

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF 'CROCINO PITTORE DI GRAND'  
ASPETTAZIONE' AND THE EARLY CAREER OF  
LODOVICO CIGOLI \*

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The chronology for the early career of Lodovico Cigoli (1559-1613) is based on four events: his study with Alessandro Allori; his connection with a certain painter named Crocino; his apprenticeship and activities under the supervision of Bernardo Buontalenti; and his entry in the Accademia del Disegno. Although generally dated between 1572 and 1579, these events appear to have taken place in a different order and later than has been recognized. With the identification of the hitherto problematic Crocino and of the dates for some of the early works done while in Buontalenti's studio, the chronology presented here proposes an apprenticeship with Buontalenti beginning in 1584 and the initiation of Cigoli's activities as an independent artist around 1590.

The chronology, which has been generally accepted, is based on the sequence of events given in the biography by Cigoli's nephew, Giovanni Battista Cardi.<sup>1</sup> Thus around the age of thirteen, Cigoli began his training with Alessandro Allori (generally dated around 1572). After about four years, Cigoli was stricken with an illness, described as the "mal caduco", resulting from exposure to cadavers he was dissecting under Allori's supervision. He recuperated for two to three years at his villa near Castello di Cigoli and then returned to Florence, on Buontalenti's urging, to complete some commissions left unfinished at the death of a certain "Crocino, pittore di grand'aspettazione" and to enter Buontalenti's studio (generally dated around 1579). After this event, Cardi mentions his association with the Accademia del Disegno and his entry painting, the now lost *Cain and Abel*.<sup>2</sup>

That these events took place in a different order and that some of them should be dated later becomes clear when they are considered in light of other sources of information. Cigoli appears to have been active in Florence from the early 1570's until 1581. His early apprenticeship to Alessandro Allori is supported by documentation of his activities in Allori's studio in 1574.<sup>3</sup> In 1578, Cigoli was inscribed in the Accademia del Disegno for which he painted the now lost *Cain and Abel*. In 1580, he matriculated in the Academy in which he was active for the next two years as his name appears without significant break in the records until 1582.<sup>4</sup> He is documented as working with Allori on the painting of grotesques on the ceiling vaults of the Galleria of the Uffizi in 1581.<sup>5</sup>

During the same year, he may have begun to work in the Chiostrò Grande at Santa Maria Novella on two frescoes which were part of the series of fifty-two paintings generally dated between 1581 and 1584.

It is proposed here that Uffizi drawing number 965 F (Fig. 1) is a study for one of these paintings, the *Christ in Limbo* (Fig. 2), and thus one of the earliest known drawings by Cigoli.<sup>6</sup>

Cardi's biography of Cigoli does not contradict the proposal here that Cigoli's illness, his break with Allori, and his association with Buontalenti took place between the spring of 1582 and the latter part of 1584. Support for this suggestion is to be found in the identification of Crocino and of the commissions left unfinished at his death.



1 Lodovico Cigoli, Study for Christ in Limbo. Drawing 965 F, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.

Who was “Crocino, pittore di grand’aspettazione”? There are three candidates. He has been identified with Antonio Crocino who was active in Florence between 1558 and 1578 and who worked as a wood carver on the ceiling of Michelangelo’s library in San Lorenzo.<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to identify him with a seemingly young painter of great expectations. He also has been identified with the hitherto unknown “Cosimo di Antonio Crocino, Pittore” who was debited for his matriculation fee in the Accademia del Disegno between late 1577 and 1578. That this artist apparently died in the late 1570’s is suggested by the sign of the cross by his name in the *Debitore-Creditore* and by the lack of any payments on his account.<sup>8</sup> Thieme has identified “Crocino” with either one of the above two candidates.<sup>9</sup> Since Cigoli took over Crocino’s commissions and worked on them in Buontalenti’s





2 L. Cigoli, *Christ in Limbo*. Fresco, Detail. Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostrò Grande. See also in this issue pag. 390-392, Figs. 3-5.

house, it is logical to assume that Crocino was a pupil of Buontalenti. There is no indication that either of the two artists mentioned thus far was associated with Buontalenti.

The more likely candidate for "Crocino" is a certain Tommaso di Andrea della Croce. This otherwise unknown painter is recorded in the *Debitore e Creditore* of the Accademia del Disegno as working in the house of Buontalenti when he matriculated on 22 June 1584.<sup>10</sup> That this painter was also known as Crocini is shown by the corresponding entry under the name "Tommaso Crocini" for his payment of the matriculation fee in the *Entrata-Uscita* of the Accademia.<sup>11</sup> Further, Tommaso Crocini died on 17 September 1584 and was buried the following day in the church of Ognissanti by the members of the Accademia as is shown by an addition to the entry in the *Debitore e Creditore*.<sup>12</sup> Because of his name and of his association with Buontalenti, this Crocini would seem, in all probability, to be the young painter whose commissions Cigoli inherited—not in 1579—but in 1584. A note may be appended here on two unpublished drawings, both of them drapery studies, that could possibly be by Cigoli's predecessor. Tommaso Crocini may be the artist of the red chalk drapery study, presently catalogued in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi as School of Andrea del Sarto, drawing number 6448 F. This sheet is inscribed in an old hand "crocino" and has in drawing number 6447 F a companion study of the same motif in the same technique.





3 L. Cigoli and Tommaso della Croce (also known as Crocini), *S. Francesco di Paola*, 1584. Florence, S. Giuseppe.

If Cigoli returned to Florence after mid-September 1584, then his illness would have taken place two or three years earlier. Between March of 1582 and January of 1584, Cigoli's name does not appear in the records of the Accademia, a gap that would seem to reflect his absence from Florence and his recovery at Castello di Cigoli. That Cigoli probably went to work with Buontalenti soon after Crocino's death is suggested by the fact that Cigoli is recorded as serving in October as a *Festaiuolo* for the Feast of St. Luke celebrated by the Accademia del Disegno and by the need in November of 1584 for one of Crocino's commissions, the *San Francesco di Paola* for San Giuseppe.<sup>13</sup>

This chronology can be corroborated by the consideration of Cigoli's painting activities. Crocino's known commissions included the painting of the *San Francesco di Paola* for the church of San Giuseppe in Florence (Fig. 3). Although dated variously and never discussed in detail, this painting's history can be established with some precision from unpublished documents. The painting was intended for an altar dedicated to the patron saint of the Padri Minimi of San Francesco di Paola, the order which was established for the first time at San Giuseppe in March of 1584 through the offices of the Grand Duchess, Bianca Cappello.<sup>14</sup> Veracity in the representation of San Francesco di Paola was a concern of great importance in this commission. It now can be shown that in 1584, the Grand Duchess arranged to borrow from Rome the original portrait, painted by Jean Bourdichon and used in the canonization in 1519 of San Francesco di Paola, in order that the copy for San Giuseppe might be made as accurately as possible in Buontalenti's studio. That a request also had been made to the Pope to grant an indulgence to the altar of San Francesco di





4 L. Cigoli, Drawing for the Battle, of Charles of Anjou and Manfred at Benevento, the (now lost painting done in 1589 for the decorations at the Porta del Prato on the occasion of the marriage of Ferdinando dei Medici to Cristina di Lorena. Drawing No. 196, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Paola gives some measure of the importance of this commission to Bianca Cappello. There was a certain urgency in the execution of this commission: both for the dedication of the altar and for the return of the original painting to Rome as requested by the Padri Minimi at S. Trinità. The period of time was short. On 6 July, the Medici representative in Rome, Francesco Gerini wrote to Bianca Cappello that the request for the original painting was granted willingly by the General of the Padri Minimi:

“ I frati Minimi di costi a contemplatione di V: Alt:a Ser:ma sono stati intere-  
mente consolati del Papa per ogni desiderio, che havevano di cotesto lor’nuovo  
convento, sicome con le prime ne risponderà a lei il Cav:le di S:to Stefano, che  
n’ha procurata l’espetitione favorevole; et io col’nome pur’ dell’Alt:a Vra ancora,  
hò conseguito dal Generale, et altri padri qui della Religione Med:ma il vero ri-  
tratto di quel’glorioso San Franc:o di Paula, che fu mandato di Francia, quando  
a tempo di Leone ne fu fatta la canonizatione sua, et lo mando al’A. V. con l’occ.ne  
di certe fregate del Ser:mo Gran Duca mio sig:re, accioche ella ne possa far cavar  
il transeto, che mi scriveva il Sec:rio Giovanini, che la desiderava, havend’io  
promesso a questi padri di restituir loro l’originale del quale tengano grandiss:o  
conto ch mal’condotto sia per la vecchiezza sua; essendo stata usata da me questa  
diligenza per havermi mostrato quel padre, che vene qua ultimamente, come a  
V. Alt.a et a lui sari stato molto caro il detto originale di leone per la bellezza,  
et devotione sua; Pero ella si degnera comander’, che servito, che habbia all  
effetto predetto, mi si rima’di qua, per ma’tenere la promessa fatta, se già non  
le paresse di procurarene infratanto con qualche mezzo magg:e la concessione  
di esso per rimaner’ in cotesto lor’convento, che io non l’ho potuto impetuar.  
Per l’Arcivesc:o...di Roma il di VI di luglio 1584...

Franc:o Gerini

(ASF., Mediceo n. 5937, p. 30 recto).

On 10 July, the General of the Order of the Padri Minimi wrote the Grand Duchess that the painting was being sent from Rome:

“ ...Al p’nte si manda a V. S.ria ser.ma l’imagine del n’ro glorioso padre S. Fran-  
cesco di Paula fatto al tempo, che della fe: me di Leone X.o fu Canonizzato, quale  
si Conserva in questo nostro convento di Roma con grand.ma veneratione per  
esser del naturale; supp.mo a S. S.ria Ser.ma voglia ordinare, che dopoi, che ha-  
veva servito, sia rimandato,...Di Roma il di X di luglio 1584...

F. Stef.o di Francia  
M. Gen.le

(ASF., Mediceo n. 5937, p. 56 recto).

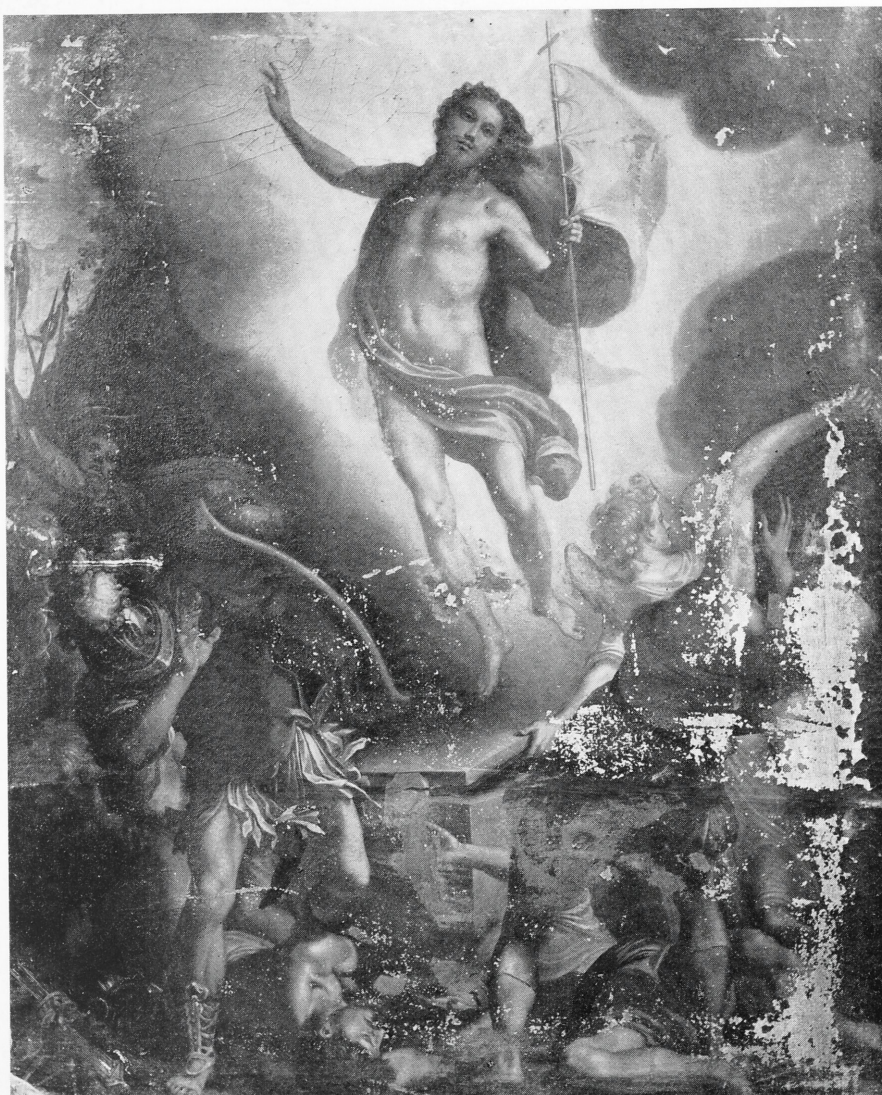
The painting must have been in Florence within several weeks. On 17 September, the artist Crocino died, and soon thereafter the young Cigoli was called to Florence to complete the commission. On 11 November the original image of San Francesco di Paola was taken from Buontalenti’s studio to be returned to Rome as is known from the letter from Ridolfo Sirigatti to the Grand Duchess:

“ ...Il avanti sabato che passa al procacio procuravo di havere da Casa Bernardo  
Buontalenti il ritratto di S. Franc.o di pagola che la S. V. m.o ordina et coman-  
dimento di S. A. et secondo l’ordine suo si vi ritorna a Roma al S. Gerini et al  
procacio comandevo che lo porti con quella diligentia che si conviene alle cose de  
patroni...”

(ASF., Mediceo n. 5937, p. 583 recto).

On 18 November, the Cigoli-Crocino copy of *San Francesco di Paola* was blessed by the Archbishop of Florence and carried in a procession by the Padri Minimi to San Giuseppe.





5 L. Cigoli, *The Resurrection*, c. 1590. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina.

It seems therefore clear that this painting could not have been begun before the *Padri Minimi* were brought to Florence and before the original image was sent from Rome in mid 1584. Although the painting was not available for study due to its being restored, it is an important work for the understanding of Cigoli's early career and of something of his early style.<sup>15</sup>

Other activities known from Cardì to have been inherited from Crocino by Cigoli were "una stanza in su la Galleria, et altre coserelle". Baldinucci was more specific in describing the work: "ed una stanza (si crede a Grottesche) nella Reale Galleria".<sup>16</sup> The identification of this room in the Uffizi and of this work tells us much about Cigoli's status in Buontalenti's workshop in the 1580's. It was a status having more the character of an

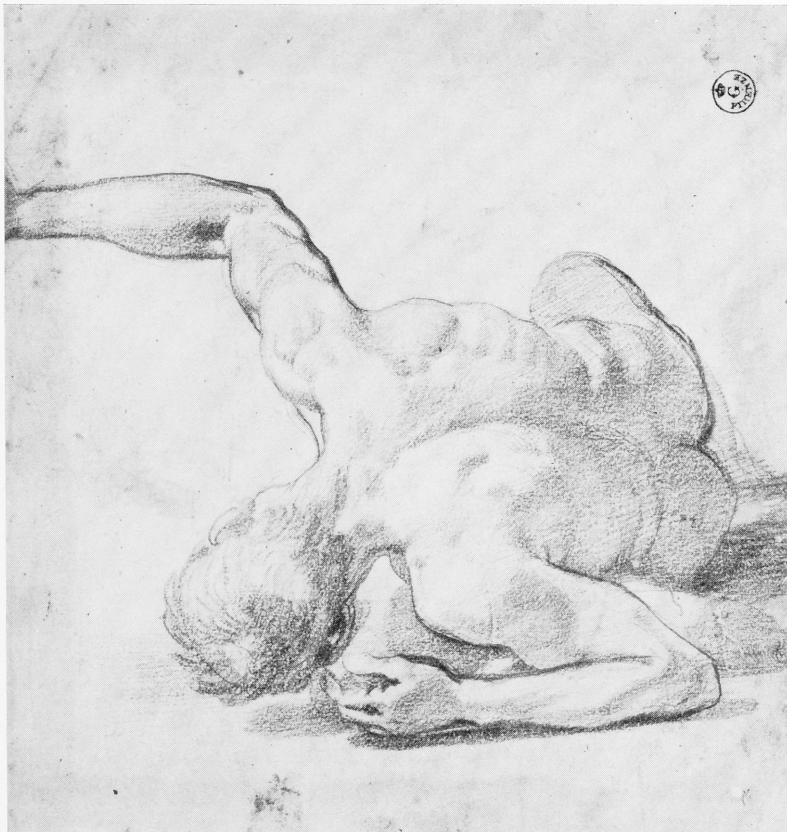




6 L. Cigoli, *The Resurrection*, 1591. Arezzo, Pinacoteca Comunale.

apprentice than that of an independent artist. From the documents discussed below, Cigoli can be added to the number of artists — including Jacopo Ligozzi, Agostino Ciampelli, and Gregorio Pagani — carrying out necessary but modest assignments under Buontalenti's supervision for the work in the Tribuna in the Uffizi.<sup>17</sup> Records of Cigoli's activities there date from May to August of 1586.<sup>18</sup> He may have been one of the two painters paid on 24 May for “metter doro una volticciuola in testa a detta cupola e dip[ig]nierlla a uso di grottescho e dipigniere il cielo di detta cupola, macinare colore e altro...”<sup>19</sup> It is clear that Cigoli and a certain “Orazio di Domenico, pittore” (most likely the Orazio Campana later active in Cigoli's studio) were paid on 31 May for drawing and painting the “disegno del tavolino di S. A. S.”<sup>20</sup> Between the end of July and 23 August 1586, Cigoli





7 L. Cigoli (here attributed), Study for the Resurrection (Fig. 7). Drawing 9399 F, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.

and Orazio Campana are documented as having painted the “sportelli delli armadi” for the Tribuna.<sup>21</sup> Thus while Cigoli’s part in the decoration “a Grottesche” of the Tribuna is not firmly documented, he can be seen to have worked on the Tribuna’s furnishings which, in turn, may be the “altre coserelle” cited by Cardi.

From the identification of Crocino and of Cigoli’s work in the Tribuna, we learn that Cigoli’s break with Alessandro Allori and his association with Buontalenti took place in the fall of 1584. We also learn that Cigoli was not the completely independent artist he was in the 1590’s. His close association with Gregorio Pagani and their sub-letting of Girolamo Macchietti’s studio for the purpose of drawing after the nude model probably took place in 1587.<sup>22</sup> The following year Cigoli received a commission for a number of portraits of members of the Medici family.<sup>23</sup> Around this time, Cigoli must have begun his association with Santi di Tito whose influence can be seen in the *Battle of Charles of Anjou and Manfred at Benevento* of 1589 (a now lost painting measuring roughly 5,8 by 4,6 meters; its composition is known only from a print and the drawing, here Fig. 4) and in the two versions of the *Resurrection* of 1590 and of 1591 (Figs. 5-6).<sup>25</sup> A drawing (Fig. 7) for the 1591 painting, hitherto considered a study by Empoli, can be recognized as an important document for Cigoli’s early drawing style reflecting, as it does, a strong dependence on his training by Santi di Tito.<sup>26</sup>





8 L. Cigoli, *The Immaculate Conception*, 1589-1590. Pontorme, S. Michele.

Thus Cigoli's career could be said to have begun with the last decade of the sixteenth century. It is only with the commission from the Compagnia della Santissima Concezione of the church of S. Michele in Pontorme for the *Immaculate Conception* (Fig. 8) which now can be dated from 1589 to 1590<sup>27</sup>, and with the *Resurrection* of 1590 (Fig. 5) for the Pitti Palace, works which marked the beginning of his long and productive association with the Medici<sup>28</sup>, that one can see the emergence of Cigoli as an independent artist. Indeed, the earliest indication known to me of Cigoli's having his own studio is the notice of 14 July 1589 when Orazio Campana (Cigoli's companion in the work on the Tribuna) matriculated in the Accademia del Disegno and was recorded as "lavora con Cigoli".<sup>29</sup>



## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> G. B. Cardì, *Vita di Lodovico Cardì Cigoli*, 1628, ed. by G. Battelli with the collaboration of K. H. Busse, San Miniato 1913, pp. 9-13.
- <sup>2</sup> See the chronology given by Busse in Cardì, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 51; and that given by M. Bucci, *Mostra del Cigoli e del suo ambiente*, exh. cat., San Miniato 1959, pp. 29-31. The chronology given by the present author in brief form s.v. 'Lodovico Cardì', in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Vol. 19, 1976, is based on material discussed here.
- <sup>3</sup> E. Borsook, *Art and Politics at the Medici Court. I: The Funeral of Cosimo de' Medici*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XII, 1965, p. 46 and note 79; G. Gaeta Bertelà and A. M. Petrioli Tofani, *Feste e Apparati Medicei da Cosimo I a Cosimo II*, *Mostra di disegni e incisioni*, Florence 1969, pp. 30-37.
- <sup>4</sup> *Colnaghi*, Dictionary, p. 65; M. L. Chappell, *Lodovico Cigoli: Essays on His Career and Painting*, diss. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill 1971, pp. 39-41 and Appendix A: Chronology for Cigoli's Career as a Painter, and *Anna Matteoli*, *Il Cigoli e le accademie*, in: *Commentari*, XXXIV, 1973, pp. 217-234.
- <sup>5</sup> See the payments to Cigoli recorded in *Alessandro Allori's journal (I Ricordi)*, ed. by I. B. Supino, Florence 1908, pp. 14-16 and 30-31).
- <sup>6</sup> On the fresco of *Christ in Limbo*, see Bucci, op. cit. (n. 2), No. 1. The related drawing is number 965 F (280 × 195 mm.; matita nera e rossa; carta tinta), Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi. The observation here was also made by Giulietta Chelazzi Dini in her unpublished scheda for the Catalogo Nazionale Generale (copy at the Gabinetto Disegni).
- <sup>7</sup> Battelli in Cardì, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 13, note 1; repeated by Bucci, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 29.
- <sup>8</sup> Chappell, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 308, note 3.
- <sup>9</sup> C. Thiem, *Gregorio Pagani. Ein Wegbereiter der Florentiner Barockmalerei*, Stuttgart 1970, p. 14, note 7.
- <sup>10</sup> ASF, Accademia del disegno. No. 56, *Debitore e Creditore delle matricole [1576-1593]* p. 74 verso: "Tommaso di Andrea della croce Pittore da dare lire ventisette Per sua matricola questo di 22 di Giugno 84..." *In the margin is written*: "lavora in casa M bernardo buontalenti". *Below the main entry is found*: "+ Mori il di 17 di settembre 1584 - 1584 - sotterossi in onisanti acompagniato dal uomini dell'achademia il di 18 detto".
- <sup>11</sup> ASF, Accademia del disegno No. 101, *Entrata-Uscita [1562-1585]* p. 78 recto: "5 di luglio 1584 ...Da tommaso Crocini lire tre per principio di sua matricola...". *In the margin of this entry is the number "75" which refers to the corresponding entry in No. 56, Debitore e Creditore, p. 75.*
- <sup>12</sup> See above, note 10. A distinction between Crocino "pittore di grand'aspettazione" and the earlier artists of the same name was apparently made by Gabburri who based his biographical notice, in manuscript only, on Baldinucci: "CROCINO, Pittor Fiorentino; fu uomo di grande aspettativa nella Pittura. Visse ed operò in Firenze nel tempo di Bernardo Buontalenti cioè fra l'anno 1530 e il 1608 intorno al quale anno parimente morì. Di questo artifice ne fa menzione il Baldinucci nel Decennale...nella vita del Cigoli". (BNCF, *F. M. N. Gabburri, Vite di Pittori*, Palatino E. B. 9-5, Vol. II, p. 671).
- <sup>13</sup> Chappell, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 228, 244. According to the sources, Cigoli painted the now lost "*Madonna dello Spasimo*" to commemorate his recovery from his illness. This painting was preserved in a chapel erected by his nephew Francesco Cardì at Castello di Cigoli in the later 17th century (see *ibid.*, p. 247).



- <sup>14</sup> The painting, on canvas and measuring 2,20 by 1,40 m., was damaged in the flood of 1966 and is being restored; the illustration here is a record photograph of January 1967.
- \* The *San Francesco di Paola* was dated 1580 by Busse in: *Cardi*, op. cit. [n. 1], p. 51, and soon after 1578 by Bucci (op. cit. [n. 2], p. 29) on the basis of the death of Antonio Crocino in 1578. Crocino probably began his painting early in 1584. Before then there would have been little need for a painting of the patron saint of the Padri Minimi whose history in Florence can be known from published and unpublished sources. The Grand Duchess Bianca Cappello sponsored their coming to Florence for the first time and their installation in San Giuseppe (see Paatz, *Kirchen*, II, pp. 359 ff.). For the "Contratto dlla concessione dl C. nto e dlla Chiesa dlli Confratelli dlla Comp. g. a di S. Giuseppe", dated 29 January 1583 [ie. 1584], see ASF, Compagnie religiose soppr. n. 1449, p. 17 recto. According to the account of Agostino Lapini (*Lapini-Covazzini*, p. 230), the Padri Minimi di San Francesco di Paola arrived only on 15 March 1584. Eight months later on 18 November, a painting of San Francesco di Paola commissioned by Bianca Cappello — presumably the Crocino-Cigoli painting — was blessed and carried in procession to San Giuseppe by the friars (*Lapini-Covazzini*, p. 239).
- <sup>15</sup> For other letters written in 1584 to the Grand Duchess about the painting, the indulgences and the Padri Minimi, see ASF, Mediceo n. 5937: 3 August from the General of the order (p. 245 recto); 5 November from Lorenzi Venturini regarding Buontalenti (p. 558 recto); and Mediceo n. 5935: 1 December 1584 from Gerini (p. 190 recto and verso) and 8 December from Fra Greg.o da Paola (p. 134 recto) both regarding the granting of the indulgence by the Pope. The *San Francesco di Paola* sent from Rome to Florence was a portrait of a certain historical significance. It was one of three versions painted from a mask of the saint made at his death in 1507 by Jean Bourdichon. The portrait was sent by Francis I to Leo X on the occasion of the canonization of the saint in 1519. From the correspondence published above, this portrait appears to have been at S. Trinità dei Monti in the later sixteenth century. By the early seventeenth century, however, the portrait was preserved in the Vatican as is known from the inscription on the engraving by Cesare Laurentius used as the frontispiece to *Bernardo Serponti's Vita e Miracoli di S. Francesco di Paola*, Roma 1621 (reprinted, Cosenza 1963): "Vero ritratto di S. FRANCESCO DI PAVLA cavato dal Originale, che si conservava in Roma nel palazzo Vaticano quale fù inviato da Francesco primo Re di Francia à Papa Leon decimo, da cui fù Canonizzato lanno mille cinquecento diecinove". See also *G. Roberti*, *S. Francesco di Paola fondatore dell'ordine dei minimi (1416-1507)*, 2nd rev. ed., Rome 1963, pp. 605, 610-611, and plate facing p. 592. The subsequent history of the Bourdichon portrait is not known. On Bourdichon's representations of the saint and on the derivations still in Rome at Santa Trinità, see *L'Abbé Robert Fiot*, *Jean Bourdichon et Saint François de Paule*, in: *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Touraine*, LV, 1961, pp. 123 and 131.
- The General of the Padri Minimi, "Stef.o di Francia", is probably to be identified with Etienne Auger who served in this and other offices in Rome and later as General of the Padri Minimi in Venice; he died in 1608 (see *F. Bonnard*, *Histoire du Convent royal de la Trinité du Mont Pincio*, Rome 1933, p. 68).
- For a drawing that possibly could be related to this painting, see *L. dal Pozzo*, *Disegni di artisti toscani del Cinquecento al Novecento*, Milan 1971, p. 34, a pen and brown ink drawing showing a squared composition comparable to the S. Giuseppe painting. The drawing was ascribed to Empoli; its present location is not known.
- <sup>16</sup> *Cardi*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 13 and note 3 on Baldinucci's belief that Cigoli was active in painting the grotesques.
- <sup>17</sup> On the Tribuna, see *D. Heikamp*, *Zur Geschichte der Uffizien-Tribuna und der Kunstschränke in Florenz und Deutschland*, in: *Zs. f. Kgesch.*, 26, 1963, pp. 193-268; and *idem*, *La Tribuna degli Uffizi come era nel Cinquecento*, in: *Antichità Viva*, III, 1964, no. 3, pp. 11-30; *L. Berti*, *Il Principe dello Studiolo, Francesco I e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino*, Florence 1967, p. 133, note 50; *L. Berti*, *S. Rudolph*, and *A. Biancalani*, *Mostra storica della Tribuna degli Uffizi, Quaderni degli Uffizi I*, Florence 1971.
- <sup>18</sup> ASF, Guardaroba, vol. III, insert 4, folio 213, p. 9 (31 May 1586); *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 147 (23 August 1586).
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 124. On the decoration of the Tribuna, see *Heikamp* 1963, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 200 and documents 3-7; *idem* 1964, op. cit., (n. 17), pp. 12 ff. and Fig. 5.
- <sup>20</sup> ASF, Guardaroba, insert 4, folio 213, p. 9:  
 "Adi xxxi di magio 1586 Magco M giovanni Sre Jacopi lasia di fare pagare quatro giornatte a lodovico e a orazio pittori per dipingere e desegnare il disegno del tavolino di S. A. S."  
 This was probably the table designed by Buontalenti for the tempietto. See *Heikamp* 1963, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 217, Figs. 11-12; *idem* 1964, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 13, Fig. 14.
- <sup>21</sup> The documents for the "sportelli delli armadi" are arranged chronologically:  
 A. "Adi 2 dagosto [1586]  
 Magco M giovanni Sre Jacopi Proveditore di S. A. S. dele Forteze piaciavi di fare paghere una giornatta di una giovani cioe M. lodovico e orattio P avere dipinto li armadi la coupolla della ghaleria  
 Bernardo Buontalenti"  
 (ASF, Guardaroba, vol. III, insert 4, folio 213, p. 6).



B. "Spese p la Cupola della Gall.a devono dare...

Addi 2 dato lire cinque questi pagati a sotto scritti pittori p aver dato di mestica alli sportelli della armadi della cupola coperti di rame sino sotto di 30 di l.o 86 alli apie prezzi cioe come p poliza di bernardo buontalenti lire 4 a lodovico di batt.a cardì pittore p opere una a lire 4 e p.a questo Oratio sotto scritto

lira 1 a Oratio di Domenico pittore q.to per op.e una lavorata come sopra "

(ASF, Guardaroba, vol. 114, p. 147).

C. "Adi XXIII dagosto 1586

Magco M. Giovanna Sre Jacopi proveditore piaci di fare paghare dua giornate a Lodovico pittore e a oratio p avere dipinto li sporteli de la Chupola del corridore

Berdo Buontalenti "

(ASF, Guardaroba, vol. 111, insert 4, folio 213, p. 4).

D. "Addi 23 d.o Agosto 1586 Lire otto soldi XV qti. pag.ti a sotto scritti p aver macinato colori dato di mestica alli armadi di d.a Cupola come sopra e de l'ultima mestica come apie cioe Lire 3. 15 a m.o Jac.o di piero macinatoro p.to cotanti p opere...lavorate in casa bernardo buontalenti a macinare colori p dar' di mestica. Lire 4 a Lod.co di Batt.a Cardì pittore... Lira 1 a oratio di Dom.co pittore p.to cotanti p opere una lavorata come sopra a d.ti armadi "

(ASF, Guardaroba, vol. 114, p. 147).

On the armadi, see *Heikamp* 1963, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 245, document 3; and *idem* 1964, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Chappell*, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 55 and note 54.

<sup>23</sup> *M. Chappell*, Some Paintings by Lodovico Cigoli, in: *The Art Quarterly*, XXXIV, 1971, pp. 207-208.

<sup>24</sup> *Petrioli Tofani*, op. cit. (n. 3), pp. 67-85; for documents on Cigoli's now lost painting of the *Battle at Benevento*, *Chappell*, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 60 and note 64. On Cigoli's drawing for the painting, see *K. T. Parker*, Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1956, Vol. II, No. 196. A study with variations for the figures on the right of the Ashmolean Drawing can be proposed in the *verso* of drawing 229 at Christ Church (see *J. Byam Shaw*, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church*, Oxford, Oxford 1976: Cigoli, number 229).

<sup>25</sup> On the *Resurrection* of 1590, see *M. Chappell*, Cigoli's *Resurrection* for the Pitti Palace, in: *Burl. Mag.*, CXVI, 1974, pp. 469 ff. On the version of 1591, see *Bucci*, op. cit. (n. 2), No. 5; and *A. Matteoli*, A proposito di due soggetti del Cigoli: Adorazione dei Magi e Resurrezione di Cristo, in: *Storia dell'Arte*, 33, 1978, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, drawing 9399 F, (ascribed to Empoli), 241 × 231 mm.; matita rossa; carta bianca.

<sup>27</sup> The *Immaculate Conception* was dated 1595 by *Busse* (see *Cardi*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 52), placed around 1591-93 by *M. Gregori* (Postilla ritardata a due mostre, in: *Boll. della Accademia degli Euteleti della Città di San Miniato*, 33, 1961, p. 97) and dated 1589-90 by the present author (op. cit. [n. 4], p. 270, note 16). The following chronology for the painting is derived from the records of the Compagnia della Santissima Concezione of the church of S. Michele in Pontorme (ASF, Compagnie religiose sopr., 653, Entrata-Uscita). The painting was commissioned before June, 1589 when the payment for the sending of the panel from Pontorme to Florence: "Adi 23 di Giugno 1589, Mariotto Camarlingo...de havere lire dua soldi sei d otto sono di vettura della tavola mandata a Firenze..." (p. 3).

Cigoli received a partial payment for the painting on 24 July 1589: "Mariotto di Biagio Camarlingo de havere lire cento cinque tanti pago à Lodovico di Bat.a Cardì dipintore per parte della tavola del Altare compe per sua ricevuta" (p. 4). The painting was completed and delivered by September, 1590: "Adi 14 di 7bre 1590, Antonio Camarlingo de havere lire 4 soldi 10 tanti pago per gabella et altra spesa fatta per condurre la tavola del altare...et più de havere adi detto lire 1 soldi 5 tanti pago detto a Santi legnaiuolo per sua giornata a condurre detta tavola" (p. 5).

Cigoli received at least two hundred and twenty-four lire for the painting: "adi 26 di Marzo 1591, Marco di Michele... de havere adi detto lire cento dicianove quali ha dato a Bentivoglio Spighati per pagare la tavola della Madonna..." (p. 7).

<sup>28</sup> *Chappell*, op. cit. (n. 25), pp. 469 ff.

<sup>29</sup> ASF, Accademia del Disegno, No. 56, Debitore e Creditore delle matricole [1576-1593], p. 108 verso.

Note: Two developments related to the proposals here have taken place since this article went to press. *A. Matteoli*, *Lodovico Cardi-Cigoli, pittore e architetto*, (Pisa), with its extensive collection of sources, became available in June, 1981. The discussion (pp. 196-197) of Crocino (repeating proposals made in 1971 by *Chappell*, op. cit. (n. 4.), p. 47 and Appendix B, "The Early Chronology for Cigoli," pp. 241 ff., and readily available thereafter) does not modify the more extensively discussed arguments presented here. Second and more significant, is the forthcoming discussion of documents discovered by Alessandro Conti (who kindly shared them with me) that identify a hitherto questionable *Annunciation* (Convento di Maria Santissima Annunziata at the Ospedale Serristori, Figline Valdarno; see *Matteoli*, *ibid.*, pp. 325-326) as Cigoli's work of 1580 thus adding a painting clearly showing the influence of Alessandro Allori to our knowledge of Cigoli's early paintings. The traditionally attributed pen and wash drawing, Uffizi 962 F, can now be recognized as a carefully finished, squared study for this early painting.

*Editor's note: For the 'Annunciation' at the Ospedale Serristori and the drawing Uff. 962 F see the article by Anna Matteoli in this issue pag. 389-397.*

#### RIASSUNTO

La cronologia dei primi anni di Lodovico Cigoli (1559-1613) si basa su quattro avvenimenti: il suo apprendistato presso Alessandro Allori e la malattia successiva descritta come il "mal caduco"; il compimento dei dipinti lasciati per la morte di un certo Crocino "pittore di grand'aspettazione"; il tirocinio con Bernardo Buontalenti; e l'accesso nella Accademia del Disegno. Per lo più datati fra il 1572 e il 1579, questi eventi sembrano aver avuto luogo più tardi e in un ordine diverso. Con l'identificazione del Crocino con il giovane Tommaso di Andrea della Croce (m. 17 Settembre 1584) e con la precisazione delle circostanze per i lavori primi del Cigoli sotto il Buontalenti, si propone una cronologia diversa: l'insegnamento sotto il Buontalenti iniziato nel tardo 1584 e l'indipendenza del Cigoli, come artista, acquistato verso il 1590. Si prendono in considerazione le prime opere del Cigoli fra i quali: il Crocino-Cigoli *San Francesco de Paola* derivato dal famoso ritratto del Santo eseguito da Jean Bourdichon e concesso in prestito alla Gran Duchessa Bianca Cappello dai Padri Minimi di Roma e la partecipazione del Cigoli finora sconosciuta per la decorazione della Tribuna degli Uffizi.

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*Sopr. Gall. Florence: Figs. 1, 2, 6-8. - Author: Fig. 3. - Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Fig. 4. - Foto Bazzeschi, Florence: Fig. 5.*