'un aspect sever sans que pour cela son angelique beauté..."218 yet St. Michael's facial expression can hardly be described as severe. It would seem that Capello was more successful in portraying his angelic beauty. In a description which appeared in the Nacelle de Sainte-Ursule by an unknown author a similar conclusion is drawn.

Dans la voûte de la coupole, sure un ciel d'azur tacheté de legers nuages, se deroule un combat...Se dresse le vaillant Saint Michel. Il est radieux sous ses traits angeliques; teint rose, grand yeux bleus, abondante chevelure, vêtements riches et amples, tout préte à l'archange une grace majestueuse.219

The angelic features are also evident in the face of Satan, according to Capello: "La tête première, n'a pas encor perdu cette beauté virile et angelique du temp de sa glorieuse position celeste."220 It was the artist's intention to portray the principal characters with certain features in mind but one must not lose sight of the fact that


219 A.U.T.R., La Nacelle de Sainte-Ursule (dédie aux anciennes élèves), Monastère de Sainte-Ursule, Trois Rivières, Imprimerie P. R. Dupont, undated [1897], p. 14. Capello critiques this revue in a letter from New York on June 11, 1897 (appendix n. 2). He notes that the name of the 'poure [sic] petit artist [sic]' was left out in the booklet and that he was responding only after gaining control of his anger.

literary descriptions after the fact, even by the artist himself, do not necessarily pass scrutiny in the actual piece of work. Capello's description of Satan reads as follows: "Mais pâle, les levres compressent et presque blanche, ces narine dilatée indique en éxès de bile par la colere d'être umilié."221 The face of Satan bears a slight frown but hardly dilated nostrils. This is an example of artistic license. Capello goes on to say that Satan 'se tournent vers son venquer avec un regard afreusement trist et menassent..."222 This is not reflected in the fresco; on the contrary Satan's face is almost very restrained. Capello also attempted to add a little dramatic flair in Satan's green robe comparing it to "un serpent qu'il entrenerait vers une abîme...."223 The spiral-like shape was no doubt intended to show a downward fall but it also unfortunately accentuates Capello's problems with foreshortening especially in the left arm of St. Michael, and the twisted and distorted legs of Satan (fig. 72). The left arm of Satan seen plucking his hair is wider than the arm holding the lance in the foreground. One has to ask why these technical problems exist for an artist that successfully painted the dome at Yamachiche (fig. 15). Could the presence of a fellow-artist,

221 Ibid. Please note that quotations are directly from Capello's original letter bearing his grammatical errors in French.

222 Ibid.

223 Ibid.
abbe Dorion, have had an effect on the execution at Ste. Anne's? The Ursulines seemed to have been pleased with his work and the archivist of the day, in any case, thought Capello was underpaid. "Capello n'a mis que deux mois à executer ce travail: les pendentifs (décorations murales) le dôme et la Cène. Rien que $800. pour tant de travail." 224 It would seem that she was right in saying that two months was a very short time for the completion of the work on the scale of Capello's decorative program.

Ozias Leduc worked alongside Capello and Rho on this commission and his "...apprenticeship with Adolphe Rho and Luigi Capello, exposed him to technical methods with regard to religious mural decoration, increased his knowledge of traditional religious art, Christian iconography and exposed him to works by European artists." 225

Because Capello was not mentioned by name in the commemorative booklet, the Nacelle de Sainte-Ursule, when the newly renovated chapel was opened, with time people wrongly attributed his work to other artists. In 1935 the Abbé Georges Panneton wrote,

La décoration de la chapelle des Ursulines ne serait pas comme je le croyais, l'oeuvre d'Adolphe Rho. Celui-ci n'a fait, paraît-il, que certains travaux de restauration. Ainsi,  


il a repeint quelques toiles du couvent, comme la Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie.
L'auteur des peintures de la chapelle serait Luigi Capello, celui qui a peint l'église d'Yamachiche. Ses ouvrages ne sont pas mal du tout. Ce sont des fresques de couleur chaude; l'une fait penser, de loin évidement, a une peinture de Chassereiau. (Le commerce rapproche les peuples.) 226

A few years later, in 1941 art historian Gérard Morisset described Luigi Capello as "disgracie, nabot et bancal, n'est pas dénué de talent. Fresquiste habile, coloriste délicat, il orne, dans ce qu'il croit être le style de Tiepolo, la coupole de l'église d'Yamachiche et celle des Ursulines des Trois-Rivières. La fresque est son élément...." 227 Morisset was particularly incensed by the Catholic Church's patronage of Italian artists on Italian soil and even more wrongfully, artists of Italian origin in Quebec. He felt that in the late nineteenth century native Quebec artists were discriminated against in favour of Europeans. The clergy showed, "...une admiration sans borne pour tout ce qui est romain; un emballage naif à l'égard des artistes italiens qui quittent leur pays pour venir nous prêcher la 'religion de l'Art'." 228 In 1947 the fresco in the cupola "a été nettoyé par deux artistes, S. Béatrice Lafontaine (S. St.-

227 Gérard Morisset, Coup d'oeil sur les arts en Nouvelle-France, Charrier et Dugal, Québec: 1941, p. 91.
228 Ibid., p. 88.
Luc), Ursuline de Trois-Rivières et M. Roch Leboeuf." 229

Capello's contact with the Ursulines at Trois-Rivières, and specifically with the Reverend Mother Marguerite-Marie, was maintained until his death in 1904. On April 6, 1897 Capello sent $50.00 to the Mother Superior for the Sacred Heart Chapel. "En retour, il [Capello] sollicite les prières de la Commauté." 230 The chronicler goes on to write that "Capello a aidé Mère St.-Jean Berchmans 231 à peindre quelques toiles qui serviront pour les fêtes." 232 It is unclear at this time which paintings these were but in the Spring, the Ursulines received a letter from Capello dated May 2, 1897 at which time he wrote, "Je remerci la Rev. Mère St. Jean

229 Conversation with Soeur Yolande Lafleche, curator of the museum of the Ursulines at Trois-Rivières. The restoration was in the form of "lavage avec un linge et un produit spécial. Aucune retouche."

Béatrice Lafontaine (Soeur St. Luc) (1902- ) worked in a studio at the Monastery from 1921 to 1975; teaching and executing numerous projects. She had worked with Mère St. Jean-Berchmans (Cyrenne) who in turn had worked with Capello. From 1942-46 Soeur St. Luc had attended courses at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Quebec. In 1968 she had taken a tour of museums in Europe and the Middle East, and a summer course at the Louvre in France.

Roch Leboeuf was an employee of the Monastery and a self-taught artist.


231 Soeur St. Jean-Berchmans (Mélanie Cyrenne) 1870-1944, was a teacher of painting at the Monastery for fifty years. Over one hundred of her paintings are housed in Trois-Rivières including decorative cards, ornamental designs, etc. She even painted on porcelain of which a few pieces have remained.

232 Ibid.
Berchmandl [sic] pour ses généreux remerciements, pour la petite gravure (la barque)."\textsuperscript{233} The letter was addressed from New York but no specific location was mentioned. Capello noted that he had found "un peu de bon heure\textsuperscript{234} and "l'ouvrage que j'ai fait dans la charmante chapelle de Sacre Coeur chez-vous, a été pour moi le oasis du desert.\textsuperscript{235} In the same letter Capello states that "l'église de Bridgeport après avoir faite comme les autre (depuis dix ans) son apparition, comme aussi elle est disparue.\textsuperscript{236} This rather confusing letter confirms that Capello worked in New York but efforts at finding a parish in Bridgeport [sic] have been unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{237} A month later Capello wrote again to the Ursulines from New York in a letter dated June 11, 1897\textsuperscript{238} in response to the publication of the Nacelle de Sainte-Ursule.


\textsuperscript{234} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{235} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{236} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{237} On the chance that Capello was referring to Bridgeport, I contacted the Diocese in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Neither they, nor the Archdiocese of Boston (Brighton, Mass.) had any information on Capello. The Center for Migration Studies and the American Artist's directory do not have Capello noted.

\textsuperscript{238} A.U.T.R., document n. VII-0031-3, (appendix n. 3).
Included with the two copies of the historical pamphlet must have been the biography\textsuperscript{239} which Rev. Marguerite-Marie had written concerning Capello, since the monastery received his corrections on June 11, 1897.\textsuperscript{240} Perhaps it was also at this time that Capello sent the description of his work in the cupola at Trois-Rivières.\textsuperscript{241} The Ursulines received two more letters from Capello, one originating in Turin and dated December 10, 1898\textsuperscript{242} with Christmas greetings and nostalgic reminiscences of his work at the monastery, and the other from the Salesian Orphanage in Paris, dated August 12, 1900. This last letter empowered the Ursulines to divulge his location in Paris only after his death, to his in-laws in Quebec, the Lebruns.\textsuperscript{243}

3 - Easel paintings with a religious subject

On Capello's paintings in oils Gérard Morisset wrote, "...Devant une boîte de couleurs à l'huile, il [Capello] perd son aplomb. Et ses tableaux à l'huile (Saint-Paul-Ermité, Saint-Rémi et Saint-Isidore de Napierville) ont dû être

\textsuperscript{240} A.U.T.R., document n. VII-0031-4a, (appendix n. 4a).
\textsuperscript{241} A.U.T.R., document n. VII-0031-6, (appendix n. 6).
Although Morisset preferred Capello's frescoes I believe his negative opinion of Capello's oils must have been influenced by a prejudice towards Italian painters and secondly by a judgement rendered on paintings that even he admitted, were retouched. Contrarily, it is my opinion that Capello was more accomplished as an easel painter than a fresco painter. This is evident in his difficulty in foreshortening space when working on a curved space or even adjusting perspective on a flat surface. Unlike Morisset, I feel that Saint-Rémi and the four panels of Saint-Isidore are particularly successful. I would, however, agree with Morisset concerning the four paintings at St. Paul l'Ermite. They are heavily retouched. Surely one cannot evaluate a painter on the basis of restorations done by another artist.

Capello's knowledge of painting techniques began of course at the Accademia Albertina in Turin under Gamba and Gastaldi. Whether or not Capello can be judged as accomplished as his teachers is really irrelevant in Canada where their works cannot be compared. It must be remembered that given the relatively small number of artists with the academic formation of Capello in Quebec, his Italian artistic heritage and his contacts among the religious hierarchy in

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244 Gérard Morisset, Coup d'œil sur les arts en Nouvelle-France, op. cit., p. 91.

245 Ibid.
the province, this arguably minor painter did receive some noteworthy commissions.

If one examines Capello's easel works of religious subjects in a chronological order, the four paintings at St. Paul l'Ermite (1875) would be his first recorded work in Canada. The decoration of the church of St. Paul l'Ermite was closely supervised by the curé M. Huot.246 The church had been renovated in 1872 with the addition of a second gallery to accommodate the additional parishioners resulting from the annexation of the Champlain county.247 The decoration of the interior began in September of 1874 by Francois Archambault, 'entrepreneur', and [?] Bourgeau, a sculptor, according to the newspaper La Minerve.248 It was curé Huot that financed the paintings of Saint-Paul l'Ermite's life for the sanctuary, according to local archivist Onil Therrien: "Pour orner le sanctuaire, il [le curé Huot] fit peindre en 1874-1875, à ses frais et grâce à des dons de quelques paroissiens, quatre grandes toiles représentant les principaux traits de la vie de Saint-Paul.

246 Abbé Louis-Joseph Huot was born in Quebec on March 1817. He studied at Ste.-Anne de la Pocatière and was ordained in Montreal on December 21, 1844. He was the curé and founder of St. Paul l'Ermite (1859-1897) where he died on September 18, 1897.


248 La Minerve, March 26, 1974.
l'Ermite." 249 Gérard Morisset also confirms the date of 1874 on one of Capello's paintings, Saint-Paul en prière. The problem is that Capello clearly wrote in the correction to his biography written by the Ursuline Eugénie Lassalle (appendix n. 4a), that he was not in Paris in 1868 but rather "à Paris en 1875." How can one explain this discrepancy? Perhaps Capello made an error and chose not correct it, or perhaps the date was added later by a restorer who had misread the original. One can assume that Morisset saw it in 1938 when he wrote "signé et daté en bas à gauche: CAPPELLO pinx 1874." 250 This problem with dates, unfortunately, makes the exact time of Capello's arrival in Canada less precise. The other three paintings are also signed by Capello and dated 1875.

If one studies the architectural bays in the apse of St. Paul, Capello's paintings were conceived to fit exactly into

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249 Christian Roy and Onil Therrien, op. cit., pp. 18-19. No footnotes are given to this passage by the authors and access to church archives were denied to the author by the curé. According to Morisset, "il [Capello] logeait au presbytère et travaillait pour sa nourriture..." I.B.C., Fonds Gérard Morisset, Notes prises au cours de l'été 1938 by G. Morisset et J. Bazin. This quote has been impossible to substantiate, although Onil Therrien agrees. According to Morisset and Bazin in the same source, "Les tableaux qu'il [Capello] a faits ont été payés avec l'argent de l'abbé Portier et de certains paroissiens..." According to the archivist Monique Monbrillant at the Archdiocese of Montreal, abbé Portier was not at St. Paul l'Ermite and she thinks that Morisset made an error. She confirms abbé Huot as the sponsor of the commission. Archivist Onil Therrien of St. Paul l'Ermite also believes Morisset was mistaken.

250 I.B.C., Fonds Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, (Saint-Paul l'Ermite 1874), p. 12372.
the framework specifically designed for their reception. There are seven long rectangular elements behind the altar. Early photographs of the sanctuary (fig. 73) show that in the apse the paintings were the length of the two niches that contained windows. The sequence from left to right was *Saint-Paul faisant l'aumône*\textsuperscript{251} (1875), then *Saint-Paul Ermite en prière*\textsuperscript{252} (1874), separated by a window, then a painting directly on the wall showing a landscape and clouds (which was painted over during the 1980 renovation), *Visite de Saint-Antoine à Saint Paul* (1875), another window and ending with the painting *La Mort de Saint-Paul Ermite* (1875). The four paintings of St. Paul's life and the backdrop fresco were 14' X 6" in height and 5' X 8" in width with a semi-circular top determined by the wooden decorative frames of the apse which were repeated seven times. The windows had pointed arches which were reflected in the solid decorated plaster in the bays (fig. 74). By 1981 (fig. 76) these wall decorations were painted over in white and the background painting which had been directly behind the altar had disappeared. The statue in the original church (fig. 73) was that of St. Paul with lowered arms, and with radiating rays behind him. In the next renovation (fig. 74) the original statue was replaced by St. Paul with raised arms and a halo.

251 aumône - alms in French

252 The name of Capello's paintings at Saint-Paul l'Ermite follow Gérard Morisset's notes.
of electric bulbs. Eventually this halo was replaced (fig. 75) and the statue was removed entirely by 1981 (fig. 76). A new, modern crucifix hangs in its place today.

It is not known if Capello had painted the scenic panel for the apse, but it is entirely possible.

If one accepts the date of 1874 on the painting entitled \textit{Saint-Paul Ermite en prière} (fig. 78), it would have been the first one painted by Capello signed with two 'p's' (fig. 77). The sequence of the four episodes in St. Paul's life begins logically with \textit{Saint-Paul faisant l'ouâne} (1875).\footnote{According to the legend recorded in the writings of St. Jerome entitled \textit{Life}, St. Paul was born of a rich family in Thebais, in the district of Thebes (Luxor) in Upper Egypt in 229 A.D.}

In Capello's painting St. Paul is pictured as a boy of approximately fifteen years, dressed in a white tunic with a red cloak held by a gold pin on his right shoulder (fig. 78). He wears Roman sandals and above his head is a golden halo. In an interview, the restorer of the four Capello paintings, Gabrielle Ayotte-Lalonde,\footnote{Mrs. Ayotte-Lalonde was interviewed by the author on March 9, 1989 at her home in St. Eustache. She stated that the Capello paintings were removed from the sanctuary at St. Paul l'Ermite in the 1930's and stored in the attic of the church in long rectangular square folds (noticeable on the paintings even today) (fig. 81). Onil Therrien, archivist at the church, in a telephone conversation with the author on February 15, 1989, said the paintings were removed in 1960 during renovations. "One had to trample on them to reach the lights of the church." Mrs. Ayotte-Lalonde also noted that when she unrolled the canvases, large stains from broken wine bottles were evident.} said that very little was left of the original face of the saint when she was given the...
paintings for restoration in 1980. According to Ayotte-Lalonde

Ils [les tableaux] étaient en lambeaux en si mauvais état, personne ne voulait les toucher. Ils ont été remis sans les rouler et plier comme des draps pendant trent [sic] ans et sa [sic] donnait des carreaux, des plis de toutes sortes, de plus la vermine en avait manger. Il y avait des trous où je me passais le bras et la peinture tombant comme du sable. À plusieurs endroits il n'y avait rien.

Heureusement à certain[s] endroit[s] il y avait des traits noirs (equisses) comme point de repaire et j'ai fait de mon mieux. J'ai travaillé au pouce carre sans trop en mettre pour conserver l'autenticité [de] Capello. On me les a apportés à mon atelier, cela a pris 10 mois.

Given the extent of the restoration one has to proceed cautiously in any discussion of Capello's palette or technique in these paintings. An examination of the

255 In a letter dated November 17, 1980 from curé Jean-Paul Lebeau and Onil Therrien (marguillier) a request was made to the ministère des Affaires Culturelles, M. Bernard Oumet "...nous vous adresses une requête relative à la restauration de quatre fresques [sic] datées et signées Luigi Capello [sic], peintes durant la période 1874-1875." According to Onil Therrien there was little interest shown by the ministry to have Capello's paintings restored. Mrs. Ayotte-Lalonde said in a conversation with the author on February 15, 1989 that she felt it was because he was Italian in origin. Eventually the restoration was financed by the Allaire family in the community. The commission was first offered to Gabrielle Messier, a student of Ozias Leduc, but she declined and recommended Mrs. Ayotte-Lalonde who had studied at the Beaux-Arts in Montreal.

256 Letter from Mrs. Gabrielle Ayotte-Lalonde to the author dated March 4, 1989. The painted column supporting the portico had cracked very badly and was very dry. Gabrielle Messier had informed Ayotte-Lalonde that Capello had painted on linen used for sails without an undercoating of jesso, to cut costs. Perhaps this can also account to some extent for the deplorable condition the paintings at St. Paul were found in.
composition and iconographic details, however, is entirely valid. In continuing the analysis of *Saint-Paul faisant l'aumône*, one can remark on the presence of a large black slave carrying a chest, the lid of which is slightly ajar. Given St. Paul's place of birth in Upper Egypt (which bordered the Sudan), this is a very plausible figure. The setting of this painting is a mixture of both Roman and Middle Eastern elements. The soldier dressed in Roman garb, stands under a columned portico facing away from the beggar. Above him on a balcony (fig. 80) is a stone plaque in bas-relief depicts a Roman soldier riding a chariot pulled by two horses. On the balcony are two figures: a man and a woman looking down at the scene below with St. Paul. The small man with curly dark hair is said to be a self-portrait of Capello.257 "Cappello s'est portaituré dans le jeune homme qui se penche à la balustrade,"258 according to Gérard

257 When Ayotte-Lalonde asked Gabrielle Messier why Capello appeared so short, she was told that it was because he was a hunchback. She was also told by Messier that the female figure beside him was his wife, Marie-Louise Lebrun. This was an impossibility since Capello only married in 1881. This fact was mentioned by Gabrielle Messier in a letter to the author dated April 1, 1989 and verified in the marriage registry of the City of Montreal. This painting was clearly dated 1875 to the right of St. Paul's left foot.

258 I.B.C., Fonds Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, (St. Paul l'Ermite), p. 12373. Morisset cited a conversation he had with the curé, the abbé Pierre Paré on September 13, 1938 who told him that this was a self-portrait by Capello. No mention of this is made in the article which appeared in the *L'Opinion Publique* of November 9, 1876 on p. 506 that stated only that "...ces deux serviteurs, placés sur le balcon du château..." p. 506.
Morisset. There is some confusion as to the identity of the female companion on the balcony pointing down and holding a large elaborate throw with a scene of a Roman temple and three pedestrians in togas. Perhaps the woman is Capello's sister Emerenzia. Capello and Marie-Louise most likely only met in 1875 when Capello took up residence at the Lebrun boarding house in Old Montreal.

The upper third of the sky behind the figures, according to Ayotte-Lalonde, had to be entirely repainted from an original tiny corner. Her technique was to use copious amounts of oil on the original paint to determine Capello's colors. Then she repainted with a mixture of equal parts of turpentine and oil paint. She admitted to adding plaster of Paris to make the oils dry faster. She stated that had she used heavy oils as Capello had done the paintings would have cracked when they were unrolled at the church to be rehung (1981).

The original pointed nose of Capello's [?] companion on the balcony was altered by the restorer to "make her better-

259 See chpt. I, footnote 25.

260 "Marie-Louise avait une maison de pension, Ozema et Adelia Leduc étaient couturières, habitaient cette pension, Ozias Leduc aussi. C'est comme cela Luigi Capello habitait aussi cette pension avec [sic] son mariage." Letter from Gabrielle Messier to the author, dated February 21, 1989. Marie-Louise Lebrun was Ozias Leduc's cousin since their mothers were sisters (the Brouillettes).

261 Interview with Ayotte-Lalonde, March 9, 1989.
looking." The leaves that can be seen cascading from the balcony were re-done by the restorer using Capello's underdrawings, which were still evident. The original greenery had been described as "la verdure qui encadré si bien le sujet, rejoit la vue et indique l'habileté de l'artiste." According to Ayotte-Lalonde, Capello used a black outline with what she compared to "un crayon de feutre" to sketch the leaves and a heavy black paint in other places to sketch the figures and architectural details.

To the left of St. Paul is a group of people with the greatest emphasis placed on the beggar that kneels at the saint's feet. Behind him is a woman "à l'italienne décolletée," in a blue dress with a child. Tradition identifies her as Capello's mother. Morisset noted "la dame en bleu serait la mère de l'artiste." In a letter to the ministère des affaire culturelles, curé Lebeau says "se serait lui-même [Capello] peint sur une de ces toiles ainsi sa mère et quelques autres personnes de St. Paul l'Ermite.

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262 Ibid. Photos of Marie-Louise Lebrun reproduced in Laurier Lacroix's catalogue, Dessins inédits d'Ozias Leduc: Ozias Leduc the Draughtsman., Concordia University, Montreal: ill. 9, p. 29, shows a woman with a round nose which further calls into question the identity of Capello's companion on the balcony as being his wife.

263 L'Opinion Publique, November 9, 1876.

264 According to Ayotte-Lalonde

265 I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, p. 12373.
venues le voir travailler."^266 If this is true, perhaps the faces in the crowd are those of parishioners. The beggar in the painting was heavily restored, with traces of white tunic on his knee (observed by the author in photos taken by Ayotte-Lalonde when the painting first arrived in her studio), entirely absent in the final re-painting. The knee apparently had to be entirely re-done, as was the treasure chest, the saint's cloak and the soldier's leg. Behind the column stands a half-hidden Roman soldier in uniform. The crowd is completed with a woman in a turban, and an Arab in traditional dress. The blend of 'Italian' (i.e., Roman) and Middle Eastern elements is also reflected in the setting, with contained Roman architecture and a Roman statue in the garden filled with lush greenery and a palm tree to place the event firmly in Egypt. Capello used the receding lines of the stones in the road to foreshorten his space but the disproportionately small figures on the balcony are awkward. The man and the woman would have had to have been children to fit the space logically.

The second painting in chronological sequence depicts St. Paul as a hermit in the desert kneeling in prayer: *Saint-Paul en prière* (1874?), (fig. 78). According to legend, St. Paul had escaped at the age of fifteen to the desert to avoid persecution as a Christian during the purges of 249-251 at

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^266 Letter to Minister Bernard Ouimet from curé Lebeau and Onil Therrien dated November 17, 1980.
the hands of the Roman Emperor Decius. He devoted himself to
a life of absolute solitude in prayer and penitence, living
in a cave next to a palm tree by a source of pure water. He
lived there, according to legend, for ninety years without
speaking to anyone. In Capello's painting St. Paul is seen
kneeling, dressed in a red robe with a golden halo above his
head. The identifying attributes of the saint are present in
the cave: the palm and the crow which was said to have
brought him a half loaf of bread everyday. The large rock on
the right side of the painting and the mountains in the
background had only barely survived in outline before the
final restoration, according to Ayotte-Lalonde.

The third painting, Visite de Saint-Antoine à Saint-Paul
(1875) (fig. 82) shows the meeting of the two saints in front
of the cave. St. Anthony according to legend was guided to
St. Paul's location by a centaur and a satyr. After three
days he arrived only to be shunned by a distrustful St. Paul.
Capello chose to picture them in an embrace, in disregard (or
perhaps unknowing) of this detail of the legend. At this
time St. Anthony would have been ninety years old and St.
Paul, one hundred years of age. They appear painted by
Capello as bent and balding with St. Paul bearing a
remarkable similarity to the figure of Atala in Gastaldi's

267 "Atala, petit roman de Châteaubriand (1801) épisode
détaché du Génie du Christianisme...La scène se passe dans
l'Amérique du Nord. Chactas, fait prisonnier par une
peuplade ennemie de la sienne, a été condamné à être brûlé.
Atala, fille du chef ennemi, devient amoureuse du prisonnier
painting entitled Atala\textsuperscript{268} (1862) (fig. 26). The features of the face are identical, as are the long hair, the beards, and the unraised arms. The woven blanket under the dead Atala with an angled-cross, are not unlike the cross behind St. Paul's head in Capello's last painting, Mort de Saint-Paul Ermite (1875) (fig. 83). Capello was at the Accademia Albertina in 1862 when Gastaldi exhibited this painting and a lithograph copy was made.\textsuperscript{269} Possibly Capello made a sketch of this work or possessed a printed copy to refer to for his own painting. St. Paul is half-dressed, wearing only a woven garment made from the only source of material in the desert, the palm. This piece of clothing is another identifiable attribute of St. Paul. St. Anthony's pilgrim's cane lies beside a rock and above their heads in the tree is a crow holding a loaf of bread.\textsuperscript{270} One of the miracles witnessed by

et s'enfuit avec lui, mais élevée dans la foi Chrétienne, se croyant condamnée à rester vierge, elle s'empoisonne. Le P. Aubry, missionnaire, qui a reçu sa confession, aide Chactas à l'ensevelir." Dictionnaire Larousse du XX siècle, tome I, Librairie Larousse, Paris: 1928, p. 408.

\textsuperscript{268} Andrea Gastaldi exhibited this painting at the Promotrice di Torino and sold it for 3000 lire to the Ministero delle Finanze. It was reproduced in a lithograph by F. Perrin and Gran Didier for the album of the Promotrice in 1862 that accompanied the exhibit. The painting was also exhibited in Dublin (1865), Parma (1870) ... For more information see Rosanna Maggio-Serra op. cit., p. 202 and p. 211.

\textsuperscript{269} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{270} The legend of St. Anthony's visit became a popular cult in central Europe, especially in Hungary from the thirteenth century. The crow with the bread was symbolic of the Eucharist bringing food to the soul. "Paulus et Antonius
the two saints was the appearance of the crow that had nourished St. Paul for sixty years, display a full loaf for the two saints to eat instead of the regular half-loaf.

Capello has placed the two saints one-third of the way up the canvas to create an illusion of distance. The receding space is accentuated by hazy blue mountains which reflect the blue of the sky. "Puis la vue d'une partie de la grotte, et cette fontaine jaillissant d'un rocher et formant un ruisseau, toutes ces choses réunis font de ce tableau une peinture qui enchante." Unfortunately, by 1980 this painting, according to Ayotte-Lalonde, was in an advanced stage of decomposition like the others. The crow's wings were missing and the palm tree had to be entirely re-painted. The rope around St. Anthony's waist was very faint, as were his robe and cane. A large hole protruded under the cloud to the right of the painting and this work, more than any of the other three, had numerous holes where mice had eaten through. St. Paul's knee was missing entirely and his left foot had no depth left due to lack of tonality in faded paint. Ayotte-Lalonde admits to an extensive program of re-painting to give this canvas a semblance of the original. She added varnish to the paint to make the new oils look like the old ones that were still discernable. The entire bottom half of St. Paul's


271 L'Opinion Publique, November 6, 1876, p. 506.
woven vest was missing and had to be redone. The last painting by Capello was Mort de Saint-Paul l'Ermite (1875) (fig. 83) depicting the dead St. Paul frozen in an attitude of prayer. After living with St. Anthony for thirteen years, St. Paul received a premonition of his impending death. He requested that St. Anthony bring him the cloak given to him by Saint Athanase the Great, of Alexandria, so that he could be buried in it. When Anthony was returning from his mission, he saw a vision of two angels carrying St. Paul's soul to heaven and indeed upon his arrival, he found St. Paul already dead, his body in the position of prayer, at the mouth of the cave. Miraculously two lions appeared to help St. Anthony dig a grave.

Capello's last painting was a composition depicting this final stage in St. Paul's life. Capello had chosen to show the eye of God in a triangle emitting rays to the dead saint. This eye, according to the restorer, had to be painted in because only an outline existed. St. Anthony bearing the blue cloak of St. Athanase required facial features and St. Paul himself was missing both knees (fig. 84). The lions in the foreground also had to be re-painted to give them faces because in some places Ayotte-Lalonde found only five-inch-square pieces remaining of Capello's original work.

The composition of this last painting shows a dominant figure of the suppliant saint gazing up to heaven, his arms raised in prayer. St. Anthony on the left, seen to be
slightly below to emphasize his secondary position, clasps his hands in awe with his face revealed only in profile. The lions in the foreground are large and fierce-looking in what is perhaps an overly distracting manner.

This series for St. Paul l'Ermite²⁷² was Capello's introductory commission and from the tone of a newspaper review of the day, it was well-received.

"L'artiste italien, monsieur Louis Capello demeurant a Montreal, qui a fait les fresques de cette eglise, doit etre fier de son ouvrage, et peut experer, en meme temps, le succes qu'il merite a si juste titre. Nous lui souhaitons d'etre mieux connu, car alors assurement, il sera encourage.²⁷³

As a result of the successful completion of the commission at St. Paul l'Ermite, cure Huot asked Capello to do a large portrait of Pope Pius IX which can be found today at the College de l'Assomption. Perhaps also through his acquaintance with Capello (they lived together at the same boarding house), Ozias Leduc was asked to do the frescoes depicting the cherubim in the apse in 1892 at Saint-Paul l'Ermite.²⁷⁴


²⁷³ L'Opinion publique, November 9, 1876, p. 506. Interestingly the last sentence quoted here was not included in Gerard Morisset's notes in the I.B.C., p. 12375.

²⁷⁴ Ayotte-Lalonde remembers Gabrielle Messier telling her that Ozias Leduc recounted to her how the cure had asked him to paint nice angels with beautiful faces and not
For the next ten years, Capello's paintings of religious subjects on canvas were single commissions for the 'maître-autels' in churches outside the island of Montreal. A year after the work at St. Paul l'Ermite, Capello secured a commission for a painting of Saint-Alexandre (1876) (fig. 86) for the church of St. Alexandre in Kamouraska county, Quebec. Given the sizeable distance of this community from Montreal (approx. 500 km), perhaps this painting was ordered by proxy through a close network of curés from Capello's studio in Montreal. 275 Although it is impossible to prove, it would seem that Capello could easily have painted the work for St. Alexandre and had it shipped. Otherwise the expense of going to St. Alexandre for the $160.00276 that he earned is questionable.

The painting of Saint-Alexandre (fig. 87) is positioned centrally on the wall behind the 'maître-autel' between the paintings of l'Immaculée-Conception (fig. 89) and l'Apparition de Notre-Seigneur à Sainte-Marguerite-Marie (fig. 90), both of which are reproductions executed by the

monkeys. These frescoes were painted over by a heavy layer of white paint during the renovations in 1960.

275 Check appendix n. 16 for a listing in Lovell's Montreal Directory. In 1876 Capello's moved his studio from 54 Notre-Dame to 97 Jacques Cartier.

276 Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Alexandre, Administration de la fabrique - livre de comptes recettes et dépenses (1875-1905), le 12 mai 1876 "payé tableau de St. Alexandre 160." (B.3.132)
Religieuses du Bon-Pasteur\textsuperscript{277} in 1875.\textsuperscript{278} The parish of St. Alexandre had been established in 1850, with the first mass celebrated in 1851. Church records describe the difficulty in raising money from the surrounding farm community for the construction and decoration of the church. Many farmers paid their share in labour or in farm produce which was sold to raise money. The sacristy and the presbytery were only completed in 1866 and with curé Clovis Roy's direction, attention was finally given to the decoration of the interior. The tabernacle and the pulpit were the work of Sabas Thibault. The style Thibault chose for the decorative details was Roman, "suivant les plans et les goûts de Messire le curé."\textsuperscript{279} In actuality the 'maître-autel' at St. Alexandre was a replica of the large altar of the Basilica of Quebec, sculpted by François Baillargé in 1797. The original model adapted by Baillargé was a miniature of St. Peter's in Rome, with its cupola and facade. Sabas Thibault also prepared the decorative mouldings for the paintings. Into this classic Roman-styled church both the subject and

\textsuperscript{277} For more information see, Saint-Alexandre de Kamouraska 1852-1952, Société historique de Kamouraska, Publication de la Société historique de Kamouraska, Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière: 1er juillet 1952, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{278} Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Alexandre, Comptes de la fabrique en 1875 (dépense), "acompte aux Soeurs du Bon-Pasteur pour les tableaux (du chœur) $100."

\textsuperscript{279} Ibid., Notes historiques du 11 juillet 1982 by Lyne Deschênes, Suzanne Lapointe and Denis Samson.
the execution of Capello's painting fit perfectly. 280 Slightly off center, dressed in a red tunic and adorned by a mitre, stands St. Alexander 281 on the stairs of what could be a church. He points to heaven with his right hand and holds a bishop's crosier with his left hand. Behind him are five other bishops clothed in more muted colors of beige-orange. The scene is definitely Middle Eastern, with a minaret dominating the blue sky and a gathered crowd dressed in flowing robes. Capello no doubt wanted to establish the setting as Constantinople but he possibly forgot that Islam began in the 600's and St. Alexander was alive in the 300's. The costuming of the clergy in Capello's painting is also Roman Catholic in tradition and not Eastern Orthodox. 282 St. Alexander seems to stare out into a plane beyond the painting as though there could be a crowd directly in front of him which is implied, but not seen. The decorative details of the lace at his throat and in the fine transparent material above his knees, shows Capello's mastery of painting.

280 St. Alexander stands on a grand staircase similar to Caltiari's painting entitled Il Cristo della Moneta (c. 1869) at the Accademia's gallery, fig. 88.

281 St. Alexander of Constantinople (313-333) gained prominence at the First Council of Nicea in 325.

282 I have concluded that Capello did not have Alexander Sauli (1534-1593), (Bishop of the Corsica Diocese of Algeria) in mind because of two factors: he was canonized in 1904 and this painting dates to 1875, and the presence of the Middle Eastern clothing in the congregation. Considering that Alexander Sauli was transferred to Pavia near Milan, close to Turin, at first it would seem logical that Capello would have portrayed a saint from Piedmont.
techniques. Above St. Alexander's head fly a symbolic threesome of doves, a representation of the Holy Trinity. The Bishop, located directly behind St. Alexander and in conversation with another priest, has a particularly successfully rendered face and beard. Capello's composition in this painting (fig. 86) is based on a series of diagonals which begin in the bottom right corner and recede into the canvas from the figure of the saint, to the hanging element of the fort, and finally end at the minaret. The use of architectural elements such as the stairs, place the saint above the crowd, thereby giving him importance and foreshortening space in the painting. Capello was familiar, from his academic training and observation of other artists, with the principles necessary to achieve a harmonious composition. The ensemble of Capello's painting and the two others by the Soeurs de Bon-Pasteur (figs. 89 & 90) form a triangular ensemble against white pilasters and a cornice with gilded architectural elements which catches and reflects light. The visual effect is one of classic balance and restraint. The gilded frames set off the dark oil paintings behind a golden, sculpted, tabernacle which dominates the apse. According to the present-day\textsuperscript{283} curé Dube, Capello's painting was recently re-varnished but no other details concerning this work have been located. It is only by

\textsuperscript{283} Conversation between the author and curé Dube took place on April 5, 1989.
secondary sources that we know that this unsigned and undated painting is attributed to Capello.

In December of 1876, Capello was mentioned in the church records of the small farm parish of Saint-Rémi, near Napierville, Quebec. He had made a bid to "peindre et décorer la voûte de l'église... pour la somme de deux mille cinq cents piastres."\footnote{284} In the deliberations of the 'marguilliers' it was evident that they found the price too steep.

La Fabrique emploierait pour cela la somme de mille piastres... est revoquée et annulée...
Les Syndics... se décidèrent à faire exécuter les autres travaux de peinture, aux quels ils sont obligés, par le même peintre, le sieur Louis Capello, artiste de Montréal, n'a pas été remplie, par les dits Syndics, qui refusent d'employer le dit Sieur Capello pour les dits ouvrages de peinture....\footnote{285}

The following year on February 25, 1877 the 'marguilliers' met again and the decision read:

L'on fera peindre la voûte et les boiseries du fond du chœur de la dite église de St. Rémi: la Fabrique emploiera pour cette fin la somme de cinq cents piastres:... et passer contrat pour les dits ouvrages de peinture avec le Sieur Napoléon Carrière peintre de Longueuil, qui offre de faire les dits ouvrages à la satisfaction des dits Marguilliers et de fournir des bonnes et valables conditions....\footnote{286}

Capello was obviously outbid by a local artist who was willing to do the job for 2000 piastres less. In small rural

\footnote{284} Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Rémi, 

\footnote{285} Ibid., p. 263.

\footnote{286} Ibid., 
\textit{Livre de comptes}, February 25, 1877, p. 264.
communities money was less readily available for the non-
essential elements of the church and it is possible that
Capello felt his experience and expertise commanded a
substantial price. In this case, a native Quebec artist was
given the commission.287 In actual fact, church records
indicate that Napoléon Carrière was paid $48.50 on February
25, 1877 and another $750.00 on December 15, 1878. An
additional sum of $535.00 was given to Carrière on February
25, 1877.288 The parish did however decide to replace the
painting in the 'maître-autel' on April 29, 1877 and it was
agreed that they would "...faire peindre un tableau de Saint-
Rémi pour le maître-autel en remplacement de celui qui y est
actuellement, et a employer la somme de deux cent piastres
pour l'exécution de ce tableau."289 The total finally paid
to Carrière therefore was $1333.50 and not $500.00.
Capello's asking price had been approximately $500.00 more.
Capello was paid $151.50 "pour le tableau de St.
Rémi...balance $60.00...."290

In my opinion Capello's painting of Baptême de Clovis

287 Napoléon Carrière is not listed by J. Russell
Harper, op. cit.

288 Ibid., Livres des dépenses de la fabrique Saint-
Rémi (1876-1877), article 5, p. 283, article 3, p. 286, and
article 9, p. 292.

289 Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Rémi, Livre de
comptes, April 29, 1877, p. 265.

290 Ibid., April 29, 1877, article II, p. 283 and
article VIII, p. 292.
par Saint-Rémi (1877) (fig. 91) is one of his most accomplished works. This large painting which measures 10' X 6' is signed 'CAPPELLO inv. et pinx 18(?). The date is partially hidden by an elaborate gilded rectangular frame with a curved top which mirrored the ornately corniced niche where it fits perfectly. The engaged white columns with gilded Corinthian capitals framed the painting, making it the focus of the congregation's attention and not detracting from its importance. The entire decorative program of the apse gives emphasis to the 'pièce de résistance': the Capello painting. Even the sculpted 'maître-autel' featuring a three-niched classical church facade, with a gilded dome, is small enough to permit an unobstructed view of the painting (fig. 93). Prior to 1917 three wooden, polychromed statues of St. François-Xavier, St. Rémi and St. Joseph Calasanz by Berlinguet stood on niches on either side of the apse at the gallery level.

The subject of Capello's painting is the baptism of

291 "De grands travaux changèrent l'apparence de l'église. En 1917 on changea les bancs, on enleva les balcons latéreaux pour en faire un portique en pierre à l'avant de l'église. Finalement, en 1961 on envela le balcon arrière pour y installer les actuels." Francine Lacaille-Laberge and Marcel Chaîne, St.-Rémi - 150 ans d'histoire, Napierville: 1980, p. 28.

The three statues by Berlinguet which measured approximately five feet in height, were removed to the Musée du Québec, Québec.
Clovis, king of the Franks, after the battle of Tolbiac by St. Rémi, the Archbishop of Reims. As reported by Grégoire de Tours:

Quand il [St. Rémi] est entré dans le baptistère, le saint de Dieu lui dit de sa bouche éloquente: 'Courbe doucement la tête, Sicambre, Clovis]; adore ce que tu as brûlé, brûle ce que tu as adores." Donc le roi, ayant confessé Dieu tout-puissant et une Trinité, fût baptisé au nom du Père, du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, oint du saint chrême, avec le signe de la croix du Christ. De son armée, on baptisa plus de trois milles hommes.

The dominating figure, wearing a mitre and a long golden robe, pointing to the baptismal font, is St. Rémi (fig. 94).

292 Clovis, king of the Salian Franks was born c. 466 in Tournai (now Belgium) and died in Paris in 511. He succeeded his father as a Frankish chieftain in 481 and by 494 had conquered all of Northern Gaul. He expelled Syagrius, the last Roman, from Soissons, and took Alsace and the Palantine from the Alamanni (the French and Spanish words for Germany —'Allemagne' are derived from their name). He became a Christian in c. 498 in a mass baptism with his warriors (seen in Capello's painting). After defeating the Burgundians and driving the Visigoths from Toulouse, Clovis established his capital in Paris. Shortly before his death he presided over a Church Council, and promulgated a set of laws.

293 The Battle of Tolbiac, also known as the Battle of Zulippich, was king Clovis I's victory over the Germanic peoples known as the Alemanni (Alamanni or Alamani) in c. 498.

294 Other possible dates are 496, 499, or 506.

295 St. Rémi was a bishop for 60 years, who according to Grégoire de Tours was a man of science and gifted in rhetoric. He was born in Reims, France in 436 and became bishop at 22. According to legend, a dove representing the Holy Spirit brought from heaven a container of holy oil with which St. Rémi baptized Clovis I in c. 498. This vial of oil never emptied according to legend and was housed at the Abbey of St. Rémi in Reims which was destroyed during the French Revolution.

296 Dictionnaire des Saints, op. cit., p. 326.
His facial features are similar to the bishop that stood behind St. Alexandre (fig. 86). Capello gives his principal characters classical high foreheads and long thin noses, features that were emphasized in the academic artistic education and evident in the work of both Gamba and Gastaldi. Kneeling before St. Rémi in a posture of piety is Clovis I, easily identified by his blue cloak decorated with fleur-de-lys. His crown, denoting his worldly role as King of the Franks, is held by a page, as Clovis with head bowed gazes downward in humility before St. Rémi and the celestial power he represents. A large group of soldiers dressed in armour is pictured by Capello witnessing the baptism of their king, and, symbolically of all the Franks. The presence of spears and a banner behind the scene and to the right, are contrasted with the presence of only a cross and the bishop's crozier on the left. This emphasizes the power of one bishop over the scores of warriors supposedly carrying potentially menacing arms. The serene mood of the painting reiterates how secular power, represented by Clovis, submits to ecclesiastical power, represented by St. Rémi, willingly and with appropriate decorum.

The composition is very rich in color and a variety of architectural details. Capello has clearly set the scene inside a cathedral with large stone columns and a patterned marble or stone floor. The richly decorated carpet around the font makes a symbolic cross, adding color and interest to
the setting. Notice the slight fold in the carpet under the first step (fig. 95). This small feature demonstrates that Capello could add a touch of imperfection to the scene, reminding us of the presence of humanity. There is also an attempt by Capello to vary the facial expressions of the soldiers. By far the most beautiful face is reserved for an unidentified female saint (fig. 96) wearing an elaborate crown and cloak. The presence of a halo above her head pronounces her as a saint and her rich jewellery suggests royalty.

Capello's painting techniques in Le Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi, are varied and skilful. The face of the three major personnages are beautifully drawn and executed, and the various metals, furs, cloth and stone that Capello had to portray are well-done.

This work was very well-received, as is evident in the review it was given by La Minerve dated September 13, 1877.

Un Beau Tableau - nous sommes allés voir hier à l'évêque un magnifique tableau à l'huile de la composition de M. Luigi Capello, artiste de Montréal. Le sujet est le Baptême de Clovis, par St. Rémi après la bataille de Tolbiac. Les personnages ont été groupés d'une manière véritablement artistique. Les effets de lumière, les demi jours, la perspective et le coloris ne laissent rien à désirer. Le tableau fait honneur à M. Capello qui a révélé son talent d'une manière éclatante. Cette toile a été expédiée hier soir à St. Rémi, où elle doit être exposée au-dessus du maître autel de l'église paroissiale.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ La Minerve, September 13, 1877, p. 2.
Capello had chosen to have this painting shipped to the parish, probably from his studio at 97 Jacques Cartier in Old Montreal.

The painting was lithographed by Joseph l'Hérald, a professor of drawing at the Jesuit College of Sainte-Marie in Montreal (1872-1881). Capello replaced Hérald in this job in 1881, and held the position at the College until 1887 when he, in turn, was replaced by Ernest Brégent.

As with any artwork, it is difficult to attest to this paintings originality and, as we have seen in other work by Capello, consideration must be given, in judging his work, to the degree of restoration. From 1980 until the present the painting has not been altered, as attested by curé Gérard Régnier,

"...Durant le temps que j'étais curé à Saint Rémi c'est à dire du mois d'août 1980 au mois d'août 1986, il n'y a personne qui a touché le tableau: Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi. Même en 1981, quand on a fait le ménage de l'église, c'est à dire: laver, réparer et peinturer l'intérieur, en aucun temps les travaillants ont eu à toucher en question. Ce n'était pas inclus"

298 Mention is made of this lithograph in La Minerve, November 26, 1877, p. 2 but it has yet to be located.

299 Archives of the Compagnie de Jésus à Montréal, Collège Ste-Marie (Montréal) année académique, 1880-1887 gives a prospectus and a list of students.

300 Ernest Brégent (act. c. 1874-80) Painter. Worked on decoration of Church of Notre-Dame, Montreal c. 1874-80...taught freehand drawing at Council of Arts and Manufacturers School in Montreal 1887-8, and lived at 1785 St. Catharine [sic] St., Montreal 1903... Harper, 1981, p. 43.
Two years after completing this painting, in 1879, Capello completed a large painting approximately 4' X 5', entitled *L'Éducation de la Vierge* (fig. 97) which used to hang in the sacristy of the chapel of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Montreal. The painting is signed 'Capello pinx 1879' in the bottom right corner. Saint Anne, dressed in a red dress with a brown cloak and an off-white scarf on her head, is seated outside by a large rock, with the Virgin Mary, dressed in a light beige dress, holds a book on her mother's lap. The golden-haired child at their left seems barely three years old. The mood is rather serious and solemn with St. Anne gazing unsmiling down at the child. Her face is that of a middle-aged woman with average features. Mary on the other hand, seems pretty and tries to engage her mother with a wide-eyed and receptive face bearing a hint of a smile. Capello has given some thought to the setting: a large palm tree and a rocky ground remind the spectator of Judea. Distant blue mountains give the painting depth. The predominance of the two central figures is emphasized by light being cast on them directly. The positioning of the bodies, the many folds of drapery and the high-browed classical faces show Capello's academic schooling.

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302 I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, p. 12358.
The condition of this painting is deplorable: it has started to crack badly and sags in many places. The painting is now located in the museum of the Chapelle de Bonsecours, hung rather incongruously above a miniature depiction of the life of Marguerite Bourgeoys. Perhaps this painting was moved from its original place on the third floor of the chapel in 1885, when extensive renovations were done by Edouard Meloche under the supervision of a Sulpician, Hugues Lenoir.303

Capello painted a large rectangular painting (approximately 7'0" X 4'0") in June of 1883 for the chapel of Sacré-Coeur at l'Assomption, Québec entitled l'Apparition du Sacré-Coeur à Sainte-Marguerite-Marie. The chapel was attached to the Hospice des Soeurs de la Providence which was founded in 1870 by curé Pierre Feriol Dorval.304 The Soeurs de la Providence were asked by the curé to found the hospice to tend to the many sick and homeless in this rural area in a time before government welfare. The original chapel was

303 According to P. Gugliemo Vangelist, o.s.m., op. cit., p. 130, the Italian community celebrated 'Pasque, alla Madonna del Soccorso,' (Notre-Dame de Bonsecours) at this chapel prior to their own community church being built.

304 Abbé Dorval was born at l'Assomption on January 18, 1820 and had studied at the Séminaire de Montréal. He was ordained in 1843. He became a professor of philosophy at the Collège de l'Assomption from 1843-49 and a procurator from 1849-63. He was the curé at l'Assomption from 1852-1896 until he was promoted to 'chanoine (Canon) honoraire' of the Cathedral of Montreal until 1903. He died on February 13, 1903.
built in 1880\textsuperscript{305} and decorated by 1883\textsuperscript{306} to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Collège de l'Assomption, located nearby. A theatre was also built at that time for the same occasion (fig. 98). It was situated across from the Collège and Capello was asked to decorate the building and paint some scenery curtains.

The interior of the Chapelle Sacré-Coeur has undergone at least four major alterations and Capello's painting has been removed from its original frame (fig. 99) and glued directly to the wall of the apse (fig. 100). The painting conceived by Capello in 1883 was placed behind the 'maître-autel' in what appears in fig. 99 to be a plain gilded (?) frame with a decorative element above. This large work dominated the niche which also included four statues on stands, in niches, two to each side of the main altar. Above Capello's painting of the Apparition du Sacré-Coeur, is a fresco (?) of the L'Ascension de Jésus rising through the clouds, arms out-stretched among cherubim. The same photo shows the vaulted ceiling of the chapel with perhaps a cross

\textsuperscript{305} Archives Soeurs de la Providence, "Bénédiction de la première pierre...de la chapelle du Sacré, 6 août, 1880." Chronique de l'Hospice de Notre-Dame, p. 255.

with rays behind it in a clouded heaven. Capello may have been involved in this decoration but no mention is made in the archives of the Soeurs de la Providence of the artist or the commission.

The second phase of renovations took place on July 17, 1923 when archives record urgent repairs to the ceiling of the chapel. The ceiling was given a different design and Capello's painting has been removed from the rectangular frame and attached to the wall of the apse (fig. 100). The new frame is oval on top and painted directly onto the back wall. There are two statues (of the original four), to each side of the painting, with new sculpted cherubim heads underneath. Even the cornice above the painting was altered and Capello's work was lowered to fit underneath it unlike in the original (fig. 99) where the frame hid some of the decoration. The fresco in the dome of the apse of L'Ascension de Jésus has disappeared and another painting that of Dieu Le Père (fig. 104) has replaced the original.

307 Between June 1883 and August 1884 there was an interruption of regular mass in the chapel after the initial opening celebrations on June 16, 1883. According to archivist Soeur Antonia Charbonneau of the Providence Archives, "...cela laisse soupçonner qu'une partie du travail artistique à l'intérieur de la bâtisse pouvait être en cour. En 1941, j'ai vu la chapelle; elle recelait encore dans son ciel de magnifiques peintures, défraîchies par le temps mais encore belles, témoins d'une main d'artiste habile de jadis; j'en avais été impressionné." Letter to the author dated November 20, 1990.

308 Archives Providence (Soeur de la Providence), Album historique-chapelle Sacré-Cœur, "réparations urgentes, toiture chapel." 17 juillet 1923, p. 33.
By far the most modifying renovation came about in 1950 (fig. 101). "Les importants travaux que nous avons décidé de faire exécuter à la chapelle vont commencer incessamment; ils consisteront dans l'édification d'un demi étage au-dessus de la sacristie, l'agrandissement du jubé des grand'mères, la réparation et la peinture des murs, les renouvellements des bancs, du chemin de croix, de la balustrade, etc."\textsuperscript{309} By September 1950, according to the same archives (footnote n. 31), "les réparations à la chapelle [étaient] terminées."\textsuperscript{310} Capello's painting of the \textit{L'Apparition du Sacré-Cœur} has remained unchanged although one cannot judge what was done to the surface of the painting from a photograph. The chapel, however, underwent major alterations; the niches where the two statues had been were entirely walled in and a six-foot-high wall of decorative mosaic work was added behind the altar exactly under Capello's painting. Even the wooden balustrade was replaced by a metal one.

One last alteration (perhaps after 1979)\textsuperscript{311} occurred. The apse was replastered and repainted in a light beige

\textsuperscript{309} Ibid., \textit{Notes historiques de l'Hospice Notre-Dame l'Assomption (1942-1952)}, restauration de la Chapelle, le 1\textsuperscript{er} mai, 1950.

\textsuperscript{310} Ibid., le 22 septembre, 1950.

\textsuperscript{311} No records are available after April 9, 1979 when the hospice passed into the hands of the Government of Quebec, "l'hospice Notre-Dame a été vendu à la Corporation d'hébergement du Québec..." Letter from archivist Antonia Charbonneau to the author, dated November 20, 1990.
reflecting no doubt a more modern (minimalist) taste (fig. 103). Capello's painting of the L'Apparition du Sacré-Cœur à Sainte-Marguerite-Marie is still the center of attention in this new apse but the original artistic ensemble of the area for which his painting was conceived has been altered forever. The subject of this painting is of course the same one discussed in the Ursuline Chapel at Trois-Rivières but it precedes the fresco by six years. If one compares Capello's oil painting of the same subject at l'Assomption (fig. 105) to the work at Trois-Rivières (fig. 65), in my opinion the comparison shows that he is much more successful as an easel painter. The translucent quality of the saint's face and the Capellesque high forehead are noted. Jesus has a wide head and small nose similar to those of Bishop Rémi (fig. 94). At l'Assomption, Capello had shown Jesus dressed in red with a blue cloak, pointing to his bleeding heart, at which Saint Marguerite-Marie is looking directly. At Trois-Rivières Capello painted Jesus in a blue tunic covered in a bright red cloak. Perhaps this was taking into account the location of each work; in a small interior such as the chapel at l'Assomption blue had a stronger receding quality at the third storey level of the pendentives, and red was needed to identify the figure of Jesus more readily from the nave. There is no question that Capello painted on canvas with more attention to detail because of the proximity of the viewer. The richly patterned
rug is found under St. Marguerite-Marie's knees (fig. 104). The same colors were used in the pendentive but a rug was converted into a terrasso floor at Trois-Rivières. The soft, multi-layered clouds of greys and light blues with cherubim in the top right corner add a serene and gentle tone to Capello's painting. The only element of this work that strikes the eye as being incongruous is the small stature of Jesus compared to the kneeling saint. Even if one takes into account that she is closer to the picture plane, Jesus appears to be too short in the upper torso with a slightly disproportionately large head (fig. 105). The subject of this painting, however, is very clear, and the work contains touches of superb technical artistry. This example compares more favourably to Gastaldi's painting of the same subject (fig. 67) from 1878. If Capello benefited from his master's instruction one can certainly see a marked difference in execution and mastery of painting techniques.

One of Capello's most beautifully presented works hangs above the altar of St. Joachim in Pointe-Claire, Quebec. The painting, according to Morisset, is L'Enfant Jésus entre Sainte-Anne et Saint-Joachim. It is signed CAPPELLO 1885 in the bottom right corner (fig. 5). The canvas measures 8'6" X 5'11" fitting perfectly into a space of sculpted wooden architectural elements (fig. 106).312 The

312 Archives de la paroisse de Saint-Joachim, (PointeClaire), Livre de délibération 1852-1889, p. 176. Church records show that Capello was paid $150.00 for his painting.
overall program of the church is neo-gothic in the interior, reflected in the smallest detail and beautifully focused by a tabernacle in a miniature replica of a Gothic church (fig. 107). Capello's brilliant 'Italian colors,' scorned by Morisset and Messier, virtually leap out of the frame at the congregation. The painting's old varnish was removed in 1989 and small repairs were made to the canvas (only in the extreme bottom left). According to Rachel Dérhy the colors seen today are as close as possible to Capello's originals.

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313 Telephone interview with the author and Rachel Dérhy (restorer) occurred on October 25, 1989 and February 26, 1991. The canvas was also re-stretched and re-lined "avec une toile de lin pur avec résines synthétique. La face de la toile était nettoyée et l'ancien vernis enlevé. Les retouches étaient très légères pour enlever des manques de matière. Des légers glaçis étaient posés, ceci afin de retrouver l'éclat original de la peinture. Un vernis isolant et un vernis final étaient posés. La reversibilité de la restauration était garantie à la fabrique suivant les normes les plus actuelles de la restauration moderne." The frame was restored and re-gilded by Vincent Petrovšek.

314 Archives de la paroisse Saint-Joachim (Pointe-Claire), Livre des délibérations 15 sept 1889 au 22 juin 1962, in the entry for 28 mai 1962, the following item throws a different light on Capello's 'original' colors..."restaurer le tableau au dessus du maître-autel...marquilliers se réservent le droit de demander la modification des différentes teintes de peinture." In an entry for "1962-10 juin - restauration commence M. Alphonse l'Espérance de St. Sauveur..." There is no direct mention of the painting's subject, so it is possible that the painting that was restored by l'Esperance was not by Capello or perhaps only a layer of varnish was added. On February 6, 1988 an inventory was done at St. Joachim's by Christine Innes-Ruel for the 'government' of Quebec. She assessed the painting by Capello as "bon, un peu craquelé" I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, St. Joachim n. (65) 1414.
The composition for this painting by Capello bears a very close resemblance to that in Giuseppe Bottani's Madonna col Bambino, S. Giovacchino e S. Anna (date unknown) (fig. 6). The Bottani hung in the gallery of the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca where Capello went to study after leaving the Accademia Albertina in Turin (c. 1865-1870). If one compares the Capello to Bottani's painting, the triangular arrangement of the three personnages is only slightly altered. The face, especially of St. Joachim, with a very wide forehead is typical of Capello: Clovis, Jesus (at l'Assomption) and St. Isidore are but a few other examples. The figure of God the Father, in the heaven above the Holy Family, has been altered from the Botanni version to resemble a figure more in keeping with Capello's style such as in the fresco in the dome at Yamachiche (fig. 15). The open book in the bottom right corner was placed by Capello in identically the same place; however Capello added two angels to the right of St. Joachim. The overall effect of Capello's rendition is a much more charged and contracted painting. In spite of the size (8'6" X 5'11") of Capello's painting, the sensation is one of collage in bright colors, glued on a background. This lack of illusion of depth and space is even more evident when

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315 Giuseppe Bottani was born in Cremona in 1717 and died in Mantua in 1784. He was the student of Meucci and of Puglieschi in Florence. He went to Rome and was influenced by Masucci (1740). Bottani opened a studio in Mantua where he painted landscapes inspired by the style of Poussin...His portrait is in the Brera in Milan.
compared to Bottani's version. One has to ponder how Capello
could have reproduced Bottani's composition so closely
without being influenced by his painting techniques.
Possibly Capello had been required to sketch Bottani's
painting, as part of his classes at the Roman academy and had
kept his student's portfolio when he came to Canada. Another
possibility is that Capello had a lithograph of this
painting, since Bottani was a prominent Piedmontese artist.
In its present-day setting, Capello's work is the center of
attention set off beautifully by an architectural framework
and the soft colors of blues and greys, which offset the
brilliant warm 'Italian' colors in the painting (fig. 108).

The last and largest series of easel paintings with a
religious subject was painted by Capello for the parish of
Saint-Isidore, Laprairie in 1885. Five painted panels (only
one of which is signed by Capello) are attached into long
narrow framed niches similar to the architectural setting at
Saint-Paul l'Ermite (fig. 75). The length of the paintings
at Saint-Paul l'Ermite (1875) were 14'6" X 6'7" and at Saint-
Isidore (1885) 8'0" X 4'0" (originally) and 13'0" X 4'0" with
approximately 20 inches added during an undated restoration.
Each painting bears a distinct dark line marking the
addition. The series of five paintings depicting St.
Isidore's life seem to have been hung out of chronological
sequence. Whereas at Saint-Paul l'Ermite the paintings of
St. Paul's life progressed from youth to death, at St.
Isidore, the panels depict Saint-Isidore au chevet d'un mourant (fig. 110) as the first in the series with St. Isidore as a bald and bearded old monk. The next painting, moving from left to right, the only one signed 'CAPELLO' (on the bottom left stair fig. 111) is entitled Saint-Isidore ressuscitant une jeune fille (fig. 112). Logically speaking, this should have been the first painting hung in the semi-circular apse of the church. Directly above the 'maitre-autel' in an elaborately sculpted and gilded frame, is Saint-Isidore (fig. 113) depicted as a young adult kneeling in prayer. The next painting to the right is that of two figures by a stream: St. Isidore as a young farmer and a lord. The last painting in the series is Scène de rue (fig. 114), showing a young St. Isidore giving alms, again dressed in the brown tunic of the second panel (Saint-Isidore ressucitant une jeune fille). According to the present-day cure these paintings had never been removed because they are permanently painted directly on the wall.

This rural farming community's patron saint was Saint Isidore, a generous Spanish farmer whose life of piety had made him the saint of all farmers.316 In 1885 the curé

316 According to legend Isidore was born in 1080. He was raised a devout Christian and hired out by his family as a farmer to three successively different landlords outside Madrid. Eventually with the invasion of the Sarrasins, Isidore left the Madrid area and was hired by Giovanni de Vargas, who would be his last lord. Isidore became the object of extreme jealousy of his fellow-workers in every place of employment. When de Vargas appointed Isidore the manager of his farms, the accusations from the other workers
Blanchard had five paintings of the life of St. Isidore done for the sum of $750.00, 317 (of which $546.20 was collected through "souscription volontaire" 318) "par le peintre Luigi Capello; ce peintre venu d'ltalie est encore mal connu." 319 In a monograph by Jules Romme 320 written in 1983, the five panels depicting St. Isidore are described from right to left. Although this approach is chronological it nevertheless seems like a curious way to hang paintings i.e. from right to left, since Western tradition is to read from left to right. If one begins with Scène du rue, (fig. 114) according to Romme, this depicts St. Isidore wearing a brown tunic offering warm soup to a vagrant with a long beard and bare feet. Behind St. Isidore, his wife (who also according to legend, was very pious), dressed in blue and pink, stands increased. The lord decided to investigate a rumor that Isidore was constantly praying instead of working. The lord did surprise the young peasant kneeling in prayer, but close by were two angels guiding the plow in his place, pulled by oxen. Apparently as a result of witnessing this miracle Giovanni de Varges was converted to a devout Christian life. The cult of St. Isidore is especially popular in Spain; he is the patron saint of Madrid, but also of Brittany, Franche-Comte (France) and Tyrol. He was canonized only in the seventeenth century.

317 Archives de Saint-Isidore, Livre de comptes II, "le 27 déc. donné pour les tableaux de St. Isidore $750.00" p. 31.

318 Ibid., Recettes de la fabrique de Saint-Isidore (1885).


320 Ibid.
in the doorway. Although this painting is not signed, I agree with Morisset that it is in the "manièrè de Luigi Capello." The very wide forehead of the saint is noticeably Capellesque as is the now familiar face of the bearded beggar. The sharp receding space accentuated by the bottom of the house shows Capello's attempt at foreshortening the space of a very narrow canvas. The effect is awkward and amateurish, again demonstrating that Capello was primarily an easel painter and that paintings meant to be viewed from a lower perspective, offered him technical problems.

In the second panel (moving from right to left), entitled Isidore le laboureur by Morisset and Isidore fait jaillir une source (fig. 115) by Romme, a young Isidore, holding a staff, and situated by a stream, gazes at a very surprised gentleman dressed in the fashion of the sixteenth century. The lord is of course Giovanni de Varges, his employer, witnessing a miracle: Isidore has found a natural source of water. Capello's composition recedes into the picture plane through a series of elements such as the groupings of rocks and plants, and the positioning of the feet of Giovanni and Isidore's back leg which moves the eye towards a very blue sea. A servant holding the reins of a

322 I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, dossier L. Capello, p. 12366.
323 Romme, op. cit., p. 117.
horse adds interest to the scene. The lord's costume is very similar to St. Isidore depicted in a book in the Library of the Accademia Albertina. Especially the figure wearing a hat on the bottom right corner in the illustration. No doubt handbooks for artists were available for common portrayals of saints. Capello would have been familiar with most attributes of Catholic saints from his training, his travels and his personal upbringing in a religious family. The richly colored lord in bright red pantaloons contrasts sharply with the simply-dressed Isidore. The accents of green in the foliage of the plants and the azure blue of the sea give this painting color which is lacking in the first panel.

Centrally located, in a sculpted and gilded frame and measuring 9'8" X 5'0" is Saint-Isidore (fig. 113). A kneeling figure (St. Isidore) dressed in a brown tunic in the middle plane on the right of the canvas, projects out of the painting behind the altar. Its central location, larger size and the use of backlighting in the colors behind the saint, give this panel dominance (fig. 109). The scene is identifiable as St. Isidore at prayer while an angel operates a plow pulled by two oxen. Barely discernable in the bottom


325 According to Jules Romme, *op. cit.*, p. 117, "le cadre ancien sculpté et doré fut acheté en 1886 pour 125£."
left corner, under the rock where St. Isidore is praying is a
dark figure of a horseman with a plumed-hat. Capello's
drawing of St. Isidore's face is one of piety and bearing
Capello's typically wide forehead. The elaborately sculpted
'maître-autel' with a miniature church of the Baroque period,
blends easily with the ensemble of paintings and does not
distract from the importance of this main panel.

To the left side of Saint-Isidore, is Saint-Isidore
ressuscitant une jeune fille, (fig. 112). St. Isidore, again
dressed in a brown tunic, stands before a sick woman in an
elaborate bedroom where other noblemen look on. Both the
patterned stone floor and the rich carpet are features of
other paintings by Capello. There is a fold in the richly-
colored carpet, as in the painting of Baptême de Clovis par
Saint-Rémi (fig. 95). The architectural details in the
background according to Morisset\(^\text{326}\) and Romme\(^\text{327}\) are in the
"style mauresque." The colors in the velvets of the curtains
and the costumes contrast to the severity of St. Isidore's
clothing. Capello's use of very sharp diagonal lines in the
stairs and the angle of the tiles (stones) on the floor, give
a very awkward sense of perspective. Capello here also shows
difficulty in mastering the principles of foreshortening,
especially on such a long and narrow canvas. His use of

\(^{326}\) I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, p. 12367.

\(^{327}\) Romme, op. cit., p. 117.
brilliant colors with a lack of sufficient gradation of color when receding into space, only emphasized this inadequacy.

The last panel in this semi-circular apse is Saint-Isidore au chevet d'un mourant, (fig. 116) according to Morisset\textsuperscript{328} and Saint-Isidore mourant, in the opinion of Romme\textsuperscript{329}. I tend to agree with Romme's title in his case. An old, but still pious, St. Isidore is seen dressed in a white shirt covered by a yellow blanket. Around the saint are his family and offering him a crucifix is a balding and bearded old monk. The features of St. Isidore's face are well-defined with subtle tones. This is not a particularly interesting composition but the didactic nature of the scene is easily discerned. Capello's solution to the problem of foreshortening the bed into space, while still revealing the face of the saint, gives this painting an awkward tilt (fig. 116). The upper third of this panel is filled with floating cherubim in an ochre-colored sky.

If one views this ensemble at St. Isidore and that of St. Paul l'Ermite from the perspective of the congregation in the nave, the paintings fulfill their decorative and didactic purpose. The paintings fit easily and successfully into their architectural niches in the semi-circular curve of the apse. Also, at a distance any flaws of technique, both

\textsuperscript{328} I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, \textit{dossier Luigi Capello}, p. 12367.

\textsuperscript{329} Romme, p. 117.
compositional and painterly, are less evident and not a source of distraction for the specatators. As a whole Capello's easel paintings would have been quite admired by a predominately uninitiated audience of clergy and lay people.

4 - Portraits and easel paintings of secular subjects

At least four portraits by Capello have been mentioned in secondary art historical sources but to date, only one has been located. The painting by Capello, c. 1875, that l'abbé Huot "fit peindre...[était] un grand tableau représentant le Pape Pie IX, tableau qui se trouvent présentement au Collège de l'Assomption...." This painting measured 6'11" X 5'0" and was signed on the bottom left corner 'CAPPELLO PINXIT' but with no date. According

330 Mgr. Laflèche, Damase Masson, Hercule Dorion, and Pie IX.

331 Discussed in chpt. I.


333 According to Gérard Morisset in, I.B.C., Fonds Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, p. 12371, this painting of Pope Pie IX was "peint vers 1875 pour l'abbé Portier, curé de Saint Paul l'Ermite, en même temps que les peintures de cette église." This is an error, the curé was Louis-Joseph Huot.
to Morisset this painting was given to the Collège de l'Assomption "...vers 1897."

The large seated figure of Pie IX, (fig. 117) was based on a photographic portrait reproduced in an engraving and easily copied from *Histoire de France contemporaine.* The Pope was painted by Capello seated on an elaborate red and gold throne with sculpted ornaments. He holds his left hand under his chin and gazes off to the right with an interesting pensive smile. According to descriptions of Pie IX in the Larousse dictionary, "sa simplicité, son sourire, sa gaieté lui gagnèrent bien des coeurs, mais son impressionnabilité l'inclina souvent à l'indécision et aux demi-mesures, d'autant que très vite il abandonna la direction des affaires à son secrétaire d'Etat [Antonelli]."Ironically this same Pope was hated in Capello's native Piedmont for his lack of support during the unification of Italy, but a newly-arrived immigrant such as

334 Ibid. The 'procureur' at Collège de l'Assomption in 1897 was G. Vitalien Villeneuve, who became the superior of the school two years later and held the post until 1914.


337 Pie IX had refused to help Garibaldi evict the Austrians from Northern Italy and in turn the rebels killed his minister Rossi. The Pope fled to France and stayed there until the Republic of Italy was declared. This animosity between Pie IX and the area of Piedmont lasted over twenty years. The pontifical states were annexed in 1870 and the Pope lost all his temporal powers. The Vatican state which
as Capello hardly had the means to refuse a commission because of his personal politics.

This painting by Capello shows Pie IX sitting on a square-backed armchair that is upholstered in red velvet with two sculpted and gilded posts bearing the papal arms (fig. 117). "Il porte une soutane [cassock] blanche, une mesette [ ] de même couleur et une calotte [?]." His feet rest on a velvet cushion and traditional red slippers can be seen from under his cassock. The setting is grandiose with only the bottom left corner showing (behind the Pope's head) of what must be a huge "cloison à panneaux peints," and a large red drape balances the composition on the right of the painting. In the bottom right corner is a console in the style of Louis XV. Capello has painted a very good likeness of Pie IX but with some difficulty mastering pictorial perspective. The figure seems to lean forward into the spectator's space and the console, placed on such a sharp angle and paralleling the angles created by the platform beneath the Pope's chair, cause the tilt forward. The attention to detail in the decorative elements in the room demonstrate Capello's ability to show marble, wood, textiles and the texture of skin and hair. Originally this portrait was created at that time, has remained until today.

338 I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, dossier Luigi Capello, p. 12371.

339 Ibid.
hung in the 'Parloir des Élèves' at the Collège (fig. 118) where its rich palette must have brightened the room. The even larger portrait of l'abbé Ferreol-Dorval dressed in a black cassock on the left wall of the room, offered no visual competition to Pie IX. Capello's painting clearly dominates the space.

Eventually, with the modernization of the Collège de l'Assomption, the portrait of Pie IX was relegated to the storage attic above the ancient study room in the new wing that was added to the main building between 1852 and 1882. The condition of the painting is fair with only some minor tears on the left side of the Pope's head (fig. 120). The painting is no longer in a frame and no attempt is being made to conserve it from dust or damage from other paintings leaning against it from the ancient chapel at the Collège, which has suffered a similar fate.

At least three other portraits have been documented as having been painted by Capello: Abbé Hercule Dorion (1876), Damasc Masson (1879) and Mgr. Laflèche (c. 1882) but none of these have been located. According to Gérard Morisset's inventory of c. 1938 a portrait of abbé Hercule Dorion


341 Abbé Hercule Dorion was born on April 13, 1820 in Sainte-Anne de la Perade (Champlain county). His father was a wealthy merchant who was able to send his son to the Séminaire à Nicolet. Hercule Dorion was ordained on September 12, 1844. He was famous for having spent the winter of 1847 with typhoid victims quarantined at Grosse-
(curé at Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche) hung in the sacristy of
the Church. Morisset described the painting as showing the
curé "...debout, tourné de trois quarts à gauche, la main
droite sur un livre. Fond de draperie qui laisse voir en
haut à gauche l'église de Yamachiche. À gauche, table et
livres. À droite, un fauteuil." 342 This is the only
description recorded of this portrait which was similar in
size to the portrait of Pie IX, (6'11" X 5'0"), i.e., 6'6" X
5'0", but unsigned. Abbé Napoléon Caron's Histoire de la
paroisse d'Yamachiche,343 written in 1892, mentioned that
this portrait was "...offert à l'abbé Dorion in 1876, a
l'occasion d'une bénédiction de cloches." 344

A painting of Saint-Pierre avec un cog345 was recently
found among other paintings at the Collège de l'Assomption.
Although it is not signed by Capello, Mme. Ayotte-Lalonde
remembers Onil Therrien mentioning this work. According
to archivist Fernand Boulet the painting measures 83 cm X 113
cm. He describes the figure of Saint-Pierre as kneeling in

Ile. He became the curé at Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche in 1853
and supervised the re-construction of the church in 1876. He
died in the parish on December 8, 1889. J. B. Allaire,
Dictionnaire biographique du clergé canadien-français; Les

342 Morisset, op. cit.
343 Caron, op. cit.
344 Ibid., p. III.
345 This information was the result of a telephone
conversation from the archivist on March 12, 1991. Further
documentation has yet to be done.
the center of the composition with a rooster in the top left corner in profile. The saint is portrayed as old, with disheveled hair and engaging eyes that focus on the spectator. There is slight damage to the canvas at the level of the saint's eye.

The only known portrait of a lay person by Capello is that of Damase Masson (c. 1878) exhibited on January 29, 1879 according to an article in La Minerve\textsuperscript{346}: "Exposition - M. Cappello, artiste italien, de cette ville, a exposé hier dans la vitrine de M. Dawson, sur la rue St. Jacques,\textsuperscript{347} un portrait très bien fait de M. Damase Masson."\textsuperscript{348} A prominent Montreal businessman, Masson had died on April 23, 1878, and it is therefore not clear whether Masson sat for his portrait before his death or Capello copied his likeness from a photograph. It is also possible that given Masson's many positions in numerous financial institutions, a lithograph of him may had been produced and therefore readily obtained and copied. Whether Capello was commissioned to do this painting by the family posthumously, or whether he chose to advertize

\textsuperscript{346} La Minerve, January 30, 1879, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{347} Capello had lived at 97 Jacques Cartier between 1876-77 according to Lovell's Montreal Directory, (appendix n. 16).

\textsuperscript{348} Marc-Damasse Masson was a prominent Montreal businessman born in Sainte-Geneviève on February 23, 1805. He became a 'marquillier' of Notre-Dame in Montreal in 1846 and an alderman for the city of Montreal between 1855-1858. In 1858 he was the president of the St. Jean Baptiste Society. In 1861 he co-founded the Banque des Marchands and remained its director until his death on April 23, 1878.
his artistic capabilities with a portrait of a prominent Montrealer, is not known.

On April 11, 1882 Capello included a portrait of Mgr. Lafleche among other paintings at the Art Association exhibition in Montreal. The painting was listed as valued at $50.00 by Capello and according to the *Régistre d'expositions*, it was returned. The artist's address was registered as 141 St. André Street and his name appeared as L. G. Cappello. It is not known how Capello came to paint a portrait of Mgr. Lafleche but one can speculate that Lafleche was extremely active in the Quebec religious community. He had travelled to Turin, Milan, Venice, Bologna and Rome in 1869. In April of 1882 Capello exhibited a painting entitled *Scene on the Prairies* at the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. It has been deduced by J. Russell Harper that "a prairie landscape exhibited in 1882 was probably executed on a visit to Winnipeg to carry out portrait


\[350\] In the *Lovell Montreal Directory* for 1881-82 (appendix n. 16) the listing appeared as "Capello, L. G., artist and painter, 141 St. André." p. 133.


\[352\] A.M.M.F.A., *Catalogue - Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Exhibition, April 1882*, oil paintings, n. 39, p. 5. This same painting, *Scene on the Prairies*, was exhibited again that same year at the Art Association, n. 225.
commissions."

Mgr. Laflèche was closely connected with the French communities in Manitoba and had visited Saint Boniface in July of 1880. Perhaps Capello had gone to Manitoba on his suggestion. No works by Capello have been located in a recent search at the Bishop's Palace in St. Boniface, as supposed by Harper. The Archdiocese of Trois-Rivières has no record either of a portrait by Capello of Mgr. Laflèche, though a pencil sketch by Adolphe Rho has been preserved.

Among the recorded easel paintings which have not been located is an array of subjects, from Greek mythology to Italian and Canadian landscapes. Between 1880 and 1883 Capello exhibited at the Canadian Academy of Arts in Ottawa and at the Art Association in Montreal. *Maison Grecque au temps de Sappho* and *Greek Dwelling Time of Sappho*, both exhibited in 1880, are undoubtedly the same painting. Although this painting has not been located the subject matter from Greek mythology was a remnant of Capello's academic training and perhaps even a topic he would have drawn for an annual competition. Andrea Gastaldi also had painted *Sappho* in 1872 (fig. 48) thereby popularizing this


355 Harper, 1981, p. 57. Telephone interviews on three separate occasions with archivist curé Bertrand, at the Bishop's Palace in St. Boniface, have provided no results.
subject at the Albertina. In April 1882, along with the portrait of Mgr. Laflèche previously discussed, Capello exhibited Sappho on a holiday in Athens. It must have been a sizeable painting because the Art Association register listed the painting at $200.00. Two other paintings at this exhibition, Borromeo's Castle Lake Maggiore ($80.00) and Genovese Woman ($80.00) had an Italian inspiration. One other painting, entitled St. Jerome ($100.00), also appeared at that exhibition but no trace of it or the other paintings has been found.

In 1883 Capello again participated in an exhibition with the Art Association of Montreal with the oil paintings a Shady Nook ($30.00) and St. Michael near Montreal ($30.00). Perhaps the latter title referred to the church of St. Michael's in Vaudreuil where a painting by William Berczy of St. Lucifer banishing Satan (1811) hangs on the altar. One can speculate that Berczy's painting after Guido Reni was seen by Capello and had inspired his own adaptation for the dome of Yamachiche (fig. 15). The only recorded watercolor by Capello, entitled An Italian Peasant Woman, had "not shown" written beside it at the 1882 exhibition and no other mention of this painting has been recorded.

On April 17 in 1887 Capello exhibited for the last time with the Royal Canadian Academy at the Art Association: a

painting entitled Evening\(^{357}\) ($60.00) which was sold to a G. Hague and delivered to him. Attempts at finding this painting through the Hague families of Montreal have been unsuccessful. At the same exposition, C’appello also showed Idea ($50.00) an oil painting as well; but no further trace has been found of this work either.

Among Capello’s last works was a large painting done for a bazaar to raise money to decorate the newly erected Cathédrale de Montréal in 1886, entitled Intérieur de Saint-Pierre de Rome. On September 25, 1886 the paper Le Bazar affirmed that the painting was in the form of a "...chambre obscure de Monsieur Cappello, artiste distingué à Montréal."\(^{358}\) The article goes on to describe,

\[...cette chambre contient un superbetableau\]
de quatorze pieds de haute sur sept de largeur; vu a une distance artistement combinée, et brillamment illuminé, il produit un effet magique. On se croit dans l'intérieur de l'immense Basilique de St. Pierre de Rome, en présence du dôme qui se déploie avec majesté et qui paraît de grandeur naturelle. On y distingue très bien, l'inscription, les statues et les mosaiques. Le fameux baldaquin, en bronze, se détache, comme par enchantement, et laisse voir l'autel papal qu'il recouvre, et le parquet paraît du plus beau marbre. Le compartiment est bien sur, une des parties les plus intéressante et des plus instructives du Bazar. Cette chambre obscure se trouve au premier pilier de la petite nef à droite et porte, au dessus de la lunette, cette inscription: 'Basilica de St. Pietro' par L. C. [sic] Capello.\(^{359}\)

\(^{357}\) Ibid., April 19, 1887, n. 1, p. 125.

\(^{358}\) Le Bazar, September 25, 1886, p. 107.

\(^{359}\) Ibid.
In an undated and unsigned document written in pencil found among the papers of Ozias Leduc\(^\text{360}\) (appendix n. 8) the author stated that the painting "...fut exécutée pour ce dernier [Capello], par Ozias Leduc d'après une image colorié prêtée par mon. l'abbé Des Masures p.s.s." If one is to rely on this document, then it is evident that Ozias Leduc collaborated on this painting with Capello and the composition was based on a colored print. Furthermore, this document specifies that "les petites figures du parquet-belle de la femme près de la balustrade et celle du moine franciscain priant devant la statue de Saint Pierre sont peintes par L. G. Capello. Les deux autres également par lui, sont sensées être, le plus court; sa propre ressemblance et celle plus élancée, celle du jeune artiste, engage Ozias Leduc..."\(^\text{361}\)

According to the archivist at Saint-Paul l'Ermité, Onil Therrien, it is probable that abbé Huot who had given Capello his first commission at Saint-Paul, more than likely had a hand in the participation of Capello at the Cathédrale's bazaar. In the newspaper, _Le Bazar_, of September 25, 1886 one reads, "M. l'abbé Huot nous est revenu; il a repris son poste au panorama de M. Capello; nous en félicitons les organisateurs du bazar."\(^\text{362}\)

\(^{360}\) A.N.Q.M., Fonds Leduc, 06-M.

\(^{361}\) A.N.Q.M., Fonds Leduc, 06-M.

\(^{362}\) _Le Bazar_, September 25, 1886, p. 300.
Leduc's student Gabrielle Messier saw this painting rolled up at Leduc's residence just prior to him leaving it to the University of Montreal.\textsuperscript{363} Unfortunately, the university has no record of this painting in their archives.\textsuperscript{364}

Among the list of missing paintings by Capello, there is one recollected by Mlle. Gabrielle Messier. "Ma visite dans l'église de Yamachiche - le curé de ce temps là était le frère du curé Jacob de Shawinigan [abbé Ernest Jacob] il nous [G. Messier et Leduc] recevait à souper, il y avait au presbytère un tableau Capello, tableau historique, question de Miracle..."\textsuperscript{365} On October 4, 1970 Régent Laramée\textsuperscript{366} signed a document stating, "je soussigne...permets à Mlle. Gabrielle Messier de vendre mon tableau 'Piano' signé L. Cappello et je le laisse à l'atelier d'ici à la vente c'est à dire un temps indeterminé."\textsuperscript{367} This painting as well has yet to be located.

\textsuperscript{363} Telephone interview with Onil Therrien on March 2, 1991. Letter from Gabrielle Messier (May 24, 1991) confirmed that this painting was given by Oziás Leduc to Olivier Maurault, who in turn gave it to the University of Montreal.

\textsuperscript{364} Telephone interview with Mme. Bourdeau at the University of Montreal, March 4, 1991.

\textsuperscript{365} Letter from Gabrielle Messier to the author dated April 1, 1989.

\textsuperscript{366} Régent Laramée's mother was the sister of Georges Dauville. Their mother was a Lebrun from the family of Capello's wife, Marie-Louise.

\textsuperscript{367} Letter sent to the author by Gabrielle Messier, "marked St. Hilaire, 4 octobre 70".
5 - Theatre design

Capello's versatility as an itinerant artist spanned many aspects of easel painting; religious paintings for churches, portraits, mythological subjects and landscapes. In the field of church decoration Capello earned a reputation as a fresco-painter working 'à l'encaustique' i.e., hot wax and paint directly on a plastered wall. Our knowledge of his method of decorating the theatre for the Collège de l'Assomption in 1886, can only be based on speculation because the building along with Capello's scenery curtains of 1883, burned on June 25, 1908. As to how Capello received his commission at the Collège de l'Assomption one can assume that curé Huot from Saint-Paul l'Ermité who had close ties in l'Assomption, had recommended Capello to the Soeurs de la Providence. Capello painted the *L'Apparition du Sacré-Coeur à Sainte Marguerite-Marie* in 1883 prior to the opening of the Sacré-Coeur chapel and the Collège de l'Assomption had the 'salle académique' (fig. 98) constructed across from the college to house the theatre and conference rooms. The fiftieth anniversary celebrations required a large hall and this building was built to receive the anticipated guests. For the occasion, Capello painted the "...toiles de la scène et le grand rideau de l'avant scène, représentant *L'arrivée de Christophe Colomb en terre américaine.*" Only a small photo remains of this theatre curtain in the archives of the

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368 Abbé Forget, 1933, p. 71.
college (fig. 16). One can barely make out a tiny figure of Christopher Columbus among his men in the distant background surrounded by lush vegetation of the New World. Gérard Morisset described this theatre curtain as "...très habile...elle est de tons assez vifs. Le groupe de Colomb et de ses hommes est trop petit; le navire, trop gros. Dans le feuillage, trucs de décorateur. A droite et au premier plan à gauche, feuillage irréel. Malgré tout c'est la meilleure oeuvre de Cappello." According to Morisset the curtain was 12' high X 18' wide and "signé en bas vers la droite: LG CAPPELLO/1886. Cette signature a été repeinte; elle se lisait autrefois: L. CAPPELLO." A description by abbé Forget written in 1932 of the celebrations of June 12-14, 1883 stated that,

Pour la soirée, les Anciens avaient été reçus dans la nouvelle salle académique, vaste amphithéâtre artistement décoré par le peintre Capello et jugé en ce temps - la'presque luxueux. Eclairée par quatre grands luminaires, la salle avait été ornée de multiples banderolles rouges et blanches, qui de la voûte descendaient vers les rampes des galeries, pour se perdre sous les drapeaux groupés en panoplies.

The work was not completed in 1883 at the 'Salle Académique' because college records note that "M. L. G. Capello arrive au Collège pour y peindre les toiles,

369 I.B.C., Gérard Morisset, dossier L. Capello, p. 12364.
370 Ibid.
371 Abbé Forget, 1932, p. 304.
coulisses etc. du théâtre, le 14 août 1886." 372 If one examines closely the walls on either side of the stage as well as above the main curtain there are both allegorical and decorative elements painted on them (fig. 121). Although it is speculation to assume that Capello did this work, nonetheless the few references that have survived about the theatre point to Capello as the most likely artist. The theatre curtains, as best as one can deduce from such poor reproductions, appear to be of a landscape, a street scene and an interior scene: a basic collection that could suit most performances. The symbolic female figures on either side of the stage represent Music, holding a lyre, and Theatre, holding a mask. Above the main curtain were painted garlands of flowers and apples in a decorative swag joined by a central shield with a lyre.

To conclude a discussion of Capello's unlocated works, one must mention his church decorations in New York. These were referred to in letters to the Ursulines (previously discussed) and in works in Europe. According to Gabrielle Messier, "Luigi Capello est parti pour la France pour un travail dans une église en Provence. Ozias Leduc lui a prêté $1000, en garantie il lui a remis un tableau attribué à Jean Rattenhammer, ce tableau est maintenant dans mon atelier." 373

372 Archives du Collège de l'Assomption, Les Chroniques d'Odilon Guibault.

This church in France was never mentioned in any other source and remains a mystery. Restorer Gilberte Ayotte-Lalonde also mentioned that Capello "était appeler à voyager, on l'apprécieait beaucoup. L'or [sic] d'un voyage en Espagne, il rapporta un châle noir en dentelle pour sa femme et après la mort de Capello, elle [Marie-Louise] épousa 'Ozias Leduc' qui hérila du châle et le donna à son élève Gabrielle Messier." 374 In response to inquiries concerning the shawl, Gabrielle Messier wrote, "...la 'mentille' dont vous parlez a été donné par la mère du roi Alphonse XIII 'Christine' en cadeau au peintre Capello, lors de son mariage avec Marie-Louise Lebrun, in 1881. Au Palais Royale, il a décoré la salle de réception. Il est parti (Capello) d'Espagne pour se marier. Est-ce bien vraie? La mentille n'est plus en ma possession." 375 Any information concerning Capello's trips to Europe from Canada are entirely based on what Gabrielle Messier may have remembered from a secondary source, Ozias Leduc. There is however, one letter from Capello to the Ursulines of Trois-Rivières, dated December 10, 1898 from Turin but no mention is made of commissions or the reason Capello resided at n. 21 via Maria Vittoria. He signed the


375 Letter from Gabrielle Messier to the author dated April 1, 1989.
letter however as Luigi G. Capello pittore.376

CONCLUSION

The role of Italian itinerant artists has only recently been the subject of scholarship in Canadian art history for two primary reasons: a lack of documentation and the predominance of ethnocentricity in students from the 'two' Founding Nations.

This lack of documentation is partially the result of poor record-keeping in the nineteenth century and, as Bruno Ramirez,377 (a historian and professor of Italian immigration) points out, until the 1980's it was limited to a parish history by Guglielmo Vangelisti (1956)378 and two monographs by journalists Antonio Spada (1968)379 and Giosafat Mingarelli (1980).380 Demographic studies of Canadian ethnic groups have been numerous with a predominance

377 Bruno Ramirez is a professor of history at the University of Montreal. His research is primarily in the field of demographics and sociology, specifically, Italian immigration in Canada. "La Recherche sur les italiens du Québec," Questions de culture 2, Les Editions Lemeac Ltée., Québec: 1982, pp. 102-111.


379 Antonio V. Spada, op. cit.

in statistical studies. In the field of art history, specifically with emphasis on the contribution of Italians to the field, very little has been written. In 1870 Antoine Plamondon wrote a particularly adamant letter to the editor of Courrier du Canada. It dealt primarily with the defence of native Quebec artists who were being forgotten on the part of clerical and lay patrons for the vogue of all things Italian. Plamondon believed he was more knowledgeable than most Quebecers about the quality of the works being copied by Italians and sold to "vénerables curés des campagnes." This accomplished Quebec painter attested that "je n'y ai rien vu qui pu ravir personne, surtout rien de nouveau." Plamondon pointed out in the article that a recent portrait of the Archbishop of Quebec painted by M. Pasqualini in Rome "...ne ressemble pas plus à une peinture de maître que les enseignes des tabacconistes de la Basse-Ville ressemblent aux tableaux des églises de la ville de Québec."

The importance of Italian artists and the Counter-Reformation style that predominated in their work, on the


382 Courrier du Canada, July 1, 1870, p. 3.

383 Ibid.

384 Ibid.
tastes of nineteenth-century Quebecers, cannot be overestimated. The influx of works of art from Italy to Quebec was based on many levels of common culture, predominately in religion. Clergy and bishops frequently visited the Holy See in Rome and contacts between various religious institutions, both (male and female), in Europe and Quebec had their foundation in centuries of inter-dependence of both personnel and the need for didactic materials. The ties of the Roman Catholic church in Italy and Canada, particularly in Quebec, can be attested to even today in a very popularly received visit from Pope John Paul II and the recent canonization of Marquerite-Bourgeoys in 1990.

The role of Capello in Canadian art history is marginal on a national scale but much more significant on a regional level. Artists such as Capello, who came primarily from Northern Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century were not considered avant-garde. Educated for the most part in a classical academic setting where mythological, historical and religious art with dramatic and brightly painted figures predominated, these Italian artists filled a didactic and decorative need of Quebec churches. It is their very lack of invention, coupled with a great reliance on copying the masters of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, that has excluded them from serious scholarship but that promoted their popularity in their day. Art historian Laurier Lacroix agrees,
Italian artists may have given us only a handful of exceptional works, but they influenced popular taste...United by origin and a knowledge of common techniques [primarily fresco-secco], these artists contributed to culture in Quebec by providing the clergy with products they were able to integrate and use for nearly a century. This kind of symbiosis between the patrons of art, the artists and the consumers is 'suspect' to conventional art history; it conjures up a facile, academic, conservative kind of art, designed for lovers of kitsch.385

Their contribution was based on the requirements of their patrons - for the most part the Catholic Church.

One of the harshest critics of the Italian influence on public taste of the nineteenth century was Gérard Morisset who wrote numerous art historical books from both a French-Canadian nationalist point of view, and with the hindsight of the 1930's and 40's.

On connaît l'attachement des Canadien-Français au Saint-Siège. Cet attachement, on sent parfois le besoin de le rendre plus sensible sous la forme d'œuvres d'art de toute sorte. C'est l'origine de la vogue de l'art italien à Québec et à Montréal.386

Certainly Morisset was correct in citing the insistence of Mgr. Bourget to construct the new 'Cathédrale de Montréal' in the image of St. Peter's in Rome against the predominant neo-Gothic taste of the day in a Protestant area of the city.

It became apparent to Italian artists that they could


achieve a career in Quebec and from the early part of the nineteenth century a few decorators and makers of statuary gained prominence. One of the first was Angelo Pienovi who decorated in 'fresco-secco' the ceiling at Notre-Dame de Montréal in 1828 and the Hôpital-Général in 1833. He also supplemented his income as a drawing teacher. Pienovi was followed by J. F. Schinotti (act. 1831-2), who specialized in theatrical decoration and Giuseppe Fascio (c. 1810-1857), a miniature and portrait painter. Contrary to Morisset's contentions, native Quebec artists such as Plamondon, Hamel, Bourassa and others were gaining recognition and the small number of Italian artists, even by the 1870's in Montreal, were hardly a large threat to their livelihood. According to research by Bruno Ramirez the census of 1871 in Montreal revealed that only 55 people of Italian origin lived in the city, primarily in the St. Jacques district (known for its craftsmen and artisans). "Les deux groupes professionnels dans lesquels, en 1871 les Italiens étaient les plus concentrés - notamment les statuaires\textsuperscript{387} et les commerçants."\textsuperscript{388} Painters and church decorators such as Capello were less numerous. The 1871 census listed 11 statue-makers, 2 plasterers, 1 painter, and 1 sculptor and in 1881 the figures showed an increase in Italian artists to: 10

\textsuperscript{387} Tomasso Carli was one of Montreal's most celebrated Italian statue makers who established his business in the 1870's.

\textsuperscript{388} Ramirez, Les Premiers Italiens, p. 16.
statue-makers, 2 artist-painters, 2 painters, 1 artist, 1 frame-maker, 1 photographer, 1 plasterer and 1 sculptor. Young unmarried artists with academic training, like Capello, could risk emigrating to Canada to escape a very competitive home market for a relatively unchallenged future in a growing industrial city such as Montreal.

At first Capello relied on commissions obtained through members of the clergy, such as abbé Huot, to establish himself on the religious painting circuit. Gradually he expanded into other areas of both church decoration such as fresco-work, and portraiture, landscape, theatre design and possibly embroidery and tapestry design. Some competition did exist in Quebec, in the second half of the nineteenth century, for Italian artists. This came mainly from German-


390 According to archivist Onil Thérien, curé Huot may very well have been the person who had specifically invited Capello to Canada while travelling in Europe (Paris 1875). Certainly Capello's first commission was at St. Paul l'Ermité where Huot was the curé. Capello apparently, according to Thérien, boarded at the parish working for his room and board which lends credence to the fact that he most probably arrived in Quebec with a job already secured. Curé Huot's personal fortune could have permitted a subsidy for an newly arrived itinerant artist. This questions the previously written speculation (Laurier Lacroix, "Italian Art and Arts," p. 172) that Capello was invited to Montreal by the Jesuits to teach drawing at the Collège Sainte-Marie in 1874. Not only is there question as to Capello's arrival in Canada in 1874 but documentation shows that he only taught at the college from 1881.

391 Capello's work in the design of embroidery, tapestry, and signs is mentioned by Harper, 1981, p. 57, and J. Craig Stirling, p. 43. To date no evidence of a tapestry school operated by Capello has been found.
born muralists such as Julius Heldt (act. 1864) who had painted the vault of the Grand Séminaire, William Lamprecht (act. 1868) who had painted the church of Saint-Romuald, and Daniel Muller, who had frescoed the chapel of Il Gesù in 1876. Much like the work of Quebec artist Napoléon Bourassa who imitated German artists such as Flandrin and Overbeck and the Nazarene style, these German muralists worked in a predominately restrained and linear fashion. The use of 'grisaille' and 'camaïeu' created by tonalities of grey produced a mystic subdued atmosphere in the church. In contrast to this style was the use of the brilliant colors and emotional gestures of the Italian post-Baroque artists such as Capello. These two artistic tastes paralleled each other in the church decoration of Quebec. At times Capello's style dominated, and at other times the German style, which was popular with muralists such as François-Édouard Meloche (1855-1914), who won the commission in the competition for the decoration of Sainte-Cunégonde.

When Capello arrived in Quebec in 1875, his style of painting satisfied both the expectations of the clergy and the lay audience. Quebecers were already familiar with Italian art through the Desjardins Collection and the

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392 A description of Lamprecht's work at Saint-Romuald can be found in La Minerve, August 7, 1869, p. 2.

393 La Minerve, May 15, 1886, describes the competition entered by "Meloche, Capello, Barbeau, Painchaud, Beaulieu, Rochon, etc..."
numerous copies of artists such as Antoine-Sebastien Falardeau (1822-1889), the work of Vincenzo Pasqualoni (1819-1880), Carlo Porta, Ippolito Zapponi and Giorgio Szcoldaticz. According to Laurier Lacroix, a tradition existed of paying for Italian artwork from Italy in Italian currency\textsuperscript{394} and certainly there is documentation that initially Italian immigrants working as day-labourers were paid wages in terms of Italian currency equivalence.\textsuperscript{395} Certainly Capello's work at Saint-Hugues (chpt. III, sec. I) was underpaid in comparison to other Quebec artists working in the same medium. Nevertheless, Capello's versatility and his ability to adapt made his career possible in the Montreal area. He moved his residence and studio from a merchant area on Notre-Dame to an artisan quarter known as St. Jacques. "The whole ward of St. Jacques existed as an almost pre-industrial artisanal enclave in the changing city. Two thirds of its productive establishments employed under five workers."\textsuperscript{396} Within this mainly French-Canadian milieu, Northern Italian artist Capello integrated and married a local woman who, according to researcher Bettina Bradbury, worked at a common

\begin{itemize}
\item[	extsuperscript{394}] Lacroix, "Italian Art and Artists," \textit{Arrangiarsi}, p. 176, footnote 10.
\item[	extsuperscript{395}] Ramirez, \textit{Les Premiers Italiens}, p. 33.
\item[	extsuperscript{396}] Bettina Bradbury, "The Family and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870's," \textit{Historical Papers}, papers from annual meeting held in Saskatoon, 1979, Graphic Services, Ottawa: 1979, p. 74.
\end{itemize}
trade for women of that ward,\textsuperscript{397} i.e., as a dressmaker.\textsuperscript{398}

Capello's contribution to Canadian art history is in small measure his fresco work, which showed an understanding of the function of mural painting in a church setting.\textsuperscript{399} "Mural painters and decorators [from Italy] introduced a new concept of public decor in Canada."\textsuperscript{400} Unfortunately fresco work is unable to survive poor restoration, natural disasters from leaking roofs and complete destruction from fire or demolition. Our judgement of Capello's works in fresco is based on one decorative program at Trois-Rivières and another unrepresentative restored ensemble at Notre-Dame de Montréal. Although one has to admit that Capello was not the master painter that his teachers Gamba or Gastaldi were, nor even his fellow students like Mosso, Gilli and Fontanesi in Italy,\textsuperscript{401} he nonetheless was able to teach Ozias Leduc basic techniques of drawing and church decoration. His influence on Leduc could be argued as very limited, since his prize student/associate went on to paint in a mystic-symbolic

\textsuperscript{397} Ibid., p. 87.

\textsuperscript{398} See appendix n. 16 where Capello's widow lists her occupation.

\textsuperscript{399} Lacroix, "Italian Art and Artists," p. 171, states that "about one third of Italian artists were working in murals and decoration; the others in statuary, funerary sculpture and decorative arts."

\textsuperscript{400} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{401} See appendix n. 10 for information about these Piedmontese artists.
Nazarene style. Although Leduc surpassed Capello, it does not alter the fact that integrating decoration to the architecture was an element mastered by both. "The development of a unified iconographic and decorative cycle, the harmony between a building's function and the theme of the decoration, as well as the formal integration of the decoration to the building which housed it was the challenge [these] muralists had to face." 402 Eventually of course, Italian muralists such as Capello lost their monopoly on the fresco technique. They had passed on their techniques to their Canadian students while the Italian statue-makers continued dominating the artistic scene of the early twentieth century.

Capello had returned to Italy by 1898 under mysterious circumstances, leaving behind his wife, Marie-Louise. From 1888 she lists herself in Lovell's Montreal Directory as "Cappello, Mrs. M. L. dressmaker, 202 St. Martin." 403 The following year she is noted as "Chapello [sic], Mrs. M. J. [sic], wid. Louis Jean, 202 St. Martin," 404 and remains listed that way until the 1906-7 directory. 405 In the period of four years between 1890 and 1894 no listing for Marie-

402 Lacroix, "Italian Arts and Artists," p. 171.
404 Ibid., (1889-90).
405 Ibid., (1894-1907).
Louise Capello is given. This remains a mystery. Why did Capello leave his wife, never to return to Montreal? Why did Marie-Louise list herself as a widow from 1889 when Capello did not die until 1902?

Capello's last known letter written from the Salesian orphanage in Paris, dated August 12, 1900 is a sad and lonely reflection on his life with no reference to his career as an artist. The fact that Capello passed the next two years at the Salesian institution where because "[le] Bon Ange-Gardien [l]'a conduit en aussi bonne place..."406

He was in the company of "...ouvriers, hommes de lettres, homme d'eta [sic], ou militaire; mais tous des nouveau [sic] apôtres de Jésu [sic] Crist [sic]." It would seem that the Salesians accepted boarders from various professions. He writes of being well-treated and well-liked among "dex [sic] cent dans cet [sic] maison qu'elle est la provinciale pour la mort: la France et la Belgique." Perhaps Capello had left Canada knowing that he was going to die but he specified in the letter that "je ne voulais pas qu'on...connaissents [sic] le lieu de ma demeur [sic]." Had he incurred debts through a failed tapestry school in Montreal? Had his marriage failed after the death of the twins in 1887 and Capello had left Marie-Louise a 'widow' in fact, if not in name as in the

406 A.U.T.R., document (unnumbered), Letter from Capello to Mother Superior dated August 12, 1900 (appendix n. 7). All quotations that follow are from this letter.
Lovell's Montreal Directories from 1889-1907. Capello was certainly concerned that contact remain between him and Quebec with the Mother Superior at Trois-Rivières functioning as intermediary to notify his "povre [sic] Marie-Louise" and "...mon beau pere et ma bellemere" of any "consequence." In 1906 Marie-Louise Lebrun's close contact with Capello's pupil and associate, Ozias Leduc resulted in marriage and a new life for Capello's widow.

Capello's artistic legacy must be judged within the parameters of many missing and as yet unlocated works; portraits, landscapes and churches. Judging by the articles of the time we can deduce that his work was appreciated. It is in the context of nineteenth-century Quebec that one must examine his art and contribution to Canadian art history.

407 See appendix n. 16.
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Appendix n. 1


New York 14 Decembre 1896

Rev. Soeur Marie de Jesu
Superieure au Monastere des Ursulines
Trois Rivieres P. Q.

Reverende Soeure,

J'ai recu une lettre de Mr. Géo.
F. Héroux date du 30 Novembre, m'annoncent que l'ouvrage pour moi dans votre eglise etait pret. Je lui ai repondu que une ouvrage pour Noel, que j'acheve me tratiendrait encor quelques jours ici; que je ferais mon possible, travaillant meme jour et nuit pour etre a votre eglise le plus tot.
Permetez moi de vous dire, ma Reverend Soeure, que ce petit retard a commencer etre l'ouvrage chez vous, permettra l'induit de chercher mieux et on sait moi je travaillerais avec plus d'assiduite e je suis persoide que Vous serai a la fin bien satisfaite.
En vous remerciant infiniment pour votre bonte, je vous prie Reverende
Document VII - 0031 - 1 cont'd.

Soeure Marie de Jesu, de prier pour
moi en agreent mes resespecteuses
salutatations.

Votre tres humble serviteur

Luigi G. Capello
Appendix n. 2


New York 2 Mai 1897

Rev. Mère Marie de Jesu

Superieure, Monaster des Ursulines

Trois Rivieres

Reverend Mère,

Je ne sai m'explique

a moi même comen ai j'put laisser

passer si long temps sans vous souhaite

les bonnes Fête de Paque.

Ma tête trop ieble, pour la quantité

de tracasseseries que j'ai, est la seule excuses

que je crois avoir et que j'esper votre exquise

bonté retiendra valuable.

C'est pourtant naturele pour moi de

ne pas oublier ceux qui m'ont fait trouver

un peu de bonheur.

Oui, vraiment l'ouvrage que j'ai fait

dans la charmante chapelle de Sacre Coeur

chez-vous, a été pour moi le oasis du desert.

L'église de Brigport apres avoir faite

comme les autres (depuis dix ans) son

apparition, comme aussi elle est disparue.

Que Dieu me guarde, afin que toutes

cette choses la n'aint point un
funeste resultat.

Je me racommande, ma Reverende Mere, a vos prieres, a celle de vos bonnes Soeurs et celle des Enfants confié a vos soins maternels.

Croyez moi,
Reverende Mère

Votre bien devoué Serviteur

Louis J. Capello

Je remerci la Rev. Mère

St. Jean Berchmandl pour ses genereux remerciments, pour la petite gravure (la barque).
Appendix n. 3


New York 11 Juin 1897

Rev. Mère Marie de Jesu

Monaster des Ursuline

Trois Rivieres

Ma Reverende Mere,

Je vous demand bien pardon,
n'avoir pas plus tost acusé reception
des deux copie du pamplai:

La Nacelle de S. Ursule.

Je ne voulai pas vous ecrire pendant
que j'etai faché, faché bien gros
voyant que on ne mentioné pas du
tou le poure petit artist qui ha
tant travaille aux tableaux de la

Chapelle.

Ma Reverende Mère priez pour

Votre Toujour Devoué

Serviteur Louis J. Capello
Appendix n. 4

Document - VII - 0031 - 4 - (A.U.T.R.) - transc A.S. [from the original by Sister M. Marguerite-Marie]

Monsieur Louis Capello, artiste

Passe en Amérique, il vint à Montréal où les RR. PP. Jésuites qui tenaient une main généreuse à tous les
Document VII - 0031 - 4 cont'd.
talents lui confèrent leur cours de Dessin
et de Peinture. Ce fut aussi pendant
ces années qu'il travailla avec succès
à des décorations théâtrales qui lui
firent honneur.

Son talent se faisant jour,
M. Capello fut de plus en plus ap
précié; il fut chargé de la décoration
de l'église de St-Paul l'ermite, où il
piegnit la vie du grand solitaire en
quatre tableaux. A St-Alexandre
de Kamouraska, il exécuta le tableau
du maître-autel. A St-Rémi, le
baptême de Clovis est très réussi. A
Yamachiche; les décorations de la voûte et
des pendentifs où sont représentés les at
tributs de Dieu et les vertus théologales
lui ont mérité les plus beaux éloges.
A Montréal il a peint dans l'église
de St-Joseph, la vie de ce saint
patriarche en quatre tableaux.

A New York, le curé de l'église
de St-Joachim rend à M. Capello
les plus beaux témoignages pour la
manière artistique avec laquelle il a
rendu le Triomphe de la Religion
la Resurrection et la Présentation de
Marie au Temple. Dans la même
eglise, il a travaillé aux stations du
chemin de la Croix. Monseigneur
Corrigan l'a chaleureusement félicité de
ses succès.
Appendix n. 4a


Reverende Mère Superieure

   Je vous prie de vouloire
   bien me pardonner si je fais
   quelques remarques a votre
   fort gentil pense de cette
   biographie
   De V. R. S.

   Tres Umble et Sincerment
   Devoué Serviteur
   Louis J. Capello

1em ..........Catherine Vivalda
   appartenaient a une bonne famille
   de la ville de Pinerolo: trois
   de ses frere fur pretres.

2em .........., Louis et Adelaide sa soeur

3em ..........de l'age de disepht ans
   il comenz son cors d'etude
   a la Royal Academie des
   Beaux Arts a Turin
   Le desin ecole du Cav'rer Henri Gamba
   e la peinture de Cav'Andrea Gastaldi

4em ..........a Paris en 1875
Appendix n. 5


Turin 10 Décembre 1898.

Rev. Mère Marie de Jesu - Superieure

Le Dame Ursuline

Trois Rivieres

P.Q.

Reverend Mère,

Je suis eureux de pouvoir
vous dire, ma Bonne Mère, que
tous le consolations que jai éprouve ici, ne m'ont pas faite oublier
le bon souvenir que je garde et je
garderais toujours du monaster des
Ursulines de Trois Rivieres avec sa
belle chapelle du Sacre Coeur et le
Dame Ursulines que quelque
fois, prieront, j'en suis certein,
pour le petit peintre.
Mentenent je vous prie d'
agreer le augures que de tout
mon coeur je faits a Vous et
toute la Commoaute pour
Document VII -0031 - 5 cont'd.

le Santes Fête de Noel et
la nouvelle anes
Reverend Mere, croye moi
Toujour Vôtre

Tres Humble Devoue

Serviteur Luigi G. Capello

Pittore

via Maria Vittoria No. 21.
La victoire de l'Archangel St Michel
sur Satan.
Voici le sentiment que avec tout mes forces j'ai cherché
a manifester avec cette peinture:

L'Archangel St. Michel d'un aspect séver sans que pour
cela son angelique beaute doit moins darament alteré.
Sa tête orne d'une abondante chevelure conserve au
visage une tinte rose incarné qui est apropos avec ces
grands jeux bleux, son abillement et riche de forme et
de couleur. Sans aucun materiel efors il poursuie Satan
dans sa sort. Sa maine droit armé d'une legere épé lui
que l'abime qui l'atend, et de l'autre lui montre que c'est
insi la volonte du M'etre Supreme de toute l'univers;
dont la presence est indiqué par l'oeuil Divin dans le
triangle resplendissent au dessu de la tête de St. Michel et
colorent de ces rayons les blanches noiges que enquelques
endroit lessent voire un beau ciel bleuser. Satan precipite
du aut du ciel, la tête premiere, n'a pas encor perdu cette
beaute virile et angelique du temp de sa glorieuse position
celeste. Mais pâle, les levres compressent et presque
blanche, ces marine dilatée indique un exes de bile par la
colere d'être umilié. Il brandise une puissante lance d'une
Document – VII – 0031 – 6 cont’d.

main en act de défence, et se pren les cheveaux de l'autre, se tournent vers son venquer avec un regard afeusement trist et menassent, se cheveux brun se dressent comme des epine sur sa belle tete, sa qui rasse a ecale de poisson est d'or, emblème de puissance et de lumière qui convien a Lucifer (Lux) "lumiere". Un manteaux vert envelope dans sa vertigineuse desent presque tout son corp, tombe en spirale de façon a prendre presque la forme d’un serpent qu'il' entrenerait vers une abime d'ou sortent des globe de fumé noiratre, coloré en rouge par en da sour, comme par un incendi lointin.

Tres Umble et Sincerment
Devoué Serviteur
Louis J. Capello
La visite de l'Archange St-Michel

L'autorité de l'Archange St-Michel

Le sentiment que avec toute mes forces j'ai cherché

S'est manifesté avec cette présentation. J'étais sans auparavant.

S'agit de l'Archange St-Michel d'un aspect avec une

longue, longue beauté, même brun dessus.

Il a un nez ordinaire, adorateur chevalier souriant au

visage une triste ruse incertain qui est à peine avec ce

mouvement, car ici le but est de l'autre, de l'autre,

Dans la main droite, de la main gauche il a

visible, c'est d'abord, du côté de l'autre main que s'est

La voix de la Voix Suprême. Partout l'univers.

Font la presence est indiquée par l'oeil Divin dans la

pensée, la pensée indiquée par l'oeil Divin de l'Archange St-Michel est

collapsé en ses raies les blanches voiles que quelques autres

ont voit toute son beauté en blanc.

J'ai presque dis de l'Archange que le visage premier, n'est pas encore

sourire, sourire, longue beauté. De même dans la donner la Visage

est de lui, les lèvres compriment et presque blanche,

un sourire indiqué en pied de biche par la tète d'âne

visage. Il brille d'un sourire millénaire, d'une sourire en est

la lune, et le pren la chevauchée du cœur, le visible avec ce qui

se souvient. Qu'avant, accueille regardisse et manifestant, la déesse Lumière

comme des épines sur belle tête, de güicaracalle de poisson

mûrissant est d'œil, emblème de présence et de lumière

qui convient à Lucifer (diex) „Lumière“. Il monte vers

et dans le vertige délivrer presque tout son corps,

sont qui achat envers vers une unique d'occident. Le soleil

sous la nuit unique, comme sera incendié l'intérieur,

Sous Vénus et l'incend

Dominic Sebastian

Luis J. Rapel
Appendix n. 7


(Paris Orphelinat Salesien –
29 Rue du Retrait,
Paris 12 Aout 1900

Reverend Mère Marie Jesu

Superieure – Trois Rivieres

Bien Reverende Mère,

Je n'en ai aucun doute
que en apparenent que mon Bon
Ange - Gardien m'a conduit en aussi
bonne place telle que celle d'au je
vous ecris en ce moment, vous
ma Bonne Mere, vous vou réjuisez
en benissen le Ciel d'avoir en fin
conduit au bercaill un des ces deux brébis
dont vous connaissez l'histoire.
L'autre ne tardera pas a juire aussi
des fruits des vos bonnes prieres et
de celles de ces bonnes Religieuses
don vous en avez heureusement la
[..?..]ction.
Oui, ma Bonne Mère je suis
dans la grande famille de ce grand
papa qui s'appelle Don Bosco.
Petite famille de 25 mils enfants;
et depuis un demi siècle que l'oeuvre exist sont déjà sortit 250 mils enfants, devenuts par l'éducation
Salesienne des hommes! Ouvriers
hommes de lettres, homme d'
éta, ou militaire; mais tous des
nouveau apotres de Jesu Crist.
Et simmils pretre.
Comme vous voyez je suis en
bonne compagnie et mon poivre
coeur en est si content que tou'
jours le soir en me couchen j'eprou
ve un cèrtèn bienètre, un joie même
comms si je réposerais dans les
bras de Notre Seigneur.

Mes superieurs son tres aimable
et bien bons pour moi et en
général tout le personele de la
maison m'aime aussi. Nous somme
dex cent dans cet maison qu'elle est
la provinciale pour la mort:
la France et la Belgique.

Ma bonne et Reverende Mere,
vous me voyez sans doute heurex
comme je le sent moi aussi mais
j'ai une pêns. Si je viendrai a
mourir ici, ne serait 'il pas possible que
quelques personnes troverarts le moyen,
parceque je n'ai pas ecrit d'ici de dire que
je ne voulais pas qu'on qu'on connaissen
ts le lieu de ma demeur. Je vous prie
par consequence, ma Bonne Mere, de
le fair savoir, par moyen de quelque reli
gieuse ou religieu, a mon beau pere et
ma bellemere: (Mr. Pierre Lebrun e Mme
Rosalie - Meunier à St David - Yamaska).
et de prier et fair prier le Sacrecoeur d
acorder a ma povre Marie Louise la même
grace que je vien d'obtenir.

Agreez, ma Reverende Mere, le salu
tations plus respecteuses et plus
cordiales pour Vous et pour toute la
comunauté de

Votre tres humble et devoué
Serviteur L. J. V. Capello
Inventeur de la mémorandum, il avait la réputation d'être un homme de goût, s'étant montré connaissance éclairée de tout ce qui l'intéressait.

Il prêchait sa doctrine, ou sa venue est-elle telle que ces réunions ont pu être de plus, le désert du besoin de la souffrance de l'Alpes, de l'élégance, de l'amour de la nature...
Intérieur de St. Pierre de Rome peintre à l'huile commandée au peintre Italien L. G. Capello, résident alors à Montréal.

[?] fut exécutée pour ce dernier, par Ozias Leduc d'après une image coloriée prêtée par Mons. l'abbé DesMasures p.r.s.

[?] bon de dire ici que Mons. DesMasures avait la réputation d'être un homme de goût. C'était un collectionneur éclairé souvent heureux et toujours ef conté.

Le fréquentait les ateliers, où sa venue et ses conseils [?] étaient prises on ne peut plus. Le de sinte [?] de Mons. Des Masures étant connu de tous.

Les petites figures du parquet-belle de la femme près de la balustrade et celle du moine franciscain priant devant la statue de Saint Pierre sont peintes par L. G. Capello. Les deux autres également par lui, sont sensées être, la plus courte; sa propre ressemblance et celle plus élancée, celle du du [sic] jeune artiste, engagé, Ozias Leduc sous la surveillance et avec l'approbation de Mons. Bourgeo Architecte du Man-o-ch [?] édificie.[?] Les copies d'églises cellibres [sic] sont quand elles des proportions réduites, sont une erreur. Tous les efforts de Victor Bourgeo et de
son collaborateur le R. P. Michaud ne pouvant rendre intéressant vraiment la copie de Saint-Pierre de Rome, à Montréal.
Appendix n. 9

Abbé Caron's description of the artistic program by Luigi Capello in the Church of Yamachiche (trans. A. S.)

SOURCE: Histoire de la paroisse d'Yamachiche. Trois-Rivières, 1892.

"The execution of the paintings in the principal cupola and the pendentives was given to Mister Louis Cappello, an Italian artist born in Turin and established in Montreal for five years. 'These paintings are 'à l'encaustique.' Like Messers Héroux, he executed his enterprise not only in a manner which would satisfy those who were interested, but also to establish his reputation as an artist [...]" p 85

Interior

"...does one not arrive at the very moment when under the gazes [of the painted figures], scenes which don't belong to this world, but which one is more likely to see in the Heavenly Jerusalem? Ah! That's what one has noticed of the paintings in the pendentives, that one is before the grand subject that Signor Cappello has treated, with the hand of a Master, up in the large cupola [...]" p 87

Decorative Paintings

"The virtues of faith, hope and charity are represented by allegorical figures in the four pendentives. They are
Abbé Caron cont'd.

each placed in a type of medallion with a one-word expression: Fides, Spes, Amor Dei, Charitas which is translated by Faith, Hope, Love of God, Charity. There we see that the love of God and Charity towards others are represented separately and occupy two of the medallions...

The cure suggested that one [medallion] represent in the cupola is God and his principal attributes, as much as he can ever be represented with the help of a brush. In this way it is possible to unite on the same base, many scenes which would represent the attributes of Jehovah: without it intererefering too much with the unity of the action required by a work of this nature. Inspired by this idea Mister Capello accomplished a remarkable work, which will make his name live, certainly as long as the church of Yamachiche will endure.

The subjects chosen for the pendentives are directly related to that of the large cupola. In effect, Faith, Hope, and Charity have as their object God, who is represented high up in the cupola. But the medallions where the theological virtues are represented, aren't they by their very position, like appendices to the large painting in the dome?[...] On a base of the most beautiful azur, scattered light clouds reflecting gold and silver, one notices, towards the middle, God represented as a venerable old man suspended in air. He is dressed in yellow, symbolic of wealth and power.
Abbé Caron cont'd.

Scattered in space one sees angels, some grouped, some isolated, which seem to be proclaiming all sorts of praises of the Creator. The large figure of the Eternal Father is full of grace and majesty. His right hand shows a part of the terrestrial glove which shows through the clouds. This is a clue to the commandment. His left arm holds graciously a hand turned up, it's the sign of approbation. On seeing this noble figure and all that surrounds it, doesn't one want to say: but, is it possible to paint any better the creation of the book of Genesis? One reads there 'in the beginning God created the sky and the earth...On the part of the glove not shrouded by clouds, water, or fire, the moon reflects on its soft light on the earth. The artist shows us [the moon] in one of its phases which we can not but recognize. Is the night not well represented? On the opposite side we see a rainbow, unmistakeable witness of the day; because it exists only by borrowing its colors, so bright, so varied from the light that presides over the day. Don't we have, in all this ensemble an image true to the Creation' [...] p. 90

"But who is this figure that we notice upside down in a corner of the painting? His regular features, those of an angel, without any expression of fear and hopelessness who refused to attribute to God, His sainthood three times... In this attitude, with this figure, half man, half monster given by the artist, it is easy to recognize the superb and unhappy
Abbé Caron cont'd.

Lucifer.

In full glory, the archangel Michael appears, he who turned the enemy of his master and creator upside down at his feet; holds him from now on, chained..." p. 91

"From his attitude filled with humanity, with lowered eyes, hands crossed on his chest, to his white clothing, covered in a blue cloak, it is easy to recognize the humble Virgin [...] Before her is found the angel Gabriel with a lily in his hand. Both of them are on their knees on a cloud.

The artist could not have chosen a scene more appropriate to represent the infinite mercy of God than the apparition of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary [...]"

The Eternal Father is not the only person of the Holy Trinity that the painter has represented. He painted also the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove. He did not represent the Son but he delicately made his presence known, by recalling the mystery of His reincarnation, by the visit of the angel Gabriel to the very Virgin Mary. At the bottom of the painting one sees also a luminous cross, which recalls the mystery of Redemption, and expresses, again in a lively manner, the infinite kindness of God towards fallen man."

p. 93

"In one of them [medallions] see Faith, represented by an allegorical figure, holding a lamp with one hand and with
Abbé Caron cont'd.

the other staff of an unfurled flag. This blond head, this figure with lots of animation [...]" p. 93

"In another one of the medallions the artist has painted a woman relegated on a rock, in the middle of the sea. The waves, full of menace, come to hit the rock with stubborn persistancy. Nevertheless the face of this woman, whose eyes are raised towards heaven, [...]" p. 93

"In the third medallion, see this inspired figure, a heart 'embraced' by a hand. It's the love of God...She crushes at her feet a bouquet of roses.[...]" p. 93

"Coming to the fourth pendentive...This woman that holds two young children to her breast, while giving alms, to a pilgrim, a piece of money, isn't she the expression of charity...How these children with blond heads are beautiful. One with his [?] back turned to his mother, his head collapsed on himself and a little towards the rear, sleeps with the slumber of a child; while the other with his gaze filed on his mother, seems to be expressing a need, - hunger. And this nice old man, the pilgrim, does he seem like someone who ten times, twenty times in our life, would be present among us, asking for alms. One senses that this scene is not a real scene of life, but it has to a high degree a similarity, which is the obligatory state of a turly artistic work.[...] p. 94
Artistic traditions on nineteenth-century Northern Italy

The most important artistic movement during the nineteenth century in Italy was the redefinition of the meaning of landscape painting. Art schools that promoted landscape, had already done so by reviving religious works which contained a true expression of landscape, even though these works were harmoniously tied to a figurative theme. Both genres proceeded on their separate but paralleling paths. Gradually landscape painting moved from a distant perspective to the foreground of artistic movements. The ideal landscape in previous centuries had not necessarily involved a realistic form of color because the composition had been of primary importance. An ideal luminosity that shared little with reality, was prevalent. The aim was to obtain scenic results from certain elements in the most effective manner possible.

Leonardo had already defined the relationship between color and design; between that line which does not exist in nature and the interplay of masses with color, light and shadow. Romanticism continued the movement towards an expressive technique - a step closer to nature. Pictorial

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1 Most of the Piedmontese artists discussed in this appendix are further referenced in Luigi Mallé's catalogue, I Dipinti della Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Museo Civico di Torino, Torino: 2nd ed., 1981.
truth could not only consist of a visual datum but also a revelation of sentiments experienced by the painter.

Landscape painting, humble in its initial debut, in a secondary role, unappreciated and relegated to background scenic effects in the 'galant' feasts of the eighteenth century France, was to become the genre most nurtured in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. In essence, landscape painting which was made popular by Turner, Constable and the French School of 1830, would unite Northern and Latin cultures in artistic taste and style, which in turn would also draw a small group of Tuscans and Piedmontese artists, who would place Italian art in the international movement.

From the Italian pictorial tradition of Annibale Carracci, of Domenichino, of Salvatore Rosa, came the eighteenth-century view and Veneto landscape that, with Guardi, reached a level of refinement in its atmospheric sensations. It can be said that it is the true precursor of English landscape tradition for the first half of the nineteenth century and the French 'pleinairism.'

The history of nineteenth-century Piedmontese painting begins with the painter Massimo D'Azeglio (1798-1866), who

2 Massimo D'Azeglio was born in Turin. From the age of sixteen he became a student of Martino Verstappen having displayed a specific talent for painting. His father Roberto D'Azeglio in 1829 had made major attempts at reforming the Accademia di Torino. M. D'Azeglio earned a reputation as a talented painter, author, politician and patriot of Northern Italy. He gained an international reputation when he
is responsible for closing an epoch rather than opening one. His works contained romantic subjects such as scenes from the Sagra of San Michele and idylles which illustrated the tales of Nausicaa, set in the landscapes of romantic fantasy. D'Azeglio was an artist who always returned to his trade in spite of an active political and diplomatic career. In his autobiography I mei ricordi, D'Azeglio wrote,

In 1819-1820 [...] I was looking for a pathway that would give life to that splendid future I saw in my dreams. In painting I envisioned new directions, new concepts; I saw works that possessed more than the Mannerist recipe of the eighteenth century; more than the minute and scrupulous imitation of reality perfected by the artists of my time, that was more photography than painting.\(^3\)

D'Azeglio's method as we know it from his writings will remain important to the painter-archeologist D'Andrade's (1838-1915)\(^4\) generation, which seemed more concerned with emphasizing Gothic and Neo-Gothic monuments rather than with life studies. D'Azeglio's life studies, according to art historian Andreina Griseri, should have liberated his typical

participated at the Esposizione Internazionale di Parigi in 1836.


\(^4\) Alfredo D'Andrade was born in Lisbon and died in Genova after a distinguished career as a restorer of ancient buildings such as the Castello di Issogne with Avondo, Rivara and Tagliolo. In 1884 he was instrumental in the construction of the Castello Medioevale in Turin. Many of his paintings are housed at the Museo Civico di Torino.
academic method of historical painting; however, his canvases appear to be very precise and complete, executed with brush-tip strokes and painted on silk surfaces.\(^5\) D'Azeglio scorned the realist school of landscape painting as lacking any sense of imagination:

\[
[... ] \text{scuola realista nella pittura del paese [dicendola] invenzione che fa onore all'ingneo umano [,...] la legittimazione ingegnosa di chi non aveva scintilla artistica, non sentiva il colore, non aveva voglia di lavorare.}\(^6\)
\]

This is evidenced by such examples of his paintings as Muzio Attendolo Sforza, Villa d'Azeglio ad Ivrea, and Una Veduta (1835). One can see the larger than life proportions given to nature and the equally disproportionate reduction of human figures. D'Azeglio gave this much thought: "What principally guided me was the sentiment of nature - I always considered the 'effect' directly, but if I obtained it I wished to do so nobly, patiently listening to the suggestions given to me by nature's sentiment."\(^7\) The painter felt his inspiration came from nature but likewise he thought that it was his right to use artistic license to obtain an even more dramatic effect. His goal in working from life was to search for the background with Nature's simple means and not with the

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\(^6\) Massimo D'Azeglio, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. i, chapter XIV, p. 282. (trans. A. S.)

\(^7\) Ibid., chapter XVII, p. 387. (trans. A. S.)
forced, unnatural quality of Mannerist art. "...Thus I longed to create a great work, a new genre." D'Azeglio was rebelling against the Flemish and Dutch schools which filled the galleries of major Italian cities of the day with works showing shepherds and animals. "I called my endeavour a colony of Paladins; errant knights and fair maidens. In literature this was not a novelty, but in landscape painting it was." D'Azeglio, therefore, filled his works with those subjects so vividly described in the chivalrous poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is not surprising that this famous Piedmontese painter, a giant in nineteenth-century landscape painting, is considered by critics as one who looked to the past rather than to the future. D'Azeglio's subjects would become fundamental in the realist controversy that would take hold in Piedmont.

If one considers La Morte del Conte de Montmorency to the Ulisse Accolto da Nausicca, one immediately realizes that his heroes had an established position so as to produce the maximum effect. He underlines the event but spiritually says little, if anything at all. Regardless of this 'passion' of his and with few exceptions, his works fail. His paintings are unsuccessful because of a lack of natural expression.

8 Ibid., chapter XXXIII, p. 411. (trans. A. S.)
9 Ibid., vol. II, chapter XXVII, p. 228. (trans. A. S.)
10 Mario Soldati, Nota Critica dal Catalogo della Galleria d'arte moderna del Museo Civico di Torino, Torino: 1927, p. 23, "non è quindi il caso di dire che, quando se ne allontana per ossequio del Romanticismo, cade di necessità nell'artificiosio." In other words ["...by distancing himself from Romanticism, he falls into artificiality."] (trans. A. S.)
and his studies are unsuccessful because of a weakness in interpreting the poetics and in translating the 'real' datum into his own frame of sensitivity.\(^\text{11}\)

Such is D'Azeglio's work in the eyes of Angelo-Dragone and Jolanda Conti, two Piedmontese art historians. Although D'Azeglio may not be held in such high regard today, it does not diminish his stature in the history of nineteenth-century Northern Italian art. He definitely bore a preference to Wood, Therlink, Verstappen, Denis, Chauvin and Bossi whom he praised as exemplary artists and scorned Turner and Constable. To look at D'Azeglio's work one remarks on the scenic effect produced by his paintings. There is a tendency to overdramatize, and one senses the definite presence of the artist perhaps at the expense of lyrical spontaneity of artists which followed him.\(^\text{12}\)

Running parallel to the developing trends in landscape painting were the ever popular historical paintings to commemorate the achievements of famous generals and kings. Even these large scale scenes incorporated a romantic theatrical inclination. Giovanni Migliara\(^\text{13}\) as well as


\(\text{12} \) A. Griseri', \textit{op. cit.}, p. 10.

\(\text{13} \) Giovanni Migliara (1785-1837), distinguished himself through his work in scenography and perspective. In Milan he gained notoriety for founding a new genre of painting. While still a young boy he sketched architectural aspects of his city in pencil and color, reproducing most of the artwork contained in the churches. Towards 1810 he began numerous works of small dimension in the manner of Canaletto and Jacope da Ponte. His miniatures on silk and ivory became world renowned. From his numerous travels, he would illustrate certain aspects of Italian cities and areas, including Piedmonte in 1832. By this date he had completed a total of 200 oils, 150 watercolors and 600-700 medallions. Among his students were artists such as Federico and
Giuseppe Pietro Bagetti were engaged in large commissions portraying the battles fought by the Napoleonic troops. Francesco Gonin, an enthusiast of historical subjects, worked in a tone of 'gothic-revival' which linked the preferences of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth. He made a successful portrait of the Marchese di Breme (fig. 41), a director of the Accademia Albertina. The vision of Guiseppe Camino (1818-1890) consisted not of 'scenes' in an objective sense but rather glimpses of invented countrysides where the typical taste for the literal, 

Ferdinando Moja, Giambattista Dell'Acqua, Giovanni Renica and Pompeo Calvi. He had taught at the Brera Accademia in Milano in 1822. Monuments were of great interest to Migliara. After having studied perspective planes and masses, the value of chiaroscuro in shadows and tone, he finally achieved an innovative medley of color.

14 Guiseppe Pietro Bagetti (Torino 1764-1831), was associated with l'Ancien Empire of Vittorio Amedeo III. Relocated to Paris in 1807 where he gained notoriety for a series of watercolors in which Napoleonic battles were depicted. His works were rich with fantasy and he was inclined to produce panoramic landscapes, an example of which is Plenilunio sul mare, a watercolor c. 1842 in the collection of the Accademia Albertina (fig. 35). He also achieved a sense of delicacy through his chiaroscuro technique. This form of landscape would be adopted by D'Azeglio.

15 Francesco Gonin (Torino 1808-Giaveno 1889), was a scene designer at the Teatro Regio (Torino) in 1854. A most versatile artist producing a range of works from frescoes to oil paintings, from watercolor to tempera, charcoal and engraving on stone and copper. He even worked as a lithographer. His landscapes rendered a spontaneous and vital pictorial interpretation of nature. His father, Enrico Gonin, was active in Piedmont's artistic life exhibiting his works at the Promotrice in Torino.

16 Giuseppe Camino (Torino 1818-Caluso 1890) was a self-taught painter who taught at the Accademia Albertina. He exhibited at the Società Promotrice in Torino in 1853.
prevalent in those years, saturated the composition and thus became the essential accent. Examples of this are his *Il Diradarsi di un Temporale* and even *Foresta vergine*. From 1830 to 1840 in the works of Beccaria, nature in romantic landscapes seemed to be so calm as to not be real. It culminated in a composite of memories taken from eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century French painting - a landscape caught in time. Even Edoardo Perotti,\(^{17}\) who was familiar with the 'ateliers' of Geneva and Paris, insisted on a manneristic atmosphere and his sturdy masses seemed more painterly.

The evaluation of painting in Northern Italy evolved around the schools of Posillipo and Resina. It is important to note that Italy did not yet exist as a country and the collection of states which preceded unification embodied many different trends and artistic tastes and organizations. Repercussions of these would be felt even in Quebec.\(^{18}\) Several art historians\(^{19}\) have stated that Piedmont in this early period of the nineteenth century, suffered, in comparison to the rest of Italian art from so serious an inertia, that it was placed in a desolate corner of the

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\(^{17}\) Edoardo Perotti (1824-1870) studied in Paris under Calame. Had a studio specializing in landscape art in Paris and in Rome.


\(^{19}\) L. C. Bollea, A. Stella, R. Maggio-Serra.
prevailing artistic movements of Europe. Only in the last half of the twentieth century has a revalidation of the Piedmontese art of this period been undertaken. Recognition was finally given to certain artists. In this category lies Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1882) and many others. Most art history texts concentrated on the careers of renowned artists such as Beccaria, Piacenza\textsuperscript{20}, and Perotti - thereby giving a very narrow impression of Piedmontese art. In order to understand the importance of Fontanesi and his school one had to re-examine his traditional predecessors because their influence was felt in the art academies of Northern Italy. Theirs was the norm used to measure art instruction.

The Piedmontese have a long history of being true to the monarchial and military traditions and are renowned for being conservative. Generally speaking, they were never known for their great aspirations or innovative styles and perhaps this is the reason for their delayed recognition. One can draw the analogy of French Canadian tastes of the nineteenth century which embraced these very conservative tastes as their own in the imported Italian works and workers. The north of Italy was, and is, famous for a sense of

\textsuperscript{20} Carlo Piacenza (1814-1887) studied painting at the Reale Accademia in Torino for five years and with Carlo Felice Biscarra (1823-1894) (fig. 125). They formed a studio with the watercolorist Jean Juillerat. In 1854 C. F. Biscarra and Luigi Rocca formed the Circolo degli Artisti di Torino which became a society in 1858. He also founded the revue Arte in Italia, in 1859.
taste and loyalty to their homeland.

In the Courrier de Turin, in an article on the 'Esposizione di oggetti di Belle Arti e d'Arte e Manifatture di 1811', G. Grassi writes about the works of Lorenzo Pécheux who underlined the importance of drawing as accorded by the Carracci and as practiced in his own landscapes, influenced by Gaspar and Poussin. As first painter of the Court and Director of the Accademia Albertina, Lorenzo Pécheux soon gained recognition in Turin and his influence was felt throughout Italy. Pécheux's huge commission to decorate the numerous rooms of the Palazzo Reale in Turin left a lasting point of reference for Italian fresco decorators of the nineteenth century. His French academic training was evident in the splendor and flawless techniques of 'trompe l'oeil', 'grisailles', stucco and modelling motifs which hung from every niche and ceiling of the palace. Pécheux's renown in Turin and the many examples of his work may well have been observed by students at the Accademia.

21 "Exposition d'objets de beaux-arts et d'art et manufactures", Courrier de Turin, August 20, 1811, n. 114.

22 Lorenzo (Louis) Pécheux (Lyon 1729–Torino 1821) decorated the ceiling of the Biblioteca Palatina (fig. 122) for King Vittorio Amedeo III for the Palazzo Reale in Torino. Eight caryatids in monochrome in the program represented an homage to Annibale Carracci from the Galleria Farnese. Taught at the Reale Accademia in Torino. A large collection of his preparatory drawings have remained in the archives of the Accademia. For many years these were a source of didactic materials for the Schools of Drawing and Painting at the Accademia. For additional information see L. C. Bollea, Lorenzo Pécheux, Torino: 1942.
Albertina such as Capello.

In 1855 the Marquis Ferdinando di Breme was appointed Director of the Accademia Albertina and a profound cultural renewal began in Turin. The various publications of the *Gazzetta Piemontese* contain numerous articles which show how in the Piedmont, in the Veneto region and in Tuscany, art had a dominant trend with a varied and profoundly influential emphasis on Italian landscape art primarily. In 1852, art critics such as P. Giuria began to show an interest in landscape artists such as Perotti, Beccaria, Piacenza and others. One is initially given the impression that landscape painting, whose popularity was growing in France and Switzerland, did not have a very good reception in Italy. Giuria in 1857, called landscape painting, perhaps ironically, "l'enfant gâté" of modern art and blamed the artists for their lack of mastery in their brushstrokes, their monotonous tones and their "shoots which aspired to become seedlings." He felt that such 'studies' could not be promoted as complete works of art.

An entire set of established ideals, of rhetoric convictions, began to unfold. The new perception of reality that was already being insisted upon all over Europe was also fermenting in the Piedmont by exchanges with the French generation of the 60's at the beginning of the Impressionist


era. Courbet's heroic naturalism of 1840 and that of the first Impressionists, however, would have very little effect on the Piedmontese. Carlo Pittara (1836-1890)\textsuperscript{25} tried to grasp the sense of realism and he tried to convey it, laboriously, in an enormous collection of historical painting. It is evident however that Pittara was not able to influence his countrymen to the extent of France's Courbet, who had given roots to a permanent revolution of Realism in landscape painting. Piedmonte's contribution was exemplified by those artists who had gathered around Pittara between 1868 and 1880 and formed the Rivara school. "The humble school of Rivara became the Babilonia of landscape painting. Rivara's fields, the green of Rivara [...] was Piedmont's contribution to the pictorial revolution."\textsuperscript{26} After 1860 Rivara became central to the controversy over the 'poetry of truth.' The school\textsuperscript{27} was especially active during the decade of 1866 to 1876. Vittorio Avondo (1836-1910)\textsuperscript{28}, one of the members, eventually pursued his own course. His work contained a

\textsuperscript{25} Carlo Pittara (Torino 1836-Rivara, Canavese 1890), studied under Jacques in Paris in the 1860's and for three years in Rome.

\textsuperscript{26} A. Griseri, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{27} Members of the Rivara school included D'Andrade, Rayper from Liguria, Avondo, Berta, the caricaturist Teja, Pastoris, Antenore Soldi, the Tuscan and the Spaniard, De Avendano.

\textsuperscript{28} Vittorio Avondo was born and died in Turin. He was a reknown artist from Piedmont who is remembered as being very influential on Antonio Fontanesi. A large collection of his paintings are conserved at the Museo Civico di Torino.
delicate, fragile melancholy with landscapes that contained thread-like horizons where the sky, the clouds, and the water blended together. His subjects were significant: a torrent, trees in the foreground, a small pond or even a village. His work contrasted with that of Antonio Fontanesi's which was characterized by its heightened emotionalism. The enthusiasm of the Rivara school was praised by Avondo for "rendering a more synthetic dimension and thus a more modern one." 29 This trust in rationalism supports the various cultural and inspirational elements in Avondo which often lead to beautifully accomplished works. While the Impressionists proceeded from 1870 to 1880 with optical distancing, Avondo insisted on the motif. He, however, made use of the Dutch attention to detail as well as using tones that ranged from violet to brown, from pink to azure; but he always ended with a dominant calming grey tone. As a result of his trips to the Northern countries he assimilated and refined his understanding of the Dutch paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Of equal influence on his work were the frequent visits to the Pinacoteca of Turin. 30

One must not lose sight of the fact that while Avondo was engaged in questions of the painting of landscape,

29 A. Griseri, op. cit., quotes from Avondo's writings on p. 16.

30 A large collection of Dutch painting was assembled during the nineteenth century by the Royal house of Savoy and can be viewed today at the Galleria Sabauda in Turin.
historical paintings were being produced in great number. At the beginning of Avondo's activity, c. 1860, Bossoli had some influence. In those years he still painted battle scenes (those of the Independence Campaign), and common feasts such as the Processione del Corpus Domini in via Garibaldi. He invented his own sense of color manifested in techniques such as the use of fireworks for romantic effects.

Running parallel to the Rivara school was the work of Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1882) and his followers. It is only recently that this artist has been re-evaluated by art historians almost to the point of epitomizing the second half of the nineteenth century in Piedmont. By 1860 Fontanesi had assimilated his own particular romantic style of painting landscape (fig. 36). In 1855 his sojourn in Paris permitted him to acquaint himself, at close range, with Corot's work and with that of T. Rousseau and Daubigny. Fontanesi's particular talent was the ability to project a soul into the landscape. His trip to London in 1866 proved to be very influential, as was his meeting with Turner. He experimented closely with a poetic sentimentality of landscape which was particularly individual. His trip to Japan from 1876-1878 would further perfect his pictorial technique and combine it with his great sensitivity to nature.

From 1869, in Turin, while a professor at the Accademia Albertina, Fontanesi had begun an intense period of research. His Mulino of 1856 is considered a turning point in his
career. He is famous for adapting Corot’s melancholy greys to a more monumental interpretation, such as in Riposo sotto gli alberi or in the Nella Stalla where a lyrical atmosphere goes beyond formalistic studies. The ceiling of Nella Stalla contained a penetrating light which nonetheless was restful and integral to the architecture. His painting of La quiete shows an understanding of the traditions of both Corot and Claude Lorrain. With the French influence, there is also a combination of the Dutch trait of minimal ground space and an expansive sky. "Fontanesi's naturalistic repertory is reduced to a few background elements; a figure or a tree, (fig. 36) and mere landscape encompasses everything; a rock, the heart of a marsh and at each side a fence of rocks and earth; the stones of a well, black and enormous, resembling a ghost."31

From 1860 to 1862 Fontanesi's view of art was of precise motifs such as the presence of a dark cloud or a solitary shepherdess as allegories of solitude. They all concentrated on the melodic resonance of landscape on an ideal plane. The figure did not destroy the landscape's solitude but capitalized it. The technique assumed the responsibility of rendering this procedure even more symbolic with reflections of light (not sun, but rather lunar brilliance). In 1865, in Paris and in London, the Salons refused to exhibit Fontanesi's works. He was considered marginal in the

Piedmont and in the rest of Europe.

Fontanesi was not interested in atmospheric investigations in the naturalistic style of the Impressionists. He rather insisted upon the introspective romantic poetry and aimed at a sentimental plane of open dialogue which paintings had to concretize as perception.32

His use of ovals as a significant shape: the vision concentrated to the center point which then expressed an emotional focus.

Another area of Fontanesi's influence was his innovation in the art of etching. He insisted upon the black tones, enhancing figures of enormous architectural structure, placing a subject which perturbed him directly in the ideal center and insisted on the degradation of greys to portray his shepherdess in Vecchiaia. This work is considered among the most authentic works of Italian Romanticism.

Fontanesi acknowledged Corot, Daubigny and Millet as influential on his work.

For Fontanesi light was not only a source of sensation but also a primary idea and true substance. It acquired a perceptive value that then catalized the poetic energy into the subject - form. Fontanesi then insisted on deforming, energizing the characters or the landscape and even overturning them, in his last years into a convulsive medley of paint.33

As in other parts of Europe, art in the Piedmont experienced a transformation that was particular to the nineteenth

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century in the trends towards naturalism, realism and impressionism. In the same manner Fontanesi was representative of his era in that he was a romantic, a realist and an impressionist. He has been credited with exploiting the poetry of modern landscape particular to Northern Italy.

Piedmontese painting presented a varied group of artists some of whom leaned towards Impressionism even more than Fontanesi. While the works of R. Pasquini, V. Bussolino, and C. Follini were so closely tied to Fontanesi's style that they have at times been attributed to him, the Rivara school and its artists offered only a slightly different view of nature. They may have been different in many respects, but they seemed to have great similarities in their intentions and accomplishments.

One cannot say that Piedmontese painting of the nineteenth century was entirely stagnant in respect to the rest of Europe as it was up-to-date and well-oriented in its research of pure landscape. Although artists in Northern Italy looked back to the Dutch school, they were equally aware of the trends in France and even England. Our discussion of the latter part of the nineteenth century in Northern Italy can be concluded with the work of artists such

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34 Carlo Follini (Domodossola 1848-1938), studied under Fontanesi at the Accademia in Turin. Travelled extensively through Italy; Bologna, Venice, Florence, Milan and Naples. Exhibited at the Promotrice.
as Enrico Reyced (Torino 1855-1928) who insisted on 'macchie' (stains) in his studies of evening done in the port of Genova (1890). He saw Turin's squares and the Royal Garden through an optical prism and choose a dominant color with which to paint them. Reyced proceeded on a path that distanced him from Fontanesi's school. His paintings are similar in style to the Rivara school. In Sorrisi di Marzo (1894) the figures emerge from the green and are gathered along a small road at the edge of Castellamonte. Instances of his liberal use of Impressionist themes such as the rising sun (Monet) are numerous. The distant light was emphasized through the use of a formula i.e., typical structures such as light on water, the dark mass of a boat, the sky, etc.

In summary, one does not rediscover Courbet's style of realism in Piedmont. The painters of the Rivara school, Pittara and his followers were of another plane - still romantic. The green color of the Rivara school that in the first years of the nineteenth century seemed too soaked in reality, would eventually become too banal compared to the Piedmontese Futurists. Artists such as Pasini were 'appasionato' of all things Oriental. He would bring to bear a simpler, clearer and more authentic influence on Piedmontese art. The landscape tradition was no longer dominated by romantic chiaroscuro and luminous effects were considered relatively conventional. The paintings of the Rivara School, Fontanesi, Avondo and Reyced based on a study
of landscape so endearing to those artists, the true 'trait d'union' between art, society and nature epitomized by working 'en plein air', now seemed to lose its novelty. Artists of the late nineteenth century moved indoors. The century ended with strong reaction to the movements embraced by the Piedmontese artists we have discussed.

The Futurist Umberto Boccioni,\textsuperscript{35} in a letter of 1916 saw Italian Impressionism with a critical eye:

The artists cry, invaded by the great sentiment of nature and, all the more, sob as the sight becomes greener in color and the sun more scorching. With these sighs of Alpine solitude, with these tears off lakes and the rustle of hovels, art slips into the intimate and muddy pathway of the genre painting. Impressionism, Divisionalism and all the Italian discoveries that were to emanate from it became swamped and saddened and exhausted. Pellizza da Volpedo cries between fields and waters...Vittore Grubicy\textsuperscript{36} remains motionless before a shrub and cries...\textsuperscript{37}

The course of Piedmontese painting of the nineteenth century can be summarized as an innovative movement against formalism which began with Fontanesi and ended with Pelizza

\textsuperscript{35} Umberto Boccioni (Reggio Calabria 1882-Venice 1916), travelled to Russia in 1907 as well as to Paris. Greatly influenced by Cubists such as Cezanne.

\textsuperscript{36} Vittore de Dragon Grubicy (Milano 1851-1920) represented the 'divisionismo italiano' movement at the Venice Biennale of 1952.

\textsuperscript{37} A. Griseri, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 23. (trans. A. S.)
da Volpedo. During the first decades of the century in Piedmont, theatrical dramatics and perspective were fundamental. Here the precise geometric balance was enhanced by timid works of real landscape. Among the artists discussed in this chapter some gained notoriety and some have since been entirely forgotten. The avant-garde nature of the different schools mentioned in this chapter had only limited effect on the academy training of the future artists training at the conservative art academies.

38 Pelizza da Volpedo (Alessandria 1868-1907), winner of numerous prizes at the Accademia in Florence, exhibited in Milan, Florence and Turin.
Appendix n. 11

History of the Accademia Albertina

Italy has a very long tradition of training artists. During the Middle Ages the apprenticeship system was predominant under masters of the numerous trades. During the Renaissance a host of anonymous artists worked under a master in a 'bottega'. Since the Middle Ages the only way a person of some talent in the plastic arts could learn techniques, was to work without pay for an artist his parents chose. It was the Master that was paid. The difference between craftsman and artist were clarified during the Renaissance, but established craft guilds never lost their importance. Italy never fragmented the arts as thoroughly as the French.

The great Italian Masters, as well as the lesser ones, were universal in their outlook and practised the simultaneous cultivation of sculpture, painting and architecture, including the minor branches of each of these categories. In Italy, moreover the revived admiration for antiquity restored a doctrinal element to the pedagogy. The guilds metamorphosed into schools and the concept of an academy emerged. The academy reasserted the equality of the plastic arts with the liberal arts, a principle it now declared by virtue of its theoretical instruction. This advanced state of art instruction was transplanted on to French soil by the Valois kings whose Italian conquests had brought them into close contact with this aspect of Italian culture.¹

L'Accademia di Torino was founded in 1678\(^2\) as part of the Università dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti. It was through the Duchess Regent Maria Giovanna Battista di Savoia-Nemours, the widow of Vittorio Amedeo II, that a close link

\(\text{\textsuperscript{2} The first 'Accademia di Madama Reale' of 1678 housed craftsmen and artists. Amateurs of fine art, members of the aristocracy and young men who wanted to learn more about the trade frequented the school. This academy had few instructors, most of whom were also teachers in other disciplines. There were few classrooms and very little didactic material.}

In 1716 King Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoia gave the Accademia its first set of statutes and regulations. These were amended in 1736 and 1738 and entirely rewritten in 1778 on the occasion of the Second Accademia of Vittorio Amedeo III. Fig. 123 shows examples of medals coined for prizes.

The Jacobins saw art as being not only for the enjoyment of few refined minds but rather a noble manifestation of the spirit of the people - collaborator to literature and science for all of humanity. Thus in resolution of the cultural Piedmontese problems, art was placed with all the other disciplines.

The Third Accademia of Carlo Felice was established in 1824. Even the most conservative individual unwittingly became an innovative revolutionary. If the venerated Master of Painting, Pécheux, still represented the old school of 1778, he had however, passed over to this new period and was surrounded by such restless colleagues as Vincenzo Ravelli and Comolli, then by Giacomo Spalla (Torino 1776-1934) and Bonsignore, all Neo-Classicists. However, in 1822, Giovanni Battista Biscarra (Nice 1790-Torino 1851) replaced Pécheux. Biscarra was all too consumed in the new artistic spirit he had encountered in Florence and Rome. The chairs in this Accademia were largely augmented as there was need for scientific studies in the field of anatomy and cultural studies in art history and poetic mythology. The regulations of 1824, based on those of 1778, were soon amended in 1841 and then again in 1847. However, these reforms did not suffice. There was a strong need to change the spirit of the Accademia - to rejuvenate it, to bring it back to the accelerated pace of the nineteenth century. All this was required if they wished to maintain equal status with the art world outside of Piedmont and beyond Italy's borders. A more detailed account can be found in F. Dalmasso, P. Gagli, F. Poli, 1982, "Various internal regulations in the history of the Accademia," pp. 11-34.
between this institution of art and the royal family would remain until the late nineteenth century. The academy was modelled partially on the French Académie Royale. At first the academy was known as the Accademia delle Scienze. It became the Accademia delle Lettere, Arti e Scienze through the lobbying of such masters as Pécheux and Porporati who insisted that masters of the art schools be included as members thereby changing the name and some of the focus of the school. "At the same time the Palazzo Ateneo of Turin which had housed the Faculty of Fine Arts was annexed to the Accademia with the same rules, regulations and rights as the other disciplines."

3 The dean appointed was Pécheux. Eventually in 1801, the Architectural School joined the Nude Drawing School. Ferdinando Bonsignore, previously director of the new architectural school, became the new head of the Accademia when architectural studies were added. In 1804-1805 the local university students and faculty required larger premises so the Palazzo Ateneo was vacated by the Faculty of Fine Arts. They re-located to a former convent of San Francesco da Paola. In the university restructuring requested by Napoleon I in 1805, the University of Turin was said to have had nine faculties, of which Fine Arts was one. This academy contained thirty-six professors; of this number four were responsible for artistic instruction. Carlo Antonio Porporati (Torino 1741-1816) was professor of

3 Dalmasso, Gaglia, Poli, 1984, p. 30.
engraving and etching, Péccheux; painting, Giovanni Battista Comolli (Torino 1724-93); sculpture, and Ferdinando Bonsignore; architecture. In 1806 the Faculty of Fine Arts had a total of ninety-one students (four in sculpture, fourteen in drawing, twenty-two in architecture and fifty-one in painting). In 1807 the number of students fell to seventy-seven due to a general restriction on enrollment.\footnote{A.A.A.T., Origine e sviluppo dell'Accademia (1792-1846), fasc. 35, manuscript.} Annual exhibitions were organized by the Faculty and the students were requested to exhibit their studies. The exhibition lasted a week and a grand inauguration began the event. Local authorities such as the Piedmontese Governor, Prince Camillo Borghese, were invited. By 1808, two other disciplines were added to the Faculty: art history under the chair of the painter Revelli, and ornamental design under the auspices of Bonsignore.

After a brief period of uncertainty in which the Ateneo Torinese seemed to be interested in making the Faculty of Fine Arts part of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris, it was decided to keep the Faculty as part of the Ateneo but placed under the rectorship of Count Prospero Balbo who headed the former Accademia. The Faculty of Fine Arts remained there until 1822. With the return of King Vittorio Emmanuele I of Savoia, the Faculty of Fine Arts no longer had a voice in public or in university dealings - it almost
seemed as though it was no longer part of the establishment. Thus from 1814-1822 the Faculty remained in the shadow of the university and having only its most illustrious instructor, the Dean of Architecture, F. Bonsignore, figure on its roster. He was also the Master of Civil Architecture in the Faculty of Mathematics and Engineering - even though he received a reduced honorium. In 1819 Bonsignore's salary was again equal to that of his colleagues, and Giacomo Spalla\textsuperscript{5} was appointed professor of Sculpture in the Royal University of Turin.

The greatest change came on March 26, 1822 when the new king, Carlo-Felice, appointed Giovanni Battista Biscarra to the position of professor of Painting at the University of Turin (fig. 125). By 1823, two more instructors were appointed to the Faculty. The new king also reconstituted the Accademia of Painting and Sculpture, with the Marquis Filippo Asinari of San Marzano as new president.\textsuperscript{6} Thus by April 1822 the Third Accademia had begun its sessions with a total of forty-eight students. A body of ten honorary academicians, all with artistic knowledge, were chosen by the king. Finally on July 13, 1824, it was officially renamed

\textsuperscript{5} Giacomo Spalla (Torino 1776-1834) did a series of reliefs with a Napoleonic subject (1807-10) for the Galleria del Beaumont nel Palazzo Imperiale (ex Reale) di Torino. See example of his work in fig. 124.

\textsuperscript{6} A.A.A.T., Statuti e Regolamenti 1822-56, fasc. 3, manuscript.
the Reale Accademia delle Belle Arti.\textsuperscript{7}

Perhaps even more concerned with the new Accademia's outcome than the Marquis of San Marzano was his successor, Carlo Emmanuele Alfieri di Sostegno. He hoped to be as successful in his new challenge as he had been in his diplomatic career. It was his doing in 1829, that granted the Accademia, the holdings of the art gallery\textsuperscript{8} of the Marquis Vincenzo Maria Mossi of Morano, Archbishop of Sida. The Accademia received gifts of art work from the king in 1832-33. Other donations from Count Cesare di Saluzzo, Superintendent Ferrero and Professor Monticoni were made and certain terracotta items of Ignazio Collino and the last tapestry of the Savoia house tapestry manufacture was acquired. This completed the collection of the Galleria dell'Albertina. Certain prestigious works of the Marquis Alfieri were also included along with the addition of three new departments in 1829 of anatomy, history, and poetics of perspective.

It was King Carlo-Alberto who saw an opportunity to strengthen his political ties with the new rising Italy and the old regal system through the arts. On April 15, 1833, he donated to the Accademia his residence and on September 12, 1837, an agreement was reached whereby both the Accademia and

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., fasc. 6, manuscript.

\textsuperscript{8} For a list of the Accademia's gallery holdings, see appendix n. 15. The dates of acquisitions had not been catalogued.
the University would share the former convent of San Francesco da Paola. From this moment on the Royal Accademia renamed itself Albertina in honour of its generous sovereign. King Carlo-Alberto financed the construction of a superb vestibule with columns, a magnificent marble stairway, a grandiose hall of honour and a comfortable, tranquil meeting hall which was reminiscent of the neo-classical style of the period. By 1833 the various art schools that had once been scattered all over the city were in one place, sharing one residence.

King Carlo-Alberto realized that his small kingdom would nonetheless have to keep up with the times. On March 3, 1849, he signed a decree that revolutionized the academic world in Piedmont. The Accademia was slowly transformed into a scholastic institution with a balanced budget. With a law passed on March 16, 1850, the new sovereign, King Vittorio Emmanuele II, completed the program started by his father. He stripped his family of its excessive holdings and donated them to the new state. He gave away furnishings and property which constituted the patrimony of the royal residences. The only properties reserved for the king were the Palazzo Reale and Chiabese, the castle of Moncalieri, the hunting lodge Di Stupinigi, the Church of San Lorenzo and the Basilica of Superga, which housed beneath it the royal tombs of the House of Savoia. The importance of this event to the art world was tremendous. Not only were thousands of art works now
available for public viewing, but also the former royal residences where the 'in situ' works of Pécheux, for example, could be viewed. The growth of galleries such as the Sabauda, now filled with royal treasures, must have been very influential to Piedmontese artists.

The Accademia was evolving at a rapid pace. On October 13, 1855, Vittoria Emmanuele II appointed a General Director to the Royal Accademia. Unlike the bureaucratic duties of the former Secretary, the Marquis Fernando Arborio di Breme would have many more responsibilities in directing the curriculum of the institution. The Marquis was a competent individual in the field of art who was eager to raise the academic standards of the school. In October of 1856, the king approved new statutes for the Royal Academy and a new Faculty consisting of Gaetano Ferri (1822-1896), Andrea Gastaldi (1826-1889), Enrico Gamba (1831-1883), Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1882), Vicenzo Vela (1820-1891), Odoardo Tabacchi (Varese 1831-Milano 1905), Alberto Masso Gilli (Chieri 1840-Calvi 1894) and a number of other known masters in their fields. By 1860 the teaching assistantships in the schools of painting, sculpture, drawing and ornamental design had increased from four to six. The law of June 26, 1860 stated that the Accademia would be under state control and would in future remain the State's responsibility. This was a true act of financial justice as the Royal Accademia would no longer be a mere jewel in the royal crown, to be used for
propaganda or even deserted when the ruler so chose. It was hoped that it would become a cultural institution that would answer the spiritual needs of the newly formed nation. The Accademia became the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Education and received financial aid in exchange for the State's use of its premises.  

9 King Umberto I's decree of March 25, 1888, abolished the schools of Ceramic and Engraving (etching), which had a very small number of enrollments, and introduced the latter as part of the School of Painting. It also enlarged the School of Architecture. Further, a registration fee was implemented for those pursuing any art course. The minimum age for admission into the school was raised from twelve to fourteen years, and the instructor's wages were vastly improved.
Appendix n. 12


N.B. entries listed as they appear in the original.

Allegorie, Emblemi

Iconologia, Mitologia -

Arcadia

Dictionnaire Hiconologique, Paris: 1756.

Le imagini degli dei antichi, Lione: 1581.

Decorazione - arte

Applicata all'industria

*Artistole (d') detto Goppino. Gli universali dei belli recami. (facsimile di una edizione de 1537).

Bernasconi, Giuseppe. Corso elementare d'ornato Torino: 1865.

Bigi, Quirino. Degli arazziere e ricamatori di Coreggio.


Charvet, Alberto. Mitologia; puttini e figure decorative. Torino.


**Mendel. *Il tesoro dell'ornato.* Mendel, Roma.


**Rossi, Alessandro. *Corso elementare di ornamenti Schizzi ornamentali d'autori ignoti (tavole).*


* books concerning embroidery

** books concerning ornamental design

Disegni, incisioni
acqueforti, litografie,
mezzalie
Acquerelli. *Studi di Scuola degli Allievi dell'Accademia Albertina.*


Bernieri, Cesare. *L'Opéra di Massimo d'Azzeglio in fotografie.*


Boucher. *Œuvre (Sanguine).*


Disegni di artisti antichi esistenti nella Biblioteca reale di Torino. Dorigny. N. 90 teste tolte dai cartoni di Raffaello

Durer, Alberto. *Fatti della Sacra Scrittura*.

Ferrero. *Opere di Raffaello*.


_Incisioni 48 di soggetto religioso._

_Incisioni con motivi di storia cristiana._


Raffaello. *Illustrazioni del Vecchio Testamento (Vaticano)*. Torino: 1851.

Salvator, Rosa. *Incisioni*. 


Vignette di mitologia e Storia Sacra. 1697.


Pittura - tecnica, storia e critica speciale della pittura


Astori, Gian Maria. Della pittura all'encausto. Venezia: 1780.


Elements de peinture pratique. Amsterdam: 1766.


Descrizione dei principali quadri esistenti nelle chiese e case di Torino.


Laugier. _Manière de bien juger les ouvrages de peinture._
Paris: 1771.


Le Pileur d'Apligny. _Traité des couleurs matérielles._
Paris: 1779.

Libert. _Traité de dessin et de peinture._ Lilla: 1811.


Ranalli, Ferdinando. _Della pittura religiosa._ Firenze: 1844.


Romano, Giulio. _Affreschi del palazzo del Te._ Mantova: 1811.


Prospettiva

Basoli, Antonio. _Scene teatrali._ Bologna: 1821.

Bertini, Giuseppe. _Trattato di prospettiva._ Bertini,
Lucca: 1832.

Monticoni. _Schizzi e scenari._

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Taceani, Francesco. *Prospettiva delle scene teatrali.*
Guisti, Milano: 1825.

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Paroletti, Modesto. *Vite e ritratti di 60 piemontesi illustri.* Torino: 1824.

*Iconografia sabauda.*

.note: - 'affreschi' in Italian is synonymous with frescoes.
- Some other categories included in this catalogue are; aesthetics, physionomy, iconography, mythology, practical and technical manuals, restauration, sculpture,...and many more.
Appendix n. 13


Contest Rules

article I

Every year the Accademia will distribute to the students prizes in the form of medals.

article II

The Accademia also grants to its students' monetary encouragements and honorable mention. p. 17

Competitions and Prizes for the Drawing School

Article III

1st Competition

an academic drawing from a print or a design

Prize: Medal in copper

2nd Competition

a drawing of a head in relief

Prize: Medal in copper   p. 17

3rd Competition

statue or group drawn in relief

Prize: Medal in silver   p. 18
A further encouragement of 80 lires will be given to students who have shown the greatest amount of dedication and progress during the length of the academic year.

The Accademia reserved the right to choose from the works of students, that which it deems worthy of conservation. [...] p. 18

School of Painting

Article V

1st Competition

an academic drawing of a life model

Prize: Medal in copper

2nd Competition

a figure, nude or dressed, chosen by the professor from a life model

Prize: Medal in silver

3rd Competition

a sketch from the imagination drawn or painted

Prize: Medal in silver p. 19
Competition for School of 'Pittura Riunite' (Mixed Media)

article VI

1st Competition

a head showing expression from live model, life - size on paper 0,45 cm X 0,35 cm.

Prize: Medal of 150 lire value

2nd Competition

study from life of a nude figure (not larger than 1/3 nor smaller than 1/4 of life - size) Materials - choice of student

Prize: Medal of 300 lire value

Acquisition of the model will be the responsibility of the Prof. of Painting

School of Sculpture

article VII

1st Competition

a statue in low relief in clay from antiquity

Prize: Medal in copper

2nd Competition

an 'academic' nude from life in low relief

Prize: silver medal
3rd Competition
free composition in low relief in clay

Prize: Silver medal

4th Competition
a figure in relief from life dressed or 'o panneiata'-
of one meter in height

Prize: A medal (value 300 lire)

With the requirement that the winner make a gesso cas'
of his statue

School of Design

1st Contest
a drawing with shading - copy of a print

Prize: Medal in copper

2nd Contest
a drawing from relief

Prize: Silver medal

3rd Contest
free drawing with shading from a pre-determined style

Prize: Medal (value 80 lire)
School of Architecture and Design

Two prizes per class (one for Architecture and one for Perspective); Two silver medals and two in copper.  p. 24
All entries become the property of the Accademia.

article XVIII
Students who win first prize in any contest do not have to continue intermediate - level classes the following year.
p. 27

Additional rules
article I
Those students entered in the competition of Painting or Sculpture by the 'Commissione Accademica' will be required to participate in the contests and will not be permitted to refuse participation unless he [student] is able to justify his refusal with illness or a necessary absence. p. 29
Appendix n. 14

- original written by di Breme, Director General.

Admissions

1°. All students must be at least twelve years old.

2°. Students after three years in Drawing School that show no progress will be asked to leave.

3°. Students who have done studies elsewhere and who wish to be admitted must submit work to the School they wish to join and will be admitted or refused on that basis.

4°. [..]

5°. [..]

6°. "Those students accepted at the School of Drawing are required to equally attend the Schools of Architectural Elements and Perspective. If this requirement isn't met, they shall not be permitted to attend the Schools of Painting, Sculpture and Etching." p. 6.

7°. "A year after admission, a student must prove himself capable of drawing reliefs in gesso, to draw studies from real life, have had knowledge of the instruments of architecture and perspective to pass into Painting School." p.7.
School of Drawing

Professor of Drawing must attend classes personally every day with his assistant.

School of the Elements of Architecture and Perspective

10°. Courses in this School are obligatory. They will be given consecutively with the drawing class. The course will be divided into theory and practice, using the most convenient and simplest method.

11°. "It is possible to register just for this school." p.8.

School of Sculpture

13°. [...] 

14°. "Professors of Painting and Sculpture must provide practice in their respective schools, drawing and modelling from a nude. Teachers will keep a record so that models may be paid by the ‘Ispettore Economico’." [...] p.10.

Evening School for Study of Nude

15°. [...] 

1°. "Those students already accepted at the Schools of Painting, Sculpture and Etching and who possess written permission from their respective professor, shall be permitted to attend this school." p.10.
School of Ornamental Design

16°. "The ornamental design course is not obligatory for students of Painting, Sculpture and Etching.

[...] Students admitted to the School must have had elements of architecture, prospective and elementary drawing." p.11.

School of Etching

17°. "Same regulations apply as for the other schools." p.11.

Professors

19°. "Professors are directly answerable to the Director regarding any concerns with the artistic content of the curriculum or discipline.

[...] Professors must advise the 'Inspectore' of discipline problems, financial problems and absences.

[...] Professors must take part in the 'Consiglio Accademico' if requested by the Director.
Assistant Professors are answerable to the Professor they assist. In the case of a conflict, the matter will be referred to the 'Professore Capo-Scuola'." p.12-13.
Inspector

20°. The 'Inspectore Economico' is in charge of all finances and discipline at the Accademia.
- He will open and close the school.
- He will register students.
- He will be the conservator of all supplies.
- He will be required to visit the schools, the gallery and insure that all is functioning well.
- All requests from professors will be directed to him.
- He is required to be on duty every day from 11:30 - 15:00.
- All newly acquired property of the Accademia will be recorded by the 'Inspectore' in an inventory. p.13-14.

Assistants ('Inservienti')

21°. [...] 
- Assistants will be paid by the 'Inspectore'.
- They are prohibited from speaking to the student or to associate with them. p.14-16.

[...]

Holidays (1857)

- July 15 to November 6
- 3 days for Christmas
- 1st and 2nd day of January
- From Carnavale to the first Sunday of Lent
- Easter - from Palm Sunday to the 2nd day after Easter Sunday
- 3 days for State's Unification
- All other State holidays
Appendix n. 15


ELENCO DEGLI ARTISTI

NOTA - Per ciascun autore sono registrate la città d’origine, la data di nascita e quella di morte. Il numero romano tra parentesi indica la sala nella quale si trova l’opera.

ALLODI GiovANNI Battista, Torino 1872:
288. Lo scultore Odoardo Tabacchi (busto in marmo) (Salone).

ARACCHIA Fiamminga del sec. XVII:
278. Eter davanti ad Amore (vii).

ARBASI Cesare, Saluzzo 1° metà del sec. XVI, 1607:
221. Natività (iii).
240. Cristo deriso (iii).

ARYDI BARTOLOMEO, Torino 1° metà del sec. XIX, 1827:
386. Il Ruscello (vii).

BASSETTI G. Pietro, Torino 1764-1831:
351. Battaglia in una piazzetta (vii).
362. Paesaggio alpestre (vii).
373. Distorni di Barge (vii).
374. Ponte sospeso fra due soli (vii).
375. Veduta di Pavia (vii).
376. Aurora sul mare (vii).
377. Paesaggio montagnoso con insegnati con secreto presso la corte (vii).
378. Paesaggio alpestre (vii).
379. Nuova bianca sul mare (vii).
380. Un boschetto (vii).
371. Paesaggio alpestre con pastorelle (vii).
372. Pienilungo sul mare (vi).

BECCARIANGIOEL ANGELO, Torino 1850-1897:
259. Paesaggio alpestre (vii).

BELEN XII Nicasius, Anversa 1620-1678:
207. Oggetti sul tavolino (viii).
210. Oggetti sul tavolino (vii).

BISTOLFI LEONARDO, Casale Monferrato 1859:
389. Il pittore A. Fontanesi (busto in bronzo) (Salone).

BLOEMER Giovanni Francesco detto ORCIGNI, Anversa 1662-1749:
372. Paesaggio (vii).
381. Paesaggio (vii).

BOGLIARO GIUSEPPE, sec. XIX metà:
236. Il monsignore Vincenzo Monni (busto in gesso) (iii).
391. Il Re Carlo Alberto (busto in marmo) (Salone).

BRUEGHEL BARTOLOMEO, Utrecht 1556-1638:
66. Il tempo della Sicilia a Tivoli (v).

BRESCIANTINO Andrea Piccinelli, notturna 1507-1525:
133. Sacra Famiglia (iii).

BRILLI PAOLO, Anversa 1554-1626:
30. Paesaggio; Stimmate di S. Francesco (vii).
41. Caccia al cervo (vii).
56. Paesaggio (ix).
85. Nave presso un fiume (vii).

BRUEGHEL Giovanni, Bruxelles 1568-1625:
75. Paesaggio (ii).

CACCIA GUGLIELMO detto IL MONCALVO, Montabone 1558-1625:
236. Putti (vii).
238. Madonna col Bambino (vii).
239. S. Michele Arcangelo (vii).
Appendix n. 15 cont.d

191. Testa di angelo (III).
302. I Santi Agabio e Paolo (cartone) (II).
304. Madonna col Bambino (cartone) (II).
313. S. Caterina d’Alessandria (cartone) (I).
315. La gloria di S. Maria Maddalena (cartone) (I).
318. Figura femminile (cartone) (III).
322. Annunciazione (cartone) (I).
323. Pietà (cartone) (II).
326. Resurrezione (cartone) (I).
327. Cristo deposto (cartone) (II).
329. Natività (cartone) (I).
331. Un Profeta (cartone) (II).
335. Un profeta (cartone) (II).
336. Madonna (cartone) (I).
337. Un Arcangelo (cartone) (II).
338. Adorazione del Bambino (cartone) (II).
344. Madonna adorante il Bambino (cartone) (I).
353. Madonna col Bambino in trono e due Angeli (cartone) (I).
350. Un Santo Vescovo (cartone) (II).
350bis. S. Nicolò da Bari (cartone) (I).
356. Un Vescovo che calpesta un incredulo (cartone) (I).
357. Madonna col Bambino e quattro Santi (cartone) (II).
357. Una Santa ed una devota (cartone) (II).

Gaudenzio Ferrari (bottega di):
306. Santo Benedettino (cartone) (I).
309. Resurrezione (cartone) (I).
310. Sacra Famiglia e due oblati (cartone) (II).
311. Il Cenaaco (cartone) (II).
320. L’Assunta (cartone) (II).
321. Un Santo Guerriero (cartone) (II).
324. Deposizione (cartone) (II).
325. Santo Vescovo e due oblati (cartone) (II).
332. San Giovanni Battista (cartone) (II).
334. S. Michele (cartone) (I).
342. Angeli con strumenti della Passione (cartone) (II).
343. Salita al Calvario (cartone) (I).
345. Frae morenti (cartone) (II).
346. Gemi depresso (cartone) (II).
349. S. Giovanni Evangelista (cartone) (I).
352. Incoronazione della Vergine (cartone) (II).

FILIPPO VERONESE, operò all’inizio del sec. XVI:
134. Madonna col Bambino (III).

FLORIS FRANCESCO, Anversa 1516-1576:
124. Adamo ed Eva (I).

FRANCESCHINI MARCANTONIO, Bologna 1648-1729:
193. Armata (IX).
194. Erminia (IX).

FRANCIA FRANCESCO RATIONALI, Bologna 1450-1517:
132. S. Giovanni Battista (II).

GELDORP GORTZIUS, Lovanio 1553-1616:
161. S. Maria Maddalena (IV).

GENTILESCHI ORAZIO, Pisa 1565-1650:
167. L’Arcangelo Gabriele (IV).
190. Atti S. Michele (IV).

GROSSO GIACOMO, Cambiano 1860:
272. Il Conte di Pencisera (VII).

HEDAJSKERR MARTIN (van), Hemskeck, 1498-1574:
128. Deposizione (I).
129. Giudizio Universale (I).
Appendix n. 15 cont.d

Hoecht Giovanni (van der), Anversa 1611-1651:
217. Adorazione dei Magi (iv).
Horsthorst Guerardo (imitatore):
22. Deposizione (v).
Jordaens Giacomo, Anversa 1593-1678:
101. Martire morente (Salone).
Lagnieu, operava in Francia nel secolo XVII:
Lanino Bernardino, 1512-1583:
252. S. Chiarra (iii).
254. S. Francesco (iii).
312. Madonna col Bambino e due Angeli (cartone) (11).
314. Adorazione dei Magi (cartone) (ii).
319. Madonna dello Spasimo (cartone) (ii).
328. Madonna col Bambino e Santi (cartone) (1).
340. Madonna col Bambino e un Santo (cartone) (1).
355. Maddonna col Bambino, due Santi e l'Eterno (cartone) (1).
358. Madonna in trono e due Santi (cartone) (1).
Lanino Pier Francesco 1552-1609 e Gerolamo 1556-1589:
248. Gesù con i Santi Gerolamo e Filippo (11).
Lanziani Polidoro, Veneziano, Lanziano 1515-1565:
137. Madonna col Bambino e S. Nicolò da Bari (11).
Leonardo (scuola di):
348. Copia del cartone della S. Anna (11).
Le Sueur Estacchietto, Parigi 1617-1665:
253. S. Bruno (vi).
Lingelbach Giacomo, attributo, Francfort 1622-1674:
77. Marina (viii).
Lippi Filippo, morto nel 1469:
140. I Santi Girolamo ed Agostino (11).
141. I Santi Gregorio ed Ambrogio (11).
Maestro delle mezze figure, operava intorno al 1530-1550 (seguace):
160. Una donna in atto di scrivere (1).
Maineri Giovanni Francesco, Parma fine del sec. XV inizio sec. XVI:
164. Madonna col Bambino (11).
Malù Giovanni, Anversa inizio del sec. XVII? 1657:
89. L'incredulità di S. Tommaso (iv).
Marieschi Michele, Venezia 1696-1748:
32. La Salute (iv).
33. Il Canal Grande (iv).
34. Il Bacino di S. Marco (iv).
35. La Riva degli Schiavoni (v).
36. Il Palazzo Ducale (v).
37. La chiesa degli Scalzi (iv).
38. Il Canal Grande ed il bacino di S. Marco (v).
60. Il Canale della Giulecca e l'Isola di S. Giorgio (v).
61. Il Canal Grande ed il Canareggio (v).
62. Rialto (v).
63. Piazza S. Marco e la Torre dell'Orologio (v).
Marochetti Carlo, Torino 1805-1857:
294. L'arcivescovo Vincenzo Mossi (statua in marmo) (Atto).
390. Il pittore G. Monticelli (medaglia in bronzo) (viii).
Martini Jacopo, Venezia 1792-1841:
254. Il Conte di Canelli (medaglia in avorio) (ix).
Massari Lucio, Bologna 1569-1633:
197. S. Caterina (Sala del Consiglio).
Mazzola Giuseppe, Valduggia 1748-1838:
4. Autoritratto (Biblioteca).

Mielyer Francesco Antonio o Mayrle, Praga (?) 1710-1782:
228. Parte di figure prodigio (IX).
229. Baldreria del figliuol prodigio (IX).

Michelangelo (seguace di):
347. Testa di vecchio (cartone) (II).

Mieli Giovanni, Beveren 1599-1664:
110. Riposo di Battaglia (XIII).

Monogrammista fiammingo del secolo XVII A. W.:
16. Andromeda legata ad uno scoglio (V).

Morazzone Francesco Mattielli (attribuito), Morazzone 1571-1626:
159. La Maddalena venuta (S. C.).

Mytens Martino il Giovane (attribuito), Stoccolma 1657-1770:
94. S. Filippo (S. C.).

Paggi Giovanni Battista, Genova 1554-1627:

Pannini Giovanni Paolo (attribuito), Piacenza 1691-1768:
8. S. Pietro che battezza (V).
44. I mercanti cacciati dal tempio (IV)
47. Predicazione di S. Paolo (V).
73. Fuga in Egitto (IV).

Patel Pietro I detto il Bon Patel, Picardia 1605-1676:
49. Paesaggio (S. C.).
57. Paesaggio (S. C.)

Pecheux Lorenzo, Lione 1729-1821:
391. Ritratto di Ignazio Collino (Biblioteca).

Peters Bonaventura, Anversa 1614-1652:
65. Nasciazio (S. C.).

Piola Domenico, Genova 1628-1703:
224. Riposo nella fuga in Egitto (IV).
Appendix n. 15 cont.d

Rossetti di Val Vigezzo, S. Mana
Maggiore prima meta sec. XIX:
233. Autoritratto (vii).
234. Vecchio che legge (vii).
Rottenhammer Giovanni, Monaco
1561-1625:
171. Crocifissione (i).
Saftleven Ermanno, Rotterdam 1609-1685:
50. Paesaggio (ix).
53. Paesaggio al tramonto (ix).
Sabbatini Andrea, Salerno 1480-1530:
138. La morte di S. Alessio (iii).
Sassoferrato Giovanni Battista Salvi, Sassoferrato 1605-1685:
201. Assunta (s. c.).
Scariellino Ippolito Scarsella, Ferrara 1551-1620:
Schedone Bartolomeo, Modena 1576-1613:
143. Sacra Famiglia (iv).
Scuola Bolognese del sec. XVII:
86. La Samaritana al Pozzo (v).
170. Mose tratto dal Nilo (s. c.).
169. Rebecca al pozzo (s. c.).
195. Decollazione di S. Giovanni Battista (Sala del Consiglio).
Scuola Bresciana del sec. XVI:
158. Adorazione dei Magi (s. c.).
Scuola fiamminga del sec. XVII
seconda meta:
52. Principessa che soccorre un ferito (vii).
120. Agar e Abramo (i).
Scuola fiorentina del sec. XVI
seconda meta:
307. Santo morente (disegno) (i).
308. Un evangelista (disegno) (i).
Scuola genovese del sec. XVII:
18. Filosofo (s. c.).
52. L'annuncio ai pastori (s. c.).
98. S. Francesco (s. c.).
216. La Famiglia di Davide (iv).
102. Madonna allattante il Bambino (v).
116. Flagellazione (s. c.).
125. Adorazione dei pastori (iv).
59. L'arca di Noè (vii).
165. Crocifissione (iv).
303. Natività (cartone) (i).
Scuola mantovana del sec. XVI:
23. Gesù presentato al popolo (iii).
Scuola napoletana del sec. XVI:
151. Madonna col Bambino (iii).
Scuola olandese del sec. XVII:
251. Uragano (s. c.).
84. Interno di un atrio (s. c.).
Scuola piemontese del sec. XVI:
131. Una devota presenta la figlia alla Vergine col Bambino (iii).
341. Cristo davanti a Caifàs (cartone) (ii).
Scuola piemontese del sec. XIX, prima meta:
382. Ritratto di un gentiluomo con il collare dell'Annunziata (Biblioteca).
227. Ritratto di donna (ii).
Scuola parmigiana della seconda metà del sec. XVI:
192. Carità (ii).
Scuola tedesca del sec. XVI:
126. Salvatore benedicente (i).
142. Madonna col Bambino (i).
176. Resurrezione di Lazzaro (i).
145. Deposizione (vii).
Scuola veneta del sec. XVIII:
104. Bettarba al bagno (ix).
Serangeli, prima meta sec. XIX:
377. Ritratto del Bagetti (Biblioteca).
Seyter Daniele (attribuito), Vienna 1649-1705:
90. Ritratto (iv).
175. S. Giovanni Battista (s. c.).
297. Il pittore Ega (marmo) (Sala del Consiglio).

Spazzotti Martino. Casale Monferrato. - Notizie dal 1430 al 1528:
150. Madonna in trono col Bambino e Angeli (III).

Spinola Ippolito, seconda metà del sec. XIX:
289. Autoritratto (Biblioteca).

Tabacchi Odoardo. Valenza 1836-1905:
298. Il prof. Gambe (marmo) (Salone).
299. Il Duca Ferdinando Breme di Sassarano (marmo) (Salone).

Tempesta (Muller Pietro detto il), Haarlem 1637-1701:
43. Paesaggio (s. c.).
45. Paesaggio (s. c.).

Teniers David il Giovane (copia antica da):
31. Vanessa di Salone (s. c.).

Tiepolo (bottega del):

Tillemans Pietro. Anversa 1684-1734:
52. Battaglia (vIII).
122. Battaglia (vIII).
123. Battaglia (vIII).

Turchi Alessandro detto l'Orecchio, Verona 1528-1648:
15. Risa fra i pastori di Jetro e di Mose (v).

Vela Vincenzo, Ligure 1830-1891:
271. Re Vittorio Emanuele II (marmo) (Salone).

Vianzi Giovanni Maria. Bologna 1636-1700:
181. Endimione e Diana (Salone).

Vouet Simon. Parigi 1590-1649:
22. Achille riconosciuto alla corte del Re Locomede (v).

Wael Cornelio de, 1592-1667:
88. Battaglia (v).

Werlin Cristianò, operava a Stupinigi nel sec. XVII:
19. Testa di vecchio (s. c.).

Zeccarelli Francesco. Pitigliano 1702-1778:
64. Paesaggio (IX).
67. Paesaggio (IX).
71. Caccia al cervo (IX).
80. Caccia al toro (IX).
Appendix n. 16

Lovell's Montreal Directory listings for

Luigi Cappello/Capello.

1875-76 Cappello, Liugi [sic], Italian artist, 54 Notre-Dame, h. 186 La gauchetiere
(1st mention)

1876-77 Capello, Louis, artist, 97 Jacques Cartier

1877-78 Capello, Louis, artist, 534 St. Mary

1878-79 Capello, Louis, artist, 93 St. Francois Xavier

1879-80 Capello, L. G., artist, 93 St. Francois Xavier

1880-81 Capello, L. G., artist, 93 St. Francois Xavier, h. cor. Craig and St. Charles Borromeo

1881-82 Capello, L. G., artist and printer, 141 St-Andre

1882-83 idem

1883-84 idem

1884-85 Capello L. G., artist 1468 and 1470 Notre-Dame h. 14 Montcalm

1885-86 idem

1886-87 Notre-Dame 1470 Capello, L. G.

1887-88 Cappello, L. G., decorative artist and portrait painter, 1470 Notre-Dame

1888-89 Cappello, Mrs. M. L. dressmaker, 202 St-Martin

1889-90 Chapello [sic], Mrs. M. T. [sic], wid. Louis Jean, 202 St. Martin

1894-95 Capello Mrs. M. wid. Louis, dressmaker, 195 St. Martin

1896-97 St. Martin 195 Mrs. M. wid. L. dressmaker

1897-98 Capello Mrs. Marie Louise, wid. J., dressmaker, 1132 St. Antoine St. Henry
Lovell Directory cont'd.

1898-99   idem

1899-1900 idem

1900-01   Cappello Mrs. L., wid. L.,
           1049 St. James

1906-07   St. James 1049 Cappello Mrs. M. L.
           wid. L. G.

(last mention)
MAIRIE DU 20e ARRONDISSEMENT de PARIS
photocopie conforme à l'acte original délivrée le 23 MAI 1931
Le fonctionnaire municipal délégué dans les fonctions de l'état civil par le Maire du 20e arrondissement

Félix Capello, âgé de cinquante-neuf ans, natif de Paris, domicile à 13, rue Tocqueville, Paris 8e, a péri dans un accident de la route survenu à l'hôtel de la Tour Eiffel, à Paris 15e. Il est le fils aîné de Messieurs Capello, domiciliés à Paris 15e, et de Madame Jeanne Capello, née Mattei. Il est l'unique représentant de la famille dans l'état civil.

Ce document comprend également des mentions administratives et juridiques, ainsi que des signatures attestant de la validité de l'acte.
ILLUSTRATIONS
1. Photograph of 15, Monte di Pietà, Torino where Luigi Capello’s family home used to stand prior to Allied bombing on August 13, 1943.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
2. Portrait of King Carlo-Alberto
3. Accademia Albertina, Turin, Italy
   (Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

4. *Il voto d'annessione nell'Abruzzo* (1861)
   Oil painting on canvas, 104 x 207 cm.
   Enrico Gamba.
   Reproduced in: *Cultura figurativa e architettonica
   negli Stati dei Re di Sardegna (1773-81)*, p.760,
   fig. 747.
5. 'Maitre-autel' painting of L'enfant Jésus entre
Sainte-Anne et Saint-Joachim (1885), Pointe-Claire,
Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas, 8' 6" x 5' 11"
Luigi Capello.
(Photograph: Dérhy, 1988).

6. Madonna col Bambino, S. Giovacchino e S. Anna
(c. 1750).
Giuseppe Bottani.
Reproduced in: L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca,
p.157.
TROISIÈME MAISON: L'HOSPICE ST-VINCENT DE PAUL

Sur la rue Mignon (Démontigny) — Du 19 fév. 1868 à 1932

7. Exterior of the Chapelle de l'Ecole de la Réforme (demolished 1932). Reproduced from a photograph in the Archives of the Frères de la Charité, Montreal, Quebec.
8. Interior of the Chapelle de l’Ecole de la Réforme (prior to 1932).
Reproduced from a photograph in the Archives of the Frères de la Charité, Montreal, Quebec.
9. L'Education de la Vierge (1879)
Bonsecours Chapel, Montreal, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas, 4’ x 5’
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

10. Exterior Sainte Anne de Yamachiche prior to 1957.
Reproduced from Abbé Napoleon Caron’s, Histoire de la Paroisse d’Yamachiche, P.V. Ayotte, Trois-Rivieres,
Quebec: 1892.
(Photo: C. Marcotte, March 5, 1957).

(Photograph: C. Marcotte, March 5, 1957).
15. Dome interior
Sainte-Anne de Yamachiche (before July 11, 1957).
'Fresco-secco',
Luigi Capello, c. 1879.
(Photo: C. Marcotte, March 5, 1957).
16. L'Arrivée de Christophe Colomb en terre américaine (1866)
Theatre curtain for Collège de l'Assomption (burned June 1988).
Luigi Capello.
17. & 18. Interior of the Accademia Albertina
Plaster casts,
Turin, Italy.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
19. "Della forza composta dall’huomo et prima si dira delle braccia"
G. Contoli (drawing) and G.R. [?] (etching).
Reproduced: Accademia Albertina di Torino, p.199, fig. 6.
21. **Studio di testa di donna**  
In pencil,  
Francesco Mosso.  
Reproduced from a photograph:  
Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.

20. **Studio di nudo maschile**  
Sanguin,  
Pier Celestino Gilardi.  
Reproduced from a photograph:  
Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.
23. Studio di testa di ragazza
Sketch in pencil on grey paper,
Francesco Mosso.
Reproduced from a photograph: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.

22. Studio di testa di giovane, manica e mantello
Pencil drawing,
Enrico Gamba.
Reproduced from a photograph: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.
15. **Studio di donna di schiena** (n.21)
Enrico Gamba.
Reproduced from a photograph: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.

24. **Uomo con berretto**
Sketch with charcoal,
Francesco Mosso.
Reproduced from a photograph: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.
26. *Atala* (1862)
Oil painting on canvas, 194 x 22 cm.
Andrea Gastaldi.
27. Mort de Saint-Paul l'Ermite (1875)
Saint-Paul l'Ermite Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
29. **La caduta di Simon Mago** (1877)
Oil painting on canvas, 11.40 x 6.40 cm.
Andrea Gastaldi.
Reproduced from a photograph (Archives):  Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Turin, Italy.

26. **Saint-Alexandre** (1875)
Saint-Alexandre, Saint-Alexandre de Yamouraska, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas, Luigi Capello.
30. *I dottori della Chiesa, Ambrogio e Gregorio* (c. 1450)
Oil painting on canvas, 120 x 55 cm.
Fillipo Lippi.
32. Annunciazione (c. 1750)
Oil painting on canvas, 120 x 80 cm.
Andrea Casalis.

31. L'Arcangelo Michele Caccia i demoni all'inferno
(c. 1615)
Oil painting on canvas, 242 x 170 cm.
Guglielmo Caccia detto il Moncalvo.
Reproduced in: Accademia Albertina di Torino, p.150, n.239.
Sacre-Coeur Chapel, l’Assomption, Quebec
Oil painting on canvas.
Luigi Capello.
34. **Nudo accademico** (c. 1835)
Oil painting on canvas, 80 x 65 cm.
School of Louis David.
35. **Plenilunio sul mare** (date unknown)
Watercolor, 75 x 80 cm.
Giuseppe Pietro Bagetti.
36. **Aprile (1872)**
Oil painting on canvas, 258 x 170 cm.
Antonio Fontanesi.
Reproduced from a photograph: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.
37. *San Michele Arcangelo* (c. 1560)
Cartouche.
Giuseppe Giovenone il Giovane.
Reproduced in: *Accademia Albertina di Torino*, p. 182.
38. Bozzetti per bassorilievi dipinti a chiaroscuro da collocarsi nella Sala delle Cariatidi al Palazzo Reale di Milano (1838)
Carlo Arienti.
39. **Fregetto antico nell'Architrave del Tempio di Giove Statore in Roma (1824)**
F. Albertolli (drawing) and G. Folmer (etching).

40. **Elementi di anatomia fisiologica**, (F. Berntinatti)
**Différence des traits du visage**, (P. Camper)
*S. Pietro*, (A. Carracci)
Printed by E. Malnate.
Reproduced in: *Accademia Albertina di Torino*, p. 203, n. 11.
41. Ferdinando Arborio Gattinara Marchese di Breme (1834)
Pencil drawing on vellum, 36 x 27 cm.
Francesco Gonin.
Reproduced from a photograph (Archives): Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Turin, Italy.
42. Arnaldo da Brescia dopo il diverbio con papa Adriano IV (1872)
Oil painting on canvas, 319 x 170 cm.
Alberto Maso Gilli.
Reproduced in: Accademia Albertina di Torino, p.59, n.54.
43. *I funerali di Tiziano* (1855)
Oil painting on canvas, 462 x 240 cm.
Enrico Gamba.
Reproduced from a photograph: Galleria Civica d’Arte Moderna (Archives), Turin, Italy.
44. **Studio per i funerali di Tiziano**
Drawing with black pencil on paper, 47.3 x 36.5 cm.
Enrico Gamba.
45. La perdita del primo amore (1650)
Oil painting on canvas, 110 x 123 cm.
Andrea Gastaldi.
Reproduced in: Andrea Gastaldi (1559-1658). 1911. p.8
46. Fra Savonarola tratto prigione fra gli insulti dei Compagnacci (1856)
Oil painting on canvas, 161 x 202 cm.
Andrea Gastaldi.
47. Pietro Micca nel punto di dar fuoco alla mina volge a Dio e alla Patria i suoi ultimi pensieri (1858)  
Oil painting on canvas, 164 x 204 cm.  
Andrea Gastaldi.  
48. Saffo (1872)
Oil painting on canvas, 158 x 215 cm.
Andrea Gastaldi.
Reproduced in: Andrea Gastaldi (...), 1989, fig. 15.
49. **Veduta di montagne**
Oil painting on cardboard, 37 x 27 cm.
Andrea Gastaldi.
Reproduced in: Andrea Gastaldi (...), 1989, fig. 27.
50. La Visitation, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

51. L'Annonciation, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
52. La Présentation de la Vierge, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

53. Le Mariage de la Vierge, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
54. L'Éducation de la Vierge, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

55. La Nativité de la Vierge, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
56. **La Nativité**, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

57. **La Fuite en Egypte**, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
58. La Sainte Famille à Nazareth, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

59. La Vierge recevant son fils au pied de la croix,
Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
60. *L'Assomption de la Vierge*, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

61. *La Vierge couronnée entourée de saints*, Notre-Dame de Montréal
Second gallery, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello, c. 1878.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
62. Quinte-foil shaped frame painted directly on plastered walls, containing Capello's work. Notre-Dame, Montreal.
63. **L'archange Michel terrassant Lucifer**
In the main dome of the Chapel of the Ursuline Monastery, Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

64. **La Cène**
Above the main altar, Ursuline Monastery, Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
65. Sacré-Coeur devant Sainte-Marguerite-Marie Alacoque
In the pendentive of the dome, Ursuline Monastery,
Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello.
(Photograph: Shtychno, 1989).

66. Sainte-Angèle et Sainte Ursule
In the pendentive of the dome, Ursuline Monastery,
Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello.
(Photograph: Shtychno, 1989).
Oil painting on canvas, 200 x 300 cm.
Andrea Gastaldi.
68. *La Foi, l’espérance et la charité*
In the pendentive of the dome, Ursuline Monastery, Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, ‘fresco-secco’.
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

69. *Couronnement de la Vierge*
In the pendentive of the dome, Ursuline Monastery, Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, ‘fresco-secco’.
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
70. **La Cène** (detail)
Above the main altar, Ursuline Monastery, Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello.
(Photograph: Shtychino, 1989).

71. **La Cène** (detail)
Above the main altar, Ursuline Monastery, Trois-Rivières, c. 1897, 'fresco-secco'.
Luigi Capello.
(Photograph: Shtychino, 1989).
72. Interior of dome.  
Chapel of the Ursulines, Trois-Rivières, Quebec.  
Luigi Capello.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

73. Interior Saint-Paul l’Ermité, Le Gardeur, Quebec.  
Reproduced in: Histoire de Saint-Paul l’Ermité, 1985,  
p.21.
74. Interior Saint-Paul l’Ermite, Le Gardeur, Quebec.
(Photo: Property of Mme. Ayotte-Lalonde).
75. Interior Saint-Paul l’Ermité, Le Gardeur, Quebec.
(Photo: Property of Ayotte-Lalonde).
76. **Interior Saint-Paul l’Ermite, Le Gardeur, Quebec.**
Oil paintings on canvas in the choir.
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

77. **Saint-Paul en prière (1874) detail**
Saint-Paul l’Ermite Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
78. **Saint-Paul en prière** (1874)
Saint-Paul l'Érmité Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

79. **Saint-Paul faisant l'aumône** (1875)
Saint-Paul l'Érmité Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
81. Restoration by Mme. Ayotte-Lalonde.
(Photo: Mme. Ayotte-Lalonde).

80. *Saint-Paul faisant l'aumône* (1875) detail
Saint-Paul l'Érmité Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
83. **Mort de Saint-Paul l’Ermite** (1875) detail  
Saint-Paul l’Ermite Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec.  
Oil painting on canvas,  
Luigi Capello.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

82. **Visite de Saint-Antoine à Saint-Paul** (1875)  
Saint-Paul l’Ermite Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec.  
Oil painting on canvas,  
Luigi Capello.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
85. *Saint-Paul l’Ermite*
Reproduced in: R. Gentilucci (ed.)
Roma: 1841.

84. *Mort de Saint-Paul l’Ermite* (1875) detail
Saint-Paul l’Ermite Church, Le Gardeur, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
87. **Saint-Alexandre (1876) detail**  
Nave of the church.  
Saint-Alexandre, Saint-Alexandre de Kamouraska, Quebec.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

86. **Saint-Alexandre (1876) detail**  
Saint-Alexandre, Saint-Alexandre de Kamouraska Quebec.  
Oil painting on canvas, Luigi Capello.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
88. *Il Cristo della moneta* (c. 1869)
Oil painting on canvas, 170 x 120 cm.
Carlo Caliari.
Reproduced in: *Accademia Albertina di Torino*, p.146.
90. **Sacré-Coeur avec Sainte-Marquerite-Marie Alacoque**  
Saint-Alexandre, Saint-Alexandre de Kamouraska, Quebec  
Oil painting on canvas,  
Sœurs Bon-Pasteur.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

89. **L'Immaculée-Conception**  
Saint-Alexandre, Saint-Alexandre de Kamouraska, Quebec.  
Oil painting on canvas,  
Sœurs Bon-Pasteur.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
92. Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi (1877)
Saint-Rémi, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

91. Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi (1877)
Saint-Rémi, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
94. **Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi** (1877)  
Saint-Rémi, Quebec.  
Oil painting on canvas,  
Luigi Capello.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).  

93. **Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi** (1877)  
Saint-Rémi, Quebec.  
Oil painting on canvas,  
Luigi Capello.  
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
96. **Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi (1876)**
Church of Saint-Rémi, Saint-Rémi, Quebec. 
Oil painting on canvas, 10' x 6'
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

95. **Baptême de Clovis par Saint-Rémi (1876)**
Church of Saint-Rémi, Saint-Rémi, Quebec. 
Oil painting on canvas, 10' x 6'
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
97. L'Education de la Vierge (1879) detail
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shlychno, 1990).

98. Exterior Theatre, L'Assomption, Quebec
(burned in June 1989).
Interior of the Chapelle de Sacré-Coeur, l'Assomption, Quebec.
Reproduced from a photograph in the Archives Providence (Montreal, Quebec).

100. L'Apparition du Sacré-Coeur à Sainte-Marguerite-Marie
Interior of the Chapelle de Sacré-Coeur, l'Assomption, Quebec.
Reproduced from a photograph in the Archives Providence (Montreal, Quebec).
101. L’Apparition du Sacré-Coeur à Sainte-Marquerite-Marie
Interior of the Chapelle de Sacré-Coeur, l’Assomption, Quebec.
Reproduced from a photograph in the Archives Providence (Montreal, Quebec).
102. Dieu le Père
Interior of the Chapelle de Sacré-Coeur, l'Assomption, Quebec
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

103. Interior Chapel of Sacré-Coeur, l'Assomption, Quebec
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
104. L'Apparition du Sacré-Coeur à Sainte-Marquerite-Marie
(1883), Sacré-Coeur Chapel, l'Assomption, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).

105. L'Apparicion du Sacré-Coeur à Sainte-Marquerite-Marie
(1883) detail
Sacré-Coeur Chapel, l'Assomption, Quebec
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1990).
106. Interior Saint-Joachim Church, Pointe-Claire, Quebec
Reproduced in: Le Diocèse de Montréal à la Fin du XIXe Siècle, p. 263.
107. **Enfant Jésus avec Sainte-Anne et Saint-Joachim**
Saint-Joachim Church, Pointe-Claire, Quebec
Oil painting on canvas, Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1991).

108. **Enfant Jésus avec Sainte-Anne et Saint-Joachim**
Saint-Joachim Church, Pointe-Claire, Quebec
Oil painting on canvas, Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1991).
109. Interior of Saint-Isidore (1885), Saint-Isidore de Laprairie, Quebec
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).

110. Saint-Isidore au chevet d'un mourant (1885) detail
Saint-Isidore de Laprairie, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
111. Saint-Isidore (detail)
Saint-Isidore de Laprairie, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas.
Luigi Capello.
(Photo: Shtychno, 1989).
113. **Saint-Isidore en prière**
Saint-Isidore de Laprairie, Quebec
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capelle.
(Photograph: Shychno, 1989).

113. **Saint-Isidore réguscitant une jeune fille (1885)**
Saint-Isidore de Laprairie, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas.
Luigi Capelle.
(Photograph: Shychno, 1989).
115. *Saint-Isidore fait jaillir une source* (1885)
Saint-Isidore de Laprairie, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photography: Shtychno, 1989).

114. *Scène de rue* (1885) detail
Saint-Isidore de Laprairie, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photography: Shtychno, 1989).
117. **Pic IX (undated)**
Collège de l’Assomption, l’Assomption, Quebec
Oil painting on canvas, 6' 11" x 5' 0"
Luigi Capello.
(Photograph: Shtychno, 1990)

116. **Saint-Isidore au chevet d’un mourant (1885) detail**
Saint-Isidore de LaPrairie, Quebec.
Oil painting on canvas,
Luigi Capello.
(Photograph: Shtychno, 1989)
118. 'Parloir des Eleves' Collège de l'Assomption, l'Assomption, Quebec.
122. Volta dell'ex Biblioteca (1778-1784)
Fresco, Palazzo Reale, Turin, Italy.
Lorenzo Pecheux.
Reproduced in: Accademia Albertina di Torino,
vol 15, fig 6.
123. Prize Medals, similar to those received by Luigi Capello from the Second Accademia Albertina of Turin, Italy.
125.  *La scuola serale del Nudo all'Accademia* (1845)
Oil painting on cardboard, 57 x 78.6 cm.
Giovanni Battista Biscarra.