

Vincenzo Cicogna, a Veronese angelologist from the Cinquecento

EDINA ESZENYI

The J. Paul Getty Research Institute's Library in Los Angeles hides a curious manuscript entitled *Angelorum et daemonum nomina et attributa passim in divinis scripturis contenta ad patrum sententiam explicata ad illustrissimum et reverendissimum Iulium Antonium Sanctorium cardinalem Sanctae Severinae amplissimum et de ecclesiastica hierarchia* (ms 86-A866). The manuscript is an encyclopaedic work on angelology, accompanied by a treatise on the parallel of the angelic and ecclesiastical hierarchies, dedicated to cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori (1532-1602). The author signed it as *Vincentius Cicogna*, translated by Onica Busuioceanu, late librarian of the Getty Research Institute, as 'Vincenzo Cicogna'. The author, who introduces himself as «old and decrepit» in the dedication, is identified as a Venetian ecclesiastical scholar by the GRI catalogue, also author of a commentary on the Psalms. On the basis of this information, the mysterious angelologist is identifiable as Vincenzo Cicogna, the first ecclesiastical member of an Early Modern Veronese painter family.

The Cicognas

Demetrius (c. 1408-?) and Pier-Leonardo Cicogna (c. 1465-before 1529)

The Cicogna family had been long established and enjoyed general respect in Verona by the 1500s¹. The part of the family that is documentedly related to

* Abbreviations: AC = Anagrafi Comune; ACDF = Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede; ASVr = Archivio di Stato di Verona; UR T = Ufficio del Registro, Testamenti.

I am indebted to professor Bruno Chiappa for help with the transcription of the last wills, with finding secondary literature and for his invaluable general advice on research in Verona. I am also grateful to further fellow Verona researchers and friends, not only for insightful comments

the angelologist Vincenzo is traceable back to Demetrio “dalla Cicogna” or “a la Ciconea”, born around 1408 in Southern Greece, in Arcadia on the Peloponnese peninsula. After moving to Italy, Demetrio married his local host called Zilia, who gave birth to four children². Pier Leonardo (also known as Pietro Leonardo), born around 1465, continued the occupation of his father with becoming a painter, and also created a topographic map attested by a 1519 document³. The only panel painting attributed to Pier-Leonardo, on the basis of a fractional signature (*Petrus Leonardus p.*), is a tempera panel depicting the Madonna and the Child with St Philip and St James⁴. Pier-Leonardo also frescoed the archivolt of the chapel of the public notaries of Verona, albeit his work is now destroyed; and he also received a commission from the monastery of San Michele in Campagna to prepare drawings for the monastery’s interior fresco decoration⁵.

but also for inspiring my work through their own examples: Gianna de Ferrari, Matteo Vinco, Marina Repetto, and the now late Dino Contaldo.

¹ Given that painting was the family’s traditional profession running through generations, the painter Maestro Cicogna, working in and around Verona approximately between 1300 and 1337, could well have been the first famed professional member of the family. His signed works include a fresco cycle with an allegorical scene and various saints in the St Martin church of Corrubio; frescoes depicting the Madonna with saints in the St Michael church of Arcé; and a military scene in the Scaligero castle in Soave, where stylistic features attribute to him the Crucifixion with St John and Angels. An incomplete signature is attributed to the Maestro in the St Felix church of Cazzano, decorated with the Last Supper, saints, and another allegorical scene; as well as on a fresco fragment of the Madonna and Child on the Throne in the Museum of Castelvechio in Verona (inv. n. 1090). While the act of signing works signals an exalted artistic personality at this period, the Maestro’s remaining works reveal little about the artist himself. SIMEONI, *Maestro Cicogna*, pp. 11-17; BREZZONI, *Dizionario*, pp. 86-87; BRUGNOLI-SALA, *Vicende storiche*, pp. 7-24; SALA, *Il corredo pittorico*, pp. 81-92.

² Brenzoni dates Demetrio’s birth to 1408 without naming the source (BREZZONI, *Dizionario*, p. 106). Here as well as in an earlier publication, however, he dates the birth of three out of Demetrio’s four children rather late compared to that: Girolamo (born around 1435), Pier-Leonardo (born around 1465), Paola (born around 1470), and Gianmatteo (born around 1475). BREZZONI, *Un fresco del ‘500*, p. 61. See also *Dizionario anagrafico degli artisti*, s.v. *Cicogna, famiglia*, pp. 297-298.

³ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 115-116.

⁴ The half-figures of the four evangelists appear in the background, with two kneeling figures praying in the foreground in the typical place and position of donors. The painting is documented in the St Paul Church on the Campo Marzo of Verona in 1720, 1733, and in 1750; later it was transported by the Sarego family to Cucca southeast of Verona; and it was in the nearby parish of Coriano in 1958. BREZZONI, *Un fresco del ‘500*, pp. 60-61.

⁵ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 115-116.

Pier Leonardo Cicogna's high professional status is also suggested by a 1526 invitation to judge the artistic value of the painter Nicolò Crollanza (c. 1505-1560) as member of a panel evaluating works of art, together with two other flourishing Veronese artists. One of them was the painter and cartographer Nicola Giolfino (c. 1476-1555), the other one an apprentice of Giorgione, Francesco Torbido (c. 1486-after 1546, also known as 'Il Moro', 'The Moor')⁶. The latter also received commissions from the reformer bishop and diplomat Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543), whose intellectual circle eventually raised Pier Leonardo's grandson, the angelologist Vincenzo Cicogna⁷. The panel of judges was working on commission of the Venetian Rectorate⁸, and the judges must have been of a high opinion of Crollanza's artistic achievements as later Crollanza was commissioned to execute the pictorial decoration of the nearby villa Del Bene in Volargne, a small village in the municipality of Dolcè just a few miles northwest of Verona. The villa is one of the most grandiose monuments of the Veronese Renaissance and Vincenzo Cicogna the likely conceiver of its iconography as it will be argued later⁹.

Pier Leonardo Cicogna died before 1529. His wife Libera gave birth to ten or eleven children¹⁰, and the large family lived in the district of the church of San Salvaro (*contrada di San Salvaro*) in Verona until 1515. This year they had to move to the San Silvestro district (*contrada di San Silvestro*) supposedly as a consequence of Pier Leonardo's brother, Gianmatteo's participation in the 1510s conflicts in the Veneto, part of the ongoing Italian wars¹¹. Both Pier Leonardo and Gianmatteo were sentenced to be hanged, and the latter's family was punished by the confiscation of valuables. The imperial soldiers could well have hunted down the painter as with the pronouncement of the death sentence, sources about Pier Leonardo Cicogna suddenly fall silent¹².

6 BREZZONI, *Dizionario*, pp. 159-160; VARANINI, *Il pittore Nicola Crollanza*, pp. 149-165; MARTINE, *Niccolò Giolfino*, pp. 395-397; BREZZONI, *Dizionario*, pp. 279-281.

7 BORTOLOTTI, *La pittura religiosa*, p. 135.

8 DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 115-116.

9 VARANINI, *Il pittore Nicola Crollanza*, pp. 155-156.

10 Girolamo, Bernardino, Sebastiano, Francesco, Battista, Angela, Giacomina, Cassandra, Zilia, Toscana and Cecilia. Their exact number is unclear due to the ambiguity of the anagraphs regarding Cecilia. DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 114.

11 MALLETT-SHAW, *Italian wars*, pp. 123-34.

12 DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 115-116.

Sebastiano Cicogna (c. 1497-before 1553)

The family's now traditional occupation further continued among Pier Leonardo's children, Sebastiano, Girolamo, Francesco and Giambattista. There is no agreement in scholarship regarding the identification of Francesco, either a painter without any known works¹³ or a priest¹⁴. On the contrary, sources are informative about Sebastiano (c. 1497-before 8 June 1553), due to his disputes with local authorities. He was condemned by the *podestà* Giovanni Vitturi in 1526, for example, but saved on 12 May of the same year. The brothers were enfeoffed by the St Zeno Abbey in Verona¹⁵ until 1540, when they obtained from the abbey the feudal investiture of a house with farmyard garden, and a grassy meadow pertaining to the nearby Azzano at Ca' di Tinaldi. Here Sebastiano had problems with the authorities again in 1549 by way of a fraudulent conduct a maiden called Margherita suffered in their house by a certain Meneghina di San Silvestro. The *podestà*, where Sebastiano appealed, supported the maiden in the issue¹⁶.

In August 1534, Sebastiano contracted as servant a weaver called Michele di Bernardo for six years, agreeing to cover his costs, to provide him with clothes and shoes and to teach him the art of painting as payment; and a 10 July 1536 document testifies that the painter Francesco Torbido intervened in the negotiation and conclusion of the contract¹⁷. These small but informative data argue for Sebastiano's identification as another painter in the Cicogna dynasty, but sources are much less informative about his artistic activity than about his legal disputes.

Sebastiano Cicogna and his wife Lucrezia had six children¹⁸. Their first son was the second Gianmatteo in the family after Sebastiano's uncle. In 1958, Raffaello Brenzoni identified the first Gianmatteo as the author of a treatise on the art of war that appeared in print in Venice in 1567¹⁹; whereas Gaetano Da Re had identified the author as the other Gianmatteo, Sebastiano's son, in 1913²⁰. Albeit Brenzoni's work was composed later, birth dates suggest that Da

¹³ BRENZONI, *Un fresco del '500*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Possibly the archpriest of Campagnola. BRENZONI, *Dizionario*, p. 106.

¹⁵ BRENZONI, *Un fresco del '500*, p. 61; BRENZONI, *Dizionario*, pp. 106-108.

¹⁶ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁷ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 117.

¹⁸ The names of the children are Gianmatteo, Pierleonardo, Agostino, Arzilia, Laudomia and Paolo: *ivi*, pp. 114, 116-117.

¹⁹ BRENZONI, *Dizionario*, pp. 106-107.

²⁰ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 116.

Re must have been right. The elder Gianmatteo was born around 1475, almost a hundred years before the publication of the study, which makes the later Gianmatteo, Sebastiano Cicogna's son, the correct candidate for the authorship of a 1567 publication. In other words, at least two members of the Cicogna family published literary works in the 1500s, namely Gianmatteo and his angelologist cousin Vincenzo.

Giovanni Girolamo Cicogna (c. 1493-before 7 August 1549)

The painter best known by historians in the Cicogna family is Sebastiano's brother, Pier Leonardo's eldest son, and Vincenzo Cicogna's father: Girolamo or Giovanni Girolamo Cicogna (c. 1493-before 7 August 1549)²¹. Historical documents suggest that he raised his family with a relatively secure financial background. His wife, Bona, was the daughter of a Milanese solicitor named Gianbattista, and they had fifteen children – eleven girls and four boys²². Girolamo and his brothers owned a small piece of land where his family lived by Ca' di Tinaldi, in the municipality of Azzano near Verona. On 15 March 1542, however, sources located Girolamo's permanent home as a house with a garden and a tower in Verona's St Zeno district (*contrada di San Zeno*). Girolamo sold this house on 20 September 1543 to Angelo *Florii*, the husband of his sister Zilia, in return for the *actione directa* over a piece of land pertaining to Montorio, a town in the province of Verona. He also owned, jointly with his brother Francesco, a house on the Via del Corso opposite to the Castelvecchio.

²¹ *Ivi*, pp. 117-118 and *Dizionario anagrafico degli artisti*, pp. 297-298. For the identification as Vincenzo's father, see also the earliest, 1557 version of Vincenzo's last will, (ASVr, UR T, m. 179, n. 6), and Girolamo's last will from 1549 (ASVr, UR T, m. 141, n. 85).

²² The names of the children are Anna, Vincenzo, Paola, Isotta, Francesco, Lucia, Faustina, Marcantonio, Orazio, Lucrezia, Giulia, Libera, Clemenza, Angelica and Sara according to DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 114, 117. Nevertheless, the 1545 monastery register lists ten children (ASVr, AC, 1210, c. 9v), whereas the 1555 registry lists only eight (TACHELLA, *Il Processo agli eretici*, p. 129). Certain children could have passed away at some time during the ten years period between the two registries, and some of them were perhaps not born yet. The later, 1555 registry lists the following children and their ages: Francesco (27, but listed as 3 years old in 1545), Lucretia (20, listed as 10 years old in 1545), Giulia (18, listed as 6 years old in 1545), Libera (15, listed as 4 years old in 1545), Clementia (12, listed as 3 years old in 1545), Angelica (9), Sara (7). Vincenzo Cicogna is listed as having 36 years in 1555 and as having 26 years in 1545, his mother Bona is listed as 52 years old in 1555 and as 43 in 1545. In 1545, the father Girolamo is listed as being 52 years old.

On 25 September 1547 the two brothers obtained a further piece of land, upon which they started to build a house²³.

Girolamo must have been endowed with remarkable creative skills. Narrating the life of Giovanni Caroto in the second, 1568 edition of his *Lives of the Artists*, Vasari refers to Girolamo Cicogna as an excellent painter, embroiderer and engineer of bishop Giberti. He also mentions that Caroto once presented him a painting depicting Actaeon's transformation into a stag. The picture was painted for a certain organist named Brunetto, but Vasari notes that at the time of his composition of the *Lives*, the painting belonged to Vincenzo Cicogna, Girolamo's son²⁴, by all means the angelologist. A further testimony of Girolamo's professional acknowledgement is the invitation he received, similarly to his father Pier Leonardo, to participate in a panel evaluating a painting by Girolamo de Arlati (c. 1479-after 1529) in January 1530²⁵. Other members of the panel included Nicola Giolfino again, next to the celebrated painter and illuminator Girolamo dai Libri (c. 1475-1555), and his lesser known colleague Antonio da Vendri (c. 1477-1555)²⁶. Furthermore, a machine constructed in collaboration with the smith Bartolomeo Ruffoni documents Girolamo Cicogna's engineer skills. The machine could raise water up to 18 feet high and it was equal in strength to a man. The impressive device must have been completed before 22 June 1537, the date when the Rectors of Verona notified the Serenissima about its implementation²⁷.

Their outstanding professional skills must also have helped Pier Leonardo and Girolamo Cicogna, the angelologist Vincenzo's father and grandfather, to establish contacts with influential people. Both of them maintained well-documented relationships with the wealthy Del Bene family, who started to acquire properties around Verona after 1538. San Zeno in Oratorio, the monastery where Girolamo and his family lived²⁸ and where Vincenzo later served as rector, was the Del Bene family's parish church²⁹. Besides, Giovanni Battista Del Bene maintained close ties with Francesco Ligozzi, stepbrother of Vincenzo's mother Bona, himself also a painter. The Cicognas were also in contact

²³ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 117.

²⁴ VASARI, *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, p. 756.

²⁵ BREZZONI, *Dizionario*, pp. 106, 116-117; GUZZO, *Girolamo de Arlati*, p. 107; *Dizionario anagrafico degli artisti*, p. 388.

²⁶ GUZZO, *Antonio da Vendri*, p. 431.

²⁷ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 119.

²⁸ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 119; GUZZO, *Il palazzo Del Bene*, pp. 95-97, n. 40.

²⁹ VARANINI, *Il pittore Nicola Crollanza*, p. 155, n. 19. CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 102 calls it personally of Giovanni Battista Del Bene's parish church.

with the Veronese physician and professor of medicine Girolamo Della Torre (1445-1506); as well as with Nicolò Ormaneto, St Charles Borromeo's collaborator in Milan later³⁰. Vasari, who calls Girolamo an excellent embroiderer and engineer of Bishop Giberti, is not the only source noting their relationship either³¹. In 1543, Girolamo worked on the renovation and decoration of the bishop's church and palace, and his work must have been highly appreciated by the bishop, who left 50 golden crowns on Girolamo in his codicils³². When Girolamo's eldest son Vincenzo broke with family traditions and decided to pursue an ecclesiastical career, he was taken under the wings of the same bishop, whose circle eventually made a decisive influence on his professional and ideological development³³.

Vincenzo Cicogna (1519-after 1596)

The artistic inheritance

Vincenzo names his father as *Hieronymus* in the first, 1557 version of his last will, and a son called Vincenzo is indeed mentioned in a 1579 last will by *Hieronymus Ciconiis* of San Zeno in Oratorio at the time. By all probability, this *Hieronymus* (Girolamo or Jerome) Cicogna is the same as the one listed in the afore-mentioned 1545 and 1555 monastery registers together with his family, a son called Vincenzo listed as Hieronymus' 26- and 36-year-old son in the registers, respectively. This dates Vincenzo Cicogna's birth to 1519³⁴.

Verona, in the beginning of the 1500s, is part of Europe's richest and most luxurious city-state. Venice, though now waning in power, is still one of Europe's Renaissance cultural capitals, in relative proximity of German territories conquered by the awakening Protestantism. In 1517, the year when Martin Luther posts his theses in Wittenberg, the *Serenissima* reconquers Verona from the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. During the peaceful and prosperous period that follows, the fortified Verona becomes the centre of promi-

³⁰ Guzzo, *Il palazzo Del Bene*, p. 95, note 40.

³¹ VASARI, *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, p. 756.

³² BREZZONI, *Dizionario*, pp. 106-108; DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 118-119; GUZZO, *Il palazzo Del Bene*, pp. 95-97, note 40.

³³ See footnote 24 above. Further anagraphs and documents related to the history of the family are published in BREZZONI, *Un fresco del '500*, pp. 62-67; DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 109-123; and BREZZONI, *Dizionario*, p. 107; *Dizionario anagrafico degli artisti*, pp. 297-298.

³⁴ CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 101 dates his birth to around 1516 with reference to DA RE, *I Cicogna*, pp. 112-113.

ment ecclesiastical reforms overseen by a close friend of Vincenzo Cicogna's father, bishop Gian Matteo Giberti³⁵.

The bishop's wide-scale reforms, often labelled humanist in nature, were executed with the collaboration of a group of scholars gathering around him shortly after his arrival in Verona. Members of the 'Giberti circle' were characterized by a critical approach towards the government of the Church, often pointed out the need for higher-level reforms, and expressed concerns over the Church's own ability for renewal³⁶. Vincenzo Cicogna, who grew out to be one of the most noteworthy members, matured in the 'Giberti circle' during the 1530s-1540s through the readings of St. Paul and Augustine, and probably did not remain untouched by Protestantism³⁷. He also expressed concerns over the corruption of the Church and the abuse of its institutions in his 1540s sermons³⁸, and he was Giberti's strenuous supporter by the 1544 beginning of his rectorship at San Zeno in Oratorio, a post he held until 1566³⁹.

Scholarship suggests that he was involved in the conception of the aforementioned villa Del Bene's iconographical programme during his rectorship. Giuseppe Conforti attributed this idea to Enrico Maria Guzzo and argued that the iconography indeed matches Cicogna's spiritual profile⁴⁰. From 1551, the villa offered accommodation for clergy taking a rest on their way to the Council in the nearby Trent and the decoration offered suitable spiritual retreat. The villa's loggia is decorated with allegories reminding the viewer of the temporality of this world and the necessity of spiritual focus, accompanied by Biblical passages conveying a similar message. While the entrance gate presents Christ as mediator between Heaven and Earth, the main hall, unusually enough for a secular building, is blanketed with scenes from the Apocalypse, a theme heavy with anti-Roman connotations in the 1500s. Giuseppe Conforti compared the pictorial programme to a Protestant sermon about the Last Judgment, a topic of outstanding popularity in Protestant territories at the time⁴¹.

35 TURCHINI, *Giberti, Gian Matteo*, with further bibliography.

36 PROSPERI, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma*, pp. 284, 315.

37 CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, pp. 101-102.

38 TACHELLA, *Il Processo agli eretici*, pp. 153-154.

39 *Ivi*, pp. 129, note 101; and p. 276. Rognini includes Cicogna in a list of the St Zeno in Oratorio rectors between 1555 and 1556, but the list does not cover a 13-year period before 1555 and Cicogna's rectorship immediately follows Antonio de Pedrazzi, whose term finished in 1542 (ROGNINI, *La chiesa di San Zeno*, p. 21). Da Re, on the other hand, suggests 1544 as the beginning of Cicogna's period (DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 113).

40 CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, pp. 100-101; GUZZO, *Il Palazzo Del Bene*, pp. 95-98.

41 CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 114.

Such a complex, meditative, and strongly religious iconography in a profane building is more than likely to have its origins in ecclesiastical circles⁴². As detailed above, an interest for pictorial decoration had a long history in the Cicogna family, and a reference to a painting in one of Vincenzo's last wills suggests that he was no exception either. Similarly to his painter father and grandfather, Vincenzo Cicogna kept close connections with Giovanni Battista Del Bene⁴³; and his painter grandfather Leonardo Cicogna participated in the panel evaluating the work Nicola Crollanza, the executor of the villa Del Bene pictorial decoration⁴⁴.

Vincenzo Cicogna's involvement is also suggested by the villa's iconography. The lack of any reference to the Purgatory also characterised Cicogna's above-mentioned 1540s sermons. Several further details of the iconography can be traced back to Augustine and St Paul, both of whom of special interest for the 'Giberti circle'. The Fall of Babylon (*Revelations* 18:1-24), for instance, was often interpreted as the Fall of the Roman Church with reference to *De Civitate Dei* 14,4. Furthermore, the portal of the villa is crowned with a pyramid, the lowermost part of which symbolizes Noah's Ark in Conforti's opinion. He points out that in context of an iconology originating from the 'Giberti's circle', the Ark could symbolize here, as in *De Civitate Dei*, the Church sheltering humanity in the deluge of dangers⁴⁵.

Concerns over the state of the Church, a key message of Vincenzo Cicogna's *Angelorum*, are echoed in the *Four horsemen of the Apocalypse* in the villa's main hall. A pope is leading the army of Christ's followers in the scene, together with a bishop (perhaps Giberti) and three other figures wearing three different headpieces. Conforti identifies the latter group as three reformers of Christianity, proposes the identification of one figure as Savonarola, interprets the scene as a call for a united Church; and the Pope leading the blessed as the "Angelic Pope" sent by God to unite Christianity, a recurrent character of medieval prophecies.⁴⁶

⁴² GUZZO, *Il Palazzo Del Bene*, p. 99.

⁴³ For example, Giovanni Battista Del Bene trusted his own funeral service to Vincenzo Cicogna both in his 1544 and 1560 last wills (CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 100, note 6).

⁴⁴ VARANINI, *Il pittore Nicola Crollanza*, pp. 155-156.

⁴⁵ CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 115. Almost at the same time, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori, the dedicatee of Vincenzo Cicogna's *Angelorum*, expressed the very same idea in his earliest work, the treatise *Pro confutatione articulorum et haeresum* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Lat. 12233, cc. 62r-439v), c. 1555. (Ricci, *Il Sommo Inquisitore*, pp. 35-45).

⁴⁶ CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 112.

The edge of Orthodoxy

Conforti refers to Vincenzo Cicogna as an illuminating example of the ‘utopistic’ idea of the unification of Christianity⁴⁷. Cicogna’s principal spiritual desire, according to Antonio Olivieri, was a unified Church in the widest sense, including the reconciled Jews⁴⁸. The reconciliation of Christian and Jewish theology is indeed a recurrent feature of Cicogna’s later publications and traceable in the *Angelorum* as well. The schematic drawing of the Kabbalah’s Sefirotic Tree, for instance, illustrating the explanation of the angelic hierarchy with Jewish inscriptions on c. 6v, could have served as a visual expression of the same idea. This characteristic approach to Church reforms eventually led to Cicogna’s first direct encounters with the Inquisition.

The villa Del Bene interior’s Protestant overtones were not the only detail suggesting Cicogna’s interest in the waves of Protestantism arriving from the North. He also enjoyed the friendship of Tiberio de Oliveto, a prominent figure among Veronese suspects of Protestant heresy and primary local collector of books originating from German territories⁴⁹. Giuseppe Conforti suggests that a Frankfurt Protestant Bible could have reached Cicogna and could have been the very work that provided ‘figurative matrixes’ for four of the villa Del Bene Apocalypse scenes⁵⁰. According to Adriano Prosperi, Cicogna’s audience may have developed a fear of Giberti’s ideas in parallel with the fear of Protestant propaganda in the 1540s, when definitions of heresy and orthodoxy were volatile⁵¹. Indeed several suspects of Protestant heresy named Cicogna as the spiritual source of their beliefs in a series of Inquisition trials in the 1550s, which eventually denounced Cicogna’s preaching as a fountain of heresy⁵². Later interrogations targeted not only Cicogna’s sermons, but also expressed concerns about his methodology of confession⁵³.

Cicogna started to publish after such antecedents in the middle of the century. His earliest publication in 1556 was dedicated to Luigi Lippomano (1496-

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ OLIVIERI, *Simeone Simeoni*, pp. 234-236. Another example for the universal approach is Tullio Crispoldi, Giberti’s well-known preacher, who called for a Holy Year uniting the entire Christian world (CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 112).

⁴⁹ TACCHELLA, *Il Processo agli eretici*, pp. 92, 141-142, 154, n. 187.

⁵⁰ CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 103; FORESTI, *Le vicende costruttive*, pp. 2-178.

⁵¹ PROSPERI, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma*, p. 277.

⁵² CONFORTI, *Villa Del Bene*, p. 102; TACCHELLA, *Il Processo agli eretici*, pp. 128-154.

⁵³ Complaints included the lack of time devoted to the penitents, Cicogna’s lack of interest in confession details, too light penitence, and breaking the vow of secrecy. TACCHELLA, *Il Processo agli eretici*, pp. 153-154.

1559), bishop of Verona at the time. The 92-folio collection of seven sermons was entitled *Sermones VII de Sanctissima Eucharistia quibus universam de Sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento materiam complectitur* (subsequent references: *Sermones VII*). The sermons analysed various aspects of the Eucharist by elaborating on one question each. As Tacchella points out, Cicogna's orthodoxy was unquestionable in these sermons as they openly argued against Lutheran doctrines⁵⁴, which makes the perhaps very wish to dissolve shadows of heresy one of the plausible reasons for their publication. The book must have been effective in this respect as Cicogna's earliest last will, composed in 1557, does not suggest concerns over the Inquisition⁵⁵, and the success of the sermon collection is also suggested by its repeated publication in the same year in Cologne⁵⁶.

All Eucharist sermons of *Sermones VII* were republished in 1562 in Venice in a second, larger sermon collection, dedicated to cardinal Marcantonio Da Mula (also known as cardinal Amulio)⁵⁷. This second collection was entitled simply *Sermones*. Besides repeating the earlier Eucharist sermons, it contained eight sermons on the Passion, embracing altogether 224 folios. The Eucharist sermons of *Sermones VII* now also received titles shortly summarizing the contents, with the following folio numbers in the 1563 Venetian edition⁵⁸:

1. the difference between the Sacraments of Christ and Moses (*Sermo primus, quo explicatur discrimen quod est inter Sacramenta Christi et Mosis; et quomodo Haec sint signa simplicia, illa verò signa cum re signata*, cc. 2r-13v);
2. arguments that the Sacrament of the Eucharist not metaphorically but literally involves the body of Christ (*Sermo secundus, quo probatur sub sacramento Eucharistiae verè et realiter ipsum Christi corpus contineri, non autem figurate aut metaphoricè*, cc. 14r-26r);
3. the interpretation of John 6 (*Sermo tertius, quo exprimitur quomodo rectum fiat iudicium de sacramento Eucharistiae, et locus Ioannis sexto declaratur*, cc. 26r-38r);
4. transubstantiation and the adoration of the Eucharist (*Sermo quartus, in quo tractatur de Transubstantiatione, adoratione et ministerio sacrae Eucharistiae sub altera tantum specie*, cc. 38r-53v);
5. explanation of the name "Eucharist" (*Sermo quintus, in quo declarantur nomina sacrae Eucharistiae imposita, quibus illius veritas et virtus nobis innotescit*, cc. 54r-68r);

⁵⁴ TACCHELLA, *Il Processo agli eretici*, p. 129, n. 101.

⁵⁵ ASVr, UR T, m. 179, n. 6.

⁵⁶ CICOGNA, *Sermones VII de Sanctissima Eucharistia* (1557).

⁵⁷ CICOGNA, *Sermones* (1562).

⁵⁸ CICOGNA, *Sermones* (1563).

6. the Eucharist's effects and benefits (*Sermo sextus, in quo exponuntur effectus et fructus sacrae Eucharistiae*, cc. 68v-80r);
7. proper behaviour before and after taking the Eucharist (*Sermo septimus, in quo de his quae fideles et ante et post sumptam sacram Eucharistiam agere deceat tractatur*, cc. 80r-93r).

Cicogna also provides a list of references used in the Eucharist sermons. He lists the authors referred to, the references taken over from them and the places of the quotes in the *Sermones (Ad Pium Rectorem*, cc. 93v-99v). The practice of referencing is less precise but similar in his *Angelorum*.

The second half of *Sermones* contains sermons on the Passion. Each of the first six sermons interprets one word of Christ during the Passion:

1. «Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do» (*Sermo primus, Pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*, cc. 100r-112r);
2. «Truly, I say to you, today you will be with me in Paradise» (*Sermo secundus, super Christi verbis cum latrone in cruce habitis*, cc. 112v-124v);
3. «Woman, behold your son!» and «Behold, your mother!» (*Sermo tertius, super Christi verbis in cruce cum Maria matre eius et Ioanne dilecto discipulo habitis*, cc. 125r-136r);
4. «My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?» (*Sermo quartus, Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid me dereliquisti*, cc. 136r-149v);
5. «I thirst» and «It is finished» (*Sermo quintus, super Christi verbis Sitio et consumatum est*, cc. 151r-164r);
6. «Father, into your hands I commit my spirit!» (*Sermo sextus, super Christi verbis. Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*, cc. 164r-177r).

The last two sermons elaborate on the consequences of the Crucifixion. The seventh sermon explains the punishments taken on by Christ (*Sermo septimus de Christi suppliciis ac Passionibus feria Sexta parasceve*, cc. 177v-207v), and the closing sermon contemplates Christ's glorious tomb (*Sermo octavus de glorioso Christi Sepulchro Sabbato parasceve*, cc. 208r-223r). The sermon collection concludes with a poem or song celebrating Christ as a healer (*Hortatur animam, ut relictis inutilibus remediis ad Iesum, medicum optimum, se convertat*, cc. 223v-224r).

Cicogna's career took to a soar following the publication of the sermon collections. He established himself as a prominent ecclesiast in Verona by the mid-century and similarly to his father, he also cultivated friendship with the prelate Nicolò Ormaneto. When Charles Borromeo asked the latter to serve as his Vicar general in Milan, Ormaneto asked Cicogna to assist him in pastoral

visits to female monasteries in 1564⁵⁹. In 1568, Cicogna served as Vicar general of bishop Matteo Priuli⁶⁰.

In the same year, Cicogna published a laudatory speech given by him when cardinal Bernardo Navagero (1507-1565), former Venetian ambassador to Rome and now the Apostolic administrator of Verona (1562-1565), paid a visit to the city. The 25-folio speech was published in 1564 in Venice under the title *Oratio in Bernardi Naugerii cardinalis amplissimi et episcopi veronensis adventu, per reverendissimum doctorem Vincentium Ciconiam habita* (subsequent references: *Oratio*)⁶¹. The published speech was dedicated to Cardinal Augustino, nephew of Cardinal Navagero. The central message was the joy Cicogna as a representative of Verona felt over the choice of Bernardo Navagero to fill in the position, due to the latter's outstanding personal characteristics (virtue, noble origins, etc.) which made him the best possible candidate for the post. The parallel drawn between angels and ecclesiasts, a key detail of the *Angelorum's* closing treatise on the parallel of the angelic and ecclesiastical hierarchies, appeared also here⁶².

Three years later, in 1567, Cicogna published his third and best-known theological work, *Enarrationes in psalmos* in Padova, reprinted in the same town the following year⁶³. It was a commentary of Psalms 118-133 (119-134 today), with meditations on letters of the Hebrew alphabet embedded in the commentary of Psalm 118. The work is probably identical with the commentary on the Psalms mentioned by the late Onica Busuioceanu, librarian of the Getty Research Institute, in the *Angelorum's* library catalogue entry. Cicogna explains the psalms line by line, with each line receiving a 1-1,5 folios long interpretation. The structure of the work is the following:

c. 1r	Title page
c. 1v	List of Psalms included in the volume
c. 2r-v	Dedication

⁵⁹ ROGNINI, *La chiesa di San Zeno*, p. 10; TACHELLA, *Il Processo agli eretici*, pp. 128-129, 132.

⁶⁰ OLIVIERI, *Simeone Simeoni*, p. 234.

⁶¹ CICOGNA, *Oratio*.

⁶² CICOGNA, *Oratio*, cc. 6v-7r. MAFFEI, *Verona Illustrata*, p. 422 mentions another speech published by Cicogna, composed upon the death of the same cardinal in 1565: «Vincenzo Cicogna Sacerdote diede fuori sette Sermoni, ne' quali professò avere esposta universam de Eucharistie Sacramento materiam. Il Mireo nominò ancora di quest'Autore Enarrationes in Psalmos. Ven. 1556. Si hanno altresì di lui due Orazioni nella venuta, e nella morte del Cardinal Navagero».

⁶³ CICOGNA, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. MAFFEI, *Verona Illustrata*, p. 422 dates the volume's first publication to as early as 1556, again in a way that apparently was not followed by later scholarship.

cc. 3r-13r	<i>Praefatio ad lectorem: De autoritate verbi Dei, deque ministerio, et usu ipsius</i>
cc. 14r-196r	Commentary of Psalm 118
cc. 196v-211v	Commentary of Psalm 119
cc. 212r-219r	Commentary of Psalm 120
cc. 219r-229v	Commentary of Psalm 121
cc. 229v-235r	Commentary of Psalm 122
cc. 235r-242r	Commentary of Psalm 123
cc. 242r-248r	Commentary of Psalm 124
cc. 248r-257v	Commentary of Psalm 125
cc. 257v-266r	Commentary of Psalm 126
cc. 266r-273v	Commentary of Psalm 127
cc. 273v-279r	Commentary of Psalm 128
cc. 279r-288v	Commentary of Psalm 129
cc. 289r-294r	Commentary of Psalm 130
cc. 294r-316v	Commentary of Psalm 131
cc. 316v-322r	Commentary of Psalm 132
cc. 322r-324v	Commentary of Psalm 133
c. 325r-v	Errata (folio numbers from the 1567 edition)

Following a bishop in case of the *Sermones* and a cardinal in case of the *Oratio*, the *Enarrationes* were now dedicated to Pius V, the pope himself, but despite the ambitious dedication, it was Cicogna's least welcome work in Rome. His name was recurring in Inquisition proceedings already in 1570 by way of the *Enarrationes*⁶⁴. The work was referred to as suspicious in 1576⁶⁵, and earned a place in the second class of the Index in 1580⁶⁶. Its author was listed as suspect of heresy in numerous documents, the dates of which are unclear within the dates of the collective volumes. The situation is similar with numerous lists of prohibited books listing the *Enarrationes*⁶⁷, also among books prohibited from being sold⁶⁸. The Inquisitorial documents reveal that Cicogna's case belonged to the Roman Congregation of the Index⁶⁹, but the

64 OLIVIERI, *Simeone Simeoni*, p. 234.

65 ACDF, Index XIV, cc. 49r, the list is signed by *Joannes Dei Florentinus* and addressed to Gregory XIII.

66 ACDF, Index *Protocolli* A, cc. 86v and 87r, the latter list is signed as *Johannes Baptistam Regiensem*, professor of theology. The volume contains documents dated to 3 March 1571-1581.

67 ACDF, Index *Protocolli* A, cc. 96r and 236r; Index *Protocolli* K, cc. 252r (the volume contains documents dated to 10 August 1592-25 December 1594); Index *Protocolli* P, cc. 317r and 336r (the volume contains documents dated to 14 June 1561-7 April 1598).

68 ACDF, Index *Protocolli* A, cc. 246r and 252v.

69 ACDF, Index *Protocolli* P, c. 97r-v.

Enarrationes was prohibited by the Faenza Inquisition as well⁷⁰. The reasons for the prohibition could perhaps be related to the merge of Jewish and Christian theology in line with the universalistic Church reform ideas of the ‘Giberti circle’⁷¹. Cicogna found himself in prison in 1573 for committing something yet unknown for research⁷², and the *Enarrationes* remained *nisi corrigantur* included in the 1580, 1583 and 1596 Indexes of Prohibited Books⁷³.

Newly discovered final works

The archives of the Inquisition preserved the dedication of a lost work by an author called Vincenzo Cicogna, entitled *Thesaurus d(ivina) oracula et attributa continens (Thesaurus of divine prophecies and attributes)*⁷⁴. According to the dedication, it explained 600 divine attributes and 124 prophecies⁷⁵. Given the average one-page length of Cicogna’s entries in the *Angelorum* and calculating a minimum of half a page for each attribute and prophecy, the work must have embraced a minimum of c. 200 folios. This extensive work might well be identical with a two-volume work on prophecies and divine attributes mentioned in the *Angelorum*’s dedication as sent to Rome in the previous year, on the order or request (*tuo iussu*) of Cardinal Santori, to be published with the consent of the Holy See⁷⁶.

Besides the *Thesaurus*’ title strongly indicating corresponding contents, a request for corrections and the hope that the work might contribute to the study of the Scriptures is common in both dedications⁷⁷. The parallel of the heavenly and angelic hierarchies, an idea of paramount importance in the *Angelorum*, is also traceable in the *Thesaurus* dedication, which draws a parallel

⁷⁰ ACDF, Index *Protocolli* P, cc. 197r-198v.

⁷¹ OLIVIERI, *Simeone Simeoni*, pp. 234-236.

⁷² DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 119; GUZZO, *Il Palazzo Del Bene*, p. 96, note 40.

⁷³ BUJANDA ET AL., *Index de Rome*, pp. 180, 519, 736, 756, 757.

⁷⁴ ACDF, Index *Protocolli* G, cc. 306r-317r; ESZENYI, *On perfect and imperfect angels*, pp. 40-42, 74-76.

⁷⁵ ACDF, Index *Protocolli* G, cc. 307r and 308r.

⁷⁶ «Dei Opt. Max. nomina, Illustrissimo Paesul, et attributa, passim in sacris literis contenta in unum redeggi volumen, per tres divinas personas di<s>tributa ad sanctissimorum Patrum explicata sententiam. Quod volumen anno superiori tuo iussu Romam cum altero volumine oracula ad Christi fidem spectantia complectente, transmissi. Ut censuo et iudicio Sedis Apostolica, si quid, quod minus ad do<c>trinam Catholicam, et fides integritatem pertineat, repertum fuerit, sub Felicissimo et Auspicatissimo Sanctissimo D.D. Papae XIXTI QVINTI nomine ad sacrarum literarum studiosorum utilitatem in lucem prodirent» (CICOGNA, *Angelorum*, c. 1r).

⁷⁷ ACDF, Index *Protocolli* G, cc. 316v-317r.

between God and the dedicatee Gregory XIII⁷⁸. Furthermore, the identification of the *Thesaurus* with the work mentioned in the *Angelorum*'s dedication could also explain why the dedication was preserved separately from the work. The *Thesaurus* dedication addresses Gregory XIII, yet the *Angelorum*'s dedication claims the lost work was expecting publication «under the name of Sixtus V». Perhaps this made the original dedication outdated by that time, so it was simply replaced by a new one. The dedication to Gregory XIII dates the composition of the *Thesaurus*' dedication, and consequently the work's conclusion, to 1572-1585.

Nevertheless, the *Thesaurus* was another work by Cicogna that did not receive the welcome its author was hoping for. In the Inquisition archives, a letter is attached to the *Thesaurus* dedication, which totally prohibits Cicogna from composing or publishing anything on theology in the future. The text reads as follows⁷⁹:

Vincenzo Cicogna from Verona abjured as a great suspect and was sentenced neither to write nor to print any book concerning matters of Faith. Your faithful servant Fra Stefano de Caliufon

The reasons for the sentence are unspecified, but the *Thesaurus*' approach to Biblical interpretation, aiming to merge the Hebrew, Christian, and classical tradition, is a strong reminder of the universal approach to Church reforms traceable within the 'Giberti circle' as well as in the *Angelorum*, and also loudly pronounced in Cicogna's earlier, prohibited *Enarrationes*⁸⁰. Three titles are written on the back of the letter, on the same side with the address of the Holy See: *De attributis Ecclesie*; *De septem mundi statum (?) ortu et omnibus ex eiusque exitio proximis temporibus*; *Apologia in periculosum apostatum in*

⁷⁸ ACDF, Index *Protocolli* G, c. 314v.

⁷⁹ «Vincenzo Cicogna Veronese abiuris come vehementissimo sospetto / et hebbe tra l'altre pene de no(n) puotere comporre nè / dare a' stampa libro alcuno che trattasse della fede. / Servitore di V.P. molto R. / Fra Stefano da Caliufon». The letter is bound together with the *Thesaurus* dedication in ACDF, Index *Protocolli* G, cc. 306r-317r without separate folio numbering. I thank Dr Barbara Bombi from the University of Kent Canterbury for the transcription and translation of the text.

⁸⁰ «Quae vel Christi et Apostolorum eius, vel Talmudistarum, Cabalistarum, et Rabbinorum testimonio recepta et comprobata sunt, et ad sententiam fidei orthodoxae explicata» (ACDF, Index *Protocolli* G, cc. 306r). «Divinarum personarum Patris Filii et Spiritus Sancti passim in Divinis Scripturis contenta ad numerum supra sexcentum, nec non Sephirot. I. Dei proprietates ex Hebreorum, Graecorum, et Latinorum patrum sententia ad veritatem Catholicam varia rerum eruditione explicata» (ACDF, Index *Protocolli* G, c. 308r).

*Christi fide*⁸¹. The titles could perhaps belong to further works by Cicogna. The folio containing the letter and the titles contains no date and its relationship with the attached *Thesaurus* dedication is unclear, which provokes the question whether the grave sentence could have resulted in the destruction of the very *Thesaurus* manuscript. The dedication concludes with Cicogna giving thanks for help received from Gregory XIII⁸², which, unless purely spiritual in nature, could be related to Cicogna's issues with the Inquisition. Nevertheless, the *Thesaurus* could as well be the very work that directly resulted in Cicogna's imprisonment in 1573. If the thanksgiving in any way refers to his liberation from prison, the conclusion of the *Thesaurus* is datable to after 1573, and Cicogna must have regained his freedom before the 1585 end of Gregory XIII's papacy.

Despite the prohibition, Cicogna apparently ventured to conclude his literary career with a work not only little conventional in its subject choice, but one that approaches that subject in a perhaps unprecedented and possibly unique way. Perhaps the radical diversion in the choice of subject material in his *Angelorum* as opposed to his early works was inspired exactly by the abjection of his previous publications. This is a realistic possibility also in case of the *Thesaurus*, which similarly diverted from his previous Biblical subjects. Cicogna now systematized angelology in the 170-folio *Angelorum* in the format and tradition of medieval encyclopedies, but endowed it with a contemporaneous message⁸³.

The *Angelorum* is structuralized the following way:

cc. 1r-2v	Foreword and dedication
cc. 3r-7v	<i>De Angelis generatim</i> : general characterization of angels
c. 8r	Index of angel names
cc. 8v-88v	<i>De Angelis</i> section: 100 angel entries

⁸¹ The page needs to be turned left with 90 degrees to read the titles. The same side of the folio also contains a signature, while the prohibition note appears on the other side. (ACDF, Index *Protocolli G*, p. 299).

⁸² «Tua illa B.P. GREGORI XIII singularis et prope divina humanitas, qua me gravissimo, et diuturno malorum pondere oppressam, merore, et squalore arcentem, et prope confectum humanissimis verbis quasi dexteram porrigens levasti, et a desperatione ad spem, ab exitio ad salutem, a morte ad vitam revocasti, patriæ, agnatis, et amicis, ac demum mihi ipsi me rediisti, non solum rerum mearum, et laborum omnium, sed vitæ etiam meæ devinctissimum debitorem constituit, et coegit, ut aliquod grati animi erga S.T-ederem argumentum, in summumque spem adduxit, te pro tua incredibili, et prope divina benignitate, quod meæ integritati desideratur, suppleturum, et in integrum restitutum esse». (ACDF, Index *Protocolli G*, c. 317r).

⁸³ ESZENYI, *On perfect and imperfect angels*, pp. 77-205.

cc. 88v-89r	Appendix: list of further angel names
cc. 89v-90v	Empty
cc. 91r-92v	<i>Daemoniis in genere</i> : general characterization of demons
cc. 93r-93v	Index of demon names
cc. 91r-158v`	<i>De Daemoniis</i> section: 123 demon entries
cc. 159r-164v	Appendix: list of further demon names
cc. 165r-170r	Closing treatise.

The first major unit of the work is the introduction of angels and demons in respective *De Angelis* and *De Daemoniis* sections, which together will be labelled ‘the Lexicon’ henceforth. Its alphabetical entries divide into three thematic groups: particular angel and demon names, adjectives characterizing angels and demons and metaphorical references to them. Although the title offers Biblical analysis and the keywords of the second and third groups indeed originate from the Bible, the first group includes further names in addition to those of the three Biblical angels. Scriptural references are often indicated on the margins, though not always precisely. The entries are on average 1-2 pages long and follow largely the same structural pattern, with the source specification preceding the keyword interpretation. Twelve entries have been listed both in the *De Angelis* and in the *De Daemoniis* sections: *Angeli* (cc. 12v-13v) and *Angelus* (c. 97r-v), *Aves* (cc. 19r-20r and c. 103r-v), *Cherubim* (c. 110r-110v and cc. 25r-26r), *Fortes* (c. 47r) and *Fortis* (cc. 121r-v), *Lucifer* (cc. 55r and c. 134r-v), *Principatus et Principes* (c. 70r-v) and *Principes et potestates* (cc. 150v-151r) with *Potestates* (c. 68r) and *Principes* (cc. 150v-151r), *Reges et Consules* (cc. 73r-v) and *Rex* (cc. 153v-154r), *Signaculum similitudinis* (cc. 198v-199r and cc. 77v-78r), *Spiritum et Venti* (cc. 78v-79r and cc. 155v-156r) and *Fabri*⁸⁴. In case of this small but well-defined group, Cicogna is of the opinion that only the wider textual environment provides help with deciding whether the Scriptures refer to angels or demons. Most of the double entries comment on the fall of the angels as demons are defined as ‘fallen angels’ in the work. The latter also suggests the understanding of the volume primarily as a work on angelology and technically perhaps an ‘angel lexicon’, embracing both good angels and fallen ones.

⁸⁴ Whereas the *De Angelis* section contains a full *Fabri* entry (c. 8r), no separate entry was composed for the *De Daemoniis* section, where a note by a second hand, occasionally appearing throughout the volume, indicates that the corresponding *De Angelis* entry should be consulted. The entry is included in the index of demon names, preceding the *De Daemoniis* section and also composed by the second hand, in the singular form as *Faber* (c. 93r).

The *Angelorum's* second major unit is the closing treatise, which draws a parallel between the angelic and the ecclesiastical hierarchies. Without fully stepping out of spiritual realms, the closing treatise teaches rather profane lessons by arguing that the ecclesiastical hierarchy fails to follow the example of the heavenly hierarchy of angels. While the idea goes back to a long tradition established by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, the main peculiarity of Cicogna's treatise is the parallel between Cherubs and cardinal bishops illustrating the author's critical view of the Church. While the dedicatee Cardinal Santori was a member of the latter ecclesiastical order, Cherubs are identified as the original order of fallen angels both in the closing treatise and in the *Lexicon*, which poses many, as of yet unanswered questions about the exact nature of the relations between the author and the dedicatee. Cicogna's *Angelorum* obviously could have been intended, for instance, as a study on angelology, as well as a meditative work, a manual for preachers, a commentary on Church politics, provocation, or any combination of these⁸⁵.

The intricate network of desired or real personal relations revealed by the *Thesaurus* dedication and the *Angelorum* also provides help with dating. The *Angelorum* is certainly dateable, as it is currently done in the Getty Research Institute Library Catalogue, to 1585-1600, based on the references in the dedication to pope Sixtus V, whose papacy began in 1585, and to Cardinal Santori, who died in 1602. Nevertheless, the papacy of Sixtus V ended in 1590, and the dedication still refers to him as 'pope', which narrows down the date to the period of his papacy. Furthermore, the dedication states that two previous works by the same author were sent to Rome in the year prior to the composition of the *Angelorum*, with the intention of being published under the name of Sixtus V. This suggests 1585 as *terminus post quem* for Cicogna sending these works to Rome, and 1586 as *terminus post quem* for the completion of the *Angelorum*, whether or not either of the two previous works is identifiable with the *Thesaurus*⁸⁶.

The State Archives of Verona have preserved three versions of Cicogna's last will and the second, 1587 version further narrows down these time limits. One of the requests made by Cicogna in this document is that a certain «doctor Girolamo and Giovanni Battista» (the latter probably equalling Giovanni Battista Del Bene) would ensure that his manuscripts get printed, including those that are still with him in Verona as well as those that had already been sent to

⁸⁵ ESZENYI, *On perfect and imperfect angels*, pp. 187-215.

⁸⁶ Strictly speaking, this signifies the completion of the dedication, which must have been preceded by that of the work itself.

Cardinal Santori by that time⁸⁷. The obvious question is what unpublished works had Cicogna sent to Cardinal Santori before 1587? They could be the *Angelorum*; the *Thesaurus*; any or all of the three Latin works listed on the letter attached to the *Thesaurus* dedication in the Inquisition archives, or works still unknown for scholarship, which offers the following possibilities for a closer dating.

Firstly, if both the *Thesaurus* and the *Angelorum* were sent to Rome before the 15 August 1587 last will, the *Thesaurus* must have been sent in 1585 or 1586 (one year before the *Angelorum* dedication was composed and still during the 1585-1590 papacy of Sixtus V). Consequently, the *Angelorum* must have been completed in 1586 or before 15 August 1587 (one year after the *Thesaurus* was sent but still before the date of the last will).

Secondly, if neither of the two manuscripts was sent to Rome before 15 August 1587, the *Thesaurus* must have been sent between 15 August 1587 and the 1590 end of the papacy of Sixtus V, which dates the completion of the *Angelorum* to 1588-1591 (one year after the *Thesaurus* was sent). It should be noted, however, that in this case Cicogna sent the *Thesaurus* to Rome minimum two years after the death of its dedicatee and possibly as long as five years afterwards, which makes this scenario the least likely one.

Thirdly, if the *Thesaurus* had been sent to Rome before the 15 August 1587 last will but the *Angelorum* had not, the *Thesaurus* must have been sent between the 1585 beginning of the papacy of Sixtus V and 15 August 1587, which dates the finish of *Angelorum* to the period between 15 August 1587 and 1588 (one year after the latest possible date of sending the *Thesaurus*).

To sum up, calculating with the *Thesaurus* and the 1587 last will highlights the possibility that the *Angelorum* was completed in 1587, the year highlighted both by the first and the third scenarios⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ «Exceptis libris latinis ipsius domini testatoris quos legavit suprascriptis spectabilibus dominis Hieronimo et Iohanni Baptiste doctoribus; quibus heredibus, sic ut supra institutis, dictus dominus testator reliquit omnes libros suos manu scriptos et ab ipso testatore compositos, tam qui apud ipsum dominum testatorem de presenti reperiuntur quam qui Romam transmissi sunt ad manus illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini cardinalis de Sancta Severina ut de licentia Sedis Appostolice in lucem edi possint». (ASVr, UR T, m. 192, n. 48) This request, however, is missing from the 1596, latest version of his last wills, where Cicogna simply requested the distribution of his books after his death. (Archivio di Stato di Verona, Ufficio del Registro, Testamenti, m. 192, n. 48).

⁸⁸ A fourth possibility would be the *Angelorum* being sent to Rome before the last will and the *Thesaurus* afterwards, but the clearly plausible identification of the *Thesaurus* with the work on prophecies mentioned in the dedication of the *Angelorum* excludes this possibility.

It is also reasonable to assume that both manuscripts reached Rome at some point as not only is the *Thesaurus* dedication preserved in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith but the same Archives also enlist a document containing notes about the *Angelorum*, probably inquisitorial corrections, made by Bishop *Federicus Metius*⁸⁹. Bishop Mezio is mentioned as *familiaris* of Cardinal Santori in numerous lists of counsellors (*consultores*) of the Congregation for the Index of Prohibited Books, frequently listed among primary counsellors⁹⁰. The personal connection between Bishop Mezio and cardinal Santori strongly suggests that the *Angelorum* managed to get attention from its dedicatee, while the censorship it received suggests that it was not fully welcomed in its original form. The exact nature of the inquisitorial corrections, however, cannot be studied, given that the Archives can provide no more information about exact whereabouts of the censorship document itself.

A 19 January 1600 Inquisitorial meeting removed the prohibition of certain works by Cicogna, which had been transferred from Verona to Rome, by passing on the matter to the Venetian Inquisitor for decision. Unfortunately, the minutes of this meeting do not specify the reconsidered works⁹¹. Three years later, on 15 November 1603, the *Enarrationes* was still listed among books under reconsideration by the Inquisition⁹², but whether Cicogna lived to see any changes is unknown. He must have passed away after 1596, the date of the very last version of his last will⁹³, and calculating with his 1519 birth date, his death is probably dateable to the first decade of the 1600s the latest⁹⁴.

⁸⁹ «Vincentii Ciconii de nominibus Angelorum et demonum p<er> Federicu<m> Metiu<m> f. 567»: ACDF, Index *Protocolli* D, c. 3v. (The volume contains documents dated after 1575).

⁹⁰ ACDF, Index *Protocolli* I, cc. 359v and 361v use term “*familiaris*”, cc. 362r and 360r list him in the first class of inquisitors, c. 366r clearly specifies that Metui was charged with censorship of books (*quibus assignati sunt Libri ad Censurandum*), c. 373r lists him in a list of *consultores* without further specification. The volume contains documents dated to 27 April 1573-28 June 1593.

⁹¹ «Decretum quod censura in opera Vincenzo Cicogna olim ex Verona transmissa, Veneto Inquisitori mittatur reconoscenda, et ex eiusdem approbatione liber imprimi possit» (ACDF, *Diarii* I, c. 128v).

⁹² ACDF, *Diarii* III, cc. 41r-42v.

⁹³ ASVr, UR T, m. 192, n. 48.

⁹⁴ His sister Lucretia's 1620 last will also suggests that Vincenzo died before the composition of this will. Vincenzo makes generous bequeaths on Lucretia in all of his last wills, yet Lucretia makes no mention of Vincenzo in 1620, whereas she does mention other family members. (ASVr, UR T, m. 217, n. 721).

In all three versions of his last will, Cicogna requested to be buried inside the church of his San Zeno in Oratorio in a simple, undecorated grave⁹⁵. He had an adventurous life and composed works treasured worldwide in several libraries today. He was acknowledged in his beloved Verona as well as in higher ecclesiastical circles and constructed a career that probably could have arched even higher if he had given up views blazed by the ‘Giberti circle’ but without an audience after the death of the reformer bishop. Cicogna’s *Angolorum* thus remained a representative of the transmission of medieval ideas in Early Modern Italy, and their re-contextualization under intricate social and political circumstances. Later descendants of the Cicogna family are also known by the names *Beltrami* or *Beltramini*, but this line of the family appears to have fallen into decay; while another line is reputed to have conferred nobility. Heraldists describe the family’s coat of arms in differing ways, but always with a design featuring a stork, a reminder of the meaning of the family name Cicogna⁹⁶.

⁹⁵ ASVr, UR T, m. 179, n. 6; m. 179, n. 580; m. 192, n. 48.

⁹⁶ DA RE, *I Cicogna*, p. 119.

Bibliografia

- BORTOLOTTI L., *La pittura religiosa nella provincia veneta: Jacopo Bassano in contesto*, «Venezia Cinquecento», VIII (1998), pp. 105-146
- BRENZONI R., *Un fresco del '500 e una tempera della fine del '400*, in *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi*, a cura di R. Brenzoni, Roma 1958, II, pp. 55-67
- BRENZONI R., *Dizionario di artisti veneti*, Firenze 1972
- BRUGNOLI P. – SALA G., *Vicende storiche della chiesa di San Martino a Corrubio di Castelrotto*, «Annuario Storico della Valpolicella», XIV (1997-1998), pp. 7-24
- BUJANDA J.M. DE – BIETENHOLZ P.G. – LUSIGNAN S. – SUTTO C. – TEDESCHI J., *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596; avec étude des index de Parme 1580 et Munich 1582*, Geneve 1994 [Index des livres interdits, 9]
- CICOGNA V., *Angelorum et daemonum nomina et attributa passim in divinis scripturis contenta ad Patrum sententiam explicata ad illustrissimum et reverendissimum Iulium Antonium Sanctorium cardinalem Sanctae Severinae amplissimum et De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, in The J. Paul Getty Research Institute Library, ms 86-A866 <<http://archive.org/details/angelorvmetdaemoocico>>
- CICOGNA V., *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Patavii, ex officina Laurentii Pasquati 1568
- CICOGNA V., *Oratio in Bernardi Navagerii cardinalis amplissimi et episcopi veronensis adventu*, Venetiis, ex officina Stellae Iordani Zileti 1564
- CICOGNA V., *Sermones*, Venetiis, apud Andream Arrivabenum 1562
- CICOGNA V., *Sermones*, Venetiis, apud Andream Arrivabenum 1563
- CICOGNA V., *Sermones VII de Sanctissima Eucharistia quibus universam de Sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento materiam complectitur*, Coloniae, apud Maternum Cholinum 1557
- CONFORTI G., *Villa Del Bene: iconografia e inquietudini religiose nel Cinquecento. Gli affreschi della loggia e dell'Apocalisse*, «Annuario Storico della Valpolicella», XX (2003-2004), pp. 99-121
- DA RE G., *I Cicogna dal secolo XVI*, «Madonna Verona. Bollettino del Museo Civico di Verona», VII (1913), pp. 109-123
- Dizionario anagrafico degli artisti e artigiani veronesi nell'età della Serenissima*, diretto da L. Olivato e P. Brugnoli, I, 1405-1530, a cura di P. Brugnoli, schede di M. Molteni e A. Zamperini, Verona 2007
- ESZENYI E., *On perfect and imperfect angels: a catholic reformer's angelology from the late-sixteenth century Veneto*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent, Canterbury Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 2014
- FORESTI C., *Le vicende costruttive e l'iconografia degli affreschi di villa Del Bene a Volargne*, in *La famiglia Del Bene di Verona e Rovereto e la villa Del Bene di Volargne*, atti della Giornata di studio, Rovereto e Volargne 30 settembre 1995, a cura di G.M. Varanini, Rovereto 1996, pp. 2-178
- GUZZO E.M., *Antonio da Vendri*, in *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 4, München-Leipzig 1992, p. 431
- GUZZO E.M., *Girolamo de Arlati*, in *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 5, München-Leipzig 1992, p. 107
- GUZZO E.M., *Il palazzo Del Bene di San Zeno in Oratorio in Verona (e le relazioni di Giovanni Battista Del Bene con alcuni artisti veronesi)*, in *La famiglia Del Bene di Verona e Rovereto e la villa Del Bene di Volargne*, atti della Giornata di studio, Rovereto e Volargne 30 settembre 1995, a cura di G.M. Varanini, Rovereto 1996, pp. 81-113
- MAFFEI S., *Verona Illustrata*, in Verona per Iacopo Vallarsi 1731
- MALLETT M. – SHAW C., *Italian wars 1494-1559: The war, State and society in Early Modern Europe*, Harlow 2012

- MARTINE S.C., *Niccolò Giolfino*, in *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 54, München-Leipzig 2007, pp. 395-397
- OLIVIERI A., *Simeone Simeoni 'filatorio' di Vicenza (1570): il dibattito su charitas e pauperes*, in *Religiones novae*, Verona 1995, pp. 234-236 [Quaderni di Storia Religiosa, II]
- PROSPERI A., *Tra evangelismo e controriforma. G.M. Giberti (1495-1543)*, Roma 1969
- ROGNINI L., *La chiesa di San Zeno in Oratorio. Guida storico-artistica*, Verona, 2004²
- SALA G., *Il corredo pittorico della chiesa di San Martino a Corrubio di Negarine*, «Annuario Storico della Valpolicella», XXV (2008-2009), pp. 81-92
- RICCI S., *Il Sommo Inquisitore: Giulio Antonio Santori tra autobiografia e storia (1532-1602)*, Roma 2002
- SIMEONI L., *Maestro Cicogna (1300-1326)*, Verona 1907
- TACHELLA L., *Il Processo agli eretici veronesi nel 1550. S. Ignazio di Loyola e Luigi Lippomano*, Brescia 1979
- TURCHINI A., *Giberti, Gian Matteo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 54, Roma 2000, s.v.
- VARANINI G.M., *Il pittore Nicola Crollanza e gli affreschi di villa Del Bene (1549)*, in *La famiglia Del Bene di Verona e Rovereto e la villa Del Bene di Volargne*, atti della Giornata di studio, Rovereto e Volargne 30 settembre 1995, a cura di G.M. Varanini, Rovereto 1996, pp. 149-165
- VASARI G., *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, in Firenze, appresso i Giunti 1568

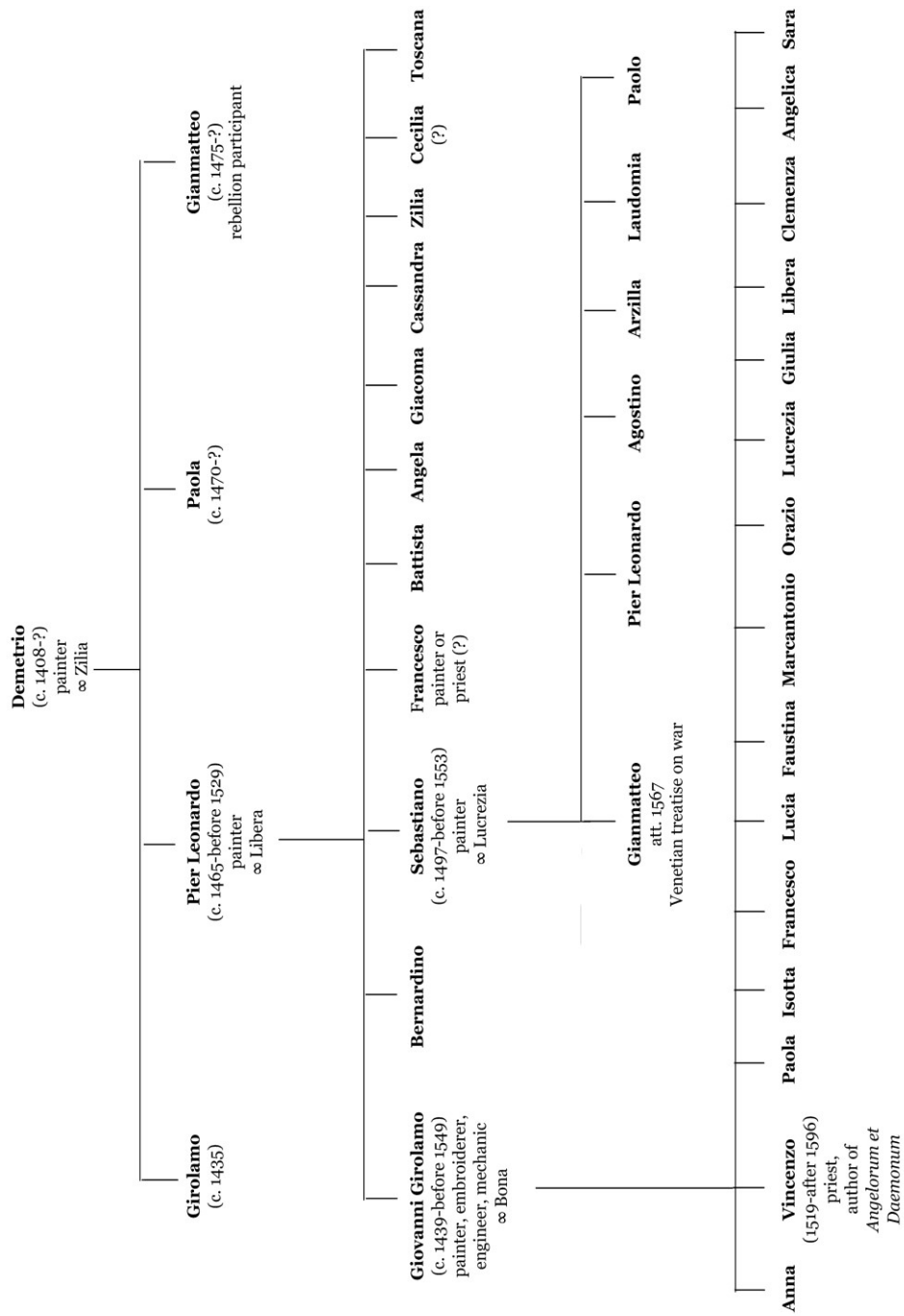
Abstract

Vincenzo Cicogna, un angelologo di Verona nel Cinquecento

Il saggio fornisce nuove notizie anagrafiche e sulle opere di Vincenzo Cicogna (1519-post 1596), prete e teologo veronese, sulla base di fonti archivistiche locali e dal Vaticano. Nonostante gli ascendenti includano importanti artisti locali come Demetrio, Pier Leonardo, Sebastiano e Giovanni Girolamo Cicogna (e forse anche il famoso Maestro Cicogna), Vincenzo si orientò verso la carriera ecclesiastica, collaborando col vescovo riformatore Gian Matteo Giberti. La sua opera, messa sotto accusa dall'Inquisizione e finora conosciuta come composta da due collezioni di sermoni, un discorso e un lavoro meditativo, può ora essere integrata dalla notizia di due scritti di genere molto più raro: un trattato sulle profezie divine e un'enciclopedia sugli angeli e demoni.

Vincenzo Cicogna, a Veronese angelologist from the Cinquecento

The article provides new information on the life, lineage and works of Vincenzo Cicogna (1519-after 1596), using Verona and Vatican archival materials on the Veronese priest and ecclesiastical author. Although his ascendants included prominent local artists such as Demetrius, Pier Leonardo, Sebastiano and Giovanni Girolamo Cicogna (and perhaps even the famous Maestro Cicogna), Vincenzo built an ecclesiastical career as collaborator of the Church reformer Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti. His literary oeuvre, heavily contested by the Inquisition and previously known to embrace two sermon collections, a speech and a meditative work, is now completed with two works of a much rarer genre: a manuscript on divine prophecies and an angel and demon lexicon.



The Cicogna family tree.