



1 Giorgio Vasari, Cosimo I de' Medici with his architects, engineers and sculptors. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I

“MAESTRI D’ALCUNE ARTI MISTE E D’INGEGNO”

ARTISTS AND ARTISANS IN THE COMPAGNIA DELLO SCALZO

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Giorgio Vasari, in the Sala di Cosimo I, painted a tondo depicting *Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici surrounded by his architects, engineers and sculptors* (ca. 1555; Fig. 1). Of the ten individuals gathered in surprising intimacy around the Duke, five belonged – or would belong – to the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista commonly called “lo Scalzo”: Tribolo, Giovanni Battista del Tasso, Davide Fortini, Nanni di Unghero and Benvenuto Cellini.¹ Curiously though, when Vasari described

the men of the Compagnia dello Scalzo, who commissioned from Andrea del Sarto a cycle representing the *Life of saint John the Baptist* for their cloister, he characterized them as “persone basse” – people of a low socio-economic status – and as “più ricchi d’animo che di danari”.² Perhaps echoing Vasari’s assessment, the Scalzo’s membership has since been characterized as comprising ‘anonymous’ and ‘uncultured’ artisans, such as candle makers, food vendors, cobblers, furriers,

¹ Vasari identified all except Fortini (Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. by Gaetano Milanesi, Florence 1906, VIII, p. 192). For their placement see William Chandler Kirwin, “Vasari’s tondo of ‘Cosimo I with his Architects, Engineers, and Sculptors’ in the Palazzo Vecchio: Typology and Re-Identification of Portraits”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XV (1971), pp. 105–122: 114–120. Charles Davis disputed Kirwin’s identification of the figure seated to Cosimo’s right (“Benvenuto Cellini and the Scuola Fiorentina: Notes on Florentine Sculpture around 1550 for the 500th anniversary of Michelangelo’s Birth”, in: *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, XIII [1976], 4, pp. 1–70: 65, note 32). The figure has since been identified as Davide Fortini (Emanuela Ferretti Olivari, “Davitte di Raffaello Fortini da Castelfiorentino, architetto e ingegnere di Sua Altezza”,

in: *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, I–III [1997], pp. 81–100: 84; Elizabeth Pilioid, “Representation, Misrepresentation, and Non-Representation”, in: *Vasari’s Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. by Philip Jacks, Cambridge 1998, pp. 30–52, 254–263: 46, 262, note 73). Emanuela Ferretti (“Architetti e architettura del Palazzo di Cerreto”, in: *Il Palazzo di Cosimo I a Cerreto Guidi: la Villa Medicea dalla fabbrica di Davitte Fortini alla corte di Isabella*, ed. by Emanuela Ferretti/Giovanni Micheli, Florence 1998, pp. 73–85: 82) also noted Fortini, Tribolo, and Tasso’s membership in the Scalzo, but not in association with the tondo. Appendix, nos. 97, 69, 98, 61, 119.

² Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini/Paola Barocchi, Florence 1966–1997, IV, p. 345.

cloth weavers, and leather, wool and wood workers.³ The presence of key Medici artists in the Scalzo is the first clue to the insight that the confraternity comprised a more consequential and intriguing membership than generally presumed. Fresh examination of the Scalzo's surviving administrative books reveals that, while it was certainly primarily composed of artisans, these were not confined to the menial artisan trades; the range of occupations they engaged in was culturally more significant than broadly acknowledged. It included painters, goldsmiths, sculptors, architects and engineers, many of whom were leading figures in their respective professions. The list of artists and artisans of the Compagnia dello Scalzo, which forms the Appendix to this article, provides the results of this new archival research into the books of the confraternity.

Giorgio Vasari's biographical treatment of artists in his *Vite* barely alludes to the complexity of relationships that existed between artists and artisans. Exploration of their involvement with, and engagement in, Florentine confraternities both enriches our understanding of them as social beings and has the benefit of placing them at the nexus of a complex of patronage situations. Early modern confraternities were significant consumers of work by artists and artisans.⁴ Realization of this has inspired a proliferation of studies on confraternal art patronage in recent decades: on the types of works produced; the function of the objects;

and the interrelationships between confraternities and artists.⁵ While it has long been recognized that artists were members of confraternities, the references are usually isolated, acknowledged in connection with specific commissions or briefly in artists' biographies; artistic output remains the primary interest. Few studies have sought to explore the participation of artists and artisans in a particular confraternity from the latter's perspective.⁶ Lay-religious confraternities contributed many benefits to early modern Florentines, of which a network of connections – friends, colleagues, and possible employers – was not of minor value. The rich documentation surviving for the Compagnia dello Scalzo offers tangible evidence of their presence and involvement, their contributions, and, remarkably, the social and spiritual bonds between the *confratelli*.

The Compagnia dello Scalzo and Its Members

The Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista called dello Scalzo was a *disciplinati* confraternity founded in 1376, in the church of San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini. *Disciplinati* confraternities – one of the primary types of lay religious confraternity found in fourteenth-century Florence – would honour and glorify God and the members of the celestial court, while also focusing on “the penitential denigration of humanity”, appealing to God's mercy through self-flagellation.⁷ By the end of the 1300s the Scalzo had transferred

³ Manuela Barducci, “La Compagnia dello Scalzo dalle origini alla fine del secolo XV”, in: *Da Dante a Cosimo I: ricerche di storia religiosa e culturale toscana nei secoli XIV–XVI*, ed. by Domenico Maselli, Pistoia [1976], pp. 146–175: 162f; Rita Marchi, “La Compagnia dello Scalzo nel Cinquecento”, *ibidem*, pp. 176–205: 184f. This characterization has been accepted without question: see for example Judith Bryce, “The Oral World of the Accademia Fiorentina”, in: *Renaissance Studies*, XI (1995), pp. 77–103: 90, note 43.

⁴ Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600*, Baltimore/London 1993, pp. 119f.

⁵ Cf. Barbara Wisch, “Incorporating Images: Some Themes and Tasks for Confraternity Studies and Early Modern Visual Culture”, in: *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. by Christopher Black/Pamela Gravestock, Aldershot 2006, pp. 243–263.

⁶ For investigations into the interrelationship of specific artists with the members of certain confraternities: Elizabeth Pilliod, *Pontorno Bronzino Allori:*

A Genealogy of Florentine Art, New Haven/London 2001, pp. 91–94; Marzia Faietti, “Amico's Friends: Aspertini and the Confraternita del Buon Gesù in Bologna”, in: *Drawing Relationships in Northern Italian Renaissance Art: Patronage and Theories of Invention*, ed. by Giancarla Periti, Lincolnshire 2004, pp. 51–74. Roberto Radassao has examined the participation of artists and artisans in confraternities in Udine and the commissioning of art from these *confratelli* (“La confraternita di San Cristoforo a Udine e i suoi artisti”, in: *Ce fastu?*, LXXVI [2000], pp. 121–136).

⁷ Ronald F.E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, New York 1982, p. 50; John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, Oxford 1994, pp. 33–154. On the subordination of the “religious impulses to the social benefits” evident in Weissman's research: Nicholas Eckstein, “The Religious Confraternities of High Renaissance Florence: Crisis or Continuity?”, in: *Rituals, Images, and Words: Varieties of Cultural Expression in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by F.W. Kent/Charles Zika, Turnhout 2005, pp. 9–32: 12.

to a small house in the garden of the Celestine monks of the church of San Pier Murrone on Via San Gallo. Its membership grew over the following century and it expanded its meetinghouse, transferring the entrance to Via Larga (present day Via Cavour; Fig. 2).⁸ The cloister where Andrea del Sarto painted his *chiaroscuro* fresco cycle depicting the *Life of the Baptist* is the only part of the premises to survive in near original form (Fig. 3). Nevertheless, the late-sixteenth century layout of the Scalzo's premises has been preserved for posterity in the drawing of another *confratello*, Alfonso Parigi (Fig. 4; no. 156). The sketch, made in his *tacchino*, shows not only the various ground floor rooms, but also a partial cross-section view of the seating in the main oratory. The Scalzo remained on this site, continuing to embellish its premises, until Pietro Leopoldo suppressed it and most of the other Florentine confraternities in 1785.⁹

Andrea del Sarto is the Scalzo's most commonly recognized *confratello* – undoubtedly due to the Baptist cycle and Vasari's claim that the confraternity buried him in its sepulchre in the church of the Santissima Annunziata.¹⁰ Vasari hinted at the membership of two other artists – the sculptors Andrea da Fiesole (Andrea di Piero Ferrucci) and Tribolo – asserting that the Scalzo had interred them in this same tomb.¹¹ However, the sepulchre was only acquired a little before 1550, and thus only Tribolo, who died in that

year, could have been placed in it. When Andrea da Fiesole died in 1526 the Scalzo was probably still using a site in San Pier Murrone. Sarto was inhumed in the Santissima Annunziata, but probably by the Misericordia.¹² Nevertheless, Vasari was correct in connecting all three with the confraternity.¹³

Few published studies have focused on the Compagnia dello Scalzo.¹⁴ The primary two, by Manuela Barducci and Rita Marchi, published in 1976, analysed the range of occupations practiced by the *confratelli* in order to understand the Scalzo's corporate identity and cultural condition. Barducci traced its history from 1376 to the end of the 1400s, concluding that the membership included no “personaggi nobili o celebri soprattutto dal punto di vista culturale”; rather it was primarily composed of bakers, grocers, shoemakers, slipper-makers, haberdashers, weavers, marble-slab workers (*lastraioli*) and similar trades.¹⁵ Marchi, focusing on the 1500s, added furriers, leatherworkers, wool workers, wool spinners, tailors, bleachers, carpenters, wood turners, stonecutters, various metal workers – locksmiths, founders and blacksmiths –, and manufacturers or vendors of various items such as barrels, glass, tallow candles, stockings, doublets, and *ciambelle* (ring-shaped cakes). She found that the *confratelli* were primarily unremarkable artisans, “una classe sociale composta di umili lavoratori” and felt that this clearly explained “il livello culturale molto limitato degli iscritti”.¹⁶

⁸ Alana O'Brien, “Andrea del Sarto and the Compagnia dello Scalzo”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLVIII (2004), pp. 258–267: 258–260.

⁹ Konrad Eisenbickler, “The Suppression of Confraternities in Enlightenment Florence”, in: *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Nicholas Terpstra, Cambridge 2000, pp. 262–278: 273–278.

¹⁰ Vasari (note 2), IV, p. 393. John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, Oxford 1965, I, p. 7; Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani, *Il Chiostro dello Scalzo*, Florence 1995, p. 6; Antonio Natali, *Andrea del Sarto: Maestro della 'maniera moderna'*, Milan 1998, p. 186; David Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence 1500–1550*, New Haven/London 2001, p. 127.

¹¹ Vasari (note 2), IV, p. 259; V, p. 226.

¹² O'Brien (note 8), pp. 262, 266, note 69. On 31 January 1522, only a few years prior to Andrea da Fiesole's death, Bartolomea, wife of Domenico

di Giovanni *corsiere* (a courier), had been buried in the Scalzo's sepulchre in San Pier Murrone (*ibidem*).

¹³ Appendix, nos. 15, 44, 97.

¹⁴ To the bibliography on the Compagnia dello Scalzo up to 2004 which is listed in O'Brien (note 8), pp. 263f., note 4, should be added the following publications: Douglas N. Dow, “Benvenuto Cellini's Bid for Membership in the Florentine Confraternity of San Giovanni Battista detta dello Scalzo”, in: *Confraternitas*, XX (2009), I, pp. 2–10; *idem*, “Evidence for Buglioni's Authorship of the Glazed Terracotta Tympanum at the Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence”, in: *Source*, XXIX (2010), 2, pp. 15–20; Alana O'Brien, “The Apostles Cycle in the Oratory of the Compagnia dello Scalzo: ‘adornata da emia fratelli academizi’”, in: *I Tatti Studies*, XIV/XV (2011/12), pp. 209–262.

¹⁵ Barducci (note 3), pp. 162f.

¹⁶ Marchi (note 3), pp. 184f.



2 Florence, Oratory of the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista called dello Scalzo, view from street

The only notable or culturally celebrated figures recognized by Barducci and Marchi were Giuliano da Maiano, Giuliano da Sangallo, and Andrea del Sarto.¹⁷ A number of other artists have since been identified as members of the Scalzo: Benedetto Buglioni, Santi Buglioni, Francesco da Sangallo, Zanobi Portigiani, Ruberto Lippi, Zanobi Lastricati, Alfonso Parigi il Vecchio, Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci, Giovan-

battista Mossi, Donato Mascagni, Salvestro Mascagni, and Lorenzo Galestruzzi.¹⁸

The list of artists and artisans of the Compagnia dello Scalzo in the Appendix attests that the confraternity counted among its members many prominent artists who would be recalled in Vasari's *Vite* or celebrated in Filippo Baldinucci's *Notizie*.¹⁹ The Scalzo boasted other key members of the Sangallo family –

¹⁷ Appendix, nos. I, note 204; I4, note 214; I5, note 215.

¹⁸ References to the membership of these individuals are cited in the footnotes to the Appendix, notes 209, 213, 270, 246, 288, 329, 361, 426, 434, 444, 457, 463. See also note I. Dow 2009 (note I4) has recently identified Cellini's connection with the Scalzo; however, he argues that Cellini quickly

abandoned his initial bid for membership in the confraternity. Evidence of his continued presence in the confraternity is given below, Appendix, no. I19.

¹⁹ For these artists see Appendix, nos. I–4, 7, 8, I2, I4, I5, I8, 35, 40, 44, 49, 58, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 82, 91, 95, 97–100, I10, I11, I15, I18–120, I33, I41, I43, I53, I56, I58, I66, I71, I97, 212, 216, 218, 219,



3 Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo, general view with the fresco cycle by Andrea del Sarto. 1510-1527

Antonio il Giovane, Battista il Gobbo, and Aristotile²⁰ – and significant artists such as Baccio d’Agnolo, Filippino Lippi, Jacopo di Meglio Coppi, Valerio Cioli, Bernardino Poccetti, Matteo Nigetti, Jacopo Ligozzi, Antonio Novelli, and Carlo Dolci as *confratelli*.²¹ The list in the Appendix clearly reveals that the Scalzo was not merely composed of anonymous uncultured and insignificant artisans as has been suggested. Most exceptionally, though, it places the artists and artisans within a context that has the potential to reveal much about the social and religious circumstances in which

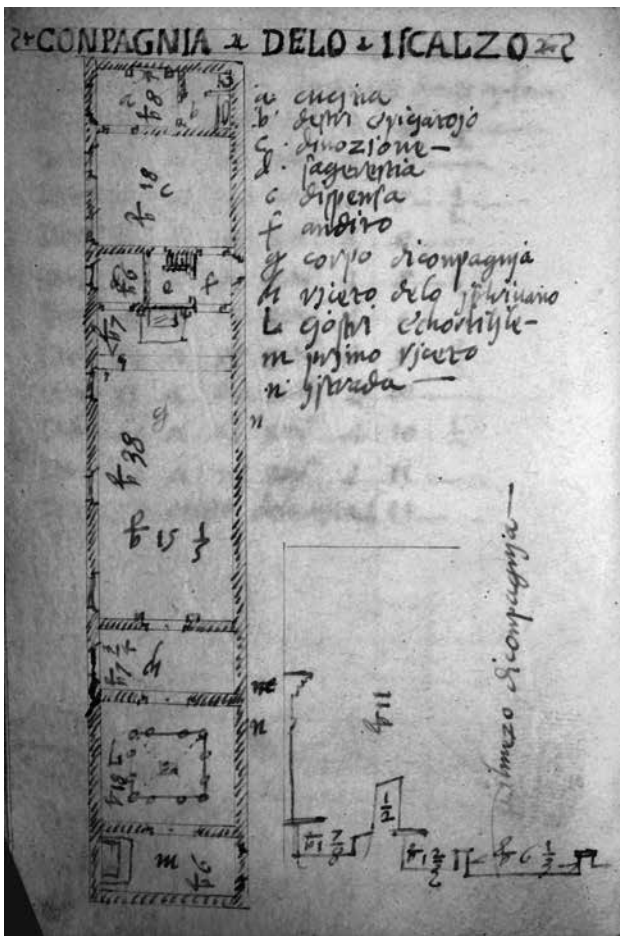
they interacted beyond their general work environments.

The preponderance of artists and artisans within a *disciplinati* confraternity may be notable. Weissman, in his groundbreaking study on Florentine confraternities, argued that *disciplinati* confraternities usually had a strong patrician base. Apparently, in the increasingly aristocratic climate of the sixteenth century the older and more prestigious of these organizations began to exclude tradesmen and artisans, who consequently were able to participate only in parish and trade as-

224, 235, 237, 240, 241, 243, 250, 256, 267, 269, 277, 279, 280, 291, 292, 296, 298, 304, 306, 333.

²⁰ Appendix, nos. 49, 62, 65, 99.

²¹ Appendix, nos. 2, 8, 141, 158, 197, 216, 240, 296, 333.



4 Alfonso Parigi il Vecchio, Map of the oratory of the Compagnia dello Scalzo, ca. 1570-1590. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino, 853, fol. 38v

sociations.²² The Scalzo had some degree of antiquity by the time of the Principate, yet it continued to maintain a strong artisan membership throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The mixture of occupations practiced by its members, however, precludes its identification as a craft confraternity, which were usually confined to a single trade.²³ As John Henderson has already indicated, Weissman focused primarily on *compagnie di notte* that practiced flagellation, and it may be that these groups, which stayed in their premises over night to practice the *discipline*, were “top-heavy with patricians”; yet, as Henderson has suggested with particular reference to the Scalzo, the patricians did not necessarily dominate regular flagellant confraternities.²⁴

The Appendix: Sources and Organisation

The presumption that the Scalzo’s *confratelli* practiced only menial artisanal trades has obscured the cultural significance of the confraternity. Clearly, in the fifteenth century an intellectual and cultural distinction was made between different trades. This is illustrated in the *Novella del Grasso legnaiuolo* associated with Antonio Manetti’s *Vita di Filippo Brunelleschi*. The author recounts a quintessentially Florentine joke played on a woodworker called Grasso by a group of his friends – which included Brunelleschi – who are described as a “certa brigata et compagnia di più uomini dabbene, così di regimento come maestri d’alcune arti miste e d’ingegno, quali sono dipintori, orefici, scultori e legnaiuoli e simili artefici”.²⁵ The group thus comprised both men from the governing classes and artists, the latter being described as practicing arts requiring *ingegno* – creativity or invention – such as painters, goldsmiths, sculptors, and woodworkers. The first three of

²² Weissman (note 7), pp. 73–76, 201.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 201f.

²⁴ Henderson (note 7), pp. 152f.

²⁵ Antonio Manetti, *Vita di Filippo Brunelleschi: preceduta da La Novella del Grasso*, critical ed. by Domenico De Robertis, Milan 1976, p. 3.

these occupations are the primary categories of artists selected for inclusion in the list.

The list in the Appendix comprises ninety-nine painters (described in the documents as *dipintori*, *pittori*, *dipintori di sargia*, *sargiai*) and sixty-two goldsmiths (*orafi*, *orefici*). There also appears a jeweller (*gioielliere*; no. 261), an oriental glass-maker (“fa il christallo orientale”; no. 234), and a watchmaker (*oriolaio*; no. 167). Forty-nine *scultori* (sculptors) are listed – of which three were sometimes classified as *scarpellini* (stonecutters or stonecarvers), one as an *intagliatore* (carver – either of stone or wood), two as *legnaioli* (woodworkers or carpenters), and one as a *dipintore*. Four individuals are specifically identified in the Scalzo’s books as *capomaestri della Parte Guelfa* (nos. 69, 202, 213, 293), though others also undertook this role; and many acted as *capomaestri* of various construction sites – private, civic, religious and military – around Florence and beyond. Although the occupation ‘engineer’ is not specifically nominated in the books, at least seven Scalzo members (nos. 65, 97, 98, 99, 167, 202, 235) are known to have practiced this profession.

Although *legnaioli* are also nominated in the *Novella* among the “maestri d’alcune arti miste e d’ingegno”, they have been included only selectively in the list, since the term encompassed a wide variety of activities, ranging from the production of simple wooden artefacts for everyday usage and the supply of raw materials for constructions, to elaborately carved luxury items and furnishings; some *legnaioli* were also active as sculptors or even architects. Therefore, the large number of *legnaioli* who were members of the Scalzo would have been practitioners of greatly varying expertise and ingenuity; and the same applies for the *muratori*, a term that could designate a simple mason, but also a *capomaestro* who eventually could assume the role of an architect. The *legnaioli* and *muratori* have thus been included in the list only if either the individual

himself or the member who sponsored his entry has been found cited in another publication, or if he was identified as a *capomaestro*. According to these criteria, twenty-two *muratori* and fifty-six *legnaioli* appear in the Appendix, of which twelve were also architects and/or sculptors. A limited number of *scarpellini* (twelve), *intagliatori* (eight), and *fonditori* (bronze-casters or founders; five) have also been selected for the list. Notably, one of the *intagliatori* (no. 268) and one of the *fonditori* (no. 120) were also described as sculptors. The title *architetto* is rarely specified in the books, but at least fifteen Scalzo *confratelli* are today recognised as architects. Of these, one was also identified as a painter, eight began as *legnaioli* and perhaps two as *muratori* – a common occurrence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Roles were not always clearly defined in this period, and several artists are known to have practiced more than one trade. Francesco da Sangallo (no. 65), for example, was a sculptor, medallist, and architect – both domestic and military; and Giulio di Alfonso Parigi (no. 218) was an architect, painter, scenographer, master of ceremonies, teacher, man of court, and – according to the Scalzo records – a sculptor. The combinations *legnaiolo*-architect-sculptor or sculptor-architect-engineer are reasonably frequent. Finally, eight musicians are also listed (two *musicisti* [nos. 255, 332], a *cantore* [no. 83], two *tromboni* [nos. 71, 72], two *organisti* [nos. 228, 276], a *maestro di violino* [no. 337]).

The primary sources used by Weissman and Henderson to explore confraternal membership do not survive for the Scalzo. Weissman studied the *campioni* – books recording each *confratello* as a debtor, tallying the fees and fines that they paid – and other sources, to analyse the attendance patterns for various age groups in several confraternities. Henderson utilized *libri della rassegna* to explore yearly fluctuations of attendance.²⁶ Lacking these books for the Scalzo²⁷ the list in the Appendix was created primarily using the *libri dei partiti*

²⁶ Weissman (note 7), pp. 108–161; Henderson (note 7), pp. 140–146.

²⁷ They are mentioned in the statutes (ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 16v) and

the surviving account books sometimes cross-reference payments to them (O’Brien [note 8], p. 261).

e ricordi (books of decisions made at meetings and records) and the *libri di entrata e uscita* (books of incoming and outgoing monies). *Libri dei partiti* (Fig. 5) are rich sources of information for reconstructing a microhistory of the confraternity, its weekly or monthly activity, recording: the acceptance of new or returning members; punishment or expulsion of *confratelli*; additions or alterations to the statutes; payment authorizations; and commissions for ornamentation, restoration, or restructuring of the premises. The Scalzo had two *libri dei partiti*, one held by the *provveditore* and the other by the *scrivano*;²⁸ the surviving volumes essentially begin in 1534. The *entrata e uscita* survive from 1522 and the *libro maestro* (a debits and credits ledger) from 1514, extending the list back another twenty years through the payment of membership and joining fees. The joining fee is generally labelled in these books with the terms *entratura* or *per loro entrata* and has permitted the discovery of a number of early enrolments.²⁹

Despite the record of Giuliano da Maiano's membership in 1470, the list effectively begins in the early sixteenth century and, although the administrative books continue into the eighteenth century, the year of Ferdinando II de' Medici's death, 1670, has been chosen as a date of conclusion. The list is arranged chronologically by the earliest date at which an individual's membership is identified. Their status at the given date is noted – novice, member, returning member –, together with the archival source in the fourth column. To facilitate use of the list an alphabetical index of the artists has also been included in the Appendix. Notarial documents have revealed sev-

eral early memberships,³⁰ but where possible, evidence for the continued participation of these individuals has been signalled in the Scalzo's surviving volumes. In rare cases, the evidence of an artist's membership comes only from an outside source. Jacopo da Pontormo, for instance, has not yet been detected in the Scalzo's books; nevertheless, the record of his burial in the *Libro dei moritori 1545–1557* of the Santissima Annunziata attests that he was a Scalzo *confratello*.³¹ Since it is a contemporary record, and considering the relationship between the Scalzo and the Servites of the Santissima Annunziata,³² there seems no reason to doubt the document's veracity. Records of masses of the dead or funerals held by the Scalzo for *confratelli* are also included in the fourth column of the list. They demonstrate that an individual was a member when he died and sometimes contribute previously unknown biographical information; occasionally they provide the only evidence of membership.³³

As Weissman demonstrates, between first joining a confraternity and dying as a *confratello* one's involvement could vary greatly; from periods of constant attendance at all required meetings and feast days to periods of absenteeism potentially leading to a loss of membership, which was sometimes followed by a later return to the confraternity.³⁴ By comparison with the sources used by Weissman, the format of the information in the *partiti* and the *entrate e uscite* is less easily drawn together for analysing the relative proportions of members practicing particular trades, the proportion of artists and artisans to the overall membership, or their relative attendance levels over time. Neverthe-

²⁸ On the role of the *provveditore*: Henderson (note 7), pp. 67f. The volumes are listed below, p. 383. The primary difference between the *provveditore* and *scrivano*'s books appears to be that the latter records the quarterly allocation of confraternal positions. Parallel entries sometimes contain variations. The additional information does not consistently appear in the one book, suggesting that the variations reflect the diligence of the record keeper. The entries sometimes contradict each other; for example when Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci joined, his age was recorded by the *scrivano* and the *provveditore* respectively as 30 and 38 (Appendix, no. 224).

²⁹ Appendix, nos. 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 51, 53–59, 62, 63.

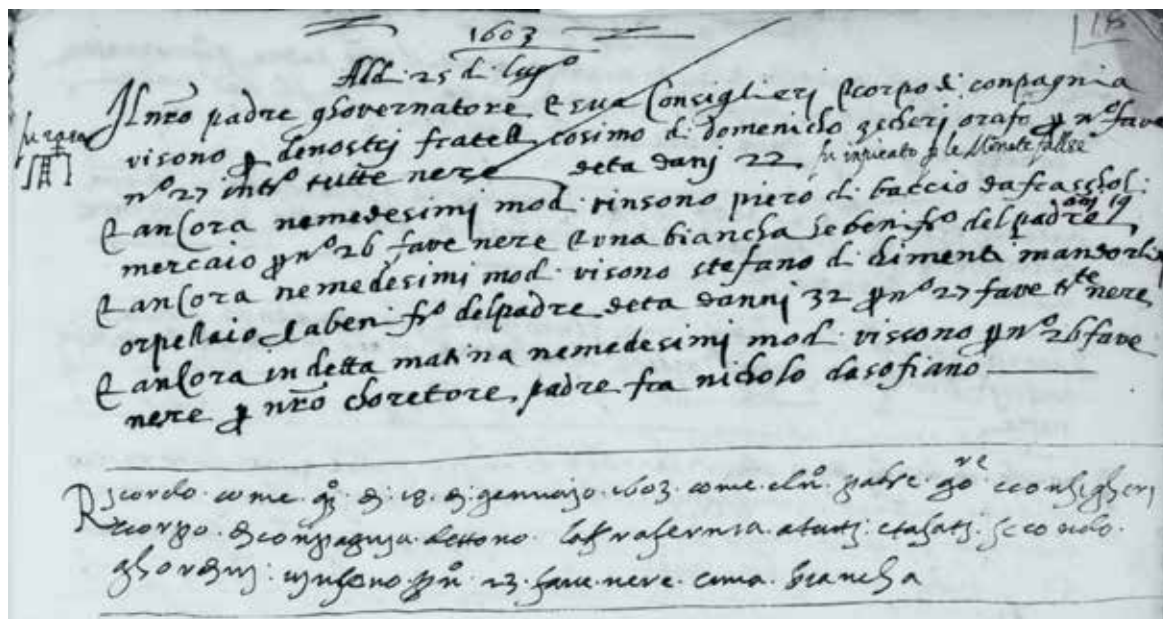
³⁰ All the early notarial references have been generously provided by Louis Waldman.

³¹ Appendix, no. 118.

³² O'Brien (note 8), p. 262. Not only was the Scalzo's sepulchre in the Servite church of the Santissima Annunziata, but also its *capitoli* of 1576 decreed that the *correttore* had to be a Servite (ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fols. 13v–14r, 21r–v).

³³ Appendix, nos. 9–11, 14, 238.

³⁴ Weissman (note 7), pp. 145–160.



5 Detail from the *Libro dei partiti* of the Compagnia dello Scalzo, 1603. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Compagnie Religiose Soppressate da Pietro Leopoldo, 1197:23, fol. 18r

less, considering the wide variety of occupations practiced by the Scalzo *confratelli*, the range of occupations selected for the list, and the fact that certain trades have been included only selectively, I have renounced such an inquiry, since the significance of the results would be questionable. The purpose of the Appendix is to provide a glimpse of a *confratello's* involvement in the Scalzo, as well as offering a critical entry point that will facilitate investigations into the members' connections with each other.

Comparing the participation of Francesco da Sangallo and Tribolo reveals something of the diversity of the engagement concealed by the structure of the list. Francesco was already a member when he first appears in the documents on 1 February 1534, but the Scalzo voted to expel him at the meeting; he could return

after a year but never hold a position of power such as *governatore* or *consigliere* again. Furthermore, on returning he would no longer be privileged with exemption from fees as he had been and would have to pay like everyone else. His absence seems to have lasted until 2 February 1539. The sculptor Berto d'Agnolo – possibly Francesco's illegitimate son – delivered a returning fee on Francesco's behalf the following 16 March.³⁵ Various payments followed; usually confraternal dues, generally tendered by Berto d'Agnolo, indicating that Francesco was not necessarily present.³⁶ A vote of 3 May 1542 determined that Francesco could occupy the position of *padre governatore* again, but a marginal note reveals that this decision was immediately annulled on the grounds that the meeting's agenda had not been correctly publicized.³⁷ Nevertheless, in

³⁵ Appendix, no. 65.

³⁶ 5 June 1539; 7 March 1540; 2 Feb. 1541; 21 Aug. 1541; 4 Nov. 1543; 3 Feb. 1544; 3 May 1545, for *grazia*. Excepting those of 1540 and 1544, all

were delivered by Berto d'Agnolo (ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1202:38, fols. 43r, 52v, 63r, 70r, 99r, 103r, 118v).

³⁷ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1197:21, fol. 33r.

September 1542, Francesco became *maestro dei novizi* (master of novices), an influential position involving the vetting and instruction of new members.³⁸

On 18 March 1543 Francesco (together with several other *confratelli*) was again the subject of a meeting in which certain statutes relating to the expulsion of *confratelli* were to be annulled with the “commission and authority” of Ottaviano de’ Medici.³⁹ Francesco continued to pay the usual dues and fines until December 1545, when the Scalzo decided that he was no longer obliged to pay confraternal dues, as had been the case in the past. Ottaviano was again instrumental in the decision.⁴⁰ Accordingly, no further fee payments appear for Francesco, but evidence of his participation continues to appear. He was identified in the roles of *limosiniere* (the collector and distributor of alms) in 1548 and 1553, *maestro dei novizi* in 1555, and *consigliere* (counsellor) in 1557 and 1559.⁴¹ He paid fines for refusing the positions of *provveditore degl’infermi* (sometimes described as *infermieri* or *visitatori d’infermi*, i. e. visitors of the sick brethren) in 1549 and *festaiolo del Giovedì Santo* (Good Thursday feast organizer) in 1550.⁴² On 2 February 1562, the feast of the *Candelora* (Candlemas), he bought a candle for his son.⁴³ Francesco evidently had a long, sometimes tumultuous, sometimes influential, relationship with the Scalzo.

Tribolo, on the other hand, is recognized as a Scalzo *confratello* in relation to only two moments,

when he was accepted as a novice, 25 December 1549, together with Tasso and Fortini – also key Medici artists –, and when he made his testament on 28 August 1550, expressing the wish to be buried in the confraternity’s tomb.⁴⁴ He died shortly thereafter, on 7 September 1550 – less than a year after joining.⁴⁵ Little other information about his relationship with the Scalzo has been recognized. Tribolo’s, Tasso’s and Fortini’s acceptance into the Scalzo may have been a foregone conclusion, since already three days prior, on 21 December 1549, they had paid deposits for their *entratura*.⁴⁶ Tribolo probably did not settle his debt until 7 September 1550, the very day of his death, when a payment appears in the *Entrata e uscita* completing the entrance fee for “Niccolò di Raffaello scultore”.⁴⁷ Earlier that same day Pierfrancesco Riccio, Cosimo I de’ Medici’s *maggiordomo*, reported in a letter to the Duke of Tribolo’s extremely poor state of health: “Maestro Tribolo è stato doi dì al fine di sua vita, hebbe l’olio sancto di poi è alquanto respirato, di modo che ancora potrebbe co l’adiuto di Idio passar questo furore.”⁴⁸ Perhaps feeling close to death, Tribolo finalized his admission fee to ensure that he could be buried in the Scalzo’s sepulchre and enjoy memorial by the confraternity; it is unlikely that he paid in person. The Santissima Annunziata’s *Libro dei moritori 1545–1557* confirms that Tribolo was buried in the church on 8 September 1550; though it does not reveal if it was in the Scalzo’s sepulchre, nor

³⁸ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, II95:13, fol. 50r.

³⁹ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, II95:13, fol. 54v; II97:21, fol. 37r.

⁴⁰ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, II95:13, fol. 68r.

⁴¹ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, II95:13, fols. 76r, 98v, 107v, 130r; II95:14, fol. 4v.

⁴² ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I202:38, fols. 163r, 173r. On 25 July 1550 Francesco was fined for refusing to do something, but it is not clear what (ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I202:38, fol. 175v).

⁴³ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I202:39, fol. 45v: “Da Francesco da Sangalo soldi otto per una chandela volse e ebe per el figliuolo”.

⁴⁴ Appendix, nos. 97, 69, 98. Ferretti (note I), p. 82; about him see also Nicoletta Baldini, “Nuovi documenti e alcune ipotesi su Niccolò di Raffaello di Niccolò detto il Tribolo”, in: *Niccolò detto il Tribolo: tra arte,*

architettura e paesaggio, ed. by Elisabetta Pieri/Luigi Zangheri, Signa 2001, pp. 19–28: 27, note 32.

⁴⁵ Alessandro Cecchi, “Il Tribolo, la corte medicea, i letterati e gli artisti suoi amici”, *ibidem*, pp. 29–36: 29.

⁴⁶ This was also the case for the two other men who joined on the same day, Lazzerio di Domenico di Lazzerio Fedini – probably the brother of Giovanni di Domenico Fedini (Appendix, no. 131) – and Giovanni Battista di Luca *beccaio* called ‘el mufato’.

⁴⁷ Appendix, no. 106. The first statutes – confirmed 1456 and still in force in 1550 – did not define a time limit for paying the joining fee (ASF, Cap. CRS, I52:I, fol. 9v). In the second statutes (1579) it was required within two months of the novice’s acceptance (ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 8r).

⁴⁸ Cecchi (note 45), p. 29.

mention that he belonged to the Scalzo.⁴⁹ Notably, the Scalzo paid the Celestines of San Pier Murrone to perform an office for Tribolo's soul;⁵⁰ no similar payment to the Servites has yet come to light.

Since he died within the year of his *noviziato*, it is difficult to make definitive conclusions about Tribolo's participation, especially as novices could not take on administrative roles. However, Tribolo's family maintained a presence in the Scalzo long after his death: his son-in-law Davide Fortini was still a member when he died in 1594; Tribolo's son Raffaello, his daughter Dianora (who had married Fortini), and his grandson Raffaello di Davide Fortini were also members.⁵¹

Benefits and Services of the Scalzo

While an artist's membership in a confraternity was once cited as evidence of an especially traditional or spiritual nature,⁵² such assumptions are now disappearing from the art historical literature.⁵³ Artists and artisans were part of the milieu in which they lived. The possible motives for which they joined a lay religious confraternity would have reflected those of their contemporaries. Lay religious confraternities played a significant role in the lives of many Florentines throughout the period considered here. They enabled members to work towards the salvation of their souls

through the adoption of a religious lifestyle, without abandoning the commercial world.⁵⁴

Confraternities offered their members various benefits. A respectable burial was of crucial importance to Florentines. Confraternities like the Scalzo provided access to privileged burial sites, burial paraphernalia – biers, bier-cloths, torches, candles, mourners, and commemorative rituals – enhancing the occasion to a level not generally available to artisans.⁵⁵ Tribolo requested burial in the Scalzo's sepulchre less than a fortnight before he died,⁵⁶ as did his son-in-law Davide Fortini in his testament shortly before his death; but by contrast with Tribolo, Fortini had belonged to the Scalzo, on and off, for about 44 years.⁵⁷ When Santi di Michele Buglioni and Michele di Goro Buglioni were very ill in May 1576 the Scalzo assured them both that in case of death they could be buried in the confraternity's tomb. Despite the tone of urgency, Santi died seven months later, while Michele survived till January 1578; the Scalzo recalled both with masses.⁵⁸

The *confratelli* contributed “to the social face of grief” through participation in their deceased brethren's funerals and responded to deeply felt spiritual needs by recalling them in annual memorial services.⁵⁹ The services provided for individual *confratelli* are described variously: *mortori* (funeral services), *treagesimo* (a required commemoration to be performed within thir-

⁴⁹ Appendix, no. 97. Francesco di Giovangualberto *legnaiolo* and Pontormo (Appendix, nos. 24, 118), for example, were both identified as Scalzo *confratelli* in the Santissima Annunziata's *Libro dei mortori*.

⁵⁰ 1202:38, fol. 261r: “A' Frati di San Pero del Murone lire tre sono per l'ufico e mese dite per l'anima di Nicholo deto el Tribolo adi 28 octobre 1550”.

⁵¹ Appendix, nos. 98, 128, 246.

⁵² See for instance Elsa Mencarini, “Donato Mascagni”, in: *La pittura in Italia: il Seicento*, ed. by Mina Gregori/Erich Schleier, Milan 1989, II, pp. 806f.; Maria Pia Mannini, s. v. Bartolomeo Salvestrini, in: *Il Seicento fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III*, III: *Biografie*, ed. by Giuliana Guidi/Daniela Marcucci, Florence 1986, pp. 160f. (comments in regard to Piero Salvestrini).

⁵³ Wisch (note 5), p. 245; Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*, Princeton 1993, p. 242, note 120.

⁵⁴ See for example Weissman (note 7); Henderson (note 7); Ronald F. Weissman, “Cults and Contexts: In Search of the Renaissance Confraternity”, in: *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler, Kalamazoo 1991, pp. 201–220; Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411–1785*, Toronto 1998; Eckstein (note 7).

⁵⁵ Sharon T. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore/London 1992, pp. 84f.; Nicholas Terpstra, “Death and Dying in Renaissance Confraternities”, in: *Crossing the Boundaries* (note 54), pp. 179–200: 181f.; Henderson (note 7), pp. 156–163.

⁵⁶ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 223, fols. 367v–369v (notary: Benedetto di Francesco Albizi), fols. 367v–368r.

⁵⁷ Appendix, no. 98.

⁵⁸ Appendix, nos. 12, 51.

⁵⁹ Strocchia (note 55), pp. 84f.; Henderson (note 7), pp. 156–163; Terpstra (note 55), pp. 181–183.

ty days of death), *messa di san Gregorio*, *messa privilegiata* or *messa all'altare privilegiato* (which may both indicate a mass at the altar containing the host at the Santissima Annunziata). Sometimes they are noted more imprecisely with the terms: *ufficio per sua anima*, *messa e ufficio*, either of which might be specified as being sung. Occasionally the number of priests or friars in attendance were also indicated. The dates of these records indicate only a *terminus ante quem* for the death of the *confratello*, the payments for the services could be made within days of the death or many months later, and occasionally they might be references to the subsequent yearly masses. Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci, who was buried in the Scalzo's sepulchre in August 1626, left 40 scudi to the Scalzo for an annual memorial for forty years.⁶⁰ The painter Alessandro Fei benefited from two confraternal associations when he died. A member of the Accademia del Disegno, he was buried in the habit of a *consolo* of the Accademia. In his final journey from home to his tomb in the Santissima Annunziata, he was carried first to the Scalzo by the *consoli accademici* and then accompanied by his Scalzo brethren to the church, where they buried him in their sepulchre.⁶¹

Confraternities also addressed secular needs, providing their members with access to a doctor, financial aid if a *confratello* fell ill and was unable to work, and

dowry assistance to marry their daughters.⁶² The Scalzo elected a doctor annually. On 9 March 1597 Giulio di Girolamo Portigiani – a *confratello* since 1592 – was chosen for this position.⁶³ Interestingly Portigiani was not only the son of the *fonditore* Girolamo Portigiani,⁶⁴ but – although a doctor – he was also enrolled in the Accademia del Disegno.⁶⁵ Dowries were financed through bequests left to the Scalzo and money from their alms box.⁶⁶ Any member could recommend one of the poor daughters of a *confratello* to the *governatore* for a dowry – ultimately to be approved by vote. The gold-beater Matteo di Dionigi, grandfather of the homonymous *legnaiolo*, took advantage of the Scalzo's dowry program on 30 March 1554 for his daughter Margherita.⁶⁷ The sister of Carlo Dolci, Maria, was also chosen to receive a dowry (February 1633); however, the young Carlo eventually collected the dowry as her heir, since Maria and her husband had both died.⁶⁸

The artists and artisans are regularly named as *limosinieri* and *provveditori d'infermi*. These roles were allocated by election (statutes of 1456) or by drawing the names from a bag (statutes of 1579).⁶⁹ Among the artists who filled these offices we find Santi Buglioni,⁷⁰ Gianjacopo d'Antonio *dipintore*,⁷¹ Baccio d'Agnolo's sons Domenico,⁷² Filippo⁷³ and Giuliano,⁷⁴ Francesco da Sangallo,⁷⁵ Alfonso Parigi il Vecchio,⁷⁶ Valerio Cio-

⁶⁰ Appendix, no. 224.

⁶¹ "Addi 28 di dicenbre 1592 si seppelli Messer Alexandro Fei in abito di consolo. Levato di casa da duoi consoli con altri Accademici e portò doppo al quanti passi alla Compagnia dello Scalzo dove si acompagnò fino alla Nuntiatia e fu sepolto nella loro sepoltura per esser dei detti fratelli" (ASF, AdD, 27, fol. 30v); cfr. also Dominic E. Colnaghi, *Colnaghi's Dictionary of Florentine Painters: From the 13th to the 17th Centuries*, Florence 1986, p. 98. Appendix, no. 133.

⁶² Terpstra (note 55), pp. 181, 188; Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 178–184.

⁶³ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1197:23, fol. 8v. Portigiani had joined 1 March 1592 at the age of 25, sponsored by the painter Giovanbattista Mossi (ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:14, fol. 150r; 1197:22, fol. 92v). His wife Margherita joined 2 February 1595 (ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1203:41, fol. 30v).

⁶⁴ Appendix, no. 142.

⁶⁵ *Gli Accademici del disegno: elenco alfabetico*, ed. by Luigi Zangheri, Florence 2000, p. 263.

⁶⁶ ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 13r; ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:2, pp. 94–98.

⁶⁷ Appendix, no. 57.

⁶⁸ Appendix, no. 333.

⁶⁹ ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:1, fol. 4v; Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 6v.

⁷⁰ Appendix, no. 12: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fol. Iv, Jan. 1534, *limosiniere*; 1195:14, fol. 20v, Jan. 1563, *provveditore d'infermi*.

⁷¹ Appendix, no. 75: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fol. 27v, April 1539, *provveditore d'infermi*; fol. 74v, May 1547, *limosiniere*.

⁷² Appendix, no. 74: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fol. 24v, May 1538, *limosiniere*; fol. 59r, Jan. 1544, *provveditore d'infermi*.

⁷³ Appendix, no. 67: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fol. 36r, Sept. 1540, *limosiniere*; fol. 52r, Jan. 1543, *provveditore d'infermi*.

⁷⁴ Appendix, no. 32: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fol. 27v, April 1539, *limosiniere*; fol. 25v, Sept. 1538, *provveditore d'infermi*.

⁷⁵ Appendix, no. 65: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fol. 76r, Jan. 1548, *limosiniere*.

⁷⁶ Appendix, no. 156: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:14, fol. 63r, May 1572, *limosiniere*; fol. 82r, Sept. 1576, *provveditore d'infermi*.

li,⁷⁷ and Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci.⁷⁸ Refusal to undertake the roles would result in a fine, as happened to Francesco da Sangallo in 1549.⁷⁹ Due to the large volume of material that archival citations for the roles would have added, these details have not been included in the Appendix.⁸⁰ Burial, visiting the sick, providing dowries, also served a spiritual function. Together with praying for the dead and for the souls in Purgatory, they were considered forms of charity that contributed to the salvation of those who performed them.⁸¹

Many artist and artisans were also actively involved in the Scalzo's administrative body – in the roles of *governatore*, *consigliere*, *scrivano* and *maestro di novizi*. Among those who undertook some or all of these roles were Baccio d'Agnolo, Francesco da Sangallo, Ruberto Lippi, Santi Buglioni, and Zanobi Portigiani.⁸² Even if it were found that the percentage of artists and artisans in the Scalzo was small in relation to the general membership, they could potentially have had an impact on the culture of the confraternity that was “out of proportion to their numerical presence”.⁸³

Personal and Professional Networks Among the Scalzo *Confratelli*

Confraternities played an important social function, and in the Scalzo we find a complex network of friends, family members, neighbours, masters and pupils, and individuals connected through their occupations. The myriad of associations are beyond the

scope of this article, and only a few examples will be presented here. Like in any confraternity, family connections can be identified for the Scalzo's artist and artisan members, even over generations. The Sangallo and Tribolo's extended family have been mentioned above. The fathers of Ruberto Lippi, Giovanni Fedini and Carlo Dolci, who had also been Scalzo *confratelli*, had all passed away by the time their sons were old enough, or chose, to join.⁸⁴ In these cases the memory of the father was undoubtedly an important stimulus for their enrolment. Joining the confraternity to which a father, brother, uncle or grandfather belonged, or had belonged, held the additional advantage of a discount on the enrolment fees. This benefit was generally noted in the record of their entrance with the phrase *con beneficio di* together with the name or relation-status of the family member.⁸⁵

Not only were Baccio d'Agnolo's sons and grandsons members,⁸⁶ but his wife, daughter, and granddaughter (or daughter-in-law) also became *consorelle*.⁸⁷ This was first made possible in 1554, when the Scalzo decreed that women with a father, brother, husband, or son in the Scalzo could join. The *consorelle* received a painted candle of two ounces for the feast of the Purification of the Madonna, the *Candelora* (2 February) – a feast of particular relief for *disciplinati* confraternities⁸⁸ – and were permitted burial in the Scalzo's sepulchre in the confraternal habit with a large emblem of Saint John the Baptist on the breast.⁸⁹ The female members

⁷⁷ Appendix, no. 158: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:14, fol. 68r, May 1578, *limosiniere*; fol. 78v Sept. 1575, *provveditore d'infermi*.

⁷⁸ Appendix, no. 224: ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:15, fol. 20v, Jan. 1599, *limosiniere*; fol. 39r, May 1603, *provveditore d'infermi*.

⁷⁹ See above p. 368.

⁸⁰ The lists of roles are easily consulted in ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195.

⁸¹ Black (note 62), pp. 12–14.

⁸² For Francesco da Sangallo, see discussion above. For Santi Buglioni's roles: Dow 2010 (note 14), p. 20, note 15; for Ruberto Lippi and Portigiani: Dow 2009 (note 14), pp. 2f., notes 2, 10. Baccio d'Agnolo was *governatore* Jan. 1534, *maestro di novizi* May 1538 and *consigliere* Jan. 1540 (ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fols. Iv, 24v, 38v). The roles are easily consulted in ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195.

⁸³ Nicholas Eckstein, “Neighborhood as Microcosm”, in: *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Roger J. Crum/John T. Paoletti, Cambridge 2006, pp. 219–239: 233f. Eckstein comments on the contribution of the artists in *laudesi* confraternities in the Oltrarno – but his observations could equally apply to the Scalzo.

⁸⁴ Appendix, nos. 81, 131, 333.

⁸⁵ ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:2, p. 69. These cases are indicated in the Appendix with the phrase “with benefits of”.

⁸⁶ Appendix, nos. 32, 33, 67, 74, 105, 217.

⁸⁷ Appendix, nos. 2, 67.

⁸⁸ Henderson (note 7), p. 126.

⁸⁹ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1195:13, fols. 103r–104r, 21 Oct. 1554. Codified in later statutes: ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 21r; Cap. CRS, 152:2, pp. 104f.

are noted in the Appendix, in the fourth column of the entry for the male relatives through whom they were most likely associated with the Scalzo. Matteo Nigetti could trace his familial links in the Scalzo back through his parents Dionigi and Maria to his grandfather Matteo di Dionigi and his grandmother, also called Maria. His brother Giovanni, a painter, and his cousin Ippolito di Cristofano Nigetti were both members, as were his sisters Elisabetta, Alessandra and Dianora.⁹⁰ From his extended family we find his brother-in-law Andrea Balatri and his nephews Giovanni Battista and Giuseppe Balatri.⁹¹ Nicholas Terpstra found that women joining *disciplinati* confraternities in Bologna did not practise flagellation; their involvement in the confraternal life was limited to auxiliary roles and they were excluded from any administrative tasks.⁹² This was likely also the case for the Scalzo *consorelle*. The women's presence is most apparent on the feast of the *Candelora* when they are found in the books paying their annual fees. The payment records for this day, in fact, provide the most tangible evidence of family connections, for the women appear there clustered together with their male family members. Matteo and Giovanni Nigetti are recorded, for example, with their three sisters on the *Candelora* in 1614. Named amongst them we find also Maddalena di Andrea Balatri.⁹³ Generally, "di Andrea Balatri" would suggest that Maddalena was Andrea's daughter; but this rule does not always hold true in the Scalzo records.⁹⁴ Given the year,⁹⁵ and the context in which we find her, I would suggest that she might rather be Nigetti's sister who had married Balatri.

This evidence of family clusters seems to be in contrast with Weissman's interpretation of *disciplinati* groups, by comparison with *laudesi* groups, as tending to attract young unmarried men.⁹⁶ However, as his analysis is related to the fifteenth century, this variation may simply reflect a sixteenth-century development. Weissman argued that young men at the beginning of their professional careers were most likely to join flagellant confraternities, since this was the moment in which they were developing their own "networks of allies and connections".⁹⁷ He found males joining the Compagnia di San Paolo aged between twenty-one and twenty-seven to be proportionately more numerous than in the broader community.⁹⁸ Out of the 340 entries in the list of Scalzo members, the artist's age at the time of enrolment is either recorded in the books, or can be deduced from other sources, for 177 cases.⁹⁹ Of these novices, 63 or 64 were aged between twenty-one and twenty-seven years, while 16 or 17 were younger (between fifteen and twenty years of age); 54 were aged between twenty-eight and thirty-eight; 34 between thirty-nine and forty-eight; and 10 between forty-nine and sixty-eight years. The average entry age of these 177 Scalzo members was thirty-one, as opposed to the age of twenty-three for the San Paolo novices ascertained by Weissman.¹⁰⁰ Even so, evidently a significant number of *confratelli* were joining early in their careers. However, while Weissman does not identify anyone joining the Compagnia di San Paolo over the age of forty-four, at least 23 novices among the Scalzo members listed in the Appendix were over this age, among them Tribolo,

⁹⁰ Appendix, nos. 216, 100, 57, 241.

⁹¹ Appendix, nos. 248, 309, 330.

⁹² Nicholas Terpstra, "Women in the Brotherhood: Gender, Class, and Politics in Renaissance Bolognese Confraternities", in: *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, XXVI (1990), 3, pp. 193–212.

⁹³ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, 1203:41, fol. 300v. She also appears with them the previous year (fol. 284r).

⁹⁴ See for example Dionigi di Matteo Nigetti (Appendix, no. 100), whose wife and the daughters were distinguished by *donna* and *figliuola* respectively.

⁹⁵ The first payment that can be identified for Maddalena dates from 1603 (Appendix, no. 248), whereas Andrea Balatri's first son Giovan-

ni Battista joined the Scalzo only in 1635 aged twenty-one (Appendix, no. 309).

⁹⁶ Weissman (note 7), pp. 74–76.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 74–76, 161.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

⁹⁹ In cases where the age recorded in the Scalzo books conflicts with that given in a published source, I have used the latter in my calculations. A small number of the *confratelli* identified in the list are potentially duplicates, but I have maintained them for the sake of caution (e.g. Tribolo probably appears twice: Appendix, nos. 97 and 106).

¹⁰⁰ Weissman (note 7), p. 145.

Cellini and Aristotile da Sangallo, who were fifty-two, fifty-four, and sixty-eight years old respectively when they joined.¹⁰¹ Among the members who have not been listed in the Appendix, we might cite the case of the *libraio* (bookseller) Pasquino d'Antonio Pignoni, who was recorded as being about seventy years old when he was introduced by his son Simone.¹⁰²

As is perhaps not surprising, upon examining the patterns of the entrance into the Scalzo of artists and their pupils, one finds that the master generally joined first. This was the case for Bernardino Poccetti and Michelangelo Cinganelli, Giovanni Battista Caccini and Chiarissimo Fancelli, Valerio Cioli and Andrea Ferrucci, and Domenico Passignano and his students Nicodemo Ferrucci, Bartolomeo Salvestrini and Simone Pignoni.¹⁰³ Like family connections, professional mentors could potentially influence a young man's choice of confraternity. The case of Passignano, however, also provides an interesting deviation from this pattern, as he entered the Scalzo *after* his pupil Giovanni Nigetti, but as explained above the Nigetti family connection with the confraternity extended back to at least Giovanni's grandfather. Notably, it was Giovanni's father Dionigi who sponsored Passignano's entry.¹⁰⁴

While a more profound study remains to be done on the residential patterns of the *confratelli*, neighbourhood obviously provides a significant point of con-

nection. The area between Borgo Pinti and Via San Sebastiano (today Via Gino Capponi), only a short walk from the Scalzo's meeting-place, has been acknowledged as attractive to influential artists at the beginning of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's reign.¹⁰⁵ What has not been recognized is that it was home to numerous Scalzo artist and artisan *confratelli*. Giuliano da Sangallo acquired land together with his brother Antonio in 1490 in Borgo Pinti where they built a house;¹⁰⁶ Francesco da Sangallo was born and lived there until his death.¹⁰⁷ Andrea del Sarto built his house in Via San Sebastiano in about 1520 next door to that of his friend Aristotile da Sangallo.¹⁰⁸ By the early 1530s Pontormo had a house in Via Laura (today Via della Colonna); Battista del Tasso lived a few doors away from him.¹⁰⁹ A *Dischrezione delli fuochi et delle anime* in Florence of 1552 names several Scalzo *confratelli* in the same street: Gino Lorenzi (and his sons Antonio and Stoldo), Benvenuto Cellini, Antonio Crocini *legnaiolo*, and Zanobi di Pagno *fonditore*; living nearby in Borgo Pinti were Alessandro and Zanobi Lastricati, and Antonio di Marco di Giano *legnaiolo*, called Il Carota.¹¹⁰ Tribolo owned three houses in the area, in Via dei Pilastri, Borgo Pinti and Via Laura.¹¹¹ His son-in-law Davide Fortini lived in the one in Borgo Pinti from at least 1548¹¹² before renting Pontormo's house in Via Laura from 1557 to 1564.¹¹³

¹⁰¹ Appendix, nos. 97, 119, 99.

¹⁰² Below, note 506.

¹⁰³ Appendix, nos. 197, 212, 219, 267, 158, 224, 243, 298, 292, 304.

¹⁰⁴ Appendix, nos. 241, 243.

¹⁰⁵ Pilliod (note 6), p. 74. My allusion to the importance of neighbourhood is obviously indebted to the scholarship of Dale and F.W. Kent (e.g. Dale V. and F.W. Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century*, New York 1982) and those who follow them.

¹⁰⁶ Eva Brües, "Palazzo Capponi-Incontri, der neue Sitz des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, XII (1966), pp. 319–354: 346–350; Detlef Heikamp, "Federico Zuccari a Firenze 1575–1579, II: Federico a casa sua", in: *Paragone*, XVIII (1967), 207, pp. 3–34: 16f.; Stefano Borsi, *Giuliano da Sangallo: i disegni di architettura e dell'antico*, Rome 1985, p. 13. Pilliod (note 6), pp. 69, 73f.

¹⁰⁷ Suzanne Butters, *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptors' Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence*, Florence 1996, I, p. 277; Sandro Bellesi, s. v. Giamberti,

Francesco, detto Francesco da Sangallo o Il Margotta, in: *DBI*, LIV, Rome 2000, pp. 287–293: 287.

¹⁰⁸ Heikamp (note 106), pp. 8, 30 note 4; Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina, *Aristotile da San Gallo e i disegni degli Uffizi*, Rome 1990, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Pilliod (note 6), pp. 69, 246.

¹¹⁰ BNCF, II.I.120, *Libro della dischrezione delli fuochi et delle anime dello Excellentissimo Signor Duca Cosimo de' Medici*. For the information regarding the artists' houses see the subsection: "Segue la descriptione della città di Firenze fatta per il medesimo Antonio di Filippo Gianetti, l'anno dell'incarnazione del N.S. MDLI et a di XXV di Febraro", fols. 159r–v, 155v; Pilliod (note 6), pp. 69, 73f. Appendix, nos. 109–111, 119, 58, 42, 84, 127, 35.

¹¹¹ Baldini (note 44), pp. 20, 22.

¹¹² Emanuela Ferretti, "Maestro David Fortini: dal Tribolo al Buontalenti, una carriera all'ombra dei grandi", in: *Niccolò detto il Tribolo* (note 44), pp. 73–85: 74.

¹¹³ Pilliod (note 6), p. 74.

Further research will reveal other neighbourhood clusters of *confratelli* close to the Scalzo's premises. Nevertheless, Weissman's description of *disciplinati* confraternities as citywide organizations¹¹⁴ also appears to hold true for the Scalzo. The *Dischrezione delli fuochi et delle anime* of 1552 suggests that two *confratelli* were residing in the area of Santa Croce, the painters Lorenzo Larciani (in Via delle Santucce) and Bastiano di Niccolò (in Via Ghibellina).¹¹⁵ Others lived further afield in the Oltrarno: Santi Buglioni was probably residing in a small house in Via San Giorgio, Popolo di Santa Felicita, when he joined, but in 1526 he moved to a larger and closer domicile in Via Campo Corbolini (now Via Faenza).¹¹⁶ By contrast, although Fortini was living a short walk from the Scalzo premises when he first joined, in about 1564 he transferred to an abode just below the church of San Giorgio, where he remained until his death.¹¹⁷ In 1552 Pierfrancesco Foschi was living in Piazza Santo Spirito,¹¹⁸ while later *confratelli* found near to Santo Spirito include Alfonso, Giulio and Cosimo Parigi (in Via Maggio),¹¹⁹ and Giovanni Bilivert (in Via Chiara).¹²⁰

Some members had workshops in Via dei Servi, not far from the Scalzo, including Giuliano da Maiano and Filippino Lippi.¹²¹ Lippi shared his workshop with the cloth painter Tommaso di Bar-

tolomeo di Giovanni Masini,¹²² who introduced Filippino's son Ruberto into the Scalzo.¹²³ In 1593 the Grand Duke Ferdinando I decreed that all goldsmiths' and jewellers' shops be confined to the Ponte Vecchio and its immediate surrounds. Seven Scalzo *confratelli* were recorded as titleholders to shops on the bridge in 1621: Ottavio Balatri, Niccolò Castori, Salvestro Mascagni, Piero Minucci, Francesco Petrucci, Orazio Vanni, and Michele Giusti.¹²⁴ Orazio Lampredi and Giovambattista Allegrini (not yet identified as members) acquired the title of Giusti's shop in 1630 with the assistance of Matteo and Giovanni Nigetti. Part-ownership of the shop was later inherited by Giuseppe Balatri, nephew of the Nigetti, when his brother-in-law Lampredi died.¹²⁵ Clemente Salvestrini and Paolo Laurentini were also identified as titleholders to shops on the bridge in 1641 and 1653 respectively.¹²⁶

Confraternities potentially encompassed various levels of society, thus providing an important complex of contacts that might lead to private, civic, confraternal or church commissions.¹²⁷ As Wisch notes, the "patronage networks [that] emerged from confraternal memberships [...] still need to be consistently integrated in art historical studies".¹²⁸ Patrician contacts were sparse in the Scalzo, thus it is unlikely that

¹¹⁴ Weissman (note 7), p. 76.

¹¹⁵ Appendix, nos. 68, note 275; 80, note 287.

¹¹⁶ Allan Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, Princeton 1921, p. XXXIII.

¹¹⁷ Ferretti Olivari (note 1), pp. 94f.; Pilliod (note 6), p. 74.

¹¹⁸ Appendix, no. 82, note 290.

¹¹⁹ Daniela Lamberini, "I Parigi, una famiglia di artisti pratesi alla corte medicea", in: *Prato e i Medici nel '500: società e cultura artistica*, exh. cat. Prato 1980, Rome 1980, pp. 138–157; 139f. Appendix, nos. 156, 218, 235.

¹²⁰ Marina Mojana, *Orazio Fidani*, Milan 1996, p. 147. Appendix, no. 277.

¹²¹ Corinna Vasic Vatovec, "Giuliano da Maiano, capomaestro a Santa Maria del Fiore", in: *Giuliano e la bottega dei da Maiano*, ed. by Daniela Lamberini/Marcello Lotti/Roberto Lunardi, Florence 1994, pp. 64–83; 64; Jonathan Katz Nelson/Louis A. Waldman, "La questione dei dipinti postumi di Filippino Lippi: Fra Girolamo da Brescia, il Maestro di Memphis, e la pala d'altare a Fabbrica di Peccioli", in: *Filippino Lippi e Pietro Perugino: la Deposizione della Santissima Annunziata e il suo restauro*, ed. by Franca Falletti/Jonathan Katz Nelson, Florence 2004, pp. 120–147; 123f.; Louis A. Waldman,

"Documenti inediti su Filippino Lippi e le sue opere", *ibidem*, pp. 172–181; 178, doc. 23.

¹²² Nelson/Waldman (note 121), p. 124. Appendix, no. 23.

¹²³ Appendix, no. 81.

¹²⁴ *Argenti fiorentini dal XV al XIX secolo: tipologie e marchi*, ed. by Dora Liscia Bemporad, Florence 1992, I, pp. 479–483; Appendix, nos. 244, 204, 250, 263, 272, 233, 273.

¹²⁵ Elisabetta Nardinocchi, "Una bottega orafa fiorentina del XVII secolo", in: *Rivista d'Arte*, XXXVIII (1986), 4, pp. 239–261; 240, 247–250; Appendix, no. 330.

¹²⁶ *Argenti fiorentini* (note 124), I, pp. 474, 483f. Appendix, nos. 307, 288.

¹²⁷ Elizabeth Pilliod, *Studies on the Early Career of Alessandro Allori*, Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1989, Ann Arbor 1989, pp. 161–172; Giovanni Pagliarulo, "Dipinti fiorentini del Seicento per la Compagnia di San Paolo di Notte", in: *Paragone*, XL (1989), 471, pp. 53–71; 57; Pilliod (note 6), pp. 88–92; Franklin (note 10), p. 105; Faietti (note 6).

¹²⁸ Wisch (note 5), p. 245.

artists joined in the hope of meeting wealthy patrons ready to offer them lucrative commissions. Nevertheless, they would find in the Scalzo a vibrant web of professional associations, which they could utilise for work-acquisition strategies.

Many members of the Scalzo collaborated or were engaged on related commissions. The *legnaioli* Tasso and Carota worked together on the sterns of the Duke's galleys; Crocini joined them to realize the carved ceiling and reading desks for the Biblioteca Laurenziana.¹²⁹ Tribolo designed the floor for the same library, realized in terracotta by Santi Buglioni.¹³⁰ Andrea Feltrini, best known for his grotesque decorations, drew on the skills of younger artists for the figurative parts. His collaborations with both Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo are well known. It has long been surmised that he assisted Sarto with the painted decoration below the Scalzo frescoes;¹³¹ a payment in the Scalzo's books now confirms this.¹³²

Numerous examples of the collaboration of Scalzo members from diverse professions can be given. Baccio d'Agnolo produced the monumental frame (1500–1502) that was to hold the *Deposition* by Filippino Lippi (completed after Lippi's death in 1504 by Perugino) for the high altar of the Santissima Annunziata.¹³³ In 1546 Santi Buglioni made terracotta figures for a wooden ciborium that Giuliano and Filippo di Baccio d'Agnolo produced for the same location.¹³⁴ *Legnaioli* produced furniture and other objects that often required embellishments of various degrees of elaborateness. In 1544 Battista del Tasso was commis-

sioned to carve candleholders and candelabras for San Placido in Messina, which were to be painted and/or gilded by Giovambattista del Verrocchio.¹³⁵ The decoration for the bedroom of Pierfrancesco Borgherini of 1515, a particularly well-known collaboration between painters and woodworkers, involved at least three members of the Scalzo: Baccio d'Agnolo designed the wooden furnishings and ornamentation, while Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo were among the artists who painted the scenes from the *Life of Joseph*. Baccio was also the architect of the Palazzo Borgherini (today Palazzo Rosselli del Turco, Borgo Santi Apostoli), in which the room was located, and may have acted as the intermediary between patron and artists for this project.¹³⁶ The painter Bernardino Poccetti and the architect and sculptor Giovanni Battista Caccini collaborated on various projects in the Florentine churches of Santa Trinita, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria degli Angeli, and Santissima Annunziata.¹³⁷ It was apparently through Matteo Nigetti's influence that Giovanni Bilivert was assumed into the Officina delle Pietre Dure.¹³⁸ And it seems that the skills of the architect Gherardo Mechini were required to find the practical solutions to the festive fantasies dreamed up by the multitalented Giulio Parigi for the Grand Duke.¹³⁹

Occasionally these work associations provide tantalizing clues to the circumstances that may have led an individual to join the Scalzo. The mason Antonio Palai was engaged in restructuring work in the Palazzo Pitti for Eleonora di Toledo from September 1555.

¹²⁹ Vasari (note 2), V, p. 143; VI, p. 64; Davis (note 1), pp. 34–36.

¹³⁰ Maria Ida Catalano, *Il pavimento della Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana*, Florence 1992, pp. 8–12.

¹³¹ Shearman (note 10), I, pp. 18, 199, II, p. 316; Christel Thiem/Gunther Thiem, s. v. Feltrini, Andrea, in: *DBI*, XLVI, Rome 1996, pp. 113–115.

¹³² Appendix, no. 7, note 211.

¹³³ Jonathan K. Nelson, "La pala per l'altare maggiore della Santissima Annunziata: la funzione, la commissione, i dipinti e la cornice", in: *Filippino Lippi e Pietro Perugino* (note 121), pp. 22–43: 24f.

¹³⁴ Vasari (note 1), III, p. 376, note. They worked together again in the 1550s on the choir of the Duomo (Louis A. Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and*

Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources, Philadelphia 2004, docs. 892, 1174, 1178, 1183, 1213).

¹³⁵ Louis Alexander Waldman, "The Rank and File of Renaissance Painting: Giovanni Larciani and the 'Florentine Eccentrics'", in: *Italian Renaissance Masters*, Milwaukee 2001, pp. 24–45: 39f. Appendix, no. 22.

¹³⁶ Natali (note 10), p. 110.

¹³⁷ Stefania Vasetti, *Bernardino Poccetti e gli Strozzi: committenza a Firenze nel primo decennio del Seicento*, Florence 1994, pp. 10f., 15.

¹³⁸ Roberto Contini, *Bilivert: saggio di ricostruzione*, Florence 1985, p. 9.

¹³⁹ Gigi Salvagnini, *Gherardo Mechini architetto di Sua Altezza: architettura e territorio in Toscana 1580–1620*, Florence 1983, p. 83. Appendix, no. 202.

In the same period the brothers Battista and Piero da Frascoli were working on the wooden ceilings for the Palazzo. In May of the following year Piero da Frascoli introduced Palai into the Scalzo.¹⁴⁰ Several other Scalzo *confratelli* were working concurrently at this same site: Davide Fortini and the *scarpellini* Giuliano di Salvatore and Francesco Mechini.¹⁴¹

By contrast, Antonio Novelli and Sebastiano Pettrossi established a partnership in about 1626/27.¹⁴² Novelli had joined the Scalzo in August 1625, Pettrossi seven months later; one might wonder whether their brotherhood through the Scalzo disposed them toward this professional association.¹⁴³

The possible work connections that the artists and artisans found in the Scalzo extend also to those occupations not collected for the list – for instance *speziali* (apothecaries) and *calderai* (coppersmiths/tinkers) – or only selectively – such as *scarpellini* (stonecutters), *intagliatori* (carvers), and *fonditori* (casters). Sculptors of stone collaborated with *scarpellini* and *intagliatori*¹⁴⁴ and required *fabbri* (blacksmiths) to produce and maintain their tools.¹⁴⁵ Painters relied on *speziali* to supply the pigments for their paints, and certainly the apothecaries in the Scalzo could have found new customers among their brethren or may have further cemented already existing connections.¹⁴⁶ Of the five *fonditori* selected for the list, three worked with Benvenuto Cellini: Alessandro Lastricati

and Zanobi Portigiani were already members when Cellini joined at the beginning of 1557, while Zanobi Lastricati entered in December of the same year. The Lastricati brothers had cast the Medusa's head for Cellini's *Perseus*, while Portigiani had assisted him to realize a portrait bust of Cosimo I.¹⁴⁷ Hildegard Utz and Olga Raggio have published documents that connect several *confratelli* – the coppersmith Matteo di Raffaello, the painter Giovannaria Butteri, and the caster Girolamo Portigiani – to projects undertaken by Battista Lorenzi.¹⁴⁸

The brothers Piero and Giovanni Battista da Frascoli were suppliers of materials at the sites where other members of the Scalzo were working. They appear, for example, requesting payment for timber and work they had provided for the *calle* (openings) of the Ponte a Cappiano for the artificial Lake of Fucecchio between 1550 and 1552 under the orders of Tribolo (initially) and Davide Fortini, *ingegneri*.¹⁴⁹ The connection between Fortini and Piero da Frascoli is emphasized in the Scalzo's books, where on 5 January 1550 Piero delivered money on Davide's behalf.¹⁵⁰

There is a growing interest in the lesser-known artists and artisans and their contributions to the work of their more famous colleagues. Their inclusion in the Appendix provides valuable biographical material and evidence of the networks in which the artists moved.¹⁵¹ The potential significance of these

¹⁴⁰ Giuseppina Carla Romby/Emanuela Ferretti, "Aggiornamenti e novità documentarie su palazzo Pitti", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLVI (2002), pp. 152–196: 165. Appendix, nos. 43, 77, 116.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 174f. Appendix, nos. 89, 188.

¹⁴² Caterina Caneva, s. v. Antonio Novelli, in: *Il Seicento fiorentino* (note 52), pp. 132–134.

¹⁴³ Appendix, nos. 296, 297.

¹⁴⁴ See Butters (note 107), I, pp. 304f., 328, 334f.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, I, p. 191.

¹⁴⁶ Martin Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist: Projects and Patrons, Workshop and Art Market*, ed. by Alison Luchs, Princeton 1981, p. 327. The sculptor Andrea Ferrucci introduced the *speciale* Girolamo di Pietro Paolo called Il Fantasia into the Scalzo on 25 February 1616 (ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I197:23, fol. 31v).

¹⁴⁷ Antonia Boström, "Zanobi Lastricati: A Newly Discovered Document",

in: *BM*, CXXXVI (1994), pp. 835f.; *eadem*, "A New Addition to Zanobi Lastricati: Fiorenza or the Venus Anadyomene: The Fluidity of Iconography", in: *The Sculpture Journal*, I (1997), pp. 1–6: 5, note 14. Cellini joined the Scalzo a couple of years after the *Perseus* (produced between 1545–1554) was placed in the Loggia dei Lanzi. Tasso also assisted in preparing the big model for the *Perseus* (Marco Collareta, s. v. Del Tasso, Giovambattista, in: *DBI*, XXXVIII, Rome 1990, pp. 299–302: 300).

¹⁴⁸ Hildegard Utz/Olga Raggio, "Skulpturen und andere Arbeiten des Battista Lorenzi", in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, VII (1973), pp. 37–70: 66, docs. 9, 12, 19. Appendix, nos. 115, 142, 143. Matteo was introduced into the Scalzo 7 November 1557, aged 30, without benefits, by Lorenzo di Girolamo *fabbro* (ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I197:21, fol. 85v). For other documents on him, see Waldman (note 134), p. 795, 810, 822, docs. 1415, 1463, 1506.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix, nos. 43 and notes 249, 77.

¹⁵⁰ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I202:38, fol. 168v.

networks in the Scalzo is enhanced by the knowledge that the Scalzo boasted a number of *capomaestri*, architects and engineers of private, civic, religious, and military structures. Among the individuals who were engaged in some or all of these roles were Giuliano da Maiano, Baccio d’Agnolo and his son Giuliano, Andrea da Fiesole, Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, Francesco da Sangallo, Battista del Tasso, Tribolo, Davide Fortini, Alfonso and Giulio Parigi, Antonio Lupicini, and Matteo Nigetti. They controlled key building sites around Florence (and beyond) at various times – including the Duomo, the Palazzo Vecchio, the fortifications of Florence, the Cappella dei Principi, as well as various Medici palaces and villas.

Several *confratelli*, including Tasso, Fortini, Amadeo Baccelli,¹⁵² a certain “Giovanni di Marco capo alla Parte” (probably Giovanni di Marco called Lo Spagnolo),¹⁵³ and Gherardo Mechini, worked as *capomaestri della Parte Guelfa*. The Parte Guelfa was the body that administered public works, including buildings, walls, fortifications, roads and waterways.¹⁵⁴ *Capomaestri* were influential men, involved in employing large teams of workers in a variety of trades. The Scalzo demonstrated suspicion toward people working for the central administrative body, through a rubric in the statutes of 1579 (which confirmed a chapter in the former statutes) identifying who could not be a member: “comandatori, mazzieri, donzelli, famigli di qual si voglia arte, tavolaccini, banditori, né manco servitori di cittadini, o d’altri dottori di legge, procuratori, notai, preti, frati, cittadini, e beneficiati dal palazzo”.¹⁵⁵ Many of the occupations named

were connected with the administrative body of the commune. The reason for their exclusion is not clear. Some confraternities were concerned about potential Ducal informers.¹⁵⁶ However, a number of Scalzo *confratelli* had significant connections with the Medici throughout the period under consideration. Francesco da Sangallo’s advantageous relationship with Ottaviano de’ Medici has been noted above, while Tasso enjoyed a close friendship with Pierfrancesco Riccio, *maggiordomo* to Cosimo I (Riccio, notably, had significant influence regarding which artists might gain employment in the court – an influence of which Vasari despaired).¹⁵⁷ While the *capomaestro della Parte Guelfa* was a position tied to the central administrative body, their importance in an artist network should not be underestimated. Perhaps for this reason the Scalzo specified that the prohibition would not include “quelli che sono scrivani al Monte, veditori di degana [*sic*], capi maestri alla Parte e guardie di fuoco”.¹⁵⁸ The chapter closes, though, by cautioning that *confratelli* in these professions could not assume roles central to the Scalzo’s administration, such as governor, administrator (*provveditore*), scribe or master of novices.

Connections Beyond the Brotherhood

The threads of the lives of many of the *confratelli* were entwined in numerous other social, intellectual and associational settings. Friendships doubtless can be implicated as the reason for these individuals reappearing together in various groups and situations. The workshops of artists and artisans found

¹⁵¹ On the importance of these connections: Waldman (note 135), p. 36.

¹⁵² Appendix, no. 107.

¹⁵³ Appendix, no. 145 and note 352.

¹⁵⁴ On this office: Anna Cerchiai/Coletta Quiriconi, “Relazioni e rapporti all’ufficio dei Capitani di Parte Guelfa, parte I: Principato di Francesco I dei Medici”, in: *Architettura e politica da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I*, ed. by Giorgio Spini, Florence 1976, pp. 185–257; Anna Maria Gallerani/Benedetta Guidi, “Relazioni e rapporti all’ufficio dei Capitani di Parte Guelfa, parte II: Principato di Ferdinando I”, *ibidem*, pp. 259–329.

¹⁵⁵ ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 8v.

¹⁵⁶ Black (note 62), p. 47.

¹⁵⁷ Alessandro Cecchi, “Il maggiordomo ducale Pierfrancesco Riccio e gli artisti della corte medicea”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLII (1998), pp. 115–143: 123; Pilliod (note 1), pp. 41, 43, 45–47.

¹⁵⁸ ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fols. 8v–9r. This rule occasionally occurs, with similar wording, in the statutes of other confraternities, for example Santa Maria Maddalena and San Francesco a Santa Croce and San Lorenzo in Piano (ASF, Cap. CRS, 138, p. 89; Cap. CRS, 265, fols. 5v–6r). The exclusion of the *capomaestri* and other positions from this prohibition, however, does not appear.

throughout Florence were not only central to their working lives, but also their social lives.¹⁵⁹ Vasari described Baccio d'Agnolo's workshop as an intellectual centre frequented by numerous artists and artisans, apparently including, among others, Filippino Lippi, "il Maiano", and Antonio and Giuliano da Sangallo.¹⁶⁰ Karen-edis Barzman described the group as an informal academy and Sanne Wellen emphasises the importance of such settings within the "rich tradition of Florentine Vernacular culture".¹⁶¹

Several Scalzo *confratelli*, namely Tasso, Tribolo, Cellini, Francesco da Sangallo and Raffaello del Tribolo, were admitted (at least temporarily) into the Accademia degli Umidi (later Accademia Fiorentina), attesting to their literary interests.¹⁶² Others, such as Francesco da Sangallo, Gianjacopo Mattoncini, Ruberto Lippi, Pierfrancesco Foschi, and Zanobi Lastricati, were involved in the establishment of the Accademia del Disegno; and many more were members and academicians.¹⁶³ This body has been recognized as a critical stage in the attempts of artists to raise their social identity above that of mere artisans.¹⁶⁴ The clockmaker Antonio Lupicini was a cultured and prolific writer, whose numerous interests included geometry, astrology and hydraulics. He first published

his writings on the reduction of the year and the correction of the calendar in Florence in 1578.¹⁶⁵ Battista da Sangallo produced a translation of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, which he bequeathed to the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista Decollato, Rome, with the hope they might publish it.¹⁶⁶ Giovanni Fedini wrote a play, *Le due Persilie*, published by Giunti in 1583.¹⁶⁷ The engagement of the *confratelli* in these literary and intellectual pursuits contrasts with previous representations of them as virtual illiterates.

The humanist Benedetto Varchi addressed sonnets to, and responded to sonnets by, several individuals who were Scalzo *confratelli* – Pontormo, Antonio Crocini, Francesco da Sangallo, Benvenuto Cellini, and Antonio da Sangallo.¹⁶⁸ Of particular note is the sonnet Varchi devoted to Battista del Tasso on the event of Tribolo's death. He alludes to the pain of those who have lost him, naming "I vostro Davitte [Fortini] caro e 'l mio dolce Crocino" and Pontormo.¹⁶⁹ Together with Crocini and Tasso, at least two other members of the Scalzo, Santi di Michele Buglioni and Piero di Girolamo da Frascoli acted as witnesses to Tribolo's testament requesting burial in the Scalzo's sepulchre.¹⁷⁰ This tight circle of friends would have attended – with many others – the services held for Tribolo by the Scalzo.

¹⁵⁹ Dale Kent, *Friendship, Love, and Trust in Renaissance Florence*, London 2009, pp. 137f.

¹⁶⁰ Vasari (note 2), IV, p. 610. Regarding the chronological inconsistencies: Alessandro Cecchi, "Percorso di Baccio d'Agnolo legnaiuolo e architetto fiorentino: dagli esordi al Palazzo Borgherini: I", in: *Antichità Viva*, XXIX (1990), I, pp. 31–46: 38.

¹⁶¹ Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno*, Cambridge 2000, p. 29; Sanne Wellen, "La guerra de' topi e de' ranocchi", Attributed to Andrea del Sarto: Considerations on the Poem's Authorship, the Compagnia del Paiuolo, and Vasari", in: *I Tatti Studies*, XII (2009), pp. 181–232: 230.

¹⁶² Detlef Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti nella Firenze del '500", in: *Il Vasari*, XV (1957), pp. 139–163: 141, note I; Collareta (note 147), p. 300; Cecchi (note 45), pp. 31f.; Bryce (note 3), p. 91. Tribolo and Cellini's participation in this organisation predate their acceptance into the Scalzo. Appendix, no. 128.

¹⁶³ Zangheri (note 65), p. VII. The membership of individual *confratelli* is noted in the footnotes to the Appendix.

¹⁶⁴ For this, see especially Mary Ann Jack, "The *Accademia del Disegno* in Late Renaissance Florence", in: *Sixteenth Century Journal*, VII (1976), pp. 3–20: 10. Barzman, however, cautions against assumptions that the Accademia was intended to raise the social status of artists (Barzman [note 161], pp. 16, 32).

¹⁶⁵ Horst de la Croix, "Literature on Fortification in Renaissance Italy", in: *Technology and Culture*, IV (1963), I, pp. 30–50: 42, 49; L[eopoldo] Tanfani Centofanti, *Notizie di Artisti tratte dai documenti pisani*, Pisa 1898, p. 46.

¹⁶⁶ Laura Mocchi, "Una traduzione inedita del *De Architectura* di Vitruvio, di mano di Battista da Sangallo, rinvenuta nell'archivio di San Giovanni Decollato", in: *Architettura* (1991/1996), pp. 175–180.

¹⁶⁷ Monica Grasso, s. v. Fedini, Giovanni, in: *DBI*, XLV, Rome 1995, pp. 805f. Appendix, no. 131.

¹⁶⁸ Benedetto Varchi, *Opere*, Trieste 1858–1859, II, pp. 841, 905, 951, 976f., 991f. For Pontormo's literary interests: Pilliod (note 6), p. 88. Varchi has not been identified as a Scalzo *confratello*.

¹⁶⁹ Varchi (note 168), II, p. 855; Cecchi (note 45), p. 33.

¹⁷⁰ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 223, fol. 369v.

The friends Aristotile da Sangallo and Andrea del Sarto, both members of the *compagnia di piacere* known as the Compagnia del Paiuolo, produced the *prospettiva* for the performance of Machiavelli's *Mandragola* in 1525 for another pleasure group, the Compagnia della Cazzuola.¹⁷¹ Vasari tells us that Andrea del Sarto was convinced by his friends to join the Compagnia di San Sebastiano, a *disciplinati* confraternity which met behind the tribune of the Santissima Annunziata; Aristotile, a member since 1517, could have been among them. Florentine *disciplinati* confraternities generally forbade concurrent membership in other *disciplinati* confraternities. The rule, however, was frequently ignored. Andrea del Sarto was still an active member of the Scalzo in 1529 when he joined San Sebastiano.¹⁷² For the latter he produced a cherished painting of *Saint Sebastian*. Other Scalzo *confratelli* also enrolled in San Sebastiano: Bartolomeo Ghetti, Ruberto Lippi, Alessandro Lasticati, and Simone Pignoni.¹⁷³ Like Sarto, Ruberto clearly held concurrent memberships: when he joined the Scalzo on 4 April 1540 and then later returned in 1553, he continued to occupy important positions in San Sebastiano, including *governatore* (1540, 1553), *maestro dei novizi* (1542), and *approvatore del desco* (1541).¹⁷⁴ The regular reinstatement of the rule forbidding concurrent membership in *disciplinati* confraternities was perhaps a consequence of its frequent infringement.¹⁷⁵ Susan Verdi Webster notes that artists in Spain held multiple memberships in penitential confraternities.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, considering the practical skills that artists and artisans offered, is it possible that such rules were less strictly applied to them?

¹⁷¹ Wellen (note 161), p. 210.

¹⁷² O'Brien (note 8), pp. 260–262. The rule appears in the *capitoli* of both these confraternities (*ibidem*, p. 266, notes 62f.). Appendix, no. 99 and note 306.

¹⁷³ Appendix, nos. 63, note 267; 81, note 288; 84, note 291; 304, note 506.

¹⁷⁴ Appendix, no. 81, note 288.

¹⁷⁵ O'Brien (note 8), pp. 262, 266, notes 62f.

¹⁷⁶ Webster (note 53), p. 102.

The Scalzo as Patron of Its Own Members

Like other confraternities, the Scalzo regularly commissioned and acquired artistic and artisanal products. Considering the significant number of artists and artisans within its ranks, it is not surprising to find that the Scalzo frequently drew upon their skills, whether for ephemeral decorations, permanent artworks and furnishings, maintenance, or other necessities.¹⁷⁷ Major commissions – such as altarpieces – were sporadic, but certain items – the large quantities of painted candles for the *Candelora* and other festivities, and the emblems for their habits (a figure of Saint John painted on *carta pecora*) – were regularly required. Membership in a confraternity undoubtedly facilitated access to these common jobs. The Scalzo generally granted these commissions to one of the painter-*confratelli*. At times the annual payments for the *Candelora* were alternated amongst various members, but the job could also be regularly undertaken over years by one artist. By the second half of the sixteenth century this commission was monopolized, first by Ruberto Lippi, then by Tommaso Landini, and finally by Giovanni Bartolini.¹⁷⁸ Among the *confratelli* who painted the emblems we find Gianjacopo d'Antonio, Michelangelo Cinganelli, and Giovanantonio Baccanelli.¹⁷⁹

The Scalzo members produced numerous works for fulfilling various needs of the confraternity: liturgical and para-liturgical objects, furnishings for the premises and other equipment necessary for the ritual and administrative practices. In 1527 Giovanni Battista d'Antonio di Noferi produced *spalliere* decoration

¹⁷⁷ This also occurred in other confraternities, see for example: Konrad Eisenbichler, "The Acquisition of Art by a Florentine Youth Confraternity: The Case of the Arcangelo Raffaello", in: *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Barbara Wisch/Diane Cole Ahl, Cambridge 2000, pp. 102–116: 108–112; Eckstein (note 83), pp. 233f.; for Udine see Raddassao (note 6).

¹⁷⁸ Appendix, nos. 81, 170, 205. Other candle painters: Appendix, nos. 22, 26, 40, 68, 75, 76, 78, 201, 285, 286.

¹⁷⁹ Appendix, nos. 75, 212, 314.

for the seating in the *spogliatoio*, the room where the *confratelli* changed from their everyday clothes into the confraternal habit.¹⁸⁰ Domenico di Bartolomeo painted a curtain for the oratory's altarpiece in 1534 and Francesco Rosselli one for an image of the *Pietà* in the *spogliatoio* in 1577.¹⁸¹ In 1549 Francesco di Giovanguualberto carved a wooden reliquary for the Scalzo's relics.¹⁸² While Benedetto Buglioni probably executed the glazed terracotta lunette above the entrance to the premises, his relative Santi Buglioni in 1572 produced a Baby Jesus in *gesso* to be placed on the altar for Christmas, within a tabernacle made for it by Dionigi Nigetti.¹⁸³ As regards other ephemeral decoration, there is a tantalizing reference to a payment to Ruberto Lippi in 1543 for painting an apparatus for a "comedia" in the "Sala del Papa",¹⁸⁴ perhaps a staged *sacra rappresentazione* for a confraternal event. The bookseller Jacopo Chiti provided *libri di compagnia* and a "mesale" for the sacristy.¹⁸⁵ Dionigi Nigetti produced many items for the Scalzo, including an *intarsia* cross and large candelabra (1568), and a "Nome di Gesù" (1585) under which the confraternity went in procession.¹⁸⁶ Pietro Paolo di Nicodemo carved the holy stone for the Scalzo's altar when it was consecrated in 1590.¹⁸⁷ Giovanni Battista da Ronta, who produced a *cassetta di noce* for the Altare del Perdono in 1588 and a lectern for the desk of the *governatore*, revealed something of the detail that these works might contain when he described the latter in the *Libro delle ricevute* as being made "d'intaglio con dua cherubini su' canti e un'arme nel mezo con pan[n]i che ricascano e fogliami nelle ali ett.è di mezo rilievo el frontone cor'un cherubino drento tutto di

noce come si vede".¹⁸⁸ These were paid commissions; however, membership in the confraternity could have inspired the artists and artisans to produce better works, or charge less, as Webster has observed for Sevillian artist-*confratelli*.¹⁸⁹

Andrea del Sarto probably began painting the *Life of the Baptist* in the Scalzo's courtyard a little before 1509. He was certainly a member by 1517, but the surviving documentation does not allow us to determine if he acquired the commission as a *confratello* or if he joined after commencing it.¹⁹⁰ He already had important contacts within the Scalzo, in the persons of Baccio d'Agnolo and Andrea Feltrini.¹⁹¹ Andrea del Sarto probably painted the personification of *Faith*, next to the doorway leading to the oratory, in about 1523 as a pious donation.¹⁹² He was not the only *confratello* to offer work to the Scalzo. Valerio Cioli donated statues of the Virgin and the Baptist, motivating the Scalzo to exempt him from the required membership dues. Eventually the confraternity would offer exemption from dues as an incentive for the production of artworks, as it did in 1626 for the goldsmith Lorenzo Galestruzzi, who produced a terracotta *Pietà* for the altar frontal in the oratory.¹⁹³ *Confratelli* sometimes executed small works in lieu of a single or a small number of fee payments. Instead of fees Piero Poggini decorated candles; Niccolò di Giuliano painted some reliquaries; and Simone Colombini carved a stamp to mark the bread distributed on feast days.¹⁹⁴

More mundane objects, maintenance and materials were also requested from the Scalzo members: Piero and his brother Giovanni Battista di Girolamo da

¹⁸⁰ Appendix, no. 28.

¹⁸¹ Appendix, nos. 54, 148.

¹⁸² Appendix, no. 24.

¹⁸³ Appendix, nos. 4, 12, 100.

¹⁸⁴ Appendix, no. 81.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix, no. 209. On the function of the *libri di compagnia* see Ludovica Sebregondi, "Religious Furnishings and Devotional Objects in Renaissance Florentine Confraternities", in: *Crossing the Boundaries* (note 54), pp. 141–160: 147.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix, no. 100.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix, no. 157.

¹⁸⁸ Appendix, no. 159.

¹⁸⁹ Webster (note 53), pp. 102, 242, note 120.

¹⁹⁰ O'Brien (note 8), pp. 260f., 265, note 30.

¹⁹¹ Appendix, nos. 2, 7.

¹⁹² Shearman (note 10), II, p. 304.

¹⁹³ O'Brien (note 14), pp. 243, 245, doc. 1a, b, p. 255, doc. 41. The article also discusses other examples of this practice. Appendix, nos. 158, 258.

Frascoli supplied wood to the Scalzo on various occasions;¹⁹⁵ Dionigi Nigetti produced a “tavoletta delo proveditore dove stano schriti gl’i[n]fermieri” (1573) and a “tavola di nocie da cho[n]tarci e’ danari”;¹⁹⁶ the baker Agnolo Galestruzzi, brother of the above mentioned Lorenzo Galestruzzi, supplied the bread used for the celebration of the *Candelora* in 1614.¹⁹⁷ These undertakings could also be remunerated through exemptions from fees. In December 1572 the mason Ristoro Fantini – and later his brother Cosimo – was freed from all dues and obligations required of the *confratelli* with the agreement that he would check the roof of the premises twice a year and undertake any necessary maintenance.¹⁹⁸ The administrative books reveal that the members executed a large quantity of work of various types for the confraternity. I have only touched on a small number of examples here, but they suffice to give an idea of how the Scalzo benefited from its artisan membership.

The donation of artworks in order to embellish a confraternity’s premises is recognized as a charitable act that honoured God and the confraternity’s patron saint, as well as an act that served to increase the ties of the *confratello* with the association.¹⁹⁹ This sense of connection was probably strengthened if the donor was also the manufacturer of the work. I would argue, though, that even the execution of financially remunerated works could potentially serve to strengthen the bond of the *confratello* to the organisation.

Nevertheless, the Scalzo sometimes also commissioned work to non-members: The *Libro dei beneficiari* attributes a *Pietà* on the altar in the *luogo vecchio* to Tommaso di San Friano, and a certain Niccolò di Gio-

vanni Lioncini was paid for the *Candelora* of 1583;²⁰⁰ neither artist has yet been identified as a member in the Scalzo’s records. Admittedly, the lack of the *campione* makes it more difficult to quickly establish the involvement of an individual in the confraternity. Yet a test case, in which the membership of an artist clearly occurs some years after the Scalzo first employed him, confirms that it did sometimes source work from outsiders. Giovanni Bartolini joined in August 1585, but in June of the same year he was paid for gilding the aforementioned “Nome di Gesù” made by Dionigi Nigetti.²⁰¹ Bartolini, however, was already known to the Scalzo through his master, Tommaso Landini, on whose behalf he had previously collected payments and whom he had substituted as candle painter in occasion of the 1582 *Candelora*.²⁰² Landini died in April 1585, so it would seem that Bartolini entered the Scalzo at an ideal moment – exactly when the role of primary candle painter for the *Candelora* had become vacant. Payments to Bartolini for painting the *Candelora* candles can be tracked, from this time, almost without a break, until his death.²⁰³

Conclusion

This company of “persone basse” – as Vasari described them – comprised in truth a vibrant band of individuals, whose connections extended and wove their way through Florentine popular culture and reached right to the top of Florentine society; ultimately to the person of the Grand Duke himself, as Vasari revealed unintentionally in his painting. Nevertheless, while certain key Medici artists were members – Pontormo, Tasso, Tribolo, Cellini, Francesco

¹⁹⁴ Appendix, nos. 26, 124, 90. On bread stamps see Sebreghondi (note 185), p. 147.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix, nos. 43, 77.

¹⁹⁶ Appendix, no. 100.

¹⁹⁷ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I209:55, p. 78, 4 February 1614: “Io Agnolo di Tomaso Galestursi [sic] fornaro ò riceuto da Bartolomeo Danzi lire trenta oto di panelini fati”. For membership details, see Appendix, note 463.

¹⁹⁸ Appendix, nos. 155, 196.

¹⁹⁹ On this question, see especially Anna Esposito, “Men and Women in Roman Confraternities in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Roles, Functions, Expectations”, in: *The Politics of Ritual Kinship* (note 9), pp. 82–97: 91.

²⁰⁰ ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I208:54, fol. 49r; Zangheri (note 65), pp. 184f.

²⁰¹ Appendix, nos. 205, 100.

²⁰² ASF, CRSPL, Scalzo, I203:40, fol. 323r, and Appendix, no. 205, note 402.

²⁰³ Appendix, nos. 170, 205.

da Sangallo – the absences are notable. No evidence of membership can be found for individuals such as Bandinelli, Bronzino, Buontalenti, Allori, or Vasari – although direct links can be established for all of them with members within the Scalzo. And perhaps this provides the key to understanding Vasari’s description of the Scalzo. The absences suggest that, generally (excluding the membership of Francesco da Sangallo and Cellini), those artists with aspirations to higher status and prestige in the court of Cosimo I de’ Medici did not seek membership in the Scalzo. The Appendix provides an important entry point for investigating personal and other relationships between small groups of artists and artisans. Close examination of elements in the record books such as the spatial relation of names can provide very clear evidence of association

between individuals, as is apparent above on the feast of the *Candelora*. And while we cannot hear what they said as they waited together to pay their fees, the record places them in an arena in which personal contact and communication occurred; a common space in which spoken and unspoken emotions and potentially intensely felt spiritual experiences were shared.

The research for this article was undertaken during my positions as Fellow and Senior Scholar with the Medici Archive Project and Honorary Research Associate of the History Program at La Trobe University. Special thanks go to Louis Waldman for providing the Archivio Arcivescovile and the Notarile Antecosimiano references, offering some of the earliest records of the membership. These are cited in Appendix nos: 2–7, 11, 12. I would also like to thank Louis Waldman, Sharon Strocchia, and Hugh Hudson for their comments and advice through the development of this article. All errors are my own.

List of Artists and Artisans in the Compagnia dello Scalzo

The references are primarily drawn from the administrative books of the Compagnia dello Scalzo in ASF, CRSPL. Unless otherwise stated, this is the source of the references. The volumes used are:

1189:I *Raccolta di Notizie cavate da Libri e scritture della Venerabile Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista detta dello Scalzo da Giuseppe Romolo Baccioni e da Donato Martini riassunto nel 1745*

Libri dei partiti e ricordi. Provveditore

1195:13 (1 Jan. 1533/34–17 April 1558); 1195:14 (8 May 1558–19 Aug. 1592); 1195:15 (5 Sept. 1592–April 1648); 1196:16 (1 May 1648–30 Oct. 1712)

Libri dei partiti degli ufiziali. Scrivano

1197:21 (30 Nov. 1527–17 April 1558 [lacuna between 1527 and Jan. 1533/34]); 1197:22 (15 May 1558–20 Sept. 1592); 1197:23 (17 Jan. 1592/93–2 Nov. 1670)

Libro maestro

1198:28 (1514–1536); 1199:29 (1536–1557); 1199:30 (1558–1578)

Libro dei debitori e creditori

1200:31 (1591–1641)

Libri di entrata e uscita della compagnia

1201:37 (1522–1535); 1202:38* (1535–1550); 1202:39* (1558–1573); 1203:40 (1573–1592); 1203:41* (1592–1618); 1204:42* (1619–1644); 1204:43 (1644–1653)

Volumes marked with a * contain pagination that commences and recommences randomly throughout the book. The combination of page number, date and record type (e. g. *entrata* or *uscita*) is necessary to relocate the references.

Notes to the list:

b.	born
d.	died
<i>entratura</i>	entrance fee
deposit	advance given for entrance or return fee, generally paid either before, or on the day of the novice's acceptance into the confraternity
expelled	already a member, expelled from the confraternity at the given date

member	already a member at the given date
novice	new membership identified either via record of acceptance into the confraternity or through payment of entrance fee (<i>entratura</i>)
paid dues	already a member; membership identified through a fee payment
paid return fee	previously a member; returned to confraternity after a period of absence; identified via fee payment
returned	previously a member, returned to confraternity after a period of absence; identified through re-acceptance into confraternity noted in meeting record
Servites	friars of the Santissima Annunziata
Celestines	monks of San Pier Murrone
sponsor	<i>confratello</i> who introduces the novice into the confraternity
was paid	received a payment from the Scalzo

Muratori, *legnaioli*, and *fonditori* have been included only if the individual is 1) cited in another publication; 2) was sponsored by someone included in the list who is cited in another publication; or 3) is identified as a *capomaestro*.

Death dates and names shown within square brackets are drawn from published sources, those without brackets are identified through the Scalzo records or other archival sources. In case of payments for funeral or memorial services, the exact day of death is added, if known.

Female relatives: In the Scalzo records, the preposition “di” may signify either “daughter of” or “wife of”. When the relationship is neither explicitly described as “moglie di” or “figlia/figliuola di” nor can be inferred from other evidence (e. g. the age of the male relative), the full name as given in the document is recorded.

Memorial services: In the cases where the entry is identified as ‘payment for’, the source is one of the account books and the date refers not necessarily to the service itself but to the payment or promise for payment.

General bibliography on the artists and artisans has been kept to a minimum; also in case of lesser known artists, only references which are not easily found through the standard handbooks, dictionaries or bibliographical resources are given in the footnotes.

All dates are given in *stile comune*.

1	1470 April 19	Giuliano di Leonardo da Maiano, ²⁰⁴ [woodworker, sculptor, architect, 1432–1490]	Member, witness to a test by fire of the Scalzo's relic of the True Cross (1189:1, <i>Raccolta</i> , lett. R., no. 5); 15 July 1487: among reformers of the <i>capitoli</i> (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 2535, fol. 13v).
2	1500 Feb. 28	Baccio d'Agnolo [Baglioni], ²⁰⁵ <i>legnaiolo, architetto</i> , ²⁰⁶ [1462–1543]	Member (ASF, NA, 19017, vol. I, fols. 177f.); 18 May 1516: procurator of the Scalzo (ASF, NA, 2312, cnn.); 4 Jan. 1523: paid return fee (1201:37, fol. 9r); 18 Dec. 1569: his wife Nanna and his daughter Lorenza joined (1202:39, fol. 156v). ²⁰⁷
3	1500 Feb. 28	Lapo d'Antonio di Lapo, <i>scultore, scarpellino</i> , [1465–1528] ²⁰⁸	Member (ASF, NA, 19017, vol. I, fols. 177f.); 25 July 1522: paid dues (1201:37, fol. 4r); 20 Oct. 1527: dues delivered on his behalf by "Domenico" (1201:37, fol. 77v); dead by 11 June 1528, when his heirs return money he owed (1201:37, fol. 84r).
4	1500 Feb. 28	Benedetto di Giovanni Buglioni, ²⁰⁹ <i>scultore</i> , [ca. 1460–7 March 1521]	Member (ASF, NA, 19017, vol. I, fols. 177f.); 2 Feb. 1515: reimbursed for expenses incurred collecting a papal bull from Rome (1198:28, fol. 26sin & des); 10 March 1521: office performed with 4 friars, 3 priests, 1 cleric (1198:28, fol. 75des); 21 July 1521: payment to <i>correttore</i> for mass of san Gregorio (1198:28, fol. 77des).
5	1500 Feb. 28	Giovanbattista di Piero, ²¹⁰ <i>orafo</i>	Member (ASF, NA, 19017, vol. I, fols. 177f.); 18 May 1516 (ASF, NA, 2312, cnn.).
6	1501 Oct. 17	Goro di Giusto, <i>dipintore</i>	Member (ASF, NA, 19017, vol. I, fols. 197f.).
7	1501 Oct. 17	Andrea di Giovanni [Feltrini], <i>dipintore</i> , [1477–1548]	Member (ASF, NA, 19017, vol. I, fols. 197f.); 25 April 1523: paid for painting in the <i>chiostro</i> (1201:37, fol. 165r). ²¹¹
8	Prior to 1504	Filippino Lippi, ²¹² <i>dipintore</i> , [ca. 1457–1504]	Membership inferred through the entrance of his son Ruberto into the Scalzo, who did so with benefits of his father (no. 81).

²⁰⁴ Membership noted by Barducci (note 3), p. 162.

²⁰⁵ Resided in the parish of San Lorenzo (Cecchi [note 160], p. 35).

²⁰⁶ Identified as "architetto" 1 Jan. 1540 (1202:38, fol. 51r).

²⁰⁷ The document identifies them as "Lorenza dona fu di Bacio d'Agniolo legnaiuolo" and "Nanina figliola di Bacio d'Agniolo". However, Baccio's wife has been documented as Nanna and his daughter as Lorenza (Cecchi [note 160], pp. 35, 44, note 42). The Scalzo's scribe probably mixed up the names.

²⁰⁸ Louis Waldman, "The Patronage of a Favorite of Leo X: Cardinal Niccolò Pandolfini, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and the Unfinished Tomb by Baccio da Montelupo", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLVIII (2004), pp. 105–128: 111, 126f.

²⁰⁹ Membership noted by Dow 2010 (note 14) p. 15. Marquand (note 116), p. 18, cat. 13, attributed the glazed terracotta lunette above the entrance of the Scalzo's premises, depicting *Saint John the Baptist adored by two confratelli* (Fig. 2) to Benedetto Buglioni on stylistic grounds; Buglioni's membership lends support to this attribution (as Dow 2010 [note 14], p. 15, has also recently noted).

²¹⁰ A goldsmith named Giovanni di Piero di Antonio di Giovanni di Piero, matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 11 March 1478, and another called Giovanni Battista di Piero di Jacopo di Giovanni de Pintelli on 23 Nov. 1517 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 445, 448). However it is more likely that he can be identified with "Giovanbattista di Piero di Filippo Istio[c]hi orafò", who witnesses the accounts in 1524 (no. 37).

9	1510 Oct.	Michele di Francesco, <i>orafa</i>	Member, payment for <i>mortorio</i> (I198:28, fol. 48des).
10	1515 April 15	Cervagio [di Francesco] del Tasso, [woodworker], [I450–I515]	Member, payment for “l'onoranza” (I198:28, fol. 19des).
11	1516 May 17	Chimenti di Francesco del Tasso, [woodworker], [I439–I516]	Member, payment for <i>mortorio</i> (I198:28, fol. 19des); 18 May 1516: payment for office (I198:28, fol. 37sin)
12	1516 May 18	Santi di Michele Buglioni <i>alias</i> Viviani, ²¹³ <i>scultore</i> , [I494–27 Nov. 1576]	Member (ASF, NA, 2312, cnn.); 3 June 1526: paid dues (I201:37, fol. 58v); 1 April 1554: returned (I195:I3, fol. 100, I197:21, cnn.); 27 Dec. 1572: was paid 3 lire 10 soldi for “uno Bambino di gesso per tenere in sull'altare” (I202:39, fol. I73r); 1 May 1576: he was sick and the Scalzo confirmed that he could be buried in its sepulchre – or wherever his heirs wished – with the habit, accompanied by torches and the usual suffrages said (I195:I4, fol. 80v); 12 Dec. 1576: office with a sung mass performed (I195:I4, fol. 82v).
13	1516 May 18	Giovambattista di Antonio, <i>pittore</i>	Member (ASF, NA, 2312, cnn.).
14	1516 Oct. 20	Giuliano di Francesco da Sangallo, ²¹⁴ [woodworker, architect], [I445 or 1452–16 Oct. 1516]	Member, payment to friars of San Gallo for <i>mortorio</i> (I198:28, fol. 19des); 1–2 Nov. 1516: payments to the friars of San Gallo for masses of san Gregorio, and also for an office performed with 10 priests and one cleric (I198:28, fol. 39des).
15	1517 July 19	Andrea d'Agnolo del Sarto, ²¹⁵ <i>dipintore</i> , [I486–I530]	Member, cross-reference to payment to his account in the <i>campione</i> (I198:28, fol. 30sin).
16	1518 July 24	Bernardo di Giovanni Pistocchi, ²¹⁶ <i>muratore</i>	Probably already a member, was paid for work done for the Scalzo (I198:28, fol. 48sin–des); 2 Feb. 1523: paid dues (I201:37, fol. 10r).

²¹¹ “Andrea di Giovanni dipintore lire sette piccole per parte di dipigniere el chortile portò Bartolomeo di Galiano selaio insino adì 25 d'aprile 1523.” The payment probably refers to the ornamentation framing Sarto's *Baptist* cycle.

²¹² Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Dennis V. Geronimus/Louis A. Waldman, “Children of Mercury: New Light on the Members of the Florentine Company of St. Luke [c. 1475–c. 1525]”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLVII [2003], pp. 118–158: 124, 140).

²¹³ The surname “Viviani” appears on 4 May 1567, when he is named *consigliere* (I195:I4, fol. 37v). Membership noted by Dow 2010 (note 14), p. 18. Member of the AdD 1563–1576; made *accademico* in 1564 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 53).

²¹⁴ Membership noted by Marchi (note 3), pp. 203f. The original architectural elements of the Chostro dello Scalzo have been described as reminiscent of the work of Giuliano da Sangallo (Shearman [note 10], I, p. 53). His membership strengthens the possibility of his involvement.

²¹⁵ His membership in the confraternity has always been presumed. Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman [note 212], p. 139). Member of the Compagnia of San Sebastiano (O'Brien [note 8], p. 262).

²¹⁶ Emanuela Andreatta/Francesco Quinterio, “La Loggia dei Servi in Piazza SS. Annunziata a Firenze”, in: *Rivista d'Arte*, XXIX (1988), pp. 169–331: 200, 206–210, 214–216, 274–279.

17	1518 June 6	Benedetto d'Andrea del Mazza, ²¹⁷ <i>scarpellino</i>	Probably already a member, was paid for “una pila di marmo da aqua benedeta fece lui e murò al entrare del nostro lu[o]gho di San Giovanni Iscalzo” (for the entrance to the oratory), (I198:28, fol. 49sin–des); 15 Dec. 1521: the servant paid in relation to the <i>mortorio</i> (I198:28, fol. 81des); 2 Feb. 1523: his daughter Lisabetta was awarded a dowry (I198:28, fol. 94sin).
18	1520 June 7	Giovanni d'Antonio Francesco [Guidi] dello Scheggia, ²¹⁸ <i>dipintore</i> , [1472–1546]	Probably already a member, was paid 5 lire and 5 soldi “per la dipintura del chataletto” for the Scalzo (I198:28, fol. 68sin); 1 June 1522: paid dues (I201:37, fol. 2r).
19	1522 May 18	Baldassarre di Jacopo, <i>orafa</i>	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 2r).
20	1522 May 18	Goro di Francesco, ²¹⁹ <i>scultore</i>	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 2r); 18 Feb. 1526: his niece Lucrezia received a dowry (I198:28, fol. 123des).
21	1522 June 1	Francesco di Vincenzo Baccelli, ²²⁰ <i>scultore</i>	Member, paid dues 1526 Oct. 7 (I201:37, fol. 2v).
22	1522 June 15	Giovanni Battista di Tommaso del Verrocchio, ²²¹ <i>dipintore</i> , ²²² [1494–1569] ²²³	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 2v); Feb. 1525: paid return fee, delivered by Zanobi di Lorenzo <i>pianeliaio</i> (I201:37, fol. 32r); 16 Dec. 1526: was paid for painting a candle to be donated to the Virgin (I201:37, fol. 186v); 7 April 1549: returned (I195:13, fol. 81r); 16 June 1549: was paid for painting 53 small images of San Giovanni for the Scalzo's habits (I202:38, fol. 255r).
23	1522 June 15	Tommaso di Bartolomeo [di Giovanni Masini], <i>sargiaio</i> , <i>dipintore di sargia</i> ²²⁴	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 2v).

²¹⁷ Documented working for the Opera del Duomo (*Il Duomo di Firenze: documenti sulla decorazione della Chiesa e del Campanile tratti dall'Archivio dell'Opera*, ed. by Giovanni Poggi, Florence 1988, II, p. 171). His brother Matteo d'Andrea del Mazza was also a member of the Scalzo (29 June 1526, I201:37, fol. 59v) and is also documented in the archive of the Opera del Duomo (*ibidem*, p. 193), but his profession is not specified.

²¹⁸ Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman [note 212], pp. 126, 140). Married Lorenza Baccelli (Margaret Haines, “Nota sulla discendenza di Giovanni di ser Giovanni”, in: *Rivista d'Arte*, XXXVII [1984], pp. 257–268: 267f, note 22).

²¹⁹ Possibly the father of Michele di Goro Buglioni (I thank Louis Waldman for this suggestion).

²²⁰ Surname recorded 21 April 1527 (I201:37, fol. 73v).

²²¹ Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman

[note 212], pp. 128, 140, 156, note 120) and the AdD (Zangheri [note 65], p. 333). Verrocchio's brother-in-law, Giovanni di Baccio da Montelupo, and nephew, Lorenzo Larciani, were also Scalzo *confratelli* (Appendix, nos. 78, 68). On Tommaso del Verrocchio and his family connections, see also Louis Alexander Waldman, “The ‘Master of the Kress Landscapes’ Unmasked: Giovanni Larciani and the Fucecchio Altar-Piece”, in: *BM*, CXL (1998), pp. 456–469: 459, note 14, p. 462; *idem*, “New Paintings by Giovambattista Verrocchio”, in: *Source*, XXVI (2007), 3, pp. 34–39.

²²² Occupation identified when he paid dues 20 July 1522 (I201:37, fol. 3v).

²²³ Waldman (note 135), p. 44, note 52.

²²⁴ Originally identified simply as a *sargiaio* (fabric painter) but also recorded as a *dipintore di sargia* (e.g. I201:37, fol. 15v). Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman [note 212], pp. 127, 142).

24	1522 June 15	Francesco di Giovangualberto, <i>legnaiolo</i> , d. 1557 ²²⁵	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 2v); 12 March 1525: paid return fee (I201:37, fol. 34v); May 1549: was paid for carving a reliquary (I202:38, fol. 255r).
25	1522 June 19	Lorenzo di Cristofano, <i>orafa</i>	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 3r).
26	1522 June 24	Piero di Francesco Poggini, ²²⁶ <i>dipintore</i> , d. 1530	Member, painted candles for the officials and a <i>cero</i> for the Vergine Maria d'Impruneta, probably in lieu of his dues (I201:37, fol. 3r, <i>entrata</i>); ²²⁷ paid for painting emblems for the Scalzo's habits, e. g. 21 June 1528 (I201:37, fol. 197v); 22 Feb. 1530: servant paid to invite the <i>confratelli</i> to his <i>mortorio</i> (I201:37, fol. 205r).
27	1522 June 29	Bartolomeo di Bartolomeo della Vacchia [del Lavacchia], ²²⁸ <i>orafa</i> , ²²⁹ [d. 1524]	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 3r); 18 Sept. 1524: payment for seven priests to perform an office (I201:37, fol. 173r).
28	1522 June 29	Giovanni Battista d'Antonio di Noferi, <i>legnaiolo</i>	Member, paid dues (I207:37, fol. 3r); 1526/27: was paid for <i>spalliere</i> and seating for the "spogliatoio", "parlatoio" and "ricettacolo" ²³⁰ (I201:37, fols. 184r, 187v–188r).
29	1522 June 29	Gabriello di Jacopo Marzichi, ²³¹ <i>orafa</i> ²³²	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 3r).
30	1522 July 6	Matteo di Luca di Matteo Lanfranchi, ²³³ <i>orafa</i>	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 3v); ²³⁴ 1 Feb. 1534: expelled (I195:13, fol. 4r, I197:21, fols. 6v–7r); 18 March 1543: paid return fee (I202:38, fol. 90v).
31	1522 Aug. 15	Lorenzo di Michele, ²³⁵ <i>orafa</i>	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 4v).

²²⁵ ASSAF, *Libro dei mortori 1545–1557*, fol. 128r, 4 May 1557 (record identified him as a Scalzo *confratello*).

²²⁶ Resided in Via Mozza opposite "la Sancta Liperata", in 1527 (BNCF, Nuove Acq., 987, fol. I41r).

²²⁷ He is documented as painting candles for the Scalzo on 24 February 1517 (I198:28, fol. 43sin) and may have already been a member at that time.

²²⁸ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 14 May 1502 (Liscia Bemporad [note I24], I, p. 447). Variations of his surname include "dell'Avachia" or "del Lavacchio" (Liscia Bemporad [note I24], I, p. 419).

²²⁹ Identified as *orafa* when he paid dues on 15 March 1523 (I201:37, fol. IIv).

²³⁰ Possibly names alluding to the diverse functions of the same room.

²³¹ His surname appears more legible in a record of 2 Feb. 1525 (I201:37,

fol. 30v). Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 24 Dec. 1487 (Liscia Bemporad [note I24], I, p. 446).

²³² Occupation recorded 2 Feb. 1523 (I201:37, fol. 10v).

²³³ Surname recorded 21 Dec. 1523 (I201:37, fol. 17). Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 28 May 1519 (Liscia Bemporad [note I24], I, p. 448). His father was also a Scalzo *confratello* (paid dues 3 Aug. 1522; I201:37, fol. 4r) and resided in Via dei Servi in 1527 (BNCF, Nuove Acq., 987, fol. I31v).

²³⁴ Probably already a member by 6 Dec. 1521, when he delivered a payment to Andrea del Sarto for work in the Chiostro dello Scalzo (I198:28, fol. 8Ides).

²³⁵ Possibly identical with a goldsmith called "Lorenzo di Michele di Teodoro Ciefele greco" who matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 13 July 1520 (Liscia Bemporad [note I24], I, p. 448).

32	1523 Jan. 4	Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo [Baglioni], ²³⁶ <i>legnaiolo</i> [and architect], [1491–1555]	Returned, fee delivered by Niccolò di Jacopo di Salvestro (1201:37, fol. 9r); 4 Aug. 1555: payment to Servites for an office (1199:29, fol. 91des).
33	1523 Jan. 4	Francesco di Baccio d'Agnolo [Baglioni], ²³⁷ <i>legnaiolo</i> , [1495–1535]	Returned, fee delivered by Niccolò di Jacopo di Salvestro (1201:37, fol. 9r); 30 Nov. 1535: his father (no. 2) paid 7 lire for the burial, his son Filippo delivered the money; Celestines paid for a mass and an office (1202:38, fols. 2r, 188r).
34	1523 Feb. 2	Gabriello d'Antonio, “dipintore, leva l'opera”, <i>dipintore d'opere</i> ²³⁸	Member, paid dues (1201:37, fol. 20v); 15 March 1551: returned (1197:21, cnn.).
35	1523 March 29	Antonio di Marco di Giano called Il Carota, ²³⁹ <i>legnaiolo</i> , [1485–1568]	Member, paid dues (1201:37, fol. 12r); 25 March 1533: paid return fee (1201:37, fol. 130v); 2 June 1555: returned, sponsored by Matteo di Lione (1195:13, fol. 108r); 1 May 1564: returned (1197:22, fol. 20r).
36	1523 Oct. 18	Antonio di Giovanni Buttasassi, ²⁴⁰ <i>legnaiolo</i>	Member, paid dues (1201:37, fol. 15v).
37	1524 Jan.	Giovanbattista di Piero di Filippo Istiochi/Istiozi (?), ²⁴¹ <i>orafo</i>	Member, testified to checking the accounts (1201:37, fols. 28v, 173v); 28 Feb. 1524: Giovanbattista di Piero <i>orafo</i> paid for <i>grazia</i> (1201:37, fol. 20v).
38	1524 Jan. 3	Poggino di Zanobi, ²⁴² <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1532]	Member, paid dues (1201:37, fol. 17v).
39	1525 March 12	Francesco di Taddeo di Nicola, ²⁴³ <i>orafo</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (1201:37, fol. 33v).
40	1525 April 9	Zanobi di Poggino, ²⁴⁴ <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1564]	Novice, paid part of <i>entratura</i> (1201:37, fol. 35v); 7 March 1546: returned (1197:21, cnn.; 1195:13, fol. 69v); was occasionally paid for painting candles, e.g. in Feb. 1547 (1202:38, fol. 250r–v).

²³⁶ Cecchi (note 160), p. 35, note I. Appears in various documents published by Waldman (note 134), *ad indicem* (<http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~leouija/bbindex.htm>).

²³⁷ Not mentioned by Vasari, Francesco was first identified by Milanese (in Vasari [note I], V, p. 361; Cecchi [note 160], p. 35).

²³⁸ Possibly a reference to him working for the Opera del Duomo.

²³⁹ Resided in “Via della Porta a Pinti alle volte di San Piero Maggiore” in 1552 (BNCF, II.I.120, fol. 155v). MAP, BIA, Person ID 18236.

²⁴⁰ Waldman (note 134), doc. 216. Resided in the Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Leone d'Oro in 1551 (MAP, BIA, Person ID 16567; doc. ID 9958).

²⁴¹ Possibly the same person as no. 5.

²⁴² Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman [note 212], p. 137).

²⁴³ Possibly identical with Francesco di Taddeo di Nicola del Grosso who matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 12 June 1528 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 449).

²⁴⁴ Member of the Compagnia di San Luca and the AdD (Colnaghi [note 61], p. 217; Zangheri [note 65], p. 261). Resided in Via Mozza in 1552 (BNCF, II.I.120, fol. 179v). For his work, see also: Isabella Bigazzi, “Testimonianze mediche nella quadreria del Palazzo Comunale di Prato”, in: *Prato e i Medici nel '500: società e cultura artistica*, Rome 1980, pp. 93–137: 97–101.

²⁴⁵ Surname recorded 31 May 1526 (1201:37, fol. 58v). Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 4 March 1502 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 447).

41	1525 June 15	Francesco di Giovanni Fancelli, ²⁴⁵ <i>orafo</i>	Member, paid dues (I20I:37, fol. 40v).
42	1525 June 25	Zanobi di Pagno di Lapo Portigiani, ²⁴⁶ <i>fonditore</i> , ²⁴⁷ d. 1569	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 40v); 25 Dec. 1537: returned (I195:I3, fol. 22v, I197:21, fol. 23v); 2 Feb. 1561: his wife Brigida joined (I202:39, fol. 28r); ²⁴⁸ 11 Aug. 1569: payment to Servites for a mass for his soul (I199:30, fol. 109des).
43	1525 Aug. 6	Piero di Girolamo da Frascoli, ²⁴⁹ <i>legnaiolo</i> , ²⁵⁰ d. 1556	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 42v); 29 Aug. 1535: returned (I195:I3, fol. 13v); 16 Feb. 1555: was paid 12 lire for restoration work on the roof of the Scalzo courtyard (I195:I3, fol. 105r); 23 Sept. 1556: mass of san Gregorio for his soul (I199:29, fol. 131des).
44	1526 Feb. 2	Andrea di Piero di Marco [Ferrucci, da Fiesole], <i>scultore</i> , [ca. 1465–1526]	Member, paid dues (I20I:37, fol. 50r).
45	1526 Feb. 24	Michele di Lorenzo, <i>orafo</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 52r).
46	1526 April 15	Giovanni di Michele, <i>orafo</i>	Member, paid dues (I20I:37, fol. 56v).
47	1526 May 20	Giuliano di Cervagio del Tasso, <i>legnaiolo</i> [and sculptor], [d. 1530]	Returned, paid fee (I20I:37, fol. 58r).
48	1526 Aug. 5	Francesco di Simone Ghillori, ²⁵¹ <i>legnaiolo</i>	Member, paid dues (I20I:37, fol. 61r).
49	1526 Nov. 18	Antonio di Bartolomeo da Sangallo [il Giovane], [architect], [1485–1546]	Returned, fee delivered by his brother Francesco (no. 50) (I20I:37, fol. 65r).
50	1526 Nov. 18	Francesco di Bartolomeo da Sangallo, [ca. 1490–after 1552]	Member, delivered money for return of his brother Antonio (no. 49); 2 Dec. 1526: paid dues for himself (I20I:37, fols. 65r, 66r).

²⁴⁶ Membership noted by Dow 2009 (note I4), p. 2f. Member of an important Florentine bell-making family. On the confusion between Zanobi Portigiani and Zanobi Lastricati (no. I20) see Boström 1994 (note I47), p. 835, note 6. Portigiani produced two bronze friezes for the high altar of Santa Maria del Fiore (Waldman [note I34], doc. 718); in 1552 he resided in Via Laura (BNCF, II.I.120, fol. 159v).

²⁴⁷ Occupation recorded in an entry of 5 Sept. 1540 (I195:I3, fol. 36r).

²⁴⁸ Identified in the document as “Brigida di Maestro Zanobi di Pagno fonditore”, she appears as his widow on 2 Feb. 1577 (I203:40, fol. 56r).

²⁴⁹ Frascoli provided panels “per dipingere per li palchi delle stanze nuove”

of Palazzo Vecchio (Ettore Allegri/Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici*, Florence 1980, p. 16). Ferretti [(note I12), p. 75] mentions a document that identifies a working relationship between the Frascoli brothers and Tribolo and Fortini.

²⁵⁰ Occupation and toponymic identified when he paid dues 20 August 1536 (I202:38, fol. 11v).

²⁵¹ Worked with Baccio and Giuliano Baglioni on Palazzo Salimbeni (Lorenzo Bartolini Salimbeni, “Una ‘fabbrica’ fiorentina di Baccio d’Agnolo: le vicende costruttive del palazzo Bartolini Salimbeni attraverso i documenti d’archivio”, in: *Palladio*, 3. Ser., XXVII [1978], 2, pp. 7–28: 14).

51	1530 July 3	Michele di Goro Buglioni, ²⁵² <i>scultore</i> , ²⁵³ d. 1577/78	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 102v); Lenten season of 1536: supplied 60 olive and palm tree branches (I199:29, fol. 6r); 1 May 1576: sick, the Scalzo confirmed that he could be buried in its sepulchre – or wherever his heirs wished – with the habit, accompanied by torches and the usual suffrages said (I195:14, fol. 80v); 22 Jan. 1578: office with sung mass performed in the confraternity’s oratory (I195:14, fol. 87r).
52	1531 Feb. 2	Paolo di Francesco, <i>orafa</i> , d. 1554	Member, paid dues (I20I:37, fol. 106r); 19 Aug. 1554: payment to Servites for mass (I199:29, fol. 9Isin).
53	1531 Aug. 20	Giovanbattista di Matteo Lanfranchi, ²⁵⁴ <i>orafa</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 109v); 3 May 1543: returned (I195:13, fol. 55v, I197:21, cnn.).
54	1531 Dec. 3	Domenico di Bartolomeo, ²⁵⁵ <i>dipintore</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 112r); painted various items for the Scalzo, including, 1 May 1534: was paid 10 lire and 10 soldi for the curtain of the main altar (I20I:37, fol. 227r; see also 29 March 1534: I195:13, fol. 7v); 13 March 1552: expelled due to absence (I195:13, fol. 93r).
55	1532 Jan. 21	Francesco di Romolo di Cipriano, ²⁵⁶ <i>sargiaio</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 114v); 1 May 1543: returned (I195:13, fol. 55r).
56	1532 Feb. 4	Berto d’Agnolo da Sangallo, ²⁵⁷ <i>scultore</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I20I:37, fol. 116r).
57	1532 June 24	Matteo di Dionigi, ²⁵⁸ <i>battiloro</i> , ²⁵⁹ [d. 1567]	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> , without benefits (I20I:37, fol. 120v); 30 March 1554: his daughter Margherita received a dowry (I199:29, fol. 91des); 2 Feb. 1564: his wife Maria joined (I202:39, fol. 72v); ²⁶⁰ 26 June 1567: Servites performed an office in the confraternity’s oratory, and are commissioned to say the mass of san Gregorio (I195:14, fol. 38r).

²⁵² Resided in Chiasso dei Giudei in 1552 (BNCF, III.I20, fol. 121r). His brother Vincenzo, *tessitore*, was also a member (returned 14 April 1555, I195:13, fol. 106v).

²⁵³ He may also have worked as a *battiloro* (see the reference of 27 Dec. 1531 in I20I:37, fol. 113v) and a *sensale* (16 April 1542, I202:38, fol. 78v).

²⁵⁴ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 20 May 1546 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 450). His father was also a member: see above, no. 30.

²⁵⁵ Possibly identifiable with Domenico di Bartolomeo Malfetta or Malfeti (1501–1583), on whom see Louis A. Waldman, “‘Bad Painting’ in Renaissance Florence: Domenico di Bartolomeo, called Malfetta, Painter and Art Dealer”, in: *Source*, XXIII (2003), I, pp. 34–38.

²⁵⁶ Possibly Francesco di Romolo *sargiaio* (fabric painter), a member of the Compagnia di San Luca, 1535 (Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Firenze*, Florence 1873, p. 16).

²⁵⁷ Identified himself as “Alberto d’Agnolo scultore [*illegible word*] da San Ghallo” on a folio once intended as the title page of a record book, 19 Jan. 1551 (I198:27, loose folio). Gustave Clause suggested that Berto d’Agnolo da Sangallo was Francesco di Giuliano da Sangallo’s illegitimate son, born before Francesco’s marriage with Elena Marsuppini (*Les San Gallo: architectes, peintres, sculpteurs, médailleurs, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1900–1902, II, p. 417, III, pp. 289–291). When Berto joined the Scalzo in 1532 he should have had a minimum of 18–21 years, which would make Francesco ca. 16–18 years old at Berto’s birth.

²⁵⁸ Grandfather of Matteo Nigetti (no. 216).

²⁵⁹ Matteo di Dionigi is identified as a *battilana* by Lucia Aquino, *s. v.* Nigetti, Dionigi, in: *DBI*, LXXVIII, Rome 2013, pp. 554f.: 554; however, in the documents of the Compagnia dello Scalzo he is always designated as a *battiloro*.

58	1532 Aug. 4	Antonio di Romolo Crocini, ²⁶¹ <i>legnaiolo</i> , ca. 1514–1589	Novice, paid part of his <i>entratura</i> (I201:37, fol. 122r); 19 Jan. 1550: returned, aged 36, sponsored by Piero da Frascoli (no. 43) (I197:21, cnn.), who, on 2 Feb. 1550, also delivered his return fee (I202:38, fol. 169v); ²⁶² 7 Feb. 1563: paid return fee (I202:39, fol. 59v); 27 Dec. 1571: returned, sponsored by Lorenzo di Tommaso <i>lanciaio</i> (spear or lance maker) (I197:22, fol. 38r); 4 Oct. 1587: returned (I197:22, fol. 76v); 21 March 1589: office celebrated in the confraternity's oratory (I195:14, fol. 133v); 21 March 1590: payment to Servites for an office with the <i>trentesimo</i> (I199:30, fol. 228r).
59	1532 Sept. 15	Piero di Martino, ²⁶³ <i>orafo</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I201:37, fol. 124v).
60	1533 Jan. 5	Niccolò di Carlo, <i>tarsiaio</i>	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 127v); 2 Aug. 1559: paid return fee (I202:39, fol. 8v); 24 Feb. 1565: returned (I197:22, fol. 21v).
61	1533 Feb. 24	Giovanni d'Alessio [Nanni d'Unghero], <i>scultore</i> , <i>legnaiolo</i> [and architect], [d. 1546]	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 129v); 1 Jan. 1534: Master of novices, (I195:13, fol. 1v).
62	1533 Nov. 2	Giovanni Battista di Bartolomeo da Sangallo, ²⁶⁴ [architect], [1496]–1548 ²⁶⁵	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I201:37, fol. 136v); 28 Oct. 1547: returned (I202:38, fol. 145v); between 28 Oct. and 30 Nov. 1548: payment to Celestines for an office and a mass (I202:38, fol. 252v). ²⁶⁶
63	1533 Dec. 7	Bartolomeo di Zanobi Geti [Ghetti], ²⁶⁷ <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1536] ²⁶⁸	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (I201:37, fol. 137v).
64	1533 Dec. 21	Giovanni di Bartolomeo, ²⁶⁹ <i>scultore</i>	Member, paid dues (I201:37, fol. 137v).

²⁶⁰ She is named “Maria di Matteo battiloro” in this instance, but clearly identified a year later as “Maria donna di Matteo battiloro” (I202:39, fol. 86v).

²⁶¹ For documents regarding his work: Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 415. Resided in Via Laura in 1552 (BNCF, III.I.120, fol. 159v).

²⁶² Crocini married Giovanni Battista del Tasso's daughter Camilla (Vasari [note 1], III, p. 355). Therefore, his return to the Scalzo in 1550 might be connected with that of Tasso shortly before (see below, no. 69).

²⁶³ Possibly the goldsmith Piero di Martino di Giovanni who matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 14 March 1531 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 449, 472).

²⁶⁴ Joined the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista Decollato, Rome, in 1531, to which he bequeathed his *Observations on Vêtruvio* (Jean Shepard Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia: The Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 1982, pp. 20f.).

²⁶⁵ Clausese [(note 257), III, p. 281] dated Battista's death erroneously 1552.

²⁶⁶ Dates on this page jump from 8 Sept. to 30 Nov.; a cross-reference written a few lines above links to an *entrata* of 28 Oct.

²⁶⁷ Called Baccio Gotti by Vasari ([note 2], IV, p. 248). He was a member of the Compagnia di San Luca and resided in the parish of San Lorenzo (Louis Waldman, “A New Identification for the Master of Copenhagen ‘Charity’: Bartolomeo Ghetti in Tuscany and France”, in: *BM*, CXLV [2003], pp. 4–13: pp. 7f.). He was also a member of the Compagnia di San Sebastiano (Pilliod [note 6], pp. 92, 251, note 61: ASF, CRSPL, 1869:4, fol. 40, 4 Sept. 1525).

²⁶⁸ Waldman (note 267), pp. 4–13: 8.

²⁶⁹ This person is possibly identical with Giovanni di Bartolomeo da Montelupo; however, Montelupo appears as a novice in 1540 (see below, no. 78).

65	1534 Feb. I	Francesco di Giuliano da Sangallo [called Il Margotta], ²⁷⁰ [sculptor, painter, architect, medalist, military engineer], [1494–1576]	Expelled ²⁷¹ (1195:13, fol. 3v, 1197:21, fol. 6v); 2 Feb. 1539: returned (1195:13, fol. 27r); ²⁷² 16 March 1539: return fee delivered by Berto d'Agnolo (no. 56) (1202:38, fol. 39v).
66	1534 Feb.	Lorenzo di Domenico Camerini, ²⁷³ <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice, with benefits (1195:13, fol. 5r); 4 Aug. 1560: returned, dues delivered by Domenico di Cosimo <i>fabbro</i> (1202:39, fol. 20v).
67	1534 March 22	Filippo di Baccio d'Agnolo [Baglioni], ²⁷⁴ <i>legnaiolo</i> , [sculptor, architect], [d. 1569]	Novice, with benefits, sponsored by Antonio Buttasassi (no. 36) (1195:13, fol. 7r, 1197:21, fol. 9v); 30 June 1555: returned (1195:13, fol. 108r); 30 Oct. 1564: returned (1197:22, fol. 21r); 1565, probably 2 Feb.: Lorenza di Filippo di Baccio d'Agnolo paid dues (1202:39, fol. 159v); 29 Aug. 1569: Servites perform an office with a sung mass (1195:14, fol. 49r).
68	1535 Feb. 14	Lorenzo di Giovanni Larciani/dell'Arciano, ²⁷⁵ <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1553]	Novice (1195:13, fol. 11r, 1197:21, fol. 13v); 7 April 1549: returned (1195:13, fol. 81r); was paid for painting candles, e. g. on 17 Feb. 1544 (1202:38, fol. 235r).
69	1535 March 14	Giovanni Battista di Marco del Tasso, <i>legnaiolo, capomaestro della parte guelfa</i> , [architect], [1500–8 May 1555]	Novice (1197:21, fol. 15r, 1195:13, fol. 12r); 21 March 1535: paid <i>entrata</i> (1201:37, fol. 153r); 25 Dec. 1549: returned (1197:21, cnn., ²⁷⁶ 1195:13, fol. 83v); 21 Dec. 1549: paid return deposit completed payment 5 Jan. 1550 (1202:38, fol. 168r–v); 20 May 1555: payment to Servites for an office (1199:29, fol. 91des).
70	1535 April 4	Giovanni d'Antonio di Lorenzo, ²⁷⁷ <i>scarpellino</i>	Novice (1197:21, fol. 15v; 1195:13, fol. 12v).

²⁷⁰ Membership recognised by Nicholas Eckstein, “The Religious Confraternities of High Renaissance Florence: Crisis or Continuity?”, in: *Rituals, Images, and Words* (note 7), pp. 9–32: 29f. Member of the Accademia degli Umidi from Jan. 1545 (Heikamp [note 162], p. 141, note 1). Reformer of the AdD in 1562; documented as a member until 1575 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 290).

²⁷¹ Charged with acting against the Scalzo’s statutes, including having a new set of statutes written in a new book, and removing pages from the original statutes containing the rule prohibiting changes to them. According to the record of his expulsion, in addition to other, unspecified “scandali”, he attempted to institute a governor of his choice who would hold the position for a year, expelled and gave “unjust” correction to many *confratelli*, and took the *squittino* from the cupboard and dumped it amongst the rubbish in the *luogo vecchio*.

²⁷² The entry indicates that Francesco d'Antonio da San Gallo returned;

however, on 16 March 1539 Berto d'Agnolo delivered the return fee for Francesco di Giuliano da San Gallo.

²⁷³ MAP, BIA, Person ID 1893.

²⁷⁴ Carved the frame for Bronzino’s *Pietà* altarpiece (Louis Alexander Waldman, “Bronzino’s Uffizi ‘Pietà’ and the Cambi Chapel in S. Trinita, Florence”, in: *BM*, CXXXIX [1997], pp. 94–102: 98, note 20, p. 102, doc. 4).

²⁷⁵ First identified simply as Lorenzo di Giovanni *dipintore*, this most likely records the entrance of Larciani, son of Giovanni di Lorenzo Larciani and Nannina di Tommaso del Verrocchio, and nephew of the painter Giovanni Battista del Verrocchio (no. 22; Waldman 1998 [note 221], p. 462). Lorenzo delivered his uncle’s fee to the Scalzo 25 Feb. 1536 (1202:38, fol. 6v), only a few days after the entry of this Lorenzo di Giovanni *dipintore*. Larciani is clearly named introducing Gianjacopo d'Antonio *dipintore* into the Scalzo (see no. 75). Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Cavallucci [note 256], p. 17 [1535]).

71	1535 Aug. 1	Bartolomeo di Giovanni, <i>trombone</i>	Novice (1197:21, fol. 16v); 24 Aug. 1535: paid <i>entrata</i> (1201:37, fol. 159r); 29 Aug. 1535: exempted from fees and other confraternal expenses, but without loss of offices or benefits (1197:21, fol. 17r, 1195:13, fol. 13v).
72	1535 Oct. 17	Matteo di Maestro Giovanni, ²⁷⁸ <i>trombone</i>	Novice, with benefits (1197:21, fol. 17v; 1195:13, fol. 14v).
73	1535 Dec. 25	Bastiano di Lorenzo, ²⁷⁹ <i>dipintore</i>	Novice (1195:13, fol. 14v); paid <i>entrata</i> the same day (1202:38, fol. 3v).
74	1535 Dec. 25	Domenico di Baccio d'Agnolo [Baglioni], <i>legnaiolo</i> [architect], [1510–1554]	Novice (1195:13, fol. 14v); 2 Feb. 1536: paid <i>entrata</i> (1202:38, fol. 5v); 1 April 1554: payment to Servites for office (1199:29, fol. 91sin). ²⁸⁰
75	1537 June 24	Gianjacopo d'Antonio di Ser Jacopo ²⁸¹ [Mattoncini, da Castrocaro], <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1581]	Novice, sponsored by Lorenzo Larciani (no. 68) (1197:21, fol. 22v, 1195:13, fol. 21v); 23 or 24 June 1537: "Lorenzo di Giovanni dipintore" delivered deposit for his <i>entrata</i> (1202:38, fol. 22r); occasionally painted candles for the Scalzo, e. g. 1 Feb. 1545 (1199:29, fol. 45v) and emblems for the habits: 25 July 1541 (1195:13, fol. 42r).
76	1539 June 15	Niccolò di Bastiano da Montecarlo, <i>dipintore</i>	Novice, without benefits (1195:13, fol. 28r); 20 July 1539: paid <i>entrata</i> (1202:38, fol. 44r); 1 May 1543: returned (1197:21, fol. 37v, 1195:13, fol. 55r), occasionally painted candles for the Scalzo, e. g.: 10 March 1555 (1195:13, fol. 105r).
77	1540 Feb. 2	Giovanni Battista di Girolamo da Frascoli, ²⁸² <i>legnaiolo</i> , d. 1592	Member, his brother Piero (no. 43) delivered his dues (1202:38, fol. 51v); was paid on various occasions for providing wood and producing furniture and fittings, e. g. he was paid 3 June 1564 105 lire and 8 soldi for "2 pezi di sederi con loro spaliere factoci e mese nel ricetta primo" (1202:39, fol. 136r; see also fols. 134v, 135r [20 Feb. 1564, 2 April 1564]; for the supply of wood for the production and maintenance of the confraternity's

Resided in Via delle Santucce (today dell'Agnolo) between Via della Rosa and Via Verdi, 1552 (Waldman 1998 [note 221], p. 462, note 54; BNCF, II.I.120, fol. 141v). See also: Waldman (note 135), pp. 36, 45, notes 63–65.

²⁷⁶ The entrance in 1549 was first noted by Ferretti (note 1), pp. 82 and 85, note I00.

²⁷⁷ Possibly identical with Gino d'Antonio Lorenzi (no. 109).

²⁷⁸ MAP, BIA, Person ID 13890.

²⁷⁹ Possibly Bastiano di Lorenzo da Sangallo called Aristotile, although he joined as a novice in 1549 (see no. 99).

²⁸⁰ His body was delivered to San Lorenzo on 27 March 1554 (Louis A. Waldman, "Patronage, Lineage, and Self-Promotion in Maso da San Friano's

Naples 'Double Portrait'", in: *I Tatti Studies*, X [2005], pp. 149–172: 150, note 3), only a few days before the Scalzo's payment.

²⁸¹ Full name recorded when he made a fee payment on 2 Sept. 1537 (1202:38, fol. 23v). Matriculated into the Arte dei Medici e Speciali, 1538, Popolo di Sant'Apollinare. Member of the Compagnia di San Luca, and of the AdD 1563–1581. Lived in "Via Santa Caterina capo Via Mozza" (Colnaghi [note 61], p. 179; Zangheri [note 65], pp. 209f.).

²⁸² "Da Frascoli" does not appear in the first reference, but his identification with Battista da Frascoli is suggested by the delivery of the dues by his brother Piero (no. 43). He may have joined 2 March 1539, introduced by Santi di Raffaello Balducci *muratore* (1195:13, fol. 27r). His identifier, 'da

			furnishings see 1202:39, fol. 131r [12 March 1563]; 1203:40, fol. 295r [27 Dec. 1575]; “Elisabetta di Giovanni Battista da Frascoli” joined 2 Feb. 1582 (1203:40, fol. 131r); 12 Aug. 1592: payment for office (1200:31, fol. 26r).
78	1540 Feb. 29	Giovanni di Bartolomeo da Montelupo, ²⁸³ <i>dipintore</i> [and sculptor], [1495–1544]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Gianjacopo d’Antonio, <i>dipintore</i> (no. 75) (1195:13, fol. 31r); payment for <i>entratura</i> delivered by “Zanobi” ²⁸⁴ 14 March and 18 April 1540 (1202:38, fols. 53r, 54v); June 1542: painted candles in lieu of fees (1202:38, fols. 81r, 226r); 11 Nov. 1544: payment for office (1199:29, fol. 44r).
79	1540 March 7	Domenico di Bernardo Pistocchi, ²⁸⁵ <i>muratore</i>	Novice, with benefits of his father (no. 16) and brother, ²⁸⁶ sponsored by Gismondo di Benedetto <i>barbiere</i> (1195:13, fol. 31v).
80	1540 April 4	Bastiano di Niccolò, ²⁸⁷ <i>dipintore</i>	Novice, with benefits, sponsored by Santi di Biagio Comparini (1195:13, fol. 33r).
81	1540 April 4	Ruberto di Filippo Lippi, ²⁸⁸ <i>dipintore</i> , [1500–27 June 1574]	Novice, with benefits of his father (no. 8), sponsored by Tommaso di Bartolomeo (no. 23) (1195:13, fol. 33r); 2 May 1540: paid <i>entratura</i> (1202:38, fol. 55r); 1 May 1542: paid for painting theatre scenery (1202:38, fol. 225r); ²⁸⁹ 17 Feb. 1554: returned, aged 45 (1195:13, fol. 100r, 1197:21 cnn.); 1566–1574: was consistently paid for painting the candles for the <i>Candelaia</i> (1202:39, fols. 142v, 146v, 151r, 156v, 160r, 164r, 168r, 173v; 1203:40, fol. 288r); 19 July 1574: office with sung mass performed in the confraternity’s oratory and orders given for mass to be said (1195:14, fol. 73v).

Frascoli’, was included when he paid fees 20 Oct. 1560 (1202:39, fol. 22v). For documentation regarding his work, see Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), p. 221; Waldman (note 134), p. 784, doc. 1392; Ferretti (note 112), p. 75.

²⁸³ Son of Baccio and brother of Raffaello da Montelupo, both sculptors and architects. Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman [note 212], pp. 129, 140). Waldman notes that while Milanese had identified him as a painter, he has only found documents identifying him as a sculptor (Waldman [note 208], p. 126). Giovanni may have practiced both occupations.

²⁸⁴ Probably Portigiani (no. 42), who delivered a payment for Montelupo, 5 Dec. 1540 (1202:38, fol. 61r).

²⁸⁵ Named *capomaestro dell’Arte dei Mercatanti di Calimala e dell’Opera di San Giovanni Battista* with Tribolo in 1541 (Cecchi [note 45], p. 36, note 27).

²⁸⁶ Giovanni di Bernardo Pistocchi, *legnaiolo*, paid his *entratura* on 25 June 1525 (1201:37, fol. 41r).

²⁸⁷ Could be the father or son of Niccolò di Bastiano da Montecarlo who joined the previous year (see no. 76). A Bastiano di Niccolò da Montecarlo *dipintore* joined – or rejoined – the Scalzo on 1 April 1548 (below, no. 95).

A Bastiano di Niccolò *dipintore* was living in Via Ghibellina in 1552 (BNCF, III.120, fol. 140r).

²⁸⁸ Membership first identified by O’Brien (Patrizia Zambrano/Jonathan Katz Nelson, *Filippino Lippi*, Milan 2004, p. 68, note 28). Member of the Compagnia di San Luca in 1535 (Cavallucci [note 256], p. 18) and of the AdD 1562–1574 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 185). Joined the Compagnia di San Sebastiano on 15 May 1525 (ASF, CRSPL, San Sebastiano, 1869:4, fol. 39v), where he held a number of significant roles while a member of the Scalzo. Of particular note, in the period in which he is known to have had concurrent membership, he was elected *governatore* in May and September of 1540, *approvatore del desco* in Sept. 1541, *sagrestano* in Jan. 1542, and was nominated among the *infermieri e maestri di novizi* Sept. 1542 (for these and other roles held in San Sebastiano, see ASF, CRSPL, San Sebastiano, 1869:4, fols. 111v, 117v, 118v, 120v, 121r, 124r, 125r, 126r, 127v, 131v, 135v, 159v, 160r). He resided in Via degli Angioli in 1552 (BNCF, III.120, fol. 160r).

²⁸⁹ “[...] a Ruberto di Filippo dipintore lire tre soldi dieci tanti sono per avere dipinto allo aparato per la comedia alla nostra gita alla Sala del Papa tanti se gli fanno buoni a suo conto per commessione del ghovernatore.”

82	1541 Feb. 2	Pierfrancesco di Jacopo di Sandro [Foschi], ²⁹⁰ <i>dipintore</i> , [1502–1567]	Novice (1195:13, fol. 39r; 1197:21, fol. 25r); paid <i>entratura</i> 13 and 25 March 1541 (1202:38, fols. 64v, 65r).
83	1541 March 6	Cipriano di Lancillotto, <i>cantore</i>	Member, paid dues (1202:38, fol. 64v); 19 Feb. 1542: named among the singers, <i>tassato</i> at a lower rate (1195:13, fol. 46v).
84	1541 April 17	Alessandro di Bernardo Lastricati, ²⁹¹ <i>fonditore</i> , d. 1575	Novice (1195:13, fol. 41v, 1197:21, fol. 26v); 5 June 1541: paid part of his <i>entratura</i> (1202:38, fol. 67v); 2 Feb. 1564: his wife Brigida joined (1202:39, fol. 73v); 1 Dec. 1575: payment to Servites for sung mass and the masses of san Gregorio (1199:30, fol. 144des).
85	1541 April 17	Lorenzo di Niccolò di Bastiano or Lorenzo di Bastiano, ²⁹² <i>dipintore</i>	Novice (1197:21, fol. 26v; 1195:13, fol. 41v); payment for <i>entratura</i> delivered the same day by Domenico di Bartolomeo (no. 54) (1202:38, fol. 66r).
86	1541 July 25	Bernardo d'Antonio di Bernardo, ²⁹³ <i>muratore</i>	Novice (1195:13, fol. 42r); 6 Aug. 1553: returned (1197:21, cnn.).
87	1542 March 5	Paolo di Giovanni Francesco, <i>orafo</i>	Novice, with benefits (1195:13, fol. 47r, 1197:21, fol. 30v).
88	1542 May 3	Giovanluigi di Filippo di Baccio d'Agnolo [Baglioni], <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice (1197:21, fol. 32v); 4 June 1542 part of his <i>entratura</i> delivered by Filippo Baglioni (no. 67) (1202:38, fol. 80v).
89	1542 May 3	Giuliano di Salvatore, ²⁹⁴ <i>scarpellino</i>	Novice, sponsored by Piero di Giuliano <i>scarpellino</i> (1197:21, fol. 33r); 1 April 1554: returned (1197:21, cnn.).

²⁹⁰ Pupil of Andrea del Sarto (above, no. 15). Reformer of the Compagnia di San Luca, member of AdD until 1567 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 135; Roberto Nuccetelli, s. v. Foschi, Pier Francesco, in: *DBI*, XLIX, Rome 1997, pp. 439–442: 440). He resided in Piazza di Santo Spirito, 1552 (BNCF, III.120, fol. 108r).

²⁹¹ Alessandro assisted his brother Zanobi (no. 120) to cast the *Mercury* for Palazzo Ridolfi (Marco Spallanzani, “The Courtyard of Palazzo Tornabuoni-Ridolfi and Zanobi Lastricati’s Bronze Mercury”, in: *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXXVII [1978], pp. 6–21: 13f, 20). Member of the Compagnia di San Sebastiano (ASF, CRSPL, I869:4, fol. 159v, 1 May 1553, second *consigliere*). He resided in Borgo Pinti toward San Piero Maggiore, 1552 (BNCF, III.120, fol. 155v). He appears in the books of the Capitani della Parte as the *maestro di artiglieria* (for example, ASF, Capitani di Parte Guelfa, Numeri neri, 9, Stantiamenta, fols. 128v, 131r, 132r, 134r, 135v, 138r, 139v: 7 April, 2 June, 30 June, 31 July, 2 Sept., 1 Oct., 3 Nov. 1551).

²⁹² 1195:13, fol. 41v, provides an alternative patronymic “di Bastiano”. This was written in different ink and above the patronymic “Nicholo”;

however, when he paid the *entratura*, he appears simply as Lorenzo di Bastiano, suggesting that Niccolò was mistaken as a patronymic. He is thus possibly to be identified with Lorenzo di Bastiano Corrieri, who is documented as a member of the Compagnia di San Luca in 1535 (Cavallucci [note 256], p. 17).

²⁹³ Probably Bernardo di Antonio Mossi called “di Monna Mattea”, who has been identified among the *capomaestri della Parte* (Cerchiai/Quiriconi [note 154], p. 205). In 1591, Antonio and Giovanni Battista di Bernardo Mossi joined the Scalzo with benefits of their father (Appendix, nos. 230, 231), so I would suggest that their father is to be identified with this person. Camilla di Bernardo Mossi joined the Scalzo 25 March 1590 (1203:40, fol. 246v). For documents relating to Bernardo Mossi’s work see Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 415; Mark Rosen, “A New Chronology of the Construction and Restoration of the Medici Guardaroba in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, LIII (2009), pp. 285–308: 294f.

²⁹⁴ Possibly the *scarpellino* of this name identified working in the Medici construction sites. See Romby/Ferretti (note 140), p. 174.

90	1543 April 15	Simone di Domenico Colombini, ²⁹⁵ <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice (1197:21, cnn. 1195:13, fol. 55r); 15 Aug. 1567: produced, in lieu of fees, “uno segnio intagliatto da dua lattì per uno San G[i]ovani per segniare pane” (1202:39, fol. 124r, <i>entrata</i> , fol. 148v, <i>uscita</i>).
91	1544 Dec. 25	Domenico di Francesco Conti, ²⁹⁶ <i>dipintore</i>	Novice, paid <i>entrata</i> (1202:38, fol. 113r).
92	1545 Oct. 4	Stefano di Giovanni di Simone, ²⁹⁷ <i>orafo</i>	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Piero da Frascoli (no. 43) (1197:21, cnn.).
93	1546 March 7	Marco di Piero, ²⁹⁸ <i>scultore</i>	Novice, without benefits (1195:13, fol. 69v, 1197:21, cnn.).
94	1547 March 27	Francesco di Gismondo, <i>orafo</i>	Novice (1195:13, fol. 74r, 1197:21 cnn.).
95	1548 April 1	Bastiano di Niccolò da Montecarlo, ²⁹⁹ <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1564]	Novice (1195:13, fol. 76v); 5 May 1555: returned, sponsored by Santi Buglioni (no. 12) (1195:13, fol. 108r); 17 Nov. 1566: Scalzo paid to find his will (1199:30, fol. 82sin).
96	1549 Sept. 15	Michelangelo di Santi di Michele Viviani <i>alias</i> Buglioni, ³⁰⁰ <i>scultore</i> , <i>linaiuolo</i> , [b. 1534]	Novice (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 82v); 21 Sept. 1549: paid part of his <i>entrata</i> (1202:38, fol. 166r); 23 Feb. 1556: returned, sponsored by Lorenzo di Tomaso <i>lanciaio</i> (1197:21, fol. 77v).
97	1549 Dec. 25	Niccolò di Raffaello called Il Tribolo, ³⁰¹ [sculptor, architect, hydraulic engineer, theatre spectacle designer and garden designer], [1497–7 Sept. 1550]	Novice (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 83v); 21 Dec. 1549: paid deposit (1202:38, fol. 168r); 28 Oct. 1550: payment to Celestines for an office and mass (1202:38, fol. 261r). ³⁰²

²⁹⁵ Karl Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, Munich 1923, I, pp. 420, 432; Herman-Walther Frey, *Neue Briefe von Giorgio Vasari*, Munich 1940, pp. 225, 229, 234; Waldman (note 134), p. 477, doc. 833. Resided with Giuliano and Domenico di Baccio d’Agnolo in Via Caterina in 1552 (Alessandro Cecchi, “Percorso di Baccio d’Agnolo legnaiuolo e architetto fiorentino: dal ballatoio di Santa Maria del Fiore alle ultime opere, 2”, in: *Antichità Viva*, XXIX [1990], 2/3, pp. 40–57: 57, note 76). Collaborated with Giuliano on the Choir at Arezzo in 1570 (Maddalena Trionfi Honorati, “Note sui maestri legnaioli”, in: *Le arti del Principato mediceo*, ed. by Candace Adelson, Florence 1980, pp. 371–382: 378).

²⁹⁶ Pupil of Andrea del Sarto (no. 15). Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Cavallucci [note 256], p. 16).

²⁹⁷ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 7 Jan. 1549 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 450).

²⁹⁸ Possibly Marco di Piero di Marco *scultore*, from the Popolo of San Lorenzo, who, according to a notarial document dated 28 July 1547, married Elisabetta, the daughter of Santi Buglioni (no. 12). The document regarded the dowry owed to Elisabetta’s husband, and indicated that the

original contract was drawn up in 1545 (ASF, NA, 223, fols. 65v–66v, notary: Benedetto di Francesco Albizi). He is perhaps also identifiable with Marco di Piero Guarnacci (or Guarnaldi: ASF, AdD, 123, fols. 110v, 145v, 185v), *scultore* and *formatore*, a member of the AdD, documented in its books 1564–1597 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 166) and/or Marco di Piero *scultore* who was living in Via de’ Martelli in 1552 (BNCF, III.120, fol. 168r).

²⁹⁹ A Bastiano di Niccolò *dipintore* joined the Scalzo in 1540 (see no. 80), thus this could record Bastiano da Montecarlo returning, or the earlier reference could refer to his grandfather. His father was a member (see no. 76). Montecarlo matriculated into the Medici e Speciali 6 Feb. 1518 (Colnaghi [note 61], p. 37). He was a member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman [note 212], p. 139). For his work in Santa Maria del Fiore see Waldman (note 134), pp. 504f, docs. 901, 904; Michael J. Amy, “The Revised Attributions and Dates of Two 15th Century Mural Cycles for the Cathedral of Florence”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLII (1998), pp. 176–189: 185, note 18.

³⁰⁰ Son of Santi Buglioni (no. 12), Marquand identified him as a linen merchant or a sculptor ([note 116], p. XXXIV); both of these trades

98	1549 Dec. 25	Davide di Raffaello di Francesco Fortini, ³⁰³ <i>muratore</i> , [architect, hydraulic and military engineer, <i>capomaestro</i> of the Parte Guelfa], [ca. 1515/1520–1594]	Novice (1197:21, cnn.); 21 Dec. 1549: paid deposit (1202:38, p. 168); 1 May 1567: returned (1195:14, fol. 37r); 28 May 1592: his wife “Dianora di Davitte” ³⁰⁴ paid dues (1203:41, fol. 1v); 21 Dec. 1594: payment for mass said at the <i>altare privilegiato</i> (1203:41, fol. 293r, <i>uscita</i>). ³⁰⁵
99	1549 Dec. 25	Bastiano di Lorenzo called Aristotile [da Sangallo], ³⁰⁶ [architect, painter, engineer of the Parte Guelfa, scenographer], [1481–1551]	Novice (1195:13, fol. 83v).
100	1550 Feb. 23	Dionigi di Matteo [Nigetti], ³⁰⁷ <i>legnaiolo</i> , [1527–14 Aug. 1600]	Novice, aged 22, sponsored by his father (no. 57) (1195:13, fol. 84r, 1197:21, cnn.); 20 Aug. 1568: was paid 22 lire for an intarsia cross for the altar, with its casquet, and two intarsia candelabra (1202:39, fol. 153r); 2 Feb. 1569: his wife Maria joined (1202:39, fol. 145r); 4 Jan. 1572: was paid 5 lire for the base and the tabernacle of the “bambino di gesso” [made by Santi Buglioni, see above, no. 12] (1202:39, fol. 173r); 21 June 1573: was paid “per una tavoletta delo proveditore dove stano schritti gl’infermieri” and “per una tavola di nocie da cho[n]tarcia e’ danari et sta sul descho del chamarl[in]gho” (1203:40, fol. 284v); 2 Feb. 1582: his daughter Margherita joined (1203:40, fol. 130r); 22 June 1585: was paid 8 lire “per uno nome di Iesu per il nostro segnio cioè il leg[n]ame intag[li]atto” (1203:40, fol. 344v); 2 Feb. 1587: his daughter Elisabetta joined (1203:40, fol. 200v); 2 Feb. 1596: his daughters Dianora and Alessandra pay dues (1203:41, p. 42) ³⁰⁸ 30 Aug. 1600: office with sung mass celebrated (1195:15, fol. 25r).

are mentioned in the Scalzo documents (see, e.g., 1195:13, fol. 82v, and 1202:38, fol. 169v).

³⁰¹ Membership noted by Ferretti (note I), pp. 82 and 85, note 100. Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Cavallucci [note 256], p. 17).

³⁰² An unpublished record from the Santissima Annunziata’s *Libro dei mortori 1545–1557* (Archivio della Santissima Annunziata, Florence) confirms his burial in the church (fol. 33r: “A di 8 detto [Settembre 1550] fu seppellito el Tribolo scultore populo di San Piero Maggiore. Ebbi in falcole et candelee et di mano alli frati libre 16 di cera. Et più ebbi al detto mortorio due torchi che pesorno libre 14 che cavato la quarta resta alla Sagrestia libre 11.6”).

³⁰³ Membership noted by Ferretti (note I), pp. 82 and 85, note 100; Baldini (note 44), p. 26, note 19. It has not previously been noted, however, that in the first entries in the Scalzo’s books Davide was erroneously registered with the patronymic “Francesco”; this was his grandfather’s name (Ferretti [note 112], p. 74). The correct patronymic was given later when he returned 1 May 1567. He became *capomaestro* for the Parte Guelfa in 1550 (Giuseppe La Tosa, s. v. Fortini, Davide, in: *DBI*, XL, Catanzaro 1997, pp. 192–197: 192).

³⁰⁴ Tribolo’s daughter (Vasari [note I], VI, p. 99, note 1).

³⁰⁵ Requested burial in the Scalzo’s sepulchre, Santissima Annunziata (ASF, Notarile Moderni, 8012, Oratio Manni, fols. 14v–16r: 3 Nov. 1594). Santa Felicita’s *Libro dei morti* confirms that his wish was fulfilled (Ferretti Olivari [note I], p. 95, note 70).

³⁰⁶ Joined the Compagnia di San Sebastiano 11 June 1517 (ASF, CRSPL, 1869:4, fol. 3r; Pilliod [note 6], pp. 92, 251, note 61). Member of the Compagnia di San Luca (Geronimus/Waldman [note 212], pp. 127f., 139, 155f., notes 112, 113). Vasari ([note 2], V, p. 403) noted that he died on 31 May 1551 and was buried in the Santissima Annunziata. A document identified by Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina confirms the death date (*Aristotile da San Gallo e i disegni degli Uffizi*, Rome 1990, p. 31, note 100). However, in his will of 21 March 1551 he requested burial in San Marco (ASF, NA, 17165, fols. 238–242).

³⁰⁷ Dionigi was a close collaborator of Vasari (Rosen [note 293], pp. 295–298). He introduced Ippolito di Cristofano Nigetti into the Scalzo on 19 Feb. 1595. The latter joined with the benefits of his uncle, thus he was probably Dionigi’s nephew (1195:15, fol. 10v, 1197:23, fol. 4v).

³⁰⁸ Dianora was the daughter who married Domenico Baldocci (Luciano Berti, “Matteo Nigetti, I”, in: *Rivista d’Arte*, XXVI [1950], pp. 157–184: 158f.

101	1550 Feb. 23	Bartolomeo/Baccio di Filippo, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1528	Novice, aged 22, sponsored by Santi Buglioni (no. 12) (1197:21, cnn.), who also delivered his <i>entratura</i> the same day (1202:38, fol. 171r).
102	1550 Feb. 23	Giovanni di Bartolomeo, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1524	Novice, aged 26, sponsored by Santi Buglioni (no. 12) (1197:21, cnn.), who also delivered his <i>entratura</i> the same day (1202:38, fol. 171r).
103	1550 Feb. 23	Zanobi di Bastiano, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1525	Novice, aged 25, sponsored by Niccolò da Montecarlo (no. 76) (1197:21, cnn.).
104	1550 May 3	Piero di Giovanni di Tommaso, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1528	Novice, aged 22, sponsored by Tommaso di Francesco <i>calzolaio</i> (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 85r), paid deposit for <i>entratura</i> the same day (1202:38, fol. 173v); 1 March 1562: his wife Maria paid <i>entrata</i> (1202:39, fol. 46v).
105	1550 May 18	Baccio di Filippo di Baccio d'Agnolo Baglioni, ³⁰⁹ <i>legnaiolo</i>	Member, paid dues for his father (no. 67), then possibly his own (1202:38, fol. 174r); 30 Oct. 1564: returned ³¹⁰ (1195:14, fol. 27v; 1197:22, fol. 21r); 17 Dec. 1564: paid return fee (1202:39, fol. 84v); 18 Dec. 1569: his wife Maria joined (1202:39, fol. 156v). ³¹¹
106	1550 Sept. 7	Niccolò di Raffaello, ³¹² <i>scultore</i>	Novice, completes payment for his <i>entratura</i> (1202:38, fol. 177r).
107	1552 May 15	Amadeo di Vincenzo Baccelli, ³¹³ [sculptor], b. ca. 1520	Novice, aged 32, with benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Girolamo <i>fabbro</i> (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 94r).
108	1553 May 1	Amadeo di Vincenzo, ³¹⁴ <i>scultore</i>	Novice, with benefits, sponsored by Piero da Frascoli (no. 43) (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 96v).

note 3) as indicated by a reference to her as his widow, 2 Feb. 1608 (1203:41, fol. 197r).

³⁰⁹ Grandson of Baccio d'Agnolo, possibly identical with the Baccio di Filippo who joined the Scalzo on 23 February 1550 (see no. 101). He appears in a document of 17 March 1572 receiving money from Bartolomeo Ammannati (ASF, CRSPL, 1037:242, fol. 221r).

³¹⁰ His father Filippo Baglioni and Michelangelo Viviani returned at this same meeting (Appendix, nos. 67, 96).

³¹¹ It cannot be excluded that this entry (“Da Mona Maria donna di Bacio di Filippo legnaiuolo lire una per sua entrata”) refers to the wife of Baccio di Filippo Scherini (no. 136). However, appearing either side of it are *entratura* payments for the widow and the daughter of Baccio d'Agnolo (see above, no. 2 and note 207), and therefore it is more probable that the Baccio di Filippo in question is the latter's grandson.

³¹² Most likely Tribolo (no. 97). See discussion above, p. 368.

³¹³ Probably the same Amadeo Baccelli who worked for Bandinelli, but

was fired in Nov. 1550 for his ‘bad habits’. Nevertheless, he appears to have continued working on projects connected with Bandinelli (Waldman [note 134], docs. 758, 823, 937). Baccelli was *capomaestro* of the Capitani di Parte Guelfa (*ibidem*, doc. 1208, 23 April 1558). On Baccelli's work see also Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), p. 226.

³¹⁴ Possibly a re-entry: see no. 107.

³¹⁵ Maurizia Cicconi, s. v. Lorenzi, in: *DBI*, LXVI, Rome 2006, pp. 4–7: 4; Waldman (note 134), pp. 209–211, 226, 245f., 289, docs. 345, 369, 403, 476. Resided in Via Laura, in 1552 (BNCF, III.120, fol. 159r). His entry probably appears above at no. 70.

³¹⁶ The entrance of “Stoldo di Gino” into the Scalzo the same day supports the identity of this as Antonio Lorenzi. Member of the AdD 1563–1583. His records have been collected under two *voci* in Zangheri's list: Antonio di Giovanni *scultore, architetto* and Antonio di Gino Lorenzi *scultore* ([note 65], pp. 11, 186f.). For documentation of his work, see Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 417.

109	1553 July 2	Gino d'Antonio Lorenzi, ³¹⁵ <i>scultore</i>	Member, sponsors his sons Antonio and Stoldo (nos. 110, 111) (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 97v).
110	1553 July 2	Antonio di Gino Lorenzi, ³¹⁶ <i>scultore</i> , [1525–1583]	Novice, aged 30, with benefits, sponsored by his father (no. 109) (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 97v); 25 March 1574: returned, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (1197:22, fol. 43v, 1195:14, fol. 72v); 5 Oct. 1578: returned (1195:14, fol. 91r).
111	1553 July 2	Stoldo di Gino Lorenzi, ³¹⁷ <i>scultore</i> , [1533 or 1534–1583]	Novice, aged 22, with benefits, sponsored by his father (no. 109) (1197:21, cnn., 1195:13, fol. 97v); 1 May 1571: returned, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (1195:14, fol. 57v); paid part return fee same day (1202:39, fol. 178v); 5 Aug. 1571: his daughter Dianora joined (1202:39, fol. 182r).
112	1554 Oct. 21	Michelangelo di Giuseppe, <i>spadaio</i>	Novice (1195:13, fol. 103r); 25 Dec. 1554: his wife Elisabetta joined (1195:13, fol. 103v).
113	1555 April 21	Bastiano di Benedetto, ³¹⁸ <i>dipintore</i> , b. ca. 1525	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Biagio <i>bicchieraio</i> (1197:21, cnn.; 1195:13, fol. 106v).
114	1555 April 21	Cresci/Greci di Piero [Butteri], ³¹⁹ <i>dipintore</i> [and architect], ³²⁰ b. ca. 1533	Novice, aged 22, without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Biagio <i>bicchieraio</i> (1197:21, cnn. [Greci], 1195:13, fol. 106v [Chresci]).
115	1555 April 21	Giovanmaria di Piero Butteri, ³²¹ <i>dipintore</i> , b. ca. 1534 ³²² –[ca. 1608]	Novice, aged 21, without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Biagio <i>bicchieraio</i> (1192:21, cnn. 1195:13, fol. 107r).
116	1556 May 1	Antonio di Matteo Palai, ³²³ <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1516	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Piero da Frascoli (no. 43) (1195:13, fol. 117r); 28 Feb. 1574: his wife Margherita paid dues (1203:40, fol. 15r); 23 April 1585: his daughter Diamante received a dowry (1199:30, fol. 219v).

³¹⁷ Documented as a member of the AdD 1567–1573 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 188).

³¹⁸ Could be identifiable either with Bastiano di Benedetto Marsili called “de’ modelli” or with Sebastiano di Benedetto Modesti “pittore da Pistoia”, members of the AdD, who appear in its books between 1564–1579 and 1563–1588 respectively (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 202, 220); or, alternatively, with Bastiano di Benedetto del Gestra, a *garzone* of Pontormo who had a salary from the Medici court from 1551 to 1555 (Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici*, Florence 1993, p. 617). In 1552 a Bastiano di Benedetto *dipintore* was living in Piazza di San Lorenzo (BNCF, II.I.120, fol. 180r).

³¹⁹ Brother of Giovanmaria Butteri (no. 115). Little is known about Cresci. He was as a *garzone* of Bronzino in 1551/52 (Colnaghi [note 61], pp. 61f; Silvia Meloni Tikulja, s. v. Butteri, Giovanni Maria, in: *DBI*, XV, Rome 1972, pp. 615f.).

³²⁰ He is identified as both a painter and an architect in a letter to Duke Cosimo I from six members of the Accademia del Disegno in 1563 (Barzman [note 161], pp. 240f).

³²¹ The surname ‘Butieri’ [Butteri] is recorded only when he paid dues on 1 March 1562 (1202:39, fol. 46v); however, the entrance of “Cresci di Piero dipintore” the same day as Giovanmaria di Piero supports the identification of the latter as Giovanmaria Butteri. Documented as member of the AdD 1563–1606; made *accademico* in 1564 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 58).

³²² Butteri is generally believed to have been born ca. 1540 (Colnaghi [note 61], p. 61), which would make him about fifteen years old here, as opposed to twenty-one as he claimed.

³²³ Romby/Ferretti (note 140), pp. 165, 174, 180, 184. His brother Giovanni, also a *muratore*, joined 24 May 1556, aged 32 (1197:21, fol. 79v).

117	1556 Dec. 21	Zanobi di Filippo Montucci, ³²⁴ <i>orafo</i> , b. ca. 1531	Novice, aged 25, with benefits, sponsored by Francesco di Tomaso Le[n]zi (1197:21, fol. 82v, 1195:13, fol. 124r).
118	1557 Jan. 2	Jacopo di Bartolomeo da Pontormo, ³²⁵ <i>pittore</i> , [1494–1557]	Described as a member of the Scalzo in the <i>Moritori</i> of the Santissima Annunziata: “fu sepolto in chiesa nostra Maestro Jacopo da Pontormo, pittore eccellente, popolo di San Piero Maggiore et della Compagnia dello Scalzo” (ASSAF, <i>Libro dei moritori 1545–1557</i> , fol. 126v). ³²⁶
119	1557 Jan. 17 or Feb. 2	Benvenuto di Giovanni Cel[ini]/Cerini, ³²⁷ <i>orefice</i> , [1500–1571]	Novice, aged 54, without benefits, sponsored by Ruberto Lippi (no. 81) (1195:13, fol. 125 [Feb. 2], 1197:21, fol. 82v [Jan. 17]); 2 Feb. 1559: paid dues (1202:39, fol. 2v); 2 Feb. 1561: paid 2 lire for part of his “gratie” (1202:39, fol. 28v). ³²⁸
120	1557 Dec. 5	Zanobi di Bernardo Lastricati, ³²⁹ <i>fonditore, scultore</i> , [1508–1590]	Novice, aged 40, with benefits, sponsored by Matteo di Giovanni di Lione (1197:21, fol. 85v).
121	1558 April 3	Giovanni di Francesco da Montauto, ³³⁰ <i>muratore</i> , ca. 1522/23–before 2 Feb. 1579	Novice, aged 35/36, without benefits, sponsored by Luca di Bastiano <i>materassaio</i> (1197:21, fol. 87v [aged 35], 1195:13, fol. 137v [aged 36]); 2 Feb. 1579: his widow Francesca paid dues (1203:40, fol. 87v).
122	1558 April 3	Giuliano di Francesco da Montauto, ³³¹ <i>muratore</i> , ca. 1530–1608	Novice, aged 28, without benefits, sponsored by Luca di Bastiano <i>materassaio</i> (1197:21, fol. 87v, 1195:13, fol. 137v); 30 Nov/I Dec. 1573: returned, sponsored by Alfonso di Santi Castelli <i>muratore</i> (no. 156?) (1197:22, fol. 42v); 22 Aug. 1608: payment to Servites for office (1200:31, fol. 77v).

³²⁴ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 30 Aug. 1571 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 451).

³²⁵ Lived in Via Laura (Pilliod [note 6], p. 69).

³²⁶ Eugenio Casalini, “Il Chiostro dei Voti: devozione e arte”, in: *Una icona di famiglia: nuovi contributi di storia e d’arte sulla SS. Annunziata di Firenze*, ed. by *idem*, Florence 1998, pp. 114–127: 122f. Vasari claimed he was originally buried in the Santissima Annunziata’s forecourt, below his fresco of *La Visitazione* (Vasari [note 2], V, p. 333).

³²⁷ Cellini’s introduction into the Scalzo has recently been published by Dow 2009 (note 14), pp. 2f., who, however, lacking further documentation of his involvement, argued that Cellini decided not to continue with his membership. On 27 Feb. 1557, a few weeks after joining the Scalzo, Cellini was charged with sodomy and sentenced to imprisonment for four years, a term that was changed to house arrest (Luigi Greci, *Benvenuto Cellini nei delitti e nei processi fiorentini ricostruiti attraverso le leggi del tempo*, Turin 1930, pp. 65–67; Margaret A. Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Artistic Identity in Renaissance Italy*, New York 2003, pp. 23–30, 39–43). Sodomy was strictly

forbidden in the Scalzo’s statutes, which ruled that offenders be expelled (ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:I, fol. 10r). Nevertheless, Cellini reappears in the Scalzo’s books in 1559 and 1561 making payments to the Scalzo. Being under arrest so soon after joining, he would have been unable to attend earlier meetings. Moreover, since there is a lacuna in the Scalzo’s *entrata* and *uscita* records from 1551 to February 1559, evidence for earlier payments might be lost. Cellini is documented residing in Via Laura in 1552 (BNCF, II.I.120, fol. 159r) and was a member of the AdD 1563–1571 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 75).

³²⁸ The term “gratie” suggests that Cellini had been fined, but the reason is not specified.

³²⁹ His surname was recorded on 2 Feb. 1559 (1202:39, fol. 3r). Membership noted by Dow 2009 (note 14), pp. 3f. Lastricati resided in Borgo Pinti all his life (Giuseppe Palagi, *Di Zanobi Lastricati scultore e fonditore fiorentino del secolo XVI: ricordi e documenti*, Florence 1871, pp. 8f.) and was a member of the AdD 1563–1590 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 181). See also above at note 246.

123	1558 Oct. 28	Giuliano di Niccolò, ³³² <i>dipintore</i>	Novice, with benefits, sponsored by Matteo di Jacopo <i>tessitore</i> (I195:14, fol. 4r).
124	1558 Oct. 28/ Nov. I	Niccolò di Giuliano [del Niccolino], ³³³ <i>dipintore</i> , b. ca. 1536/1538–[d. 1613]	Novice, aged 20 or 22, sponsored by his father or Matteo di Jacopo <i>tessitore</i> , ³³⁴ has benefits (I197:22, fol. 4r); 2 Feb. 1591: returned, with benefits of his father (I197:22, fol. 87v; I195:14, fol. 144r); 21 Sept. 1600: painted four “anime di legnio per e’ reliqueri dipi[n]te di roso” in lieu of fees (I203:41, fols. 110r, 326r); 3 Dec. 1613: office with sung mass celebrated (I195:15, p. 77).
125	1559 May 7	Vettorio di Giovanni, <i>orafo</i> , b. ca. 1529	Novice, aged 30, with benefits, sponsored by Francesco di Matteo del Truglia (I197:22, fol. 7r, I195:14, fol. 6r).
126	1559 Nov. 30	Francesco di Giovanni [Camilliani], ³³⁵ <i>scultore</i> , [1524–1586]	Novice, aged 36, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo di Filippo Lasagnini (I195:14, fol. 8v; I197:22, fol. 8v); 19 Nov. 1559: paid his deposit (I202:39, fol. 11r).
127	1560 June 29	Giuseppe di Michelangelo Fei, <i>spadaio</i> , d. 1603	Novice, aged 24, with benefits of his father (no. 112) (I197:22, fol. 10r); 2 March 1603: payment for a <i> messa privilegiata</i> (I200:31, fol. 65r).
128	1560 Aug. 4	Raffaello di Niccolò Triboli, ³³⁶ [1529–1574]	Novice (I195:14, fol. 11r, I197:22, fol. 10v); paid deposit same day (I202:39, fol. 20v); 30 May 1574: buried in the Scalzo’s sepulchre, Santissima Annunziata (I203:40, fol. 18v, <i>entrata</i>); 2 June 1574: office with sung mass celebrated (I195:14, fol. 73v).
129	1560 Sept. 15	Antonio di Francesco, <i>sargiaio</i>	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his father (I197:22, fol. 10v, I195:14, fol. 12r); 6 Oct. 1560 paid <i>entrata</i> (I202:39, fol. 22v).

³³⁰ Frey 1940 (note 295), p. 145; MAP, BIA, Person ID 2505.

³³¹ For his work for Giambologna, see Mary Weitzel Gibbons/Gino Corti, “Documents concerning Giambologna’s Equestrian Monument of Cosimo I, a Bronze Crucifix and the Marble Centaur”, in: *BM*, CXX (1978), pp. 508–510: 510.

³³² There appears to be some confusion between the entry records for Giuliano di Niccolò *dipintore* and Niccolò di Giuliano *dipintore* (nos. 123 and 124). In one of the *Libri dei partiti e ricordi*, under the date 28 October, is recorded the entry of a Giuliano di Niccolò, introduced by Matteo di Jacopo (I195:14), and in the other one that of a Niccolò di Giuliano, introduced by his father (I197:22). Only a few days later, on 1 November, Niccolò di Giuliano appears again in both books, this time introduced by Matteo di Jacopo. I would suggest that two individuals are enrolling, but that the closeness of the dates of enrolment and the similarities of the names

resulted in the scribes mixing up the names and perhaps the sponsor in the records of 28 October.

³³³ See note 332 above. Matching death dates support the identity of this person with Niccolò di Giuliano del Niccolino, who was a pupil of Bastiano da Montecarlo (no. 95), matriculated into the Arte degli Speciali in 1561 (Colnaghi [note 61], p. 190) and is documented as member of the AdD 1561–1613 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 107f.).

³³⁴ According to the records of the AdD, Niccolò di Giuliano’s grandfather’s name was Niccolò, therefore it is possible that Giuliano di Niccolò *dipintore* (no. 123) was actually Niccolò’s father.

³³⁵ Member of the AdD 1563–1586 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 61).

³³⁶ Membership noted by Ferretti (note 1), p. 85, note 99. Following Tribolo’s death the administration of works at Castello were entrusted to Raffaello (Cecchi [note 45], p. 33).

130	1560 Nov. or Oct. 30	Giovanni di Francesco, ³³⁷ <i>orafo</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Michele di Biagio Lasdeo [= Laus Deo?] (1197:22, fol. 11r); 20 Dec. 1568: Servites perform the office of the dead with sung mass in the confraternity's oratory, and are commissioned to say the mass of san Gregorio (1195:14, fol. 44v); payment to Servites for the said office and mass (1199:30, 91sin).
131	1561 Nov. 2	Giovanni di Domenico di Lazzaro Fedini, ³³⁸ <i>dipintore</i>	Novice, aged 24, with benefits of his father, ³³⁹ sponsored by Bernardo Lastricati ³⁴⁰ (1197:22, fol. 14; 1195:14, fol. 15v); 14 March 1574: returned, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (1195:14, fol. 72r, 1197:22, fol. 43v).
132	1561 Nov. 16	Giovanmaria/Giovanni di Piero, ³⁴¹ <i>dipintore</i>	Novice, aged 24, without benefits, sponsored by Michelangelo di Giuseppe (no. 112) (1195:14, fol. 15v [Giovanni], 1197:22, fol. 14r [Giovanmaria]).
133	1562 Dec. 20	Alessandro di Vincenzo [Fei del Barbieri], <i>dipintore</i> , ³⁴² [1538 or 1543–1592]	Novice, aged 24, without benefits, sponsored by Niccolò del Niccolino (no. 124) (1197:22, fol. 17r, 1195:14, fol. 20r); 5 July 1592, returned, sponsored by Giovanni Battista da Ronta (no. 159) (1195:14, fol. 151r, 1197:22, fol. 93r); 9 June 1593: office celebrated (1195:15, fol. 4r).
134	1564 Feb. 2	Stefano di Giovanni Ganacci, <i>orafo</i> , b. ca. 1529	Novice, aged 35, with benefits, sponsored by Alessandro Lastricati (no. 84) (1195:14, fol. 25r, 1197:22, fol. 19v); paid <i>entratura</i> the same day (1202:39, fol. 73v).
135	1564 March 25	Baccio di Schalino, ³⁴³ <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1539	Novice, aged 25, sponsored by Alessandro Lastricati (no. 84) (1197:22, fol. 20, 1195:14, 25v).
136	1564 April 2	Baccio di Filippo Scherini, ³⁴⁴ <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice, paid <i>entratura</i> (1202:39, fol. 76v); 5 April 1573: returned, sponsored by Cesare di Carlo <i>bicchieraio</i> (1195:14, fol. 67v).
137	1565 Nov. 4	Domenico di Filippo, <i>scultore</i> , b. ca. 1530 or 1532	Novice, aged 33 or 35, without benefits, sponsored by Santi Buglioni (no. 12) (1195:14, fol. 32v [aged 33], 1197:22, fol. 23v [aged 35]).

³³⁷ Possibly the goldsmith Giovanni di Francesco di Gualberto Furci, who matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 8 July 1555 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 450).

³³⁸ Documented as a member of the AdD 1568–1600, made *accademico* in 1572 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 125). For his work, see Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 416.

³³⁹ Domenico di Lazzaro Fedini had joined the Scalzo on 29 Feb. 1540 (1195:13, fol. 31r) and was dead by 21 Dec. 1549 (1202:38, fol. 257v).

³⁴⁰ Father of Alessandro and Zanobi Lastricati (nos. 84, 120).

³⁴¹ A painter of the same name and patronymic – probably Butteri – had joined six years earlier (above, no. 115), declaring, however, that he was twenty-one.

³⁴² Member and *accademico* of the AdD 1564–1592 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 6). Introduced his father, Vincenzo di Giovanni *barbiere*, into the Scalzo on 1 May 1564 (1197:22, fol. 20r).

³⁴³ May record Baccio Scherini's entry (see below, no. 136).

³⁴⁴ Scherini's entry is probably recorded above (no. 135). Lucrezia di Baccio d'Agnolo and Filippo Scherini were married (Vasari [note I], V, p. 361) and

138	1566 March 17	Luigi di Francesco Masini, ³⁴⁵ <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1526	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Andrea di Michele <i>brigliaio</i> (1195:14, fol. 33v).
139	1566 Dec. 27	Francesco di Mariano, <i>dipintore</i> , b. ca. 1544	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Jacopo <i>legnaiolo</i> (1197:22, fol. 25, 1195:14, fol. 35v).
140	1567 Feb. 23	Jacopo di Chimenti, ³⁴⁶ <i>fonditore</i> , b. ca. 1517	Novice, aged 50, without benefits, sponsored by Alessandro Lastricati (no. 84) (1197:22, fol. 25r, 1195:14, fol. 36v); 1594–1595: payment for office (1200:31, fol. 40r).
141	1567 April 20	Jacopo di Meglio Coppi, ³⁴⁷ <i>dipintore</i> , [b. 1546] ³⁴⁸	Novice, aged 22, without benefits, sponsored: “per via del signore” ³⁴⁹ (1197:22, fol. 26r, 1195:14, fol. 37r).
142	1567 June 1	Girolamo di Zanobi Portigiani, ³⁵⁰ [bronze caster], ca. 1540–1592	Novice, aged 27, with benefits of his father (no. 42), who sponsored him (1195:14, fol. 38r, 1197:22, fol. 27r); 15 June 1567: paid <i>entrata</i> (1202:39, fol. 121v); 6 July 1567: his wife Lucrezia joined (1202:39, fol. 122v); 19 Aug. 1592: payment for office (1200:31, fol. 26r).
143	1567 July 6	Giovanni Battista di Domenico [Lorenzi], ³⁵¹ <i>scultore</i> , ca. 1531/1537–[1594]	Novice, aged 30 or 36, with benefits, sponsored by Santi Buglioni (no. 12) (1197:22, fol. 27v [aged 36], 1195:14, fol. 38r [aged 30]), who also delivered the <i>entrata</i> the same day (1202:39, fol. 122v).
144	1568 March 25	Vincenzo di Francesco, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1542	Novice, aged 26, without benefits, sponsored by Zanobi Portigiani (no. 42) (1197:22, fol. 30r).
145	1568 May 2	Giovanni di Marco called Lo Spagnolo, ³⁵² <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1531	Novice, aged 37, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista di Domenico (no. 143) (1195:14, fol. 42r, 1197:22, fol. 30v).

Baccio may be their son. For his work Waldman (note 134), *ad indicem*; Trionfi Honorati (note 295), p. 276. On the possibility that his wife was a *consorella* see above, note 311.

³⁴⁵ On his work see: Salvagnini (note 139), pp. 19–20, 22.

³⁴⁶ Documented working on Palazzo Vecchio: Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), pp. 13, 362, 365.

³⁴⁷ Full name indicated 1 Jan. 1570 (1195:15, fol. 50v). Member of the AdD 1568–1578, made *accademico* in 1571 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 91).

³⁴⁸ Alessandro Nesi, “Contributi alla cronologia e alla ritrattistica di Jacopo Coppi”, in: *Arte Cristiana*, DCCCXII (2002), pp. 341–346: 341 and 345, note 9.

³⁴⁹ This reference could potentially indicate Duke Cosimo I.

³⁵⁰ For his work with Battista Lorenzi see above, note 148. He also cast figures designed by Valerio Cioli: Vanessa Montigiani, “Un ‘Cristo Crocifisso’ di Valerio Cioli per la Spagna”, in: *Paragone*, LIX (2008), 703, pp. 19–31: 27.

³⁵¹ In the references related to his entry, the surname Lorenzi is not mentioned and there is some confusion about his patronymic, indicated there as “Francesco”, though in the reference in 1195:14 the patronymic “Domenico” was added above the line. When his *entrata* was delivered, the patronymic “Francesco” was cancelled and replaced with “Domenico”, which continues to appear in later records, for example when he sponsored new *confratelli* (see below, nos. 145, 147, 158, 162–164, 166). The entrance of Andrea di Domenico Lorenzi *scarpellino* with the benefits of his brother on 24 Feb. 1579 (1197:22, fol. 54r) supports his identification as Battista Lorenzi. He was member of the AdD 1563–1594 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 187; ASF, AdD, 27, fol. 30v, 8 Jan. 1594). His uncle Gino and cousins Antonio and Stoldo Lorenzi were also members (see above, nos. 109–111).

³⁵² Probably identical with the Giovanni di Marco *capo alla Parte* who paid dues on 17 April 1575 (1203:40, fol. 30r) and whose wife appears on

146	1569 Jan. 2	Romualdo d'Antonio [Malaspina], ³⁵³ <i>scultore</i> , b. ca. 1541–[1582]	Novice, aged 28, without benefits, sponsored by Zanobi Portigiani (no. 42) (1197:22, fol. 32r, 1195:14, fol. 45r).
147	1569 Aug. 21	Agostino d'Andrea Carboni, ³⁵⁴ <i>scultore</i> , b. ca. 1541	Novice, aged 28, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista di Domenico (no. 143) (1197:22, fol. 33v, 1195:14, fol. 49).
148	1569 Dec. 21	Francesco di Domenico Rosselli, ³⁵⁵ <i>dipintore</i>	Member, paid dues (1202:39, fol. 157v); 3 Feb. 1577: returned, fee delivered by Giovanni Battista di Francesco da Ronta (no. 159) (1203:40, fol. 58r); 28 June 1578: declared that he had received 27 lire “per la dipintura delle morte, cioè quella della archa, et quelle delle tovagliuole del leggio, et la coperta della Pietà” (1208:54, fol. 35r). ³⁵⁶
149	1570 Feb. 19	Zanobi di Piero Cammelli, ³⁵⁷ <i>dipintore</i> , b. ca. 1548	Novice, aged 22, without benefits, sponsored by Francesco Rosselli (no. 148) (1197:22, fol. 34r; 1195:14, fol. 51v).
150	1570 May 3	Piero di Giannozzo, ³⁵⁸ <i>intagliatore nell'Opera [del Duomo]</i> , b. ca. 1525	Novice, aged 45, without benefits, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (1195:14, fol. 52v, 1197:22, fol. 35r); 2 Feb. 1572: his wife Maria joined (1202:39, fol. 189v).
151	1570 May 3	Nicodemo di Giovanni, ³⁵⁹ <i>intagliatore nell'Opera [del Duomo]</i> , b. ca. 1525–1578	Novice, aged 45, without benefits, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (1195:14, fol. 52v, 1197:22, fol. 35r); paid part of his <i>entratura</i> the same day (1202:39, fol. 165r); 28 July 1578: Servites perform office with sung mass and are commissioned to say further masses (1195:14, fol. 89v).

6 Feb. 1575 as “Nanina di Maestro Giovanni di Marco legnaiolo” and then again on 6 Feb. 1576 as “Nanina di Maestro Giovanni capomaestro alla Parte” (1203:40, fols. 27r, 40v). Alfonso Parigi (no. 156) worked with a Giovanni di Marco Fornaciari, called lo Spagna, for the Capitani della Parte Guelfa (Daniela Lamberini, “Boboli e l'ingegneria idraulica alla scuola dei Parigi”, in: *Boboli 90*, ed. by Cristina Acidini Luchinat/Elvira Garbero Zorzi, Florence 1991, pp. 467–479: 470, note 17). These references probably allude to the same person. See also Cerchiai/Quiriconi (note 154), pp. 206f.

³⁵³ Documented as a member of the AdD 1572–1582 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 193). Produced marble festoons for the frames of historical paintings in 1572 in Palazzo Vecchio (Allegrì/Cecchi [note 249], p. 263) and is documented delivering payments to Battista Lorenzi (Utz/Raggio [note 148], p. 38). Notably, on 28 Feb. 1574 Giovanni Battista di Domenico *scultore* (probably Lorenzi, no. 143) delivered Romualdo's fee (1203:40, fol. 14v).

³⁵⁴ Documented as member of the AdD 1576–1578 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 68).

³⁵⁵ Matriculated into the Arte dei Medici e Speciali 8 July 1570. Enrolled

in the AdD in 1576, documented as a member until 1608; in 1588 he was official valuer of the AdD (Colnaghi [note 61], p. 234; Zangheri [note 65], p. 280).

³⁵⁶ The last item is described in the *Libro di entrata e uscita* as the “cortina dela Pietà delo spogliatoio” (29 June 1578, 1203:40, fol. 308v).

³⁵⁷ Documented as member of the AdD 1569–1590 (Colnaghi [note 61], pp. 63f.; Zangheri [note 65], p. 105). Cf. Nicoletta Baldini, “Giovanni'Antonio Lappoli: gli anni della formazione fra Arezzo e Firenze (1509–1522)”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, LIV (2010–2012), pp. 445–478: 468.

³⁵⁸ Probably the Piero di Giannozzo fired by Bandinelli in 1554. Although he appealed at the time without success, by 1561 Piero was again amongst the *scarpellini* working at Santa Maria del Fiore (Louis Alexander Waldman, “Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore: Patronage, Privilege, and Pedagogy”, in: *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and its Sculpture*, ed. by Margaret Haines, Fiesole 2001, pp. 221–256: 226, note 18; Waldman [note 134], pp. 551f., 776, docs. 1014, 1017, 1375 [see also pp. 259–261, 335, docs. 425, 555]). The addendum to his occupation suggests that he was working there when he joined the Scalzo.

152	1570 June 18	Bartolomeo di Francesco Ferrucci/Ferruzzi, <i>scarpellino</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (I197:22, fol. 35r); paid <i>entrata</i> the same day (I202:39, fol. 167r).
153	1571 Feb. 2	Giovanni Battista di Bartolomeo Botticelli, ³⁶⁰ <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1526	Novice, aged 45, without benefits, sponsored by Bastiano di Bernardo Canci (I195:14, fol. 56v, I197:22, fol. 36r); 4 Feb. 1571: paid his <i>entrata</i> (I202:39, fol. 174v).
154	1571 March 4	Alfonso di Francesco, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1536	Novice, aged 35, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni da Montauto (no. 121) (I195:14, fol. 56v, I197:22, fol. 36r); paid part of his <i>entrata</i> the same day (I202:39, fol. 176r).
155	1571 March 11	Ristoro di Piero Fantini, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1531	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Domenico di Cosimo <i>fabbro</i> (I195:14, fol. 57r, I197:22, fol. 36r); 4 March 1571: paid part of his <i>entrata</i> (I202:39, fol. 176r); 7 Dec. 1572: absented from dues and other requirements for <i>confratelli</i> in return for checking and maintaining the roof of the premises twice a year (I197:22, fol. 41r).
156	1571 March 18	Alfonso di Santi Parigi, ³⁶¹ <i>muratore</i> , [architect], [ca. 1535–8 Oct. 1590]	Member, paid dues (I202:39, fol. 176v); 3 May 1573: his wife Alessandra joined (I202:39, fol. 209r); ³⁶² 10 Oct. 1590: office and sung mass celebrated, and request made for the <i>trentesimo</i> and <i>messa privilegiata</i> (I195:14, fol. 142v). ³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Possibly Nicodemo di Giovanni del Fantasia, a *scarpellino* employed by the Opera of Santa Maria del Fiore (Waldman [note 134], *ad indicem*; see also Butters [note 107], I, p. 297).

³⁶⁰ MAP, BIA, Person ID 207. Together with Dionigi Nigetti, Battista was one of Vasari's most active collaborators (Frey 1923 [note 295], I, *ad indicem*, p. 794; Karl Frey/Herman-Walther Frey, *Der Literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, Munich 1930, II, *ad indicem*, p. 926; Frey 1940 [note 295], *ad indicem*, p. 253; Allegri/Cecchi [note 249], *ad indicem*, p. 415). MAP, BIA, Person ID 207. His brother Domenico became a member on 3 May 1572, aged 42 (I197:22, fol. 39v).

³⁶¹ Membership noted by Mazzino Fossi, *Il Tacuino dei Parigi*, Florence 1975, p. 48, note 188. In this first reference he is identified as "Anfolso [*sic*] di Santi muratore". His surname, Parigi, is identified in later records, for instance when he delivered an entrance fee for Francesco del Frizzi in 1577 (no. 179). The entrance of a mason called "Alfolso [*sic*] di Francesco" on 4 March 1571 (see above, no. 154), only two weeks prior to this payment of dues, possibly refers to Parigi, although with a mistaken patronymic. At around this same date there also appears in the books of the Scalzo a "Maestro Alfonso di Santi Castelli muratore" for example in a fee payment made 25 March 1571 (I202:39, fol. 177r) and as sponsor of Giuliano da Montauto's return to the Scalzo in 1573 (above, no. 122). Castelli actually

appears in several other contexts related to Parigi. In an undated document found amongst the papers of Bartolomeo Ammannati "Alfonso di Santi Castelli" declared that he had received money from Ammannati to give to Battista Fiammeri (Flavia Strinati, "Giovanni Battista di Benedetto Fiammeri accademico del disegno a Firenze e coadiutore gesuita a Roma: integrazioni documentarie", in: *Storia dell'Arte*, 113/114 (2006), pp. 119–172: 153, note 125; ASF, Comp. Relig. Soppr., Gesuiti, 1037). Parigi's mother, Laura, was Bartolomeo's sister, while Alfonso himself married Fiammeri's sister, Alessandra (Lamberini [note 119], p. 139). Alfonso di Santi Castelli was nominated in the contract for the construction of the Logge Vasari in Arezzo, which was actually executed by Parigi for Vasari. Piero Roselli and Brunella Ragoni argue that the surname in the contract is a mistake as Parigi mentions "un non meglio identificato 'Maestro... da Castello'" in his *Tacuino* in relation to the project ("La vicenda costruttiva delle logge Vasari ad Arezzo", in: *Quasar*, I [1989], pp. 31–42: 42, note 61), however, considering all these connections, I would suggest they are in fact the same person.

³⁶² Her brother Giovanbattista Fiammeri had joined five months earlier (below, no. 166).

³⁶³ Parigi was buried in the Scalzo's sepulchre in the Santissima Annunziata (BNCF, Palatino, 853, fol. 48r).

157	1571 April 8	Pietro Paolo di Nicodemo, ³⁶⁴ <i>intagliatore</i> , b. ca. 1549	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Giovanni di Marco <i>merciaio</i> (1195:14, fol. 57v, 1197:22, fol. 36v); 18 March 1590: his wife Caterina joined (1203:40, fol. 246r); 1 Nov. 1590: was paid 7 lire for producing the “pietra sagrata del nostro altare maggiore” in preparation for the consecration of their oratory (1203:40, fol. 371r).
158	1571 Nov. 18	Valerio di Simone Cioli, ³⁶⁵ <i>scultore</i> , [1529/30 or 1539–1599]	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista di Domenico (no. 143) (1197:22, fol. 37v, 1195:14, fol. 60r); 16 Feb. 1578: “Chamila fu di Simone Cioli”, probably his mother, paid dues (1203:40, fol. 73v); 1 July 1584: exempted “in tutto e per tutto” for donating a <i>Vergine</i> and a <i>San Giovanni</i> (1195:14, fol. 118v); 20 Sept. 1592: exempted from all dues for being “amorevole della casa” (1195:15, fol. 2r); ³⁶⁶ 24 April 1600: payment for office and <i>trentesimo</i> (1200:31, fol. 55r).
159	1572 Feb. 25	Giovanni Battista di Francesco Bandini da Ronta, ³⁶⁷ <i>legnaiolo</i> , ca. 1547–1609/10	Novice, aged 25, with benefits of his father (1197:22, fol. 38v, 1195:14, fol. 62r); 1 Jan. 1576: was paid 27 lire for an intarsia lectern for the desk of the <i>Governatore</i> (1208:54, fol. 30r); ³⁶⁸ 19 June 1588: was paid for “una cassetta [cassetta] di noce per in sul a[1]tare del perdono” (1203:40, fol. 358v); 17 Jan. 1610: payment for <i>missa privilegiata</i> (1203:41, fol. 187r, <i>uscita</i>).
160	1572 May 3	Bastiano di Niccolò da Sangallo called Il Garotino, b. ca. 1550	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Alessandro Lastricati (no. 84) (1197:22, fol. 39r), who also delivered the <i>entratura</i> on 25 July 1572 (1202:39, fol. 196r).
161	1572 May 3	Tommaso di Luca Saracini, ³⁶⁹ <i>tornaio</i> , <i>dipintore</i> , ³⁷⁰ b. ca. 1550–1583	Novice, aged 22, sponsored by his father Luca di Tommaso <i>tornaio</i> (1195:14, fol. 62v; 1197:22, fol. 39r); paid part of <i>entratura</i> the same day (1202:39, fol. 192v); 22 Nov. 1583: Servites perform an office in the confraternity’s oratory (1195:14, fol. 113v).

³⁶⁴ Possibly [Piero] Paolo di Nicodemo di Giovanni del Fantasia, who died in 1591. Butters (note 107), pp. 195, 297. His father may thus be no. 151.

³⁶⁵ Member of the AdD 1563–1599 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 83). His brother Michele joined the Scalzo on 1 May 1574 with the benefits of Valerio (1197:22, fol. 44r; 1195:14, fol. 72v).

³⁶⁶ O’Brien (note 14), p. 245, doc. 1a–b; p. 251, doc. 24.

³⁶⁷ On Giovanni Battista da Ronta see Ludovica Sebregondi, “La soppressione delle confraternite fiorentine: la dispersione di un patrimonio, le possibilità residue della sua salvaguardia”, in: *Confraternite, Chiesa e società: aspetti e problemi dell’associazionismo laicale europeo in età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. by Liana Bertoldi Lenoci, Fasano 1994, pp. 457–501: 482f.

³⁶⁸ See above, p. 380.

³⁶⁹ Member of the AdD from 1572 (ASF, AdD, 123, fol. 133sin) to 1583 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 292).

³⁷⁰ The records of his entrance identified him as a *tornaio*, whereas when he paid his entrance and other later fees he was described as a *dipintore* e. g. on 6 May 1576 (1203:40, fols. 45v).

³⁷¹ MAP, BIA, Person ID 20133.

³⁷² Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 417.

³⁷³ Romby/Ferretti (note 140), pp. 174, 184, 189; Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 417; Waldman (note 134), p. 815, doc. 1480.

³⁷⁴ Brother-in-law of Alfonso Parigi (no. 156; Lamberini [note 119], p. 139). Documented as member of the AdD 1563–1577; made *accademico* in 1564 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 131).

³⁷⁵ On the contradictory ages Fiammeri provided over various years in the Jesuit’s *Cataloghi Triennali*, see Strinati (note 361), pp. 121 and 148, note 16.

³⁷⁶ Lupicini was renting a shop as a clockmaker near the Canto del Giglio by 1560 (Butters [note 107], I, pp. 277f. and note 67).

162	1572 May 3	Giovanni di Giovanfrancesco Gargioli, ³⁷¹ <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1542–[1608]	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista di Domenico (no. 143) (1197:22, fol. 39v; 1195:14, fol. 62v); 28 Feb. 1574: his wife Lorenza paid dues (1203:40, fol. 15r).
163	1572 May 3	Niccolò di Gherardo Mechini, ³⁷² <i>scarpellino</i> , b. ca. 1542	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista di Domenico (no. 143) (1197:22, fol. 39v; 1195:14, fol. 62v); II March 1601: returned (described as a novice), sponsored by Sabatino di Giovanni Fenci (1197:23, fol. 14v; 1195:15, fol. 27r).
164	1572 May 3	Santi di Francesco Maiani, ³⁷³ <i>maestro muratore</i> , b. ca. 1528	Novice, aged 44, sponsored by Giovanni Battista di Domenico (no. 143) (1197:22, fol. 39v, 1195:14, fol. 62v).
165	1572 May 3	Bernardo di Francesco, <i>libraio</i> , b. ca. 1551	Novice, aged 21, sponsored by Valerio Cioli (no. 158) (1197:22, fol. 39v).
166	1572 Nov. 30	Giovanbattista di Benedetto Fiammeri, ³⁷⁴ <i>scultore</i> , [painter and engraver], b. ca. 1540–[d. 1617]	Novice, aged 30, ³⁷⁵ without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista di Domenico (no. 143) (1197:22, fol. 41r, 1195:14, fol. 65v).
167	1573 April 5	Antonio di Giovanni Lupicini, called Il Lupatino, ³⁷⁶ <i>oriolaio</i> [military architect, engineer and mathematician], b. ca. 1538–[ca. 1607]	Novice, aged 35, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni da Montauto (no. 121) (1195:14, fol. 67v; 1197:22, fol. 41v); 21 and 24 June 1573: payments for <i>entrata</i> (1203:40, fol. 2r–v).
168	1573 June 21	Lorenzo di Domenico, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1548	Novice, aged 25, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 42r).
169	1573 July 18	Leonardo di Biagio Van[n]ucci, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1548	Novice, aged 25, without benefits, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 42r); 15 Aug. 1591: returned, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 89v).
170	1574 Feb. 2	Tommaso di Zanobi Landini, ³⁷⁷ <i>dipintore/pittore al campanile</i> , b. ca. 1532–1585	Novice, aged 42, without benefits, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 43r, 1195:14, fol. 71v); 7 Feb. 1574: paid <i>entrata</i> (1203:40, fol. 13v); 3 Feb. 1577: “Chalice di Tomaso Landini” paid dues (1203:40, fol. 58r); was paid for painting the candles for the <i>Candelai</i> every year from 1575 to 1585, excepting only 1582 ³⁷⁸ (1203:40, fols. 292v, 296r, 301r, 305v, 312r, 318r, 323r, 331r, 336v, 342v); 13 April 1585: payment to Servites for a <i>missa privilegiata</i> (1203:40, fol. 343v); 16 April 1585: payment for

³⁷⁷ Documented as member of the AdD 1563–1582 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 179f.). Further documents for Landini: Waldman (note 134), pp. 630, 650f., 819, docs. 1174, 1213, 1493.

³⁷⁸ In that year they were painted by his assistant Giovanni di Paolo Bartolini, who, after Landini’s death, succeeded him as candle painter for the *Candelai* (see below, no. 205 and note 402).

			an office with the mass in the confraternity's oratory, and the mass of san Gregorio, for Landini who was buried in Scalzo's sepulchre in Santissima Annunziata (I199:30, fol. 214r).
171	1574 Feb. 2	Lorenzo di Filippo Scorini [dello Sciorina], ³⁷⁹ [Vaiani], <i>dipintore</i> , [ca. 1535–1598]	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Cesare di Camillo <i>bicchenaio</i> (I197:22, fol. 43r, I195:14, fol. 71v); 2 Feb. 1575: "Pipa di Lorenzo dello Sciorina" joined (I203:40, fol. 25v).
172	1574 July 4	Bastiano di Zanobi, <i>scarpellino</i> , b. ca. 1544	Novice, aged 30, with benefits of "Lapo scultore suo avolo" (possibly no. 3), sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (I195:14, fol. 73v).
173	1574 Dec. 19	Giovanmaria di Filippo, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1548	Novice, aged 26, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (I197:22, fol. 44v).
174	1575 Feb. 20	Francesco di Jacopo Petrucci/Petruzzi, ³⁸⁰ <i>scarpellino nell'Opera [del Duomo]</i> , ca. 1525–1585	Novice, aged 50, without benefits, sponsored by Bartolomeo Ferrucci (no. 152) (I197:22, fol. 45r; I195:14, fol. 76r); his sister Maria joined 2 Feb. 1580 (I203:40, fol. 105r); 1580/81: produced the tombstone of the Scalzo's sepulchre in Santissima Annunziata (see for example I203:40, fols. 322r–323r); 16 Feb. 1585: "Doratea di Jacopo Petruzzi", probably his mother, paid her dues, and his daughter Margherita paid her <i>entrata</i> (I203:40, fol. 190r–v); 3 May 1585: payment for the <i>missa privilegiata</i> (I203:40, fol. 343v).
175	1575 June 26	Vincenzo di Bartolomeo Attic[c]iati ³⁸¹	Member, paid dues (I203:40, fol. 33v).
176	1575 July 3	Bastiano di Bartolomeo, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1550	Novice, aged 25, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (I197:22, fol. 45v).
177	1577 May 3	Antonio di Francesco Colombini ³⁸²	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni di Lorenzo <i>legnaiolo</i> (I197:22, fol. 48v), who also delivered part of the <i>entrata</i> the same day (I203:40, fol. 61r).
178	1577 May 3	Giovanni di Salvestro Cioli, ³⁸³ <i>scarpellino</i> , b. ca. 1532	Novice, aged 45, without benefits, sponsored by Michele di Simone Cioli (I195:14, fol. 84r, I197:22, p. 48v); 5 May 1577: paid <i>entrata</i> (I203:40, fol. 61v); 22 March 1579: his wife Simona joined (I203:40, fol. 91r).

³⁷⁹ Member of the AdD 1564–1598, made an *accademico* in 1564 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 295f.).

³⁸⁰ Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 417.

³⁸¹ May have joined 25 March 1563 as "Vincenzio di Bartolomeo legnaiolo", aged 24, without benefits, introduced by Piero di Giovanni *fornaio* (I197:22, fol. 17v).

³⁸² Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), p. 101.

³⁸³ *Ibidem*, *ad indicem*, p. 416.

³⁸⁴ Trionfi Honorati (note 295), pp. 379f.

³⁸⁵ In a reference to a payment that Alfonso Parigi delivered for Giovannantonio di Domenico on 18 May 1578, Parigi is identified as "suo cognato" (I203:40, fol. 78v). Since the brother of Parigi's wife

179	1577 May 5	Francesco di Bartolomeo del Friz[z]i, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1542	Novice, aged 35, without benefits sponsored by Alfonso di Santi Majani/Alfonso <i>muratore</i> (no. 156?) (1197:22, fol. 48v; 1195:14, fol. 84r); <i>entratura</i> delivered by Alfonso Parigi (no. 156) (1203:40, fol. 61v).
180	1578 Feb. 2	Domenico di Bartolomeo Attic[c]iati, [woodworker] ³⁸⁴	Member, paid dues (1203:40, fol. 69r); 19 June 1588: returned (1197:22, fol. 78v); 2 Feb. 1608: “Nannina di Domenico Aticciati” paid dues (1203:41, fol. 196v).
181	1578 March 2	Bartolomeo di Francesco del Friz[z]i, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1556	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Alfonso di Santi <i>muratore</i> (no. 156?) (1195:14, fol. 87r).
182	1578 March 2	Andrea d’Anton, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1554	Novice, aged 24, without benefits, sponsored by Alfonso [di Santi <i>muratore</i>] (no. 156?) (1195:14, fol. 87r).
183	1578 March 9	Giovanantonio di Domenico Ro[c]cha/Sb.oca [?], ³⁸⁵ <i>scultore</i> , b. ca. 1538	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Alfonso di Santi <i>muratore</i> (no. 156) (1195:14, fol. 87v [Sb.oca?], 1197:22, fol. 50r [Rocha]).
184	1578 March 9	Lorenzo di Giovanni, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1552	Novice, aged 26, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Jacopo di Francesco <i>legnaiolo</i> (1197:22, fol. 50r, 1195:14, fol. 87v).
185	1578 March 27	Marco di Stefano Fontirossi, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1538	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Alfonso di Santi <i>muratore</i> (no. 156) (1197:22, fol. 50v).
186	1579 Feb. 2	Giuliano, <i>scultore</i> , d. by 1581	Member: Elisabetta “donna di Giuliano scultore” paid her membership fee (1203:40, fol. 87v); he was dead by 5 Feb. 1581 when she is identified as “Mona Lisabetta vedova donna già di Giuliano scultore” (1203:40, fol. 117v).
187	1579 Feb. 24	Zanobi di Lionardo da Gagliano, ³⁸⁶ <i>legnaiolo</i> , 1555–1603	Novice, aged 24, without benefits, sponsored by Noferi da Frascoli (1197:22, fol. 54r); 2 Feb. 1588: his wife Camilla paid 1 lire and 10 soldi (probably her <i>entratura</i>) (1203:40, fol. 226v); 10 Nov. 1603: payment to the Servites for office with sung mass (1200:31, p. 66).
188	1579 March 22	Francesco di Gherardo Mechini, ³⁸⁷ <i>scarpellino</i> , d. 1581	Novice, aged 45, with benefits of his brother, sponsored by Pietro Paolo di Nicodemo (no. 157) (1195:14, fol. 93v); 2 Oct. 1581: payment for office with mass of san Gregorio performed in the confraternity’s oratory (1199:30, fol. 200sin); 8 Sept. 1596: his widow Cilia joined (1203:41, fol. 54r).

was Giovanni Battista Fiammeri (no. 166; see above, notes 362, 374) Giovannantonio must have been married to Parigi’s sister.

³⁸⁶ Although clearly defined as *legnaiolo* in the Scalzo books, not as *orafa*, this may be the father of Lionardo di Zanobi da Gagliano; see below, note 461.

³⁸⁷ Francesco Mechini worked together with Alfonso Parigi for the Capitani della Parte and for the Nove Conservatori (Lamberini [note 352], p. 470, note 17). On this aspect see also Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), *ad indicem*, p. 417.

189	1579 May 3	Piero di Domenico Cecini/ Crecini/Cesini, ³⁸⁸ <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1543	Novice, aged 36, without benefits, sponsored by Antonio di Giovanni Talosi (1195:14, fol. 94r, 1197:22, fol. 54v); 18 June 1579: paid <i>entratura</i> (1203:40, fol. 95r).
190	1580 Feb. 21	Lazzaro di Francesco Marmi, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1558	Returned, aged 22, with benefits of his brother, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (1197:22, fol. 55r, 1195:14, fol. 97r); 15 July 1607: payment for <i>missa privilegiata</i> (1203:41, fol. 176r).
191	1580 March 28	Francesco di Chimenti, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1558	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his brother, sponsored by Girolamo Portigiani (no. 142) (1197:22, fol. 55v).
192	1580 May 3	Antonio di Bartolomeo, ³⁸⁹ <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1550	Novice, aged 30, benefits of his brother Bastiano sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 55v).
193	1580 July 17	Giovanmaria d'Agnolo del Conte, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1557	Novice, aged 23, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 56r).
194	1580 Nov. 1	Raffaello di Francesco Petrucci/ Petruzzi, ³⁹⁰ <i>scarpellino, scultore</i> , ca. 1560-1644/45	Novice, aged 20, with benefits of his father (no. 174), who also sponsored him (1197:22, fol. 56v, 1195:14, fol. 100r); 16 Feb. 1586: his wife Lucrezia joined (1203:40, fol. 190v); 24 Feb. 1602: absolved from fees for donating a statue (1195:15, fol. 30v; 1197:23, fol. 16v); ³⁹¹ 22 Jan. 1645: office of the dead performed in the confraternity's oratory (1195:15, p. 341).
195	1580 Nov. 6	Antonio d'Andrea Farulli, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1535	Novice, aged 45, without benefits, sponsored by Alfonso di Santi <i>muratore</i> (no. 156) (1197:22, fol. 56v; 1195:22, fol. 100v).
196	1581 April 2	Cosimo di Piero Fantini, <i>muratore</i> , ca. 1545-1597/98	Novice, aged 36, with benefits of his brother Ristoro (no. 155), sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 58r, 1195:14, fol. 102r); 18 February 1590: absented from dues and other confraternal requirements in return for checking and maintaining the roof, as was the case with his brother (1197:22, fol. 84v); 6 Jan. 1598: payment to Servites for masses and an office of the dead (1200:31, fol. 49r).

³⁸⁸ Cerchiai/Quiriconi (note 154), p. 207; see also below, no. 214 and note 415.

³⁸⁹ His surname is probably Campai, as suggested by a payment of dues made on 14 April 1585 (1203:40, fol. 179v). Campai produced a frame for an altarpiece by Giovanni Bizzelli (Achille de Rubertis, "Le 'Nozze di Cana' di Alessandro Allori", in: *Rivista d'Arte*, IX [1916/1918], pp. 11-40: 15).

³⁹⁰ Documented as member of the AdD 1605-1632, made *accademico* in 1618 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 252, s. v. "Petrozzi").

³⁹¹ Published: O'Brien (note 14), p. 254, doc. 36.

³⁹² Member of the AdD 1574-1612 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 260).

³⁹³ Member of the AdD 1575-1598 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 322). For payments for minor works by Ubaldini at Palazzo Vecchio see Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), pp. 37, 377f.

³⁹⁴ Gallerani/Guidi (note 154), p. 267.

³⁹⁵ Alessandro Bracci produced the cabinet for the reliquaries in the sacristy of Santa Maria Novella in 1583 after a design by Bernardo Buontalenti; on

197	1582 May 6	Bernardino di Bartolomeo Poccetti, ³⁹² <i>pittore</i> , [1548-1612]	Novice, aged 35, without benefits, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 61r, 1195:14, fol. 108r); paid <i>entrata</i> 14 June 1582 (1203:40, fol. 135v); 2 Feb. 1585: his wife Lucrezia joined (1203:40, fol. 174r); 11 March 1601: returned, sponsored by Sabatino di Giovanni Fenci (1197:23, fol. 14v; 1195:15, fol. 27r).
198	1583 March 25	Paolo di Giovanfrancesco Ubaldini, ³⁹³ <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1598]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Girolamo di Lodovico Ruosi (1197:22, fol. 64r, 1195:14, fol. 112r); paid part of the <i>entrata</i> the same day (1203:40, fol. 147v); 2 Feb. 1587: "Madalena di Pagolo di Giovanfrancesco dipintore" joined (1203:40, fol. 202v); 1 Jan. 1592 the servant invited the <i>confratelli</i> for the funeral or memorial of his son (1203:40, fol. 379v); 2 Feb. 1593 "Marietta di Pagolo di Giovanfrancesco dipintore" joined (1203:41, fol. 8r); 21 Nov. 1598: payment to servant for <i>mortorio</i> (1203:41, fol. 315v).
199	1583 May 1	Jacopo di Graziadio Squadrini, ³⁹⁴ <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1538	Novice, aged 45, without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico <i>battiloro</i> (1197:22, fol. 64v); 2 Feb. 1597: "Nannina di Jacopo Squadrini" paid dues (1203:41, fol. 59r).
200	1583 June 24	Alessandro di Luca Bracci, ³⁹⁵ <i>legnaiolo</i> , d. by Dec. 1619	Member, sponsor to Giovanni di Niccolò <i>muratore</i> (1197:22, fol. 65r); 2 Feb. 1587: "Bartolomea di Lessandro Bracci" paid dues (1203:40, fol. 202v); Dec. 1619: payment for <i>trentesimo</i> (1200:31, fol. 115v).
201	1583 Nov. 30	Domenico di Zanobi Landini, <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1616] ³⁹⁶	Novice, with benefits of his brother, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico <i>battiloro</i> (1197:22, fol. 65v; 1195:14, fol. 114v); 4 Nov. 1590: was paid 20 lire for gilding the "nome di Jesu el quale si porta a procisione insieme col piede" (1203:40, fol. 371r); was occasionally paid for painting candles (e. g. on 23 Feb. 1592; 1203:40, fol. 380v); "Lisabetta di Domenico Landini dipintore" joined 17 Feb. 1591 (1203:40, fol. 262v).
202	1583 Dec. 25	Gherardo di Francesco Mechini, ³⁹⁷ <i>capomaestro della Parte</i> [architect, engineer], ca. 1558 ³⁹⁸ –[5 June 1621]	Novice, aged 25, with benefits of his father (no. 188), sponsored by Donato di Francesco Galigai (1197:22, fol. 66r; 1195:14, fol. 115r); after 30 April 1621: payment for office and mass (1200:31, fol. 115v). ³⁹⁹

this work, see Anna Matteoli, "Per Giovanni Camillo Ciabilli: un catalogo delle opere e note documentarie", in: *Rivista d'Arte*, XLI (1989), pp. 113–151: 123.

³⁹⁶ Member of AdD 1574–1616 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 178f.).

³⁹⁷ Membership noted by Ferretti (note 1), p. 85, note 99.

³⁹⁸ Mechini's birth year is usually identified as 1550 or 1552 (Antonio Palesati/Nicoletta Lepri, "Arte e religiosità a Foiano della Chiana: la fraternita della Pieve Vecchia", in: *Bollettino d'informazione: Brigata Aretina Amici dei Monumenti*, XXXIII [1999], 68, pp. 7–14: 7, note 5).

³⁹⁹ Buried in the Santissima Annunziata (Salvagnini [note 139], pp. 7, 13).

203	1584 May 3	Domenico di Giovanni Battista del Tasso, ⁴⁰⁰ <i>legnaiolo, intagliatore</i> , b. ca. 1539	Novice, aged 45, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico <i>battiloro</i> (1197:22, fol. 67v; 1195:14, fol. 117r).
204	1584 Aug. 19	Niccolò d’Agnolo Castori, ⁴⁰¹ <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1559	Novice, aged 25, without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico <i>battiloro</i> (1197:22, fol. 69v; 1195:14, fol. 119v), who also delivered the <i>entratura</i> the same day (1203:40, fol. 168r); his wife Emilia joined 2 Feb. 1587 (1203:40, fol. 200v).
205	1585 Aug. 24	Giovanni di Paolo Bartolini, ⁴⁰² <i>dipintore</i> , b. ca. 1560–1608	Novice, aged 25, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni di Marco Neri (1197:22, fol. 71r; 1195:14, fol. 122v); 21 Sept. 1585: paid <i>entratura</i> (1203:40, fol. 184v); the same day was paid 3 lire soldi 10 for painting the altar predella of the <i>luogo vecchio</i> (1203:40, fol. 345v); 22 June 1585, “A Giovanni di Pagolo dipintore lire otto per avere messo a ore il sopra detto nome di Iesu”; 1 Jan. 1586: was paid for repainting the bier (<i>cataletto</i>) (1203:40, fol. 346v); was paid for painting the candles for the <i>Candelaia</i> every year from 1586 to 1608, excepting only 1591 and 1592 ⁴⁰³ (1203:40, fols. 348r, 351v, 356r, 361v, 367r, 374v, 380v; 1203:41, fol. 285r, 288v, 293v, 299r, 306v, 313v, 316v, 322r, 327r, 245v, 251v, 158r, 163v, 168r, 174v, 178r); 24 Feb. 1590: his wife Piera joined (1203:40, fol. 245v); 6 April 1608: payment for mass at the <i>altare privilegiato</i> (1203:41, fol. 179r).
206	1586 March 9	Giuliano di Francesco Fantoni, ⁴⁰⁴ <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1560	Novice, aged 26, without benefits, sponsored by Jacopo di Francesco Ricci <i>legnaiolo</i> (1197:22, fol. 72r); 2 Feb. 1591: his wife Laura joined (1203:40, fol. 259r).
207	1587 May 1	Lorenzo di Bastiano, <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Paolo Ubaldini (no. 198) (1197:22, fol. 75v, 1195:14, fol. 128v).

⁴⁰⁰ MAP, BIA, Person ID 1907.

⁴⁰¹ Surname recorded when he paid fees 6 Jan. 1585 (1203:40, fol. 171v). Worked in a shop at the Mercato Nuovo, then, in 1621, on Ponte Vecchio. Occasionally called on to work for the Medici court (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 402, 482).

⁴⁰² Enrolled in the AdD 1574, documented as a member until 1602 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 25). He was a collaborator of Tommaso Landini (no. 170), as is demonstrated by a reference of 2 February 1580 to a payment from the Scalzo for the latter, which was collected by Giovanni Bartolini “suo lavorante” (1203:40, fol. 323r). Even before joining, he had received commissions from the Scalzo: In 1582 he had painted the candles for the *Candelora* (1203:40, fol. 327r), and on 22 June 1585 he was paid for gilding a “Name of Jesus” made by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1203:40, fol. 344v).

⁴⁰³ In those years they were painted by Domenico Landini (see above, no. 201).

⁴⁰⁴ Probably the son-in-law of Alfonso Parigi il Vecchio, married to Laura (Lamberini [note 119], p. 143). On Fantoni see also Trionfi Honorati (note 295), p. 380, note 47; Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), pp. 37f.

⁴⁰⁵ Worked with Niccolò Castori (no. 204) on *vasi* for the wedding of Ferdinando I (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 402). His surname was spelt “Cresci” on 24 Feb. 1589 when Niccolò Castori *orefice* delivered dues for him (1203:40, fol. 229v).

⁴⁰⁶ Identified as an *orajo* on 21 Sept. 1587 (1203:40, fol. 209v).

⁴⁰⁷ Chiti was a publisher of popular *operette*, primarily *Sacre rappresentazioni* printed between 1571 and 1572 (Fabio Massimo Bertolo, s. v. Chiti, Jacopo, in: *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani: il Cinquecento*, ed. by Marco Menato/Ennio Sandal/Giuseppina Zappella, Milan 1997–, I, p. 291).

208	1587 May 3	Antonio di Domenico Cresci/ Creci, ⁴⁰⁵ <i>orafo/orefice</i> , ⁴⁰⁶ b. ca. 1557	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Cosimo di Santi <i>bottai</i> (1195:14, fol. 128v; 1197:22, fol. 76r), who also delivered the <i>entrata</i> on 6 Sept. 1587 (1203:40, fol. 209r).
209	1587 May 3	Jacopo di Bartolomeo Chiti, ⁴⁰⁷ <i>libraio</i> , d. 1626	Novice, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico <i>battiloro</i> (1197:22, fol. 76, 1195:14, fol. 128v); 17 May 1587: paid <i>entrata</i> (1203:40, fol. 205v); 25 June 1589: his wife Francesca joined (1203:40, fol. 234r); sold books to the Scalzo on several occasions, e.g. 4 May 1608: was paid 56 lire for “8 libri da compagnia e uno mesale per la sagrestia” (1203:41, fol. 179r); 28 May 1626: payment for office with mass (1200:31, fol. 143v).
210	1588 June 29 ⁴⁰⁸	Piero di Bastiano Pagolini, <i>orafo</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista da Ronta (no. 159) (1197:22, fol. 79r; 1195:14, fol. 136r); 3 July 1588: paid part of <i>entrata</i> (1203:40, fol. 221r); 2 Feb. 1596: “Margherita di Piero Pagolini” paid dues (1203:41, p. 44r); 4 Feb. 1601: his daughter Ginevra received a dowry (1200:31, fol. 41v).
211	1588 June 29	Stefano di Lorenzo, <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Paolo Ubaldini (no. 198) (1197:22, fol. 79r; 1195:14, fol. 136r). ⁴⁰⁹
212	1588 June 29	Michelangelo di Giovanni Cinganelli, ⁴¹⁰ <i>dipintore</i> , ca. 1553– [1635]	Novice, aged 25, sponsored by Giovanni Battista da Ronta (no. 159) (1197:22, fol. 79r; 1195:14, fol. 136r) ⁴¹¹ ; 17 Dec. 1589: paid part of <i>entrata</i> (1203:40, fol. 240r); 19 June 1588: paid 21 lire for producing emblems for the Scalzo’s habits (1203:40, fol. 358r); 2 Feb. 1595: his wife Baccia joined (1203:41, fol. 32r).
213	1588 Aug. 29	Simone di Francesco da Gagliano, ⁴¹² <i>capomaestro alla Parte</i> , ca. 1538–1600	Novice, aged 50, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Battista da Ronta (no. 159) (1197:22, fol. 80r; 1195:14, fol. 136v), ⁴¹³ 16 Oct. 1588: who also delivered the <i>entrata</i> (1203:40, fol. 224r); 24 April 1600: payment for office (1200:31, fol. 55r).

He provided stationary for the AdD, e.g. on 8 Jan. 1594 (ASF, AdD, 27, fol. 98r).

⁴⁰⁸ At the top of the pages in 1195:14, fols. 132–138, appears the year 1589, however several references correct the year as 1588, e.g. on 10 April (fol. 135v) and 28 Dec. (fol. 136v).

⁴⁰⁹ See note 408.

⁴¹⁰ Although his surname does not appear in the early references, the identification with Michelangelo Cinganelli, a pupil of Bernardino Poccetti (no. 197), is certain. His surname is recorded as “Cincanelli” in a record of 2 Feb. 1599 (1203:41, fol. 83r) and as “Cinganelli” in one of 1 Jan. 1606 (1195:15, fol. 42v). He was a member of the AdD 1580–1635

(Zangheri [note 65], pp. 81f.). Michelangelo’s father Giovanni d’Agnolo “Cinchanelli” paid part of his *entrata* on 2 Feb. 1589 (1203:40, fol. 228r) and is possibly identical with the Giovanni d’Agnolo *legnaiolo* who had joined on 6 Nov. 1588 at the age of fifty-five without benefits, introduced by Giovanni Battista da Ronta (no. 159) (1197:22, fol. 80r). On 1 Jan. 1590, Michelangelo delivered the *entrata* also for his brother Lorenzo (1203:40, fol. 241r).

⁴¹¹ See note 408.

⁴¹² Cerchiai/Quiriconi (note 154), p. 205; Gallerani/Guidi (note 154), p. 267; Salvagnini (note 139), p. 22.

⁴¹³ See note 408.

214	1588 Nov. 21	Piero di Domenico Cecini, <i>capomaestro</i> , ⁴¹⁴ b. ca. 1548–1597	Novice, aged 40 without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico Benucci (1197:22, fol. 80r, 1195:14, fol. 136v); ⁴¹⁵ 7 Sept. 1597: payment for <i>missa privilegiata</i> (1203:41, p. 311).
215	1589 Feb. 5	Giovanni di Antonio Cafag[<i>g</i>]i, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1549	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico <i>battiloro</i> (1197:22, fol. 81v; 1195:14, fol. 137r); paid <i>entratura</i> the same day (1203:40, fol. 229r).
216	1589 Feb. 26	Matteo di Dionigi Nigetti, ⁴¹⁶ <i>legnaiolo</i> , [architect, sculptor], [1569–1649]	Novice, aged 20, with benefits of his father (no. 100), sponsored by Battista di Martino Maz[z]u[c]choni (1197:22, fol. 82r).
217	1589 July 9	Filippo di Giuliano di Baccio d’Agnolo Baglioni, ⁴¹⁷ <i>architetto</i> , b. ca. 1539–[1605]	Novice, aged 50, with benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Domenico <i>battiloro</i> (1197:22, fol. 83r; 1195:14, fol. 138r); 24 Aug. 1589: paid <i>entratura</i> (1203:40, fol. 236r).
218	1589 Sept. 21	Giulio di Alfonso Parigi, ⁴¹⁸ <i>scultore</i> , [painter, scenographer, architect], [1571–1635]	Novice, aged 20, with benefits of his father (no. 156) (1197:22, fol. 83v; 1195:14, fol. 138r); circa 1593: apparently produced a sculpture of the apostle Simon for the Scalzo (1198, ins. 26, p. 4). ⁴¹⁹
219	1589 Sept. 21	Giovanni di Michelangelo Caccini, ⁴²⁰ [sculptor and architect], [1556–1613] ⁴²¹	Novice, aged 35, without benefits, sponsored by Alfonso Parigi (no. 156) (1197:22, fol. 83v [in different ink at end of entry: “non ha pagato”]; 1195:14, fol. 138r).
220	1589 Sept. 21	Giovannozzo di Michelangelo, <i>scarpellino</i> , ⁴²² b. ca. 1544	Novice, aged 45, sponsored by Giovanni Battista da Ronta (no. 159) (1197:22, fol. 83v).
221	1590 Feb. 18	Taddeo di Lionardo Landini <i>scultore</i> , [architect], ⁴²³ ca. 1557– [1596]	Novice, aged 33, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Jacopo Chiti (no. 209) (1197:22, fol. 85r; 1195:14, fol. 139v).

⁴¹⁴ Occupation recorded on 13 June 1596 (1197:23, fol. 7r). On his engagement in this role: see Salvagnini (note 139), p. 23.

⁴¹⁵ Despite being recorded as a novice, he is probably identical with the Piero di Domenico Cecini listed at no. 189.

⁴¹⁶ Member of the AdD 1609–1649, made *accademico* in 1613 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 234; ASF, AdD, 60, fol. 57v). Buried in the Santissima Annunziata (Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* [...], Florence 1974/75 [repr. of the ed. Florence 1846], III, pp. 669–676).

⁴¹⁷ Documented as member of the AdD 1587–1601 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 15). Designed the meeting place of the Compagnia di San Filippo Benizi in Piazza Santissima Annunziata (Ludovica Sebregondi, *Tre confraternite fiorentine: Santa Maria della Pietà, detta ‘Buca’ di San Girolamo, San Filippo Benizi, San Francesco Poverino*, Florence 1991, p. 178).

⁴¹⁸ Member of the AdD 1590–1635; made *accademico* in 1595 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 245). On Parigi’s work see Salvagnini (note 139), pp. 157–167.

⁴¹⁹ The Scalzo credited him with having produced this sculpture in the *Libro dei benefattori*: O’Brien (note 14), pp. 229, 256, doc. 42i.

⁴²⁰ Member of the AdD 1578–1613 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 59).

⁴²¹ Thomas Martin, “Giovanni Caccini’s Bust of Baccio Valori”, in: *BM, CXLIV* (2002), pp. 724–734: 724, note 1.

⁴²² Allegri/Cecchi (note 249), pp. 361f.

⁴²³ Member of the AdD 1572–1598 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 179).

⁴²⁴ Member of the AdD, made *accademico* in 1564, documented until 1630 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 256).

⁴²⁵ Studied with Valerio Cioli (no. 158). Member of the AdD 1587–1626 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 129f).

222	1590 Feb. 18	Stefano di [Piero] Pieri, ⁴²⁴ <i>scultore</i> , b. ca. 1546	Novice, aged 44, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Caccini (no. 219) (1197:22, fol. 85r; reference struck through, suggesting that the acceptance was annulled).
223	1590 Feb. 18	Tommaso d'Antonio Porcel[1]otti, <i>scultore</i> , b. ca. 1566	Novice, aged 24, sponsored by Giovanni Caccini (no. 219), without benefits (1197:22, fol. 85r; reference struck through, suggesting that the acceptance was annulled).
224	1590 Feb. 18	Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci/Ferruzzi, ⁴²⁵ <i>scultore</i> , [1559–1626]	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Caccini (no. 219) (1197:22, fol. 85r; reference struck through, suggesting that the acceptance was annulled); 18 June 1594: novice, aged 30 or 38, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni di Raffaello <i>calderatio</i> (1195:15, 6v [aged 38], 1197:23, fol. 3v [aged 30]); ⁴²⁶ 2 Feb. 1595: his mother Ginevra joined (1203:41, fol. 32r); 27 Dec. 1595: the Scalzo offered him exemption from fees and expenses in return for the donation of a <i>San Taddeo</i> (1197:23, fol. 5v); ⁴²⁷ 2 Feb. 1598: his wife Dianora paid dues (1203:41, fol. 73v); 23 Aug. 1626: buried in the Scalzo's sepulchre, left 40 scudi for an annual sung mass for ten years, and for the benefit of the confraternity (1195:15, p. 173). ⁴²⁸
225	1590 March 11	Jacopo di Bastiano Pagolini, ⁴²⁹ <i>intagliatore</i> , b. ca. 1558	Novice, aged 32, without benefits, sponsored by Domenico di Zanobi Pandolfini (1197:22, fol. 85v; reference struck through, suggesting that the acceptance was annulled).
226	1590 April 1	Carlo di Cesare, ⁴³⁰ <i>scultore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Luca Al[1]egroni (1197:22, fol. 86r, 1195:14, fol. 140r).
227	1590 Nov. 1	Jacopo di Berghoz[z]o/ Bigoz[z]a, ⁴³¹ <i>pittore</i> , ca. 1545	Novice, aged 45, sponsored by Luca Al[1]egroni (1197:22, fol. 87r; 1195:14, fol. 142v); deposit delivered the same day by "Luca nostro provveditore", [probably Allegroni] (1203:40, fol. 254r).

⁴²⁶ Ferrucci's membership in the Compagnia dello Scalzo has already been noted by Sandro Bellesi in relation to this second entry ("Precisazioni sulla vita e sull'attività dello scultore fiorentino Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci", in: *Antichità viva*, XXVIII [1989], I, pp. 49–55: 50 and 54, note 21).

⁴²⁷ O'Brien (note 14), pp. 238f. and 253f., doc. 33.

⁴²⁸ The memorial was also located by Bellesi, who discovered that Ferrucci's wife died shortly after him and was also buried in the Santissima Annunziata (Bellesi [note 426], pp. 52, 54f., notes 53, 55).

⁴²⁹ Bénézit identifies an Italian sculptor with this name active in the sixteenth century, though apparently in Empoli (Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs [...]*, ed. by Jacques Busse, new edition, Paris 1999, X, p. 495).

⁴³⁰ His surname was probably Terra, as a "Charlo di Cieseri Tera scultore" delivered fees for another *confratello* on 17 June 1590 (1203:40, fol. 250r). Zangheri (note 65), pp. 69, 105, identified a Carlo di Cesare *scultore* and *formatore* documented in the books of the AdD between 1565 and 1577 and a Carlo di Cesare del Donzello *scultore* accepted as an *accademico* in 1565. They probably are both identical with Carlo di Cesare dal Palagio (1540–ca. 1598). Palagio and Carlo di Cesare Terra *scultore*, however, cannot yet be securely connected. Palagio was working on the Wettiner tomb in the Freiberg Cathedral between 1590 and 1593, but Terra is documented three times in the Scalzo records in April, June and December 1590 (O'Brien [note 14], p. 217, notes 39, 40 and p. 250, doc. 17).

⁴³¹ These entries likely allude to the admission of Jacopo Ligozzi into the Scalzo. Clear references to his membership appear below, no. 240.

228	1591 March 25	Giovanbattista di Giovanpaolo Coltrini, ⁴³² <i>organista</i> , b. ca. 1545	Novice, aged 46, without benefits, sponsored by Domenico Landini (no. 201) (1197:22, fol. 88r).
229	1591 Aug. 15	Alessandro di Ventura Conti, <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:22, fol. 89v; 1195:14, fol. 146v).
230	1591 Oct. 6	Antonio di Bernardo Mossi, <i>sensale di seta</i> , ca. 1558–1620	Novice, aged 33, with benefits of his father, ⁴³³ sponsored by Francesco di Marco Papi (1197:22, fol. 89v; 1195:14, fol. 148r); 25 Dec. 1620: payment for <i>missa privilegiata</i> (1204:42r, <i>uscite</i> : p. 8); 27 Dec. 1620: payment from heirs so he could be buried in the Scalzo's sepulchre (1204:42, p. 30, <i>entrate</i>).
231	1591 Oct. 6	Giovanbattista di Bernardo Mossi, ⁴³⁴ <i>pittore</i> , ca. 1567 ⁴³⁵ –[1602]	Novice, aged 24, with benefits of his father, ⁴³⁶ sponsored by Giovanni Battista da Ronta ⁴³⁷ (no. 159) (1197:22, fol. 89v; 1195:13, fol. 148r).
232	1592 Jan. 1	Girolamo di Antonio Crocini, <i>legnaiolo</i> , b. ca. 1562	Novice, aged 30, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Giovanni Battista da Ronta (no. 159) (1197:22, fol. 90v; 1195:14, fol. 148r).
233	1592 March 1	Orazio di Giovanni Vanni, ⁴³⁸ <i>orafo/orefice</i> , ca. 1560–[1640]	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni di Zanobi di Spelle <i>battiloro</i> (1195:14, fol. 150r, 1197:22, fol. 92v), who also delivered the <i>entratura</i> the same day (1203:40, fol. 276v); 2 Feb. 1596: his wife Benedetta joined (1203:41, fol. 41r).
234	1593 Feb. 2	Niccolò di Vincenzo Landi, ⁴³⁹ “che fa il christallo orientale”, b. ca. 1559	Novice, aged 34, sponsored by Giovanni di Domenico Pigliuz[z]i/Pigliuzzi (1195:15, fol. 3r; 1197:23, fol. 1v).

⁴³² Patronymic recorded 21 April 1591 (1203:40, fol. 264r).

⁴³³ Possibly the person listed under no. 86; see above, note 293.

⁴³⁴ Membership noted by Sebregondi (note 367), pp. 482f. Pupil of Lorenzo dello Sciorina (no. 171). Documented as a member of the AdD 1590–1601 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 226).

⁴³⁵ When Mossi joined the Compagnia di San Girolamo in 1598 he claimed he was twenty-six, which suggests a birth date around 1572 rather than that of 1567 indicated by the Scalzo's record.

⁴³⁶ Possibly the person listed under no. 86; see above, note 293.

⁴³⁷ Giovanni Battista da Ronta provided the panel and the carved frame for Mossi's *Flagellation of Christ* (Sebregondi [note 367], pp. 482f; 1198:26, p. 3).

⁴³⁸ Father of Giovan Battista Vanni. He worked for the Medici court between 1598 to at least 1618 and had a shop on Ponte Vecchio by 1616 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 147, 442). On 9 March 1585, seven years before joining himself, he received a dowry from the Scalzo on behalf of his wife Benedetta di Jacopo Torrigiani (1199:30, fol. 220r).

⁴³⁹ MAP, BIA, Person ID 4343. He received a Medici court salary between 1591 and 1605 (Kirkendale [note 318], p. 629, note 282).

⁴⁴⁰ Member of the AdD from 1595 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 245).

⁴⁴¹ Buried in the Scalzo's sepulchre (BNCF, Palatino, 853, fol. 47r; Fossi [note 361], pp. 59f., note 239).

⁴⁴² Here called simply “Maddalena di Bartolommeo orefice”; but an entry of 18 Feb. 1596 clearly identifies her as “Maddalena moglie fu di Bartolommeo Ciachetti” (1203:41, p. 45).

⁴⁴³ The reference is undated, but appears below one recorded for Davide Fortini who died Nov. 1594.

⁴⁴⁴ Membership noted by Mencarini (note 52), pp. 806f. Pupil of Jacopo Ligozzi (no. 240). Documented as member of the AdD 1592–1604 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 206); joined the Servite Order in 1605 (Colnaghi [note 61], pp. 174f.). Considering the Scalzo's close relationship with the Servites (see note 32), Mascagni's membership in the confraternity could have influenced his decision to join the Order.

⁴⁴⁵ Here called simply “Agnioletta di Matteo Mascagni”; but an entry of 2 Feb. 1609 identifies her as: “Agnioletta vedova donna fu di Mateo Maschagni” (1203:41, fol. 209v).

⁴⁴⁶ Ligozzi had probably joined in November 1590 (see above, no. 227).

235	1593 June 24	Cosimo di Alfonso Parigi, ⁴⁴⁰ [sculptor, architect, engineer], [1574–1598]	Novice, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Paolo Ubaldini (no. 198) (1197:23, fol. 2r; 1195:15, fol. 4r); <i>entratura</i> delivered the same day by Giovanni Tadacci (1203:41, fol. 11v); 20 July 1598: payment for 30 masses and an office of the dead with sung mass performed in the confraternity's oratory (1200:31, fol. 49r). ⁴⁴¹
236	1593 Dec. 21	Bartolomeo di Francesco Ciachetti, <i>orefice</i> , ca. 1561–1594	Novice, aged 32, without benefits, sponsored by Jacopo Chiti (no. 209) (1195:15, fol. 5r; 1197:23, fol. 3r); 2 Feb. 1594: his wife Maddalena joined (1203:41, fol. 18v); ⁴⁴² Nov. 1594: payment for office (1200:31, fol. 40r). ⁴⁴³
237	1594 June 10	Donato di Matteo Mascagni, ⁴⁴⁴ <i>pittore</i> , ca. 1569–[1637]	Novice, aged 25, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanbattista Mossi (no. 231) (1197:23, fol. 3v; 1195:15, fol. 6v); 2 Feb. 1596: his mother Agnoletta ⁴⁴⁵ joined (1203:41, fol. 44v).
238	1594 Dec. 21	Bartolomeo Rosso, <i>orefice</i> , d. 1594	Member; payment to Servites for mass at the <i>altare privilegiato</i> (1203:41, fol. 293r).
239	1595 March 12	Francesco di Giovanni Papini, <i>legnaiolo</i>	Novice, benefits of his grandfather, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:23, fol. 5r).
240	1595 June 23	Jacopo Ligozzi, ⁴⁴⁶ <i>pittore</i> , [b. between 1547 and 1551–1627]	Member, paid dues (1203:41, fol. 36v); 16 July 1595: offered to paint a picture to be located between the statues of apostles in the oratory (1190, cnn.); ⁴⁴⁷ 18 Feb. 1596: his wife Angiola joined (1203:41, fol. 45v).
241	1595 Dec. 27	Giovanni di Dionigi Nigetti, ⁴⁴⁸ [painter], [ca. 1573–1652]	Novice, aged 20, with benefits of his father (no. 100), who introduced him (1197:23, fol. 5v).
242	1596 March 10	Piero di Clemente Donatini, ⁴⁴⁹ <i>orefice</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Orazio Vanni (no. 233) (1195:15, fol. 13r; 1197:23, fol. 6r); 2 Feb. 1597: “Margerita di Piero Donatini” joined (1203:41, fol. 58v).
243	1596 March 31	Domenico di Michele Passignano ⁴⁵⁰ [Cresti], <i>pittore</i> , [1559–1638]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Dionigi Nigetti (no. 100) (1197:23, fol. 6v; 1195:15, fol. 13r); 2 Feb. 1598: his wife Laura joined (1203:41, fol. 73r).

He originally lived and had a studio in the Casino Medici, next to the Scalzo premises, but, like many other artists, had to transfer his studio to the Uffizi following Francesco I's death. He subsequently procured a private residence in Via Larga (now Via Cavour) (Lucilla Conigliello, “Alcune note su Jacopo Ligozzi e sui dipinti del 1594”, in: *Paragone*, XLI [1990], 485, pp. 21–42: 23). Documented as a member of the AdD 1576–1627, made *accademico* in 1582 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 184).

⁴⁴⁷ See also O'Brien (note 14), p. 252, doc. 30.

⁴⁴⁸ Worked in the studio of Passignano (no. 243). Documented as member of the AdD 1595–1648 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 234).

⁴⁴⁹ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 25 Jan. 1610 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 452; filza I4, fol. 123r).

⁴⁵⁰ Member of the AdD 1576–1638, *accademico* since 1589 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 247).

244	1596 April 21	Ottavio di Stefano Balatri, ⁴⁵¹ <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1574	Novice, aged 22, with benefits of his father, ⁴⁵² sponsored by Orazio Vanni (no. 233) (1197:23, fol. 7r; 1195:15, fol. 13r).
245	1597 June 8	Jacopo di Giulio Asselli, <i>arazziere</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Bartolomeo Maz[z]u[c]choni (1197:23, fol. 9r); paid <i>entrata</i> (1203:4I, fol. 65r); 6 Feb. 1600: Maria di Jacopo <i>araziere</i> paid <i>entrata</i> (1203:4I, fol. 101v).
246	1599 Feb. 28	Raffaello di Davide Fortini, ⁴⁵³ [sculptor]	Novice, with benefits of his father (1195:15, fol. 21r; 1197:23, fol. 11v); paid <i>entrata</i> the same day (1203:4I, fol. 85r).
247	1599 April 18	Lorenzo di Giovanni Lucini, ⁴⁵⁴ <i>capomaestro</i>	Returned (1195:15, fol. 22r).
248	1599 May 3	Andrea di Giovanbattista Balatri, ⁴⁵⁵ <i>legnaiolo</i> , d. 1626/27	Novice, with benefits of his uncle ⁴⁵⁶ (1195:15, fol. 22r; 1197:23, fol. 12r); paid <i>entrata</i> the same day, (1203:4I, fol. 93r); 2 Feb. 1603: his wife Maddalena paid dues (1203:4I, fol. 138r); 28 Feb. 1627: payment for mass at the <i>altare privilegiato</i> (1204:42, <i>uscite</i> : p. 46).
249	1599 June 29	Valerio di Matteo Brogetti, <i>arazziere</i> , d. by Dec. 1620	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Lorenzo di Chimenti <i>legnaiolo</i> (1195:15, fol. 22r; 1197:23, fol. 12v); 2 Feb. 1600: “Piera di Valerio <i>araziere</i> ” joined (1203:4I, fol. 98v); between December 1620 and February 1621, payment for office and sung mass (1200:3I, fol. 115v).
250	1601 March 18	Salvestro di Matteo Mascagni, ⁴⁵⁷ <i>orefice</i> , ca. 1580–[1630]	Novice, aged 21, with benefits of his brother Donato (no. 237), who introduced him (1197:23, fol. 14v; 1195:15, fol. 27r); paid <i>entrata</i> the same day (1203:4I, fol. 116v); 2 Feb. 1616 “Vittoria di Salvestro Mascagni” paid <i>entrata</i> (1203:4I, p. 337); 16 June 1627: was paid 9 lire for regilding two chalices and patens (1204:42, fol. 49r); 20 Feb. 1630: office of the dead with sung mass performed in the

⁴⁵¹ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 27 June 1611 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 452, 482f.).

⁴⁵² Stefano di Lorenzo da Balatro *legnaiolo*, who had joined the Scalzo on 2 Feb. 1565 at the age of 30, without benefits (1197:22, fol. 34r).

⁴⁵³ Documented as a member of the AdD 1576–1600 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 135). Worked in Ammannati’s workshop (Ferretti [note 1], pp. 83f., note 21). He produced *Apostles* for the doors of the Cathedral of Prato, but his work was considered fairly poor (Igino Benvenuto Supino, “Le porte del Duomo di Pisa”, in: *L’arte*, II [1899], pp. 372–391: 386, 388).

⁴⁵⁴ Cerchiai/Quiriconi (note 154), p. 205.

⁴⁵⁵ Andrea Balatri married Matteo Nigetti’s sister (Berti [note 308], pp. 158f., note 3), probably named Maddalena (see above, p. 372). His

sons, Giovanbattista and Giuseppe, were Scalzo *confratelli* too (nos. 309, 330). Andrea’s brother Lorenzo, who was also a *legnaiolo*, joined 24 Aug. 1599 (1197:23, fol. 12v). Andrea Balatri also joined the Compagnia di San Sebastiano on 28 March 1599 (ASF, CRSPL, San Sebastiano, 1869:4, fol. 282v).

⁴⁵⁶ Stefano di Lorenzo da Balatro (see above, note 452).

⁴⁵⁷ Membership noted by Liscia Bemporad. Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 15 March 1608. Buried in the Santissima Annunziata (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 424, 452, 482, II, pp. 124–126, no. 79).

⁴⁵⁸ Balducci described Bartolomeo as more an architect than a mere mason and dated his death Oct. 1606 (Balducci [note 416], VII, p. 79, IV, p. 321), but the Scalzo books demonstrate that he died in early 1605.

			confraternity's oratory, and the <i>missa privilegiata</i> was also celebrated; 3 March 1630 office of the dead celebrated (1195:15, p. 199).
251	1601 March 18	Bartolomeo di Matteo Mascagni, ⁴⁵⁸ <i>muratore</i> , ca. 1565–1605	Novice, aged 36, with benefits of his brother Donato (no. 237), who introduced him (1197:23, fol. 14v, 1195:15, fol. 27r); 6 April 1605: office of the dead with sung mass performed in the confraternity's oratory, 17 April 1605: office performed in the confraternity's oratory (1195:15, fol. 41r).
252	1602 Feb. 24	Domenico di Pierantonio Burattini, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1578	Novice, aged 24, with benefits of his father, ⁴⁵⁹ sponsored by Salvestro Mascagni (no. 250) (1195:15, fol. 30v); paid <i>entrata</i> the same day (1203:41, fol. 127v).
253	1602 March 24	Lionardo di Zanobi da Gagliano, ⁴⁶⁰ <i>orefice</i> , [d. 1620]	Novice, with benefits of his father, ⁴⁶¹ sponsored by Vincenzo di Niccolò <i>sellaio</i> (1195:15, fol. 31r; 1197:23, fol. 16v); 2 Feb. 1620: "Caterina di Lionardo da Gagliano" joined (1204:42, fol. 14v).
254	1602 Oct. 28	Giulio di Benedetto Sbraci, <i>orefice</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Orazio Vanni (no. 233) (1195:15, fol. 33r; 1197:23, fol. 17r); 17 Nov. 1602: paid <i>entrata</i> (1203:41, fol. 134v).
255	1602 Nov. 17	Giovanni di Salvestro Brovelli, <i>musicò</i>	Novice, sponsored by Ottavio di Lodovico Ricovesi (1195:15, fol. 33v), who delivered <i>entrata</i> the same day (1203:41, fol. 134v).
256	1603 July 25	Cosimo di Domenico Zecheri, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1581	Novice, aged 22, without benefits, sponsored by Salvestro Mascagni (no. 250) (1195:15, fol. 36v, 1197:23, fol. 18r; words added in another hand: "fu incipato per le monete false", and in margin, next to a drawing of gallows [Fig. 5]: "fu raso"); 3 Aug. 1603: paid part of <i>entrata</i> , 15 Aug. 1603: completed <i>entrata</i> payments (1203:41, fol. 143r–v).
257	1605 June 19	Giovanbattista di Niccolò Cellini/Cellerini, ⁴⁶² <i>orefice</i>	Novice, with benefits of his father (1195:15, fol. 42r; 1197:23, fol. 20r).

⁴⁵⁹ Pierantonio di Stagio Burattini *muratore* joined on 29 June 1596 at 40 years of age (1197:23, fol. 7v) and died in April 1619 (1195:15, p. 126).

⁴⁶⁰ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 24 Jan. 1604. He made a chalice for the church of San Marco in 1619 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 412, 452; II, pp. 138f, no. 89).

⁴⁶¹ It has been suggested that his father Zanobi was also a goldsmith (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 412). However, in the Scalzo books Zanobi di Lionardo da Gagliano (no. 187) is generally identified as a *legnaiolo*. While

it is possible that he practiced both trades, the Zanobi in the Scalzo died in 1603, while Zanobi the *orafo* was apparently still documented as living in 1616 (Liscia Bemporad, I, p. 412).

⁴⁶² The spelling "Cellerini" is found in a reference of 16 Aug. 1626 (1195:15, p. 177). He matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 13 May 1611 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 452). Cellerini was among the valuers of seven reliquaries for the *Galleria* in 1627 (Tanfani Centofanti [note 165], p. 337).

258	1605 June 19	Lorenzo di Tommaso Galestruzzi, ⁴⁶³ [goldsmith], [d. 1650]	Novice, with benefits of his father (1195:15, fol. 42r, 1197:23, fol. 20r); 18 Aug. 1610: received payment for a chalice produced for the Scalzo (1209:55, fol. 58r); ⁴⁶⁴ 2 Feb. 1613: “Caterina di Lorenzo Galestruzzi” paid dues (1203:41, p. 283).
259	1605 June 19	Francesco di Matteo Bruschi, ⁴⁶⁵ <i>orefice</i>	Novice, benefits of paternal uncle, Bartolomeo di Santi <i>sarto</i> (1195:15, fol. 42r; 1197:23, fol. 20r).
260	1609 March 22	Camillo di Giovanni Cinganelli, ⁴⁶⁶ <i>dipintore</i> ⁴⁶⁷	Novice, with benefits of his father (1197:23, fol. 23r; 1195:15, fol. 54r).
261	1609 July 19	Agnolo di Alessandro Conti, <i>gioielliere</i> , b. ca. 1590	Novice, aged 19, with benefits of his father (no. 229), who introduced him (1197:23, fol. 23v).
262	1610 March 28	Ottavio di Orazio Buonamati, <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits (1197:23, fol. 24r); 13 March 1612 (?): payment for office (1200:31, fol. 90r).
263	1611 Feb. 24	Piero di Bastiano Minucci, ⁴⁶⁸ <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1661	Novice, aged 50, without benefits, sponsored by Giuliano di Domenico <i>ottonaio</i> (1197:23, fol. 24v; 1195:15, fol. 60r); 30 Nov. 1624: vespers and office of the dead celebrated, request made to the Servites for mass at the <i>altare privilegiato</i> and an office with sung mass (1195:15, p. 164).
264	1611 Dec. 18	Raffaello di Orlando Gherardi/Gerardi, ⁴⁶⁹ [painter], [d. 1640]	Novice, with benefits of his brother, sponsored by Giulio Sbraci (no. 254) (1197:23, fol. 26r; 1195:15, p. 63); 2 Feb. 1620: “Dianora di Raffaello Gherardi” joined (1204:42, fol. 14r); 29 Aug. 1632: his daughter Maddalena received a dowry (1197:23, p. 56); 7 Oct. 1640: office of the dead celebrated in confraternity’s oratory (1195:15, p. 233).
265	1612 Jan. 15	Jacopo di Raffaello Petrucci/Petruzzi, ⁴⁷⁰ <i>orafa</i>	Novice, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Santi di Salvestro dell’Orso (1195:15, p. 65; 1197:23, fol. 26v).

⁴⁶³ Membership noted by Liscia Bemporad (note 124), I, p. 413. Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 15 Jan. 1610; Liscia Bemporad, I, p. 452. Lorenzo’s brother, Agnolo di Tommaso Galestruzzi *fornaio*, joined the Scalzo 30 March 1608 (1195:15, fol. 51v). Agnolo also joined the Compagnia di San Sebastiano, 25 March 1634 (ASF, CRSPL, I869, fol. 350r).

⁴⁶⁴ “Io Lorenzo Galestruzzi orefice ò riceutto lire quatordecì pe’ resto, anzi lire sesanta tre [c]hontanti [c]hontanti [sic] e lire quaranta dua nela valsuta di dua chalici ve[cc]hi al’anti[c]ha per [c]hosi sono stati stimati per terza pe[r]sona i quali ò riceuto da Mi[c]hele di G[i]andomeni[c]ho Taliani per [c]honto di uno [c]halice tuto lavorato di rame indorato [c]home si vede al presente.” Now in Santa Maria a Cintoia, Florence; see Liscia Bemporad (note 124), I, p. 413, II, p. 114.

⁴⁶⁵ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 4 Sept. 1618 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 452).

⁴⁶⁶ Documented as member of the AdD 1618–1629 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 81).

⁴⁶⁷ His occupation was recorded 5 May 1624 (1195:15, p. 162).

⁴⁶⁸ Liscia Bemporad (note 124), I, p. 482.

⁴⁶⁹ Member of the AdD 1594–1640, “pittore cappuccino” (Zangheri [note 65], p. 150).

⁴⁷⁰ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 21 April 1629 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 453).

⁴⁷¹ Documented as member of the AdD 1596–1618 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 241).

⁴⁷² Disciple of Giovanni Caccini (no. 219), member of the AdD 1613–1631 and *accademico* from 1614 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 122). Fancelli is buried in the Santissima Annunziata (see Balducci [note 416], IV, pp. 421f).

266	1614 April 20	Andrea di Domenico Pagolini, ⁴⁷¹ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo di Valore Stiat[τ]esi (I195:15, p. 83); 20 Feb. 1615: paid <i>entrata</i> (I203:41, fol. 310r).
267	1614 Oct. 19	Chiarissimo di Antonio Fancelli, ⁴⁷² <i>scultore</i> , [1580s–1632]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Andrea Ferrucci (no. 224) (I195:15, p. 88; I197:23, fol. 30r).
268	1615 March 8	Francesco di Domenico Lazzeri, ⁴⁷³ <i>scultore, intagliatore di marmi</i> ⁴⁷⁴	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Bartolomeo di Santi “auchiatore” [<i>sic</i>] (I195:15, p. 91).
269	1615 March 29	Domenico di Giovanmaria Casini, ⁴⁷⁵ <i>pittore</i> , ⁴⁷⁶ [1588–1660]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Andrea Balatri (no. 248) (I195:15, p. 92 [reference crossed out]). ⁴⁷⁷
270	1615 Oct. 28	Benedetto d’Antonio Tarchiani, ⁴⁷⁸ [carver]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Sabatino Fenci (I195:15, p. 97r; I197:23, fol. 31r); 2 Feb. 1620: “Alessandra di Benedetto Tarchiani” paid dues (I204:42, fol. 13v).
271	1616 March 31	Bastiano di Francesco, <i>arazziere</i>	Novice, without benefits sponsored by Giuliano Calvani (I195:15, p. 103).
272	1618 April I	Francesco di Raffaello Petrucci/ Petruzzii, ⁴⁷⁹ <i>orefice</i> , [d. 1649]	Novice, with benefits of his father (no. 194), sponsored by Giuliano di Domenico <i>ottonaio</i> (I195:15, p. 119; I197:23, fol. 33v); 5 Feb. 1645: “Maria di Francesco Petrucci” paid dues (I204:43, fol. 6r); 24 Jan. 1649: office of dead celebrated (I196:16, p. 8).
273	1618 April I	Michele di Antonio Giusti, ⁴⁸⁰ <i>orefice</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Raffaello Petrucci (I195:15, p. 119; ⁴⁸¹ I197:23, fol. 33v); 27 Dec. 1661: noted as defunct (I197:15, fol. 105v).
274	1618 July 25	Virgilio di Francesco Lotti, ⁴⁸² <i>pittore</i>	Novice (I195:15, p. 121; I197:23, fol. 33v).

⁴⁷³ Documented as member of the AdD 1597–1653 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 181).

⁴⁷⁴ The profession *intagliatore di marmi* appears in a reference of Sept. 1623 (I195:15, p. 157).

⁴⁷⁵ Documented as member of the AdD 1609–1660 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 71).

⁴⁷⁶ Occupation recorded Sept. 1623 (I195:15, p. 157).

⁴⁷⁷ Note in margin: “Andò a libro de’ morti et rimes[s]e”. This reference indicates that he was expelled from the confraternity (his name was placed in the book of the dead), but then he was allowed to return.

⁴⁷⁸ Documented as a member of the AdD 1629–1656 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 312). Produced a bust reliquary for the Compagnia di San Girolamo in 1616 (Sebregondi [note 417], pp. 171f).

⁴⁷⁹ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 23 Dec. 1619; buried in the Santissima Annunziata (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 430, 453, 482).

⁴⁸⁰ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 16 May 1616. His shop was on the Ponte Vecchio (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 452, 483; Nardinocchi [note 125], pp. 246–251).

⁴⁸¹ The patronymic is here given as Matteo, but later references record it as Antonio.

⁴⁸² Documented as member of the AdD 1607–1629, where he is described as “sta con Giovanni Nigetti” (no. 241), suggesting that he might have worked in Nigetti’s workshop (Zangheri [note 65], p. 188). In 1624 Lotti was paid for having coloured a design of a *paliotto* similar to the ex voto altar that Grand Duke Cosimo II had commissioned for San Carlo Borromeo in Milan (Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti, “Two Jewellers at the Grand Ducal

275	1618 July 25	Camillo di Alessandro Bellini, ⁴⁸³ <i>dipintore</i>	Novice (I195:15, p. 121; I197:23, fol. 33v).
276	1620 Feb. 2	Francesco di Niccolò Palmieri, <i>organista</i> ⁴⁸⁴	Member, paid dues (I204:42, fol. 12v).
277	1620 Feb. 16	Giovanni di Jacopo Bilivert, ⁴⁸⁵ [painter], [1585–1644]	Novice (I197:23, fol. 36r; I195:15, p. 130).
278	1620 Feb. 16	Ridolfo di Matteo Ferroni, ⁴⁸⁶ <i>pittore</i>	Novice (I197:23, fol. 36r; I195:15, p. 130); paid <i>entratura</i> 22 March 1620 (I204:42, p. 19).
279	1620 March 25	Filippo di Jacopo Tarchiani, ⁴⁸⁷ <i>pittore</i> , [1576–1645]	Novice, without benefits (I197:23, fol. 36v; I195:15, p. 131).
280	1620 March 25	Baccio di Antonio Lupicini/ Lapicini, ⁴⁸⁸ <i>scultore</i> , [painter]	Novice, without benefits (I195:15, p. 132; I197:23, fol. 37r).
281	1620 July 25	Francesco di Tommaso Torrini, <i>muratore</i> , b. ca. 1580	Novice, aged 40, sponsored by Andrea Ferrucci (no. 224) (I195:15, p. 133).
282	1620 Nov. 8	Francesco di Bartolomeo Dolci, ⁴⁸⁹ <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1598	Novice, aged ca. 22, without benefits, sponsored by Francesco Lotti (no. 274) (I197:23, fol. 37v; I195:15, p. 135).
283	1621 March 25	Andrea di Giovan Maria Piatti, <i>orefice</i> , d. 1629	Novice, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Francesco Fioravanti (I195:15, p. 138; I197:23, fol. 38v); 16 Dec. 1629: vespers and office celebrated in confraternity's oratory (I195:15, fol. 197r).
284	1621 July 18	Jacopo di Giuliano Sani, ⁴⁹⁰ <i>intagliatore</i> , b. ca. 1596	Novice, aged 25, without benefits, sponsored by Michele de' Rossi or Corsi (I197:23, fol. 39r; I195:15, p. 141).

Court of Florence around 1618", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XII [1965], pp. 107–124: 119). He is probably the artist who was paid to copy Ludovico Cigoli's *Last Supper* for the ciborium and altar in the Cappella dei Principi, San Lorenzo (Miles Chappell, "Some Works by Cigoli for the Cappella de' Principi", in: *BM*, CXIII [1971], pp. 580–582: 581).

⁴⁸³ Enrolled in the AdD in 1599; documented as a member until 1653 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 29).

⁴⁸⁴ Occupation identified Sept. 1623 (I195:15, p. 157).

⁴⁸⁵ Member of the AdD 1609–1644, made *accademico* in 1612 (Contini [note 138], pp. 9, 172).

⁴⁸⁶ Documented as member of the AdD 1625–1648 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 129).

⁴⁸⁷ Member of the AdD by 1596 until his death and made *accademico* in 1613 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 312). His brother Domenico was also a member (I203: 40, fol. 178v).

⁴⁸⁸ Documented as member of the AdD 1608–1653 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 189f). Colnaghi ([note 61], p. 165) identified him as a painter.

⁴⁸⁹ Documented as member of the AdD 1625–1653 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 116).

⁴⁹⁰ For his work at Santa Trinita, see Dora Liscia Bemporad, "Gli arredi lignei", in: *La chiesa di Santa Trinita a Firenze*, Florence 1987, pp. 270–275: 274f.

⁴⁹¹ Documented as member of the AdD 1618–1670; made *accademico* in 1630 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 278).

⁴⁹² Documented as member of the AdD 1613–1631 (ASF, AdD, I24, fol. 132r, 9 Feb. 1613; Zangheri [note 65], p. 103). Most of the entries cited by Zangheri give Andrea as the patronymic, excepting ASF, AdD, I25, fol. 124r, where a space was left for the patronymic, and the last reference of 6 Sept. 1631, which gives Bartolomeo (ASF, AdD, 60, fol. 12r).

⁴⁹³ Documented as member of the AdD 1645–1654 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 53f).

285	1621 Nov. 1	Giovanbattista di Vincenzo Rosati, ⁴⁹¹ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Francesco Fioravanti (I197:23, fol. 39v; I195:15, p. 143), who also delivered the <i>entrata</i> on 25 Dec. 1621 (I204:42, fol. 48r); occasionally painted candles for the Scalzo, e. g. 18 Feb. 1624 (I204:42, fol. 28r).
286	1621 Nov. 1	Alamanno di Bartolomeo Dei, ⁴⁹² <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1632]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Francesco Fioravanti (I195:15, p. 143; I197:23, fol. 39v); painted candles for the Scalzo on various occasions, e. g. on 2 Feb. 1626 (I204:42, fol. 36v); 25 Feb. 1632: office of the dead, died 20 February (I195:15, p. 212).
287	1621 Nov. 1	Bonanno di Fabrizio Bonanni, ⁴⁹³ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanfrancesco di Matteo Fuordivilla ⁴⁹⁴ (I197:23, fol. 39v; I195:15, p. 143).
288	1623 Feb. 24	Paolo di Andrea Laurentini, ⁴⁹⁵ <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1593–[1675]	Novice, aged ca. 30, without benefits, sponsored by Santi dell’Orso (I195:15, p. 150; I197:23, fol. 41r).
289	1623 April 9	Francesco di Gabriello Ferroni, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1603	Novice, aged 20, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Lorenzo di Giovanni Berti (I195:15, p. 152; I197:23, fol. 41v).
290	1623 April 30	Simone di Giovanni Salvestrini, <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1593	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanbattista Rosati (no. 285) (I197:23, fol. 42r, I195:15, p. 153).
291	1623 April 30	Cosimo di Giovanni Salvestrini, ⁴⁹⁶ <i>scultore</i> , [1602–ca. 1660]	Novice, aged 25, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanbattista Rosati (no. 285) (I197:23, fol. 42r; I195:15, p. 153); 1623: produced a bust of Andrea del Sarto for the <i>chiostro</i> (I189:I, lett. B, no. 52). ⁴⁹⁷
292	1623 April 30	Bartolomeo di Giovanni Salvestrini, ⁴⁹⁸ <i>pittore</i> , [1599–1633]	Novice, aged 26, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanbattista Rosati (no. 285) (I197:23, fol. 42r; I195:15, p. 153).
293	1625 Feb. 2	Giovanbattista di Jacopo Cenini, <i>capomaestro alla Parte</i>	Novice (I197:23, fol. 44v).

⁴⁹⁴ Possibly the brother of Jacopo di Matteo Fuordivilla, who matriculated into the AdD in 1632 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 131) and painted candles for the Scalzo in February 1621 and 1622 (I209:55, pp. 124, 133).

⁴⁹⁵ Pupil of Passignano (no. 243), matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 23 Nov. 1620. Married Margherita di Zanobi da Gagliano, the sister of the goldsmith Lionardo da Gagliano (no. 253) in 1622 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 419, 453, 484; II, pp. 162f., 216–218, cat. 102, 140).

⁴⁹⁶ Documented as member of the AdD 1631–1660 (Zangheri [note 65],

p. 287), where, however, the patronymic is recorded as “Piero”, except for ASF, AdD, 58, fol. 68v (“Cosimo di [*cancelled*: Piero] Giovanni Salvestrini”).

⁴⁹⁷ Destroyed during renovation works in 1722, it was replaced with a copy (Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*, Florence 1754–1762 [reprint 1972], VII, p. 209).

⁴⁹⁸ Apprentice to Passignano (no. 243) and collaborator of Bilivert (no. 277). Documented as member of the AdD 1622–1629, made *accademico* in 1624 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 287).

294	1625 Aug. 29	Francesco di Bastiano Canapai, <i>orefice</i>	Novice (I197:23, fol. 45r).
295	1625 Aug. 29	Bastiano di Domenico or Giovannbattista ⁴⁹⁹ Tor[r]icelli, ⁵⁰⁰ <i>pittore</i> , [d. 1626]	Novice (I197:23, fol. 45r).
296	1625 Aug. 29	Antonio di Clemente Novelli, ⁵⁰¹ <i>scultore</i> , [1599–1662]	Novice (I197:23, fol. 45r); his wife Lucrezia paid dues, 2 Feb. 1632 (I204:42, p. 202).
297	1626 April 9	Bastiano di Filippo Pettrossi, ⁵⁰² <i>scultore</i> , b. ca. 1590	Novice, aged ca. 36, without benefits, sponsored by Virgilio Lotti (no. 274) (I197:23, fol. 46r; I195:15, p. 178).
298	1626 Nov. 22	Nicodemo di Michelangelo Ferrucci/Ferruzzi, ⁵⁰³ <i>pittore</i> , [1575–1650]	Novice, with benefits of his brother Andrea (no. 224), sponsored by Jacopo Massini (I195:15, p. 179; I197:23, fol. 47v).
299	1629 March 4	Piermaria di Raffaello Gherardi, ⁵⁰⁴ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, with benefits of his father (no. 264) (I197:23, fol. 49v; I195:15, p. 192).
300	1629 March 4	Michele di Niccolò Fossi, <i>orefice</i>	Novice, without benefits (I195:15, p. 192; I197:23, fol. 49v).
301	1629 March 4	Lorenzo di Jacopo Nozzolini, ⁵⁰⁵ <i>orefice</i>	Novice, without benefits (I195:15, p. 192; I197:23, fol. 49v).
302	1629 March 4	Vettorino di Damiano Landi, <i>orefice</i>	Novice, without benefits (I195:15, p. 192; I197:23, fol. 49v).
303	1629 April I	Niccolò di Vincenzo Migliorati/ Migoratti, <i>orafo</i> , d. 1630	Novice, with benefits of his father (I195:15, p. 193); 20 Oct. 1630: office of the dead performed (I195:15, p. 203).
304	1630 March 3	Simone di Pasquino Pignoni, ⁵⁰⁶ <i>pittore</i> , [1611–1698]	Novice, paid deposit for <i>entrata</i> (I204:42, p. 182); nominated <i>limosiniere</i> I Jan. 1631 and <i>mallevadore</i> on 5 Jan. 1631 (I197:23, fol. 51r, 52v); ⁵⁰⁷ I Jan. 1662: returned (although registered as novice), with benefits (I197:23, fol. 106r).

⁴⁹⁹ Giovannbattista appears above Domenico; it is not clear which of these two names should go first, or if Domenico should in fact be deleted.

⁵⁰⁰ Documented as member of the AdD 1623–1626 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 319).

⁵⁰¹ Member of the AdD 1628–1662, made *accademico* in 1630 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 236).

⁵⁰² Documented as member of the AdD 1616–1635 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 252). He specialized in works in *cartapesta*, *spugne* and *stucco*; see Silvia Blasio, s. v. Novelli, Antonio, Pettrossi, Bastiano, in: *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del Seicento e Settecento*, ed. by Giovanni Pratesi, Turin 1993, I, pp. 53, 55.

⁵⁰³ Student of Passignano (no. 243), documented as member of the AdD 1595–1650 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 130).

⁵⁰⁴ Enrolled in the AdD in 1641, documented as a member until 1692 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 150).

⁵⁰⁵ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 17 April 1626 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 453).

⁵⁰⁶ Pupil of Passignano (no. 243); he is documented as member of the AdD 1648–1697 and was made *accademico* in 1657 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 257f.). Pignoni was also a member of the Compagnia di San Sebastiano (O'Brien [note 14], p. 241). His father, Pasquino d'Antonio Pignoni *libraio*, joined the Scalzo at about seventy years of age on 25 Feb. 1636 (I195:15, fol. 251v).

⁵⁰⁷ Contrary to the rules, he was also undertaking the roles of *limosiniere* and *mallevadore*, before his year of *noviziato* had finished.

305	1630 July 27	Raffaello di Antonio Segni, ⁵⁰⁸ <i>dipintore</i> , [d. 1648]	Novice, without benefits (1197:23, fol. 50v).
306	1633 June 5	Orazio di Matteo Fidani, ⁵⁰⁹ <i>pittore</i> , [1606–1656]	Novice, aged 22, without benefits, sponsored by Raffaello Segni (no. 305) (1195:15, fol. 238v); 10 Nov. 1652: returned (although registered as novice), without benefits, sponsored by Giovanantonio Baccanelli (no. 314) (1197:23, fol. 98r; 1196:16, fol. 4r).
307	1633 Sept. 21	Clemente di Giovanni Salvestrini, ⁵¹⁰ <i>orefice</i> , ca. 1609–[1675]	Novice, aged 24, without benefits, sponsored by Ottavio Balatri (no. 244) (1195:15, fol. 238v); 4 Feb. 1652: “Elisabetta di Clemente Silvestrini” paid dues (1204:43, fol. 53v).
308	1635 Jan. 17	Bartolomeo di Matteo Poggi, <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1605	Novice, aged 20, sponsored by Simone Pignoni (n. 304) (1195:15, fol. 247r).
309	1635 [March 4] ⁵¹¹	Giovanni Battista d’Andrea Balatri, ⁵¹² <i>pittore</i> , [and architect], ca. 1614–[1673]	Novice, aged 21, with benefits of his father [no. 248], sponsored by Domenico Ughi (1195:15, fol. 248r).
310	1635 [March 4]	Piero di Jacopo Massini, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1615	Novice, aged 20, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Domenico Ughi (1195:15, fol. 248r).
311	1635 [March 4]	Carlo di Giovanni Piero Manfioretti, <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1615	Novice, aged 20, sponsored by Simone Pignoni (no. 304) (1195:15, fol. 248r).
312	1636 April 6	Vincenzo di Piero Antonio Tagli, ⁵¹³ <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1601	Novice, aged 35, without benefits, sponsored by Jacopo Lotti (1195:15, fol. 252v; 1197:23, fol. 67r).
313	1637 March 15	Bartolomeo di Donato Pieri, ⁵¹⁴ <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1592	Novice, aged about 45, sponsored by Jacopo Mancini (1197:23, fol. 68r; 1195:15, fol. 256r).
314	1638 Nov. I or 14	Giovanantonio di Giulio Baccanelli, ⁵¹⁵ [painter]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) (1197:23, fol. 69v [I Nov.]; 1195:15, p. 268 [I4 Nov.]); 4 Dec. 1644: was paid 10 lire for 15 “ <i>segni in carta percora</i> ” for new habits and again on 25 March 1651 20 lire for another 40 (1204:43, fol. 73r, 96v).

⁵⁰⁸ Documented as member of the AdD 1611–1692 (though he was noted as dead in 1648) (Zangheri [note 65], p. 297).

⁵⁰⁹ Disciple of Giovanni Bilivert (no. 277) and member of the AdD 1629–1656 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 131).

⁵¹⁰ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 23 July 1641 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, pp. 454, 474).

⁵¹¹ As in the following two entries, the date is indicated as the second Sunday of Lent, which corresponds to 4 March.

⁵¹² Documented as member of the AdD 1636–1670 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 16). Kirkendale (note 318), p. 638.

⁵¹³ Enrolled in the AdD in 1628, documented as a member until 1653 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 311).

⁵¹⁴ Matriculated into the Arte della Seta on 10 July 1631 (Liscia Bemporad [note 124], I, p. 453).

⁵¹⁵ Documented as member of the AdD 1630–1661, made *accademico* in 1661 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 14).

315	1638 Nov. 1 or 14	Tommaso di Filippo Rigacci, ⁵¹⁶ <i>intagliatore</i>	Novice, with benefits of his father, who also sponsored him (I197:23, fol. 69v [I Nov.]; I195:15, p. 268 [I4 Nov.]).
316	1638 Nov. 1 or 14	Giovanni di Marco Nani, ⁵¹⁷ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) (I197:23, fol. 69v [I Nov.]; I195:15, p. 268 [I4 Nov.]).
317	1638 Dec. 19	Marcantonio di Giovanni Agnioletti, ⁵¹⁸ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) (I197:23, fol. 69v; I195:15, p. 269).
318	1638 Dec. 19	Leonardo di Giovanni Francesco Biffoli/Riffoli, ⁵¹⁹ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) (I197:23, fol. 69v [Biffoli]; I195:15, p. 269 [Riffoli]); 19 Nov. 1645: vespers of the dead and an office celebrated (I195:15, fol. 353r).
319	1639 March 19	[Pietro] Paolo di Domenico Sassi, ⁵²⁰ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) or Domenico Ugo [Ughi:] (I197:23, fol. 70r [Vincenzo Tagli and the name “Pietro” written before “Pagolo” in a different ink], I195:15, p. 272 [Domenico Ugo]).
320	1639 March 19	Giovanni di Lorenzo Martinelli, ⁵²¹ <i>pittore</i> , [ca. 1610–1659 or 1668]	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) (I197:23, fol. 70r; I195:15, p. 272).
321	1639 Aug. 7	Zanobi di Giovanni Gattai, ⁵²² <i>pittore</i> , d. 1640	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) (I197:23, fol. 70v); 16 Sept. 1640: office of the dead is celebrated in the confraternity’s oratory for “nostro fratello novicio” (I195:15, p. 232).
322	1640 June 10	Paolo di Niccolò Corsetti, ⁵²³ <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits, sponsored by Leonardo Biffoli (no. 318) (I197:23, fol. 71r).
323	1640 Nov. 30	Lorenzo di Polito Masi, <i>pittore</i>	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Leonardo Biffoli (no. 318) (I197:23, fol. 72r; I195:15, p. 235).
324	1640 Nov. 30	Annibale di Niccolò Niccolai, ⁵²⁴ <i>pittore</i> , ca. 1618–[1693]	Novice, aged 22, without benefits, sponsored by Orazio Fidani (no. 306) (I197:23, fol. 72r; I195:15, p. 235).

⁵¹⁶ Tommaso Rigacci worked with his father Filippo di Giovanmaria Rigacci on the furnishings for the Compagnia di San Niccolò del Ceppo (Ludovica Sebregondi Fiorentini, *La Compagnia e l’Oratorio di San Niccolò del Ceppo*, Florence 1985, pp. 63–65 and plate 20). Filippo Rigacci’s entrance into the Scalzo has not yet been identified.

⁵¹⁷ A Giovanni Nani painter and gilder based in Via dello Studio was documented as member of the AdD 1640–1684 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 229). He did work for the Compagnia di San Girolamo (Sebregondi [note 417], p. 74).

⁵¹⁸ Probably the painter Marcantonio di Giovanni Agnelli, who was documented as member of the AdD 1635–1637 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 2).

⁵¹⁹ The surname is spelt “Biffoli” when he introduced Paolo Corsetti and Lorenzo Masi (below, nos. 322, 323).

⁵²⁰ Documented as member of the AdD 1629–1653 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 293).

⁵²¹ Bénézit (note 429), IX, p. 288. Documented as member of the AdD 1634–1658 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 204).

⁵²² Member of AdD 1635–1640 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 146).

325	1641 June 16	Miniato di Lodovico Squadri, ⁵²⁵ <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1603	Novice, aged 38, without benefits, sponsored by Vincenzo Tagli (no. 312) (1197:23, fol. 73v; 1195:15, p. 255).
326	1641 Aug. 29	Agnolo di Giuliano Gori, ⁵²⁶ <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1617	Novice, aged 24, without benefits, sponsored by Francesco di Valerio Ugolini (1197:23, fol. 73v; 1195:15, p. 260); was paid on various occasions for painting candles, e. g. on 17 Feb. 1653 (1204:43, fol. 102r).
327	1644 Dec. 25	Domenico di Giuliano Fantoni, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1614	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Ottavio Balatri (no. 244) (1197:23, fol. 81v; 1195:15, p. 339).
328	1648 Sept. 6	Giovan Domenico di Francesco Caccini, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1630	Novice, aged ca. 18, with benefits of his father, sponsored by Giuseppe Mariotti (1197:23, fol. 89r; 1196:16, fol. 4r).
329	1650 Dec. 21	Francesco di Filiberto Alausta, <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1630	Novice, aged ca. 20, with benefits of his father, who also introduced him (1197:23, fol. 94v; 1196:16, fol. 29v).
330	1652 June 16	Giuseppe di Andrea Balatri, ⁵²⁷ <i>scultore in Galleria</i> , b. ca. 1634	Novice, aged 28, with benefits, sponsored by Paolo del Bianco (1197:23, fol. 97v).
331	1653 Oct. 5	Carlo di Lorenzo Galestruzzi, ⁵²⁸ <i>intagliatore</i> , b. ca. 1623	Novice, aged 30, with benefits of his father (no. 258), sponsored by Niccolò Castellari (1197:23, fol. 100v, 1196:16, fol. 51r).
332	1653 Oct. 5	Antonio Benedetto di Gregorio Broccetti, <i>musicista</i> , b. ca. 1628	Novice, aged 25, sponsored by Carlo di Jacopo Massini (1197:23, fol. 100v, 1196:16, fol. 51r).
333	1656 June 25	Carlo di Andrea Dolci, ⁵²⁹ [painter], [1616–1687]	Novice, aged 35 (1197:23, fol. 101v); 2 July 1662, he and other novices receive <i>veste</i> (1197:23, fol. 108). ⁵³⁰

⁵²³ Documented as member of the AdD 1643–1670 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 92f).

⁵²⁴ Documented as member of the AdD 1642–1684 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 232).

⁵²⁵ Enrolled in the AdD 1637, documented as a member until 1653 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 305).

⁵²⁶ Documented as member of the AdD 1648–1674; made *accademico* in 1659 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 160).

⁵²⁷ Inherited the woodworker's workshop of Dionigi and then Matteo Nigetti. On the relationship between the Balatri and Nigetti see above, p. 372, and Nardinocchi (note 125), pp. 241f.

⁵²⁸ "Intagliatore in legno in Via San Egidio", he was made *accademico* in 1684, documented as a member of the AdD until 1692 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 142).

⁵²⁹ Member of AdD 1644–1686, he was made *accademico* in 1648 (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 115f.). Buried in the Santissima Annunziata (Francesca Baldassari, *Carlo Dolci*, Turin 1995, p. 31). Carlo Dolci's father Andrea, a

tailor, had been accepted as a novice into the Scalzo at the age of twenty-seven, without benefits, on 21 Nov. 1599 (1197:23, fol. 12v; 1195:15, fol. 23r) and died as a member before 30 November 1620 (1195:15, p. 136). Andrea's wife Elisabetta joined 2 Feb. 1600 (1203:41, fol. 100v), and also his daughter Agnese was a member by 2 Feb. 1619, when she paid her dues (1204:42, fol. 3v). Another daughter, Maria, was awarded a dowry by the Scalzo (1204:42, fol. 87v, *uscite*), which, however, was collected by Carlo Dolci as her heir, since both bride and groom had died: "Io Carlo di Andrea Dolci ò riceuto lire 56 cioè lire cinquenzei quale ricevo per la dota della Maria di Andre Do[]ci marita a Piero Bucetti quali ricevo come eredi di detta Maria per esser morta detta Maria e detto Pie[ro] Bucetti in fede di propria m[a]no scrissi" (1209:55, fol. 176v, date at top of page: 2 Feb. 1634). Sebregondi ([note 367], pp. 500f.) has identified a *Padre Eterno* by Carlo Dolci (now in the Galleria Palatina) as one once owned by the Scalzo.

⁵³⁰ At least among the cases treated in this article, this is a rare reference to the enactment of a ritual for the acceptance of the confraternal habit.

334	1657 Feb. 2	Giovanni Battista di Giuliano Gori, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1633 or 1637	Novice, aged 20 or 24, with benefits of his brother (no. 326) (I196:16, fol. 70v; I197:23, fol. 101v).
335	1662, Jan. 1	Giovanni di Francesco Corsi, <i>pittore</i>	Novice, without benefits (I197:23, fol. 106r).
336	1662 Nov. 1	Cesare di Bernardino Crestini, <i>orefice</i> , b. ca. 1662	Novice, aged 30, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Landini (I197:23, fol. 109r).
337	1662 Dec. 31	Tubbia di ... [<i>sic</i>] Monteverde [Grünsneider], ⁵³¹ <i>maestro di sonar di violino</i> , b. ca. 1602	Novice, aged 60 (I197:23, fol. 109r).
338	1664 Nov. 16	Niccolò di Paolo Corsetti, <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1644	Novice, aged 20, with benefits, sponsored by his father (no. 322) (I197:23, fol. 113r).
339	1666 April 18	Giovanni Francesco di Nicodemo del Fantasia, ⁵³² <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1626	Novice, aged 40, without benefits, sponsored by Giovanni Manetti (I197:23, fol. 115v).
340	1670 May 18	Girolamo di Antonio Zazzerini, ⁵³³ <i>pittore</i> , b. ca. 1630	Novice, aged 40, with benefits, sponsored by Taddeo Sicurani (I197:23, fol. 124v).

⁵³¹ Salaried by the Medici court from 1616 (Kirkendale [note 318], pp. 351f, no. 100).

⁵³² Documented as member of the AdD 1648–1686, made *accademico* in 1673 (Zangheri [note 65], p. 106).

⁵³³ Documented as member of the AdD 1669–1697; references for him also appear under the name “Lazzerini” (Zangheri [note 65], pp. 339, 182).

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Abbreviations

AdD	Accademia del Disegno
ASF	Archivio di Stato, Firenze
ASSAF	Archivio della Santissima Annunziata, Firenze
BM	<i>The Burlington Magazine</i>
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , Rome 1960–
Cap. CRS	Capitoli delle Compagnie Religiose Soppresse
CRSPL, Scalzo	Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista detta dello Scalzo
MAP, BIA	Medici Archive Project, digital platform (database accessible via www.medici.org)
NA	Notarile Antecosimiano

Abstract

The Compagnia dello Scalzo has been described as being composed of anonymous artisans of little cultural interest, but an examination of the Scalzo's administrative books suggests that this position should be reviewed. The range of occupations practiced by the *confratelli* is more diverse, and more interesting, than previously realised, comprising artists and artisans of both high art and decorative art – painters, sculptors, goldsmith and woodcarvers – as well as civic and military architects and engineers, many of whom are well known in Florentine history. Investigation of the rich documentation surviving for the Scalzo adds to our understanding of the social and lay-religious world in which the artists and artisans interacted.

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