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CIGOLI STUDIES

by

CHARLES H. CARMAN

A dissertation submitted to The Johns
Hopkins University in conformity with
the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

Cigoli Studies deals principally with the evolution of Cigoli's style throughout his long career as an artist. I have not attempted to choose only one or two aspects of this evolution but have instead given a general discussion of all the variations and changes in development from Cigoli's earliest works to those of his most mature period to establish his importance which has so often been misunderstood and neglected. I also felt that it was important to briefly outline some background of the period from which Cigoli emerges, dealt with in the first chapter, in order to facilitate a general understanding of Florentine painting in the late sixteenth century. Around 1570, just before Cigoli came to Florence, a new style had begun to evidence itself--a style that was anti-"maniera." It is to this manner of painting that Cigoli turns, seeking instruction from its leader, Santi di Tito. Simultaneously, Cigoli manifests an interest in Pontormo whose expressive, rhythmic forms greatly influence his art. In fact, throughout the paintings of Cigoli's early career one finds the imprint of

numerous Florentine artists, almost to the exclusion of any influence from artists outside of Florence. Correggio is an exception to this general thesis, but his impact on Cigoli is, in the end, minimal. At no point is there evidence of any significant influence from either Federico Barocci or Titian, the two artists usually said to have played a decisive role in Cigoli's development.

While spending the first active years of his career experimenting with a combination of, or fluctuation between, highly structured works (based on Tito) and poignantly personal works (based on Pontormo), Cigoli begins to demonstrate, around 1593, the influence of his contemporaries-- those artists who matured under similar conditions; Jacopo Ligozzi, Domenico Passignano and Jacopo da Empoli. It is from a comparison of Cigoli's paintings in this phase (in which he emulates his peers) to his paintings of the following period (wherein he masters his own unique qualities) that his individuality and creativity becomes clear.

Cigoli is unique in his effort and success in going beyond a formalism that is typical of the art of Florence in the last three decades of the 16th century. He fully

transcends the vestigial artificiality of the "maniera" still present in the remote formalism of the artists around him and achieves a style that is at once dramatic and expressive of the narrative content of the subject. This style is finally attained by the skillful union of structural clarity and rhythmic fluidity.

In 1604, Cigoli left Florence for Rome where he remained, with intermittent visits to Florence, until his death in 1613. Both in terms of the commissions which he won and the style which he developed, Cigoli was a significant artist in Rome who contributed to the creation of a Baroque style. In the first few years, he exhibits a prodigious curiosity for the diversity of styles in Rome and, as a result, alters his Florentine manner considerably without loosing, however, its essential nature. While giving greater solidity to his figures and forming a stronger sense of unity in organization, he increases his sense of drama by heightening spontaneity through movement. Although the degree of his influence on major figures in Roman Baroque art has yet to be fully determined, his positive relation to major trends is clear. Moreover, his

contribution of a strong Renaissance traditionalism is
successfully mixed with the amalgamation of new styles
in Rome.

PREFACE

       Cigoli has always been admired as an artist
but has not been well understood. Praised in his own time,
he recently has again been proclaimed one of the great
artists of Florence. However, the gap separating the 16th
and 17th century criticism from modern Art History has
produced a lack of insight into the period from which Cigoli
emerged and has thereby made it difficult to appreciate
fully the nature of Cigoli's art and its growth.

       Until now, a great deal of Cigoli's reputation
was founded on the association of his style with that of
other more famous artists in the 16th century, namely
Correggio, Titian and Federico Barocci--comparisons which
I find for the most part exaggerated. The origins of such
views stem from his 17th century biographers, Filippo Baldin-
ucci and Giovanni Battista Cardi, who remain the fundamental
sources for comprehending Cigoli's development despite their
inordinate stress on the influences of other artists. More
recent sources, such as the catalogue of the show of Cigoli's
paintings in 1959 [Mario Bucci, Anna Forlani, Luciano Berti,

Mina Gregori, Mostra del Cigoli e del suo ambiente,
catalogo, (Accademia degli Euteleti Città di San Miniato
(San Miniato, 1959)] discuss many of Cigoli's works more
fully than the earlier biographers but continue to perpetuate
these misunderstandings concerning Cigoli's origins and
influences. Hence, the focus on both Cigoli and his am-
bience has been clouded rather than clarified. Likewise,
the body of literature since the 1959 exhibition has remained
traditional, presenting Cigoli in a sympathetic light but
lacking a conception of his essential importance, his unique-
ness, the sin qua non for a true understanding of any artist.

Moreover, the Florentine school of painting
prior to and during Cigoli's period is often seen as pre-
dominantly late mannerist. This is, in itself, a mistake
as a sharp break with the "maniera" had already been
made previous to Cigoli's initial undertakings. Inasmuch
as the period from which Cigoli emerges has not been pro-
perly investigated, one is prevented from grasping either
Cigoli's personal evolution or, ultimately, his contribution
to Italian painting.

It is to a consideration and understanding of

these matters that I primarily have concerned myself. In
the following paper I propose to establish the roots of
Cigoli's style along with those artists who were important
for his development. When I undertook the research for
this dissertation, I had no preconceived notion of its out-
come. My intent was to familiarize myself with Cigoli's
works and with those of the late 16th century Florentine
school in general in order to form a conceptual foundation
for further understanding and final ideations. Insofar as
I have completed that basic research, I have arrived at
what I believe to be a unique understanding of Cigoli, his
paintings, his career and his ambience. The existing
sources, especially the catalogue for the 1959 exhibition,
were of invaluable assistance in orienting and challenging
my views, and I have drawn heavily from them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO CIGOLI'S DEVELOPMENT

Late in the sixteenth century, Florence witnessed
the creation of new artistic trends which were to be essen-
tial for the development of Cigoli and his contemporaries.
Through examining the important commissions of this period,
I hope to illuminate those changes which constituted the new
stylistic ambience. Up·to this time, around 1570, the
dominant artists had been Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino
and his nephew, Alessandro Allori--all of whom are usually
referred to as Late Mannerists.[1] Vasari was the chief ex-
ponent of this style. Then, around 1570, at the height of
Vasari's popularity, a new movement began to emerge (in
private commissions, such as in the Studiolo of Francesco
Primo,[2] and in church commissions) which was soon to
replace the primacy of Vasari's style and to form the back-
ground for Cigoli's early works. I shall refer to this change
as the reform movement and to its founders and followers as
the reform artists.

Vasari had matured as an artist during the 1540's[3]
after the Early Mannerists had transformed the principles of

the Renaissance into a more expressive style. For over a
century Florence had been the leading artistic center of Italy
and, at its height, produced the style now referred to as the
High Renaissance. In modern times this term has become
almost a cliché to mean the style aiming at the perfection
of symmetry and perspective. The purpose of this style was
to accent the narrative through the careful balance and har-
mony of all elements. ·The numerous paintings of The
Madonna and Child by Raphael epitomize this style as the
figures, contained within a pyramid, are related and co-
ordinated to each other and to their surroundings by continuity
of gesture and harmonious rhythms.

By the 1520's, this almost mathematical perfection
gave way to a looser, more abstract composition. In this
period, called Early Mannerism, the form and expressive-
ness of each figure was almost as important as the role it
played in explicating the narrative. Vasari further expanded
the potential of these new esthetic principles by subjugating
the function of the figure to its painterly form. Figures were
often placed and posed without regard for narrative content,
forcing the viewer's attention to be dispersed throughout

the composition.

This stylistic direction is visible in one of Vasari's earliest works, The Adoration of the Shepherds done in 1538 for the Monastery at Camaldoli.[4] Although the Christ-Child is physically the center of the composition, one's attention is easily divided between the two groups on either side of Him and between the foreground scene and the background. The pull away from any central focus is also increased by the static postures of the figures who exist as separate entities and not as part of a harmonious whole. What is lacking, in comparison to High Renaissance works, is a dominant, closely-knit central core that binds all other elements to it by repetition of form and rhythmic continuity. Vasari's figures do not accent clarity of composition in terms of narrative content but instead perpetuate a cease-less visual fixation to assure a thorough and random explor-ation of the entire canvas.

Agnolo Bronzino creates essentially the same kind of composition.[5] The major difference between his style and Vasari's is his long, sleek and more rhythmically com-posed forms. To an even greater extent than in the works

of Vasari, Bronzino's figures are ends in themselves and
compete with rather than relate to either the main event
or to each other. One can choose any painting from
Bronzino's long career to illustrate this point. In one of
his more simple compositions, Love, Time and Folly (1546),
the emphasis on the variety and isolation of figures is ob-
vious. This is more fully developed in the vast fresco of
The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Fig. 1) (1569), done for
San Lorenzo, in which all of the figures, spread across the
entire surface, compete equally for attention. Late in
Bronzino's career and then after his death in 1572, his
style was proliferated and then carried on throughout
Florence and Tuscany by his nephew, Alessandro Allori,
who, like Vasari, was responsible for many major commis-
sions during the sixties and seventies.[6]

Whereas these three artists exhibit a complete
breakdown of compositional unity and clear narrative pre-
sentation, the reform artists demonstrate a renewed interest
in just these principles. They drew from both the High
Renaissance and from Early Mannerism[7] to develop a com-
bination of clarity and expressiveness. Early Mannerists,

such as Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo, are important because of their experiments with loosening the formal aspects of the High Renaissance without destroying their purpose. In Pontormo's _Visitation_ (1516) in the forecourt of SS. Annunziata, the figures have been freed from a closely-knit unit and yet are still bound together through rhythm. There is a dramatic excitement in Pontormo that is not to be found in Raphael, but the emphasis of subject matter is left intact.

To the reform artists, Pontormo did not represent so much a break from the High Renaissance as he did a realization of its dramatic potential. Although _The Alba Madonna_, for example, is eminently clear in terms of content and harmonious in terms of form, the figures exist in some perfect otherworld devoid of those qualities which affect human life, such as time and emotion. Pontormo provided a greater immediacy (even more personally developed in _The Deposition_ in S. Felicità) which these painters seized upon.

Because they were at the unusual vantage point of being able to look back upon an entire century of a unique

style, the reformers could see the power of combining two
of its phases (High Renaissance and Early Mannerism) to
counter Vasari and his school. Vasari's lack of clarity
could be avoided by employing the rhythmic links of Pontormo
to bridge the gaps between figures so intentionally widened
by Vasari. Or the compact, harmonic and symmetric in-
struments of the High Renaissance could be used to produce
the same end. The point is that both could be used, either
separately or conjunctively. Most of the reform artists
either expanded only one or fluctuated between the two, and
it was not until Cigoli that there was a conscious struggle
to synthesize the two into one.[8] By 1570, these artists
were powerful enough to permeate the previously exclusive
Vasari regime.

The extent of Vasari's control is exemplified by
his commission to fresco the entire interior of the Palazzo
Vecchio, the seat of the Florentine Government, between
the years 1556 and 1572.[9] The frescoes in the Sala del
Cinquecento (1563-72) are the last and perhaps most typical
of his works.[10] Their enormous size alone is enough to
suggest that this is the zenith of Vasari's development.

Within an obscure narrative framework, Vasari literally

covers the walls with infinite forms and lavish detail. The

room provides an overwhelming experience in visual sump-

tuousness, as indeed does all of the decoration throughout

the palace.

The last part of the Palazzo to have been painted

by Vasari was the Studiolo of Francesco Primo, the ruling

Grand Duke. Vasari, however, was called to Rome by the

Pope in 1570 to work in the Vatican[11] and the Studiolo was

primarily done, between 1570 and 1572,[12] by the founders

of the reform movement. In Vasari's absence, they were

left free to experiment with a new style. The fact that

this occurred under the auspices of an official commission

signaled, Luciano Berti believes,[13] the end of Vasari's

reign.

The most innovative artists in the Studiolo were

Santi di Tito,[14] Girolamo Macchietti, Mirabello Cavalori

and Maso da San Friano.[15] Much is known about the life

of Santi di Tito (1536-1603), but it is sufficient to say here

only that he went to Rome in 1558 where he formed the

basis of his style working with Federico Zuccaro (1539-1609)

--a style which made him the leader of the reform movement.

Macchietti (1535-91) was a pupil of Michele di Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (1503-77)[16] and worked with Vasari in other parts of the Palazzo Vecchio. He was not, however, dependent upon Vasari and mostly painted independently in Tuscany, Rome, Naples, Messina and Spain. Little is known about Maso da San Friano, including his dates: He was a pupil of Carlo Portelli (15.. to 1574) and they both worked under Vasari in a number of commissions; Maso also worked autonomously for various churches in Florence where he consistently exhibits a non-Vasarian style.[17] The information on Cavalori is even scantier. He was one of the most important figures in the Studiolo; he must have been a mature artist by that time since he died soon after the commission was completed.

Before examining some works of these artists, it is important to keep in mind that their styles did not originate in the Studiolo and that their ideas must have developed during Vasari's reign, even though the artists were subordinate to his rule. That their paintings so vividly clash with the few late mannerist works that were done in the Studiolo illustrates their existing maturity. If we look

at Vasari's Perseus Saving Andromeda (Fig. 2), we see
the same intentional lack of integration that was noted be-
fore. The groups and even the individual figures within
these groups are conceived as isolated and singular parts
of the composition. The rock on which Persues and
Andromeda stand is placed in the center and is surrounded
by a sea filled with enigmatic, swimming figures who urge
the eye to move in all directions around the central event.
In comparison to his works done outside of the Studiolo,
the form of his figures is simplified by reducing their tor-
sion and movement. But his fundamental approach to
compositional structure does not alter in any way.[18]

A similar structural conceit is found in another
late mannerist work, The Pearl Hunt by Alessandro Allori
(Fig. 3). In this painting, the main action is diffused
throughout the entire composition. The actual hunt is all
but lost by the pre-eminence of the fantastical, figure-
filled foreground. Again, despite the rather simple figures
and naturalistic space, there is no strong, single unifying
factor. Like Vasari, Allori shows a tendency to moderate
past confusion and chaos, but the variety of figures, groups

and details destroys the possibility of simple, overall
continuity.

If these works are contrasted with The Passage
of the Red Sea by Santi di Tito (Fig. 4), one can begin to
see the changes initiated by the reform artists.   Rather
than dividing the viewer's attention, all of the figures and
landscape elements are worked into a single whole.   The
crowded foreground is split apart to accent and frame the
drowning of the Pharaoh's army.

A more prominent example of this change is
Maso da San Friano's Fall of Icarus (Fig. 5).   In this,
the immediately intelligible drama is performed by only a
few figures.   The spectators are placed at the left and are
linked to the main characters through long, rhythmic lines.
The dramatic impact is heightened by the simplicity and
intimacy of gestures and rhythms.   Here, in contrast to
the compositions of Vasari and Allori, there is no competi-
tion between the main figures and secondary elements.
Those who relate the narrative are limited and restricted
to specific areas which conveys the story much more
efficiently.   Various methods for arriving at the same result

can be seen in other paintings in the Studiolo.

In Mirabello Cavalori's <u>Lavinia at the Altar</u> (Fig. 6), the majority of figures are grouped around the central altar where the purification of Lavinia takes place. Within this general group, the figures are divided into subgroups, each of which is distinct from yet part of the whole. For example, the priest and the boy behind him are isolated behind the altar and yet they are united with Lavinia and the group of figures behind her by the outstretched hand of the priest which extends over the altar to Lavinia. Another example is in the group of figures clustered around the column who are separate from yet rhythmically correlated to the group around the altar.

In spite of the architectural framework, the figures play a dominant role in the structural formation. Although confined by the architectural setting, the figures harmonize the entire composition. This can be seen specifically in the figure hugging the near column, in the two kneeling figures who obscure the altar and in the two foreground figures who mitigate the severity of the steps while establishing a sweeping rhythm that links them to the otherwise

isolated middleground action. Even the figures in the
balcony above relieve the cold architectural backdrop and
thus help to keep one's attention focused on the figures
below.[19]

A more exaggerated use of rhythm as the means
to compositional integration is evident in Medea Rejuvinating
Jason by Macchietti (Fig. 7). All elements are controlled
and related by the rhythms running through the two figures,
and everything is thus harmonized to the realization of
narrative clarity. Medea is bound to Jason through both
gesture and form. Her arms reach gracefully towards him
and the curve of her leg corresponds to the gentle sway of
his body. Furthermore, the curve of her body easily unites
the foreground and background as, for example, the outline
of the mountain is repeated in her flowing hair. Jason is
also linked to the background by the reclining position of
his torso which sweeps the eye past the statues and trees
and into the distant landscape.[20] The incredible subtlety
of all of these rhythms is further correlated to the psycho-
logical gentleness of the theme.[21]

Perhaps the most intricately complex yet incredibly
clear composition is Santi di Tito's, The Sisters of Phaeton

(Fig. 8).   Joined within a compact, oval structure, each
part fits neatly into the next and each reflects the structural
organization of the whole.   All of the subgroups can be
viewed as separate units, parts of larger units or as one
single unit, and all are bound together through strategic
gestures and postures.   The left-most putto, for example,
is both removed from yet bound to the two men he is
playing with.   The composition is fundamentally held to-
gether by the three putti at the center who unify all of the
other figures and groups.   The background is kept simple
and it conforms to the structure of the figures, strengthen-
ing their cohesion and offering subordinate harmonies to
individual parts.

The difference between this and the other paintings
of reform artists is that sweeping rhythms are minimized
and the composition is made more compact.   Separate parts
are pieced together, as in a puzzle, to create a whole pic-
ture.   It is this more compact and solid approach that
makes Santi di Tito the inventor-leader of the continuing
reform movement.   His paintings provide the essence of
clarity and intelligibility that all of the other artists were

striving for and it is these qualities specifically that are to be developed throughout the remainder of the century.

Outside of the Studiolo there was further evidence to confirm this rejection of Vasari's principles. The refurbishing of church altarpieces in Florence, begun around 1570,[22] offered numerous commissions for a wide variety of artists, many of whom, including some of Vasari's pupils, revealed strong affinities to the new trends. One such pupil is Giovanni Battista Naldini (1537-1591). He began working in the studio of Bronzino and then worked with Pontormo until the master died in 1556.[23] Naldini then became one of Vasari's leading assistants in the Palazzo Vecchio.[24] He later became the master of Domenico Passignano, Giovanni Balducci, Francesco Curradi and others, and was thus a direct link between Pontormo and the later reform artists.[25]

The earliest of a series of paintings done for the nave of S. M. Novella, The Deposition (Fig. 9), signed and dated 1572, illustrates that Naldini was not exclusively interested in the style of Vasari. The deposition itself is the central focal point of the composition and is placed in the

foreground to accentuate its importance. All the figures
draw attention to this principal group. The peripheral
figures frame the core, anticipate the rhythms within the
four main figures and link the main event to the subsidiary
events in the background. The compactness of the main
group isolates it from what could otherwise be just a
jumble of figures and yet it remains a part of the whole
structure through rhythmic connections. The crowding of
many figures and the lack of spatial clarity are still in the
tradition of Vasari, but the emphasis on the subject indi-
cates that Naldini was also responsive to certain changes
generated by the Studiolo artists.[26]

      Naldini also shows a predisposition for structural
clarity in works which pre-date his S. M. Novella altar-
pieces. If we compare Vasari's Christ on the Way to
Calvary (Fig. 10) (1570-71) in S. Croce[27] to Naldini's
version in the Florence Badia (Fig. 11) (ca. 1570),[28]
significant differences are easily observed. Naldini's
composition has far fewer figures and they are all ordered
around the prominent figure of Christ. In Vasari's work,
the figure of Christ is hidden and dwarfed by the thronging

crowd of people which surrounds Him. All forward motion
is arrested in the Naldini as Christ turns around to look at
St. Veronica. The conspicuousness of the cross which He
carries identifies the subject matter and accents Christ's
role as the center of the drama. The crowd in Vasari's
composition continues to press forward despite the fact that
Christ has stopped to rest. He kneels in front of His cross
and does not even hold it. In fact, the subject of Vasari's
scene is not as immediately discernable as is the Naldini
because everything seems to be conceived to obscure rather
than to highlight the purpose of the drama. [29]

Another artist whose style is both indicative of
and important for the creation of the reform style is
Giovanni Stradano (van der Straat, 1523-1605) from Bruges. [30]
He worked extensively in Italy and in Florence where he
painted in the Studiolo and in several principal churches.
Many of the later reform artists, and especially Cigoli,
struggled to combine structural clarity with a psychological
excitement. Stradano, following a Northern tradition,
achieved this effect in genre scenes packed with action and
grotesquely realistic figures. In Christ Expelling the Money

Changers from the Temple (Fig. 12), signed and dated 1572, which was painted for its present location in St. Spirito,[31] the physical and emotional intensity created by Christ's powerful thrust, hurling figures and objects almost out of the picture, captures the climax of the scene. Such immediacy of drama goes far beyond pure clarity of form. All figures react, whether psychologically or physically, to Christ's purge.

A comparable, although not quite so powerful, effect is produced in a painting by Macchietti, The Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 13) done for San Lorenzo around 1573.[32] As in other paintings already discussed, the figures are arranged in subdivisions within a single group. Postures and gestures unify them and focus attention firmly on Christ and the kneeling Magus. Macchietti's interest in clarity and in rhythmic continuity was established in the Studiolo and here he sets these off by cramming many figures into the left side of the canvas. The pressure and tension which this creates accentuates the serenity and peacefulness of the Holy Family and worshipping Magus. Where Stradano built his entire composition on such tension, Macchietti applies

it as a detail to sharpen the significance of the main scene.
To emphasize the importance of these two paintings is not
to imply that other artists adopt these exact techniques, but
to point out that structural clarity was not always an end in
itself. It could just as well be used to magnify the emotional
undertones inherent in any episode.

      The works of Santi di Tito continue to demonstrate
his singular contribution to the reform movement--the full
exploitation of clear organization to yield a complete syn-
thesis of structure and narrative. Of his more mature
works, perhaps the most remarkable and successful is The
Supper at Emmaus (Fig. 14) painted for S. Croce and signed
and dated 1574.[33] The grandeur and sublimity in a compo-
sition of such scale and depth is unprecedented. The simple
organization of three figures grouped around a table, the
powerful naturalism and the almost timelessness of the ges-
tures reveals an emerging, yet still latent, psychological
realism suggestive of Caravaggio's Supper at Emmaus
(ca. 1595)[34] in the London National Gallery. All forms are
balanced and contrived to focus on the figures of Christ and
the two apostles. Contrasted to the comparatively crowded

and spaceless compositions of Naldini, Macchietti and
Stradano, the utter simplicity and balanced control of this
Santi di Tito creates an aesthetic experience which is ul-
timately the most important and revolutionary aspect of his
style.

In addition to individual paintings in churches,
two large commissions reflect the growing development of
reform principles. The first is the frescoing of the cupola
of the Florence Cathedral.[35] Vasari had only finished the
lower section of the dome before he died in 1574, and in
1576 Federico Zuccaro continued the decoration with the
assistance of a group of young Florentine artists--
Domenico Cresti called "Il Passignano" (15..-1638),
Andrea Boscoli (1550-16..), Gregorio Pagani (1558-1605)
and Giovanni Balducci (1560-1605). With these, his most
important helpers, Zuccaro completed the cupola by 1579.[36]

This was the first large commission of the im-
mediate post-Vasari era given to a mature artist working
in the new style and, like the Studiolo, it offers a clear
contrast with the style of Vasari. Vasari's design is
governed largely by the facets of the octagonal interior

which constrain the groups of figures who circle around
the dome in horizontal layers corresponding to the divisions
of Heaven.   Much of the second level (that directly above
Hell) was finished by Vasari[37] and displays his typically
non-integrated style (Fig. 15).   Each scene is centered in
a facet and within the scene the figures are separated from
each other.   This division is further increased by the em-
phasis on the architecture, as in the mirror images of two
naked, trumpeting angels placed on either side of a juncture.
They heighten an awareness of the architectural form and
isolate the individual compositions on either side of them.
The effect is one of controlled unity but not of singular
integration.

Although Zuccaro was obliged to follow Vasari's
plans and general outlines,[38] he attempted to bridge the
architectural divisions rather than re-enforce them.   He did
not try to disguise the facets of the octagon since he ex-
ploits them to make more real his own trompe l'oeil
architecture at the top of the dome.   But in the main body
of the composition, he does de-emphasize them by joining
the figures and clouds across the junctures.   This desire

to amalgamate all of the figures and scenes into one unit
is what distinguishes Zuccaro from Vasari. The illusion-
istic figures who carry the cross (above and to the right
of Christ) are very successful in obscuring the dome struc-
ture as they float in front of other figures and overlap the
painted architecture above them. Also, the individual
groups are not necessarily centered in or confined to one
facet and, in addition, they exhibit rhythmic continuity and
integration. The group, for example, to our left of Christ,
is conceived of as a close-knit unit much like those of
Santi di Tito's works. (After all, Zuccaro was Tito's ·
teacher in Rome.) Each figure is intricately woven into
those around him and the contours and gestures are calcu-
lated to lead the group as a unit onto the next group. The
isolated figures in Vasari's section create a staccato move-
ment whereas in Zuccaro's frescoes the figures flow towards
the focal point of the narrative.

This commission signaled the beginning of a new
era in Florentine painting in which future major projects
were controlled by the reform artists. The immediate con-
sequences of the style used in the Cathedral cupola have not

been studied, but it is certain that for Cigoli it was a
constant source of inspiration not to be fully expressed,
however, until his final commission in Rome--the dome of
the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore.

The second major commission and one of the
largest of the late 16th century in Florence was the fresco
cycle in the Chiostro Grande of S. M. Novella carried out
primarily between the years 1582 and 1584.[39] The works,
depicting the lives of Dominican saints, were chiefly ex-
ecuted by Bernardo Poccetti (1542-1612), who frescoed the
greatest number of lunettes, and Santi di Tito, who did the
second largest number.[40] Most of the other artists who
participated were close followers of Tito.
This was the first commission to show the full maturity of
the new style with Santi di Tito as its firmly established
leader.   There are no significant traces of Vasari's style.

With Vasari and the "maniera" behind them, the
next generation of artists, of whom Tito can be considered
one because of his young age and persisting influence, con-
tinues to develop and experiment with structural clarity.
Beyond explicating the narrative as economically as possible,

only one artist had so far touched upon the inherent expressiveness in such compositions--Santi di Tito. In his Supper at Emmaus, he was on the threshold of a more realistic drama. (The same could be said of Stradano except that he lacked the simple, structural framework essential for realizing immediately intelligible yet psychologically subtle realities.) In my opinion, this achievement plus a continual strong influence classify Santi di Tito as the most important and dynamic painter of this transitional period in Florence. He rarely, if ever, repeats this performance, however, and chooses not to explore the possibilities of which I am speaking. It is instead one of his pupils, Cigoli, who gradually realized the opportunities opened up by the rejection of the superficiality and remoteness from human experience that the "maniera" exhibited as an important aspect of 16th century central Italian and Florentine painting.

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

[1] For the most recent discussion of Mannerism see
John Shearman, Mannerism, (Baltimore, 1967).

[2] The Studiolo is a small room in the Palazzo Vecchio
off the Sala del Cinquecento, conceived by Francesco,
the son of Cosimo d'Medici Grand Duke of Florence,
as a private retreat expressive of his interest in tech-
nology, nature, alchemy and mythology and painted by
numerous artists of his choice. Vasari was originally
in charge of the commission and was to have carried
out several works, but he had to relinquish control when
he was called to Rome. For this commission, see most
recently Luciano Berti, Il Principe dello Studiolo
(Florence, 1967), pp. 61-65 (see also diagrams on
pp. 83, 84). For general discussions of the Studiolo,
commission and iconography, see Berti (above); Mostra
del Cinquecento Toscano in Palazzo Strozzi (Florence,
1940), pp. 179-181; Giulio Sinibaldi, Il Palazzo Vecchio
di Firenze (Rome, 1938), pp. 12, 13; Alfredo Lensi,
Palazzo Vecchio (Milan-Rome, 1929), pp. 231-247;
Luigi Salerno, "Arte, Scienza e Collezioni nel Manner-
ismo," Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Mario
Salmi, III, (Rome, 1963), 193-214; Mario Bucci, 'Lo
Studiolo di Francesco I," Forma e Colore 10,
(Florence, 1965).

[3] Paola Barocchi, Vasari Pittore (Milan, 1964), pp. 9-20
discusses early influences on Vasari, including those of
Francesco Salviati and Giulio Romano.

[4] Ibid., pp. 14, 123.

[5] For a general discussion of Mannerism, including mater-
ial on Bronzino, see Craig Hugh Smyth, Mannerism and
Maniera, (Locust Valley, New York, 1962), pp. 1-30.
See also Arthur McComb, Angolo Bronzino, His Life
and Works (Cambridge, Mass., 1928) p. 36.

[6] For a general discussion of Allori, see Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, Mostra di Disegni di Alessandro Allori (Florence, 1970).

[7] Walter Friedlaender, Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism (New York, 1957) is the best discussion of the first generation of Florentine Mannerists.

[8] Filippo Baldinucci, "Fra Lodovico Cardi," Notizie de'Professori del Disegno, III (Milan, 1846) and G. B. Cardi, Vita di Ludovico Cigoli, 1628, ed. G. Batelli (San Miniato, 1913) both make numerous references to Cigoli's interest in Pontormo, Michelangelo and Correggio as well as to more contemporary artists such as Federico Barocci and Santi di Tito.

[9] Barocchi, Vasari, dates his work in the Quartiere degli Elementi from 1556-9 (p. 38), in the Quartiere di Leone X from 1556-62 (p. 42), in the Quartiere di Eleorona from 1557-64 (p. 48), and in the Sala del Cinquecento from 1563-72 (p. 54). Thus Vasari was painting in the Palazzo Vecchio intermittently from 1556 to 1572.

[10] Ibid., p. 54.

[11] For documentation of Vasari's chronology and where-abouts, see K. Frey, Der Literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris, II (Munich, 1930), pp. 471-2, 493-4, 543-5.

[12] Bucci, Lo Studiolo.

[13] Berti, Il Principe, particularly on pp. 73 and 74 dis-cusses the unique qualities of some of the Studiolo paintings, especially those by the artists under discussion, and stresses the independence of these painters from Vasari. Berti does not fully develop this theme or cor-relate it to paintings and commissions outside the Studiolo.

[14] For the only major work on Santi di Tito, see Gunther Arnolds, Santi di Tito Pittore di San Sepolcro (Arezzo, 1934).

[15] For information on the lives of these artists, see
D. E. Colnaghi, A Dictionary of Florentine Painting, ed.
P. G. Konody and S. Brinton (London, 1923).

[16] Ibid., p. 263. Colnaghi discusses Michele di Ridolfo
Ghirlandaio, the master of Macchietti and Bernardo Poc-
cetti. Michele di Ridolfo was the student of Ridolfo
Ghirlandaio and also studied under Lorenzo di Credi and
Antonio Sogliani--artists who were all firmly attached to
non-Vasarian, non-Mannerist art, that was rooted in the
clear, prosaic tradition of Florentine Renaissance and
High Renaissance forms. It is just such a link between
artists of the early sixteenth century and those later in
the same century, involved in a stylistic reformation,
which explains the origins of such a change. This kind
of relationship between the early and the late century is
true of all the key reform artists. See p. 222 for a
similar link between Maso da San Friano and the early
sixteenth century.

[17] In addition to Colnaghi on Maso, see Luciano Berti,
"Nota a Maso da San Friano," Scritti di Storia dell'Arte
in Onore di Mario Salmi III (Rome, 1963) 77-88;
Luciano Berti, "Note brevi su inediti toscani," Bolletino
d'Arte, XXXVII, Oct.-Dec., series IV, (1953), 355, 356;
Peter Cannon-Brookes, "Three Notes on Maso da San
Friano," Burlington Magazine, CVII (1965), 192;
Peter Cannon-Brookes, "A Madonna and Child by Maso da
San Friano," Apollo, XCII (Nov. 17, 1970), 346-349.
Furthermore, there is much valuable information in
Berti, Il Principe.

[18] Barocchi, Vasari, p. 67. The author believes that
Vasari is perfectly "à la page" with the younger artists.
There is a certain clarity in The Perseus and Andromeda,
but it is not in response to the reform artists. There
are examples throughout Vasari's career of this tendency
towards simplicity; The Beheading of St. John (1553) in
San Giovanni Decollato in Rome; The Doubting Thomas
(1589) in Santa Croce in Florence; The Resurrection of
Christ (1568) in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. See

also my discussion of The Adoration of the Shepherds on
p. 3 in the text.

[19] Prototypes for these figures in the balcony can be found
in the following works by Andrea del Sarto: The San Gallo
Annunciation (ca. 1512) in the Palazzo Pitti; The Beheading
of St. John the Baptist from the frescoes of the Chiostro
dello Scalzo (1523) and The Last Supper (1520's) of San
Salvi. The dates for these works were all taken from
John Shearman, Andrea del Sarto (Oxford, 1965).

[20] Rough parallels to the figure of Jason with the boy sit-
ting on the steps in Andrea del Sarto's Visitation (from
the forecourt of SS. Annunziata) and with the nude at the
left reaching for a branch in Sarto's lunette in the Villa
Poggio a Caiano again reveal Macchietti's interest in
Andrea del Sarto. However, the tight, smooth muscula-
ture of Jason and his more self-contained posture reflect
the influence of Santi di Tito whose figures are consistent-
ly related to the principles of High Renaissance painting.

[21] In his Baths of Pozzuoli, Macchietti further reveals ties
to the earlier half of the century--specifically to Sarto
and Pontormo--thus reemphasizing the interest of these
artists in both the High Renaissance and in Early Man-
nerism. The figure climbing the stairs is similar to
figures in The Visitation by Sarto in the Spada Gallery
in Rome. Shearman (Andrea del Sarto, p. 262) dates
The Visitation around 1524. Similarities may also be
found between the construction of the figures in the left
foreground of Macchietti's painting (particularly their
backs and shoulders) and that of the bottom, left figure
of Sarto's Madonna with Eight Saints, destroyed, for-
merly in the Kaiser Frederich Museum in Berlin,
reproduced in Shearman, Andrea del Sarto, II, plate 159b.
Saint John the Baptist in Sarto's Gambassi Madonna
(Palazzo Pitti) is also similar to the foreground figures
in the Macchietti, especially the one closest to the center.
The rhythmic quality of the seated, background figures in
Macchietti finds a stylistic parallel in figures of
Pontormo's Martyrdom of the Eleven Thousand in the

Uffizi. These are but a few of the many examples that correlate Macchietti to both Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo.

[22] See C. A. Isermeyer, "Il Vasari e il restauro delle Chiese Mediovale," Arte del Convegno Internazionale per il IV Centenario . . . della Vita del Vasari (Florence, 1950), 229. See also, Berti, Il Principe, pp. 280, 281.

[23] For a general discussion of Naldini, see Paolo Barocchi, "Itinerario di G. B. Naldini," Arte Antica e Moderna, 31-32, July-December, (1965) 244-288.

[24] Colnaghi, Dictionary, p. 188 places Naldini's relationship with Vasari in the 1560's when he began assisting Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio. The date is probably not before 1563 when Vasari began the Sala del Cinquecento. See also Barocchi, Vasari, pp. 57-62.

[25] Colnaghi, Dictionary, p. 188.

[26] In two successive works in the nave of S. M. Novella, The Adoration of the Shepherds (1573) and The Presentation in the Temple (1577), both signed and dated, Naldini continues to simplify and clarify the subject matter.

[27] Barocchi, Vasari, p. 67, dates Vasari's version around the same time, 1570-1. Frey, Der Literarische, II, p. 734, reproduces a letter from Vincenzo Borghini. Vasari dated Dec. 20, 1572 in which Borghini praises the new painting by Vasari done for the Buonarroti altar of S. Croce, the present location of Vasari's Christ Carrying the Cross.

[28] Both W. Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz, I, (Frankfort, 1954), p. 286 and Thieme-Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Kunstler XXV (Leipzig, 1931), p. 335 date Naldini's Christ Carrying the Cross ca. 1570.

[29] It is worth noting, in light of recurrent dependencies of the reform artists on the early sixteenth century, that Naldini's clarity has its prototypes in a fresco of the same subject by Pontormo, Naldini's master, done for the Certosa of San Galuzzo and in Raphael's Spasimo di Sicilia in the Prado. The latter is reproduced in Sidney Freedberg, High Renaissance Painting in Florence and Rome (Harvard, 1961), plate 433.

[30] For a brief discussion of the life of Stradano, see Colnaghi, Dictionary, pp. 258-9.

[31] Berti, Il Principe, p. 291.

[32] Paatz, Die Kirchen, II, p. 495, dates The Adoration of the Magi, with a question mark, 1565. This is, in my opinion, far too early. Based on a comparison with Macchietti's signed and dated 1573 Martyrdom of St. Lawrence in Santa Maria Novella, I would date The Adoration around the same time, ca. 1573. Macchietti employs in both the same principle of crowding and tension that is then released in the open space around the main figures. This may, as I have pointed out, be a response to the same dynamic technique used by Stradano in The Expulsion of the Money Changers of 1572.

[33] The painting, which I have recently seen in the Fortezza da Basso, in its cleaned and restored state, is a masterpiece of Santi di Tito's superb balance of both form and color.

[34] Friedlaender, Caravaggio Studies (Princeton, 1955), pp. 164-168.

[35] For a complete discussion of the commission see two articles by Detlef Heikamp, "Federico Zuccaro a Firenze, 1575-1579," Paragone, 205 (March, 1967), XVIII, series 25, 44-68, and Paragone, 207 (May, 1967), XVIII, series 27, 3-34.

[36] Heikamp, "Zuccaro," Paragone 205, 47.

[37] _Ibid._, p. 49.

[38] _Ibid._, p. 48.

[39] Heinrich Busse, _Manierismus und Barockstil_ (Leipzig, 1911), p. 64, cites a document from the archive of the convent of Santa Maria Novella (Fra Modesto Biliotto, M. S. _Cronica di S. M. Novella_, Liber Consiliorum, Archivio di S. M. Novella a.c. 238, published in Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1916, pp. 372, 373). He also cites the date of the commission between 1581 and 1584. Paul Hamilton, from The Johns Hopkins University, who is currently writing a dissertation on the painter Bernardo Poccetti, has recently worked with the documentation and has established that the frescoes were executed between 1582 and 1584. See also N. Baldini and L. Berti, _La Mostra di Affresci Staccati_ (Florence, 1958).

[40] A complete list of all the artists and their works may be found in Vincenzo Fineschi, _Il Forestiero Istruito in Santa Maria Novella_, (Florence, 1836), pp. 51-77. The frescoes have been detached and located in various storage depots in Florence. I have only seen the two executed by Cigoli, _The Descent into Limbo_ and _The Investiture of St. Vincent of Ferrar_, now in the museum of San Salvi which has been used as a storage and restoration center since the flood of 1966.

EARLY STYLE AND GROWTH

The frescoing of the large cloister in S. M.
Novella, in addition to being the first major commission
for the reform school, was also the first large commission
for Cigoli.   From this, one can surmise that by 1582, the
date of its beginning, Cigoli was already thought of as, at
the least, a competent artist.   It is not at all surprising
that Cigoli became almost immediately involved in the
reform movement since he came to Florence just at the
blooming of this new style.

Born in 1559 in the town of Cigoli near
San Miniato al Tedesco,[1] Cigoli is thought to have arrived
in Florence in 1572 (the year the Studiolo was finished) and
to have apprenticed himself to Alessandro Allori.[2]   The
first documented evidence of Cigoli's presence in Florence
is a payment from Allori in 1574 for work carried out for
the funeral of Cosimo d'Medici, the first Grand Duke of
Florence.[3]   Soon after, Cigoli is said to have gone back to
his native village for a period of three or four years to
recuperate from a recurrent illness, apparently epilepsy.[4]

The precise date of his return to Florence is not known, but it has been established that by 1578 he was in Florence to paint a <u>Cain Killing Abel</u> (now missing) for the Accademia di San Lucca.[5] This is also the date of the death of a little known painter, Antonio del Crocino,[6] whose <u>S. Francesco di Paolo</u> was left unfinished; Crocino's employer, Bernardo Buontalenti, asked Cigoli to come back to Florence to complete this work. Although this painting still exists, it is of little value in determining Cigoli's style because its poor condition prohibits one from ascertaining the extent of Cigoli's contribution.[7]

Cardi implies that soon after Cigoli's return, he began to work with or seek the advice of Santi di Tito instead of returning to his old master, Alessandro Allori. The biographer states (p. 13) that Tito was, by this time, a painter "che teneva il primo luogo, dal quale ogni giorno (Cigoli) andando a disegnar dal naturale, fece assai profitto nell'intender l'attitudini." Baldinucci (p. 238) re-enforces this high praise of Tito, describing him as an artist who, "in quanto a disegno, attitudini e componimento di figure nell'istorie appartiene, godeva allora in Firenze il primo

grido . . ." That Cigoli chose Santi di Tito as his new master indicates that his interests had shifted from the "maniera" to the reform style. This choice would profoundly effect his painting style and lead him to become one of the principal painters in Florence by the end of the century.

But what of the early Allori influence? Is it possible that for at least two or three years Cigoli studied with him (see note 4) and yet never showed any evidence of this early training? If there were no extant works by Cigoli prior to those first documented in S. M. Novella, then one would have to assume that the influence of Allori was negligible. If, however, there were an earlier work, would it not show traces of Allori's style? Precisely such an early work does exist in the Convent of Santa Chiara, just outside of San Miniato al Tedesco and therefore only a few miles from the hamlet of Cigoli. This painting, a Noli Me Tangere (Fig. 16), has been attributed to Cigoli and dated around 1585.[8] This attribution is based on the signature in the lower left, Lod.^{co} Cardi, a unique inscription not used in any later works. Several clumsy passages

in the painting, such as the shoulder and upper arm of Christ, are a result of restoration after the painting was damaged in a fire in the 19th century. [9]

There is no reason, then, to challenge the attribution but I am forced to contest its date. For reasons of its location and style, I believe the painting dates closer to 1576-77. The proximity of the convent to Cigoli's home is an indication that the painting was executed during Cigoli's long period of convalescence. Although the known provenance only goes back to the last century, [10] one may surmise that Cigoli painted it either for the convent or for a local, private commission and that it was subsequently donated to the convent in the 19th century. [11] Second, and most important, The Noli Me Tangere is the only work which shows definite affinities to the "maniera" style promulgated by Allori.

The coalition of two diverse styles is manifest in the main figures, Christ and Mary Magdalen. The Magdalen is taken directly from Agnolo Bronzino's (the artist on whom Allori primarily based his style) figure in his Noli Me Tangere (1555-57) painted for the Cavalcanti

Chapel in S. Croce and now in the Louvre.[12] The stiff
posture of Cigoli's Magdalen, her face, her drapery, and
the shape of her urn are all similar to Bronzino's version.
Interestingly enough, the forms in Cigoli's painting can also
be affiliated with the growing popular style of the reform
artists so that one can see, even at such an early date,
Cigoli's propensity for the avant garde style which hereupon
is to dominate his works. In the figure of the Magdalen,
for example, Cigoli has subdued the "maniera" pose of her
prototype by making his figure more naturalistic. But it
is in the figure of Christ that Cigoli's divergence from
Bronzino is most noticeable.

Cigoli's Christ, in His calm pose and natural re-
lationship to the Magdalen, is strikingly different from the
contorted, dance-like figure in the Bronzino. Both of
Cigoli's figures relate simply and directly to one another.
Although Cigoli does succumb to the "maniera" for his
Magdalen, he incorporates her into a composition commen-
surate with the principles of the reform style. The more
realistic and naturalistic communication of Cigoli's two
figures is avoided by Bronzino who isolates his figures in

order to stress their individual forms rather than their
narrative roles.

Like the formative painters of the new style,
Macchietti, Cavalori and Maso da San Friano, and their
sources, Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo, Cigoli relies on
rhythmic interrelations to conceive his composition. Start-
ing from the background, the old man on the balcony
balances the group of figures in front of the cave and,
through the bend of his body, carries the eye to the left
arm of Christ and therefore to the central theme of the
painting. Likewise, the angel seated in front of the cave
is related to the main figures by the continuity of his zig-
zag rhythm through the curving road and into the lunging
figure of the Magdalen. It is just these kinds of correlated
rhythms which structure the composition and magnify the
narrative aspect of the painting that were adapted from
Sarto and Pontormo and used by the Studiolo artists.[13]

Cigoli further adopts various details of his com-
position from these primary sources, Sarto and Pontormo.
The figure of Christ is similar in pose, although reversed,
to the Christ in Andrea del Sarto's Noli Me Tangere

(ca. 1510) in the Uffizi deposit.[14] The fence that runs be-
tween the architectural structure and the cave in the
Cigoli version is perhaps inspired from the fence in Sarto's
version. Furthermore, the soft texture of the cave and
the curving of the trees are similar to comparable forms
in Sarto's fresco cycle of San Filippo Benizzi in the fore-
court of SS. Annunziata. Pontormo-like, although not
specifically derivative, ·are the figures of the angel and the
Three Marys around the tomb, ·especially the ethereality of
the angel. The small, oddly twisted old man on the bal-
cony is also reminiscent of figures from both Sarto and
Pontormo as well as from the Studiolo (see Chap. I, notes,
19, 20, 21).[15]

All of these non-"maniera" motifs are to recur
in later compositions of Cigoli. In fact, the rhythmic in-
tegration of parts will become one of Cigoli's main
structural elements. Specific figure types and background
elements are likewise used in later works. The man on
the balcony is seen again descending the staircase in The
Last Supper (Fig. 27) (1591). Both the angel and the
architectural background anticipate these same forms used

in The Resurrection of Christ (Fig. 28) (1591). So that, in summary, The Noli Me Tangere both reveals Cigoli's heritage and foreshadows his future. In Cigoli's next known works, two frescoes done for S. M. Novella between 1582-84, Cigoli emerges as one of the young disciples of the new style. [16]

The earlier of the two frescoes, The Descent into Limbo (Fig. 17), [17] like The Noli Me Tangere, shows a reliance on Pontormo for the structural concept, but now this concept is coupled with an obvious interest in the style of Santi di Tito. From Pontormo, Cigoli again adopts cor-related rhythms as a means of uniting his figures. This is most strongly evidenced in the group of the damned at the right. These figures, spread from top to bottom on a two-dimensional plane, are skillfully linked by the same zig-zag rhythm that we saw between the Magdalen and the angel in The Noli Me Tangere. Here it begins with the figure at the lower right and runs through the body of Adam. Cigoli sets up a rhythmic pattern and then makes everything conform to it.

Prototypes for this approach can be found in

Pontormo's <u>Madonna and Child with Saints</u> (1518) from
S. Michele Visdomini in Florence and in his <u>Visitation</u>
(1516) in the forecourt of SS. Annunziata. In the latter,
the woman seated at the lower left is related to St. Anne
and St. Elizabeth in the same way that Cigoli's figure at
the lower right is related to Adam--through a Z pattern.
Cigoli's Adam, in fact, is taken from Pontormo's <u>St. Jerome</u>
<u>in the Wilderness</u>, formerly in the Guicciardini Collection
in Florence.[18]

  These rhythmic patterns which so excite and elec-
trify the atmosphere do not, however, fully explain the
organization of Cigoli's composition. The influence of
Santi di Tito is almost equally responsible for its coherence.
At first glance one is struck by the window which splits the
lunette in two. It is in the uniting of these separated parts
that the influence of Santi di Tito becomes obvious. The
window is partly de-emphasized by Christ's graceful stance
and the swirl of the banner and clouds around Him. But
it is not an echoing of these rhythmic patterns that links
Him to the damned on the right.

  First of all, contained within the broad, rhythmic

structure is a careful balancing of parts--one side against the other, figure against figure--which creates an illusion of wholeness. Although Christ is but one figure, He is skillfully balanced against the bulk of the damned by His slightly larger torso, His elevated position and the dense mass of clouds and putti around Him. He gently leans toward the group of figures to the right and they in turn, through their angular rhythms, move towards their Saviour. Through this reciprocal pull, a doubly strong bond is created to unify what would otherwise be separate elements. That this solution is derived from Santi di Tito becomes apparent if one looks at Tito's Death of St. Dominick (Fig. 18) done for the same commission in S. M. Novella. The way that Eve and Christ lean towards each other and the mirroring of Christ's posture in the figure above Adam recalls the relationships and positions of Tito's principal figures.

Second, the entire composition is contained within a loose rectangular structure which is defined by the angle of the lower, right figure and by the slightly bent torso of Christ. The eye is thus kept strictly locked within the

limits of the composition in much the same way that it was
in Tito's Sisters of Phaeton where the peripheral figures
loosely defined the oval composition and all the other
figures were contained within it.

That Cigoli was beginning to admire Santi di Tito
is also noticeable in his choice of figure types. Christ is
taken directly from the second figure on the left in Tito's
fresco of The Death of St. Dominick. Also, the faces of
Christ and of the figure standing above Adam--thin
mouths and sharp features--are virtually identical to many
of the faces in Tito's work. They also have close parallels
to the faces from the scene of The Virgin Appearing to
St. Dominick which was painted by Lodovico Buti (1550-1611),
a close follower and imitator of Santi di Tito. [19]

Cigoli's second fresco for this commission, The
Investiture of St. Vincent of Ferrar (Fig. 19), reflects a
growing interest in Santi di Tito. Whereas the structure
of The Descent into Limbo was based on the techniques of
both Pontormo and Tito, in The Investiture it is almost
entirely based on Tito. All movement and rhythm is con-
tained within a rigid structure. The figures are divided

into two distinct and compact groups between which there is virtually no rhythmic correlation.   In the main group, the action is entirely defined by the four principals of the scene--St. Vincent, his attendant, a priest and a nun.   The pronounced curve of their forms toward each other focuses attention on the void between them which in turn emphasizes the moment and drama of the event.   The solitary woman at the right completes the balance of the composition and serves as an intermediary between the viewer's space and that of the central episode.   Just such a rigid control of forms and static relationship of parts are evident in all of the frescoes Tito executed for the S. M. Novella commission.

Here, as in the two previous works discussed, Cigoli draws from both early mannerist artists and his contemporaries for his figures.   The cluster of women at the altar would seem to come from the quiet and haunting figures in Pontormo's Certosa frescoes, particularly that of The Pietà.   The strong, solid figures on the left, so different than those of Pontormo or Tito, find their closest prototypes in Rosso Fiorentino's Ascension of the Virgin from the forecourt of SS. Annunziata.   A third discernible

source is the frescoes of Bernardo Poccetti done for the same cloister in S. M. Novella. Although the deterioration of these works makes definite comparisons difficult, it appears that the broad shoulders, the faces and the sprightly bearing of Cigoli's St. Vincent, his attendant and the kneeling figure behind them were inspired by Poccetti figures as, for example, those in his St. Dominick Saving the Book (Fig. 20).[20] Cigoli's Investiture, being the later of his two frescoes, was very likely executed during or after those of Poccetti, giving Cigoli ample opportunity to investigate one of the major artists of this commission.

The trends that we have seen so far in Cigoli's painting are to continue throughout his career. He will continually draw from different and varied sources for figure types and compositional conceits. His fluctuation between rhythmic and static compositions (or a combination of the two) recurs again and again in his search for coherence and clarity. Cigoli, like his forerunners and contemporaries, continually strives for ways to explicate the narrative of his paintings and in the end repeatedly turns to Santi di Tito in his search for solutions. Even

though he often uses rhythm as a cohesive agent, it is for
the most part contrapuntal to an overall structural simpli-
city.   Rhythm is never an entity in itself although it can
be more or less dominant.   But before Cigoli fully realizes
the dramatic potential inherent in rhythmic patterns, he
must first understand the techniques of Santi di Tito.   And
so, he begins by either neglecting rhythm, for the most
part, or infusing it into the basic static structure of Tito.

      Two other works, although unsigned and undated,
will help to illuminate this point.   The first is of St. Francis
Meeting St. Dominick (Fig. 21), painted for the Convent of
the Capuchins in Montughi just outside of Florence.[21]
Traditionally attributed to Cigoli, it has most recently been
given to Gregorio Pagani.[22]   The Pagani argument is not,
however, convincing.   Not only is a painting of the same
subject mentioned in the Cigoli literature,[23] but it also fits
into Cigoli's stylistic development.

      When commissioned to paint this work, the artist
must have recalled the fresco of the same subject by
Santi di Tito in the Chiostro Grande of S. M. Novella
(Fig. 22).[24]   Several important features from the Tito are

maintained in Cigoli's version even though the scale and background are greatly altered. The postures of Sts. Francis and Dominick are very close to the Tito figures. They embrace in the same stiff manner and show the same lack of emotion. Even in the details there are specific similar- ities, as in the position of St. Francis' left foot or in the type of architecture used in the background. Also the Saints' faces show the same types of features, taken from Tito, that were first pointed out in The Descent into Limbo and which are also present in The Investiture. The major difference between the Cigoli and Tito versions is in scale. Cigoli enlarges the figures of the Saints, eliminates all other figures and sharply reduces the background scenario.

Thus, the closeness to Tito but with a heightened emphasis of the subject points inexorably to Cigoli who, as we have seen, was always interested in narrative clarity. This led him to become more and more interested in Santi di Tito until he finally apprenticed himself to the older artist following the frescoing of the cloister in S. M. Novella. Cardi states that Cigoli did not neglect ". . . d'impatronirsi per mezzo di Santi di Tito, in ciò eccellentissimo,

dell'attitudini, proporzioni, movenze, et esplicazioni di storie . . ." (Vita, p. 17). This reference not only indicates that Cigoli became a pupil of Tito but also suggests the stylistic qualities of Tito in which Cigoli was interested.

In the Mostra del Cigoli, (p. 55) The Meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominick is erroneously dated 1595, and is said to have been painted in conjunction with The Annunciation for the same church. However, The Annunciation (Fig. 66) was not executed until 1600 and The Meeting clearly does not date so late.[25] In my study of Cigoli, I have arrived at a date ca. 1589 as being far more plausible. This is based on the strength of its similarity to Tito to whom Cigoli was (or had been) apprenticed and on the knowledge that Cigoli closely mirrored Santi di Tito's style only in these early years. It does not date earlier than 1589 since it shows some interesting affinities to a work by Domenico Passignano which was not finished until that year.[26] This work, The Burial of St. Anthony (Fig. 23) in the Chapel of St. Anthony in San Marco, was Passignano's first large commission. He had just returned from Venice and was, by this time, considered a successful artist who

could easily be of interest to one younger and less estab-
lished.   In Cigoli's painting, the overall dry quality, the
bland expressions and the distinct hairline around the ear
of St. Dominick are similar to their counterparts in
Passignano's fresco.

The second unsigned and undated work of this
period is The Immaculate Conception (Fig. 24) commissioned
for the Church of S. Michele in Pontorme.[27]   It shows the
same strong influence from Tito but here infused with more
lively rhythmic patterns.   It has most recently been dated
1589-90.[28]   Compositionally, it resembles a painting of
the same subject by Santi di Tito in S. Girolamo in
Volterra. (Fig. 25).   The date of the Tito is not known
but, based on the fact that Cigoli was Tito's pupil, it can
tentatively be concluded that Tito's is the earlier of the
two.   But as in The Meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominick,
Cigoli has condensed and transformed his model rather than
directly imitating it.   Unlike The Meeting, however, The
Immaculate Conception has rhythm to create a more ex-
citing and cogently dramatic composition.   The rhythms
which emanate from the Virgin--from Her posture and Her
drapery--not only give Her a greater sense of energy than

the static Virgin by Tito, but they also serve as the structural keystone which closely binds all the forms around Her. This is strikingly different from the more separate accumulation of forms in the Tito. The greater concentration on subject which distinguished Cigoli's Meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominick from that of Tito is here intensified through the rhythmic excitation and a closer integration of parts, not embodied in either Tito's version or in Cigoli's own earlier works.

So far we have seen Cigoli's increased reliance upon Santi di Tito finally mingled with Cigoli's own partiality for rhythmic forms. In the next painting, the signed and dated (1590) Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Fig. 26),[29] Cigoli no longer uses a Tito model but neither does he ignore the teachings of his master. He creates an exceedingly mature composition using his preferred rhythm to unify and electrify his painting. St. Lawrence in the foreground, the few figures around him and the architecture which surrounds them are all integrated by the interweaving of all forms into an abstract, curving design. The ease with which figures connect through space is exemplified

by the smooth transition from the muscular back of the
right, foreground figure through his foreshortened arm to
St. Lawrence who in turn leads the eye into depth. Here,
Cigoli has successfully experimented with the expressive
and organizational potential of rhythmic continuity in an as
yet unexplored method, combining the clarity and naturalism
of the reform movement with his well-established love of
Pontormo-like, sweeping rhythm. And he has achieved
this without his previous dependence on Tito or, for that
matter, on any other specific prototype. So, for the first
time Cigoli has created a composition which is a manifesta-
tion of all the techniques and principles with which he was
working in the past.

Because The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence does
not show obvious influences, modern critics have searched
for non-Florentine stimuli. This is due, I believe, to a
lack of understanding of Cigoli's early development and to
a resultant desire to look beyond Florence to explain his
early mature style. Busse's assertion[30] that this painting
was influenced by The Martyrdom of St. Vitale of
Federico Barocci (1528-1612), signed and dated 1583, was

correctly repudiated in the Mostra del Cigoli (p. 43-44),

only to be replaced with a second allegation that it was

The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence by Titian (1564) in the

Church of the Jesuits in Venice that had inspired Cigoli.

It is true that in both versions, Titian's and Cigoli's, the

gestures of St. Lawrence are similar and the stance

of two of the tormentors are comparable (the left, middle-

ground figure in the Cigoli and the right, foreground figure

in the Titian), but if one looks closely it becomes obvious

that the styles of the two works are independent. Venetian

painting had long been inculcated with Florentine figure

types and, thus, Florence is easily the source for both

artists.

    In any case, the differences are more relevant

than the similarities. Cigoli, unlike Titian, was not in-

terested in a grand, scenographic composition. Venetian

painting, and certainly this particular Titian, expands the

space and action of the foreground drama to the topmost

extent of the canvas. Cigoli, on the other hand, purpose-

fully drops the background space to focus more directly on

the foreground action. In traditional Florentine fashion, all

elements of Cigoli's painting are concentrated on the main drama.

Cigoli may have seen Titian's painting, or a copy or engraving of it, but I think it is misleading to stress this influence at the expense of Florentine influence and of Cigoli's earlier developments and interest in his contemporaries. Compositionally, The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence by Macchietti (1572 in S. M. Novella) is as potentially influential for Cigoli as Titian's version.[31] Even the heavy chiaroscuro, so typical of Venetian painting, could have come from Passignano who had just returned from Venice or from Jacopo Ligozzi, a noted Northern Italian artist and pupil of Veronese, then working in Florence.[32]

However, it is not profitable to try and pinpoint all possible influences because it is clear that there is no concrete prototype for Cigoli's work. It is more important to realize that Cigoli sustained a style primarily founded in Florentine traditionalism. Furthermore, if one assumes that The Martyrdom by Cigoli is not an enigma, then one can see a logical progression through all his works which

lead to the structural techniques exploited in this composition. That he looked to painters other than Santi di Tito for possible inspiration does not also mean that he veered away from his already maturing style.

A similar misinterpretation, of Cigoli has obscured the understanding of his next work, The Last Supper (Fig. 27) painted in 1591 for the Collegiata in Empoli. This painting, which was signed and dated,[33] was destroyed in the last war,[34] but its composition is still known through a copy now hanging in the Collegiata and through an Alinari photograph.[35] Prototypes for this work, as for The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, have been traced to Federico Barocci; here again I think the sources can be more accurately found within Florence itself. To assume that Barocci, or any other non-Florentine, played a major part in Cigoli's development only blurs the importance of Cigoli's role in the movement taking place in Florence at that time. If one examines closely Walter Friedlaender's argument that Cigoli's painting is based on a Last Supper of Barocci done for the Cappella di Santissimo Sacramento in the Duomo of Urbino,[36] it

becomes clear that his theories are founded on insubstantial evidence and on traditional misconceptions.

Friedlaender states that the Barocci was executed at approximately the same time as the Cigoli and that, because of the unusual composition used by both artists, the Cigoli is based on that of the older master. Friedlaender then supports his theory by stating that Cigoli, unlike the progressive Santi di Tito, was infatuated with late mannerism as typified by his teacher Alessandro Allori. Therefore, the surprising simplicity of Cigoli's Last Supper must have come from Barocci who was the only painter of stature in central Italy at that time.[37] This is clearly a misunderstanding of both Barocci and Cigoli.[38]

In Friedlaender's arguments, there are two glaring mistakes. The first is the assumption that the composition is unusual. The author himself notes prototypes in a Titian and a Joos van Ghent both in Urbino. There is also a very obvious prototype right in Florence. The unusual feature of Cigoli's composition to which Friedlaender refers is that all the figures encircle a small table. The basic structure of this composition, with the principal

figures defining the limits of the table, can be found in Pontormo's Supper at Emmaus (1525) now in the Uffizi. Because of his subject, Cigoli includes more figures but he does not destroy the essential clarity of Pontormo's work. Another similar grouping can also be found in Veronese's Supper at Emmaus now in the Louvre. Quite obviously, many prototypes did exist and therefore it cannot be demonstrated that Cigoli based his composition exclusively on that of Barocci.

The second mistake made by Friedlaender is in the dating of the Barocci. Cigoli's version was signed and dated 1591 and the Barocci was only begun in 1592 and not finished until 1599,[39] thereby making it impossible for Cigoli to have seen it.[40] If I am somewhat sharp in my attack against Friedlaender's argument--it is only a small part of his article--my excuse is that it is of paramount importance to focus on such arguments in order to illuminate and rectify these traditional misconceptions of Cigoli. Santi di Tito was perhaps the most influential Florentine artist for Cigoli, but that does not mean he was the only Florentine whom Cigoli could emulate.

In Cigoli's next painting, The Resurrection of
Christ (Fig. 28), signed and dated 1591 and presently in
the Arezzo Civic Museum,[41] Cigoli again demonstrates his
never-ending admiration for Santi di Tito. The general
composition--Christ rising serenely out of the chaotic
tumult of soldiers with the Three Marys standing quietly
in the background--comes directly from Tito's painting of
the same subject in Santa Croce (Fig. 29). If one looks
first at a preparatory drawing done by Cigoli (Fig. 30),
it is apparent that his initial idea was closer to Tito than
is his final composition.[42]

In the drawing, many of the major figures and
groups are facsimiles of Tito. Particularly notable are
the figures of Christ, a standing soldier (to the right in
the drawing and to the left in Tito's painting) and the group
of floating angels to the right of Christ. In Cigoli's paint-
ing, however, he has altered and changed his models and
greatly reduced the number of figures, maintaining directly
from Tito only the drapery forms--long, curving lines,
sharp, crisp folds and a hard, metallic sheen.

A clear example of this transformation is seen

in the soldier hurling himself away from Christ. In the main body of Cigoli's drawing, this figure is almost a replica of Tito's soldier. Then in the margin we can see how Cigoli turned him around into the figure which is finally used in the painting. In fact, another prototype is perhaps responsible for causing Cigoli to modify his original concept. This is a Resurrection of Christ by Maso da San Friano in the Church of Santa Maria in Settignano (Fig. 31).[43] If one compares Cigoli's drawing to this it is evident that from the beginning Cigoli's idea was closer to that of Maso, and in Cigoli's painting there are even more similarities. The simple composition, the balance and placement of figures and the enlargement of the entire arrangement are more analogous to Maso than to Tito. Several details are similar--the postures of Christ, the positions of the two soldiers lying facedown, and in a certain sense the conception of the angels. Although Cigoli's angel is clearly inspired by the Tito, its slight build and rhythmic integration to adjacent forms is suggestive of the angel from Maso.[44] Thus Cigoli has captured the essential strength and form of Santi di Tito, simplified his composition with the aid of

Maso and enlivened the whole with his own dominant rhythmic patterns.

Tito had organized the confusion and multiplicity of earlier "maniera" versions by Vasari and Bronzino into a more legible and coherent whole by arranging the figures into well-defined groups which frame the central figure of Christ. In this way, greater emphasis was placed on the subject. Whereas the Vasari and Bronzino works engendered a sense of confusion, the Tito work captured the serenity and majesty of Christ's ascension by framing the event. This transformation of the "maniera" provided a stepping-stone towards Cigoli's more exciting depiction.

With compositional clarity already established, Cigoli further enhances it by reducing the number of figures and increasing their unity by using a rhythmic continuity to bind them together. The outlines and forms of the figures who closely surround Christ correspond to the gentle sway of His body. The curve of His drapery and torso outlines the soldier and extends into the angel and the fallen soldier on the right. As in The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, all elements of the painting are interwoven

and channeled towards a single expression. By merging
rhythmic intensity with structural clarity, Cigoli emphasizes
the high emotional quality of the drama.

There is also a second factor which contributes
to the feeling of excitement. This is the artist's skillful
exploitation of juxtaposed hard and soft forms--the powerful
solider against the frail angel, the serenity of Christ against
the panic of the soldier, Christ's hard metallic drapery
against His soft fleshy body, the background against the
foreground. All of these are calculated to set off the
psychological jolt between the humanity and mercy of Christ
and the military power and bureaucracy of the state.

This sense of soft, almost hazy, forms is carried
into and enlarged upon in the signed and dated _Trinity_
(Fig. 32) (1592),[45] and it is by now evident that it is the
style of Correggio which has influenced this quality in
Cigoli.[46] This is a unique example of a non-Florentine
influence on Cigoli during his early period of maturity, but
it is a significant one, although often magnified out of pro-
portion because of the traditional misconceptions discussed
earlier. Baldinucci (p. 243) implies that Cigoli took a trip

to Lombardy and Cardi (p. 17) states that Cigoli had seen
and admired the works of Correggio. These sources can-
not be interpreted to mean that Cigoli's works subsequently
revealed aspects of Correggio's style: We have already
seen that Cigoli's painting was not influenced by Barocci
in spite of references to his esteem for that artist. How-
ever, in the case of Correggio, we have visual proof.

I have not seen the painting which has been in
restoration since the 1966 flood and therefore my conclu-
sions, based on the photograph, can only be tentative.
Nonetheless, two studies done for the head of Christ pro-
vide enough evidence to substantiate an influence of
Correggio.[47] Both of these studies, in the Corsini Gallery
in Florence, compare well with the head of Christ in
Correggio's Pietà (Fig. 33) (ca. 1524) from the Pinacoteca
in Parma.[48]

The first study (Fig. 34), a pastel, is most
obviously derivative of the oval-faced, slightly open-mouthed
Christ in the Correggio. A gentle feeling and soft texture
are dominant in both. In the second study, a panel (Fig. 35),
the textural softness is hardened and the facial features

are somewhat sharpened, but both the gentleness and basic facial type remain. Cigoli further adopts a second element, Christ's hand, from the hand of the Virgin in the Correggio. Both hands lie delicately across the chests. What is most striking is their similar shapes, their loose, relaxed positions, and the gentle rhythms that flow from the wrists to the fingers.

In the finished painting, most of the softness of Christ's face, evident to a certain extent in the panel, is omitted. However, it reappears in the head of God the Father. The gentle light which surrounds Him, the deep sfumato in His face and the delicacy of His beard and hair is comparable to the head of Correggio's Antiope in his _Jupiter and Antiope_ (ca. 1524-25) and to the overall textural quality of his _Jupiter and Io_.

That Cigoli was influenced by Correggio first emerged in _The Resurrection_ in which the clouds, the putti and the partial soft, atmospheric qualities of _The Trinity_ first appeared. Another evocative similarity between _The Resurrection_ and _The Trinity_ is in the distinctive definition of the musculature of the chest and arms of Christ's body.

An immediate prototype can be found in the Christ from one of Correggio's major works, The Vision of St. John of Patmos (Fig. 36) (1520-21) in the cupola of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma.[49]

At this point it becomes obvious that Correggio had begun to play a subtle role in Cigoli's style at the very point when Cigoli was beginning to diverge from Tito. It would seem that the softness of Correggio's forms and their rhythmic fluidity offered Cigoli an important stimulus in his quest for a drama more poignant than the abstract, symbolic works of Tito. Such a new trend in Cigoli is vividly clear in the contrast between his Resurrection and that of Tito.

The influence of Correggio does not appear again, I believe, for two reasons. First, Cigoli's style was primarily founded in and extended from prevailing Florentine traditionalism, which accounts for the limits of Correggio's influence in the paintings discussed.[50] Secondly, as a corollary to the first reason, Cigoli was part of a movement which had been successful in establishing a change of taste. It would therefore be natural for him to be involved

in and affected by this new style which, after all, evolved from earlier trends. Cigoli was just as interested in advancing and developing this reform style as were the other artists in his ambience, and he therefore became increasingly influenced by his contemporaries.

It would not be until later that Cigoli would fully realize his own individual artistic potential, because his active competition with the other artists around him would postpone, to some extent, the expansion of the innovations noted in The Resurrection and in The Trinity.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

[1] Cigoli's family and place of birth are discussed in Cardi, _Vita_, pp. 9-10.

[2] _Ibid._, pp. 10-11. According to Cardi, at age 13 Cigoli showed interest in drawing and was apprenticed to Alessandro del Bronzino (Alessandro Allori). This would make the year of Cigoli's apprenticeship and arrival in Florence 1572. Baldinucci, _Notizie_, p. 235, complies with Cardi.

[3] Eve Borsook, "Art and Politics at the Medici Court I; The Funeral of Cosimo I De'Medici," _Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz_, XII, (Dec., 1965), 46. See note 79 for a reproduction of the document of payment by Allori to Cigoli.

[4] Cardi, _Vita_, pp. 11-12, says that after four years Cigoli retired to his native town to recuperate, thus in 1576. Baldinucci, _Notizie_, p. 236, on the other hand says that Cigoli left Florence and Allori after three years of service, thus in 1575. Both speak of Cigoli's horror in performing his task of dissecting cadavers, a horror that apparently precipitated attacks of epilepsy.

[5] Cardi, _Vita_, p. 13, discussing Cigoli's early activity mentions that he painted a _Cain Killing Abel_. Eve Borsook, "Art and Politics," p. 46, note 79, has produced a document dating the painting 1578, proving that Cigoli was back in Florence by October of 1578.

[6] See Cardi, _Vita_, pp. 12-13, note 1, for a reference to Antonio del Crocino.

[7] This painting, according to Cardi, _Vita_, p. 13, and Baldinucci, _Notizie_, p. 237, was painted for the Church of San Giuseppe where it was still to be found until the flood of 1966. It was removed for restoration and is

now in the Fortezza da Basso awaiting treatment. Not
significantly damaged by the flood, its poor condition
results from an accumulation of grime. Although a
final judgement concerning its style cannot be made
until the painting can be closely examined and the ex-
tent of Cigoli's hand determined, it is fair to say that
the style does not contradict the direction of Cigoli's
development.

[8] First published in the _Mostra del Cigoli_, p. 40 where
it was dated ca. 1585 it has recently been dated later,
after 1591 by Anna Matteoli, "Mostra d'Arte Sacra della
Diocesi di San Miniato," _Bollettino della Accademia
degli Euteleti Città di San Miniato_ (1969), 78.

[9] Matteoli (_Ibid._, p. 78) produces valuable bibliography
including a reference from a ninteenth century guide-
book, (G. Piombanti, _Guida della Città di San Miniato
al Tedesco con notizie storiche antiche e moderne_, 1894,
pp. 74, 75.) which states that in the sacristy on the
altar (of the convent where the painting is now located)
there was a beautiful painting by Lodovico Cardi (_Noli
Me Tangere_) slightly ruined and badly maintained.
Matteoli also cites Luigi Del Moro, _Relazione, Atti per
la conservazione dei monumenti della Toscana compiuti
del 1 Luglio 1894 al 20 Giugno 1895_, (Florence, 1896)
p. 80. There it is reported that damage was caused to
the central area of Cigoli's panel by lightening, leaving
the figures undamaged. A certain Giuseppe Parrini was
given the job of restoration.
        Close examination of the painting reveals that the
damaged area in the center includes the area of Christ's
arm. The obvious restoration of this area, presumably
by Parrini, accounts for the clumsiness of Christ's arm
and possibly for the dark dripping formations that extend
from the letters of the signature, resulting from the
inevitable varnishing that must have been applied.

[10] G. Piombanti, _Guida di San Miniato_, pp. 74-75.

[11] Using the inventory of the archive of the convent published by Anna Matteoli, "Inventario del Archivio del Conservatorio di S. Chiara," Bollettino della Accademia degli Euteleti, 40 (San Miniato, 1969), 109, I was unable to find mention of the painting in the archive.

[12] McComb, Bronzino, p. 75.

[13] Although Cardi (Vita, pp. 14, 15, 17) and Baldinucci (Notizie, pp. 238, 241) mention Cigoli's interest in Pontormo, Michelangelo and Correggio, they do not mention the fact that Cigoli also reflects an interest in Andrea del Sarto and Rosso Fiorentino.

[14] This painting (Uffizi no. 516) is reproduced by Shearman, Sarto, 11, plate 18a.

[15] Cigoli's use of architecture is possibly due to his early studies with the architect Bernardo Buontalenti. The strong possibility that Cigoli worked with him before leaving Florence (or perhaps during his stay in San Miniato as well) is implied by Cardi (Vita, p. 12) who says that Cigoli was asked to return by his good friend and master, Bernardo Buontalenti. This is also consistent with my probable date of 1576-7 for the Noli Me Tangere, not too long after his apprenticeship with Allori and late enough to show an influence of Buontalenti.

[16] That Cigoli was already thought of as a successful artist is revealed in Baldinucci (Notizie, p. 237-8) where he mentions that Cigoli was worthy of the Grand Duke's praise and that Cigoli had begun to receive important commissions.

[17] Fineschi (S. M. Novella, p. 52) places The Descent before The Investiture.

[18] Cigoli's adoption of an ever wider range of artists is indicated by his use of the head of the demon in Raffaellino del Garbo's Madonna and Four Saints (1505)

in Santo Spirito (reproduced in detail in Shearman,
Sarto, 11, plate 2) for the head of his own demon seen
above the window in The Descent.

[19] According to Colnaghi (Dictionary, pp. 60-61), Buti was
a pupil and close follower of Tito imitating his mas-
ter in the frescoes of S. M. Novella.

[20] The face of the kneeling figure is in some respects like
a study of a head by Pontormo for the fresco of
Vetumnus and Pomona in the Villa Poggio a Caiano
(Rearick, Pontormo, 11, ca. 141, plate 135). The
general construction of the head, its angle, the fore-
head, eyes and nose are very similar to the Pontormo
study. However, the ruddy complexion and jaunty
feeling resulting from the relationship of the head to
the body in Cigoli's fresco is more reminiscent of
Poccetti.

[21] According to the Florentine Soprintendenza inventories
(Inventario degli oggetti d'arte, Perdinando Rondoni di
S. Francesco, Chiesa e Convento de'Padri Cappuccini
di Montughi, 1833) it is stated that the work then in the
convent was believed to be by Cigoli ("Sulla porta della
scala che introduce al piano superiore e l'Incontro de'
Santi Domenico e Francesco, affresco pregievolissimo
con figure al verso creduto di Lod. Cardi da Cigoli.")
In 1955 the fresco was detached and moved to its present
location in the church (Mostra del Cigoli, p. 55).

[22] Christel Theim, Gregorio Pagani (Stuttgart, 1970), p. 47.
Similarities between Pagani and Cigoli may be expected
as they were contemporaries, both influenced by Tito
and were also reported to be friends (Baldinucci,
Notizie, p. 240) and to have worked together.

[23] See note 21.

[24] Fineschi, S. M. Novella, p. 59.

[25] For a discussion of The Annunciation see Chapter 4, pp. 118-122.

[26] According to Colnaghi (Dictionary, p. 82), Passignano returned from Venice in 1589 at the request of the Grand Duke to assist in the decoration for the marriage of Ferdinand I with Cristina of Lorrain and in the same year frescoed the Chapel of St. Anthony in San Marco. The two artists also were reported to have traveled together to Perugia to see Barocci's Deposition of 1569 (Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 243).

[27] Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 241 and Cardi, Vita, p. 17.

[28] This painting has traditionally been dated in the 1590's. The Mostra del Cigoli, p. 56 dates it 1595, and Mina Gregori ("Avant-Propos sulla pittura Fiorentina del Seicento," Paragone, XIII, serie no. 145 (1962), 28) dates it in the beginning of the decade. It was pointed out to me by Miles Chappell, who has done extensive documentary research on Cigoli, that the painting dates in the years 1589-90. See also Miles Chappell, "Some Paintings by Lodovico Cigoli," The Art Quarterly XXXIV, No. 2, (Summer 1971), 217, note 37. This date also conforms to other information concerning the painting. Baldinucci (Notizie, p. 241) and Cardi, (Vita, p. 12) mention The Immaculate Conception after the works in S. M. Novella and before the signed and dated 1591 painting of the Last Supper.

[29] The painting originally executed for the Castello di Figline was subsequently moved to the Museum of San Marco and then to San Salvi (Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 43, 44). It is now in the Fortezza da Basso awaiting restoration for the slight damage suffered during the flood of 1966. The form of the background, over which Cigoli took great pains (Cardi, Vita, p. 19 and Baldinucci, Notizie, 244) is impossible to see because of layers of dirt. The composition and space can be clearly discerned, however, in a drawing done after the painting, Uffizi No. 974, brown ink, light wash, 373x254mm. For a list of other drawings see, Mostra del Cigoli, p. 44.

30 Busse, _Manierismus und Barockstil_, pp. 19, 20.

31 There is also a strong similarity between Cigoli's
   figure at the right and the soldier at the left in
   Santi di Tito's _Resurrection of Christ_, ca. 1568.

32 For a discussion of Ligozzi see Chapter 3, pp. 83-88.

33 The dating of this painting by Venturi, _Storia del Arte_,
   vol. 9, part 6, p. 688, is confirmed by the Florentine
   Soprintendenza scheda no. 69, "Catalogo Generale degli
   oggetti d'Arte Del Regno, Provincia di Firenze,
   Comune di Empoli, Galleria della Collegiata di Empoli,"
   entry no. 42, dated 1894. There it states that the
   highly praised and important painting, taken from the
   church to the gallery is signed and dated in the lower
   right Lod. Cardus F.A.D. 1591.

34 For an account of war damage and illustrations of the
   damage of the Collegiata in Empoli and the Church of
   the Virgin in Impruneta (the site of another destroyed
   Cigoli painting, see Chapter 3, p. 79, note 9.) see
   Frederick Hart, _Florentine Art Under Fire_, (Princeton
   Univ. Press, 1949).

35 I have been informed by the Soprintendenza of Florence
   that the remains of the destroyed painting are kept in
   a small box in the Fortezza da Basso but that no single
   remaining fragment is large enough to yield any know-
   ledge of the painting.

36 Walter Freidlaender, "Early to Full Baroque,"
   Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich, XXII,
   (March, 1963), 65-82.

37 _Ibid._, pp. 71-74.

38 Freidlaender (_Ibid._, p. 74, note 17) uses another ver-
   sion of _The Supper at Emmaus_ in the Pitti Palace in
   Florence as evidence for the influence of Titian on
   Cigoli. I do not believe that this painting is by Cigoli.

The Mostra del Cigoli, (p. 68) also proposes that it is by Cigoli basing the attribution on an old inscription on the back of the painting. This same source points out the similarities to the style of Cristofano Allori to whom in my opinion the painting belongs. The strongest indictment against a Cigoli attribution is the fact that nowhere in Cigoli's secure works is there a comparison to the loose bozzetto-like form of this work and there are many such comparisons to works by Allori. For a further discussion of Cigoli and Allori regarding this style see Giulietta Chelazzi-Dini, "Aggiunte e precisazioni al Cigoli e alla sua cerchia," Paragone, XIV, serie 167 (1963), 60-61.

[39] Harold Olson, Federico Barocci (Copenhagen, 1962), pp. 200, 201.

[40] Friedlaender, Festschrift, pp. 73-74 states that although Cigoli could not have known the actual painting, as Barocci did not begin his version until a year after Cigoli's was finished, nevertheless, Cigoli must have known the program. No evidence for such a proposal is produced.

[41] Mostra del Cigoli, p. 45.

[42] The drawing has been published by Luisa Vertova, "Lodovico Cardi, detto il Cigoli, La Resurrezione," Antichità, VII, (1968), 72-73.

[43] The work is ascribed to Maso by Guido Carocci, I Dintorni di Firenze, I (Florence, 1906) p. 47, and Domenico Moreni, Notizie Istoriche dei Contorni di Firenze, VI (Florence, 1794) p. 107. Although the date is unknown I would tentatively place it ca. 1570.

[44] As a further indication of Cigoli's indebtedness to Florentine tradition, it is worth noting that this angel is extremely close to the figure in the center right of Filippo Lippi's Madonna and Child tondo in the Pitti, 1452.

45 According to the Mostra del Cigoli,   p. 46, The
Trinity was painted for the Risalti altar in Santa Croce
and was removed to the refectory of the convent in
1869 when the Risalti altar was replaced by another
monument. The history of the commission is further
discussed by G. Sinibaldi, Un disegno di
G. Macchietti," Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di
Mario Salmi, III (1963), 89-93, who points out that
Cigoli's painting replaced a Trinity by Macchietti for
which only a drawing survives.

46 The rapport with Correggio is discussed in the Mostra
del Cigoli,   p. 47, and a Trinity in the Museum of
Nancy is attributed to Cigoli and placed in the context
of Correggio's influence. The painting in Nancy is not
by Cigoli and is very likely by Jacopo Ligozzi. Per-
ceptible hints of Correggio are evident, however, in
other works, such as the putti in The Martyrdom of
St. Lawrence which resemble the Correggio putti from
the Camera di San Paolo in Parma.

47 Corsini Gallery nos. 115 and 90. Another study for
the painting can be found in the Museo Comunale in
Pistoia, no. 25. This is the painting of the Head of
an Angel, which, as the Mostra del Cigoli, p. 49,
points out, is probably a study for one of the angels in
The Trinity. The indebtedness to Correggio is also
noted.

48 For a reproduction see Sidney J. Freedberg, Painting
in Italy 1500-1600, The Pelican History of Art,
(London, 1971), plate 116.

49 Mina Gregori, "Avant-Propos sulla pittura," pp. 21-40,
has suggested that Gregorio Pagani influenced Cigoli in
the direction of Correggio. It is known from Baldinucci
(Notizie, p. 240) that Cigoli and Pagani were friends
and worked together in Macchietti's studio. Because
Cigoli had been interested in Correggio, at least since
1590, in The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, and owing to
Cigoli's movement from Correggio to a more hard

Florentine style as seen in the development of The
Trinity, it would seem more likely that Pagani exerted
an influence on Cigoli which pulled him away from
Correggio. However, the entire question of Pagani's
influence on Cigoli is difficult to investigate because of
the lack of early works by Pagani, whose earliest
secure work is a Madonna and Child with Saints in
Leningrad signed and dated 1592. Comparing Cigoli's
Immaculate Conception of 1589 and Pagani's painting, it
would seem on the basis of dates and commonality of
style that Cigoli influenced Pagani.

50 It has been proposed (Dini, "Appunti-Aggiunte" pp. 53-54)
that Cigoli copied a Correggio painting. Based on a
museum attribution dating back to 1899, Dini asserts that
The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine in the Pistoia
Museum, a copy of Correggio's original in the Louvre,
is by Cigoli. She buttresses the argument by asserting
that a drawing also in the Louvre (no. 898) of the head
of a young girl, attributed to Cigoli, is for the Pistoia
painting. There is no evidence that Cigoli so literally
copied any artist and much evidence to the contrary.
There is no stylistic similarity between the painting in
Pistoia and any known Cigoli work, the drawing in the
Louvre is doubtful as a Cigoli, and, furthermore, it
does not compare well to any aspect of the painting in
Pistoia for which it is said to be a study.
    There is a final work by Cigoli which does reflect
Correggio influence. That is The Madonna and Child with
Saints in Pianezzole, signed and dated 1593. Again, how-
ever, the softness of Correggio and the Correggesque
features of the Child play only a small role in the
larger more Florentine precision of the figures. See
Chapter 3 for a discussion of this painting.

CHAPTER III

INFLUENCE OF FLORENTINE CONTEMPORARIES

Eight works done by Cigoli between the years 1593-1595 illustrate his interest in the styles of his colleagues, Jacopo da Empoli, Domenico Passignano and Jacopo Ligozzi. The degree of influence varies with each painting, but it is consistently clear that the sudden metamorphosis from highly evocative, rhythmically oriented works to more statically balanced, dramatically low-keyed works parallels an interest in these contemporaries who were themselves more involved in the latter mode of composition. Their style develops from an almost extreme interpretation of Santi di Tito's carefully arranged, austere paintings. Cigoli pursues this aspect for only a short period before he returns, in 1596, to a manner of painting exemplified by The Resurrection of Christ.

Since only three of these eight works are signed and dated, these must provide the general framework of development and influence within which an understanding and chronology of the other five works can be established. Although these three paintings do outline trends and indicate

sources, a more conclusive comprehension of this period
can be reached only after the outlines have been filled in
with the other works. These latter five works are as-
cribed to these years fundamentally on the basis of their
stylistic similarities to the documented works and because
of common trends which run through them.

The signed and dated paintings are: Madonna and
Child with Saints in the parish church of Pianezzole, 1593;
St. Heraclius Carrying the Cross in San Marco in Florence,
1594; The Madonna of the Rosary in the Church of SS. Filippo
and Jacopo in Pontedera, 1595. The rest of the paintings
to be discussed include The Assumption of the Virgin
(destroyed), The Raising of Lazarus, The Madonna Teaching
the Christ-Child, The Miracle of St. John Gaulberto and
The Sacrifice of Isaac. Of this last group, all have been
published and variously dated except for The Assumption
which is discussed here for the first time.[1] As for their
dates, several will be substantially altered, particularly
those of The Madonna Teaching and The Sacrifice of Isaac
which has been completely misdated and misunderstood.

In the three signed works, there is a sudden

change to static, sober compositions. The first signs of
this can be seen in the relationship of figures in The
Madonna and Child with Saints (Fig. 37).[2] The Virgin and
Child, enthroned in the center, are flanked symmetrically
by Saints Peter and Michael. In contrast to all of Cigoli's
previous paintings, there is no motion and no rhythmic
continuity, the lack of which strengthen the simple, prosaic
nature of the painting. This characteristic is even more
surprising when, in light of previous paintings, it is realized
that there is no attempt to exploit the dramatic possibilities
of the subject. Michael's role of suppressing the devil and
presenting the soul to the Virgin and Child is purely sym-
bolic. Restraining rhythm and motion, Cigoli fits these
figures inobstrusively into the quiet symmetry of the whole.

     This static relationship of forms is punctuated by
such details as the rigid facial features of St. Peter and
the heaviness and stiffness of his drapery. Like the over-
all composition, these features are unique in Cigoli and,
although there are no prototypes, a similar use of detail
to emphasize the structure of the composition can be found
in works of Jacopo da Empoli. In his Doubting Thomas

(Fig. 38) (ca. 1591-93), from the Pinacoteca of the Collegiata in Empoli, the extreme stillness of the composition and the build-up of crisp drapery forms around Thomas are parallel to those same qualities in Cigoli's painting.[3]

Such an alteration of Cigoli's style might result from the fact that the painting was commissioned for a small provincial parish church, simply revealing, therefore, Cigoli's required conformity to a conservative trend that harks back to earlier quatrocento types. But this cannot be the only reason since it is not an isolated case. The next painting, St. Heraclius Carrying the Cross (Fig. 39)[4] reiterates this new tendency. It depicts the seventh century Byzantine Emperor Heraclius who, after capturing the true cross from the pagan King Chroesroes, upon reaching the gates of Jerusalem is reminded by an angel of Christ's humility when leaving the Holy City; dismounting, he sheds his royal garb to enter the city barefoot carrying the cross as Christ had done.[5] Cigoli captures the moment of entry of the bent and humble Emperor surrounded by his rich entourage and several astounded citizens with the angel above urging him forward.

The subject is dramatic, but Cigoli has again avoided the opportunity to create motion and psychological intensity. Heraclius, instead of being an heroic and dramatic figure, is instead rather weak and insignificant, surrounded and overwhelmed by the confusion of the event. Anchored firmly in the center, Heraclius stands motionless, encouraged onward by gestures that are ultimately ineffectual; he is easily subsumed into the balance of forms to either side of him (the attendant to the left and the woman and child to the right). By denying the implicit motion and excitement of the figures, Cigoli understates the drama in a manner similar to that of the previous painting.

Different from The Madonna and Child with Saints, however, is a softness of drapery and flesh tones (foreshadowing a later return to his earlier style). This is most clearly seen in the figure of the attendant to the left of the Emperor. Prototypes for this figure can be found in Domenico Passignano's fresco of a scene from the life of San Giovanni Gualberto in the chapel dedicated to that Saint in Santa Trinità in Florence, painted in the years 1593-4. [6] Many of these figures have a posture and a general softness

of texture and skin identical to that of Cigoli's figure.
Passignano's calm balanced compositions may have also
provided the impetus for Cigoli's corresponding concern in
this painting.

The final documented work from this period, The
Madonna of the Rosary (Fig. 40), of 1595, shows a contin-
uation of the same general tendencies, although rhythm is
again introduced.[7] The composition, the Madonna and
Child elevated in the center with Saints below, is symmet-
rical and contains very stationary forms, but, at the same
time, it is infused with a dynamic rhythmic motion that is
redolent of Cigoli's works prior to 1593. Unlike the first
two, this painting begins to exploit the dramatic potential
of the subject. The Madonna leans to the left of the cen-
tral axis to hand a rosary to a figure below Her while the
Christ-Child, repeating Her action, hands a rosary to
St. Anthony. The strong rhythm that sweeps through the
Madonna and Child and the other principal figures unites
the composition and lends an excited air to it that recalls
The Immaculate Conception and the works which follow it.

In addition, the softening of form evident in the

St. Heraclius is here increased. The rich pattern of St. Augustine's robe has lost the sharp detail of the robe of Heraclius' attendant. It has become softer, its forms blurred and set within large sweeping folds. The face of the Virgin also exhibits a softness of texture, because of the gently rhythms and curving forms which define her features, that is greater than in any of the faces in the previous two paintings. Cigoli has begun in this last of the three to loosen the nonrhythmic solidity which is characteristic of this period.

Notwithstanding the reemergence of older qualities, one detects in The Madonna of the Rosary the influence of Jacopo da Empoli. This can be seen in the highly abstracted faces of St. Monica and the boy to her left. In the simplicity of their profiles and in the sparseness of anatomical detail, Cigoli, like Empoli in his Immaculate Conception (Fig. 41) of 1591 from San Remigio in Florence,[8] abstracts in order to emphasize overall design. In Empoli this strengthens the static simplicity of his figures whereas in Cigoli it enhances a stronger rhythmic pattern.

We have seen in the above three paintings the
general development in Cigoli of greater affinities to his
contemporaries and to their approach to composition. The
analysis of the five unsigned paintings confirms these
observations and shows an increased absorption and inter-
nalization of their style. Before The Assumption of the
Virgin (Fig. 42) was destroyed by allied bombing during
the Second World War, it hung at the second altar on the
left in the nave of the Church of the Virgin in Impruneta.[9]
The composition is known from three surviving records--a
photograph,[10] an engraving[11] and a drawing in the Uffizi.[12]
The bulk and strength of the figures in The Assumption
coupled with their self-contained isolation and their still,
timeless gestures is reminiscent of The Madonna and Child
from Pianezzole.

Again it is my opinion that this figure style is
due to Cigoli's observations of his contemporaries, this
time of Passignano, whose solid figures engaged in frozen
gestures generate a tension similar to that in The Assumption.
There is, to my knowledge, no Passignano painting of the
same subject, but a comparison with his Adoration of the

Shepherds of 1594 (Fig. 43),[13] in the Cathedral at Lucca,
illustrates similarities with Cigoli's painting. The stiff,
constrained figures grouped around the Virgin and Child
are analogous in mood and construction to those surround-
ing the tomb in The Assumption. The face of Cigoli's
Madonna is reminiscent of the open-mouthed, blank face of
the kneeling shepherd in the foreground of The Adoration,
and one can not help comparing the chubby putto below
Cigoli's Virgin to the putti in Passignano's painting, es-
pecially the one just to the left of center. In particular,
the shepherd removing his hat in the Passignano and the
standing figure at the left in the Cigoli are similar in
posture and gesture. Not only are these figures physically
alike but their intent is also similar--to accentuate the
event and to evoke its essence, in this case surprise or
astonishment.

When the key figure or figures are isolated, a
certain lack of unity is inevitable. This weakens the
potential for dramatic impact because attention is paid to
individual parts to the exclusion of a concentration on the
whole. One appreciates the excitement of the event through

the individual rather than through the event itself. The subject is then secondary. The event seems made by the individual rather than the individual being controlled by the mood of the scene. In short, figures symbolize attitudes or actions instead of participating in the full revelation of the drama by acting it out. The extent to which Cigoli engages in this style that is fundamentally alien to his earlier works confirms the knowledge of a commitment to his contemporaries. This commitment is perhaps strongest in The Assumption.

A further evidence for dating The Assumption is a preparatory drawing (Fig. 44). [14] The style of Cigoli's study is akin to the style of other drawings executed for paintings that are known to date 1594 and 1595. A most convincing comparison can be made between the study for The Assumption and an early study for The Madonna of the Rosary (Fig. 45). [15] One finds in each of these studies lanky, attenuated figures, long, jagged lines in the drapery and large areas of sharply defined shadow. The kneeling figures display the same angular postures (compare St. Lawrence from The Assumption and the kneeling man

in The Madonna of the Rosary) and the hands show the same sketchy fingers and bulbous thumbs.[16]

A second comparison can be made between the drawing for The Assumption and a drawing for a lost Crucifixion (Fig. 46) which was painted for San Salvi in Florence.[17] The missing painting is placed by Baldinucci and Cardi just before The Assumption in question and The St. Heraclius Carrying the Cross (1594). Relying on these two sources, it can be assumed that The Crucifixion was done just before St. Heraclius. In fact, if the drawing for The Crucifixion is compared to that of St. Heraclius (Fig. 47)[18] it is evident that the Magdalen from The Crucifixion is, in style and posture, precursory to the figures of St. Heraclius and the woman kneeling in the foreground. Also similar are the two figures floating on a cloud, one behind the crucified Christ and the other above St. Heraclius.

The drawing for The Crucifixion also shows the same propensity for elongated figures, long, flowing lines mixed with erratic, sketchy ones and large areas of shadow that occur in all of the drawings--that of The Assumption,

The St. Heraclius Carrying the Cross, and The Madonna
of the Rosary. Although neither the painting of The
Assumption nor the drawing for The Crucifixion can be
given a definite date, they can be safely grouped together
around the year 1594 owing to the stylistic analogies of
the drawings, the references in Baldinucci and Cardi and
the comparison of The Assumption to Passignano's
Adoration of that date.

The next two paintings to be discussed, The
Raising of Lazarus and The Madonna Teaching the Child,
can also be dated in this period because of their conformity
to the general tendencies outlined in the three documented
works and on the basis of their relationship to paintings by
Jacopo Ligozzi. The Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 48) was
commissioned in 1592 for the Conservatorio of Santa Marta
in Montopoli where it is still located.[19] It has been pro-
posed that the painting was not completed until 1594.[20] I
agree with this conclusion primarily because the painting
is so unlike the works dating two or three years earlier.
Whereas earlier, Cigoli transformed Tito's static presen-
tation of forms (in The Resurrection e.g.), in The Raising

of Lazarus which is closely based on a Tito prototype, signed and dated 1592 in the Cathedral of Voltera,[21] Cigoli does not transform the Tito version: He maintains the same compositional formula. But, he employs a delicacy and angularity of form that is unprecedented in either Tito's or his own previous works. To explain this sudden shift, evident in the fine, long lines of Christ's drapery and the crisp folds of His sleeve (seen also in the sleeve of Lazarus) one must turn to the paintings of Ligozzi.[22]

There are two paintings by Ligozzi with which Cigoli's work can be compared. The first is a Deposition from the Cross, signed and dated 1591 in the Palazzo della Prepositura in San Gimignano,[23] in which the crisp folds of Mary's sleeve and her fine delicate hands with long curving fingers are, respectively, similar to the drapery of both Christ and Lazarus, and to the hand of the Magdalen in Cigoli's painting. Secondly, Ligozzi's Circumcision (Fig. 49) of 1594 in San Agostino in Lucca,[24] contains all of these elements, such as in the drapery of the priest, the hand of Mary and the rigid posture and drapery of the

bending woman at the lower right, as well as a general
compositional similarity to Cigoli's painting. The combin-
ation of these facts, Cigoli's similarity to Tito (paradoxically)
and to Ligozzi, suggest a dating closer to 1594 than 1592.

A more direct example of Ligozzi's influence on
Cigoli is found in The Madonna Teaching (Fig. 50) which
compares well with Ligozzi's St. Michael and Angels
(Fig. 51), signed and dated 1594 in San Giovannino degli
Scolopi in Florence. (This date and signature have pre-
viously gone unnoticed.[25]) The gentle face of Cigoli's
Madonna, composed of large, simple eyes, a long, prom-
inent nose and a small, thin mouth is taken from the faces
in Ligozzi's painting and especially from those of the two
standing angels flanking the Archangel Michael. Cigoli has
carefully observed the oval shape of the heads, and the
facial features of these Ligozzi figures. Even the way
the head is set firmly on a strong conical neck finds a
direct comparison in Ligozzi's painting. Furthermore, the
sharp, angular drapery of the Madonna and the bright, decor-
ative pattern on Her sleeve are similar to such qualities
in other Ligozzi paintings discussed above.

In addition to its relationship to Ligozzi's signed
and dated (1594) painting of St. Michael, Cigoli's Madonna
Teaching is chronologically associated by Baldinucci
(p. 147) with other works dating securely in the mid-
ninties--St. Heraclius Carrying the Cross and The Madonna
of the Rosary.[26]

Until now, The Madonna Teaching has been
understood as another example of Federico Barocci's in-
fluence[27]--an assumption which I have repeatedly pointed
out is unfounded. If it were true that Barocci influenced
this painting, it would logically date in the eighties, as
mentioned in the Mostra del Cigoli (p. 41), in accordance
with the chronological frameworks of Baldinucci's and
Cardi's references to Cigoli's interest in Barocci.[28] The
theory of this influence and the early date arose, I assume,
from the seeming inconsistencies of style, such as the
drapery, lighting and the unusual facial features of the
Madonna. However, there is no evidence of Barocci's
style in Cigoli during the eighties, and, as has been ex-
plained, this style of The Madonna Teaching springs from
Ligozzi. Furthermore, in this painting there are many

similarities to forms in The Raising of Lazarus, such as

the Madonna's face and that of the woman to the left of

Christ in The Raising, the lighting on the figures and

background and the repoussoir form of the hills where the

same distinctly outlined vegetation is sharply juxtaposed

against the dark blue sky. It is, therefore, closely asso-

ciated with Ligozzi and must have been painted about 1594.

      Further confirmation of the influence of Ligozzi

on Cigoli emerges from a comparison of a Ligozzi drawing

signed and dated 1587, now in Christ Church College,

Oxford (Fig. 52),[29] with a later Cigoli drawing (ca. 1595-6),

in the Louvre (Fig. 53).[30] The subject of both drawings

is Dante in the Forest, taken from Canto 1 of The Inferno.

In each, Dante is surrounded by a dense yet brightly lit

forest. He is bent forward at the waist, left leg forward,

arms spread and his right hand stretched out in front of

him. He wears an open cloak with a slit at the shoulder

and his robe underneath is gathered by a sash which is

tied in a bow at the front. Analogies are also evident in

the foliage, in the curving trees and in the facial features

drawn on the sun.

However, Cigoli's interest in Ligozzi stops at similarities in form; the interpretation of the scene is quite different and reveals the diverse styles of each artist. Corresponding to Ligozzi's greater concern with the static structural aspect of the reform style is his choice of depicting the moment before Dante becomes completely aware of his surroundings and is still engulfed by the forest and his fear (lines 1-24). This allows Ligozzi to crowd the still stunned and stationary Dante between huge trees with the sun just beginning to stream through the thick foliage. Cigoli, on the other hand, depicts Dante as he begins to walk through the forest, his way lighted by the already blazing sun (lines 28-30). By chosing this moment, Cigoli is able to open up the forest, to make it more light and airy (less fearsome), and to give it spatial depth. He can thereby emphasize the rhythm and grace of form that has interested him in the past and will recapture his interest after the mid-nineties. Here the forms become softer and more lyrical in anticipation of his works in the later half of the decade. [31]

The fourth painting that I shall discuss is called

St. John Gualberto Saving the Hebrews from Drowning

(Fig. 54) in Santa Maria Maggiore in Florence. Before

discussing the reasons for dating this painting in the years

1594-5 I want to discuss some problems concerning the sub-

ject matter. The Mostra del Cigoli (p. 67) refers to the

painting with the above title--dating it 1596.[32] The early

sources refer to it as St. Albert Saving the Hebrews.[33]

Among the many St. Alberts there is no scene of the

Saint saving Hebrews from drowning. Nor is there such a

scene in the life of St. John Gualberto, a Tuscan Saint who

founded the order of Vallombrosa in the 11th century.

There does appear, however, in the life of St. Gualberto,

a story in which he miraculously rescues the envoys of the

Pope from the devastation of a tremendous rainstorm--the

Pope had stopped, nearby wishing to salute Gualberto, but,

fearing the rugged journey up the mountain, sent envoys

to bear his greetings.[34]

The style of the painting presents less of a

problem. As in all of the preceeding works, the figures

here exhibit an extremely clear example of arrested motion,

most strongly emphasized by their extended limbs which

stop just short of creating a fluid, rhythmic continuity. In this painting it is difficult to isolate the influence of any of Cigoli's contemporaries, but the composition and relationship of figures is conceived of in the same manner as they were in the Cigoli paintings so far discussed, embodying stylistic properties common to Passignano's Adoration, Empoli's Immaculate Conception and Ligozzi's St. Michael with Angels.

The details of the painting bear out the general similarities to Cigoli's other works. The posture, the face and the left hand of St. Gualberto are similar to those of St. Anthony (to the left of the Virgin) in The Madonna of the Rosary. Gualberto's right hand, even though seen from a different angle, is like that of St. Augustine again in The Madonna of the Rosary. The face of the figure grasping St. Gualberto appears to be a slightly grimacing version of the fellow holding the door of the tomb in The Raising of Lazarus, and the open arms of the figure at the bottom remind one of the figure at the left in The Assumption. All of these details, postures and hands accent and heighten the arrested motion of the figures

and illustrate Cigoli's current preoccupation with this type of staged figure and the resultant symbolic effect.

Another painting resembling St. Gualberto is The Sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 55) in the Pitti Palace, the last of the undocumented works. The inconsistencies between the foreground and background space, the crowding of the three figures against the picture plane and the way in which the figures fit together are comparable.

The Sacrifice of Isaac is similar in many other ways, as well, to Cigoli works in this period. The strong, square-boned head of Abraham is like that of St. Peter in The Madonna and Child with Saints. The soft, youthful face of Isaac is like that of St. Michael from the same painting and both are derivative of the angels' faces in The Trinity. The patterned color of Isaac's shirt which lies on the ground at the left, is reminiscent of the material used in Mary's sleeve in The Madonna Teaching. The distant landscape and the relationship of the figures to it is also alike in both these paintings. There are also close comparisons between The Sacrifice and The Madonna of the Rosary--the soft, smooth modeling and facial features

of both the angel and the Madonna, the face of Abraham and the face of St. Augustine, the drapery folds on Abraham's left arm and those of the Madonna's right arm.

Analogies such as these have led me to conclude that The Sacrifice of Isaac must have been painted around the same time as these other works, thus around 1595. This date is in stark opposition to the traditional dating of ca. 1606.[35] If we examine the evidence for the later date, it becomes apparent that much of it is based on a mis-interpretation of available facts.

In his biography of Cigoli, Cardi (p. 37) states that Cigoli painted a Sacrifice of Isaac and a Daniel in the Lions Den (now known to be by Pietro da Cortona) for the Cardinal Arrigone in Rome and that, although the Cardinal praised The Sacrifice, he complained of too much motion. Consequently, he had the painting sent to the collection of the Grand Duke in Florence where, Cardi reports, it was in poor condition and in need of restoration (p. 37). Since Cigoli also frescoed a scene of Hagar in the Desert, which unquestionably dates from his Roman period, for this same Cardinal's Villa in Frascati (now the Villa Muti),

it has always been assumed that The Sacrifice was done
at the same time.   Thus both paintings have been dated
around 1606 to agree with the chronological mention in
Cardi and Baldinucci of a Sacrifice of Isaac with other
works, such as the Ecce Homo of 1605.   The Sacrifice
was then subsequently dated later, around 1610-11, after
a reevaluation of the dating of the Hagar fresco in the
Villa Muti.[36]

If the existing painting of The Sacrifice is com-
pared with either Cardi's description or with Cigoli's
Roman works, strong suspicion is cast on whether the
painting which now exists is in fact that referred to in
both Cardi and Baldinucci.[37]   Cardi states that the paint-
ing was rejected because it contained too much motion.
There is virtually no motion in the painting in the Pitti.
Secondly, he said that it was seen in Florence in poor
condition and that it needed to be restored.   The excellent
condition of the Pitti work shows no indication of either
damage or repainting. Furthermore, the version in the Pitti
does not compare positively with either Hagar in the Desert,
one of Cigoli's latest paintings, or with The Martyrdom of

St. James which dates early in Cigoli's Roman period.[38]

In the first comparison, the fresco of Hagar in the Desert reveals an entirely different approach to figure composition and structural organization. The graceful, highly attenuated, abstract forms are smoothly coordinated by strong rhythmic continuity whereas in The Sacrifice the more normally proportioned, naturalistic figures are awkwardly and abruptly juxtaposed against one another. This complete antithesis of intent proclaims the impossibility of a simultaneous dating.

Despite some similarities between The Sacrifice and The Martyrdom of St. James--the lack of space and the poses and softness of Isaac and St. James--a close examination will reveal these as superficial. Everything in The Martyrdom is calculated to create a sense of excitement and motion--the cramming of stocky, muscular figures into a shallow space--which is sharply contrasted to the solemn, serenely balanced composition of The Sacrifice. The thick muscles and strong bone-structure of the two martyrs are, finally, not really like the delicate, youthful torso of Isaac which springs from the soft,

simplicity of Correggio. Unlike the figures in The
Martyrdom of St. James, Isaac shows no affinity to the
concept of proportion and anatomy seen in the former
figures which was a result of influences experienced only
after Cigoli went to Rome.[39]

The last and most convincing evidence for dating
The Sacrifice of Isaac around 1595 is its likeness to an-
other painting of the same subject done by Jacopo da Empoli
which may, in fact, have been painted in competition with
Cigoli. In the year 1594, Giuliano Serragli became patron
of the Cappella Sacramento in San Marco and commissioned
artists to decorate the chapel.[40] Among those paintings
commissioned was The Sacrifice of Isaac by Empoli (Fig. 56),
ca. 1594-95, which was reported to have been painted in
competition with others, including Passignano and Cigoli.[41]
The compositions of both the Empoli and the Cigoli--the
arrangement of figures, the landscape, and even such
details as the head of the ram--are conceived in the same
way.

But it is not just the structural parallels which
link these paintings. The stiffness of Abraham, for example,

is only used to such a degree by Cigoli during the years 1593-95 when he was emulating his contemporaries. The more fluid figure of Isaac adumbrates Cigoli's imminent return to a style which is epitomized by Hagar in the Desert.

Drawings for Cigoli's painting further support his interest in Empoli. The figure of Abraham in the first study (Fig. 57) is closest to the stiffly planted Abraham of Empoli.[42] The second study (Fig. 58) shows Abraham in a similar position with Isaac at his right, as in Empoli's version.[43] However, the figure of Isaac itself is not like Empoli and we must turn to Andrea del Sarto to find its prototype. This study for Isaac, as well as that on the verso of the study for Abraham (Fig. 59) (see note 43) unquestionably derive from Sarto's Sacrifice of Isaac in Dresden (Fig. 60).[44] That Cigoli returned to his previous interest in Sarto indicates a reawakening of an impulse towards more rhythmic compositions. In the painting, Cigoli has incorporated Sarto's concept of figure relationships by placing Isaac in front of Abraham to create a more intimate rapport between them. Even lowering

Abraham's right arm to comply with a more compact in-
tegration seems to have been inspired by Sarto.

The fact that Cigoli was influenced by Sarto as
well as Empoli eliminates the possibility that this painting
was done during Cigoli's Roman career when, after having
fully developed his Florentine roots, he began to explore
entirely new stylistic sources.

In conclusion, let us first review the dating of
all of Cigoli's works discussed in this chapter. Beginning
with The Madonna and Child with Saints of 1593, the next
painting is The Assumption of the Virgin which I have dated
in 1594 owing to its similarities with Passignano. This
is followed by The Raising of Lazarus and The Madonna
Teaching the Christ-Child which both date no earlier than
1594 because of the comparisons with Ligozzi. After
St. Heraclius Carrying the Cross, signed 1594, are The
Miracle of St. John Gaulberto and The Sacrifice of Isaac
which I have dated in 1595 because of their similarities
to each other and to The Madonna of the Rosary and, in
the case of The Sacrifice, to its similarities with Empoli.[45]

This re-dating of at least four paintings greatly enhances the understanding of Cigoli's development and the understanding of the reform movement. To what is now a well-developed style, which grew out of the framework established by Santi di Tito, Cigoli begins to add his own unique contribution (appearing in the last three works) which will define him as the most imaginative artist to emerge from this movement in Florence.

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

[1] This painting is unpublished and has received only slight
mention by Busse, Manierismus und Barockstil, pp. 31,
69, document XVI, where he mentions an unfinished
Assumption in the magazine of S. Salvi commissioned in
1613 which, he says, shows considerable progress over
The Assumption of Impruneta. I have not been able to
locate the painting in S. Salvi. For a further discussion
of the painting in Impruneta see note 11 below.

[2] First published by Dini, "Appunti-Aggiunte" p. 55,
plate 53 and again by Anna Matteoli, "Mostra d'Arte
Sacra" p. 80, plate 54.

[3] Empoli, also in his Immaculate Conception, (1591) from
S. Remigio and now in the Fortezza da Basso pares away
all excess detail, anatomical, as in the faces and drapery
forms, to heighten the concentration on simple outlines
while avoiding further complications like unnecessary
depth or richness and subtlety of shading. His forms
are brilliantly clear, simple and precise in their out-
line and internal composition. This clarity of forms is
enhanced by a total lack of rhythmic continuity. Empoli's
painting and the concepts it embodies denotes the limits
of this aspect of Florentine painting at that time, an
aspect to which Cigoli did not allow himself to fully
react. For literature concerning Empoli see; Simonetta
de Vries, Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli (Florence, 1933),
Luciano Berti, "Nota a Maso da S. Friano," pp. 84-88,
Anna Forlani, Mostra di disegni di Jacopo da Empoli,
(Florence, 1962).

[4] In addition to the work in San Marco, Cigoli painted
another version (1594) for the Collegiata in Empoli.
Along with The Last Supper, it was destroyed when Empoli
was bombed during the Second World War. According
to the Florentine Soprintendenza inventory, the painting

was signed and dated 1594 ("Inventario degli oggetti
d'arte, Pieve e Collegiata di Empoli," Carlo Pini,
1892, no. 43). It is mentioned in the Mostra del
Cigoli, p. 57 and published and reproduced by Dini,
"Appunti-Aggiunte," p. 56, plate 55.

[5] The depiction follows the "Story of the Exaltation of the
True Cross" from the Golden Legend by Jacopo da
Voragine, ca. 1260, eds. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger,
(London and New York, 1941).

[6] H. Geisenheimer, "Tra Artisti e Vallombrosani,"
Rivista d'Arte, IV (1906), 102, 103, note 1, cites the
documentary reference to the commission of this chapel
in 1593 and 1594. See also Paatz, Kirchen, V, p. 300.

[7] Published in the Mostra del Cigoli, p. 61-2, where
the influence of the Carracci, Barocci, Tintoretto and
Sarto is discussed. With the possible exception of
Andrea del Sarto, I find no indication that any of these
painters influenced this painting.

[8] See note 3.

[9] A guidebook to the church, by Giovanni Battista Casotti,
Memorie Istoriche della Miracolosa Immagine di Maria
Vergine dell' Impruneta (Florence, 1714), p. 25, cites
Cigoli as the author of The Assumption. On page 12
it is mentioned that "Quatro altari, ornati riccamente
con archi, e pilastri di pietro serene, murati, e
risaltanti...furono questi ridotti nello stato, in cui pur
ora sono, l'anno 1593 per opera di Messer Baccio
Buondelmonti, che vi fece porre i quadri che tuttavia vi
si veggono." This implies that the paintings recorded
in the 1714 guide were commissioned after 1593 when
the altars were refurbished. Considering the dates of
the other paintings, for example Passignano's Nativity
of the Virgin, signed and dated 1602, it is possible
that Cigoli's painting was brought there at about that
time to fulfill the commissions. (See note 11 for fur-
ther information concerning The Assumption.)

10 Gabinetto Fotografico della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie
di Firenze, no. 1321.

11 Although it is not known if Cigoli painted The Assumption
for this church, it can be ascertained from an engrav-
ing of the left side of the nave (a fold-out engraving in
Casotti, Memorie Istoriche, p. 25) that it was in the
church by 1714, the date of the guidebook.
      Cardi, Vita, p. 21 and Baldinucci, Notizie,
p. 246 mention that Cigoli painted an Assumption of
The Virgin for the library of the Convent of San Domenico
in Fiesole. It is pointed out by Guido Batelli in
Cardi's Vita (note 4, p. 21) that this is the same
painting which was then moved to Impruneta. As there
is no other Assumption from the same period, I see
no reason to doubt Batelli's assertion.

12 Uffizi no. 9006f. brown ink and wash, 334x226 mm.

13 A date of 1594 is cited by A. Venturi, Storia dell'Arte
Italiana, IX, part VII (Milan, 1943), p. 635.

14 Uffizi no. 9006f,

15 This drawing is found in the Cabinet des Dessins in
the Louvre, no. 919. It has been published by R. Bacou
and J. Bean, Disegni Fiorentini del Museo Louvre,
dalla Collezione di Filippo Baldinucci, (Rome, 1959)
pp. 49, 50, plate 28.

16 There are also close parallels between the study for
The Assumption and the finished squared drawing for
The Madonna of the Rosary, (Uffizi no. 1010f, pub-
lished in the Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 117, 118,
plate XLVI), such as the physiognomies of the standing
Saint from the drawing for The Assumption and the
figure directly to the left of the Virgin in the finished
drawing for The Madonna of the Rosary. One may also
find general similarities in the use of line in the study
for The Assumption and for the study of The St. Heraclius
Carrying the Cross (Uffizi no. 8864f, brown ink and
wash, some white chalk, 389x276mm).

[17] Uffizi no. 1009f. The drawing was first recognized
as a study for the missing Crucifixion from San Salvi
by Guido Battelli in Cardi's Vita, p. 21, note 3. The
Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 130, 131, published the draw-
ing linking it with later works of Cigoli in Rome. I
agree with Battelli on the basis of its stylistic rapport
with other drawings for paintings that Cardi and
Baldinucci mention along with The Crucifixion for San
Salvi (see text immediately below).

[18] See note 16.

[19] Busse, Manierismus und Barockstil, p. 65, cites the
document (no. VI). The document is also cited by the
Mostra del Cigoli, p. 50. In 1592 a certain
Simone di Sevastiano Ganucci, founder of the church
and monastery of S. Marta, commissioned Cigoli to
paint the Raising of Lazarus for the main altar.

[20] Mostra del Cigoli, p. 51.

[21] Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

[22] Jacopo Ligozzi was born in Verona in 1543, he worked
with Veronese, travelled in Lombardy and finally
settled in Florence in 1579. By 1580 he was painting
for the Grand Duke Ferdinand and was subsequently ap-.
pointed court painter (see Mina Bacci, "Ligozzi e la
sua posizione della pittura fiorentina," Proporzione,
IV, 1963, 46). Ligozzi's static, brightly colored,
sharp-edged forms and his clearly and simply organized
compositions made him easily accepted by the current
Florentine taste.
    Ligozzi's influence on Cigoli and his contemporaries
is extensive. It is quite possible that Ligozzi's influ-
ence on Cigoli first appears as early as 1590 in The
Martyrdom of St. Lawrence where the definition of
muscles with intensely dramatic use of light (prompting
a comparison with Titian in the Mostra del Cigoli,
pp. 43, 44) is similar to a figure in Ligozzi's Michael
Casting Lucifer from Heaven in San Giovannino in
Florence. Although dated late in his career by

Carlo Gamba, "Jacopo Ligozzi," Madonna Verona,
Bollettino del Museo Civico di Verona, anno XV (April-
December, 1921), 7, I would maintain that the painting
is considerably earlier (see note 25).

Ligozzi also exerted an influence on Passignano
as seen in a comparison of Ligozzi's Visitation of 1596
in the Duomo of Lucca and Passignano's Birth of the
the Virgin of 1602 in Impruneta. In this painting, and
in others by Passignano, typical Ligozzi faces have
become standard types. Having been to Venice,
Passignano was unquestionably interested in this north-
ern artist. One also wonders the extent to which
Ligozzi's clear, simple and hard edged forms may
have had an impact on Empoli's highly abstracted,
equally simple and hard edged forms.

23 Bacci, Ligozzi, p. 59, mentions that The Deposition
had been originally painted for the Capuchins of
San Gimignano and was to be found in the Civic Museum
of San Gimignano. Since the publication of her article
the painting has been moved to the Palazzo della
Prepositura.

24 Bacci, Ligozzi, p. 59 dates The Circumcision 1594.

25 Carlo Gamba, Ligozzi, p. 7, dates the three paintings
which comprise the altar (St. Michael in the center,
The Dream of Jacob to the left, and The Expulsion of
the Fallen Angel on the right) late in Ligozzi's career.
The center painting of St. Michael is in fact signed
and dated 1594 at the bottom right on the trim of the
robe of the angel to Michael's right. The side panels
are not signed and dated and seem to be earlier as
they are different in style from St. Michael and Ligozzi's
later paintings.

26 Another addition to Cigoli's interest in Ligozzi in 1594
is The Portrait of a Young Man in the Pitti Palace.
There are two reasons for dating the portrait in this
year. It contains on the back an inscription "Di
Ludovico Cioli l'anno 1594," and the face of the man
bears a strong resemblance to the face of the Madonna

in The Madonna Teaching the Child to Read which, as
we have seen, comes from Ligozzi's angel in St. Michael.
The inscription is not by Cigoli but most likely reflects
the year in which the painting came into the hands of
its owner. For a discussion of this portrait and a
bibliography see Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 52, 53,
plate 10. A final work revealing Ligozzi influence is
The St. Francis in Prayer in the Pitti which is signed
but not dated. Its stiffness of pose and hard angular
quality of drapery can only be explained through the
intervention of Ligozzi's influence and thus it dates in
all probability around 1594. It is, then, the earliest
of his representations of St. Francis. See note 31 for
a discussion of other representations.

27 Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 41, 42.

28 Both mention his interest in Barocci prior to his
frescoes in S. M. Novella.

29 Christ Chruch Oxford, inventory no. 0233, brown and
white wash, 275x201mm. The drawing, signed and
dated 1587 on the bottom center, is one of a series
depicting scenes from Dante's Divine Comedy. For
a publication of the Ligozzi drawing and a discussion of
the representation of Dante in the 16th century see,
Robert L. McGrath, "Some drawings by J. Ligozzi
Illustrating the Divine Comedy," Master Drawings, V,
no. 1, 1967, 31-35, plate 18.

30 Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, no. 894. The slightly
less attenuated proportion of the figure in comparison
to other drawings from ca. 1594-5 and the greater
curve to the body point to a date in the second half of
the decade, around 1596-8.

31 Cigoli's interest in Ligozzi does not end in the few
paintings discussed, as the drawing indicated, but ex-
tends into the late nineties without actually defining any
major aspect of Cigoli's style. The series of
St. Francis in Prayer, most notably the version in the
Ponce Museum in Puerto Rico, signed and dated 1599

[for publication see Joan Nissman, Florentine Baroque
Art from American Collections, (New York, 1969)
p. 10, plate 4], and the contemporary version in the
Mazelli collection in Rome (Mostra del Cigoli,
pp. 81, 82, plate 29.) reflect this late Ligozzi in-
fluence. Cigoli uses the deep blue of Ligozzi in the
sky and employs the lucid, ice-like quality of Ligozzi's
drapery to define the bone structure and skin quality
of St. Francis, including the exaggerated sharp line of
the jaw, to convey a sense of ecstatic religious fervor.

[32] It is also published by Dilvo Lotti, "Un ritardatario in
anticipo," Bolletino della Accademia degli Euteleti, [36]
(San Miniato, 1964).

[33] Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 249, Giuseppe Richa, Notizie
Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine ne' suoi Quartieri III
(Florence, 1762) p. 278, Bocchi-Cinelli, Le Bellezze
della Città di Firenze, (Florence, 1677), p. 213.

[34] Silvano Razzi, Vite de' Santi e Beati Toscani (Florence,
1627), p. 173. Other sources consulted for the life of
San Giovanni Gualberto and the deed of various
St. Alberts are: D. Diego de Franchi, Historia di
San Giovanni Gualberto (Florence, 1640); Biblioteca
Sanctorum, Instituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontifica
Università Bateranense (Rome, 1961); George Kaftal,
Saints in Italian Art (Florence, 1965).

[35] The most complete discussion of The Sacrifice of Isaac
to date is in the Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 97, 98,
which places it in Cigoli's early Roman career ca. 1606.

[36] For a complete discussion of Hagar in the Desert see
Chapter 6, pp. 197-200, note 34.

[37] Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 266, also mentions a Sacrifice
of Isaac painted for Arrigone. He does not mention,
however, that it was rejected. On the contrary, he
says it was judged to be superior. He also mentions
that it came into the collection of the Grand Duke.

The disparity in the reporting of the two biographers
and their lack of knowledge concerning Cigoli's role in
the Villa (believing Cigoli to have executed the <u>Daniel
in the Lions Den</u>) further erodes the credibility of any
relationship between the existing <u>Sacrifice</u> and the one
mentioned by Baldinucci and Cardi.

38 For a discussion of this painting, see Chapter 5,
pp. 144-147.

39 A recent article by Miles Chappell, "Some Paintings by
Lodovico Cigoli," pp. 203-218, reveals further documen-
tary evidence surrounding the painting. In note 8,
p. 215 the author mentions that The <u>Martyrdom of
St. James</u> compares.well in some poses and in color
to <u>The Sacrifice of Isaac</u>. Although the point is well
taken, the similarity in pose between Isaac and the
Martyrs is superficial, as explained in the .text, and
the similarities in color only point out the degree of
consistency in Cigoli's color scheme throughout his
career.

40 Ferdinando Leopoldo del Migliore, <u>Firenze, Città
Nobilissima Illustrata</u> (Florence, 1684), p. 214, says
that in 1594 the chapel in San Marco became the pro-
perty of Giuliano Serragli. See also Paatz, <u>Kirchen</u>,
III, pp. 28, 53,

41 .The competition is mentioned by Baldinucci in his life
of Empoli (<u>Notizie</u>, III, p. 9, "...della capella del
Santissi Sagramento di San Marco ... un gran quadro del
Sacrifice di Abramo fatto a concorrenza del Passignano ed
altri gran pittori di quel tempo, per Giuliano Serragli
gentiluomo fiorentino.") Cigoli's name is mentioned in the
context of this competition in the <u>Almanacco Pittorico</u>,
anno V (Florence, 1796) (a spese di Giovacchino Pagani),
p. 96, where it is stated that Cigoli competed with Empoli
("... per la capella del Santissima nella chiesa di S. Marco,
esprimenti il Sacrificio d'Abramo, chè i fece a concorenza
del Cigoli."). Simonetta de Vries, <u>Empoli</u>, pp. 55, 56,
catalogue entry no. 25, is the only one to conclude that the

painting in the Pitti is Cigoli's version for the competi-
tion. She bases her conclusion on the previous source.

42 Uffizi no. 8870f, black, white and red chalk, blue pre-
pared paper, 355x241mm. The verso contains a study
for Isaac. Strong similarities in technique between this
study and a study for the Madonna in The Madonna of
the Rosary (Uffizi no. 8937f, published in the Mostra
del Cigoli, pp. 116, 117, plate XLVI), further confirm
a date of 1595 for The Sacrifice.

43 Uffizi no. 978f, black with some red and white chalk,
432x276mm.

44 See Shearman, Sarto; Vol. I, plate 170, Vol. II,
ca. 94, pp. 280, 281.

45 Another painting of the same date is The Madonna of the
Rosary in the Duomo of Cortona. The lack of space,
the symmetry and renewed interest in rhythmic flow
demands that this painting, unsigned or dated (or at
least no date or signature are visible perhaps due to
the extremely dirty condition) be placed in the same
year as The Madonna of the Rosary in Pontedera. The
version in Cortona was originally mentioned in Cardi,
Vita, p. 22 and Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 247. It has
previously been dated ca. 1597 in the Mostra del
Cigoli, ' pp. 61, 2. Most recently it has been pub-
lished and correctly dated 1595 by Luciano Bellosi,
Arte in Valdichiana (Cortona, 1970), pp. 53, 54,
plate 82.

MATURE FLORENTINE STYLE

The paintings done by Cigoli between 1596 and 1604, the date of his departure for Rome, mark the maturation of his Florentine style. His brief imitation of the static and dry styles of his contemporaries is suddenly absent from his paintings by 1596. From the beginning, he vacillated between intensely rhythmic compositions and simple, solid ones: the encounter with his contemporaries is more an enigma than a part of his stylistic development. After having created both highly rhythmic and dramatic compositions in the early nineties, Cigoli rejected both rhythm and intense drama from 1593 to 1595. In all of his works prior to these years, regardless of structure, he had continually tried to capture an excitement and reality inherent in any subject matter, and, with the exception of works done in these years, he relentlessly pursued these properties throughout his artistic career. His success in realizing the potentials of these qualities is what made Cigoli the most innovative artist in Florence at that time.

Although the road away from the highly stylized

forms of "maniera" was pointed out by Santi di Tito, the
alternative possibilities to the arabesque flights from
reality of Vasari and his school were only fully realized
by Cigoli.   The other Florentine artists, such as Ligozzi,
Passignano and Empoli, maintained a remoteness of expres-
sion as abstract as their forms and compositions.   Even
though they had eliminated the superfluous forms of the
"maniera" artists, they did not extend their more realistic
portrayals to include the reality of human experience.
Cigoli was the only artist in Florence to incorporate both
into his compositions.   Where other artists removed the
subject of their paintings from the mundane world, Cigoli
tried to relate the subject to real, human responses by
incorporating his own personal views.

   Cigoli, then, employed a sense of realism.
There is, without question, a certain theatricality to his
paintings (as opposed, for example, to the psychological
intensity of Caravaggio), but even this is conceived to
elucidate the reality of the subject for the viewer.   Paint-
ing necessitates abbreviation so that the viewer can easily
grasp, by visual means, the story of the painting.   To

this Cigoli added realistic gestures and expressions, albeit

somewhat staged, to evoke in the viewer a similar response.

Around this theme of realism Cigoli constructs a sump-

tous, colorful and painterly composition but never in such

a way that it dominates the message.   This is precisely

what Cigoli returns to with renewed energy in the paint-

ings of 1596 to 1604.

Although the number of documented works during

this period, thirteen, and the diversity of their styles

prohibit a discussion of each, the pattern of development

can be illustrated by an analysis of four major paintings;

The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, 1596; The Martyrdom

of St. Stephen, signed and dated 1597; The Annunciation,

1600; The Adoration of the Shepherds, signed and dated

1602.   The first two works show a complete reemergence

of the highly rhythmic and excitedly dramatic forms ex-

perimented with, for example, in The Resurrection.   The

second two reveal more static and calm compositions but,

unlike those works done in 1593-95, to the same end of

creating a realistic human drama.   This shift, however,

was not entirely sudden and can be examined and explained

through several works painted in 1599. We will return to
these after first establishing the broad outline of Cigoli's
developments through an analysis of the four principal
paintings mentioned above.

The first of these is The Martyrdom of St. Peter
Martyr (Fig. 61) which was painted for S. M. Novella in
1596 and is now in the convent of that church.[1] It de-
picts the fallen Saint surrounded by his executioner on the
left and his fleeing companion on the right. A 13th cen-
tury Inquisitor General, Peter Martyr was assassinated
because of his cruelty in prosecuting heretics. Although
this painting has much in common with The Miracle of
St. John Gualberto (the general composition, and the use
of animated gestures and expressive faces), it is distin-
guished by the utilization of space to intensify the realism
of the scene.

No longer restrained by an adherence to the
style of his contemporaries, Cigoli releases his figures
from the confines of a controlled and static composition,
allowing them freedom to express, to an even greater
degree than in The Miracle, realistically human emotions.

Poised to strike the Martyr, the executioner's face is contorted in hateful vengence. The pious Saint falls to the ground and writes "credo" in the dirt with his own blood. His companion, with arms thrown up, runs away in panic. The inclusion of intelligible space punctuates the movement and increases the realism. In comparison, The Miracle seems to be a symbolic representation of a past event whereas The Martyrdom is actually taking place.

While the use of habitable space is not new to Cigoli, its structure along receding, cross-diagonals is. Such an emphatic exploitation of this first occurred in the signed and dated (1596) painting of Christ in the House of the Pharisees (Fig. 62). Despite its small size and its adherence to a predetermined iconography,[2] this work, because of the geometric structure of its space, signals a major shift in Cigoli's style. As Cigoli experiments with placing figures in a more loose and open spatial surrounding, he maintains a sense of coherence and integration by organizing all of the elements, figures and setting along cross-diagonal lines. In Christ in the House of the

Pharisees, this structure dominates the entire composition, but in The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr the intense action of the figures obscures its definition. This does not, however, detract from the fact that the figures enjoy more freedom of movement because they adhere to the structure rather than deny it. The stance of the execu- tioner sets up a diagonal movement towards the fleeing monk, pulling the monk down the road which recedes into the background. An intersecting diagonal begins in the uplifted body of Peter Martyr and ties the Saint irrevocably to the twisted torso of the executioner. Thus, one diagonal emphasizes the predestined act of the principal figures and the other opens up a route for escape and hope.

As with The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence and The Madonna Teaching the Christ-Child to Read, in The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, critics have misinter- preted the shift in style.[3] They have jumped to comparisons with possible sources rather than dealing directly with the painting itself and the development of Cigoli that it indicates. The importance of The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr is that it signifies a new

direction. Attempts to link it to a version of Titian,
painted between 1528-30 for SS. Giovanni Battista e Paolo
in Venice,[4] both clouds and confuses an understanding of
Cigoli himself. These kinds of analyses perpetuate
fundamental misconceptions of Cigoli's art,

Titian's painting was destroyed by fire in 1876,
but an engraving done after it by Martino Rosi affords a
comparison with Cigoli's composition.[5] It is immediately
obvious that the two works are completely different in both
figure arrangement and spatial conception. In the Cigoli,
the figures are dominant and are grouped into a compact
unit whereas in the Titian the landscape is dominant and
the figures are spread throughout the landscape in separate
groups. That Cigoli knew and admired Titian's painting
is unmistakable: Cigoli's first preparatory study was
based on Titian's composition.[6] But it is essential to
realize that Cigoli abandons this initial prospect in favor
of his final composition which was developed in his
second study (Fig. 63).[7] None of the basic postures in
either the second drawing or the painting are found in
the Titian.

The sources for Cigoli's finished painting, as might be expected, are in fact Tuscan. Cigoli has drawn from two other paintings of the same subject, each done by a different artist. One is that of Domenico Ghirlandaio, a fresco in the main chapel of S. M. Novella. From this Cigoli adopted both the figure of the fleeing monk, back turned, arms outstretched and robes swirling behind, and the attitude of the Martyr writing "credo" with the blood that drips from his head. The second source is the painting done by Jacopo Zucchi, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, which depicts the executioner in the same unique pose.[8] So that even though Cigoli admired the Titian, he chose the terse, closely-packed and im- mediately dramatic compositions of Ghirlandiao and Zucchi for inspiration rather than the more poetic expansive version of Titian.

The return to a combination of opening space and strongly rhythmic forms in The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr enables Cigoli to realize one of his most imposing and dramatic compositions--The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, signed and dated 1597 (Fig. 64), in the

Pitti Palace.[9] Placed slightly to the right of center,
St. Stephen is surrounded by his tormentors and execu-
tioners while figures on either side frame the central
action at varying depths. Constructed again on a cross-
axis, the diagonal movement of the principal group, from
foreground right to background left, is paralleled by the
recession of ruins and buildings behind them. Thus these
two elements are integrated and by closing off a direct,
unbridled plunge into space, the emphasis on the main
action is maintained.[10] The supplementary figures are
then united to the rest on an intersecting diagonal which
runs from bottom left to upper right. The coordination
of large figures into a grand spatial scheme lends an
overall majesty to the scene which is punctuated by
Stephen's magnificent gesture of submission.

Defining the difference from and progress beyond
The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, the combination of
a large but singularly united group and bounteous space
achieves an unprecedented sense of grandeur and intense
drama. Concentrated within the group of figures, the
vigorous postures and rhythms as well as the convincingly

realistic expressions (sadistic delight, anger, strain and submission) add a greater realism to the action of the narrative. The revolutionary quality that this heralds in Florentine painting can be fully grasped in a comparison to a Martyrdom of St. Stephen of 1579 by Santi di Tito (Fig. 65) from the Church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio in Florence.[11]

Like the Cigoli, the architectural setting in the Tito recedes into the background, but unlike the Cigoli, it is not integrated with the figures in the foreground. Instead, Tito isolates his figures from their spatial setting by spreading them flatly across the picture plane. As a result, the architecture is merely a backdrop for the scene. Furthermore, Tito's figures are not confined to a single energetic unit and they do not exhibit realistic expressions, strained muscles or convincingly threatening poses.

Through this comparison it becomes clear that Cigoli's principal contribution to Florentine painting is his ability to induce a sense of immediacy and credibility in the portrayal of subject matter. In the light of such an

accomplishment, one can understand the praise given
Cigoli's painting in the next century. Pietro da Cortona
proclaimed it the most beautiful painting in Florence and
Filippo Baldinucci thought it was a superior work for its
time and because of it christened Cigoli "Il Correggio
Fiorentino."[12]

The Martyrdom of St. Stephen was by no means
the last work or only successful mature work of Cigoli's
before he left Florence. In 1600, he painted a
Annunciation to the Virgin (Fig. 66) which embodies a very
sophisticated employment of the stylistic elements seen
above. It shows, however, a more calm and static ap-
proach, but not to the exclusion of dramatic immediacy.

The painting is now located in the choir of The
Church of the Capuchins in Montughi (just outside Florence),
the church, according to Baldinucci, for which it was com-
missioned.[13] Although the attribution has never been
questioned, its date has been a cause of confusion. It has
been dated ca. 1595,[14] but in accordance with my under-
standing of Cigoli, this date seemed too early. I believed
it had to date ca. 1600-01 and I recently discovered evi-

dence to substantiate this. A chronicle in the convent of the church which, based on a compilation of documents, gives the history of the paintings in the church, including the commission of The Annunciation. [15]

This chronicle records that Cigoli was commissioned for the work in 1600 by an anonymous donor who wished to rebuild the first altar on the left of the nave and replace the painting of The Immaculate Conception with an Annunciation. [16] The following year, 1601, the convent wrote the Vatican requesting an official change of title of this altar from The Immaculate Conception to The Annunciation. [17] The rededication, recorded in a convent Bullarium, was granted in October 10, 1601. [18]

As in the previous two Martyrdoms, the composition is constructed on cross-diagonal lines to achieve integration between figures and setting. Unlike the other two works, the setting here controls the figures instead of merely echoing their forms. Through receding lines, Cigoli has created a spacious but austere interior into which he has placed the graceful figures of Mary and Gabriel. They are interwoven with their surroundings as

before, but the means of integration is more intricate and varied.

The diagonal of the bed canopy is intersected at varying points by the diagonals of the prayer stand thus uniting various foreground and background elements, stabilizing the floating figure of Gabriel and accenting the Virgin's bend towards him. The open loggia is likewise integrated with the interior setting through common diagonals, running from the columns through the patterns of the floor. By the same means as before, Cigoli has easily conveyed the emotional essence of his drama, and, because of the subject, he has also added a dimension of spirituality. Given the religious importance of the Immaculate Conception, Cigoli has created a scene which encourages the viewer quietly to contemplate the magnitude of the event while at the same time experiencing the gentleness and serenity the figures must have felt.

A discussion of a small, earlier version of this altarpiece will clarify what I mean by the human emotionalism as depicted in the Montughi painting. This earlier version (Fig. 67), now in the Molinari-Predelli collection

in Bologna,[19] is primarily based on a Santi di Tito model.[20] The figures are placed horizontally across the foreground plane and there is no attempt to effect spatial depth. The abstract, sleek figures of the Virgin and Gabriel are not reproductions of real people. The sub-missive Virgin (used again in the larger Annunciation) is overpowered by the clouds and light which burst into the room with the entrance of The Archangel. Rather than being united by structural forms, they are held apart: the eye jumps continually from one to the other. Instead of sharing the experience, each figure acts out an isolated role. This is entirely different from the calm pensive-ness of the figures in the second Annunciation who seem to be mutually affected by Gabriel's message.

The almost identical figure of the Virgin in each version lends one to conclude that, despite fundamental differences, these two works were painted around the same time.[21] Cigoli did a nude study for both the figures of Mary and Gabriel which are preparatory for the smaller painting.[22] He then used the female study in both of the compositions but altered the figure of Gabriel in the

painting from Montughi to conform to his desire for greater reality. By using a model from an Annunciation done by Empoli (signed and dated 1599) in the Chiesa Nuova in Pontedera,[23] [for an identical version see Empoli's Annunciation for Santa Trinità of 1603 (Fig. 68),] for the later figure of the Archangel, Cigoli avoided the traditional format of this scene as represented in the Bologna version. Empoli's figure similarly emerges from the background and quietly floats before Mary.[24] Cigoli, however, imbues his figure with a human sentiment that is absent in the Empoli.

Enlivening a basically tranquil and fixed composition with emotions which the viewer can easily identify is seen again in the last of the major works to be discussed--The Adoration of the Shepherds, signed and dated 1602 (Fig. 69), which was painted for San Francesco in Pisa and is now in the deposit of the Museum of San Matteo.[25] The principal figures are all grouped around the Child who is placed at the center of a cross-axis. Joseph and the shepherd with open arms create a left to right diagonal which is intersected by that formed by the

kneeling shepherd and the Virgin Mary. The Child
serves as an epicenter generating a force that checks
and contains the movements of the surrounding figures.
By keeping these figures separate yet tightly integrated
by the strong, geometrical framework, they are, like
the figures in The Annunciation, locked in place and their
implied action is unfulfilled. As in The Annunciation, a
timelessness is created to allow the viewer to participate
in and reflect on the event taking place before him. The
delicate balance between inertia and movement resulting
from the frozen, eternal postures accents the sentiments
of awe and adoration in the shepherds and accentuates
the magnitude of Christ's birth.[26]

In all of the four major works discussed, there
is a constant aim for emotional realism. Differences in
sentiment can be ascribed to varying subject matter as
can differences in composition. By nature, emotion must
be personal and therefore reflect the artist's interpreta-
tion and Cigoli, unlike any of his immediate contemporaries,
tried to incorporate his views into his paintings. Each of
the styles seen in the above works (the turbulent

Martyrdoms as opposed to the tranquil Annunciation and Adoration) is a culmination of Cigoli's earlier experiments with movement, rhythm, space and figure relationships. If we look at some paintings from around 1599, we can see Cigoli's development towards the latter two compositions which are then expanded after Cigoli goes to Rome.

One of the transitional works from 1599 is an unpublished painting of San Mercuriale Exorcising a Dragon (Fig. 70) in the Church of San Mercuriale in Forlì. Although this painting has not been discussed in recent literature, it is unquestionably the one that Baldinucci (p. 246) describes as having been executed for a Massimilano Mercuriale of Forlì for the Chapel of San Mercuriale in that church--exactly where it hangs today.[27] This chapel was originally dedicated to San Simone but on September 23, 1598 it was given to the Mercuriale family who subsequently commissioned its redecoration.[28] Paintings, including the Cigoli, frescoes and marble decoration were carried out under this commission of 1598.[29] Cigoli's work is not signed, but the

year of the commission provides a relatively accurate date.

   In the left foreground of the painting, San, Mercuriale, the first Bishop of Forlì (fifth century), is seen with his attendants exorcising a dragon.[30] In the right middle ground is the end of a procession of acolytes winding their way through the city gate in the distance. Painted soon after The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, its composition indicates a shift away from turbulence towards serenity. Cigoli boldly spreads the figures throughout the picture space, dissipating the tension of the tightly organized, energetic group in The Martyrdom, but controlling the figures' movement and positions by the same use of cross-diagonals. So that it is not so much the structure that changes as it is the emotional sentiment. In the San Mercuriale, Cigoli begins to exploit the calm and stillness which we have already seen in The Annunciation and The Adoration. Even when space was expanded in earlier works, such as in Christ in the House of the Pharisees, there was still a sense of agitation and motion. The slender, buoyant figures equally anticipate later figure

types which are different from the stocky, muscular
figures used in The Martyrdom.

In 1599, Cigoli completed several works, signed
and dated, which show further experiments with timelessly
peaceful scenes. This is obvious in The Calling of
St. Peter (Fig. 71) executed for the parish church of
Rottoli (near Empoli) from where it was later taken to
Florence and finally to the Accademia di Belle Arte in
Carrara.[31] Although the background is now heavily ob-
scured, causing the foreground figures of Christ and
Peter to stand out more than they might otherwise, their
prominence was clearly contrived to magnify and elucidate
the importance of the encounter (in a way reminiscent of
the much earlier Meeting of Sts. Francis and Dominick).

The simple postures convey the submission of
Peter and the gentle dominance of Christ; the expressions,
the entranced awe of Peter and the hypnotic power of
Christ. Even the permanence of their friendship and the
endurance of Peter's loyalty is symbolized through the
conspicuous grasp which binds them firmly together. This
simple and direct presentation of form plus the concomitant

evocation of a moving sentiment clearly anticipates the beautiful balance of form and content in The Annunciation.

A second painting, The Pietà (Fig. 72) in the Church of Sant' Agostino in Colle Val d'Elsa,[32] is structured on the same principle of cross-diagonals and adumbrates most closely the sentiment and composition of The Adoration of the Shepherds. In an unusual iconographic representation, Christ is surrounded by Saints Catherine, Francis and Jerome on the bottom and St. John the Evangelist, the Virgin, and Mary Magdalen above. As in The Adoration, Christ is the central core who, both through His position and His role, determines the positions and gestures of the other figures who, again as in The Adoration, form a skeletal structure of two intersecting diagonals.[33]

The dreamlike quality of figures floating unreally above one another engenders a feeling of emptiness, both symbolic and emotional, which is increased by a total lack of space. Moreover, the lack of balance and symmetry punctuates the unsettling tone by obviating the possibility of resting at any point except on the body of the dead

Christ.   This continual motion is moderated by the orant-

like Magdalen who symbolizes both personal grief and the

traditional, universal prayer of hope for mankind made

possible by Christ's sacrifice.

Another painting, St. Jerome in His Study (Fig.

73),[34] combines the solid, static compositions with the

more fluid, rhythmic forms.   The painting was executed for

San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome, but according to

Baldinucci (p. 260) was done in Florence and then shipped

to Rome.   The tightly organized environment around the

seated St. Jerome is contrasted with the loose, flowing

forms of the three Virtues in the upper left.[35]   But even

though Cigoli has re-introduced rhythm, he continues to

integrate the composition through the use of diagonal lines--

in this case starting from the left corner of Jerome's

desk, running through the Saint up to the Virtues.   The

tension between these two different sections is intended to

convince the viewer that these Virtues exist in Jerome's

mind as inspiration while he is restricted to the physical

confines of his task.   The existence of both solid and

rhythmic elements hints at a later and more complete

amalgamation of the two in The Annunciation in Montughi
which has both fluid figures and a rigid setting. Cigoli
finally combines these two diverse tendencies with which
he has been experimenting from the beginning of his
career without losing, but rather magnifying, a realistic
depiction of the subject matter.[36]

  As Cigoli's style began with and evolved from
traditionally Florentine styles, so does his quest for
realism come from Florentine painting. Cigoli grew out
of a school that rejected not only the forms of the
"maniera" but also its remoteness from human experience.
A certain realization of human sentiment had always ex-
isted in the Renaissance art of Florence, but it was not
until the early 16th century that the intellectualization of
religion and experience was finally superseded by an in-
tensely personal style, most clearly seen in the paintings
of Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino. Pontormo's Deposition,
for example, is so highly emotional that the expression of
so personal an interpretation is almost more engaging
than the painterly beauty. By completely different means,
Cigoli also tries to include his emotions and experiences

in his works.

The achievement of Pontormo was a major breakthrough in the Renaissance search for self and self-awareness. The expansion of self-expression in art was suddenly eclipsed, however, by the rise of Late Mannerism. Developed from a variety of styles that converged in Rome, it spread across central Italy and obscured the distinctive characteristics of Florentine art. Vasari, for example, was, in my view, more founded in the "maniera" of Guilio Romano and of the late school of Raphael in Rome than he was in the traditional styles of Florence. His control of the Florentine art world disrupted its dominance over the other art centers in central Italy. After Vasari's death, Florence was never to regain its leadership but it did witness a revival of previously prevalent traditions. With the resurgence and reinterpretation of older values, the thread of reality and self-expression was reborn; most acutely in the art of Cigoli.

This can be clearly seen from paintings so far discussed. Cigoli's first known work, The Noli Me Tangere, represents a clear break from the fantasy world of

Bronziono and Allori. By giving Christ a more natural pose (as compared to the Bronzino prototype), a direct, real relationship is established between the protagonists, underscoring rather than obscuring the fundamental narrative content of the subject. Although lacking in anything that could justly be referred to as fully human emotions, it is the embryo of this later predominant trait.

A more realistic approach emerges in The Resurrection of Christ. Through violent motion and sweeping, curvilinear rhythms, Cigoli fills his composition with a tension and turbulence that quickly suggests the emotional profundity of the event. In The Resurrection by Santi di Tito, the multiplicity of forms detracts from conveying the immediacy of such a scene.

In The Martyrdom of St. Stephen a new dimension of realism is added by increasing the credibility of action and violence. Mere symbolism is avoided by endowing the figures with humanly identifiable emotions. By combining abstraction (line) and naturalism (figures and setting), Cigoli manages to yield a maximum physical and emotional immediacy. This is neither characteristic

of Tito (compare his version) nor of Cigoli's other con-
temporaries.

Finally, in The Annunciation and in The Adoration
of the Shepherds, by altering the structural forms, Cigoli
evokes a completely different type of sentiment to comply
with the demands of the subjects. Not demanding either
violent motion or emotion, these two paintings suggest the
calm, introverted sentiments inherent in their drama. The
delicacy of the encounter between Mary and Gabriel, the
awe and admiration of the shepherds, are conveyed through
formal means which allow both the expression of individual,
inner reflection and gentle communication between the
figures. In both works, the static, compositional elements
(diagonal lines) almost exceed the rhythmic ones, but it is
really through a synthesis of the two that Cigoli creates
such a perfect correlation between the abstraction of a
painting and the realism of a human experience.

Cigoli's broader interpretation of art as an ex-
tension of himself and his environment forced him constantly
to embody new expression and new modes of thought. His
curiosity, and his wide-ranging selections from the rich

heritage of Florentine styles to find a means of expressing his views enabled him to understand and absorb the diversity of art in Rome. Whereas other Florentines in Rome, such as Passignano, held to a conservative development of their traditional style, Cigoli continued to broaden his means of expression. Rome provided new stimuli which he would appropriate and develop.

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Mostra del Cigoli*, p. 57, 58. Here it is suggested
that the painting dates around this time--ca. 1595-6.
See also Berti, "Note brevi su inediti," p. 282, who
dates the painting 1594, arguing that it must date in
the same year as Empoli's *Virgin Appearing to
St. Giacinto*, signed and dated 1594, originally located
opposite Cigoli's work.
    Another painting by Cigoli, *St. Francis Receiving
The Stigmata*, signed and dated 1596, now in the
Palazzo Pitti but originally painted for the nuns of
San Onorfrio of the 'order of the Serafim at Fuligno
(see *Mostra del Cigoli*, pp. 59-60) is stylistically
very similar to *The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr*.
The handling of the figure, the loose, open brush
strokes and thick application of paint, the long rhythmic
attenuation of St. Francis and the landscape place these
paintings close together.

[2] Baldinucci, *Notizie*, p. 246 and Cardi, *Vita*, p. 21
discuss the commission in detail. Cigoli was required
by Girolamo Mercuriale, a famous student of antiquity,
to portray Christ reclining in the antique manner on a
couch or triclinium, as described in Luke 7: 36-50.
A reference to this text is seen in the upper, central
part of the painting in the form of an inscription.
    The painting and drawing for it are further dis-
cussed by Felice Stampfle and Jacob Bean, *Drawings
from New York Collections II, The Seventeenth Century
in Italy* (New York, 1967), pp. 21-22.

[3] For a summation of this viewpoint, see *Mostra del
Cigoli*, p. 58.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] For an illustration of the engraving, see
Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, II (Florence, 1969),

plate 587.   See also volume I, p. 338 for a discussion
of the painting and engraving.

6 Uffizi no. 9012f, published in the Mostra del Cigoli,
p. 121, reproduced on plate LVIII.

7 Uffizi no. 9008f, a preparatory sketch for The
Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, brown ink and wash
with some charcoal, 119x132mm.   The drawing is men-
tioned in the discussion of the other study for the
painting (Uffizi no. 9012f) in the Mostra del Cigoli,
p. 121 but it is not reproduced and is otherwise un-
published.

8 See Barocchi, Vasari Pittore, p. 149 for a discussion
of the painting and for further bibliography concerning
its identification.   Further evidence of Cigoli's interest
in Zucchi's Martyrdom emerges from a comparison of
the right half of Cigoli's later study (9008f) with the
principal figures in Zucchi's painting where the positions
of the figures are similar.

9 Mostra del Cigoli, p. 70, discusses the commission
for the Church of the Convent of Montedomini and the
subsequent provenance from the painting's arrival in
Florence in 1814 to its final location in the Pitti Palace
in 1928.

10 Another painting, signed and dated in the same year is
The Miracle of St. Anthony and the Mule, painted (ac-
cording to Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 248) for the Church
of San Francesco in Cortona where it is still located.
I have chosen not to discuss this work because The
Martyrdom of St. Stephen of the same year offers a
better example for understanding Cigoli's overall develop-
ment.   In what is almost an archaizing tendency, Cigoli
exhibits no attempt to unify the figures with the deep
space that he creates in the center of the composition.
The painting is perhaps earlier than The Martyrdom of
St. Stephen and a preliminary attempt to work out deep
space with a multifigured composition.   The solution he

arrives at is not unsatisfactory, preserving the dramatic
proximity of the main figures while creating an exciting
plunge into space revealing an interesting townscape,
but it is not one which he pursues: See also the
Mostra del Cigoli, p. 75, 44, plate XXIV.

[11] See G. Arnolds, Santi di Tito, p.73.

[12] Baldinucci, Notizie, pp. 251-2 mentions Cortona's
praise who proclaimed The Martyrdom of St. Stephen to
be the most beautiful painting in Florence. Baldinucci
himself thought it to be a superior work for its time
and called Cigoli "Il Correggio Fiorentino."

[13] Ibid., p. 248.

[14] Mostra del Cigoli, p. 63

[15] Padre Giacinto da Pistoia Opere d'Arte a Montughi, I-III,
(1951), On p. 1, vol. 1, Padre Giacinto describes the
task of writing the chronicle, which is a history of the
convent, the art works and their commissions. Here
he also describes the order which came down from his
superiors in 1948 to write a chronicle of the convent if
one did not exist. Following this brief introduction, he
cites his sources and signs his name P. Giacinto da
Pistoia with the date April 26, 1951 (p. 3).

[16] Ibid., p. 94. Another reference to Cigoli's commission
for The Annunciation is made by F. Sisto da Pisa,
Storia dei Cappuccini Toscani, 1532-1691, I, (Florence,
1906). On page 252, note 1, the author gives his refer-
ence to the commission as "Fondazione," p. 197. This
is presumably a reference to another source which he
cites on p. 9, note 1, Ricordi Storici, Lodovico Biagetti
da Livorno, "inediti in Archivio."
          I have not yet been able to ascertain if this source
is in the convent and if it contains the original document
for the commission. It is, however, the same source
cited by Padre Giacinto in his chronicle (vol. 1, p. 1,
note 6 in the introduction) which is unfortunately not

referred back to when information is cited in the text.

Padre Giacinto (Arte e Montughi, pp. 93-107) dis-
cusses the other commissions for the left side of the
nave and the construction of altars for the right side.
After 1794 when the three altars on the right were
added Cigoli's painting was moved to the second altar
on the right. He also records that between 1908 and
1951 it was still located at the second altar on the right.
In a more recent hand it is noted that in 1956 The
Annunciation was moved to the choir (p. 102).

This changing of positions due to alterations in the
church structure explains the conflicting evidence in the
early literature. For example, Domenico Moreni,
Notizie Istoriche dei Contorni di Firenze, I (1791),
p. 37 cites an Annunciation, which he attributes to
Empoli, at the first altar on the left, hence at its
original location before the construction of the new
altars. Batelli in Cardi's, Vita, note 6, p. 24, gives
its location at the second altar on the right as does the
Soprintendenza scheda where it is again attributed to
Empoli--see Rondoni-Maragnoni, "Catalogo Generale
degli Oggetti d'Arte del Regno, Provincia di Firenze,
comune Firenze Montughi-Chiesa e Convento dei PP.
Cappuccini," scheda no. 5, 1863.

17 Giacinto, Arte a Montughi, p. 94.

18 Bullarium, Ordinis F.F. Minorum S.P. Francesci
Capucinorum, II (Rome, 1743), Biblioteca Cappuccini,
Firenze, 27, no. 15, "Provincia Tusciae," pp. 406-7.
See under title "Idem Privilegium ad altare Annuntiationis
ejusdem B. Mariae Virginis innoviter reparata Capella
ejusdem Ecclesiae transfert." Clemens Papa VIII. "ad
perpetuam rei memoriam."

> ". . . voluit Capellam per Eum de novo
> exstructam pro ijus particulari devotione ad
> Annuntiationem ejosdem Beatae Mariae, cujus
> Iconem jam faciendam curavit, dedicari.
> Cupiunt propterea dicti Fratres Altare Capellae
> Conceptionis hujusmodi, ad Capellam
> Annuntiationis de novo constructam per Nos
> transferri,. . ."

(". . . desired that the chapel, newly built
for him (the donor), because of his special
devotion, be dedicated to the Annunciation
of the same blessed Mary, a depiction of
which he has now commissioned. There-
fore, the said brothers desire that the altar
of the Chapel of the Conception be trans-
ferred through our agency to the newly con-
structed Chapel of the Annunciation. . .")

"Datum Tusculi sub Annulo Piscatoris die
X Octobris MDCI. Pontificatus Nostri Anno
decimo."

　　　　　　　　M. Vestrios Barbianus
　　　　　　　　Breve Formatum in Archivio Provinciae.

I would like to thank John P. Sullivan of the State
University of New York at Buffalo for his help in trans-
lating the above passage.

[19] See Dini, "Appunti-Aggiunte," pp. 54, 55.

[20] The placement of the figures in this version is more
directly related to Santi di Tito's placement of figures
in his Annunciation in the Walters Gallery in Baltimore.
A similar Tito version is found in the Campagnia di
S. Salvatore, Scrofiano, see Luciano Bellosi et al,
Arte in Valdichiana Catalogo   (Cortona, 1970) p. 49,
plate 75. They are also related to the postures of
Gabriel and Mary in Taddeo Zuccaro's fresco of The
Annunciation in the end lunette of the facade loggia of
the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence.

[21] Dini; "Appunti-Aggiunte," pp. 54-55, argues that The
Annunciation in Bologna dates around 1592 putting it in
rapport with The Trinity of 1592. Although this is a
reasonable comparison, I would date The Annunciation
from Bologna much closer to the Montughi version (there-
fore, around 1600) because of the incredibly similar
representations of the respective Virgins. The Annunciation

in Bologna can, in fact, be compared just as easily to
a work dating 1599 as it can to The Trinity of 1592,
(see note 22).

[22] Each of these figures of the Madonna is seen in a draw-
ing of the Virgin, Uffizi no. 8980f, made for The
Annunciation to the Virgin in the Molinari-Predelli col-
lection in Bologna. The drawing was published (Mostra
del Cigoli, p. 153; reproduced in plate no. LXVII) as
a study for the figure of Psyche in the frescoe of The
Psyche before Jupiter from Cigoli's story of Psyche in
the Palazzo Braschi in Rome. The figure is very
similar to the Virgin from The Annunciation in Montughi
as well but is slightly closer to the Virgin in the ver-
sion in Bologna.
  Also the similarity in style and medium to another
drawing, Uffizi no. 8935f. brown wash with white high-
lights on greenish brown prepared paper, 399x298mm,
which depicts a nude male in the position of the annun-
ciating Gabriel in the Molinari-Predelli Annunciation
confirms the fact that both are for that version. The
style of this study for Gabriel is also close in style to
a study for one of the angels in Cigoli's Dream of
Jacob (Nancy and Burghley House) signed and dated 1599,
Uffizi 964f, hence further supporting a date of 1599 for
The Annunciation in Bologna.

[23] Peleo Bacci, "L'Annunciazione e l'Eterna Padre dipinti
dall' Empoli nel 1614 per Sant'Agostino di Massa
Marittima," Rivista d'Arte, XXII (1940), 112, fig. 3.
It is pointed out that this signed and dated painting of
1599 is the prototype for a series of later Annunciations
(S. Trinità of 1603, S. Domenico Fiesole of 1615 and
S. Agostino in Massa Marittima of 1614).

[24] The immediate influence of Empoli is visible in Cigoli's
study for Gabriel (Uffizi no. 8875f, brown charcoal,
227x186mm) who comes directly from Empoli's 1599
version. Further, a progression from the archaic type
to the finished version in Montughi showing the influence
of Empoli can be studied in the recto and verso of

Cigoli's study for an Annunciation, Uffizi no. 962f,
brown ink, blue wash, squared, 140x149mm. The recto
shows strong similarities to The Annunciation in
Bologna except that Gabriel is on the left. The verso
contains two figures sketched in charcoal in the position
of the figures from Empoli's painting--Gabriel approach-
ing Mary through space from the left--which bears out
the possibility of Cigoli having looked to Empoli for his
final composition.

25 See the Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 83-85. Another version
of this painting exists (present location unknown) which
is signed and dated 1599 showing a direct link between
his works of that year and subsequent paintings. The
painting was sold by Appleby of London in 1954 who
claims to have no record of the sale. The work is
known by me only through a photograph.

26 A slightly later work which reveals a similar style is
St. Catherine Among the Doctors in the Church of San
Gaggio in Florence. There is no evidence of a signature
or date but according to the Mostra del Cigoli, p. 85,
the painting dates around 1603. It is similarly dated by
Guido Battelli, "Lodovico Cardi, detto Il Cigoli,"
Piccola Collezione d'Arte no. 28, Instituto di Edizione
(Florence 1922), p. 12. I am in agreement with the
date of 1603 based on the strong stylistic similarities
to The Adoration.
    Above the main scene of the painting, contained
within the architecture of the frame, is a small tondo
depicting The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine. For
a discussion of this scene and a recently discovered
version see Chapter 5, pp. 147-151.

27 The position of the painting and the history of the
Chapel of San Mercuriale is discussed by Don Bruno
Bazzoli and Prof. Sergio Selli, Abbazzia San Mercuriale
(Faenza, 1960), pp. 69-73.

28 Ibid., pp. 69-73.

29 Other works include the cupola frescoed by Poccetti, the main altar depicting The Madonna with the Christ Child and Saints Mercurial and Jerome by Passignano and the altar at the left, St. Mercurial Returning from Jerusalem by Santi di Tito. Ibid.

30 The dragon, a symbol of vanquished idolatry, alludes in this case to St. Mercurial's struggle against the heathens. Louis Réau, Icongraphie de l'Art Chrétien, III (Paris, 1959), p. 957.

31 The signature and date, which are slightly obscured by the frame, went unnoticed in the Mostra del Cigoli where the painting was dated around 1607 (p. 94) in relation to the signed and dated 1607 painting of Christ Calling St. Peter in the Pitti Palace.

32 Published in the Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 78-80.

33 In its arrangement and feeling, Cigoli's Pietà reminds one of Pontormo's Deposition (1523) to which Cigoli, having so much admired Pontormo, must have been attracted. The figures of the Pietà also recall the works of Andrea del Sarto on whose style Cigoli based his early works and to whom he felt a lasting affinity.

34 Published in the Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 76-78.

35 These virtues represent from left to right, Obedience, Prudence and Faith. Recently a study for them (Christ Church, Oxford, no. 0232) was published by Jacob Bean, "Two Celestial Virtues by Cigoli," Master Drawings, no. 3 (1968), 259. An unpublished full page study for this composition exists on the verso of a drawing depicting St. Jerome and a woman supervising the construction of a Monestary, Uffizi no. 10307 brown ink and wash, 374x254mm. The individual sketches on the verso show a strong emphasis on rhythmic rapport between St. Jerome in profile and the Virtues - a relationship which is changed in the painting.

A version similar to the recto of the Uffizi drawing

exists in the Louvre, n. 917, and was published by
R. Bacou and J. Bean, Disegni Fiorentini del Museo
del Louvre, dalla Collezione di Filippo Baldinucci
(Rome, 1959), p. 50, where the studies for St. Jerome
in his Study on the verso of Uffizi 1030f is noted.

[36] Other paintings signed and dated in 1599 are: a very
beautiful Pietà in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in
Vienna (see the Mostra del Cigoli, p. 79 for reference
to this and other versions of it); two versions of the
Dream of Jacob, one in the Musée des beaux Arts in
Nancy and the other in Burghley House in England (see
the Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 75-76. There it is incor-
rectly stated that the version in Nancy is dated 1598);
and two versions of St. Francis in Prayer (see notes
26-31, Chapter 3. A final version of St. Francis is
cited in the Mostra del Cigoli, p. 64-65, from the
Conservatorio di S. Dorotea. The painting is not re-
produced and I have not been able to locate it since
the Conservatorio no longer exists).

CHAPTER V

ROMAN INFLUENCE

The art of Rome, comprised of a great variety of styles (originating from the various schools of Italy, like the Veneto, Parma, Bologna and Tuscany) in contrast to the more uniform art of Florence, had a profound effect on Cigoli. It is my intention to point out the sources for Cigoli's changes and to document the influences where possible. Cigoli was immediately affected by this new environment and, after plunging full force into the confluence of styles, he emerged several years later with a style which resulted from a coalescence of Roman features and the salient aspects of his Florentine style.

Cigoli was sent to Rome by the Grand Duke Ferdinand to paint an altar in the Basilica of St. Peter's for Pope Clement VIII. [1] He had arrived in Rome by the third of April, 1604 [2] and was lodged at the Villa Medici. [3] According to Cardi (Vita, p. 33) Cigoli set to work at once on a model for the altarpiece which was to depict St. Peter Healing a Cripple. The painting was not completed however until a few years later. Therefore, to see Cigoli's

immediate reaction to Rome we must turn to the painting

of The Martyrdom of St. James (Fig. 74) which was com-

pleted soon after his arrival. The painting is signed and

dated 1605 in the lower left corner and it is in the Church

of San Giacomo Maggiore in the town of Polesine near

Mantua.[4] St. James and Josia, one of Herod's scribes

who converted to Christianity after seeing a miracle of

the Apostle, are huddled together in the foreground with

their executioners poised menacingly behind them.[5] In the

upper left, Herod Agrippa calmly observes from his throne

the slaughter about to take place.

One can immediately pinpoint similarities between

this work and earlier Cigoli compositions, such as The

Martyrdom of St. Stephen, but new forms are equally

evident and it is these which exemplify Cigoli's reactions

to Rome. All of these changes are a means to heighten

and strengthen the dramatic content of the scene--always

Cigoli's prime concern. Shutting off space by crowding

figures into the foreground to punctuate the narrative drama

is not new to Cigoli, but never has the possibility of this

been so fully exploited. In The Martyrdom of St. James

all of the figures are crushed against the picture plane
completely obscuring any background or spatial depth. Al-
most the entire surface is filled with the large, brawny
figures of the martyrs and executioners. These figures,
which also find counterparts in The Martyrdom of
St. Stephen (the positions of the executioners and the mus-
culature of their arms) are again novel because of their
highly shortened proportions. The figure raising the axe,
for example, has a considerably shorter and thicker body
than does his counterpart in The Martyrdom of St. Stephen.

Restricting gesture and rhythm, the closeness
and bulkiness of the figures yields a new dramatic expres-
sion. The solid figure of the executioner on the left
with short, powerful arms and the larger executioner on
the right thrusting his arm forward to grab the hair of
St. James both contrast with the round, smooth figures of
the kneeling victims making the submissive state of the
latter and their bloody death all the more poignant. An
intensity of motion and violence is attained as all the
major elements of the composition press into and down on
the two martyrs. Adding to this sense of immediacy and

reality is the fact that unlike any of Cigoli's previous mar-
tyrdoms, this version contains no putti or other celestial
figures who normally bring spiritual strength to the con-
demned Christians. The horror of death and injustice is
all the more human because James and Josia both accept
their death with an inner calm and strength that is not
assuaged by the visible promise of heavenly justice. Such
realism has been noted before in Cigoli and cannot, there-
fore, be accounted for solely by his Roman ambience.
But the new formal elements and the compositional struc-
ture are all a direct response to the exciting environment
of the papal city.

Of the myriad of styles Cigoli could have observed
in Rome, one of the most impressive must have been that
of the recently completed Farnese Gallery of Annibale
Carracci.[6] Interesting comparisons can be noted, for
example, either between the executioner about to behead
Josia and the woman in Annibale's Triumph of Bacchus
who rings a tambourine above her head,[7] or between the
modeling of the arm and the position of the head of the
executioner behind St. James and these features in

Polyphemus of <u>Polyphemus and Acis</u> in the Farnese.[8] But most like Annibale is the piling of many figures into an extremely small space. The right half of <u>The Triumph of Bacchus</u> is a scene of Silenus supported by three figures, riding a donkey.[9] These are in turn surrounded by a host of other revelers taking part in the bacchanalian rite. All of these solid figures crowded together form a dense mass which evokes a feeling of drunkenness and raucousness in much the same way as it does violence and oppression in the Cigoli. The desire to seize upon the dramatic potential of Carracci's style, I believe, influenced Cigoli to organize his <u>Martyrdom of St. James</u> the way he did.

Another example of a spaceless composition with figures pushed against the picture plane is <u>The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine</u> (Fig. 75) which I have recently discovered and have attributed to Cigoli with a date of ca. 1605.[10] My attribution and dating are based on its similiarities to documented Cigoli works from this period, on the stylistic forms it has in common with early Roman works like <u>The Martyrdom of St. James</u>, and on a reference in Baldinucci.[11] The latter mentions that Cigoli

painted a work of the same subject with figures of The Virgin, Christ, St. Catherine and Joseph who, in a curious iconographic attitude, leans on a rock: this description fits perfectly with the painting in question.

The lead which this literary evidence gives is substantiated by comparisons to three known Cigoli works. The first is a smaller version of The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine (Fig. 76), an obvious prototype, painted in the tondo above St. Catherine Among the Doctors of around 1603 in San Gaggio in Florence.[12] Many aspects of these two compositions are comparable and especially striking are the similarities between the figures of Catherine and the Christ-Child. A second work, The Deposition from the Cross (Fig. 77) of about 1605,[13] also contains numerous parallels such as the face of St. John the Evangelist and that of St. Catherine, and Catherine's hair style and that of the Magdalen. In the third work, The Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 78) of 1605,[14] both the Christ-Child and the figure of Joseph are like those in The Mystic Marriage.

The conclusiveness of this evidence is strengthened by an examination of a drawing (Fig. 79) which is compo-

sitionally a prototype for the painting. The subject of the
drawing (for which no painting exists) is The Holy Family[15]
and from it Cigoli has adapted the positions of Mary,
sitting in the center, and of Joseph leaning on a rock.
Even though the subject matter is different, it is clear
that the drawing provided the composition for the painting.

The drawing also sustains the date of around
1605. If compared to the drawing done for the 1605
Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 80),[16] one can see that the
grouping of the figures in The Holy Family is taken from
the main group of The Adoration. Even though the study
for The Adoration is still strongly affiliated to Cigoli's
Florentine style, distinguished by the elongated figures,
the way the four major figures relate to each other and
the dominant diagonal structure of the group as a whole
are similar to the drawing of The Holy Family. Particu-
larly interesting are the similarities in the features and
postures of the two Josephs.

The shallow and crowded composition is what
links The Mystic Marriage to Cigoli works done early in
his Roman career and, like The Martyrdom of St. James,

is derived from an interest in Annibale Carracci. The
Mystic Marriage by Annibale (ca. 1585-6) in the Palazzo
Reale in Naples[17] has many features similar to Cigoli's
version--the use of half-length figures, the compact
grouping and the iconographic element of Christ placing
the ring on Catherine's third finger. Moreover, the
strong build of the Virgin with broad shoulders and a
thick neck is reminiscent of Annibale's Virgin from his
Pietà of 1603 now in Naples' Capodimonte Museum.[18]
Cigoli's preference for the Bolognese style of Annibale
must also be at least partly responsible for a revived
interest in Correggio which is manifested in the gently
smiling face of the Virgin Mary.

      The most important guide in verifying the
Roman qualities of Cigoli's Mystic Marriage is that it is
clearly based on his own work, The Martyrdom of St. James.
The composition of The Marriage is parallel to the central
area of The Martyrdom. Although in a less strictly de-
fined pyramid, the form of the three figures of Mary,
Christ and Catherine is comparable to the figures of Josia,
his executioner and St. James. The position of Joseph is

likewise comparable to the turbaned figure pressing forward from behind the executioner. In The Martyrdom, conventional fanciful elements such as putti are omitted; the same exclusion of secondary images is even more striking in The Marriage. In both paintings the aim is to magnify the idea of the drama by making it immediately comprehensible by the economy of detail. [19]

In The Mystic-Marriage, this lucidity is used to present the scene as a dream. When we see the work as a painting of a dream, answers can be given to such questions as: What is the role of the remote and detached Joseph? Why is the Virgin's attention unfocused and her smile enigmatic? What supports each figure? In what spatial context do they exist? All of these are answered if one realizes that the entire scene is imagined only in the mind of St. Catherine. Cigoli, then, has not just portrayed an event but he has also ascribed to it its true nature--the marriage never actually took place. The continual circular motion set up by the arms and hands underscores the incorporeality and weightlessness of the figures and therefore the unreality of the drama.

The altarpiece for St. Peter's, Cigoli's initial reason for going to Rome was probably completed in 1606.[20] The painting no longer exists[21] but it is known through preliminary studies and engravings done after it. The reasons for his taking several years to finish this painting of St. Peter Healing a Cripple are that Cigoli became immersed in various other commissions including several in Florence.[22]

Of engravings done after the painting, the most accurate is that of Nicholaus Dorigny done in 1697 (Fig. 81).[23] Peter, grasping the arm of the reclining cripple, is in the center of the composition and is surrounded by a continuous semicircle of secondary figures. All of these figures are large and bulky and their proportions are commensurate with the monumental architecture (much like that of St. Peter's itself) which defines the setting.

Cigoli's own preliminary studies reveal how he progressed from an initial conception to the final composition. The most complete of these studies (Fig. 82) has definite similarities to the engraving,[24] but St. Peter is shown in a three-quarter pose with left arm raised, the

figures around him are divided into distinct groups, their proportions are more attenuated and the grand architectural loggia creates a greater contrast between the setting and the group of figures. The stance of St. Peter in this drawing follows Cigoli's original idea as demonstrated in an earlier cartoon. What then caused Cigoli to alter both the figure of St. Peter and the proportion and arrangement of the entire composition? The changes conform to and incorporate stylistic elements used in the other works undertaken for this same commission.

In the early years of the 17th century, Clement VIII (1592-1605) commissioned a series of altarpieces to decorate the nave of St. Peter's. They were to depict stories from the life of St. Peter. Of these, the first, The Death of Saphira, was begun by Tommaso Lauretti in 1601 and, after his death, completed by Cristoforo Roncalli in 1604. The second was by Domenico Passignano who finished his Crucifixion of St. Peter also in 1604. The third painting, The Fall of Simon Magus, was done in 1603 by Francesco Vanni. The fourth was Cigoli's St. Peter Healing a Cripple, begun in 1604, and the fifth The

Resurrection of Tobit, was executed by Giovanni Baglione
in 1606. The last altar, The Calling of St. Peter, was
completed by Bernardo Castelli in 1607, three years after
he received the commission.[25] Therefore, three of the
works were finished before Cigoli was sent to Rome while the
latter two were still in progress at his arrival. The dates
of these paintings are essential for understanding Cigoli's
influences. His style changes perceptibly as the various
works are completed.

      Cigoli's work has several elements which are
uniform throughout all of the altarpieces--clear presentation
of subject,   the foreground setting, the semi-circle of
figures and the central position of Peter. Cigoli's initial
figure for St. Peter, as seen in his drawing, is closest
to that of Roncalli from The Death of Saphira. He later
changes this figure to that which one sees in Baglione's
Resurrection of Tobit (and Castelli's Calling of St. Peter).
Baglione's figure, like the Cigoli, faces full front with his
right arm extended (to this, Castelli added the bending
posture). All of these figures have the same broad pro-
portions and dense build.

An important source for all these compositions was Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons illustrating the Acts of the Apostles Peter and Paul, done for the Sistine Chapel and especially that of The Healing at the Golden Gate.[26] That Cigoli referred to this cartoon is indicated in his earliest drawing (Fig. 83).[27] The twisted columns drawn lightly in red chalk come unquestionably from Raphael's work. Cigoli also took the figure of the cripple from another of these cartoons, Paul at Lystra, which has a similar figure grasping the horns of a bull. This posture is used in both the preliminary studies and in the final version.[28]

Thus we see in the three paintings discussed that Cigoli's initial changes reflected a simultaneous interest in the intense, dramatic forms of Annibale Carracci and the simple, grand compositions of the works in St. Peter's. A third influence, that of Caravaggio, has often been considered even more important than the other two. In fact, Cigoli took part in a competition with Caravaggio and Passignano to paint an Ecce Homo (Fig. 84) for Monsignore Massimi soon after he arrived in Rome.[29]

Cigoli's painting, now in the Pitti Palace, was most likely done sometime in 1605, between the years of his arrival in 1604 and Caravaggio's departure in 1606.[30] If compared to what Longhi believes to be Caravaggio's version for this commission,[31] similarities can be seen in both composition and in the lighting. In both, the figures are three-quarter length; Christ, nude from the waist up, arms crossed in front and holding a staff, stands submissively before the people; a figure beside Him dressed elegantly, directs the audience's attention to Him; a second figure, a strong peasant-type, drapes a cloak over His shoulder. In both works these three figures are placed close to the picture plane, a direct light plays sharply over them and the background is obscured by shadow. Cigoli has then added two guards, barely visible in the background, on the balcony from which Christ is being shown to the people.

But a further comparison reveals a most important difference between the two paintings--the basic concept of the scene. Caravaggio avoids defining a setting and in that way removes the scene from reality. But the figures,

the faces and the clothing are starkly realistic in the true fashion of Caravaggio. Cigoli, on the other hand, has created a real setting but removes the figures from reality by embellishing them with a dominant theatricality. The rich, extravagant sleeve of the turbaned figure and the abundant cloth of Christ's drape overflowing the balcony are but two examples. Cigoli has softened the forms of Caravaggio to produce a more lyrical statement. In the face of Cigoli's past interest in realistic, human dramas, it is highly provocative to realize that at a time when Cigoli could have learned from the master of realism he chooses to develop a more sentimental, theatrical style. This is due, I believe, to the prevailing influences of other Roman styles on Cigoli. In fact, Cigoli probably won the competition[32] precisely because of his gentle lyricism which was more suited to the tastes of Rome and which was to be later developed more fully by prominent Roman artists.

To understand better why Cigoli took this turn it is necessary to return for a moment to his other Roman works. In The Martyrdom of St. James, Cigoli had adopted

such Roman elements as large, foreground figures, shallow space, and shorter proportions. But he had still created a composition which evoked the realistic drama of the scene. In St. Peter Healing a Cripple he had used essentially these same elements to create a more symbolic narrative--foreground figures which cut off the space and heavy-set figures, in this case, weighed down with copious drapery. In The Ecce.Homo the harsh dramatic impact is softened even more and the picture is permeated by an abstract religious pathos. This lack of emotional reality can be seen in works contemporary with Cigoli's, such as Baglione's St. Cecilia with Saints (ca. 1603) in the Convent of St. Cecilia in Trastevere or in Francesco Vanni's Cardinal Sfondrato Kneeling before Santa Cecilia (1603) in The Gesù.[33] It is also lacking in later Roman artists, such as Domenichino (The Death of St. Cecilia in S. Luigi dei Francese of 1612-13).

The lessening of realistic drama and a development of more abstract Roman elements, composition, expression and drapery, is continued into yet another painting. During the years that Cigoli was working on

the altarpiece for St. Peter's, he executed a second ver-
sion of Christ Calling St. Peter (Fig. 85), signed and
dated 1607 and presently in the Pitti Palace.[34] It is a
strangely haunting composition with large powerful figures
who are literally piled up against the picture surface and
laden with thick, cascading drapery.[35]

All of these elements have been noted in the
other Roman works of Cigoli but for the first time, in
this painting, there is a full emergence of the use of
drapery as an independent expressive form--a particularly
Roman tradition which can be traced from Raphael through
to the early 17th century. This emphasis on drapery
forms can be seen in Raphael's late paintings in the
Vatican, The Expulsion of Heliodorus, or in the lower
half of his Transfirguration of Christ which was executed
by Giulio Romano. Later in the century it can be found
in Taddeo Zuccaro and Girolamo Muziano as well as in
Federico Barrocci whose forms and color achieve fantastic
heights of abstraction. Even Annibale Carracci uses
abundant, excited drapery forms, as in The Assumption
of the Virgin (1601) in S. M. del Popolo. The reasons

for and results of exploiting such abstract forms may be different in each case, but its use is constant. Cigoli tentatively experiments with it in The Ecce Homo but it is not until the 1607 Calling of St. Peter that it becomes a dominant expressive form.

In 1608, Cigoli painted a Nativity of the Virgin (Fig. 86) for the Church of SS. Annunziata in Pistoia[36] which reiterates his stylistic affinities with Rome. It has been suggested that it was actually begun in 1603 or 1604,[37] but owing to the stylistic unity of the preparatory drawings,[38] I believe that this is inaccurate. In each of these studies, the proportions and size of the figures and their rhythmic construction are similar, which indicate that they were all done at approximately the same time. The major differences between the drawings are not based on style but on motif. They occur mostly because Cigoli initially was inspired by Florentine prototypes which he then altered to conform to a more Roman mode.

Cigoli's finished composition retains several points in common with Passignano's Nativity of the Virgin in Impruneta (Fig. 87), signed and dated 1602.[39] In both

there is a bed in the background set at the same angle, a
single putto in an upper corner, a maid pouring water in
the basin and a tendency to divide the figures into groups.[40]

That Cigoli has chosen a Florentine prototype
does not, however, lead him to reject those stylistic qual-
ities which he had adopted in Rome. Typical of these are
the large, full figures in the foreground who attend to the
Christ-Child, the smooth, robust arms of the servant
pouring water and the breadth of the faces and shoulders
of both the foreground figures. Likewise, the minimal
number of figures, the restraint of rhythmic connections
and the integration of separate parts into a broader, more
loosely arranged whole are all related to Cigoli's other
Roman paintings.

There is no precise model in Roman painting for
Cigoli's Nativity, but a brief comparison with a nearly con-
temporary Nativity of the Virgin by Guido Reni (1610 in the
Palazzo Quirinale) offers interesting similarities. Reni's
figures are not rhythmically connected, they are not broken
up into distinct groups and there is virtually no space ex-
cept for that defined by the figures at the right attending

to the Christ-Child. The figures are large and placed flatly across the picture plane. Although Cigoli has modified some of Reni's techniques, he has created essentially the same kind of composition. Even though, for example, Cigoli has used separate groupings and rhythmic lines, he has attempted to integrate these into an overall, complete unit.

The painting which perhaps best exemplifies a culmination of all of the qualities that Cigoli adopted in his early years in Rome is Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar (Fig. 68). Signed and dated 1610, it was painted for Scipione Borghese and is now in the Villa Borghese.[41] The two figures, restricted to a shallow foreground space, plunge out of the darkness of the canopied bed. Potiphar's wife, enticing Joseph into her bed, seductively wraps her legs around his and beseeches him to stay. He, shunning her supplications, sheds his cloak in order to free himself from her grasp. Through both the animation of the figures and rhythmic construction, Cigoli has cogently expressed the anxious flight of Joseph and the carnal yearning of Potiphar's wife.

Again Cigoli has used the immediacy of placing large figures in the foreground and copious, abstract drapery to enhance the mood of excitement and restated his love of rhythm to increase the emotionalism of the scene. A reintroduction of rhythm was incipient in The Nativity of the Virgin, but its complete synthesis into what I will now call his Roman style was not fully realized until this painting. The result is unique, both in terms of Cigoli's style and in terms of the Roman styles with which he was competing.[42] The result of this synthesis is the emergence of a style more fully Baroque. In another of Cigoli's commissions, just prior to this painting, he also begins to exhibit a strong unity of form and a greater penetration of space. This and his final works in Rome complete the view of Cigoli's role in the formation of a Baroque style before his death in 1613.

CHAPTER V

FOOTNOTES

[1] Baldinucci, Notizie, pp. 259-260 and Cardi, Vita, p. 32.

[2] In note 3, p. 32 of Cardi's Vita, Batelli cites a letter
from A. Giusti, the Medici representative in Rome, to
Florence stating that Cigoli had arrived in Rome.   The
letter dates April 3, 1604.

[3] Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 260 and Cardi, Vita, p. 32.

[4] The first to publish and attribute the painting to Cigoli
was Luciano Cuppini, "Un inedito del Cigoli," Commentari,
XIV (January-March, 1963), 51-53.   According to
Cuppini, during restoration in 1945 a date of 1605 and
the letters L.C. were discovered in the lower lefthand
corner and it was then attributed to Leonardo Corona, a
pupil of Palma Vecchio.   The date and initials are no
longer visible as they were covered by the frame after
the restoration of 1945.   New information concerning its
date and Cigoli's activities in 1605 have recently been
published by Chappell, "Some paintings by Lodovico Cigoli,"
pp. 203-207 (see Chapter 3, note 39).

[5] The subject is recounted in the Golden Legend.   Chappell,
"Some paintings by Cigoli," 204, refers to another text,
De Historia Certaminis Apostolici, as a possible source,
While I agree with his emphasis on the human contact
between the figures, it does not seem clear that James
has blessed Josias--an event stressed in the passage
cited by Chappell from the new text.

[6] John Martin, The Farnese Gallery, (Princeton, 1965),
pp. 55-6.

[7] This same figure type is found in Annibale's Martyrdom
of St. Stephen, ca. 1604-5, in the Louvre.

8 Martin, The Farnese, plate 64 for an illustration of
   this scene.

9 Ibid., plate 71.

10 This painting is now in the collection of Richard Schlatter,
   Neshanic Station, New Jersey. I have not been able to
   trace the provenance beyond the sale at Sotheby's. The
   painting was in their possession for over twenty years
   and they have no record of the purchase.

11 Baldinucci (Notizie, III, p. 246), in describing the
   painting says that it is in the collection of the heirs of
   Jacopo Giraldi, for whom Cigoli painted several works
   that date early in Cigoli's career, based on their
   position in relation to known works. The fact that The
   Mystic Marriage is noted, however, in the collection of
   Giraldi's family implies that it dates after his death
   and is thus later in date than the works executed for
   him.

12 See Chapter 4, note 26.

13 The date of this painting is not firmly fixed. Giovanni Poggi,
   "Appunti d'Archivio," Rivista d'Arte, III, (1905), 50-53,
   cites a document which states that Cigoli was commis-
   sioned to paint a Deposition sometime in or after 1600
   and that after working on the painting for a long period
   of time it was taken to Empoli from Florence when
   finished on the 27th of January, 1607. All that can be
   said with certainty is that it was carried out between
   1600 and 1607. In 1689 Ferdinand requested the painting
   and it was brought to Florence; see, A. I. Rusconi,
   La R. Galleria Pitti in Firenze (Rome, 1937), pp. 194-5.

14 The painting bears the date 1605 but contains no signa-
   ture. The painting is now at Stourhead House in England.
   It was published by Ellis Waterhouse, Italian Baroque
   Painting (London, 1962), pp. 51-54, fig. 131. A second
   work painted in that year, Cosimo d'Medici Invested as
   a Knight of the Order of St. Stephen in the Church of

the Cavalieri in Pisa, was published by Guido Battelli, *Piccola Collezione d'Arte*, no. 38, (Florence, 1922), fig. 29. I have chosen not to discuss these works in the text as they do not add significantly to the under-standing of the impact of Rome on Cigoli.

[15] Uffizi no. 1729f, brown ink and wash, 258x207mm.

[16] Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, no. 124987, brown ink and wash, 349x226mm.

[17] Gian Carlo Cavalli, et al., *I Carracci; Catalogo Critico*, (Bologna 1956), pp. 173-4, plate 57.

[18] *Ibid.*, plate 109, pp. 241-243.

[19] Another similarity to *The Martyrdom* is found in Joseph who is physically like Herod Agrippa, and who, also like Agrippa, is partially cropped by the edge of the canvas, a practice only seen in these two paintings.

[20] See note 23.

[21] According to Battelli in Cardi's *Vita*, note 3, p. 35, and Baldinucci, *Notizie*, p. 260, the painting was ex-ecuted on slate. Titi, *Guida di Roma*, p. 16, says that the painting was still extant (1763) although not in good condition. He goes on to point out that two years earlier (1761) it had been repainted but that there was still much deterioration, and that a mosaic by Francesco Mancini was to replace the painting [re-produced in *La Basilica Vaticano Illustrato*, III, (Rome, 1848), Tav. LVII]. Herbert Siebenhüner, "Umrisse zur Geschicte der Ausstattung von St. Peters in Rom," *Festschrift für Hans Sedlmayr* (Munich, 1962), 298, dis-cusses the painting and commission and says that the mosaic was installed in 1767.

[22] See Chappell, "Some Paintings by Lodovico Cigoli," 203-207. See also note 14 above.

23   The engraving is preserved in the Gabinetto Nazionale
delle Stampe in Rome (Inv. no. 124997 and has been
published by H. Siebenhüner, Festschrift, plate no. 39.
At the lower left there is an inscription citing Cigoli
as the author and the year 1606. This is not a direct
confirmation of an original inscription on the painting
which is important to bear in mind since such a date
contradicts other evidence. Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 260,
and Cardi, Vita, pp. 33, 34, say that the altarpiece was
not complete by the time Cigoli went back to Florence
to participate in the decorations for the wedding of
Cosimo and Maria Maddalena of Austria in 1608. Cardi
(p. 35) goes on to say that Cigoli returned to Florence
a second time in 1609 for the funeral of Ferdinand and
that upon arriving back in Rome he retouched the paint-
ing. This implies that the painting was completed
between 1608 and 1609. Evidence in support of the
biographers is found in documents of payment in 1606
and 1607 published by J. A. F. Orbaan, "Der Abbruch
Alt-Sankt-Peters," Jahrbuch der Königlich preuzzischen
kunstsammlungen, 39 (Berlin, 1918), 49, 56.

    It is possible that Cigoli continued to retouch the
painting after completing it in 1606, necessitated by
immediate deterioration of the paint. Until it is proven,
however, that Dorigny's inscription is accurate the date
of 1606 as a "terminus post quem" must be viewed as
tentative.

    An engraving was also executed by Callot, see
J. Lievre, Jacque Callot, Catalogue de L'Oeuvre Gravé,
1 (Paris, 1924, plate no. 38.

24   Uffizi no. 1017, brown ink and wash with some white
chalk, 445x274mm.

25   Siebenhüner, Festschrift, pp. 295-8. See also plates 23,
34-39, for illustrations of the altarpieces.

26   For an illustration see Sidney J. Freedberg, High
Renaissance, II, plate 359.

27 Uffizi no. 1006f, brown ink and wash, red chalk, some charcoal, squaring lines at right, 443x289mm.

28 Another painting of around this period which shows a direct influence from Raphael is The Madonna della Carità in the Palazzo Pitti. Recently discovered, published by Miles Chappell, "Some paintings by Lodovico Cigoli" 208-214.

29 Cardi, Vita, pp. 37-8 and Baldinucci, Notizie, pp. 266-7. Alfred Moir, The Italian Followers of Caravaggio (Cambridge, Mass; 1967), p. 213,note 10, gives the provenance as does Battelli in Cardi's Vita, p. 38, note 2. Nothing is known of the version by Passignano.

30 Roberto Longhi, "L'Ecce Homo del Caravaggio a Genova," Paragone, V, no. 51, (1954), 3-13, discusses a proposed Caravaggio and the competition between Cigoli and Caravaggio. See also the Mostra del Cigoli, pp. 88-91, plates XXXII and XXXIIa.

31 Longhi, "Caravaggio," 3-13.

32 Cardi, Vita, p. 38, Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 267.

33 For an article concerning these works and a discussion of Florentine artists in Rome see D. Stephen Pepper, "Baglione, Vanni and Cardinal Sfondrato," Paragone, XVIII, no. 211, serie 31 (1967), pp. 69-72.

34 All that is known about this painting is that it was in the Gallery in the 18th century. See Anna Maria Francini Ciaranfi, La Galleria Palatina. Guida per il Visitatore e Catalogo delle Opere Esposte (Florence, 1956), p. 57.

35 The odd position of Christ is similar to that of Christ in the famous Navicella mosaic in the porch of the old Basilica of St. Peters executed by Giotto around 1300 for the jubilee year. Cigoli may have looked to this ancient model for inspiration and the opportunity to pay tribute once more to older glories of Rome created by

a famous Florentine compatriot. The mosaic, based on a 17th century fresco of the original, is illustratated in Cesare Gnudi's _Giotto_ (Milan, 1958), plate 145a.

[36] See the _Mostra del Cigoli_, pp. 101-103. The work was presumably done in Florence or Pistoia as Cigoli was in Florence for the decorations of Cosimo's marraige. There is a copy of this painting at the main altar of the Cappella dei Pucci, now a funerary chapel attached to the church of SS. Annunziata in Florence.

[37] _Ibid._, p. 138.

[38] The most finished drawing for _The Nativity_ and the closest to the painting is Uffizi no. 838E, brown ink, white chalk, brown prepared paper, 314x235mm. A second drawing in the Uffizi is a slightly earlier study, no. 977f, which has been published in the _Mostra del Cigoli_, pp. 137, 8, plate LXII. There is a third drawing in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome, no. 124997, brown ink and wash, 352x228mm.

[39] See the _Mostra del Cigoli_, p. 207, plate XCIV, for a discussion and illustration of Passignano's _Nativity of the Virgin_.

[40] The influence of Ligozzi is also seen in the study, Uffizi no. 977f. The drawing contains a small girl at the lower left standing over an open banded and partially covered hemisphere which is only found in Ligozzi's _Birth_ in S. M. del Sasso in Bibbiena, signed and dated 1607 (for a reproduction see Luciano Berti, "Note brevi su inediti toscani," p. 335, fig. 8).

[41] Published in the _Mostra del Cigoli_, pp. 104-105, plate XXXVIII.

[42] If contrasted, for example, to his contemporary Giovanni Baglione's _Judith and Holofernes_ in the Borghese Gallery of 1607-8 (directly across from Cigoli's painting) it is clear that the static coordination

of Baglione's figures is clumsy in comparison to Cigoli's figures. While Baglione reveals an almost retrogressive affinity to the "maniera," Cigoli moves clearly in the direction of a dynamic Baroque style.

CHAPTER VI

CREATION OF A NEW STYLE

The second major church commission given to Cigoli in Rome was for a large panel depicting The Burial of St. Paul for the main altar of San Paolo fuori le Mura, one of the famous seven churches founded under Constantine.[1] This painting was Cigoli's first attempt to create greater depth in space and unity of form on a large scale. Unfortunately, the panel is now missing and was reportedly destroyed in the fire of 1823 that ravished the Basilica.[2] But, as in the case of St. Peter Healing a Cripple, there exists a series of drawings by Cigoli which illustrate both the stages of development as well as the finished composition of The Burial.

Cigoli began the painting in 1609[3] but it is unlikely that he ever completely finished it. In a letter to Galileo, dated April 9, 1609, Cigoli wrote that he had been to San Paolo during that week to begin his panel, ". . . la dove o dato principio alla maggior tabola (sic)."[4] On May 22, 1609, Cigoli again wrote Galileo that he had just finished a "bozzetto."[5]. A guidebook published in 1610

mentions that in that year the painting was almost completed, ". . . è quasi finito il quadro dell'altar maggior qual dimostra, è representa la sepoltura di S. Paolo."[6] All later guidebooks, however, such as Titi's 1763 edition[7] and Romano's 1815 guide dedicated to the Basilica,[8] describe Cigoli's painting at the main altar as unfinished. For whatever reasons, then, it seems that Cigoli did not complete this painting before he died in 1613.

Although the panel has disappeared, it is unlikely that it was destroyed in the famous fire on July 15, 1823. In the sacristy of the church there exists an engraving by Antonio Acquaroni, dated the day after the fire, that depicts the ruined Basilica but with the apse still standing and over the central altar there is a faint but unmistakable image of Cigoli's panel. Perhaps badly damaged, the painting was no doubt removed and has not been located since. Any mention of Cigoli's work is mysteriously absent from a book by Giuseppe Marocchi, published in 1823 (there is no day or month of publication), which was devoted to the degree of damage to both the architecture and the interior decorations.[9] Marocchi discusses the

loss or state of preservation of the apse mosaics and many of the paintings without mentioning The Burial of St. Paul. One can only assume that Marocchi's inventory was taken after this painting was removed and that even then its location and condition were unknown.

The most complete study for the panel is a highly detailed squared drawing (Fig. 89) which shows St. Paul in the center, surrounded by a large group of mourners and being lowered into his grave.[10] Above, putti and angels wait to welcome him into heaven. Thus, Paul's imminent resurrection is alluded to by this compositional division which emphasizes corporeal death but also the eternity of the soul and is directly symbolized by the intact body of St. Paul himself. St. Paul was beheaded, but is here portrayed with his head attached. The reunification of his head and body (a story which comes from the Golden Legend) represents Paul's rebirth and glorification in heaven--a reward assured by Christ's own crucifixion and resurrection. Additionally, an angel sits on what could be a tomb in the center middleground with three figures to the right. (The Three Marys at the tomb

of Christ?) There is, then, a direct reference to Paul's theological preeminence and to his bodily resurrection as directly compared with that of Christ. The subject of this painting was clearly chosen to convey the principle Christian ethic through an episode from the life of St. Paul who was the patron saint of the Basilica. Furthermore, the overt reference to the reunification of the body and its resurrection is a reference to Pauline doctrine wherein Paul affirmed the resurrection of the purified body rather than only the soul.[11] It seems logical that such an important doctrine would be represented in the Basilica dedicated to St. Paul, particularly under the reign of Pope Paul V.

Not only is the composition conceived to relate a basic Christian message, but it is also structured to reveal Cigoli's principles. The tightly-organized group of figures is well integrated into an expansive space that anticipates both the Baroque and the style of Cigoli's last works. As the separate upper and lower sections recede into depth, they give an illusion of almost infinite space. And Cigoli manages to unite these divided (both formally

and thematically) units through the repetition of a basic
concave curve in each. The rhythmic forms of the lower,
foreground group reverberate in the upper group. The
rhythmic curve of the central group also affords a view
into the background which meets the clouds on the distant
horizon line.

All of these elements--a uniform cluster of
figures (albeit here in two distinct sections), subdued
rhythms and monumental space--have already been noted in
Cigoli's earlier Roman works. Two preliminary drawings
indicate Cigoli's transition from a more typically Florentine
composition to one more Roman. The first of these
(Fig. 90)[12] reveals an earlier tendency to create distinct
figure groupings and to use elongated, fluid proportions.
The figures' isolated roles and their sleek forms are akin
to the style of The Madonna of the Rosary study done in
1595. Also indicative of a more Florentine tradition is
the view downward onto a vast landscape which is not
integrated with the figures. Cigoli initially integrated the
two sections of the composition through rhythmic surface
patterns rather than through structured forms, as is

evident in the final drawing.

Predictably, in the course of evolving the composition, Cigoli yields to a more Roman characteristic of solid figures and less clearly defined groupings. In the second preliminary drawing (Fig. 91),[13] the figures are comparatively bulky and rigid, and everything is subordinated to straight, stiff lines. In both groups, to the left and right, the figures seem· starched and formal. That this study is for only the lower half of the painting indicates that Cigoli had already conceived his composition as two distinct sections, to be spatially and iconographically integrated in the final composition.

The painting was to be hung at the head of a simple, basilican space, and Cigoli carefully calculated the full participation of the congregation when constructing his composition. The viewer would have been moved by the realistic rendering of a moment in time, Paul's burial, and awed by the religious contemplation of an event about to happen, Paul's ascension into heaven. The innovativeness of this panel is not, however, that it demands the viewer's participation in psychologically correlating mundane

reality with religious dogma (which he was constantly striving for) but that by expanding the spatial setting rather than closing it off with large, foreground figures, the viewer is invited to share in the experience taking place before him. His space extends into that of the picture. The rather remote spiritual sentiment, different from Cigoli's previously intense dramas, frees the viewer to react in a more general contemplative way. Emotions are not dictated but are only suggested.

Owing to the loss of The Burial of St. Paul, a discussion of figure types, abstract forms, or expressive drapery is precluded. But in Cigoli's last three works we see a definite continuation of these elements which he had already begun to explore in his earlier Roman paintings. Not only does the picture space correspond to that of the viewer, but figures are simple and corpulent, forms abstract, and rhythms persistent. Two of these works are grand fresco schemes, one is a small fresco and all date between 1610 and 1613.

The first is a series of frescoes representing the Fable of Psyche as recounted in The Golden Ass of

Apuleius.[14] They were executed between 1611 and 1612 for
the garden loggia of Cardinal Scipione Borghese's villa at
Montecavallo, now the Palazzo Rospiglioso.[15] In the late
nineteenth century, the loggia was demolished when the
Via Nazionale was widened and the frescoes were detached
and removed to the Galleria Palatina and were believed to
be by Annibale Carracci.[16] Not until 1913 were they
recognized by Guido Battelli as the frescoes by Cigoli so
specifically described by Cigoli's nephew.[17] In 1952, the
frescoes were moved to the Palazzo Braschi and reassem-
bled to duplicate their original setting.[18] There are four
lunettes and a ceiling fresco. Three of the lunettes are
of Psyche Sleeping, Psyche Grasping the Fleeing Cupid[19]
and Cupid Rescuing and Scolding Psyche: The fourth lunette
has scenes at the sides of the wolf and the golden ass and
figures surrounding an empty arch which must have origin-
ally framed the entrance. The ceiling panel depicts The
Presentation of Psyche to Jupiter.[20]

       As one enters the room containing these four
frescoes, the scene in a direct line of vision is Cupid
Fleeing (Fig. 92); to the left is the scene of Psyche

Sleeping (Fig. 93); to the right, Cupid Rescuing Psyche (Fig. 94); and above The Presentation to Jupiter (Fig. 95). The small, enclosed environment imposed by the structure of the garden loggia not only afforded Cigoli the opportunity of expanding the participation of the audience, as seen in The Burial of St. Paul, but also allowed him to use rhythmic forms to create a tightly organized and uniform space. Starting at the left, the gentle curve of Psyche's body and the drift of the clouds initiates a movement which flows through all the other scenes and finally up to the ceiling. This introductory motion is then absorbed by the figure of Psyche in The Cupid Fleeing and is released by the fleeing Cupid both upward and into the following scene to the left of Cupid Rescuing Psyche. The positions of these two figures quietly reverses the rhythmic current and leads the eye back to the central scene and, subsequently, upward to the ceiling panel. Thus, through a rhythmic continuance the distinctiveness of each scene is diminished to suggest an overall singularity of composition and space which hovers above the viewer.

        All of the lunettes have large, corpulent, fore-

ground figures, a view into a distant background and a
remote sentiment. The scene of <u>Cupid Rescuing Psyche</u>
best reveals how Cigoli coordinated rhythms, forms and
space within a single scene. The figures are simple and
highly abstracted, their personal relationship gracefully
integrated and their relationship to both the background and
to the shape of the lunette well harmonized. The abstrac-
tion of the figures' anatomy creates a simple direct unit
which is further stressed by the bends of their bodies and
the continual flow of their limbs. The postures and curves
of both Psyche and Cupid are completely controlled by the
form of the lunette and enhance a harmonious relation
between the foreground and background elements. Although
the open vista might seem in some ways superfluous, it is
calculated to detract from the overpowering size of the
figures and to lend a certain airiness which is constant in
each scene. But Cigoli did not include an open vista with-
out considering its structural relationship to the foreground
scene. Even though the two spaces are disparate and dis-
tinct, they are united by a repetition of form: the slight
spatial recession of Cupid's and Psyche's legs is emphati-

cally repeated in the recession of the distant building and the diagonals of both meet at the city gate. So each individual scene is compositionally united to all the others through rhythm and structure and the result is a conception of all the scenes as a single whole.

A comparison of <u>Cupid Rescuing Psyche</u> with a work by a better known painter in Rome illustrates just how much Cigoli has assimilated his Florentine foundations into Roman principles. <u>The Liberation of St. Peter</u> by Domenichino, 1604, in San Pietro in Vincoli,[21] shows the principal figures in roughly the same postures as in Cigoli's fresco--St. Peter reclining at the left with the angel bending over him on the right. The smooth anatomy of the angel, his face and his pose, suggest a strong link between these two works. A major difference, however, is that the Domenichino figures are more isolated and less fluid than those in the Cigoli. Cigoli's use of heavy figures and abstract forms relate him to such Roman artists as Domenichino but his use of rhythm to integrate his composition distinguishes him from Domenichino and anticipates the more fluid styles of artists such as

Lanfranco and Bernini. This is not to say that Cigoli was more advanced or significant but only to point out that he anticipates tendencies promoted by a specific group of later Roman artists.

As Cupid Rescuing Psyche is the best example of Cigoli's compositional organization, Psyche Sleeping best exemplifies Cigoli's attempt to capture the realistic sentiment of a scene. The large, sensuous Psyche lies blissfully asleep while Zephyr blows clouds around her which will carry her to heaven. Despite Psyche's size, the abstraction of her anatomy, the fluffy clouds and the billowing drapery all suggest that she is not just asleep but that she has also become weightless for her journey to the gods. The combination of graceful lines and simplified forms captures not only the limpidity of a dreamlike sleep but also the mythological fantasy of the assumption of a mortal into the immortal world of the gods.[22] Even the fact that she is cut off from the background vista emphasizes her transience between earth and heaven. But again, Cigoli has not conceived this scene as isolated but has carefully correlated it to the overall scheme of the loggia.

Psyche's position and the direction of the clouds move towards the next scene in which Psyche's form picks up that of the billowing drapery, thereby uniting the two scenes through structure.

The central scene of Cupid Fleeing (Fig. 96) brings up the question of authorship. The anatomical awkwardness and the lack of grace between the two figures is unprecedented in either the other scenes for this commission or in any of Cigoli's other works. Psyche's limbs do not relate in a continuously rhythmic way to the curve of her body. They tend to jut out in a straight fashion forming rigid appendages to an already inelegant body. Furthermore, her right arm is welded to a square, muscular shoulder that precludes the possibility of fluid motion. She is also not the beautiful rival of Venus as portrayed in Cupid Rescuing Psyche nor is the oversized putto at all like the handsome lover in Cigoli's other fresco. One has only to compare the two scenes of Cupid Fleeing and Cupid Rescuing Psyche to see the disparity between the clumsy relation of figures in the former and the graceful interrelationship of forms in the latter.

Perhaps a more revealing comparison can be made between Cupid Fleeing and another work of Cigoli, Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar (1610) to help elucidate the discrepancies in style in the fresco. Although the content and the intended actions, flight and pursuit, are similar, the solutions and techniques are different. The pose of Potiphar's wife is comparable to that of Psyche but her suppleness and elegance are distinctly dissimilar. Her limbs are long and graceful and are rhythmic extensions of the curving arch of her body. Likewise, the abstraction of anatomical detail, as compared to the lumpy figure of Psyche, enhances a smooth transition from part to part. Potiphar's wife tries to entice Joseph into her bed while Psyche frantically tries to force her lover to remain. In Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar, Cigoli has again created a rhythmically uniform whole by incorporating all elements into a single unit whereas the only unification of Psyche and Cupid is that of physical contact. One figure does not easily flow into the other.

The most likely author of this fresco is Sigismondo Coccapani (1583-1642)[23] who is known to have

been Cigoli's assistant in the larger commission for
S. M. Maggiore which was actually begun before the
Psyche Series.[24]   In his letters to Galileo Cigoli indicates
annoyance at having to cope with both commissions at
once and his feeling that the loggia was a direct hindrance
to his progress on the more illustrious commission for
S. M. Maggiore,[25]   Therefore, Cigoli may have felt
pressured into relying on Coccapani to assist him also in
the loggia in order to give himself more time to work in
S. M. Maggiore.[26]

It is also understandable that Cigoli would give
this particular scene, rather than one of the others, to
an assistant.   Although it is the first scene that one
notices upon entering the room, it is not one that the eye
dwells on for a prolonged period of time.   The outline
form, probably defined by Cigoli, persuades the eye of the
viewer to encompass all the other scenes and to blend
them together.   Viewed as part of an overall composition,
the scene of Cupid Fleeing is more important for its in-
nate motion than for its painterly details--as is true, in
fact, for all the other scenes.   But, as already pointed

out, Cigoli was equally concerned with each fresco as a single unit and created an integral composition which can be viewed as a separate entity.

Many of the inconsistencies with Cigoli's style, such as anatomical distortion and lack of fluidity, can be easily recognized in the works of Coccapani, such as his Michelangelo Crowned by the Arts (Fig. 97) painted for a ceiling of the Casa Buonarroti in 1615-17.[27] Despite the difference in medium (oil on wood producing a more polished effect), there are evocative similarities between these two works. The lumpy, rough contour of Psyche's back is parallel to the handling of Sculpture in the other work. The awkward protrusion of Sculpture's breast and the lack of foreshortening in her left shoulder and breast, which project too far forward, show the same disregard for rhythmic, smooth anatomical forms as was noted in the figure of Psyche and which is not present in any of the other Psyche frescoes. Similarly, the figures in the Casa Buonarroti painting are contiguously, rather than rhymically, related.

The last fresco of this cycle is the one of The

Presentation of Psyche, which, like all the other frescoes, is conceived as both a separate entity and as a section of a larger composition. There is, however, one tremendous drawback to its congruity with the other frescoes--its present arrangement is backwards. The harmony of the lower scenes is destroyed by the incomprehensible arrangement of upside-down figures which forces the viewer, after a period of mental and physical disorientation, to turn around in order to make sense out of the ceiling. If, on the other hand, the fresco were reversed, the whole would be much more intelligible.

First of all, the figures would be correctly foreshortened and the spatial illusion would be intelligible. Perhaps the most obvious evidence of the incorrectness of the panel's position is in the illusionistic architecture which frames the scene. The one-dimensional side would be directly above the viewer's head, which is perspectively accurate, and the two-dimensional side would be in front of the viewer. Thus, the architecture would seem real and not just a nonfunctional illusionistic trick. Secondly, the role of the panel as a compositional part would be greatly

enhanced by the easy, natural rhythmic continuation of figures and forms into the surrounding frescoes.

Moreover, if the ceiling fresco were reversed a subtlety and beauty of correlated forms, now lacking, would become evident. Starting from the left, the Sleeping Psyche, as we have already noted, pulls the eye to the central scene of Cupid Fleeing. If the eye were, however, to wander up to the ceiling, the large, reclining figure on the left swiftly directs the eye back down to the scene of Cupid Fleeing so that the viewer is not allowed at first to dwell on the drama of the ceiling before he has understood the full story of the narrative. Thus, the congruous directional pull of both Psyche and the reclining figure helps to channel the transition into the ceiling to one principal point which increases the impact of both the drama and the expansiveness of The Presentation. Likewise, the forms of Cupid Rescuing Psyche and that of the figures sitting in the clouds in the ceiling are harmonious as are their directional motion--into The Cupid Fleeing scene. From this scene the eye is pulled directly into the scene above, from Cupid to Mercury and then into the figures of Psyche and Cupid

quietly standing before Jupiter.   Here, all motion is terminated and the viewer is finally allowed to ponder the scene directly above him.   The small scenes around the entrance (Fig. 98) are also directly linked to the ceiling through the direct rhythmic movement from the putti in the lower scenes to those of the two angels hovering over Cupid and Psyche above.

This interweaving of parts according to primary and secondary roles with their ultimate unity is, however, only fully realized from one position--that just inside the entrance arch from where all the scenes can be viewed in a swift glance and from where the perspective of the ceiling (if reversed) is most effective.   Combining his desire for audience participation and comprehension with a sense of fluid rhythm and tight organization, Cigoli created the bud of what was soon to blossom into the Baroque.

Cigoli's anticipation of fuller Baroque accomplishments can be seen in a comparison between the scene of The Presentation of Psyche and Giovanni Lanfranco's ceiling fresco of The Gods on Olympia painted a decade later, 1624-25.[28]   Lanfranco's figures are organized in

similar positions and are placed on clouds that curve down towards the center frame. This structure greatly enhances the illusion of depth--a fundamental aspect of Lanfranco's ceiling. The main figures of Jupiter in the Cigoli and Poseidon in the Lanfranco are similar. Each is similarly foreshortened and each demonstrates a common interest in Correggio. This is true of their individual form as well as their rhythmic relationship with other figures. So that, despite the difference in size and environment, it is clear that Cigoli was concerned with the same aims of spatial illusion and complete unity of parts as was Lanfranco--aims which were essential for the maturation of Roman Baroque ceiling painting.

Contemporary with Cigoli's project in the garden loggia of the Borghese Villa was the dome of the Pauline (or Borghese) Chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore, commissioned by the Borghese Pope Paul V (Fig. 99)-- Cigoli's largest undertaking. From letters written by Cigoli to Galileo we find evidence for the dating of this commission with frequent complaints that the slow progress is directly owing to the interference of other commissions,

such as that for the garden loggia.[29]   From these letters
we know that Cigoli began the project in 1610 (as mentioned
in the letter of October 24, 1610).   In a letter of Octo-
ber 19, 1612, Cigoli writes that he is at the end of his
work in the cupola and that it would have been finished
months sooner except for the slow drying of the frescoes.[30]
This is the last mention of this commission and presumably
it was completed shortly thereafter.

      The subject and iconography of the cupola is
explained in a document which is reproduced in an article
devoted to the paintings to be carried out in the Borghese
Chapel published in 1929 by Frederick Noack.

> "Soggetti delle pitture della Cappella Borghese
> in S. Maria Maggiore. Al Sig. Civoli: Nella
> cupola di dipingerà la Visione del Apocalipsi
> cap. 12. cioè una donna vestita di sole,
> sotto i piedi la luna, intorno al capo una
> corona de dodici stelle, incontro S. Michele
> arcangelo in forma combattente, incontro le
> tre Hierarchie distinte ciascuna in tre ordini,
> sotto abasso esca un serpente con la testa
> schiacciata, come al capitolo III del Genesi,
> intorno i dodici apostoli . . ,"[31]

Each of these prerequisites is met by Cigoli.   The entire
scheme is divided into three distinct levels organized in

circular layers. In the center of the lower level is the
Virgin standing on the moon with twelve stars above Her
head and a serpent below Her feet (Fig. 100). The twelve
Apostles are spread out around the lower level with
St. Michael faintly visible directly opposite the Virgin
(Fig. 101). An allegory of the Virgin in Glory, She does
not ascend but stands firmly in Heaven. Thus, there is
little attempt to extend the space of the dome illusionistically
since the dome is a representation of Heaven itself. But
Cigoli does attempt to mitigate the potential rigidity of the
three concentric circles specified by the commission and
the actual structure of the dome with a lantern at the top.

     The two layers of figures are arranged so that
their relationships to each other interconnect to inhibit an
unnecessary separation of parts. Their positions and
movements are constructed to draw attention continually to
the Virgin, who defines the center of the composition, and
to lead the eye smoothly from one layer to another. For
example, the large, broadly-gesturing figures in the lower
section carry one's eye easily into the upper section as
well as around the circle to the Virgin. The clouds upon

which the figures in the second ring sit and the motion of
the figures, again helps to correlate the separate, concen-
tric sections and to sweep the eye toward the Virgin. Even
the distinct division of figures and clouds at the back of
the dome, opposite the Virgin, allows the eye to move up-
ward, but only to rest on the Virgin. The measured,
circular movement of the lowest layer of figures is varied
in the figures directly above them by constructing individual
groups, thus adjusting the eye from a cyclic motion to the
still, isolated Virgin--the primary figure in the composition.
As the composition ascends, the number of figures diminishes
and they, as well as the clouds, are painted in increasingly
fainter hues. Hence a certain spatial recession is attained
as the eye moves up into the golden dome of Heaven. The
highly foreshortened, lower layers of figures are pressed
into the viewer's space by the heavy, dense clouds which
then immediately explode into a light, airy sky dotted with
tiny putti.

The important and progressive compositional
factor of Cigoli's dome is realized most fully in the area
around the Virgin. The broad groups of three angels on

either side of Her rise gently upwards while at the same
time pointing and gesturing towards Her. They aid in
expanding the space around Her so that She, the largest of
all the figures, is not limited to one concentric layer as
are the other figures. Most importantly, they define the
frame of the section of the composition that the viewer
first sees upon entering the chapel. They keep the eye
directed on the Virgin while angels from below swoop up
towards Her and putti frolic around Her. The Virgin is
further isolated from the other figures by Her dark mandorla,
Her large size, and Her simple undulating form robed in
enormously thick and decorative drapery.

The rest of the composition is not subsidiary,
however, since the full power of the Virgin's glory is felt
through the continual bursts of rich forms and bright colors
that easily draw one into the promised sumptuousness of
heavenly paradise. This richness and complexity of the
overall structure is created by the size of the figures,
their motion and large, simple gestures, and by the har-
monious blending of reds, greens, yellows and blues which
are picked up from the frescoes in the lower part of the

chapel (by Reni, d'Arpino, and Baglione).

Again, Cigoli uses a principle that becomes a central aspect of Baroque works, such as those of Bernini. Standing in front of Bernini's Ecstasy of St. Teresa in the Cornaro Chapel of Santa Maria della Vittoria (1645-52), the viewer is as much a participant and part of the scene as are the sculptural onlookers in the side boxes. Also, the drama of the event is most effective from only one point of view--directly in front. Similarly, Cigoli has calculated his dome to be most effective from one viewpoint, that upon immediately entering the chapel. This demand for the participation of the viewer is grasped as one unites at a glance one's immediate physical environment with the artificial heaven of Cigoli's dome. The viewer becomes the medium between the reality of the church dogma (illustrated in Early Christian mosaics in the nave) and the mystical world of Heaven just as the viewer before Bernini's famous sculpture is the medium between the mystical scene of Teresa's vision and the real world around him.

Not only was Cigoli an ardent participant in the

changing concepts of painting, but he was also cognizant
of the changing perception of his universe as discovered
through the telescope of Galileo. This is also evident in
the frescoed dome of the Pauline Chapel in the representa-
tion of the moon (Fig. 102). As has been pointed out by
Erwin Panofsky, this is not the usual symbolic, abstracted
moon but the real moon as Galileo saw it.[32] It is painted
in three-dimensional illusionism with craters and mountain
ridges. Cigoli, who was performing sunspot experiments
for Galileo, and closely following his scientific studies,
paid tribute to the greatness of his friend by reproducing
the moon in this manner. It is, in fact, thus interpreted
in a letter to Galileo dated December 23, 1612 which reads
as follows: "Il Cigoli s' è portato divenamente nella cupola
della Cappella . . . a S. Maria Maggiore, e come buon
amico e leale, ha, sotto l'imagine della Beata Virgine,
pinto la luna nel modo che da V. S. è stata scoperta, con
la divisione merlata e le sue isolette (jagged, dividing lines
and little islands).[33] Cigoli was not only aware of new
scientific knowledge but also felt compelled to incorporate
it into his world of painting and religion. This is consistent

with his constant curiosity about human reality as seen in his renderings of religious drama through human sentiment.

There are absolutely no precedents for the conceit of Cigoli's dome even though the structure is obviously influenced by the frescoes of Federico Zuccaro in the Florence Cathedral. Cigoli's figure types, concentric layers, integration of figures and the strong focus on the principal figure (Christ in the Zuccaro) are all taken from Zuccaro, but unlike Zuccaro's composition, Cigoli's is conceived to be most effective from a prescribed point of view. Cigoli's simple dramas of his Florentine period, based on the Reform Style, is transformed by the more complex styles of Rome and becomes a significant contribution to 17th century Roman painting. His once highly intimate compositions evolve into ones in which the viewer is overpowered by the scale and generalized religious intensity of the scene before him.

Cigoli's final work before his death in 1613 is <u>Hagar in The Desert</u> (Fig. 103) painted in the Villa Muti in Frascati, outside of Rome.[34] Cigoli had finished the two previously discussed commissions by the late fall of 1612

which gave him several months to begin another commission before he died in June of 1613. His role in the decoration of the Villa Muti was probably meant to be larger than just the one fresco. Giuliano Briganti, in his book on Pietro da Cortona, states that the position of Cigoli's work in the left hall, where Briganti assumes the commission was begun, implies that The Hagar in the Desert was only the first of a series of frescoes to be done by Cigoli.[35] Further, he believes that Cigoli died before fulfilling his part in the commission having painted The Hagar in the Desert just prior to his death.[36]

In Cigoli's fresco, the two figures of Hagar and the angel are conceived in sweeping gestures and fluid curving lines. Their proportions are slim and elongated and their faces are abstractly oval with little concentration on anatomical precision. A simple rhythm runs in a gentle, circular motion from Hagar's foot, through her body into the arm of the angel and subsequently to his body. Even the background elements are correlated to this rhythmic movement--beginning with the clouds behind Hagar, around the wings of the angel and into the distant tree. With this

circular motion, all elements are forced to submit to the
conical suction that culminates in the tree which then
completes the circle as the eye is forced back to Hagar's
feet to continue around again.

The face of Hagar, the tilt of her head, the
positions of her arms plus the curve of the angel's body,
the distortion of his left arm and the positions of his wings
all swirl together in a beautiful and simple statement to
create a complete unification of elements within a single
composition. It is precisely this kind of abstraction and
ultimate harmony that Cigoli formed in his two previous
commissions even though they were of a much grander
scale incorporating more complex scenes and many more
figures. The harmony of parts and the concept of total
unity are identical in the garden loggia and in the Pauline
Chapel with the same immediate grasp of both form and
content. Within the confines of the smallest composition,
The Hagar in the Desert, Cigoli was able to structure
everything--figures, drapery and background--around one
idea and a single, total form. In his last work, Cigoli

managed to culminate all of the ideas with which he had

always been experimenting.

CHAPTER VI

FOOTNOTES

[1] Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 265 and Cardi, Vita, p. 34.

[2] Mostra del Cigoli, p. 146, and Cardi, Vita, p. 34, note 1.

[3] Baldinucci, Notizie, p. 263 and Cardi, Vita, p. 35.

[4] Anna Matteoli, "Macchie di sole e pittura," Bollettino della Accademia degli Euteleti, XXXII (San Miniato, 1959), 15, reproduces the letter.

[5] Ibid., p. 17.

[6] F. Pietro Matire and Felini da Cremona, Trattato Nuovo delle Cose Meravigliose dell' alma Città di Roma (Rome, 1610), p. 17.

[7] Filippo Titi, Descrizione delle Pitture, Sculture ed Architetture, II (Rome, ed. 1763), pp. 66-7.

[8] Niccola Maria Nicolai Romano, Della Basilica di San Paolo (Rome, 1815), p. 308.

[9] Giuseppe Marocchi Imolese, Dettaglio del Terribile Incendio Accaduto il 15 Luglio 1823 della Famosa Basilica di San Paolo di Roma (Rome, 1823), pp. 12-15.

[10] Uffizi n. 1698E, Study for The Burial of St. Paul, brown ink, green and brown wash, white chalk, 702x385mm, tear across middle and slight tear up center right.

[11] See F. L. Cross, The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London, 1957), p. 1158; Paul I Cor: 15, 35-54 for the most complete discussion of Pauline Doctrine see John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans. John Allen, 7th ed. (Philadelphia, 1936) II, book III, Chapter XXV.

[12] Uffizi no. 972f, brown ink, brown and blue wash and white chalk, 477x276mm. The verso as well contains three studies which show an evolvement from the early Florentine stages of the recto through the middle and final stages of the succeeding drawings, Uffizi, 1015f, 1014f (see note 13 below) and 1698E (see note 10 above).

[13] Uffizi 1015f, published in the *Mostra del Cigoli,* pp. 146-7, plate 65. Also published there is no. 1014f, p. 147, plate 65, which is another study for the left half of no. 1015f. Finally there is in the Uffizi a study for the figure behind St. Paul holding his head, no. 8899f, brown ink, black and red chalk, 409x261mm.

[14] The subject matter and scenes are fully described by Cardi, *Vita,* pp. 42-44.

[15] For documents of this commission see, Howard Hibbard, "Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinale," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* XXIII, no. 4, (1964), 167, 168, notes 12, 13. On the 13th of September, 1611 Cigoli was paid for having painted the four lunettes of the vault of the loggia. April 19, 1613 the final payment was made.

[16] See Hibbard, *Ibid.,* for a complete history of the construction and alteration of the Villa.

[17] For the history of the discovery and the reattribution to Cigoli, see Guido Batelli, "La favola di Psyche dipinta da Lodovico Cigoli," *L'Arte,* XVI (1913), 307-310. See also the *Mostra del Cigoli,* pp. 106-108.

[18] Anna Matteoli, "Macchie di Sole," p. 34, note 4.

[19] At the right one sees two successive episodes where Psyche, after failing to catch Cupid who flees from her, upon being awakened by a drop of oil from the lamp which Psyche held to see his face, weeping throws herself into the river. The river then washes her up on its bank where she encounters Pan who comforts and

councils her to love Cupid.   [(Scene 2, Book V, <u>The</u>
<u>Golden Ass being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius</u>,
translated by W. Adlington (1566)]   Harvard Press,
Cambridge Mass., 1958.

[20] G. Battelli, <u>Piccola Collezione</u>, p. 14, plate 45 repro-
duces an engraving by Pierre Scalberge (French painter
and engraver, 1592, 1640) of the ceiling representing
<u>Cupid Presenting Psyche to Jupiter</u>.   The engraving is
dated 1627 and "Chivoly" is written at the lower left.

[21] Evelina Borea, <u>Domenichino</u>, G. Barberà ed., (1965),
p. 159, plate 2b.

[22] There are two drawings for the figure of Psyche
Sleeping, Louvre no. 893, published by Dilvo Lotti,
"Ritorno del Cortonese," <u>Bollettino della Accademia</u>
<u>degli Euteleti</u>, XXVI, no. 35 (1963) 46-7, plate
XXVII; R. Bacou and J. Bean, <u>Dessins Florentins</u>
<u>de la Collection Filippo Baldinucci</u>, Exh; Cat; Paris,
Louvre, 1958, no. 30, idem; Rome, 1959 no. 36,
plate 37; and most recently by Roseline Bacou,
<u>Drawings in the Louvre</u>, <u>The Italian Drawings</u>,
(London 1968), cat. no. 71.   The Uffizi drawing,
no. 8859, charcoal, red and white chalk, brown
prepared paper, 421x284mm, is a rubbing of the
version in the Louvre.   It is mentioned in the
<u>Mostra del Cigoli</u>, p. 108, but otherwise unpub-
lished.

[23] Baldinucci, <u>Notizie</u>, pp. 414-420, specifically men-
tions that Coccapani helped Cigoli in the cupola of
S. M. Maggiore in 1610.

24 Anna Matteoli, "Macchie di Sole," letters dated
August 11, 1611, pp. 32-33 and November 11, 1611,
pp. 44-45.

25 According to Cigoli's testimony, the frescoes were
nearly completed by February 1, 1613. Ibid., p. 81.
For a listing of letters referring to his frustrations
regarding the two commissions see below, note 29.

26 It would seem from all the evidence that Cigoli finished
the loggia before his death on June 1, 1613 as he was
close to finishing it in February of that year (see note
24) and received a final payment in April, two months
before his death. The conclusion, therefore is that
Coccapani aided Cigoli by executing the scene of Cupid
Fleeing rather than finishing the commission after the
master's death. It is also known that Coccapanni was
back in Florence in 1613, presumably returning after
Cigoli's death. See Mina Gregori, "Avant-Propos,"
p. 37.

27 Ibid., p. 36. For a more complete discussion of
Coccapani, his works in Florence and his relationship
to the development of Florentine painting see, Fiorella
Sricchia, "Lorenzo Lippi nello svolgimento della pittura
fiorentina della prima metà del '600," Proporzione, IV,
(1963), 249-50.

28 Rudolf Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750,
The Pelican History of Art (London, 1958), p. 53,
plate 24a. For a discussion of Domenichino and Lanfranco
and Baroque painting see, Donald Posner, "The Early
Development of Baroque Painting in Rome," Essays in
Honor of Walter Friedlaender (New York, 1965),
135-146.

29 The following letters from Cigoli to Galileo, published
by Anna Matteoli, "Macchie di Sole," mentions his work
in Santa Maria Maggiore and the Garden Loggia of the
Borghese Villa:
        October 24, 1610 contains the first reference to
        S. M. Maggiore, p. 23. See also p. 24, note 2.

July 1, 1611 where he speaks of climbing 150 steps
in S. M. Maggiore, pp. 29-30.

August 11, 1611 refers to work in the cupola and
other works which interrupt his progress in the
cupola including Cardinal Borghese's loggia at
Monte Cavallo. Cigoli claims here that he would
finish the cupola in 2 months if it were not for
the work in the Borghese Villa, pp. 32-33.

September 16, 1611, Cigoli says that he has been
in S. M. Maggiore for 3 days, pp. 37-38.

November 11, 1611. Again he says he would have
finished the cupola if Borghese had not made
him begin the loggia. Later he says he will
finish the cupola and then return to finish the
loggia. Finally he boasts of finishing the cupola
within 15 days. pp. 44-45.

February 3, 1612. Cigoli discusses the slowness
in drying of the frescoes in the cupola and that
otherwise he would be finished, pp. 49-50.

March 23, 1612. He briefly mentions work in
S. M. Maggiore, pp. 52-53.

April 3, 1612. Again he complains of the slowness
of drying of the frescoes in the cupola, pp. 55-56.

June 8, 1612. Cigoli mentions that he still has
work to do at Monte Cavallo. p. 58.

July 28, 1612. He is still working in S. M.
Maggiore, pp. 70-1.

October 19, 1612. Cigoli says that he is at the end
of the cupola and that if it were not for the slow-
ness in drying of the frescoes he would have
finished six months ago. pp. 76-77.

February 1, 1613, he mentions that he is near the
end of the loggia, p. 81.

See also Anna Matteoli "Cinque lettere di Lodovico Cardi
Cigoli a Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane," <u>Bollettino
della Accademia degli Euteleti..</u>, no. 37 (1965); 33-42.

[30] Matteoli, "Macchie di Sole," 23, 76, 77.

[31] Frederick Noack, "Kunstpflege und Kunstbesitz der
Familie Borghese," <u>Repitorium für Kunstwissenschaft</u>, I
(Leipzig, 1929), 196-197.

32 Erwin Panofsky, Galileo as a Critic of the Arts (The
    Hague, 1954), p. 5.

33 Ibid., p. 6, note 1. Panofsky cites the following source
    for letters concerning Galileo. N. Gherardini and
    V. Viviani, Le Opere di Galileo Galileo, Edizione
    Nazionale, A. Favaro, ed. (Florence 1892-1909).

34 This work, not mentioned by Baldinucci or Cardi, was
    first discussed as a possible Cigoli by Mina Gregori in
    her discussion of Passignano in Mostra del Cigoli,
    p. 207. It was subsequently published by Dini ("Appunti-
    Aggiunte," p. 59, plate 60b.) who dates it around
    1610-11.

35 Giuliano Briganti, Pietro da Cortona (Florence, 1962),
    pp. 153-5. In explaining Cortona's authorship of the
    fresco of Daniel in the Lions Den at the Villa Muti,
    Briganti discusses the probability of Cigoli's leadership
    in what was initially a Tuscan commission involving
    Cigoli, Comodi, Cortona, Passignano and Ciampelli,
    as well as Passignano's assumption of leadership after
    Cigoli's death in 1613.

36 Erich Schleier ["Affreschi sconosciuti del Lanfranco a
    Frascati," Paragone, XV, serie: 171 (1964), 59-60] also
    concurs with Brigante's date, stating that the decorations
    for the Villa were begun in or slightly before 1613 and
    ending in 1616 when Passignano left Rome.

CONCLUSION

Cigoli cannot be understood outside of the context which shaped his art--the tradition of Florentine painting, the reform movement and the art and culture of Rome in the early 17th century. Initially Cigoli limited himself, indeed was limited by the immediate aims of a new group of painters towards the end of the 16th century, to studying and practicing in a manner associated with the traditions of Florentine and Tuscan art. I might add that of course this choice does not preclude an interest in art outside of Florence, for example, in Titian (as seen in the preliminary study for The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr) or in Barocci. Although Cigoli's interest in the latter does not manifest itself in his art to any significant degree, it is clearly documented in the literature dealing with his formative years. While he may have admired the art of these men and been impressed with their growing repute throughout Italy, Cigoli was as yet engaged in the circumscribed but rich heritage of Renaissance Florence and therefore had to see the expansion of that Renaissance

tradition not through the eyes of a Venetian or a more widely popular (appealing to broader Italian counter reformatory demands) artist such as Barocci, but through the still viable offerings of Florence. Understandably then, one can more readily find the influence of a host of Florentine artists from the 15th and early 16th centuries and, of course, from his contemporaries.

As we have ·seen, very quickly in his early development Cigoli transformed the essential clarity of statement which emerged from the reform movement into highly dramatic interpretations. He, perhaps more than any other Florentine of that period, recaptured the important centrality of the artist's personality in viewing a drama. By thus asserting his position of control as an individual capable of personal interpretation, Cigoli realigned himself with the important Florentine Renaissance tradition of strong individualism, exemplified by artists he admired, such as Pontormo and Michelangelo. It is the strong quality of intimacy, a sense of introspection, self-awareness, that is so clearly evident in their work (Pontormo's _Deposition_ and Michelangelo's _David_, for example), vis-à-vis their

subject, of which Cigoli was increasingly cognizant. This
can be viewed both comparatively in relationship to the
more symbolic works of his contemporaries and in the
execution and conception of his works themselves. Like
his predecessors who emerged from a highly inbred sty-
listic ambience that was centuries old, Cigoli learns to
personalize his subjects.

The extent to which Cigoli does engage in gen-
eralized religious sentimentality and a staged theatricality--
resulting from his position of relative differentiation from
his contemporaries and the goals of the reform style as
exemplified by Santi di Tito (which includes some conceptual
lag regarding the highly symbolic nature of the "maniera")--
paves the way for a strong depersonalization of subject
matter during his Roman experience. The major catalyst
for such a development, however, was the grandeur of
Rome itself, its stylistic variety and vibrant sense of
religious propaganda—all of which Cigoli felt compelled to
embrace.

When he moved from an intimate, self-contained
environment still representative of the Renaissance traditions

of Florence to the more cosmopolitan melting pot of Rome,
he began to manifest a loss of self identity in his art and
engage in the more important role of creating a generalized
collective experience--one that might offer a common de-
nominator to Rome's population (the city and the Catholic
world) in order to unify and control it.   That common
denominator was a collective religious experience necessi-
tating a loss of individuality--a concept fundamentally at
odds with the persistent individual investigation of external
and internal (psychological) realities typified by the Renais-
sance.   Whereas in the Renaissance the individual was
represented and elevated in works of art, in the Baroque
and in Cigoli's mature Roman works the individual is
manipulated by the art, mesmerized, dazzled and fooled.

Cigoli, then, spans two periods, the end of the
Renaissance tradition and the beginnings of a new era
created in response to Rome as the realized center of the
Catholic world (still in the throws of the Counter Reformation)
and to Rome's task of proclaiming her greatness and im-
portance through art.

It would be a mistake, however, to view Cigoli

as a conformist--even to view him as one competently
making his way among the various styles taking shape
during the first decade of the century. Clearly, his
struggle to unite various tendencies into a new uniform
style, which included essential elements from his Florentine
period, indicate an assertion of artistic integrity commen-
surate with strong individuality. And, of course, his
gradual development in, the direction of later Baroque art
in terms of his concept of drama, including motion and
space, qualify him as one of the more progressive and
important of the older artists working in Rome at that
time.[1]

Furthermore, his awareness of and participation
in the important intellectual and scientific developments of
his time help to focus on his awareness of and willingness
to deal with the fundamental issues of his time. Cigoli's
friendship with Galileo and support of his scientific inves-
tigations reveal the fact that Cigoli placed himself in the
center of a conflict between the free exercising of intellect
and the will of the church to bend such individuality to con-
formity. The conflict of that age can be seen in Cigoli's

last major work in the cupola of the Pauline Chapel in
S. M. Maggiore where the Virgin stands on Galileo's
moon. By placing Her on something known and concrete,
and therefore in an environment for the first time viewed
according to the intellectual and scientific potentiality of
man, Cigoli set the stage for the combination and accept-
ance of Christianity and science, religion and intellect,
macrocosm and microcosm--a progressive view that was
officially rejected and subsequently forgotten with the con-
demnation and censorship of Galileo and his teachings.
The Renaissance was lost just as Cigoli saw it almost
fulfilled.

From a tiny village to the glory of the known
world encompassed in the centuries of Renaissance know-
ledge in Florence, Cigoli made his way to the center of
an expanded world and universe in Rome. He never lost
sight of his commitment to life as a full human capable of
knowing, interpreting and contributing to his world, through
his art.

CONCLUSION

FOOTNOTES

[1] The full impact of Cigoli's art on later Baroque painters
has yet to be determined. The similarities to general
Baroque principles, as defined clearly by Bernini, and
to some artists like Lanfranco certainly suggest that
Cigoli's influence was more extensive than is presently
understood. Some literature has been devoted to this
issue but nothing resembling a complete picture has
emerged. See W. Friedlaender, "Early to full Baroque;
Cigoli and Rubens," for interesting comparisons to Rubens.
See also three articles by D. Lotti, "Un retardatario in
anticipo," for very general but equally interesting com-
parisons to Caravaggio and Rubens, "Il Santo del Cigoli,"
Bollettino della Accademia degli Euteleti..., 34, (San
Minatio, 1962), 107-115, for a comparison with Bernini,
and finally "Ritorno del Cortonese," (same journal,
no. 35, 1963 pp. 43-60) for further comparisons with
Bernini and one with Domenichino.

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5. Maso, <u>Fall of Icarus</u>

6. Cavalori, <u>Lavinia at the Altar</u>

7. Macchietti, <u>Medea Rejuvinating Jason</u>

8. Tito, <u>Sisters of Phaeton</u>

9. Naldini, <u>Deposition</u>

10. Vasari, <u>Way to</u>
<u>Calvary</u>

11. Naldini, <u>Way to</u>
<u>Calvary</u>

12. Stradano, <u>Expulsion</u>
<u>of the Money</u>
<u>Changers</u>

13. Macchietti, Adoration
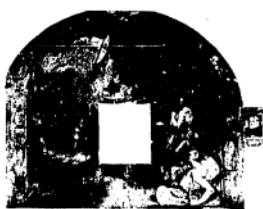   of the Magi

14. Tito, Supper at
    Emmaus

15. F. Zuccaro, Christ
    in Heaven (detail),
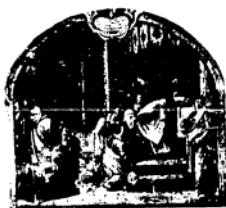   Dome of Florence
    Cathedral

16. Cigoli, Noli Me
    Tangere

17. Cigoli, Descent into Limbo

18. Tito, Death of St. Dominick

19. Cigoli, Investiture of St. Vincent of Ferrar

20. Poccetti, St. Dominick Saving the Book

21. Cigoli, <u>Meeting of Sts. Francis and Dominick</u>

22. Tito, <u>Meeting of Sts. Francis and Dominick</u>

23. Passignano, <u>Burial of St. Anthony</u> (detail)

24. Cigoli, <u>Immaculate Conception</u>

25. Tito, <u>Immaculate Conception</u>

26. Cigoli, <u>Martyrdom of St. Lawrence</u>

27. Cigoli, <u>Last Supper</u>

28. Cigoli, <u>Resurrection</u>

29. Tito, Resurrection

30. Cigoli, Resurrection

31. Maso, Resurrection

32. Cigoli, Trinity

33. Correggio, _Pietà_ (detail)

34. Cigoli, _Head of Christ_

35. Cigoli, _Head of Christ_

36. Correggio, _Vision of St. John of Patmos_

37. Cigoli, <u>Madonna, Child, Sts. Peter and Michael</u>

38. Empoli, <u>Doubting Thomas</u>

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40. Cigoli, <u>Madonna of the Rosary</u>

41. Empoli, Immaculate
    Conception

42. Cigoli, Assumption
    of the Virgin

43. Passignano, Adoration
    of the Shepherds

44. Cigoli, Assumption

45. Cigoli, <u>Madonna of the Rosary</u>

46. Cigoli, <u>Crucifixion</u>

47. Cigoli, <u>St. Heraclius Carrying the Cross</u>

48. Cigoli, <u>Raising of Lazarus</u>

49. Ligozzi, Circumcision

50. Cigoli, Madonna
    Teaching the Child
    to Read

51. Ligozzi, St. Michael
    and Angels

52. Ligozzi, Dante in the
    Forest

53. Cigoli, <u>Dante in the Forest</u>

54. Cigoli, <u>Miracle of St. John Gualberto</u>

55. Cigoli, <u>Sacrifice of Isaac.</u>

56. Empoli, <u>Sacrifice of Isaac</u>

57. Cigoli, <u>Abraham</u>

58. Cigoli, <u>Sacrifice of Isaac</u>

59. Cigoli, <u>Isaac</u>

60. Sarto, <u>Sacrifice of Isaac</u>

61. Cigoli, Martyrdom of
    St. Peter Martyr

62. Cigoli, Christ in the
    House of the
    Pharisees

63. Cigoli, Martyrdom of
    St. Peter Martyr,
    study

64. Cigoli, Martyrdom of
    St. Stephen

65. Tito, <u>Martyrdom of St. Stephen</u>

66. Cigoli, <u>Annunciation</u>

67. Cigoli, <u>Annunciation</u>

68. Empoli, <u>Annunciation</u>

69. Cigoli, Adoration of the Shepherds

70. Cigoli, San Mercuriale Exorcising a Dragon

71. Cigoli, Calling of Peter

72. Cigoli, Pietà

73. Cigoli, St. Jerome in His Study

74. Cigoli, Martyrdom of St. James

75. Cigoli, Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine

76. Cigoli, Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine

77. Cigoli, Deposition

78. Cigoli, Adoration of
the Magi

79. Cigoli, Holy Family

80. Cigoli, Adoration of
the Magi

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85. Cigoli, Calling of Peter

86. Cigoli, Nativity of the Virgin

87. Passignano, Nativity of the Virgin

88. Cigoli, Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

89. Cigoli, Burial of
    St. Paul

90. Cigoli, Burial of
    St. Paul, study

91. Cigoli, Burial of
    St. Paul, study

92. Cupid Fleeing
93. Psyche Sleeping
94. Cupid Rescuing Psyche
95. Presentation of Cupid & Psyche to Jupiter

96. Cigoli, Cupid Fleeing, detail

97. Coccopani, Michelangelo Crowned by the Arts

98. Cigoli, Entrance wall of Loggia

99. Cigoli, Cupola of the Pauline Chapel, S. M. Maggiore, Rome

100. Cigoli, Pauline Chapel,
     detail

101. Cigoli, Pauline Chapel,
     detail

102. Cigoli, Pauline Chapel,
     detail

103. Cigoli, Hagar in the
     Desert

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