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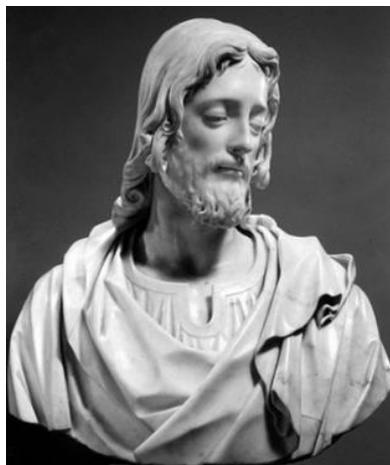SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY – UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

MA IN ART HISTORY, CURATORSHIP AND RENAISSANCE CULTURE.

(In Collaboration with the National Gallery)

GIOVANNI CACCINI (1556-1613):

THE RISE OF THE LANGUAGE OF COUNTER-REFORMATION

IN FLORENTINE LATE-RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE

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APPENDIX

Introduction

In the last paragraph of his book *Il Riposo*, published in 1584, the erudite connoisseur Raffaello Borghini devoted some praising words to the work of Giovanni di Michelangelo Caccini, who at the time, was a good-promising sculptor of twenty-two years of age.[1] In spite of his young age, Caccini could already show up a remarkable resume. In fact, he had already restored many ancient Roman statues (*assai anticaglie*) belonging to Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici and his officer and Dosio's protector, Giovanni Gaddi, and he had already carried out the laying statue of *San Giovanni Gualberto* at the Badia of St Michele in Passignano, the first documented work of his (1580 ca.).[2] Moreover, just prior to the publication of Borghini's book (1583-84), Caccini had been working on the marble statues of the Carnesecchi Chapel in St. Maria Maggiore, Florence, and on the statue of *Temperance* commissioned by the bishop of Marsi, Giovan Battista del Milanese (the latter now displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of New York).[3] Given such a good debut of Caccini, Borghini foreshadowed that 'if he improves further as he already shows day by day, it will not be long before he will be accounted amongst the most excellent masters that sculpture has ever had'.[4]

Borghini's correct prediction on Caccini's progress would prove to be effective in the coming few years. In fact, between the last decade of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, Caccini would meet an unrivalled primacy in Florence in the field of devotional sculpture. It is just for that reason that almost a century after Borghini, Filippo Baldinucci, who wrote the first accomplished biography of the sculptor, acknowledged him as 'one of the best professors of sculpture and architecture'.[5] Indeed, the crucial role that Caccini played in those years was fundamentally concerned with the prestige of the commissions he obtained – it would suffice to recall either the stucco statue of *St Giovanni Gualberto* executed in 1589 in occasion of the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine for the fictitious façade of the Duomo, Florence,[6] or the majestic marble *ciborium* in Santo Spirito, Florence.[7] Nonetheless,

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[1] R. Borghini. *Il riposo di Raffaello Borghini: in cui della pittura, e della scultura si favella, de' più illustri pittori, e scultori, et delle più famose opere loro si fa mentione*. Florence 1584, p. 647

[2] J.K. Schmidt. *Studien zum statuarischen Werk des Giovanni Battista Caccini*. Köln 1971, p. 141; A. Natali. 'Giovanni Caccini "eccellente nel restaurare": un'ipotesi di restituzione a Benedetto da Rovezzano', *Paragone. Arte*, 42, 1991, 491, 25, pp. 3-14.

[3] F. Baldinucci. *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* (1681-1728), 5 Vols, III. Ed. F. Ranalli. Florence: 1846 (1681), p. 289.

[4] Original text: 'Se egli, sicome si vede che fa tutto il giorno, sì continuamente nell'arte avanzando, non passerà guari di tempo che egli si potrà mettere nel numero de' più eccellenti maestri che abbia avuto la scultura' (Borghini, as n. 1, p. 647).

[5] Baldinucci (as n. 3), p. 289.

[6] J.K. Schmidt. 'Le statue per la facciata di S. Maria del Fiore in occasione delle nozze di Ferdinando I', *Antichità viva*, 5, 1968, p. 45.

[7] F. Bocchi; G. Cinelli. *Le bellezze della città di Firenze, da M. Giovanni Cinelli ampliate ed accresciute*. Florence 1677, p. 141.

the noticeable amount of talented pupils he mentored in the 1590s, would dominate the seventeenth-century Florence artistic scenario, namely Gherardo Silvani, Antonio Novelli, Cosimo Fancelli, Agostino Bugiardini, Orazio Mochi.[8]

Caccini's work gives a meaning to the sculptural language referred to as of 'Counter-reformation' through the pages of the present work. This language which rose up in the 1580s, aimed at contrasting twisting, sinuous, serpentine-like shapes of Late Florentine *Maniera* for a more straightforward and recognisable patterns. At the time of Caccini's professional rise, in fact, those forms of Late *Maniera* and late Michelangiolesque legacy had become utterly unintelligible except for an elitist group of European erudite connoisseurs and rulers. These people were keen on works by Flemish sculptor Giambologna as the highest representative of that highbrow climate of Mannerism, and used to compete each other for a bronzette by the sculptor. In that respect, significant circulation of numerous replicas of Giambologna's bronze *Mercury,* through the most powerful European courts, for instance, attests the contemporary ruler's ambition to own one work by Giambologna as an ostentatious symbol of status.[9]

On the contrary, religious and clerical commissioners could not further tolerate 'giambolognesque culture' anymore at this time because its unnatural forms and cryptic messages had become incompatible with compulsory statute by the Council of Trent. In that respect, it is worthy of note that Giambologna did never receive commissions by religious orders or brotherhoods. Those fistful religious works he made between the 1580s and 1590s, in fact, rather came by private commissioners willing to embellish their noble chapels.

The Council of Trent (ended in 1563) had wished a reformation of Art which might support popular devotion by representing high-intelligible contents and decorum. Since the late 1570s, Florentine Art anticipated those aspirations to reformation thanks to the artistic contribution of a generation of painters called 'Reformers', namely Santi di Tito, Andrea Boscoli and Jacopo Ligozzi, who first promoted a new conception of Art closer to Nature and reality.[10] Later on in the 1590s, while those aspirations were also reflected and 'sealed' in literature by St Carlo Borromeo's,[11] Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's[12] and Jesuit Antonio Possevino's[13] books, artistic

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[8] Baldinucci (as n. 3), p. 291.

[9] M. Leithe-Jasper. *Il Mercurio volante. Il problema della figura serpentinata*, in B. Paolozzi Strozzi, Beatrice; D. Zikos. *Giambologna: gli dei, gli eroi*. Florence 2006, pp. 255-268.

[10] S.J. Freedberg. *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*. New Haven; London 1993, p. 620. H. Voss. *Painting of the Late Renaissance in Rome and Florence*. 2 vols., II, *The diffusion and transformation of Mannerism. 1570-1600*. San Francisco 1997, pp. 72-90.

[11] C. Borromeo. *Instructiones fabricæ et suppellectilis ecclesiasticæ*. Milan: 1577

[12] G. Paleotti. *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane*. Diviso in 5 libri. Bologna: 1582.

[13] A. Possevino. *Bibliotheca selecta: qua agitur de ratione stvdiorvm in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda*. Rome 1593.

achievement of new generation of Florentine Reformers would let that Art evolve into a fully devotional language of Counter-Reformation. This language would be based on the combination of plane narrative technique and expression of devotional feelings (*poetica degli affetti*). The unrivalled champions of that tendency in Florence would be Bernardino Barbatelli nicknamed Poccetti,[14] Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli[15] and Ludovico Cardi nicknamed Cigoli.[16]

Caccini's Florentine progress fell just in the years of reformation of Arts by Reformers. He managed to leave Giambologna's typical patterns behind by instead reverting to Early Cinquecento's *grazia* (grace) and *decoro* (decorum). He also elaborated a very plane, unambiguous and clearly comprehensible language that could convey practicing doctrines to different religious backgrounds. Take for instance, as Caccini's most paradigmatic work, the bust of the *Redeemer* (1594-98 *circa*), originally embedded in a tabernacle at the top of the Benedetti's altar in St Maria Novella, Florence (today at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, fig. 1).[17] Caccini skilfully represented his *Christ* with a resigned expression and eyes facing down foreshadowing his own passion. Indeed, *Christ* exudes genuine humanity and feelings of inner fear and resignation towards his destiny. Caccini's strong belief in mankind and down-to-earth reality, as well as his early adhesion to *poetica degli affetti* – i.e, an artistic tendency of Late Cinquecento up to whole Seicento by which artists used to investigate and represent their characters' intimate passions and feelings[18] – appear the farthest ever possible from contemporary representation of reality by Mannerist painters like Marco Pino from Siena, for instance. Pino, in fact, while attempting to respond to Counter-Reformation demand for pictorial renovation, neither managed to put his Michelangiolesque and quite algid style off, as his *Trinity* at the Pinacoteca Provinciale, Bari, clearly shows (fig. 2-3) nor to engage viewers.[19] On the contrary, Caccini's outspoken representation of feelings sought straight out worshippers. Originally, in fact, the Amsterdam's bust possibly stood approximately at three metres high, at the top of the Benedetti's altar, where *Christ*'s gaze looked down straight into the believers's eyes and 'beckoned' them.

Even Giambologna'intentions aimed to involve viewers into the scene. In fact, he conceived his works as multi-facial, forcing viewers to turn around them in order to get a satisfactory point of

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[14] L. Marcucci. *Barbatelli, Bernardo, detto Bernardino Poccetti*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 6, 1964, *ad vocem.*

[15] M.A. Chiappini Bianchini, *Da Empoli, Iacopo, detto Iacopo Chimenti*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 31, 1985, *ad vocem.*

[16] Chappel, Miles. *Cardi, Lodovico detto il Cigoli*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 19, 1976, *ad vocem.*

[17] H. Keutner. 'Giovanni Caccini and the rediscovered bust of Christ', *Sotheby's art at auction*, 1988/89, p. 336, footnote 21; A. Koomen. 'De Christus van Caccini', *The Rijksmuseum bulletin*, 49, 2001, pp. 326-41.

[18] Briganti, Giuliano. *La vocazione alla poetica degli affetti del Seicento fiorentino*, in Pratesi, Giovanni; Spinelli, Riccardo. *Pitture fiorentine del Seicento*, Firenze, Palazzo Ridolfi, 28 aprile-31 maggio 1987. Florence 1987, pp. 9-12.

[19] Zezza, Andrea. *Marco Pino: l'opera completa*. Naples: Electa Napoli 2003, p. 262.

view.[20] However, his language was antipodal to Caccini's as long as his characters were utterly lacking of *poetica degli affetti* and impassively inexpressive and cool. This is was more due to the sculptor's keen interest on a figure's motion in space rather than in the investigation of feelings and psychological impact on viewers. In other words, while Caccini used to refer to passive beholders, Giambologna rather sought out active viewers to whom he demanded an intellectual endeavour for comprehension.

Over the last thirty years, uncovered documents have revealed unexpected information about Caccini's education and early Florentine years that even his biographers likely ignored. In fact, although he worked mostly in Florence during his life and received his Florentine citizenship in 1600, Caccini was born in Montopoli near Rome, in 1556.[21] He got his primary education in Rome in the workshop of the Florentine sculptor and architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio, and became his favourite pupil. In 1575 *circa*, Caccini followed Dosio to Florence. Here they held some professional bonds up until the second half of the 1580s, when Dosio employed him for the decoration with stucco statues of St Maria del Fiore's fictitious façade.[22] This was Caccini's last collaboration with the master.

However, a document of 1580 witnesses that since 1578, Caccini had been working at Giambologna's workshop in St Maria Novella, where he had also carried out a good number of works looking forward to being delivered to commissioners. In particular, the document mentions a 'Charlemagne' – clearly recognisable in the king's bust set in the apse of St Apostoli, Florence, which faces the *archbishop Antonio Altoviti*'s bust also by Caccini. Yet, 'an ancient marble bust lacking of head and base' as well as 'a marble head of Vitellius to be restored'.[23] Overall, this document has a seminal importance since it sheds light on an unimaginable phase of the sculptor's education. In fact, when Caccini moved to Florence, he is likely to have finished his apprenticeship in Giambologna's workshop, the most reckoned and estimated sculptor of the time in the Medici's city.

Some more documents as well as his early works seem to sus by Caccini seem to suggest that he worked with the Flemish sculptor up to the 1580s. Even Raffaello Borghini's unexpected careful attention to young Caccini's catalogue would endorse his closeness to Giambologna at this stage. Borghini, in fact, was a close friend of Giambologna's patron, Bernardo Vecchietti,[24] as well as of

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[20] R. Wittkower. *Sculpture processes and principles*. Harmondsworth 1979, p. 150.
[21] R. Giazotto. *Le due patrie di Giulio Caccini, musico mediceo, 1551-1618: nuovi contributi anagrafici e d'archivio sulla sua vita e la sua famiglia*, Florence 1984, p. 63.
[22] Schmidt (as n. 6), p. 45.
[23] Keutner (as n. 17), p. 339, no. 8.
[24] Borghini's book was set in Vecchietti's villa known as 'Il Riposo' from which the author derived the title.

Giambologna himself. In 1582, he even influenced the choice of 'Rape of Sabines' as the final title attributed to the marble group that Giambologna had just carried out for the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence. Given such a documented closeness of Caccini to Giambologna since the late 1570s, scholars, however, have never investigated the reasons that paradoxically contributed to the ripening of such an antipodal language of Caccini exactly inside the workshop of the most outstanding sculptor of Florentine Mannerism, Giambologna. The issue appears to be even more as controversial as intriguing when one realises that the way in which the new sculptural language of Counter-Reformation replaced Mannerist culture in Florence, did not only apply to Caccini's progress but also to Michelangelo Naccherino's, for instance. This was another of Giambologna's Florentine pupils who left his master since 1573 and moved to Naples. There, between the 1590s and the first two decades of Seicento, he would become the main representative of the Counter-Reformation language in the South of Italy.[25]

The following essay aims to shed light on the factors which engendered the rise and development of the devotional language of Counter-Reformation in the Late-Cinquecento and Early-Seicento Florentine sculpture until its final triumph over the typical forms of giambolognesque culture. This investigation will take in consideration a wide range of aspects, which contributed to the process.

The first chapter will provide an insight into political, social and cultural context in Florence where Caccini accomplished his education between the late 1570s and the 1580s. More specifically, a survey on political deeds which Cosimo I and his son Francesco de' Medici imposed on the Grand Duchy of Florence at the time, will contribute to the focus on the reformation of worship within the Florentine Church led by archbishops Antonio Altoviti and Alessandro de' Medici. Moving on to the artistic context, the crucial role that painter Federico Zuccari played in the late 1570s will be also pointed out. Zuccari, in fact, most inspired the development of painting *dal vero* in Florence as well as the reform of the Florentine Academia del Disegno.

The second chapter – the heart of the present work – will analyse the very controversial obligations that bonded Caccini to Giambologna between the eighteenth and nineteenth decades of the Cinquecento. Numerous comparisons between the works of the two sculptors will enable the reader to find out Giambologna's formal inheritance from Caccini's works. Juxtaposition will also clarify Caccini's cultural distance from the older Flemish sculptor according to discrepancies of respectively background and personal sensitivity.

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[25] Kuhlemann, Michael. *Michelangelo Naccherin: Skulptur zwischen Florenz und Neapel um 1600*. Münster: Waxmann 1999.

Finally, the third and last chapter will focus on the development of the Counter-Reformation language in Caccini's work, more specifically between the 1590s and the 1610s. Much attention will be paid to the models that Caccini followed while 'reforming' Florentine sculpture, particularly the ones which were mostly rooted in Early-Cinquecento Florence Art. At the same time, comparisons between the late works by Caccini and by painters Bernardino Poccetti and Jacopo Empoli will be taken into account as revealing a common cultural ground. This was very likely shared in the Academia del Disegno, where both these painters and Caccini himself were regular attendants.

Political and social context in Florence at the time of Caccini's education (1575-80 ca.).

When Caccini moved to Florence (about 1575), the Medici's city was already redolent of the Counter-Reformation's wind. Since the early 1560s, in fact, soon after the Council of Trent ended (1563), Duke of Florence Cosimo I de' Medici had declared himself to be 'obedient son of the Holy Church' and had been promptly disposed to introducing some of the most noticeable albeit controversial changes of the Tridentine Council in his State.[26] Cosimo's concern was blatantly political. In fact, in exchange, he aimed to be acknowledged as a ruler over the whole Tuscany by the Church and the main European States. He also wanted to obtain a royal title – in 1569, he finally managed to get crowned as Grand Duke of Tuscany by pope Pio V. The application of the Council's rulings to within his borders had remarkable impact on Florentine society though Cosimo's ambiguous own interests, and brought about a radical renewal of Florentine religious customs which would last throughout the following decades.

Four years before the Council ended, Cosimo I had already introduced the *Book of forbidden books* (1559) in his dominions as Pope Paul IV had ordered. Moreover, in 1560, he had allowed the papacy to place the Florentine Nuntiatura Apostolica in his State – one amongst the earliest papal embassies in Italy together with those in the State of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples. Over the following centuries, the Nunziatura Apostolica would become the main channel through which the papacy kept watch and monitored Florentine morals.[27] It is worth noticing also that in 1567, Cosimo promulgated the papal note *In Coena Domini* in Florence. This enabled him to repress any form of heresy and heretical misbehaviour against either God or the Duke's majesty for he claimed to be a secular representative of the Pope in Florentine dominions. On this note, Cosimo was able to deliver the heretic humanist Pietro Carnesecchi to the Inquisition though he was one of the Duke's most loyal officers and close friends. He was also a member of one of the most prestigious families in Florence at the time.[28]

Furthermore, around the end of the 1560s, Cosimo renewed the 1545's document known as *Reformatio monasteriorum*, which aimed to reform female convents according to a strict observance of morals. Within the Florentine Senate he selected a permanent commission to choose three deputies, namely two clericals and one secular. Pietro Carnesecchi's brother, Bartolomeo, was

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[26] A. D'Addario. *Aspetti della Controriforma a Firenze*. Rome; Florence 1972, p. 154.
[27] Ibid., p. 156.
[28] Ibid., p. 159.

one of the earliest and most eminent secular deputies. In those years, it was he who also built the Carnesecchi chapel in St Maria Maggiore, Florence, as a sign of reconciliation to the Holy Church and to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany after Pietro was in prison. Here Caccini would in the 1580s.[29]

However, while the Medici's political scenario launched the Counter-Reformation and entangled Florentine society with a load of the tightest rules to adhere to since 1560s, it was indeed the untiring pastoral work of archbishops Antonio Altoviti (1567-73) and Alessandro de' Medici (1574-1605) – the latter would take over as pope Leo XI in 1605 – to radically transform Florentine society from within and to permeate it with the Tridentine climate of piety and devotion. In fact, both Cardinals Altoviti and Medici managed to reform Florence Diocese and its functions as well as they renewed liturgical traditions and public devotion. In particular, three synods held in 1569, 1573 and 1589 respectively helped the two archibishops's with their work. They were concerned with the reformation of the clergy's customs, teachings and liturgical traditions. Thanks to the synods, therefore, the Council of Trent's dispositions were effectively applied to the Florentine Church.

Among those dispositions, the reformation of the clergy played a crucial role. Priests were conceived as members of a *clericalis militia*, whose main task sought to be educational. In order to make reformation of customs and morals credible to devotees, priests themselves were to be exemplary models. Therefore, they had to dress soberly and to conduct an austere lifestyle of prayer and spirituality. Yet, they had to keep away ambiguous attitudes and even refrain from promiscuous places (i.e. taverns) in order to not arise scandals among religious population. They should also be strictly observant to State rules. Even more so, they should be well-educated on the Bible and Tridentine final conclusions on religious matters in order to cope with heresy and give plausible answers about the issues of faith to devotees. Antonio Altoviti built a seminary in Florence in the 1560s in order to support priesthood education, though the education commenced some years later.[30]

Teaching and catechism also were reformed. Since the Tridentine Church aimed to widely educate the population with orthodox doctrines and even dogmas in the countryside, not only would the priests but also secular congregations of teachers (supervised by priests) undergo trainings. Consequently, secular teachers had to profess faith as exactly as priests did and were obligated to learn the basis of catechism, due to their strategic role.

However, it was the reformation of liturgical traditions that had the most striking impact on popular devotion as it most inspired the rising of common feelings of piety and consternation even

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[29] Ibid., pp. 132-33.
[30] Ibid., p. 206.

reflected in Caccini's works. In particular, between 1581 and 1590, archbishop Alessandro de' Medici favoured the renovation of liturgical functions, namely the Holy Sacrament, the *Quarantore* (Forty Hours's devotion) and the worship of the Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary. These were pompously accompanied by processions, songs and gaudy decorations. Nevertheless, the Archbishop imposed a strict review of holy mass to be celebrated in the Cathedral of Florence. The chaplains were also made to stand by during choral masses and to recite breviaries entirely.[31] Furthermore, the establishment of religious brotherhoods and prayer groups in the Florentine countryside supplied parishes not only in evangelisation, but also in promoting holy sacraments and local festivities in honour of Saints. The purpose behind the forceful penetration into the countryside was clearly concerned with indoctrinating of rural masses towards the Council of Trent's instructions.

Nonetheless, the introduction of Jesuits since 1572, who based their college in St Giovannino, Florence, played an essential role.[32] In fact, they not only did contribute to moulding a climate of severe integrity but also to take up responsibilities in educating the Florentine upper classes. Among the most influential Florentine Jesuits at the time, it is worth mentioning Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, who would work as inquisitor of the Sant'Uffizio in Rome between the end of Cinquecento and the beginning of the new century. He also would contribute to Giordano Bruno's sentence of death as a heretical scholar (15 February 1600).

Finally, even the Arts were affected by religious reformation. Keeping faithful to the Council of Trent's instructions, Florentine Diocese ordered the removal of altar paintings whose subject might have appeared ambiguously profane or inappropriate to the ecclesiastic environment. Such prescription clearly aimed to clear up the churches of those equivocal works of art of the Mannerist age. Churches's decoration should rather enable worshippers to focus on prayer without distractions.

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[31] Ibid., p. 181.
[32] Ibid., pp. 323-26.

The artistic context: the second sojourn of Federico Zuccari in Florence (1575-80) and the delivery of the Madonna del Popolo by Federico Barocci to Arezzo (1579).

While the reformation of Florentine Church's customs and liturgical traditions gave a hint of things to come in the Medici's city, in the second half of the 1570s two outstanding artistic episodes contributed dramatically to a profound renovation of Florentine Arts. The first was constituted by the sojourn of the painter Federico Zuccari in Florence (1575-80); the second by the arrival of the *Madonna del Popolo* by the Urbino painter Federico Barocci to Arezzo (1579). Indeed, they respectively favoured artistic tendencies of return to the representation *dal vero* (by the painter's visual experience of reality) and to the evaluation of intimate feelings (*poetica degli affetti*). They also set a fertile ground in which Giovanni Caccini's accomplishment of education would flourish.

Federico Zuccari moved to Florence in October 1575. He was invited by the Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici himself in order to present some projects for the accomplishment of the frescoes of the Cathedral's dome, St Maria del Fiore, representing the *Last Judgement*. In fact, they had been left unaccomplished since June 1574, when their main executor, Giorgio Vasari, died. Over the middle lapse (1574-75), many projects by local painters had been presented to carry out the work, but the Grand Duke had rejected them as unsatisfactory. Finally, the work was interrupted.[33]

At the time Zuccari was called for a consultation, he had been working at Queen Elizabeth Tudor's court in England since March 1575. There he had executed the portraits of the Queen herself and of her loyal courtesan Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester.[34] Much attracted to the potential commission by the Medici, Zuccari moved to Florence straightaway. Here, Francesco I's counsellor and connoisseur Bernardo Vecchietti hosted him at his villa *Il Riposo* for a year and a half and supported Zuccari's application to obtain the commission.[35] Over that time, Federico studied a lot and made many drawings. Finally, he obtained that wished-for job which, later, raised up much indignation amongst local painters who did not expect the Grand Duke to privilege a 'foreign' artist.[36] After attaining the commission, Federico bought a house with a workshop placed in Via San Sebastiano, today Via Capponi, where the painter Andrea del Sarto had once already resided.

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[33] M. Gregori. 'Federico Zuccari a Firenze. Un punto di vista', *Paragone. Arte*, 17, 1998, 575 p. 9.

[34] E. Goldring. 'Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I and the Earl of Leicester for Kenilworth Castle', *The Burlington magazine*, 147, 2005, 1231, pp. 654-60. At present, two preparatory drawings to the portraits are preserved at the British Museum, London.

[35] D. Heikamp. 'Federico Zuccari a Firenze: 1575 – 1579. La cupola del Duomo. Il diario disegnato', I. *Paragone. Arte*, 18, 1967, 205, p. 46.

[36] A. Grazzini detto il Lasca. *Rime*. Parte prima. Florence 1741, p. 251, no. XLV.

Zuccari perhaps expected that his sojourn would last much more than it effectively did.[37] The dome's frescoes were partly uncovered on August 19th, 1579, and by October of that year the last details were completed.[38]

When it was finally displayed, the work received harsh criticism and suffered bad reputation amongst local artists, clearly due to envy. The contemporary poet Giovanfrancesco Grazzini nicknamed Lasca, giving voice to the grumbling local moods evaluated the frescoes by Zuccari as a blunder for they did not harmoniously fit with the previous work of Vasari. Therefore, he even wished them to be whitewashed and erased.[39] On the other hand, he acknowledged Zuccari's unrivalled talent in colouring even more so when compared to that poor of local painters.[40]

Indeed, those scenes by Zuccari did neither chromatically nor formally blend in with what Vasari had painted before both. In spite of this, at the time, Zuccari gave a pictorial legacy to a new generation of painters. When compared to Vasari's twisting and writhing figures – which are typical of the Mannerist language – those by Zuccari look more intelligible and straightforward for they are endowed with a liveliness and planeness that is far from Vasari's elaborate style (fig. 5). Despite the tight iconographic limits related to the eschatological subject (*Last Judgement*), in fact, Zuccari endowed his figures with very lively and intense colours of Venetian background which enjoyed much appreciation even by contemporary detractors such as Lasca. In the 1560s, in fact, Zuccari had worked in St Francesco della Vigna, Venice.

In those years, Zuccari also produced many preparatory drawings for the Dome's frescoes. They depicted very simple stories mostly set in domestic scenes. While they started to circulate amongst artists, they became the inspiring examples to the early generation of painters known as 'Florentine Reformers'. They were Santi di Tito, Andrea Boscoli, Jacopo Ligozzi and also the mature Mannerist painter Giovanni Stradano who had been one of the most faithful co-operators of Giorgio Vasari.[41] They also influenced the next generation of Reformers, namely Bernardino Poccetti, Jacopo Empoli, Domenico Passignano and Ludovico Cigoli, who followed Zuccari's teaching more closely. The Reformers sought out the artists of the classical High-Renaissance style – never the Mannerists like Vasari – as a guidance towards naturalism in describing persons, things, and their environmental space. They also strove to achieving clarity and logic of pictorial structure. Equally

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[37] Heikamp (as n. 35), p. 8.
[38] Ibid., p. 47.
[39] Grazzini (as n. 36), p. 253, no. XLVI.
[40] 'Bisognato è, per forza di danari,/ non senza gran vergogna e vitupero/ far vernir, per fornirlo, un forastiero. / Il qual, per dire il vero, / nel disegnar, e maneggiar colori, / Ha poch'oggi, o nessun, che gli sia pari' (Grazzini, as n. 36, p. 251, no. XLV).
[41] Gregori (as n. 33), p. 10.

important for them was to attaining legibility of communication.[42] Drawings by Zuccari represented some essential models to those who were inspired with both a renewed-Raphaelesque style and Tridentine decorum and straightforwardness. In the 1560s, in fact, the painter had received education in Rome at his brother Taddeo Zuccari's workshop. Taddeo was a follower of Raphael and was estimated as one of the most influential painters of the time.[43] Federico Zuccari's narrative technique showed up to be even plainer and more simplified than Taddeo's as well as extremely clear and intelligible. When compared to the over-complicated and cryptic stories of Vasari painted for Palazzo Vecchio, Florence in the 1560s, Zuccari's frescoes were definitely at the forefront (fig. 6).

The remarkable role Zuccari played as a story teller was crucial even to Caccini's education, which – it is worth recalling – took place exactly in the years of Zuccari's sojourn. If one drew comparisons between the bronze bas-reliefs that Caccini carried out for the Cathedral of Pisa's main gate (1596-1603) – take for instance the scene of the *Annunciation to Virgin Mary* – to the frescoes that Zuccari made for his Florentine palace during his stay (fig. 7), he would be surprisingly attracted by Zuccari's attention in describing domestic scenes in plane language as well as by his setting in wide, airy and monumental spaces. This way to compose stories perfectly matches to Caccini's (fig. 8).

Zuccari's contribution to the renewal of pictorial tradition in Florence was not exclusively related to his influential production. In the time in which he lived in the Medici's city, he also spent much effort in reforming the Academia del Disegno – the main Florence artistic and cultural institution of the time – from the last evidence of Vasari's cultural monopoly.

Zuccari had already registered at the Academy in 1565 (one year after its foundation), when he first came to Florence in the occasion of the marriage between Duke Francesco I de' Medici and Johanna of Austria. Newly admitted in 1575, he proposed numerous reformations concerning with the teaching of Arts which effectively were turned into practice by a new generation of Reformers in a fistful of years. His proposals are currently known thanks to a handwritten memorial Zuccari left, which is currently preserved at the Central Library of Florence.[44] Overall, Zuccari encouraged contemporary painters to study Early-Cinquecento Old Florentine Masters ('valent'huomini') – clearly referring to Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto – and to follow their footprint.

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[42] Freedberg (as n. 10), p. 620.

[43] Acidini Luchinat, Cristina. *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. Milan 1998-99, I, pp. 2-8.

[44] Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. II. IV. 311, *Memoriale di F. Zuccari per la riforma dell'insegnamento accademico a Firenze* (*circa* 1578), cc. 134r-136v (from Z. Ważbiński. *Lo studio. La scuola fiorentina di Federico Zuccari*, in *L'Accademia medicea del disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento: idea e istituzione*, 2 vols, Florence 1987, II, p. 486).

Moreover, he advised to acquire inspiration from observing and imitating Nature[45] and to 'portray figures dal vero in order to grasp their natural lights and shadows, and their flapping motions and the way people gorgeously wear, as well as the ripples of their clothes and draperies'.[46] Finally, he recommended painters to 'compose scenes according to moral rules and discernment (osservanza et discrezione) and in accordance with what better suits to the environment'. The paintings should also 'represent grace, decorum and expression of feeling'.[47]

Zuccari's memorial, which summed up the whole poetic of Art between the late Cinquecento and first half of Seicento (not only in Florence), had a remarkable impact on local artists. Overall, the return back to Early-Cinquecento Old Masters as well as the importance of portraying *dal vero* (i.e. taking inspiration from observing Nature and reality); his encouragement to the *poetica degli affetti* (i.e. attention to inner most feelings) as well as to a deferential attitude towards rules suitable to decorum in different context (the opposite to Vasari's concept of *licenza*),[48] would become the ultimate inspiration to Reformers.

The Academy was the ideal cot where these theories of Art would spread and turn into practice very soon. In fact, the encounter of artists favoured the development of a common language which rested on a common ground and the sharing of repertories inspired by Zuccari. In some cases the language was so consistent, reliable and resembling that attributing any work to a specific artist would be extremely challenging without an authorship documentation. Such is the case of works by Bernardino Poccetti and Domenico Passignano in the early 1580s, for instance. Academic rules encouraged artists to a plane and straightforward but also detailed and even chronicled narrative technique. Yet, a meticulous drawing *dal vero*, considered as a landmark to intelligibility of images, was essential. Finally, simplification of a character's motions and attitudes would favour worshippers's concentration on holy scenes. Early-Cinquecento Old Masters, namely Raphael and Andrea del Sarto above all, were the forerunners of that style. But that fructuous revival was likely developed just in the Academy, though not many documents but works of art by artists who attended it can currently document it.

The achievement of a shared language can be even argued when one compares Giovanni Caccini's works to contemporary painters Bernardino Poccetti's and Jacopo Empoli's. Since his early Florentine education, Caccini was one of the most active members of the Academy, where he

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[45] 'As they should imitate Nature indeed rather than the works by either Giovanni or Piero' (Ibidem). While mentioning 'Giovanni and Piero', it is not clear whether Zuccari referred to artists historically existed or made up fictitious names.
[46] Original text: 'Ritrarre dal vero per possedere bene e lumi et ombre, e sbattimenti di figure, et come si vestino esse figure gratiosamente, le discrezzioni de' panni et pieghe, et come et perché si faccino e' cartoni grandi et simili altr cose' (Ibidem).
[47] Original text: 'osservanza et discrezione […] ne' componimenti' *and* 'quel che convengha in un luogo et quel che non stia bene nell'altro, le grazie, I decori, gl'affetti come si esprimino' (Ibidem).
[48] P. Barocchi. *Giorgio Vasari. La vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568.* 5 Vols. Milan-Naples 1962, II, p. 17.

first enrolled in 1578.[49] According to documents, he renewed his registration for several years,[50] hence between 1585 and 1612 he even took over as a consul many times.[51] It is clear that such an interrupted experience at the Academia allowed him to meet and to share artistic interests with painters such as Poccetti and Empoli who also very actively participated in the Academy. Take for instance, the bust of the *Virgin Mary* by Caccini standing on the top of a door in the cloister of St Maria degli Angeli, Florence (fig. 9) as well as its preparatory version currently displayed at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 10).[52] To date, no one has ever stressed such a manifest and detailed resemblance that bonds these works by Caccini to some drawings by Poccetti, particularly the *Virgin with Christ child and St Raymond* at the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh (fig. 11). One might assume that the two artists probably used to share the same models. And indeed, the clue will be given as very probable once one realises that between the 1590s and the 1610s the two artists used to work together in many work yards, including at the cloister of St Maria degli Angeli itself. Here Poccetti painted the frescoes surmounting the doors whilst Caccini set his busts. Although the relationships between Caccini and Poccetti as well as between Caccini and Empoli will be dealt later on in a separate chapter of this essay, it is worth highlighting here that the common background in which both the artists rooted was the Early-Cinquecento Art. More specifically, I am thinking about Andrea del Sarto's works, the so called *Madonna del Sacco* at the cloister of SS. Annunziata, Florence. This work might have inspired both the busts by Caccini and the drawing by Poccetti (fig. 12).[53] At the time, in fact, Caccini likely had a great admiration for Andrea del Sarto to whom he even dedicated his bust at the cloister of SS. Annunziata in 1606 (fig. 13).[54] He was also deeply inspired by Early-Cinquecento Old sculptors such as Benedetto da Rovezzano and Jacopo Sansovino, to whom referred in other occasions. At the time, however, many more artists than Caccini and Poccetti themselves used to refer to Early-Cinquecento models, and Andrea del Sarto more specifically as a source of inspiration. Therefore, it is clear that the choice of return up to Old Masters could be nothing but part of a conscious and shared program which aimed to wipe out the last trawls of Mannerist tradition by opposing the brightest models of Classicism and High Renaissance. That program, which had already been explained to by Federico Zuccari's memorial for the reformation of the Academia del Disegno (about 1578), had become one of the teaching landmarks at the Academia itself in the 1590s.

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[49] State Archive of Florence [henceforth ASF], *Accademia del Disegno*, 101, October 12, 1578, c. 52v (Valone, Carolyn. *Giovanni Antonio Dosio and his patrons*. PhD Diss. Evanston, Illinois 1972, p. 191).

[50] He renewed his registration in 1582, 1584, 1591, 1595, 1596 (L. Zangheri. *Gli Accademici del Disegno: elenco cronologico*. Florence 1999, pp. 19, 23, 32, 35).

[51] He took over as consul in the years 1585, 1589, 1594 and 1612 (Zangheri (as n. 50), pp. 19, 23, 31, 32).

[52] Pope-Hennessy, John. *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, 3 Vols. London 1964, II, Text, p. 483; Schmidt (as n. 2), pp. 162-63.

[53] S.J. Freedberg. *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass. 1963, I, pp. 72-74.

[54] Baldinucci, (as n. 3), p. 81.

Contemporaneously to Zuccari's activity in Florence, the arrival of the *Madonna del Popolo* by Urbino painter Federico Barocci to Arezzo (1579) marked a significant breakthrough to the education of a new generation of artists in Florence (fig. 14).

The panel by Barocci, today displayed at the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (signed and dated 'FEDERICO BAROTIUS URBINAS/ MD.LXXIX') was commissioned by the secular brotherhood of St Maria della Misericordia, Arezzo since 1575. In fact, a private bequest had generously granted a conspicuous amount of money to the brotherhood, thanks to which they had refurbished their altar in the church of Misericordia in the 1570s.[55] According to the contract, Barocci was originally supposed to paint *Mercy Virgin with Christ*. However, after a quite long negotiation the subject was turned into *Virgin interceding devotees to her Son.*[56]

The way that Barocci interpreted such a typical subject of Counter-Reformation affected dramatically local painters up to the whole Seicento. Barocci managed to give a profound unity to a quite complicated representation in which characters occupy – one would rather say cluster in space – both in the foreground and in the background. At the same time, Mary surrounded by angels, appeals to a blessing Christ at the top of the scene. That unity was given by a clever orchestration of plane, straightforward and immediately intelligible motions, which harmoniously correspond to a perfect consonance of lively, iridescent and smooth colours making the painting lavish and precious.

Due to the character's paused and warm-hearted motions as well as their calm but very expressive attitudes, the whole representation is endowed with an elegiac and intimate tone, which clearly refers to viewers, involving them to take part within the scene.[57] Such silent tone was evidently inspired by works of Early-Cinquecento Parmesan painter Antonio Correggio and also by Venetian Giorgione. Barocci gave one of the most outstanding proofs of the so-called *poetica degli affetti*, i.e., the typically Late-Cinquecento and Seicento artists's inclination to investigate a character's feelings and to sublimate them into an intimate and elegiac tone.

Poetica degli affetti, first displayed by Federico Barocci's *Madonna del Popolo* exercised a noticeable influence on Florentine painters from the early 1580s. In particular, coeval works by Ludovico Cigoli and Jacopo Empoli appeared quite sensitive to Barocci's example. Instead, Caccini's attention to the representation of inner emotions came about a bit later between the very end of the 1580s and the beginning of the 1590s. In that respect, the bust of *Reedemer* by Caccini at

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[55] A. Giannotti. *Genesi e fortuna di un 'exemplum caritatis': la 'Madonna del Popolo' di Federico Barocci*, in A. Natali, *L'onestà dell'invenzione. Pittura della riforma cattolica agli Uffizi*. Cinisello Balsamo 1999, p. 25.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Freedberg (as n. 10), p. 635.

the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (1592-94) can be considered one of the first sculptural attestations by him, which reflected the new climate of intimacy triggered by Barocci's work (fig. 16). Although Caccini's bust and Barocci's *Christ* do not share much figurative kinship – unlike works of Caccini and Poccetti, for instance – they indeed show up the same vocation to intimacy and silent involvement of viewers into the holy scene. In that respect, light which lingers on expressive details and virtuous draperies as being significant contributes to a general perception of a timeless preciousness (fig. 15).

The artistic climate of intimacy, which ran through the Florentine culture since the 1580s, knew a sort of 'official' seal in the literature of the 1590s.

Since the early 1560s, the Council of Trent had dealt with the relationship between Holy Scripture and Images and had disposed a reformation of Arts according to the rules of decorum and suitability of contents to religious environments. It had pointed out the educative role of priests and had wished to wipe out forms of superstition and magic used in worshipping. Finally, it had allocated a monitoring function to bishops and clericals over the production of orthodox works of Art.[58]

The rules of the Council of Trent had been promptly seized and applied to his diocese by the Cardinal and Archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo. In his *Instructiones fabricæ et suppellectilis ecclesiasticæ* (1577) he had asserted that Christian images only should teach the Holy Scripture in a straightforward way. They also had to support worshippers's concentration during their prayers. Therefore, they should neither contain distracting details nor display any ambiguity (Borromeo's clear reference was to Mannerist Art).[59]

These Tridentine instructions by Borromeo were further developed in the 1580s by the Cardinal and Archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti, and by Jesuit Antonio Possevino. In his *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* (first published in 1581, then reprinted in 1594) the former, while confirming the ruling of the Council of Trent on Art as being necessary, encouraged artists to avoid any abuse of creativity (Vasari would call it *licenza*).[60] He recommended them to philologically adhere to History and Nature as the most truthful sources to Art. Since images should persuade worshippers to conduct an austere lifestyle inspired by the Gospel, they ought to be historically faithful and credible. This is another reason for why Paleotti advised to avoid metaphors and allegories which would be too demanding to the beholders to unravel. He also encourage artists

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[58] Menozzi, Daniele. *La Chiesa e le immagini. I testi fondamentali sulle arti figurative dalle origini ai nostri giorni.* Turin 1995, p. 41.
[59] Borromeo (as n. 11), pp. 42-45, ch. XVII.
[60] Barocchi (as n. 48), p. 17.

to represent stories faithfully to History in order not to arouse doubts or perplexities among worshippers.[61] One would truly argue that Paleotti's assertions about philological adhesion to History and Nature recalled the artistic practice of portraying *dal vero*, which had already been applied to Arts for almost two decades. Since the 1560s, Taddeo Zuccari had employed it in his works and taught it to his pupils in Rome. It would go on to spread widely over Italy (and Europe) thanks to his brother Federico Zuccari's numerous journeys between the 1570s and 1580s and his proposal of reformation of academies in Florence (Academia del Disegno) and Rome (Academia di San Luca).

In the years in which Paleotti re-printed a new edition of his book (1593), Antonio Possevino published his *Bibliotheca selecta* in Latin (1594). In the penultimate book of his massive volume, Possevino acknowledged the need for historical likelihood in Art as a source of credibility to worshippers. However, he also asserted the importance to represent the emotions and feelings of a character in order to arise profound empathy from beholders to holy scenes and to encourage them towards participation. It entailed, therefore, that artists had to find inspiration from the Holy Scriptures, as already recommended by Paleotti, as well as from piety books, such as Luis de Granada's *Meditations*. Furthermore, artists should consciously aim to appeal devotees's emotions and to increase popular devotion.[62] It is clear that Possevino's encouragement to 'speak to worshippers's hearts' is nothing but what it has been called *poetica degli affetti* in the present essay. In fact, it is plausible to believe that Possevino's recommendations to investigate emotions and feelings reflected an artistic tendency ever since the late 1560s, when Barocci's works began to spread over in Italy.[63] That tendency would become a constitutive landmark of Late-Cinquecento and Seicento Art.

[61] Paleotti (as n. 12), Liber I, pp. 66-69.
[62] Possevino (as n. 13), liber XVII, Chapter 38.
[63] A. Emiliani. *Federico Barocci (Urbino, 1535 - 1612).* 2 vols, Ancona 2008, I, pp. 39-44.

Giovanni Caccini's classic background and his controversial admiration for Giambologna (1580s-1590s): sharing models, different achievements.

When Giovanni Caccini left his native city Rome to follow his master Giovan Antonio Dosio to Florence *circa* in 1575, he was about nineteen years old.[64] It is quite likely that, he had already had a primary education at the time, which partly rooted in Dosio's teachings and partly in admiration for Ancient Roman statuary. Caccini's future Florentine production attests not only that he did never forget his debut but also that he went back to it at the end of his career.

During Caccini's Roman years, Dosio played a decisive role to the accomplishment of his favourite pupil's education. In fact, he instilled in him his natural inclination towards antique sculpture and Naturalism. Comparisons between *Michele Antonio Marquis of Salluzzo*'s bust by Dosio in St Maria Aracoeli, Rome (1575, fig. 19)[65] and Caccini's later *Biagio Curini* at the SS. Annunziata, Florence (1585), reveal a clear closeness of artistic intentions (fig. 20). Despite some obvious differences concerning personal style and chronological haul, both artists show a similar lenticular attention to physiognomic details (i.e. strands of beard and hair, expressive wrinkles, meticulous description of iris and pupils).They also demonstrate extra care in carving and polishing marble surfaces. Such a formal naturalism makes effigies by Dosio and Caccini very lively and vivid, albeit suggesting an accurate drawing *dal vero*. However, both artists do not seem to be interested in prosaic realism – conversely to Caravaggio's Roman works of the 1590s, for instance – but rather they tend to idealise their characters' expressions by bestowing upon them an aloof countenance typical of dignity of social rank, gentleness and calm, which clearly root in Classic Roman legacy. It is exactly that balance between Naturalism and Classicism that at the time, distinguished works by Dosio and Caccini from those by contemporary Florentine sculptors, such as Bartolomeo Ammannati, Giovanni Bandini and Giambologna. These latter sculptors, in fact, used to idealise their characters' features with cold expressions and timeless abstraction.

In Caccini's primary education, his study on Ancient Roman statuary, namely portraiture of the Antonine age (second century AD), held not less importance. Caccini understood this form of Art in depth and seized its aspiration to natural expressivity and formal refinement whilst combining them

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[64] Giazotto (as n. 21), p. 8.

[65] A. Silvestri. *Precisazioni su Michele Antonio Marchese di Saluzzo e un altare scomparso a Viterbo*, in Barletti, Emanuele. *Giovan Antonio Dosio da San Gimignano, architetto e scultor fiorentino tra Roma, Firenze e Napoli*. Florence 2011, pp. 223-235.

with virtuosity and elegance of the Ancient Hellenistic culture.[66] As a result, his archaising-classic style made him a much requested restorer of antiquities in Florence some years later. A comparison between Caccini's late group *Aesculapius and dying Hyppolitus* at the Boboli Gardens, Florence (1608, fig. 27-28)[67] and the *Marcus Aurelius* portrait bust numbered 1861,1127.15 at the British Museum, London (fig. 29), for instance, clarifies what features Caccini may have drawn from ancient Roman sculpture, namely a meticulous description of physical details (see *Aesculapius*'s voluminously curly hair, strands of beard and heavily convoluted draperies) as well as lively and bright shadow-light effects.

When Caccini moved to Florence *circa* 1575, he somewhat collaborated with Dosio for a few years[68] although no works of that period are currently known. However, it seems likely that he left his master quite soon. A document of 1578, attests that at the time, he was based in the workshop of Flemish sculptor Giambologna, one of the most influential artists of the time. He was a protégé of the Medici's family.[69] However, Caccini never became a Giambologna's straight pupil. Instead, he worked as a temporary assistant *a giornata* (daily paid) – as Caccini himself admitted some years later.[70] Giambologna, in fact, used to allocate him those commissions that he either considered to be of secondary importance or which he perhaps did not have adequate skills to deal with, particularly the restoration of Ancient Roman statues. At the time, restoration was a much requested specialisation by European collectors and connoisseurs who aimed mostly to show off unearthed antiquities in their properties as symbols of status. Since that specialisation implied integration of marble pieces on ancient works according to philological criteria, it entailed artists not only have a widely classic background but also a certain 'philological sense'. While Caccini's Roman education made him confident with antiquities, Giambologna never devoted himself to restoration. Giving those commissions to Caccini, thus, might supply that lacuna in Giambologna's workshop.

According to Raffaello Borghini, even since his early Florentine period Caccini showed such impressive skills in restoration of antiquities (*anticaglie*) that he aroused attention of prestigious collectors Cavalier Gaddi – Dosio's main protector – and Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici

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[66] Pizzorusso, Claudio. *Taccuino Giambolognesco*, in C. Avery; C. Pizzorusso. *Un busto di Cristo Redentore di Giambologna*. Florence 2009, p. 21.

[67] C. Caneva. *Giovanni Battista Caccini. Firenze 1559/1562 – 1613*, in *Il Seicento fiorentino. Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III*, catalogo della mostra [Firenze, Palazzo Strozzi, 21 dicembre 1986 – 4 maggio 1987], 3 voll. Florence 1986, *Biografie*, p. 45; G. Capecchi. *Cosimo II e le arti di Boboli: committenza, iconografia e scultura*. Firenze 2008, p.34

[68] Valone (as n. 49), p. 191.

[69] Keutner (as n. 23).

[70] ASF, *Guardaroba medicea*, 195, c. 95r, 8 July 1595 (V. Saladino. *Sculture antiche per la reggia di Pitti*, in C. Acidini Luchinat; M. Gregori; D. Heikamp; A. Paolucci. *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici: arte a Firenze alla fine del Cinquecento*. Milan 1997, p. 311, n. 43)

himself. He was 'very skilful in integrating pieces of marble and forging ancient works of art', Borghini attests.[71] Nevertheless, documents of *circa* 1578-1590 refer to a conspicuous amount of work that Caccini restored. Amongst the fistful that has survived, it is worth mentioning an 'old marble head of Charlemagne with its bust'.[72] Originally it was likely the *Blind Homer,* which was turned into *King Charlemagne* and set in the apse of St Apostoli, Florence at a later stage[73] (according to a legend, in fact, the church was founded by the king himself).[74] An inventory of the Uffizi Gallery's collection in 1597 mentions some further works by Caccini, perhaps commissioned by either the Grand Dukes Francesco I or Ferdinando I de' Medici, namely *Apollo playing a lyre* (restored in 1585),[75] *Hercules slaying centaur Nessus* (1590s, fig. 30)[76] and a *Bacchus with a putto*.[77] They are currently displayed in the gallery.

Caccini's works of restoration provide a useful cue to the present topic about his controversial admiration of Giambologna. In fact, whilst the two artists formally used to share models (most likely elaborated by the Flemish sculptor), their interpretation diverged significantly. Take for instance Caccini's restoration of *Hercules and Nessus*, of which he made *Hercules*'s entire figure (fig. 31) and *Nessus*'s head *ex-novo* (fig. 32).[78] Although Caccini's restoration can be appraised as philologically unexceptionable, it appears quite conventional stylistically. He made a typically pyramidal composition and favoured a more traditional frontal point of view. This latter, however, not only belittles the sense of violence performed by the characters – Hercules is crushing the centaur – but also dissolves the perception of forms in real space – the centaur's body extends further in the back (fig. 33-34). Paradoxically, the sculptural group is so flat and stuck that it seems to represent a moment of pause and repose rather than a dramatic struggle.

By way of contrast, coeval Giambologna's *Hercules crushing Nessus* at the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (1595, fig. 35-37) aims at a completely different conception. While Giambologna's massive employment of drill stresses overwhelming shadow-light effects upon his characters' physical details (beard and hair are dramatically crimped, eye sockets hollow), writhing bodies exude a huge amount of ruthless violence. Finally, the lack of one privileged point of view forces

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[71] Original text: 'Egli ha restaurate assai anticaglie al Cavaliere Gaddi e molte ancora al Gran Duca Francesco, e divero molto vale nel commetter con diligenza pezzi insieme e contrafar l'antico' (Borghini, as n. 1, p. 647).
[72] ASF, *Guardaroba*, 98, *Memoriale di manifattori*, E, anni 1576-80, c. 226v (Keutner, as n. 23).
[73] Saladino (as n. 70), p. 311.
[74] A. Busignani; R. Bencini. *Le chiese di Firenze. Quartiere di Santa Maria Novella*, Florence 1979, p. 80.
[75] A. Grünwald,. 'Uber einige unechte Worke Michelangelos, *München Jahrbuch d. bild, Kunst*, V, 1910, p. 65.
[76] G.A. Mansuelli. *Restauri di sculture antiche nelle collezioni medicee*, in *Il mondo antico nel Rinascimento. Atti del V convegno internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento.* Florence 1958, p. 182.
[77] Saladino (as n. 73), p. 313.
[78] Mansuelli (as n. 76), p. 182.

viewers to turn the composition around to get a fully satisfactory comprehension of the scene. Unlike Caccini, research on dramatic motion constitutes the pivot of Giambologna's work.

Overall, Caccini's professional relationship with Giambologna can be split in two periods. The earliest, which ran from 1578 up to the late 1580s, was characterised by a close imitation of giambolognesque formal models of which, however, the young sculptor did not grasp their profound meaning in terms of research on dramatic motion. The latest, which ran from the late 1580s up to the first half of the 1590s, was that of Caccini's emancipation from Giambologna's cultural aegis and of his progressive approach to devotional language of Counter-Reformation, of which he became unrivalled protagonist in sculpture up to his death in 1613. It is worth noting that at the turn of 1600, Giambologna attempted to perform that language once, when he executed a stunning *Christ*'s bust as a challenge to Caccini (fig. 89). However, he achieved completely different results.

Since his early years of cooperation in Giambologna's workshop, Caccini showed an ambivalent attitude towards the Flemish master. While he widely drew on Giambologna's inventions and models with such admiration that many works by Caccini himself were even wrongly referred to Giambologna's in the past; his background heritage emerged almost immediately. Take for instance Caccini's early *Temperance* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, fig. 38-39), which Giovan Battista Milanesi bishop of Marsi commissioned for his palace's garden in Via Larga, Florence (1584).[79] Borghini had already mentioned this work as autographic by Caccini.[80] However, one century later it would appear so 'giambolognesque' to fine connoisseur Filippo Baldinucci – the first accomplishedly informed biographer of Caccini – that he even attributed it to Giambologna[81] though he corrected himself some pages later.[82] Indeed, comparisons to Giambologna's bronze *Temperance* for Grimaldi's Chapel in St Francesco di Castelletto, Genoa, betray Caccini's close attention to the oeuvre of the Flemish sculptor in those years (fig. 41). Since Giambologna's bronze *Temperance* was placed in the Grimaldi Chapel in Genoa in 1584 itself, Caccini must have studied the life-size plaster model of it in Giambologna's Florentine studio.[83] Moreover, the marble by Caccini imitates the bronze's stance, its crisscross of tight triangles of drapery and its attributes, though it is more sober than its original. The falling of the drapery is followed nearly verbatim: bunched over the chest, sweeping across the torso to the virtues' right hip, and falling straight down between the legs. Only very small changes transform the character of Caccini's figure. The left foot of Caccini's virtue rests on the ground and is not raised, so the sway of the body is not as

[79] Baldinucci, (as n. 3), p. 289.
[80] Borghini (as n. 1), p. 647.
[81] Baldinucci (as n. 3), p. 289.
[82] Ibid., p. 586.
[83] Wardropper, Ian. *European Sculpture, 1400-1900.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011, p. 95.

pronounced as in the other statue. Her arm extends forward, not to the side, so there is a reduced sense of motion, and she stares ahead, rather than focusing on the upheld bridle. However, while both works clearly come from a unique model, the bronze statue presents a more mannered figure and active surface. The marble instead, has a quieter effect, which Caccini achieved by flattening and simplifying the pleats of drapery across the chest (fig. 40).[84] When compared to Giambologna's, Caccini's work appears a more classic figure of Ancient Roman age.

Yet, juxtaposition of Caccini's *Temperance* to contemporary Giambologna's *Cesarini Venus*, now at Palazzo Margherita, Rome (US Embassy), allows us to analyse further differences of interpretation (fig. 43). Giambologna's work was executed around 1583 –when Caccini made his *Temperance* – for Roman senator Giangiorgio Cesarini who obtained permission for that commission by Giambologna's protector Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici.[85] Approximate dates may possibly explain such an evident overlap of physical details particularly concerned with the description of the heads. One would even postulate that a same *terracruda* model by Giambologna lays behind the two works (fig. 45, 47). However, the final results diverge significantly. On one hand, Giambologna focused on slender, stretchy, serpentine and unnaturally twisted shapes while playing with the classic *contrapposto*. He clearly aimed to represent an ideal motion. Nevertheless, he rendered his *Venus*'s expression as endowed of timelessness and gelid abstraction. He did provide no reference to reality indeed. On the other hand, Caccini balanced his work with classic revival and naturalism. His female figure shapes consequently, are solid and sturdy, stable and well-planted on the ground as well as balanced in weight and volume. The statue's wrapping drapery as well as her calm and imperturbable expression immediately recalls ancient Roman models. It is clear that whilst Giambologna's background rests on the International Mannerism and Michelagiolesque's legacy, Caccini's definitely took inspiration from Ancient Classic works such as the *Flora Farnese* (Naples, National Museum), *Iuno Italica* (Rome, Capitoline Museum, fig. 49) and *Belvedere Apollo* (Vatican Museums, fig. 51) to which his *Temperance* seems related to.

Comparisons between religious subjects by the two sculptors let on further discrepancies. Caccini's early statues of *St Zanobi* and *St Bartholomew* at the Carnesecchi Altar in St Maria Maggiore, Florence (1580), for instance, are nothing but more 'giambolognesque' works. *St Bartholomew*'s physiognomy, with his beard in strands and highly-set curly hair as well as his smoothly folded-up drapery,[86] shows the particular attention Caccini paid to Giambologna's artistic repertory (fig. 52-53). One would immediately think of Giambologna's *Samson crushing the Philistine* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, fig. 57) and, even more so, of his contemporary

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[84] O. Raggio. 'The Metropolitan marbles', *Art News*, 67, 1968, 4, pp. 45-47.

[85] V. Brunori. *Venere Cesarini*, in Paolozzi Strozzi; Zikos (as n. 9), p. 196, no. cat. 17.

[86] A. Venturi. *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il Cinquecento*, X, 3, Milan 1937, p. 810.

bronze statue of *St Luke* standing in a niche of the guild-hall of Orsannichele, Florence (commissioned in 1582; delivered in 1590, fig. 58). When compared to such a powerful and nervous *St Luke* (clearly inspired to Michelangelo's Moses) Caccini's *St Bartholomew* looks much more conventional and feeble. Whilst Giambologna's saint breaks up into the viewer's space by turning his head left, peering out as if beckoned by passers-by and stepping forward from the niche with his left foot half off the plinth (fig. 53),[87] Caccini's is flattened in frontal view. Its standing in the altar niche dramatically contributes to that particular flattening. The lack of motion and facial expression – one would rather say 'personality' when compared to *St Luke*'s attitude – belittles estimation remarkably. Although those weaknesses may be attributed to Caccini's inexperience at this stage (the Carnesecchi Altar constitutes one of the earliest documented works by him), diverging artistic intentions may even be pointed out. In fact, Giambologna aimed to explore the potentialities of Michelangelo's *terribilità*[88] – that is, a sense of monumentality and grandiosity which overwhelms and also intimidates viewers – as well as to apply it to breaking-out motions and unusual points of view. By way of contrast, Caccini's concern was rather oriented towards a revival of works by Early-Cinquecento Old Masters, such as Benedetto da Rovezzano and Andrea Sansovino, who had rather favoured classic values of balance, soberness and grace.

Caccini's vocation to combine Giambologna's inventions with Old Masters's works refined a few years later. His standing portrait of *Grand Duke Francesco I* in the Salone dei Cinquecento of Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (1591), for instance, provides an evident proof of that.[89] On one side, this portrait set on *contrapposto* with a three-quartered rotated head, seems to refer to Giambologna repertory, and more specifically to his bust of *Grand Duke Francesco I* set on the upper door of the Uffizi's Medici Theatre, Florence (about 1585, fig. 62). Comparisons between the two artists are relentlessly evident also in this case. Whilst Giambologna focuses on highly-expressive (idealised though) physical details (i.e. Grand Duke's big eyes, his mouth hardly bent and his head slightly rotated) in order to convey the idea of a perfect ruler of modern age as politically smart, well-educated and haughty, Caccini rather conceives his *Grand Duke* as an unrivalled leader of Ancient Roman age, anachronistically wearing an ancient armour and a wrapping cloak, bearing the baton and sternly gazing to the right with a proud and impenetrable expression. It is definitely the propagandistic portrayal of a heroic leader bearer of peace, safety and welfare to his dominions.

Nevertheless, Caccini looks backwards to models of the brightest tradition of Florentine Quattrocento. In particular, scholars have never pointed out to date *Francesco I*'s formal recalling

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[87] C. Avery. *Giambologna: the complete sculpture*. Oxford 1987, pp. 198-99.

[88] Barocchi (as n. 48), p. 733.

[89] C. Francini. *L'Udienza della Sala Grande di Palazzo Vecchio*, in D. Heikamp; B. Paolozzi Strozzi. *Baccio Bandinelli: scultore e maestro (1493-1560)*, Florence 2014, p. 210.

to Donatello's bronze statue of *David triumphant over Goliath* (Bargello National Museum, Florence fig. 60). At the time Caccini sculpted his portrait, Donatello's work was set in Palazzo Vecchio, in the eastern portico of the main courtyard, at the top of a column like a pagan divinity.[90] Caccini, thus, may possibly have studied it more closely. He may also have derived not only its whole formal conception – a *contrapposto* figure in triumphant pose and scornful attitude – but also by analogy, its political meaning. Since the age of Cosimo the Elder, in fact, the Medici house had worked upon David's official representation as good ruler and guarantor of freedom and had turned it into crucial carrier of political propaganda.

Conversely to his standing *Francesco I de' Medici*, Caccini's *Emperor Charles V crowned by Pope Clement VII* set in Salone dei Cinquecento (1591) can be accounted as his most faithful work reflecting Giambologna's sensitivity (fig. 63-64). Caccini was requested to accomplish the group that Baccio Bandinelli had begun in 1565 and then left incomplete, in occasion of the refurbishment of the hall known as Sala dell'Udienza under the supervision of Giorgio Vasari.[91] Like Giambologna's contemporary equestrian bronze portrait of *Cosimo I de' Medici* in Piazza della Signoria, Florence (1587-94 fig. 66) – actually the image of the perfect monarch in the age of absolutism (fig. 64)[92] – Caccini gave his State portrait idealised and timeless features albeit avoided natural expression. The whole meaning of his statue is symbolically summed up by Charles's kneeling posture towards the Pope, wrapped in his cape, his hand up to his breast in a sign of deferential submission to the illustrious leader of the Church from the Medici house (Clement VII's secular name was Giulio de' Medici).

Caccini's *Charles V* marks an ideal caesura within the sculptor's catalogue for chronologically, it can be accounted as his last work still referring to Giambologna's repertory. Afterwards, their paths would separate for ever. Since the 1590s, Caccini progressively began to emancipate from the Flemish master and interestingly looked at the spread of devotional language of Counter-Reformation with keen interest. This had been elaborating by a young generation of Florentine Reformers, namely Bernardino Poccetti, Jacopo Empoli, Ludovico Cigoli, since the late 1580s and met a wide adhesion of Florentine artists. Both the sharing of experiences within the Academia del Disegno and the spread of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's[93] and Jesuit Antonio Possevino's books would be remarkably influential.[94] In the 1580s, Reformers's interests were concerned with the exploration of reality and representation of feelings of devotion (*poetica degli affetti*) as well as

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[90] F. Caglioti. *Donatello e i Medici: storia del David e della Giuditta*. Florence 2000, p. 409.
[91] Francini (as n. 89), p. 203.
[92] D. Gasparotto. *Cavalli e cavalieri. Il monumento equestre da Giambologna a Foggini*, in Paolozzi Strozzi; Zikos (as n. 9), pp. 93-94.
[93] Paleotti (as n. 12).
[94] Possevino (as n. 13).

with the use of a very plane, unambiguous and intelligible narrative technique. They aimed to combine Classicism and Naturalism in the Arts, particularly patterns from the Ancient Roman age and depiction *dal vero* (inspired by Nature). Reformers found in Early-Cinquecento Florentine Old-Masters –Raphael and Andrea del Sarto above all – the most notable forerunners of that stylistically uneasy compromise. Overall, one would say that whilst the Counter-Reformation language marked a breakthrough over the residuals of the Late *Maniera* towards the achievements of the Baroque age, paradoxically that step forward came about through a return to the glorious past of Early Florentine Renaissance.

Caccini adhered to that language immediately and became soon its most acknowledged protagonist in sculpture until his death (1613). Even Giambologna – whose successful career never did suffer decline – attempted to adequate to that climate of increased devotion and intimacy. It is worth noting that Giambologna's main devotional works only date between the late 1580s and the first decade of Seicento. Conversely to Caccini, however, Giambologna neither shared experiences with Reformers nor with the Academia del Disegno or moved back to Early-Cinquecento masters. He rather did created a personal and alternative devotional style. His Mannerist background, in fact, was too steady and based on the Michelangiolesque legacy to get rid of. Comparisons between Caccini's masterpiece *torch-bearing Angels* surrounding the marble *ciborium* of Santo Spirito, Florence (1599-1608, fig. 72)[95] and Giambologna's bronze *Angel* hanging at the top of his Salviati Chapel in St Marco, Florence (1581-88) are extremely indicative in this sense (fig. 73). Whilst Caccini stemmed models from Late-Quattrocento and Early-Cinquecento artists – Andrea Verrocchio (fig. 69) and Benedetto da Rovezzano (fig. 71) might have inspired most this work – he also rendered his bronze-winged *Angels* as classic figures, that is, wearing swelled and draped tunics, their high and curly hair described with big and heavy strands. Yet, he endowed their expressions with very natural calmness and serenity, though he also veined them with some nostalgia (fig. 68). They indeed are more human beings than divine creatures (fig. 70). Nevertheless, their natural postures, their solid and sturdy volumes convey a perception of weight, as well as of secure stability standing on plinths to make them look like highly credible figures to viewers. Caccini's intentions were clearly referred to the involvement of devotees. His human-like *Angels* seem to silently speak straight to the viewers' heart and invite them to deferentially focus on the Holy Eucharist preserved in the tabernacle that they surround (fig. 68).

On the contrary, an utterly different spirit underlies Giambologna's bronze *Angel* at the top of the Salviati Chapel (1581-89, fig. 73). In fact, although it performs a similar introductive function to the chapel, it neither engages the viewers nor aims for devotional involvement. Giambologna's

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[95] C. Acidini Luchinat. *La chiesa e il convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze*. Florence 1996, p. 337.

dramatic statue represents a victorious Angel balanced in *contrapposto* on one leg at the apex of the broken pediment of the altar and steadies itself with the other foot, which is pressed against a moulding of the cornice behind. The arms are dramatically flung out, with fingers spread in tension, while the richly feathered wings and windswept drapery suggest that the angel is about to take flight.[96] Indeed, the whole meaning of this *Angel* is enclosed in its nervous and instable motion in space rather than in its religious content. Overall, its lack of reference to devotees as well as its algid and timeless expression would hardly make it credible as a devotional work of Counter-Reformation age if it were not set in a chapel of one of the most prestigious Dominican churches in Florence.

Different interpretations between Giambologna and Caccini upon representation of devotional subjects definitely sharpened in the 1590s. Storytelling on bronze bas-relief constituted the artistic ground, which clearly showed their antipodal intentions.

Overall, since the 1580s, Giambologna had played a crucial and significant role as he went back to using the bronze bas-relief technique after over a century from Ghiberti's brass panels of the Baptistery's North Door known as *Gate of Paradise* (1404-24), and Donatello's *pulpits* of St Lorenzo (1460-66). In his bronze panels of the *Passion Christ* at the Grimaldi Chapel in St Francesco di Castelletto, Genoa (today University of Genoa, *circa* 1580-85), Giambologna first stated a radically new conception of storytelling based on dynamic interpretation of space and a more active involvement of the viewers. More in details, whilst he drew on tripartite schemes by Quattrocento's Old Masters, he managed to overcome their stillness and motionless through a more asymmetrical arrangement of the scenes.[97] He grouped his characters in three along perspective lines and set them closely along the foreground (fig. 79). These devices not only gave his stories clear legibility but also made them more accessible to viewers. Nevertheless, even the placement of extra-characters at the side edges of his reliefs contributed to the viewer's penetration into the scene. Even though not essential to the meaning of the story, these characters bridged the gap between fictitious and real space (fig. 80).[98]

But Giambologna's principal innovation was his creation of multiple views in his reliefs. In effect, it changed the relationship between viewer and work of art, as experimented in his freestanding sculptures (take for instance, his famous *Rape of Sabines* in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence, 1579-83, fig. 76-78).[99] A sculptural composition having multiple views, that is, having more than one or two satisfactory viewing points, entailed viewers to assume more than one

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[96] Avery (as n. 87), pp. 197-98.
[97] Weitzel Gibbons, Mary. *Giambologna: narrator of the Catholic Reformation*. Berkeley 1995, p. 100.
[98] Ibid., pp. 104-05.
[99] Wittkower (as n. 20).

position by walking around the work. When compared to that intrinsic characteristic of freestanding statuary, however, the panel format constituted a limit indeed. Giambologna managed to overcome that challenge thanks to a clever device. He sculpted high-relief characters on the foreground protruding into the viewer's space and turned them backside in the scene. In that way, viewers were intrigued and compelled to move along different angles to catch further details. Two of the most active reliefs from the Grimaldi Chapel, the *Flagellation and the Crowning of thorns*, demonstrate how effective was setting those high-relief figures into a spatial plane. In his *Crowning of thorns*, in particular, the scene stresses different shades of meaning according to the angle from which the viewer observes it. Namely, the frontal view privileges the fury of torturers against Christ; the left view emphasises Christ's suffering as opposed to the sternness of Judean priests; the right view, the barbarity and shouts of soldiers standing by (fig. 82).

Although it is quite likely that Caccini learnt the bronze bas-relief technique during the years of his partnership with Giambologna, his interpretation of storytelling was opposite. In his five bronze *Stories of Mary* of the main gate of the Cathedral of Pisa (1596-1603), he neither seemed interested in giving the scenes multiple shades of meaning nor to involve beholders as actively as Giambologna did. He rather aimed to bestow a univocal interpretation to the holy scenes and to enable viewers to grasp the meaning straightaway and unambiguously. In fact, whilst he kept to Giambologna's tripartite scheme, Caccini made his narrative technique more readable and straightforward. He set the *Virgin's stories* in very wide and deep spaces subdivided by monumental arches, columns and pilasters through which air flows (fig. 83). Yet, he opted out from protruding figures in the viewer's space and got them perfectly grouped in a unique view within monumental settings. Even more so, he conferred a key-role to composition lines. In fact, they lead the reading order of the story as intended by the sculptor. That is evident, for instance, in the *Marriage of the Virgin* where perspective lines guide the viewer's gaze from the bystanders set on the foreground – actually they play an introductive function to the story – up to the main theme of the scene, the marriage. This takes place at the rear along the vanishing point (fig. 84). Like Giambologna, Caccini forced the viewer to participate in the plot. However, he did not endow the scenes with multiple shades of meaning but rather delivered a univocal interpretation to viewers. Even in this case, Caccini drew on Quattrocento and Early-Cinquecento's tradition of storytelling, namely by Domenico Ghirlandaio and Andrea del Sarto as an unmistakable source of inspiration (fig. 86).[100]

As far as modern scholars are aware, Giambologna approached to Florentine Reformers's devotional language just once, when he executed a stunning *Christ*'s bust possibly at the turn of the

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[100] Venturi (as n. 86), p. 796.

1600s (private collection, fig. 89-90).[101] This work reveals surprisingly a significant change of roles between Caccini and Giambologna. In fact, Giambologna made references to Caccini's most genuine and up-to-date inventions, namely his *Redeemer*'s bust set in a tabernacle at the top of the Benedetti Altar in St Maria Novella, Florence (now Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1594-98, fig. 87)[102] and his *Christ*'s bust at the top of an architrave door in St Maria degli Angeli's cloister, Florence (1599-1602, fig. 88).[103]

In the Amsterdam's bust, Caccini had described Christ as a very down-to-earth human being aware of his mortal destiny. In order to capture the viewers' attention and involve them into Christ's suffering, the sculptor had thus lingered on physical details and described them vividly (see his half-closed eyes, his smooth beard and his tresses of hair). Furthermore, he had emphasised some virtuous shadow-light effects, which made Christ's drapery precious and shining, and had investigated contrasting a juxtaposition of feelings of fear and resignation. As a result, he managed to give Christ the expression of sorrow, whose ultimate sacrifice was offered to redemption of humanity with no heroism. Caccini drew models on Late-Quattrocento *terracotta* busts, such as those by Verrocchio and Torrigiani, though he endowed them with a much profounder devotional culture (fig. 92-93).

By way of contrast, Giambologna's *Redeemer* did not show any interest in Quattrocento and Early-Cinquecentos's models. His work rather constitutes the triumph of Ancient Classicism of Roman Republican age. While he reduced Christ's description to essentiality, he gave him an austere profile which was clearly based in Ancient Roman statuary. The sculptor lingered on Christ's simple cloak which he rendered with widely vertical layers waving smoothly outwards. A barely rippling tunic under Christ's neck-belt thickens in parallel lines on his torso. That sober outfit corresponds to *Christ's* expression, which is classically calm and imperturbable as well as veined of a certain austerity and melancholy.[104] No investigation on his feelings is given as well as no interest in virtuous shadow-light effects is shown. Conversely to Caccini's *Christ*, Giambologna's bust cannot be accounted as a typically devotional work of Counter-Reformation age for it neither aims at involving worshippers in Christ's Passion nor move them to prayer. It rather is a timeless figure of Ancient Classic age dressing Christian cloths (fig. 90).

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[101] This work, published in 2009, has been recognised as autograph by Giambologna by accordingly Charles Avery and Claudio Pizzorusso (Avery; Pizzorusso as n. 66).

[102] Koomen (as n. 17), pp. 326-41.

[103] L. Conigliello; S. Vasetti. *Il chiostro di ponente agli Angeli*, in M. Scudieri. *Il chiostro camaldolese di Santa Maria degli Angeli a Firenze: restauro e restituzione del ciclo degli affreschi*. Florence 1998, pp. 27-46.

[104] Pizzorusso (as n. 66), pp. 15-27.

The development of the devotional language of Counter-Reformation. Caccini's sharing of models and artistic experiences with Florentine Reformers Bernardino Poccetti and Jacopo Empoli.

Caccini's conscious turn to the devotional language of Counter-Reformation came about in the second half of the 1590s. At this stage, he left Giambologna's workshop and emancipated from his cultural aegis. Contemporaneously, he began to look at artistic experiences of Florentine painters known as Reformers as a new source of inspiration. Professional bonds he particularly held with Poccetti and Empoli played a crucial importance to his growth.

Bernardo Barbatelli nicknamed Poccetti (1548-1612)[105] was the 'ferryman' who most bridged the gap between the Late *Maniera* and the devotional language of Counter-Reformation in Florentine painting after early experimentations of Federico Zuccari and Santi di Tito. In his youth, he took on an apprenticeship in the workshop of Michele Tosini, an ordinary Mannerist painter of Giorgio Vasari's circle. Poccetti's early specialisation in *grotteschi* made him worthy of the nickname Bernardino delle Grottesche.[106] After the death of Tosini (1503-1577), he left Tuscany and moved to Rome about 1579. Here, the Senese family of bankers Chigi hosted him in their villa in Trastevere (afterwards called Farnese Villa since it was purchased by the Farnese family) for about a year. There Poccetti had the chance to focus on the famous frescoes of the *Loggia of Cupid and Psyche* by Raphael (1518-19) with keen interest.[107] Although scholars currently tend to belittle the importance of this sojourn for the development of his personal style,[108] it is incontrovertible that it made him more sensible to a new interpretation of Art which founded its key-point in the balance between Classicism and Naturalism. In fact, having moved back to Florence around 1580, he showed much receptivity to the new artistic climate that works by Federico Zuccari and Santi di Tito had triggered off. Poccetti was one of the first artists to adhere to Zuccari's poetic of reality (representation *dal vero*). As a convinced Reformer, combined it with a fresh, plane and unambiguous narrative technique inspired by Domenico Ghirlandaio, Fra' Bartolomeo and Andrea del Sarto.[109] His specialisation in the fresco technique made him the favourite painter of religious orders, which found a sensitive representative of the aspirations of Counter-Reformation in him.

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[105] Marcucci (as n. 14).
[106] Baldinucci (as n. 3), p. 135.
[107] Ibid., p. 137.
[108] M.S. Bolzoni. *Una fantesca ritratta nell'atto di porgere un vassoio*, in Imhof Verlag, Michael. *Galleria Portatile. Old Master Drawings from a German Private Collection*. Mainz to be published in 2016.
[109] Marcucci (as n. 14).

Between the 1580s and the 1610s, indeed, he met unrivalled primacy in the decoration of cloisters and chapels. Among his most remarkable works in Florence it is worth mentioning the *Episodes of St Dominic's life* in the main cloister of St Maria Novella (1580), *Stories of St Pierino* in the cloister of St Pier Maggiore (late 1580s), the *Life of St Bruno* in the Certosa del Galluzzo (1592-93) and the *Stories of the Camaldolese order* in the cloister of St Maria degli Angeli (1599-1602).

Giovanni Caccini likely approached Poccetti about the second half of the 1590s, when the painter was in his artistic maturity. Caccini's attention to Poccetti's works played a decisive role to his personal progress over the giambolognesque stage and, one would even say to its renounce. This utterance can be clearly endorsed, for instance, when one compares the *torch-bearing Angels* that Caccini carried out between 1599 and 1608 for the Santo Spirito's *ciborium* in Florence (fig. 97) to the early *Temperance* by himself of 1584 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, fig. 98). Assuming that three lustres separate the two works chronologically, discrepancies of style and of reference to models are so sharp that one would hardly attribute both the works to the same artist in lack of authorship documents. In fact, while Caccini's *Temperance* is nothing but a very giambolognesque work imbued of Ancient Roman Classicism, the *Angels* surrounding the Santo Spirito's *ciborium* are clearly inspired by much more naturalism as well as reference to Quattrocento and Early-Cinquecento models. Undoubtedly, Caccini could not have conceived his *Angels* if he had not updated his background on Florentine works by Poccetti, particularly his frescoes in St Pier Maggiore (1580s, fig. 99, 101) and his SS Nereo and Achilleo's Chapel in St Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi (*circa* 1599, fig. 105, 107).

In a few years, documented collaboration between Caccini and Poccetti in the most outstanding work yards of the time would definitely seal their professional bond. In the late 1590s, they collaborated in the Pucci Chapel in the SS. Annunziata as well as at the decoration of the cloister of St Maria degli Angeli in Florence between 1599 and 1602. In the latter, Caccini set eight busts of *Saints* and representatives of the Camaldolese order on the architraves of the doors a (most of them are signed and dated) whilst Poccetti painted the fresco's lunettes surmounting the doors themselves.[110] Between 1603 and 1609, they were both employed for the decoration of the Strozzi Chapel in St Trinita, Florence at behest of Vallombrosan Abbot Angelo Strozzi. It is likely that whilst they shared these artistic experiences as well as a well-attested participation at the Academia del Disegno,[111] Caccini and Poccetti figured out a common – one would even say standard – devotional language. It has been called of 'Counter-Reformation' in the present essay. This language pinned on representation of devotional contents through a very accessible and plane

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[110] A. Giusti. *Giovanni Caccini. Bust of St. James*, in C. Acidini. *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence*, New Haven; London 2002, pp. 192-93, no. 55.
[111] Zangheri (as n. 50), pp. 15-42.

narrative technique. A very natural portrayal of characters drawn *dal vero* as well as an expression of devotion and intimacy (*poetica degli affetti*) also constituted a fundamental pivot. Finally, the steady and constant recall to the forerunners of that style, namely Raphael and Andrea del Sarto, became a typical and shared characteristic of the time. Drawings by Poccetti are particularly worthy of mention as they show his genuine interest in reality the most as an inexhaustible and tireless source of inspiration for daily scenes to be turned into devotional. Nevertheless, they clearly illustrate the wideness of repertories on which both Caccini and Poccetti used to draw on at this stage (fig. 108-09).[112]

Comparisons between Caccini's works and Poccetti's drawings would even encourage one to assume something more than a simple sharing of models possibly elaborated within the Academia del Disegno. Between the second half of the 1590s and the first decade of the seventeenth century, Poccetti's and Caccini's artistic works appear so overlapping to intrigue the hypothesis that the former projected the latter's works more than once, particularly in the case of documented participation to shared work yards. Such a lenticular closeness that formally links Poccetti's drawing of *Saint Raymond pleading the Virgin with Child* (Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland, fig. 116) to Caccini's bust of the *Virgin* in St Maria degli Angeli, Florence (fig. 117), for instance, goes much farther than a simple sharing of a common repertory. It is worth recalling that both artists worked at the cloister of St Maria degli Angeli. Nevertheless, Poccetti's particular drawings of *Portrait of Wayfarer* at the Marucelliana Library, Florence (fig. 124) and a *Study for Christ's and St Peter's heads* at the Musée des Beaux Arts, Besançon (fig. 126), correspond so much in details with the standing *St Alessio* by Caccini in the façade of St Trinita (1596-98, fig. 127-28),[113] that one would even suspect that Poccetti inspired or even contributed to the project of the statue. Also in this case, that assumption may be corroborated by documented presence of both the artists at the work yard of St Trinita in the late 1590s, when Caccini was commissioned to project the decoration of Strozzi Chapel and the statue *St Alessio* itself at behest of Abbot Alessio Strozzi.[114]

Finally, it is worth highlighting one further case in which suggestive similarities between Caccini's late works and Poccetti's drawings may prove a conscious collaboration. The stunning overlap of formal details which links Caccini's *Flora* set in the Boboli Gardens (fig. 130) to Poccetti's frescoes of the Sala di Bona in the Pitti Palace, more specifically a naked *Venus* (fig. 129), cannot be other but part of an exchange of ideas and projects. In fact, not only both the works

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[112] P.C. Hamilton. *Disegni di Bernardino Poccetti (San Marino V.E. 1548-Firenze 1612)*. Florence 1980.
[113] Caneva (as n. 67), p. 430.
[114] S. Vasetti. *Bernardino Poccetti e gli Strozzi: committenze a Firenze nel primo decennio del Seicento*. Florence 1994, pp. 10-13.

were carried out in 1608, but originally they were displayed together in the same hall of the Palace (the *Flora* was moved to the Boboli Gardens in 1794).[115]

The professional relationship that Caccini held with the nearly coetaneous painter Jacopo Chimenti nicknamed Empoli (1551-1640)[116] was not less intense than that with Poccetti. Empoli had had his artistic education in the workshop of Maso da San Friano, a well-known Mannerist painter of the circle of Giorgio Vasari. However, after Maso's death in 1571, Empoli showed keen interest on Federico Zuccari's teachings of return to reality. He found in Early-Cinquecento Old Masters, namely Fra' Bartolomeo, Andrea del Sarto and young Pontormo, the most luminous sources of inspiration to his Art. One of his earliest documented works, the altarpiece of the *Apparition of the Madonna with the Child to St Luke and Dominican saints*, dated 1579 (Musée du Louvre), clearly sums up his artistic intentions.

Over his long career that extended up to the 1630s, Empoli contributed dramatically to development of the devotional language of the Counter-Reformation in painting. Florentine masters of the Baroque age, particularly Lorenzo Lippi, Filippo Tarchiani and Carlo Dolci would find a crucial landmark in him as well as in Ludovico Cigoli.[117] The importance of Empoli as early carrier to Seicento pictorial language was twofold. On one hand, he explored the potentialities of *poetica degli affetti* in depth and brought them to the highest accomplishment. In fact, whilst in his works he reduced the holy scene to few characters, he investigated their intimate feelings and devotional attitudes through a straightforward and even essential language. This device enabled viewers to concentrate on praying.

On the other hand, Empoli applied his poetic to the canvas format (unlike Poccetti, who rather privileged the fresco technique). He used a wide range of shaded colours vividly imbued of shadow-light effects, which made his depicted atmospheres intimate, completive and silent. In his *Annunciation* executed for the Strozzi Chapel, indeed one of his highest achievements, he demonstrated his artistic intentions.[118] He reduced the whole scene to essentiality (fig. 134). While the scene takes place in a simple and barely adorned domestic setting, the story exclusively focuses on the two main characters, Mary and the Archangel. The devotional tone is enhanced by the employment of very sober oil colours. However, it is solely the shadow-light effects that make the scene most precious. Shaded lights linger on the characters' porcelain-like features and smooth draperies and endow the holy performance with mystical timeless.

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[115] Capecchi (as n. 67), p. 35.

[116] Chiappini (as n. 15).

[117] S. Bellesi. *La pittura di Carlo Dolci tra tradizione e modernità*, in S. Bellesi, A. Bisceglia. *Carlo Dolci (1616-1687). Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina. 30 giugno – 15 novembre 2015*, Florence: Sillabe 2015, p. 33-55.

[118] R.C. Proto Pisani. *Jacopo da Empoli. Annunciazione*, in R.C. Proto Pisani; A. Natali; C. Sisi; E. Testaferrata. *Jacopo da Empoli 1551-1640. Pittore d'eleganza e devozione.* Florence 2004, p. 138.

Empoli's participation to the Strozzi Chapel's as executor of its altarpiece was due to a precise choice of Giovanni Caccini. According to documents, in fact, whilst Commissioner Abbot Alessio Strozzi specifically requested Bernardino Poccetti to paint the chapel's fresco vault, he delegated Caccini – who was in charge as the architect and sculptor of the chapel – to allocate the altarpiece and two more paintings to trustworthy artists.[119] Caccini designated Empoli for the *Annunciation*, Cosimo Gamberucci for the *Death of St Alessio* and his nephew Pompeo Caccini for the *Martyrdom of St Lucy*.[120] To judge from results, Caccini's choice of Empoli as executor of the chapel's altarpiece could not be more adequate and successful. Indeed, comparisons between Empoli's *Announced Virgin* and Caccini's *St Agnes* standing in a niche just aside Empoli's altarpiece clearly let on such a strong aspiration to formal unity of the chapel. One would even believe that the former turned in painting a model by the latter (fig. 135-36).

If this assumption were true it would not apply to an isolated case either. Further juxtapositions between Caccini's and Empoli's works arouse suspect that at this stage the two artists likely used to share repertories widely. Empoli's Strozzi *Archangel* for instance, directly recalls Caccini's contemporary *Angels* surrounding his Santo Spirito's *ciborium* in details (1599-1608, fig. 139-40). Nevertheless, a *Madonna with the Child* by Empoli in private collection[121] reveals such a closeness to Caccini's *bust of the Virgin* at St Maria degli Angeli, that induces one to believe that the two artists had elaborated a kind of 'standard language'. That language, which much referred to Old-Masters models and Andrea del Sarto above all (fig. 148), also involved Poccetti. It plausibly rested in the sharing of artistic experiences within the Academia del Disegno, of which Empoli was a very active memebers for a long time.[122]

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[119] The specific choice of Barbatelli as executor of the fresco vault was not only related to his account as a successful painter of the time, but also to his previous works for the Vallombrosan order to which Father Alessio belonged. In fact, at the beginning of the 1590s, Poccetti had executed the lost fresco *Stories of St Giovanni Gualberto* in the monastery of St Maria Vallombrosa (Vasetti, as n. 115, p. 14-15).
[120] Ibidem.
[121] Romagnoli, Gioia. *Jacopo da Empoli. Madonna col Bambino* (as n. 118), p. 106.
[122] Empoli is attested as a member of the Academia del Disegno from 1577 up to 1630 (Zangheri, as n. 50, pp. 11-48).

Conclusion

To conclude, the launch of the climate of Counter-Reformation in Florence was clearly due to a series of political deeds the Medici house imposed on the Grand Duchy of Florence since the 1560s aiming to enhance their personal power through a strong alliance with the papacy. In spite of this, the reformation of worship and liturgical traditions led by Archbishops Antonio Altoviti and Alessandro de' Medici played a significant role. In fact, they not only moulded the Florentine society with the rulings of the Council of Trent but also instilled a climate of profound devotion in it.

Federico Zuccari's teachings of return to reality (depiction *dal vero*) as well as his advice to the employment of a plane and widely accessible language reflected the Tridentine Council's aspirations a reformation of Art and thus, perfectly fitted in with the Florentine climate. Nevertheless, the arrival of the *Madonna del Popolo* by Barocci to Arezzo had a crucial importance for it first indicated the way *poetica degli affetti* should applied to devotional Art.

It was a new generation of painters called Reformers to spread Zuccari's and Barocci's poetics in Florence since the early 1580s. Poccetti', Empoli' and Cigoli's achievements particularly contributed to wipe out the last evidence of *Late Maniera* and Vasari's culture. They rather opposed a straightforward and highly-intelligible Art which pinned on Florentine Quattrocento and Early-Cinquecento models, namely Domenico Ghirlandaio, Fra' Bartolomeo and Andrea del Sarto.

Giovanni Caccini's adhesion to the language of Reformers came about in the 1590s, about a decade after their early experimentations. His approach to and documented collaboration with contemporary Poccetti and Empoli above all, dramatically contributed to his emancipation from Giambologna's cultural aegis as well as to the development of his own highly-recognisable style (take for instance, his *busts of Saints* in St Maria degli Angeli's cloister). As close similarities between works by Caccini and Poccetti works induce to believe, Caccini's production between the 1590s and the 1610s may be interpreted as a whole attempt to 'transfer' contemporary pictorial works into the marble format.

Nevertheless, Caccini's innate vocation towards Classicism and Naturalism since his beginnings should also play a key-role to his natural approach to Reformers. The artistic language of Counter-Reformation, in fact, rooted just in the balance between those tendencies.

APPENDIX

Documents on Giovanni di Michelangelo Caccini

1556

- *On 28 September 1556, he is baptised in St Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome.*
  (Giazotto, 1984, p. 8).

1578

- *He is attested in Giambologna's workshop in St Maria Novella, Florence. He is in charge to restore an old head of King Charlemagne, a head of Emperor Vitelius and a bust.*
  ASF, *Guardaroba*, 98, *Memoriale di manifattori*, E, anni 1576-80, c. 226v
  1578, A' dì 2 d'agosto. A Giovanni Caccini da Montopoli ha l'appie statue di marmo a rasetarsi, sta in bottegha di Giovanni Bologna a Santa Maria Novella: una testa antica di marmo di Carlo Magnio con suo busto, n° 1; uno busto di marmo antico senza testa et peduccio, no° 1; una testa di uno Vitelio di marmo per rifargli il piedi, porto detto a' dì 21 di marzo 1580, n°1.
  (Keutner, 1988/89, p. 339, no. 8).

- *He is mentioned among Giovanni Antonio Dosio's pupils. He is making a statue representing the Earth.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 26, September, 1578, c. 6v
  G.ni da *** (*sic*) stava con G.ni Antonio Dosi scultore.
  (Valone, 1972, p. 191).

- *He registers the Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 101, October 12, 1578, c. 52v
  'Giovanni di Michelangelo Caccini scultore *pays ten lire* per entratura dela matrichola
  (Valone, 1972, p. 191).

1580

- *He delivers the laying statue of St Giovanni Gualberto at the Badia, Passignano.*
  (Schmidt, 1971, p. 141).

- *He carries out two statues of St Bartholomew and St Zanobi for the Carnesecchi Chapel in St Maria Maggiore, Florence.*
  (Borghini 1584, p. 647)

1582

- *He is mentioned as a member of the Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 26, A, years 1577-1586, 18 October 1582, c. 30v.
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 17).

1584

- *He is mentioned as a consul at the Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 26, Detto segnato A, anni 1577-1586, 30 ottobre 1584, c. 118v.
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 19).

1585

- *He is mentioned as a consul at the Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 26, Detto segnato A, anni 1577-1586, 16 febbraio 1585, c. 119r
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 19).

- *He is mentioned as a restorer of Medici's antiquities. He is restoring an Apollo playing the lyre.*
  ASF, *Guardaroba medicea*, 112, c. 63r, anno 1585.
  ASF, *Guardaroba medicea*, 113, c. 73v, 20 novembre 1585
  (Grünwald, 1910, p. 65).

- *He dates his bust of Biagio Curini da Pontremoli at SS. Annunziata, Florence.*
  (Baldinucci, 1846, p. 297).

1586

- *He is commissioned a statue of a saint for St Maria del Fiore, Florence.*
  Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, Series VIII, I, 264, c. 75, 19 September 1586.
  Adì XVIIII di settembre, fiorini sei di moneta pagati a Giovanni Caccini scultore, che tanti se li danno che ha a ire a Carrara per abozzare un marmo per fare uno Apostolo che lui l'ha da fare per in chiesa, lire 42
  (Cinelli, Myssok, Vossilla, 2002, p. 115).

1587

- *He carries out the Christ's bust set in Via Cerretani, Florence.*
  (Schmidt, 1971, pp. 145-146; Caneva, 1986, p. 45)

1588

- *He gets paid for the standing statues of Spring and Autumn at the Bridge of Santa Trinita, for two lost portratis of Cosimo Pater Patriae and Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, and the stucco statue of St Giovanni Gualberto to be set in the façade of St Maria del Fiore, Florence.*
  ASF, *Depositeria Generale*, 416, 1588, c. 15r.
  Adì 12 di novembre, scudi 230 di moneta si fanno fare a Giovan Caccini scultore in somma di fiorini 238, et sono per 3 statue di terra vestite, che 2 per il ponte a Santa Trinita sulle base di verso Via Maggio, di Cosimo Pater Patriae et il Gran Duca Cosimo a scudo 80 l'una, et una per Santa Maria del Fiore figurata per San Giovangualberto per scudi 56, et scudi 14 per imbiancatura di dette stimato il tutto come il giornale, c. 10 avere in questo 19 fiorini 230
  (Schmidt, 1968, p. 53, doc. 1).

  ASF, *Depositeria Generale*, 416, 1588, c. 18r.
  Spese di ornamento per la facciata di Santa Maria del Fiore, de dare addì 22 di ottobre scudi 7 lire sei di moneta, pagato Giovanni di Michelangelo Caccini scultore contanti per più opere tenute a far, rilievi di buono, li fogliami e d'altro per farvi sopra le norme per le carte peste… scudi 7 lire 6.
  (Schmidt, 1968, p. 53, doc. 2).

  ASF, *Depositeria Generale*, 416, 1588, c. 19r.
  Giovanni di contro (Caccini) dè avere adì 12 di novembre fiorini dugento trentotto di moneta, che fiorini 174 seli fanno buoni per spese di 2 figure fatte dal d.o Giovanni, et fiorini 56 per le spese della facciata di Santa Maria del Fiore, et fiorini 8 per spese della facciata del Palazo, che li fiorini 174 sono per 2 statue di terra vestite, di una figurata per Cosimo Vecchio Pater Patriae et l'altra per il Grand Duca Cosimo a scudi 80 l'una, compresoci fiorini 14 per imbiancatura d'esse, et fiorini 56 per la statua in terra vestita di San

Giovangualberto, et fiorini 8 per 2 teste di termini tutte dette cose stimate, come e in giornale, c. 10 porto a ciascuno contro rispettivamente la spese che se li aspetta in questo c. 15 77 fiorini 238
(Schmidt, 1968, p. 53, doc. 3).

1589

- *He is mentioned as consul of the Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 27, B (years 1586-1594), 4 May 1589, c. 57r.
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 23).

- *He signs and dates the statue of St James for the Cathedral of Orvieto.*
  (Della Valle, 1791, p. 335; Schmidt, 1971, p. 147)

1590

- *He restores a Bacchus and Ampelus at the Uffizi Gallery.*
  (Grünwald, 1910, p. 66).

1590

- *He delivers the terracruda models for the statues of Francesco I de' Medici and Emperor Charles V for Salone dei Cinquento, Palazzo Vecchio.*
  ASF, *Fabbriche Medicee*, 14 cc. 30r.
  (Heikamp, 1980, p. 212).

1591

- *He is mentioned as member of the Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 27, B (years 1586-1594), 8 September 1591, c. 77r.
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 23).

- *He signs and dates the marble statue of St James at the Cathedral of Orvieto.*
  (Caneva, 1986, p. 45)

- *He restores a Bacchus with 'an animal at the bottom' for the Pitti Palace*
  He gets paid for restoration of "ghambe, braccia e uno animale a' piedi"
  (Mansuelli, 1958, I, n. 25).

1592

- *The terracruda model of Emperor Charles I is set in Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, in occasion of the baptism of Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici.*
  (Heikamp, 1980, p. 212).

1593

- *In July 1593 he is requested to replace the terracotta models with marble versions of the statues of Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici and Emperor Charles V in Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio.*
  ASF, *Fabbriche Medicee*, 14, cc. 24v.
  (Heikamp, 1980, p. 212).

- *He is commissioned four statues for the Certosa of St Martino, Naples. They represent St Peter, St Paul, St Bruno, St John the Baptist.*
  (Faraglia, 1885, p. 436; Schmidt, 1971, pp. 150-51).

1594

- *He is mentioned as consul at the Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 27,B (years 1586-1594), 29 October 1594, c. 53r.
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 31).

- *His marble statues of Francesco I de' Medici and Charles V are carried to Palazzo Vecchio from his workshop in Via della Scala, Florence.*
  ASF, *Fabbriche Medicee*, 14, cc. 30r, 24v
  (Heikamp, 1980, p. 212)

- *He carries out the Trinity for the façade of St Trinita, Florence.*
  AFS, *Conventi soppressi*, 89, S. Trinita di Firenze, 51, Ricordanze 1567-1629, anno 1594, c. 104r.
  Ricordo come a' dì 28 giugno 1594 ci convenimo con maestro Giovanni Caccini scultore che ci facessi la Trinità di marmo che va sopra alla porta della chiesa nella nuova facciata, e la debba fare di sua mano, massimo dove va magisterio e intelligenza grande, e che sia secondo il modello fatto già di stucco e meglio, il qual modello è già stato più giorni in decto luogo per vedere come piaceva. E che vi sia Iddio padre, e in braccio il figliolo morto, e lo Spirito Santo, con li angeli intorno, come sono nel modello; la quale opera piglia a fare in dua anni, e il prezzo da amendua le parti fu rimesso nel reverendissimo nostro padre generale, il quale fece che tutta la detta opera se gli dessi scudi dugento cinquanta in questo modo, cioè: scudi 50 questo anno, e scudi 100 quest'altro, e scudi 100 quando sarà finita con questo, atteso che si vegga che vi si lavori sempre tanto o quanto secondo la proprotione del tempo e de' denari. Con questo che li monaci li dieno il marmo condotto a casa detto mastro Giovanni, e così il modello, e che li scudi 35 datili a conto de' pani di marmo che sono attorno all'ornamento di detta Trinità già fatti e messi in opera, come si vede, non sieno nel conto delli scudi 250: nel il marmo quale condotto e comperò a Carrara, e messo a casa di detto (maestro) Giovanni, ci costa intorno a scudi 100. Così avanti che detta opera sia nel luogo dove ha da stare costerà più di scudi 400, perché scudi 100 al marmo condotto, scudi 35 a' pani, e scudi 250 al mastro, e poi la condotta e murato con li ferramenti costeranno assai. Et decto maestro Giovanni ci debbe dare anco il modello quando sarà finita l'opera; e di tutto questo si trova una scritta sottoscritta da detto maestro Giovanni e dal padre abate di Santa Trinita alla presenza del nostro reverendissimo generale, sotto dì et anno detto, e per tal cosa detto maestro Giovanni Caccini obligò sé e li suoi eredi e beni in ogni caso che non la finisse, e il padre abate promesse di pagare come s'è detto
  (Giglioli, 1913, pp. 112-13).

1595

- *He is mentioned as member 'Festaiolo' of Academia del Disegno.*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 27, B (years 1586-1594), May 1595, c. 80r.
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 32).

- *On 23 May 1595 he values 600 fiorini two statues by Giambologna and Valerio Cioli.*
  (Lensi, 1929, p. 272).

1596

- *He is mentioned as a member 'Festaiolo' of the Academia del Disegno*
  ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 27, B (years 1586-1594), October 1596, c. 83v
  (Zangheri, 1999, p. 35).

- *He is commissioned twenty bronze stories and small figures by Domenico Portigiani for the three gates of Duomo di Pisa.*
  ASF, *San Marco*, *Giornale del Portigiani*, c. 156.
  Nota come mastro Giovanni Caccini scultore prese a fare da me [Portigiani] fino del mese di maggio 1596 venti storie di bassorilievo quali vanno nelle tre porte del Duomo di Pisa per scudi cinquecento di lire, sette piccioli per scudo, che viene a venire l'una scudi venticinque, da farsi a tutto mia spese, di terra, legniami, cere, gesso et formatura di esse, et a sua fatture fino alla rinettatura delle cere finite, da dare a dette storie di terra per gittarle di bronzo et di tanto restamo insieme d'accordo.

  Nota come di poi, per dare animo et occasione di essere ben servito, promessi a detto oltre alli scudi 500 detti di sopra scudi dugento, se però io facevo i rovesci di bronzo a dette porte, et per detta causa ho posto creditore detto mastro Giovanni della storia auta, come a riscontro si vede, di scudi 35, che tanto si verrebbe del'una, agiunto lì sopra detti scudi 200 non ostante che no' habbi per ancora risolutione di havere a fare detti rovesci; et anchora ho offerto a ditto per le medesime cause dette di sopra che se mi è fatto, finito l'opera, donativo, de dargnene la metà fino a scudi cinquecento, che sono scudi dugentocinquanta a mancho se minore fussi il donativo, quali si riservano per a quel tempo se succederà tale fatto, che piaccia a Dio.

  Nota come del restante delle figure, attributi del nostro Signore et della Madonna, mprese et altre cose di scultura che vengano in dette porte ecetto e' fogliami, attributi et imprese che vengano ne' fregi fra i fogliami, gli ho offerto scudi trecento che per essere sesantadue pezzi fra tutte a tre le porte vengano l'uno per l'altro lire ventisette, soldi 15, danari 8 piccioli, et così sono convenuto dacordo co' detto mastro Giovanni. Ma l'ho fatto creditore di lire secentotrenta piccioli per fattura delle dic[i]otto figure che sono a ragione de lire trantacinque piccioli l'unta, et questo per havere detto fatto in carta il disegno della nichia et la cartella di terra, et appiccato alcune cornice di cera, fatte da me alle nicchie et parte anchora per amorevolezza. Et questi presenti notandi ho fattino per conto di dificultà alcuna o disparere che sia fra di noi, ma solo per chiarezza per conto de' casi che possano advenire.
  (Supino, 1899, p. 384).

- *He gets further payments the statues of the Certosa di San Martino, Naples*
  (Schmidt, 1971, pp. 151-52).

1599

- *He gets paid for three bronze reliefs for the main door of Duomo di Pisa. They represent the Nativity of Mary, the presentation of Mary to the Temple and the Annuntiation.*
  ASF, *San Marco*, 43, anno 1599, c. 127.

  Mastro Giovanni Caccini dè havere a' dì 12 di maggio 1599 lire 245, sono per fattura d'una istoria di bassorilievo che rappresenta la Natività della Madonna, fatta di cera per le porte del Duomo di Pisa.

  A' dì 8 giugno 1599, a Giovanni Caccini lire 245, sono per fattura d'una storia che rappresenta la Presentazione della Madonna, fatta di cera.

  E a dì 17 di luglio 1599, lire 245, sono per fattura di una storia che rappresenta l'Annuntiatione della Madonna.
  (Supino, 1899, p. 384).

1600

- *He delivers five bronze relief representing Stories of Mary for the main door of Duomo di Pisa.*
  ASF, *San Marco*, 43, c. 169.

E a' dì 6 di gennaio, lire 252, che di tanto se gli dà credito per augumento di sue fatture et amorevolezza del saldo.

A spese delle porte, a dì 5 maggio 1600, lire 490 per tanti si fanno buoni a mastro Giovanni Caccini scultore per fattura di dua storei di bassorilievo che rappresentano lo Sposalitio et Assunta della Madonna fatte per la porta maggiore del Duomo di Pisa.
(Supino, 1899, p. 384).

1604-1615

- *He projects the Pucci Chapel at the SS. Annunziata, Florence. The work would be completed by his pupil Gherardo Silvani in 1615, after his death.*
(Bacci, 1973).

1606

- *He dates the bust of Andrea del Sarto at the SS Annunziata, Florence.*
(Baldinucci, 1846, p. 81).

1609

- *He leaves the statues of St Peter, St Paul, St John the Baptist and St Bruno at the Certosa di San Martino, Naples unaccomplished.*
(Faraglia, 1885, p. 436).

1611

- *He dates the bust of Galileo Galilei in Palazzo Viviani, Florence.*
(Caneva, 1986, p 44).

1612

- *He is mentioned as consul at the Academia del Disegno.*
ASF, *Accademia del Disegno*, 15, *Partiti e Deliberazioni*, A (years 1602-1612), 5 September 1612, c. 91v.
(Zangheri, 1999, p. 32).

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